

THERA AND THE AEGEAN WORLD III

Volume One ARCHAEOLOGY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

SANTORINI, GREECE

3-9 September 1989

Editors:

D.A. HARDY

with

C.G. DOUMAS

J.A. SAKELLARAKIS

P.M. WARREN

The Thera Foundation, London

1990

Niemeier -
Myc. elements
in Thera
wall paintings.

- 8-9, 71-201
MARINATOS, N.
1983 'The West House at Akrotiri as a cult center', *AM* 98, 1-19
1984a *Art and Religion in Thera. Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*, Athens
1984b 'Minoan Theskeocracy on Thera', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos 1984, 167-176
1985 'The function and interpretation of the Thera frescoes', in P. Darque and J.-C. Poursat (eds.), *L'iconographie minoenne, Actes de la Table Ronde d'Athènes (21-22 Avril 1983)* (BCH, Suppl. XI), 221-230
1987a 'An offering of saffron to the Minoan goddess of nature. The role of the monkey and the importance of saffron', in T. Linders and G. Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the Gods*, Uppsala, 123-132
1987b 'The Monkey in the shrine: A fresco from Thera', *Elapini, Tomos timiaktos ya ton kathigiti Nikolao Platon, Heraklion*
MARINATOS, N.
1968 *Excavations at Thera, I*, Athens
1969 *Excavations at Thera, II*, Athens
1970 *Excavations at Thera, III*, Athens
1971 *Excavations at Thera, IV*, Athens
1972 *Excavations at Thera, V*, Athens
1974 *Excavations at Thera, VI*, Athens
1976 *Excavations at Thera, VII*, Athens
MORGAN, L.
1978 'The Ship Procession in the miniature fresco', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 629-644
1983 'Theme in the West House paintings at Thera', *Aphem*, 85-105
1984 'Morphology, syntax and the issue of chronology', in J.A. MacGillivray and R.L.N. Barber (eds.), *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, 165-178
1985 'Idiom and iconography', in P. Darque and J.-C. Poursat (eds.), *L'iconographie minoenne. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Athènes (21-22 avril 1983)* (BCH, Suppl. XI), 5-19
1988 *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*, Cambridge
- forthcoming 'The painted plasters and their relation to the wall paintings of the Pillar Crypt', with contribution by M.A.S. Cameron, in C. Renfrew *Excavations at Phylakopi 1974-1976* (in press)
NEMEIER, W.
1986 'Zur Deutung des Thronraumes im Palast von Knossos', *ArchMitt* 101, 63-95
PLATON, N.
1947 'Symvoli eis tin spoudin tis minoikis toichographias. O krokosylektis pithikos', *KChron* 1, 505-524
1951 'Anaskafi minoikon oikion eis Prasa Irakliou', *Praktika*, 246-257
1954 'Ta minoika oikaka iera', *KChron* 8, 428-483
RENFREW, A.C.
Excavations at Phylakopi 1974-1976, London
SAKELLARIOU, A.
1975 'La scène du "siège" sur le rhyton d'argent de Mycènes d'après une nouvelle reconstruction', *RA*, 195-208
1980 'The West House miniature frescoes', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World II*, 147-153
1981 'I kritiki katagogi enos mykinoikon eikonographikon kyklos', in *Papagena tou IV Dieithnous Kritologikou Syneidriou 1976* (2), Athens, 532-538
SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI, E.
1981 'Oi toichographies tis Thiras se schesi me tin Minoiki Kriti', in *Papagena tou IV Dieithnous Kritologikou Syneidriou 1976* (2), Athens, 479-509
SCHOFIELD, E.
1982 'The Western Cyclades and Crete: "A special relationship"', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 1, 9-25
SHAW, J.W.
1978 'Evidence for the Minoan tripartite shrines', *AJA* 82, 429-448
SHAW, M.C.
1972 'The miniature frescoes at Tylissos reconsidered', *AJ* 87, 171-188
1978 'A Minoan fresco from Katsamba', *AJA* 82, 27-34
WARREN, P.M.
1979 'The miniature fresco from the West House at Akrotiri, Thera', *JHS* 99, 115-129
1988 *Minoan Religion as Ritual Action*, Gothenburg University

DISCUSSION

MARIA SHAW: My first question relates to the restoration at Phylakopi, with the flying fish and offering scene in the same room. Examples where the architectural setting allows for a frieze include rooms with large openings, as in the West House at Akrotiri, and the Karavansera Frieze is painted over openings. Do you have an architectural setting where you might have a combination of a frieze and a large expanse of wall, where you would put two figures rather than one?

The other question has to do with your interpretation of Xeste 3's depiction of saffron-gatherers as aimed essentially at the idea of the robe. In this case, wouldn't the robe be saffron-coloured? And if so, would the blue robe offered to the Phylakopi lady fit this cycle?

LYVIA MORGAN: From the Pillar Crypt at Phylakopi, it seems that there are certainly two, probably three friezes of flying fish; whether they are in short panels or whether they continue over more than one wall is uncertain. I can't think of any parallels where there are friezes along one wall and then a large painting on another. But the archaeological evidence seems to suggest that they were at least in association with one another.

As far as your other question was concerned, I don't think that saffron is the only purpose of the rituals depicted in Xeste 3. I think that Nanno Marinatos's discussion about initiation is very pertinent. The complexity of Xeste 3 shows that we have more than one iconographic feature: the cycle of the robe and the saffron is incorporated into something more complex.

Mycenaean Elements in the Miniature Fresco from Thera?

ABSTRACT

Since 1974, when S. Marinatos first published the Miniature Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri, this so far unique wall-painting has been the subject of continuous and controversial discussions.

Meanwhile a communis opinio seems to have been reached about the Aegean setting of the fresco. The debate about the possible Minoan and Mycenaean influences as stimulated during the last Thera conference and afterwards by a series of papers by scholars such as M. Cameron, S. Immerwahr, S. Iakovidis and most recently R. Laffineur, who all argued for the appearance of Mycenaean features in the fresco. Such Mycenaean features have been seen in the military aspects (the 'shipwreck scene', weapons) as well as in the emblematic character of the pictorial decoration of the ships, which is comparable to that on early Mycenaean inlaid weapons. According to Laffineur, this similarity demonstrates the Mycenaean character of the emblematic language of the ships' decoration.

In my paper I shall try to demonstrate that we have to be very cautious in distinguishing Minoan and Mycenaean features at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age and that we have to avoid simplistic approaches to the problem. The material base for our picture of the beginning of the Late Bronze Age is very different in the two areas: in Crete we know finds from settlements, in the Greek mainland those from cemeteries. Nevertheless, the bellicose representations found on the mainland at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age are no greater in number than those from Crete. All the elements of the emblematic language of the ships' decorations have Minoan parallels. Minoan parallels also exist for the paratactic repetition of the motifs on the ships' hulls. The closest parallels for the Thera ships are to be found in representations on Cretan seals of the so-called 'talismanic group'.

Thus I do not see any evidence for identifying the ships on the Miniature Fresco from Thera as Mycenaean. I think that the Miniature Fresco can be interpreted as an illustration of the bellicose and the religious aspects of the phenomenon which the later Greek tradition called the 'Thalassocracy of Minos'. The fact that this representation has been found not in Crete but in a Cyclades island is not startling. According to the Egyptian sources Crete and the Cyclades apparently formed a political unit, as has been demonstrated by E. and Y. Sakellarakis.

At the time of the last Thera congress and since then, some scholars have suggested the existence of Mycenaean elements in the Miniature Fresco from the West House in Akrotiri (Immerwahr 1977, 173-183; Cameron 1978, 589; Iakovidis 1979, 101; Warren 1979a, 128-129). Most recently, in three papers, Laffineur (1983a, 1983b, 1984) has gone more deeply into an observation first made by Immerwahr (1977, 181-182): the similarities between the decorations of the hulls of the ships represented in the Ship Procession on the south-wall frieze and on inlaid daggers with 'painting in metal' from Mycenaean Greece.

In particular Laffineur compares the flying birds on the hull of the ship under sail no. 5 (Fig. 1; numbering after Basch 1987, 119, Fig. 232) to those on two inlaid daggers, one from Prosymna (Blegen 1937; Pl. II below; Laffineur 1984, 135, Fig. 2), the other in a Japanese private collection (Vermeule 1972, Pl. XIII D); the lions in a flying gallop on the hull of the 'admiral's ship' no. 4 (Fig. 3) to those on an inlaid dagger from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (Marinatos and Hirmer 1973, Pl. 51 bottom; Laffineur 1984, 136, Fig. 4); the dolphins on the same vessel to those on weapons from Prosymna (Blegen 1937, 330-331, Fig. 420-421, Pl. II above) and Kataraktis-Pharai in Achaea (Papadopoulos 1978/79, Fig. 321a-b, 357); and finally the spirals on ships nos. 2 and 6 to the running spirals on daggers and swords from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (Marinatos and Hirmer 1973, Pl. 194 centre; Mylonas 1972/73, Pl. 18b-c).

From these comparisons Laffineur concludes that the decorations of the hulls of the ships on the south wall of the Miniature Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri show a typical Mycenaean symbolism and therefore have to be identified as Mycenaean ships. However, in his argument Laffineur has ignored the fact that parallels for all these motifs are to be found in Minoan Crete as well.

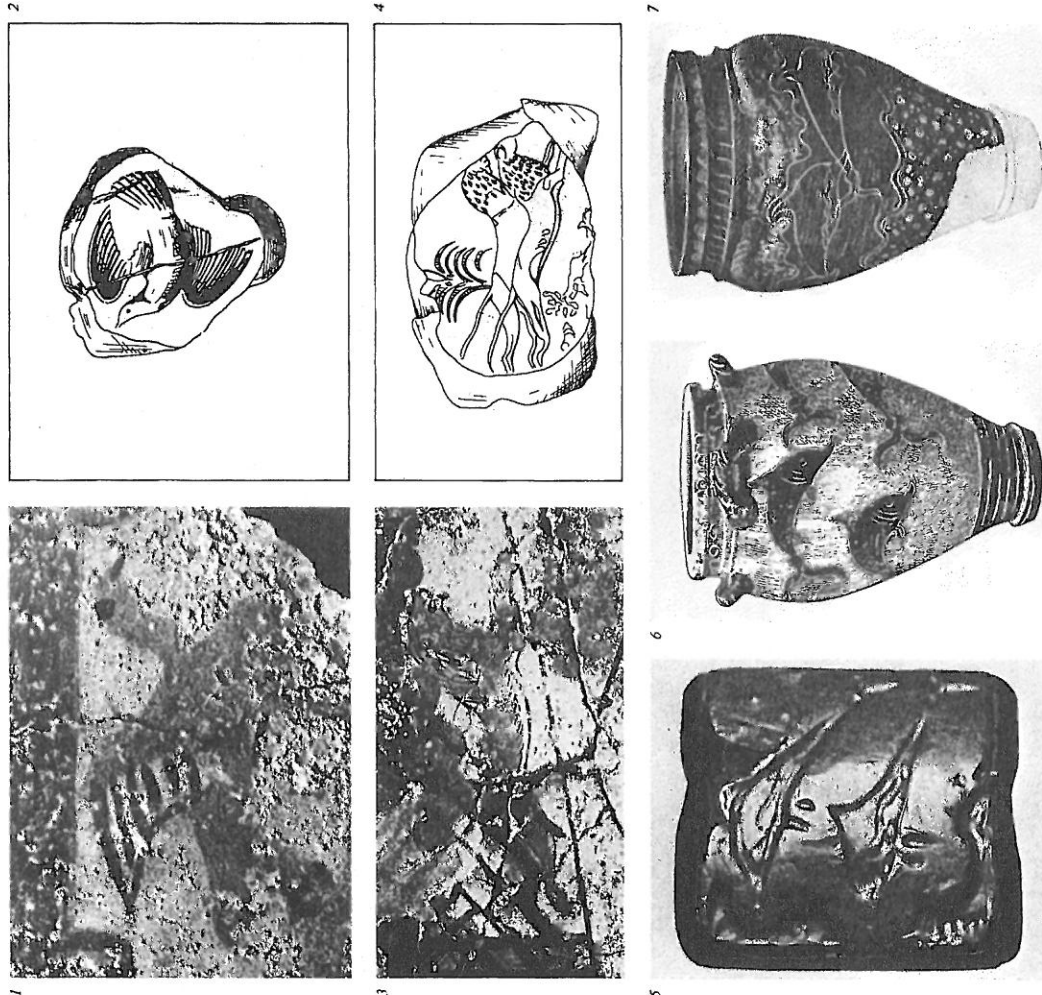
The motif of the flying bird is known in Cretan glyptic art from the Middle Bronze Age onwards (Yule 1980, 133, Pl. 9). At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age it was especially popular in the MM III/LM I glyptic group of the so-called talismanic seals (Onassoglou 1985, 138-152, Pl. L-LIII). More naturalistic representations of flying birds from the LM I sealing archives of Chania (Papastolou 1977, Pl. 26 n. 16) and especially Ayia Triada (Fig. 2) are directly comparable with the flying doves on the hull of ship no. 5. These seal archives are to be dated to the Cretan LM IB destruction horizon, somewhat later than the Thera Miniature Fresco buried contemporary with LM IA (Niemeier 1980; Marthari 1984). However, the seals which impressed these sealings may be earlier, since the LM IB destructions only give a *terminus ante quem* for the seals in question. Moreover, seals can be in use for a very long time (Niemeier 1981; Pini 1983, 39).

The oldest known Aegean examples of the motif of the lion in a flying gallop again come from Middle Bronze Age Crete. They are to be found on seal impressions from the MM II-III A 'archivio di cretule' of the Old Palace at Phaistos (CMS II 5, nos. 276-277; for the date of the 'archivio di cretule' cf. Walberg 1981). In LM I the motif appears on seal impressions from Ayia Triada (Betts 1967, 35, Fig. 7b) and Zakro (Fig. 4).

Representations of fish are to be found in Cretan glyptic and pottery representations from EM III onwards, but only in MM II can we find enough details to identify representations of dolphins (Yule 1980, 135-136, Pl. 10 motif 13; Walberg 1976, Fig. 48 motif V, 5; 1983, Pl. 49 motif IX). MM III-LM IA seals, as well as pottery decorations, show representations of dolphins directly comparable with those of the Thera Miniature Fresco (Fig. 5-7).

The running spiral is a typical Minoan pottery decorative motif from EM III onwards (Betancourt 1984, 26, Fig. 3-5, motif 8; Walberg 1976, 182, Fig. 37-38; 1983, Pl. 31-33; Niemeier 1985, 103 Fig. 43, nos. 1-10) and appears in relief on LM I metal vessels (E.N. Davis 1977, 106 no. 15, Fig. 79-80; Matthäus 1980, 188). In one of the LM II tombs near Knossos — the attribution to Mycenaean conquerors is not convincing (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985) — a spear-blade with spiral decoration was found (Hood 1952, 261, no. A J 2, Fig. 8), which appears anachronistic within this context and may be a ceremonial weapon and an heirloom (Höckmann 1980, 14-16).

A typical Mycenaean feature is also seen by Laffineur in the arrangement of the hull's motifs in a row (Fig. 8), as on some mainland daggers with 'painting in metal' decoration. But to what extent can we really term the inlaid weapons found on the mainland as Mycenaean works of art? As Vermeule (1975, 28) has correctly stated, 'every student of the Shaft Graves has tried to distinguish among imported objects from Crete, Mycenaean imitations of Cretan models, hybrids of various degrees, and pure Mycenaean. Such judgments are necessarily subjective.' As far as the technique of



Figures 1-7

- 1: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, detail of hull of ship no. 5, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 94.
- 2: Sealing from Ayia Triada, after Levi 1925/26, 93, Fig. 52.
- 3: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, detail of hull of ship no. 4, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 56.
- 4: Sealing from Zakro, after Betts 1967, 36, Fig. 8a.
- 5: Flattened cylinder with gold plate from Palaikastro, after Boardman 1970, Pl. 59.
- 6-7: Burial jars from Pachyammos, after Evans 1921, 608, Fig. 447a and b.

'painting in metal' is concerned, it most probably reached the Aegean early in the Late Bronze Age from the Near East via Crete (Dickinson 1977, 82-83). To believe that this technique is exclusively Mycenaean and was not practised on Crete would mean a conclusion *ex silentio*. All the weapons with 'painting in metal' have been exclusively found in rich mainland tombs of the early Late Bronze Age, and rich tombs of this period have not yet been found on Crete. Moreover in Egyptian representations of the XVIIIth Dynasty Cretans are carrying metal vessels with inlay work (Vercouter 1956, 306-308, nos. 231-234, Pl. 35), and a Vapheio cup in London inlaid with gold, electrum and silver is said to have been found on Crete (E.N. Davis 1977, 118-123 no. 24, Fig. 95-97).

The representational iconography of the weapons with 'painting in metal' has no mainland predecessors (on MH mainland 'iconography' cf. Buck 1964; Kling 1981), only Cretan ones (cf. Pelon 1985; Poursat 1985, 54-55), and demonstrates an aesthetic sensibility which is certainly absent in early Mycenaean works of the Shaft-Grave era like the Shaft-Grave stelai (Müller 1915, 286-294) and other examples showing a rather coarse, 'nomadic' taste (Vermeule 1975, 23-26). Therefore I would agree with Kopeke (1981, 40; cf. also Hiller 1984, 29) that the inlaid daggers, regardless of whether they were produced on the islands or on the mainland, stylistically they are Cretan or Cycladic works'. Thus, the similarity between the decorations of the ship's hulls of the Miniature Fresco and the inlaid daggers seems to indicate an influence just the converse of that suggested by Laffineur.

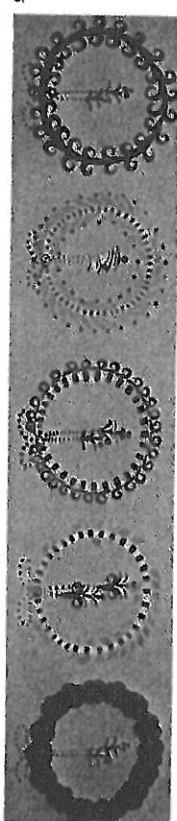
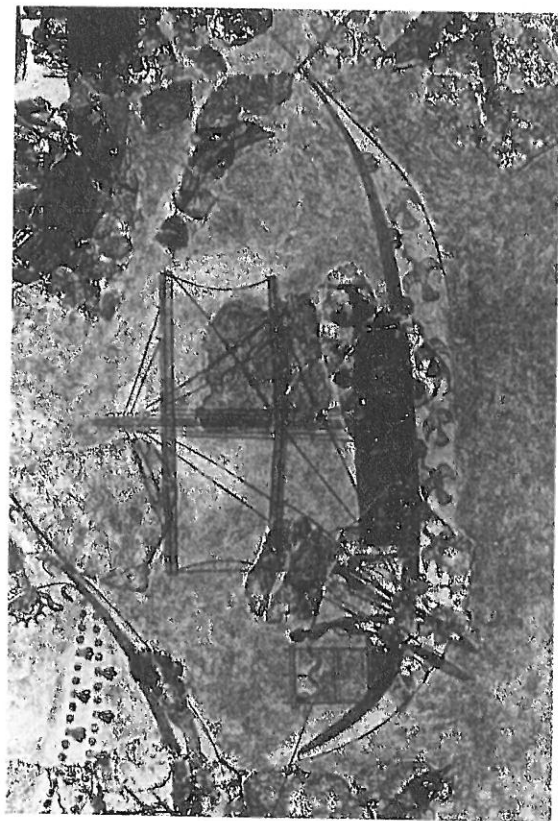
The emblematic composition of the hull's decoration with the single elements in a row cannot be considered as a necessarily Mycenaean influence either. As has been correctly stated by Vermeule (1975, 33; cf. also Hurwit 1979): 'It seems clear that a formal, structural style in Crete was reviving as the premier fashion, long before there is any question of intrusive Greeks at Knossos'. The paratactic arrangement of single motifs in a frieze as on the ships' hulls (Fig. 8), is also to be found in LM I vase-painting (Fig. 10-12) and fresco-painting (Fig. 9).

The decorations of the prows and sterns of the ships on the south wall have also been considered by Laffineur as signs of Mycenaean influence. On the ships where these parts are preserved we can see that the narrow prows are adorned with images of butterflies (ships 2 and 4, Fig. 13, 16), a bird (ship 1, Fig. 18), two dolphins (ship 6, Fig. 21) and an emblem which has been interpreted as griffin but is rather unclear (ship 7; cf. Immerwahr 1977, 182; Morgan 1988, 133, Pl. 172). On each of the preserved bowsprits is a star or rosette, possibly a solar motif, in some cases with dots between the outer points (Fig. 16). A star also decorates the hull of the 'flagship' no. 4 (Morgan 1988, Pl. 169). The sterns are adorned with the images of a lion (ships 2 and 4, Fig. 23) and probably of a griffin (ships 3, 6, 7; cf. Immerwahr 1977, 182).

The star is a familiar element of the LM IB so-called Marine Style pottery (Mountjoy-Jones-Cherry 1978, 147-148, Fig. 3, 5, 'starfish'). The star with dots between its outer points is also found on a fresco fragment from the 13th magazine at Knossos (Fig. 17), which has been dated by Evans to MM III (Evans 1921, 479-480). However, this dating is uncertain, since the latest pottery from the context in which the fragment was found is LM IIIA (Warren 1967, 197-198). Therefore, it seems possible that the star motif was first applied to ships as an emblem during the LM IA period, and then associated with a marine environment on the pottery of the following period, as suggested by Morgan (1984, 171-172; 1988, 132). In any case, it cannot be interpreted as a sign of Mycenaean influence, since it appears on the Mycenaean mainland not earlier than LH IIIB (cf. Mountjoy-Jones-Cherry 1978, 148, 154, Table 1; Morgan 1988, 132, Pl. 167).

The butterfly does not seem to have existed as a decorative motif in MM art (cf. Yule 1980, 133-135, motif 12: 'insects'), but from LM I contexts we have parallels for both types of eyed butterflies adorning the Thera ships' sterns — that with scalloped (Fig. 14) and that with rounded edges (Fig. 15).

The Minoan origin of the motif of the flying bird has already been discussed. A flying bird in profile very similar to that on the prow of ship 1 (Fig. 17) is represented on an MM III silver discoid from Knossos (Fig. 18), and the combination of flying bird and star appears on a discoid in the Metaxas collection as well, probably to be dated to LM I (Fig. 20). The origin of the dolphin motif has been discussed earlier. However, in this connection it seems worth mentioning that dolphins appear on LM I seals together with star motifs in an emblematic context comparable with that of ship 6 (Fig. 22; cf. also Onassoglou 1985, Pl. LIX nos. 63-65). The long Minoan history of the lion motif is well established (Yule 1980, 91-92, 97-98, 127-129). A good comparison for the lions on the



Figures 8-9

8: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, ship no. 5, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 11.

9: Fresco of the Garlands, Knossos, reconstruction, after Warren 1985, 186, Fig. 1b.

sterns of ships 2 and 4 is to be found on an MM III seal from Knossos with the representation of a lion in bust (Fig. 24). In the MM II-IIIa 'archivio di cretule' in Phaistos, and the LM I sealing archives of Zakro and Ayia Triada, lions are found in emblematic compositions (CMS II 5, no. 282; Evans 1935, 611, Fig. 599a-c). Finally, the first appearance of the griffin motif in the Aegean is on sealings from the MM II-IIIa 'archivio di cretule' in Phaistos (CMS II 5, nos. 317-319); in LM I it appears on seal impressions of the Zakro and Ayia Triada archives (Desenne 1957), some of them showing griffins in emblematic compositions (Hogarth 1902, 82, no. 54, Pl. 6; Levi 1925/26, 115-116, nos. 95-96, Fig. 112-113). Thus, all the decorative motifs of the prows and sterns of the ships on the south wall appear in emblematic compositions in LM I Crete and should not be interpreted as evidence of Mycenaean influence.

According to Laffineur (1983b, 116), 'the mainland origin of the ships represented on the fresco is further emphasized by the presence of a cabin standing on the rear part'. In these cabins (Fig. 25) — according to S. Marinatos (1974, 44) the equivalents of the Homeric *ikria* — Laffineur recognizes a 'typical Mycenaean feature, unparalleled in Crete'. The mainland fresco representations reconstructed by M.C. Shaw (1980) are very much later than those in the Thera frescoes. A fragment of a stone vase from Epidauros showing a ship's stern section with a cabin similar to the Thera ones

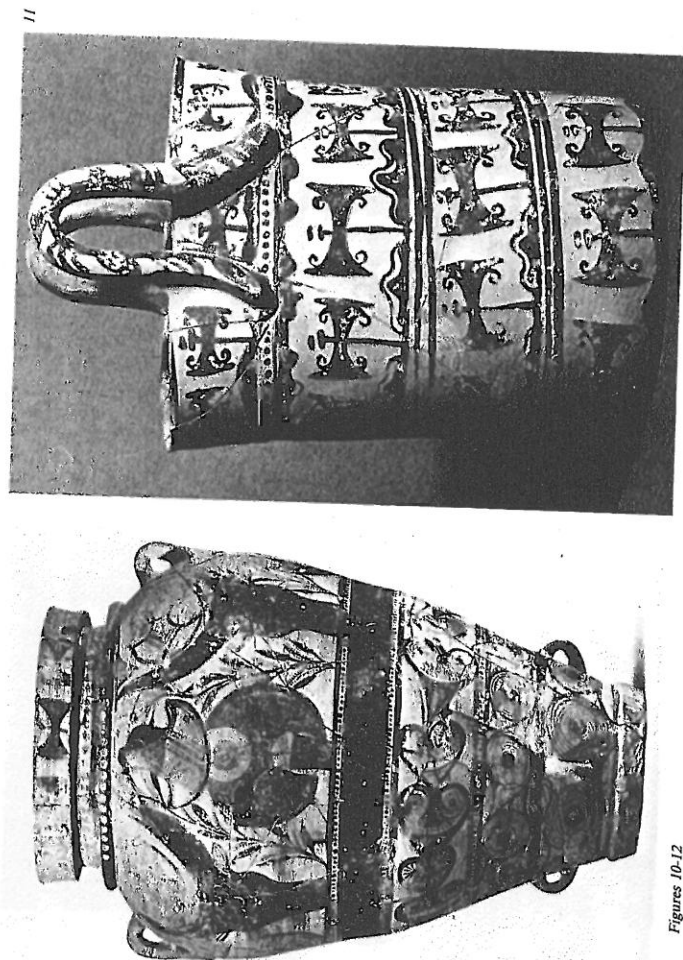
should be dated to LH III (Sakellariou 1971, 14; Kaiser 1976, 95, 133-134, 174). If we look to Crete, there appears in the MM III-LM I group of the 'talismanic' seals the motif of an only partially represented ship (Fig. 26). The superstructures have been interpreted as masts and sails (S. Marinatos, 1933, 207; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958, 52; Gray 1964, 44-45; Basch 1987, 107-112), but after the discovery of the Thera frescoes the ideas of Stais (1915, 121) and Chapoutier (1953, 26), who interpreted the superstructure as representing a cabin, appear to be confirmed (cf. van Effenterre 1978, 595-596; Onassoglou 1985, 28-34). As Onassoglou (1985, 30) has demonstrated, the type defined by her as 'Kajitenschiff' (cabin ship) is a shorthand representation in which two important elements of the ship are combined: the prow and the stern cabin. Thus, the cabins of the Thera fresco have contemporary parallels on Crete, but none on the Mycenaean mainland.

Laffineur's last argument for identifying the ships of the Miniature Fresco as Mycenaean concerns their decoration as a whole: 'The very principle of decorated ships is alien to the Minoan marine... But it is especially attested in mainland Greece.' (Laffineur 1983b, 116.) As evidence for this, Laffineur mentions two LH I sherds from Iolkos showing fragmentary ships with a zigzag ornament painted on the hull (Gray 1964, 43, Fig. 8c) as well as much later examples. However, hulls decorated with similar simple motifs (points, lines) are shown in ship representations on MM seals (Basch 1987, 98 no. B1, 99 nos. B4, B6, 100 no. B9, 101 no. C11). On MM seals, and seals of the MM III-LM I 'talismanic' group, the prow and sometimes also the stern have decorations which can be interpreted as flying birds (Basch 1987, 107-116) or as hooks for fastening emblems, as on the Thera ships (van Effenterre 1978, 596).

Moreover, the ships of the south-wall frieze appear to be attired specifically for the occasion of a ship procession, whereas the ships of the 'shipwreck' scene on the north wall are of the same type but lacking any decoration (cf. Morgan 1978, 631-632; 1988, 121, 130-131). Finally, the type of the Thera ships 'is more characteristic of the curved sweep of ships on Minoan sealstones (albeit less exaggerated) than of the lower, angular line common to Early Cycladic and Early to Late Helladic ships', as correctly stated by L. Morgan (1988, 121). Thus, I cannot see any element in the ships of the Thera Miniature Fresco which identifies them as Mycenaean.

As far as the metaphorical meaning of the single elements of the ships' decorations is concerned, I agree with Laffineur (1984, 135-136) and Morgan (1988, 131-135), who have recognized symbols of power in the lions and the griffins, marine associations in the dolphins, symbols of speed and navigational power in the flying birds, and a sense of motion in the butterflies. However, besides this, there also appears to be a more religious element in the meaning of these animals.

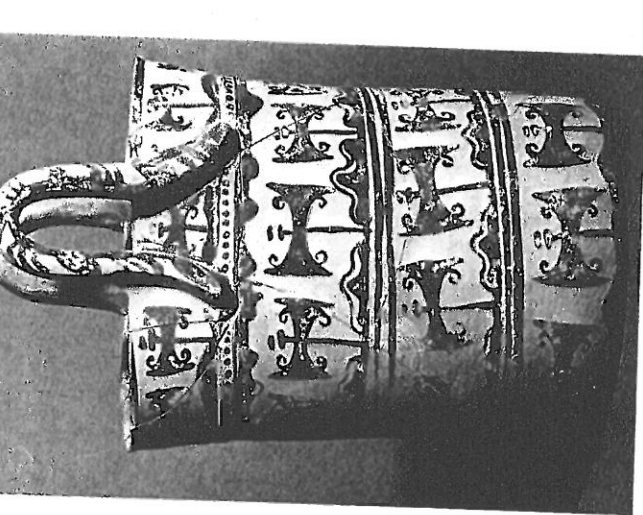
In Minoan religious iconography all of them have a certain function: lions and griffins appear as attendants of deities (Nilsson 1950, 352-356; Niemeier 1986, 74-75 with n. 87), and the same appears to be true of dolphins (Boulois 1987, 32). The religious function of birds as divine signs or determinatives is also established (Nilsson 1950, 330-340; Hägg 1986, 42). Finally, a religious function of the butterfly, as suggested by Evans (1928, 788-789; 1930, 149-151), is now confirmed by the find in Arkhanes of a gold ring with the representation of a goddess attended by butterflies (Warren 1975, Fig. on p. 99), the new reconstruction of the Priest King fresco, which includes a butterfly (Evans 1928, 788, Fig. 514) as representing a god (Niemeier 1987), and the re-examination by Pini of



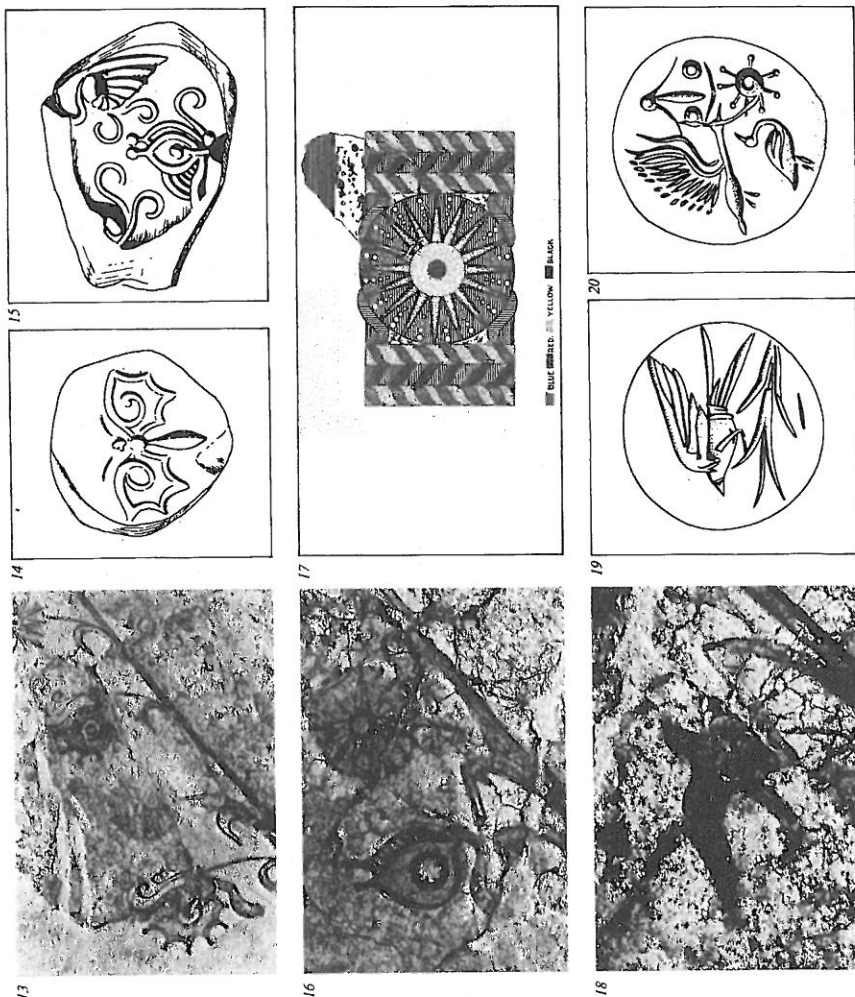
Figures 10-12

10: LM IA jar from Peira, after Mariatos and Hirmer 1973, Pl. 81.

11: LM IB bucket shaped vessel from Peira, after Mariatos-Hirmer 1973, Pl. 84.



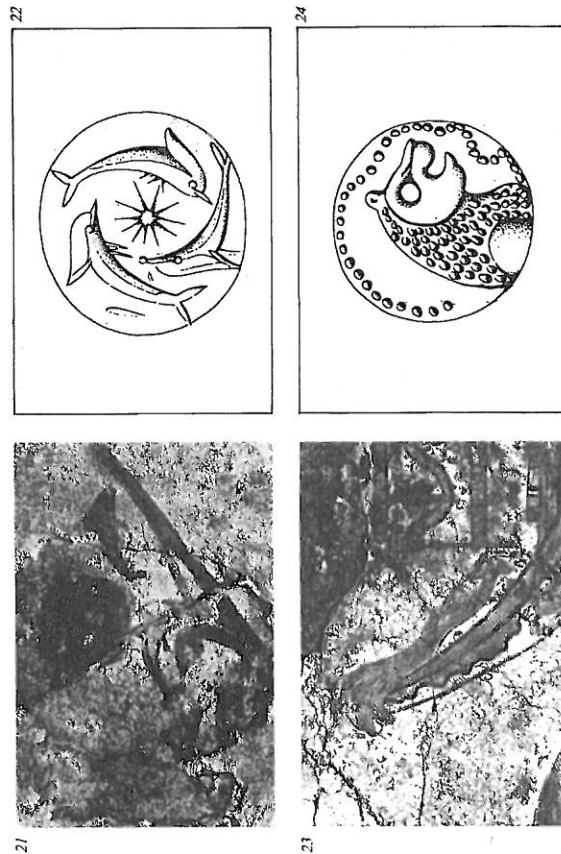
12: LM IB double vase from Gournia, after Marinatos and Hirmer 1973, Pl. 84.



Figures 13-24
13: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, prow decoration of ship no. 4.
14: Sealing from Aya Triada, after Levi 1925/26, 93, Fig. 54.
15: Sealing from Aya Triada, after Levi 1925/26, 95, Fig. 58.
16: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, prow decoration of ship 2.
17: Part of frieze on fresco fragment from the 13th magazine, Knossos, after Evans 1921, 479, Fig. 343.
18: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, prow decoration of ship 1, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 96.
19: Silver discoid from Knossos, after CMS IV, no. 257.
20: Lentoid in Méiassas collection, after CMS II 2, no. 43.
21: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, prow decoration of ship 6, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 90.
22: Lentoid from Mallia in Giamalakis collection, after Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958, Pl. 10 no. 319.
23: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, stern decoration of ship 4, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 174.
24: Discoid from Knossos, after CMS II 2, no. 48.

an Aya Triada sealing representing a woman leaning on a baetyl and adorning two butterflies and a sacral knot (Rutkowski 1981, 47, Fig. 14, 2). Thus, I think that the animals in question in the decoration of the ships are to be interpreted as symbols of deities, too. Given the theme of the south wall, a religious festival with a ship procession (cf. Morgan 1978; 1988, 143-145; N. Marinatos 1983, 8-10; 1984a, 52-61), this does not seem surprising.

As Morgan (1988, 139) has convincingly argued, the stern cabin of the ship on the south wall is not a normal part of the equipment, and it must have been carried onto the ship for the purpose of the occasion. The association of the image of a young priestess with eight cabin structures painted on the walls of the neighbouring room 4 indicates that the cabins were objects of ritual (E.N. Davis 1983, 6-7; N. Marinatos 1983, 5-6; Morgan 1988, 143-144), an interpretation which is supported by the religious associations of the 'waz' motifs adorning the stern cabins of that room (Rutkowski 1977, 150-155; 1978, 663-664; 1981, 62-68). Thus, the 'Kajitenschiff' (Fig. 26) on the seals of the



so-called 'talismanic' group appears to be nothing else than a *pars pro toto* representation of a ship procession. A confirmation for this interpretation is given by the representation of an amygdaloid in the Stathatos collection (Fig. 27). It was carved by a Minoan or Minoanizing artist (Onassoglou 1985, 35) and shows a 'talismanic' ship with stern cabin in a more narrative scene: apart from the ship and the cabin, two steersmen, the ship's stern projection (cf. Morgan 1988, 135-137), as well as the oars of the rowers are represented. Consequently the 'Kajitenschiff' motif belongs to a group of motifs in the 'talismanic' group with religious and magical meaning (cf. Onassoglou 1985, 210-211) and forms at the same time evidence for the existence in Crete of nautical festivals similar to those on Thera.

Without going into further detail, Laffineur (1984, 137) interprets the 'admiral of the fleet' as 'a Mycenaean who once set up in Thera as leader of an indefinite Greek foundation on the island'. Here he apparently follows Iakovidis (1979, 101), who recognized in the 'admiral' (S. Marinatos, 1974, Pl. 108) 'pronounced mainland features like those portrayed on the amethyst sealstone from Shaft Grave Gamma' (*ibid.*, Pl. 109). However, although Betts's (1981) assignment of the seal in question to a certain Cretan workshop does not seem to be compelling (Pini 1984, 129), there is still

a strong possibility that the seal is a Cretan import. Moreover, the beard of the 'admiral' — which could also be an angular chin (Morgan 1988, 119) — does not identify him as Mycenaean. As E.N. Davis (1983, 7) has demonstrated, 'both in Crete and the Aegean the wearing of beards was optional, at least for men of distinction.'

Finally, Laffineur (1984, 136) recognizes further evidence of the mainland origin of the ships in the 'equipment of the seated warriors — and also of the warriors marching near the first town on the north wall — which is, if not exclusively, at least essentially Mycenaean'. As Morgan (1988, 109-115, 118-120) has demonstrated in her recent exhaustive study of the West House Miniature Fresco, the equipment of the seated men — of whom not all are warriors — is not necessarily Mycenaean: the helmets are zoned helmets common to Crete and the mainland, and in our present state of knowledge the cloaks have parallels neither on Crete nor on the mainland.

As far as the marching warriors on the north wall (Fig. 28) are concerned, Warren (1979, 122; cf. also Iakovidis 1979, 101) has already considered them as Mycenaean because of their 'absolutely typical armour'. Morgan (1988, 119) is more cautious, saying 'that the marching warriors have affinities with Mycenaean and could conceivably be mainlanders'. However, for all weapons of the marching warriors we also have parallels on Crete. Apparently the first long swords in the Aegean were produced on Crete in the Old Palace period (Sandars 1961, 17-18; Pelon 1982, 1983; for the exact dating of the long sword recently excavated in a MH shaft grave on Aegina one has to wait for the definitive publication — cf. Walter 1981, 182-184). As Mylonas (1972/73, 314-317) and Hood (1980) have argued, most if not all of the Shaft-Grave swords were imported from Crete. The different types of spear heads in the Aegean appear in the Middle Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, first on Crete and only later on the mainland (Höckmann 1980, 17-18, 22). The oldest representation of a shield in Aegean Bronze Age iconography is to be found on a seal of the Old Palace period from Knossos (Fig. 31; cf. Yule 1980, 172, motif 57 no. 3). This is a figure-of-eight shield. As Morgan (1988, 107) has demonstrated, the rectangular or 'tower' shield is nowhere more numerous than on Thera. Besides Thera, it appears not only in the Shaft Graves but also on Crete: on an MM III sealing from the Knossian Temple Repositories (Fig. 29) and a sealstone, now in the British Museum (Fig. 30), which may be of LM I date (cf. Morgan 1988, 107).

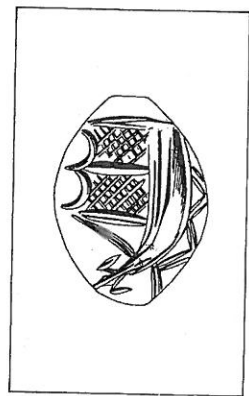
The boar's tusk helmet is frequently said to be of Mycenaean type, but it appears also in Cretan representations before there is any question of Mycenaean intruders on the island: on sealings from the LM I archives of Zakro and Ayia Triada (Fig. 32, 33). A statistical comparison between Crete and the mainland is not helpful, since boar's tusk helmets have been found on the mainland exclusively in rich tombs (cf. Varvarigos 1981), of which virtually none have been discovered on Crete for the period in question. Boars appear on Cretan seals from EM III/MM IA onwards (Yule 1980, 126-127, motif 5). Especially worth mentioning is the ceremonial weapon decorated with a boar's head found at Anemospilia near Arkhanes in an MM III context (Sakellariakis and Sakellariakis 1981, Fig. on p. 206). On Crete some worked boar's tusks have been found which, however, cannot be definitively identified as parts of boar's tusk helmets (Borchardt 1972, 52). But a helmet with boar's tusks was most probably worn by the warrior buried in MM IIIB/LM IA in a chamber tomb in Herakleion-Poros, who had the same weapon types as the warriors of the north wall of the West House Miniature Fresco, one or two spears and a sword or dagger, as has been demonstrated by Kilian-Dirlmeier (1985, 208-209, Fig. 6; cf. also Hiller 1984, 29).

Furthermore, iconographic parallels also exist on Crete for the marching warriors of the Miniature Fresco's north wall. A sealing from the LM I archive at Ayia Triada shows a highly stylized representation of two warriors with figure-of-eight shields (Fig. 34). A similar motif appears on a Cretan seal of Younger's LM I Cretan Popular Group in the Philadelphia University Museum (Younger 1983, 123-127; Fig. 35 below). It has been interpreted as representing two men with inflated garments (Kenna and Thomas 1974, 139), but the 'garments' are in fact shields, as correctly stated by Younger (1983, 123; 1988, 125). From tomb 7 of the Mavro Spilio cemetery at Knossos comes a lentoid showing two marching warriors with figure-of-eight shields (Fig. 36). From chamber B, where the seal was found, no pottery earlier than LM II is published, but from chamber A the oldest pottery is MM II-III (Forsdyke 1925/26, 260-264), indicating that the tomb was in use from that time on (Pini 1968, 14, 36-37). The seal belonging to Younger's Cretan popular group may well be of LM I date.

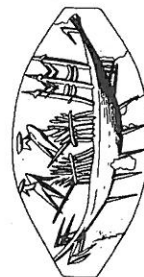
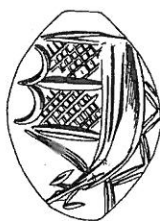
The Ship-wreck scene with the drowning naked men on the north-wall has been correctly



26



27



Figures 25-27

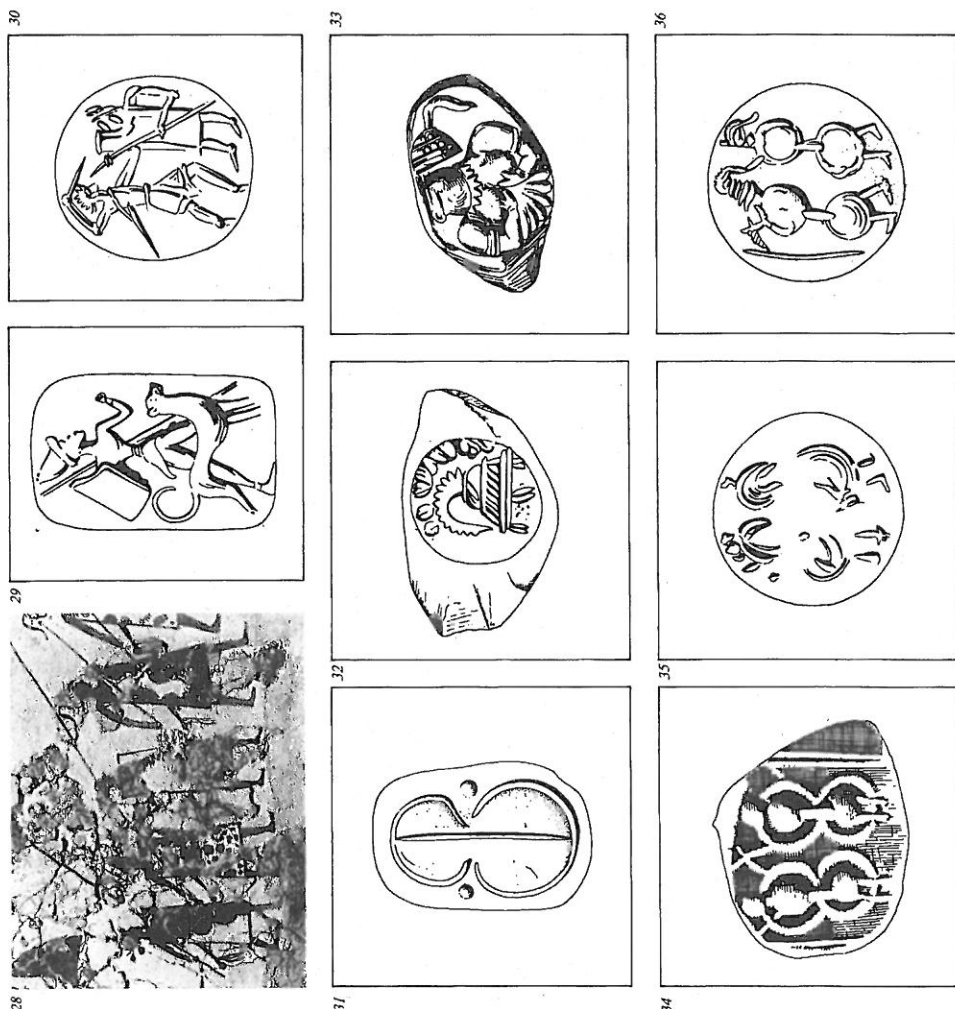
25: Thera Miniature Fresco, south wall, stern of ship 2, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 173.

26: 'Talismanic' seal, after CMS VII, no. 104.

27: Anygaloid in Stathatos collection, after CMS I Suppl., no. 167.

compared by Laffineur (1984, 134) to the silver Siege Rhyton from Mycenae (Sakellariou 1975, 196, Fig. 1) and the inlaid dagger from the Vaphio tholos tomb (S. Marinatos 1927; Evans 1930, 127 and Fig. 181). However, the oldest Aegean representations of naked drowning men, which depend on an old Oriental iconographic convention for defeated enemies (N. Marinatos 1983, 7; Doumas 1985, 33), are to be found on Crete. In the fragments of the MM III faience Town Mosaic from Knossos they appear together with ships, marching spearmen and archers (Evans 1921, 308-310; Polinger Foster 1979, 101-102). The martial nature of part of the Town Mosaic's activity appears not to be ambiguous, as Polinger Foster (1979, 101) thinks, but very clear, forming a parallel to the Shipwreck scene of the Thera Miniature Fresco. Therefore, I would follow Sakellariou (1980; 1981) in seeing Crete as the origin of this iconographic cycle, but not in differentiating between peaceful representations on Crete and Thera and warlike ones on the mainland (cf. also Warren 1979a, 121-122; for certain differences between the examples of this cycle cf. Morgan 1988, 150-154).

All the other arguments put forward for a special relationship between Thera and the Myce-



Figures 28-36
28: Thera Miniature Fresco, north wall, marching warriors, after Morgan 1988, Pl. 144.
29: Sealing from Temple Repositories, Knossos, after Evans 1921, 505, Fig. 363a.
30: Lentoid from Crete in London, British Museum, after CMS VII, no. 129.
31: Seal from Knossos, after CMS II 2, no. 32.
32: Sealing from Ayia Triada, after Evans 1935, 867, Fig. 856.
33: Sealing from Zakro, after Evans 1935, 867, Fig. 854.
34: Sealing from Ayia Triada, after Levi 1925/26, 124, Fig. 132.
35: Lentoid from Crete in Philadelphia, University Museum, after CMS XIII, no. 136.
36: Seal from Mavro Spelio Cemetery, Knossos, in Herakleion Museum, after CMS II 3, no. 32.

nacan mainland are likewise not convincing (J.L. Davis 1981; Marthari 1980, 207-209). On the other hand, besides the evidence of Cycladic continuity, the signs of Minoan influence on Thera are very clear: in pottery, in Minoan imports (Niemeier 1980, 41-65) and — more important — in local Minoanizing wares (Marthari 1987, 362-366), in architecture (J.W. Shaw 1978; Palyvou 1984, 146-147), in a local workshop producing stone vessels of Minoan-type (Warren 1978; 1979b), in the use of the Minoan weight system (Petrusio 1978; 1979), the Minoan Linear A script (Palaima 1982), Minoan-type loom weights (Carrington Smith 1975, 275-284), cooking vessels (S. Marinatos 1968, 28, Fig. 36; 1971, Pl. 101a; 1976, Pl. 27-28; cf. Betancourt 1980), masses of conical cups (Wiener 1984, 22), Minoan religious iconography and Minoan-type ritual objects (N. Marinatos 1983; 1984b). And the kitchen (Scholes 1983, 298-299), as well as religious customs (Warren 1975, 101; Branigan 1981, 26; Scholes 1984, 47) form the best indicators of immigrants.

As I have argued elsewhere (Niemeier 1986b), the combination of all these Minoan elements appears to indicate a Minoan influence surpassing a 'karum contact' or 'Versailles effect' (Wiener 1984, 17). Minoan Crete was economically dependent on the import of raw materials, especially of metals such as copper, tin, lead, silver and gold. Although not all the sources of the metals used in early Late Minoan Crete are definitively known, lead and silver and a certain portion of the copper were imported from Laurion (Stos-Gale and Gale 1984; Stos-Gale 1985; 1988, 275-276) and tin from Ugarit (Dossin 1970, 98, 103; Astour 1973, 20-21). Peace at sea is essential to any political entity whose economy is based on maritime trade and communications and which, therefore, needs a strong fleet and bases to secure its trade routes against pirates. Thus, it was vital for Minoan Crete to have firm political control over the islands of the Western (J.L. Davis 1979, 146) and the Eastern Sirings (Niemeier 1984, 206) connecting Crete with its metal sources, and this control appears to be reflected in the Greek tradition of the 'Thalassocracy of Minos' (Poland 1932, 1907-1911; Huxley 1968). Whether it was some form of diplomatic control (Dumas 1982, 12) or whether the islands in question were ruled by Minoan Crete (Hood 1984) will not be discussed here. The second possibility appears to be true of Phylakopi on Milos after the discovery of the probable seat of an administration writing in Linear A (Renfrew 1978, 411-412; Palaima 1981, 17-18), though no tablet has yet been found in Akrotiri. That Crete and the Aegean islands formed a political unit is confirmed by the Egyptian sources, which speak of Crete as the centre of a larger island complex (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1984, 201-202).

As has been correctly stated by Morgan (1983, 104): 'The major focus of the West House paintings is that of maritime enterprise and the protection of that enterprise through ceremonial events.' I would like to suggest that this enterprise is nothing other than the so-called Minoan Thalassocracy. The interpretation of the Ship-wreck scene, especially of the marching warriors, has caused problems. S. Marinatos (1973, 495) first interpreted them as aggressors in a raid scene, and he has been followed in this by Schachermeyr (1976, 76), Warren (1979, 127-128), E.N. Davis (1983, 10) and — as a possibility — by Morgan (1988, 153). However, Marinatos himself (1974, 40-41) had already recognized the peaceful character of the upper part, a pastoral genre scene with a sheep-fold and women bringing in water from a well (Morgan 1985, 8-9). Thus, some scholars (Sakellariou 1975, 207; Therpe-Scholes 1978, 445) have doubted the aggressive character of the marching warriors. N. Marinatos (1983, 7-8) and I (Niemeier 1986b, 250) have independently arrived at the following interpretation of the scene: the Aegean warriors have defeated non-Aegean aggressors, probably pirates, before the coast, have landed and are displaying their strength peacefully. If this interpretation is correct, the fresco appears to form an illustration of the 'Thalassocracy of Minos', based on an unrivalled fleet, on which troops could be transported to and disembarked at every point in the Aegean. If Crete and the islands formed a political unit, it is unnecessary to ask if the ships and the warriors are Theraian or Cretan.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my wife Barbara for preparing the drawings and J. Richardson for correcting my English.

W.-D. NIEMEIER
Archäologisches Institut der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Werthmannplatz KG III, D-7800 Freiburg, Germany

REFERENCES

- ASTOUR, M.C.
1973 'Ugarit and the Aegean', in *Orient and Occident. Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 22)*, 17-27.
- BASCH, L.
1987 *Le musée imaginaire de la marine antique*, Athens.
- BETANCOURT, P.P.
1980 *Cooking Vessels from Minoan Kommos (UCLA Occasional Paper 7)*, Los Angeles.
1984 *East Cretan White-on-Dark Ware (University Monograph 51)*, Philadelphia.
- BETTS, J.H.
1967 'New light on Minoan bureaucracy', *Kadmos* 6, 15-40.
1981 'The seal from Shaft Grave Gamma - a "Mycenaean chiefdom"', in *Temple University Aegean Symposium 6*, Philadelphia, 2-8.
- BLEGEN, C.W.
1937 *Prosymna, the Helladic Settlement Preceding the Archaic Heraeum*, Cambridge (Mass.).
- BOARDMAN, J.
1970 *Greek Gems and Fingerings*, London.
- BORCHARDT, J.
1972 *Homeric Helms*, Mainz.
- BOULOTIS, Ch.
1987 'The Aegean area in prehistoric times: Cults and beliefs about the sea', in A. Delivoria (ed.), *Greece and the Sea*, Athens, 20-35.
- BRANIG, K.
1981 'Minoan colonialism', *BSA* 76, 23-33.
- BUCK, R.J.
1964 'Middle Helladic matt-painted pottery', *Hesperia* 33, 231-308.
- CAMERON, M.A.S.
1978 'Theoretical interrelations among Thera, Crete and mainland frescoes', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 579-592.
- CARINGTON SMITH, J.
1975 *Spinning, Weaving and Textile Manufacture in Prehistoric Greece*, University of Tasmania Dissertation.
- CHAPOUTIER, F.
1953 in P. Amadry (ed.), *La collection Stathatos I*, Strasbourg, 25-27, no. 36.
- DAVIS, E.N.
1977 *The Vaphio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware*, New York and London.
- 1983 'The iconography of the Ship Fresco from Thera', in W.G. Moon (ed.), *Greek Art and Iconography*, Madison, 1-11.
- DAVIS, J.L.
1979 'Minos and Dextineas: Crete and the Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age', in J.L. Davis and J.F. Cherry (eds.), *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, Los Angeles, 143-157.
- 1981 'Mycenaean Thera: Another look', *AJA* 85, 69-70.
- DESSENNE, A.
1957 'Le griffon créto-myénien: inventaire et remarques', *BCH* 81, 203-215.
- DICKINSON, O.P.K.
1977 *The Origins of Mycenaean Civilization (SIMA XLIX)*, Gothenburg.
- DOSSIN, G.
1970 'La route de l'événement en Mésopotamie au temps de Zimri-Lim', *Rassy* 64, 97-106.
- DOUMAS, C.G.
1982 'The Minoan thalassocracy and the Cyclades', *AA*, 5-14.
1985 'Conventions artistiques à Théra et dans la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque préhistorique', in *L'iconographie minoenne (BCH Suppl. XI)*, Paris, 29-34.
- EVANS, A.J.
1921 *The Palace of Minos at Knossos, I*, London.
1928 *The Palace of Minos at Knossos, II*, London.
1930 *The Palace of Minos at Knossos, III*, London.
1935 *The Palace of Minos at Knossos, IV*, London.
- FORSDYKE, E.J.
1925/26 'The Mavro Spelio cemetery at Knossos', *BSA* 28, 243-296.
- GRAY, D.
1964 *Sewesen (Archaeologia Homerica I G)*, Göttingen.
- HAGG, R.
1986 'Die göttliche Epiphanie im minoischen Ritual', *AthMitt* 101, 41-62.
- HILLER, S.
1984 'Pax minoica versus Minoan thalassocracy. Military aspects of Minoan culture', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 27-30.
- HÖCKMANN, O.
1980 'Lanze und Speer im spätminoischen und mykenischen Griechenland', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 27, 13-158.
- HOGARTH, D.
1902 'The Zakro sealings', *JHS* 22, 76-93.
- HOOD, S.
1980 'Shaft Grave swords: Mycenaean or Minoan?', in *Pragmata tou IV Diethnous Kritologikou Synedriou 1976*, Athens, 233-242.
- 1984 'A Minoan empire in the Aegean in the 16th and 15th centuries B.C.', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 33-37.
- HOOD, S. and DE JONG, P.
1952 'Late Minoan warrior graves from Ayios Ioannis and the New Hospital site', *BSA* 47, 243-277.
- HURWIT, J.
1979 'The Dendra Octopus cup and the problem of style in the thirteenth century Aegean', *AJA* 83, 413-426.
- HUXLEY, G.
1968 *Minoans in Greek Sources*, Belfast.
- IAKOVIDIS, S.
1979 'Thera and Mycenaean Greece', *AJA* 83, 101-102.
- IMMERWAHR, S.A.
1977 'Mycenaean Thera: Some reflections on the paintings from the West House', in K.H. Kinz (ed.), *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory (Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr)*, Berlin and New York, 173-191.
- KAISER, B.
1976 *Untersuchungen zum minoischen Relief*, Bonn.
- KENNA, V.E.G. and THOMAS, E.
1974 *Nordamerika II. Kleinerer Sammlungen (CMS XLII)*, Berlin.
- KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, I.
1985 'Noch einmal zu den "Kriegergräbern" von Knossos', *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 32, 196-214.
- KLING, B.
1981 'Evidence for local style on the Shaft Grave diadems', in *Temple University Aegean Symposium 6*, Philadelphia, 29-38.
- KOPCKE, G.
1981 'Treasure and aesthetic sensibility - The question of the Shaft Grave diadems', in *Temple University Aegean Symposium 6*, Philadelphia, 39-45.
- LAFFITEUR, R.
1983a 'Iconographie myénienne et symbolisme guerrier', *Art et Fact, Revue des historiens d'art, archéologues, muséologues et orientalistes de l'Université de Liège* 2, 38-49.
1983b 'Early Mycenaean art: Some evidence from the West House in Thera', *BICS* 30, 111-122.
- 1984 'Mycenaean Thera: Further evidence', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 133-139.
- LEVI, D.
1925/26 'Le cretule di Hagia Triada', *ASAtene* 8/9, 71-156.
- MARINATOS, N.
1983 'The West House of Akrotiri as cult center', *AthMitt* 98, 1-19.
1984a *Art and Religion in Thera. Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society*, Athens.
1984b 'Minoan threksocracy on Thera', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 167-176.
- MARINATOS, S.
1927 'The "Swimmers" dagger from the tholos tomb at Vaphio', in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in Honour of his 75th Birthday*, Oxford, 63-71.
1933 'La marine créto-myénienne', *BCH* 57, 170-235.
1968 *Excavations at Thera, I*, Athens.
1971 *Excavations at Thera, IV*, Athens.
1973 'From the Miniature Fresco of Thera: A detail of the body-shield', *AAA* VI, 494-497.
1974 *Excavations at Thera, VI*, Athens.
1976 *Excavations at Thera, VII*, Athens.
MARINATOS, S. and HIRMER, M.
1973 *Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas*, Munich.
- MARTHARI, M.
1980 'Akrotiri, keramiki mesoladikis paradoxis sto stro-ma tis epistatikiakis katastrofis', *Alephron*, 182-210.
1984 'The destruction of the town at Akrotiri, Thera, at the beginning of LC I: Definition and chronology', in J.A. MacGillivray and R.L. Barber (eds.), *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, 119-147.
- 1987 'The local pottery wares with painted decoration from the volcanic destruction level of Akrotiri, Thera', *AA*, 359-379.
- MATTHÄUS, H.
1980 *Die Bronzegefässe der kreisch-mykenischen Kultur der Bronzezeit II*, Munich.
- MORGAN, L.
1978 'The Ship Procession in the Miniature Fresco', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 629-644.
- DOUMAS (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 629-644.
- 1984 'Thème in the West House paintings at Thera', *Alephron*, 85-105.
- J.A. MacGillivray and R.L.N. Barber (eds.), *The Prehistoric Cyclades*.
1985 'Idea, idiom and iconography', in *L'iconographie*

- minoenne (BCH Suppl. XI), 5-19.
1985 *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera. A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*, Cambridge.
- MOUNTJOY, P., JONES, R.E. and CHERRY, J.F.
1978 'Provenience studies of the LM IB/LH IIA Marine Style', *BSA* 73, 143-171.
- MÜLLER, K.
1915 'Frühmykenische Reliefs aus Kreta und vom griechischen Festland', *Jdl* 30, 242-336.
- MYLONAS, G.E.
1972/73 *O taphikos kyklos B ton Mykenon*, Athens.
- NIEMEIER, W.-D.
1980 'Die Katastrophe von Thera und die spätminoische Chronologie', *Jdl* 95, 1-76.
1981 'Probleme der Datierung von Siegel nach Kontexten', in *Studien zur minoischen und helladischen Glyptik (CMS Beiheft 1)*, Berlin, 91-103.
1984 'The end of the Minoan thalassocracy', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 205-214.
1985 *Die Palastkeramik von Knossos. Stil, Chronologie und Historischer Kontext (Archaische Forschungen 13)*, Berlin.
1986a 'Zur Deutung des Thronraumes im Palast von Knossos', *AthMitt* 101, 63-95.
1986b 'Creta, Egeo e Mediterraneo agli inizi di bronzo tardivo', in M. Marazzi, S. Tusa and L. Vagnetti (eds.), *Traffici micenei nel Mediterraneo, problemi storici e documentari: atti del convegno di Palermo 1984*, Taren-tone archeologica. Atti del convegno di Palermo 1984, Taren-tum, 245-270 (extended English version in preparation).
1987 'Das Stückrelief des "Prinzen mit der Federkrone" aus Knossos und minoische Götterdarstellungen', *AthMitt* 102, 65-98.
- NILSSON, M.P.
1950 *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion?*, Lund.
- ONASSOGLU, A.
1985 *Die "thalassimischen" Siegel (CMS-Beiheft 2)*, Berlin.
- PALAIMA, T.G.
1982 'Linear A in the Cyclades: The trade and travel of a script', in *Temple University Aegean Symposium 7*, Philadelphia, 15-22.
- PALYVOU, C.
1984 'The destruction of the town at Akrotiri, Thera at the beginning of LC I: Rebuilding activities', in J.A. MacGilliv-ray and R.L.N. Barber, *The Prehistoric Cyclades*, 134-147.
- PAPADOPOULOS, T.J.
1978/79 *Mycenaean Achaea (SIMA LV)*, Gothenburg.
- PAPADOPOULOS, I.A.
1977 *Ta sphragismata ton Chanion, symboli sti meleti tis minoiki sphragiologias*, Athens.
- PELON, O.
1982 'L'épée à l'acroate et la chronologie malotie I', *BCH* 106, 165-190.
1983 'L'épée à l'acroate et la chronologie malotie II', *BCH* 107, 679-703.
- 1985 'L'acroate de Malia et l'art de l'époque protopalati-ale en Crète', in *L'iconographie minoenne (BCH Suppl. XI)*, 35-39.
- PETRUSO, K.M.
1978 'Lead weights from Akrotiri: Preliminary observa-tions', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 547-553.
1979 'Reflections on Cycladic and Minoan metrology', in J.L. Davis and J.F. Cherry (eds.), *Papers in Cycladic Prehis-tory*, Los Angeles, 135-142.

- PINI, I.
1968 *Beiträge zur minoischen Gräberkunde*, Wiesbaden.
1983 'Chronological problems of some Late Minoan signet rings', in *Temple University Aegean Symposium 8*, Philadelphia, 39-49.
1984 'Minoische Siegel außerhalb Kretas' in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 123-131.
POLAND, K.
1932 'Minoan', in RE XV, 1890-1928.
POLINGER FOSTER, K.
1979 *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age*, New Haven and London.
POUSAT, J.-C.
1985 'Iconographie minoenne: continuités et ruptures', in *L'Iconographie minoenne* (BCH Suppl. XI), 51-57.
RENFREW, A.C.
1978 'Phylakopi and the Late Bronze I period in the Cyclades', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 403-421.
RUTKOWSKI, B.
1977 'Minoan Sacred Emblems', in *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, Catania, 148-157.
1978 'Religious elements in the Thera frescoes', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 661-664.
1981 *Frühgriechische Kulturstellungen*, Beihft 8, *Ath Mitt.*, Berlin.
SAKELLARAKIS, V. and SAKELLARAKIS, E.
1981 'Drama of death in a Minoan temple', *National Geographic* 159 no. 2, 205-222.
1984 'The Kefiti and the Minoan thalassocracy', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 197-202.
SAKELLARIOU, A.
1971 'Scène de bataille sur un vase mycénien en pierre', *RA* 1971, 7-14.
1975 'La scène du "siège" sur le rhyton d'argent de Mycènes d'après une nouvelle reconstitution', *RA* 1975, 195-208.
1980 'The West House Miniature Frescoes', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World II*, 147-153.
1981 'I kritiki katagori enos mykinnikou ikonographikou kyklos', in *Pepragmena tou IV Diethnous Kritologikou Synedrou*, 1976, Athens, 532-538.
SANDARS, N.K.
1961 'The first Aegean swords and their ancestry', *AJA* 65, 17-29.
SCHACHERMEYER, F.
1976 *Die ägäische Frühzeit 2. Die mykenische Zeit und die Gestaltung von Thera*, Vienna.
SCHOFIELD, E.
1983 'The Minoan emigrant', in O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon (eds.), *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981*, Bristol, 293-301.
1984 'Coming to terms with Minoan colonists', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 45-47.
SHAW, I.W.
1978 'Consideration of the site of Akrotiri as a Minoan settlement', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 429-436.
SHAW, M.C.
1980 'Painted "krita" at Mycenae?', *AJA* 84, 167-179.
STAIS, V.
1915 *La collection mycénienne du Musée National d'Athènes*, Athens.
STOS-GALE, Z.A.
1985 'Lead and silver sources for Bronze Age Crete', in
- Pepragmena tou V Diethnous Kritologikou Synedrou*, 1981, Heraklion, 365-372.
1988 'Lead isotope evidence for trade in copper from Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age', in E.B. French and K.A. Wardle, *Problems in Greek Prehistory. (Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986)*, Bristol, 265-277.
STOS-GALE, Z.A. and GALE, N.H.
1984 'The Minoan thalassocracy and the Aegean metal trade', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 59-63.
THORPE-SCHOLLES, K.
1978 'Akrotiri: Genesis, life and death', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 437-447.
VAN EFFENTERRE, M.
1978 'Cretan ships on seal stones. Some observations', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 593-597.
VAVRIGOS, A.P.
1981 *To odontophrakton mykinnikon kranois*, Athens.
VERCOUITTER, J.
1956 *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Cairo.
VERMEULE, E.T.
1972 *Greece in the Bronze Age*, Chicago and London.
1975 *The Art of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple*, Cincinnati.
WALBERG, G.
1976 *Kanakes. A Study of the Character of Palatial Middle Minoan Pottery* (Boreas 8), Uppsala.
1981 'The date of the "Archivio di Crete" in Phaistos', in *Studien zur minoischen und helladischen Glyptik* (CMS Beihft 1), Berlin, 241-249.
1983 *Provincial Middle Minoan Pottery*, Mainz.
WALTER, H.
1981 'Anaskaphi sto loptio Kolona, Aigina, 1981-1982', *AAA* XIV, 179-184.
WARREN, P.M.
1967 'A stone vase-maker's workshop in the Palace of Knossos', *BSA* 62, 195-201.
1969 *Minoan Stone Vases*, Cambridge.
1975 *The Aegean Civilizations*, Oxford.
1978 'The unfinished red marble jar at Akrotiri, Thera', in C. Doumas (ed.), *Thera and the Aegean World I*, 555-568.
1979a 'The Miniature Fresco from the West House at Akrotiri, Thera, and its Aegean setting', *JHS* 99, 115-129.
1979b 'The stone vessels from the Bronze Age settlement at Akrotiri, Thera', *ABPhem*, 82-113.
1985 'The Fresco of the Garlands from Knossos', in *L'Iconographie minoenne* (BCH Suppl. XI), Paris, 187-208.
WIENER, M.H.
1984 'The tale of the conical cups', in R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy*, 17-25.
XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU, A.
1958 *Les cachets minoens de la collection Giamalakis* (Études Crétoises X), Paris.
YOUNGER, J.G.
1983 'Aegean seals of the Late Bronze Age. Masters and workshops III: The first-generation Minoan masters', *Kadmos* 22, 109-136.
1988 *The Iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Sealstones and Finger Rings*, Bristol.
YULE, P.
1980 *Early Cretan Seals: A Study of Chronology* (Münchener Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 4), Mainz.

DISCUSSION

CHRISTOS DOUMAS: The parallels you draw are mainly with minor art, which raises the question: Does minor art influence great art or vice versa? Secondly, some of these objects of minor art might have imitated parallels from outside, as happens in Crete in the Early Bronze Age, with the Cycladic figurines. Thirdly, some of these symbols may well have religious significance, but I wonder which comes first: the religious function of certain objects? Or are certain objects invested with religious meaning because of their importance in life?

WOLFF-DIETRICH NIEMEIER: I think Lyvia Morgan should answer your last point, and I agree completely with her. With regard to minor arts, the problem is what do we know about great art in Crete? Here I would rely on Gerald Cadogan's paper, who showed us how we can learn from Thera what was lost in Crete. I think minor art always has great art behind it, so we have very rich iconographical evidence from Minoan seals, which probably give us impressions of what was painted on lost wall-paintings.

ROBERT LAFFINEUR: I expect you are waiting for an answer from me, and I will certainly give at least the beginnings of an answer. I would like first to make a general comment on the iconographic point of view. You say 'Parallels for all these motifs are to be found in Minoan Crete as well'. I agree, of course, and I don't ignore the examples you list, but they appear on two classes of documents: seals and decorated pottery. Most importantly, they never, apparently, appear on weapons. The only example you mentioned, the spear blade with spiral decoration from Knossos, comes from an LM II context and its anachronistic character, as you call it, is, I think, far from certain. You added a second example which is, of course, very interesting: the blade with the boar from Arkhanes.

Generally speaking, I think that there is a basic misunderstanding on iconography between you and me. I think that when dealing with iconography, we have not only to consider the motifs themselves in *abstracto* but also to make a clear distinction between three levels:

1. The motifs as such, which I would like to call Interpretation Level 1.
2. The context in which the motifs appear on a particular object, my Interpretation Level 2, which takes into consideration the type and destination of the object, and the type of presentation of the image on that object — that is, the internal context — and also, when possible, the external context of the find: the settlement, the cult place, the tomb and so on.
3. Interpretation Level 3 should take into consideration the consistency or recurrence of the same

group of features, or the same category of motifs within a specific class of documents.

This third Interpretation Level evidently contributes to the expression of a certain meaning — in the case of Early Mycenaean weapons, of what I'm inclined to call a symbolic significance in connection with war-like qualities and with the hope for accession to a new life in the afterworld. To take just one obvious example to illustrate this, I think nobody would doubt the need to make a clear distinction between the cross as a universal decorative motif (Level 1), the cross appearing on an object found in a religious context (Level 2), and crosses depicted on Christian documents together with other clear Christian motifs or elements (Level 3).

That the isolated motifs — for instance the star, the butterfly and the flying birds — existed in Minoan Crete at the same date or even earlier than LH I is, I think, beyond any doubt. What seems by far more important than this is the fact that the motifs, even though undoubtedly inspired by Minoan examples (Level 1) have been integrated on the mainland and on Thera apparently in different contexts (Level 2) either internal or external as defined above, and that these contexts are not attested in Minoan Crete. This is a much stronger argument, I think, to say nothing of Level 3 — the still broader context of the body of material of Early Mycenaean date to which the specific class of inlaid weapons belongs, which appears to me to be very different from Middle and early Late Minoan material.

I would like to concentrate now on two or three minor points.

Inlaid weapons in Crete: the Egyptian tomb paintings with Kefiti people carrying inlaid vases are later than the Shaft Graves period, of course, as you know; and there is no general agreement on the Cretan identity of the Kefiti. For these two reasons, we cannot use the indirect testimony of the Kefiti as evidence for the existence of inlaid vases in Late Bronze Age I Crete. The inlaid Vaphreio cup in London, on the other hand, which you consider the only specimen of the technique possibly found on Crete, may in fact come, according to Paul Åström, from Chamber Tomb 12 at Dendra (the cuirass tomb).

Images of animals on the ships as symbols of deities: again the interpretation is based on the observation of the religious emphasis of similar motifs on documents whose context is different, especially since it always lacks the maritime connection. Lions, for instance, may, of course, be attendants of deities but when the image of the deity is

absent, as it is in the decoration of the ships, lions don't necessarily have a religious significance. They could better be interpreted in this particular case as metaphors of the kings or of the warrior, as suggested by Stefan Hiller in his paper.

Finally, the *ikria*: the amygdaloid in the Stathatos collection showing a ship with a cabin on the stern belongs, in fact, to a large number of pieces that probably come from Thebes on the mainland; your statement that 'it was carved by a Minoan or a Minoanizing artist' is again just a subjective stylistic judgement, exactly as is the case for the early Mycenaean weapons. The second parallel, the talismanic series in the British Museum, seems to belong, in fact, to LM II.

WOLF-DIETRICH NIEMEIER: I would need a third lecture in this conference to answer, and I will not try here. On the last point of detail, the talismanic ships

have been shown by Artemis Onassoglou, in her dissertation, to belong to MM III, LM IA. There are heirlooms in later contexts but they date as early. I would not like to comment about the Kefiu, because you can argue this is a little later than the Thera frescoes but it is not a lot later. On the inlaid weapons, I tried to show that they are of Minoan origin, done by Minoan artists. I don't really believe that after the Middle Helladic period, where we have no signs of a real Mycenaean iconography, the Mycenaeans developed immediately a whole complex of iconography. They took over motifs and symbols from Minoan Crete. Of course, they changed it. But we have to be very cautious not to argue events *ex silentio*: all the so-called Mycenaean daggers, the inlaid daggers, have been found in rich tombs and we have virtually no rich tomb of this period in Crete. If one day we find one, I would expect to find inlaid daggers with metal painting too.

J.A. SAKELLARAKIS

The Fashioning of Ostrich-Egg Rhyta in the Creto-Mycenaean Aegean

This paper is dedicated to the memory of my student, Pericles Kourachanis

Of all Nilotic forms taken over into the Minoan repertory, none, perhaps, is more significant, than the ostrich-egg rhyta ... [It] is a striking proof of the intensive personal contact of the Minoans with Nilotic regions far above the Delta.
(A. Evans, PM II 227.)

ABSTRACT

For the first time, examples have been collated of ostrich eggs found in excavated sites of the Creto-Mycenaean Aegean. These are twelve in all: two from Thera, one each from Phylakopi, Palaikastro, and Knossos, six from Mycenae (two each found in Shaft Graves IV and V of Grave Circle A and the Acropolis), as well as one from the tholos tomb at Dendra. The techniques with which they were fashioned into rhyta is studied.

For centuries in the Aegean, the same technique was used for the fashioning of a type of rhyton which became the object of imitations in stone and clay. A large opening was made at one end of the shell for the positioning of a neck-attachment, while a hole was cut at the other for an attached under-piece. These attached components were stuck to the shell in various ways in accordance with their material, since extant examples were made of gold, silver, bronze, faience and wood. The type of cylindrical neck, which only varies slightly in the different examples, finds an exact parallel in the techniques applied for the fitting of necks to Minoan stone vases. The decoration of the necks also varies, as it does on the attached hemispherical ostrich-egg under-pieces. Factors such as the non-freestanding bases and the absence of handles on the ostrich-egg rhyta lead to their association with Egyptian parallels in that no care was shown for their practical application with Egyptian chiefly employed in cult practices.

Particular attention is paid to two examples where the shell surface has been decorated: the egg from Dendra, and rhyton 828 from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae