AEGEAN SPONSORS AND ARTISTS: REFINEMENTS OF THEIR ROLES IN THE PATTERNS OF DISTRIBUTION OF THEMES AND REPRESENTATIONAL CONVENTIONS IN THE MURALS

Dedicated to Sara Immerwahr *

There is a unique advantage that Aegean frescoes and other forms of mural decoration hold over seals, carved vases, and other portable objects that also carry representational art. Murals are integrally linked with the building or site in which they are found, while the ownership of small finds is more difficult to assign. The themes of mural decoration selected by those in charge of a building—the "sponsors" of my title—thus become important documents. Besides reflecting ancient beliefs, activities, and practices, they can also be studied as expressions of ideologies, or as indirect projections of how the sponsors wished to be perceived by others. It is fairly reasonable to assume that at least some mural art was accessible or even intended to be seen by others.  

It also goes without saying that choice of theme and of particular renderings would have been affected by the availability of suitably trained artists. Following the patterns of distribution of themes may throw some light on the motives behind choices and on related roles played by the artists, especially if this is done globally throughout the Aegean which would provide a wide perspective. Equally broad is the period considered, which starts with the era of the New Palaces and continues into the later Bronze Age, including Mycenaean Greece. Besides frescoes, other pertinent forms of mural decoration, such as stone reliefs used as wall revetment, are also included. Mapping out such data in an abbreviated and graphic fashion, as is done here in the Table of the Distribution of Themes (Pl. CLXXXIX), reveals potentially meaningful patterns: heavy concentrations, scantiness, absence. The asterisks enumerate the known examples of each theme, which can range from a single diagnostic fragment to extensively preserved scenes. Naturally, quantitative estimates can only be approximate, but it is the broad comparisons that matter in such a study. Two Graphs (Pl. CXCb-c), present the same information on two selected themes or aspects.

* The dedication is to Sara A. Immerwahr, a long time friend and kind mentor, and as a small token of thanks for her book (cited below), which has been invaluable in any research I have undertaken concerning frescoes. I also thank Dawn Cain and Leda Kostaki for their comments on the text; Barbara Ibronyi for her help with the graphs and tables; Alexander C. Shaw for typing the Greek references.

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

CAMERON: M.A.S. CAMERON, A General Study of Minoan Frescoes with Particular Reference to Unpublished Wall Paintings from Knossos (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1975);

DOUMAS: C. DOUMAS, The Wall-Paintings of Thera (1992);

HOOD: S. HOOD, The Arts in Prehistoric Greece (1978);

IMMERWAHR: S.A. IMMERWAHR, Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age (1990);


1 The extent to which mural art was shared is uncertain for Minoan Crete. See R. DRENKHAHN, "Artisans and Artists in Pharaonic Egypt", SASSON 331-343, for who may have been the "consumers" of art in Egypt.

2 The large geographical and chronological scope makes it clear that this study differs from those that examine decorative programs as clues for functions and uses of spaces within particular buildings. Pioneer work of this type of inquiry was done by CAMERON (127 ff.), especially with regard to the Palace of Knossos.
The information on which the Table and Graphs are based appears in greater detail in the Catalogue of the Themes. This specifies the locales and offers an abbreviated description of the subject matter of each instance of theme. The extensive compilation here has profited greatly from the documentation already amassed by S. A. Immerwahr in her book *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. One of the differences is that, while the presentation in her catalogue is primarily in terms of sites, here it is in terms of selected individual themes. To avoid unnecessary repetition, her labels for the individual paintings are included in the catalogue here as a cross reference to her extensive bibliographical citations.³ Additions are made here for new or supplementary information.

My somewhat unconventional use of the terms “themes” and “sites” for the purposes of this study, as well as some of the chronological criteria that colour the presentation warrant some comments.

**The Themes**

By theme I imply a definable activity or action used to describe the subject matter. Far from trying to handle a vast repertoire of Aegean themes,⁴ I limit myself to those of which the subject matter is relatively self-evident and which occur frequently enough to be useful in a broad quantitative analysis. Landscapes, Seascapes, Saffron-gathering, Bull-leaping/grappling, Athletics, Processions, Warfare, Hunting, and Banqueting are among the themes that meet such requirements. With the exception of the Half-rosette motif, of which the potentially important symbolic meaning will become evident in later discussion, the noted themes are representational (rather than abstract).

Two additional categories or aspects of subject matter (rather than, strictly speaking, “themes”), were deemed important for inclusion. One is entitled “Buildings and People”—what we might describe as an iconographic framework that typically places human action within a physical setting, commonly rendered in miniature style. The common theme on such representations seems to be festivities, or festivals, although it is not always possible to define the particular activity. The second of the added categories focusses on “Human Representation” *per se*, rather than on specific human actions. It acts as a large pool that includes also thematically undefinable scenes that were not included under the other types of themes. Many cultic or ritual scenes fall within this category, as their particular theme is generally difficult to define.

**The Sites**

In any quantitative approach, excessive sub-division in the presentation of the data can defeat the process of comparative analysis. Locales and buildings—henceforth to be referred to jointly as “sites”—are cited individually in the Catalogue of the Themes, but in the Table they are often grouped in terms of meaningful categories or types of sites.

An obvious division is that between houses and palaces, although there is the occasional ambiguity as to architectural identification, as in the cases of the painted villa at Ayia Triadha⁵ and the monumental building at Archanaes⁶, for which there is a debate whether they constitute elite domiciles or “palaces.” For better or worse, my own criterion for the latter qualification is proof of the presence of a central court—the main common denominator of the plans of what modern scholarship has labelled “Minoan Palaces.” The term “house” here, I concede, is a simplification itself. Used for its brevity, the term should be understood as

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³ For IMMERWAHR’s catalogue see pp. 169-204. Her labels (abbreviation of site name, followed by the number of the example), are placed here in brackets, the only change being the omission of her term “No.” (“number”). There are also references to her uncatalogued items (marked by “#”) and, in the case of the Theran paintings, references to the excellent illustrations in DOUMAS.

⁴ For extensive surveys see CAMERON, HOOD and IMMERWAHR.

⁵ See the recent study by V. LA ROSA, “A hypothesis on earthquakes and political power in Minoan Crete,” Annali di Geofisica, 38, 5-6 (Nov-Dec. 1995) 881-891.

encompassing a variety of buildings (other than palaces) one finds in towns, not all of which were, strictly speaking, residential in character. Some, for instance, contained or may have been in their entirety shrines or establishments that served other specialized needs within a community.\footnote{Much work in identifying buildings with religious functions has been done by N. MARINATOS, \textit{Art and Religion in Thera} (1984) and \textit{Minoan Religion: Ritual, Image, and Symbol} (1993) \textit{passim}.}

Other difficulties that mitigate against an entirely consistent structure in the categories are the inherent differences that exist between the regions/civilizations examined: Crete and the rest of the Aegean in the LB I period, on the one hand, the Mycenaean Mainland and the rest of the Aegean in the Mycenaean period, on the other.

In Crete, physically separating house from palace is relatively easy, though distinctions within each of these two types have led to further subdivisions. In the case of the palaces, the dramatic contrast in mural decoration justifies keeping the \textit{Palace of Knossos} separate from the remaining Minoan (here labelled \textit{Cretan Palaces})--which themselves do not require further subdivision given the fact that representational murals in them are meagre. As a cautionary measure, the elite houses near the Palace of Knossos (\textit{Knossos Houses}) are treated as a separate "site" from the remaining (\textit{Cretan Houses}). The term \textit{Aegean Houses} applies to the areas outside Crete during the earlier period (LB I-II).

Turning to the Mainland, there are some difficulties in categorizing the houses. The term \textit{Mycenaean Houses} is to be understood as being limited to houses located beyond the precise locale of a Mycenaean palace (such as an acropolis). Buildings in the vicinity of palaces (including some that were probably houses) are here treated under \textit{Mycenaean Palaces}, the reason being that there is often ambiguity as to whether they are annexes or extensions (physically or otherwise) of the palace.\footnote{This is particularly true at Mycenae: G.E. MYLONAS, \textit{Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age} (1966) 72-73. One might object here that at least the Cult Centre should have been treated here as a separate site. There are, however, disagreements as to its parameters (personal communication with E. French in the Fall of 1995), and the frescoes, being of a ritual type, are difficult to identify in terms of well established themes. Processions are common, as elsewhere. For the thematic repertoire, see I. KRITSELI-PROVIDI, \textit{Παραδείγματα από τη Μυκηναϊκή Τέχνη} (1982).}

There is one final site, \textit{Tell el-Dab'a}, which is included here, even though it is not part of the Aegean. Located in the Nile Delta, the site has been identified by the excavator, Manfred Bietak, as ancient Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos. The reason for its inclusion is the recent discovery in it of frescoes with Aegean affinities. Found in the form of loose plaster fragments in dumps, the frescoes are difficult to date, but Bietak's recent view is that they belong to the early 18th Dynasty, after the defeat of the Hyksos.\footnote{References to the rapidly growing literature on Tell el-Dab'a can only be selective. The first three studies are in \textit{Egypt and the Levant}. In vol. IV (1994): M. BIETAK et al., "Neue Grabungsergebnisse aus Tell el-Dab'as und Ezbet Helmi im östlichen Nildelta 1989-1991," 20-58, esp. 44-58. In vol. V (1995): M. BIETAK and N. MARINATOS, "The Wall Paintings from Avaris," 49-62; M.C. SHAW, "Bull Leaping Frescoes at Knossos and their Influence on the Tell el Dab'a Murals," 91-120. The remaining articles are in W.V. DAVIES and L. SCHOFIELD, eds., \textit{Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium BC} (1995): M. BIETAK, "Connections between Egypt and the Minoan World: New Results from Tell el Dab'a/Avaris," 19-28; L. MORGAN, "Minoan Painting and Egypt: the Case of Tell el-Dab'a," 29-53; P. WARREN, "Minoan Crete and Pharaonic Egypt," 1-18.}

The definition of the term "site" above has made it clear that—as often in Aegean prehistory—we are unable to reach the individual. Rather, our "sponsors," here equated with the "sites," are to be understood as classes of people. As noted earlier, and with a few exceptions, it lies beyond the scope of this paper to break down such site categories into specific buildings. Global comparisons are the aim instead.

\textbf{Chronological considerations and artistic "idioms"}

Since this study deals with long-term and widespread patterns, rather than with the history of specific buildings in which tracing each "stage" of mural decoration would be
crucial, the chronological scheme, as hinted above already, needs not be elaborate. This is an added advantage given the known difficulty of assigning specific or secure dates to Aegean frescoes. In this paper, the mural examples are differentiated in terms of two large chronological divisions. The earlier one is equivalent to the New Palace period in Crete, down to the assumed takeover of the Palace of Knossos by the Mycenaean (MM III/LM IA to LM IB/LM II), the later one takes us to the end of the Mycenaean palaces (LM II - LM III/LH III).

Archaeological dating for the earlier period is possible thanks to two destructions which conveniently provide termini ante quem for the murals of the destroyed or abandoned buildings. One is of the settlement at Akrotiri in Thera, prior to the end of the LC IA period, the other in Crete at the end of LM IB, marking the end of the palaces (except Knossos) and of several other sites. For the later period the geographical location itself can be an indicator of date, as in the case of frescoes believed to have been on the walls of Mycenaean palaces up to the time of their destruction.

The Palace of Knossos presents difficulties, since its continued use and re-modellings often caused contamination of earlier strata. Though plasters from such contexts could theoretically predate the latest materials found with them, consideration of an earlier date for them is often frowned upon in principle. There is also, unfortunately, a tendency in some scholarship to equate a late context date with the actual date of a mural and therefore to downdate practically all Knossian frescoes. Making this equation without justifying it by additional criteria can be as counterproductive as dating by style, which has justifiably come under criticism for being subjective. But style is not the only available criterion; more dependable are the representational and iconographic conventions, or to use L. Morgan's term: "idioms."¹⁰ The latter stands for the shared artistic language that marks the art of specific cultures in specific periods.

The relative overall homogeneity that marks Aegean frescoes, coupled with the sharing of a thematic repertoire, imply rigorous and structured apprenticeship among the painters. The very existence of "idioms," I assume, also predicates a leadership role by a main artistic group or centre that initiated some of the patterns later followed by others. In Crete, the Palace of Knossos may have played such a role, at least in the Neo-Palatial period.¹¹ Diffusion would be made possible by the mobility of the artists, not all of whom would have been attached to specific locations, but who, rather, moved around, probably organized in small workshops or schools that executed paintings on demand.¹² Schemata used by these workshops were not likely to change overnight. Their extended use and standardization through repetition can now serve for us as the landmarks of eras or phases in the evolution of wall painting. Variances in style, by school or artist, and as a result also of regional artistic dialects,¹³ are not so radical as to conceal the fundamental traits of the Aegean artistic Koine shared by its subscribers.

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¹¹ CAMERON (271, 358 ff.) comments that "The Knossian painter seems to have been responsible for much of the finest workmanship [in frescoes] in the rest of Crete." He identifies Knossian schools at work in places like Amnisos, Ano Zakros, and Agia Triadha.

¹² In the Near East, where the organization of artists is better documented, it was often members of one family that formed a workshop and who worked in a master/pupil relationship. Such groups must not be confused with the highly structured guilds, an institution that belongs to later times. DRENKHAHN (supra n. 1); D. MATTHEWS, "Artisans and Artists in Ancient Western Asia," in SASSON 455-468.

Aegean conventions and other aspects of the art, including the so-called technique of “true miniature fresco,” have often been discussed as dating devices. I single out this type of fresco for some comment, both because I have used it as a dating criterion here and because of its important iconography which is pertinent to issues considered below. There is only one “true miniature” fresco in Thera, the famous Fleet Fresco, but this is enough to confirm the use of this schema before the end of the LC IA period, indeed earlier, given the full fledged style of the painting. Characteristic of the schema is the minute size of the typically numerous human figures. These are men and women who appear in active roles and as observers of action that evolves in graphically detailed physical settings, usually including architecture. The compositional format is a continuous narrow frieze—all suitable features for narrative.

Tyllisós, apparently destroyed in LM IB, also possessed a true miniature fresco—particularly important because of its representational affinities with the “true miniature” frescoes from the Palace of Knossos, including an imitation of the so-called “shorthand technique” an embellishment of the schema, otherwise known only from the Palace of Knossos. A third example of a well-dated “true miniature” fresco, even if with some idiosyncrasies of its own, is from Ayia Irini, which was also destroyed in LC IB. It is clear by analogy with these examples that at least some of the Knossian miniatures should be dated to LM IA or earlier.

When exactly the “true miniature” schema went out of use is not clear. A modified version is known from several LM III/LH III frescoes at Mycenaean sites and in Crete from the Palace of Knossos and the later site at Ayia Triadha. The modification involves a change in human scale, which is now “small” (rather than “true miniature”); a reduction in the number of figures, especially the “observers;” and a simplification of the depiction of the setting. This has fewer and less defined elements. The difference between “true miniature” and “small” scale is well illustrated by the so-called Taureador Fresco from the Palace of Knossos, which eliminates the setting altogether and concentrates on the sport itself. This omission may be a matter of preference, in this case, but seen in combination with the larger (our “small”) figures and the use of a panelled frieze (not known before LM IB-II), it creates the impression shared by many that it belongs to a more advanced date, somewhere between LM II and III. Reversely, “small scale” figures are not represented in LC IA Thera, where the preferred human scale is one that approximates life-size, as in the Fishermen from the West House. In Crete some sites that are securely dated to LM I (like Psieira) have not produced either “true miniature” or “small scale” frescoes. There is a predilection for the large figures, which, unfortunately do not seem to change much in scale in later periods to be useful for dating purposes.

14 IMMERWAHR passim, and 63, for miniature painting; HOOD 47-87.
16 Even if, as CAMERON (564 ff) claimed, the Tyllisós fresco was not executed by the hand of a Palace school or artist.
17 PM III 48-49. One of the characteristics are the crowds of men and women, represented by heads only. The junctions between the red and white areas used correspondingly as backgrounds for male and female heads are also marked by a festoon pattern also at Tyllisós.
18 MORGAN (supra n. 13) 243-244 states that there is a variance in the range of scales used in the miniature fresco from Kea, but no further details are given. Some inconsistencies might in fact be expected from the Ayia Irini frescoes, which are less mainstream and poorer in artistic quality than Minoan and Tharian wall paintings.
19 The following scales from the Fleet Fresco have been read off the plates in L. MORGAN, The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography (1988): men vary from 7 cm to 8.5 cm, women 5.8 - 6 cm. In the Tyllisós painting the estimated height of male figures is ca. 6.2 cm, similar to that of some of the larger male figures in miniatures from Knossos (PM III 82-83, figs. 45 a, 46). Women in the Tyllisós fresco are smaller than the men; the seated women in the Knossian Grandstand fresco are considerably larger than the men and other women, probably as an indication of status. The leapers in the fresco from under the Ramp House at Mycenae can be restored as about 12 cm tall, nearing the likely height of the leaper from the Palace of Pylos. The Knossian taureadors are ca. 25-35 cm high.
In light of the above, the termination of the "true miniature" style cannot be exactly dated, but the impression obtained from the examples surveyed is that it may not have lasted beyond LM IB.\textsuperscript{20} If this is the time of a Mycenaean takeover of the Palace of Knossos, it would make sense that a schema best suited for rendering grand festivals orchestrated by the Knossian Palace, or festive community activities, as likely in the fresco from Tylissos, would no longer be pertinent. For the Mycenaean the interest lay in the symbolism of the scenes recast in their own terms, rather than in pictorially narrating events which were important to another social group. A distillation of the earlier iconography would then make sense in the later schema.

**Catalogue of the themes**

**Knossos Palace**

[Kn 1]: Saffron Gatherer; [IMMERWAHR, p. 179, #10]: olive spray; [IMMERWAHR, p. 179, #12]: Head of cat and bird's tail; LM II/III Throne Room [Kn 28]: Griffins in marshy landscape.

**Knossos Houses**

Caravanseraï [Kn 20]: birds and landscape.\textsuperscript{21}
House of the Frescoes [Kn 2]: birds, monkeys; [Kn 3]: goats, crocuses.
Royal Road: myrtles.\textsuperscript{22}
Savakis Bothros: crocus flowers, rockwork.\textsuperscript{23}
Southeast House [Kn 5]: mice in field.
South House [Kn 4]: bird and marshy landscape.
Stratigraphic Museum excavations [Kn 44]: flower garlands.
Unexplored Mansion [IMMERWAHR, p. 179, #15]: floral landscape.

