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ΧΑΡΙΣ
ESSAYS IN HONOR OF SARA A. IMMERWAHR



edited by Anne P. Chapin

American School of Classical Studies at Athens
2004

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EDITED BY
ANNE P. CHAPIN

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PREFACE

Rarely is a scholar and teacher held in such high esteem by professional colleagues, students, and friends alike as Sara A. Immerwahr, Professor Emerita of Ancient Art at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In the course of a career spanning more than half of the 20th century and the onset of the 21st, Professor Immerwahr has been remarkable in her ability to infuse strength and clarity of scholarship with grace and compassion. The embodiment of χάρις (grace), and distinguished by intense intellectual energy and steady productivity, she has enriched and expanded scholarly vision, earned international recognition, and inspired numerous students. This volume is intended to acknowledge a debt to an extraordinary scholar, teacher, mentor, role model, and friend who has shaped an intellectual field in ways that cannot be measured easily, as they extend well beyond the bounds of scholarship.

By 1995, when I completed my dissertation under the guidance of Professor Immerwahr—long after her official retirement from teaching duties—the thought of honoring her with a festschrift had already occurred to me. Fortunately, I was far from alone in wanting to express such appreciation. A mere whisper of the notion was always received with such enthusiasm that I was encouraged to pursue the idea, and from that initial impetus it began to gain its own strength and momentum. For this I can take little credit; while as editor I could work to guide this tribute toward completion, each contribution represents an outpouring of support and respect for Professor Immerwahr. It is this energy that has made *Χάρις* a reality.

The contributors to this book are primarily colleagues and former students of Professor Immerwahr who came to know her during the years she taught at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Yet a significant number found her guidance and friendship at other times in her career, particularly while she was at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens when her husband and partner in life, Henry, served as Director of the School.

The broad themes and the interdisciplinary range of the papers collected here are intended to reflect qualities in the research and interests of Professor Immerwahr herself. A person of fervent intellectual curiosity

about antiquity, she never limited herself to any one period or geographic area, but always expanded her horizons and thus helped sow the seeds of many of the papers in this volume. Indeed the origins of some, as noted by the authors, are rooted in graduate school research conducted under Professor Immerwahr's tutelage.

Twenty chapters in two parts are arranged chronologically and geographically, with Part I devoted to Aegean prehistory and the East, Part II to the classical worlds of Greece, Etruria, and Rome. Part I opens with a study of mason's marks on Minoan ashlar blocks that challenges widely held assumptions about their possible functions and meanings in the context of palatial Minoan culture. The ensuing five chapters examine Aegean fresco painting, a subject near and dear to Professor Immerwahr's heart and the topic of her 1990 book on the subject, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age;* two of the five discuss broad issues concerning the origins and meanings of Minoan painting, and three offer critical treatments of individual fresco compositions from Crete and Thera. Four papers then focus on issues of religion, trade, art, and pottery in an Aegean world that was dominated by Mycenaean culture both on Crete and the Greek mainland. The last three chapters of Part I present interdisciplinary investigations of art from early Athens, the linguistic origins of Apollo, and the interrelationships among art, ritual, and politics in Assyria.

Part II first addresses issues involving Classical Greece, the opening chapter considering what the term "Classical" means to us. The next chapter offers an interpretation of the nature of Ares as depicted on the frieze of that most famous of Classical Athenian monuments, the Parthenon, and the third examines anti-Classical elements of late Classical Athenian architecture. This small section closes with a study of representations of domestic scenes in the *oikos* on Attic red-figure pottery.

The last three contributions to *Χάρις* turn to the Etruscan and Roman worlds. The first assesses inscriptions and artistic monuments from Etruria and Praeneste as a means of probing the cults of the Mother and the Daughter in central Italy. There follows the presentation of a comprehensive typology and interpretation of statues of the Roman emperor Hadrian wearing a historiated cuirass of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type. The concluding chapter is an interdisciplinary study of dedications of theaters throughout the Roman empire that brings together epigraphic, historical, and archaeological evidence for types of patronage.

Every project of this type involves elements of a very personal nature, and this one is no different. During the preparation and editing process I have been generously assisted by many very willing colleagues, beginning with Mary C. Sturgeon, who gave me great support, invaluable advice, and as Chair of the Art Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, supplied me with a list of Professor Immerwahr's M.A. and Ph.D. students. Sarah P. Morris generously offered the benefit of her wisdom, her own editorial experience, and her help in finding the right people to bring this endeavor to fruition. Robert F. Sutton Jr. provided very helpful and needed editorial advice, as well as photographs from the Immerwahrs' retirement party, which included the presentation of the infamous *Pestschrift Immerwahr: Das Nimmerwahr und das Nicht Wahr.*

I also thank Rachel Frew, for compiling Professor Immerwahr's bibliography and for working with Professor Immerwahr to select her favorite photographs, one of which serves as the frontispiece for this volume; Jerry Blow, for copying the photographs; and the Art Department at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill for absorbing that expense. Marie Mauzy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens kindly reprinted archive photographs of Professor Immerwahr. I cannot thank Edwin L. Brown and Maria C. Shaw enough for proofreading all the Greek, and I am most grateful to William Murray, who saved the day by telling me about a high-quality Greek font that even I could install on my computer.

As this project moved forward, Paul Rehak generously helped propose and organize "Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age: A Colloquium in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr," held on December 30, 1998, at the 100th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Washington, D.C. This public celebration of Professor Immerwahr as a scholar and a teacher was a joy for all involved.

A host of anonymous referees gave generously of their time and expertise and provided many valuable comments on each of the papers prior to publication. The editorial staff of the Publications Office of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and especially Michael Fitzgerald, labored over this volume with inexhaustible energy. Lastly, I thank my husband, Robert Bauslaugh, who has supported this project wholeheartedly since its inception, who helped tremendously with the indexing, and who himself was touched by the Immerwahrs' χάρις during his years at the American School.

Anne P. Chapin

BREVARD, NORTH CAROLINA, 2003

BIOGRAPHY OF SARA A. IMMERWAHR

by Richard F. Liebhart

Sara Immerwahr was born and raised in Pennsylvania, one of twin daughters to H. Edward and Mary Smith Anderson. By the time she was ten years old, she knew she wanted to become an archaeologist, and although that particular desire fades in most children as they grow up, for her the fascination for archaeology continued to grow. The seed of her youthful interest was a fifth-grade history book's description of Sir Arthur Evans's discovery, through excavation, of the Palace of Minos and the Minoan civilization. The academic flower that Sara proceeded to cultivate is certainly a perennial, for her love of the field blooms each year through the influence of her publications, and even more so through the work of her former students, many of whom have made contributions to this volume.

Sara's formal training began at Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Massachusetts, under the tutelage of Caroline Morris Galt, who, in the galleries of the Dwight Art Memorial, introduced Sara to the first-hand study of antiquities. Sara proceeded to graduate *magna cum laude* in 1935 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in archaeology. This was no mean feat, given that it was achieved during the Great Depression, but with the aid of scholarships, student loans, and odd jobs, the young student lifted some of the financial burden from her parents. She still remembers the raise from $0.35 to $0.45 per hour she received for working with the slide collection and for dusting the plaster casts of statuary held in the Memorial. Fair wage that it may have been at the time, it taught Sara early on that one does not pursue a career in archaeology with an eye on the financial rewards.

With an archaeology scholarship in hand, Sara returned to Pennsylvania to start her graduate career at Bryn Mawr College, where she found a mentor in Mary Hamilton Swindler. Swindler stressed current scholarship in the classroom, but her guidance outside the classroom would have a more important impact on Sara. She generously offered her time and advice to her students, guiding them in the right direction and helping them to become not only educated, but professional. It was she who arranged for Sara to use her first-year fellowship to spend her second semester working for Hetty Goldman at the joint Bryn Mawr/Harvard excavation at Tarsus in Turkey. Thus, it was in the spring of 1936 that Sara gained

her first look at Greece and Turkey, as well as her first experience in the field. Later she served for two years (1940–1942) as secretary to Swindler during the latter's tenure as editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of Archaeology;* during this time Sara further developed her organizational and editing skills, for which her own students owe Swindler an indirect debt of gratitude.

En route to the 1943 defense of her dissertation on "The Mycenaean Pictorial Style of Vase Painting in the Thirteenth Century B.C.," Sara embarked upon another sojourn overseas. She received an Ella Riegl Fellowship from Bryn Mawr to attend the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in the academic year of 1938/1939, and then used an ASCSA fellowship to spend a second year at the School. Such a program was then, as it remains today, an integral part of the educational experience of any student of Greek archaeology. And in those days, as today, things seemed to happen at the School—some say it's the water, but lives do seem to change there.

On the morning of March 3, 1939, Sara was having breakfast as usual in Loring Hall, when in walked a new student fresh from Piraeus and a ship from abroad. He was not an archaeologist, but a philologist and historian (the School has always welcomed all students of Greek history). His name was Henry Immerwahr (though Sara still has a tendency to call him Heinrich), and five years and one day later, he and Sara were married. I first met the Immerwahrs in 1980, the third year of Henry's directorship at the School, and as I got to know them, my main impression was of a couple hopelessly in love and devoted to each other. Inevitably, at some point during that, my first year in Athens, I heard the *story*. The story goes that, in 1939, Sara Anderson was the one woman at the American School whom every young man chased or dreamed of chasing. Then along came Henry, soft-spoken, shy-as-a-fox Henry, who won her heart and snatched her away from the other suitors.

In 1942, Mary Swindler convinced Sara Anderson to accept a teaching position in art history at Wellesley College, replacing a professor who had gone off to war. Sara taught there until 1946, when she assumed Swindler's place for a year at Bryn Mawr College. Married by that time, Sara then moved to New Haven to be with her new husband as he began his own teaching career at Yale University. Despite her teaching experience and Ph.D., she found herself again working with a university's slide collection, as Yale did not at that time embrace the concept of women faculty members. During the ensuing ten years in New Haven, however, Sara wrote book reviews for *AJA* and an annual article on archaeology for the *Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Encyclopedia Yearbook;* gave birth in 1948 to a daughter, Mary Elizabeth (now married to Jerome J. Hiniker), who has in her own turn presented the Immerwahrs with three grandchildren: Anne, Susan, and David; and continued her own research, publishing her second full article in 1956, "The Protome Painter and Some Contemporaries."

The next stop on the academic trail for the Immerwahrs was Chapel Hill, where Henry joined the Department of Classics at the University of

North Carolina. Initially there was yet again no opportunity for Sara to teach, but she received a fellowship from the American Association of University Women that enabled her to begin work on her study of the Neolithic and Bronze Age material that had come to light during the American School's excavations in the Athenian Agora. Her project received not only the support of her husband, but also the help of daughter Mary Elizabeth, who delighted in finding joins among the sherds (in part resulting in the rediscovery of a whole Neolithic pot). Sara finished this work in a remarkably timely fashion, the results being published in 1971 as volume XIII of the American School's *Athenian Agora* monograph series. *The Neolithic and Bronze Ages* became and remains an essential reference for work on Athenian material of the period, not least because Sara purposefully avoided the temptation to write the last word on every piece. It is perhaps the best physical manifestation of her belief that academic information should be shared, not hoarded.

In 1964 Sara Immerwahr returned to teaching, first on a part-time basis in the Classics department at Chapel Hill, and later as an Associate Professor in the Department of Art. The two departments instituted a joint graduate degree program in archaeology, and once more Sara was able to enjoy and share one of her greatest strengths—helping students. She was promoted to Full Professor in 1971, and the stimulation of and from her students, combined with the excitement of the new excavations at Akrotiri, ultimately led to her most recent book, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (1990), which remains the only comprehensive survey of the subject yet published.

It is difficult to say whether the five years in Greece (1977–1982), when Henry Immerwahr was serving as Director of the American School, was a greater help or hindrance to progress on the book. While access to storerooms across Greece became easier to gain and interaction with colleagues in the field became more frequent, Sara's role as the Director's wife added dimensions to her life that she had not anticipated. Yet she managed to handle it all with aplomb, in addition to leading teaching tours at museums around Athens and, more importantly, advising even more students—her own as well as those whose official advisors were not on hand.

After their stint in Athens, the Immerwahrs returned to Chapel Hill, where Sara agreed to teach again a course on Aegean art, in 1993. Eventually they sold their small but comfortable house on Davie Circle and moved to Carol Woods, a retirement community north of town with a higher-than-average percentage of fellow academics in residence. Here, along with her other interests, Sara still has enough room to indulge her love of gardening.

Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, North Carolina, Greece—just where *is* home for a career academic? In 1950, the Immerwahrs paid their first visit to a place they would eventually call home: Chebeague Island in Maine's Casco Bay. The very next year they bought a cottage (a "camp" in local parlance) for themselves. Later they bought the camp next door, and their daughter Mary and her family were given the first one

(as I understand it, the operative adjective here is "rustic"). It is and has been on Chebeague that the family convenes each summer, once even for Mary's wedding. There Henry has his own *Argo,* a handcrafted wooden boat, and Sara enjoys a small wooden sailboat built by friend and neighbor Michael Porter (husband of Barbara Porter, one of the contributors to this volume). Chebeague Island is thus home to the Immerwahrs in the midst of a sea of academic sojourns.

The running spiral was a popular motif during the Aegean Bronze Age, and it seems somehow a particularly appropriate image when recalling the life and career of Sara Anderson Immerwahr—though she might herself prefer a Minoan lily or crocus. She has made a place for herself in the continuous spinning of both family and career, accepting willingly and gratefully from her predecessors and giving freely and generously to her successors. The running spiral has no end.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

D. J. IAN BEGG, a graduate of the University of Western Ontario and the University of Toronto, first met Sara Immerwahr at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1970–1971, where they shared an interest in Aegean prehistory, especially Mycenaean pottery. Immerwahr later agreed to serve as the outside reader for Ian's dissertation on Minoan storerooms. He has excavated in Italy and Greece, and is now participating in the French Institute excavations at Tebtunis, Egypt, an oracular sanctuary first excavated by Gilbert Bagnani in the 1930s. As the Bagnani Research Fellow at Trent University in Ontario, Canada, Begg is currently publishing the Bagnani papers, which include excavation records, letters, and diaries from the 1920s and 1930s.

EDWIN L. BROWN is Professor Emeritus at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he was a colleague and friend of Sara and Henry Immerwahr. A graduate of Haverford College and Princeton University, he attended the American School of Classical Studies at Athens as a Fulbright scholar in 1950–1951, and excavated in the Athenian Agora in 1951. His monograph *Numeri Vergiliani: Studies in "Eclogues" and "Georgics"* was published in 1963. In 1972–1973, Brown held a fellowship at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D.C., and in 1980–1981 he worked with John Chadwick on Linear scripts at Wolfson College, Cambridge University. His current research interests include Linear A and linguistic studies of the names of deities.

ANNE P. CHAPIN is a graduate of Duke University and received her Ph.D. in 1995 from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she was Sara Immerwahr's last graduate student. Having taught at Emory University and Georgia State University, she is currently Assistant Professor of Art History and Archaeology and Coordinator of the First Year Forum at Brevard College in Brevard, North Carolina. She has participated in fieldwork in Greece and North Carolina and has won travel and publication grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory. Her research on Aegean painting,

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NANCY THOMSON DE GRUMMOND is the M. Lynette Thompson Professor of Classics at Florida State University, and director of the Florida State University Archaeological Programs in Italy. She is author and editor of *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology* (1996); *Cetamura Antica: Traditions of Chianti* (2000); and, with Brunilde S. Ridgway, of *From Pergamon to Sperlonga: Sculpture and Context* (2000). She has published articles on Etruscan and Roman archaeology in *AJA, ArtB, StEtr,* and *JRA.* She holds a Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she became acquainted with Sara Immerwahr.

CHARLES GATES is a graduate of Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania, and is an Assistant Professor of Archaeology and History of Art at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey. He has participated in excavations and field surveys in Turkey, Iran, and Scotland, and since 1993 has been the Research Associate and Site Supervisor of the Kinet Höyük excavations in southern Turkey. In 1997–1998 Gates was a Visiting Fellow at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge. His research focuses on art and architecture of the Aegean and on Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Anatolia. He became acquainted with Sara Immerwahr while he was teaching at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

RICHARD A. GERGEL is a graduate of Rutgers University and received his Ph.D. in Art History in 1978 from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he studied with Sara Immerwahr. Now a Professor of Art History at Central Michigan University, he has published articles on Roman costume and Roman imperial cuirassed statues in the *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* (1986), *JWalt* (1987), *GettyMusJ* (1988), *AJA* (1991), and in *The World of Roman Costume* (1994). He is currently preparing a study on the Hadrianic celebration of the deification and posthumously awarded Parthian triumph of Trajan.

GERALDINE C. GESELL is a graduate of Vassar College, the University of Oklahoma, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she studied with Sara Immerwahr. She also studied at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the American Academy in Rome, and has worked on numerous excavations in Greece. Now a Research Professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Gesell is also the Executive Director of the Kavousi Project at Kavousi, Crete. She has published *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete* (1985), more than two dozen articles in journals such as *AJA* and *Hesperia,* and is currently coauthor and coeditor of the forthcoming multivolume publication of the excavations at Kavousi.

HALFORD W. HASKELL graduated from Haverford College and received his M.A. and Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he studied with Sara and Henry Immerwahr. He served as Secretary of the School and Assistant to the Director at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from 1978 to 1981, and then taught at Memphis State University before joining the faculty at Southwestern University in 1984, where he is now Professor of Classics and Chair of the Program in Classics. Haskell is the pottery supervisor and professor in charge of the U.S. academic component of the Elmalı Plain project and the Hacımusalar excavations, both in the area of ancient Lycia in modern Turkey. His principal publications appear in *Minoan Society* (1981), and in the journals *Archaeometry* and *SMEA*. His current research projects focus on Aegean Bronze Age trade and Mycenaean Crete, and he works on the ceramics of Hacımusalar.

RICHARD F. LIEBHART is a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he now serves as a lecturer on archaeology and ancient art. He studied for three years at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and worked on excavations in the Athenian Agora and at Ancient Corinth. In 1990 he began an architectural study of the tomb chamber of Tumulus MM at Gordion, a project that has since evolved into an ongoing structural and environmental conservation project. In the summer of 2002, he supervised the installation of a newly engineered system of supports in the tomb.

CAROL C. MATTUSCH was a graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, completing her dissertation under the direction of Sara Immerwahr. She is now a member of the Department of History and Art History at George Mason University in Virginia, and like Immerwahr, a long-time affiliate of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Mattusch's research centers on Greek and Roman bronze technology and statuary. In 1996 she chaired the 13th International Bronze Congress in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and curated The Fire of Hephaistos, an exhibition of Greek and Roman bronzes that opened at Harvard University and traveled to Toledo, Ohio, and Tampa, Florida. Mattusch is the author of *The Victorious Youth* (1997); *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary* (1996), winner of the Archaeological Institute of America's James R. Wiseman Book Award for 1997; *Greek Bronze Statuary: From the Beginnings through the Fifth Century* B.C. (1988); and *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection* (forthcoming).

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SUZANNE PETERSON MURRAY is a graduate of the University of Minnesota, and met Sara Immerwahr at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens while working on her dissertation on Aegean painting. She has participated in several excavations and archaeological surveys in Greece, often working closely with her husband, archaeologist William M. Murray, most recently on an underwater survey at Actium. Murray currently teaches at the University of South Florida and works with the Interdisciplinary Center for Hellenic Studies, which promotes programs pertinent to ancient and modern Greece. Her research remains focused on Aegean painting.

ANN M. NICGORSKI is a graduate of the University of Notre Dame and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where Sara Immerwahr, in retirement, served as a reader for parts of her dissertation. Nicgorski studied at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for two years as a Fulbright Fellow and as a Samuel H. Kress Fellow, and participated in excavations at the sites of Halasmenos and Mochlos on Crete. Now an Associate Dean and Associate Professor of Art History at Willamette University in Salem, Oregon, Nicgorski also serves as a Faculty Curator at the Hallie Ford Museum of Art. She has published an article related to her work at Mochlos entitled "Polypus and the Poppy: Two Unusual Rhyta from the Mycenaean Cemetery at Mochlos," in *Aegaeum* 20 (1999), and has written numerous catalogue entries for the *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition* (2000), *An Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology* (1996), and *Athenian Potters and Painters: Catalogue of the Exhibit* (1994).

JOHN K. PAPADOPOULOS, a graduate of the University of Sydney, is Professor of Classics and Archaeology in the Department of Classics and Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at the University of California, Los Angeles. He has excavated at sites in Australia, Greece, and South Italy, and since 1986 has served as field director of the excavations at Torone, in the northern Aegean. His recent publications include *Torone* I (2001, coauthor); *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora* (2003); *La Dea di Sibari e il santuario ritrovato* II.1: *The Archaic Votive Metal Objects* (2003); *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (2002, coeditor); and *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives* (2003, coeditor). Forthcoming works include two volumes on the Early Iron Age in the *Athenian Agora* monograph series.

BARBARA NEVLING PORTER is an independent scholar specializing in the religion and culture of ancient Assyria. She received a doctorate in Ancient History from the University of Pennsylvania in 1987 and is now Director of the Casco Bay Assyriological Institute and a research associate at the Harvard Semitic Museum. Her books include *Images, Power, and Politics: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy* (1993), which was awarded the American Philosophical Society's Lewis Prize in 1993; *One God or Many? Concepts of Divinity in the Ancient World* (2000), a collaborative project; and *Trees, Kings, and Politics: Studies in Assyrian Iconography* (in press). The Immerwahrs are lifelong friends of the Porters and have long spent their summers on Chebeague Island, Maine, the Porters' year-round home.

PAUL REHAK is a graduate of the University of Michigan and Bryn Mawr College, and teaches in the Department of Classics at the University of Kansas. He came to know Sara Immerwahr while at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens as the John Williams White Fellow in Archaeology. Currently Coeditor of Book Reviews for *AJA,* and Secretary of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens Alumni Association, his research interests include Aegean art, technical aspects of Classical sculpture, and Roman art in the age of Augustus. Rehak is the editor of *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean* (1995) and the author of numerous articles published in *AJA, ArtB, JRA,* the *Aegaeum* series, and is cocreator and co-owner of the e-mail discussion group AegeaNet. He is currently working on a book entitled *Women in the Aegean Bronze Age*.

MARIA C. SHAW was born of Greek parents and raised in Cairo, Egypt, and is a graduate of the American University of Cairo and Bryn Mawr College. Now Professor Emerita of the Graduate Faculty in the Graduate Department of History of Art at the University of Toronto, she is the Assistant Director of the Kommos excavations on Crete and coeditor of *Kommos,* the four-volume publication of the excavations. A leading authority on Aegean painting, Shaw has published numerous articles on Aegean frescoes and their international context. She remains a close friend of Sara Immerwahr.

MARY C. STURGEON is Professor of Classical Art in the Department of Art and adjunct Professor of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Having graduated from the University of Minnesota *summa cum laude* in Classics, and receiving her Ph.D. from Bryn Mawr College, she taught at Oberlin College before arriving at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill upon Sara Immerwahr's retirement. Sturgeon is a Member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and in 1998–1999 served in Athens as the Elizabeth A. Whitehead Visiting Professor. In addition to publishing numerous articles on Classical sculpture, Sturgeon is the author of *Corinth* IX, ii: *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater* (1977); *Isthmia* IV: *Sculpture* I: *1952–1967* (1987); *Corinth* IX, iii: *Sculpture: The Assemblage from the Theater* (forthcoming); and she coedited *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway* (1998).

ROBERT F. SUTTON JR. is Associate Professor and Coordinator of Classical Studies at Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis, a program he founded in 1989. Previously he taught for eight years at Loyola University of Chicago, and for one year at the University of Florida, Gainesville. He and his wife, Susan Buck Sutton, a cultural anthropologist, became members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1974, and in 1998 they led a Summer Session of the School. Additionally, they have worked together on archaeological surveys of the Nemea valley, the southern Argolid, and on the Cycladic island of Kea in Greece. Sutton earned his Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where his dissertation on the representation of gender and sexuality on Athenian vases was supervised by Sara Immerwahr. He is the author of many works on ancient Greek marriage and sexuality, he edited *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, S. J.* (1989), and in 1978 coauthored the humorous *Pestschrift Immerwahr: Das Nimmerwahr und das Nicht Wahr,* which was presented to the Immerwahrs upon their retirement from the University of North Carolina.

NANCY R. THOMAS, a graduate of the University of Georgia and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was Sara Immerwahr's first Ph.D. student. After teaching as an Associate Professor of Art History at Jacksonville University in Jacksonville, Florida, Thomas moved overseas with her career-Navy husband while raising two young children. Now back in Jacksonville and teaching again, Thomas publishes and lectures on Late Bronze Age Greece.

PATRICK M. THOMAS is a graduate of Boston University, from which he graduated *summa cum laude,* and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he received his Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology in 1992. He studied at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and has excavated in Egypt, Turkey, and Greece. Currently an Associate Professor of Archaeology and Chair of the Department of Archaeology and Art History at the University of Evansville, Thomas received national recognition in 1999 when the Archaeological Institute of America presented him with its Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching Award. His research focuses on Mycenaean pottery.

RHYS F. TOWNSEND, the son of an English professor and art critic, graduated Phi Beta Kappa with Highest Honors in ancient Greek and Latin from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Continuing his studies there in the fields of Art History and Classical Archaeology, he studied with Sara Immerwahr and received his Ph.D. in 1982. Immediately thereafter he began teaching art history at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, where he is now Professor of Art History. He is also currently Chair of the Managing Committee of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Townsend has excavated at numerous sites in Greece, Italy, Turkey, and Cyprus, both on land and under water, and at present heads the architectural team of the Rough Cilicia Archaeological

Survey Project, a multi-institutional expedition studying archaeological sites in a largely unexplored region of southern Turkey. He has received a number of awards, including a J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship in the History of Art and the Humanities, and an Andrew W. Mellon Faculty Fellowship in the Humanities at Harvard University. In addition to publishing numerous articles on Classical and Hellenistic architecture, he is the author of *Agora* XXVII: *Buildings on the East Side of the Agora: Remains beneath the Stoa of Attalos* (1995).

ABBREVIATIONS

AA = Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA = Ἀρχαιολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
AbhMainz = Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz
AbhMünch = Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen
ActaArchLov = Acta archaeologica Lovanensia
Aegaeum = Aegaeum: Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège
AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung
Ägypten und Levante = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete
AJA = American Journal of Archaeology
AJP = American Journal of Philology
Altertum = Das Altertum
AM = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
AM-BH = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung. Beiheft
AmerAnt = American Antiquity
AnatSt = Anatolian Studies. Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara
AncW = The Ancient World
AnnPisa = Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa
Annuario = Annuario della Regia scuola archeologica di Atene
ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AntCl = L'Antiquité classique
AntJ = The Antiquaries Journal. The Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of London
AntK = Antike Kunst
AntP = Antike Plastik
AntW = Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte
Archaeologia = Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity
Archaeology = Archaeology. An Official Publication of the Archaeological Institute of America
Archaeometry = Archaeometry. Bulletin of the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University
ArchCl = Archeologia classica. Rivista della Scuola nazionale di archeologia
ArchDelt = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
ArcheologiaWar = Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu historii Kultury materialnej Polskiej akademii nauk [Warszawa]
ArchEph = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
ArchEspArq = Archivo español de arqueología
ArchHom = Archaeologia Homerica, F. Matz and H. G. Buchholz, eds., Göttingen 1967–
ArchKorrBl = Archaeologisches Korrespondenzblatt
ArchNews = Archaeological News
ArchOrient = Archiv orientální
Arethusa = Arethusa. A Journal of the Wellsprings of Western Man
Art & Fact = Revue des historiens de l'art, des archéologues, des musicologues, et des orientalistes de l'Université de Liège
ArtB = The Art Bulletin

ASAtene = *Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*
Athenaeum = *Athenaeum. Studi periodici di letteratura e storia dell'antichità, Università di Pavia*
AZ = *Archäologische Zeitung*
BAR-IS = *British Archaeological Reports, International Series*
BASOR = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCH = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BdA = *Bollettino d'arte*
BÉFAR = *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
Berytus = *Berytus. Archaeological Studies*
BiblArch = *The Biblical Archaeologist*
BibO = *Bibliotheca orientalis*
BICS = *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*
BMMA = *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*
Boreas = *Boreas. Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie*
BSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens*
BWPr = *Winckelmannsprogramm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*
Chiron = *Chiron. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
Chloe = *Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis*
ClAnt = *Classical Antiquity*
ClMed = *Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire*
CMS = *Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des National Museums in Athen,* Berlin
CP = *Classical Philology*
CQ = *Classical Quarterly*
CretChron = *Κρητικὰ χρονικά. Κείμενα καὶ μελέται τῆς κρητικῆς ἱστορίας*
CW = *Classical World*
Documenta Albana = *Rivista di argomenti storico-archeologici di Albano e Lazio antico*
Emerita = *Emerita. Boletín de linguística y filología clásica*
Eranos = *Eranos. Acta philologica suecana*
ES = *Etruskische Spiegel*
ÉtCrét = *Études crétoises*
Expedition = *Expedition. Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*
FolArch = *Folia archaeologica. Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Történeti Múzeumänak Évkönyve*
FuB = *Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*
GaR = *Greece and Rome*
Gerión = *Gerión.* Universidad Complutense de Madrid
Germania = *Germania. Anzeiger der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
GettyMusJ = *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*
Glotta = *Glotta. Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache*
Gnomon = *Gnomon. Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft*
GrazBeitr = *Grazer Beiträge*
GRBS = *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
Gymnasium = *Gymnasium. Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und humanistische Bildung*
Hermes = *Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie*
Hesperia = *Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
HSCP = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
ID = P. Roussel et al., *Inscriptions de Délos,* Paris 1926–
Incunabula graeca = *Collana dell'Istituto per gli studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici del Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche di Roma*
IstMitt = *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
IstMitt-BH = *Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Beiheft*
JdI = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JdI-EH = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Ergänzungsheft*
JEA = *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JIES = *Journal of Indo-European Studies*
JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRA = *Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRGZM = *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz*
JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*
JWalt = *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
Kadmos = *Kadmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik*

Klio = *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*
Laverna = *Laverna. Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der alten Welt*
LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich and Munich, 1974–
MélBeyrouth = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth*
Minos = *Minos. Revista de filología e egea*
MM = *Madrider Mitteilungen*
MonAnt = *Monumenti antichi*
Muse = *Muse. Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri*
MusHelv = *Museum Helveticum*
NJbb = *[Neue] Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik; Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum; Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*
NSc = *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
Numen = *Numen. International Review for the History of Religions*
OJA = *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
ÖJh = *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
OpAth = *Opuscula atheniensia*
PP = *La Parola del Passato*
Prakt = *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
Prospettiva = *Prospettiva. Rivista d'arte antica e moderna*
Prudentia = *Prudentia. A Journal Devoted to the Thought, Literature, and History of the Ancient World, and to Their Tradition*
RA = *Revue archéologique*
RALouvain = *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*
RDAC = *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*
RÉA = *Revue des études anciennes*
REE = *Rivista di epigrafia etrusca*
REG = *Revue des études grecques*
RendLinc = *Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti*
RendPontAcc = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti*
RHA = *Revue hittite et asianique*
RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RivStorAnt = *Rivista storica dell'antichità*
RPhil = *Revue de philologie, de littérature, et d'histoire anciennes*
Sileno = *Sileno. Rivista di studi classici e cristiani*
SIMA = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*
SIMA-PB = *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology. Pocketbook*
SkrAth = *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen*
SMEA = *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*
StEtr = *Studi etruschi*
Sumer = *Sumer. A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq*
TAPA = *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAPS = *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
TUAS = *Temple University Aegean Symposium*
Word = *Word. Journal of the International Linguistic Association*
YaleBull = *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*
YCS = *Yale Classical Studies*
ZfA = *Zeitschrift für Archäologie*
ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

PART I: AEGEAN PREHISTORY AND THE EAST

An Archaeology of Palatial Mason's Marks on Crete

by D. J. Ian Begg

Under what circumstances would anyone engrave a mark on stone? What would the engraver hope to accomplish? And what can this tell us about the engraver's society? The study of mason's marks[1] is particularly hazardous inasmuch as we are unlikely ever to be able to examine all the sides of the large blocks embedded in walls and foundations. Traces of painted marks suggest that a great deal of the evidence has disappeared. Thus we are relying on the incompletely examined portion of surviving material for our analyses and risk committing even more than the usual number of errors based on negative evidence. The focus here is on the masons who created the walls and marks and on the context of their labors.[2]

SURVEY OF MASON'S MARKS

In Egypt,[3] the geographically and chronologically closest comparandum to Bronze Age Crete, there were several different systems of inscriptions in use, some simultaneously. In the quarry they could note the identities of the work team with a date or the precise stage of the quarrying progress.[4]

1. In the orthography of mason's marks, I follow the usage of most of those who have written about Minoan architecture.

2. I would like to thank the two anonymous readers for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. Since this paper was first submitted it has evolved substantially from a neutral to an argued position, and for the remaining errors of omission and commission in the final version, I alone bear the responsibility.

3. Limestone, which is found in the north, was used for pharaonic buildings throughout the Old Kingdom and was eventually supplanted in the New Kingdom by sandstone, which was found in the south. Both of these stones are fairly soft compared to granite and quartzite, which were much more sparingly used and had to be worked mainly with even harder stone tools.

4. In Egyptian quarries, inscriptions can include a date with the pharaoh's name and the names of the overseers. In the late period, notes usually in demotic were dedicated by named foremen to the deity presiding over the gallery (Clarke and Engelbach 1990, pp. 20–22). Sometimes a record of the amount of stone being extracted was marked on the vertical face of the quarry. For example, at the quarry overlooking the unfinished obelisk at Aswan, series of red triangles in vertical lines note the increasing depth of the separating trench for each work crew, which according to Engelbach may have been named in red paint (Engelbach 1923, pp. 46–47, figs. 13–17). Specialists in working the hardest stones (granite and quartzite) and monoliths brought these to a nearly finished state in the quarries, leaving only a final polishing to be done at the construction site, whereas the softer limestone and sandstone could also be worked at the construction site (Arnold 1991, p. 52).

Control notes during the Middle Kingdom recorded the progress of transportation.[5] Precise setting marks must have been inscribed at the site, while this seems likely but is less certain for the relative positioning instructions.[6] There is growing evidence, certainly for the Old Kingdom, for the assignment of particular halves or quarters of large projects to separate work crews whose team names were recorded on their respective work areas at the site. Inside the finished structure itself they could indicate the boundaries of what each team had accomplished entirely by itself.

The need for workers on such enormous projects to be organized in teams is revealed in a variety of inscriptions. In each chamber of the relieving spaces above the burial chamber of Khufu's pyramid, "the blocks of the north side are marked with one gang name and those of the south side with another, while the end walls are divided in half and the blocks are marked with the name of the gang whose name is on the nearest wall."[7] These blocks could not possibly be the last blocks laid within the pyramid but they indicate the boundaries of the work areas where the separate teams met. Similarly, in the mortuary temple along the east side of the pyramid of Menkaure, Reisner observed red painted inscriptions naming separate work crews on the north and south halves, painted after the quarrying but before leveling lines were drawn on them and they were placed in position; according to Ann Macy Roth's analysis, these indicate that two separate crews worked on these two areas separately.[8] Their internal and central location would suggest that the inscriptions were recorded for the spirit of the deceased pharaoh and/or the gods.

As the blocks for these pyramids were obtained as a result of the leveling of the nearby ground, it appears that the work of each team included the quarrying, transportation, finishing, and maneuvering of the stones into place; this entire process would be referred to as "vertical integration" in the terminology of modern business, where one company undertakes the complete production from start to finish. In some cases, it is possible that team names were derived from their home villages.[9]

5. Records of the numbers of men sent out on expeditions for stone indicate that quarrymen and masons themselves constituted only about one to four percent of the total workforce, while slaves and troops made up the rest (Clarke and Engelbach 1990, pp. 32–33; these proportions, however, may not be applicable to open quarries of soft stones). Since there was relatively little working space among the rock to be quarried, it is assumed that most of these men were required for the hauling of the blocks from the quarries to the site. In the Middle Kingdom, another recording system has been observed painted in now faint red ochre on the blocks. Felix Arnold refers to these as control marks because they provide the date, stage of transportation, and names of the workers responsible for their particular part in the work (Arnold 1990, p. 14).

6. At the construction sites, the planners and artisans created variations on the few building types such as pyramid complexes, temples, and tombs with which they were intimately familiar from generations of practical experience. Once the orientation was determined, if necessary, and the overall dimensions, possibly etched on the leveled surface, everyone could proceed to their accustomed tasks. Numerous plans and models are known (Clarke and Engelbach 1990, pp. 46–68; Arnold 1991, pp. 7–11). Plans range from elevations on square grids to sketches with measurements on ostraka, presumably for use by the workers at the construction site. Scratched or red painted setting lines and marks and leveling lines have been observed. The most common setting lines were used to demarcate the middle axis of a symmetrical structure (Arnold 1991, p. 16). In addition there were positioning marks such as numbering systems, written instructions, or identical signs placed on the contiguous ends of blocks to help in the placement of stones inside tomb chambers (Arnold 1991, pp. 16–22).

7. Roth 1991, pp. 125–126.

8. Roth 1991, pp. 124–133.

9. A system of four hieratic abbreviations was employed on the disassembled timbers of Khufu's ship to indicate which belonged to the starboard or port side and which to the bow or

Although not apparent to any observer, ancient or modern, Egyptian blocks were not perfectly rectangular on every side but receded from the front surface, making contact with the surrounding blocks only around the front edges. Indeed, the vertical edges could be at oblique angles to the front face or bottom edge.[10] Also, it was evidently more efficient to fashion slightly concave surfaces than to try to make them perfectly flush along their entirety. Egyptian archaeologists describe this technique as "anathyrosis," a term borrowed from classical Greek architecture.[11] Finally, the top surfaces of courses were not finished until the blocks were in place, with the result that there are steps along some courses to accommodate higher blocks within the same course.

In the Aegean, until the end of the Early Bronze Age, the stones used to produce statuettes and vessels may have been obtained as boulders or blocks readily separated from their geological context along natural fault lines.[12] Because the advent of bronze tools at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age roughly coincides with the appearance of ashlar masonry on Crete, it is tempting to infer that one led to the production of the other. It is generally assumed that "the only stones extracted systematically from quarries by the Minoans were gypsum and poros limestone and sandstone."[13] It is also assumed that the stones were quarried locally as much as possible because of both their weight and the close proximity of known sources to the Minoan buildings in which they were used.[14]

One of the characteristics of Minoan ashlar masonry is that, of six sides on each block, only one had to be rectangular, the vertical front. The sides could taper inward toward the back, with the intervening spaces filled with the usual mud and rubble. This masonry technique would have been faster and cheaper to use at the quarry, where the workers could gradually pick their way inward toward the bottom, which created more leverage space and less material at the bottom that had to be freed from the natural rock. An added advantage to using these wedge-shaped blocks was that they were lighter than perfectly parallelepipedal blocks.[15]

At Akrotiri on Thera over sixty marks are known that consist of two or three simple oblique lines incised at one corner of the upper side of the blocks. Clairy Palyvou thinks that "these show the dimensions of the stone

stern. Wolfgang Helck observed that these same signs could also be used to indicate left or right sides, east or west, or one of the four phyles working on that part of a construction (Helck 1973–1974; see also Jones 1988, pp. 259–262; Jenkins 1980, p. 87). In other cases (on the two pyramids at Lisht and the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri), simple signs, presumably recognizable by illiterate workers, were used to identify teams who may have taken their names from their home villages (Arnold 1990, pp. 14, 23; as Arnold observes, similar mixtures of hieroglyphs and invented characters were also used by potters and brickmakers).

10. Clarke and Engelbach 1990, pp. 96–109.

11. Arnold 1991, pp. 120–124.

12. Hood suggests this even for the relatively small blocks of limestone and gypsum in the EM III walls at Knossos (Hood and Smyth 1981, p. 15).

13. Shaw 1973, p. 30.

14. The evidence is only circumstantial that the known Cretan limestone quarries were worked in the Bronze Age. In eastern Crete, however, the sandstone quarries, which by their nature are located close to the seashore, contain sherds no later than Minoan and are not close to any known later constructions. In these some technical aspects, such as the use of channels to isolate the blocks and the removal of blocks in stepped terraces, are reminiscent of contemporary Egyptian practices. The use of a similar technology, however, does not imply anything about the structure of the societies that made use of them.

15. Since the courses are not always isodomic, it is possible that their varying heights reflect the original depths of horizontal veins in the natural rock from which they were quarried, an observation possibly made also by Durkin and Lister (Evely 1993, p. 217, note 11.)

because there is some correlation between the size of the stone and specific signs," and that "these signs were meant to help the workers cutting the stone."[16]

On the Greek mainland, the currently available evidence for Mycenaean quarrying consists of the Cyclopean blocks found in fortification walls.[17] Given the enormity of the building projects at Gla and the other fortified citadels, it is hardly surprising that the Greeks had a word for "wall-builders" at Pylos,[18] but we are still left to infer the existence of a large and elaborate societal structure that could effect such organizational accomplishments. No marks have been reported inscribed on any of these Cyclopean stones.[19]

At Kition on Cyprus, at the very end of the Bronze Age numerous graffiti of ships were incised on blocks in the south wall of Temple 1 and two or three more on blocks of altar in Temple 4.[20] The excavators compare these to similar examples at Tell Akko in Israel and emphasize the continuity demonstrated by comparable ship graffiti on Malta from the 3rd millennium, in Byzantine churches, and at Bellapais Abbey of about one century ago. A few signs preserved along the broken edge of a block at Kition have been interpreted by Emilia Masson as evidence of the Cypro-Minoan script.[21]

In Israel a few dozen mason's marks have been reported on ashlar blocks of buildings of the Iron Age at Megiddo, Samaria, Gezer, and Hazor.[22] Most were in the outer walls of palace 1723 at Megiddo. There are only a few linear types, with small variations on each type, and at least some of them resemble Phoenician letters. The origins of the use of ashlar masonry in Iron Age Israel are debated, with the usual assumption of a technique imported by Phoenician workers not supported by any contemporary archaeological evidence.[23] Although much later in time, Phoenician letters were incised on blocks in the Punic fortification wall at Eryx in Sicily; the letter *beth* occurs almost exclusively around the circumference of one of the towers.[24]

In Classical Greece, we are fortunate in having a wealth of epigraphical evidence to elucidate the architectural remains. At the quarry, the blocks were cut to order for the architect and had to be approved before transport. Obviously the architect had to have a fairly precise image or model in mind when he ordered the blocks. Within the quarry itself the Greeks distinguished between the operations separating the blocks from the stone (τομή) and the trimming (πελέκησις) or partial finishing of the blocks before shipment,[25] a division of labor observable in the marble quarry called the Rods of Digenis near Siteia in eastern Crete.[26] It was usual for the

16. Palyvou 1990, p. 56.

17. Dworakowska 1975; Loader 1998, pp. 42–73.

18. An 35: Chadwick 1976, p. 138. It might be indicative of a construction project that An 18 lists carpenters, wall-builders, and oxherds together on the same tablet at Pylos, for, if a Mycenaean potentate were going to construct a large wall, these individuals would possess the required skills and draught animals; see further Palaima 1989, p. 100.

19. Quarrying techniques in Hittite Anatolia are similarly unknown but might well have continued in use by the neo-Hittites in northern Syria, where the use of stone supplanted that of mud bricks in the Early Iron Age palaces.

20. Basch and Artzy 1985.

21. Masson 1985, p. 282.

22. Shiloh 1979, p. 63, fig. 85.

23. Shiloh 1979, pp. 83–86.

24. Richter 1885, pp. 46–51, pl. III; Lawrence 1979, p. 468.

25. For an example of a Greek mason's signature inscribed at the quarry, see Burford 1972, pl. 72.

26. Durkin and Lister 1983, p. 84. The date of this quarry is uncertain, either Archaic from the sherds reported by Platon, or 4th century B.C., based on the quarrying technique.

ancient city-state desiring to construct a building to arrange fairly specific requirements with a contractor.[27] The larger the project, the more likely it was for many unskilled laborers to be involved: the hauling of stone from the quarry could require all available farmers with oxen and carts to participate. Once the stones were unloaded at the work site and the haulers reimbursed, the blocks could be maneuvered into place by more trained workers under the direction of the master carpenter or architect, using a system of scaffolding, cranes, winches, and/or levers. Because this part of the operation did require knowledge and skills infrequently needed in each community, these master carpenters could go from one building project to another in different and distant parts of the ancient world, spreading their knowledge and practices.[28]

In the Classical and Hellenistic worlds, mason's marks can be divided into two varieties based on their presumed purposes.[29] The more easily understood is the use of setting marks to indicate the precise positions or relative locations of blocks. In addition to setting lines, these could be either letters of the Greek alphabet used as numbers, combinations of similar letters, or ordinal words, usually abbreviated.[30] The numbering system may have varied with the architect and was applied mostly to buildings of modest size.[31] Comparable as instructions to the masons are the measurements such as diameters occasionally found on column drums. Traces of marks in red paint on the column drums of the Mnesiklean Propylaia and on the Periklean foundations of the Eleusinian Telesterion suggest that only a proportion of the ancient marks have survived to be seen and analyzed.[32] More enigmatic is the other type of mark, the inscription of a simple mark, letters, or names. Even at Didyma, where the names are readable but where the construction organization might not have been typical, there is little agreement on the interpretation of the inscriptions on the blocks.[33]

27. E.g., a price could be set for the quarrying of so many cartloads of stone, or for their transport to the building site, or for both together (Burford 1969, pp. 193–194). The purpose generally was to protect the community against cost overruns, which were paid for by the private guarantors. In most communities the construction of fortification walls or any other large structure was an infrequent and major event, and therefore a commission was set up to make the contractual arrangements. In Periklean Athens, however, where there was so much construction, the *demos* hired its own workers directly.

28. It seems more likely that the knowledge of quarrymen was more restricted to the particular locality. The ability of a quarryman to be able to see through, as it were, the stone layers from the top or front and know where to start cutting, and also to be able to separate the block without cracking it, must have been acquired through many years, if not generations, of local familiarity and accumulated experience. For this reason, it has even been suggested that most Greek quarry workers were free men rather than slaves or prisoners (Waelkens, de Paepe, and Moens 1988, p. 18), but this assumes that all the workers in a trench were equally skilled and experienced, i.e., there were no apprentices, and it presupposes a society split between free and captive. It is conceivable that a few farmers, for example, might have been familiar with their local quarry and also might owe service to the state.

29. According to Roland Martin, all the marks, both locational and nominal, were inscribed in the quarries at the time of their extraction, but this remains to be demonstrated.

30. Martin 1965, pp. 225–238. A rarely observed type of setting mark is found at Assos, where the outline of the entire cella wall was engraved on the krepidoma, here including the natural rock surface; see Clarke 1882, p. 84, pl. 7.

31. E.g., the theater temple at Pergamon (Martin 1965, fig. 107). A similar system was used when the Temple of Ares (McAllister 1959) and the roof of the Rotunda of Arsinoe at Samothrace (*Samothrace* VII, pp. 78–80, figs. 55, 56) were disassembled to facilitate their reconstruction in the early Empire, but the reasons for the use of this system on the other structures remains unexplained. Similar marks are also found on the terracotta simas of the Archaic Temple of Artemis Laphria at Kalydon and the Temple of Athena at Sounion; see Martin 1965, pp. 230, 226.

32. Martin 1965, pp. 225–226.

33. Rehm 1958, pp. 68–96; Haussoullier 1905.

It is on the large building projects, such as fortification walls of the Hellenistic period in Republican Italy, possibly erected under time constraints, that a great variety of mason's marks can be seen inscribed on the blocks.[34] The usual interpretation is that they might represent particular work crews, possibly those who hauled the blocks; Giuseppe Lugli suggested that each mark might also represent either one cartload or one day's delivery.[35] The marks are not usually letters but consist of combinations of lines in various arrangements. As such they formed distinctive marks recognizable by illiterate workers who could have been temporarily employed to haul the blocks, either individually or by the cartload, from the quarry to the site.[36]

In summary, then, where decipherable, the Greek inscriptions were intended to convey either one of two different pieces of information. Marks might be used to indicate the location of a stone either relative to other stones, that is, in which course or which position in a course, as found in the disassembled Greek temples, or to help position heavy blocks precisely; presumably these were inscribed on the site near their intended final destination. Alternatively, there might be the name of the individual or work crew responsible for providing the stone, intended to document the right to payment; these might be inscribed in the quarry. Apparently none of these inscriptions indicated the name either of the structure itself or of a deity being invoked.

During the Roman Empire the use of ashlar masonry was replaced by brick-faced concrete, but a taste for architectural ostentation encouraged the increasingly lavish use of various colored stones as decorative veneers.[37] The exploitation of quarries on an unprecedented scale to adorn the symbols of the empire in the capital and the provinces required a new administrative approach. In essence, the Romans began to exploit distant quarries on a permanent basis in order to have an available supply of blocks and columns of standardized sizes for distribution to many sites scattered throughout the empire.[38]

Although this system was evidently in operation for several centuries, the epigraphical evidence on the stones themselves exists only for some of the most expensive colored stones and is primarily for the 2nd century.[39] In the marble quarry at Docimium in western Anatolia, teams of quarrymen (*caesurae*) delivered blocks to other work groups (*officinae*) for trimming

34. Richter 1885, pls. I (Servian Wall), II:4 (Pompeii); cf. Lugli 1957, figs. 22, 24.

35. Lugli 1957, p. 207.

36. Perhaps the extreme example is seen on the so-called *Tombeau de la Chrétienne* in Algeria, where over 200 different marks can be distinguished on the blocks in the curving walls (Christofle 1951; MacKendrick 1980, pp. 192–193); Lugli (1957, p. 204, note 1) rejected Christofle's suggestion of one workforce for each different sign because there are so many different signs and few are repeated.

37. The revolutionary architecture of the Roman concrete and bricklayers required a set of skills different from those of the traditional stonemasons. This is most visibly seen in the attachment of the Greek pedimental facade of forty-foot granite columns to the brick-faced concrete rotunda of the Pantheon. The full-scale plan of the former, recently discovered by the Tiber (Haselberger 1995), may not have been known to the builders of the rotunda, who anticipated a porch with fifty-foot columns (Davies, Hemsoll, and Wilson Jones 1987).

38. Two of the newly discovered quarry settlements currently being excavated are at ancient Mons Claudianus, where 2,000 inscribed ostraka record the names of workers (Peacock 1988), and at ancient Mons Porphyrites in the eastern desert of Egypt, both at a considerable distance from water transport via either the Nile or the Red Sea.

39. Dodge 1991, pp. 33–34.

before the stone was shipped abroad, usually in a nearly finished state. An analysis of scripts reveals that relatively few scribal hands wrote the notations in Latin for the various work teams under the quarry administrator.[40] Nonetheless, even at such a well-documented quarry as Docimium, many of the Latin abbreviations still elude interpretation.[41] Occasionally, the names, images, or symbols of the local deity would be engraved on a quarry wall to invoke protection for the workers.[42]

Thanks to studies initiated by John Ward-Perkins,[43] trade patterns between quarries and final destinations are now being documented. These indicate that for some specific projects, when the stone was not being merely stockpiled, specialist artisans traveled and brought their expertise in stone carving with them to the various construction sites. Jean-Pierre Adam illustrates examples of Corinthian capitals (at Pompeii and Palmyra) left at intermediate stages of carving and awaiting the final detailed sculpting by the most experienced senior craftsmen.[44] It would then be these master craftsmen at Leptis Magna, for example, who inscribed their Greek names around the tops of column bases, or the bottoms of capitals, after these blocks had been carved but before the masons cut mortises and lead channels into them.[45] Whether this practice reflects pride in workmanship or a claim for payment is not certain, but it was the fragile nature of Corinthian capitals that required their finishing by sculptors at the work site. Where Roman inscriptions survive, they indicate a much-increased emphasis on record keeping both in the quarries and during transport, and a need to name the officials responsible for the work.

Comparanda can be enlightening from Britain and Germany in the medieval and early modern periods, for which there is detailed documentation. In Britain documentary proof is beginning to appear that the mason's or banker-marks represented individual working masons.[46] A variation by even one stroke could indicate a different individual, though perhaps

40. Fant 1989, pp. 39–41. This conclusion is not surprising because this form of record keeping could be reliable only if the writing of the records were restricted to a few scribes. Conversely, evidence for relatively few scribes ought to support the hypothesis of a record-keeping system intended to control the inventory and payment schedules.

41. Fant (1989, pp. 17–28) identified three types (in chronological order): Type II, consisting of quarry notations that were removed before the blocks were stockpiled at Portus, as they were no longer needed there, awaiting transshipment up to Rome; Type III, a more developed system based on Type II that included the name of the procurator and/or his agent, the probator; and Type I, found only at Portus, consisting of the shipping or destination number and the responsible contractor's name, which had been added at the point of shipment; see Bruzza 1870.

42. Waelkens, de Paepe, and Moens 1988, p. 115; see also Burford 1972, pp. 168–169, 175–176.

43. Ward-Perkins 1951, 1992.

44. Adam 1994, pp. 36–37, figs. 63–67.

45. Ward-Perkins 1951, pp. 94, 103–104. In a summary of Ward-Perkins's analysis, Martin (1965, p. 223) misleadingly omits Ward-Perkins's postscript to his 1951 article, in which the second category of marks is definitely subsumed under the mason's marks of his fourth category.

46. Tyson 1994, p. 8. It is also known that a line could be added to a mark to "difference" it to indicate that the owner had been promoted to Master Mason (Tyson 1994, p. 6), or that he was the son of the previous owner of the mark, but in Britain, at least, there was no central register and the masons chose their own marks freely (Davis 1954, p. 44). Although it was a time when people knew that writing existed even if they themselves were illiterate, individuals who were sufficiently literate to sign their own name often used just an initial instead (Tyson 1994, p. 11). By contrast, in Germany in the same period, the marks became officially recognized by the guild for each individual (master) mason and were worn as badges on pendants around the neck, and were also displayed on the owner's tomb (Davis 1954, p. 43). Thus two similar contemporary systems developed in somewhat different ways on opposite sides of the Channel.

someone related. Moreover, in large projects that may have taxed local skills to the full, the marks could have been used by outsiders who were not part of the local workforce; that is, they could have served to distinguish outside masons from local masons whose remuneration system did not require such identification.[47] In these cases, itinerant and/or semiskilled laborers not well known to the local master mason were hired for the duration of the construction and signed their work, whereas the ashlar walls without marks are assumed to have been constructed by masons who were known to the master. In effect, the marks were vouchers to verify who had done how much in order that proper payment would be made, and they were meant to be seen only until the walls were plastered. The resulting walls therefore display a considerable variety of marks inscribed by the individual masons.[48] Incidentally, the double-triangle or hourglass shape, that is, the double axe in Minoan terms, is a very common mason's mark among many others.[49] These signature marks are clearly distinguished from position-marks on horizontal surfaces and carpenter's joinery.

In summary, this brief survey of mason's marks has shown that the use of setting marks was part of the tools and techniques that did not change greatly through the millennia, and that in whatever society, there was also the need of either the (Egyptian) team, the (Greek) individual, the (Roman) official, or the (medieval) outsider to have their part in the process recognized and credited. The negative evidence should also be noted: that, apart from a few quarry inscriptions clearly addressed to a locally presiding deity, none of the mason's marks on built walls seems, or has been understood, to indicate any religious symbolism.

HISTORY OF OBSERVATIONS

Now let us turn to Minoan Crete, where we have the least amount of surviving written evidence with which to contextualize the mason's marks. William James Stillman is the first person known to have observed and recorded Cretan mason's marks.[50] At Knossos in January of 1881 Minos Kalokairinos showed him the pits he had dug from December 1878 to April 1879.[51] After traveling through eastern Crete Stillman stopped again at Knossos in February and recorded the mason's marks before returning to Khania, the capital.[52] His sketches of some of the visible walls, showing

47. Cf. the usual interpretation of the separate slave teams used at Didyma, some being designated *hieros* and others not (Haussoullier 1905).

48. Coulton 1928, p. 145.

49. Tyson 1994, p. 5.

50. Stillman 1901; also *American National Biography* XX, 1999, pp. 781–782, s.v. *Stillman, William James* (D. Begg). As American consul to Crete from 1865 to 1868, he had observed and recorded the events of the Cretan Revolution of 1866 (Stillman 1874); because of his familiarity with the island and the apparent promise of support from the Ottoman governor to obtain a *firman* (permit) to excavate, he was asked by the recently founded Archaeological Institute of America to investigate possibilities for excavating and acquiring objects for the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

51. For some of Kalokairinos's sketches discovered by Katerina Kopaka, see MacGillivray 2000, illustrations following p. 88. The British Consul T. B. Sandwith had seen these pits at the end of the excavation and described the pithoi in Magazine 3 (Hood 1987a, pp. 86–89).

52. The approval of the American permission to dig at Knossos was delayed (*Report,* p. 34) or refused (Stillman 1901, p. 636) by the Ottoman authorities, possibly because of Stillman's well-known sympathies with the Cretans.

the locations of the marks, were published with extracts from two letters to the Archaeological Institute of America.[53] He described the marks as "hieroglyphs, indications for the builders, or keys to the threading of the passages,"[54] and illustrated their positions on blocks in the South Terrace Basement and on the curved corner northeast of the anteroom to the Throne Room.[55]

Heinrich Schliemann visited Knossos with Wilhelm Dörpfeld in May 1886 and recorded the double axe and star "from a large block in a corridor brought to light by Minos Kalokairinos," almost certainly in the South Terrace Basement.[56]

From his letters we know that Arthur Evans first visited Knossos on March 19, 1894, and while remembering Stillman's comments,[57] immediately copied the marks then visible, "some of which recall my hieroglyphics."[58] When he returned to the site with Federico Halbherr and Kalokairinos on March 21, he "found some more symbols. Their occurrence in twos is remarkable, and some . . . linear degenerations of symbols on the seals."[59] In his publication he included marks that Stillman had seen that were no longer visible.[60]

Lucio Mariani visited Knossos in the autumn of 1893 and recorded the same areas with their marks in his 1896 publication.[61] His sketches clarify the discrepancies between the observations of Stillman and Evans. All the marks noted by Evans, including the pairs, can be located in the South Terrace Basements. Of Stillman's signs no longer visible, one was actually the window or gate in the Terrace noted by Evans, one was on a wall since removed,[62] and the third was the branch on the anteroom corner.[63] Thus all the marks at Knossos published before 1900 can be located in the two areas of the South Terrace Basement and the Throne Room anteroom, that is, not among the magazines. This conclusion is consistent with Driessen's analysis of the remains visible before 1900.[64]

Evans's 1894 comments are of interest. "The conclusion at which I arrived was that, though there need not necessarily be any objection to describing the signs as 'masons' marks,' the marks themselves, like many others of the kind, those for example on the Phoenician walls of Eryx, are taken from a regular script and fit on in fact to the same system as the characters on the pottery and seals. . . . Here we have an important link

53. Stillman 1881.

54. Stillman 1881, p. 49.

55. Stillman 1881, pl. I, partly reprinted in Shaw 1990, fig. 2.

56. Letter from Schliemann to Max Müller dated 22 May 1886, in Meyer 1962, pp. 104–105.

57. Evans and Stillman were acquainted. Stillman was serving as Balkans correspondent for *Tzhe Times* of London when Evans met him in England to ask about himself accepting an appointment as Balkans correspondent to the *Manchester Guardian* before setting out in January 1877 (Evans 1943, p. 184; Brown 1993, p. 19). At Ragusa in June 1877, Evans met the historian Edward Augustus Freeman (Evans 1943, p. 195), whom Stillman had already met there during the winter of 1875–1876 (Stillman 1901, p. 561) and whose daughter, Margaret, Arthur Evans would marry in September 1878 (Brown 1993, pp. 25–26). In 1891, Evans bought a figure-vase full of small items said to be from a cave-tomb at Kissamos in western Crete "through the agency" of Stillman (Boardman 1961, p. 92). During the winter of 1891–1892, with Margaret in Italy, Evans met the Cretan epigraphist and traveler Federico Halbherr in Rome, where Stillman was then living.

58. Evans 1943, p. 312.

59. Evans 1943, p. 312.

60. Evans 1894c, fig. 9; see also Evans 1894a, 1894b.

61. Mariani 1896.

62. Noted by Driessen (1990, p. 30).

63. Evans 1894c, fig. 9:i, k, respectively.

64. Driessen 1990, pp. 41–43.

between the early Cretan script and that of the Peloponnese."[65] Evans's reasons for emphasizing the literate aspects of the pre-Hellenic peoples of Greece have been astutely analyzed by McEnroe.[66] At the same time, however, Evans wrote that the sign of the double axe was used "as a symbol . . . connected with the cult of Zeus Labrandeus,"[67] citing Schliemann, who made this connection based on much later numismatic evidence,[68] and bronze axes found in sacred caves.

The first group of mason's marks observed during Evans's excavations at Knossos in 1900 was that of the double axes inscribed on the pillars in the East and West Pillar Crypts.[69] When first uncovered, of course, they appeared freestanding, as the ceiling they once supported had long since disintegrated. There was a double axe incised on every visible face of every block except for those on the west face of the east pillar. What is usually less well remembered is that there was also a double axe incised on the top of each pillar,[70] now of course no longer visible. For all anyone knows, there might also have been a mark on the remaining but hidden flat surface of each block. The logical inference is that it was never intended that all (any?) of the double axe marks on these pillars remain visible, whatever their purpose. At the same time, Evans had also begun digging the magazines starting from the south, where the double axes are most prominent.

Describing the crypts in his first preliminary report, Evans noted that the

> double-axe sign is elsewhere observable on the principal gypsum jambs and corner stones of the building, and, though other signs are found, it largely preponderates over them. This great building might indeed be appropriately named "the House of the Double Axe." But this phenomenon gains additional significance from the fact that the double axe is the special emblem of the Cretan Zeus and that deposits of votive double axes of bronze have come to light in cave sanctuaries of the God both on Ida and Dikta. . . . The "House of the Double Axe" was doubtless a Palace, but it was dedicated in a special way to the chief indigenous divinity. In the pillars on which this symbol is so continuously repeated, we may even recognize the actual baetylic form of the divinity.[71]

There is clearly an early emphasis on the prevalence of the double axe signs at Knossos, as well as a discernible progression from Stillman's "hieroglyphs, indications for the builders, or keys to the threading of the passages" in 1881, through Evans's perception of syllabic and religious symbolism in 1894, to apparent evidence for religious significance in 1900.

Evans published the detailed exposition of his religious interpretation in 1901 in "The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult,"[72] citing the discussion of pillars animistically imbued with spirits in *Primitive Culture* by Edward Tylor,[73] a friend of Evans's father. Evans was impressed not only with literary evidence for early Greek worship of aniconic stone pillars and with Biblical evidence for Semitic worship of baetyls, but also and possibly even more by his own experience in Macedonia.[74] He had witnessed a Moslem ritual of which the centerpiece was a pillar 6 1/2 ft high and 1 1/4 ft square supporting a similar but smaller block. Candles were placed on a sunken

65. Evans 1894c, pp. 282–283.

66. McEnroe 1995. I have emended this orthography from the cited article, throughout which the author's name is misspelled as MacEnroe.

67. Evans 1894c, p. 304.

68. Schliemann 1880, pp. 252–254, 354, fig. 530.

69. Mackenzie 1900, 25–30 April.

70. Evans 1899–1900, p. 32.

71. Evans 1899–1900, pp. 32–34, referring to Hogarth's article on the Dictaian Cave in the same issue of the *BSA*. Schliemann had also associated the double axe with "Labrandian Jove" based on numismatic evidence (Schliemann 1880, pp. 252–254). Baetyls are stone pillars inhabited by spirits.

72. Evans 1901.

73. Tylor 1871.

74. Evans 1901, pp. 200–204. The date of this seminal event is not yet certain. After his expulsion from Austrian territory in 1882, Evans toured through Macedonia in the spring of 1883, leaving his wife Margaret in Salonika (Evans 1943, p. 264). For this trip, see Evans 1885. I thank Antony Hopkins, Librarian at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College, London, for the information that Evans's sketchbooks for 1883 contain no dates.

stone slab behind the pillar and in front the votary stood on a stone base to anoint the pillar, to embrace it, and to wrap it with clothing taken from the participants who would sleep in the next room in the hope that the spirit would influence their dreams. Around the pillar the floor was strewn with fleeces of sacrificed rams and the walls were covered with suspended triangles of woven grains intended to entice the beneficent spirit into the animals and crops.

In 1894 Evans had obtained a ring and a stone vase fragment carved in relief,[75] both depicting what he interpreted by 1896 as baetyls near sacred trees.[76] The visual similarity of the newly exposed Minoan pillars to the Moslem one impressed Evans more than the structural difference: the baetylic pillars of the ancient and modern world were all freestanding and nonsupporting, whereas the Minoan pillars were once all weight-bearing structural elements in basement rooms, even if no longer appearing so. To Evans the signs became imbued with added religious significance from their architectural context.

In an article on "The Double Axe and the Labyrinth," also in the 1901 issue of the *JHS,* W. H. D. Rouse, who was about to publish his monograph *Greek Votive Offerings,* reacted against Evans's hasty interpretation, rigorously criticizing Evans's theories and interpretations for lack of supporting evidence. Specifically, the double axe was not the "symbol" of Zeus, for whom the only distinctive attribute was the thunderbolt; the double axe was a weapon of war employed in Anatolia by a variety of deities including Zeus, as well as by Amazons. There was no evidence at Knossos for Zeus, only for a goddess. The classical Greeks did not worship attributes of deities nor did they dedicate them to the respective deities. If the double axe sign had a religious significance, should not the other marks as well? Similarly, since the axes found in the Dictaian Cave formed a very small part of the total finds, there was no archaeological reason to select them as representing a divinity any more than any of the other types of finds. "No one would have dreamt of canonizing that particular pillar but for the significance attached to the axes carved upon it." He concluded that since "Crete has ninety-eight cities left to explore, it is too soon to explain everything."[77] It might be added that the dedication of an object to a deity does not necessarily make that item any more a sacred symbol of that deity than a lock of hair would be.

To the criticism that the pillars at Knossos clearly had a structural function and were not freestanding, Evans's only explicit response was in a lengthy footnote in the preliminary report for the following year: "The function of supporting does not necessarily conflict with the view that pillars of the double axes were of a consecrated nature"; he stressed the preponderance of the double axe representations among those at Knossos and "the fact that several of the most constantly recurring among these signs, such as the star, the trident, the branch, the cross, and the sistrum (?), are also traditionally associated with various divinities."The palace at Phaistos could have been another House of Double Axes, possibly called the Labyrinth since there was one at Gortyna. He concluded: "I have purposely reserved a fuller discussion of the signs on the Knossian blocks till the evidence is complete."[78] He would, however, implicitly adapt the point of

75. *PM* I, pp. 159–163; Brown 1993, p. 40.
76. Evans 1896.
77. Rouse 1901.
78. Evans 1900–1901, p. 22, note 1.

the criticism by accepting the structural function of the pillar while continuing to stress the religious nature of a columned room built above the pillar crypt.

Adolphe Reinach emphasized that because there were so many variations of the types of mason's marks, they should not represent religious symbols but rather alphabetic signs.[79] Agreeing with Rouse, Ronald Burrows noted ironically that Evans's first interpretation was correct, that all the signs, including the double axe, were "alphabetic in value, and architectural in function."[80] Thus the foundations for future debate were laid, and by Evans, but the promised "fuller discussion" based on all the evidence never appeared.

Harriet Boyd-Hawes, who discovered only one mark at Gournia, wrote that it was probable "that such signs as the double-axe and the trident had a secular meaning associated with a family, clan, or class, whence various usages might arise, in accordance with which masons would carve either their own mark on the stone, or the mark of the person for whom the stone was cut."[81] Luigi Pernier and Fernand Chapouthier, who excavated the palaces at Phaistos and Mallia, respectively, both believed that the marks, except for the double axes on the pillars, were created by groups of workers,[82] a conclusion shared by J. D. S. Pendlebury, who had excavated an entrance with mason's marks at Amarna.[83] Martin Nilsson, after considering all the available evidence for Minoan-Mycenaean religion, preferred to believe in the purely secular character of both the signs and the pillars,[84] as also did Rene Dussaud.[85]

Reacting against Nilsson's secular interpretation, Nicholas Platon, in an influential article, examined all the crypts, including some without pillars, and concluded that they were used for rituals for the offering of sacrifices and libations.[86] Both J. Walter Graham and Joseph Shaw accepted the possibility of a religious significance for the double-axe marks on the pillars, but were wisely cautious in preferring to leave the matter open.[87] Yannis Sakellarakis, in a brief but comprehensive survey article, was convinced by the inscribed altar base at Mallia that the marks could be only religious, with the probability also of their having an alphabetic value.[88] Bogdan Rutkowski rejected the religious significance of pillars but accepted a religious or apotropaic significance for the signs based on the small number of their types and the Mallia altar.[89] Geraldine Gesell concluded that the double axe signs were probably used for "ritual strengthening against earthquakes," comparing them to the double axes inserted into the wooden columns depicted on a Knossos fresco.[90] Sinclair Hood, who has studied the Knossos marks most closely, also believes that the written signs embodied magical powers.[91] There has, then, been a noticeable shift from the secular interpretations held by all the early excavators except Evans to the more religious interpretations of scholars in the latter half of the 20th century; if anything, Evans's influence has increased.[92] In contrast, Jan Driessen does accept the possibility of guilds of itinerant masons who may have traveled from one site to another, in order to account for architectural similarities; he even wonders "whether the masons marks may not be indicative of this situation, that is, defining the ashlar or a batch of ashlar worked by a particular guild."[93]

79. Reinach 1905. As Petrie (1912, p. 5) noted in discussing non-Phoenician signs, "we have to deal with a signary, not an alphabet. The alphabetic stage of signs was probably not reached till about 1000 B.C."

80. Burrows 1907, pp. 111–112.

81. Boyd-Hawes 1911, p. 138.

82. Pernier 1935, pp. 413–415; *ÉtCrét* 2, p. 84.

83. Pendlebury 1939, p. 119.

84. Nilsson 1950, pp. 247–248.

85. Dussaud 1914, pp. 350–351.

86. Platon 1954, pp. 480–483.

87. Graham 1969, p. 155; Shaw 1973, p. 111.

88. Sakellarakis 1967, p. 288.

89. Rutkowski 1986, pp. 41–42.

90. Gesell 1985, p. 35.

91. Hood 1987b, p. 210.

92. For a recent discussion of pillar crypts that offers a religious interpretation, see Marinatos 1993, pp. 87–98.

93. Driessen 1989–1990, pp. 20–21.

CHRONOLOGY

The earliest signs at Knossos, which form a distinctive group by themselves, are engraved on the top or bottom surfaces of blocks. Evans did distinguish these while discussing the MM I foundation and terrace walls around the palace. "The signs are always incised on the upper or lower surfaces of the slabs, often left very rough, and they could not have been intended to be visible to the eye."[94] Of the thirty-three such marks he observed, many appear to be variations of motifs that consist of combinations of mostly straight lines, as seen on Evans's and Pernier's charts.[95] According to Hood, "some foundation blocks of the First Palace at Knossos with early signs on their upper surface had the same or a different sign carved on their lower surface."[96] One obvious explanation for this placement of deeply engraved signs could be so that, once the blocks were in place, the signs would not be seen; also, both the top and bottom surfaces would have been chiseled flat, an indication of the presence of masons.

Deeply cut marks are also found on the MM II drains in the East Wing at Knossos.[97] A large "Protopalatial" mark, an eight-pointed star, was deeply carved apparently on the horizontal surface of a block in a wall at the Protopalatial site of Monastiraki.[98]

Evans was prone to impose theories of evolutionary progress on evidence.[99] For example, just as his father, John Evans, had created a chronological typology of unstratified flints according to the manufacturing technique employed,[100] Arthur suggested after his first visit to Crete in 1894, and before any stratified excavations, that the pictographic script had been conventionalized into a hieroglyphic script that in turn evolved into a linear script, based on his theoretical typology.[101] By 1897 he reversed the assumed evolutionary direction from linear to hieroglyphic,[102] but in 1903 he returned to his original suggestion of the pictographic script evolving into the linear.[103]

In 1904 Evans excavated what remained of the Royal Tomb at Isopata. Several mason's marks, especially double axes, were incised on the ashlar limestone walls, but one block, presumed to be the coping stone of the central niche, was inscribed with four different signs: branch, double axe, trident, and wheel.[104] He noted that the "signs of the earliest period are as a rule large and broadly cut, like those in the block described above from a grave at Zafer Papoura. Those of the intermediate age show more or less transitional types, while the latest class are of smaller dimensions and finer incision."[105] Using among other criteria this diachronic typology of mason's marks, he dated the tomb to MM III.[106] He was so convinced of the reliability of his schema that he believed deeply cut marks "belong to a class of signs which in the later Palace are seen only on reused blocks"[107] After Claude Schaeffer's discovery of a series of architecturally comparable 14th- and 13th-century ashlar keel-vaulted tombs at Ugarit, however, Evans redated the Isopata tomb without comment to LM II.[108] Whether the construction of this tomb should be dated to LM I on the basis of its LM I seal impressions and the LH IIA date for the parallel group of Egyptian objects in Mycenae Tomb 102,[109] or to LM II from the earliest surviving pottery, with the stylistically earlier stone lamps and Egyptian vessels

94. *PM* I, p. 133.

95. *PM* I, fig. 99; Pernier 1902, fig. 24.

96. Hood 1987b, p. 208.

97. Macdonald and Driessen 1988, esp. pp. 254–255, 258.

98. Matz 1951, p. 37, pl. 33:2.

99. For an excellent historical and theoretical contextualization of Evans's writings, see McEnroe 1995. Boyd-Hawes's role in Evans's creation of the tripartite ceramic typology has been underappreciated; see *American National Biography* X, 1999, pp. 338–339, s.v. *Hawes, Harriet Ann Boyd* (D. Begg).

100. Evans 1872.

101. Evans 1894c.

102. Evans 1897, pp. 394–395.

103. Evans 1903.

104. Evans 1906b, fig. 146.

105. Evans 1906b, p. 166.

106. Evans 1906b, p. 170.

107. Evans 1906a, p. 13, note b.

108. *PM* IV, p. 774.

109. See most recently the discussion in Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 170.

considered as heirlooms, awaits further study. Tomb 1 at Isopata, also keel-vaulted, had a trident incised on a slab in its cist; this tomb is dated no earlier than LM II.[110]

Evans's proposed diachronic evolution of the size and depth of mason's marks has been very convenient, even to the point of enabling the existence of Protopalatial structures to be conjectured merely from the "Protopalatial style" of marks found on supposedly reused blocks in Neopalatial walls,[111] but a reliable stylistic chronological succession remains to be demonstrated, particularly for the latest usage of both the supposedly "Protopalatial" deeply engraved marks and the more lightly incised marks. For example, at Phaistos the largest, most deeply engraved, and supposedly oldest signs are mostly on horizontal surfaces,[112] but the horizontal marks on walls in rooms 49 and 55 around Corridor 56 may be among the latest, in light of the uncertain construction date of these walls. Similarly, in room LXXI south of the palace, Doro Levi found a deeply engraved trident and a star on two blocks used to fill a Neopalatial doorway that itself was formed with a block bearing a lightly incised branch; he assigned the deeply engraved blocks to the protopalace.[113]

At Mallia, most though not all of the deeply engraved signs are located on *lits d'attente,* while the lightly incised signs, mostly branches, are all on vertical faces.[114] The horizontal marks, however, are on walls in the northern part of the west wing that are now dated to the Neopalatial period.[115] It is easy to suggest that these marks were engraved in the Protopalatial period on blocks that were later reused, merely because the types of marks (double axes, *bras levés*, and compound signs) appear to us to be so intermingled as though reused,[116] but, if not reused, they might be the latest example of engraving on horizontal surfaces.

Some of the largest deeply engraved vertical marks are found on the gypsum antae of the magazines in the west wing at Phaistos, and this wing is now dated LM I.[117] A deeply incised trident in the "Complesso della Mazza di Breccia" at Ayia Triada is assigned to the second Neopalatial phase.[118] Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier's convenient summary of various test pits dug in and around the palace at Knossos indicates that most of its walls, that is, those considered by Evans, were constructed after the MM IIIB/LM IA transition.[119] It may well be that the blocks with marks were reused from the Protopalatial period (Mallia?), or it is conceivable that in some cases marks might have been engraved on large polygonal blocks in damaged Protopalatial walls about to be demolished in order to ensure their being reused in the same areas (Knossos?), but this is entirely hypothetical.

The other possibility is that the marks were engraved when the walls were being constructed, sometime after the MM III/LM IA transition. Thus, unless there is additional supporting evidence to indicate the existence of Protopalatial remains, the style of the mason's mark by itself is not sufficient evidence on which to conjecture the existence of structures. Indeed, few deeply engraved horizontal marks on any walls now dated Protopalatial have been observed and published. The phrase easily overlooked in Hood's very reasonable conclusion that "the largest were in general the earliest, the smallest and most finely cut the latest"[120] is "in general."

110. For a good summary of the possible origins and dating problems of this type of tomb in Mycenae, Crete, and Syria, see Davaras 1984.

111. Evans 1906a, p. 13; Cucuzza 1991, p. 59; Sakellarakis 1967, esp. p. 286.

112. Pernier 1935, pp. 400–406, passim.

113. Levi 1976, pp. 430–431, pl. AA.

114. *ÉtCrét* 2, pp. 82–83; see also Olivier 1980, passim.

115. At least planned if not built in MM III–LM IA, (re)built in LM IA, and later repaired and remodeled, according to the most recent examination of the evidence by Driessen and Macdonald (1997, p. 182).

116. *ÉtCrét* 25, foldout plan; cf. *ÉtCrét* 19, plan III.

117. Carinci 1989, esp. p. 78; Warren and Hankey 1989, p. 122, note 24.

118. Cucuzza 1991, p. 59.

119. Niemeier 1994. This would explain why there is no discernible structural difference between Evans's stylistically Protopalatial and Neopalatial walls (Shaw 1973, pp. 98–99).

120. Hood 1987b, p. 205.

Ashlar blocks were used extensively around Knossos for the newly popular types of spaces such as pillar rooms and light wells,[121] but they share with blocks inserted in the walls a smoothly chiseled face. The walls of smoothly chiseled[122] ashlar blocks on which marks were lightly incised are found in upper-class structures throughout central and eastern Crete. They appear not to date before LM IA and are therefore Late Minoan.

There is another significant distinction in addition to the placement and depth of an engraving. The marks of the later variety, incised vertically and lightly in the Neopalatial period, comprise relatively few types that appear more standardized than the horizontal variety. They represent symbols incised in a similar fashion from one site to another, although in varying proportions of types at each site. The types are readily distinguished from one another with scarcely any variations (although our identifications or names for them might well not correspond to those of the Minoans): double axes, stars, gates, branches, tridents, crosses, distaffs, boxes, and *bras levés*. Whether it might be possible to identify distinctive "hands" with each or any of these types of signs and correlate them with the chiseling marks is not yet known. The changes, both in the standardization of the signs and in their vertical placement, suggest that some development in their usage from the old palaces was under way by the Neopalatial period. Whether they were incised on inserted or ashlar blocks probably depended upon the proximity and availability of quarried stone.

There is a stylistically transitional phase at Phaistos and Mallia in which signs of both types could be engraved on the top, and possibly bottom, surface of a block. Perhaps in the same phase they could be incised on the vertical faces of blocks inserted into walls. In their placement and style these engravings should correspond chronologically to those on the blocks inserted in the walls of the West Magazines at Knossos, including those inscribed on their back sides in the outer west wall.

Until recently there has been a consensus, or at least an unchallenged acceptance, based on Duncan Mackenzie's observations regarding the early building phases of the West Magazines at Knossos.[123] With the removal of the Protopalatial debris and the leveling of the soil down to Neolithic levels, the West Magazines were constructed with the large gypsum antae, and large blocks that may or may not have been reused from the protopalace were immured within the magazine walls. In the second phase, gypsum was used extensively to pave floors, and to furnish dadoes and jamb bases to narrow the entrances to Magazines 6–13. In the third phase, after an extensive fire that blackened much of this gypsum, the damaged dadoes were removed and the magazine doorways returned to their original width.

In a 1964 footnote, however, Stylianos Alexiou wrote: "This account is too complicated to be convincing. I find it simpler to accept that the [lower] gypsum door jambs are older."[124] Following Alexiou's suggestion, Anton Boskamp has recently attempted to reverse the first two phases. This would require the enormous gypsum antae to be set in place behind their thin gypsum dadoes in the Long Gallery.[125] Driessen and Macdonald have also accepted Alexiou's suggestion, writing that it "appears more correct" but without any discussion of the evidence on which Mackenzie and Evans based their sequence.[126] In the entrance to Magazine 8 the gypsum

121. For a discussion of Neopalatial renovations, see Driessen 1982.

122. Shaw 1973, p. 59.

123. Mackenzie 1904, pp. 50–51; Evans 1903–1904, pp. 34–39; Begg 1975, pp. 166–175; Hallager 1977, pp. 40–41, citing Evans; Driessen 1990, pp. 117–118; *ÉtCrét* 29, pp. 154–161.

124. Alexiou 1964, p. 156; n.d., p. 34, note 8.

125. Boskamp 1997.

126. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, pp. 140–141.

jamb bases projected out into the Long Gallery to a point in line with the gypsum dado slabs there, and therefore the gypsum bases and dadoes should be part of the same structural phase. Evans also observed that the wall with a doorway closing the Long Gallery at the south end was built onto the north anta of Magazine 3, and he associated this wall with the second phase, when the gypsum jamb bases were inserted.[127] Therefore, until more evidence is adduced, the antae with their engraved mason's marks should be regarded as belonging to the first phase, which was followed by the application of the gypsum dadoes upon the magazine walls and antae. Accordingly, the marks in the West Wing appear to have been engraved on MM III/LM I walls before they were covered, possibly in LM I, by the gypsum dadoes.[128]

In the 1987 tests around the Throne Room complex, Don Evely and Vasso Fotou identified three successive phases of construction, "the earliest being associated with a series of colored (predominantly orange-red) plaster floors. This was succeeded in Middle Minoan III or Late Minoan I by a phase with sumptuous gypsum floors and dadoes. The latest phase with floors of plain white plaster followed a major fire and was marked by substantial changes of plan in the area."[129] It is not unlikely that the same causes could necessitate simultaneous remodeling both in the West Magazines and around the Throne Room complex. The lavish use of gypsum for floors, dadoes, and kaselles in the magazines during the second phase might be independently, though circumstantially, dated by the sumptuous use of gypsum floors and dadoes during the second phase of the Throne Room complex, in MM IIIB or LM IA. The mason's marks no longer would have been visible during this phase, nor in the subsequent phase when the fire-blackened dadoes were removed and replaced with plaster. Similarly, recent analyses have emphasized the extent of LM IA construction throughout the palace, including the areas with mason's marks such as the North Entrance Passage, the North Pillar Crypt, and the Residential Quarter.[130]

At Phaistos the magazine antae with the large and deeply incised marks are dated LM I,[131] and at Ayia Triada the construction of the villas is dated to the transitional MM IIIB/LM IA period.[132] The magazines of Phaistos 33 and Ayia Triada 8 provide the best examples of how the contemporary West Magazines at Knossos might have appeared after they were similarly outfitted with gypsum dadoes and an elevated walkway above the kaselles.[133]

The strongest evidence so far for the continuation of the practice of incising marks in stone on Crete after LM IB is to be found on the circular platforms excavated by Warren at Knossos. Z-shaped marks were lightly scratched into twelve of the forty-eight surviving ashlar blocks around the largest of the platforms. Warren dates their construction toward the end of LM II.[134] Like many Neopalatial ashlar walls bearing only one type of sign, the signs here are similarly uniform; evidence for continuity combined with change, as opposed to a complete cultural break between LM I and LM III, appears characteristic of Final Palatial Knossos.[135] Another possible, though not certain, example of late work is the double axe incised twice on the "Piazzale dei Sacelli" at Ayia Triada, dated to LM IIIA2.[136] At Mallia, the "Batiment Oblique" was constructed in LM III with ashlar

127. Evans 1903–1904, pp. 36–37, fig. 12 = *PM* I, fig. 331.

128. This sequence is also supported by the sherds reported by Mackenzie under the West Court paving slab inscribed with a star; according to Momigliano 1992, pp. 172–173, the latest sherds are MM IIIB/LM IA.

129. Catling 1986–1987, p. 27.

130. Niemeier 1994, p. 83; Driessen and Macdonald 1997, pp. 142–148.

131. Carinci 1989, esp. p. 78; Warren and Hankey 1889, p. 122, note 24.

132. Cucuzza 1991, p. 58.

133. Pernier and Banti 1951, fig. 45; Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1977, esp. p. 136, fig. 89.

134. Warren 1984, esp. p. 317.

135. Begg 1987.

136. Cucuzza 1991, pp. 57, 59.

blocks incised with branches all pointing in the same direction. The possibility may no longer be excluded that either or both of these were incised when the blocks were put in place in LM III.[137]

If the Knossos platforms were inscribed as late as LM II, then the presence of mason's marks on the walls of the inscribed tholos tomb at Kephala can no longer be used alone to support an early date for its construction.[138] The two earliest known of the series of keel-vaulted tombs on Crete have mason's marks: the Royal Tomb and Tomb 1 at Isopata;[139] the former has been dated from MM III to LM II, and the latter no earlier than LM II. The traditional argument that the blocks with these marks were reused and are out of their original context is based on the unproved assumption that no marks were incised after LM I. Similarly, the mason's marks incised on a cover slab of a shaft grave in the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos were ascribed by Evans to "older constructions" and a period "long anterior to that of the grave which the block had helped to cover."[140] Hood also described a similar shaft grave at Knossos as "presumably Late Minoan, and perhaps early rather than late in the period. The cover slabs may well be old building blocks, and they and the 'branch' sign carved on one of them may therefore be considerably earlier than the grave."[141]

It is accordingly possible that the mason's marks on the mainland,[142] for example the entrance blocks inscribed with a double axe and a branch on the tholos tomb at Peristeria,[143] may have conveyed to the Mycenaeans more significance than did heirlooms or loot: the very few mason's marks reported on the Greek mainland, even though mostly out of context, conform to the standardized types used in LM Crete, that is, the trident, the branch, and the double axe.[144]

137. Farnoux and Driessen 1991; see also Driessen and Farnoux 1994.

138. Hutchinson 1956; Pelon 1976, pp. 419–423. Hood (1997, p. 116) accepts the possibility of a LM II date for the Kephala tholos tomb and its inscription.

139. Evans 1906b; 1914, pp. 6–13.

140. Evans 1906a, p. 13.

141. Hood 1958–1959.

142. Vermeule 1972, fig 6.

143. Pelon 1976, pp. 207–209.

144. Hood 1984, p. 36.

145. For the distinction between polite and vernacular architecture in the Cretan context, see McEnroe 1990, pp. 195–202.

146. Hood (1987b, p. 205) has enumerated over 750 marks in the palace at Knossos, more than 220 at Phaistos and over 130 in the palace at Mallia.

147. Hood 1987b, p. 208.

148. Hood 1987b, p. 211.

DISTRIBUTIONS

Vernacular architecture on Crete[145] includes no mason's marks, while villas may have a few and the palaces a few hundred each.[146] Even though these latter are the types of structures that would seem most likely to have been designed by architects and are the most likely to have incorporated blocks cut by stonemasons, it was primarily the buildings in central Crete that were so favored with marks, there being far fewer ashlar walls and mason's marks in the east. Many analyses or publications of mason's marks arrange them by types supposedly corresponding to signs occurring with different frequencies in either the hieroglyphic or Linear A scripts. Discussing the earliest signs at Knossos, Hood observed that "such ligatures of composite signs are also a feature of the early linear scripts of Crete";[147] Thomas Palaima, however, has noted that "the potter's marks have an astonishing similarity with the mason's marks" and that "they have no connection whatsoever with writing."[148] Indeed, mason's marks await a serious analysis comparing them with scripts and marks on pots, ingots, and weights not only on Crete but in the surrounding lands as well.

Although mason's marks occur in all types of rooms, they are most frequently found incised on the walls of storerooms, especially magazines,

and on walls of ashlar masonry such as those of light wells.[149] Both magazines and ashlar rooms are located on ground floors structurally likely to support rooms on upper floors. They are seldom found in polythyra, lustral basins, bench sanctuaries, or rooms west of central courts (these are seldom constructed of ashlar blocks). Most pillars and pillar crypts were not incised with mason's marks. Their purpose remains unclear because no distinctive correlations have appeared between the types of signs and the functions of the rooms containing them. For example, of ten occurrences of the trident at Phaistos, seven are either on or near water conduits, but, of twenty-four rooms with tridents on Crete, there seem so far to be no common elements, perhaps because there were no finds reported in most of these rooms.

There are, however, groups of rooms, particularly at Knossos, where only one type of mark was incised on the ashlar blocks, such as the well known double axes in the light well of the eponymous hall,[150] arrows on the grand staircase,[151] and mostly tridents on the North Entrance Passage.[152] At other sites, however, a mixture of sign types can be seen on a wall. The clusters at Knossos consist only of the Neopalatial variety of signs.

The inscribed stone altar that was found in a small shrine at the south end of the palace at Mallia is often adduced to support a religious interpretation of mason's marks; there is now, however, additional evidence concerning the altar's context. Apart from the west magazines and the residential area, the star predominates in most of the remainder of the west wing, being found in Quartier IV, the pillar crypt, and the south end.[153] From the wall south of Quartier XX, five of the eight marks incised on walls are stars. More significantly, the supporting pillar in Silo 2 bore a simple cross on its south side and a star on its east side.[154] These are the same two signs lightly incised on the altar found in room XVIII 1,[155] Gesell's South Bench Sanctuary complex.[156] Oliver Pelon has clarified the details of this altar: the cross was on its south side when first discovered, the star was on its east side, and the other two sides were not engraved.[157] As Pelon observed, the use of the simple cross was exceptional at Mallia,[158] these being the only two examples.

For the same two marks, one type being rare, to be juxtaposed in the identical orientation, despite the numerous other possibilities, on two separate yet proximate stones is beyond coincidence. Moreover, the stones are

149. Of 73 rooms with mason's marks that were abandoned or destroyed in LM I, there are 43 at Phaistos, 2 at Tylissos, 1 at Nirou Khani, 17 at Mallia, 1 at Gournia, 8 at Kato Zakros, (3–6 in the palace), and 1 at Thera (Marinatos 1970, p. 51); there are 57–60 in all the palaces, including 12 storerooms, 8 arteries, 7 courts, 1 hall, 2 religious rooms, and 13 with ashlar masonry. Of at least 50 rooms at Knossos with mason's marks, excluding the tombs, there are 41 in the palace, 19 storerooms including 14 magazines, 3 arteries, 3 courts, 2 halls, and 9 with ashlar masonry. There is also a mason's mark on a block from a rescue dig at Khania.

150. *PM* III, fig. 225.

151. *PM* I, fig. 247.

152. *PM* III, fig. 114.

153. *ÉtCrét* 25, plan 30.

154. *ÉtCrét* 12, pls. XXI:3 and XXII:1, 2.

155. *ÉtCrét* 12, fig. 2, pls. XVI–XVIII.

156. Gesell 1985, no. 74.

157. *ÉtCrét* 25, p. 218, note 1; if van Effenterre's observation (1980, p. 446, note 72) that there was a star on each of the other two sides of the altar were correct, the remarkable coincidence would be increased, but Pelon has rejected this assertion as unverified (Pelon 1982, p. 71). He repeated his observation in Pelon 1984, pp. 61–79.

158. *ÉtCrét* 25, p. 224.

in an east–west alignment.[159] The conclusion seems inescapable that the sanctuary was somehow linked functionally and conceptually with the granary complex.[160] It has been noted that the suites of ground-floor rooms in the south wing at Mallia are not mutually accessible, but there is evidence for stairways to the upper floor, where the room plans and their interconnections are unknown.

Another implication of this interpretation is that this altar no longer constitutes quite as cogent an argument in favor of the religious use of mason's marks per se.[161] It is theoretically possible that the simple cross and star were lightly incised on the altar to denote its belonging to the granary complex at the south end of the west wing, and to indicate its intended orientation—identical to that of the presumably unseen pillar under the floor of Silo 2. To speculate further, if Pelon is correct in his suggestion that this sanctuary was originally in rooms XVIII 6–7 before it was moved to rooms XVIII 1–4,[162] incising the sides of the altar in this fashion would preserve its orientation during the move. This is not so much to reject the religious symbolism of the signs here as to suggest that another interpretation is possible.

CONCLUSIONS

To summarize, in the Neopalatial period a standardized set of a few relatively recognizable symbols became widely used on Crete, at least in the palaces and some of the villas, and these were lightly incised on the vertical faces of ashlar blocks. This usage more or less supplanted that of the earlier, more deeply engraved, and greater variety of combinations of lines, but the latest period of use for both sets is not certain. The blocks were incised with marks probably at the work site and clearly before the blocks were set into position. It was never intended that the horizontal signs be seen, and the same may well be true for the vertical signs on both inserted and ashlar blocks; the latter were placed both in dark pillar rooms as well as light wells, and there is evidence that all of them might have been covered, at least partly, with either plaster or gypsum dadoes.

In a figurative sense the signs are like the words of a language whose grammar or syntax is provided by the contexts of the signs. In this regard, for the later set there are fewer than a dozen different words in about a thousand inscriptions, and we have to examine the latter to interpret the former. Moreover, at least one of the signs had a variety of usages. As Loeta Tyree noted in her study of Cretan sacred caves, "the significance of the double axe varied in different cult places," even within Neopalatial caves.[163] A notable usage observed at the Psychro cave was the insertion of votive bronze axe blades and other blades into the stalactites,[164] a phenomenon illustrated also at Knossos, where fresco fragments from the West Wing show white double axes inserted into the upper part of wooden columns.[165] These axes and tools were dedicatory offerings inserted into the stalactites and columns after the creation of these structures and left behind after the ritual. The double axe marks, however, were inscribed by masons shortly before the erection of the ashlar blocks and would seem

159. As can be seen in van Effenterre 1980, p. 445, fig. 600.

160. Regarding Roman granaries, Rickman (1971, p. 312) noted that "horrea were particularly exposed to three great dangers—fire, pestilence and robbery"; the Romans therefore made dedications to Hercules or to the protective Genius of the building. The Minoans might well have had similar motives for warding off evil or invoking the protection of the grain in the silos by their deity in Sanctuary XVIII 1, identified as female by van Effenterre (1980, pp. 380–382, 446).

161. Sakellarakis 1967, pp. 287–288.

162. *ÉtCrét* 25, p. 221.

163. Tyree 1974, p. 93.

164. Hogarth 1899–1900, p. 100.

165. *PM* I, pp. 443–447. These fragments were stylistically dated to LM II/IIIA by Cameron (1975, pp. 428–430).

unlikely offerings, especially those that were partly cut away. So here at least we may be dealing with a symbol whose significance can vary depending upon the context.

Furthermore, in the Neopalatial period there are only about ten signs in use, too few for a syllabary, an alphabet, or names of individuals. An economical proposal to account for the number of mason's marks would be a system of associations or groups of workers[166] who were permanently organized on a standing basis and who were called upon to provide the required labor, either in a corvée system or by their own decision. The identity of these groups could be symbolized by their distinctive marks. Each group could have provided the material from start to finish in a vertically integrated system. Members of the groups operated throughout Neopalatial Crete, where they sometimes contributed work to other upper-class structures having ashlar walls, such as villas. At the various sites the relative proportions of the various groups might have varied, with the trident club being most active at Phaistos, for example. The groups represent an aspect of Minoan social organization not necessarily found on the Mycenaean mainland.

After the faces of the blocks were chiseled smooth, the marks were incised by or on behalf of the mason who chiseled the face with the knowledge of which walls the blocks would be used for but not precisely how each block would fit together. Where we see clear clusters of distinctive marks, each group had its selected area of the palace or villa to construct.[167] That the boundaries of some areas were clearly delineated by marks indicates the time and care with which these particular areas were planned and built, whereas other areas displaying a mixture of marks on the same wall saw the involvement of more than one association of workers, and perhaps for these areas less time for construction meant they could not be built in a similarly organized fashion. The signs assert a collective claim to the creation or ownership of workmanship, either for payment or to commemorate what that particular team had accomplished, in the manner of the signs on the blocks deep inside the pyramid of Khufu. Their use was either temporary if intended to document payment or permanent if commemorative. If the Protopalatial signs served a similar purpose, a strong possibility given the comparative evidence, then the explanation for their different appearance might lie in the nature or organization of the groups engraving them.[168]

Whatever occurrences contributed to the demise of the Neopalatial age, the construction of buildings such as the Unexplored Mansion was abandoned in progress. When new construction resumed on Crete in LM III, the social structure no longer provided for inscribed mason's marks on any buildings except possibly those around Knossos, where a new mark, possibly symbolic of a new group, was added to Warren's circles.[169]

Whether or not the foregoing hypothesis be accepted entirely, in part, or not at all, the mere fact of its plausibility may encourage others to question the more widespread opinion current today. It is a truism in archaeology that religious interpretations are often assigned to artifacts that are otherwise as yet inexplicable; mason's marks would appear to be particularly susceptible to such interpretations. Any magical purpose would seem

166. As suggested long ago by Boyd-Hawes, Pernier, Chapouthier and Pendlebury, and more recently by Driessen.

167. In these cases of clearly defined clusters of marks, we can obtain a glimpse of how the Minoan designers conceived the constituent parts of the palaces.

168. Therefore, for the reasons stated above, on the likelihood of itinerant masons I am inclined to agree with Driessen, who arrived at the same conclusion based mainly on the architectural evidence.

169. See note 134. It is dangerous to make suggestions lest they be considered as anything more than speculations. To soar high with Ikaros on this flight of fancy and risk the collapse of supports, it could be added that these groups might have functioned in a fashion comparable to much later social orders such as the hetaireia or phylai of classical Crete. There is epigraphical evidence for the existence of several phylai, some supposedly pre-Dorian, at each ancient city-state on Crete, a millennium after the inscribing of our marks (Jones 1987, p. 221).

invalidated by the trimming of some signs and by the permanent covering up of many others. The indelible image emphasized by Evans of the two inscribed pillars at Knossos is atypical in more ways than one. If the marks generally had some religious meaning, then that meaning or its use would appear to have been restricted to the polite society in upper-class buildings in central Crete; even so, the villa users there would have derived considerably less benefit than those more religious souls in the palaces. If it were the intent of the engravers of the marks to endow the blocks with strength and ward off the effects of the earthquake deity, then why did they not so engrave all the blocks with such signs? We need to bear in mind that the parameters and terms for this debate were established by Evans, and his vision, through which we have ever since imagined the Minoans, might be an impediment to more insightful interpretations. The growing trend to interpret mason's marks as apotropaic prophylactics intended to ward off evil spirits or the earthquake god, or as magical devices to imbue the walls and pillars with strength, might also have merit, but without supporting evidence it risks becoming a modern myth uncritically embedded in the literature.

Figuratively speaking, the language of the signs as discussed by Hood might have a significance different from the hypothesis offered here or be more complex than a single explanation. The signs have revealed to us a glimpse not only of Evans's priorities but also, perhaps, of the priorities of the Minoan architects. Until Hood's corpus of marks at Knossos is published, this essay can be only a report of work in progress. The physical remains of Evans's reconstitutions at Knossos may be easier for us to "deconstruct" than the mental construct created by his vision. We should, however, try to proceed beyond the discourse established by Evans and consider the evidence with an open mind. The standards maintained by the honorand of this volume demand no less.

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CHAPTER 2

The Adoption of Pictorial Imagery in Minoan Wall Painting: A Comparativist Perspective

by Charles Gates

A striking feature of Minoan wall paintings is the sudden adoption of pictorial imagery in the Neopalatial period.[1] This change calls for an explanation, but so far, that explanation has proved elusive. Those specialists in Aegean frescoes who have addressed this problem have focused on the possible artistic antecedents or on the functions of the mural imagery, notably its putative religious and decorative purposes, but have not considered the circumstances that gave rise to such imagery in the first place.

This paper will explore these issues of origins and functions, with particular attention paid to Knossos. The explanation proposed here, with the help of three cross-cultural comparisons, is that pictorial imagery in Minoan wall painting resulted from the major political change that marked the transition from the Protopalatial to Neopalatial periods on Crete: the consolidation of island-wide power in Knossos, in the hands not of an autocrat, but of an oligarchic or theocratic regime. Pictorial imagery, at least in Neopalatial Crete, is not only an artistic preference, but also an ideological choice, an expression of particular political, social, and religious conditions.

First, an introduction of the early Neopalatial wall paintings that inspire this study is in order, with comments on their larger Aegean and eastern Mediterranean context. Second, we shall review previous theories explaining the arrival and purposes of pictorial imagery in Minoan murals. Third, we shall step outside the Bronze Age Aegean and examine three other cases in which pictorial images make an abrupt, unexpected arrival in wall painting: late Medieval Siena, 16th-century Malinalco (Mexico), and 20th-century Mexico. Because these cases share political, religious, and architectural contexts that compare, in a broad way, with those proposed for early Neopalatial Knossos, the detailed information about them that textual sources provide, about their origins and their aims, allows us to view Knossian intentions with a richer, more fruitful perspective.[2] Finally, with the lessons learned from these comparisons kept in mind, we shall return to Crete and especially to Knossos, examine evidence for sociopolitical and ideological changes in the Neopalatial period, and evaluate the appearance of pictorial imagery within the context of these changes.

1. That this article could not have been written without the groundwork laid by Sara Immerwahr in *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* goes almost without saying. For her support and friendship, dating back to my years in Chapel Hill, and the example of her enthusiasm for the Aegean Bronze Age, I am most grateful. I would like to express my thanks also to Pietro Militello for sending me a copy of his unpublished paper (1998) delivered at the Italian Symposium of Aegean Studies, Rome, February 18–20, 1998; and to Norbert Karg and Nicholas David for advice on, respectively, chronological and ethnoarchaeological matters.

The revised version of this article was submitted in August 2000; publications available after that date, most notably S. Sherratt, ed., *The Wall Paintings of Thera* (Athens 2000), could not be taken into consideration.

2. On the value of the comparativist perspective, see Lloyd 1991, p. xii.

Focus here is on the Cretan, in particular the Knossian, examples of what Sara Immerwahr calls the First Phase of Aegean wall painting, dating in the first part of the Neopalatial period, from MM III through LM IA.[3] I shall use Immerwahr's catalogue as the basic corpus of examples, a convenient point of departure.[4] I shall follow her datings as well; I am interested in broader questions that should not be affected by minor revisions in her chronology.[5] Dating within this period will not be so important; our sample is sufficiently small and the difficulties in assigning precise dates so great that any arguments based on chronology within our First Phase may be unconvincing.

Of the First Phase frescoes in Immerwahr's catalogue, twenty-one entries come from the Palace of Minos,[6] six from Knossian villas,[7] and ten from elsewhere on Crete.[8] Note that the use of figural imagery in mural paintings is by no means universal on Crete; the other three best-known palaces, Mallia, Phaistos, and Kato Zakros, have yielded virtually none. Of the subjects depicted, decorative motifs, such as spirals, carry on traditions established in the Protopalatial period.[9] Our focus is instead on new themes expressed with pictorial imagery: landscape and nature scenes, animals, and people, both miniature and of a larger scale.[10] Pure landscapes are not known from the palace at Knossos, but four have been found in the Knossian villas[11] and three elsewhere on Crete.[12] Frescoes with animals as the principal feature have come from the palace (three examples[13]), the Knossian villas (one example[14]), but not from other locations. People (excluding those seen in the miniature frescoes) occur in eight cases at the Palace of Minos[15] but not at all in the villas, and in three examples outside Knossos.[16] Lastly, miniature scenes have been found at the palace (five examples plus various fragments[17]) but not in the villas; elsewhere, examples have been found at Katsamba, Prasa, and Tylissos.[18] Stuccoed reliefs are represented at Knossos, in the palace[19] but not in the villas, and at Palaikastro and Pseira.[20]

3. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 39–75. In absolute dates, we are dealing roughly with the 17th and 16th centuries B.C. Dating for this period continues to be controversial, with much weight placed on the date of the eruption of Thera. For further discussion of chronological issues, see below.

4. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 169–190.

5. Such as those suggested by Warren (1991, p. 173), or by Niemeier (1994, pp. 84–85).

6. Kn 1, 6–16, 17 (various fragments), 18 (various fragments), 19, 36–38, 40, 41, 42.

7. Kn 2–5, 43, 44. To this can be added the Floral Fresco in the Unexplored Mansion, not catalogued by Immerwahr but included in a secondary list of fragments (1990, p. 179, no. 15); now discussed at length by Chapin (1997).

8. Amnisos: Am 1–3; Ayia Triada: A.T. 1; Katsamba: Ka 1; Palaikastro: Pa 1; Prasa: Pr 1; Pseira: Ps 1; and Tylissos: Ty 1, 2.

9. The palace at Knossos has yielded six examples of decorative motifs dating to the First Phase (Kn 36–38, 40–42), the Knossian villas two (Kn 43, 44). Immerwahr catalogues none from elsewhere on Crete. See note 41 for the decorative traditions in Protopalatial wall paintings.

10. On the distribution of subjects, see Shaw 1997.

11. Kn 3 (House of the Frescoes), 4 (South House), 5 (Southeast House), and the Floral Fresco from the Unexplored Mansion (see note 7).

12. Amnisos: Am 1–3; Ayia Triada A.T. 1 might be included here, nature fresco with goddess.

13. Kn 1 (blue monkeys), 6 (dolphins), 34 (stucco relief of a lion's mane, or a bull?).

14. House of the Frescoes: Kn 2 (monkeys and bluebirds).

15. Women: Kn 10–14; men: Kn 7, 8 (various), 9.

16. Women: Ayia Triada: A.T. 1 (goddess); Palaikastro: Pa 1; and Pseira: Ps 1 (goddess and votary?).

17. Kn 15 ("Grandstand" or "Temple"), 16 ("Sacred Grove and Dance"), 17 (fragments), 18 (fragments), 19 (boys playing game?).

18. Katsamba: Ka 1 (flying birds; textile pattern?); Prasa: Pr 1 (cypress trees); Tylissos: Ty 1 (men, women, trees, architecture, etc.).

19. Kn 38 (spirals), 34 (lion's mane or bull?), 7 ("Priest-King"), 9 ("Jewel fresco"), 8 (various).

20. Palaikastro: Pa 1 (arm of female); Pseira: Ps 1 (goddess and

Knossos and Crete are not, however, the only sources of striking remains of Minoan-type murals of this period. Contemporary wall and floor frescoes from a handful of other sites in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, art works discovered or restudied within the past decade, have enriched our knowledge of First Phase painting. These murals from Akrotiri (on Thera), Alalakh (southern Turkey), Tel Kabri (northern Israel), and Tell el-Dab'a (ancient Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos, northeastern Egypt) show the techniques, subjects, and styles characteristic of Minoan frescoes. The many well-preserved paintings from Akrotiri have become a classic corpus of mid-2nd-millennium B.C. Aegean art.[21] Wall painting fragments from Alalakh level VII show grass or reeds, foliage and border elements, a griffin, and a bull's horn.[22] Frescoes from Tel Kabri include a floor painting that imitates stone paving, divided into a grid of red lines decorated with floral motifs, and a miniature fresco from a wall, with a scene of an Aegean town in a coastal landscape that recalls the Miniature Fresco from the West House, Akrotiri.[23] Fresco finds from Tell el-Dab'a include scenes of bull-leaping, a theme identified in particular with Knossos.[24] In short, the subject matter of these Minoan-type frescoes recalls that of Crete, and so forms part of a common tradition that would seem to center on Knossos—or for which Knossos at least can stand as representative.[25]

In addition, the chronology of these frescoes favors Knossos as the site of the earliest pictorial imagery. Immerwahr, whose relative datings we are following here, begins her First Phase frescoes in MM IIIB, but places most of the examples from this group after the MM IIIB earthquake at Knossos and the rebuilding of the palace.[26] Her First Phase ends in later LM IA with the eruption of the volcano on Thera. The frescoes of Akrotiri were, of course, buried in the debris from that eruption. They were thus contemporaries of the early Cretan pictorial frescoes, and part of Immerwahr's First Phase. The span of time in which they were painted

votary?). On relief frescoes in general, see Hood 1978, pp. 71–77, and the detailed treatment by Kaiser (1976, pp. 257–312, 316–318).

21. Important studies of the wall paintings of Akrotiri, with full references, would include Marinatos 1984, Davis 1986, Morgan 1988, Immerwahr 1990, Doumas 1992, Televantou 1994. The proceedings of conferences held on Thera in 1978 (Doumas 1978, 1980) and 1989 (Hardy et al. 1990) contain useful discussions of the wall paintings, often with the aim of distinguishing what is local from what is Minoan; such papers include Cameron 1978, Shaw 1978, Hood 1990, Poursat 1990, Davis 1990, Laffineur 1990, Marinatos 1990, Morgan 1990, Televantou 1990. The recent publication of papers from a 1997 conference, "The Wall Paintings of Thera," will provide a valuable contribution to these ongoing discussions (see note 1). For the context of the wall paintings within the town of Akrotiri, see Doumas 1983.

22. Woolley 1955, pp. 228–234, pls. 36b–39c; Niemeier 1991, pp. 189–196; Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, pp. 69–71, 82–85.

23. Niemeier 1991, pp. 196–199; Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, pp. 71–73, 76–78.

24. Bietak 1996, pp. 72–81 and pls. III–VIII, 33; Shaw 1995; Morgan 1995; Marinatos 1998; Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, pp. 78–82.

25. The fascinating problem posed by these eastern frescoes, namely by whom and in what circumstances they were executed, lies beyond the scope of this paper. See Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, pp. 85–96.

These Minoanizing frescoes are distinct from wall and floor paintings of the local art traditions in the Near East and in Egypt, although all form part of the larger eastern Mediterranean/Near Eastern/Egyptian art world. Understanding the relationship between them has been and will surely continue to be a focus of scholarly interest. On Near Eastern wall painting, see Nunn 1988. On the few surviving Egyptian palatial wall paintings, notably at Malkata and Tell el-Amarna, see Robins 1997, p. 136; Smith 1998, pp. 163–168, 187–191. For comparisons of art works among these regions: Kantor 1947, Smith 1965, Cline and Harris-Cline 1998, Gates 1999.

26. See notes 3, 5.

has been estimated at fifty years, starting with repairs that followed a damaging earthquake and finishing with the great eruption.[27] A relative chronology of these paintings within this fifty-year period has not been attempted; therefore we do not know how early these murals first appeared.[28] On Crete, the time span from the MM III/LM IA transition until the eruption has been variously estimated, by two opponents in chronological matters, from ca. 80 years (Warren)[29] to ca. 47 years (Manning).[30] Even if we accept the more precise range, Knossos would have priority over Akrotiri in the earliest appearance of pictorial imagery in murals, thanks to the fragments from MM IIIB.[31]

The relationship of the remaining wall painting groups, those from Alalakh VII, Tel Kabri, and Tell el-Dab'a, to those from First Phase Crete and Thera, depend on how one views the absolute chronology of the mid-2nd-millennium B.C. The first chronological touchstone is the date of the eruption of the Thera volcano; the dating of the Akrotiri frescoes and indeed those of the First Phase murals of Crete depend directly on this determination. The possibilities as recently supported by chronological specialists range over a 100-year period, from 1628 B.C. to 1520 B.C.[32] Alalakh VII was destroyed some time before 1540 B.C.,[33] and the frescoes from Tel Kabri are contemporary with those of Alalakh VII.[34] Lastly, the wall painting fragments from Tell el-Dab'a date to the 16th century B.C., although exactly when is the subject of a heated controversy.

Bietak, the excavator, attributes them to a fortress of the early New Kingdom, that is, some time after Ahmose, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, captured Avaris in ca. 1535 B.C.[35] But this dating represents a change from earlier statements in which Bietak assigned the fragments either to an earlier fortress of the later Hyksos periods, ca. 1590–1540 B.C., or to both the Hyksos fortress and the early-Eighteenth-Dynasty construction.[36] The Hyksos, the Canaanite kings of the Fifteenth

27. Morgan 1988, pp. 5–10.

28. Doumas, e.g., states simply that "they are all Late Cycladic creations, though some are clearly earlier than others" (1992, p. 30).

29. Warren 1999, esp. pp. 901–902.

30. Manning 1999, summarized on p. 340.

31. The possibility of Theran priority has been raised, however: Doumas 1992, p. 17.

32. The subject has been comprehensively analyzed by Manning (1999, superseding 1995, pp. 200–216), who favors a date of 1628 B.C., but who admits to a possible, if less likely, date of the mid-16th century, 1530/1525 B.C. at the latest. For 1520 B.C., see Warren 1998 and 1999 (a change from 1535/1525 B.C. or 1560/1550 B.C. proposed ten years earlier, in Warren and Hankey 1989, p. 215). To these one can add Manning 2000, a Web site that one hopes will become a public forum for discussion of 2nd-millennium B.C. chronology.

33. This low date for the destruction of Alalakh VII by Hattusili I reflects a recent downdating of Mursili I's sack of Babylon to 1499 B.C. (Gasche et al. 1998). For an earlier, standard "low chronology" date of ca. 1575 B.C., see Gates 1987, McClellan 1989. For recent discussions of the Alalakh VII chronology that prefer an even earlier date that conforms with a late-17th-century B.C. date for the eruption of Thera, see Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, pp. 70–71; Manning 1999, pp. 341–366. The issue has been most recently taken up at the International Colloquium on Ancient Near Eastern Chronology (2nd millennium B.C.), 7–9 July, 2000, in Ghent, with Ancient Near Eastern historians and archaeologists affirming their support for a low chronology (M.-H. Gates, pers. comm.).

34. Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, p. 73.

35. Bietak 1996, pp. 73–80; 1999, pp. 40–48. The Eighteenth Dynasty began ca. 1550 B.C., according to the standard chronology (Beckerath 1997, pp. 119–123, 136–138, 189). Ahmose captured Avaris in the fifteenth or the eighteenth year of his reign: Bietak 1999, p. 48. For the current debate on the date of these frescoes: Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, pp. 85–88.

36. Bietak 1995a, pp. 20–23: one group of fragments is dated to the late Hyksos period, a second group to the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

Dynasty, ruled from 1648/1645 to 1539/1536 B.C.,[37] so a date for the frescoes in the Hyksos period would affirm these paintings as contemporaries, more or less, of the fresco groups already mentioned. An early New Kingdom date, however, would place them later than the Alalakh VII and Tel Kabri frescoes, and contemporary with the Akrotiri and later First Phase Cretan frescoes, only if one espoused a late date for the eruption of Thera. The dating has important implications for Aegean art and for eastern Mediterranean history,[38] so further elucidation is eagerly awaited from the excavators of Tell el-Dab'a.[39]

In conclusion, then, the adoption of figural imagery is a Cretan and probably even a Knossian phenomenon, because of the dominance of the palace at Knossos in the archaeological record of Neopalatial Crete, because the earliest examples of mural decoration with pictorial imagery come from Knossos, and because of the long-lasting importance of Knossos as a findspot for surviving mural fragments with pictorial imagery until the final destruction of the palace. It is difficult to envisage nonCretan proveniences as centers for fresco innovation: it is the larger art world of Crete in the Proto- and Neopalatial periods, with artworks in a variety of media, that provides the stylistic home for this family of wall paintings. Despite its well-preserved repertoire of early murals, Akrotiri (Thera), for example, would seem the recipient of Minoan artistic influence, not the reverse.[40]

Wall paintings themselves were not new in Neopalatial Crete. The covering of walls in plaster and then painting them, with solid colors or bands, can be traced back to the EM period.[41] Indeed the true fresco technique, painting on wet plaster, may have been already practiced in Protopalatial times.[42] That the figural images of Neopalatial wall paintings show certain artistic conventions already seen in the pictorial art of the Near East and Egypt[43] might suggest a sudden inspiring contact with these cultures at the beginning of the Neopalatial era. But contacts between Crete and the cultures of the eastern and southeastern Mediterranean had been well established for centuries.[44] Minoan artists had ample opportunity to

37. Beckerath 1997, pp. 136, 189. For the history and archaeology of the Hyksos period, see Oren 1997.

38. As, e.g., Morgan (1995) and the papers in Bietak 1995b attest; see also note 25.

39. For a commentary on the dating controversy, see Cline 1998; Niemeier and Niemeier 1998, pp. 85–88; Manning 1999, pp. 80–107.

40. See note 21. Morgan (1988), in her study of the iconography of the paintings from the West House, Akrotiri, frames this problem in a different way. Instead of making the evaluation of Minoan influence on Theran art an important aim of her work, with the risk of labeling Thera either as a Minoan dependent or derivative, or as a center of innovation, she accords Thera a certain autonomy in the larger art world of the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean. The emotional stakes of "who dominated whom" are thus removed.

An additional aspect to consider would be the implications of the domestic or private context of the frescoes from Akrotiri as compared with the varied contexts of First Phase wall paintings on Crete: palatial, villas, official, private (see Morris 1999).

41. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 11–37; and, with valuable comments esp. on wall painting at Phaistos, Militello 1998b.

42. Cameron, Jones, and Philippakis 1977; Immerwahr (1990, pp. 14–16) highlights the variety of techniques that can be grouped under the heading "fresco."

43. Such as the profile head, one frontal eye, frontal torso, profile legs, and dark skin for men, light skin for women. See Hood 1978, pp. 83–87, for a discussion of the techniques of painting; and Immerwahr 1990, pp. 50–54, but stressing Minoan differences from Egyptian practices; and Poursat 1999, p. 186. For a recent summary of Egyptian conventions for drawing the human body, see Robins 1997, pp. 19–24.

44. For a full account of contacts between Crete and Egypt, see Warren 1995 and several papers in Cline and Harris-Cline 1998.

absorb the conventions of Near Eastern and Egyptian pictorial imagery, had they or their patrons so wished.

The explanation for the appearance of figural imagery in the Knossian wall paintings therefore lies not in a new technical or iconographical inspiration coming from existing neighboring prototypes, but from some newly arising situation on Crete itself that allowed Minoans to refresh their vision and appropriate certain conventions, themes, and techniques from their neighbors, and to integrate them into their own art tradition continuing from the Protopalatial period.

Explanations proposed as to why the Minoans suddenly adopted figural imagery have been based on the mural iconography itself, on information gleaned from the findspots,[45] and on the presumed function of the frescoes. The nature of the explanations has varied according to the way the questions have been expressed, and as one might expect, this has evolved during the course of the past century. Such pioneers in the study of Aegean painting as A. J. Evans and Mary Swindler did not ask such questions at all; they aimed to chronicle and characterize.[46] If we leap forward to 1990, we see that Sara Immerwahr, herself a student of Swindler, does raise the question in *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age.*[47] For her, as indeed for many students of Minoan art, the answer lies in examining the antecedents, the preexisting art world out of which emerged the pictorial imagery of murals.[48]

On Crete itself, the appropriately complex designs and images of Protopalatial art belonged to pottery, notably to the Kamares style, and to sealstones. Motifs and stylistic propensities can be tracked. Outside Crete, Egyptian art, especially, lay ready with its particular stylistic conventions and techniques. But how did the Minoans get from the small-scale images of pottery and seals to wall paintings? How and why did they absorb, digest, and reformulate Egyptian representational art?[49] There is no period of experimentation, no archaic era. It happened suddenly. In the end Immerwahr could not understand how the ingredients, as she identified them, mixed, fermented, and metamorphosed into something new.[50] She did not invoke a Minoan *Kunstwollen,* for which we can be thankful, but nonetheless, the dynamics of art change eluded her. Immerwahr is hardly alone; others have remained equally puzzled.[51]

A more fruitful path may lie in another direction, a consideration of function.[52] A desire to identify an organized pictorial program on the walls of the palace at Knossos has characterized the work of several scholars; this interest focuses attention on the function of the paintings. The fragmentary nature of the evidence, however, and the chronological spread of the fragments over the entire Neopalatial period, through LM IIIA, make it difficult to determine the existence of a program, not to mention modifications to that program over the many decades. Let us examine some of these views, nonetheless, for they represent the opinions of several perceptive students of Minoan wall painting.

Mark Cameron, in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, attacked the problem head-on in his chapter III, "The Rise of Naturalism in Wall Painting."[53] Written in 1975, the chapter can still serve as an excellent statement of the question at hand. Cameron proposes that foreign influence was crucial, even if filtered through Minoan aesthetics. The precedent of

45. A thorough documentation of the contexts of Aegean murals is being undertaken by Fritz Blakolmer and Stefan Hiller. See Blakolmer 1995.

46. Evans discussed First Phase frescoes from Knossos in *PM* I, pp. 524–551, and *PM* III, pp. 29–106. For Swindler on Minoan painting, see Swindler 1929, pp. 71, 73, 76–78, 88.

47. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 21–62.

48. A standard approach, even for those who do not specifically raise the question of "why?": e.g., Matz 1962, pp. 111–122; Hood 1978, pp. 47–87, esp. pp. 47–48; Poursat 1999, pp. 186–187; Walberg 1986; Blakolmer 1999.

49. Immerwahr sees Egyptian influence as important, especially for certain techniques and artistic conventions, including the adoption of large-scale figures (Immerwahr 1990, pp. 53–62), but notes many differences between Egyptian and Minoan art (pp. 159–161). Although Egyptian art may have been a "catalyst," Minoan artists were not mere copiers but charted their own path.

50. Immerwahr 1990, p. 62.

51. For example, Oliver Dickinson (1994, p. 164): "at present the origins of Minoan figured frescoes remain unclear."

52. Immerwahr does not specifically address the question of the function of Minoan murals.

53. Cameron 1975, pp. 31–47. A copy of the dissertation is kept in the library of the British School at Athens.

mural decoration in other cultures with their established techniques and artistic conventions would be important. Affinities with Egyptian art in particular are documented, but these aspects are reflected in the "outward appearances," not with the "symbolic content." But certain local Cretan artistic developments were also significant factors leading to the adoption of figural imagery in mural decoration. The developing Minoan tradition of fresco decoration and the increasing pictorialism and naturalism in other Minoan arts, all with continuity from the Protopalatial period, and certain cultural and religious influences, played key roles.

As for the function of the wall paintings, Cameron sees them as expressions of religious belief: "To transfer religious representations from the restricted and more private surfaces of gems, pottery, figurines and the like to the large expanses of house and palace walls would in the minds of the Minoans, as to people of most religious persuasions today, sanctify their buildings in addition to any ritual of consecration."[54] Cameron notes that the introduction of wall paintings with religious themes into palace and house coincides with the apparent decline of worship in peak sanctuaries (cult centers on hilltops),[55] and the religious themes of the mural paintings are then analyzed in detail.[56] That these paintings presented a thematically unified program depicting a great goddess and the festival of her fertility, the mythological underpinnings and the festival rituals, was a conclusion that Cameron reaffirmed in a paper delivered in 1984 not long before his death.[57] This unified theme had a long life that extended through the Neopalatial period even into the era of Mycenaean domination.[58] Considering the fragmentary nature of the Knossos frescoes and the controversies surrounding their findspots, contexts, and chronology, we must note that the claims are sweeping, but Cameron's detailed knowledge of the material commands authority.

Robin Hägg, in a paper delivered in 1983,[59] does not address the problem of the adoption of figural imagery in Minoan murals, but he does investigate their function. He agrees with Cameron in emphasizing the religious functions of Minoan wall paintings: images of the goddess, to secure the divine presence; cult scenes, to give permanence to the ritual; and pictures that guide people in their ritual behavior.[60] He notes, however, that certain images are not religious; indeed, he sounds a more cautious note than Cameron, remarking on the difficulties of interpreting such fragmentary material. The identity of the patron of the murals is probed. Any sort of self-advertisement is lacking, such as the hunting or warfare scenes so popular in Egypt or certain Near Eastern cultures—or even in the Mycenaean world, where the ruler does not specifically appear in pictorial art.[61] (Also missing, we can note, are other staples of ancient

54. Cameron 1975, p. 39.

55. Cameron 1975, p. 657. Although much study of peak sanctuaries has been done since Cameron wrote, this statement remains valid. See Cherry 1986, pp. 29–32 (with references to his earlier work); Peatfield 1994 (with references to his earlier work); Nowicki 1994; Watrous 1995.

56. Cameron 1975, pp. 127–201: chap. V, "Interpretation of the Themes of the Paintings."

57. Cameron 1987.

58. Cameron 1987, pp. 321, 324. For another approach to the religious significance of the palace at Knossos, but one that would have fascinated Cameron, see Soles 1995.

59. Hägg 1985.

60. Hägg 1985, p. 214.

61. Hägg 1985, pp. 214–217. On the ruler in the Bronze Age Aegean, see the papers in Rehak 1995; on the absence of the ruler in Aegean art, see, in the same volume, Davis 1995; and on the lack of war imagery in Minoan art, see Gates 1999. That the bull was used as a symbol of Knossian power has been proposed by B. and E. Hallager (1995).

Near Eastern iconography: images of rulers appearing together with divinities, such as to receive a blessing or divine commission,[62] or any pictorial record of pious deeds.)[63] Such absences lead Hägg to surmise that the patron may not have been an individual with the power to self-aggrandize, but a collective group, such as "a board of priests or religious officials."[64]

A different direction concerning the function of certain murals has been taken by Anne Chapin.[65] In her analysis of the Floral Fresco from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, she proposes that such landscape scenes may have been lavish luxury decorations, displays of wealth and power, even if the origins of the subject matter may have been religious.[66] She draws a parallel with wall paintings that decorated the private homes of the wealthy in Renaissance Italy, and indeed refers to a Minoan Neopalatial renaissance, lasting perhaps only through LM IA.[67] This proposal contrasts with the religious motivations noted above, and certainly, as Chapin states, forces us to consider the possibility of motivations more complex and multifaceted than heretofore suspected.

Explanations have thus focused on a supposed religious function for the murals in the Knossos palace, reinforced by the overall character of the palace as a religious center.[68] Murals as luxurious, pleasure-giving decorations[69] may apply to certain examples from villas, as Chapin has proposed, images that advertised the prosperity and status of an elite class, pictures inspired perhaps by examples in the palace itself and by Egyptian and Near Eastern practice.[70]

These analyses of the functions of Knossian wall paintings, complementing the discussions of stylistic origins as presented earlier, contribute important insights with regard to the purpose of this art form in Neopalatial Crete. Yet we still have not answered our primary question, why did pictorial imagery appear at this time? Having examined style and function, though, we are now ready to examine one last aspect. What was the larger social or political context in which such wall paintings became a desired art form? An exploration of this, combined with what we have learned about style and function, should lead to an explanation of the appearance of pictorial imagery in Minoan murals.[71] But defining political context in early Neopalatial Crete, still essentially a prehistoric society with poorly understood texts, depends on interpretation of the archaeological record.

Before examining that record, however, let us first broaden our perspectives by investigating the causes of mural painting in other places and times. Lessons learned might illuminate our understanding of the origins of pictorial imagery in Minoan murals. It is worth noting that the painting of walls with pictorial imagery is by no means a universal habit. In the art traditions of the larger Near Eastern/Mediterranean/European world, to take one region as an example, mural paintings are popular in certain periods but at other times they fall out of fashion. This characteristic of the pictorial fresco, as a distinctive and somewhat unusual artistic vehicle, justifies the search for cross-cultural comparisons when seeking to explain the adoption of pictorial imagery in Neopalatial Minoan wall paintings.[72]

I would like to introduce three particularly instructive cases, one Italian and two Mexican: first, the early Renaissance wall paintings of the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena; second, murals in the 16th-century Augustinian monastery at Malinalco, Mexico; and third, the program of public mural

62. E.g., the Investiture Scene from Court 106, the Palace of Zimri-Lim, Mari (*Mari,* pp. 53–66, figs. 47–48, and pls. A, VII–XIV). Symbols of divine authority as seen in Ancient Near Eastern art may, however, be present in Minoan art, even if the divinity and the ruler are not shown together: Krattenmaker 1995.

63. E.g., *Gudea the Architect,* a statue of Gudea seated with the plan, placed on his lap, of the temple he built at the behest of the god Ningirsu (Gates 1993, p. 16, nos. 15, 16).

64. Hägg 1985, p. 216.

65. Chapin 1997.

66. Chapin 1997, pp. 22–24.

67. Chapin 1997, pp. 23–24.

68. Soles 1995.

69. For a selection of modern examples, see Cass 1988.

70. For the controversial subject of the function of Minoan villas, see Walberg 1994 and the papers in Hägg 1997.

71. These questions have been posed, if not answered, by Blakolmer (1997, p. 104).

72. On the use of analogy for the interpretation of archaeological remains: Orme 1981, Wylie 1985, Stahl 1993. For two recent discussions of aspects of Minoan civilization that depend on the interpretative help of analogy, see Betancourt 1999 and esp. Weingarten 1999.

paintings that burst on the scene in Mexico in the 1920s. My criteria for selecting these comparanda were three, all aspects either demonstrated or postulated for early Neopalatial frescoes. First, any swift flowering of mural painting deserved consideration. Second, keeping in mind the religious function proposed for many Minoan wall paintings and the seemingly official and aristocratic locations of these murals in palatial (Knossos) and villa contexts, I looked for comparable situations in which religion mixed with the official. Lastly, murals with a clear political connection, with or without a religious dimension, merited investigation. Each case presented here displays two of these three criteria.

THE FRESCOES OF THE PALAZZO PUBBLICO, SIENA

The Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, built in 1299–1311 as the meeting place for the Council of Nine that ruled the city, offers an early example of Italian Renaissance wall paintings in a secular context. The construction of the Palazzo Pubblico did not represent a sudden, dramatic change in the political life of the city, but the monumental architectural expression of the solidity and stability of the city's government, evolving, as was true with many other city-states of northern and central Italy, over the previous 200 years.[73] For our purposes, the interesting aspect of this case is the combination of religious and secular subjects chosen for the decoration of this official setting, the seat of government. This combination was indeed something new.

The previous (13th) century had seen the increasing popularity of frescoes of religious subjects painted in religious settings. The Byzantine style, the *maniera greca,* of these paintings, and indeed their placement on plastered walls in churches, betray the models offered by eastern Christianity. The influence of a foreign art tradition is strong: but why strong in the 13th century, when the Italians certainly had known Byzantine art for centuries? No doubt the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade and the loot brought back to Italy allowed a wider audience to admire the artistic production of the great city;[74] moreover, the Latins retained control of Constantinople and other portions of the Byzantine empire until 1261, allowing further familiarity with its architecture and art. Byzantine power was waning, yet its artistic influence remained strong.

Other factors that influenced the rise of wall paintings especially in churches included increased wealth, derived from banking activities in the case of Tuscany; the desire to spend that wealth on church decoration in order to expiate sins of usury and to promote civic pride; and the political stability that followed the victory of the papacy in its long struggle with the Holy Roman Empire.[75] This last would lead to Rome's resurgence as an art center, with the pope, already the spiritual leader of western Christianity, emerging as a major secular ruler.

The wall paintings that decorated Siena's Palazzo Pubblico extended this artistic practice to a secular setting.[76] Unlike church decoration, however, the frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico offer an eclectic collection of

73. Waley 1988, pp. 107–111.
74. Lowden 1997, pp. 371–379.
75. White 1987, pp. 143–145.
76. White 1987, pp. 227–229.

images; if not planned as a thematically unified program,[77] the paintings, executed over several decades, do seem to echo a similar theme, one that stresses the prestige and importance of the city's governing body. In the Sala del Mappamondo, the council chamber, Simone Martini painted several scenes at different times. The *Maesta* of ca. 1315–1316, with important repainting in 1321, shows Mary and the infant Jesus seated in splendor in the center of a saintly gathering, including four patron saints of Siena who surrender the city to her.[78] Mary is here on the wall of the council chamber not only as the queen of heaven, but also as a symbolic earthly ruler administering justice.[79] Her presence strengthened the hand of the Council of Nine, the oligarchs who aimed to suppress damaging family feuds as they ruled correctly. Opposite the *Maesta,* Simone Martini, it is generally thought, painted in 1328 a quite different subject: the general *Guidoriccio da Fogliano* on horseback, riding between cities.[80] The image of this successful general commemorates the military successes of Siena, another achievement that the city government was happy to celebrate in a public wall painting.

Elsewhere in the building, in the Sala de'Nove, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's painting of the *Allegories of Good Government and Tyranny* (1338–1339) covers three walls (the fourth consists of windows), a secular painting whose message again supports the mission of the governing Nine: with their leadership comes prosperity.[81]

These paintings of the Palazzo Pubblico show that secular allegories were valued in early-14th-century Italy in government centers. They result from a change in the political and economic conditions: political and military stability after a period of conflict, and increasing prosperity. They express the mission of the ruling body of the city, with an implied warning of disasters that might arise should their authority not be respected. Importantly, the divine in the form of the Virgin Mary is invoked as key support. And frescoes were permanent; they could not be removed easily or replaced, like tapestries or panel paintings. They could be only painted over or hacked off.[82]

THE MURALS IN THE AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY AT MALINALCO, MEXICO

The second case I would like to examine is from 16th-century Mexico. Mendicant orders of the conquering Spanish, notably the Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans, built fortresslike churches and monasteries and decorated them with wall paintings. The occasion allowing the creation of the murals was the huge political, social, and religious change that followed the Spanish conquest; the specific impetus was ideological expression. The subjects of these paintings are religious, but interestingly they include gardens—a combination that recalls the scenes of ritual and nature much liked by the Minoans.[83] Most of these murals were covered with whitewash in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the result of changing art fashions and, more importantly, the decline in the prestige of the mendicant orders.

77. Martindale 1988, p. 14.

78. Martindale 1988, pp. 14–17, 204–209; Hoeniger 1995, pp. 128–135.

79. White 1987, p. 349; Hoeniger 1995, pp. 128–130. For the Virgin Mary and other women used as symbols of political entities, see Dubisch 1995, pp. 229–249.

80. White 1987, pp. 354–356; the painting could possibly be of the later 14th century, by another artist. For this and paintings of cities controlled by Siena that decorated the room, see Martindale 1988, pp. 40–44, 210–211; he dates *Guidoriccio da Fogliano* to the early 1330s.

81. White 1987, pp. 388–397.

82. A fate that in fact befell examples from my next two cases: the Malinalco murals were covered with whitewash, and a mural painted by Diego Rivera in 1933 for Rockefeller Center, New York, was deliberately destroyed on the orders of the patron, John D. Rockefeller Jr., angered by Rivera's refusal to remove a portrait of Lenin.

83. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 40–50; Shaw 1993.

The instructive case from Mexico is explained and analyzed by J. F. Peterson in her 1993 study of the mural paintings in the Augustinian monastery at Malinalco, southwest of Mexico City. The monastery was founded in 1540, with the buildings begun some twenty years later.[84] The paintings were executed during the 1570s and possibly the early 1580s, only to be whitewashed soon thereafter.[85] Restorations in 1974–1975 and 1983–1984 liberated the paintings from their centuries-old whitewash covering.[86] The paintings decorate the entry, the church, the inner walls of a two-storied cloister, and the stairwell leading to the upper floor of the cloister. Subjects include portraits of two of the first Augustinian friars to arrive in Mexico in 1533 (in the arcaded entryway, or *porteria*); garden images, with plants, animals, and birds (in the church, although much damaged, and on the inner walls and barrel vaulting of the lower cloister); pelicans, symbols of self-sacrifice (in the stairwell); and Christ's Passion (in the upper cloister).[87]

The purposes of these murals were various. Instruction was one goal, spiritual inspiration another. The mendicant orders, supported by the Pope and the Spanish crown, were charged with the conversion to Christianity and the Hispanicization of the Indians. Bolstered by the humanistic ideals of Erasmus and Thomas More, the friars hoped to find a people uncorrupted, in contrast with Europeans, ready to recreate the spirit of earliest Christianity. This idealistic aim combined with the widespread belief that the Garden of Eden was located in these newly discovered, supposedly eastern lands, the Indies. The garden murals, in particular, expressed this vision of a terrestrial paradise, with the echo that such would await the faithful believer upon his or her death. This lower cloister would have been accessible to professed Christians, primarily those working at the monastery and those receiving education. In the private area of the upper cloister, reserved for the friars, the paintings served their spiritual needs for moral support (the self-sacrificing pelican depicted in the stairwell) and for objects of devotion (the Passion scenes).

The artisans of these paintings were Indians, but working under the direction of the friars.[88] Although the iconography of the garden murals depended largely on European models—16th-century Spanish murals, tapestries, and the varied European graphic and other portable artworks circulating in early colonial Mexico[89]—the Indian artisans introduced numerous plants and animals familiar from their own world. The choice of such plants was distinctive: rare are food plants; well represented are the prestigious decorative and aromatic flowers and medicinal plants that stocked the gardens of the Aztec royalty.[90] Moreover, a lush, well-watered garden corresponded with Aztec notions of the two desirable places one might go after death, Tlalocan and a heaven associated with the House of the Sun, and it recalled Tomoanchan, the beautiful, happy place where the gods and mankind originated.[91] The garden imagery of the lower cloister and apparently the church thus suited nicely both European and pre-Hispanic traditions of the rewards that those who believed and obeyed could anticipate after death.

In the late 16th century, the mendicant orders lost their influence and indeed the ideological impulse of the early decades of the Spanish

84. Peterson 1993, p. 3.

85. Peterson 1993, pp. 164, 176–178.

86. Peterson 1993, p. ix.

87. Peterson 1993, pp. 158–164, and passim for the garden paintings in the lower cloister.

88. Peterson 1993, pp. 29–56.

89. Peterson 1993, pp. 57–82.

90. Peterson 1993, pp. 83–123.

91 Peterson 1993, pp. 132–135.

conquest. The Counter-Reformation quashed humanistic thought. Paganism and heresy were feared; native artisans were excluded from the painting of religious subjects, and Indians were never encouraged to enter the priesthood. The utopian aspirations of the mendicants were revealed as unattainable; the Indians themselves proved just as humanly imperfect as the Europeans. Further, the secular clergy—parish priests and the episcopacy—increased in numbers and influence. Even though the pope and the Spanish crown continued to support the mendicants, funding now depended on upholding papal and regal policies. At the same time fashions in religious art were changing; a new preference for easel paintings and retables made wall paintings appear antiquated. In this new political, religious, and artistic climate, mural paintings no longer seemed appropriate. Indeed, the Malinalco frescoes were covered with whitewash not long after completion, to be cleaned and revealed only in the 20th century.

THE MEXICAN MURAL MOVEMENT IN THE 1920s

The third case is that of the Mexican mural movement that began in the early 1920s and lasted until the early 1970s.[92] Here, too, the wall paintings resulted from political change, in this case a violent internal revolution. Moreover, these paintings were very much a public art, with official governmental support; many public buildings were decorated with mural paintings. Unlike the previous two cases, however, the subjects illustrated were not religious but cultural, historical, and political, subjects that reflected the particular ideological tenor of the new regime.[93]

The movement originated in the Mexican Revolution of 1910–1917 that followed the long dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. One tenet of the revolution was protest against the academic, European-oriented painting styles favored by the Díaz government. The painter Gerardo Murillo, known as Dr. Atl, promoted an art that would be more specifically Mexican in subject matter, accessible to the public, and filled with spiritual qualities and energy that were lacking in academic painting.[94] On travels in Europe he was impressed by Italian Renaissance frescoes, as would be in turn the younger painters Diego Rivera and David Alfaro Siqueiros. The Italian murals displayed the powerful inner qualities for which he was searching; they served as an inspiration for his new movement. He believed that walls of public buildings would be an appropriate location for such paintings. Murals could have an influential role in society.

Although he took sides in the struggles in the 1910s, Dr. Atl did not consider that mural paintings necessarily needed to depict revolutionary subject matter. His disciples, however, had other ideas. Siqueiros, while in Barcelona in 1921, issued a manifesto on behalf of an artists' trade union, the Syndicate of Technical Workers and Sculptors.[95] Like Dr. Atl, he repudiated any art that was elitist, that appealed to intellectual and upper classes. Art should benefit the public, and should educate people at this time of transition to a new social order. Monumental art was best positioned to achieve these goals. Italian Renaissance frescoes, although

92. Rochfort 1993, Folgarait 1998.

93. Including "conflicting voices" within the movement: Folgarait 1998, p. 12.

94. Rochfort 1993, pp. 14–20.

95. Rochfort 1993, p. 6.

religious in subject matter, showed how monumental paintings could effectively transmit philosophical concepts and political ideologies.[96] José Clemente Orozco, another major Mexican muralist, thought similarly. "The highest, the most logical, the purest form of painting is the mural," he wrote in 1929. "It is, too, the most disinterested form, for it cannot be made a matter of private gain: it cannot be hidden away for the benefit of a certain privileged few. It is for the people. It is for ALL."[97]

Such an art would have to be a state art, and as such would need a well-placed sponsor. The resources of Dr. Atl and his followers would not suffice to launch mural painting on a scale sufficiently grand to make the public impact they wished. The Mexican mural movement indeed had such a sponsor. José Vasconcelos, the Secretary of State for Public Education in the government of Alvaro Obregón (1921–1924), commissioned the first series of mural paintings on public buildings.[98] The policy was not universally popular, especially with architects. But Vasconcelos, a philosopher and idealist, believed in the power of art to better the human condition. For him, monumental murals painted by first-rate artists would achieve this end far better than small-scale art, however high its quality. Political content was not a concern; he did not require certain subjects or treatments from his artists. In contrast, Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros, all of whom painted commissions arranged by Vasconcelos, would view their murals as vehicles for their strongly felt, highly politicized leftist-oriented critiques of Mexican and American society and history.[99]

The Mexican mural movement thus arose from political upheaval (the Revolution) and ideological reorientation (from Spanish-European elitism to a broader-based pro-Mexican outlook), with its launching arranged by a sympathetic intellectual in a powerful government position at the appropriate moment. Note that the murals themselves did not cause or bring about political change; instead, with the violence of the 1910s now over, the paintings could express the spirit of the Revolution in a way that did not threaten the authority of the governments of the 1920s and beyond.[100] For the form itself, the mural, foreign influence was determinant: Italian Renaissance frescoes. The impact of pre-Columbian wall paintings, fragmentary and as yet poorly known, was limited in the early 1920s.

PICTORIAL IMAGERY IN MINOAN MURALS: A PRODUCT OF SOCIOPOLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CHANGE

> It is natural that the State should be a partisan of an artistic form that would be useful for its political ends.
>
> —Luis Cardoza y Aragón[101]

All three groups of murals presented above represent a pictorial expression, permanently fixed on walls, of a newly arrived political order, whether from peaceful internal political evolution, violent internal political change, or external conquest. The iconography is didactic to varying degrees of directness or indirectness, but certainly expresses in each case the metaphysical

96. Rochfort 1993, p. 29.
97. Rochfort 1993, p. 8.
98. Rochfort 1993, pp. 20–21; Folgarait 1998, pp. 16–20.
99. See also Hurlburt 1989.
100. Folgarait 1998, pp. 197–199.
101. Art critic L. Cardoza y Aragón, *La nube y el reloj,* p. 18, Mexico City 1940, cited by Folgarait (1998, p. 199).

underpinnings of the new order. The lessons learned from these three cases can be applied with profit to the Minoan murals, by directing our search for cultural context to the sociopolitical and ideological changes that took place on the island at the transition from the Protopalatial to the Neopalatial period.

Despite unquestionable cultural continuity on Crete from the Protopalatial period, the Neopalatial period does witness important changes in the archaeological record. These differences strongly suggest changes in the political organization on the island, notably the decline of regional power in favor of dominance by Knossos.[102] This centralization of authority is deduced from several features of the archaeological record. First, the palace centers at Mallia and Phaistos diminish in size in comparison with the palace at Knossos. Second, pottery types associated with Knossos dominate by LM IA, in contrast with the marked regional styles of the Protopalatial period.[103]

Third, the network of villas, found in both urban centers such as Knossos and in towns and villages, marks the spread of centralized authority in the Neopalatial period. Even if the origins of the villa may lie earlier,[104] the number of villas increased sharply in LM I. The villas are not identical designs but variants on a theme,[105] and no doubt served a variety of functions that might have ranged from houses of the ruling families, such as those at Knossos itself, to manor houses in the countryside from which regional economic, religious, and social control was exercised.[106]

On a contrasting note, certain administrative tools of the Neopalatial period, notably sealing practices and the Linear A script, do not have a uniform character, but show variations from place to place. In these matters, it might be explained, if the general concept of sealings and writing were imposed from a center, details could be left to local preference.[107]

Other changes that point to a centralization of authority are seen in the organization of cult and the network of regional forts and fortifications. In Protopalatial times, peak sanctuaries were widespread. In the Neopalatial period, most were abandoned. Those still in use served palace centers and major settlements, especially Knossos, an inference drawn from the correspondence of finds from Neopalatial centers and the sanctuaries.[108] Cave sanctuaries and rural sanctuaries such as at Syme

102. Treuil et al. 1989, pp. 307–308; Knappett 1999, pp. 637–638; Schoep 1999, pp. 201–202, 217–221 (see note 107 below). For a deconstruction of the evidence, see Cherry 1986, pp. 25–26; his conclusion is not convincing, however. A more tentative view is expressed by Dabney (1995) and by Driessen and Macdonald in their useful summary of changes from Protopalatial to early Neopalatial Crete (1997, pp. 11–13).

103. Betancourt 1985, pp. 64–133, esp. p. 115. For the transitional MM III period: Stürmer 1992 and Walberg 1992.

104. Treuil et al. 1989, pp. 233–234, 306; Niemeier 1997.

105. Betancourt and Marinatos 1997, pp. 91–92; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, p. 110.

106. Hägg 1997: this collection of papers is fundamental; and Walberg 1994.

107. Schoep 1994 (regional variations of script are interpreted as evidence in favor of regional political centers in the Neopalatial period); Driessen and Schoep 1995, pp. 659–662 (local administrations with a certain autonomy of practice, but under a central authority); and Schoep 1999, esp. pp. 201–202 and 217–221 (in a more nuanced interpretation, she now sees likely Knossian control in LM IA, with a reversion to regionalism in LM IB).

108. Cherry 1986, pp. 29–32; Peatfield 1987; 1990; 1994, pp. 19–28; Nowicki 1994.

also show connections with Neopalatial centers.[109] Similarly, the decoration of Room 14 at Ayia Triada with wall paintings of religious subjects may reflect the Knossian imposition of its cult practices in southern Crete.[110] At Knossos itself, an increase of cult space enclosed within the palace suggests greater attention paid to rituals and, with access more restricted than in Protopalatial times, a greater prestige accorded to them.[111] Among these rituals, a new importance may have been given to dance.[112]

The Neopalatial period is a period without fortified sites, a contrast with the previous Protopalatial era and indeed the later Postpalatial period.[113] Whatever the causes of the widespread destructions of sites at the end of the Protopalatial era, whether earthquake, violent attacks, and/or economic and social dislocation,[114] evidence from the ensuing Neopalatial period indicates a change, a period of internal calm. This absence of fortified sites in the Neopalatial period suggests a lack of armed conflict on the island itself and thus internal political harmony, most likely the result of centralized authority rather than a network of independent city-states somehow free of violent rivalries. Later Greeks, notably Thucydides (1.4), wrote of a Minoan thalassocracy, and indeed some scholars have proposed Minoan control over the southern Aegean during this period, from the Greek peninsula across the southern Aegean islands to the southwest coast of Asia Minor.[115] The existence of a king, named Minos in later Greek sources, may be an anachronism, for there is no confirmation of this in the archaeological record.

As noted earlier, the iconography of Minoan art is not that of autocratic kingship, at least not of the sort typical in Egyptian and ancient Near Eastern civilizations.[116] The type of government in the Neopalatial period is more likely to have been an oligarchy with a theocratic orientation, with no one person or family needing a push from personalized iconography and objects, but one in which several families may well have had a controlling interest—an elite centered at Knossos. This is the picture proposed by Cameron, Hägg, and Chapin based on their analyses of the function of the murals; others, too, have found this to be the most reasonable hypothesis that explains the available evidence.[117]

What role does pictorial imagery in wall paintings have in all this? Pictures, after all, communicate messages; "images must have an effect on

109. Peatfield 1994, pp. 26–28.

110. Rehak 1997; Militello 1998a, pp. 99–132, 250–282 (the paintings of Room 14), and 352–353 (conclusions).

111. Gesell 1985, pp. 19–40 (the Neopalatial period throughout Crete); 1987; Moody 1987. On the importance of the palace at Knossos as a cult center, see also Marinatos 1993, esp. pp. 38–75; and, for its likely cosmological significance, Soles 1995. For a summary of religious changes at this time: Betancourt 1999, p. 222.

112. German 1999.

113. The evidence is discussed in several papers in Laffineur 1999, in particular Chryssoulaki 1999, Nowicki 1999, Schlager 1999, Tsipopoulou 1999.

114. Godart 1999.

115. On the Minoan thalassocracy: papers in Hägg and Marinatos 1984; Wiener 1990; and, within a larger discussion of trade and interconnections, Rehak and Younger 1998, pp. 134–141. The nature of the relationship between Thera and Crete in the early Neopalatial period is discussed in several papers cited above, note 21.

116. Gates 1999.

117. Betancourt and Marinatos 1997, pp. 92–97; Marinatos 1993, pp. 243–244. Also arguing for an oligarchy, but emphasizing its mercantile rather than religious interests, is Weingarten (1999).

us."[118] The pictures, as we have seen, mostly of religious ritual, religious emblems, or nature, do not directly illustrate the governmental system. Instead, as shown by the examples from early Renaissance Siena, early Spanish colonial Malinalco, and 20th-century revolutionary Mexico, they serve to enhance and honor, in a pictorial way, the metaphysical basis of the state and the society, namely, in Neopalatial Crete, the primacy of the religious. The sudden arrival of pictorial imagery on Crete, then, is a pictorial act that builds upon the stylistic precedents of Protopalatial art and takes advantage of large-scale Egyptian and Near Eastern figural imagery already well known to the Minoans. These elements coalesce now because of the need or desirability of such imagery in an evolved sociopolitical framework of newly centralized authority for which the veneration of nature and the importance of religious ritual have become its metaphysical foundation. The comparativist outlook espoused in this paper has the merit of encouraging us to move beyond a restricted, Aegeo-centric range of explanations and imagine more complex sociopolitical and ideological contexts in which figural imagery fulfilled particular needs.

118. Bakewell 1998: a discussion of images as actions, parallel to words as actions—"image acts" and "speech acts." On the particular effects of mural paintings with specific reference to 20th-century Mexican examples, see Folgarait 1998, esp. pp. 27–32, 191–203.

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Power, Privilege, and Landscape in Minoan Art

by Anne P. Chapin

Since its discovery a century ago, in the excavations at Knossos led by Sir Arthur Evans on Crete, Aegean landscape art has come to characterize the extraordinary cultural achievements of Minoan prehistoric society.[1] Widely credited with the invention of pure landscape, Minoan artists created exuberant paintings teeming with plants and animals seemingly wild and free from a discernible human presence. Vivacious, colorful, curvilinear, seemingly spontaneous, and always full of life, the landscapes still invite modern imaginings of an idealized era in the distant past.[2] The romantic appeal of Aegean landscape art, however, masks important questions of purpose and meaning for which satisfactory answers have yet to be found. What functions did these landscapes serve in Minoan society? What was their symbolic meaning? For whom were they painted, and how were they used and consumed? And perhaps most importantly, why paint landscape at all, especially landscape devoid of human presence or activity? Why did the Minoans not select some other subject matter, drawn perhaps from their mythology or history? This study attempts to address these questions, albeit briefly and rather speculatively.

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

Since their initial discovery a century ago, each generation of scholars has presented a slowly evolving understanding of purpose and meaning in Aegean landscape painting, conveniently illustrated by tracing the modern history of the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos, dated to MM IIIB/LM IA (Fig. 3.1).[3] Excavated by Sir Arthur Evans in 1923, two panels were reconstructed by Émile Gilliéron fils from a large deposit of fresco fragments found in Room E on the ground floor of the building. One depicts a blue monkey in a rocky landscape of crocuses, dwarf irises, ivy, and papyrus-reed hybrid plants, and the second features a blue bird in a rocky landscape with wild pea or vetch, dwarf iris, and perhaps roses.[4] Gilliéron reconstructed a third panel of a monkey foraging through papyrus, along with illustrations of numerous individual fragments of flowering plants and a jet d'eau, a fountain of water.[5]

1. As is evidenced by the discussion of Minoan art in two recent surveys of art history: Kleiner, Mamiya, and Tansey 2001, pp. 85–86; Stokstad 2002, I, p. 141.

2. For commentary on such fantasies, see Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951, p. 185.

3. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 42–46, 170 (Kn 2); *PM* II, pp. 431–467; Cameron 1967, 1968.

4. *PM* II, pls. X, XI.

5. *PM* II, figs. 264, 266, 268, 272, 275.

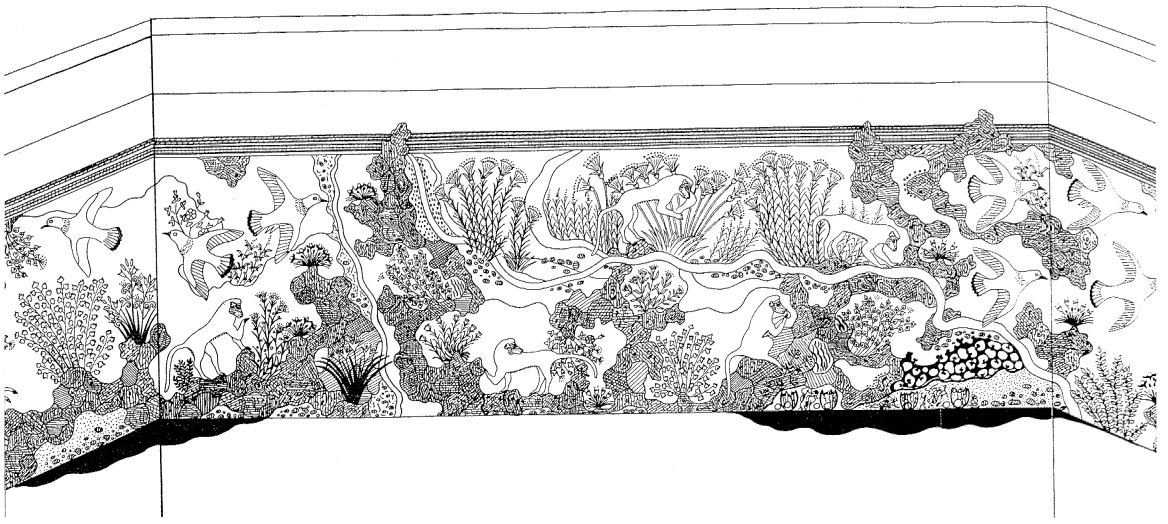


Figure 3.1. Reconstruction by Mark Cameron of the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco from the House of the Frescoes, Knossos. Cameron 1968, fig. 13

Evans, like other scholars of his generation, understood landscape painting primarily in secular terms, as room decoration that celebrates the beauty of the natural world. He wrote that the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco characterized the "cultured home of a small burgher" and represented "not only the high standard of civilized life in the great days of Minoan Crete, but the wide diffusion of culture among all classes."[6] Evans thus asked the modern viewer to see this fresco as evidence of the cultural superiority of the ancient Minoan civilization (which he understood as the first European civilization), where even so-called small burghers elected to decorate their homes with landscape art worthy of the finest residences. Evans's understanding of Minoan landscape painting therefore seems strongly influenced by his own upper-class Victorian upbringing, where noblemen throughout Europe sought to decorate their great houses with ideal landscapes by artists such as Claude Lorraine and Nicholas Poussin.[7]

Interest in composition was renewed in the 1960s. In 1966, additional fragments were incorporated into the panel depicting a monkey in a papyrus thicket, on view in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum. In 1967 and 1968, Mark Cameron published additional fragments and identified the subject of the fresco—monkeys foraging for food and raiding the nests of rock doves for their eggs. He also presented an impressive reconstruction of the composition as a continuous frieze about 5 1/2 meters in length.[8]

More recent interpretation of the fresco stresses its iconographic and archaeological contexts in order to assign a religious meaning to the composition. As Cameron makes clear in his reconstruction, the fresco overflows with flowering plants and animals, many of which, as Nannó Marinatos observes, bear Minoan religious significance. The crocuses and lilies that are found in the fresco also appear consistently in Aegean art as offerings and as decoration for altars and offering tables, while elsewhere monkeys and doves appear in connection with a goddess of nature. In addition to this religious symbolism, Marinatos also points to a compaction of season and environment apparent in the fresco: spring flowering lilies bloom simultaneously with fall crocuses, and marshy landscapes are depicted adjacent to dry, rocky terrain. For Marinatos, the Monkeys and

6. *PM* II, p. 406.

7. For a recent account of the social climate in which Evans worked, see MacGillivray 2000.

8. Cameron 1967, 1968. For the colored version of Cameron's reconstruction, see Evely 1999, p. 247.

Blue Birds Fresco is not simple wall decoration. Rather, the frieze represents a deliberate compression of nature brimming with religious meaning suggestive of the renewal of nature and symbolic of the ideal spring. She further points to a stone offering table and a votive ladle inscribed in Linear A that were also found in the House of the Frescoes, and suggests that the room once decorated by the fresco must have been a shrine.[9]

The Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco, then, conveniently encapsulates a continuing debate about the meaning of landscape art in the Aegean Bronze Age. Is a landscape secular or religious in meaning? Is it just fancy wall decoration, or does it signal the presence of a religious shrine? These are the principal questions that are still being brought to the material, and the debate on the religious significance of landscape art underlies most recent studies of individual landscape compositions derived from Aegean contexts.

The LM I fresco cycle from Room 14 of the Royal Villa at Ayia Triada in southern Crete presents a second instance that stirs the same debate (Fig. 3.2). Excavated in 1903 but only published in 1998, this composition extended across three walls.[10] On the north wall, situated on the viewer's left upon entering the room, was painted the image of a kneeling female figure in a lush landscape of lilies, crocuses, and violets. On the east wall at the rear of the chamber, a central panel showed a second female figure, usually identified as a goddess or a priestess, positioned beside a platform set in a landscape with myrtle plants. Finally, on the south wall, to the viewer's right, was an elaborate depiction of untamed nature where goatlike animals (probably *agrimia*) bound across a rocky landscape and wild cats stalk pheasantlike birds amid a profusion of crocuses, ivy, and additional varieties of flowering plants. Though understood by its earlier interpreters in secular terms as luxurious bedroom decoration, it has more recently been suggested that the room, which is equipped with a low platform, should be identified instead as a religious shrine.[11]

On Thera, where frescoes and archaeological contexts were well preserved by an enormous volcanic eruption, the academic debate has become even more intense, with strikingly different interpretations of the Spring Fresco from Delta 2 in Akrotiri appearing in recent years. In one camp is Mary Hollinshead, who argued in 1989 that Room 2 was used as a bedroom.[12] After all, excavation of the room did reveal the ghostly remains of a bed, preserved as a negative impression in the volcanic ash. For Hollinshead, the Spring Fresco, with its lovely depiction of swaying lilies and darting swallows, is essentially secular in meaning, endowed only with dormant symbolism derived from the religious role of lilies in other contexts.[13] The other camp is led by Nannó Marinatos, who identified Delta 2 as a shrine and suggested that the fresco served as a backdrop to religious action.[14] Supporting this position is Karen Foster, who in 1995 questioned the bedroom identification and interpreted the swallows as evidence for an avian epiphany.[15] For Foster, the room was clearly designed for cultic use. Yet the basic problem remains that Delta 2, which contained an assortment of everyday artifacts in a secondary context, would not be identified as a shrine without the existence of the Spring Fresco. Is the presence of this beguiling composition enough to demand a revision of traditional

9. Marinatos 1984, p. 92; 1993, pp. 194–195.

10. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 49–50, 180 (A.T. 1), pls. 17, 18; Militello 1998.

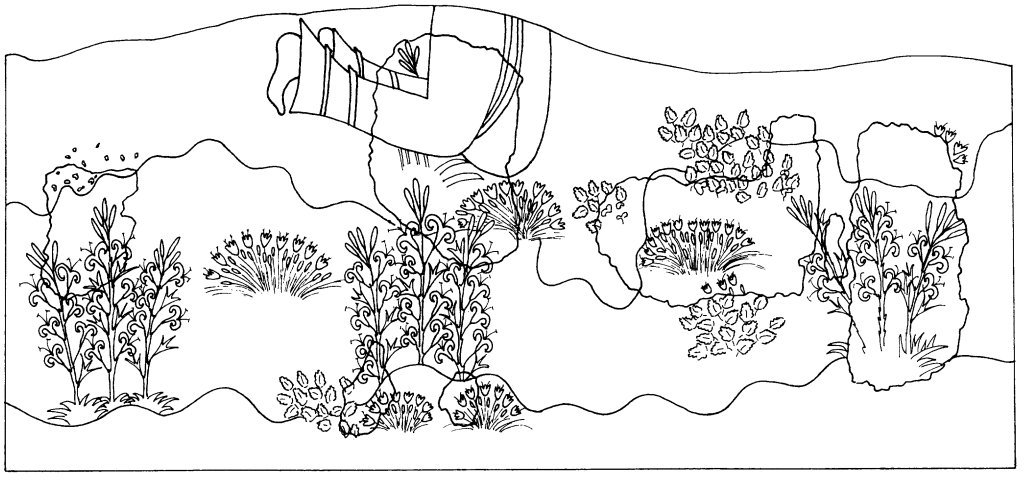
11. For identification as a bedroom, see Kopaka 1990; Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1980, p. 92. For identification as a shrine, see Militello 1998, pp. 250–282; 1992; Rehak 1997, p. 174.

12. Hollinshead 1989.

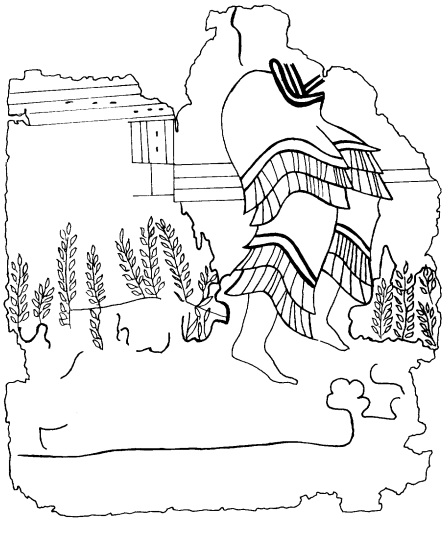
13. Hollinshead 1989, p. 351.

14. Marinatos 1984, pp. 93–94.

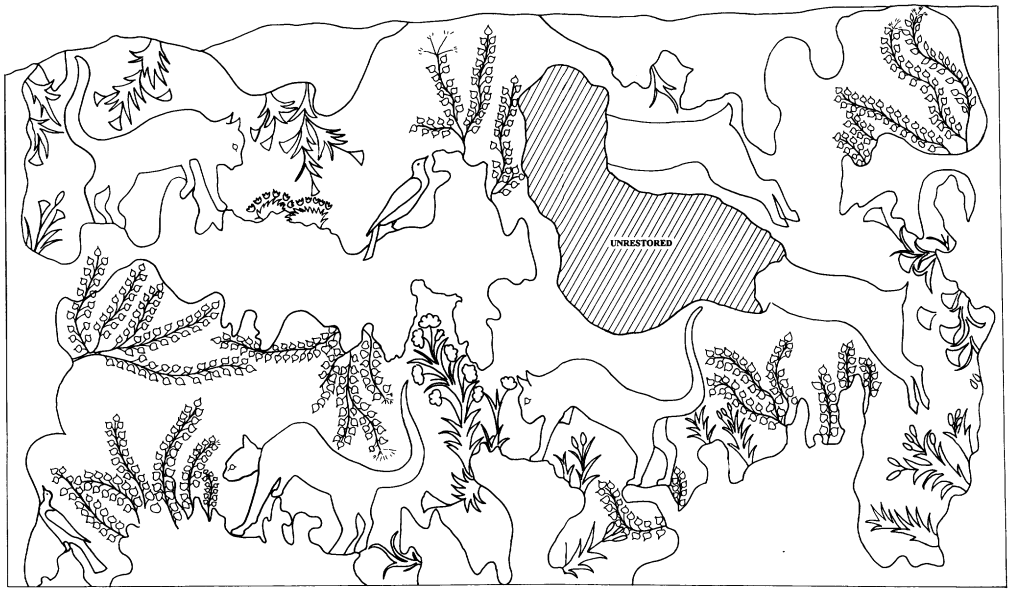
15. Foster 1995.



a



b



c

Figure 3.2 *(opposite)*. **Sketches of the Herakleion Archaeological Museum's reconstructions of the frescoes from Room 14 of the Royal Villa at Ayia Triada:** *(a)* **north wall,** *(b)* **east wall,** *(c)* **south wall.** A. P. Chapin

categories of sacred and secular architecture? As Christos Doumas observes, so little is known about what constitutes sacred, domestic, and public space in Aegean prehistory that it is difficult to establish objective criteria for characterizing Delta 2 as a cult room.[16] Indeed, the same problems of interpretation seem to confront the identification of the proposed shrines in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos and the Royal Villa at Ayia Triada. With no foreseeable resolution of this problem, the debates no doubt will continue.

The question is further complicated by compositions that appear to present secular characters and contexts, such as the LM IA Partridge and Hoopoe Fresco from the Stepped Pavilion of the Caravanserai at Knossos (Fig. 3.3).[17] As restored by Evans, the frieze depicts at least eight partridges and two hoopoes in an abstractly rendered rocky landscape dotted with myrtle, chicory, "briars," and perhaps dittany, caper, or acacia.[18] None of these pictorial elements is believed to embody religious symbolism, though Evans observes that both partridges and hoopoes are good to eat.[19] The architectural setting of the frieze, too, is unusual, but does not seem to indicate that religious ritual was its primary function. The Stepped Pavilion opened onto a courtyard located along what Evans believed was the probable route of the Minoan road leading to the Knossos palace from the south. To the east of the Pavilion were storerooms and stables; to the west, also open to the courtyard, were remarkable waterworks consisting of a sunken stone bath for cold-water bathing, a room of clay bathtubs for hot baths, and an elaborate Spring Chamber that supplied fresh drinking water. Considering these features together with evidence for fine upper story rooms with tarazza flooring and painted plaster walls, Evans imagined that the complex served as a resting place and inn for travelers arriving at Knossos.

More recent investigations emphasize the building's connection with the prestige architecture of the Neopalatial elite. Clairy Palyvou observes that the architectonic framework of painted yellow bands in the Stepped Pavilion seems to imitate the grid of the pier-and-door partitions that constitute the Minoan polythyron system,[20] and Elizabeth Schofield further notes that the bathing facilities, combined with the pleasant atmosphere of the Stepped Pavilion, suggest that the Caravanserai may have functioned as a sort of prehistoric club or health spa. The intimate scale of the facility additionally suggests that "membership" would have been limited to a select group of people.[21] Renewed interest in the Caravanserai thus serves only to highlight the prestige elements associated with this unusual building while failing to make a solid connection with Minoan cult practice as it is currently understood. The proposed link between nature painting and Aegean religious ritual therefore does not seem to be supported by either the Stepped Pavilion or the Partridge and Hoopoe Fresco. Instead, the fresco seems to be one element among many in a carefully calculated design intended to impress a visitor to this "public" building.[22]

The issue of archaeological context is complicated by the growing awareness that houses, villas, and even palaces and towns throughout the Aegean may have specialized to serve a variety of functions.[23] At Akrotiri

16. Doumas 1992, p. 100.

17. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 78–79 (Kn 20), pl. 30; *PM* II, pp. 109–116, figs. 49, 51–54, and frontispiece.

18. The fragmentary and worn condition of the composition makes species identification difficult. Evans (*PM* II, p. 110) identified the birds as chukars (*Caccabis chukar*) whereas Cameron (1975, pp. 94–95) saw them as rock partridges (*Alectoris graeca*). A plant believed by Evans to be dittany (*PM* II, pp. 111, 113) is identified as caper (*Capparis spinosa* L.) by Martin Möbius (1933, p. 20), and as an acacia tree (*Acacia nilotica*) by Maria Shaw (forthcoming). The "briars" are too abstract to be identifiable as a particular plant.

19. *PM* II, p. 114.

20. Palyvou 2000.

21. Schofield 1996.

22. The prestige function of painting is also emphasized by Christos Boulotis (1992, p. 89), who points out in his discussion of Theran wall painting that frescoes are expensive to commission yet create no economic gain for their owners. The value of mural decoration must then have resided at least partly in the display of wealth alone.

23. For an overview of the problem, see Rehak and Younger 1998, pp. 104–106; for detailed investigation into the definition and functions of Minoan villas, see Hägg 1997. For investigations into the functions of Minoan palaces, see Hägg and Marinatos 1987.

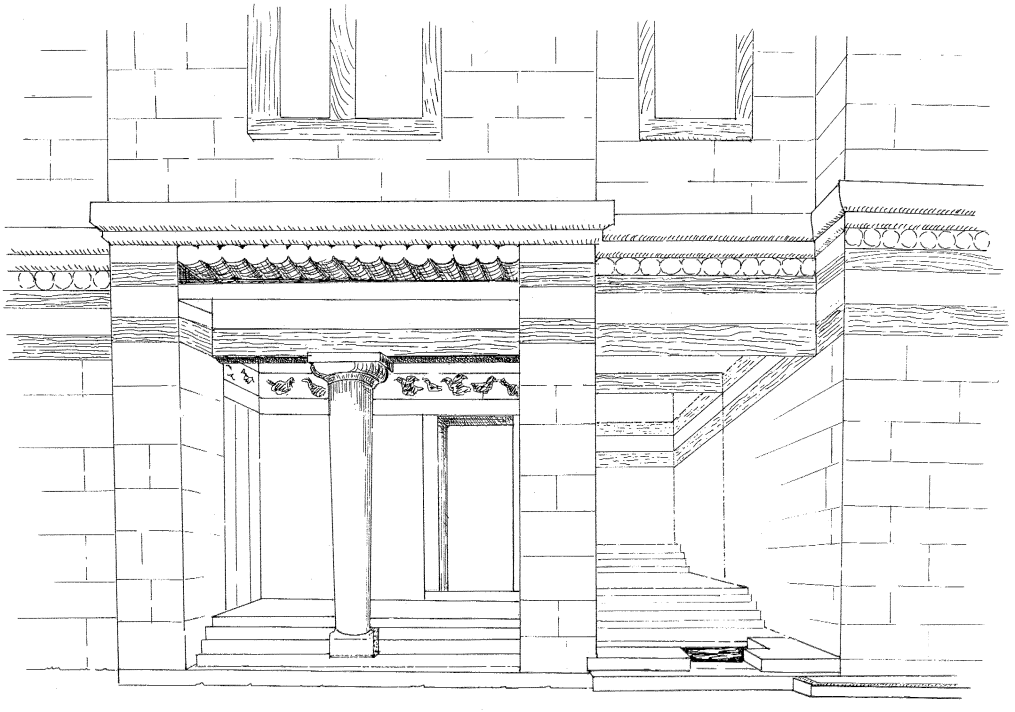


Figure 3.3. Reconstruction of the Stepped Pavilion of the Caravanserai at Knossos, decorated with the Partridge and Hoopoe Fresco.
A. P. Chapin, after *PM* II, i, p. 117, fig. 55

on Thera, the West House perhaps housed a textile workshop,[24] and Xeste 3 may have served a ceremonial function.[25] Both structures were painted with landscape frescoes.[26] Likewise, in the area of Knossos, the Royal Villa seems designed specifically for ceremony, perhaps of a public or official character,[27] but the Caravanserai looks like a bath house and inn.[28] The Unexplored Mansion may have served as a workshop and storage annex to the Little Palace, which probably had a ceremonial function.[29] Each of these urban villas was decorated with landscape frescoes, though in the cases of the Royal Villa and the Little Palace, these frescoes remain undated and unpublished, and their fragments are now unidentified.[30] Even entire settlements may have been differentiated. The palace and town of Zakros, for example, probably specialized in overseas trade, whereas Pseira and Mochlos may have served primarily as port towns, and Ayia Irini on Keos (modern Kea), located near the mainland mines at Laurion, may have been involved in metallurgy.[31]

Within this diversity of building type and settlement, close study of Aegean painting reveals regional trends in technique and subject matter.[32] The flora and fauna that are the subject of Aegean nature painting are also

24. Tzachili 1990; Wiener 1990, p. 134.

25. Marinatos 1974, p. 23.

26. For the Nilotic Frieze from the West House, see Doumas 1992, pls. 30–34, and for the landscapes of Xeste 3, pls. 95–99.

27. Betancourt and Marinatos 1997, pp. 94–95; Fotou 1997, pp. 38–41.

28. *PM* II, pp. 103–125, and note 21 above.

29. Hitchcock and Preziosi 1997.

30. For the frescoes from the Royal Villa and the Little Palace, see Cameron 1975, pp. 714–715, 722–723, 730. For the frescoes from the Unexplored Mansion, see Cameron 1984, Chapin 1997.

31. Wiener 1990, pp. 133–134; Schofield 1990.

32. Morgan 1990, Davis 1990. For the problems associated with identifying regional schools of painting, see Chapin 1997, pp. 10–11.

diverse and are represented in a variety of situations that do not all seem to have overt cultic meaning. Maria Shaw raises the question that some seemingly wild Aegean landscapes might actually represent gardens,[33] while Natasha Angelopoulou observes that in Theran frescoes, the red lilies that seem infused with religious symbolism in the Spring Fresco reappear in the two ordinary-looking flower vases painted on the window jambs of Room 4 of the West House.[34] Angelopoulou argues that the variety of landscape elements, the variation with which they are presented, and the differing functions of the rooms and buildings they decorated all suggest that the Theran landscape paintings do not have a unified meaning. Instead, each composition must be analyzed separately.[35]

These debates and problems, then, illustrate the state of scholarship on Aegean landscape painting. Most early- and mid-20th-century scholars understood Aegean landscape art primarily in secular terms as room decoration that rejoiced in the beauty of the natural world,[36] whereas late-20th-century scholars have reconstructed a religious function for some Aegean landscapes[37] but not for all.[38] This later generation of scholars has recognized the importance of variability and uncertainty: iconography and style vary,[39] many frescoes have been overrestored or restored incorrectly,[40] and the functions of the buildings in which frescoes were found are imperfectly understood.[41] This situation is compounded by incomplete records of excavation and publication. Interpretations now seem to rely so heavily on individual contexts—both archaeological and iconographic—that a scholarly consensus on a broader meaning of the artform within prehistoric Aegean society sometimes seems unattainable.[42]

It is for this very reason, then, that Sara Immerwahr's survey of Aegean landscape art contained within the pages of *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* remains important. Her work provides the first and only comprehensive attempt to place Aegean nature painting within the larger context of the major artistic developments in contemporary Minoan and later Mycenaean fresco traditions.[43] It is therefore a great honor to dedicate this essay on landscape painting to Professor Immerwahr, who generously guided my studies long after she was officially freed from the demands of

33. Shaw 1993.

34. Angelopoulou 2000.

35. Angelopoulou 2000.

36. Rodenwaldt 1921, p. 10; Swindler 1929, pp. 75–77; *PM* II, p. 466; Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951, pp. 195–205; Hutchinson 1962, pp. 178–181, 275–278; Matz 1962, p. 121; Graham 1969, pp. 199–205.

37. Marinatos 1984, pp. 84–96; 1993, pp. 193–200; Foster 1995. See Niemeier 1992 for a careful review of the religious content of Theran painting.

38. See, e.g., Hollinshead 1989, Chapin 1997, Angelopoulou 2000, and Shaw forthcoming.

39. Hägg 1985, Morgan 1988 and 1990, Davis 1990, Walberg 1992, Angelopoulou 2000.

40. Perhaps the most famous mistake remains Evans's restoration of the monkey in the Saffron Gatherer Fresco from Knossos as a blue boy. For overviews of the restorations, see Immerwahr 1990, pp. 41–42, 170 (Kn 1); Evely 1999, pp. 119–123. See also Shaw (this volume) on the continuing debate surrounding the restoration of the Priest-King Fresco from Knossos.

41. For a recent overview, see Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, pp. 89–122.

42. A number of recent investigations into Minoan fresco painting thus expand their methodologies. Fritz Blakolmer and Stefan Hiller (forthcoming) are developing a diachronic study of all painted plasters from Crete, whether figural or not. Charles Gates (this volume) and Judith Weingarten (1999) explore cross-cultural approaches.

43. Immerwahr 1990.

teaching,[44] and to begin with her conclusion that, despite variations of archaeological context and iconographic theme, Aegean landscape consistently reflects a reverence for nature that implies the overarching presence of a Minoan goddess of nature.[45]

From this starting point, this investigation will take another look at the varied iconography of Minoan landscape art with the intent of demonstrating that its underlying religious symbolism may perhaps be even more potent than previously recognized. However, the goal of this inquiry is not to support the contention that Aegean landscape painting was simply religious in meaning. Rather, a review of the restrictions placed on viewing landscape painting suggests that the religious content of Aegean landscape may have been used by an elite class to reinforce its own dominant social standing within a theocratic society.

FLORAL ICONOGRAPHY IN MINOAN LANDSCAPE

The underlying iconographic meanings of many favorite Neopalatial floral motifs have been carefully studied by other scholars, and this investigation accepts the findings that crocuses, lilies, and other plants probably served cultic, medicinal, and economic functions in prehistoric Aegean society.[46] Not all Minoan landscapes, however, depict these plants. In fact, the surprising variety of floral motifs identified in Neopalatial landscapes from the town of Knossos—wild pea or vetch, rockrose, convolvulus, honeysuckle, flowering rush, butcher's broom, and dittany or acacia, to name a few—suggests something of a Minoan "renaissance," during which artists may have been intentionally inventing new floral compositions to attract patronage, just as artistic competition in the Italian Renaissance centuries later drove artists to new levels of achievement.[47]

But do these varied landscapes also carry embedded religious meaning? Certainly only a few Aegean landscapes, such as the fresco cycle from Xeste 3 in Akrotiri on Thera,[48] preserve identifiable images of deities or deitylike figures, and many landscape frescoes do not include human or divine figures at all. These pure landscapes, which have come to characterize the cultural achievements of the Minoans and their Aegean contacts, also lack painted representations of Minoan religious symbols, such as horns of consecration and double axes.[49] The frescoes themselves are usually in fragmentary condition, their archaeological contexts are often unclear, and their architectural settings are not always well understood.[50] The evidence in support of a more comprehensive religious iconography embedded in Aegean landscape painting would, at first glance, seem to be weak.

The LM IA Floral Fresco from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos is one composition that is intriguing for its creativity and its lack of overt religious symbolism (Fig. 3.4). In 1997, when I published a new reconstruction of the composition, I did not see anything more than latent religious meaning embedded in the floral motifs, but further study of this fresco has led me to reevaluate the iconographic evidence. The crucial feature is the representation of unusual varieties of plants and plant hybrids

44. This essay has benefited greatly from the insightful comments of Dawn Cain, Paul Rehak, Louise Hitchcock, Robert Bauslaugh, Sabine (formerly Ivanovas) Beckmann, and the anonymous readers who refereed the manuscript. I wish to thank each of these people for his or her help. All remaining mistakes are my own.

45. Immerwahr 1990, p. 50.

46. The earliest comprehensive study of floral identification is Möbius 1933; more recently, see Warren 1979, 1985, 2000, Marinatos 1984, 1993, Amigues 1988, Morgan 1988, Walberg 1992, Porter 2000, Negbi and Negbi 2000, Beckmann 2001, Rehak (this volume).

47. Chapin 1997, pp. 19–24.

48. Doumas 1992, pl. 122.

49. Interestingly, in Room LVIII at Kato Zakros, identified as a lustral basin or bath, floral fresco fragments were found near painted horns of consecration and imitation stonework surviving in situ. See Cameron 1975, p. 764, with reference to *BCH* 91, 1967, p. 777, fig. 7, lower; Platon 1971, p. 182 (without mention of the floral frescoes).

50. For a catalogue of figural fresco evidence summarizing excavation contexts up to the mid-1970s, see Cameron 1975, pp. 671–781. Blakolmer and Hiller (forthcoming) are working on an updated catalogue of all painted plasters.



Figure 3.4. Reconstruction of the Floral Fresco in the Unexplored Mansion, Knossos. Chapin 1997, fig. 2

that defy identification. The osier-lily hybrids, the anemone-reed hybrids, and the "frilled flowers" are exotic artistic inventions otherwise unknown in Aegean art.[51] The technique and artistic mastery exhibited in the fresco further reflect an enormously talented and innovative artist who possessed such confidence and imagination that he (or she) ventured away from the traditional Aegean repertoire of floral elements. The new creations, however, do not pretend to represent a real landscape of native plants, but instead depict unreal combinations of floral motifs.[52]

The Floral Fresco from the Unexplored Mansion is only one of many Aegean landscapes to employ floral hybrids, but it distinguishes itself by the rarity of the floral motifs that it hybridizes. Common hybrids in Minoan art include the papyrus-lily and papyrus-reed hybrids, which appear in the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (Fig. 3.1).[53] The appearance of these floral hybrids, along with an imaginative choice of flower colors that expand upon the natural range, could be explained as illustrating Aegean artistic inventiveness within the confines of a rather limited repertoire of motifs.[54] But a century of excavation reveals that while crocuses and lilies are among the most commonly encountered floral motifs in Neopalatial landscape, there is also an unexpected diversity of floral types that represents an expanding pictorial vocabulary in early Neopalatial painting.[55] In light of this development, it seems difficult to sustain the argument that floral hybrids were used only to compensate for the limits of the Minoan artistic idiom.

It has often been observed that Minoan artists were not as careful as their Egyptian counterparts when describing species, and that they frequently chose to hybridize one species with another or to generalize the forms of their art.[56] But why? Aegean artists could be brilliant observers of

51. Cameron 1984.

52. Chapin 1997, pp. 20–23.

53. *PM* II, pp. 463–465. For an overview of papyrus and its artistic hybrids, see Morgan 1988, pp. 21–24.

54. See Walberg 1986 for an exploration of how the abstract designs underlying Kamares pottery decoration were combined to create pictorialized fresco motifs in Neopalatial painting.

55. The well-preserved frescoes from Akrotiri on Thera, especially the complex pictorial program of the West House, demonstrate the wide variety of floral motifs available to Aegean artists in the Neopalatial period. See Doumas 1992 and Morgan 1988.

56. See, e.g., *PM* II, pp. 463–465; Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951, p. 196; Hood 1978, p. 56; Immerwahr 1990, p. 41; Dickinson 1994, p. 165.

their natural world. In the realm of statuary, the Palaikastro kouros continues to amaze viewers with its extraordinarily detailed anatomical rendering.[57] The naturalistic bulls and athletes carved in relief on the Boxer Rhyton from Ayia Triada,[58] the foreshortened views of swallows twisting in flight frescoed on the walls of Delta 2 at Akrotiri,[59] and even the gnarled trunks and tiny leaves of the olive trees decorating the gold Vapheio cups,[60] all present just a few examples of the high degree of naturalism that Aegean artists could apply to their art in the Neopalatial period. So it would seem that on some occasions, Minoan artists were highly motivated to create very naturalistic depictions of people, plants, and animals, but on other occasions they were free to depart from realism, to generalize, and to invent new artistic forms through hybridization.

The question remains, then, why would a Minoan artist intentionally create distortions of nature? The answer may be that these obviously fictional representations served an important but unrecognized purpose. When animals are combined to create hybrids, such as griffins or sphinxes, they are universally identified as mythological and are understood to be divine.[61] Thus the attendant griffin in the Mistress of Animals Fresco from Xeste 3 in Akrotiri identifies the enthroned female figure as a goddess,[62] whereas on Crete, the frescoed griffins flanking the stone throne of the Throne Room at Knossos suggest a cultic role for the enthroned individual.[63] But what about plants? When artists created fantastic plant hybrids, could they not have been intentionally signifying something more meaningful than an active imagination expanding the limits of a developing artistic idiom? Could not Minoan painters have used floral hybridization along with animal hybridization to signal the presence of divinity? If so, then the Floral Fresco from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos would offer more than an unusual experiment in Aegean landscape painting. It would appear to visualize an underlying belief in the power of divinity to act upon the natural world and to transform its appearance. The exotic hybrids of the Floral Fresco, then, may preserve an artistic illustration of the power of divinity to create and reshape nature.

Does this imply that the Floral Fresco marks the presence of a shrine in the Unexplored Mansion? Probably not. To use an oft-quoted parallel, a crucifix hanging on a wall today does not by itself make that space a place of religious devotion, and likewise, a landscape fresco alone should not signify the presence of a prehistoric shrine. In this case, the archaeological and architectural contexts of the Floral Fresco do not support a religious interpretation.[64] Nevertheless, a crucifix would suggest that the resident of that room is Christian, and likewise, the presence of a landscape fresco, as a medium of social communication, may imply that the occupant participated to some degree in a Minoan religious or theocratic community.

Support for the hypothesis that landscapes with floral hybrids were infused with supernatural symbolism can be found in the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (Fig. 3.1).[65] This expansive and complex landscape combines a taste for innovative floral motifs with imaginative floral hybrids and, as observed above,

57. Dickinson 1994, p. 173, pl. 5:19; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, p. 144, fig. 90.
58. Hood 1978, fig. 145.
59. Doumas 1992, pls. 66–76.
60. Hood 1978, figs. 160–163.
61. On the griffin, see Morgan 1988, pp. 49–53.
62. Doumas 1992, pl. 122.
63. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 96–98, 176 (Kn 28), pls. 47, 48.
64. Chapin 1997, pp. 12–15.
65. See note 3.

represents an explosion of plant growth and a compression of different environments—rocky, riverine, and marshy—within a single painting. Focusing on these elements, Nannó Marinatos has interpreted the fresco as a religious landscape symbolic of an ideal spring and its fertility.[66] There may, however, be a more universal meaning, that the composition alludes to the greater totality of nature. To begin with, the list of plant species that are identified (some very tentatively) is impressive and exceeds the number included in any other Minoan landscape studied to date. The plants include the crocus, Madonna lily, sea lily (Pancratium lily), rose, dwarf iris, ivy, wild pea or vetch, cistus, convolvulus, honeysuckle, tulip, flowering rush, reed, mallow, and papyrus.[67] There are also unidentified plants and varieties that were created through hybridization, such as the "papyrus-reed" motif and a fanciful plant that combines papyruslike flowers with reedlike stems and additional radiating flowers that recall marguerites.[68] Although some of the identifiable plants, such as the crocuses and lilies, have known cultic connections, others seem to have been selected for representation or invented by the artist in order to emphasize the enormous variety of nature.[69]

The seasonal range of flowering represented by the different plant species shown in the fresco, moreover, does not suggest a springtime landscape. A quick survey of the identifiable plants reveals the following: the dwarf iris (*Iris inguicularis*) flowers in Greece from January through April,[70] but the Madonna lily (*Lilium candidum* L.) blooms from May into July.[71] The sea lily (*Pancratium maritimum* L.), which grows on seaside sand dunes, blossoms in late summer, from August to September,[72] but the crocus (*Crocus cartwrightianus*) does not bloom until late October, with flowers emerging through November and into December.[73] The flowering plants in the composition thereby encompass the *entire* year's growing cycle. It is as if the artist wished to compress all of nature's annual beauty into a single painting, and so the composition does not depict a native Cretan landscape that could be encountered at any single moment in time.

Nannó Marinatos explains this apparent contradiction with nature as a representation of an ideal spring, but her use of the word "spring" refers to all periods of growth, including the Greek autumn, rather than to the season commonly identified as spring—that following winter and ending with summer. Nor does her expanded concept of "spring" recognize the significance of the blooming sea lilies, whose late summer flowering occurs in the dry season, a time of little growth in Greece.[74] It may therefore be more precise to understand the "ideal spring" described by Marinatos as an eternal, timeless landscape idealized to suggest a supernatural fertility of the earth. In this light, the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco seems to

66. See note 9.

67. *PM* II, pp. 454–466, pls. X, XI, figs. 264, 266, 268, 275; Cameron 1968. For a reidentification of the "rose" as cistus, see Warren 2000; for the identification of the sea lily rather than papyrus, see Porter 2000. New identifications for some of the plants are introduced by Beckmann (2001).

68. *PM* II, pp. 464–466, fig. 275:c.

69. Walberg 1992, p. 245.

70. Sfikas 1987, p. 280.

71. Polunin 1969, p. 497.

72. Sfikas 1987, p. 276; Porter 2000.

73. Porter 2000.

74. On the flowering of sea lilies, see Porter 2000.

portray a timeless idea of nature in *all* its seasons.[75] The presence of floral hybrids thereby reinforces the unearthly, magical quality of the composition already suggested by the simultaneously flowering native species. Together, both types of floral motifs—reflective of nature and invented—seem to reinforce a sense of divine abundance.

Additionally, the fresco cycle of Room 14 in the Royal Villa at Ayia Triada combines the landscape features discussed above—floral hybridization, innovative depictions of native plants, and simultaneous blossoming—with a prominent female figure (Fig. 3.2:a, b).[76] Here, subtle clues in the representation of the flora of the flower-gathering landscape also seem to reveal a divine power at work. The lilies are artistic inventions created by hybridizing the form of the white Madonna lily, *Lilium candidum* L., with the color of the red lily, *Lilium chalcedonicum* L.[77] The supernatural quality of this hybrid is reinforced by its flowering simultaneously with violets[78] and crocuses (*Crocus cartwrightianus*),[79] in apparent contradiction to botanical reality. In nature, violets flower in March and April, Madonna lilies bloom from May into July, and crocuses blossom from late October to December. The simultaneity of flowering in the Ayia Triada fresco, like that in the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco, thereby suggests the growth of an entire year.

Though Moshe and Ora Negbi dismiss the concurrent blooming as mere "decorative pattern,"[80] it seems unlikely that such a pronounced departure from reality should be excused as a meaningless artistic device.

75. While this idea, expressed by the coined phrase "eternal springtimes," is only now appearing formally in print, it was much discussed on the e-mail discussion group AegeaNet in 1999 and 2000. Louise Hitchcock, after reading an earlier version of this manuscript, introduced a summary account of these ideas to AegeaNet just as Sabine Beckmann was posting similar observations. In addition, Beckmann generously shared with AegeaNet many of her photographs of Cretan flowers, details of her new plant identifications, and contributed extensive AegeaNet discussion of their significance for recognizing a year-long symbolism of plant fertility. Beckmann and I arrived at these ideas independently, and from different avenues of investigation, but we are in basic agreement that no single season is depicted in the Monkeys and Blue Birds Fresco. I want to thank Sabine Beckmann for sending me the text of her 2001 paper delivered at the 9th Cretological Congress (Beckmann 2001).

76. She is crouching or dancing beside a stepped platform and the focal point of the small room, and Paul Rehak (1997) and Pietro Militello (1998) both identify this central figure as the Minoan goddess of nature, though in truth her divine identity remains uncertain. As Dawn Cain (2001) clearly demonstrates, distinguishing mortal from divine figures in Minoan art is greatly complicated by our limited understanding of gesture, spatial relationships, and temporal sequences, even in scenes generally identified as epiphanic. In this case, even though there are good reasons for recognizing the central female figure of the Ayia Triada fresco as a goddess, and even though accepting her divine identity would bolster the thesis presented here, the evidence supporting her divinity is not wholly conclusive and must be treated with caution. The figure, though central, is neither enthroned nor accompanied by supernatural attendants, as is the unambiguously divine Goddess of the Xeste 3 frescoes on Thera (Doumas 1992, pl. 122). Additionally, the open angle of the crouching figure's throat, which is partially preserved in newly published fresco fragment V9 (Militello 1998, p. 120, pls. 1:B, F.a; note also the curve of a large hoop earring on this fragment), suggests to this author that the figure's head should be tilted higher than is suggested by Militello's reconstruction of the panel (Militello 1998, pl. 4). An upward glance, as if gazing toward the heavens, seems an unusual pose for a goddess in epiphany. While the fresco cycle clearly seems suffused with religious content, distinguishing a human, divine, or mythological identity for the central female figure still seems to lie beyond the existing evidence.

77. Rackham 1978, p. 756; Negbi and Negbi 2000.

78. A rare motif in Minoan art identified tentatively by Cameron (1975, p. 101) as *Viola oderata* L.

79. The identification of the Ayia Triada crocuses with *Crocus cartwrightianus* is made independently by both Warren (2000) and Porter (2000).

80. Negbi and Negbi 2000.

Nor is this the idealization of a single season. Rather, landscape art again seems to depict an eternal, timeless landscape expressive of the mythic fertility of the earth. Though naturalistically painted, the frescoes from Ayia Triada are thus revealed to be highly selective and manipulative works of art.[81] The composition appears to show a coherent environment, yet a closer examination reveals that the landscape setting is a deliberately deceptive fiction intent on displaying the power of a Minoan divinity in the natural world.

Since the best-preserved landscapes discussed above seem to feature a religious symbolism that, while poorly understood today, could have been recognizable to a Neopalatial viewer, can it be argued that *all* landscape paintings were laden with religious iconography? Probably not. Iconographic analysis of the most common floral motifs, such as crocuses and lilies, suggests that medicinal and even economic values were attached to some of the plants,[82] thereby pointing to a plurality of symbolic meanings within the context of Aegean society. Moreover, the abundance of new motifs in Neopalatial painting—many of them representing unidentified or unidentifiable plants—defies any attempt to fit them all into a system of religious iconography. Further complicating matters, most of the frescoes are too poorly preserved to reconstruct their original appearance with any degree of confidence, and the lack of documentary evidence surviving from the Neopalatial Aegean makes it very difficult to place the artistic evidence within a historical context. Therefore even though it may now be possible to argue that many of the better preserved landscapes are instilled with more potent religious symbolism than previously recognized, it cannot yet be demonstrated that all landscape art was religious in meaning and associated with cultic space. Why then would anyone on prehistoric Crete go to the expense of painting a room with a landscape if it did not necessarily announce the location of a shrine? What other functions might landscape art have served in Minoan society?

NATURE PAINTINGS AND POWER: THE POLITICS OF LANDSCAPE

Although access to divinity in nature seems to have been available to any Bronze Age Aegean person who could walk to a peak sanctuary, a hilltop shrine, or a sacred enclosure, landscape paintings were usually private and not open to general view. All known landscape paintings decorate the interiors of buildings, and were often located in rooms on upper floors. So, to view a fresco, one first had to be admitted to the building and then go upstairs. Additional barriers further regulated passage through the buildings: interior doors separated spaces, and rooms were laid out in sequences that directed circulation throughout the structure. A chamber painted with a nature fresco thus formed only one element within the greater plan of building use and communication.[83] Even without considering the function of the buildings and rooms involved, it seems clear that access to nature paintings was restricted and probably carefully controlled.

81. For a summary of the deceit of landscape and its many functions in Western art, see Mitchell 1994, p. 2.

82. See, e.g., Amigues 1988, Porter 2000, Negbi and Negbi 2000, Rehak (this volume).

83. Hitchcock 1994; Michailidou 1990, p. 299; Palyvou 2000.

Moreover, landscape painting is by no means found in every Aegean house.[84] In fact, figural frescoes in general and nature frescoes in particular are quite rare and are limited to the more elaborate structures of an Aegean settlement. On Crete, the towns of Gournia and Kommos reveal the comparative rarity of this art form, as no identifiable fragments of figural painting were found in Neopalatial Gournia, despite the excavation of over 1.5 hectares of habitation,[85] and only one house from Kommos, House X, yielded fragments of a landscape fresco.[86] Altogether, the decoration of a building with a landscape fresco must have been a mark of distinction, and the fact that most of the known nature frescoes from the Aegean come from villas or large houses reinforces the connection between painting and the Neopalatial elite.[87]

It probably would not be taking the evidence too far to suggest that the elite both owned and consumed landscape painting, and, in their own residences, probably had a hand in deciding when the paintings would be available, if ever, to non-elite members of the community. Since the elite demonstrated their wealth and position by building large structures, whatever their specific uses and functions, and commissioned artists to decorate these buildings,[88] the resulting frescoes were available on an everyday basis only to those who habitually worked or resided in the rooms bearing the frescoes. These few people, then, were the principal consumers of that art. Moreover, they probably controlled access to the images, since everybody else presumably needed permission to be allowed into the rooms. This likely situation applies equally to private residences, such as the House of the Frescoes at Knossos or Complexes Beta and Delta at Akrotiri, as to buildings with probable public use, such as Xeste 3 at Akrotiri, and to villas with a likely mix of public and private functions, such as at Ayia Triada. In each instance, the archaeological record suggests that somebody outside the building only viewed landscape art if he or she was permitted access to the decorated interior room. Landscape art, then, was not only an element in the display of prestige and wealth—it was also an art of exclusion.

The only exception to this rule appears to be the Partridge and Hoopoe Fresco from the Caravanserai at Knossos (Fig. 3.3), but this fresco embellished a building that appears to have been a traveler's rest area where people visiting Knossos would have stopped, rested, and bathed.[89] In this sole example, landscape painting seems to have been put on public display, just as the high quality of the building's construction emphasized to any visitor the wealth of palatial Minoan society.

The average non-elite person living in Neopalatial Minoan Crete, then, probably rarely, if ever, saw landscape art. This individual presumably lived comfortably but not extravagantly in a modest house (such as in the common residences at Gournia or Kommos) that lacked palatial features, including figural painting, and resided in a town led by members of an elite class who participated in a theocratic system of government. This non-elite Minoan was also probably illiterate and was likely to have been a rather unsophisticated viewer of art, since mural painting was probably not a part of his or her daily experience. But if this average Minoan received an invitation to appear at the residence or seat of government of his

84. See note 50.

85. Hawes 1908.

86. Shaw and Shaw 1993, pp. 131, 155–160, pl. 28:b, c.

87. Broader connections between fresco painting and elite ritual are being revealed by Fritz Blakolmer (1995, 1997, 2000).

88. As Boulotis (1992, p. 89) observes, this was probably a significant expense.

89. See notes 17 and 21.

or her local civic and religious leader, then landscape art could have been used to make a powerful psychological impact on the non-elite visitor.

Upon arrival, this non-elite person could have been received in a room decorated with landscape art, and if so, he or she would have experienced an amazing sight, for the ordinary world of nature would have appeared transformed to the unsophisticated eye. Beautiful and delicate plants would flower with lush elegance, and different species would all blossom simultaneously in a magnificent and supernatural profusion of life. Quite unexpectedly, the powerful presence of divinity in nature would have been made visible to the non-elite guest. More importantly, it was a member of the elite class who had made this divinity manifest. This ability of the Minoan patron to provide a formal expression of divine power, then, could have had a profound psychological effect upon the non-elite Minoan population that would reinforce existing social and class distinctions.

In a theocratic culture, the elite who built the palaces, ran the government, and managed the economy also directed the spiritual life of society.[90] Religious ceremonies and cult activities were probably undertaken with the intent of pleasing the deities and ensuring harmony with them and prosperity for the people.[91] From the Sacred Grove and Dance Fresco at Knossos, it seems clear that the Minoan population was divided into participants and spectators, in which a priestly class directed the ceremonies while others watched.[92] The members of the elite would have used ritual to demonstrate their special relationships with the gods, especially the Minoan nature goddess. Landscape painting would have supported this stratification of society by providing visual evidence of the elite class's communication with divinity. Even more, the ability of the elite to produce, own, and control images of landscapes may have further suggested to the populace that divine power fully supported the Minoan elite.

CONCLUSION

This ongoing investigation into the iconography, patrons, consumers, and audience for Minoan landscape art suggests a new interpretation for the art form—one that does not require landscape art to be either secular or religious in meaning, because in a theocracy, religion pervades *all* aspects of life. Instead, this line of reasoning suggests that even though the underlying symbolism of landscape seems religious in intent, perhaps even more so than previously recognized, the paintings were used by an elite class to reinforce their privileged position in society. Landscape art, as expensive room decoration, contributed to an elaborate display of wealth and luxury, while, simultaneously, its symbolic messages demonstrated that the elite class was entitled to its intimate connection with divine power. An important function of landscape art within its architectural setting, then, was to sustain and to justify the elite's claim to power and high status within the broader context of Minoan society.

In conclusion, though Minoan painting remains beautiful to look at, it was more than expensive and elegant wall decoration. And though endowed with potentially potent religious meaning, these frescoes cannot be

90. For a recent summary, see Rehak and Younger 1998, pp. 147–148.

91. Marinatos 1984, pp. 119–120. Dickinson (1994, p. 266), however, cautions against idealizing Minoan society in terms that reflect modern values.

92. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 65–66, 173 (Kn 16), pl. 23; *PM* III, pp. 66–80, pl. XVIII.

understood simply in religious terms, as only devotional paintings or as backgrounds to religious rituals. Rather, Minoan landscape remains complex and multifaceted in meaning, just like the society that produced it. So perhaps it is not all that surprising that the conclusion of this investigation is that one of the most important functions of landscape painting was to support a basic human ambition—to achieve success and status in society, and to maintain power within it.

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The "Priest-King" Fresco from Knossos: Man, Woman, Priest, King, or Someone Else?

by Maria C. Shaw

Dedicated to Sara, colleague and friend, with affection and esteem

It is with a healthy skepticism that people today view the extensive and overconfident restorations of Minoan wall paintings that were produced at the beginning of the 20th century.[1] The problems are familiar: the fragmentary preservation of the murals, and the fact that they were rarely found in situ. The magnificent painted stucco shown here in Figure 4.1 is a classic example of such difficulties.

The restoration, composed of often nonjoining fragments found in 1901 in the Palace of Knossos, depicts a crowned, striding figure that the excavator, Sir Arthur Evans, nicknamed the "Priest-King." As was then common, the restoration was painted on a panel made of plaster of paris, in which were also embedded the actual plaster fragments. The restoration illustrated here was rendered by Evans's artist/restorer Émile Gilliéron fils, and is familiar, having been on display in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum for many years. An almost identical restoration that added a field of lilies to the solid red background was eventually published as the color frontispiece in volume II of *The Palace of Minos,* in which Evans provided his main discussion of the relief.[2] Noteworthy in both restorations of the longhaired individual wearing a codpiece is his adornment with *waz*-lilies, some on his crown along with feathers, others in the form of beads in his necklace.

Doubts were expressed almost from the beginning about the accuracy of the restoration of the Priest-King, doubts that gained new impetus in the 1980s with the publication of a series of independent articles by Jean Coulomb and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier arguing that the separate fragments of relief must belong to more than one individual, particularly since the crown was of a type normally worn by female figures.[3] Other questions were raised about the color of the figure's skin—should the heavily worn fresco's surface be interpreted as abraded red, or dirty white with reddish brown stains? This important issue affects the interpretation of the figure's gender, since it was long assumed that red figures in Aegean art were male, whereas white figures were female.[4]

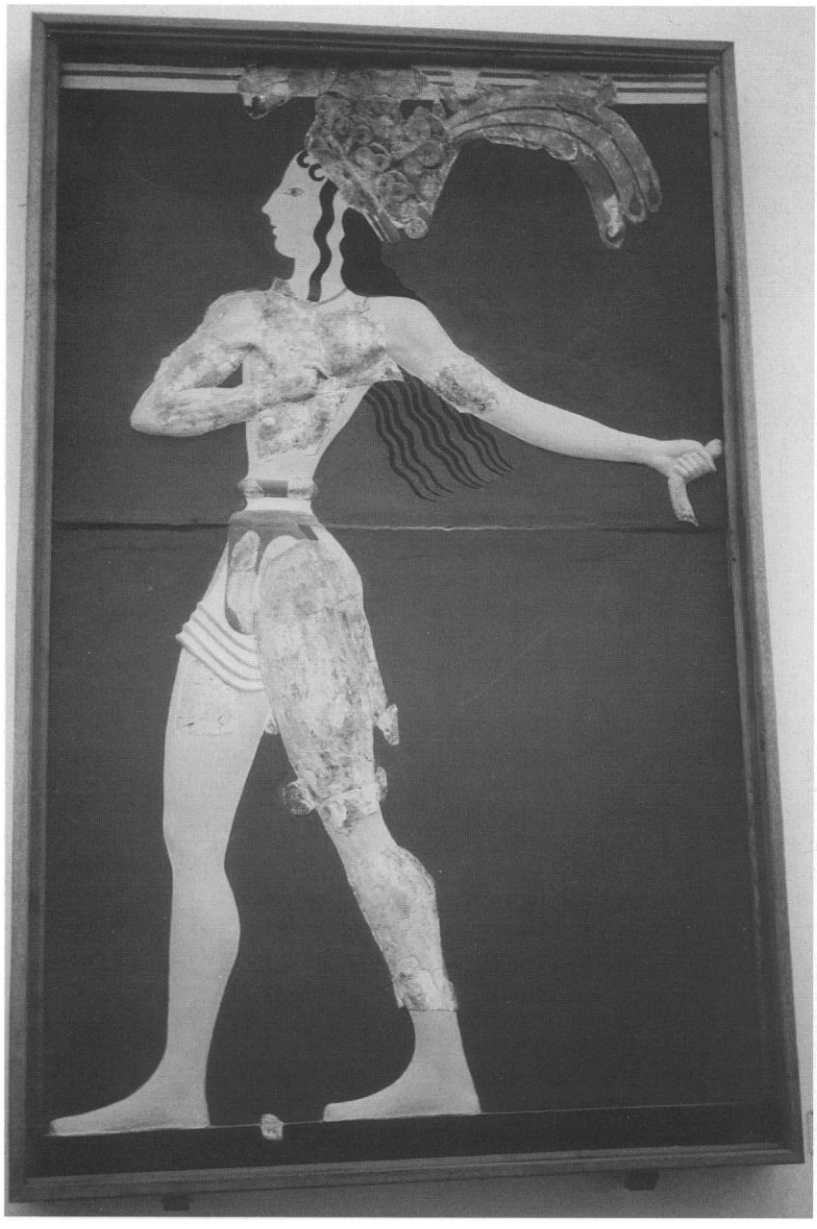
Given the broad acceptance of Coulomb's and Niemeier's ideas, it may appear rather untimely that I should reopen the issue. Yet, to my thinking,

1. I am most grateful to C. Dawn Cain, and especially to J. W. Shaw, for reading and commenting on this manuscript at a formative stage, though I remain solely responsible for the opinions expressed.

2. *PM* II, pp. 775–795.

3. Coulomb 1979, 1990, Niemeier 1987, 1988.

4. For a readable overview of debates prevalent at the time, see Muhly 1990.



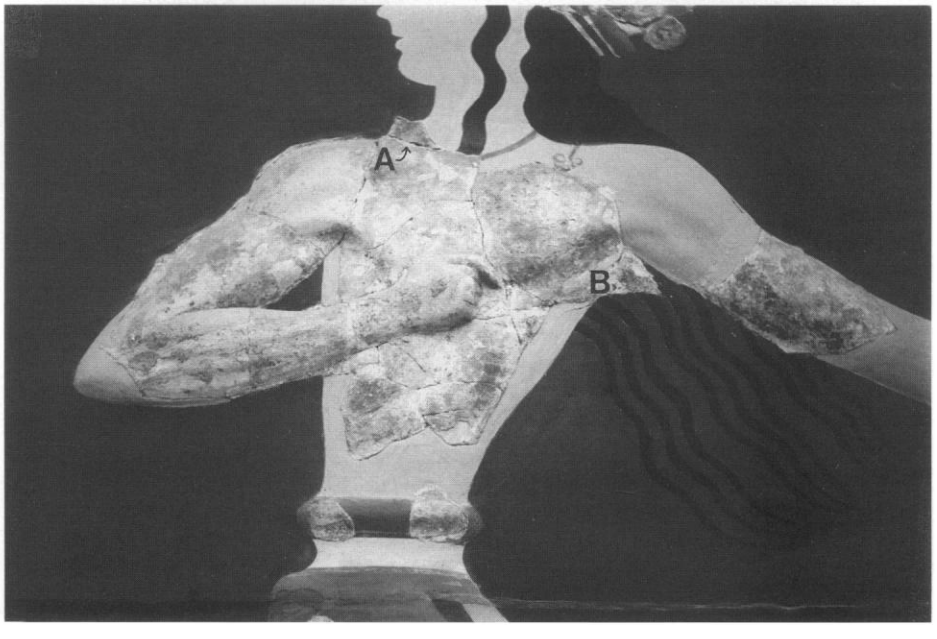
a

Figure 4.1. The "Priest-King": *(a, above)* restoration by Gilliéron fils; *(b, opposite, above)* detail of head and upper torso; *(c, opposite, below)* detail of torso (Herakleion, Archaeological Museum). Photos by J. W. Shaw, courtesy Archaeological Museum of Herakleion, Herakleion

the issues surrounding the Priest-King Fresco remain unresolved, and it is in response to problematic details of reconstruction that I arrived at the theory I shall present here. The reason for my long silence is that I have felt that conclusions I drew on the basis of illustrations ought to be confirmed to my satisfaction through an inspection of the actual fragments. Finally I had the opportunity to do so a few years ago, when, thanks to the kindness of the Director of the museum, Alexandra Karetsou, I was allowed to borrow a tall ladder and thus was able to examine the crucial fragments from a much closer distance. The purpose of this article is to record my recent observations, and also to attempt to come to a better understanding of the subject matter. Reviews of selective details of the fragments and the restoration, as well as their archaeological/architectural context, precede the final interpretative section.



b



c

FRAGMENTS AND RESTORATION

The plaster fragments listed below can best be seen in the photographs (Fig. 4.1). They are also indicated, in a rough way, by dashed outlines in four simplified drawings that illustrate varying restorations of the relief (Figs. 4.2–4.5; the figures are not to scale). The comments are intended to alert the reader to iconographic, and occasionally ambiguous, details that are further discussed later. All fragments belonging to the figure itself were executed in painted stucco relief; those of the background were simply painted on a flat surface. Direction is indicated throughout the text in terms of the figure itself, and not from the viewer's point of view.[5]

5. E.g., the figure in the painting in Figure 4.1 is turning or facing right. Because of the many interpretations as to which direction the figure was facing originally, it is crucial that the reader concurrently consult the illustrations to avoid confusion.

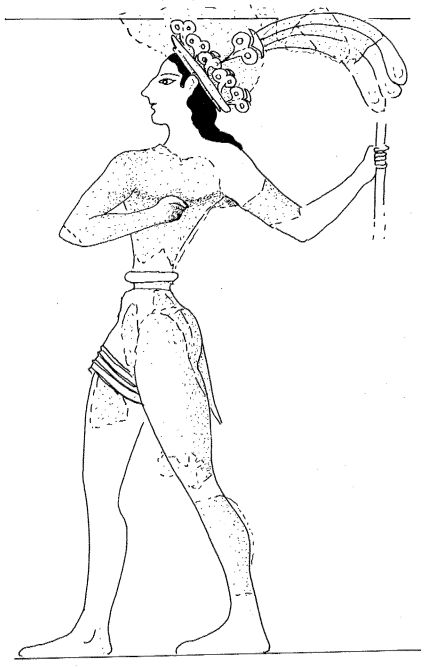


Figure 4.2 *(left)*. The Priest-King, restoration by Gilliéron père. M. C. Shaw, after Snijder 1936, pl. 6

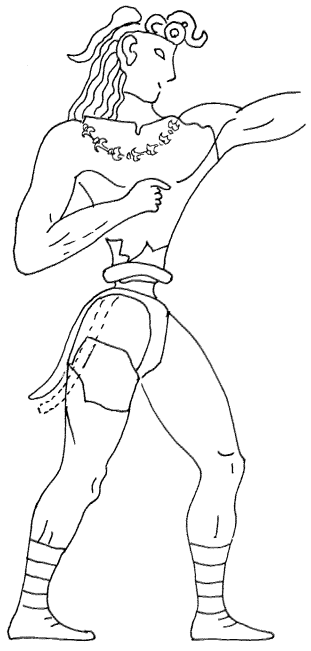
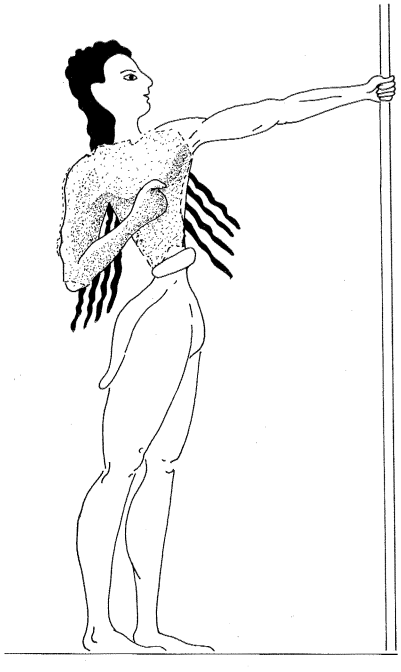


Figure 4.3 *(right)*. Restoration by J. Coulomb as alternative to the Priest-King. M. C. Shaw, after Coulomb 1981, p. 34, fig. 5

Figure 4.4 *(below, left)*. Restoration by W.-D. Niemeier as alternative to the Priest-King. M. C. Shaw, after Niemeier 1987, pl. 9:1

Figure 4.5 *(below, right)*. The Priest-King as a modified version of the restoration by Gilliéron fils. M. C. Shaw, after *PM* II, ii, color pl. XIV





Catalogue Raisonné of Fragments

1. Forehead, part of the ear and black hair, below a crown decorated with multiple white lilies, each topped by blue *waz* motifs. Three long feathers (details in *PM* II, figs. 504:a, b) rise from the single highest lily and slightly overlap the upper frame of the mural. There is no evidence for the spiral-shaped curls restored by Gilliéron fils (Fig. 4.1).

2. Frontal torso, with bent right arm and closed fist held tightly against the chest (Figs. 4.1–4.5). A modern replica (*PM* II, fig. 508) partially restores patterns that are not clearly visible on the original, namely the necklace of *waz*-lilies, a blue collar above, and what was thought to be a long strand of hair running down the middle of the chest.

3. The biceps of the otherwise missing left arm (*PM* II, frontispiece, color pl. XIX). Figures 4.2–4.5 illustrate alternative restorations of the arm.

4. Parts of a belt with blue and white bands trimmed in red (as restored in *PM* II, frontispiece).

5. Parts of the codpiece (*PM* II, frontispiece).

6. Left thigh and nonjoining fragment with shin of a person facing right (*PM* II, figs. 510–511).

7. A small red fragment restored as part of the bottom of the composition, adjoining a black area below, likely a dado (Fig. 4.1:a).

8. Part of an irislike flower against a light background (*PM* II, frontispiece and fig. 513).

9. Part of what has been restored as a butterfly against a red background (*PM* II, frontispiece and fig. 514).[6]

Discussion

In brief, the fragments have been combined to create a monumental figure that seems to be moving right, to judge by the direction in which the head turns despite the frontal torso. The figure is further identified by the codpiece, if, indeed, the lower body belongs with the torso and the crown pieces. Codpieces are a type of Minoan apparel probably used by those involved in lively activity,[7] such as bull-leaping, which is one of the reasons the relief has been thought by a number of scholars to represent a leaper.

Here, however, my first concern is to look into the evidence from the fragments and the matter of their restoration. A detailed history of the latter need not be repeated here, since it can be found in the well-documented account provided in Niemeier's 1987 study, which affords me the opportunity simply to highlight only those points that are relevant to my contribution to the debate. I should note, however, that my own perception of Evans's role in the reconstruction is that he seriously took into consideration the results of the ongoing mending process and the finding of joins by his restorers. That there was much soul-searching as to how to visualize the composition, both on Evans's part and on those of the

6. In his detailed description of the fragments, Cameron (1975, III, pp. 24–25) mentions that he was unable to locate items 8 and 9 of this catalogue. The landscape, however, is peripheral to my concerns, as I focus more on the figure.

7. As stressed by Rehak (1996).

restorers, is evident from a number of full restorations that were produced over some years, of which I illustrate two (Figs. 4.1:a, 4.2).[8]

In these, the main difference is that some include a landscape as part of the background, others do not. As far as the figure itself, the main difference is in the interpretation of the gesture of the essentially missing left arm—what will always remain a moot question for all of us. Both versions illustrated here show the arm as slightly raised, in order to explain the somewhat oblique slant of the pectoral muscle, but that by Gilliéron père shows it bent, with a staff held in the hand, while that by Gilliéron fils has it stretched and swinging back in a downward slant, the hand holding the end of a rope. The inclusion of the rope, for which there is no actual evidence, was to illustrate Evans's theory that the Priest-King was leading a magical animal.[9]

This interpretation met with the support of Stylianos Alexiou, who cited comparanda in glyptic depictions of men wearing codpieces and leading, in one case a sphinx, in another a griffin.[10] In a more romantic strain, Gand Nojorkam would later make the left arm of the Priest-King wrap around the waist of a goddess or princess the youth was to wed, the couple ceremoniously heading towards the Central Court![11] The idea that the Priest-King was heading in that direction derives, of course, from Evans's belief that the place where the fragments of the mural were found was once a corridor that linked with the famous Corridor of the Processions, the later name derived from the mural with that theme found partly in situ just beyond the southwest portico of the palace, where the corridor started.[12]

The matters of the gesture and action of the missing arm became rather central some twenty years ago in a renewed scrutiny of Evans's reconstructions. It was first Coulomb,[13] a physician by profession, who observed that the tension and slant of the figure's left pectoral muscle required that the missing left arm be raised considerably higher than shown by either of Evans's artists. Naturally, the head should be facing in the direction of that arm, which led to the conclusion that the crowned head and the torso could not belong to the same person. The person portrayed, according to Coulomb, was likely a boxer preparing to strike his opponent (Fig. 4.3).

Niemeier thoroughly agreed with Coulomb's decision that the crowned head should be separated from the torso, but he rejected the idea that the torso belonged to a boxer, arguing instead that the combined gestures of the arms did not match those of boxers known from Aegean art.[14] Niemeier preferred to interpret the figure as a Minoan god, supporting this view with parallels in Minoan iconography, mainly on seals but also in other pictorial media. The crown, he pointed out, should be assigned to either a sphinx or a priestess, such newly created additional characters suggesting that the subject of the painted relief was a scene rather than a single individual.[15] In his proposed restoration of the god (provided here as a simplified drawing, in Fig. 4.4), Niemeier incorporated a photograph of the torso piece, or rather of a cast taken from the original,[16] and he then completed the restoration of the figure as a line drawing. In this restoration, the god's head features long hair, but wears no headgear. The face turns in the

8. All four compositions are conveniently illustrated in Niemeier 1987, pl. 8:1–4. For a new and thorough discussion of the history of the restoration of the relief, see a newly published booklet on the Priest-King: Sherratt 2000.

9. Evans's parallel was the "priest" leading a tethered griffin seen on a seal from the Vapheio Tomb: *PM* II, p. 785, fig. 512; and see p. 783 for Evans's belief that the figure's left arm should display a "downward action."

10. Alexiou 1969, passim.

11. Nojorkam 1968, passim.

12. *PM* II, p. 762, fig. 490, suppl. map C, and p. 775 for the findspot.

13. Coulomb 1979.

14. Niemeier 1988, p. 238.

15. For the proposed alternative restorations, see Niemeier 1987, p. 95, figs. 24–26.

16. The photo of what I consider to be a cast is published in *PM* II, p. 780, fig. 508. Evans does not clarify that the photo is of a cast, but this can be ascertained by the fact that painted details not visible on the original torso, such as the strand of black hair above and below the fist, are visible here. I consulted S. Sherratt, Evans's archivist at the Ashmolean Museum, who agrees with me on this point (pers. comm.).

direction of the problematic arm, which is shown raised straight up, a staff held in the hand.[17] In this restoration, the torso piece was steeply tilted to accommodate the interpretation of a raised arm.

Niemeier's restoration has further implications. One is that his figure is standing rather than marching, an idea that inherently denies Evans's conception of the Priest-King as a processional figure. While processions tend to be shown on corridor walls, scenes with interacting characters are best suited to the walls of a room. Niemeier then sought evidence that the fresco's context was a room rather than a corridor by reviewing Duncan Mackenzie's excavation reports of the area. This review proved to Niemeier's satisfaction that there was no corridor and that the room was likely to be a shrine, given the possible presence of sphinxes or priestesses in the fresco.

By reopening the debate, it is not my intention to scrutinize the strong arguments that convinced a whole generation of scholars (since the 1980s) that Evans's restoration and interpretation of the figure were wrong. Rather it is to discuss the fact that the arguments of both Coulomb and Niemeier may have been inadvertently based on an initial tactical error made while examining the evidence. Specifically, both scholars relied on the modern replica for their evidence, which, unfortunately for their conclusions, was produced by the restorers *before* the completion of their own final restoration, when a few additional but crucial pieces of plaster were found to join the torso.

By publishing a photograph of this replica in the final publication—I suspect in order to illustrate painted details like the lily necklace—Evans may have inadvertently misguided future scholars. Yet there were ways one could have become aware of the additional pieces, foremost among them being to study the replica and the torso piece as displayed in the Herakleion museum. The added fragments were also included in the watercolor restoration published as a frontispiece, noted earlier.[18] In my case, ironically, I became aware of these additions by looking at color photographs of the Priest-King on postcards sold in the museum shop and elsewhere on Crete.

What was crucial for me to check during a close examination of the fragments (while standing on a ladder in the museum gallery!) was whether there was evidence of hair that would be indicated in black color along the preserved base of the neck and the shoulder and arm on the torso's right side—that is, under the Priest-King's chin in Evans's restoration. Hair in that particular location would mean that the face belonging to the torso should in fact be turned in the direction opposite that in Evans's restoration, assuming that the figure was long-haired.

Comments on these various issues can best be followed by consulting two photos (Fig. 4.1:b, c), taken of the Herakleion museum display long ago, before the protective sheet of Plexiglas was added to this and other fresco displays.[19] Fragment A (as marked in Fig. 4.1:c) joined the torso at the junction of shoulder and neck on the right side of the torso. Fragment B, a small triangular piece, joined the existing edge of the torso next to the left armpit. This last piece is not in relief, as it is part of the background, which was flat. On it and against a red background, Gilliéron fils believed

17. Niemeier 1987, pl. 9:1; his pl. 9:2 reproduces the "Master Impression" from Khania, the image of a ruler or god holding a staff in the hand of the raised right arm that most inspired Niemeier's restoration of the Knossian torso with a raised arm holding a staff.

18. Cf. *PM* II, pl. XIV and frontispiece.

19. It was a happy coincidence that I already possessed these photographs, taken some 25 years ago, and I thank the current Director of the museum for permission to reproduce them on this occasion. These photographs, I hope, show how well the two plaster pieces join the torso, and why I find rather unjustified the comment made by Coulomb (1979, p. 44) that the joins were "hypothetical."

there were black undulating strands, for he shows them in his restoration. Even though Gilliéron père omits them (Fig. 4.2), he nevertheless interprets the figure as having long hair. There is also what has been identified as a long lock of hair hanging down the center of the torso. Along with the fact that most Minoan males are shown with long hair, such indications suggest that this was the case with this monumental figure also.

While the two last details were not sufficiently visible to me from my position on the ladder, fragment A was. It preserves a small area of the skin at the base of the neck, as well as part of the second necklace or collar (painted blue) above the lily necklace. The relief of the skin pieces sloped down to merge with the flat background. A strip of the background was also preserved alongside the contours of the shoulder and the upper part of the figure's right arm. In my examination, I could see that all background areas just specified were painted solid red. Significantly, there was no sign of the black color that one would expect had the head been originally facing left (viewer's right), as proposed by Coulomb and Niemeier in opposition to Evans.[20]

In conclusion, and provided my eyes and those of others who had access to the actual fragments are to be trusted,[21] it appears that Evans was right, and that the torso was once associated with a head turning in the same direction as that of the head with the feathered crown. The added fragments must have helped the restorers in other ways, too. For instance, both the line of the neck and the piece of collar, which are perpendicular to each other, must have helped with the positioning of the torso. In Evans's restoration, left and right pectorals are aligned and they differ only slightly in the angle of slant, though hardly enough to justify an acutely raised left arm, as in the more recent reconstructions. As for the question of whether the crowned head belongs with the torso, there is no longer any compelling reason to separate the pieces. Indeed, the fragments were found together in a small area, and because the lilies appear in both crown and necklace on the torso, there is good support for their association. For some of the same reasons, it is likely that the pieces depicting the codpiece and the legs were also part of the same image.

Overall, there are few changes I would suggest to the original restorations. Personally, I prefer the restoration by Gilliéron fils for the restored arm, but I would omit the rope, for which there is no evidence. I imagine the missing arm as simply swinging back, perhaps lower than in the restoration, thereby conveying the impression of a figure moving vigorously forward, as I attempt to show in a drawing (Fig. 4.5). A swinging arm would have contrasted with the relatively static gesture of the bent arm and clenched fist that seems to convey constrained energy and a sense of command. Parallels for this gesture abound in Egyptian and Near Eastern art, especially in the representations of gods or rulers holding emblems of

20. It should be noted here that the surface of the background was well preserved; its proximity to the relief area may have protected it from abrasion. A comparable case of preservation occurs in another Minoan painted relief: see Shaw 1998, p. 63.

21. Though Cameron does not discuss the fragments that joined the torso specifically, he appears to have taken them into consideration in his own restoration of the Priest-King, which shows crowned head and torso as belonging together (Cameron 1975, slide no. 1, pp. 164–165). Of all scholars, Cameron, we must remember, had the most access to the actual plasters found at Knossos. Cameron seems to agree that strands of hair ran down the chest and appeared between the torso and left arm of the figure.

their status.[22] There is no close parallel in Minoan art for the exact configuration of the hands of the Priest-King as preserved and restored,[23] but this could well be due to the rarity of depictions of the very special individual that the Priest-King may have been.

Evans may not have been far off the point when he thought of a "king," a label modern scholars prefer to see replaced with the more generic one of "ruler," though recent scholarship stresses the scantiness or even the complete absence of such an individual in Aegean iconography.[24] There is only one image that comes close to embodying this concept, as many have pointed out, and this is the so-called "chieftain," or, as Evans named him, the "Young Prince,"[25] who is one of two figures carved on the a stone vase from Ayia Triada.[26] This figure is shown holding a staff in his extended right hand, his legs in a profile view, but with a fully frontal torso that shows off the many necklaces he wears. Long strands of hair hang down the middle of his chest and down his back. Opposite him, his companion stands in a posture of salute or obeisance. He wears only one necklace and is "correctly" rendered with a torso in a nearly three-quarter view. Were we to animate the scene, we might witness the "Young Prince" marching ahead, his rear arm swinging back and his legs parting as he moves. The right arm might even bend and be held tight against his chest.

These last comments bring us back to Evans's idea of a processional figure, raising once again the question of whether the relief was painted on the walls of a shrine or of a corridor. Following in Niemeier's footsteps, I turn to Mackenzie's excavation reports for possible answers.

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

Accustomed to modern methods of excavation and recording, we naturally look, but in vain, for certain types of factual information, such as the absolute level of the datum point used in the description of the stratigraphic sequence by Duncan Mackenzie (henceforth D. M.), the person who actually carried out the excavation at Knossos. Yet one can still profit from reading the otherwise rather detailed accounts in D. M.'s daybooks. The pertinent pages have already been fully quoted by Niemeier in his own examination of the proveniences of the plaster pieces.[27] Below I paraphrase or summarize pertinent information, and base my conclusions also

22. For example, see Lauer 1976, book cover and color pl. XII, depicting king Zoser engaged in a ritual race during the Sed Festival; and Frankfort 1958, pl. 53, the stele of Ur-Nammu from Ur, which shows a ritual scene with processional figures approaching a god or ruler seated at either end, as well as (Frankfort 1958, pl. 82) the statue of the Assyrian ruler Assurnasirpal II from Nimrud.

23. Niemeier notes that the bent arm finds parallels on seals showing a figure leading an animal, but he objects that, in such processional figures, the other arm is lowered (1988, pp. 238–239; 1989, p. 168, fig. 1, nos. 1, 19, 23, 29). Naturally this does not constitute a problem if the arm was not raised, as Niemeier has suggested, and it may have hung even lower than it does in the restoration by Gilliéron fils.

24. The apparent phenomenon of the "missing ruler" in Aegean iconography was recently the theme of a conference (see Rehak 1995).

25. *PM* II, pp. 790–793. For a nonroyal/nondivine status for the chieftain, however, see Younger 1992, pp. 263–264; he suggests that the two males are of unequal age and are involved in interactive roles in a rite of passage.

26. Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 102.

27. Niemeier 1987, pp. 67–68, covering May 11–18, 1901, in Mackenzie's daybook.

on my consultation of architectural sketches and measurements provided in the daybooks.[28]

The relevant area lies south of the Central Court, in what is otherwise referred to as the South Front of the palace. In the report for May 14, 1901, plan 14, D. M. offers a simple sketch of the location in which the plasters were found on May 11, some 7.4 m from the south edge of the court, as shown on his plan. He labels the location "no. 1," a number I repeat on the plan provided in Figure 4.6, in which I also use D. M.'s label of "no. 3" for the so-called Room of the Clay Sealings. In my illustration I superpose two plans by Theodore Fyfe, one of the "lower floor" and one of "the upper floor." The illustration helps show which basement walls continued upward, information used by Evans to restore the plan of the ground floor.[29] D. M. remarks that the area between the Central Court and the location of the plasters had been substantially eroded in post-Minoan times. The level in this area is somewhat lower than that of the court (+101.35 m versus +101.78 m, as shown in Fig. 4.6).[30] Starting with the area of the plasters and continuing south, the topography changes dramatically, stepping down to a series of basements extending south and west. As Evans assumed, there would have been a ground-level story above them equivalent to that built directly onto the bedrock to the north, but the walls at the higher level have largely vanished or their traces are hidden beneath later construction or modern restoration. It was in one of these basements (or "substructures," as D. M. calls them), Space 1 in Figure 4.6, that the plasters were found, as will become clear from my references to D. M.'s notebook below.

In light of the information just reviewed, Evans's statement that the plaster fragments were found at the base of the east wall of the South–North Corridor becomes problematic.[31] Though he may be right that the relief had once decorated a wall rising from the level of the ground floor above the east wall of the basement, it is equally clear from D. M.'s daybook that the fragments were discovered next to the east wall of the basement, D. M.'s Space 1.[32] The fragments were found between May 11 and May 17, 1901, when D. M. first excavated the north part of Space 1. He was also excavating simultaneously in surrounding areas, clearly reaching different levels and periods, which can lead to confusion when consulting his daybooks. Interestingly, in each successive entry in the daybook he states the depth reached in Space 1 *incrementally* (as quoted below). He obviously had a starting level or other datum point, the absolute level for which he has not made known to us. One is tempted to assume that this datum point was the slab pavement of the Central Court, but this could be demonstrated only if future excavation reaches the level at which D. M. stopped excavation in Space 1; then, working backward from a level taken there, the absolute level of D. M.'s "surface" could be determined. This would be most useful, for it would make clear, once and for all, whether the first plasters to be discovered were above the basement level. This is something I thoroughly doubt, as it seems unlikely, in that case, that D. M. would have continued to excavate some 2.0 m deeper in search of more plasters, as he actually did, according to his daybook.

Below I summarize the daily progress of the work and the finds as per D. M.'s daybooks, adding occasional commentary.

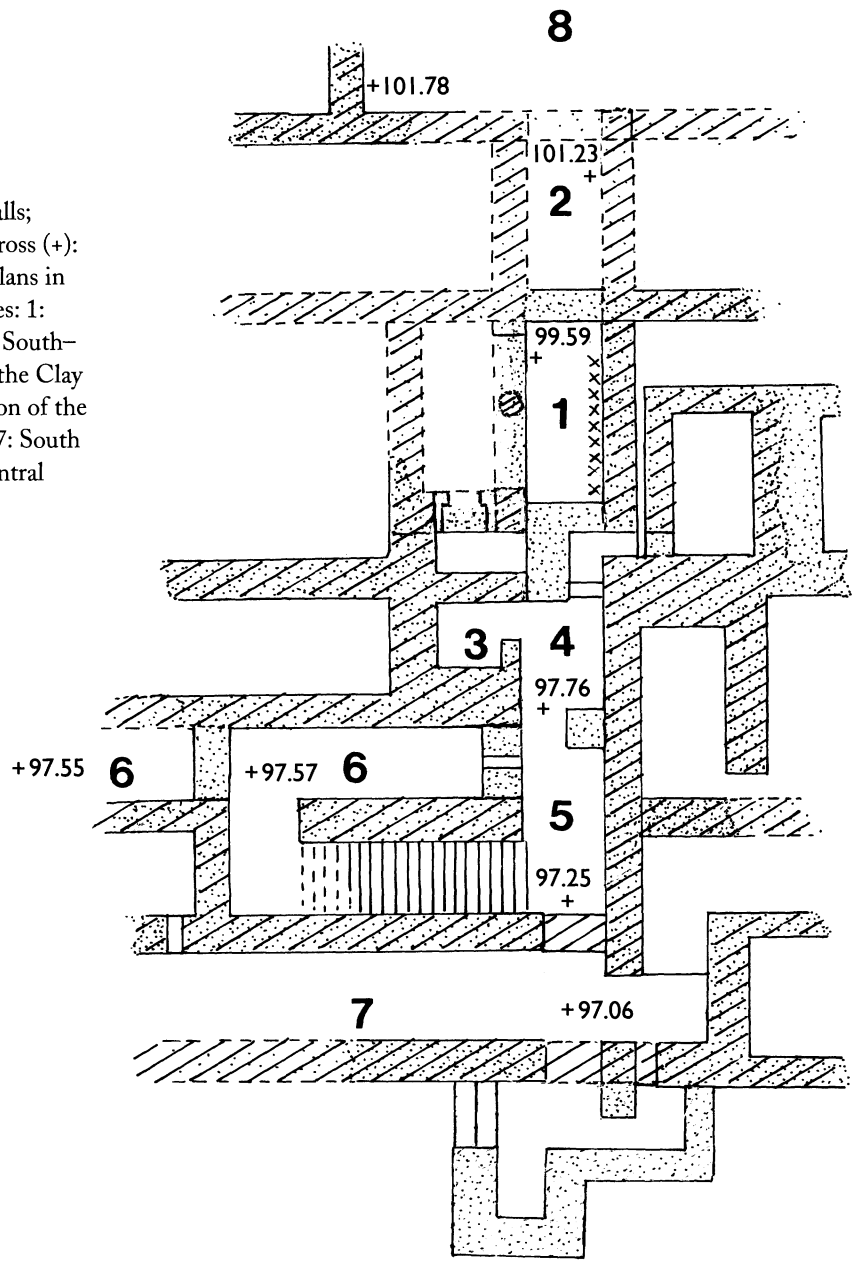
28. Transcripts made some fifty years ago by J. W. Graham are held in Robart's Library, University of Toronto.

29. The separate plans can be seen in *PM* II, p. 762, fig. 490:A, B.

30. The levels are derived from the plan and sections of the Palace of Knossos published by Hood and Taylor (1981). The levels are usually as they exist today, i.e., where holes were backfilled, but levels taken at Minoan slab pavements and bedrock have clearly not been changed.

31. See *PM* II, p. 762, fig. 490, for the location of the corridor, and p. 775 for the findspot.

32. See also Momigliano and Hood 1994, p. 145, for the statement that the space where the fragments were found (on their plan, p. 104, Space 7) was most likely a basement. Coulomb (1990, p. 108) reached the same conclusion, his only error being that he believed that the Linear B tablets were found in the same location. Contra Coulomb, see Momigliano and Hood 1994, p. 144.



Key: Stippling: lower-level walls; hatching: upper-level walls; cross (+): absolute levels according to plans in Hood and Taylor 1981. Spaces: 1: room with plasters; 5, 4, 1, 2: South–North Corridor; 3: Room of the Clay Sealings; 6: southeast extension of the Corridor of the Processions; 7: South Corridor; 8: south area of Central Court.

Figure 4.6. Plan of the South Front of the Palace of Knossos, combining the lower and ground levels (north at top). M. C. Shaw, after *PM* II, p. 762, fig. 490:A, B

Saturday, May 11, 1901

D. M. notes that excavation followed the "removal of surface soil from the S half of the E paved area" before the first day of the discovery of the plasters, which was on Saturday, May 11. He also notes that the first plasters were found at a depth of 0.30 m below the surface, and he recognized the leg of a male figure and fragments of drapery—the latter in fact the feathers of the crown, which he mistook for clothing.

Monday, May 13, 1901

Plasters continued to be found at deeper levels in the same location.

Tuesday, May 14, 1901
A right arm discovered on this day was found to belong to the torso found on Saturday, May 11. At 1.50 m down, there appeared the crown, causing much excitement. D. M. notes at this point that the north and east walls continued down, but he does not yet mention the south and west walls. These must have been found when he excavated later in the southern part of Space 1, and they are shown on Fyfe's plan (Fig. 4.6). Later, Evans would restore a central column on the line of the west wall of the basement, which did not continue higher up, calling the space behind it a Light Area.[33] These basement walls, the existence of which has been questioned by Niemeier, all appear on Fyfe's plan, which shows they began at the south end of the rear, or west, wall of Evans's Light Area.[34] Recent investigation in this area has confirmed that the basement in which the plasters were found had walls all around it.[35]

Thursday, May 16, 1901
Excavation reaching a depth of 2.20 m revealed only bits of plain plaster. No floor was yet found.

Friday, May 17–Saturday, May 18, 1901
Excavation continued down to 3.00 m, but no more plasters were found. Work shifted to the southern part of Space 1. The only plasters here, some red painted bits, were found at a depth of 1.18 m. Excavation continued down to 2.20 m.

Although it lies beyond my scope here to undertake a critique of Evans's architectural restoration in this tricky area, my understanding of the space and stratigraphic context of the plasters is important to my interpretation of the painted relief. Two points can be made briefly. One is that the fresco deposit was concentrated in a rather limited area and the fragments were found at some depth. The other is that D. M. suggested that the fragments fell from the main upper floor immediately above. It is unclear to me what that means, but there is a good chance that the fragments fell or were stripped from the east wall of the corridor during a remodeling. The dumping of the fallen or stripped fragments into the basement could have served two purposes if this lower space was going out of use and was to be filled in. In this scenario, the most economical and therefore the more reasonable interpretation, one assumes that the plaster fragments belonged to a limited area of the mural and likely to one figure, even though the total composition may have involved many figures, possibly a procession heading toward the Central Court.

Evans's restored South–North Corridor makes good sense in this scenario. When the architectural remodeling or rebuilding of the walls that originally carried the relief occurred, however, is uncertain. Though pottery from Space 1 was apparently kept, one cannot always trust labels placed in storage boxes, for these can be accidentally misplaced over the years. Nicoletta Momigliano and Sinclair Hood do, nonetheless, discuss a box of sherds with rather consistent chronology that may come from Space 1. A

33. See restoration in *PM* II, plan C.

34. For the basement walls, see *PM* II, p. 762, fig. 490:A; Momigliano and Hood 1994, p. 144. Niemeier (1987, p. 69, fig. 1) unfortunately made use of another plan by Fyfe, rather than the one in *PM*, the reason offered being that the earlier plan could be trusted more than the later one, which may have been modified by Evans.

35. Momigliano and Hood 1994, text and pls. 15–19, p. 143.

nagging doubt still remains, however, particularly since the pottery is no later than MM IIIB, presumably too early a date for the relief to have been executed and also to have fallen out of use. What is known is that the mural was *not* on the walls of the palace in its last phase, just before its LM III destruction—in whichever ceramic phase this may have been. Dates suggested for the relief by various scholars range from MM IIIB to LM IB, and occasionally later.[36] The Priest-King is not likely to have been a continuation of the famous Procession Fresco, which appears to be a later painting that started at the southwest entrance of the palace. Yet processional frescoes are logical themes for corridors, and there may have been a predecessor of the Procession Fresco that may have been contemporary with the Priest-King mural.[37]

WHO WAS THE PRIEST-KING?

The question of who was depicted in the relief is the most problematic, given how rare the iconography is. The two most compelling interpretations introduced above, however, offer clues for further investigation. The first is Evans's identification of the figure as a Priest-King, what we might translate into modern parlance as a "theocratic ruler," or, at the least, an elite person of very high status. These qualities may be conveyed by the gesture of the right arm (if my analogy with representations of eastern rulers carries any weight), by the religious symbol of the *waz*-lilies, and by the impressive crown, to which I shall return. The other identity is that of a crowned female leaper, first proposed by Mark A. S. Cameron.[38] Cameron was convinced that the figure's skin was white, a color that, at that time, was believed to always indicate a female, and that the long hair, the codpiece, and the necklace were iconographic features associated with depictions of leapers. Though the two solutions are seemingly irreconcilable, I would like to propose that they may not be so, particularly if we consider the possibility that bull-leaping may have been one of the tests that helped determine who among the young members of the society might be promoted to the ranks of the aristocracy or ruling elite.

The preceding statement does not, of course, address the question of gender identification, an issue that was once confidently settled in terms of the conventional color of the skin, red for a male, white for a female, used in ancient art, particularly in the Aegean and Egypt. In contrast, multidisciplinary approaches used in the interpretation of Aegean iconography make one aware that this criterion is not as straightforward and definitive as once believed. For instance, wall paintings in Egypt display a range of colors to indicate not only gender but also age and ethnic identity, making it difficult to see where the convention for gender applies. In addition, anthropological research is making it clear that ancient peoples may not have always thought in terms of distinct polarities in their definition of gender, and such ambiguities were registered in their artistic depictions.[39] Yet I would claim that as far as Minoan paintings found on Crete

36. Evans (*PM* index, p. 146) suggested MM IIIB; Cameron (1975, III, p. 25; I, p. 591) MM IIIB–LM IA; Hood (1978, p. 75) perhaps LM IA; Kaiser (1976, p. 292) LM IB; Immerwahr (1990, p. 171) perhaps LM IA.

37. Plaster fragments found under the floor at the beginning of the Corridor of the Processions, east of the West Porch, depict large-scale women with richly decorated dresses; they may be part of an earlier procession, regarding which see *PM* II, pp. 672–682, Figs. 427–431; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 174–175.

38. Cameron 1975, III, pp. 122, 164–165. Davis (1995, p. 13) would later agree that the figure's skin was white rather than light red, but unlike Cameron, felt that the plasters belonged to more than one leaper. Younger (1995, p. 534) sees a composition with female leapers and "frontal assistants."

39. The literature on ambiguity in the representation of color and other criteria used to determine gender is becoming rather vast. See, e.g., the extensive bibliography in Hitchcock 2000, pp. 69–86. My thanks to her for making this paper available to me before its publication.

are concerned, the fact remains that the only color choices for human skin clearly attested so far are white (normally used to indicate females) and red (for males).

Unfortunately for this investigation, the surface of the Priest-King Fresco is severely worn. Today, scholars are split principally into two camps, those who are convinced that its color is red, and those who maintain that it is white; only a few suggest an unusual rosy color somewhere between red and white. Cameron was the first to opt for white, although it should be clarified that he too noted traces of red, even if he decided to interpret them as having been transferred from other painted plasters piled in the same storage tray. Others, such as Evans[40] and Niemeier,[41] decided that the skin was red. My own impression has also been that there are traces of red on both the torso and the legs, though I cannot rule out that these are ingrained ruddy dirt or aged preservatives. Again, terms like "rosy"[42] and "ruddy wash,"[43] used by some scholars, could also describe ways in which the ancient color is now preserved, not how it looked originally.[44] For instance, what one may notice where the surface of the relief is worn is what is preserved of the color that penetrated the plaster layer, which was likely a faded or pale red, or rosy. Finally, we must bear in mind that at least along the contours of the figure the artist may have intentionally used diluted red to make the figure stand out from the dark-red background.

Another color adjustment known from other frescoes is the choice of different hues of red when subject and areas of the background are both red.[45] Ultimately, the only way the Priest-King's true color might be determined is through microscopic and other means of scanning that are being used today with increasing frequency and impressive results. Until such can be done, however, and given the range of opinions, we must confess ignorance, though I tend to believe that the ambiguity is in the eye of the beholder of the painting, rather than one intended by the ancient artist.

It might be of benefit at this point to consider the two main color alternatives, red and white, and to tackle not only what is problematic with each but also what the implications of each possibility are for the identity of the figure, despite color ambiguity. I start with option 1: that the Priest-King's skin was originally red. One of the primary concerns has been that the red lily ornaments of the necklace would hardly have been visible if the skin had also been red.[46] Yet, and paradoxical as it may seem, there is a chance that the lilies were originally white! That is, the lilies might have been rendered by an application of white impasto added *à secco* on an already dry red color previously applied to the still wet plaster of the torso. Additions in impasto tend to flake off easily, but the form often can be detected in what appears as a darker area preserving the shape. The darker area, in this case, would have been the color of the skin, which was shielded from wear by the protective covering of white impasto used to render the lilies.[47] Indeed, it makes sense that lilies in one and the same composition—even if there was more than one figure—should be of the same kind, and white lilies like those in the feathered crown *are* the kind most favored in Minoan frescoes on Crete.

Now I turn to option 2: the skin of the Priest-King was originally white. Not too long ago this would have meant immediately that the

40. *PM* II, p. 781.

41. Niemeier 1988, p. 238.

42. Kaiser 1976, p. 284.

43. *PM* II, p. 781.

44. Mentioning *rosafarbenen* traces on the body, Kaiser (1976, p. 284) immediately also clarifies how much the colors had faded since Evans's day. Cameron (1975, III, p. 25) also comments on the worn surface and lime accretions visible on the relief.

45. Being an earth oxide, red pigment offers a wide range of hues from deep red to yellow. For examples of depictions of red-on-red paintings, see Niemeier 1988, p. 238.

46. Davis 1995, p. 12.

47. My view coincides with one stated somewhat laconically by Hood (1978, p. 78).

figure was female, but there are recent theories that suggest the use of white to render male figures in exceptional cases in Aegean wall painting. I refer to Nannó Marinatos's proposal that both the red-skinned and the white-skinned leapers in bull-leaping scenes are male, and that the white color, in these instances, symbolically indicates age or degree of maturity rather than gender. White would therefore identify young athletes who had not yet reached the status of manhood.[48] More recently, Lyvia Morgan has supported this theory, using as an example what she interprets as a scene of male rites of passage in a wall painting in Xeste 3, in the LC IA town of Akrotiri, on Thera.[49] There, a boy whose skin is painted a light yellowish color appears in the company of older men who are appropriately rendered in red. Morgan sees these distinctions as being "indicative of pre- and post-initiatory status." Supporting such a position may well be one of the leapers, this too painted a yellowish color, in the frescoes recently discovered at Tell el-Dabʿa. As the excavator, Manfred Bietak, observes, these paintings apparently belong to the Eighteenth Dynasty and are characterized by Aegean themes and techniques.[50]

For our purposes here, the theories favoring the use of white provide an avenue for further exploration of the Priest-King's identity. Even if we do not yet know the figure's original color, the reassessment of Minoan color conventions suggests that male figures might have been represented in both red and white, thus making the original color of the Priest-King an issue of lesser importance.[51] The determining factor is clearly biological age, or, rephrased in terms of Morgan's view, a time when one had to confront rites of passage.

But is the Priest-King truly a leaper? And if so, why is he wearing a lily crown, especially if he is male, as only sphinxes and priestesses are otherwise depicted with this kind of crown?[52] A painting from Tell el-Dabʿa may provide some illuminating information. The reference is to a tumbler doing a handstand next to a palm tree, shown in a composition that I illustrate here with a drawing made from a color photograph (Fig. 4.7).[53] He wears a white loincloth, booties, and most importantly, a special ornament on his head consisting of two featherlike forms that stream out of a blue *waz* surmounting a white lily. To the left of the lily stem one can see what appears to be a flying lock of black hair. Clearly, the headpiece, including the blue-painted *waz* element, is akin to the crown in the Knossian relief.[54] Finally, the individual is male, for his skin is red. Similar head ornaments decorating tumblers are known in sphragistic Aegean

48. Marinatos 1989.

49. Morgan 2000, pp. 937–940.

50. Publication by now is extensive. Discussions and some of the best illustrations are in Bietak et al. 1994, pp. 44–58; and Bietak and Marinatos 1995. For the view that the rendering is rather idiosyncratic and may involve artists either from, or with painting experience acquired in, different geographical areas, see Shaw 1995, pp. 110–113; 1997, p. 498. The additional view in Shaw 1995 that the painting conventions also seemed later is now supported by M. Bietak's lowering of the date of the Tell el-Dabʿa frescoes to the reign of Thutmose III—if not later (Bietak et al. 2001, pp. 38–45, esp. p. 44).

51. Preziosi and Hitchcock (1999, p. 99) acknowledge the fact that the color of the Priest-King has not yet been determined, and discuss possible "impersonations," depending on the gender.

52. For examples see Niemeier 1987, pp. 96–97.

53. After Bietak et al. 1994, pl. 17:B. The restoration is not too dissimilar to one by N. Marinatos that has been published in *Pharaonen*, p. 201.

54. Morgan 1995, p. 39, pl. 31.



Figure 4.7. Restoration of a fresco from Tell el-Dabʿa. M. C. Shaw, after Bietak et al. 1994, pl. 17:B

art, on one rather detailed Minoan seal and on one simplified Mycenaean seal,[55] and in a wall painting from Thera, as identified by Nannó Marinatos.[56] The Aegean examples show the iconography of the particular painting at Tell el-Dabʿa to be Minoan, or Aegean in general.

Two important facts emerge from the Tell el-Dabʿa painting: one is that there is a link between headpieces decorated with *waz*-lilies and athletic activity; the other is that a male can in some cases be allowed to wear *waz*-lilies as a simple crown. This is not to say that the Priest-King was a mere tumbler, just that he is linked with athletic activity—reinforcing the theory of a bull-leaper—and that he too could have been crowned with *waz*-lilies, as were sphinxes and priestesses, who, incidentally, are generally depicted on a small scale and their crowns are rendered in a summary manner. How special a figure the Priest-King was is made clear by his size and the huge, flashy crown he wears, which can be matched nowhere else in scale.[57]

Here, I would like to propose that the high status of the Priest-King might have in part been conferred on him on the basis of physical tests or "feats." These may not only have helped him attain manly status; they may have won him an elite position symbolized by the elaborate crown and necklace decorated with special symbols—what Evans called the figure's "regalia."[58]

Let us briefly examine how "sports" may have played a role in such appointments. For instance, the tumbler in the Tell el-Dabʿa fresco seems to be part of a series of depictions of games that include bull-leaping. In Ancient Egypt, dancers and gymnasts were ordinary people, as were musicians and, in general, other entertainers.[59] Other sports associated with

55. Hood 1978, p. 228 and figs. 231, 232. The Minoan example is a cylinder seal found in the Knossos area; the other is a lentoid seal from Mycenae of LH III date. On the former, thought to be of likely MM IIIB date, plumes or leaves rise from the heads of the acrobats. No plumes are seen in the Mycenaean example.

56. Doumas 1992, p. 187, pl. 148. I would like to thank N. Marinatos for allowing me, before its publication, to read her manuscript, in which she identifies this figure as a tumbler.

57. Some have objected that the crown is too large for the head of the Priest-King. Cameron (1975, III, p. 25) described the figure as "well oversize" and supplied the measurement of 1.23 m (more than 4 ft) as the distance from the soles of the feet to the figure's waist. To this I would like to add that, in real life, crowns can be, and often are, disproportionately large in relation to those who wear them.

58. *PM* II, p. 779.

59. For the sports of ordinary people, see Decker 1992, pp. 60–103; for Egyptian tumblers and dancers see Shaw 1995, pp. 112–113.

hunting and war, such as archery and chariot races, seem to have been performed mainly by the elite. Sport could also become ritualized, as in the case of the footrace held during the Sed Festival to celebrate the king's regeneration. A famous example is the relief of King Zoser from his Step Pyramid at Saqqara, showing him running in full regalia.[60]

Depictions of athletic competitions abound in Aegean art also. They include the carved reliefs on the famous stone rhyton from Ayia Triada, which features scenes of wrestling, boxing, and bull-leaping in successive friezes.[61] It is interesting to note that the athletes wear double strands of necklaces that mark them as members of the elite class.[62] Athletic competitions are also likely to have evolved in a religious context, or under the tutelage of a theocratic state. The occasions for such events must have been organized systematically and attended by dozens of spectators, perhaps even the crowds featured in Knossian miniature frescoes.

In some sports, especially bull-leaping, success might have been a matter of life or death, given the perils involved. It is likely that rewards or prizes would have been set up for the winners, the best, perhaps one who excelled in a variety of games (boxing, wrestling, acrobatics, bull-leaping, and bull-grappling), declared the athlete of the season and adorned with a crown of *waz*-lilies and peacock feathers. Simpler headpieces, for instance one with one *waz*-lily, could be assigned to lesser athletes and perhaps also to tumblers. It is important to note that Cameron spotted part of a lily crown among the plaster reliefs depicting agonistic games, including bull-grappling, from the Great East Hall area of the Knossos palace.[63] Other gifts given to the athletes could have included necklaces, carved stone vases—like that from Ayia Triada, which was perhaps commemorative of an athletic event—or, conceivably, special ceremonial weapons. The sword with a fine repoussé decoration on its gold pommel found in the Palace of Mallia, which also depicts a tumbler, is interesting too in the context of this discussion, given its provenience.[64]

One can think of processions among the events in the celebrations, perhaps at the beginning and the end of each. It does not take too great a leap of the imagination to picture our Priest-King as the top athlete, a kind of present-day "gold medallist," parading at the head of a procession in a place of honor in the closing ceremonies. The games had likely already taken place in the open, though in the case of bull-leaping in the Palace of Knossos probably the West Court.[65] Arriving at the Central Court, and led by the figure shown in the relief, the athletes would be delivered to reception halls. The "athlete of the year" might have been given permanent quarters, treated like a prince, perhaps targeted as a possible future ruler. Could the Priest-King still be our "missing Minoan ruler"?

One might ask why sport would be deemed the proper arena for the selection of future rulers or leaders of a society, as just postulated.[66] Naturally, the requirement here is one of tests that took the form of what we might today call "athletics" or "sports." Tested would be the ability to endure dangerous confrontations like bull-leaping and bull-grappling that required immense courage, along with good judgment, coordination, and a strong and flexible body.[67]

60. For royal sports in Egypt, see Decker 1992, pp. 19–59. For the Zoser relief, see Lauer 1976, dust jacket and color pl. XII.

61. Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, figs. 106, 107.

62. See the discussion by Evans of the aristocratic status of Minoan leapers in *PM* III, p. 227. For the users and uses of jewelry, see Younger 1992.

63. Cameron 1975, I, pp. 62, 64; III, p. 139, pl. 169A:1.

64. For this suggestion, see Shaw 1995, p. 104, note 55, and p. 113, fig. 11. For the sword, see Pelon 1985.

65. Shaw 1996, pp. 186–187, with references to earlier scholarship.

66. One thinks of Theseus, and how he had to undergo a number of tests before he arrived in Athens to meet his father, King Aegaeus, for the first time. He even had to capture the Bull of Marathon, an adventure that likely relates to his confrontation with bulls at Knossos (the Minotaur) in an earlier incarnation. Already in the 8th century B.C., the Athenians appear to have been aware of Theseus as the slayer of the Minotaur (*LIMC* VII.i, 1994, pp. 940–943, s.v. *Theseus* [S. Woodford]).

67. Perhaps there is a difference between the way Minoan and Mycenaean men "proved" themselves. For comparisons see Xénaki-Sakellariou 1985. Davis and Bennet (1999) have recently pointed to military prowess as a criterion of self-definition among Mycenaeans.

Like the Greeks in later history, the Minoans probably conducted games under the tutelage or aegis of religious and divine authority.[68] Perhaps the *waz*-lilies, worn primarily by priestesses and sphinxes, were sacred insignia that could at times be bestowed upon special people, or just on a single person to confer legitimacy to a newly acquired status, one that by definition would be both religious and secular in nature.[69] Were there any truth in this scenario, Evans's label of a Priest-King would not be far off the mark. If designated as the future "king," or already declared as one, the Priest-King might have already acquired the characteristics of a theocratic ruler, where roles and paraphernalia are exchanged between ruler and divinity, at least as theocracy is depicted in Egypt and the Near East.[70]

Whichever is the case, if the scenario I have outlined above approaches the truth, the idea of crowned athletes acting under the aegis of a largely religious institution would bring us closer to the pattern of systematic athletic competition in the later Greek sanctuaries and especially the Olympic Games, which evolved in the Sanctuary of Zeus. Like the Priest-King, the victorious Greek athletes were crowned with floral wreaths. Zeus, as the chief god at Olympia, was the patron of competitive games. As immortalized by the sculptures of the east pediment of his temple at Olympia, Zeus served as judge in the chariot races that would determine the rightful ruler of Olympia.[71] Perhaps, too, it is not irrelevant to recall A. B. Cook's reference to two statues of Zeus, one wearing a crown of lilies, the other a himation decorated with lilies.[72] While Evans is thought to have been influenced by Cook's views in proposing the divine or priestly dimension of the Priest-King,[73] I would like to add that Zeus's lilies may also preserve a vague recollection of a prehistoric Cretan Zeus wearing the insignia of victory in athletic games, the kind of festival he brought with him to Olympia.[74]

68. Renfrew 1988.

69. It is tempting here to see the sharing of religious symbols by men and women as a reflection of interdependent roles suggested for the early Greek period by Finkelberg (1991), who uses Greek legend and myth to come to the conclusion that there was a matrilineal method of accession to the throne (i.e., kingship by marriage). Finkelberg suggests that the Priest-King could have been the consort of the priestess of the Minoan goddess of the land, or Mother Goddess (1991, pp. 311, 315). I thank S. P. Morris for bringing this study to my attention following her public talk on "Imaginary Kings: Rulership in Prehistoric and Early Greece" (Nov. 24, 1998, Toronto).

70. Regarding Niemeier's attribution of the Priest-King's torso to a god, E. Hallager (in Niemeier 1988, p. 244) made the important comment that inscriptions in certain Near Eastern seal impressions with pictorial depictions clarify that the ruler could take the seat of the deity. L. Hitchcock (pers. comm.) has also made the interesting observation that in "the somewhat earlier Akkadian stele of Naram Sin, the ruler has himself portrayed as a deity by heretically having himself depicted wearing a horned crown." Of interest regarding the connection between sphinxes and royalty is Poursat's remark (1973, p. 114) that the MM II sphinx in terracotta appliqué from Quartier Mu at Mallia may have represented the power of the king, just as it did in ancient Egypt.

71. Lullies and Hirmer 1960, pl. 110.

72. Cook 1903, p. 409, quoting Pausanias (5.22.5 for the crown, 5.11.1 for the dress).

73. According to Niemeier (1987, p. 71), who refers to Evans's reference (1902–1903, p. 128) to Cook's study.

74. It is of interest that Cook (1903, p. 411) makes the suggestion that the kings of Knossos may have changed every nine years, and that athletic competitions may have occurred on that occasion, when "Minos himself under the guise of Taurus defended his title to the throne." Cook's study, based primarily on literary sources, came to my attention after I had formulated my own and related opinions based on iconographic grounds.

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Crocus Costumes in Aegean Art

by Paul Rehak

In societies, cloth and clothing are important means of communicating personal, social, and even political and religious information.[1] In recent years, the continuing excavations at Akrotiri on Thera have expanded the corpus of large-scale Aegean representations of the human figure that include detailed renderings of costume. Here I would like to direct attention to some previously unnoticed details of the women's costumes in Xeste 3, as a small tribute to the many contributions of Sally Immerwahr to the study of Bronze Age painting.

The decorative program of Xeste 3 has already been established in broad outline, but because the building has not yet received a final publication, some details may change.[2] This large, freestanding structure of a least two stories preserves evidence of six rooms with painted decoration (Fig. 5.1). The vestibule, Room 5, includes an unpublished mountainous landscape with a male figure.[3] A frieze around the upper wall of Room 4 depicts more rockwork, with crocus plants and animals that include swallows and a nest, red dragonflies, and blue monkeys holding gold lyres, a sword, and a scabbard.[4] Room 2 features a decorative frieze of spirals. Room 3, subdivided into compartments by pier and door partitions, has a closet displaying male figures holding metal vessels and a cloth, as well as a sunken Lustral Basin, on two walls of which were painted women and a shrine facade and tree. On the upper floor, Room 3′ has two walls depicting girls gathering crocus blossoms in a mountainous setting and offering them to a goddess; the latter is enthroned on a platform and attended by a blue monkey and a griffin. An adjacent wall illustrates a marshy scene. Another composition from the upper floor represents at least three women in procession. Finally, Room 9 on the upper level housed an abstract relief fresco.

Several interpretations have been proposed for the scenes that include women and landscapes with crocus. There is now general agreement that an autumn-blooming variety is represented, but Suzanne Amigues argues that it is *Crocus sativus* while Ray Porter supports its identification as *Crocus cartwrightianus*.[5] Amigues interpreted the frescoes as showing the centrality of saffron production as a source of dye and a foodstuff for the women of ancient Thera. Several other studies of the paintings by Christina Televantou have concentrated on the iconography of the human

1. E.g., various authors in Barnes and Eichler 1993. For the Aegean, see esp. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1971, Televantou 1982, Barber 1991, 1994, 1997, Jones 2000, Rehak 1999a, Lee 2000. For male costumes, see Rehak 1996. I thank J. G. Younger for reading and commenting on a version of this paper.

2. See Doumas 1992 for excellent color photographs of many of the compositions. Vlachopoulos (2002) reports the presence of the tree (under restoration). On pictorial programs, see Hägg 1985, Niemeier 1992.

3. Marinatos 1976, p. 25.

4. Rehak 1999b.

5. Amigues 1998 (with a detailed rebuttal of N. Marinatos's suggestion that it is a spring flower), Porter 2000.

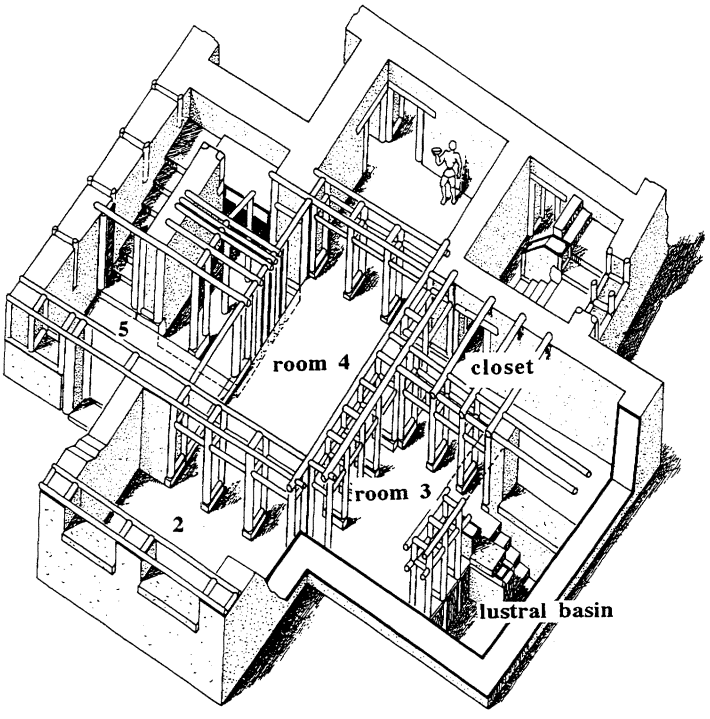


Figure 5.1. Plan of Xeste 3. P. Rehak, after Rehak 1999a, fig. 1

figures and the style in which they are rendered,[6] whereas shorter papers by Ellen Davis[7] and Diana Withee[8] have drawn attention to the way the Theran artists observed details of hairstyle and physiognomy to illustrate several distinct age grades among the women—from childhood, through puberty, and into adulthood. Roman Snihurowych and I have presented evidence elsewhere on the medicinal applications of saffron, and have suggested that knowledge of plants and their properties defined a sphere of female power in the Aegean that landscape paintings illustrate.[9] Finally, in several detailed studies Nannó Marinatos has proposed that the frescoes depicted women's puberty rites, but many of her suggestions remain controversial.[10]

COSTUMES WITH CROCUS

Relatively little attention, however, has been paid to the five female costumes with crocus decoration in Xeste 3, although they form an analog to the crocus plants in the landscapes and the flower-gathering activity depicted in the scene from the upper floor.[11] An examination of these costumes allows us to consider some overlooked details and may permit a more nuanced reading of the frescoes from the building. All three female figures in the Lustral Basin Fresco (Doumas's Adorants Fresco) on the ground floor wear clothing with crocus, along with two more figures from the upper floor: the enthroned goddess and a mature woman from a procession on another wall. We can examine these compositions in turn.

The Lustral Basin painting covers two walls of a small sunken area that is set off from the rest of Room 3 by a flight of stone steps and by pier and door partitions. Both the basin and partitions are elite Minoan

6. Televantou 1982, 1988, 1992a, 1992b; see also Younger 1992.

7. Davis 1986; cf. David 1992.

8. Withee 1992.

9. Rehak and Snihurowych 1997; cf. Rehak 2002, and Chapin, this volume.

10. Marinatos 1984, 1993. Marinatos (1985, p. 229) interprets the Lustral Basin Fresco scene as a "ritual to ensure the continuation of fertility and the growth of vegetation," and the goddess with girls above as "the renewal of nature." Cf. Marinatos 1984, p. 71: the iconographic program as "the renewal of nature in the spring."

11. Porter (2000) also identifies many of the crocus costumes that are discussed here. I concur with Porter in most details.



Figure 5.2. Scene above Lustral Basin. P. Rehak

architectural elements found in Neopalatial palaces and villas on Crete, but they are rare outside the island; the existence of these features in Xeste 3 is a sign of strong Cretan influence.

The east wall of the basin depicts the facade of a Minoan-style shrine with a central door, framed by a running spiral band, set in a facade of ashlar blocks and crowned by large horns of consecration.[12] Red lily blossoms cover the panels of this door.[13] Both the doors and the horns are streaked with red; these streaks have been interpreted as sacrificial blood or as the stigmas of crocus flowers that turn from yellow to red as they dry.[14] The adjacent north wall shows three figures in an open area that presumably represents the space in front of the shrine (Fig. 5.2). These include, from left to right, a "Necklace Swinger" moving right, a central "Wounded Woman" seated on a rocky outcrop from which clumps of crocus grow, and a "Veiled Girl" who is closest to the shrine and stands on tiptoe. Beneath the feet of the last two figures is a black groundline that suggests a paved area, whereas the Necklace Swinger is set at a slightly lower level, as if she is approaching the sanctuary from below.

The slim proportions, well-defined facial features, and rounded breasts indicate that the first two figures, the Necklace Swinger and the Wounded Woman, are fully pubescent and of approximately the same age, fourteen to sixteen years old.[15] They both have long hair that represents several years of uninterrupted growth, wrapped in fillets with a tress gathered in a loop at the nape of the neck. The third individual, the Veiled Girl, must be slightly younger, perhaps twelve to fourteen years of age, because she wears a short (juvenile) skirt, has softer facial features, and has a partially shaved head, on which a few longer locks are allowed to grow.

The Necklace Swinger (Fig. 5.3) wears a diaphanous, ankle-length blue robe, piped in dark blue and cut in Minoan fashion to expose a rounded but not pendulous breast.[16] A much heavier "apron" characterized by rich, dark colors and patterns, usually identified as a ritual garment, is wrapped around her waist and falls to her calves. Above the waist, the pale blue blouse of the robe is covered with pairs of red lines that furcate at their tips. These must represent the stigmas of crocus flowers, and close inspection reveals traces of the petals of these blossoms painted in a fugitive mauve color that has all but disappeared. The blossoms are included in

12. The Zakros Sanctuary Rhyton shows a related structure at a mountain peak: Platon 1971, figs. on pp. 165, 167; Shaw 1978, p. 434, figs. 7, 8.

13. The presence of the doorway in the wall shows that this is a building, not an altar, contra Marinatos 1984, pp. 74–75. A woman kneeling among clumps of red lilies and crocus appears in a painting from the shrine at Ayia Triada: Immerwahr 1990, p. 180 (A.T. 1). Red lilies appear at other sites of Minoan occupation, e.g., Trianda on Rhodes (Immerwahr 1990, p. 190 [Tr 1]), and Miletos in Anatolia.

14. Blood: Marinatos 1984, pp. 74; stigmas: Gesell 2000. The facade has not yet been published, but a reconstruction drawing appears in Marinatos 1984, p. 75, fig. 53.

15. Davis 1986; see modifications in Withee 1992. Marinatos (1993, pp. 207–208) thinks the two are of different ages. The breast of the Wounded Woman appears fuller than that of the Necklace Swinger only because she is seated and leans forward. The overall length of the hair of the two women is identical, and they wear similar fillets wrapped around their hair.

16. See cat. no. **1**; bold-faced numbers refer to entries in the Catalogue.





Figure 5.3 *(left)*. **Necklace Swinger.** P. Rehak

Figure 5.4 *(above)*. **Wounded Woman.** P. Rehak

some reconstruction drawings but have not been discussed. An unusual design of crosses with forked ends on this woman's apron could represent a stylized textile pattern for crocus stigmas.[17] Porter has also made the novel observation that this woman has a garland composed of clumps of stigmas draped across her upper chest and over her shoulders.[18]

The seated Wounded Woman (Fig. 5.4) in the center of the composition is clearly a very important figure, for she is considerably larger in scale than her companions, she is the only seated figure in the composition, and her gestures, costume, and jewelry are currently unique in Aegean iconography.[19] Moreover, the rocks with crocus plants on which she sits correspond to the pendant rockwork at the top of the scene that frames her head like a canopy and sets her off from the other figures.[20]

Like the Necklace Swinger, the Wounded Woman wears a diaphanous blue blouse, but apparently this is not the upper part of a longer robe, as there are no traces of this garment visible around her ankles. Instead, a different costume envelops her waist and hips, consisting of a deep-blue belt from which strips of cloth in blue, yellow, or white seem to hang like lappets. Black ties are also visible across her buttocks, suggesting that this garment was bound in place, like the ritual apron that other women wear, but the ends of the blue belt do not appear to be tied. This is a costume that simultaneously conceals and reveals the lower body.

The woman's seated pose makes it difficult to determine the exact form of this costume, as she appears to have one leg crossed over the other knee, as Penelope characteristically does much later in Classical art.[21] She also leans forward, resting her forehead on her left hand and reaching toward her foot with her right hand. Two floral pins adorn her coiffure,

17. A related pattern occurs on a carved ivory fragment from Pylos: Blegen and Rawson 1966, pl. 284:10.

18. Porter 2000, p. 622, fig. 12, p. 623.

19. See 2. Seated women are generally important individuals in Aegean art: Rehak 1995.

20. Marinatos (1993, p. 207), following Chapin (1992), identifies this as an artist's attempt to suggest spatial recession.

21. *LIMC* VII.1, 1994, pp. 291–295, pls. 225–230, s.v. *Penelope* (C. Hausmann).



Figure 5.5 *(above)*. **LM IB jug from Ayia Triada.** P. Rehak

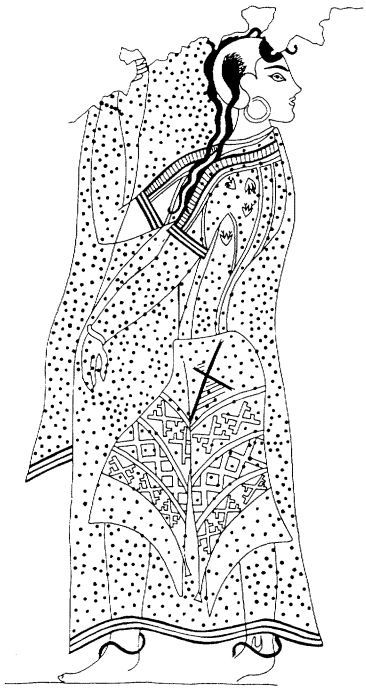


Figure 5.6 *(right)*. **Veiled Girl.** P. Rehak

one over the forehead and one at the nape where a tress of her hair is coming free of the fillet. From the underside of the foot depend red streaks that have been interpreted as blood, and next to these is a single large crocus blossom that is not attached to any plant. The blossom therefore appears to function semiotically in the scene as a sign or symbol that stands for something else.[22] The gesture of the outstretched hand is ambiguous: she could be trying to cradle her foot, or is attempting to grasp the blossom under it.

The blue belt encircling the waist has additional surface decoration consisting of undulating black lines that frame a central element between the curves, which Barber has called a "yo-yo" pattern, one that is easily woven.[23] The filling ornament in the pattern, however, is not an oval covered with stripes, as Barber has claimed, but rather a repeating pattern of crocus buds with one pointed end and a rounded top. Narrow vertical lines on each bud represent the folded petals that have not yet opened. A similar design of buds and undulating framing lines occurs on a LM IB pitcher from Ayia Triada (Fig. 5.5).[24]

The third and smallest figure in the scene, the Veiled Girl, is also costumed unusually (Fig. 5.6).[25] She stands on tiptoe with her body facing left, but her head turns back at an impossible angle to the right, as if she is looking over her shoulder toward the shrine facade on the adjacent wall.[26] She wears a juvenile, calf-length robe that indicates that she has not yet reached puberty, and over it a heavier apron of the same dark colors and rich patterns seen on that of the Necklace Swinger, though the two garments are not identical. In addition, the Veiled Girl envelops herself in a sheer yellow veil thickly sprinkled with red dots that wraps around her back and covers most of her arms, but not her head or the front of her

22. Potts 1996.

23. Barber 1991, p. 317.

24. Halbherr, Stefani, and Banti 1980, p. 67, fig. 37. For similar folded buds on pottery see, e.g., bowl from Palaikastro: Sackett, Popham, and Warren 1965, pl. 72:h; cup from Poros: Muhly 1992, pp. 44 (no. 20), 45, fig. 3.20, pl. 6 (no. 20) (solid painted); rounded cup from Kythera: Coldstream and Huxley 1972, p. 244 (no. 9), pl. 75:9; rounded cup from Kea: *Keos* III, p. 103 (no. 1157), pl. 75 (no. 1157) (the buds are solid-painted). I am grateful to V. LaRosa and the Italian School of Archaeology in Athens for providing the photograph on which Figure 5.5 is based.

25. See 3.

26. A much later parallel for the girl's gesture, her yellow veil, back-turned head, and the division of the composition over more than one wall, occurs in the megalographic paintings of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii: Ling 1991, pp. 101–104.

body. The exceptional pose of her body with outstretched arms recurs on a much later fresco from Mycenae, which shows a large pair of white hands (of a goddess?) holding a much smaller female figure who wears another red-spotted yellow garment, in this case a tunic rather than a veil.[27]

Because we are seeing the robe of the Veiled Girl through a transparent overgarment, one significant detail of her costume has escaped attention. At her left shoulder, several purple crocus blossoms with red stigmas can be seen to be part of her dress rather than the veil. These flowers are not visible in all published photographs, and they have not been included in earlier reconstruction drawings of this individual, but they resemble those on the costume of the Necklace Swinger. The forked-cross design on the Necklace Swinger's apron likewise recurs on that of the Veiled Girl. Thus all three women in the Lustral Basin scene are marked by the presence of crocus flowers on their costumes, but in different ways.

Two walls of upper-floor Room 3' above the Lustral Basin exhibit an enthroned goddess on an architectural platform. She is attended by a griffin and a blue monkey in a mountainous landscape where four young girls gather crocus blossoms and present them to her.[28] The goddess wears a diaphanous ankle-length robe of pale blue with short sleeves, open at the chest to reveal her rounded breast; her waist and thighs are wrapped in a blue and white flounced apron. Despite her elaborate hairstyle and jewelry, her facial features and breast development mark a stage of maturity identical to that of the Necklace Swinger and Wounded Woman, that is, that of full pubescence, about fourteen to sixteen years of age.

The decoration of the blouse is particularly elaborate and includes repeated references to crocus (Fig. 5.7). The shoulder seams are blue, with a repeating pattern of dark blue crocus blossoms with yellow stigmas. The vertical borders framing the chest at the front of the blouse are now a grayish white, perhaps originally a pale mauve color that has degraded.[29] Here, more crocus blossoms are visible as ghosts against the gray-white background. These have not been included in earlier reconstruction drawings. Finally, the diaphanous blue material of the blouse itself is covered with mauve crocus blossoms, now largely faded, with red stigmas, like the costumes of the Necklace Swinger and the Veiled Girl in the room below.

As if to emphasize the divinity's association with crocus, a pair of red stigmas is painted on her cheek, representing either a tattoo or face paint or a blossom draped over her ear, the petals of which have vanished. In addition, she extends one hand to receive a pinch of saffron stigmas from the attendant blue monkey,[30] and she sits on what appears to be a pile of saffron-yellow cushions or a stack of folded textiles.

Another composition from the upper floor of Xeste 3 depicts at least three women in procession, carrying floral bouquets or other attributes. The exact arrangement and location of this scene have not yet been determined, but these women seem to be mature individuals because they have different body proportions, smaller heads, and much larger breasts than the younger women represented elsewhere in the building. The matrons also have costumes that differ from those of the other figures in Xeste 3: a snood or kerchief wrapped around the hair, which is gathered in a bun at the nape, and a brightly colored diagonal mantle of fluffy material (dyed



Figure 5.7. Enthroned Goddess.
P. Rehak

27. Kritsele Providi 1982, pp. 41–42 (no. B:2), pl. 6; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 119, 191 (see 4), 120, fig. 30.

28. See 4.

29. Elsewhere in Xeste 3, some of the purple blossoms of the crocus plants have turned gray.

30. Marinatos 1987.

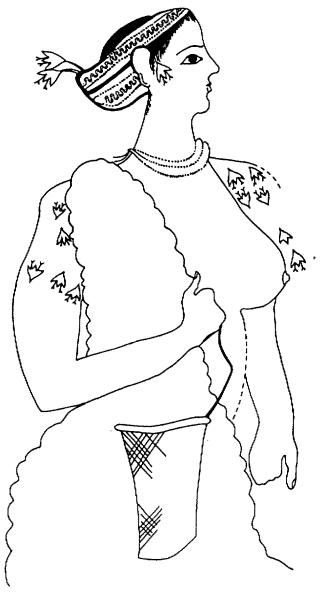


Figure 5.8. Mature Woman.
P. Rehak

fleece?) draped over only one shoulder, leaving the other free.[31] A contemporary cushion seal from a LM IA context at the Knossos palace shows a matronly woman wielding a sword and scabbard.[32] Because the glyptic figure wears a diagonal mantle and has her hair tied up at the back of the head, the correspondence between the sealstone and fresco figures is particularly close.

One mature woman (Fig. 5.8) wears a diaphanous yellow blouse, its surface sprinkled with red crocus stigmas.[33] Because these occur in pairs, we are probably justified in reconstructing the petals of blossoms to go with them, although none is actually visible in published photographs. More stigmas near the back of her head can be restored as blossoms decorating the headdress.[34] Like the enthroned goddess, the Mature Woman has red crocus stigmas against her cheek, and in her right hand she carries a wicker basket that is like the containers used by the girl attendants who gather crocus blossoms for the goddess.[35] Thus, the attributes of the woman suggest that she once may have served the goddess as a blossom-collector. Terracotta versions of this type of vessel are known from several Cretan sites, and they usually have a hole in the bottom so they could function as rhyta. One example, found at Ayia Irini on Kea, even has a surface painted with crocus blossoms.[36]

The crocus designs on costumes described here can be produced in several techniques: as tapestry work, as appliquéd patches, or as painted designs on special garments that were not meant to be washed or that could be repainted on each occasion of use.[37] The repeating patterns on the hems of the robe of the Thera goddess and the Wounded Woman's belt could also represent tapestry work. The transparent blouses of the Necklace Swinger, goddess, and Mature Woman, however, probably represent very fine linen.[38] The addition of the crocus blossoms would probably strain the gauzy fabric if they were embroidered or appliquéd, and painted or stamped decoration is more likely for these. On real textiles, the purple petals could have been created with the use of murex dye.[39]

INTERPRETATION

Even this brief survey of the evidence makes it clear that saffron crocus is central to the decorative program of Xeste 3. Within the building, three landscape scenes are characterized by rockwork with clumps of blooming crocus: Room 4 with its monkeys holding various objects, the Lustral Basin in Room 3 with its triad of young women, and Room 3' on the upper floor, where the girls gather the flowers for the goddess, and where the clumps of crocus also serve as a repeating background pattern, like wallpaper.[40] Landscapes with crocus plants thus have a thematic function in connecting the different scenes;[41] they also define a realm of nature inhabited by various animals, some of them exotic (the griffin and the blue monkeys in Rooms 3 and 4), and by a youthful goddess among women of different ages. This natural setting seems, however, to exclude men; thus, even though both men and women are elements of the pictorial program as a whole, they form distinct groups distinguished by gender.

31. Cf. the young "priestess" from the West House: Doumas 1992, pls. 24, 25.

32. *CMS* II.3, 16; Rehak 2002.

33. See 5.

34. Another woman from this group has lilies stuck in the back of her headdress: *ArchDelt* 29B, 1973–1974, pl. 31; *ArchReports* 26, 1980, p. 5, fig. 2.

35. Televantou 1994, pp. 137–140.

36. For Cretan examples see, e.g., from Knossos: Warren 1984, p. 53, figs.; Pseira: Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, p. 70 (no. 902), pl. 902; Kea: *Keos* III, p. 125 and pl. 85 (no. 1551).

37. Barber 1991, pp. 320–321.

38. Barber (1991, pp. 73–76) suggests that the Minoans may have been spinning flax and weaving linen as early as EM II.

39. Steiglitz 1994.

40. Doumas 1992, front and back endpapers and pls. 116, 118, 120, 122, 123, 127–129.

41. Biering (1995) has suggested a similar function for the landscape elements in the Odyssey paintings from a Roman house on the Esquiline Hill, though these are much later than the Thera paintings.

Crocus and saffron are pervasive elements in the scenes with women. Young girls pick crocuses, carry the blossoms in baskets, and deposit them in panniers. A blue monkey offers stigmas to a goddess, implying the existence of another stage of activity, that of culling the stigmas from the petals, which is not actually represented in the wall paintings. Little girls and mature women wear saffron-dyed costumes; one adolescent girl has a yellow veil; and the goddess sits on a yellow seat that could represent cushions or finished bales of cloth.[42] One mature woman and the goddess share crocus stigmas or a blossom as a facial ornament. The goddess, young girls, and Lustral Basin figures all have yellow lips and fingernails, suggesting that saffron was a component of cosmetics, in addition to its other applications, or that all these women are handling and even ingesting saffron.

In an earlier study, Davis called attention to the blue streaks in the corneas of some figures, in contrast to the red streaks in the corneas of others: she interpreted the blue streaks as a sign of youth.[43] Instead, I have argued that the blue streaks in the eyes of the goddess, the younger women and girls, and the youngest boy, are clinically documented indications of a saffron-rich diet, which includes high concentrations of vitamins A and B. Even the older women, who have white corneas, exhibit good ocular health, indicating that they are receiving adequate amounts of these vitamins. One adult male and two youths, however, have the red-streaked eyes characteristic of vitamin B deficiency, perhaps the result of a saffron-poor diet.[44] The frescoes of Xeste 3, therefore, seem to be differentiating between those who have access to saffron and those who do not, a division that generally follows age and gender lines.

The ubiquity of crocus and saffron seems to suggest that the latter is not simply important as a source of yellow dye and as a foodstuff.[45] It must always have been valuable economically because the gathering of stigmas is a labor-intensive activity, and thousands of blossoms must be harvested to produce a relatively small amount of saffron. And, the elaborate costumes and jewelry of even the youngest girls, and one monkey's offering of stigmas to the goddess, suggest that flower-picking had a highly ritualized aspect as well. In addition, crocus helps to define the identity of the goddess and to link her with women at four stages in their lives, from youth through adulthood, and not just at puberty.

The goddess is currently the most richly dressed and bejeweled figure to survive in Aegean art, and the painter of the scene has taken great pains to underscore her association with crocus. Although we do not know her Bronze Age name, her mastery over exotic animals indicates that she is a Potnia Theron (the attendant griffin even wears a red collar and leash). Her apparent youth, her appearance in a mountainous landscape, and her association with girls are all aspects of Artemis in the historical period. The medicinal properties of saffron include its use as an emmenagogue and abortifacient, and Artemis was concerned with women's transitions at various stages, and especially with the shedding of female blood.[46]

The prepubescent flower-gathering girls in Xeste 3 are shown in the presence of the goddess; one even stands on the foot of the platform and gazes up at her.[47] The special relationship between the goddess and the youngest girls is emphasized by their unique forehead bands, worn by no

42. Rehak 1995, p. 105.

43. Davis 1986.

44. Rehak and Snihurowych 1997.

45. Marinatos 1984, p. 65; Amigues 1998.

46. King 1983. Marinatos (1984, p. 70) calls her a "mistress of nature"; on p. 72, she compares the scenes to the Classical Thesmophoria in honor of Demeter.

47. Doumas 1992, pl. 122.

other individuals depicted in the building. Since the young girls are shown picking the blossoms, part of their training may have involved a period of separation from the rest of society and socialization into the skills they would need as women, cloth production in particular. It is interesting, therefore, that none of the young girls has crocus blossoms on her costume—perhaps such references are unnecessary during the period of service to the goddess. In later periods, some young Athenian girls of good family underwent a period of service to Artemis at Brauron,[48] while others subsequently participated in weaving and decorating the saffron yellow and purple peplos offered to Athena during the Greater Panathenaia.[49]

The procession of mature women depicted on a wall of the upper floor seems to show us the future role of some of these girls as adult members of their society. Several of the matrons wear cloth or a fleecy garment dyed saffron yellow. One adult individual, already discussed, carries a basket that suggests she might have been a flower-picker in her youth. She too has a special relationship to the goddess, as both individuals share the distinctive crocus stigmas on the cheek.

In the Lustral Basin painting on the lower floor, we are out of direct view of the goddess painted on a wall of the upper floor. Nevertheless, the repeated references to saffron and crocus imply that the adolescent Veiled Girl and the fully pubescent Necklace Swinger and Wounded Woman are also connected with the divinity, whereas the appearance of a shrine facade on an adjacent basin wall suggests a formalized architectural setting for ritual activity that is a counterpart to the platform of the goddess on the upper floor.

The Veiled Girl, located closest to the shrine, is a problematic figure. Because the position of her arms obscures her chest, we cannot tell whether her breasts have begun to develop,[50] but she is slimmer and taller than the little girls from the upper floor and so she must be well into the pubescent phase, which lasts for several years. At the same time, she continues to shave some areas of her head while allowing a few locks to grow; two tresses now trail below shoulder level. Thus, she represents a course of development different from that of the youngest girls and the two newly mature young women, who have grown all of their hair long. This suggests that an alternative course was available to some girls as they matured. The red-spotted yellow veil helps mark this girl as undergoing a transition and sets her apart from the other young women.

As noted earlier, the Necklace Swinger is about the same age as the goddess, and they both wear diaphanous blue blouses covered with crocus blossoms and red stigmas. Because she is approaching the shrine and holding a necklace, she could be presenting an offering at the time she has reached physical maturity, or she is preparing to assist her age-mate, the Wounded Woman.[51]

The seated Wounded Woman has been the focus of particular attention in discussions of the Xeste 3 frescoes. She is sometimes labeled a "flower gatherer,"[52] and Marinatos, who has discussed the figure several times, has suggested that she is a girl or woman who has had an accident while flower-picking.[53] This role seems improbable, however, because the girls from the upper floor who are actually engaged in picking the blossoms are much younger (eight to ten years of age). Their snub facial

48. *LIMC* II.1, 1984, pp. 618–621 (with extensive bibliography), s.v. *Artemis* (L. Kahil); cf. Cole 1984.

49. Barber 1991, pp. 361–362; Barber 1992.

50. *Pace* Marinatos (1993, p. 206), who states that she has "no breasts."

51. Marinatos (1984, p. 75) identifies the necklace as an offering to be placed on the "altar" (i.e., the shrine facade); cf. Marinatos 1993, p. 209: a "dedicatory offering."

52. Amigues 1998, p. 238; Barber 1991, p. 317.

53. Marinatos 1984, p. 79; 1993, pp. 208–209; 1985, p. 226.

features, flat chests, and short skirts show that they stand at the beginning of the pubescent phase, not at its end. Furthermore, the flower-gatherers have partially shaved heads on which the hair is just beginning to grow as stubble or short, curly locks—far different from the full head of hair of the Wounded Woman, which is bound in a long fillet and must represent several years of uninterrupted hair growth after shaving has stopped. Finally, the little girls have baskets and forehead bands, attributes the Wounded Woman lacks.

Instead, the Wounded Woman wears a costume unlike that of any other figure in Xeste 3, the belt of which makes a visual reference to crocus buds that have just begun to open but have not yet bloomed. (All the other costumes with crocus show open blossoms.) The single, large blossom under her bleeding foot links crocus with flowing blood. Her seated pose and gesture of hand to head have been identified as one of pain, but they perhaps signify grief or introspection instead, as they do in Classical art for Demeter or Penelope.[54] Her floral hairpins are unusual as well, and distinguish the Wounded Woman from the other women portrayed in the building. Similar hairpins of precious metal have been found on Crete, and one of silver from the Knossos area is engraved with a nonsense inscription in Linear A and a repeating row of crocus blossoms like the textile patterns under discussion here.[55] All of these details demonstrate that the Wounded Woman is not a casual figure who suffered some misfortune, but is rather someone who has been deliberately costumed and bejeweled for a specific ceremony.

The Lustral Basin scene thus seems deliberately to signal the social recognition of female bloodshed, and could celebrate a young woman's first menstruation, the bleeding foot a metaphor for the first menses. Here, the presence of a crocus blossom signals the use of saffron as an emmenagogue. If this interpretation is correct, we would also have an important clue to the function of lustral basins during the Neopalatial period, as well as further confirmation of the importance of women in Aegean society.

THE CRETAN CONTEXT

The depiction of crocus flowers and buds is not restricted to Xeste 3. Crocus is a popular decoration on Neopalatial pottery on Thera and Crete.[56] At Akrotiri, crocus buds also occur as pendants on a garland decorating the rigging of a ship from the Miniature Fresco of the West House,[57] on one of the stern cabins depicted in the same building,[58] as an element on a jewelry mold, and in a painting from the palace at Knossos.[59]

The Xeste 3 frescoes are also illustrative of a broader Aegean interest in crocus that centers on Crete, Knossos in particular. In the East Temple Repository in the West Wing of the Knossos palace, Sir Arthur Evans discovered a large deposit of faience that comprised, among other things, several model costumes with crocus decoration (Fig. 5.9).[60] These include two nearly complete dresses, a fragment of a third, and a double belt or "girdle" like those worn by some women depicted in other media.[61]

The faience costumes from Knossos (MM IIIB or perhaps early LM IA) are currently the earliest known Aegean representations of

54. See note 17.

55. Alexiou and Brice 1972; Hood 1978, p. 200, fig. 198:A.

56. E.g., a tripod offering stand from Akrotiri: Marinatos 1984, p. 89, fig. 60. Coldstream and Huxley (1972, p. 299) discuss the Minoan pottery with crocus decoration imported to Kythera.

57. Doumas 1992, pls. 36, 37.

58. Doumas 1992, pls. 49, 50.

59. E.g., the necklace of one of the "Ladies in Blue" from the Knossos palace: *PM* I, pp. 546–547, figs. 397, 398; Immerwahr 1990, p. 172 (Kn 11). A fragment of a jewelry mold found at the Kephala tholos at Knossos carries a similar design: Hutchinson 1956, p. 80 (no. 49), pl. 12:e.

60. See **6**, **7**, **9**. Separately modeled faience crocus buds and stems were also found in the deposit.

61. E.g., the Kea terracotta figurines: *Keos* II, i; one woman on a gold ring from Isopata: *CMS* II.3, 51.

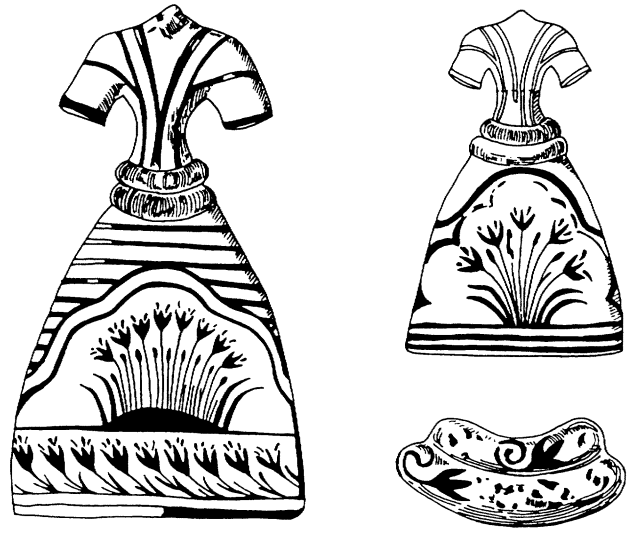


Figure 5.9. Knossos dresses. P. Rehak, after *PM* I, p. 506, fig. 364

garments with crocus decoration. The repositories apparently were sealed following a destruction in the West Wing of the palace near the beginning of the Neopalatial period.[62] Examination of the pieces shows that all are composed of a coarse quartz core with a finer white quartz glaze on the upper surface. The back of each plaque is flat, and the more complete specimens preserve holes that enabled the objects to be suspended.[63] The crocus blossoms are painted in a brownish-purple color, perhaps in an attempt to reproduce the mauve color of saffron crocuses. Evans considered the models to be votive in character, and the evidence from Xeste 3 suggests that such dresses would be appropriate gifts from women to the goddess. The piping of the blouses on the faience plaques looks identical to that on the dress of the Veiled Girl (Fig. 5.6).

The decoration of the largest dress plaque is also the most elaborate. Above the waist, the blouse of the costume is painted with thick lines that may reproduce the piping applied to the hems and sleeves. A thick double band or girdle encircles the waist. The decoration on the skirt occupies three main zones. Immediately below the waist is a series of closely spaced, horizontal lines. A roughly triangular area is reserved in the middle of the faience skirt, framed around its upper edge by a pair of undulating lines. Similar wavy bands on frescoes and rings may represent a stylized mountainous landscape.[64] On a reserved area in the center of the skirt, crocus blossoms and buds grow in a symmetrical arrangement from a central clump framed at either side by leaves. A narrow horizontal register occupies the hem of the skirt with a repeating pattern of crocus leaves and blossoms, identically slanting to the left.

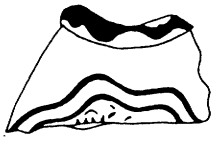
The other two dresses carry somewhat simpler versions of this decorative scheme. The better preserved example omits the horizontal bands at the top of the skirt, as well as the horizontal register of repeated blossoms at the hem; in the middle of the skirt, the clump of crocus rises from a flat groundline. The third dress is only partially preserved (Fig. 5.10).[65] The lower half of the girdle survives, painted with a wavy band. The upper part of the skirt is plain, but in the center the undulating framing lines are visible at the top, along with the tips of the crocus flowers.

62. For a recent survey of this period, see Rehak and Younger 1998, reprinted with additions in Cullen 2001, pp. 383–473.

63. Cf. the miniature ivory double axes from the Zakros palace that also have suspension holes: Platon 1971, p. 131.

64. Immerwahr 1990, pp. 46, 59. E.g., the House of the Frescoes at Knossos: *PM* II, p. 459, fig. 271. Elsewhere these bands may represent the sky, as in the House of the Ladies at Akrotiri: Doumas 1992, pls. 6, 7. Cf. the gold ring from the Acropolis Treasure at Mycenae: Sakellariou 1964, pp. 30–31 (no. 17).

65. See 8.



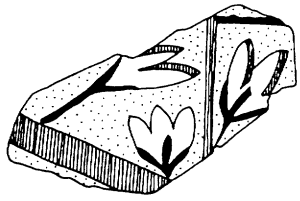


Figure 5.10 *(left)*. **Knossos dress fragment.** P. Rehak, after Panagiotaki 1993, p. 61, fig. D

Figure 5.11 *(right)*. **Palaikastro fresco fragment.** P. Rehak, after Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, p. 148, fig. 3

One of two models of double "girdles" preserved in the Temple Repositories has crocus decoration consisting of blossoms with curling stems, arranged horizontally.[66] The rest of the surface is covered with irregular blobs of paint that do not form a recognizable pattern.

The patterns on the faience dresses from Knossos have been discussed by Barber in her study of prehistoric textile production and use.[67] She considers them "unitary" designs, which are generally more difficult to effect than other woven designs.

Another possible costume with crocus decoration occurs on a fresco fragment found during the early investigations at Palaikastro in east Crete.[68] The finds from House E included an arm in stucco relief, white in color and therefore presumably female. Associated with it was a small fresco fragment with crocus blossoms that may belong to the skirt or—more probably—the blouse of this figure (Fig. 5.11). Although too little of the figure survives for one to attempt a reconstruction, other stucco relief depictions of women with elaborate costumes are known from a LM IB shrine in the small town on the island of Pseira, and from the site of Khania.[69] Relief fresco seems to be a characteristic of the decoration of the Knossos palace during the Neopalatial period, and when it occurs at other sites it can be interpreted as influence from that center or emulation of the decorative methods used there.[70]

Other evidence supports the notion that crocus was particularly important at Neopalatial Knossos. A fresco from a room north of the Central Court includes at least two monkeys picking crocus blossoms and putting them into garlanded baskets,[71] a scene that recalls several elements in Xeste 3. Real monkeys were probably imported to Knossos from Egypt as an element in international gift exchanges, and the ones painted in Xeste 3 may have been inspired by secondary exchanges between Crete and Thera.[72] The wall paintings in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos included blue monkeys and clumps of crocus related compositionally to those in Xeste 3,[73] and the Fresco of the Garlands found near the Stratigraphic Museum includes a wreath of crocus flowers.[74] One of the richly dressed "Women in Blue" from the Knossos palace wears a garment of the same diaphanous blue fabric that is seen on several of the Thera women, and she fingers a necklace of crocus buds.[75] A fresco in a small shrine at Ayia Triada includes a landscape with women, animals, and clumps of crocus and lilies.[76] The Zakros Sanctuary Rhyton, a product of a palatial workshop, includes a clump of crocus in relief near a peak sanctuary that generally resembles the one on the wall of the Xeste 3 Lustral Basin.[77] The Neopalatial period ends with a wave of destructions across Crete; after that, crocus decoration on costumes and pottery virtually disappears.[78]

66. See 9.

67. Barber 1991, pp. 320–321.

68. See 10.

69. Pseira: Immerwahr 1990, p. 184 (Ps 1). Recent excavation of the site shows that the construction of the shrine dates to LM IB; Immerwahr's LM IA date for the fresco is therefore too early. Khania: Immerwahr 1990, pp. 181–182 (Ch 1).

70. Rehak 1997a, pp. 165, 166, fig. 3: distribution map of relief frescoes.

71. *PM* I, p. 265, pl. IV; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 170 (Kn 1), pls. 10, 11; Platon 1947.

72. Strasser 1997, Parker 1997.

73. House of the Frescoes at Knossos: *PM* I, p. 459, fig. 271; Cameron 1968. Birds with nests appear in both locations; at Knossos, the monkeys appear to be eating the birds' eggs.

74. Warren 1985, 1987.

75. See note 57.

76. Smith 1965, pp. 77–79, fig. 107 (woman kneeling among flowers), cf. fig. 108; Militello 1992; Rehak 1997a.

77. Sanctuary Rhyton: see note 12.

78. Rehak 1997b. For a later scrap of wall painting from Pylos with crocus, see Lang 1969, pp. 130–131 (15 N sw), color pl. H (where they are identified as "anemones").

CONCLUSION

This analysis of costumes with crocus permits us to draw some important new conclusions about Aegean art and religion. Within Xeste 3, the flower is a unifying theme that establishes a connection between the goddess and women of all ages, from prepubescence through adulthood, and not just with the young flower-picking girls who are actually depicted in her presence. The paintings underscore the importance of cloth and clothing as a means of communication, particularly among women; these highly detailed scenes may even have been painted for didactic purposes by a female artist for a primarily female audience.

The details of the costumes carry broader implications as well. The iconographic content of the frescoes from Xeste 3 locates them squarely within the milieu of Neopalatial Knossos, and suggests that the Theran building may have served some of the social, religious, or political functions of the palace, albeit on a smaller scale. Now that the Akrotiri has also produced administrative document sealings of Cretan clay, impressed with Knossian glyptic images,[79] the case for a direct link between the two sites becomes even stronger. Whether the paintings reflect a Cretan intrusion at Thera, or a Cycladic imitation of Knossian culture, the crocus costumes remind us that even such small details can contribute new threads to the rich tapestry of Aegean society in the Bronze Age.

79. The sealings, found in Room Delta 18, are now on display in the Museum of Prehistoric Thera; see *Ergon* 1995, pp. 37–38, figs. 37, 38. Cf. Doumas 2002.

CATALOGUE OF COSTUMES WITH CROCUS

1 Akrotiri, Thera. Necklace Swinger Figs. 5.2, 5.3
Marinatos 1984, p. 81; Televantou 1992a, pp. 156–157 (no. 25:a), with additional references; 1992b, pl. 20:a; Younger 1992, pp. 278–279 (no. 16), pl. LXV:a; Doumas 1992, pls. 100–104; Marinatos 1993, p. 209.

2 Akrotiri, Thera. Wounded Woman Figs. 5.2, 5.4
Marinatos 1984, pp. 78–81, fig. 56; Televantou 1992a, pp. 156–157 (no. 25:b), pls. XXXIV:a, XXXVI:a, with additional references; 1992b, pl. 20:a; Younger 1992, p. 278 (no. 15), pl. LXIV:d; Doumas 1992, pls. 100, 105, 106; Marinatos 1993, pp. 207–209.

3 Akrotiri, Thera. Veiled Girl Figs. 5.2, 5.6
Marinatos 1984, pp. 77–81, fig. 55; Televantou 1992a, pp. 156–157 (no. 25:c), pls. XXXIV:b, XXXVI, with additional references; 1992b, pl. 20:a, b (detail of head); Younger 1992, p. 278 (no. 14), pl. LXIV:c; Doumas 1992, pls. 100, 107, 108; Marinatos 1993, pp. 206–207.

4 Akrotiri, Thera. Goddess Fig. 5.7
Marinatos 1984, pp. 61–62; Televantou 1992a, p. 157 (no. 30), with additional references; Younger 1992, pp. 277–278 (no. 9), pl. LXIII:c; Doumas 1992, pls. 122, 125, 126; Marinatos 1993, pp. 141, 151.

5 Akrotiri, Thera. Mature Woman Fig. 5.8
Marinatos 1984, pp. 64–65, 68, fig. 46; Televantou 1992a, p. 158 (no. 33); Doumas 1992, pls. 131, 132.

6 KNOSSOS, EAST REPOSITORY. Faience dress Fig. 5.9
PM I, p. 505, fig. 364:a; Foster 1979, pp. 86–88, fig. 17, pl. 17; Marinatos 1993, pp. 141, 142, fig. 111.

7 KNOSSOS, EAST REPOSITORY. Faience dress Fig. 5.9
PM I, p. 505, fig. 364:b; Foster 1979, pp. 86, 88, fig. 18; Marinatos 1993, pp. 141, 142, fig. 111.

8 KNOSSOS, EAST REPOSITORY. Partial faience dress Fig. 5.10
Panagiotaki 1993, pp. 59, 61, fig. D.

9 KNOSSOS, EAST REPOSITORY. Faience girdle Fig. 5.9
PM I, pp. 505–506, fig. 364:d; Foster 1979, p. 89, fig. 19; Marinatos 1993, pp. 141, 142, fig. 111.

10 PALAIKASTRO, HOUSE E? Skirt fragment with crocus Fig. 5.11
Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, p. 148, fig. 3; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 182–183 (Pa 1).

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CHAPTER 6

Reconsidering the Room of the Ladies at Akrotiri

by Suzanne Peterson Murray

Of the many buildings with wall paintings that have been uncovered at Akrotiri, one of the most problematic is the House of the Ladies.[1] A large, heavily damaged structure at the north end of the site, it was once an imposing three-story building with a central light well and as many as ten rooms on each floor (Fig. 6.1). Fragments of wall paintings recovered from the building originally decorated a paved, upper-story room in its northern section, Room 1. Two separate programs of decoration have been distinguished, corresponding to the excavator's division of the room into two sections, 1a (west) and 1b (east), subdivided by a north–south partition wall made of mud brick.[2]

Room 1a was a small, square room entered through a doorway on the east. A small window in its west wall opened into Room 7, and there was perhaps another in the north wall to provide light. It was originally decorated on three walls with a frieze of large, identical, stylized plants sprouting from an undulating yellow groundline. Each plant is shown with blossoming triple stalks flanked at the base by two groups of triple leaves. They cover approximately one-half of the vertical wall space, giving them a monumental character that dominates the limited scale of the room. These plants have been identified as either sea lilies (*Pancratium maritimum*)

1. This study originated in a discussion with Sara Immerwahr while viewing the paintings at the National Archaeological Museum in 1979, and my initial interpretation of the Room of the Ladies fresco as a robing scene was subsequently presented at the 1980 meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (Peterson 1981a). It thus seems appropriate to take a renewed look at this topic in her honor. For the contributions that Dr. Immerwahr has made to the field of Bronze Age painting, and the crucial support she provided to my own research, I have long been grateful. My sincere appreciation is extended to Anne Chapin for her enthusiasm, diligence, and patience in the production of this volume, which honors a scholar and teacher whose insights and guidance have enlightened so many. I also wish to thank Christos Doumas for his helpful discussion of the site and permission to publish the photographs of Akrotiri frescoes contained herein, taken from *The Wall-Paintings of Thera.* Finally, this study would not have been possible without the support and assistance of Alex and Bill Murray, for whom I am ever thankful.

2. *Thera* V, pp. 11–15, 38–41; *Thera* VI, pp. 8–11; Doumas 1983, pp. 81–82; 1992, pp. 34–35. Michaelidou (2001, pp. 177–197), in a detailed study of the upper floors of this building, distinguishes three floor levels in this sector, assigning the painted rooms to the uppermost story. A stone partition wall is in evidence for Room 1 on the first two stories only, but Michaelidou has detected evidence for a comparable wall of mud brick on the third story. The length and width of this mud-brick wall is uncertain.

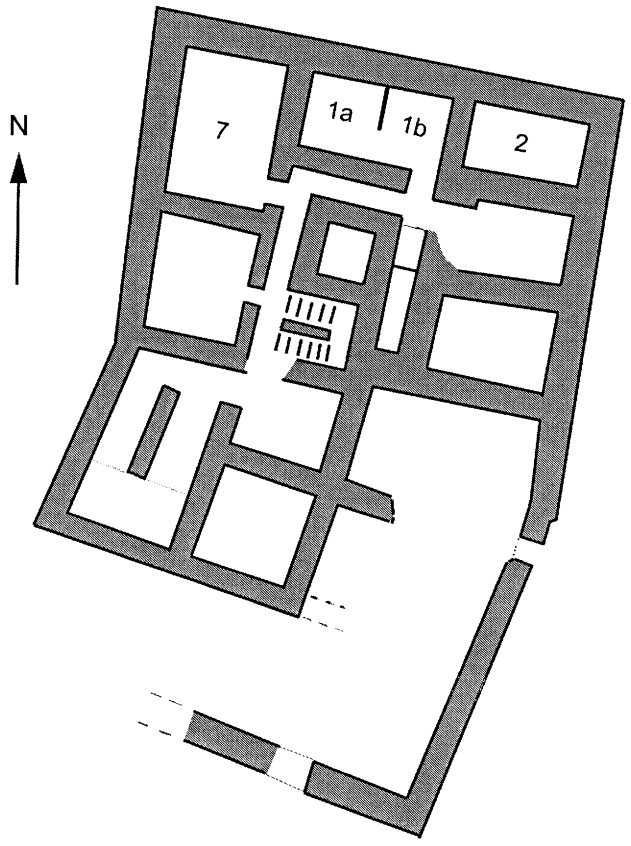


Figure 6.1. Plan of the House of the Ladies, Akrotiri. S. P. Murray, after Doumas 1992, fig. 1

or papyrus.[3] As I consider them the former, I will refer to this area as the Sea Lilies Room.

Room 1b, a bit smaller than Room 1a, was decorated with a series of female figures in Minoan dress, hence its designation "Room of the Ladies." Here, the ruinous condition of the building has caused difficulties in determining the architectural arrangement of the space, the original locations of the preserved fresco fragments, and the iconographic program of the decoration. The surviving fragments of paintings in this sector indicate a composition that included at least three female figures, about two-thirds to three-quarters life-size. Lady 1 (Fig. 6.2) decorated the south wall. Ladies 2 and 3 (Fig. 6.3), found in scattered fragments, have been paired in a second scene, but the original location of this scene within the room has been disputed. The most recent and convincing analysis of the evidence places this composition on the mud-brick partition wall at the west end of the room.[4] Little of the walls in this uppermost level of the

3. For an identification as papyrus, see Warren 1976, p. 91; as sea lilies, see *Thera* V, pp. 38–39; Doumas 1992, pp. 34–35 (where a magnification of scale is noted). Porter (2000), who convincingly identifies these plants as sea lilies, notes their current seaside growth in the Aegean Islands, and ascribes their significance as cult flowers to their pungent scent.

4. Michaelidou 2001, pp. 189–192, Michaelidou (2001, p. 191) and Televantou (1992, p. 156) place fresco fragments representing imitation marbling on the fourth wall (the west face of the mud-brick partition wall). Michaelidou proposes that this side of the wall may have been designed, at least at its southern end, as cupboards or niches.

who notes, in her analysis of the daybooks of the excavation, the discovery of a fragment of this painting still attached to a mud-brick backing, with imitation marbling painted on the other side. Televantou (1992, p. 156) also assigns this scene to the west partition wall. Doumas (1983, p. 82) originally placed it on an additional partition wall, running east–west and

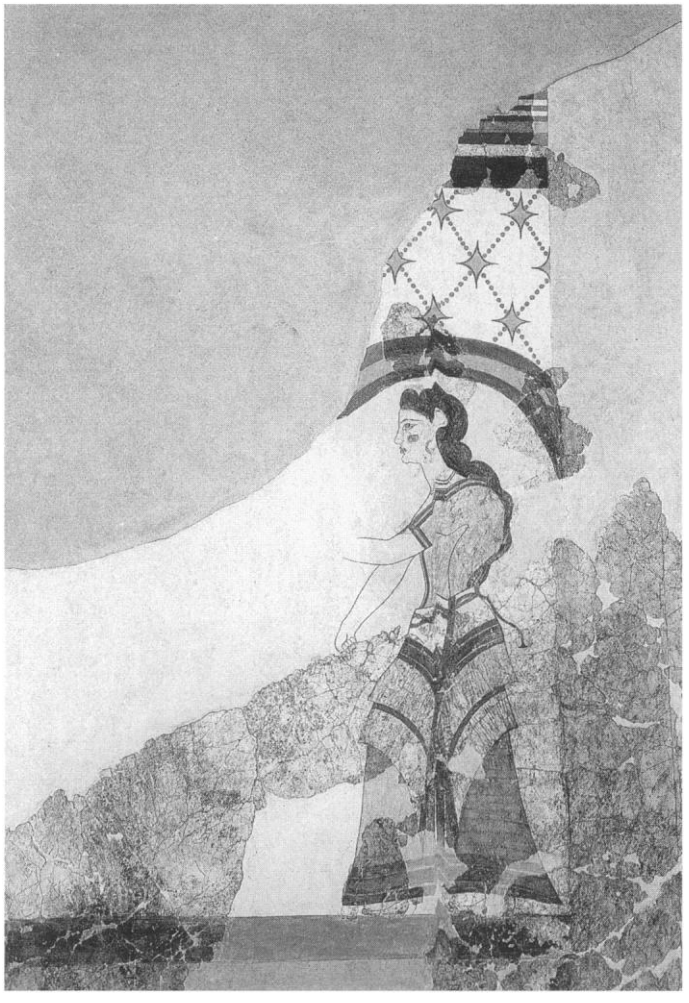




Figure 6.2 *(above)*. **Lady 1, south wall, Room of the Ladies, House of the Ladies.** Doumas 1992, fig. 6

Figure 6.3 *(right)*. **Ladies 2 and 3, west(?) wall, Room of the Ladies, House of the Ladies.** Doumas 1992, fig. 7

building have been preserved, and details of the architectural features of the room, such as windows and doorways, are largely unknown. The entrance into this suite has not been definitively identified, but must have been in the ruined eastern section of the room, either in the south or east walls (or both).[5] A window was probably placed in the north wall to provide a light source, but the archaeological evidence is insufficient to identify one. Therefore the precise length of wall space available for fresco compositions on the north, south, east, and west walls is unknown, further complicating issues of reconstruction.

forming a corridor that subdivided Room 1b (screening a bathroom). Marinatos (1984b) places the scene on the north wall (fig. 69) and Doumas's partition wall (fig. 65). Renewed excavations in the area in 1987 and 1990 have revealed more information, and Michaelidou has now assigned the east–west partition wall (and bathroom) to the second story and the frescoes to the paved room on the third story (pp. 188–190, 247). At present, the only mud-brick wall identified in the Room of the Ladies is the west partition wall (shown on the plan in Fig. 6.1), and Doumas now supports the positioning of Ladies 2 and 3 on this wall (pers. comm.). The degree of destruction in this sector of the building, however, and the compression of the upper floors and doorways, presents a very complex stratigraphy prone to reinterpretation.

5. Doumas 1992, pp. 34–35. See also *Thera* V, pp. 11–13, figs. 2, 3 (the plans conflict). The current placement of the doorway in the south wall, which gives access from the corridor, is based on the position of the doorway on the first and second floors. On the second story, Michaelidou (2001, p. 247) identifies another doorway in the eastern wall, leading into Room 2, and suggests that the doorway in the third-story Room of the Ladies could have duplicated either, or both, of these locations.

This discussion will focus primarily on the scene of Ladies 2 and 3 (tentatively placed on the west wall), and particularly on the problematic remains of the third figure. First, however, we must consider the decoration of the entire room. In both scenes, the figures are depicted against a white background, typical of Theran painting, above a wide black groundline. Above the heads of the ladies, the white background changes to a reticulated design of four-pointed stars (blue edged in black) connected by a network pattern of red dots. This zone of netted stars is bounded below by a thick, undulating band (blue between black) and above by a border of straight horizontal bands of varying widths (black, white, red, and yellow). It is most likely that a significant portion of the original decorative program also would have appeared on the north and east walls, providing a link between the two scenes that have survived.

LADY 1 (SOUTH WALL)

In the scene on the south wall (Fig. 6.2), a single lady (Lady 1) is shown striding east, away from the direction of the adjoining Sea Lilies Room. She is dressed in Minoan festal attire: a short, flounced overskirt, open at the front and secured around the hips with a looped cord, worn over an ankle-length yellow dress that is tight and short-sleeved at the top and flaring at the bottom. In keeping with the iconography of Minoan costumes, the dress is shown with decorative bands in contrasting colors along the length of the sleeve and shoulder (masking the seam?), around the bottom edge of the sleeve, down the front of the bodice and bell-shaped skirt, and at the hem.[6] Horizontal stitching marks the lower part of the dress. Black hair undulates down her back, and her cheek and parted lips are tinted red. She wears little jewelry: a gold hoop earring and a simple necklace of two black strands.

Shown in a composite profile view typical of Minoan art, with frontal skirt and somewhat distorted shoulder, Lady 1 is restored with arms extended forward at different levels. This pose indicates some kind of activity, but what she is doing remains a mystery. Fragments of the left upper arm show that it was raised to chest level, but, beyond that, its position is unknown. The right arm was apparently positioned at a lower angle, as fragments of the fingers, curled into a fist, appear in front of her bent leg.

The arm placement suggests the pose of offering-bearers, although here they are more extended than usual.[7] But the gesture of the right hand makes it difficult to see this as a carrying pose. Given the downturned

6. For the festal or sacral character of the costume, see Marinatos 1993, pp. 141–145; Immerwahr 1990, pp. 55–59; Warren 1988, pp. 20–22; Peterson 1981a; 1981b, pp. 97–105; Demargne 1948. For the design of the dress as a single garment, see Televantou 1984, pp. 114–126; Marinatos 1984b, pp. 100–101. The decorative bands were apparently a means of strengthening or finishing off seams and edges of garments (see Tzachili 1990, pp. 387–388). The bottom hem band is often omitted. Many of the young women in the Xeste 3 frescoes (Figs. 6.6–6.8) also wear the one-piece robe or dress, but this version is more difficult to distinguish as it blends more closely with the flounced overskirt.

7. Cf. Figure 6.9:b; the Xeste 3 boys in Doumas 1992, figs. 109, 111; and the procession of women from Thebes in Reusch 1956, pl. 15. The closest parallel comes from the presentation scene at Phylakopi (Morgan 1990, fig. 8).

angle of her curled fingers, one would expect to see indications of a depending object, but the plaster here is blank. Whatever object she may have held originally, it did not extend below the level of her fist and probably terminated within it. This seems to eliminate from consideration the types of objects that are commonly shown carried in a lowered position in Aegean art: vessels, necklaces, cloth or clothing, and flowers.[8] The gesture of her right hand seems more like one of pulling than supporting. Perhaps she held something stretched between her two hands or extending into the field in front of her. Such a pose would fit most suitably with a narrow, flexible object (cloth or cord?) that could be pulled taut within the span of her fist.

In front of Lady 1, in the lower portion of the fresco, a lengthy section of plaster is preserved, but it appears to be blank.[9] This is the area toward which the figure moves and extends her arms, so it is difficult to comprehend why such a disproportionately large amount of the compositional space here is devoid of representation. In spite of the seemingly ample space in front of her, the striding lady has been tightly fitted into the right end of the scene, so this white space must have been necessary to the composition.

We must assume that the focus of her activity appeared either *beyond* the extant blank area (if there was space) or *above* it. If the former, the gap would emphasize the process of traversing (perhaps in a processional context). If the latter, the focal point must have been something carried by or suspended in front of Lady 1,[10] something that visibly received no ground-line support and that was restricted in height by the netted-star zone. Doumas has suggested that her goal appeared on the destroyed east wall,[11] but it is then hard to understand why she would be placed so far back in the scene. A more satisfactory proposal, although purely conjectural, would place another figure on the south wall, walking in front of the lady or facing her, perhaps with something stretched or carried between them. An entrance in this wall, however, would curtail the needed space.

Behind the striding lady, the wall surface shifts abruptly and jarringly to a wide strip of uniform yellow that extends from floor to ceiling, truncating the upper border bands and even the dado. This undecorated strip corresponds in placement and width to the doorway leading from the Room

8. For vessels, see, e.g., the Thebes procession (preceding note); for a necklace, the Adorants Fresco (Fig. 6.8; also known as the Lustral Basin Fresco); for flowers, the Great Goddess ring from Mycenae (Fig. 6.9:a) or the procession of women from Pylos (Lang 1969, pl. O). Cloth or clothing, whether carried low, as in the Pylos procession, or high, as by the eldest boy in the Xeste 3 scene (Doumas 1992, fig. 109) and in the Phylakopi fresco (preceding note), normally hangs below the hand.

9. Shadowy marks on the plaster appear to be later discolorations, but look tantalizingly like the hindquarters of a large feline. The addition of a lion or griffin here, with a tether held by the striding lady, would correspond to the association of such animals with religious ceremony (as in Fig. 6.7) and would be appropriate to the position of her hand. Technical analysis would be useful to determine if these markings are the residue left from flaking following the use of a fresco *secco* technique, or if they represent post-destruction additions.

10. Examples of suspended symbols and small, hovering figures appear on Minoan and Mycenaean seals and rings (see Fig. 6.9:a), but in scenes crowded with activity. The symbols are generally interpreted as religious imagery and the figures as epiphanies (Nilsson 1950, pp. 342–348; Hägg 1986, pp. 56–58; Niemeier 1990). There is too little information to suggest something of this nature here, but the iconography does exist.

11. Doumas 1983, p. 82.

of the Ladies into the Sea Lilies Room (Fig. 6.1).[12] The wide, monochrome band marks a clear separation in the iconographical programs and spatial arrangements of the wall paintings in Rooms 1a and 1b. The impression of continuity could have been conveyed easily by maintaining the white background and dadoes of the two rooms, a common technique, but the artist has deliberately severed any link between the two decorative programs.[13] The striding lady of the south wall was not meant to be seen as emerging from Room 1a, nor is she directly associated with its decoration. Her activity is directed toward whatever completed the scene in the eastern part of Room 1b, either on the south or the east wall.

LADY 2 AND LADY 3 (WEST WALL?)

The decoration tentatively ascribed to the west (partition) wall (Fig. 6.3), although it is also in a very fragmentary state, was clearly intended to form an iconographic unit with the scene on the south wall. The border bands and netted-star zone are the same, and the representation focuses again on ladies in Minoan dress. Here too it is the section closest to the doorway of the Sea Lilies Room that has been more extensively preserved, and again the orientation of the figures is directed away from that doorway.

In the fragments of this scene, two female figures may be discerned. The lady on the left (Lady 2) is almost completely preserved, significant gaps occurring only in the absence of her lower arms (including her right hand), her facial profile, and a segment of her back. Her appearance is much like that of the striding lady: tinted cheek, gold hoop earring, and thick, fillet-crowned hair falling across her back (its termination is not preserved). She also wears festal attire: a white dress, similarly edged with blue and black bands and marked below with horizontal stitching, and a white, flounced overskirt with triple tiers divided by colored bands (red, blue, and black). This costume has a somewhat plainer appearance than that of the striding lady: there are no bands along the hem of her dress and no striations (pleats?)[14] in the skirt flounces.

Lady 2 bends over sharply, a pendulous breast emerging from her bodice. Her left leg is extended forward and bent as if she is taking a step or counterbalancing the shift of her upper body. Her arms are also thrown forward, her left upper arm raised to a nearly horizontal position and the right at a lower diagonal. To represent this position, the artist has distorted the right shoulder in a manner typical of Minoan art, "folding" the shoulder across the body in a pose resembling a three-quarter view.[15] Her head is tilted upward, a striking and unnatural position considering her bending posture. The result is a very complex pose whose sinuous line is echoed behind her in the undulating bands edging the netted-star zone.

Immediately in front of Lady 2, just below her extended arms, a large section of another flounced overskirt is preserved. It is of nearly identical design (the colored bands are more plentiful). As these skirts are normally depicted in a frontal view, we can discern that what we see here is the right front flap, its upper portion (above the hipline) now missing. A sufficient

12. Doumas 1983, p. 82.

13. It is more characteristic of Theran painting to maintain the unity of decoration, especially the uniformly white background, regardless of structural boundaries (Laffineur 1990, pp. 248–249; Davis 1990). The yellow strip may represent an attempt to mirror the architectural features (wooden beams?) of the opposite side of the doorway. A similar arrangement is used (with more natural coloring) on two of the panels of the male procession from Xeste 3 (see note 7), where it could be a device for setting a scene in an interior space.

14. Immerwahr (1990, p. 58) notes the pleating.

15. The "folded shoulder," a long-standing convention of Egyptian painting, was used extensively in Aegean art, where it simplified the conventions for representing the bands that decorated the bodice décolletage and shoulder/sleeve seam.

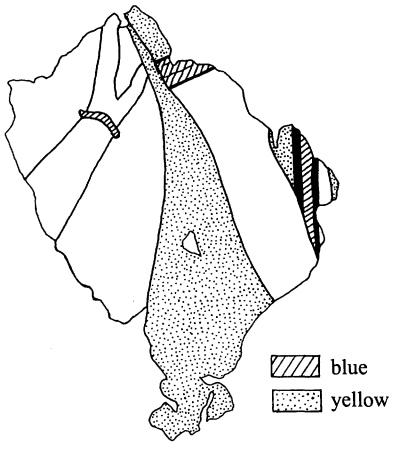


Figure 6.4. Detail of Lady 3, north wall, Room of the Ladies, House of the Ladies. S. P. Murray

amount of information remains to indicate that this skirt is not worn by another figure. It is positioned at a lower level than the flounced skirts of the other ladies, dipping to brush the floor at the front, and there are no indications of a dress or feet beneath it. At the front, where flounced skirts normally part and reveal the garment worn underneath, we see only the white plaster of the background, with the unfastened tie-cord dangling loosely to the ground.

The right arm of the bending lady reaches downward, indicating a position that would have brought her hand into contact with the top of the skirt, and she has been convincingly reconstructed as carrying it.[16] Representations of similar activities are well known in Aegean glyptic art, but before discussing them let us first consider the remaining elements of this scene.

An assemblage of fragments, found near the others of the north wall but showing no direct joins with them, reveals a third female figure decorating the Room of the Ladies (Fig. 6.3, right). The white hand that touches her lightly is clearly that of the bending lady, linking the two figures in the composition. Limited preservation makes the reconstruction of this figure very problematic. Nonetheless, Lady 3 appears to be the focal point of the scene and her identity is central to the iconographical program of this room. The difficulties in reading the preserved details of this lady's costume and pose have led to misconceptions in interpretation and reconstruction among scholars.[17] A detailed examination of this section of the fresco (Fig. 6.4) is therefore necessary in order to detail these problems and suggest plausible alternatives.

Lady 3 is clothed in a yellow dress decorated, like the white dress of her companion, with blue and black border bands. Overlapping the yellow dress is her right arm, preserved from forearm to upper arm, held in a straightened position with the elbow locked. The bottom of her yellow sleeve, with a blue border band, confirms the identification of her arm, with a broad section of her torso preserved beneath it. The front border of her dress (bodice), preserved at waist level, is indicated by the blue band to the right of her forearm. Beyond this band, only a small portion of the fresco has survived, showing a narrow strip of white and, beyond that, a bit of yellow at the right edge of the fragment. To the left of the arm of Lady 3, we can see the uninterrupted expanse of her yellow garment, preserved to below the hip line, revealing a full-length dress with no flounced overskirt.[18] In further references to this dress, I shall use the terms "bodice" and "skirt" to distinguish between parts of a single garment.

Since Lady 3 does not wear a flounced overskirt, the assumption follows that the nearby lady who carries one is bringing it to her. This has led to the interpretation that this is a robing scene, in which a priestess is being attired in festal garments for a religious ceremony.[19] While Nannó Marinatos and I have agreed in the past about the general interpretation of this scene, we have differed in our views about the pose and appearance of Lady 3. In her well-known reconstruction (Fig. 6.5),[20] Marinatos restored the "priestess" (Lady 3) as a seated figure, with a frontal torso and the head and legs in profile to the left. This reconstruction attempts to create a pose in which the head of the "priestess" faces the bending lady

16. Peterson 1981a; Marinatos 1984b, pp. 101–102.

17. See, e.g., *Thera* V, p. 40; Marinatos 1984b, pp. 101–104; Morgan 1990, p. 260.

18. This detail shows clearly that, in the case of these three ladies, the design of the garment worn under the flounced overskirt is a single dress or robe, not a two-piece bodice and skirt (see note 6). Alternative designs no doubt existed in different locations or at different times, accounting for the variations in the representations of Minoan female dress (see Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1971 and Immerwahr 1990, pp. 55–58).

19. See note 16.

20. Marinatos 1984b, figs. 69, 71. An earlier reconstruction (Marinatos 1984a, fig. 6) was clearly a preliminary study that disregarded the expanse of dress to the left of the arm.



Figure 6.5. Reconstruction by Nannó Marinatos of Ladies 2 and 3. S. P. Murray, after Marinatos 1984b, fig. 71

who approaches and touches her. There are, however, a number of details preserved on this figure that, when put into the context of Minoan iconography, indicate that this reconstruction is untenable and that a figure predominantly in right profile is indicated.

The most telling clue about the pose of Lady 3 appears on the small portion of the sleeve preserved on her arm. Along its bottom edge, we see the contrasting hem band (in blue) that is typical of the design of this costume, but along the left side of the sleeve we see only the plain yellow fabric of the dress. When Minoan festal attire is depicted in Aegean painting, the tight sleeve of the bodice is consistently represented with a contrasting band that runs along the top of the shoulder and down the length of the sleeve to the hem band, marking the "front" of the sleeve.[21] On frontal figures, this sleeve band edges the outer contour of the arm as a continuation of the line of the shoulder (as in Fig. 6.6, left). If Lady 3 was depicted in a frontal pose, as reconstructed by Marinatos, a blue band should have edged the left side of her sleeve, but clearly none is shown.[22]

The absence of a contrasting band here is consistent with the convention for representing the sleeve of a woman in a profile position facing right. In this position, the band would have run along the missing right side of her sleeve (the front of her arm), as it does on the bending lady. At Akrotiri, these conventions are consistently applied to all female figures wearing the tight-fitting bodice of the festal costume (see particularly Fig. 6.7, left, where the same color scheme is used).[23]

At the right edge of this cluster of fragments is another blue band, this one marking the border that runs down the front of the dress bodice. The placement of this border also conforms to the convention for depicting profile views of women in Minoan dress (as on the bending lady of Fig. 6.3 and the veiled girl of Fig. 6.8, right). These views sometimes include a portion of what seems to be the stomach (Fig. 6.6, right), which may account for the narrow strip of white that abuts the right side of this bodice band. This arrangement can also occur on female figures shown in

21. See note 6. In miniature scenes, the scale prohibits such details.

22. This convention is particularly strong in seated figures of the type Marinatos has proposed. Her reconstruction mistakenly inserts a blue band along the left edge of the sleeve, an error that relies on the expected convention instead of the preserved details of the fragment.

23. Figures 6.6 and 6.8 show the same convention on left-facing figures. A slight variation in this convention occurs in representations of the uniquely Theran transparent dress, with its longer, billowing sleeves (Fig. 6.8, left). On this looser garment, the sleeve bands wander more freely, but are still closely associated with the outer contour of the arm. The matronly women in procession outside the Room of the Saffron Gatherers (Doumas 1992, figs. 131, 133) show no bodice bands, but they do not wear the traditional festal costume.

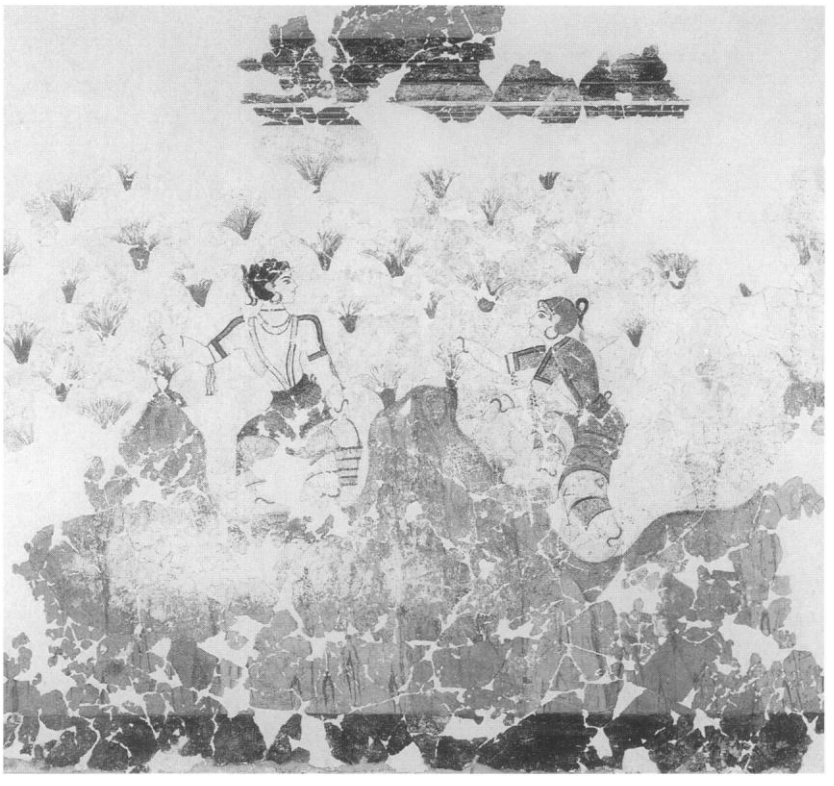


Figure 6.6 *(right)*. **The Saffron Gatherers, east wall of Room 3a, Xeste 3.** Doumas 1992, fig. 116

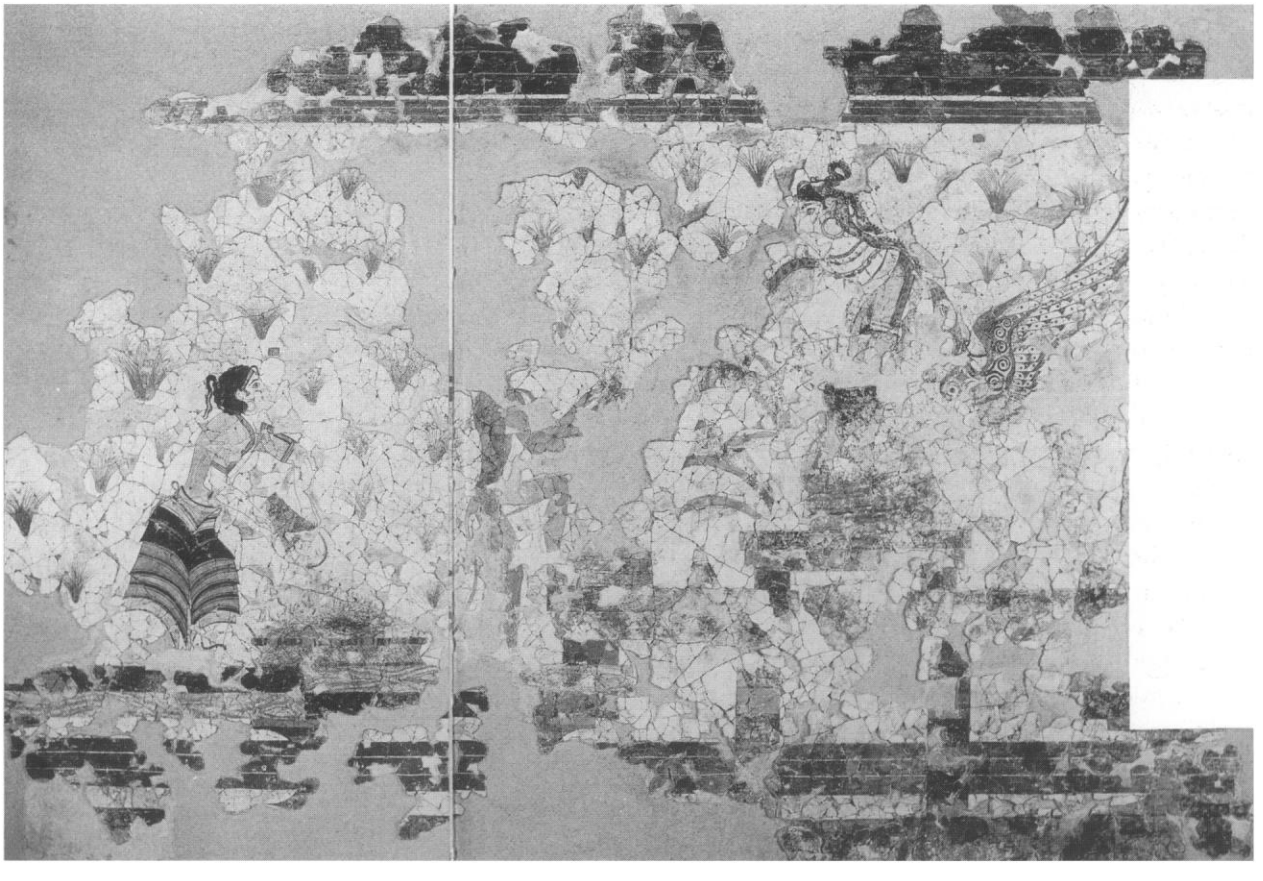


Figure 6.7 *(below)*. **"Mistress of Animals" and Saffron Gatherer, north wall of Room 3a, Xeste 3.** Doumas 1992, fig. 122



Figure 6.8. Adorants Fresco, north wall of Lustral Basin, Xeste 3. Doumas 1992, fig. 100

a frontal pose, but, in these cases, the bordering bands on *both* edges of the open bodice are shown, usually converging at the waist (Fig. 6.6, left). That is not the case here. A sufficient amount of the fresco is preserved to show that, beyond the strip of white stomach(?), a second blue bodice band was not depicted. Instead, the painting returns to a yellow pigment. The absence of a second blue band here makes a frontal pose very unlikely.[24]

Thus, Minoan and, more specifically, Theran, iconography indicates that Lady 3 should be regarded as a figure in profile (or in semiprofile, as discussed below). Her torso is oriented to the right, and the left contour of her yellow dress traces the line of her back. Her back does not display the pronounced curve that is shown on Ladies 1 and 2 (and other profile figures at Akrotiri), nor does she have the typical wasplike waist. There are two possible reasons for this. Since a flounced overskirt is not cinched around her hips, the artist has indicated that the full-length dress fits more loosely without it, de-emphasizing the waist. And the curve of the upper back, exaggerated on the other figures by the convention for representing the "folded" shoulder of a raised arm, has been moderated by the lowered position of Lady 3's arm. Here, the shoulder appears (to the extent it can be discerned) to have been held back near the shoulder blade, departing from the conventional representation (cf. Fig. 6.7, left).

It is also unlikely that Lady 3 was a seated figure. Images of seated women are abundant in Minoan art and the convention for representing them is very consistent: bent legs in profile, torso twisted into a frontal position, shoulders to each side (Fig. 6.9).[25] A frontal torso is improbable here, as argued above, and the representation of a seated figure entirely in

24. The reconstruction proposed by Marinatos (see note 20) omits the strip of white, rendering all of the area beyond the blue bodice band as yellow, and reconstructing a frontal yellow dress with a single blue band running down its center. Niemeier (1986, fig. 8) also omits this detail. The question of whether this small area of yellow pigment represents more of the dress follows.

25. For numerous views of the seated female type, see the Grandstand Fresco from Knossos (*PM* III, pl. xvii). The seated goddess of Xeste 3 (Fig. 6.7), whose torso turns in a more unique three-quarter view, shows the conventions of the seated pose when the arm crosses in front of the body. The shoulder remains in a frontal view and the sleeve border follows the outermost contour. These characteristics do not conform to the rendering of Lady 3.



Figure 6.9. *(a)* **Gold signet ring from Mycenae,** *(b)* **clay matrix from Knossos.** S. P. Murray, after Peterson 1981b, fig. 101, and *PM* II, fig. 498, respectively

profile is highly unlikely in this time period.[26] In addition, the left contour of the dress of Lady 3 and the position of her arm are inconsistent with the characteristics of a seated figure.

If Lady 3 was seated in a pose facing Lady 2, as in Marinatos's reconstruction, we would expect to see her dress curve up sharply at the left to indicate her raised legs (her torso would also be frontal and her bodice differently aligned).[27] Such a view would place her arm in an impossibly clumsy position, as if she was shrinking away from the touch of her companion. A seated position facing right would be more viable, but in this case the left outline of her dress should give some indication of the distinctive and conventional bulge representing the buttocks and "outer" hip of seated women. At the level of her buttocks, where the fresco breaks off, there is no hint of a bulge; the gentle arc of the back continues in an uninterrupted line (the visible direction of the brush strokes reinforce this impression). This is the posture of a standing figure. The context of the action is also a significant factor here: it makes better sense to wrap a flounced skirt around the hips of a standing figure than a seated one!

The fragments that preserve Lady 3 are currently positioned in a manner that tilts her torso, giving her the appearance of a bending figure, but there is no compelling reason for this arrangement.[28] Lady 3 need not bend over to don a wraparound flounced skirt, nor is there any extant indication that her arm must be vertical. In her current position, the line of

26. Paintings of seated women with profile torsos first appear in LH III at Pylos (from the Inner Propylon: see Lang 1969, pl. M:1–2H2). The seated goddess with genii on the gold ring from Tiryns (*CMS* I, 179) appears in profile, but the date is uncertain (and her pose was conditioned by her gesture). The confusion that resulted when artists had to deviate from this convention is apparent in the case of the seated woman of the Adorants Fresco (Fig. 6.8). To represent the gesture of stroking her wounded foot, the artist pulled her right shoulder and torso into profile, yet, incongruously, still tried to maintain the convention of a frontal position for her other shoulder. The result is a pronounced distortion further emphasized by her overlong arms and the disarray of her unusual skirt (not the traditional flounced variety). The unique action and costume of this figure are marked departures from Minoan iconography for the seated female, extremes that are not indicated for Lady 3.

27. The pronounced shift in leg position is a pervasive element of this iconography, but a deviation may occur in the painting of a goddess(?) in festal costume from Ayia Triada (Immerwahr 1990, pl. 18) whose bending torso and slightly bent knees have caused considerable confusion in interpretation (sitting, standing, rising, or dancing?). The banded, V-shaped opening of her frontal bodice, preserved at the waist, is a clear contrast to the arrangement on Lady 3 in terms of both its alignment and girth. The wide, yellow section of the dress to the left of Lady 3's arm is too broad to be merely one half of a frontal bodice. In her reconstruction (Fig. 6.5), Marinatos attempts to compensate for the moderate curve of Lady 3's dress by ballooning the loose dress in front of her (incongruous on a seated figure) and by raising her on an inordinately high folding stool to decrease the degree of bend in her legs.

28. Both excavators (*Thera* V, p. 40; Doumas 1992, p. 35) have noted that the current arrangement is uncertain. Apparently the restorers sought to echo the bending position of the companion figure.



Figure 6.10. Tentative reconstruction of the Presentation of the Sacral Skirt, Room of the Ladies, House of the Ladies. S. P. Murray

the bell-shaped bottom of her yellow dress would surely overlap the flounced skirt carried behind her, and should appear in the small preserved area in front of the fringed edge of this skirt. Clearly it does not.

A more satisfactory pose for this figure is achieved by turning the entire cluster of fragments so that Lady 3 is upright, as restored in Figure 6.10. Overall, this seems like a more natural and workable position. This revision alters the height of Lady 3 in the composition and, significantly, brings the presumed level of her head into alignment with the trajectory of her companion's upturned face.[29] The shallow curve of her back and buttocks, so pronounced on her bending companion, is moderated by her vertical posture as well as her looser garment.[30] By straightening her pose, the lower section of her dress would follow a line that does not intersect with the preserved portion of the carried skirt. The front band of her bodice also would appear in a vertical line more suited to the iconography of Minoan costume.

In this pose, the placement of the arm would have helped to mask the difficult transition between profile and frontal views of the dress. The composite profile so often used by Aegean artists presented particular problems with the depiction of the festal costume. The representation of the vertical bands that, in reality, marked the front of the dress, had to shift markedly from one position (outer contour) on the profile bodice to another (center axis) on the frontal skirt of the dress. This discrepancy was normally masked by the addition of the flounced overskirt, which could be manipulated to provide a more transitional view, as seen on Lady 2 (Lady 1, Fig. 6.2, shows the more jarring effect of a strictly frontal flounced skirt). This conventional solution was not available to the artist of Lady 3, but he has placed her arm in a key position to resolve the dilemma that must have been presented to him (a technique often used in later representations of this garment).

29. In the current restoration (Fig. 6.3), the impression is given that the undulating band above the figures dips downward as it approaches Lady 3, but this is an arbitrary reconstruction not based on extant evidence. In the proposed repositioning of Lady 3 shown in Figure 6.10, the hand of the bending lady is raised higher, but this does not significantly affect the composition.

30. The striding lady of the south wall (Lady 1), who also stands upright, displays an extreme curve in her back, but this has been accentuated by the tight fit of the flounced overskirt and the conventional hunching of the upper back when depicting a raised arm and "folded shoulder."

PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION

Let us, then, consider Lady 3 as an upright figure, facing right, most likely in a standing position. She wears only a Minoan dress and is approached from behind by a woman who carries the flounced skirt that will complete her festal costume. How much further can the restoration and interpretation of this figure, and this scene, be extended?

This fresco has for some time been accepted as a scene of robing the priestess; but, after a careful restudy of the fragments of this scene in relation to Minoan, Cycladic, and specifically Theran iconography, I have come to the conclusion that this earlier identification is too restricted.[31] While it does contain the elements necessary for such an activity (albeit not as reconstructed by Marinatos), there are numerous curious features in this painting that cloud such a precise interpretation. I offer the following observations in the hope of generating a renewed discussion of the nature of this scene.

In general terms, this painting falls into a genre of Minoan religious imagery that has been defined by Peter Warren as robe ritual.[32] Included in this category are numerous examples of Minoan art, some of which are shown in Figure 6.11, in which male or female figures are shown carrying garments, some clearly flounced skirts.[33] The appearance of the double axe in a number of these examples verifies the religious nature of the activity, although the sacral associations of the skirt itself are well attested.[34] In Fig. 6.11:a–c, the skirts are being carried to an unseen goal, either to be worn or offered in a ceremonial context. They are held at shoulder level, whether carried by hand or on a pole. Only the sealing in Fig. 6.11:e appears to show a robing scene, and here the garment is put on over the head of a figure identifiable only by its protruding legs.[35]

These miniature scenes provide examples of the mode for representing carried skirts or garments, but I do not feel that they adequately provide us with a model for reconstructing this element of the painting. Two views seem plausible. When flounced skirts are worn by a figure, the convention for representing them with both front flaps visible is very strong, and both the proximity and similarity of this skirt to that on the bending lady make a comparable view possible here (a view related to the frontal skirt of Fig. 6.11:c). But such a reconstruction would cause the missing flap of the skirt to overlap the yellow dress in an unconventional manner.[36] In most of the glyptic examples (Fig. 6.11:a, b, d), the skirt (or garment) is

31. Similar reservations have also been expressed by Warren (1988, p. 22).

32. Warren 1988, pp. 20–23.

33. The major study on this topic is Demargne 1948. See also Nilsson 1950, p. 251; Niemeier 1986, pp. 78–81; Warren 1988, p. 20; Marinatos 1993, pp. 143–145.

34. See note 6.

35. See Levi 1925–1926, p. 142, fig. 157, where the garment is mistakenly identified as a cuirass. In this case, what may be depicted is a type of cloak sometimes shown on Minoan men (as perhaps in Fig. 6.11:f and on the Harvester vase from Ayia Triada [Higgins 1981, fig. 191]) rather than a skirt. A seal from Khania, showing two small attendants tending a seated female, is sometimes identified as a robing scene (as in Warren 1988, p. 21, fig. 12), but no garments are visibly involved and the attendants appear to be seated.

36. Such overlapping would be quite unusual in scenes of human figures at this time, but it is certainly indicated by the many pairs of overlapping feet and robes in the Knossos Procession Fresco (*PM* II, fig. 450, pl. XXV); at Akrotiri it was a common compositional technique in representations of animals, such as the dolphins and deer of the Miniature Fresco in the West House, and the antelopes of Building Beta (Doumas 1992, figs. 35, 83).

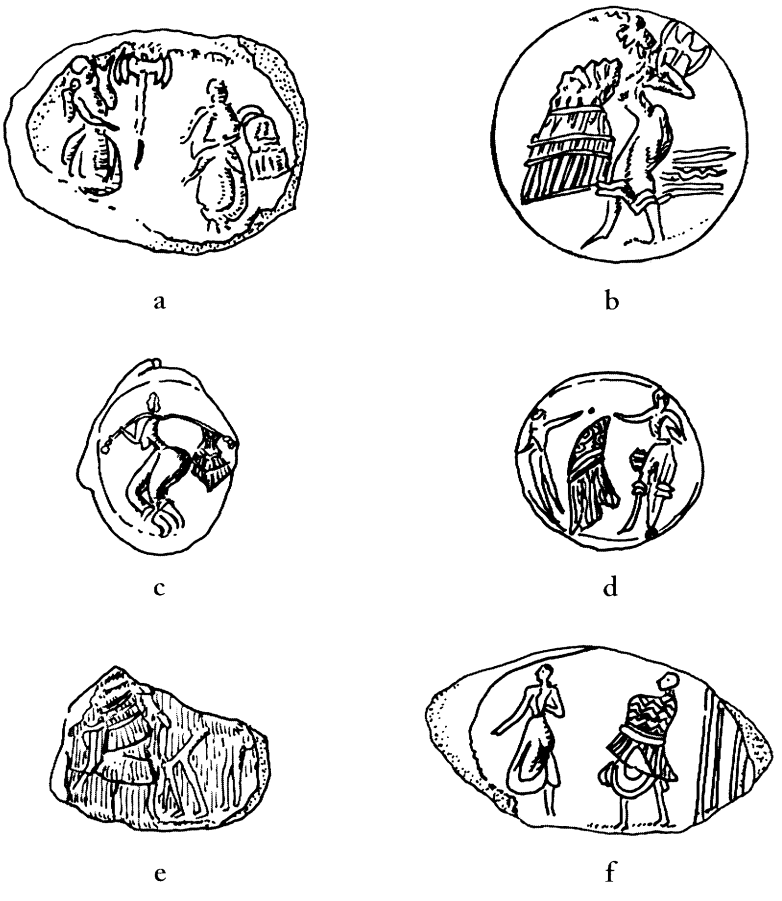


Figure 6.11. Seals and sealings representing the sacral skirt: *(a)* **sealing from Zakros,** *(b)* **seal from Knossos,** *(c)* **sealing from Ayia Triada,** *(d)* **seal from Mallia,** *(e)* **sealing from Ayia Triada,** *(f)* **sealing from Ayia Triada.** S. P. Murray, after Demargne 1948, figs. 4, 3, 5, 1, 7, 6, respectively

carried as a bundle, shown roughly in profile but without *any* indication of the front edge, a detail that is so distinctive in the fresco. Given the close parallel in form between Figure 6.11:b and the painted skirt, a profile view is a strong possibility. It would fit well into the compositional space between the ladies and be compatible with the unpainted space in front of the extant skirt flap. A flounced skirt that showed one flap of the front opening, and not the other, however, would be a severe departure from Aegean conventions for this motif, perhaps too severe in this context. In the absence of further information, I do not think the reconstruction of the carried skirt can be resolved at this time.

Although all of these glyptic representations illustrate activities related to the scene in the Room of the Ladies, none shows the garment carried at such a low level. It certainly seems impractical to put this flounced skirt on over the head, as in Figure 6.11:e, but it is equally unnecessary to lower it so much that it brushes the floor. This kilt-like skirt, open at the front, would best be donned over a dress by holding it at waist level, so that it could be wrapped around the hips and secured with the tie-cord. This procedure should require two hands, but Lady 2 carries the skirt with only one, her other hand reaching up to touch Lady 3. The low position in which she holds out this flounced skirt, as well as her deeply bending pose, are poorly suited to the implied action of dressing Lady 3, and we must consider whether there are other feasible explanations.

A compelling alternative is to view the bending lady as setting the skirt down. In this case, the action takes on the nature of presenting an offering, placing the skirt at the feet of Lady 3 while reverently touching her back and gazing up at her. The evidence for the presentation of garments and fabric as offerings is considerable.[37] This interpretation, however, presents its own difficulties, and makes the identification of Lady 3 increasingly complex. If this is a scene of offering rather than robing, why is the sacral costume of Lady 3 incomplete, and why is the offering being presented behind her?[38]

One of the more troubling compositional features of this painting, if Lady 3 is restored facing right, is the approach of the skirt-bearing Lady 2 from behind her. This arrangement is more suitable to figures engaged in group activities oriented toward a single goal, such as processions (see Figs. 6.9:a, 6.11:a), rather than a scene representing the direct interaction of two figures. In a robing context, a flounced overskirt such as that shown in the fresco would best be put on from the back, but the resulting composition seems clumsy and unfocused. We have no clear parallels in other contexts to guide us here.

Despite the activity behind her, Lady 3's pose seems to indicate that her attention is focused in the other direction, and we must wonder whether this scene might have originally included another figure facing her. With the lack of secure data, it is impossible to do more than speculate on where such a figure might have been depicted. A facing figure on the same wall would provide the scene with greater balance and a more effective focal point. This compositional technique, a central figure framed by two facing figures, is used in other paintings at Akrotiri, such as the "Mistress of Animals" with Saffron Gatherers (Fig. 6.7, which omits one of the girls) and the Adorants Fresco (Fig. 6.8) from Xeste 3, both of which represent themes of offering.

If this scene is to be placed on the west partition wall, however, it is very unlikely that a third figure could have been accommodated there. Even though the exact length of the partition wall is uncertain, the doorway into Room 1a would limit the available wall space in this small room, leaving insufficient space for a third figure. We must turn instead to the north wall, where there is little physical evidence, but sufficient space for a figure to approach from the east. This is a very ruinous part of the site, with a distinct decrease in material remains, but a few fresco fragments of the netted-stars motif and "at least one female figure" have been associated with

37. The miniature faience dresses and girdles from the Temple Repositories at Knossos (*PM* I, fig. 364) indicate that garments and parts of the sacral costume were given as offerings on Crete. A patterned cloth (perhaps a garment) carried by a youth in the Xeste 3 paintings at Akrotiri may represent an offering (Doumas 1992, fig. 109; Morgan 1990, p. 261), as may the skirt held between two figures on a seal from Mallia (Fig. 6.11:d; see Demargne 1948 and Niemeier 1986, p. 80). Cloth has been identified as an offering in processional frescoes at Knossos (Boulotis 1987, fig. 8), Tiryns (Boulotis 1979, fig. 1) and Pylos (Lang 1969, pl. O), and held by a seated goddess(?) at Phylakopi (Morgan 1990, pp. 259–260, fig. 8).

38. Warren (1988, pp. 20–22) and Morgan (1990, pp. 259–261, fig. 8) suggest an offering context here (part of a broader cycle of making and presenting sacred garments), but misconceive the pose and costume of Lady 3. The level of the flounced skirt would also be appropriate if a scene of disrobing was represented here (pulling the skirt downward), but the lack of known significance for such a theme seems to rule it out.

this wall.[39] An arrangement in which such a figure approaches the northwestern corner of the room, though less unified compositionally, would counterbalance Lady 2 and direct attention toward Lady 3 as one entered the room, whether from the corridor or Room 2. If a window pierced the north wall, the direction of illumination would also emphasize the scene on the west wall. Even with the probable insertion of a window, the north wall would have provided a surface sufficient for at least two figures (in procession?), although there is too little evidence at this time to determine this.

Whether we view the painting of the west wall as a costuming scene or a presentation of offerings, it is tempting to imagine another figure, or figures, approaching Lady 3, perhaps carrying an item associated with festal dress (e.g., a necklace, as in Fig. 6.8) or ritual preparation (such as the double axe, associated with skirts in Fig. 6.11:a, b). We must also consider that, in a ritual of ceremonial robing that stressed the sacral nature of the flounced skirt, the role of the bending lady was merely to present the skirt, and another (facing?) figure was then responsible for dressing Lady 3 in it.

Lady 3 is also notable for the absence of long, black hair falling down her back, a detail that is characteristic of the other women decorating this room and typical of most female figures in Minoan art. The paintings from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri provide three possible explanations. In the Adorants Fresco (Fig. 6.8), a veiled girl walks in profile toward the left, but her head is turned in the opposite direction, her locks of hair falling across her chest rather than her back. In Room 3b (adjoining the Room of the Saffron Gatherers), two women in procession wear their hair bound up in scarves.[40] Finally, the Saffron Gatherers (Figs. 6.6, 6.7) have short curly hair or shaved heads, signs of their youth.[41]

While all of these examples provide alternatives to a flowing hairstyle, none can be definitively applied to Lady 3 in the context of this scene. Turning her head in a direction opposite that of her torso would create a visual connection with the lady approaching her, just as the gaze of the veiled girl connects her with the shrine on the adjoining wall of the Lustral Basin of Xeste 3. Yet, even with her torso restored to an upright position, Lady 3 would have to tilt her head downward to meet the gaze of the bending lady, a contortion that seems extreme. Turning her head in a level gaze (as the veiled girl does) is a greater possibility, but then Lady 3 would be reacting to her companion only by looking past her, toward the doorway to Room 1a. An alternative reconstruction (Fig. 6.12) illustrates such a pose. If this was intended to be a single, isolated scene within the decorative program of the room, then a turned head would effectively turn the composition back in on itself, providing some degree of balance and avoiding the effect of having Lady 3 merely stare into an empty corner. If, however, the activity that was originally represented included a figure (or figures) approaching along the north wall, then such a pose would diminish the visual continuity between the two walls. The reconstruction in Figure 6.12 is feasible, but it seems the less likely of the two poses. The impression it gives is somewhat disjointed, given the proximity of the bending lady, and seems to run contrary to the sense of momentum that characterizes the extant figures.[42]

39. Televantou 1992, p. 156. Michaelidou (2001, p. 193) has ascribed the notable decrease in finds in the northeastern part of the building to an area of water runoff that has left a deposit of sand and has even carried away the stone paving slabs.

40. *Thera* VII, pp. 24, 36–37, figs. 65, 66; Doumas 1992, p. 131, figs. 131–134. Three women are noted, but only two have been described and illustrated.

41. *Thera* VII, pp. 32–38; Doumas 1992, pp. 129–131. For the differentiation of ages, see Davis 1986.

42. It is interesting to note that the youth from Xeste 3 (see note 37) turns and looks back over the head of his companion, but his pose (with frontal torso) is more suited to this action—his companion is shorter and merely follows him (not interacting)—and his gaze is directed back through the doorway through which he is passing.



Figure 6.12. Alternative reconstruction of Lady 3, with turned head, Room of the Ladies, House of the Ladies. S. P. Murray

The Xeste 3 processional ladies with bound hair seem to represent a distinct and separate group, interpreted as matronly in age and status.[43] Although this fragmentary painting has not yet been restored, the women are distinguished by heavier physiques, fleecy robes worn across one shoulder, and an absence of earrings. Their bound hairstyles may represent a convention for more advanced maturity. It is problematic at this point to associate this age group with the women of the Room of the Ladies, whose flowing hair and lithe figures display the attributes of young adults.[44]

The young, shorn girls of the Saffron Gatherers and Adorants frescoes do mingle with women who, like our ladies, display the traditional flowing tresses of adult females, but can we see Lady 3 as a young girl among elder companions? As the focal point in an offering scene, certainly not; in a robing scene, we would have to imagine some kind of investiture ritual in which a young initiate is presented with her first festal flounced skirt. In the context of a rite of passage, the clear indication of maturity on the bending Lady 2 would present a striking contrast with the younger initiate. In such a context, however, we would expect the girl and her skirt to be of smaller size than an adult (as is the veiled girl in the Adorants Fresco). The surviving amount of the carried skirt is insufficient to indicate its size (the preserved height is a little less), but the proportions of

43. Marinatos 1984b, pp. 64–65; Davis 1986, pp. 403–404; Immerwahr 1990, p. 62.

44. Davis (1986, pp. 403–404) argues that the women of the Room of the Ladies are "aged," due in part to the large, drooping breast of the bending lady. Marinatos (1984b, p. 101) proposes that she is a lactating mother who is younger than the women with bound hair. In my view, the representation of prominent breasts is a device used to indicate, when in profile, the status of females as fertile young adults, a device that becomes a convention codified in Mycenaean processional scenes of women in Minoan dress, such as those at Tiryns and Thebes (Peterson 1981b, pp. 46–86). They are not a sign of advanced age but merely sexual maturity and fertility; and, in combination with the flowing hairstyle, serve as indicators of younger adulthood (as also in Marinatos 1984b). The wounded lady of Xeste 3 (Fig. 6.8), who is in profile, also appears to have a large breast (the outline is visible above her thigh). In the case of the bending lady, the breast is emphasized by her pose, and the artist has given free reign to its potential as a filling device (as well as his own predilection for exaggerated curves, apparent as well in her impossible wasplike waist).



Figure 6.13. Lady with necklace, detail of Adorants Fresco, Xeste 3.
S. P. Murray, after Doumas 1992, fig. 101

both ladies appear to be the same.[45] Moreover, there is as yet no clear evidence for such a ceremony and, although images of young girls as participants in rituals (Figs. 6.6, 6.9:a) and attendants of priestesses or goddesses are familiar, they never appear, as Lady 3 does, as the focal point of an activity.[46] We must bear in mind, however, that the discovery of the Thera frescoes brought to light many heretofore unknown themes and concepts, particularly regarding age differentiation and rites of passage, and, in the context of Theran and Minoan society, we should not rule out such a ceremony or the representation of it.

Equally perplexing details appear at the front of Lady 3's torso, where the fragments preserve only a few enigmatic clues. These concern the strip of white (flesh?) and bit of yellow (dress?) in front of the bodice border band. The white area may represent her stomach (discussed above), as these are sometimes included in profile views of female figures in festal attire, indicating that the bodice of the dress did not always close immediately below the breasts. To the right of the line of the stomach, however, we would expect to see a return to the white background rather than a change to yellow ochre. This color matches that of her dress, but why does it appear beyond the line of her stomach? On a frontal figure, the other side of her open yellow bodice would appear here, but edged first by another blue border band (as discussed above). This detail runs counter to the conventions for either frontal or profile figures.

We have a single clear departure from this convention in the lady carrying a necklace from Xeste 3 (Fig. 6.13). Her torso is depicted in the Theran version of a three-quarter view,[47] and the sheer fabric of her bodice

45. Lady 3 is not larger, as proposed by Marinatos (1984b, p. 102).

46. Papageorgiou (2000, pp. 965–966) interpreted the Xeste 3 youth with the striped cloth (note 37 above) as a young initiate about to be clothed in this garment by a nearby adult male, and alludes to a similar theme in the Room of the Ladies. For girls as attendants, see Nilsson 1950, p. 268.

47. This unusual pose, used often in the Xeste 3 paintings (see the goddess, Fig. 6.7), depicts the more distant breast in profile and ignores the nearer breast, covering the blank expanse of chest with the curving line of the banded bodice.

reappears beyond the swell of her stomach. The bodice edge on this side is obscured by her torso, thus no band is visible. The sweep of fabric beyond her torso is meant to convey the loose fit and voluminous lines of this garment as it flows into the sleeves. Although the dress of Lady 3 does not appear to be of this sheer type, the artist may have used a similar technique here to indicate the looser fit of her dress before it is confined by the flounced overskirt.[48] It is possible that the torso of Lady 3 was also depicted in three-quarter view, although the profile position of her right arm is in stark contrast to the frontal shoulders of other such figures, and the girth of the preserved bodice compares more closely to a figure in profile. In Figure 6.10, the torso has been reconstructed as a composite of profile and three-quarter views, based as much as possible on other Theran examples, and the left arm has been positioned arbitrarily in a way that allows the looseness of her dress to be represented (a raised position would emphasize it further). In a robing scene, Lady 3 might be participating in the process by dressing herself or reaching for another costuming item (or offering?) from a figure approaching her.

Although the identification of the white strip as the stomach area seems the most probable, we must allow the possibility that it is the white of the background or even her other arm. This narrow strip, abbreviated though it is, shows a distinct upward taper that contrasts with the customary bulge or downward taper used for stomachs (as in Figs. 6.6, right, 6.13). The taper parallels the contour of her right arm, and we must wonder if Lady 3 was shown with both arms held down in front of her.[49] Such a pose would render the yellow area in front of her even more puzzling, however, and seems unconvincing in this context.

The position of the preserved arm of Lady 3 is another anomaly that impedes the restoration of this figure. Portrayal of the arm in such a straight, downward position, though uncommon, is not unique (see the veiled Adorant of Fig. 6.8 or the frontal Saffron Gatherer of Fig. 6.6), but positioning it so close to her body is. Although the arm functions as a masking device (discussed above), it is difficult to imagine what Lady 3 could be doing, or holding, in this context that would require such an unusual pose, one that adds a considerable impression of stiffness to the figure. If this is indeed a costuming scene, her arm is inappropriately placed to aid in the donning of the flounced skirt; in fact she blocks Lady 2 from applying it. In the reconstruction in Figure 6.10, I have drawn Lady 3 smoothing her dress in preparation for the addition of the flounced skirt, but her original gesture remains a mystery.

The shoulder is pulled back so close to the line of her back that we must consider whether this figure was shown in a true profile view, without the hunched distortion of the "folded shoulder" that prevails in Minoan iconography.[50] Such a depiction would be so unusual in Minoan art, particularly in wall painting, that we must wonder if this is a deliberate and significant distinction.[51] In the iconography of the human figure in Egyptian art, whose conventions parallel those of the Aegean, such deviations occur in the representation of statues (Fig. 6.14). Is a similar distinction plausible here?

48. The sheer dresses represented in Xeste 3 show longer, looser sleeves than that of Lady 3, and a light wash of color conveys the delicacy of the fabric, whereas the yellow ochre of Lady 3's dress has a more opaque quality. For the design of these sheer dresses, see Televantou 1984, fig. 3.

49. Comparable, though higher, arm positions are shown by the priestess of the bull sacrifice on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (Long 1974, fig. 86), the faience Snake Goddess with the conical headdress from Knossos (Fig. 6.16:a), and statue 6-1 from Kea (Fig. 6.16:b). In Aegean painting, it would be unusual to find an arm overlapped to this degree by the torso.

50. The extremes to which artists went to maintain this convention are illustrated by the man holding a large vase in the Xeste 3 paintings (Doumas 1992, fig. 114). A complete profile perspective was attempted in one of the fishermen from the West House at Akrotiri (Doumas 1992, fig. 18), but here the shoulder is again folded inward in the standard manner of representing a carrying pose.

51. A complete profile view does appear to be used later in the Mycenaean period on the Tiryns ring (see note 26), but the miniature scale and sculptural medium make this an unsuitable comparison, especially as the "folded shoulder" convention continues to prevail in Mycenaean painting.

The identification of representations of sculpture in Aegean painting has been tentative, at best, and no specific iconography for this subject has as yet been recognized. The best candidate for such a representation, and the one closest in subject to Lady 3, appears on a fresco fragment from Mycenae, showing a small female figure held by two large female hands, which I have previously interpreted as a figurine exchange in an offering scene.[52] She is shown in profile, but with a "folded shoulder," and wears a long dress with no flounced skirt. Other plausible fresco representations of sculpture tend to be on an equally small scale.[53] Certainly the archaeological record has borne out the plentiful existence of figurines in Bronze Age society (although generally less realistic in appearance), and it would not be surprising to find them included in fresco scenes, but what of something much larger?

The possibility exists, though remote in our current state of knowledge, that Lady 3 represents a life-size statue, the focus of a scene of votive offering or ritual costuming—in other words, a cult statue. Evidence for the existence of cult statues in the Bronze Age, let alone the depiction of them, is sparse and highly debated.[54] Some figurines, particularly those found in shrines, presumably served this purpose.[55] On a bigger scale, the most compelling evidence is the pair of large terracotta feet from the cult building at Anemospilia on Crete, apparently dowelled for the attachment of a body.[56] The ability to construct statues on this scale has been proven by the terracotta figures from Kea that, like Lady 3, are large, standing, female figures in similar attire (see below, Fig. 6.16:b).[57] These figures have also been placed in a religious context, but, due to their numbers, have been interpreted as votaries rather than representations of deities.[58]

Cult statues, if they existed, no doubt would have been focal points for the robe rituals discussed above. Not only would they have received offerings of cloth and clothing, they would have been robed in gift garments as well. Indeed, the skirts shown on the seals of Figure 6.11 may represent gifts for the goddess rather than ceremonial robes for the priestess. Such ceremonies may be reflected in the Linear B term *te-o-po-ri-ja,* found in texts at Knossos, which has been convincingly argued by Stefan Hiller as

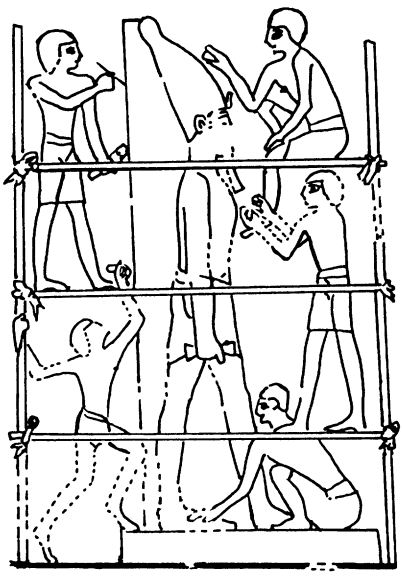


Figure 6.14. Relief from the tomb of Rekhmire, Thebes, Egypt.
S. P. Murray, after Aldred 1980, fig. 126

52. Peterson (1981b, pp. 67, 202, fig. 65) presents a reconstruction; see also Immerwahr 1990, fig. 33:a. For the original fragments, see Mylonas 1972, pp. 39–40, pl. 14.

53. Immerwahr (1990, p. 121) has proposed that the fresco fragment from Mycenae showing a figure in a boar's tusk helmet, carrying a griffin, represents an ivory sculpture group. Boulotis (1979) interprets a fragment from the Tiryns procession fresco as the base of a wheel-made figurine, carried with a piece of cloth. The bovine animals carried as offerings on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus also appear to be statuettes (Long 1974, pp. 46–47, fig. 17).

54. For a summary of the evidence, see Marinatos and Hägg (1983), who deny the existence of cult images on Crete and representations of statues in Minoan art. See Warren 1988, pp. 30–34, and Rutkowski 1986, pp. 142–145, for more positive assessments.

55. For example, the Snake Goddesses from Knossos (*PM* I, pp. 500–506, fig. 377) and the Lady of Phylakopi (Renfrew 1985, pp. 215, 372, pl. 31).

56. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1991, pp. 139–140, fig. 118. They suggest that the body was of wood.

57. *Keos* II, i. These figures, found in the temple, range up to life-size and, in date, as early as LM I. They wear costumes with bell-shaped skirts and tight-fitting bodices edged with prominent borders (they differ from Lady 3 in the addition of heavy girdles). No flounced skirts are evident, but it is possible that real ones were added separately (as part of costuming rituals?).

58. Caskey (*Keos* II, i, p. 74) does not rule out the existence of cult statues in such a context, because, as she notes, some of the statues were "revered enough to be resurfaced and repaired" with plaster and paint.



Figure 6.15. Ayia Triada sarcophagus, detail of side A. Detail, Alison Frantz Collection, American School of Classical Studies at Athens

reference to a festival that involved the carrying of a cult image in conjunction with references to cloth or garments.[59] This may indicate a ritual merely of offering or a ceremony that included robing.

In contemporary Egypt, the ritual dressing of cult statues was standard religious practice, and in Greece, similar customs may be reflected in later traditions such as the presentation of a robe to a cult statue of Athena during the Greater Panathenaia.[60] In my opinion, such a robed cult image is depicted in Aegean painting on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (Fig. 6.15). Included here among the scenes of Minoan ritual is a curious, armless male figure that has been interpreted by Charlotte Long as the deceased in front of his tomb, but I believe it represents a large-scale cult statue.[61] Shown completely in profile and shrouded in a robe offering that obscures its arms, the figure stands before a shrine and faces a procession of offering-bearers. This painting is of a later date, and on a much smaller scale than that of the Room of the Ladies, but it does offer a possible parallel.

Does Lady 3 represent a statue, about to be robed in a skirt offering? Such an interpretation has only slight support from other sources, but the concept is intriguing nonetheless. It could account for the general stiffness in her pose and the unusual position of her arm(s), similar to that of the statues in Figure 6.16. As the image of a deity, her hair need not be the same style as that of the other ladies.[62] The application of the yellow dress

59. Hiller 1984. See also Warren 1988, p. 20.

60. For Egypt, see Brewer and Teeter 1999, pp. 85–86. Demargne (1948, pp. 287–288) and Barber (1991, pp. 380–382) both discuss the Bronze Age roots of later ceremonies of robe offering.

61. Long 1974, pp. 44–50, fig. 17. She observes, in spite of her identification, that the nature of these scenes is more religious than funerary. Rutkowski (1986, p. 106) hints at an interpretation similar to mine.

62. Note that the Knossos figurine in Fig. 6.16 has short (shoulder-length) hair, but the Kea statue shows evidence of a long tress.



Figure 6.16. Profile views of *(a)* Snake Goddess, Knossos, and *(b)* Kea statue 6-1. S. P. Murray, after *PM* I, frontispiece, and *Keos* II, i, pl. 38, respectively

might also have obscured it (as the robe obscures the "armless" figure in Fig. 6.15). This identification might also explain why she is apparently oblivious to the offered skirt and the lady presenting it. If the bending lady is preparing to robe a statue, her position behind the image, with one hand steadying it or giving reverence, is conceivable; but the addition of another figure to balance the scene and participate in the robing process would still be desirable here.

Some scholars have suggested that this scene shows the epiphany of the goddess,[63] but it would be contrary to the iconography of such scenes to show Lady 3 in profile, and unusual to show a worshiper in physical contact with her (if Xeste 3 is an indication, Theran artists would also show a goddess on a larger scale). More plausible is the proposal by W.-D. Niemeier that this could be a priestess being prepared for a ritual of staged epiphany (an appearance in the guise of a goddess).[64] If this is the case, it is difficult to understand the lack of interaction on her part, especially the obstructive position of her arm (raised arms would be more appropriate to such ritual dressing). Such a ceremony could have been quite formal, however, with the priestess assuming a transcendent state as she is transformed into the surrogate of the goddess. Should she not then wear a costume that also sets her apart from her "earthly" attendant?

In a scene presumed to emphasize sacral garments and ceremonial robing, the lack of elaboration in the costumes, especially that of Lady 3, is puzzling. These garments seem very plain compared to those represented in Xeste 3, and may reflect a hierarchy of costumes for different rituals (the celebration of nature in Xeste 3 reflected in the festive decoration of the garments) or a change in fashion (if the paintings differ in date). The absence of any significant differentiation in the garments of the two ladies of this scene de-emphasizes the prominence of Lady 3 as the focal point of the ritual represented (unless she is an initiate, as discussed above). If the epiphany of a goddess or a priestess-as-goddess was represented, we would expect her to be distinguished from her companions by more elaborate

63. Warren 1988, p. 22; Morgan 1990, pp. 261–262.

64. Niemeier 1986, pp. 80–81.

attire, as are the goddess of Xeste 3 (Fig. 6.7) and the priestess(?) of the Knossos Procession Fresco.[65]

Given our current knowledge of Minoan religion and iconography, the identification of the scene of Ladies 2 and 3 as robing the priestess remains the most plausible, but the numerous anomalies displayed in the figure of Lady 3 must admit the possibility of other interpretations. To explore these possibilities, Lady 3 must be approached as a figure in profile facing right (the torso perhaps in three-quarter view), standing erect, with one arm held down stiffly near her side. She turns her back to her preserved companion and probably turned her head away as well. She apparently does not have long, loose hair. She wears a long yellow dress that *appears* to continue, in an unconventional manner, beyond the white area of her stomach (or left arm?).

Behind her, the bending Lady 2 brings her a flounced overskirt as part of a robe ritual, either as an offering or as a sacred vestment to be worn in a ceremonial context. This has been interpreted as one stage in an extensive ritual involving the manufacture of the sacred garment, a procession of offering, the ritual presentation of the garment to a priestess or goddess (illustrated by this painting) and, at some stage in this process, the adoration of the garment itself as a symbol of the deity.[66] Thus, the most appropriate designation for this scene would be "The Presentation of the Sacral Skirt."

CONTEXT

A final note must be made regarding the context in which both scenes from the House of the Ladies appeared. The function of this extensive building remains in question, as does the exact design of Room 1 and its adjacent rooms on the uppermost story. In her analysis of the paintings, Marinatos asserts that the House of the Ladies was a shrine, tended by a primary priestess and several attendants. As supporting evidence, she cites the discovery of "sacral repositories" set into the floor of Room 1a and cultic material (rhyta, nippled ewers, triton shells) found within the repositories and in a nearby storeroom, Room 7 (Fig. 6.1).[67] The storage of ritual equipment in the floor of the Sea Lilies Room would lend credence to a role as a cult center, but this arrangement is no longer accepted. Doumas, reinvestigating the House of the Ladies in recent years, has assigned the repositories to the floor below, designated the artifactual material as domestic, and interpreted the structure as "a wealthy private residence."[68]

After examining the frescoes and their location, I find neither of these conflicting interpretations entirely convincing. The Presentation of the Sacral Skirt in the decorative program of Room 1b does give this sector of the House of the Ladies a religious character, but the building seems unsuitable as a center of cult activity. The Sea Lilies Room and the Room of the Ladies appear to have been the only rooms distinguished by an extensive fresco program, and yet these were located in a remote and rather inaccessible part of the building, more appropriate to a private area than a public

65. *PM* II, fig. 450. The absence of status distinction by means of costume is a common problem in deciphering images of women in festal dress, but differentiation appears more often in paintings than on seals and rings, where the miniature scale generally precludes such minute details.

66. Warren 1988, pp. 20–22. Morgan (1990, p. 261) and Marinatos (1986, pp. 58–61; 1993, pp. 143–145) present similar ideas.

67. Marinatos 1984b, pp. 97–105. See also *Thera* V, p. 13; *Thera* VI, pp. 8–11.

68. Doumas 1983, p. 82; 1992, pp. 34–35. Michaelidou (2001, pp. 177, 195) has verified the placement of the clay "chests" in the floor of the second story, below the level of the paving slabs of the Sea Lilies Room.

shrine. Set at the back of the house, Room 1 was distant from the main staircase (at the southwestern end of the building) and was accessed from the service stairs (in the center) only via a circuitous route through corridors that surrounded the light well. Whether Room 1 was entered from the southeast corner, or from the east (through the wall of Room 2), the difficulty of access was ill suited to the comings and goings of regular ritual activity. It is in marked contrast to the central location and ready accessibility of recognized cult spaces at Akrotiri, such as the *polythyron* of Xeste 3 or the room of the Springtime Fresco (Delta 2).[69] We seem to have a room whose decoration gives it ceremonial connotations, beyond the nature of a personal shrine, but whose location, tucked away at the back of the building, on the top floor, gives it a remote, private character.

How then do we reconcile the decorative program of Room 1 with its setting? Is this a private dressing area with ritual associations? Room 1b, where the scene of robing was illustrated, was not well suited to such activity. Smaller and more narrow than Room 1a, it is generally regarded as an antechamber. If this room was used for ceremonial dressing, it would have been a very small, cramped, and private ritual, accommodating no more than two to three people. Thus, a ritualistic robing or a procession of offering seems unlikely here, but where might the activities illustrated take place?

The fact that Rooms 1a and 1b are the only two areas extensively decorated leads us to assume that the activity represented in the Room of the Ladies had some relationship with what took place in the Sea Lilies Room (Room 1a) or with the outdoor setting represented on its walls. Niemeier has proposed that Room 1a served as the dressing area for the priestess preparing for an enacted epiphany, and that its function was illustrated in the antechamber.[70] But the ladies of the antechamber are not shown emerging from Room 1a (as discussed above), nor are their actions directed toward it. Had the robing scene appeared on the south wall of Room 1b, so that the figures faced the doorway, it could have functioned as a signpost to similar activities conducted within the next room,[71] but on the west wall it had the opposite effect, directing attention away from it. Therefore, it is unlikely that the activity depicted in Room 1b took place in Room 1a, which is in any case nearly as small as Room 1b.[72]

Could a large-scale cult statue have stood in the Sea Lilies Room, representing the Minoan nature goddess and surrounded by representations of cult flowers meant to invoke her presence and symbolize her outdoor realm? While the idea is intriguing, the same problems make it difficult to justify such a theory. The remote location of the room and the domestic character of the building argue against such a prominent role, which would presumably require greater accessibility for ongoing ritual activity. Given that the repositories discovered in this area have been reassigned to the room below, Room 1a displays a distinct lack of material evidence for offerings or cult equipment.[73] Thus, the only support for this theory resides in the variable interpretation of the paintings in Room 1b. If a cult image resided in the Sea Lilies Room, it would be appropriate to decorate the antechamber to her shrine with associated ceremonies, but as

69. Doumas 1992, pp. 100, 126–131. Michaelidou (2001, pp. 396–397) discusses a similar distinction between private and semiprivate space, assigning the third-story Rooms 1 and 2 to the private sector and Rooms 6 and 7, linked by a *polythyron,* to a semiprivate use.

70. Niemeier 1992, pp. 100–101. Some of the problems with this interpretation have been discussed earlier.

71. The Minoan technique of arranging mural compositions to act as signposts that direct attention to further ritual activities has been elucidated by Cameron (1987).

72. Room 1a: ca. 2.10 × 2.20 m; Room 1b: ca. 2.40 × 1.60 m (the south wall runs at an angle, causing a variance in the width of the room from 2.10 m at the west to 2.40 m at the east). These approximate dimensions are based on a comparison of the plans in the excavation report (*Thera* V, fig. 2) and in Michaelidou 2001, fig. 97, which display some discrepancies. The plans record dimensions that are primarily those of the second story.

73. Michaelidou (2001, p. 199) reports that no artifacts were recovered from this room, and assumes they were either removed in the evacuation of the town, stored in another room (such as Room 7), or that objects were not used in the room.

these scenes do not guide us *into* the inner sanctum, we cannot read them as illustrations of what occurred within Room 1a. Even though it is possible that the painting depicts a statue, this scene cannot attest the location of such a statue in the next room.

So, it appears that the ritual depicted here, whether robing or offering, whether priestess, goddess-image, or even initiate, did not take place in the Sea Lilies Room or the Room of the Ladies. The orientation of the ladies *away* from the Sea Lilies Room gives the distinct impression that their activity occurs in a separate location and is subsequent to any activity associated with Room 1a.[74] Where, then, does this activity occur?

Details of the paintings in Room 1b may indeed provide a clue to the setting of the ladies' actions. A network of stars and dotted lines is suspended above the figures on both walls, a detail that was quite unnecessary if the activities represented took place in the Sea Lilies Room. This pattern bears a distinct relationship to the woven designs on garments (as on the skirt in Fig. 6.13) and may represent textiles used to form a tent or enclosure (or canopy?),[75] inside which the ladies perform the ritual of offering or of dressing for a ceremony. Convincing parallels have been noted for the use of Aegean textiles for canopies, pavilions, and boat cabins in Middle and New Kingdom Egypt.[76] In Aegean painting, the Palanquin Fresco at Knossos may show fragments of a Minoan canopy with a wooden framework, and fresco fragments from Mycenae have been interpreted as textile-covered *ikria* (closely associated with the *ikria* of the West House).[77] The Therans clearly had the ability to weave such textiles and use them in this manner.

A setting that surrounded the participants with cloth would certainly have been fitting in a ritual that stressed sacred clothing. The artist could not cover the entire background of the scenes with these patterned tapestries without interfering drastically with the ladies, so he has raised the textiles above the level of the figures. The bottom edges of the textile panels are marked by heavy border bands—reminiscent of those used on the dresses—that shadow the contours of the figures as if to emphasize the sense of enclosure. Thus, like the depending rockwork in Figure 6.8 or the rivers in the Miniature Fresco of the West House,[78] what is meant to be seen behind the figures is represented above them.

If the scene of the ladies is set within a textile enclosure, how does it relate to the decoration of the Sea Lilies Room? The Sea Lilies Room may symbolize the outdoor setting near which the tent enclosure or screen or canopy is set up (perhaps near the shore?). Might the ladies, emerging from the enclosure, then proceed to a ceremony in this outdoor setting?

Based on extant images and using the sequence of robe rituals set forth by Warren,[79] we can imagine the following ceremony. The sacred garment is brought forth and carried in procession to another location (a tent, screen, or canopy?), presumably accompanied by other cult equipment, as in Figure 6.11:a–c. Once there, the garment (a flounced skirt) is formally presented to and put on the priestess (Fig. 6.3), who then emerges as the representative of the goddess (perhaps in an enacted epiphany) and sits outdoors to receive offerings (as in Fig. 6.9:a). Such offerings might

74. Immerwahr (1990, p. 55) also notes the outward orientation of the scene, "as if the women, when dressed, would proceed to another area." Niemeier (1992, p. 101) agrees, proposing that the priestess, once dressed, enacted her epiphany elsewhere.

75. A similar interpretation has been submitted by Immerwahr (1990, p. 49 and note 24). It is also possible, though less likely, that such textiles were hung on walls.

76. Barber 1991, pp. 339–345, 347 (for the textile patterns, see pp. 317–319, 329–330).

77. Palanquin Fresco: PM II, pp. 770–773; Mycenae fragments: Shaw 1980, p. 175.

78. Doumas 1992, fig. 35.

79. See note 66. Warren begins the ritual with the making of the garment and suggests that the scene on the seal in Figure 6.11:d shows its presentation. Morgan (1990, p. 261) begins it with the collection of saffron for dye (illustrated in Xeste 3) and ends it with the presentation of the finished garment.

include flowers, such as sea lilies, or additional gifts of cloth. The lady of the south wall, with her striding pose and deliberate placement at the far end of the enclosure (the entrance?), may reflect the processional aspect of the ceremony.

A similar ceremony, though exclusively indoors, has been proposed for the Throne Room at Knossos.[80] It is clear that rituals of offering were often conducted outdoors, however, as shown in the Xeste 3 frescoes (Figs. 6.6–6.8) and on numerous rings (such as in Fig. 6.9:a). The preparations for such ceremonies would also include outdoor activities, such as the collection of floral gifts, transport of cult equipment (a processional activity ill suited to the interior spaces at Akrotiri), and, in this instance, dressing the goddess-surrogate (priestess or effigy) within a portable, temporary enclosure near the offering site. An interesting parallel is found on the sealing from Ayia Triada (Fig. 6.11:f),[81] which shows two men, one wearing what appears to be a sacral garment, emerging in procession from a structure of pole-like elements resembling the framework of a tent or canopy.

If the ritual involved the robing of a statue rather than a priestess, then the *te-o-po-ri-ja* (god-carrying) festival proposed by Hiller supplies a tantalizing link: the procession bringing the skirt to the textile enclosure may also have transported the cult image, or the image may, once robed, have been conveyed to a shrine (among the sea lilies?).[82] A large statue, however, could not have been transported along the circuitous route from Room 1a to the outdoors without great difficulty—it must be imagined as originating elsewhere.

What, then, would have been the purpose of the Sea Lilies Room? It does not appear to have been a focal point for the robing or offering ceremonies described here, and seems to be an unlikely location for a cult statue, yet its decoration indicates some distinction. I would suggest that this room was used for the storage or display of the ceremonial skirts that figure so prominently in outdoor cult activities and in the ritual illustrated in the adjoining room. There is evidence that sacred garments were displayed both indoors and outdoors, and they may have been objects of adoration in themselves.[83] It has also been argued by Niemeier that painted rooms could have served as storage areas for sacred paraphernalia, in particular that the room decorated with *ikria* in the West House at Akrotiri served as a storeroom for actual *ikria* when not in ceremonial use (notably, a use illustrated in the adjoining room, in the Miniature Fresco).[84] A similar relationship could be proposed for Rooms 1a and 1b (even though no skirts are illustrated in Room 1a).[85]

No artifacts of either religious or domestic use have been found in this room,[86] but they are not necessary for this interpretation of the room's function, as the display of a sacral skirt (or skirts) would leave no material remains. Other cult items associated with robe rituals could have been stored elsewhere in the building, and used as needed for small ceremonies of veneration in Room 1a or 1b[87]or for larger ceremonies outdoors. In other words, a segregated storage of ceremonial equipment may have occurred, with sacred garments in one area, ritual vessels in another.

80. Niemeier 1987, p. 166.

81. See note 35.

82. Porter (2000) notes that the sea lilies are distinguished by a late summer flowering, when other blooms have withered. Whether such considerations could help determine a season for a festival of robing a goddess-surrogate (like the summer festival of the Greater Panathenaia) is unknown.

83. Marinatos 1986, pp. 60–61; 1993, pp. 144–145; Warren 1988, p. 22.

84. Niemeier 1992, p. 100.

85. Fresco fragments that may represent bundles of flounced skirts were found in the area of the cult center at Mycenae (Kritseli-Providi 1982, pl. delta; Peterson 1981b, p. 203, no. 95). Such decoration would be appropriate to a room used to offer, display, or store these garments.

86. See note 73.

87. In the Room of the Ladies, a conical rhyton, trefoil jug, and triton shell were found (Michaelidou 2001, p. 199), an assemblage that would have appropriate ritual implications. Offerings of cloth or flowers would also be fitting gifts, and would leave no trace.

There is too little information to propose the storage of cult equipment in the rooms adjacent to the Sea Lilies Room, in part because the third story offers meager preservation, in part because it is so problematic to differentiate between domestic and religious vessels at Akrotiri. With regard to the second story, however, it should be noted that the entire north wing (Rooms 1, 2, 7) showed an abundance of pottery, including many pieces with possible ritual use.[88]

Room 7, adjacent to Room 1 on the west (Fig. 6.1), presents the most intriguing data. Large amounts of pottery were stored on all three levels, where it was found stacked on the floors and in cupboards, as well as having fallen in the collapse of the upper floors.[89] Among the items found were many typically of cultic use (particularly conical rhyta and triton shells), although these have been associated primarily with the room of the second story.[90] On the third story, Room 7 featured an interior window in the east wall, looking directly into the Sea Lilies Room, as well as a *polythyron* in the south wall (accessing Room 6), a stone-paved floor (as in Room 1) and perhaps plastered walls.[91] Clearly this was a nice room that featured plentiful pottery stores, but also easy access from the corridor, the service stairs, and Room 6. This pattern of circulation indicates an area of greater activity,[92] yet the window in the east wall presents a tantalizing link to the more secluded, exclusive Room of the Sea Lilies. While the function of this area remains obscure, a relationship with the private, vividly decorated rooms nearby is indicated.

In this context, the Sea Lilies Room would serve as the starting point of the ceremony described above: the bringing forth of the sacred garments stored or displayed there. Its decoration would allude symbolically to the culmination of the ritual (worship and offering) in an outdoor setting. The Room of the Ladies, through which the garments would pass (in procession?), would then serve not only as a transitional passage but as a signpost illustrating the progression to the next major stage of the ritual (presentation and robing). The sequential nature of this event would thus be emphasized by the outward orientation of the ladies in the composition, away from the Sea Lilies Room, creating a sense of passing to the next stage, and the change in physical location would be signaled by the textile background. Ultimately, the sacred garment(s) would be returned to the Sea Lilies Room, an intimate setting perhaps appropriate for further veneration of the displayed vestments when not in use; and the ritual vessels would be put away in the other rooms (the tent perhaps in another?). The spatial setting, the decorative program, and the context of Minoan ritual all make this interpretation a distinct possibility.

In this regard, the House of the Ladies might be viewed as both domestic and religious in nature. The location and size of both the Sea Lilies Room and the Room of the Ladies stress privacy and limited access, rather than public use, yet the intensive decoration of this suite, especially in relation to the rest of the house, gives it a specialized, unique character. The decoration is decidedly female-oriented, emphasizing the role of women in the context of ceremony. It would be difficult to envision Room 1 as merely a sleeping or dressing area for the women of the

88. Michaelidou 2001, pp. 237–242. In Room 1, the floor repositories were packed with a variety of beautiful vessels, and the pottery of Room 2 included amphoras, tripod cooking pots, and a hoard of conical cups, the latter sometimes associated with drinking rituals.

89. See note 67 and Michaelidou 2001, pp. 200–217.

90. Michaelidou 2001, p. 462.

91. Michaelidou 2001, pp. 206, 250–251. Small fragments of white and yellowish plaster were scattered above the paving slabs. Marinatos (1984b, p. 97) thinks the window between Room 7 and Room 1a acted as a pass-through for ritual vessels. Although she bases her conclusions on vessels now identified as belonging to the floor below (see note 90 above), the window may have served a related purpose. Fig. 6.1 does not include this window or the doorways of the *polythyron,* as this information became available after the production of the plan.

92. As also defined in Michaelidou 2001, pp. 396–397.

household, but its function may in part have been as the personal shrine of a woman, or women, who played prominent roles in the robe rituals of the community and who venerated and cared for its most cherished element: the sacral skirt.[93] Perhaps we are dealing here with the residence of a priestess, largely private in function, but with specific areas devoted to the storage and care of the cult paraphernalia used in a ritual robing ceremony that was conducted elsewhere. Until we can learn more about the function of other rooms in this building, however, our understanding of its function will be limited.

The questions and interpretations generated by these paintings can lead us in many directions. Robing, offering, or initiation? Priestess, goddess, statue, or initiate? The scanty preservation of the scenes in Room 1b leaves us clues that are intriguing and tantalizing but maddeningly insufficient, and the extant fragments of Lady 3 present many anomalies that test our assumptions about Aegean iconography. To determine more about this scene, we need additional information about Lady 3, about the iconography of robe rituals, and about the decoration of the adjoining walls.

Trying to decipher Aegean iconography is like entering a maze. It is full of twists and turns, dead ends, and uncertain outcomes. New archaeological information can simplify our path or complicate it further. The paintings from Akrotiri have done both, and those from the House of the Ladies seem to present more questions than answers. Many of the ideas presented here must remain conjectural, part of the continuing enigma of the House of the Ladies and the greater mystery of Minoan ritual.

93. Michaelidou (2001, p. 470), in defining the most private sectors of the houses at Akrotiri, also notes the "celebration of cult in the innermost space of the house."

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V = S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera* V: *1971 Season,* 1972.

VI = S. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera* VI: *1972 Season,* 1974.

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From Knossos to Kavousi: The Popularizing of the Minoan Palace Goddess

by Geraldine C. Gesell

Many scholars have written about Minoan religion, and in particular about the Minoan goddess.[1] Figurines, statuettes, and figures have been identified as representing her, as have images on pottery, seals, and frescoes. The types of representations vary from period to period, but those from the Prepalatial and Protopalatial periods are beyond the scope of this paper, as are ritual sites such as those at tombs, caves, or peak sanctuaries. The discussion here begins with the evidence for an elite religion practiced in the Palace of Minos at Knossos in the Neopalatial Period and traces its transformation into a popular religion in the Postpalatial Minoan culture.

Characterized originally as a goddess of nature and fertility, the Minoan goddess also has been identified as a household goddess, worshiped in houses and palaces. Although her identification as a household goddess is no longer accepted, she is still closely connected with the palace at Knossos, where her most famous images, the snake goddesses, were found. Their findspot in the official West Wing of the palace, as opposed to the Domestic Quarter, suggests that by the time of the floruit of the Minoan civilization, the Second Palace Period, these images represent the official religion, with its rituals limited to those having access to the palace. There is no evidence that they were part of the personal ritual equipment of the residents of that palace, for no such figures have been recovered from the Domestic Quarter of the palace at Knossos or of any other Minoan palace.

THE NEOPALATIAL PALACE AND ITS RITUALS

The Neopalatial images of the Minoan snake goddess and associated ritual implements were found at Knossos, buried beneath the Temple Repositories between the Throne Room and the pillar crypts of the palace.[2] Many of the objects—images of the snake goddess, offerings, and ritual objects—are made of a luxury material, faience. The snake goddesses (restored height of the best preserved goddess is 0.342 m) wear elaborate skirts with either horizontal tucks or flounces, embroidered aprons, belts, and jackets open at the breast, attire that would have been worn by their worshipers. The equipment includes a pair of graceful cups painted with fernlike sprays,

1. Among them Evans (*PM* I–IV), Nilsson (1927), Marinatos (1937), Persson (1942), Picard (1948), Alexiou (1958), Matz (1958), Branigan (1969), Warren (1988), Gesell (1985), Muhly (1990), Marinatos (1993), and Peatfield (1994). Goodison and Morris (1998) give an up-to-date review of the problem of singular versus plural goddesses. Rather than repeat the awkward expression "goddess or goddesses," I shall use the term "goddess" "to designate a conceptual and visual category," as does Marinatos (2000, p. 112).

2. Evans 1902–1903, pp. 38–94, figs. 19–64; *PM* I, pp. 463–523, 556–561, 596, frontispiece, and figs. 354–382. A new study of this material, including objects mentioned in the notebooks or photographed but not published by Evans, has been made by Panagiotaki (1999, pp. 71–179). In an earlier article Panagiotaki (1993) published previously unpublished drawings and photographs from the Evans archive at the Ashmolean Museum.

and one has a rose-leaf branch on top. Several small bowls, one decorated with shells and a second with figure-eight shields, and a ewer are also among the ritual materials.

The most interesting of the offerings are the faience robes and belts decorated with crocus flowers. They seem to represent gifts of clothing, though they could not have been worn by these statuettes. There is a hole running down the center of the robe to permit suspension on a wall of the shrine. The relief plaques of cows and goats suckling their young may have been decorations for the walls of the shrine, perhaps alternating around the room, as several from the same mold were found. The other faience objects—flowers, fruit, flying fish, rocks, argonauts, and shells—may have been parts of relief plaques or inlays for boxes.[3] Fragments of bone, ivory, and rock-crystal objects, along with gold and silver foil, were also found. All these items indicate that this aspect of Minoan religion, the worship of a fertility goddess who had a chthonic dimension that was represented by the snakes,[4] was reserved for the elite of the palace.[5]

From the Neopalatial Period there are many iconographic images of ritual scenes on seals, gold rings, stone vases, and frescoes, some of which include female figures identified as goddesses.[6] In scenes where there is sufficient detail to permit identification of the participants, it is clear that they belong to the elite class. Alan Peatfield makes the point that the rings, seals, and stone vases were made of precious materials in palatial workshops for elite customers.[7] Even in Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera, where there is a fresco showing a goddess and her worship, the architecture of the building, which contains a Minoan-style lustral basin, reproduces elite architecture on Crete, and the females participating in the ritual wear the elaborate dress and jewelry of the Minoan elite class.[8]

THE NEOPALATIAL PERIOD AND POPULAR RELIGION

Two small shrines, one in the palace at Phaistos[9] and one in the palace at Mallia,[10] open out from the palace and therefore probably served as a link between palace and popular religion. Neither has yielded statuettes or ritual equipment fashioned in luxury materials. The Phaistos shrine did contain clay female figurines with hands under their breasts in the pose of a votary, and what is likely to be the skirt of a taller figure. No symbols, however, appear on the figurines or the ritual objects, which consist of stone libation

3. Marinatos (2000, p. 114) suggests that they are inlays for furniture.

4. Marinatos (2000, pp. 112–114) would define the goddess as a goddess of nature, fertility, and motherhood, and suggests that the snakes do not represent a chthonic aspect but indicate her power over nature as a snake handler or tamer. Goodison and Morris (1998, pp. 123–125) and Marinatos accept the nature and nurture aspect.

5. Panagiotaki (1999, p. 151), however, noting that the Miniature Temple Fresco shows some women distinctly depicted in court dress while others are summarily sketched, suggests that the rituals were open to all classes of Minoan society.

6. For illustrations see Marinatos 1993, pp. 147–156.

7. Peatfield 1994, p. 27.

8. Doumas 1992, pp. 127–175, including illustrations; Marinatos 1984, pp. 61–84. For the divinity of the goddess, see Goodison and Morris 1998, p. 126; Marinatos 2000, pp. 114–117.

9. Pernier and Banti 1951, pp. 104–118, 582–583; Gesell 1985, pp. 127–128.

10. Chapouthier and Demargne with Dessenne 1962, pp. 9–13, 50–54; Gesell 1985, p. 106.

tables, a stone ladle, and pottery. Only the incised double axes and star on the building mark the sacredness of the spot.

The Mallia shrine has yielded different ritual equipment—a stone incurved altar, clay tubular and tripod incense burners, natural seashells, and a pair of clay feet. The feet are about half life-size. Yannis and Efi Sakellarakis compare them to the life-size feet found at the Anemospilia site at Archanes, which they reconstruct as those of a *xoanon.*[11] The Mallia feet do not have the tenon-like lower legs of the Anemospilia feet, however, and in fact appear to have been broken at the top, as if they had belonged to a clay figure. Such a clay figure could have been just as easily male as female.[12] The Mallia feet appear to be shod with shoes with turned-up toes. The only symbols that appear in this shrine are the star and the cross incised on the incurved altar.

The major popular ritual places, caves and peaks, were equipped with no images of the goddess at all, and independent shrines in settlements and towns have not been identified. In this period the image of the goddess as part of the ritual was an elite, palatial aspect of Minoan religion. The deity worshiped on peaks and in caves may have been represented by natural features or symbols; it was not represented in these places by an image.

THE POSTPALATIAL PERIOD

In the Postpalatial period,[13] after most of the palaces had been destroyed, the situation was different. Although the palace at Knossos survived, it was controlled by the Mycenaeans.[14] Nevertheless it had a shrine room complete with a Minoan-style bench, image of a goddess, votaries, and ritual symbols and equipment. During this period similar shrines began to appear in towns and settlements around the island. It is clear that these are now set up for the public, as they have larger images more suitable for display to groups of people, and that the images, ritual equipment, and offerings that were found in them are of affordable materials commonly used in daily life.[15]

11. Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, pp. 530–538. According to the excavators, the pottery assemblage from the temple at Anemospilia is dated to MM IIB–IIIA and the temple's destruction marks the end of the Protopalatial period; therefore the discussion of this very important complex is beyond the scope of this paper.

12. Cf. the male votaries of the later Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos (**12**) and the Kannia shrine (**4**); boldfaced numbers refer to entries in the catalogue.

13. I use this term to cover the LM II to LM IIIC periods. The change in ritual from elite to popular occurs after the time of the destruction of the palaces at Phaistos, Mallia, and Zakros.

14. Linear B tablets found at Knossos and Khania suggest that the Mycenaeans used these places as governing centers, but their political, economic, and religious uses were no longer the same.

15. The goddess figures and ritual equipment discussed below are part of a larger study of the goddess with upraised hands made in conjunction with the publication of the Kavousi shrine and its cult material. I wish to thank the following for permission to study the shrine objects: the Greek Archaeological Service (Gazi and Gournia), the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens (Knossos and Karphi), and Giovanni Rizza and the Italian Archaeological School (Prinias). I also wish to express my very great thanks to Alexandra Karetsou, Director of the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion, and her staff for their helpful assistance and facilitation of my work in the museum, to Metaxia Tsipopoulou, who has discussed the excavation of the shrine at Halasmenos with me and provided up-to-date information for this paper, and to Amalia Kakissis, the archivist of the British School at Athens.

The shrines at Knossos and their objects will be discussed first, as they appear to have served as a bridge between the earlier elite ritual assemblage of the snake goddess from the Temple Repositories, and those of the later popular shrines of the goddess with upraised hands. See the catalogue for pertinent details of architecture, artifacts, and selected bibliography of all the Postpalatial shrines, listed in alphabetical order.

Knossos and the End of Elite Ritual

The Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos (**12**) is particularly important because it reveals some of the new features of the shrines of the goddess with upraised hands. Its location was still within the palace, but not in the main state area like the Temple Repositories. It served, if not the elite Mycenaeans of Knossos, those Minoans who served the elite Mycenaeans. Although the objects from this shrine do not compare in luxury with those of faience and ivory from the Temple Repositories, they are still relatively small and of finer material than those from the public shrines in the towns and settlements.

Unlike the assemblage of ritual objects from the Temple Repositories, that of the Shrine of the Double Axes is from a room identified as a shrine by its architectural features as well as its objects.[16] The arrangement of the room is described here because it is the basis for the restoration of less well-preserved shrines. The floor of the room was built on two levels, the lower of tamped clay on the south end and the upper of plaster covered with water-worn pebbles. A plastered clay bench, also covered with water-worn pebbles, ran along the back of the room. All the distinctive ritual objects came from the plaster floor and the bench covered with pebbles. The objects from the clay floor are painted and unpainted domestic pottery—a storage jar, pyxis, stirrup jar, amphoras—all suitable for holding liquids or vegetal material for the ritual. The ritual equipment, cups and small jugs, lay on the pebble-strewn floor. On the bench was the image of the goddess with upraised hands with a bird on her tiara, two female worshipers with hands on their breasts, one male worshiper holding a bird, and a Neolithic-type female figure. Two pairs of horns of consecration marked the bench as sacred and a miniature double axe lay next to one pair. The arrangement on the bench produced a picture of a ritual ceremony in front of sacred markers. The goddess is identified by her larger size and the bird perched on her head, which mark her as the dominating figure. The male worshiper appropriately offers a bird to her.

The goddess and her votaries are dated to LM IIIA2 by George Rethemiotakis, on the basis of shape, manufacturing technique, and painted decoration.[17] This date places the figurines at the beginning of the time when the goddesses with upraised hands appear. That the use of the shrine continued into the LM IIIB period is shown by the LM IIIB octopus stirrup jar and champagne cups.[18]

Two other images of the goddess with upraised hands are from LM IIIB deposits in buildings associated with the elite in the Knossos area, the Unexplored Mansion and the Little Palace, but neither can be associated

16. There is a sketch in Evans's unpublished 1903 notebook opposite p. 33, and an excavation photograph in Popham 1964, pl. 9:b, f.

17. Rethemiotakis 1997, p. 119, note 13. He compares the facial features to the Palaikastro dancers, the painted decoration to LM IIIA2 pottery motifs, and the technique of a wheel-thrown skirt and solid torso and head to LM II–IIIA figurines. Further details are given in Rethemiotakis 1998, pp. 66–68. The Neolithic-type figurine (*PM* I, pp. 52, fig. 14) is given a new date by Rethemiotakis (1998, p. 67).

18. For the latest discussion on champagne cups or one-handled footed cups, see Hallager 1997b, pp. 23, 35–36, 40, and the Response and Discussion on pp. 48–55; 1997a, p. 408.

with shrine architecture. The goddess from the Unexplored Mansion (**14**), made of fine ware with painted details, is part of an assemblage including a male figure extending an arm, perhaps holding an offering, a stirrup jar, and a champagne cup, but no religious symbols. The goddess from the Little Palace (**11**) has a snake on her tiara and she is made of lead. Both of these images are likely to have been used in elite ritual, but no more can be deduced at this time.

The Popular Shrines

By the LM IIIB and IIIC periods there is growing evidence for shrines in towns and settlements. The important new features to be considered include the location and interior arrangement of the shrine, and the type of image and ritual equipment, including the size of the image and the material from which it was made. Distinct assemblages of ritual images and implements have been found on at least eight sites, along with single images or pieces of equipment on several others, and at four sites a sufficient amount of the town has been excavated to give a context for the shrine. Although most of these sites are located in central Crete and in the area of the Isthmus of Ierapetra, a few have been found in southern Crete and as far west as the Rethymnon district.[19]

Location in the Town

At Gournia, Karphi, the Vronda site of Kavousi, Halasmenos, and Kephala Vasilikis, it is possible to see the relationship of the shrine to the town plan. Only the building that housed the shrine was excavated at Kannia, however, and at Gazi it was possible to excavate only one room, the one in which the ritual objects were found. At Knossos, where there was a LM IIIC example of a public shrine of the goddess with upraised hands in the former Spring Chamber, the LM IIIC town plan is unknown. The Prinias assemblage was published without architecture.

Although not much of the LM IIIB town at Gournia has been excavated, it is known to have included areas Eh, Ei, and Ej to the west of the West Ridge Road, and He to the south of the LM I town.[20] The LM IIIB shrine (**2**) is located at the end of a paved street running east from the West Ridge Road but not far from the remainder of the LM IIIB town.[21] A paved court opens off to the north of the paved street just in front of the shrine, providing an open area suitable for public ritual; Harriet Boyd described the area in her 1903 plan as a piazza.[22] Some of the paving

19. Shrines with ritual equipment but no goddess figures, and goddess figures that cannot be connected with architecture or other ritual equipment, have not been included in this study.

20. Hawes et al. 1908, pp. 23, 45, 46, and plan opposite p. 26.

21. Williams (1908) dated the shrine to LM I; however, she admitted that there was no solid evidence for this date. Kanta (1980, pp. 139–140), after much study of the LM III period, opts for an LM IIIB date. For the most recent evidence see Rethemiotakis 1997, p. 119, n. 13, pl. XLVIII:e, where he differentiates between figures with hollow skirts and solid torsos (LM IIIA) and later figures that are completely hollow, such as the Gournia goddess. For further details see Rethemiotakis 1998, p. 73, fig. 46.

22. Fotou 1993, pl. XXXIII:b.

remains, but the area on top of the ridge is so badly eroded that the extent and features of the court are not known. Rooms to the south that may have been part of the shrine building are not on the plan.[23]

The shrine at Karphi known as the Temple (**5**) is located at the northern edge of the LM IIIC town[24] and was reached via the main north–south passage through the town. Room 1, hypaethral according to the excavators, may have been an outdoor court with a display bench on the south; four of the goddesses and the plaque with the human face were found on the bench.[25] Bodgan Rutkowski, however, suggests that Room 1 was roofed and that the area in the passage outside the door may have been the public ritual area.[26]

There is some evidence that Karphi had two other public shrines. Room 16–17 (**6**), like Temple Room 1, was unroofed and accessed from the main north–south passage;[27] the ritual objects were found on a raised area or bench. Behind this room was an enclosed room (70) suitable for storage. The third public shrine was Room 58 (**7**), a small chamber with no open court that was entered directly from one of the narrow town streets. It featured a natural bench and yielded some ritual equipment, but there are no recorded fragments of goddesses.

The shrine at Kavousi (**9**) is located on the southwest side of the Vronda ridge.[28] The rest of the excavated LM IIIC town lies on the top of the ridge with buildings extending down the north, northwest, and southwest slopes, and to the west of the ridge. A large bench suitable for displaying images for public ritual ran along the outside of the shrine west of Room 1 (Fig. 7.1). No goddess figures were found on the bench, but a large deposit of goddess, snake tube, and plaque fragments was discovered just to the west of it. Even though most of the fragments are probably from objects thrown out of Room 1 at the time of the construction of the Geometric cist grave, some may be from objects left standing on the exterior bench at the abandonment of the settlement. Due to the intrusion of a row of Geometric cist graves just west of the deposit, it is not clear whether there was an open court there.

The shrine at Halasmenos (**3**) is located at the northeastern edge of the town. Two paved roads of the calderimi type connect this shrine with the megaron-shaped buildings in the northern part of the town. There is an open space of more than 300 sq. m in front of and along the northeast side of the shrine building suitable for public ritual.

23. Fotou (1993, pp. 91–92, pl. XXXIII:a, b) discusses the new evidence available in Harriet Boyd's notebooks and illustrates the plans as they evolve through the excavation seasons. Rutkowski (1984, pp. 173–174; 1987a, p. 60, fig. 2) and Fotou have pointed out that the final plan of the shrine building may have included rooms to the south. Fotou suggests further excavation to clarify this.

24. For the excavators' plan of the settlement, see Students of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1937–1939 (1940), pl. IX. Further study of the topography of the site has been done by Nowicki, who suggests (1987, p. 241) that the excavated area is no more than one-fifth of the town. Further study of the temple area has been made by Rutkowski (1987a, 1987b). He has incorporated in this work information from the unpublished notebook "Lasithi I," now in the archives of the British School at Athens, as well as a new study of the architecture.

25. Rutkowski 1987b, figs. 4, 5. Seiradaki (1960, p. 29) mentions fragments of at least one more goddess from Room 1.

26. Rutkowski 1987b, p. 259, figs. 3, 6.

27. Rutkowski (1987b, p. 262, fig. 7) suggests that the area of the Great House in which this open court is located, and the Temple, might have been parts of the same shrine.

28. For the plan of the Vronda settlement see Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1995, fig. 1.

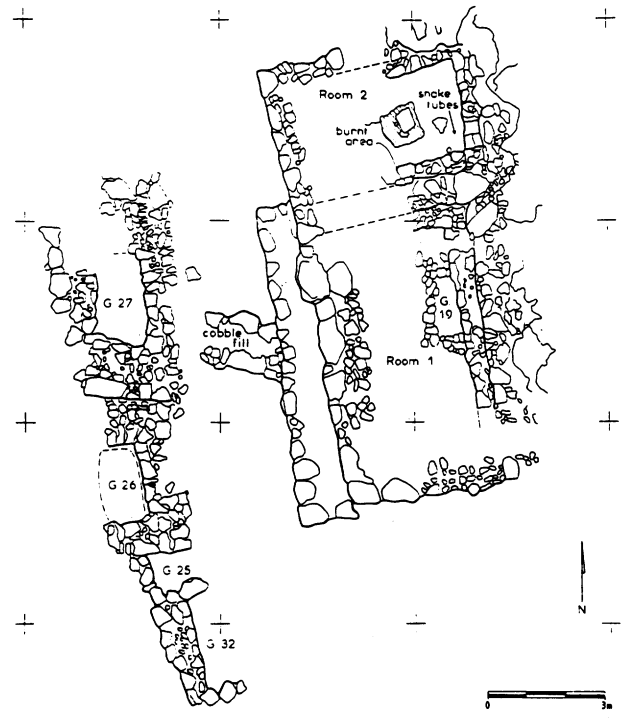


Figure 7.1. Plan of Building G (shrine) at Kavousi. Kavousi Excavations

Even though much of Kephala Vasilikis has not been excavated, at this time its shrine (**10**), called the Temple, appears to be located at the western edge of the settlement.[29] It is provisionally dated to LM IIIC continuing through SM and into to PG. The building is independent with an open area between it and the nearest building, building A. The outdoor hearth in this area close to the door of Room 5 supports the theory of open-air rituals.

The Spring Chamber at Knossos (**13**) was built in the LM I period but reused in the LM IIIC–SM periods. As it is located south of the palace, in an area isolated from known LM IIIC constructions, its relationship to the town is problematic.[30] The area in front of it is an open space, and rituals could have been conducted there.

In sum, five of the major shrines were on the edge of town yet still convenient to the townspeople. It is likely that all shrines had an outdoor area suitable for rituals for the public.

Arrangement of the Interior of the Building

Not only are the plans of the shrines discussed above known, but also those at Gazi and Kannia, where the surrounding areas have not been excavated.[31] It is probable that all of these shrine buildings except the Knossos Spring Chamber and Room 58 at Karphi had more than one room. In the best-preserved buildings there are as many as eight rooms, which can be identified according to function as a sacred shrine or display room, a storeroom for ritual equipment and offerings, other storerooms for supplies for the rituals, a room for preparation activities for either the public rituals or smaller private rituals, and an outside area for public rituals. The number of rooms and their functions varied from site to site, and in the smaller buildings one room might have served several functions.

29. For plans of the Kephala settlement and shrine, see Eliopoulos 1998, figs. 5, 9.

30. Hood and Smyth 1981, pp. 11–14.

31. Plans for the shrine rooms can be found in the excavator's report, listed in the catalogue, and in Gesell 1985, if available at that time.

The most complete shrine buildings are at Kephala Vasilikis and Kannia. In both of these shrines there was a room with a bench for the display of ritual objects. In Room I at Kannia (**4**) the images of the goddess were found on the display bench and the snake tubes on the floor in front of it, whereas in Kephala Vasilikis Room 4 (**10**) the goddesses and the ritual equipment were on the benches. Both shrines had preparation rooms with hearths and benches (Kannia V, Kephala Vasilikis 3, 5, 6) and storage rooms (Kannia III, XV, Kephala Vasilikis 7, 8). The situations at Gournia (**2**) and Gazi (**1**), where only one room was excavated, are not as easy to interpret. Both rooms have produced a sizable number of ritual objects, suggesting that the excavated room was the one used for display, but the relationship between the ritual objects and the architectural features is not clear. The ritual objects certainly were not in display position upon discovery. The objects in the Gournia room were not found near the bench, which is on the south side, but in the northeast corner, and there was no bench or any other focal point in the Gazi room. Four of the Gazi goddesses and associated ritual equipment were found along three of the walls but the other objects were brought to light in the center of the room. Perhaps these rooms were used for display on ritual occasions and otherwise served as storerooms.

At Karphi, the arrangement of Room 1 (**5**), an open court with a display bench on the south, and its function as a ritual center are clear, but the function of the remainder of the rooms is not. Room f, from which the fifth goddess was recovered, may have been a storeroom. It is also likely that Room 16–17 (**6**), an open court with a bench on its west side, was a second ritual center with Room 70 behind it a storage area. The Kavousi shrine (**9**) has two rooms with benches. Room 1, with the bench along its east side, fits the pattern of a display room. Room 2, with side benches, a platform, and a central hearth, is more likely a preparation room. The shrine at Halasmenos (**3**) also has two rooms with interior benches. Room I, the largest, is entered from the open area outside. Facing the door is a bench running along the opposite wall, on which were found three goddesses, the largest in the middle; there is a semicircular built hearth in the northwest corner of this room next to the door and a second bench. Room II, which is behind Room I, has three benches. Snake tubes and plaques were found in both rooms, but the shrine is still under study so it is too early to interpret the function of the individual rooms and objects. As published, the Spring Chamber at Knossos (**13**) in the LM IIIC and SM periods was a single shrine room. The niche in the back wall would have been suitable for holding the small hut urn with the goddess inside. Offerings originally may have been left on the ledges, but in fact so many were left that they filled the basin and extended to the exterior area. The room was too small for its ritual purpose.

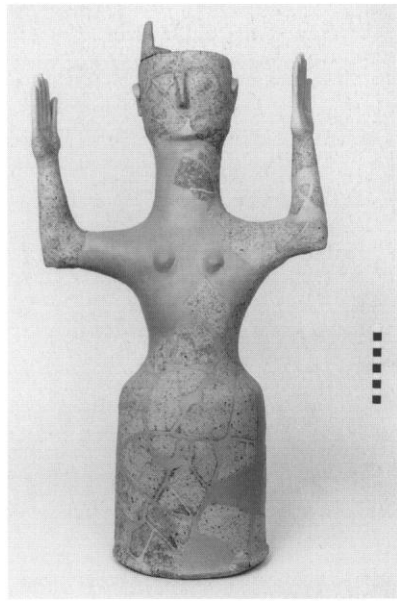


Figure 7.2. Goddess 1 from Kavousi. Kavousi Excavations

Figure 7.3 ***(opposite, upper left).*** **Goddess arm 1949 from Prinias.** G. Gesell

Figure 7.4 ***(opposite, lower left).*** **Goddess arm 1950 from Prinias.** G. Gesell

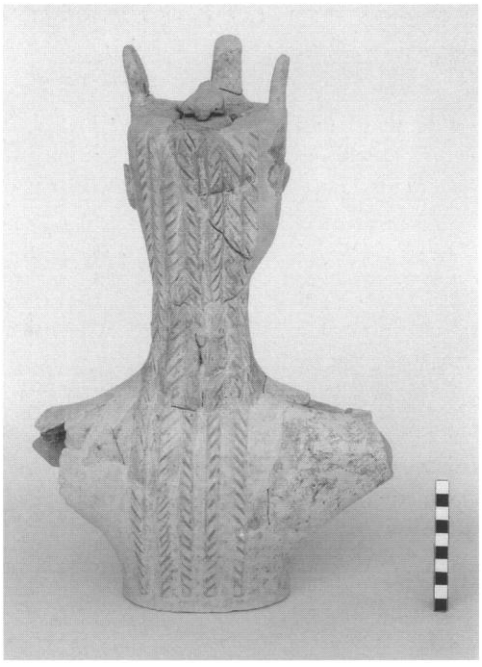
Figure 7.5 ***(opposite, upper right).*** **Back view of head of goddess 7 from Kavousi.** Kavousi Excavations

The Ritual Objects

All these shrine buildings and the deposit at Prinias (**15**) are to be associated with the ritual of the goddess with upraised hands. They feature the same types of distinctive ritual equipment—snake tubes with kalathoi, separate kalathoi, and plaques—as well as regular domestic pottery, and at Kannia stone vases, too. Almost all the goddess figures or images are made of







coarse clay, some with painted features and dress, and for many there are matching ritual implements made from the same clay. No luxury or even semiluxury objects were found in these shrine assemblages;[32] the objects are those that the ordinary people could obtain at their potter's workshop.[33]

Most of the goddess images from the popular shrines are too large to be called figurines (Fig. 7.2).[34] They range in size from the small figure from Kannia with a handle on her back for carrying (H. 0.22 m) to the largest from Karphi (H. 0.85 m). The majority are larger than 0.50 m in height, a size suitable for display and worship by a congregation. Most have symbols on their tiaras and a few exhibit such on their bodies. They can be divided into two main groups: snake goddesses and bird goddesses.

The snake goddesses from Gournia, Kannia, and Prinias appear to be descended from the Temple Repository snake goddesses. None of the later goddesses is exactly like either faience statuette in pose, but the figure with upraised arms from Gournia does have snakes wrapped around her body and arms in the manner of the larger faience snake goddess. One figure from Kannia holds her arms forward and obliquely upward displaying her snakes and has snakes on her tiara. Fragments of two standard upraised arms from Prinias have snakes on them (Figs. 7.3, 7.4). At least four other Kannia goddesses and the small figurine from the Little Palace at Knossos also have snakes on their tiaras.

Bird goddesses have been found in shrines at Gazi, Karphi, and Kavousi, but the shrines at Gazi and Karphi have no depictions of the snake at all. Although birds appear on ritual objects and in sacred areas in the Prepalatial, Protopalatial, and Neoplalatial periods, they do not appear on images of the goddess, priestesses, or worshipers. The goddess from the Shrine of the Double Axes is perhaps the earliest Minoan image with a bird on her head. Two goddesses from Gazi and two from Karphi have birds on their tiaras. All the goddesses from Kavousi whose heads are sufficiently well preserved have birds on their tiaras (Fig. 7.5).

32. Except several stone vases and a crystal pendant at Kannia, where, considering the number of clay finds, they were rare.

33. This point is discussed in detail in Gesell and Saupe 1997.

34. Goddess 1 from Kavousi, Fig.7.2, is 0.74 m high. The most complete discussion of the goddess with upraised hands, with illustrations and references, is Alexiou 1958. New comparisons, stylistic dating, photographs, and drawings can be found in Rethemiotakis 1998. The Kavousi (**9**), Kephala Vasilikis (**10**), and Halasmenos (**3**) goddesses were discovered too recently to be included in Rethemiotakis 1998.





Figure 7.6 *(left)*. Kalathos 1 with snakes, from Kavousi. Kavousi Excavations

Figure 7.7 *(above)*. Side view of head of goddess 22 from Kavousi (before third palette attached). Kavousi Excavations

At first glance there appears to be a separation into shrines for snake goddesses and shrines for bird goddesses. At Kannia, however, one goddess has snakes on her arms and tiara but also a bird on her cheek. The shrine at Gournia yielded four small birds probably broken off of ritual objects, and the shrine at Kavousi held a kalathos (Diam. 0.237 m) decorated with two snakes in relief (Fig. 7.6). The goddess with the poppy bulbs on her tiara is the dominating figure from Gazi, but the other goddesses found there have birds on their tiaras.

Other symbols occur, mostly on bird goddesses. The palette, a flat elongated ovoid symbol, appears on tiaras at Gazi, Kannia, and Kavousi. Its meaning is not known, but at Gazi and at Kavousi it is found on tiaras with birds. The Kavousi tiaras have palettes in front and on both sides, with the bird at the back (Fig. 7.7). On the Gazi tiara the bird is at the front. Disks, perhaps representing the sun or stars, appear together with birds on two Karphi tiaras. Some figures appear to have borne no symbols at all. The division between snake goddess and bird goddess is not strict and there is evidence for other aspects or goddesses.

Particularly important is the evidence for an enthroned goddess at Kephala Vasilikis (**10**). The unmistakable shape of a clay throne was discovered with enough sherds of a matching goddess with upraised hands to suggest that they belong together. Nearby was another goddess of the canonical standing shape. A total of five goddesses were found in this building, none with the standard symbols on the tiara or on the ritual implements. Further study may clarify whether this is the shrine of a new aspect of the goddess or that of a different goddess.

The most distinctive piece of ritual equipment used in the shrines is the snake tube.[35] Preserved examples vary in height from the shortest (0.377 m), from Gournia, where they have lifting handles and are meant to be carried, to the tallest, at Gazi (0.545 m). The shrines with the taller goddesses have taller snake tubes. There are no miniature examples. The function of the snake tube was to support a kalathos, a type of bowl to hold offerings that is frequently found in these same assemblages (Fig. 7.8).

The kalathoi were of various sizes, according to the sizes of the snake tubes;[36] larger examples were used independently. At Kavousi some kalathoi

35. The most complete discussion of the snake tube is Gesell 1976. Snake tubes discovered since include those from Kommos (Watrous 1992, pp. 95, 144), Kavousi (**9**), Kephala Vasilikis (**10**), and Halasmenos (**3**). The height of snake tube 7 from Kavousi (Fig. 7.8) is 0.430 m; that of snake tube 3 from Kavousi (Fig. 7.9) is 0.351 m without horns, 0.376 m including them.

36. For a discussion of the kalathoi from Kavousi, see Gesell 1999. The diameters of kalathos 7 from Kavousi (Fig. 7.8), the kalathos with the goddess from Karphi (Fig. 7.10), and the kalathos top of snake tube 3, are 0.186 m, 0.26 m, and 0.252 m, respectively.



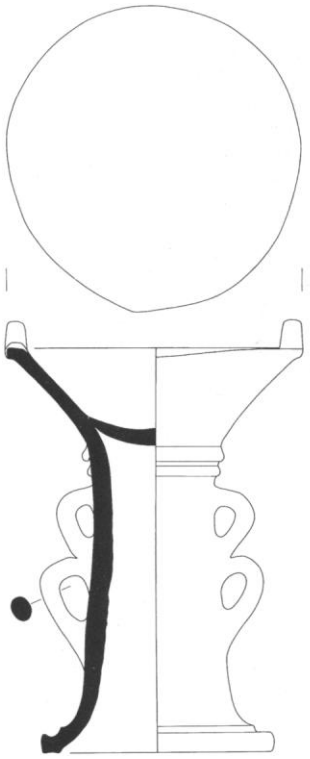




Figure 7.8 *(above)*. **Snake tube 7 holding kalathos 7, both from Kavousi.** Kavousi Excavations

Figure 7.9 *(right)*. **Snake tube 3 from Kavousi, with horns of consecration on attached kalathos.** Drawing R. Docsan; photo Kavousi Excavations

are marked on their rims with horns of consecration, one is fixed permanently on a snake tube (Fig. 7.9), and the interior of one exhibits snakes in relief (Fig. 7.6). Some show signs of burning that suggest burnt or cooked offerings; others do not. Most of the kalathoi at Kavousi were found in Room 2 together with snake tubes and plaques. The kalathos with the small figurine of the goddess with upraised hands from Karphi (8) may have been a piece of ritual equipment for a household shrine, combining both the image and the offering bowl into one (Fig. 7.10). Alternatively, it could have been a special piece of equipment for an unusual ritual area with an offering "tank" in the floor.

Several of the shrines had plaques pierced with holes so that they could be hung on a wall.[37] These would be most appropriate for the display room. All are rectangular, but at Kavousi those with horns of consecration on top have their greater dimension vertical (Fig. 7.11), while those with a raised frame have their greater dimension horizontal. The framed plaque with relief decoration has a unique shape. Ritual scenes are depicted in relief on two plaques from Kannia and one from Kavousi (Fig. 7.12). These relief scenes suggest that the plain plaques from Gazi, Karphi, Kavousi, and Kephala Vasilikis had similar scenes painted on them. The Karphi plaque topped with a head displays no holes for suspension (Fig. 7.13). Its function may have been similar to that of a *xoanon*.[38]

37. For a discussion of the plaques from Kavousi, see Gesell 2001; plaque 2 from Kavousi (Fig. 7.11) measures 0.352 × 0.241 m; plaque 4 from Kavousi (Fig. 7.12), 0.384 × est. 0.307 m.

38. Karphi plaque (Fig. 7.13) measures 0.40 × 0.218 m. Rutkowski (1987b, p. 263) has suggested that this plaque was attached to a wooden stem and clothed, but there is no indication of how this could be done. Perhaps the plaque was inserted into a slot in a log. The holes at the shoulders might have been for pins to hold the clothing on.

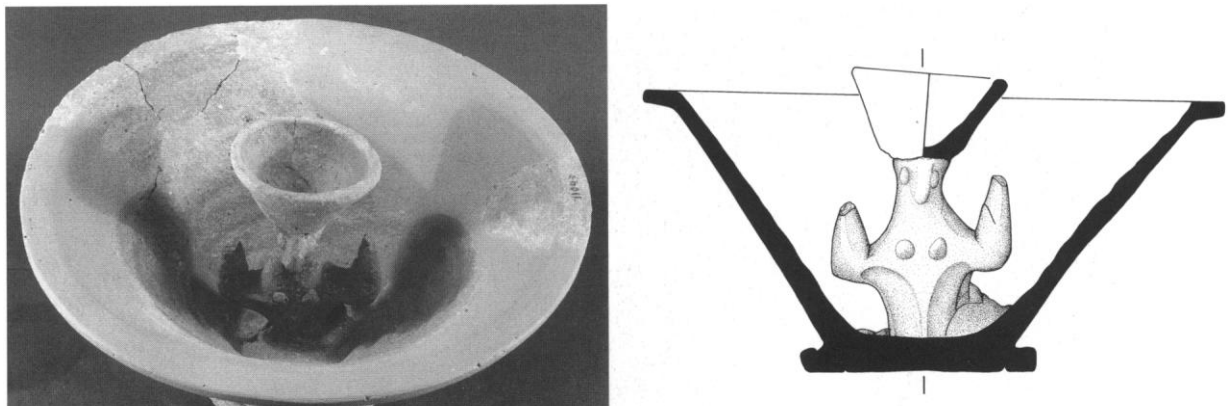


Figure 7.10. Kalathos with goddess, from Karphi. Photo G. Gesell; drawing R. Docsan



Figure 7.11. Plaque 2 from Kavousi. Kavousi Excavations

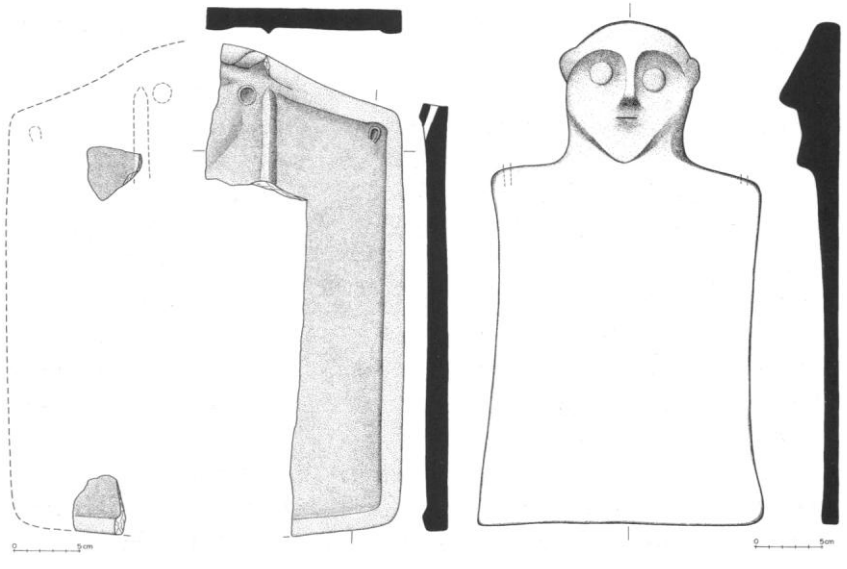


Figure 7.12 *(left)*. Plaque 4 from Kavousi. R. Docsan

Figure 7.13 *(right)*. Plaque with face from Karphi. R. Docsan



Figure 7.14. Goddesses 1 and 5; snake tubes 2 and 4; kalathoi 7 and 5; plaques 2 and 1; all from Kavousi. Kavousi Excavations

CONCLUSIONS

This then is the picture of the public ritual building, called by various excavators a shrine, sanctuary, or temple, in the LM IIIB and IIIC periods. It has either an open court or a room opening to the exterior with a display bench to be used for public rituals. On the basis of the Shrine of the Double Axes, Kannia Room I, and Karphi Room 1, such a display can be reconstructed. The goddesses stood on the bench with the snake tubes holding kalathoi before them (Fig. 7.14). Other kalathoi rested on the floor or the bench. On the basis of the suspension holes the plaques are restored on the wall behind. The figures of the goddesses, snake tubes, and plaques, which occur in sets, appear to be permanent fixtures in the shrines, whereas the kalathoi filled with offerings would have been presented as part of the ritual. Although there is some evidence suggesting that the smaller images of the goddess and the snake tubes were carried in a procession, most of the goddesses and snake tubes are too large and heavy to have been carried easily for any distance. It is more likely that they stood on display benches and that the ritual was performed in front of them. This ritual may have included the display of snakes, the offering of birds, or the partaking of opium, as appropriate.

The major unanswered question regarding these images is always: are they in fact images of the goddess, and if so, is she one or many? There is of course no answer to this question that will satisfy all. The figures could

represent the same goddess, several different goddesses, priestesses representing goddesses, priestesses representing themselves, or worshipers. How can one tell? There are points in favor of all the possibilities, and at the same time nothing that will convince everyone beyond a shadow of a doubt that even one possibility can be eliminated.

I will simply make a few points in defense of the goddess or goddesses option. Lucy Goodison and Christine Morris have recently suggested some criteria: "She might be big; if she is a 'Mother Goddess,' she might be expected to have a child. If she is 'the Goddess,' there will be one of her. She might have been found in a location suitable for ritual. Better still would be evidence from a picture showing her being worshiped."[39] Certainly some of these conditions are met by the shrines of the goddess with upraised hands, though unfortunately the last and crucial condition is not. The images with upraised hands are large compared to other figures and figurines of the Postpalatial period. In the case of the Shrine of the Double Axes, the image with the upraised hands is larger than the other female figures that have their hands on their breasts or the male holding the bird. The position of the images, on benches with offering vessels in front of them in the Shrine of the Double Axes and Kannia Room I, fulfills the condition of a location suitable for ritual. Although Goodison and Morris do not mention the use of symbols, this too might argue for the divinity of the images. A number of images wear tiaras with ritual symbols on them. Snakes and birds pose on their tiaras and bodies in ways that do not occur in nature. Although alternative explanations can be submitted regarding each of these points, the weight of all of them together appears to me to favor the goddess theory.

The issue of how many goddesses were involved is another matter. Most recently Nannó Marinatos and Goodison and Morris have argued for multiple goddesses.[40] Peatfield, on the other hand, believes in one goddess for the Prepalatial, Protopalatial, and Neopalatial periods, but that the goddesses with upraised hands represent "separate personifications."[41] At this point it is difficult to determine whether she is one goddess with separate aspects or whether the bird, snake, and poppy images represent different goddesses. As noted above, even though the bird or snake aspect usually dominates, the pose and ritual equipment as a whole is essentially the same. The new evidence of the goddess on the throne from Kephala Vasilikis (**10**), however, should remind us that all is not yet known and that dramatic new evidence may yet be uncovered.

Whatever the images represent—goddesses, priestesses, or worshipers, it is clear that the practices and rituals associated with the Minoan snake goddesses from the Temple Repositories in the palace at Knossos evolved into a popular religion, with rituals performed at least partly in open areas in front of shrines and temples in many, perhaps all, of the towns of Postpalatial Crete.

39. Goodison and Morris 1998, p. 114.

40. Marinatos 2000, p. 112; Goodison and Morris 1998, p. 132.

41. Peatfield 1994, pp. 35–36.

CATALOGUE OF SHRINES OF THE GODDESS WITH UPRAISED HANDS

This catalogue gives a brief description of the architecture, a list of the artifacts, and selected references for each shrine. Where no architecture is listed or no shrine was found or identified, the artifacts are part of a deposit. References give the primary excavation publication and cite a more complete catalogue entry in Gesell 1985, where further descriptions and references can be found. The most recent discussions are cited in the notes.

1 Gazi, Shrine

Architecture: room (4 × 2.9 m) with no features.

Artifacts: 5 goddesses with upraised hands (H. 0.52–0.775 m), with tiaras decorated with poppy heads, birds, horns of consecration, and palettes; 2 snake tubes (H. 0.445 m, 0.545 m); plaque (0.44 × 0.36 m); 2 kylikes; pedestal bowl; three-eared bowl; jug; jar; cylindrical vessel.

Marinatos 1937; Gesell 1985, pp. 69–71.

2 Gournia, Shrine

Architecture: room (4 × 3 m) with bench, open court to north.

Artifacts: snake goddess with upraised hands (H. 0.365 m), and fragments of at least 2 others; tripod offering table; 5 snake tubes (3 have a lifting handle topped with horns of consecration, one of which has a snake, one a disk, and the third a missing symbol; H. 0.377–0.423 m); 4 birds; 2 snake heads; fragment of clay pithos with relief double axe and disk decoration; "many coarse ware sherds," probably from kalathoi and storage vessels.

Williams 1908; Gesell 1985, p. 72.

3 Halasmenos, Shrine

Architecture: megaron shape 4.5 × 13 m, with 2 rooms; Room I has 2 benches and hearth, Room II has 3 benches.

Artifacts: 9 goddesses, 5–6 snake tubes, ca. 11 plaques, a few kalathoi, and 3–4 large pithoi.

Tsipopoulou 2001, and pers. comm.

4 Kanina, Shrine (of at least 5 rooms)

Room I

Architecture: shrine room (4.3 × 3.3 m) with display bench along back.

Artifacts: 4 goddesses with upraised hands (H. 0.34 m, 0.52 m, others incomplete), 3 with snakes on their tiaras, 1 with bird on neck; 3 snake tubes (none completely preserved); plaque with relief image of goddess; fragmentary human and animal figurines; flower pot; conical cup; 2 necklaces; pottery.

Room III

Architecture: irregular storeroom.

Artifacts: goddess fragments including head, arms, palettes, horns of consecration, bird; column-shaped stone libation table; pottery.

Room V

Architecture: preparation room (3.0 × 3.0 m) with side benches and hearth.

Artifacts: 1 goddess with upraised hands (H. 0.22 m), others incomplete; vase in shape of head of goddess; male figure (pres. H. 0.385 m, head missing); 2 snake tubes (neither completely preserved); plaque with sphinxes in relief; plaque with schematic decoration; female, animal, and bird figurines; shells, including 1 triton; stone libation table; 3 clay fruit stands; clay stirrup jar; crystal pendant; pottery.

Room VI

Architecture: anteroom (3.0 × 3.0 m).

Artifacts: 6 clay female figurines; 6 clay milk jugs; miniature clay vases; clay bowls; clay conical cups; pottery.

Room XV

Architecture: storeroom (4.0 × 1.0 m) with benches.

Artifacts: goddess with upraised hands with snakes on tiara (H. 0.34 m); snake tube (incomplete); stone libation table with incised horns of consecration; small clay plaque; incense burner; conical cups; flower pots; cylindrical basin; pottery.

Levi 1959; Gesell 1976, pp. 250–252, 256–257; 1985, pp. 77–79.

5 KARPHI, Temple (Room 1 and Rooms f, g, and h in Rutkowski 1987b)

Architecture: Room 1 (8.0 × 5.0 m), open court with display bench along south wall and shelf along west wall, altar near north end of court. Rooms f, g, and h with no features.

Artifacts: Room 1, 4 goddesses with upraised hands (H. 0.55–0.85 m) with tiaras decorated with birds, horns of consecration, and disks; plaque with modeled face (Fig. 7.13); 4 pounders; seal; spindle whorls; bead; 3 shells, including 1 triton; obsidian fragment; pottery. Room f, goddess with upraised hands with birds and disks on tiara, H. 0.85 m.

Students of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1937–1939 (1940), pp. 75–76; Gesell 1985, p. 79; Rutkowski 1987a, 1987b.

6 KARPHI, Rooms 16–17, 70

Architecture: Room 16–17 (6.5 × 5.5 m), open court with bench along north wall. Room 70, enclosed without features.

Artifacts: Room 16–17, fragments of goddesses; "cult objects"; snake tube; triton shell; boar's tusk; small clay figurines; bronze tools; spindle whorls; spool; pottery. Room 70, fragments of 1 goddess, 1 plaque, 1 snake tube; stone pestle and bowl; pottery.

Students of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1937–1939 (1940), pp. 77–79, 86; Gesell 1985, pp. 79–81.

7 KARPHI, Room 58

Architecture: room (3.5 × 2.0 m) with projecting rock in northwest corner.

Artifacts: 2 snake tubes; at least 8 kalathoi; pithoi; 2 spindle whorls; bronze fragment; pottery.

Students of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1937–1939 (1940), pp. 84–85; Gesell 1985, p. 81.

8 KARPHI, Building on Mikre Koprana

Room 147

Architecture: room without features.

Artifacts: hut urn; bronze knife; bronze fibula; stone lid; spindle whorls; spools; pithoi; domestic pottery.

Room 148

Architecture: "outhouse."

Artifacts: listed with those of Room 149 in publication.

Room 149

Architecture: room with artificially enlarged oblong "tank" in rock floor.

Artifacts: kalathos, H. 0.126 m, Diam. 0.26 m, with figurine of goddess with upraised hands attached to center of bowl (Fig. 7.10); head of clay ox

figurine; bronze blade; stone bowl; lid; whetstone; stone beads; spindle whorls; spools; at least 17 pithoi; pithoid jars; tripods; dishes; large krater; other domestic pottery.

Room 150

Architecture: room with no features.

Artifacts: pierced boar's tusk; whetstone; spindle whorl; spools; domestic pottery.

Students of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, 1937–1939 (1940), pp. 69–70.

9 Kavousi, Building G (shrine) Figs. 7.1, 7.14

Room 1

Architecture: shrine room (6.3 × 3.0 m) with display bench.

Artifacts: fragments of goddesses, snake tubes, plaques (1 plaque with relief decoration, Fig. 7.12); 3 kalathoi; pottery.

Room 2

Architecture: preparation room (5.0 × 3.0 m) with 2 benches, display ledge or shelf, hearth.

Artifacts: fragments of 1 goddess; 6 snake tubes (H. 0.292–0.424 m, Figs. 7.8, 7.9); 3 plaques topped with horns of consecration (0.338 × 0.238 m, 0.352 × 0.241 m, 1 fragmentary, Fig. 7.11); plaque with raised border (0.198 × 0.330 m); fragments of other plaques; 16 kalathoi (H. 0.08–0.12 m, Figs. 7.6, 7.8); pottery.

Deposit South and West of Room 1

Artifacts: fragments of goddesses (largest restored to H. 0.74 m, Figs. 7.2, 7.5, 7.7); snake tubes (3 restored to H. 0.37 m, 0.375 m, 0.355 m); plaques; kalathoi.

Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1988, pp. 289–290; Gesell, Coulson, and Day 1991, pp. 161–163; Gesell, Day, and Coulson 1995, pp. 78–80.

10 Kephala Vasilikis, Building E (temple with 8 rooms)

Room E1

Architecture: later addition with bench along west wall.

Artifacts: tripod cooking pot; PG krateriskos.

Room E2

Architecture: room with 1 stone column base.

Artifacts: unpublished.

Room E3

Architecture: room with central trapezoidal stone altar bordered by stone baetyl, narrow display bench on west wall, platform with adjoining clay hearth along south wall, bench along east wall suitable for sitting, rock outcrop on north and northwest.

Artifacts: unpublished.

Room E4

Architecture: room (5.0 × 4.0 m) with benches covered with pebbles on all sides of room, clay central hearth, small built base.

Artifacts: fragments of 4 goddesses with upraised hands, one restored to H. 0.75 m has 3 triangular symbols on tiara; fragments of clay throne (ca. H. 0.45 m); partially preserved snake tube; plaque with raised border; 2 fenestrated stands; cups; kalathoi; amphoras; jugs; trays; cooking pots; dishes; lamps or braziers; pithoi; large stone tool.

Room E5

Architecture: room (4.1–4.3 × 3.1 m) with benches on north, east, and parts of south wall; clay hearth on eastern side of room; clay hearth just outside door.

Artifacts: more fragments of clay throne; arm of goddess with upraised hands matching throne; plaque with two suspension holes; kalathoi; krater; bowls; cups; cooking pots; pithoi.

Room E6

Architecture: room (7.5 × 5.0 m) with clay central hearth framed east–west by 2 column bases, stone-lined pit in northwest corner.

Artifacts: unpublished.

Room E7

Architecture: irregular storeroom with paved strip for holding pithoi.

Artifacts: pithoi; cooking pots; tray; bowls; cups; seal; fragment of blossom bowl.

Room E8

Architecture: storeroom without features.

Artifacts: pithoi.

Eliopoulos 1998.

11 Knossos, Little Palace

Artifacts: lead snake goddess figurine (H. 0.11 m).

PM II, p. 540; Gesell 1985, p. 94.

12 Knossos, Shrine of the Double Axes

Architecture: room (1.50 × 1.50 m) with display bench (H. 0.60 m) and floor covered with pebbles.

Artifacts: goddess with upraised hands with bird on tiara (H. 0.22 m); 2 female worshipers with hands on breasts; male worshiper offering bird; Neolithic-type figurine; 2 pairs of horns of consecration; miniature double axe; champagne cups; small jugs; storage jar; pyxis; amphoras; stirrup jar.

Evans 1901–1902, pp. 95–101; *PM* II, pp. 335–344; Gesell 1985, pp. 90–92.

13 Knossos, Spring Chamber

Architecture: room (1.9 × 1.7 m) with spring basin, 2 ledges, niche.

Artifacts: hut urn containing goddess with upraised hands; clay figurines; incense burners; kalathoi; 2 fenestrated stands; later pottery including stirrup jar; cups; jug; bird vase; skyphoi.

PM II, pp. 123–139; Gesell 1985, pp. 100–101.

14 Knossos, Unexplored Mansion

Artifacts: goddess with upraised hands (H. 0.33 m); male figurine with partially surviving arm (holding offering?); animal askos; champagne cup; miniature conical cup; stirrup jar; kylikes.

Popham 1984, pp. 7–12; Gesell 1985, p. 101.

15 Prinias, Shrine deposit

Artifacts: 1 goddess with upraised hands (H. 0.62 m) and at least 4 others fragmentary (Figs. 7.3, 7.4); 5 snake tubes (one H. 0.527 m, remainder incomplete).

Wide 1901; Gesell 1976, pp. 253, 258–259; Rizzo 1985, pp. 144–145; Gesell 1985, p. 132.

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WANAX TO *WANAX:* REGIONAL TRADE PATTERNS IN MYCENAEAN CRETE

by Halford W. Haskell

INTRODUCTION

Sara Immerwahr's seminal work on Bronze Age trade[1] remains the foundation upon which much subsequent scholarship is based. It is, therefore, most appropriate, as well as a great honor, to dedicate this work to Professor Immerwahr, my teacher and mentor.[2]

Late Bronze Age trade is most readily apparent through the exchange of prestige goods, ranging from fine ware pottery to oil to precious stones and metals. Exchange of at least some of these goods would seem to be of high-level, and perhaps "palatial"-level, interest, and indeed the findspots of much of this material in administrative complexes at Mycenae, Tiryns, and Knossos confirm this interest.

Surprisingly, Linear B documents provide relatively little in the way of direct references to trade or directed movements of goods.[3] Among the few references are MY X 508, which records the movement of cloth toward a certain Thebes, PY Sa 751 and Sa 787, which document chariot wheels of Zakynthian type at Pylos, and PY Ta 641 and Ta 709, which record Cretan tripods at Pylos. One must rely, therefore, on indirect evidence to develop a fuller understanding of Mycenaean involvement in trade. For example, the large-scale bronze-working industry at Pylos certainly required the importation of bronze in bulk, yet there are only indirect references to this in the tablets.[4] The perfumed oil industries at Pylos[5] and Knossos[6] necessitated the importation of scents not indigenous to Greece or Crete, and surely palatial administrators had an interest in managing this importation.

The models of trade or trade mechanisms in which Mycenaean palaces were involved include several possibilities, none exclusive of another, with various mechanisms most likely existing side by side.[7] Directed trade might seem to have the most obvious connection with a palatial administration, but such control would not have excluded semi-independent trading activity or even purely privately managed trade. Linear B evidence for palatially directed trade or at least movement of goods includes the references already noted, that is, cloth for Thebes and chariot wheels for Pylos, and this evidence is supplemented by archaeological evidence.

1. Immerwahr 1960.

2. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for helpful comments, and to Peter G. van Alfen and Thomas G. Palaima for allowing me to cite proofs of forthcoming articles (now van Alfen 1996–1997, Palaima 2000).

3. Conveniently discussed by Palaima (1991).

4. Smith 1992–1993, p. 213.

5. Shelmerdine 1985.

6. Foster 1977.

7. As, for example, Minoan Crete as postulated by Wiener (1991, p. 340).

A series of fine, medium-size stirrup jars bears incised Cypro-Minoan signs on the handles. In the Aegean these jars are found almost exclusively at Tiryns, but they have a wide distribution in Cyprus and the Levant, where Cypro-Minoan was the norm.[8] Even though one cannot be certain as to whether local Mycenaean bureaucrats or visiting Cypriot administrators oversaw the marking of these vases, the important point is that goods within an Aegean Late Bronze Age economic environment could be intended for a specific overseas market, rather than being restricted to tramp-style exchange.

THE ROLE OF THE *WANAX*

If the palace was in fact involved with trade or exchange, presumably this activity was for the primary benefit of the elites. Benefit can be understood in two non–mutually exclusive ways, one related to status and the other to wealth. Possible models of exchange within this framework run the gamut from large-scale commercial-type enterprises to elite gift exchange.[9]

Certainly the figure in the Mycenaean social system with the greatest status was the *wanax*. The functions of the *wanax* have been described by various scholars as embracing the military, judicial, and religious spheres, although Thomas G. Palaima sees his authority as deriving primarily from "his religious/ritual/cultic/ceremonial activities."[10] His special status is reinforced by, among other things, his being the only nondivinity to be allotted offerings of perfumed oil.[11]

What was the role of the *wanax* in the palatial economic system generally and in trade specifically? In what ways did trade or exchange enhance the status/wealth of the *wanax*?

To approach this issue, one must start with a general assessment of the role of the *wanax* within the Mycenaean economy as a whole.[12] It seems that the *wanax* had a direct interest in only a very small, well-defined segment of the palatially directed economy, as references to the *wanax* occur only thirty-one times in the Linear B corpus.[13] His chief associations are with the textile industry and the oil industry—each an important component within the Mycenaean palatial economic system—and now also with javelins.[14] The textile and oil industries were partly interrelated, as oil (sometimes perfumed) was disbursed to cloth workers; oil could make the fabric more supple and imbue it with a "shining" quality.[15] It might be noted here that the only craftsmen associated with the *wanax* with certainty are a potter and a fuller (both at Pylos).[16]

The connection of the *wanax* with the textile industry is well attested in the Linear B archives at Pylos, Thebes, and Knossos.[17] At Knossos, further evidence of the special interest taken by the *wanax* in this industry is that the *wanax* is the only nondivine official to be listed as having controlling authority over the purple-dye industry there. It has been suggested that Knossos also maintained a monopoly over this enterprise in the Mycenaean period.[18]

8. See Hirschfeld 1996.

9. See Cline 1995.

10. Palaima 1997, pp. 411–412; see also Palaima 1995, pp. 119–133.

11. Palaima, 1995, pp. 133–134.

12. Carlier 1984.

13. Carlier 1996, pp. 569–570.

14. See Shelmerdine and Bennet 1995, pp. 123–132; Palaima 2000, pp. 269, 271.

15. Shelmerdine 1985, pp. 129–130; 1997, pp. 390–393.

16. Palaima 1997, p. 407. At Pylos also the *wanax* apparently is associated with the Northeast Workshop: see Shelmerdine and Bennet 1995, pp. 123–132; Palaima 2000, pp. 269, 271.

17. Palaima 1997, pp. 407–408.

18. Palaima 1991, pp. 289–291; 1995, p. 133.

The *wanax* has a documented direct connection, albeit limited, with the oil industry, to judge from the few inscribed stirrup jar inscriptions that include the adjective *wa-na-ka-te-ro* (TI Z 29, TH Z 839; abbreviated to *wa* on EL Z 1; the single sign *wa* incised on disk of KH Z 16). He also receives allotments of oil at Pylos.

Both the textile and oil industries illustrate that variation in management or beneficiary could exist within a given industry. The *wanax* was intimately connected with a highly restricted segment of these industries, while "collectors," officials who maintained some sort of connection with the palace,[19] managed other sectors. Private entrepreneurship probably was practiced as well.

Palaima believes that the interest of the *wanax* in such commodities as cloth and oil indicates special status for these goods when so designated, for they are noted separately from other palatially directed but not "royal" products.[20] Such "set asides," disbursed to him through the palatial distribution system, might have been for use in his official functions, which Palaima sees as primarily religious. Oil could be given by the *wanax* as an offering and/or used on his clothing.

THE *WANAX* AND TRADE

That a given *wanax* on Crete was not always the recipient of oil for his personal use is indicated, however, by the fact that all stirrup jars bearing an indisputable reference to the *wanax* were shipped from Crete to the mainland.[21] The *wanax* somehow may be seen, therefore, as associated with producer or workshop for export, rather than as patron. These jars are of the transport variety (FS 164), most holding about twelve to fourteen liters of oil. The production and export of inscribed stirrup jars are primarily a function of the LM IIIA2–IIIB period. It is likely that all inscribed jars (see below) and nearly all uninscribed jars intended for overseas transport were manufactured on Crete.[22] The industry was dominated by west Crete, which produced some ninety percent of the inscribed jars as well as most uninscribed pieces for export. Central Crete participated too, on a smaller scale, yielding the remaining ten percent of the corpus of inscribed pieces and a fair number of exported uninscribed pieces. The major mainland recipients of inscribed stirrup jars were the palatial centers at Thebes, Tiryns, and Mycenae. Single pieces have been recovered at sites such as Eleusis, Orchomenos, and Kreusis.

The three certain instances of *wa-na-ka-te-ro* or the abbreviation *wa* (TI Z 29, TH Z 839, EL Z 1; the incised *wa* on KH Z 16 is a single sign, in contrast to the inclusion of the reference to the *wanax* as part of a formula known best on the textile industry tablets at Knossos) are all on jars manufactured in west Crete and then exported to mainland sites.[23] Although one can hardly draw secure inferences from a statistical sample of three, it may be significant that these three pieces (also the Khania piece) are somewhat anomalous. Neither of the two whole pieces belongs to a certain typological group, in contrast to most other inscribed stirrup

19. For the function(s) of "collectors," see Bennet 1992, Carlier 1992, Driessen 1992, Godart 1992.

20. Palaima 1997, p. 411.

21. For the purpose of these inscriptions, see van Alfen 1996–1997, pp. 264–271.

22. Haskell et al. in preparation.

23. Catling et al. 1980, Haskell et al. in preparation.

jars:[24] TH Z 839 is a slightly piriform (most west Cretan transport stirrup jars are ovoid to conical) light-on-dark jar that bears painted signs that are unusually large; EL Z 1 bears the only ruled, two-line stirrup jar inscription, its inscription closest to a tablet-style inscription.[25] These jars are not ordinary pieces; TI Z 29 is a dark-on-light fragment that cannot be assessed typologically.

These three jars are part of the larger corpus of Linear B inscribed stirrup jars, numbering in all over 150 pieces. The inscriptions consist of one, two, or three words. Those of three words match the formulas seen on the Knossian sheep tablets, providing the names of the manufacturer, collector, and the place from which the jar, or more likely its contents, originated; it is the collector's name that is replaced on three jars by *wa-na-ka-te-ro.*

Keeping in mind that the corpus of inscribed stirrup jars represents a relatively small database, Palaima nevertheless has made some interesting observations.[26] He has noticed that the place-names recorded on stirrup jars reflect a pattern that suggests regional exportation. The toponyms *e-ra, *56-ko-we, da-*22-to, o-du-ru-wi-jo, wa-to,* and probably]*-ka-mo* and *si-ra-*]*ri-jo,* known on the Knossos tablets, appear also on inscribed stirrup jars exported to the Greek mainland. Through contextual analysis of the tablet toponyms, many of these places have been located, at least in general terms. Palaima has noted the following points: no toponym appears on stirrup jars found at different locations on the mainland; the toponyms found on stirrup jars at Thebes and Tiryns (*o-du-ru-wi-jo, wa-to, *56-ko-we,* and *si-ra-ri-jo*) are from the outer group of toponyms, that is, of west Crete, while those on jars at Mycenae (*e-ra, ka-mo*) are of the inner group, to be associated with south central Crete (the Phaistos area); the place-name on the Eleusis jar (*da-*22-to*) is in the transitional inner/outer group. *wa-na-ka-te-ro* appears only on jars bearing outer or inner/outer toponyms, that is, places some distance from the palace at Knossos.

Palaima goes on to note that, in the well-documented wool industry, officials at Knossos were interested primarily in activities within its own, central province. With respect to towns of the outer group, it appears that officials in such places enjoyed a level of autonomy; Knossian bureaucrats were concerned with these places only when there was a specific need, on a sort of ad hoc basis. Under these circumstances, the presence or absence of Knossos would not have been crucial to the functioning of these centers.

Palaima's overall point is that, from the perspective of inscribed stirrup jars, there appears to be evidence of a pattern of regional exportation, a given region concerned with specific markets: west Crete was concerned with Tiryns, Thebes, and Eleusis, central Crete with Mycenae. Such a regional pattern could have existed with or without a central controlling authority at Knossos. It should be noted that Palaima rightly demonstrates that the activities involving inscribed stirrup jar cannot be used, therefore, as supporting evidence for the later dating of the Knossian Linear B archives, as has been done by Leonard Palmer and others.[27]

While Palaima's point remains valid from the perspective of inscribed stirrup jars, such jars represent only the tip of the proverbial iceberg of LM IIIA2–IIIB transport stirrup jar production on Crete. In fact by far

24. Haskell et al. in preparation.
25. Bennett 1986, p. 143.
26. Palaima 1984.
27. See Hallager 1987, with references.

most Cretan transport jars found on the mainland are not inscribed. In terms of numbers, west Crete dominated this export enterprise, reflecting the situation suggested by the inscribed pieces. Central Crete too exported to Greece, but on a smaller scale.

The pattern of export of uninscribed pieces to Greece does not seem to match very nicely the pattern noted by Palaima in the case of inscribed pieces: west Cretan uninscribed jars are found in high numbers at the three major mainland sites under consideration, Tiryns, Thebes, and Mycenae, whereas Mycenae had seen only inner-group toponyms on the inscribed pieces. South central pieces are found at Thebes and are palaeographically dominated by outer-group sources. It is difficult, therefore, to maintain the exclusive bilateral arrangements suggested by the inscribed pieces, but to be fair to Palaima, the corpus of inscribed stirrup jars makes such conclusions tentative at best.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that inscribed pieces explicitly referring to the *wanax* are all of west Cretan provenience, according to the relevant toponyms and chemical analysis of the clay fabric. The region of west Crete produced oil destined for export to the mainland, and somehow "royal" workshops were involved in this.

The regional pattern of production and export hinted at by the inscribed pieces receives further typological and palaeographic support. West Cretan jars tend to be fairly tall and ovoid in shape, demonstrating a remarkable degree of uniformity.[28] Many are light-on-dark. Most often decoration consists of simple bands; seldom is more elaborate decoration in evidence, such as the octopus motif seen so commonly on Chaniote fine ware stirrup jars.[29] Occasionally a jar is left undecorated. Inscriptions usually appear on shoulders, outnumbering body inscriptions in about a 3:2 ratio. The characters are relatively large, competently done, but sometimes carelessly rendered.

Central Cretan jars mark a typological and palaeographical contrast.[30] Body shape and proportion vary far more than is the case for west Cretan jars. Shape ranges from ovoid to piriform to biconical. On broader examples, the maximum diameter may be at less than half the vessel's height. At times a disk foot or splaying base is seen. It is curious that the ideogram for a stirrup jar at Knossos (K 778)[31] seems to show a disk foot, although one must not draw too much from a simple schematic rendering. Decoration is always dark-on-light; light-on-dark is not seen. Motifs can be simple bands and more elaborate schemes such as the octopus motif (a displayed body or a derivative deep wavy line);[32] shoulder zones often bear fairly complex patterns. A very few central Cretan jars are inscribed, representing just about ten percent of the entire inscribed stirrup jar corpus. This group includes the well-known piece from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (KN Z 1716;[33] cf. AR Z 1[34] and MI Z 4[35]) and most likely two relatively small inscribed stirrup jars found at Mycenae (MY Z 715, 717);[36] the Mycenae pieces may be the smallest extant inscribed stirrup jars anywhere. Inscriptions nearly always appear on the shoulder and usually are in carefully rendered, small characters.

A subgroup of central Cretan inscribed jars reflects a surprising level of apparent illiteracy, typified by jars found at Mallia and Thebes. MA Z 2 at Mallia[37] bears a somewhat odd inscription. Its second character, *-no,* is

28. See Haskell 1981, esp. p. 227, fig. 1:a–d, p. 229, fig. 2:a–d, p. 233, fig. 4:a–c; unusual for a west Cretan jar is that on p. 231, fig. 3:c, with its somewhat elaborate shoulder decoration, but this may be a reflection of its relatively early date (IIIA2).

29. Tzedakis 1969, p. 399, figs. 8–10, p. 400, figs. 11–14.

30. Haskell 1981, p. 234, fig. 5:a, b.

31. Vandenabeele and Olivier 1979, pp. 266–267.

32. E.g., at Knossos: Popham 1964, pls. 3:a–i, 4:a–c; analyzed central Cretan octopus jars at Thebes: Raison 1968, figs. 33, 45, 48, 53, 56.

33. Popham 1984, pl. 110:a–c; Sacconi 1974, p. 178, pl. LX, bottom.

34. Tzedakis 1996, p. 1124.

35. Demakopoulou and Divari-Valakou 1994–1995, pp. 326–327, pl. II:a, b.

36. Ca. 0.30 m in height (most inscribed stirrup jars are at least 0.40 m in height). Aravantinos (1980) discusses the name Glaukos, which has mythological associations with Mycenaean Greece and Crete.

37. Farnoux and Driessen 1991, pp. 80–81, 82–84, 83, figs. 13, 14.

unique with its horizontal strokes, and suggests that the painter may not have been intimately familiar with Linear B. The signs on a series of similarly poorly inscribed jars at Thebes (TH Z 866–868) seem to be more a part of the decoration than informational in character,[38] although Peter G. van Alfen argues that even these and other challenging inscriptions were meant to be read.[39] Another series of jars at Thebes may be related as well (TH Z 859–862), the jars bearing single marks thought by many to be pot marks rather than Linear B signs; in any case these marks are paralleled at Knossos itself.[40]

In the 1980 analysis program of inscribed stirrup jars,[41] the poorly inscribed jars at Thebes (the Mallia piece had not been excavated) were thought to be of local Theban manufacture, a safe conclusion, for at that time chemical analysis was unable to distinguish between the Boiotian and central Cretan profiles. Recent petrographic work by Peter Day, however, shows that the pieces at Thebes in fact come from central Crete, and specifically south central Crete.[42]

It is well to note here the significance of the petrographic contribution to our understanding of the proveniences of these jars. Petrography has resolved the chemical Boiotia/central Crete overlap—in favor of central Crete—in reassigning "local" inscribed stirrup jars at Thebes to central Crete, thereby showing that inscribing stirrup jars was not at all a mainland custom. Remember that these are the pieces that had been thought to be local Theban in the most economical interpretation, given the chemistry's inability to discriminate. Petrography also placed a central Cretan fabric type squarely in *south* central Crete. The fabric of these jars is typical of much of the pottery found at Knossos, and originally was thought, therefore, to be of a clay source not far from Knossos. The petrographic work reminds us that a "local" ware, as defined by its high frequency of occurrence at a site, does not necessarily imply nearby production. Everyday local wares could be produced at some distance, near suitable clay sources, and then transported to the place(s) of use. At this point it is impossible to resolve the issue of "control": did Knossos control pottery production in south central Crete, or did centers operate semi-independently or entirely independently as suppliers of a dominant ware at Knossos?

The south central Cretan attribution for this fabric has further implications. Recall that Palaima has noted that toponyms found on jars at Mycenae (MY Z 202 with *e-ra,* MY Z 664 with *ka-mo*) were of the inner, that is, south central, Cretan zone. MY Z 202 has been analyzed chemically and it seems quite certain to be of west Cretan clay.[43] If *e-ra* truly is of the inner group of toponyms, and there seems to be little thought otherwise, then the south central zone as defined by toponyms shades into the west Cretan chemical zone. This should neither surprise nor alarm us, as we cannot expect ancient activity to conform to modern reconstructions of pottery production zones![44]

Archaeological support for the productivity of south central Crete as it relates to transport stirrup jars is provided at Kommos. Transport stirrup jars, including examples decorated with the octopus motif, occur at this south central Cretan port site in relatively high numbers.[45] The role of

38. Killen in Catling et al. 1980, p. 91.

39. Van Alfen 1996–1997, pp. 254–259.

40. Raison 1968, pl. CXX. Inspection of the fragments at Knossos shows them to belong to an amphora.

41. Catling et al. 1980.

42. R. E. Jones and P. M. Day in Farnoux and Driessen 1991, p. 97; Day and Haskell 1995, pp. 97–98 (Day's "North central Crete" attribution is now, in the light of more detailed study, to be understood as "South central Crete").

43. Catling et al. 1980, no. 45.

44. Killen in Catling et al. 1980, p. 92.

45. Watrous 1992, pp. 135–136, 143.

Kommos itself in the international oil trade cannot be adequately assessed, although it is tempting to assume that, given its position on the sea, it may have participated to some degree.

It appears, then, that central Cretan vase painters were quite capable of producing a few highly competent inscriptions (as on AR Z 1, KN Z 1716, MI Z 4, MY Z 715, 717), as well as some truly incompetent ones suggesting an impressive degree of illiteracy. How this relates to the issue of the date of the Knossos archives remains uncertain, as the sheep tablets at Knossos demonstrate clearly that palatial officials had varying degrees of interest within the industry, ranging from the exercise of tight control to paying sporadic attention. Certainly the workshops producing the vases with illiterate painters must have enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy from a literate Knossian palace, an indication of management at a local or regional level.

The overall pattern that emerges from the typological and palaeographical survey of Cretan transport stirrup jars within the Aegean reinforces this picture of independence and regionalism. Khania, the Kydonia of the tablets, operated as a second order center at the time of the tablets, and may well have managed the production and export of oil to mainland Greece. If at this time Knossos no longer operated as a central controlling authority, then places such as Khania presumably would have been able to continue on their own in their region, now entirely independently. Some sites corresponding to toponyms throughout west Crete may have operated at the behest of Khania, others independently.

Thus far we have restricted ourselves to intra-Aegean trade or exchange. A few transport stirrup jars were shipped farther away, most notably east to Cyprus and the Levant but also west to Sardinia, South Italy, and Sicily. The current transport stirrup jar analysis project is revealing an interesting pattern especially with respect to the East.[46] Most Aegean transport stirrup jars found on Cyprus and in the Levant come from central Crete, perhaps south central Crete. Many of these pieces bear the octopus motif, which as we have seen is a hallmark of central Crete. As expected, none bears a Linear B inscription, but several bear incised characters of the Cypro-Minoan script. In view of the relative absence of this script on Crete,[47] it is likely that these jars were marked after their arrival on Cyprus. Very few, if any, west Cretan jars appear at sites in the East, although the mixed cargo of the Uluburun shipwreck reminds us to be cautious. In any case, the general pattern is clear: whereas the region of west Crete dominated activity with the Greek mainland, providing some ninety percent of the known inscribed stirrup jars and an equal proportion of uninscribed jars intended for that market, the central Cretan region had the upper hand in the East, sending some numbers of octopus and banded jars to Cyprus, where some may have been transshipped farther east to destinations in the Levant. The general picture again is one of Crete operating on a regional basis, with or without some degree, great or small, of cooperation or supervision from Knossos.

That Knossos itself at the time of the tablets had an interest in the Cypriot market is made clear by the term *ku-pi-ri-jo* in the tablets.[48] The

46. Haskell et al. in preparation.

47. Hirschfeld 1996, pp. 291, 294.

48. See Palaima 1991, pp. 280–281, 293–295.

term modifies, among other things, oil, perhaps destined for Cyprus. John Killen has gone one step further and has made the suggestion that *ku-pi-ri-jo* at Knossos may be the name of a "collector," one of whose functions was to manage trade with the Cypriot market.[49] In any case, it is quite clear that Knossos had some sort of interest(s) in Cyprus.

CONCLUSIONS

Within the Aegean, Crete had a near monopoly over the movement of oil in FS 164 stirrup jars, to judge from the production places of large stirrup jars intended for export. Virtually all, if not all, FS 164 stirrup jars intended for trade found throughout the central and eastern Mediterranean, from Sardinia to the Levant, were manufactured on Crete, most in west Crete but also a fair number in central Crete.

Vast numbers of Cretan transport jars appear in domestic basement deposits at sites such as Thebes, Tiryns, and Mycenae. At Mycenae, inspection of such deposits in the House of the Columns, the House of the Oil Merchant, and the House of the Wine Merchant indicates that transport stirrup jars of Cretan origin greatly outnumber locally produced pieces. Mainland pottery shops certainly did produce transport-size stirrup jars,[50] the best-known deposit perhaps being that of the Potter's Shop at Zygouries (ten nearly identical jars[51] plus three larger ones of similar shape and decoration).[52] Many of these vases are of relatively fine fabric, however, in contrast to the gritty "oatmeal" fabric of large Cretan stirrup jars. In typological terms, mainland large stirrup jars are much like overgrown fine ware stirrup jars, with strap handles (versus the round or oval handles of Cretan transport jars) and firing holes. Most likely, no jar manufactured on the mainland bears a Linear B inscription.

Evidence for the participation of mainlanders in the movement of oil may be restricted to the ubiquitous closed fine ware vessels found throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The question of at whose behest was Cretan oil prepared and shipped to the mainland and even beyond the Aegean opens up all sorts of scenarios, and goes well beyond the scope of this paper. Possibilities include mainland exploitation of Cretan resources directly, or through the intervention of Knossos and/or Kydonia, etc., or exploitation by Knossians and/or Kydonians and others for their benefit alone.

Within Crete, highly distinctive typological and palaeographical differences between jars produced in west Crete and those produced in central Crete suggest a regionally based system, whether or not bureaucrats at Knossos exercised final, overarching authority. John Bennet has pointed out that with the rise in prosperity that would accompany the Mycenaean administration at Knossos and with an improvement in the techniques of mass production, one might expect to see local pottery shops flourishing.[53] Such regionalism could be seen equally well in the absence of a central controlling authority sitting at Knossos.[54]

Further support for the regional nature of this activity comes from the export of transport stirrup jars to the eastern Mediterranean, which seems to have been controlled largely if not exclusively from central Crete.

49. Killen 1995.

50. For discussions of the typology and petrographic work on three characteristically mainland pieces at Thebes, see Day and Haskell 1995, pp. 96–98; for illustrations, Raison 1968, figs. 68, 70 (TH 825), and 69, 71 (TH 826).

51. Blegen 1928, p. 141, fig. 132, right, p. 149, fig. 139, p. 151.

52. Blegen 1928, p. 150, fig. 140, p. 151.

53. Bennet 1985, p. 248.

54. Haskell 1983.

Relative to all Aegean pottery in eastern contexts, Cretan transport stirrup jars form a tiny proportion. Here, as noted above, mainland producers and packagers seem to have had the controlling position, as reflected by the masses of mainland-produced fine ware closed shapes, many of which may have contained perfumed oil.

The three inscribed stirrup jars bearing definite references to the *wanax*, all of west Cretan manufacture (according to the clay analysis and the evidence of the associated toponyms), reflect high-status interest in a segment of what certainly was a flourishing export enterprise on Crete. It is likely that central bureaucrats had radically varying interests in this activity, as was the case with the wool industry. The contents of the *wanax* jars must have been of special status, sent from one region of Crete to mainland centers. These jars provide a glimpse, still imperfectly understood, of the specific role of the *wanax* in the economy of the Late Bronze Age Aegean.

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CHAPTER 9

The Early Mycenaean Lion Up to Date

by Nancy R. Thomas

Lions, the most evocative of animals represented in Aegean Bronze Age art, are associated with all problems in Aegean art—origins, transfers, iconography, technique, style—and penetrate all spheres of Aegean studies: social, political, economic, and religious/symbolic. The last investigation of the Minoan/Mycenaean lion in its full Mediterranean setting was "The Aegean Animal Style: A Study of the Lion, Griffin, and Sphinx" (1970).[1] In this paper I focus on the lion art of Early Mycenaean Greece, reviewing our current understanding of the LH I leonine objects largely associated with Schliemann's excavations of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, which date to the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.[2]

Although no new, securely dated examples of MH III or LH I lion art have been excavated since 1970, nor has the corpus of comparative Minoan objects substantially increased, the entire picture of the Aegean animal style has nevertheless been revolutionized in the last thirty years by three astounding discoveries: (1) the frescoes at Akrotiri on Thera (Santorini), (2) the frescoes at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt, and (3) actual lion bones in Greece. No serious investigation of lion art can now omit these discoveries.

1. Rhyne 1970, my dissertation, is a discussion with catalogue of the Aegean lion and its fantastic hybrids—the griffin and sphinx—against their oriental background. By 1970 I had catalogued 475 Minoan and Mycenaean lions; in later 2002 the corpus was 920, of which only 26 are clearly from Early Mycenaean Greece. The present paper deals only with lions, not with leonine hybrids or masks; for the latter, see Graziadio, Guglielmino, and Rossi 1989.

I was Sara Immerwahr's first Ph.D. student, and she is still my best mentor. For their generous sharing of ideas and research for this paper, I thank Robin Barber, Manfred Bietak, Edmund Bloedow, Joost Crouwel, Ellen Davis, Oliver Dickinson, Angela von den Driesch, Robin Hägg, Stefan Hiller, Robert Laffineur, Ingo Pini, Dan Pullen, Paul Rehak, Maria Shaw, Judith Weingarten, and John Younger. Margaret Dixon at the Jacksonville University Library made books available, and my family made the manuscript possible. In Professor Immerwahr's honor I hope to bring Greece's most memorable animal art of the 2nd millennium B.C. across the threshold of the 3rd millennium A.C.

2. The Catalogue here, with numbers indicated in boldface, is as far as I know the only up-to-date compilation of LH I lion art. Karo (1930) submitted no catalogue nor were his index references to "lions" complete, and Younger (1978) included only works associated with the "Lion Master" and his workshop (see notes 84–87 below). Vanschoonwinkel's 1996 catalogue of Minoan lions was compiled before the appearance of *CMS* V.1A and 1B. For sealings see also Pini 1990, the catalogues in tables 2 and 6. I know of, but have not seen, two unpublished M.A. theses on Aegean lions: E. C. Richardson, "Lions in Bronze Age Aegean Art," University of Cincinnati 1978, and M. A. G. Ballintijn, "Lions and Other Cats from the Shaft Graves of Mycenae" (in Dutch), University of Amsterdam 1986.

In addition, shifts in Aegean scholarship in the last thirty years have affected lion studies. The most remarkable development is the greatly expanded interchange among disciplines, a gift of the peer polity interaction model.[3] The lion is now used to probe a blend of social, political, economic, and religious factors at both the material and symbolic levels.

The old desire to sort lion art into pristine Minoan and Mycenaean camps has been largely abandoned as a flawed endeavor. Both Helladic and Minoan components are acknowledged in Mycenaean art, but claims of exclusive, territorial domain in iconography, style, or ethos have fallen.[4] As Oliver Dickinson summed up, "it seems unwise to argue that any of the really fine, but rarely represented, work found on the mainland represents a purely local development . . . lacking Cretan parallel"[5] and, conversely, he noted that the best craftsmen at Mycenae had skills "equivalent to those available in Cretan palaces."[6]

The new discoveries at Thera and in the Nile Delta pull us away from Mycenae, adding to the international repertory in which motifs, styles, techniques, and people continually circulate. Actual lion bones, however, return us to Greece. Since 1978, the remains of *Panthera leo* have been found on nine mainland or island sites in contexts dating from the Late Neolithic through the Archaic periods. These finds, together with the newly published lion bones from nineteen Balkan/Ukrainian sites of Neolithic to Iron Age date, document the presence of the lion in the Balkan peninsula from the 5th to the 1st millennium B.C. These bones, which redirect us from artistic imagination to real-life experience, have barely begun to be incorporated into Mycenaean lion studies.

To review and update the investigation of Early Mycenaean lion art, I have arranged this paper in six sections: (1) Chronology and Evidence, (2) The Impact of Thera, (3) The Impact of Egypt, (4) The Impact of Bones, (5) Conclusions, (6) Catalogue of LH I lion art from securely dated mainland contexts (bold-faced numbers refer to Catalogue entries). Bibliographic references cite the most fruitful entry into each topic with indications of special studies and divergent opinions. I have tried to include all work published since 1970 devoted exclusively to the LH I/LM I lion.

CHRONOLOGY AND EVIDENCE

Broadly speaking, Shaft Grave Mycenae and LM IA Crete coexisted. The shaft grave burial form in Greece and the LM IA pottery style on Crete each arose within the last phase of its own MB antecedents, and each continued to exist for approximately a century.[7] Although a subform of LM IA pottery continued to be produced side by side with LM IB Marine ware, both the *mature* LM IA pottery style on Crete and the shaft grave burial form in Greece ended at about the same moment.[8] Therefore we can envision a broad Aegean canvas a little more than a hundred years long on which to place the events and artifacts of LH I/LMIA/LC I. The eruption of Thera occurred after the midpoint of this period.[9]

3. Renfrew 1986.

4. Vermeule (1975, pp. 33–35) and Hurwit (1979) delivered the death blow to the "Helladic soul." Scholars still debate the nature of the Helladic contribution but generally agree that Mycenaean art combined both the naturalistic and decorative worlds. In this review I assume that the wealth of the Shaft Graves was not derived from conquest or robbery but was assembled/created as a tangible response to mainland cultural and social aspirations.

5. Dickinson 1977, p. 86.

6. Dickinson 1984, p. 116, adding "and potentially deriving from such a context."

7. Dickinson (1977, p. 51) allotted the shaft grave phenomenon about a century, or four to five generations. Warren (1999, p. 902) gave the LM IA pottery style a maximum of one hundred years or three to four generations. Morgan (1988, p. 172) cited the major island settlements of Thera, Keos (modern Kea), Melos, and Kythera as flourishing during "the period of the richest of the Mycenaean Shaft Graves and the height of the Minoan palatial system."

8. Only one Shaft Grave of Grave Circle B (Rho) yielded pottery of the next phase, LM IB (Warren and Hankey 1989, p. 96), and only one from Grave Circle A (I) included early LH IIA pottery (Dickinson, pers. comm.).

9. J. Davis (1992, p. 755) estimated that the volcanic destruction of Thera

Rather than tracing descendants of Shaft Grave lion art into the subsequent LH II, or tholos, phase, as has been done by John Younger,[10] this review is confined to the Shaft Grave period itself and refers to the contiguous scenes on Crete, Thera, and in the East. Correlations with Egypt and the Near East take into account both the traditional (low) and the new (high) chronologies.[11]

The core of Early Mycenaean lion imagery comes from the two grave circles at Mycenae, and the corpus of this material has remained essentially static for the last thirty years. Reappraisal has added a few leonine objects to LH I art,[12] but only one image has appeared to fill the long-standing EH and MH voids.[13] The twenty-four lion objects from Mycenae, twenty of which come from Schliemann's Grave Circle A, are a heterogeneous collection of unusual pieces (**1–24**). From elsewhere in the Argolid, the only lion images with firmly dated LH I contexts are two carved seals of the semiprecious stone amethyst (**25, 26**), a material not found in Shaft Grave lion art at Mycenae.[14]

Since 1970, chronology of the Helladic period has been reassessed, bringing the two grave circles of Mycenae into an even more overlapping

was contemporary with "a later, but not the latest" stage of LM IA in Crete, a finding recently corroborated in Warren 1999, a summary of the pottery evidence. The destruction of Thera occurred before the appearance of LH II ware, which itself began before LM IB pottery (Davis 1992, p. 736). Dickinson has stated that at least two generations elapsed between the eruption and the *end* of LM IB (pers. comm.).

10. Younger 1978.

11. Relative chronology within the Aegean is not at issue, but absolute chronology is contested, hinging on the date of the eruption of Thera. The traditional "low" chronology dates the eruption to the later 16th century B.C., or essentially contemporary with the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, whereas the new "high" chronology dates it to ca. 1628 B.C., or almost a hundred years before the overthrow of the Hyksos and the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty. For low chronology see Warren 1990–1991, 1995, and the Austrian Academy's Web site (http://www.nhm-wien.ac.at/sciem2000/index.html); for high chronology see Manning 2000. For summaries of the evidence for both chronologies, see Forsyth 1997, pp. 106–113; and Macdonald 2001, a review of Manning's *A Test of Time.* For the Aegean/Egyptian ramifications, see Phillips 1997–1998. Of concern for the present study, Driessen and Macdonald (1997, p. 23) kept the traditional dating as "still the most convincing and useful," placing the eruption of Thera ca. 1550–1530 B.C. Shelmerdine (1997, pp. 539–540) and Rehak and Younger (1998a, pp. 98–100) used the high chronology in their reviews. Dickinson is at present using the low chronology, though he feels the "jury is still out" (pers. comm.).

12. Shaft Grave lion objects omitted from my dissertation but included here are **2, 4, 8, 9, 20, 23, 24**. Five of these, in my opinion, are not indubitably lions: **8, 9, 20, 23, 24**. I still omit the tiny faience fragment of the hind part of an animal from Shaft Grave V, Athens, N.M. 899, which Karo (1930, fig. 73, pl. CLV:899, and p. 155) called a beast of prey and Hood (1978, p. 135) saw as a "crouching beast of prey, a griffin perhaps, or a lion," a description echoed by Foster (1981, p. 10).

13. No lion image earlier than that on the MH III stele from Mycenae's Grave Circle B, 1 (Fig. 9.1), had been found in the Aegean until the 2001 discovery of reliefs of ships and animals, including lions, carved on rocks and rock walls of a Final Neolithic settlement on the island of Andros dated 4500–3300 B.C.; see "Neolithic Carvings at Andros Site," *Kathimerini,* English edition, Oct. 19, 2001, at http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/news/content.asp?aid=10294. A possible EH lion image may, in my opinion, appear on a hearth rim from Tiryns that has a terracotta impression of a big-headed animal, *CMS* V.IB, 425; Rutter 1993, fig. 10. See note 98 below for MH boar imagery in metal.

14. Sakellariou (1964, pp. 238, 308) cited a LH I ceramic and burial context for both gems. For the Rutsi prism, **26** (Fig. 9.39), Dickinson (1977, p. 62) noted the LH I/LM IA ceramic context, but Weingarten (1990, pp. 368–371) convincingly dated the gem on stylistic grounds to LM IB or the first half of the 15th century B.C. (see note 90 below). Although the conservative nature of ceramics in burials should be considered (most of the vases in Shaft Graves III–V are MH), I have omitted objects whose contexts are broadly dated LH I–II, such as the Kasarma cylinder seals in the Nauplion Archaeological Museum (*CMS* V, 584, 585).

relationship.[15] Most of Grave Circle B's four lion objects are now seen as contemporary with, not earlier than, the richer graves and lion art of Grave Circle A.[16] Note that lion imagery did not appear at all until the Shaft Grave sequence was at its midpoint, which makes visualized lions almost entirely a LH I phenomenon.[17] The single example from the earlier MM III period is Grave Circle B's scenic stele from Grave Gamma, **1** (Fig. 9.1).[18] Thus Mycenae's twenty-four lion objects (one MM III and twenty-three LH I) indicate that for about two and a half generations the warrior nobility deposited lion images in their tombs in the formats we call Shaft Grave art.[19] Occasionally, ceramic evidence can suggest a subdivision of the very rich burials into pre– and post–Theran-eruption phases, and sometimes the tomb layouts allow us to assign individual objects to particular burials, but most of the graves simply present an "earlier" and a "later" division.[20] At present we can assign only a few of the lions to well-defined time frames.[21]

How does Mycenae relate to the rest of the Aegean during this century-plus Shaft Grave phenomenon?[22] In *The Troubled Island* (1997), Jan Driessen and Colin Macdonald put new and sharper focus on LM IA Crete. Indeed, the thesis of this book may significantly affect Mycenaean lion studies, as the authors point out three anomalies in the LM IA/IB archaeological record on Crete that contradict the views of Sir Arthur Evans and others that the period was one seamless, flourishing acme of Minoan civilization.[23] The first two anomalies are (1) major earthquake destructions across Crete *within* LM IA, and (2) subsequent modifications, unfinished repairs, and partial or total abandonment of the palaces



Figure 9.1. Stele (1) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Gamma (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13575). N. Thomas, after Marinatos 1990, fig. 3; Mylonas 1973, pl. 40

15. For the new meshing into a shorter time span, see Dickinson 1977, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986, Graziadio 1988, 1991, Laffineur 1989a, Dietz 1991, 1998,Taracha 1993. Taracha (1993, tables 1 and 3, pp. 9, 33) correlated nine scholars' work plus his own.

16. Lions were associated with only three of the twenty-four graves in Grave Circle B (Gamma, Alpha, Delta) and only three of the six tombs of Grave Circle A (III–V, and an unassigned stele fragment). No lions were found in the latest graves of either circle (Rho and I).

17. The LH I period, called Late Phase II by Graziadio, corresponds with the appearance of true Mycenaean LH I ware (Graziadio 1991, p. 403).

18. Scholars disagree on the relative dates of stelai from Grave Circle B. The stele from Grave Alpha, **2** (Fig. 9.13), was considered oldest by Mylonas (1973, p. 423), Hood (1978, p. 97), and Hooker (1976, p. 42), whereas Grave Gamma's stele, **1** (Fig. 9.1), was seen as the earliest by Dickinson (1977, p. 45) and Graziadio (1991, pp. 409, 411). Dickinson (1977, p. 45) stated that the sequence of burials in Gamma is "unusually clear" and that the stele above the grave belonged to the tomb's first burial. Similarly Graziadio (1991, pp. 409, 411), dating this burial to his Late Phase I, considered its stele to be older than the others, and he further said that Gamma's stele is the "first well-attested stele" in the circles. For the LH I date of Grave Circle B's other lion objects, a golden hilt and the silver cup from Grave Delta, **3**, **4** (Figs. 9.25, 9.18), see Dickinson 1977, pp. 44–45; Graziadio 1991, table 1, p. 406.

19. Graziadio's table 1 (1991, p. 406) gives the most compact scheme, with Graves III–V contemporary with each other and with most of the last burials in Grave Circle B. For other arrangements see Davis 1977, p. 234; Dickinson 1977, pp. 48–49; Younger 1978, p. 296; Taracha 1993, p. 34.

20. According to Dickinson, "almost certainly 'some' of the burials in III, IV, and V fall after the eruption (and at least one in I is early LH IIA)" (pers. comm.).

21. More visible in Grave Circle B than in A. For the placement of lion art in Grave IV burials, see **11**, **15** (Figs. 9.15, 9.26).

22. For LH I/LM IA/LC ceramic correlations, see Davis 1992, pp. 735–736.

23. Warren (1990–1991, pp. 29, 36) considered Crete to be at its "highest level" with "no hint of internal stress" right up to the destructions at the end of LM IB, and he has continued to link LM IA and LM IB as two parts of "Minoan Crete's greatest material, social, and political achievement" (Warren 1999, p. 902).

and their environs, also within mature LM IA, paralleled by peculiarities in other structures across Crete.[24] These two phenomena, earthquake plus site disarray, when considered together, help explain the third anomaly, a decline in art during Evans's so-called "acme."[25] The destructions, repairs, modifications, and abandonments have been noted by others, including Paul Rehak and John Younger recently,[26] but Driessen and Macdonald, while stressing the absence of a single destruction horizon in LM IA,[27] see the many phenomena as related events, not scattered oddities.[28]

If the thesis set forth in *The Troubled Island* is correct, LM IA has two *dissimilar* phases. The earlier portion (Evan's "Great Rebuilding," following his "Great Destruction" by the MM IIIB earthquake) was a true floruit with excellent building and a mass of high quality art.[29] The second phase, a "kind of crisis situation . . . from mature LM IA onwards,"[30] was initiated by an earthquake essentially contemporary with the volcanic destruction of Thera.[31] According to Driessen and Macdonald, at this point the palace redistributive system began to falter, not only reducing the flow of goods but also shifting Minoan lifestyle from luxury to necessity as the effects of the volcanic upheaval at Thera surged through every facet of Cretan life. In fact, Driessen and Macdonald see the destructions, which occurred *during* LM IA, as the beginning of a long decline into social, political, economic, and psychological fragmentation that ultimately resulted in the devastations by fire and anarchy that swept over Crete and closed LM IB.[32]

The Troubled Island details a situation with potentially serious impact on contemporary Mycenae. Can we hear in the Shaft Graves an echo of a Cretan downshift from the flourishing first phase to a troubled second phase?[33] If the big tombs at Mycenae were filled before the destruction of

24. Driessen and Macdonald 1997. Weingarten (1988, p. 14) noted that the sealings from the Temple Repositories at Knossos indicate only internal administration and that no LM IB sealings (which should have accompanied delivered goods) have been found at Knossos; she therefore speculated that LM IB Knossos may have "lived off its own hinterland" more as "an estate than a State." On the other hand, Wiener (1999, p. 414) saw continuing wealth and trade centered on Knossos through LM IB.

25. According to Driessen and Macdonald (1997, pp. 62–64), the rather meager development of art in the entire LM I period indicates that the "spirit of creation was largely gone," and that many of the best-quality Minoan objects found in the later LM IB destruction levels were made in LM IA.

26. Rehak and Younger 1998a, pp. 101, 129; see also Rehak 1997a.

27. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 35.

28. E.g., the LM IA pottery choking the drains in the east wing of Knossos was explained by Rehak and Younger (1998a, p. 129) as a shift in primary palace function from residence to cult center. Driessen and Macdonald (1997, p. 44) agree on the shift of function but relate the cause to the crisis situation.

29. This first earthquake, Evans's "Great Destruction of MM IIIB," is now thought to have occurred in MM III/LM IA Transitional, when the earliest pieces of LM IA pottery were first appearing. This earthquake is now seen as broadly contemporary with the seismic event that shook Thera approximately a generation(?) before the volcanic event or actual eruption (Driessen and Macdonald 1997, pp. 17, 41).

30. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 111.

31. This second earthquake, "the big one," is identified by Driessen and Macdonald (1997, p. 88) as the tectonic earthquake that occurred slightly before the eruption on Thera within mature LM IA.

32. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, chap. 4 and pp. 101–104. Dickinson, in a critique of Driessen and Macdonald's thesis, noted that Crete's breadbasket in the Mesara had not been affected by Thera's eruption, but that "something was going wrong in LM IB" that may have been "a period of crisis" (pers. comm.).

33. See Dickinson 1977, p. 55; and Wright 1995, p. 70, on Mycenae's "special relationship" with a Minoan palace, probably Knossos, as one of the largest engines driving the rise of the Mycenaean elite.



Figure 9.2. Plaques (19) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 808–811). N. Thomas

Thera, no echo should be heard. If the richest of the graves (III, IV, and V) were still being used after Thera was destroyed, can a "blink" be detected? What form would it take?

Possibilities include either (1) a slowing of the flow of luxury items and fine craftsmen from Crete to Greece, in which case more of the goods in the late tombs would be mainland creations, or, conversely, (2) increased emigration of artisans from Knossos to Mycenae in search of patrons who still dispensed lavish orders, in which case an even greater Minoan influence would be in evidence. Could the later Shaft Graves have been poorer and richer at the same time, poorer in the overall mass of Minoan acquisitions but richer in a few really fine pieces that Knossos finally let go in exchange for food, for example?[34] If, on Crete, Marine Style pottery was ultimately developed to fill the gap in palatial luxury objects, as Driessen and Macdonald strongly propose,[35] what filled this gap on the mainland? Could the gold-covered wooden box from Shaft Grave V, with its non-Minoan-looking reliefs, **19** (Fig. 9.2), be the creation of a second-tier artisan, a woodcarver put to work with gold, a case of the local man getting the really good commission? Some of the Shaft Grave objects made in expensive materials, but with "rude-attempt" execution, may be later, not earlier, productions. In this review I note such potential "blinks."[36]

Other reassessments of Minoan chronology during the last thirty years have also affected Mycenaean lion studies. Scholars have now lowered the date of all three groups of Minoan sealings that formerly provided possible antecedents to Shaft Grave lions: the sealings from (1) the Temple Repositories at Knossos, (2) the Room of the Seals at Ayia Triada, and (3) House A at Zakros. The impressions from the Temple Repositories at Knossos have been redated, not without argument, from Evans's pure

34. See Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 115, on the potentially huge profits to be made by bartering with food. Perhaps food was the missing commodity sought by Bloedow in his discussion of itinerant craftsmen and trade (1997, pp. 444–446).

35. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 62. Hood (1978, pp. 37–38) commented on a general decline in quality in LM IB pottery, even in fine wares, and Foster (1979, pp. 155, 173) concluded that the faience workshop at Zakros was established to imitate luxury products, which she said happens when luxury resources, such as supplies of gold, become scarce.

36. Dickinson (1977, pp. 50–51) detected a "dwindling of variety" and a "less prodigal use of metal" (the gold ornaments are light in weight) in the latest grave in Grave Circle A, Grave I; see note 111 below. I wonder if a decline in rich objects, possibly accompanied by reduced access to gold, could have nudged the next generation of Mycenaean princes to adopt *stone* as the wealth marker: tholoi and gems are the dominant signs of elite prestige in LH II Greece.

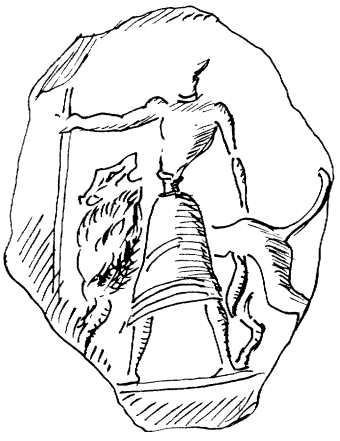


Figure 9.3. Sealing from Temple Repositories, Knossos (Herakleion Archaeological Museum 383; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE 1199u, z). N. Thomas, after Pini 1990, pl. VI:c–e

MM III to LM IA,[37] and those from Ayia Triada and Zakros, formerly dated MM III–early LM I, [38] are now said to have been impressed and burned at the end of LM IB.[39] Three conclusions follow: (1) all three groups are now placed after the events that *initiated* LM IA, making them more LM than MM phenomena; (2) the images found in the Temple Repositories apparently belong only to the earlier portion of LM IA (the nontroubled phase), whereas those surviving at Ayia Triada and Zakros span the full length of time from early LM IA to the end of LM IB;[40] (3) the lions represented in all three of these Minoan groups now join Shaft Grave and Theran art on the big LH I/LM I/LC I Aegean canvas.

These changes in dating call for reassessment of some older conclusions regarding style. Although it is clear that figurative naturalism itself originated in MM Crete, the particular motifs and naturalistic designs of LH I/LM I/LC I lion art now have little provable priority in one place or another. Clearly, artistic relationships among regions must be rethought. For example, lowering the date of the impressions from Zakros makes it more difficult to imagine a Minoan associate of the LM IB Zakros Master migrating to Greece early enough to become the LH I Mycenae Lion Master.[41]

The correlation of images among Minoan sites has also been reassessed. One of the cords that connected Zakros with the earlier Knossian Temple Repositories has apparently disappeared. A beautiful image of a crowned figure striding beside a lion (Fig. 9.3), which exists in several sealings formerly thought to have appeared both at Knossos *and* at Zakros,

37. Panagiotaki 1993. Pini (1990, p. 53) dated them LM IA on stylistic grounds and on the fallibility of using "dark zones" as a criterion in ceramic dating; Weingarten, in the discussion following Pini's paper (Pini 1990, pp. 58–60), asserted that in a deposit with fading, floruit, and advanced seals, the most advanced types merely presage the next period and do not pull the entire deposit forward, but later Weingarten (1995, p. 472 and note 5) seemed to accept the LM IA date. See also Weingarten 1989 on the Temple Repositories. Driessen and Macdonald (1997, pp. 98, 141–142, 148) speculated that the contents of the Temple Repository cist graves were manufactured before, but buried after, the second earthquake. According to Warren and Hankey (1989, p. 73, note 30), the Temple Repositories and Theran pottery "cannot be far, if at all, removed in date," and Warren (1999, p. 896) said the Temple Repositories "may well in fact date to mature LM IA."

38. Evans (*PM* I, p. 701; *PM* IV, p. 591) said fifty percent of the Zakros images were earlier than and "altogether apart" from LM art, while Hogarth (1902, p. 90) dated Zakros art widely, from MM III to LM II.

39. Pini 1984a, p. 130, note 58. Weingarten (1986, p. 293; 1989, p. 40) dated the Ayia Triada and Zakros sealings to LM IB; see all three sealing groups in Rhyne 1970, nos. 61–101.

40. Because context can date only the impress of the seal on the clay sealing, not the manufacture of the seal itself, Pini dated all the sealings from Ayia Triada, Zakros, Khania, and Sklavokampos simply as "LM I" (1989 and pers. comm.). On the earlier production of most of the fine works used during LM IB, see Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 64. Good seals would have been conserved, especially if gem cutters became scarce during the period of disarray. Perhaps we can see evidence of another "blink" in the clay rhyton from Mallia (Chapouthier and Demargne with Dessenne 1962, pls. X, XXXIX; Rhyne 1970, no. 107), whose lion attachments are reminiscent of the gold lion-head rhyton from Mycenae, **15** (Fig. 9.26). See also the Knossian cheap clay replica of a ring in Betts 1967, p. 21. For the LM I so-called "replica rings" in metal, including one type with lions, see Betts 1967, pp. 21–23; Hallager 1996, I, pp. 207–217; Schoep 1999, pp. 213–217. But note Pini's assertion in *CMS* II.6, pp. xxv–xxvi (summarized in Krzyszkowska 2001, p. 119), that replica rings did not exist and that matching images come from a single ring.

41. Migration suggested by Younger (1979, p. 120). Weingarten (1983, p. 122) dated the Zakros Master to the earlier part of LM IB. This problem of chronology was noted by Pini (1984a, p. 130, note 58).

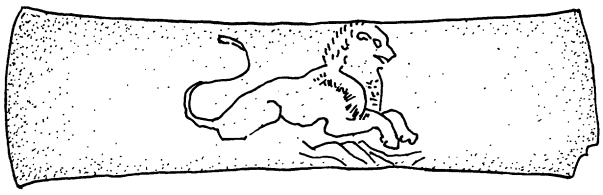


Figure 9.4. Bronze double-axe blade from near Mallia. N. Thomas, after Chittenden and Seltman 1947, pl. 4, no. 21

may in fact have occurred only at Knossos.[42] However, an image of running lions in front of a palm tree apparently did appear identically on sealings from Ayia Triada, Zakros, and Knossos.[43] Summarizing the situation, Ingo Pini considered the sealings from the Temple Repositories, Ayia Triada, Zakros, Khania, Sklavokampos, and Akrotiri as sharing a number of motifs that "cannot be distinguished" stylistically or compositionally from each other.[44]

Although Crete has produced a number of unusual objects reminiscent of LH I lion art, such as a bronze axe blade from Mouri near Mallia with a lion engraved on each face (Fig. 9.4), most of these pieces are too problematic in date to be considered here.[45] Other material that has been newly published or recently recatalogued or redated to LH I/LM I/LC I will be mentioned in the course of the discussion.[46]

42. The Knossos sealing is from the Temple Repositories, Herakleion Archaeological Museum (hereafter, H.A.M.) 383 (*CMS* II.8, 237; *PM* I, fig. 363a; Hood 1978, no. 220C; Rhyne 1970, no. 58). The essentially identical "Zakros" sealing is Ashmolean Museum AE 1199u, z (Rhyne 1970, no. 80). Both Betts (1967, p. 19) and Pini (1990, table 6) have reassigned this so-called Zakros sealing to Knossos, with Betts surmising that there was probably some confusion in Herakleion before it was presented to the Ashmolean Museum. Pini did not include it in the *CMS* II.7 volume on Kato Zakros, but Panagiotaki (1993, p. 88) adhered to the original Zakros provenience, and Schoep (1999, p. 215, note 76) also gave it a Zakros provenience. Note: this "Zakros" sealing is not the same as the Ayia Triada example of a bowman with lion (H.A.M. 508; *CMS* II.6, 36; Rhyne 1970, no. 79). In a different Temple Repository sealing with "lion"(?) and deity, H.A.M. 343 (*CMS* II.8, 236; Hood 1978, fig. 220D; Rhyne 1970, no. 59), the lion is now recognized as a dog (Pini 1990, pl. VII:a, b; Younger 1993, p. 20; Hallager 1996, II, p. 161). Therefore the only remaining Knossian example of person and lion (Fig. 9.3) shows a striding deity, not a warrior, and we can no longer say, as did Morgan (1988, p. 170), that "lions first appear with warriors in the Temple Repository sealings." Note that this Minoan image of deity and lion (Fig. 9.3) is not necessarily earlier than the Mycenaean stele from Grave Circle B, a carving that does show warriors with lions (**1**; Fig. 9.1).

Additional *CMS* reclassifications of lions to other animals are:

Ayia Triada:
- *CMS* II.6, 80 (Rhyne 62)
- *CMS* II.6, 69 (Rhyne 71)
- *CMS* II.6, 74 (Rhyne 74)
- *CMS* II.6, 79 (Rhyne 75)

Zakros:
- *CMS* II.7, 200 (Rhyne 81)
- *CMS* II.7, 31 (Rhyne 82)
- *CMS* II.7, 51 (Rhyne 85)
- *CMS* II.7, 63 (Rhyne 86)
- *CMS* II.7, 174 (Rhyne 95)

43. See *CMS* II.7, 71, and *CMS* II.8, 297, 298 for corrections regarding the exact sealings involved in this often-cited triad that was first noted by Betts (1967, pp. 18–19).

44. Pini 1990, p. 53, and pers. comm. For "exact matches" in impressions found at Akrotiri, Ayia Triada, and Sklavokampos, see Pini in *CMS* II.6, pp. xxii–xxix; Krzyszkowska 2001, p. 119.

45. The double-axe blade (Chittenden and Seltman 1947, p. 24, pl. 4, no. 21) is 7.9 in. long and was exhibited at Burlington House in 1946 as lent by A. B. Cook; it was dated in the catalogue to "about 1500 B.C.," with no further reference. Although Laffineur (1983b, p. 49, note 106; 1985, p. 250, note 41) included it in his lists of Minoan decorated weapons, the style of the drawing makes me wonder if the image were engraved later (post ancient), as is the case with the lion and deer on a dagger in the Benaki Museum (Papadopoulos 1998, no. 82). The ivory zoomorphic vase from the Idaean Cave (now in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum; Touchais 1985, p. 855, fig. 211; Sakellarakis 1992, p. 113, pl. 1:a–c) is shaped as a running lion whose silhouette and details are very similar to those of the lions on Shaft Grave dagger **12** (Figs. 9.21, 9.22), and on the Theran Ship Fresco (Fig. 9.5), but the context in the Idaean Cave is disturbed and is dated from MM I to late classical times.

46. I have not seen the MM III–LM I seal with lion, reported from Poros (*AR*, suppl. to *JHS*, 1986–1987, p. 53), nor the new sealings from Monastiraki; Ingo Pini saw some of the latter and thinks no lions are represented (pers. comm.).

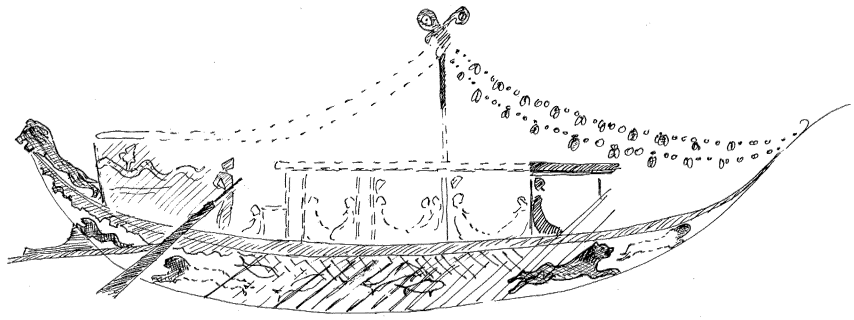


Figure 9.5. The Admiral's Ship, Miniature Fresco, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after Morgan 1988, pls. 10, 56

THE IMPACT OF THERA

The discovery of the frescoes at Akrotiri on Thera has forever altered our view of Aegean lion art. The old axis between Crete and Greece has been stretched into a triangle, firmly establishing the Cyclades as a major component in the equation. The eight painted lions from Thera[47] have been supplemented by two terracotta lion-head rhyta from Thera,[48] lion(?) frescoes at Kea,[49] and lion pottery from Melos[50] (Figs. 9.5–9.11). These

47. Miniature Fresco from the West House illustrated in Morgan 1988, color pl. C; Immerwahr 1990, color pl. XIV and pls. 25–29; Doumas 1992. The eight lions are: one lion chasing deer across hilltop (Fig. 9.7); five lions on the Admiral's Ship (ship 2), which has four lions painted on the hull—two forward, two aft—and a draped stern figure aft (Fig. 9.5); two more lion figures on the sterns of ships 1 and 4, the closest to shore behind the Admiral's Ship (Fig. 9.6). Foster (1989, p. 14) stated that the draped lions (lionesses?) on the sterns represent wooden carvings, not stuffed skins. See Morgan 1988, pp. 134–135, on the placement of lions on the high-status stern, and Raban 1984, p. 16, on turning the predator end of the ship forward to show hostile versus peaceful intentions. The animal running by the river in the "Nilotic" portion of the fresco is neither lion, leopard, nor serval, but a "free elaboration of a felid," according to Trantalidou (2000, p. 711, note 9).

48. Two lion/lioness-head rhyta, Athens, N.M. For the example from Building Alpha 2.3 (Fig. 9.8), of polished black clay imitating steatite, see *ArchEph* 1968, p. 113b; for the yellow clay rhyton from the West House, Room 4 (Fig. 9.9), see *ArchEph* 1971, p. 295. And see Koehl 1990 on these rhyta.

49. Ayia Irini, Kea, to be published by Ellen Davis and Lyvia Morgan. The miniature fresco fragments that fell into basement rooms of the northeast bastion (Area M) of the fortification wall of the town were dated by Immerwahr (1990, pp. 82–83) as possibly later than the paintings at Thera, and by Ellen Davis (pers. comm.) as belonging to Kea VI, contemporary with LM IA. Davis (1990, p. 226), referring to Abramovitz 1980, nos. 227, 228, 230, 239, 240, discussed possible lions with hairy texture rendered in "watercolor technique," with thick and thin brush strokes in graduated tones on a white ground. I am very grateful to Ellen Davis for sending me a recent photograph and description of the fragments (more exist than have been published); she says she is not sure there is a lion but that there are two eyes, therefore perhaps two animals, and a "hairy and brown and yellow" body that may be leonine (pers. comm.). The frescoes include hunting scenes associated with cauldrons, suggesting a feasting scene to Morgan (1995d, p. 244). The feasting theme is also found later at Pylos (Immerwahr 1990, p. 133); see note 161 below for the implications of real lion bones and eating.

50. The two well-dated painted sherds from Phylakopi: first (Fig. 9.10), a sherd from a Cycladic White paneled cup (Barber 1987, pp. 153, 149, fig. 111, left) that shows the head of a dark lion with open mouth and a rectilinear band above; according to Barber (pers. comm.) this is surely a lion, apparently contemporary with the early Shaft Graves at Mycenae; second (Fig. 9.11), a bichrome sherd (Athens, N.M. 11441; Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXI:7) that shows an open, fanged mouth with a portion of a dotted muzzle facing a wing tip (bird? bat? griffin?). I thank Joost Crouwel and Robin Barber for their generous help with these objects. Crouwel dated both to late MC or MC/LC, calling the fanged lion (Fig. 9.11) "fearsome" (pers. comm.). The image of open mouth with fangs harks back to the Phaistos sealing in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum, 1064 (*CMS* II.5, 271), and to a Knossos Hieroglyphic Deposit seal (*CMS* VIII, 103), and it also presages or parallels the toothed and raging solo lion on the Lion Hunt dagger from Mycenae's Shaft Grave IV, **11** (Figs. 9.15, 9.22). See also Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1993 for an eyed jug without context (Athens, N.M. 18881) that shows two striding, bearded felines (lions?) with square heads, curled tails, split hind feet, and striped bodies.



Figure 9.6. Ships 1 *(far left)* and 4, Miniature Fresco, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after Morgan 1988, pls. 8, 9

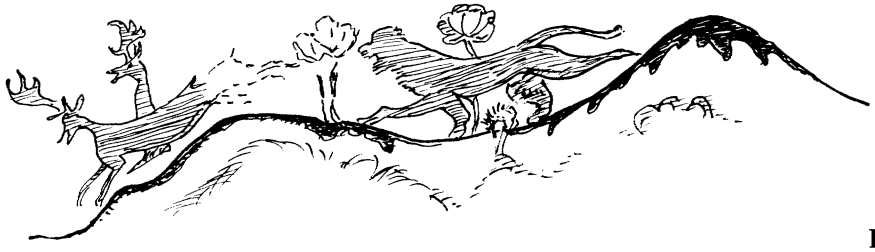


Figure 9.7. "Hilltop running lion," Miniature Fresco, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after Morgan 1988, pls. 8, 55

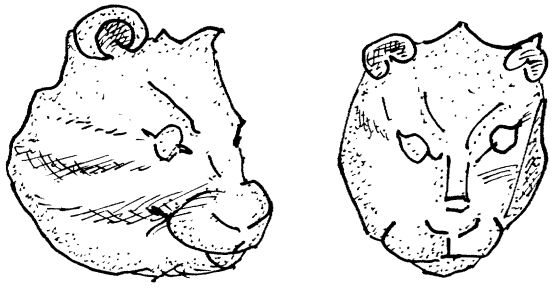


Figure 9.8. Rhyton, Building Alpha 2.3, Thera. N. Thomas, after *ArchEph* 1968, p. 113b

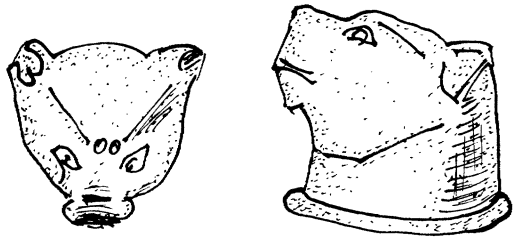


Figure 9.9. Rhyton, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after *ArchEph* 1971, p. 295

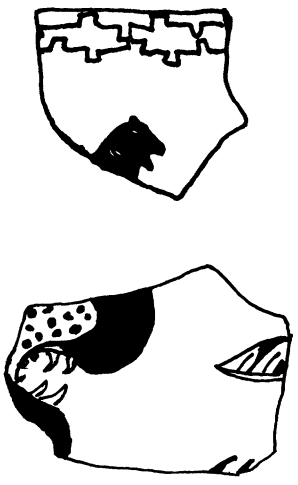


Figure 9.10 *(above)*. **Fragment of Cycladic White paneled cup, Phylakopi, Melos.** N. Thomas, after Barber 1987, fig. 111, left

Figure 9.11 *(below)*. **Fragment of Bichrome ware, Phylakopi, Melos (Athens, N.M. 11441).** N. Thomas, after Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXI:7

discoveries have given us LB I lions in new media—clay rhyta,[51] painted pots, and fresco[52]—as well as in depictions of lost media not previously suspected, such as stern figures and hull paintings on ships. All these finds from the Cyclades are the earliest examples of lion art in their class found to date in the Aegean. The new lions from Akrotiri are squarely contemporary with both the flourishing phase of LM IA on Crete and at least the early-to-middle Shaft Graves at Mycenae, a fact amply demonstrated by shared characteristics appearing in all three regions.

Scholars have studied Thera's impact on Aegean lion art in terms of (1) iconography, (2) stylistic traits, (3) craft process, and (4) symbolic context, all of which influence each other. These investigations help distinguish points of origin and lines of transfer among the tangled skeins of the Early Mycenaean animal style.

Iconography

Identifying the particular characteristics of Minoan, Mycenaean, and Cycladic iconography is difficult, but most scholars agree on certain fundamentals, such as the initial Cretan development of decorative and naturalistic animal art and the subsequent Mycenaean addition of exceeding violence.[53] The violence of the hunt has, in fact, been the most studied lion theme in the last thirty years, particularly by Hans-Günter Buchholz, Ingo Pini, and Edmund Bloedow, all using seals as primary evidence,[54] and by Jean-Claude Poursat with ivories.[55] Lyvia Morgan summarized hunt and other specific themes in her overview of the lion with a focus on Thera.[56] Marijke Ballintijn broadly treated the joint impact of nature and artistic convention on lion motifs.[57] Two iconographic updates should be noted

51. We have later leonine clay rhyta from Palaikastro and Zakros (Rhyne 1970, nos. 408, 430) in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum. These were dated LM IB–IIIA:1 by Vanschoonwinkel (1996, nos. 395, 396).

52. In the Herakleion Archaeological Museum, large-scale fragments of painted stucco from Knossos show the shoulder (mane?) and leg of an attacking animal (bull or lion?); see *PM* IV, p. 538, fig. 489. Immerwahr (1990, pp. 137, 177 [Kn 34], 218, note 12) called this the only example of a large-scale Minoan lion; Morgan (1995c, p. 36) accepted Evans's MM III date of the painting and said it possibly predates Thera's hunting lion. Shaw (1995, p. 115, citing Mark Cameron), however, preferred to see the image as a bull because "there are no signs of lions, either in relief or straight painting, elsewhere in the palace," and Vermeule (1975, p. 37, note 59) said the painting is "not dated, but may be LM IB like the [Knossos stone] rhyton, or later."

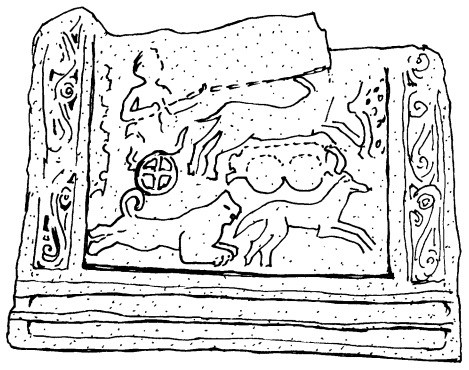
53. For basic animal iconography see Younger 1988, with diagrams of animal pose types (PT). On the differences between Shaft Grave and later Minoan lions, see Laffineur 1992, pp. 109–110; for a correlation of lion themes and steatite material, see Pini 1995; for Theran lions and mainland subject matter, see Kopcke 1981, p. 40.

54. Buchholz, Jöhrens, and Maull (1973) catalogued 132 Bronze Age examples of lion hunt in all media. Pini (1985) treated all types of lion hunt motifs on seals, with comparisons in nature, and studied (1989) armed men versus animals, including lions. Bloedow (1992, 1993, 1999) discussed lion hunt in several media. Regarding the *battue* system of hunting lions with batteurs, rabbateurs, palmettes, nets, and ropes, a system used in Africa into modern times, Papamanoli-Guest (1996) suggested that Minoan seal iconography depicted many of these elements of the lion hunt.

55. Poursat (1977a) also referred to other themes and media.

56. Morgan 1988, pp. 44–49, 166–172.

57. Ballintijn (1995), in many ways updating Morgan, dealt with the entire LB period and pointed out the coexistence (often in the same work) of real observation and artistic formulas. Mylonas (1970) treated lion themes on Grave Circle B stelai, 1, 2 (Figs. 9.1, 9.13). Donohue (1978) used the gold seals from Shaft Grave III, 6, 7 (Figs. 9.19, 9.20), to demonstrate lion poses adopted from other animals. Vanschoonwinkel (1986, p. 12) noted the Theran innovation of painting lion and dolphin together on the hull of the Admiral's Ship (Fig. 9.5), an animal pairing that has not appeared in Mycenaean art. Wohlfeil (1997) used selected seals to study the body positions of lions and bulls as indicators of Minoan and Mycenaean metaphorical language.



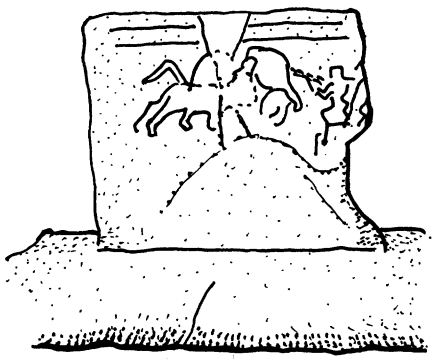


Figure 9.12 *(left)*. **Stele (22) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 1427).** N. Thomas

Figure 9.13 *(right)*. **Stele (2) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Alpha (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13576).** N. Thomas, after Mylonas 1993, pl. 12:b

with regard to the lion stelai: (1) Agnès Sakellariou's squeeze of "Simile," **22** (Fig. 9.12), seems to show a fallen warrior covered by a figure-eight shield in the upper zone, which would make this a battle scene,[58] and (2) John Younger's identification of a wheel in "Unfinished," **2** (Fig. 9.13), has suggested to him a conjectural extension of the stele to the right to include a two-man chariot group.[59]

Even though scholars continue to search for the sources of Early Mycenaean iconography, the Shaft Grave lions still present five "super-violent" scenarios with no Cycladic parallels, no immediate Minoan *antecedents,* and, in one case, no Minoan contemporaries.[60] These five scenarios are: (l) multiple attack (two or more lions on one prey); (2) overlapped attack (lion bodily overlapping and bearing down prey); (3) flying gallop coupled with attack, (4) lion against man, and (5) double hunt, with man versus lion and lion versus prey.

The first of these scenarios, multiple attack, appears on three Shaft Grave objects, **1, 2, 10** (Figs. 9.1, 9.13, 9.14), and on four sealings from Crete that are broadly dated to LM I or LM IB.[61] Other LM I examples probably exist, but so far I have found no Minoan versions demonstrably earlier than the Shaft Grave works. Furthermore, Pini did not include any glyptic example of lion attack at all between the EM and LM periods.[62] Conclusion regarding leonine multiple attack: no Minoan antecedents; some contemporaries.

58. Xénaki-Sakellariou 1985, fig. 20.

59. Younger 1997, pl. XCIV:a.

60. See Rhyne 1970, pp. 108, 186, 197. I particularly thank Ingo Pini and John Younger for answering my endless questions about the seals and sealings. After noting the similarities among sealings from LM IA Crete and Thera, Pini concluded that "for me it is rather difficult to say whether a certain motif or composition originated on Crete or on the Greek mainland" (pers. comm.); for similar comments on the near impossibility of distinguishing LM/LH I–II seals on the basis of iconographic preference, see Pini 1990, including discussion on pp. 58–60, and notes 40 and 44 above.

61. Two sealings from Myrtos-Pyrgos, respectively, H.A.M. 1097 and Ayios Nikolaos Archaeological Museum 12567 (*CMS* II.6, 233, 234), both showing two lions attacking one bull; Pini (1985, p. 154, fig. 1) cited one of these, *CMS* II.6, 233, as the first example of demonstrable lion *attack* after EM seals. One sealing from Tylissos, H.A.M. 427 (*CMS* II.6, 274; Pini 1985, fig. 5), also shows two lions attacking one bull. One sealing from Khania, Archaeological Museum of Khania 1562 (*CMS* V.1A, 140), has two lions(?) and a single prey. Although Kopcke (1999, p. 344) considered the attack by multiple lions on bull to be "a genuinely Cretan motif," his Minoan examples do not predate the Shaft Graves, and many of his examples of "Cretan" predecessors were found on the mainland or are of unknown provenience.

62. Pini 1985, pp. 153–154. Vanschoonwinkel (1990, p. 331) also stated there were no MM examples of hunting lions; note, however, that four sealings from MM Phaistos, H.A.M. 692, 711, 694, 910 (*CMS* II.5, 272, 284–286; Rhyne 1970, nos. 39, 37, 40, 38, respectively), depict single predators variously identified as lions by Buchholz, Jöhrens, and Maull (1973, no. 37), Younger (1993, pp. 9, 15), and Ballintijn (1995, p. 30).

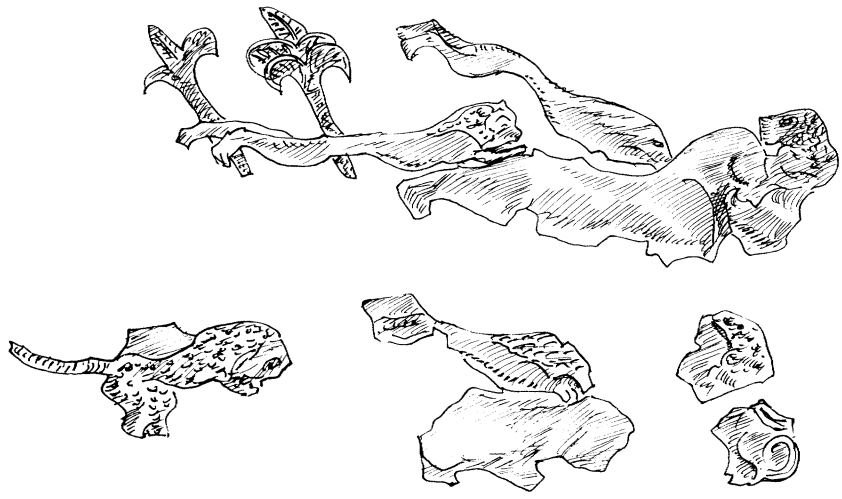


Figure 9.14. Reliefs (10) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 119, 120). N. Thomas

Overlapped attack also appears simultaneously in mainland Greece and on Crete. From Mycenae we have the "Unfinished" stele, **2**, and the Lion Hunt dagger (reverse), **11** (Fig. 9.15), and from Mallia a clay seal recently identified as showing a lion (Fig. 9.16).[63] Pini dated this seal "hardly earlier than LM I" and stated that its "chiastic" format is new and "cannot be traced back to the MM period."[64] The conclusion regarding overlapped attack: no Minoan antecedents; some contemporaries.

Flying gallop coupled with attack occurs on several Early Mycenaean objects in both stone and gold: the stele **22**, and the gold cutouts, pommel, and plaques, **10, 13, 19** (Figs. 9.14, 9.17, 9.2). The only earlier candidate from Crete is the problematic Phaistos sealing,[65] which has been seen as either not a lion,[66] not an attack,[67] or not flying gallop.[68] A sealing from Knossos,[69] which Evans called a MM III example of the theme, has been downdated by Pini to LM I.[70] Although Evans saw MM hunting dog imagery as a prototype of this schema, his earlier canines are not really in flying gallop.[71] Conclusion with regard to flying gallop with attack: no Minoan antecedents; some contemporaries.

The most well known of these especially violent themes is lion versus man. In LM IA Crete, lion and man are rarely shown in conflict; in Shaft Grave Greece, however, they are never shown in peace: **1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 22**

63. The animal on this seal, H.A.M. 1302, was published as a quadruped in *CMS* II.1, 419, but was later identified as a lion in Pini 1984b, p. 78, pl. XIV:1.a–c; the lion's body position is unclear in the different illustrations. For the overlapped attack pose, cf. H.A.M. 561 (*CMS* II.3, 283), a seal from a tomb at Cape Plake south of Palaikastro that depicts a lion leaping onto the back of an animal whose rear parts are not shown; the pottery associated with the Cape Plake burial is either LM I (Younger 1985, p. 68) or LM II (Effinger 1996, p. 305).

64. Pini 1990, p. 44. Evans (*PM* IV, pp. 527, 532) believed hunting dog iconography preceded that of the hunting lion, and he cited MM examples of dogs in overlapped attack. However, in Evans's illustrations the dogs merely stand on the prey's back without any bodily overlapping, and the seals's dates and proveniences are not clearly given (*PM* IV, figs. 470, 471).

65. H.A.M. sealing 694 (*CMS* II.5, 285; Rhyne 1970, no. 40).

66. Pini (pers. comm.) said it may possibly show a bull in flying gallop, perhaps over a person.

67. Younger, pers. comm.

68. According to Levi's illustration (1957–1958, no. 241).

69. The Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, lion over lioness/prey, Ashmolean Museum 1938.981 (*PM* I, fig. 539b; Kenna 1960, 6S; Rhyne 1970, no. 60).

70. Pini 1985, p. 159. The flying gallop coupled with attack appears in a combat between griffins and lions on a sealing from Sklavokampos of LM IB context, H.A.M. 638–641 (*CMS* II.6, 265).

71. See note 64.

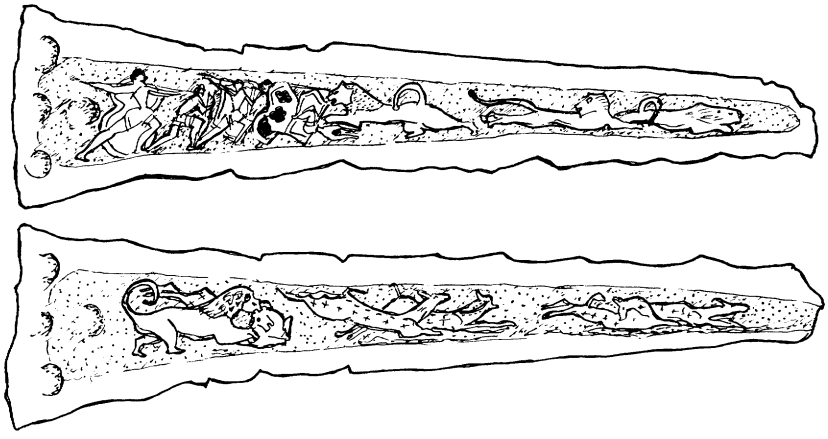


Figure 9.15. Lion Hunt dagger (11) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 394). N. Thomas

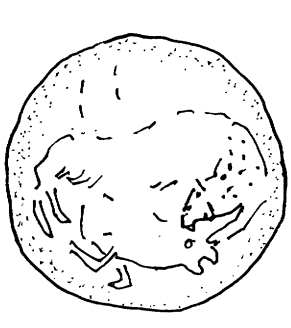


Figure 9.16 ***(left)*****. Seal from Mallia (H.A.M. 1302).** N. Thomas, after Pini 1984b, pl. XIV:1.a–c; *CMS* II.1, 419

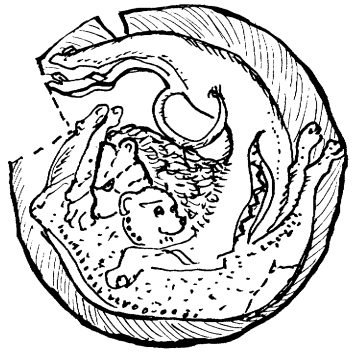


Figure 9.17 ***(right)*****. Pommel (13) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 295a).** N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. LXXVIII:295a

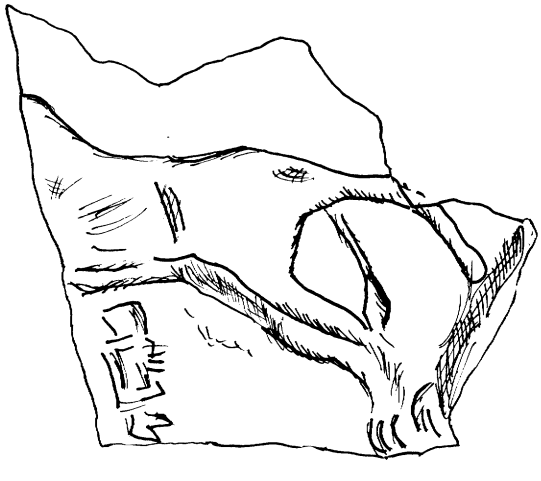


Figure 9.18. Cup (4) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Delta (Athens, N.M. 9563). N. Thomas, after Mylonas 1973, pl. 71:a





Figure 9.19 *(above)*. **Seal (6) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 33).** N. Thomas

Figure 9.20 *(below)*. **Seal (7) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 34).** N. Thomas

(Figs. 9.1, 9.13, 9.18–9.20, 9.15, 9.12).[72] Possible predecessors of the lion versus man image appear on a few Prepalatial Cretan seals, although in these the antipathy between lion and man is not explicit.[73] According to Younger, no example of man versus lion appears in the middle phase of Minoan glyptic,[74] and I have found no parallels securely dated to LM IA, either. The famous Temple Repositories sealing is a peaceful scene of deity and lion walking together (Fig. 9.3),[75] and the few Cretan examples with violence are dated either very broadly to "LM I" or to later periods.[76] These Minoan images of conflict show man attacking lion but never lion attacking man, unlike in Greece, where in over half the confrontations the lion is either the primary or equal aggressor. In Greece, the lion can even vanquish a man: **1, 4, 11** (obverse). In conclusion, for lion versus man there are no recent Minoan antecedents, and no Minoan contemporaries of the earliest Shaft Grave example (Grave Circle B's stele from Grave Gamma, **1**),[77] but there are some broadly dated LM I contemporaries.

The last and most violent of the five themes, double hunt (man versus lion and lion versus prey), appears on two stelai from Grave Circle B, **1** and **2** (Figs. 9.1, 9.13). This schema has not yet been verified for Crete earlier than late LM II.[78] Therefore there are no Minoan antecedents or contemporaries. Interestingly, both of these Grave Circle B stelai conjoin violent scenarios. On one stele, **1**, two themes, multiple attack and double hunt, are mixed in a heraldic arrangement; on the other stele, **2**, three schema, multiple attack, overlapped attack, and double hunt, are fused in a frieze. On both stelai, men vigorously assault lions.

Several scholars have suggested that Minoan and Cycladic painting provided the source for these large scenic carvings that appeared in a land

72. On the stele from Grave V, **22** (Fig. 9.12), man and lion are both engaged in violent activities, though not against each other; the nature of the stele fragments, **24** (Fig. 9.37), is indeterminate.

73. H.A.M. 1201, 1103, 821 (*CMS* II.1, 222, 311, 130; Rhyne 1970, nos. 1, 9:a, 20). An early form of the Master of Animals, a theme harboring violence, may appear on an ivory cylinder from Trapesa, H.A.M. 1578 (*CMS* II.1, 442b), decorated with a man standing between two lions(?) and dated by shape and material to EM II–MM IA by Yule (1980, p. 119).

74. Younger 1993, p. 186. The Mavrospelio cylinder seal of MM II/III context, H.A.M. 1334 (*CMS* II.3, 33), shows a man armed(?) near a lion, but the seal is an import according to Younger (pers. comm.). Sakellariou (cat. entry in Demakopoulou 1990, p. 279) stated that the man versus lion duel seen on Shaft Grave seal **6** (Fig. 9.19) has no Minoan prototype, and that it is one of the few instances of such an image in Mycenaean art; see note 157 below for Crowley on the "duel" theme. The pose of a lion falling with an arrow in its chest, **7** (Fig. 9. 20), implies violence from man; according to Donohue (1978), this pose is taken from the fallen steer motif, but the examples she cites for both steer and lion are either without context or are later than the Shaft Grave seal. See also Kopcke 1999, pp. 342–343, for a discussion of this "lion in agony" motif, which he calls a mainland contribution.

75. See note 42. Shaft Grave art has no counterpart to this peaceful scene. See note 37 on dating the Temple Repositories deposit.

76. The Knossos Palace seal, H.A.M. 901 (*CMS* II.3, 9), with an armed man in front of a bull that is being attacked by a lion is dated either late LM II (Younger, pers. comm.) or LM II–IIIA (Pini, pers. comm.); the seal from the Little Palace at Knossos, H.A.M. 1756 (*CMS* II.3, 14), with an armed man standing upright before a falling lion, is dated to the "new palace period"; Zakros sealing, H.A.M. 65/1–4; 1147/1–3, 5 (*CMS* II.7, 33; Rhyne 1970, no. 100), with two men trussing a lion, is from a LM IB destruction level, although the seal itself could have been carved earlier (see note 40 above).

77. On the other hand, according to Marinatos (1995, p. 580), a Khania sealing (Archaeological Museum of Khania 1559 I; *CMS* V.1A, 135) with a man attacking a lion, from a LM IB destruction context, proves the theme appeared on Crete before it did in Greece.

78. For the later date of Knossos Palace seal *CMS* II.3, 9, with an armed man in front of a lion attacking a bull, see note 76; see note 81 for earlier Near Eastern versions.

without pictorial experience, in an unprecedented form, seemingly from nowhere.[79] While the idea of wide, sequential formats probably derived from painting, no iconographic parallels of any of the five especially violent lion themes themselves have been found to date in Minoan or Theran fresco or painted relief.[80]

On the other hand, early Near Eastern art presents so many of these schemas that it almost appears that an Aegean strolled through a collection of ancient Mesopotamian cylinder seals and precious objects, and took notes.[81] Even though scholars have not bridged the chronological gap between 3rd-millennium Akkad and mid-2nd-millennium Mycenae, we can reasonably postulate that the carvers of the Shaft Grave stelai drew from both Aegean painting and Near Eastern art, adding local lion lore and a new craft—large stone carving.[82] A possible sequence might see the maker of the first stele, "Reused," **1**, enlarging a complex cylinder seal design of stilted, rampant animals and carving it as an open-air imitation of scenes in Aegean painting. The other example, "Unfinished," **2**, would be an even more ambitious performance. Here the artist combined several violent themes and also composed an overlapped attack, a grouping that evokes a much more muscular, active, and naturalistic fight than does the symmetrical, rampant formula.

These Helladic stelai exemplify what we do and do not know about Early Mycenaean lion iconography, demonstrating that the mainland predilection for violence was real and quite visible in the five especially violent themes, a cluster of scenarios that may well have been invented in Shaft Grave lion art.

79. With regard to Minoan and Cycladic prototypes, see Kopcke 1981, p. 41; Younger 1997, p. 237, note 51. Younger reconstructed a stele, **2** (Fig. 9.13), which he called "Unfinished" (1997, pl. XCIV:a), to show men in a chariot attacking hunting lions, and he compared the scene to that of the predator lion in a Theran fresco (Fig. 9.7). Hunting and chariots also appeared in the Kean frescoes (see Morgan 1995d), although apparently not involving lions; Immerwahr (1990, pp. 82–83) linked mainland art and Kean painting in both theme and details. Pini (1985, p. 166), however, strongly proposed Minoan glyptic as the thematic source of the Shaft Grave stelai, saying the grave markers' subjects are unthinkable without knowledge of the Minoan glyptic repertory.

80. For Crete, see note 52; for Thera, notice that the hilltop lion in the West House Miniature Fresco is not actually attacking or in flying gallop (Fig. 9.7). The absence of the five especially violent themes from both Theran and Cretan frescoes seems to me to align Thera more with Crete than with Greece in terms of pictorial animal combat. Morgan (1988, pp. 148, 170), however, dissected Theran lion art conceptually, seeing its strongest parallels to Crete in "attitude" and to Greece in "specifics of iconography and associative themes."

81. Selected Mesopotamian examples of (1) overlapped attack: whereas most of the earlier Near Eastern works depict rampant, crisscrossed animals that do not bear each other down, a carved lid of shell on lapis from Ur does show a lion above—and closely embracing—a felled ram (a silver toilet box of Queen Shubad of Ur, University of Pennsylvania, University Museum; Legrain 1950, frontispiece); Evans illustrated another inlay from this box, but apparently did not notice the lid because he concluded that the image of a lion bearing down its prey with full weight from above "has no counterpart" in the East (*PM* IV, p. 531, and fig. 474); (2) double hunt: rampant lions versus prey versus a man with a dagger (Early Dynastic III cylinder seal, National Museum, Baghdad, Ur 57; Frankfort 1970, pl. 84). For more Near Eastern antecedents of poses and compositions, see Rhyne 1970 and Crowley 1989.

82. Aruz (1995, p. 11) concluded that Syrian cylinder seals were valued as exotic jewelry in MM Crete but had "no major impact on Cretan seals." Slightly later Kassite and Levantine art, which is contemporary with the LB Aegean, presents animals in files. See Aruz 1995 (pp. 6–11, notes 21–37) for a thorough discussion of the Near Eastern lapis lazuli cylinder seal having rampant crisscrossed animals, including lions, H.A.M. 238 (*CMS* II.2, 29; *PM* IV, fig. 350; Rhyne 1970, fig. 1); found at Knossos, the seal could have reached Crete any time from MM to LM III.

Stylistic Traits

Our understanding of stylistic traits, those markers of origins and transfers within the Aegean animal style, has also been radically affected by the discoveries at Akrotiri. In the 1970s, before the impact of Thera was fully felt in academic circles, important studies of Shaft Grave art were published by Emily Vermeule and John Younger. Vermeule's 1973 Semple lectures, which appeared as *The Art of the Shaft Graves of Mycenae,* sorted the mélange of sources, styles, themes, and possible meanings of the brilliant and eclectic finds from Mycenae, with frequent reference to the lion.[83] She cast her net between Crete and mainland Greece, with forays into the North and East, and her rich text, a verbal analogue of the art itself, intuitively evoked the Mycenaean mentality.

A different approach was taken by Younger, who focused entirely on the lion. Identifying a clearly defined set of body markings and artistic formulas that repeatedly appeared in Shaft Grave art, he sought the chief artist behind them, an artisan he named the "Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master."[84] Publishing his conclusions in a series of articles,[85] Younger chronicled the work and influence of this master, who was described as an east Cretan who migrated to Mycenae[86] and there established an important workshop that produced about half the lion art in Grave Circle A.[87] Younger traced this master's influence into the next generation's Vapheio gems and also back to Crete, the latter movement indicated by the "fish-gill" or "cheek-flap" mane.[88]

83. Vermeule 1975.

84. Younger (1978) listed such anatomical peculiarities as masklike bony faces, flame locks of the mane, incised hatch marks on belly and haunches, and diagonal saphena veins on legs; he considered the gold lion-head rhyton, **15** (Fig. 9.26), to be the source of the head and face conventions. The effect of this rhyton has been studied by others. Rhyne (1970, pp. 153–154) stated that "the metallic quality of the head actually created a new type of leonine representation" in the scalloped, angular face and the linear separation of face and mane, which appeared "in other materials and techniques," **11, 12, 13, 14** (Figs. 9.15, 9.21, 9.17, 9.23); she also noted that the gold pommel, **13**, echoes the rhyton's segmented face (on the lion) and its rivet marks (on the leopard). Poursat (1977a, pp. 200, 205–206) also catalogued body markings and recorded similarities between the rhyton and the daggers. In my opinion, the lions' faces on an ivory pommel, **14**, look like miniature rhyta; Weingarten (1983, pp. 66–67, pl. MSS-8) noted that Zakros sealing no. 93 (*CMS* II.7, 76) has a similarly converging composition with four lion heads (masks).

85. The three basic articles on the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master are Younger 1978, 1979, and 1981; the concept is further discussed in Betts and Younger 1982, and Younger 1983, 1984. Note the glyptic concordance in Younger 1989. In a critique of Younger's Lion Master attributions, Pini (1984a, pp. 128–130; 1996, p. 1096) emphasized the hazards in assigning "hands" and in making Minoan/Mycenaean distinctions. Laffineur (1990–1991, pp. 257–261) also worried about the great range in classes of objects assigned to the Lion Master's workshops, preferring instead connections based on similar scale and "really similar skills" in technique.

86. On chronological aspects of this scenario, see note 41.

87. Younger (1984, p. 48) identified the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master's own hand in the gold rhyton, Lion Hunt dagger, Three Lion dagger, ivory pommel, gold pommel, gold cutouts, two gold seals, **6, 7, 10–15** (Figs. 9.19, 9.20, 9.14, 9.15, 9.21, 9.17, 9.23, 9.26), and possibly a stele, **18** (Fig. 9.24), as well as in other Shaft Grave objects without lions. Not included by Younger in the Lion Master group are **1–5, 8, 9, 16–21, 23–26** (Figs. 9.1, 9.13, 9.25, 9.18, 9.29–9.33, 9.24, 9.2, 9.34–9.39). See Thomas 1993 for an argument that lion daggers, **11** and **12** (Figs. 9.15, 9.21, 9.22), were made by different artisans.

88. Younger (1995, pp. 345–346) noticed the "fish-gill" or "cheek-flap" mane, a strange image in which the lion's cheek appears to protrude over the mane, rather than vice versa. Younger felt the oddity may have originated in the seals of the Mycenae-Vapheio lion group, such as **7** (Fig. 9.20), when a carver forgot to allow for reversal of original and impression, creating a peculiar type that was then copied in other Shaft Grave

Although Vermeule's work has not been updated, Younger markedly revised his thesis after the discovery of the Theran paintings, which show many of the same poses and body markings he had chronicled. The pan-Aegean existence of these traits now suggests to him a broader Zeitgeist and period-style, rather than the work of a particular master or workshop.[89] Younger's analysis of lion art has (1) demonstrated that artisans can work in more than one medium, a proposition now widely accepted; (2) established LM/LH I glyptic in an ongoing stylistic development;[90] and (3) tracked an identifiable set of leonine traits across space, time, and material, organizing a mass of data from which new studies will emanate.

Craft Process

Our discovery of Akrotiri as a thriving center of artistic production has not only added new crafts to LB I Aegean lion art, such as terracotta rhyta, painted pots, and fresco, but it has also spotlighted an old inlaid dagger without context said to be from "Thera."[91] This fragmentary weapon, now in Copenhagen, has in turn played a role in Robert Laffineur's 1990 proposal that Shaft Grave lion daggers, **11** and **12** (Figs. 9.15, 9.21), and other brilliantly inlaid objects from Grave Circle A were made not by Aegean metalsmiths, but by visiting or resident Levantine craftsmen working at Mycenae.[92] According to this proposal, at the time of the Mycenaean

and Theran lion art. Rehak (1997a, p. 56, note 67) has traced the "cheek-flap" in Theran painting and Theran and Knossian lion-head rhyta (see Figs. 9.5, 9.8, 9.9). If this phenomenon indeed originated as a peculiar lapse in glyptic carving, I wonder if it could represent a "blink" in Shaft Grave craftsmanship. Two other possible explanations exist for the appearance of cheek over mane: first, the experimental nature of early attempts to cut, bend, and shape metal plates into a three-dimensional head produced an exaggerated angularity of the cheek ridge as seen on the gold rhyton, **15** (Fig. 9.26); second, in morning and afternoon light, the bright face of the distant lion sometimes appears to project over a dark void of mane (see Iwago 1996, photograph p. 59).

89. By 1985 Younger had modified the thesis from "hand" to "group" (1985, p. 50); by 1998 he saw the phenomenon as a wide Aegean *koine* (pers. comm.). For master/workshop/period styles concerning the Master of Lions theme, see Müller 2000.

90. See especially the Minoan Line-Jawed Lion group, which includes the slightly later Jasper Lion Master, identified and discussed in Younger and Betts 1979, Betts 1981, Betts and Younger 1982, and Younger 1983. Weingarten (1990) formulated the "Jasper Lion Master Paradox," a phenomenon in which single hands cannot be identified by a single set of characteristics; instead of seeking "hands" and "workshops" she identified "schools" and "allographic artists." Using this procedure, Weingarten dated the Rutsi prism, **26** (Fig. 9.39), as LH II on the basis of style and technique, even though its context was apparently contemporary with the later Shaft Graves (see note 14 above).

91. Copenhagen National Museum 3167, illustrated in Vermeule 1964, pl. XIII:C; Laffineur 1983b, fig. 6; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, pl. IX:1; Boss and Laffineur 1997, pl. LXVIII:a (detail); Papadopoulos 1998, pl. 9:63. On each side of the blade a row of gold, single-bladed axes is inlaid in a panel set into the metal. Strom (1984, p. 195) noted that "it is not certain that it was found on Thera. It was bought in the 1870s from a dealer in Athens." Branigan (1974a, p. 117) listed the weapon as a type X Minoan long dagger not likely manufactured later than MM III, whereas Tripathi (1988, p. 136) observed that it could be equally well from the mainland, and Papadopoulos (1989, p. 185, citing Tsountas) said it was of Cycladic manufacture; Dickinson (1977, p. 68, note 2) suggested that it perhaps belonged with the fragment of a sword hilt bought in Athens at the same time, stating that there was "no reason to doubt their [Theran] provenance," but he later (1997, p. 45) reassessed the "Theran" blade as being possibly from the mainland, based on affinities with an axe design newly found on a Shaft Grave object (see note 100 below).

92. Laffineur 1990–1991, pp. 270–273; 1995b, p. 248; 1995c, p. 29; Boss and Laffineur 1997, p. 194; Laffineur 1998. Laffineur (1990–1991) proposed two potential scenarios: the weapons were "manufactured on the Greek mainland by foreign craftsmen who were familiar with the technique" (p. 270), or "some precious metal plaques are likely to have been cut and engraved by mainland craftsmen before being inlaid in the blade by foreign artisans who were more expert in using niello and in inserting the metal plaques" (p. 273). This theory was not addressed in Papadopoulos 1998, which discussed and catalogued by type all the LB daggers found in mainland Greece. Papadopoulos's text was written mainly in the 1970s, and his bibliography does not include Laffineur after 1974,

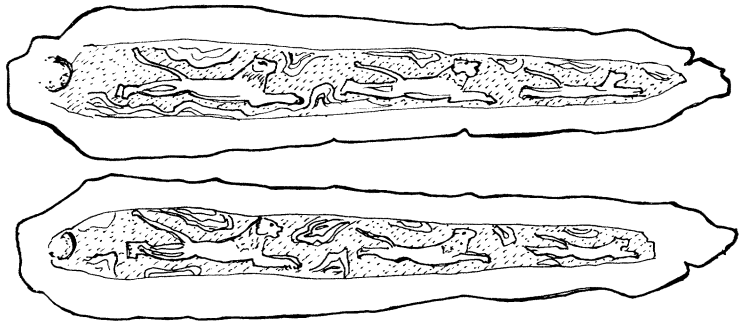


Figure 9.21. Three Lion dagger (12) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 395).
N. Thomas

Shaft Graves Levantine artisans worked simultaneously in Egypt, Thera, and the Argolid,[93] spreading abroad their native metallurgical technique, a multitone, black-metal inlay possibly invented at MB Byblos and known as "Painting in Metals," or *metallmalerei*.[94]

This new and compelling proposal forces us to grapple with how the startling mélange of image and technique seen on the Shaft Grave daggers actually came into being. The technique itself involves both the inlaying of cut-out precious foils and the use of darkened metal, possibly including the black material "niello." A review of the last thirty years of scholarship on *metallmalerei*[95] indicates to me that Levantine art most probably did play a role in the development of Mycenaean black-metal inlay. The particular form of inlay, however—complex, polychrome, and pictorial—that appears on the Three Lion, **12**, Lion Hunt, **11**, and Nilotic daggers from Mycenae, seems most likely an Aegean creation and production (Figs. 9.21, 9.22).[96]

The proposal that itinerant foreigners made the Shaft Grave daggers postulates a two-stage sequence. First, sophisticated masterpieces (made in Greece by Levantines) suddenly appeared at Mycenae that had no local precedent in such metallurgy. Second, as the Mycenaeans themselves took over, more "simple" works were produced.[97] Yet a decade of new finds and research indicates to me a longer sequence involving three phases that

Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, or any of the technical analyses of niello conducted in the 1990s; see Demakopoulou 2001 for an update of Papadopoulos's study.

93. Laffineur (1990–1991, p. 272) cited (for the Theran connection) the Copenhagen weapon, and (for Egypt) the dagger from the tomb of Ahhotep, mother of Ahmose (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 52658, 52659; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, pl. IX:3). He used traditional (low) Aegean chronology, in which the Hyksos empire in Egypt ended (and the Eighteenth Dynasty began) at approximately the time of the Theran eruption, ca. the mid-16th century B.C. For implications of the new (high) chronology, see notes 11 above and 149 below.

94. For MB II weapons from Egypt and the Levant possibly inlaid with niello, see Montet 1928–1929; Watzinger 1933; Lucas and Harris 1962; Laffineur 1974; Kühn 1987; Müller 1987; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989; Laffineur 1990–1991, p. 269; Touchais 1999; Nicholson and Shaw 2000.

95. Laffineur 1974, Davis 1976, Dennis 1979, La Niece 1983, Papadopoulos 1986, Kühn 1987, Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, Schweizer 1993, Boss and Laffineur 1997, Giumlia-Mair and Rubinich 2002.

96. The Nilotic dagger (Fig. 9.22, top) is from Shaft Grave V, Athens, N.M. 765 (*PM* III, color pl. XX; Morgan 1988, pl. 185). See the highly magnified photographic details of all three daggers in Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, and Boss and Laffineur 1997.

97. Laffineur 1990–1991, pp. 273, 275. For recent proposals that the Mycenaean, Near Eastern, and Egyptian black-metal inlay is not niello at all but a black-stained bronze, known as *Ḥśmn-Km* = Corinthian bronze, see Giumlia-Mair and Craddock 1993, La Niece and Craddock 1993, Photos, Jones, and Papadopoulos 1994, Demakopoulou et al. 1995, Giumlia-Mair 1995, 1996, Craddock and La Niece 1996, Giumlia-Mair 1997, Jones et al. 2001. For a rebuttal of this position as it concerns Mycenaean inlay, see Boss and Laffineur 1997, and Boss 1998, an online lecture. In my opinion, because of problems in testing, the presence or absence of sulfide niello on the Shaft Grave daggers has not yet been scientifically ascertained.

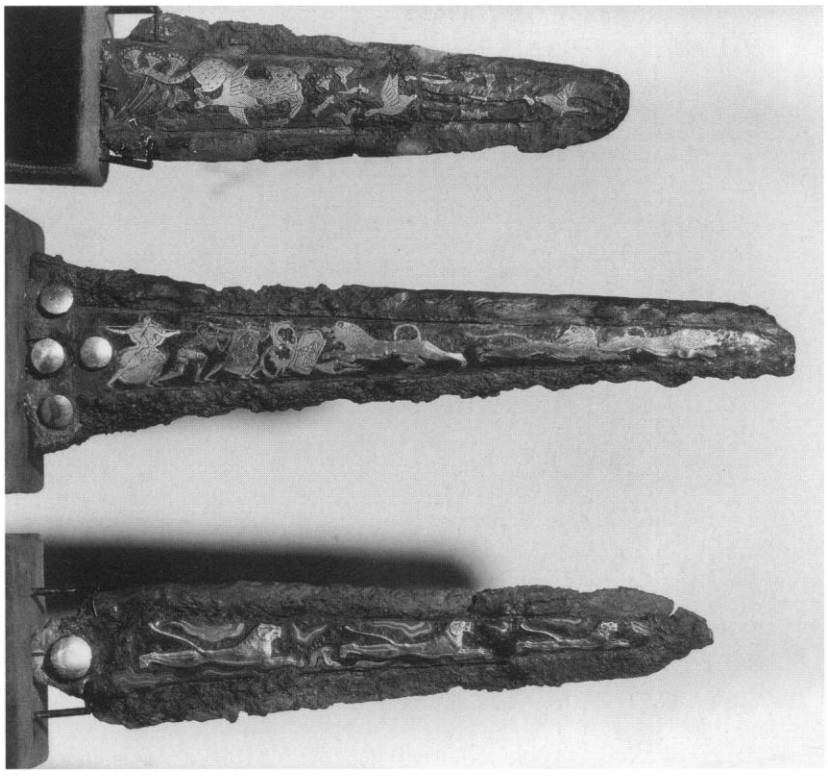


Figure 9.22. Three inlaid daggers from Shaft Grave Circle A, Mycenae: Nilotic (*top*, Athens, N.M. 765); Lion Hunt (*middle*, 11; Athens, N.M. 394); Three Lion (*bottom*, 12; Athens, N.M. 395). Hirmer Verlag, Munich

move not from complex to simple but from simple to complex. The first was an elementary stage, in which the technique of precious- and black-metal inlay was absorbed into an already burgeoning Helladic production of elaborate weaponry; the second was a brief period of the greatest technical and aesthetic achievement, during which the famous Three Lion, Lion Hunt, and Nilotic daggers were created; the third phase consisted of the continuing production of the other types of sophisticated, inlaid objects found in Mycenaean Greece.

The years since 1990 have greatly expanded our knowledge of the local and international background of the *metallmalerei* daggers. The three most important discoveries are the MH II shaft grave at Kolonna on Aigina, the paintings at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt, and a new image from Grave Circle A at Mycenae. The shaft grave at Kolonna has yielded enough rich objects and decorated weaponry to prove that significant metalworking skills were already present in MH II Greece, including the forging of bronze knives, daggers, spearheads, and swords, and also the hammering of patterns into gold, the production of gold and silver foil, and the plating of these precious foils over bronze, even in animal-style imagery (gold-plated boars heads appear at the shoulders of a bronze razor.) Such skills form a background for LH I Shaft Grave decorative metallurgy that ranged from the inlaying of a simple band of electrum along a dagger blade (Grave Circle B, Grave Nu, no. 304) to assembling the fully pictorial inlays found in Grave Circle A.[98]

The more elaborate scenes from Grave Circle A are inlaid in and embellished with a black material often called niello, a sulfide. Not all

98. On the Kolonna finds, see *Alt-Ägina* IV, iii, pp. 13–66; Dietz 1998, pp. 20–21. For different stages of Helladic antecedents for elaborate, inlaid weaponry, see Graziadio 1991, pp. 419–421; Taracha 1993, pp. 22–23; Rutter 1993, pp. 776–778, 790. Dickinson (1977, p. 82) asserted that "more than one stage in such a development can in fact be identified"; Laffineur (1983a, p. 117) proposed a "gradual and organic evolution on the mainland"; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou (1989, p. 15) and Dietz (1998, p. 22) saw a long internal evolution. Graziadio (1991, p. 421) said that dagger no. 304 from Mycenae's Grave Circle B, Grave Nu, "shows an archaic inlay possibly antecedent to the famous examples inlaid in the niello technique . . . from circle A." On the animal style, cf. the gold-plated boars heads on the shoulders of the MH II Kolonna razor with the often-unnoticed second set of animal heads on the tangs of Mycenae's Grave Circle B sword hilt, 3 (Fig. 9.25).

scholars agree that niello itself actually appears on the inlaid daggers, but research now suggests that the materials necessary for producing it were at hand in Shaft Grave Greece: sulfides are among the normal by-products of processing silver and bronze, and the emerging Laurion mines in Attica yielded ore that included naturally occurring sulfides ready to use as fusible, niello-type substances.[99] Helladic artisans could have noticed and learned to use these materials without foreign suggestion.

The second discovery affecting the Levantine-maker theory is the fresco painting from Tell el-Dab'a in the Nile delta. These works, with their strong Aegean affinities, now suggest direct connections between Aegean and Egyptian art. While this link strengthens the idea of the transference of technology through itinerant artisans, it obviates the necessity of seeing only Levantines in this role.

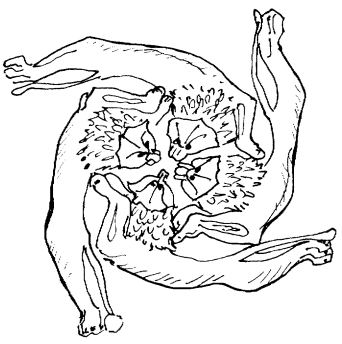
Third, Thera has not yet been proven to have been a stepping-stone for the spread of Levantine craftsmanship into the Aegean. Scholars are now considering the possibility that the so-called "Theran" dagger with its black-metal inlay (now in Copenhagen) actually may have been made at Mycenae. A previously hidden attachment of silver axes shaped like those inlaid in the dagger has been uncovered on a bracelet from Shaft Grave IV.[100] Thus Levantine links with Thera are now in question. Finally, sufficient evidence may not exist to support a semiresident Levantine presence at either Thera or Mycenae.[101]

In what way, then, did oriental craftsmanship make itself felt in Mycenae? A simple inlaid amulet obtained from a passing sailor or artisan, or received as a richer gift of diplomatic exchange, could have provided an

99. For recent research on niello and other black-metal inlay, see notes 95 and 97; for sulfide scrap from metalworking, see La Niece 1983, pp. 285, 288. On the Laurion mines producing ready-to-use niello-type substances, see Boss and Laffineur 1997, pp. 193–194, 196. Direct demonstration is not mandatory in duplicating a complicated craft: La Niece (1983, p. 280, note 11, and p. 282) created and experimented with niello of medieval and renaissance type, and Plenderleith (1952, p. 383, note 1) duplicated Theophilus's recipe for niello while restoring the Enkomi cup. A report of unpublished niello found on Crete still needs to be taken into account (cited in Bloedow 1997, p. 444, note 28).

100. Gold and silver bracelet, Athens, N.M. 263, illustrated before restoration in Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 201, top; and in Hood 1978, fig. 202. Dickinson (1997, p. 45, and pers. comm.) reported a new restoration of the bracelet that revealed a silver-plate attachment of four axes of the type inlaid on the "Theran" dagger in Copenhagen (see note 91 above); the silver axes are attached to, not inlaid in, the bracelet, and their hafts meet in a whirling design. The tomahawk-type axe was considered to be an island form of weapon by Tsountas (cited in Papadopoulos 1986, p. 132, notes 27, 28). Yet its discovery on the bracelet suggested to Dickinson (1997, p. 45) that the so-called "Theran" blade might indeed have been made at Mycenae, in which case it was one of the "early essays" in the inlay technique at Mycenae, "along with other blades from the Shaft Graves into which plain metal plates or strips were inlaid, and to me this seems to provide a good basis for suggesting that in the Aegean this technique *was* developed at Mycenae rather than in Crete." Dietz (1998, p. 25) agreed with this suggestion. In my opinion Dickinson's comments, aimed at distinguishing Mycenaean from Minoan work, also hold true when considering Mycenaean versus Levantine origins.

101. Cline (1994, p. 53 and table 34, p. 58) showed no evidence of resident or semiresident Syro-Palestinians at LH I or II Mycenae. Of his ten criteria that must appear in some combination to verify foreigners at a site, Mycenae tentatively meets only one: local material worked in a new and foreign manner. Among criteria not met are: ordinary foreign objects in habitation or burial contexts, worked foreign goods in crafts areas, and foreign goods deposited as votive offerings. The fact that no Syro-Palestinian imports at all have been found at Mycenae or Tiryns, in either LH I or II contexts, cautions against regarding foreign artisans as having such a direct role in the formation of Mycenaean art. In suggesting a Levantine "enclave colony" on Thera, Laffineur (1990–1991, pp. 270–272) cited Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, pp. 167–168, but Cline (1994, p. 51) stated that Lambrou-Phillipson's evidence does not withstand scrutiny.



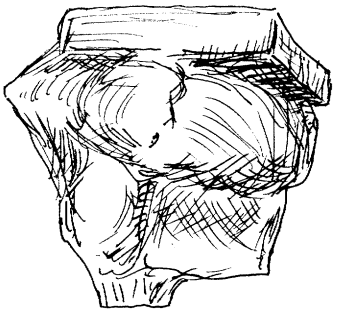


Figure 9.23 *(left)*. **Pommel (14) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 295b).** N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. LXXVII:295b

Figure 9.24 *(right)*. **Mirror handle (18) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 785).** N. Thomas, after Patrianakou-Iliaki 1996, fig. 4

immediate visual stimulus. Mycenaean smiths themselves, whether at home or abroad, could have observed a demonstration of the technical process of inlaying with black-metal, which in turn could have catalyzed them to create their own versions of decorated weapons, first with simple inlays, then with complex pictorial designs incorporating a patron's favorite images. In light of the fluid artistic situation in the Mediterranean and our expanding knowledge of mainland metallurgy, it seems reasonable to conclude that the LH I inlaid weapons, particularly the Three Lion, Lion Hunt, and Nilotic daggers with their vivid indigenous iconography, could well have been made by Aegeans, most likely working at Mycenae.

In addition to *metallmalerei,* other crafts and processes associated with Shaft Grave lion art have been investigated in the last thirty years, particularly stelai, ivories, and metalwork. Younger recently recatalogued all the stelai and briefly discussed interesting aspects of manufacture, noting the faulty and experimental quality of the work and linking stone carving with "drawing/incising" on wood and ivory.[102]

Ivory lions occur twice in the Shaft Graves: on a pommel with whirling lions in relief, **14** (Fig. 9.23), and on **18** (Fig. 9.24), a damaged three-dimensional mirror handle that recently has been redrawn as showing a single curled lion, not two heraldically confronted animals.[103]

Although most of the art, including lion art, from the Shaft Graves is made of metal, I know of no comprehensive study of LH I/LM I *figurative metalwork.* Nevertheless, many of the individual, metallic, lion objects have been considered under separate investigations of rings and gemstones,[104] jewelry,[105] metal vessels,[106] and glass.[107] Some of these metal pieces,

102. Younger 1997, p. 233. Hood (1978, pp. 99) and Thomas (1993) noted this link between carving and wood/ivory work; Thomas distinguished between the two lion daggers, **11** and **12** (Figs. 9.15, 9.21), as deriving from two different technical approaches, drawing versus modeling.

103. Patrianakou-Iliaki 1996, fig. 4. For ivories, see Poursat 1977a, 1977b; for new evidence pointing to Minoan manufacture of disk-shaped mirrors and for the proposed French-Greek collaboration on an ivory corpus, see Rehak and Younger 1998b, p. 238, note 88, p. 230, note 9.

104. For gem carving as a fount of Shaft Grave style, see Younger's articles on the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master, listed in notes 84–87 above; for a larger bibliography on glyptic, see Younger 1991.

105. While studying metal jewelry, Laffineur (1995a, p. 192) found the only provable instance of the creation of identical figures by beating foil into a hollow mold: the four small gold lions from Shaft Grave III, **5** (Fig. 9.29). This peculiarly Mycenaean practice allies metalworking with glassmaking (for multiple copies) and with gem carving (for carving the mold). See Tournavitou 1997 for molds and workshops.

106. Davis 1977, Laffineur 1977.

107. For bibliography in all of these areas, see Dickinson 1994, and Cullen 2001, which updates the *AJA* review articles by Davis (1992), Rutter (1993), Shelmerdine (1997), and Rehak and Younger (1998a). The Theran rhyta in terracotta call for more study of this material (Figs. 9.8, 9.9).

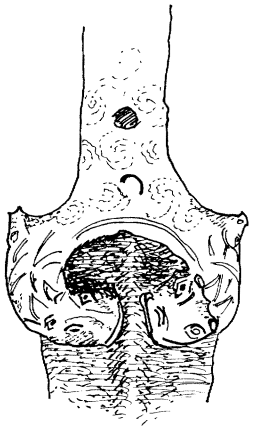


Figure 9.25. Hilt (3) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Delta (Athens, N.M. 8710). N. Thomas

such as the gold plaques, **19** (Fig. 9.2), seem to recall a humbler substratum of wood/bone/antler carving, a craft whose influence erupted into richer materials when the occasion demanded.[108] Wood has left us a few actual remnants in Shaft Grave lion art, **3** and **13** (Figs. 9.25, 9.17),[109] and a heterogeneous collection of clues.[110] This perishable material deserves more study. Possibly the "northern" look in Shaft Grave art actually springs from a strong tradition of woodcarving.[111]

Symbolic Context

Thera's fourth major impact on studies of lion art concerns symbolic context. Scholars no longer find it sufficient to ask, as did Vermeule in 1973, whether the lion is "simply the most worthy antagonist for a true prince" or whether the animal was clearly symbolic.[112] Current studies of symbolism look beyond the basic concepts of "emblem," "symbol," and "religion" to a fuller consideration of the large and intersecting arenas of political, economic, social, and ritual practice.

Soon after the discovery of the frescoes at Akrotiri, Sara Immerwahr used this broader political and economic context to relate Mycenaean lion art to Thera. The lion blazons on ships indicated, in her view, not only that the major ship in the fleet could have been named "The Lion," but also that a peaceful Mycenaean naval presence existed at Thera, such as would have been appropriate for the visiting representative of the royal personage at Mycenae.[113] Laffineur continued this theme, seeing not only a Mycenaean "admiral" of the fleet living in the West House at Akrotiri, but also speculating that this man was subsequently buried in Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae.[114]

Fundamental to such discussions are artistic dominance and chronological priority, which are disputed among Crete, Greece, and Thera. While

108. My personal pick of such objects, on the basis of style, would include **3, 5, 8, 9, 15, 19, 20** (Figs. 9.25, 9.29–9.31, 9.26, 9.2, 9.34). The influence of wood carving could arise during the process of hammering gold over an already carved piece of wood, or from copying the stylistic traits of such metal-clad wooden objects, or from copying woodwork itself.

109. Wood also apparently played a part in the formation of the gold lion-head rhyton, **15** (Fig. 9.26) (Demakopoulou 1990, p. 139), and in fashioning the small gold handles that were perhaps formed over now-lost wooden cores, **8, 20** (Figs. 9.30, 9.34). The stern figures depicted on the Theran ships possibly give us more information about lost woodwork in the round (Figs. 9.5, 9.6).

110. The wood-related clues from non-lion art: (1) Schliemann (1878, pp. 260, 266, 321, fig. 387) described a wooden mold found near 340 gold buttons in Grave V, as well as carved wooden buttons covered in gold foil bearing the same design; see also Dickinson 1977, p. 77; 1997, p. 48; Demakopoulou 1990, p. 312; (2) the bronze-over-wood "hair locks" (lion mane?) from Knossos (*PM* III, fig. 276), omitted from Rhyne 1970, studied by Robin Hägg (1983a, pp. 544–545, fig. 3; 1983b); (3) wooden box with dogs in relief from Shaft Grave V, illustrated in Hood 1978, fig. 100; (4) wooden coffins and biers in the Shaft Graves, discussed in Muhly 1996; (5) gold-covered wooden handles apparently added to an Egyptian alabaster alabastron from Shaft Grave V, in Karo 1930, no. 829; Hood 1978, p. 148; according to Laffineur (1990–1991, p. 285), the use of gilded wood on these handles seems more Mycenaean than Minoan; (6) for other objects and information on wood, see Hood 1978, p. 95 and notes 47 and 49, pp. 99, 238; Branigan 1974b, p. 157; Laffineur 1996, pp. 92, 113, note 151; for the chryssokentissi technique see Sakellariou 1984, p. 135.

111. See note 36 for "blinks" when wood carvers come to the fore. Interestingly, the rich, wooden objects often belong to the later graves. Dickinson (1989, p. 132) noted "northern" traits in the later but still rich graves. See note 136 below on "northern" affinities.

112. Vermeule 1975, p. 35.

113. Immerwahr (1977, pp. 181–182) saw reciprocal influences and concluded that contact between the two areas existed at the time of the earlier graves of Grave Circle B. She asked if the "admiral" of the West House could have been a Mycenaean.

114. Laffineur 1983a, esp. pp. 115–117; 1984, p. 138.

Immerwahr and Laffineur saw the Mycenaeans as influencing Thera, O. Negbi and J. Vanschoonwinkel proposed Thera as the source of much Mycenaean style. Alternatively, Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier argued for Minoan dominance of the other two regions through the Cretan thalassocracy.[115] Lions were used to substantiate all of these arguments. For example, Laffineur proposed a three-part sequence in which the Mycenaean daggers inlaid with running animals first inspired the development of painted lion blazons on real Aegean ships, which, in their turn, appeared on the Akrotiri frescoes.[116] Vanschoonwinkel and Negbi took an opposite point of view, submitting that the Theran paintings influenced mainland daggers and vases.[117]

Niemeier suggested that the emblematic lion blazons on the painted ships could be traced back to MM II–III heraldic and "bust" seals.[118] In rebuttal, Laffineur insisted that parallels must go beyond simple occurrence of a motif to a deeper level of context; thus he aligned the running lions on Theran ships with those on Mycenaean weapons that share the same pose and also the same aggressive format and iconography of power (**12**, Fig. 9.21).[119]

Power and hierarchy, hot topics in Mycenaean research, have generated several studies of lions focusing on the mighty beast as analogue of masculine prowess. Nannó Marinatos analyzed metaphors of victory and pecking order that she says are suggested when man and lion are paired as analogous symbols in parallel scenes. For example, man versus man and lion versus prey are juxtaposed in zones on Shaft Grave stele, **22** (Fig. 9.12), and man versus lion and lion versus prey echo each other on the two sides of the Lion Hunt dagger, **11** (Fig. 9.15).[120] Morgan, studying symbols of dominance and societal coming of age practices, cited two pairs of parallelism in human and animal behavior: man and lion in Greece, and boxing boys and antelopes on Thera. In her view, both sets of images embody ideas of aggression, maturation, and male prowess in society.[121] She later developed these concepts, using lion and bull, to compare "appropriation of power" in Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East through parallel images of "contest (sports and acrobatics) or conquest (hunting and warfare)."[122] I have studied lion art as a marker of dominance, comparing

115. Immerwahr 1977, Laffineur 1984, Negbi 1978, Vanschoonwinkel 1986, Niemeier 1990. Immerwahr (1990, p. 136) saw the animal file schema as aligning Theran composition with Mycenae rather than with Crete. Kopcke (1981, p. 40) said the lions of the Shaft Grave daggers were Cretan or Cycladic in style no matter where they were made.

116. Laffineur 1984, pp. 135–137. One wonders if there would have been enough actual time for the sequence of inlaid dagger > real ships > painted ships to have occurred before the volcano erupted, especially if the daggers belonged to the somewhat later burials of the Shaft Graves. Laffineur (1983a) considered some of the chronological problems implied in various scenarios.

117. Vanschoonwinkel 1986, p. 32; Negbi 1978, p. 654. Laffineur (1990–1991, p. 274) agreed with this view in the case of the Nilotic scene.

118. Niemeier 1990, pp. 270–271.

119. Laffineur's comments following Niemeier 1990, p. 283. See also note 45 above regarding a similarly posed running lion from the Idaean Cave.

120. Marinatos 1990. On the other hand, Bloedow (1992, p. 304, note 54; 1999) disputed lions in this metaphorical role and instead interpreted lion schema as deriving from the natural predatory action of the animal.

121. Morgan 1995b.

122. Morgan 1996, pp. 30–31. She noted the cross-referencing of meaning implied in various Aegean objects, and she speculated that symbols from these small works were merged into a larger "cycle" of paintings created by Aegeans at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt; see note 158 below.

four competing masculine power roles in LH Greece: chief, warrior, hunter, and ritual-maker. Surprisingly hunter, not warrior, seemed to generate and encompass the other roles.[123]

Questions of masculine status have now been joined by the "women problem." Paradoxically, two of the most ferocious and warlike lion images from Mycenae come from Shaft Grave III, the "women and children's grave."[124] The gold seals, **6**, **7** (Figs. 9.19, 9.20), show the direct and terrible duel between man and lion on one seal and a grievously wounded lion on the other. As only one seal and no engraved gold finger rings were found in the rich male burials from either circle,[125] and because seals and rings were indeed associated with female burials,[126] scholars have tried to correlate the themes and media with the roles of women. Friedrich Matz concluded that Mycenaean women were great warriors.[127] Laffineur argued that seals show a lesser social status than does weaponry; hence seals were associated with women's graves.[128] I wonder if war and status are actually the main issues here. Men did wear seals and rings as pendant jewelry,[129] and nonwarrior women could be buried with warlike seals *if* we view the ferocious image as the burial gift from a man to his wife, his mother, his sister, or his daughter, as his last and only way to go with her, to protect her in death.[130]

On a complex symbolic level, Laffineur has explored in a series of articles a "system" of two related meanings, combat and eternity, as seen in arms and jewelry.[131] Focusing on the double themes of (1) war/speed/strength and (2) regeneration/ metamorphosis/afterlife, he has discerned two series of objects—daggers and ships—that use lions and function as power symbols by connoting speed and regeneration. In his articles Laffineur always followed his own rule, that objects should be studied comprehensively by correlating their type, material, technique, quantity, and iconography.[132]

Religious symbolism has also been broadly investigated by Bloedow and Marinatos, who reached differing conclusions about the lion's role in sacrifice.[133] Karen Foster saw a "geocultic bond" between lions and snakes

123. Thomas 1999. Lion behavior is analogous to human military and hunting tactics, which also employ coordination, stealth, surprise, group effort, and separation and destruction from the rear; I owe these thoughts to Roger Thomas. For other studies of iconography as power, status, and militarism with discussions of lion images, see Laffineur 1983a, 1983b, 1990, 1992, 1995c, Kopcke 1999.

124. When Vermeule (1975, p. 9) stated that "the women of Grave III have more lions than any other burial," she was referring to the many duplicates of basic types; Grave III actually has six lion formats, Grave IV has seven counting both sides of the Lion Hunt dagger, **11** (Fig. 9.15), and Grave V has seven counting its stele and both scenes from the wooden box, **22** (Fig. 9.12) and **19** (Fig. 9.2).

125. Laffineur 1990, p. 123.

126. Laffineur 1990–1991, p. 282. Women's ownership is deduced from the burial findspot and from the small diameters of the rings.

127. Matz 1962, p. 171.

128. Laffineur 1990, p. 123.

129. Rings can belong to men, and a small diameter does not restrict ownership to women, according to Younger (1977, p. 150). See also Philip (1995, p. 74) on weapons in women's burials, even inside their sarcophagi, at Middle Kingdom Lisht.

130. See Morgan 1995a on lion-killing as emblematic of man's destroying the perpetrator of death itself.

131. Laffineur 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1985, 1987–1988, 1995c.

132. On this way of studying art, see Laffineur 1983b; 1985, pp. 247, 265; 1990–1991, pp. 247–248; 1995a.

133. Marinatos (1986, pp. 13, 49) has called sacrifice "the sacred form of violence," and she sees lions as the victims. Bloedow (1992, p. 304, note 54; 1999) disputes lions as either "victims" or "guardians."

in Theran ship paintings, postulating in their association an annual festival in the Cyclades like the Sed Festival in Egypt.[134] Morgan recently studied the full-frontal-faced lion, which she suggested is symbolic of death itself.[135] The frontal-faced lion occurs twice in the Shaft Graves, on the protome hilt, **3** (Fig. 9. 25), from Grave Circle B, and the gold lion-head rhyton, **15** (Fig. 9.26), from Grave Circle A. Thera has also produced two examples, the clay lion-head rhyta (Figs. 9.8, 9.9).

In summary, Thera has permanently altered our understanding of the iconography, stylistic traits, craft process, and symbolic context of the lion in the Aegean animal style. Although Thera gives us more evidence to consider, such evidence has produced more speculation than certainty about absolute points of origin or lines of transfer. Ironically, the increased focus on the Cyclades may have helped push the "northern" aesthetic component out of favor: today the elusive "nomadic" strain of Shaft Grave art, noted by Vermeule and others, is being connected by Dickinson to a Mediterranean and Eastern origin.[136]

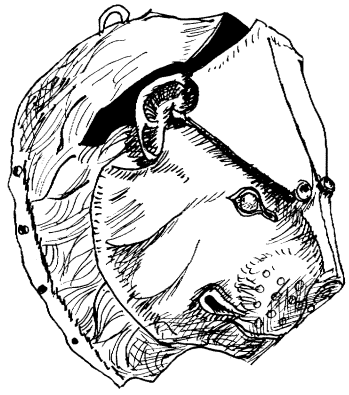


Figure 9.26. Rhyton (15) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 273). N. Thomas

The final impact of Thera in Mycenaean times was its eruption and disappearance. According to the scenario in Driessen and Macdonald's *The Troubled Island,* the tremendous earthquake associated with Thera's eruption seriously damaged Crete and sent it into a long decline.[137] How would the Shaft Grave princes on the mainland have reacted to finding their two best sources of luxury goods and artistic skill, Akrotiri and Knossos, either blown off the map or in disordered distress?

In a recent correlation of craft and kingship, Mary Helms concluded that traditional societies consider foreign, exotic, and richly crafted goods and materials to be heavily laden with cosmological value and power. Indeed, such goods are traditionally believed to tap directly into the "supernaturally and ancestrally sanctioned ethics, political-ideology, and myth-history of the polity."[138] The objects themselves become literal "pieces" of such power-charged places, whether "out there" (other societies) or "up there" (divinely connected creation).[139] The wearers of such awesome works become in effect "'crafted' lords,"[140] and to be buried with such goods creates a powerful ancestor-to-be.[141] Therefore the leaders *must* acquire. Honorable acquisition, display, distribution, and burial of rich and richly crafted works is often crucial at the "growth points" of societies in the evolution of a kingly image; according to Helms, societies unable to acquire such power-filled objects may begin imitating the crafting on their own.[142]

134. Foster 1989, pp. 14, 16–20. While Foster saw the painted, non-lion stern figures as snakes, Morgan (1988, p. 134) did not mention snakes, calling the non-lion stern figure on ships 3, 5, and 7 "a dappled creature, plausibly interpreted by Hood and Immerwahr as a griffin."

135. Morgan 1995a.

136. Dickinson (1997, pp. 47–49) argued against Ellen Davis's "Transylvanian connection," Sherratt's "Carpathian connection," Hiller's "Black Sea connection," and Vermeule's "northern" affinities. He suggested instead an older substratum from the East that made its way through Anatolia into the Balkans and the Aegean. See also Dickinson 1989, p. 132, on the "northern" look appearing only in one of the late and rich Shaft Graves. For similarities and differences between the Aegean and the North, see Bouzek 1985.

137. See notes 24–35.

138. Helms 1993, p. 17. In this book Helms developed an aspect of the motivations for trade that was briefly discussed by Sherratt and Sherratt (1991, esp. pp. 354–356).

139. Helms 1993, pp. 17, 47, 91, 96.

140. Helms 1993, p. 170.

141. Helms 1993, pp. 142–144. Skilled artisans and long-distance traders/hunters partook of this aura and consequently were lent from ruler to ruler; see Helms 1993, pp. 32–34, 91.

142. Helms 1993, pp. 195–200.

If the Mycenaean elite were at a critical point in their ascent when Thera disappeared and Knossos fumbled, they may have left traces of such a response, as well as clues about Minoan reactions, in their tombs. At this point, according to some scholars, an old exotic country again opened its doors to the west: Egypt.[143]

THE IMPACT OF EGYPT

The 1992 announcement that "Minoan" frescoes, including images of lions, had been found in the Nile Delta at Tell el-Dab'a (ancient Avaris, the Hyksos capital of Egypt)[144] has spurred Aegeanists to a renewed and even more intensified study of the LB international *koine*.[145] The thousands of fresco fragments, apparently from a huge palatial complex of several structures, include scenes of maze-like patterns, bulls and bull-leapers, the flying gallop, the griffin, and leopards and hunting lions, all painted in true fresco technique. These amazing finds, originally thought by their discoverer, Manfred Bietak, to be from late Hyksos levels, but since redated by him to the early New Kingdom,[146] not only add to the international repertory of objects, styles, and motifs,[147] they also raise the possibility of Minoan artists actually working in Egypt.[148]

Chronology is the key issue here. If the new (high) absolute chronology is applied and the Aegean is shifted upward by almost a century vis-à-vis Egypt, the Tell el-Dab'a frescoes are contemporary with the LM IB period and therefore not on our LH I/LM IA/LC I canvas.[149] If the traditional (low) chronology is retained, the frescoes are contemporary with

143. According to MacGillivray (1997), Ahmose opened an Egypt that had been closed to the Aegean for two centuries under the Hyksos.

144. Excavations directed by Manfred Bietak, University of Vienna and Director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Cairo; see Bietak 1992. Ongoing excavations are summarized in Bietak et al. 1994, Bietak 1994, 1995, 1996, Bietak and Marinatos 2000. The lions are from 'Ezbet Helmi, H/I area, E dump.

145. Conferences devoted to the subject have been held with increasing frequency during the 1990s; see lists in Cline 1998 and Karetsou 2000. The Egyptian discoveries have also reactivated interest in the Aigina Treasure; for this hoard see Gates 1989; Hiller 1994–1995, pp. 25–31; Rehak and Younger 1998a, p. 126, note 224.

146. Bietak 1996, p. 72: "the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, and no longer to the Hyksos period." Bietak used the traditional (low) chronology (see note 11 above). See Cline 1998, pp. 209, 218–219, on the advisability of waiting for the full publication of all the findspots and their stratigraphy before assigning either a Hyksos or an Eighteenth-Dynasty date to this material, and see Bietak 2000 for a rebuttal.

147. Bietak (1996, p. 70) has discussed MM III and LM IA sherds from "secondary contexts" at Tell el-Dab'a, one of which displays a "leopard in flying gallop chasing an ungulate"; see Bietak et al. 1994, cat. no. 359.

148. Scholars who envision Minoans actually making the frescoes include Bietak (1994, 1995, 1996), Warren (1995), Morgan (1995c, 1996), Niemeier (1995), and Laffineur (1995b, 1998). Bietak (1996, p. 88, note 123) stated that Ellen Davis, Nannó Marinatos, Lyvia Morgan, and Stefan Hiller also "are unanimous on this point." Scholars who are unconvinced include Shaw (1995, 1997), Rehak (1997b), and Hankey and Leonard (1998). In a valuable review article, Rehak (1997b, pp. 400–402) questioned Minoan attribution until test results are published; he also suggested that the many iconographical inconsistencies in the frescoes prompt the term "Minoanizing" rather than "Minoan," and he issued a warning that hypotheses are being stated as facts about the international *koine* in general and about Tell el-Dab'a in particular.

149. See note 11 on chronology. In the new (high) chronology, the eruption of Thera is more contemporary with the beginning of Hyksos rule than with the end of it; this would remove Eighteenth-Dynasty inlaid weapons, such as the dagger of Ahhotep, from the Shaft Grave niello question. Until the chronology issue is settled, it is premature to use the new material in definitive ways.

Shaft Grave Mycenae and therefore affect LH I lion studies whether one believes they were painted by Minoans abroad or by Egyptians who had learned the Aegean idiom and fresco technique. By strengthening the concept of artistic transference via actual working artisans, not merely through trade or gift, the paintings support theories that resident or traveling foreigners could have worked in the Argolid as well as that Aegeans themselves worked abroad.[150]

The Tell el-Dab'a lion scenes are being reconstructed by Nannó Marinatos, who, with Bietak, has described the lions in both rocky and aquatic settings. By 1994 Marinatos had tentatively formed a two-part scene: leopards chasing a deer(?) against a red background in the upper zone, and lions chasing an ibex on a beige ground in the lower; on the basis of associated fragments showing men's greaves or boots, Morgan deduced a chase or hunt scene.[151] Ellen Davis called the lions "delightful" creatures with white areas and whiskers on the jaws, smaller than the Kean animals, and she reported that Rudolfine Seeber, the conservator, has constructed another lion from a fragment showing a white and yellow animal of about the same scale as that of the Kean "lion."[152] Bietak's photograph of the leopard shows the rear parts of the animal, with its legs and long spotted tail fully extended, in flying gallop in front of blue plants on a red ground (Fig. 9.27).[153] Lyla Brock's conjectural reconstruction of the full scene presents leopards, lions, and prey in a two-zone landscape.[154]

Placement of these works within the shared artistic repertory of the LB Mediterranean has not only generated a great deal of controversy but has challenged our developing concepts of transference itself. Since 1970, the means of artistic migration have been analyzed and sorted into various levels of adoption and absorption.[155] Of particular relevance to the lion are Janice Crowley's conclusions that the shared international repertoire was assembled in LM/LH I, earlier than some have thought,[156] and that the true Mycenaean duel of man versus lion has no parallel in the East.[157] Any future attempts to weave the new Egyptian lions into the

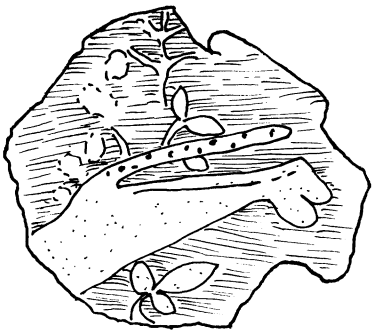


Figure 9.27. Fragment of the "leopard" fresco, Tell el-Dab'a, Egypt. N. Thomas, after Bietak 1995, color pl. 4:2

150. On itinerant artists, see Niemeier 1991 and Bloedow 1997. I am currently working on the variance in transferability of technique versus that of iconography, style, and meaning in the LB eastern Mediterranean; the two most problematic illustrations of this variance are the inlaid daggers from Mycenae and the paintings from Tell el-Dab'a.

151. Marinatos 1996; Morgan 1995c, p. 36; see also Bietak and Marinatos 2000, pp. 42–44.

152. Pers. comm.; for the Kean lion, see note 49.

153. Bietak 1995, p. 24, color pl. 4:2. The limestone couchant lion illustrated in Bietak 1995, pl. 17, is Egyptian, not Aegean (Bietak, pers. comm.).

154. Reconstruction in Bietak et al. 1994, no. 230, pp. 205–206. I have now seen the photographs and facsimiles of the actual fresco fragments published by Marinatos (1998, pp. 84–85, 90), showing many lions running in both directions in both aquatic and rocky settings on both red and beige grounds.

155. Particularly Crowley 1989, which is an updated companion to Helene Kantor's 1947 monograph; see especially Crowley's tables 1–3, pp. 294–298. For other studies of artistic transference, see Morgan 1995c, p. 31; Warren 1995, p. 11; 2000.

156. Crowley 1989, p. 288; concerning specifics of her table 3, p. 298, I would suggest that Heraldic Poses and Antithetical Group first appeared in the Old Palace period on the strength of Phaistos sealing no. 234, H.A.M. sealing 688ß (*CMS* II.5, 282; Rhyne 1970, no. 35). Since the EM II–MM IA ivory seal from Trapesa, H.A.M. 1578 (*CMS* II.1, 442b), may show a rude form of the Master of Animals with lion, this motif could possibly be moved back to the Old Palace period as well. See note 73 above.

157. Crowley 1989, p. 136. On the duel, see note 74 above.

broad Mediterranean canvas of the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. should begin with Morgan's reminder that no contact at all is necessary for different regions to utilize the lion as metaphor for male heroism and conquest. The "natural symbolism of the behavior of the animal" automatically generates these metaphors.[158]

THE IMPACT OF BONES

The frescoes of Akrotiri and Tell el-Dab'a have taken us far afield, but actual lion bones return us to Greece and to the mixing of art with real-life experience. Even before the 1979 publication of the first bones from Tiryns, many scholars believed that lions existed in Bronze Age Greece, as reported by classical authors and as depicted in naturalistic Aegean art.[159] Skeptics, on the other hand, believed the classical sightings were of the maneless mountain lion and that the animal in art derived from Eastern conventions.

Since 1978, however, bones and teeth of *Panthera leo,* the large-maned lion, have been found in nine locations in mainland and island Greece in contexts ranging from Late Neolithic to Early Iron Age date.[160] Three of these sites also yielded material from Iron Age to Archaic levels.

The Greek finds, in alphabetical and then chronological order by site, are:

DELPHI (unpublished): LB to Iron Age; *osteologische Nachweise* (osteological proofs). Manhart 1998, map fig. 60, p. 183, with reference to personal communication from F. Poplin.

DELPHI (unpublished): Archaic, 6th century B.C.; waste heap near edge of first peribolos, one foot bone. Poplin 1992, p. 693; Manhart 1998, map fig. 60, p. 183; Driesch said the Delphi finds "date into Archaic times" (pers. comm.).

DIKILI TASH (Macedonia): Late Neolithic; one radius. Trantalidou 2000, p. 716, note 19, and p. 712, table 2.

KALAPODI (Boiotia): LH IIIC, Artemis/Apollo Temple; one claw and one metacarpus. Stanzel (1991, p. 114) said the bones seem to come from what was not a very strong animal; see also Driesch and Boessneck 1990, p. 111.

158. Morgan 1995c, p. 31; see also Morgan 1996, p. 31, on the possibility of a program of subjects created by Aegeans in Egypt who had perhaps seen and been inspired by Middle and Old Kingdom animal-analogy paintings. For a comparison of selected examples of lions and lion art in Egypt and the Aegean, see Kleinsgütl 2000.

159. For a summary of classical Greek references to the lion, see Boessneck and Driesch 1979, pp. 447–448; Bloedow 1992, pp. 299–300; Trantalidou 2000, p. 716, note 18. For realistic behavior, see Vermeule 1975, p. 39; Pini 1985; Ballintijn 1995. For connections between Minoan iconography and the African *battue* system of hunting lions, see Papamanoli-Guest 1996, and note 54 above.

160. The family *Felidae* (cats) comprises three extant genera and many species. The big cats genus (*Panthera*) consists of four species: leopard (*pardus*), jaguar (*onca*), tiger (*tigris*), and lion (*leo*). *Felis* is the genus of smaller cats and the American mountain lion (Darlington 1957, p. 397), but note that Linnaeus's older designation, *Felis leo,* refers to the same animal that our *Panthera leo* does: both are the lion (Ted T. Allen, pers. comm.). The extinct Pleistocene cave lion, called by some *Felis leo* Linné and by others *Panthera leo spelaea,* is considered by most English and French paleozoologists to be a lion extremely similar to the modern lion (Kurtén 1968, p. 85). Palaeolithic remains of this cave lion (*Panthera leo spelaea* Goldf.) have now been reported from Macedonia, Attica, and the Peloponnese (Trantalidou 2000, p. 712, table 2, with references).

KALAPODI (Boiotia): Geometric/Archaic, 7th century B.C.; one scapula fragment with cut marks. Stanzel 1991, pp. 113–114; Driesch 1994, p. 14; Manhart 1998, p. 182.

KASTANAS (Macedonia): levels 8, 10–13, between LB and early Middle Iron Age, 1200–800/700 B.C.; twelve bones (humerus, metapodien, calcaneus, talus, phalanges) suggesting five animals, the calcaneus showing cut marks. Becker 1986, pp. 167–173; Driesch and Boessneck 1990, p. 111; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Trantalidou 2000, pp. 712, 716, note 19.

KEA (unpublished): Ayia Irini; three teeth, one dated MM III–LM IB, the other two (from different animals) found in House M and provisionally dated by J. Coy as LM IB–LH II. Davis 1980, p. 288.

MYCENAE (unpublished): one tooth with a suspension hole, from the acropolis (Athens, N.M. 2727). According to Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1993, p. 10, note 16, citing information from Poplin, the tooth was found in 1886 by Tsountas and has only recently been identified.

PYLOS: LH; Northwest Palace and room 88; two teeth from one lion. Nobis 1993, p. 163.

SAMOS (unpublished): EB; one metacarpus excavated by V. Milojčić, according to Driesch (pers. comm. with dates and details).

TIRYNS: LH I; one male humerus, found in 1980 in a garbage pit with Shaft Grave type pottery and bones of cow, sheep, pig, dog, and red deer. Boessneck and Driesch (1981, p. 258) stated that cut marks indicate preparation for cooking, that flesh of wild cats is tasty, and that this bone was not likely used as a talisman because of its features indicating strong musculature.[161]

TIRYNS: LH IIIB:2; four bones, rib (portion), ulna, humerus-corpus, and calcaneus were listed by Driesch and Boessneck (1990, p. 111). The calcaneus was found in October 1978 in Grave 67 near the foot of a human male skeleton; it was the first lion bone unearthed at Tiryns and was published as possibly an amulet by Boessneck and Driesch (1979). Perhaps another lion bone was found by Kilian in the summer of 1991 (John Younger, pers. comm.). Kleinsgütl (2000, p. 699) cited a total of seven lion bones from Tiryns.

TIRYNS: LH IIIC, dated ca. 1200 B.C. by Driesch (1994, p. 13); one male ulna. Driesch and Boessneck 1990.

When the Tiryns bones and the Kean teeth were first published, some scholars accepted them as proof that actual lions had existed in some form in Mycenaean Greece.[162] Others prudently cautioned against envisioning the beast as necessarily native, plentiful, or wild.[163] Alternative explanations for the presence of such remains included the importation of amulets or skins,[164] of pets to parade in palaces,[165] and of animals for artificial hunting

161. Immerwahr (1990, p. 133) said the painted hunting scenes at Pylos show large tripods being carried "presumably for cooking the meat." Cooking and hunting were also depicted together in the Kean miniatures (see note 49 above). For actually cooking and eating lion meat, see Driesch 1994, pp. 14–15.

162. Pini (1985, pp. 154–158), Morgan (1988, pp. 44–45), and Ballintijn (1995, pp. 31–32) cited the bones as validation of actually observed animal behavior. In the mid-19th century, M. Gaudry reported lion remains at Pikermi, near Athens (cited in Wallace 1876, p. 114), but I have no additional information about them. For lion bones from Troy VIII and IX, see Morgan 1988, p. 45. For lion bones from Egypt see Kleinsgütl 2000, and for summaries of European Palaeolithic lion bones and lion art, see Wagner 1981, Driesch 1994.

163. Halstead 1987, p. 75; Younger 1988, p. xi; Laffineur 1992, p. 109; Rutter 1993, p. 754, note 32; Dickinson 1994, p. 28. Most scholars do not propose that lions ever lived on Crete, though Papamanoli-Guest (1996, p. 346) suggests that lion bones were possibly missed by early excavators. No lion bones were reported in recent work on Cretan fauna published in Reese 1996.

164. Dickinson 1994, p. 28.

165. Younger, pers. comm.

parks.[166] Other writers stressed errors in Mycenaean leonine representation. The main obstacle to accepting the existence of lions in the wild, however, was the apparent absence of *any* bones from earlier contexts or from northern locations.[167]

Tracing a report of lion finds in Bulgaria,[168] I wrote an inquiry to Angela von den Driesch, who immediately sent me a copy of Henriette Manhart's 1997 dissertation; Manhart listed *Panthera leo* finds from *nine* different Bulgarian and Hungarian sites stretching from the Black Sea to Hungary, and covering a long chronological span from Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic to the end of the Bronze Age.[169] Further reports of lion bones in the Balkans and Ukraine give dates from the Early Neolithic through the Early Iron Age and increase the number of northern locations to nineteen. The most interesting site is Durankulak, located on the Black Sea south of the Danube, where lion bones have been found in three different horizons, two in the Chalcolithic and one in the Late Bronze Age. The latest find is contemporary with the LH IIIB/C bones at Tiryns.[170] Durankulak also produced the most spectacular single cache: ten bones from three lions, including a youth and two adults, one of whom was "plus grand, mâle probablement."[171] The crania and claws from this Chalcolithic family were missing, and cut marks on the bones suggested to the researchers that the animals were probably skinned and eaten at the hunting site and that their heads and claws were taken back to the village as trophies. L. Ninov, who published the find, stated that at this early period there was no possibility of importing lions from Africa or Asia, that these bones categorically confirm the existence of the autochthonous lion in southeastern Europe in prehistoric times, and that most researchers estimate that the lion lived in the Balkan peninsula into the period reported by Herodotos and Aristotle.[172]

166. See Ballintijn 1995, p. 32, on staged expeditions in Egyptian and Near Eastern art and literature.

167. See Dickinson 1992, p. 398, on the apparent lack of bones "from any pre-Mycenaean deposits here [Tiryns] or elsewhere," and similar comments by Younger on the Listserve AegeaNet of Sept. 7, 1997. Regarding the scarcity of lion bones in excavated contexts, Payne (1985, pp. 222–225) faulted the argument of silence, noting that "normal excavation" recovers only six percent of sheep and goat bones. He speculated on how few lion remains would have ended up in graves and houses and questioned whether sites chosen for excavation would include distant hunting deposits. Mycenae is not on his list of sites from which animal bone data has been published (Payne 1985, pp. 237–240).

168. Ninov 1989. Stefan Hiller very kindly sent me the article, which is in Bulgarian with a French summary. Two lion finds in Bulgaria had been cited earlier by Driesch and Boessneck (1990, p. 111, notes 96, 97).

169. Manhart (1998, pp. 20–22) dated the Chalcolithic period in eastern Europe to 5200–3500 B.C. The oldest lion find she cited dates back at least to the 6th millennium B.C. She mapped the findspots (fig. 60, p. 183), discussed the habitat and food supply needed by lions in the Balkans (pp. 217–219), and included information on lion bone finds in modern Greece at Kastanas, Kalapodi, Tiryns, Delphi, and Samos (map in fig. 60, p. 183).

170. Manhart 1998, p. 181.

171. Ninov 1989, p. 61; Manhart 1998, p. 181; Ninov 1999, pp. 327–329.

172. Ninov 1989, p. 61. Vörös (1983, pp. 44–46) said the small-statured lions of southeastern Europe are identified with the Persian lion and are classified as *Panthera leo persica;* he suggested that the animal migrated into the Carpathian Basin during a climatic change ca. 3500 B.C. Note that the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains of lions found in this basin (at Gyöngyöshalász-Encspuszta, Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár, Tiszalúc-Sarkad, and Zengővárkony), as well as the LH lion bones from Tiryns and Kalapodi, are said to be from rather small animals (Vörös 1983, p. 46; Stanzel 1991, p. 114). Interestingly, Manhart's map of lion bones from the Balkans (1998, p. 183) is generally congruent with Penner's map of European sites with Shaft Grave type ornament (Penner 1998, esp. pp. 162–164, 179).

The Balkan/southern Ukrainian finds, in alphabetical and then chronological order by site,[173] are:

Bolgrad (Ukraine, near Odessa): Late Neolithic–Chalcolithic, ca. 3500 B.C.; one bone. Bibikova 1973; Vörös 1983, pp. 42, 44; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Devetaska-Höhle (Bulgaria): Chalcolithic; one humerus fragment. Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Durankulak (Bulgaria, Black Sea coast): Chalcolithic; twelve bones from two horizons, including the "family" (my quotations). Ninov 1989, p. 61; Manhart 1998, pp. 28–39, 181, 183; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Durankulak (Bulgaria, Black Sea coast): LB; one mandible. Manhart 1998, p. 181; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Goljamo Delčevo (Bulgaria, Black Sea area): early Chalcolithic; one vertebra. Manhart 1998, pp. 29, 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Gyöngyöshalász-Encspuszta (Hungary): late Chalcolithic or Aegean EB III, ca. 2500 B.C.; jawbone with teeth, from a settlement. Vörös 1983, pp. 40–44, fig. 8; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Karanovo (Bulgaria): Early Neolithic; one tooth. Cited by Stefan Hiller (pers. comm.) with reference to Hiller and Nikolov 1997, I, p. 392, and II, pl. XXXVII:7, which I have not seen; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Kirklareli (Turkish Thrace): Middle Neolithic; *Panthera leo* remains in two levels. Benecke 1998, pp. 174–175.

Mayaki (Ukraine, near Odessa): Chalcolithic or Aegean EB III, late 4th–mid-3rd millennium B.C.; nine bones including a jawbone with teeth. Bibikova 1973, p. 59, fig. 1; Vörös 1983, pp. 42–44; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Slatino (Bulgaria): early Chalcolithic, mid-5th millennium B.C.; one right ulna. Ninov 1989, p. 61, fig. 1; Manhart 1998, p.180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Sozopol (Bulgaria, Black Sea, under water): Chalcolithic; one tibia and four phalanges, from two animals. Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár (Hungary): late middle Chalcolithic or Aegean EB II, ca. 3000 B.C.; one pelvis fragment from a settlement. Vörös 1983, pp. 38–44, fig. 4; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Tiszalúc-Sarkad (Hungary): late middle Chalcolithic or Aegean EB II, ca. 3000 B.C.; two teeth and seven bones, including limb bones, from eight different excavation sites in a settlement. Vörös 1983, pp. 38–44, figs. 3, 5–7; Vörös 1987; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

Zengővárkony (Hungary): Late Neolithic, ca. 3500 B.C.; one tooth from a grave (plaster cast of a lost original). Vörös 1983, pp. 36–38, 44; Manhart 1998, pp. 180–181; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

For six other sites in the lower Ukraine that have produced (unspecified numbers of) *Panthera leo* bones in Chalcolithic and Early Iron Age contexts, see Krakhmalnaya 1999, p. 231.

The Balkan bones seem to have filled the void from earlier times and northern places.[174] The lion surely roamed, however plentifully, in Bronze Age Greece. But art is not life, and as Ballintijn judiciously observed, Mycenaean artists blended lions, other animals, and purely artistic formulas, often in the same image.[175]

173. I thank Andrea von den Driesch for sending me copies of many hard-to-find articles, and for sharing information on unpublished finds.

174. For remains of other wild animals, such as fallow deer, wild pig, and brown bear found in association with the lion bones, see Manhart 1998, Krakhmalnaya 1999, Ninov 1999.

175. Ballintijn (1995, pp. 36–37) demonstrated that realistic observation and artistic formulas are not an either/or choice in Aegean art.

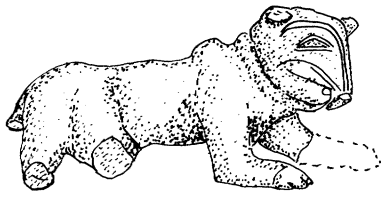


Figure 9.28. Chalcolithic terracotta figurine from Goljamo Delčevo, Bulgaria. N. Thomas, after Manhart 1998, fig. 59

With the actual lion bones as background, scholars can now reassess the Mycenaean fusion of art and life. As a prelude to such future studies, I cite a new relative, a recumbent young lioness in terracotta found at Goljamo Delčevo in Bulgaria near the Black Sea (Fig. 9.28). This hollow clay figurine with a head-shaped lid, from a late Chalcolithic horizon, is apparently the oldest example of lion art discovered to date on the Balkan peninsula.[176] Its clay modeler, like the later Mycenaean metalsmith of the gold lion-head rhyton, curled a loop at the mouth's corner and pushed his material into long diagonal lines, exaggerating the ridge from nostril to wild eyes, fusing artifice, resistant material, and lioness into one striking image.[177]

CONCLUSIONS

This study of the Early Mycenaean lion has summarized the discoveries and scholarship of the last thirty years, meshing the new lions from Thera and Tell el-Dab'a with the older corpus of LH I/LM I art. In addition, it has contributed ideas in the following areas: (1) correlating Shaft Grave art with a "divided" LM IA period on Crete, as precipitated by the eruption of Thera; (2) identifying five "super-violent" iconographical themes; (3) disputing the theory of Levantine craftsmen as makers of the three great *metallmalerei* daggers from the Shaft Graves; (4) listing the actual lion bones discovered to date in Greece and the northern Balkans; and (5) updating previous catalogues of Shaft Grave lion art.

After reviewing the lion in scholarship—summarizing what we have and have not learned—we return to the lion in art, a figural creature that was both real and imagined. Although the lion roamed Greece long before the arrival of the Shaft Grave princes, it first "appeared" at Mycenae in borrowed garb, Cretan and oriental "clothes." We look *at* these representations of real animals, in their Minoan and Eastern modes, and trace their visible artistic genealogies. We look *through* them and glimpse the invisible Mycenaean mentalities they embody. But even when we have reduced these works to their constituent parts and have followed them all over the Mediterranean, they reassemble themselves on the Greek mainland in their fresh materials and invented formats, and boldly announce a new identity.

Occasionally an artist's hand reaches out to us, a hand leaving a trail that opens a window into the real living conditions of Bronze Age Greece. Then we can cross the millennia to ancient Mycenae, where a person, with tools in hand, stands in a workshop. As we watch that artisan visualizing, revisualizing, and turning lions into art, we keep smelling the fires and hearing the hammers.

176. Willms 1986, fig. 1.2; Willms also showed a similarly reclining but headless zoomorphic clay figurine from Ploska Mogila in south-central Bulgaria (fig. 1.1), and he suggested that both figurines are young lionesses. For other early Balkan examples of zoomorphic handles, including painted ceramics possibly with lions, see Makkay 1988 (I thank Stefan Hiller for alerting me to this article). See note 13 above for Late Neolithic lion art at Andros.

177. Cf. the "all-purpose" Vinča face of Serbia in Sandars 1968, p. 116 and fig. 43.

CATALOGUE

Mycenae, Grave Circle B

1 Stele (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13575) Fig. 9.1
Grave Gamma.
Limestone relief, 14 fragments, central part cut away; stele reused as base.
Two rampant lions attack central animal now missing except for leg and tail; above right, armed man, above left, fallen man.
Mylonas 1973, pl. 40; Rhyne 1970, no. 142; Younger 1997, no. 14, "Reused."

2 Stele (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13576) Fig. 9.13
Grave Alpha.
Limestone relief, cracked, right edge missing; unfinished incision.
Two lions attack central running bull; at right 2 men, possibly in chariot, with 1 man spearing lion.
Mylonas 1973, pl. 12:b; Younger 1997, no. 13, "Unfinished."

3 Hilt (Athens, N.M. 8710) Fig. 9.25
Grave Delta.
Gold repoussé plating over wood, from type A sword (Hood 1978, p. 176), with ivory pommel and a bronze blade incised with griffins.
Two lion protomes grip blade in mouths; smaller animal heads on tangs.
Mylonas 1957, fig. 51; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 170, below; Rhyne 1970, no. 141; Hood 1978, fig. 173.

4 Cup (Athens, N.M. 9563 = Grave Delta, no. 326) Fig. 9.18
Grave Delta, from fill.
Silver cup fragment, repoussé.
Lion runs left; below him stands (falls?) small man with shield.
Mylonas 1973, pl. 71:a; Dickinson 1977, pp. 44–45; Davis 1977, no. 30, fig. 105.

Mycenae, Grave Circle A

5 Ornaments (Athens, N.M. 32) Fig. 9.29
Grave III.
Thin gold leaf.
Curled recumbent lion, seen from above; 4 identical, 2 with 4 holes for sewing.
Schliemann 1878, fig. 263; Karo 1930, pl. XXVII:32; Rhyne 1970, no. 155; Hood 1978, fig. 194; Laffineur 1995c, p. 29.



Figure 9.29. Ornament (5) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 32). N. Thomas

6 Seal (Athens, N.M. 33) Fig. 9.19
Grave III.
Gold rectangular cushion seal, perforated.
Rampant lion to right and armed man to left attack each other.
Karo 1930, pl. XXIV:33; *CMS* I, 9; Rhyne 1970, no. 137; Hood 1978, fig. 228:B; Younger 1978, no. 8; Donohue 1978; Sakellariou in Demakopoulou 1990, p. 279.

7 Seal (Athens, N.M. 34) Fig. 9.20
Grave III.
Gold rectangular cushion seal, perforated.
Lion, wounded with arrow in flank, walks left, head turned back, landscape.
Karo 1930, pl. XXIV:34; *CMS* I, 10; Rhyne 1970, no. 138; Donohue 1978, fig. 1; Hood 1978, fig. 228:C; Younger 1978, no. 7; 1995, pp. 345–346.



Figure 9.30. Reliefs (8) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 108). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. XXXIII:108

8 Reliefs (Athens, N.M. 108) Fig. 9.30
Grave III.
Thin gold leaf, perhaps plating of now-lost wooden handle or grip (Karo 1930, p. 298), 9–10 fragments.
Lion, standing(?); some pieces with head, some with flank and claws. Not accepted as a lion by Wace (1965, p. 338, note 1), or listed in Rhyne 1970.
Karo 1930, pp. 58, 298, pl. XXXIII:108.

9 Metal strip (Athens, N.M. 109) Fig. 9.31
Grave III.
Thin gold leaf.
Four animals, perhaps lions (Karo 1930, p. 58), lie in a row. Vermeule 1975, p. 40) said "awkward crouching lion . . . with equally uncertain deer." Rhyne (1970, p. 233 and fig. 85) called it a "beast."
Karo 1930, p. 58, pls. XXXII, XXXIII:109.

10 Reliefs (Athens, N.M. 119, 120) Fig. 9.14
Grave III.
Thin gold cut-outs or inlays, fragmentary.
Lions in flying gallop attack running bull from above, behind, and front; palm tree landscape. N.M. 119 has 3 lions attacking bull, and 120 shows 2 lions and 1 cat attacking bull.
Karo 1930, pl. XXXIII:119, 120; Rhyne 1970, no. 156; Younger 1978, no. 6; Morgan 1988, p. 43, pl. 58.

11 Dagger blade (Athens, N.M. 394) Figs. 9.15, 9.22 (middle)
Grave IV.
The Lion Hunt dagger, type B dagger (Weinstein 1981, p. 48), tangless type II dagger (Papadopoulos 1998, no. 37). Tsountas and Manatt (1897, p. 90) considered it to be from a north–south (earlier) burial.
Bronze, decorated with rich materials that are cut out and inlaid on separate plates inserted along middle of each face. Obverse: 5 armed men versus 3 lions, 2 of which flee to right in flying gallop while largest turns and attacks men. Reverse: 1 lion versus 5 "Mediterranean deer," 4 of which flee to right in flying gallop while 1 is felled by lion.
Karo 1930, pls. XCIII, XCIV:394; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pls. XXXV, center, XXXVI; Rhyne 1970, no. 149; Younger 1978, no. 3; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, no. 1, pls. I, II (both faces); Sakellariou in Demakopoulou 1990, p. 143; Boss and Laffineur 1997, pl. LXVII; Papadopoulos 1998, no. 37, pp. 4–10, pl. 5.

12 Dagger blade (Athens, N.M. 395) Figs. 9.21, 9.22 (bottom)
Grave IV.
The Three Lion dagger, tangless type II dagger (Papadopoulos 1998, no. 34).
Bronze, decorated with rich materials in both flat and repoussé work that is cut out and inlaid on a separate plate inserted along middle of each face. Similar but not identical scene on each face: 3 lions in flying gallop run to right in setting of rocks and clouds.
Karo 1930, pls. XCIII, XCIV:395; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pl. XXXV, below; Rhyne 1970, no. 148; Hood 1978, fig. 177 (detail of rear); Younger 1978,

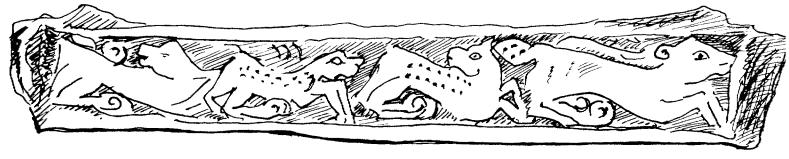


Figure 9.31. Gold strip (9) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 109). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pls. XXXII, XXXIII:109

no. 2; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, no. 2, pl. III; Demakopoulou et al. 1995, fig. 1; Boss and Laffineur 1997, pls. LXIX:c, LXX:a; Papadopoulos 1998, no. 34, pp. 8–9, pl. 4.

13 Pommel (Athens, N.M. 295a) Fig. 9.17
Grave IV.
Gold repoussé casing of wooden pommel (Hood 1978, p. 176) from dagger or sword.
Combat between lion and leopard, both in flying gallop clockwise.
Karo 1930, pls. LXXV, LXXVIII:295a; Rhyne 1970, no. 151; Hood 1978, fig. 174; Younger 1978, no. 5.

14 Pommel (Athens, N.M. 295b) Fig. 9.23
Grave IV.
Ivory relief, from sword.
Four lions in flying gallop, heads converging in radial pinwheel design.
Karo 1930, pls. LXXV, LXXVI, LXXVII:295b; Rhyne 1970, no. 150; Younger 1978, no. 4.

15 Rhyton (Athens, N.M. 273) Fig. 9.26
Grave IV.
Heavy gold plate hammered and engraved, rivet holes visible for missing back plate. Reportedly found in east–west (later) burial (Tsountas and Manatt 1897, p. 90; Dickinson 1977, p. 49).
Lion head.
Karo 1930, pls. CXVII, CXVIII:273; Rhyne 1970, no. 152; Laffineur 1977, no. 26; Davis 1977, no. 62; Hood 1978, fig. 156; Younger 1978, no. 1.

16 Pin head (Athens, N.M. 274) Fig. 9.32
Grave IV.
Gold repoussé, biconical with two sections joined by twisted gold wire.
Two lions above and 2 griffins below run in circular file in flying gallop; lions's feet outward, griffins's feet inward.
Schliemann 1878, no. 309; Karo 1930, pl. XXXII:274; Rhyne 1970, no. 153; Vermeule 1964, fig. 19; Younger 1983, p. 131, Demakopoulou 1990, p. 298, no. 247.



Figure 9.32. Pin head (16) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 274). N. Thomas

17 Cup (Athens, N.M. 656) Fig. 9.33
Grave V.
Thin gold sheet, repoussé, single-handled goblet.
Three lions in flying gallop run in file around bowl of goblet.
Karo 1930, pl. CXXV:656; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 192, top; Rhyne 1970, no. 147; Davis 1977, no. 52; Hood 1978, fig. 152.

18 Mirror handle (Athens, N.M. 785) Fig. 9.24
Grave V.
Ivory high relief, fragmentary mirror handle.
Originally restored as 2 confronted lions's heads and foreparts. Redrawn by Patrianakou-Iliaki (1996, fig. 4) as 1 lion seated left with head turned back sharply.
Karo 1930, figs. 58, 59, pl. CXXXVI:785; Rhyne 1970, no. 144; Poursat 1977b, no. 214; Patrianakou-Iliaki 1996, fig. 4 (= Fig. 9.24).

19 Plaques (Athens, N.M. 808–811) Fig. 9.2
Grave V.
Gold repoussé over hexagonal wooden box; 12 plaques with repeated designs, 8 of which include lions. Left: 4 similar, lion in flying gallop to right,



Figure 9.33. Cup (17) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 656). N. Thomas

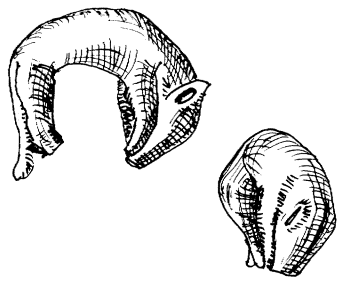


Figure 9.34 *(left)*. **Gold handles (20) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 843).** N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, fig. 63

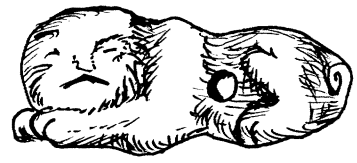


Figure 9.35 *(right)*. **Pendant (21) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 275).** N. Thomas

attacking running stag; palm fronds. Right: 4 similar, lion in flying gallop to left, charging rearing deer, bucranium above, palms.

Karo 1930, pls. CXLIII, CXLIV:808–811; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, figs. 198, 199; Rhyne 1970, nos. 145, 146; Sakellariou in Demakopoulou 1990, pp. 143, 145.

20 Handles (Athens, N.M. 843) Fig. 9.34

Grave V.

Gold sheet metal, three-dimensional, four pairs; Karo (1930, p. 298) said they are perhaps handles of a box cover, plated over a now-lost wooden core; Vermeule (1975, p. 40) called them pairs of handles or part of a hilt.

Lion(?) with head curled toward feet; "lion" (Karo 1930, p. 147); not listed as lion in Wace 1965 or Rhyne 1970; Vermeule (1975, p. 40) said "more dormouse than lion."

Karo 1930, fig. 63, pl. CXLIII:843.

21 Pendant (Athens, N.M. 275) Fig. 9.35

Grave V.

Gold over silver (Staïs 1926, p. 41), perforated; "necklace element" (Vermeule 1975, p. 40).

Lion couchant, face out.

Karo 1930, pl. XXXII:275; Rhyne 1970, no. 154.

22 Stele (Athens, N.M. 1427) Fig. 9.12

Grave V.

Limestone, incision and low relief.

Figural zones above and below. Above: charioteer and horse run over warrior fallen under figure-eight shield. Below: lion runs right in flying gallop chasing running quadruped.

Karo 1930, pl. VII:1427; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 146; Rhyne 1970, no. 143; Hood 1978, fig. 81; Younger 1978, no. 18; Crouwel 1981, p. 119, pl. 37; Younger 1997, no. I, "Simile."

23 Reliefs (Athens, N.M. 792) Fig. 9.36

Grave V.

Thin gold leaf.

Two silhouettes of upright, elliptical animals called "lions" by Karo (1930, p. 142), who stated that their manes are similar to those on lion handles, **20**, but that they do not belong to these handles.

Karo 1930, pl. CXLIII:792.



Figure 9.36. Reliefs (23) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 792). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. CXLIII:792

24 Stele (Athens, N.M. 1450, 1451, or 1434) Fig. 9.37

Not associated with a particular grave.

Limestone, incision.

Two nonjoining fragments. Man gripping/touching(?) wheel, reins, or animal's tail: a "lion" (Crouwel 1981, p. 153, note 6); "possibly a lion or a horse"

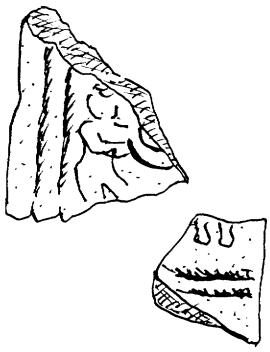




Figure 9.37 *(left)*. Fragments of stele (24) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, not associated with a particular grave (Athens, N.M. 1450, 1451, or 1434). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. X:a, b

Figure 9.38 *(right)*. Seal (25) from Prosymna, Tomb 44 (Athens, N.M. 6615). N. Thomas, after *CMS* I, 217

(Demakopoulou 1990, p. 317); "perhaps the curved tail of a lion" (Younger 1997, p. 237). See Rysted 2001 for a strong case against any animal connection; note that Karo (1930, pp. 34–35, 170) said "man" with no mention of an animal; the smaller fragment shows two human feet.

Schliemann 1878, fig. 143; Karo 1930, fig. 13 (x:a, b), pl. X:a, b; Crouwel 1981, p. 153; Demakopoulou 1990, no. 275; Younger 1997, nos. X, XI; Rysted 2001, figs. 1, 2:a, b.

Prosymna

25 Seal (Athens, N.M. 6615) Fig. 9.38

Tomb 44.

Amethyst lentoid; Sakellariou (1964, p. 238) said it came from LH I ceramic area of tomb; Younger (1984, p. 48) called it a late example of the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master's work.

Lion contorted in circular pose around ornament.

CMS I, 217; Rhyne 1970, no. 140.

Pylos

26 Seal (Athens, N.M. 8332) Fig. 9.39

Rutsi tholos, cist grave 2.

Amethyst 3-sided prism; cist grave 2, the oldest and unplundered part of the burial site, is dated second half of 16th century B.C., or LH I, by Sakellariou (1964, p. 304); the seal itself has been dated LM IB/LH IIA, or first half of 15th century B.C., by Weingarten (1990, pp. 377–378; see my notes 14 and 90).

Three sides: (a) lion seated to left, head turned back, tree behind, ground lines; (b) stag seated to left, head turned back, plant or pronged dot behind, ground lines; (c) blank.

CMS I, 272; Rhyne 1970, no. 139.



Figure 9.39. Seal (26) from Pylos, Rutsi tholos, cist grave 2 (Athens, N.M. 8332). N. Thomas, after *CMS* I, 272

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Some Observations on the "Zygouries" Kylix and Late Helladic IIIB Chronology

by Patrick M. Thomas

The "Zygouries" kylix is one of those chronologically diagnostic artifacts for which all archaeologists long, since it is both easily recognizable in sherd material and its manufacture confined to a relatively brief period.[1] I wish here to take up some questions related to the relative chronology of the type in general: the date of the cache of such kylikes discovered by Carl Blegen at Zygouries in the so-called "Potter's Shop," and how a clearer understanding of the chronology of the Zygouries kylix may illuminate some problems, such as the date of the destruction of the palace at Pylos.

The Zygouries kylix is a vessel type found in deposits dating to the first part of LH IIIB. The type was named after the large number of them discovered by Blegen at Zygouries in 1921,[2] and is characterized by a single large motif or group of motifs restricted to a single side of the vase and the lack of any other painted decoration (see Figs. 10.2–10.10, below). Recognition of its chronological significance was made by F..Schachermeyr, who seems to have been the first scholar to define a basic division within LH IIIB. He discerned two phases within the period, the earlier being associated with what he called the *Zygouries-Stil,* and the later with the *Stil des Tirynther Schuttes.*[3] The former was characterized by the presence of the Zygouries kylix and other patterned kylikes; deep bowls (Furumark

1. I thank the editor for allowing me to submit an article in honor of Sara Immerwahr. Although never fortunate enough to have Dr. Immerwahr as a teacher in the classroom, I greatly appreciated her kind words, advice, and encouragement while a graduate student, as well as her willingness after retirement to read my doctoral exams and serve on my dissertation committee. I return here to a topic I dealt with in my unpublished dissertation, "LH IIIB:1 Pottery from Tsoungiza and Zygouries," which greatly benefited from her careful reading and thoughtful comments. I thank Charles K. Williams II for permission to study the material from Zygouries, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the 1984 Foundation for supporting my research.

2. See Blegen 1928, pp. 33–38.

3. Schachermeyr 1962; note however his earlier observations on the FS 258A kylix (Schachermeyr 1944, p. 129). Schachermeyr assigns pottery to stylistic groups under a common term, which are then ordered chronologically. In the 1962 article he proposed four such terms: the *Agora-Stil,* named after tomb groups from the Athenian Agora, corresponding to LH IIIA:1; the *Amarna-Stil,* named after the sherds and vases found in Petrie's excavations at Amarna, corresponding to LH IIIA:2; the *Zygouries-Stil,* named after the "Potter's Shop" deposit, representing an early LH IIIB phase; and the *Stil des Tirynther Schuttes,* so-called after the large deposit of pottery from outside the west wall of Tiryns (subsequently published in Verdelis, French, and French 1966, pp. 137–152) and representing a later phase of LH IIIB.

shape 284) were present in very small quantities, or not at all. The latter phase saw the widespread use of the deep bowl, paneled decoration, and a decline in the numbers of painted kylikes.

Schachermeyr's recognition that the Tiryns group represented a later phase was a valuable insight, but his use of the Potter's Shop at Zygouries as a deposit typical of early LH IIIB was certainly mistaken: even without the comparanda provided by the extensive publication of LH IIIB deposits from Mycenae during the 1960s, the nature of the Potter's Shop deposit itself, the lack of painted open shapes other than kylikes, and the peculiar assemblage of unpainted pottery, should have suggested that it was not a typical domestic deposit.

In the 1960s E. French published a series of important reports on settlement deposits from Mycenae.[4] Building on Schachermeyr's earlier observations, she advanced criteria for the separation of LH IIIA:2 from LH IIIB, and divided the LH IIIB period into two major phases, the use of which is now standard, LH IIIB:1 and LH IIIB:2.[5] Because Furumark had classed both Zygouries and ordinary kylikes, which had painted rims and banding, under the same shape, French introduced the term "Furumark Shape (FS) 258A" to distinguish the Zygouries-style kylikes from the banded kylikes, which she termed "FS 258B."[6] The FS 258A kylix, along with the appearance of Group A deep bowls (FS 284), plain kylikes of conical shape (FS 274), miniature handmade painted vessels (FS 126), and a limited number of motifs, constitute the defining features of LH IIIB:1, although only the FS 258A kylix is restricted to the period. The other diagnostic types continue in LH IIIB:2 alongside new types peculiar to that period, such as the Group B deep bowl and the "Rosette" deep bowl.[7]

The first question to be addressed here is whether the Zygouries kylix can be associated with some particular part of LH IIIB:1. It has been argued that the FS 258A kylix is not only diagnostic of the LH IIIB:1 period in general, but that it is peculiarly associated with the early part of that period. This position is ultimately based on Schachermeyr's claim that the FS 258A kylix is a chronological marker for an early stage in the LH IIIB period.[8] K. Wardle has suggested that the manufacture of the type was limited to only about the first quarter or so of LH IIIB:1.[9] The idea that the FS 258A kylix is a product of an early stage of LH IIIB:1 has been adopted by others either explicitly or implicitly.[10]

Schachermeyr refined his scheme of LH IIIB ceramic development in later publications.[11] Following his usual methodology of using specific deposits to characterize ceramic phases, he distinguished three major chronological phases (Early LH IIIB, Middle LH IIIB, and Late LH IIIB) by using six groups that he believed showed the successive major lines of development; the overall appearance of each group he referred to as an *Aspekt*. Later he was at pains to note that the different *Aspekte* were not rigid chronological phases, and that successive *Aspekte* blended into each other, but there is no doubt that he believed the *Aspekte* were chronologically significant.[12] In Early LH IIIB only the *Zygouries-Aspekt* is found. Middle LH IIIB consists successively of the *Aspekt des Übergangs von Kylix zu*

4. French 1965, 1966, 1967, 1969.

5. French 1966, p. 216; Mountjoy 1986, p. 93; 1993, p. 80. Kilian's suggestion (see, e.g., Kilian 1988, p. 118) of a four-fold division in LH IIIB (termed "early," "middle," "developed," and "late") has not as yet won much support, as the distinctions depend on percentage comparisons of particular shapes and motifs, not simply their presence or absence. See Thomas 1992, pp. 488–508 for discussion.

6. Furumark 1941a, pp. 63, 628–629; French 1966, p. 222.

7. French 1966, p. 235; Mountjoy 1986, p. 93.

8. First advanced in Schachermeyr 1962.

9. Wardle 1973, p. 306, fig. 5.

10. E.g., Mountjoy 1986, p. 93; Shelmerdine 1992, p. 503.

11. Schachermeyr 1976, pp. 250–261.

12. Cf. Schachermeyr 1980, pp. 42–47.

Skyphos, represented by the Prehistoric Cemetery Central deposit at Mycenae;[13] the *Aspekt des Optimum des leichten Stils*, exemplified by the Citadel House, Room 3 deposit at Mycenae;[14] and the *Aspekt der Terrassen Häuser* in the West House complex at Mycenae.[15] Late LH IIIB consists of the *Aspekt des Causeway Deposit*, from the Mycenae Causeway deposit, and the *Aspekt des Perseia Trench* from the Perseia Trench L deposit at Mycenae.[16]

In the classification of the British excavators at Mycenae, the first four *Aspekte* belong to LH IIIB:1, and the final two to LH IIIB:2. In arranging the final five *Aspekte*, Schachermeyr seems to have followed the lead of the Mycenae pottery publications: K. Wardle had already suggested a similar sequence several years before, based largely on the increasing percentage of FS 284 deep bowls seen in the deposits. In Wardle's scheme, however, there seems to be considerably more overlap between the groups than Schachermeyr was prepared to concede.[17]

An objectionable feature of Schachermeyr's chronological divisions is the notion of an Early LH IIIB based on the so-called *Zygouries-Aspekt*. Schachermeyr believed that the initial phase of LH IIIB was characterized by the presence of painted kylikes, especially FS 258A kylikes, and that the canonical deep bowl, FS 284, of later LH IIIB, was not present.[18] This position depended exclusively on the contents of the Potter's Shop at Zygouries, which Schachermeyr considered a typical domestic deposit, and contradicted the assertion of E. French that the deep bowl was found alongside the patterned kylix from the beginning of LH IIIB.[19] He heavily stressed the absence of deep bowls: "Skyphoi der späteren normalen Art gab es damals anscheinend noch nicht. Waren solche im potters shop von Zygouries vorhanden gewesen, so wurde das Blegen gewiss nicht entgangen sein."[20] In response to E. French's observation that deep bowls were known from Zygouries, although not from the Potter's Shop,[21] Schachermeyr asserted that Blegen had stated that the examples in question postdated the Potter's Shop: "Danach wäre auch die Bemerkung von *BSA* 61 (1967) 234 A. 32 einzuschränken, denn Blegen sagt ausdrücklich: 'The examples illustrated in Figure 131 (No. 1 to 12) must no doubt for the most part be assigned to a slightly later date' als die Bestände des potters shop."[22] This is not in fact what Blegen says. It is worthwhile to quote the entire relevant passage:

> We now come to Late Helladic III, and before we take up the groups from the Potter's Shop and the chamber tombs, a few words need be said about the pottery found elsewhere on the site. As appears from the illustrations, the usual Third Late Helladic types are represented. Among these sherds those shown in Fig 130 (Nos. 1 to 5) clearly belong to the early part of the period, being very similar to the ware found in the *dromos* of Tomb 505 and elsewhere at Mycenae, technically of extremely good fabric, and decorated, though with decadent patterns, it is true, in glaze paint of excellent quality. No. 1, a broad cup, with its flat bottom and slightly concave sides terminating in a plain rim, may be ultimately derived from the "Keftiu shape," and its decoration looks like an advanced step in the conventionalization of the pattern of ivy leaves so naturalistically rendered in Late Helladic I and II.

13. The *Zygouries-Aspekt* was also seen to some degree in the Prehistoric Cemetery Central deposit at Mycenae (published in French 1966), according to Schachermeyr (1976, p. 251).

14. *Leichten Stil* is the German translation of the English "open style," the term initially applied to Group A deep bowls. The contrasting term, "filled style," refers primarily to the Group B deep bowls of LH IIIB:2. The deposit from Room 3 of the Citadel House at Mycenae is published in Wardle 1969.

15. See French 1967 for the pottery from the West House complex at Mycenae.

16. See Wardle 1973 for the Mycenae Causeway deposit and French 1969 for the Perseia Trench deposit.

17. Wardle 1973, pp. 304–306.

18. Schachermeyr 1976, pp. 266–267.

19. French 1966, pp. 234–235.

20. Schachermeyr 1976, p. 251.

21. French 1966, pp. 234, note 52, referring to Blegen 1928, fig. 131.

22. Schachermeyr 1976, p. 251, note 2, citing Blegen 1928, p. 139; Schachermeyr's citation of French in this quote is mistaken and should be read as "*BSA* 61 (1966) 234 A. 52."

> The examples illustrated in Figure 131 (Nos. 1 to 12) must no doubt for the most part be assigned to a slightly later date, an intermediate stage in Late Helladic III, perhaps not a great deal later than the foregoing. Here are included a few pieces (Nos. 1, 2, and 3) on which added white patterns are used to accentuate the decoration; for this technique, so common on early ware of Late Helladic I, was revived in the course of Late Helladic III, though not in the same delicate style; and specimens are known from other Mycenaean sites. The other examples shown are quite similar, both in shapes represented and in decoration, to the intermediate wares from Mycenae and call for no special remarks. No. 10, a fragment from the side of a deep bowl, with its crudely drawn fantastic animal, recalls the "circus pot" from Tomb 521 at Mycenae, which it matches very closely in style.
>
> The very latest type of Third Late Helladic Ware, the so-called "Granary Class," differentiated by Wace at Mycenae was not abundantly represented.[23]

It is clear in this passage that Blegen makes *no statement at all* regarding the chronological relationship between the deep bowls shown in his figure 131 and the contents of the Potter's Shop. The "foregoing" clearly refers to the material in the first paragraph that he compares to the dromos of Tomb 505 at Mycenae, but Schachermeyr for some reason believed Blegen was speaking of the Potter's Shop deposit. There is thus no support from Blegen's publication to suppose he was advancing the idea that the Potter's Shop was connected with a chronological phase in which patterned kylikes existed without deep bowls. Taken together with the observations set forth below concerning the date of the Potter's Shop, the notion of an initial phase of LH IIIB:1 distinguished only by the presence of the FS 258A kylix should be rejected. Every published deposit in the Argolid and adjacent areas assigned to a date of LH IIIB:1 contains both FS 258A kylikes and FS 284 deep bowls.[24]

When within LH IIIB was the Potter's Shop at Zygouries destroyed? Evidence for the date of House B at Zygouries, the so-called "Potter's Shop," is provided by the floor deposits, as well as by the finds from at least three trial trenches cut through the floors of its Rooms 12 and 13. Blegen had little difficulty in assigning the vases from the floor deposits to

23. Blegen 1928, p. 139.

24. Only one other deposit besides the "Potter's Shop" at Zygouries is known to me in which a FS 258A kylix sherd appears with no deep bowls: the Cyclopean Terrace deposit at Mycenae, dated to LH IIIA:2 (late) by French (see Wace 1954 for the publication; the piece is illustrated again in French 1965, pl. 53:b3, and discussed on p. 188); the kylix is decorated with a hybrid flower (FM 18B:34). Given the lack of other deposits containing only FS 258A kylikes and no FS 284 deep bowls, it seems preferable to date this sherd to LH IIIB:1. With regard to another deposit at Mycenae characterized by French as LH IIIA:2, the bulk of the material from the terrace below the House of the Shields at Mycenae appears to date to LH IIIA:2 (late); but, because this deposit contains both FS 258A kylikes and FS 284 deep bowls, it cannot be accepted ipso facto as a closed LH IIIA:2 deposit. French's (1965, p. 191) qualifications concerning the date of the deposit, which contained a small amount of much later material, should be noted. See Schönfeld 1988, pp. 168–184, for further discussion of "early LH IIIB"; see Rutter 1974, pp. 33–101, for the East Alley deposit at Korakou; and Thomas 1992, pp. 25–267, for a LH IIIB:1 deposit from Tsoungiza.

LH III, and he recognized that the decoration and fabrics exhibited more affinities with the earlier part of LH III than with the later.[25]

Two trays in the Old Museum at Ancient Corinth contain the pottery recovered from the trenches excavated under the floors, although neither the sherds nor the trays themselves are labeled with the particular trial trench from which the pottery came; some of the sherds bear penciled notes regarding the relative depth at which they were recovered. Examining the material from the latest strata under the floor of House B, Blegen suggested that it showed close affinities with the material from the dromos of Tomb 505 at Mycenae, a group subsequently classified as LH IIIA:2 by Furumark and confirmed by French.[26] Blegen thus proposed that "the contents of the Potter's Shop must be assigned to an intermediate phase, distinctly nearer the beginning than the end of the Third Late Helladic period—perhaps not far from the close of the 14th century B.C."[27]

My own examination of the material from these trenches generally agrees with Blegen's reading, but I would note that at least one rim from a FS 258A kylix is present in the trays, as well as a shallow bowl rim with two joined whorlshells (FM 22:21) on the interior, a pattern unquestionably limited to LH IIIB that is also found on two of the FS 258A kylikes from Room 12.[28] The straightforward interpretation is that the Zygouries kylix was already being employed at the time the floor of House B was constructed.[29] It is possible that the two pieces belong to the floor deposit of House B, and that Blegen did not manage to clean completely the floor surface before excavating the trial trenches under it. Given the hard-packed nature of the floor and Blegen's high level of care when excavating, however, one hesitates to accept this conclusion. There is, unfortunately, no other helpful material, such as a deep bowl fragment, in the trays to resolve this question, but if these two pieces do in fact provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the building, one must conclude that the building was constructed after the beginning of LH IIIB:1.

The contents of the building provide surprisingly little help in trying to fix more specifically the duration of its use within LH IIIB. Only four painted shapes are present: kylix, stirrup jar, pot stand, and piriform jar, the last two shapes each represented by a single example.[30] It is therefore very difficult to compare this deposit with other domestic deposits, such as those at Tsoungiza, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Korakou, because the single point of comparison is the painted kylikes, as the large stirrup jars are typically found only in very fragmentary form at the smaller sites.

Furumark, who was unable to divide LH IIIB on the basis of the material available to him, had little to say concerning the relative position of the Potter's Shop material within the period, although he asserted that the vases probably belonged to the middle or later part.[31] More recently, thanks to the lead of Schachermeyr, a perception has arisen that the building and its contents belong to an early phase of LH IIIB.[32] Wardle went so far as to suggest that House B was likely destroyed at the beginning of LH IIIB:1.[33] His reasoning is not altogether clear, but he implies that there was little LH IIIB material from the site itself outside of House B, and that this lack of material indicates that the site was destroyed or

25. Blegen 1928, p. 166. It should be recalled that for Blegen, pottery associated with the "later part" of LH III referred to the "Granary" class of LH IIIC.

26. Blegen 1928, p. 166; Furumark 1941b, p. 64. French (1965, pp. 162–171) agrees with Furumark's judgment that the material belongs to the LH IIIA:2 (late) phase.

27. Blegen 1928, p. 167.

28. See Blegen 1928, figs. 136:3 and 136:4 for the kylikes; cf. Furumark 1941a, figs 51:22 and 51:23.

29. It must be emphasized that the museum trays do not have lids, and contamination cannot be ruled out, although it does not seem likely based on the homogeneous appearance of the material.

30. There are several body sherds from the FS 258B kylix, which has linear banding, but these are small and could represent building debris rather than being part of the actual floor deposit.

31. Furumark 1941b, p. 101.

32. See, e.g., Hope-Simpson 1981, p. 35; Wardle 1969, p. 265, note 18. Ålin's (1962, pp. 58–59) dating of the kylikes to *eine späte IIIB Datierung* has been largely ignored.

33. Wardle 1969, p. 265, note 18.

abandoned before the later phases of LH IIIB. This is, however, simply not the case, because plentiful LH IIIB material has been found on the site, including both LH IIIB:1 and LH IIIB:2 pottery.

In a tray simply labeled "Zygouries" in the Old Museum at Ancient Corinth are two substantial pieces of Group B deep bowls. During three excursions to the site of Zygouries, I have personally noted four other examples of Group B deep bowl sherds on the surface, and others have reported seeing additional examples.[34] There can be little doubt that occupation continued here into LH IIIB:2, and so the alleged absence of later material from the entire site cannot be used to support an early date for the destruction of House B. Both Schachermeyr and Wardle appear to have been misled by the contents of the House B material, which in no sense constitute a "full" domestic deposit, but rather, as I have argued elsewhere, were intended for a specialized function or functions.[35] The painted deep bowls, stemmed bowls, and cups that one normally associates with LH IIIB deposits are in fact found in sherd material from the trial trenches that Blegen excavated at the base of the mound.[36] This, incidentally, should help refute the notion of a gap between the date of the tombs at Zygouries, the contents of which have been stylistically dated by many to the middle of LH IIIB, and that of the settlement on the mound.[37]

A second issue to consider is whether a developmental sequence can be distinguished in the FS 258A kylix. It is possible to suggest a general scheme for the development of the motifs on the FS 258A kylix, although it is difficult to determine how rapidly it occurred. One can at least, however, draw a fairly plausible picture of the kinds of motifs that would be observed on a hypothetical "early" group of FS 258A kylikes. The line of evolution suggested here is implied in Furumark's treatment of LH IIIB motifs, notably the FM 18B Hybrid Flower and FM 23 Whorlshell, but the excavation of substantial numbers of new domestic deposits since the publication of his two volumes on Mycenaean pottery in 1941 has given additional force to the proposed seriation of these motifs in that work.[38]

The FS 258A kylix almost certainly originated in a single workshop in the vicinity of Mycenae and was perhaps the invention of a single individual. Nearly all the earliest examples seem to be decorated with a striking variant of the FM 18B Hybrid Flower, which Furumark considered a hybrid of the FM 18A Flower and the FM 21 Octopus.[39] This variant, FM 18B:33 and 18B:34 (Fig. 10.1), is pictorialized, with eyes formed of concentric circles and "spikes" projecting through the three lobes of the flower. This "Spiked Flower" motif is found on LH IIIA:2 (late) FS 257 kylikes at Mycenae from the dromos of Tomb 505, either by itself or as the

34. J. B. Rutter (pers. comm.); note also what appears to be a Group B deep bowl among a group of surface finds from Zygouries in the possession of Oxford University (published in Jones 1986, p. 191).

35. In Thomas 1988, and Thomas 1992, pp. 285–300, I argue that the contents of Rooms 13 and 33 were used to store pots employed in the manufacture of perfumed oil.

36. These trial trenches were dug at varying distances from the mound in order to locate tombs, which were in fact found several hundred yards away. Material from the trial trenches was preserved in a number of large crates tucked away in the Old Museum at Ancient Corinth.

37. Wardle 1969, p. 265.

38. Furumark 1941a, figs. 43, 44, 51.

39. Furumark 1941a, pp. 288–290.

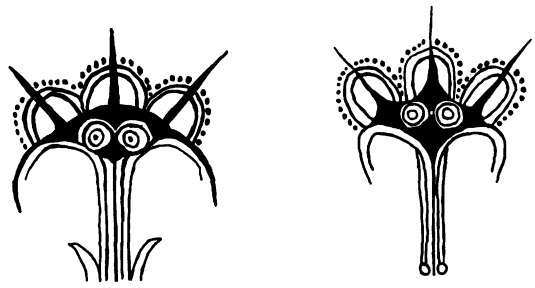


Figure 10.1. Hybrid flower motifs of the "Spiked Flower" type, Furumark 18B:33 *(left)* and 18B:34. P. Thomas, after Furumark 1941a, fig. 44

central element in a composition with whorlshells.[40] Early examples of what may be called the Zygouries "syntax," in which a single large motif or motif group is employed without linear banding, are found on several kylikes at Mycenae that employ the Spiked Flower motif.[41] Another, unpublished, example comes from one of the trial trenches that Blegen excavated at Zygouries.[42] The examples from Mycenae were found in deposits classed by French as LH IIIA:2 (late), yet each deposit includes at least a single example of a FS 284 deep bowl that cannot easily be dismissed as a later intrusion; the sherds and their associated deposits are perhaps better understood as reflecting the beginning of LH IIIB, as Guntram Schönfeld suggests.[43]

The Spiked Flower pattern thus appears to be the earliest motif used on the FS 258A kylix, but it is not frequently encountered in later deposits of LH IIIB:1 on kylikes. No certain examples are known from Tsoungiza or Korakou. Only a single possible example occurs in the Prehistoric Cemetery Central deposit at Mycenae,[44] a single small body sherd is from the House of the Idols at Mycenae,[45] and a single small body sherd comes from the Room 22 deposit in the South House at Mycenae.[46] It does not seem to appear on published FS 258A kylikes at Tiryns. One must keep in mind that we are speaking here of the use of the motif on the FS 258A kylix, not other vessel shapes. It was very popular indeed throughout LH IIIB:1 as the central motif on kraters, for example.[47]

Another common motif on FS 258A kylikes throughout LH IIIB:1 was the antithetic whorlshell pair, which also appears to be one of the

40. See French 1965, fig. 2, nos. 5 and 8. The material from the dromos of Tomb 505 is accepted by all as belonging to LH IIIA:2 (late); cf. Schönfeld 1988, p. 163 and table 4.

41. French 1965, p. 177 and pl. 51:b2 (from the terrace on the Atreus Ridge; most peculiarly, the shape is FS 267, the angular kylix, not FS 257 or FS 258; the rim is, however, unpainted); French 1965, p. 188 and pl. 53:c1 (from the terrace below the House of the Shields); French 1965, p. 188 and pl. 53:c3 (from the deposit beneath the Cyclopean Terrace building). The latter two sherds appear to conform to the normal FS 258A shape and decorative syntax in every respect, and as indicated above in note 24, I view these as LH IIIB:1.

42. The rim sherd is in a crate of material in the Old Museum at Ancient Corinth, and the motif is very close to the example from the terrace below the House of the Shields at Mycenae (French 1965, p. 188 and pl. 53:c1). See Thomas 1997 for discussion of the identification of individual hands on FS 258A kylikes.

43. Cf. French 1965, pp. 177, 186, 194; Schönfeld 1988, pp. 163–164.

44. Cf. French 1966, fig. 5, no. 7.

45. Wardle 1969, p. 273 and fig. 5, no. 33, and pl. 62:a6.

46. Mountjoy 1976, p. 87 and fig. 5, no. 37.

47. See, e.g., Schönfeld 1988, fig. 13, for an example from Tiryns; Wardle 1969, p. 272 and fig. 5, nos. 20 and 26 (Mycenae, House of the Idols); Mountjoy 1976, pp. 84–85 and fig. 4, nos. 16, 17, 19, 21 (Mycenae, Room 22, South House); Shelmerdine 1992, p. 504 and p. 600, no. 3759 (Nichoria); Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 401–402, no. 1151, and fig. 387 (Pylos); Benzi 1988, p. 47 and fig. 34 (found at Trianda but identified as an import from the Argolid).

earliest motifs, based on its presence on a sherd from the terrace below the House of the Shields at Mycenae.[48] This particular example shows other likely characteristics of an "early" FS 258A kylix. First, the heads of the whorlshells are of the "filled" type. It is usual in LH IIIA:2 for the heads of whorlshells to be filled with circles or dots, or for them to be doubly outlined; the filled heads continue into LH IIIB.[49] Second, the bodies of the whorlshells are filled with a single line of dots, not motifs such as chevrons or wavy lines.

We can now turn to the evidence from Zygouries. The shapes of the FS 258A kylikes and the undecorated kylikes from House B, the Potter's Shop, are not reflective of an early LH IIIB date. It is now apparent from other deposits of LH IIIB:1 pottery from Korakou, Tiryns, and Tsoungiza that the FS 257 kylix, which has a distinctly thickened lip and was the dominant type in LH IIIA:2, continued in use and probably production into LH IIIB, gradually being supplanted over the course of the period by FS 258.[50] No examples of FS 257 are observed in the Potter's Shop deposit from House B. The unpainted kylikes exhibit considerable variation in height of stem and depth of bowl, but all have the relatively thin lip of the typical LH IIIB kylix.[51] In addition, many of the unpainted kylikes from House B belong to FS 274, the conical kylix.[52] This shape appears to be an innovation of LH IIIB:1 that becomes more prevalent over the course of LH IIIB.

Consideration of the motifs found on the FS 258A kylikes from House B suggests, based on the line of development suggested above, that they are not particularly "early" in appearance; it seems likely that such considerations influenced Furumark's placement of the Potter's Shop deposit in the middle of or late in LH IIIB.[53] No example of the Spiked Flower (FM 18B:34) is found among the more than one hundred painted kylikes. Kylikes decorated with antithetic whorlshell pairs and dot-filled bodies are common (Fig. 10.2), but many whorls have other kinds of body fills, including wavy lines, chevrons, ladder patterns, as well as solidly painted bodies (Figs. 10.3, 10.4). The wavy lines and chevrons seen in the body fills of whorls are similar to those employed as fills in the triglyph patterns of deep bowls. A number of the kylikes have lines of dot rosettes (FM 27) separating the members of the whorlshell pairs (e.g., Figs. 10.2:2, 10.3:2), and still others feature actual triglyph patterns between the whorlshells (Fig. 10.5:1, 2). The heads of all whorlshells are unfilled and singly outlined, save two kylikes decorated with FM 23:23, a variant in which the bodies of the antithetic pair are joined and both heads are filled (Fig. 10.6:4).[54]

Many variants of the FM 18B Hybrid Flower are present (Figs. 10.7–10.10); the stems are almost never filled with the simple vertical lines observed in LH IIIA:2, but with motifs found as fills within the triglyphs of deep bowls and stemmed bowls, including wavy lines (Fig. 10.7:1, 2), zigzag (Figs. 10.7:3, 10.10:4), several variants of quirk (Figs. 10.8:2, 5, 10.9:2, 3, 10.10:1, 3), and chevrons (Figs. 10.9:1, 4, 10.10:2). The great variety in the hybrid flowers, the frequent filling of both flower stems and whorlshell

48. French 1965, p. 188 and pl. 53:c2; the same deposit includes a FS 258A rim decorated with the "Spiked Flower" motif (French 1965, p. 188 and pl. 53:c1). See also Schönfeld 1988, p. 183, for discussion of these two kylikes.

49. French 1965, p. 178 and fig. 6; French 1966, p. 226 and fig. 6; Schönfeld 1988, p. 170.

50. Korakou, East Alley deposit: Rutter 1974, pp. 80–81, 99; Tiryns: Schönfeld 1988, p. 176; Tsoungiza: Thomas 1992, pp. 52–55.

51. According to Furumark's classification of unpainted kylikes (1941a, pp. 62–63 and fig. 17), which allows for insufficient variation, most of the kylikes with rounded bowls from House B would fall into FS 265 and a handful into FS 266. Furumark himself classed all the kylikes as FS 274, which I reserve for the true conical kylix. See Thomas 1992, pp. 317–320 for discussion, and figs. 64, 65, 66:1, 2; cf. Wardle 1969, p. 289.

52. Blegen 1928, pp. 151–152; Furumark 1941a, p. 672; Thomas 1992, pp. 317–320 and figs. 66:3, 4, 67–69.

53. Furumark 1941b, p. 101.

54. Blegen 1928, fig. 136:4, 5; Thomas 1992, pp. 384–385 and fig. 60:2.

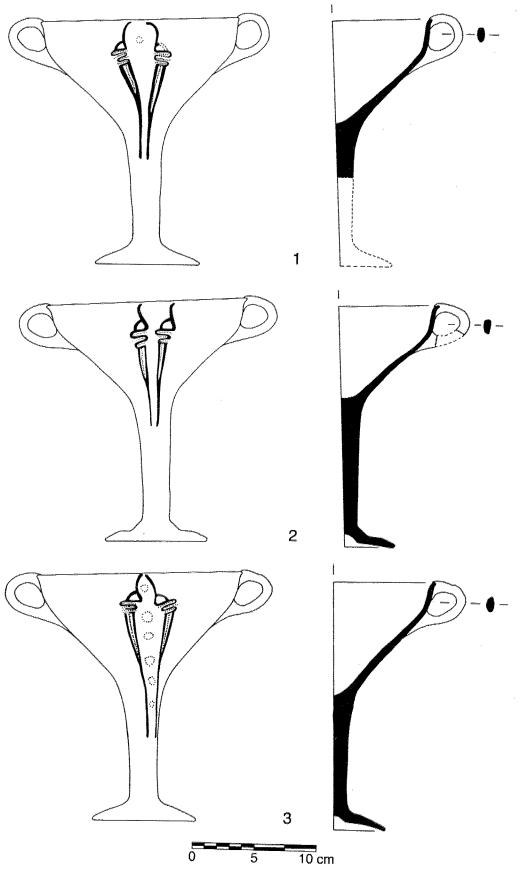


Figure 10.2. Kylikes from Zygouries: whorlshells with dot-filled bodies. P. Thomas

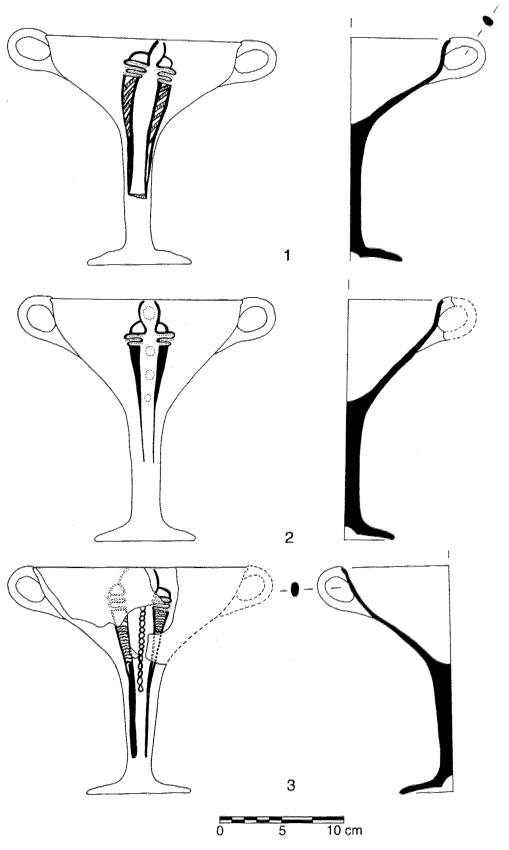


Figure 10.3. Kylikes from Zygouries: whorlshells with ladder pattern in bodies, solid bodies, and wavy line in bodies. P. Thomas

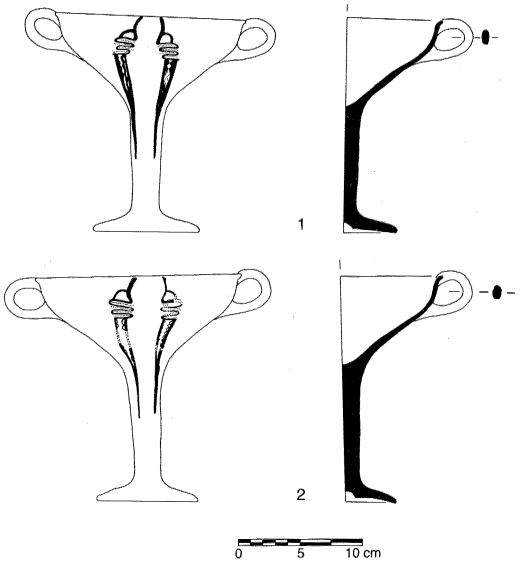
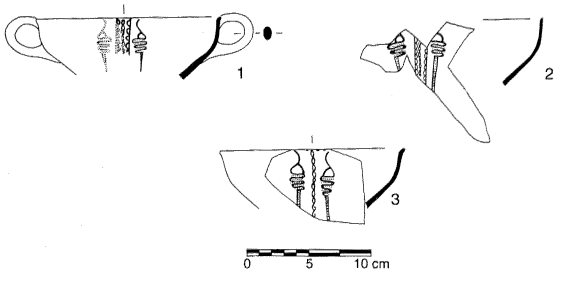
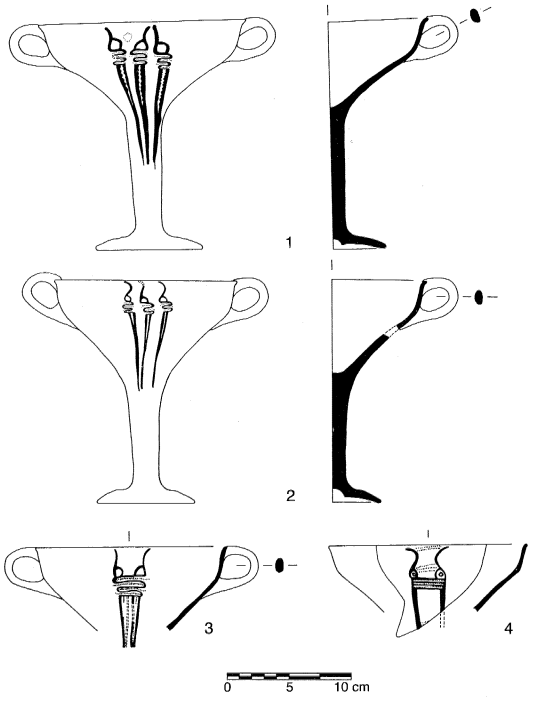
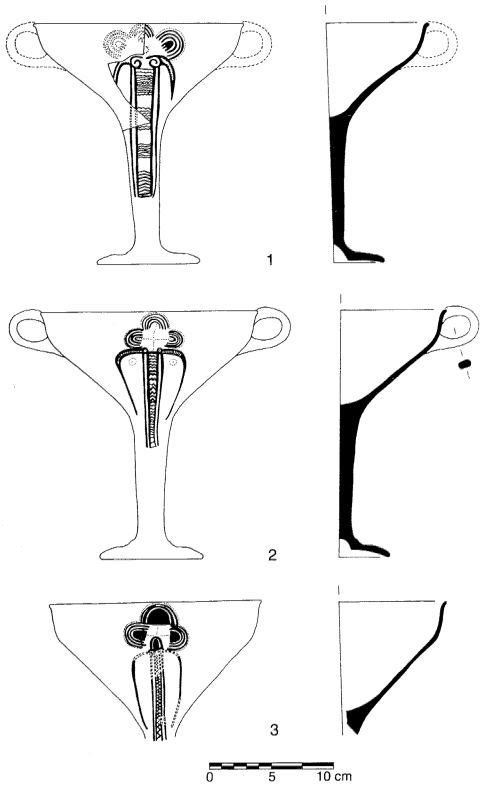


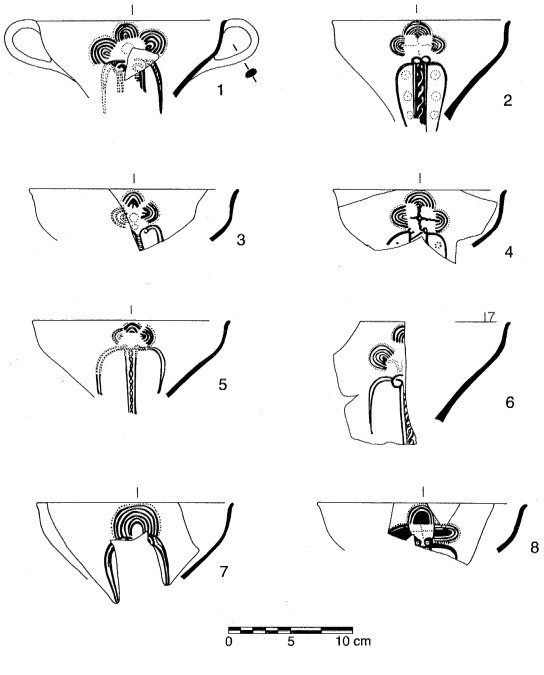
Figure 10.4 *(left)*. Kylikes from Zygouries: whorlshells with vertical wavy line in bodies. P. Thomas

Figure 10.5 *(below)*. Kylikes from Zygouries: whorlshells with dot-filled bodies and triglyph-type separators. P. Thomas




1
2
3
4
0 5 10 cm


1
2
3
0 5 10 cm


1
2
3
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5
6
7
8
0 5 10 cm

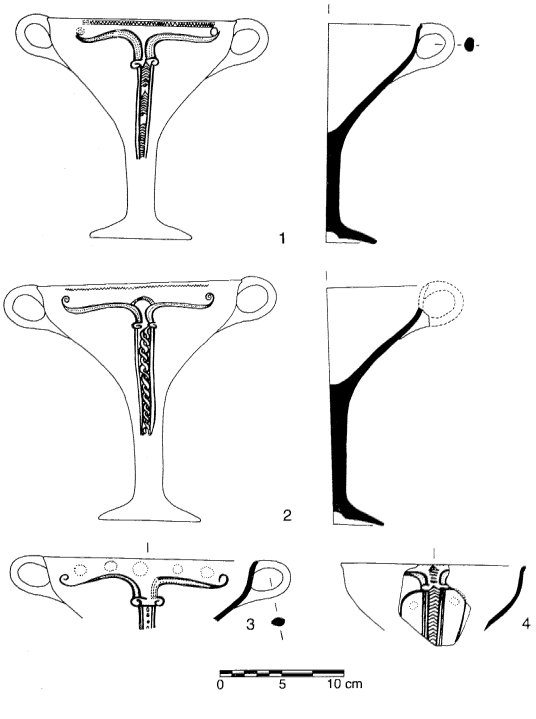

1
2
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0 5 10 cm

Figure 10.6 *(opposite, top left).* Kylikes from Zygouries: triple-whorlshell patterns, whorlshells with linked bodies. P. Thomas

Figure 10.7 *(opposite, top right).* Kylikes from Zygouries: hybrid flower patterns. P. Thomas

Figure 10.8 *(opposite, bottom left).* Kylikes from Zygouries: hybrid flower patterns. P. Thomas

Figure 10.9 *(opposite, bottom right).* Kylikes from Zygouries: hybrid flower patterns. P. Thomas

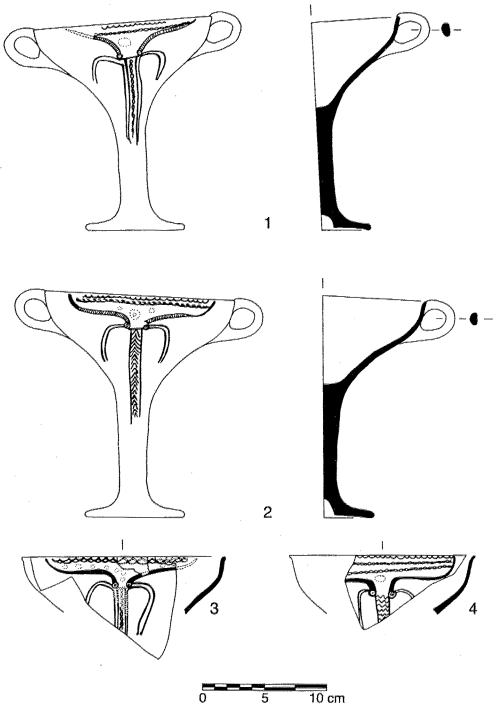


Figure 10.10. Kylikes from Zygouries: hybrid flower patterns. P. Thomas

bodies with motifs commonly used as triglyph fills on deep bowls, and the lack of filled heads in the whorlshells are, as a whole, not at all consistent with the decoration of a hypothetical group of "early" LH IIIB:1 kylikes.

On balance then, the evidence suggests that House B, the Potter's Shop, was a structure built and used during LH IIIB:1, and one must leave open the possibility of the building's survival into LH IIIB:2. No good evidence is available that the building and its contents represent an early phase of LH IIIB:1; the stratigraphic evidence, kylix shapes, and the motifs used to decorate the patterned kylikes all suggest a date more advanced in the period. My own opinion is that the contents of the building are much more likely to date near the LH IIIB:1/LH IIIB:2 transition than the transition from the LH IIIA:2 (late) period. G. Schönfeld has reached a similar conclusion.[55]

We now turn briefly to the question of the date of the destruction of Pylos. Its excavator, Carl Blegen, placed its destruction at the end of LH IIIB or the very beginning of LH IIIC, in the last three decades of the 13th century B.C.[56] In doing so, Blegen followed the sound archaeological principle of using what seemed to be the latest material to date the terminal phase of the building; the latest material, however, was not homogeneous with the majority of the pottery found in the destruction level. The bulk of the unpainted and most painted pottery from the palace would likely be classified as LH IIIA:2 (late) or LH IIIB:1, using Furumark's criteria and the evidence assembled from the Argolid since Furumark's publication.[57] A few decorated pieces clearly seem to be LH IIIB, including a number of kraters decorated with antithetic vertical whorlshell pairs, doubled whorlshells (cf. Fig. 10.6:3), or hybrid flowers clearly imitating

55. Schönfeld 1988, p. 188, note 184.

56. Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 421–422.

57. Cf. Popham 1991, p. 315.

FM 18B:33 and 18B:34 (Fig. 10.1).[58] Except the odd no. 810 (Pylos Museum 1616), which omits a distinct head altogether, all of the whorlshells from these kraters have filled heads and dot-filled bodies.[59] Both hybrid flowers clearly reflect FM 18B:34; neither has a body fill reflective of triglyph patterns found on deep bowls. This is precisely what we would expect stylistically in these motifs during the early part of IIIB, while making some allowance for regional variation.

For Blegen, a small number of deep bowls recovered from several parts of the palace provided evidence for a late date of the palace's destruction.[60] The paneled patterns seen on several of these would be at home in the Argolid during LH IIIB:1, although the peculiarly abbreviated antithetic spirals seen on nos. 808 (Pylos Museum 1614) and 593 (Pylos Museum 1401) would seem odd. Other motifs, such as vertical chevron stacks (cf. FM 58:15–18), are also at home in LH IIIB:1 on deep bowls.[61] The relatively straight upper body profiles of some of these deep bowls, and the fact that some of them have the rim banding of stemmed bowls (a relatively broad band directly under the painted lip on the exterior) may point to an early date in LH IIIB, rather than one in LH IIIC.[62] Several of the deep bowls from the palace would certainly not be at home before LH IIIC in the Argolid sequence. These include two deep bowls (nos. 594 [Pylos Museum 1402] and 1172) that are solidly painted on both exterior and interior, and a deep bowl (no. 677 [Pylos Museum 1485]) that is solidly painted inside and out except for a narrow reserved "window" on the exterior that contains a peculiar floral motif. For Blegen, these called to mind parallels from the "Granary" class observed in LH IIIC in the Argolid.[63]

M. Popham has considered these pots in part of his review of the evidence for the date of the destruction of Pylos. Blegen claimed that after the destruction of the palace, the site lay deserted until the 7th century B.C.,[64] but throughout the publication, Blegen noted a number of Geometric "intrusions" that Popham argues constitute evidence for a far more extensive use of the site during later times than Blegen was prepared to concede.[65] In my view, Popham makes a persuasive case for reconsidering whether the few problematic deep bowls and other vessels actually belong to the destruction level. Further study of Pylos by members of the recent Minnesota Pylos project and Pylos Regional Archaeological Project suggests that approximately twenty percent of the palace site shows evidence

58. Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 400–402 and fig. 387, nos. 1151 (central motif imitates FM 18B:34, flanked by doubled whorlshells with filled heads), 1090 (vertical whorlshells with filled heads), 826 (antithetic whorlshell pairs with filled heads), 810 (a very crude, single-lobed FM 18B Hybrid Flower, yet exhibiting the "spikes" seen in FM 18B:34 and flanked by vertical whorlshells in which the lines outlining the heads have been omitted).

59. Krater no. 1151 from Pylos (Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 401–402 and fig. 387) appears from the photograph to have dots in the center of the whorls' heads, but a recent drawing (Mountjoy 1999, p. 350, fig. 119, no. 103) shows the heads unfilled.

60. Blegen and Rawson 1966, pp. 354, 397–399, 421, fig. 385.

61. See, e.g., French 1966, p. 227, fig. 7, no. 7; Wardle 1969, p. 274, fig. 6, nos. 44, 47; Mountjoy 1976, p. 88, nos. 42, 43; Thomas 1992, fig. 17, nos. 6, 7.

62. Cf. Thomas 1992, pp. 61, 68, regarding these features in LH IIIB:1 deep bowls from Tsoungiza. Mountjoy (1999, p. 352), however, suggests straight-sided deep bowls are a type associated with her "Transitional LH III B 2/LH IIIC Early" period.

63. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 397.

64. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 422.

65. Popham 1991, p. 317.

of Dark Age occupation and activity—a far cry from the conventional view that the site was abandoned until the Geometric Period![66]

It seems possible that the deep bowls in question and some peculiar unpainted vessels actually reflect Dark Age and later usage of the site. Comparison of the problematic "late" pieces from the palace with Dark Age material published from Nichoria, especially the DA I and DA II phases, shows that similar shapes were used there in the Dark Age; solidly painted skyphoi/deep bowls are found throughout the Messenian Dark Age, and although the peculiar motif found on the Pylian deep bowl no. 677 cannot be exactly paralleled, the decorative syntax of a narrow "window" with a filling motif is common.[67] Moreover, no. 677 was excavated in Room 46 of the palace, one in which Blegen explicitly noted the presence of later sherds.[68] If these pieces can be disassociated from the destruction deposit, then the destruction of the palace still should have occurred in LH IIIB, but not at the end of the period.

P. Mountjoy has supported the traditional dating of the destruction of the palace at Pylos, assigning it to a period she terms "Transitional LH IIIB 2/LH IIIC Early."[69] Although recognizing the discovery of substantial Dark Age activity on the site of the palace, she adopts the approach of concentrating on the problematic pieces themselves and citing parallels from LH IIIB:2 and LH IIIC Early for them. The difficulty is that such an approach will no longer suffice: when it was believed that the palace lay abandoned for a long period and that the few later intrusions consisted of easily recognized Geometric or later material, it made sense to regard the debris filling the rooms as a homogeneous mass resulting from the final years of Bronze Age occupation of the palace and its subsequent destruction. Now that extensive Dark Age activity has been recognized, however, simply adducing parallels from around the end of the 13th century B.C. is no longer adequate, especially as it appears that some Mycenaean walls and even floors were reused by the Dark Age inhabitants:[70] if, as is the case, comparanda from the Messenian Dark Age can be found for some or all of the problematic pots, why should the Bronze Age parallels be preferred? Moreover, even if one were prepared to concede that the pots in question did date to the end of LH IIIB:2 or early LH IIIC, might they not represent activity on the site at that time, subsequent to the actual destruction?

The question of the apparent disparity in date between the great bulk of the palace's pottery stores and the small amount of material supposedly dating to the LH IIIB/IIIC transition also becomes more suggestive and more necessary to explain. Mountjoy's partial solution has been to reclassify other painted pots from the palace traditionally regarded as "generic" LH IIIB or even earlier to her "Transitional LH III B 2/LH IIIC Early" period. The purpose of this is to argue that much of the painted pottery can be seen as chronologically homogeneous with the few "late" pieces traditionally used to date the destruction.[71] A detailed critique of such a shift must be reserved for another time and place, but in my view it does violence to the established typologies of shape and decoration in Mycenaean pottery.

66. Griebel and Nelson 1998.

67. See Coulson 1983 for the Dark Age pottery from Nichoria, esp. pp. 63–68 for discussion of deep bowls. It might also be noted that some possible evidence for deep bowls solidly painted inside and out during LH IIIB:1 is available from Nichoria: see Shelmerdine 1992, p. 504; this may be a regional peculiarity. Solid-painted krateriskoi the size of a large deep bowl are known from LH IIIA:2 deposits in Lakonia: see Mountjoy 1999, p. 274, and fig. 273, no. 133.

68. Blegen and Rawson 1966, p. 203.

69. Mountjoy 1997; 1999, pp. 36–38.

70. Griebel and Nelson 1998, p. 97.

71. Mountjoy 1999, pp. 343–352. It is unclear whether Mountjoy also wishes to regard the bulk of the unpainted pottery as belonging to "Transitional LH IIIB 2/LH IIIC Early."

I suggest another perspective from which to consider the date of the palace's destruction. As long as the FS 258A kylix is seen as a short-lived type characteristic of an early phase of LH IIIB:1 in the Argolid, it would be unreasonable to expect either many exported examples or imitations of it in other parts of Greece. It has been shown above that the idea that FS 258A was of short duration is not supported by the evidence. Also, it cannot simply be objected that the FS 258A kylix was a "local" product made only for use in the Argolid. Although not particularly common outside the northeastern Peloponnese, it was in fact exported far afield and imitated in areas outside of the Argolid. Examples probably manufactured in the Argolid are known from Aigina,[72] the islands of the Aegean,[73] and even the Levant.[74] Probable local imitations have been found in Attica,[75] and in Boiotia at Eutresis[76] and possibly Scimatari.[77] More importantly with respect to the present issue, at least five examples are known from LH IIIB:1 levels at Nichoria in Messenia, all apparently of local manufacture.[78] Moreover, the settlement pottery from Nichoria shows clearly that major decorative trends observed in pottery from the Argolid during the LH IIIA–LH IIIB:1 periods are reflected there, too; only a few possible Group B deep bowls, a diagnostic feature of LH IIIB:2, are present, however, and there are no Rosette deep bowls, another type characteristic of LH IIIB:2.[79]

Although it is clear that regional differences were beginning to reemerge in LH IIIB, especially in the later part of the period, we have every reason now to expect that the same basic shapes and motifs would be found at both Pylos and in the Argolid at least up until the beginning of LH IIIB:2. In addition, Mountjoy claims that pottery belonging to her "Transitional LH III B 2/LH IIIC Early" phase can be found throughout most of central and southern Greece.[80] If this is so, we ought to find a close correlation between pottery types at Pylos and in the Argolid throughout the entire LH IIIB period.

Not a single example of the FS 258A kylix, however, was illustrated or mentioned by Blegen as being found in the remains of the palace. Nor, more importantly, was any example of this type apparently found in the excavations immediately around the palace.[81] If the palace had been destroyed at the end of LH IIIB:2, we might not expect to find patterned kylikes in it or on the floors of adjacent structures, as both FS 258A and FS 258B kylikes ceased to be manufactured during that phase in the Argolid as well as in other regions. We might suppose the same to be true in Messenia,[82] but if the palace was functioning for nearly the entire duration of LH IIIB, as Blegen suggested, why do we not find a single example of the FS 258A kylix, especially as local imitations of them were manufactured at smaller Messenian sites such as Nichoria? Moreover, why do we find only the "early" variants of the FM 18B Hybrid Flower and FM 23 Whorlshells, with filled heads and dot-filled bodies, used on the patterned kraters from the destruction level?

A possible conclusion, given the paucity of other clear evidence for an advanced date in LH IIIB, is that the palace was destroyed before many examples of the FS 258A kylix were imported and imitated locally. The

72. *Alt-Ägina* IV, i, p. 97 and pl. 34:326; Furumark 1992, pl. 142, no. 258:9.

73. E.g., the well-known kylix from Kalymnos: Forsdyke 1925, no. 1008; see also Furumark 1992, pl. 142, no. 258:11.

74. See Leonard 1994, pp. 107–108, for examples, with bibliography, of FS 258A from Tell Gezer, Ras Shamra, Tell Abu Hawam, Minet el-Beida, and Hazor.

75. See Benzi 1975, pp. 13–14, for discussion and references.

76. *Orchomenos* V, pp. 89–91, nos. 94, 96.

77. *Orchomenos* V, pp. 75–76, no. 113.

78. Shelmerdine 1992, pp. 503–504, 542, 598, nos. 3744, 3745; her statement that the typical scheme on these kylikes is "a single design centered on each side with no further decoration" (p. 503) is a misstatement. As far as can been seen from the fragmentary material, these kylikes have a motif on only one side, not both sides. I thank C. Shelmerdine (pers. comm.) for clarifying this.

79. Shelmerdine 1992, pp. 518–519.

80. Mountjoy 1997, p. 110.

81. See Blegen et al. 1973, pp. 3–215, for publication of the finds from these areas.

82. Mountjoy 1986, p. 121.

lack of stem and body fills in flowers and whorlshells that reflect the triglyph patterns on deep bowls can be interpreted as resulting from a lack of imported examples showing those features, or perhaps from a relative lack of time in which the local potters could develop their own triglyph fills. We cannot reject entirely the possibility that the local potters had no interest in melding triglyph patterns with their hybrid flowers and whorlshells, but their willingness to imitate other features and motifs of the Argolid sequence argues against this.

One also wonders, if the palace was functioning throughout LH IIIB, where are the Group B deep bowls, the Rosette deep bowls, and the undecorated conical kylikes so characteristic of LH IIIB:2 in the Argolid, Corinthia, and Attica? Popham's suggestion that the palace at Pylos was in fact destroyed very early in LH IIIB, perhaps shortly after the beginning of LH IIIB:1, warrants stronger consideration.[83] If the destruction of Pylos is seen as occurring earlier in LH IIIB, not only are the immediate problems of the date of most of the pottery in the palace and the lack of typical LH IIIB:2 types resolved, but a possible reason may be discerned for the increasing difference between Messenian LH IIIB pottery seen at sites such as Nichoria and that of the Argolid.[84] If the palace was in operation throughout LH IIIB, for what reason did the historically close relations with the Argolid, ceramic and otherwise, break down?

In summary, I suggest that we need to understand the FS 258A Zygouries kylix as a pottery type manufactured throughout the LH IIIB:1 period in the Argolid and adjacent areas, not as restricted to the early part of it. No solid evidence exists showing that House B, the so-called Potter's Shop at Zygouries, was destroyed in early LH IIIB:1; its destruction should probably be associated with the wave of destructions in the Argolid that took place during an advanced stage of LH IIIB:1. Finally, the absence at Pylos of FS 258A kylikes and other shapes bearing the kinds of motifs observed on them is a further piece of evidence suggesting the destruction of the palace there occurred sometime earlier in LH IIIB, not at the end of it.

83. Popham 1991, p. 322.

84. See Shelmerdine 1992, pp. 508–513, for discussion of the LH IIIB sequence at Nichoria.

CONCORDANCE

Figure No.	*Zygouries Inventory No.*	*Reference in Blegen 1928*	*Reference/Catalogue No. in Thomas 1992*
10.2:1	Z-79		Z 67 (pp. 364–365; fig. 52:1)
10.2:2	Z-64		Z 69 (pp. 365–366; fig. 52:3)
10.2:3	Z-49	p. 143	Z 71 (p. 366; fig. 53:2)
10.3:1	Z-61		Z 68 (p. 365; fig. 52:2)
10.3:2	Z-47	p. 143; fig. 135:1	Z 70 (p. 366; fig. 53:1)
10.3:3	Z-75		Z 81 (p. 369; fig. 55:1)
10.4:1	Z-76		Z 60 (p. 362; fig. 51:1)
10.4:2	Z-78		Z 61 (p. 363; fig. 51:2)
10.5:1	ZS-48		Z 83 (p. 370; fig. 55:3)
10.5:2	ZS-47	p. 145; fig. 136:2	Z 85 (p. 371; fig. 55:5)
10.5:3	ZS-46	p. 145; fig. 136:1	Z 84 (pp. 370–371; fig. 55:4)
10.6:1	Z-60		Z 125 (pp. 381–382; fig. 58:2)
10.6:2	Z-73		Z 126 (p. 383; fig. 59:2)
10.6:3	ZS-44	p. 145; fig. 136:3	Z 131 (p. 384; fig. 60:1)
10.6:4	ZS-43	p. 145; fig. 136:5	Z 132 (pp. 384–385; fig. 60:2)
10.7:1	ZS-1		Z 20 (pp. 349–350; fig. 46:1)
10.7:2	ZS-2		Z 21 (p. 350; fig. 46:2)
10.7:3	ZS-4		Z 22 (p. 350; fig. 46:3)
10.8:1	ZS-3		Z 23 (pp. 350–351; fig. 47:1)
10.8:2	ZS-5		Z 24 (p. 351; fig. 47:2)
10.8:3	ZS-10		Z 25 (p. 351; fig. 47:3)
10.8:4	ZS-9		Z 26 (pp. 351–352; fig. 47:4)
10.8:5	ZS-7		Z 27 (p. 352; fig. 47:5)
10.8:6	ZS-6		Z 28 (p. 352; fig. 47:6)
10.8:7	ZS-13		Z 29 (pp. 352–353; fig. 47:7)
10.8:8	ZS-8		Z 30 (p. 353; fig. 47:8)
10.9:1	Z-46	p. 143	Z 34 (p. 354; fig. 48:1)
10.9:2	Z-70	pl. xvi:1	Z 35 (pp. 354–355; fig. 48:2)
10.9:3	ZS-15		Z 36 (p. 355; fig. 48:3)
10.9:4	ZS-21	p. 146; fig. 137:8	Z 37 (fig. 48:4)
10.10:1	Z-68	fig. 137:3	Z 40 (pp. 356–357; fig. 49:1)
10.10:2	Z-69		Z 41 (p. 357; fig. 49:2)
10.10:3	ZS-18	p. 146; fig. 137:1	Z 42 (p. 357; fig. 49:3)
10.10:4	ZS-19	p. 146; fig. 137:2	Z 43 (pp. 357–358; fig. 49:4)

Note: Inventory numbers prefixed with "Z" are associated with pots catalogued by Blegen for his original publication; numbers prefixed with "ZS" are additional pieces inventoried for Thomas's 1992 study.

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Of Granaries and Games: Egyptian Stowaways in an Athenian Chest

by Sarah P. Morris and John K. Papadopoulos

In her active career so generous to students as well as scholars, Sally Immerwahr has spanned the worlds of both Daidalos and Pheidias, from Bronze Age archaeology to the world of classical art. As a tribute to her achievements in exploring early Athens,[1] we, a team of a former student and a colleague in publishing the early history of the Athenian Agora, both being admirers of her professional and personal talents, offer a new view of a favorite object from the Athenian Agora. In emulation of her own charming and enlightening study of the Greek fictile pomegranate, which links the Bronze and Iron Ages, and the Near East with Greece,[2] we seek to open new windows between East and West, prehistory and history.

Ever since its discovery thirty years ago, a 9th-century B.C. tomb on the Areiopagos has been interpreted in terms of the prosperity of an Athenian woman and her family. The sheer number (eighty-one catalogued grave offerings, with more in context) and quality of its contents, and the profusion of exotic materials such as gold, glass, faience, and ivory, describe a concentration of private wealth that has caused the occupant to be dubbed a "rich Athenian lady."[3] The human remains have been recently identified as those of an adult woman who was pregnant, for she was cremated with an infant (either a fetus or a neonate of six–eight months).[4] These cremated remains were gathered in an elegant belly-handled amphora, one of the largest known of the period of transition between EG II and MG I,[5] accompanied by an unusual set of grave goods.

Much of her jewelry, buried in the cremation urn with her bones and ashes, was Oriental in inspiration if not origin. A necklace made of crystal and glass beads linking thousands of faience disks, and a pair of gold pendant earrings with pomegranate finials, crafted with sophisticated techniques such as granulation, repoussé, and chasing, offer an early and dramatic set of Near Eastern connections in the Agora cemeteries. These objects, along with two ivory seals and a fragmentary incised ivory disk also placed in the urn, link the Agora burials with those farther north along the banks of the Eridanos River in the area that later would be called the Kerameikos.[6] An ivory duck seal found in a Kerameikos grave may even represent work of the same carver, from the same "quickened interval

1. *Agora* XIII; Immerwahr 1973.
2. Immerwahr 1989.
3. Smithson 1968.
4. For a recent update on the human remains in this burial, see Liston and Papadopoulos 2002, and Liston and Papadopoulos forthcoming.
5. See Coldstream 1968, and comments in Papadopoulos 1998, p. 111.
6. For the original Kerameikos of Athens, located in the area of the Classical Athenian Agora, see Papadopoulos 1996, 2003.

at the end of Early Geometric II and the beginning of Middle Geometric I."[7] This grave marks a significant peak not only in the record of early Attic archaeology, but in the history of Athenian connections with other Early Iron Age sites rich in Orientalia that have been discovered more recently.[8]

For classicists and historians, this early Athenian lady offers celebrated clues to social and economic developments. Her possible kinship with an Attic aristocratic clan (the Metonid *genos*?) with a long local history has been extrapolated from historical sources and from the proximity of the tomb to the Mycenaean cemetery on the Areiopagos.[9] But the most prominent object in this tomb in terms of historical implications is an unusual, indeed unique, clay chest whose lid is topped with five conical domes and whose decoration celebrates the finest in Geometric ceramic design, emphasizing the meander (Fig. 11.1). Justly praised as "the most fantastic pyxis ever devised,"[10] this Attic invention combines the form of the chest familiar in Greek culture as a container for safekeeping a dowry or other valuables (the Homeric χηλός)[11] with the domed shape frequently reproduced in both handmade and wheelmade Geometric pottery. In fact, the same lady's grave yielded the largest such pointed dome known to us, reinforcing the symbolic value of this object through amplification of its size and number in a single burial. This pyxis is restored as 0.20 m in diameter, 0.28 m high, and is dated to EG II–MG I (850 B.C.) (Fig. 11.2).

The chest has a long ancestry in the Greek Geometric ceramic repertoire, especially if one includes those from Cyprus, which has produced some of the earliest examples.[12] Its kinship with the Aegean clay larnax, popular in the Late Bronze Age and itself derived from Egyptian funerary chests in wood,[13] remains intriguing to consider, especially in the light of Immerwahr's own exploration of painted larnakes.[14] Unlike prehistoric larnakes intended for the bones of the dead, the Early Iron Age clay chests resemble their Egyptian counterparts in their mimicry of real-life containers of worldly goods—textiles, jewelry—and are exclusively associated in early Greece with the graves of women.[15] Therefore the addition of such a chest to a grave already rich in luxury materials and objects compounds the impression of a female, or her family, well endowed for a generous dowry in life and a lavish funeral after death.[16]

The domed objects poised atop the lid of this chest, in a combination not found (so far) elsewhere in Early Iron Age Greece, are equally familiar in the Geometric clay industry, but their precise inspiration still poses a problem. At least one twinned pair of this shape is known in the handmade incised ware common in 9th-century B.C. graves of women and children;[17] the tomb of the Athenian lady and infant "may have contained upwards of forty pieces, most of them pointed pyxides," the most common shape in this ware.[18] Wheelmade versions of the flat-based domes, including the magnificent one from the same Areiopagos grave (Fig. 11.2), account for the larger class of such objects, the prototypes for those reproduced in a row of five on the lid of this chest.[19] A prevailing modern view of both single and multiple handmade and wheelmade versions deems them miniature models of granaries.[20] This has been challenged recently by a competing argument that sees them as model beehives, connected

Figure 11.1 *(opposite)*. **Geometric chest with five model granaries on lid (Agora P 27646) from Tomb H 16:6. Drawings, from top: top view and vertical section; front and right end; back and left end.** Photo Agora Excavations; drawings W. B. Dinsmoor Jr.

7. Carter 1985, pp. 1–2, fig. 1; cf. Smithson 1968, p. 82.

8. Coldstream (1995) explores connections with Lefkandi on Euboia and Knossos on Crete.

9. Smithson 1968, p. 77; Coldstream 1995, p. 397.

10. Coldstream 1995. Maximum dimensions are 0.448 m in length, 0.250 m in height, 0.095 m in width. It is dated to EG II–MG I (early to mid-9th century B.C.).

11. Brümmer 1985.

12. Iakovou 1992, Karageorghis and Iakovou 1990.

13. Watrous 1991.

14. Immerwahr 1995.

15. Brümmer 1985, including other Attic examples.

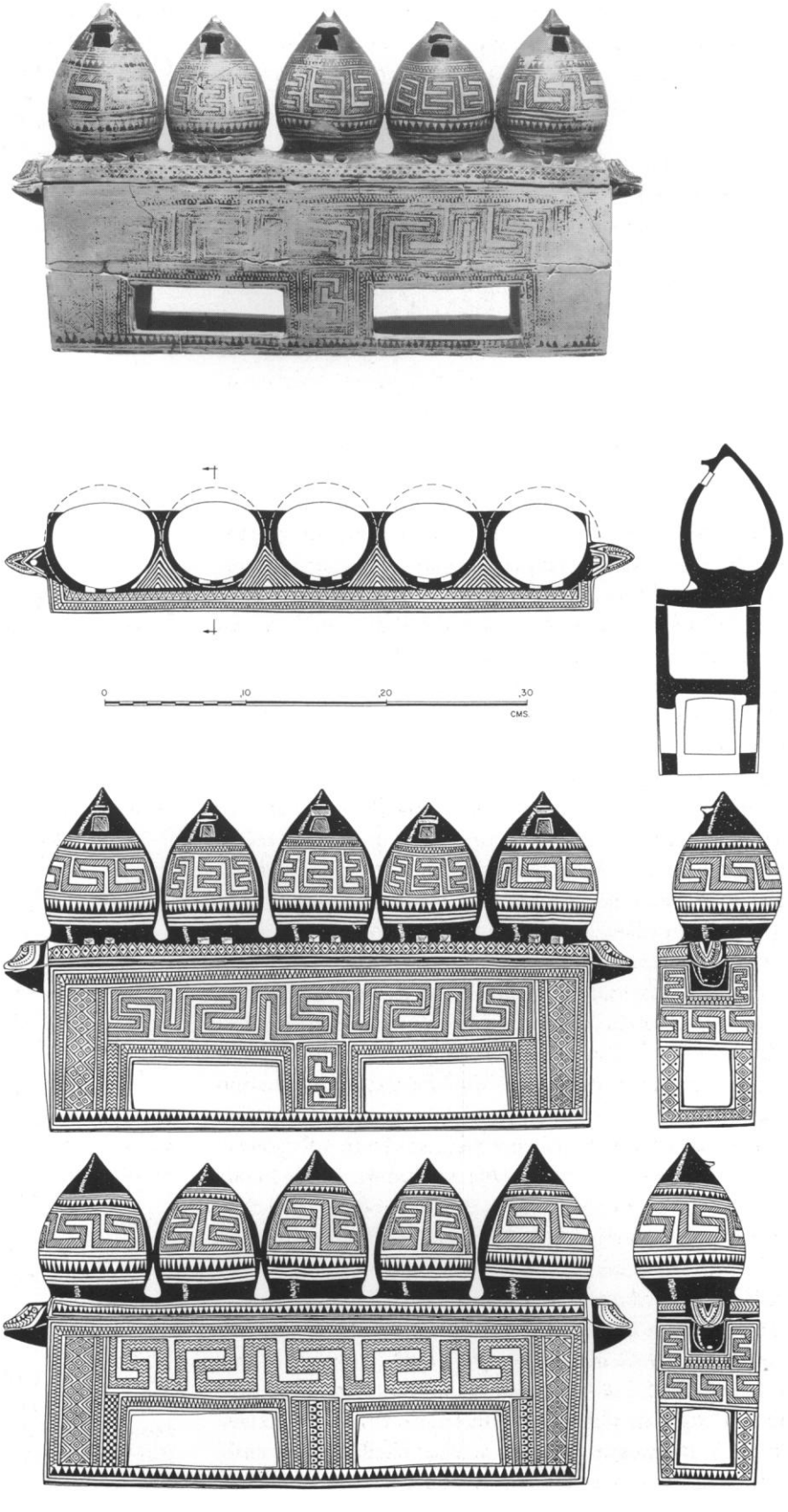
16. Cf. the Attic horse pyxis, and the higher frequency of three-dimensional models in the graves of women: Whitley 1998 (citing Smithson 1968).

17. Smithson 1969; Reber 1991, p. 134.

18. Smithson 1968, pp. 103–108; see further Kourou 1987; Reber 1991, pp. 122–125.

19. For a complete corpus see Cherici 1989.

20. Smithson 1968, 1969. See Williams 2000, pp. 392–393, for a new example in the British Museum (GR 1997.8–15:1) once owned by Pitt Rivers.


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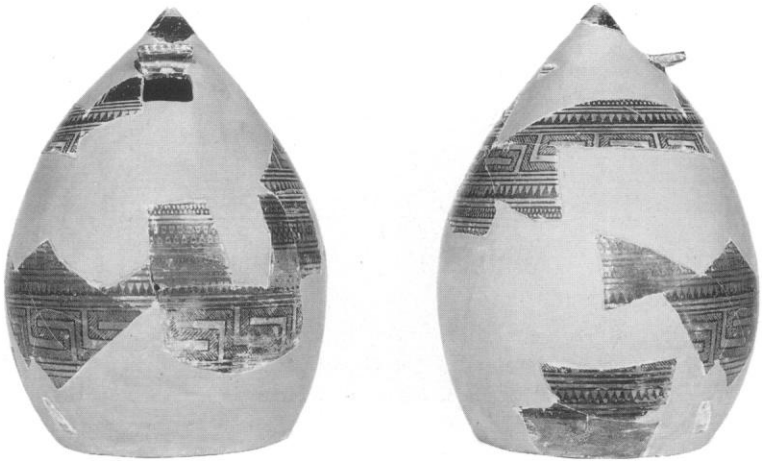


Figure 11.2. Geometric domed granary pyxis (Agora P 27668) from Tomb H 16:6. C. Mauzy, Agora Excavations

through chthonic and other cultic associations of honey and bees with the underworld, hence particularly appropriate offerings for the dead.[21]

Smithson's original argument for regarding them as representing granaries was supported by Egyptian models and images,[22] precisely the approach criticized by Cherici for its lack of connection with Greek realities, the Egyptian material being too distant in time and place from the objects found in the Aegean.[23] In the absence of actual examples of granaries and beehives of early Greece, using such second-hand evidence may be our only recourse, as is so often true when trying to explain ancient phenomena. Classical beehives are long clay cylinders that were laid on their sides. Closed with a flat lid pierced with holes for apine traffic, they bear no resemblance to upright modern thatched or wooden hives.[24] Moreover, the precise features of the clay domes, with an upper opening protected by a shutter or horizontal flap and holes at the base, suggest a container filled from the top and emptied from the bottom, like a granary. As will become clear below, it is Egypt, once again, which rescues us from confusion in the Aegean, and reinforces this explanation.

Smithson's conviction that such clay domes represent granaries was compounded by her sensational interpretation of the precise number of "granaries" that adorn the chest. In a brilliant juxtaposition of history and archaeology, she compared the five granaries to the 500 bushels of grain required to qualify as a member of Solon's leading class of citizens. His reorganization of the population of Athens rewarded factors of acquired status (wealth) rather than inherited rank (birth into a particular family or class). According to Aristotle, Athenians were eligible for public office on the basis of birth and wealth since before Drakon's time (*Ath.* 3.1, 6), but a new classification of Athenian citizens made on the basis of property was formalized during Solon's archonship in 594 B.C. (*Ath.* 7.3). Property values were assessed based on annual income in bushels ("dry or wet," therefore in wine or oil as well as grain, although *medimnoi* was used exclusively for cereals). A minimum of 500 bushels qualified one for the highest class, the *pentakosiomedimnoi,* 300 for the *hippeis* (knights), and at least 200 for the *zeugitai* (citizens who owned a pair of oxen, or "yoked ones"); those

21. Richards-Mantzoulinou 1979; Cherici 1989; Williams 2000, pp. 393–394.

22. Smithson 1969, pp. 11–13.

23. Cherici 1989, pp. 218–219.

24. For a useful account of Greek beekeeping see Jones, Graham and Sackett 1973; cf. *Agora* XII, pp. 217–218, no. 1853 (Agora P 11017), pl. 88; Lüdorf 1998–1999; Rotroff 2001; Anderson-Stojanović and Jones 2002.

with lesser yield belonged collectively to the *thetes.* As elitist as it seems to modern eyes, this represented a significant revision of the privileges of birth, and was in many ways the most critical element in Solon's reform of the way Athens organized and governed itself. Until more radical measures were inaugurated by Kleisthenes (in 508/7 B.C.), this arrangement for political power to be disposed along property lines has long been viewed as a first and significant step in the transformation of Athenian democracy into a system open to economic mobility, rather than one of inborn privilege.[25]

Such an interpretation for this chest could not fail to be attractive, affirming as it does the connection of the area of the Areiopagos, at a level above the later Agora, with the origins of democracy.[26] Smithson's idea captured the enthusiasm of classicists and historians, most recently expressed in the celebration of 2,500 years of Greek democracy with an exhibition in Washington, D.C., which sent the chest on its longest journey from ancient Greece.[27] Yet the interval (250 years) between the date of the chest and Solon's reforms makes this link unlikely, and some have doubted that the "granaries" could represent containers for 100 bushels of grain.[28]

In joining those skeptical of this connection, we would like to introduce another likewise "unique" object to the discussion that supports the identification of the Greek clay domes as granaries, but casts the inspiration behind this Geometric invention, once again, into the sphere of Egypt. Model granaries are well attested in the Egyptian record, as are painted depictions of granaries on rooftops in tomb decoration since the Old Kingdom.[29] One particular model of such a granary was purchased in Egypt a century ago. Alleged to be from Salmîya, near el-Tôd, Egypt, it is now in the Norwich Castle Museum (Fig. 11.3). It is dated to the Middle Kingdom (Dynasty Eleven, 2023–1963 B.C.) and is of particular relevance to the chest made in Athens over a thousand years later.[30]

Unlike most Egyptian models made of wood and filled with small wooden figures, this one is made of clay and painted outside with figural scenes after firing. The model is roughly rectangular, 0.21 × 0.292 m, measures 0.152 m in height, and reproduces in miniature an open courtyard with storage facilities. Ten chambers are split between two levels; five are built into a flat-roofed magazine with circular holes on top and "windows" on the sides for loading and removing grain, respectively; the upper five granaries protrude above as a line of rounded domes, each equipped with a hole on top for loading grain and a square door at the base for extracting it. Both types of storage chamber for grain, the dome (ca. 2–3 m in diameter) and the "magazine," existed in ancient Egypt, although the latter tended to accommodate larger volumes.[31] Like the Agora chest, this model combines domed granaries, made in Egypt since the Old Kingdom as a group sharing a common base,[32] with a larger box shape, here the model of a building. The functional holes make it clear that granaries are represented, an assertion supported by paintings in Egyptian tombs that depict shape and function in two dimensions; the decoration of the model in Norwich Castle, to be discussed below, further supports the argument that chambers for grain are represented.

25. Recent revisions of this view of Solon reduce significantly (and correctly, in our view) the egalitarian intention and effect of these reforms: see Foxhall 1997, Mitchell 1997.

26. Camp 1986, pp. 30–31; but see now Papadopoulos 1996 and 2003 for the noncivic identity of this area prior to the Persian Wars.

27. Ober and Hedrick 1993.

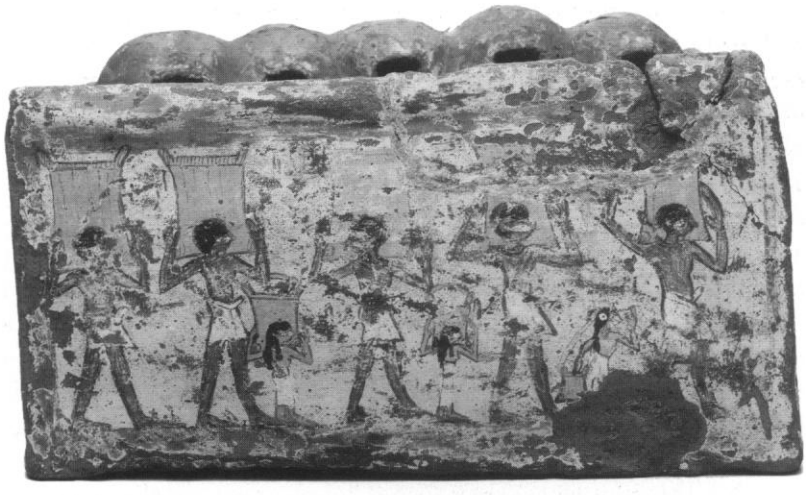
28. Cherici 1989. Williams (2000, pp. 390–393) offers an alternative image, a clay mule in the British Museum (GR 1921.11–29.2) carrying five amphoras, containers with 5(00) liquid measures of wealth, but *medimnoi* are more likely for grain (Foxhall 1997, p. 130).

29. Smithson 1969, pp. 11–13; Strasser 1997.

30. Blackman 1920, Bourriau 1988 (with complete references). The dimensions of the model are H. 0.152 m, W. 0.210 m, L. 0.292 m.

31. Kemp 1989, pp. 151–155, 296–299, pl. 11, for a row of brick granaries at Amarna.

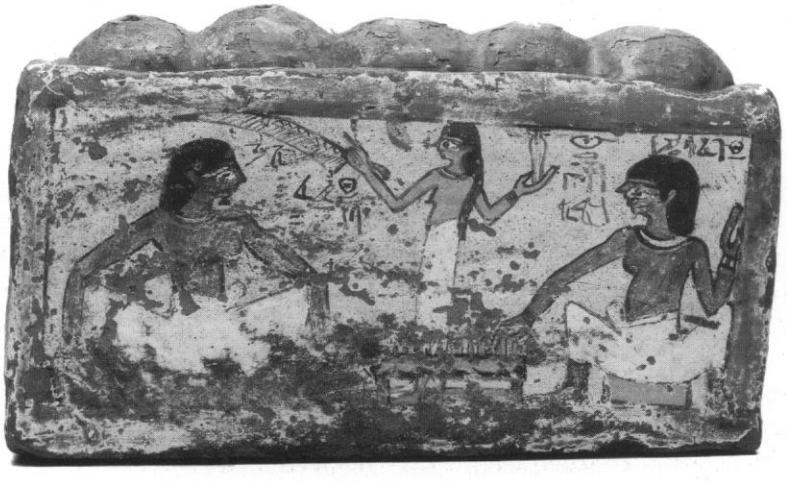
32. Smithson 1969, figs. 10, 11, from a tomb at Gizeh.



a



b



c

Figure 11.3. Egyptian model granary, Middle Kingdom: *(a)* front, grain transport scene; *(b)* left end, grain-loading scene; *(c)* back, two men playing board game, female slave holding fan and alabastron (Norwich Castle Museum 37.21, ex-Colman Collection). Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service

Viewed from the front (Fig. 11.3:a) and especially the back (Fig. 11.3:c), the boxlike shape with five domes projecting on top offers a remarkable resemblance to the Agora chest with its five "granaries," more peaked in profile but similarly equipped with openings above and below. In fact, we are persuaded that some alien form like this Egyptian granary, rather than an Athenian hierarchy of propertied classes, inspired the unusual combination of five domes and rectangular chest in the hands of an Attic ceramic artist. As both examples are unique in their cultures (i.e., without known parallels at present), interaction to be traced in other examples that have not survived must remain the subject of speculation. Nor does the connection to an Egyptian form preclude a later association between a standard of wealth in Attic society and the shape of the Geometric pyxis; Egyptian society likewise measured personal wealth in grain, as illustrated on the exterior of the model (Fig. 11.3:b).

Like other early Greek sages (e.g., Thales), Solon was alleged to have visited Egypt, albeit in the period after his reforms (Hdt. 1.30; Arist. *Ath.* 11.1), on a voyage made famous by Plato in his account of the story of Atlantis (*Ti.* 21e–25d, *Criti.* 108e–121c). Whether or not Solon derived his ideas for classifying Athenian income and citizens from Egypt, the image of the granary could have traveled independently of itinerant sages, eventually making its mark on the Athenian imagination in Greece. In its shape, the Agora chest may harbor one of those perennial "intellectual stowaways" who reached the Aegean from the East.[33] In a more conservative view, its Egyptian counterpart offers a corrective to the eternal hope that all Greek objects necessarily shed light on Greek history. Some may, instead, point to intriguing foreign connections, to the "orientation" of Greece that is expressed by the ivories, faience, and gold jewelry from the tomb of the wealthy Athenian woman. This new view of the Agora chest rehabilitates the object as a reflection of foreign forms, as opposed to being a harbinger of Athenian democracy, with all the sentiments that such has inspired since Smithson's interpretation.

The relationship between Greece and Egypt framed by this pair of granaries does not end with their similar shapes. The Egyptian example, unusually, is decorated on its outside surfaces with scenes painted after firing, and it is inscribed, features one would expect to see on the walls of Egyptian tombs.[34] Not surprisingly, three sides show activities directly related to the storage of cereals. On the left end (Fig. 11.3:b), the scribe identified as Intef sits on a pile of grain keeping a record on his writing board, while a servant before him fills a measure to be ladled into the sacks held by two waiting slaves. On the front (Fig. 11.3:a), a procession of figures (five men, with three small females between them) carry sacks toward the door of the granary, which is depicted on the adjoining third side (the right end, not illustrated), where one man, laden with two baskets on a shoulder pole, and a second bearing a reed mat (rolled up) on his head, walk left toward the door. So far so good, in terms of Egyptian traditions depicting the accumulation of prosperity (necessary for the afterlife) in funeral art. Further, paintings in tombs at Gebelein, near the alleged findspot of the granary at Salmîya, have been compared to this object[35] and reveal

33. Wedde 1997, Stanley 1998.

34. Observe the similar migration of painted decoration from coffin interiors to their exteriors, also in the Middle Kingdom: Hoffmeier 1991, p. 72. Wooden models of granaries feature small figures carrying, storing, and grinding grain, plus a scribe recording it all: see the Twelfth-Dynasty model from the tomb of Gemni-em-hat at Saqqara in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (AeIN 1630; Jørgenson 1996, pp. 132–133, no. 52). Such typical scenes are translated to the exterior of the Norwich Castle granary.

35. See Blackman 1920, p. 208; Bourriau 1988, p. 105.

which long side is the rear of the granary, or the back of the model, which offers a different scene, devoted to leisure, with irresistible connections to Greek images.

On the back of this Middle Kingdom granary model unfolds a scene familiar in many cultures of the ancient Mediterranean and Mesopotamia (Fig. 11.3:c): two men in long kilts, seated on low stools, play a game, moving pieces on a board poised on a low table between them. They are named, in painted inscriptions, Intef and Meri; Intef is also the name of the scribe on the left end of the model, and it is common in Eleventh-Dynasty onomastics.[36] The seated players also exchange remarks, inscribed near their faces, about the mechanics of the game; Intef appears to be commenting on a numerical point.[37] In Bourriau's view of the scene, scribe and players belong to a different class of Egyptian society from the loaders and carriers of grain seen elsewhere on this model, whose epithets ("the villain") identify them as slaves or "serfs." This self-conscious stratification of society is characteristic of Middle Kingdom Egypt, which "modeled" society and its components in the literal as well as the figurative sense.[38]

The art of the game may be too old for claims of priority in any human culture. The first hunters (or earlier hominids?) bored with a long vigil for game, early farmers confined to endless winters between growing and harvesting seasons, and children at all ages, must have devised ways to amuse themselves with pebbles as counters moved along a course of squares or hollows. Egypt offers some of the earliest versions of such games relevant to our inquiry, in particular the *senet,* or thirty-square board game, extant since Pre-Dynastic times and associated with the "passage" from life to the afterlife.[39] The most magnificent of Egyptian gaming boards belonged to Tutankhamon, in death if not in life: the famous example found in his tomb was 0.46 m long, 0.20 m high, and inlaid with ebony and ivory.[40] In Egyptian art, animals imitate human behavior in comic board games, as in the famous caricature papyrus of the New Kingdom, on which a lion and a hartebeest perch on stools at a table set with counters resembling chess pieces.[41] In the Aegean, Crete has produced the earliest surfaces for games, both circular stones with shallow depressions for "advancing" stone counters and the elaborately inlaid "gaming board" discovered by Evans at Knossos;[42] glyptic scenes show board and pieces, even a figure at play.[43] A poorly preserved example from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae marks the advent of this pastime on the Greek mainland.[44]

Cyprus has produced some of the most important examples linking games of the Bronze and Iron Ages as well as Greece and the Near East. An ivory box from Enkomi, dating to around 1200 B.C., has sides carved in relief and is topped with a board based on those of Egyptian games; a simpler clay board from Tamassos has incised squares and clay discs cut from vessels.[45] Another likely link across time and space, between Bronze Age Egypt and Iron Age Greece, is the pair of ivory gaming tables from the "royal" burial at Kāmid el-Lōz (Kumidi), the Late Bronze Age Phoenician site in the Beqaʿa Valley of modern Lebanon.[46] One resembles examples from Egypt, with reversible fields of twenty and thirty squares, plus small disc- and cone-shaped counters as pieces (stored in a drawer built into the box). These games are designed for two players, facing each other across the width of a board, though often shown in art seated at

36. Blackman 1920, p. 208; Bourriau 1988, p. 104.

37. Blackman 1920, p. 207; Bourriau 1988, p. 105.

38. Kemp 1989, chap. 4, esp. p. 155; cf. Bourriau 1991, esp. p. 11 on tomb models (with reference to Angela Tooley's unpublished dissertation on Middle Kingdom tomb models).

39. Needler 1953; Pusch 1979; Vermeule 1979, pp. 78–79. The Egyptian verb *snt* means "to pass."

40. Laser 1987, Tait 1982.

41. Buchholz 1987, pp. 127–130, figs. 46–48, pl. III:b; Rawson 1977, cover and p. iv.

42. *PM* I, pp. 472–485, figs. 338–340; Buchholz 1987, p. 130, figs. 48:a, b; Hillbom 2000–2001, pp. 56–59.

43. Buchholz 1987, p. 130, figs. 48:a, b.

44. Karo 1930–1933, p. 115, nos. 555, 556, 558; *PM* I, p. 483.

45. Laser 1987, p. 124, pls. I:b, III:d.

46. Jan-Waalke Meyer in Hachmann 1983, pp. 101–104, 126–127, nos. 24, 25; Miron 1990, pp. 120–125, nos. 519, 520, figs. 31–34, 53, 59, 60, pls. 45:4, 46. Note also the astragals from the same site (Miron 1990, p. 139, nos. 649–654) worn from use as gaming pieces, and other gaming pieces of glass frit (Miron 1990, pp. 105–107, nos. 468–472) and stone in the form of flat pebbles (Miron 1990, pp. 100–101, nos. 429–454). Game boards and pieces were all found in the tomb of a warrior buried with bronze weapons (arrowheads, cuirass scales, sword, and dagger), suggesting an interesting additional connection between warriors and games (cf. Figs. 11.4–11.6).

either end of a board's length. Board and pieces are but two of the elements in play, for the throw of the dice (whether six-sided cubes or nature's own dice, astragals)[47] determines through luck (or skill?) the progress of each player, and the final outcome.

It is in the Nineteenth Dynasty that the contest becomes "an imaginary game played by the deceased with an invisible adversary."[48] In hieratic texts of the Twentieth Dynasty preserved on papyri in Turin and Cairo, and in a Theban tomb of the same era (TT. 359, tomb of *Jnj-ḥr-ḫ'wj*), the board game figures in the passage of the dead through the underworld to a blessed state.[49] One text's placement on a wall of the tomb beside an image of a board game makes explicit the association between the game and eschatology in this period in Egypt. And the route that led not only board and game, but also their role in death, to the Aegean is clear from recent discoveries. Gaming stones of the Bronze Age, long known from Cyprus, have been found at cemeteries on the island, along with rock-cut depressions for *senet* and *mehen,* both Egyptian board games, here in an unmistakably mortuary setting outside of Egypt.[50] Likewise, the two Egyptian-style game boards and pieces from Kāmid el-Lōz stem from a warrior burial, a potential parallel for later scenes of Greek and modern heroes in armor at play.

These contexts reinforce the idea of such games as a tradition in Egypt and the Near East that reached the Aegean, along with funeral associations, in the Late Bronze Age or its aftermath.[51] Greek tradition remembered Egyptian gods as the inventors of draughts and dice (Pl. *Phaedr.* 274d: Theuth invented πεττεία and κυβεία), but also credited a native hero, Palamedes, with the discovery of πεσσοὺς κύβους τε (Soph. *Fr.* 479; cf. Pl. *Grg.* fr. B 11a.30 DK), along with writing and other talents, including military tactics (is this another connection between warfare and gaming?). A related form of game played with sheep or goat knucklebones lacks a founding legend, but retains a link with fate and mortality. Greek board games played with ἀστράγαλοι, the knucklebones of ovicaprids sometimes called κληροί, include a form of astragalomancy, a way of throwing the dice to divine one's own fate.[52]

Although the earliest Aegean gaming boards and kernos-shaped gaming stones with depressions appear in Minoan Crete,[53] our first view of a contest appears later. The earliest Greek scenes of board games make their debut in Late Geometric art with the first group of images of human figures, including those at play as well as at war and in mourning (Fig. 11.4).[54] Two figures face each other in profile across a board or table; in the Late Geometric scenes they hold raised rattles or other noisemakers, hence the scene has been interpreted as one of musicians, and artists who favored it have been dubbed the "Rattle Group."[55]

The Egyptian granary model reinforces the foreign associations of these scenes, once connected to North Syrian images of pairs of musicians at a table[56] and the timing of their transmission. It also anticipates more explicit images of board games, in particular those of two heroic warriors facing each other across a board, which are more common in Archaic Greek art. The gaming scene on the granary model makes more plausible the idea that images of such games were current outside of Greece and belong, in art if not in life, to those innovations that the Near East bestowed on

47. See Laser 1987, pp. 118–123; see also n. 52 below.

48. Needler 1953, p. 68.

49. Pusch 1979, pp. 386–389.

50. Herscher 1998, p. 320, fig. 7, note 64, with earlier bibliography, including Swiny 1980 and Aupert 1997, pp. 20–21 (stone slabs with cupulae, from tomb and temple on the acropolis of Amathus on Cyprus).

51. As argued by Vermeule (1979, pp. 77–82). For the history of modern interest in ancient gaming boards from Egypt and Greece, see Hillbom 2000–2001; Bielinski and Taracha 1992 on games as an element of ancient cultural interaction; Murray 1951, p. 24.

52. Kurke 1999b, pp. 291–293; cf. Gilmour 1997. These involve consultation of the gods with board and *astragaloi* in a shrine or before an image (references collected in Kurke 1999b, pp. 288–289, notes 83–86, to which add Höckmann 1996, for Roman *lusoria tabella* incised on temple steps); Murray 1951, pp. 26–27.

53. See notes 42, 43.

54. Buchholz 1987, Morris 1997.

55. Ahlberg 1967; Buchholz 1987; Rombos 1988, pp. 283–315.

56. Ahlberg 1967.



Figure 11.4. Late Geometric scenes of musicians or gamers, by one or more of the "Rattle Group" painters. Buchholz 1987, fig. 40

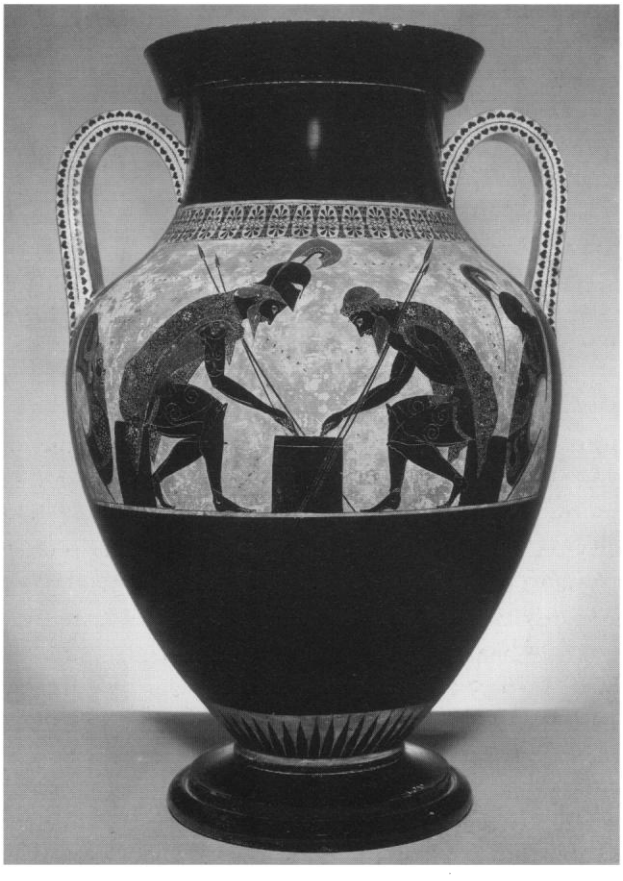


Figure 11.5. Achilles *(left)* and Ajax playing dice at Troy. Black-figured Type A belly amphora by Exekias, ca. 540 B.C., from Vulci (Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican 344 [inv. 16757], *ABV* 145, 13). Vatican Museums, Vatican City

Hellenic culture. A connection between the Geometric Rattle Group and the famous scenes of warriors at a board game, inaugurated by Exekias (Fig. 11.5), has already been suggested.[57] In the proposed scenario, the Archaic artist recast a heroic image, formulaic in funeral art two centuries earlier, into a tragic confrontation between two heroes, doomed to die at Troy, playing at a board where chance determines not only the outcome of a game but their respective fates. Achilles faces one of two fates (*Il.* 1.352, 416; 9.410–416) and chooses the reward of a heroic death, the price of which he regrets posthumously (*Od.* 11.488–492). The fate of Ajax is tragically entwined with that of the greater hero, for, through a mechanism to be explored below, the loss of his ἀριστεῖα—the armor of Achilles he rescued with the hero's corpse—leads to his suicide.

In this transmission, the Greek scene of a game recovers its Egyptian association with human mortality, and has its own (Geometric) funeral context and perhaps also a link to divination of one's destiny, but focuses on two living epic heroes whose fate gives shape to tragedy. As on the Egyptian model, the players on the Exekian amphora announce their positions in the game in terms of numbers, presumably their respective casts of the die: Achilles has thrown a four, Ajax only three. In a related passage from a lost play of Euripides (*Fr.* 888), Achilles throws "two aces? and a four," βέβληκ' Ἀχιλλεὺς δύο κύβω καὶ τέτταρα.[58] As the hero who gains a glorious death and κλέος ἄφθιτον at Troy, Achilles receives a better portion than Ajax, who ends his own life after the humiliation of losing the arms of the hero he rescued. Thus the dice they have thrown anticipate their ultimate fates at Troy.

Other Greeks unlucky at Troy are framed by a board game: in Polygnotos's great Delphi painting of the Homeric *Nekyia,* Palamedes, inventor of such games,[59] and Thersites, much abused in the *Iliad* (2.211–277),[60] play dice in the underworld, watched by both unhappy Aiantes (Paus. 10.31.1). Palamedes shares with Telamonian Ajax an undeserved death brought on by Odysseus, and with Ajax's homonymous Thessalian cousin the ignominy of a death at sea. As Pausanias remarks, the painter has assembled the Greek enemies of Odysseus, and as Mark Stansbury-O'Donnell observes, he has juxtaposed them with Odysseus's sacrifice for the dead, balancing ἀδικία with δίκη.[61]

The association of a board game with mortality is organic to the Greek imagination, manifest in Homer (if not in the Bronze Age, as reviewed above) long before the scene painted by Exekias. The earliest game of πεσσοί in Greek literature has Athena (disguised as Mentes) find the evil suitors of Penelope at play outside her house, seated on cattle hides; here their leisure activity illustrates their idleness and sets them up for future punishment.[62] In history as in poetry and art, a game of dice may bode ill for idle players. In Attic tradition, the Athenians were surprised while playing dice, during their post-prandial rest, by the returning supporters of Peisistratos in his second bid to be tyrant of Athens (Hdt. 1.62–63); some would link this event with the very image of Ajax and Achilles rendered by Exekias (Fig. 11.5).[63] But then, idle soldiers may often play games, as current images remind us (Fig. 11.6).

57. Morris 1997, pp. 68–71. For the Vatican amphora, see Woodford 1982 (with full references on p. 173, note 3), and cf. *LIMC* I, 1981, pp. 96–103, s.v. *Achilleus: ix. Achilleus und Aias beim Brettspiel* (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); see further Biers 1989–1990; Hedreen 2001, pp. 91–104. For a discussion of this scene in terms of civic ideology as well as tragic fate, see Kurke 1999a, pp. 261–263; 1999b, pp. 270–274.

58. Ar. *Ra.* 1400.

59. Soph. *Fr.* 479; Beazley 1951, p. 65.

60. See, most recently, Little and Papadopoulos 1998 for bibliography on Thersites.

61. Stansbury-O'Donnell 1990, p. 221, fig. 5, and pp. 226–227.

62. *Od.* 1.106–198, cf. 17.530–540. For a thorough discussion of the symbolism of πεσσοί in early Greece, beginning with the suitors of Penelope, see Kurke 1999b, pp. 254–274; for further comments, see Papadopoulos 2002.

63. Boardman 1978, pp. 18–24, *pace* Moore 1980. See further Mommsen 1980, 1988. The scene of two Russian soldiers playing a board game while on duty in Chechnya (Fig. 11.6) offers a parallel to our subject too poignant and striking to omit from this essay.



Figure 11.6. "Russian soldiers play a board game in Grozny, the Chechen capital, as a ruined building set on fire by the military burns." Caption of a photograph by Y. Kozyrev in the *Los Angeles Times*, June 19, 2000, p. A1. *Los Angeles Times*

Finally, although circumstances of archaeology may account for such a pattern, gaming boards and dice are common offerings in Greek tombs, as if sustaining an association with the dead implied in prehistory farther to the east. In Greece, the first gaming boards or dice since the Bronze Age appear in Attic burials of the Early Archaic period: the famous models from Vari and the Kerameikos carry figures of mourning women, unmistakable attendants at a funeral.[64] But beyond a scrap from Pindar (*Fr.* 129.6, where the happy dead enjoy horses, athletics, and πεσσοί in the afterlife) and the epic passages recalled above, Greek literature does not offer us the kind of explicit message to the dead that the Egyptian board game conveys in ancient texts.

As always in the transformation of a foreign idea in the Greek imagination, its new and altered meaning is adapted to Hellenic expectations and beliefs and helps shape their representation. In this case, a system of eschatological belief is transformed for a heroic tradition alien to Egypt: one might compare how the weighing of souls performed for the dead in Egypt subsequently becomes a device for deciding the fate of living heroes in Greek epic.[65] Like one gaming board mentioned above, the earliest example of a set of scales that can be linked with the afterlife appears, in a flimsy model with gold-foil disks as pan-balance pans, in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, followed by a famous scene on a Mycenaean krater from Enkomi, Cyprus.[66] If these connections are valid, the decoration as well as the shape of Egyptian objects such as the Norwich Castle model contributed a new idea and pattern to Greek artists who worked in clay.

If transmission took place in the Geometric period or earlier, other images and patterns enrich this era as a milieu ripe with foreign prototypes for Greek ceramic art and representations of funeral rites. In his close analysis of an Early Proto-Attic hydria in Melbourne (Fig. 11.7), Ken Sheedy identifies the Egyptian origin of a Greek funeral and considers ways and means for this idea to have traveled to Greece.[67] In the extraordinary scene on the neck of this vessel measuring 0.454 m in height, an Egyptian-looking mummy is laid out on a bier in a manner most unlike

64. Vermeule 1979, p. 80.

65. See *Il.* 22.209; Vermeule 1979, pp. 76–77.

66. Vermeule 1979, pp. 76–82, 160–162.

67. Sheedy 1990; Morris 1997, pp. 59–61, figs. 1, 2.



Figure 11.7. Early Proto-Attic hydria by the Analatos Painter, early 7th century B.C.: *(a)* obverse and *(b)* detail of neck. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, Felton Bequest, 1982

a Greek Geometric *prothesis.* Its contours describe a silhouette outlined as a continuous curve (an anthropoid coffin?), wholly unlike the angular profile of a Greek Geometric corpse and without its shroud or bier-cloth. Before and below the bier, three kneeling women mourn in poses alien to Greek tradition. Each leans forward and clasps her head, the left figure with both arms, but the other two with one arm, the other lowered as if to scoop up dirt in the age-old ritual of defacement during mourning. Most famously, such a posture of grief is familiar in Egyptian scenes such as one in the Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb of Nebamun and Ipiki at Thebes.[68] Curiously, this exotic scene is flanked by standing figures of female mourners more conventional to Late Geometric and Early Proto-Attic vase painting, as are the pacing lions and feeding deer that decorate the zones between and below the handles. This juxtaposition may epitomize how alien images inserted themselves into developed Greek traditions, as material both familiar and novel became available to the Greek artist's repertoire.

How an Egyptian funeral could become known to a Greek artist is a question Sheedy explores through the potential role of portable media: Egyptian and Egyptianizing imports, particularly Phoenician imitations and those produced by Greek hands at Naukratis and Rhodes, are likely candidates, although most postdate the Late Geometric period.[69] Illustrated papyri, texts for tombs, or wrappings for mummies, often mobile in secondary use, would give Greeks various views of Egyptian funerals and board games; their circulation in casual circumstances may have played some role in the migration of Egyptian themes to Greek art.[70]

For many such transmissions, a Phoenician role is likely; the existence of board games at Kāmid el-Lōz offers one example of how an Egyptian idea involving leisure and mortality might have traveled to Greece. Is it a coincidence that a chest from Cyprus, dated to the 11th century B.C.,[71] is

68. The tomb dates to the time of Amenophis III (1402–1364 B.C.); see Sheedy 1990, pp. 132–133.

69. Sheedy 1990, pp. 135–143; see now Skon-Jedele 1994 on Egyptian/izing imports in Greece.

70. Vermeule 1981; Sheedy 1990, pp. 142–143.

71. Iakovou 1992, p. 218, fig. 5.

decorated with a checkerboard at both ends? Or did granary model and game travel separate routes to Greece, the model that combined them in Middle Kingdom Egypt being simply a fluke? In the foreign funeral scene as for granary model and game, we find an intellectual stowaway happily naturalized in a new home, with absent or ambiguous signs of its foreign origins, so that we are left, as so often, without clues to the nature of his journey from the East. The vast and varied world of foreign ideas made native in Greece may confront us as a scholarly problem or fascinate us, but it was not a phenomenon that bothered or even registered as alien among ancient Greeks themselves.

This story of transmission and transformation could end with the journey bringing a foreign shape (the multiple granary) and the illustration on it (the board game) to early Greece via separate or related routes. But the gaming scene decorating this Middle Kingdom model finds an uncanny parallel much later in Greek art, beyond the Geometric period or even the Archaic. Our final exhibit in this tale of wandering shapes, images, and customs comes from the hand of Douris, a red-figure artist prolific in the manufacture and decoration of cups.[72]

Like Exekias, Douris is held responsible for a new kind of scene in Greek vase painting, in this instance the depiction of the vote to award the arms of the dead Achilles at Troy.[73] In its inaugural appearance in Greek art, on a kylix now in Vienna (Fig. 11.8), Athena stands behind a low table or square box[74] flanked by two groups of warriors, three on the right and three to the left. One figure of each group is placing his stone on his side of the table; the stones mount up on the left side and the goddess raises her hand toward that side, as if in favor. In the lost epic moment in which this vote took place, Odysseus spoke eloquently of his claim to the arms of Achilles and persuaded his fellow heroes to award them to him. On this cup by Douris, Odysseus is presumed to be the figure on the far left who raises both hands in celebration of his victory, even though in heroic terms the armor belonged to Ajax, as the greatest warrior after Achilles (*Il.* 7.227–228, 289, 17.279–280). At the far right of the scene, the figure who turns away from the center of the action and covers his head with his cloak must be Ajax, shrouded in sorrow.[75]

The scene is well known and often repeated thereafter in Classical Greek vase painting. Like the similar scene of Achilles playing dice with Ajax (Fig. 11.5), related in theme and design to the one later invented by Douris, it is enhanced by the presence of Athena, added to the dice game in later versions, perhaps under the influence of a sculptural group on the Akropolis.[76] The red-figure scene casts the same principals shown in the scene of the board game painted by Exekias, and in both episodes, the hero Ajax confronts his fate on a board or table. Even more interesting is the fact that in both instances the figure of Athena presides over the central box, as if to certify the outcome: the fate of Ajax is sealed.

This goddess adds herself naturally and frequently to scenes of heroes, and clearly belongs in an image influenced by contemporary Athenian democracy; she is too common in Attic art to raise our curiosity. But her pose on the cup by Douris takes us back to the Middle Kingdom model from Egypt, for she displaces in this Classical scene the figure of a servant

72. Buitron-Oliver 1994.

73. Diana Buitron-Oliver explored how and why this scene became popular in the early 5th century B.C., probably in connection with the enhanced powers of the popular vote in a city where democracy was made radical by the reforms of Kleisthenes, Ephialtes, and Perikles. See Buitron-Oliver 1995, pp. 440–444; cf. Williams 1980; Boegehold 1963, p. 369. See also Spivey 1994 for further discussion of the historical context of these representations, and Hedreen 2001, pp. 104–119, on the narrative relationship between scenes of Ajax and Achilles gaming and of the vote for the arms of Achilles.

74. For the kylix by Douris and Python in Figure 11.8, see *ARV*^{2} 429, no. 26. For discussion of the low table or square box, whether natural and fixed or rectangular and portable, and how it might serve as a gaming board or voting table, see Caskey and Beazley 1963, pp. 1–4 (discussion under 01.8037 [amphora from Orvieto]). Beazley also discusses the game πεσσός, and the form of it known as πέντε γραμμᾶς or ἀπὸ πέντε γραμμᾶς, with a list of actual stone gaming tables found at Epidauros, Corinth, and Delos (Caskey and Beazley 1963, pp. 2–3).

75. Cf. the name vase of the Briseis Painter, where Achilles veils his head in shame and grief when he loses his prize, Briseis (London, British Museum E76, from Vulci, *ARV*^{2} 406, no. 1).

76. Thompson 1976.



Figure 11.8. Red-figured kylix signed by Douris (painter) and Python (potter), depicting the vote for the armor of Achilles at Troy, with Athena presiding; early 5th century B.C., from Cerveteri (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 3695; *ARV*² 429, 26).
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

with outstretched arms behind the Egyptian gamers (Fig. 11.3:c). This young girl clad in a long skirt but nude above the waist holds a fan (feather) toward the player on the left, a perfume vase (alabastron) toward his opponent on the right. As in the convergence of the shapes of the Agora chest and this granary model, we find striking the similarity of the board scenes that juxtapose two men on either side of a standing female. Yet in this case the images are separated by 1,500 years of Mediterranean history, and by even greater disparities between a casual game between two men with an attending servant and a confrontation of heroes that is both Homeric and Classical in its resonances. The fact that other works of Douris, such as his vision of Jason and the Golden Fleece in the land of Colchis, can convey complex references to Near Eastern images from the Bronze Age[77] makes this juxtaposition of an Egyptian granary model and a Classical cup not as far-fetched as traditional methods of comparison might find.

We end our investigation at the doors of Athenian democracy, where we began. The granary chest from a 9th-century B.C. grave now adds itself to the Oriental, rather than the Attic, features of a wealthy Athenian lady's burial, but in identifying an Egyptian counterpart we may have uncovered new shadows of Classical democracy. We conclude with a view to the future, to invite younger archaeologists to make sense of such issues, and to carry the lessons learned from Sally Immerwahr through the new century.

77. Morris 2001, pp. 431–432, pl. CVIII:c.

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In Search of Anatolian Apollo

by Edwin L. Brown

"It is doubtful whether any other divinity played a comparable part in the development of the Hellenic way of life." So wrote Denys Page of Apollo,[1] "the splendid divinity whose worship was to play so large a part in the civilizing of the Hellenic character." Introducing the chapter on Apollo in his *Cretan Cults and Festivals,* R. F. Willetts in turn has spoken of the special importance of Crete in the development of Apollo's cult.[2] For that assessment Willetts appeals first and foremost to the initial pages of Mary Hamilton Swindler's dissertation on the subject.[3]

My own reimmersion in the great world of Bronze Age Aegean archaeology, when I had long since cast my lot academically with classical philologists, came about through Sally Immerwahr's welcoming me to audit her graduate course, the beginning of the formation of a vital link in my training. For, years before, my first experience of a graduate seminar, one on Minoan Crete, had come about when Swindler was a visiting professor at the University of Pennsylvania, and I was an archaeology major at Bryn Mawr. Professor Immerwahr, at length and handsomely, crowned our common mentor's trail-blazing work[4] on ancient painting with her own enhanced and updated account of its Aegean underpinnings.[5] I am happy to express here my enduring sense of indebtedness to both by means of this contribution to the perennial quest for Apollo.

Others before Walter Burkert, in his landmark *Griechische Religion,*[6] may have stressed the *plurality* of strands that entered into the fabric of Classical Apollo. If in giving due weight to the Hellenic (and especially the Doric) component in the god's complex makeup Burkert underplays the linguistic evidence for Apolline origins in Asia Minor, he hastens to redress the balance by highlighting the *iconographical* debt that Apollo owes to Anatolian religious symbols.[7] And amid these two major currents tributary to the resultant "most Greek of all gods" he sets "a land called Crete":[8] "at least three components in the prehistory of Apollo worship can be discerned . . . : a Dorian-northwest Greek . . . , a Cretan-Minoan . . . , and a Syro-Hittite."[9] The following pages fashion the first leg to a tripod of essays I have vowed to many-faceted Apollo.

To proceed, in chiastic order, with the Syro-Hittite component first, I may simply state the appeal I find in Burkert's picture of an Anatolian

1. Page 1959, p. 248. The following abbreviations are used in this investigation: IE = Indo-European; PIE = Proto-Indo-European; PA = Proto-Anatolian. Amendments made at the suggestion of the fine, anonymous referee for this article apart, no updates have been ventured since it was finished, so as not to delay publication.

2. Willetts 1962, p. 256.

3. Swindler 1913, p. 250.

4. Swindler 1929.

5. Immerwahr 1990.

6. Burkert 1977.

7. Burkert 1977, pp. 225–233.

8. Nilsson 1967, p. 529: "zum griechischten aller Götter"; Homer, *Od.* 19.172: Κρήτης τις γαῖ' ἔστι.

9. Burkert 1977, p. 227. An Egyptian strand has now been detected also; cf. note 28.

Guardian God encountering the Syrian "Rešep of the Arrow," especially in the centuries after 1200 B.C., on Cyprus.[10] There, Greeks are known to have worshiped Apollo Amyklos, while Phoenicians paid homage to Rešep Mkl.[11] Though cultural developments critical to the formation of Iron Age Greece were certainly taking place on the island,[12] however, it is well to keep in view that some, possibly all, of the main attributes and functions that made the Hittite Guardian God ripe for melding with Rešep already belonged to him as a hunting god associated with the stag. As B. C. Dietrich has it, "the closest points of contact seem to have been their protecting, apotropaeic and purificatory powers which were also responsible for their common attributes of bow and arrows."[13]

Further, the direct route by which Crete, and the Aegean world generally, would have become aware of a Luvo-Hittite guardian-god type must not be overlooked.[14] Existing in many variants and under many names, this type is traceable on seals, statuettes, and reliefs from Lycia to northern Syria and from the period of the Assyrian Trading Colonies continuously until the time of the neo-Hittite states.[15] Though the textual and iconographical evidences are manifold for this "tutelary deity of wild life and the hunt,"[16] I focus on the text (KUB 38.1 Vs. II 1–6) found in the Hittite capital but describing the gold statuette of this god at Wiyanawanda. I do so because this description of the *Schutzgott der Wildflur*,[17] with helmet and sword, standing on a stag made of gold and holding a bow in his right hand, a golden falcon(?) and hare in the left, best establishes the reality of this "dieu de la chasse et de la campagne," as Noëlle Damblon-Willemaers characterizes the god.[18]

I also single out the inventoried statuette from Wiyanawanda, along with one from Dala thus inventoried[19] (as a guardian god, again depicted in familiar Anatolian fashion as standing on his adjunct beast, but this time holding a lance), because Wiyanawanda is almost certainly the Classical Lycian Oenoanda, while Dala may well be the splendid site of Classical Tlos farther down the Xanthos River.[20] Thus the case both for Apollo's Stag-God form and for his special connections with the region of Lycia, whose very name remains the most likely source of the god's ἐπίκλησις

10. Burkert 1975b. If Jon Billigmeier (1979) is right in identifying the language in the Cypro-Minoan II inscriptions from Enkomi as that of the Luvian-speaking mainlanders opposite, the syncretizing of Apollo with Rešep may have begun on Cyprus a millennium earlier than the 4th-century B.C. date suggested by Pettersson (1992, p. 97, important note 544).

11. Burkert 1975b; cf. Dietrich 1978, with further bibliography; updated in Morris 1992, p. 113, note 56.

12. Woodard (1997) has made evident the fundamental role played by Cypriot scribes in the assimilation of the Phoenician script into Aegean writing tradition, and in its transmission to renascent Greece.

13. Dietrich 1978, p. 2.

14. Miletos is increasingly recognized as the classical heir to the important Luvian site called Millawanda in the Hittite texts, the great gateway to the Aegean known to have lain open to the westward flow of Luvian and other Anatolian currents since the days of Minoan and Mycenaean trade and settlement there. (The Luvians were people of IE stock and speech, long resident in Asia Minor like their country cousins who spoke Hittite, but occupying its southern and western parts.)

15. Özgüç 1993, pp. 487–489.

16. Hellenkemper and Wagner 1977, p. 170 and note 15, with earlier bibliography.

17. The German appellation is in Güterbock 1983, p. 207; for a German version of the KUB text see Haas 1994, p. 498.

18. Damblon-Willemaers 1983, p. 179, where she also presents Roland de Mérode's research.

19. KUB 38.2 Vs. II 24–Rs III 4.

20. For the identification of Wiyanawanda as Oenoanda see Poetto 1993, p. 80, paragraph 31 with bibliography, and cf. Hawkins 1995, p. 54.

"Lykios," may be strengthened by such records as these from the Hattushan archives.

René Lebrun has provided an excellent account of the indigenous quality of the veneration accorded the entire Apolline triad, noting especially Leto's and Artemis's worship in southern and western Anatolia.[21] Without noting, as Lebrun would do, the special concentration of the triad's temples and sanctuaries in Lycia, Burkert himself had listed the series of nine Apollo oracles along the coast of Asia Minor, from Daphne near Syrian Antioch to Gryneion and Zeleia south of Troy. But a degree of ambiguity reflected in Burkert's German text lingers in his conclusion: "that the god as such, with name, cult, and myth, is imported is impossible to prove."[22]

The hesitation of some to lodge great faith in the continuity of Apolline cult in Lycia since Bronze Age times has, I believe, a twofold explanation. First, there is the evident shortage of archaeological substantiation for the settling of that mountainous land by *any* people, to say nothing of the elusive Lukka folk who may have lent the country its classical name.[23] The authority of Machteld Mellink, however, writing on "Homer, Lycia, and Lukka,"[24] has done much to assuage the doubts of lay persons aware that excavators, by (ill) luck of the spade, have repeatedly reached groundwater or sterile soil in Lycia without finding a trace of 2nd-millennium B.C. habitation. Second, the dearth of Lycian inscriptions explicitly designating Apollo has also been thought to tell against the currency there of the divine name. But the use of the title *Natr,*[25] which has been recognized as referring to Apollo since soon after the discovery of the great Lycian trilingual at the Letoon near Xanthos, need not in any way mean that "Apollo" was not continuously recognized in Lycia as the god's proper name; Aphrodite, after all, was for centuries addressed simply as *(W)anassa* in her Cyprian domain.

But one may well wonder about the source of this designation *Natr.* Only upon recognizing that Laroche's appeal to a scantily attested Greek agent noun must be deemed linguistically flawed, *pace* Laroche, did I recall (from an old interest in ancient Egyptian as a neglected pool to plumb for certain classes of loan words in Greek) that the millennially and ubiquitously employed Nilotic word for "god" is *ntr.*[26] The vocalic transcription *natar* of the hieroglyphic spelling brings it into still closer alignment with Lycian orthography, in that the accented long *a* of *natar* is reflected in *Natr,* while the unaccented vowel before *r* is, as often in Lycian script, syncopated. That *Natr* is not a Lycian theonym is suggested by the Aramaic version of the Letoon trilingual. There the priest's appeal to the great gods is rendered "the god[*s*], Leto, Artemis, Hšatrapati, and the other,"[27] as if the translator were cognizant of *natr* as a common noun, as if indeed the Aramaic word for "god" rightly stands for Apollo. It should not be pluralized, then, to serve in apparent apposition to the immediately following divine names.

Apollo, of course, would not be omitted from the list of gods being invoked at the Letoon, and recognition of his presence behind the Aramaic term for "god" constitutes the surest evidence, I submit, of Egyptian features in the makeup of the Lycian triad. But other pointers drawn from

21. Lebrun 1987, esp. pp. 244, 251–254.

22. Burkert 1977, p. 227.

23. Trevor Bryce's earlier negative judgment as to Apollo's epithet Lykagenes, signifying his ancient affinities to Lycia and the Lukka, has been effectively rescinded in Bryce 1992.

24. Mellink 1995.

25. Laroche 1979; there *Natrbbijemi* (N320,4) = Ἀπολλόδοτος, but cf. Pulenjda (T16, 1) = Apollonides (with aphaeresis and Lycian *e* < **o*/). Laroche proceeded to ask whether *(a)natr(a)* as a cognate of the rare Greek ἀνάκτωρ, "lord," is found still in use here for Apollo's surname.

26. For the phonology of *ntr* see Laprieno 1995, p. 53; cf. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* 1977, col. 756, s.v. *Gott* (J. Assmann).

27. Teixidor 1978.

language, history, and archaeology press for consideration; if I refrain from even simply recording them here, it is because I learn at the last moment that, without examining the cultural implications, Antony Keen has noted in his recent *Dynastic Lycia* the same likeness of *ntr* to *Natr*.[28]

To return to Apollo's pre-Hellenic presence in western Asia Minor, the *real* argument against its acceptance is one that Ferdinand Sommer detailed more than sixty years ago.[29] He was roundly rejecting Emil Forrer's proposal[30] to see as a cuneiform rendering of "Apollo" the divine name Appaliunas. This deity is invoked in the text[31] of a treaty between the Hittite king Muwatallis and one Alaksandus of Luvian Wilusa.[32] Sommer, indeed, accepted that the Hittite personal names Apalla, Apalli, and Apallu (each ultimately built on Luvian *-*appal-*, "trap, snare, pitfall, ambush")[33] share their etymon with Appaliuna. Yet in his zeal to refute Forrer's anachronistic vision of a Proto-Greek colonial Apollo making inroads in Late Bronze Age western Asia Minor, along with Forrer's references to an Achaean Ahhiyawa in the Hittite archives, Sommer missed the critical *linguistic* linkage between Anatolian Appaliuna and Hellenic Apollon.

Still, this magisterial rejection of any link has prevailed until lately, though the great Anatolian IE linguist Laroche demurred at Sommer's reasoning.[34] Nilsson himself always adhered to Forrer's reading of Apollo's name in Anatolian dress.[35] Thus, when Albrecht Goetze declared that "the name quoted by Forrer is mutilated at the beginning," his further analysis commands a respectful but not uncritical listening. Goetze wrote that "the sign preceding what Forrer took to be the initial sign *(ap)* of the name is not *an* . . . , the determinative normally found at the head of divine names in cuneiform. It follows that there was at least one syllable in front of *ap;* in short the name of the god is not *Appaliunas* at all. Sommer came to the same conclusion."[36]

But Goetze's argument against *Appaliunas* on the ground that a syllable or more has been lost before *-ap-pa-li-u-na-as* is itself invalid, as *all*

28. Keen 1998, pp. 199–200; this insight has the potential of casting a wholly new light on Cahn 1950, in which Apollo, with lion from the start, is in origin identical to the *Anatolian* god of the sun. When, moreover, presenting a paper before the Classical Association of the Midwest and South (in Richmond 1992), I offered a possible Lycian etymology of "Leto," but the odd "fact" escaped me that Leto already had a regular *Lycian* designation (*eni qlahi ebijehi,* "mother-of-this-precinct") clearly referring to the indigenous goddess of the Letoon; it did not occur to me that ancient Egyptian might provide an option for "Leto."

29. Sommer 1937.

30. Forrer 1931.

31. KUB XXI I IV 27, now dated 15th century B.C.

32. Güterbock (1986, p. 42) termed the localization of Wilusa in the Troad "possible, even likely." In light of the seeming proximity, according to other Hittite texts, of Wilusa to Millawanda/Miletos, it might seem prudent for Trojan enthusiasts to withhold final judgment on the historical implications of equating Wilusa with Homer's (W)ilios. Yet Calvert Watkins's 1986 eliciting of evidence for Luvian dialect in both the literary and historical records of the two is undeniably enticing. In the end, however significant the link between Wilusa and Troy may prove, it is not critical to the validity of an Apollo/Apaliunas connection.

33. Puhvel 1984, pp. 95–96, s.v. *appala-*; but Melchert (1993a, p. 21, s.v. *appal-*) agrees with Starke (1990) that the specifically Luvian origin of the word is assured by the long initial *a.*

34. Laroche 1946–1947, p. 80. Laroche's resistance here is the more impressive, as it was he who at the same time firmly refuted Bedrich Hrozný's evocation of a Hittite *Apulunas,* misread in an altar inscription (Hrozný 1936, pp. 192–195).

35. Nilsson 1967. The historian of religion had good reason to rely on the linguist who had identified the eight languages preserved in the royal archives at Hattusha, when Hrozný had (brilliantly) distinguished but two.

36. Jameson 1970, pp. 52–53.

accented vowels in absolute initial position are long in Luvian. Thus a cuneiform sign *a-* in the textual gap is not merely permissible, but in *plene* writing expected. The "broken vertical"[37] just after the lacuna in the surviving copy of the treaty, though theoretically allowing for the syllabograms *kar, ya,* or *za,* as well as *a,* would actually lend new support to Forrer's reading. Ahead of this restored *a-* enough room remains for the divine determinative *an,* which regularly precedes a god's name. As for the repetition (*-ap-pa-*) of *p,* such gemination of the stop simply signifies that it is voiceless, not pronounced *b.*

The single writing of the medial *a* in Ap*a*liuna- has importance that may not, at first, be appreciated. As Hans Güterbock notes,[38] Apasa of the Hittite texts corresponds to Ephesos, Lazpa to Lesbos. But these Hellenized toponyms could also be of Luvian, pre-Lydian, or pre-Lycian derivation and help document the fact that an Anatolian IE short *a* may show up as a short *e* in Greek dialects. More to the point, because as the foregoing place-names show, Lydian and Lycian (or some other western Anatolian dialect) may have an *e* where Luvian has an *a,* any of them could have directly preserved an original short *e* in the name of Apollo. Thus the frequent Greek dialectical forms of Apollo (Ἀπέλλων, Ἀπείλων, Ἄπλουν) need not depend on an old Doric noun, ἀπέλλαι "(annual tribal) gatherings,"[39] to explain their medial *e* or its syncope.

At the same time, it is notable that in restricted conditions, "between dorsal and labial," an *o* in Lydian apparently represents pre-Lydian **a.* This is the careful observation of Craig Melchert,[40] one based on such Lydian words as *(fa-)korfi-* < PA **kerp(i)yedi* (via **karpid*). Is it rash to wonder whether the epic form of Apollo's name, with medial *o,* replaces the dialectical forms with *e* because that was the form current among Homer's eastern neighbors?

It remains only to justify the gemination of the *l,* the loss of the *i,* and the vowel change from *u* to *o.* The first two of these developments bring to mind the Proto-Greek phenomenon of gemination before the glide **y*:[41] in Lydian the **l* of PA is palatized before **i* and **y,* as in **alyo-* > *ala-*;[42] in Lycian the glide **y* is lost between consonant and vowel, as in PA **-tyo-* > *-ze-*.[43] That it is valid and informative to compare the phonology

37. Güterbock 1986, p. 42, note 28: "The choice of *a* . . . [which ends in a vertical] remains the most likely restoration."

38. Güterbock 1986, p. 42.

39. Burkert 1975a. In citing this trenchant examination—now a quarter-century old—of Apollo's mainland Greek descent, I am aware of its author's dissatisfaction with the insufficient accounting there of the fact that the god is a common treasure of all the Greeks. The sense of unfinished business that Burkert has expressed in friendly conversation has helped sustain the present inquiry.

40. Melchert 1994, p. 346. I grasp this moment to acknowledge the aid received, here and in the previous paragraph, from my colleague Craig Melchert, master of Anatolian phonology; the times when he has redeemed me from linguistic wrong in form or content must pass unnoted. Elsewhere, I have been content simply to learn that, as in the case of the next paragraph, there are easier ways to get rid of the glide **y* than by the path I had charted. But the formulation on */u/* and */o/* that follows is vintage Melchert.

41. Diver 1958.

42. Melchert 1994, pp. 342, 362.

43. Melchert 1994, p. 308. The true explanation, however, may be illustrated by John Ray (1988). A key point there concerns the lateral *l,* often termed a "dark *l,*" which characterizes both Luvian and Iron Age affiliates of Luvian. Whereas the sound *(ld?)* is registered with a single Karian letter, it is transliterated as *ll* in Greek. For more on the sound, one may consult Brown 1992–1993, p. 27 with bibliography, and pp. 34–37.

of a Lycian *-uni* with its Greek form is clear at least in the case of one famous name, known from a Lycian inscription and from the Homeric Lycian hero: Zrpped*uni*/Σαρπήδων.[44] Finally, it is in no way irregular that those who Hellenized the god's name as Apollo should have dispensed with the final *-as* of *Appaliunas,* seeing that the first suffixal element *-un-* already provided the excellent masculine suffix -ων of Greek personal names. Indeed, as neither Luvian nor Lycian has an /*o*/ phoneme, the phonetic realization of /*u*/ may in some cases have been low enough to be heard by Greeks as an [*o*:].

If [^{d}*a*]-*ap-pa-li-u-na-as* has evoked seemingly minutious examination, orthographical and phonological, it should be remembered that the rough justice dealt Forrer's reading of this divine name by fine linguists through the years proved all but fatal. It led so careful a scholar as Michael Jameson to accept Goetze's verdict that "the evidence of Apollo in Hittite Asia Minor is non-existent," and to recommend "excision of a notion <still> not . . . eliminated" in the third edition of Nilsson's *History.*[45]

Fortunately the morphological analysis of Apaliuna can be as concise as the orthographical and phonological ones were protracted. Recent progress in the analysis of Luvian by Frank Starke[46] and others now permits us to parse the form as a hypostasized genitive singular of the verbal noun to the stem *appaliya-*: "The One of Entrapping."[47]

Now at length we may glimpse the earliest detectable outlines of Apaliuna's nature. If we may rely on the linkage between his name and Greek Apollo's, then W. K. C. Guthrie's verdict at mid-century, that "his original nature cannot be discussed with profit, since it is too deeply wrapped in obscurity,"[48] can now be at least softened. "The One of Entrapping" has his appellation from the Luvian noun *-appal-*. The nuances of this probably abstract or instrument noun from *ep(p)-*, *ap(p)-*, "seize," are listed as "trap, snare, pitfall, ambush" s.v. *äppala-* by the author of the *Hittite Etymological Dictionary.*[49]

The meanings given by Jaan Puhvel for the agent-noun derivative, *appaliyalla-* "trapper, ensnarer, ambusher, deceiver," bring us still nearer our Luvian *Apaliunas.* But the editor of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* has, I believe, drawn a logical conclusion, elsewhere, that these early modes of pursuing the quarry led to the generalized sense of "hunter,"[50] for which the Hittite lexicon had appeared to offer no word.

If in fact we can reasonably presume that a word originally applying to the primordial means of catching game by trap, snare, or ambush[51] came to include the use of bow and arrow, maintenance of the designation *Apaliunas* for the Guardian God-on-the-Stag would be entirely natural; such broadening (or narrowing) of word meanings over time is characteristic of all languages. Even without such an assumption, it is highly likely that the god's name, having once become attached to him in times before he was regarded as the Archer *par excellence* who bore the divinized bow, would subsequently cling to him.

Still, it would be equally unremarkable if a theonym now bearing the connotation "hunter" were to gain a more closely characterizing epitheton.

44. Melchert 1993b, p. 114, as corrected by J. Bousquet (*per lit.*).

45. Jameson 1970, p. 53.

46. Starke 1990, pp. 317–322, 551.

47. Exactly this formulation I owe to my Hittitologist colleague Craig Melchert, who compares the designation of the Hittite midwife as *wallunassa,* "[the one] of lifting."

48. Guthrie 1950, p. 86.

49. Puhvel 1984, pp. 95–96. Here, as so often, one must depend on occurrences of Luvianisms in Hittite context, where they are often Hittitized in form.

50. Hoffner 1967, p. 50, s.v. *hunter,* gives *appaliyalla-* as the sole known Hittite term for this agent noun.

51. Green 1992, p. 58; Méniel 1987, pp. 89–100; and Hull 1964, pp. 18–19 and pp. 86–88 (on deer hunting), all stress the crucial role of traps, pits, snares, and lassos throughout antiquity.

This would be exactly illustrated by Apollo ἑκατηβόλος, if others of the ancients and Hesychius in his lexicon were on the right track in rendering that compound as "shooting a hundred βέλη." Instead of explaining the ἑκατη- element by citing the Greek word for "hundred," I venture, however diffidently, to see it as a culture word meaning "arrow" and passing into Greek epic from the context of the northwestern Anatolian speech area, in which the Homeric bards long polished their formulaic verses.

Encouraged by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff himself, who in his last work[52] regarded the word ἑκατηβόλος as a borrowing from a language of Asia Minor, I propose that the term crystallized in Homeric formulas, such as in *Iliad* 5.444, 16.711: μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἑκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος. In such a fixed environment, the fossilized gloss word came to be heard as having no initial *s-* sound, but the aspirate *he-*, the normal result for *inherited* Greek words starting with a sibilant.[53] Though no Anatolian preform to this **sekata* is preserved, the route by which a pre-Lydian source of Latin *sagitta,* "arrow," reached Italy may be imagined without resorting to Herodotos's circumstantial account (1.94) of a wholesale Lydian migration to Etruria in the 9th(?) century B.C. If prolonged famine beset their homeland at that time, Lydian soldiers-of-fortune might well have cast their lot with Etruscan employers in Italy in sufficient numbers to impose their name for a weapon the lethal handling of which distinguished them.[54] However that may be and whatever the merits of my proposal here about Apollo's epitheton, "arrow-shooting," the conclusion of J.-L. Perpillou's review of Jaan Puhvel, *Homer and Hittite,*[55] which examines Anatolian influences both literary and linguistic upon Homeric epic, should spur the search for religious influences, too, and specifically those underlying Apolline religion: "Il y aura là tout un continent à explorer."

For Aegaeo-Anatolian relations in this sphere at a later date, the evidence of cult and cult-places, especially from the great oracular sites, could quickly exceed the scope of this inquiry.[56] Even with regard to the god's earlier cult and cult objects in Luvian and Hittite lands, the archaeological record is extensive;[57] the illustration of seals, vases, rhyta, stelai, and rock reliefs on which the Guardian Gods appear must be reserved for a

52. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1959, p. 325. I owe this reference to Chantraine 1968, p. 328, s.v. ἑκατηβόλος.

53. That *some* position-making word-initial, even if not a digamma, should be assumed here is evident from the metrics of the verses quoted. A sigma ending the word before *ἑκατη-* may have sped this reshaping of a form that, when its meaning had faded, in the formulaic system still filled a slot unmet by ἀργυρότοξος, "of the silver bow," or τοξοφόρος, "bow-bearing."

54. A. Ernout and A. Meillet (1967, p. 588, s.v. *sagitta*) observed that "la finale *-itta* parait étrusque; Plaute scande *sagita.*" But even the minimalist "Etruscan" scenario just sketched may not be needed; the number of Latin/Hittite isoglosses has continued to grow since Melchert 1985.

55. Perpillou 1993.

56. But one may at least note, because of its likely descent from the Bronze Age God-on-the-Stag, Charles Picard's reincarnation of Apollo as a Master of Animals, in Ionia in particular. I am aware of Picard's study of Apollo *chasseur* and *maître des fauves,* thanks to the report of a paper given by André Dessenne (1955). The resumé, tantalizing as well on the affinities between the god and his cervid familiar, did not indicate whether Picard's findings had been published.

57. According to Özgüç (1993, p. 488), the Tutelary God can be traced continuously from the Assyrian Trading Colonies period.

pendant piece on "Hyperborean" Apollo, when their value as comparanda for the Cretan materials will be critical.[58]

Here it must suffice to highlight two iconographical variants of the Tutelary God of countryside and game. Although he is more often depicted with his bow—one recalls the golden bow, earlier mentioned, as held by the cult image from Wiyanawanda—, he is sometimes represented with spear in hand.[59] Usually the god is shown standing on his stag companion, but on the Kastamonu bowl a lone figure opening the long upper frieze of hunted, wounded, and slain deer and ibexes stands with bowstring drawn and shows his easy mastery of the great red deer beside him by its being tethered to his belt as a tamed decoy. This feature and the archer's horned cap both point to his divine status, and since both the other hunters, on the middle band of relief, wear cap and garb identical to his, they may be further depictions of the Huntsman God.[60]

In other words, as the two spear-wielding figures on the middle register, separated by a fight of bull with lions "in two consecutive scenes," may themselves be the *same* divine being in different actions, we may be presented in both registers with the *same* Guardian God, once armed with bow, twice with hunting spear. His name regularly, and frustratingly, lies hidden behind ^{d}KAL/^{d}LAMMA, the standard Sumerogram for it in the texts. This Sumerogram, it must be recognized, there stands for a multiplicity of tutelary gods, though—to repeat—their names usually remain unknown.[61]

Remarkably, Ala, the name of the consort of our God-on-the-Stag, is in fact known: it was Güterbock who first demonstrated that ^{d}KALs may prove, when we learn their underlying names, to be in some cases female.[62] Of interest here is Güterbock's interpretation[63] of the Hattushan text, quoted above, which inventories statuettes of deities.[64] The section on Wiyanawanda, he believes, continues after a lacuna and along with other items lists the goddess Ala, known to be the Guardian God's consort. The two are reported, elsewhere on the same tablet, as alike receiving festival honors at Wiyanawanda.

Güterbock provocatively observes that the seated figure on the silver stag rhyton,[65] holding a cup and dressed in a long robe like those worn

58. The great silver stag rhyton from the Norbert Schimmel Collection now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art demands that I qualify my otherwise exclusive concentration below on the Kastamonu bowl. This splendid rhyton (Özgüç 1993, pp. 488–489, with the essential bibliography) bears in relief a statue of the Guardian God-on-the-Stag holding *lituus* and falcon or eagle, in a scene of sacrifice following a ritual deer hunt. The emphasis by scale on the hunting spears is noteworthy, especially as the two appear just behind the throne there, itself occupied by the Guardian God, in the agreed view of Kurt Bittel and Sedap Alp (Özgüç 1993, p. 489); cf. Muscarella 1974, unpaged but well illustrated.

59. The spear joins other attributes of the Bronze Age God-on-the-Stag, whose *lituus,* for example, became the characterizing weapon of choice in the hands of Arkadian Pan, once the old attributes of Apaliunas were in part redistributed among members of the classical pantheon. In Herakles' case, we can sometimes observe the iconography change from decade to decade.

60. On these signs of divinity see Emre and Çinaroğlu 1993, pp. 685 and esp. 701.

61. One may recall that the name Apaliunas is spelled out on a single document; see note 31.

62. Güterbock (1989, p. 115), by citing Ala, renews his earlier proof that these tutelary gods can also be goddesses, as in the case of Inara. But his claim that the ^{d}LAMMA gods have a "hunter" identity only when they have some relationship to the *kursa,* "hunting bag," is countered by Emre and Çinaroğlu (1993, p. 701) on the basis of the Kastamonu bowl.

63. Güterbock 1983, pp. 207–208.

64. Described above, between notes 16 and 19.

65. Güterbock 1983, p. 208, note 32.

oftentimes by Hittite women, brings Ala to mind, especially as the few Luvian hieroglyphs set between seated figure and stag-treading Guardian God read "daughter" (of the Storm God, Ala's father) and the initial *a-* of a short name. It could have been replied by Bittel and Alp[66] that the earliest preserved tutelary god in gold, a miniature figure from Alacahöyük, is also long-robed (and according to Tahsın Özgüç not distinguished by dress from goddesses). Özgüç, however, goes on to note that all the deities who wear short costumes and hold *lituus* and bird are male.[67] One may wonder, then, whether in light of the growing number of ^{d}KAL goddesses, the figures depicted in long robes are female after all, just as Güterbock proposes for the enthroned figure on the silver rhyton.

What is more to the point regarding ^{d}KAL goddesses, we have reckoned until now without the immemorial Huntress, for of course, if the Guardian God had a *consort* whose name Ala suggests that she is an anthropomorphized cervid (a newly established Hittite term for a kind of deer being *aliya-*),[68] then the God-on-the-Stag whose name was Apaliunas and became Apollo may have been accompanied by a twin *sister* from very early times. Inseparable from her Huntsman brother ever since their first appearance in Greek myth and religion, Artemis has so far been allowed to remain, here, an *éminence grise.* Yet among all the functions and spheres of action for which this goddess is known, no characterization of her comes close to that of "the Huntress," and no iconography is nearly as familiar as that which presents her with bow in hand hotly pursuing the wildlife of which she is also Mistress.

That Artemis's name has not been recognized in the Hittite documents heretofore may be a result of the fact, already touched on, that usually the guardian gods have their Hittite (or Luvian) name hidden beneath a Sumerogram (^{d}KAL, ^{d}LAMMA). Onofrio Carruba, to be sure, tried thirty years ago to link one of these ^{d}KAL names—*Runtiya-* (*Runda, Rutia,* ultimately alphabetized as Ῥωνδας)—with that borne by the Greek Huntress.[69] His efforts failed to carry conviction at the time, partly, it may be, because neither the multiplicity of these stag deities,[70] nor their dual and perhaps changing gender, was then appreciated. Estan, indeed, the great Hattic sun goddess, was early recognized as having become the god Istanu of Luvo-Hittite cult; but only lately have the alternations in the gender of other deities, such as Pirwa, the God-on-the-Horse, been noticed, again by Güterbock.[71]

Still, the great obstacle to the acceptance of Carruba's thesis remains: the derivation of *Artemit/da* from a later form of *Runda* plus a supposed Hittite noun *mitis.* The assumption that *Runda* could become thus transmogrified into *Rtia* fails because it is the *u* that is syllabic here, not the *R,* which is vocalic. Carruba's compounding of *Runda* with a noun thought to mean "slave," moreover, was bound to elicit disbelief in this second element of great "Artemis."

Fortunately, a way out of the impasse presents itself in *hart(ag)ga-* < PIE **h₂rkʰo-*(?). This common-gender term for "bear" in Hittite (with congeners presumably in the other Anatolian IE dialects) provides both a linguistically and a semantically adequate etymon for Artemis's name. Despite the attempts of others to identify */Hartka-/* as "snake," "squirrel,"

66. Özgüç 1993, p. 489, notes 74, 75.

67. Özgüç 1993, p. 489.

68. For Hittite *aliya(n)-* as "deer," see Neu 1987, pp. 177, 186–187, note 62.

69. Carruba 1968, pp. 40–41.

70. Hellenkemper and Wagner (1977, p. 170) could still write simply, "The stag . . . clearly identifies the figure on its back as the stag-god Runda."

71. Güterbock 1983, p. 208: "Die Indizien für eine Göttin Pirwa sind doch auch vorhanden, ebenso auch für ihre Ähnlichkeit mit Istar;[37] *wie diese dürfte auch Pirwa zweigeschlechtig sein*" (italics added).

or "wolf," one may consult with assurance Jaan Puhvel's *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* for the preserved occurrences of the word and solid interpretations of its contexts.[72] Accordingly, though René Lebrun, in his sage review of problems in Anatolian religion, well portrayed the antiquity of Artemis in Asia Minor and especially Lycia, *une terre d'election,*[73] *hartagga-* rules out his proposal to equate the attested but unidentified Hittite form *arta-* plus participial suffix *-mi-* as elements constituting the goddess's name. For, "bear" cannot appear in both spellings at once, nor can the suffix *-mi-* underlie, for example, the Lydian form of "Artemis," soon to be examined.

The way, then, is open to hypothesize a Bronze Age name predictive of Classical Artemis's dual roles as Huntress and Potnia Theron. By compounding */Hartka-/* with *muwa-* (now rendered "*Kraft,* vital force," or simply "an awe-inspiring quality"),[74] a very frequent second element in Hittite personal names and one available even for theonyms,[75] one may fairly derive the divine epithet Bear's Might,[76] Bear's Heart,[77] or *Barenmut.* Actually, *Mut* with its range of meanings—"courage < **coraticum* < *cor,* pluck, fortitude, boldness, mettle, spirit"—and *Gemut* with its nuances—"soul, heart, disposition, spirit, feeling, temper"—may themselves be cognate with *muwa-*, though Tischler is agnostic and Hoffner silent as to etymology.[78]

Just such a preform would seem to be implied by Artemis's name in its well attested Lydian guise, *Artimus,* since *-mu-* is the regular contraction of *muwa-*. This element, it may be noted, "occupies the most important place in the list of <Lycian> 'Namenstamme,'" according to Houwink ten Cate.[79] He further cites the element's occurrence in Luvian-related names from the whole southern flank of Asia Minor as well as Karia and Lydia. These last remind us that Lydian is to be traced through neither Luvian nor Hittite from PA. So Lydian *Artimus* shows the loss expected there of the *H* in PA **Hrtko-*, besides the known phenomenon of cluster-reduction (*rt* < **rtk*). As for the *i* before *m* in *Artimus,* corresponding to the final *a* in *Hartka-*, I venture to compare the medial vowel before the adjectival suffix *-msi-* of Lydian *ibsimsi-*, "Ephesian," to that of Hittite *Apasa-*.[80]

If I have added linguistic support to the arguments by Wilamowitz on behalf of an Anatolian origin for Artemis, and to the attraction for Nilsson of a specifically Lydian source for her name at least,[81] the attention given here to phonological detail may be thought worthwhile. Though the chief concern of this paper requires our following the Anatolian strands of Apollo's lineage and his sister's, some notice is also due the linguistic aspects of the case for Artemis's Greek or at least "western" descent. Indeed, it is on the linguistic data waiting to be extracted from the goddess's name that much of the effort to establish her ancestry, both within and beyond the confines of Greece, has focused. When the theonym *Artemitos* (gen.)/ *Artimitei* (dat.) appeared in context with other divine names at Mycenaean Pylos, Christiane Sourvinou expressed grave doubts about the soundness of this tempting transcription of *a-te-mi-to/a-ti-mi-te.*[82] Her reasons for reserve were in the same year being countered by Alfred Heubeck;[83] yet no one has labored more effectively than Sourvinou-Inwood to deepen understanding of Artemis's role and significance as Bear Goddess of Old

72. Puhvel 1991, pp. 201–202.

73. Lebrun 1987, p. 251.

74. Güterbock and Hoffner 1989, p. 314.

75. Laroche 1946–1947, p. 27; cf. Laroche 1966, p. 322, note 17; Güterbock and Hoffner 1989, p. 315, s.v. *muwa-*: "PNs show that *m.* was possessed by goddesses as well as gods."

76. Cf., e.g., Bacchylides 5.281, or Hom. *Il.* 5.524, Πέλοπος βία.

77. Cf. the MN *UR-MAH- muwa-*, *Coeur de Lion.*

78. In Tischler 1990, p. 242, and Güterbock and Hoffner 1989, pp. 314–316, respectively, s.v. *muwa-*.

79. Houwink ten Cate 1961, p. 166.

80. Otherwise, I would draw from *Artimus*'s occasional spelling as Artymus evidence that the normal *i* may represent pre-Lydian anaptyxis. Gusmani (1964, pp. 30, 63–64) judged the Lydian *y* to be a sound between *i* and *e*, and one always unaccented. As his views are upheld by Melchert (1994, pp. 342, 379), who also notes that PA unaccented final short vowels are regularly lost in Lydian, I would posit PA **Hrtko-* > Lydian *Art,* with anaptyctic *i* before the compound-forming *mu(wa)s.*

81. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1959, p. 324.

82. Sourvinou 1970.

83. Heubeck 1970; cf. Christidis's remarks (1972) on Artemis in the tablets.

Greece, through her reading especially of the realia brought to light since the 1960s in the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis.[84]

Ken Dowden, Pierre Brulé, and Pierre Lévêque, to note only a few stimulating but less familiar books, articles, and reviews,[85] have set the ancient *testimonia* on the Athenian girls' year-long service of the goddess, coupled with the ceramic evidence for the culminating rituals of the annual Brauronia, against the profound backdrop of Eurasian prehistory, where veneration of the bear can be traced back to the Middle Palaeolithic. And there may be room even now for an amateur naturalist to wonder whether the bear depicted on the *krateriskoi* represents for the fleeing young *arktoi* the sort of danger of which they must be taught to be wary by the priestess of Artemis. Thus the stand-in for the goddess would be functioning much as the famously protective mother-bear must do vis-à-vis the older he-bears in the wilds, for years after she first licks them into shape. But no speculation can replace the precise analysis of *Studies in Girls' Transitions.*

This is not to say that Sourvinou-Inwood's focus on Brauron in that and later studies prevented her from seeing the cult of Artemis in a wider cultural and geographical frame. Even as she questioned the theonym status of *a-te-mi-to* and *a-ti-mi-te,* she was declaring M. S. Ruipérez's connection of Artemis's name to the Celtic Dea Artio, via Illyrian, to "show possibilities of being right."[86] All at once, the prospect of what L. R. Palmer once termed a Hellado-Asianic symbiosis (between the cultures of western Asia Minor and Old Greece in Middle to Late Bronze Age) may again lie open.[87] Whatever the time at which worship of Artemis in Hellas began to influence and be influenced by that of *Artimus* and her other Anatolian hypostases, it occurred well within the areal and linguistic limits of Watkins's attractive comparison of an Anatolian deer-god's name, *Kuruntas* > *Runtas,* with Cernunnus, the Gaulish name of the Stag God.[88]

We cannot pursue here a like chase after the archetypal protective she-bear, into the remote times and spaces of the European past. Neither did I earlier find it requisite to press the search for the immemorially venerated *grand cervide* on the murals of Çatal Hüyük,[89] even though the continuity of culture and religious tradition on the Anatolian subcontinent is such that an unbroken inheritance from those 6th-millennium days cannot be discounted. The important role of zoomorphism in the thought and worship of early peoples in Asia Minor is well summed up in a few paragraphs by the redoubtable Laroche. His lines devoted to the deer merit translation in full:[90]

> The famous deer-standards of Alacahöyük, combined with <Hittite> cuneiform texts, prove the popularity of the deer or cervid, whose role is analogous to that of the bull. It symbolizes the forces of animal and vegetal nature; it is at first alone, then mounted by a god. But the function and even the identity of this god are still vague. One knows that there existed, at least among the theologians of the Hittite capital, a special class of divinities called or designated by the bare cuneiform sign ^{d}KAL. These gods are protectors of wildlife, gods of the forest. But we do not know their names,

84. Sourvinou-Inwood 1988.

85. Dowden 2000, Brulé 1987, Lévêque 1989.

86. Sourvinou 1970, esp. note 1; cf. Ruipérez 1947.

87. Palmer 1980, p. 15. For a sounder view, historically and archaeologically, of the period during which Luvian dialectal influences might have prevailed in mainland Greece, see Billigmeier 1983.

88. Watkins 1999.

89. Mellaart 1967, pp. 170–176, illustrations of A.III.1 (hunting shrine) and A.III.13 in level III: fig. 48 and pls. XI, 54–58, 61.

90. *Dictionnaire des mythologies et des religions des sociétés traditionnelles et du monde antique* I, 1981, p. 35, s.v. *Animaux* (E. Laroche).

> informed only that the ^{d}KAL gods are invoked under their "120 names." The same sign in other mythological and cult contexts designates a goddess (Inara). In every period the Hittites were perplexed over establishing a syncretism between their ^{d}KAL gods and the great divine figures of neighboring peoples. For example, at Karatepe the god "with antlers" is translated by the Semitic Rešep, of the circle of Nergal, an equation surprising in all respects.

It is to be hoped that in light of the present inquiry, "the function and even the identity of this god" are now a little more clear. As for Laroche's closing lines on the awkward equation of Rešep/^{d}KAL, *à la ramure,* we can now appeal to Burkert's investigation of Apollo's encounter with Rešep on Cyprus.[91]

CONCLUSION

In this essay I have tried to draw together the lines of evidence that Apollo is "The Hunter,"[92] whatever other characterizations may spring to mind—"Musician," "Lawgiver," "Healer," "Seer." Beginning the quest for Apollo in Anatolia, where the earliest data, linguistic and documentary, await the searcher, I have presented in some detail the morphology and phonology of *Apaliunas,* which Forrer long ago identified as the Late Bronze Age form of the god's name, and which a Luvo-Hittite specialist has endorsed as "The One of Entrapping." As the literal sense of the Luvian word would have been thought to cover the huntsman wielding either spear or bow used in tandem with the footsnare, the extended meaning of *Apaliunas* is likely to have been "Hunter" (a reliable rendering of the Hittite agent noun that was built on the same base). I have also canvassed the possibility that the Homeric compound epithet ἑκατηβόλος preserved as its first element a term for "arrow" received from the epic bard's Anatolian IE neighbors.

More certainly, I have identified as one of the guardian gods-on-a-stag the god *Apaliunas* named in the Hittite treaty with Wilusa in western Asia Minor. These deities, with their own names usually inaccessible behind the Sumerograms used for them by the scribes, are documented as receiving sacrifice, votives, and festivals from Tlos and Oenoanda in Lycia (Apollo's traditional homeland) to the easternmost limits of Luvian lands in northern Syria. Burkert himself has associated this "Hittite Guardian God" with the ancestry of Hellenic Apollo, quite apart from any connection between the divine type and *Apaliunas.* For now, I have focused on just three of the symbols, powers, or attributes of the Guardian God of Countryside and Wildlife: his stag, on which he is usually represented as standing, his bow, and his spear.

But a recently recognized fact about these ^{d}KAL gods (for they are multiple) is that several of them, beginning with Inara daughter of the Storm God, prove to be female. Two of these are of special interest, *Ala,* the consort of the Guardian God of Oenoanda (Wiyanawanda), and a

91. Burkert 1975b. This was our *point de départ,* and it "brings us back to 'doe'": the oldest evidence of a cultic *Hirschgehege* in Anatolia is compared by Haas (1982, p. 58) with the classical enclosure for the sacred red deer at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, "of the woodlands," at Cypriot Kourion. See further Mitford 1971, p. 50.

92. Admittedly, one reads on excellent authority that "he is not a god of hunters" (Burkert 1977, p. 145). But a subtly nuanced view appears on his p. 237, which suggests the relation of hunting:war::Apollo:Achilles.

proposed ^{d}KAL **Hartka-muwa,* whose name should signify "Bear Power" or "Barenmut." Such would be a fitting appellation for the twin sister of Apollo "The Hunter," who may have had his own earliest epiphanies in the form of a great cervid.

That the earliest extant manifestation of the deity who ultimately evolved into the most splendid of the Olympian gods is to be traced on the walls of Çatal Hüyük must remain sheer speculation. And a proper account of the bear as hunter *par excellence* must await another occasion. But that already before the dawn of Archaic Greece Apollo and Artemis had crystallized as the twin gods of hunters is not in doubt. For, even if the first words of Xenophon's *Cynegeticus,* "Hounds and hunting are the invention of the gods Apollo and Artemis," have been interpolated, as some say, we find his sure admonition at 6.13: "And after vowing to give a share of the game to Apollo and Artemis the Huntress, <the huntsman> should slip the hound."[93]

93. Translations are those of D. B. Hull (1964, pp. 110, 123), expert in woodcraft and in wordcraft, as all who approach Apollo need to be.

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Ritual and Politics in Assyria: Neo-Assyrian Kanephoric Stelai for Babylonia

by Barbara Nevling Porter

> Far from being window dressing on the reality that is the nation, symbolism is the stuff of which nations are made.[1]

Public ritual has proven over the years to be a powerful tool for shaping political attitudes and behavior, sometimes used to support the status quo and sometimes used to promote political change, but it has not always proven easy to control.[2] Its effective use in a wide variety of political settings is the subject of a massive and still growing bibliography in the fields of anthropology, political science, and communications theory that has examined the political impact of public ritual in settings as various as Nazi Germany before World War II, tribal Africa in the colonial period, and modern-day America.[3]

Among scholars of antiquity, classicists were among the first to recognize the importance of public ritual in ancient political life, analyzing its effects in studies such as H. S. Versnel's examination of the Roman Triumph and S. R. F. Price's study of the cult of the emperor in Roman Asia Minor.[4] Assyriology, a much younger field, has only now begun to explore the question, in the course of discussions such as Beate Pongratz-Leisten's examination of the impact of public processions during *akītu* festivals, Philippe Talon's discussion of ritual as a tool of legitimation in 1st-millennium Mesopotamia, and Elnathan Weissert's analyses of ritual royal lion hunts.[5]

1. Kertzer 1988, p. 6.

2. I am grateful to Markham Geller, David Wright, H. S. Versnel, and Michael H. Porter for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. I am also indebted to the Harvard Semitic Museum for providing research facilities and to Peter Machinist for his remarkable generosity in lending me needed books from his personal library that I had not been able to obtain otherwise. I owe thanks to the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, and its director, Evelyn Klengel-Brandt, for permission to study the Sam'al stele in Berlin and for providing every assistance during my visit. I would also like to thank Wm. W. Hallo and the Yale Babylonian Collection, and Julian E. Reade and the Trustees of the British Museum, for permission to publish photographs of objects in their collections; and Jutta Börker-Klähn, for allowing me to publish drawings from her book *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*.

3. For a cogent introduction to this literature, with selected bibliography, see Kertzer 1988.

4. Versnel 1970, Price 1984.

5. Until now, most studies of royal ritual in ancient Mesopotamia have been devoted primarily to establishing reliable editions of the relevant texts, for the most part with only brief comments on the probable political impact of such rituals. For earlier studies of Mesopotamian royal ritual, see, e.g., Thureau-Dangin 1921, Müller 1937, Labat 1939, Frankena 1954, Laessøe 1955, van Driel 1969, Postgate 1974, Menzel 1981, and Lackenbacher 1982. For recent studies that deal more extensively with the political impact of rituals, see Winter 1992, Porter 1993a and 1993b, Talon 1993, Pongratz-Leisten 1994, and Weissert 1997.

Most studies of the use of public ritual in political life have emphasized its power as a tool for affecting political attitudes and behavior; I propose here to focus instead on its pitfalls—the potential of public rituals, if used unwisely, to undermine the very position they were meant to strengthen.[6] To illustrate this aspect of public ritual, I will examine the case of a Mesopotamian royal ritual involving the ceremonial bearing of a laborer's basket by rulers to inaugurate temple construction, as it was performed in Babylonia by three Assyrian kings: first by Esarhaddon, king of Assyria between 681 and 669 B.C., and then by his son Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria between 668 and 627 B.C., and also by a second son, Shamash-shum-ukin, who ruled as king of Babylonia during Ashurbanipal's reign. I will argue that while Esarhaddon's performance of the ancient ritual in Babylon was a highly successful symbolic gesture that helped to persuade the recently conquered Babylonians to accept him as a legitimate Babylonian king, the later performances of the same ritual by Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin were, in contrast, a serious political error on Ashurbanipal's part, unwittingly encouraging the uprising against Assyria that would erupt late in Ashurbanipal's reign.

As the story of these performances of the basket-bearing ritual is partly the story of a father's efforts to help his son and heir achieve a secure and prosperous future, it seems appropriate to dedicate this study to Sara Immerwahr, who has given so much of her life to teaching, encouraging, and providing for the future success of students and younger colleagues alike, some, such as myself, not even classicists. Her generosity, her humility, and her disciplined intelligence have provided for scores of younger scholars a model of what a teacher, scholar, and able woman might aspire to become. This essay is offered to Sally in tribute and affectionate thanks.

To understand the effect of these Assyrian performances of the basket-bearing ritual on the members of the Babylonian elite who saw them performed in temples in Babylonia, we need to know something about the political situation in Babylonia and something about the basket-bearing ritual itself. Relations between Assyria and Babylonia as Esarhaddon came to power were tense.[7] Assyria had conquered Babylonia and asserted control over it almost fifty years earlier, but had met with determined resistance. Although Assyria and Babylonia were closely related culturally, sharing a common language, many of the same gods, and a nearly identical literary and technical tradition, the Babylonians had steadfastly refused the rule of Assyrian kings, rebelling every few years only to be subdued by the powerful Assyrian army. Under Esarhaddon's father, Sennacherib, this destructive cycle had led to the assassination of one of Sennacherib's own sons, who was serving as Assyrian regent in Babylonia. Sennacherib had responded with a punitive campaign that ended in the siege of Babylon, Babylonia's political and religious capitol, and culminated in a systematic destruction of the venerable city. Sennacherib's inscriptions report (with only moderate exaggeration):

> The city and (its) houses, from its foundation to its walls, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The wall and outer wall,

6. By "public ritual" I mean a relatively fixed set of symbolically charged elements, such as words, images, music, or actions, that are performed at fixed intervals or on fixed occasions, that may be religious in implication but are not necessarily so, and that are performed before a considerable number of people who are capable of having some impact on the political life of their state or community. In the case of Assyria or Babylonia, this would be a group limited to members of the political, economic, or religious elites.

7. For more detailed discussion of the period, see Brinkman 1984, pp. 56–70, 747–748; Frame 1992, pp. 52–63; Porter 1993b, pp. 13–39.

> temples and gods, temple-tower of brick and earth, as many as there were, I razed and dumped into the Arahtu-Canal. Through the midst of that city I dug canals, I flooded its site with water, and the very foundations thereof I destroyed. I made its destruction more complete than by a flood. That in days to come, the site of that city, and (its) temples and gods, might not be remembered, I completely blotted it out with (floods) of water and made it like a meadow.[8]

Babylonia was then quiet for eight years, until Sennacherib himself was assassinated, probably with Babylonian collusion, and revolt promptly broke out again.[9]

This was the situation when Esarhaddon took the throne. Assyrian troops marched south to confront the rebels, and the revolt collapsed, but it was clear that neither years of warfare nor even the fall of Babylon had succeeded in breaking Babylonian resistance to Assyrian rule. To achieve peaceful control of Babylonia, something different was required, and in this, the basket-bearing ritual was to play a central role.

Esarhaddon's response was a systematic reversal of his father's punitive policies. As his initial step, he announced that he would rebuild Babylon and that as the capstone of this effort, he would restore Esagila, the temple of Babylonia's patron god Marduk, which had been damaged in the recent Assyrian attack. Other favors would follow—during Esarhaddon's reign deported Babylonians were returned to their homes, permission to trade was reinstated, ancient freedoms from certain royal taxes were restored, several statues of Babylonian gods captured long ago were returned, and temples throughout Babylonia were restored and enhanced[10]—but Esarhaddon's promised restoration of Babylon and of Esagila, announced in the first royal inscriptions of his reign, was crucial for its immediate symbolic impact. Restoration of Esagila, the emblem of Babylonia and the heart of her national religion, implied the restoration of Babylonia's identity and dignity as a nation, and its rebuilding under Esarhaddon's patronage implied that he would rule Babylonia not as a foreign conqueror, but as an embodiment of native Babylonian traditions of rule.

To encourage Babylonians to give serious consideration to the somewhat unlikely idea that they should accept Esarhaddon as their legitimate ruler, Assyrian scribes prepared a series of deftly written inscriptions[11]

8. Luckenbill 1924, pp. 83–84, col. II, 50b–54a. Throughout this article, in accordance with standard Assyriological notation, parentheses in the translations mark emendations by the translator to make the sense clearer to modern readers.

9. On Sennacherib's death, see Parpola 1980.

10. For a detailed discussion of Esarhaddon's program for Babylonia, see Porter 1993b, pp. 41–75.

11. The standard edition of Esarhaddon's royal inscriptions is Borger 1956; the building inscriptions commemorating Esarhaddon's construction work in Babylon are published on pp. 10–29 as a single composite text, labeled there Babylon A–G, with each topic discussed in the texts presented as an "episode" occurring in the texts in varying forms. For a list of all surviving copies of each of these texts, with description and provenience, see Porter 1993b, pp. 185–187, and for a discussion of the complex problems of establishing their dates of composition, pp. 170–173.

Unless otherwise noted, the translations of passages quoted in this article are my own, based on the Akkadian text as established by Borger's edition.

For the argument that the texts known as Babylon B and G were composed to present the rebuilding of Babylon and Esagila to Assyrian audiences, and Babylon A, C, and E for presentation to Babylonians, see Porter 1993b, pp. 99–105.

announcing the rebuilding of Esagila to the Babylonians. These inscriptions sought to cast Esarhaddon's role in the rebuilding in the most favorable light, in order to minimize any implication that he was a foreign usurper and present him in traditionally Babylonian terms as the patron of Babylonia's temples, a role stressed as fundamental to kingship in southern Mesopotamian written traditions.[12] The text known as "Babylon A" is representative of the texts written to present the project to Babylonians and will serve as our example.[13]

The text opens by naming Esarhaddon as the patron of the work to follow (Episode 1).[14] After listing his Assyrian and imperial titles in their briefest form ("great king, mighty king, king of all, king of the land of Assur"), the text begins immediately to establish his Babylonian credentials, assigning him the ancient Mesopotamian titles "regent (for the gods) of Babylonia, king of Sumer and Akkad (an ancient term for the southern regions that later became Babylonia)."[15] The text continues with epithets that establish the king's piety, cast here in terms of his devotion to Babylonia's gods. He is a "true shepherd, favorite of the lord of lords (i.e., Marduk)" and "the pious prince beloved of Zerpānītum (Marduk's consort)"; he is, moreover, "humble, submissive, fearer of their great godhead." It is a strikingly Babylonian characterization of an Assyrian ruler.

The text sets the stage for the temple's rebuilding by explaining how it came to be damaged. This passage opens with the words, "When in the reign of a former king, there were evil omens in Sumer and Akkad" (Ep. 2). As the "former king" was in fact Sennacherib, and the "evil omens" prove later in the text to be predictions of the destruction of Babylon—ascribed by the text to a flood whose human agents are tactfully not mentioned—the account is a masterpiece of diplomacy that avoids any mention at all of Assyria's role in bringing about Babylonia's current problems. Using an ancient topos that was familiar to the Babylonians from their own literature to explain the fall of cities,[16] the text asserts that Babylon's destruction was commanded by Babylonia's gods in punishment for Babylonian misdeeds, but that the gods were now willing to relent and return to their city.

At this crucial point Esarhaddon appears, the importance of the moment underlined by the use of direct address to the god Marduk. The passage announces that Esarhaddon was chosen for kingship by Marduk, an extraordinary claim for an Assyrian king, and that he has been made king of Assyria in order to restore Babylonia and appease Marduk's anger toward her:

> Me, Esarhaddon, . . . you truly selected to return these things to their places; . . . to quiet the heart of your great godhead, to pacify your liver (the seat of angry emotions), you filled my hands with the shepherdship of the land of Assur (Ep. 11, lines 20–23).

After listing omens that confirm Esarhaddon's selection by the gods and make its purpose more explicit ("to renew the shrines, set to rights the cultic observances of Esagila, palace of the gods" [Ep. 14, lines 41b–45]), the text turns at last to Esarhaddon's rebuilding of Esagila, which is clearly established as commanded of him by Babylonia's own gods.

12. For a discussion of the emphasis on building in Sumerian and Babylonian royal inscriptions, and the comparatively greater emphasis on military exploits in Assyrian inscriptions until a relatively late date, see Lackenbacher 1982, pp. 1–2. On the central role of the temple in Mesopotamia in ensuring the presence of the god in the community and thus his help, see Jacobsen 1976, pp. 15–17, and on the ancient role of rulers as temple builders in the Sumerian, and later, Babylonian, south, see pp. 78–79. On rulers as temple builders, see also Labat 1939, pp. 177–201; Ellis 1968, passim.

13. For a more detailed examination of the image of the king presented in Babylon A, see Porter 1993b, pp. 94–97.

14. Borger 1956, p. 11.

15. On the history of these titles in Babylonia and Assyria, see Porter 1993b, pp. 79–81.

16. On Mesopotamian lamentations for the fall of cities, a group of texts that use this topos (also familiar to us from its appearance in the Jewish Bible), see Tinney 1996, pp. 1–25.

Esarhaddon now takes the decisive first step:

> I called up all my workmen and the people of the land of all Karduniash (another ancient name for Babylonia); I made the hoe strike (upon the ground), and I imposed (on them) the (bearing of) the workman's basket (Ep. 19, Fassung A).

When the debris of the damaged temple has been cleared away by these workmen, ground-breaking rituals consecrating the reconstruction of Esagila can begin.[17] The slope of the excavation for the new temple platform is consecrated anew with libations, a ritual that, strikingly, the Assyrian king himself performs:

> With good oil, honey, ghee, red and white wine, pure mountain drink, I sprinkled the excavation slope (Ep. 20).

Esarhaddon then performs the basket-bearing ritual, placing a workman's basket on his own head in an ancient royal gesture. On the simplest level, this was an act of solidarity with the Babylonians, on whom he had imposed the duty of "carrying the basket," a term for the performance of corvée. On another level it was a highly symbolic traditional religious act:

> In order to show the people his great godhead and cause (them) to fear his lordship, I lifted the basket upon my head, and I caused myself to bear it (Ep. 20).

With this gesture, marking the climax of the ground-breaking ceremonies and bringing them to an end, the great project has officially begun. The king then orders a year of brickmaking so that in time, Esagila can be fully restored and the gods will return to protect Babylonia and bring her abundance, a happy ending that the text goes on to describe. Inscribed on clay prisms, the traditional form for commemorative building inscriptions buried in the walls or floors of buildings for reading by future generations of kings, the text was probably read aloud to the priests and officials, assembled in Esagila for the ground-breaking ceremonies, before it was formally buried.[18] The image of Esarhaddon presented by the text, as we have seen, is that of a Babylonian king, one who bears Babylonian titles, is appointed by Babylonia's gods, and now acts as patron of Babylonia's national temple. Esarhaddon's bearing of the basket gave striking visual expression to this claim, presenting him as the very image of Babylonian kingship in ancient times.

The basket-bearing ritual was one of great antiquity in Babylonia. The first evidence suggesting performance of the ritual is a plaque that shows the Sumerian king Ur-Nanshe, ruler of the city-state of Lagash around 2500 B.C., carrying a basket on his head; he is accompanied by an inscription that describes him as a temple builder.[19] Later, the famous temple-building inscriptions of Gudea, who ruled Lagash ca. 2130 B.C., provide more detailed information about the act of basket-bearing; they make it clear that this was an act of religious piety that played a central role in the rituals that consecrated and initiated temple building in the ancient

17. On Mesopotamian ground-breaking rituals, see Ellis 1968.

18. On the likelihood that building inscriptions were read aloud during the ground-breaking ceremonies, see Porter 1993b, pp. 105–117; 1995, pp. 62–66; for dissenting opinions, cf. Oppenheim 1964, pp. 146–148; Tadmor 1997, pp. 330–332. Those copies of the Babylon A text whose place of discovery is known were found in Babylon or bought in its immediate vicinity, with the exception of Babylon A4, found in the Babylonian city of Sippar, where it apparently served as an archival copy of the text.

19. For further discussion of the early evidence for basket-bearing in the cities of the Mesopotamian south, with bibliography, see Porter 1993b, pp. 82–94.

Sumerian states of southern Mesopotamia. In Gudea's account, basket-bearing opens the ceremonial action. After a night of vigil and prayer, Gudea enters the temple to begin the rituals of consecration, accompanied by gods and carrying what is here called a "holy basket":

> The holy basket and the effective brick-mold of destiny in the temple . . . he carried; with head high he went. (The god) Lugalkurdub went in front of him, (the god) Igalim went with him, (the god) Ningishzida, his god, took him by the hand (Gudea Cylinder A, col. XVIII, lines 10–17).[20]

The holy basket appears in the text a second time (lines 24–27), as the ceremonies move toward the making of the first brick:

> He carried the holy basket, he put together(?) the brick-mold. Gudea put clay into the brick-mold; he carried out the operation perfectly. He made the brick for the temple splendid.

Finally, in the summary statement that concludes Gudea's account of the rituals, carrying the basket appears once more, now as an emblem of the foundation rituals as a whole:

> Gudea, the builder of the temple, in the temple put the basket on his head like a holy crown; he laid the foundation, erecting the walls on the ground (Cyl. A, col. XX, lines 24–26).

The basket has become here "a holy crown," the mark of a king who has fulfilled the basic royal duty of building temples.

Gudea's inscription is our only detailed description of basket-bearing in early times; it establishes the nature of the basket-bearing ritual as an act of piety performed by rulers, and as a symbolic expression of their role as temple builders. Although there is no further verbal evidence for the ritual until Esarhaddon's time, evidence for the performance of the ritual continues in the form of small figurines representing rulers who raise both hands to support a shallow basket balanced on their heads (Fig. 13.1).

These figurines, often inscribed with the name of the ruler and a brief reference to temple building, make their first appearance in Gudea's reign and then become a standard element in southern Mesopotamian temple foundation deposits—deposits of precious objects, herbs, and commemorative inscriptions that were buried in special boxes in the walls or floors of temples during ground-breaking ceremonies, rather like the time capsules sometimes placed in modern cornerstones. The little basket-bearing figurines continued to be made and buried in such foundation deposits for a period of almost 500 years.[21] By the end of the 18th century B.C., however, basket-bearing figurines were no longer being placed in temple foundation deposits; their disappearance suggests that the ritual itself in time ceased to be performed. Because southern Mesopotamian temples were made of clay brick and required repair in almost every generation, however, the temple foundation boxes containing the figures were reopened at regular intervals, their old materials reverently examined and reburied alongside new deposits, every time repair or expansion of a temple was undertaken. In this way, the ancient figurines depicting

20. The translation is that of Richard Ellis, prepared in collaboration with Miguel Civil, in Ellis 1968, p. 22 and appendix A, pp. 170–172.

21. I am grateful to Evelyn Klengel-Brandt for bringing to my attention the excellent study, by her and Dessa Rittig, of fragments of somewhat similar basket-bearing figurines found in the Esharra temple in Assyria, which has led me to revise my earlier interpretation of the ritual as exclusively Babylonian. Because of the paucity of the Assyrian evidence (fragments of only eight figurines have been found) and the absence of any mention of royal basket-bearing in Assyrian texts, however, I am not convinced by their arguments that the ritual originated in Assyria and played as important a role in royal ideology there as it did in Babylonia. For a presentation of the evidence with full discussion, see Klengel-Brandt and Rittig 1982. Note that the height of the figurine in Figure 13.1 is estimated to be on the order of 0.30 m.



Figure 13.1. Figurine showing the Sumerian king Ur-Nammu as basket-bearer (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MLC 2628).
Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

basket-bearing kings remained familiar to Babylonians, even in much later generations.

When Esarhaddon stood before the assembled priests and officials of Babylonia in Esagila and raised the basket to his head in the ancient gesture, he placed himself symbolically in the line of the ancient builder kings of southern Mesopotamia whose image he now assumed. In one vivid public gesture reviving the ancient ritual, Esarhaddon offered himself to the Babylonians as the embodiment of their most ancient traditions, not only as a legitimate king in terms of their own royal ideology and as the servant of their gods, but also as the very image of an ancient period when Babylonia had been a great center of power and culture. More clearly than words could have conveyed, Esarhaddon's symbolic gesture of basket-bearing presented the battered and once again defeated Babylonians with an appealing proposal: that if they would accept Assyrian domination by accepting Esarhaddon as their king, they would enjoy in return not only an end to their sufferings at Assyria's hands, but the preservation of their identity as a nation, and perhaps the return of its ancient prosperity and honor.

Reinforced by the concrete favors to Babylonia that followed, Esarhaddon's proposal was by and large accepted. During his entire eleven years of rule and for the first seventeen years of his son Ashurbanipal's rule there were no further Babylonian rebellions. Babylonians for the most part cooperated with the Assyrians and supported Esarhaddon as their king, even to the point of betraying Babylonian plotters against Assyria to the Assyrian authorities in Babylonia.

PROBLEMS OF TRANSFERRING POWER

In time, however, Esarhaddon, suffering from chronic illness, faced a second problem, that of arranging a peaceful transition from his own rule to that of his sons at the time of his death, of transferring to them the power and imagery of Assyrian and Babylonian kingship that he had assiduously united in his own person. This presented problems, as Esarhaddon, for reasons that are still debated, had decided to name separate heirs to rule the two states, again dividing the kingship of Assyria and Babylonia.[22] His son Ashurbanipal was named to succeed him as king of Assyria, and a second son, Shamash-shum-ukin, was appointed future king of Babylonia.

The division of power between his sons that Esarhaddon envisioned is indicated by the oaths Esarhaddon now imposed on his vassals, requiring them to support his two successors. These oaths refer almost exclusively to the vassals' duty to serve and protect Ashurbanipal. Shamash-shum-ukin is scarcely mentioned, suggesting that Esarhaddon intended Ashurbanipal, as king of Assyria, to rule as high king of the empire as a whole, while Shamash-shum-ukin would clearly be Ashurbanipal's subordinate, essentially the vassal king of Babylonia.[23]

The naming of a separate Babylonian king again required a reallotment of the figurative elements of Babylonian kingship that Esarhaddon had claimed for himself. The first step in this transfer is commemorated in a remarkable text that reports that Esarhaddon has given Shamash-shum-ukin to Marduk and his consort "as a gift" during the dedication of a temple to the two gods.[24] The unusual step of presenting an Assyrian prince as a present to Marduk seems to have been intended to return to Shamash-shum-ukin the special close relationship to Marduk that was a prerogative of Babylonian kings, a relationship Esarhaddon had claimed for himself both in his inscriptions and in the act of rebuilding Esagila for Marduk.

A stele more than three meters high, erected in an Assyrian provincial capital in the final days of Esarhaddon's reign (Fig. 13.2), gives further insight into the relative status Esarhaddon intended for his two sons.[25] The stele, commissioned shortly after the heirs' appointment, shows

22. On this decision, see Porter 1993b, pp. 133–135.

23. For the text of this document, see Parpola and Watanabe 1988, pp. 28–58; for discussion, see Porter 1993b, pp. 135–136. In some 650 lines of text, the oaths administered to the vassals refer repeatedly to "Ashurbanipal, the great crown prince designate," but Shamash-shum-ukin is only mentioned in the final paragraph, where he is referred to as "crown prince designate of Babylon." Evidence from Ashurbanipal's reign makes it clear that Shamash-shum-ukin had little independent power in Babylonia, with governors and in some cases Shamash-shum-ukin himself reporting directly to Ashurbanipal on even relatively minor matters. See Frame 1992, pp. 107–114.

24. The text is AsBbG, published in Borger 1956, p. 90.

25. This stele was erected in the city of Sam'al (modern Zincirli) at the foot of the eastern flank of the Amanus Mountains, shortly after Esarhaddon's return from a successful campaign to Egypt in 671 B.C. Two additional stelai with nearly identical carved relief images were erected in the city of Til Barsip (modern Tell Ahmar), on the Euphrates; designed for a different audience and purpose, however, these stelai present the two sons simply as Assyrian princes, with no effort to differentiate on the basis of their future realms. Here again, however, the princes are presented essentially as equals in carefully separated spheres. For a detailed discussion of all these stelai and the reasons for their differences, see Porter 2000.

The stelai are published, with discussion, bibliography, and a drawing, in Börker-Klähn 1982, I, pp. 212–213 (nos. 217–219), and II, figs. 217–219. The text inscribed on the Sam'al stele is published in Borger 1956, pp. 96–100; the translation here is again my own.



Figure 13.2. Esarhaddon and crown princes on the Sam'al stele (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum 2708). J. Börker-Klähn 1982, II, fig. 219

Esarhaddon on its face, towering over captive enemies, while the princes appear as smaller figures, one on each lateral surface of the stele. The effect of showing the two princes in strictly separated visual fields, one on each flank of the stele so that the viewer could see either prince together with the king, but never both simultaneously, was to emphasize their future separation as kings of different nations. This separation was further accentuated by their clothing, which is characteristic of rulers of their future realms. Ashurbanipal, like his father, wears the fringed robe of an Assyrian king, whereas Shamash-shum-ukin wears an ankle-length tunic with back pleats that appears in depictions of Babylonian kings and courtiers.[26]

The two princes appear on the stele as separate but essentially equal. Both are identified as crown princes by headbands with pendant sashes,[27] their dress and jewelry are equally elaborate, they are equal in height (smaller than the king but decidedly larger than the captives), and neither stands on a higher plane than the other. Only their placement implies the future dominance of Ashurbanipal, who would face the king were he to turn the corner of the stele, while Shamash-shum-ukin would stand behind the king's back.

26. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* VI, 1982, p. 250, s.v. *Kronprinz* (J. E. Reade).

27. This is discussed as an identifying mark of Assyrian crown princes in Reade 1972, p. 93; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* VI, 1982, pp. 249–250, s.v. *Kronprinz* (J. E. Reade).

ASHURBANIPAL AND BABYLONIA: TWO ROYAL BASKET-BEARERS

We have seen that Esarhaddon intended Shamash-shum-ukin to rule in Babylonia essentially as a vassal king, much less powerful than Ashurbanipal, who was to govern the entire empire as king of Assyria, but nevertheless enjoying the powers and figurative attributes of a king within his own realm. When Esarhaddon died in the year 669 B.C., however, events did not transpire as he had intended. Although Ashurbanipal formally installed Shamash-shum-ukin as king shortly after his own accession in Assyria, referred to Shamash-shum-ukin as king of Babylonia in inscriptions, permitted him to claim Babylonian royal titles in his own texts, and apparently even permitted him to accompany Marduk during the god's triumphal return to Babylon early in Ashurbanipal's reign,[28] Ashurbanipal at the same time began to sponsor temple building projects in Babylonia himself, and in the process of inaugurating further repairs to Esagila, he performed the basket-bearing ritual in its precincts.[29] By claiming this figurative aspect of Babylonian kingship for himself when there was now an Assyrian-appointed king already reigning in Babylonia, Ashurbanipal created a dangerously ambiguous situation that ultimately helped to undermine his control of Babylonia.

The evidence for royal basket-bearing during Ashurbanipal's reign consists of four stelai, two from Babylon and two from the nearby city of Borsippa, each carrying on its face the depiction of a basket-bearing king in the classic pose, and each carrying an inscription describing temple construction.[30] Both Babylon stelai and one of the two from Borsippa represent Ashurbanipal; the second Borsippa stele represents Shamash-shum-ukin. Although the four stelai represent the kings in relief rather than as small statues, the resemblance of their images to the ancient basket-bearing figurines is unmistakable. That the reliefs are a deliberate visual quotation of the figurines is further suggested by the modeling of the kings'

28. On the titles assumed by Shamash-shum-ukin and those accorded him in economic texts in Babylonia, see Frame 1992, p. 107; on the titles accorded Ashurbanipal in Shamash-shum-ukin's texts, which are those of a ruler of the empire, such as "king of the four quarters (of the world)," see Frame 1992, p. 109. For Ashurbanipal's references to Shamash-shum-ukin as his "favorite brother" whom he had appointed "to the kingship of Babylonia," see, e.g., Frame 1995, text 1, line 13; text 2, lines 50–55, 74–76; text 4, lines 11–12, 19–20, etc.; Frame 1992, p. 105, note 12, and p. 109, note 39.

One inscription of Ashurbanipal, in an area where the pertinent passage is unfortunately badly broken, seems in addition to report that it was Shamash-shum-ukin who "took the hand of Marduk" (normally the king's role in Marduk's public processions) and led the god out of Assur when he finally returned to Babylon in Shamash-shum-ukin's first year (Streck 1916, II, pp. 264–265, clay tablet L 4, lines 5–7). If this reading of the text is correct, it would seem that Ashurbanipal initially shared with his brother the public image of royal caretaker for Marduk. Although Frame suggests that it was Shamash-shum-ukin who publicly brought the god to Babylon (1992, pp. 103–104), such is not clearly stated here, nor in other, better preserved, texts. Here, both brothers seem to participate in the ceremonial return, Shamash-shum-ukin taking the god's hand to lead him out of Assur at the beginning and Ashurbanipal leading the sacrifices made after the statue's arrival in Babylon itself.

29. For Ashurbanipal's building projects in Babylonia, see Frame 1992, pp. 111–113, and for Shamash-shum-ukin's, Frame 1992, pp. 107–108. Ashurbanipal's performance of the basket-bearing ceremony in Esagila is not mentioned in his texts, but is clearly implied by his representation as a basket-bearer on the stelai recording the construction work he sponsored there (see below).

30. The Babylon and Borsippa kanephoric stelai of Ashurbanipal and his brother are pictured and their visual elements discussed in Börker-Klähn 1982, I, p. 215, and II, figs. 224–226.



Figure 13.3. Ashurbanipal as a basket-bearing king on a stele from the Esagila temple, Babylon (London, British Museum BM 90864). Trustees of the British Museum, London

figures in unusually high relief, so that they appear almost three dimensional, and by placing the kings so that they are shown facing the viewer, in a radical departure from the conventions of Assyrian and Babylonian relief carving which show kings always in profile. The images of the kings on the stelai, in short, are clearly meant to serve as equivalents of the ancient basket-bearing figurines, in this case not buried but displayed in temples. They present both Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin as traditional Babylonian basket-bearing kings.

The stelai erected in Babylon depict only Ashurbanipal, whose identity is clearly indicated both by his Assyrian crown and royal dress (Fig. 13.3), and by his name in the inscription, which describes Ashurbanipal alone as completing Esarhaddon's work on Esagila.[31] Both stelai

31. Ashurbanipal's stele: H. 0.359 m, W. 0.222 m, Th. 0.064 m. The text, first published in Streck 1916 as Stele S3, pp. 244–249, can now be found in Frame 1995, text 2, pp. 199–202. That its purpose is in part to identify the figure depicted on the stele is suggested by the opening line, "I am Ashurbanipal, great king." Only a small part of the text has survived on the fragmented second stele; although badly broken, it clearly duplicates lines 18–22 of the better-preserved stele's inscription, as noted by Walker (Reade and Walker 1981–1982, p. 113).

were probably erected in the Esagila temple itself.[32] One was actually found there in the course of excavation in 1895,[33] whereas the second, which survives only as a fragment, was bought in Babylon in 1894; it bears an inscription that, so far as it is preserved, is identical to that on the first stele, describing the final repair of Esagila.[34]

The image of Ashurbanipal as basket-bearer on the two Babylon stelai presented him as his father's heir in Babylonia, enacting the same Babylonian ritual in the same location. The inscriptions covering the faces of the stelai echo this, describing Ashurbanipal as the rebuilder of Esagila in passages that point out explicitly that Ashurbanipal was thus completing Esarhaddon's work.[35] Shamash-shum-ukin is mentioned only in passing (lines 50–55, 74–76), as the king appointed by Ashurbanipal to rule Babylonia in order to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, a relatively insignificant role. Shamash-shum-ukin's work in the repair of Esagila, described in one of his own inscriptions, is ignored.[36] On these Babylon stelai Ashurbanipal is presented visually and verbally as his father's heir in Babylonia, and Shamash-shum-ukin is in effect elbowed aside on stelai erected in the capital city and main temple of his own kingdom.

There is some possibility that stelai representing Shamash-shum-ukin as basket-bearer were also erected in Babylon and that the apparent slight is simply an accident of preservation. The presence or absence of Shamash-shum-ukin basket-bearing stelai, however, is really beside the point. Simply by performing the basket-bearing ritual himself in Babylonia, Ashurbanipal had made a serious mistake. When Esarhaddon had

32. It seems probable that the stelai were intended to function like royal statues in the temple, in the sense discussed by Irene Winter (Winter 1992), in which statues of kings, ritually brought to life, were placed before the statues of gods in Mesopotamian temples to serve as votaries, continually praying to that god, and, as she points out, continually strengthening the king's political position by reminding priests serving that god of the king's close relationship to their divine patron. Winter's essay is based primarily on earlier evidence from Sumer and later evidence from Babylonia, but an inscription of Esarhaddon dealing with such royal statues supports her suggestion that Assyrian royal statues in temples had a similar function in the Neo-Assyrian period (for the text, see Borger 1956, p. 87, document AsBbE, reverse, line 3). Her conclusions about the placement of royal statues in temples (pp. 24–26) suggest that the two Babylon kanephoric stelai of Ashurbanipal were placed in Esagila in the most prominent possible setting, the main chapel, in which the statue of Marduk was erected, and that the kanephoric stelai used in Borsippa (discussed below) had a similar placement in the temple of Nabû.

33. The place of discovery of Ashurbanipal's stele (London, British Museum BM 90864) is recorded in unpublished correspondence from the excavators, now in the British Museum archives, and is discussed by Reade (1986a, p. xxi).

34. This stele, carved in the same pink marble as the other stele, is badly broken; only a fragment of the king's tunic, with its characteristic fringe, is preserved. On it three broken lines of inscription survive, crossing the figure and carved in the same clear script that is found on the other stele. The inscription includes part of the king's name (enough to make the reading certain); the remaining signs make it clear that the lines duplicated part of lines 18–22 of the inscription on the better-preserved stele. Although the surviving fragment is relatively small, its similarity to the other stele in its material, subject, carving style, text, and unusually large and clear cuneiform signs leaves little doubt that the broken stele was essentially a duplicate of the better-preserved Ashurbanipal stele found at Babylon. The fragment, British Museum BM 22533, is published and its similarity to the other stele discussed by Reade and Walker 1981–1982, p. 113.

35. Frame 1995, text 2, lines 56–58.

36. Shamash-shum-ukin's restoration work on Esagila is referred to in a list of epithets reciting his achievements in a text found at Sippar (Frame 1995, p. 255, line 14); so far as I am aware, however, no bricks bearing his inscription have yet been found in Esagila to confirm these claims. Whether this means that his contribution was small or nonexistent, or simply indicates that he was not permitted to commemorate it with inscribed bricks placed alongside Ashurbanipal's, is unclear. His establishment of regular offerings for Esagila is mentioned there and in two other texts (Frame 1995, p. 253, line 8, and p. 258, line 4).





Figure 13.4 *(above)*. **Ashurbanipal as a basket-bearing king on a stele from the Ezida temple, Borsippa (London, British Museum BM 90865).** Trustees of the British Museum, London

Figure 13.5 *(right)*. **Shamash-shum-ukin as a basket-bearing king on a stele from the Ezida temple, Borsippa (London, British Museum BM 90866).** Trustees of the British Museum, London

performed the ritual, its message was that he alone was Babylonia's real king, but when Ashurbanipal claimed for himself this central image of Babylonian kingship, he unwittingly raised the specter of the Babylonians' choosing between what now appeared to be *two* kings of Babylonia, each of whom had different claims to legitimacy. This was an implication that Ashurbanipal had clearly failed to recognize. In light of the precariousness of Babylonia's loyalty to Assyria, his introduction of the possibility of choice was unwise.

The two stelai erected in Borsippa compounded the error. As we have seen, one of these stelai represents Ashurbanipal, the other Shamash-shum-ukin, as basket-bearing kings, while the accompanying texts describe the king pictured on that particular stele as the sole patron of work on the god Nabû's temple in Borsippa (Figs. 13.4, 13.5).[37] Although the effect was certainly unintentional, the two stelai were unmistakably competitive, underlining the prospect of choice that had been only implied by the Babylon stelai.

37. The text on Ashurbanipal's stele (British Museum BM 90865, H. 0.39 m, W. 0.155 m, Th. 0.13 m) is published in Frame 1995 as text 14, pp. 217–219. Shamash-shum-ukin's stele (British Museum BM 90866, H. 0.312 m, W. 0.212 m, Th. 0.065–0.08 m) is published there as text 3, pp. 252–253. Cuneiform copies and some commentary are available in the badly outdated study of Shamash-shum-ukin's reign by Lehmann-Haupt (1892, pls. XIII–XVI [Ashurbanipal's inscription] and V–VII [Shamash-shum-ukin's]).

Found together in a side room of the temple, where they had evidently been stored in later times,[38] the two stelai were probably originally erected side by side in the traditional position of royal statues in temples, that is, standing before the god's statue in his main chapel.[39] Although the stele depicting Ashurbanipal is more elegantly carved and more detailed than that depicting Shamash-shum-ukin, the similarity of the two in shape, size, material, and details of carving such as the slimness of the figures and the rather awkward handling of the hands, suggests the stelai were carved as a pair.[40] Whether Ashurbanipal or Shamash-shum-ukin commissioned them is unclear, but they must in either case reflect Ashurbanipal's policy, as other evidence indicates that Shamash-shum-ukin exercised little independent power in Babylonia; royal stelai could hardly have been erected in an important temple in Babylonia without Ashurbanipal's permission.[41] It seems to me (although there is no concrete evidence either way) that Ashurbanipal was unhappy with the arrangements Esarhaddon had made and wanted to be, as his father had been, king of Assyria and Babylonia, with Shamash-shum-ukin serving in Babylonia essentially as his viceroy.

If so, why had Ashurbanipal chosen to allow Shamash-shum-ukin to be represented beside him as a basket-bearing king in Borsippa, sharing the figurative honors? We can only speculate. By allowing Shamash-shum-ukin to be represented thus in Borsippa, which probably implies his performance of the ritual there as well, Ashurbanipal may have intended to strengthen Shamash-shum-ukin's support in Babylonia while at the same time suggesting the latter's inferiority to himself. Borsippa was after all a less important city than Babylon, and its chief god Nabû was Marduk's son and subordinate in the divine hierarchy. Although Nabû was gaining in importance in both Assyria and Babylonia by this period, Marduk remained Babylonia's chief patron deity and the symbol of its national identity.[42] The decision to link Shamash-shum-ukin to Nabû through this public gesture and image would have implied his inferior status as patron of Nabû's cult while Ashurbanipal was also patron of Marduk's temple in Babylon. In addition, the Borsippa stelai are almost certainly later than those made for Babylon, which commemorate the final repair of Esagila in Ashurbanipal's first regnal year. If so, the carving and erection of the Borsippa stelai may have been a response to political developments later in the reign.

In 652 B.C., Shamash-shum-ukin would lead the Babylonians in revolt against his older brother, and support for Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylonia may have been growing already. Ashurbanipal, surely aware of this, may have felt obliged to share the figurative honors in Babylonia to a greater extent, agreeing to the image of Shamash-shum-ukin as basket-bearer in Borsippa as an unavoidable concession to his growing popularity. Whatever his reasons, however, it was a serious error on Ashurbanipal's part to allow Shamash-shum-ukin to erect a stele in Babylonia showing himself with Babylonian royal attributes that Ashurbanipal had already publicly attached to himself. The stelai representing Ashurbanipal alone as basket-bearing king in Babylon had only implied the possibility of choice between the two kings; the two Borsippa stelai made it unavoidably clear.

38. For the location, see Reade 1986b, p. 109 and fig. 1, p. 107. An altar, probably marking the chapel where Nabû's statue stood, was found in the nearby room labelled C1; the statues were found in the room directly behind C2, as indicated in the excavator's plan, pl. XIII.

39. For the placement of royal images in temples before the statue of the god, see Winter 1992, pp. 24–26; its significance for our question is discussed in note 32 above. Royal statues have also been found, e.g., beside doorways into important chapels of temples, so the erection of the statues within the main chapel remains somewhat hypothetical.

40. Reade argues the bas-relief on the stele of Shamash-shum-ukin was deliberately mutilated, probably after his revolt was suppressed, which may be to some extent responsible for the apparent crudeness of the stele and the absence of more than a suggestion of facial features.

41. On the extensive power exercised in Babylonia by Ashurbanipal during Shamash-shum-ukin's reign, see note 23.

42. See Porter 1997.

In the end, the Babylonians did indeed choose, following Shamash-shum-ukin in a bloody revolt that, despite its failure, seriously weakened Assyria and laid the groundwork for Assyria's eventual destruction at the hands of the Babylonians and other enemies several decades later.

The basket-bearing ritual as performed by Esarhaddon and by Ashurbanipal was politically effective in both instances, in the one case to the advantage of the performer, and in the other, to his disadvantage.

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PART II: THE CLASSICAL WORLD

Naming the "Classical" Style

by Carol C. Mattusch

T. S. Eliot wrote that Vergil could not have composed a "Classic" intentionally, because a "Classic" is so-named only in hindsight.[1] Along the same lines, works by individuals now acknowledged to be great artists—such as Donatello, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, Velazquez, and Manet—may be called Classical. In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Classical" is a "notion" about the height of achievement, acknowledged excellence, the standard of perfect beauty. Classical music has "clarity, regularity, [and] . . . established forms." Greek and Latin authors are "Classical," and the entire span of ancient Greek and Roman art is often described as "Classical."[2]

Pliny the Elder would not have been satisfied with the breadth of these definitions, because his eye was more narrowly focused. Indeed, for modern art historians, Pliny's chapters on bronze statuary and on marble sculpture have always been a guide to what is "Classical" in sculpture. He writes that sculpture in marble began at the time of the 1st Olympiad, in 776 B.C., and that the first truly famous artists worked at the time of the 50th Olympiad, 580–577 B.C. (*Nat.* 36.9, 36.12). But the most important names for Pliny are those of artists who lived during the 5th or 4th centuries B.C.: Pheidias, Alkamenes, Agorakritos, Praxiteles, Kephisodotos, Skopas, Timotheos, Leochares. Bronze statuary really began for Pliny only with Pheidias, that is, in the 83rd Olympiad, between 448 B.C. and 445 B.C. (*Nat.* 36.15)! All the other famous sculptors in bronze worked during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.; among them were Pheidias, Polykleitos, Myron, Pythagoras, Lysippos and his pupils, Praxiteles, Euphranor, and various others. And after the 121st Olympiad (295–292 B.C.), Pliny says there was no more art: *cessavit deinde ars* (*Nat.* 34.51–52). Pausanias also focuses primarily on statues and artists of the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries B.C., and many of the famous names he cites are the same as those found in Pliny, though Pliny does not address the 6th century B.C.

Today's students of ancient sculpture continue to follow in the tracks of Pliny and Pausanias, and we still tend to define the "Classical" period as being the very pinnacle of Greek art. We often subdivide the period into three categories: Early—the first half of the 5th century B.C.; High—the second half of the 5th century B.C.; and Late—the 4th century B.C. We

1. Eliot 1957.

Sally Immerwahr taught me about Greek bronze statuary in my first graduate seminar, and showed me how important it is to address one's scholarship to a broad general audience. She has always been a staunch supporter and advocate of her students, generously overlooking our flaws. She is also a great friend.

For photographs, I am grateful to the Bryn Mawr College Photographic Collection, the Vatican Museums, the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, the J. Paul Getty Museum, the Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria, and to Michail Yu. Treister.

2. See *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, 1971, vol. I, p. 467; *The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 1993, vol. I, p. 412.

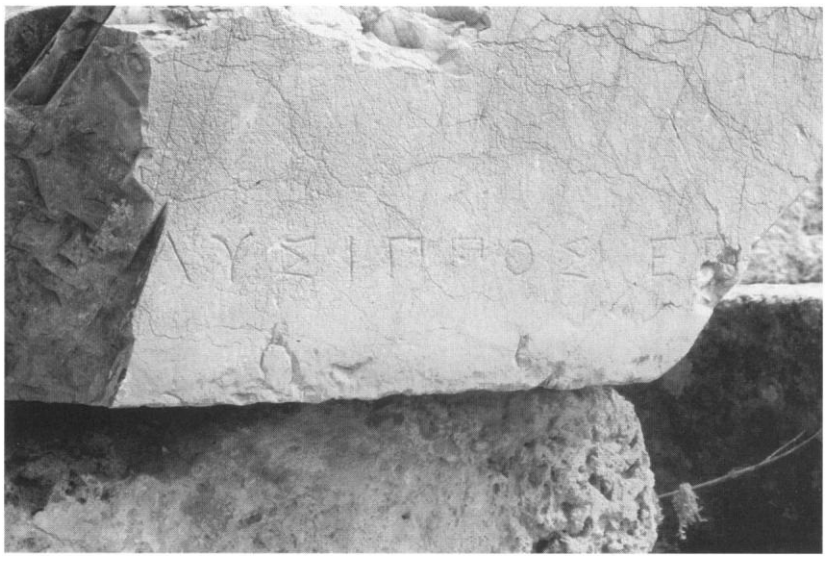


Figure 14.1. Lysippan statue-base in Ancient Corinth (Corinth I-29).
C. Mattusch

may also study what precedes the Classical period, the Archaic period (full of promise); or what follows it, the Hellenistic period (anything goes). But those who study Greek sculpture do not usually mix with those who deal with Roman sculpture. To dealers and collectors, Greek art is generally more valuable than Roman art. And, if one is hired by a college or university to teach both Greek and Roman art, it is not because of a changing paradigm, but because there are not enough positions in a department to allow for the hiring of "specialists."

We cannot be sure that any of the freestanding sculptures described by Pliny and Pausanias actually survive. In fact, artists' names are almost never attached to those works that do survive, and when there is a name, it is not likely to be one of those hailed by ancient authors. Of course, many statues that have been found in Greece are undeniably Archaic. But the works that we can date with certainty to the Classical period—the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.—tend to be architectural sculptures, such as those from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia; from the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and the Temple of Athena Nike on the Akropolis in Athens; from the Temple of Apollo at Bassai; from Tegea; and from Epidauros. But these are not the freestanding statues in which both Pausanias and Pliny are so interested.

A visit to any Greek site reveals far more statue bases than statues. Sometimes we find a base with the name of a famous artist inscribed on it, such as a blue limestone base in Corinth that reads ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ ΕΠΟ . . . (Fig. 14.1).[3] Unfortunately, the statue itself is lost, but the cuttings on the top of the base reveal what we would expect of a bronze by Lysippos: the statue was about life-size, a standing figure, probably a nude athlete or hero. Yet when we encounter a signature *and* a statue, the maker's name may not be that of the artist with whom we associate that work. For instance, we are all likely to agree that the Herakles from the Farnese Collection exemplifies the work of Lysippos, but Glykon the Athenian made and signed the statue (Fig. 14.2). The Farnese Herakles is the most often cited example of a well-known type. We describe all these statues as

3. Ancient Corinth I-29. *Corinth* VIII, i, pp. 38–39, no. 34.

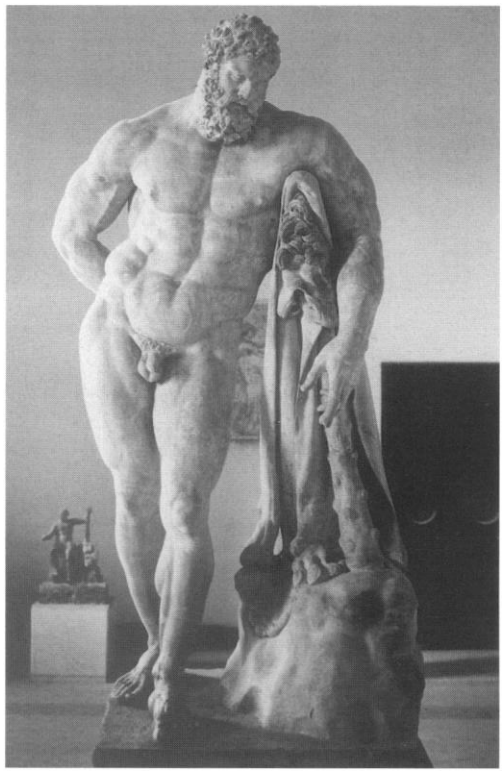


Figure 14.2. Farnese Herakles (Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6001). Bryn Mawr Photographic Collection

copies of the bronze original by Lysippos. But is it correct for us to assess *his* style on the basis of copies made by *other* individuals in another medium, and from them to argue about exactly where the original statue fits into the career of a man whose works are all probably lost? Because Glykon signed the Farnese Herakles, we might ask what his contribution was, or what it was that prompted him to sign this statue.

Other statues similar to this one come from different places and were made at different dates. Among the closest parallels are three large-scale marbles: one from the 1st-century B.C. Antikythera shipwreck (Fig. 14.3); one from Roman Argos (Fig. 14.4); and the twin of the Farnese Herakles, apparently unsigned, but, like the Farnese Herakles, from the early-3rd-century A.C. Baths of Caracalla in Rome.[4] If a prototype was made by Lysippos, we might ask whether his bronze statue was colossal and very heavily muscled like Glykon's version, or smaller and more delicate like the statue from Argos. How do we know whether Glykon's magnificent Herakles is the closest copy to the lost Classical work by Lysippos?

We evaluate sculpture by how close it is in execution and nature to those 5th- and 4th-century B.C. monuments and artists that Pliny (or Pausanias) says were famous. But if a work is Classical, our opinion of just how Classical it is changes. The Belvedere Apollo (Fig. 14.5) illustrates particularly well our changing perspectives on the "Classical," which are definitely not suitable approaches to the truth of what is Classical and what is not. In the 18th century, Johann Winckelmann called this statue "the highest ideal of art."[5] In a 19th-century guidebook to Rome, Charlotte Eaton said that it had "celestial, . . . soul-beaming beauty!"[6] By the end of that century, things had changed, and Augustus Hare soberly said

4. The Farnese Herakles: Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6001, H. 3.17 m; see, e.g., Edwards 1996; Moreno 1995, pp. 244–247. The second Herakles from the Baths of Caracalla: Caserta, Palazzo Reale; Marvin 1983, p. 357, pl. 47:3. Antikythera Herakles: Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5742, H. 2.62 m; Bol 1972, pp. 48–49, pls. 24–25. Argos Herakles: Archaeological Museum of Argos, headless, max. p. H. without base 1.79 m; illustrated in Piérart and Touchais 1996, figure on p. 55. For a partial list of ancient representations of this figure in various media and sizes, see Johnson [1927] 1968, pp. 197–200.

For excellent discussion of "copies" and of modern terminology, see Fullerton 1997, 1998.

5. Winckelmann 1880, p. 312.

6. Eaton 1852, I, p. 104.



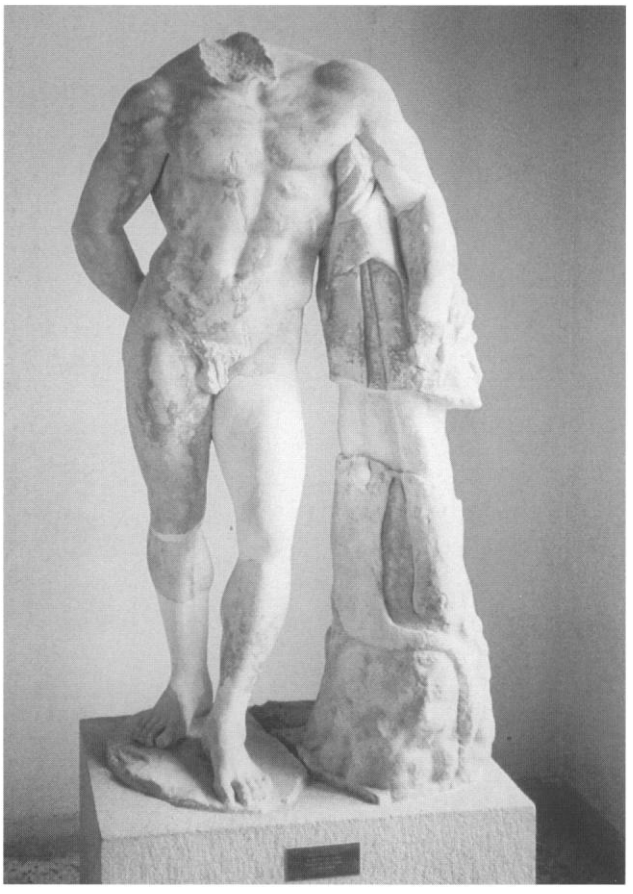


Figure 14.3 *(left)*. **Antikythera Herakles (Athens, N.M.).** C. Mattusch

Figure 14.4 *(above)*. **Argos Herakles (Argos, Archaeological Museum).** C. Mattusch

that the statue was just a Roman copy.[7] Over the next 100 years, evaluations of the statue have become increasingly difficult to interpret. The *Blue Guide* calls the Belvedere Apollo a 2nd-century A.C. copy of a bronze original that was probably made by Leochares in the 4th century B.C., and H. W. Janson's 1991 *History of Art* illustrates the statue as it is now—without the 16th-century restorations by Montorsoli (which are not mentioned)—and describes not this statue, but the original Greek statue, as an anonymous work of the "late 4th (or 1st) century B.C."[8] Nonetheless, to the general public the Belvedere Apollo still counts as a Classical beauty, and all sorts of modern versions of the statue are available on the market.

Why does it matter if the Belvedere Apollo is Roman? Certainly, so far as we know, it is unique.[9] It is also of the highest quality, and it uses the vocabulary of Classical Greek sculpture. But if we cannot find the artist's name and we cannot date the statue, it will not fit into Pliny's framework, and fit it must if we are to be able to call it Classical with confidence, or identify it as one of many copies of a particular Classical original. What then can we do with this statue? If it is unique, made in the Classical style during the Roman period, we are still uncomfortable with it, because we make such a sharp distinction between Classical originals (the best) and Roman copies or adaptations. At best, students of Classical art usually see the Romans as emulators, not as originators: while we might be willing to recognize a creative copy, we shy away from the idea that a Roman sculpture might be an out-and-out original in the Classical style.

7. Hare 1897, pp. 226–227.

8. Macadam 1989, p. 312; Janson 1991, p. 195.

9. For references to a "better replica" than the Belvedere Apollo, in Basel, see Bieber 1961, p. 63 with note 25. This is only a head, and it does not appear to resemble the Belvedere Apollo, but it has been said to express "the character of the original more accurately despite the summary rendering necessitated by the material (marble)"; see Berger 1987, p. 12. The "original" to which Berger refers is the putative lost bronze prototype for both statues.

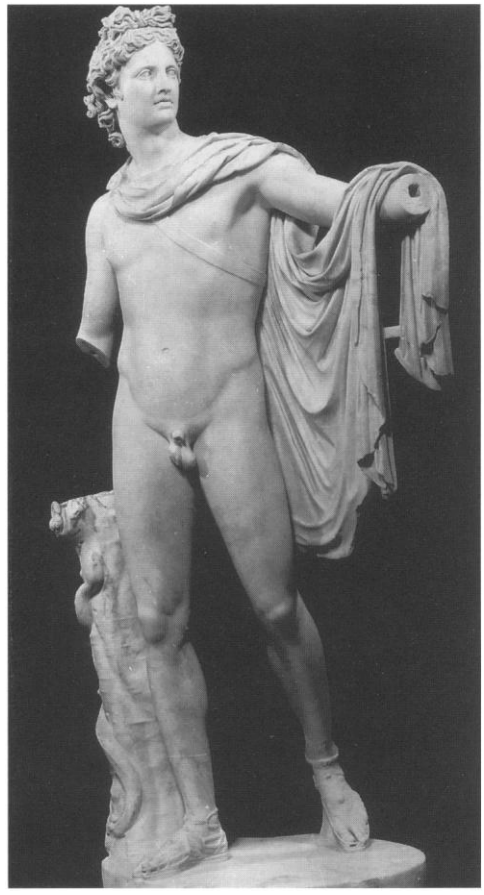


Figure 14.5. Belvedere Apollo (Vatican City, Vatican Museums).
Vatican Museums, Vatican City

In the 2nd century A.C., Pausanias reported that he saw in the Heraion at Olympia a marble statue of Hermes holding the child Dionysos, made by Praxiteles (5.17.3). Ever since a statue group fitting this description was found in 1877, scholars have been arguing about whether it is an original Classical work carved by Praxiteles in the 4th century B.C., or whether it is a Roman copy of a much earlier work. The arguments have to do with the quality of carving; with tool marks; with the presence of a strut and a tree trunk; with the sandals; and with the lack of ancient "copies" of the statue if it is the "original." Despite compelling evidence for a date somewhere between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.C., many feel that the question remains unresolved.[10]

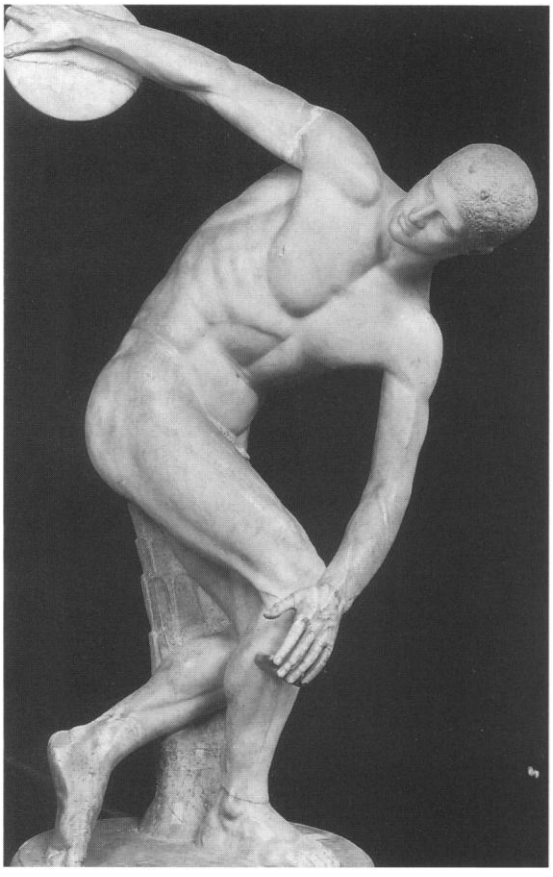
Our rules for what is Classical (Greek) and what is Roman are too subjective to give us definitive answers to questions of date. For example, the style of the Piombino Apollo prompted modern scholars to call it a Greek original of Late Archaic or Early Classical date. Eventually, we were convinced that the statue was made much later—in the 1st century B.C.[11] And now another bronze statue has been found that is based upon the same model, but it could have been made many years later, as it comes from a Pompeian house, destroyed in A.D. 79.[12]

More generally, we have no consistent framework within which to assess the Classical style, only a general chronology based upon stylistic analysis, which is highly subjective. One of our first responses to an

10. For the argument that the sandals can be no earlier than Hellenistic in date, see Morrow 1985, pp. 83–84, 113–114; for a summary of the issues and answers, see Ajootian 1996, pp. 103–110.

11. Ridgway 1967.

12. See *Riscoprire Pompeii* 1993, pp. 263–264, no. 193; Mattusch 1998.



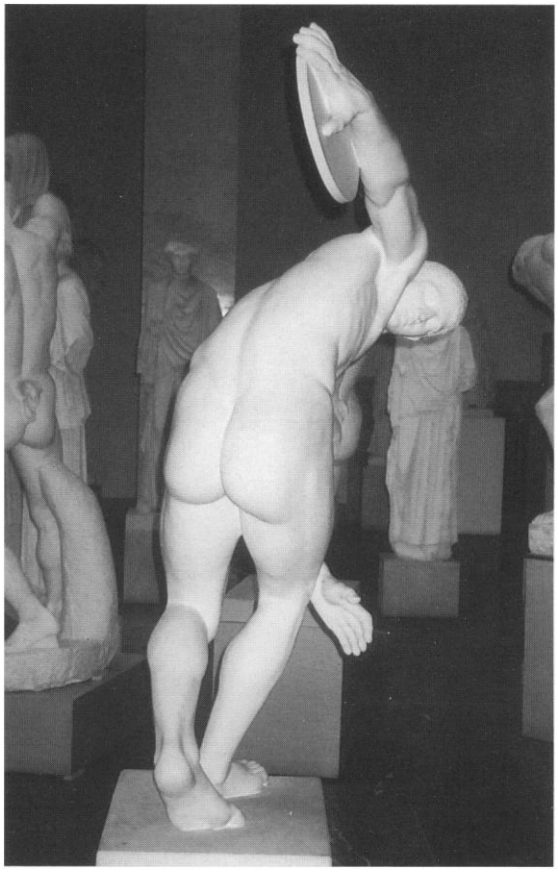


Figure 14.6 *(left)*. Lancellotti Diskobolos (Rome, Museo Nazionale, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme 126371). Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma, Rome

Figure 14.7 *(above)*. Restored plaster version (Munich, Münchener Abgußsammlung) of Castel Porziano Diskobolos (Rome, Museo Nazionale dalle Terme 56939). C. Mattusch

ancient bronze statue that is not a Roman portrait is to assert that it must be an "original." Bronze has an aura about it, whereas marble does not, for very simple reasons. First, as almost every large-scale bronze has been found by itself, or at least not alongside any other large bronzes, we can easily think of it as the only one of its kind. Second, we find very few bronzes. And Pliny, whom we consult in an attempt to identify our finds, writes much more about Greek bronzes than he does about Greek marbles, thus giving special significance to bronzes. Add to this the fact that there are marble reproductions of famous Classical works, and it is no wonder that we are accustomed to the idea that the Greeks made bronze "originals," and that the Romans "copied" those "originals" in marble.

We define the Early Classical style in part from what we know of Myron's Diskos-thrower, a lost bronze statue of which there are many marble "copies." When a diskos-thrower was found in 1781 (Fig. 14.6), scholars consulted passages in Pliny, Quintilian, and Lucian, where the original bronze statue was described as innovative, distorted, and elaborate, and soon recognized the new discovery as a reflection of Myron's statue.[13] Other large (and small) examples of the same type of image were found, two of them in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.

The first statue to be found (in 1781), called the Lancellotti Diskobolos, happens to be very well preserved, and it is in practically every textbook about Greek art. We have allowed ourselves to turn the best-preserved reproduction of the Diskos-thrower into "the best copy," and we use it in

13. Pliny, *Nat.* 34.57; Quintilian, *Inst.* 2.13.10; Lucian, *Philops.* 18.

our analysis of the appearance of the "original" statue. Thus we look at one of the standard pictures of the Lancellotti Diskobolos, all of which are taken from the same angle and are available from the museum, or Alinari, or the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, or Hirmer Photoarchiv, and we start to interpret the ancient references to the bronze original so that they will be consistent with our photographs. With one of these photographs in hand, we can easily imagine that the Diskos-thrower was essentially a silhouette based on a drawing, that it was "designed relief-wise in a quite shallow depth between parallel planes," making "a system of triangles" with "only one convincing viewpoint."[14]

A second statue of a diskos-thrower, found at Castel Porziano in 1906, is in poor condition, missing the head, right arm, lower legs, and feet (Fig. 14.7). We can easily see why it is not used in textbooks as the exemplar of Myron's famous statue. The Castel Porziano and Lancellotti statues are displayed in the same room of the Museo Nazionale in the Palazzo Massimo in Rome, and so we can look at both of them together. The Castel Porziano statue is very different from the Lancellotti one. It is not at all relieflike: it can be viewed from many angles, and it is very three-dimensional, literally exploding into the space around it! How can we tell which of the two diskos-throwers is more Early Classical, and which one is more like the original? Was Myron's famous cow—so lifelike that it must have turned to bronze in old age (*Anthologia Palatina* 9.716)—two-dimensional? Indeed, a poem about another of Myron's statues, of an athlete, firmly suggests that his statues were far from being silhouettes:

> Such as you were living, Ladas, fleeing the swift Thymos,
> Straining your sinews to the utmost,
> So Myron made you in bronze, engraving on every
> Limb your anticipation of the Pisan crown.
> Full of hope he is, breath upon the lips
> appears from within the hollow flanks,
> the bronze will swiftly leap for the crown, nor will
> the base restrain it, oh, swift craft of the spirit.[15]

Myron's works may have led the way to the High Classical style, but even without having seen them, we have added our own remarks to what ancient writers once said about them, defining his style in large part on the basis of how we assess the two-dimensional Lancellotti Diskobolos. We tend to bypass the question of how true that statue (or any of the other versions) might be to Myron's Diskos-thrower because it makes a good textbook illustration, from which students will not be distracted by wondering what happened to missing head or feet. Perhaps we should be investigating instead whether the statue suggests that the copyist worked from a pattern book or from a three-dimensional model of the statue. The fact remains that the two diskos-throwers in the Palazzo Massimo are very different from one another; that they are displayed together in the same gallery allows us to think about what objective ways there might be to assess the variations among different versions of the same statue.

Besides his two Myronian diskos-throwers, Hadrian owned four or five large-scale reproductions of the caryatids from the Erechtheion in

14. Carpenter 1960, pp. 82–85; Robertson 1975, I, p. 340; Ridgway 1970, p. 85; Pedley 1998, p. 221.

15. *Anthologia Palatina, Planudea* 54, R. S. Mason, trans.

Athens, all probably from one workshop near his villa at Tivoli. He had the caryatids installed as a row of freestanding sculptures, for the Greek tradition of the repeated image had begun in the sanctuary and city-center, and only much later entered private contexts. In the presence of Classical sculptures, we may forget that public art is by its function the art of the familiar. A hero must be recognizable as a hero, by appearance and by attributes. In ancient Egypt, a "portrait" often went little further than the inscription on a standard type of public image. The same thing was done in Greek and Roman public spheres. Dio Chrysostom (31.9) roundly criticizes the Rhodians for reusing portrait-statues:

> Whenever you vote to honor anyone with a statue . . . your strategos simply points to the first statue he sees among those that have previously been dedicated, and then, once the inscription that was on the base has been removed and another name has been engraved, the job is finished!

And Pausanias casually points out that a statue at the Argive Heraion with an inscription identifying it as Augustus originally represented Orestes (2.17.3). Once we recognize that one statue can serve to represent more than one individual, that a statue can even come to represent an emperor after representing a legendary hero, we can begin to see that continuity and familiarity characterized the Classical tradition, and that the vocabulary did not change over time.

We look for repetitions in Roman sculpture, and we call them "copies" and "adaptations," "replica series," and so forth.[16] Greek sculpture was not radically different. The survival rate may be low, but Greek sculptures were, after all, produced by the thousands. A workshop would have had basic models or pattern books for use in producing its specialties. A typical Hellenistic production line might have included images of public officials (standing male nudes with appropriate attributes), and also works for private consumption, such as copies of Myron's famous Diskos-thrower and a more intimate line of sleeping Erotes. This was what we recognize as the Classical style: it consisted of established forms whose excellence was acknowledged in the eyes of buyers. The Classical style, then, had little to do with originals, nor even with artists, for the most part, but much more to do with repetition within a genre, and with the master craftsmen who were responsible for production.

We never ask whether the bronze athlete in the J. Paul Getty Museum (Fig. 14.8) might be Roman or perhaps Graeco-Roman (not quite so bad), for we have always accepted it as a Greek original, and have indeed pursued a traditional stylistic inquiry regarding this rare and, so far, unique, statue. The scholarly discussion centers upon whether the statue is an "original" by Lysippos, an issue fraught with difficulties. The questions raised about the Getty Bronze have to do with how the statue's style fits with what we know from the literary testimonia about Lysippos's style. If the Getty Bronze was made by Lysippos, scholars ask whether it is an early or a late work. If not, was it made by a 3rd-century B.C. follower of Lysippos? Others argue that the Getty Bronze is a portrait, and propose the name of

16. For summaries of current thoughts on the issues, see Gazda 1995, Marvin 1997.

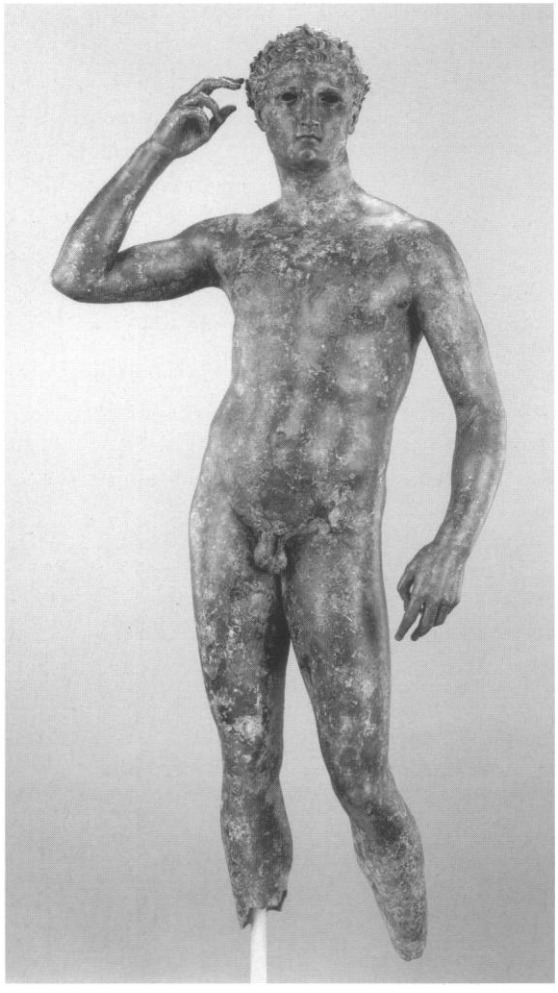


Figure 14.8. The Getty Bronze (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum).
J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

the individual who might be represented.[17] A great deal has been written about the style of Lysippos and about those who came after him, but the discussion has almost no objective evidence and is based upon many modern hypotheses. For such questions, we will never have firm answers.

Even if a bronze statue were still attached to the base in Corinth inscribed with the name of Lysippos, we should be oversimplifying the case if we called that statue a bronze "original." Lysippos's bronzes, especially the athletes, were in great demand, and for each bronze with his name on it, Lysippos made a significant profit on top of the production costs. According to Pliny, for each of 1,500 commissions, Lysippos put away a gold piece (*Nat.* 34.37). Clearly, the workshop of Lysippos was a big and lucrative operation. We know from the literary testimonia that the shop was run by family members who were technical specialists.[18] If we look at the craft of lost-wax casting, we see that a bronze statue reproduces a preliminary model, which makes it a *re*production, not a unique production. Completing the statue may be a purely technical process, in which molds from the preliminary model are used to make a wax copy that is cast as is, or it may involve changes and additions to the wax, which then functions as a working model.

17. For a summary of the issues, see Mattusch 1997.

18. For discussion and references, see Mattusch 1996, pp. 68–76.





Figure 14.9 *(left)*. Riace Statue A (Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale). Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria

Figure 14.10 *(above)*. Riace Statue B (Reggio Calabria, Museo Nazionale). Soprintendenza Archeologica della Calabria

The Riace Bronzes, which we like to describe as two "original Greek bronzes," may well be two examples of a popular line—in other words, two editions based upon the same preliminary model or prototype (Figs. 14.9, 14.10). After all, these two statues look very much alike, and they represent the familiar vocabulary of Classical times used to express high achievement. Why do we not focus upon the remarkable similarities between these two statues, but instead try to distinguish between them—in appearance, in authorship, and in date? Why do we feel each of them ought to be unique?[19] Indeed, the not unreasonable suggestion that they might be Roman was received with scorn by the scholarly community.[20] And yet Riace statue B and two marble portrait statues of Gaius and Lucius Caesar are almost exactly alike in measurements and in appearance.[21] The "Classical" style is not exclusively Greek and should not be affixed to a date. The Romans used the style, and it survived in their world for hundreds of years. When Dio Chrysostom upbraided the Rhodians for reusing old statues to honor new dignitaries, he revealed that the style was still current at the end of the 1st century A.C. or in the earlier 2nd. The

19. For a summary of the many sides to this debate, see Mattusch 1988, pp. 200–208. For a recent argument in favor of their "originality," see Vaccaro 2000.

20. Ridgway 1985.

21. Vanderpool 1993, ms. p. 3; 2000.

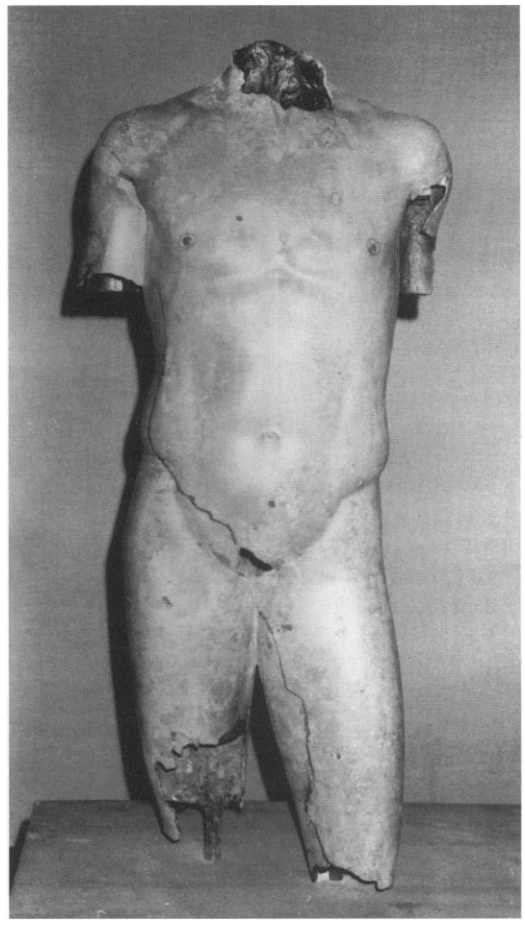


Figure 14.11. Vani Bronze (Vani, Georgia, Archaeological Museum). M. Yu. Treister

vocabulary of the Classical style had not changed enough by his day to preclude giving up-to-date names to older public images.

It is not surprising, then, that the dating of many Classical statues is controversial. The Antikythera Herakles was lost at sea in the early 1st century B.C.; the Farnese Herakles and its mate were made in the early 3rd century A.C. Although one of these is signed by someone named Glykon, they are both based upon a statue by Lysippos. The style in which he worked during the 4th century B.C. was still popular. In the 4th century A.C., Libanius described this type of statue of Herakles minutely, even though he did not tie it to the name of an artist, so we do not know what he was looking at while writing his description. Perhaps it is not so important that Lysippos made a statue of which these later works are copies as that the Classical style remained fashionable for a very long time.

A recently discovered life-size bronze torso of a youth (Fig. 14.11) calls to mind Roman marble versions of works like the Diadoumenos or the Westmacott Ephebe. But this is not an original Polykleitan bronze, nor is it from Greece or Italy. The figure was found in 1988 in excavations of the ancient town on the site of modern Vani, which is in Colchis, to the east of the Black Sea.[22] A public monument, it was made in the Classical style, and was set up in the city during the second half of the 2nd century B.C. when the town was rebuilt and refurbished—only to be

22. Max. p.H. ca. 1.01 m.

destroyed in the 80s B.C., during the Mithridatic Wars.[23] The technical peculiarities of this "Classical" torso of the 2nd century B.C. leave no doubt that it was made in a local foundry, and a workshop has been excavated at the site.[24] Is this statue an "original"?

And, to return to marble sculpture, maybe the Belvedere Apollo is a unique creation of Roman date. We may never be certain, but if we can broaden our notion of the "Classical," and return this work to the ranks of Classical masterpieces, we shall relieve ourselves of some of the confusing limitations that we have imposed upon the Classical style. After all, why should we limit membership in that group to Greek statues when we cannot agree on what *is* Greek, and when the term "original" can no longer be applied indiscriminately to every bronze that we wish were Greek?

So, what *is* "Classical"? It is a modern notion having to do with perfected naturalism and excellence of execution. Perhaps we should relax our search for the hands of famous artists, as we cannot identify them, and loose our grip on the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., as we cannot date most of the ancient freestanding sculptures that survive. In this we need not be guided too closely by the idiosyncrasies of Pliny and Pausanias. They were surrounded by Classical statues; we are not. They preferred antiques to contemporary works; we cannot make that distinction. In fact, the Classical style began in the 5th century B.C., and it remained popular for a very long period of time and in many places. Works in the Classical style, which were particularly suitable for public monuments, were always current and available for purchase—in any city. Fine Classical statues in bronze or marble could be made in any period, in any place, and they were, because the style was always in demand.

23. Lordkipanidze 1991.
24. Mattusch 1996, pp. 206–216.

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Interlaced Fingers and Knotted Limbs: The Hostile Posture of Quarrelsome Ares on the Parthenon Frieze

by Ann M. Nicgorski

In the impressive abundance of ancient Greek art that survives today, representations of war god Ares are remarkably few, and when he does appear he is rarely in a central or prominent location within the composition.[1] One notable exception to this general pattern, however, is the unique presentation of Ares on the east segment of the sculpted frieze of the Parthenon in Athens. Dated ca. 442–438 B.C., the frieze is now in the British Museum in London (Fig. 15.1). In this unusual depiction of the war god, his quarrelsome nature and the expression of his general hostility (especially toward Athena) is presented not through attributes or obvious action, but through the subtle language of gesture so characteristic of High Classical Pheidian sculpture. In order to arrive at a full understanding of the remarkable depiction of Ares on the Parthenon frieze, it is first necessary to review his relationship with Athena in Greek mythology and the typical iconography usually associated with him in the Greek Archaic and Classical periods.

In *Iliad* 5.846–909, the war god Ares returns to Mount Olympos after being severely wounded on the Trojan battlefield by the Greek hero Diomedes, whose spear was guided by the warrior goddess Athena. Upon his arrival, Ares is greeted with harsh words from his very own father, Zeus, the king of the gods: "To me you are the most hateful of all the gods who hold Olympos. Forever quarreling is dear to your heart, wars and battles."[2] But this is the very meaning of the name Ares, the "Destroyer," a name derived from an ancient abstract noun denoting the throng of battle.[3] The god Ares is the god War, rather than the god of war, a dark personification of manslaughter and murderous battle whose companions are Φόβος

1. Beck 1984; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 492, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); Ridgway 1990, p. 85.

This article is dedicated to my teacher and friend, Professor Sara A. Immerwahr, whose generous gifts of time, expertise, patience, and kindness enriched beyond measure my student experiences at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Ackland Art Museum, and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. I am grateful as well to the Département des Antiquités Grecques, Etrusques, et Romaines of the Musée du Louvre in Paris, and to the Antikenmuseum des Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg in Germany for permission to publish photographs of vases in their collections. I would also like to thank my advisor and mentor M. C. Sturgeon, my colleagues M. D. Usher and R. P. Hull, as well as the anonymous reviewers who read this manuscript and offered many valuable comments. The errors remain mine.

2. Lattimore 1951, p. 152.

3. *GGR*^{3}, p. 518; Burkert 1985, p. 169.

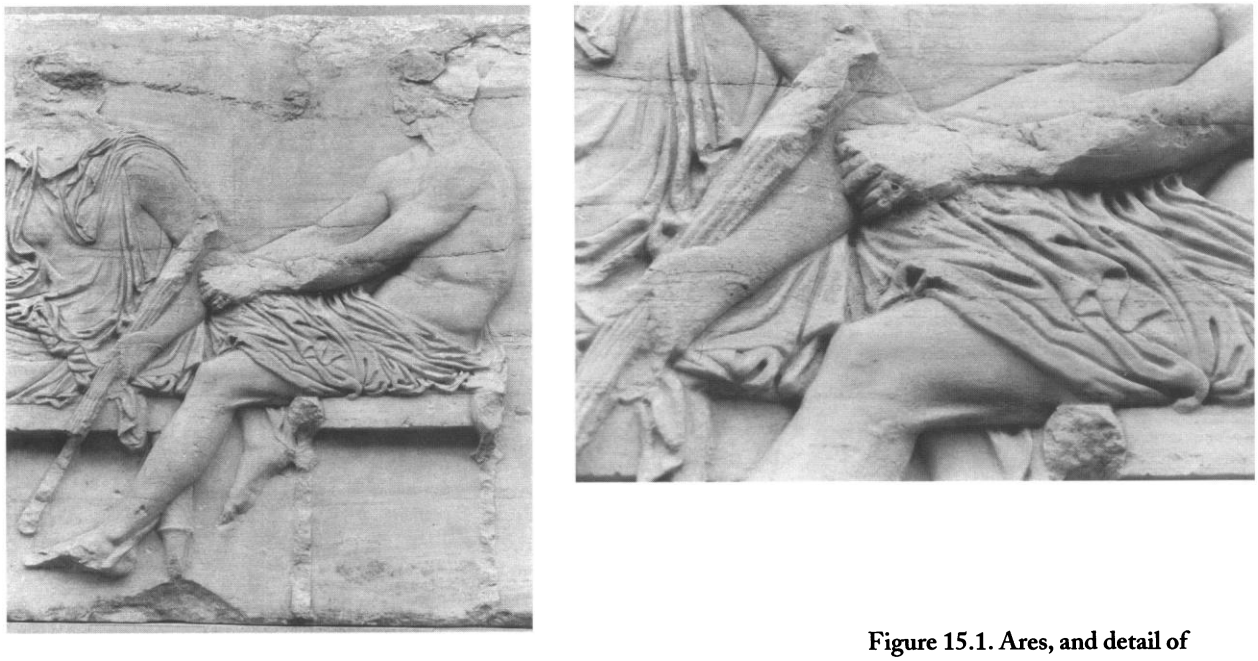


Figure 15.1. Ares, and detail of hands and knees; slab IV, east frieze, Parthenon, ca. 442–438 B.C. (London, British Museum).
A. Nicgorski

and Δεῖμος, "Fear" and "Terror."[4] Fierce and insatiable, Ares was unloved by his own father, by most other gods, as well as by most ancient Greeks, who rarely honored him with a temple cult or sacrificed to him except while waging war.[5] In fact, one of the only places where Ares is often referred to with respect, as well as fear, is in the numerous inscriptions that accompanied the grave markers of those who fell in battle, as in the eloquent epigram of the famous funerary kouros found in Attica at Anavyssos: "Stay and mourn at the monument for the dead Kroisos whom violent Ares destroyed, fighting in the front rank."[6]

Ares' status as one of the twelve Olympian gods is owed almost entirely to Homer, who is also responsible for most of what little mythology we have concerning the god War.[7] The poet, however, was no friend to Ares. In the *Iliad,* for example, he repeatedly presents the war god to great disadvantage, in contrast to the beloved Athena. In the Theomachy (*Il.* 20.48–53), when the goddess lets forth a great battle cry on the Greek side, she is answered by Ares in the form of a dark storm cloud bellowing forth from the Trojan citadel and from the banks of the river Simoeis. In *Iliad* 15.110–142, the god Ares, sworn to avenge his dead son Askalaphos, is rebuked by Athena, who takes away his armor and forces him to sit quietly in a chair. Later, in *Iliad* 21.391–433, Athena and Ares clash in the battle of the gods. Ares hurls his spear in vain against Athena's aegis, which yields not even to the thunderbolt of Zeus, and the goddess answers with a stone to his neck, causing him to measure seven hundred (Greek) feet in the dust. For Homer, Ares embodies all that is most hateful in war, while the glory of victory is reserved instead for the mighty Athena Areia.

This Homeric polarity between Ares and Athena is also reflected on an unusual black-figured amphora in Richmond, dated ca. 500 B.C. and attributed to the Diosphos Painter, that highlights only the two fully armed, warlike deities in a powerful centrifugal composition.[8] Here the viewer is

4. Pötscher 1959, pp. 5–14; *GGR*^{3}, pp. 517–519; Simon 1969, p. 256; Walter 1971, pp. 262–270; Burkert 1985.

5. Farnell 1909, pp. 396–414; *GGR*^{3}, pp. 517–519; Linfert 1979, p. 46; Burkert 1985, p. 170.

6. Boardman 1978, fig. 107.

7. Walter 1971, pp. 262–264; Burkert 1985, pp. 169–170.

8. Virginia Museum of Art 60.11. *Paralipomena* 250; *Ancient Art,* p. 86, no. 102; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 483, no. 64, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau). The other side of this vase shows Herakles fighting Kyknos, a son of Ares.

invited to compare Ares and Athena and to contemplate their different emphases. Violent Ares surely strikes an aggressive pose with spear raised. He moves energetically to the left, but his face is obscured by his shield and is therefore left to the viewer's imagination. Athena also assumes a combative posture with her protective aegis fully extended and her spear raised. An impressive figure wearing an Attic helmet that reveals her face, she strides confidently to the right—the direction of movement in Greek battle scenes that is usually associated with the victorious.

Homer's characterization of Ares as a murderous and foolish soldier continues in the *Odyssey,* in the song of Demodokos (8.266–369), in which the war god and his lover Aphrodite are caught in the invisible net created by her deformed husband, Hephaistos, and are exposed to the ridicule of the gods.

Similarly, in the legend of the return of Hephaistos, Ares is again the boasting fool, who fails in his mission to fetch Hephaistos back to Olympos in order to free Hera from her tricky golden throne with its invisible cords (Paus. 1.20.3). To his great shame, Ares is beaten off with burning torches by the ugly and crippled Hephaistos, the inventor of artillery, who eventually returns to Olympos under the influence of the fruits of Dionysos.[9] In the most elaborate representation of this tale, on the François vase of ca. 570 B.C.,[10] the drunken Hephaistos appears astride an ithyphallic mule and is accompanied by a retinue of satyrs, approaching the enthroned Zeus and an impatient Hera. Behind these seated deities is a scene of considerable interest featuring a fully armed figure of the god Ares, whose pose is remarkably expressive. He sits unusually close to the ground on the edge of a low block, with his right leg drawn back, his torso leaning forward, and his head inclined. He appears defeated and crestfallen. And, as if to emphasize this point, the goddess Athena, his great Homeric rival, stands before him with her arms akimbo and her head turned to face him. Perhaps she is mocking him and forcing him to sit quietly on the sidelines once again.

The depiction of Ares on the François vase, with his almost poignant pose, is quite extraordinary, for elsewhere in Greek art fearsome Ares stands tall and proud, a fully armed warrior whose attributes, the spear and the sword, are swift instruments of death. He appears in this guise, for instance, on a red-figured kylix of ca. 480–470 B.C., attributed to the Castelgiorgio Painter.[11] Here the fully armed Ares stands alone at the center of a symmetrical composition between an enthroned Zeus (attended by Ganymede) and his mother, Hera (attended by Iris or Hebe), as an emblem of their archetypal animosity. Similarly, the war god often appears

9. Beazley 1986, pp. 28–29; Carpenter 1991, pp. 13–17. The myth is known from brief allusions in ancient writers and from numerous representations on vases. It was the subject of a lost 6th-century B.C. poem by Alcaeus of Lesbos and of several lost 5th-century B.C. plays.

10. A black-figured volute-krater of ca. 570 B.C. signed by Kleitias and Ergotimos; Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209. *ABV* 76, no. 1; *Paralipomena* 29; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 7; Walter 1971, pp. 262–264, fig. 238; Cristofani 1981, pp. 71–72, figs. 89–93, 137, 138; Beck 1984, pp. 21–22, 147, no. 33; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 484, no. 74, pl. 366, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); Beazley 1986, pp. 28–29, pl. 25:4; Carpenter 1991, pp. 13–15, fig. 2.

11. London, British Museum E 67. *ARV*^{2} 386, no. 3; Cook 1940, III.ii, p. 1051, fig. 845; Beck 1984, pp. 24, 147, no. 36; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 461, no. 34, pl. 276, s.v. *Hebe I* (A.-F. Laurens); Neils 1999, p. 9, fig. 9.

in Attic scenes of the birth of Athena, such as the black-figured amphoras of ca. 540 B.C. in Paris[12] and Rome,[13] both attributed to Group E. Again the fully armed Ares is typically isolated, restricted to the far right of the composition, opposite Poseidon, who frequently appears on the left of the scene—two potentially hostile spectators who may very well resent the emergence of their joint rival, the warlike Athena.[14]

In scenes of the Gigantomachy, in contrast, mighty Ares is shown in his proper milieu, the throng of battle. On a red-figured kylix signed by Aristophanes, now in Berlin and dating from the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., Ares is about to bring down his deadly spear on a crouching opponent.[15] On a red-figured pelike in Athens, also from the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. and painted in the manner of the Pronomos Painter, a giant raises his shield in vain against the powerful spear of the god War, who fights between the Dioskouroi at the top of the scene.[16]

In the Gigantomachy of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi from ca. 525 B.C., Ares takes on three opponents, one of whom has already collapsed on the ground.[17] Here, however, it is significant to note that Athena does not appear in the central position with Zeus and Herakles, as she typically does in Attic Gigantomachy scenes such as that on the well-known black-figured dinos signed by Lydos, ca. 560 B.C., and dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis.[18] Instead, she battles against two opponents beside her rival Ares, in a compositional unit closed on the left by Hera or Aphrodite, who lunges in a leftward direction, and on the right by the back of Hermes, who moves in a more typical rightward direction.[19] The two rival deities stand out here because of their identical poses. They both stride aggressively to the right with their left legs advanced and their left arms holding round shields (seen from the interior), while their right arms are raised up in order to wield their deadly spears (now missing). This common pose, as well as the unusual proximity of Athena and Ares within a distinct compositional unit, seems to invite the viewer to compare the warlike god and goddess and to contemplate their respective virtues, even as they work together to defeat a common enemy.

12. Musée du Louvre F 32. *ABV* 135, no. 43; *Paralipomena* 55; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 36; Beck 1984, p. 143, no. 3; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 484, no. 70, pl. 365, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau). Beck (1984, pp. 1–13, 143–145) lists twenty-four scenes of the birth of Athena that include Ares.

13. Vatican Museums 353. *ABV* 138, no. 2; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 37; Cook 1940, III.i, p. 667, pl. 53; Beck 1984, p. 144, no. 10.

14. The rivalry between Athena and Poseidon is revealed in the story of their contest for the city of Athens. The first and fullest evidence for this momentous quarrel is preserved in the sculptural program of the Parthenon, as the subject of the West Pediment; see Simon 1980; Boardman 1985, pp. 99–102; Stewart 1990, pp. 153–154; Palagia 1998, pp. 40–52.

15. Staatliche Museen 2531. *ARV*^{2} 1318, no. 1; *Paralipomena* 478; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 363; Beck 1984, pp. 41–43, 153, no. 88; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 486, no. 103, pl. 368, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau).

16. Athens, N.M. 1333. *ARV*^{2} 1337, no. 8; *Paralipomena* 481; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 366; Beck 1984, pp. 41–42, 153, no. 84; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 486, no. 104, pl. 369, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau).

17. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. *FdD* IV, ii, p. 87; de la Coste-Messelière and Miré 1957, fig. 84:1; Boardman 1978, fig. 212:1; Beck 1984, pp. 31, 38, 77–79, 168, no. 192; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 486, no. 106, pl. 369, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); Brinkmann 1985, pp. 96, 123–125; 1994, pp. 174–175; Stewart 1990, pp. 128–129.

18. Athens, Acropolis Museum 607. *ABV* 107, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 29; Moore 1979.

19. Watrous 1982, p. 162. Beck (1984, pp. 29–43, 148–154) cites several vases on which Zeus, Herakles, Athena, and Ares are shown as a group leading the fight against the giants. It seems likely that Zeus and Herakles were represented in the now missing part of the north frieze that is separated from Athena and Ares by the figure of Hera or Aphrodite.

The rivalry of Athena and Ares is also displayed in over 100 6th-century B.C. scenes, preserved in Attic vase painting, of the battle between Herakles and Ares' brigand son Kyknos.[20] Significantly, this scene, which represents both Athena and Herakles in vigorous, martial roles, was especially popular on vases and pinakes dedicated to Athena Promachos on the Akropolis in Athens.[21] The most complete version of this scene appears on a black-figured oinochoe in Berlin, attributed to Lydos, from the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., in which Kyknos is already dead but violent Ares continues the fight against Herakles and Athena until Zeus, with his thunderbolt, intervenes to end it.[22] Another version of the story appears on a black-figured hydria in Rome, dated ca. 510 B.C. and attributed to the Madrid Painter. It shows a powerful Herakles, supported by Athena of the terrible aegis, as he overtakes Kyknos, helped to no effect by his father, Ares, who is uncomfortably pressed into the right border of the scene.[23] Most remarkable of all is an unusual red-figured calyx-krater in New York, of ca. 510 B.C. by Euphronios, that shows an aggressive Athena charging ahead of Herakles and Kyknos in order to attack Ares.[24] Here the competition of the two warlike deities is further emphasized by the confrontation of the real Medusa-head of Athena's aegis and its mirror image on the shield of Ares.

Herakles, the favorite hero of Athena, also caused the deaths of two other sons of Ares (Lykaon and Diomedes), and a third son, the dragon at Thebes, was dispatched by Kadmos. This story is depicted on a red-figured calyx-krater in New York, dated ca. 450 B.C. and in the manner of the Spreckels Painter, where Ares appears on the right, in support of his dragon son.[25] He is balanced on the left by Athena, who lends her support to Kadmos. Similarly, according to Pausanias (6.19.12), Ares was shown assisting Acheloos against Herakles and Athena as part of a set of gilded wooden statuettes in the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia. Hostile to Athena's favorite hero, Ares also occasionally, and perhaps reluctantly, appears in scenes of Herakles' apotheosis on Olympos. An example on a black-figured lekythos in Berlin, from the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. and attributed to the Leagros group, features the fully armed war god seated uneasily on the edge of a low block with his left leg drawn back, his arms akimbo, and his upper body twisted sharply into the picture plane—an uncomfortable and awkward pose that is possibly intended to express his displeasure at the disappointing turn of events.[26]

20. Shapiro 1984, p. 523.

21. Shapiro 1984, pp. 527–528.

22. Staatliche Museen 1732. *ABV* 110, no. 37; *Paralipomena* 44, 48; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 30; Beck 1984, p. 160, no. 145; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 481, no. 42, pl. 362, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); Shapiro 1984, pp. 525–527, pl. 68, fig. 2; Schefold 1992, pp. 146–149, fig. 176.

23. Vatican Museums 16451. *ABV* 329, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 89; Beck 1984, p. 158, no. 125; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1004, no. 519, pl. 758, s.v. *Athena* (P. Demargne).

24. Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection (New York), formerly in the Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collection (Dallas, Tex.). Robertson 1981, pp. 29–34, figs. 13–18; Bothmer et al. 1983, pp. 58–61, no. 6; Beck 1984, p. 161, no. 155; Shapiro 1984, pp. 523–529; *LIMC* VII, 1994, pp. 976, 989, no. 79, pl. 698, s.v. *Kyknos I* (A. Cambitoglou and S. A. Paspalas).

25. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.286.66. *ARV*^{2} 617, no. 2; *Paralipomena* 398; *Beazley Addenda*^{2} 261; Simon 1969, p. 260, fig. 249; Beck 1984, pp. 62, 163, no. 167; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 485, no. 88, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau).

26. Staatliche Museen 1961. *ABV* 379, no. 273; Möbius 1916, p. 202, fig. 16; Beck 1984, pp. 17, 145, no. 26; and *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 484, no. 81, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau), where it is misidentified as an amphora.

In the relaxed company of the gods, quarrelsome Ares is infrequently represented, and when he does appear, he is often coupled with Aphrodite, his only constant companion. In the main scene on the François vase, for example, Ares and Aphrodite arrive together in a chariot, as if husband and wife, in order to visit the newly married Peleus and Thetis.[27] On the well-known red-figured kylix in Tarquinia, ca. 510 B.C. and signed by Oltos, the same couple appears, seated at the far right edge of an assembly of the gods.[28] Here the innately quarrelsome nature of the god War is again revealed through his relatively restive pose. He sits slightly forward on his camp stool with elbows jutting forth on either side and hands clutching his helmet, while he turns both his torso and his head sharply away from Aphrodite and the other gods. Among these other deities, it is instructive to observe the presence of the goddess Athena, who sits somewhat more firmly and comfortably beside her father, Zeus, as she turns back toward the messenger god Hermes. Yet she too is seated on a camp stool and has brought along her spear and her helmet, which she holds in readiness for some future action. In the council of gods represented on the east frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, ca. 525 B.C., to which the Oltos kylix is frequently compared, Ares sits with the other pro-Trojan gods on the left side of Zeus, who is here deciding the fate of Achilles and Memnon.[29] And yet, although he is seated next to Aphrodite, Ares remains apart, isolated on the far left, while Aphrodite leans forward to converse with Artemis and Apollo. Here again Ares is fully armed with shield and spear, his right leg drawn back and ready for sudden action.

On the east frieze of the Parthenon, carved ca. 442–438 B.C. (Fig. 15.1), Ares appears again in the company of the gods who assemble to watch the Panathenaic procession in honor of Athena Polias, patroness of the city of Athens.[30] Here, in contrast to the examples discussed above, Ares is not represented in the vicinity of Aphrodite, nor is he seated at the extreme edge of the composition. Rather, he appears in the middle of the group of gods who sit on the left side of the central scene—between Hermes, Dionysos, and Demeter on the left, and Hebe,[31] Hera, and Zeus on the right. The hostile and friendless war god is here shown as a typically Pheidian figure—youthful, beardless, and heroically nude, with a rich mantle

27. Cristofani 1981, fig. 78; Beck 1984, pp. 20–21, 146, no. 32; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 485, no. 84, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau).

28. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniense RC 6848. *ARV*[2] 60, no. 66, 1622; *Paralipomena* 327; *Beazley Addenda*[2] 165; Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton 1962, pp. 321–322, fig. 103; Simon 1969, pp. 263–264, fig. 253; Beck 1984, pp. 23–24, 147, no. 35; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 487, no. 112, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 124, no. 1298, pl. 129, s.v. *Aphrodite* (A. Delivorrias).

29. Delphi, Archaeological Museum. *FdD* IV, ii, pp. 107–109; de la Coste-Messelière and Miré 1957, figs. 76, 80; Simon 1969, pp. 262–263, fig. 252; Boardman 1978, fig. 212:2; Beck 1984, pp. 69–70, 166, no. 183; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 487, no. 115, pl. 371, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); Brinkmann 1985, pp. 79–80, 110–121; 1994, pp. 139–140; Stewart 1990, p. 129, figs. 192, 194.

30. Simon 1969, p. 264, fig. 92; Walter 1971, p. 265, fig. 240; Brommer 1977, pp. 110–112, 259, fig. 42, pls. 172, 173; Beck 1984, pp. 70–73, 166, no. 184; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 487, no. 116, pl. 371, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); Jenkins 1994, p. 78; Berger and Gisler-Huwiler 1996, pp. 154–155, pl. 132. Following Harrison 1996, Neils 1999, p. 18, note 2, and Neils 2001, pp. 173–201 (contra Connelly 1996, pp. 53–80), I adopt here a conservative reading of the Parthenon frieze as a representation of the Panathenaic procession with close attention to iconographic details. As this paper is concerned primarily with the posture of Ares and its significance, I will not directly address the issue of the frieze's central scene.

31. For the identification of this figure as Hebe, see Neils 1999 pp. 8–11; 2001, pp. 164–166.



Figure 15.2. Patroklos seated in front of the "tent" of Achilles; early South Italian krater fragment, ca. 380 B.C. (Heidelberg, Antikenmuseum des Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg 26.87). Antikenmuseum des Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberg

draped across his lap. This surprising figure of Ares is also represented uncharacteristically without armor, except for his spear, which is preserved only in a narrow ridge of marble around which he hooks his left ankle. The rest of this spear, which must have passed between his elbows and behind his head, was represented in paint.[32]

Remarkable too is the posture of this Pheidian war god who, instead of sitting anxiously forward on the edge of his stool, as in the earlier representations discussed above, rocks back on his seat while grasping his upraised right knee in his tightly interlocked fingers. This does not appear to be a static or relaxed pose, as both of the god's feet are off the ground. His precarious balance is maintained only by the shifting equilibrium between his upper body leaning backward and his arms reaching forward to grasp his right knee, while his left leg is anchored about his spear.

For generations, scholars have interpreted this unusual pose as a development from the restive posture of earlier seated figures of Ares, such as that on the Oltos kylix.[33] This, they say, is the impatient and restless war god, forced to inaction against his will, who would rather rush into murderous battle than sit quietly in order to watch a parade. As such, he may be compared to other figures who adopt this uncommon pose. For instance, on a large fragment of an early South Italian red-figured krater in Heidelberg, of ca. 380 B.C. and attributed to the Sarpedon Painter (Fig. 15.2), Patroklos is shown in front of the monumental "tent" of Achilles (here represented as an Ionic naiskos) in an identical seated pose that may suggest his unwilling absence from the Trojan war.[34] A similar pose is adopted by one of the idle heroes, eager perhaps for another battle to begin, on the famous red-figured calyx-krater in Paris that is dated ca. 450 B.C. and is attributed to the Niobid Painter; M. Denoyelle has recently

32. See the reconstruction drawing in Beck 1984, p. 71.

33. See, e.g., Simon 1963, p. 44; 1969, p. 264; Pemberton 1976, pp. 120–121; Brommer 1977, p. 259; Neils 1999, p. 7; 2001, pp. 105, 162.

34. Antikenmuseum des Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg 26.87. Trendall 1974, pp. 20, 53, pl. 29; *RVAp* 165.5; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 111, no. 457, pl. 105, s.v. *Achilleus* (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Shapiro 1994, pp. 20–21, fig. 11.



Figure 15.3. Peirithoos seated in the underworld; calyx-krater, ca. 450 B.C. (Paris, Musée du Louvre G 341).
C. Larrieu, Musée du Louvre, Paris

identified the scene as a representation of the Athenians at the shrine of Herakles after the battle of Marathon (Fig. 15.3).[35]

According to Pausanias (10.31.5), this is also the posture of Hektor, who sits with his hands clasped around his left knee, powerless and forever incapable of action, in Polygnotos's wall painting of the underworld in the Knidian Lesche at Delphi. Pausanias, however, characterizes this pose as an attitude of sorrow appropriate to one who grieves. In a very late, but perhaps still relevant, source, *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius (*Met.* 3.1), this posture is also adopted by Lucius when he awakes the morning after his dinner with Byrrhena believing that he had stabbed three robbers, which were actually three inflated wineskins, as he returned home in a drunken stupor. He sits, on the edge of his bed, hunched over his crossed legs with his fingers nervously intertwined around his knees, while imagining himself, powerless and fearful, sentenced to death at his own trial for murder.[36]

A different explanation for this type of posture is also provided by Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 28.17.59–60), who states that to sit in the presence of a pregnant woman, or when medicine is being administered to a patient, with fingers interlaced like a comb, is to be guilty of sorcery.[37] According to Pliny, this sorcery is more powerful still if the hands are clasped around one or both knees, and also if one crosses the legs first in one way

35. Musée du Louvre G 341. *ARV*[2] 601, no. 22, 1661; *Paralipomena* 395; *Beazley Addenda*[2] 266; Arias, Hirmer, and Shefton 1962, pp. 354–356, figs. 173, 174; Simon 1963, pp. 43–54; Denoyelle 1997.

36. Apul. *Met.* 3.1: *Complicitis denique pedibus ac palmulis in alternas digitorum vicissitudines super genua conexis.* This passage from Apuleius is perhaps doubly apt, as this is a tale of a young Greek with a fatal curiosity about magic who adopts a pose of subtle sorcery (see below) at an imaginary trial that later becomes real. Apuleius himself was very knowledgeable about magic, and the cleverly intertwined descriptive language of the original text suggests as well the rhetorical art of ekphrasis, with which he was also well acquainted. It is possible that he may have been describing a work of representational art not unlike the Ares of the Parthenon frieze; see *Ancient Writers: Greece and Rome* II, 1982, pp. 1099–1116, s.v. *Apuleius* (J. Tatum).

37. Pliny, *Nat.* 28.17.59–60: *Adsidere gravidis, vel cum remedium alicui adhibeatur, digitis pectinatim inter se inplexis veneficium est, idque conpertum tradunt Alcmena Herculem pariente, peius, si circa unum ambove genua, item poplites alternis genibus inponi. ideo haec in consiliis ducum potestatiumve fieri vetuere maiores velut omnem actum inpedientia, vetuere vero et sacris votisve simili modo interesse.*



Figure 15.4. Odysseus seated in the tent of Achilles; pelike, ca. 470 B.C. (Paris, Musée du Louvre G 374).
M. Chuzeville and P. Chuzeville, Musée du Louvre, Paris

and then in the other. According to a late-5th-century B.C. treatise from the Hippocratic corpus (*Morb.Sacr.* 2.25–26), these inhibitive postures were banned from patients being treated for epilepsy, a disease thought to be of divine origin.[38] Such indeed was the sorcery of Eileithyia, in Ovid's tale of the birth of Herakles (*Met.* 9.281–315), for by sitting outside Alkmena's door with her legs crossed and her fingers interlocked, she was able to prevent the hero's birth for seven days.[39]

The sorcery of this significant posture, which involves knotting the fingers around the crossed or closed legs, can be attributed to the ancient and widespread superstitions concerning the tying of knots.[40] According to the principles of homeopathic magic, to tie a knot was to hinder or to stop the action at hand. To tie one's own body in a knot composed of fingers and limbs is to present an obstacle to the transaction of business, and to express hostility toward those who wish to proceed. For this reason, according to Pliny (*Nat.* 28.17.59–60), the ancient Romans forbade such postures at important councils of war or of magistrates, and at sacred rites or prayers. And, according to Francisco Pacheco, the Spanish art theorist and Censor of Paintings (*Arte de la pintura,* bk. 2, chap. 2), such obscene postures were also forbidden by the Holy Inquisition in paintings of the Virgin Mary.[41]

In Classical art, the inhibitive nature of the pose is perhaps best demonstrated by the figure of Odysseus, who typically sits, with his left leg drawn over his right and his fingers interlaced around his raised left knee, while attempting to convince the obstinate Achilles to return to the Trojan battlefield. Such a scene is depicted on a red-figured calyx-krater in Paris, ca. 490 B.C., attributed to the Eucharides Painter,[42] and on a very similar red-figured pelike also in Paris from ca. 470 B.C. (Fig. 15.4),

38. *Morb.Sacr.* 2.25–26: Μηδὲ πόδα ἐπὶ ποδὶ ἔχειν, μηδὲ χεῖρα ἐπὶ χειρὶ (πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα κωλύματα εἶναι).

39. Ovid *Met.* 9.281–315: *Utque meos audit gemitus, subsedit in illa ante fores ara, dextroque a poplite laevum pressa genu et digitis inter se pectine iunctis sustinuit partus.*

40. Frazer [1913] 1980, pp. 298–299.

41. "What can be more foreign to the respect which we owe to the purity of Our Lady the Virgin than to paint her sitting down with one of her knees placed over the other, and often with her sacred feet uncovered and naked. Let thanks be given to the Holy Inquisition which commands that this liberty be corrected" (Pacheco 1956, p. 289, trans. Steinberg [1989, pp. 499–500, note 40]).

42. Musée du Louvre G 163. *ARV*² 227, no. 12; *Paralipomena* 347; *Beazley Addenda*² 199; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 110, no. 448, pl. 105, s.v. *Achilleus* (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Shapiro 1994, pp. 18–19, fig. 9.

attributed to Hermonax.[43] Odysseus's adoption of this significant posture, rather than expressing an attitude of "studied nonchalance," as H. Alan Shapiro has recently claimed, is surely meant to convey the complete impasse that occurred in these two negotiations—a stalemate that resulted in the failure of his mission.[44]

With these testimonia in mind, let us now return to the Ares of the Parthenon frieze, who sits in this exact pose, with his right knee drawn up into his tightly interlaced fingers and his left leg wrapped around his spear. Could it be that by means of this knotted posture, Ares reveals not only his quarrelsome nature, previously expressed through his fearsome armor and his restless pose at the edge of his seat, but also his generally hostile attitude toward his great Homeric rival, the goddess Athena, as well as his impatience at being detained at a procession largely in her honor and in the city that bears her name?

If, in fact, this unique and remarkable figure of Ares is expressing some disdain for the sacred festivities at hand by means of the subtle sorcery contained in his "passive-aggressive" pose, it might partly account for his close placement next to Demeter (on the left side) in the arrangement of seated deities on the east frieze—an aspect of the composition that has long puzzled many scholars.[45] Demeter is shown with a similarly expressive pose, leaning forward with her right hand to her chin, brooding over the loss of her daughter Persephone.[46] Although not openly hostile to Athena's parade, Demeter seems distracted, and like Ares, she probably would rather be elsewhere. Both figures are included, however, because of their status as important Olympian deities and because of the significant role each played in the victory over the giants, which Aristotle (and much recent scholarship) claims was the original motivation for the Panathenaic festival.[47] Furthermore, Ares' placement next to Hebe, Hera, and Zeus (on the right side) emphasizes his role as part of this family group, presented as such despite its largely dysfunctional nature.[48]

Ares is certainly also included among the spectator gods of the Parthenon frieze because of his importance in the landscape of Periklean Athens, as attested by the nearby Areiopagos. In addition, Ares, the god War, underscores the Athenian military victories that are alluded to in the mythological battles represented on the Parthenon metopes and on the Parthenos cult statue itself. And yet, Ares is set apart because of his long-standing animosity toward the greater goddess Athena, who provides special glory to these same victories. It is, after all, the birth of Athena that is celebrated in the great scene on the east pediment of the Parthenon, a most significant mythological event that is here set in a cosmic frame (with the rising Helios and the setting Selene), suggesting the new Olympian day that now dawns for the resurrected city of Athens, which by means of the rebuilt Temple of Athena finally places the Persian sack of the Akropolis firmly in the past.

Yet the god Ares sits curiously restless in this peaceful and celebratory context, eager for the war to wage on, as he practices his inhibitive sorcery both on Athena's birth taking place on the east pediment and on the great Panathenaic procession that wraps around the cella walls. For the enlightened viewer, therefore, the unique Ares of the Parthenon frieze functions

43. Musée du Louvre G 374. *ARV*[2] 485, no. 28; *Beazley Addenda*[2] 248; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 110, no. 446, pl. 104, s.v. *Achilleus* (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

44. Shapiro 1994, p. 19.

45. E.g., Pemberton 1976, pp. 120–121.

46. Neils 1999, p. 7, note 14; 2001, pp. 105, 162.

47. Arist. *Fr.* 637 (a scholion to Aristides' *Panathenaicus* 189.4). Ridgway 1992, pp. 127, 212, notes 31, 32.

48. Neils 1999, pp. 8–9.

(like the rebuilt north wall of the Akropolis that incorporates parts of the temples destroyed by the Persians) as both a reminder of the horror and bloodshed of past wars as well as a warning that the reborn city of Athens will not always be at peace. Indeed, as Perikles stresses in his famous funeral oration (Thuc. 2.43), if Athens is to flourish in peace and glory as the new leader of the Greek world, and if Athenians are to achieve the happiness that is the fruit of freedom, itself the fruit of valor, war is inevitable and must be met with strength and courage.

Also generally similar to the subtly inhibitive pose of the inevitable and quarrelsome war god on the Parthenon frieze is the posture of the so-called Ludovisi Ares in Rome. An eclectic Antonine version of a Hellenistic original in a "Lysippan style" that may reflect the colossal bronze statue by Skopas (Minor?), it is of a seated Ares, a statue that, according to Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 36.26), was set up in the Temple of Brutus Callaecus (dedicated to Mars) near the Circus Flaminius in Rome, ca. 132 B.C.[49] Like the war god of the Parthenon frieze, the Ares Ludovisi is seated and he draws one leg up into his arms, which are joined not by interlaced fingers but by hands clasped around the sheath of an elaborate sword (the latter is a feature that, in its current state, is largely the work of the 17th-century sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini, who also restored the right hand and two fingers of the left hand).[50] It is quite unusual that this Ludovisi war god holds a sword (possibly the addition of the Roman copyist) rather than a spear, which is the more typical attribute of Ares, as shown on the Parthenon frieze.[51] Also unlike the Parthenon Ares, the Ludovisi god does not lean back and his feet are not raised off the ground. Nevertheless, the general similarity of the Ludovisi statue's seated posture, with the god's arms clasped about his raised knee, to that of Ares on the Parthenon frieze, is striking. This similarity, taken together with the unfinished left side of the Ludovisi statue as well as the holes and attachment surfaces visible on its left shoulder,[52] suggest that the Ludovisi Ares and its earlier Hellenistic prototypes were also part of larger groups in which the impatient war god sits unwillingly, eager for a battle to begin, his hostile intentions clearly conveyed to contemporary viewers by his otherwise taboo pose.

49. Museo Nazionale Romana 8602. Bieber 1961, p. 41, fig. 103; Helbig[4] III, pp. 268–270, no. 2345 (P. Zanker); Walter 1971, pp. 268–270, fig. 244; Lattimore 1979, pp. 73–76, fig. 1; Schefold 1981, p. 277, fig. 393; Beck 1984, pp. 115–122, 176, no. 216:1; *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 481, no. 24, pl. 360, s.v. *Ares* (P. Bruneau); Ridgway 1990, pp. 84–87, pls. 48, 49; Neils 1999, p. 16, fig. 20; 2001, pp. 220–223, fig. 158.

50. Helbig[4] III, p. 268 (P. Zanker); Vierneisel-Schlörb 1979, p. 427.

51. Ridgway 1990, p. 85.

52. Ridgway 1990, p. 86.

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Classical Signs and Anti-Classical Signification in 4th-Century Athenian Architecture

by Rhys F. Townsend

The nature of Greek art of the 4th century B.C., chronologically sandwiched between the Classical period of the 5th century and the extensive Hellenistic era beginning in the late 4th century, has been long and widely discussed.[1] Among studies of the last thirty years, Blanche Brown brought particular attention to this question in *Anticlassicism in Greek Sculpture of the Fourth Century B.C.*[2] With a keen eye for both the formal and historical aspects of the problem, she pointed out distinct elements in the sculpture of this century that veered away from Classical norms and related these to the breakup of the Classical polis. But her monograph did little to settle the issue, and scholarship since has remained as divided on the subject as it had been before her book appeared. The art of the 4th century is commonly characterized along one of three lines: (1) that the 4th century represents no serious break with the 5th but rather constitutes a continuation of the Classical style, even if with certain discernible stylistic changes; (2) that the 4th century represents a distinct division from the 5th century and should be considered on its own terms as a separate period; and (3), what might be called a "compromise" position, that the 4th century, transitional between the Classical and Hellenistic periods, includes elements of both.[3]

1. It is nearly three decades since Sara Immerwahr first served as my graduate advisor and professor. With lasting gratitude for those early lessons, I dedicate this contribution to her.

In this paper, as throughout this book, the term "Classical" with uppercase "C" refers specifically to the time from the mid- to late 5th century, ca. 450–430 B.C., to what is often called the High Classical period, as opposed to "classical" with a lowercase "c," in reference to Greek art or even Graeco-Roman art more generally.

2. Brown 1973.

3. Brown (1973, pp. 1–4) provides a useful summary of the subject and the literature on it up to the time of publication of her book. Ridgway (1997, pp. 9–19) reviews the literature of the last twenty-five years as it applies to Greek sculpture, explicitly asking if the 4th century should be considered a logical continuation of the 5th, if it should be called Classical, High Classical, or post-Classical. Such recent views reflect a continued variety of opinion. For example, Borbein (1973) speaks of the 4th century as the *Nachklassik;* Robertson (1975, p. 372) sees a "culmination," "climax," "end" in the work of Pheidias and Polykleitos, after which sculpture moves in new directions; Marcadé (1983) considers the period as a development of tendencies of the previous century; Stewart (1990, pp. 173–175) describes a "classicism" and "neo-Pheidian revival" in Athenian sculpture of the 4th century; Boardman (1995, pp. 15–16) asserts that there was not a great deal that was new in sculpture of the 4th century; Ridgway herself believes that many diverse stylistic trends coexisted during the 4th century (1997, pp. 19, 365).

Specifically architectural studies tend to emphasize a shift away from an Athenocentric universe to one that is focused on the Peloponnese and that in general looks more to the Hellenistic period than to the Classical. This development is seen in a positive light on the whole, in contrast to the earlier view of Dinsmoor (1950, p. 216), who titled his chapter on the 4th century "The Beginning of the Decadence." See, e.g., Roux 1961, p. 9;

Although they come to different conclusions, all such appraisals restrict themselves methodologically to formal analysis. This paper represents an initial attempt to study the nature of 4th-century art not solely by comparative formal examination of the artistic products of each period, but by investigation into both the causes and processes of artistic change from the 5th century to the 4th. It accepts first that every period is in some manner transitional, and second that the 4th century both continues Classical elements and introduces new ones. Nor is it concerned with arguing nuances and degrees of emphasis within these categories: For example, is the 4th century more transition than culmination, does the art of the period display more of a break from the style of the 5th century, or are there more shared points than differences? The present analysis concentrates instead on intention and effect in style, with a view to understanding how Classical tenets were treated and in some instances transformed. It recognizes, in other words, a potential distinction between aim and achievement, and argues that the difference between art of the 5th and 4th centuries, in some cases at least, lies in the disparity between intended and received meaning. Finally, it proposes certain cultural forces as causal in effecting this change.

The methodology relies generally on structuralist analysis, which recognizes that the creation of meaning in a "text" (or artifact) lies in a sometimes complex relationship between the "author" of the text, the text itself, and those who "read" or receive it. Fundamental to this approach is the notion of "encoding," "decoding," and "aberrant decoding," whereby signs or codes (in this case, elements of architectural form) are assembled or "encoded" with a specific intention or meaning by those who create the "text." Whatever the intended meaning, a structuralist approach allows for the possibility that a "text" may be decoded or read (or interpreted or reacted to, to use less jargonistic terminology) in a number of ways, depending on the social background or context of the individual engaged in decoding. "Aberrant decoding" refers specifically to the process whereby meaning received by the decoder is at odds with that intended by the encoder.[4] The context of the "text" itself may also play a role in the way in which it is read; thus function and setting are as important in creating meaning as the form itself.

The particular material under review deals with 4th-century Athenian architecture, and more precisely with formal features directly inspired by 5th-century models. These will be examined to understand, first, if they

Coulton 1976, p. 38, for the more optimistic outlook. Lawrence (1996, p. 125), on the other hand, while less polemical than Dinsmoor, does uphold the idea that "Greek architecture began to decline towards the end of the fifth century."

4. This is not the place for a primer in structuralist analysis, which for some time has been adapted from its early application in literary studies to other fields. Jencks (1987, p. 42), however, provides a simple but clear example from the context of modern architecture that helps to illustrate the basic principle. In this case, what the modern architect creates (i.e., the forms he "encodes,") is often not at all what the public sees or "reads." In other words, the public "aberrantly decodes" the work, thus creating a "disconnect" between the architect's intention in using the modernist style and the public's reaction to it. Jencks writes: "What is seen as harmonious well-proportioned pure volume by the subculture of modern architects and their adherents is seen as a 'shoe-box' or 'filing cabinet' by the general public." Structuralism does not identify a necessarily "right" or "wrong" interpretation of a visual form; rather it recognizes that one's interpretation or understanding of form is related to one's social or cultural context.

were used with the same purpose in mind as they had been in the 5th century, and second, regardless of their intended purpose, whether they carried the same effect. The elements analyzed are plan, colored stone, and architectural detail, specifically moldings and proportions. These particular components are chosen because they provide examples whereby the 5th-century source for the 4th-century application is readily recognized and accepted, thereby making the connection between paradigm and parallel as explicit as possible. Taking a feature and changing its context significantly alters its effect, and whether that effect be aesthetic or cultural or both, it marks an irreversible change in the artistic mindset of the 4th century from that of the preceding 5th century.[5]

PLAN

One of the most well-known architectural types in 4th-century Athens is the choregic monument. A victorious *choregos*, the triumphant sponsor of a chorus in the dithyrambic contests of the Dionysia, was awarded a bronze tripod for his victory and received permission from the state to erect, at his own expense, a base on which to place the tripod. In the 4th century many of these bases came more to resemble buildings, and it has long been noted that the victors in two such contests, during the year 320/19 B.C.,[6] erected dedications whose plans directly derive from elements of Mnesikles' Propylaia on the Akropolis.[7] Specifically, the plan of the choregic monument of Nikias imitates the hexastyle prostyle form of the east porch, and that of Thrasyllos follows closely the arrangement of the west facade of the southwest wing. The Thrasyllos Monument (Fig. 16.1) virtually copies the facade of the southwest wing: In each structure two wide corner pilasters and a single narrow middle pilaster support an entablature of unusual but nearly identical design.[8] Further, the architect of the Thrasyllos Monument imitated the profile of the anta capitals of the Propylaia.[9] Even though there is no question about these similarities between copy and original, the differences between the two, which have to do with the motivating factors behind each design, tend to be overlooked. Mnesikles' arrangement of the southwest wing is hardly standard Doric, representing as it does a compromise necessitated by a lack of space for the southwest corner of the building. It is generally assumed that in his original design Mnesikles desired the two west wings of his building to be symmetrical in length, but that he was prevented from making that of the southwest wing the same

5. Very little architecture was built in Athens during the first half of the 4th century, which in general is a period of economic recovery following the city's defeat in the Peloponnesian War. The monuments under review here therefore all lie chronologically in the second half of the century, some as late as ca. 300. In strict chronological terms, these later works are Hellenistic, if the standard date of 323 B.C. for the beginning of the Hellenistic era is adhered to unwaveringly. But the imposition of periods, each with a defined start and finish, while useful in some respects, is artificial in others. The purpose of this paper is not to delineate the limits of a period but more to explore the underlying forces that make up change in a place over time.

6. The date of each monument is firmly established by its dedicatory inscription: that of Thrasyllos is *IG* II^2 3056; that of Nikias, *IG* II^2 3055.

7. Dörpfeld (1885) was the first to comment on the relationship of the monuments of Nikias and Thrasyllos to the Propylaia. Plans of all three structures may be found conveniently in Travlos 1971.

8. See p. 317 for discussion of the entablature.

9. See Townsend 1985.



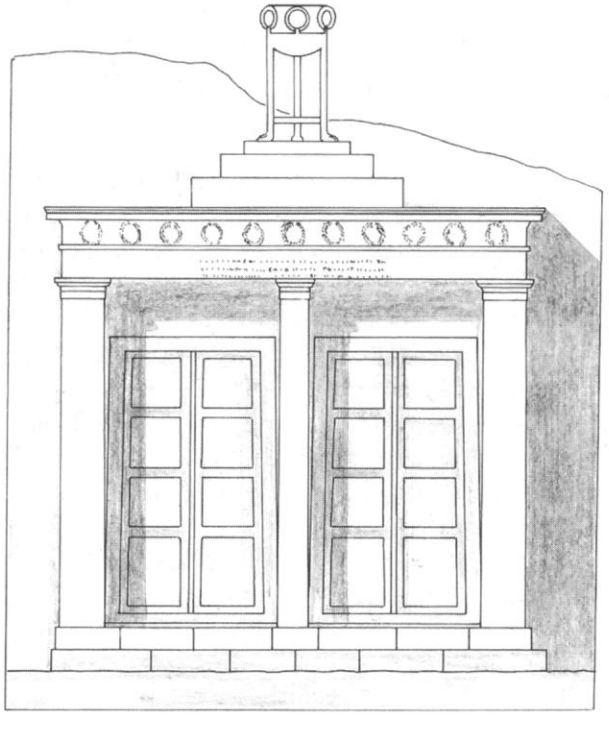




Figure 16.1. Thrasyllos Monument: *(above)* from orchestra of Theater of Dionysos; *(lower left)* reconstructed elevation; *(lower right)* isometric detail of entablature. Photo R. F. Townsend; elevation R. F. Townsend, after Welter 1938, p. 66, fig. 39; detail R. F. Townsend

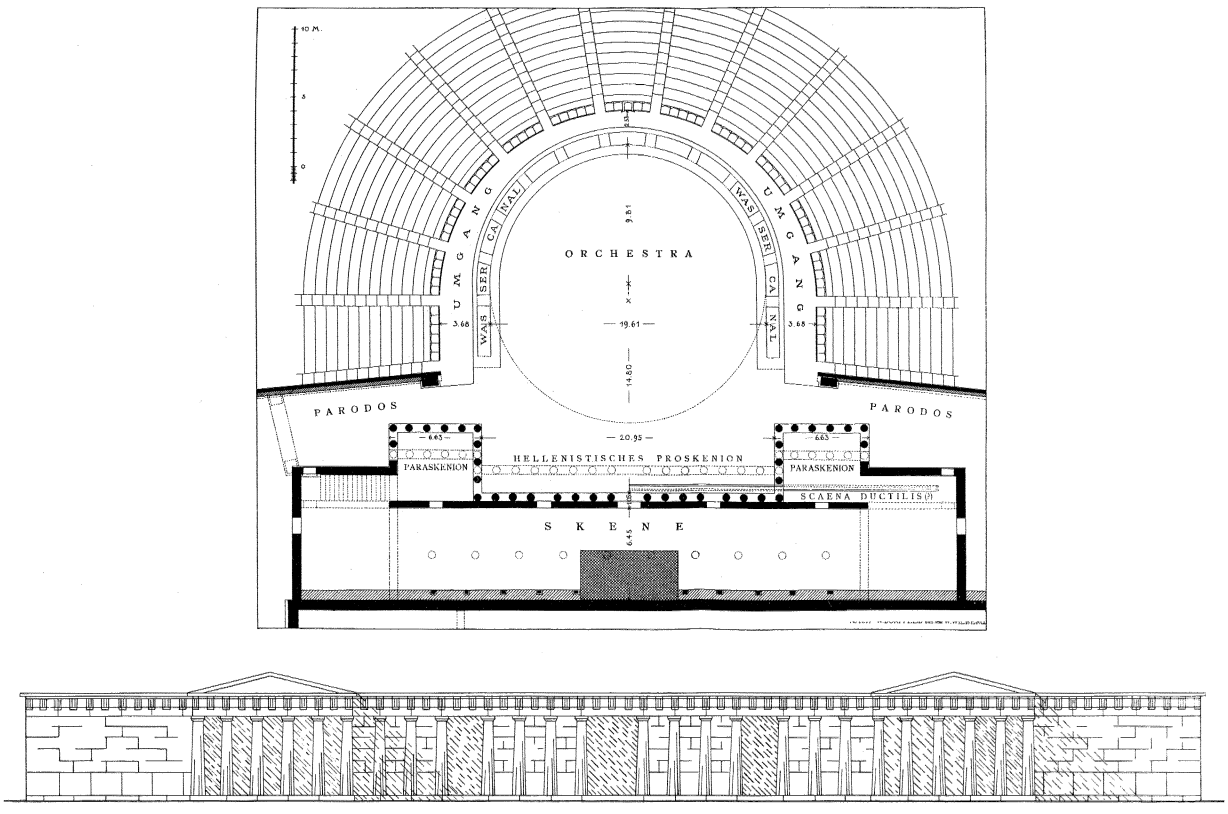


Figure 16.2. Theater of Dionysos: plan (north at top) and reconstructed elevation of *skene*. Plan after Dörpfeld and Reisch 1896, pl. 4; elevation R. F. Townsend

as that of the northwest owing to restricted space on this part of the Akropolis.[10] His response was to build a structure similar at first glance to the corresponding northwest wing, but in reality not much more than a facade. The architect of the Thrasyllos Monument may have appreciated this solution because he too was dealing with a facade; behind the three pilasters of the choregic monument lies no actual structure but simply a natural opening in the bedrock.[11]

The forces driving the two architects were fundamentally different, however. The southwest wing of the Propylaia represents a practical solution to a structural problem; the lack of space prevented Mnesikles from building a complete wing. It may be safely assumed that the intent, could it have been realized, was to duplicate the plan that appeared on the north, a room with a porch, essentially a naos distyle in antis. By contrast, it never could have been in the mind of the architect of the Thrasyllos Monument to build a freestanding structure; he was dealing with an ornamental facade from the start. The Doric order, and more specifically this variant of it, was for him a purely aesthetic choice unrelated to structural concerns. The form therefore is not the result of an application of an architectural system modified to meet specific circumstances. The Doric order is reduced to a visual motif, largely divorced from function. In this aspect, of course, it is antithetical to the Classical expression of the order.

Directly below the Thrasyllos Monument lies the scene building, or *skene,* of the Theater of Dionysos (Fig. 16.2). Constructed in stone during the period of Lykourgos at the end of the third quarter of the 4th century,

10. See Dinsmoor 1982 and Mark 1993, pp. 79–82, for discussion and reference to earlier bibliography concerning the original and revised plans of the Propylaia.

11. This opening, forming the interior of the monument, is divided into two sections, an outer shallow chamber (ca. 1.70 m deep) and an inner grottolike area (ca. 8.70 m deep). Pausanias (1.21.3) reports that it was furnished with a representation of Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe.

the *skene* consisted of a colonnaded front that was closed in the central section, by a wall backing the columns, and open on the projecting *paraskenia*.[12] At either end of the building are two lateral extensions. These continue the entablature of the colonnade but not the columns themselves, as the extensions are faced with blank walls. The origin of the pi-shaped plan of the scene building lies in the design of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora, the first stoa to incorporate projecting colonnaded wings,[13] and as Homer Thompson described it, "probably the best result which an architect could achieve if he wished to make of a stoa a complete and self-contained unit."[14] Unlike its prototype, on the other hand, the *skene* is essentially a colonnaded facade that was related to both the orchestra in front, to the north, and to the stoa of the Sanctuary of Dionysos behind it, to the south. The scene building shares a common back wall with the stoa in the Sanctuary of Dionysos, thus physically linking it with this area, and an imaginary line extending between the steps of the *paraskenia* defines a tangent to the orchestra circle, thereby tying *skene,* orchestra, and *theatron* together in an intentionally integrated design. Rather than forming a free-standing structure, the *skene* becomes a facade constituting one part of a multivalent complex.

The quality of facade architecture is emphasized by the continuous wall behind the colonnade in the central section of the *skene*, where the columns appear to be decorative rather than structural. Classical architecture of the 5th century considered column and wall to be mutually independent from each other; both were structurally supporting elements, so combining them would be redundant. It is only in the 4th century, primarily in the Peloponnese, that columns began to display a purely decorative purpose. They are attached to walls without performing any structural role, and this combination becomes commonplace in the following, Hellenistic, period.[15] In a variation of this motif, perhaps intentional, perhaps reflecting some misunderstanding of the concept, the relationship of column and wall in the *skene* is reversed: the columns are actually the supporting members, while the wall against which they are placed is not load-bearing; it is but a screen.[16]

Nevertheless, the same redundancy of wall and column results. The architect of the *skene* began planning his structure by looking at a model of Classical architecture: a freestanding, independent building in which the appearance of an architectural member was indissolubly joined with its tectonic role. What he produced is an example of facade architecture, in which structure and appearance are no longer necessarily one and the same. Whether the architect consciously recognized the effect of this change, he followed his Classical predecessor only superficially and instead introduced new ideas that resulted in the very opposite of Classical form.

COLORED STONE

In 1949 Lucy Shoe (Meritt) published her article "Dark Stone in Greek Architecture,"[17] an important study that drew attention to the purposeful use of Eleusinian limestone in 5th-century structures on the Akropolis. Mnesikles in particular seized on the potential of color contrast in the

12. For discussion of the *skene,* its association with Lykourgos and the specifics of its reconstruction, see Townsend 1986, with earlier bibliography.

13. Thompson 1937, pp. 5–77. For the association of the stoa and the *skene,* see Townsend 1986, pp. 433–434.

14. *Agora* XIV, p. 100.

15. Roux 1961, pp. 393–394, 397.

16. Townsend 1986, pp. 436–437.

17. Shoe 1949.

Propylaia, where he utilized it to highlight various tectonic aspects of the building: to indicate transitions in level, to harmonize proportions, and to emphasize structural features within the overall design.[18]

Specifically, Shoe pointed to Mnesikles' use of the stone between foundation and superstructure in the west wings, as a string course in the front wall of the northwest wing, for the orthostate course in the central building, and for the sill of the gate wall. In the first instance, Eleusinian stone helped to delineate between foundation and superstructure as well as to maintain a sense of equal proportions between the krepis of each west wing and that of the central building. In the second instance, the dark color of the string course delineated its function as sill for the windows of the porch wall. Even more emphatically, the dark orthostates of the central building, set in striking contrast to the brilliant white marble all around, stressed their role as support for the wall above. And finally, Eleusinian stone used in the gate wall marked the transition from the lower level of the western portion of the Propylaia to the higher eastern facade. In this manner Shoe demonstrated how Mnesikles, by purposefully drawing attention to structural elements and the roles they played, made them an integral part of the building's design.

Shoe recognized that, in the 4th century, Hymettian marble came to replace Eleusinian limestone where dark stone was desired, and noted in general the increased frequency with which the new material was used in comparison to Eleusinian limestone. Along with this frequency of use, she believed that color contrast became more and more arbitrary, until by the end of the 4th century it was used without any moderation and with little or no thought to either position or purpose, other than for an essentially arbitrary decorative effect.[19] Hymettian marble had first been introduced into the repertory of Athenian building materials in the late 5th century, its use attested at that time in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Agora,[20] in the West Stoa of the Asklepieion, and in the Pompeion in the Kerameikos.[21] It was also commonly used for inscriptions beginning in the late 5th century.[22]

The bluish-gray color of Hymettian marble proved a good substitute for Eleusinian limestone where a dark stone was desired to provide color contrast. Not only were its quarries on the slopes of Mount Hymettos considerably closer to the city than those of Eleusinian limestone,[23] the material was also easier to work, and its appearance was not marred by the oxidization that coats the surface of Eleusinian limestone with a white film after long periods of exposure to the air.[24] While Hymettian marble grew in popularity until it was used far more than Eleusinian limestone had ever been, this frequency of use did not result in merely capricious application. Rather the material won for itself a distinctive role that prescribed its employment in certain defined positions.

In buildings whose primary material is marble, it is almost always used for part of the krepis, for orthostate course, and for threshold; it also occurs as material for door jambs. As building material of the krepis, Hymettian marble appears in the Doric Stoa of the Asklepieion (stylobate),[25] the stoa in the Sanctuary of Dionysos (bottom step, upper two steps not preserved),[26] the scene building of the Theater of Dionysos (stylobate),[27] the Thrasyllos Monument (lower step),[28] the Temple of Apollo

18. For a preliminary presentation of the subject of colored stone, see Townsend 1981.

19. Shoe 1949, pp. 350, 352.

20. Thompson 1937.

21. *Kerameikos* X.

22. Thompson (1937, p. 46) provides a partial list of inscriptions of late-5th-century date inscribed on Hymettian marble. Lawton (1995, p. 12) notes that for inscribed documents with sculpted reliefs, Hymettian marble is used frequently only at the end of the 4th century.

23. The quarries of Mount Hymettos are identified by Curtius and Kaupert (1883, pp. 25–28). For the Eleusinian quarries, see Travlos 1949, p. 139, fig. 1, and p. 144, note 18.

24. Thompson 1937, p. 47.

25. The most complete attempt at reconstruction remains that of Allen and Caskey (1911).

26. The stoa has been variously examined in the course of the many studies of the Theater of Dionysos. Important publications include Dörpfeld and Reisch 1896, Bulle 1928, Fiechter et al. 1935–1936, and Dinsmoor 1951. Blocks of the first step of the stoa are preserved in situ at the west end of the building.

27. Townsend 1986.

28. Welter 1938.

Patroos (second step and stylobate, bottom step not preserved),[29] the Dipylon Fountain House (stylobate),[30] and the porch of the New Bouleuterion (bottom step, no other steps pre served).[31] As the material used for orthostates, Hymettian marble is found in the scene building of the Theater of Dionysos, in the stoa in the Sanctuary of Dionysos south of the theater, and in the Doric Stoa in the Asklepieion. Thresholds of Hymettian marble occur in the Temple of Apollo Patroos, in Philon's Arsenal, and in the Temple of Artemis Aristoboule. It occurs in a related fashion as a toichobate in the Doric Stoa in the Asklepieion.[32] As material for door jambs, the Thrasyllos Monument and Philon's Arsenal provide examples, although in the latter case, the specifications indicate that either Hymettian or Pentelic marble would have been satisfactory.[33]

In general, these applications of Hymettian marble cast it in the roles played by Eleusinian limestone in the 5th century, particularly to articulate transition in level and to emphasize certain structural features. There can be little question therefore that the intention was to carry on the Classical style and to maintain the integration of design and structure. A closer look at one example from the 4th century will serve to underline this point. In the Lysikrates Monument[34] (Fig. 16.3), the podium is built of light-colored poros from Piraeus while the tholos itself is constructed entirely of white Pentelic marble, except for the intercolumnar panels. It is important to recognize that these panels were an afterthought, not a part of the original design of the monument, and even as used they are carved from a particularly pale shade of Hymettian marble, almost closer to white than to blue.[35] Between the podium and the monument proper is an Ionic geison. The course serves a dual purpose, both as crown to the base and as projecting plinth to the tholos. Yet in contrast to the podium below and the tholos steps above, it is made from characteristically steel-blue Hymettian marble. With this color contrast the effect of the course becomes twofold. In its function as both crown and plinth, it unites the two parts of the monument, while at the same time its contrasting color acts to keep them distinct and separate. In so doing, it marks the tectonic division of the monument into its two constituent elements, rectangular base and round tholos, and further accentuates the proportional relationship between the two, the respective heights of which are divided in the ratio 2:3.

29. Thompson 1937, pp. 92–94.

30. Gruben 1969.

31. Thompson 1937, p. 162. Only in Philon's Porch at Eleusis, among the major building projects of the 4th century, is Eleusinian limestone used instead of Hymettian marble in the krepis. This exception is readily explained by the wish to maintain the same material that appears in the Telesterion proper, as well as by the stone's ready availability close to this site.

32. The propylon to the City Eleusinion also uses Hymettian marble as a base for its walls. Originally dated to the third quarter of the 4th century on epigraphic evidence, recently it has been redated to the 2nd century B.C. (*Agora* XXXI, pp. 61–62, 74–75).

33. *IG* II^2 1668, lines 33, 60. Foundations (only) of Philon's Arsenal have been found recently: see Petrakos 1995 and Touchais 1996.

34. Firmly dated by its dedicatory inscription (*IG* II^2 3042) to 335/4 B.C. The monument is fully published by Bauer (1977).

35. Only one original panel remains in place today; the other panels, all much darker, belong to the restoration of the monument in the 19th century.



Figure 16.3. Lysikrates Monument, from southeast. R. F. Townsend

The idea at work represents an application of the concept first introduced in the two west wings of the Propylaia. In each of the two wings, the bottom step is of dark Eleusinian stone, while the three above are of white Pentelic marble. As noted above, the darker stone sets off the foundations below the steps from the superstructure above. It also serves to maintain a sense of common proportions between the krepis of each wing and that of the central building, where the larger scale of the Doric order benefited from a four-stepped krepis of white marble. Employment of Eleusinian stone for the bottom step of each wing visually separated it from the three steps of white marble above, resulting in the appearance of a three-step krepis, which is more appropriate for the smaller scale of the two wings, especially when compared with the steps of the west porch of the central building.[36]

36. Shoe 1949, pp. 344–345.



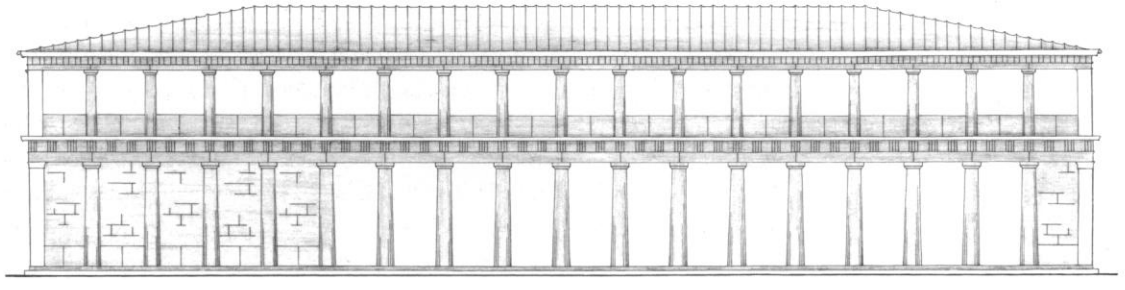


Figure 16.4. Doric Stoa, Asklepieion: *(left)* from west and *(below)* reconstructed elevation. Photo R. F. Townsend; drawing R. F. Townsend, after Allen and Caskey 1911, pl. 4

Two other monuments of the 4th century exhibit 5th-century principles of color contrast, but the resulting effect goes well beyond that of Classical architecture. In the two-storied Doric Stoa of the Asklepieion[37] (Fig. 16.4), all the main elements of the facade, with four exceptions, are of blue Hymettian marble. The two-stepped krepis consists of a stylobate of Hymettian marble above a creamy white poros step. The first five intercolumniations at the west end, as well as the first at the east, were closed off with courses of Hymettian marble.[38] The Doric columns of both stories are also of blue Hymettian marble. So too are the architrave and the frieze of the first story, where both triglyphs and metopes are blue. The same is true of the second story, where lengths of architrave and frieze were combined in single blocks. Only the geison of both stories is of white Pentelic marble. Thus, the first step and the geison of the lower and upper stories were of white stone. In this manner they emphasized the three horizontal levels of the stoa: ground level, division between first and second story, and division between second story and roof. Finally, the antae at either end of the building were also of white poros, two verticals providing framing elements at each side. While the notion of accenting different levels within the structure clearly recalls 5th-century precedent, the use of dark stone as the primary color, with white providing contrast, establishes a strikingly new result, nothing less than a blue building with white trim. The color impresses at least as much in its own right as it highlights structural parts of the building.

37. Once dated to the Lykourgan period, the Doric Stoa may have been built as late as ca. 300 B.C.; see Aleshire 1989, pp. 26–27.

38. As reconstructed by Allen and Caskey (1911). Martin and Metzger (1949) disagree, reconstructing only a knee-wall in this position. The thickness of the extant orthostates, however, suggests a wall extending the full height of the colonnade.

A second monument applies color contrast to even more radical effect. In the Thrasyllos Monument[39] (Fig. 16.1), above the Theater of Dionysos and immediately east of the "blue stoa" in the Asklepieion, the architect exploited the natural color of the surrounding stone, employing it in an overall color scheme designed to draw as much attention to the choregic dedication as possible. The bedrock of the Akropolis directly below the monument, worked into a series of rock-cut seats, is distinctly blue in color. In striking contrast, the vertical face flanking the monument has a definite rose tint. In coordination with the blue rock below, the first step of the monument is made from blue Hymettian marble. The second, or top, step, however, is of white Pentelic marble. So too are the three pilasters and the entablature above, starkly set off from the darker rose color to either side. The recessed marble door jambs between piers also are of blue Hymettian marble in order to maintain this contrast between light and dark. The overall scheme is of a white outline or frame against a darker two-toned background that draws dramatic attention to the monument, set high above the orchestra of the theater.

Not only is the Classical formula of dark against light reversed, as in the Doric Stoa of the Asklepieion adjacent, but an additional contrast is added in which three, not two, colors are involved. Given the close imitation of the Propylaia in both the plan and elevation of the Thrasyllos Monument,[40] there is little doubt that the inspiration for the use of color in the monument also derives from this Classical precedent. But a balance of structure and design along the lines of 5th-century canon is no longer achieved, if indeed it was ever intended; color itself dominates the design of the facade.

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS AND PROPORTIONS

In 1966 Lucy Shoe Meritt wrote a second article in which she compared elements of 5th- and 4th-century Athenian architecture.[41] In it she discussed a particular form of molding, a cyma reversa with projecting fillet, added either above the cyma (if a crowning molding) or below it (if a base molding). The fillet, used in conjunction with the cyma reversa, had appeared in a number of examples of architecture largely restricted to Athens during the Periklean period: the Parthenon, Hephaisteion, Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, among others. For this reason, in 1936 Meritt originally had dubbed the unusual combination the "cyma reversa with Periklean fillet."[42] Only later, in her article of 1966, did she recognize more examples. Still restricted to Athens, however, these dated to the second half of the 4th century, and Meritt rightly cited them as examples of the classicizing tendencies of

39. See Welter 1938 for full publication.

40. See pp. 307–309 for discussion of the derivation of the plan of the Thrasyllos Monument from that of the Propylaia, and p. 317 for similar discussion of the architectural detail of its elevation.

41. Meritt 1966.

42. Shoe 1936, p. 57.

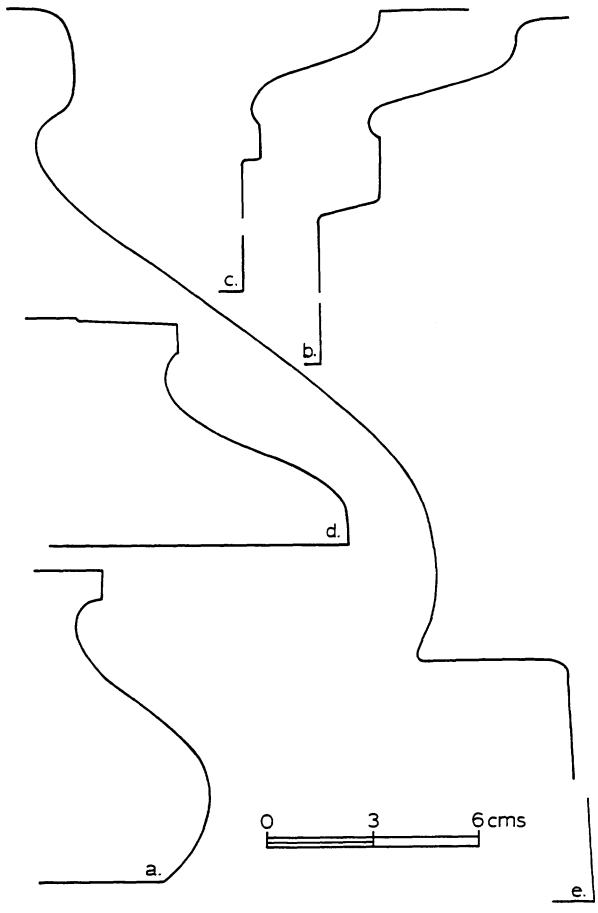


Figure 16.5. Profiles of late-4th to early-3rd-century B.C. moldings, the "cyma reversa with Periklean fillet": *(a)* Thrasyllos Monument, threshold; *(b)* Thrasykles' tripod base, geison crown; *(c)* unidentified choregic base, geison soffit; *(d, e)* unidentified bases. R. F. Townsend

4th-century Athenian architecture. In fact, several more examples may now be added to confirm the continued popularity of this distinctly Athenian motif (Fig. 16.5). They include the threshold base of the Thrasyllos Monument,[43] the position and profile of which is closely paralleled by the molded toichobate of the Hephaisteion,[44] the soffit of the geison crowning Thrasykles' tripod base,[45] the crowning molding of the statue base of Menander (died 292/1 B.C.),[46] the crowning molding of the relief from the grave monument dedicated to those who died in the battles of Corinth and Coroneia (394 B.C.),[47] the soffit of an Ionic geison from an unidentified choregic monument, the base molding of an unpublished monument base, and another base molding, perhaps from a funerary monument.[48]

Such instances of imitation in Athenian architectural detail are not restricted to profiles of moldings,[49] and some are interesting for the

43. The actual molding is not preserved, but its profile (Fig. 16.5:a) remained discernible in 1980 as a weather mark on the face of the pilaster against which the molding abutted.

44. For the profile from the Hephaisteion, see Shoe 1936, p. 181, pl. XXXVII:2.

45. *IG* II² 3083.

46. *IG* II² 3777. The base is illustrated in Studniczka 1918, p. 4, fig. 1.

47. *IG* II² 5221; Travlos 1971, p. 321, fig. 422.

48. Only the Ionic geison is published; see Bulle 1928, pl. 9, where the whole block is illustrated. The other pieces are to be found among the scattered blocks in the vicinity of the later Temple of Dionysos in the Sanctuary of Dionysos south of the Theater.

49. For an example of another imitation in profile moldings, see Townsend 1985.

manner in which they demonstrate once more how the very process of copying may also transform. One of the most conspicuous ways in which the Thrasyllos Monument imitates the southwest wing of the Propylaia is in the design of the entablature. In this portion of his famous structure Mnesikles eschewed the use of both the normal Doric frieze and the Doric geison. That he did so out of compulsion rather than choice is indicated by the number of returns required in the entablature, no less than three exterior and two reentrant angles. Provision of consistent alternation of triglyph and metope in the frieze, and of mutule and via in the geison, over such a meandering course strained even Mnesikles' genius, and he characteristically made necessity the mother of invention.[50] He did away with triglyphs, metopes, mutules, and viae entirely, introducing a plain Ionic frieze and geison. To distinguish between the architrave and frieze, however, which were otherwise almost identical, Mnesikles carved a continuous row of guttae depended from a taenia at the top of the architrave course.

The architect of the Thrasyllos Monument, already enamored of the southwest wing, copied these details just as he had the arrangement of the rest of the facade (Fig. 16.1). On the architrave he inscribed the choregic dedication, and the frieze he ornamented with five carved olive wreaths flanking a single laurel wreath in the center. Above, he placed an Ionic geison. But nothing other than decorative interest compelled him to do so. Unlike the mathematical conundrum facing Mnesikles, there was nothing to prevent the designer of the Thrasyllos Monument from utilizing a standard Doric entablature. His choice once again was based on aesthetic grounds; it did not derive from a technical problem, as it had in the Propylaia. The architect did not consider elements of the Doric order so much as parts of an integrated whole but rather as decorative details to be included or not, at will. An indication of this attitude may be observed in the row of continuous guttae articulating the division between architrave and frieze. As unconventional as they had been in the southwest wing of the Propylaia, Mnesikles still recognized them for what they were supposed to be, an architectural member that crowns the architrave, and in the Propylaia they are carved together with the blocks of this course, as is usual. Not so in the Thrasyllos Monument: here they are carved as part of the frieze course; moreover, both the taenia and guttae are made unusually high, in order to accent them.

In another Athenian building, dating to ca. 300 B.C., misunderstanding the integration of structure and design on which the Doric order depended led a 4th-century imitator to violate the 5th-century model that he looked to for inspiration. When planning his colonnade, the architect of the Square Peristyle in the Agora (Fig. 16.6) closely studied the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, which was situated directly opposite on the west side of the ancient city center.[51] The earlier building had been an example of pioneering stoa construction through its use of wide axial spacings requiring two full triglyphs per intercolumniation.[52]

The architect of the Square Peristyle, also committed to wide axial spacings, was clearly concerned about their structural integrity, to the extent that he designed an elaborate cantilevering system to transfer weight of the entablature and roof away from the portions of the architrave over

50. The problem of the placement of the triglyph at the exterior angle of the Doric frieze is well known. For a concise statement of the problem, see Robertson 1943, pp. 106–112. The similar problem at the reentrant angle is most fully discussed by Coulton (1961). The subject is also covered in Coulton 1976, pp. 131–137; 1977, pp. 129–137. For the specific problem that Mnesikles faced, see references in note 10.

51. For the Stoa of Zeus, see Thompson 1937. For the Square Peristyle, see *Agora* XXVII.

52. Coulton 1976, p. 42.

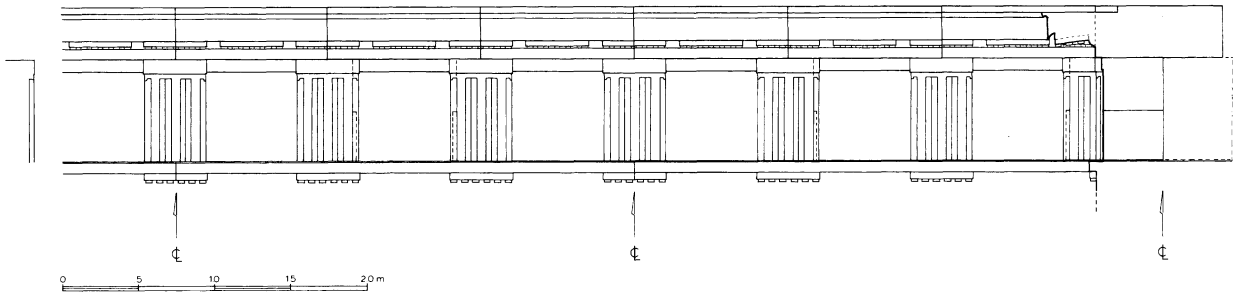


Figure 16.6. Entablature of Square Peristyle, Agora. R. F. Townsend

the intercolumnar spaces and to channel it onto the areas directly above the columns.[53] Not satisfied with this precaution, however, he decided also to copy both the axial spacings and the widths of the frieze elements of the Stoa of Zeus; it is as if he thought that since the earlier building had stood for over a century with these measurements, then surely his would, too. But he did not copy all the dimensions of the order of the Stoa; in general the scale of his building was greater, with both the lower column diameter and the frieze height exceeding those of the Stoa of Zeus.[54] The lower column diameter of the Square Peristyle is fully 14.5 percent greater than that of the Stoa of Zeus; but because the axial spacing was not increased accordingly, the space between columns actually appeared smaller and less open. In the case of the frieze, the greater height but equal widths of the frieze elements in the Square Peristyle resulted in a triglyph that was very high and narrow; comparable examples occur no later than the mid-5th century.[55] The Square Peristyle also had an unusually high geison that exceeded not only those of the 4th century but many from the 5th as well.[56]

Throughout the 6th and 5th centuries the proportions of the Doric order had developed along relatively dependable lines, to the extent that proportional relationships have been used fairly confidently to estimate date as well as to determine dimensions of missing elements in architecture.[57] Such predictability was derived from the strict integration of parts inherent in the conception and execution of Classical Doric architecture.[58] To a degree such typological classification can be extended into the

53. *Agora* XXVII, pp. 60, 86–87.

54. The following tabulation provides comparison of the relevant dimensions (m):

	Stoa of Zeus	*Square Peristyle*
lower col. Diam.	0.786	0.90
normal axial sp.	3.00	3.00
l.c.D. : axial sp.	1:3.839	1:3.333
frieze H.	0.612	0.66
geison H.	0.209	0.289

55. Square Peristyle (triglyph W. : triglyph H.): 1:1.65. Cf., in the 5th century: Temple of Zeus at Olympia (1:1.64); Propylaia, central building (1:1.66); Propylaia, west wings (1:1.64); Temple of Poseidon, Sounion (1:1.62); Parthenon (1:1.59); Hephaisteion (1:1.59); Temple of Ares, Agora (1:1.56); Temple of Nemesis, Rhamnous (1:1.55); Stoa of Zeus, Agora (1:1.52). In the 4th century, cf. the Temple of Asklepios, Epidauros (1:1.56); Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea (1:1.53); stoa at the Amphiareion, Oropos (1:1.53); Temple of Zeus, Stratos (1:1.51).

56. Square Peristyle (geison H. : frieze H.) 1:2.27. Cf., in the 5th century: Propylaia, central building (1:2.69); Propylaia, west wings (1:2.83); Parthenon (1:2.25); Hephaisteion (1:2.36); Temple of Nemesis, Rhamnous (1:2.61); Stoa of Zeus, Agora (1:3.38). In the 4th century, cf. the Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea (1:3.68); stoa at the Amphiareion, Oropos (1:2.57); Temple of Zeus at Stratos (1:3.94).

57. See, e.g., the "Chronological List of Greek Temples" in Dinsmoor 1950, facing p. 340.

58. Coulton (1977, pp. 51–73, esp. pp. 64–67) provides a full discussion of this relationship.

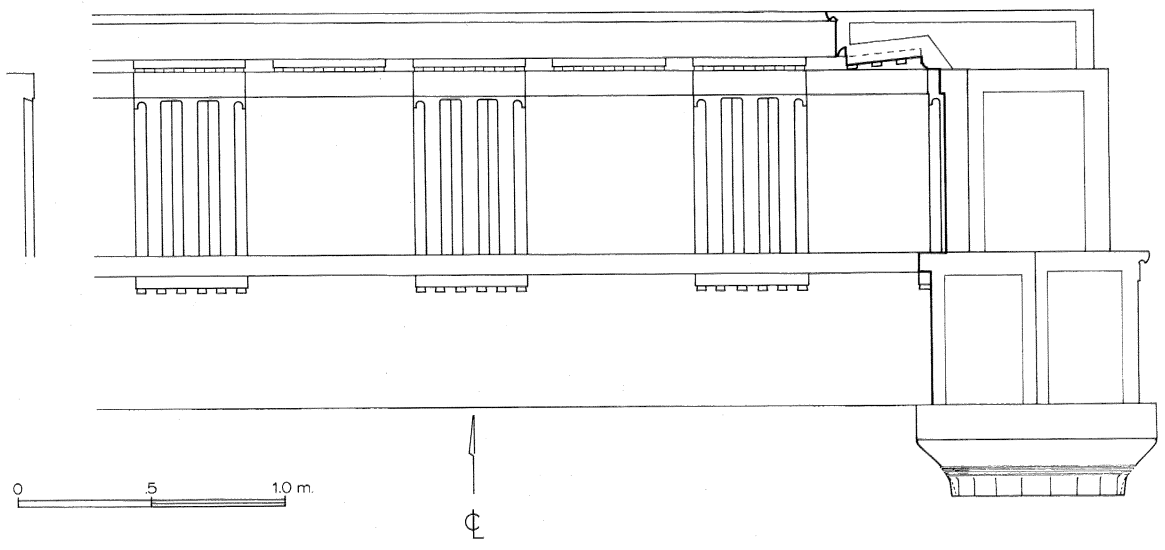


Figure 16.7. Entablature of Nikias Monument. R. F. Townsend

4th century, but the example of the Square Peristyle demonstrates that by the date of its construction such taxonomy is increasingly problematic. The ratios governing dimensions across the entire order can no longer be regarded as dependable, because a component may no longer exist purely systemically but may assume an extraordinary role outside the strict requirements the Doric order imposes. The Square Peristyle is not the only such example. The overall height of the entablature of the Nikias Monument (Fig. 16.7) in relation to the lower column diameter is almost precisely the same as that of its model, the Propylaia, contrasting with the relatively low proportions that come to predominate in the 4th century.[59] And individual proportions within the entablature also vary: the triglyph is high in relation to its width, following 5th-century examples,[60] but both the geison and architrave, on the other hand, are low in relation to the frieze, more in accordance with 4th-century norm, and are made to appear even lower by the exceptional height of the latter course.[61] No technical considerations immediately arise to explain such combinations; rather, they seem due to an eclectic taste on the part of the architect.

59. Nikias Monument (lower col. Diam. : entablature H.): 1:1.73. Cf. Propylaia, central building (1:1.74); Propylaia, west wings (1:1.78). In the 4th century, cf. the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (1:1.63); Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (1:1.56 fronts, 1:1.52 flanks); Temple of Zeus at Nemea (1:1.57 fronts, 1:1.52 flanks).

60. Nikias Monument (triglyph W. : triglyph H.): 1:1.61. Cf., in the 5th century, Parthenon (1:1.59); Hephaisteion (1:1.59); Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (1:1.62); Temple of Ares in the Agora (1:1.56); Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (1:1.55). In the 4th century, cf. the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (1:1.56); Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (1:1.53); Temple of Zeus at Stratos (1:1.51); Temple of Zeus at Nemea (1:1.51).

61. Nikias Monument (geison H. : frieze H.): 1:3.18. Cf., in the 5th century, Parthenon (1:2.25); Hephaisteion (1:2.36); Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (1:2.61). In the 4th century, cf. the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (1:3.27); Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (1:3.68); Temple of Zeus at Stratos (1:3.94); Temple of Zeus at Nemea (1:3.64).

Nikias Monument (architrave H. : frieze H.): 1:1.21. Cf., in the 5th century, Parthenon (1:1); Hephaisteion (1:1); Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (1:0.98). In the 4th century, cf. the Temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (1:1.2); Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (1:1.12); Temple of Zeus at Stratos (1:1.14).

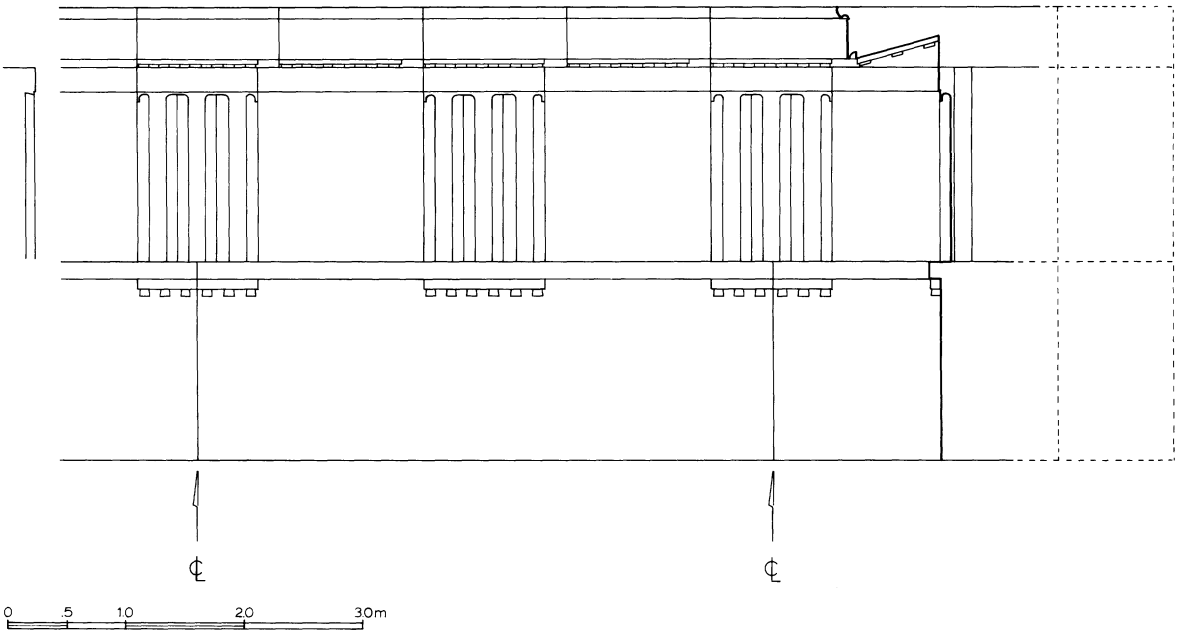


Figure 16.8. Entablature of Philon's Porch, Telesterion, Eleusis.
R. F. Townsend

Philon's Porch at Eleusis also drew upon a 5th-century source, the Telesterion proper, upon which it was constructed in the second half of the 4th century. Like the Nikias Monument, the proportions of its entablature (Fig. 16.8) are varied.[62] The overall height of the entablature relative to the lower column diameter is fairly low and more in line therefore with 4th-century proportions than with those of the 5th. In contrast, individual members within the entablature have high proportions agreeing with 5th-century canon. The height of the architrave, slightly greater than the frieze height, clearly follows 5th-century guidelines. The same guidelines served the proportions of the triglyph, the latter being rather high compared with the width and producing an overall taller and thinner appearance than is common in the 4th century. Only the geison is low in relation to the height of the frieze, in harmony with 4th-century taste.[63] Thus Philon's Porch displays high proportions within an overall low entablature, in contrast to the Nikias Monument, with its low proportions within an overall high entablature.

Whatever the element concerned, whether plan, color, molding, or proportion, and no matter how faithful the copy may be to the original in certain respects, the process of reproduction often involves change, even when none may be intended. In an act of otherwise earnest imitation, the architects of both the Thrasyllos Monument and the *skene* of the Theater of Dionysos introduce facade architecture when they copy the look (the "sign") but not the sense (the "signification") of the original. The architect of the Lysikrates Monument did successfully apply a Classical principle of color contrast to a new situation, but his fellow designer or designers of the Doric Stoa of the Asklepieion and the Thrasyllos Monument effectively altered that principle when they magnified it to the point of overstatement. Equally, many instances of the "cyma reversa with Periklean

62. The basic architectural study of the Telesterion and its porch remains that of Noack (1927). Of the entablature, only blocks of the Roman rebuilding are extant today (see Townsend 1987 for distinction between original and rebuilt material). These have been used for the computation of proportions rather than those specified in the building specifications of *IG* II^2 1666, as the inscription does not include all the necessary measurements. In general, the specifications and actual measurements correspond relatively closely; see Caskey 1905, table II, for comparison of measurements given in the inscription and those of the actual remaining blocks.

63. Philon's Porch, Telesterion at Eleusis:

l.c.D : entablature H.	1:1.62
architrave H. : frieze H.	1:0.97
triglyph W. : triglyph H.	1:1.58
geison H. : frieze H.	1:3.28

fillet" simply extend the use of this popular molding. In other cases, however, such as the taenia and guttae of the Thrasyllos Monument, the copying process results in a loss of the relation between the molding and the greater system of which it was part. The same result occurs when individual proportions of the Doric Order are separated from the system as a whole and inserted into a different, even if similar, context. The strict integration of part to part that defines the Doric Order no longer applies, and thus the Order itself has been changed fundamentally.

STYLE AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

Such a fundamental change in style as the dissolution of the Classical Doric Order will not have occurred in a vacuum, but rather should be seen as an actor in a larger shift of social and cultural conditions. In his speech *Against Androtion* of around 355 B.C., Demosthenes (22.76–78) unfavorably compares the accomplishments of present-day Athenians to those of the previous century:

> The Athenian democracy, never eager to acquire riches, coveted glory more than any other possession in the world. Here is the proof: once they possessed greater wealth than any other Hellenic people, but they spent it all for love of honour; they laid their private fortunes under contribution, and recoiled from no peril for glory's sake. Hence the People inherit possessions that will never die; on the one hand the memory of their achievements, on the other, the beauty of the memorials set up in their honor,—yonder Propylaia, the Parthenon, the porticoes, the docks. . . . But you, men of Athens, have grown so extremely good-natured and pliable, that, with those examples ever before you, you do not imitate them.[64]

The architectural evidence reveals that over the course of the half century following Demosthenes' criticism, the Athenians apparently took his words to heart; they clearly did admire the structures of their city from the previous century and intended nothing less than to emulate them. Did they succeed? Certainly, the vocabulary of 5th-century Athenian architecture is present in the 4th century, ranging from selection of plan to choice of material to use of architectural proportion, and even to preference for molding profile. But the many differences between original and copy are more significant. First, imitation in itself implies the reproduction of appearances rather than content, and it may be argued therefore that the act of copying alone sets the 4th century apart from the 5th and draws into question whether true Classical form is achievable solely through looking back. Importantly, the integration of structure and design, representing a principal value governing the forms of Classical 5th-century architecture, frequently is no longer present, and one may question whether it is still understood.

The motifs of Classical 5th-century architecture, taken out of their original framework and applied to new contexts, take on new meanings.

64. J. H. Vince trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

In the *skene* of the Theater of Dionysos, the freestanding, independent unit of the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora is converted into a facade, an artificial or false front in which form and appearance are no longer united. In the Square Peristyle the copying of dimensions from the Stoa of Zeus reveals an imitator who knows the technical detail but seemingly ignores the proportional relationships created by his model. In the Thrasyllos Monument, a design originally invented in response to structural necessity in the southwest wing of the Propylaia becomes an aesthetic choice made according to accepted notions of proper taste and convention. In this monument, as well as in the Doric Stoa in the Asklepieion, colored stone that was once used by Mnesikles to highlight tectonic elements in an integration of structure and design begins to exist for the attention and special effects it creates unto itself.

Two social factors in particular are involved in these and similar differences between 5th- and 4th-century architecture in Athens. First, 4th-century buildings represent an increasing complexity of purpose, much of it secular, and second, there is a wider variety of architectural patronage in the 4th century, as much of it private as public. A choregic monument is not a public building but rather a private building in the public sphere. Considered as metaphor, the Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis represents the aspirations and achievements of an entire polis.

The choregic monuments of Nikias and Thrasyllos signify the ambition and triumphs of individuals. This triumph is couched in architectural language redolent with Classical symbols that seek to tie it to values of the state, but one may ask: To what degree were the monuments viewed more as exhibitions of private vanity than as expressions of civic virtue? Certainly, their symbolic aim far outstrips their functional purpose, even when compared to the Propylaia. Mnesikles' gateway to the Akropolis is a grand entrance to a monumental architectural complex, displaying a harmony of scale between its form, function, and setting. The choregic monuments of Thrasyllos and Nikias, by contrast, are one large part communication of the social status of their patrons and one very small part tripod base. How that image of social status, however it was intended to be projected, was actually received is no small matter. Was it seen, as has been suggested, as a record of the individual's generosity to the state,[65] or did it instead engender envy of the wealth and power that created it?[66] Thrasyllos and Nikias may have intended to send the former message, only to find that the majority of the populace came to the latter sentiment instead.

That some Athenians did flaunt their wealth through architectural display is recognized in another speech by Demosthenes, *On Organization* of 353/2 B.C. (13.26–30), in which he again unfavorably compares his contemporaries with their predecessors:

> Reflect on what might be named as the outstanding achievements of your ancestors and of yourselves, if haply the comparison may yet enable you to become your own masters. . . . The buildings which they [your ancestors] left behind them to adorn our city—temples, harbours, and their accessories—were so great and so fair that we who came after must despair of ever surpassing them; the Propylaia

65. Ober 1989, pp. 243–244, where he states that choregic monuments stood for "the ideal relationship among honor, wealth, and the state."

66. As Ober (1989, pp. 205–208) elsewhere recognizes in the general context of mass and elite interaction (though not in reference to choregic dedications).

> yonder, the docks, the porticoes and the rest, with which they beautified the city that they have bequeathed to us. . . . But today, men of Athens, while our public works are confined to the provision of roads and fountains, whitewash and balderdash . . . private individuals, who control any of the State-funds, have some of them reared private houses, not merely finer than the majority, but more stately than our public edifices.[67]

That this situation may have spiraled out of control is suggested by the passing of the sumptuary laws of Demetrios of Phaleron in 317 B.C., just five years following the erection of the monuments of Thrasyllos and Nikias. In addition to outlawing the construction of elaborate grave monuments by private citizens, this legislation also curtailed the choregic liturgy, thereby canceling the opportunity for triumphant *choregoi* to erect self-congratulatory dedications.[68]

The language of the works themselves perhaps speaks most eloquently to their effect. The scale of the choregic monuments has already been noted.[69] Indeed, it made an impression even on Pausanias (1.20.1), who refers to them as ναοὶ μεγάλοι and marvels at the remarkable works of art they contain. A fundamental concern with a balanced relationship of architectural form and human scale is widely recognized as a central principle of Classical architecture, but the choregic monuments upset this relationship by magnifying a tripod base, a form that is not inherently architectural in either purpose or scale, to a size that qualifies it as architecture, while its function remains that of a support for a bronze vessel. The confusion is only increased when, as in the case of the Nikias and Thrasyllos monuments, actual buildings are referenced. With no relation to its function, the scale of the choregic monument, and the impression such scale makes, attaches to its symbolic purpose, the endorsement of its maker, the *choregos* whose name is inscribed on the facade. Reference to civic high-mindedness through the quoted vocabulary of revered architectural form is bestowed on the individual, not the state, and civic pride and its inherent idealism thus becomes a symbol of the wealth and power not of the people of the state but of the elite of the state.

Choregic monuments rest on the border between the public and private realms. The Stoa of the Asklepieion, the *skene* of the Theater of Dionysos, and the Square Peristyle, are wholly communal in purpose,

67. J. H. Vince trans., Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

68. Demetrios undoubtedly had multiple grounds for instituting his reforms, but there is little reason to doubt Cic. *Leg.* 2.60, that the sumptuary legislation at least in part was intended to curb the *magnificentia* of aristocratic funerals and sepulchers and the subsequent resentment by the majority of the populace that they engendered. While it is true that the choregic monuments, unlike grave markers, make reference to civic philanthropy on the part of their patrons, their lavish form emphasizes more their role as symbols of social status (see below). On the motives behind Greek funerary legislation, see Garland 1989; for the reign of Demetrios of Phaleron more generally, see Mossé 1973, pp. 102–108; Habicht 1995, pp. 62–75.

69. Although only three choregic monuments—those of Lysikrates, Thrasyllos, and Nikias—are well preserved, they once numbered so many as to give their name to the road they lined, the Street of the Tripods. Attesting the number (and size) of the choregic monuments are the many foundations for them that have been discovered along the modern Street of the Tripods, which follows virtually the same course it did in antiquity. Documentation of many of these foundations are collected in Miller 1970; see also Korres 1988, Choremi-Spetsieri 1994.

dedicated to sacred ritual, theatrical performance, and judicial debate.[70] Although their functions still relate to those of Classical Athens, their architectural language no longer stands as a visual metaphor for the ideals of the democratic state. The Stoa of the Asklepieon, that "blue building with white trim," rises as a novelty, and something strikingly new, unusual, or different had little place in the democratic culture of 5th-century Athens.[71] It may make sense that the *skene* in the Theater of Dionysos serves primarily as a facade, but the principle on which facade architecture depends, a divorce between form and appearance, or "what you see is *not* what you get," similarly is at odds with the transparent nature of social interaction in Athens of the 5th century. And the confused proportions of the Square Peristyle, where parts are not always integrally related to each other or to the whole, is not the kind of model 5th-century Athenians would want to have for their judicial system, which relied on individual citizens coming together to represent the state as a whole.[72]

Thus it is that the Classical ideals of the 5th-century polis of Athens, as manifested in the architectural expression of that age and which helped to create it, come to be undermined by the very same language of built form when that language is placed in new contexts and used for new purposes.

70. For the interpretation of the Square Peristyle as a lawcourt, see *Agora* XXVII.

71. It is not surprising in this regard that the stoa served the "new" deity, Asklepios, who came to Athens only at the end of the 5th century. It may also be noted in this context that this stoa in the Asklepieion is either the first, or one of the first, two-storied stoas in Greek architecture; for discussion of stoas with superimposed colonnades, see Coulton 1976, pp. 89–91, 102–108.

72. It is worth noting that the Square Peristyle, never finished, probably served its purpose as a lawcourt for only a brief time, if at all; see *Agora* XXVII, pp. 50–51, 76–80.

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CHAPTER 17

Family Portraits: Recognizing the *Oikos* on Attic Red-Figure Pottery

by Robert F. Sutton Jr.

Sara A. Immerwahr was an inspiring and supportive teacher whose directness, clarity of thought, and lack of pretension made study with her a pleasure. In this paper I consider a small group of red-figure vase paintings that depict the classical Athenian *oikos,* returning to material originally included in my dissertation written under Sara's direction.[1]

Since the interpretation of vase paintings identified as scenes of the *oikos* is often uncertain, a primary aim of this study is heuristic, to identify criteria that allow one to recognize the *oikos* in Attic vase paintings. A second aim is to consider what these scenes reveal about the conception of the family and household in classical Athens. After a brief review of how the *oikos* is presented in ancient texts and a discussion of iconographic principles, based on consideration of a few problematic scenes that have sometimes been identified as illustrations of family life, this paper isolates a small group of red-figure domestic scenes that can be securely recognized as representations of the *oikos* through elements that present the family as a unit of economic production and procreation linked by bonds of affection. These generic family portraits are found primarily on vase shapes used by women, and their imagery was apparently intended to honor a wife's contribution to the household. Similar imagery appears in two other classes of representation: contemporary courting scenes, and mythological illustrations of Eriphyle. The former indicates the need for caution in interpreting domestic imagery, while the latter presents a monitory tale of wifely betrayal on pottery aimed at a male audience.

THE *OIKOS* IN TEXTS

The *oikos*—the family or household—was regarded by Aristotle as the most basic unit of the classical polis (*Pol.* 1252b). Scholarship on the ancient Greek family has drawn primarily on textual representations, generally favoring prose sources over poetry, and much work in recent decades has been inspired by or written in response to feminist critique.[2] Scholars like Cynthia Patterson now take a balanced view of both ancient society and the sources, reasserting the value of Attic drama. Their work is being

1. Sutton 1981, pp. 216–232, 257–260, 347–379. I thank John Oakley for his useful critique of an earlier draft of this paper, and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments; any remaining errors and lapses of judgment are my own. For help with photographs and permission to study material under their control I am grateful to Barbara Philippaki, Olga Tzachou-Alexandri, Theodora Kyriakou, and Hans Goette in Athens, Ursula Kästner in Berlin, Aaron Paul and Toni MacDonald-Fein at Harvard University, Dyfri Williams in London, Donna Kurtz and Thomas Mannack in Oxford, Christa Koppermann and Martin Schultz in Munich, Dietrich von Bothmer and Joan Mertens in New York, Giuseppe Voza and Beatrice Basile in Syracuse, and a private collector who prefers to remain anonymous.

Three works touching on the theme of this paper became available to me only after it was in press: Massar 1995, Lewis 2002, and Ferrari 2002. In instances of my disagreement, it has not been possible to answer here in sufficient detail many of the thoughtful arguments in these works, though I stand by what I have written.

2. See Patterson 1998, Pomeroy 1997, Foxhall 1989, and Cox 1998, which cite earlier literature; Lacey 1968 remains useful.

joined by an increasing amount of socially based archaeological research on domestic architecture, burials, and iconography.[3]

In texts from Homer and Hesiod to Aristotle and Menander, the *oikos* is presented as a household of persons united by bonds of kinship and law engaged in a common economic enterprise. Marriage, the partnership between husband and wife, is regarded as its fundamental bond, providing the economic basis of the *oikos* and guaranteeing its continuity through procreation. This is stated explicitly in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus,* where Ischomachos describes how he and his in-laws arranged marriage "after considering who was the best partner we could choose for running the household and for having children" (7.11).[4] A similar view is evident in the pseudo-Demosthenic speech against Neaira ([Demosthenes] 59.118–122), in which a wife's role of overseeing the house and producing heirs is distinguished from other domestic and sexual unions with *pallakai* (concubines) or hetairai. Xenophon's ideal *oikos* includes slaves, and in practice the ancient household might also include kin such as grandparents, siblings, stepchildren, and even more distant relatives.

Moving beyond such strictly practical considerations, ancient texts also emphasize the affective dimension and the importance of emotion in sustaining the *oikos.* Household members are tied to one another by affection and trust, even if, as Aristotle makes clear (*Pol.* 1323a5–6), authority is disposed hierarchically and enforced by various forms of compulsion. From Homer onward these emotions are shown to be essential to an *oikos,* and their absence guarantees its ruin. In the *Odyssey* Odysseus, the faithful Penelope, Telemachos, and some of their servants strive with common purpose to keep a house that is literally and figuratively founded on the marriage bed. The *Odyssey* and later Greek literature also abound with negative examples of *oikoi,* such as those of Agamemnon and Amphiaraos, which are destroyed through the betrayal of affection and trust.

Affection and trust are also crucial to Xenophon's systematic presentation of the *oikos* as an economic unit, which finds symmetry in the complementary roles of husband and wife (*Oec.* 3.15, 7.18–25).[5] His ideal husband works outdoors at agricultural and other labor toward the acquisition of goods, while the wife toils within the house caring for the children and overseeing the production of food and other finished goods from the raw materials her husband provides. This symmetry extends to their complementary protective roles: the husband's bravery suits him to military defense outside the home, while the timid wife conserves and protects things within the house. Although the marriage is arranged (*Oec.* 7.10–11), this partnership of spouses is based in affection and sexual activity. The wife feels respect and affection for her husband (ἀξιοφίλητος [*Oec.* 10.3, 10.5], ἀσπάσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς [*Oec.* 10.4]); he in turn expects to be sexually aroused (κινητικόν [*Oec.* 10.12]) by her and finds greater pleasure in their sexual relations together than with a slave, since the latter performs under compulsion (*Oec.* 10.12).[6]

Xenophon's view is hardly unique, for David Schaps has recently observed that in authors from Homer to Menander, "it was presumed that affection bound husband and wife together."[7] Xenophon's discussion of connubial affection is embedded in a speech in which Ischomachos

3. On houses, Ault 2000, Cahill 2000, Antonaccio 2000, Morris 1999, Nevett 1999 with earlier literature. On burials, Morris 1992, chaps. 4–5. On iconography, e.g., Bérard et al. 1989, Lissarrague 1992, Keuls 1993, Oakley 2000, and works cited below.

4. . . .βουλευόμενος δ' ἔγωγε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ τίν' ἂν κοινωνὸν βέλτιστον οἴκου τε καὶ τέκνων λάβοιμεν. Translation adapted from Pomeroy 1994; this and subsequent references are to the text, translation, and commentary of this edition.

5. On the date of composition, Pomeroy 1994, pp. 1–8.

6. Pomeroy 1994, p. 306.

7. Schaps 1998, p. 165.



Figure 17.1. Drawing of wedding scene on loutrophoros (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.802, Francis Bartlett donation).
Beazley Archive, Oxford

persuades his wife not to present herself falsely through cosmetics (*Oec.* 10.2–13), which may be recognized as a metaphoric statement that complete honesty is the basis of the fundamental trust between spouses that sustains the *oikos*.[8]

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before we turn to the representation of the *oikos* on Attic pottery, it is necessary to discuss briefly the visual language of Attic vase painting. Whereas both mythic and genre scenes are useful for understanding ancient society, these two classes of representation must be interpreted according to different rules. In the absence of a governing plot or labels to identify subjects that apparently represent aspects of contemporary life, it is hazardous to interpret images in isolation from other images or texts, and iconographic rules must be established cautiously. Although an understanding of ancient society based in literary evidence is essential, it can never substitute for careful attention to the iconographic language vase painters actually employ, which may not agree with what appears in texts, especially those written in prose. Thus a wedding scene on an unattributed loutrophoros in Boston dated about 430–420 B.C. (Fig. 17.1)[9] is typical in presenting the bridegroom as a beardless youth and the bride as a fully mature young woman, recalling Paris leading Helen away. This is not the image of a child bride led off by a middle-aged man that one might expect if vase painters were viewing life with the sober eyes of Xenophon, Plato, and the orators. Vase painters depict the couple as young and beautiful embodiments of the classical ideal in order to create a romantic atmosphere at the wedding rituals for which their wares were purchased and displayed. It is therefore not surprising that, in depicting the *oikos*, vase painters usually show the *kyrios* beardless like the bridegrooms, a convention that has not been generally recognized.[10]

It is also wrong to insist that individual figures in genre representations can be identified with the same precision as those drawn from myth.

8. Laurence Lampert brings to my attention the suggestion of Leo Strauss ([1970] 1998, pp. 157–158) that this passage may be ironic, if this is the same Ischomachos whose wife enters into a disgraceful union with her son-in-law Kallias (And. *de Myst.* 124–127). Although irony would give greater bite to Ischomachos's apparently artless didacticism, Pomeroy (1994, p. 24, note 11) notes that Strauss "does not enjoy universal respect" as a philosopher.

9. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.802; *Archive,* no. 15815; Sutton 1989; Reeder 1995, pp. 165–168, no. 24, frontis; revised reading of the inscriptions, Sutton 1997–1998, p. 34, note 53. For the following discussion, cf. Clairmont (1993, intro. vol., pp. 19–29) on age conventions employed on grave stelai.

10. So Sparkes (1996, pp. 138–139) on the Harvard hydria (Fig. 17.10 below) identifies the *kyrios* as "an older child (or a brother—surely too young to be the husband, he has no beard)." Even Clairmont (1993, intro. vol., p. 25) fails to recognize how pervasive beardless bridegrooms are on vases and the implications for interpreting stelai.



Figure 17.2. Grave stele of Ampharete (Athens, Kerameikos Museum P 659, I 221). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (KER 2520)

Except in rare cases, such as the Sappho Painter's plaque illustrating a *prothesis* in which the participants are labeled with kinship terms,[11] vase painters allowed viewers a certain latitude in identifying figures. The need for interpretive caution is clear from the surprising identifications supplied by inscriptions on two Attic grave stelai. The late-5th-century B.C. stele of Ampharete, from the Athenian Kerameikos (Fig. 17.2), indicates that figures one would recognize on strictly iconographic grounds as mother and child are identified as a grandmother and her grandson. The stele of Mnesagora and Nikocharos identifies a young woman and child not as mother and son, but as sister and brother.[12]

It is not clear whether these stelai were specially commissioned or, as Christoph Clairmont believes, they were bought ready-made by purchasers and subsequently personalized through inscription.[13] They do not so much prove the futility of trying to establish iconographic rules in genre scenes as much as warn against rigidly imposing specific identifications on images that may have been made deliberately generic to suit the varied situations of potential purchasers. Similarly, while the identification of certain figure types on vases seems certain, such as the aged parent or the old nurse, it is often difficult to distinguish even between free and slave,[14] and we should recognize that there is a degree of imprecision.

THE *OIKOS* ON ATTIC POTTERY

In Attic vase painting the *oikos* appears primarily and is most easily recognized in connection with two rites of passage in which pottery vessels played a prominent role—the wedding (Fig. 17.1) and the funeral—and

11. Paris, Musée du Louvre, MNB 905, from Athens; Haspels 1936, pp. 96, 115, 229.58; *Archive,* no. 463; Denoyelle 1994, pp. 112–113, 192, no. 51 (color).

12. Ampharete: Athens, Kerameikos Museum P 695, I 221; *IG* II/III², no. 10650; Clairmont 1993, I, pp. 404–406, no. 1.660, and plate vol., with bibliography. Mnesagora and Nikocharos: Athens, N.M. 3845; *IG* II/III², no. 12147; Clairmont 1993, I, pp. 400–401, no. 1.610, and plate vol., with bibliography; see Clairmont's general discussion, intro. vol., pp. 19–39, and further pp. 160–179.

13. Clairmont 1993, I, pp. 401, 406; general discussion, intro. vol., pp. 66–72.

14. Oakley 2000, and see n. 40 below.

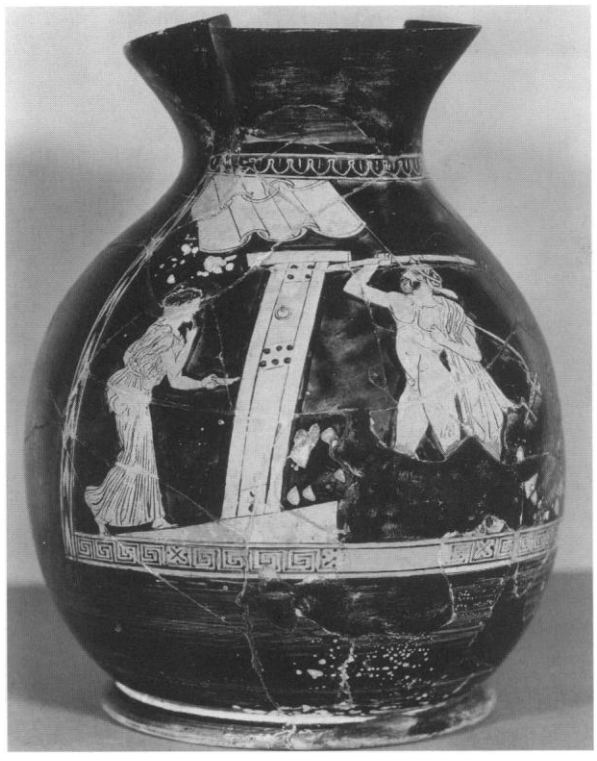


Figure 17.3. Reveler beats at woman's door; chous (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.11.19, Fletcher Fund, 1937). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

recent scholarship on both themes has explored social dimensions of these scenes.[15] Also connected are the related subjects of arming and departing (or returning) warriors, both of which are imbued with a heroic aura arising from epic poetry.[16] Previously these martial themes have been considered essentially mortuary in nature, but recently it has been suggested that those showing youths may be connected to the initiation of ephebes.[17]

Recognizing the *oikos* is more difficult when vase paintings lack a clear connection to funerary or nuptial ritual. Generally scholars have sought to identify scenes as representations of the *oikos* if one or more of the following is true: (a) if the setting is domestic, defined either by architectural elements or through furniture and other household equipment; (b) if the women are engaged in domestic production, usually spinning and related tasks; or (c) if one or more children is present. The following discussion argues that it is the presence of young children, representing the procreative function of marriage, that serves as the most reliable criterion for recognizing the *oikos*.

Domestic Setting

The hazard of relying simply on a domestic setting as an indication of family life is clear from an unattributed chous in New York painted around 430 B.C. (Fig. 17.3).[18] It is night, for inside a house a woman moves hesitantly toward the door with a lamp, as outside a balding, paunchy, and surely drunken reveler with a *barbitos* lyre pounds on the door with the butt of a torch. The encounter is clearly comic and may well have been inspired by a stage production, for the scene's unusual perspective

15. The wedding: Sutton 1997–1998; Sabetái 1997; Oakley and Sinos 1993; Sutton 1989; 1981, pp. 145–275. Mortuary themes: Shapiro 1991; John Oakley is completing a study of the iconography of white ground lekythoi.

16. Matheson 1995, pp. 269–276; Lissarrague 1990, esp. pp. 35–69; Pemberton 1977.

17. Matheson 1995, p. 271.

18. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.11.19; *Archive,* no. 539.



Figure 17.4. Drawing of scene of youth bringing foodstuffs to woman spinning thread; alabastron (Athens, N.M. 1239). Robert 1919, fig. 99

probably derives from contemporary *skenographia.*[19] Although the humor plays on the opposition of Greek gender stereotypes articulated so clearly by Xenophon—timid woman indoors confronts aggressive male outside—the precise nature of their interaction and of the joke is not now obvious. When Gisela Richter first published this vase, she identified the figures as a man returning home to his frightened wife, and she has been followed by others.[20] Yet long ago Henry Immerwahr, connecting the scene to the literary genre of the *thyrokopikon,* a komast's song about pounding on a lover's door, suggested that the man is not at home, but visiting a brothel or at least the home of a woman who has captured his fancy.[21] Whether or not Richter was fully convinced, in a later publication she more cautiously described the scene as "reveler pounding a door," and other scholars have shown similar reluctance to endorse either interpretation.[22] More recently, referring to the ritual use of choes in the Anthesteria, Erika Simon suggested that the scene shows Dionysos coming to the Basilinna in the Boukolion, but Richard Hamilton has since persuasively argued that this and the scenes on other large choes have no connection to the festival.[23] Immerwahr's explanation has the merit of citing a convincing ancient parallel and may also provide a better explanation for the woman's hesitation, since a member of a man's household—whether wife, sister, daughter, aunt, niece, or slave—might be expected to recognize his voice and rush to open the door. As Theophrastus's Slanderer (*Char.* 28) indicates that respectable women who answered the doors of their homes might

19. Bažant (1985, p. 52) also suggests a connection to comedy. On *skenographia,* Robertson 1975, pp. 414–415; Agatharchos of Samos and Apollodoros of Athens are explicitly mentioned in ancient sources (Reinach 1921, nos. 187, 195).

20. Richter 1939, p. 231, fig. 2; Lacey 1968, p. 132, fig. 31; Keuls 1993, p. 67, fig. 48; Sparkes 1996, p. 60, fig. III:13; Parisinou 2000, pp. 20–23, fig. 1.

21. Immerwahr 1946, pp. 247–250; he notes that F. Copley had earlier suggested a connection with the *paraklausithyron,* a lover's lament at the closed door of his beloved, a type of poem prominent in Hellenistic and Roman verse. Neils (2000, pp. 210–211, fig. 8:3) identifies the woman as an hetaira or *pallake.*

22. Richter 1974, p. 137, fig. 157; cf., e.g., van Hoorn 1951, no. 761, fig. 117; Bažant 1985, pp. 51–52, fig. 12, with good discussion.

23. Simon 1963, pp. 16–17; Hamilton 1992, pp. 83–121, summarized pp. 68–69, 121.

open themselves to criticism,[24] it was perhaps understood that this is a woman of no social standing, either a slave or a woman lacking the proper supervision and protection of a *kyrios,* a category that would include prostitutes and many other women. Therefore this scene cannot be accepted as an illustration of family life without strong reservations, and it is clear that the domestic setting has a far wider social application than the narrowly defined Athenian *oikos.*

Domestic Production: Spinning and Related Work

The same may be said of scenes showing spinning and related work that have been taken to represent respectable women engaged in domestic economic production. That spinning does not define a woman's social standing, but merely serves as an attribute of femininity, only gradually became clear in an iconographic controversy that was initiated in 1907, with Alfred Brueckner's publication of an Archaic red-figured alabastron found in Athens and painted during the last decade of the 6th century B.C. (Fig. 17.4).[25] A young man with emerging beard approaches a woman who stands spinning by a chair in her house. He carries a live hen and is preceded by a boy, presumably a slave, who brings dinner in the form of a dead bird and octopus. Brueckner recognized here a young husband returning home with dinner to his diligent wife, illustrating the ideal economic reciprocity of the *oikos.* In 1919 Carl Robert countered with the view that the scene shows instead a smirking street urchin leading a customer to a hetaira, a theme now euphemistically described as courting.[26]

Scholars lined up on one side or the other, adducing related scenes that show men or youths offering purses to women diligently occupied with their spinning, including one on a lost alabastron formerly in Berlin, attributed to the Pan Painter and painted around 475–460 B.C. (Fig. 17.5).[27] In 1931 Sir John Beazley identified the couple as husband and wife, explaining the youth's purse as money being given to the wife for safekeeping and citing in support Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 493.[28] Elsewhere the same year, concerning the alabastron in Athens (Fig. 17.4), he made a general statement of iconographic principle: "The woman is spinning, therefore she is respectable; if she were not respectable she might spin in her

24. Antonaccio (2000, p. 531, note 59) is disregarded by Parisinou (2000, p. 20 and note 7); cf. Ar. *Pax* 979–985, describing adulterous women peering out of their front doors, and similar passages discussed in Cohen 1989, p. 12. Both the texts and this image present an ideal, not actual practice, and it is likely that all are comic in their exaggeration of both female behavior and male interpretation.

25. Athens, N.M. 1239; *ARV*² 101, no. 2; *Paralipomena,* p. 322; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 172; *Archive,* no. 200891; *Eros grec,* pp. 112–114, no. 47.

26. Brueckner 1907; Robert 1919, pp. 125–129. For fuller discussion of the controversy see Sutton 1981, pp. 347–369; Schnapp 1986; Meyer 1988; Keuls 1993, pp. 258–266; von Reden 1995, pp. 195–216; Davidson 1997, pp. 86–89; Pinney, in preparation. On courting generally, see also Beazley [1948] 1989, pp. 3–25; Dover 1978, pp. 91–109; Shapiro 1981 and 1992; Koch-Harnack 1983; Sutton 1992, pp. 14–20; Reinsberg 1993, pp. 120–132, 163–215; Schnapp 1997; Ferrari 2002.

27. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, F 2254, from Pikrodaphni (Old Phaleron); *ARV*² 557, no. 123; *Paralipomena,* p. 387; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 259; *Archive,* no. 206367. Ferrari (2002, pp. 14–16) argues unconvincingly against the identification of these pouches as purses of money. See the typology in Sutton 1981, pp. 291–293; the smooth round items illustrated by Ferrari (2002, fig. 7) are coins, not bumpy knucklebones.

28. Beazley 1931a, pp. 24–25.

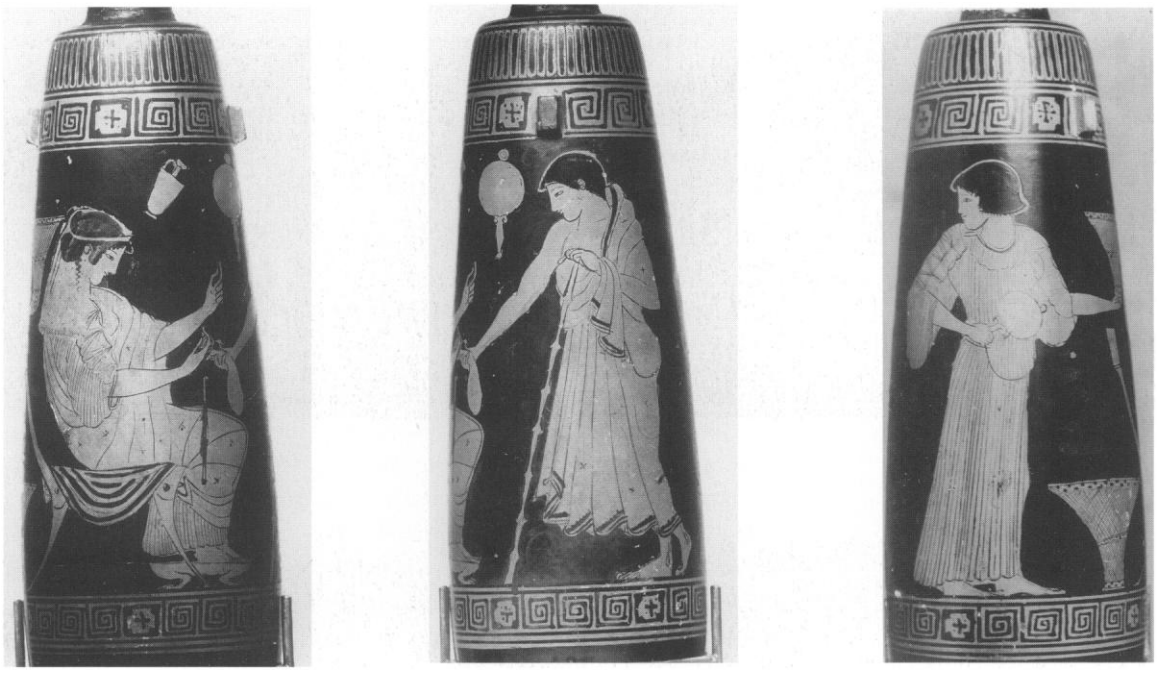


Figure 17.5. Youth offering purse to woman spinning; alabastron, Pan Painter (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung F 2254 [lost]). Left and center: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin; right: Marie Beazley, Beazley Archive, Oxford

spare moments, but she could not be *represented* spinning."[29] Beazley maintained this position until his death, even in the face of Gerhard Rodenwaldt's 1932 article, "Spinnende Hetären," which collected many related scenes in which male figures offered gifts to women, including many who are not shown diligently spinning.[30]

It is now clear that Beazley was wrong. If doubt remained from the steady accumulation of courting scenes, a cup first published by Henry Immerwahr (Fig. 17.6) proves that spinning appears in vase painting as an attribute of femininity and not of respectability.[31] Attributed to the Ambrosios Painter and dating from the last decade of the 6th century B.C., the cup is now in a private collection. Both sides of the exterior are united in a single courting scene showing men visiting women in their quarters, though two dogs reclining under the handles face what must be the obverse. The scene on the reverse (Fig. 17.6:a, b) is framed by two women shown at work; the one on the right still toils, while at the left Αφρ[οδ]ισ[ια] has finished and hands her full spindle to a girl who is collecting them in a *kalathos*. In the center a fourth woman also works, playing the aulos to entertain two men, one of whom offers her a flower, who wait patiently for the women to complete their tasks before they leave for the evening. This is clear from the cup's principal side (Fig. 17.6:c, d), where a seated man watches Ροδο[. .ʔ. .] delicately fasten her sandal while Αντιφανε hands a wreath to a man named Λι[. . . .] as Αριστομυμος (for Aristonymos) gestures encouragement. The flute cases hanging on both sides of the cup indicate that the women are professional entertainers who also spin either for income or simply to clothe themselves. The men, however, are members of the social elite, for Immerwahr argues that the rare name Aristonymos must refer to the brother of Kleisthenes the lawgiver. The ease of these men relaxing in this markedly feminine environment finds

29. Beazley 1931b (his italics).

30. Rodenwalt 1932; *ARV*² 557, nos. 123, 124, still cite the discussion in Beazley 1931a, pp. 24–25, which Ferrari (2002, p. 16) now endorses.

31. Immerwahr 1984; *Archive*, no. 788; discussed by Davidson (1997, p. 88) in ignorance of Immerwahr's publication; Ferrari (2002, p. 12, n. 12, p. 238) classed this as a Reception Scene.

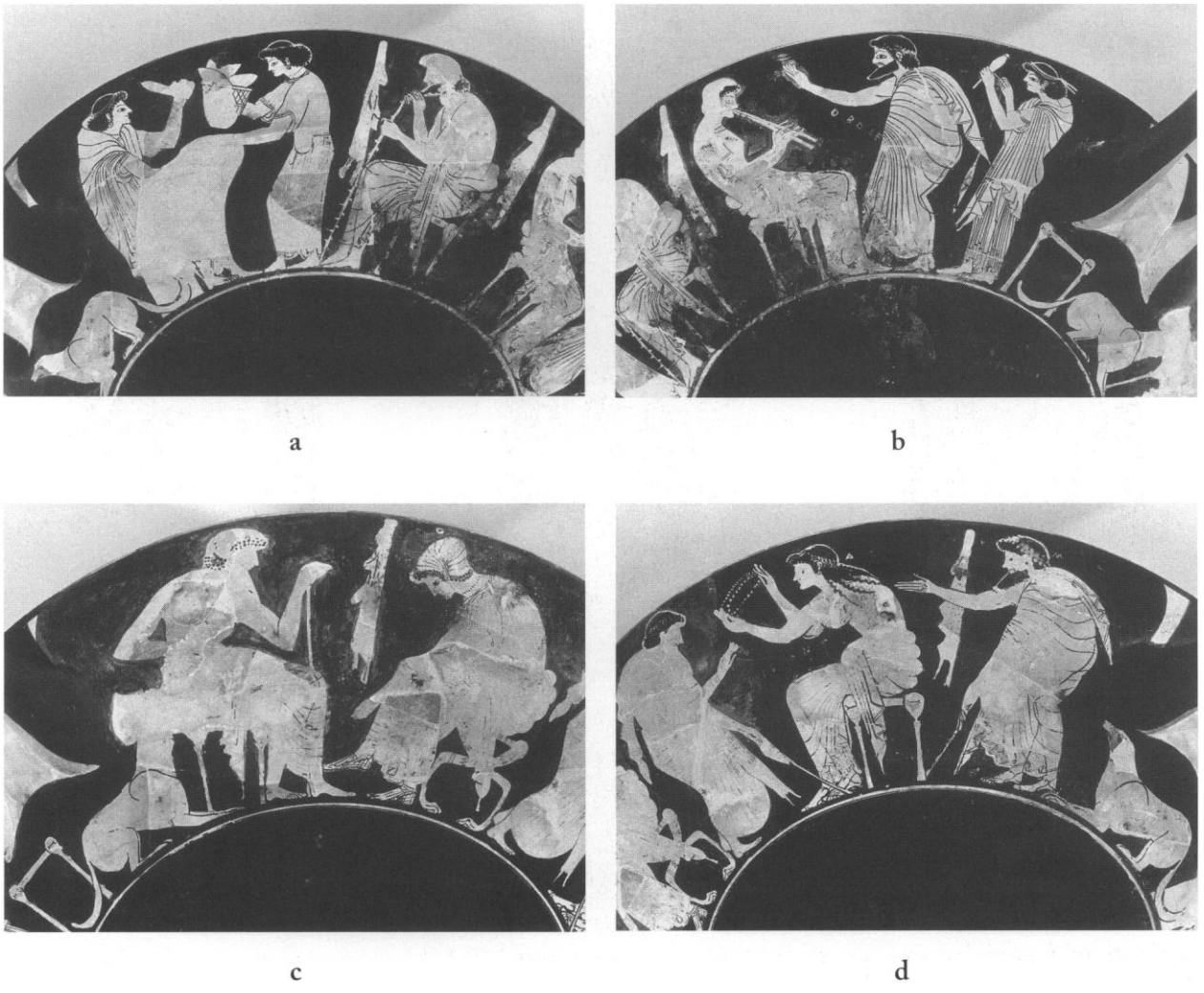


Figure 17.6. Men visiting hetairai; kylix, Ambrosios Painter (private collection). C. Koppermann (neg. M. Maaß, FVas. 24, nos. 20, 31, 35), courtesy owner

scant parallel in Greek art or literature, even though the quiet, almost sentimental tone recurs in many other scenes of the same general type.[32]

Thus in vase paintings, spinning and related textile work cannot be used by themselves to identify wives and families (although weaving, which required more skill and receives special attention in literature, possibly conveys greater status on vases).[33] Even quiet scenes that show a single man in the company of a spinning woman cannot be accepted as certain representations of family life without other clues to define their subjects more precisely.[34]

Clearly not all spinning women on vases are prostitutes, however, even when men appear with gifts. Scenes of this type may convey a diversity of

32. Sutton 1981, pp. 276–447.

33. On weaving see Redfield 1982, pp. 194–195; Jenkins 1985, noting ambivalence; Barber 1994, esp. pp. 273–285.

34. Three hydriai in the circle of the Clio Painter: London, British Museum E 215, attributed to the Painter of London E 215; *ARV*² 1082, no. 1; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 327; *Archive,* no. 214529; Keuls 1993, p. 127, fig. 111. Two attributed to the Cassel Painter: London, British Museum E 193; *ARV*² 1085, no. 30; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 327; *Archive,* no. 214566; *CVA,* British Museum 5 [Great Britain 7], pl. 82:3 (Great Britain, pl. 332). Brussels, Musées Royaux (Cinquantenaire) A 73: *ARV*² 1085, no. 25; *Archive,* no. 214571; *CVA,* Brussels, Museum Royale 2 [Belgium 2], pl. 9:3.a, b.



Figure 17.7. Husband brings wool to his wife and other women; epinetron (Athens, N.M. 2179). Photo National Museum, Athens; drawing Robert 1892, pl. 13

meanings, like a similar group of images painted in northern Europe during the 17th century that show men propositioning women.[35] Some, like those on the two alabastra (Figs. 17.4, 17.5), deliberately leave the outcome in suspense and even emphasize this suspense through figures like the two servants here who turn around to watch. Johann Crome's suggestion that these vase paintings depict the attempted seduction of respectable women seems to be the best explanation of at least the Pan Painter's alabastron (Fig. 17.5), where the woman is veiled like some of the wives discussed below.[36] Indeed, this sense of seduction and corruption may have encouraged painters to adapt this familiar courting image to represent the mythic Bribery of Eriphyle (addressed below [Fig. 17.15]).

Yet one unique image of a man in the presence of women engaged in the production of textiles should be recognized as a representation of the *oikos,* for, in contrast to the scenes discussed above, the man is shown cooperating with the woman in a common enterprise, and, as in contemporary wedding scenes, affection is represented through the elevated personification of Eros. This scene occurs on one side of an unattributed epinetron found in Attica dating from about 430–420 B.C. (Fig. 17.7).[37]

35. Hofrichter 1982.

36. Crome 1966. For veiled wives see Figures 17.11–17.13, and 17.15 (Eriphyle) below.

37. Athens, N.M. 2179; Collignon and Couve 1902–1904, no. 1589; Robert 1892, text and pl. 13; Cloché 1931, p. 70, pl. XXIX, 2, 5; *Archive,* no. 864 (omitting reference to this

Despite its damaged surface, one can recognize on the left a seated woman using an epinetron to prepare wool—the evidence that allowed Carl Robert to identify the use of these puzzling ceramic objects. She is framed between standing companions, one at the loom and another who holds either a distaff, as Robert suggests, or perhaps one of the sticks weavers employ.[38] Eros flies above to crown the seated woman with some lost object—a fillet, wreath, or necklace, as in contemporary wedding scenes (cf. Fig. 17.1).[39] His appearance is connected with the arrival of a young man at the far right who has just entered through a partially open door. Dressed formally in himation, sandals, and wreath, he carries a *kalathos* outfitted with a handle. As Robert recognized, the round objects seen emerging from its top must be lumps of raw wool for the women to work. Robert identified this man as a slave, but this is surely wrong, for slaves do not wear sandals and wreaths in domestic scenes, and their entry into the house is certainly not an occasion for Eros to appear.[40] He looks like a contemporary bridegroom (cf. Fig. 17.1) and must be the seated woman's husband, who brings raw materials from the outside into the house for his wife to transform.

This scene, anticipating Xenophon's representation of the symmetrical economic partnership between husband and wife bound to one another by love, is one of the few red-figure vase paintings showing textile work without children that can be accepted without reservation as a representation of the *oikos*. A similar scene on the object's other long side continues the theme of household production in strictly feminine guise, as a woman brings another basket of wool lumps to two standing women, while the end medallion showing Bellerophon slaying the chimaera has no obvious thematic connection.

Procreation

The scene on this epinetron from Attica is unparalleled. Generally it is the inclusion of a child together with a man and woman that securely identifies a family group, but such scenes are not common. Even women are rarely shown with children or engaged in child care,[41] and even fewer vases show both parents and child.[42] The following discussion presents six such generic family portraits painted in the years 465–425 B.C., treating them synchronically and proceeding from the simplest presentation of the nuclear

scene and that on the other side). My interpretation is cited in Pomeroy 1994, pp. 32–33, based on Sutton 1981, pp. 224–225, 259, no. F.7, pl. 19. This is probably a work of the Codrus Painter; cf. the drapery folds on London, British Museum E 82, *ARV*² 1268, no. 2; the chimaera on the end medallion recalls the shield device on the interior of Bologna PU 273, *ARV*² 1268, no. 1.

38. Cf. the scene of weaving on the Amasis Painter's lekythos New York 31.11.10, *ABV* 154, no. 57, 688; *Paralipomena,* pp. 64, 66; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 45; Bothmer 1985, pp. 185–187.

39. Sutton 1997–1998, pp. 32–34.

40. On the problems of recognizing slaves in Attic vase painting see Himmelmann 1971, 1994, and n. 14 above.

41. E.g., Keuls 1993, pp. 111–113, figs. 95–98; Rühfel 1984a, pp. 28–38; 1984b, pp. 105–124.

42. A scene on a pelike by the Eucharides Painter (Archäologisches Museum der Universität Münster 66) has been identified as a family: a boy stands on a chair to help a woman fasten her belt as a youth looks on, but the boy may be a slave and the pendant musician scene on the reverse does not encourage the identification of a family scene; Korzus 1984, pp. 59–60, no. 6. Related black-figure family scenes include two Nikosthenic pyxides: Athens, N.M., Vlastou-Serpieri Collection; *Archive,* no. 2563; Boardman 1974, fig. 267 (lid); and Ruhr-Universität Bochum S 1212; Kunisch 1996, pp. 112–116 (the latter kindly brought to my attention by John Oakley).



Figure 17.8. Bride dressing, family group; lebes gamikos, Manner of the Naples Painter (Athens, N.M. 1250). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (National Museum, Athens, neg. 797, detail)

family to more complex compositions that include other members of the household.

The most essential form of the *oikos*—man, woman, and child—appears on two vases painted around 430 B.C., a lebes gamikos in Athens attributed to the Manner of the Naples Painter (Fig. 17.8),[43] and a small pelike in London, from a grave at Kamiros on Rhodes, painted in the Manner of the Washing Painter (Fig. 17.9).[44] The nuptial use of the lebes gamikos places beyond doubt the identification of the group as husband, wife, and child.[45] The main decorative field juxtaposes two images that represent the beginning and end of the period of a woman's life during which she was called a *nymphe* (bride), a transitional phase that extended from her wedding until the birth of her first child.[46] On the left a woman brings a chest with open lid to the seated bride. This abbreviated version of the conventional scene of the bridal toilette is often found on this nuptial vase shape and represents her entry into the status of *nymphe.*[47] On the right appears the transition to full womanhood, as a *gyne* sits facing her husband holding their child on her lap. The infant is old enough to stand with assistance. Representing the physical bond between its parents and the future of the *oikos,* the child reaches with one arm to steady itself on its mother's breast and extends the other arm toward its father, reinforcing the link of their reciprocal glance. It is shown from behind, making its gender uncertain, in contrast to most of the other children discussed here that are clearly shown to be male. Nikai, flying in from under the handles on either side, each bear a head scarf belonging to the sphere of bridal adornment and a *kalathos* to represent the wife's domestic productivity.

On the London pelike (Fig. 17.9), interior space is indicated by a head-covering that hangs above an infant boy wearing a wreath painted in red. He crawls toward a woman who encourages him with outstretched arms while a bearded man looks on. This is certainly an image of the *oikos,* and from the last example one would most naturally identify these figures as parents with their son. Yet, as the funerary stelai discussed above

43. Athens, N.M. 1250, from Attica; *ARV*² 1102, no. 5; *Archive,* no. 216152.

44. London, British Museum E 396; *ARV*² 1134, no. 6; *Archive,* no. 215016; Jenkins 1986, pp. 30–33, fig. 39.

45. Cf. an earlier juxtaposition of family and nuptial scenes on the late black-figure Nikosthenic pyxis in Athens, cited in note 42 above.

46. Calame 1996, pp. 140–145.

47. Sgourou 1997; Reeder 1995, nos. 55, 57, 58; Oakley and Sinos 1993, pp. 6–7.

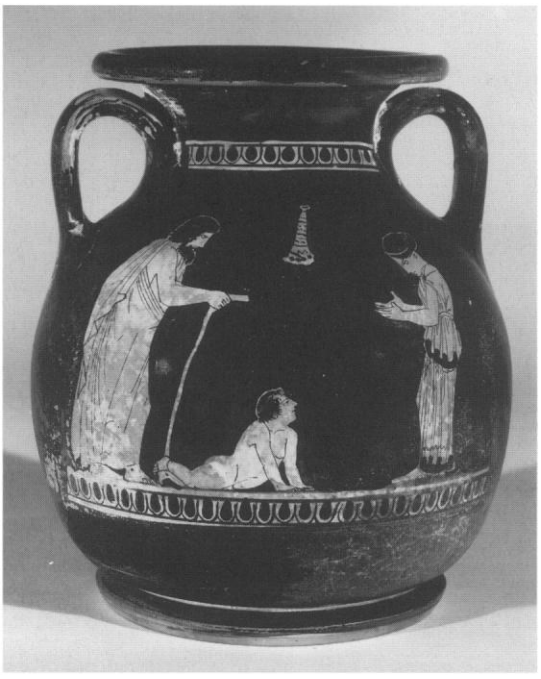


Figure 17.9. Family group; pelike, Manner of the Washing Painter (London, British Museum E 396). Trustees of the British Museum, London

indicate (Fig. 17.2), other interpretations cannot be excluded. Ian Jenkins argues reasonably that the woman might be either "the child's nurse or mother," though he probably goes too far in suggesting that the man is more likely a *paidagogos* or grandfather than his father, who "would have had very little to do with his offspring at this stage, delegating the task to his wife while he himself was concerned with matters outside the home."[48] Jenkins underrates an ancient Athenian father's interest in his children, and there is nothing in this image to suggest that the man is either a *paidagogos,* who would not be involved with an infant but with older boys, or a grandfather.[49] On vases beards indicate maturity, not old age, which is expressed by baldness and gray hair. While bridegrooms on vases of the 5th century are generally shown beardless, as noted above (cf. Fig. 17.1), a few do wear beards, and the artist of this scene may have preferred to show paternal maturity, rather than the romantic youthful image so popular in nuptial scenes.[50]

Therefore, while the image can support a variety of idiosyncratic interpretations, the most obvious is as parents and their son. That the man's glance seems to be directed at the woman, as in nuptial scenes, rather than toward the baby, indicates that she is the major focus of the scene, his wife rather than his slave.[51] That she is shown standing, rather than seated like the wives in the other *oikos* scenes, is probably not intended to diminish her status but reflects the fondness for simple compositions of two confronting standing figures on such small pelikai made in the Washing Painter's workshop.[52]

The *kalathoi* carried by Nikai on the Athens lebes gamikos (Fig. 17.8) provide passing reference to the wife's role in domestic production, a theme that is more prominent in the remaining scenes. Two hydriai painted in the decade of around 440–430 B.C. expand the nuclear group of

48. Jenkins 1986, p. 32.

49. On paternal affection for children see Golden 1990, pp. 80–114, esp. pp. 90–94; on children passing to the *paidagogos* after they outgrew the nurse, Golden 1990, p. 20.

50. Sutton 1981, pp. 213–214; 1997–1998, pp. 39–40.

51. On the nuptial glance, Sutton 1997–1998, pp. 29–30, 35–37.

52. *ARV*^{2} 1128–1130, nos. 98–149, 1133–1134, nos. 2–15 (Manner of the Washing Painter), 1135, nos. 1–26 (Hasselmann Painter), 1140–1141, nos. 1–27 (Painter of London E 395).



Figure 17.10. Family group; hydria, Polygnotan Group (Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1960.342). Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of David M. Robinson, Cambridge, Mass.

man-woman-child by the addition of a second female figure. On an unattributed hydria at Harvard reportedly from Vari and connected to the Polygnotan Group (Fig. 17.10),[53] a young husband looks on as a woman seated before him passes a baby boy to another woman. The central figure is probably intended as the wife, because of her focal position and because she is seated, like most of the other wives discussed here; the other woman could be either a relative or a nurse, whether free or slave. As with the previous vase, however, other interpretations are possible. The seated woman might have been understood as a grandmother like Ampharete, or even a very honored wetnurse, passing the child back to his mother. In any case the scene shows the female component of the *oikos* caring for the young heir while the *kyrios* looks on. The loom that dominates the left field indicates as well female contribution to the household economy through a nobler, more creative kind of domestic productivity than mere spinning.

On the slightly later hydria in Munich (Fig. 17.11) whose style is akin to the work of the Clio Painter, there is no doubt that the lady of the house is seated spinning in the center of the scene beneath a headscarf draped on the wall.[54] She wears a diadem, and on the back of her head is a light veil extending to her shoulders, painted in fugitive colors (not previously noted, Fig. 17.11, detail).[55] Behind her an attendant offers a cosmetic chest as her son, perhaps six years of age, stands below with his hoop and stick. They are balanced on the right by the beardless *kyrios* of the household who looks on, admiring this image of the wifely ideal that essentially collapses the imagery on the vases in Figures 17.8 and 17.10 into a single image

53. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum 1960.342; *Archive,* no. 8184; *CVA,* Robinson 2 [USA 6], pl. 41:3; Keuls 1993, pp. 73–74, fig. 58; Reeder 1995, pp. 218–219, no. 51. See also note 10 above.

54. Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen SL 476; *ARV*^{2} 1083, no. 2; *Beazley Addenda*^{2}, p. 327; *Archive,* no. 214538; *CVA,* Munich 5 [Germany 20], pls. 232:1, 233:1–3, 234:7; Keuls 1993, p. 244, fig. 219.

55. Martin Schulz confirms (*per lit.*) the existence of the veil first noted in the photographs.



Figure 17.11. Family group, with detail; hydria, Akin to the Clio Painter (Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek SL 476). Left: Beazley Archive, Oxford; right: Wehrhahn, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich

representing beauty, procreation, and household production. Above the scene the laudatory inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ drives the point home. When applied to female figures (including a bride, a spinner, and several naked bathers), *kalos* is probably to be understood not as the masculine adjective καλός, which lacks clear referent, but as the noun κάλλος, beauty, or as the adverb καλῶς, either of which would be appropriate here.[56]

In the four previous scenes the *kyrios* of the *oikos* stands on the periphery, observing and admiring, but not actively engaged in his domestic bliss. He plays a more active role on two pyxides painted a generation apart, honoring his wife with love tokens in imagery adapted from courting scenes. The earlier pyxis, dating around 460 B.C., was found in Athens in a grave at the Acharnian Gate on Aiolou Street and was attributed by Beazley to the Leningrad Painter, one of the Earlier Mannerists who were connected to the Pan Painter (Fig. 17.12).[57] In expansive feminine domestic space indicated by three Doric columns with a low architrave, furniture, and mirrors hanging on the wall, a single youth appears in the midst of five women and a girl who are occupied with spinning and the care of two infants. The youth, wearing himation, headband, and shoes (as in Figs. 17.3 and 17.7, an indication that he has been outdoors), leans on his

56. Applied to both a bride and a spinner on the hydria New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.230.15; *ARV*² 1104, no. 16 (Orpheus Painter); *Beazley Addenda*², p. 329; Sutton 1997–1998, pp. 36–37, fig. 15. Applied to nude female bathers on *ARV*² 329, no. 130 (Onesimos), p. 189, no. 77 (Kleophrades Painter), p. 821, no. 153 (Boot Painter), p. 1051, no. 18 (Group of Polygnotos); *CVA,* Milan 'H. A.' 2 [Italy 51], pl. 22 (Leningrad Painter); *Archive,* no. 17059 (Harrow Painter).

57. The following discussion is based on photographs kindly supplied by the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Athens. Pyxis: 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities 1623; *Paralipomena,* p. 391, no. 88bis; *Archive,* no. 275745; Lissarrague 1998, pp. 162–163, fig. 17. On the Mannerists and their relation to the Pan Painter, see Robertson 1992, pp. 143–151, 216–217; Mannack 2001. For this vase, cf. the courting scene on the Leningrad Painter's hydria, Archaeological Museum of Rhodes 13261, from Kameiros, *ARV*² 571, no. 82; *Beazley Addenda*², p. 261; *CVA,* Rhodes 2 [Italy 10], pl. 5:3. On the unique form of this pyxis see Roberts 1978, p. 86, no. 2, p. 90.



Figure 17.12. Family group; pyxis, Leningrad Painter (Athens, 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities 1623). 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Athens

staff between two seated women, holding out a pomegranate toward the woman on the right, whose head is veiled and who must be considered the lady of the house (Fig. 17.12:a). The Leningrad Painter has transferred the "spinning hetaira" motif (cf. especially the Pan Painter's alabastron, Fig. 17.5) to a scene of family life by including children and by replacing the mercenary gift of food or purse with a pomegranate, a love token associated especially with marriage and fecundity.[58] Although this wife does not turn to acknowledge her husband and his gift, both the woman standing to the right of her with a *kalathos,* and the baby seated on the shoulders of the girl beside her, reach out excitedly toward him and his gift to create an affectionate five-figure group (Fig. 17.12:b). As the standing woman wears a necklace and earrings, she is probably a relative, whereas the girl could be a servant or slave; the baby's gender is left uncertain. A separate group of women occupied with wool and a second crawling infant, clearly male, expands the household well beyond the nuclear family, reiterating the themes of household productivity and procreation (Fig. 17.12:c, d).

58. Sutton 1981, pp. 320–326; Muthmann 1982.



Figure 17.13. Family group; pyxis, Phiale Painter (Athens, N.M. 1588). National Museum, Athens

A generation later, on a pyxis from Attica, dated 435–430 B.C. by John Oakley, the Phiale Painter increases the emotional tone by multiplying the number of offerings and by repositioning the husband to face his wife (Fig. 17.13).[59] Beside the half-open door of the house, a youth with emerging whiskers bends over his cane holding a faded leafy sprig (rather than a necklace, as reported elsewhere), painted in added color, toward a veiled woman seated in a chair, a small chest open at her feet (Fig. 17.13:a). She gazes at an irregularly shaped object painted in added color that she holds up in her right hand; it is perhaps a flower, one of the most common gifts women extend to suitors in courting scenes,[60] but possibly not, given the way she holds it in her open palm. A woman standing behind the youth—whether nurse or relation—extends a flower or a fruit, painted in added white, toward the couple while holding their infant son (Fig. 17.13:b). The baby boy wears a chain of amulets like the boy in Figure 17.10 and turns away from his parents, linking the separate elements of the scene by

59. Athens, N.M. 1588; Collignon and Couve 1902–1904, no. 1552; *ARV*[2] 1022, no. 144; *Beazley Addenda*[2], p. 316; *Archive,* no. 214326; Oakley 1990, pp. 44, 90 (no. 144), pls. 116–117.

60. Sutton 1981, pp. 304–308.

reaching out to the two women who stand to the right, beyond a Doric column, and who, by virtue of a brimming *kalathos* and spinning, represent the economic productivity of the household (Fig. 17.13:c). A third woman rushes off to the right bringing food on a plate or tray, and drink in a phiale, to the husband and wife (Fig. 17.13:d), who appear again to the right of the door.[61]

Even though the specificity of detail might suggest that this represents some familiar household ritual, there is no close correspondence to any that is known.[62] Mutual affection is expressed not only by the gifts the couple exchange, but also by the flower or fruit the woman holding the child offers them, the way the baby reaches playfully toward the women working wool, and the haste of the woman rushing with refreshments. Even though neither husband nor wife actively labors, the activity of the other members of the household, whether free or slave, indicates the efficiency of a well-run home.

The seven scenes collected here have been securely identified as images of the *oikos* through their representation of the family as a procreative partnership enabled by complementary economic roles and founded in mutual affection. They show the *oikos* as a primarily feminine world—as the *gynaikonitis* being visited by its *kyrios,* with no other adult males present. In most cases it is uncertain if the extra female figures are relatives or slaves. The children, most of whom are clearly identified as boys, are shown still in the charge of their mothers, rather than at an older age when they would have passed out of her control. Indeed, with the exception of the young boy on the Munich hydria (Fig. 17.11) who appears to be around five or six years of age, all are infants. Yet they are not newborns, and all but one seem to be slightly under a year in age, before the inception of walking. Since vase painters occasionally show newborns and very young infants as wrapped bundles, this preference to show older infants must indicate a desire to show a more interesting image of an alert and active infant who is able to interact with its surroundings, and perhaps to show that the child has made it past the dangerous first months.[63]

Their shapes indicate that these vases showing a husband admiring his wife's maternal role and other wifely contributions were directed at a female audience: two pyxides, two hydriai, and single examples of the epinetron, lebes gamikos, and pelike. Whereas the lebes gamikos is the only strictly nuptial shape, the others were used by women and are occasionally decorated with nuptial scenes and could have served as wedding gifts.[64] Their geographic distribution indicates an almost strictly Athenian audience: four were found in Athens or Attica, and one at Kamiros on Rhodes (the provenience of the hydria in Munich is unknown). Whereas some may have been intended as gifts to an Athenian bride at her wedding, those with children would be more appropriate gifts after the birth of her first child to commemorate her transition from bridehood into the full adult status of γυνή, perhaps at an occasion like that represented in the Phiale Painter's pyxis (Fig. 17.13). That most and probably all were found in graves need not indicate that they were created with the grave in mind, as their mortuary use may be secondary.

61. On the use of phialai, see Sutton 1981, pp. 339–341; *Agora* XII, pp. 105–106; Gericke 1970, pp. 27–31.

62. See Golden 1990, p. 23, for details of the *amphidromia,* a ritual in which the father accepted a child into his family a few days after birth by carrying it around the hearth; the women purified themselves and the family received traditional gifts of octopus and cuttlefish from friends and relatives. The child was named at the *dekate,* ten days after birth.

63. E.g., the white lekythos Berlin, Antikensammlungen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 2444; *ARV*² 746, no. 14; Lissarrague 1992, p. 181, fig. 26, showing a departing warrior. And the swaddled rock Rhea presents to Kronos in lieu of newborn Zeus on the pelike New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.144; *ARV*² 1107, no. 10; Richter and Hall 1936, no. 72, pls. 75, 173. Cf. Clairmont 1993, intro. vol., p. 91, on the common representation of bundled infants on grave stelai, particularly, he believes, those of women who died after a successful delivery.

64. Sutton 1981, p. 235, table W.1. For the pyxis, see Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 6–8, 20, 21, 24–27, 32–35, 75–78, 80, 81, 90, 96–98, 100–104, 115–119; hydria, Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 10–13, 62–64; epinetron, Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 128–130; pelike, Paris, Musée du Louvre G226, *ARV*² 250, no. 50.

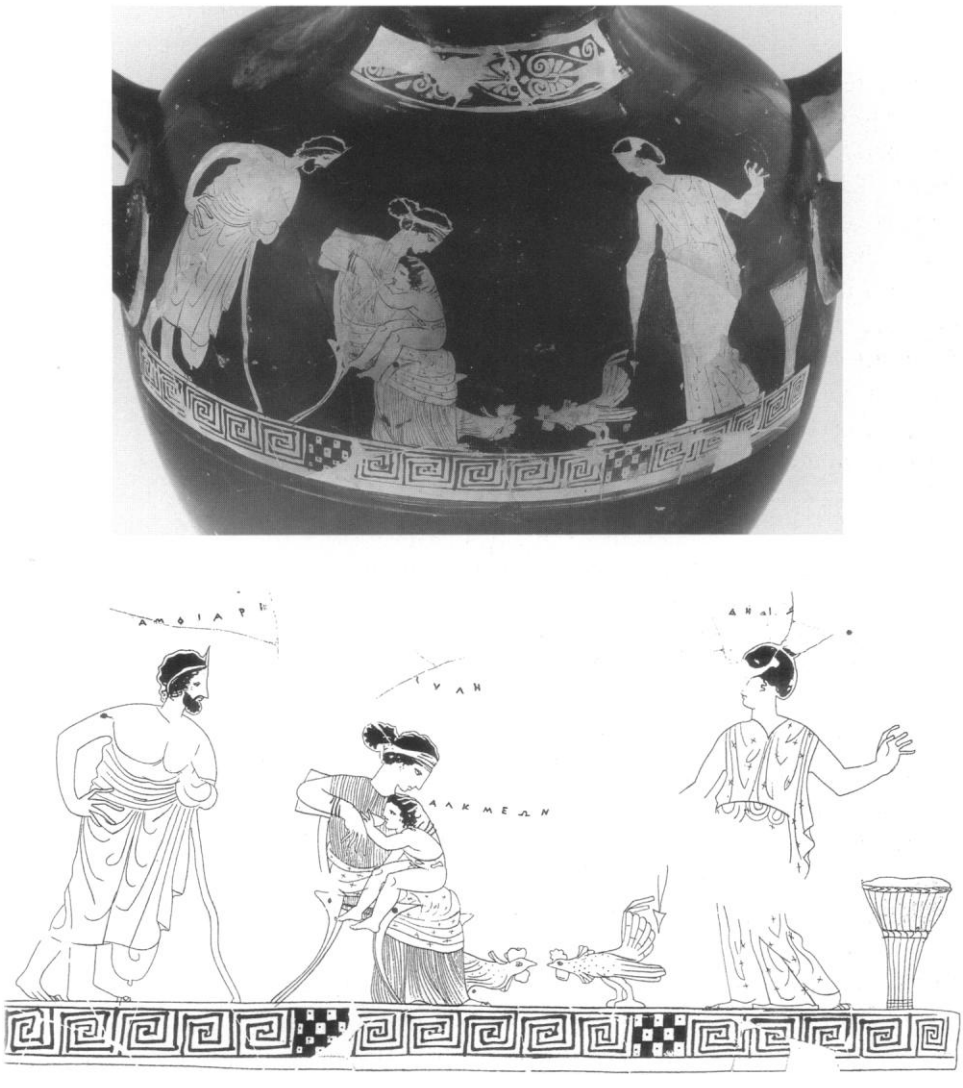


Figure 17.14. Amphiaraos regards his family; hydria (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung F 2395). Photo J. Tietz-Glagow, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin; drawing Meyer 1885, pl. 15

The *Oikos* of Amphiaraos

Confirmation that the imagery of these genre scenes signifies the *oikos* is clear from its appearance in contemporary mythic illustration of the tragic tale of Amphiaraos and Eriphyle, although it serves a different purpose, critiquing rather than commemorating a wife's role in marriage. "Hateful Eriphyle who accepted precious gold for the life of her own dear husband" appears in the Nekyia of the *Odyssey* (11.326–327; trans. Lattimore) as emblematic of wifely betrayal. Violating the trust fundamental to a successful marriage, she accepted Polyneices' bribe of Harmonia's necklace, compelled her husband Amphiaraos to join the fatal expedition against Thebes, and was consequently slain by their son Alkmeon.

A hydria in Berlin from Attica, painted around 430 B.C., represents this woeful *oikos* with tragic irony, identifying the figures with inscriptions (Fig. 17.14). Demonassa spins as Eriphyle nurses Alkmeon under the gaze of Amphiaraos.[65] This unique image of a nursing mother drives home the

65. Antikensammlungen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin F 2395; *Archive,* no. 7011; Meyer 1885; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 697, no. 27, pl. 559, s.v. *Amphiaraos* (I. Krauskopf); Pomeroy 1975, fig. 9; Lissarrague 1992, pp. 182–183; *CVA,* Berlin 9 [Germany 74], pl. 26 (Germany 3716), 58.2 (Germany 3748), Abb. 15, Beil. 6.4.



Figure 17.15. Polyneices bribes Eriphyle; column-krater, Near the Nausikaa Painter (Palazzolo, Museo Judica 4285). Soprintendenza Sezione Beni Archeologici, Syracuse

tragedy of matricide while allowing us to recognize Athenian reluctance to show a wife breast-feeding.[66] Although he resembles the proud fathers examined above, Amphiaraos is a prophet and must, like the viewer, foresee the tragic outcome of this apparently blissful domestic scene. François Lissarrague has observed that the cocks who eye each other as if ready to fight, an apparently picturesque homely touch, allude to the fratricidal strife at Thebes between Polyneices and Eteocles that lies behind it all.[67]

More common on vases is the actual bribery of Eriphyle, a theme that appears in the form of a courting scene, that is to say, virtually as a seduction, bringing out most clearly her crime of betrayal. The domestic setting of the betrayal and its significance for the *oikos* are conveyed most effectively on a column-krater painted around 440 B.C. in the Manner of the Nausikaa Painter, one of the Later Mannerists (Fig. 17.15).[68] Eriphyle is veiled and her act is witnessed by an anxious nurse holding a boy who must again be Alkmeon. The close resemblance of this scene to those on the Leningrad Painter's pyxis (Fig. 17.12) and the Pan Painter's Berlin alabastron (Fig. 17.5) reflects the close stylistic connection between these painters and a common image of the family viewed from different perspectives. In contrast to the genre scenes studied above, the Bribery of Eriphyle is directed at a male public on symposium ware, most of which was shipped abroad to Italy and Sicily.[69]

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has shown the difficulties of interpreting the imagery of Attic genre scenes and has argued that, while literary sources are of inestimable value in interpreting vase paintings, the evidence gleaned by examining the iconographic conventions employed in a range of comparable vase paintings should have priority over supposed rules extrapolated from ancient texts. Classical vase painters, reflecting attitudes that can be traced back to Homer and are explicitly articulated by Xenophon and others, depicted

66. Bonfante 1989, pp. 567–569, with note 144; 1997, discussing this vase, pp. 174–175.

67. Lissarrague 1992, p. 183.

68. Palazzolo (Sicily), Museo Judica 4285; *ARV*^{2} 1110, no. 1; *Archive*, no. 214692; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 844, no. 6, pl. 607, s.v. *Eriphyle I* (A. Lezzi-Hafter). On Eriphyle, *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 843–846, s.v. *Eriphyle I* (A. Lezzi-Hafter). On the Pan Painter and the Mannerists, see note 57.

69. Of eleven Attic examples listed (*LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 844–846, nos. 1–10, 16, s.v. *Eriphyle I* [A. Lezzi-Hafter]), four appear on oinochoai, two on hydriai, and one each on column-krater, cup, neck amphora, pelike, and lekythos. Their proveniences are listed as: two from Spina and one each from Etruria, Orvieto?, Rugge, Nola, Leontinoi, and Gela, with another in an Italian collection (Taranto, Ragusa collection).

the *oikos* as a unit of economic production and procreation linked by bonds of affection. Consideration of vase shape and provenience allows the recognition of the two distinct audiences to which potters and painters directed this imagery. It appears in a positive light in the small group of genre scenes collected here that were aimed at a feminine Athenian audience; it is shown negatively through the mythic paradigm of the treacherous Eriphyle on vases marketed to male consumers on symposium ware sold abroad. Both groups of vase paintings are dated about 465–420 B.C. and find parallels in the more numerous classical nuptial scenes on Attic pottery that increasingly stresses the emotional and erotic dimension of marriage, culminating in the introduction of Eros and selective nudity during the last third of the 5th century B.C.[70]

All reflect a greater appreciation of the family under the Classical Democracy described by Patterson on the basis of both positive and negative examples in a variety of literary genres.[71] These vase paintings, though few in number, demonstrate how widely this discourse of the *oikos* was conducted, penetrating to the innermost depths of Athenian homes on objects intended to be used and viewed by Athenian women in the very context depicted. Even though we cannot know what those ancient women actually thought and felt, these images provide direct evidence of how they were encouraged and probably expected to view their position in the *oikos* and in the polis at large. Matters deserving further investigation include the relative rarity of such family groups featuring parents and children, as opposed to either parent with children or with older offspring, on both vases and grave stelai;[72] and the relation between the vase paintings presented here and the family groups on grave stelai, which are explicitly mortuary in content and mostly (or entirely) later in date.

70. Sutton 1997–1998.

71. Patterson 1998, chaps. 4, 5, and pp. 180–185.

72. See Clairmont 1993, II, pp. 613–836.

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For the Mother and for the Daughter: Some Thoughts on Dedications from Etruria and Praeneste

by Nancy Thomson de Grummond

The religious practice of naming a deity as one of the members of the family—such as Father, Mother, Son or Daughter—is widely attested in world religions. Obvious examples that come to mind are the figures from the Christian Trinity of the Father and the Son, with the Virgin Mary often referred to as Mother or the Mother of God. From Greece Demeter is a well-known Mother, along with her archetypal Daughter, Persephone, regularly called Kore. Zeus is widely recognized as the Father, with many children, but the most conspicuous of these in the role of sons were the Dioskouroi (the "Youths of Zeus"), Kastor and Polydeukes. In Roman religion Jupiter (Iovis Pater) is Father and many goddesses take the name of Mother (e.g., Terra Mater, Mater Matuta, Magna Mater). Castor and Pollux were enormously popular and from time to time were styled as the Sons of the principal father god. The Daughter appears as well, especially as Proserpina, though the idea of daughterhood may not have received as much emphasis as the other roles in the families of gods and humans.

In this paper I wish to make some suggestions concerning the evidence for cults of the Mother and the Daughter[1] in central Italy. Much of the material, scrappy and at times contradictory, has been recognized as pertinent in the past, but has not been assembled all together; in addition, several new items are here placed in the corpus of relevant inscriptions and references. For some of the evidence I propose new interpretations.

1. I have many warm memories of the kindness and friendship Sally Immerwahr offered to students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in the 1960s. Though I did not concentrate on Aegean or Hellenic matters, I profited greatly from the various occasions when I was able to attend her classes or consult with her about my research. Apart from the academic context I have special recollections of her as a concerned mother, whose daughter, Mary, was off at college in turbulent times. Therefore I wish to dedicate to her, whom I remember as a most effective mother, these thoughts on a subject from Etruscan religion, an area that may otherwise seem foreign within this volume. I thank my own daughter, Elizabeth, for assistance with the research for this article, and also Larissa Bonfante, who has shared her knowledge of mothers and daughters with me. I am most grateful to Giovanni Colonna, director of excavations at the Etruscan site of Pyrgi, for guiding me around the site and for providing the photograph for Figure 18.5. I also thank Francesco Buranelli for assistance in obtaining Figure 18.9.

THE MOTHER

Etruscan art and cult are especially rich in images of motherhood, as Larissa Bonfante has shown.[2] Further evidence is provided by a number of Etruscan inscriptions that include the word for mother, *ati*.[3] Some of these are funerary and serve only to identify the deceased in her place in the family; they are quite helpful in that they make certain the meaning of the word.[4] A bit of confusion arises over several Etruscan personal names—Ate, Atie, Atei, and Atia—that at first seem to be derived from Ati; experts believe, however, that these are in reality derived from a distinctly separate source, namely the Italic name Attus.[5] Especially significant for our purposes are the various inscriptions with *ati* that may have a votive meaning.

At some sites, offerings for the Mother have been linked with similar ones for the Father. As Bonamici noted at the sanctuary on the acropolis at Volterra, an impasto jar of the 3rd century B.C. was incised before firing with the letters . . . *apa*, "father"; a similar impasto vessel inscribed *ati* . . . , "mother," suggests a cult in which the Father and Mother shared.[6] The names of the Mother and Father are unknown, but a suggestive comparison is offered by a famous bronze mirror engraving from Volterra (Fig. 18.1), in which the goddess Uni (the Etruscan Hera) appears nursing and adopting the hero Hercle (Herakles), who is referred to as *unial clan*, "son of Uni."[7] Nearby stands the father of Hercle, Tinia (Zeus), who holds up a plaque proclaiming the significance of the act.

Such pairing has also been suspected at Cerveteri.[8] From a sacred area there comes an Etrusco-Campanian black-gloss vessel with stamped palmettes (Hellenistic period) inscribed *apa.s*, "of father."[9] Although there are no inscriptions from this area naming an *ati*, from at least two tombs at

2. See in particular Bonfante 1989, esp. pp. 100–101.

3. Studies such as the present one are made possible by the recent authoritative listings of texts in Rix 1992; see vol. I, s.vv. *ati, atial,* and the notes that follow for many of these inscriptions.

4. E.g., Rix 1992, Cr 1.152, on the wall of a tomb at Cerveteri: *ranθu vincnai sucus ati,* "Ranthu Vincnai, mother of Suc[u]"; AT 1.125, on a tufa sarcophagus from Tuscania: *nerinai. ravnθu. avils ril. LIIX. ati. cravzaθuras velθur[u]s:l[a]rθalc,* "Ravnthu Nerinai, aged 58 years, mother of Velthur and Larth Cravzathura."

5. The names occur on various funerary inscriptions, such as Rix 1992, Cl. 1.414, on a tile from Chiusi: *vel. ate. a[rn]θal,* "Vel Ate, son of Arnth"; AS 1.402, on the lid of an urn from Siena, *larθi:atei,* "Larthi Atei"; AS 1.203, on a sandstone urn from Siena, *pulia:cainei:atial,* "Pulia Cainei, of the Ate [or Atia]." As Giovanni Colonna has pointed out to me, "a proposito di *ati* è necessario distinguere il nome personale Ate (usato anche come gentilizio, con i derivati Atei, Atie e Atia), che è un nome di origine italica (Atta, Attus), presente fin dalla metà del VII sec. a Caere, dall'appellativo *ati,* che appartiene al lessico etrusco" (pers. comm.).

6. *REE* 55, 1989, pp. 276–278, no. 2 (M. Bonamici); Cristofani 1976, p. 115.

7. *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 169, no. 89, s.v. *Uni* (G. Colonna and L. M. Michetti).

8. Cristofani 1992, p. 348; he suggests Pyrgi as well, but thus far only *apa* is named in inscriptions from there.

9. Rix 1992, Cr 2.137; Mengarelli 1937, p. 393, no. 45. The sacred nature of the place has been questioned: cf. *REE* 55, 1989, pp. 277, no. 2 (M. Bonamici).

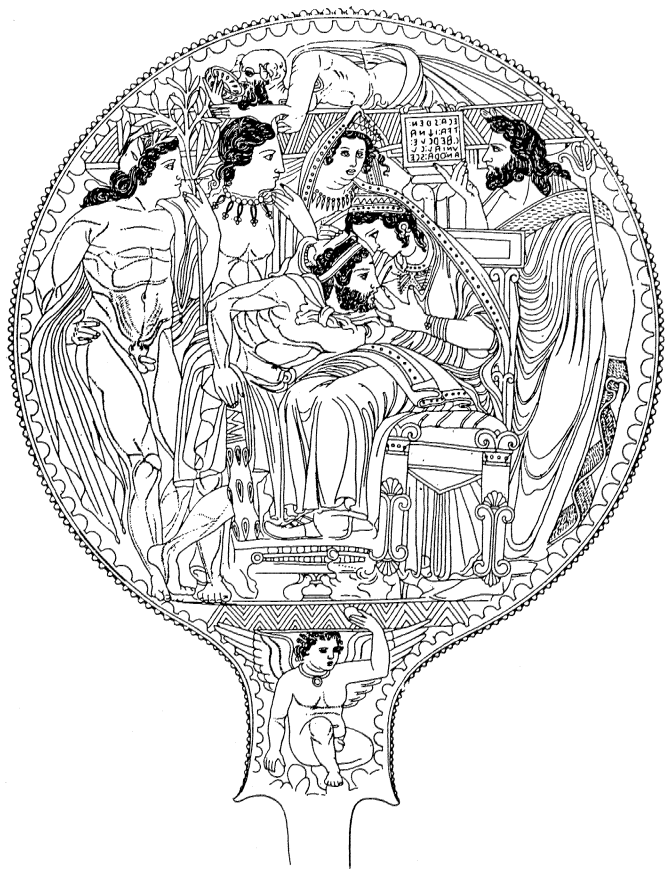


Figure 18.1. Etruscan bronze mirror from Volterra, ca. 300 B.C., with adoption of Hercle by Uni (Florence, National Archaeological Museum).
N. de Grummond, after *ES* 5.60

Cerveteri come inscriptions that refer to Mother. *Mi atiial,* "I [am] of mother," occurs on the bottom of an Attic red-figured olpe, while *ati,* "mother," is found on the base of a black-gloss plate.[10] Similar evidence comes from Orvieto. Inscriptions for the Father have been found in the Belvedere sanctuary sacred to Tinia: *mi apas,* "I [am] of father," occurs on an Archaic bucchero bowl, and *apas,* "of father," appears on an impasto bowl probably of the same period.[11] A significant number of vessels from in and around Orvieto, mostly Archaic, are inscribed *ati* or *mi atial,* or *atial* (none, however, from the Belvedere; of the known proveniences,

10. Mengarelli 1937, pp. 385, no. 18, 390, no. 31; Rix 1992, Cr 2.59, 2.134. It is worth noting that *apas* also occurs several times on vases from the cemeteries at Cerveteri: Rix 1992, Cr 2.100–102, 2.137. Objects from a funerary context as opposed to a sanctuary pose problems of interpretation because they might be simply family references (i.e., the survivors might want to designate a vase as "belonging to mother" or "belonging to father"), and in some cases the form of the word *ati* may relate to onomastics rather than to deity. Mengarelli (1937, p. 389, nos. 29, 30) noted among the inscriptions from the Banditaccia at Cerveteri two Attic olpai inscribed *mi atiial plavtanas* under the foot, and took the words to designate a name; followed by Camporeale (1971, pp. 100–104, 111–112, 116–118), he regarded various instances of *ati* or *atial* alone as referring to an individual named Atia, etc. Cristofani (1992, p. 348) supported the idea that the inscriptions from Cerveteri reflected family appellatives for deities.

11. Rix 1992, Vs 2.29, 2.30; *REE* 49, 1981, pp. 271–272, no. 41 (D. Steinbauer).

several are definitely funerary).[12] One more artifact that should be mentioned at this point comes not from Orvieto but from nearby Viterbo, where it forms part of the Rossi Danieli Collection of the Museo Civico.[13] The item is a loomweight of unknown date, in the characteristic Etruscan form of a truncated pyramid, with an inscription on top incised before firing, *ati.* Though the item stands out as exceptional within the list of offerings noted here, there is abundant evidence that loomweights and other weaving implements were regularly offered to goddesses in Italy, while in Greece, weights were inscribed to Athena, to the Graces, and to Aphrodite.[14] We shall refer to another kind of weight for a Mother below.

Who was the Etruscan Mother goddess referenced by these artifacts? As has been noted, Uni is a good candidate, although her name does not actually occur in combination with the word or title of *ati.*[15] There are two deities acknowledged in the past as having this designation. Perhaps most striking are the five inscriptions on bronze votive statuettes, both male and female and found near Lake Trasimene, inscribed *mi celś atial celθi* (late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.).[16] The meaning of *celθi* is somewhat unclear, but all concur that the main part of the inscription may be translated as "I [am] of mother Cel."[17] We are in a position to know more about Cel, since another inscription on an Etruscan mirror mentions her: in a scene that is

12. Rix (1992) lists seven examples: Vs 2.11, *CIE* 10607, *mi atial* on a footed patera (now lost), from a tomb; Vs 2.13, *CIE* 10659, *mi atial,* on a small impasto jar, from a tomb; Vs 2.28, *CIE* 10886, *atial,* on an Attic kylix from Castel Giorgio, near Orvieto, findspot unknown; Vs 2.15, *CIE* 10749, *ati,* on a gray bucchero bowl, findspot unknown; Vs 2.16, *CIE* 10744, *ati,* on a gray bucchero footed cup, findspot unknown; Vs 2.17, *CIE* 10748, *ati,* on a gray bucchero bowl, findspot unknown; Vs 2.10, *CIE* 10739, *ati,* prefaced by the Etruscan sign ×, on an impasto kylix, findspot unknown.

The latter four inscriptions were published by Camporeale (1971, pp. 116–117 [no. 107], 111–112 [no. 98], 117–118 [no. 112], 100–104 [no. 73]). The × mark, the single most common graffito on Etruscan pottery, very likely is to be interpreted as the Etruscan numeral for ten. Camporeale (1971, p. 101, note 1) suggests that the mark indicates an Orvieto workshop, but in fact it occurs all over Etruria. A survey of this graffito type has been made by Ceil Bare, in de Grummond, Bare, and Meilleur 2000, pp. 27–28. She notes at least twenty widely distributed sites where it occurs, including Spina, Bologna, Populonia, Rusellae, Perugia, Tarquinia, Cerveteri, and Capua. She concludes that the act of marking the ×, the number ten, may have had a ritual or magic quality perhaps associated with a desire to invite good fortune. In that case it might refer to ten prayers or ten wishes for good luck, addressed to Ati.

Camporeale (1971, pp. 103–104) also argued that the inscriptions listed actually refer to a personal name such as Ati or Atia. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the formula *mi . . . atial* is used specifically to refer to a goddess on some votive statuettes from Lake Trasimene; see note 16 and related text.

13. The items in the Rossi Danieli Collection result from his excavations around Viterbo, but precise provenience is lacking. For the artifact described here, see *REE* 41, 1973, pp. 337–340, no. 129 (A. Emiliozzi); Emiliozzi 1974, p. 243, no. 527; *CIE* 10505; Rix 1992, AT 2.33.

14. See, e.g., Fenelli 1991, text and note 34; some 350 loomweights and other weaving implements were found among dedications to Minerva at Lavinium, along with numerous spindle whorls. Weaving implements occur in many sanctuaries whose principle deity was probably female. At Satricum, the temple of the southwest sanctuary (Santa Lucia) yielded from the foundation level four loomweights and a spindle whorl; see Ginge 1996, p. 86. For the Manganello temple at Cerveteri: Colonna 1985, p. 40; the Ara della Regina, Tarquinia: Comella 1982, p. 185; Sant'Omobono, Rome: *Enea nel Lazio,* p. 147. See also Hackworth 1993, esp. p. 56.

In the Rossi Danieli Collection there are three other weights, similar in size and fabric, all marked before firing with the inscription *la* (*REE* 41, 1973, pp. 337–340, nos. 130–132 [A. Emiliozzi]; Emiliozzi 1974, p. 243, nos. 528–530). The letters could be the abbreviation of the name of the owner (e.g., Larthi), or of the name of a deity to whom they were sacred (e.g., Lasa). Certain other graffiti on comparable loomweights from the Rossi Danieli Collection are almost certainly numerical. The markings on Etruscan weights have never been systematically studied, but they probably embraced marks of manufacture and ownership and numbers. References to specific deities remain to be identified in Etruria. For those from Greece, see di Vita 1956, text and note 8.

15. Colonna 1976–1977, p. 53.

16. Rix 1992, Co 4.1–5; Colonna 1976–1977. For the dating, see Colonna 1976–1977, pp. 49, 51 (P. J. Riis: early 4th century B.C.; Colonna, ca. 350 B.C.; E. H. Richardson, early 3rd century B.C.).

17. Colonna, 1976–1977, p. 52; cf. van der Meer 1987, p. 73.



Figure 18.2. Etruscan bronze mirror, 4th century B.C., with Atunis and Turan Ati. N. de Grummond, after *ES* 1.116

clearly a combat between a God and a Giant, the latter is labeled as *celsclan,* that is, "the son of earth."[18] Cel Ati, then, is the Etruscan Mother Earth, and her votaries hold offerings that are clearly appropriate for such a deity—pomegranates and an oval-shaped object that may be another kind of fruit, or perhaps an egg. In addition, one holds a patera for libations, and another an unidentified conical object.

Another example of an *ati* is provided by a 4th-century B.C. Etruscan mirror of unknown provenience now in Berlin (Fig. 18.2).[19] The youth *atunis* (Adonis) is depicted in the company of a goddess, beside whom letters are inscribed; formerly construed as *tiθanati,* the inscription is now generally agreed to read *turan ati* and to refer to Turan, equivalent to Aphrodite, or perhaps a better comparison for Mother Turan would be Venus Genetrix. Atunis, the companion of Ati, bears a name that suggests a close relationship to her, especially if one remembers that the name must be pronounced, as typically in Etruria, with the accent on the first syllable. This is in fact only coincidence, because it is normal for a Greek name to show the change from a *d* to *t* and from an *o* to *u* in Etruscan. Still, Etruscan women may not have taken note of phonetics and may have thought of him as having a name that somehow related to the word for "mother."

Turan is probably also the Mother mentioned in an inscription on another mirror, dated ca. 375–350 B.C. (Fig. 18.3). It shows a mature woman and a younger man or boy as a loving couple, probably again Turan and Atunis.[20] Accompanying the pair are an unknown seated female figure and a standing one, the latter identifiable by her Medusa emblem and her shield as the Etruscan goddess Menrva (= Athena). It is upon the shield that the inscription occurs. The mirror, once in London in the collection of the Marquis of Northampton, is now missing, and it is impossible to check the lettering copied in the 19th century and published in *Etruskische Spiegel.* The inscription as copied is problematic, and therefore interpretations must remain provisional.[21]

18. Van der Meer 1987, p. 75 and fig. 34; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 185, s.v. *Celsclan* (G. Colonna).

19. *ES* 1.116; *TLE*[2] 754; Rix 1992, OI S.15; *REE* 59, 1993, p. 270, no. 26 (L. Bonfante).

20. *ES* 1.112; *ES* 3, p. 110; *ES* 5, p. 190, note 1; *TLE*[2] 752; Rix 1992, AH 3.3.

21. I thank Maristella Pandolfini Angeletti for cautions in this regard.



Figure 18.3. Etruscan bronze mirror, ca. 375–350 B.C., with Turan, Atunis, and Menrva. N. de Grummond, after *ES* 1.112

The inscription was originally read as *Nuecale:atial:turce:malsuria:ceer* by Gerhard.[22] *Nuecale* was soon emended to *titecale,* which may be compared with an inscription from Volterra referring to an individual named Tite (though the inscription in the drawing actually seems to have *iitecale* or *iiucale,* and the mirror is now attributed to Bomarzo).[23] *Atial* was regarded as a genitive with donative overtones, "of, for, or to mother."[24] The word *turce* is well known from many dedications and readily translates as "gave" (= *dedit,* ἔδωκε). *Malsuria* was read as *malstria* (both words are without parallel; some have taken the word, whatever its spelling, to refer to the mirror),[25] and *ceer* was changed, surely correctly, to *cver,* a word meaning "offering" or "sacred object." The result, *tite cale:atial:turce:malstria:cver,* was then translated as "Tite Cale gave [this] mirror as an offering to [his] mother."[26]

The interpretation that Tite Cale gave the mirror to his own mother has now yielded to the idea that the object was a votive gift for the Mother, that is, Turan, who was called *ati* on the mirror cited above.[27] This reading relieves us of fears about an unwholesome relationship between the young

22. *ES* 3, p. 110.

23. Emended by Fabretti in *CII* 2582. For the Volterra inscription: Rix 1992, Vt 8.1, and cf. Vt 1.153; cf. Körte in *ES* 5, p. 190, note 1. The mirror is now attributed to Bomarzo: Rix 1992, AH 3.3.

24. Olzscha 1967, p. 122. Roncalli (1983, esp. pp. 293–294) translates *atial* as "belonging to [his] mother."

25. Trombetti 1928, p. 222.

26. Olzscha 1967, p. 122; L. Bonfante in de Grummond 1982, p. 74. Another line of thought, proposed by Buonamici (1932, p. 373), sees *atial* as part of the name of the donor: "Tite Cale son of Atia." For additional arguments in support of this line, see Pandolfini Angeletti 2000, pp. 213–214.

27. Colonna 1983, p. 151; *REE* 59, 1993, p. 270, no. 26 (L. Bonfante); van der Meer 1995, p. 28.

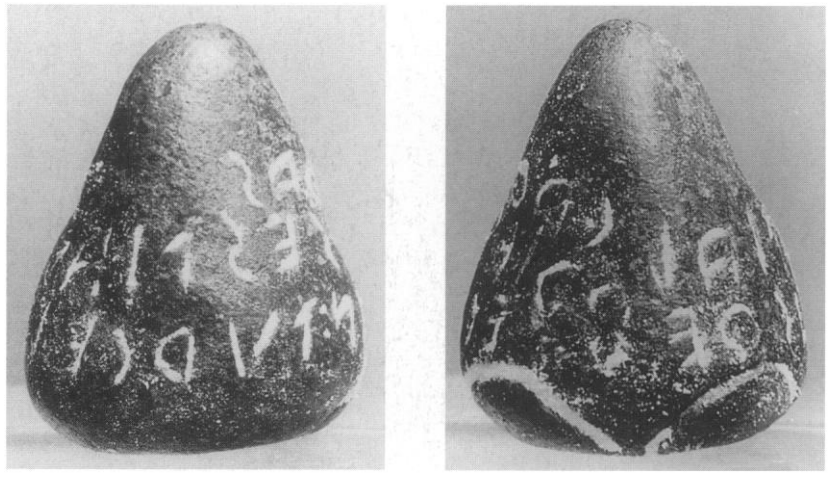


Figure 18.4. Etruscan bronze cone with Etruscan inscription, 4th or 3rd century B.C. (private collection). Courtesy owner

man and his mother along the lines of that of Turan and Atunis, but other questions remain. Most significant is the fact that there is no other attested example of an Etruscan mirror being offered to a deity; mirrors were dedicated to deities in Greece and Rome, especially to Aphrodite herself, but within Etruria mirrors have so far been found exclusively in funerary contexts.[28] If Mother Turan was indeed the recipient of this gift, perhaps the mirror was placed in a grave and referred to her in her capacity as a fertility deity, who would have appropriate influence in the afterlife. The subject of Adonis, in Etruria as in Greece, was highly relevant to the theme of immortality, concerning which we shall say more.

Another puzzling reference to a mother is found on an interesting object recently published by L. Bonfante, a conical-shaped bronze of unknown provenience in a private collection and dating to the 4th or 3rd century B.C. (Fig. 18.4).[29] It reads *ecn:turce:laris:θefries:espial:atial.caθas,*[30] "Laris Thefries offered this," but to whom? Reading *atial.caθas* as a case for a dedication, Bonfante suggested that the recipient was Ati Catha, that is, "mother Catha," with reference to an Etruscan goddess known from a number of inscriptions and most recently from the remains in her cult area at Pyrgi.[31] Cristofani objected that *ati* should follow the name of the deity, as in Cel Ati and Turan Ati, and argued that the word should therefore go with *espial,* either referring to a previously unknown deity or being part of a person's name, of which *espial atial* would be the genitive.[32] In addition, he did not think Catha should be referred to as Mother, since on other evidence she seems to have been worshiped as "daughter." According to Colonna, she was perhaps thought of as Daughter in an important cult in the south sanctuary at Pyrgi, where she was consort of Śuri, who received dedications as *apa,* the Father.[33] We shall say more of both Śuri and Catha shortly.

The word *espial* is unique to date,[34] and I wish to suggest the possibility that the reading of the name may actually be *estial.* As may be seen in the photograph (Fig. 18.4, left), on the upper right side of the letter read as *p* there are lumps of corrosion that may have obscured part of the crossbar of a *t* (note the *t* in *turce*). If we adopt that reading, we can find a parallel for the word, and precisely, in a document—the well-known lead

28. De Grummond 1982, pp. 172–177; see Pandolfini Angeletti 2000, pp. 213–214. The notice of Gozzadini (1865, p. 20) that one mirror was found in the votive deposit of the acropolis at Marzabotto bears little weight. One may doubt the identification of the object, and further, Marzabotto is outside of Etruria and had a Gallic phase.

As Pandolfini Angeletti notes, perhaps the most perplexing aspect of interpreting the mirror as votive is that it was allegedly given to the Mother by a male, an act without parallel in Etruria. For her, the problem disappears if *atial* is read as part of the name of Tite Cale.

29. Weight 143.9 g, H. 0.039 m, max. Diam. 0.0395 m.

30. *REE* 59, 1993, pp. 269–270, no. 26 (L. Bonfante).

31. See the references in notes 44–46 and related text.

32. *REE* 59, 1993, pp. 270–271, no. 26 (M. Cristofani).

33. See note 45 and related text.

34. *REE* 59, 1993, pp. 269–270, no. 26 (L. Bonfante); cf. Rix 1992, I, the index of Etruscan words, with no parallels to be found.

tablet from Magliano—in which the name of Catha (*cauθas*) occurs at the very beginning of a lengthy inscription. The Magliano tablet, dating to the 5th century B.C.,[35] poses great problems of translation, but it may safely be said that it lists a number of deities and probably tells what the appropriate offerings are for each deity. Many of the names seem to have a genitive ending of *s,* as does *cauθas,* "of Cautha." On side B, line 5, we find what I suggest is a variant of the name *esti,* used in the genitive case, and in combination with the name of Śuri: *śuris eisteis,* "of Śuri, of Eistei." The change from *ei* in the 5th-century document to *e* or *i* in one of the 4th/3rd is consistent with orthography in some other inscriptions, and the occurrence of the genitive in *-s* as well as one in *-al* for the same name is not without parallel.[36]

We now may argue that the object was dedicated to Esti Ati, but what then becomes of Catha? Following the lead of Colonna, I suggest that we have a reference to the Mother of Catha.[37] The identification is consistent with the theory that Catha is the Daughter, and leads to a coherent translation of every word in the dedication: "Laris Thefries gave this to Esti Ati, [mother] of Caθa." We thus have clear links among Śuri, Esti, and Catha.

As for the object offered to Mother Esti, it is to my knowledge without precise parallel in Etruscan material culture. Colonna believed that it was a *cippetto,* one of the little conical objects, regularly made of clay, offered to deities at various sanctuaries of Etruria and elsewhere. In fact, there are examples of such clay *cippetti* at Pyrgi itself; further, one of the votaries from Lake Trasimene holds a conical object (upside down) in his hand as an offering to Mother Cel.[38] The frustrating thing about identifying the cone as a *cippetto* is that there are numerous types of these objects—some elongated, some squat; some with a base, some without; some with a pinecone shape; some with protuberances, some with depressions or incisions, etc.,[39] and no one has been able to find an explanation for their usage that applies to all types. Theories proposed include: (1) model of a grave monument (*cippus*); (2) representation, highly stylized, of the donor; (3) male genitals; (4) a swollen gland; (5) a bubo; (6) a heart. Theories 3, 4, 5, and 6 were developed because the *cippetti* are regularly found in deposits with numerous anatomical votives. The last, number 6, is the one that comes closest to elucidating the bronze cone. Comella has argued that this type, which she describes as having two protuberances or two cavities or incisions placed near the base, appears on "polyvisceral tablets" along with other organs, and thus may be identified with the heart.[40] The bronze cone does have two unexplained incisions at its base (Fig. 18.4, right; unfortunately no photos of the underside of the cone are available) and in form, at least, it resembles the rather small group of votives identified as the heart. Nevertheless, examples of *cippetti* in bronze are lacking and there do not seem to be any that are inscribed.

Bonfante has suggested that the object was a weight, and the idea is enticing.[41] As already noted, the loomweight from the Rossi Danieli Collection was inscribed with *ati.* The bronze weight, however, would not be associated with weaving but with a very different kind of activity: the conical shape suggests an association with minting, since cones were regularly used in antiquity in the striking of coins (cf. the Italian verb meaning

35. Rix 1992, AV 4.1; Morandi 1982, pp. 36–38; Pallottino 1956.

36. On the orthography change see Cristofani 1991, p. 45. For names that have both endings, cf. Rix 1992, AT 190, *spurini*; Pe 1.797, *spurinial;* Pe 1.1222, *spurinei*; PO 231, *spurines.*

37. Colonna 1994, pp. 368–369 and note 59.

38. Colonna 1994, pp. 368–369; 1992, fig. 29. On the votary, see Colonna 1976–1977, pl. 1, no. 1.

39. For the various types, theories about their meanings, and the sites where *cippetti* have been found, see Comella 1978, pp. 82–86 (Campetti deposit at Veii, Gravisca; Ara della Regina at Tarquinia; Magna Mater on the Palatine; Acquoria deposit at Tivoli; the Cannicella at Orvieto). See further Comella 1986, pp. 79–81; 1990, pp. 109–112.

40. Comella 1982, pp. 150–154.

41. *REE* 59, 1993, pp. 269–270, no. 26 (L. Bonfante).

"to mint" coins, *coniare*). Although no such cones have been identified for Etruscan coinage, a number of Roman bronze examples have survived, some of them closely resembling the object in question here.[42] Its weight, 143.9 g, is certainly within the range of the standard weight of some series of bronze coins struck around Volterra and in northern Etruria in the 3rd century B.C.[43] Therefore the cone may be an actual weight of the kind used in ascertaining, with a pan balance, that the metal presented for coinage is of the correct amount, the conical shape serving as an allusion to the cones upon which dies were cut.

Unfortunately we know nothing of Etruscan practice with regard to mints, where they were located, and whether a deity might have played a role in guarding over minting activities. The minting of coins at Rome, of course, was associated with a mother goddess, Juno Moneta, to the extent that her epithet became the word for coin in Italian today (*moneta*); the very word "mint" is derived from the fact that the office was beside her temple.[44] Clearly this hypothesis about the cone being a weight should by no means be discarded, though it is in need of further evidence.

THE DAUGHTER

Let us turn now to the theory that Catha was worshiped as the Daughter. Cristofani recently reviewed the various inscriptions with the differing forms of the name of the goddess (*kavaθa, kavuθa, kavθa, caθa,* etc.), and argued that she is referred to in an inscription, *kavuθas. seχis,* "of daughter Kavutha," written on an Attic red-figured skyphos of the 5th century B.C. from Orvieto (perhaps from a sanctuary; today in Copenhagen).[45] Colonna, citing the same inscription, found the idea of Catha as Daughter borne out by his excavations at Pyrgi (the name is spelled Cavatha there), where he found references to Śuri as *apa,* and equated him with the Faliscan Soranus Pater, in turn assimilated into both Apollo and Dis Pater. Noting the link between Dis Pater and Proserpina at Rome, where the pair was worshiped at the "Tarentum," he suggested that Cavatha as Śuri's consort might be an Etruscan Persephone/Kore.[46]

42. On Etruscan coining techniques, see Catalli 1990, p. 135. For the dies, see Vermeule 1954, pp. 20 (die no. 13, from Nîmes: "perfect cone," bronze, H. 0.029 m, Diam. 0.029 m), 21 (die no. 14, probably from Lyon; conical, bronze, H. 0.032 m, Diam. 0.024 m), 22 (die no. 18, provenience unknown, truncated cone, H. 0.043 m, Diam. 0.021 m). Among the sixty-two dies assembled by Vermeule, none is for bronze coinage (all are for gold or silver) and only one comes from central Italy: p. 24 (die no. 23, from Civita Castellana, period of Augustus, truncated cone, bronze, H. 0.050 m, Diam. 0.020 m). Cf. Vermeule's ill. 1, "Find Spots," and also shapes for dies, mostly conical. See his p. 27, fig. 4, for a conical iron die that is very similar to the bronze object under discussion here (no measurements given).

43. Catalli (1990, pp. 102–104) notes several series (some cast, some struck) from the Val di Chiana and the Val d'Elsa of the 4th–3rd centuries B.C., with median weight for the libral *as* of 151.60, 150.95, 148.28, 142.8, and 141.74 g. In the 3rd century B.C., Volterra had a similar libral standard, known, however, only in cast coins. One series shows a median weight of 146.58 g, another of 147.16 g. Cristofani (1996) has studied Etruscan weights of the type that hangs on a steelyard. Those weights are quite different from the one in question here, being much larger and featuring a device for hanging.

44. Richardson 1992, p. 215; *LTUR* III, 1996, pp. 123–125, s.v. *Iuno Moneta, Aedes* (G. Giannelli). The temple, vowed in 345 B.C., is thought to lie underneath the Ara Coeli, but very little is known about it. The reason the mint was connected with Juno is not certain; Suidas, s.v. *Μονητα,* states that Juno advised the Romans to build a mint there during the war with Pyrrhus (281–275 B.C.). Thus the minting would be associated with an oracle from the goddess.

45. Cristofani 1992.

46. Colonna 1992, pp. 98–99.

The underworld relevance of the goddess is perhaps testified by an inscription from Populonia, thought to come from the San Cerbone necropolis.[47] On the base of an Attic red-figured skyphos of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. is inscribed *karmu kavtas turke,* "Karmu gave [this] to Kavta." Rather than a gift in a sanctuary, this seems to be an item sent to the afterlife, like some of the vessels dedicated to Ati mentioned above. In support of Colonna's equation of Cavatha with Persephone we may take note of a type of offering made to Persephone as Kore. Colonna has reported that two lunate earrings, not a pair but of differing kinds, were offerings in the south sanctuary at Pyrgi, in the area of the cult of Cavatha (Fig. 18.5 shows one).[48] It is obvious that these would be appropriate for female deities in general, but it is interesting that earrings seem to have been a special feature of Kore's cult and iconography in Italy. Numerous votive busts of her from Morgantina in Sicily show the ears conspicuously pierced to receive actual earrings.[49]

Another interesting comparison is provided by earrings found in a funerary context in southern Italy, at San Vito di Luzzi near Hipponion. There a pair of lozenge-shaped earrings featured the inscriptions KOP and ΛΥΣ, that is, Kore and Lysios, or Persephone and Dionysos (also equivalent to Liber and Libera).[50] Apart from the relevance of the earrings themselves, another significant point results from the pairing of Kore and Lysios, as Catha has been convincingly linked with Fufluns, the Etruscan Dionysos: their "houses" are adjacent on the famous microcosm of the Etruscan universe inscribed on the Piacenza liver, and, it is argued, also in the division of the heavens derived from Etruscan cosmology recorded by Martianus Capella. Further, two Etruscan inscriptions suggest that their cults were practiced together.[51]

An assortment of other written references to a daughter may relate to Catha or to some other unknown daughter figure. On one of the plates of the "Spurinas" Group, made at Vulci during the late 6th or early 5th century B.C., the word *seχ,* "daughter," was painted before firing. Because some of the plates painted in the same way bore the name of another deity, Uni, it is possible to conjecture that the artists planned in advance to provide the plates for a votive context.[52]

One of the strangest allusions to a daughter occurs in the aforementioned cosmology of Martianus Capella, dating to the 4th–5th centuries A.C., but reflecting knowledge of the earlier Etruscan system of dividing the heavens into sixteen parts. In the sixth region, we are told, were "Iovis filii, Pales et Favor cum Celeritate, Solis filia," as well as Mars, Quirinus, and Genius.[53] Many of the combinations of deities in Martianus Capella strike us as bizarre, but this one seems more challenging than usual. As Weinstock noted long ago, "no theological system can explain, it seems, this strange combination of the divine shepherd, the goddess of swift motion, the Roman and Sabine gods of war, and Genius."[54] Cristofani recently dealt with the problem of "Celeritas, Daughter of the Sun," and defended an oft-argued theory of her equation with Catha, attempting to justify the baffling attribution of swiftness to this deity by noting that the vessel from Orvieto, with the inscription *kavuθas.seχis,* shows an image of a woman turning and moving away from a man. The argument remains



Figure 18.5. Etruscan lunate gold earring from Pyrgi, 5th or 4th century B.C. G. Colonna

47. *REE* 42, 1975, pp. 213–215, no. 17 (M. Cristofani Martelli).

48. Colonna 1992, p. 92.

49. Bell 1981, pp. 141–143 (nos. 107, 110, 112–114, 116, 117, 142, etc.); many others in Bell 1981 show earrings as part of the clay sculpture: pp. 144–145 (nos. 121–124, 126, 131, 133, etc.). See also coins from Syracuse and Kyzikos that show Kore with beautiful earrings: *LIMC* VIII, 1997, p. 959, nos. 36, 37, s.v. *Persephone* (G. Güntner). The two striking terracotta busts from Ariccia thought to be Demeter and Kore (could they both be Kore?) have large spectacular earrings; see A. Z. Gallina in *Roma medio repubblicana,* pp. 321–324 (nos. 473, 474).

50. Bottini 1992, pp. 56–57.

51. Van der Meer 1987, pp. 52–53; Cristofani 1992, p. 349.

52. Fortini 1979, p. 107, no. 33; *CII* 2595; Colonna 1987, p. 23 and note 46. Recently Rizzo (1994, p. 10) has published another bowl from the "Spurinas" group with the inscription *se(χ),* from a tomb at Cerveteri.

53. The basic treatment of the text remains the study by S. Weinstock (1946); for the text in Latin, see Weinstock 1946, p. 102. More recently, van der Meer (1987) has made many contributions to the study of the text.

54. Weinstock 1946, p. 112.

unconvincing, especially given that the Attic representation really shows a courtesan turning in rejection from a customer![55]

As this is the only place in which the name Celeritas appears, some have suspected that Martianus simply made it up. I suggest that instead he (or rather, his source) took parts of the name from an Etruscan text, and not recognizing the Etruscan deity, Latinized the name. It is important to note that in Martianus the name is in the ablative and not the nominative; in the oblique case, *celeritate* more closely resembles the Etruscan name from which I suggest it was taken, Cel Ati. That is, we have here in the sixth zone what was originally a mother goddess of the earth, along with sons of Jupiter and the daughter of Sol. Whatever we may think of their collocation, they are definitely linked by their identity as family members (sons, mother, daughter). It has often been argued that region five is closely related to six, and it is interesting that some of the same themes are found there; there is an emphasis on family relationships and fertility: in five, in addition to the Coniuges Reges, there are also "Ceres, Tellurus Terraeque, pater Vulcanus, et Genius."[56]

According to this reading of the text, then, Solis Filia is no longer required to demonstrate velocity. It still remains to inquire whether this daughter is to be equated with Catha, however. Many have been persuaded of the connection for several reasons: (1) the general correspondence of the sixth zone of Martianus with the house of Cath[a] on the Piacenza liver, and the presence of Fufluns/Liber in an adjoining zone in each case; (2) the fact that Usil, Etruscan god of the Sun, is located on the underside of the liver, directly underneath the house of his alleged daughter Cath[a]; (3) a gloss of Dioskourides that states that the Etruscans gave the name of καυταμ to a plant the Romans called "Eye of the Sun"; and (4) the identity of Śuri with Apollo Soranus, as noted by Colonna, which suggests a solar connection for the sanctuary at Pyrgi.[57] The evidence adds up reasonably well. The only problem is in the fact that Catha as Daughter of the Sun does not coincide with Catha as Kore, who was the daughter of Zeus. Given the fact that Etruscan myths frequently show deviation from their Greek counterparts,[58] and that the link between Catha and Solis Filia is otherwise very tidy, we would be wise to accept this long-standing equation.

There are several other notable references to the Daughter in central Italy that help us to enlarge our idea of the ancient cult. Prosdocimi noted that the bronze Oscan tablets from Agnone, west of Rome in the Molise (5th century B.C.), describing the sanctuary of *kerrí* (= Ceres, Demeter), make mention of an area sacred to *futír*, "daughter," almost certainly the equivalent of Kore, and thus, of Catha.[59] A fascinating document is provided by a mirror in the style of Praeneste, but found in an Etruscan tomb at Orbetello, dating to the late 5th or early 4th century B.C. (Fig. 18.6).[60] Engraved upon it, with inscriptions in Latin characters, is the theme—rare in art—of the contest between Venus (VENOS) and Proserpina (PROSEPNAIS) over the child Adonis, according to which Venus entrusted the baby to Proserpina in a chest and the latter refused to give him up. Jupiter (DIOVEM) acted as mediator. The mirror provides an intriguing expansion of the themes explored in this paper, as the cast of characters

55. Cristofani 1992, p. 348.

56. Weinstock 1946, pp. 102, 110–112. Tellurus may be a male god of the earth, or perhaps a corruption of the genitive of Tellus. The ending *-rus* is also an Etruscan genitive. Cf. the name Velthur, genitive Velthurus: e.g., Rix 1992, AT 1.15.

57. Cristofani 1992, note 5, for bibliography; Colonna 1992, p. 99; van der Meer 1987, pp. 48–52.

58. Suffice it to say that in Etruria Hercle (Herakles) may slay the Minotaur: *LIMC* VI, 1992, p. 577, no. 48, s.v. *Minotauros* (S. Woodford); and Sethlans (Hephaistos) may build the Trojan Horse, named Pecse (= Pegasos): *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 39, no. 1, s.v. *Etule* (R. Lambrechts).

59. Prosdocimi 1976, p. 815. For the text of the Agnone tablet, see Bonfante 1990, p. 56.

60. *CSE* France 1.3.7.



Figure 18.6. Scene of Contest between Venus and Proserpina on Praenestine bronze mirror from Orbetello, ca. 400 B.C. N. de Grummond, after *CSE* France 1.3.7

includes figures we have seen referenced in Etruria with family appellations as mother, father, and daughter; further, the overall issue is obviously one of fertility, dealing with the mortality and immortality of Adonis.

The mirror deserves closer examination. Proserpina carries a branch in her hand that she seems to wave toward the chest containing the child, at the same time pointing to it with her index finger. Venus, already experiencing the sad separation that later finds its poignant climax in the death of Adonis, buries her face in her mantle and weeps, as Jupiter makes his decision, namely that the child will divide his time between the lower world of Proserpina and the upper world of Venus.

Emmanuel-Rebuffat sees this scene as humorous and records her impression that the chest for Adonis "prefigures our modern cat-hampers."[61] While it is true that the story of Adonis was used in ancient comedy, I am not convinced that the theme should be so trivialized on this grave gift. The real analogy for the little box is the caskets that were used as symbols of the death of Adonis in the Athenian festival of the Adonia, in which they were accompanied by the weeping of the women of Athens, who acted out the grief of Aphrodite in a ritual that was basically funerary. In fact, in the fullest account of this contest between the goddesses (Apollod. *Bibliotheca* 3.14.4), the box is specifically referred to as a

61. *CSE* France 1.3.7, p. 35: "Un petit coffre préfigurant nos modernes paniers à chats." Another French scholar, R. Bloch (*LIMC* II, 1984, p. 176, no. 42, s.v. *Aphrodite/Turan*), also thought the scene comic.

larnax, a word commonly used to refer to an ash urn or coffin (e.g., *Il.* 24.795; Thuc. 2.34).[62] Thus the scene on the mirror has strong funerary overtones, as the figure of Venus weeping over the child refers as well to the actual death of Adonis, much as the representation of a solemn Madonna with the infant Jesus on her lap may prefigure the tragic moment in which the mother holds her dead son in her arms.

The branch in the hand of Proserpina was identified by Emmanuel-Rebuffat as a myrtle, "ritually present in a number of representations of the myth of Adonis,"[63] following W. Atallah, who based his identification on a passage in Pausanias (6.24.7) describing a representation of the Three Graces at Elis. They carried roses and myrtle, Pausanias reported, sacred to Aphrodite in relation to the story of Adonis.[64] In fact we must note that on the mirror the branch is the attribute of Proserpina, not Venus; nor has it been demonstrated that it qualifies botanically as myrtle. The branch is strange, having only berries and no leaves. Myrtle does have berries, but it is an evergreen and so leaves should be present.[65] As Seyrig has noted, the branch as an attribute of Proserpina is associated with the mysteries of the underworld, as in the famous account of Aeneas plucking the Golden Bough in order to approach the kingdom of Proserpina.[66] That bough, though reflecting the proverbial wealth of the underworld, was basically dysfunctional in the upper world because no one could have eaten the fruit made of gold.

There is other evidence that Proserpina was tutelary of vegetation and animals of an ambivalent nature. Cypress and tamarisk were sacred to her, as trees that were called *infelices* and *steriles;* although they are evergreens, they do not arise again if they are cut down.[67] Similarly, to Proserpina was offered a sterile cow, a creature at once valuable but unproductive.[68] As Anne Weis has shown, in general the *arbor infelix* was associated with the gods and omens of the underworld (*inferum deorum avertentiumque;* Macr. *Sat.* 3.20.3), as noted by Tarquitius Priscus, scholar of Etruscan religion, in his *Ostentarium arborarium.*[69] The images of trees Weis discusses show precisely the paradoxical nature of the vegetation of Proserpina, often featuring dry and sterile branches side by side with leafy ones. Thus the branch held by Proserpina on the Praenestine mirror, whatever kind of plant it is, must surely be taken from an *arbor infelix;* it appears here as an omen of the tragedy of Adonis. It is interesting to note the contrast implied between the vegetation of the mother Venus, known for her roses and myrtle, and the plants of the paradoxical figure of the daughter, who lost her functional fertility by going to the underworld as the bride of death.

Weis's most striking example of the *arbor infelix* also occurs in a Praenestine context, on that superb monument of early Italian art, the Ficoroni cista, a 4th-century B.C. toilette chest probably found in a tomb, upon which is depicted the dying Amycus (Fig. 18.7).[70] The boxer king, himself a negative fertility figure because he was the inhospitable guardian of a spring, is shown in defeat, being tied to a tree by his adversary, Pollux. The plant has large barren branches along with smaller twigs that have leaves, and therefore is clearly the type of tree under the care of Proserpina.

62. On the coffins at the festival of Adonis in Athens, see Frazer 1932, p. 189. Perhaps such a larnax is represented on an Attic red-figured lebes gamikos, in a scene that has been identified as a representation of the Adonia: *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 227, no. 46, s.v. *Adonis* (B. Servais-Soyer). In general on the cult of Adonis in Etruria, and as revealed by recent discoveries at Gravisca, see Torelli 1997.

63. *CSE* France 1.3.7, p. 35.

64. Attalah 1966, p. 292.

65. Cf. Plin. *Nat.* 16.80, on the myrtle as evergreen.

66. Seyrig 1944.

67. Montero Herrero 1984, p. 64: *Cypressus et tamarix ideo mortuis ponitur, quod excisa non renascatur, aut quod infelices sint id est steriles; quod convenit Proserpinae.* (*Commentaria Bernensia ad Luc.* 3.442).

68. Montero Herrero 1984, p. 64, quoting Vergil, *A.* 6.251: *sterilemque tibi Proserpina vaccam.*

69. Weis 1982, esp. p. 27.

70. Weis 1982, pp. 26–28, 33; Dohrn 1972.



Figure 18.7. Scene of Punishment of Amycus on Praenestine bronze cista, the "Ficoroni cista," 4th century B.C. (Rome, Villa Giulia Museum).
N. de Grummond, after Dohrn 1972, foldout

There is an inscription on the Ficoroni cista that shows, I believe, just how closely the chest relates to Proserpina. It has been much discussed, though largely for its references to the artist, named as Novios Plautios, and the donor of the cista, Dindia Macolnia.[71] The inscription reads NOVIOS.PLAVTIOS.MED ROMAI.FECID DINDIA.MACOLNIA. FILEAI DEDIT. It has regularly been assumed that Dindia Macolnia gave the cista to her daughter as a wedding present, and that it was later placed in a tomb.[72] No one seems to have been concerned about the oddity that the daughter's name is not given on the magnificent object that belonged to her. I submit that the name is not given because in antiquity all would have understood who the Daughter was: Dindia Macolnia gave the cista not to her own child, but to Proserpina, to be placed in the tomb, decorated with a scene showing death associated with the *arbor infelix* that was sacred to the goddess of the underworld.

There is further evidence of the cult of the goddess associated with the burial of this object. Ficoroni reported that along with the cista was found what he called a "patera," and this object has generally been recognized in the Praenestine mirror in the Villa Giulia Museum (Fig. 18.8) that depicts the same theme as that on the cista, the boxing context of Pollux (POLOCES) and Amycus (AMUCES). This mirror probably dates to about 300 B.C.[73] The two adversaries are shown in the presence of a statuesque female figure, labeled as LOSNA, in front of whom is a crescent moon. There are as well several stars, large and small, in the sky around Pollux. Philologists have concluded that the name of Losna is an early spelling of Luna, and that we have here a representation of the goddess of the moon.[74] But why is she present for this contest? I propose that she assumes the role of Proserpina, and that she is present as a goddess of the darkness to claim Amycus, just as Proserpina lays claim to Adonis in the scene on the Orbetello mirror. The theme of the contest over life and death is played out here not between two goddesses, but between two men who will take part in a fatal struggle, the one destined to die and the other to become

71. Dohrn 1972, pp. 9, 45–48; Wallace 1990, pp. 283–285.

72. Pairault-Massa 1992, p. 123; Schneider 1994, pp. 106, 118–119, and note 84.

73. Dohrn 1972, pp. 49–51; *LIMC* I, 1981, p. 739, no. 2, s.v. *Amykos* (G. Beckel).

74. Dohrn 1972, pp. 49–51.

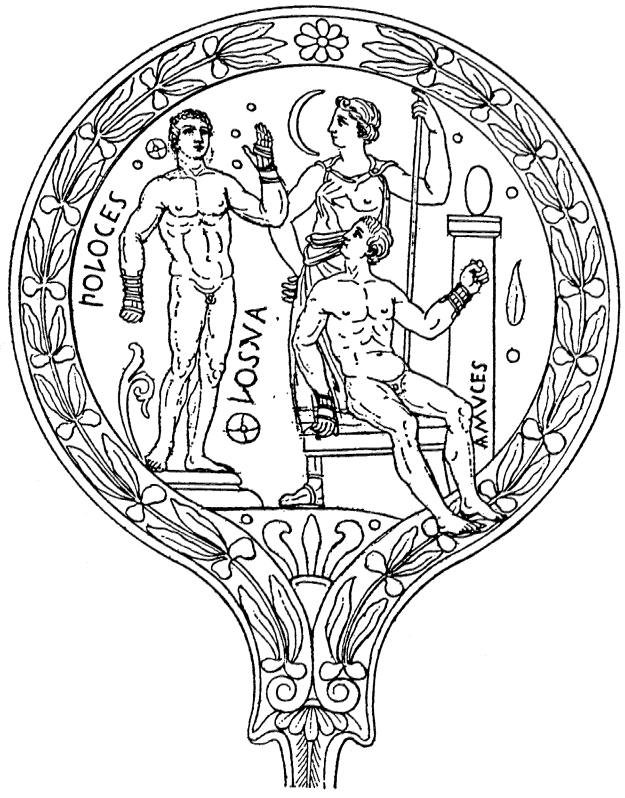


Figure 18.8. Praenestine bronze mirror, ca. 300 B.C., with Luna, Pollux, and Amycus (Rome, Villa Giulia Museum). N. de Grummond, after *ES* 2.171

immortal. The astral symbolism, including stars along with the moon, is indeed appropriate for the divine Pollux, as well as for his mortal twin Castor. In fact, there are many Etruscan mirrors that show the divine twins, the Sons of Zeus/Tinia (or the *tinas cliniiaras,* as they are called in an inscription from Tarquinia), with the stars as attributes.[75] We shall return to this point.

It is clear from literary evidence that Luna was equated with Proserpina. Varro, for example (*LL* 5.68), noted that Ennius, in his *Epicharmus,* said that Luna was the same as Proserpina, and in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (11.1–2), there is a prayer to the moon in which one of the identities of Luna is given as Proserpina. In Martianus Capella (2.161), as Juno explains the spheres of the universe to Philology, she describes a zone above the earth where roam the Heroes and the Manes: "Here Luna . . . is called Proserpina." It is easy to believe that the Praenestine mirror may reflect such a universe, in which Luna has jurisdiction over these two heroes and their souls, and may decide their destiny.

The cult of Luna was normally practiced along with that of Sol, and there are many inscriptions that testify to this pairing, including a reference in the *Fasti* from Praeneste.[76] Luna's Greek counterpart, Selene, was paired with the Sun as well, sometimes as wife, sometimes as sister, sometimes as daughter.[77] In fact Euripides (*Ph.* 175) refers to her as θύγατερ Ἀελίου, "Daughter of the Sun."

Clearly we are now circling back to the cult of Catha. I would argue that it is important to recognize her strong connection to the moon. The title of Daughter of the Sun has led scholars to refer to her cult as solar, but perhaps it would be more appropriate to call it lunar. In regard to

75. Dohrn 1972, p. 51. Examples of the twins with stars: *ES* 1, pls. 45, 46, 48, 49, etc.; see also de Grummond 1991. For the *tinas cliniiaras,* see Rix 1992, Ta 3.2.

76. *RE* XIII.2, 1927, col. 1809, s.v. *Luna* [2] (L. Wickert).

77. *RE* XIII.2, 1927, col. 1809, s.v. *Luna* [2] (L. Wickert).



Figure 18.9. Etruscan lunate votive bronze with Etruscan inscription, late 6th century B.C. (Vatican City, Vatican Museums). Vatican Museums, Vatican City

Dioskorides' reference to the καυταμ as the Eye of the Sun, this is a designation that might easily apply to the moon, since it was well known that it shone with the reflected light from the sun.[78] A tantalizing piece of evidence for the connection between Catha and the moon is found on a large bronze crescent object of unknown provenience dating to the late 6th century B.C. (Fig. 18.9). The votive inscription upon it reads *mi tiiurs kaθuniiasul.* Tiur is agreed by all to be the Etruscan word for moon, and as Colonna has noted, the deity is equivalent to Luna.[79] The meaning of the third word is disputed, but its root *kaθ-* certainly suggests a relationship with Catha.

Let us now see what general conclusions may be drawn concerning the Mother and the Daughter in Etruria and Praeneste. The inscriptions and monuments studied here belong to the Late Archaic, "Classical," and Hellenistic periods, with dates ranging from the 6th to the 3rd cen-

78. See, e.g., Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.4; Cic. *N.D.* 2.103; Manilius 4.841–844. It is interesting that the Moon was thought to have control over the eyes, so that she could cause blindness in one or both eyes: Ptol. *Tetr.* 3.12.

79. Van der Meer (1987, pp. 133–134) translated the inscription as "I [am] of Tiiur Kathuniia," while Roncalli rendered it as "I belong to Tiur, the one of Kaθunia" (*Gens antiquissima italiae,* p. 78). Colonna (1985, p. 29) earlier expressed the same opinion as that of Roncalli, but has recently suggested that the word *kaθuniiasul* may in fact contain the name of a male deity previously not recognized, *Kaθuniia[n]s,* whom he then designates as solar and a counterpart to Catha: Colonna 1993, pp. 134–135. He makes special reference to a well-known mirror in Orbetello that surely shows a male figure guiding the boat of the sun, and that features the inscription *caθesan.* He reads this as *Caθe San[s],* noting that the word *Sans* is an attested epithet for male gods in Etruria. *Caθe* then would be equivalent to *Kaθuniia[n]s.* In his interpretation the Vatican crescent could then be a dedication to both the Moon and the Sun and thus the long-standing belief in the solar nature of Catha would remain intact. On the other hand, it is important to note that the object itself is strictly lunar. Further evidence is needed to clarify this problematic inscription.

turies B.C.—in other words, a significant and extended period in Etruscan culture. The geographical area with which we are concerned includes Volterra, but pertains especially to central Italy and cult practices at Orvieto, Pyrgi, and Praeneste, with reference as well to surviving texts of the Roman Empire and Late Antiquity that reflect Etruscan religious practice.

Putting together the various scraps of evidence, we may point to a goddess at Pyrgi, Cavatha (Catha), who may have connections with the moon. A name similar to hers is associated with the crescent moon on the Vatican bronze votive (Fig. 18.8) and it is probably not accidental that the earrings dedicated to her at Pyrgi are lunate in shape (Fig. 18.5). In addition, we have the likelihood that she is paralleled by Losna of Praeneste, the moon goddess who takes the role of Proserpina. The Daughter at Praeneste, besides having a connection with the mirror, was the recipient of the fine bronze toilette chest given to her by Dindia Macolnia. In all probability the chest was marked for her as something that would go to the underworld over which she presided. Catha/Luna/Proserpina seems to be a chthonic fertility deity, and with Śuri/Sol/Dispater as consort, she controls both celestial and infernal spheres. A minor adjustment in our thinking about her is that we no longer need to think of the Daughter of the Sun as performing her duties with celerity.

Further, through her connection with Fufluns, this goddess seems to have a specific connection with vegetation. But the Daughter in ancient religion often has an unproductive aspect, expressed very poignantly in the moon itself, with its waning crescent. She usually does not reproduce (for then she becomes a Mother) and thus is a paradoxical figure as a fertility goddess. This ambivalence, evident in regard to Proserpina at Praeneste and in texts that derive from Etruscan arborial lore, may have extended to Catha as well, but thus far there is no sure evidence. That Catha was considered relevant in the underworld is suggested by inscriptions from a funerary context referring to her by name, or as daughter, and by her inclusion on the leaden tablet from Magliano.

Whereas Śuri appears ever more likely to have been the father of Catha, Esti now appears as possibly being her mother, as suggested by the inscription on the bronze cone (Fig. 18.4) and the pairing of Eistei and Śuri on the Magliano tablet. We know almost nothing about Esti and must await further discoveries.[80] At this point, the one votive offering we may associate with her is the cone, an object that has rich associations concerning the use of the valuable metal that comes from the earth. As Esti Ati, she now may be compared with Cel Ati and Turan Ati, wholehearted fertility figures in Etruscan religion. Cel begot Giant sons, while Turan Ati sought immortality for her beloved Atunis. The votive objects for Ati included a mirror (the donor, Tite Cale, gave the instrument for grooming and beauty to the Mother, just as Dindia Macolnia gave the toilette chest to the Daughter), a terracotta weight for the productive loom, as well as pottery of various kinds and usages. Cel as Ati received bronze statuettes, some carrying the pomegranate and another fruit (or perhaps an egg), as well as an inverted cone perhaps to be compared with the one for Esti Ati. These items are appropriate for chthonic figures (indeed Cel is Mother Earth).

80. It is tempting to search for her parallel in Greek mythology, where the mother of the moon (Selene) was called Theia (Thia). But the similarity between the names Esti and Theia is too slight to argue for an equation.

Finally, I must address a subcurrent that has run through this paper. This study is meant to examine the worship of the Mother and the Daughter in central Italy, but there have been various occasions in which it was also appropriate to refer to the Father and the Son(s) in early Italian religion. No doubt it would be meaningful to do a separate full-length study of the inscriptions, offerings, and images that would give a full picture of these deities. As it is, the principal themes that have arisen reveal Father Śuri as a god of the sun, and one may argue that Tinia (whose name actually means "of the day")[81] is another example of an Etruscan Father who had a solar aspect. As for the Sons, we have seen that references were frequently made in Etruria to the arrangement they made for shared immortality, in which they became stars. The evidence assembled presents, I think, a picture of the cults, offerings, and iconography associated with certain family deities of central Italy who were actually archetypal: the Father could be of the sun, the Mother of the earth, the Sons of the stars, and the Daughter of the moon.

81. Pallottino 1975, p. 233; Bonfante and Bonfante 1975, p. 145.

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Agora S166 and Related Works: The Iconography, Typology, and Interpretation of the Eastern Hadrianic Breastplate Type

by Richard A. Gergel

One of the most important examples of Roman imperial sculpture on display in the Agora in Athens is the cuirassed torso inventoried as S166 (Fig. 19.1).[1] S166 was discovered in the Agora on July 25, 1931, during excavations of the Great Drain, where it had apparently been reused face up in Late Roman times to cover the channel.[2] It was subsequently moved several meters from its findspot and set up on a base near the northeast corner of the Metroon. Unfortunately, this decidedly Roman example of commemorative portrait sculpture remains inexplicable, if not enigmatic, to many observers. Dressed in a decorated cuirass with a skirt of leather straps, but with its head, legs, and arms missing, the casual visitor to the Agora often has no clue regarding the identity, significance, nor sometimes even the gender, of the subject depicted. Even to those who are more knowledgeable of Athenian art and history, the significance of Agora S166 remains elusive. Consequently, few visitors to the Agora recognize S166 as

1. I began this study in the spring of 1990 while on a sabbatical leave granted by the Central Michigan University Board of Trustees, and was partially funded by a generous research grant from the Central Michigan University Faculty Research and Creative Endeavors Committee. It is after many unexpected and unavoidable delays that I bring this project to completion. I would like to thank the following individuals and institutions who generously granted me the use of their facilities and staff in researching this project: William D. Coulson, Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; C. K. Williams II, Director of the American School Corinth Excavations; J. P. C. Kent, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London; and William E. Metcalf, Chief Curator, The American Numismatic Society, New York. Special thanks are also due to Catherine (de Grazia) Vanderpool for sharing her insights on the Corinth specimens with me. I would also like to thank the following individuals and institutions for furnishing the photographs needed to illustrate this study: Nancy Bookidis of the American School Corinth Excavations; Brian Cook, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, The British Museum, London; K.-V. von Eickstedt of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens; Helmut Jung of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome; Alpay Pasınlı, Director of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; and Anne Stewart of the American School Agora Excavations. Lastly, I would like to thank Cornelius C. Vermeule for the encouragement he has given me in my research on cuirassed statue breastplate iconography, and for laying the fundamental groundwork in his *Berytus* articles for all subsequent research in this field.

2. Athens, Agora S166: H. 1.52 m, W. at shoulders 0.82 m. For the first detailed publication of Agora S166 see Shear 1933, pp. 178–183, figs. 8–10, pl. 6; for additional commentary see Graindor 1934, pp. 168–169, 259; *Agora* I, pp. 761–764, pls. 36, 37; Toynbee 1956, p. 213, note 2; Wegner 1956, p. 93; Hanfmann and Vermeule 1957, pp. 226, 232, 233, 238, pl. 73:15; Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 183; de Grazia 1973, p. 313, note 3; Huskinson 1975, pp. 47–48, 52, 54, pl. 28:1–3; Dulière 1979, pp. 199, 207.

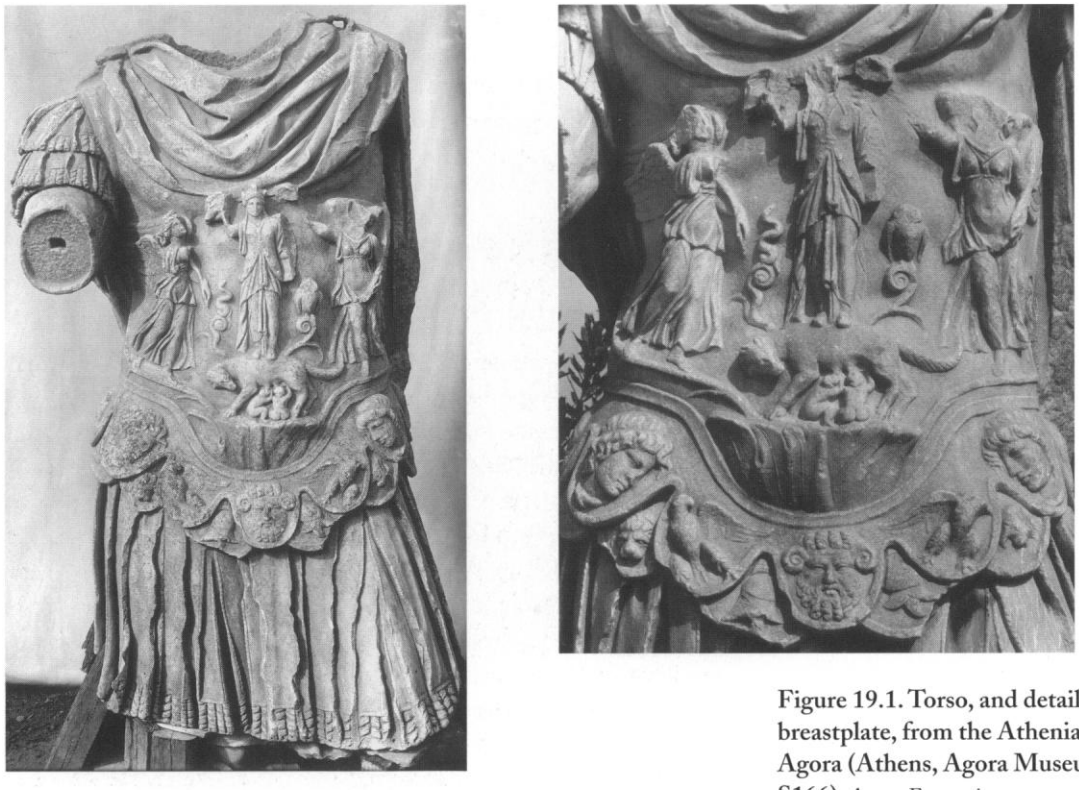


Figure 19.1. Torso, and detail of breastplate, from the Athenian Agora (Athens, Agora Museum S166). Agora Excavations

a portrait statue of Hadrian, one of the city's most preeminent benefactors and the most philhellene of all Roman emperors. In fact, few realize that Agora S166 is a canonical example of the single most recognizable breastplate style of the immediate post-Trajanic period, the so-called eastern Hadrianic breastplate type.

Indeed, of the more than six hundred complete and fragmentary cuirassed statues that have been documented and studied through the writings of Cornelius Vermeule, Klaus Stemmer, and other researchers with special interests in this particular class of Roman portrait statue dedication, no single group of related works has been more noticed, yet, at the same time, so summarily treated, as the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type. Characterized by the representation of pendant Victories flanking a statue of Athena (but on three examples a Roma-Virtus) standing on the back of a she-wolf with nursing twins, the distinctive iconography of this breastplate type has long been associated with the philhellene policies of the Hadrianic age. With relatively complete specimens on public display in Amman, Beirut, Herakleion, Istanbul, Kisamos, London, Olympia, Tunis, and at the Villa Ariadne (Villa Evans) at Knossos, and with additional fragmentary examples in Antalya, Athens, Corinth, Olympia, and Üsküb̈ü, the twenty examples of this breastplate type constitute the single largest "group" of related works within the entire corpus of Roman imperial cuirassed statues with historiated breastplates.

Even though individual specimens and related examples have been published in various museum catalogues, in excavation reports, and in several specialized surveys on cuirassed statues, no single study has yet

focused exclusively on the problems related to the typology, chronology, and iconography of the examples that constitute this group. The following study not only deals with these problems, but will also relate the familiar breastplate iconography of these works to the philhellene spirit of the Hadrianic and immediately post-Hadrianic age.

HISTORIOGRAPHY, TYPOLOGY, AND DISTRIBUTION

Identification of the statues and fragments that represent the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type began in 1885, when Warwick Wroth proposed to identify a headless torso from Cyrene in the British Museum as a portrait of Hadrian, on the basis of a comparison with the breastplate of an already well-known cuirassed statue of this same emperor from Hierapytna, Crete, in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.[3] Despite objections raised later that year by C. T. Newton that the London torso was really Augustan and that the Hierapytna Hadrian was an inferior work of the 3rd century A.C.,[4] Wroth proved that the London statue was indeed a work of the Hadrianic age through a brief study of cuirassed statue breastplate iconography, and by noting additional similarities between the London torso and a recently discovered cuirassed statue of Hadrian from Olympia.[5]

Wroth's research established, therefore, the existence of a specific Hadrianic breastplate type comprising the three published examples in Istanbul, London, and Olympia. In 1901 additional specimens were identified by Luigi Savignoni from Kisamos and Gortyna, and in 1919 Anton Hekler added three further Athenian examples that were then to be found in situ on the Akropolis (current location undocumented), in the Acropolis Museum, and in the National Museum (current location undocumented).[6] The list of known examples was brought to ten with the publication in 1932 of Corinth S1456,[7] and in 1933 of Agora S166,[8] the focus of this study. Two additional specimens, one in the Villa Ariadne at Knossos and another from Üsküdü, were first published, respectively, by Georg Karo in 1935[9] and by Friedrich Karl Dörner in 1952.[10] In 1959, Vermeule, in the first modern survey of all extant cuirassed statues in marble and bronze, brought the number of works to fifteen by citing previously unrecognized specimens in the Agora in Athens,[11] Beirut,[12] and Corinth.[13] The statue from Tunis was added to the group by Gilbert Charles Picard in 1957;[14] a fragmentary torso in Antalya, although first published in 1923–1924,[15] was recognized as an example of this type by Elizabeth Rosenbaum only in 1960;[16] and a statue from Amman was added by Fawzi el Fakharani in

3. Wroth 1885.
4. Newton 1885.
5. Wroth 1886.
6. Hekler 1919, pp. 232–233.
7. *Corinth* X, pp. 125–133.
8. Shear 1933, pp. 178–183, figs. 8–10, pl. 6.
9. Karo 1935, p. 241.
10. Dörner 1952, p. 30, no. 63, pl. 13.
11. Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 193.
12. Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 187A.
13. Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 184.
14. Picard 1957, p. 422, pl. XIX.
15. Moretti 1923–1924.
16. Rosenbaum 1960, p. 77.

1975.[17] In 1978, Stemmer brought the list to twenty by citing previously unpublished specimens in the Acropolis Museum in Athens[18] and in the Archaeological Museum at Olympia.[19] In 1978 Vermeule also reported the discovery at Knidos in 1972 and 1973 of two unpublished fragmentary statues that may belong to this group.[20] Two closely related works can also be found in the collection of the museum at Cyrene,[21] and an iconographic variant on the standard type is in the archaeological museum in Antakya.[22]

Among the twenty complete and fragmentary works that are the focus of this study, no two are identical, with many variations in stance, drapery style, breastplate composition, and lappet (a decorated flap or tab) decoration. Of the twelve figures for which the arrangement of all four limbs can be reconstructed, three different leg- and arm-pose combinations occur.[23] Moreover, five of the examples in this group include an adjunct barbarian supplicant bound at the emperor's feet; in three instances the figure kneels at the emperor's right side,[24] and on two other specimens the captive either lies or can be reconstructed to lie beneath the emperor's raised left foot.[25]

Additional variations occur in the decoration of the breastplate. Although the standard type depicts winged Victories flanking a statue of Athena standing on the back of a she-wolf with nursing twins, three examples replace the figure of Athena with an allegorical personification best described as Roma-Virtus;[26] and of those showing the goddess Athena all but two depict her accompanied by her symbols, the owl and the snake.[27] On seven of these the snake appears at Athena's right and the owl at her left, but on three others their positions are reversed.[28] All the examples of this group show their central figure flanked by winged Victories, but on two the pendant Victories stand on captives who recline along the lower

17. El Fakharani 1975, pp. 399–400, fig. 26.

18. Stemmer 1978, pp. 44–46, pl. 26:5–7.

19. Stemmer 1978, p. 50, pl. 30:2–5.

20. Vermeule 1978, pp. 105–106, no. 187D (or 188D). Unfortunately, I have been unable to identify any published photographs or further references to these two works.

21. See Rosenbaum 1960, pp. 77–78, nos. 101, 102, pl. 63. Both show Athena flanked by winged Victories, but without the customary flanking snake and owl or the she-wolf and twins below.

22. Antakya (Turkey), archaeological museum, 11113; see Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, I, pp. 98–99, no. 47, pls. 38:3, 41. The Antakya specimen is a portrait statue that survives complete with a head of Hadrian. The breastplate shows an archaistic Athena, but flanked by griffins instead of Victories and without the owl, snake, and she-wolf with nursing twins.

23. Stemmer (1978) identified twelve major arm, leg, and drapery combinations that occur in eighteen possible variations, in a study of chronological and stylistic interrelationships within a select group of approximately 200 complete and fragmentary cuirassed statues and torsos. All of the works that constitute the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type fall within four of Stemmer's "schemata." Of the twelve works of this group in which the arm and leg poses can be reconstructed, six stand in a classical Polykleitan contrapposto stance, with a chiastic distribution of the limbs showing the diagonally opposed right leg and left arm active: Athens, Acropolis Museum 3000; Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 5; Kisamos (Crete), castle; Knossos, Villa Ariadne; Olympia, Archaeological Museum Λ148; and Tunis, Musée du Bardo. Four stand, however, with both their right leg and right arm active: Amman, Jordan Archaeological Museum; Antalya Museum; Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 123; and London, British Museum 1466. Two others have both their left arm and left leg active: Athens, Agora S166; Beirut, National Museum.

24. Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 5; Kisamos, castle; and Tunis, Musée du Bardo, entrance.

25. Antalya Museum; Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 50.

26. Beirut, National Museum; Knossos, Villa Ariadne; Üsküdü (Turkey), schoolhouse.

27. London, British Museum 1466; Beirut, National Museum.

28. Knossos, Villa Ariadne; Olympia, Archaeological Museum Λ148, Λ2248.

edge of the breastplate.[29] Lastly, three of the examples show a Gorgoneion/Medusa head on the chest, whereas on the greater majority of the surviving works, the front of the upper torso is concealed by the draping of the *paludamentum.* Moreover, there is no consistency among the twenty specimens in the draping of the *paludamentum,* nor is there a direct correlation with regard to drapery style and figure pose. Yet all examples share the single defining characteristic of a breastplate composition: they show either the goddess Athena, or Roma-Virtus, flanked by winged Victories, standing on the back of a she-wolf with nursing twins.

The examples of this group also demonstrate a remarkable consistency with regard to cuirass type. Two different cuirass styles were common during the Roman period. One is the "classical" style, wherein the lower edge of the cuirass is trimmed with one or more rows of lappets. The other is the "hellenistic" style, in which the cuirass has the lower edge trimmed with a single row of short leather straps instead of lappets. Even though it was the occasional practice in earlier periods for the same breastplate composition to be produced in multiples on cuirasses in both the "classical" and "hellenistic" styles, all the examples of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type show their subject wearing a "classical"-style cuirass trimmed with two rows of lappets at its lower edge. The selection of the "classical"-style cuirass allows for the incorporation of subsidiary decorative motifs that complement the principal decorative program on the face of the cuirass. This in itself indicates that a definite choice has been made in favor of one mode of message transmission rather than the other.

The strong consistency that characterizes the decoration of the lappets on the statues of this group suggests that all derive from one or more contiguously or sequentially conceived prototypes. A Zeus-Ammon head invariably decorates the center lappet of the upper row on all surviving examples. The flanking lappets customarily depict a symmetrical arrangement of pendant lappets showing, from the center out, first eagles, then Medusa heads, and then elephant heads. Rosettes and various types of weapons or armor generally decorate the remaining lappets of the upper row. Only three examples deviate from this pattern.[30] A standard formula also characterizes the arrangement of the lappets of the lower row. The customary arrangement shows two central lappets decorated with pendant facing Corinthian helmets symmetrically flanked by lappets decorated first with lion's heads and then others with either rosettes, peltas, shields, greaves, or animal skins (the Golden Fleece?). Variants on this sequence can, of course, be documented, the most interesting of these being the Hierapytna Hadrian in Istanbul, which shows a single male and a single female prisoner decorating the two center lower lappets. Only Olympia Λ148, one of three post-Hadrianic examples of this group, breaks completely from the standard arrangement of the lower lappets; it has an inverted sequence with the two center lappets depicting greaves symmetrically flanked first by round shields, then lion's heads, then helmets.

Despite variant arrangements, the sequence and general stylistic execution of the lappets on the statues of this group are so consistent that the identification of two or three juxtaposed lappets, or even the chance

29. Antalya Museum; Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 5.

30. On the statue in the Villa Ariadne at Knossos the relative positions of the eagles and Medusa heads are reversed, and the two variant examples in Corinth show an even greater latitude in their lappet selection and placement. Instead of the customary sequence, from the center out, of Zeus-Ammon head, eagle, Medusa head, and elephant head, the lappets over the reconstructed right hip of Corinth S1456 show a Zeus-Ammon head, eagle, Medusa head, ram's head, and elephant head. In this instance the insertion of the additional ram's head lappet motif may have been dictated by the larger-than-life-size scale of the figure. On a second fragmentary example in the Corinth Archaeological Museum magazine (S1872 joined with S2180), rampant griffins replace the Medusa heads, perhaps in deference to the local popularity of the cult of Apollo.

discovery of a single lappet such as Agora S1690, decorated with a Zeus-Ammon head, is enough to document the existence of a specimen from this group.

The twenty published examples of this breastplate type have all been found in the Greek-speaking eastern provinces of the empire, with exactly half deriving from mainland Greece. Four more are from Crete, and two each are from Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa. Of the ten published examples from mainland Greece, six are from Athens, two are from Corinth, and two are from Olympia. The four examples from Crete were discovered at Gortyna, Hierapytna, Kisamos, and Knossos; the two examples from Asia Minor are from Antalya in Pamphylia and Üskübü in Bithynia; those from Syria were discovered in Amman and at Tyre; and the two examples from North Africa are from Cyrene and from Haidra in Africa Proconsularis. The concentration of examples from three cities in mainland Greece and from select administrative and trade centers in Asia Minor, Syria, and North Africa suggests a localized focus of the ideology of this breastplate type on the Greek-speaking eastern half of the empire.

The association of this breastplate type with Hadrian is easy to prove because two of the works of this group, the statue of Hadrian from Hierapytna in Istanbul and the statue of Hadrian from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (Olympia Λ148), survive with their heads intact. The latter is a posthumous image, but the former has been dated by Max Wegner, on the basis of comparison with the so-called Stazione Termini portrait type, to the early years of Hadrian's reign.[31] In addition, the fragmentary torso from Üskübü was found near an inscribed statue base bearing an honorific inscription to Hadrian dated to A.D. 126.[32] With the exception of Olympia Λ2248, a portrait of Antoninus Pius, also from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia, and a second possible statue of Antoninus Pius from the Antonine reconstruction of the theater at Amman, all other examples of this group should be identified as portraits of Hadrian. With regard to these last two cited works, both are stylistically post-Hadrianic in date, both derive from dynastic ensembles of Antonine family members, and both should be regarded as a perpetuation of Hadrian's philhellene ideology into the reign of his successor.

Stylistic criteria also support an association with the Hadrianic age. Note in particular the manner in which the lappet motifs are carved. The actual lappets are generally larger, rounder, and fewer in number than those found on earlier Flavian and Trajanic statues. Moreover, with the exception of the two finely executed examples from Corinth, the lappets on these works generally lack the delicately stitched borders that characterize even the most routinely executed specimens of the preceding Flavian and Trajanic periods. The typical Hadrianic lappet, such as Agora S1690, has a thick, sharply defined border of quadratic contour, and the individual motifs that decorate these lappets are very large and practically fill all the available surface within the broad framing edge. The carved forms also show a relatively high degree of roundness and projection, yet, in execution, are generally limited to a single plane of raised relief surface. As a point of contrast, the motifs on Flavian and Trajanic statues are generally smaller

31. Wegner 1956, pp. 41–42.
32. Dörner 1952, p. 16, no. 9.

in proportion with respect to the surface of the lappets they decorate, while Flavian lappet motifs, in particular, show a subtlety of carving combined with an illusionistic use of the drill and varied height of relief surface not found or equaled in any other time period. Much the same holds true for the figures and floral forms that decorate these breastplates, where an emphasis on simple, large, broadly modeled, and rounded forms distinguish the Hadrianic examples from those of Trajanic and Flavian date.

Noting differences in iconography, style, and pose, I propose that the twenty specimens of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type can be divided into four chronologically successive groups. The five examples that constitute the first statue group, what I propose to call the "eastern Victory type," include an adjunct female captive shown either in abject humiliation beneath the emperor's foot or bound and kneeling at the emperor's side. These examples are all from the earliest years of Hadrian's rule and should date from A.D. 117 to 123. The second group, the "Roma-Virtus type," comprises three statues that substitute an Amazon warrior for the customary Athena at the center of the breastplate. I suggest that these specimens correspond to developments in Hadrian's imperial ideology and probably date from 123 to 131/132. The third group, which I have named the "Hadrianos Panhellenios type," constitutes nine examples, six from Athens, two from Corinth, and a single specimen from Cyrene. Agora S166, the subject of this study, is the principal specimen of this group. I submit that all the examples of this group were specifically set up to honor Hadrian as founder of the Panhellenion, and that they all date from the time of the emperor's institution of this organization, in 131/132, to the time of his death in 138. The final group, comprising three posthumous specimens, demonstrates that the panhellenic ideology of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type remains current after the emperor's death. One of these is a portrait of the deified Hadrian, whereas the second, and perhaps the third, are portraits of Antoninus Pius, his designated successor. Discussion on the criteria and rationale for this four-part grouping follows.

Group I: The Eastern Victory Type

The first group comprises five examples that I propose to date to the earliest years of Hadrian's reign. Three of these, the statues from Hierapytna, Gortyna, and Kisamos, are from Crete, the fourth is a breastplate fragment from Antalya in Asia Minor, and the fifth is a statue from Haidra in Tunisia. All five have breastplate compositions of the standard type (a statue of Athena flanked by Victories and standing on the back of the she-wolf with nursing twins), and they all show the goddess accompanied by a snake at her right side and an owl at her left. More importantly, all five include, or can be restored to have once included, an adjunct female captive either pressed down below the emperor's left foot or kneeling in supplication at his right side. The presence of an adjunct captive is the defining point of commonality for this group. In addition, the examples from Antalya and Gortyna show pendant captives reclining along the lower edge of the breastplate, and the statue from Hierapytna displays pendant captives in its lappet decoration.



Figure 19.2. Portrait of Hadrian, and detail of captive, from Hierapytna (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 50). Archaeological Museum, Istanbul

The over-life-size statue from Hierapytna in Istanbul is the most important example of this group (Fig. 19.2).[33] Not only is it the most complete of the twenty works representing the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type, but it is also one of only two specimens in the group to survive with its original head of Hadrian intact; and of these two it is the only one to have been made during the emperor's lifetime.[34] As noted above, the Istanbul statue is the key work for associating this breastplate and statue type with Hadrian. The head of this statue, broken off at the neck and now reattached, was originally carved in one piece with the body it surmounts. Bent slightly forward and crowned with a laurel wreath, the head belongs, according to Max Wegner, to no known specific portrait group, but is closest in style to the so-called Stazione Termini portrait type from the early years of Hadrian's reign.[35] Thus, evidence provided by the portrait helps to secure an early date for the five related works of this group.

The Istanbul statue is relatively complete and shows Hadrian standing in the attitude of a victorious general with his right arm raised, probably to hold a spear or sword, his left arm lowered at his side. The emperor stands with his right leg active, but has his left leg bent at the knee and raised slightly to press down on the back of a reclining captive who tries to crawl out from beneath his foot. The captive is female. She wears a long-sleeved high-belted chiton and a mantle fastened across her chest with a

33. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 50: H. 2.68 m. See Wroth 1885; Newton 1885, p. 378; Wroth 1886, pp. 128, 132, 137, 140–142, no. 53; Hekler 1919, pp. 232–233; *Corinth* X, p. 131; Shear 1933, pp. 180, 182, note 1; Graindor 1934, p. 258; *Agora* I, pp. 72, 73; Wegner 1956, pp. 41, 42, 58, 67–69, 71, 98, pls. 13:a, 16:c; Picard 1957, pp. 421–422; Hanfmann and Vermeule 1957, pp. 232, 233, 237, 239, pl. 73:17; Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 182, pl. 15:47; Niemeyer 1968, pp. 49, 97, pl. 17:2; de Grazia 1973, p. 312, note 1, p. 313; el Fakharani 1975, p. 399; Huskinson 1975, p. 40, note 2; Dulière 1979, pp. 198–209; Vermeule 1981, p. 25.

34. The other example is the posthumous statue of Hadrian from the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia.

35. Wegner 1956, pp. 41–42.

large round fibula. She is bare-headed but wears a fillet placed quite high on the top of her head and behind her ears.

The breastplate is of the standard type. So too are the lappets of the upper row. Instead of the usual facing Corinthian helmets, however, pendant captives decorate the two center lappets of the lower row. Of these two, the lappet at the statue's proper right shows a seated male captive with his hands bound behind his back. His chest and legs are bare. He has been stripped of his clothing except for a Phrygian cap and a cloak, which he wears fastened across his chest and wrapped around his waist. The pendant lappet to the proper left displays a female captive seated in a standard pose of mourning, with her lowered head resting against the palm of her raised right hand. She wears a long tunic, and a mantle that she has pulled up over her head as a veil, in a gesture of sorrow or mourning.

The second example of this group is a torso fragment from Antalya.[36] Although only the lower portion of the torso survives, it is clear that this work reproduces the very same stance and pose seen on the statue from Hierapytna, and it must also once have included an adjunct captive lying beneath the emperor's raised left foot. This reconstruction can be verified on the basis of the sway of the straps along the left side of the figure and by the elevated position of the raised left thigh. One can assume further, from the line of breakage along the left side of the torso, that the left arm was lowered and the right arm raised in the same manner as seen in the disposition of the upper limbs on the Hierapytna Hadrian. The Antalya and Hierapytna examples differ, however, in their lappet and breastplate decorations. The lappets of the Antalya torso are of the standard type and do not include the two mourning captives that decorate the center lower lappets of the Hierapytna statue. The Antalya torso includes, however, two pendant prisoners reclining along the lower edge of the breastplate. Unfortunately, the surface of the Antalya statue is severely weathered and little information can be obtained from available photographs regarding the actual costume, identity, and gender of these figures.

The third example of this group, from Gortyna, is now in the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion (Fig. 19.3).[37] Unlike the examples from Hierapytna and Antalya, the Gortyna statue stands with its right leg active and left leg relaxed, but with the left arm raised and right arm relaxed. The lappet arrangement is, however, of the standard type, showing the more normal arrangement of facing Corinthian helmets, rather than captives, on the two center lappets of the lower row. A striking similarity can be drawn, however, with the Antalya torso fragment, in that both the Gortyna and Antalya examples show pendant captives reclining along the lower edge of the breastplate. In fact, similarities between the two are so strong that missing details on the Antalya specimen can be reconstructed on the basis of the representation of the captives on the Gortyna breastplate (Fig. 19.3:c, d). With their hands tied behind their backs, the two figures on the Gortyna statue gaze up toward the pendant Victories who gracefully stride over their bodies. With regard to the identification of these two figures, one might reasonably assume that the pendant pair would comprise one male and one female captive. Yet there is nothing in either

36. Antalya Museum: H. 0.41 m (provenience unknown). See Moretti 1923–1924, text and fig. 20; Rosenbaum 1960, p. 77; Huskinson 1975, p. 40, note 1; Vermeule 1964, p. 106, no. 204A; Stemmer 1978, pp. 52–54, pl. 32:3.

37. Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 5: H. 2.24 m. See Hekler 1919, pp. 232–233; *Corinth* X, p. 132, note 2:b; Shear 1933, p. 180; Graindor 1934, p. 258; *Agora* I, pp. 72–73; Platon 1955, p. 10, no. 5; Wegner 1956, pp. 67–69, 98; de Grazia 1973, p. 312, note 1; Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 186; Stemmer 1978, pp. 37–38, 44–46, 51, note 153, pl. 22:1.



a



b



c



e



d

Figure 19.3 *(opposite)*. **Statue with breastplate from Gortyna** *(a, b)*; **details of left captive on breastplate** *(c)* **and right captive on breastplate** *(d)*; **kneeling captive at right leg** *(e)* **(Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 5).** R. Gergel

their physical appearance or costume to establish any differentiation between the two on the basis of gender. Both wear an identical costume consisting of *bracae,* a short fringed tunic, and Phrygian cap. One can only postulate that both are male.

In all other details the breastplate composition of the Gortyna statue follows the standard type (Fig. 19.3:b). A cornucopia-decorated strap passes over the shoulder and fastens to the breastplate with an elaborate lion-headed attachment device. A Medusa head occupies the center of the chest above the customary front-facing Athena. Dressed in a long tunic, but with no aegis, and flanked to the left and right by her owl and snake, Athena stands on the back of a she-wolf with nursing twins. Pendant winged Victories carrying crowns and palm branches complete the composition.

The Gortyna statue also includes an adjunct female captive who kneels, with her hands tied behind her back, in supplication at the emperor's right side (Fig. 19.3:e). Dressed in a long tunic, with the heavy folds of her mantle fastened at the front with a large fibula, she wears the same costume as that on the female captive lying beneath Hadrian's left foot on the statue from Hierapytna. Unfortunately, the head of the adjunct figure has not survived, but presumably it would have been unveiled and filleted in the manner of the reclining captive on the Hierapytna statue.

The fourth example of this group is a headless statue from Kisamos.[38] It has the same pose and drapery arrangement as those of the statue in Herakleion, with its right leg active and left relaxed, the right arm lowered and the left raised. The Kisamos statue also has a breastplate composition and lappet arrangement of the standard type, though less skillfully worked than the examples from Hierapytna and Gortyna. It includes, as on the statue from Gortyna, an adjunct kneeling female captive, with her hands tied behind her back, at the emperor's right side. The captive wears a long-sleeved high-belted chiton and a mantle fastened across her chest. Although headless, she is of the same generalized ethnic type as those of the surviving adjunct figures of the statues from Gortyna and Hierapytna.

The final example of this group is a statue from the Forum at Haidra (ancient Ammaedara) now in the Musée du Bardo, Tunis (Fig. 19.4).[39] It survives relatively complete except for the loss of its head (once inset), both arms, the right leg from below the knee, and the left foot from below the ankle. The figure stood in contrapposto pose with its right leg active and its left relaxed. A raised left arm and lowered right complete a perfect chiastic arrangement of the four limbs. Along the outside of the figure's right leg one can discern the contour of what appears to be a statue support, but since the *paludamentum* falls from the left shoulder and down the left side of the figure, this cannot be drapery. It might be part of a tree trunk support, but comparison with the statues in Herakleion and at Kisamos indicate that this can be only the remains of an adjunct female captive kneeling at the emperor's right side. Thus, the Herakleion, Kisamos, and Tunis statues not only share a common leg stance, arm pose, and drapery arrangement, but also include an adjunct kneeling captive of the same type and in the same position.

The Tunis statue has a breastplate and lappet arrangement of standard type, with the upper portion of the breastplate remarkably well preserved.

38. Kisamos, castle: H. 1.8 m. See Savignoni 1901, text and pl. 25:1; Hekler 1919, pp. 232–233, fig. 161; *Corinth* X, p. 132, note 29; Shear 1933, p. 180; Graindor 1934, p. 258; *Agora* I, pp. 72–73; Wegner 1956, pp. 67–68, 99; de Grazia 1973, p. 312, note 1; Huskinson 1975, p. 40, note 5; Vermeule 1959, pp. 55–56, no. 187; Stemmer 1978, pp. 38, 48, 53–54, pl. 29:1, 2.

39. Tunis, Musée du Bardo, entrance: over-life-size. See Picard 1957, p. 422, pl. XIX; Vermeule 1959, p. 76, no. 345; Stemmer 1978, pp. 38, 46, pl. 22:2.



Figure 19.4. Statue, and detail of breastplate, from Haidra, ancient Ammaedara (Tunis, Musée du Bardo). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 75.1227)

Note the exceptional detail on the Medusa head and flanking shoulder strap attachments on the chest. Although headless, the figure of Athena, wearing a long tunic and aegis, is also fairly well preserved, and so are the flanking Victories who move toward her carrying crowns and palm branches. However, the lower portion of the breastplate, as well as most of the lappets across the front, are badly damaged. Yet the outline of a she-wolf with nursing twins can be made out beneath the feet of Athena, and, although poorly preserved, one can easily recognize the outline of a Zeus-Ammon head flanked by eagles at the center of the upper lappet row, and pendant helmets flanked by lion's heads just below.

The single predominant factor that unifies these five statues is the presence of an adjunct female captive shown either kneeling at the emperor's right side, as with the Gortyna (Fig. 19.3:e), Kisamos, and Tunis examples, or pressed down in abject humiliation beneath the emperor's left foot, as shown in the Hierapytna statue (Fig. 19.2) and as can be reconstructed for the Antalya specimen. In addition, the Antalya and Gortyna examples show pendant captives reclining along the lower edge of the breastplate, and the Istanbul statue has pendant captives depicted on the two center lappets of the lower row. The identification of such figures could play an important role in determining the date and context surrounding the dedication of these five works, but attempts to discern their exact identity have yielded inconclusive results. In fact, a general lack of specificity characterizes the representation of these captives.

For example, consider closely the adjunct female figure who lies beneath the foot of the Hierapytna Hadrian (Fig. 19.2) and the two who kneel at the side of the Gortyna (Fig. 19.3:e) and Kisamos statues. All three wear a generalized style of eastern costume and, even though only the Hierapytna captive has survived with its head intact, surviving drapery folds indicate that all three were shown with their heads uncovered. Of these three figures the Hierapytna captive is the most complete and the most often discussed. In his initial discussion of this, the Istanbul statue, in 1885, Wroth identified the female as either a Mauri or a North African Jew. Subsequent authors addressing this issue either cite Wroth's generalized identification or decide in favor of one ethnic type over the other. Wegner, in 1956, associated the Istanbul captive with Hadrian's thwarting of the Mauri revolt at the beginning of his reign,[40] whereas Picard, in 1957, identified the same captive as a Cyrenaean Jew.[41] Similarly, Vermeule, in 1968, described the Istanbul Hadrian as standing "with his foot on the back of a Jewish captive,"[42] but, when describing all the statues of this type as a whole, Vermeule acknowledges that "the barbarians at the legs of several statues in the group vary enough to indicate references to the several disturbances and the multinational triumph ushering in Hadrian's reign."[43] Based on the evidence presented, a precise identification of these adjunct figures cannot be made. They simply allude to Roman military accomplishments in the eastern Mediterranean basin.

The same applies to the pendant captives who recline along the lower edge of the breastplate on the Antalya and Kisamos statues. While the Phrygian caps worn by these figures certainly suggest a possible Dacian identification, the loose-fitting trousers and short tunics indicate a more generalized eastern association. Similarly, the male and female captives that decorate the two center lower lappets on the Istanbul statue also wear Phrygian caps, but they remain generalized in their overall appearance. As stated above, these figures are not intended to represent any single specific conquered people, but symbolize Rome's power in suppressing all nations who challenge Roman rule throughout the eastern half of the empire.

As proposed above, the five examples of this statue group represent what I call the eastern Victory type. Their iconography alludes in a generalized way to the complex military situation faced by Hadrian at the very beginning of his reign. Hadrian received official news of his adoption on August 9, 117, and was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Syria two days later (*Hist. Aug., Had.* 4.7–8). The military situation faced by the new emperor was precarious, perhaps even the most dangerous since the civil wars that followed the death of Nero.[44] Trajan's eastern wars and territorial acquisitions had put great strain on the empire's resources and on the morale of the army. Indeed, one of Hadrian's first acts as emperor was to abandon the new Trajanic provinces of Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Greater Armenia (*Hist. Aug., Had.* 5.3). His presence was needed at the Dacian front, and there were also problems that required his attention in Britain, but of immediate concern was rebellion in two different locations in North Africa.[45] The most serious of these was that of the African Jews in Egypt and Libya. Circumstances surrounding this insurrection are well known.

40. Wegner 1956, p. 58.

41. Picard 1957, p. 422.

42. Vermeule 1968, p. 41; restated in Vermeule 1981, p. 25, but here he cites a proposal made to him by Charles Seltman that the young Jewish captive is male.

43. Vermeule 1968, p. 262.

44. For the most recent survey of the military events of the first months of Hadrian's reign, see Birley 1997, pp. 77–86.

45. As reported in *Hist. Aug., Had.* 5.2, *nam deficientibus iis nationibus quas Traianus subegerat, Mauri lacessebant, Sarmatae bellum inferebant, Britanni teneri sub Romana dicione non poterant, Aegyptus seditionibus urgebatur, Libya denique ac Palaestina rebelles animos efferebant.*

In A.D. 115 while Trajan was on military campaign in distant Parthia, the Jews in Alexandria rose viciously against the Greeks in their city.[46] The insurgence spread quickly to Cyrene and resulted not only in great loss of life, but also in widespread damage to the city's physical structure. In 117 Trajan entrusted Q. Marcius Turbo with the task of putting down this revolt,[47] and immediately after it was suppressed he initiated a repopulation program that involved the settlement of 3,000 legionary veterans throughout the region under the direction of L. Gravius Fronto.[48] The resettlement program continued into the early years of Hadrian's reign, as did the rebuilding of Cyrene's civic and architectural fabric, with the new emperor playing a strong role as patron during the early years of reconstruction. In or around 119 he repaired the road from Cyrene to the port city of Apollonia,[49] he rebuilt the Temple of Hecate in the Sanctuary of Apollo[50] and the public baths,[51] and he restored the city's basilica.[52] The Cyrenaeans, in turn, honored Hadrian for his benefactions on their behalf. For example, two inscriptions from Cyrene, one dated 119[53] and another dated 118 or 119,[54] not only salute Hadrian as the son of the divine Trajan, conqueror of Parthia, but also honor him for his own success in quelling the uprising of the Cyrenaean Jews.

In the meantime, a revolt arose among the Mauri in the province of Africa Mauretania.[55] Lusius Quietus, a veteran general from Mauretania and then governor of Judaea, was a long-time foe of Hadrian. Although he could not be considered a serious rival to the throne, he had enough power and prestige for Hadrian to consider him a dangerous opponent.[56] Hadrian dismissed Quietus from his command in Judaea and sent the general's loyal contingent of Moorish soldiers back home to Mauretania (*Hist.Aug., Had.* 5.8). Their dismissal led to widespread disaffection among the Mauri that escalated into outright rebellion against Rome. Upon completion of his work in Cyrene, Marcius Turbo was dispatched to Africa Mauretania by Hadrian to break the Mauri revolt.[57] No reference to the quelling of the Mauri insurrection can be found in Hadrian's standard-issue numismatic reverse types, but, according to Joseph Vögt and Paul Strack, it was celebrated in the provincial coinage of Alexandria.[58]

Even before he could go to Rome to celebrate his succession, Hadrian first marched to the Balkans to respond to military actions against Rome

46. Fraser and Applebaum 1950, pp. 83–84. For a brief discussion of Hadrian's actions to reconcile animosity between the Greek and Jewish populations of Alexandria, see Alexander 1938, pp. 157–158.

47. Fraser and Applebaum 1950, p. 84.

48. Fraser and Applebaum 1950, p. 88; Larsen 1952, p. 11.

49. Fraser and Applebaum 1950, p. 89; *SEG* IX.252.

50. Fraser and Applebaum 1950, p. 89.

51. Fraser and Applebaum 1950, p. 89; *AfrIt* 1.321.

52. Smallwood 1952.

53. Smallwood 1966, p. 42, no. 60: *Imp. Caesar divi Traiani Parthici fil. divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug. pontif. max. trib. potest. III cos. III balineum cum porticibus et sphaeristeris ceterisque adiacentibus quae tumultu Iudiaico diruta et exusta erant civitati Cyrenensium restitui iussit.*

54. Smallwood 1966, p. 42, no. 59: *Imp. Caes. divi Traiani Parthici f. divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug. p.m. t.p. II cos. III viam quae tumultu Iudaico eversa et corrupta erat res*[tituit pe]*r*[mil.coh.– – –].

55. Henderson 1923, p. 84; Wegner 1956, pp. 58, 69; Birley 1997, pp. 78–79.

56. On the death of Quietus after participating in an assassination attempt on Hadrian's life, see Birley 1997, pp. 87–88.

57. *Hist.Aug., Had.* 12.7, succinctly reports that Hadrian *motus Maurorum compressit et a senatu supplicationes emeruit.*

58. Strack 1933, p. 72.

by the free Dacians, the Sarmatian Roxolani, and the Iazyges. Hadrian negotiated peace with the Sarmatian Roxolani, but had to relinquish some of Trajan's territorial acquisitions north of the lower Danube.[59] Dacia was retained by Hadrian as a province, but the wooden platform of Trajan's bridge across the Danube, below the Iron Gate Pass, was dismantled. Upon completion of his work in Mauretania, Marcius Turbo was summoned to the Danube front and appointed governor of Dacia and Lower Pannonia (*Hist.Aug., Had.* 6.7, 7.3).

Hadrian finally arrived in Rome on July 9, 118, and in July or August of that year he presided over the deification of, and posthumously awarded Parthian triumph to, Trajan. As Trajan's heir and successor, Hadrian was given all the honors and honorific titles of his adopted father.[60] Thus, in his very first coin issue, of 117, Hadrian is honored with the full panoply of cognomina that previously belonged to Trajan. Coins announcing his adoption honor Hadrian as *Optimus Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Parthicus,* and *Pater Patriae.*[61] An expanded transcription of his full titulature at the beginning of his reign might read IMP(eratori) CAES(ari) TRAIAN(o) HADRIANO AVG(usto) DIVI TRA(iani) PARTH(ici) F(ilio) DIVI NER(vae) NEP(oti) P(ontifici) M(aximo) TR(ibunicia P(otestate) CO(n)S(uli).[62] Other variants on this titulature can also be found among the coin types of his first issue. Although all of his predecessor's honorific titles, including *Pater Patriae,* were dropped from his official titulature shortly thereafter,[63] it is as designated heir and as celebrant of Trajan's posthumously awarded Parthian triumph that Hadrian is first made known to the Roman world.

I propose that the Antalya torso fragment, the three statues from Crete, and the statue from Tunis all date from the outset of Hadrian's reign, and that they represent variations on a single type or several variant types produced in the Greek-speaking East from 117 to 123 to celebrate not only Hadrian's succession to the rank of Augustus, but also the military accomplishments that mark the beginning of his reign. Various criteria can be used to support an early date for these five works. As already noted, the head of the Istanbul statue reflects a portrait type from the beginning of Hadrian's reign,[64] but the lack of specificity in the representation of adjunct captives and prisoners reflects the rapid succession of successful military encounters that mark the very first year of this emperor's rule.

Moreover, of the twenty examples of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type, these five specimens are closest in style to comparable works from the last years of Trajan's reign. The use of an adjunct captive as a statue support reflects the iconography of a Trajanic numismatic reverse type that shows the emperor with his foot on the back of a Dacian.[65] A comparable type shows Trajan standing with allegorical personifications of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers at his feet.[66] In addition, several cuirassed figures of Trajan show the emperor in a similar pose with a supplicant figure beneath his foot or at his side.[67] Moreover, the treatment of the drapery that falls down the side of the figure as a statue support, particularly that of the statue in Herakleion, is closer to late Trajanic than to mature Hadrianic examples.[68]

59. Birley 1997, pp. 80–81.

60. Perret 1929, pp. 25–30.

61. *BMCRE* III, pp. cxxiv, clxii; Kneissl 1969, p. 91.

62. Hannestad 1986, p. 190.

63. *BMCRE* III, p. cxxvi.

64. Wegner 1956, pp. 41–42.

65. *BMCRE* III, 822–825, pl. 30:3, dated A.D. 104–111. The only comparable Hadrianic reverse type shows the emperor cuirassed with one foot on the back of a crocodile; see *BMCRE* III, 1552, 1553, pl. 89:2; 1617–1620, pl. 91:3.

66. *BMCRE* III, 1033–1040, pl. 42:6–8.

67. For a late Trajanic/early Hadrianic statue of this type see Garcia y Bellido 1961. A perfect example of this statue type would be Agora S2518, which preserves the fragmentary remains of the feet, legs, and an adjunct captive from a probable cuirassed figure of Trajan; see Shear 1973, pp. 404–405.

68. Oehler 1961, p. 75.

Prior to the first published notices of the specimens from Antalya and Haidra, the only known examples of the adjunct captive type were those from Hierapytna, Gortyna and Kisamos; and since all three of these are from Crete, early authors postulated that they are variant examples of a statue type erected to commemorate a possible visit of Hadrian to Crete or North Africa during the course of his first journey to the East, in 122 or 123. But evidence for such a visit is inconclusive.[69] Furthermore, the certain association of the more recently discovered Antalya and Tunis specimens with this group discounts the possibility of an exclusively Cretan context for the adjunct bound captive type.

It has also been noted in discussions of the Hierapytna statue that Crete was part of the province of Africa Cyrenaica in the Hadrianic age, and that details of the Jewish revolt in Egypt and Libya would surely have been known there. Yet the type need not be localized to just Crete and Cyrene. It might represent an approved type, sanctioned by Rome, for dissemination throughout the eastern Mediterranean and available to any eastern city that wished to raise a statue in honor of Hadrian, their new emperor and protector. Statue types were set up to celebrate the posthumously awarded Parthian triumph of the deified Trajan,[70] and others were certainly set up to celebrate Hadrian's succession to the throne. I believe that the first five statues of this study, those of the eastern Victory type, represent a type set up to honor Hadrian at the beginning of his reign, not only as Trajan's successor, but as the defender of Roman rule throughout the eastern half of the empire.

To recapitulate, the intent of these works was to honor the new emperor not only as Trajan's heir, but also as the ever-victorious supreme commander of the Roman army. The official titulature of Hadrian at the start of his reign provides a perfect corollary for the strongly expressed, but generalized, eastern victory iconography of these five statues. (Although, as of this writing, no example of this statue type with an adjunct captive has yet been published from a controlled excavation in mainland Greece, it is quite likely that future scholarship will prove that the type originated there, and, if so, most likely in Athens, for dissemination throughout the eastern Mediterranean region.) With the removal of overt iconographic references to past and current military successes it became very easy for Hadrian's iconographers to modify and adapt this breastplate type as needed to reflect the changing circumstances and evolving ideology of the emperor's reign.

Group II: The Roma-Virtus Type

Hadrian's first tour of Greece and Asia, in A.D. 124/125, certainly prompted the erection of numerous statues and dedications in his honor. It is most likely that the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type became established at this time as a principal iconographic type of his reign. This period also marks a major change in Hadrian's numismatic titulature. In 123, the complex sequence of honorific cognomina that announced his adoption are dropped and replaced by the much simpler title *Hadrianus Augustus*. It is

69. Henderson (1923, pp. 84, 290) notes that Dürr and Bury claim Hadrian visited Crete in 123, but he finds no evidence for this. Wegner (1956, p. 41) says the emperor visited Crete in 122. More recently, Birley (1997, p. 153) briefly reviews the evidence for and against the emperor's visit to Crete and finds the results inconclusive.

70. E.g., the cuirassed statue of Trajan in the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; see Hanfmann and Vermeule 1957.

certainly no coincidence that Hadrian assumed this title in the year of the 150th anniversary of Octavian being given the name Augustus by the Senate in 27 B.C.[71]

The change in Hadrian's official titulature marks a significant evolution in ideology. It not only invokes a direct comparison with the most illustrious of his predecessors, but also presents him as a second founder.[72] Indeed in 124, on April 11, the official birthday of the founding of the city of Rome, and also the official birthday of Numa Pompilius, Rome's first king after Romulus, Hadrian honors the mythic founding of Rome with the groundbreaking ceremony for his own Temple of Venus and Roma.[73] The same year also witnesses the beginning of the extensive series of coins that celebrate the emperor's virtues as divine protector and caretaker of the Roman world. As Harold Mattingly writes of the period 124/125–128, "the return of the Emperor to Rome, the celebration of his vows, the honour of his protecting deities and Virtues, the memory of the old legends of Rome, and, through it all, the reflexion of the Golden Age of Augustus—these are the themes that colour this great central coinage of Hadrian's reign."[74]

It is at this point in Hadrian's principate that I would like to introduce three specimens that vary from the standard type in one particular but important detail. The first is a statue from the Villa Ariadne at Knossos, the second is a statue from Tyre, at the National Museum in Beirut, and the third is a torso fragment from Bithynia displayed in the schoolhouse at Üskübü in Turkey. These three, as noted above, depict an Amazon warrior instead of Athena at the center of the breastplate, yet in all other aspects of their breastplate and lappet iconography they remain true to the standard type and share the same general style of carving and execution. Indeed, the points of commonality of these three with the standard type are so strong that they must be studied and explained within the context of the overall group, and they must certainly be recognized as portraits of Hadrian.

Of these three works, the best known is the statue at the Villa Ariadne at Knossos (Fig. 19.5).[75] The head and both arms of this statue are missing and there is considerable damage to the figure's right leg, where the upper part of the statue was broken off at midcalf; in all other respects, the torso is very well preserved, with the breastplate in an exceptional state of preservation. With regard to pose, the Knossos figure stands in classic contrapposto stance with its right leg active and left leg relaxed, and shows a perfect chiastic disposition of the upper limbs, with the right arm lowered and the left raised. The figure wears military boots and a *paludamentum.* The *paludamentum* is pinned at the right shoulder; the front portion of the garment is pulled across the chest and over the left shoulder to merge with the back portion of the garment in a cascade of great, broad folds that drape across the full breadth of the back of the figure. The *paludamentum,* by its draping, creates a dramatic backdrop for the high-relief rendering of the figures of the breastplate composition.

As noted above, the standard eastern Hadrianic breastplate type depicts the goddess Athena flanked by victories, accompanied by her owl

71. Birley (1997, p. 147) notes that the head of Augustus also decorated Hadrian's official seal.

72. Walton 1957, p. 167.

73. Birley 1997, pp. 2, 111.

74. *BMCRE* III, p. cxxxvii.

75. Knossos, Villa Ariadne: H. ca. 2.5 m (over-life-size). See Karo 1935, p. 241; Platon 1955, p. 10; Toynbee 1956, p. 213, note 2; Wegner 1956, pp. 67–68, 99; Hanfmann and Vermeule 1957, pp. 226, 232, pl. 7:16; Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 185; Niemeyer 1968, pp. 49, 98, pl. 19; de Grazia 1973, p. 313, note 3; Huskinson 1975, p. 40, note 1; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, I, p. 98; Stemmer 1978, pp. 38, 47, 52, 54, 110, pl. 27:1, 2.

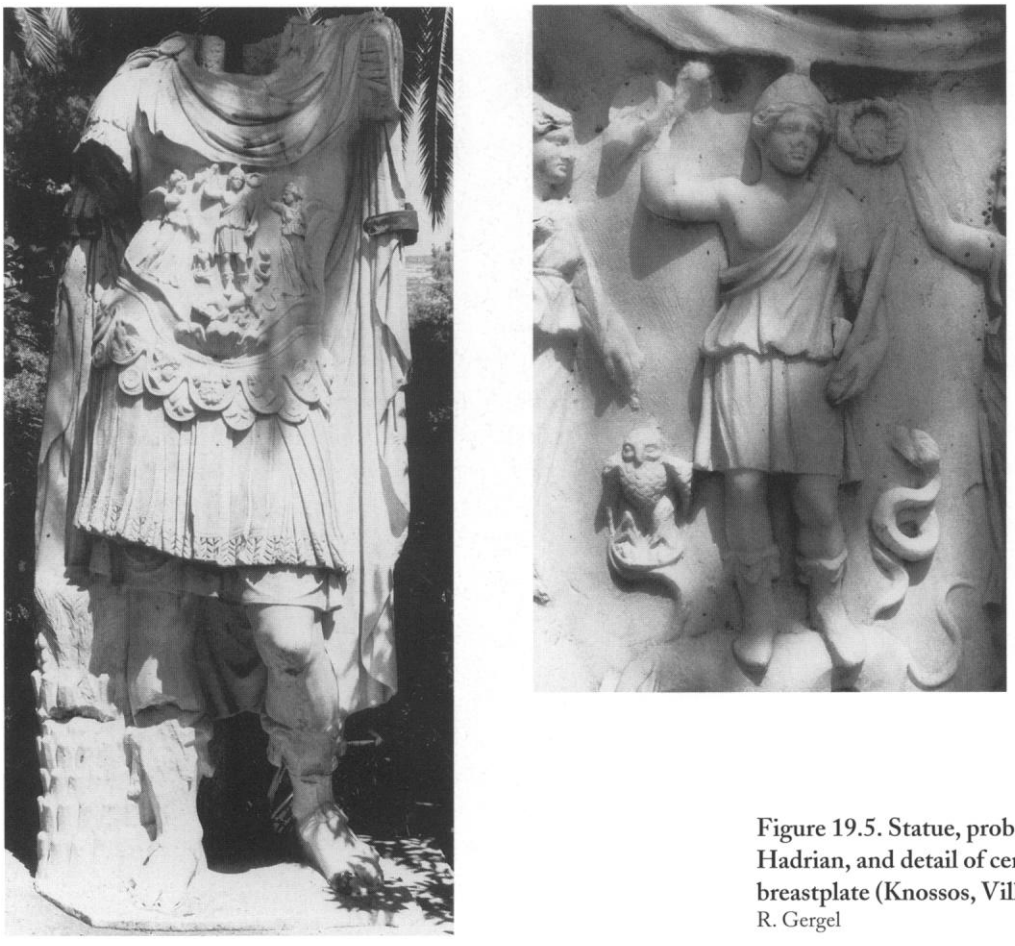


Figure 19.5. Statue, probably of Hadrian, and detail of center of breastplate (Knossos, Villa Ariadne). R. Gergel

and serpent, and standing on the back of a she-wolf with twins. The Knossos statue displays, instead, an Amazon warrior, facing forward, at the center of the breastplate. She wears military boots, a crested helmet, and a short tunic belted at the waist that is pinned at the left shoulder, leaving her right breast exposed. Her right hand is raised to brandish a spear while her left is lowered to cradle a *parazonium*. To her left and right appear the snake and owl associated with Athena, but with their positions reversed from the standard type. Farther to the left and right are the customary winged Victories carrying wreaths and palm branches and dressed in high-belted long chitons.

The lappet motifs, with minor variations in their order and selection, are also of the standard type. The upper row has a front-facing Zeus-Ammon head at the center flanked first by Medusa heads, then eagles and elephant heads. The remaining lappets of the upper row are undecorated. Those of the lower row show a pendant arrangement of facing Corinthian helmets flanked on each side by two rosette-decorated lappets. The remaining lappets of the lower row are undecorated.

The second specimen of this variant subgroup is a statue in the National Museum in Beirut.[76] Although the head, both arms, the left leg from below the knee, and the right leg from below the calf are missing, the torso itself is relatively complete, with both the breastplate and lappet decorations well preserved. The Beirut figure wears a *paludamentum* draped in

76. Beirut, National Museum: H. 1.7 m; provenience, Tyre, Street of the Colonnade. See Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 187A; Chéhab 1962, p. 22, pl. 8; Vermeule 1966, p. 56, no. 187A; Jidejiah 1969, p. 110, pl. 55; Stemmer 1978, p. 110, pl. 74:1; Bol 1984, p. 152.

the same style as that on the Knossos statue, and while the disposition of the upper limbs is also the same, with the left arm raised in the air and the right lowered at the side, that of the lower limbs is reversed, showing the left leg active and the right leg relaxed. The Amazon warrior on the breastplate of this statue also strikes the same pose, carries the same weapons, and wears the same style of helmet and boots as does her counterpart on the Knossos statue; but, instead of being partially draped in a short belted tunic pinned only at the left shoulder, the Beirut figure has her upper torso fully covered with a cloak, and wears a short tunic pinned at both shoulders and belted twice, once at the waist and then again just below the breasts.

The Beirut breastplate differs from that of the Knossos statue in that it lacks the usual flanking owl and snake. Their absence should not, however, raise concern, as these elements are of a specifically Athenian iconographic context and would have had less significance the farther east one moved toward the periphery of the empire. Even though the breastplate may deviate from the standard type, the upper lappet row shows the usual arrangement of a front-facing Zeus-Ammon head at the center flanked first by eagles, then by Medusa heads followed by elephant heads. The lower lappets are of the normal pendant arrangement of facing Corinthian helmets flanked first by lion's heads, but these are followed by an unusual animal-skin motif (perhaps the Golden Fleece?) and then rosettes.

The final specimen of this group, the fragment from Bithynia, at Üsküb ü,[77] comprises only a small portion of the center, chest, and left breast of a cuirassed torso. So very little survives that a complete pose cannot be reconstructed, yet the manner in which the drapery falls across the chest is the same as that seen on the Knossos and Beirut statues, and suggests that the right arm was raised and the left lowered. Although just a fragment, the breastplate preserves the full figure of a winged Victory. She is dressed in a long high-belted chiton, and carries a palm branch with her left hand as she moves to her right to raise a crown over the head of an armed female warrior at the center of the breastplate. Only the upper portion of the central figure survives; the lower portion is lost below the line of breakage that cuts diagonally across the body from just below the right breast to below the left hip. Nevertheless, enough remains to determine that she wears a tall crested helmet, holds a spear in her raised right hand, and cradles a *parazonium* in her lowered left arm. The state of preservation makes a complete description of her costume difficult, but she seems to wear a tunic pinned only at the left shoulder, in the manner of the female warrior on the statue from Knossos. Unfortunately, too little survives to determine if the customary snake and owl were present, but available evidence suggests that they were not.

The interpretation of the breastplate composition of this variant type depends specifically on the identification of the central figure. While the costume of the armed female figure on the Knossos statue clearly suggests an association with an Amazon warrior type such as Roma, the more fully draped figure on the Beirut statue suggests an allegorical personification related to the virtue or personal valor of the emperor. Several variant interpretations of the identity of this central, pivotal figure have been proposed. In discussing the Knossos statue Max Wegner identified the armed maiden

77. Üsküb ü, schoolhouse: H. 0.63 m, W. 0.5 m. See Dörner 1952, p. 30, no. 63, pl. 13; Vermeule 1964, p. 105, no. 191A; Stemmer 1978, p. 52, pl. 32:2.

as an Amazon, most likely Diktynna, venerated at the Diktynnaion in western Crete,[78] but the identification of additional examples of this breastplate type from Tyre and Üskübü makes an association of this figure with a specifically localized Cretan context unlikely. Jocelyn Toynbee, discussing this same work, identified the Amazon figure as Roma,[79] an attractive hypothesis. As will be shown below, however, Toynbee's identification has less to do with a detailed iconographic analysis of the breastplate type than with her own desire to interpret the specimens of this group not as a symbol of Hadrian's philhellenism, but as a visual manifest of this emperor's imperialism. Rather than support Toynbee's identification, it would be more correct to see this figure as Virtus, or perhaps even as an iconographic assimilation of Roma and Virtus. Numismatic evidence offers incontrovertible support for an association with Virtus or with Roma-Virtus.

Although the head of Virtus makes its first appearance on the coinage of the empire during the reign of Augustus,[80] the full-length standing Virtus type does not appear until the reign of Nero. On aurei struck in 60–61 she faces left, with her raised right foot placed on a helmet. Dressed in a short tunic belted at the waist and wearing a tall crested helmet, she holds a long spear with her left hand as she cradles a *parazonium* with her right.[81] The spear and *parazonium* are the defining attributes of Virtus, the helmet and short tunic her characteristic costume, but during the reign of Galba, at the onset of the civil war immediately following the death of Nero, several variant types make a brief appearance.

One type shows Virtus as a warrior maiden, but holding both a winged Victory and *parazonium.*[82] An unusual front-facing nude male warrior Virtus type can also be found,[83] though the more standard tunic-clad warrior maiden also occurs, either bare-headed with a Victory (sometimes on a globe) and *parazonium,*[84] or, in the more standard helmeted type with spear and *parazonium,* facing Honos.[85] The Honos and Virtus pairing reappears in 71, near the beginning of Vespasian's rule, but disappears thereafter from the Flavian coinage.[86] Virtus alone, however, was employed frequently as a reverse type during the reign of Domitian.[87] Here she once again assumes the iconography of her standard type. Dressed in a tunic and wearing a helmet, she carries both a spear and *parazonium* and rests her foot on top of a helmet or globe. There is no documented appearance of Virtus on the coinage of Nerva, but she appears several times as a reverse type during the Trajanic period.[88]

78. Wegner 1956, p. 68.

79. Toynbee 1956, p. 213, note 2.

80. *BMCRE* I, pp. cii, 7, 36, pl. 1:19.

81. *BMCRE* I, pp. 204, 27, 28, pl. 38:21; pp. 205, 33–35, pl. 38:26, 27; pp. 206, 40–42, pl. 39:4, 5; p. 207, 45–48, pl. 39:8, 9.

82. *BMCRE* I, p. 293, 14, pl. 50:4.

83. *BMCRE* I, p. 316, 50–52, pl. 52:26, 27; p. 342, 196, pl. 53:26; p. 342, 200, pl. 54:6.

84. *BMCRE* I, p. 293, 14, pl. 50:4; p. 342, 193–195, pl. 53:23–25; p. 351, 234–236, pl. 54:27; p. 363, 272*, pl. 55:15.

85. *BMCRE* I, p. 357, 255–257, pl. 58:10; p. 375, 48†.

86. *BMCRE* II, p. 114, 530–531, pl. 20:2; p. 185, 760, pl. 32:8.

87. *BMCRE* II, numerous examples are cited on pp. 366, 374, 379, 383, 385, 387, 388, 390, 391, 398–400, 404, 405, 408.

88. Virtus, of standard type, helmeted, wearing a short tunic, and carrying both a spear and *parazonium,* can be found on the gold and silver coinage of A.D. 103–111 (*BMCRE* III, pp. 229–235, pl. 13:10, 11), and again, in silver, from A.D. 111–113 (*BMCRE* III, p. 444, pl. 16:17; 511†, 600). Also recorded is a rare *aes* in Vienna, dated 112–115(?), that shows a Virtus of standard type paired with Felicitas (*BMCRE* III, p. 205).

Virtus makes her debut on the coinage of Hadrian on an *aes* dated 119–120 or 121,[89] and on other specimens more generally dated to 119–138.[90] She is shown as a standing female warrior dressed in the standard fashion and carrying the customary spear and *parazonium.* Her debut on Hadrian's silver coinage was during the period of late 124 to early 128,[91] but here Mattingly identifies her as "Roma (Virtus?)." Mattingly gives the same identification to a seated-figure type of the same date with the same costume and attributes.[92] Of these two types, only the standing variant reappears, and only on the gold coinage and not until 134–138, where she is again identified by Mattingly as "Roma (Virtus)."[93]

With only slight variations in costume, this is the very same figure that decorates the breastplates of the Üskübü fragment and the statues from Tyre and Knossos. Should she be identified as Virtus, as Roma, or as a composite Roma-Virtus type? Whereas the standard Virtus type cradles a *parazonium,* Roma customarily carries a Victory, a Palladium, or sometimes a cornucopia. Therefore one might insist that the Amazon figure of the Üskübü, Tyre, and Knossos breastplates is Virtus rather than Roma, but Mattingly writes that Roma and Virtus are "sister deities" who "represent the manly power on which the victory of Rome depends."[94] Mattingly also traces the history of the Amazon Roma type and identifies her as "none other than Bellona-Virtus, who again is probably the Amazon Diana herself," and adds, "it is no accident then that Roma and Virtus are so close in type and appearance to one another. They are essentially the same deity, and, where the characteristic weapon of Virtus, the *parazonium,* is added, we may call this type 'Virtus' or 'Roma-Virtus,' without any change in meaning."[95]

The Amazon figure standing on the back of the she-wolf with nursing twins on the breastplate of these three works should be identified, therefore, as Roma-Virtus, and should be understood as a dual symbol of the protective role of the empire and of the personal valor of the emperor. It is not the theme of imperial conquest but Rome's role, and, in particular, the emperor's role, as protector that should be stressed. This theme corresponds well to the context of Hadrianic numismatic reverse ideology from 124/125–132, particularly to that of the imperial virtue issues, *Clementia, Fortuna, Indulgentia, Justitia, Liberalitas, Patientia,* and *Tranquillitas,* dated 128–132;[96] and it is to this middle phase of Hadrian's reign that the didactic message of the Roma-Virtus breastplate variant best corresponds. Epigraphic evidence related to the Üskübü fragment also helps in assigning a date for these works. The fragment was found near an inscribed statue base bearing an honorific inscription to Hadrian dated 126.[97] With the likelihood quite high that this base and statue belong together, there is strong epigraphic support for dating the three specimens of the Roma-Virtus type within the proposed time span of 123–131/132.

These works not only celebrate the virtue of the reigning emperor as both protector and founder, but, in terms of the developing ideology of Hadrian's principate, they also designate the emperor, or to be more specific, loyalty to the emperor, and therefore to the empire, as the most significant factor in establishing a sense of unity for the entire Roman

89. *BMCRE* III, pp. 421–422, 1239–1241, pl. 79:14.

90. *BMCRE* III, pp. 425, 1263–1264, pl. 80:4; pp. 432–433, 1307, 1308, pl. 81:9.

91. *BMCRE* III, pp. 285–286, 356–360, pl. 53:15.

92. *BMCRE* III, pp. 286–287, 367–373, pl. 53:17, 18.

93. *BMCRE* III, p. 336, 774, pl. 62:2; p. 377, 1050, pl. 71:8.

94. *BMCRE* III, p. cxxxiv. Mattingly also interprets Virtus as a Victory type associated with Roma, Minerva, and Mars (*BMCRE* III, p. cxxxv). Variant Virtus types holding Victories have already been noted above from the years immediately following the death of Nero.

95. *BMCRE* III, p. cxxxviii.

96. *BMCRE* III, p. cxl.

97. Stemmer 1978, p. 52; Dörner 1952, p. 16, no. 9.

world. That this message is directed, moreover, to an exclusively eastern Greek-speaking audience will be evident in how Hadrian's iconographers exploit this same general breastplate type to promote the message of imperial unity during the later years of Hadrian's reign.

Group III: The Hadrianos Panhellenios Type

Hadrian had already visited Greece in A.D. 111–112, but he made his first tour of the Greek-speaking East as emperor in 124–125. During the course of this journey numerous altars and inscribed statue bases were set up throughout Greece and Asia to commemorate his visits and numerous benefactions. For example, in 124, at Apollonia and Miletopolis he is honored as "saviour and founder,"[98] at Megara as "lawgiver, benefactor, and fosterer,"[99] at Epidaurus as "saviour and benefactor,"[100] at Tegea as "saviour and founder,"[101] at Lycosura near Megalopolis as "saviour and benefactor of the world,"[102] and in 125 at Sparta as "saviour, founder, and benfactor";[103] in 125 at Delphi he is celebrated as "the saviour who has healed and nourished his own Hellas."[104]

Hadrian's first eastern tour had a definite purpose. It was essential to have a unified East, loyal to the emperor and thus to Rome, in order to ensure a united front against the ever-present Parthian threat at Rome's eastern borders. As savior, benefactor, and founder, Hadrian continued the official policy, in effect since Augustus, to direct the loyalty of the Greek-speaking East to the empire through an encouragement of their devotion to the emperor himself. Hadrian, moreover, undertook additional initiatives to promote a common bond of affiliation among all the Greeks through an assimilation of the imperial cult with the worship of Zeus. In 124 he donated funds not only for the completion of the Temple of Zeus at Smyrna, but also for the institution of a new imperial cult there in his own honor.[105] In an act of even greater significance, the emperor, in 125, at the time of his first visit to Athens, initiated work on the completion of the Olympieion (D.C., *Epitome* 49.16.1; *Hist.Aug., Had.* 13.6), the grandly scaled temple of Zeus Olympios that, despite two previous construction campaigns, had remained in an unfinished state for centuries. For this endeavor he was honored with the title *Olympios* at the time of his second imperial visit to Athens, in 129.[106]

The assimilation of the imperial cult with that of Zeus had been an important aspect of the Roman program for ensuring the loyalty of the Greek-speaking East since the reign of Augustus, but Hadrian wanted to do more than this: he wanted to unify the Greek-speaking East through a promotion of their common bonds and traditions. It took several years for his thoughts along these lines to reach full development. At the time of his first tour of Greece, in 124–125, he considered using the Amphictyonic Council at Delphi as a focus for his plan to unify the Greeks. He proposed to increase and restructure the membership of the Delphic league so that it would better represent the interests of all the Hellenes of mainland Greece. But he never acted on these initial proposals, and over the course of the next few years the scope and focus of his plan evolved. By the time of his

98. Birley 1997, p. 164.
99. Birley 1997, p. 178.
100. Birley 1997, p. 178.
101. Birley 1997, p. 180.
102. Birley 1997, p. 181.
103. Birley 1997, p. 181.
104. Birley 1997, p. 187.
105. Birley 1997, p. 170; Price 1984, pp. 67, 258.
106. Perret 1929, pp. 30–33. Birley (1997, pp. 219–220) notes that the nickname "Olympian" was previously given to Perikles (Plut. *Per.* 8.2, 39.2). Anna S. Benjamin (1963) cited documentation for ninety-four inscribed altars to Hadrian in the city of Athens, with thirty of these just within the vicinity of the Agora and the Theseum (Hephaisteion). The majority of these honor Hadrian as *Olympios,* with most being variants on the formula Σωτῆρι καὶ Κτίστῃ Αὐτοκράτορι Ἁδριανῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ, "to Hadrianos Olympios, Savior, and Founder." Boatwright (1987, p. 133) notes that "Hadrian's Olympieion and Panhellenion served to unite the Greek East," and further states (p. 250) that "he fostered a panhellenic religion unifying the Greek East in the worship of Zeus Olympios, with whom he was identified."

second visit to Athens, in 128–129, he had expanded his vision of a united Hellas to include all nations of Hellenic origin.[107]

Hadrian made his third visit to Athens in 131–132. It was at this time that he presided over the dedication of the Olympieion and announced the establishment of a new panhellenic league.[108] Hadrian's vision of a united Hellas would have Athens as its center.[109] He envisioned an organization called the Panhellenion that would bond the Greek-speaking East together on the basis of common interests and a common culture. Membership would be open to any city that could demonstrate Hellenic origin.[110] Athens, Sparta, Corinth and the other cities of mainland Greece would naturally have been charter members. Cities in Asia and elsewhere would be admitted if they could prove Hellenic patrimony.[111] Given these restrictions, some of the most important cities of Asia, such as Ephesus, Pergamum, and Smyrna, would have been disqualified.[112]

Although scholars disagree as to whether the fundamental program of the Panhellenion was cultural or political, it is clear that one of its primary concerns was the promotion of the imperial cult, initially with an emphasis on Hadrian as founder and then on his successors as patrons of the league.[113] Additional functions included the governance of its membership, the proclamation of honorific decrees in honor of its members, and the organization of the Panhellenia, a festival first celebrated in 137 and thereafter held every fourth year, well into the 3rd century.[114] The actual meeting place of the Panhellenic Council is unknown. It may have

107. Birley 1997, pp. 217–220.

108. According to Spawforth and Walker (1985, p. 79), "it is tempting to see the two events as connected, since the presence in Athens for the ceremony of dedication of a host of ambassadors from eastern cities would have provided an opportune moment to announce the foundation of a panhellenic institution." Birley (1997, p. 265) similarly notes that "it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the dedication of the Olympieion and the launching of the Panhellenion were one and the same occasion."

109. Hadrian's preferences for Athens are well documented (d'Orgeval 1950, pp. 231–233). Following the example set by Augustus and followed by others, he recognized the preeminence of Athens as the foremost city of the Greek-speaking East and gave her special attention (Hoff 1992, p. 229). In 124/125 he granted the city a new constitution based on the legislative principles of Drakon and Solon (Alexander 1938, p. 152; Graindor 1934, pp. 30–35), and under this new constitution the membership of the *Boule* was reduced from 600 to its earlier Kleisthenian size of 500 (Alexander 1938, p. 152; Graindor 1934, pp. 83–85). Hadrian himself celebrates some of his benefactions, both private and public, to Athens and her citizens in a letter dated 132/133 (Alexander 1938, p. 153; *IG* II² 1102). Anderson (1993, p. 6) succinctly summarizes the generally expressed view that "Hadrian himself showed a genuine and sustained interest in things Greek, and particularly in restoring the material and institutional dignity of Athens."

110. See Spawforth and Walker 1985, pp. 79–81, on the membership of the league.

111. See Spawforth and Walker 1985, pp. 81–82, on admission requirements to the league.

112. Jones 1996, p. 34.

113. In their fundamental study of the Panhellenion, Spawforth and Walker (1985, p. 78) proposed to "define the Panhellenion as a cultural and political entity by considering the extent and character of its membership and its known activities." On the other hand, Willers (1990, pp. 7, 97–102) stated his fundamental premise that the function of the Panhellenion was strictly political. This view was rejected by Boatwright (1994, p. 430), who reiterated the view of Spawforth and Walker that the political and cultural elements were interrelated. More recently, Jones (1996, pp. 30–33, 35, 43) identified the functions of the league as primarily religious and focused on the worship of the imperial cult. As Birley (1997, p. 266) notes, the archon of the synedrion of the Panhellenion bore the title of "high priest of Hadrian Panhellenios."

114. On the institution of the games see Dio Cassius, *Epitome* 69.16.2; Spawforth and Walker 1985, pp. 82–84, on the activities of the league; also Boatwright 1994, pp. 427–428; and most recently Jones (1996, pp. 37–43), who finds no evidence for the judicial functions cited by Spawforth and Walker.

been in the precinct of the Olympieion,[115] in the sanctuary of the Temple of Zeus Panhellenios and Hera Panhellenia,[116] in the Pantheon,[117] perhaps in the Library of Hadrian,[118] perhaps in a sanctuary known as the Panhellenion,[119] or, as C. P. Jones suggests, the Panhellenic Council may not have met in Athens at all, but at Eleusis.[120]

One thing is certain, and this is that the title *Panhellenios* is unknown before the reign of Hadrian. It occurs for the first time in the context of Pausanias's reference (1.18.9) to the construction of the Temple of Zeus Panhellenios in 131–132, and is subsequently used as an honorific title for Hadrian as founder of the Panhellenion.[121] Although no known representation of Hadrian has survived with an inscription bearing this title, one can assume that statues were erected honoring him as *Panhellenios*.[122] It is at this point that I would like to note that the iconography of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type provides a perfect corollary to the imperial ideology that dominates the last eight or so years of Hadrian's reign. Moreover, I contend the following: (1) that the imagery of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type was adapted around 131–132 to honor Hadrian as *Panhellenios*, founder of the Panhellenion; (2) that an example of this type would have been set up in the sanctuary of the Panhellenion as a cult figure of *Hadrianos Panhellenios;* and (3) that the dedication of a statue with this breastplate type can be interpreted as a badge of membership in the Panhellenic league.

Nine examples constitute what I propose to call the "Hadrianos Panhellenios group." Six are from Athens, two are from Corinth, and one is from Cyrene, and they should all date from around 131/132 to Hadrian's death in 138. The most important example of this group is Agora S166, previously introduced as the focus of this study (Fig. 19.1).[123] Although the work survives without its head and limbs, the pose can be reconstructed to show the right leg active and left leg relaxed, while the left arm would have been raised and the right lowered at the side. The cuirass decorations

115. On the Olympieion see D.C. *Epitome* 69.16.1; also Travlos 1971, pp. 402–411; more recently Willers 1990, pp. 26–53. Willers's premise that the Panhellenion met in the Olympieion is critically challenged by Boatwright (1994, pp. 427–430); but according to Birley (1997, p. 266), "the *temenos* of the Olympieion could well have served as the meeting-place of the Panhellenion."

116. The Temple of Zeus Panhellenios and Hera Panhellenia is known only from Pausanias 1.18.9.

117. On the identification of the Pantheon, see Travlos 1971, pp. 439–443; more recently Willers 1990, pp. 21–25. On the possibility of the Pantheon being the meeting place of the Panhellenion, see Spawforth and Walker 1985, pp. 97–98.

118. On the Library of Hadrian, see Travlos 1971, pp. 244–252; Willers 1990, pp. 14–21.

119. According to D.C., *Epitome* 69.16.2, Hadrian allowed the citizens of Athens to build the sanctuary called the Panhellenion in his honor. On the identification of the Panhellenion, see Graindor 1934, p. 190; Travlos 1971, pp. 429–431 (Travlos proposes that the Panhellenion and the Temple of Zeus Panhellenios and Hera Panhellenia are one and the same); Willers 1990, pp. 54–67.

120. Jones 1996, p. 36. Jones and others also note Hadrian's special relationship with Eleusis. During his first imperial visit in 124–125, he was initiated into the lowest grade of the Eleusinian mysteries, as had been Augustus, and on the occasion of his next visit, in 128–129, he entered the highest grade at Eleusis.

121. Jones (1996, p. 33) notes that when Hadrian is given the name *Panhellenios* there is no mention of Zeus, and that even though there is no evidence that the two were worshiped together in the sanctuary of the Panhellenion, an association of the emperor with Zeus may still be implied.

122. As Spawforth and Walker (1985, p. 98) note, "some Greek council-chambers were adapted in Roman times to accommodate imperial statues. It is then very likely that Hadrian Panhellenius, the founder of the Panhellenion, was honoured in the council-chamber of the Panhellenes, along with Zeus Panhellenius and Hera Panhellenia."

123. For full citation, see note 2.





Figure 19.6 *(left)*. Portion of lappet decorated with Zeus-Ammon head (Athens, Agora Museum S1690). Agora Excavations

Figure 19.7 *(right)*. Fragment of breastplate (Athens, Acropolis Museum 3000). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 75/499)

are of the standard type. Athena, dressed in a long peplos, helmet, and aegis, stands at the center of the breastplate on the back of a she-wolf with nursing twins. She carries a round shield at her left side and holds a spear in her raised right hand. The owl and snake, her customary adjunct figures, stand perched to her left and right on the top of curling acanthus vines. Winged Victories, dressed in high-belted chitons, move in toward the center from the left and right carrying crowns and palm branches.

The lappets are also of the standard type. Those of the upper row depict a Zeus-Ammon head in the center position, symmetrically flanked first by pendant eagles, followed next by Medusa heads and then elephant heads. A single rosette completes the sequence of exposed lappets over the right hip. The lower row of lappets show, from left to right, a pelta, rosette, lion's head, Corinthian helmet facing left, Corinthian helmet facing right, lion's head, pelta, and rosette. The reversed positions of the pelta and rosette at the right end of the lappet sequence can be explained either as artistic invention or, perhaps, as an error. In every aspect this torso so clearly reflects the common type that it can be identified only as a portrait of Hadrian.

A second example, Agora S1690, consists of a single lappet decorated with a front-facing Zeus-Ammon head (Fig. 19.6).[124] Style and technique unequivocally confirm a date from the middle years of the Hadrianic period. This piece clearly preserves the center lappet from the upper row of an over-life-size cuirassed statue of Hadrian. Further, the iconographic consistency of all the related examples of this Hadrianos Panhellenios group ensures that Agora S1690 derives from yet another example of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type.

Fragments of two additional Athenian examples from the Hadrianos Panhellenios group are in the collection of the Acropolis Museum. One (Fig. 19.7) is a single fragment that preserves only the left and center of

124. Athens, Agora S1690: H. 0.16 m, W. 0.12 m, from an over-life-size statue; discovered in the Agora on March 6, 1953, in the debris of house 653/4. See Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 193.

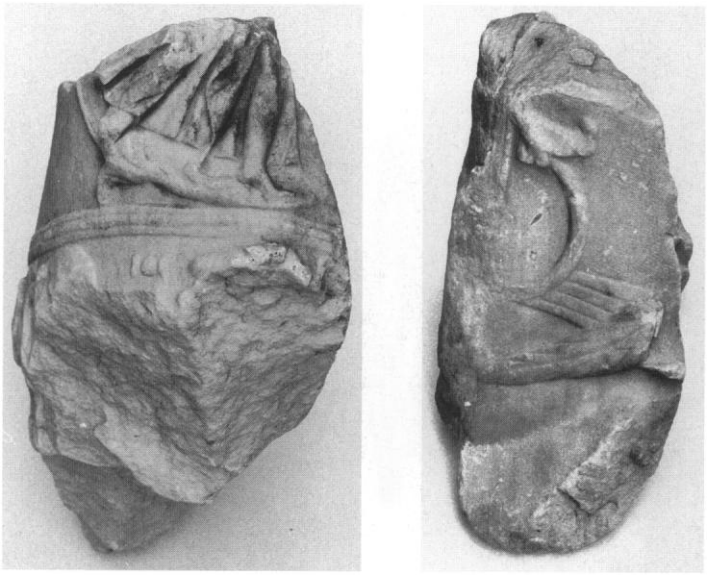


Figure 19.8. Two fragments from the same cuirassed figure (Athens, Acropolis Museum 9188 *[left]*, 9179). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (negs. 75/504, 75/503, respectively)

the decorated breastplate of an over-life-size statue.[125] Although very little remains of this work, the surviving drapery and slight shift of the torso indicate that the figure stood in a contrapposto pose with the right leg active and the left relaxed, while the left arm was raised and the right lowered at the side. The preserved portion of the breastplate shows a winged Gorgoneion at the center with Athena below, facing forward and wearing a peplos, aegis, and helmet. She holds a round shield at her left side as she brandishes a spear with her right hand. The customary owl is at her left side and a winged Victory, dressed in a high-belted chiton and carrying a palm branch, strides left to crown the goddess. None of the lappets of this work have thus far been identified.

A second example in the Acropolis Museum involves two fragments that represent part of the right hip and a section of the right side of the chest of a cuirassed figure,[126] with breastplate and lappets of the standard type (Fig. 19.8). Fragment 9188 displays the legs of a Victory dressed in a long peplos and moving right; 9179 has the wing and part of the back portion of a palm-bearing Victory moving to the viewer's right. Surviving upper row lappets depict crossed greaves, crossed shields, and a fragmentary elephant head facing right, with rosettes decorating the two remaining lappets of the lower row.

Two further Athenian finds were recorded by Hekler in 1919, but their current whereabouts cannot be determined. One of these was a badly damaged torso on the Akropolis that apparently had had its sides recarved for reuse as building material.[127] The second was described only as a fragmentary torso, presumably of the standard type, in the National Museum in Athens.[128] Even if these two works are discounted, the four remaining Athenian examples still constitute the largest number of surviving specimens from any Greek-speaking center, and attest, by their number, if not by their high quality, to the popularity and significance of this type in the single city of the Greek-speaking world that profited the most from Hadrian's benefactions.

125. Athens, Acropolis Museum 3000: H. 0.52 m, from an over-life-size statue. See Hekler 1919, pp. 232–233; Graindor 1934, p. 132; *Agora* I, pp. 72–73; Wegner 1956, p. 93; Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 190; Stemmer 1978, p. 43.

126. Athens, Acropolis Museum 9188 (part of the right hip): H. 0.37 m; and 9179 (a section of the right side of the chest): H. 0.315 m, from the Akropolis. See Stemmer 1978, pp. 44–45, pl. 26:5–7.

127. See Stemmer 1978, p. 179, no. 541; Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 189. This work was first reported by Hekler (1919, p. 233, no. 8), whose citation was reiterated by Broneer (*Corinth* X, p. 132, note 2:c), Graindor (1934, p. 258), and Harrison (*Agora* I, pp. 72–77). Wegner (1956, p. 93) notes, however, that no mention is made of the Palladium or she-wolf, and questions the association of this work with Hadrian. There is no photographic evidence for this piece.

128. Stemmer 1978, p. 52; Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 191. This work was first reported by Hekler (1919, p. 233, no. 7), and his citation was reiterated by Broneer (*Corinth* X, p. 132, note 2:c), Graindor (1934, p. 258), Harrison (*Agora* I, pp. 72–73), and Wegner (1956, p. 93). There is no photographic evidence for this piece.



Figure 19.9. Portion of hip and straps over right leg (Corinth, Archaeological Museum S1456). I. Ioannidou, L. Bartziotou, Corinth Excavations

Second only to Athens as a site providing documented examples of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type is Corinth, where the remains of two over-life-size specimens have been discovered. Although very fragmentary, both exhibit carving and detail work of the highest quality, especially in the execution of the lappets and their motifs. One of these, S1456 (Fig. 19.9), has been reconstructed from numerous fragments and comprises a portion of the hip and straps over the right leg.[129] A few small pieces identified as possible breastplate fragments have also been published.[130] One depicting crossed shields and another showing a helmet are probably lappet fragments, while a third, depicting a small section of the lower end of a mantle sweeping out to the right, can belong only to the right Nike of the breastplate composition.

Although very little of the actual breastplate survives, the sequence and subjects of the preserved lappets assure us that Corinth S1456 is an example of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type. The six remaining lappets of the upper row depict, from left to right, an elephant head facing right, a ram's head facing right, a Medusa head facing right, an eagle moving left, and a facing head of Zeus-Ammon at what would have been the center position. The arrangement of these motifs follows the standard format but has been augmented by the interpolation of a ram's-head-decorated lappet into the customary sequence, a motif not otherwise found on any of the other examples of this group type. The inclusion of an otherwise noncustomary motif may have been dictated by the over-life-size scale of the figure. The decipherable lappets of the lower row show, from left to right, a lion's head, crossed greaves, a pelta, a Corinthian helmet facing right, and a Corinthian helmet facing left, all typical for this breastplate type.

The second example from Corinth is also very fragmentary, but close examination of the surviving portions demonstrates that it is clearly of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type.[131] S1872 (+ S2180) (Fig. 19.10) preserves a portion of the lower abdomen decorated with a she-wolf and twins, and part of an eagle-decorated lappet to the proper left of center. This has

129. Corinth, Archaeological Museum S1456, portions of the right hip and straps over the right leg of an over-life-size figure, reconstructed from numerous fragments, from the Odeion. See *Corinth* X, pp. 125–133, figs. 118–127; Shear 1933, p. 181; *Agora* I, pp. 72–73; Wegner 1956, pp. 67–68, 100; Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 180; Vermeule 1964, p. 104, no. 180A; de Grazia 1973, pp. 308–312, pl. 103; Stemmer 1978, pp. 51–52, 54, pl. 31:3.

130. *Corinth* X, fig. 121.

131. Corinth, Archaeological Museum S1872 and S2180 were discovered in the Agora SE sector, South Stoa; S2165, S2164A, B, S2157A, B are from the South Basilica, from an over-life-size statue. See Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 184; de Grazia 1973, pp. 312–313, pl. 104.





Figure 19.10 *(left)*. **Portion of lower abdomen of breastplate and of a decorated lappet (Corinth, Archaeological Museum S1872, S2180, respectively).** I. Ioannidou, L. Bartziotou, Corinth Excavations

Figure 19.11 *(above)*. **Lappet decorated with Zeus-Ammon head (Corinth, Archaeological Museum S2165).** I. Ioannidou, L. Bartziotou, Corinth Excavations

been joined with fragment S1280, which bears a lappet decorated with a rampant griffin moving left. Fragment S2165 (Fig. 19.11) preserves a single lappet decorated with a Zeus-Ammon head. It is rendered in the same style as the lappets of S1872 and S1280 and was, without doubt, the center lappet of the upper row; additional fragments of this same statue have been identified. S2164A is a rosette-decorated lappet probably from over the left hip, and it probably joins with the leather straps of fragment S2164B. Fragments S2157A and S2157B preserve additional portions of the lower straps and part of the tunic hem. A hypothetical reconstruction of the upper row of lappets would show a Zeus-Ammon head at the center flanked first by pendant eagles moving away from the center, and then by rampant griffins moving outward to either side. Too little survives to attempt a reconstruction of the lappet sequence of the lower row, but one can suppose an arrangement based on the standard type. Even though the two examples from Corinth survive in very fragmentary condition, I propose to assign them to the Hadrianos Panhellenios type on the basis of their style, lappet iconography, and provenience.

The last specimen of the Hadrianos Panhellenios type is a torso from Cyrene now in the British Museum (Fig. 19.12).[132] Although it deviates slightly from the standard format, it may be the most important example of its type in that it provides critical evidence for associating the core group of eastern Hadrianic breastplate specimens with Hadrian and the Panhellenion. The head, legs, and arms of the Cyrene torso are lost, but the pose can be reconstructed on the basis of the surviving musculature to show the right leg active and left relaxed, the right arm probably raised and the left lowered at the side. The lappets and breastplate are of the standard type, but the front-facing Athena on the breastplate lacks the usual flanking owl and snake, the identifying attributes of the goddess. Yet despite the absence of these two elements, the Cyrene torso clearly belongs to this group type. The omission of these elements and the probable circumstances surrounding the dedication of the Cyrene statue deserve detailed consideration. Specifically, they need to be examined in the context of Hadrian's personal intervention on behalf of Cyrene's application for membership in the Panhellenion.

Hadrian's benefactions on behalf of Cyrene and his efforts to repopulate the city following the insurrection of the Cyrenaean Jews in 115–117 have been recounted (see p. 384). Further information regarding Hadrian's

132. London, British Museum 1466: H. 1.428 m, white marble. See Smith 1892–1904, II, pp. 250–251, no. 1466 ("the work appears to be of the second century A.D."); Wroth 1885; Newton 1885; Wroth 1886, pp. 128, 132–133, 137–142; Hekler 1919, pp. 232–233, fig. 160; *Corinth* X, p. 132, note 2:c; Graindor 1934, p. 258; *Agora* I, pp. 72–73; Wegner 1956, pp. 36, 67, 101; Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 188; Rosenbaum 1960, p. 77, pl. 43:1; Vermeule 1964, p. 104; Huskinson 1975, pp. 39–40, pl. 29; Stemmer 1978, pp. 48–49, pl. 29:4.







Figure 19.12 *(above)*. **Torso from Cyrene (London, British Museum 1466).** Trustees of the British Museum, London

Figure 19.13 *(center)*. **Torso from Cyrene (Cyrene, museum C.17.119).** Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 58.2676)

Figure 19.14 *(right)*. **Partial torso from Cyrene (Cyrene, museum C.17.124).** Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (neg. 58.2636)

association with Cyrene derives from an inscription, dated 134/135, that preserves the text of a letter from the emperor to the Cyrenaeans concerning his intervention on behalf of their request for admission to the Panhellenion.[133] The text of this document has been accepted as unequivocal evidence for Cyrene's membership in the Panhellenion,[134] and for this membership deriving from a common patrimony with Sparta, according to the tradition that Cyrene's founders descended from the Lakedaimonian colonists who founded Thera.[135] I would like to propose, therefore, that the Cyrene statue, found in the vicinity of the Augusteum, was dedicated around 134/135 by the Cyrenaean Greeks as a public display of gratitude to Hadrian for his intervention on behalf of their city's application for membership in the Panhellenion.

The breastplate iconography of the Cyrene torso was clearly conceived as a reflection of the standard type formulated in Athens. The omission of the owl and serpent in the iconography of this work, an absence documented on only one other specimen of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type, may have been prompted, in this instance, by the reestablishment of Cyrene's traditional ties with Sparta, which would have undermined the strong Attic associations implicit in the other examples of this group.

Further variations on this breastplate type, showing Athena flanked by winged Victories but lacking the iconographically significant she-wolf and twins, can be found on two other cuirassed torsos from Cyrene, C.17.119 and C.17.124 (Figs. 19.13, 19.14).[136] Stylistic comparisons suggest that both may have been produced by the very same workshop responsible for the near canonical example in London. Although the absence of the she-wolf and twins precludes the inclusion of these two

133. See Fraser and Applebaum 1950; Spawforth and Walker 1986, pp. 96–97; and Jones 1996, pp. 31, 47–53, for analyses of the inscription.

134. Larsen 1952.

135. Spawforth and Walker 1986, p. 97.

136. Cyrene, museum C.17.119: Rosenbaum 1960, pp. 77–78, no. 101, pl. 43:2, 4; Cyrene, museum C.17.124: Rosenbaum 1960, p. 78, no. 102, pl. 43:3, 5.

specimens among the canonical examples of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type, the iconographic predominance given here to Athena must certainly refer to Cyrene's membership in the Panhellenion. All three of these statue dedications demonstrate the gratitude of the city's Greek population to Hadrian, their protector and champion, for his earlier benefactions on their behalf, both in helping to rebuild their city and then supporting their application for membership in the Panhellenion.

I submit that the statue from Cyrene now in the British Museum (Fig. 19.12) is a locally produced variant on the Hadrianos Panhellenios type, best known from the examples in Athens and Corinth discussed above. The nine examples of this group should all be dated to 131–132, the time of Hadrian's organization of the Panhellenion, and 138, the year of his death. I further propose that these nine statue dedications were set up to honor him as *Hadrianos Panhellenios,* benefactor and protector of all the Hellenes and of Hellenic culture, and that, based on the evidence presented by the Cyrene example in London, the use of a statue with this breastplate type can, when supported by inscriptional or textual evidence, be interpreted as confirmation of a city's membership in the Panhellenion.

Figure 19.15 *(opposite, left).* **Partially restored portrait of Hadrian, from Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus at Olympia (Olympia, Archaeological Museum Λ148).** Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (neg. 79/376)

Figure 19.16 *(opposite, right).* **Fragments of breastplate from portrait of Antoninus Pius, from Olympia (Olympia, Archaeological Museum Λ2248A +B *[a];* Λ2248C *[b]*).** Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens (negs. 73/1353, 73/1354, respectively)

Group IV: Posthumous Examples

The final group of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type comprises three specimens that are either post-Hadrianic in date, or are posthumous dynastic dedications to the deceased emperor from the principate of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161). Two of these are from Olympia and the third is from Amman. The example from Amman is preserved from the thorax to just below the knees.[137] Although the head, lower legs, and arms are missing, the pose can be reconstructed with the right leg active and the left relaxed, and with the right arm raised and the left lowered at the side. Breastplate and lappets are of the standard type. The Amman torso derives from an Antonine reconstruction of the theater at this site and may date as late as ten or fifteen years after Hadrian's death. It is one of at least five figures that were set up in niches to decorate the architectural backdrop of the theater stage.

There is no definite reason to exclude the identification of the Amman statue as a portrait of Antoninus Pius, yet the breastplate composition and lappet motifs strongly suggest an association with Hadrian. The dedication inscription reads "to . . . Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Caesar Augustus, himself and his entire house," and suggests that the Amman statue derives from a dynastic ensemble erected to honor Hadrian as the father of the current ruling family.[138] Even though there is insufficient evidence to secure an identification of the Amman statue in favor of either Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, this work clearly demonstrates that the iconographic message of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type still remained current after the emperor's death.

The two final examples of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type derive from the extensive dynastic portrait ensemble, dated either 147–149 or 157–161, that once decorated the exedra of the Nymphaeum of Herodes

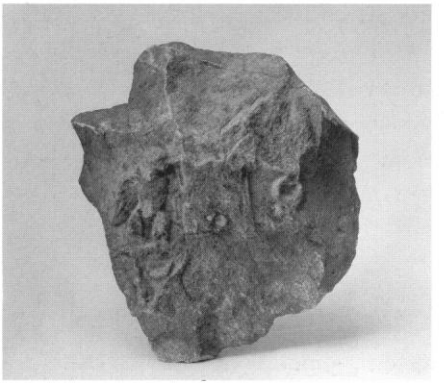
137. Amman, Jordan Archaeological Museum: H. 1.18 m, white marble, from the *scaena frons* of the theater. See el Fakharani 1975, pp. 399–400, fig. 26; Stemmer 1978, pp. 25, 27, pl. 13:1, 2; Vermeule 1978, pp. 104–105, no. 187C (or 188C); 1980, p. 13.

138. El Fakharani (1975, p. 400) records the accompanying inscription: ΥΠΕΡ - - - ΤΙΤ[ΟΥ] ΑΙΛΙΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΑΝΤ[ΟΝΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ]ΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙ[ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΥΜΠΑΝ]ΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ [ΟΙΚΟΥ]. For translation, see Vermeule 1978, p. 104. Stemmer (1978, p. 25) supports el Fakharani's association with Antoninus Pius, while Vermeule (1978, pp. 104–105) suggests that the breastplate type indicates a posthumous dedication to Hadrian.





a



b

Atticus at Olympia.[139] One of these, Λ148 (Fig. 19.15),[140] is a key work for this study in that it is one of only two examples of this group to survive with its portrait of Hadrian intact, the other example being the previously discussed statue from Hierapytna in Istanbul (Fig. 19.2). Olympia Λ148 survives virtually complete except for the loss of the right leg from just below the calf and of the left leg from just below the knee. The figure stands with its left leg active and the right leg relaxed, while the left arm is raised and the right extended forward from the side of the body. The head of the deified emperor, carved in one piece with the body, is crowned with a laurel wreath. The breastplate is well preserved and of the standard type, although the positions of the owl and snake flanking Athena are reversed. The lappet iconography also reflects the standard type, although the specific sequence of motifs decorating the lower row of lappets varies from the canonical examples discussed above. Instead of the customary arrangement depicting pendant helmets flanked by lion's heads and then shields, greaves, or rosettes, Olympia Λ148 has greaves on the two center lappets flanked by pendant shields, lion's heads, and then helmets.

The second example from Olympia survives in very fragmentary condition.[141] Fragments Λ2248A and Λ2248B (Fig. 19.16:a) preserve part of an acanthus vine and the upper part of a Victory moving right; Λ2248C (Fig. 19.16:b) bears the lower body of Athena, dressed in a long chiton with an owl at her right side and a snake at her left, standing on the back of a barely discernable she-wolf facing left. Fragments Λ2248D and Λ2248E preserve part of the left shoulder, and fragments Λ2248F and

139. For a thorough treatment of this monument and its sculptural decoration, see Bol 1984.

140. Olympia, Archaeological Museum Λ148: H. 1.86 m. See Wroth 1886, pp. 132, 137, 140–142; Hekler 1919, pp. 232–233; *Corinth* X, p. 132; Shear 1933, p. 180; Graindor 1934, p. 258; *Agora* I, pp. 72–73; Wegner 1956, pp. 41–42, 64, 67, 71, 103, pls. 17:a, 25:b; Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 181, pl. 16:46; Niemeyer 1968, pp. 46, 97, pl. 18; de Grazia 1973, p. 313, note 3; Vermeule 1974, pp. 13, 15, no. 181; el Fakharani 1975, p. 399; Huskinson 1975, p. 40, note 2; Stemmer 1978, pp. 51, note 153, 54, 110–111, pl. 74:2; Inan and Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1979, I, p. 98; Bol 1984, pp. 151–153, pls. 15–17.

141. Olympia, Archaeological Museum Λ2248A–G. See Stemmer 1978, p. 50, pl. 30:2–5; Vermeule 1980, p. 18; Bol 1984, pp. 153–157, fig. 71, pls. 18, 19.

Λ2248G preserve portions of three lappet motifs. These fragments, found during the course of excavations in 1971 and 1980, have been convincingly combined by Renate Bol with a portrait of Antoninus Pius (Λ165) that was discovered in an earlier exploration of this site in 1878. As reconstructed by Bol, the statue would have stood with its right leg active and left leg relaxed, and with the left arm raised to hold a spear and the right lowered at the side but bent at the elbow to extend forward. The statue of Hadrian (Λ148) and breastplate fragments (Λ2248) are clearly from the same workshop and both show Athena flanked by an owl to her right and a snake to her left, a reversal of the standard arrangement seen on Agora S166 (Fig. 19.1).

The style of the posthumous portrait, Olympia Λ148, is definitely post-Hadrianic,[142] as is that of the other two works of this group. Note in particular the pronounced overlapping of the two rows of lappets that hang from the lower edge of the cuirass. On both the Amman statue and Olympia Λ148 (Fig. 19.15) the upper row of lappets practically conceals the underlying lappets of the lower row. This does not occur to the same degree on earlier examples of this breastplate type. Note also the pronounced three-dimensional rendering and prominence of the precisely delineated hinges situated above each lappet of the upper row. The posthumous Amman and Olympia specimens are the only examples of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type to depict such hinges, or, for that matter, to have any hinges above the lappets at all.

Moreover, consider the pronounced elongated shapes of the simply rendered lappet motifs that embellish these statues. These motifs differ significantly from the broadly modeled and more roundly shaped lappets found on the earlier specimens of this type. In style, shape, and execution these works clearly date later than the other examples of the type and illustrate the changes that characterize the evolution of cuirassed statue design and decoration during the immediate post-Hadrianic period. These three works also demonstrate that the ideology behind the creation of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type was still current during the rule of Antoninus Pius.

Of the emperors who followed Hadrian, it is Antoninus Pius, his adopted son and successor, who is most often mentioned in conjunction with the activities of the Panhellenion.[143] Indeed, the loyalty of Antoninus to his adopted father is well attested, and his impassioned speech before the Senate to secure his adopted father's deification, and thereby the validation of his own succession, is often cited (D.C., *Epitome* 71.1.1–3). In this way the continuation of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type, as a successor type, into Pius's reign marks a natural extension, indeed perpetuation, of Hadrian's ideological deployment of a philhellene outlook intended to secure the loyalty of the Greek-speaking East to Roman rule. Yet the imagery of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type does not continue beyond the reign of Pius, as no later examples of the type have been found. Circumstances change, styles evolve, and, apparently, later emperors had no interest in adopting Hadrian's philhellene imagery as a subject for the decoration on the breastplates of their own cuirassed statues.

142. Wegner 1956, p. 41.
143. Jones 1996, pp. 35–36.

ICONOGRAPHY AND INTERPRETATION

Although the iconography of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type is clearly a product of this emperor's philhellene outlook, no single iconographic element employed here is unique or new. In fact, the origin of virtually every motif used in decorating these statues can be traced back to prototypes of Julio-Claudian, Flavian, or Trajanic date.[144] For example, the characteristic central motif of Athena or Roma-Virtus flanked by pendant winged Victories is not a Hadrianic invention, but has a long history that originates in the Julio-Claudian period. In a composition ultimately inspired by Neo-Attic decoration, the breastplate of a Julio-Claudian statue in Turin[145] shows an archaistic Athena-Minerva flanked by *kalathiskos* dancers wearing short chitons.

Flanked instead by pendant dancing Victories wearing short chitons, Athena-Minerva is at the center of a popular Domitianic breastplate composition that decorates statues in Berlin,[146] Boston,[147] Naples,[148] Rome,[149] and Vaison-la-Romaine.[150] Domitian venerated Minerva above all other deities, and it is to her that he dedicated his military successes against the German tribes. She appears again, but this time alone and enframed by an elaborate acanthus vine, on the breastplate of a single Domitianic statue from Merida.[151] The sole figure of Athena-Minerva can also be found, standing above reclining personifications of land and sea, on the breastplate of a late Domitianic/early Trajanic statue in the garden of the Palazzo Colonna in Rome.[152] On a thematically related early Flavian statue from Famagusta[153] that allegorically celebrates the conquest of Judaea, it is a Roma-Virtus, rather than an Athena-Minerva, who is flanked by priestesses bearing lowered torches above reclining personifications of land and sea.

Such reclining pendant figures also occur on several late Flavian/early Trajanic breastplates, and may provide a source for the pose and position of the captive prisoners that lie along the lower edge of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate examples from Antalya and Gortyna. Pendant winged Victories are certainly not new to cuirassed statue decoration, either; they appear frequently, flanking either a candelabrum or an incense burner, on numerous specimens dating from the Julio-Claudian period through the principate of Antoninus Pius. The she-wolf, too, has a previous history, but only as a lappet motif on a single cuirassed statue of Trajan in Leiden,[154]

144. Dulière 1979, pp. 199–202.

145. Turin, Museo di Antichità, entrance: Vermeule 1959, p. 36, no. 27; Stemmer 1978, p. 76, pl. 49:1, 2.

146. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 343: Vermeule 1959, p. 35, no. 18; Stemmer 1978, p. 79, pl. 52:3.

147. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.346: Vermeule 1959, p. 47, no. 112, pl. 9:29; Stemmer 1978, pp. 11, 80–81, pl. 55:2.

148. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6072: Vermeule 1959, p. 48, nos. 122, 123; Stemmer 1978, p. 82, pl. 56:1–3.

149. Vatican City, Vatican Museums, Galleria delle Statue 248: Vermeule 1959, p. 47, no. 111; Stemmer 1978, p. 80, pl. 55:1.

150. Vaison-la-Romaine, Archaeological Museum: Vermeule 1959, p. 47, no. 110, pl. 10:28A; Stemmer 1978, p. 77, pls. 50:4, 51:2.

151. Merida, Museo Arqueológico 1.138: Vermeule 1959, p. 48, no. 116; Stemmer 1978, p. 34, pls. 18:2, 19:1.

152. Rome, garden of the Palazzo Colonna: Vermeule 1959, p. 52, no. 155; Stemmer 1978, p. 51, pl. 31:2.

153. Famagusta (Cyprus), archaeological museum: Vermeule 1964, p. 101, no. 85B, pl. 19:6, 6A; Stemmer 1978, pp. 34–35, pl. 19:2–4.

154. Leiden, Rijksmuseum HIIBB1: Vermeule 1959, p. 49, no. 130, pl. 12:36; Stemmer 1978, pp. 36–37, pls. 20:3, 21:1.

never as a motif on the breastplate itself, although it can be found on several post-Hadrianic examples of the mid- and late 2nd century.

Similarly, the various lappet motifs that embellish the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type can all be found earlier, but not with the preeminence or regularity with which they occur here. The Zeus-Ammon head, in particular, is quite rare prior to the Hadrianic age. It is found, in regular alternation with rams' heads, on the upper lappet row of the so-called Augustus from Cherchel;[155] its previous use on the center lappet of the upper row occurs on a single early Flavian statue in Famagusta[156] and on two Trajanic examples in Guelma[157] and Mantua.[158] Eagles appear as a lappet motif with much greater frequency. They can be found standing, striding left, striding right, clutching thunderbolts, and on a few late Flavian examples they are grasping the underbelly of a hare.[159]

What is new in the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type is how these various motifs have been combined to express a general ideological message rather than to commemorate a particular military event or territorial conquest.[160] Yet the exact nature of this message is difficult to define. Savignoni,[161] Hekler,[162] and Harrison[163] relate the iconography of this breastplate type to either the philhellene spirit or the general cultural outlook of the Hadrianic age. Others, such as Johannes Sieveking,[164] Paul Graindor,[165] T. Leslie Shear,[166] Gilbert Charles Picard,[167] and Niels Hannestad,[168] prefer to interpret this imagery as an ideological union between Greece and Rome. Wegner[169] supports the basic premise of an ideological union of Rome and Athens, but with a focus on Hadrian as a second

155. Cherchel (Algeria), Musée des Antiquités: Vermeule 1959, p. 55, no. 179, pl. 15:45; Stemmer 1978, pp. 10–12, pls. 2:1, 2, 3:1–5.

156. Famagusta (Cyprus), archaeological museum: Vermeule 1964, p. 101, no. 85B, pl. 19; Stemmer 1978, pp. 34–35, pl. 19:2–4.

157. Guelma (Algeria), museum M 397: Vermeule 1959, p. 49, no. 131; Stemmer 1978, pp. 64–65, pl. 40:3, 4.

158. Mantua, Museo Civico: Vermeule 1959, p. 56, no. 192; Stemmer 1978, p. 52, pl. 31:4.

159. For discussion on the lappet motif of an eagle grasping the underbelly of a hare, see Gergel 1986, p. 12; 1988, pp. 14–22.

160. See Dulière 1979, pp. 202–209, for a discussion of various theories on the interpretation of this breastplate type.

161. According to Savignoni (1901, col. 307), "la qualità e lo stile della corazza, che nella unione simbolica di Atene e Roma rispecchia i sentimenti fillellenici di questo imperatore."

162. Hekler (1919, p. 233) interpreted the breastplate iconography as "ein trefflicher bildlicher Ausdruck für das ganze Kulturprogramm Hadrians."

163. Harrison (*Agora* I, p. 72), writing specifically of the breastplate composition of Agora S166, claims that it "symbolizes with admirable conciseness the philhellenic policy of the Roman ruler."

164. Sieveking (1931, p. 18) interprets the breastplate type as "ein neues Motiv von bedeutsamen Inhalt, die unter dem Schutz der Gottheit vereinigten Wahrzeichen Athens und Roms."

165. Graindor (1934, p. 259) explained that "les reliefs de la cuirasse évoquent, encore une fois, les deux capitales du monde antique, Athènes, sous les traits d'Athéna armée, flanquée, de part et d'autre, d'un Victoire ailée, le serpent, d'un côté, la chouette, de l'autre, et superposée à la Louvre allaitant Romulus et Rémus, symbole de Rome."

166. Shear (1933, p. 181), in the first publication of Agora S166, writes that "the central group furnishes the keynote for the symbolic significance of the decorative theme. The goddess Athena, emblem of Athens, stands erect on the back of the wolf suckling the twins, the emblem of Rome, and the combination of these emblematic figures clearly characterizes Hadrian in his relation to the two cities, as benefactor of Athens and Emperor of Rome."

167. Picard (1957, p. 422) notes that it is "le décor de leur cuirasse qui exprime le programme idéologique de l'Empereur; il réunit comme on sait l'Athéna combattant, symbole de l'hellénisme, à la louvre romaine."

168. Hannestad (1986, p. 200) interprets the breastplate type "as an illustration of the interdependence of Greece and Rome."

169. Wegner (1956, p. 68) explains that "diese Darstellung ist für den Philhellenen Hadrian sinnbildlich; die Wahrzeichen Roms und Athens sind darin verbunden, unter absichtlicher Erhöhung Athens, als dessen Neugründer Hadrian sich fühlte."

founder of Athens. Hans-Georg Niemeyer[170] and Catherine de Grazia (Vanderpool)[171] offer similar interpretations, but stress the role of the emperor as the protector or guardian of Greek civilization. Vermeule[172] and Diana E. E. Kleiner[173] place a greater emphasis on the theme of Roman imperialism.

A very different interpretation of this breastplate type is offered by Toynbee, who insists that it refers not to an ideological union of Rome and Athens, but to Rome alone.[174] Instead of identifying the central figure as Athena, Toynbee sees her as "the Palladium, the ancient image of Pallas Athena," and "a symbol of Rome's *aeternitas,*" and then notes that the she-wolf with nursing twins is "another 'preserving' incident in the story of Rome's primeval past" and "a favourite symbol both of the city and of her *aeternitas.*"[175] For Toynbee, the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type documents Rome's strategy for supremacy over the Greek-speaking East. Janet Huskinson, clearly echoing Toynbee, states that "the theme of the symbolic decoration of the breast-plate is the victory of eternal Rome," and then reiterates Toynbee's interpretation of the Palladium and the she-wolf with twins as symbols not of Athens and Rome, but as dual images of Rome's *aeternitas.*[176]

There is much to appreciate in Toynbee's focus on Hadrianic imperialism, but her insistence that the breastplate iconography relates not to Athens and Rome, but to Rome alone, is difficult to accept. The problem lies with her identification of the central figure as the sacred Palladium, symbol of Rome's *aeternitas.* There are two flaws in this interpretation. First, the Palladium is usually depicted in archaistic fashion, whereas the central figure of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type is clearly meant to be seen as an actual figure or personification, not as an archaic-style cult figure. Second, the accompanying owl and snake are not appropriate adjuncts to the Palladium, but belong to the goddess herself as titular deity of Athens. Therefore the warrior maiden should not be identified as the archaistic Palladium, symbol of Rome's *aeternitas,* but as Athena, symbol of Athens and of this city's special position in the rich cultural tradition of the Greek-speaking East.

Consider the basic imagery of this breastplate type. Athena, flanked by Victories, stands on the back of the she-wolf with nursing twins. Athena clearly represents the rich heritage of the Greek-speaking East, with an emphasis on Athens as its epicenter. The she-wolf with nursing twins

170. Niemeyer (1968, p. 49) wrote that "auf Statuen des Kaisers Hadrian und den griechisch spechenden Teil des römischen Imperiums beschränkt ist ein symbolkräftiges Bildschema, in dem das Palladion von Rom mit der kapitolinischen Wölfin und zwei bekränzenden Victorien verbunden ist. In einem Falle ist das Palladion durch die amazonengestaltige Roma ersetzt. Eule und Schlange sitzen zu Füssen des Palladions: als spezifische Attribute der Athena von Athen symbolisieren sie ehrerbietige Unterordnung dieser Stadt (und damit zugleich des griechische Ostens) und die kaiserliche, römische Schutzgottheit."

171. De Grazia (1973, p. 311) interprets the breastplate type as "symbolizing Athens' resurgence under Hadrian, and indeed the resurgence of all Greece, and honoring the emperor as the guardian of Hellenic civilization."

172. Vermeule (1968, p. 262) refers to the meaning of the breastplate type as "the very epilogue of Hadrian's Hellenistic imperialism."

173. Kleiner (1992, p. 241), in a discussion of the Istanbul statue, writes that the breastplate composition "expresses in a nutshell the political philosophy of Hadrian," and adds that "the scene can be interpreted as the triumph of Graeco-Roman civilization over the barbarian world outside Hadrian's Wall."

174. Toynbee 1956, pp. 213–214, note 2.

175. Toynbee 1956, p. 213.

176. Huskinson 1975, p. 40.

symbolizes not just the founding of Rome, but also the city of Rome and the expansion of Roman authority throughout the entire Mediterranean world. Toynbee is correct in associating the she-wolf and twins with Rome's *aeternitas.* Both figures, however, not just Athena, are flanked by winged Victories. The subject of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type was not the preeminence of Athens, nor that of Rome, but the relationship that existed between Rome and her Greek-speaking eastern provinces. Remember, the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type was produced for a Greek-speaking audience. It addresses their concerns as to how they fit into the complex mosaic of the Roman empire. It tells them that their past and present cultural achievements are protected, indeed, that their special position as cultural leaders is both supported and nurtured by Rome. It deals with the basic problem of the "Romanization" of the Greek-speaking East. By extending citizenship, by encouraging Greeks to join the senatorial class, by permitting, if not actually fostering, the cult worship of the reigning emperor, Rome hopes to convince the Greeks that they are now Romans.

A literary reflection of this ideology can be found in the writings of Aelius Aristides, a near-contemporary of Hadrian and a member of the Second Sophistic movement of the Middle Imperial period. Although his career falls largely within the reign of Antoninus Pius, passages from two of his works help to explain the ideological context of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type. In the *Rome Oration* of A.D. 134, a panegyric to Rome as leader and protector of the civilized world, Aristides makes several comments pertinent to understanding the special and historically unprecedented relationship that exists between Rome and her provinces.[177] In section 61, he writes "what another city is to its own boundaries and territory, this city is to the boundaries and territory of the entire civilized world."[178] Regarding the extension of Roman citizenship throughout the entire empire he claims in section 63 that "you have caused the word Roman to be a label, not of membership in a city, but of some common nationality."[179] Aristides also honors Rome in section 66 as the leader of an "all-embracing union" and notes that "what formerly seemed to be impossible has come to pass in your time."[180] On the status of the Greeks in this new world league he explains in section 94 how "all the Greek cities rise up under your leadership, and the monuments which are dedicated in them and all their embellishments and comforts redound to your honor like beautiful suburbs."[181] Moreover, with regard to Rome's status as protector of the Greeks, Aristides praises her in section 96 for "taking good care of the Hellenes as of your foster parents."[182]

Similar ideas regarding the special position of Athens within the Roman world are expressed by Aristides in his *Panathenaicus,* which he probably delivered on the occasion of the Greater Panathenaia in Athens in August of 155. Regarding the current status of Athens, Aristides explains in section 232 that "she was deemed worthy of the first honors not only when Hellas was prospering, but even amid the loss of prosperity there is no city which has become her equal."[183] He further notes in section 234 that "Athens holds the place of honor in the whole Hellenic world, and has so fared that one could not wish for her the old circumstances instead

177. James H. Oliver (1953, p. 892) remarked that "it is possible to read into the *Rome Oration* of A.D. 134 something of the exhilaration felt by the Greek cities eleven years earlier upon the establishment of the Panhellenion and the announcement of its program and of the aspirations of that *basileus euergetes* and citizen of Athens, the emperor Hadrian, *restitutor libertatis.*"

178. Oliver 1953, p. 901.

179. Oliver 1953, p. 902.

180. Oliver 1953, p. 902.

181. Oliver 1953, p. 905.

182. Oliver 1953, p. 905.

183. Oliver 1968, p. 84.

of the present."[184] Although both of these works were composed during the reign of Antoninus Pius, the ideas expressed in them are common also during the reign of Hadrian.

The eastern Hadrianic breastplate type expresses these same ideas regarding the relationship of Rome to the Greek-speaking East. Hadrian's gifts to Athens, his creation of the Panhellenion, and his benefactions to cities throughout the East are all part of his policy to ensure the East that their welfare and Rome's welfare are one and the same. It is within this context that one must examine the breastplate imagery of Agora S166 and the other works of this type. The evolution of this breastplate type from the very beginning, through the middle years, and into the last phase of Hadrian's reign reflects the gradual evolution of Hadrian's grand scheme for promoting the loyalty of a unified Greek-speaking East to Rome.[185] The earliest examples of this breastplate type embellish statues that honor Hadrian as universal victor, those of the next group honor the emperor for his virtue, while the statues of the third group elicit the loyalty of a united Hellas to Rome through the cult worship of the emperor as *Panhellenios*.

In conclusion, the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type comprises twenty specimens which can be divided into four sequentially dated groups. These works feature a distinctive breastplate iconography that shows either Athena, or Roma-Virtus, flanked by winged Victories and standing on the back of a she-wolf with nursing twins, as well as a standardized selection and arrangement of lappet motifs. Group I, the eastern Victory type, dates from A.D. 117 to 123 and comprises five works that include the distinguishing feature of an adjunct captive either beneath the emperor's foot or at his side. The examples of this group honor Hadrian as Trajan's successor and universal victor. Group II, the Roma-Virtus type, comprises three examples that date from 123 to 131/132 and features the substitution of an Amazon warrior in place of Athena at the center of the breastplate. Group III, the Hadrianos Panhellenios type, includes nine specimens that date from 131/132 to 138 and show the adaption of the standard eastern Hadrianic breastplate formulas to the embellishment of a statue or cult figure type that celebrates Hadrian as *Panhellenios,* founder of the Panhellenion. The final group comprises three examples that employ the eastern Hadrianic breastplate style as either a posthumous tribute to the deified Hadrian or as a successor type honoring Antoninus Pius.

The imagery of the eastern Hadrianic breastplate type does not survive past the reign of Antoninus Pius. Indeed, the history of the historiated cuirass stops here too. While cuirassed statues continue to be manufactured well into the Late Roman world, the complex and often rich allegorical compositions that characterize many Augustan through Hadrianic examples are no longer produced. Later cuirassed statues are customarily decorated with either winged victories or pendant griffins flanking a candelabrum. The message of Agora S166 and the other works of this type, imbued with the philhellene ideology of the emperor who organized the Panhellenion, no longer had relevance in the increasingly unstable military and political environment of the post-Antonine Roman world.

184. Oliver 1968, p. 84.
185. Holum 1992, p. 51.

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CHAPTER 20

Dedications of Roman Theaters

by Mary C. Sturgeon

The first question I am asked when I present my reconstruction of sculptures on the *scaenae frons* of the Roman theater at Corinth is, "Did Hadrian build this theater, is this Hadrian's theater?" Fragmentary inscriptions found during excavation of the Corinth theater mention the *scaena,* the *ornamenta,* even the honoree and possible donor(s). The situation of the Corinth theater, where the inscriptions are quite fragmentary, leads to more general questions: what kinds of persons dedicated theaters in the Roman period, how did they record their gifts, and does the picture vary from East to West or from one century to the next? What is the social context for building this important type of civic and religious structure? It seems appropriate to undertake a discussion of building dedications in a volume in honor of an esteemed teacher and colleague.

This study of theater dedications responds to recent interest in broader aspects of Roman antiquity, such as the landscape of cities, relationships between centers and peripheries, regional perspectives, and aspects of cultural context, especially regarding buildings designed for public entertainment: witness the growing number of publications on the theater, amphitheater, stadium, and circus.[1] This investigation also illuminates aspects of Roman patronage, such as the benefactions of private citizens.[2]

Virtually every city would have had a theater in Roman times. It would be impossible to examine them all in so limited a space as this paper, but also the number of well-preserved or excavated theaters is proportionally

1. Cf., e.g., Alcock 1989, 1993, Bilde 1993, Alcock 1997. On the theater, Gebhard 1996; amphitheater, Bomgardner 1993, Welch 1994, Gunderson 1996, Welch 1998a, 1998b, 1999; circus, Humphrey 1986. On the eastern Roman provinces, Humphrey 1986, pp. 438–539.

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2. Veyne 1990 is basic for any study of euergetism, in general, pp. 10–13; on Roman euergetism for political ambition not social zeal, pp. 232–236; for an alternate view see, e.g., Gauthier 1985. Orlin (1997) provides a parallel study for Republican temples; on patronage and the language of honorific inscriptions in Italy, see Forbis 1996.

small. Some are known from the early travelers or early excavators, who generally provide minimal information, and it is not uncommon for theaters described in the last century as well preserved to have nearly disappeared since then.

Although much information comes from inscriptions, the survival of which is random, inscriptions do not always make clear which building phase is designated, and they do not always provide information about a donor's career or the relationship of the gift to a career.[3] The accident of survival can obscure the existence of multiple donors for the same building or building section. Or, when an emperor responds to a request for help from a city after a natural disaster, specific buildings may not be indicated by the source.[4] Further, the Scriptores Historiae Augustae (*Had.* 19.9, 20.4) state that although Hadrian paid for many buildings, he frequently did not put his name on them. For various reasons, then, the evidence that survives for the dedications of theaters should be treated as a significant sample that is drawn from a broad chronological and geographical perspective.[5] Evidence from the Corinth theater is presented first, followed by dedications from western and eastern Mediterranean provinces, in order to see what practices can be defined and how the Corinth theater fits into the overall picture.

THE CASE OF THE CORINTH THEATER

As with many building inscriptions, those found during excavation of the Corinth theater are fragmentary, but they illustrate several important points. The first is that the theater was erected in a series of architectural phases. The existence of several building phases is indicated by fragmentary Latin dedications from the time of Claudius, Nero, Titus, Trajan, and Hadrian.[6] For example, one dedication in large metal letters, which is set into the floor of the East Theater Plaza, states that the pavement was laid by a man named Erastus. This Erastus is known to have lived in Neronian times and to have had contact with Paul, for he can be identified with the Corinthian Erastus mentioned in the New Testament (*Romans* 16.23). The inscription states that he laid the pavement at his own expense in return for his aedileship, so the exchange of gift for civic office is clear. The pavement appears to be in a secondary location, so the inscribed section may have been moved during a reworking of the theater entrance.[7]

A dedication to Trajan, which is dated by the offices that he held to no later than A.D. 101, is cut onto a marble cornice block that appears to have been reused in the Hadrianic period when a new *scaenae frons* was constructed.[8] Because this cornice block was discovered near the end of the stage building, Richard Stillwell suggested that it might be associated with an entrance to the *versurae,* or, less likely, with the theater's upper colonnade, or *peribolos.* As it has few matches among cornice blocks from the theater, the Trajanic dedication may represent a marble refurbishment of an entrance to the Flavian structure. Excavations outside the *cavea* buttresses show that the *cavea* and external supports were altered a number of

3. On the Greek theater and civic exchange, see, e.g., von Reden 1995, pp. 98, 147, 148; on patronage see, e.g., Strong 1968, Nicols 1980, Badian 1985, Horsfall 1988, Nicols 1988; on buildings or festivals, see, e.g., Van Bremen 1983; Whitehead 1983; Mitchell 1987a, 1987b; Alcock 1989, pp. 9, 33; Mitchell 1990; Boatwright 1991, pp. 252–256; 1993.

4. See, e.g., Fuchs 1987, p. xii; on problems caused by chance survival of inscriptions, see Mitchell 1987a, p. 20; 1987b, pp. 339, 343, 344. On natural disasters, Mitchell 1987b, pp. 349–352; on rebuilding inscriptions and problems of their interpretation, Thomas and Witschell 1992.

5. More work could usefully be done on building dedications with respect to all categories of buildings.

6. *Corinth* VIII, iii, nos. 74, 84, 85, 96, 232, 336.

7. Erastus: *Corinth* II, p. 4; *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 232. Charles Williams has suggested (pers. comm.) that this inscription was found in a secondary position. Two other offices are attested: Hicesius, an aedile of the early 1st century A.C. honored on a base, may have funded a portion of the theater, and a fragmentary revetment records the title of *curator annonae* (*Corinth* VIII, iii, nos. 231, 234).

8. *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 96; Stillwell in *Corinth* II, p. 114, no. 89, p. 136. The lack of exterior angles prevents association with the Hadrianic *scaenae frons.*

times, possibly occasioned by the need for routine maintenance, for increased seating, and by earthquakes. The number of archaeological phases that have been detected in the *cavea* supports do not appear to have direct counterparts in the construction of the *scaenae frons.*[9]

Secondly, the inscriptions suggest that the *scaena* and the *ornamenta,* or decorations, are named as if they formed separately funded portions of the complex. The *scaena* and *ornamenta* are mentioned in two fragmentary inscriptions that John Kent dated to the Hadrianic period. Because they are cut on blocks of different thickness with different treatment of their backs, and because they were found in different parts of the theater—the inscription with *scaena* in the Peristyle Court north of the *scaenae frons,* that with *ornamenta* in the lower *cavea* and orchestra—they appear to derive from inscriptions mounted in separate locations. They may represent two recordings of the same donation that were set up in different parts of the complex, or they may indicate that the *scaena* and its decoration result from two separate donations.[10]

Inscriptions were also cut on architrave-frieze blocks that Stillwell associated with porticoes of the Hadrianic *porta regia* and *hospitalia.* On one the letters CAESAR remain and on another the upper parts of ARI seem possible. Because the letters occur on architrave-frieze blocks, which is the location of dedications in a number of theaters, as is discussed below, they appear to have formed part of the building dedication. Stillwell dated the major, 2nd-century A.C., phase to the Hadrianic or early Antonine period, but he did not argue that Hadrian himself built the *scaenae frons,* nor did he adduce any material that would support that conclusion.[11] Two fragments published by Kent that read CAESARI.H, using the dative form for Caesar, may indicate Hadrian as honoree.[12] In the second line of this inscription Kent restored M. Antonius Antoni[...], and a larger slab on similar marble revetment from the theater bears the name M. Antonius Aristocratis in the nominative case, so two private citizens appear to have funded work on the Hadrianic structure, either separately or jointly. Kent restored the latter as *agonothetes* (official for the games) for the Isthmian games.[13]

The fragmentary inscriptions from the Corinth theater yield only a partial view of the building's donors and honorees. Consideration of other theater dedications may enhance the picture for Corinth and may indicate whether the incremental process of building, decorating, and maintaining that theater is normative. Erastus's is the only relatively complete dedication that survives from the Corinth theater area, but texts from other theaters indicate what magisterial ranks or social status benefactors of such buildings may have had, and in which cases the emperor is known to have provided funding. It might seem unlikely that the emperor would have paid for theaters because they are not utilitarian structures, or because they were complexes in which religious activities may have taken place in his honor, but Hadrian is known to have consecrated a temple to his own cult in Asia.[14] Consideration of dedications from theaters in the Roman West and East provides a broad context for understanding construction of the Corinth theater.

9. Williams and Zervos 1988, pp. 108–120, esp. p. 119; 1989, pp. 25–36 and note 33.

10. *Corinth* VIII, iii, nos. 336, dated Hadrianic, and 433. For two inscriptions recording the same dedication at Corinth, see the *macellum* inscriptions, *Corinth* VIII, ii, nos. 124, 125; *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 321.

11. *Corinth* II, pp. 114–116, fig. 88, nos. 90, 91; on the date, pp. 136–140. This opinion mars two otherwise useful studies: Mitchell 1987a, p. 23; 1987b, p. 359. On the patronage of Hadrian, cf., e.g., Geagan 1972; Shear 1981, p. 373; Geagan 1979, pp. 389, 399, 429, 430; Baldwin 1982; Boatwright 1987; 2000.

12. *Corinth* VIII, iii, no. 105.

13. *Corinth* VIII, iii, nos. 221 and 346, which I have joined.

14. *Hist.Aug., Had.* 13.6. For a case study on the cost of a Roman theater under the Empire, see, e.g., Duncan-Jones 1990, pp. 177–184.

THEATER DEDICATIONS IN THE ROMAN WEST

In her comprehensive study of Roman theater decoration in Italy and the western provinces, Michaela Fuchs has collected evidence for the donors of theaters in Italy, France, Spain, and North Africa. Evidence for the construction of theaters by emperors or their agents is provided largely by literary sources. In Rome, Augustus restored the theater begun by Caesar and named after Marcellus (Aug. *Anc.* 4.9; Suet. *Aug.* 29.4), and Vespasian rebuilt its *scaena* after the Neronian fire (Suet. *Ves.* 19.1). Pompey's theater was renewed by Augustus (Aug. *Anc.* 20), Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 3.72), Caligula (Suet. *Cal.* 21), dedicated by Claudius (Suet. *Cl.* 21.1), and Nero had the interior gilded (Plin. *Nat.* 33.54). Domitian rebuilt the theater of Balbus after the fire of about A.D. 80 (D.C. 66.24).[15] Restorations of Pompey's theater by the Severans and by Honorius and Arcadius are attested epigraphically.[16] In addition, epigraphical evidence indicates that marbles were supplied by imperial quarries for the theaters in Benevento and Teano.[17]

In Italy outside of Rome, theaters are not typically mentioned as imperially financed buildings.[18] Agrippa has many buildings attached to his name, only some of which derive from his service as aedile, when some building dedications would be customary. Agrippa also built the theaters in Ostia and Emerita, in present-day Spain, that were renovated later by emperors, which is unusual for theaters outside Rome. The Ostia theater was later rebuilt by Commodus, by Septimius Severus and Caracalla, as well as by Diocletian and Maximian. The Emerita theater was restored by Hadrian in 135 after its destruction by fire (*CIL* II 478), but this reconstruction does not seem related to Hispania being Hadrian's homeland, since it is only a single instance. The Emerita theater is also restored by Constantine and his sons.[19] In the East, Agrippa's constructions include an odeion in Athens and the completion of the theater in Antioch, which had been begun by Caesar. Because of his titles and his closeness to Augustus, Agrippa's buildings have been seen as part of a broad program of political propaganda; the propagandistic use of the theaters he initiated may have led to the continuing imperial association with theaters, an association that may have been promoted by a statue of the emperor.[20]

In the West, a number of theaters were funded by magistrates and religious officials. The most frequently cited builders are *duoviri quinquennales*

15. Richardson 1992, pp. 382, 383 (Theatrum Marcelli), 383–385 (Theatrum Pompeii), 381, 382 (Theatrum Balbi).

16. Fuchs 1987, pp. 5, 6, B I 2, 3; *CIL* VI 1031, 1191. The Arcadius and Honorius dedication (1191) is relatively complete, so it is provided here as an example of a typical format in Latin (recorded by anon. Einsiedlensis, no. 50): DD. NN. ARCADIVS. ET. HONORIVS [INVICTI ET] / PERPETVI. AV[GG.] THEATRVM. POMPEI [COLLAPSO] / EXTERIORE. AMBITV. MAGNA. ETIAM [EX PARTE] / INTERIOR[E] R[UEN]TE. CONVVLSVM [RVDERIBVS] / SVBDVCTIS. ET. EXCITATIS. INVICE [IM FABRICIS] / [NOVIS . RESTITVERVNT]

17. Pensabene 2000.

18. Cf., e.g., Fuchs 1987, p. 160 and note 352. See also Frézouls 1961, Mitchell 1987b.

19. Fuchs 1987, pp. 159, 160; on Diocletian and Maximian, p. 42, B I 4; and *CIL* XIV 129 (Suppl. 4402).

20. See, e.g., Bejor 1979a, Rawson 1987, Lomas 1998. On Agrippa see, e.g., Roller 1998, pp. 44–47, 214, 215, 220; on sculptural decoration in North African theaters, Bejor 1979b; on emperor's statues in theaters, Fuchs 1987, pp. xiii–xiv; Niemeyer 1968, pp. 20–22.

(Herculaneum, Pompeii's larger theater, Castrum Novum)[21] and *duoviri* (Pompeii's smaller theater, Tusculum, Interamna Nahars, Canama, Italica, Vasio).[22] These are closely followed by *patroni* of cities, such as M. Holconius Rufus in Pompeii (large theater), Casinum, Urbs Salvia, Luna, Verona, and Eporedia.[23] Consuls donated theaters in Volaterrae and Herculaneum, where the benefactor is also *imperator* and *septemvir epulonum,*[24] and *quattuoviri iure dicundo* are patrons in Interamna Nahars, Iguvium, and Volsinii.[25] In the provinces some donors combine high office with priesthood. Known magistracies include a procurator at Tergeste who is also *flamen Divi Claudi;* a *legatus Augusti propraetore* is also *consul designatus* and *patronus coloniae* in Thamugadi; a *flamen* is also *praefectus sacrorum* in Leptis Magna; and a *flamen perpetuus* built the theater at Thugga.[26] *Pontifices* are known for Interamna Nahars, Italica, and Leptis Magna, and records indicate a *XVvir sacris faciundis* at Leptis, a *VIIvir epulonum* in Herculaneum, and a *sacerdos Divae Faustinae* in Falerio.[27] Lower ranking offices are also cited, such as the *seviri augustales* in Scolacium and an *augustalis perpetuus* in Olisipo.[28] Provision of a major gift such as a theater was not limited to persons of these ranks, for a collegium of *magistri ex pagi* could donate a *scaena* as a group, as at Lavernae.[29] In a number of instances women are named as donors of theaters, at Leptis Magna, Casinum, Thugga, Canama, Olisipo, and Italica.[30]

Some generals who had celebrated a triumph built theaters in Rome. During the years 55–52 B.C., Pompey built his theater complex in which the *porticus post scaenam* acted as an area to display works of art taken as war booty, which was initially shown during his triple triumph in 61 B.C. (Plin. *Nat.* 35.58, 114, 126, 132).[31] After his triumph of 19 B.C., L. Cornelius Balbus the younger set up the small theater in the Campus Martius, which was dedicated in 13 B.C.[32] Fuchs has suggested that the practice of donating theater buildings in the West may develop from the custom of triumphatores erecting important buildings from their spoils.[33] At the same time a strong tradition was also developing in Rome of public officials building great monuments. Scaurus, for example, who was curule aedile in 58 B.C.,

21. Fuchs 1987, p. 27, B I 2–4 (Herculaneum); pp. 44, 45, B I 1–3 (Pompeii); p. 84, B I 1 (Castrum Novum).

22. Fuchs 1987, pp. 153, 44, B I 1, 2 (Pompeii); p. 48, B I 1, 2 (Tusculum); p. 73, B I 1 (Interamna Nahars); *CIL* II 1074 (Canama); Fuchs 1987, p. 153, note 259; Luzón 1978, p. 273, pl. 58 (Italica); Fuchs 1987, p. 153; *CIL* XII 1375 (Vasio).

23. Fuchs 1987, pp. 44, 45, B I 1–3 (Pompeii); p. 23, B I 2 (Casinum); p. 68, B I 3 (Urbs Salvia); p. 98 (Luna); p. 117, B I 1 (Verona); p. 126, B I 1 (Eporedia).

24. Fuchs 1987, p. 99, B I 1 (Volaterrae); p. 27, B I 1 (Herculaneum).

25. Fuchs 1987, p. 73, B I 1 (Interamna Nahars); p. 72, B I 4–6 (Iguvium); p. 101, B I 1 (Volsinii).

26. Fuchs 1987, pp. 110, 157, B I 1–3 (Tergeste); *CIL* VIII 17858 (Thamugadi); *IRT* 321–323 (Leptis Magna); *CIL* VIII 26527, 26528, 26606, 26607 (Thugga). On Roman theater architecture, see, e.g., Frézouls 1982, pp. 396–420, for Asia Minor and Syria.

27. Fuchs 1987, p. 73, B I 1 (Interamna Nahars); p. 153, note 259 (Italica), p. 158; *IRT* 269, 521 (Leptis); Fuchs 1987, p. 27, B I 1 (Herculaneum); p. 63, B I 2 (Falerio).

28. Fuchs 1987, p. 57, B I 2 (Scolacium), p. 158 and *CIL* II 183 (Olisipo).

29. Fuchs 1987, p. 61, B I 1 (Lavernae).

30. Fuchs 1987, p. 158, *IRT* 269 (Leptis); Fuchs 1987, p. 23, B I 1 (Casinum); *CIL* VIII 26464 (Thugga); *CIL* II 1074 (Canama); *CIL* II 183 (Olisipo); on Italica, Fuchs 1987, p. 158.

31. Fuchs 1987, pp. 5–11, 158; Richardson 1992, pp. 383–385. On the porticus, see Gleason 1994; Kuttner 1999, pp. 345–350.

32. Fuchs 1987, pp. 11–13, 158; Richardson 1992, pp. 381, 382.

33. Fuchs 1987, p. 158.

is said to have built a theater famous for its 3,000 bronze statues and 360 columns of marble, glass, and gilded wood (Plin. *Nat.* 34.36).[34]

In Pompeii the larger theater was renovated in the Augustan period, when the stage building and seats were built. This renovation is probably due to M. Holconius Rufus, for he was honored by a statue in the middle *cavea,* the inscribed base of which relates his offices: *flamen Augusti, tribunus militum a populo,* and *patronus coloniae.* The smaller, roofed theater at Pompeii, as well as the amphitheater, were built by the magistrates C. Quinctius Valgus and M. Porcius.[35]

At Herculaneum, Appius Claudius Pulcher, consul in 38 B.C., built the theater, probably in 32 B.C. after his battles in Spain. After his death the citizens set up his statue in a prominent position over an entrance to the orchestra. The statue of M. Nonius Balbus, the son, was set up as a pendant over the other entrance because he was a distinguished citizen, even though he had nothing to do with building the theater. Another pedestal in the Herculaneum theater supported a portrait statue of the theater's restorer, L. Annius L. f. Mammianus Rufus, who was *duovir quinquennalis.*[36]

Theaters in North Africa suggest a similar pattern. For example, the theater at Thugga/Dougga was built by P. Marcius Quadratus, *flamen perpetuus* of *divus Augustus.*[37] In Leptis Magna a wealthy man who built an aqueduct in A.D. 119/120 received two honorary statues in the theater.[38] It is more common to find statue bases that provide only the name, rank, and dedicator of the statue, rather than the benefaction leading to the statue, so a connection between an honorific statue set up in a theater and a theater dedication cannot be assumed.[39]

THEATER DEDICATIONS IN THE GREEK EAST

In consideration of western theater dedications, thirty theaters from a broad area have been mentioned. Evidence for the location and content of the building dedications survives for twenty-seven theaters in Greece and Anatolia. In the Greek East, the private funding of theaters is documented before the Hellenistic period. The earliest known dedications are of single features, such as the *proedria* in the 4th-century B.C. theaters in Tegea and Megalopolis. At Megalopolis, the donor Antiochos dedicated all the seats of honor as well as the gutter, probably in the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.[40] In the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods seats are dedicated at Orchomenos in Arkadia, Rhamnous, and Priene. *Agonothetes*

34. Richardson 1992, p. 385.

35. Fuchs (1987, p. 162, note 382) cites statue bases in this position in the theater of Thugga; see also Carton 1902, pp. 40, 75, 86–88. On Pompeii's large theater, Richardson 1988, pp. 75–80, and on the small theater, pp. 131–134.

36. See Fuchs 1987, p. 27, B II 1–3 (Herculaneum).

37. Fuchs 1987, p. 150, note 225, p. 157; *CIL* VIII 17901.

38. *IRT* 358.

39. Fuchs 1987, p. 162, note 385.

40. See Fuchs 1987, pp. 157–161, esp. p. 158. Cf. Schwingenstein 1977, pp. 61, 78, 80, 81, 104, 105, 112, 113; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 31, 32; Pollitt 1986, pp. 284–289. See Smith 1988, pp. 16–21, 49, on the role statues played in rewarding benefactions; also Veyne 1990, p. 234; Strong 1968; Richardson 1992, p. 385. On Megalopolis, see Gardner 1892, pp. 8, 38, 74–76, 122–126; Fiechter 1931, pp. 20–21, 30.

are the most frequent source of such gifts, but priests, *choregoi,* generals, and a *stephanophoros* are also known.[41]

The first surviving example of a private dedication, carved on the stone architrave of a *proskenion*, appears at Thasos early in the 3rd century B.C., that of Lysistratos son of Kodis to Dionysos.[42] This instance is followed by one at the Amphiaraon at Oropos, where in about 200 B.C. the dedication of an *agonothetes* is cut on the *proskenion* architrave; in about 150 B.C. that of a priest is displayed over the *skene* and doors.[43] At Iasos the dedication of Sopatros, son of Epikrates, was made while he was *choregos, agonothetes,* and *stephanephoros.* Sopatros funded an *analemma,* a section of the *cavea,* and the stage in the 2nd century B.C., and the dedication to Dionysos and to the *demos* is recorded in Greek on the *analemma* wall.[44] The *cavea* and *analemmata* walls of the Hellenistic theater on Delos are unusually well endowed with inscriptions that record payment for building and cleaning the seats (269–250 B.C.).[45] The gradual evolution of the theater form and the separate parts of the Classical and Hellenistic theater appear linked to the practice of funding sections of the theater separately, a tradition that continues through the Roman period.[46]

Patronage by the Hellenistic kings plays a major role in Sicily and the Greek East.[47] Hieron II is thought to have rebuilt the theater at Syracuse (238–214 B.C.); Eumenes II built the theater at Pergamon, promised one for Rhodes that he did not build (D.S. 19.36), and reconstructed the theater at Delphi (ca. 160 B.C.); and Antiochus Epiphanes built a new theater in Tegea (ca. 174 B.C.; Liv. 41.20).[48] The "Odeion of Perikles" was reconstructed by Ariobarzanes II of Cappadocia in 52 B.C., using two Roman architects, C. Stallius and M. Stallius, after its destruction by the Athenian Aristion in 86 B.C. (App., *Mith.* 38).[49]

King Herod of Judaea built an amphitheater at Caesarea, where he celebrated contests in honor of Augustus in 8 B.C. in order to demonstrate

41. For other Greek theaters with donors, see, e.g., Athens, Chaironeia, Iasos, Magnesia, Mylasa, Naxos, Oiniadai(?), Oropos, Segesta(?), Thasos, in, e.g., Schwingenstein 1977, pp. 76–86; and for Amorgos, Aighiali, *IG* XII 7, 388, 389, 391, Rosetto and Sartorio 1995, p. 120; Trachones in Attica, the dedication by Olympiodoros son of Diotimos to Dionysos, from ca. 325 B.C., *SEG* XXXII 267; Delos, Sanctuary of the Syrian Goddess, theater dedicated by priest Nikostratos in 108/107 B.C., *ID* 2628, and *Délos* XXXV, pp. 61–74, 100, 101, 105–108, 111–114; Epidauros town, Protonotariou–Deïlaki 1972; Kalymnos, Rosetto and Sartorio 1995, p. 144, 4th–3rd centuries B.C., Segre 1944–1945, nos. 52, 105, 106; Kea, Iulis, *IG* XII 5, 597, 3rd century B.C., Rosetto and Sartorio 1995, p. 239; Larissa, Hourmouziades 1969, late Hellenistic; Maroneia in Thrace, Mposnakes and Gkagktzes 1996, pp. 88–91; Heraclea Lyncestis, Stobi, and Provatas, Papazoglou 1988, pp. 262, 319, 385, respectively.

42. Daux 1968, pp. 50–54.

43. Fiechter 1930, pp. 13–19.

44. On the Iasus theater, Bean 1971, p. 79; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 69–74. On Sopatros, Hicks 1887, pp. 98–100; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 229, no. 24.

45. Delos, see, e.g., Bulle 1928, pp. 174–192, 249, 250; Dilke 1948; Hellmann 1992, pp. 373–377. For other Hellenistic inscriptions from theaters, see, e.g., Bieber 1961, pp. 110–128.

46. Cf., e.g., building accounts for the theater in the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Epidauros, in which the finance board's payments are listed by section for tiers of seats, thrones, the theater, columns, and doors: Burford 1966, pp. 296–300; 1969, pp. 75, 76, 83.

47. Schwingenstein 1977, pp. 80, 81, 107–111; Pollitt 1986, pp. 275–284.

48. Bulle 1928, pp. 152–165 (Syracuse), 256, 257 (Pergamon), 257–259 (Delphi), 259 (Tegea).

49. This was probably not a theater in the usual sense; see, e.g., Miller 1997, pp. 218–242, where it is suggested that the structure acquires the name of odeion much later than the 5th century B.C., and that it should not be associated with 5th-century musical contests.

his loyalty to Rome. Herod also built the theater in Jerusalem and there set up inscriptions honoring Augustus and gold and silver trophies of the nations that he had overcome, possibly in the colonnade above the *cavea* (Josephus, *AJ* 15.9.6, 341; 15.8.1, 267–273).[50]

Imperial Funding

Dedications by Roman emperors or their agents follow the tradition of royal benefactions. The theater at Antioch in Syria, originally arranged for by Caesar, was completed by Agrippa, then renovated by Tiberius, and later by Trajan after the earthquake of A.D. 114/115, according to Malalas. Trajan put a statue of the Tyche of Antioch above the four columns of the "nymphaeum" of the theater, where Malalas's term "nymphaeum" seems to refer to the deep hemicycle of the *porta regia*.[51]

The *demos* honored Augustus in the theater of Termessos in Pamphylia as savior and benefactor, the title *Sebastos* suggesting that this phase of the theater be dated between 27 B.C. and A.D. 14. The text does not state that Augustus built the theater, but it is a possible inference.[52] A statue base from A.D. 198/199 found in the Termessos orchestra bears a decree in which the *boule* and the *demos* honor Septimius Severus, possibly for rebuilding the theater.[53]

Nero probably founded two theaters, one at Iconium in Galatia under the procurator L. Pupius Praesens, where the seating was added later by private donors.[54] At Curium in Cyprus, Nero is recorded as building the theater stage in A.D. 64/65, acting through the proconsul Q. Julius Cordus. The bilingual inscription is cut on the frieze and upper section of the architrave of the Ionic entablature.[55]

Domitian likely sponsored a major phase of the theater in Phrygian Hierapolis, as is indicated by an inscription on the first-story architrave (identified by reference to the twelfth consulship).[56] At Perge in Pamphylia, the emperor Tacitus (A.D. 275–276) added a third story to the *skene frons*.[57]

In Greece, Vespasian was the donor of the theater at Sparta in A.D. 77/78, as recorded on the architrave-frieze blocks (*IG* V 1.691). Woodward had assumed that this donation referred to a gateway or stoa rather than to the theater, because Vespasian is not known to have visited Sparta, but that assumption does not seem necessary. The Sparta theater is notable for the east *parodos* wall that functioned as an archive wall, inscribed over a length of fourteen to fifteen meters. These inscriptions provide lists

50. Fuchs 1987, p. 159; Roller 1998, pp. 93, 178. On King Juba II of Mauretania, who also found useful ways of demonstrating faithful attachment to Rome by likening his portraits and those of the crown prince to those of Augustus and his heirs, see Fittschen 1974.

51. Malalas (*Chron.*, ed. Dindorf, 1831, p. 276) IX 278, 288, X 303, XI 360; Frézouls 1961, p. 347; *Corinth* II, p. 138.

52. On the Termessos theater, de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, II, pp. 9–34. On the inscription, de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 198, no. 3.

53. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 199, no. 4.

54. See *IGRR* 3.262; Ramsay 1918, pp. 169, 170; Sherk 1980, pp. 977, 978; Mitchell 1987b, p. 355, note 156.

55. Mitchell 1987b, p. 355; Mitford 1971, pp. 204–207, no. 107.

56. On the Flavian phase, Verzone 1978, p. 422, fig. 40; *Hierapolis* I, p. 123, pl. 20:c.

57. Perge: de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 147–157; Gates 1997, p. 275. The theater is under restoration by Jale Inan.

of magistrates and the *cursus honorum* of some public officials. Together with bronze plaques listing athletic events from the theater, they highlight the civic importance of the building.[58]

Trajan rebuilt the odeion at Gortyna, the capital of Roman Crete and Cyrene, in about A.D. 100, as recorded in the Latin inscription. In addition, a Greek inscription from the 3rd century A.C. built into the *scaenae frons* records a dedication to a Iulia Augusta, but which one is unclear.[59] At Argos, a fragmentary inscription found in the orchestra cites an emperor as dedicator, which Wilhelm Vollgraff restored as Hadrian based on the partially preserved lineage. The restoration is accepted by Anthony Spawforth and Susan Walker as indication that Hadrian paid for the theater.[60]

Individual Benefaction

Civic magistrates and high religious officials are important benefactors of theaters in the Greek East. Ephesus, the capital of the province of Asia and the official residence of the proconsul, achieved enormous size by the 2nd century A.C., and its theater is appropriately large. Six inscriptions from the Ephesus theater detail a continuous building history from the 1st to the 4th or 5th centuries A.C., some of which was made possible by the benefactions of wealthy citizens. In the 1st century A.C., Hieron Aristogeiton, son of Hieron, built a gallery with a vault and dedicated it to the *demos* when he was the *prytanis,* as recorded on the vault inside the upper entrance.[61] Titus Flavius Montanus, an equestrian of the early 2nd century A.C., built the vaults from his own funds in honor of Ephesian Artemis and the emperor Trajan, as related on the arch of the radial corridor on the south entrance to the second *diazoma.* Montanus's offices are listed as *eparchos techneiton* (*praefectus fabrum*) for the second time, *archiereus* (high priest) of Asia in the temple at Ephesus, *sebastophantes* (*flamen* of Augustus), and *agonothetes* for life.[62] A later bequest in the early 3rd century A.C., from Julia Potentilla, funded the netting to support the *velarium* as well as the stoa of the *summa cavea.*[63] Renewed work under the proconsul Messalinos in the 4th and 5th centuries A.C. refurbished the circuit wall of the *cavea* and the vaults.[64]

At Miletus Cn. Vergilius Capito, once procurator of Asia and prefect of Egypt, built the first Roman stage building and dedicated it to Nero, to the Didymean Apollo, and to the *demos* (A.D. 54–68). The inscription was displayed in Greek over the central door on two superimposed architrave blocks. Capito had already been procurator of Asia at the time he dedicated the baths at Miletus, traditionally dated to the later reign of Claudius, and his prefecture of Egypt is placed from A.D. 47 or 48 to 52 or a little later.[65] There is no indication in the theater inscription of an office for which this gift might be considered an exchange. Capito is already called *euergetes* in an inscription from Didyma from the time of Caligula, when Capito was high priest of Asia for the third time.[66] Donald McCabe has made a convincing restoration of the dedicatory inscription from the theater that results in redating the baths to the Neronian period; he suggests

58. Sparta, Woodward 1923–1925, pp. 153, 154; 1928–1930; Waywell and Wilkes 1995.

59. Sanders 1982, pp. 63, 65, 66; Harrison 1993, p. 155; *ICr* IV, 331, Latin; *ICr* IV 273, Latin, to Julia; *ICr* IV, 257, Greek, a dedication by one Alexandros.

60. Vollgraff 1944–1945, pp. 400, 401, no. 9, fig. 3; Spawforth and Walker 1986, p. 102.

61. Ephesus, de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 212, no. 12.

62. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 216, no. 15.

63. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, pp. 217–220, nos. 16–18.

64. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, pp. 221, 222, nos. 19, 20.

65. Mitchell 1987b, p. 351, note 114; *Milet* VI, ii, pp. 119, 120, no. 928; *SEG* XXXVI 1057. On the person, see *Milet* I, ix, no. 328.

66. *RE* VIII, A 2, 2420, s.v. *Vergilius;* Ehrhardt (1984, pp. 390, 391) questions the association of Vergilius Capito with Cn. Vergilius Capito.

that the considerable building activity with which Capito seems to have been involved may have been precipitated by the earthquake in A.D. 47.[67] Capito's euergetism further includes founding local games, the Kapitoneia, which continued until the period of Commodus. He received considerable honors for his euergetism that may have culminated in the establishment of an official cult in his honor in Miletus.[68] In view of the dates of his offices, Ségolène Demougin considers that Capito retired in A.D. 52 and that he was in Terracina in 69, when he appears to be mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.3).[69] If this is true, the dedication of the theater would have occurred after Capito's major offices and may be related to the establishment of his cult.

M. Aurelius Thelymitres also restored the Miletus theater and funded part of the *proskenion.* The inscription on the base of his honorific statue describes him as a Pythian victor, a victor in the Capitolia, an amazing victor in the circuit, and the son of an amazing victor by the same name. No public office is mentioned on the base, but he may have made his very visible benefaction in anticipation of an appointment as organizer of the local games. His statue was set up on the structure that he endowed.[70]

A labor dispute that occurred during construction of the Miletus theater around A.D. 100 provides an anecdote that strikes a chord with anyone who has dealt with modern workmen. This is related in a Greek inscription inscribed on the wall at the top of the stairs to the upper *diazoma.* When the workmen were about to break their contract over the terms, the matter was taken to the oracle of Apollo at Didyma, as if for arbitration. Apollo's advice was for them to use building techniques properly, to consult an expert for advice, and to sacrifice to Athena and Herakles. That is, learn how to do the job properly and your efficiency will result in better pay, as the contract was apparently by the job.[71] This is one of a number of inscriptions that record labor disputes in Asia. Because the builders brought the dispute to the oracle of Apollo, they appear to be responsible for cutting the inscription.[72]

As at Ephesus and Miletus, Greek inscriptions from the Aphrodisias theater detail a building history from early Augustan to late Roman times. The wealthy C. Julius Zoilos, a freedman agent of Octavian/Augustus, erected the theater's impressive columnar facade, which was dedicated to Aphrodite in 28 B.C. in two inscriptions, one on the entablature of the Doric order that supports the stage front, the other at the base of the Ionic order above it. The inscriptions state Zoilos's name and that he had held ten tenures as *stephanephoros* in Aphrodisias (38–28 B.C.). Zoilos provided the *logeion* (stage), the *proskenion* (here, the porch before the stage or the whole structure with three orders), and all the *proskosmemata* (decorations). The inscriptions were probably cut late in 28 B.C. or toward the end of Zoilos's tenth stephanophorate.[73] Zoilos was also priest for life of Aphrodite and Eleutherna, offices that may indicate that he endowed those cults. There is no record that Zoilos served in any of the civic magistracies. Funding of the theater may be related to his honorary title of savior and benefactor, but the date when those titles were bestowed is unknown.[74]

A Karian named Aristokles Molossos, together with his brother, wife, and adopted son, subsequently funded construction in the Aphrodisias

67. McCabe 1986, pp. 187, 188; cf. Herrmann 1986.

68. McCabe 1986, p. 187, note 13.

69. Demougin 1992, pp. 569–571, no. 679.

70. *Milet* VI, ii, p. 123, no. 939; *SEG* XXXVI 1051.

71. On the interpretation: Bean 1966, pp. 226, 227; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 85–95; *Milet* VI, ii, pp. 121, 122, no. 935; *SEG* XXXVI, 1057.

72. On labor disputes in Asia, Buckler 1923, pp. 34–36. On oracles of Apollo, Parke 1985, pp. 76–78.

73. On Zoilos, Reynolds 1991, pp. 15, 16. See Roueché 1991, pp. 99, 100, for a benefaction possibly in the 4th century A.C. by one Androcles, and the addition of a central seat of honor or loggia in the *cavea;* on the *scaenae frons,* see de Chaisemartin and Theodorescu 1991, Theodorescu 1996.

74. On Zoilos's career, see Reynolds 1982, pp. 156–164; *Aphrodisias* I, pp. 4–13.

theater during the Claudian and Neronian periods. Although the architectural terms used are somewhat unclear, Molossos and his family appear to have paid for the *parodoi* and another entrance, supports for the circular and straight *analemmata,* and *akroteria,* as well as for wedges of seats with their stairs, paving, marble seats, vaults, and a third *diazoma.* Molossos may also have set up a colossal statue of Augustus as part of the theater's decoration, a gift that appears related to his office as priest for life of the deified Augustus.[75] The inscription does not state a relationship between the gift and the religious office.

In the mid-2nd century A.C., Ti. Claudius Zelos, high priest of the imperial cult and lifelong priest of Aphrodite, provided new paving, probably for the orchestra, and veneer paneling for the stage front and orchestra wall, as well as columns and additional decorations when the Aphrodisias stage was lowered. The text records the dedication of the theater to Aphrodite, Antoninus Pius as emperor, Marcus Aurelius as Caesar, and his country.[76] Later in the 2nd century A.C. the *cavea* was refurbished by M. Ulpius Carminius Claudianus, a wealthy man from neighboring Attouda,[77] and M. Aurelius Menestheus Skopas achieved additional repaneling of the orchestra wall under Caracalla.[78] The Aphrodisias theater is remarkable for the (re)inscribing of texts in the 3rd century A.C. on a *parodos* wall, which created an archive wall, in a prominent location, of documents important to the city and its relationship to Rome.[79]

Two Greek inscriptions from Patara in Lycia record construction in the theater in the 1st century A.C. and toward the middle of the 2nd century A.C. The first is a decree honoring Polyperchon of Patara, who funded the theater sometime before 43. This decree, found near the theater entrance, describes Polyperchon, son of Polyperchon son of Demetrios, as *archiereus* of the gods for life and of Germanicus Caesar; prophet of Apollo Patroos; priest of Zeus; *prytanis*; and secretary of the Lycian assembly, who held the last three offices in the same year. He is also honored for serving as judge for the Lycians, vice *hipparch*, or cavalry commander, and *epistates* of the courts for foreigners, as well as for his virtue, piety, and justice. In this inscription the theater is referred to with one word and not by a series of sections, which may suggest that Polyperchon built the entire theater.[80]

A second phase at Patara is recorded prominently on the outer wall of the scene building. The text states that Velia Procla from Patara, daughter of Quintus Velius Titianus, dedicated and consecrated the *proscenium,* which her father constructed from the foundation, and the decoration in it and around it. She also provided for statues and other sculptures and the construction and marble revetment of the *logeion,* together with the eleventh stair of the second *diazoma,* and the *velaria,* the latter prepared by her father.[81] This phase of the theater was dedicated to Antoninus Pius in A.D. 147. In contrast to that of Polyperchon, the dedicatory inscription of Velia Procla is much more detailed, as it lists specific sections of the theater, and specifies restorations. As a major female benefactress in Roman Asia Minor, Velia Procla stands in the tradition of Plancia Magna, who erected the city gate of Side in the Hadrianic period. Plancia Magna served as priestess of Artemis Pergaia, of the Mother of the Gods, and high priestess of the Imperial cult, and she held the offices of *demiourgos* and *gymnasiarch.*

75. On Molossos, see Reynolds 1991, pp. 16–18, 22–25, and on Augustus's statue, p. 21. For sculptures found in the theater, see Erim and Smith 1991.

76. Reynolds 1991, p. 19.

77. Reynolds 1991, p. 20.

78. Reynolds 1991, pp. 20, 28.

79. See Reynolds 1991, pp. 16–18, for discussion of terminology; on the archive wall, Reynolds 1982, pp. 33–37.

80. On the Patara theater, de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, II, pp. 123–133. On the inscription, de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, pp. 208, 209, no. 10; Hicks 1889, pp. 76, 77, no. 28; *TAM* II, pp. 156, 157, no. 420.

81. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, pp. 210, 211, no. 11; Bean 1978, p. 88; *TAM* II, p. 151, no. 408.

No offices are listed for Velia Procla, but her husband later served as consul, so perhaps her gift was made in anticipation of a priesthood.[82]

In Athens, the general Claudius Novius rebuilt the Theater of Dionysos in Roman form and dedicated it to Nero in A.D. 61/62 (or, at the earliest, 54/55). The inscription, carved in Greek on the architrave over the *porta regia,* records the dedication to Nero and to Dionysos Eleutherios.[83] The dedicator of the major 2nd-century A.C. *skene* is unknown, but about A.D. 270 the archon Phaedrus remodeled the theater and set up the well-known bema.[84] Herodes Atticus, who had served as ordinary consul, erected an odeion on the southwest slope of the Akropolis in memory of his wife, Regilla, who died around A.D. 160.[85]

In some instances a donor's offices or the reason for civic honors are not stated. The theater at Nysa preserves an inscription that honors two private citizens, Justus and Stratonice, who may have paid for a part of the theater or its decoration.[86] In Cibyra the city's five tribes inscribe honors to two brothers, Philagrus and Marsyas, in a series of entries on the rear wall of the *diazoma.*[87] At Pergamon in the late 1st century B.C., the north *parodos* entrance to the theater was erected by Apollodoros and dedicated to Dionysos Kathegemon and to the people, as indicated by the Greek inscription that is cut on the architrave beneath a mask-and-garland frieze.[88] When the Thasos theater was adapted for use as an arena in the later 2nd century A.C., Heragoras son of Euphrillos erected a stone balustrade and metal grill around the orchestra, the dedication carved in two large Greek letters on each orthostate.[89] Despite the fact that the odeion at Patras is considered by Pausanias (7.20.3) to be the finest in Greece, even when compared to the odeion of Herodes Atticus in Athens, the donor is not named, probably because it was a local name and Pausanias did not recognize it.[90]

Civic Funding

Cities in some cases financed their theaters and dedicated them to the emperor and to the city's primary deity. In Ephesus two major phases of the 1st century A.C. are paid for by the city. The dedication on the architrave of the *scaenae frons* states that the city of Ephesus, custodian of the temple of the emperors, proclaims that it built the scene building with all the decoration and . . . in honor of Ephesian Artemis and of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, invested with the tribunician power for the thirteenth time, acclaimed emperor for the eleventh, and consul for the fourth, that is, in A.D. 66.[91]

A stele found on the terrace before the north *analemma* relates that subsequently the *demos* of Ephesus and custodian of the temple dedicated the *analemma.* This dedication is made to Ephesian Artemis and to the emperor, Domitian Caesar Augustus, Germanicus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribunician power for the thirteenth time, emperor for the twenty-second, consul for the sixteenth, censor for life, and father of his country. Domitian's years of office fix the date of the construction to A.D. 92, a time when the city continued to enjoy a prosperous existence. The inscription provides a good example of the wording of a dedicatory inscription from a western Asia Minor theater.[92]

82. Boatwright 1991, 1993.

83. H. Bulle in Fiechter 1936, pp. 60–66, figs. 41–43; *CIG* II–III 2, 3182; Polacco 1990, pp. 179–184.

84. *IG* III 1, 6, 239; Geagan 1979, pp. 389–392; see also Frantz 1982.

85. Cf., e.g., Bieber 1961, pp. 220, 221; Tobin 1997, pp. 33, 34, 185–194.

86. On the Nysa theater, Bean 1971, p. 214; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 115–121.

87. Cibyra, Bean 1978, p. 163.

88. *AvP* VIII, i, p. 136, no. 236; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 23–34; Radt 1988, pp. 291, 292.

89. Pouilloux 1959; Salviat 1960; Daux 1968, pp. 50–54. At Philippi the arena balustrade bore a similar dedicatory inscription, also with two letters per slab: Collart 1928, pp. 97, 98.

90. Patras, cf., e.g., Papachadze 1982, pp. 110–114; Rizakis 1995, no. 263; 1998, no. 273, the signature in Greek of the artist of an akroterion from the odeion, pp. 54–56 on language, and pp. 61–63 on euergetism.

91. Ephesus, de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 47–66; IV, appendix II (by M. Gallina), no. 13, pp. 213, 214. On prosperity at Ephesus and private euergetism in Asia Minor, see, e.g., Magie 1950, pp. 582–584, 591, 592, 651–658. On inscriptions from the theater, see also Hicks 1890, pp. 67–291; Heberdey et al. 1912, pp. 95–203. Some inscriptions originally displayed in the Artemision were incorporated into the theater as an archive.

92. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 215, no. 14.

The city of Ephesus funded further work in 201/202, restoring the *velarium* together with the *proscenium,* the flooring, the soft furnishings, the netting to support the curtain, the remaining wooden furnishings, the remaining doors, and the material in white marble.[93]

At Hierapolis the architrave inscription over the *porta regia* dates the elaborate *scaenae frons* to A.D. 206–208. The Greek inscription records that the city of Hierapolis constructed from the foundations and dressed the first *skene* (the first story) of the theater with all the ornamentation at its expense. It records the magistrates who were in charge, and the dedication to Apollo Archegetes and to the other gods of the country, to the emperor Septimius Severus, the divine Marcus Aurelius, Geta (erased), to the divine Julia Domna, and to their entire household. With the inscription is a relief depicting Septimius Severus as Zeus, his family, and agonistic contests.[94] At Side, a 5th-century A.C. inscription says that the city at its own expense repaired the piers and arches below the inscription, which was probably erected on the outer *cavea* wall over the arches.[95]

On the island of Thera, the Roman *scaenae frons* was set up in the 1st century A.C. Wilhelm Dörpfeld restored inscribed blocks from the colonnade as bases for statues of Agrippina the Elder as Hestia Boulaia and Germanicus as Zeus Boulaios, which flanked a statue of Caligula that was later replaced by that of Vespasian. The sculptures, dated to the Caligulan period, were dedicated by the *demos,* but it is unclear if the *demos* was also responsible for the stage building.[96]

Private and Corporate Funding

Private funding is in evidence for a number of theaters. The odeion at Troy, which has Augustan, Hadrianic, and Caracallan phases, preserves an inscribed dedication to the emperor and an emperor's statue, found where it had fallen from the central niche. The Greek dedication on the frieze course states that [Ari]stonoe paid for the *proskenion,* which was "built from the ground up," and for the statuary. The cuirassed statue of Hadrian, which was erected in the central niche of the second story, suggests that the early-2nd-century A.C. phase was dedicated to the emperor, who visited the city in A.D. 124.[97]

A wealthy philanthropist from Rhodiapolis funded three theaters in Lycia in the early Antonine period. Opramoas son of Opramoas paid for the theater at Limyra in about A.D. 140, with a gift of at least 20,000 denarii.[98] He also funded construction of the theater at Xanthus with a donation of 30,000 denarii,[99] and one at Tlos with 60,000 denarii, which paid for much of the theater as well as the exedra in the baths. Opramoas, who may have been *archiereus* in 136, is unusual for funding the same type of building in neighboring towns, but not, apparently, in his own small community of Rhodiapolis, where his benefactions are recorded on his funerary monument.[100] At Tlos private citizens, including the priest of Dionysos and the high priest of the Cabiri, also contributed to the theater, in amounts ranging from 100–3,000 drachmai.[101]

The architect Zeno, son of Theodorus, built the theater at Aspendus about A.D. 161–168, as indicated in bilingual dedications. Two statues of Zeno, supported by large brackets, were set up over the side entrances to

93. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 219, no. 17.

94. *Hierapolis* I, pp. 108–113.

95. On the Side theater, Mansel 1963, pp. 122–142, on the inscription, p. 137, on mid-2nd-century A.C. date, p. 138; Bean 1968, pp. 92–94; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 135–143.

96. Dörpfeld 1904, pp. 258–261; on the date, Rose 1997b, pp. 160, 161.

97. Troy, Rose 1994, pp. 88–93; 1997a, pp. 101, 102. The statue, of the early *Rollockenfrisur* type, would have stood about 2.10 m tall. The odeion will be studied further by E. Riorden. On the inscription, see Frisch 1975, p. 244, no. 158, pl. 17. For caution against interpreting the expression "from the ground up" too literally, see Thomas and Witschel 1992, pp. 159–164.

98. On the Limyra theater, Bean 1978, p. 144; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, II, pp. 155–170.

99. Xanthus, Bean 1978, p. 55.

100. On the Tlos theater, Bean 1978, p. 67; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 191–196. For the inscriptions and a reconstruction of Opramoas's funerary monument, *TAM* II, 3, pp. 327–350, no. 905, fig. 13.

101. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, pp. 234, 235, no. 29, for the inscription on two blocks in the north *parodos* facing the *cavea,* one of which served as a statue base.

the *diazoma.* Inscriptions record that the *boule* and the *demos* of Aspendus dedicated the statues on the anniversary of the foundation of the theater, and funded athletic games, public speeches in the assembly, and donations of gardens near the hippodrome.[102] The inscriptions do not state that Zeno paid for part of the building, but the honors accorded him are unusual for an architect. In addition, two brothers, Curtius Crispinus and Curtius Auspicatus, their offices unrecorded, dedicated the theater to the gods of the country and to the imperial house.[103]

One example of a corporation as a donor occurs at Hierapolis in Asia Minor. The inscription, incised in small letters beneath the primary dedication of the Severan period, states that the corporation of purple dyers contributed generously to the ornamentation both of the first and second story, and that these areas were worked in Dokimeion marble.[104]

CONCLUSIONS

In Classical and Hellenistic Greece, private individuals and kings funded theaters. Private offices include *agonothetes* (the greatest number) as well as priests, generals, and *stephanephoroi.* This pattern was expanded in the Roman period when many officeholders, religious officials, and emperors supported theater construction as the theater assumed an important role as a place to make significant civic benefactions, frequently for political purposes.

Imperial support of theater construction was significant in some areas. In Rome itself theaters were regularly maintained by the emperor, and four theaters were built in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Syria by Agrippa, likely in pursuit of imperial policy. In the West, nine of the thirty-two theaters are known to be imperial projects, or about twenty-three percent. In the East, emperors funded nine theaters, roughly one-third of the twenty-seven for which evidence survives.

Yet private wealth funded the majority of theaters, in both the East and West, and the donor's name is often followed by a list of his offices. In many cases multiple offices are listed, as at Herculaneum, Pompeii, Tergeste, Volaterrae, Thamugadi, and Leptis Magna in the West, and Aphrodisias, Miletus, and Patara in the East. Many types of public offices and many priesthoods are represented among known benefactors, and some donors list both civic and religious offices. The gift of all or part of a theater may occur at the end of a long career, possibly in anticipation of a final, large honor from the city, as seems to be the case for Cn. Vergilius Capito at Miletus. Even in instances where four offices are listed, the donation may be for one section of the building, as for Titus Flavius Montanus's provision of the vaults at Ephesus, an undertaking that would have been very costly because of the large size of the theater. Possibly the accumulation of multiple offices by one person would have increased a city's expectation of a very substantial gift toward the end of the person's career. With buildings such as the Ephesus theater, from which multiple dedications survive, the city provided the funds in the 1st century A.C., but private donations characterize the 2nd century A.C., a time when substantial private fortunes

102. On the Aspendus theater, Bean 1968, pp. 70–72, built to hold 20,000; de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, III, pp. 161–174. On the inscription, de Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, pp. 232, 233, nos. 27, 28; *CIG* 4342d; *CIL* III 231b.

103. De Bernardi Ferrero 1966–1974, IV, appendix II, p. 231, no. 26.

104. *Hierapolis* I, pp. 108, 109, 111–113.

had been accumulated. In late Roman times, by which time many personal fortunes had disappeared, the responsibility for funding construction in the theater appears to have reverted to the city.

Many theaters were used over a long period of time, so they would have needed maintenance and repairs, as well as expansion to provide for population growth. The sequential phases of work indicated for many theater complexes suggest that theaters may be considered a form of "living architecture" that required ongoing adjustments. The theater was a primary location where wealthy citizens could display their contributions and post their lists of public offices and honors. Much of the population would have gone to the theater to participate in various activities—theatrical, festival, and political—and dedicatory inscriptions listing a donor's offices and good works would be seen there by the greatest numbers.[105]

The practice of designating the specific part or parts of the structure endowed seems customary in the 2nd century A.C. At Corinth the *scaena* and *ornamenta* are named in the building inscriptions, recalling the detailed list from the 2nd-century A.C. theater at Patara. This practice is a feature not only of Roman theaters but also of other Roman buildings, as seen in the Greek inscription from the Library of Pantainos in Athens, built about A.D. 100. The inscription, which records the dedication to Athena Polias, to the Emperor Trajan, and to the city of Athens, lists "the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books, and all the embellishments (*kosmon*) therein." The detailed list does not appear unusual when compared with theater dedications, and it may reflect the custom of contracting and paying for individual parts of a building separately, a building practice indicated much earlier at Delos and Epidauros, and in the anecdote from Miletus.[106]

The large numbers of theaters funded by private citizens in the 2nd century A.C. makes private funding of the Corinth theater, possibly by an *agonothetes* of the Isthmian games, appear to be part of an established custom. As the capital of the Roman province of Achaea, many people of high official and religious status were based in Corinth and much official business was transacted there, so for each generation a substantial roster of officeholders would have been available to fulfill the city's needs. Hadrian's gifts of the aqueduct from Lake Stymphalos and a bath building remain the only examples of imperial benefaction known for Corinth, but abundant evidence for dedication of public buildings by private citizens exists from about 25 B.C. to early in the 3rd century A.C.[107]

Kent listed thirty-one inscriptions in which building donations were recorded. The best known benefactors are Gn. Babbius Philinus, who ordered a round, prefabricated building from Athens for the western forum in the Augustan period, and Eurykles of Sparta, who built an impressive bath complex (Paus. 2.3.5).[108] From Kent's list only sixteen names survive, but others are known from literary sources, such as Herodes Atticus, who Philostratos (*VS* 2.551) says contributed the marble phase of the Corinth odeion.[109] P. Licinius Priscus Iuventianus, also a major benefactor in 2nd-century A.C. Corinth, provided generously for the Sanctuary of Poseidon on the Isthmus; an inscription that was recorded as seen on the Isthmus in 1676 by Spon and Wheler, now in Verona, recounts many gifts that he

105. On the political function of the theater, see, e.g., Kolb 1981, pp. 88–99; Roueché 1991, pp. 102, 103, especially for the late Roman period.

106. See, e.g., Shear 1981, pp. 370, 371, with references.

107. Paus. 2.3.5, 8.22.3; Lolos 1997, and p. 294, note 48, on evidence for Hadrian's three trips to Greece while emperor, two to the Peloponnese in A.D. 124/125 and 128/129.

108. *Corinth* VIII, iii, pp. 20–23, no. 155, on the Babbius Monument; also *Corinth* I, iii, pp. 17–32; Williams 1993, p. 38. For bath complexes at Corinth, see *Corinth* XVII, p. 1, note 2.

109. On the benefactions of Herodes Atticus, see Tobin 1997, pp. 61, 62, 301, 302.

made to the Isthmian sanctuary as high priest of the imperial cult. A second inscription, composed of sections found at Corinth and Isthmia, cites many of the same gifts.[110]

In summary, consideration of the pattern and practice of dedications of Roman theaters provides a broad context against which the fragmentary evidence from Corinth may be better understood. As a provincial capital, Corinth, together with Gortyna, stands out in the Roman East for having the dedications of its official buildings written in Latin. Even though the survival of inscriptions and literary sources is random and their interpretation often problematic, these sources provide important information about how funding was achieved for the largest and most expensive structures in the city.

110. On Priscus, see, e.g., *IG* IV 203; *Corinth* VIII, iii, nos. 199–201, 306; Geagan 1989; Jordan 1994, pp. 115, 116, and note 7; Sturgeon 1996.

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