**Cretan Palaces**

Kommos Building T: rocky terrain.\textsuperscript{24}
Phaistos [Phs 3-4]: florals.
Zakros [Za 2] lustral basin: horns of consecration, florals; florals also in south wing.\textsuperscript{25}

**Cretan Houses**

Ammisso [Am 1-3]: florals in planters and an ? altar.
Archanes (monumental building): red florals on yellow ground.\textsuperscript{26} Kommos, House X: lilies and other flowers in rocky terrain.\textsuperscript{27}
Mallia House in Quartier Nu: papyri.\textsuperscript{28}
Phaistos, Chalara Houses [discussed under Phs 3]: papyrus.
Prasa [Pr 1]: ? cypress trees.
Tylissos, House A [Ty 2]: stylized plant; House C: flowers.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{20} There are many fragments with building facades from the Palace of Knossos from later contexts which CAMERON vol. III, 53-54, dates to LM II and III, because of the coarseness of the style of painting, but these are without any human figures that may have appeared with them. Architecture alone is not a safe indicator of scale, that is whether "true miniature" or "small."

\textsuperscript{21} Unpublished fragments, likely from the same composition, show a landscape. They are discussed in a study on the Caravanseraï frescoes by the author, forthcoming in L. MORGAN, ed., Aegean Wall Painting, Duckworth Press and Bristol Classical Press.

\textsuperscript{22} M.A.S. CAMERON, "A graffito related to a myrtle composition on a Minoan Fresco from Knossos," Kadmos 7 (1968) 97-100, figs. 1 and 2.


\textsuperscript{25} Report by N. PLATON in PAE (1965) 199, in Corridor XLVI.

\textsuperscript{26} J. SAKELLARAKIS and E. SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI, Crete: Archanes (1991) 51, fig. 28.

\textsuperscript{27} SHAW and SHAW (supra n. 24) 154-155.

\textsuperscript{28} J. DRIESSEN and A. FARNOUX, "Travaux de l'École Française d'Athènes en Grèce en 1993," BCH (1994) 471-477, at 475, figs. 6, 8; ID., "Mycenaenats at Malia?," Aegean Archaeology 1 (1994) 54-64, at 56 and pl. 1.3.

\textsuperscript{29} J. HAZZIDAKIS, Les villas minoenne de Tylissos (1984) 37.
Aegean Houses
Ayia Irini [A.I. 3]: myrtle, “brambles.”

Akrotiri:
- B 1 [Ak 4]: antelopes and abstract rockwork; B 6 [Ak 1]: monkeys clambering rocks; B 6 [Ak 3]: goats in rocky landscape.
- D 2 [Ak 2]: Spring Fresco; D 17: Osiers [DOUMAS, p. 188, fig. 151].
- House of the Ladies [Ak 5]: pure landscape with papyri.
- West House [Ak 10]: lilies in vases on walls of window; [Ak 12]: tropical landscape and wild life.
- Xeste 3: Monkeys with musical instruments and birds and nests [DOUMAS, pp. 134-135, pls. 95-99]; duck in marsh [DOUMAS, pp. 172-173, pl. 135].

Miletus: lilies.30

Phylakopi [Ph 3-4]: lotus, lilies; [Ph 5]: swallow, lilies.

Trianda [Tr 1-3]: red lilies, irises, other flowers.

Tell el Dab’a landscapes;31 landscape and bulls;32 landscape and wild animals.33

Mycenaean Palaces

Pyllos Palace (Py 17): deer, papyrus (from some hunting scene?).

Tiryns Palace [Ti 7]: deer and plants (found with boar hunt fresco [Ti 6]).

Mycenaean Houses

Panagia houses34: florals.

Comments on the Landscape

No attempt was made here to subdivide the theme into landscapes with and without animals, since fragmentary preservation generally leaves the case vague.

Views of nature occur everywhere in Aegean murals, but landscape treated as a theme in its own right, rather than as backdrop for human action, occurs in distinct patterns. It is most popular in the early period in houses and in the Minoan palaces.35 Knossos cannot be included with certainty among the latter, since there is a scantiness of this theme among its murals—whether real or due to the loss of early frescoes. The Saffron Gatherer fresco from this palace, seems to concentrate on the ritual act of harvesting (see pertinent theme below), rather than being a paean to the depiction of nature. Marshy scenes are particularly favoured in lustral basins and connected rooms, of which examples occur in the Palace of Zakros and in the South House at Knossos.36 To these must be added the landscape of papyri and griffins from the Throne Room of the Palace of Knossos, which is next to a lustral basin. Though this fresco is late, I have argued elsewhere that elements of its composition, including the use of nature as a setting, may be following earlier models.37 Florals and landscape features are also shown in miniature scale as textile decoration on belts and skirts of women depicted in murals in a large scale.38 I know of no pure landscape having graced the walls of a Mycenaean palace, though florals have been reported from Mycenaean houses.

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31 BIETAK et al. (supra n. 9) 9-81, pls. 14A, 18A, 19A; BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 57-61, fig. 12-16.
32 For a restoration of the composition, see BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) fig. 4.
33 BIETAK et al. (supra n. 9) pl. 19 A; BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) figs. 14, 16.
35 Some of the floral frescoes from the Palace of Phaistos seem to belong to the Old Palace period (see IMMERWAHR [Psh 3]). Also from this period is an unpublished floral fresco (plants and rocks shown) recently found in the Palace of Galatas illustrated in a public lecture by the excavator, G. Rethymiotaakis, at Knossos (1995).
36 M. PLATON, “Νέες Ενδείξεις για το πρόβλημα των Καθαρχηρτίων Δεξιομενών και των Λουτρών στο Μυκονικό Κόσμο,” in Proceedings of the Sixth International Cretological Congress [Chania 1986], vol. A2 (1990) 141-55 and pl. 27 b. MARINATOS (supra n. 7, 1984) 68-71, makes an interesting connection between the insects and plants on the jewellery of the goddess in the adyon fresco of Xeste 3 and the idea of a marsh symbolizing “the fertility of nature.”
Not all murals portrayed nature naturalistically. Abstraction and an emphasis on decorative composition for instance, characterize landscapes from Thera, even the naturalistic Spring Fresco, but in particular the one showing papyri from the House of the Ladies. Examples abstracted and decorative enough to deserve the appellation of "wallpaper friezes" are omitted from my list, which focusses on what is more representational. At least one of these friezes, however, warrants some comment because of its possible symbolic meaning. It is a frieze that combines a running spiral with papyri as fillers that occurs in murals (paintings and stone reliefs) in Mycenaean palatial contexts, and in important Mycenaean tombs. Perhaps the symbolism is that of eternity (the ever unfolding spiral) and the Elysian fields (the papyri).

The frescoes from Tell el Dáb’á contain many fragments with depictions of florals and terrain some of which may or may not have been associated with human presence (see hunting below). There are enough fragments in two cases to restore one or two compositions.

B. Scascape

Knossos Palace
Knossos, probably from floor [Kn 6]: dolphins and other fish; LM III? [Kn 32]: Argonaut.

Knossos Houses
House of the Frescoes: shells, coralline shore, seaweed.

Cretan Houses

Aegean Houses
Phylakopi [Ph 1]: flying fish.

Mycenaean Palaces
Mycenae, Megaron floor.

Pylos floors: Megaron, with octopus and fish; corridor 48, octopus; and nearby Room 50, octopus, dolphins, other fish.

Tiryns, Megaron floor: octopus, dolphins.

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40 IMMERWAHR [My 17]; 194, # 6, at Mycenae; [Th 11] at Tiryns.
41 IMMERWAHR: [Ar 2] at Argos, [Th 6] at Thebes, [Or 5] possibly at Orchomenos. The combination is also part of the relief decoration carved in the stone ceiling of the Treasury of Minyas at Orchomenos: S. MARINATOS, *Crete and Mycenae* (1960) pl. 161. A stylized papyrus next to a border on a plaster fragment from the Palace of Knossos has been restored by Evans as a frieze (*PM III* 372, fig. 247; *PM IV* 876, fig. 866).
42 In a public lecture (Institute for Aegean Prehistory, New York, 15.2.95) S. HILLER interpreted the papyri in the fresco in the Throne Room of the Palace of Knossos as relating to Egyptian marsh fields that symbolized the renewal of life and where the dead enjoyed eternal life. Prof. Hiller kindly provided me with a copy of his talk.
43 M. BIETAK, *Pharaonen und Fremde Dynastien im Dunkel* (1994) 205; BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 59-61, figs. 14, 16.
44 PM II 501 fig. 305.
45 IMMERWAHR 102-3, with references to the LM III date proposed by the Italian excavators.
46 BSA 25 (1921-1923) 198-195, pl. XXXVb.
47 HOOD 82, fig. 66.
49 Tiryns II 229 f., pl. XIX.
Comments on Seascapes

There was possibly an aversion on the part of Aegean artists to painting a seascape on a wall, where it might create the impression of a vertical plane. Therefore, one is sympathetic to the proposals that the Dolphin Fresco from the Palace of Knossos may have been part of a floor, especially as there are examples of definite floors (found in situ) that were painted with marine motifs, as at Ayia Triadh and the Mycenaean palaces. One would have liked to know the date of the introduction of this type of floor, but none of the extant examples can be dated securely before LM III. Loose fragments, like the few with a marine theme from the House of the Frescoes, provide no clues as to whether they belonged to a floor or a wall. Altogether, there are fewer frescoes with seascapes than landscapes, one more reason to favour the idea that the former were used mostly for floors which had less chance of survival than wall plaster.

As in the case of the landscape, there are "wallpaper friezes," like the dolphin frieze from Ayia Irini, and a later nautilus frieze from the palace at Pylos. No wallpaper friezes have so far been found in Crete, either because of a lack of interest in such abstraction (which I tend to think is the case), or because they have not been preserved.

A comment is perhaps warranted for the "Ikria" or ship cabins which relates to the theme of seascapes. Friezes from Thera and from Mycenae with rows of ikria clearly serve as an ostentatious display of human control (mercantile and military) at sea, reminiscent of the friezes of Figure-Eight shields which declare territorial control.

C. Human representation

Knossos Palace
[Kn 7-19, 22-27, 29-31; p. 179: nos. 5, 6, 9]: various scenes in painted stucco relief and painting. Range: New Palace-LM III.

Cretan Houses
Ayia Triadh [A.T. 2]: women, nature, building.
Ano Zakros: part of woman's dress.
Arches (palatial building): woman.
Chania [Ch 1]: large scale woman in relief (part of dress).
Katsamba [Ka 1]: large scale woman (part of dress).
Mallia, House in Nu: large scale woman (part of white face).
Palaikastro, House E [Pa 1]: large scale woman in relief (arm and, as suggested by IMMERWAHR, also part of dress).
Pseira [Ps 1]: two large scale women in relief.
Prasa: large scale woman, perhaps in relief.
Tylissos [Ty 1]: activities involving men and women.
L M III frescoes:
Ayia Triadh [A.T. 3-5]: processions, men, women.

Aegean Houses
Ayia Irini [A.I. 4]: activities involving men and women.
Akrotiri [Ak 4-8; 11-12; p. 188, nos. 9-11 and 15]:
Phylakopi [Ph 2-3]: women and seascape.

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50 One exception is the Phylakopi frieze of which, however, the rhythmical composition makes it practically assignable to the class of "wall-paper" decoration.
51 IMMERWAHR 188 [A.I. 2]; 199 [Py 22].
53 CAMERON I 359 ff, notes an unpublished "Goddess's skirt" fragment from the villa at Ano Zakros.
54 Reported, but not yet published, are the paintings of a woman offering a branch, and part of a woman's shoulder in stucco relief. See SAKELLARAKIS and SAKELLARAKI (supra n. 26) 50. CAMERON (I, 741) questions the former identification, but it is not clear if he saw the second fragment.
55 DRIESSEN and FARNOUX (supra n. 28, 1994a) 475, 477, fig. 7.
56 CAMERON I 362, Pl. 35 A and E: the two unpublished fragments, found by N. Platon, show the face of a woman in large scale, and a possible dress pattern in relief. Built in MM III, the building was destroyed in LM IA. Cameron suggests that the fragments fell from a shrine above.
Tell el Dab’a: tumblers, bull leapers, human limb in relief, priest, hunters.\(^58\)

Mykenaean Palaces

Argos, ?palace [Ar 1]: figures in two scales.\(^59\)

Gla: two women.\(^60\)

Mykenae [My 1-7]: taureadors; processional figures; goddesses or priestesses; [My 9-13]: helmed woman; horse groom; people and buildings; [IMMERWAHR, p. 194, # 1: woman in relief;\(^61\) # 2-5: women; charioteers].

Orchomenos [Or 1-3]: people and buildings; boar hunt.

Pylos [Py 1]: taureadors; [Py 4]: battle scene; [Py 6-11]: processional figures; battle and hunting; [Py 14]: banquet.

Thebes [Th 1-2]: processional women; warrior.

Tiryns [Ti 1-2]: taureadors; hunters [Ti 4-6]: processional figures; boar hunt; [IMMERWAHR, p. 204, #9: man in cult scene].

Mykenaean Houses


Mykenaean Tombs

Thebes [Th 7]: two women on doorjambs of Chamber tomb.

Comments on Human Representation

As made clear in the Table (Pl. CLXXXIX) and the Graph (Pl. CXCb), the only time that human figures appear in all types of buildings, including tombs, is during the LH III/LM III period, both on the Mykenaean mainland and in the Palace of Knossos. The other only site with human scenes, with the possible exception of Chania, is the later site at Ayia Triadha, where the context may well be entirely funerary.\(^64\) In the earlier period the pattern is different. Human figures occurred at the Palace of Knossos and in houses and shrines both in Crete and the Aegean, but not in the elite houses next to the Palace of Knossos or in any of the other Minoan palaces. Human scenes with Aegean subject matter are amply represented in the Tell el Dab’a frescoes as well.

The patterns of the early period in Crete warrant some comments. It is clear from the geographical distribution of frescoes with human depictions (Pl. CXCa) that many of the sites involved are clustered in an area believed to be within the palace’s sphere of influence, if not its political jurisdiction, which would explain the spread of the practice of human depiction. These LM I sites are Katsamba, Prasa, and Tyllissos. The influence of the palace is most obvious in the miniature frescoes at Tyllissos. The rest of the sites in Crete are quite scattered and geographically distant. The frescoes are poorly preserved, nevertheless some patterns can be discerned. LM I Pseira, Palaikastro, Katsamba, (possibly) Prasa, and Chania (this of uncertain date) preserve fragments of stucco reliefs depicting elaborately dressed women at a large scale. My impression of them is that of hieratic, icon-like images, rather than figures involved in activities. Only at Pseira is there evidence for two women. A woman in relief was found in the palace of Knossos itself, but the genre (if that is what it is) may have also been

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58 BIETAK (supra n. 9) 4-50, pls. 15-17; BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 54-57, figs. 2-7.
59 IMMERWAHR 194: found on the Aspis slope in a megaron-like building.
60 Only the heads are preserved, both turning right. Additional fragments may represent a building. The frescoes are mentioned in S. IAKOVIDIS, AR (1984-85) 51, fig. 41.
61 Not clear whether from Mykenae or Tiryns.
62 MYLONAS SHEAR (supra n. 34) 12, 159, 141-142, pl. 43, discussing geometric patterns which she says may belong to decoration of dress.
63 G. MYLONAS, report in PAE 1975, 156-161; MYLONAS SHEAR (supra n. 34) 12, n. 23. The frescoes from a LH IIIB house at Plakes, north of the Citadel of Mykenae, were rendered in miniature ("small") scale and show figures carrying gifts.
64 Besides the plaster fragments with procession scenes that may derive from the tomb (IMMERWAHR 100), there is also the painted sarcophagus from Ayia Triadha (IMMERWAHR [A.T. 2]), unlisted here since not a mural.
used in the medium of painting proper. It is interesting that in the famous fresco from the Villa at Hagia Triadha, the composition also involves two women, here conversing with nature.

Continuing with the issue of human representation in Crete in the early period, it is important, I believe, that one faces squarely what seems to be a myth: that human figures appeared in all Minoan palaces. Such a claim has been made in the past for the palaces of Zakros and Mallia. In both cases, the presence of human figures appears to be a matter of speculation, the result of vague impressions based on traces of colours and patterns on worn plaster surfaces or loose stucco fragments. Yet such lack could not be blamed on circumstances of preservation and recovery. The palaces were destroyed in LM IB and abandoned. Even if destroyed by the hand of an enemy, remnants of the frescoes would still be preserved, and excavation has, of course, been quite thorough. The situation is indeed an odd one.

There are no obvious solutions to the above patterns, but some suggestions can be made. As far as the Palace of Knossos and the Minoan houses, it is possible that there existed between them a special, probably religious, allegiance, given the fact that themes of nature and of possibly hieratic women predominate in the murals of houses. An analogy for such allegiances that ignore political boundaries, is that between the Vatican and Catholics generally, i.e., irrespective of city or country. That geographical distance should not have been an impediment, is supported in the case of Ayia Triadha by the belief of the Italian excavators (Filippo Carinci and Enzo La Rosa) that this site came under the control of Knossos in the New Palace period. Cameron himself was convinced, on stylistic and iconographic grounds, that the superb murals there were executed by artists from the Palace of Knossos.

As for the blatant lack of human figures in all Minoan Palaces except Knossos, let us consider the case of icons in Christianity: they are used in the Orthodox Church and in Orthodox houses, but are shunned by the remaining Christian denominations. Whether the differences we see in Crete were the result of tacit agreement among the Minoans or the enforcement of a rule we may never know.

As for the rest of the Aegean, perhaps none of the hypothetical regulatory conditions just suggested were operative outside Crete itself. Though the Cyclades had come under the spell of Minoan artistic influence, their murals retained a distinct local character. Mycenaean painting is largely derivative, but, as will be discussed later, the choices of themes are tuned to very specific Mycenaean tastes and ideological purposes.

D. Saffron (or crocus) gathering

Knossos Palace
[Kn 1]: Saffron Gatherer.

Cretan Houses

Ayia Triadha [A.T.1]: tentative female harvester.

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65 Note the specification of women in large scale in my Catalogue, who may belong to this kind of laconic depiction.

66 I believe that personal preference gives only a partial answer to this problem, contra F. BLAKOLMER, “Komparative Funktionsanalyse des Malerischen Raumdekos in Minoischen Palästen und Villen,” Politeia 463-474, at 465 (with references to earlier publications that concerned themselves with the issue, given in nos. 13 and 14).

67 For instance, N. PLATON’s early claim that he saw a figure (PAE 1965, 199; BCH 90 [1966] 922) was negated by his subsequent statement that “no representational scenes” were found in that palace (Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete [1971] 83). The history of the Mallia plasters and their findspots (apparently outside a facade of the palace) can be gleaned from reports in BCH (1922) 526, n. 1 and (1928), 358 and in O. PELON, Le Palais de Malia V vol. 1 (1980) 18. The claim that human figures were involved was made initially in a letter (August 20, 1922) by L. RENAUDIN, but J. CHARBONNEAUX, another of the excavators, later reported: “mais nulle part on n’a trouvé le moindre vestige d’une fresque : sur un mince fragment, il nous a semblé reconnaître le buste d’un personnage…” (BCH [1928] 358). CAMERON (p. 749) questions the identification of a human head shown to him by Pelon.

68 CAMERON (p. 578) sees control on the part of the palace in “places featuring important mural decoration.”
Aegean Houses
Akrotiri, Xeste 3 [Ak 6]: female gatherers and offering of saffron by monkey to a goddess.

Comments on Saffron or Crocus Gathering

This is one of the few ritual scenes the basic act of which is clear, also because there are several examples known. Women and monkeys seem to be the designated harvesters of crocuses of which the saffron was ultimately offered to the goddess. The theme occurs in house and palace alike, in Crete and elsewhere, but only in the early period. It is not known from Mycenaean sites.

E. Monkeys

Palace of Knossos
[Kn 1]: Blue Monkey crocus gatherer.

Knossos Houses
House of the Frescoes [Kn 2]: monkeys hunting for eggs.

Aegean Houses
Akrotiri
Sector A: monkeys at shrine [DOUMAS, p. 186, fig. 147].
B 6 [Ak 1]: monkeys clambering rocks.
Xeste 3, Room 3a, monkey and goddess; Room 4, Monkeys, as musicians and dancers in setting with birds and nests [DOUMAS, pls. 95-99].

Comments on Monkey Scenes

Scenes of monkeys appear among the earliest known frescoes of the New Palace period. The behaviour and physical characteristics of the animal are well observed, suggesting that monkeys were probably imported and seen by the artists. In Egypt monkeys always play subsidiary roles in mural compositions, mostly as pets that sit under the master's chair, or that accompany farmers in their daily trip to the field. But in Aegean frescoes they attain a magnified status by being at times the sole theme. Monkeys are seen as quaint and strange: because they can imitate humans, and because of their cultic significance, which is clear from the fresco from Xeste 3 in Thera, where a monkey acts as a mediator between a woman saffron gatherer and a goddess to whom the saffron is being delivered. Monkeys are also depicted as egg hunters roaming the countryside. Monkeys disappear from murals after the New Palace period in Crete. There are no monkey scenes either in Mycenaean buildings, or, as far as I know, at Tell el Dab'a.

F. Buildings and people

Knossos Palace
[Kn 15-19]: various miniature frescoes.

Cretan Houses
Ayia Triada villa [A.T. 1]: women, nature, building.
LM III fresco [A.T. 5]: women in pillared structure.
Tylissos [Ty 1]: activities involving men and women.

Aegean Houses
Ayia Irini [A.I. 4]: activities involving men and women.
Akrotiri, West House [Ak 12]: people, ships and coastal towns.

Tell el Dab'a
Bull leaping against a maze pattern (a symbolic floor?); Procession of men reportedly shown against a facade.

69 MORGAN (supra n. 13) 9.
70 SHAW (supra n. 9), at 106-111.
71 BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 55-57, figs. 9, 11. The figures are in “small,” rather than “true miniature” scale. The identification of a building, in my view, is not certain, unless based on additional unpublished fragments.
Mycenaean Palaces
Gla: two women and a building.  
Mycenae, Cult Center [My 6]: two women in building; Palace Megaron [My 11]: building and people; Palace [IMMERWAHR, p. 194, # 5: woman in an architectural setting]; under Ramp House [My 1]: women, taureadors, building.
Orchomenos [Or 1]: building, warriors, chariots.
Thebes [Th 2]: heads of ?women in windows, one helmed.
Tiryns [IMMERWAHR, p. 204, # 1 and 2]: miniature facades (assumedly once associated with people who are now missing).

Mycenaean Houses
House of the Oil Merchant [My 13]: men, women, horses, building.

Comments on Buildings and People

With a few exceptions, such scenes are rendered only in miniatures frescoes, a type discussed in the introduction in connection with chronological issues. Early examples occur in the Palace of Knossos, Tylissos, Thera and Ayia Iriini. They mostly depict publicly organized events such as festivals, probably involving at times agonistic games, bull-leaping, rituals, and other special activities often witnessed by great numbers of people. Though bull-leaping is the event celebrated in the fresco from under the Ramp House fresco at Mycenae [My 1, below], other Mycenaean scenes largely involve warfare or the preparation thereof, as is the case of the Megaron Frieze at Mycenae. Warfare, with warriors shown in proximity to buildings, also occurs in the Miniature Fresco from the West House at Thera. The genre of cheering crowds of spectators is missing both in the Theran and the Mycenaean frescoes.

G. Athletics

Knossos Palace
[Kn 8] East Wing, in stucco relief: various, including bull grappling.

Cretan Houses
Tylissos [Ty 1]: possible wrestlers or boxers.

Aegean Houses
Akrotiri, B 1 [Ak 4]: boxers.
"Arvaniti I" [IMMERWAHR, p. 188, # 9]: possible tumbler.  

Tell el Dab’a: tumblers.

Comments on Athletics

The term “athletics” naturally represents a modern notion of a wide range of ritual performances, including acrobatics and dance. The great masses of spectators in the miniature frescoes from the Palace of Knossos surely witnessed and applauded such acts, often not known to us as they are the missing parts in the frescoes. The reliefs of the great Boxer Rhyton from Ayia Triadha provide glimpses of such activities that celebrate the flexibility, physical strength and smartness of the ancient athlete. Tumbling or acrobatic feats which must have been part of the cycle do not appear there, but there is the possible gymnast/tumbler in a fresco at Tell el Dab’a. Given the agility and physical co-ordination

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72 S. IAKOVIDIS (supra n. 60).
73 EVANS believed that some of the striding figures in the Tylissos painting might be boxers (PM III 34-36, fig. 17).
74 As suggested by N. MARINATOS (in a forthcoming study). She compares the Theran figure to the tumbler at Tell el Dab’a and similarly identifies him as a tumbler. I thank Dr. Marinatos for showing me her ms. More recently (personal communication, Sept. 1996) she has become uncertain about the identification of the Tell el Dab’a figure as a tumbler.
75 BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 55; BIETAK et al. (supra n. 9) 24; MORGAN (supra n. 9) 39-40; SHAW (supra n. 9) 112-113.
76 HOOD 145, fig. 199.
necessary for bull-leaping, it would not be surprising if young people aspiring to be leapers practiced gymnastics first. Interestingly, the connection between the two activities is reiterated in a recently discovered Mycenaean seal that shows a man/bull creature (the ἀργοτόρ) performing an acrobatic feat.77

H. Processions

Palace of Knossos
[Kn 7]: Priest King, possible processional figure; [Kn 22]: figures walking up a staircase; earlier fresco from Corridor of Processions.
LM II/III [Kn 22]: later fresco from the Corridor of Processions.

Cretan Houses
LM III: Agia Triadha [A.T. 3-5]: men, women, animals.

Aegean Houses
Akrotiri:
  Xeste 3 [Ak 7]: women holding flowers; [DOUMAS, pls. 109-111]: men and boy involved in cult scene.
  Xeste 4 [DOUMAS, pls. 138-140]: men walking up steps of staircase.
  West House [Ak 8]: priestess; [Ak 11]: fishermen.

Tell el Dab’a
Procession of men.78

Mycenaean Palaces
Mycenae: Cult Centre [My 3-5]: women, men, chariots;79 Under the Ramp House [My 1]: large scale women, perhaps from a procession.
Pylos [Py 6-9, 15-16]: scenes with advancing men and women.
Thebes [Th 1]: large scale women.
Tiryns [Ti 4-5]: large scale women.

Mycenaean Houses
Plakes: men carrying gifts.80

Comments on Processions

"Processional" is a term applied here both to groups and to single individuals. In either case, the principle is a formal progression towards a target, often another human of higher status or a divinity, but it could also be a location. Figures in a large scale, nearly life-size, are more likely than not to have been processional in character, except where gesture and action show them to be part of another kind of ritual scene. The above list may err somewhat on the side of attributing too many figures to this category of activity. Some of the larger figures whose heads are missing, for instance, could be conversing, rather than facing in the same direction.

I. Hunting and hunters

Knossos Palace
(See entries for Bull leaping and grappling above).

Aegean Houses
Thera: Xeste 3: ὑπερτὸν and dog.81
Ayia Irini, Area M [A.I. 4].82

Tell el Dab’a: hunters with dogs.83

78 BIETAK and MARINATOS (*supra* n. 9) 55-57, fig. 11.
79 KRITSELLI-PROVIDI (*supra* n. 8) 78-79 for discussion of processions, and 90-91 for the chariot scene.
80 MYLONAS (*supra* n. 8).
81 DOUMAS 128: remains of a life-size “huntsman” were assigned to the south wall of the vestibule by S. Marinatos.
82 For this incompletely published miniature fresco see IMMERWAHR 82-83.
83 BIETAK and MARINATOS (*supra* n. 9) 55, fig. 6.
Mycenaean Palaces
Pyllos [Py 11]: hunting of deer.
Tiryns [Ti 2] in Forecourts: earlier hunting scene, hunters and chariots; [Ti 6-7]: boar and perhaps also deer hunt, with hunters and chariots.
Orchomenos, near Megaron [Or 3]: boar hunt with hunters and chariots.

Comments on Hunting and Hunters

In a way, the theme of bull grappling or catching (as opposed to the sport of bull leaping) is a form of hunting. Of the two aspects of human entanglement with the bull, the latter seems to be the one favoured for mural depiction. Typical of the latter when rendered in miniature frescoes is the indication that the sport takes place next to a building. The more standard iconography of the former is an outdoor setting indicated by terrain, trees, and vegetation. The monumental stucco relief from the west porch at the northwest entrance to the Palace of Knossos could represent a bull catching scene.

No other form of hunting has been found in murals of either the Palace of Knossos, or of Minoan houses in Crete, though vignettes of the hunt appear in sphyragistic art. But whether the full fledged hunting expeditions, familiar from Mycenaean frescoes, with men, dogs, and often chariots appeared in earlier murals in Crete is difficult to say. By contrast, hunting is encountered at Kea and perhaps at Thera if the identification of a hunter (listed above) is correct. These two cases would add to the thematic affinities between Cycladic and Mycenaean art. Hunting (hunter and dog) appears also in a fresco from Tell el Dab’a.

Once again, there are “wallpaper” friezes that utilize aspects of hunting, like the stylized couchant dogs in a fresco from Pyllos.

J. Warfare and warriors

Knossos Palace
LM III: [Kn 27]: Captain of the Blacks.

Aegean Houses
Akrotiri, West House [Ak 12]: Sea battle; warriors seated in ships.

Mycenaean Palaces
Mycenae, Palace Megaron [My 10-11]: siege scene with warriors, women, buildings, chariots; Cult Centre [My 9] a warrior with a griffin.
Pyllos [Py 4, 10]: earlier and later frescoes with battle scenes. Thebes [Th 2]: warrior in building.
Orchomenos [Or 1]: warriors and building.

Comments on Warfare and Warriors

The fully developed scene of a battle at sea from Thera attests to the early introduction of this theme. No uncontested cases of war scenes are known from any early frescoes from Crete—a phenomenon that should be reconsidered in conjunction with the apparent lack of hunting scenes. War is a prominent theme in the murals of Mycenaean palaces. I am not aware of any depictions of war from the Tell el Dab’a frescoes.

84 A man between two “leashed mastiffs” (PM II 2, fig. 495); a man carrying a yoke across his shoulders with agrimia tied to it (V.E.G. KENNA, Cretan Seals [1960] no. 36); men holding bow and arrow: CMS II 98a, 118a, 158c, etc. I thank J. Younger for providing most of these references (personal communication 14/5/96).
85 See also an armed goddess on a pina from the Cult Centre [My 7], and a painted stele with warriors from near a chamber tomb [My 21], both at Mycenae.
K. Banqueting (and preparation for feasting)

Knossos Palace
LM III [Kn 26]: Campstool Fresco.

Cretan Houses
Tylissos: men with cauldrons.

Aegean Houses
Ayia Irini: men with cauldrons.

Mycenaean Palaces
Pylos [Py 14] with musician, banqueters at tables, etc.

Comments on Banqueting (and preparation for feasting)

In the earlier period, preparation for feasting, rather than banqueting itself, seems to be the preferred aspect shown. In the miniature painting from Tylissos vessels being carried by men or resting on the floor may be gifts for winners in agonistic games, but they may also contain foods for a feast in which the community (the crowds and smaller groups of men and women shown) celebrates the occasion. Big cauldrons in the miniature painting at Ayia Irini are set over a fire and men appear to be stirring the food that is cooking.

At the Palace of Pylos both preparation for feasting and banqueting constitute major mural themes. The theme occurs again in the LM III Camp Stool fresco from the Palace of Knossos.

Hunting and feasting seem to go together in Aegean murals, as at Ayia Irini where the fresco of men with cauldrons was found with fragments from the hunting scene, a situation repeated in the case of a fresco at Pylos.86

L. Guardian animals (also in heraldic composition)

Knossos Palace
East Wing [Kn 8]: chained griffins.
LM III: Throne Room [Kn 28]: Griffins; Anteroom of Throne Room [Kn 30]: bull.

Aegean Houses
Ayia Irini, House A [A.I. 4]: lifesize griffins.
Akrotiri: Xeste 3 [Ak 6]: griffin and seated goddess;
West House [Ak 12]: griffin in tropical scene.
Miletus: griffin in landscape with river.87

Tell el Dab’a griffin.88

Mycenaean Palaces
Mycenae: Lion Gate relief.
Pylos [Py 12]: doorways with guardian heraldic animals.
Pylos, Throne Room [Py 18]; from Room 46 [Py 19]: in both, lions and griffins.
Thebes [Th 3]: fragmentary wings of griffin or sphinx.
Tiryns [Ti 9]: wings of large ?sphinxes.

Comments on Guardian Animals

Physical prowess, ferocity and magic power are the necessary qualities for an animal or a monster to act as a human guardian. It is no wonder then, that in the Aegean lions, griffins, and to a lesser extent sphinxes, assume this role more often than do bulls. The role reserved for the bull was that of a symbol of virility and potency.

Lions and sphinxes appear alternatively in narrative and in symbolic/heraldic compositions. A scene of the former kind shows animals and monsters roaming a remote and

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86 IMMERWAHR 82 and 83, for scenes of hunting and feasting.
87 W.D. NIEMEIER (supra n. 30) 261.
88 BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 60.
wild landscape (as in the tropical landscape in Thera and in a recently discovered fresco from Miletus). Association with human figures is limited to the griffin, which is the companion and guardian of the goddess, as in the fresco from Xeste 3 at Thera.

Heraldic animals as guardians are used in several palatial contexts, where the symbolic message, rather than a narrative mode, is preferred. They protect doorways, both real (Lion Gate at Mycenae), and depicted (many examples in the murals of the Palace of Pylos) or they flank the throne that represents the object of their protection: the ruler or person in command. Examples occur in Mycenaean palaces and in the Palace of Knossos. Whether heraldic compositions of such animals appeared in houses and other sites is uncertain. In the examples from Ayia Irini and from Tell el Dab’a, evidence is fragmentary, but further study of the respective plaster deposits may yield more relevant fragments and answer our question. A third format for the appearance of guardian animals is a “wallpaper” type, with a stylized repetition of the animals in a frieze.

M. Bull leaping (and related scenes)

Knossos Palace
[Kn 8, 18, 21]: stucco reliefs and miniature frescoes;
LM II/III: [Kn 23, 25, 29-30]; LM III [Kn 31]: from over the so-called Northwest Treasury.

Tell el Dab’a: taureadors, bulls, landscape, maze pattern.

Mycenae Palace
Mycene, under the Ramp House [My 1]: taureadors, bulls, building.
Pylos [Py 1]: taureadors, bull.
Tiryns [T i]: taureador, bull.
Orchomenos [Or 2]: ?taureadors.

Mycenaean Houses
Mycene, beneath House of the Oil Merchant [My 12]: charging bull.

Mycenaean Tombs
Mycene, Treasury of Atreus: stone reliefs with two bulls and foliage.

Comments on Bulls, Bull-leaping and Related Scenes

"Bull leaping" belongs to a larger representational saga that covers a variety of activities related to bulls. Due to poor preservation, bull-leaping and bull-grappling, the episodes I am most interested in, cannot always be distinguished.

The pattern of distribution of the theme is distinctive. The great number of cases in the Palace of Knossos stands out even more when compared with the total absence both from LM I-II and other early Aegean murals, including those at Thera—and despite the latter’s good preservation. This pattern applies to the other palaces in Crete, where, again, no bull representations have been found. Basically, the situation in the LM III/LH III period is that such scenes occur in murals in Mycenaean palatial contexts and perhaps in the stone reliefs that belong to the mural decoration of the Treasury of Atreus. The theme continues to be used in this later period in Crete, apparently again only in the Palace of Knossos. The pattern suggests that this is an exclusively palatial theme, though in Crete it is only used at Knossos.

89 The material from Ayia Irini is being prepared for publication by E. DAVIS and L. MORGAN.
90 See also IMMERWAHR 179, # 9 for more stucco reliefs and paintings and SHAW (supra n. 9) 113-120.
91 This example was found in superficial levels. Evans was of the belief that the plaster fragment came from a fresco originally in the palace, next to which the treasury was built (PM II 620-621).
92 BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 49-54.
93 Th. SPYROPOULOS, AAA 7 (1974) 313-325 notes a megaron-like building he identifies as a small Mycenaean palace. Frescoes had been found in that area earlier by H. Bulle.
94 For a survey of the whole cycle, see J.G. YOUNGER, "Bronze Age representations of Aegean Bull-Games, III," Politeia 506-545. Bucrania are not considered here. A bull’s head is depicted in a wall painting in the "Sanctuaire à cornes" at Mallia: A. DESSENNE, BCH 81 (1957) 700.
95 An exception could be the bull on plaster fragments from under the House of the Oil Merchant at Mycenae [My 12], of which the action, however, is not known.
96 As noted earlier, there is an ambiguity whether the example from the Northwest Treasury belongs to this building or the palace.
Mycenaean bull-leaping scenes copy, with some modifications, the schema of the “true miniature” frescoes from Knossos. Some, like the one of which fragments were found under the Ramp House, show both the sport and the setting—simply a building facade with a few women spectators in the windows.\textsuperscript{97} The poor preservation of the fresco from Tiryns leaves it uncertain whether the setting appeared in another panel. The panelled frieze format used in the two Mycenaean frescoes occurs also in the famous Taureador Frescoes from Knossos. Crowds of spectators, typical in “true miniature” renditions are lacking in all these later murals.

Bull-leaping also occurs, and prominently, among the frescoes from Tell el Dab’a. The examples form a class of their own—particularly one which is preserved well enough to be restored by the excavator. The composition is a frieze with bulls running against the backdrop of a maze pattern, above (or behind) which is the countryside: hills and trees.\textsuperscript{98} Since leaping is shown taking place, it seems to me that the painting unorthodoxically combines elements both of bull-catching and of leaping. My impression from the Knossian frescoes, admittedly themselves poorly preserved, has been that the two activities were kept discreet in the murals.\textsuperscript{99} The scale of the human figures approximates that of the Knossian Taureador Fresco, and, at least among the published fragments, there are no depictions of buildings.

Interestingly, architecture may well have been indicated symbolically, through the maze that may allude to the floor of a luxurious building, probably a palace.\textsuperscript{100} The half-rosette frieze that serves as the lower border of the frieze may itself have played a similar role, as is argued in the discussion of the motif below. In contrast to Tell el Dab’a, the Minoan representations were more literal, as seen even in the very poorly preserved example of the Fresco from the Ivory Deposit, the design of which I have completed as an example (Pl. CXClia).\textsuperscript{101} Here we can visualize the Minoan artist standing in an open space looking at the sport as it unfolds against a carefully rendered building. In the Tell el Dab’a composition the artist must be envisioned as standing in a diametrically opposite spot: with the missing facade in back of him/her and looking at the bulls and leapers engaged in their mortal dance in the distance. In a free new restoration, more an artist’s impression (Pl. CXClb), I try to illustrate the viewpoint of the Tell el Dab’a artist using some of the iconography of Knossian paintings to render the setting.\textsuperscript{102}

According to the Egyptian date assigned to the Tell el Dab’a frescoes, these should correspond to my earlier period (New Palace to LM IB/II), when, from all appearances the only models could have been provided by the Palace of Knossos. Though there is no denying the Aegean affinities of the Taureador frescoes from Tell el Dab’a, there are also certain departures in their execution from the relevant Minoan schema that mitigates against any theory of a direct transmission from the Palace of Knossos.\textsuperscript{103} My view continues to be that the artists, whatever their geographical origin, were distanced from the original model. One can imagine Aegean itinerant artists living and working in some other area, perhaps the Near

\textsuperscript{97} The use of Knossian models, especially in regard to this fresco is the subject of a forthcoming article by the author in the next issue of the BSA.

\textsuperscript{98} BIETAK and MARINATOS (supra n. 9) 53, fig. 4. Since the new restoration is itself being modified, the excavator preferred that the old version not be illustrated here.

\textsuperscript{99} The bull-catching iconography is best known from depictions in the minor arts. See YOUNGER’s catalogue (supra n. 94) 525-538.

\textsuperscript{100} In SHAW (supra n. 9) 106-110 the suggestion is made that the Tell el Dab’a maze represents a floor that imitates the so-called Labyrinth Fresco from the Palace of Knossos. The latter, however, as argued there, was most likely part of an actual painted floor, rather than a mural.

\textsuperscript{101} The reconstruction relies on the drawings of two fragments published by Evans (PM III 207-208, figs. 141, 142), corresponding to A and B in my drawing. Evans (ibid. 207) suggested that the diagonal form that intercepts the architectural facade might be the neck of a charging bull. Though there could have been two bulls, my restoration uses the fragment with the horn and ear of a bull (evidently with a frontal face) as part of the same bull.

\textsuperscript{102} The drawing was executed by N. Holmes-Kantzios of Bryn Mawr College who also made a matching drawing where I illustrate the Minoan viewpoint. The latter will appear in SHAW (supra n. 97).

\textsuperscript{103} Oddities have been pointed out by, among others: V. HANKEY, “Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant” Egyptian Archaeology 3 (1993) 27-29; YOUNGER (supra n. 94) 516-518, at 518; SHAW (supra n. 9) 105-106.
East and the Levant where fresco was also practiced, after leaving their homeland for a while and before going to Egypt. Working for clients or sponsors with different demands, taste and architecture, may have led them to adopt new habits and to modify the more specifically Minoan codes of representation, especially if their work at Tell el Dab’a was aided by artists of other nationalities.\textsuperscript{104}

N. Half-rosettes (and related motifs)

Knossos Palace
[Kn 15]: part of tripartite shrine, Grandstand Fresco; Corridor of Processions [Kn 22] (in abstracted form) on hem of woman’s long robe in Procession fresco.

LM III: Throne Room [Kn 28]: as an abstract border at the base of the painting; Carved Stone Reliefs: from three-four different locations.\textsuperscript{105}

Tell el Dab’a: as lower border of bull leaping frieze.\textsuperscript{106}

Mycenaean Palaces
Mycenae, Megaron Court [My 19]: painted dado on a wall.
Orchomenos [Or 6]: as ornament in a fresco depicting a miniature building facade.
Pylos, Forecourt 3 [Py 5]: as ornament in a fresco depicting a miniature facade; [Py 25] as ornament, dado or panel, on a wall of the palace.
Tiryns, Megaron: stone relief, half-rosette panel.\textsuperscript{107}

Mycenaean Tombs
Mycenae Treasury of Atreus (?bull grappling) stone relief.\textsuperscript{108}

Comments on the Half-Rosette and Related Motifs

Half-rosettes are often shown as architectural ornament on building facades (real and depicted). Of these, the facade in the Mycenaean fresco found under the Ramp House was clearly associated with bull-leaping and it is possible that such an association occurred also in other frescoes, including Minoan ones.\textsuperscript{109} This possibility seems to be strengthened now by the border of half-rosettes in one of the Tell el Dab’a taureador frescoes, for it seems to reflect lost Aegean examples.\textsuperscript{110} It might be added here that its use as a border, along with the textile-like


\textsuperscript{105} \textit{PM} II 162-164 figs. 82-83 (area of southwest Stepped Portico); 590-596, fig. 368 (Northwest Entrance); 694-695, figs. 436, 437 (South Propylaeum). Further fragments were found in a field some “200 metres west of the Palace”: “Archaeology in Greece, 1956,” \textit{JHS} 76-77 (1956-57) 21.

\textsuperscript{106} BIETAK and MARINATOS (\textit{supra} n. 9) 55, fig. 4.

\textsuperscript{107} For a recent illustration, see U. JANTZEN, ed., \textit{Führer durch Tiryns} (1975) 123, 126, fig. 123.

\textsuperscript{108} \textit{PM} IV 222-223. See two different reconstructions of the facade of the tomb: G. MYLONAS, \textit{Mycenae: A Guide to its Ruins and its History} (1967) 60-66, fig. 29; S. MARINATOS (\textit{supra} n. 41) 159-162, fig. 25.

\textsuperscript{109} See discussion of the bull-leaping scene in the Ivory Deposit Fresco below. The possibility that some of the miniature facades at Knossos associated with crowds of spectators may have depicted bull-leaping (among other agonistic games) is argued in SHAW (\textit{supra} n. 97).

\textsuperscript{110} The best parallel for this detail of the Egyptian painting is a bull-leaping scene with such a border in a Mycenaean seal: SHAW (\textit{supra} n. 9) 96, fig. 7.
character of the maze in the fresco, may also suggest imitation of woven textiles which may have depicted such a scene as well.\textsuperscript{111} Evans made the suggestion that the use of the half-rosette originated as a filler of the half-oval spaces created between adjacent incurved altars.\textsuperscript{112} Incurved altars often appear over the lintels of doors or entrances (real or depicted), which may also explain Evans's attribution of the carved stone friezes carved with half-rosette decoration (listed above) to main entrances at the Palace of Knossos.\textsuperscript{113} In the Ivory Deposit Fresco, altars and double axes appear as part of the decoration of a facade within adjacent oval openings which are reminiscent of the outlines of half-rosettes (Pl. CXCl); it is likely that a bull-leaping scene was depicted. The double axe, naturally, refers to the sacrificial slaughtering of the bull, as do double axes that adorn the facades of both Knossian and Mycenaean miniature frescoes. Many of the latter, I suspect, depicted bull-leaping.

Like bull-leaping itself, the half-rosette motif seems to be restricted to palatial contexts. The character of the building with such a theme at Tell el Dab'a still has to be determined.

Summary and Conclusions

The following overview uses the Table of the Distribution of Themes (Pl. CLXXXIX) as its basic frame of reference, since it provides a visual distillation of data already detailed in the preceding survey. Conclusions deal with overall aspects of choices (many already discussed individually under each theme in the Catalogue) with a consideration of possible categories that sites or geographical areas fall into in terms of their "choices.

"Choice" becomes particularly important given the rather fixed and relatively limited range of themes in Aegean murals.\textsuperscript{114} Further constraints built within the Aegean system are the fixed iconography and artistic conventions or idioms. Outlets for choice lie in the manipulation of this system: careful selection, acceptance, and (its opposite) rejection, and shift in emphasis within the range of subject matter of the individual themes.

Among the themes, the Landscape is clearly universal in its appeal in the early Aegean, though interest in it wanes later. Originally an expression of religious experience, the Minoan landscape dwindles into an abstracted backdrop for human action in the hands of the Mycenaean artists, as in hunting scenes. No "flower-loving Minoans" they! Other themes that later fall out of favour are Saffron Gathering and the often related scenes of Monkeys. Themes loaded with religious connotations, such as the three mentioned, would naturally have appeared alien and meaningless to the Mycenaean who did not necessarily subscribe to the same religion. Reversely, this very denial lends greater force to the spiritual unity expressed in the sharing of such themes in the earlier Aegean, both in Crete and in Thera.

Sharing similar choices might be a way of expressing allegiance. In illiterate societies pictorial imagery can become an eloquent device for expression. The possibility of a special, and probably religious or hieratic, allegiance between the Palace of Knossos and certain houses in Crete has already been discussed in connection with the presence in both "sites" of Human Representation. The relevance to religious ties is that such representations often portray religious acts, rather than simply expressing faith in abstract and indirect ways, as in

\textsuperscript{111} For an analysis of the maze as a possible textile pattern see: SHAW (supra n. 9) 106-109. The maze also meets a technical weaving requirement necessary for elaborate woven patterns. As a background filler it would have helped keep the "floats" (or colourful threads used to render the motifs) from becoming too long and hanging out. For discussions of the use of the "float weave" see BARBER (supra n. 38) 139-40, 370.

\textsuperscript{112} PM II 605-608.

\textsuperscript{113} For the use of the altar at entrances that it was probably meant to protect: M.C. SHAW, "The Lion Gate Relief at Mycenae Reconsidered," in Φυλακά και εις Γ.Ε. Νεολαία (1986) 108-123.

\textsuperscript{114} This is typical in traditional systems of decoration. In Chinese Brush Painting, for instance, birds in trees, the distant rocky landscape, goldfish in water, minuscule people standing in or traversing the vast landscape represent a typical range.
the case of the Landscape. What societal dynamics led to the exclusion of the other Minoan palaces remains unclear. Not using figures could have been a deliberate shunning on their part as a way of expressing “difference” —and therefore independence from Knossos. Alternatively, it could have been in response to an expected or demanded exclusiveness.

The above comments on exclusiveness gain some support from the growing realization that the representation of bull-leaping scenes may have originally been the prerogative of the Palace of Knossos—indeed its “insignia.” Examples of visual symbols used to testify to the sacral legitimacy of rulership abound in contemporary societies. The theme of bull-leaping is eventually transferred to the Mycenaeans where its apparently exclusively palatial contexts suggest that it was appropriated as a claim to power through the symbol's association with the glory that was Knossos. The incorporation of half-rosettes in a bull-leaping fresco from Tell el-Dab’a—surely copying an Aegean model—adds a new dimension to the idea of exclusiveness, for in the Aegean the motif seems to be limited to palatial contexts as far as mural decoration is concerned. Bull-leaping is a case where a theme with undeniable cultic connotations came to express political ideology as well. It makes the theme an ideal theocratic symbol.

This brings us to the question of other forms of manipulation of themes and schemata by sponsors and artists as a way of conditioning meaning. Downgrading the status of a theme from primary to subsidiary, as discussed for the Landscape, is one of the methods. Abstraction is another device. For instance, flowers and sea creatures can be isolated from their terrestrial and marine environments, typically portrayed in earlier frescoes, to be incorporated in “wallpaper” friezes and in painted floors, respectively. There, their schematization shifts the emphasis to the decorative. Excerpting can also be used to have an opposite result from that just described: Figure-Eight shields and Ikria become concentrated symbols of power when isolated from their narrative contexts (such as scenes of war or of sea voyages) and arrayed in friezes in impressive numbers. Schematization and abstraction are again at work in the treatment of the role of animals as guardians and as representatives of divinity. The contrast between the heraldic arrangement typical in the palaces, and the unsymmetrical format of the one well-preserved example from Xeste 3 at Thera, where a goddess accompanied by a griffin receives harvested saffron, was made earlier. So far no heraldic compositions have been found in the murals of houses. Griffins tend to be shown in their natural habitats—the distant and hilly countryside.

Indivuation and schematization can each bring about different effects. An example is the way processional scenes are treated in frescoes of different periods and locales. In Theran frescoes, women carrying flowers (Xeste 3), or men walking up steps (Xeste 4), display an individuality of physiognomy, outfit, manner of walking and other aspects of gesture and posture that lend the scenes a narrative quality. By contrast, the rows of repetitive, rhythmically arrayed figures with a stylized manner of walking in later (mostly Mycenaean) paintings evoke an impression of pomp and circumstance, rather than serving as visual chronicles of an occasion. It is probably, again, this emphasis that is intended in the selection of the theme of Banquet Scenes, which typically adorn the walls of the later palaces, at Knossos and on the mainland. More narrative in quality are the episodes that precede a banquet, such as hunting and the preparation of food as part of a community festival, as at Kea and possibly also at Tylissos.

115 See, for instance, SHAW (supra n. 9) passim; B. PÅLSON-HALLAGER and E. HALLAGER, “The Knossian Bull. Political Propaganda in Neo-Palatial Crete,” Politeia 547-55.
116 See the excellent study by R.J. LEPROHON, “Royal Ideology and State Administration in Pharaonic Egypt,” in SASSON 273-287.
117 MARINATOS (supra n. 7) 64, 28-29.
118 CAMERON’s restoration of a procession in the Palace of Knossos (587, fig. 4), in which the people are walking up a staircase, is very reminiscent of the Theran fresco. Perhaps earlier Knossian processions had a more narrative quality.
Some of the contrasts I have drawn above tend to emphasize diachronic differences; others, like the last one, point to differences between houses and palaces and between geographical areas. As a way of summary and conclusion, some comments will be offered on these regional or locale differences, though they are subjects well dealt with by others as bibliographical references above show. I find particularly interesting the intermediary role played by the Cyclades, especially the artistic innovations that mark them as different from Crete and which seem to have had an impact on the mural art of the Mycenaeans. The love for abstraction, and to some extent stylization, were among Cycladic innovations. These qualities appear in an incipient form even in the basically naturalistic Spring Fresco with its rhythmically repetitive rocks and clumps of flowers, and more blatantly in the stylized field of papyri from the House of the Ladies, both from Thera. Another example is the Dolphin Frieze from Kea that carries the already highly decorative arrangement of marine life of the Flying Fish Fresco from Phylakopi a degree further towards stylization. There are hardly any examples of this wall-paper arrangement in Crete itself during the early period.

Further to the relationship between Cycladic or “island” and Mycenaean frescoes, they both seem to share an interest in the portrayal of man in more “traditional” male roles than do Minoan frescoes. Most obvious are the cases of man as a hunter (and fisherman), and man as a warrior, roles encountered in varying degrees in the frescoes at Kea, Thera and the Mycenaean mainland. Men in Minoan frescoes, by contrast, generally appear in themes with ceremonial or ritual content. Warlike scenes appear only later in Crete, at a time when the island may have come under the Mycenaean influence.

The reader is reminded here that my comments on the portrayal of men refer specifically to murals. Some of the male roles lacking in Minoan frescoes appear on Minoan seals and other portable objects. However, and though new discoveries may prove me wrong in the future, the chances are that the more private art represented by portable objects was guided by rules that were different from those that governed the murals. At least in the palaces, one can claim that the murals represented official art; not all portable objects found in palaces or other sites were necessarily official. Younger claimed recently that “sealstones hardly ever copy frescoes.”¹¹⁹ Conversely, we can consider the possibility that some sphragistic themes were never meant to be part of the fresco repertoire. The “traditional” male roles are missing in the frescoes of Minoan houses as well, except for the possible depiction of athletes (the possible boxers in the case of the Tylissos fresco), but then athletics themselves appear to have a religious dimension, particularly evident in the case of bull-leaping. So too at Tylissos, the activity is part of a community occasion (festival?) in which women and men participate. Comparable is the context in bull-leaping frescoes. Ultimately, it is impossible to know the degree to which there was autonomy as far as mural decoration in the private domain, at least as far as houses that were under the jurisdiction of the Palace of Knossos.¹²⁰ Of course, most of the houses with paintings may well fall in this category.

Tell el-Dab’a, the other region considered in the Catalogue above under the separate thematic headings, will not be further discussed here, since conclusions should await further restoration and publication of the frescoes-except for two brief comments: the fact that their thematic repertoire is thoroughly Aegean, but, in my view their execution, at least in the case


¹²⁰ CAMERON (supra n. 13) 578, went so far as to suggest that Knossian rulers may have controlled “what was to go up and where” throughout their realm of jurisdiction. There are scholars who favour the idea of a Knossian political predominance in Neo-palatial Crete. See discussion and references in J.S. SOLES, “The Gournia Palace,” AJA (1991), at 73 and no. 122; ID., “The Functions of a Cosmological Centre: Knossos in Palatial Crete,” Politeia 405-415. For palatial control of artistic production in general, see interesting remarks in R. LAFFINEUR, “Craftsmanship in Mycenaean Greece: for a Multimedia Approach,” Politeia 187-199.
of the bull-leaping scenes, shows departures from Minoan representational conventions and style.\(^{121}\) Perhaps further archaeological information will throw some light on the character of the building in which the paintings were set, and on the identity of its chief resident - the sponsor of the mural decoration. Such historical context would provide much stronger foundations for theories to be built on than do the presently limited and tantalizing plaster fragments, which, as is often the case in the Bronze Age, were not found \textit{in situ}.\

Maria C. SHAW

\(^{121}\) My criteria are discussed in the text above and in: SHAW (\textit{supra} n. 9 and 97).
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Pl. CLXXXIX  Table of the Distribution of Themes
Pl. CXCa    Minoan sites with Representations of Human Figures in wall paintings (circles) and painted stucco reliefs (squares)
Pl. CXCb    Graph of the Distribution of Human Figures
Pl. CXCc    Graph of the Distribution of Bull-leaping
Pl. CXClia  Reconstruction of the Fresco from the Ivory Deposit, Knossos (M.C. Shaw)
Pl. CXClib  Artist's restoration of imaginary bull-leaping game outside the Palace of Knossos (Niki Holmes Kantzios and M.C. Shaw)
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<thead>
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<th>Theme</th>
<th>Knossos Palace</th>
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<th>Cretan Palaces</th>
<th>Cretan Houses</th>
<th>Aegean Houses</th>
<th>Tell el-Dab'a Palaces</th>
<th>Mycenaean Palaces</th>
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- Instance of theme
- Tentative instance of theme
TEXNH
CRAFTSMEN, CRAFTSWOMEN
AND CRAFTSMANSHIP
IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference/
6e Rencontre égéenne internationale
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Edited by Robert LAFFINEUR and Philip P. BETANCOURT
ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations follow the usual conventions. Specific abbreviations are noted in individual papers. Other abbreviations are the following:

AE  Αρχαιολογική Έφημερις
AnatSt  Anatolian Studies
ArchDelt  Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
CMS  Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
IJNA  The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration
KrChron  Κρητικά Χρονικά
PAE  Πρακτικά τῆς Ἑ. Αθηναίων Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας