

A GENERAL STUDY OF MINOAN FRESCOES

with particular reference to

unpublished wall paintings

from Knossos

VOLUME I: PART II

THE TEXT

of

a thesis submitted for the

Degree of Ph.D. from the

University of Newcastle upon Tyne

by

M.A.S.Cameron.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

to

VOLUME I: PART II

Chapter X: The Chronology of the Frescoes	..... p.374
Part I: the primary evidence (p.381)	
Part II: corroborative evidence (p.480)	
Part III: Conclusions and Tables of Frescoes with Suggested Dates of Manufacture (p.580)	
Chapter XI: Evidence for Mycenaeans in Minoan and Egyptian Frescoes	..... p.611
Conclusions (p.641)	
Chapter XII: Summary and Conclusions	..... p.653
Appendix A: The Find-Places and Circumstances of Discovery of the Frescoes	..... p.671
I: from the palace at Knossos (p.672)	
II: from town houses at Knossos (p.713)	
III: from the rest of Crete (p.739)	
IV: from the Cyclades (p.767)	
V: from Minoan tombs (p.782)	
Appendix B: A Glossary of Archaeological and Technical Terms	..... p.785
Select Bibliography	..... p.789

CHAPTER X	
THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE FRESCOES	
General Introduction	..... p.375
Method of procedure (p.377)	
PART I: The Primary Evidence	..... p.381
Analysis I: frescoes from MM IIIA to LM IB contexts (p.383)	
Summary I: MM IIIA to LM IB paintings (p.425)	
Analysis II: frescoes from LM II and LM IIIA 1 contexts (p.427)	
Analysis III: frescoes from LM IIIA 1/2(e) contexts from the palace at Knossos (p.430)	
Analysis IV: frescoes from LM IIIB dumps in the palace at Knossos (p.449)	
Tables of frescoes from post-destruction contexts (p.449)	
Analysis V: important isolated frescoes in late or unknown contexts from the palace at Knossos (p.458)	
The "Saffron Gatherer Fresco" (p.460)	
Analysis VI: frescoes from LM III contexts in town houses at Knossos (p.465)	
Analysis VII: frescoes from LM III contexts elsewhere in Crete (p.473)	
Summary II: the post-LM IB frescoes (p.476)	
PART II: Corroborative Evidence	..... p.480
Analysis VIII: the stylistic sequence of select motifs (p.481)	
Analysis IX: the relation of murals to vase painting and other representational arts (p.549).	
PART III: Conclusions and Tables of Frescoes with Suggested Dates of Manufacture	..... p.580
Tables:	
MM IIIA (p.588)	
MM IIIB (p.589)	
MM IIIB/LM IA (p.591)	
LM IA (p.594)	
LM IA/B (p.595)	
LM IB (p.595)	
LM I (p.596)	
LM II (p.596)	
LM II-III A 1 (p.598)	
LM IIIA 1 (p.599)	
LM IIIB (p.600)	

CHAPTER XGeneral Introduction

The present position

Unlike most Egyptian murals, Minoan wall paintings lack dateable inscriptions and so must be dated on the evidence of their stratigraphical contexts and find-circumstances and of stylistic and other comparative analyses. But the chronology of Minoan frescoes is at present confused, being based in part on chronological schemes, proposed long ago, which modern research suggests may be too high, and in part on new suggestions.

The chronology of Minoan frescoes depends for its accuracy on that of the pottery sequence as first proposed by Evans which modern excavations in Crete have substantially confirmed. A reasonable general rule, often cited by Evans, is that a fresco is usually earlier than the date of its destruction context because it is normally true that walls are decorated very shortly after their construction. But murals can survive intact in position as long as the architectural surrounds remain intact and dry - which may be a very long time. This means that there may be a very wide discrepancy between the date of manufacture of a painting - which is what this chapter aims to establish - and the date of its collapse ("destruction context"). The ceramic evidence for the date of construction of a Minoan wall provides the earliest possible date for any fresco which adorned it; but the latest pottery elements in the destruction context in which the fresco occurred provide its latest possible date. In theory, the painting may have been put up at any time between these two extreme dates, but this does not tell us if it belonged, rather, to a redecoration of the wall some time within that chronological interval. So in Minoan studies, our only means of verifying the date of manufacture of a fresco whose "extreme" dates do not both fall in the same period is to compare

stylistic analyses with those of other frescoes or materials whose dates of manufacture are closely determinable on independent evidence.

When several frescoes are known to belong to each of several successive periods, the paintings of each period in turn may be examined for stylistic, thematic, technical or other characteristics whose evolution from one period to the next may point to a chronological sequence in painting in each or all of these respects. But although enough Minoan frescoes from successive periods have long been known, no serious attempt has yet been made to establish firmly any such sequence. Moreover, a most important chronological "tool" has been by-passed almost completely, namely, study of "painters' hands" in the murals.

This last entails a vital chronological principle:

acceptable attribution of different paintings to the "hand" of a single artist or "school" implies the same date for all paintings so attributed (p. 308f).

In view of the confused state of Minoan fresco chronology, some method of procedure is required, but we may first state three basic assumptions underlying the present review:

1. The "Final Destruction" of the palace at Knossos as a palatial centre may be placed at c. 1375 B.C. on the border of LM IIIA 1 and LM IIIA 2 early, for the reasons already given on p. 6.
2. In that case, there remain no grounds for believing that a general fire occurred in the palace after that date. The palace was ultimately abandoned sometime in LM IIIB⁽¹⁾. Consequently, frescoes from late contexts exhibiting signs of heavy burning may be counted as destroyed at the time of the "Final Destruction", even though they may still have clung to their walls afterwards - to collapse eventually into deposits of much later dates.

3. If Evans was right in believing that a major destruction of the Second Palace at Knossos took place by violent earthquake in the closing stages of MM IIIB (c. 1580 B.C.), it is most improbable that any frescoes found in "Final Destruction" deposits could have belonged to MM IIIB or an earlier period, surviving that earthquake intact to turn up eventually in LM IIIA 1/2 early deposits. If plasters were damaged, the Minoans evidently removed them and painted afresh (p. 291). The earliest possible date for such frescoes will therefore be taken here as Evans's transitional MM IIIB/LM IA period (c. 1580-1550 B.C.).

Method of procedure

The present study is divided into three Parts. Part I concerns only the primary dating evidence supplied by stratigraphy and analyses of the frescoes themselves, period by period. Part II deals with corroborative evidence, showing that the general stylistic sequence of frescoes observed in Part I is borne out in details by the stylistic sequence of representative fresco motifs, in turn chronologically compatible with the stylistic sequence of motifs in vase painting discerned on evidence independent of the fresco sequence. Comparisons with other classes of material from firmly dateable contexts follow. Such analyses may help to refine estimates of the frescoes' dates of manufacture. Part III presents in tabulated form final conclusions. Some further explanation of method in Part I is necessary.

Tables I-IX show, period by period, which frescoes occurred in what stratigraphical contexts, their earliest possible dates, and their attributions to which "school", and also provide cross-references to their location on plans and to detailed discussion of their find-circumstances set out in Appendix A. If one fresco attributable to a particular painter or "school"

belongs to an earlier stratigraphical context than those of other frescoes also attributed to the same source, the latter are listed together with the stratigraphically earlier composition but their actual contexts are indicated in brackets () in the lists.

Granted the correctness of the attributions, here assumed, the earlier context validly supplies a firmer chronological indication of the "floruit" of the painter or "school" than do later ones - for these in fact have become irrelevant to the primary aim of the survey. We may call this the "principle of the earlier context".

But we may also propose a second principle concerning an earliest possible date for paintings attributable to a single artistic source. Such a date is supplied by the ceramic evidence for the latest date of construction of any room, building or wall adorned by any one painting of an "attributed group" of frescoes. In this case, the earliest possible dates for the remaining frescoes have now become irrelevant to our primary consideration: the latest "construction date" shows that all the rest were hypothetical in each case and therefore they, too, are bracketed in their column in the Tables. In this way the earliest and latest possible dates for each fresco are indicated while at the same time a narrowing of these extreme limits in accordance with our two principles is also apparent wherever the evidence has justified it.

It will be seen from the Tables that Minoan wall paintings of the Second Palace epoch fall into three broad stratigraphical groups - MM III; LM I; and LM II-III - and that the majority of frescoes from sites outside Knossos belong to the first two general periods while the Knossian frescoes mainly belong to the third. These last may, however, be earlier than LM II-III as indication of their earliest possible dates shows. The major question therefore arises: at what time were those

Knossian frescoes painted within the period MM III to LM III?

This we can answer by stylistic analyses of the palace frescoes compared with those from firm, earlier, contexts at other sites.

This step is valid on two accounts:

1. We have already seen that the most important frescoes from Cretan and Cycladic provincial sites were executed either by artists trained at Knossos itself or by local artists whose styles of painting have shown definite affinities with one or more Knossian styles of painting. Thus, all are subject to a single standard of stylistic analysis.
2. The stratigraphical dating of frescoes from sites outside Knossos is independent of the stratigraphical evidence for the dating of frescoes at Knossos itself.

Clearly Analysis I must closely examine the contents and choice of subjects, any trends in style and the chronological implications of the frescoes from firm MM III to LM IB stratigraphical contexts, period by period, and in the light of appropriate historical and architectural information concerning earliest possible dates of manufacture.

A point of departure - for the sake of brevity and avoidance of much repetition - with the procedure outlined above is, however, made in the case of frescoes from LM IB contexts. As four periods of painting seem stylistically identifiable in that material, inclusion of each chronological group of paintings is made in the discussions of the characteristics of paintings of the period to which they are attributed⁽²⁾. A succinct summary (Summary I) then becomes possible, as a preliminary step to consideration of the dates of manufacture of paintings from LM II-III contexts at Knossos or elsewhere (p.425f). For convenience the latter are reviewed in six groups in Analyses II - VII, arranged in chronological sequence of destruction

contexts and according to the relative importance of provenience. It will be evident in the analyses of subject matter that depiction of a closely dateable vessel in a fresco reliably pin-points its date and that of the "floruit" of the "school" or painter who executed it, and therefore the same date will necessarily apply to all other paintings attributable to the same source on the evidence of identical "painters' hands" as set out in Chapter IX.

The questions to be answered in our analyses, especially in II-IV, are: how many styles of painting are discernable in the frescoes of each stratigraphical "horizon"? Which frescoes belong to which style? What is the content and subject-matter of each stylistic group, and what technical features are characteristic of each group? And which styles, if any, show close content, stylistic and technical parallels with frescoes from earlier contexts, and which not? It is true that the various styles of painting in frescoes of one stratigraphical "horizon" may have been executed by different painters or groups of artists all working at one and the same time. But the more convincing interpretation of the evidence, in the light of conclusions forthcoming from Analysis I, is that marked stylistic differences are chronologically significant. In that case the presence or absence of close stylistic and other parallels in frescoes from LM II or III contexts with others of LM I or earlier date will indicate approximate dates of manufacture of the paintings from the former contexts. Analyses VI and VII will be approached in the same way, but in alphabetical order of site. Summary II sets out the conclusions reached in analyses of frescoes from post-LM IB destruction contexts (pp.476ff).

Partial corroboration and absolute dating of the fresco sequence offered here, deriving from the external evidence of Egyptian murals, is presented in Chapter XI concerning the Mycenaean elements in Minoan wall paintings.

PART I

THE PRIMARY EVIDENCE

TABLE I FRESCOES FROM MM IIIA CONTEXTS

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH-OOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND-CIRCS. p.REF.	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DESTRUCTION CONTEXT
KNOSSOS PALACE							
Red, blue, white bands	Fig.51(1-10)	H1		87(3)	689	MM IIIA	MM IIIA
Imitation liparite				87(3)	689	MM IIIA	MM IIIA
Lattice design	143A	H16		92(2,4)	-	MM IIIA	? MM IIIA
Lattice design	143B	H17		93(3,21)	-	MM IIIA	(?)
Lattice design	143C	H18		89(10)	-	MM IIIA	(LM IIIB)
ROYAL ROAD/SOUTH, KNOSSOS							
Red, white bands	133 A2-3	H2			726	MM IIIA	MM IIIA
Yellow, grey reeds	109 B3-4	H20			727	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB or LMIA)
Pale light blue reed	109 B5	H21			727	MM IIIA	MM IIIA or B
Dark blue grass, bands	191 C1	H22			726	MM IIIA	MM IIIA
Red, yellow bands	191 C2-3	H24			-	MM IIIA	MM IIIA or B
Red, yellow bands	133 B1-2	H25			727	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB)
Dark blue papyroid plant	109 B1-2	H30			726	MM IIIA	MM IIIA
Lilies, blue stems, on red	101A-B	H31			727	MM IIIA	MM IIIA or B
Vetch	118A	H35			729	MM IIIA	(LM III)
Vetch (unknown location)	192 B4	H36			-	(?MM IIIA)	(?)
Spiral on white	138B				726	MM IIIA	MM IIIA
Red foliate lily & bands	Fig.108	same			726	MM IIIA	MM IIIA
Same bands with chequers	191 D1-2	hand			729	MM IIIA	(LM III)
ROYAL ROAD/NORTH, KNOSSOS							
Myrtle fresco	64D, 67, 114, 134C	H3	34		728	MM IIIA	(LMIB, if not MMIII)
Red and white bands	133 A6, 8	H4			-	MM IIIA	(" " ")
Red, white, black bands	135 A5	H5			727	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB)
Worn black, white bands	133 A4	H6			727	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB)
Black, white, dk. blue bands	133C	H7			728	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB or LMIA)
Red, white, blue, black bands	134A-B	H8			727	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB)
Black, blue bands	133D	H9			728	MM IIIA	(LM IA)
Reed fresco	108	H19	31		726	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB)
Circular hearth	191A-B	H23			727	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB)
Zebra fresco	144B; 192B1-3	H27	42		726	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB)
Dark green plant	-	H32			729	MM IIIA	(LM II-III)
Imitation woodwork	147B	H33	43h		728	MM IIIA	(MM IIIB or LMIA)
Light blue plant	109 A1-10	H34			729	MM IIIA	(LM III)
Red-dotted spiral	191 F2	H37			729	MM IIIA	(LM II-III)
Red cross on light grey	109 B7	H38			-	MM IIIA	(LM IB)
HCGARTH'S HOUSES, KNOSSOS							
Red, white, black, blue bands	135 A1	H10			717	MM IIIA	MM IIIA or B
Grey, white bands	135 A3	H11			717	MM IIIA	MM IIIA or B
Black, blue bands	135 A2	H12			717	MM IIIA	MM IIIA or B
Red and white bands	143 D3	H13			717	MM IIIA	MM III (?)
Red lattice, grass motif	143 D1-2	H14			717	MM IIIA	MM III (?)
Red, white black bands	143 D4	H15			717	MM IIIA	MM III (?)
Red, yellow bands	-	H26			717	MM IIIA	MM III (?)
TEMPLE OF DEMETER, KNOSSOS							
Red and white bands	193 A2-5,7,9	H28			735	?MM IIIA	(post-Minoan)
Grey and white bands	193 A1	H28			735	?MM IIIA	(post-Minoan)
UNEXPLORED MANSION, KNOSSOS							
Black, blue bands	194 A1	H29		114(8)	738	?MM IIIA	(LM IIIB)

ANALYSIS I

FRESCOES FROM MM IIIA TO LM IB CONTEXTS

Frescoes from MM IIIA contexts (c. 1700-1625 B.C.): Table I

The First Palaces of Crete were destroyed at the end of MM II apparently by a most severe earthquake. Early in MM IIIA new palaces and town houses were built, marking the beginning of the Second Palatial Era. A slight earthquake shock evidently necessitated some patching up or rebuilding of structures at the close of MM IIIA, but the ensuing MM IIIB period (c. 1625-1580 B.C.) ended with another disastrous earthquake which severely damaged the palaces and their surrounding towns.

Of the few frescoes found in firm MM IIIA contexts there are four in the style of "School H" (H1, 2, 22 and 30): the first of these occurred in a burnt MM IIIA deposit inside the North West Lustral Basin of the palace at Knossos which was sealed over by the construction above of a MM IIIB building. "School H" may therefore be firmly assigned to MM IIIA and it is reasonable to assume this "school" painted the original mural schemes in at least some parts of the palace and town on their reconstruction early in MM IIIA⁽³⁾. While the principal style of painting of the period seems to be that of "School H", other pictorial paintings in rougher and more linear styles from MM IIIA contexts at Knossos are represented by small fragments (imitation stonework; spiral on white, PLATE 138B; and a foliate lily band, chequer pattern and border stripes, Fig. 108); these pieces lack the high polish and brushwork characteristic of works by "School H".

In style, techniques, and choice of subjects and colours, the MM IIIA material shows improvements and developments on the achievements of the MM II fresco painters who were concerned only with geometrical or abstract designs (pp. 15-18 above). But, interestingly, much of the subject-matter of the MM IIIA frescoes had already occurred in MM IB-II vase painting (cf. for example,

Fig. 4(2), p. 38). There are also features which some MM II and the MM IIIA frescoes have in common, notably highly polished surfaces and occasional plasters of a pinkish hue as seen in cross-section. These features point to some continuity in fresco work in these periods.

The characteristics of MM IIIA paintings

(a) Subjects and themes

Only floral, spiral and geometrical motifs are known, along with imitations of architectural materials and of an exotic floor-covering. Nature scenes, depicting flowers and undulating rockwork in a quasi-landscape setting in one certain case (H3: SLIDE 34), appear to be the only thematic compositions. There is little or no subordinate background subject-matter in these.

New motifs include reeds, grasses, "papyroid" plants, lilies, foliate bands of lilies, myrtles, vetches, leaves in isolation (in the Myrtle Fresco, H3), terrestrial rockwork, chequer and lattice patterns, a red cross on grey, and abstracted imitations of woodwork and carpets or rugs from animal hides (leopard and ? zebra); also small spirals, red-dotted in one case (H 37) but linearised in black in the other (PLATE 138B). Two further plant forms cannot be closely identified (H 32 and 34).

The leopard hide, "papyroid" plant and, perhaps, woodveining motifs seem inspired by Egyptian representations and colour conventions.

(b) Composition, style and content

The principal style of the period is that of "School H", considered earlier and found to be "archaic" (pp. 350-352). Perhaps its greatest contribution was to introduce naturalistic representation to Minoan wall painting⁽⁴⁾. Naturalistic forms appear tight and somewhat rigidly depicted in realistic colours

and are arranged in static patterns of repeated motifs emphasising vertical and horizontal axes of design across the picture plane. There is relatively little movement in composition, except in slight "torsion" of the tips of plants and in sturdily curving leaves of reeds (H 19-21), in repetition of motifs perhaps at near equidistant intervals, and in the rhythmically regular undulations of rockwork in the Myrtle Fresco (SLIDE 34). Diagonal movement, which enlivens a composition, is lacking, too, except in the brushwork of rockwork and woodveining (PLATES 67 A-B and 147B). Encircling, or "centrifugal", composition evidently begins in this period, however, to judge by the "Zebra Fresco" which suggests this notion of compositional design may perhaps have been inspired by design in "mosaiko" pavements (H 27: SLIDE 42).

The paintings served a strictly decorative purpose, objects being represented solely for their intrinsic natural beauty. They are a direct reflection of the Minoan artists' admiration of Nature. The frescoes evidently lack any clear religious or cult meaning beyond a clear reference to spring's nature, abundance and beauty.

(c) Background treatment

These are at most two-coloured, but possibly monochrome backgrounds were the norm and among these plain unpainted grounds are predominant. Subsidiary background motifs are lacking, and there is no attempt to use background colours to indicate movement. Plain grounds, however, create a feeling or mood of lightness and airiness, while coloured monochrome grounds provide a solid backcloth of colour stabilising the design and emphasising the static nature of the whole composition. Simple light and dark colour-contrasts in "block-like" divisions of two colours do occur, the lines of demarcation between the two areas being left exposed or naively "disguised" with impressionistic

foliage (H 16, 19, and SLIDE 31). In these cases, a pale grey-blue or light russet-brown are contrasted with plain white, or a dark blue with russet-brown. Such a background division of plain white and dark red may have occurred in the Myrtle Fresco, H3 (v. PLATE 114C, bottom row on far right). A few pieces show monochrome dark red, light grey, mustard yellow or blue grounds, and a dark steel-grey also occurs on unpublished MM IIIA pieces from the Royal Road area at Knossos.

Basically, backgrounds in this period are "flat", empty, and stabilising or neutral in artistic function unless affording simple light and dark contrasts.

(d) Border stripes and dadoes⁽⁵⁾:

Typical are soberly reserved, alternating, colour-combinations of two hues, one comprising very narrow plain white stripes in proportion to others of the same series. The coloured bands, often in dark red, are three or more times as broad as the narrow white stripes (between 0.2 and 0.6cm broad). More evenly spaced bands occur in black and blue, and red and yellow, combinations, and also in black and white in the "Zebra Fresco". The former, however, are usually uniformly narrow while the latter are uniformly about 1.0cm broad. A few bands in differently proportioned space-arrangements do, however, occur in the MM IIIA deposit of the North West Lustral Basin at Knossos (Fig. 51, nos. 6-10, p.346). MM IIIA border stripes are generally highly polished and marked out with very fine string-impressed lines as though sewing-thread was used. A more decorative border, with a red foliate lily band on mustard-yellow, occurs in this period (Fig. 108, p.726). A yellow band is so far not known to be combined with a colour other than red at this date.

The one certain MM IIIA dado of importance shows extremely carefully but repetitively executed brushstrokes to imitate closely the realistic graining of a dado in wood (SLIDE 43h).

(e) "Miniature" paintings

None are yet known although small-scale motifs do exist, such as the ruddy-brown dotted spiral at PLATE 191 F2 (H 37) or the lilies in a foliate band at Fig. 108, p. 726.

(f) Brushwork and outline

In MM IIIA, brushwork is almost entirely painterly, that is, defining shapes and contours in colour only; these are generally crisply indicated, as in the modern technique of "hard edge" painting, partly because of the extreme care with which paints were applied and partly because of the extreme high polishing over the painted surface which makes coloured shapes look like children's "colour transfers". This character of brushwork applies especially when solidly opaque colours are used. In certain floral and other subjects, however, notably when thin or "watery" paints are employed or when striated effects are sought, brushstrokes are bold, broad and sweeping, but they lack the "hard edge" quality mentioned previously (e.g. in H 19-21). Some "bleeding" of colours occurs in the treatment of rockwork in the Myrtle Fresco, H3 (SLIDE 34): this makes various complementary colours run together in imprecise painterly shapes - a brushwork technique subsequently unknown. All colours seem boldly applied, though often with evident extreme precision - a factor placing limitations on the development of a fluid style of painting. The fibres of the brush, in a near dry state, pick out with extreme clarity the striated graining in rockwork and woodwork motifs (PLATES 67A-B and 147B: H3 and 33); this brushwork shows an interest in qualities of texture but its potential was never subsequently developed in this art.

Black lines are used only for spirals and to accentuate strictly limited parts of contours (we may call this "limited outlining") and inner details of a few plant forms. Very

low reliefwork also helps to define the regularly pulsating upper contour of the rockwork of the Myrtle Fresco (H3). Stems of plants, on the other hand, are indicated in stiff, straight brushstrokes.

(g) Colour usage

There is a marked increase in the range of hues of primary and secondary colours on that of MM I-II wall painting (see p. 16). We now find on a conservative estimate at least five values of blue- including coerulean and turquoise; three of green, grey and red; two of yellow and brown; and orange and lilac. The paints are of two kinds, opaque and thin or "watery". Both kinds can be granular in quality or so finely powdered in preparation as to have a smooth paste-like texture. The functions of paints in this period are to describe the shapes of objects and their conventionalised colouring, to provide light and dark contrasts, and occasionally to indicate textural qualities and mood. This is gentle and quiet, and is expressed by restrained but not dull combinations of soft tones of colour. Only occasionally do we find lively, almost aggressive, colour-combinations, as in the "Zebra Fresco" (SLIDE 42), or in the stalks for leaves in the plant at PLATE 109 A2 where the colouring is so daring as to seem experimental. This is not unlikely for two reasons: MM IIIA was the period in which naturalistic subject-matter was first introduced into Minoan wall-painting, and there seem no firm conventions established at this date for the colouring of motifs of which we have two or more examples. This is clear from the three reed frescoes in one "hand" in which not less than seven different paints occur (H 19-21). Colour usage therefore seems unconventionalised and perhaps arbitrary in MM IIIA, although by no means unsuited to the subjects depicted. There is an attempt at chiaroscuro

in the textural merging of several different colours by "bleeding" on the rockwork of the Myrtle Fresco (H3: SLIDE 34).

(h) Techniques of execution

Technical characteristics are fairly uniform in this period.

Plasters are generally thin (1.0 to 1.5cm thick), fine-grained, flat at the back from being laid over a flatly prepared surface, and usually white; but some plasters are a light pinkish hue as in EM III to MM II examples (pp. 13, 15 above), including that of the "Zebra Fresco" (H 27). Most are laid in a single layer of stucco. Very fine "slips" with preliminary sketch-lines in light red occur regularly, also very fine string-impressed and incised guiding-lines. For a first time, very low reliefwork in stucco (maximum height, 4mm), in a second plaster layer added on top of the highly polished surface of the main layer, is found to model a representational form - the rockwork in the Myrtle Fresco, H 3 (PLATE 67A-C). "Incavo", filled with white "impasto" (H 31) or with fresh, fine-white, plaster for repainting on a wet surface ("Zebra Fresco", PLATE 156), is carefully executed with cleanly cut inward-sloping edges for pictorial and representational subjects; but "impasto" is otherwise rarely used and only in small quantities for splashes and spots as decorative textural additions, applied before final polishing in representational compositions (PLATE 67 B-D). The glossy, transparent, film-like polish over the entire surface and its painted subject-matter is an outstanding feature of the technique of execution in this period. How it was effected is uncertain, but experiments by the present writer suggest it was carried out while the surface of the painting was still wet or damp.

Technical execution is at its peak in Minoan wall painting in this period.

TABLE II FRESCOES FROM MM IIIB CONTEXTS

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH-COL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND-CIRCS.	EARLIEST POSSIBLE p.REF.	DESTRUCTION CONTEXT
KNOSOS PALACE							
Black, blue bands	Fig.51(11-15)			87(3)	689	MM IIIB	MM IIIB
Woman's jewelry	Fig.44a	A2		80(3)	674	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Ladies in Blue	19	A1	13 c,r,t	91(1)	699	MM IIIA	(?)
? Necklace	45A	A3		(? ")	(? ")	MM IIIA	(?)
Madonna lilies	-	?A		80(3)	674	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Unpublished skirt frags.	-	A4		? 91(1)	(309)	MM IIIA	(?)
Spiral (Medallion Pithoi)	?138A(as137A)			92(3)	701	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Spiral (Loonweights)	137B	same		92(2)	701	MM IIIA	(LM IA or MM IIIB)
Spiral (North Thresh. Floor)	137A	hand		89(10)	697	MM IIIA	(LM IIIB)
Red, white bands	-			93(4)	705	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
HOGARTH'S HOUSES, KNOSOS							
Vetch	109 B6				717	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Vetch on offerings-table	118 B-C				717	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
HOUSE-SACRIFICED OXEN, KN			•				
Relief bull's dewlap	-			104	721	MM III?A	MM IIIB
Relief rosette boss(spiral)	-			104	721	MM III?A	MM IIIB
PALAIKASTRO TOWN							
Red, white bands	135B			126(1)	753	(?)	MM III ?B
Grey, blue bands on white	135 C1			126(1)	753	(?)	MM III ?B
PHAISTOS PALACE							
Lattice motif	(as 142)			127(1)	755	MM IIIB, ^{not} MM IIIA	MM IIIB or earlier
PHAISTOS, SOUTH HOUSE							
Spiral design	200 A1			-	757	MM III?A	MM III ?B
Foliate band	200 A5			-	757	MM III?A	MM III ?B
PHYLAKOPI, SECOND CITY							
Flying Fish & seascapes	125-126,120C		36 a,d	140-141(6)	779	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Rockwork & shell-bed	120A-B	same		140-141(6)	779	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Woman with "net"	36 A-B		12h	140-141(6)	779	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Bending woman	37 A-B	hand		140-141(6)	779	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
? Net	37C			140-141(6)	779	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Lily flower frieze	101 C-D			140-141(11)	779f	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Spiral with rosettes	138C			140(14)	780	MM IIIA	MM IIIB
Red squares, dots on white	-			-	780	?MM IIIA	MM IIIB
? Spiraliform design	-			-	780	?MM IIIA	MM IIIB

TABLE II FRESCOES FROM TRANSITIONAL MM IIIB/LM IA CONTEXTS

KNOSOS PALACE							
Dado bands(S.Propyl.cist)	-			81(1)	677	MM IIIA	MM IIIB/LM IA
Relief bull's horn	77A			92(2)	701	MM IIIA	" / "
Relief bull's foot	79 A4			92(2)	701	MM IIIA	" / "
Relief man's arm	? 17A			91(3)	699	MM IIIA	" / "
"Miniature" entablature	Fig.85(p684)			82(8)	684	MM IIIA	" / "

Frescoes from MM III B contexts (c. 1625-1580 G.C.): Table II

This period falls between the MM IIIA tremor and the great earthquake towards the close of MM IIIB which ruined many Minoan buildings. Frescoes from MM IIIB contexts are now more widespread than in MM IIIA, occurring certainly at Knossos, Palaikastro, Phaistos and Phylakopi - and elsewhere (unpublished material).

Four main styles of painting are distinguishable. In the palace at Knossos, "School A" and a painter of very sombre-hued spirals are best represented, and in town houses "School J" (on whose dating see below); and there was an important local "school" in the Second City at Phylakopi. Two relief fresco fragments, no longer identifiable, evidently came from the palace at Knossos but were flung into the "House of the Sacrificed Oxen" nearby at the time of the MM IIIB earthquake.

Definitely MM IIIB in date are black and blue bands from the building, above the original North West Lustral Basin at Knossos, constructed and destroyed in that period. All the rest, including the Phylakopi paintings⁽⁶⁾, could be MM IIIA in date - for the walls they belonged to seem to have been set up in that period - but we lack firm evidence that this was so. On the other hand, the paintings from the palace attributed to MM IIIA ("School H") depict non-figurative subjects, have thinner plasters and far more highly polished surfaces than other Knossian paintings from MM IIIB palatial contexts; and the evidence for a generally more advanced style and understanding of painting which we encounter in the present frescoes as compared to the work of "School H" in general seems to weigh in favour of their ascription to MM IIIB.

In that case, a plausible reason for redecoration in the palace early in MM IIIB may be that the painters of the time took advantage of slight earthquake damage (MM IIIA end) to strip walls of earlier frescoes in order to introduce a new overall scheme whose major feature was the introduction to mural

painting of the human figure. On this hypothesis, which assumes a MM IIIB date for the present Knossian paintings and others in related styles of painting and composition, we shall proceed (see (f) Brushwork and outline, below).

Of the remaining paintings from MM IIIB contexts, only the striped bands at PLATE 135B from Palaikastro and a lattice design from the palace at Phaistos (reported as similar to the painting at PLATE 142) may be MM IIIA rather than MM IIIB if we compare their subject-matter and style to paintings of "School H"⁽⁷⁾.

The characteristics of MM IIIB paintings

"School J" may be attributed to this period on stylistic and technical grounds, although the earlier context of one of its two known compositions is LM IB (Table V)⁽⁸⁾. The following review takes "School J" into account and also other paintings attributed below to MM IIIB but which were found in MM IIIB/LM IA (early) contexts (v. p. 399f).

(a) Subjects and themes

MM IIIB paintings continue and enlarge upon the MM IIIA pictorial repertoire. The most important new motif is the human figure, usually female, seen in isolation or in groups and at one-quarter and life size. We also find items of personal adornment and jewelry; and, with human figures, textile motifs of different kinds; also flying fish, the sea, marine rockwork and pebbles, shell-beds and sponges, and "miniature" pictures of flying griffins and diagonally undulating terrestrial rockwork (all from Phylakopi); large spirals with rosette bosses, and bulls, in high relief modelling; monochrome vetches; and a stylised foliate band in a new combination of coloured border stripes (PLATE 200 A5). Another important new motif is an architectural façade seen on the "miniature" piece at Fig. 85, p. 684

below. Whether or not the "Ladies in Blue" were seen in an architectural setting, as in similar paintings by "School C", is an open question.

Seascapes are now definitely attested, and the activities of the women in paintings from Phylakopi appear to demand some kind of landscaping (PLATES 36-37): they could perhaps be fishing. The "Ladies in Blue" clearly belong, by later analogy, to a festival or "conversational" scene, and a bull-leaping or bull-catching scene seems implied on consideration of the relief fragment at PLATE 17A (see below, p.400). These last come from Knossos and may indicate a thematic unity in mural composition in the palace bearing upon a festive cult involving athletic contests in honour of the Minoan Goddess. Floral Nature scenes evidently continued to decorate private houses in the town, however, along with simple striped bands. Landscapes with rockwork features are poorly represented in the surviving material, but there is clear reference to this type of scene in the treatment of the skirt of one female figure from Phylakopi (PLATE 36).

(b) Composition, style and content

The painters of MM IIIB frescoes seem less limited artistically by considerations of technique and execution than the MM IIIA painters and are more concerned with convincingly rhythmic, though still patterned, styles of painting. In general, movement and animation of the subjects are more keenly felt and expressed. In the "Ladies in Blue", the flying fish friezes, the lily flower frieze and the spiral compositions from Knossos and Phylakopi, the eye traces not only horizontal and vertical axes in composition but also strong diagonal lines, alternating as in a zig-zag arrangement, in the positions of arms, of fishes' bodies, of the cut lily flowers, and of organic "tendrils" on spirals

which set up strong rhythms of undulating movement in these paintings; the same artistic feature appears in the rockwork pattern on the skirt of the woman from Phylakopi at PLATE 36. Movement is also increased by greater torsion and centrifugal arrangement of elements, e.g. enclosure of main subjects by the disposition of limbs or background features, and by repetition of motifs and by flowing outline. It is these rhythms which account for the greater sense of movement and animation which we feel in looking at these paintings in comparision with MM IIIA frescoes.

And yet in all these paintings there is also a strongly controlled, patterned, arrangement across the pictorial plane of repeated principal subjects, positions, gestures and other activity to which all movement is subordinated. These scenes, with their monochrome background colours, retain therefore a certain stabilized appearance half-way between the more rigid style of "School H" and the more spontaneously active style typical - as we shall see - of MM IIIB/LM I figured and Nature scenes.

Because the scenes include people and animals, they now depict moments of action in the subjects and have more of a "story" to tell than before, even though they are "genre" pictures. The figured scenes evidently had a religious or cult meaning, on later analogies in Minoan mural painting, in addition to showing an appreciation of the beauty of human form in sensitive outline drawing. In general the main subjects are characterised more naturalistically than in MM IIIA by means of line and movement. The artists now seem more aware of the importance and potential of background settings.

(c) Background treatment

Principal subjects now appear to occupy more of the background

space than in MM IIIA paintings, but the colours used are still predominantly monochrome plain white, light or cobalt blue, red or grey. Only one painting shows clear evidence for two background colours, a plain white and a very pale sky blue, in a floral scene harking back to the style of "School H" but painted by "School J" (PLATE 110): but it is uncertain how the two background colours were arranged. In the spiral frieze from Phylakopi, with a solid grey ground, we find subsidiary ornamental additions there in the form of rosettes (PLATE 138C). In general, however, background space in MM IIIB paintings is esthetically activated more vigorously than in MM IIIA by the shapes, gestures or diagonal positions of the principal subjects.

(d) Border stripes and dadoes

Sober colour schemes continue, grey with grey-blue and white, or grey alone, being popular in what little material that has survived. The bands are generally more uniform and broader in spacing than before, although in black and blue combinations the black bands are now considerably thicker than those in blue (Fig. 51 (11-15), p. 346). Black, blue, white, red and yellow stripes first occur in combination, enclosing a schematised foliate band in a fragment from Phaistos (PLATE 200 A5) and bordering a floral scene by "School J" (PLATE 110A): this example is interesting because the space arrangement is exactly that most favoured by the earlier "School H", but not the colour-sequence nor depiction of two coloured bands between pairs of narrow white stripes. Here, too, as elsewhere in this period, fine string-impressed guiding-lines are still employed. But the surface polishing is noticeably less high than in MM IIIA.

(e) "Miniature" painting

"Miniature" griffins in a "miniature" landscape setting occur on the skirt of a woman from Phylakopi (PLATE 36), which

suggests "miniature" scenes may perhaps have existed at this period. The present arrangement does not work satisfactorily from an artistic point of view, however, and with only one certain exception this treatment of a skirt was subsequently abandoned. A small architectural "miniature" fragment from Knossos, attributed to this date, could likewise indicate the existence of true "miniature" architectural scenes in this period (Fig. 85, p.684). But these motifs seem above all imitations of metallic pendants attached to women's garments; and it is possible, in view of the exotic Near Eastern motifs of some pendants, that "miniature" painting originated in Crete in attempts to reproduce elaborately embroidered designs or ornamentation in other materials on MM IIIB Cretan or imported textiles. MM IIIB may perhaps be regarded as a period of experimentation in this sphere of painting.

(f) Brushwork and outline .

The drawing is altogether more sensitive than in MM IIIA, and a major innovation is the substantial use of fine black or sepia outlines for human figures, fish and other representational subjects, except in floral subjects in their own right (PLATES 109 B6, 110 and 118B-C). In fact colour is generally subordinate to line, even in the especially painterly spirals from Knossos and Phylakopi whose lack of "open" unpainted spaces in the volutes and background seems characteristic of the most important types of MM IIIB spiral so far known to us (PLATES 137-138 A and C). Such outlines are neat and flowing, and only in the drawing of flowers and of hands and arms of one female figure from Phylakopi are we conscious of taut contours such as appear in MM IIIA paintings of "School H" (PLATE 36). By contrast, the sensitivity of "line" in another female figure from that site and in the "Ladies in Blue" from Knossos inspired Evans to recall that of Classical Greek white-ground lekythoi (PLATES 37 and 19)⁽⁹⁾; but

how human heads were treated at this time is uncertain, for none have survived in the original paintings.

Linear outlining itself seems a natural technical and artistic development from earlier Minoan methods of painting on stucco and therefore chronologically significant. In MM II and MM IIIA murals, colour alone defines the shapes of subject-matter - with few exceptions of which the boldest is the spiral at PLATE 138B. In those periods black outline was otherwise used only to accentuate inner details or parts of the contours of coloured shapes. But in MM IIIB, as was later always the case, black outlines are added last on top of shapes first painted in colour alone. That is, the present artists continued the traditional MM II-III A "painterly" method of execution but now introduced linear outline not - as is commonly misunderstood - as a guide in representing shapes but for newly appreciated, special, artistic effect. This was to define subjects more clearly to the eye of the onlooker, for black outline adds bodily weight to a colour-painted subject and makes it stand out more strongly in a spatial relationship to the background plane owing to the inherent clarity of linear definition. But why in MM IIIB paintings is "line" confined to human figures, marine life and spiral designs? Perhaps the most reasonable explanation is that linear outlining began in earnest with the introduction of Minoan wall painting of the female human figure in that period and was then quickly applied to certain other subjects⁽¹⁰⁾. It is, however, studiously avoided in naturalistic pictures of flowers, plants and (in later frescoes) of certain birds and animals because esthetically only colour is required there. Linear outline would rob these subjects of their ethereal qualities of lightness which the Minoans undoubtedly perceived and which they delighted in reproducing in their wall paintings. MM IIIB may thus be defined as the period when full linearisation of pictorial mural motifs

begins - a first step towards expression of spatial depth.

Brushwork is neat and careful, except, it seems, in floral representations where painterly contours may be irregular or individual brushstrokes may be visible (PLATES 109 B6, 110 and 118B).

(g) Colour usage

Colour is subordinate to outline, and pale or pastel shades of blue, yellow, green and grey are popular, creating a highly restrained mood in painting. Colour combinations are soberly subdued in figured, marine and spiral compositions, but less so in floral compositions (e.g. PLATE 110). Colours therefore now provide softer dark and light contrasts than in MM IIIA. Their range is less wide, but this may simply reflect how little material has survived. Cobalt blue, however, now appears. Plants seem usually monochrome, and vetches are painted in the bluish tones customary also in later frescoes: this points to some standardisation of colouring conventions in this period. There is some attempt at shading in the traces of light green on lily petals at Phylakopi (PLATE 101 C-D). As in MM IIIA, both opaque and "watery" paints are found and in floral subjects colour alone defines shapes and contours.

White "impasto" paint appears rarely and not at all, so far as we know, for spotted decorative details. A large expanse can, however, be seen for the left arm of the right-hand figure in the "Ladies in Blue" fresco (PLATE 19).

(h) Techniques of execution

Plasters seem generally thicker (1.5-3.5cm), slightly less finely grained, and white to off-white; and plasters of pinkish hues have perhaps now ended. "Slips" and preliminary sketches in red continue (even on the surface in paintings without "slips"), but the surface polish is less high and glossy than in MM IIIA

and is carried out in sections of the surface area corresponding with units of the composition (e.g. a forearm, or the torso, or the background area). Fine string-lines now provide grids for textile patterns in addition to their previous functions. An important innovation is high reliefwork in stucco for people, animals (bulls) and spirals for ceilings. Thick, heavy, plasters may have square (and probably round) peg-holes for their support (11). MM IIIB use of "impasto" has already been noted in section (g) above, p. 398. The "Ladies in Blue" fresco is remarkable for the "reserved spacing" of the busts of the women in the blue background area (v.p. 282): this method of planning the compositions continues until LM IIIA1/2 (early) in Minoan wall painting.

Frescoes from transitional MM IIIB/LMIA contexts (c. 1580-1550 B.C.):
Table II.

This short period follows the great MM IIIB earthquake and during it the severly damaged Second Palaces and towns were rebuilt, while new villas also appeared. The period is characterised by a mixture of pottery styles - latest MM IIIB, "tortoise-shell ripple" ware (MM IIIB-LM IA) and earliest dark-on-light LM IA. Although it is therefore hard to assess whether frescoes from such contexts were MM IIIB compositions destroyed by the great earthquake but which were cleared out after an interval of time, or whether they collapsed only shortly after they had been put up on newly built walls, their find-circumstances and general stylistic, comparative and technical considerations suggest all probably belonged to the pre-seismic MM IIIB period, if not perhaps earlier still. All the pieces in question come from the palace at Knossos.

Two bull relief fragments occurred in the same deposit as one of the MM IIIB "sombre" spirals from the palace (PLATE 137B)

and they attest a fine white plaster whose painted surface was well polished as in MM III frescoes in general. These features suggest a possible MM IIIB, if not earlier, date.

If the man's arm in relief stucco reported from the North East Magazines is that illustrated at PLATE 17A, a MM III dating is again suggested. These magazines were constructed in that period but went out of use very early in LM IA. The relief presumably belonged to the MM IIIB decoration of an important room above the magazines. The clenched fingers are modelled less highly and less plastically than later examples (cf PLATE 17B) and may therefore be understood as perhaps early three-dimensional work. Indeed the curtailed proportions of the hand closely recall the style of the woman's hands in a MM IIIB fresco from Phylakopi (cf PLATE 36). Originally the surface, now worn, was well polished after painting. To judge by the broad wrist-strap, this figure may well have been a bull-leaper. In that case, this is our earliest evidence for bull-leaping or bull-catching scenes in Minoan mural painting. The pottery, predominantly MM IIIB, in the cist with dado bands below the east wall of the South Propylaeum and that in the deposit below an undisturbed paving slab in the south-west corner of the Central Court, where - among other fragments - the "miniature" entablature piece at Fig. 85, p. 684 was found, in both cases seems to have been sweepings or "fill" of debris from the destroyed MM IIIB palace inserted there at the time of the palace's reconstruction in MM IIIB/LM IA. A pre-seismic MM IIIB date is therefore most likely for these paintings.

This review, in agreement with Evans, assigns all the pieces in question to MM III.

TABLE III FRESCOES FROM LM IA CONTEXTS

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH-OOOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND-CIRCS. p.REF.	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DESTRUCTION CONTEXT
HOGARTH'S HOUSES, KNOSSOS							
Spiral and bands	134 A4	(?H)			717	? MM IIIA	LM IA
HOUSE OF FRESCOES, KNOSSOS							
Birds & Monkeys frieze	65; 84 A-B	I	56	103(1-2)	720	MM IIIB/LM IA ^e	LM IA
Goat, olive-tree & crocus	90A (Vol.IV,F)	I	58	103(1-2)	720	" / "	LM IA
Linear Signs, Group A	Vol.IV, H			103(1-2)	720	" / "	LM IA
Linear Signs, Group B	Vol.IV, H	I		103(1-2)	720	" / "	LM IA
Dado bands		I	43b	103(3-4)	720	" / "	LM IA
SAVAKIS'S BOTHROS, KNOSSOS							
"Miniature" crocus	90C	I		111(2)	732	" / "	(LM IIIB)
ROYAL ROAD/SOUTH, KNOSSOS							
Myrtle and stripes	115C	I			729	" / "	(LM III)
Veined leaves	119C	I			729	" / "	(LM III)
SOUTH HOUSE, KNOSSOS							
"Swallow"	88B	I	27g	112(2)	733	" / "	LM IA
Reeds	111A	I		112(1)	733	" / "	LM IA
Water-pcol	160A	I		112(1)	733	" / "	LM IA
Pebbles	? 70 A or B	I		112(1)	733	" / "	LM IA
MAMET'S HOUSE, AKROTERI							
Lilies and bands	-			136(3)	769	? MM IIIB	LM IA
MARINATOS'S HOUSES, THERA							
Lilies & swallows frieze	-			137(7)	770	? MM IIIB	LM IA
Monkey's head	196 A1	one		137(4)	770	"	LM IA
Monkeys at Sanctuary	-	hand	55	137(3)	770	"	LM IA
Fleeing monkeys frieze	-			137(4)	770	"	LM IA
Oryx Beissa	Fig.35A	one		137(8)	771	"	LM IA
Boxing Youths	Fig.35A	hand		137(8)	771	"	LM IA
Ivy band	Fig.35A			137(8)	771	"	LM IA
Libyan's head & palm-tree	196 A3-4		32i	137(2)	769	"	LM IA
Swallow flying	196 A2			137(2)	769	"	LM IA
Myrtles	115D			137(4)	770	"	LM IA
Reeds	109C			137(4)	770	"	LM IA
Spiral design	-			137(1)	769	"	LM IA
Woman's head	-			-	772	"	LM IA
Dress design ?	-			137(1-2)	769	"	LM IA
Girl priestess	-			137(10)	771f	"	LM IA
Ladies frieze & papyrus	-			137(9)	771	"	LM IA
Banner fresco	-			137(10)	771f	"	LM IA
Miniature scenes	-			137(10)	771f	"	LM IA
Fisherman fresco	-			-	772	"	LM IA
H. IRINI, KEOS, Area J							
Miniature dolphins	-		37	138(N)	775	? MM III	LM IA
IALYSOS (TRIANDA), HOUSE 1							
Madonna lilies	104A			139(7:str.I)	776	LM IA ^e	LM IA
M'EGARON, KATSAMBA							
Miniature dress fragment	-		12c	-	748	MM III	LM IA
PHYLAKOPI, THIRD CITY							
Bird's head	-		27h	-	781	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IA
PRASA, HOUSE A							
Woman's head	33A	27b		-	757	MM IIIB ^{end}	LM IA
Her dress in relief	33E	J		-	757	"	LM IA
Miniature trees	119A		32i	-	757	"	LM IA

Frescoes from LM IA contexts (c. 1550-1500 B.C.): Table III

The main frescoes are those by "School I" at Knossos, working in town houses, and those from Thera whose LM IA deposits were sealed undisturbed below many feet of lava and ash from the volcanic explosion of the island, c. 1500 B.C. Minor pieces, "on the flat" or in relief, large scale or "miniature", come from firm LM IA contexts in Hogarth's Houses at Knossos, at Hagia Irini on Keos, and at Ialysos (House 1), Katsamba, Phylakopi (Third City) and Prasa near Knossos. The excavation reports indicate these paintings belonged to houses certainly or probably put up in MM IIIB/LM IA, or very early in LM IA, which were destroyed or damaged at the end of that period, and the paintings evidently represent their original mural schemes.

Perhaps the earliest group are the paintings by "School I", since there is good evidence this "school" inspired much fresco-work elsewhere, especially in the Cyclades. But in the "House of the Frescoes", which those Knossian artists decorated, some simple painting in monochrome red had preceded the execution of the well-known birds and monkeys there, and so they may belong towards the close of MM IIIB/LM IA⁽¹²⁾. In that case, frescoes influenced by that "school", on Thera and elsewhere, may be very early LM IA rather than MM IIIB/LM IA. However, the only fresco in Table III which on stratigraphical evidence seems definitely LM IA is that depicting lilies found in situ in House 1 at Ialysos, constructed and destroyed in LM IA (PLATE 104A).

The period closes apparently at the time of more earthquake shocks which destroyed or damaged buildings in Crete and on Keos and Rhodes: these tremors may or may not have been caused by the volcanic explosion of Thera.

The characteristics of MM IIIB/LM IA-LM IA(early) frescoes

The following frescoes, from "LM I" or LM IB contexts (Table V), may here be included as attributable stylistically to

this period:

1. The friezes from Room 7 at Amniosos (SLIDE 59)⁽¹³⁾
2. Two "miniature" fragments from the "Ivory Deposit", in the Palace at Knossos (Fig.95, p.706)⁽¹⁴⁾
3. Bull relief fragments from Royal Road/North, Knossos (PLATE 78B)⁽¹⁵⁾
4. Goddesses or priestesses in relief, from Pseira (PLATES 24-25)⁽¹⁶⁾
5. Perhaps the lattice designs from the north entrance into the Central Court of the palace at Phaistos (PLATE 142)⁽¹⁷⁾.

(a) Subjects and themes

The range of floral and faunal subject-matter is very considerably increased. Birds first appear and include doves or pigeons, swallows, hoopoes, and perhaps the golden oriole. New animals include, very notably, monkeys of the cercopithecid species, "agrimi" or wild Cretan goats, and oryx beissa at Thera. Our earliest mural pictures of crocuses, ivy, pancratium lilies, "common mallow", roses, honeysuckle, irises, and unquestionable papyrus and lotus flowers - sometimes in new artistically hybridised forms - and olive, palm and (?) cypress trees occur in these paintings. A Libyan, two boxing youths and women bending to pick flowers or holding an incense-burner show up at Thera. From Prasa near Knossos comes our first certain stucco-relief representation of a woman; and from Hagia Irini on Keos dolphins. A peak sanctuary with columns ornamented with floral "capitals" standing in front of it turns up in a monkey painting from Thera (SLIDE 55), while streams, waterfalls, "leaves on mud banks" and large pebbles appear in the "Bird and Monkey" frieze from the "House of the Frescoes" at Knossos (SLIDE 56).

The appearance of papyrus thickets, monkeys gambolling about, plants arranged along courses of water, and birds - often of

migratory species from Africa - strongly recall Egyptian subjects, themes and colour-conventions in paintings and bas-reliefs of the Middle and New Kingdoms. But the Minoan artists usually placed such subjects in Nature scenes in their own right and adapted Egyptian settings and colour-conventions to suit their own tastes and tradition.

Nature scenes depict the behaviour of wild life in imaginary Minoan habitats combining Aegean hillside and Nilotie elements. Thus African monkeys grope through bushy undergrowth and bands of rockwork to look for doves' nests near papyrus thickets (SLIDE 56), worship at Minoan peak sanctuaries (SLIDE 55) or run away from a larger predator (Thera, unpublished fresco). "Agrimi" stand heraldically on each side of an olive tree with a "bank" of crocuses beyond (SLIDE 58) and a pair of oryx beissa stand quietly together, though not without a suggestion of sexual arousal (Fig. 35A, opp. p. 205). Swallows "kiss" or feed in mid-air over a lily-strewn bank of rockwork (Thera). The themes of figured scenes from present contexts are more difficult to assess, being either extremely fragmentary or as yet unpublished.

A Libyan appears with one of an originally radiating group of three palm-trees in perhaps the earliest known scene in which the worlds of Man and Nature are combined on equal terms (PLATE 196 A3). Reliefs from Pseira appear to show priestesses or goddesses of a peak sanctuary cult (PLATES 24-25). Two boxing youths and other figured scenes newly discovered are known from Thera (Fig. 35A). Certainly human figures now seem more common than in earlier periods; but women are still much more frequently seen than men, probably because many figured frescoes referred to worship or rituals of the cult of the Minoan goddess - as in MM IIIB.

(b) Composition, style and content

There is now some diffusion in painting in these respects through the influence of the MM III "schools" and above all that of the new "School I" at Knossos. A clear distinction is noticeable, at least in general terms, between Cretan styles - basically those of "School I" and, in figure-painting, of another deriving from the style of the MM IIIB "School A" - and Cycladic styles. These do, however, relate to contemporary or earlier mural work in Crete and at Phylakopi.

The Cretan frescoes

Nature scenes now have more purpose in their depiction of faunal life, shrewdly and even humorously revealing more in the psychology of animal behaviour. This understanding of Nature, which extends to floral compositions, is in touch with some realities of natural growth, habitat and living movement. All individual elements of the compositions are closely knit into an organically effective unity of line, colour, movement, space and style, hitherto unsurpassed. Further, the Cretan paintings are distinguished by their attention to details of representation, colouring and background treatment in contrast to the simpler, more "open" styles typical of the best Cycladic work.

The MM III patterned arrangements of principal subjects are now abandoned for a looser, far more fluid and seemingly arbitrary manner of composition which emphasises lively - even agitated - movement and coloration, strong diagonal and encircling lines of design, and "high-lighting" of principal subjects positionally and spatially. Postures, agreeable juxtapositions of colour, overlapping motifs, strong torsion, repetition of motifs (often triple in the "Bird and Monkey" frieze by "School I": SLIDE 56), irregularities of shape, space and colour in background treatment, all go to convey a strong sense of animation and life - even in inanimate objects - throughout the compositions. The important

device of depicting animals and birds with heads looking over shoulders is well attested in this period: this directs our attention back to the focal point or raison d'être of the painting (v. SLIDE 56; also Fig. 35A, from Thera). This device therefore adds a clear psychological element to design.

Antithetic arrangement of entire scenes now begins, announcing a trend towards more formal, even monumental, conceptions in paintings of which the series from Amnisos provide a good illustration (SLIDE 59). The treatment of landscape and other background features for the first time adds texture and depth to space (v. (c) Background treatment) which is expressed three-dimensionally on a "flat" painting surface in the rockwork overlapping upper border stripes in the "Bird and Monkey" frieze by "School I" (SLIDE 56): this makes the picture appear to leave its place on the wall, thrusting it forward towards the onlooker.

Although at first sight the "Goat and Crocus" frieze by "School I" seems to continue MM IIIB "alternating diagonal" arrangements in composition, the pictorial plane is in fact more varied in the present case by the introduction of undulating bands, which assist the eye across the surface area, and of the antithetic disposition of "agrimi" below (SLIDE 58). Thus, even in strongly patterned composition, we find new elements which exhibit a stronger sense of rhythm and movement in the design than we have found in the more stable MM III paintings.

The Cycladic frescoes

The tendency to isolate principal subjects in quiet, idillycally peaceful scenes in the finest paintings of this date from the Cyclades also suggest an incipient feeling for monumental conceptions and form in composition (Fig. 35A). But any appearance of rigidity in design is tempered by smoothly flowing line and contour, typically found in all wall paintings of the period. In other respects, such as in their blandly neutral and empty backgrounds,

free of a mass of subsidiary detail, these frescoes seem to hark back to the MM IIIA style of "School H". So, too, in the rendering of certain motifs - e.g. the reeds from Thera, at PLATE 109C, whose sweeping, thin-edged but slightly coarse brush-strokes point to a painting style inspired by pictures of reeds by "School H" (cf SLIDE 31 and PLATE 109 33-5). But there is also an important departure in background treatment by MM III analogy, namely, in generously undulating and rhythmic, broad, horizontal, deep red bands along the upper side of the pictorial zones in the paintings of boxing youths and oryx beissa from Thera (Fig. 35A).

However, in the less carefully executed paintings from the Cyclades, especially in the monkey frescoes from Thera, the choice of motifs, their arrangement, and the treatment of background landscapes seem generally imitative of the work by "School I" at Knossos (cf SLIDES 55 and 56), and for that reason they may be fractionally later in date.

From Thera we find a new treatment of large spiral friezes in the use of heavy black outlines against a plain (uncoloured) background which adds spaciousness to the composition. In one case small arc-like "filling motifs" appear between the volutes at the edge of the dado (Thera II (1969), p. 21, Fig. 11); but in another frieze the black lines are supplemented by a row of red blobs within each spiral branch and by triangular blue "filling motifs" marked with fine parallel horizontal black lines, and the spiral volutes evidently alternate with others treated in pseudo-rosette form (Thera III (1970), PLATE B, 2). These designs have broken away from the more "closed" and painterly MM III spirals of our "sombre painter" at Knossos and that of the local MM IIIB "school" of Phylakopi (cf PLATES 137 and 138 A and C) - though the small spiral from the Royal Road/South at PLATE 138B, of MM IIIA date, has anticipated in its essentials the

drawing of the Thera spirals. The lilies from Ialyssos, House 1, with deep narrow gaps between the petals (PLATE 104A), suggest the influence of the local MM IIIB "school" of Phylakopi (cf PLATE 101D) rather than of Knossian "schools" which "closed" the petals of their lilies (cf PLATES 102-103 and 105); the same Cycladic "school" with its preference for pastel colours may have supplied models for the similarly toned dolphins from Keos perhaps to be attributed to that period for this reason (cf SLIDES 36d and 37). On the other hand, the lilies in the "Swallow Fresco" from Marinatos's excavations and those from Mamet's and Gorceix's house on Thera closely follow Knossian forms⁽¹⁸⁾.

(c) Background treatment

There is a major difference between MM III and MM IIIB/LM IA background treatments: the former are passively activated by the positions and activities of the principal subjects represented, while the latter are conceived as having a "life" or movement of their own and may therefore be said to be "positively activated".

The main subjects and subsidiary representational objects, such as flowers, now break up the background into irregularly shaped areas of light and dark which add to the sense of lively movement in composition. Moreover, broad undulating background bands of colour - dark red, blue or pale greenish-blue, yellow and plain white (but no longer grey) - "activate" the entire pictorial zone. These bands, singly or in different colour-combinations, may follow diagonal, arc-like and curving, or horizontal axes and so provide a visual flow of colour, colour-contrasts or light and dark contrasts which move the onlooker's eye from one side to the other. Further, background areas in different colours may be separated by a series of narrower straight or undulating bands or stripes in different colours whose function is decoratively to conceal the line of demarcation between the two larger background area (e.g. SLIDES 58 and 59). A major

effect of such treatments is to endow background space with depth and texture, as though one may feel the edges and penetrate the background spatial shapes thus created - an illusion of three-dimensional feeling which is made more explicit in rockwork overlapping upper border stripes in the "Bird and Monkey" frieze by "School I" at Knossos, as already mentioned (v. PLATE 68A and SLIDE 56).

(d) Border stripes and dadoes

In MM IIIB/LM IA, we find bright colour contrasts, or several graduated light-dark values in predominantly blue, grey and white bands, in combinations of up to five colours (black, blue, white, red and yellow). Bands are more or less uniform in depth - unless belonging to very large-scale compositions, where there is greater variation of bands' sizes (SLIDE 59) - with a white stripe often separating the border areas from the pictorial plane, a feature rarely found at earlier dates (e.g. MM IIIA, Fig. 108, p. 726). Bands may be marked out only intermittently with string-impressed lines, some being painted "by eye" - their uneven widths along their horizontal course giving the impression of careless brushwork. A wide variety of colour and spacing arrangements of bands occurred in the "House of the Frescoes" at Knossos, painted by "School I"⁽¹⁹⁾. String-lines may now be fine (thread-like) or slightly wider (fine string). An ivy frieze of large proportions and pleasant light-blue colour appears above the Thera compositions seen here at Fig. 35A, a bolder arrangement in conception and scale than comparable pictorialised borders of MM III date.

In dado-work, we find less carefully executed, more impressionistic, imitations of wooden dadoes than in MM IIIA (cf "Bird and Monkey" frieze, SLIDES 56 or 43i with 43h); others in simple broad washes of colour, some obscured by burning or abrasion, directly below the pictorial field (Amnisos, and Thera, Fig. 35A);

and yet others, from the "House of the Frescoes" at Knossos, representing a relatively complicated architectural sequence of horizontal courses imitating a black wainscot, plain (?) gypsum courses, a narrow wooden beam and an ornamental, linearly striated, stone band (SLIDE 43b). Nothing like this is so far known of an earlier date.

In general, both border stripes and dadoes in painted stucco seem more adventurous in colouring, design and pattern than in previous periods, although possibly more impressionistic.

(e) "Miniature" painting

"School I" painted an extremely diminutive crocus clump in rockwork probably belonging to a true "miniature" nature scene rather than to the skirt of a goddess or priestess (PLATE 90C). But a definite "miniature" Nature scene, showing two hoopoes among grasses growing from rockwork, occurs as a dress pattern on a fragment from a goddess's skirt from Katsamba.

Two further pieces from Knossos show copies of metallic pendants or embroidery designs, one of a bull's head seen en face (as in the case of one monkey's head in a painting from Thera), the other of a double axe bordered by "barred" bands typical of hem-patterns on garments. A row of "miniature" cypress trees truly shaded in merging colours of light brown and red, with black and blue stripes above, occurs at Prasa (PLATE 119A): the "slip" technique of execution here matches that of the "miniature" piece by "School I" and its design adds weight to the attribution of the latter fragment to a Nature scene in its own right. In this case, it seems artists now settled upon "miniature-work" either for Nature scenes in their own right or for pictorial emblems as such on garments, in preference to ornamenting the latter with Nature scenes, though one artist at Katsamba continued in the MM IIIB manner.

(f) Brushwork and outline

MM IIIB/LM IA brushwork seems quicker than in previous

periods, to judge by the easy flow of line and some signs of careless painting: but these features also suggest a high degree of confidence. Black outline is rarely used except in female figure, some "miniature", and spiral drawing. As in MM IIIA, black lines are used primarily for accentuations of small details or to describe the inner structures of some motifs. But there is an interest in showing internal textural details of floral and tree forms, as well as stylized minor parts such as sepals and bracts on stems, which are expressed primarily by colour and not by black line (e.g. PLATES 93 A-B; 104A; 106B with brown veins; 119A; and 119C). But black lines are used for such details in papyrus forms in paintings by "School I" (PLATE 107 A-B). Small spots and striation-lines in different paints appear in rockwork and in the hairy or feathered textures of animals and birds. White "impasto" paint is now used for the first time to define outlines of rockwork seen in coloured background areas. Heavy black outlines occur only in spiral painting. But in figure-drawing we see a fluid calligraphic style of red and black outlining. "Miniature" painting may be painterly or linearised, in this case especially in dress-pendant types of motif.

In MM IIIB/LM IA Cycladic painting, however, there is very considerable use of black and heavier outlines and of accentuations in black. This is most noticeable at Akroteri on Thera in the "Swallow Frieze", in the palm-tree at PLATE 196 A3, in spiral designs, and above all in the panel of oryx beissa executed almost exclusively in magnificently fluid and varied black outline (Fig. 35A). "Limited outlining" is found on arms and legs of some of the monkeys in paintings from the same site. Where outlines are lacking, however, as in the "Boxing Youths" fresco from Thera (Fig. 35A), we find a sinuous painterly treatment of bodily forms. But black outlining is one of the principal points of difference between Cycladic and contemporary Cretan styles of painting.

(g) Colour usage

There is a general increase in the range of hues, colour-combinations and contrasts which gives the paintings of this period their deserved reputation for brilliantly imaginative and decorative use of colour, preserved almost in "pristine" condition⁽²⁰⁾. There seem more shades of blues, reds, yellows, greens and browns than previously, and colours now are mostly opaque although "watery" pastel hues occur in the "miniature" dolphin fresco from Hagia Irini on Keos (SLIDE 37). A pink paint is popular with "School I" at Knossos, by far and away the group of wall-painters most masterly in the decorative use of colour in the entire Aegean Bronze Age - and perhaps for that reason one of the most influential on later styles of mural painting.

Texture is impressionistically indicated by many blobs, irregular lines and small spots in different colours in subordinate subject matter (such as rockwork and flowers); by small black, orange, white "impasto" spots of paint on flowers; and by very short brushstrokes to indicate hair, feathery down or water-drops at the contours of animals, birds and waterfalls.

Except in the Amnisos lily frescoes, where the plants are depicted very largely in white "impasto", this pigment is now used sparingly for tiny spotted details, for "limited outlining" and veining of rockwork, and for depiction of basically white flowers on coloured background areas (PLATES 97A, 106 and 107B). Colour conventions now appear more fixed than before for common motifs, although several different colour-combinations are still used for certain plants in paintings by "School I" (e.g. crocuses, papyri and "common mallow"). An interesting feature in floral painting of the period is the delicate use of light-hued opaque or "watery" paints to outline edges of petals (PLATE 94 A-C: SLIDE 29c) - a use of colour previously unknown. "Shading" in light green on lily flowers continues, however, in examples from the "House of the

"Frescoes" (SLIDE 29e: "School I"), and more subtly in the colouring of the "miniature" trees from Prasa (PLATE 119A: SLIDE 32h).

Close comparison of motifs and use of colours suggests that "School I" derived its style of painting from that of "School H" which likewise mainly decorated town houses and not from the more sombre-coloured palatial styles at Knossos in MM IIIB⁽²¹⁾. It is reasonable to suppose that the artists of "School I", in action immediately after the great MM IIIB earthquake, may have grown up in houses decorated with paintings by "School H".

(h) Techniques of execution

In MM IIIB/LM IA, thinnish plasters are again popular (often about 1.0-2.0cm on average depth), flat at the back, fine- to medium-grained, and white to dirty- or sandy-white in colour. Slightly thicker "slips" than before (about 1.0 to 2.0mm thick), only previously matched by that of the MM IIIB floral painting by "School J" (PLATE 110), occur frequently but with golden as well as light red sketch-lines. "Incavo" for the lilies in the frieze from Amnisos, while having trim inward-sloping edges, exhibit much coarser excision of the plaster than in MM IIIA. The same series of frescoes also show the first known use of a compass or pair of dividers for describing circular motifs (PLATE 53A: SLIDE 59). Both low and high reliefwork is attested in this period. The polished finish is now only fair to moderately good in paintings "on the flat" and was carried out both before and after painting, at least in works by "School I"; but in relief paintings it is finer. Small white spots of "impasto" are now invariably added after polishing, evidently because it was feared the polishing process would rub them off. String-impressed lines now begin to be wider than in previous periods, as though executed with fine string rather than with a fine thread.

TABLE IV FRESCOS FROM LM IB CONTEXTS

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH- OOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND- CIRCS. p.REF	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DESTRUCTION CONTEXT
KNOSOS PALACE							
Miniature bull's head	Fig.95a (?)			93(8)	706	MM III B/LM IA, if not MM III A	LM IB, if not MM III B
Miniature axes on dress	Fig.95b (?)	12d		93(8)	706	"	"
ROYAL ROAD/NORTH, KNOSSOS							
Spiral "Festoon" fresco	139	one	41	-	728	MM IIIA	LM IB
"Butchers Broom"	112A	hand	32a; 33	-	728	MM IIIA	LM IB
Jewelry fragment	191 F1		13b	-	728	MM IIIA	LM IB
Bull reliefs	78B			-	728	MM IIIA	LM IB
Floral frieze and bands	110	J	32f	-	728	MM IIIA	LM IB
Imitation lapis lazuli	134D			-	728(t)	MM IIIA	LM IB
ROYAL ROAD/SOUTH, KNOSSOS							
Dress design ?	191E			-	-	?MM IIIA	LM IB
UNEXPLORED MANSION, KNOSSOS							
"Soapy slip" fragment	195 A1	J		114(1)	736	?MM IIIA	(LM III)
AMNISOS VILLA							
Lily panel no.1	102		59	116(1)	741	MM IIIB	LM I(?)B
Lily panel no.2	103		59	116(1)	741	MM IIIB	LM I(?)B
Iris panel	95-96	one	18(5); 59	116(2)	741	MM IIIB	LM I(?)B
Vetch or sage leaves	118D-E	hand	59	116(?)	741	MM IIIB	LM I(?)B
Offering-table	53A	or school	16(d); 59	116(3)	741	MM IIIB	LM I(?)B
Iris flower	94C		29c	116(2)	741	MM IIIB	LM I(?)B
"Medicinal plant"	-		29n	116(?)	(741)	MM IIIB	LM I(?)B
GOURNIA, TOWN HOUSES							
Striped bands	-			-	742	MM IIIB	LM IB
HAGIA IRINI, KEOΣ, Area M							
Myrtle and vine	198 A4	one	32j	138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Reeds in stream	198 A1-2	hand		138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
"Dried leaf" motif	198 A5			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Larger reeds	198 A6			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Man's face	198 A7			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Miniature building facade	-			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Minoans and cooking pot	197 A3		18(10)	138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Cloaked men with "wings"	197 A2			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Miniature man in culotte	-			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Kilted men in a boat (?)	-			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Girl in ragged skirt	Fig.10(C6)	one		138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Miniature polygonal wall	-			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Miniature deer and (?)dog	197 A4	hand or school	23 c-d	138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Miniature chariot frags.	197 A5	school		138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Miniature horses' legs	-			138(M)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Same site: Area N							
Cloaked men and ingot	197 A1			138(N)	775	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Same site: Area A							
Blue bird frieze	198 A3			138(A)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB

(continued)

TABLE IV continued: LM IB contexts

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH- OOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND- CIRCS. p. REF.	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DESTRUCTION CONTEXT
(H. Irini, Keos: Area A cont)							
Griffin or sphinx wing	197 A6			138(A)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Spiraliform design	-			138(A)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Various striped bands	-			138(A)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Same site: Long House							
Miniature male figures	-			138(B)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
Various striped bands	-			138(B)	774	MM IIIB	LM/LH IB
HAGIA TRIADA, VILLA							
Goddess at shrine	21; 159	one	54	117/119(1)	745	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IB
Priestess picking flowers	22; 23A	school	29 1; 54	117/119(1)	745	"	LM IB
"Park" fresco	66		23b,e; 54	117/119(1)	745	"	LM IB
Linear A inscriptions	64 A-C			117/119(2)	745	"	LM IB
IALYSOS (TRIANDA), HOUSES							
Madonna lilies	-			139(11: str II A)	776	LM IA/Be	LM IB
Honeysuckle	93C			139(11: str II A)	776	LM IA/Be	LM IB
MOCHLOS, TOWN HOUSE							
Red-painted plaster	-			124(16)	750	MM IIIB?	LM IB
NIROU CHANI, VILLA							
Sacral knot	53C	?B	16e	125(x)	751	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IB
PALAIKASTRO, TOWN HOUSES							
Woman's arm in relief	-			126(2)	753	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IB
Crocuses	-		29 a iii	126(2)	753	"	LM IB
PETSOFA, PEAK SANCTUARY							
Plain white plaster	-			-	753	MM III	LM I (?B)
PHAISTOS, PALACE							
Floral pieces	200 A4, 6			127(2)	755	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IB
Spiraliform designs	200 A2-3			127(3,5)	755	"	LM IB
"Lattice" designs	142			127(8)	756	"	LM IB
PSEIRA, TOWN HOUSE							
Goddess or priestess	24	one	13w	128(x)	758	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IB
Goddess or priestess	25	hand		128(x)	758	"	LM IB
SAKHTOURIA, FARMSTEAD							
Plain white plaster	-			-	758	MM II/III	LM I (?B)
TOURTOULOI, VILLA							
Decorative fresco frags.	-			-	758	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM I (?A)
TYLISSOS, HOUSE A							
"Fan" fragment	-			129(1)	759	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IB

TABLE IV continued: LM IB contexts

Frescoes from LM IB contexts (c. 1500-1450 B.C.): Table IV

The LM IB period represents the high point in Minoan art in general, when Knossos reached the peak of its social, political and economic power, as the widespread distribution of fine-quality painted vases from Knossian workshops indicates⁽²²⁾. But the period closes with a series of violent and apparently simultaneous destructions by fire throughout Crete - except, it seems, in the palace at Knossos - and at some Cycladic sites (e.g. Hagia Irini on Keos) whose cause is still debated (see Chapter XI). It is in these destruction deposits that the frescoes listed in Table IV occurred.

The chief frescoes come from villas at Amnisos⁽²³⁾, Hagia Triada, Tylissos, Nirou Chani and Epano Zakro; from town houses at Knossos (Royal Road/North), Pseira and Palaikastro; and in the Cyclades, from town houses at Hagia Irini on Keos and at Ialysos on Rhodes. A few pieces occurred in the palaces at Kato Zakro, Phaistos and Knossos.

Certain paintings from LM IB contexts here believed stylistically to belong to the MM IIIB or MM IIIB/LM IA(early) periods have already been considered. The remainder are difficult to date closely. While none need be earlier than c. 1580 B.C., as they appear to have decorated houses built in MM IIIB/LM IA, they could have been set up on their walls at that time, or in LM IA, or early in LM IB following the LM IA earthquakes. Detailed stylistic examination, however, suggests those closely deriving their styles of painting, choice of subjects, use of colour and treatment of backgrounds from those features of the work of "School I" at Knossos, or which show a slight decline in brushwork and finish probably belong to a date in LM IA. These include the following:

1. The goddess frieze from Room 14 of the villa at Hagia Triada (SLIDE 54)⁽²⁴⁾
2. The "Festoon Fresco" from Royal Road/North (SLIDE 41)⁽²⁵⁾

3. "Butcher's Broom" - same site (SLIDE 33)⁽²⁶⁾
4. Woman's jewelry in low relief (PLATE 191 F1: SLIDE 13b)⁽²⁷⁾
5. Floral subjects from Phaistos palace (PLATE 200 A4, 6)⁽²⁸⁾
6. Spirals from Phaistos palace (PLATE 200 A2-3)⁽²⁹⁾
7. "Miniature" blue birds and floral subjects from Hagia Irini on Keos (PLATE 198 A1-6)⁽³⁰⁾
8. "Miniature" figured and "hunting" scenes, from the same site (PLATE 197 A1-5)⁽³¹⁾
9. Griffin's wing fragment, from the same site (PLATE 197 A6)⁽³²⁾
10. Man's face at one-half life size, from the same site (PLATE 198 A7)⁽³³⁾

Of these, no. 1 represents considerable advances on the MM IIIB/LM IA(early) style of "School I" in design in composition, line, use of colour, and background treatment, and, indeed, may with good reason be regarded as representing the stylistic acmē of Aegean Bronze Age wall painting in general. That it is later than paintings by "School I" will also become apparent when we consider the characteristics of LM II murals. Nos. 2-4 may have been painted by one artist, to judge by the character of brushwork.

Other frescoes from LM IB contexts seem attributable on the grounds of imitative and inferior styles to the LM IB period:

11. "Miniatures" from Tylissos (Fig. 30, opp. p.172)⁽³⁴⁾
12. Honeysuckle flowers from Ialysos (PLATE 93C)⁽³⁵⁾
13. Crocus flowers from Palaikastro (SLIDE 29a iii)⁽³⁶⁾.

Of these, no.11 appears to show a ewer of classic LM IB shape, though a date on the borders of LM IA/B is as likely.

Whether or not the distinctions here proposed for LM IA and LM IB frescoes are adequate, these paintings cannot be later than LM IB. For the purposes of the review which follows, therefore, all the above paintings will be considered together as "LM I" in view of their general similarities in style and execution. Only the frieze from Hagia Triada stands apart from the rest as stylis-

tically outstanding.

A few other paintings from LM IB contexts cannot at this stage be ascribed close dates without anticipating the evidence for the dating of works by "School B" at Knossos. These we shall review later in Analysis II⁽³⁷⁾.

The characteristics of LM I paintings

(a) Subjects and themes

In Crete the thematic and motival repertoire is much the same as in paintings from LM IA or earlier contexts, although goddess representations, sometimes in relief, in floral settings are noticeably popular and true "miniature" architectural scenes occur at Tylissos and Hagia Irini. Men - boxers, attendants on libation preparations or in crowds - and women in procession appear in the paintings from Tylissos, where the male figures are shown wearing the Minoan brief kilt (Fig. 30). The Tylissos pieces appear to show a festive scene with athletic contests taking place near a building or shrine. Cats hunting birds, and certain plant forms (violets, ? capers, and imaginatively hybridised plants) are new subjects which occur in the goddess frieze from Hagia Triada (SLIDE 54): it is evident here - for a first certain time - that Nature is subordinate to the will of Man or anthropomorphic divinities.

Only in "miniatures" from Keosdo we find significantly novel subjects and themes: men and women in un-Minoan looking forms of dress, chariots, horses, deer and uncertain creatures hunting them (dog or leopard ?) now appear in scenes which belong to the Mycenaean, not Minoan, pictorial repertoire at this date⁽³⁸⁾.

A general impression is that LM I fresco painters were becoming more concerned with the human figure in cult scenes than with subjects of Nature. Certainly the male figure is better attested than in previous periods, especially in "miniature"

paintings of the period.

(b) Composition, style and content

In LM I, the diffusion of styles of painting continues, though mostly following mannerisms of work by "School I" of the preceding period. Apart from frescoes clearly imitative of that "school" in overall character, as shown by less refined brushwork, typologically inferior motival forms and cruder background treatments, the paintings of this period are very closely related in style to those of MM IIIB/LM IA date. This is best seen in the most important and best preserved LM I painting, the frieze from Room 14 of the villa at Hagia Triada. Here the chief new features of style are the grand, yet restrained, monumental conception and arrangement of elements somewhat formally within still loosely fluid Nature scenes, with human figures as focal points dominating them; the gradation of subdued colours from one side of the frieze to the other in a scheme which approximates to real mountain-landscape hues closer than in any other Aegean Bronze Age mural; and the impressive interest in depicting naturalistic details more realistically than at any other time in Minoan wall painting. Stylistically, this painting represents the acmē of this art, but for that reason it is exceptional.

The paintings of this period therefore retain many similarities in general style with those of MM IIIB/LM IA, but are distinguishable from the latter by less precise brushwork, their imitative character, their tendency towards grandiose and formal composition, less vivid colour-schemes, and other features yet to be summarised.

(c) Background treatment

In LM I Cretan frescoes, backgrounds are treated in much the same way as in the previous period, although the large figured frieze from Hagia Triada suggests broad monochrome background bands may extend more widely over the entire pictorial zone than

before (SLIDE 54, left). In the Cyclades, however, there is a change from the undulating red-coloured band or landscaped treatments of MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes to backgrounds in simple, rather "watery", overall washes of colour, notably in ochre-yellow but to a lesser extent in blue and red, too. Though background colours may still undulate, they cover the entire background surface; but overall monochrome washes seem prevalent. These effectively "close" the composition with a backcloth of colour in contrast to the more "open" background character of MM IIIB/LM IA Cycladic frescoes. There is also a return to the solid, stable, red monochrome MM III background treatment in the LM I(?B) honeysuckle-flower painting, also in a "papier-collé" arrangement, from Ialysos (PLATE 93C).

In this period, then, we find a general tendency towards filling backgrounds with more colour than in frescoes of MM IIIB/LM IA or very early LM IA date, consequently detracting from the impression of very lively movement in composition: for "solid" background colour imparts a stability to the entire design of a painting.

(d) Border stripes and dadoes

Border stripes, perhaps uniformly wider, duller in colour-contrasts and fewer in number in any one composition than previously, are poorly represented in the surviving LM I material. So, too, dado areas, although it is clear from the large frieze from Hagia Triada that "impressionistic" imitations of wooden dadoes - indistinguishable from those of MM IIIB/LM IA date - continue.

(e) "Miniature" painting

Extensive "miniature" scenes incorporating both Nature and human subjects occur at Tylissos and at Hagia Irini on Keos. These show architectural façades, and hunting, processional, athletic, boating, and libation or cooking preparations, as well as a crowd scene of men at Tylissos (Fig. 30) and elements of Nature scenes at Hagia Irini (PLATES 197-198).

These compositions show beyond doubt that execution of "miniature" scenes in their own right had begun in earnest by LM I, but the fact that they are also provincial compositions whose styles of painting and choice of subjects clearly derive from those of early "schools", notably at Knossos (e.g. "School I"), strongly suggests such scenes had already become part of the mural repertoire at more important centres at an earlier date. This point, if true, reflects further on the importance of the more fragmentary evidence for MM IIIB/LM IA "miniature" painting.

(f) Brushwork and outline

Precision in brushwork and outline is less assured than in previous periods; shapes tend to lose sharp, crisp contours (e.g. PLATE 112A), except perhaps in the finest painting of the period - the large frieze from Hagia Triada (SLIDE 54). But even here we find some heavy black outlining in the contour of the priestess on the left, on the undersides of large, otherwise painterly, lily leaves there, and in the drawing of the cats (PLATES 23A and 97B). There is also a fluidly irregular and impressionistic linear treatment of rockwork there, unlike any brushwork in earlier periods. The feathery texture of birds in the same painting, however, is more realistically characterised than ever before (PLATE 87B). On the whole, however, outlines and textural expression are avoided in LM I paintings in general, and black lines - as before - are usually reserved for accentuation of details.

In LM I Cycladic painting, black outlining evidently is less favoured than in the previous MM IIIB/LM IA period and a return to a more painterly manner of brushwork is evident.

(g) Colour usage

Colour is treated much as in MM IIIB/LM IA, although colour contrasts seem gentler and less exotic and are distinctly tonal in the large frieze from Hagia Triada where they create a smooth

visual flow of colour transitions across the entire pictorial plane. In the Cyclades, outline diminishes as more painterly overall treatments come into fashion.

(h) Techniques of execution

In LM I, we find fewer "slips" and preliminary sketches than in MM IIIB/LM IA paintings. The finish (and brushwork) of the frescoes is often indifferently carried out, in some cases without polishing over the painted elements (e.g. PLATE 112A). This is usually only light, but perhaps finer in the frieze from Hagia Triada. Plasters seem generally slightly thicker on average depth and a purer white than in MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes. There is now less use of "impasto", and string-impressed lines seem larger and less delicately executed than in earlier periods (e.g. PLATE 139 A-B). The latter illustration also shows the use of coarsely incised lines on the surface of a "slip" to mark out the path of the dotted spiral design. Clearly the present paintings confirm a trend towards decreasingly precise and carefully executed technique which was already beginning in MM IIIB times.

Fig.52

(p.424)

Fig.52: Table of the Sequence and Influences of "Schools" of painters

PERIOD	KNOSSOS TOWN	KNOSSOS PALACE
MM IIIA	SCHOOL H	School H
MM IIIB	SCHOOL J	SCHOOL A (MM IIIB: Phylakopi) SOMBRE SPIRAL PAINTER (MM IIIB: ? Phylakopi)
MM IIIB/LM IA	SCHOOL I (LM IA: Prasa, Thera (2). LM IB: H.Triada, Keos, ? Phaistos LM I: Amnisos. LH IIIB: Pylos).	PHYLAKOPI: Women and Flying Fish painter (LM IA: Ialyssos, Keos). THERA: (1) Swallows, Boxer and Oryx "school" (2) Monkey painters
LM IA (early)	CARAVANSERAI SCHOOL (LM IA: ?Thera. LM IB: H.Triada)	SCHOOL B/C (LM IA: Prasa, ? Katsamba, Thera. LM IB: Epano Zakro, H.Triada, Keos, Nirou Chani, Palaiakastro, Tylissos, Zakro Palace. LM I: Amnisos).
LM II	School D House of the High Priest	SCHOOL D (LM IIIA 1: H.Triada)
LM II/IIIA 1		LATE MINIATURE SCHOOL
LM II-III A 1	School F Temple of Demeter site	SCHOOL E ?
LM IIIA 1		SCHOOL F (LM IIIA 1: H.Triada)
		SCHOOL G (LM IIIA 1: H.Triada)

KEY: Red arrows → - Probable artistic influence

- Black arrows → - Principal topographical sphere of "school"
- Underlined date - Fresco find-context (Site)
- Underlined date - Probably influenced by a Knossian "school"

SUMMARY I

MM IIIA TO LM IB PAINTINGS FROM FIRM CONTEXTS

Tables I-IV have shown there are firmly stratified frescoes from every main period and its sub-divisions from MM IIIA to LM IB. Analysis I, incorporating the results of Chapter IX, has also shown that our "schools" of painters or notable individual artists belong to different periods: the evidence for this is both stratigraphical and historical in terms of phases of building activity. Moreover, Analysis I has enabled us to discern the characteristics of wall painting of a period and also patterns of development or decline in at least eight major aspects of Minoan wall painting, ranging from design in composition to techniques of execution, which are at the root of general stylistic changes in the art from period to period. Further, the "schools" of later dates invariably drew upon and adapted the achievements of their predecessors. These results indicate beyond reasonable doubt that a stylistic sequence in Minoan wall painting is traceable from period to period. We may therefore draw the major conclusion that this stylistic sequence is also chronologically significant; and it has seemed generally true that the paintings may reasonably be ascribed a date at least one chronological phase earlier than that of their destruction contexts, on comparative stylistic considerations.

The Table at Fig. 52 shows the chronological sequence and directions of influence of the major "schools" of artists or important individuals who flourished between MM IIIA and LM IB. Three stylistic branches of painting with their own characteristics have been apparent: (1) "schools" decorating town houses at Knossos; (2) "schools" working in the palace at Knossos; and (3) Cycladic "schools". This Table also takes into account the results of later analyses of frescoes from later contexts which

include paintings whose dates of manufacture were considerably earlier.

A chronological review of the eight aspects considered in detail in Analysis I shows that from MM IIIA onwards subject-matter, style, design in composition, artistic intent (content), treatment of backgrounds and border stripes, and colour usage become increasingly sophisticated and interesting as time passes; but in the "finish" and perhaps also in the brushwork and use of line there is a gradual decline in their quality as we approach the next period, LM II, where we shall find major differences with LM I or earlier work in all these aspects.

TABLE V. FRESCOES FROM LM II AND LM IIIA 1 CONTEXTS

ANALYSIS II

FRESCOES FROM LM II AND LM IIIA 1 CONTEXTS

Frescoes from LM II contexts (c. 1450-1400 B.C.): Table V

Only one group is known, depicting dadoes with spiraliform arrangements of rosettes, from House E at Mallia (PLATE 199). The very heavy black outlines used here and the very heavy style and coloration are unmatched in earlier compositions, and so a date in LM II seems assured. Consideration of the characteristics of paintings from Knossos attributable stylistically to LM II corroborates this, as we shall see later.

Frescoes from LM IIIA 1 contexts (c. 1400-1380 B.C.): Table V

Two styles of painting are evident. The finer style is represented by floral and banded fragments from Ialysos (Stratum IIB, Room 8, House 1) seen at PLATE 104B. Such is the exquisitely delicate painting, attentive to neat, crisp contour, to calligraphic execution of details of leaves and stems, and to warmth in colouring and colour-combination (orange with lightish green for the lilies) that there is little difficulty in recognising here a MM IIIB/LM IA or LM I style of painting. Indeed, only in the LM IA frieze from Hagia Triada and in other LM IA lily frescoes from Ialysos itself are lily stems treated as delicately (cf PLATES 91C and 104A). Further, the present flowers with "separated" petals exactly correspond to MM IIIB and LM IA Cycladic lily forms (cf PLATES 101C-D and 104A, respectively). A date, probably very early in LM IA, if not earlier still, for these entirely painterly pieces seems certain; and we may explain their discovery (not *in situ*) in a house erected after LM IB as probably due to their occurrence as fill from earlier debris used in the construction of the house walls.

By contrast, the Knossian fragments from LM IIIA 1 contexts are uniformly heavier in style, brushwork and coloration. Much

black paint appears for both outlines and representation of motifs; and the drawing in general is bold - almost harsh, except for the bull's head where hairy texture is carefully noted - and bordering on untidiness in the paintings of shrines, rosettes and triglyphs, and "miniature" male heads on a roughly painted undulating coloured background. The latter we have seen may be modelled after the styles of Painters B and E of "School C" in the palace (p. 325) which suggests a later date. Here, indeed, and in the sun-rosette motif, white "impasto" spots are crudely shaped and much larger by LM I or earlier analogy, and they are applied over lightly polished or matt surfaces, lacking "slips". The lower borders of the shrines, featuring a rosette band crudely defined in black outline and concentric circles of colour, is typical also of a series of late paintings by Knossian artists at Hagia Triada, in one of which there occurs a LM II/IIIA 1/2 vessel (p. 78. Cf PLATES 48, from Knossos, and 14B (detail at 57) from Hagia Triada). These features alone suggest this style of painting, unparalleled at an earlier date elsewhere, emerged at Knossos sometime in LM II-IIIA 1, and a date for our pieces on the borders of LM II/IIIA 1 (c. 1400 B.C.) or even in LM II seems reasonable.

TABLE VI KNOSSOS FRESCOS FROM LM IIIA 1/2(early) CONTEXTS

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH- OOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND- CIRCS. P- REF	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DESTRUCTION CONTEXT
KNOSSOS PALACE							
Grand Staircase Procession	5	B	44; 45	80(6); 92(4)	675; 702	MM IIIB/LM IA	?LM IIIA 1/2e
Girl bull-leaper in relief	42 A-B, D-E	B	7; 13g	80(6); 89(14); 93(15)	675; 696; 709	"	(LM IIIB)*
Girl bull-leaper in relief	42C	B	8; 13g	? 93(11)	(708)	"	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature flutes	43D	B	12d	89(10)	696	(MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature bucranium	43B	B	12e	89(10)	696	(MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature winged griffin	43E	B	12f	89(10)	696	(MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature winged sphinx	43F	B	12i	89(10)	697	(MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature sphinx or griffin	43G	B	12g	89(10)	697	(MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature enigmatic subj.	43H	B	12j	89(10)	696	(MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature flying blue bird	43A	B	12b	? 89(10)	-	(?)	(?LM IIIB)*
"Jewel Fresco"	44A	B	14; 13u	82(5)	683	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IIIA 1/2e
Olive tree in relief	116A	B	32g	83(3)	691	"	(" burnt)*
Myrtle tree	116B	B		83(1-2)	691	"	(" burnt)*
Charging bull in relief	76	B		83(2)	691	"	(" burnt)*
Bull-leaper's leg, relief	42F	B		83(2)	691	"	(" burnt)*
Rockwork in relief	69A	B		83(2)	691	"	(" burnt)*
Spiral relief ceiling	141A	B		83(6)	692	"	" ; burnt
Spiral relief ceiling	141B	B		92(5)	702	"	LM IIIA 1/2e
Men & women in relief	16, 17B, 41A-B	B		92(5)	702	"	"
Bulls in relief	16 C-D	B		92(5)	702	"	"
Griffin frieze in relief	132; 136A	B	.	92(5)	702	"	"
Priest-King in relief	18	B	1; 13p	81(3)	677	"	"
"Peacock" butterfly	-	B	27k	81(3)	677	"	"
Lotus in relief	98A	B	29g	93(14)	709	"	(?LM IIIB)*
Lotus	98B	B		93(7)	705f	"	LM IIIA 1/2e
Lotus	98C	B		-	-	(?)	(?)
Bird's wing	88C	B		89(10)	696	(MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Miniature Temple Fresco	26	C(A)	15	89(5-6)	692	MM IIIB/LM IA	LM IIIA 1/2e
Miniature priestess frags	27A, Bl, ?C	C(A)		89(7)	692	"	"
Miniature Sacred Dance	29-31B	C(B)	13e, k	89(5-6)	692	"	"
Warriors and Captain	6 A-B	C(B)		89(5-6)	692	"	"
Miniature priestesses	27D	C(C)		89(??a-d, 10)	693	"	"
Miniature priestesses	27 B2-3	C(D)		89(??a-d, 10)	693	"	"
Miniature priestesses	28A	C(E)		89(??a-d, 10)	693	"	"
Miniature shrine roof	46B	C		89(5-6)	692	"	"
Procession Fresco	14A (top)	D	18 (4b)	80(4)	674	(MM IIIB/LM IA)	"
Cupbearer	7A; 8	D	9; 13x; 18(9)	80(5)	675	(")	"
Youth's head	7B	D	3	93(11)	708	(MM IIIA if not MM IIIB/LM IA)	(LM IIIB)*
Man in long kilt	12C	D		80(6)	675	(")	(LM IIIB)*
Man with stone bowl	56A	D	19(11b)	89(10)	697	(")	(LM IIIB)*
Cloaked man's arm	13B	D		91(2)	-	(MM IIIB/LM IA)	LM IIIA 1/2e
Female ankle	166 C4	D		89(10)	-	(MM IIIA if not MM IIIB/LM IA)	(LM IIIB)*
Kilt fragment	9B	D		93(18)	709f	(MM IIIB/LM IA)	LM IIIA 1/2e
Kilt fragment	-	D		93(6)	705	(")	"
Dado and bull	80B & 145B	D	43f	80(1)	674	(")	"
Shield Fresco	63A	D		93(6)	705	(")	"
Griffins (Throne Room)	127-129	D	53; 38-39	82(1)	680ff	LM IIe	"
Bull (Antechamber ")	-	D		82(3)	680ff	LM IIe	"
Veined dado (Corr. Proc.)	161A	D		81(6)		(MM IIIB/LM IA)	"
Dado (Q's Meg, E. lightwell)	147A	D		93(13-13)	-	(MM IIIA if not MM IIIB/LM IA)	(LM IIIB)*
Veined dado (HM 11△ VIII, 10)	-	D		82(? north of 1)	-	LM IIe	LM IIIA 1/2e
Dado (HM 79 Z XVI, 4)	-	D		93(3, 21)	-	(MM IIIB/LM IA)	"
Dado (HM 72 B X, 4 & 6)	-	D		93(11)	-	(MM IIIA if not MM IIIB/LM IA)	(?LM IIIB)*
Dado (HM 25 H IV, 3)	-	D		89(10)	-	(")	(LM IIIB)*
Spiral frieze	155B	D		93(10)	707	(")	LM IIIA 1/2e

(Continued)

⊗ = Burnt in LM IIIA 1/2(e), but in later context;

* = late dump

TABLE VI continued: LM IIIA 1/2(e) contexts

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH- OOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND- CIRCS. P. REF.	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DESTRUCTION CONTEXT
KNOSSOS palace, continued							
Spiral fragments	140E; 171 A2	D		93(11)	-	MM IIIA; F. no. 5 (MM IIIB/LMIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Spiral fragment	140B	D		91(north of 1)	-	(MM IIIA?)	(?)
Spiral fragment	167 A7	D		? 92(1-2)	-	(?)	(?)
Spiral frag (HM62 A VI, 10)	-	D		91(2)	-	(MM IIIB/LMIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Spiral fragment	Fig. 96	D		93(9)	707	("")	? LM IIIA 1/2e
Spiral frag (HM52 0 VII, 2)	-	D		92(N of 1-2)	-	(?)	(?)
Spiral fragment	166 A2, 3, 6	D		89(10)	-	(? MM IIIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Argonaut fresco	Fig. 12; 170B	D		93(2)	704	(MM IIIB/LMIA) (or LMIA)	LM IIIA 1/2e
Bull & floral fresco	PM III, Fig. 225	D		93(3 upper fl)	704	(MM IIIB/LMIA)	"
Floral composition	111C	D		93(6)	705	("")	"
Bull	75 A-C	D		93(6)	(705)	("")	"
Horses' manes	62A	D		-	-	(?)	(?)
Dolphin Fresco	121-122; 120D	D	36 b-c, f	93(11, 13)	708	(MM IIIB/LMIA)	(LM IIIB)*
Dado bands (Grand Stairc.)	-	D	44 top right	93(1)	704	("")	LM IIIA 1/2e
Dado bands (Room of Cists)	-	D		82(7)	683	("")	"
Dado bands (Throne Room)	PM IV, Fig. 883	D		82(2)	680ff	LM IIe	"
Dado bands (West Mags.)	-	D	43a	86(in red)	686	(MM IIIB/LMIA)	"
Taureador panel A	71-72	E	46-47	91(2)	699	MM IIIB/LMIA	LM IIIA 1/2e
Taureador panel B	73 B-D	E	46; 48; 23a	91(2)	699	"	"
Taureador panel C	73A; 40A	E	46; 49	91(2)	699	"	"
Taureador panel D	73C	E	46; 50; 13f	91(2)	699	"	"
Taureador panel E	40 B3	E	51	92(5)	-	"	"
Taureador girl's shoulder	39A	E		91(2)	699	"	"
Male bull-leaper	40 B2	E		92(5)	-	"	"
Dancing Girl Fresco	32	E		93(12-13)	708f	"	(LM IIIB)*
Dual Chariot Fresco	59	F(A)	20; 60; 23f	81(5)	677f	MM IIIB/LMIA	? LM IIIA 1/2e
"				89(10)	457	"	LM IIIB*
"				92(6)	702	"	? LM IIIA 1/2e
Trussed ox/dappled chariot	Vol. IV, G, Fig. 3A-B	F(A)		93(13S); 89(10)	-	"	? LM IIIB*
Male bull-leaper (ANAE 1862)	-	F(A)		-	-	(?)	(?)
Male figure	15E	F(?A)		80(6)	675	(MM IIIA?)	(LM IIIB)*
"Palanquin" or shrine	51	F(B)		81(4)	677	MM IIIB/LMIA	LM IIIA 1/2e
Cloaked man	51 A1	F(B)		? 93(13-16)	-	(?)	(?)
Seated priestly figure	Vol. IV, G, Fig. 6C	F(B)		93(S of 13)	-	MM IIIB/LMIA	? LM IIIB)*
Camp Stool Fresco	54; 15A; 55	G	4; (16-18)	86(1)	686	MM IIIB; F. no. 5 (MM IIIA 1/2e)	LM IIIA 1/2e
Two male heads	15B	G		? 89(10)	-	(?)	(?)
Male head	15C	G		? 86(3)	687	MM IIIB; F. no. 5 (MM IIIA 1/2e)	? LM IIIA 1/2e
Horses' manes	62B	G		N of 89	-	(?)	(?)
Spirals and rosettes	-			81(2)	677	MM IIIB/LMIA	LM IIIA 1/2e
Olive spray	-			82(6)	683	"	"
Griffin's wing	-			82(5)	683	"	"
Necklace	44B		13n	93(5)	705	"	"
LM IIIA 1 plaster-bowls	152 A-C			86(4)	687	LM IIIA 1	LM IIIA 1/2e
ROYAL ROAD/NORTH, KNOSSOS							
Miniature rosette on blue	195 F5			-	729	MM IIIA	? LM IIIA 1/2e

(continued)

*= late dumps

TABLE VI continued: LM IIIA 1/2(e) contexts

ANALYSIS III
 FRESCOES FROM LM IIIA 1/2(early) CONTEXTS
 IN THE PALACE AT KNOSSOS
 (Table VI)

The frescoes for present consideration are those destroyed in the Final Destruction of the palace at Knossos as a palace, c. 1375 B.C., on the borders of LM IIIA 1/2(early). They can hardly be earlier than MM IIIB/LM IA, for the reason already given (p. 377) ⁽³⁹⁾. Six styles of painting are distinguishable and they correspond to the styles of the six Knossian "schools", B, C, D, E, F and G, reviewed in Chapter IX.

The reconstruction of the Second Palace after the MM IIIB earthquake would certainly have presented great scope for a general redecoration of the palace walls, and therefore we may suppose a priori that one of the larger of our six "schools" would have undertaken that task. Only "schools" B and D appear to qualify, if our attributions of paintings to them is acceptable. But "School D" evidently was responsible for the last major redecoration of the palace - whenever that may have been - because only paintings by that "school" were actually found in situ on the walls of the destroyed palace. This leaves only "School B" as likely to have carried out such a redecoration of the palace in MM IIIB/LM IA or very early LM IA. In that case, we may reasonably expect "School B" to show stylistic and other similarities both to the MM IIIB palatial scheme of decoration and to contemporary MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes from sites outside Knossos.

In the discussion which follows, dates of attribution of the frescoes proposed earlier in this chapter are followed by those of their destruction contexts placed in brackets ().

School B

In Chapter IX, "School B" was found to show affinities with frescoes from eight sites in the rest of Crete and the Cyclades (pp. 359f and 362-364); the paintings in question come exclusively from LM I destruction contexts among which three are of LM IA date (Katsamba, Prasa and Thera).⁽⁴⁰⁾ This suggests "School B" was active in LM IA or earlier, as is borne out on closer examination of the material.

The chief subject-matter and themes of "School B", depicting a series of processional, priestess or goddess, athletic and bull-leaping, scenes relating to a festive cult in honour of the Minoan goddess continues the MM IIIB palatial scheme at Knossos, to judge by the works of "School A" and the occurrence of MM IIIB bull and bull-leaper or bull-catcher relief frescoes in the palace (MM IIIB; and MM IIIB/LM IA). Similar scenes, though lacking bull-leaping episodes, occur in the LM IA provincial "miniatures" from Tylissos and Hagia Irini on Keos (both LM IB). Spiral relief friezes by "School B" also have provincial counterparts in relief fresco from the palace at Zakro (LM IB).

This "school" shows a love for "miniature" pictorial dress motifs such as are otherwise known only in paintings of MM IIIB (Phylakopi) or MM IIIB/LM IA date (Katsamba, LM IA). Among these are a stylised "miniature" blue bird with a lilac-pink collar, remarkably similar to the more famous "blue birds" from the MM IIIB/LM IA "Bird and Monkey" frieze by "School I", and also human and animal heads seen en face - a feature of painting only known so far in frescoes attributable to MM IIIB/LM IA at Knossos and Thera.⁽⁴¹⁾

Dress motifs in general are "miniaturistic" and their manner of drawing "calligraphic" in paintings by "School B", features we have already found in MM IIIB/LM IA paintings from Katsamba (LM IA), Prasa (LM IA), Pseira - here in relief (LM IB), and from the palace at Knossos itself in pieces from the "Ivory Deposit"

(LM IB, if not MM IIIB).⁽⁴²⁾

In figure-drawing, black outline is used very sparingly except for dress motifs, and the modelling of the human form - whether in relief or "on the flat" - is noticeably sinuous as in the MM IIIB/LM IA or very early LM IA "Boxers" fresco from Thera and in the goddess or priestess reliefs from Pseira attributed to the earlier date (LM IB)⁽⁴³⁾. In the former painting (Fig. 35A) we also find a long curly hairstyle imitative of that characteristic of human figures by "School B" (Type A), while the hairstyle of the MM IIIB/LM IA goddess from Prasa affords an even closer parallel (LM IA)⁽⁴⁴⁾. Both male and female garments depicted by "School B" are the same as we find in other MM IIIB/LM IA or LM IA Cretan paintings - the flounced skirt with open bodice and the Minoan brief kilt; while the distinctive manner of showing vertical blue and red stripes on the kilt of the "Priest-King" relief fresco (SLIDE 1) is so far repeated only on the skirt of a MM IIIB/LM IA relief figure from Pseira (PLATE 25) and on that of the priestess in the large LM IA frieze from Hagia Triada (LM IB; SLIDE 54, left).

The colour-schemes adopted by "School B" are gay, busy and bright, with much attention given to minutiae of detail - notably in the use of very small white "impasto" spots for additional decorative effect. In these respects the artists of "School B" show an outlook in the use of colour which is best compared in general terms with that of the painters of "School I", assigned to MM IIIB/LM IA, to whom colourful detail was also dear. The comparison of "blue birds" cited above indeed underlines this point.

On background treatments and border stripes by "School B" we have little information, for only tiny traces survive in their paintings. However, broad undulating background bands in red, yellow and grey - a background colour otherwise used in Minoan painting only in MM III - certainly appeared in the "Staircase"

series of friezes by this "school" (SLIDE 44 - grey not indicated). The impression is given that backgrounds were filled with more colour than in MM IIIB/LM IA paintings from outside Knossos, but this was also an apparent feature of the MM IIIB "Ladies in Blue" fresco and seems generally to have been the case in figured scenes at Knossos in later periods, too. Relief paintings by "School B" also suggest an interest in depth in background space.

In style the works by "School B" are highly decorative and naturalistic in character. Details and overall shapes were carefully executed; and in the reliefs there is a monumental quality which emphasises both the beauty, dignity and the physical power of the human figure, seen in vigorous action or quiet repose⁽⁴⁵⁾. These features seem consistent with MM IIIB-LM IA figure-drawing in Minoan murals, so far as we can presently estimate it. Design in composition is difficult to assess owing to the very fragmentary nature of the original compositions; but the relief griffin frieze by this "school" shows an antithetic "heraldic" arrangement such as occurs in MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes by other "schools"⁽⁴⁶⁾.

In technical matters, the plasters frequently used by "School B" are flat at the back, fairly thin, and white to a sandy-colour, as in the paintings of "School I". We also encounter a fair to moderate polish of painted surfaces - sometimes having good "slips" - on which black outlines and white "impasto" spots of paint were added afterwards; the polish is higher in the case of relief frescoes - not readily distinguishable from that of MM IIIB relief-work. Relief modelling itself of human, animal and spiral motifs is otherwise known in frescoes from MM III to LM IB contexts only, in paintings attributable to MM IIIB, MM IIIB/LM IA and LM IA⁽⁴⁷⁾.

These considerations alone point to a date for "School B" in MM IIIB/LM IA or, at the latest, very early LM IA. In that case we may consider this "school" to be the one which redecorated the palace after the MM IIIB earthquake disaster at much the same

time as "School I" was decorating newly built town houses at Knossos.

The influence of both these Knossian "schools" on Minoan wall painting outside the capital was immense. Among the paintings as yet undated from LM IB contexts (footnote 37), the "sacral knot" from Nirou Chani (PLATE 53C) and the goddess representation from Epano Zakro (p. 359f) may also be attributed to MM IIIB/LM IA or early LM IA, for their style, motifs and brush-work suggest they may have been painted by members of the same "School B". But the goddess in relief from Palaikastro (p. 365) and the relief spiral frieze from the palace at Zakro (p. 364f) may be LM IA in date, to judge by the imitative and provincial character of their execution.

School C

The circumstances of finding of the chief deposits of "miniature" paintings by "School C" suggest an intimate connection with the palatial mural scheme of "School B". The only other fresco recorded from the "Room of the Spiral Cornice and Miniature Frescoes" is the spiral ceiling relief design at PLATE 141A (p. 692), attributed to "School B" (p. 316), which seems to have decorated the ceiling of the same room that once contained the famous "miniature" panels, as part of a single scheme of mural decoration put up by the same artists. In that case, "School C" is to be identified with "School B". This suggestion is reasonable in view of the many points of similarity in motifs, theme and technical execution between the paintings of "schools" B and C, already noted (p. 318f). Indeed, the present paintings seem entirely complementary to the larger works of "School B" and therefore show strong connections also with the presumed MM IIIB mural scheme in the palace at Knossos (notably with the "Ladies in Blue" fresco; cf PLATES 26 and 29 with 19). So, too,

with the provincial "miniature" paintings attributed to LM IA from Tylissos and Hagia Irini on Keos (both LM IB) which may have derived their subjects, theme and style from the work of "School C/B" (pp. 364 and 366f). Moreover, the present "miniatures" represent architectural details comparable to those of the MM IIIB "miniature" entablature fragment from Knossos (Fig. 85, p. 684; MM IIIB/LM IA). Further, new "miniatures" from a firm LM IA context from Thera depict "persons before a columnar building" (AAA V (1972) Pt. I, p. 3). These general considerations therefore point to a date in MM IIIB/LM IA for these paintings.

Their vivacious style of painting, in which the various dispositions of arms and heads enliven groups of figures more noticeably than in the MM IIIB "Ladies in Blue" fresco, seems characteristic of figure-painting in MM IIIB/LM IA. So, too, the undulating treatment of background colours, the attempts to show depth in space in the crowd scenes, and the centrifugal character of design in composition which encircle the chief focal points of the scenes. Further, there is high interest and delicacy in representing minutiae of details in both principal and subordinate subject matter which we have seen to be characteristic of the paintings of "School B" and "School I" in the same period. Notable, in this respect, are the very close similarity of hairstyles of the main female "miniature" figures with that for both men and women drawn by "School B" (cf. women in Fig. 49 with SLIDE 2), and the abundant use of very small rounded spots of white "impasto" paint. Further comparison of details would support this attribution of the present paintings to "School B" and MM IIIB/LM IA. (48)

School D

The earliest date for the "floruit" of "School D" is established by that for the construction of the Throne Room System in the palace which contained at least four frescoes attributable to this "school" (see Table VI). That date is, unfortunately, disputed but may well have been early in LM II as Evans claimed (v. Appendix A, p.681ff). As many paintings by this "school" were actually found in situ on their walls - including in the Throne Room itself - we may provisionally suppose the last major redecoration of the palace was conducted by "School D" sometime in LM II.

That this "school" flourished later than LM I seems certain on consideration of our usual criteria, for each aspect of painting exhibits characteristics unparalleled in periods earlier than LM II. In subjects and themes we find, in addition to features continuing the MM III-LM I Cretan tradition, militaristic elements such as great figure-of-eight shields and a horse (and chariot?) painting which are new to Cretan murals: hitherto such subjects have turned up only in LM IA "miniatures" from Keos in scenes which appear to belong to the Mycenaean pictorial repertoire. Figures with medium-length (B) hairstyles and long forms of kilts and cloaks now appear, and men are more prominent than women in paintings by this "school". Various vessels appear in the processional scenes by "School D", but these imitate semi-precious originals in metal or stone not closely dateable within LM I-III A (pp. 78-80 above).

In style, however, the heavy quality and "tectonic", symmetrically balanced, designs in composition, the repetitiously static disposition of awesome but somewhat rigidly-drawn, large and bulky, figures who are majestic but no longer lithely sinuous, and the heavy character of brushwork and line, make these paintings clearly later than LM I. Moreover, there is now little interest

in background features, such as floral or faunal subjects, except when the artists sought a mere backcloth effect. Most significantly, there is no depth to background space: the difference with MM IIIB/LM IA to LM IB paintings in this respect is as marked as that between the Second and Third Styles of Pompeian wall painting! Nature is no longer of great interest, for Man himself is now the primary centre of attention. This, however, seems a natural artistic development from LM I figured paintings of the class of the large frieze from Hagia Triada where we found the human figure "dominating" essentially Nature scenes (SLIDE 54). Further, there is a marked tendency of "School D" to depict very large, near monumental, motifs in highly formal, antithetic or hieratic arrangements lacking the sense of life and movement which we have encountered in comparable paintings of earlier dates (e.g. the Amnisos floral friezes, SLIDE 59; very early LM IA).

Backgrounds are usually empty of subordinate subjects or else highly stylised, as, for example, in the treatment of rock-work relegated to the fringe of the pictorial zone above the Cupbearer's head (SLIDE 9). "Double-lines" in the Procession Fresco seem a pale reflection of coloured bands in the backgrounds of MM IIIB/LM IA paintings (e.g. SLIDE 58). Large expanses of colour in broad undulating bands on a horizontal axis - often in "watery" or streaky paints - have become a chief means of indicating movement in the design, along with the simple repetition of principal subjects. Since the background bands are coloured, the compositions once more become strongly stabilized and flat in contrast to MM IIIB/LM IA-LM I Cretan paintings.

Border stripes in pictorial scenes and dadoes have become large, even coarse, by earlier analogy, with fewer colour-combinations and simpler spacing arrangements⁽⁴⁹⁾, while dadoes

below pictorial frescoes are now heavily linearised in imitation of stone dadoes. Imitation of wooden dadoes appears to have ceased at Knossos. No "miniature" paintings are certainly attributable to "School D", unless we may here count those of LM II/IIIA 1 date considered above at p.428f; and interest in representing highly colourful painted or linear minutiae of detail has fallen off sharply.

In brushwork and line we find the artists making great use of black for heavy outlines and heavy inner details in ways alien to earlier Cretan practice, and in these respects the works of "School D" fit in with the paintings of LM II-IIIA 1 dates and contexts from Knossos and Mallia (p.428f above). Their use of line is frequently seen to be careless on close inspection (e.g. PLATE 63A - spirals; and rosettes at PLATE 140). The leaves of plants are heavily painterly, but with lower edges and veins marked in black outline - a feature which seems directly inspired by the treatment of large plant-leaves in certain LM I paintings (e.g. PLATE 23A, from Hagia Triada; LM IA).

Colour, too, is used more heavily than before, as we have already noticed in the case of background treatments; blue, red, off-yellow and white contrasts are introduced with little variation, and there now seem far fewer shades (or "values") of these colours. The liveliness of MM IIIB/LM IA-LM I colour usage is lacking, and there is a noticeable tendency to apply paints leaving evidence of brushstrokes especially in background areas (PLATES 8, 10-11) and on limbs (e.g. PLATE 56A).

Plasters tend to be thicker than in LM I, up to 4.5cm in depth, medium-grained, white to off-white and lacking "slips". Spots of white "impasto" are now very large by LM I or earlier comparison - as in the LM II/IIIA 1 "sun-rosette" fresco fragment at PLATE 49C. Surface polishing is only fair, or even absent. (50)

These considerations alone suggest a date for "School D" in LM II or IIIA 1. But there are other features in the paintings of that "school" which show close continuity with a style of painting already emerging in Crete in LM I - best seen in the frieze from Hagia Triada (SLIDE 54). Among these we may mention the heavy outlining of the human figure and of the lower edges of plant-leaves in black (cf PLATE 23A); a preference for large painterly dress motifs in large string-impressed grids (cf PLATES 8-11 with 21, from Hagia Triada); the "plotting out" of plants one by one (cf PLATES 127 and 21); representation of the human figure as the focal point in a floral landscape; a grandiose scale of representation; the subordination of colour to design; and the use of large coloured undulating bands to fill much of the background space. The spirals of "School D" seem flat two-dimensional versions of the relief ceiling designs by "School B" which, however, are far more carefully painted; and if Gilliéron's copy of the dado below a floral frieze from Amnisos is right (PLATE 96; cf PLATE 95), the veined dado design typical of "School D" was already current in LM IA(early).

Thus, while the style of painting of "School D" is consistent with a date in LM II, or perhaps in LM IIIA 1, close connections with LM I painting point to a date early in LM II as preferable.

School E

The paintings by this "school" - the famous "Taureador" series and the "Dancing Girl" (SLIDES 46-51 and PLATE 32) - may have been executed as early as MM IIIB/LM IA, although their destruction context seems LM IIIA 1/2(early). But the evidence for carelessness in brushwork seen in the treatment of hair of human figures, no "slips", the monochrome background colours void of subsidiary detail, the lengthened proportions of limbs and bodies, and the linearised decorative style of border treatment

seem indicative of a late style of painting. Indeed, the latter feature is best compared with the LM II/IIIA 1 paintings of "miniatures" from Knossos discussed above (p.428f). The manner of drawing hands comes close to that of "School G" firmly assignable to LM IIIA 1 (see p. 446 below; cf PLATES 40C and 55, by "School G"). The stippled treatment of the hide of a grey bull may be compared with that of the decoration of ox-hides in the Shield Frescoes by "School D", attributed to LM II (cf PLATES 73C and 63A, D3). Further, the Taureador frescoes introduce a new feature to Minoan wall painting in the artistic division of a frieze into panels by means of vertical and horizontal border stripes.

The design of the Taureador frescoes is repetitively formal, "heraldic" and simple, with human figures facing each other, one on each side of a charging bull and another above its back. Their disposition in symmetrical balance is entirely "tectonic", emphasising strong vertical and horizontal axes which throw attention onto the central figure above the animal as the focal point in each composition. The tectonic structure of these compositions is further emphasised by the relatively heavy series of vertical and horizontal border stripes. In these respects, these paintings exhibit the same compositional structure as characteristically occurs in paintings by "School D", and for that reason a similarly late date may be assumed. There is also considerable use of fine black outlines and the shapes of figures are immobile or arrested in flat background space which lacks any depth, as in the much larger Procession Fresco by "School D". A further point of similarity to works by that "school" is the use here of large areas of white "impasto" applied over the background colours and on which details of the human figures are painted. But two further features suggest the influence of relief frescoes of an earlier period: the indication

of thigh and leg muscles of two girl taureadors with fine, vertically aligned, parallel black lines recalls the manner of modelling the limbs of the Priest-King relief fresco attributed to "School B" (MM IIIB/LM IA; cf SLIDE 50 with PLATE 18), while the fine red lines on the bull's horns in the famous "Taureador Fresco" seem imitative of the treatment of relief bull's horns probably of MM IIIB or LM I date (cf SLIDE 47 with PLATE 77C).

These comparisons alone suggest "School E" was active in the palace at Knossos in LM II or IIIA 1, perhaps on the borders of LM II/IIIA 1.

School F

This "school", the earliest and latest dates for whose paintings are MM IIIB/LM IA and LM IIIA 1/2(early), introduces subjects and themes new to Cretan wall painting in representing a "dual chariot" leading a bull (SLIDE 20) towards a place of sacrifice where a priestly figure with a short sword or dagger is waiting (PLATE 51; see p. 341). This scene fits in thematically with the bull sacrifice on the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada attributable to LM IIIA 1/2 (early) as we shall see later (p. 473f). Although long cloaks, short-cropped hairstyles, and chariots whose type cannot be closely determined occur in LM I or earlier Cycladic frescoes⁽⁵¹⁾, they make their first appearance in Crete in the present paintings or in those of "School D" assigned to LM II. The folding stools in the so-called "Palanquin Fresco" (PLATE 51 A3) otherwise first appear in the LM IIIA 1 Camp Stool Fresco by "School G" (PLATE 54). The style, brushwork and figure-drawing also favour a late date.

The toy-like figures are depicted on a sort of "large miniature" scale, evidently a development from true "miniature" figure-drawing (e.g. of "School C") and one that was particularly

popular on the Greek mainland in LH IIIA-B military, chariot and hunting scenes in fresco. Mouths of present figures are often shown open, perhaps in imitation of the style of drawing of the Cupbearer (LM II: SLIDE 9). Hands are a round blob with a big thumb poking out, a detail of drawing unknown in LM I or earlier frescoes but one which recurs in the LM IIIA 1 Camp Stool Fresco (PLATE 55, left, holding cup) and regularly in LH III frescoes from the Greek mainland. Backgrounds which are flat and without depth may contain undulating bands of colour, as in the LM II/IIIA 1 "Spectators Fragment" from Knossos (cf SLIDE 20 and PLATE 28B); but that of the "Palanquin Fresco" is monochrome as in paintings by "School E". As in the Cupbearer Fresco, rockwork seems to have been relegated to the fringe of the composition, to judge by the place of the pebble motifs in the chariot painting (cf SLIDES 9 and 20).

The design of the chariot composition by "School F" is tectonic and symmetrical, balancing the bull against the horse leading the chariot in which the charioteer - the focal point of the picture - stands: he thus provides a strong vertical counter-direction to the otherwise horizontal flow of background colour, animals and chariot. This arrangement repeats the characteristic design of paintings by "schools" D and E. The drawing is stiff in both line and shape, making the subjects look like paste-ups. There is also much use of fine black outlines. In these respects there are strong similarities to the style of painting of "School E" assigned to LM II/IIIA 1.

Paints are applied thickly as in the Taureador frescoes - notably, a white expanse of "impasto" for the bull's head in the chariot scene. Spots of the same paint on the chariot itself (PLATE 59D) are coarsely shaped and large, as in other LM II-IIIA 1 paintings already considered (PLATES 28B and 49C). Surface polishing is only slight, and "slips" are missing.

This style of painting may reasonably be assigned to LM II-IIIA 1.

School G

The "floruit" of this "school" in LM IIIA 1 seems firmly indicated by the LM IIIA 1 (or IIIA 1/2(early)) kylix depicted in the principal painting of "School G", the Camp Stool Fresco (PLATES 54-55; p. 79). Moreover, the upper floor above the West Magazines XI-XVI apparently suffered a collapse or damage very early in LM IIIA 1 which called for some redecoration of reconstituted rooms: to one of them evidently belonged the Camp Stool Fresco⁽⁵²⁾. Plastering of walls was still being carried out in that area at the time of the Final Destruction, as shown by the LM IIIA bowls filled with lime-putty (in which the plasterers' finger-marks can still be seen) found hastily set aside in the cists of the Long Corridor at the time of the great destruction (PLATE 152 A-C). "School G" may therefore be considered as active in the years immediately preceding that destruction - perhaps within the period c. 1390-1375 B.C. In that case, one of the crudest styles of figure-painting brings mural decoration in the palace at Knossos to a close (pp. 343-345).

The paintings by this "school" exhibit many of the features we have seen to be characteristic of LM II-IIIA 1 paintings and "schools" at Knossos. Men are more numerous than women, and the figures wear long cloaks and medium-length hairstyles of Type B. Some are seated on folding stools as in the "Palanquin Fresco" by "School F". Very heavy black outlines are present, limbs are crudely shaped, and there is no interest in background space or in providing an architectural or landscaped setting. Backgrounds are flat and monochrome, although the register arrangement of the Camp Stool Fresco allows

alternation of background colours in different zones (PLATE 54). Border stripes, in a simple combination of black, red and white bands, are untidily painted, as is generally true of the figure-drawing. Movement in design is only indicated by repetition of the figures and by the directions in which they face. Interestingly, the proportions of seated figures come close to those of the figures in the Taureador Frescoes by "School E", with heads plus necks one-sixth the total length of bodies. A detail which suggests the present painters may have been influenced by the large-scale figures depicted by "School D" is the presence of the tear-gland in the wrong corner of the eye of "La Parisienne" (SLIDE 4), as seen in the Cupbearer Fresco (SLIDE 9). There is at best only a slight polish over the painted surfaces; "slips" are missing and plasters are thickish (3.0 cm or more) and medium-grained, in agreement with the general character of plasters of LM II-IIIA 1.

The sequence of palatial "schools" at Knossos

The above survey enables us to place the palatial "schools" of wall painters at Knossos in the following relative chronological order:

MM IIIA: School H (= School H in the town houses at Knossos)

MM IIIB: School A (contemporary with School J in the town); also the "sombre spiral School" (or painter)

MM IIIB/LM IA: School B = School C (contemporary with School I in the town houses at Knossos)

LM II: School D

LM II/IIIA 1: the "late miniature" painters (p.428f)
Also School E and School F

LM IIIA 1: School G

Stylistically, Knossian wall painting rises to a peak in MM IIIB/LM IA and gradually tapers off afterwards - but sharply so in LM II-IIIA 1. Technically, Minoan wall painting has

reached its peak of perfection already in MM IIIA and thereafter shows a steady decline.

There is presently a gap in the above sequence between MM IIIB/LM IA and LM II: it is suggested below that this may be filled by yet another "school" whose best preserved works were found in town houses at Knossos and in the LM I villa (Room 14) at Hagia Triada (SLIDE 54): v.p. 465ff.

Within this stylistic and chronological sequence in wall painting all other frescoes from Knossos can readily be fitted.

p. 449 TABLE VII FRESCOES FROM LM IIIA and UNDIFFERENTIATED LM IIIA 1/2e or B CONTEXTS

* late dump

TABLE VIII FRESCOES FROM LM IIIB CONTEXTS

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCH-OOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN(Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND-CIRCS. p.REF.	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DEST-RUCTION CONTEXT
KNOSSOS PALACE							
Reoccupation plaster	-			93(20)	710	LM IIIfA2e	LM IIIB
Reoccupation plaster	-			89(8)	693	"	"
Reoccupation plaster	-			97(3)	712	LM IIIB	"
Reoccupation plaster	-			89(10)	(455ff)	LM IIIA2e	"
North Threshing Floor Dump							
Cloaked woman	33 F-H		11	89(10)	695; 578; 462	MM IIIA?	" *
Leopard's head	83A	25; 23g		89(10)	695	"	" *
Relief man's fist	17C			89(10)	(695)	"	" *
Brown plant	112B			89(10)	(695; 459)	"	" *
Dolphin	123A			89(10)	(695; 462)	"	" *
Griffin's wing	131B			89(10)	(695)	"	" *
Queen's Megaron syst. dump							
Miniature bull-leapers	39C			93(12-14)	(463)	MM IIIB/LMIA	LM IIIB*
Dappled chariot	60 A-C		21	93(12-14)	(463; 578)	"	" *
Small fish	123B			93(12-14)	-	"	" *
Griffin's wing	131E			93(13,15)	(462)	"	" *
Griffin's wing	131H			93(13,15)	(462)	"	" *
Griffin's wing	131I			93(13,15)	(462)	"	" *
Griffin's wing	131K			93(12-14)	(462)	"	" *
Floor designs(?)	172 Bl-2			93(12-14)	-	"	" *
Reclining woman	187C			93(12-14)	(579)	"	" *
CARAVANSERAI, KNOSSOS							
Partridge, Hoopoe frieze	86; 100; 107C & 115E		27b, d; 32c, e	99(1)	715	"	"
ROYAL ROAD/SOUTH, KNOSSOS							
Griffin's wing	131G			-	729	MM IIIB/LMIA	LM IIIB
Various pieces	191G			-	729	"	"
UNEXPLORED MANSION, KN							
Griffin (?)	130C; 195C-D			114(5)	737f	MM IIIB/LMIA	LM IIIB
Griffin (?)	195 A2			114(7)	738	"	" *
CHANIA, TOWN HOUSE							
Dado bands	-			-	742	LM IIIB1	LM IIIB
POST-MINOAN CONTEXTS (excluding entries in earlier Tables)							
KNOSSOS PALACE							
Bull's mane in relief	78C = 154A			97(4)	712	MM IIIA	Roman
HOUSE OF FRESCOES, KNOSSOS							
Captain of Blacks fresco	12A		10	103(6)	720; 578	(?)	Roman
TEMPLE OF DEMETER, KNOSSOS							
Bull fragment	193 A10 (F)			-	735	MM IIIA?	Roman?
AZORIA HILL: Geometric	-			-	742	PG	Geometric

TABLE IX FRESCOES FROM UNKNOWN CONTEXTS

NAME OF SITE AND FRESCO TYPE OR TITLE	PLATE/FIG. ILLUSTRATION	SCHOOL	SLIDE	LOCATION ON PLAN (Fig.), APPENDIX A	FIND-CIRCS. P.REF.	EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE	DEST- RUCTION CONTEXT
KNOSOS PALACE							
Lady in Red	20		6	-	158f; 4224	?	?
Marbled dado	146C; 169 B3		43d	93(16b)	(458)	MM IIIA?	?MM IIIB
Labyrinth dado	146 A-B		43c	93(16a)	(458)	"	"
Apotropaic sign	-			93(17)	709	?	?
Athlete's head	15D			-	-	?	?
Spiral	144A			-	-	?	?
Woman's skirt	41C			-	(537ff)	?	?
Myrtle tree or olive	117 A-C	one		-	(459 &	?	?
Woman's necklace	23 B-C	hard	13j	-	570)	?	?
Woman's skirt fragments	23D		13v	-	"	?	?
Woman's face (AM/AE 1706)	33C			-	(550)	?	?
Woman's ear and eye	33D			? 82 (N of 1)	-	?	?
Woman's ankle in relief	41D			-	-	?	?
Half-rosette and chequers	49A			-	-	?	?
Window of building (?)	50B			N of 89	-	?	?
Leaping ungulate	83B			-	(462)	?	?
Griffin's chest	130 A		40	-	-	?	?
Griffin's wing	131 A			? 89(1)	(462)	?	?
Griffin's wing	131 C			? "	(462)	?	?
Griffin's wing	131 D			? "	(462)	?	?
Griffin's wing	131 F			-	(462)	?	?
Griffin's wing	131 J			-	(462)	?	?

ANALYSIS IV

FRESCOES FROM LM IIIB DUMPS IN THE PALACE AT KNOSSOS

Professor L. R. Palmer has claimed that the majority of frescoes from the palace at Knossos belong to the LM IIIB period. Among them, he appears to include instances of the work of all our "schools" from A to G⁽⁵³⁾. But three LM IIIB dumps of fresco material in the palace suggest that, far from putting up new frescoes, the LM IIIB inhabitants were busy picking "old" ones off the walls and throwing them out in all directions. The three dumps in question were found in (a) the Queen's Megaron and eastern light-well, (b) between the palace and the South House, and (c) near the North West Portico in a dump known as the "North (West) Threshing Floor deposit".

(a) The eastern dump (Queen's Megaron area: plan, Fig. 93, nos. 11-13, p. 703).

Although the principal fresco dump occurred on both sides of the east wall of the east light-well of the Queen's suite of rooms, the excavation notebooks and trays of stored fresco remains (HM trays 79-95) indicate that smaller deposits of frescoes with LM II-IIIB pottery extended into the Queen's Megaron, its southern light-well, and along the east palace facade north of the eastern light-well itself⁽⁵⁴⁾. These deposits contained, among many other fresco pieces, fragments of the girl bull-leapers in relief by "School B" (SLIDES 7-8); the dolphin fresco, spiral friezes and a processional youth's head of the Cupbearer class, by "School D" (PLATES 121-122; 140E and 171 A2; and SLIDE 3, respectively); the Dancing Girl by "School E" (PLATE 32); and small pieces which seem to belong to the "Palanquin Fresco" by "School F" (some at PLATE 51).

That they were deliberately stripped from their walls is shown by four circumstances:

- (1) the eye of the processional youth at SLIDE 3 (PLATE 171 A1) has a large, ancient, deliberately made, hole in the pupil, suggesting that the head, at least, of this figure was gouged off its wall;
- (2) several spiral friezes, all by "School D", in the Queen's Bathroom (PLATE 155B), in the third dump (c) - PLATE 166 A2, and elsewhere in the palace (PLATE 140), show similar holes in or breaks in the plaster all running towards the "eyes" of rosettes in the centres of volutes, indicating that these, too, had been attacked in the same way as the youth's head. This evidence accords with Evans's statements that in various parts of the eastern quarters of the palace the frescoes "had been deliberately picked away and thrown aside ..." (55).
- (3) there are disparate pieces of many different paintings in the same deposits;
- (4) pieces from these deposits join or certainly belong with other fresco fragments found elsewhere in the palace (56).

Clearly, whoever removed the frescoes from their walls no longer appreciated them, and such is the savagery implicit in the treatment of the spiral friezes and processional youth fresco (put up in the last major redecoration of the palace, by "School D") that we may reasonably infer that those who took the frescoes down were not the same people as those who ordered them to go up. Three questions therefore arise: who took the frescoes down, when did this happen, and why?

There are sufficient burnt pieces of fresco in these deposits to show there had already been a severe fire in the area before

they were dumped, namely, that of the Final Destruction c. 1375 B.C. The area was subsequently reoccupied in LM IIIB by people whom Evans termed "squatters". After LM IIIB, there was no further habitation here, for the rooms were choked with debris partly from the Final Destruction (including calcined gypsum or limestone blocks) and partly from the LM IIIB reoccupation (see OKT, B, Pl. XIVb)⁽⁵⁷⁾. This evidence points to the "squatters" as those who stripped the walls in this area of their fresco remains. The fact that eyes, whether real or suggestive, were especially attacked strongly suggests the "squatters" feared the "Evil Eye" in such fragmentary remnants as still clung to their walls in that period: there was, indeed, a persistent belief in the supernatural power of the human eye throughout the Mediterranean and Near East in general in antiquity - and there still is! Alternatively, the "squatters", evidently Minoans to judge by the contents of their LM IIIB "Shrine of the Double Axes" in the palace⁽⁵⁸⁾, may have been motivated by political reasons in stripping the walls - especially of paintings by "School D" which there is good reason to believe depicted Mycenaeans (Chapter XI).

Either reason here proposed for this course of action seems more plausible than that the frescoes were put up, burnt, savagely torn down again and flung into heaps bordering rooms occupied by civilised people, all in LM IIIB - a flourishing palatial and artistic period, according to Palmer - but before its close and the final abandonment of the palace.

(b) The southern dump (South House area: plan, Fig. 80, no. 6, p. 673).

Here a larger number of fresco fragments, described by Mackenzie as "odds and ends", were found than can presently be identified - along with large deposits of "Palace Style" and LM III pottery⁽⁵⁹⁾. The five identifiable fresco pieces are attributable

to "Schools" B, D and F, and two of them show signs of burning which indicates a fire in the palace before they were dumped⁽⁶⁰⁾. But if, with Palmer, we believe that fire took place at the end of LM IIIB, then we must also believe in a post-LM IIIB reoccupation of the palace in which substantial areas were cleared of their debris - for the present pieces appear to belong to compositions of which other parts were found elsewhere in the palace in burnt Final Destruction contexts of in association with mixed LM II-IIIB pottery⁽⁶¹⁾. Yet traces of post-LM IIIB reoccupation in the palace are insignificant⁽⁶²⁾. It is therefore easier to believe, with Popham, that the fire in question took place in LM IIIA 1/2(early) when "Palace Style" pottery went out of use and when the frescoes became burnt, and that the dump of frescoes, pottery and other artefacts in this area represents the clearing of choked rooms in the palace by the LM IIIB "squatters" along with the dumping of their own pottery wastes from daily use⁽⁶³⁾. This would accord with Mackenzie's view that the many fresco fragments found here "had evidently been thrown out in a heap at the time probably in LM III [i.e. in a period later than that of the "Palace Style", then assigned to LM II] when repairs were being attempted in the Royal Building" (DM/DB 31 March 1908). The only "post-Palace Style" repairs in the palace on any significant scale are those of the LM IIIB people.

(c) The northern dump (North Portico area: plan, Fig.89, no. 10, p.690).

This deposit contained a massive number of fresco fragments sealed below an old threshing floor but above a floor covered with layers of unpainted plaster which Mackenzie and Evans suggested belonged to the LM IIIB period (p.694f)⁽⁶⁴⁾. That this deposit was dumped here by "Reoccupation" people is shown by at least three circumstances:

- (1) PLATE 166 A2 shows a burnt spiral fragment from this dump, painted by "School D", which has a deliberately made, deep and ancient, hole in the centre of its rosette, indicating it had been stripped from its wall in the manner of other paintings from the eastern part of the palace;
- (2) many pieces from different paintings are badly burnt, showing that they had been part of a major conflagration in the palace before being dumped (e.g. PLATES 33G, 45 E26, 98D, 112B, 163D, 164B, and 166A);
- (3) the fragments from this dump, asterisked below, were gathered from widely dispersed parts of the palace, as the following joins or compatible associations show:
 - (a) new join* to "La Parisienne" found outside the West Magazines XIV-XVI (see p.696): SLIDE 4;
 - (b) three pieces* of the girl bull-leaper in relief (SLIDE 7) whose thigh fragment turned up in the southern light-well of the Hall of the Double Axes (see pp.452 and 709(15)).
 - (c) PLATE 33G* is part of the cloak-hem of a female figure, another fragment of which is known from the "Area of the Fish Fresco" (SLIDE 11);
 - (d) the dress piece* at PLATE 165 A8, now joined to another from the same provenance, clearly belongs to the same figure as the piece (with ancient broken edges) at PLATE 169 C2, from "the Area East of the Spiral Dado" (i.e. the Queen's Megaron series of fresco dumps);
 - (e) the processional youth* with a stone bowl at PLATE 56A clearly belonged to a major procession fresco by "School D", either that in the Corridor

of the Procession Fresco (or its continuation via the South Propylaeum) or that in the Domestic Quarters to which belonged the youth's head at SLIDE 3; (65)

(f) the horse and chariot pieces* in the scene at SLIDE 20 were found here, but the charioteer fragment turned up in the wall of a room on the South Front and the bull fragment in the area of the "Room of the Stone Amphora" on the east side of the palace (66).

These examples alone show that whoever deposited the fresco remains in the North Portico area must have had, or made, access to many areas of the palace following a major fire. The only people with that opportunity in the later history of the palace are the "Reoccupation Squatters" of LM IIIB, and this is in turn shown by the fact that only LM IIIB pottery is closely associated in any quantity with the earlier deposits in these areas of late disturbance.

This evidence consistently shows that the LM IIIB people were interested only in clearing out fresco and other debris from the palace in order to reoccupy rooms there, and not in erecting new frescoes: for among the pieces thrown out by them are a good number of fragments of paintings executed by all the later "schools" of wall painters, from B to G; and even MM IIIB deposits were disturbed by them, as the presence of a MM IIIB frieze by our "sombre spiral painter" in the North Threshing Floor deposit shows (67).

Indeed, the only example of the limner's art in the palace in LM IIIB times so far encountered is the unpainted plaster floor on which the North Threshing Floor fresco deposit was strewn: this seems in keeping with the evidence from the Unexplored Mansion that the LM IIIB "squatters" were indifferent to their own use of the rooms they reoccupied (68).

ANALYSIS V

IMPORTANT ISOLATED FRESCOES IN LATE OR UNKNOWN CONTEXTS
FROM THE PALACE AT KNOSSOS (Tables VII-IX)MM III attributions

1. Marbled Dado (PLATE 146C with 169 B3; Table IX)

Labyrinth Dado (PLATE 146 A-B; Table IX)

Evans implies these paintings were found together in a MM III context on the eastern edge of the palace, but does not state the evidence (references, p. 709 (16)). The careful indication of veining in the former painting, however, is comparable to that in two frescoes by "School H" attributed to MM IIIA (cf PLATES 67B and 147B), and its plaster is slightly pinkish like that of the "Zebra Fresco" by the same "school". These features, and other technical similarities, point to a MM III date, perhaps in the earlier phase, for these paintings, and this agrees with Evans's dating of them.

2. Bull's mane in relief (PLATE 78C = 154A; Table VIII,
post-Minoan)

This has a square peg-hole to support the weight of the plaster, as in other frescoes of MM III date from the palace (v. p. 399 above). High reliefwork, such as this, is here believed to begin in MM IIIB to which period this fragment may be assigned, in agreement with Evans.

MM IIIB/LM IA attributions

1. "Lady in Red" (PLATE 20, SLIDE 6; Table IX)

This fresco has been discussed in detail elsewhere and a dating in MM IIIB or MM IIIB/LM IA is there suggested⁽⁶⁹⁾. But in view of the lack of evidence for application of small white "impasto" spots of paint after polishing in MM IIIB paintings we may assign this piece to MM IIIB/LM IA in which period both

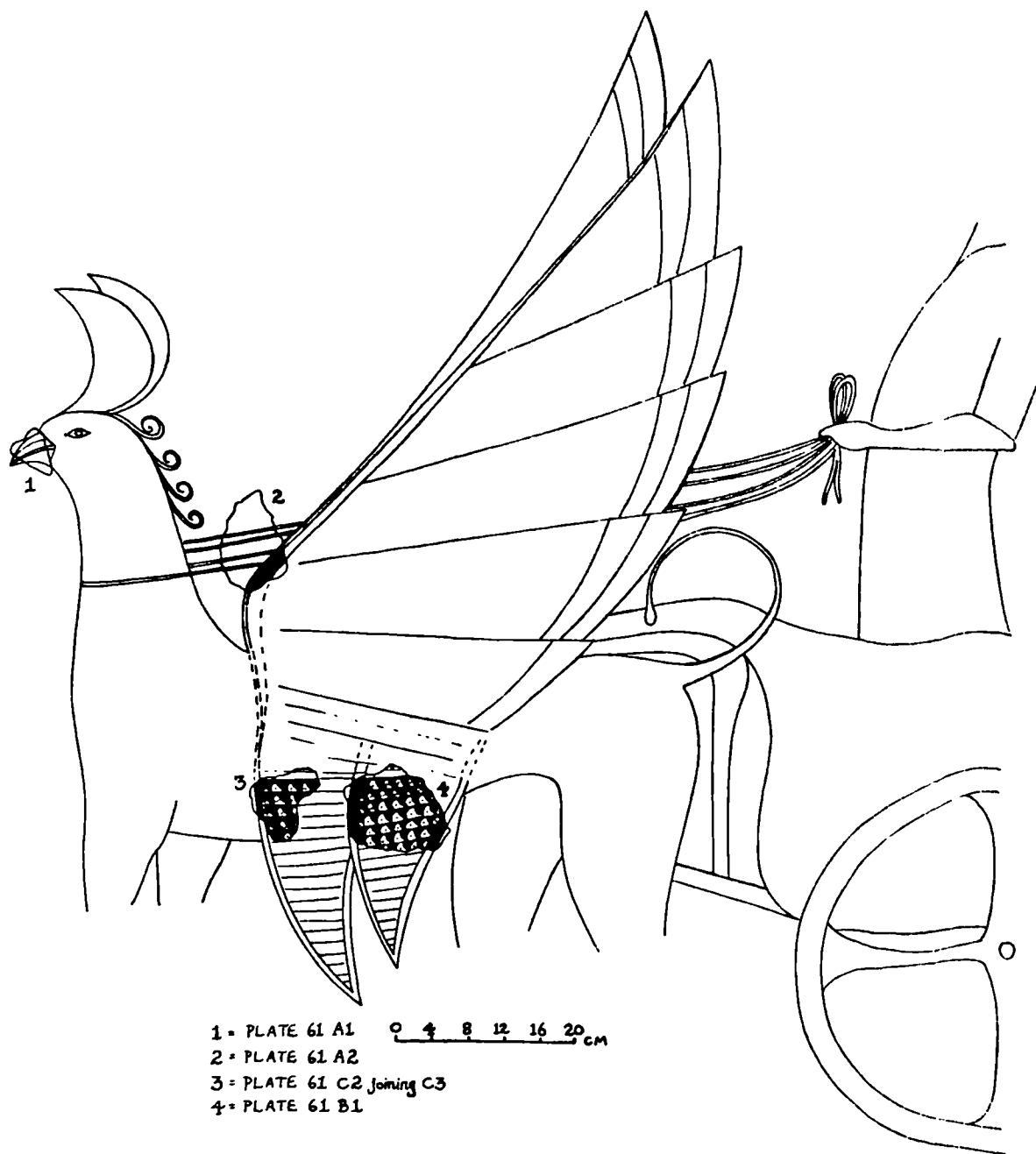


Fig. 53: Restoration of a griffin-led chariot,
from Knossos.

"Schools" B/C and I made substantial use of this kind of decorative ornamentation. Style, brushwork and technical features are consistent with such a dating.

LM IA attributions

1. Shrub (PLATE 112B; Table VIII- LM IIIB, North Threshing Floor)

The style very closely matches that of the "Butcher's Broom" from the Royal Road/North area, attributed to LM IA (LM IB; PLATE 112A), suggesting the same date for the present piece.

2. Female figure near an olive tree (PLATES 23B-D and 117 A-C; Table IX - no provenance, all in HM tray 142 Theta XVII)

The pastel shades of colour, execution, technique and identical tray number suggest all these pieces, collected together, belonged to the one composition. The necklace (PLATE 23C) and skirt designs (PLATE 23D) closely compare stylistically with those of the MM IIIB/LM IA goddess in relief from Pseira at PLATE 24 (LM IB) and of the priestess in the LM IA frieze from Hagia Triada (LM IB; PLATE 23A). One skirt fragment, perhaps of a second woman in the composition (PLATE 23 D10), shows a stylised iris motif which now has a large counterpart design in an unpublished section of the large LM IA spiral relief frieze from the "Banquet Room" in the palace at Zakro (LM IB). The hairstyle of one woman in the present fresco (PLATE 23B) closely recalls those of "School B/C" and of the MM IIIB/LM IA goddess from Prasa (LM IA) (cf SLIDE 2 and PLATE 33A, respectively). The style and execution of the accompanying olive tree are not inconsistent with attribution of this composition to LM IA, if not earlier.

LM I-II attributions

1. Winged griffin leading chariot (restored, Fig. 53; PLATE 61; Table VII)

The pieces at PLATE 61, previously identified erroneously

as depicting a goat leading a chariot (p. 91), are delicately painted in rich brown on a pale greenish ground, perhaps turned that colour by intense fire - for the fragments are heavily burnt. The style of drawing of the plumes on the griffin's wings (PLATE 61 B-C) is superior to that of the same motif on the Cupbearer's kilt (PLATE 8) and may perhaps indicate a date in LM I; but a border fragment apparently from this composition, whose execution in an unusual "tempera" manner is poor, shows a stylised rockwork band probably set between two series of stripes which recalls the arrangement of borders in the "Taureador Frescoes" of "School E", attributed to LM II-IIIA 1 (cf PLATE 61 A3 with PLATE 72). Winged griffins leading chariots are otherwise known in fresco only on the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada for which a LM IIIA 1/2 (early) date seems probable (cf PLATE 149; v. p. 473f below). But this object is clearly imitating wall paintings, perhaps including this fresco which should therefore be earlier in date. Further study may suggest a closer date for this composition than that here proposed - LM I-II.

LM II-IIIA 1 attributions

1. Saffron Gatherer Fresco (PLATES 84C, 85A, and 179; SLIDE 57; Table VII, LM IIIA 1/2(early) or LM IIIB)

The identification of new fragments of this fresco series (PLATE 179) shows that the rockwork in this series of three panel-like compositions (v. Vol. III, Part II, no. 57) clings closely to the borders which therefore alters the design in composition suggested in the restoration at PLATE 84C in favour of that offered in SLIDE 57.

The stratigraphical position of these panels is debated, but the fact that the new burnt pieces turned up evidently in a late context in the "Area of the Demon Seals" (perhaps with the

Shield Frescoes at PLATE 63A) suggests all three panels - likewise burnt - cannot be earlier than MM IIIB/LM IA and were very probably destroyed in the great fire of the Final Destruction in LM IIIA 1/2(early).⁽⁷⁰⁾ Details of the subject matter, style, execution and technique suggest that, contrary to its usual dating within MM I-III, the "Saffron Gatherer Fresco" belongs to LM II-III A1.

Relegation of elements of landscape settings to the fringes of pictorial compositions is characteristic of LM/LH II-III A frescoes;⁽⁷¹⁾ this leaves the background space, here a monochrome red, flat and empty of all but principal subject-matter - in this case leaving the monkeys in sole occupation of the central area of the background. Moreover, the dull colour-scheme of red, blue and white, with only small areas of other colours in the rock-work bands, emphasises the solidity and flatness of the background space. These features are, as we have seen, characteristic of the LM II-III A 1 work of "Schools" D to G at Knossos. The design of the composition is also typically late in character, the rockwork bands and their striation in heavy black lines emphasising only a "tectonic" structure of horizontals and verticals in composition. This is reinforced by the disposition of the plants in their flower-pots - "plotted out" in ones and twos extremely stiffly, which we have also seen is a feature of LM II-III A 1 painting.⁽⁷²⁾ The pots themselves are LM II-III A in shape and to some extent in decoration on comparison with real vases and with those depicted on the painted sarcophagus of LM IIIA date from Hagia Triada (v. p. 77f). Stylistically and technically, the treatment of crocuses and rockwork, and the use of heavy black lines for linearised details, fit in with LM/LH II-III A fresco work at Knossos, Hagia Triada (q. v. p. 473 below), and Mycenae.⁽⁷³⁾ The drawing of the animals is less careful than in earlier frescoes depicting monkeys, though there is still an

interest in showing their hairy pelts in the small blue dashes - hitherto unreported - on their stomachs. The border treatment is typically late, too, as is clear from the dull colour-scheme, widish spacing, use of coarse string-impressed guide-lines which are overpainted in black and generally coarse appearance of the bands at PLATE 179 A1. A general comparison may be drawn with the borders of the LM IIIA 1 Camp Stool Fresco (PLATE 54); but, more specifically, the vertical border stripe at PLATE 179 A2 suggests the composition may have been divided into panels artistically by means of stripes, as in the LM II/IIIA 1 "Taureador Frescoes" of "School E" (cf PLATE 71 or SLIDE 46). Further, another piece in the same artist's "hand" but perhaps from a different composition, seen at PLATE 179 A3, shows border bands comprising a decorative rock-work band and white and "barred" stripes very closely comparable to those in the same "Taureador Frescoes".

These considerations alone point to a date in LM II-IIIA 1 for these panels, in which case it also becomes clear that the "Saffron Gatherer Fresco" does not precede but stylistically follows on in the tradition of the much superior monkey paintings of Knossos and Thera of MM IIIB/LM IA or very early LM IA date.

Other attributions to this period

A detailed case could be made out to show that the generally heavy style of painting of the following interesting pieces justifies their ascription to LM II-IIIA 1:

2. Cloaked woman (SLIDE 11; PLATE 33 F-H; Table VIII; LM IIIB)
3. Dolphin (PLATE 123A; Table VIII, LM IIIB)
4. Griffin's wing fragments (PLATE 131; Tables VIII and IX) - such pieces turned up in a LM IIIA 1/2(early) destruction context near the "Jewel Fresco" (Table VI)
5. Leaping ungulate (PLATE 83B; Table IX)⁽⁷⁴⁾
6. Leopard's head (SLIDE 25 and PLATE 83A; Table VIII, LM IIIB)

7. "Miniature" bull-accident (SLIDE 52 and PLATE 40 D-E; Table VII)
8. "Miniature" girl bull-leapers (PLATE 39C; Table VIII, LM IIIB)
9. Omphalos (PLATE 53B and SLIDE 16c; Table VII)
10. Partridge and lark (SLIDE 28 and PLATE 88A; Table VII)

The same or earlier dates can be made out for all other painted fragments from Knossos listed, to complete the record, in Tables VII-IX. There remain, however, two further chronological groups of material of especial interest from the palace.

LM IIIA 1 attributions

1. Dappled chariot with female figures (SLIDE 21; Table VIII, LM IIIB)

The smoke-stained fragments of this composition seen at PLATE 60 A-C were among those swept out of the Domestic Quarters by the LM IIIB "squatters", suggesting they were on their walls at the time of the great fire, c. 1375 B.C. They are more crudely and simplistically painted than the chariot fresco at SLIDE 20, assigned to LM II/IIIA 1, and come closer to the style of the only other dappled chariots yet known in fresco - those on the LM IIIA 1/2 painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (cf PLATES 60D and 149); but these are clearly imitating frescoes already on the walls of the houses of the living. These considerations alone point to a LM IIIA 1 date for the present fresco.

LM IIIB attributions

Three unpainted plaster floors or benches were identified in the palace by Evans and Mackenzie as laid down by the LM III "Reoccupation" people. These occurred on the floor of the east light-well of the Hall of the Double Axes (plan, Fig. 93, no. 20, p. 703), on the floor of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer (plan, Fig. 89, no. 8, p. 690) and on the face of the bench

in the LM IIIB Shrine of the Double Axes (plan, Fig.97, no. 3, p.711) - here with late offerings resting upon it.

We have seen that the LM IIIB "squatters" were engaged in clearing rooms of their fresco and other debris simply in order to reoccupy the rooms, and that there is no reason to suppose that any painted murals from the palace need belong stylistically to a date later than LM IIIA 1. The present list of unpainted plastered areas may therefore be taken to represent the true extent of interest taken by the LM III "Reoccupation" people in mural redecoration. The "decoration" of the Shrine of the Double Axes indeed presents a dismal contrast with that of Minoan shrines in earlier palatial periods.

ANALYSIS VI

FRESCOES FROM LM III CONTEXTS IN TOWN HOUSES AT KNOSSOS
(in alphabetical order of site)The Caravanserai

Partridge Fresco (PLATES 86, 100, 107C, and 115E;
Table VIII, LM IIIB)

The earliest and latest possible dates for this frieze are MM IIIB/LM IA and LM IIIB. Stylistic considerations indicate it was undoubtedly part of the original mural scheme of the building. The colour-scheme (with bright contrasts of light blue, pink, yellow, green, brown, black and white, and a limited use of red), the presence of finicky details in the treatment of "briars", of the birds' heads and of the thorny bush (PLATE 115E), the encircling composition of landscape elements, and repetition of the birds, are features common also to the style of the MM IIIB/LM IA "Birds and Monkeys" by "School I" (cf SLIDE 56). But other features show a much closer stylistic relationship to the LM IA goddess frieze from Hagia Triada (SLIDE 54). These include the following:

similar shapes in deep background space;
the formal "plotting out" of single shoots of myrtle;
the feathered texturing of the birds; this gives them volume and weight, and a third-dimensional roundness such as is also present in the treatment of the women's bodies in the fresco from Hagia Triada; similar enclosing composition; true rockwork (represented on the papyrus fragment omitted from the restored composition - PLATE 107C) is executed in pastel shades of brown, flatly applied without indication of striations, white "impasto" outlines or veining; there is restraint in the select choice of plants, among which we may count the lotus-papyrus hybrid (PLATE 100 A-B) - depicted, as in the Hagia Triada frieze, in a

freer way than in the "Birds and Monkeys" frieze (cf PLATE 99A - PM II, p. 477, Fig. 285C); there is some limited heavy black outlining to accentuate volume of forms, as in the Hagia Triada frieze - in both frescoes more than is present in the "Bird and Monkeys" fresco by "School I".

Such is the similarity of the Partridge frieze in these respects to the goddess frieze from Hagia Triada that it is reasonable to suggest they were the work of the same Knossian "school" of painters. But it is hard to say whether the Partridge frieze is slightly earlier (as the connections with the style of "School I" suggest) or later than the Hagia Triada painting, in view of the highly stylised treatment of the landscape and the static repetition of the partridges. At all events, a date probably early in LM IA seems certain. The conventionalised landscape treatment sprinkled with dotted rosettes symbolising flowers need not tell against this: the MM IIIB/LM IA "School B" in the palace also represented symbolical flowers in the same way (cf PLATE 116 and SLIDE 32g). A date early in LM IA rather than in MM IIIB/LM IA is also suggested by the freer, less carefully executed, papyrus flowers at PLATE 107C in comparison with those by "School I" at PLATE 107 A-B, and by the altogether heavier style of border stripes than we find in the paintings of the latter "school" (cf PLATE 86A and SLIDE 56), recalling those at Amnisos (SLIDE 59; LM IA early).

The "Caravanserai School"

That the present "school", here identified, was also engaged in work in the palace at Knossos is suggested by the rock-work fragment at PLATE 68B, from the "Area of the Hall of the Double Axes", whose pastel shades and reluctance to "linearise" the motif seem in character with work by the present painters in

the Caravanserai and at Hagia Triada (v. p. 360f). The same "school" may also have decorated the South East House at Knossos (see p. 470 below). To judge by the figure-drawing in the frieze from Hagia Triada, in which similarities and differences have already been noted with that of the MM IIIB/LM IA "School B" (p. 360), the present "school" may be counted the immediate successor to the latter and also the forerunner of LM II "School D", for the reasons already mentioned (loc.cit.). In that case, the "school" under discussion, attributable to LM IA, helps to fill the gap in the sequence of Knossian "schools" which was observed above at p. 448.

The High Priest's House (Table VII, LM IIIA 1/2(early) or LM IIIB)

The scale, colour-scheme, linearised form, and shapes of filling motifs of the spiral from this house, seen at p.716 are wholly in the style of the spiral friezes by "School D" (cf PLATE 63A and PM III, p. 388, Fig. 259). A date in LM II may therefore be assumed.

The House of the Frescoes

The "Captain of the Blacks" (PLATE 12A; SLIDE 10; Table VIII) This fragment, from a post-Minoan context, shows figures in long kilts with cropped hairstyles of Type C, as found in LM II-IIIA 1 paintings by "Schools" D and F, respectively. There, too, we find a military element in representation (e.g. the Shield Frescoes and chariot compositions), indicated here in the presence of spears carried by a "captain" and his Nubian troops. The background treatment was either undulating plain areas of white and blue, as in the chariot scene by "School F" (cf SLIDE 20; LM II/IIIA 1), or - as here restored - rectangular blocks of those colours, as in the LM IIIA 1 Camp Stool Fresco by "School G" (PLATE 54) and on the LM IIIA 1 frescoes and painted sarcophagus

from Hagia Triada (see below, p. 473). The elongated proportions of the figures here recall those of the "taureadors" by "School E" (cf PLATE 72; LM II/IIIA 1). Further, the drawing of the hand with fingers distinguished by reserved white lines is characteristic of a method of depicting small anatomical details of the human figure - notably ears - which evidently came in in LM II-III A 1, to judge by the bull-leaper at PLATE 15D (in the manner of "School E") and other figures on the LM IIIA 1/2(early) painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (PLATES 13D and 56B).

These comparisons alone point firmly to a date for this painting in LM II-III A 1, but the crude overall style of drawing favours its attribution to LM IIIA 1 as one of the latest paintings from Knossos.

The Little Palace

Various small pieces (PLATE 190; Table VII; LM IIIA 1/2(early) or LM IIIB)

The heavy black outlining or linearisation of motifs on coloured (usually blue) backgrounds seen on several pieces from this site is consistent with LM II-III A 1 styles of painting in the palace at Knossos. The griffin's wing fragment at PLATE 190 A6, however, could be earlier, to judge by the more painterly design on a very pale washy blue ground and its low relief modelling: these features are best paralleled in paintings from Knossos attributable to MM IIIB/LM IA - LM I. This suggests we have here a fragment of the original scheme of decoration of the Little Palace, constructed in MM IIIB/LM IA.

None of the fresco material identified from this site need be later in date than LM IIIA 1, at which time there was a major destruction in the building. This was followed by a "squatter" period of reoccupation (LM IIIA 2-B).

The North West Treasury

Bull and tree fragment (PLATE 119B; Table VII;
LM IIIA 1/2(early) or LM IIIB)

The bull's legs here are so sketchily drawn that it is possible this burnt painting was unfinished at the time it was destroyed. They are, however, drawn in the manner of bulls' legs of "School E" (cf SLIDES 47-50; LM II/IIIA 1). The tree is in the stylistic tradition of an unpublished example from the "House of the Frescoes" which is painted by the MM IIIB/LM IA "School I". Attention to details of the leaves shows an interest in texture, as in tree and plant forms of the same period, and also in a LH IIIA 2/B 1 painting from Mycenaean (unpublished). But Evans is probably right in suggesting that "This eclectic representation may well belong to the close of the Palace period" (PM II, p. 620), in LM II-IIIA 1. The brushwork and technical features of the plaster are consistent with such a date, and its burnt condition suggests its destruction in the LM IIIA 1/2(early) fire here.

The Royal Road area (various pieces; Tables VI and VIII)

The fragment at PLATE 195 F5, depicting a simple rosette on blue, was found in a LM IIIA 1/?2 context in the Royal Road/South area; it is that date or earlier.

Other pieces from mixed LM IIIA-B contexts on both sides of the Royal Road may all be compared stylistically with LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes from the palace - including the griffin's wing fragment at PLATE 131G which the excavation notebooks of Mackenzie and Evans indicate is comparable to similar pieces in a Final Destruction deposit along with the "Jewel Fresco".

A difficulty in the way of attributing these pieces to LM IIIB houses in the area is that no firm architectural remains of that period have yet been found there. This, and the fact that the decoration of the pieces is palatial in character,

suggests the possibility that all the pieces from late contexts may be LM IIIA 1/2(early) palace debris cleared out by "Reoccupation" people.

The Royal Villa

The pieces reported by Evans from this site are unpublished and unidentified; but his comparison of the designs with those depicting papyrus on Palace Style vases from the same house shows he considered them LM II-III A 1 in date (JRIBA (1904), p. 114f).

The South East House

Lily and rockwork (PLATE 105) Mice in reeds (PLATE 109; SLIDE 26) Olive spray - unidentified	Table VI: <u>LM IIIA 1/2(early)</u>
--	--

The rockwork on the first piece is painted in the same delicate way, in grey tones, as that of the Caravanserai piece at PLATE 107C, of another from the palace at PLATE 68B, and of the large frieze from Hagia Triada (LM IB), assigned to the one "school". The lilies show green sepals such as occur on plants in the Hagia Triada painting (SLIDE 54, crocuses). The mice are drawn in a sensitive style wholly in keeping with the style and brushwork of bird or animal representations of MM IIIB/LM IA or early LM IA date. Possibly the "Caravanserai School" (early LM IA) depicted these paintings; but whether or not this was the case, they may reasonably be assigned a date not later than LM IA.

The Temple of Demeter site

Part of bull's underside (PLATE 193 A10; Table VIII: post-Minoan)

This piece, depicting the genitals of a bull on a blue ground, is executed wholly in the style of "School F" assigned to LM II/III A 1, as the colour-scheme, the linear outlining, the overpainting of thick white "impasto" and style suggest. A date in LM II/III A 1 may therefore be assumed.

The remaining pieces from this site seem stylistically MM III in date (p.383ff), apart from the coarse floor-plaster at PLATE 193 A12 which is LM.

The Unexplored Mansion (Northern half)

Animal (griffin or lion ?) fragments (PLATES 130C and 195)	}
Small decorated fragments (PLATE 194A)	
Unpainted circular hearth (PLATE 194B)	

Table VIII

The pieces at PLATE 194A turned up in levels of various periods down to LM IIIB (see Appendix A, pp. 736ff).

All could, however, be compared with fresco material of LM II-IIIA 1 or earlier date; but such is their small size and appearance as isolated relics that all could be debris from houses further up the slope to the west.

The (?) griffin pieces occurred in a firm LM IIIB context, but their place and circumstances of discovery - burnt and fallen from a back wall in bits and pieces in some 60cm depth of deposit above the LM IIIB stratum - strongly suggest they are relics which clung to their wall long after their destruction by fire. This took place in LM II or LM IIIA 1 to judge by the burnt deposits elsewhere in this building. Stylistic comparison with a LM IIIA 1 painting of spotted deer from Hagia Triada suggests the present fresco need be no later than LM IIIA 1 (cf PLATE 82A), notwithstanding comparisons with lion or griffin frescoes of LH IIIB date from Pylos⁽⁷⁵⁾.

The unpainted hearth, on the other hand, found in a LM IIIB context, may well be that date, in view both of comparison with a similar unpainted hearth from LH IIIB Orchomenos (unpublished) and of the fact that the LM IIIB "squatters" lit fires in the magazines of the original building which they were reoccupying⁽⁷⁶⁾.

No decorated fragments from this site need therefore be later than LM IIIA 1.

Conclusions

At no site so far excavated in the town of Knossos can painted fresco material certainly of LM IIIB date be recognised.

ANALYSIS VII

FRESCOES FROM LM III CONTEXTS ELSEWHERE IN CRETE

Chania (Tables VII and VIII)

Dadoes with striped band decoration have been reported in a LM IIIA house and also in another of LM IIIB date above it in the town site. The later dado is the only certain instance yet known of LM IIIB mural painting (see Appendix A, p. 742(4)).

Hagia Triada, later settlement

Procession with musician (PLATE 14B, 57 and 136B; Table VII)

Woman with deer (PLATE 82A and SLIDE 24; Table VII)

We have seen that these two paintings show very close connections with the style of "School G" at Knossos, whose members may have painted them (p. 361f). Those considerations imply a date in LM IIIA, which is confirmed by the presence in the first fresco listed above of a vessel painted in the LM IIIA 1/2(early) style of contemporary pottery (p. 78). In addition to such typical LM II-III 1 mural features as heavy outlining of figures, long cloaks, cropped hairstyles of Type C, and the "coloured block" treatment of the background which ignores interplay of figures with landscape or architectural settings, the broad borders containing rows of stylised rosettes match those of the larger series of "miniature" shrine frescoes from Knossos found in a firm early LM IIIA 1 context in cists of the West Magazine XIII (PLATE 48; p.428f above). A date in LM IIIA 1 for these paintings therefore seems assured.

The painted sarcophagus (PLATES 148-151; Table VII, LM IIIA)

The scenes on this sarcophagus are evidently copied from contemporary murals in the houses of the living, of which Hagia Triada itself has provided a possible prototype of LM IIIA 1 date (PLATE 14B). Further, a LM IIIA vessel with wavy line decoration

is represented in one scene (PLATE 56B, SLIDE 17 (2b)). In style, background treatment, execution, coloration, and comparison of further details with other frescoes and pottery of LM IIIA date, the scenes are wholly in accord with late mural painting at Knossos. A date in LM IIIA, probably on the borders of IIIA 1/2, seems acceptable, as indeed the context of the sarcophagus indicates.

Women dancing near shrine (PLATE 50A; Table VII)

This badly burnt fresco shows figures whose general style is comparable to those executed by "School F" at Knossos, assigned to LM II/IIIA 1. Stylised plants are "plotted out" very rigidly in the monochrome background, as in the larger and probably earlier paintings of "School D" at Knossos. The cornice of the shrine, here moulded in three low steps, bears horns of consecration as in MM IIIB/LM IA to LM II/IIIA 1 "miniatures" at Knossos. These general considerations indicate a date probably in LM IIIA 1 for this painting.

Marine floor fresco (PLATE 124; Table VII)

The very heavy style of painting here, in which we see highly conventionalised marine creatures, suggests a date later than the LM II "Dolphin Fresco" by "School D" at Knossos (cf PLATE 121). But there are close stylistic connections in the drawing of the rockwork dado (cf PLATE 56A, stone bowl), and in the repetitive, static, disposition of dolphins and small fry whose arrangement is similar to that of human and other figures in scenes by "School D". There is a major difference here with floor designs of LH IIIB date from the Greek mainland. The present composition shows a full scene centrifugally arranged around an octopus, not isolated marine elements fitted into small panel-like squares in the overall floor design such as appear in LH IIIB counterparts; moreover, the drawing here is stylistically superior to

that in the same mainland floor frescoes⁽⁷⁷⁾. A date in LM IIIA, and probably in its earlier phase, seems reasonable. This suggestion seems confirmed if we compare the style and disposition of the octopus with others on LM II-III A 1 "Palace Style" pottery, as we shall see later in Part II of this chapter.

Kouramenos

Monochrome painted fresco pieces were reported from this site of very poor, provincial houses north of Palaikastro in East Crete. Their context is uncertain, though they seem "LM III" in date.

SUMMARY II

THE POST-LM IB FRESCOES

In the LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes we find traditional subjects and themes together with new scenes, some depicting military subjects and figures in new kinds of garments and hairstyles previously found only in certain LM I or earlier Cycladic frescoes. Processional scenes are particularly common, suggesting an increase in highly organised ritual. Landscapes are rare, and perfunctory in conception, and architectural settings - except in "miniatures" - are also uncommon. The style of painting is generally heavy, flat and "tectonic" in design, with little interest in depth in space. Antithetic, heraldic and symmetrical composition is favoured, and a sense of movement is achieved primarily by repetition of principal motifs, by successively layered horizontal bands of background colour and by the direction in which subjects are made to face. Background treatments are strictly limited to monochrome washes, "blocks", or undulating bands of colour which are interrupted only by principal subjects or occasional landscape symbols (e.g. isolated plants). Thus backgrounds emphasise shallow depth in space and the horizontal and vertical axes predominating in composition. Unpainted backgrounds are rare except in spiral paintings. Settings to the scenes invariably appear as mere backcloths immediately behind the principal subjects.

Borders and dadoes are similarly heavy in their treatment, and in their spacings, delineation and colour balances. Bands are, relatively, uniformly wider than before or very widely spaced in large compositions, and are often marked out with coarse string-impressed guiding lines. "Barred" border stripes, which begin in MM IIIB/LM IA on present evidence (e.g. PLATES 26 and 136A), are now exceedingly common and usually crudely painted.

But the broad series of stripes incorporating a highly stylised floral or rockwork band in the centre seems a LM II-IIIA 1 innovation. Dadoes imitating wooden ones are missing in the surviving material, though they continue on the Greek mainland in LH IIIA-B frescoes. Heavily striated dadoes imitating stone slabs are, on the other hand, most fashionable.

"Miniature" painting has followed the same trends in style as found in larger paintings, as comparison of the examples at PLATES 39C and 48, and SLIDE 52, with the well known series of "School C" (PLATES 26 and 29) shows. A stiffness has now entered into the drawing of the human figure, lacking in LM I or earlier examples. Subsidiary ornamentation of garments with "miniature" pictorial motifs has ceased, and so, too, an interest in "miniature" landscape settings. The present paintings show much the same border treatments as appear in larger compositions of the same date.

Brushwork is generally cruder, more laboured, more careless than before and there is very considerable outlining of all motifs in black, as well as much use of this colour for minor details, especially on garments and in faunal and floral representations.

The use of colour now seems more conservative than in the MM IIIB/LM IA to LM IB period. Colour-schemes combining only a strong cobalt blue, dark red, yellow, black and white recur time and again. There is less variation in shades of colour and in their deployment than before, but there is a very extensive use of blue in particular and yellow. We are also more aware in this period that colour is applied in broad expanses and that its effect is to close up the scene, making it appear solid and flat.

Technique has also declined. Reliefwork seems absent except in the cornice of the LM IIIA 1 shrine at PLATE 50A. Paints are

often applied crudely, showing visible evidence of brushstrokes, and surfaces are left unpolished or only slightly smoothed down with a light polish. "Slips" are notably absent in general, and preliminary sketches now appear over coloured background washes, as in the "Taureador" paintings. Plasters are thicker on average than in MM IIIB/LM IA to LM IB paintings, perhaps slightly more coarsely grained, and very often indented at the back showing they were applied over crudely constructed internal walls.

There is thus a clear decline in style and technique in Cretan paintings of LM II or IIIA 1 date, continuing the trend observed in the sequence of MM IIIA to LM IB paintings. Though there are some strong points of similarity in the style of the large figured compositions at Knossos of "School D" with those of LM I "schools" (notably, with the "Caravanserai School") to suggest their chronological and stylistic proximity, the overall impression is gained of the emergence in LM II of a very different style of painting concentrating upon the human figure alone which probably served as the basis for the styles of the minor "schools" of LM II-III A 1. In the Cyclades, however, to judge by presently available evidence, pictorial mural painting seems to have ceased by the close of LM IB: none of the paintings from those islands here considered can be assigned to LM II or later.

At Knossos, mural painting ceased with the destruction of the palace in LM IIIA 1/2(early), for thereafter there could be no further use for wall painters there. Nor can later wall paintings be identified in the surrounding town houses. Simple unpainted plastering of walls continued spasmodically, however, and in the palace itself the "Reoccupation People" were stripping the walls of their earlier murals - not redecorating!

Only in the further reaches of Crete is there slight evidence for the continuation of mural painting in LM IIIB, at Chania and perhaps in the impoverished settlement at Kouramenos near Palaikastro. Even then, we do not find pictorial scenes but only simple monochrome dado bands or flat washes of colour. Unpainted plastering evidently continued into early Geometric times, to judge by the stuccoed covering of the walls of a water cistern found on Azoria Hill (p.742(3)).

A final point deserves special emphasis. The last styles of Minoan figured frescoes include a number of paintings depicting LM II or IIIA 1/2 vases on them. These correlations of frescoes with contemporary pottery styles tie down the close of pictorial mural representation in Bronze Age Crete to that period.

PART II

CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE

ANALYSIS VIII

THE STYLISTIC SEQUENCE OF SELECT FRESCO MOTIFS

If a general stylistic and chronological sequence in Minoan wall painting is traceable, a similar sequence ought to be evident in the treatment of individual motifs from one period to another. To test this assumption, a representative selection of motifs from Minoan and Mycenaean frescoes is here considered. The proposed sequence is first stated and then followed by brief discussion. Where a date is underlined it refers, as before, to that of the fresco's stratigraphical context; otherwise dates of Minoan paintings are those attributed to them in earlier sections of this chapter.

The evidence of Mycenaean frescoes is here taken into account because some scholars believe many of the Knossian paintings are stylistically indistinguishable from others from the Greek mainland, or, if stylistic differences occur, they amount to no more than the differences in the "hands" of different but contemporary artists. However, the stratigraphical evidence of the mainland frescoes itself does not support that view. Closely dateable frescoes of LH IIIA2, LH IIIB 1, and LH IIIB 2(early) recently found at Mycenae suggest the Tiryns frescoes belong to two periods, LH IIIA 2 and LH IIIB 1. Further, at Pylos the stratigraphy alone indicates at least three phases of mural painting, each with their own stylistic but consecutive characteristics. At Pylos we may assign to LH IIIA those fresco fragments found below floors or in the walls of the LH IIIB palace; to LH IIIB 1-2(early) those frescoes found in dumps on the perimeters of the palace; and to LH IIIB 2(late) those frescoes executed in a coarse style found in situ on the palace walls which belong to a redecoration replacing the frescoes thrown out into dumps⁽⁷⁸⁾. The dates of the mainland frescoes here

proposed may therefore be provisionally accepted pending a detailed future review.

Motif A. The Human Figure

1. Women in flounced garments

- (1) MM IIIB: Knossos - "Ladies in Blue" (PLATE 19)
- (2) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos - (i) "Lady in Red" (PLATE 20)
(ii) "miniature" priestesses by
"School C" (PLATES 26, 29 -
details at PLATES 46-47)
- Pseira - relief goddesses (PLATES 24-
25); LM IB
- (3) LM IA: Hagia Triada - goddess and priestess (PLATES
21-22); LM IB
- (4) LM II: Knossos - goddess in procession (PLATES 14A
and 34A); LM IIIA 1/2(early)
- (5) LM II/IIIA 1: Knossos - "Dancing Girl" (PLATE 32);
LM IIIA 1/2(early)
- (6) LH IIIA(?): Thebes - processional women (Frauenfrieses,
Pl. 15)
- (7) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns - processional women (Tiryns II,
Pls. VIII-IX)
- (8) LH IIIB 1-2(early): Pylos - processional women (Pylos II,
Pls. D and O (49a H nws and 51 H nws))
- (9) LH IIIB 2(early): Mycenae - priestesses (Antiquity
XLIII (1968) p. 95, Fig. 2)

The priestess or goddess in a flounced or trousered skirt and open-fronted, short-sleeved jacket was a favourite motif in Minoan and Mycenaean wall painting of the human figure from MM IIIB to LH IIIB. No. 1 in the sequence depicts such women in a graceful style with fluid outlines and shaping of limbs in correct proportion and relationships to the body. The torso appears frontally, with breasts indicated only by the curved inner hem of the jacket and by the presence of nipples seen in small circles of paint (so PM I, p. 545, Fig. 397). Gestures are relaxed and naturally convincing. Jackets have overall dress motifs arranged in carefully executed string-impressed grids.

Jewelry is abundant on wrists, around the neck and also, apparently, in the hair.

MM IIIIB/LM IA examples are closely similar in style, although the "miniatures" are freer in posture as the movement of heads, necks, arms and of torsos in relation to the lower half of the body, clearly shows. Cross-hatching on sleeves shows the latter were painted when the jackets of large-scale female figures of the present type still bore overall dress motifs in string-impressed grids on their sleeves, as indeed the "Lady in Red" and the Pseira reliefs attributed to this period show.

The freedom of the MM IIIIB/LM IA "miniature" priestesses is seen again in the figures in the LM IA frieze from Hagia Triada (no. 3). But a three-dimensional illusion is now apparent in the drawing of one limb behind the other which, with the skilful use of dark and lighter colours (visually receding and coming forward) and graceful curves of decorative hem-borders, gives the figures a roundness of form and volume: in earlier frescoes this is only seen in the Pseira reliefs by virtue of their relief modelling. Enough of the original survives to show the goddess's torso was probably depicted in three-quarter view (PLATE 21). The dress designs are still arranged in "grids" but are now larger than before and they are interrupted by quilt-like "barred" bands in different colours; the figures are also outlined in black more heavily than previously. These features add a greater sense of texture and mass to the figure-drawing here than is evident in earlier comparable representations.

In no. 4 of the sequence only the feet and lower hem-border of the flounced skirt of the goddess in the LM II Procession Fresco at Knossos survive. The dress motifs here are large but somewhat crudely drawn; above them, traces of blue paint suggest the larger sections of the flouncing were painted in flat washes of colour instead of with dress patterns - a point of departure

by earlier analogy. Such a change is apparent also in the treatment of the jacket of the "Dancing Girl", attributed to LM II/IIIA 1 (no. 5). Here dress designs are lacking in the main area of the sleeves; but the artist has attempted to convey the idea of volume in draped limbs and of rounded female form by drawing small parallel black lines which curve over the sleeves and waist of the jacket. A slackness in anatomical rendering is also present here, seen in the treatment of the mouth, chin and shapeless, plunging breast. Movement is rendered not through the disposition of limbs and torso, as before, but through the convention indicating rapid movement in flying locks of hair; the figure itself is almost static.

The sequence is next taken up on the Greek mainland in the LH IIIA frieze of processional women at Thebes (no. 6). The heads, at least, of these figures are largely restored, however, by analogy with LH IIIB 1 frescoes from Tiryns. The Theban frescoes continue the simplification of the human form initiated in Crete in LM II. The women are represented both frontally and with torso in full profile. The jackets lack overall dress designs and any indication of the volume of draped limbs; the dress designs on skirts are also simplified. The proportions of the figures, however, remain satisfactory, except those of the women seen in profile. These have shapely but exceedingly full breasts - the nipples seen in profile, too - and the whole torso has become distinctly triangular, as in an almost geometrical conception of human form. The breasts are thrown into further relief by the contrast with the narrow waists of these figures whose heads seem artistically "thrown back" to the line of the shoulders. There is little variation in the postures or gestures of the figures, alternately frontal and in profile, or in the arrangement of their hair or dress motifs. We have here moved into a sphere of wall painting in which the human figure has become a decorative

mural pattern, not a convincingly living being. Parts of the figures are noticeably stylised, such as the drawing of hands and fingers - elongated and with small lines across knuckles to denote the finger-joints. This general stylisation and simplification of form is taken a step further by the Tiryns examples, probably assignable to LH IIIB 1 (no. 7).

The triangularity of the torso noticed in the Theban paintings is exaggerated further in the Tiryns frescoes by the forward thrust of the head and downward glance. The nipples, too, are translated into conventionalised dotted half-rosettes. The eye is decoratively stylised; the ear is too large and too high; from nose to chin proportions are at odds with the head as a whole, for the line of nose and forehead seems too long; the neck is short, and hands are more attenuated than ever. The hair, too, is treated as a series of decorative formal patterns, a feature which is less noticeable in the Theban paintings - to go by the restoration presently available. Around the wrists are lines, to show the shape of the wrist-bones, which typologically derive their patterned shape from the conventionalised anklets of Minoan women (cf PLATE 34A; LM II).

In the LH IIIB 1-2(early) frescoes of the priestess type two styles of painting seem detectable. The earlier, with superficial stylistic affinities with the LM II goddess painting in the Procession Fresco from Knossos, is represented by the figures 49a and 50 H nws from Pylos (Pylos II, Plate D). A distinctly cruder style, however, appears at Pylos in two restored figures (no. 8, 51 H nws) for which a date in LH IIIB 2(early) is likely on the evidence of the stylistically similar paintings of priestesses recently discovered at Mycenae (no. 9): these are firmly dateable within LH IIIB 2(early).

In both the latter cases, the figures, very heavily outlined in black, are dumpy in overall appearance, with disproportionately

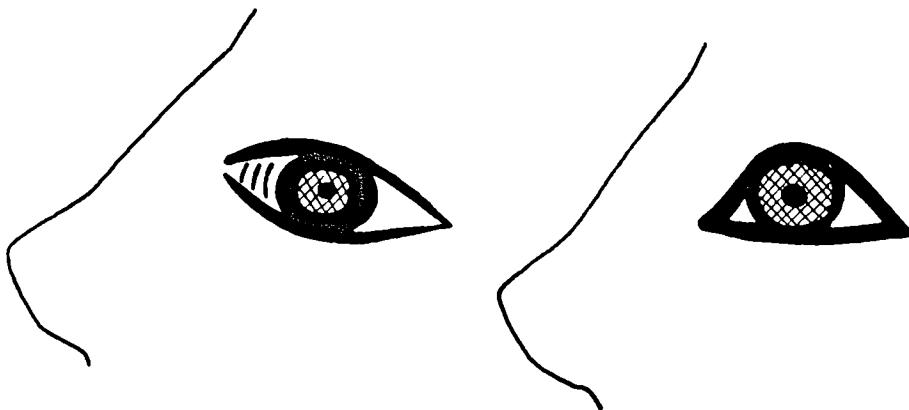
short, stocky forearms and wide waists. A further peculiarity in depiction is the representation in reserve of one breast in profile against the coloured sleeve of the further arm. The artists have here evidently tried to combine both frontal and profile views of the torso in the one figure, but the effect is unattractive. Fingers are stiff and rigid, and knuckles are no longer noted. Jewelry is meagre by earlier analogy. The hair looks coarse and rambling. The single lock of hair in front of the ear in Minoan representations, doubled in the case of the Tiryns frescoes, is now split to form two main strands, one passing over the breast, the other over the shoulder. Dress decoration is reduced primarily to simple, repetitive wavy lines and C shaped motifs, and the more interestingly decorated hem-borders of earlier compositions are absent in the present examples. Indeed, their place in the sequence of this type of figure - far removed in style from Minoan instances - can hardly be doubted.

2. Large-scale Men

- (1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos - Youths on staircase (SLIDE 44): "School B"
- (2) MM IIIB/LM IA: Thera - Boxing Youths (Fig. 35A) - LM IA
- (3) LM II: Knossos - Processional Youths (PLATES 7A, 9A and SLIDE 9) - LM IIIA 1/2(early)
- (4) LH IIIB: Pylos - red and black men (Pylos II, Plates 129-130 and N, lower left)

The painters of no. 2 were evidently copying elements of the style of figure-drawing of "School B" at Knossos, as we have already seen (p. 435 above); but the "Boxing Youths" fresco, discovered two years after the restoration of no. 1 was made, provides welcome corroborative evidence for assessing the style of male figure-drawing of "School B". In both cases, we see naturalistically lithe representations of the male body which accentuate rippling muscles, a suppleness of the limbs, seemingly

Fig. 54



1a. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos
 $(\frac{1}{1})$

1b. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos $(\frac{1}{1})$
 Cf. Eyes of Boxing Youths
 from Thera (LM IA).



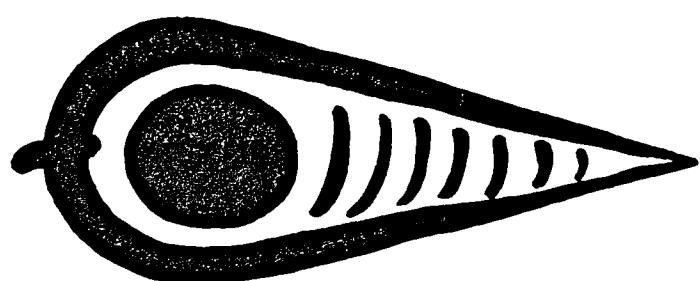
2. LM II, Knossos $(\frac{3}{4})$

3. LM IIIA 1, Knossos $(\frac{1}{1})$



4. LH IIIB 1, Tiryns $(\frac{1}{1})$

5. LH IIIB 2(early), Pylos $(\frac{3}{4})$



6. LH IIIB 2(late), Pylos $(\frac{1}{1})$

Fig. 54: Motif A3, the Human Eye

effortless movement and a certain animal grace and beauty. By LM II, to judge by the works of "School D" at Knossos, the accent in style was upon a handsome rather than a beautiful male form and on male strength and dignity. The drawing, though flowing, lacks the fluidity of line attested in the MM IIIB/LM IA examples. The bold contours emphasise firm, purposeful and solemn movement; the tread of the figures now seems heavier than before, in keeping with the general style of drawing. The figures also display a self-awareness which is absent in the earlier surviving representations of large-scale men. By contrast, the large-scale men from Pylos are altogether less sensitively depicted and their style of representation may even be described as brutish on comparison with nos. 1-3. Their proportions are peculiar. Left shoulders are "thrown out" in an exaggerated way, while necks and upper arms are too short, the latter bending at too high a point above the now thicker waists. This gives the figures a cramped appearance. These features, the proportions of the face, the straggling hair, and the simplified dress ornamentation are best paralleled by the female figures from the same site (51 H nws) assigned in the previous section to LH IIIB 2(early): v. Motif 1, (8). Indeed, the present figures seem clearly executed by the same artists as depicted those women.

Once again, the Pylian style of large-scale human figure-drawing may be seen to be far removed from the latest style of figure-drawing attested at Knossos.

3. The Human Eye with Tear-gland (Fig. 54)

- (1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos - Youths on staircase (PLATE 5; SLIDE 2; Fig. 54, no. 1 a-b); LM IIIA 1/2(early);
- (2) LM II: Knossos - Cupbearer (PLATE 7A; SLIDE 9; Fig. 54, no. 2) - LM IIIA 1/2(early);
- (3) LM IIIA 1: Knossos - "La Parisienne" (PLATE 35; SLIDE 4; Fig. 54, no. 3) - LM IIIA 1/2(early);

- (4) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns - Processional women (Tiryns II, Pls. VIII-IX; and Fig. 5⁴, no. 4 here);
- (5) LH IIIB 1-2(early): Pylos - Woman (Pylos II, Pl. 128, right: 52 H nws and Fig. 5⁴, no. 5 here);
- (6) LH IIIB 2(late): Pylos - Griffin's eye (Pylos II, Pl. F, top right: 21a C 46; and Fig. 5⁴, no. 6 here).

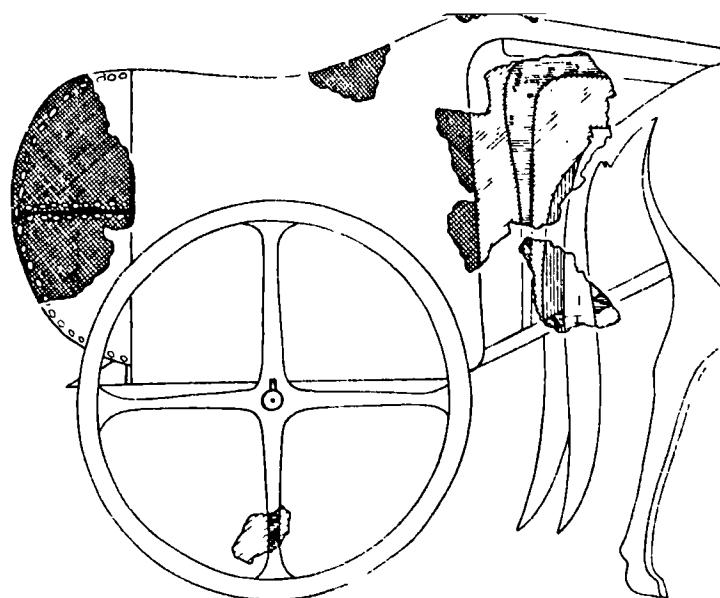
In Fig. 5⁴, the eyes are drawn in a single direction, irrespective of their actual direction in the original material, for ease of comparison.

The stylistic sequence evident in the drawing of the full human figure is also apparent in the drawing of certain anatomical details, notably of eyes representing the tear-gland. These were always conventionalised, but there is a clear progression in style.

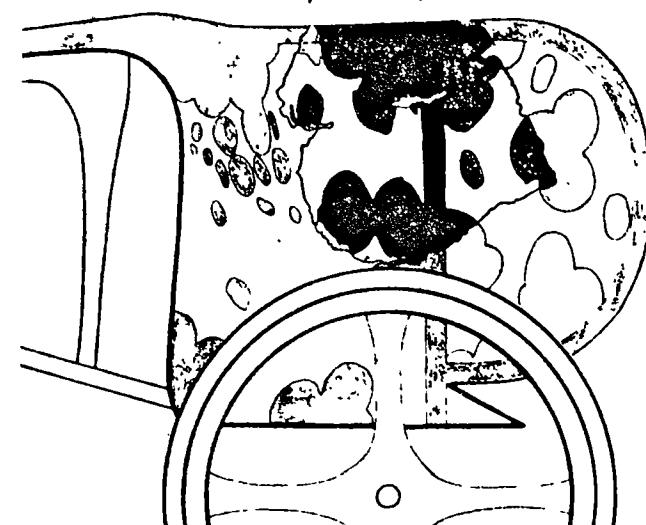
Our first example, no. 1a, shows very fine black or red vertically curved lines representing the tear-gland in the correct (inner) corner of the eye; the iris is heavily outlined in black with a black dot for the pupil in the centre of a dark red area. No. 1b, by the same group of painters as no. 1a but belonging to a smaller youth, finds exact counterparts to date exclusively in figures frescoes from LM IA contexts on Thera (e.g. in the Boxing Youths fresco, Fig. 35A, and the Libyan's head, PLATE 196 A3-4): but these eyes lack lines for tear-glands. Nevertheless, insofar as all these eyes make a point of depicting the pupil as a separate entity from a coloured iris they may be counted the most naturalistic eyes known in Minoan or Mycenaean figure-painting.

By LM II, blue lines for the tear-gland were sometimes arranged horizontally in the wrong (outer) corner of the eye, as we see in the Cupbearer (no. 2); their arrangement there is neat and orderly. A similar but less formal treatment of a pseudo-tear-gland, but in black, next turns up in the LM IIIA 1 "Camp Stool Fresco" in "La Parisienne" (no. 3). By LH IIIB 1, we find fine lines arranged in triangular patterns in both corners of the eye

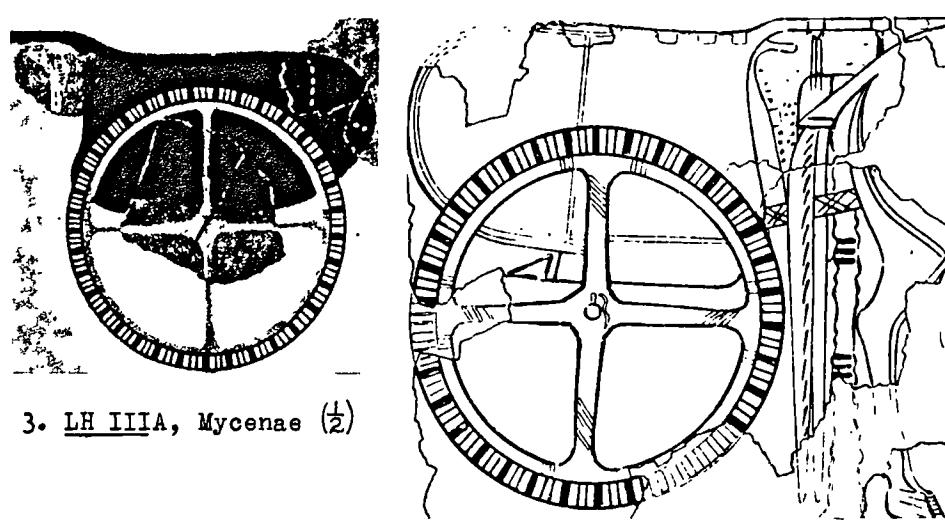
Fig. 55



1. LM II/IIIA 1, Knossos ($\frac{1}{3}$)



2. LM IIIA 1, Knossos ($\frac{1}{2}$)



3. LH IIIA, Mycenae ($\frac{1}{2}$)

4. LH IIIB 1, Tiryns ($\frac{1}{3}$)



5. LH IIIB 1-2(early), Pylos ($\frac{1}{3}$)

Fig. 55: Motif B1, Dual Chariots

of processional women in frescoes from Tiryns (no. 4); this patterned schematisation of the eye is taken a step further in the case of a processional woman from Pylos, where the lines for the tear-gland are made to curve around the iris more generously than before (no. 5). This head is clearly by the same "school" as depicted the LH IIIB 2(early) figures of dumpy men and women from Pylos considered in the two previous sections here (Motif A1, no. 8 and Motif A2, no. 4). The sequence is completed by the human eye assigned by a Pylian artist to the griffins from Hall 46 in the palace (no. 6). It is about 8.5cm long, highly simplified in shape, crudely drawn in black or sepia, with a single sharply curved line in the correct corner of the eye for a tear-gland but with numerous and increasingly small curved lines stretching from behind the iris to the outer corner of the eye. This fresco belongs to the last general redecoration of the palace at Pylos, late in LH IIIB.

None of these mainland types of eyes are found in Minoan frescoes. In general, Minoan eyes are invariably more shapely than their Mycenaean counterparts which are either highly patterned, bulbous and "popping", as shapeless as fried eggs (e.g. Pylos II, Pl. 116 - 18 H 43), or with the upper eye-lid sharply bent in angular outline above the iris (e.g. Ibid, Pl. 33 - 49a H nws). These forms of eyes are simply unknown in Minoan wall paintings depicting the human figure.

Motif B. Military Equipment

1. Dual chariots (Fig. 55)

- (1) LM II/IIIA 1: Knossos - PLATE 59; SLIDE 20 (Fig. 55, no. 1);
- (2) LM IIIA 1: Knossos - PLATE 60 A-B; SLIDE 21 (Fig. 55, no. 2);
- (3) LH IIIA: Mycenae - BSA XXIV (1921-23), Pl. XXVIb (Fig. 55, no. 3);
- (4) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns - Tiryns II, Pl. XII (Fig. 55, no. 4);
- (5) LH IIIB 1-2(early): Pylos - Pylos II, Pl. 123, left (26 H 64) and Fig. 55, no. 5 here.

Nos. 1-2 in this sequence were found in the LM IIIA 1/2(early) destruction of the palace at Knossos. No. 2, a dappled chariot, presently finds its only counterparts on the LM IIIA 1/2(early) painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (PLATES 149 and 151) and on LH IIIA 2(early) chariot kraters (see p. 578 below). Dappled chariots are as yet unknown in Greek mainland frescoes. The earliest chariots evidently appeared in LM/LH I frescoes, to judge by the "miniature" example from Hagia Irini on Keos (PLATE 197 A5): but the type here is indeterminable. However, the sequence in mural representations of the "dual chariot" with monochrome box seems particularly clear.

No. 1 shows the curved rear extension defined by black lines with a central cross-bar; this and the circumference of the extension are in turn flanked with rows of white "impasto" spots crudely shaped in the manner typical of LM II-III A 1 frescoes from Knossos. The spots denote the stitching of the hide onto the chariot-frame. Next in sequence comes a chariot from the Ramp House at Mycenae (no. 3) in which the white spots for stitching are now depicted on top of broader black lines defining the junction-line of box and extension, and the cross-bar; a black line around the outside edge of the extension is, however, lacking. In no. 4 simple, continuous, white "impasto" lines have replaced both black definition-lines and rows of white spots seen on the rear extensions of the earlier chariot forms. In no. 5, from Pylos, the whole chariot is simplified and the reserved shape is clarified by black lines only. The conception of this type of vehicle is primitively expressed here. The vertical pole-stay is schematised in two hurried black lines; the front side of the box looks crudely tacked together onto a short narrow length of wood; a third (inner) outline peters out in the lower half of the box and the remaining two outlines sweep right through to form the lower pole-stay - always hitherto a separately denoted wooden part

of the construction; a back step up into the box is now lacking and the floor where the charioteer stands extends only as far as the upper spoke of the wheel! Clearly the true form of this type of chariot is at best half forgotten by the Pylian artist, perhaps because the "dual chariot" had already gone out of fashion when the Pylos fresco was made. Certainly we see none of the attention to small representational or decorative details such as appear in all the earlier examples.

These considerations alone suggest the Pylos fresco was painted when the LH IIIB period was already well advanced. This can hardly be later than LH IIIB 2(early), however, for the present fresco was executed by the same "school" as depicted the "battle scenes" from the palace at Pylos, as the border treatment alone shows (cf Pylos II, Pl. 123, left, with Pl. N, central and lower right): one at least of the latter frescoes was among those thrown out of the palace before the time of the last general redecoration there which probably took place towards the close of LH IIIB.

Consideration of the shaping and decoration of the vertical pole-stays of these chariot representations would support the proposed sequence, which is further corroborated by the stylistic sequence of borders accompanying these compositions (see pp.533ff). below).

Motif C. Animals

1. Bulls

- (1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos - large relief (PLATE 76), by "School B";
- (2) LM II/IIIA 1: Knossos - "miniature" head (PLATE 74A);
- (3) LM II/IIIA 1: Knossos - Taureador series (PLATES 71-73; SLIDES 46-51); "School E";
- (4) LM IIIA 1/2(early): Hagia Triada - sacrificed on sarcophagus (PLATE 74B);

(5) LH IIIA: Mycenae - "miniature" pieces (BSA XXIV (1919-21), Pl. VII, nos. 5-6);

(6) LH IIIB: Tiryns - "miniature" leaping bull (Schliemann, Tiryns, Pl. XIII; Tiryns II, Pl. XVIII);

(7) LH IIIB 2: Pylos - head (Pylos II, Pl. 135, upper right: 18 C 5);
- various pieces of bulls, shields or ox-hides (Pylos II, Pls. 21, 101-102, 104, 141).

Large-scale bulls in relief were executed in MM IIIB, but too little survives to assess their style in any detail. No. 1 by "School B" therefore begins the series here. It and no. 3 were destroyed at the time of the Final Destruction of the palace at Knossos, c. 1375 B.C.; but no. 2 was found in a slightly earlier context.

No. 1 is excellently modelled in relief to show the ideal of the strength, bulky size and fury of the charging beast. Proportions are naturalistically correct and there is attention to realistic representation of the eye, mouth and dewlap. A similar impression is created in no. 2, largely through the large size, shaping and angry red colouring of the eye and through the small black lines and dots to indicate the woolly texture of the hide; but here there are iconographical similarities in the use of black lines to the Taureador series of bulls (no. 3) in the treatment of hair near the ears and of the lined bases of the horns, and also with one LM II/IIIA 1 method of drawing rockwork (cf Motif Fl, no. 7 below).

No. 3 is represented by at least five bulls (SLIDES 47-51). They are more conventionalised than nos. 1-2. The body is elongated, its sweeping outlines and "flying gallop" position dramatising the speed of the animal; its head and shoulders are enlarged in proportion to the body in order to emphasise bulky mass and brute strength; and the hides of brown bulls are schematised in the quatrefoil shaping and repetitive striations of their dark patches - but the treatment of them is still freer than is the case in later examples

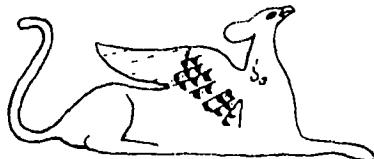
of the motif. A grey bull of the series is stippled in darker grey to suggest a woolly fleece (SLIDE 50); another, apparently inspired by the colour-scheme of large-scale LM II bull representations at Knossos (e.g. PLATE 75), has a black and white hide - a colour-scheme particularly popular later at Pylos. The tendency towards a schematic patterned shaping of spots and patches on bulls' hides (which perhaps began as early as MM IIIB, v. PLATE 79 A4) comes into sharper focus in the picture of the sacrificed bull on the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (no. 4).

Here the patches are uniformly smaller in relative size and more rounded in shape, as well as more decoratively colourful, than is the case of LM II/IIIA 1 or earlier representations. Moreover, the outlines of the body and head are simplified as compared even to the LM II/IIIA 1 motifs. No. 5 from Mycenae may have been similar, to judge from the few surviving pieces, although the dark patches are closer in their irregular shapes to those of the Taureador series from Knossos. Possibly the Mycenae bull may even be earlier than that on the Hagia Triada painted sarcophagus. The schematic patterning of the hide on the bull from Tiryns comes close to that of the Hagia Triada bull in both shaping and striation of the patches (no. 6); but the Tiryns bull lacks the confident outline drawing of earlier motifs, as the attempts to redraw tail and forelegs plainly show. Moreover, this bull has lost their image of strength and power, for the head is too small for the body and is held erect as though the acrobat above its back were no source of annoyance at all. Probably this fresco may be assigned to LH IIIB 1, but this is uncertain. Stylistically, however, it seems earlier than the Pylos representations of bulls, hides or shields of ox-hide (no. 7), mostly from LH IIIB 2(late) contexts. These are highly decorative in their manner of treating the hide: black trefoil patches or isolated round blobs are constantly repeated and very small black

Fig.56



1. MM IIIB, Phylakopi (1/2)



2. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos (1/2)



3. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos (1/2)

4. LM II, Knossos (1/2)



5. LM IIIA 1/2 (early), Hagia
Triada (1/4)



6. LH IIIB 2, Pylion (1/6)

Fig. 56: Motif C2, Griffins

flecks or dashes between patches are now completely absent. Indeed the treatment of dappled bulls' hides has now become monotonous, in both colouring and drawing. A red bull's head (Pylos II, Pl.135 - 18 C 5) survives, but the vestigial mouth, the soft lower jaw-line, the loss of detail at the muzzle and the highly simplified dewlap deprive it of any force or conviction as a representation of a king among Aegean Bronze Age animals. By comparison with our first example, this creature resembles, rather, a docile cow.

Dappled ox-hides were used for figure-of-eight shields which are found in both Minoan and Mycenaean mural frescoes. The stylistic sequence of the shields naturally runs parallel with that of the bulls themselves. This we have seen to proceed from a convincingly naturalistic conception to one which is merely decorative.

2. Griffins (Fig. 56)

(1) MM IIIB: Phylakopi - (skirt motif, SLIDE 12h,
PLATE 36)

(2) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos - (skirt motif by
"School B", SLIDE 12f
PLATE 43 E), LM IIIB

(3) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos - relief fresco by
"School B" (PLATE 132),
LM IIIA 1/2 (early)

(4) LM II: Knossos - Throne Room griffins
(SLIDES 38 and 53,
PLATES 127-129), LM IIIA
1/2 (early)

(5) LM IIIA 1/2 (early): Hagia Triada sarcophagus
(PLATE 149)

(6) LH IIIB 2: Pylos - from Hall 46 (Pylos II,
Pl.F. 21 C 46)

The earliest griffins on frescoes occur as "miniature" pictorial dress motifs in MM IIIB and MM IIIB/LM IA (nos. 1-2), probably, as Henri Frankfort suggested, because this motif first arrived in the Aegean area as a decorative textile ornament on materials imported from the Orient⁽⁷⁹⁾. After LM IA pictorialised dress motifs in general cease to appear. The present examples, whether flying and bird-like (no. 1) or seated and lion-like (no. 2), are naturalistically rendered and, though small, are believable as living creatures. Detailed attention is paid to the fine depiction of wing-feathers in the form of "adder" motifs, and on no. 1 small black lines on the body of the better preserved griffin not only add texture but even an impression of volume. The grace and dignity which this motif of a sacred-guardian animal calls for is well brought out in these instances.

No. 3, executed in low relief, is less well preserved and in view of the strange proportions and, in part, anatomical rendering of the restored creatures it is questionable if the restoration is acceptable. Even so, the bodies of these standing creatures are dog-like, as the thin, longish legs, small paws, apparently slender chests and narrow, strongly curved, tails indicate. In this case, the composite nature of the griffins - basically dog-like - appears especially emphasised: it is this typological variation, rather than the bird-like or lion-like forms, which informs the shapes of nos. 5 and 6. The three dimensional aspect observed in no. 1 is continued in no. 3 by means of relief stucco modelling in which legs, bodies and wings are moulded on different surface planes, creating lighter and darker shadows that

give the creatures volume and mass.

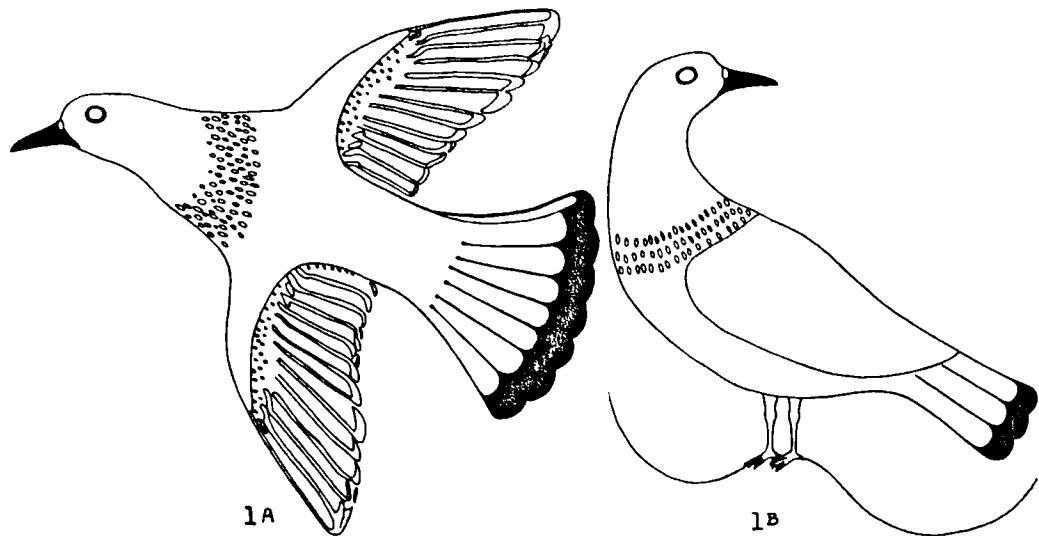
The famous Throne Room griffins from Knossos (no. 4) revert to the couchant lion-like variation of the motif, although in this case they are wingless. Here there is a power and grandeur in conception of this noble beast as in no other Aegean example of the motif yet known. Use of the cross-hatched lines, interpreted as "shading" by Evans but which may be pictorial denoting rough hair, add volume to the form, as does the feathery treatment of the neck through to the beak. The crest, though stylised, appears realistically attached to the head and upper and lower beak are also realistically differentiated. The presence of flowers and a spiral volute on the shoulder, though primarily decorative ornamentations, recall the garlanding of sacrificial bulls in contemporary Egyptian frescoes (80). The animal as a whole is well proportioned, a point of difference with those griffins with dog-like bodies. A naturalistically convincing form, with realistic touches, and a noble conception of the grace, strength and important religious function of these creatures are most apparent here.

No. 5, from the head end of the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, dog-like, resembles the form of no. 3. In the present case short black lines denote shading along the muscles of the slender legs and body in a manner which strongly recalls the relief modelling of the limbs of no. 3. Crest and wings of no. 5, however, are more voluminous and colourful; it is notable, too, that the painted "adder" motifs denoting feathers on wings and crest are now more attenuated than previously. Features of the head are difficult to see clearly because of damage; but the beak seems more curved and eagle-like than in earlier examples of the motif. That this creature had it ever existed, would be capable of drawing the char-

iot to which it is attached the artist has left us in no doubt. By contrast to all the above examples, no. 6 is so flat, static, two-dimensional and linear that the credibility of such a creature as a griffin is lost. At Pylos the animal exists simply as a decorative pattern.

No. 6 is of a special interest in view of the claims of some scholars that the resemblance to the Throne Room griffins at Knossos is close. But this is not the case. The Pylos griffin is dog-like in form and therefore basically dissimilar from the Knossian examples in question, despite the lack of wings in both instances. Heavy black outline and broad expanses of colour predominate in the Pylos motif. The crest-feathers are less colourful, smaller in area and unconvincingly attached to the head, while the lower part of the crest and details on the chest are linearised in black, as though decorative metalwork rather than feathers of a bird were foremost in the artist's mind. The Pylos griffin is three-toed (the Knossos griffins, no. 4, have four); upper and lower beaks are not clearly differentiated; the hide with its spots is that of a leopard, not a lion, and the long wispy tail is whimsical. Hatching-lines, as indeed the whole animal, are highly stylised: so, too, the eye, as previously mentioned (v. Motif A3, no. 6, p. 489 above). This animal is no longer the regal creature of the Knossian frescoes and stylistically it is far removed from them.

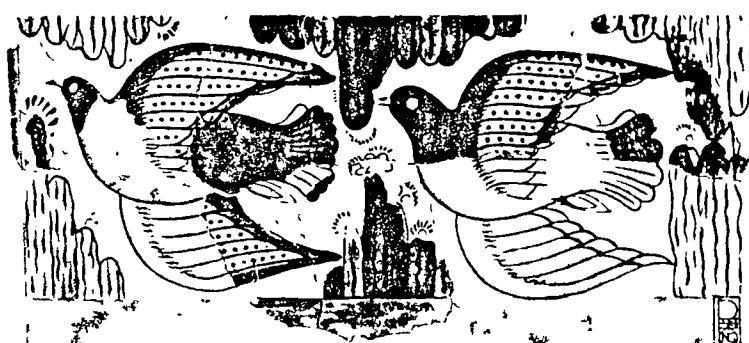
Fig.57



1A-C. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos (about $\frac{1}{3}$)



2. LM/LH IA(1B), Keos (about $\frac{1}{2}$)



3. LH IIIB 1-2(early), Pylos (about $\frac{1}{4}$)



4. LH IIIB 2(late), Pylos ($\frac{1}{5}$)

Fig.57: Motif D1, Blue Birds

Motif D. Birds

1. "Blue Birds" or Doves (Fig. 57)

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos - frightened at nesting-time, from the House of the Frescoes; by "School I";

(SLIDE 27a and PLATE 65; Fig. 56, no. 1 a-c)

(2) LM/LH IA (IB): Keos, Hagia Irini - feeding and preening (unpublished; Fig. 56, no. 2 here by courtesy of Mrs. K. Coleman)

(3) LH IIIB 1-2 (early): Pylos, North West Slope dump - flying in rockwork (Pylos II, Pl.R and Pl.117: 9F nws; and Fig. 56, no. 3 here)

(4) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Throne Room - flying above lyre-player (Pylos II, Pls. 125-126: 43 H6; and Fig. 56, no. 4 here)

These can be distinguished as one species by shape and, usually, by the bright blue colouring of the bodies: outer wing-feathers are usually denoted in a lighter blue. The most naturalistic as well as stratigraphically earliest in the series are those from Knossos, from the House of the Frescoes (no. 1a-c).

These birds are well proportioned at nearly life-size and drawn without black outlines. The character of the bird, a powerful flier but cautious and easily alarmed, is well realised. Realistic features include characteristic field-markings: the white spot above an elegant beak; the pinkish iridescence at the collar; the red and

yellow colouring of the eye; and the broad "fan" tail with wide black terminal band. Wing-feathers are drawn with light blue lines with reserved spaces between, suggesting the light sheen of the underside of the wings as seen from below; in addition, the soft fluffy down between body and wings is intimated in smaller blue brushstrokes. A naturalistic form and realistic depiction of details therefore characterise these examples of the motif, showing that the artists were in close touch with realities of the world of nature.

No. 2, representative of some fifteen birds of one frieze from Keos, is provincial in execution and the artist has clearly followed many details in the Knossian manner of rendering doves. The new features primarily concern proportions and colouring. The Keos doves seem plumper, though not ill-proportioned, for their heads and especially beaks appear smaller in relation to their bodies. Again no black outlines appear, but the bird-shapes are drawn with less clarity of contour than at Knossos. Wing-feathers, now in bluish-grey paint, are also shakier in line. Doves' feet are attested in the material from Hagia Irini, and these are red and summarily drawn. In other respects the present birds, which are smaller, closely imitate the Knossian examples in regard to details and colouring.

No. 3 from Pylos is by contrast a most ungainly specimen. The body is too plump and heavy-looking, drawn in black outline (thereby losing the light, airy appearance of the doves from Knossos and Keos); and there is an attempt to combine both profile and underside views of a flying bird by continuing the contour line of the body and dropping the further wing below it in a manner familiar from earlier Egyptian bird representations on walls. The lower wing nearly touches the ground and its generous shape together with that of the

body appears to weigh the bird down as it flies. Of the two Pylian doves in the fresco referred to, the head of the left-hand one - here reproduced - is too small in proportion to the body and the tail likewise seems stunted. The following features of the earlier dove motifs have now gone: the white spot at the beak, the iridescent collar, the broad black tail-band, blue delineation of wing-feathers of birds in flight, and the red and yellow eye. We see instead a white circular eye, a beak outlined or coloured in red (instead of black); black wing-feather outlines, with decorative black spots between them, as though the Pylian artist was more familiar with details of bird representations on bronze inlaid daggers than with earlier mural precedents (81).

The grace and power of this naturally swift bird are here lost and the motif is no longer used informatively to suggest an idea of the character and habits of these creatures in wild nature. Animal psychology is not of interest to this artist, for he uses the birds as large - and rather vulgar - filling motifs in the circular spaces provided by rockwork and borders. As such, the Pylos birds fly nowhere: they are static elements in a simple repetitive ornamental pattern void of further meaning.

No. 4, also from Pylos, is probably slightly later in date than no. 3 because it evidently belonged to a painting incorporating griffins and lions executed in the last mural style of the palace (see Pylos II, Pl.125): it fell from its wall at the time of the final destruction of the palace. These considerations suggest a date in LH IIIB 2. The style of drawing corroborates

this suggestion.

This bird is in fact a composite one, "surcharged" with a griffin's crest (cf. PLATE 149). Leaving this detail aside, we see that the shape of the head, the plump body, the "fan" tail and short powerful wings conform to the conceptualised Minoan dove type; but here the similarities cease. The most striking new feature is the absence of the usual blue colouring of this bird - a point which may perhaps be put down to the general tendency of very late artists at Pylos to limit their range of colours. The bird has become a white silhouette with flowing yet purely decorative linear additions on wings and tail. The eye is human (along with the eye-brow) while the neck motif seems to be an abstraction of the floral and spiral decorative ornamentation common to griffin representations. As with other LH IIIB 2 (late) fresco motifs from Pylos, we again find here a mixture of forms or decorative details derived from several sources combined in such a way as to suggest the artist no longer understood their original meaning and function in a design. The present bird seems therefore to represent an abstract, highly conventionalised and generalised symbol - a "holy" or "sacred bird". That his basic model was the Minoan sacred dove, an important attribute of the Minoan goddess herself, the artist seems only dimly aware.

Stylistically a large interval must be allowed between the Pylian birds and their Cretan and Cycladic forerunners.

Fig.58



1a-b. LM/LH IA, Keos ($\frac{1}{2}$)

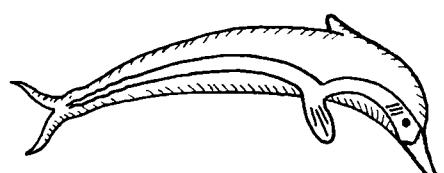
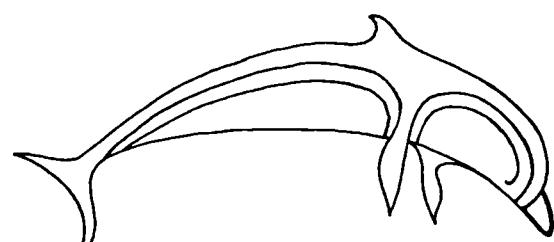
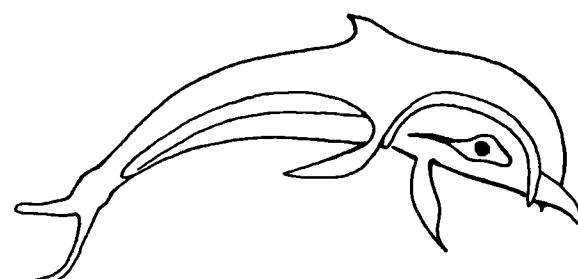
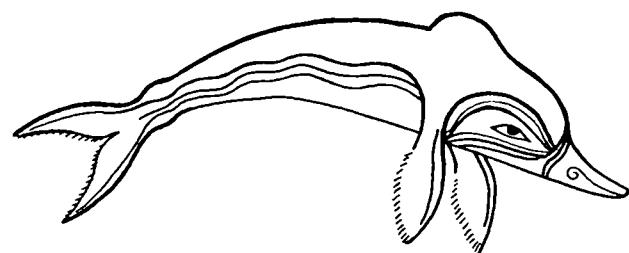
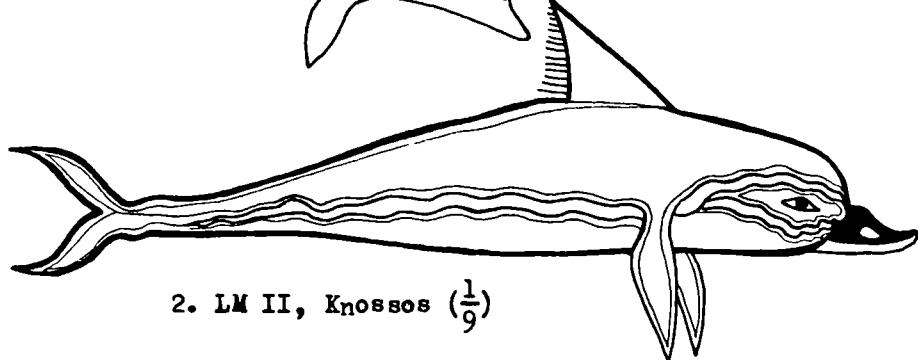
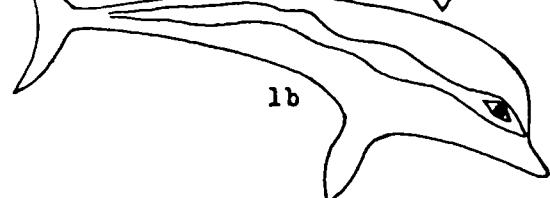


Fig.58: Motif El, Dolphins

Motif E. Marine Creatures

1. Dolphins (Fig. 58)

(1) LM/LH I : Keos, Hagia Irini - school of leaping dolphins (SLIDE 37). Fig. 58, no. 1.

(2) LM II: Knossos, Queen's Megaron area - floor scene (SLIDE 36c and PLATES 121-122a). LM IIIB. Fig. 58, no. 2

(3) LM IIIA 1: Hagia Triada, Room H - floor scene (PLATE 124). LM III A or B
Fig. 58, no. 3)

(4) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns, palace Megaron - floor motif (Tiryns II, p. 229, Fig. 81).
Fig. 58, no. 4. LH IIIB 2.

(5) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns, palace floor - floor motif (Tiryns II, Pl. XXI). LH IIIB 2.
Fig. 58, no. 5

(6) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Room 50 - floor motif (Blegen and Rawson Guide to the Palace of Nestor, Fig. 24 right). Fig. 58, No. 6

The earliest attested dolphin fresco is that from Keos, seen at SLIDE 37, from a firm LM/LH I context (no. 1). The dolphins are here swimming playfully, leaping to the surface as they do in real life. Essentially painterly, they are predominantly yellow but some have undulating light blue and pinkish bands along the lengths of their bodies. With one exception (not certainly a dolphin), these creatures are not outlined in black and accentuation lines in the same colour occur sparingly. The brushwork and colours are delicate, and the contours of fins are finely shaped. Further stylistic details are

are hard to assess, for the heads of these creatures in no instance survive.

The delicate style of the Keos dolphins is replaced in the next attested fresco example by an altogether more solemn style in which thicker and thinner parallel outlines in black dominate the broad washes of paint: this style is represented by the Dolphin Fresco from Knossos, attributed to LM II as one work of "School D" (no. 2). Typically, the artists of this "school" have accentuated the noble bearing of this fine marine creature. The two dolphins in this painting appear to be swimming leisurely, surrounded by smaller fish; this impression is caused by the straight, static lines of their undersides which counter the arced lines of their backs; the overlapping lower fins, finely drawn, do not suggest vigorous activity. The contours are crisply defined by the black lines and the brushwork is so carefully controlled that the dolphins appear almost motionless. The colouring, sky blue above and white below the central undulating lines, in black on each side of a yellow band, suggest both texture and mass - for the blue and plain white here recede while the yellow colour comes forward. The eye is carefully defined in human form and has an exact counterpart in the eye of the male processional figure by the same "school" seen at SLIDE 3. Restored, but satisfactory, details are the "snouts" and dorsal fins. Interestingly, the colours of the lower fins show that the artists are distinguishing front and underside views of those parts of the creatures. The rippling band in the centre of their bodies, a feature seen only in the Minoan examples of this motif, may be

accounted for if, in addition to differentiating the upper and lower sides of the creatures, it represents the line at which in reality the foam of the sea washed against the dolphin's body swimming at surface level. Although the present example is stylised it remains believably naturalistic. This is less so in the case of the next motif in the series, no. 3, from Hagia Triada.

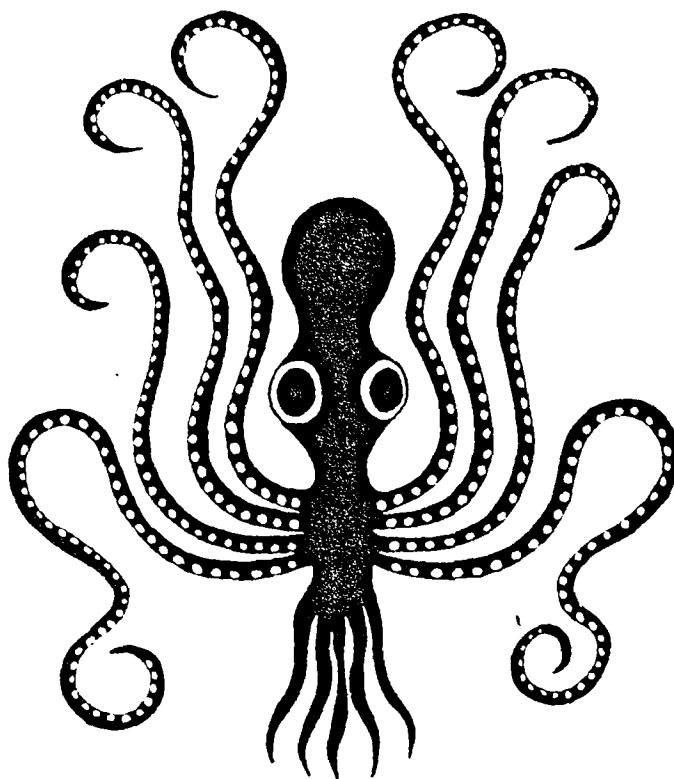
As no. 2, the present dolphins are heavily linearised in outlines and accentuations. Their snouts are systematically treated with a black spiraliform-ending line for the mouth and two parallel curving lines at the junction of snout and head. Tail and lower fins have short feather-like lines on one edge. The undulating lines below the eye of no. 2 have in the present examples dropped lower, while undulations along the body are less regular than before. Lower fins no longer overlap but are spaced as though for mere paddling through water. The bodies of the dolphins curve more generously than in earlier examples, a feature which hereafter appears to become standardised in drawings of this motif. The present dolphins still have a human eye, but its upper line is more arched than the lower which is now almost straight. Red body bands have here replaced the yellow bands of dolphins of type no. 2, while the same or a more orange-red colour appears on the further fin. The Hagia Triada dolphins therefore appear more simplified and more decoratively stylised than no. 2, though they still appear in a full marine scene.

Further simplification and schematic stylisation characterise the next two examples in the series, which are contemporary and probably to be assigned to the

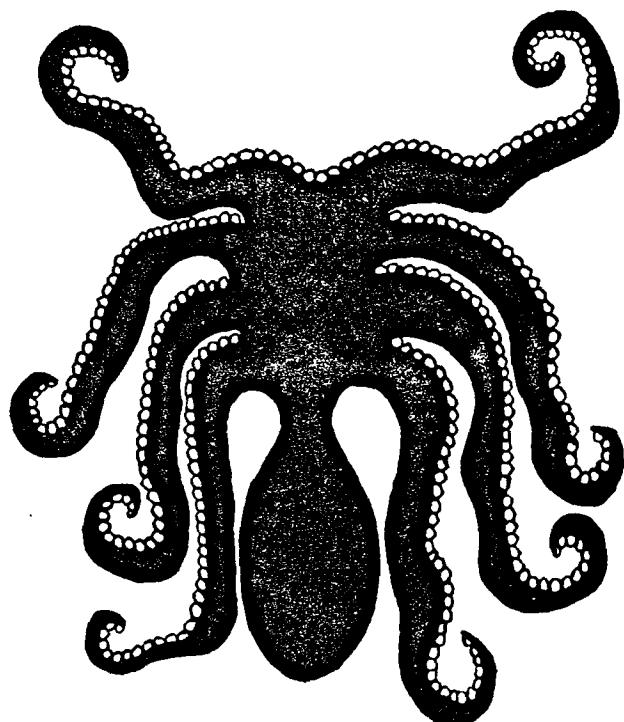
early part of LH IIIB (nos. 4-5). The chief difference among them is that no. 5 is blind according to the colour Plate in Tiryns II! Even heavier outlines trace the dolphins' shapes and the dorsal fin approaches a vestigial scale in its size. Undulating bands along the body in both examples have disappeared, displaced by two arcs separated by lower fins. These are more widely spaced than in earlier examples, and only no. 4 preserves the distinction between the front view of the nearer fin and the underside view of the further one. Snouts are perfunctorily depicted reserved areas, and the eye of no. 4 is large and coarse. A further peculiarity is that one fin of the tail is usually longer than the other. Despite this degree of simplification and stylisation, these creatures are still readily recognisable as dolphins. Had the above examples not survived, however, the identification of no. 6 from Pylos as a dolphin would not appear obvious at first glance.

Overall proportions of the body have changed: the head is enlarged, the snout elongated and upturned at the end, the eye small and rounded, the lower fin (now only one of them) is shorter and rounded at the end, and the trunk of the body is less elegantly tapered. The dorsal fin is small and appears as a crest-like extension of the head. Further, the traditional colour-scheme of sky blue for the back and a yellow or red band or line for the flank is now abandoned. The extensive linearisation of the motif is also emphasized by the presence of short black lines at the contour, above and below, for the gills behind the eye, and on all fins. This highly simplified version of a dolphin is the best

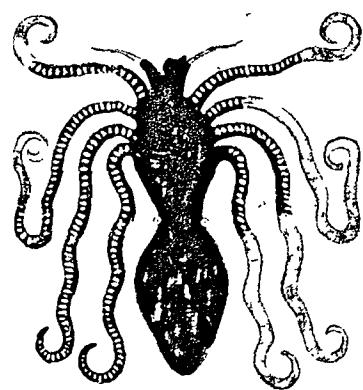
Fig.59



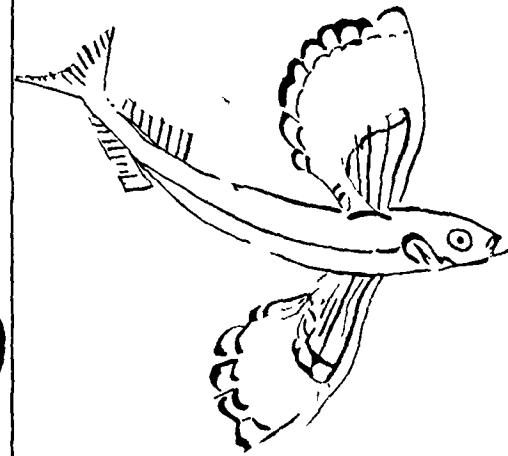
A1. LM IIIA 1, Hagia Triada ($\frac{1}{9}$)



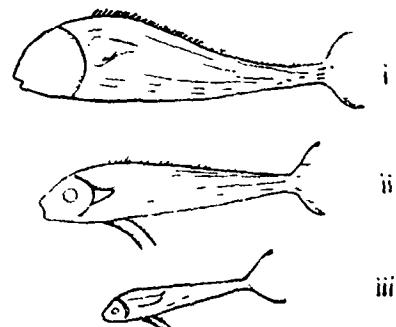
A2. LH IIIB 1, Tiryns ($\frac{1}{4}$)



A3. LH IIIB 2(late), Pylos ($\frac{1}{7}$)



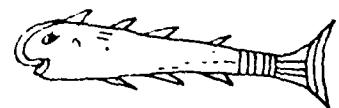
Flying fish from
Phylakopi (MM IIIB)



B1. LM II, Knossos ($\frac{1}{8}$)



B2. LM IIIA 1, Hagia
Triada ($\frac{1}{9}$)



B3. LH IIIB 2(late),
Pylos ($\frac{1}{7}$)

the late LH IIIB painters at Pylos could manage and as such its place at the end of this sequence of the motif seems certain.

2. Octopods (Fig. 59A)

(1) LM IIIA 1: Hagia Triada, Room H - floor scene (SLIDE 36e and PLATE 124B).

LM III A or B. Fig. 59A, no.1

(2) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns, palace Megaron - floor motif (Tiryns II, p. 231, Fig. 82 and Pl. XXI). LH IIIB 2. Fig. 59A, no.2

(3) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Rooms 49-50 and Megaron (Blegen and Rawson, Guide to the Palace of Nestor, Figs. 23, 24 (top left) and 8 respectively).

Fig. 59A, no.3, from Passage 49.

The most naturalistic of these motifs is undoubtedly no.1 from Hagia Triada. Although it is a symmetrically arranged design, the arms wave with realistic conviction

around the naturally-shaped body where the large saucer-like eyes are emphasised in size and colour - black (or burnt blue ?) with plain white bands encircling them.

Suckers on the outer flanks of the tentacles are executed carefully as evenly rounded discs gradually decreasing in size towards the tips. At least five shorter tentacles without suckers are depicted at the mouth-end of the creature whose brown colouring corresponds to the usual colour of the octopus camouflaged in marine rocks.

The Tiryns examples are more rigidly stylised (no.2). Tentacles curl with greater geometrical regularity and accentuate the axial line of the body, while the shorter group of tentacles of no.1 are missing:

the two tentacles in the Tiryns examples nearest the mouth appear to have replaced them and these are aligned almost horizontally and at right-angles to the others here. Eyes are lacking, and therefore there is no second bulge in the body as found in no.1. Suckers are denoted in the Tiryns motifs as white discs beyond the outline of the tentacles and, though they appear to taper towards tentacle-tips, they now extend from one side to the other of the two tentacles nearest the mouth - where in no.1 they had been absent. The whole motif, excluding suckers, is now a monochrome light blue or bright red - clearly a more decorative colouring than before.

The octopus motifs from Pylos, belonging to the last redecoration of the palace late in LH IIIB, are even more coarsely drawn than those from Tiryns. The "sack" of the body tapers less pleasingly and eyes, if present, are depicted as a small circle with a black dot for the iris at the "waisted" part of the body - in reversal of the iconography of no.1. Tentacles appear straggling in shape and on them are found, in reserve, oval suckers of irregular size. Their method of rendering over much of the width of the tentacles has the effect of depriving the latter of any mass - and one hesitates to believe these octopods could grasp their prey with the creature's customary tenacity. At the mouth-end, two shorter tentacles appear, horizontally aligned and repeating the axial thrust of the two larger front tentacles; they seem almost vestigial, if the restoration can be trusted. The overall colour has changed yet again, this time to black or a very dark brown. These creatures come close to the abstractly schematised designs on contemporary LM/LH IIIB vases, and all are far removed in style from the convincing creatures from Hagia Triada.

3. Small Fry (Fig. 59B)

(1) LM II: Knossos, Queen's Megaron - Dolphin
 Fresco (SLIDE 36f and PLATE
 122 B-C). LM IIIB. Fig. 59B,
 no. 1

(2) LM IIIA 1: Hagia Triada, Room H - marine floor
 scene (PLATE 124B). LM III A
 or B. Fig. 59B, no. 2

(3) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Room 50 - floor motif
 (Blegen and Rawson, Guide to
the Palace of Nestor, Fig. 24
 lower left). Fig. 59B, no. 3

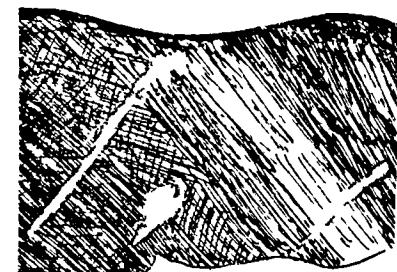
The small fry, not closely identifiable, of no. 1 are already considerably removed in style from the most naturalistic rendering of flying fish in the MM IIIB fresco from Phylakopi where mouths and gills are most convincing (v. SLIDE 36d). The present fish are stiff and stylised by comparison. Eyes are round reserved circles defined by black lines; mouths - a simple V shape - are usually open and gaping though without the realism of the Phylakopi fish. There is little movement in the bodies whose upper black contour-line, and also fins, are serrated with small "feather-like" lines. A strong black line distinguishes the gills of these fish behind which there is often a triangular shape defined by similar small "feathery" lines. There is no attempt to show scales, but bodies - usually bichrome (blue and yellow, or pink) - are given a series of almost parallel black lines along their lengths. The restored mouth of the fish at PLATE 122B suggests diminutive teeth may have been indicated in the original representations.

The simplification and schematisation of no. 1 is continued in no. 2, but here we find a more decorative and exaggerated simplification. Greater attention is paid to heads, with mouths more widely open and larger eyes in which the iris is indicated but around which there are concentric lines parallel to the arc formed by the gill. Lower fins now seem absent while dorsal fins appear in a vestigial form, denoted by four short curving lines. There is also a more decorative use of colour here: heads may be an orange-red or blue with a red band at the gill while bodies are blue in the triangle behind the gill and ochre and white above and below on the body. These fish represent an advance towards the even more debased style of small fry from Pylos (no. 3).

These fish have the overall shape of a Herculean club or an old-fashioned beer-pump handle. The head is so rounded as to be grotesque and a double outline there gives the impression of fleshy lips. Three or four fins above and below stick out awkwardly from the body while the tail is rendered almost as an architecturally decorative detail. Eyes with iris indicated are oval; gills are diminutive or absent. Outline here dominates these abstract fish, clearly the latest in the present sequence of motifs. As a floor motif of the last period of redecoration in the palace, no. 3 may be attributed to a date in LH IIIB 2 (late).

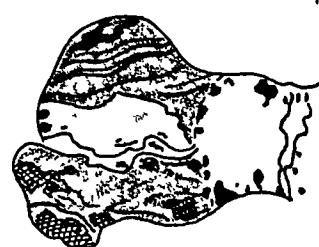
Fig.60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9



2. MM IIIB, Phylakopi ($\frac{1}{2}$)

1. MM IIIA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{7}$)



4. LM IA (LM IB), Hagia Triada ($\frac{1}{8}$)

3. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{4}$)



5. LM IA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{4}$)

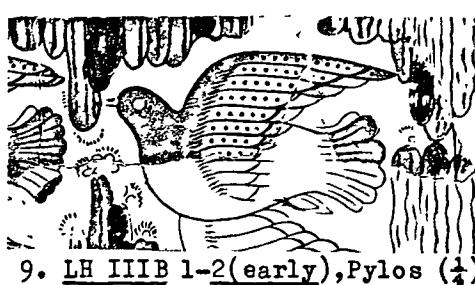
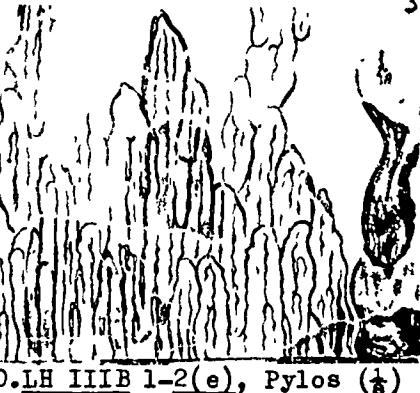


7a-c. LM II-IIIA 1,

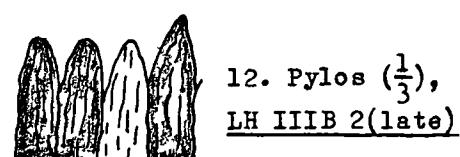
Knossos:

7a ($\frac{1}{4}$);

7b-c ($\frac{2}{3}$). 8. LH IIIA, Mycenae ($\frac{1}{3}$)



9. LH IIIB 1-2 (early), Pylos ($\frac{1}{4}$)



10. LH IIIB 1-2 (e), Pylos ($\frac{1}{5}$)



11. LH IIIB 2 (e), Pylos ($\frac{1}{8}$)



12. Pylos ($\frac{1}{3}$),
LH IIIB 2 (late)



13b. Pylos
($\frac{1}{6}$)
LH IIIB 2 (1)



13a. LH IIIB 2 (late), Pylos ($\frac{1}{6}$)

Fig.60: Motif F1, Rockwork

Motif F. Landscape

1. Rockwork (Fig. 60)

(1) MM IIIA: Knossos, Royal Road/North - myrtle fresco by "School H" (SLIDE 34 and PLATE 67). LM IB if not MM IIIB.

Fig. 60, no. 1

(2) MM IIIB: Phylakopi, House G3 - on skirt of female figure (PLATE 36B). Fig. 60, no. 2

(3) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, House of the Frescoes - 'Bird and Monkey frieze by "School I" (PLATE 65). Fig. 60, no. 3

(4) LM IA: Hagia Triada, Room 14 - mountainside scene by the "Caravanserai School" (SLIDE 54 and PLATE 66). LM IB.

Fig. 60, no. 4

(5) LM IA: Knossos, Caravanserai - Partridge frieze (PLATE 86). LM III ?B.

Fig. 60, no. 5

(6) LM II: Knossos, palace - Cupbearer Fresco by "School "D" (SLIDE 9 and PLATE 7A). LM IIIA 1/2 (early). Fig. 60, no. 6

(7) LM II - IIIA 1: Knossos, N. W. Insula - Saffron Gatherer Fresco (SLIDE 57 and PLATE 84C) with pieces from a third panel at PLATE 179 A1-2, from "Demon Seals". Main series: LM IIIB?; third panel, probably LM III A1/2 (early). Fig. 60, no. 7 a-b

(8) LH IIIA: Mycenae, Tsountas's excavations near Ramp House - Horse and Groom Fresco (BSA XXV (1921-23), Pl. XXVII).

LH III ?A rather than B. Fig. 60,
no. 8

(9) LH IIIB 1-2 (early): Pylos, North West Slope dump - Blue Bird frieze (Pylos II, Pl.R, 9 F nws). Fig. 60, no. 9

(10) LH IIIB 1-2 (early): Pylos, North West Slope dump - olive tree fresco (Pylos II, Pl.Q, 3,10 N nws). Fig. 60, no. 10

(11) LH IIIB 2 (early): Pylos, Room 64 - Dog frieze (Pylos II, Pl.P. 39-38 C 64). Fig. 60 no. 11

(12) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Room 20 - stag and horse fragments (Pylos II, PL.132, 3 and 7 C 20). Fig. 60, no. 12

(13) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Megaron - "Orpheus" fresco (Pylos II, Pl.126 and A, 43 H 6). Fig. 60, no. 13

No. 1, by "School H", is entirely painterly, lacking any black outlines or details. The rockwork, moulded in very low relief, is conceived as a broad band with upper and lower contours undulating with a rolling, regularly pulsating rythm. Details of the crevices and linear texture of the rockwork are lacking because the colours - maroon, grey, dark blue and white splashes - bleed together in an unprecedented way; mass and texture are therefore conveyed by gradations in colours and painterly diagonal brushstrokes with blurred edges. White splashes of paint run in a counter direction. This sophisticated manner of depicting the motif was not continued after MM IIIA, perhaps because the effect suggests too solid and wall-like a mass.

We next find, in no. 2, a more linear treatment.

Black outlines heavily define the borders of the motif which is a small dress pattern. Contours undulate and roll more generously and with greater variation than before; and the earlier suggestion of differently coloured patches of rock is now made explicit by rendering sections of the band in blue "blocks" and perhaps originally also white and pinkish-red (now faded).

Striations and small spots or dashes in black paint now occur, to indicate the pictorial texture of rockwork - the lines being executed in a manner similar to contemporary "drip" techniques of MM vase-painting.

In the next period, MM IIIB/LM IA, rockwork becomes more free in shapes and in colourful decorative detail, to judge by the paintings from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (no. 3). Irregular rocky shapes bulge and undulate diagonally, but sharp, pointed, outcrops are avoided. The "rolling" effect of the previous examples has disappeared and the rockwork takes on a more vigorous and swirling character in all respects. "Block-like" coloured shapes of highly irregular patterns, in light and sky blues, orange, olive, bluish-green, red and grey, serve as background washes for linear and blotchy or spotted striations in a great many colours which give the motif a brilliantly varied ornamental character. Black lines occur regularly in details of the striations and rarely in broken, somewhat blotchy, accentuations of outline. More frequently a white band, of irregular thickness, defined the edges of rocky outcrops, especially those on red backgrounds. This feature is first attested in the present frescoes but continues into LM/LH IIIA.

The deepest impression of the present motif is not of its brilliantly ornamental character but more so of its organic life, unchecked mobility and inherent charm.

The style of no. 3 is undoubtedly the precursor of that of no. 4 which, however, in both colouration and shaping is more down-to-earth and stable. The dynamic diagonal mobility of the motif is now steadied by the sombre overall colouring of the rockwork in brown, grey and yellowish or ochre tones; by the repetition of some rockwork shapes and presence of others of greater mass; by the presence of rocky spurs with sharp-pointed edges which act as static elements in the design; and by reducing the number of striation lines. The general effect comes closest in Minoan wall painting to a view of real Cretan mountains as seen on a hazy summer day. This motif abandons the charm of no. 3 for a more serious attempt to represent realities of the island's landscape.

No. 5, attributed to the same date as no. 4 represents a wholly new conception of rockwork, as a simple abstract schematised form. More or less parallel bands in light and sky blues, pink, yellow, bluish-green and white undulate diagonally and horizontally across the frieze, but with occasional large stalagmitic prominences. Dotted rosettes and fine "feathery" lines in blue, red and black at the fringes of the bands seem also to be pictorial abstractions of the flowers and grass which covered the landscape. The motif is of interest because it appears to be the earliest instance in fresco of an essential linear typological form of rockwork representation which makes its appearance in the Late Minoan Age. That this

example may be attributed to LM IA at the latest seems assured on at least four grounds: the colour scheme for the bands is almost identical to that of rockwork from the House of the Frescoes, of MM IIIB/LM IA date (no. 3); the shapes of the rockwork at the upper border of the Caravanserai frieze, from which no. 5 is derived, are presently comparable only to those of the red upper background zones of the Boxer and Oryx Beissa frescoes from Thera, found in a firm LM IA destruction context (82); simplified but similarly zonal rockwork occurs below the monkeys in the new LM IA scene from Thera (Thera V (1972), Pl. D); and the same conception of rockwork is to be found on LM/LH IA inlaid daggers from Mycenae whose use of multicoloured materials has rightly been described as "painting in metals" (83). The place of no. 5 in the present sequence of the motif therefore seems certain.

A harder, black outlined and more solidly coloured linearised form follows on from no. 5 (no. 6). The colours, cobalt blue and dark red flanked by broad black undulating lines, are denser and therefore suggest a more static motif which is also simplified by comparison with no. 5 since floral symbols are absent. No. 6 is executed in the characteristically heavy but grandiose style of "School D" at Knossos for which a date in LM II has been suggested. Comparison of no. 6 with LM/LH IA inlaid daggers from Mycenae, where rockwork designs also slant diagonally from their borders, shows a remarkable similarity in linear treatment and shape: the motif in the Knossian fresco may even have been derived from the Mycenaean pictorial repertoire in which case a date early in LM II would seem plausible. In the following examples of the motif we return to the more common and traditional

typological form.

Of the three forms of rockwork present in the "Saffron Gatherer" series of fragments, only two are well preserved (no. 7a-b). In both, the background "blocks" of colour though irregular in area show a tendency towards rectangular and triangular shapes, coloured grey-blue, white, red and perhaps originally pinkish and ochre. These shapes also tend to be demarcated by unbroken linear striations in black. The latter, vertically or horizontally arranged, are very numerous and cast a drab appearance over the whole design; they are also scalloped in a series of parallel, scale-like, short brushstrokes or appear as straighter lines in the alternative form. A white irregular band closely follows all inner contours - the extension of this band, but without the rockwork detail, apparently forming a third type of rockwork border in this fresco series (see PLATE 84C, lower left). The rockwork clings closely to the borders of the pictorial zone in the compositions leaving the central space free for the principal subject matter. These versions of the motif, although now clearly much stylised and linearly simplified, are still freer in the manipulation of ground colours and striation lines than the remaining instances of the motif. Moreover, the date suggested, LM II-IIIA 1, is supported by the fact that this method of representing rockwork as a quasi-scale design was used by "School D" at Knossos in the depiction of a finely-grained stone bowl (PLATE 56A; LM II) and was quickly adopted as an established convention in both contemporary vase-painting and other wall paintings (e.g. the dado of the marine scene at PLATE 124A: LM IIIA 1). Further, the next

instance of the motif, assigned to LH IIIA (no. 8)⁽⁸⁴⁾, illustrates additional simplifying trends.

In no. 8, the rectilinear shaping of ground colours in the rockwork is even more evident, with the black striation lines emphasising the vertical axes of those shapes. Their colouring, too, follows an almost regularised tonal progression from light to darker to dark, as the original fragments of the composition show. The notably repetitive character of the treatment here is thus a new feature in the sequence of this motif; but it is found at an earlier date in dado fresco designs imitating slabs of veined stone at Knossos (e.g. the West Porch dado, by "School D", assigned to LM II) and also on the LM IIIA painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (PLATES 148-151). As in no. 7, the rockwork in the Mycenae fresco is also bordered by a continuous white band at its lower contour. After LM/LH IIIA this feature apparently disappears. Later rockwork motifs either lack it or replace it with a conventionalised linear treatment of the white band. The remaining examples, all of LH IIIB date, are from Pylos.

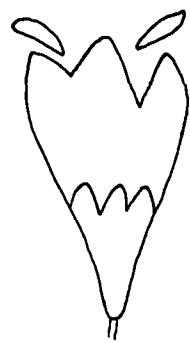
Nos. 9 and 10, both from the same dump and assignable within LH IIIB 1-2 (early), retain a schematised impression of the traditional rockwork motif but in very stylised forms. No. 9 does so by the overall shapes of its clusters of rocks, whose blue, red and ochre "blocks" are curiously rendered as elongated ovals: the long sides, with from one to four vertical wavy striations between each colour-block, underline a tectonic design with a dominant vertical axis. There is little variation in shapes, in alternation of colours or in detail, and the effect is rigidly static and lifeless. Schematised flowers

such as are found in LM/LH IIIB vase-painting, grow like mushroom excrescences from the rounded tops of some outcrops and they alone enliven the rigid rockwork patterns whose primary function is no longer to border the composition with landscape elements but to act as decorative spacers between the flying Blue Birds. No. 10 shows a somewhat similar overall shape although the upper contour is more varied. Colour and striations are employed as in no. 9, but the main difference lies in the piling of one coloured "block" upon another as though the artist were constructing a polygonal wall. The outlines of individual "blocks" are also allowed to undulate more than is the case in the same elements of no. 9. Both examples are clearly far removed in style from all earlier rockwork motifs presently known.

Nos. 11 and 12 come from LH IIIB 2 (late) contexts and are probably assignable within that period rather than earlier; yet neither can be very far removed in time from the two motifs previously discussed. No. 11 exaggerates the wavy outlines of individual colour-blocks as found in no. 10 and is continued across the entire upper border of the composition - if we may trust the restoration. Otherwise it conforms closely to the design of no. 10, although on the original fragments there are now only one or two striations per colour-block. In no. 12 the rockwork "blocks" are similar in colour progression and linear details to corresponding elements in nos. 9-10; but their shapes are more bullet-like and are arranged in a single row one after the other like stakes in a wooden fence. The effect is tediously repetitive, with nothing to vary the prominent vertical



1. MM IIIIB/LM IA, Knossos
($\frac{1}{1}$)



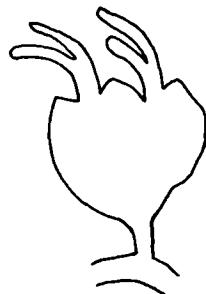
2. LM IA (LM IB), Hagia
Triada ($\frac{1}{1}$)



3. LM IB, Palaikastro ($\frac{1}{2}$)



4. LM IB, Palaikastro ($\frac{1}{2}$)



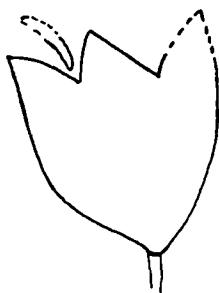
5. LM II-IIIA 1, Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



6. LM II-IIIA 1, Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



7. LH IIIA, Pylos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



8. LH IIIB, Pylos ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Fig.61: Motif G1, Crocuses

thrust of every element of the design.

No. 13 completes the sequence with a novel suggestion: that the contour of the continuous rockwork band at the top of the frieze be tripled with continuous and more-or-less parallel lines while further details be completely omitted. The contour undulates irregularly somewhat in the traditional Minoan manner; but apart from the triple set of lines already mentioned, the rockwork is the plain colour of the unpainted plaster surface. The irregular contour attests the rockwork motif, but this may perhaps not have been what the artist intended the onlooker to interpret here. The certain rock on which the lyre-player in the same scene is seated is likewise unparalleled for its voluminously bulging shape and strap-like decoration in earlier Aegean frescoes. The chief conclusion, however, is that none of the LH IIIB forms of this motif at Pylos is attested among Minoan frescoes so far known.

Motif G. Plants

1. Crocuses (Fig. 61)

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, House of the Frescoes
(SLIDE 29a i and PLATE 90 A-B).

Fig. 61, G1, no. 1

(2) LM IA: Hagia Triada, Room 14 (SLIDE 29a ii
and PLATE 91 A-B). LM IB. Fig. 61,
G1, no. 2

(3) LM IB: Palaikastro, town house Epsilon, Room 18,
(SLIDE 29a iii) BSA Suppl. Paper No. 1
(1923), p. 148, Fig. 130. Fig. 61,
G1, nos. 3-4

(4) LM II-IIIA 1: Knossos, Saffron Gatherer Fresco
 (PLATE 92): LM III B? (main fresco series) and probably LM IIIA 1/2 (early) (third panel: PLATE 179 A1-2).

Fig. 61, G1, nos. 5-6

(5) LH IIIA: Pylos, Court 47 (Pylos II, Pl. H, 9 N 47). On dating see Ibid, p.224.

Fig. 61, G1, no. 7

(6) LH IIIB: Pylos, outside palace to south-west (Pylos II, Pl. H, 15 N sw). Fig. 61, G1, no. 8

The form of no. 1, tapering elegantly to a pointed base by which the flower is attached to its stem, seems closest to the natural flower, although it lacks the husk-like leaves at the base of Crocus sativus Lin. Anthers may be bifurcated or a simple curved line, one between each pair of petals. One artist of the House of the Frescoes leaves them unattached, while another painter in the same house always attaches the anthers he draws where they meet the petals. The anthers are usually in a different colour to that of the petals. The crocuses of no. 1 type are arranged in radiating groups of four or five blooming flowers alternating with four or five elongated closed buds, with finely drawn leaves splaying out almost horizontally on each side of the main part of the design. The effect is one of tidy decorative symmetry.

In no. 2, we find the same radiating treatment of the motif, but now there are as many as twelve open flowers alternating with closed buds; the flowers are much larger than no. 1 and have "bracts" or perianths towards the base. Bifurcating anthers are less carefully painted

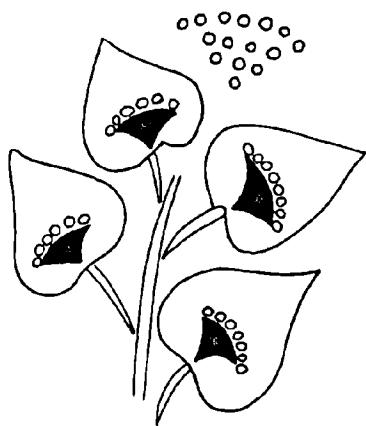
than before, and the whole plant has a coarser, wilder appearance.

In no. 3 the radiating composition is abandoned for single, much simplified flowers. The blossoms are more bulbous in overall shape; anthers are missing, evidently replaced by red lines on one edge of each petal recalling the treatment of earlier flower representations at Knossos and Amnisos (cf PLATE 94 B-C). Perianths, too, are simplified in shape and unlike those of no. 2 are treated as continuations in the same green-tinged black colour of the stems.

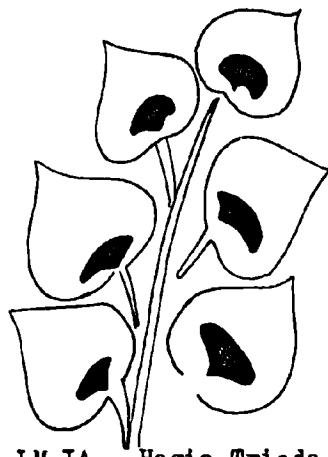
With the two variant forms of no. 4 we move away from naturalistic to more generalised conceptual interpretations of the motif. The first variation, broadly bulbous in shape and with two strongly curved bifurcating anthers in the same colour as the petals, seems derived from a common crocus form in the LM I vase-painter's repertoire. The second form of no. 4 is an artistic hybrid, "waz" motifs replacing the typical crocus anthers of earlier examples. The shape of the flower is coarse and angular, and central veins of petals are roughly delineated in greenish-black (PLATE 92B). The painting is uneven in texture, thinning out at the edges of the petals where the dark red background colour seems visible as a rose-red hue below the white "impasto" paint of the flower. Both the present crocus forms are treated as isolated flowers springing unconvincingly on short, white, leafless stems directly from the rockwork contours of the composition.

No. 5, from Pylos, may have been an isolated flower rather than part of a radiating group, but this is uncertain. It is white with yellowish traces on it. In

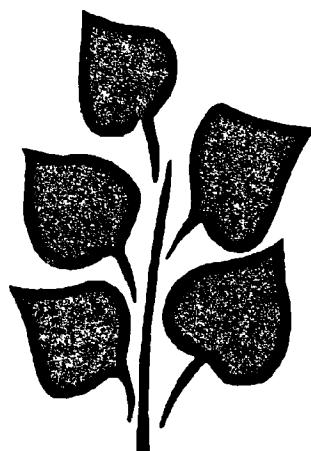
Fig.62



A1. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



A2. LM IA, Hagia Triada ($\frac{1}{1}$)



A3. LM IA, Hagia Triada ($\frac{1}{1}$)



A4. LH IIIB 2 (early), Pylos ($\frac{1}{2}$)



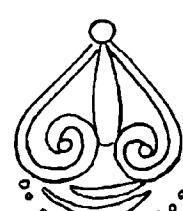
B1. MM IIIB/
LM IA, Knossos
($\frac{2}{3}$)



B2. MM IIIB/LM IA,
Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



B3. MM IIIB/
LM IA, Pseira
($\frac{1}{1}$)

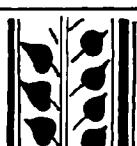
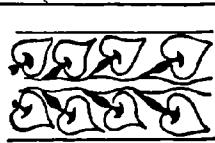


B4. LM II,
Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)

B5. LM II-III A 1,
Knossos ($\frac{1}{2}$)

B6. LH IIIB 1,
Tiryns ($\frac{3}{4}$)

B7. LH IIIB ?1,
Tiryns ($\frac{1}{1}$)

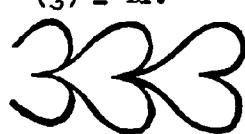


C1. MM IIIB/
LM IA, Thera ($\frac{1}{10}$)

C2. MM IIIB/
LM IA, Knossos
($\frac{2}{3}$) = B1.

C3. LM II-III A 1,
Knossos ($\frac{1}{2}$)
= B5.

C4. LH III A/B
Tiryns
($\frac{3}{4}$) = B6 (on
date, see
text).



C5. LH IIIB ?1, Tiryns ($\frac{1}{1}$)
= B7.

Fig. 62: Motif G2, Ivy

A (Plant forms); B (Textile designs); C (Ivy chains)

shape it continues the "angular" treatment of the second variation of no. 4, but now the central petal is elongated while the side petals have become somewhat vestigial.

There is also a greater degree of assymetry of parts than we have previously seen in other examples.

With no. 6 we return to a definite radiating group of crocus flowers (curiously described as "anemones" at Pylos II, p.130); but their deep bulbous shape is ugly, detracting from the grace of the petals of the natural flowers which are here depicted as very triangular elements. Closed buds seem no more than round blobs while anthers are single arcuated lines. All parts of the blossoms are the same rose-red colour. With this instance of the motif it is evident we have moved far away from its most comparable Cretan "radiating" counterparts.

2. Ivy (Fig. 62)

A: Plant Forms

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, House of the Frescoes
(SLIDES 29d and 30 and PLATE 97A)

Fig. 62, G2, no. A1.

(2) LM IA: Hagia Triada, Room 14 (PLATES 82C and
97 B). LM IB. Fig. 62, G2,
no. A2

(3) LM IA: Hagia Triada, Room 14. LM IB. Fig. 62,
G2, no. A3

(4) LH IIIB 2 (early): Pylos, North West Slope
dump (Pylos II, Pl.38, 53d H nws)
Fig. 62, G2, no. A4

Here we include growing plant forms and perhaps cut fronds carried in procession (no. 4). No. 1 is unquestionably the most decoratively and carefully treated form in this category of the motif. Leaves, alternately blue and green, spring on finely drawn rusty stems from main branches of radiating ivy bushes. Their shapes are carefully defined by paint, not black outline. Rusty "waz" filling motifs lined at the top with a row of white spots appear within each leaf, while flowers are denoted by "papyroid" sprays (PLATE 97A) or a triangular cluster of rusty dots. Organic life is imparted to the motif by the strong torsion of main branches, but the lively colouring makes the naturalistic design highly ornamental in character.

Nos. 2-3, from the one composition, are much more subdued in colouring which is uncertain due to the action of fire at the time the painting was destroyed in LM IB. One variant form is similar to that of no. 1 insofar as a "waz" filling motif is present within each leaf, but it lacks the varied colouring of its parts and also the row of white spots above the "waz": this feature is also less carefully shaped than is the case in no. 1. The second variation lacks a filling motif, the leaves being painted a monochrome (brown or red?) colour. Black outlines are absent. Flowers are rendered in this composition as more naturalistic floral attachments at the ends of branches than is true of no. 1 (v. PLATE 87B). Torsion is also bolder and the branches spring more convincingly from surrounding rockwork. The close similarity in the form of leaves of no. 2 with that of the ivy-chain motif, G2, C1

below, from Thera, may here be noted.

Adjacent to the ivy motif on a fragment from Pylos (no. 4) is the wrist of a woman, suggesting that the ivy was carried as a floral offering by her. The leaf is green with a yellow "waz" filling motif: but prominent are the black outlines and series of curved lines defining the shape of the flower and the "waz". This method of depicting ivy leaves is not known to occur in the wild plant motifs from Crete, although it does occur as a textile design on frescoes and metal objects assignable to the Late Minoan age.

B: Textile ivy designs

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, palace location uncertain. Painted by "School B".

Ashmolean Museum AE 1714. (KFA, Pl.E, Fig. 1). Fig. 62, G2, no. B1.

(2) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, palace (HM tray Rho VII: provenance unknown).

Painted by "School B" (MC Thesis no. 12, Fig. 35). Fig. 62, G2, B2

(3) MM IIIB/LM IA: Pseira, town house Goddess relief fresco (PLATE 25A).

LM IB. ? Painted by "School B". Fig. 62, G2, B3

(4) LM II: Knossos, palace: Processional Youth's kilt (PLATE 10). LM IIIA

1/2(early). Painted by "School D". Fig. 62, G2, B4

(5) LM II-IIIA 1: Knossos, North Entrance Passage (PLATE 184B). LM III ?B

(find-circumstances not closely

noted). Fig. 62, G2, B5

(6) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns, Processing Woman (Tiryns II
p.74, Fig. 29 and Pl. VIII)

LH IIIB 2. Fig. 62, G2, No. B6

(7) LH IIIB ?1: Tiryns, dress fragment (Schlie-
mann, Tiryns, Pl.Xg-h)

LH IIIB 2. Fig. 62, G2, no. B7

The first three motifs listed here may all be attributed to "School B" assigned to MM IIIB/LM IA. The first example occurs together with a dotted spiral design painted in a manner typical of that "school" (cf. PLATE 183 A1). The ivy motif comprises an ivy-chain design in a monochrome black colour which finds general comparison with the design of a new fresco from Thera, from a firm LM IA context (see section C below). No. 2 in the sequence presents three different linear forms on the one fragment; in one form, the "waz" filling motif is lined with a row of dots - a variation which may in turn be compared to the more colourful version found in the wild plant motif from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (G2, no. A1 above). This linear ivy form was also decoratively incised on bronze LM I objects, as an incense burner from the palace at Zakro shows (N. Platon, Zakro (1971), p.217).

A further early variation of the motif, painted in white outline only, occurs on a decorative band of a goddess's skirt in relief fresco from Pseira, from a firm LM IB context; this fresco, however, would seem to have been painted by a member of "School B", such is the close interest in minute details of figured fresco ornamentation here which has elsewhere been seen to be

typical of that "school" at Knossos. No. 3, with curled inner ends, has a MM IIIB parallel in ivory from the Temple Repositories at Knossos; but it also anticipates the more elaborate linear version which occurs on the kilt of a LM II Processional Youth from Knossos (no. 4). The motif here, likewise defined in white lines, has an orange "flame-shaped" filling line inside the leaf whose open end is "closed" by two white, curved, lines and a row of white dots. This example underlines the trend towards linearisation of textile patterns - including the ivy motif - as time advances in the Late Minoan age. At Knossos, the latest ivy form is that represented by no. 5. Here the leaves are carefully outlined in black, as is the "waz" filling motif which is bordered by a row of red dots in the case of white leaves: other leaves are coloured yellow and light sky blue. This motif is accompanied by a quatrefoil design typical of LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes and vases.

After this date, the ivy as a dress design is only certainly known in two variant forms from fragments of the garments of large-scale processional women from Tiryns, attributable to LH IIIB 1 (nos. 6-7). In both cases, the leaves form simple chains without any filling motifs as such, and they are executed in black outline only on unpainted white bands. No. 6 is exactly comparable in style to the ivy chain design in the upper border bands of the same composition (v. Tiryns II, Pl. VIII, and section C (no. 4) below). After an isolated and more carefully executed instance in MM IIIB/LM IA (Fig. 45, Motif 5, no. 2 by "School B" - opp. p.311), this form of the motif evidently came back into fashion

early in LH IIIB, to judge by a similar border piece from a LH IIIA 2 (late) or very early LH IIIB 1 context at Mycenae, as yet unpublished. No. 7 may perhaps be slightly later than no. 6 because any notion of the traditional "waz" filling motif has entirely disappeared.

C. Ivy chains

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Thera, above Boxer and Oryx

frescoes (Thera IV, p.48,

Fig.3 and Colour Pls. D-Fa).

Fig. 62, G2, no. C1

(2) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos (no. B1 above).

Fig. 62, G2, no. C2

(3) LM II-IIIA 1: Knossos (no. B5 above) Fig. 62,
G2, no. C3

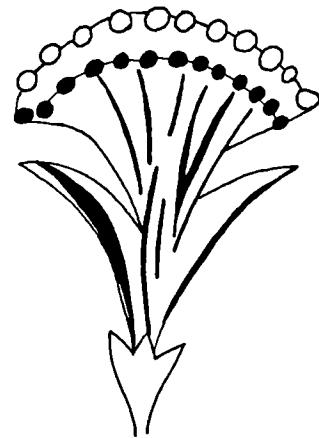
(4) LH IIIA 2 (late)-IIIB 1: Tiryns (no. B6 above).

Fig. 62, G2, no. C4

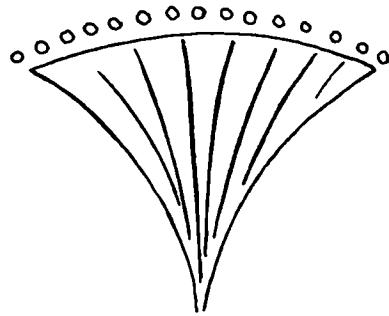
(5) LH IIIB ?1: Tiryns (no. B7 above). Fig. 62,
G2, no. C5

No. 1 comes from a firm LM IA context, the volcanically destroyed town of Akroteri on Thera. The leaves are large and form a decorative zone below ceiling level of the room adorned with the Boxer and Oryx frescoes. The leaves are light blue with dark black outlines and black-filled "waz" filling motifs on bulging stems: the latter spring from both sides of a light blue band with undulating contours. There is a strong resemblance here in the form of the leaves to those of motif G2, A2 from Hagia Triada, attributed to LM IA (LM IB); but the present example may be earlier. No. 2 here, by "School B", is a simpler, monochrome version of the ivy chain - such as could be expected as a small

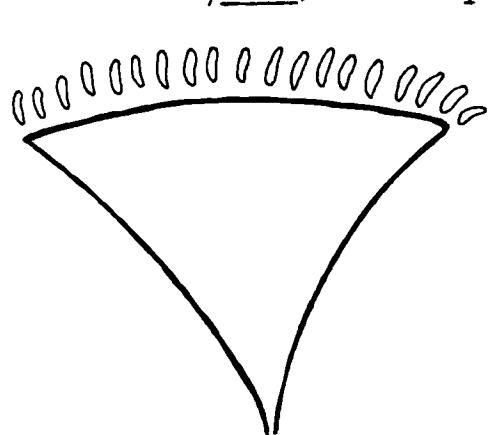
Fig.63



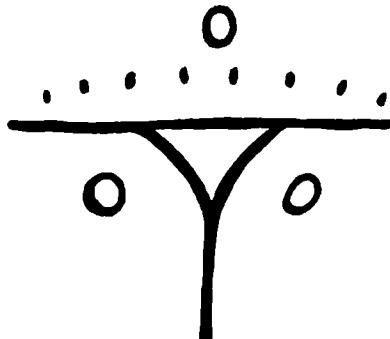
A1. MM IIIIB/LM IA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



A2. LM IA(early), Amnisos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



A3. LM II, Knossos ($\frac{3}{4}$)



A4. LH IIIIB, Tiryns ($\frac{1}{2}$)



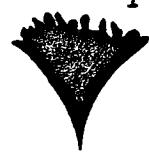
B1. MM IIIIB/LM IA,
Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



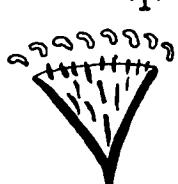
B2. LM IA, Hagia
Triada ($\frac{1}{1}$)



B3. LM IA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



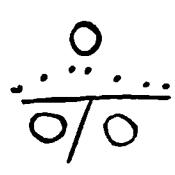
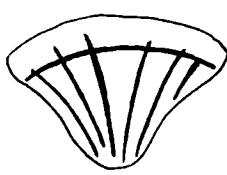
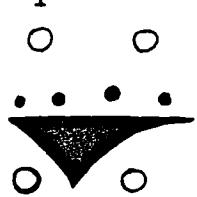
B4. LM IA, Knossos
($\frac{1}{1}$)



B5. LM II, Knossos
($\frac{1}{4}$)



B6. LM II, Knossos ($\frac{1}{1}$)



B7. LH IIIA 2, Thebes
($\frac{1}{1}$)

B8. LH IIIB 1/2(e),
Pylos ($\frac{1}{1}$)

B9. LH IIIB 2(late),
Pylos ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Fig.63: Motif G3, Papyrus Flowers

decorative dress pattern on contemporary frescoes.

No. 3 has already been mentioned above as compatible with LM II-IIIA 1 textile, fresco and vase motifs. It is clearly an earlier chain form than either of the two forms found on LH IIIA 2 (late) and LH III B1 frescoes from Mycenae and Tiryns, for the reasons already given in the previous section, B.

3. Papyrus (Fig. 63)

A: Large flowers

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, House of the Frescoes

(SLIDE 29h). Fig. 63, no. A1

(2) LM IA (early): Amnisos, villa (SLIDE 16d and PLATE 53A). LM I (?B). Fig. 63, no. A2

(3) LM II: Knossos, Throne Room Griffin Frescoes

(PLATE 127: see also PM IV, Colour Pl XXXII, opp. p.910).

LM IIIA 1/2 (early). Fig. 63, no. A3

(4) LH III B: Tiryns, floor of megaron (Tiryns II,

Pl. XXI). LH III B2. Fig. 63, no. A4

No. 1 is the most decorative form of this motif.

The main part of the flower is sky blue, with fine black lines to denote veins; the inflorescence, lined with red and black dots, and the small perianths at the base are orange. The perianth is formed as if it was a small crocus, and above it a large "sepal"-like leaf branches out on each side of the flower: this feature is more heavily accentuated with a black line. The inflorescence splays out in a large fan shape, and from top to bottom

the flower is given a slight twist, to bring it life.

No. 2 is basically similar in shape and form to no. 1; but the orange inflorescence, perianth and row of black spots have gone. The design is clearly more rigidly stylised, accentuating a basic triangular shape. This feature is in turn emphasised further in no. 3 from the Throne Room at Knossos, where the blue papyrus flowers behind the griffins are heavily outlined in black and the row of spots serving as the inflorescence have now become definite comma-like strokes. The motif remains, however, a recognisably naturalistic form. Not so no. 4, from Tiryns. The papyrus flower has here been reduced to basic geometrical and linear essentials, denoted in black lines only. This represents an abstractly conceptualised version of the motif far removed from the naturalistic Cretan forms.

B. Small flowers

Here we include not only small papyrus motifs occurring as growing plants, but also others used as filling motifs for plants seen in nature scenes and as textile and dado patterns.

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, House of the Frescoes (PLATE 107B). Fig. 63, no. B1

(2) LM IA: Hagia Triada, Room 14 (PLATE 82C).
LM IB. Fig. 63, no. B2

(3) LM IA: Knossos, Caravanserai Partridge Frieze (PLATE 107C). LM III ?B.

Fig. 63, no. B3

(4) LM IA: Knossos, Caravanserai Partridge Frieze (PLATE 100A). LM III ?B.

Fig. 63, no. B4

(5) LM II: Knossos, Throne Room Griffin Fresco,
on chest of griffins (PLATE 99B).
LM IIIA 1/2 (early). Fig. 63,
no. B5

(6) LM II: Knossos, kilt fragment from Court of
the Distaffs (PLATE 9B).
LM IIIA 1/2 (early). Fig. 63,
no. B6

(7) LH III A2: Thebes, Kadmeion, Procession Fresco
(Reusch, Frauenfrieses, Pl.13,
no. 40). LH III A2. Fig. 63,
no. B7

(8) LH III B1-2 (early): Pylos, North East dump
(Pylos II, Pl.R, 18 M ne).
Fig. 63, no. B8

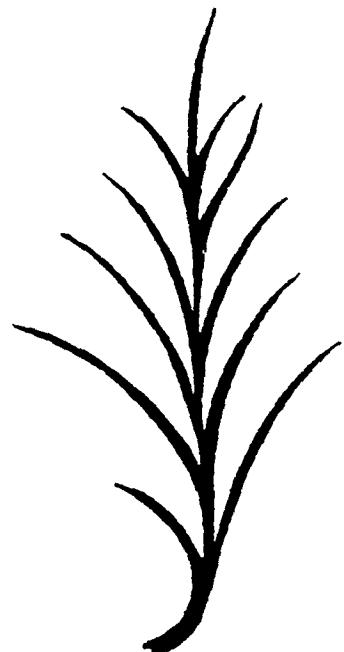
(9) LH III B2 (late): Pylos, dado fragment
(Pylos II, Pl.98, 13d D 44).
Fig. 63, no. B9

Few motifs give so clear an idea of the full sequence of its representation in Aegean Bronze Age frescoes as the present instance. No.B1 belongs to a growing plant, and is merely a smaller version of the large flower, A1: it is more tortured and slender but lacks perianth and side-petals. Otherwise, in form and details of decoration it is closely similar to A1. In no.B2, which is a filling motif in a lotus-"*waz*" hybrid plant, the inflorescence is treated as a series of anthers attached to the "*waz*" element, itself painted in two tones of red or brown. The present example lacks the highly decorative colouring of no.B1 which in that respect is unique. In the two versions of "*waz*" motifs from the

Caravanserai at Knossos, there is a black accentuation line on one side of each flower, but the two forms are distinguished from each other by their anthers: in no.B3 they are elongated dots, but in no.B4 they are short curving linear brushstrokes. This latter form seems the natural antecedent of no.B5 from the Throne Room at Knossos, painted by "School D". Here heavy outlines border the edges, and short black strokes appear within and at the fringed edge of the motif: a series of larger red dashes appear beyond that fringe. The motif has now grown considerably in size. In no.B6, by the same "school" of painters, the monochrome dark red design replaces the dashes of our LM I examples with relatively large round spots, and the base of the flower shows a tendency to be rounded in shape.

The sequence is continued hereafter in mainland frescoes, in which no.B7 from Thebes appears to be the earliest form. The floral shapes of the Cretan examples have become geometrically schematised, with a simplified row of white spots at the straight top edge and one white or black-outlined circle on each side below. In the next form, no.B8 from Pylos, the motif closely recalls the "bivalve shell" pattern of LM/LH IIIA-B jewelry in metals: but its presence inside a tri-curved arch pattern strongly suggests the artist in fact had in mind the commoner "waz" filling motif of textile designs. This version retains the black lines representing the flower's veins (as seen in no. B1 above) and also the suggestion, with another black line, of the orange-coloured band at the tops of the larger Cretan versions of this motif representing the inflorescence (qv. A1). No.B9 is an even more stylised

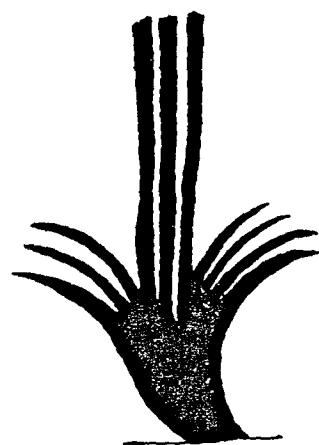
Fig. 64



1. MM IIIA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{6}$)



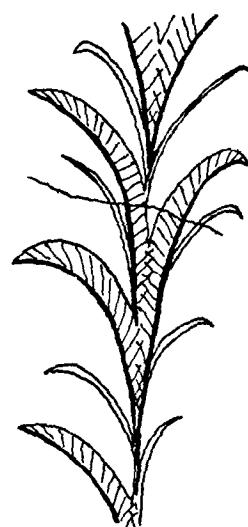
2. MM III B/LM IA, Thera ($\frac{1}{7}$)



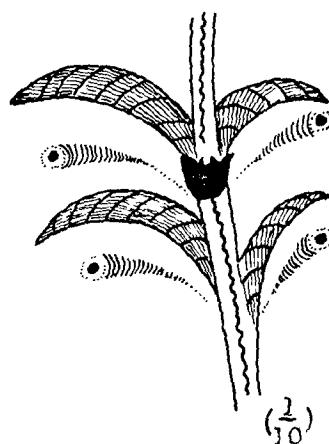
3. MM III B/LM IA, Knossos ($\frac{1}{5}$)



4. LM IA, Hagia Triada ($\frac{1}{3}$)



5. LM II, Knossos ($\frac{1}{5}$)



6. LH III B 2 (late), Pylos

Fig. 64: Motif G4, Large Reeds

reduction to geometrical form than the larger motif, A4, and has its counterparts in floor patterns at Pylos and Tiryns of LH IIIB 2 (late) date (e.g. Schliemann, Tiryns, Pl.XI).

4. Large reeds (Fig. 64)

(1) MM IIIA: Knossos, Royal Road/North, Reed Fresco (SLIDE 31 and PLATE 108). Painted by "School H". MM IIIB. Fig. 64, no. 1

(2) MM IIIB/LM IA: Thera, Akroteri (PLATE 109C). Fig. 64, no. 2

(3) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, South House, reed fragment (PLATE 111A). Painted by "School I". Fig. 64, no. 3

(4) LM IA: Hagia Triada, Room 14 mountainside scene. PLATE 111B). LM IB. Caravanserai "school". Fig. 64, no. 4

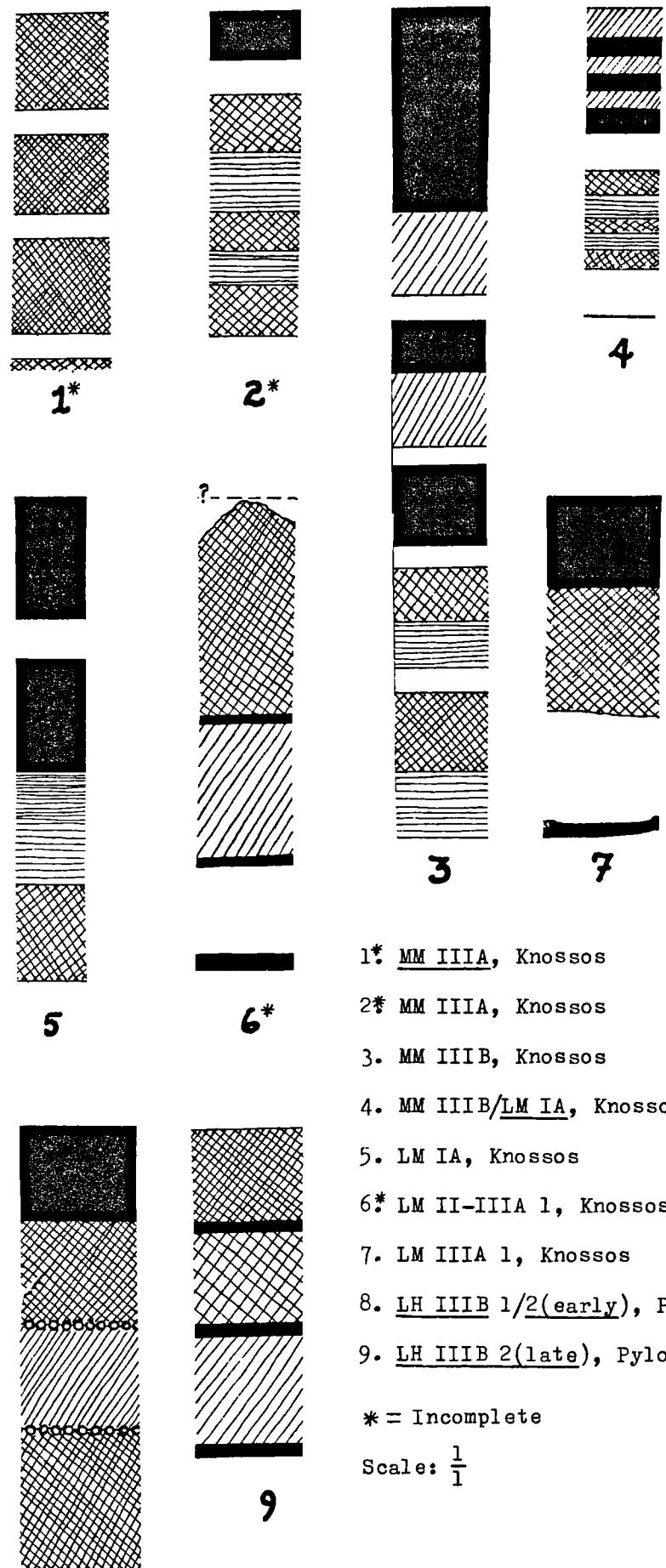
(5) LM II: Knossos, Throne Room Frescoes (PLATE 111D). Painted by "School D". LM IIIA 1/2 (early). Fig. 64, no. 5

(6) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Room 17 (Pylos II, Pl. 136 and G, 36 C 17). Fig. 64, no. 6

No. 1 was executed with vigorous brushstrokes which enlargen where leaves fork. There is a lively interplay of foliage and of alternating blue and olive-brown colours. Black outlines are entirely absent in this boldly painterly scene. As mentioned earlier, the style is somewhat stiff, a feature still present in no. 2 from Thera where, however, brushstrokes seem more sweeping - in keeping with the new style of paintings by "School I"

at Knossos. Yet the latter had its formal side, too: no. 3, from the South House, is an example, enlivened only by the assymetry of the numbers of leaves on each side of the three main stems and by the torsion towards the base of the plant. A freer form of large reed is evident in no. 4 from Hagia Triada, where orange preliminary sketch-lines are now allowed to remain and small, fine brushstrokes appear at the upturned edges of the darker leaves - as though they were extensions of leafy veining. This style of treatment is evidently the precursor of the altogether more linearised form seen in the Throne Room frescoes from Knossos (no. 5). In this case, there is no true stem, leaf following leaf in an upward surge of foliage. Heavy dark outlines on the lower sides of the leaves, and equally heavy veining with shortish black lines, are dominant features in this version of the motif. Orange sketch lines are also present here. Although now stylised to a considerable degree, the present plant retains a convincingly naturalistic form and feeling for life. This is hardly true of no. 6 from Pylos where the steady thickness of the stem, the even greater use of black for outlines and details, the segmentation along the lengths of the leaves, the wavy line up the stem, and the presence of rudely stylised linear abstractions of flowers and a superfluous "bract" below the uppermost leaves, combine to illustrate a rigid and lifeless abstract form. The attempt to impart life to the design through torsion of the stem is not a success, and the motif appears as coarse as Jack's fabled bean-stalk must have been.

Fig.65



1* MM IIIA, Knossos

2* MM IIIA, Knossos

3. MM IIIB, Knossos

4. MM IIIB/LM IA, Knossos

5. LM IA, Knossos

6* LM II-IIIA 1, Knossos

7. LM IIIA 1, Knossos

8. LH IIIB 1/2(early), Pylos

9. LH IIIB 2(late), Pylos

* = Incomplete

Scale: $\frac{1}{1}$

8

Fig. 65: Motif H, Border Bands

(A) Horizontal stripes from upper borders

H. Border bands

A. Horizontal stripes (Fig. 65)

(1) MM IIIA: Knossos, Royal Road/South, North

and other sites with frescoes

by "School H". MM IIIA =

"RR/Trials". Fig. 65, no. 1)

(2) MM IIIA: Knossos, Royal Road/North, painted

hearth (PLATE 191 A-B). MM IIIB.

Fig. 65, no. 2

(3) MM IIIB: Knossos, Royal Road/North, floral

scene by "School J". (PLATE 110A)

LM IB. Fig. 65, no. 3(4) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, House of the Frescoes,

monkey frieze (PLATE 84 A-B).

Painted by "School I". Fig. 65,

no. 4

(5) LM IA: Knossos, Caravanserai Partridge Frieze

(PLATE 86A). LM III ?B. Fig. 65,

no. 5

(6) LM II-IIIA 1: Knossos, addition to Saffron

Gatherer Fresco, third panel

(PLATE 179 A1). Probably

LM IIIA 1/2 (early). Fig. 65,

no. 6

(7) LM IIIA 1: Knossos, La Parisienne Fresco

(SLIDE 4 and PLATE 35).

LM IIIA 1/2 (early). "School

G". Fig. 65, no. 7

(8) LH IIIB 1-2 (early): Pylos, North West Slopedump (Pylos II, Pl.Q, 14 D nws).

Fig. 65, no. 8

(9) LH IIIB 2 (late): Pylos, Hall 64 (Pylos II,
Pls. 137 and P, 38-41 C 64).

Fig. 65, no. 9

Horizontal stripes comprise the simplest form of the three classes of upper border decoration discussed as Motif H. Simple monochrome bands made their first appearance as early as MM IB (p.15) and striped border decoration is alone attested until MM IIIA. There is no evidence to support the view that this form of decoration was derived from moulded relief cornices: the reverse is historically more likely to be true in view of the relatively late development of stucco relief techniques, in MM IIIA. The present sequence provides a representative selection of horizontal upper border stripes to show the main lines of development, as revealed in compositions of around one metre or less in height. Certainly, exceptions in most periods to the trend here defined could be cited; yet they do not occur in sufficient numbers to undermine the general validity of the present observations.

In MM IIIA perhaps the commonest type of border arrangement is the series of alternating monochrome and very narrow plain white bands (no. 1). The latter, defined by very fine string-impressed lines, are rarely more than 0.4 cm deep while the other stripes, usually in a single colour only (often dark red or grey) are usually five or more times this depth. In the same period, when coloured bands alternate in a bichrome scheme the bands often have an almost equal depth between 0.6 and 1.2 cm, although the darker stripes on average are slightly broader than the lighter coloured bands, regardless of colours. The reason for this is

apparently aesthetic: broader and darker bands add weight and stability to the arrangement (no. 2). For this reason, too, the uppermost band - invariably in the darker tone - may also be considerably broader than the rest. In both cases, up to seven stripes can be counted, but there may well have been more - for the surviving material has commonly broken off so that the complete arrangement cannot be estimated.

In MM IIIB, type no. 2 continues but with less subdued colour schemes and slightly thicker string-lines: lighter blues and three or more different colours are introduced. Yellow bands, previously combined only with red bands, now appear in the new multi-coloured schemes which may number eleven or more stripes in a single series. A good example of this new series is no. 3 which looks forward to a colour-scheme especially favoured by the MM IIIB/LM IA "School I" (no. 4) but which also retains the proportionately narrow plain white stripes of no. 1 of MM IIIA date. In no. 3 the upper stripes are alternately black, blue and white, and the lower series red, yellow, white: but in between there is a yellow and narrow white band. Essentially the same colour scheme, though closer in arrangement to no. 4, is attested on an MM IIIB fragment from Phaistos (PLATE 200 A5).

In no. 4, we find ten stripes in the black and blue, and red and yellow, arrangements just mentioned, with white stripes below each of the two groups of colours. The bands are now a more uniform depth; there are fewer string-impressed lines and the artists are now painting stripes "by eye" wherever an accurately even depth of band was not vital to the overall final effect.

Close inspection therefore easily detects an unevenness in execution. "School I", which painted no. 4, also executed other arrangements of border stripes which show tendencies towards enlarging the depth of the bands (without, however, necessarily altering their proportional ratios) or introducing a deep band in between two groups of thinner stripes (v. PM II, Supplementary Plate XX, A and E). These trends perhaps reflect the influence of large compositions, especially those depicting the human figure, painted at much the same time in the palace at Knossos and elsewhere, whose decoration of upper borders falls outside the scope of present discussion⁽⁸⁵⁾.

What is quite clear, however, is a definite trend to reduce both the number and the variety of colours of border stripes, but to broaden them all, early in the Late Minoan period. No. 5 from the Caravanserai frieze, here attributed to LM IA (early), is a case in point, although the colour-scheme (black-white-black-ochre-brown) and the absence of a lower white stripe immediately above the pictorial zone are unusual features.⁽⁸⁶⁾ At some point in Late Minoan times, possibly in LM I, three or four stripes including a lower plain white one became the norm for upper border decoration, at least at Knossos. The following colour arrangements occur: blue-yellow-white; red-blue-white (no. 6 LM II-IIIA 1) and black-red-white (no. 7: LM IIIA 1). Such bands are often each about 1.5 to 2.0 cm broad. By earlier analogy they are dull and unimaginative, as well as indifferently executed in brushwork and defined by thickish string-impressed lines. The same trend occurs in large-scale compositions too.⁽⁸⁷⁾

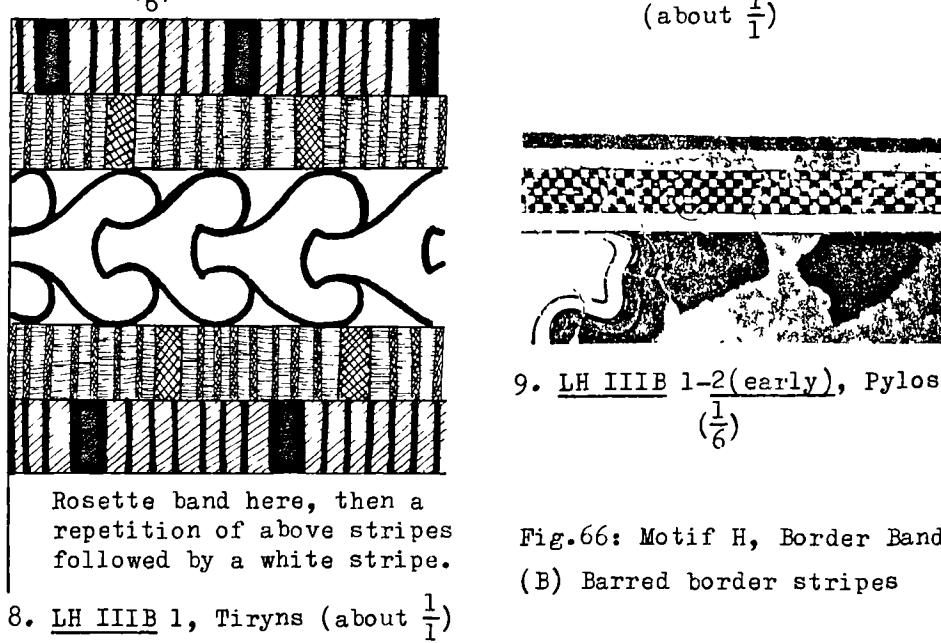
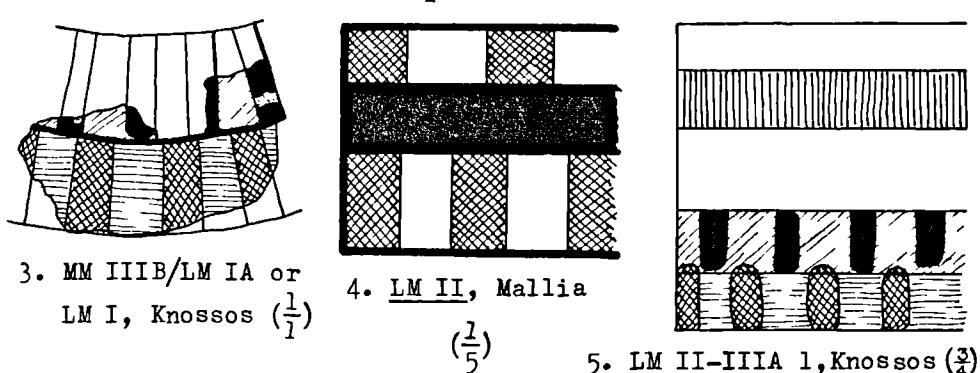
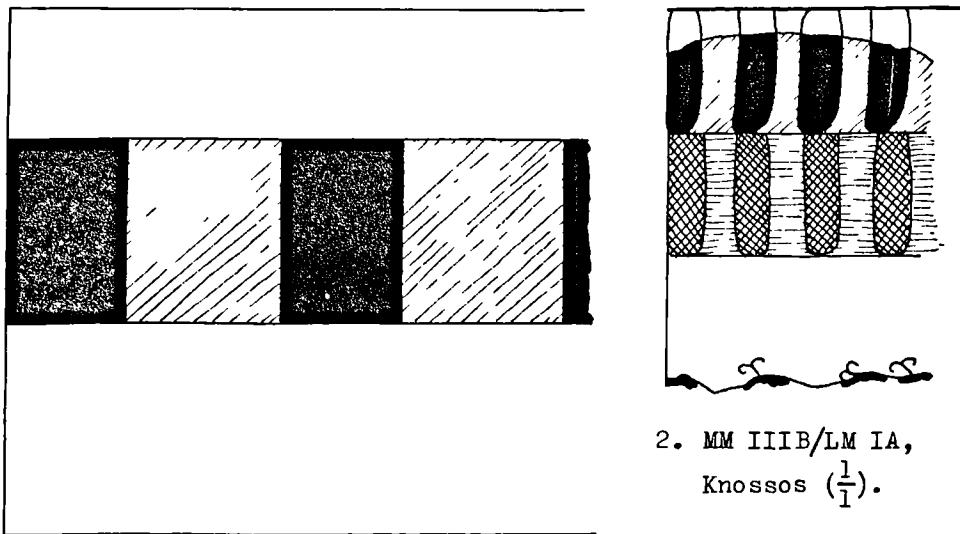


Fig. 66: Motif H, Border Bands
(B) Barred border stripes

These trends continue in fresco-painting on the Greek mainland in LH IIIA-B. Two examples of the present category of simple horizontal stripes from Pylos both of LH IIIB date, may be cited because they are variations which are unknown at Knossos. No. 8, with a sequence of black-red-blue-red-white stripes, has the additional feature of rows of white spots on each side of the blue band: this indicates the artist's urge to treat decoratively a form of border decoration which in Crete was always executed with formal simplicity. No. 9 departs from a hallowed Minoan convention by omitting a white stripe between coloured bands and the rockwork at the top border of the pictorial zone: a white stripe separating the pictorial field from upper (and often lower) border bands had become the universal rule in Minoan wall painting in LM II-III in all three classes of Motif H.

B. Barred border stripes (Fig. 66)

(1) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, Great East Hall
reliefs deposit, Griffin Fresco
by "School B" (PLATE 136A).

LM IIIA 1/2 (early). Fig. 66,
no. 1

(2) MM IIIB/LM IA: Knossos, Corner Sanctuary with
"Miniature Temple Fresco"
(PLATE 47B). Painted by "School
C" = B. LM IIIA 1/2 (early).

Fig. 66, no. 2

(3) ? MM IIIB/LM IA or LM I: Knossos, North
Threshing Floor Area, fragment
of "goddess's" skirt in relief
(PLATE 41C). Context unknown.

Fig. 66, no. 3

(4) LM II: Mallia, house E, dado fragment (PLATE 199B). Fig. 66, no. 4

(5) LM II-IIIA 1: Knossos, West Magazine XIII, "miniature" shrine fragments (PLATES 48 and 49B). Painted by the "late 'Miniature' school". Fig. 66, no. 5

(6) LM IIIA 1: Knossos, Room of Area East of Spiral Dado (i.e. Queen's Megaron area), border of Dappled Chariot Fresco (PLATE 60 B9 and C6). LM III ?B Fig. 66, no. 6

(7) LM IIIA 1: Hagia Triada, later settlement, Procession Fresco with musicians and Hagia Triada painted sarco-phagus (PLATES 14B, 58B, 136B; and 148-151 respectively).? painted by "School G". LM III A or B; and LM IIIA respectively. Fig. 66, no. 7

(8) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns, Procession Fresco (Tiryns II, Pl. VIII). LH IIIB 2 (late). Fig. 66, no. 8

(9) LH IIIB 1-2 (early): Pylos, North West Slope dump (Pylos II, Pl. N, 31 H nws: cf. also fragments 22-30 H 64). Fig. 66, no. 9

The origin of this motif is obscure, but appears to have first occurred in frescoes as a diminutive dress pattern at the embroidered edges of women's garments, perhaps as early as MM IIIB or slightly later (PLATE 20). Certainly "School B" in MM IIIB/LM IA used it extensively as a "miniature" dress design in a variety of colours and typological forms (see PLATES 42D (left), 43 G-H and 188 A1-2). It is also this "school" which evidently introduced the pattern to border stripes, if in a single band between two monochrome stripes, in the relief fresco of griffins at PLATE 136A (no. 1). Here the carefully painted and "squared" bars alternate with truly square spaces in a stolid-looking arrangement which has its counterparts in contemporary dress motifs by "School B" elsewhere (PLATE 188 A4) and also in the net design of the skirt pattern of a goddess fresco from Epano Zakro, from a firm LM IB context, which may have been painted by a member of the same Knossian "school".

No. 2 seems an early attempt to introduce the commoner double barred form comprising, at the top, black bars on a blue band, then red bars on a yellow band followed by a white stripe: but contrary to some parts of the restored border design, the original fresco evidence shows the bars are aligned directly under each other. This design is not attractive aesthetically, for it lacks a sense of movement along the stripes: as this form was never repeated so far as we know at Knossos, it may be counted an early but unsuccessful experiment. It is notable that this first instance of a double barred border series occurs in a "miniature" painting by "School C/B"; but in the period when that "school" flourished the design was not popular for borders. Indeed, no such

border design occurs at all outside the palace at Knossos at other Cretan sites until LM II at Mallia (no. 4). That this and other versions of the motif as a dress design on a larger than "miniature" scale was given currency by Knossian painters in the MM IIIB/LM IA period seems probable on the evidence of the chevron pattern in the "Sacral Knot" fresco from Nirou Chani (attributed to the same "School B": PLATE 53C) and of a relief fragment of a goddess's skirt from the palace at Knossos (no. 3, PLATE 41C): the modelling of the latter piece and some features of its decoration are comparable to the relief goddesses from Pseira, here attributed to MM IIIB/LM IA as possible works by the Knossian "School B" (LM IB: PLATES 24-25).

The normal form of barred border, with dark bars alternating on upper and middle bands, is attested at Mallia in a firm LM II context (no. 4). That the design occurs in a private provincial house near the site of a palace destroyed in LM IB suggests the form may have been "imported" from earlier frescoes in the palace at Knossos itself. If the drawing of this piece may be trusted, there is a solidity in painting here which is reminiscent of no. 1 from Knossos. LM II-IIIA 1 is, however, the period at Knossos when the present form and cruder versions of it (nos. 5-6) become extremely popular, whether as border designs in their own right or combined with broader pictorial bands (see section H, G below). Stylistically, perhaps the latest version at Knossos is no. 6 where the traditionally rectilinear shapes of the bars are abandoned for oval forms rapidly dabbed over the horizontal stripes: the chariot fresco to which this border belongs may reasonably be assigned to LM IIIA 1 on

the evidence of pottery comparisons (see p. 578 below).

The same types of barred border stripe design, often crudely executed, continue to appear in later frescoes from the Greek mainland.

The motif no. 7 also first appears as a border design in LM II or IIIA 1 to judge by frescoes from Hagia Triada (one depicting a LM III A 1 vase on it: PLATES 14B and 57) and another from Knossos showing the skirt of a seated woman (PLATE 187C): the latter piece has a diamond net design very closely comparable to contemporary vase motifs. The same border motif occurs on the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, also featuring a LM III A vase (PLATE 150: right-hand bucket). But the design seems inspired by earlier textile patterns as found on frescoes at Knossos attributable to MM IIIB/LM IA and LM II⁽⁸⁸⁾, which appear to have served as sources of inspiration for new border designs in later murals. No. 7 disappears as a border stripe design after LM IIIA.

The next example in the sequence, no. 8, from LH IIIB 1 frescoes at Tiryns, also seems inspired by earlier textile patterns. Broad bars with many thin ones between them are completely unknown as a border stripe design at Knossos, although the motif does occur there as a "miniature" dress and hair-ornament pattern on two pieces stylistically late in date (PLATES 185 A1 and 189 B3). They need not, however, be later than LM IIIA 1 in view of the evidence presented above showing that most types of barred stripe border design first occurred as smaller textile patterns in Knossian frescoes of earlier periods.

No. 9 from LH IIIB 1-2 (early) Pylos is also unknown as a border stripe design in Minoan wall painting. The artist simply appears to have increased the usual number of barred stripes, resulting in a chequerboard arrangement, to add decorative interest; but whether he was aware the chequer design was the traditional Minoan convention for an architectural façade (which should here indicate the battle takes place near some building or walled town) is a moot point: he separates the design from the pictorial scene by a relatively broad white stripe.

C. Pictorialised border stripes

- (1) MM IIIA: Knossos, Royal Road South, foliate lily band (Fig. 108, p. 726).
- (2) MM IIIB: Phaistos, south house, foliate leaf band (PLATE 200 A5)
- (3) MM IIIB/LM IA: Thera, Akroteri, foliate ivy chain (= Motif G2 C1).
Above Boxers and Oryx frescoes.
- (4) MM IIIB/LM IA: Thera, Akroteri, spiraliform band (Thera V, Pl. D). Above fleeing monkeys scene.
- (5) LM II/IIIA 1: Knossos, West Magazine XIII cists, "miniature" shrine scenes (PLATE 48 A-C), painted by the "late 'Miniature' school".
- (6) LM II-IIIA 1: Knossos, Taureador and Saffron Gatherer series of frescoes (PLATES 71-72; and 179 A3).
LM IIIA 1/2 (early), and probably the same date of context for PLATE 179 A3.

(7) LM IIIA 1: Hagia Triada, later settlement,
 Woman with Deer and Musicians'
 Procession frescoes (SLIDE 24
 and PLATE 82A; and PLATE 14B
 respectively). ? Painted by
 "School G". LM III A or B.

(8) LM IIIA 1-2 (early): Hagia Triada, painted
 sarcophagus (PLATES 148-151).
LM IIIA ?2.

(9) LH IIIA (?2): Tiryns, Palace, Shield Fresco
 (Tiryns II, Pl. V). LH III
 probably B.

(10) LH IIIB 1: Tiryns, Procession Fresco
 (Tiryns II, Pl. VIII). LH IIIB 2.

(11) LH IIIB 1-2 (early): Pylos, Room 2 and North
 West Slope dump (Pylos II,
 Pl.R, 1 F 2 and 4 F nws)

(12) LH IIIB 1-2 (early): Pylos, Hall 64 and
 North West Slope dump (Pylos II,
 Pl.N, 25 H 64 and 31 H nws)

This class of border, incorporating stripes and
 barred bands of classes A and B, also includes a broader
 pictorial or representational band which is normally
 central in the motif. The patterns are often continuous
 "running" designs but in LM II-IIIA 1 single repeated
 motifs are introduced to the repertoire.

Two small examples are known from the MM III period.
 The first shows a red foliate lily on a yellow band;
 black outlines are lacking as is the norm in MM IIIA
 pictorial representation (no. 1).

No. 2 from Phaistos shows a leafy foliate motif of

black-outlined white petals with red-outlined yellow "tongues" in the centres, on a blue band: the pattern is bordered on one side by stripes in colours and arrangement close to those of Motif H A3-4 (MM IIIB and MM IIIB/LM IA respectively). Both nos. 1 and 2 are stratified examples.

In MM IIIB/LM IA, very large pictorialised borders appear in two frescoes from Thera, the one depicting a foliate ivy chain (no. 3: = Motif G2 C1), the other introducing for a first known time a running spiral pattern in border stripes (no. 4). The main design has a sombre red, blue and black on white colour-scheme recalling that of older spiral frescoes at Knossos of MM IIIB date (PLATE 137), but there are also points of similarity with the "Festoon Fresco" from Knossos attributed to LM IA (SLIDE 41). Further, the sombre colours (blue, red and white) and spacing arrangement of the flanking stripes resemble methods of treating borders in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (MM IIIB/LM IA) and in frescoes on the west and south walls of Room 7 of the villa at Amnisos (SLIDE 59: LM I).

Further instances of this type of border are unknown until LM II-IIIA 1 at Knossos. No. 5 from a firm LM IIIA 1 context shows that twelve-petalled rosettes - evidently inspired by the finer and larger forms in monumental LM II compositions by "School D" (cf. PLATES 63A, 99B and 140) - were depicted as repetitive elements in the broader border band. They are loosely connected by black paint encircling the rosettes, though the motif itself is not easily adaptable to a running design,

which the artist, it seems, was aware was the traditional type of pattern in such borders. The brushwork here is on the crudely sketchy side, and the rosettes are flanked by barred bands of type B5. Whether the pictorial borders ran up the vertical sides of these compositions, as well as below them (and almost certainly horizontally above), is uncertain. But there is a strong possibility they did, in view of the evidence of no. 6 attributable to the same date. Here, in the Taureador series of frescoes from Knossos, the pictorialised borders show an unprecedented function, namely, to divide the pictorial zone into separate "panels" by means of vertical sets of bands with the same patterns as those of the true horizontal borders above and below (SLIDES 46-50: PLATE 71-72). The pictorial motif is a running scale-design, lined and spotted to imitate liparite and other rocks but in a conventionalized and schematic manner; there are in fact two variations of the design, running in opposite directions, as SLIDES 47 and 50 show. Possibly its occurrence here was inspired by relief frescoes of an earlier date; an interesting scale design from a border survives in relief stucco from Knossos (HM tray 154 N III, 2-3 "Knossos: Ohne Angabe"). This is compatible with other evidence already mentioned to suggest that the artists of "School E" were inspired to some extent by larger compositions in relief already up on their walls (p.443f). Barred border bands of type B5 flank the main designs. A similar overall design including the "rockwork scale motif" is also found on a fragment probably to be attributed to the Saffron Gatherer painter who flourished at about the same time (PLATE 179 A3).

Still cruder rosettes are found in the pictorialized borders of two LM IIIA 1 compositions from Hagia Triada, accompanied by barred borders of type B7 (no. 7) and also on the painted sarcophagus from the same site (no. 8). Two of these objects depict LM IIIA vases, so their dating is assured. The sarcophagus is particularly interesting for the number of motifs and variations upon them in its pictorialised border stripes (PLATES 148-151); notably, a more abstract form of "rockwork scale motif" occurs on the legs at the short ends of the sarcophagus. There the colour-scheme and striations are simplified by analogy with those of the Taureador frescoes (cf. PLATES 149 and 72 respectively): possibly the artist also had in mind the decorative treatment of dadoes painted in LM II by "School D" at Knossos (cf. SLIDE 43 e-f). Spirals with rosette centres, crudely adapted from such finer versions as appear in the LM II Shield Frescoes at Knossos (PLATE 63A), adorn the legs on the long sides of the sarcophagus (PLATES 148 and 150). Similar patterns on later mainland frescoes are treated either in more ornate or more schematic ways.

No. 9 from Tiryns shows a gaudy spiral flanked by barred bands above a shield composition. Although the barred bands stylistically conform to type B5, they abandon the traditional basic Minoan colour sequence, of blue, yellow and white, for two tones of grey with black bars: the white stripe is also omitted so that the spiral design appears crushed between the flanking barred bands. The branches of the spiral are green and orange with blue-grey and red triangular spacers between them. Rosettes, present in the spiral

bands on the Hagia Triada painted sarcophagus, are missing, being replaced by white disks. The painting appears carefully executed, to judge by published illustrations, and the composition is probably to be assigned to LH IIIA 2. It is certainly superior in style to our next example, also from Tiryns, attributable to the first half of LH IIIB (no. 10).

Here the artist has tripled the number of pictorialised bands in his border above the frieze of processsing women (Tiryns II, Pl. VIII), a departure from Minoan convention. The rosettes in the central band are now definitely isolated as repeated single elements in a manner not seen in the Cretan counterparts of this motif. Further, the two other pictorialising bands depict simplified running ivy chains (Motif G2 C4), the leaves repetatively coloured alternately red, blue, yellow and white, in a style not found in Minoan frescoes after MM IIIB/LM IA. In addition, the flanking barred stripes belong to type B8, also unknown in Crete except as a miniature textile pattern in earlier paintings. The closest comparisons in fact occur on contemporary mainland floor frescoes, where, however, the rosettes and red spacers between them are considerably geometricised (v. Tiryns II, Pl. XXI nos. 1 and 3). An intermediate simplification of the rosette type of band between the two forms just mentioned was also found at Tiryns (Schliemann, Tiryns Pl. V).

Wall painters at Pylos introduce novelties in their borders of this class. No. 11, for a first known time, shows animal life in a border motif: unorganically related nautili plod their way repetatively along the band, all in the one direction and with little variation

apart from simple alternation of two body-colours. The effect bears greater resemblances to Geometric Greek art than to Minoan practice. Similarly, no. 12, intentionally or otherwise, shows an architectural pattern in the border - another "first" in Aegean wall painting. Both these last motifs suggest the Pylian artist of LH IIIB 1-2 (early) was looking for new, but not successfully resolved, methods of enlivening his border stripes. The traditional Minoan use of simple geometrical or running floral patterns seems no longer to have satisfied artist or onlooker. Indeed, the LH III A-B pictorialised borders as a whole show a marked trend towards a florid treatment of this class of motif, alien to Minoan artistic temperament.

ANALYSIS IX

THE RELATION OF MURALS TO VASE PAINTING
AND OTHER REPRESENTATIONAL ARTS

The wall painters of the Minoan Age were surrounded by fellow artists working in other media in the palace and town ateliers. The foremost among them were vase painters, metal workers including jewelry makers, stone bowl, sealstone and ivory carvers, and textile manufacturers. Their surviving products show a remarkable agreement in the range and iconography of subject matter and decoration from one medium to another at much the same periods of time. This section briefly touches upon a selection of those artistic interrelations, with a view to corroborating in outline the chronology of the frescoes derived from examination of their internal evidence, wherever possible paying special attention to the relation of murals to vase painting because Minoan pottery provides our most reliable chronological yardstick.

In that connection, Evans observed of floral motifs that "the designs on vases always seem to follow on a stage later than the wall paintings from which they were evidently copied"⁽⁸⁹⁾. Evans certainly believed the wall paintings provided a major source of inspiration to Minoan arts in general, and for that reason he often referred to it as the "major art": put up on the walls of public buildings and in many private houses, the murals could not but be seen - unlike smaller and more personal artefacts - and they were the principal artistic medium through which the "Minoan ethic" or view of life

was publicly proclaimed. Yet, Evans' observation also implies a curious sociological situation among the artisans, for even at main centres such as Knossos the impact of frescoes newly set up on the walls may not necessarily have been immediate. It is true that one art may cling to its own artistic traditions for some time before adopting the innovations of another, and in the case of Minoan vases this may help explain the time-lag which Evans observed. But there are other considerations relevant to the present Analysis which suggest caution in estimating the chronological relations between the murals and the other Minoan arts.

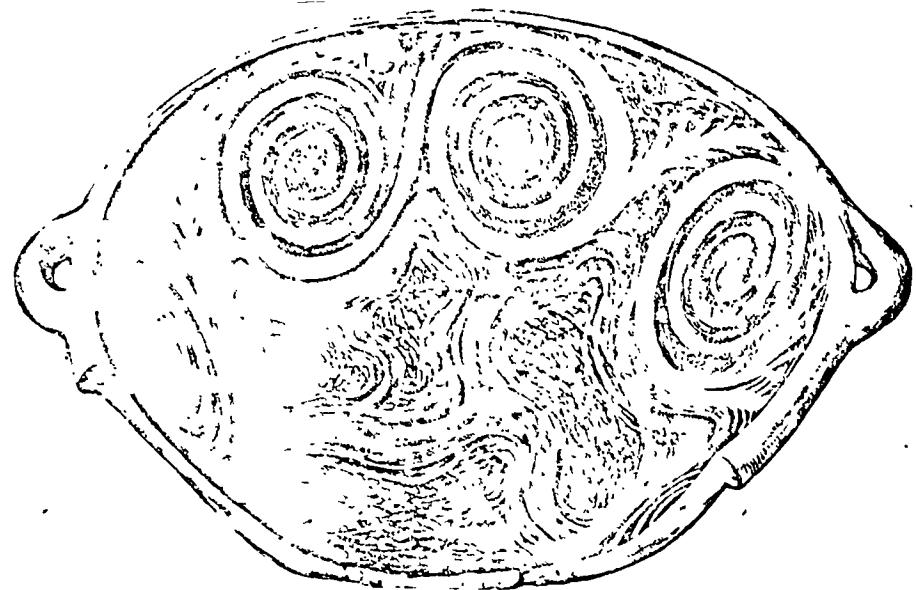
In addition to an intimate artistic climate, we must add the intimate topographical scale on which the Minoan ateliers operated, clustered in and around the chief centres which in the larger Minoan towns were the palaces. It is therefore hard to visualize realistically the physical and social circumstances which permitted one class of artisans to remain unaffected by or unaware of the achievements of another group in the same society and at the same time. This is particularly so with evidence not only of a general kind to suggest that ancient artists were often "jacks-of-all-trades"⁴⁹⁰ but also with specific evidence that vase painters at Knossos were sometimes wall painters, too. A clear case in point is the "hand" which painted the Palace Style sherd reproduced at Fig. 76d, p573; not only is the subject "foreign" to Cretan LM vase painting until LM IIIA times, but the artist had clearly practised drawing women's heads many times before he depicted this example - and in the contemporary wall painters' style (cf PLATES 32 and 33 B-C).

This example alone suggests the chronological relations between the two arts may at times have been closer than is presently discernable, and there is no clear reason why fresco painters may not at times have adopted designs from the vase painters' repertoire. Further, in the case of textile patterns both media may have been inspired by that industry itself rather than by one another. There is also the further difficulty that the pottery, and perhaps other arts, in some periods may have copied designs from frescoes set up on their walls a century or more earlier - as seems to happen in the LM IIIA 1 period where motifs on vases appear for a first time that occur in similar forms in MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes.

Clearly, the most satisfactory circumstance in which fresco-pottery chronological relations can be ascertained with conviction is that in which a major redecoration of palace walls, especially at Knossos, is reflected at large on vases and other objects of the same date or one stage later, and in the latter instance we may reasonably suspect the time-lag may have been due to that conservatism so often attested in many cultures among the "minor arts" in which traditional techniques and forms of artistic expression were abandoned only slowly.

THE MM IIIA PERIOD

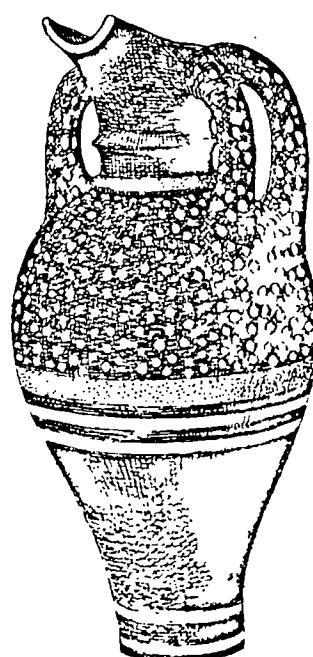
Apart from the pottery parallel for the Zebra Fresco, relations between frescoes and the other arts in MM IIIA are not notably close. MM IIIB objects appear to have been inspired to a small extent by MM IIIA murals. Several reasons for this situation may be suggested. The extant fresco material is very limited, and remnants of any extensive decoration of the palace walls at Knossos



a. Polychrome basin, Knossos
PM I, Fig.439: MM IIIA



b. Faience vessels, Knossos
PM I, Fig.357b-c: MM IIIB



e. Jug, Knossos
PM II, Fig.206e



c. Cup, Knossos
PM II, Fig.206c



d. Cup, Knossos
PM II, Fig.206d

have not survived. Further, there is a notable deterioration in the quality and range of designs on MM IIIA pottery as compared to the brilliant "Kamares period" of MM IB-II, such that could indicate the best vase painters of the time turned their hand to wall painting with the advent of the naturalistic trend in murals in MM IIIA (p.41). Both Evans and Pendlebury also suggested that the popularity of manufacturing vessels in other materials may have provided a set-back to vase painting (AC, p.158). The infancy of the new trend in wall painting and the strength of earlier vase painting traditions may also help account for the scarcity of close parallels between the two arts.

SCHOOL H: THE ROYAL ROAD SCHOOL

H27. Zebra Fresco (SLIDE 42 and PLATES 144B and 156):

Pottery - MM IIIA polychrome basin with similar crazy-paving design (Fig. 67a).

Other: MM I-III "mosaiko" paving (AC, p.154).

H19-21. Reed Frescoes (SLIDE 31 and PLATES 108, 109, B3-5):

Pottery - MC III kalathos from Phylakopi (Lacy, Greek Pottery in the Bronze Age, p.266, Fig. 106e); LM IA reed vases (Fig. 69 a-b, and Thera IV, Pl.68b).

H3. Myrtle Fresco (SLIDE 34 and PLATES 64D, 67, 114 and 134C):

Pottery - MM IIIB faience vessels from Temple Repositories, Knossos: subject, shapes of leaves, and undulating ground-line (Fig. 67b).

Other: MM II/IIIA "Town House Mosaics" (PM I, p.308 ff, Fig. 228hh).

H14, 16-?18. Lattice designs (PLATE 143):

Sealstone, attributed to MM III, ? from Priene
 (PM I, p.377, Fig. 274); MM II/III ?A seal from
 Gournia (Kenna, p.37, Fig. 52); MM IIIB faience
 "goddess" from Temple Repositories, Knossos:
 lower border (PM I, P523, Fig. 382).

H31. White lilies on red (PLATE 101 A-B, and p.727,
 Fig.109):

Pottery - MM IIIB lily vases, Knossos (Fig. 68c).

H 35-36. Vetch designs (PLATES 118A and 192 B4):

Pottery MM IIIB vases from Palaikastro (Fig. 68a).

OTHER MM IIIA FRESCOES

Knossos, Palace, North West Lustral Basin:

Stucco dado imitating liparite (Appendix A, p. 689 below):

Pottery - MM IIIA jug from Knossos (Fig. 67e).

Other: MM III bridge-spouted stone bowls from
 Knossos (MVA p.33, P 187-188).

POSSIBLE MM IIIA FRESCOES

The "Sombre Spiral Painter" was considered above on
 internal fresco evidence to have flourished in MM IIIB,
 if not earlier (p.391ff). Comparison with MM IIIA
 spiralform vases indicate his works may belong to that
 period but this requires further verification.

Spiral frescoes (PLATE 137):

Pottery - MM IIIA cup with "eye-like" filling motifs
 (fig. 67c); MM IIIA cup with broad polychrome branches
 and triangular filling motifs (Fig. 67d); MM III
 burial pithes from Mochlos: cf PLATE 137B (Lacy,
Greek Pottery in the Bronze Age, p.79, Fig. 34a);



a. Jugs, Palaikastro
BSA XI, p.288,
Fig.15a-b:MM IIIB



b. Pithos, Thera
Thera II,
Pl.25(1):MC III

c. Lily vases, Knossos
PM I, Fig.443
MM IIIB



Fig.68 MM IIIB vases

Analysis Fig. 59, Motif 46, no. 9 (LM/LH IA) is described as a "ceramic derivative of fresco type", perhaps of the present fresco forms rather than MM IIIB/LM IA examples.

THE MM IIIB PERIOD

The slight earthquake activity at the end of MM IIIA at Knossos evidently provided an opportunity for renewed mural decoration in the palace which introduced the human figure to naturalistic wall painting, along with more advanced relief stucco techniques than appear in MM IIIA. There is some evidence for close conceptual relations in the depiction of human figures and animals (notably bulls) between frescoes and non-pottery arts in MM IIIB, but well rendered examples of the same motifs are known from earlier seals and sealings (MM II-III A). Vase comparisons are few, but some naturalistic plant designs bear comparison with floral frescoes, and possibly the artist of the famous lily vases from Knossos was himself a wall painter (Fig. 68c). In general the decline in vase painting is more noticeable in this phase of MM III, and influence of MM IIIB frescoes seems to have been felt more in the ensuing LM IA period to judge by comparisons of vases and other objects with murals from Phylakopi.

SCHOOL A: the LADIES IN BLUE SCHOOL

A1. Ladies in Blue Fresco (PLATE 19):

MM IIIB faience statuettes of priestesses or goddesses from Temple Repositories, Knossos (PM I, p.500ff., Figs. 359-362, 364). These show that a refined conception of the human figure had become established

by MM IIIB in representations of this subject, such as occurs in the present frescoes and in those from the Second City of Phylakopi.

SCHOOL J: the SOAPY SLIP SCHOOL

J1. Floral fresco (PLATE 110):

Pottery - MM IIIB fine-leaved reed vase from Temple Repositories, Knossos (PM I, p.557, Fig. 404b: cf PLATE 110 C1); myrtles on faience vessels from same location (Fig. 67b: cf PLATE 110 D).

OTHER KNOSSIAN MM IIIB FRESCOES

Hogarth's Houses:

Vetch designs (PLATES 109 B6 and 118 B-C):

Pottery - MM IIIB vessels with stylistically "heavy" vetch designs, from Palaikastro (Fig. 68a).

Palace, Loomweights Basement:

Bull relief frescoes, black and white dappled hides (e.g. PLATE 79 A4): MM IIIB painted faience plaque from Temple Repositories, Knossos, modelled in low relief (PM I, p.511, Fig. 367); finely modelled bulls on MM III seals and sealings (MM II/IIIA, from Gournia: Kenna, p.37, Fig. 52; and MM IIIB, from Knossos Temple Repositories, Kenna p.43, Fig. 71).

Palace, North East Quarters:

Man's arm in relief (PLATE 17A):

Boxer with clenched fists and muscular arms on MM IIIB sealing from Temple Repositories, Knossos (Kenna, p.43, Fig. 70 = Fig. 23B here).

THE MM IIIB SCHOOL OF PHYLAKOPI

Flying Fish Fresco (PLATES 120 A-C, 125-126):

Fish: MM IIIB faience fish from Temple Repositories, Knossos (PM I, p.521, Fig. 379); seal attributed to MM III (Kenna, p.47, Fig. 89: AM); inlaid bronze dagger from Vapheio (LH I-II; PM III, p.128, Fig. 82a).

Rockwork - Pottery: LM/LH IB marine style vases (Analysis Fig. 53, Motif 28, "Irregular"; and Fig. 73f, i, j, here)

Other: LM IA polychrome tripod from Thera (Thera V, Pls.C and 102); inlaid dagger from Pylos (LH I: Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 171, top); MM II (?IIIA) seal, Knossos (PM II, Fig. 306).

Lily frieze (PLATE 101 C-D):

Pottery: MM/MC IIIB pithos from Thera, found in LM IA context (Fig. 68b); also similar sherd from Phylakopi (JHS Suppl. Paper IV, Pl. XXIV, no.9).

Other: LM/LH I inlaid bronze dagger from Circle A, Grave V, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 107, top).

Woman with "net" (PLATE 36):

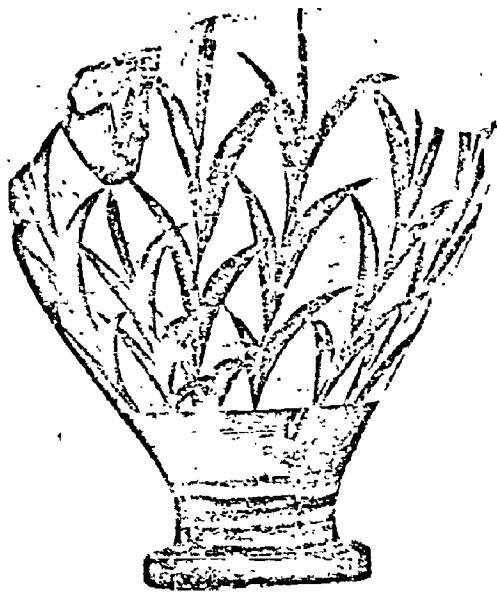
Rockwork - Pottery: MM IIIB faience vessels with prominent undulations, from Temple Repositories, Knossos (Fig. 67b).

Griffin: Ahmes axe, Dynasty XVIII c.1550 (LM IA early; PM I, p. 551, Fig. 402).

THE MM IIIB/LM IA PERIOD

A major earthquake towards the close of MM IIIB caused extensive damage and subsequent rebuilding of palaces and towns in Crete. Important redecorations of the walls

of most types of dwelling ensued, in Crete and in the Cyclades, and these made the first notable and a lasting impact on vase painting and arts in other media. Prominent at Knossos were the mural "Schools I and B/C", the latter putting in hand a major redecoration of the palace. Comparisons with the Shaft Grave material of Circle A at Mycenae and with floral designs on LM/LH IA vases leave little doubt that these Knossian "schools" were outstanding sources of inspiration to the lesser arts, quick to follow suit. This is especially apparent in the case of the frescoes from Thera which, however, we have already seen were very probably indebted to the works of "Schools I and B/C" at Knossos. In pottery of the period there is a marked change from the MM III light-on-dark style of drawing to dark-on-light which brought a new lease of life to the art. The new technique in fact encouraged more adventurous naturalistic representation in line with the innovations of the new and brilliant Knossian "schools" of wall painters. Even so, conservatism among vase painters is still apparent, for they copied floral and spiraliform patterns as their principle subject matter. The Theran vase painters of LM IA are exceptional, however, because they evidently copied human and animal subjects almost directly from the frescoes, as Figs. 72 a-b alone show. Crete, and perhaps particularly Knossos, was more conservative in LM IA vase painting until the outburst of the superb LM IB style from Knossian workshops, as Popham has recently emphasised (BSA 62 (1967), p.399). Only then do we find the vase painters reproducing many of the textile, faunal and other motifs present in the MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes.



a. Amphora, Knossos
PM III, Fig.187



b. Goblet, Knossos
PM III, Fig.186 Cl



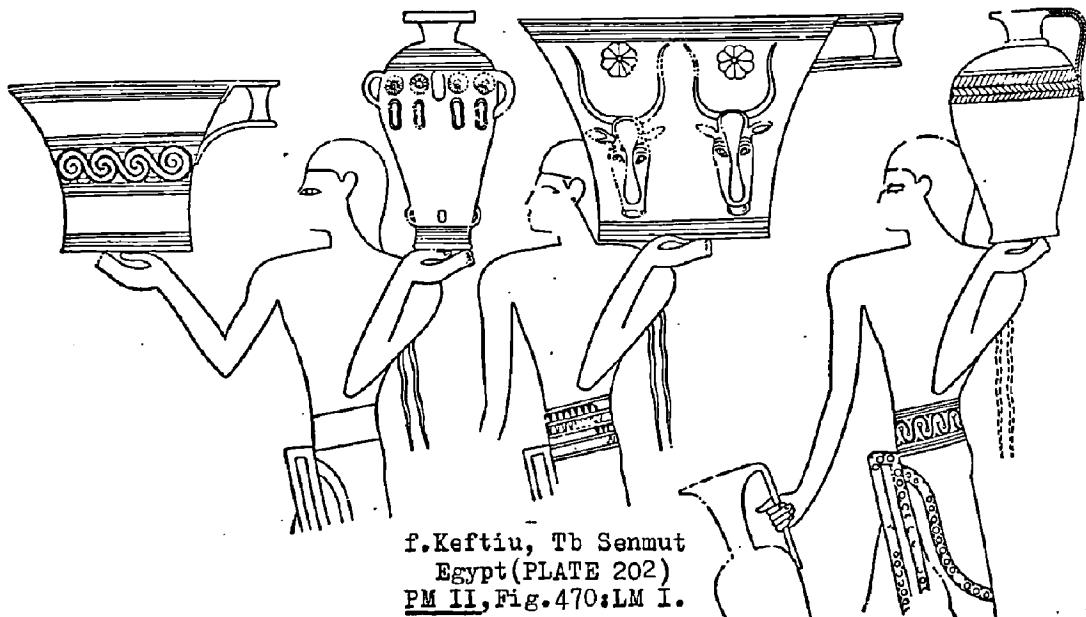
c. Conical cup,
 Knossos
PM III, Fig.186 Dl



d. Cup, Knossos
PM II, Fig.282a
MM IIIB/LM IA



e. Sherd, Phylakopi
JHS Suppl. IV,
Pl. XVII no. 17



f. Keftiu, Tb Senmut
 Egypt (PLATE 202)
PM II, Fig.470:LM I.

Fig.69 LM IA vases and sherds, and "Keftiu"
 wall painting (f)

The same frescoes appear to have inspired major developments in two other important artistic media, inlay in bronze daggers and vessels, and the relief carving of stone bowls with picture-scenes. Unlike much of the LM I pottery, these artefacts reproduce not mere select motifs but extensive sections of the types of mural scene which went up in MM IIIB/LM IA. In neither art under consideration was pictorial inlay or relief carving an established traditional practice of the craft, such techniques being in fact new to them at the close of MM IIIB. That the chief source of inspiration was certainly the frescoes, and above all those in the palace and town houses at Knossos, is evident from the nature of the scenes reproduced: animals hunting birds in marshes, as in the House of the Frescoes; and on stone bowls boxing, bull-leaping and processional scenes such as were erected in relief fresco by "School B" in the re-decorated MM IIIB/LM IA palace at Knossos⁽⁹¹⁾.

On other spheres of art the frescoes also made some impact, notably on jewelry as comparisons with the Shaft Grave material from Mycenae show. This, however, is not the place to demonstrate the full extent of the influence of MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes on the "minor arts". The following comparisons alone are sufficient to indicate the general and widespread influence of the MM IIIB/LM IA "schools".

SCHOOL I: the HOUSE OF THE FRESCOES SCHOOL

II. Bird and Monkey Frieze (SLIDE 56):

Monkeys; fairly common motif on LMI-IIIA gems and sealings:

(see Fig. 31B-E, opp. p. 174).

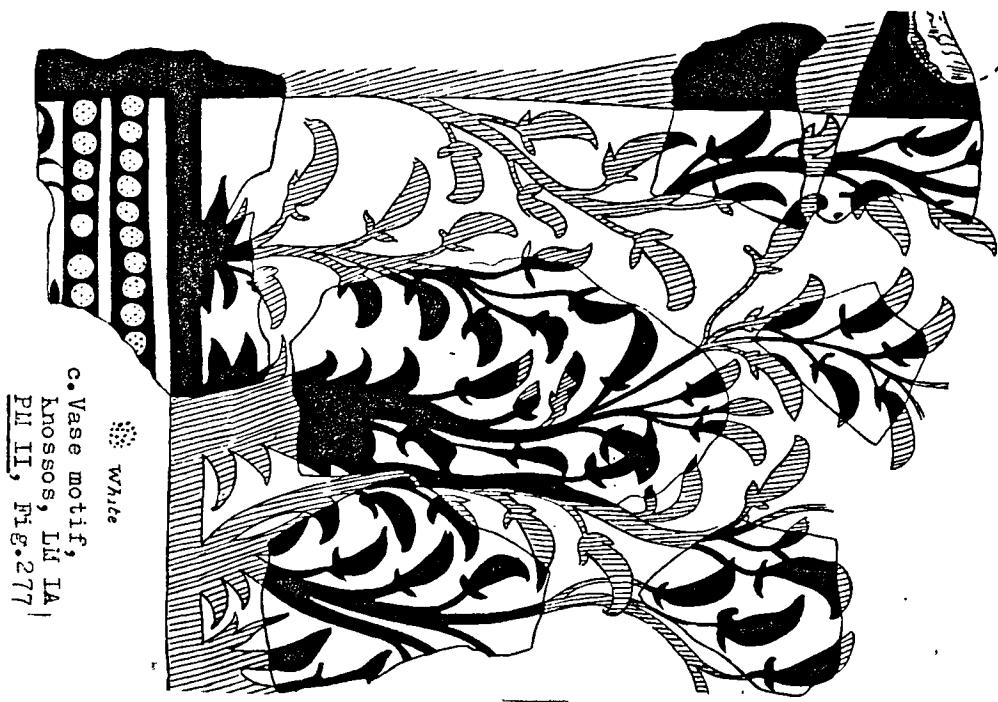
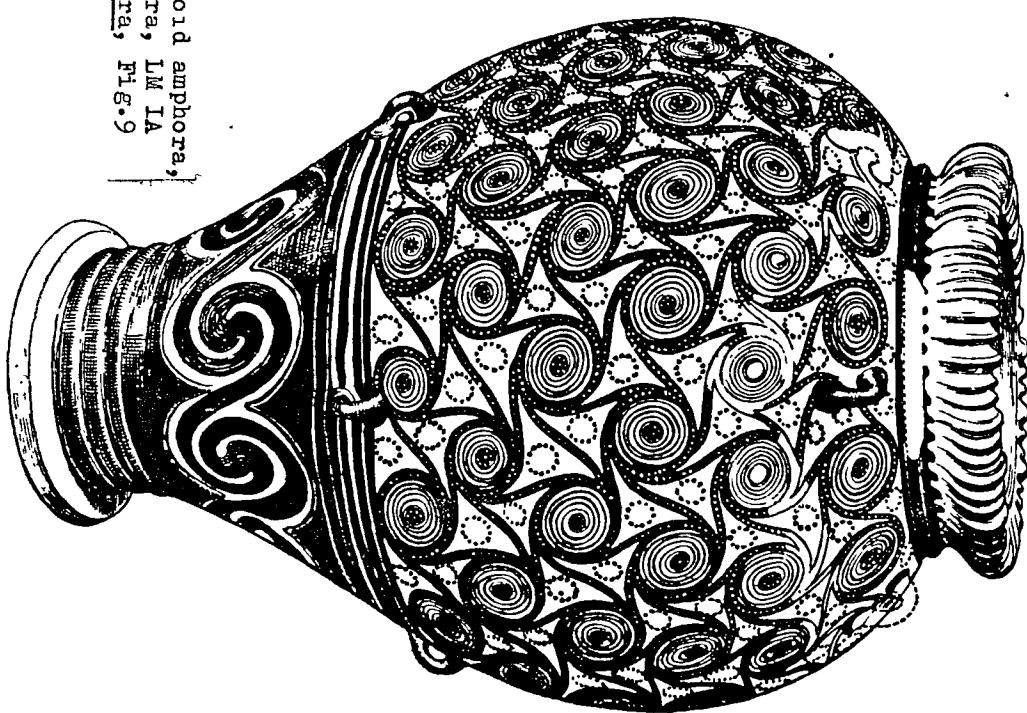
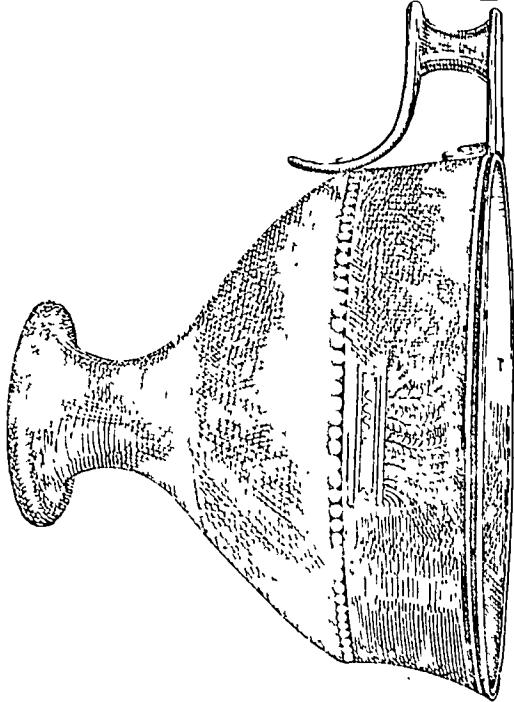


Fig. 70 LM IA vessels

Birds: on LM/LH IA early gold pendants, Circle A, Graves III and IV, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.205 centre and lower); on LM IB sealing from Hagia Triada (Levi, Le Cretule di Hagia Triada e di Zakro (1929-VII), Fig. 52 = Kenna p.47, Fig. 84; on inlaid bronze dagger from Prosymna (Prosymna I, p. 300-302, Pl.ii lower, no. 2 from Tomb III, LM/LH IB/II).

Hunting in marsh scenes - inlaid bronze dagger, Circle A, Grave V, Mycenae, LM/LH I (Crete and Mycenae, Colour Pl. XXXVI top); on LM/LH I ivory comb from Rutsi (Ibid, Pl.222 lower). Mural scene in Egypt from Dyn.III onwards, if not earlier.

Reeds (SLIDE 29i) - Pottery: LM IA vases (Fig. 69a-c).

Fern (SLIDE 29o) - Pottery: LM IA tall pyxis, Thera (Thera IV, Pl.80c).

Iris (PLATE 94 A-B) - Pottery: LM IA naturalistic motif on vases (Analysis Motif 10A, no.a).

Vetch (SLIDE 29j) - Pottery: LM IA design (Fig. 70c).

I7. Crocus (PLATE 90) - Pottery: LM/LH I-II designs (Analysis Motif 10 (1))

Other: on skirts of MM IIIB faience goddesses or priestesses from Temple Repositories, Knossos (PM I, p.506, Fig.364 a-b); radiating group on MM IIIB/LM I Peak Sanctuary rhyton from Zakro (Zakro, p.167, upper right).

Myrtles (PLATE 115 A-B and SLIDE 35) - Pottery: LM IA vase, Thera (Thera V, p.42, Fig. 6).

Ivy (PLATE 97A and SLIDE 30) - Pottery: LM IB forms (Analysis Fig. 35, Motif 12, "Filled voluted", no. 5).

Sand and pebbles (PLATE 70) - Pottery: LM IA vase
design of MM III origin (BSA 62 (1967), p.338, Fig.
1(14); MM III, PM I, Pl.VII, right, - opp.p.596).

Hybrid papyrus (PLATE 99A) - Pottery: LM IB vases
(PM II, p.477, Fig.285F = BSA op.cit., p.340, Fig.
2 (10).

I2. Goat and olive tree fresco (SLIDE 58):

Goats: MM IIIB faience plaque, from Temple Repositories,
Knossos (PM I, p.510, Fig.366); common MM III and
LM I seal and sealing design (Kenna nos.94, 170,
190 and 201; Levi, op.cit., Figs. 91, 144-145 for
LM IB examples); LH I signet ring, Mycenae (Crete
and Mycenae, Pl.206 no.2); on MM IIIB/LM I Zakro
rhyton, from an LM IB context (Zakro, p.167).

Olive tree: LM/LH I silver siege rhyton, Circle A,
Grave IV, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 174);
on the LM/LH IB/II Vapheio cups (Ibid, Pls. 179,
182-184); LH I signet ring, Mycenae (Ibid, Pl.206
no. 2).

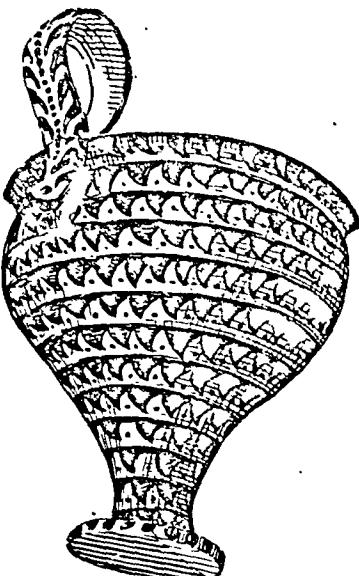
I4. "Swallow" fragment from South House (SLIDE 27g):

Pottery: true swallows on LM IA vases from Thera
(Thera III, Pl.A = Fig. 72a here).

SCHOOL B: the KILT PAINTERS SCHOOL

Grand Staircase Procession Fresco (SLIDE 44), Girl
Taureadors in relief (SLIDES 7-8) and other pieces, many
of whose motifs are gathered together at Figs. 45-47
(opp.p.p. 311-313). Discussion in alphabetical order of
motif.

Fig. 71



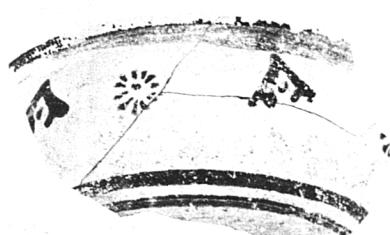
a. Goblet, Knossos
PM IV, Fig.145 D1



b. Alabastron, Mochlos
PM IV, Fig.201



c. Spouted jug,
Prosymna,
Fig.605b



e. Sherd, Knossos
BSA 62, Pl.81c



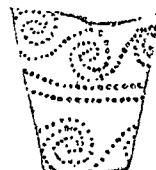
d. Jug, Keos, Hesperia
33 (1964), Pl.53e



f. Cup, Knossos
PM II, Fig.263
BSA 62, Pl.79d



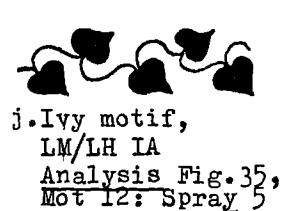
g. Argonaut motif,
Knossos, PM II,
Fig.312b



h. Sherd, Phylakopi
JHS Suppl. IV,
Pl.XXI no.18



i.



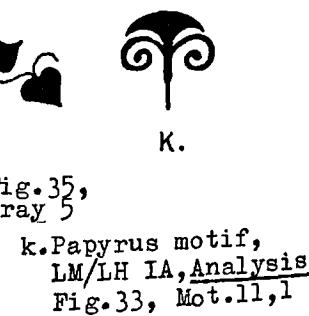
j. Ivy motif,
LM/LH IA



K.

Analysis Fig.35,
Mot.12: Spray

i. Ivy motifs,
Analysis, Fig.35
Mot.12: leaf s-t



k. Papyrus motif,
LM/LH IA, Analysis
Fig.33, Mot.11, 1

Adder mark (PLATE 43E and Fig. 47, Motif 9):

Pottery: LM IB vases (Fig. 71 e-f)

Other: Ahmes axe, Dyn. XVIII, c.1550 (LM IA early;

PM I, p.551, Fig. 402); LM IA early, gold dress

ornament, Grave III, Circle A, Mycenae (Karo

Pl.XXVI nos.47-48)

Argonaut or Nautilus (Fig. 45, Motif 7):

Pottery: LM IA vase (Analysis, Fig. 50, Motif 22),

but LM IB designs on marine style vases seem closer

(Fig. 71g here)

Other: LH I gold pendants from Grave Circle A,

Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 200 right); on

LM/LH I inlaid bronze dagger from Rutsi (Ibid, Pl.171

top); on LM I seal from Knossos (Kenna no.302).

Barred Band, "square" form (Fig.45, Motif 2 (3)).

Border of MM IIIB faience "cow" plaque from Temple

Repositories, Knossos (PM I, p.511, Fig. 367).

Barred Band, thick and two thin bars form (Fig. 45,

Motif 2 (6)): Zonal dress decoration on MM IIIB

faience "Snake Priestess" from Temple Repositories,

Knossos (PM I, p.502f, Figs. 360-361).

Bucrania (PLATE 43B): LH I gold bucraenia from Grave IV,

Circle A, Mycenae (Karo Pl.XLIV, no.353/4); on LH I

gold-covered box from Grave V, Circle A, Mycenae

(Crete and Mycenae, Pl.198 centre); on vase carried

by Keftiu in Tomb of Senmut, Egypt, c.1484/79 B.C.

(LM I; Fig. 69f here); on inlaid metal cup from

Medeia (LM/LH I; Hafner, Art of Crete, Mycenae and

Greece (1968) p.49); seals attributed to MM III

(Kenna p.45, Figs. 80-81) and others of LM I date

(Kenna no. 292 - wrongly identifying a ram's head).

Butterfly (Fig. 45, Motif 6): LM I seals (Kenna nos. 233-234 and 302); LM/LH IA early gold dress ornaments from Grave III, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 202, centre in first and third row); in ivory, (LM IB; Zakro, p.148).

Comb Motif (Fig. 45, Motif 4 (2)):

Pottery: LM IA sherd from Phylakopi (Fig. 69e here)

C-Spiral (PLATE 183B):

LM IA bronze ewer from Thera (Thera IV, Pl. 95); LH I stele, Grave V, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 147); Dynasty XII scarabs (PM I, p.201, Fig. 150b).

Dotted Band (Fig. 45, Motif 3 (1-2)):

Pottery: a common filling motif in LM IA foliate bands (BSA 62 (1967) p.338, Fig. 1 (9)).

Dotted Chevron or Zig-zag (Fig. 46, Motif 9 (3-4)).

Pottery: LM IA motif (Analysis Fig. 58, Motif 44 no. 1); LM IB vases (e.g. from Mochlos: Fig. 71b here).

Dotted Rosette (Fig. 46, Motif 11 (3-4) and Fig. 47, Motif 4 (1)):

Pottery: LM IB vases (Figs. 71 e-f).

Dotted Spiral (Fig. 46, Motif 10 (1-2) and Fig. 47, Motif 1 (1-3)):

Pottery: LM I sherd from Phylakopi (Fig. 71H)

Double Axe (p. 706 with Fig. 95B) probably by "School B":

Pottery: common LM IA motif (BSA 62 (1967), p.338, Fig. 1(15))

Other: LH I motif in goldwork, Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenae (Karo, Pl. XLIV); LM IB ivories (Zakro, p.125); MM III and later seals (e.g. Kenna no. 96).

Ivy Branch (Fig. 45, Motif 5 (1)):

Pottery: LM/LH IA "filled" type (Fig. 71j here); for leaf-shape, cf also MM III design on bronze Vapheio cup from Mochlos (Fig. 72c) and LM/LH IB examples (Fig. 71i), and on stone pedestal lamp from Knossos attributed to MM IIIB/LM I (MSV p.57 (HM 30)).

Ivy Chain (Fig. 45, Motif 5 (2)):

LM IA early design, Grave III, Circle A, Mycenae (Karo, Pl. XX no. 71).

Ivy, Foliate Band (Fig. 47, Motif 6):

Pottery: LM/LH IA design (Fig. 71j here, and BSA 62 (1967), p.338, Fig. 1 (10)).

Small Spirals, branching form (PLATE 185 A9):

LH IA early sword-handle design, Grave Delta, Circle B, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 170 lower); gold cup, Grave V, Circle A, Mycenae (*Ibid*, Pl. 194 top).

Tricurved Arch and other "net" designs (Fig. 46, Motif 12 (1-2)):

Pottery: such patterns became common on LM/LH IB vases (e.g. Fig. 71 c-d here and Analysis Figs. 68, 70).

Other frescoes attributed to "School B":

Spiral Ceiling Reliefs (PLATE 141):

Pottery: LM IA pithoid amphora from Pseira (Fig. 70b)

Other: branching spiral designs as noted under "Small Spirals" above.

North Entrance Passage Relief Frescoes:

Rockwork (PLATE 69A): Pottery: MM IIIB vase from Knossos (PM I, Pl. VII, lower centre - opp. p.596).

Flowering olive tree (PLATE 116A): Pottery: LM IB
dotted flower motifs (Fig. 71 e-f). Olive trees:
as noted under "School I" above.

Bulls (PLATE 76): MM IIIB faience "cow" plaque from
Temple Repositories, Knossos (PM I, p.511, Fig.367);
MM III and LM I seals and sealings (e.g. Kenna
passim).

General composition: LM/LH IB/II Vapheio cups (Crete
and Mycenae, Pls. 178 lower, and 182-183).

Jewel Fresco (SLIDE 14): gold pendant heads from Kythera
(LM/LH I: Kythera Pl.59 no. 63).

Griffin Relief Fresco (PLATE 132): gold signet ring and
seal from Mycenae (LH I-II; PM III, p.511, Fig.
360-361); stone column capital (LM IB context, Zakro
p.68); barred border of "squared" form: MM IIIB
border of faience "cow" plaque, Temple Repositories,
Knossos (PM I, p.511, Fig.367).

Male fist (PLATE 17 B1): LM IB ivory showing similarly
modelled veins (Hood, The Home of the Heroes, p.99f,
Fig. 93); MM IIIB/LM I mould (PM I, p.487, Fig.349b).

Biceps and arms in relief (PLATES 16 A-B and 17B):
compare anatomical modelling of male figures on
MM IIIB/LM I stone vases from Knossos and Hagia
Triada (MSV, P 469-477; and Crete and Mycenae,
Pls. 100-107). The HT vases come from a LM IB
context.

Priest-King Relief Fresco (PLATE 18 and SLIDE 1):
"Waz" necklace; Pottery: LM/LH IA motif (Fig. 71k)
Bronze box plaque (LM IB: Zakro, p.125); gold plaque
from Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenae (LM/LH I; PM II,

p.777, Fig. 505A).

Headdress: as above, and MM IIIB/LM I ivory plume
(PM II, p.777, Fig. 505B).

Butterfly in field (now missing): see "butterfly"
above under the Grand Staircase Procession Fresco.

Fist: See "Male Fist" in earlier entry.

Flowers (now missing: PM II, Pt.II, Frontispiece);

Pottery: LM II Palace Style flowers (Figs. 74 and
75c).

Pseira Reliefs (PLATES 24-25):

Ivy motif; Pottery: LM IB vase from Kythera (ivy chain
design) (Kythera, Fig. 87, no. 4 from Tomb E)

Other: stone pedestal lamp, Knossos, attributed to
MM III/LM I (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.114 lower right:
Qv. MSV p.57 (HM 30) and PM I, p.345, Fig. 249).

Necklace pattern (PLATE 24B); Pottery: LM IB scale
designs (e.g. Kythera Pl.33, no. 32 and Analysis
Fig. 70, Motif 70 no. 6).

Pose: ivory goddesses seated on rockwork, from Mycenae -
LH (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.217).

Lotus flowers (PLATE 98 A-C):

Pottery: LM/LH IB "papyrus" motifs (BSA 62 (1967),
p.340, Fig. 2 (10) and Analysis, Fig. 33, Motif 11
nos. 23-30; Mot. 70, no. 4a).

Other: for carefully drawn petaloid shapes compar-
able to those of PLATE 98A, cf the border of the
MM IIIB faience "goat" plaque from Temple Reposi-
tories, Knossos (PM I, p.510, Fig. 366).

SCHOOL C (=B): the MINIATURE SCHOOL

Temple Fresco (PLATES 26 and 47):

Tripartite shrine: LH I gold ornaments, Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.205 centre); shrine in court of MM IIIB/LM I villa at Vathypetro (Ibid, Pl.60 lower).

Column capital form: LM IB stone example (Zakro, p.68); LH I gold ornaments cited in previous entry.

Tie-blocks: MM IIIB sealing from Temple Repositories, Knossos (Fig. 23b above); Peak Sanctuary rhyton (LM IB context: Zakro, p.167); LM IB Boxer Rhyton from Hagia Triada and stylistically similar stone-carved sherds from Knossos (MSV P 469, 474 and 476): these are generally assigned a date within MM IIIB/LM IB.

Sacred Dance Fresco (PLATE 29-30); masonry associated in "miniature" figured scenes with olive trees - stone-carved sherd from Knossos, attributed to MM IIIB/LM IA (MSV, P 477); LH I silver siege rhyton, Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.174).

The AMNISOS FRESCOES

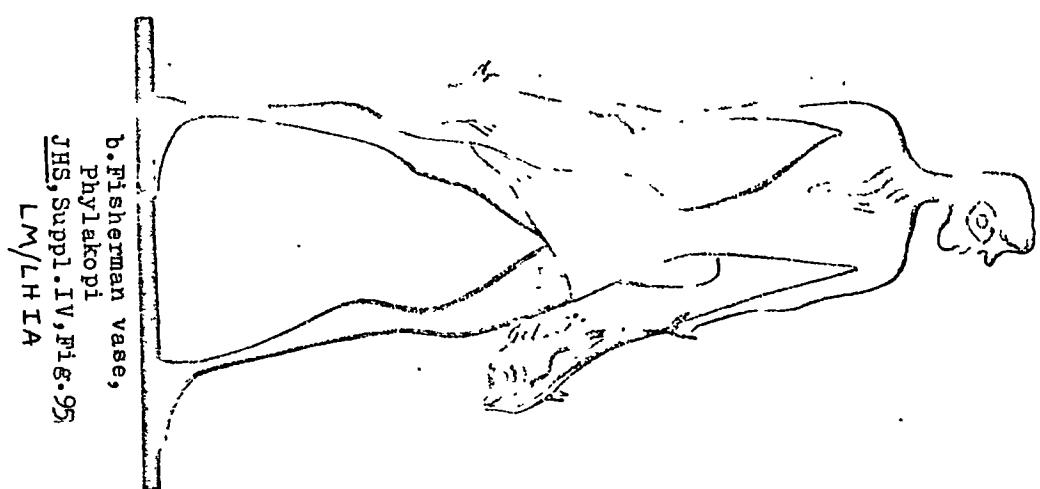
Floral frieze (SLIDE 59):

Flower-pots (SLIDE 18 (5)): motif on LH I silver cup from Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenae (Fig. 70a).

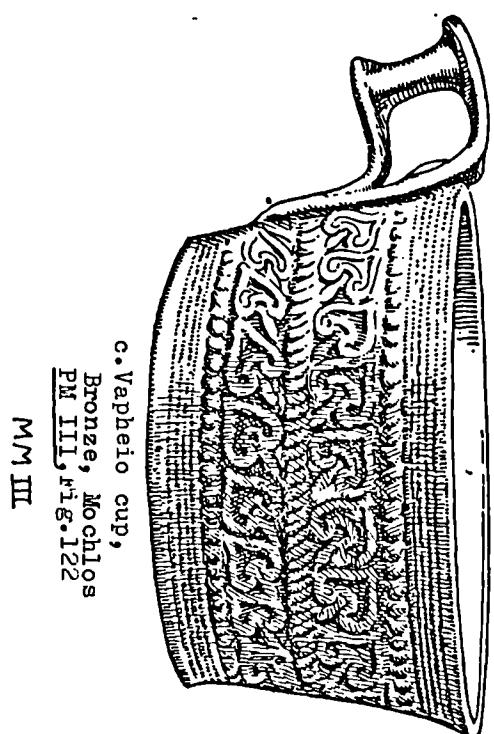
Lily sprays (PLATES 102-3); Pottery - MM IIIB lily vases from Knossos (Fig. 68c); LM IA lily vases from Thera (Thera V, Pls. 83-84) and the lilies in the Swallow fresco from the same site (Ibid, Pls. 121-125) provide more general comparisons.



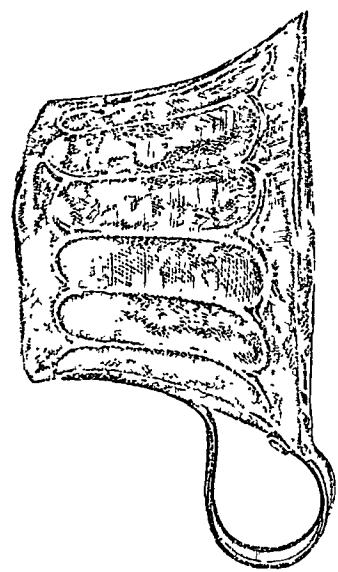
a. Patera, Thera
Thera III, Pl. A
LM IA



b. Fisherman vase,
Phylakopi
JHS, Suppl. IV, Fig. 95
LM/LH IA



c. Vapheio cup,
Bronze, Mochlos
PM III, Fig. 122
MM III
LM/LH IA



d. Gold cup, Mycenae
PM I, Fig. 183 a5
LM/LH IA

Fig. 72 MM III - LM/LH I vessels

The KATSAMBA MINIATURE FRESCO

Pictorial skirt design (SLIDE 12c):

Reeds; Pottery - typical LM IA reed vases (Fig. 69 a-c).

Rockwork; Pottery - rounded forms of LM/LH IA vases

(Analysis, Fig. 54, Motif 32, nos. 6-7).

Dotted scale pattern (Praktika (1959), p.318, Fig. 2);

Pottery - LM IB motifs (e.g. Kythera, Pl.33, no. 32 from deposit "mu").

The THERAN SCHOOLS

The Swallow Frieze (Thera IV, Colour Pl.A):

Swallows; Pottery - LM IA polychrome vases from Thera (Fig. 72a).

Lilies; Pottery - LM IA vases (Thera IV, Pl.64 a-b).

Jagged rockwork; Peak Sanctuary rhyton (Zakro, p.167: LM IB context); cf. the mountainside scene in the Room 14 fresco frieze from Hagia Triada, here attributed to LM IA (SLIDE 54).

The Fisherman Fresco (AAA V (1972), Vol.3, Front Cover and Colour Pl.IV):

Man holding fish; Pottery - LM/LC IA vase from Phylakopi (Fig. 72b)

Other: seal from Knossos attributed to MM III (Kenna, no. 205, and p.47, Fig. 88).

Ivy spray band above Boxer and Oryx Beissa Frescoes (Thera IV, Pls. D-E and p.48, Fig. 3):

Pottery: LM/LH IA spray designs (BSA 62 (1967), p.338, Fig. 1 (10), and Fig. 71j here: also Analysis, Fig. 35, Motif 12, nos.s-t and x, for leaf-shape: LM IB).

Other: MM III Vapheio cup from Mochlos (Fig. 72c).

Boxers Fresco (Thera IV loc.cit):

Boxing; MM IIIB sealing from Temple Repositories, Knossos (Fig. 23b above); stone Boxers Rhyton from Hagia Triada (LM IB context: MSV P 469).

Oryx Beissa Fresco (Thera IV, Pls. D and Fb):

Oryx: the MM IIIB faience "goat" plaque from the Temple Repositories, Knossos, is painted in an astonishingly similar manner (PM I, p.510, Fig. 366).

Young Priestess (Thera V, Front Cover and Pls. J-K):

Incense-burner: LH I fluted vessels from Mycenae Shaft Graves (e.g. Fig. 72d)

Sleeve design: LM IA (early) gold earrings from Grave III, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae Pl.201 lower)

Room of the Ladies Fresco (Thera V, Pls. G-H):

Background "net" design: Pottery - LM/LH IB net design (Analysis Motif 57).

Monkey Frieze (Thera V, Pl. D):

Marine rockwork form: Pottery - LM/LH IB vases (e.g. Fig. 73 f, i, j)

Other: LM IA polychrome tripod from Thera (Ibid, Pl.C)

Rockwork bands; on LH I inlaid bronze dagger from Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Colour Pl. XXXVII lower)

Dotted Spiral Fresco (Thera III, p.42, Fig. 24):

Pottery: LM IB sherd from Phylakopi (Fig. 71h)

Angular Rosette Fresco (Thera III, Pl.60): Ibid, p.63, Fig. 45 - Sumerian nail.

THE LM I PERIOD

The frescoes assigned to this period are those which stylistically appear to follow the works of the MM IIIB/LM IA "schools". Parallels with non-fresco material are again strongly marked in LM IB vase painting rather than in LM IA pottery - though comparisons here are not lacking. As few frescoes certainly attributable to LM IB rather than earlier can be identified, the following comparisons relate primarily to fresco assignable to LM IA: only the "miniatures" from Tylissos may perhaps belong to LM IB in view of the analogous LM IB vase shape of the ewer in the fresco.

The CARAVANSERAI SCHOOL (LM IA)

Partridge and Hoopoe Frieze (PLATE 86):

Papyrus/lotus form (PLATES 100A and 107C): Pottery - LM/LH IB sherd from Phylakopi (Fig. 73b); dotted rosettes (LM IB: see Fig. 71 e-f)

Room 14 Frieze, Hagia Triada (SLIDE 54):

Jagged rockwork: Peak Sanctuary rhyton (Zakro, p.167)
Cats hunting: LH I inlaid dagger, Grave V, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Colour Pl. XXXVII top); ivory comb from Rutsi (LH I: *Ibid*, Pl.222 lower); LM I seal (Kenna no. 344)

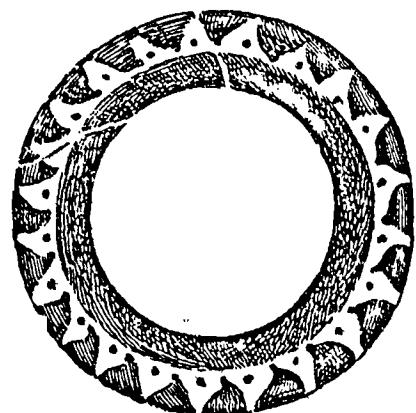
Radiating crocus sprays: skirt of MM IIIB faience "priestess", Temple Repositories (PM I, p.506, Fig. 364 a-b); Peak Sanctuary rhyton (LM IB context: Zakro, p.167 upper right).

Formal lily sprays; Pottery: MM IIIB lily vases, Knossos (Fig. 68c)

Fig. 73



a. Stirrup-jar,
Zakro, Alexiou,
Ancient Crete, p.176



e. Lip, alabastron,
Sedment, Egypt
PM IV, Fig. 200b



b. Sherd, Phylakopi
JHS Suppl. IV
Pl. XXXI no. 17



c. Sherd, Phylakopi
JHS Suppl. IV
Pl. XXXI no. 14



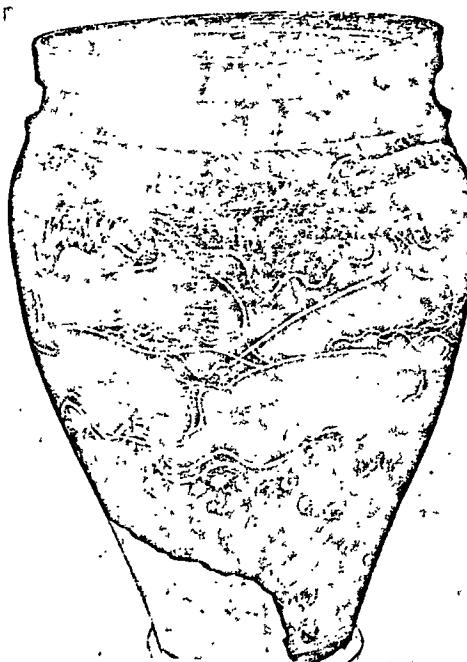
d. Sherd, Phylakopi
JHS Suppl. IV
PL. XXXI no. 9



g. Rhyton, Tb. XVIII
Prosymna Fig. 669
Late Helladic I



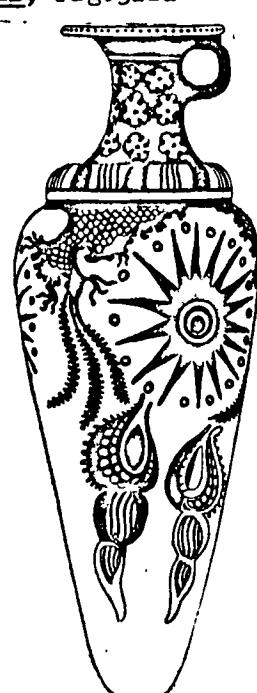
f. Marseilles Ewer
Provenance ?
PM II, Fig. 312a



h. Pithoid amphora,
Pachyammos
PM I, Fig. 447a



i. Rhyton, Pseira
PM II, Fig. 312f



j. Rhyton,
Palaikastro
PM II, Fig. 312e

Fig. 73 LM IB vases and sherds

Ivy Sprays; Pottery - LM IB motifs (Analysis, Fig. 35,
Motif 12, nos 5 and t: Fig. 71 i-j here)

Myrtles in stiff forms: LM IA vase from Thera (Thera V,
Pl.59 a)

Dress pattern of skirt of left-hand priestess (PLATE
23A); Pottery: similar scale designs on LM IB
vases, but often with other filling motifs (e.g.
Kythera, Pl.22, no. 32).

Spiral design on goddess's skirt hems (PLATE 21):
Pottery - LM IB sherd from Phylakopi (Fig. 73d).

Lily with falling flowers (PLATE 105): Pottery - LM IA
vases from Thera (Thera IV, Pl.83).

The FESTOON FRESCO PAINTER (LM IA)

"Festoon" Spiral Fresco (SLIDE 41): Pottery - LM IB
vases (Fig. 73a); LH IB bronze ewer, Grave V, Circle
A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.195).

"Butcher's Broom" Fresco (SLIDE 33): Pottery - note the
berries similarly at the tips of the so-called
myrtles on the LM IA vase from Akroteri at Thera V,
Pl. 59a.

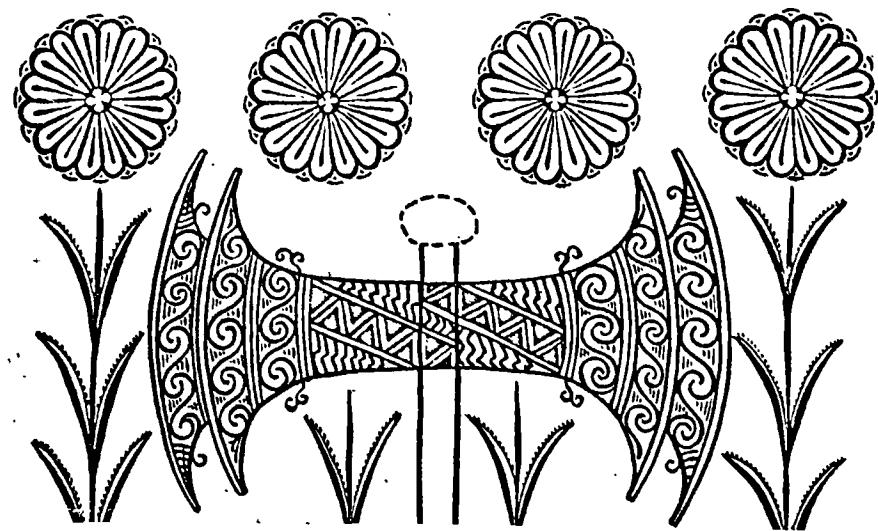
OTHER KNOSSIAN LM IA FRESCOES

Goddess associated with olive tree (PLATE 23 B-C and
117 A-C):

Dotted necklace and dress motifs (PLATE 23 C-D):

Pottery - LM IB designs (Kythera, Pl.33, no. 32 and
Analysis Fig. 70, Motif 70, nos. 3 and 6, for gen-
eral type); for iris filling motif of PLATE 23 D10
cf. Analysis Fig. 33, Motif 10A, LH I (= LM IA),
no. 1.

Fig. 74



a. Palace-style motif
Knossos, from
PM IV, Fig.286



b. Pithoid amphora
Knossos, after
PM IV, Fig.273

Fig 74 LM II Palace Style vase and motif

IALYSOS (RHODES) FRESCOES (LM IA)

Lily flowers (PLATE 104); Pottery - typical Cycladic flower forms, with deep gap between petals, of LM IA vases from Thera (Thera IV, Pls. 83-84a)

The TYLISSOS FRESCOES: (LM IA/B)

Miniature series (Fig. 30, opp. p. 172):

Ewer (Fig. 30F); Pottery - LM IB ewer shapes (e.g. Fig. 73f)

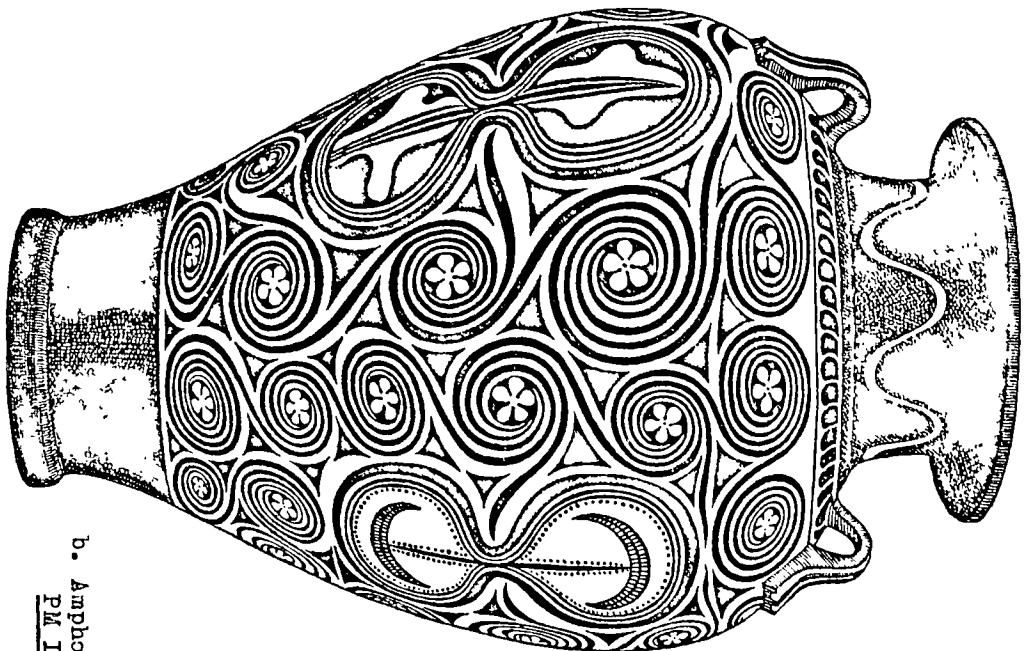
Masonry (Fig. 30B); LM IB sealing from Zakro (PM I, p.308, Fig. 227a, incorrectly assigned to MM III: v. Popham in BSA 58 (1963), p.91, note 9).

"Fan" fresco (see Maria Shaw in AA (1972), pp. 181-182, Figs. 10-11); Pottery - LM IB design (Fig. 73e).

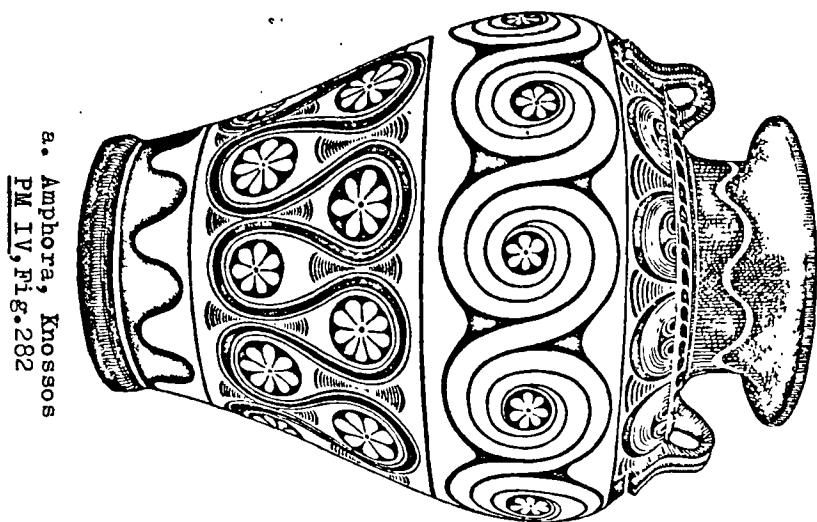
THE LM II PERIOD

The second occasion of extensive interrelations between frescoes and pottery occurs in LM II. In this period, perhaps following some LM IB destruction in the town and a lesser one in the palace at Knossos, another major redecoration went up on the palace walls. To judge by Palace Style vases, the vase painters began copying the frescoes closely, if in terms of their own stylised iconography, only shortly after the murals were completed. This close connection in these arts is reflected in the Palace Style sherd with the woman's head, already mentioned. The LM II period sees the introduction to Crete of new types of vases and a formal, grandiose style of painting which it is commonly believed first developed on the Mycenaean Greek mainland. It is the same style which characterises the work of the LM II "School D" in the palace frescoes. Moreover, not only

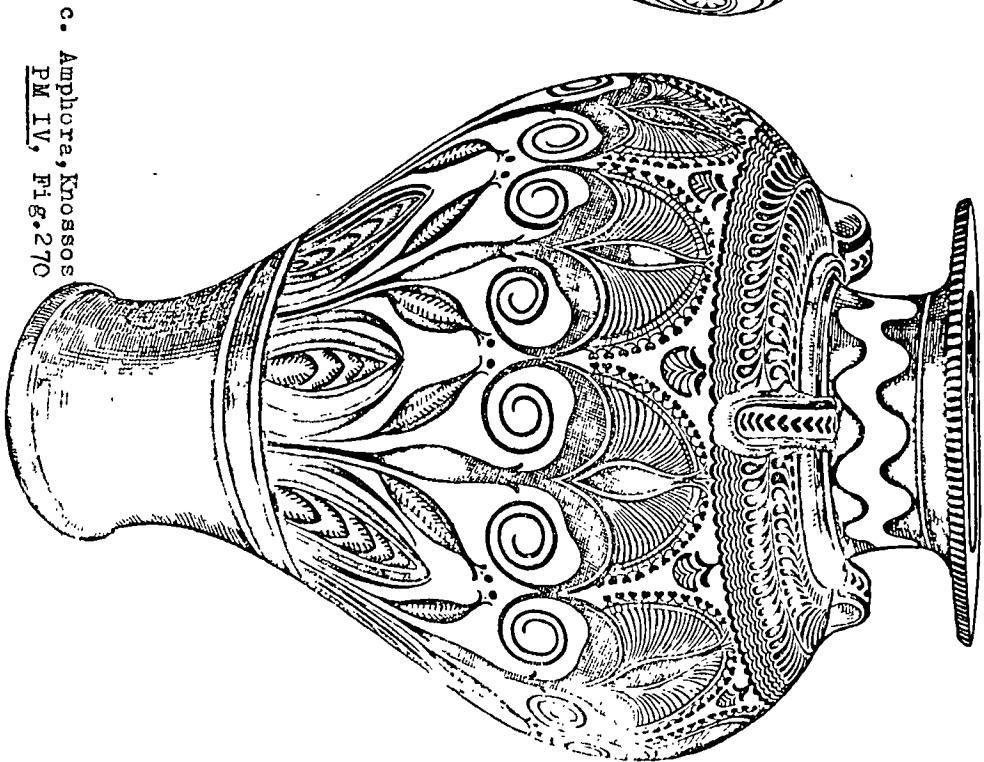
Fig. 75



b. Amphora, Knossos
PM IV, Fig. 284



a. Amphora, Knossos
PM IV, Fig. 282



c. Amphora, Knossos
PM IV, Fig. 270

Fig. 75 LM II Palace Style vases

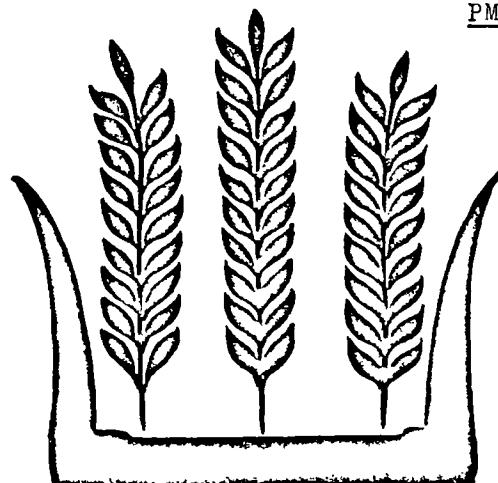
are individual motifs from that "school's" paintings copied on vases (especially dress patterns) but the Palace Style painters now attempt to reproduce the typical fresco format of upper border bands, pictorial zone and dado (v. Figs. 74b-75). Large, formally arranged and somewhat vulgar plants - such as are found in the Griffin and Argonaut Frescoes of "School D" - are common elements on Palace Style vases (Figs. 74 and 75c); and notable, too, is the occurrence of large spiral bands derived from "School D's" mural redecoration, in at least one case associated with large figure-of-eight shields. That the latter vase design derived from the Shield Frescoes in the palace seems assured by the presence of spirals on the same vessel - and spirals do not occur together with shields on LM IB vases, thus indicating the LM II frescoes as the source of inspiration in this case.

Another Palace Style sherd evidently copies one painting of the "Late 'Miniature' School" of wall painters, suggesting a likely LM II date for the "floruit" of that group of painters (Fig. 76e).

Mycenaean comparisons for the forms of dress represented in the figured compositions of "School D" might well suggest an earlier date for that group of painters. However, there are good reasons to believe that the right explanation for that circumstance may be political rather than chronological (Chapter XI). For that reason, greater importance is attached in the lists below to citing the earlier Minoan parallels for the forms of dress in question: these, too, will be reviewed in the next Chapter.



a. Stirrup-jar,
Knossos
PM II, Fig.239a



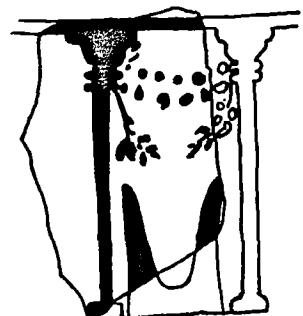
b. Sherd, Knossos
PM IV, Fig.289c



c. Sherd, Knossos
PM IV, Fig.289b



d. Sherd, Knossos, after Alexiou in
Orlandon Festschrift, p.115



e. Sherd, Knossos
PM I, Fig.353

SCHOOL D: The MYCENAEAN SCHOOL

D1. Procession Fresco (PLATE 14A):

Men in ankle-length cloaks; Pottery - LM/LH IIIA 1 and later vases (Analysis, Motif 1); LM II-IIIA seals (Kenna nos. 293, 294, and 37P)

Men in "Scottish" kilts; Semitic-looking archer on stone-bowl sherd attributable to MM III/LM I (MSV, P 473, but contra Ibid, p.177 there are very good reasons for considering him "un-Minoan"); kilted monster on LM IB sealing from Zakro (Kenna, no. 14S) MM II (? IIIA) figure in "Town Mosaics" (PM I, p.309, Fig. 228p); figures with "poloi" headdresses on MM IIIB sealings from Temple Repositories, Knossos (Ibid, p.505, Fig. 363 b-c). On the Greek mainland this form of kilt is more common, especially in the LH I period (e.g. the Lion Hunt dagger from Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenaean: Crete and Mycenae, Colour Pl. XXXV centre, opp.p. 94; gold signet ring from same site: Matz, Crete and Early Greece, Pl. 42, p.171).

(D2) Men in long kilt to ankles (PLATE 12C); MM IIIB sealing from Temple Repositories, Knossos (PM I, p. 505, Fig. 363a).

D1,3. Curvilinear quatrefoil designs (PLATES 7A, 8 and 9A on right):

Pottery - rare on vases, but present on LM II beake jug from Knossos (BSA 62 (1967), p.344, Fig. 4a).

D3. Cupbearer Fresco (PLATE 7A and 8);

Sealstone; LM I/II lentoid type - information by courtesy of the Rev. V. E. G. Kenna.

Rhyton; MM III-LM IIIA, but shape perhaps closest to LM/LH I ceramic, stone and metal forms with handle-top rising only a short distance, if at all, above level of vessel's lip (PM II, Suppl. Pl. XXIV, nos. 1-8, 10-13; no. 12 in stone is assigned to LM II - context: Palace Destruction, MSV P 465).

Rockwork; LH I inlaid dagger from Grave IV, Circle A, Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae, Colour Pl. XXXV lower); LM/LH IB/II Vapheio cups (*Ibid*, Pl. 178-185).

D7. Tricurved arch motif (PLATE 9B); Pottery - LM II Palace style stirrup-jar (Fig. 76a).

D8. "Heavy" types of scale and tricurved arch motifs (e.g. AE 1705 = MC Thesis, Fig. 28; and PLATE 9B (D7)); Pottery - LM/LH II patterns (e.g. Analysis, Fig. 68, Motif 62, no. 9 and SMA XII, Pl. 7b: Palace Style)

D11-12, 20-28. Large spirals with rosette centres (e.g. PLATES 63A, 99B and 140); Pottery - Palace Style vases (e.g. Fig. 75a). For large fresco rosettes, compare those at Fig. 74a especially (Palace Style).

D11. Shields associated with spiral bands (PLATE 63A); Pottery - Palace Style vases (Fig. 75b); Mottling - cf. LH I vase (Fig. 73g).

D12, 29-30. Typical reeds of "School D" (see SLIDE 53); Pottery - Palace Style vases (Figs. 74 a-b and 75c).

D12. Lotus/papyrus hybrid flower (PLATE 99B); Pottery - Palace Style vases (especially Fig. 74b).

D4. Stone veining (PLATE 56A); Pottery - Palace Style vases (Fig. 75c and on neck of LM II beaked jug at BSA loc. cit).



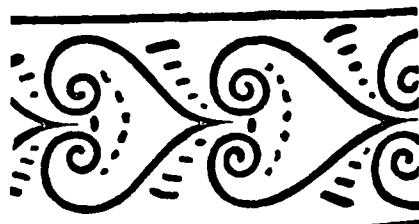
a. Stirrup-jar, Knossos
(Sellopoulo),
LM IIIA 1



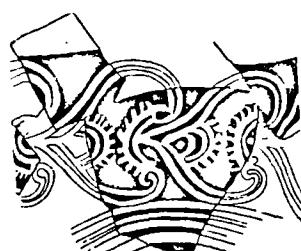
b. Cup, Knossos
LM IIIA 1/2e
SMA XII, Pl. 2d



e. Alabastron,
Phaistos, LM IIIA
PM IV, Fig. 280a



c. Owl motif, Knossos
LM IIIA 1/2early
PM IV, Fig. 731



i. Sherd, Tell el Amarna
Egypt, LH IIIA 2late
PM IV, Fig. 732



f. Chariot krater,
Enkomi Cyprus,
BSA 60, Pl. 58(2)
LH IIIA 2e



g. Vase design, Aradippo Cyprus
Céramique du Musée du Louvre,
p.232, Figs.1-12. LH IIIA 2e



h. Bronze cups(1-2) and cup in
Camp Stool Fresco (LH IIIA 2),
Knossos. PM IV, Fig. 305. LM II-III A 1

Fig. 77 LM IIIA vases and motifs

The LATE MINIATURE SCHOOL

Triple pillar shrine (PLATE 48A); Pottery - Palace Style sherd (Fig. 76e).

THE LM IIIA PERIOD

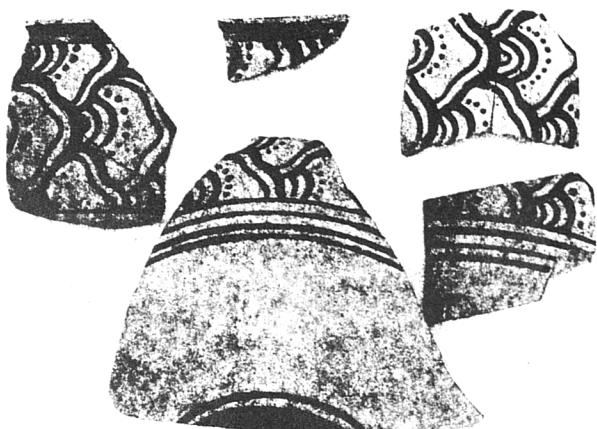
"Schools E and F" and several individual frescoes from Knossos cannot presently be attributed a closer date than LM II-IIIA 1, even after comparison with other arts, while "School G" and other mural compositions are more clearly LM IIIA 1. In the palace at Knossos, a partial destruction of upper floors in the West Wing on the borders of LM II/IIIA 1 evidently necessitated a partial redecoration there - if not elsewhere, too. This is shown by the style and subject-matter of certain frescoes and by the occurrence of wall plasterers vessels of LM IIIA date, still filled with partly used limeplaster, in the cists of the Long Corridor (PLATE 152 A-C). The frescoes include several compositions with close relations to pictorial designs new to LM vase painting, including the human figure, chariots, bulls, horses, and birds which suddenly appear frequently on LM/LH IIIA 1-2 early vases and in particular on Mycenean IIIA kraters. The latter are especially interesting since they were made at about the time of, or just after, the destruction of the palace as a royal dwelling and centre. Yet the most comparable vases of that class, though manufactured outside the island of Crete, bear extremely close connections with motifs, themes and decoration of LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes from the palace at Knossos itself (Fig. 77 e-f). It seems likely therefore that such vases represent memories of the murals decorating the palace before its destruction, and it is a reasonable hypothesis that that vase decoration itself came into being in reaction to the collapse of the palatial centre and its attendant artistic industries



a. LM IIIA 1/2e
Textile Motifs



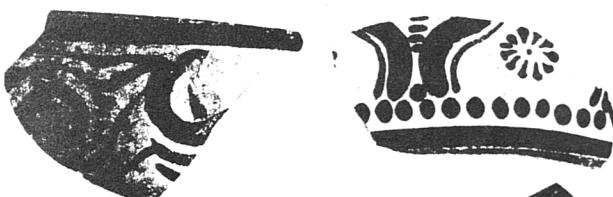
b. LM IIIA 1/2e
Textile Motif



c. LM IIIA 1/2e cup
Textile Motif



f. LM IIIA 1
sherd. Bird
alighting on fish



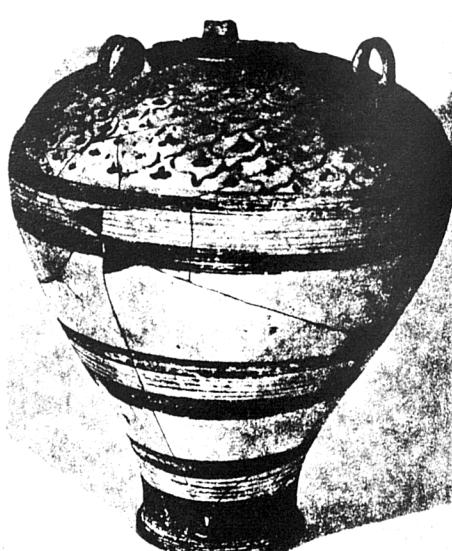
g. LM IIIA 1/2e
cup with
flying bird



d. LM IIIA 1/2e
Textile Motifs



e. LM IIIA-B sherds (a-c possibly
LM IIIB). Spiral border and
other textile motifs



h. LM IIIA 1 amphora,
Sellopolio, Knossos
Textile Motif

Fig. 78 LM III vase and sherds,
mostly IIIA (e(a-c)?IIIB)

at Knossos in LM IIIA 1/2 early (c. 1375 B.C.). Its military flavour, also well attested in the LM II-III A 1 frescoes referred to, is notable.

At Knossos at this time, a more widespread trend in vase painting drew heavily upon stylised floral and especially textile patterns, many of which are only generally related to fresco designs (Fig. 78); but some vase patterns appear to go back to MM IIIB/LM I fresco types, though these had no doubt become common currency among artists in all media (e.g. SMA XII, p. 106 ff, nos. 49, 54 and 93: cf. PLATES 189 A 5-6 and 188 B9), while others find closer counterparts in LM II-III A 1 frescoes. In both arts there is a similar tailing-off in draughtsmanship, with a tendency for line to become casual or scrappy. This trend becomes strongly marked in the LM IIIA 2 period, and even more so in LM IIIB at which time vase painting as a whole bears at best only a vaguely generalised recollection of Minoan fresco decoration⁽⁹²⁾. The simplest reason for this is that Minoan wall painting had collapsed as a significant industry several generations earlier.

The last period of close decorative relations between frescoes and pottery was, therefore, LM IIIA. The general picture drawn above accords with the evidence of LM IIIA 1/2 early vases actually depicted in the stylistically latest series of figured frescoes themselves, namely, those of "School G" and the related compositions from Hagia Triada. The drift away from such connections is already discernable in the LM/LH IIIA 2 late sherds from Tell el Amarna, dateable on wholly independant Egyptian evidence to within the period 1380-1336 B.C.

on "high" or "low" chronologies (cf. Fig. 77d with PLATE 184B, to which, however, the LM IIIA 1/2 early sherd at Fig. 77c is closer).⁽⁹³⁾

SCHOOL F: The CHARIOT SCHOOL (LM II-IIIA 1)

F (B) 1. Palanquin Fresco (PLATE 51):

Seated priestly figures (PLATE 51 A3 and Vol. IV, G, p.337, Fig. 6C); Pottery - LH IIIA 2 early sherd from Aradippo (Fig. 77g)

Camp stools; LM II-IIIA 1 sealing from Knossos (PM II, p.763, Fig. 491).

F (A) 1. Dual Chariot Fresco (SLIDE 20):

Chariot; Pottery - LH IIIA 2 early chariot kraters (Analysis, Fig. 56, Motif 39, nos. 3 and 6; and Ibid, nos. 7-8 and 11, LH IIIA 2 late).

Other: LM II-IIIA gem from Avdou (Kenna no. 308); but note a chariot of uncertain form on a LM IB sealing from Hagia Triada (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.111 lower right).

Horse; Pottery - LH IIIA 2 motif (Analysis, Fig. 26, Motif 2, no. 7) closely following fresco iconography

SCHOOL G: The CAMP STOOL SCHOOL (LM IIIA 1)

G1. Camp Stool Fresco (PLATE 54):

Kylix; Pottery - LM IIIA 1/2 early shape (see p.79); LM II-IIIA 1 bronze (Fig. 77h 1-2; fresco kylix, Fig. 77h 3) and "tin-washed" clay cups from Knossos; some of the latter were found in the unrobbed Tomb 4 at Sellopoulo associated with LM and LH II-IIIA 1 vessels and a scarab of Amenophis III.

Seated figures; Pottery - LH IIIA 2 early design at

Fig. 77g

Camp stools; see Palanquin Fresco, School F above.

Stemmed goblet; LM I stone types (MSV, D 116, and p.36);

pottery design deriving from a mural scene

(Fig. 77f: LH IIIA 2 early).

Hagia Triada frescoes possibly by School G (p.361f)

Musicians' Procession Fresco (PLATE 14B):

Bucket (PLATE 57); Pottery - LM IIIA 1-2 early motifs

(Fig. 77 a-b).

OTHER LM II OR IIIA 1 FRESCOES FROM CRETE

Knossos:

House of the Frescoes, "Captain of the Blacks" Fresco

(PLATE 12A);

Pottery - groups of spear-bearers on LH IIIA 2

early sherd from Aradippo (Fig. 77g). LM IIIA 1.

Palace, Queen's Megaron Area, Dappled Chariot Fresco

(SLIDE 21);

Pottery - dappled chariot on LH IIIA 2 early krater

sherd from Enkomi (Fig. 77f). LM IIIA 1.

Palace, Area of High Reliefs Deposit, Partridge and Lark

Fresco (SLIDE 28);

Pottery - birds of dove or partridge types in a

similarly heavy style of drawing on LM/LH IIIA

vases (e.g. Fig. 77e; qv. Analysis Fig. 30, Motif 7,

nos. i-m). LM II-III A 1.

Palace, scattered fragments, Cloaked Lady (SLIDE 11);

Pottery - main design on LM IIIA 1/2 early conical

krater from Knossos (SMA XII, Pl. 8c). LM II-III A 1.

Palace, Loomweights Area, Reclining Female Figure
(PLATE 187C); Pottery - LM IIIA stirrup-jar from
Knossos (SMA XII, Pl.9 d-e); hatched triangle design
below figure: cf. LM IIB motif in Analysis, Fig.
70, Motif 69, no.2. Possibly a LM II fresco.

Palace, North Threshing Floor Area, Dress design (PLATE
165 B9-11); Pottery - LH/LM IIIA 1 vase design
(Analysis, Fig. 68, Motif 62, no.12). LM II - IIIA
1.

Hagia Triada:

Later Settlement, Marine Floor Scene (PLATE 124);
Octopus (SLIDE 36e); Pottery - LM II Palace Style
vases from Knossos (SMA XII, Pl.4 - especially
no. a); and LM/LH IB-IIIA 1 vase motifs from
the Greek mainland (Analysis, Fig.48, Motif 21,
nos. 1 and 3)

Rockwork dado (SLIDE 43g); LM II Palace Style vases
from Knossos (Fig. 75c) and LM IIIA vessels
(e.g. Fig. 77e). LM IIIA 1.

PART III

CONCLUSIONS AND TABLES OF FRESCOES WITH
SUGGESTED DATES OF MANUFACTURE

CONCLUSIONS

There are stratified frescoes from every period from MM IIIA to LM IIIB, and even from post-Minoan contexts. The stratigraphical and the architectural evidence go hand in hand to show that different "schools" of wall painters followed one another whose styles of painting artistically and chronologically are sequential. As in any other "progressive" art in other periods of history, the later "schools" of Minoan wall painters learnt and adapted their styles of mural decoration from their predecessors and therefore the stratified sequence of frescoes preserves in broad outlines the pattern of artistic development. That development, corroborated by examination of the internal evidence of the frescoes themselves (Analyses I-IX) illustrates a coherent pattern from the painterly, excellently finished but artistically somewhat tight or "archaic" works of MM IIIA, through the acmē of the art in MM IIIB-LM IA (with Evans: PM I, p.2 to the rather coarsely painted and finished products of the latest "schools" in LM IIIA. The industry, artistically spearheaded and economically sustained by the requirements of a palatial and religiously motivated society centered on the palace at Knossos, ceased to be at all significant with the destruction of that palace in LM IIIA 1/2 early, c.1375 B.C. Indeed, the pattern of life after that event had no call for such an industry which therefore disappeared. After LM IIIA 1/2 early there is no clear evidence for mural painting anywhere on Crete except, as it seems, of a most elementary kind at few isolated sites in the remoter provinces of the island. Further, the former close relations attested between

frescoes and the other arts, particularly pottery, dissolve rapidly and in LM IIIB Crete are almost non-existent. In addition, though habitation on the ruined palace site at Knossos continued, the occupants were not concerned with redecorating walls but took steps to remove fresco remnants still clinging to their walls - especially those on which eyes, real or imaginary, could be seen. To the picture of life in LM IIIB Knossos, already drawn by Popham, as focussed on cult activities performed in the diminutive Shrine of the Double Axes in the south east corner of the palace, we may perhaps add a strong pinch of magical or political superstition. In the absence of LM IIIB frescoes, therefore, the later history of the art of Aegean Bronze Age wall painting must be sought in the frescoes from Mycenaean sites on the Greek mainland which survived to the end of LM/LH II c.1200 B.C. Enough motifs from such frescoes have been considered in Part II above to underline that view.

The present survey has been concerned with "dates of manufacture". With Evans, the necessity of completing work of architectural construction by plastering the walls implies that as a general rule the frescoes would have been executed very shortly after main construction work was effected; that this was so in Minoan times is all the more likely in view of the special painting technique of "buon fresco" in which the frescoes were executed, a process whose particular effectiveness results only if the paintings are done while the damp plaster is drying out for the first time. In any particular case, it is difficult to prove that the paintings of a room or house were made only shortly after their

construction; but architectural considerations, the evidence of imitation of frescoes by other arts, and indeed the far-reaching influence of particular "schools" of wall painting on the art outside Knossos and among Cycladic "schools" of mural painters, argue for early attributions of frescoes in the histories of their places of discovery. The pottery comparisons of Part II suggest a general tendency for vases to copy the murals a generation or so later, in confirmation of Evans' observations. The present chronological scheme is, however, open to modification, for it is often difficult to say on which side of the border-line between two periods a fresco should fall (e.g. MM IIIB/LM IA early and LM II/IIIA 1 early). Besides, further study may show a closer chronological relation between frescoes and pottery than is presently understood. What seems certain, however, is the relative sequence in wall painting among the Knossian "schools"; and the chronology of the frescoes cannot be divorced from the chronologies established on other grounds for Minoan pottery, seals and sealings, stone bowls and other artefacts from the Aegean Bronze Age.

The present study substantially agrees with the fresco sequence established by Evans, but not with his dating of it. In general, the effect of this study is to suggest a systematic lowering of Evans' sequence by one MM or LM phase. Thus, many of his fresco attributions to MM IIIB appear rather to belong to MM IIIB/LM IA, his LM IA mural scheme at Knossos to LM II, and his LM IB attributions (e.g. the Taureador, Palanquin and Camp Stool frescoes) to LM II or IIIA 1. Further, the removal

of the Saffron Gatherer and "Barbotine" frescoes (PLATE 183B) to the Late Minoan age from the First Palace Period where Evans assigned them (see Vol. IV, L, p.165, footnote), leaves no pictorial frescoes in that Epoch. Realistic pictorial representation, therefore, is now seen to begin in MM IIIA with the excellent Knossian "School H". Further, the association of Minoan fresco painting which some scholars seek with that of the Syrian palace at Mari may consequently be discounted. Depiction of the human figure and the use of black outlines to clarify the definitions of shapes appear to begin in MM IIIB, rather than earlier - though spiraliform designs are to be excepted. In agreement with Evans, however, the MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes show a marked Egyptianising trend and at this time there are strong synchronisms among designs and pictorial motifs of Minoan frescoes with early material from the Shaft Graves of Circles A and B at Mycenae. At this time, too, close relations in the decoration of frescoes and pottery emerge in a significant number of cases, and with the present attribution of many of Evans' "MM IIIB" frescoes to MM IIIB/LM IA the sociological implications of a shorter time-gap in the imitation by other arts of earlier frescoes seems more realistic from a chronological point of view.

In the Cyclades, wall painting (starting in MM IIIB at the latest) suffers a set back by the end of LM IA, perhaps to be related to the volcanic explosion of Thera; and by the end of LM IB the decoration of walls with pictorial scenes appears to have ceased. But the removal of Evans' "LM IA" decoration in the palace at Knossos to

the ensuing LM II period is perhaps the most important conclusion to be presently stated.

One result is that the Dolphin Fresco from Knossos, painted by "School D", can no longer be thought to have played any part in the inspiration of the brilliant LM IB "marine style" in vase painting. Rather, the fresco is a mural equivalent of the ceramic Palace Style continuity of the LM IB style. But this is not to say that frescoes as such played no part in the early development of the "marine style" in pottery. We are simply saying that this particular fresco is too late in date to share such a distinction. The same point must be made of other frescoes in the LM II scheme of "School D", notably the Shield and Procession Frescoes.

But the outstanding significance of the chronological adjustment under discussion is that it removes a major scheme of palatial mural redecoration to a period when it is generally believed the Mycenaeans were in occupation of Knossos and administering the island from there. The major historical question therefore arises as to whether the Mycenaean overlords in LM II Knossos had themselves depicted in the frescoes which "School D" was commissioned to put up on the palace walls. This question is the subject of Chapter XI.

The last styles of figure painting in Minoan frescoes occur in LM IIIA 1, by which time the artists seem more concerned with the borders of their compositions than with details of what appears inside them! Pottery synchronisms are assured by the presence of LM IIIA vases actually depicted in three fresco scenes. The compositions are now relatively small in size, and are sketchily treated with minimal attention to details of

dress, anatomy and background setting. And with this the Minoan art of wall painting vanishes.

TABLES OF FRESCOES WITH SUGGESTED DATES
OF THEIR MANUFACTURE

The following tables are in chronological order, from MM IIIA, with entries in this sequence: Knossian frescoes, frescoes from other Cretan sites, and frescoes from the Cyclades. "Schools" of painters in each period and within each broad geographical group take precedence over other frescoes treated as individual items, with "schools" in the palace at Knossos preceding those which operated in the town or elsewhere. Where "schools" are cited, references are given to principal places of discussion in Chapters IX and X.

Columns 1 and 2 are self-explanatory. "SL." refers to a colour slide illustration of the fresco or motif from it. "T." refers to the Tables of Stratified Contexts in Chapter X, enabling the reader to find cross-references to an item's find-place and discussion of find-circumstances in Appendix A. "CHRON." cites page references to chronological discussion or mention of an entry in Chapter X. The sixth column, headed "MOT.", likewise gives a page reference to discussion of a significant fresco motif in Part II of this chapter. Finally, "COMP." refers to the page in Part II where pottery or other comparisons are listed.

For convenience the page numbers of Tables I - IX giving the highest and lowest possible dates for each entry are supplied here:

Table I: p.382 (MM IIIA)

Table II: p.390 (MM IIIB)

Table III: p.401 (LM IA)

Table IV: p.414-416 (LM IB)

Table V: p.427 (LM II & IIIA 1)

Table VI: p.430-432 (LM IIIA 1/2 early)

Table VII: p.449 (LM IIIA; IIIA 1/2e or B)

Table VIII: p.450 (LM IIIB)

Table IX: p.451 (Unknown contexts)

The dates in () here refer to contexts.

MM IIIA FRESCOES

Knossos, palace and town

School H (p. 345ff); chronological discussion pp. 383-389

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Palace:						
H1. Red, blue, white bands	Fig. 51(1-10)		I	383		
H16. Red lattice	143A		I	384ff		553
H17. Brown-red lattice	143B		I	384		553
H18. Brown lattice	143C		I	384		553
Royal Road/South:						
H2. Red, white bands	133 A2-3		I	383	533f	
H20. Yellow, grey reeds	109 B3-4		I	384f, 388		552
H21. Light blue reed	109 B5		I	384f, 388		552
H22. Blue grass, and bands	191 C1		I	383		
H24. Red, yellow bands	191 C2-3		I	386		
H25. Red, yellow bands	133 B1-2		I	386		
H30. Blue papyroid plant	109 B1-2		I	383f		
H31. Lilies on red	101 A-B		I	384, 389		553
H35. Vetch	118A		I	384		553
H36. Vetch - location ?	192 B4		I	384		553
Royal Road/North:						
H3. Myrtle Fresco	64D, 67, 114 and 134C	34	I	384ff, 389	510f	552
H4. Red, white bands	133 A6, 8		I	386		
H5. Red, white, black bands	135 A5		I	386		
H6. Black, white bands	133 A4		I	386		
H7. Black, white, blue bands	133C		I	386		
H8. Red, wh., blue, black bands	134 A-B		I	386		
H9. Black, blue bands	133D		I	386		
H19. Reed Fresco	108	31	I	384ff, 388	531	552
H23. Circular hearth	191 A-B		I		533f	
H27. Zebra Fresco	144B	42	I	384f, 389		551f
H32. Dark green plant	-		I	384		
H33. Imitation woodwork	147B	43h	I	384ff		
H34. Light blue plant	109 A1-10		I	384, 388		
H37. Red-dotted spiral	191 F2		I	387		
H38. Red cross on grey	109 E7		I	384		
Hogarth's Houses:						
H10. Red, wh, blue, black bands	135 A1		I	386		
H11. Grey, white bands	135 A3		I	386	533f	
H12. Black, blue bands	135 A2		I	386		
H13. Red, white bands	143 D3		I	386		
H14. Red lattice, grass mot.	143 D1-2		I	386		
H15. Red, white, black bands	143 D4		I	386		
H26. Red, yellow. bands	-		I	386		

(Continued)

(MM IIIA continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Temple of Demeter site:						
H28. Red, white bands	193 A2-5, A7,9		I	386 (471)		
H28. Grey, white bands	193 A1		I	386		
Unexplored Mansion:						
H29. Black, blue bands	194 A1		I	386		

Other MM IIIA frescoes

Knossos, palace and town

Palace, NW Lustral Basin:	-		I	383		553
Imitation liparite	-					
Royal Road/South:						
Spiral on white	138B		I	383f		
Red foliate lily & bands with Chequer design	Fig.108 p. 726 191 D1-2		I	383ff	542f	

MM III ?A FRESCOES

Knossos, palace

"Sombre Spiral Painter" (p.391)

Spiral, Medallion Pithoi	7138A		II	391,395		553
Spiral, Loomweights Basem.	137B		II	391,395		553
Spiral, NW Threshing Floor	137A		II	391,395		553

East border of palace:

Marbled dado	146C,169B3	43d	IX	458		
Labyrinth dado	146 A-B	43c	IX	458		

Palaikastro, town house:

Crenulated red, white bands	135B		II	392		
-----------------------------	------	--	----	-----	--	--

Phaistos, palace:

Red lattice	cf.142		II	392		
-------------	--------	--	----	-----	--	--

MM IIIB FRESCOES

Knossos, palace

School A (p.309ff); chronological discussion pp.391-399

A1.Ladies in Blue	19	13c, r,t	II	391f	482	554
A2.Women's jewelry	Fig.44a		II			
A3.? Necklace	45A		II			
A4.Skirt fragments	-		II			
?A.Madonna lilies	-		II			

Knossos, palace: other frescoes

NW Lustral Basin:						
Black, blue bands	Fig.51(11 -15)		II	391,395		
Hall of Double Axes:						
Red, white bands	-		II	(395)		

(Continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
South Propylaeum cist:						
Dado bands	-		II	400		
Loomweights Basements:						
Relief bull's horn	77A		II	399f		555
Relief bull's foot	79 A4		II	399f		555
NE Magazines:						
Relief arm of man	?17A		II	400		555
SW corner, Central Court:						
"Miniature" Entablature	Fig. 85 p. 684		II	392,400		
Relief bull's mane	78C=154A		VIII	399		

Knossos, town

School J (p.355f); chronological discussion pp.392-399

Royal Road/North:						
Floral Fresco	110	32f	IV	392	533f	555
Unexplored Mansion:						
Plain fragment	195 A1		IV	392		
Hogarth's Houses:						
Vetch	109 B6		II	392		555
Vetch	118 B-C		II	392		555
House of Sacrificed Oxen:						
Relief bull's dewlap	-		II	391ff		
Relief rosette boss	-		II	391ff		

Other sites: Crete

Palaikastro, town:						
Grey, blue bands	135 C1		II	391		
Phaistos, South House:						
Spiral	200 A1		II	391		
Foliate band	200 A5		II	392,395	542f	

Other sites: Cyclades

Phylakopi, Second City:

Flying Fish seascapes	120C,125-126	36 a,d	II	391ff		556
Rockwork and shell-bed	120 A-B		II	391ff		556
Woman with "net"	36 A-B	12h	II	391ff	494f, 510f	556
Bending woman	37 A-B			391ff		
?Net	37C		II	391ff		
Lily flowers	101 C-D		II	391ff		556
Spiral with rosettes	138C		II	391ff		
Red squares, crimson dots	-		II			
?Spiraliform design	-		II			

MM IIIB/LM IA FRESCOES

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Knossos, palace						
School B(=C) (p.311ff); chronological discussion pp.434-437						
Grand Staircase Procession	5	44-45	VI	434ff, 455 & n.60	486ff, 523ff 526f	560ff
Relief Girl Taureador	42A-B, D-E	7 13g	VI	452, 455 & n.60		
Relief Girl Taureador	42C	8	VI	452		
"Miniature" flutes	43D	19d	VI			
"Miniature" bucranium	43B	12e	VI	434		561
"Miniature" griffin	43E	12f	VI		494f	
"Miniature" winged sphinx	43F	12i	VI			
"Miniature" sphinx/griffin	43G	12g	VI			
"Miniature" enigmatic subj.	43H	12j	VI			
"Miniature" blue bird	43A	12b	VI	434		
Jewel Fresco (? School B)	44A	14, 13u	VI	434f		564
Relief olive tree	116A	32g	VI			564
Relief myrtle tree	116B		VI			
Relief Charging Bull Fresco	76		VI	434	491f	564
Relief girl's leg	42F		VI			
Relief rockwork	69A		VI			563
Relief spiral ceiling	141A		VI	434, 437		563
Relief spiral ceiling	141B		VI	434		563
Relief, men and women	16, 17B, & 41 A-B		VI			564
Relief bulls	16 C-D		VI	434		564
Relief Griffin Fresco	132		VI	436	494f, 537ff	564f
Relief Priest-King Fresco	18	1	VI	435		
Peacock butterfly (")	-		VI			
Relief lotus	98A	29g	VI			565
Lotus	98B		VI			565
Lotus	98C		VI			565
Bird's wing	88C		VI			

School C(=B) (p.319ff); chronological discussion pp.437-438

"Miniature" Temple (pntr A)	26	15	VI	437f	482f 537ff	565f
"Miniature" Sacred Dance (B)	29-31B	13 e-k	VI	437f	482f	566
"Miniature" priestess (A)	27A, B1, C and 46C		VI	"	"	
"Miniature" warriors (B)	6 A-B		VI	"	"	
"Miniature" priestesses (C)	27D & Fig.48c		VI	"	"	
"Miniature" priestesses (D)	27 B2-3		VI	"	"	
"Miniature" priestesses (E)	28A & Fig.48d		VI	"	"	
"Miniature" entablature	46B		VI	"	"	

(MM IIIB/LM IA continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
-----------------------------	-------	-----	----	--------	------	-------

Other frescoes possibly by School B: Knossos palace and other sites

Knossos, palace:						
"Miniature" bull's head	Fig. 95A p. 706		IV	403 410		
"Miniature" double axes	Fig. 95B p. 706	12d	IV	403 410		
Lady in red	20	6	IX	458f	482f	
Other sites						
Nirou Chani, villa:						
Sacral knot	53C	16e	IV	437		
Prasa, House A:						
Woman's head	33A		III	402f		
Relief skirt fragment	33E		III	403		
"Miniature" trees	119A	32h	III	410		
Pseira, town house:						
Relief goddess/priestess	24	13w	IV	403f	482f 523ff	565
Relief goddess/priestess	25		IV	403f		
Epano Zakro, villa:						
Goddess's skirt design			IV	437		

Knossos, town

School I (p.352ff); chronological discussion pp.402-406, 408-416

House of the Frescoes:						
Bird and Monkey Frieze (includes many pieces)	65, 84 A-B	56	III	402ff	498f, 510f, 518ff 521f 527ff 533ff	558f
Goat, olive and crocus	90A	58	III	402ff		559f
? Linear Signs Group A	Vol. IV, H		III			
Linear "Signs" Group B	Vol. IV, H		III			
Dado bands		43b	III	409f		
Savakis Bothros:						
"Miniature" crocus clump	90C		III	402ff 410		
Royal Road/South:						
Myrtles and stripes	115C		III	402ff		
Veined leaves	119C		III			
South House:						
"Swallow"	88B	27g	III	402ff		560
Reeds	111A, 160A		III			
Pebble designs	? 70A or B		III			

Hogarth's Houses:						
Spiral and bands	135 A4		III	402ff		
Royal Road/North:						
Relief bull fragments	78B		IV	403		
Little Palace:						
Relief griffin's wing	190 A6		VII	468		

Other Cretan sites

Amnisos, villa:

Lily panel no.1 (Continued)	102	59	IV	403 413		566
--------------------------------	-----	----	----	------------	--	-----

(MM IIIB/LM IA continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Amnisos continued:						
Lily panel no.2	103	59	IV	403		566
Iris panel	95-96	59	IV	403		566
Vetch or sage leaves	118 D-E	59	IV	403		
Offering table	53A	16d	IV	403	527f	
Iris flower	94C	29c	IV	403		
"Medicinal plant"	-	29n	IV	403		
Katsamba, "megaron":						
Woman's skirt fragment	-	12c	III	402f, 410		567
Phaistos, palace:						
Lattice designs, sentry box	142		IV	403		
Epano Zakro, villa:						
Floral frescoes	-		IV			
Striped bands	-		IV	(437)		
Other sites: Cyclades						
Hagia Irini, Keos						
Area J:						
"Miniature" dolphins	-	37	III	402ff 412	502	
Ialysos, Rhodes						
House 1:						
Madonna lilies (finest)	104B		V	428		
Phylakopi, Melos						
Third City, town house:						
Bird's head	-	27h	III	402ff		
Akroteri, Thera						
Mamet's House:						
Lilies and bands			III	402ff 408		
Akroteri (Marinatos):						
Flying swallows frieze	-		III	403f		567
Monkey's head	196A		III	403		
Monkeys at sanctuary	-	55	III	403f		
Fleeing monkeys	-		III	403f	542ff	568
Boxing youths	Fig. 35A		III	403ff	486f	568
Oryx Beissa	Fig. 35A		III	403ff		568
Running ivy frieze			III	403	526 542f	567
Libyan's head and palm	196 A3-4	32i	III	403		
Flying bird	196 A2		III	403		
Myrtles	115D		III			
Reeds	109C		III	407	531f	
Spiral fragment	-		III	407		
Woman's head	-		III			
Dress design	-		III			
Woman with incense-burner	-		III			568
Women gathering ?flowers	-		III			568
(Continued)						

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
"Miniature" cloaked figures	-		III			
"Miniature" griffin & battle	-		III			
Radiating papyrus flowers	-		III			
Fisherman fresco	-		III			567

LM IA FRESCOES

Knossos (palace & town) and Hagia Triada
Caravanserai School (pp.465-467)

Palace, Hall of D.Axes:						
Rockwork fragment	68B		VII	466		
Caravanserai:						
Partridge Frieze	86, 100, 107C, 115E	27b, d; 32c, e	VIII	465f	510ff 528f, 533ff	569
South East House:				(467)		
Mice in grass	109D	26	VI	470		
Lilies and rockwork	105		VI	470		570
Hagia Triada, villa:				(466f)	482f, 510f, 518f,	
Goddess at shrine	22	54	IV	417ff	521ff	569f
Priestess picking flowers	21	54	IV	417ff	528f,	569f
Animals on mountainside	66	54	IV	417ff	531f	569f

Other Knossian frescoes

Palace, unknown provenance:						
Goddess near tree	23 B-D, 117 A-C		IX	459		570
Palace, NW Threshing Floor:						
Brown plant	112B		VIII	459		
Royal Road/North:						
Spiral 'Festoon' Fresco	139	41	IV	417f		
Butcher's Broom	112A	33	IV	418		
Jewelry fragment	191 F1	13b	IV	418		

Other sites: Crete

Palaikastro, town house:

Relief arm of woman			IV	437		
---------------------	--	--	----	-----	--	--

Phaistos, palace:

Floral pieces	200 A4, 6		IV	418		
Spiraliform designs	200 A2-3		IV	418		

Zakro, palace:

Relief spiral frieze	-		IV	437		
----------------------	---	--	----	-----	--	--

Other sites: Cyclades

Ialysos, Rhodes

House 1:						
Madonna lilies	104A		III	402 408		571

(Continued)

(LM IA continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Hagia Irini, Keos						
House A:						
Blue Bird Frieze	198 A3		IV	418ff	498f	
Griffin/Sphinx wing	197 A6		IV	418ff		
Spiraliform design	-		IV			
Various striped bands	-		IV			
Long House:						
"Miniature" male figures	-		IV	418ff		
Various stripes	-		IV			
Area M:						
Myrtle and vine	198 A4	32j	IV	418ff		
Reeds in stream	198 A1-2		IV	418ff		
"Dried leaf" motif	198 A5		IV	418ff		
Larger reeds	198 A6		IV	418ff		
Man's face	198 A7		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" building	-		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" Minoans & pot	197 A3	18 (10)	IV	418ff		
"Miniature" cloaked man	197 A2		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" man in culotte	-		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" ? boatsmen	-		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" girl in skirt	Fig.10, C6		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" polygonal wall	-		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" deer and ? dog	197 A4		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" chariot frags.	197 A5		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" horses' legs	-		IV	418ff		
Area N:						
"Miniature" men with?ingot	197 A1		IV			

LM IA/B FRESCOES

Tylissos, villa

"Fan" or floral piece	-		IV	418ff		571
"Miniature" boxers	6 D,F		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" processing women	31C		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" male crowd	Fig. 30A		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" architectural	Fig. 30B		IV	418ff		571
"Miniature" man and olive	6E		IV	418ff		
"Miniature" ewer	Fig. 30F	18 (4a)	IV	418ff		571
"Miniature" amphora & man	Fig. 30G	19 (1a)	IV	418ff		

LM IB FRESCOES

Ialysos, Rhodes

House 1:	93C		IV	418, 421		
Honeysuckle						

(Continued)

(LM IB continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Palaikastro, town house:						
Crocus flowers	-	29a iii	IV	418	518ff	

LM I FRESCOES

Knossos, palace:

Relief goddess's skirt	41C		IX		537ff
Relief woman's ankle	41D		IX		
Linear A sign	64E		VII		
Large half-rosette	49A		IX		
Red-framed window	50B		IX		
Spiral	144A		IX		

Knossos, town:

Royal Road/North White-speckled black	134D	IV	728 (with 't')		
Royal Road/ South: ? Dress design	191E	IV			

Other sites: Crete

Gournia, houses					
Striped bands	-		IV	742	
Mochlos, house					
Red plaster	-		IV	750	
Vathypetro, villa					
Striped bands	-		IV	762	
Zakro, palace					
Horns of consecration	-		IV	763f	
Large rosettes	-		IV	763f	

Other sites: Cyclades

Ialysos, Rhodes	-		IV	776		
Madonna lilies						

LM II FRESCOES

Knossos, palace and town

School D (p.325ff); chronological discussion pp.439-442

Procession Fresco	14A top	18 (4b)	VI	440	482f 486ff 523ff	573
Cupbearer Fresco	7A;8	9	VI	440	510ff	573f
Youth's head	7B	3	VI	452f	523ff	
Man in ankle-length kilt	12C		VI	454f & n.60		573
Cloaked man's arm	13B		VI			
Man with stone bowl	56A	19 (11b)	VI	439, 456		574
Woman's ankle	166 C4		VI			
(Continued)						

(LM II continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Kilt fragment	9B		VI		529f	574
Kilt fragment			VI			574
Dado and bull	80B;145B	43f	VI			
Shields and spiral	63A		VI	443		574
Throne Room Griffins	127-129	53	VI	439ff 441ff	494f, 527-533	574
Antechamber bull	-		VI			
Veined dado: Corr.of Proc.	161A		VI	442		
Veined dado:E.light w,Q.M	147A		VI	442		
Veined dado:next Throne Rm.	HM trayll		VI	442		
Veined dado:Hall D.Axes	HM tray79		VI	442		
Veined dado: Area Qu's Meg.	HM tray72		VI	442		
Veined dado: NW Thresh Fl.	HM tray25		VI	442		
Spiral Frieze: Q's Bathrm	155B		VI	452f		574
Spiral:Queen's Megaron	140E;171A2		VI	441		574
Spiral:North East Hall	140B		VI	441		574
Spiral:Loomw. or N.Ent.Pas.	167 A7		VI	441		574
Spiral:Rm.of Stone Spout	HM tray62		VI	441		574
Spiral: Dog's Leg Corridor	-		VI	441		574
Spiral: NE Shoot	HM tray52		VI	441		574
Spiral: NW Threshing Floor	166 A2-3, 6		VI	452f 456		
Argonaut and reeds	170B and Fig.12		VI			574
Bull and floral scene	-		VI	441f		574
Floral fragment	111C		VI	441f		
Bull	75 A-C		VI			
Horses' manes	62A		VI			
Dolphin Fresco	121-122	36b, c,f	VI	452	502f, 508	
Dado bands	-	44 to right	VI			
Dado bands: Rm. of Cists	-		VI			
Dado bands: Throne Rm.Lustr	-		VI			
Dado bands: West Magazines		43a	VI			
Knossos town						
High Priest's House: Spiral fragment	Fig. 101 p. 716		VII	467		574

Knossos palace, other frescoes

Late Miniature School (pp.428f, 447)

"Miniature" 3-column shrine	48A	16a	V	428f	542ff	572 and 575
"Miniature" 1-column shrine	48B,C1-2		V	428f	538ff	
"Miniature" spectators	28B		V	428f		
"Miniature" bull-leaping	74A		V	428f	491f	
Rosette and triglyph	49B		V	428f		
Sun-rosette	49C		V	428f		
(?) Omphalos fragment	53B	16c	VII	463		
(?) Half rosette	49D		VII	428f		

(Continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Griffin-drawn chariot(LM?I)	61 Fig.53		VII	459f		
Woman's eye	33B		VII			550
Reclining woman	187C		VIII			579

Other sites: Crete

Mallia, House E

Rosettes and dado	199 A-B		V	428	538ff	
-------------------	---------	--	---	-----	-------	--

LM II-IIIA 1 FRESCOES

Knossos, palace

School E (p.340ff); chronological discussion pp.442-444

Taureador panel no.1	71-72	47	VI	442ff	491f	575ff
Taureador panel no.2	73 B-D	48	VI	"	"	
Taureador panel no.3	73A;40A	49	VI	"	"	
Taureador panel no.4	73C	50	VI	"	"	
Taureador panel no.5	40 B3	51	VI	"	542ff	
Girl's shoulder, panel no.6	39A		VI	"		
Man's body, panel no.7	40 B2		VI	"		
Dancing Girl Fresco	32		VI	452	484	550

School F (p.341ff); chronological discussion pp.444-446

Dual chariot (pntr.A)	59	20	VI	444f, 457	489f	575ff
Trussed bull or dapp. chariot (pntr.A)	Vol.IV, G Fig.3A-B		VI			577
Male bull-leaper (A)	(AM/AE1862)		VI			
Male figure (? A)	15E		VI	455 & n.60		
Palanquin, shrine (pntr.B)	51		VI	444ff		
Cloaked man (painter B)	51 A1		VI	452		577
Seated priestly figure (B)	Vol.IV, G Fig.6C		VI			

Other frescoes from the palace at Knossos

North (W) Threshing Floor:						
Cloaked woman	33 F-H	11	VIII	456, 462		578
Leopard's head	83A	25	VIII	462		
Dolphin	123A		VIII	462		
Griffin's wing	131B		VIII	462		
Area of Q's Megaron dump:						
"Miniature" girl bull-lepers	39C		VIII	463		
Small fish	123B		VIII			
Griffin wing frags.	131E,H,I,K		VIII	462		
Floor designs	172 El-2		VIII			
Unknown contexts:						
Apotropaic sign	Fig.43E		IX			
Athlete's head	15D		IX			
Woman's face (LM ?I)	33C		IX			550
Woman's eye and ear (?IIIA1)	33D		IX			
(Continued)						

(LM II-IIIA 1 continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Leaping ungulate	83B		IX	462		
Griffin's chest	130A	40	IX			
Griffins' wings	131A, C-D, F, J		IX	462		
Other palace contexts						
Saffron Gatherer Fresco	84C	57	VII	460ff	510ff 519ff	
Saffron Gatherer, 3rd panel	179	57	VII	460ff	533ff 542ff	
Lotus flower	98D		VII			
"Miniature" cowboy accident	40 D-E	52	VII	463		
Spiral and rosettes			VI			
Olive spray			VI			
Partridge and lark	88A	28	VII	463		578

Knossos town

Little Palace:						
Various pieces (but not A6)	190A		VII	468		
North West Treasury:						
Tree and bull-grappling	119B		VII	469		
Royal Road						
Rosette on blue (North)	195 F5		VI	469		
Griffin's wing (South)	131G		VIII	462		
Various pieces (South)	191G		VIII	469f		
Temple of Demeter site:						
Bull's underside	193 A10		VIII	470		
Unexplored Mansion:						
?Griffin/lion on red	130C; 195 C-D		VIII	471		
?Griffin/lion on yellow	195 A2		VIII	471		

LM IIIA 1 FRESCOES

Knossos palace and ? Hagia Triada (v. below)

School G (p.343ff); chronological discussion pp.446f

Camp Stool Fresco (see SL.16f,g;17(3);18(7))	54,55,15A	4	VI	446f 456	487f 533ff	577
Male head	15C		VI			
Horses' manes	62B		VI			
Dappled chariot	60 A-C	21	VIII	463	489f, 538f	578

Knossos town

Area of House of Frescoes:						
Captain of the Blacks	12A	10	VIII	467f		578

Lime filled LM IIIA bowls 152 A-C VI 446

Other sites: Crete

Chania, town house:

Dado bands (LM IIIA)	-		VII	473		
Hagia Triada, later settlm: possibly by the Knossian "School G" (p.361)						
Musical Procession (Continued)	14B, 57	17(2a)	VII	473	538ff 543ff	578

(LM IIIA 1 continued)

Site and fresco description	PLATE	SL.	T.	CHRON.	MOT.	COMP.
Woman and deer	82A	24	VII	473	543ff	
Cloaked man	-	24	VII	(473)		
Women near shrine	50A		VII	474		
Marine floor	124	36e 43g	VII	474	502ff, 506,508	579
Painted sarcophagus (v. SLIDES 13y; 16b; 17(2b); and 19c, e)	148-151	5	VII	473f	491f, 494ff, 538ff 543ff	

LM IIIB FRESCOES

Knossos palace - none

Unpainted plaster floor no.1	-	-	VIII	463f	-	-
Unpainted plaster floor no.2	-	-	VIII	463f	-	-
Unpainted plaster bench	-	-	VIII	463f	-	-
Unpainted plaster floor no.3	-	-	VIII	455ff	-	-

Other sites: Crete

Chania

Town house:						
Dado bands	-	-	VIII	473	-	-

Kouramenos (?)

House:						
Monochrome pieces	-	-	-	475	-	-

Notes to Chapter X

1. Popham BSA 62 (1967), p.347; SMA V (1964), p.8f.
2. The frescoes in question are: MM IIIB: RR/N floral scene with border stripes (PLATE 110), p.392f. MM III B/LM IA: floral frieze, Room 7, Amnisos (SLIDE 59, p.403ff); two "miniature" fragments from the Ivory Deposit, Palace at Knossos (Fig. 95), p.403ff, n.14; RR/N bull reliefs (PLATE 78B), p.403ff, n.15; Pseira relief goddesses (PLATES 24-25), p.403ff, n.16; (?) lattice designs from Central Court at Phaistos (PLATE 142), p.403ff, n.17; spiral with bands, from Hogarth's Houses (PLATE 135 A4), pp.603 n.19, 717(10). LM IA: as listed on p.417f below.
3. The wide variation in find-contexts of paintings attributable to this "school" is explained by the disturbed history of the sites where they were found.
4. On the abstract character of MM I-II, or earlier, wall painting, see Chapter II. By "naturalistic" is meant an artistically "descriptive representation of things visually experienced" (O. G. Ocvirk, R. O. Bone, R. E. Stinson and P. R. Wigg Art Fundamentals: Theory and Practice (1972, 2nd edition), p.160).
5. See pp. 533ff above for the chronological sequence of border stripes.
6. Bosanquet's case that the famous flying fish and female figure scenes from Phylakopi may represent repainting on top of surfaces already painted once is untenable (Phylakopi, pp.74 and 79), for the latter merely show the crimson-red preliminary sketches for the final (fish and figure) designs. The paintings could thus go back to MM III A.
7. Compare respectively the typically narrow white stripes of the MM III A pieces at PLATE 134C; and bands and lattice designs of PLATE 143 D2-3.
8. "School J" at Knossos, chiefly known from the pieces at PLATE 110 (see pp.355f), depicts grasses, myrtles and fig-like leaves in a curious style combining linear brushstrokes with broad painterly floral shapes. The absence of black outlines and the preference for pastel colours are consistent with MM III work elsewhere. Although the colours of the upper border stripes match those favoured by "School I" (MM III B/LM IA), their spacing arrangement corresponds to that typical of "School H" (MM III A); however, the general scheme relates very closely to that of the MM III B piece from Phaistos at PLATE 200 A5. Cruder brushwork than is found in MM III A also supports the present MM III B attribution.

9. PM I, p.547.
10. It was normal throughout the history of Minoan wall painting to denote the flesh-tones of female figures, by convention white-skinned, by leaving the background unpainted in those areas. But in MM III B frescoes, the human figure was invariably female; as faces and exposed limbs required distinction from the unpainted background, linear outline in black or sepia was the obvious means of visually expressing that distinction - as MM III A spiral compositions had perhaps already made clear (e.g. PLATE 138B). But when dark linear outline is employed its advantages over color as a sharply defining and distinguishing means of expression is immediately apparent, and we may suppose it was for that reason that MM III B artists now continued the outline around the entire shape to be depicted: hence, its overall appearance in the "Ladies in Blue Fresco", in the flying fish friezes and paintings of women in the Phylakopi paintings, and in the spiral designs of the period.
11. Cf. PM II, pp.333 and 680 (evidently referring to unpublished fragments now stored in SMK with sherds from the Corridor of the Procession of the palace at Knossos: SMK C III 1 (box 464).
12. Cf. Vol. IV, F, p.26. The LM IA date there suggested is perhaps too low in view of the new LM IA monkey frescoes from Thera whose style and conventions of rendering seem based on an earlier Knossian style for the same subject-matter.
13. The villa was constructed in the post-seismic phase of MM III B. The range and style of floral motifs, their radiating treatment in formal, symmetrically balanced, compositions, and the depiction of orange inflorescences on the petals of iris flowers (SLIDE 29c) corresponds to, but are more stylised than, what is found in the paintings of "School I" in the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (MM III B/LM IA). The restrained use of colour for background undulations seen in the southern parts of the frieze from Amnisos (SLIDE 59) is comparable to that of LM IA (early) frescoes from Thera. Heavy upper border stripes, with broad bands, are known in other LM I frescoes elsewhere (e.g. at Knossos and Phaistos).
14. These probably belonged to female garments, perhaps of priestesses of the bull cult, rather than to the sides of a stuccoed box (contra Evans); stylistically and representationally they belong to the same class of pictorial dress motifs as the designs executed by "School B" at Knossos, attributed to the MM III B/LM IA or early LM IA period (p.434ff); cf. SLIDE 12d with 12 a-b, e-g, i-j, or PLATE 43 A-B, D-F. The delicacy of brushwork is also typically MM III B/LM IA, such is the attention given to minutiae of detail. The frontal view of the bull's head is presently matched in frescoes only by a

monkey's head in a Thera fresco (Thera IV, Pl.114, centre : LM IA) and the negroid heads as pendant beads in the "Jewel Fresco" of "School B" (SLIDE 14).

15. The delicate brushwork is best compared with that of the MM III B/LM IA "honeysuckle" from the House of the Frescoes (PLATE 93A-B) and of the "miniature trees" from Prasa (PLATE 119A), from firm LM IA destruction contexts.
16. These are so close to works by "School B" at Knossos that they may have been executed by members of the same "school", for whose MM III B/LM IA or early LM IA attribution see p.434. This accords with both Seager's and Evans' view that these paintings were by Knossian artists: only members of "School B" in fact qualify, as a detailed review could show.
17. The motif was already current in First Palace frescoes at Phaistos (cf. Appendix A, p. 755(1)) and is well attested in both the Palace and a private house at Knossos in MM III A (PLATE 143: School H). An early date for the present examples during the Second Palace Period at Phaistos is therefore likely, although this cannot be "proved".
18. Compare AAA A', Part I (1971), Colour Pl. A' (opp. p.64) and pp.66f, Figs. 13-15, from Marinatos's excavations, and Perrot and Chipiez Histoire de L'Art dans L'Antiquité Vol. VI (1894), pp.537f, Figs. 211-212, from Mamet's and Gorceix's house, with PLATES 101A, 105 here and PM II, p.455, Fig. 266C from Knossos.
19. PM II, Part II, Supplementary Pl. XX; and the present Vol. IV, F, p.17f. The technical finish, the spacing of bands, and the treatment of the spiral suggest the piece at PLATE 135 A4 from Hogarth's Houses (1957-61 excavations) may belong to MM III B/LM IA, if not earlier, as the firm LM IA context itself indicates (see Appendix A, p.717(10)).
20. "And it is not too much to say we have before us the remains of the most vivid compositions that have come down to us from Minoan days" - Evans at PM II, p.447: this is still true, notwithstanding the new Thera frescoes.
21. Compare, for example, the colours, floral shapes and leaves springing directly from rockwork of the two myrtle compositions at SLIDES 34 and 35.
22. Pendlebury, AC p.208. The fine LM IB style evidently originated at Knossos: see Popham, BSA 62 (1967), pp.341-343.
23. The phase within LM I for the destruction of Amnisos is uncertain; the pottery remains only partly published and there is the difficulty of distinguishing LM IA vases not highly decorated from their LM IB counterparts.

24. In addition to some formal conventions (e.g. radiating groups of flowers) many motifs here seem inspired by the paintings of the House of the Frescoes class (by "School I"): cf. SLIDES 54 with 56 and 58; and see, too, p.360f.
25. Although in the tradition of MM III spirals from Knossos seen at PLATE 137, the "Festoon Fresco" displays bolder colour-contrasts and more "open" spiral branches: these and more specific features, notably red blobs, come closer to the LM IA or earlier spiral design from Thera (Thera III (1970), Colour Pl.B2).
26. The sketchy style and love of red blobs, and their similar shapes, suggest the "hand" of the painter of the RR/N "Festoon Fresco". The painters of shrubs in the "School I" friezes are noticeably neater, especially in rendering stalks and stems (cf. SLIDE 33 with SLIDE 35 and PLATE 113).
27. The shapes, colours and brushwork here of the (yellow and) red blobs match those elements in the "Festoon" and "Butcher's Broom" paintings mentioned above (cf. SLIDES 13b with 41 and 33 respectively).
28. The myrtles at PLATE 200 A4 are similar in style and subdued colouration to those, attributed to MM III B, by "School J" (PLATE 110D) while the reeds at PLATE 200 A6 seem more linear, stiffer, yet less symmetrically balanced, versions of the sedges of "School I" (SLIDE 29i).
29. PLATE 200 A2 is best compared to typical rosettes in spiraliform designs on LM IA vases, while PLATE 200 A3 appears to be a heavier version of the MM III B spiral piece from the same site (PLATE 200 A1) - suitably so for a LM IA date: it is a more boldly "open" yet soberly coloured pattern than definite MM III versions (cf. PLATE 137).
30. Examination of the original fresco material certainly suggests the Keos blue birds are derived from "School I" types as found in the House of the Frescoes - their faded bluish-white beaks replacing the black bills of the Cretan blue-bird motifs; bodies are also less well proportioned and the draughtsmanship more summary and sketchy. The piece at PLATE 198 A5 is a "miniature" and less bold version of the House of the Frescoes design seen at PM II, p.501, Fig. 305 (lower), while the reeds near a light blue stream at PLATE 198 A1-2 are similarly inspired by such HOF patterns as found in Vol. IV, E, pp.53 and 55, Figs. 3-4.
31. Some of these pieces (all by the one group of painters) turned up in the same levels as the bird and floral fragments at PLATE 198 and would seem to have been parts of the same general system of decoration. Their attribution to LM IA seems justified on detailed comparison with LH I pictorial representations on objects from Mycenae Circle A, e.g. a gold ring

from Shaft Grave IV (Karo Pl.XXIV no.240).

32. The griffin motif had already appeared as a dress design on the MM III B fresco from Phylakopi at PLATE 36 and on the "miniature" fragment from Knossos seen at PLATE 43E, by "School B" (MM III B/LM IA or early LM IA). The Keos example is more highly decorative in its colouring than are later Knossian griffins' wing motifs (e.g. those at PLATE 131), suggesting a correspondingly earlier date.
33. The shape of the eye is best compared to that (unpublished) of a boy two-thirds the size of other figures in the Grand Staircase Procession Fresco from Knossos (painted by "School B" and attributed here to MM III B/LM IA or early LM IA: see p.434). V. also p.487f, Fig. 54 below, for the stylistic sequence of the human eye, and note that the only known large-scale male figures outside Knossos at this date occur in Theran frescoes from firm LM IA contexts.
34. In general these pieces present a provincial, and therefore later, version of the "miniatures" by "School C" at Knossos (cf. PLATES 26, 29-30). Further, the female figure style here is in the manner of the larger representations of priestess and goddess seen in the Hagia Triada frieze from Room 14 (LM IA), as outline, shape, dress designs and bodily proportions show (cf. Fig. 30C-D with SLIDE 54). The tree on Fragment E of Fig. 30 follows the conventions established by "School I" for such subjects (cf. Vol. IV, F, p.13, Fig. 7 nos. 41-45; and "School C" in the "Miniature Sacred Dance Fresco", PLATES 29-30).
35. These flowers have lost the elegance apparent in LM IA or earlier floral representations, and the brushwork is notably inferior to that of the "honeysuckles" from HOF (MM III B/LM IA: PLATE 93 A-B). The upper border bands conform to the trend towards broader stripes as the LM epoch advances (see p.533ff above). But note a return to the "papier-collé" mode of design in this composition (cf. PLATE 101D, from MM III B Phykakopi).
36. The stylistic sequence of this motif, from naturalism to rigid stylisation, seems clear from SLIDE 29 a i-iii. In addition to a new use of black paint to define the calyx here, which agrees with other evidence for greater black-line definition of flowers from LM IA onwards (e.g. at Hagia Triada), the red stamens have been transformed into decorative adjuncts of the petals themselves in a manner unknown in LM IA or earlier floral depictions.
37. The most important, discussed at p.437, are: the Pseira goddess reliefs (PLATES 24-25); the sacral knot from Nirou Chani (PLATE 53C); the relief spiral frieze from the palace at Zakro; the goddess's skirt fragment from Epano Zakro; and the relief arm of a goddess from Palaikastro.

38. Closest comparisons lie with the stelai, gold rings, the silver "siege" rhyton, and other objects, from the LH I Grave Circle A and chamber tombs from Mycenae.
39. Only such fresco fragments as were recorded as forming part of the fills of palace walls reconstructed after the MM IIIB earthquake might be assigned a date earlier than MM III B/LM IA. We are not concerned here with early frescoes from LM III B dumps.
40. From Katsamba, the "miniature hoopoes in rocks" as naturalistic pictorial dress motifs (SLIDE 12c); from Prasa, a woman's head, relief skirt, and "miniature trees" (PLATES 33A and E, and 119A); from Thera, the boxing youths (Fig. 35A).
41. At Knossos, the "miniature" bull's head at Fig. 95A, p. 706; at Thera, a monkey (Thera IV, Pl. 114, centre).
42. See Appendix A, p. 706(8).
43. Pseira reliefs (PLATES 24-25). For human figure modelling by "School B" see PLATES 5B-C, 16A-B, 17B, 18, 42 and 44A: the present conclusion could also be supported by a detailed review of the fragments of the Grand Staircase Procession Fresco (SLIDE 44).
44. For the curling locks over the brow (PLATE 33A) compare those of the man at PLATE 5A (SLIDE 2).
45. Cf. PLATE 16 A-B, 17B, 42 (SLIDES 7-8) and 44A (SLIDE 14).
46. E.g. the Crocus and Goats "panel" of "School I" the House of the Frescoes (SLIDE 58) or the Boxing Youths from Thera (Fig. 35A); and see now the group of women from Thera (Thera V, Col. Pls. F-H).
47. MM III B: in bull and human compositions from Knossos (e.g. PLATES 17A(?) and 79 A4). MM III B/LM IA: the Pseira goddesses (PLATES 24-25); LM IA: the goddess's arm from Palaikastro (see p. 437) and also the spiral relief frieze from the palace at Zakro.
48. An innovative feature is the use of a barred design for the upper border stripes in the "Miniature Temple Fresco" (PLATE 26); this type of border is also found in the contemporary Griffin Relief Fresco by the same "school", though in a differing style (cf. PLATE 136A). The motif as a border design appears to have been inspired by textile patterns of the same or an earlier age (e.g. as found on the sleeve-hem of the "Lady in Red" at PLATE 20).
49. See discussion below (p.533ff) and Fig. 65.

50. Several paintings here attributed to "School D" were washed with preservatives, including beeswax, by the elder Gilliéron, as recorded in AE/NB 1900, opp.p.51 (April 26); definitely among them are the Cupbearer, the Procession Fresco, the Throne Room Griffin Frescoes and the West Porch dado and bull composition. The original degree of polish in these cases is therefore difficult or impossible to determine.
51. From Keos (PLATE 197 A1-2, 5) and Thera (cropped hairstyles: PLATE 196 A3-4 and on several new frescoes, including the Boxing Youths, the Fisherman and the Girl Priestess).
52. Warren, BSA 62 (1967), p.196 and n.5; Popham, SMA XII, p.53.
53. Mycenaeans and Minoans (1961); A New Guide to the Palace at Knossos (1969), esp.pp.126-128. If Palmer were right, we should be left with almost no Cretan wall paintings between the close of LM IB and early LM IIIB, some 130 years; but in that case, how should we account for the close stylistic affinities of his supposedly "LM IIIB" frescoes with Cretan and Cycladic frescoes destroyed in LM I?
54. DM/DB 25 February 1902 (I), with sketch.
55. PM III, p.356; see also Ibid, p.342 n.1 (Hall of the Double Axes), and p.377 (Dolphin Fresco); and PM IV, p.888f on the decoration of the Queen's Megaron System as a whole.
56. E.g. PLATE 169 C2 belongs with PLATE 165 A8 joining another piece, also from the North Threshing Floor Area, in HM tray 19 Delta IV, 1; PLATE 169 B3 is part of the Labyrinth Dado from east of the Domestic Quarters (PLATE 146 A-B); and PLATE 171 A1 belongs probably to the same composition, if from a different figure, as PLATE 164 A37 from the North Threshing Floor Area. Mention has already been made of "Palanquin" fragments from this site, other pieces of which turned up on the South Front.
57. Evans' explanation of the lime deposits here as stored material for a new mural redecoration (e.g. PM III, pp.321, 356) is no longer generally accepted.
58. Popham, SMA V (1964), p.8f.
59. DM/DB 21 March and 13 April 1908.
60. By "School B": PLATES 5B, 42A (burnt), 185 B5 and perhaps 188 B11; by "School D": PLATE 12C (light smoke-stains); by "School F": PLATE 15E.
61. E.g. PLATE 12C belongs to one of the Procession series of frescoes from the Corridor of the Procession (no LM IIIB pottery reported) and from the

eastern Quarters of the palace; and PLATE 42A belongs with a series of girl bull-leapers in relief from the area of the Hall of the Double Axes (SLIDES 7-8).

62. Popham in OKT, B, Appendix A, p.94f.
63. Ibid, p.91f.
64. PM III, p.37 n.1; DM/DB 16, 21 and 26 May 1900 (inked copy).
65. PM II, p.722 suggests the piece had "drifted to the North of the site"; but clearly only human agency could have removed this largish and fairly heavy piece such a distance.
66. Vol. IV, G, p.336 and n.11 (but for "Priest-King Relief Fresco" now read "Area of High Reliefs Deposit", from the Great East Hall).
67. PLATE 137A (PM I, p.375, Fig. 272, upside-down); and p.391 (Table II) above.
68. Popham, Kadmos VIII (1969), p.43.
69. Vol. IV, J, p.35ff and p.39 (date).
70. See Appendix A, p.693f below; and SMA XII, p.29f.
71. E.g. the Cupbearer (PLATE 7A); probably the Dual Chariot Fresco (SLIDE 20); from Mycenae, the Horses and Grooms Fresco (BSA XXV (1921-1923), Pl. XXVII. This trend is continued in LH IIIB frescoes, e.g. Pylos II, Pls. 119 (Vestibule), 125 (Throne Room), 126, 132, 137, and Col. Pls. P (lower), Q (upper right) and R (lower left).
72. E.g. the Throne Room Griffins and the Argonaut frescoes (SLIDE 53, and Fig.12, opp.p.106), and the "Dancing Women at Shrine" fresco from Hagia Triada (PLATE 50A).
73. BSA XXV (1921-1923), Pl.XXVII.
74. MC Thesis, no. 28; the body area is crudely gauged out in the "incavo" process and filled in with white "impasto".
75. Pylos II, Col. Pl. P (21 C 46).
76. Popham, Kadmos, loc.cit.
77. Tiryns II, Pls.XIX and XXI; Blegen and Rawson, A Guide to the Palace of Nestor (1962), Figs. 22-24. Presently discussed in Analysis VIII, Motif E.
78. This accords with Professor M. Lang's views in Pylos II, pp.6f, 221ff, and 224 (LH IIIA fragments).
79. BSA XXXVII, p.117.

80. P. Leclant, in Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 14 (1956), pp.128-145.

81. E.g. from Prosymna, on a LH II bronze dagger (Prosymna I (1937), pp.330-332, Pl.ii (lower), no.2 from Tomb III.

82. Thera IV, Col.Pls. D-F.

83. PM III, pp.118-131, esp.p.131.

84. Lamb suggests LH II (BSA XXV (1921-1923), p.164), Evans LH IIIA (PM IV, p.830).

85. E.g. the borders of Amnisos frescoes (PLATES 95, 102-103: SLIDE 59) or of Thera frescoes (Thera IV, Col.Pl.D and Thera V, Col.Pls. D-J).

86. More normal are the Priest-King (SLIDE 1), the RR/N "Festoon" Fresco (SLIDE 41), and the border of the Tylissos "miniatures" (AA (1972), p.184, Fig.13, upper right (-worn but surface intact near coloured band)).

87. E.g. above the Griffin Frescoes at Knossos (SLIDE 53).

88. The earlier Knossian example appears in a single band, with thinner bars centrally placed between the broader flanking ones, at PLATE 188 A1-2, attributable to "School B" (MM IIIB/LM IA). A later example of similar form occurs as a hem pattern of a garment probably worn by a life-sized male figure of the Cupbearer class, painted by "School D", whose head it has been possible to restore (PLATE 171 A1 and SLIDE 3: LM II). A third example of similar date from Knossos, associated with a scale design comparable to that on another Processional Youth's kilt, can be seen at PLATE 176 A1 and 6 (cf.PLATE 11).

89. PM II, p.477. Evans reiterated this view in regard to vase painting of all periods from MM III onwards, either in general terms or in reference to specific motifs, remarking that "the 'unities' in short were observed" in the fresco and pottery adornment of rooms (PM IV, p.303). For further comparisons suggested by Evans, see PM I, pp.554, 603; PM II, pp.359, 426f, 468f, 471, 493f, 499, 507, 600, 777, 786f; PM III, pp.189 n.2, 309, 359, 372, 381 n.1, 496; and PM IV, pp.260, 286-288, 294, 303, 305f, 309 (an interesting dado comparison), 323f, 337-339, 341f, 348, 353 and 396.

90. In Greek mythology, Daedalus and his family; in Egypt, for example, the master-craftsman, Irtyesen (Chronique d'Egypte XXXVI no.72 (1961) pp.269-276).

91. Warren's chronological range for the stone vases with relief scenes from Knossian workshops should be shortened: none are known from MM IIIB contexts,

while those closely dateable appear LM IB from their decoration (MSV, p.174f; and pp.186f). Their attribution to the period MM IIIB/LM IA to LM IB seems more reasonable than his 250 year period, MM III-LM I, especially in view of their stylistic unity which Warren himself emphasises (Ibid, p.174). The relation of the relief scenes on the stone bowls to the frescoes from Knossos itself is not discussed by him - fatally, as the present writer believes, for extending their date back into the MM III period. Thus we have a novel form of stone bowl decoration at about the time the great relief scenes in stucco were being put up by "School B" in the palace; but relief work in stucco involving animal and human subjects was well established in MM III wall painting. That the stone vase-makers were likely inspired by the types of scenes set up by "School B" or their immediate followers (the Caravanserai School) need not be laboured. Other pictorial scenes - including the human figure - occur on both stone vases and bronze daggers which are unknown in existing wall paintings. But they may have been copied from lost frescoes whether in the Cretan palaces or those of the Greek mainland where wall painting was just beginning at this time, LH I (e.g. the deposit below the floor of the East Lobby at Mycenae, BSA XXV (1921-23), Pl.XXV nos.1-2; date kindly confirmed by Mrs. Lisa French).

92. See, for example, the LM IIIB vases illustrated by Popham in SMA V, Pls.2-9 and BSA 62 (1967), Pls. 86-88. The Mycenaean kraters of LH IIIB date, continuing in the IIIA tradition, come closer but only in broadest generalities (e.g. V. Karageorgis, Cyprus (1969), Pls.70 (cf. PLATE 71, Taureador Fresco) and 72 (cf. SLIDE 20, Dual Chariot Fresco)). Analysis, illustrating other LM/LH IIIB pictorial elements in vase painting, reinforces the present conclusion. In fact fresco-pottery relations are now more important for LH IIIB frescoes, as mentioned in earlier consideration of LH IIIB fresco motifs.
93. K. A. Kitchen, Chronique d'Égypte XL (1965), p.317, allowing 17 regnal years for Akhenaten.

CHAPTER XI

EVIDENCE FOR MYCENAEANS IN MINOAN AND EGYPTIAN FRESCOES

The archaeological background	.... p.612
General considerations	.... p.615
New hairstyles	.... p.619
New forms of dress	.... p.624
New military scenes	.... p.627
New religious scenes	.... p.631
The evidence of Egyptian murals	.... p.633
The date of the Mycenaean ascendancy at Knossos	.... p.637
Further Egyptian considerations	.... p.638
Conclusions	.... p.641

CHAPTER XI

"An interesting and distinctive feature about this 'Latest Palatial Age', ... is the evidence that is forthcoming of the actual inception, towards the close of the Fifteenth Century B.C., of what must have been a grandiose system of restoration, the occasion of which does not seem to have been, as in other cases, due to some seismic overthrow either partial or general. The origin of the restored structures that now rise to view may rather be set down to the self-assertion of what seems to have been a new and despotic dynasty, by this time firmly established on the throne of Knossos."

(PM IV, p.888)

The archaeological background

Crete suffered a severe setback with the destructions at the close of the LM IB period of many cities, villas and houses. Even the town at Knossos, and to a small extent perhaps the palace also, were affected. The cause of those destructions, which in archaeological terms all appear more or less contemporary, is disputed. The volcanic explosion of the island of Thera, and its aftermath, have been suggested by some as the cause; but that explosion took place towards the close of LM IA, some fifty years or so earlier than the LM IB destructions. Further, the homogeneous geological deposits on the island of Thera itself, in the opinion of vulcanologists who have recently inspected them, rule out the possibility of a second and more serious eruption, following a first (which destroyed such sites as Akroteri in LM IA), at the close of LM IB. Another cause for the LM IB destructions is, therefore, more likely, almost certainly warfare of some kind. Of several possibilities, the idea that the LM IB destructions were caused by Mycenaean forces

who subsequently occupied the palace at Knossos, administering the island from the capital, is the most plausible.⁽¹⁾ In that case, their entry must fall chronologically on the border of LM IB/II early, c. 1450 B.C. There is, indeed, some evidence for possible disturbance or intrusion of a military nature in South Crete especially, just before the close of LM IB, in scenes of men fighting and horses drawing chariots on clay sealings from Hagia Triada (and from Sklavokambos which were evidently stamped by the same ring or seal) and in the apparent abandonment and clearing of the nearby palace of Phaistos of its contents before its destruction by fire, as M. R. Popham has kindly pointed out to this writer (see footnote 10). Further, Hagia Triada singly provides the greatest number and widest range of possible earlier exceptions to features otherwise assignable to LM II-IIIA 1 in the discussion which follows. At all events, the evidence from sources other than frescoes for the presence of Mycenaeans at Knossos by LM II seems overwhelmingly conclusive.

"Warrior graves", with weaponry and helmets in bronze, and beehive tholoi, such as are known at earlier dates at Mycenae, now appear in the vicinity.⁽²⁾ In pottery, the Palace Style itself and four new shapes of vase (the Ephyraean goblet, the kylix, the flat alabastron and the piriform vase), all generally considered of earlier Mycenaean development on the Greek mainland, come into evidence at Knossos in LM II.⁽³⁾ The palace archives are now written in the Linear B script, generally believed to be an early form of Greek and the language of the Mycenaeans themselves.⁽⁴⁾ Ideograms on the Linear B tablets show for a first time in Minoan scripts such military equipment as helmets, spears, arrow-heads, corselets of bronze, chariots with the "dual extension" at the rear and the horses to draw them. In short, the military character of the new dynasts at Knossos in LM II-IIIA 1 is clear, and mainland comparisons for the various new artefacts in Crete are so close that the presence of Mycenaeans in the palace at Knossos in

control of the whole island can no longer be seriously challenged.

Three important questions now arise. Do the frescoes in the palace reflect the presence of a military regime at Knossos? Are Mycenaean depicted in the frescoes and in which ones? And if the frescoes are executed by Minoan artists, as their competence suggests, by what criteria are different peoples to be distinguished, for may not the artists have painted them in Minoan guise as well as style? General considerations and four specific criteria suggest positive answers to these problems.

The criteria in question are:

- (1) Hairstyles new to Cretan frescoes but common in earlier Mycenaean representations;
- (2) Forms of dress new to Cretan frescoes but common in earlier Mycenaean representations;
- (3) Mycenaean may be suspected when figures with (1) and (2) appear in scenes depicting military equipment generally believed to be specifically Mycenaean, or in scenes where the presence of Minoans would seem out of place in a palace and town controlled by Mycenaean military dynasts;
- (4) When such figures are shown participating in or conducting un-Minoan religious rites.

The chronological "horizon" presented by the LM IB destructions provides a most important dividing line in the history of mural decoration itself. Before 1450 B.C. wall painting flourished in Crete and the Cyclades, but after that date only Knossos and Hagia Triada in the Minoan realm have produced figured frescoes. Further, the types of scene and the forms of hairstyle and dress for both men and women are limited and standardised in LM IB or earlier murals in Crete whereas after LM IB there are changes in all these and other respects which indicate major alterations in the traditional pattern and character of Minoan life. At only one site, and that in the Cyclades, is there substantial evidence for

the simultaneous appearance in the LM/LH I period of what might otherwise be called characteristic pre-1450 and characteristic post-1450 mural features: this is the site of Hagia Irini on Keos, off the eastern Attic coast, whose settlement has amply demonstrated the concurrence of Minoan and Mycenaean artefacts, modes of life and dress in that period. Clearly, Keos was subject to Minoan and Mycenaean influences as well as to its own native characteristics all at one time, and therefore a blending of them might naturally be expected. In the discussion which follows the exceptional position of the frescoes from Keos must be borne in mind.

Because the Mycenaeans were a patriarchal and warrior society (as Homer alone shows), and because Mycenaean women, notably priestesses and handmaids in the palaces, very clearly adopted many aspects of the outward appearances of Minoan ladies of fashion, this chapter is especially concerned with men in the LM II-III A 1 frescoes and their comparanda. However, if we find that the fashions of women have also changed in the same frescoes and along the same lines, a fortiori some outstanding reason for such alterations in traditional Minoan custom must be found.

General considerations

The special role of mural scenes in antiquity in general until the more eclectic Roman period, and especially of those that adorned palaces and temples, was to show publicly who was in command and in favour of the gods at the time. The association of the king or leader, or, as in Egyptian tomb paintings, even the private individual, with the deities in such scenes was then understood as implying divine sanction of the political or social authority, religious or social beliefs and customs, and artistic preferences of the prevailing dynast, regime or individual. Both the archaeological and the literary record of the Mycenaeans show them as a forceful people. It would be strange, indeed, if on their assumption of power at Knossos they

declined to be represented on the palace walls. But we have no reason to suppose the Mycenaeans should be an exception to the general rule that prevailed in antiquity. To the contrary, the fact that they had themselves taken over at an earlier date many of the external appearances of Minoan religion and probably also the cult of the Minoan goddess⁽⁵⁾ provides good social and religious reason for their depiction in the palace mural decoration at Knossos. Indeed, the adherence to native religious beliefs and customs by new dynasts or conquerors from elsewhere was a principal means of controlling a native populace, as history has repeatedly shown.

Some attempts to identify Mycenaeans in Minoan frescoes at Knossos have already appeared. In 1921 G. Rodenwaldt maintained that the tribute-bearers in the Procession Fresco (PLATE 14A) may not have been Cretans but foreigners;⁽⁶⁾ since then, both F. Schachermeyr and G.L. Huxley have suggested they are Mycenaeans.⁽⁷⁾ R.W. Hutchinson has raised the question as to whether the "captain" of the troop of Blacks in the fresco at PLATE 12A may not be a Mycenaean.⁽⁸⁾ More recently, the present writer has proposed a Mycenaean identification of the figures and the ritual to be seen in the thematically related "Dual Chariot" and "Palanquin" frescoes (SLIDE 20 and PLATE 51).⁽⁹⁾ However, there is good reason to believe that, if Mycenaeans are present at all in the later Minoan paintings, they are omnipresent and readily recognisable Minoans survive in the wall paintings only as athletes and priestesses or goddesses.

We have seen that "School D" put in hand the new scheme of mural decoration at Knossos in LM II. That redecoration radically differs from the pre-1450 B.C. preoccupation of fresco painters in Crete with scenes of nature and of Man in relation to landscape or architectural settings, in which lively movement and a gay atmosphere are also apparent. In the LM II scheme, the human figure alone is the main object of interest and little attention is given to background settings. Further, the crowd scenes and

"scattering" of isolated people in the pre-1450 frescoes have given way to a more regimented processional disposition of men and women in the LM II-III A 1 frescoes, a regimentation which is even true of floral backgrounds where they appear (v. PLATE 14A and SLIDE 53, for example). Imposing solemnity, disciplined organisation and a measured stately tread now mark such compositions. In short, a different, more formal and controlled, spirit is present in the LM II-III A 1 murals which was unknown before. This new spirit fits in with the presence of a military regime in the palace at that time.

"School D" in fact introduces new subject matter to Cretan frescoes in the form of military scenes or equipment. Great shields decorated important areas in the Domestic Quarters (PLATE 63A), and the same "school" perhaps put up the first (and certainly the largest) horse and chariot fresco of which a small fragment has survived (PLATE 62A). In all, there are not less than five possible chariot compositions from the palace at Knossos attributable to LM II-III A 1.⁽¹⁰⁾ Spear-bearers and Nubian troops are attested in the "Captain of the Blacks" fresco, assignable to LM III A 1 (PLATE 12A and SLIDE 10); and priestly figures wearing scabbards appear in a bull sacrifice scene where the intended victim is led forward by a charioteer (SLIDE 20 with PLATE 51). Such subject matter had never previously appeared in Minoan frescoes, except in "miniature" scenes from the island of Keos with its mixture of Minoan and Mycenaean influences in LM/LH I. It is clear, therefore, that the new mural decoration at Knossos in LM II and III A 1 reflects the presence there of a new and military authority.

But there are also very significant changes in the general depiction of people. Before 1450 B.C., pictures of men were on the whole uncommon, because female figures - priestesses and goddesses - held the stage. After 1450 B.C., however, men far outnumber women in the frescoes at Knossos in the works of all

the late "schools" of painters, with the one exception of "School E" whose chief concern was the depiction of male and most commonly female bull-leapers. This fact suggests some curtailment in LM II-IIIA 1 of the power or rôle of women in society to which the palace and island had been accustomed before 1450 B.C. This, too, is what might be expected when a soldierly class of men has assumed political and social control. Further, except where bull-leapers or other athletes are depicted, men in particular who are readily recognisable as Minoans from their traditional Minoan forms of dress and hairstyle have also disappeared from the late frescoes. This may indicate merely a change in fashions in Minoan society; but the more convincing interpretation is that such figures are not Minoans at all, but Mycenaeans or else Minoans in Mycenaean guise. If that is true, it seems Minoans were allowed to be depicted on the palace walls only in scenes of athletic entertainment. That such activities had also been, at least in times of full Minoan autonomy, important in the religious context, may have been another factor which permitted their representation. But it is notable that no person in the new hairstyles or types of garment of LM II-IIIA 1 is depicted as a bull-leaper in the scenes from Knossos!

A general point concerns the overall artistic appearance of the LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes. The interest in the human figure above all, the absence of background detail (backgrounds being often a monochrome wash), the tectonic structure of the compositions, the heavy reliance on a limited range of colours (notably sky blue, yellow, dark red, white and black), the stiffness of movement and of line in the designs, and the steady repetition of motifs, do not merely contrast with the altogether livelier compositions of LM IB or earlier tradition but are features characteristic also of Mycenaean wall paintings from the Greek mainland.⁽¹¹⁾ It is true, however, that a trend towards imposing monumentality, such as appears in the LM II frescoes at Knossos,

is detectable in certain LM I frescoes, and that almost no paintings of LH I-II date have survived from the mainland. Yet comparisons of the same features not only in later LH IIIA-B paintings but also in pictorial scenes of LH I-II date in other media⁽¹²⁾ suggest the stylistic innovations of the mural scheme of "School D" in LM II Knossos may even have originated in the Late Helladic I-II tradition of "heroic" pictorial representation. In that case, the stylistic position of LM II fresco decoration at Knossos may be analogous to that of the Palace Style pottery, from which it is artistically inseparable, in that both arts may display stylistic features which first developed on the Greek mainland before LM II. That is to say, not merely the spirit, the subject matter, and the emphasis on men in the scenes but even elements of the style of the LM III-IIIa 1 frescoes at Knossos (and Hagia Triada) may have been dictated by the tastes of the Mycenaean military overlords then in control of the island. What is, at all events, certain is that the charm and the lyrical element in Minoan and Cycladic wall painting as a whole before 1450 B.C. have disappeared for good after that date, being replaced by a more formal, more regimented, artistically duller and more humanly introverted style emphasising disciplined organisation and the activities or interests of men who were military rulers.

We may now consider the specific criteria for identifying Mycenaeans in Minoan frescoes, starting with new hairstyles and forms of dress because without accompanying inscriptions these are the most obvious means of indicating visually the presence of a different race.

New hairstyles (See Fig. 9, opp. p. 55)

In the period MM I to LM IB, one hairstyle in particular is extremely common and may be said to be the usual Minoan hairstyle: this is the curly style with long locks flowing to waist-level

here classified as Type A (p.54 ff.). In LM IB or earlier Cretan frescoes, it alone appears even if we include the curtailed forms of diminutive male heads in "crowd scenes" on dark red backgrounds in certain "miniature" frescoes which Evans described as delineated in a kind of "artistic shorthand" (13). After LM IB, it is seen in frescoes only in the case of bull-leapers at Knossos, and of two male figures on the Hagia Triada painted sarcophagus who wear forms of dress never combined with this hairstyle in the Cretan mural record (14). In view of the confusions of the sarcophagus painter outlined earlier, those two figures may reasonably be discounted as evidence to show the general continuity of this hairstyle in LM II-IIIA 1. (15) The mural evidence in any case is that this type of hairstyle disappeared in Crete as the normal one, except among Minoan athletes, in LM II-IIIA 1. Type A worn by male figures occurs on Mycenaean objects extremely rarely, and in Mycenaean frescoes only where Minoan-looking bull-leapers are depicted (16). The long hairstyle cannot therefore be considered a normal one among Mycenaeans. What few occurrences there are in the Mycenaean record are no more than one might expect to find in a culture very heavily influenced by the Minoans.

The normal hairstyles of the Mycenaeans were in fact a close cropped (Type C) and a shoulder-length medium (Type B) style from LH I onwards, frequently accompanied by beards which Minoan fashion disregarded (17). Variations on these two basic types of shorter hairstyle continued on the Greek mainland down to LH IIIB/C times (18), and after LH IIIA there is no evidence in Mycenaean frescoes and rarely in other sources for Type A. We may conclude therefore that the long hairstyle of Type A was characteristically Minoan, especially before LM II, while the two shorter hairstyles were characteristically Mycenaean throughout their history.

There is good reason why the Mycenaeans should have adopted

the shorter hairstyles in resistance to the more fashionably attractive long hairstyle of the Minoans. Unlike the latter, the Mycenaeans were a warrior race, and they habitually armed themselves with helmets. A long hairstyle would prove hot and unmanageable under a helmet and might afford an enemy the advantage of grasping his opponent's hair in close hand-fighting. The practical benefits of a shorter hairstyle to a military race seem obvious, and it is for much the same reasons that many warlike peoples in both ancient and modern history have followed suit. By contrast, when Minoans are shown wearing helmets, as on the Boxer Rhyton from Hagia Triada, it seems they were unwilling to curtail their usual long locks⁽¹⁹⁾.

The cropped style of Type C is especially interesting because it appears on two groups of Cycladic frescoes at dates before 1450 B.C. The proximity of the island of Keos to the Attic coast and the evidence from the site of Hagia Irini for the mixture of native, Minoan and Mycenaean cultural characteristics, which to judge by the "miniature" frescoes included the Mycenaean sport of hunting animals by horse-drawn chariot, seem sufficient explanation for the occurrence in the Keos frescoes of the short hairstyle (PLATE 197 A1-3). We shall also see later that Mycenaean rather than Minoan forms of dress were also more common at this site. Slightly earlier, in MM IIIB/LM IA frescoes from Thera, we find male and female figures with distinctly cropped hairstyles painted in blue on which curly and long locks deriving clearly from the Minoan Type A have been over-painted in black⁽²⁰⁾. Whether or not Marinatos is right in identifying the shorter blue hairstyle as royal wigs symbolic of divine status⁽²¹⁾, the distinct unfamiliarity of the Theran artist with details and the manner of representation of the normal long hairstyle of contemporary Crete strongly suggests a non-Minoan source for the origin of the short hairstyle, more familiar to this Theran artist than to his Cretan peers at this time. This

evidence therefore suggests the cropped Type C was not uncommon in the Cyclades, perhaps because of Mycenaean relations, at an earlier date than its occurrence as normal in Crete. If an origin other than a local one for the shorter forms of hairstyle, especially of Type C, need be sought at all, then Egypt or the Near East may be proposed in preference to Crete, particularly as a MM IIIB/LM IA fresco from Thera depicts a Libyan with this hairstyle (PLATE 196 A3 and Fig. 9, C4). In those areas, cropped hairstyles and beards go back to remote antiquity and were favoured for religious as well as social and hygienic reasons.

Both shorter styles, Types B and C, absent in the Cretan fresco record before LM IB, become exceedingly common in the murals at Knossos and Hagia Triada in LM II-IIIA 1: in fact everyone who is not depicted as an athlete has one or other hairstyle, with the one certain exception of a dancing girl or priestess (PLATE 32, by "School E"). The mural evidence is therefore of a sudden and widespread change in hairstyle in LM II-IIIA 1 Minoan society in general. It has been suggested that the changes in dress as well as hairstyle at Knossos in that period may simply have been a matter of fashionable taste because the older styles "had begun to seem anomalous" (22). But this speculation only makes plausibly realistic sense if there was some significant social cause for traditional styles to be so radically changed. Such a cause is readily available: the Mycenaeans had taken over control of Knossos and the island, while the Minoans perhaps adopted the personal appearance of their conquerors. But this assumes that such figures in the murals may still be Minoans and takes no account of the fact that the new people appear in scenes depicting specifically Mycenaean objects and rituals.

A further objection relates to other pictorial scenes than in fresco, found in Crete and dating to a period before 1450 B.C., which show shorter hairstyles on figures generally accepted as

Minoans. If we may exclude representations of children (whose hair may have been specially cropped, as in Egypt) and the evidence of seals and sealings unless depicting portrait heads of adults⁽²³⁾, the number of instances in support of the objection under consideration are so few as can hardly constitute common Cretan hairstyles, still less the most normal ones⁽²⁴⁾. In that case, their occurrence in Crete before the time when the shorter hairstyles there became widespread perhaps may be explained in connection with those figures' occupations or social status in life (v. Furumark, Opus. Arch. VI (1950) p.229), or as an indication of a Cretan reaction — however slight — to contact with other Aegean peoples with short hairstyles, or even as evidence for the presence of foreigners already on the island before the close of LM IB. This is not in itself unlikely, for Mycenaean trade relations outside the mainland were already expanding in LH/LM I times as imports of Mycenaean pottery at Cycladic sites have shown; and it might also go some way in explaining why artefacts from the LM IB destruction at Hagia Triada in particular provide what exceptions there are in the present and other spheres discussed in this chapter.

Without a significant number of Minoan instances from Crete to show that hairstyles analogous to the typically short Mycenaean forms were normal and widespread on the island before LM II, the most plausible reason for the onset of such styles there in LM II-IIIA 1, to the exclusion of the traditional long Minoan hairstyle except among athletes and perhaps girl-priestesses or dancers, is not that Minoan society as seen in the wall paintings merely changed its taste in coiffures but that a different people is represented in the frescoes, namely, the new Mycenaean overlords of the palace at Knossos. This conclusion is reinforced if we consider the forms of dress that go with the hairstyles.

New forms of dress

(a) The culotte (p. 57f and Fig. 10, nos. 3-4)

This appears in LH I representations of male figures with short-cropped Mycenaean hairstyles on objects from Mycenae⁽²⁵⁾ and in LM/LH IA "miniature" pictures of close-shaven men in frescoes from Keos (not illustrated here). Thereafter the culotte in Mycenaean art appears regularly, although in LH III A-B the short-sleeved shirt and chiton become more fashionable⁽²⁶⁾.

In Crete before 1450 B.C., the traditional brief kilt with codpiece was the almost universal dress of Minoan men and had been so since MM I times. In LM IB or earlier Cretan frescoes the Minoan kilt alone is worn by men and no exceptions at all are known. In their case the brief kilt is always accompanied by the long hairstyle of Type A, or "artistic abbreviations" of it as in the "miniature frescoes". The culotte does not arrive in Cretan frescoes until LM II-IIIA 1 when male figures with medium or short hairstyles are seen wearing it in the Procession and Cupbearer frescoes (PLATES 7-11, and 14A), in the "Captain of the Blacks" fresco (PLATE 12A) and on one short end of the painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (PLATES 12B and 151) - in this case with a half-forgotten and absurdly long version of the Type A hairstyle (SLIDE 5 A3). This is to say, the culotte suddenly appears in the major redecoration of the palace at Knossos by "School D" in LM II, along with medium-length hairstyles (Fig. 9, Bl) and yet other new forms of dress.⁽²⁷⁾

A Minoan origin might, however, be claimed for the culotte, for it does occur on non-fresco objects of certain or presumed LM IB or earlier date. But once more the number of instances are extremely few and clearly are no indication of a common form of dress among Minoans before 1450 B.C. But are the figures wearing this form of dress Minoans in those cases?

Of six instances which come readily to mind three show

warriors, and all six figures have short forms of hairstyle if any can be detected. Two are certainly foreigners⁽²⁸⁾; a further three may also be non-Minoans, of whom two are soldiers accompanied by Syrian lions and forms of weapons that seem unusual for Cretans⁽²⁹⁾; and the sixth figure is a man-animal-bird hybrid (perhaps an allegory of a Mycenaean in a Minoan artist's view) from the hand of a craftsman whom one expert on sealings has described as perhaps insane⁽³⁰⁾. None of these figures need be Minoans at all, and in that case the objection, which implies that the occurrence of the culotte in LM II-III A 1 frescoes at Knossos is merely a revival of an earlier Minoan form of dress, fails to convince.

In view of the uncertainty of the identification of the figures in the LM IB or earlier instances cited, it would seem safer to assume that this form of dress was more typically Mycenaean than Minoan in Late Minoan times, and that its sudden occurrence in the Cretan fresco record of the palace at Knossos in LM II is a further indication of the presence of Mycenaeans in that mural decoration.

(b) The ankle-length kilt (p.58 and Fig. 10, no.5)

This garment seems unique in Aegean murals to the Procession series of male figures painted by "School D" at Knossos. It may accordingly be associated with the medium hairstyle of Type B1 (Fig. 9). Its exact form is uncertain, but a possible earlier parallel for which Evans claims a Middle Minoan date is the bronze figure of a Minoan adorant youth in an ankle-length kilt from Psychro⁽³¹⁾. Otherwise a MM IIIB sealing from Knossos may be cited, but here Evans identifies a female figure⁽³²⁾. The apparent disappearance from the Minoan record after MM III of a form of dress analogous to that which appears in LM II in the frescoes at Knossos remains enigmatic.

(c) Cloaks (pp.59-60 and Fig.10, nos.1-5)

Various ankle-length and usually beltless cloaks with half-sleeves suddenly appear in LM II-IIIA 1 for the first time in Cretan mural painting. Interestingly, they are worn by both male and female figures, for at this date the traditional short-sleeved, open-fronted jacket and flounced or trousered skirt always worn by women in LM IB or earlier Cretan frescoes is very poorly represented in the paintings from Knossos and Hagia Triada, two of the few clear exceptions again being the so-called Dancing Girl (PLATE 32) and also a goddess with flounced skirt in the Procession Fresco by "School D" (PLATE 14A). In its stead, women wear a high-waisted long skirt over which they put on a "bolero" of different cut to the traditional short-sleeved women's jacket (PLATE 34 B-C). At the same time, fresco representation of women in combined frontal and side view, as invariably found in LM IB or earlier mural depictions of women, as good as peters out. Add that women are now normally seen in full profile with their breasts concealed by their upper garments, and we have evidence both for a surprisingly un-Minoan demure representation and for major changes in their mode of attire. These changes seem to underline the new emphasis on the male sex, implying in turn an equally surprising transformation in the social status of Minoan women, so apparent in the LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes. In the absence, moreover, of evidence from LM IB or earlier pictorial objects in general for similarly cloaked male or female figures in Crete⁽³³⁾, we must clearly seek a more important cause for such drastic transformations in Minoan life and customs than mere changes of fashion in regard to personal appearance and religious attire: the arrival into Crete of domineering outsiders, perhaps bringing their own priestesses with them or submitting local ones to their own views as to what was fitting in the present respects, would alone appear to provide a sufficiently adequate cause.

Cloaks similar to the LM II-III A 1 fresco Types D1 and 3-4 begin to appear on the Mycenaean mainland as early as LH I, on the silver Siege Rhyton from Mycenae⁽³⁴⁾ and on LH I/II seals from Vapheio⁽³⁵⁾, and slightly later on LM II-III A seals from the Knossos region⁽³⁶⁾. These forms of apparel were particularly favoured by Mycenaean charioteers and their companions on foot, as LH III A and B pictorial kraters⁽³⁷⁾ and chariot frescoes from Tiryns of LH IIIB 1 date show⁽³⁸⁾. Similarly cloaked male gift bearers are also well attested in LH IIIB frescoes from Pylos⁽³⁹⁾, pointing to the continued popularity of such forms of dress among Mycenaean communities until an advanced date in their history. In all these cases only the shorter forms of hairstyle are present.

The cloak of Type D2, occurring for a first known time in a Cretan fresco of LM IIIA 1 date (PLATES 54-55: Camp Stool Fresco), with or without the wing-like appendages worn behind the neck, appears earlier in LM/LH IA "miniature" frescoes from Keos where the men wearing them evidently had short cropped hairstyles, too (PLATE 197 A2 and Fig. 10, no. 5). But their cloaks, unlike the Cretan versions, have holes for the arms instead of short sleeves, a feature which brings them closer to the apparel worn by two men on the Siege Rhyton from Shaft Grave IV of Circle A at Mycenae, perhaps one of the earliest occurrences in Aegean art of definitely cloaked men.

On this evidence the conclusion that such forms of dress were Mycenaean, and that they were introduced to Crete at the time of the Mycenaean occupation of the palace at Knossos by LM II, seems most likely. In that case, their appearance in the mural decoration of "School D" and later "schools" at Knossos and Hagia Triada may reasonably be considered evidence for Mycenaeans in LM II-III A 1 mural frescoes.

New military scenes

The great "figure-of-eight" Shield Frescoes, in which there

were originally at least seven or eight shields in the frieze from the Loggia of the Grand Staircase⁽⁴⁰⁾ - to which we should add others, perhaps from elsewhere in the palace, which Evans found in the North Threshing Floor fresco dump⁽⁴¹⁾ - clearly set a new military tone in the LM II redecoration of the palace walls (PLATE 63A). They are imposing in size (1.63 metres high or 5' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ") and they display the same formal spirit and an urge to impress in a grandiose manner as are found in the Procession and Cupbearer frescoes (PLATES 7A and 14A), executed by the same painters of "School D", and in the contemporary Palace Style vases - of which one derives its decoration from the frescoes in question. Indeed, the same martial "beat" or rhythm attends the disposition of both human figures and shields in these compositions.

A direct connection with military scenes of people with the late forms of hairstyle and culotte, such as we find in the Procession Fresco, is evident in the "Captain of the Blacks" fresco (SLIDE 10). Here we see Nubian troops armed with spears running behind a red-skinned "captain". All have the culotte and short hairstyles into which horns or perhaps feathers have been inserted. Hutchinson's suggestion that the "captain" may be a Mycenaean is surely right in the context of the Mycenaean military takeover of Knossos in LM II-IIIA 1: it is unlikely that a Minoan officer would be given control of foreign mercenaries at that time, if only for security reasons. The culotte may even have been a specifically military (as well as Mycenaean) form of dress at this time, as the evidence of both the LH I-II Greek mainland and the LM IB or earlier Cretan record, depicting seemingly foreign soldiers in this costume, emphatically suggests.

It is interesting to note of the Nubian troops that, while no evidence from Crete is presently known for their employment there before LM II-IIIA 1, they were regularly used as mercenary

forces in Egyptian armies from at least the Middle Kingdom onwards. In LM II, however, the Mycenaeans superceded previous Minoan commercial relations with Egypt and it would appear from the present fresco that they took that opportunity to raise Nubian troops as mercenaries for service in the Aegean. Further, Blacks are depicted as servants and perhaps as troop-leaders, too, in LH IIIB frescoes from Pylos⁽⁴²⁾ and another Black, accompanied by a red-skinned man, is evidently begging for arms from the Mycenaean Goddess of War on a LH IIIB 2 early fresco recently found at Mycenae⁽⁴³⁾. The usual cropped hair appears in those cases, and at Pylos beards and the culotte, too. Our present evidence is, therefore, that Nubian troops were first employed in the Aegean by the Mycenaean warlords at Knossos by IM IIIA 1 if not earlier and that Blacks continued in Mycenaean service well into the LH IIIB period.

The men in long cloaks of the Procession Fresco have their counterparts, also, in smaller IM II-III A 1 paintings from Knossos in which military equipment appears, notably chariots, the horses to draw them, and sword-slings (v. SLIDE 20 and PLATE 51, by "School F"). The form of chariot, with "dual extension" at the rear, is generally considered to be a specifically Mycenaean object⁽⁴⁴⁾. The same form occurs frequently as an ideogram on Linear B tablets from Knossos and on the earlier series of Mycenaean IIIA-B chariot kraters as dated by Furumark⁽⁴⁵⁾. The charioteers and their companions represented on such vases wear the same kinds of cloak, have the same short-cropped hairstyles and wear sword-slings in the same manner as the figures in the Knossian frescoes. Their identification as Mycenaeans has, to this writer's knowledge, gone unchallenged in modern research and recent studies attributing the manufacture of the kraters to the Argolid surely confirm that identification⁽⁴⁶⁾. Figures in such long cloaks should therefore be counted as Mycenaeans.

It is true that some form of horse-drawn vehicle is

attested on sealings of LM IB date from Hagia Triada and Sklavokambos, but the vehicle itself does not appear there⁽⁴⁷⁾. What is more certain is that the Mycenaeans introduced an army of these "dual" chariots and the horses to go with them on their occupation of Knossos, as the Linear B tablets from the palace show. Further, the earliest pictorial evidence in the Aegean for any chariot scene occurs on stelae and signet rings from the LH 1 Circle A at Mycenae⁽⁴⁸⁾ and, in fresco, in LM/LH IA "miniature" scenes of preparations for animal hunts from Hagia Irini on Keos (PLATE 197 A4-5). The hunting of animals from chariots is attested in the same objects from Mycenae and at that date would certainly appear to be a Mycenaean sport: for comparable scenes from LM IB or earlier Crete are quite unknown. This leads us to the LM IIIA 1 scene at SLIDE 21 in which two women are seen riding in a chariot.

Their pink and blue costumes and dappled chariot compare favourably with the two chariot scenes on the short ends of the LM IIIA 1/2 early painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (PLATES 149 and 151): but here the people in the chariots appear to be goddesses summoned to a funerary occasion - a scene unlikely to be present in the fresco from Knossos which comes from the palace walls of the living. In that case, by analogy with two later chariot compositions from Tiryns in which pairs of women in similarly coloured clothes are seen riding, we may suggest the Knossian women here may have been attending a chariot-hunt of wild animals by their Mycenaean lords⁽⁴⁹⁾. Small black linear details on their garments suggest their robes were originally most comparable in design to those which appear in the Camp Stool Fresco of similar date (PLATES 54-55), a point which brings us to consider frescoes from Knossos and Hagia Triada depicting new religious scenes, evidently of Mycenaean ritual.

New religious scenes

The male and female figures in the Camp Stool Fresco all wear cloaks of late forms in Crete and have medium-length hair-styles of Type B. They are for the most part seen sitting on folding stools, facing and offering one another a "loving cup". Parts of two cups are preserved, of which the more complete is a kylix of LM IIIA shape (PLATE 55 and Fig. 77 b3, opp. p. 575) ⁽⁵⁰⁾. Popham has now shown that the kylix, closely related to the goblet, is an LM II-III 1 innovation in Crete being the usual form of Mycenaean drinking cup and quite distinct from the usual Minoan form (Fig. 77b, opp. p. 575) ⁽⁵¹⁾. In that case, the ritual enacted here is clearly some Mycenaean drinking ceremony - though perhaps a version of older Cretan rites - at which only people in Mycenaean garb participate.

In LM IB or earlier drinking rites depicted on Minoan objects, the kylix, and the present forms of dress and hairstyle are absent, as, indeed, is the arrangement of pairs of seated figures knee-to-knee ⁽⁵²⁾. Folding stools begin to appear in the Cretan record as new cult paraphernalia on LM II-III 1 frescoes and sealings at Knossos ⁽⁵³⁾ and a long-cloaked (and perhaps long-haired) goddess, attended by "genii" and seated on a folding stool, conducts a libation ritual in a scene on a gold signet ring from Tiryns, probably of LM/IIH II-III 1 date ⁽⁵⁴⁾. Add that an analogous scene to the Camp Stool Fresco from Knossos was put up on the walls of the Throne Room of the Mycenaean palace at Pylos in LH IIIB ⁽⁵⁵⁾, and that both forms of cup seen in the Camp Stool Fresco appear reproduced more schematically on the LH IIIA 2 early chariot krater sherd from Enkomi depicting Mycenaean soldiers (Fig. 77f), and a Mycenaean ceremony in the fresco under discussion from Knossos seems assured.

Two further groups of paintings share a theme new to Minoan wall painting and pictorial representation in general. They are

the "Dual Chariot" and associated "Palanquin" frescoes from LM II-IIIA 1 Knossos (Vol. IV, G; SLIDE 20 and PLATE 51), and the LM IIIA 1/2 early painted sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (PLATES 148-151). Long-cloaked figures with the shorter forms of hairstyle are attending to bull sacrifices in these scenes. In the former, a cloaked priestly figure wearing a short sword or dagger in a sword-sling is seated on a folding stool in the upper story of an open-air shrine depicted in the "Palanquin Fresco" (PLATE 51 A3), awaiting the arrival of the sacrificial animal which approaches behind the Mycenaean chariot in the "Dual Chariot Fresco". On the sarcophagus the bull has already been slaughtered, having been trussed up in the Egyptian manner and placed on a large stone table (PLATE 74B).

Representations of bull and perhaps other animal sacrifices were rarely depicted by Minoan artists in LM IB or earlier periods, and it is not definitely the case - as popularly supposed - that bulls were sacrificed by the Minoans after the bull-leaping games. On the other hand, such scenes appear most commonly on LM/LH II-IIIA seals, and then more regularly on the Mycenaean mainland⁽⁵⁶⁾. Further, the head of a decapitated bull was found in the blocking wall of the side chamber containing a royal burial of LM IIIA 1/2 early date in Tholos A at Archanes, a short distance south of Knossos, in what was evidently a major complex of Mycenaean tholos tombs⁽⁵⁷⁾. On the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, the ritual evidently takes place near the entrance to the tomb of the owner of the sarcophagus: it has already been suggested on other grounds that this was a tholos tomb of Mycenaean type and decoration (p.73 and PLATE 52 B-C), and, with Nilsson, the cult elements relating to chthonic rituals and deities which this sacrifice scene represents point strongly to Mycenaean rather than Minoan religious beliefs (pp.194-198). In addition, a file of men wearing the culotte, on one end of the sarcophagus, might also

be taken to indicate the presence here of Mycenaeans and Mycenaean ritual (PLATE 12B); and so, too, the two chariots which, abbreviated to fit into the small spaces at the short ends of the sarcophagus, are obviously intended to represent the Mycenaean "dual chariot" (PLATES 149 and 151). For these reasons alone, all the figures with shorter types of hairstyle and long cloaks, and the bull sacrifice, may be thought Mycenaean.

The above review thus leaves us with only bull-leapers and perhaps a few priestesses (e.g. PLATE 32) or goddesses (as the flounced skirt and centrally isolated position of the female figure amid the processional youths in the Knossos Procession Fresco seem to indicate: PLATE 14A) as certainly Minoan in identification in the LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes from Knossos and Hagia Triada. All the rest would seem to be Mycenaeans (or Minoans in Mycenaean guise). In that case, the frescoes, along with the palatial archives in Linear B, the tholos and "warrior" tombs, and the innovations in LM II-IIIA 1 pottery, provide vital evidence for the presence of Mycenaeans in the palace at Knossos in LM II-IIIA 1. Indeed, they are our most reliable and detailed evidence as to what those Mycenaeans looked like.

The evidence of Egyptian murals

A series of murals in private tombs at Thebes in Egypt of the early XVIIIth Dynasty are generally considered to show Bronze Age Aegeans on the evidence of their dress, hairstyles and the objects they carry as "tribute" to Pharaoh; the figures go under the Egyptian name "Keftiu" here assumed to refer to the land of Crete (PLATES 202-211)⁽⁵⁸⁾. In chronological order the four most important are those in the tomb of Senmut, architect to Queen Hatshepsut, whose Keftiu scenes on the latest widely accepted Egyptian chronology are firmly dateable between the years 1483-1480 B.C., or not long after, on the evidence of inscribed ostraka (PLATE 202)⁽⁵⁹⁾; in the tomb of Useramon,

governor and vizir of Thebes under Tuthmosis III in regnal years 5 to at least 28, i.e. 1485/4-1463/2 B.C. (PLATES 203-204)⁽⁶⁰⁾; in the tomb of Menkhepera's sonb, First Prophet of Amun under Tuthmosis III but apparently at the end of his reign (PLATES 205-207)⁽⁶¹⁾; and in the tomb of Rekhmire, governor of Thebes and vizir from, at the latest, year 34 of Tuthmosis III's reign to probably no later than year 5 of the reign of Amenophis II, i.e. 1457/6-1438/33 B.C. (PLATES 208-211)⁽⁶²⁾. For good reasons some scholars believe the tomb of Menkhepera's sonb may well be later than that of Rekhmire⁽⁶³⁾.

The Keftiu depicted in the tombs of Senmut and Useramon, of which the more faithful iconographically are the former, wear long hairstyles and the short Minoan kilt-with-codpiece typical of Minoan representations of themselves in Crete of LM IB or earlier frescoes (cf SLIDE 44 and PLATES 5B and 6). Indeed most of the vessels carried in the scenes from Senmut's tomb accurately correspond to LM/LH I types from the Aegean⁽⁶⁴⁾. Clearly, the Aegean embassies to Egypt which these paintings imply were Minoan and took place in a period of full Minoan autonomy, that is in LM I, since only Minoans are represented in these funerary murals.

J. Vercoutter's studies have emphasised a long recognised point, namely, that the Keftiu from the Tomb of Rekhmire had first been drawn with the long hairstyles and brief kilts typical of the Minoans themselves; but then at a later date the kilts had been partially rubbed out and redrawn in a different form, one which covered the thighs completely and which terminated in a tasselled point between the knees (PLATE 209 A-B)⁽⁶⁵⁾. It is this later form of kilt which alone appears in the Keftiu paintings in the tomb of Menkhepera's sonb (PLATE 207). Interest in the Keftiu paintings as a whole centres especially upon the palimpsest nature of the kilts in the tomb of Rekhmire. In view of the general Egyptian practice of erasing the pictures and the

names of those who have fallen out of favour (well attested in the Egyptian monuments themselves), some Aegean scholars have suggested (but others dispute) the introduction there of the later kilt form as denoting a political change in Crete itself⁽⁶⁶⁾.

The first artist who depicted the brief kilts in Rekhmire's tomb clearly had in mind an embassy of Minoans, as the kilt form shows, though he may have copied his scene from an earlier representation of Minoans from another tomb at Thebes or a "pattern-book" rather than have derived his inspiration directly from an ambassadorial visit of Minoans to Thebes at the time he was painting⁽⁶⁷⁾. However, if we make allowances for native Egyptian drawing conventions and modes of representation, the later kilt form in that tomb closely agrees with the "culotte" as depicted in side-view in the Procession Fresco and on the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada (PLATES 7A, 8-11, and 12B respectively), and even more so with the frontal view of the same kilt in the "Captain of the Blacks" fresco (PLATE 12A and SLIDE 10). Further, similar conical rhyta and metallic fluted vessels as appear in the Procession Fresco at Knossos are found among the objects carried by the Keftiu in the Rekhmire and Menkhepera's sonb paintings (cf. SLIDE 18 no.4b and no.9 with PLATES 208B-209A and 207A respectively), though these vessels perhaps cannot be more closely dated in the Minoan sequence than LM I-IIIA. But we may go further than this.

One man in Rekhmire's tomb, illustrated by Evans, has feather-like tufts in his hair (no longer clear in the original but, with the lack of Minoan parallels, apparently belonging to the palimpsest version of these figures) for which the "Captain of the Blacks" fresco provides a close Mycenaean parallel (SLIDE 10)⁽⁶⁸⁾. Other men in the same Egyptian composition wear in the palimpsest version lion- or leopard-skin loin-cloths (PLATE 209C), unknown in Minoan representations but now paralleled in a general way by lion-skin garments worn by men in LM IIIB frescoes from Pylos⁽⁶⁹⁾.

The tassels previously noted (e.g. PLATE 209B) seem abbreviations of those in the kilts of the Processional figures from Knossos (PLATE 9A). Kilt patterns of the Keftiu in the Tomb of Menkhepera's sonb, who certainly in general ways (although not as regards the dress patterns) were at least partly copied from the Keftiu scenes in the tombs of Useramon and Rekhmire, seem Egyptian versions of the very types of dress motif to be seen on the kilts of the LM II Procession Fresco at Knossos itself (e.g. cf. PLATES 207A, net design, and 207B, ivy motif, with PLATE 10; PLATES 207C, spirals, with PLATE 11, belt; and, from Rekhmire's tomb, PLATE 210B, heavy barred border on belt, with PLATES 10-11, waist-bands).

On this evidence alone, it is clear that the later version of kilt in the tombs of Rekhmire and Menkhepera's sonb bears a particularly close relation to the forms and details of kilts especially in the Procession Fresco at Knossos depicting Mycenaean. Moreover, if the lowering of Evan's "LM IA/B" frescoes painted by "School D" to LM II as proposed in Chapter X is acceptable, the chronological relationship between the later series of Keftiu representations and the LM II scheme of redecoration in the palace at Knossos is seen to be closer than it has previously been possible to show. The Egyptian palimpsest kilts in the Tomb of Rekhmire correspond artistically and chronologically with the major changes in Cretan male dress form at Knossos in LM II mural painting. As Egyptian representations of the older Minoan kilt also disappear at this time - and at the same time as it disappears in Cretan wall paintings except for athletes -- the conclusion seems inevitable that in both countries the change from the normal earlier Minoan kilt form to the culotte is identical in political significance. If so, then the paintings in question from both countries depict the new Mycenaean overlords of LM II Crete and the Aegean world. This Egyptian evidence would also agree, therefore, with the

non-pictorial grounds for assigning the Mycenaean arrival in Crete to LM II and with the separate evidence for the Mycenaean takeover of former Minoan commercial relations with Egypt at the same date⁽⁷⁰⁾.

The date of the Mycenaean ascendancy at Knossos

A terminus post quem for the arrival of Mycenaeans in Crete and Knossos is supplied by:

- (1) the LM IB Cretan destructions (c.1450 B.C.) which destroyed Minoan social, political and commercial autonomy; and
- (2) the Keftiu paintings in the tombs of Senmut and perhaps Useramon (c.1483-1462 B.C.).

A terminus ante quem is supplied by:

- (1) the renovation of the Throne Room System, attributed on somewhat uncertain stratigraphical grounds to LM II;
- (2) the grand LM II redecoration of the palace walls at Knossos, depicting Mycenaeans, effected by "School D"; and
- (3) the early Palace Style pottery, which copies that mural redecoration, independently assignable to the period of Tuthmosis III to Amenophis III, or within 1490-1364 B.C. on outside limits⁽⁷¹⁾.

But if the present interpretational equation between LM II murals at Knossos and the palimpsest Keftiu in the Tomb of Rekhmire is acceptable, a more precise date for the entry of the Mycenaeans into Knossos and for their representation for a first time in Egypt (whether at their own request or on the initiative of Rekhmire or his artists) becomes possible.

Rekhmire came to office c.1457/6 B.C., if not slightly earlier, at which time he would have begun preparation of his tomb. He disappears from Egyptian records c.1438/33 B.C. by

which time his tomb and its paintings must have reached their known state of completion, though the work was left partly unfinished (see note 62 for references). If we allow a few years to elapse after the arrival of the Mycenaeans at Knossos and for a Mycenaean ambassadorial mission to Egypt to take place which prompted the alteration of kilts in the murals in Rekhmire's tomb, that change must have taken place about 1455-1438/33 B.C. In that case the arrival of the Mycenaeans into Knossos and with it the LM II mural decoration that ensued must have taken place early in LM II, perhaps between the outside limits of 1460-1435 B.C. If so, this is presently our most reliable dating evidence for the end of the LM IB period, for the arrival into Crete of the Mycenaeans, and for the beginning of LM II.

Significantly enough, definite representations of Keftiu and mention of that name or allusion to other Aegeans in such wonderful Egyptian phrases as "the People of the Great Green and the Islands" cease to appear in Egypt after the reign of Amenophis III (c.1402-1364 B.C.), presumably because the palace at Knossos and with it the island's international political significance had by then collapsed. During his reign, however, Amenophis III set up in his temple precinct at Kom el Hetan a statue whose base records Aegean place-names of a Mycenaean itinerary: for the Egyptian toponyms mention not only Cretan but several Mycenaean sites on the Greek mainland⁽⁷²⁾. Some of these names also occur on Knossian Linear B tablets whose approximate date, proposed spelling rules and decipherment as an early form of Greek accordingly seem borne out by the present Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Further Egyptian considerations

In his contribution in 1929 to The Mural Painting of El Amarneh, Henri Frankfort developed his view that the mural

paintings of Tell el Amarna of the period of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten (c.1376/64-1359/47 B.C.) reflect considerable influence of earlier Cretan frescoes⁽⁷³⁾. Some support for this view could be found in the presence in the town's destruction deposits of many broken LH/LM IIIA 2 vases, suggesting a possible colony of Aegean artists there, which Petrie has published. Frankfort was of course aware that by Akhenaten's time the most comparable Minoan paintings, of MM IIIB/LM IA to LM IB date, and the high civilisation of Crete had disappeared; but he thought that Egyptians might have come across such fine paintings in the palaces of the Mycenaean mainland⁽⁷⁴⁾. As evidence of this, however, he cites Rodenwaldt's studies of frescoes from Mycenae and Tiryns which Rodenwaldt attributed to the LH I-II period, all of which paintings would now by general agreement be consigned to LM/LH III. Further, the Mycenaean palaces were themselves the subjects of several reconstructions between LH I and LH III A2 (= the Amarna Period), and so it is hard to see how such frescoes as Frankfort assumes survived could have done so until the days of Amarna.

Frankfort based his view on observation of the new naturalism and freedom in the Amarna Style from time-hallowed Egyptian artistic and religious conventions in mural painting. The Amarna paintings also show a new love of curved line and softly varied colouration; hieroglyphs, baselines and the register arrangement become less important; objects, especially those drawn from Nature, are studied for their own sake (PLATE 212B), and plant leaves (as in Crete) are coloured in alternating arrangements; undulating background lines on which animals may stand at different levels occur; the Amarna paintings also illustrate a more unified composition than had previously been customary in Egypt; and seemingly specific Minoan conventions, including the "flying gallop" and "cavalier perspective", are also present in the Amarna style.

More recently, however, H. Kantor⁽⁷⁵⁾ and W. Stevenson Smith⁽⁷⁶⁾ have reviewed Frankfort's thesis and both scholars suggest possible Cretan influences in Egyptian murals early in Dynasty XVIII, in the Tuthmosid Period, rather than towards its close in the Amarna Period⁽⁷⁷⁾. That is the time of the four important Keftiu paintings and the presumed Aegean embassies which inspired them. One of the earliest Egyptian spiral ceiling designs, perhaps to be derived from Minoan spiraliform designs, actually occurs in the Tomb of Senmut. But there is good reason to think that whatever Minoan influences occurred at this time had become thoroughly incorporated into native Egyptian developments in mural painting by the time of Amarna.

Frankfort's views omit to take into account the vastly increased material and artistic prosperity which Egypt's relations with foreign countries in the Tuthmosid Period had encouraged. Further, the relaxation of pharaonic authority attested in the New Kingdom by the growth in importance of the civil servants, nobles and the priesthood of Amun also affected the nature of Egyptian mural decoration. Thus private individuals, accustomed to high levels of material luxury and personal power, sought to represent in their tombs their own personal achievements and interests: while the artists, given the new scope of non-religious subject matter, felt free to depart gradually from established Egyptian canons and conventions of pictorial representation, and experimented with new modes of visual expression on the very lines that lead to the emergence of the distinctive features of the Amarna Style.

This could be shown by way of mural scenes in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri, and the tomb paintings of Rekhmire, Kenamun, Nakht, Menna, Nebamun and Ramose (to name but a few), all dating to the pre-Amarna Period. But it is sufficient for present purposes to point out that in drawing and painting a looser and flexible line and varied subtle

colouration and shading; three-dimensional illusion and contraposto poses; effects of transparency; realistically natural postures and gestures; free spatial arrangements and juxtapositions; use of soft colours; attention to personal physiological characteristics; and fluid manipulation of background landscape features and creatures of wild nature in them, as well as experiments in "artistic shorthand" impressionism in the rendering of animal (rather than human) crowd scenes, all make their appearance in Egyptian wall painting before the age of Amarna. As to the treatment of landscapes in animal hunting scenes, notably those in the Tomb of Kenamun (PLATE 212A) of which so much has been made in earlier considerations of the present issue⁽⁷⁸⁾, experiments on similar artistic lines were already attempted in the Middle Kingdom in scenes in a tomb at Meir⁽⁷⁹⁾. On these considerations alone it is clear that any Minoan influences detectable in Amarnan art probably came by way of earlier Egyptian traditions in mural painting, so transformed nearer the beginning of the New Kingdom.

In that case, Frankfort's thesis that the art of the Amarna Period was influenced more directly by contact at that time with the Aegean world remains unproven - and unlikely.

Conclusions

In the light of Chapters IX and X, this review has suggested that the new forms of dress and hairstyles seen in the LM II-IIIA 1 frescoes from Crete are especially paralleled in LH I-II pictorial representations from the Greek mainland depicting Mycenaeans. Further, adequate comparisons for the same features in LM IB or earlier pictorial scenes are conspicuously few and in most cases claims for a Minoan identification of the figures depicted are clearly mistaken or questionable. In addition, the LM II-IIIA 1 types of scene in which the people in new hairstyles and dress

occur are well attested in early Mycenaean sources but are absent in the LM IB or earlier Cretan record. At that date there is some evidence for Mycenaeans in the Cycladic frescoes of Hagia Irini on Keos and perhaps even for their arrival in South Crete, near Hagia Triada, and for more restricted Mycenaean features in certain figure representations in frescoes from Thera.* Moreover, the evidence from Egyptian paintings shows a change in dress forms in the Tombs of Rekhmire² and Menkhepera³ sonb which correspond in kind and date to the new costumes of male figures first seen in Cretan mural painting in the LM II Procession Fresco from Knossos. That correspondence supports the Minoan fresco evidence for a change in political power in Crete with the arrival between about 1460 and 1435 B.C. of the Mycenaeans whom we now see widely depicted on the walls at Knossos and Hagia Triada.

Only bull-leapers, goddesses and perhaps some priestesses were allowed to appear as Minoan in the new frescoes in LM II-IIIA 1 Crete - so it would seem, for their entertainment value or in deference to the traditional religious rites with which they were associated. Both the "general mural picture" and specific late frescoes suggest major transformations of traditional Minoan religion and its visual ensignia at that time. The prevailing spirit in the LM II-IIIA 1 murals is of the martial authority of the new Mycenaean overlords, even where military impedimenta are absent. The Mycenaeans, who required "School D" to carry out a major redecoration of the palace at Knossos with themselves and their military ethos as the chief features of it, are thus well attested in the palatial murals of LM II-IIIA 1 date, in agreement with overwhelming evidence from other archaeological sources for their occupation of Knossos and administration of the island from the capital in the period c.1460-1375 B.C. Then the palace at Knossos fell, an event which the disappearance in Egypt until Ramesside times

* See now AAA VI Part 3 (1973), Col. Pl. III and pp. 494ff.

of references to Aegeans evidently corroborates as happening in the life-time of Amenophis III (c.1402-1364 B.C.). The new art of his successor at Amarna doubtfully shows direct artistic connections with contemporary wall painting from the Aegean area. The mural industry in Crete had disappeared along with the destruction of the palace at Knossos; and thereafter it was continued in increasingly debased form only on the Mycenaean Greek mainland, so far as we presently know. Why Hagia Triada alone of the Cretan sites outside Knossos was permitted to decorate rooms with figured frescoes in LM IIIA 1 remains an open issue.

A more crucial question is yet to be answered. How is it that remains of the grand redecoration of the palace at Knossos effected by "School B/C" in MM IIIB/LM IA depicting only Minoans turned up in the same destruction deposits as the more extensive relics of the later redecoration of "School D" depicting primarily Mycenaean? Must not some paintings of the former "school" have remained on their walls until the LM IIIA 1/2 early destruction of the palace?

The present writer believes that that must have been so. But it appears that only pictures from the earlier redecoration which depicted the athletic festivities connected with the cult of the Minoan Goddess, and those of the goddess herself and perhaps her handmaids, were allowed to remain. That is, the earlier frescoes depicting Minoan men in major processional scenes from palace halls and corridors leading to the rooms of State or Public Halls on upper stories - where the rites of the goddess were especially carried out - were in the later mural scheme thrown out and replaced by the extensive western and eastern Procession Frescoes depicting Mycenaean. The original theme of the earlier palace redecoration was evidently preserved in its essentials, for the chief Minoan Goddess was still worshipped by the Mycenaean as the presence of the goddess in

typically Minoan flounced skirt in the LM II Procession Fresco shows (PLATE 14A). It was her devotees who were changed, which is why Mycenaean and not Minoan men accompany her in that and related scenes.

But the former overall thematic unity and harmony in the palace decoration was not entirely preserved in LM II-IIIA 1. The smaller scales of paintings best represented in the works of "School F" and other artists concerned with entirely new mural themes of a military nature would seem to have replaced any existing frescoes from the earlier scheme in several smaller rooms of the palace, thereby admitting into the palace mural decoration an element of thematic diversification. This departure in LM II-IIIA 1 from unified systems of decoration, so loved by the Minoans in both palaces and houses, in turn seems in character with Mycenaean schemes of mural painting so far as they can presently be assessed from sites on the Greek mainland⁽⁸⁰⁾.

If this explanation of the circumstances surrounding the discovery of many of the frescoes from the palace at Knossos is acceptable, past confusions in the dating of the paintings and to some extent in their interpretation become more understandable. Parts of two thematically similar but chronologically and ethnically different schemes of redecoration were found in the same deposits, the one depicting the Minoans in the last period of their self-rule at the height of their civilisation, the other the Mycenaean in the more sober days of LM II-IIIA 1. This is in accord with Evans's view, if not with the fresco dating he suggested, that:

"the 'Shield Fresco' - so significant of military parade - seems to have belonged to a somewhat later stage, and, indeed, had probably replaced a Processional scheme on the Grand Staircase" (PM IV, p.881).

The "Processional scheme" cannot have been one of those depicting Mycenaeans as tribute-bearers, for they and the Shield Fresco were executed by members of the same "school" of painters (D). It would seem to be, in fact, the painting illustrated at SLIDE 44, which portrays Minoans, attributable to the MM IIIB/IM IA redecoration of the palace by "School B/C".

Notes to Chapter XI

1. J.L. Caskey, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 113 (1969), pp.44f; M.S.F. Hood, "Late Bronze Age Destructions at Knossos" in Acta of the First International Scientific Congress on the Volcano of Thera (Athens 1971), p.382 and Fig.1; M.R. Popham repeatedly in conversation with the present writer.
2. "Warrior graves": at the new Hospital Site, BSA 47 (1952), pp.243-277 and BSA 51 (1956), pp.81-99; at Zapher Papoura, A.J. Evans, The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos (1906); at Sellopoulos (Tomb 4), as yet unpublished although preliminary accounts of the pottery have appeared (Popham, in AJA '74 (1970), pp.226-228 and SMA XII, (1970), pp.93-95). Some chamber tombs have inward-sloping dromoi, as at Mycenae. The Kephala tholos: Hutchinson, BSA 51 (1956), pp.74-80. At Archanes, J. Sakellarakis, Archaeology 20 (1967), pp.276-281; Kadmos IV (1965), pp.177-180, and elsewhere. Sources for Mycenaean comparisons: A.J.B. Wace, Mycenae (1949); Chamber Tombs at Mycenae (Archaeologia LXXXII); A. Persson, Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea (1931); and New Tombs at Dendra near Midea (1932). No attempt is made here to broach the problem of the origin of the tholos tomb.
3. See Popham, BSA 62 (1967), p.344 and n.32 for further references; also SMA XII (1970), p.86 n.91.
4. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, JHS 73 (1953), pp.84-103 and Documents in Mycenaean Greek (Cambridge 1964); J. Chadwick, The Decipherment of Linear B (Cambridge 1958). This decipherment is, however, disputed, but the issue what language the Mycenaeans spoke does not seriously affect the archaeological evidence as to the presence at Knossos in LM II-IIIA 1 of people of the contemporary mainland culture. That evidence is merely conclusive if Linear B is, as this writer believes, an early form of Greek!
5. M.P. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion (reprinted 1968 edition), pp.395ff, and passim on the symbols of Minoan religion taken over by the Mycenaeans.
6. Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai (1921), p.17.
7. Die minoische Kultur des alten Kreta (1964), Chapter XII, pp.112f and Jahreshefte d. Ostr. Arch. Inst. 45 (1960), p.44 ff; Crete and the Luvians, p.10.
8. PC, p.284.
9. Vol. IV, G, p.343.
10. They are: by "School D" - manes of two adjoined horses ? drawing a chariot (PLATE 62A); a similar piece by "School G" (PLATE 62B); the "Dual Chariot Fresco" and perhaps a dappled chariot by painter A of "School F" (SLIDE 20 and pieces at Vol. IV, G, Fig.3A-B); the "Dappled Chariot Fresco" by a LM IIIA 1 painter (SLIDE 21); a griffin-led chariot (PLATE 61, especially A2; restored sketch, Fig.53, opp.p.459); and perhaps the adjoined figures with scabbards, by painter B of "School F", signify charioteers in a chariot (PLATE 51 Ba). Warfare is depicted on LM IB sealings from Hagia Triada, as

well as on later sealings from Knossos, and also horses drawing chariots for which others (from the same ring ?) are closely paralleled at LM IB Sklavokambos also showing the charioteer who wears the culotte (J. Betts, Kadmos VI (1967), pp.15ff and p.33, Fig.5 and p.37, Fig.9). Another LM IB sealing from Hagia Triada depicts a bull sacrifice PM IV, p.522, Fig.467). Is it just possible that some Mycenaean forces were already present at some sites in Crete just before the LM IB destructions?

11. Compare, for example, the Procession Fresco (PLATE 14A) with fresco processions from Thebes (Frauenfrieses Pl.15), Tiryns (Tiryns II, Pl.VIII) or Pylos (Pylos II, Pl.119, Vestibule sketch); or the "Dual Chariot Fresco" (SLIDE 20) and "Palanquin" figures (PLATE 51) with military scenes from Mycenae (BSA XXV (1921-23) Pls.XXVIIb and XXVII), Tiryns (Tiryns II, pp.110, 117, Figs.47 and 49, and Pls. I nos.3-4, and XII), and Pylos (Pylos II, Pls.M-N, nos.25H and 31H); or the plants of the Griffin Frescoes (SLIDE 53) with plants or trees in frescoes from Tiryns (Tiryns II, Pls.XII-XIII) and Pylos (Pylos II, Pl.136 no.36C).
12. E.g. inlaid daggers from Mycenae (Crete and Mycenae Col.Pls. XXXV, lowest, and XXXVIII); metal bowls (*Ibid*, Pl.196, top); and signet rings (*Ibid*, Pl.207, top).
13. PM III, pp.48 and 66. Even so, their hairstyles are very curly and have the long lock in front of the ear, lacking in the later hairstyles, which shows they are merely abbreviations of the Type A style. The general sequence of long (Type A), medium (LM II-IIIA) and cropped (LM II-III) hairstyles was noted by Furumark, though the dates he cites are no longer acceptable (Opuscula Archaeologica VI (1950), p.229).
14. SLIDE 5 A2-3; but A2 here lacks the long lock in front of the ear, commonly found in Type A styles, and A3 goes ridiculously low to below knee level.
15. See pp.55f and 58 above.
16. Excluding the Minoan-made gold Vapheio Cups, depicting Minoans, on seals: CMS I, nos. ?11, 82, 200, 294 and 370. Nos.82, 200 and 370 depict bull-leapers with short kilts! In bull-leaping frescoes: LH IIIA at Pylos (Pylos II, Pl.124 no.36H) and LH IIIB 1 at Tiryns (worn hair, Type A questionable here, Tiryns II, Pl.XVIII = Schliemann, Tiryns Pl.XIII).
17. For example, as found in the case of all male figures, except bull-leapers, in all figured frescoes from Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and Orchomenos: some have beards (Pylos II, Pl.N, no.5H5: two central Nubians). On other objects, often with beards: from Mycenae - the "Lion-hunt" inlaid dagger, face-masks from Circle A, figures on the Siege Rhyton, on an inlaid cup, on gold rings in a Minoanising style, on a small amethyst seal, on an ivory helmeted figure, on the "Warrior Vase" and on a chariot krater (Crete and Mycenae, Col.Pl.XXVI, lower, and Pls.162, 174, 196, 206, 212, 214-215, 232-234 respectively); and from an inlaid cup from Pylos (*Ibid*, Pl.204 lower). Beards in Minoan figure representations are in fact very rare, especially on LM IB or earlier objects. Hood, The Minoans, Pl.66, is clearly negroid and an African of some kind; the archer on a stone bowl sherd from Knossos is Syrian if not Mycenaean (PM III, p.106, Fig.59: and see footnote 24 below). The seal at Crete and Mycenae Pl.118, lower left, may be a picture of a Mycenaean; it seems Mycenaean in style but comes from the earlier deposits of the Little Palace at Knossos (PM IV, p.216)

18. For example, the ivory helmeted figure (*Ibid*, Pls.214-215); LH I/II seal from Vapheio tholos (*Ibid*, Pl.211, upper right); the "Warrior Vase" (*Ibid*, Pl.232-233), and see the Pylos frescoes depicting men.
19. Fig.23A here (cf. Crete and Mycenae, Pls.106-107).
20. Thera IV, Pls.E-F, left; Thera V, Pls.J-K; and AAA V (1972) Pt.3, Front Cover and Col.Pl.IV.
21. Thera IV, pp.47, 49.
22. Hood, The Home of the Heroes (1967), p.119. There Hood refers to "men" in the 13th century B.C. frescoes from Pylos as wearing the Minoan brief kilt; but the kilt at Pylos II, Pl.129 (right) is with good reason restored quite differently - which leaves only the LH IIIA bull-leaping fresco depicting Minoans as wearing the brief kilt in frescoes from that site.
23. Pictorial scenes on seals and sealings are often so small that such details as hairstyles were commonly omitted. Besides, drawings of the scenes often seem to "tidy up" what can actually be seen in the originals. In any case, the glyptic art is rightly understood to have its own iconographical conventions which, as in the rendering of hair, are clearly not the same as those of fresco painting.
24. Obvious examples are the pictures of an officer (PM II, p.791, Fig.516, left) and an archer (PM III, p.106, Fig.59) on relief stone bowls from Hagia Triada and Knossos. But both are soldiers for whom short hairstyles may be expected. Contra Evans (PM III, p.100) and Warren (MSV, p.177), the archer, with Semitic profile and large nose, a beard and un-Minoan culotte, is clearly Syrian or some Asiatic, if not a Mycenaean. Naturally enough, Evans compared this figure to others on the silver Siege Rhyton from Mycenae - some with the Asiatic bow - whom he described as "naked barbarians" (PM III, pp.91ff and 97, Fig.56). The "harvesters" on the stone vase from Hagia Triada may be cited (Crete and Mycenae, Pls.103-105), but their hair is either completely cropped or tucked under a cap, presumably to keep dust and chaff out. On the same vase, a player of an Egyptian sistrum has a classic Type C hairstyle, perhaps cropped for the same reason: he is fatter than the rest, and wore a larger form of kilt which, however, is curtailed by the break in the original. We cannot really say who he is, though he may as much be a foreigner as a Minoan. The nearby priest (or overseer ?) on this vase; the mysterious figures at the back of the "Chieftain's Cup" from the same site (*Ibid*, Pl.101); a boxer on a stone bowl sherds from Knossos (PM I p.689, Fig.510) and an acrobat (not necessarily a bull-leaper, as some think) on a gold pommel-cover from MM I-II Mallia (Crete and Mycenae, Pl.69), all have hairstyles of Type B. All could be "miniaturistic abbreviations" of the Type A hairstyle, as in the fresco "miniatures" from Knossos. Or the priest/overseer may have trimmed his hair for his role in the harvest festival; the hair of the "mysterious" figures seems secreted behind their large capes, and we cannot tell if it definitely ended at shoulder-level; and the boxer seems of inferior, less detailed, execution than his counterparts on the "Boxer Rhyton" where long hairstyles alone prevail. And is the acrobat really Minoan? His mass of tight curls, peculiar cut of kilt (? unique in Crete) with Egyptian or Syrian tassels, his long and large nose, and elongated proportions could suggest an African of some kind.

Only the sistrum-player, the "officer" of the Chieftain's Cup and one figure on a relatively sketchily carved stone bowl from Knossos (first published by St. Alexiou in KChr, but see Interconnections, Fig.93 for a new and probably incorrect association with another stone-bowl sherd) have definite C-Type hairstyles in visually clear LM IB or earlier representations - but they need not be Minoans, for they could be foreigners participating in Minoan rites.

25. The "Lion-hunt" dagger (Crete and Mycenae, Col. Pl. XXXI, lower); the second, fragmentary, silver vase (Karo, Pls. CXXIX and CXXXI no. 605: Interconnections, Fig. 88); on the "warriors" gold ring (Karo, Pl. XXIV no. 241: Interconnections, Fig. 89).
26. On seals and sealings: M.A.V. Gill, Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung 79 (1964), Pl. 7, no. 2 from Kakovatos, and no. 4 from Hydra; Pl. 6, no. 2 from Enkomi. On LH IIIB frescoes: Pylos II, Pls. 123 right, 124 left and top right (= Pl. N). For the more usual shirt and chiton dress, see e.g. from Mycenae BSA XXV (1921-23), Pl. XXVII: from Tiryns, Tiryns II, Pls. I nos. 3-4, 6, and XI nos. 4-5; and from Pylos, Pylos II, Pls. 121, lower, to 123, left.
27. The culotte in the Procession Fresco is in profile view, but that of the "Captain of the Blacks" is frontal.
28. A ?man in a ?culotte occurs on a LM IB sealing from Sklavokambos, to judge by Bett's drawing in Kadmos IV (1967), p. 33, Fig. 5a (on which see footnote 10 above). The Syrian or Mycenaean archer from Knossos (PM III, p. 106, Fig. 59; see footnote 24 above) and the "master of animals" of the Aegina gold pendant (Hood, op.cit. p. 63, Fig. 50). The latter seems a clear Minoan pastiche of an Egyptian deity in a celestial boat, complete with Egyptian trappings of boat, lotus flowers, geese clutched in the hands, the "palace facade motif" as headwear, earrings (not a Minoan feature, but African), the usual Egyptian kilt form, pendant solar discs, and so-called "snake-frames" (for conflicting ethnic interpretations of which see Marinatos, BSA 46 (1951), p. 112ff and M.A.V. Gill, Kadmos VIII (1969), pp. 85ff). For general overall Egyptian comparisons see M. Vilimkova, Egyptian Jewelry (Prague 1969), nos. 17, 22, 36, 66, 74, 76 (a book excellent for elaborate, large, Egyptian earrings).
29. PM I, p. 505, Fig. 363b (doubtfully a culotte), with Mycenaean tower shield (cf. Crete and Mycenae, Col. Pl. XXXVI, lower, and Interconnections, Fig. 89); and PM I, p. 505, Fig. 363c, with "Asiatic bow" (Ibid, p. 680). Both are accompanied by Syrian-looking lions or pard, and both wear peaked caps which Evans compared to the Egyptian White Crown and the headwear of a Syrian lightning-god (PM III, p. 477ff). The third example is the acrobat from Mallia (see footnote 24 above).
30. PM I, p. 707, Fig. 531a-c. A "madman" - so queried by M.A.V. Gill (Kadmos VIII (1969), pp. 90f).
31. PM I, p. 681f, Fig. 501 and PM III, p. 681 n.1.
32. PM I, p. 505, Fig. 363a.
33. The cloaked figures at the back of the "Chieftain's Cup" from Hagia Triada are not at all closely comparable (Crete and Mycenae, Pl. 101).
34. PM III, p. 93ff, Fig. 52; cf. later seals from Mycenae (PM IV, p. 402, Figs. 333-334).

35. Crete and Mycenae, Pl.211 upper right; PM IV, pp.412-414, Figs.341 and 343c, and p.419, Fig.348.
36. Crete and Mycenae, Pl.118, centre left, and PM IV, p.405ff, Figs.336, 342, and 343a-b.
37. Analysis, Mot.1 "Man", LH IIIA-B figures; and Fig.77f-g here.
38. Tiryns II, p.108, Fig.46, perhaps Pl.I no.3, and Pl.XII.
39. Pylos II, Pls.119 (Vestibule sketch and (?)13 H 5), 120, 125-126. See also the left-hand priestess on the painted tablet from Mycenae (PM III, p.135, Fig.88) and the "Warrior Goddess" in the new fresco from Mycenae at Antiquity XLIII (1969), p.95, Fig.2, centre: further pieces of this figure's cloak, making it a certainty, have been identified by the present writer.
40. MC Thesis, p.92.
41. PM III, p.308f: they were burnt before they joined the North Threshing Floor fresco dump.
42. Pylos II, Pls.119 (Vestibule, top right = Colour Pl.N no.5 H 5) and 129, right: see also p.94 for mention of further Blacks.
43. The lower of the two "miniature" figures in Antiquity XLIII (1969), p.95, Fig.2 - not mentioned as such in the accompanying report, but certain.
44. See Vol.IV, G, p.341-343 for discussion and references.
45. Analysis Mot.39, nos.3, 6-8 and 11. Chariot ideograms, see PM IV, p.788, Fig.763, and Scripta Minoa II for many further instances. Linear B tablets record 25 complete and 200 incomplete chariots at Knossos (so Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p.262).
46. H.W. Catling and A. Millett, BSA 60 (1965), p.212ff and n.1 for further references.
47. J. Betts, Kadmos VI (1967), p.33, Fig.5a-b (cf. Crete and Mycenae, Pl.111, lower right).
48. Ibid, Pls.146-147 and Interconnections, Fig.89.
49. Tiryns II, Pl.XII.
50. So Mackeprang, AJA 42 (1938), p.546.
51. BSA 62 (1967), pp.343-345, and BSA 64 (1969), pp.299-304.
52. PM IV, p.395, Fig.331 (perhaps from a LM I ring: see Vol.IV, G, p.341 n.27 on the dating of the sealing).
53. PM IV, p.387, Figs.321-322.
54. PM IV, p.393, Fig.329.
55. Pylos II, Pls.125 (Throne Room) and 126 (nos.44a-b H 6).
56. LM IB example from Hagia Triada, PM IV, p.522, Fig.467. LM II-IIIA examples: PM IV, p.568, Fig.542b; p.573, Fig.550; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), Pl.6 (R 13); CMS I (1964), nos.80, 203 and ?264.
57. J. Sakellarakis, Kadmos 4 (1964), p.178f.

58. A controversial point: see Furumark, Opus. Arch. VI (1950), p.237. But the present writer believes Pendlebury was right, in his classic article in JEA XVI (1930), pp.75ff.

59. The Egyptian chronological scheme followed here is that of E. Hornung, Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des neuen Reiches (1964), especially the Table at p.108 for "certain" and "probable" dates for the pharaohs of the New Kingdom. For the accession of Hatshepsut, see Urk IV, 193(13), 198(14), 201(15) and W. Helck, Studia Biblica et Orientalia III (Oriens Antiquus 1959), p.116; and R.A. Parker, Journal of Near Eastern Studies 16 (1957), pp.41-42, showing that only the dates 1515 or 1490 B.C. are possible for the start of the coregency of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Senmut, Tomb 71: its excavation began in year 7 of Hatshepsut's and Tuthmosis III's coregency and was still being worked in year 11, though the forecourt and perhaps its paintings may have been completed by then (W.O. Hayes, Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Senmut (No.71) at Thebes (1942), pp.7, 21 and Pl.XIII (no.62) and pp.23, 34 and Pl.XVI (no.80), and Mitteilungen DAIA Kairo 15 (1957), p.80). PM II, p.736ff, Fig.470. The present writer is indebted to Mr. K.A. Kitchen for many Egyptian chronological references in this section of this chapter and for discussions in 1965-66 in Liverpool.

60. Tomb 131: A.H. Gardiner and N. de G. Davies, The Tomb of Amenemhet (1915), pp.71ff and Pl.25; Urk IV, 1043, lines 15ff; Helck, Zur Verwaltung des mittleren und neuen Reichs (1958), pp.291, 436 (5: section 7 on p.437). PM II, p.738, Fig.471.

61. Tomb 86: Davies, Theban Tombs V (1933), pp.2-9 and Ancient Egyptian Paintings (1936), Pls.21-24. PM II, p.746, Fig.482.

62. Tomb 100: Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes (1943), I, pp.20-25 and II, Pls.18-20; Louvre Papyrus (Helck, op.cit., pp.292f and p.437:6:1); Urk IV, 1159(13).

63. See Furumark, op.cit., p.224 n.9 (with further references to these four tombs).

64. PM II, pp.425ff, 534f, 736f; Furumark, op.cit., pp.234-237.

65. Égyptiens et Préhellènes (Paris 1954) and L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique (Cairo 1956). But noted by Evans, PM II, p.739.

66. For: F. Schachermeyr, Die minoische Kultur des alten Kreta (1964), Chapter 12, esp.p.113; Huxley, Crete and the Luvians, p.10; G. Cadogan, Minutes to the Mycenaean Seminar (Inst. Class. Studies, London) for 21 May 1969 (p.349); Popham, AJA 74 (1970), p.227, though following Stevenson Smith's (and Hayes's) impermissible 1504 B.C. date for Tuthmosis III's accession (see footnote 59 above). Against: G.A. Wainwright, Liverpool Annals VI, pp.24ff; and Furumark, op.cit., pp.215ff.

67. See Davies, Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1930), II, pp.31f, 36; PM II, p.739; Furumark, op.cit., p.236 and n.2.

68. PM II, p.740, Fig.473f. Compare the horned helmets on a LH I/II seal from Vapheio (PM IV, p.690, Fig.675), on a LM II-III A 1 sealing from the Little Palace at Knossos (BSA 60(1965), Pl.8 (U 106), and on a LH IA faience sherd from Mycenae (PM IV, p.690, Fig.674).

69. Pylos II, Pls.129, left, and 130 top. A fragmentary leopard's head in a LM II-IIIA 1 style occurs on a fresco from Knossos (SLIDE 25).
70. See Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca (1930) for LM II Cretan and Egyptian exchanges; Furumark, op.cit., in his essay on "The Settlement at Ialyssos and Aegean History c.1550-1400 B.C."; G. Cadogan, loc.cit.
71. Popham, AJA 68 (1964), p.354; Antiquity XL no.157 (1966), p.27f; SMA XII, p.84.
72. K.A. Kitchen, Orientalia 34 (1965), pp.5-6, and Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 181 (1966), pp.23f.
73. Frankfort, op.cit., Chapter I, pp.18-30, 64f. Akhenaten's date, based on Hornung's, here allows for a possible 10-year coregency with Amenophis III (K.A. Kitchen, Chronique d'Egypte XL (1965), p.319 n.3).
74. Frankfort, op.cit., p.24.
75. The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C. (1947).
76. Interconnections in the Ancient Near East (1965).
77. Ibid, p.155.
78. PM II, pp.448f, Fig.263; and as Stevenson Smith mentions in Interconnections, p.156f.
79. L. Klebs, Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches (1922) Abb.34, pp.52-53. For other possible Cretan influences on Egyptian art at this time, see p.34 above.
80. As, for example, with the mixture of elements not found in Minoan murals (lions) with otherwise separated elements from Cretan frescoes (camp stools, bulls, lyre-player, griffin) in the Throne Room scenes at Pylos (Pylos II, Pl.125) where the palace decoration as a whole admits religious, hunting and battle scenes at one and the same time but without the thematic harmony of the MM IIIB/LM IA redecoration at Knossos. This disunity in Mycenaean mural decoration is especially notable at Pylos with discordant variation of the scales of representation in the scenes (e.g. Ibid, Pls.119 and 125), a feature only present in Knossian frescoes - but then more tastefully - when distinctions between deities and mortals (PLATE 54), adults and children (PLATE 29, male figure to right), or the power of Man and the forces of Nature (PLATE 71) are pointedly contrasted.

CHAPTER XII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER XII

Despite the discovery of further sites and the results of recent research, Sir Arthur Evans's views on the general history and character of the Minoan civilisation have remained substantially confirmed. The present study has shown this is true also of his work on Minoan frescoes, and only in the difficult spheres of their dating and, in part, interpretation can it claim to modify his conclusions significantly. Even so, the general stylistic sequence Evans proposed for the frescoes in the The Palace of Minos at Knossos has seemed well founded. But the present thesis has also considered further aspects of the art which Evans and others did not examine.

One half of this study has concerned the find-places and circumstances of discovery of the frescoes and their dating. Their reconsideration and study of the "hands" and "schools" of wall painters at Knossos, undertaken in Chapter IX for a first time, suggest a substantially new chronology for Minoan wall painting which in effect lowers by one phase the dates of many paintings suggested by Evans. The results bring the study of frescoes more into line with other recent modifications of Evans's conclusions, not least with reconsideration of the Late Minoan pottery by Popham.

The major redecoration of the palace at Knossos in MM IIIB/LM IA has here been defined and amplified with the recognition of professional and relief frescoes belonging to it; and a second major redecoration which Evans attributed to the LM I period is now assigned to the period of Mycenaean occupation of the palace at Knossos, a transition which has called for reevaluation of the interpretation of that redecoration in the light of the mainland Greek, earlier Minoan and Egyptian archaeological and pictorial records. It is hoped that the detailed treatment of the chronology of Minoan frescoes has justified not merely the bias of this thesis but future use of the frescoes as a reliable source for historical, social, artistic and comparative studies in the Minoan sphere in

general. It may be valuable, therefore, first to summarise the art of Minoan wall painting in its historical perspective before mention of other conclusions of interest.

Historical summary

The origin of Minoan wall painting, first a craft and then later an art, steadily continued for some 4,500 years only on the site of the palace and town of Knossos, goes back to the exploitation there of local mud deposits for the purpose of sealing house-roofs in the Early Neolithic I period (c.6000 B.C.). Mud-plastered walls and floors followed by the early Middle Neolithic period (c.4000 B.C.), and simple painting of mud-lime plasters with monochrome red washes had appeared by Early Minoan II in the houses of the first industrialised communities of Bronze Age Crete (c.2600-2200 B.C.). At that time, a "mural industry" (perhaps under the wing of the village architects and masons) was organised as such in order to collect raw materials in bulk and to carry out extensive plastering and painting. Elementary linear geometrical patterns in red on plain white may have begun by EM III (c.2200-2100/2000 B.C.), while the lime content of plasters was certainly then increased to give a finer painting surface, although patterns in the form of simple straight coloured bands are only definitely attested by Middle Minoan IA (c.2100/2000-1900 B.C.). Until then, the main function of plastered walls had been as protective, smooth-faced covers to architectural constructions while wall painting possibly served more magical than decorative purposes, arising perhaps from an earlier tradition for the magical use of red ochres. Crete's long history of unpainted plastered walls and slow developments in mural painting after EM II tell against possible derivation of the art from outside the island.

Wall painting's scope as a vehicle for artistic decoration became clearer to the Minoans only in MM IA, or MM IB when the First Palaces were founded (c.1900 B.C.). During the First Palace Period, in which

fresco evidence is slight, simple abstract or geometrical designs and imitation of architectural materials alone are attested. At this time, fresco painting lagged behind the other arts which were already depicting pictorial representation and there is some evidence to think the wall painters may have borrowed some motifs from the vase-painters' repertoire. Nevertheless, by the end of MM II and perhaps with artistic stimulus from Egypt, we find a full basic colour palette, a greater range of simple patterns, use of the string-impressed guiding-line to define pictorial areas and borders, marked improvements in the quality and whiteness of plasters, and a very high polish to the painted surfaces. On the eve of the MM II palace destructions, therefore, the mural art was ready technically to expand into a new sphere -- that of realistic pictorial representation, presently confined in mural painting to the Second Palace Period. The claims of some scholars that Minoan wall painting of this time may be artistically related to that of the Syrian palace at Alalakh seem, with J. W. Graham, exaggerated. Alleged connections with others from the palace at Mari have been based on a Knossian fresco fragment mistakenly attributed to MM II by Evans: it belongs to a figure in the Grand Staircase Procession Fresco of MM IIIIB/LM IA date.

The reconstruction of palaces and towns early in MM IIIA, c.1700 B.C., presented rich opportunities for experimentation in mural decoration. At Knossos, the very fine "School H" depicted more advanced geometrical but also floral and other compositions in town houses bordering the Royal Road and in the palace where, too, a "painter of sombre spirals" was also active. How and why "naturalism" suddenly appeared in the works of these artists is a complex issue and a combination of several explanations seems required. The technical maturity of the art, the reconstruction of the palaces, the general stage of pictorial representation which Minoan art as a whole had reached, and the existence since the First Palace Period of a commonly understood Minoan "theology" upon which mural painters could draw for their themes, may all have played their part. And artists from other

spheres, notably pottery, may have put their hand to wall painting. Further, the advent of "naturalism" coincides with an apparent decline in Minoan worship at peak sanctuary sites, at which time the Minoans may have wished to introduce the chief goddess - a Mistress of Animals and Peak Sanctuaries - into their palaces and homes by way of pictures on the walls. At no point, however, in the history of Minoan wall painting is there any evidence for a so-called "Household Goddess" visually distinguishable from the goddess just mentioned.

Human figure representation apparently begins in MM IIIB, c.1625 B.C., if perhaps not earlier, with the rise of "School A" in the palace at Knossos following a partial earthquake destruction at the close of MM IIIA. In the town of Knossos, "School J" depicting floral frescoes was active and at Phylakopi on Melos there was a flourishing local "school" - perhaps inspired by Knossian artists, though the fresco connections to show this are missing in the archaeological record. Animals and birds, together with further pictorial motifs including large-scale moulded relief pictures of bulls and perhaps people, are now present in the fresco repertoire. Their style is freer than that of the MM IIIA paintings, and black or sepia outlines are now admitted so as to sharpen definition to the eye of the observer. "Miniature" pictorial motifs or scenes as dress patterns appear, and in them flying griffins - a motif perhaps introduced from the Near East at this time. Technically the MM IIIB paintings suggest a slight decline from the high finishes of MM II/ IIIA murals, a trend which continues steadily until the collapse of the industry in LM IIIA. In MM IIIB the distinction to be made between "palatial" and other thematic schemes of mural decoration perhaps begins, as the "Ladies in Blue" series of frescoes and relief compositions of bulls and human figures from the palace at Knossos suggest. In the town, however, "School J" appears to have continued the types of scenes executed in private houses by the earlier "School H".

After a more severe earthquake towards the close of MM IIIB,

c.1580 B.C., the two most brilliant "schools" of painters arose at Knossos. They are "School I", just possibly the earlier of the two, celebrated for its murals in the "House of the Frescoes" and elsewhere at Knossos; and "School B/C" which refurnished the palace with elegant figured scenes depicting only Minoans participating in a major festival of the entire community in honour of their chief goddess. Attribution of both "schools" to an earlier rather than later date in MM IIIB/LM IA seems warranted, as both influenced local mural "schools" active no later than LM IA on the island of Thera. Moreover, members of "School B/C" seem on stylistic grounds to have painted other fine murals from LM IA contexts at other sites in Crete; and artistic connections with very early LH I objects from the Graves Circles at Mycenae are well attested. In addition, other arts of LM/LH I date, especially those of metallic inlay and stone bowl carving of human figured scenes in relief, are notably inspired by the works of these mural "schools" at Knossos. Both were influenced to some degree by Egyptian art, suggesting ambassadorial or commercial relations with that country where the famous "Keftiu" scenes in the tomb of Senmut were shortly to be painted. "School I", by contrast with the interest of "School B/C" in religious scenes and very high relief-work in moulded stucco, went in for delightful, perhaps mostly secular, nature scenes of wild life, apparently at the special request of the house-owners. The "palatial" scheme was, it seems, executed along the lines set down by the earlier "School A". "Miniature" scenes in their own right are now relatively common, and pictures on such diminutive scales of representation hereafter continued, until LH IIIB times in the Mycenaean palaces of the Greek mainland. On the other hand, "miniature" pictorial designs of creatures as dress motifs, such as bucrania, griffins, butterflies, disappear after LM IA in later fresco pictures of textile materials, a point which seems chronologically and perhaps socially significant.

These "schools" are followed in LM IA, c.1550 B.C., by the

"Caravanserai School", better known for its works in the town at Knossos and in the villa at Hagia Triada than for its scanty evidence in the palace at Knossos. The fine frieze from Room 14 of the villa at Hagia Triada is taken to represent the stylistic acme of Minoan wall painting. Here a more serious view of the worlds of Man and Nature than that presented by "School I", whom the present painters artistically follow, is evident, along with a feeling for grander expression and firmer, less lively or excited drawing.

Paintings of LM IA-B date (c.1550-1450 B.C.) are hard to distinguish stylistically; they evidently imitated the styles of the great masters of the MM IIIB/LM IA period. The evidence is, in any case, very fragmentary and in the absence of any substantial "closed" deposit of LM IB frescoes present stylistic criteria are few. Further discoveries and study will hopefully clarify this problem, an important one since it represents a gap poorly filled in the existing fresco sequence. Pictorial mural painting in the Cyclades apparently ceased by the end of LM IB.

Minoan fresco painting undergoes major changes on nearly all fronts in the ensuing LM II period (c.1450-1400 B.C.). By that time, if not slightly earlier at the time of the LM IB destructions which swept Crete, the Mycenaeans had entered Knossos and established control of the island. Comparative evidence from the Greek mainland and Egypt suggests, in the absence of similar evidence in the earlier Cretan murals or other Minoan pictorial representations of LM IB or earlier date, that the Mycenaeans replaced the earlier processional scenes of Minoan men with others depicting themselves as the chief servants and officials of the Minoan Goddess. Their disciplined and military spirit, and somewhat tasteless liking for "the ornate and grandiose", is as much evident in the frescoes as in the contemporary Palace Style pottery which relied heavily on the subject matter of the new mural redecoration. This was executed by "School D" whose style of painting by comparison with those of earlier "schools" is static

and imbued only with mechanical life, while drawing is altogether heavier and colouration less vivid and imaginative.

A series of minor "schools", E-G, bring Minoan wall painting to a close with smaller-scale scenes of military people, of Mycenaean objects including chariots, and of bull sacrifices and processions. In these and in the works of "School D" there are significant changes in types of hairstyles and robes, as well as a predominance of men, by contrast to LM IB or earlier wall paintings from Crete. Their styles of painting the human figure are also the latest in the Minoan fresco sequence, while their dating to LM II-IIIA 1 (c.1400-1375 B.C.) is confirmed by the presence of vases of those periods in several scenes. The mural industry and its "schools" then disappeared with the final destruction of the palace at Knossos in LM IIIA 1/2 early, c.1375 B.C.

This seems confirmed by the absence of mention or representation of Aegeans or people from "Keftiu" (= Crete) in the Egyptian record after the reign of Amenophis III. The Amarna Style cannot be said to show contemporary evidence for Aegean wall painters at work in Egypt during the reign of Akhenaten (c.1376/1364 - 1359/1347 B.C.).

In Crete at that time, indeed from LM IIIA 2 onwards, there is no evidence for pictorial representation from any site on the island, although the simplest kind of "band" decoration may have lingered on at a few isolated sites in the distant provinces. At Knossos, the evidence is that, far from redecorating the palace, the late inhabitants whom Evans called "squatters" were picking fresco remnants from the walls and throwing them out into dumps in rooms or open areas on the fringes of the palace. Further, their religious focal point in the palace - the diminutive Shrine of the Double Axes - went undecorated, in impoverished contrast to the palace and house shrines of earlier periods. The tradition of fresco painting in fact had passed to the Greek mainland with the destruction of the palace at Knossos in LM IIIA 1/2 early. But the "hands" of the latest Knossian painters

are nowhere identifiable in the existing Mycenaean fresco record.

Artistic and Architectural Conclusions

Minoan wall painting drew its subject matter from its most familiar surroundings, that of the palace at Knossos itself and its religious activities, and from the world of nature of Crete and its surrounding seas. Until the time of the intrusion of Mycenaean elements into the Cretan murals, Minoan wall paintings for the most part depicted genre scenes relating to goddess worship and to the annual death-rebirth cycle in Nature itself. Probably in both thematic cycles of representation the underlying concern was with fertility rites to ensure the continued prosperity of the people, their domestic animals and crops. The temporal setting of the scenes as Springtime and the accent upon idealised youth and graceful good looks in human figure representation add weight to this supposition. The entire people was denoted in the "palatial" scheme at Knossos, but without depiction of recognisable historical personnages or accompanying explanatory inscriptions, as participating in a presumably annual Spring festival. Their chief goddess was ritually summoned from her mountain-top abode to the palace at Knossos to witness vigorous athletic spectacles, including boxing matches and bull-leaping, in her honour. The special "message" which the murals publicly proclaim is that of the overriding concern of the Minoans with their beliefs in a "mystery religion" emphasising ecstatic communication with their goddess, and with their refreshing delight in observing and recording the wild life and beautiful landscapes around them. Unlike the murals of the older civilisations to the East and South, the Minoan paintings lack overt emphasis on royal and divine relationships, on a rigid hierarchical and bureaucratic structure in society, and a worldly eye on the benefits believed to accrue from these.

Minoan wall painting confirms other evidence to show that the Minoans sensitively observed details. This is shown by the attention

to minute decorative additions in dress patterns and to recreating impressionistically the texture and mass of creatures and landscape. Colour and drawing conventions appear to have become standardised at an early date, perhaps in MM IIIB; and quite likely the Minoan wall painters knew of a canon of proportion based on the proportions of the human body, perhaps specifically the foot unit, although, if so, it was used by rule of thumb rather than careful measurement. There is no evidence to suppose that the convention of distinguishing men and women by the colour of their skin was not universal. In this connection, the so-called Priest-King relief fresco (of whom there may have been other relief representations in the palace at Knossos, to judge by unpublished fragments of lily crowns) more probably depicts a girl bull-leaper than a prince of the palace.

Organic and spontaneous movement breathe through the earlier scenes bringing them to life. Encircling design in composition, tortion, fluidity of line and colour used in pleasing, sensitively harmonic relationships, and artistic devices such as the radiating treatment of plants or the turned heads of animals, play their part with great effect. But an artistically more stilted use of line and colour is the hallmark of LM II-IIIA murals. More should perhaps have been said on the origins of the specific characteristics of Minoan art, as stemming from surrounding geophysical factors, in assessing the Minoans' distinctive style and interests in wall painting. But this remains for future study.

The frescoes were fitted into five possible positions in the wall-scheme, and thematically continuous friezes rather than panels were preferred. Ceilings of important rooms in the palace at Knossos were probably commonly decorated with three- or four-branched relief spiral decoration, but there is no fresco evidence for rosette decoration "on the flat" around doorways. Floors were occasionally painted with designs either in imitation of architectural elements such as squared gypsum flags or "mosaiko", or with marine scenes featuring dolphins, octopods and smaller fry. The Dolphin Fresco from Knossos probably

occupied such a position, in agreement with Hood's view. Floor decoration interestingly follows the general sequence in the wall paintings, from simple washes of colour, to architectural imitations, to representational subjects, to pictorial scenes. In addition, it is possible that the Minoans were the first to make use of large, fixed, painted stucco hearths, as evidence from MM IIIA Knossos suggests. If so, the origin of the grand painted stucco hearths of Mycenaean palaces may lie in Minoan Crete. The same hearth from Knossos also agrees with architectural evidence that the Minoan unit of measurement was a foot of 30.36 cm., or almost 12". The rarity of floor decoration in the Minoan sites, however, is probably to be explained by their use of actual rugs or carpets in luxurious materials which the "Zebra Fresco" at Knossos suggests may have been imported on occasion from Egypt. By contrast with that civilisation, the Minoans had little use for the mural decoration of tombs, though occasionally they painted ceilings blue to signify the vault of the night sky, as in Egypt. Better evidence for fresco painting in Aegean Bronze Age tombs is, however, forthcoming from Mycenaean sites on the Greek mainland.

On the technical side, Chapter VIII has provided for the first time a detailed account as to how Minoan frescoes were physically constructed and painted, and has pointed to the kind of architectural and perhaps chronological information to be gained from the technical study of their broken remains. Major conclusions in this sphere are that Heaton was right to claim "buon fresco" as the normal process of mural painting; and Snijder's "eidetic theory" may now lapse into oblivion, since he never took into account the evidence for the detailed planning and stages of execution of the paintings which rules out the possibility of "eidetic" vision among the Minoan wall painters. We also find that preliminary sketches for the compositions frequently occur in paintings from private houses especially at Knossos and Phylakopi, which suggests the artists and house-owners were given greater freedom in what could be depicted there as compared to mural

decoration in the palace at Knossos. Retouching of paintings is quite unknown, and "patching up" only in one case from Knossos. Further, relief work outside of Knossos was the exception, not the rule, and then only spirals and figures of goddesses seem to have been depicted. As to materials and painting equipment, only a few new suggestions can be made: and we are little nearer knowing in detail how plasters were prepared for their walls and at what precise stage in the painting process colours were applied. But in frescoes from the Royal Road we now have definite evidence to show paints were put on while the plaster was still damp and malleable, in "buon fresco".

Six broad categories of pictorial representation are noticeable. In the palace at Knossos alone we find (1) the festival cycle of scenes, already mentioned. More widespread are (2) scenes of goddesses in landscaped floral settings, sometimes accompanied by wild animals and birds; and (3) "nature scenes" which study wild animal, plant and marine life for its own sake. Then, in the period of Mycenaean rule, there are (4) military and just possibly hunting scenes, and (5) others of animal sacrifices and, on the Hagia Triada painted sarcophagus, (6) funerary activities. The first three categories suggest elements adapted from the older wall painters' repertoire in Egypt, especially in nature scenes depicting the African Green monkey. The later themes (4-6) evidently refer to Mycenaean life, appearances and rituals, or their adoption of older Minoan religious activities. In all, however, even in seemingly secular scenes of nature, the religious symbolism of the scenes seems never far away. Scenes of work-a-day life and any suggestion of a pornographic nature are totally absent in the surviving record, and so, too, representation of very young or old people. But various non-Aegeans, Nubians and a Libyan, are occasionally depicted.

Chapter VI has attempted to differentiate the various schemes of decoration in use in palaces, villas and houses in Crete and the Cyclades. Five mural schemes are suggested, the most important and the most interesting being that of the palace at Knossos itself, here termed the "palatial" scheme. Here basement rooms and work areas

received simple dado decoration or monochrome washes of paint (usually red), if they were decorated at all. The main entrances and corridors leading to the Rooms of State on upper floors were, however, adorned with bull-catching or bull-leaping scenes and stately processions of people - Minoans in the MM IIIB/IM IA redecoration and Mycenaeans in the scheme of IM II. Important cult rooms on the ground floors were also especially painted, as in the Throne Room. Relief-scenes and large scale compositions depicting priestesses and goddesses took over from the processional frescoes in the upper rooms. The agreement of the inward sweep of the procession frescoes with that of the architecture itself strongly suggests that bull-leaping and other athletic spectacles, which marked the height of the "palatial" scheme of decoration, did, indeed, take place in the Central Courts of the palaces - and above all at Knossos where mural scenes of bulls alone occur in the Minoan world. The fresco evidence for this use of the Central Courts of Minoan palaces therefore strongly supports the thesis of J. W. Graham in his book The Palaces of Crete (1962). The thematic continuity and harmony of this scheme of decoration evidently reflects the order and locations of the principal stages of the actual festivity which took place in honour of the Minoan Goddess. Only thus does it seem possible to reconstruct coherently the raison d'être of the mural decoration of the palace at Knossos.

The mural decoration of the Queen's Megaron, however, poses a problem. The vividly restored view, reproduced as the Frontispiece to Volume III of the Palace of Minos, is unacceptable: for the Dolphin Fresco probably belonged to a floor (and likely of a room in the storey above); the original place of the Dancing Girl Fresco cannot now be ascertained, as it was part of a large dump of frescoes thrown out in IM IIIB; fresco evidence for rosettes on door-frames anywhere in the palace at Knossos and for definite ceiling decoration in this room is absent. This leaves only horizontal spiral friezes at lintel-level and just possibly a procession fresco depicting male figures, executed by "School D", as having decorated the room - if, indeed, the

processional figures did not also collapse from an upper floor. These considerations throw doubt on the traditional interpretation of these rooms, based primarily on the fresco evidence, as "women's quarters" - which we should perhaps now seek in the smaller rooms on the floor above. The LM II redecoration of the ground floor rooms of the Megaron system was in fact so close to that of the Hall of the Double Axes that we should perhaps now see them as intimately connected in function, evidently serving the purposes of the martial overlords of the palace. Only in LM IIIA 1, with the insertion of a clay bath into the area, may we claim a more intimately domestic use of this system of rooms.

In certain rich houses and in the Little Palace at Knossos we find a mixture of palatial mural features, such as large-scale animals in relief stucco, along with more usual forms of decoration in private houses or villas. This has prompted a different classification, called the "princely" scheme. More commonly, however, well-to-do private houses and villas in Crete and the Cyclades have one or other of two schemes, here called the "secular" and the "standard". The former exhibits the more personal tastes of the house-owner in the frequent choice of nature scenes often lacking direct references to religious symbolism. The latter scheme consistently depicts only a goddess - sometimes executed in relief stucco - in a floral or faunal setting. Each of these two schemes on Crete was invariably confined to the most important room of a building, either the Main Hall or a household shrine on an upper floor, usually near a staircase, while the rest of the building usually lacked further notable mural decoration. But in the Cyclades, household decoration was more freewheeling, being represented commonly in both ground floor and upper rooms and admitting a greater thematic variety of scene into the mural decoration than was the case in comparable buildings on Crete. Astonishingly, the surviving fresco evidence from the other three Minoan palaces on Crete, at Phaistos, Mallia and Kato Zakro, suggests classification of their mural schemes as "standard" forms. This, if acceptable on the little

evidence for decoration that has survived from these palaces, implies that their ornamentation was placed at no higher level of importance than that of rich citizens at Knossos or wealthy country villa owners. The poorer houses at Knossos and elsewhere seem to have had, at best, an occasional spiraliform frieze; pictorial scenes are lacking, and wall plasters were left undecorated or else treated to simple linear stripes and monochrome washes only. For these reasons, this scheme of decoration has been termed "plain".

These and other observations imply some conclusions relating to the social history of Minoan Crete may tentatively be drawn from the frescoes.

The frescoes as a record of social history

Wall plastering and painting evidently reached the status of an "industry" by EM II, for considerable manpower even then would have been needed to gather the raw materials to complete the architectural finish to the walls of those early village complexes. A sizeable industry must have gradually grown up at Knossos in the EM II-MM II period by when, as we must presently assume, much of the First Palace at Knossos would have been decorated with geometrical mural compositions. In fact only the palace at Knossos and its town were able to sustain "schools" of wall painters continuously from earliest times. To be sure, local "schools" may have existed in the Cretan provinces at main towns and other palace sites: but their work, of poorer quality and artistic range, never produced notable "schools" of wall painters. Only in the Cyclades, particularly on Melos, Thera and Keos, is there good reason to believe "schools" of local wall painters flourished. The history of Minoan wall painting is, therefore, essentially that of the "schools" at Knossos itself.

Here at least eleven "schools" are distinguishable between MM IIIA and LM IIIA 1, probably learning and adapting their techniques from one another. We know little of their social status or organisation,

although in the case of the "miniatures" of "School B/C" it seems possible to distinguish the "hands" of at least five painters, including a master craftsman, assistants and apprentices.

Study of the painters' "hands" has thrown interesting light on the topographical distribution, as well as the character of work, of these Knossian "schools". Some, such as H, I and J, worked primarily or exclusively - so far as we know - in the town houses where their preliminary sketches for mural designs, effected before final painting, suggest their patrons took an interest in what they were "getting for their money", as did the patrons of artists in Mediaeval and Renaissance times in a similar way. Other "schools", namely A and E, are known exclusively from their work in the palace, while "schools" D and F are best attested there but they also put in hand some decoration of town houses (respectively, the House of the High Priest, and a house on the Temple of Demeter site on Gypsadhes Hill). "Schools" B/C and G evidently travelled to other parts of Crete, as it seems from the style and subject matter of frescoes from Prasa, Nirou Chani, Pseira, Epano Zakro and ? Katsamba depicted by members of "School B", and of the later series from Hagia Triada, perhaps painted by "School G". In the earlier phase of this site, members of the "Caravanserai School" had evidently painted the wonderful frieze of the Minoan Goddess with her priestess and wild animals in Room 14. If these conclusions are acceptable, the evidence for mural painters travelling to different sites on the island may help explain the rapid impact of such "schools" as B and I on Minoan art in general and the spread of that influence further abroad to the Cyclades. But the evidence for two major "schools" at work at Knossos at one and the same time, as in the case of the two "schools" just mentioned - one in the palace, the other in town houses - raises intriguing questions as to their social and artistic relations. Extraordinarily few points of artistic or technical expression are common to both, over and above a love of minutiae of detail in secondary decoration and representation of "blue birds". Was one "school", B, the officially approved leader in the field at this time,

since it redecorated the palace? Why were members of "School I" not painting in the palace? And which "school" came first?

Other questions arise relating to those sites outside Knossos with paintings by Knossian artists. Who commissioned the paintings? Who "paid" for them? Was a painting in moulded relief in the provinces a mark of special favour from the authorities at Knossos, or was it merely a socially prestigious form of mural decoration which the rich alone could afford? How common in any case were relief frescoes in the provinces, and why are human figure or animal reliefs absent in the palaces at Phaistos, Mallia and Kato Zakro? Such questions we cannot yet answer, though future excavations may help provide solutions.

Most interestingly, perhaps, in the present connection, a sharp distinction must be drawn between "palatial" and "non-palatial" forms of mural decoration which imply a distinction in society of royalty (or a priestly class) and others. But we may go further than this.

The five schemes of mural decoration distinguished above imply a definite hierarchical structure in the social standing of those who could afford or were permitted to have mural decoration. At the top we have the palatial authorities; then those honoured with the "princely" scheme of decoration, perhaps nobles, high dignitaries or the richest burghers or civil servants; then those with the "secular" and "standard" mural schemes in their houses - perhaps a larger class of well-to-do citizens, merchants, priests, and those in possession of country villas in the provinces; and finally, the poorest members of society who made do with little in the way of mural decoration. The general exclusion, however, of elements of "palatial" decoration at sites outside the palace at Knossos suggests the possibility that there was some control by the palace officials of what types of decoration went up, and where, in other buildings and settlements in the rest of Crete. How else may one explain the absence of the human figure in mural decoration at the other three main palace sites on the island, and the general absence of figured frescoes other than those showing

the Minoan Goddess at less important Minoan sites the island over?

Some support for this hypothesis comes from the Cyclades in whose settlement houses we find a greater range of subjects (including both men and women), of types of scene and of location of the frescoes in the buildings. There, too, we already see Mycenaean influences in the paintings of Keos and Thera by LM IA. If we recall in addition that ancient murals were a chief means of social, political and religious propaganda in antiquity, there seems good reason to believe the greater political and social freedom of those Cycladic communities from direct control by Knossos encouraged more autonomous, more varied and more extensive mural decoration than was evidently permitted at most Minoan sites on Crete itself before LM II. With the arrival of the Mycenaean in Crete, however, it seems there was some relaxation of former "rules" - which houses and villas at Knossos and Hagia Triada enjoyed - as to what types of scenes might decorate them: there figured scenes depicting men and bull compositions, among other subjects, appear more generally than at comparable Cretan sites in LM IB or earlier.

There remain, however, in this and other spheres of Minoan wall painting many unresolved questions. But the sites most likely to provide the answers, short of thorough excavation of the Minoan town at Knossos or the discovery elsewhere of a new and lavishly painted Minoan palace, will likely be those on the Cycladic islands - as comparison of the new frescoes from Akroteri on Thera with the more limited and conservative schemes of wall painting of Cretan sites outside Knossos would, even now, alone show.

APPENDIX A

THE FIND-PLACES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY OF
THE FRESCOES

Part I: frescoes from the palace at Knossos p. 672

Part II: frescoes from town houses at Knossos p. 713

Part III: frescoes from the rest of Crete p. 739

Part IV: frescoes from the Cyclades p. 767

Part V: frescoes from Minoan tombs p. 782

Part I
FRESCOES FROM THE PALACE AT KNOSSOS

1. The South-West Entrance System	... p. 673
2. The South Proylaeum and South Front	... p. 676
3. The West Façade of the Central Court	... p. 679
4. The West Magazines and Long Corridor	... p. 685
5. The Theatral Area and North Lustral Basin	... p. 688
6. The North Entrance System	... p. 690
7. The North-East Quarters	... p. 698
8. The East Magazines and Lapidary's Workshop	... p. 700
9. The Domestic Quarters	... p. 703
10. The South-East Angle of the Palace	... p. 711

Key to areas of the Palace
(after Boardman, OKT, p.XI)

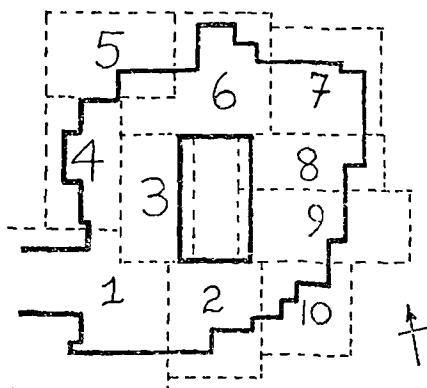


Fig. 79

1. THE SOUTH-WEST ENTRANCE SYSTEM

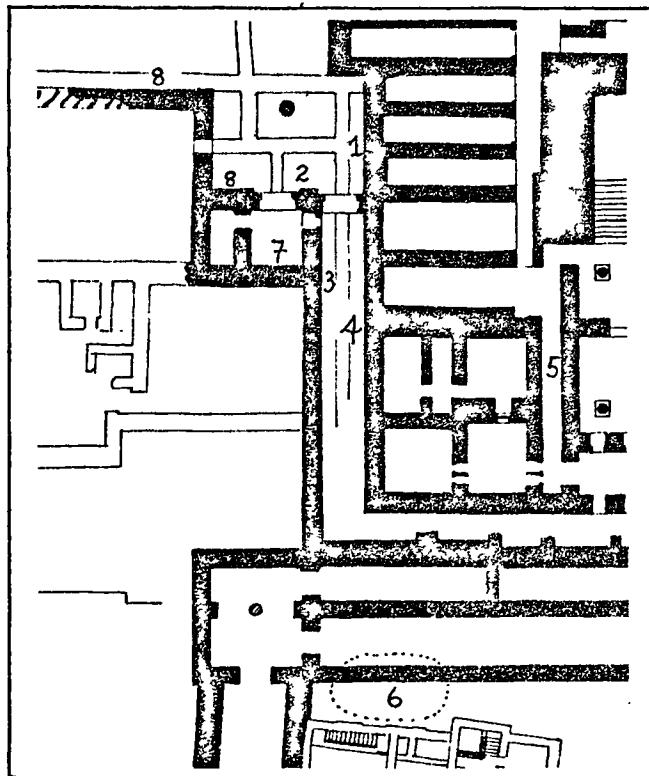


Fig. 80

1. Dado with Bull Fresco above (PLATES 80B; 145B)
2. Similar dado (unpublished)
3. Jewelry, Dress and Lily fragments (p.309, Fig. 44)
4. Procession Fresco (PLATES 9A;10;11;12D;13A;14A and 34A)
5. Cupbearer Fresco (PLATES 7A and 8)
6. Area of "South House Dump"
 - Foot of Processional Youth (PLATE 12C)
 - Head and Bust of Male Figure (PLATE 15E)
 - Woman's Biceps in relief (PLATE 42A)
 - Brief Kilt and Processional Figure's Head (PLATE 5B)
 - Argonaut fragments (PLATE 185 B5; perhaps also 188 B11)
7. Unspecified fresco fragments
8. Red-painted Stucco

1. THE SOUTH-WEST ENTRANCE SYSTEM: Fig. 80

At (1), DADO WITH BULL FRESCO ABOVE (PLATES 80B, 145B and Fig.29)
In situ on eastern wall of west porch. Burnt in final destruction fire. Dado continued in white along floor, running some 2 metres north of S.doorway. Two earlier frescoes, both apparently showing parts of bulls, were preserved on same wall underneath present frescoes.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 15 May 1900 (opp.p.75); DM/DB 15 and 19 May 1900 (inked copy); DM/DB 1925 (I), p.6; BSA VI (1899-1900), p. 12; PM II, p.674f, Fig.428 (drawn as found), and Plan A.

At (2), SIMILAR DADO was found " ... just above the pavement level to the right of the Western entrance portal ...", apparently in situ (BSA loc.cit; PM II, p.676). Not identified.

COMMENT:

In its present form the West Porch, and the west façade of the palace, were constructed late in MM IIIB after the destruction towards the close of that period, to judge by MM IIIB sherds from the interstices of the walls. MM IIIB/LM IA is therefore the earliest possible date for these frescoes, destroyed in the FINAL DESTRUCTION (PM II, p.679).

At (3), JEWELRY, DRESS DESIGNS, LILY PLANTS(unidentified) and THICK PIECES WITH SQUARE PEG-HOLES. (Fig.44, opp.p.309).

Burnt. With Neolithic to MM IIIB sherds only, below later stone pavement of Corridor of the Procession at about 8 metres south of West Porch entrance and on west side of passage where early foundation wall had been removed.

CONTEXT: MM IIIB

DM/DB 1925 (I),pp.15,18, 24-28 (pottery "Lot 7"); PM II, pp.679-682, Fig.430; Ibid,p.683 n.1 reports accompanying pottery, and p.734 n.1; PM III, p.50 n.1 and p.485; PM IV, p.285. PM II, Plan A marks provenance too far south.

At (4), the PROCESSION FRESCO (PLATES 9A,10-11,12D, 13A, 14A and 34A, and Figs. 18 and 29).

Partly in situ and partly collapsed from east wall of Corridor onto stone pavement - in the order as given in Fig.18, opp. p.138. Burnt in final destruction fire. At base of west wall of Corridor, perhaps a similar composition to judge by a comparable lower black border band found partly in situ. Earliest possible date, MM IIIB/LM IA when Corridor walls were built (PM II,p.679).

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 17-18 May 1900, p.77f; DM/DB 17 May 1900 (inked copy); BSA VI (1899-1900), p.12f; PM II, pp.673-675, Figs.427-428, and p.720; Ibid, Supplementary Pls.XXV-XXVII, for order of figures, and Plan A: HM exhibited order is mistaken.

At (5), the CUP-BEARER FRESCO (SLIDE 9; PLATES 7A and 8).

A continuation of Procession Fresco at (4). Found collapsed face-upwards on floor-level in passage-way, evidently having fallen backwards from east face of west wall of S. Propylaeum. Burnt, and floor covered with charred wood. Linear B tablets and a clay sealing found "... near to the mouth of the corridor where the fresco lay".

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 1900, pp.19-20, 23 and 51; DM/DB 6 April 1900

(inked copy); OKT, B, p.15; BSA VI (1899-1900), p.15; PM II, p.704ff; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.62 (F 1).

At (6), FRESCO FRAGMENTS DUMPED NEAR SOUTH HOUSE (PLATES 5B, 12C, 15E, 42A, 185 B5 and perhaps also 188 B11).

Found in extensive dump, at 2.50 to 3.30 metres depth below level of South Corridor floor, over an area of 45 sq.metres (9m E-W, 5m N-S). Mackenzie suggests many frescoes found here but only few identifiable from his descriptions. Associated pottery: LM II-IIIA 1 Palace Style and later, to LM IIIE . Frescoes and pottery " ... evidently thrown out in a heap at a time probably in LM III when repairs were being attempted in the Royal Building " (Mackenzie DB).

CONTEXT: LM IIIB

DM/DB 31 March 1908; on pottery, see OKT, B, Appendix A, p.92. PLATE 12C here agrees with BSA VII (1900-1901), p.8; PLATES 15E and 42A with DM/DB; and PLATE 5B with PM II, p.751, Fig.485.

MINOR PIECES

At (7), UNSPECIFIED FRESCO FRAGMENTS: in a small room west of West Porch entrance, apparently fallen from walls in eastern half of room (PM II, p.673, Fig.427).

At (8), RED-PAINTED STUCCO: at base of north face of wall (PM II, pp.673-676, Figs.427-428, and Plan A).

2. THE SOUTH PROPYLAEUM and SOUTH FRONT

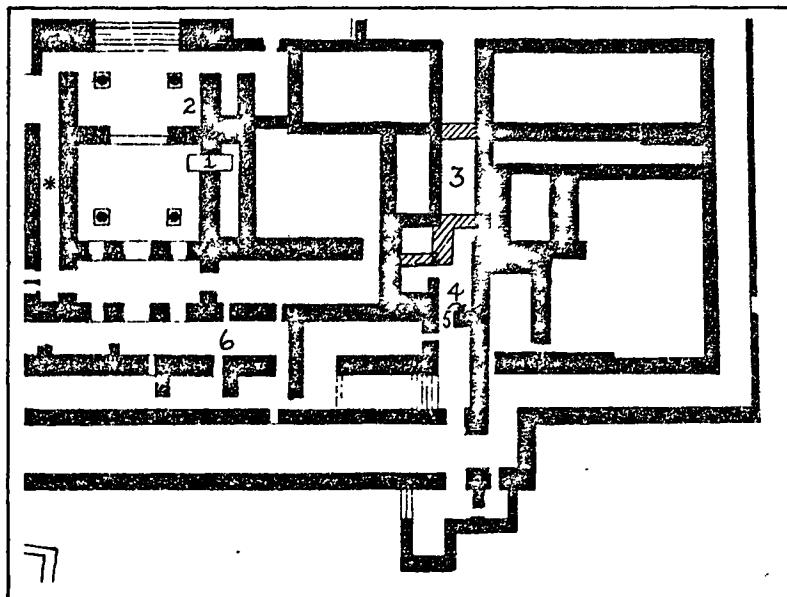


Fig.81

1. Dado Bands in cist
2. Spiral and Rosette fragments
3. Priest-King Relief Fresco (PLATE 18)
4. Palanquin Fresco (PLATE 51 A, B and possibly C)
5. Charioteer fragment (PLATE 59A)
6. Dado (unpublished)
- * Cupbearer Fresco: see previous section (5)

2. THE SOUTH PROPYLAEUM AND SOUTH FRONT: Fig. 81

At (1), DADO BANDS

In situ on north and west walls of cist below east wall of S. Propylaeum, with "mainly MM III, some earlier, 1 adventitious LM IA, and 1 MM IIIB or LM IA" sherds in fill.

CONTEXT: MM IIIB/LM IAearly

DM/DB 1925 (I), pp.27 and 32; PM II, pp.690, 700-703, Fig. 439 showing extent of painted plaster; SMK G II 5; OKT, B, p.15. The pottery is recorded as "Lot 11".

At (2), SPIRALS AND ROSETTES

Fallen from above, with pottery "Lot 12: Neolithic to LM IIIB and 1 sherd of a LM IIIA cup".

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 1925 (I), p.32f; Evans, JRIBA X (1903: paper given on 20 December 1902), p.98; BSA VI (1899-1900), p.15; PM II, p.704; OKT, B, p.13; Warren, BSA 62 (1967), p.198 n.22.

At (3), the PRIEST-KING RELIEF FRESCO (SLIDE 1; PLATE 18).

Found at 0.30 metres below surface level to floor-level at 1.50 metres down, alongside east wall of N-S corridor; presumably fallen from upper floor. Dark smudges suggest destruction during fire which baked Linear B tablets and clay sealings in nearby rooms to east and south.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 1901 (II), 11,13-14 May; OKT, B, p.12; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.15f; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), pp.74-76 (Q series); PM II, pp.774ff, and Plan C.

At (4), the PALANQUIN FRESCO (PLATE 51 A-B, ?C)

"Underneath a deposit of clay like a simple flooring and beneath the fragments was a stratum of red earth apparently of another floor" (Evans). Associated with a "forged clay matrix", occasional Linear B tablets and clay sealings. Apparently stratified below a clay floor of Reoccupation date.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION, if not earlier.

AE/NB 1900 (no date), p.34f with drawing of one piece, and noting two floor levels; DM/DB 26 April 1901(I); BSA VII (1900-1901), p.19; BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.32; PM II, Plan A gives provenance too far south; OKT, B, p.12; OKT, P, p.152f; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), pp.74, 76 (Q 22, "forged sealing", of which other impressions occurred elsewhere in Final Destruction contexts in the palace).

At (5), CHARIOTEER of the DUAL CHARIOT FRESCO (SLIDE 20; PLATE 59A)

Found in small gap inside south wall of compartment used as stone-mason's workshop, adjacent to south of Room of Palanquin Fresco (information from palace phylax who found piece in 1955).

Reported by Platon in KChr 8 (1955), p.565 and BCH 80 (1956), p.341.
CONTEXT: uncertain (pottery not reported). Possibly incorporated
into wall in Reoccupation period. If so, a FINAL
DESTRUCTION date seems likely.

Alexiou, AA (1964), p.785; Cameron, AA (1967), p.336 n.11.
Other chariot pieces, probably from same composition, were
found in LM IIIB North Threshing Floor Fresco Dump, and in
Room of Stone Amphora (Lapidary's Workshop: FINAL
DESTRUCTION) north of the Domestic Quarters.

In region of (6), DADO: unpublished and unidentified, in eastern
section of Light Area of S.Propylaeum (PM II, p.686 n.1:"LM II").
Possibly PLATE 161A.

3. THE WEST FAÇADE OF THE CENTRAL COURT

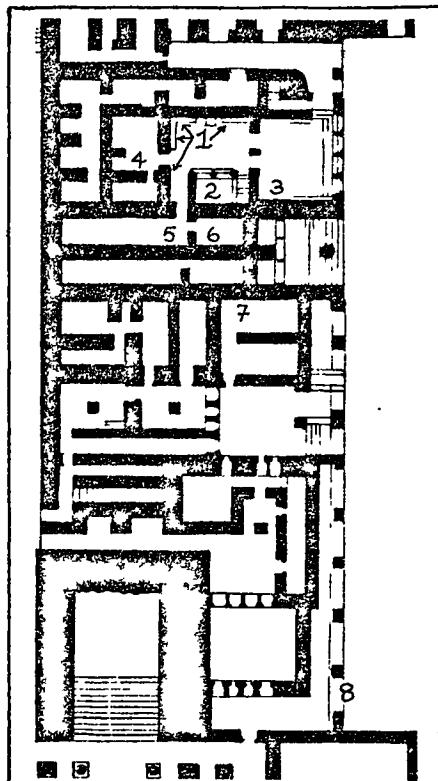


Fig.82

1. Griffin Frescoes of Throne Room (PLATES 127-129)
2. Dado Bands above Red-painted Stucco
3. Bull's Foot above Dado (PM I, p.5, Fig.1)
4. Plain white plaster
5. Jewel Fresco (PLATE 44A)
6. Olive Spray fragment
7. "Linear Inscription"; and Red and White Dado Bands
8. "Miniature" Entablature fragment (p.684, Fig.85).

3. THE WEST FAÇADE OF THE CENTRAL COURT: Fig. 82

At (1), GRIFFIN FRESCOES of THRONE ROOM (SLIDE 53; PLATES 127-129)

(a) Best preserved panel (PLATE 127), collapsed from southern section of west wall into passageway, whose wall-stumps prevented further damage. Heavily burnt. BSA VI (1899-1900), p.40; PM IV, p.910 and Colour Plate XXXII.

(b) Next best preserved panel (PLATE 128), half collapsed from northern section of west wall onto stone bench and floor below. Heavily burnt. BSA VI, p.37, Fig.8; PM IV, p.904, Fig.879: these show white upper border stripes slanting diagonally downwards to left.

(c) Short section of lower dado plaster in situ above stone bench on western section of north wall. BSA VI, p.37, Fig.8.

(d) Foot of seated griffin and palm-tree (PLATE 129), in situ abutting right (eastern) side of throne. Foot first thought to be an "eel", later corrected (1902); and crest of this griffin mistakenly restored at lower right of panel (b) by Gilliéron, père. Heavily burnt. AE/NB 10 February 1902 records: "Foot of Griffin in fresco r. of throne" (with small sketch of paw) "turns out to be not an eel but a Griffin's foot - X. Two griffins on N side of room -" (cf. Palmer, Guide pp.12,66,68, 126 ignoring this statement; grudgingly corrected in Penultimate Palace p.37, Addendum). BSA VI, p.37, Fig.8 (PM IV, p.904, Fig.879); BSA VI, p.40 for "eel"; PM IV, p.906, Fig.881; Ibid, p.915, Fig.889 and Supplementary Pl.LXIII.

General references: BSA VI (1899-1900), pp.35-42, with Addendum Note on p.3; PM IV, pp.901-924 and 1012f.

AE/NB 13 April 1900, p.13, draws unidentified fresco spiral fragment from Throne Room - not of Griffin Fresco series.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION - see discussion below, with Fig.83.

At (2), DADO BANDS

In situ on south and west walls of Lustral Basin, at about 2.0 metres from floor-level, flanked by red-painted stucco. Burnt. Basin contained some Linear B tablet fragments, various inlay pieces, ivory and bits of gold.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 25 April 1900; PM IV, pp.902,908,929ff, Fig.883 (dado) and Figs.900-904 for associated objects; OKT,B, p.29; OKT,P, pp.109-114.

At (3), BULL'S FOOT AND DADO

In situ above stone bench on south wall of Antechamber to Throne Room. PM I, p.5, Fig.1; PM IV, p.893, Fig.872.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

At (4), PLAIN WHITE PLASTER

In situ on walls, evidently lighted by stone lamp discovered there (pedestalled type). BSA VI (1899-1900), p.40.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

COMMENT

(1) Evidence for the destruction date of the Throne Room System

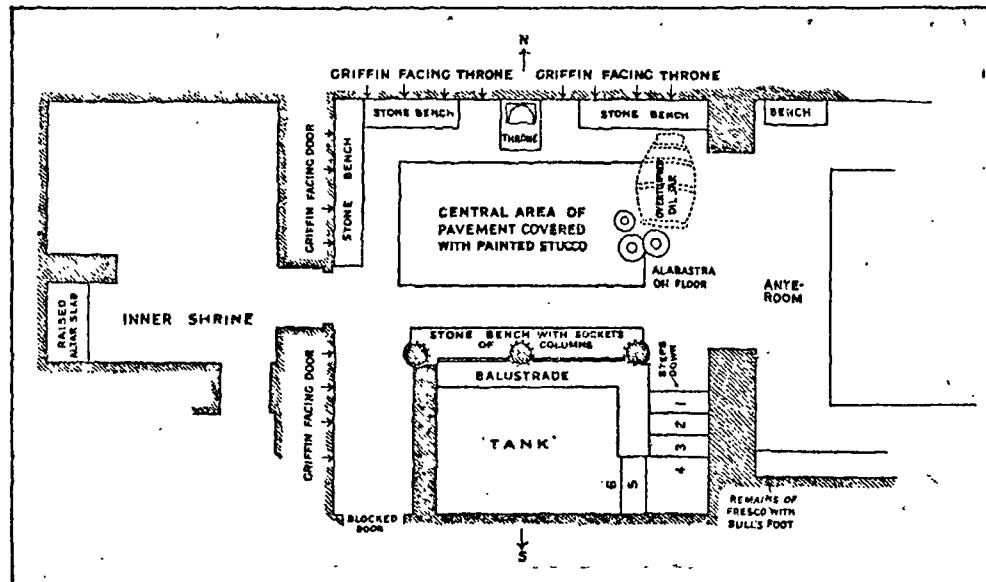


Fig.83 (PM I, p.5, Fig.1)

(a) Five flat gypsum alabastra on floor in north-east corner of Throne Room (PM IV, plan Fig.877, and pp.938ff, Fig.910), of LM II-IIIA 1 date (cf Furumark, Analysis, pp.29-43, Fig.11 nos. 82 and 84 = Myc.IIB and IIIA 1; foliate bands, as on LM I and LM II Palace Style pottery; Warren, MSV pp.5f, 132, and BSA 62 (1967), pp.195-201).

(b) With alabastra, a fallen pithos of a type found also in West Magazines (LM IIIA 1/2 early destruction). BSA XI, p.211, 213f, 217; Popham, SMA XII, pp.44-50.

(c) LM IIIA 1/2 early clay sealings in rooms N and S of present system (Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.72f).

(d) Enamel roundels, not closely dateable (LM/LH I-III), but Egyptian roundels most comparable are those inscribed with a T sign from Tell el Amarna (within c.1365-1340 B.C. on outside limits): PM IV, p.941.

(e) Linear B tablets found under blocked doorway of "Room of the Cupboard", and therefore antedating reoccupation in that chamber (OKT, P, p.114 and OKT, B, p.29 - marked at plan Fig.4(15)).

(2) Evidence for the construction date of the Throne Room System

The plan at Fig. 84 on the following page shows where Evans carried out tests below paved floors to determine the date of construction of this System. Tests at 1, 3 and 4 on the plan produced MM II or earlier sherds. Test 2 included Neolithic and 2 sherds which Evans thought "LM II": one sherd is unpublished, the other shows an ivy design considered LM I or II (Boardman,

(OKT, B, p.31 and Fig.6b). At Test 5: "Under threshold. Disturbed

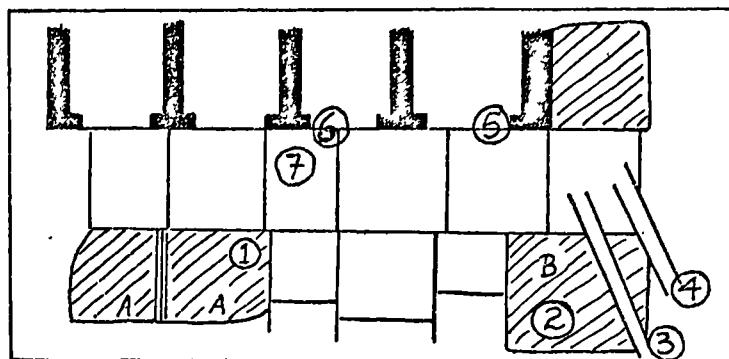


Fig. 84 Tests below pavement outside
the Throne Room System (after AE/NB 1913, p.84)

for corner base of foundations. Good frag^t. Palace Style pottery. Drain destroyed", of which the Palace Style sherd is unpublished. Test 6, near the central doorjamb under the threshold, produced LM I and "? LM II" sherds of which Evans drew one piece - probably LM IIIA 1 as a comparable design is now known on a LM IIIA 1 stirrup jar from Selloupolo Tomb 4. The results of Tests 6 and 7 were conflated, the position of 7 being only approximately known. Evans described the unpublished pottery as having the same character. The place of a Test 8 is disputed, Palmer putting it inside the Antechamber where two modern floor slabs now lie, Boardman asserting that no tests took place within the Antechamber before 1925 - a test which produced 35 LM I sherds as the latest ceramic elements: OKT, B, p.31. But Test 8 did produce an undecorated kylix foot, not closely dateable in LM II-III and a fragment of a stone alabastron like those found above floor-level in the Throne Room itself. This may well be intrusive. The wooden label which accompanies this material (second box of SMK F I 3) does not specify whether the test was made inside or outside the Antechamber, but it is given the grid number "K 8" (1903) which could indicate a position outside in the Central Court.

References for tests: OKT, P, Pls. XI-XII for photographs of AE/NB 1913, pp.84 and 104. Test 1 - AE/NB 1913, pp.84, 104, T. no.55 (first of two boxes of SMK F I 3); OKT, P, p.246 and OKT, B, p.31. Test 2 - AE/NB loc.cit. - T.no.56 (in one of two partitions of SMK E III 18); OKT, P and B, loc.cit. Test 3 - AE/NB loc.cit., and OKT, P, pp.113, 245. Test 4 - AE/NB loc.cit. - T. no.58; OKT, P, p.245. Test 5 - AE/NB 1913 p.84 only, T.no.59E; OKT, P, p.246f. Test 6 - AE/NB 1913, p.104, T.no.59; OKT, P, p.246f. Test 7 - AE/NB 1913, p.84 and OKT, P, p.246. Test 8 - OKT, P, pp. 236, 245 (J.Raison); Guide p.67 and n.34; OKT, B, pp.31, 101, (Second box of SMK F I 5). For the 1925 Test within the Antechamber, DM/DB 1925, p.37f; but note that pavement slabs in the area east of the Throne Room had already been disturbed by the Turkish Beys before 1900, and again by Kalokairinos (OKT, B, p.31; PM II, p.5 n.3).

(3) Conclusions

The latest possible date of construction seems LM II-IIIA 1, but most of the relevant sherds are unpublished and all could be intrusive as there is no account of the state of the paved floors as found at the time of excavation. These now appear badly cracked, no doubt from the final destruction fire, and we cannot estimate how far that fire may or may not have opened up walls and floors by its great heat. The evidence from the 1925 Test, with its relatively numerous LM I sherds, in any case is more impressive than that of the tests from outside the Antechamber, and it is consonant with the evidence from the study of wall painters' "hands" that the mural decoration of this System may be referred to the early years of LM II, in agreement with Evans.

At (5), the JEWEL FRESCO (SLIDE 14; PLATE 44A)

Fallen from upper storey, found at 2.30 metres down in or under deposit of charred wood (1.50 metres deep) in western compartment of Gallery of the Jewel Fresco. Above fresco, at 0.70-0.80 metre from surface, a large deposit of burnt sealings and tablets thinning out on nearing floor-level. At west end of chamber, frescoes recorded as "wavelets" (i.e. griffin wings with "adder mark" designs) found in floor deposit (AE/NB 1901, p.28f: sketch of design like those of PLATE 131 C, E-F, H-I, and K).

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 1901, p.28f; DM/DB 2-10 April 1901 (I); BSA VII (1900-1901), p.26; PM I, p.525f, Fig.383; PM II, Plan A (incorrectly in eastern compartment); OKT, P, pp.106-108; OKT, B, p.28; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.68f; Popham, SMA XII, p.49

At (6), OLIVE SPRAY FRAGMENT (KFA Pl.D, Fig.2)

"Just above floor" in eastern compartment of Gallery of the Jewel Fresco; above it, three sealings at 0.60 metre down at west end and, over floor, burnt deposit of 1.50 metres thick. AE and DM state fresco burnt. LM IIIA "strainer" found at floor level (SMA XII, Pl.7c)

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 9 April 1901 (I), in "H 5". For "strainer", see now Popham, SMA XII, p.49 (contra Guide, p.56, 76). Provenance incorrectly noted in KFA (should be placed in next chamber r. of no.3 there).

At (7), LINEAR INSCRIPTION (SM I, p.50f, Fig.27)

RED AND WHITE DAO BANDS ON WALLS (BSA IX, p.39)

Inscription on stucco facing of west wall of Room of the Cists (i.e. Temple Repositories Room). Later washed away in storm. Signs, if such they are, are common to Linear A and B (J. Chadwick, letter to writer, 25 February 1963). Dado bands compared by Evans

to those throughout West Magazines (q.v.). North wall of room built in LM I or IIearly (OFT, B, p.30 n.6).

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

SM I, p.50f, Fig.27; PM I, p.636 n.2; Brice, p.23, VII and Pl. XXXa.

At (8), MINIATURE ENTABLATURE FRAGMENT

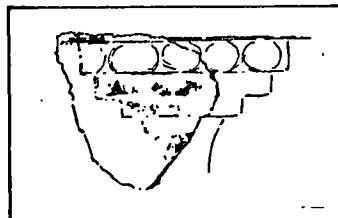


Fig.85 (PM III, p.34, Fig.16)

Below undisturbed third paving slab N, at south west corner of Central Court, with 18 other fresco pieces and pottery from Neolithic to MM IIIB/ ? 1 LM IA, nothing later. DM's description (followed by Evans) is tentative: " 1 with ruddy surface showed two incised lines with what may have been beam-end discs above and below which other bands ". Original unidentified, now lost ?

CONTEXT: MM IIIB/ ? LM IA.

DM/DB 1925, p.35, "Lot 17a"; PM II, p.803, Fig.525 (wrongly giving second slab N); PM III, p.34, Fig.16.

4. THE WEST MAGAZINES and LONG CORRIDOR

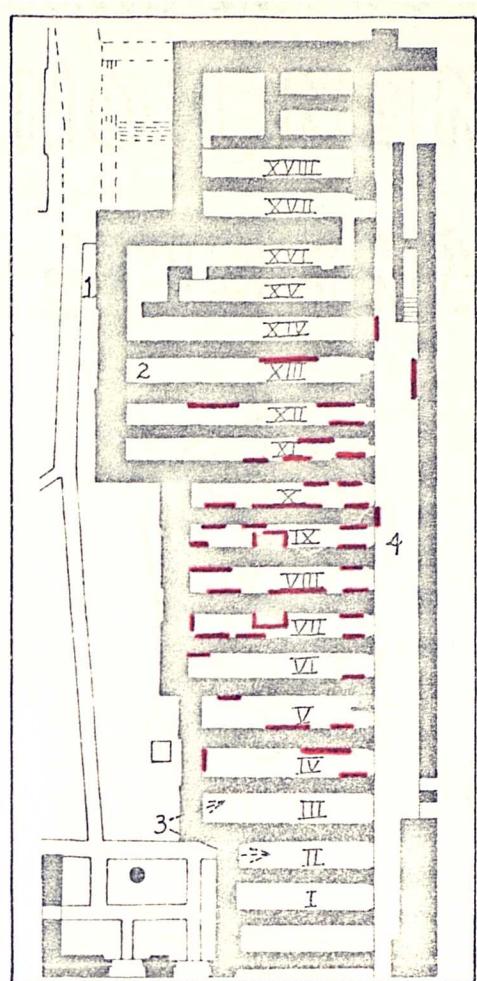


Fig. 86

1. Camp Stool Fresco (PLATES 15A; possibly 15B; 35; 54 and 55)
2. Fragments in cists 2-4
 - Bull's Head (PLATE 74A)
 - "Miniature" Three-columned Shrine (PLATE 48A)
 - "Miniature" Shrine Façade (PLATE 48B)
 - Possibly two further pieces of these shrines (PLATE 48 Cl, 3)
 - "Miniature" Spectators fragment (PLATE 28B)
 - Rosette and Triglyph (PLATE 49B)
 - Sun-rosette fragment (PLATE 49C)
3. Myrtle Spray and Small Male Head (? PLATE 15C)
4. The Long Corridor: LM III A Bowls with Lime-plaster in cists 5 and 11 (PLATE 152A-C)

Note: The red lines here denote the positions in situ of fragments, painted or worn, of stucco dadoes.

4. THE WEST MAGAZINES AND LONG CORRIDOR: Fig. 86

At various points in Magazines IV to XIII, and opposite the latter on the east wall of the Long Corridor, fragments of painted stucco dadoes were found in situ on the walls (see red lines on plan, Fig. 86). Decoration: simple horizontal blue-grey and red bands on plain white in a uniform decorative scheme throughout Magazines and adjoining Corridor. Best observed in Magazine XII (PM IV, pp.648-650, Fig.634; and SLIDE 43a here), but more traceable throughout this architectural unit than Evans indicated. Heavily burnt in final destruction fire - associated with deposits of charred beams and Palace Style pottery in Long Corridor opposite Magazine VIII, in mouth of Magazine X and within Magazine IX (OKT, B, Appendix A, p.92).

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

BSA VI (1899-1900), p.20; PM I, p.452, Fig.325 (Mag.VIII); PM IV, loc.cit.; OKT, B, pp.38-40 and Appendix A, p.92; for LM IIIA character of pithoi, from Magazines IV-XIII only, see Ibid, p.40; SMA XII, p.43ff.

At (1), the CAMP STOOL FRESCO (PLATES 15A, 15B, 35, 54-55)

Found on and outside west wall of Magazines XV-XVI, fallen from upper storey with other material from above Magazines XI-XVI including Palace Style pottery, carved stone rosette, Linear B tablets and clay sealings.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 1901, p.10; DM/DB 2 April 1901; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.55f; BSA X (1903-1904), p.39; PM II, p.605; PM IV, p.396 and PM II, Plan A mistakenly refer pieces to outside Magazines XIII-XIV; OKT, P, pp.97-101; OKT, B, p.36; KFA Pl.C, Fig.5, and p.20; on provenance, KChr.IH'(1964), pp.40,42; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.65f on sealings from Magazines XI-XV.

At (2), THREE-COLUMNED MINIATURE SHRINE (PLATE 48A); SINGLE PILLARED MINIATURE SHRINE (PLATE 48B); MINIATURE SPECTATORS (PLATE 28B); SUN-ROSETTE (PLATE 49C); BULL'S HEAD and LEAPERS (PLATE 74A); ROSETTE AND TRIGLYPH (PLATE 49B). Restoration at Fig.24, opp.p.150.

In lower fill of cists nos.2-4 at west end of Magazine XIII, with Neolithic, MM III and some 8 LM II/IIIA 1 sherds and 70 waste pieces of worked gypsum. "Lower" cists (no.2 with Bull's Head fragment) sealed over at higher level with new floor slabs shortly before final destruction of palace. Whether frescoes are fill brought in from elsewhere or whether they collapsed from a room above Magazine XIII is uncertain.

CONTEXT: LM IIIA 1. Evans's MM III dating has been corrected by Warren.

DM/DB 8 April 1904; BSA X (1903-1904), pp.40-43; PM I, pp. 443, 447 and 527; PM II, pp.600, 604; PM III, pp.33 and 62;

PM IV, pp.224f and 348; PM Index, p.52; MC Thesis (p.29 n.24) citing Popham's view of associated pottery (1964); OKT, P, p.98 for extensive quote from DM/DB; OKT, B, p.36; Warren, BSA 62 (1967), pp.195-201 (with p.196 n.5 on place of origin of the frescoes; MSV, pp.132 and 187. The cists concerned are:

Cist 2 - SMK D XVII 2: box no.551
 Cist 3 - SMK D XVII 3: box no.552 } See SMA XII, pp.50ff.
 Cist 4 - SMK D XVII 4: box no.553 }

At (3), uncertain provenance: MYRTLE SPRAY (unidentified) and SMALL MALE HEAD (? PLATE 15C)

Probably fallen from upper rooms, along with Linear B tablets. Reported from Magazine I (so BSA VI (1899-1900), p.20f). But DM/DB and AE/NB suggest Magazine II or III, with tablets. "Myrtle" could be, rather, an olive tree, since early excavations notebooks use these names synonymously. "Head" fragment best agrees with one of two pieces, probably the smaller, illustrated in KFA Pl.VI, Figs. 8 and 9, in view of the similarity of hairstyles and painters' "hands" with those features of the Camp Stool Fresco found a few metres further north at (1). Possibly from the latter fresco series CONTEXT: probably FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 3 and 5 April 1900; DM/DB 4 April 1900; on confusions over Evans's and Mackenzie's renumbering of these magazines, see OKT, P, pp.18 and 91; and OKT, B, p.34. KFA, Pl.VI, Figs. 8 and 9.

In (4), Long Corridor: LM IIIA BOWLS FILLED WITH LIME-PLASTER

Found in cists 5 and 11 (SMK D IV 6 and D IV 9, respectively), containing nothing certainly later than LM IIIA (SMA XII, p.53). CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION or slightly earlier.

BSA IX (1902-1903), pp.28-35, Fig.15; PM I, p.453 (but MM IIII dating no longer accepted); OKT, B, p.37 n.3; PM II, Plan A and PM IV, p.631, Fig.621. On the pottery, see now SMA XII, pp. 50-53.

5. THE THEATRAL AREA and NORTHERN LUSTRAL BASIN

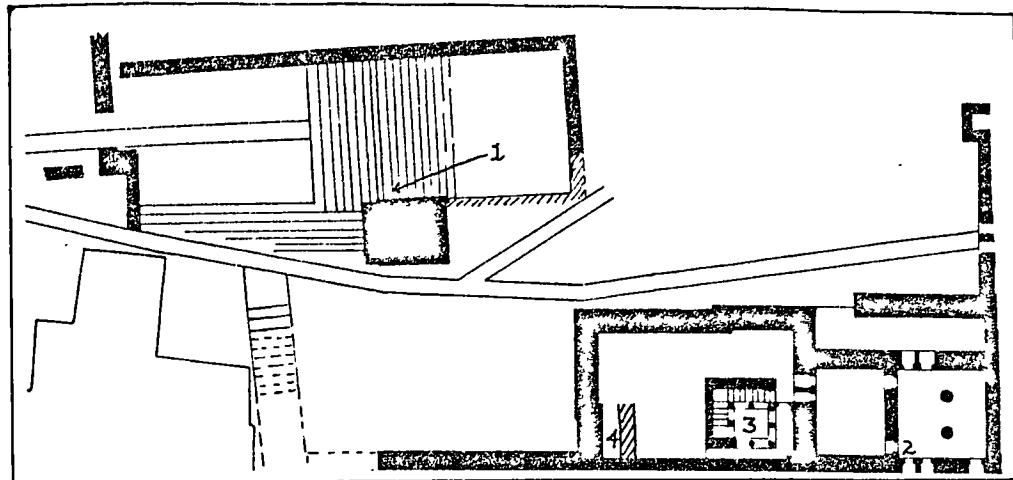


Fig. 87

1. MM II fresco fragments
2. Sponge-print Fresco: MM II (PLATE 4D)
3. Striped Bands and Spiral Fresco (Fig.51, opp.p.346)
4. Blue and Yellow Dado Bands (unidentified)

5. THE THEATRAL AREA AND NORTHERN LUSTRAL BASIN: Fig. 87

At (1), SPIRAL FRAGMENT

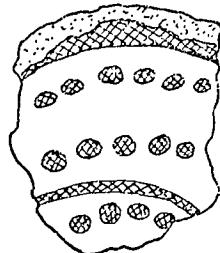


Fig. 88 Red spiral on white

and at (2), the SPONGE-PRINT FRESCO (PLATE 4D)

From MM II contexts below MM III walls and floors (p.28 above).

At (3), STRIPED BANDS AND SPIRAL FRESCO

Three periods of frescoes:

(a) DARK RED STRIPES ON BLUE and WHITE-SPOTTED BLACK FRAGMENTS

In MM IIIA fill of Lustral Basin, set up early in MM IIIA.

Probably the pieces at Fig.51, nos.1-10, opp.p.346 here.

CONTEXT: MM IIIA, fallen from Lustral Basin's walls

SMK box 1880 "K 02 N.Tank"; PM I, p.410f (note Fyfe's sketch of fresco at Ibid, p.409, Fig.294B); PM III, pp. 9-15 and Supplementary Pls.XXXII-XXXIII

(b) BLACK AND BLUE BANDS (probably Fig.51, nos.10-15, opp.p.346)

Found in late MM IIIB building set over filled-in basin. Evans suggests "still within limits of MM III".

CONTEXT: probably MM IIIB

SMK box 1881 "K 02 N.Tank"; PM I, p.407, Fig.292 showing second construction's walls, and p.410f; for MM IIIB sherds below threshold and wall, see PM III, pp.13 n.3 & 14 n.1.

(c) SPIRAL FRESCO

Unidentified. In situ on upper blocks of still later terrace wall immediately south of Lustral Basin. "... in brilliant colours and of a style pointing to the early part of the Late Minoan Age" (BSA VII (1900-1901), p.60; quote from PM I, p.410f).

At (4), BLUE AND YELLOW DADO BANDS

Unidentified. In situ on west face of later rubble wall (N-S) in south west corner of "Initiatory Area". Below adjoining floor was found the inscribed King Khyan pyxis lid in a burnt MM III context (with 1 intrusive LM IIIA 1 sherd: DM Pot/NB 1901, p.55).

CONTEXT: post-MM III, possibly even FINAL DESTRUCTION: but this is uncertain.

PM I, p.418.

6. THE NORTH ENTRANCE SYSTEM

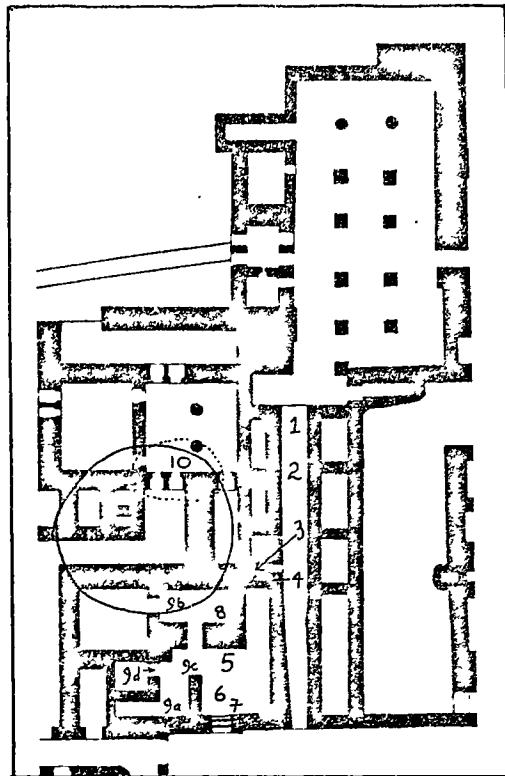


Fig.89

1. Bull's Leg in relief
2. Bull's Head in relief (PLATE 76) and Woman's Leg (PLATE 42F)
Relief Rockwork fragments (PLATE 69A); relief Bull's Foot (PL. 79B)
- Between 1 and 2. Myrtle Tree in relief (PLATE 116B)
3. Bull fragments; and nearby to south, Olive Tree in relief (PLATE 116A)
4. Bull's Forethigh and Knee in relief
- 5 to 9d. "Miniature" Frescoes
 - Main deposits at 5 and 6: Captain and Warriors (PLATES 6A and B)
Sacred Dance and Grove (PLATES 6C; 29-31B)
Shrine fragment (PLATE 46B)
Temple Fresco (PLATES 26; 46A and 47)
6. Spiral Relief Fresco (PLATE 141A)
7. "Miniature" Women fragment (PLATE 27A)
8. Saffron Gatherer Fresco (PLATES 84C; 85A and 92A-B)
- 9a-d. "Miniature" fragments (? PLATE 27B-D)
10. The "North Threshing Floor Fresco Dump": within dotted area.
(Extent of threshing floor indicated by circle)
See list below specifying important illustrated fragments.

Probably from area 1-4: relief Bull's Tail and Mane (PLATE 78A).

6. THE NORTH ENTRANCE SYSTEM: Fig. 89

Frescoes occurred in the North Entrance Passage, in adjacent rooms to the west and in a large fresco dump below a modern threshing floor which extended over an area from the North Portico to at least mid-way above the Rooms of the Stirrup Jars and Saffron Gatherer (BSA VI (1899-1900), p.44f; PM II, Plan A). Some of these spaces had been reoccupied in late times, following the FINAL DESTRUCTION, and excavation in the area proceeded with difficulty for this and other reasons. The stratigraphical "picture" of this area is strongly disputed by some scholars, but the frescoes' find-places and associations with other objects are relatively well documented. In general, two broad stratigraphical groups of frescoes emerge; those associated with burnt tablets and sealings in FINAL DESTRUCTION CONTEXTS, and those - usually burnt in the FINAL DESTRUCTION FIRE - which occurred in LM IIIB or post-Minoan contexts.

FRAGMENTS OF RELIEF FRESCO SCENES

At (1), BULL'S HOOFLESS LEG (unidentified)

With dark or black spots on white, found "under L ? at base of 7 E wall" (Evans) along with "large quantities of Mycenaean pottery prominent being the plain Mycenaean cup" (Mackenzie). CONTEXT: uncertain

AE/NB 1901, p.37; DM/DB 19 April 1901 (I); BSA VII (1900-1901), p.68.

At (2), BULL'S HEAD (PLATE 76); WOMAN'S LEG (PLATE 42F); ROCKWORK (PLATE 69A); BULL'S FOOT (PLATE 79B).

Heavily burnt. Found at 0.70-0.90 metre below surface-level, but well above rich deposit of burnt Linear B tablets and clay sealings, and unburnt LM IIIB double-vases at 2.0 metres down (PM III, Fig.114). Woman's leg mistakenly described as " grey-black horn" of same red bull in early reports. Frescoes evidently badly burnt at time of FINAL DESTRUCTION.

CONTEXT: post-LM IIIB, if not POST-MINOAN

DM/DB 7-15 May 1900; BSA VI (1899-1900), p.51; PM II, Plan A; OKT, P, pp.115-129 and Pl.XVIII and OKT, B, pp.41-49 for full discussions. Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.69 (J2-5) on sealings; rockwork, PM III, p.171, Fig.115.

Between (1) and (2), TALL MYRTLE or OLIVE TREE (PLATE 116B)

Badly burnt, found at some 1.80 metres down, but well above deposits of burnt tablets and sealings, and unburnt double-vases. CONTEXT: as at (2).

PM III, Fig.114, and p.169, Fig.113.

At (3), UNIDENTIFIED BULL FRAGMENTS and OLIVE TREE (PLATE 116A)

At depth of 1.20 metres down. Nearby or a little south, at 0.50 metre down and just above floor-level, Linear B tablets found

underneath large badly burnt fragment of olive tree fresco.

Surviving pottery from this location seems exclusively LM III-IIIA 1 (SMA XII, pp.43-44). Bull pieces perhaps those at PLATE 78A.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

Bull fragments: AE/NB 1900, p.67; OKT,P, Pl.XV; OKT,B, p.43 (DM/DB 4 May 1900). Olive tree: AE/NB 3-4 May 1900 (p.61); DM/DB 2 May 1900 (OKT,P, p.119); PM III, p.166f, Fig.109B and 110.

At (4), BULL'S RIGHT FOREHIGH WITH KNEE (unidentified)

Appeared in "an interval between stones of this underlying cross-wall, evidently below the level of the neighbouring wall S"; DM/DB 5 May 1900 (OKT,P, p.119).

CONTEXT: uncertain.

FRAGMENTS OF NON-RELIEF FIGURE

Unspecified location in North Entrance Passage, DRESS FRAGMENT (PLATE 184 B3).

AE/NB records this piece (to which PLATE 184 B1-2 also belong) as found near west wall of passageway (1900, p.37, with sketch).

CONTEXT: uncertain.

At (6), SPIRAL RELIEF CEILING FRESCO (PLATE 141A)

Together with "miniature" frescoes on floor near Linear B tablets in Room of the Spiral Cornice. Badly burnt and very worn in places. The walls here continue below the floor-level.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 30 April, and 1 and 5 May 1900 (cf OKT,P, p.119 and Pl.XV); DM/DB 1923 (II), p.9 (OKT,P, p.125f); BSA VI (1899-1900), p.44; PM III, p.31f; PM II, Plan A; OKT,B, p.42.

MINIATURE FRESCOES

At (5) and (6), main deposit: TEMPLE FRESCO (PLATES 26, 46A, 47); SACRED DANCE AND GROVE FRESCO (PLATES 6C, 29-31B); CAPTAIN AND WARRIORS (PLATE 6A-B); SHRINE FRAGMENT (PLATE 46B).

Found with Spiral Relief Ceiling Fresco on floor near Linear B tablets. Traces of burning (dark smudges).

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 1 May 1900 (cf. OKT,P, Pl.XV); BSA VI (1899-1900), pp. 10, 44f, 46; BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.3f; BSA IX (1902-1903), p.110; BSA X (1903-1904), p.43; PM III, p.31f; PM IV, p.20; PM II, Plan A.

At (7), MINIATURE LADIES FRAGMENT (PLATE 27A)

Discovered by Platon in 1955 at north-east corner of steps from Central Court into room, in a space in the wall at that point.

CONTEXT: presumably FINAL DESTRUCTION

Personal information from Prof. Platon. Mentioned in KChr, Θ (1955), p.566 and ECH LXXX (1956), p.341.

Other pieces of "miniature fresco" series, not closely identifiable but probably including those at PLATE 27 B-D, were found: at (9a), with stone vessels in the Room of the Lotus Lamp (DM/DB 10 May 1900; BSA VI (1899-1900), p.44; OKT,P,p.44; SMV, pp.6-7 and 57); at (9b), according to BSA VI, p.45; at (9c), two pieces depicting women, found on floor near north-west corner of the N-S wall (DM/DB 10 May 1900); and at (9d), according to AE/NB 1900, p.67 (OKT,P, Pl.XV).

Yet other fragments of the series, or at least by the same painter, turned up in the large fresco dump of the North Threshing Floor Area (at 10), on which see below. Most of the "miniature" fragments show traces of burning and discolouration by fire (e.g. PLATE 27D).

CONTEXTS: probably FINAL DESTRUCTION, as with the main deposit at (5-6).

OTHER FRESCOES

At (8), the SAFFRON GATHERER FRESCO (PLATES 84C-85A; 92 A-B)

Mackenzie records: " fresco begins to appear on the floor level among the fragments brought out being one with the figure of a youth in left profile as if in the act of gathering flowers about him " (DB 3 May 1900, inked copy with pencil additions). Darkened surface and hitherto unreported grey (originally blue) hairs on monkey's stomach so discoloured by action of fire.

DM/DB and BSA VI (1899-1900), p.44f suggest floor in question was that reached at 1.0 metre below surface-level, the latter source describing it as " a kind of concrete ". Palmer would place the fresco and Linear B tablets on a damp clay level (a floor ?) several cm. above the "concrete" one (OKT,P,p.210-212, Figs.2a and 3), but this seems unwarranted: the clay floor which affected some tablets is only recorded in the Room of the Stirrup Jars (DM/DB 8 May 1900: cf. Palmer, OKT,P,p.120; note that BSA loc.cit. refers to this room and that of the present fresco simultaneously and is therefore ambiguous), whereas no specific mention is made of a clay floor in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer. Here in 1901 Evans found a lower cement floor with a gypsum slab in it at 0.40 metre below the concrete floor, the former floor having tablets in a soft condition on it. This floor, which Palmer following Mackenzie assigns to the Reoccupation Period (a debatable point), was concealed in 1900 by the upper "concrete" floor above which was the Saffron Gatherer Fresco, according to DM/DB 8 April 1900. But in that case, the upper floor with the fresco on it was laid down when Linear B tablets had already become stratified. So a post-Final Destruction (LM IIIA 1/2early) context for the fresco seems indicated. So, too, Palmer, if for other reasons. Palmer's drawing (OKT,P,p.212, Fig.3, based on measurements for the Room

of the Stirrup Jars (DM/DB 9 May 1900: centre of threshing floor 46)1; cf. *Ibid*, 8 May 1900 and 8 April 1901: OKT, P, pp.120, 123) may on the present interpretation be revised as follows:

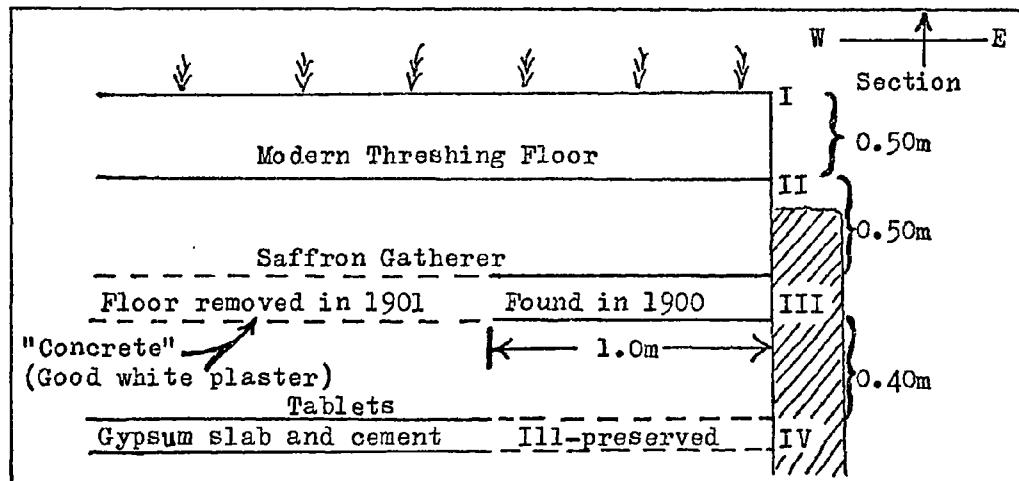


Fig. 90 The stratigraphy in the Room of the Saffron Gatherer (after DM/DB 3 May 1900; *Ibid*, 8 April 1901, and BSA VI, p.44f).

DM/DB 1923 (II), p.11 also suggests that the floor IV, onto which "late plaster" was "fitted on", may have belonged to an earlier arrangement (OKT, P, p.126). Further, none of the ? LM IIIIB material found with the fresco or nearby in the Room of the Stirrup Jars was burnt, so indicating a different history for the fresco. This can perhaps now be supplied.

Other fragments of the Saffron Gatherer fresco series were found in the location called "Demon Seals ~~+~~ Shield and Spirals", indicating they were part of the deposit of frescoes, clay sealings and pottery of the "Service Stairs" of the Demon Seals Passage (plan, Fig. 93, 6). Popham has argued convincingly that this deposit and its pottery, "consistently LM IIIA in style", belonged to the Final Destruction (SMA XII, pp.22-26, esp. p.26). The frescoes in question, as the sealings, were burnt (PLATE 179 A1-2), as are the fragments of the main Saffron Gatherer series. As there was LM IIIIB reoccupation at a higher level here, it is possible the late inhabitants of the palace removed many fragments of the main Saffron Gatherer series from this site and flung them out into the area where Evans and Mackenzie later found them. Further, as the north wall of the Room of the Saffron Gatherer "was not found preserved" (DM quoted by OKT, P, p.123), a new interpretation becomes possible: that the fresco was part of the large fresco dump of the North Threshing Floor Area comprising frescoes from many parts of the palace thrown out in LM IIIIB - among them fragments of shield frescoes. In that case, the Saffron Gatherer Fresco, perhaps once belonging to a room in the upper stories of the Domestic Quarters, was burnt in the FINAL DESTRUCTION in LM IIIA but was subsequently removed to the northern fresco dump in LM IIIA 2-B.

CONTEXT: LM IIIA 2-B, perhaps later rather than earlier in that period. Evans's MM dating seems impossible to maintain. DM/DB 3 May 1900 and 8 April 1901; BSA VI (1899-1900), pp.44f; BSA VII (1900-1901), pp.12f, 35f; PM I, p.265 n.1; PM III, pp. 15ff and Fig.9; PM IV, p.733f; OKT, P, pp.115-118; OKT, B, pp. 43f and 48; Penultimate Palace, pp.44-50.

At (10), the NORTH THRESHING FLOOR DUMP (under modern threshing floor) A large deposit of fragmentary and often burnt frescoes, found partly superimposed on wall-stumps of Reoccupation date according to Evans. Mackenzie sketches extent of deposit in DB 16 May 1900; PM II, Plan A places it too far north, in northern part of North Portico. Evans considered the frescoes as stripped from walls of "the neighbouring Palace region"; but in fact they originated from widely dispersed parts of the palace, as indicated in several entries below (to which further examples could be added). The wall-stumps in question have not been closely dated within LM IIIA 2-B, but general considerations suggest the deposit was made at an advanced date, probably in LM IIIB.

CONTEXT: probably LM IIIB

AE/NB 1900, pp.11-12; BSA VI (1899-1900), pp.44ff; and PM as indicated below; PM III, p.37 n.1 on "Reoccupation" date of wall-stumps.

CAT'S or LEOPARD'S HEAD (PLATE 83A)

Mentioned in AE/NB p.11, 1900; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; PM I, p.540f, Fig.392b. HM case 173, Room K.

"CEILING" LOTUS DESIGN (unidentified)

PM IV, p.875, Fig.865, restored drawing.

"CEILING" LOTUS DESIGN WITH "BUD" (PLATE 180A)

Fyfe, p.125, Fig.62; PM IV, p.876, Fig.866. Burnt. HM Rho IX (N), 1.

CHEVRONS (PLATE 163B)

AE/NB opp.p.12, 1900, confirming this provenance. HM 15 Beta VIII "N.Threshing Floor Area" or "Area of Man in High Relief".

LADIES OF THE CASEMENTS, MINIATURE

PM II, p.602f, Fig.375. Now missing, unless it is a more broken burnt piece in HM 165 Theta XV (NP = no provenance noted) on N side of storeroom.

LADIES' JACKETS FRAGMENT (unidentified)

PM III, p.37f, Figs.21-22, but uncertainly interpreted there.

LADY ON THE BALCONY, MINIATURE (PLATE 46C)

PM III, p.59, with provenance corrected from that of PM II, p.602f, Fig.375. HM case 174, Room K.

LADY'S SLEEVE AND HAIR (unidentified)

PM II, p.680f, Fig.431; PM III, p.486 n.1.

GRIFFIN or SPHINX WING (PLATE 131K)

Rough sketch at AE/NB opp.p.12, 1900; PM I, p.548, Fig.399b, two of whose pieces are now in HM 86 Gamma III(S) "Area of Fish Fresco"; a third fragment sketched in PM seems missing. BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59, a mention. Smoke-stained.

EMBORESSED RELIEF BANDS (PLATE 42 B and D)

AE/NB p.11, 1900; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; PM III, p.37, Fig.20; KFA Pl.E, Fig.2a-c. Evidently from same figure as thigh fragment (PLATE 42E: see SLIDE 7) from the South Light Well of the Hall of the Double Axes, and perhaps woman's relief arm (PLATE 42A) from dump near South House.

"ENIGMATIC" FRAGMENTS, MINIATURES (PLATE 43H)

PM III, pp.37 n.1, 41 Fig.25b-c. HM Rho X (E), No provenance.

"FLUTES BAND" (PLATE 43D)

Sketched in AE/NB opp.p.12, 1900; PM III, pp.37, 39, Fig.23; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; KFA Pl.E, Fig.3e-f. HM Rho X (E), no provenance.

NEW JOIN TO "LA PARISIENNE" (SLIDE 4)

Sketched upside-down as "Grasses red, blue and grey on white gr(ound)", before small lowest fragment had been fitted onto the larger piece, at AE/NB opp.p.12, 1900; for a possible reference, BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59. But "La Parisienne" was found over 50 metres away to W at west end of Magazines XV-XVI in 1901. Vol.IV, C. New join from an unnumbered and unlabelled tray in HM storeroom.

OLIVE-LEAF BORDER (PLATE 186B)

Two sketches (pieces joining) at AE/NB opp.p.12, 1900; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59. HM Rho XI (E), no provenance.

OX-HEAD FRAGMENT, MINIATURE (PLATE 43B)

PM II, p.742; PM III, pp.37 n.1, 41 Fig.25a; KFA Pl.E, Fig.3a. HM case 174, Room K.

"PHEASANT'S" WING AND TAIL (PLATE 88C)

AE/NB p.11, 1900; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; PM I, p.540f, Fig.392a; KFA Pl.D, Fig.6. Tail fragment now missing. HM case 173, Room K.

"PLAYING BOYS", MINIATURE (Fig.8, opp.p.54).

PM III, p.396, Colour Pl.XXV; KFA, Pl.C, Fig.4. Located in HM Rho X (E), NP - exhibited HM case 173, Room K.

QUATREFOIL MOTIF (PLATE 177B)

AE/NB pp.11-12, 1900; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; a list of fragments with provenances noted, compiled by G. Rodenwaldt, confirms this provenance here. HM 152 Mu IV (N), NP.

RELIEF WOMAN'S DRESS (PLATE 41C)

PM III, pp.38, 45, Fig.27. HM tray Taf I (E), NP.

ROW OF LILIES, DRESS BORDER

PM III, p.130, Fig.85 (colour key reversed); KFA Pl.IV, Fig.12. Rodenwaldt's list of fragments with provenances confirms this find-place. HM Upsilon VI (E), NP.

"SACRAL MONSTER", MINIATURE (PLATE 43G)

Sketched at AE/NB opp.p.12, 1900; PM III, p.40f, Fig.25f; KFA Pl.E, Fig.3c. HM Rho X (E), NP.

SEATED GRIFFIN, MINIATURE (PLATE 43E)

BSA VI (1899-1900), p.48; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; PM III, p.40f, Fig.25e; KFA Pl.E, Fig.3h. HM case 173, Room K.

SEATED SPHINX, MINIATURE (PLATE 43F)

BSA VI (1899-1900), p.48; BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; PM III, p.40f, Fig.25d; KFA Pl.E, Fig.3k. Located in HM Rho III(E), NP. Exhibited in HM case 174, Room K.

"SMALLER" SHIELD FRESCOES

Uncertainly identified: perhaps a piece in a box labelled "Area of N Foundations" or two others in HM 148 Iota VIII(N), NP. PM III, p.308f.

SPIRALIFORM DESIGN (PLATE 137A)

Possible reference, BSA VII (1900-1901), p.59; PM I, p.375, Fig.272. HM, Room K. Evans attributed this, perhaps with good reason, to MM IIIA (= the "Sombre Spiral Painter" of the present study).

STONE VESSEL IN PROCESSIONAL YOUTH'S ARMS (PLATE 56A)

PM II, p.722, 724, Fig.451 "drifted to north of site" (?NTFA), but obviously removed by human agency from Western or Eastern processional fresco painted by "School D". HM Rho I (N), NP.

Evans's notebook for 1900, pp.11-12, mentions other, unidentified, pieces including various rosettes, spirals, and reliefs of a man's red-brown thigh with white kilt-hem stripe and a fragment of a ? woman's arm. Rodenwaldt's fresco list also ascribes three pieces from HM 152 Mu IV (N), NP to the North Threshing Floor Area (PLATE 131B, griffin's wing). PLATES 163-166 show further fragments of frescoes from this large dump. The following are burnt or show smoke stains: 163 A5, 10; 163C-D; 164 B34; 165 B13; 165 A (all), indicating that a major fire had taken place in the palace before the frescoes were cleared out and dumped. That the pieces were gathered from different parts of the palace is also shown by the joins or compatible associations of fragments listed above at pp.456-457: add, too, that the piece at PLATE 164 A37 belongs with the fragment at PLATE 171 A1, by the same "hand", from the Queen's Megaron. It follows that the fresco dump comprises FINAL DESTRUCTION material from many parts of the palace, cleared out by Evans's "squatters" probably in LM IIIB.

7. THE NORTH-EAST QUARTERS

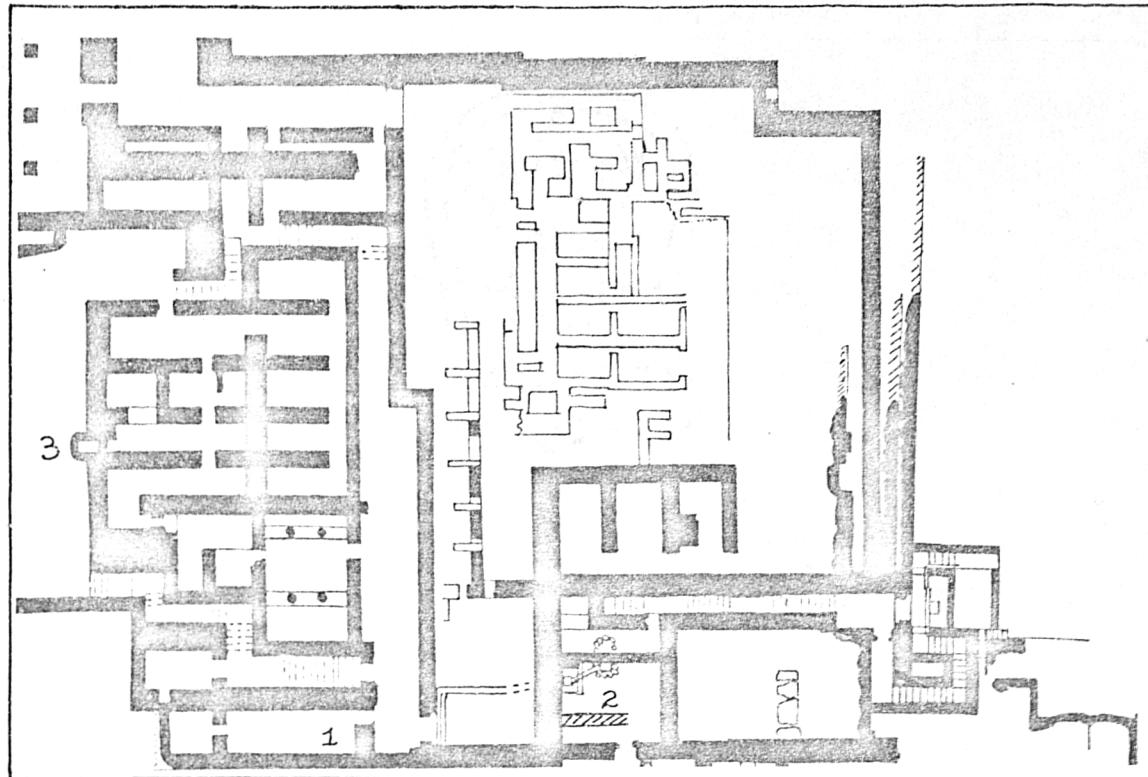


Fig. 91

1. The Ladies in Blue Fresco (PLATE 19)
2. "Taureador" Frescoes (PLATES 38; 39A-B; 40A-C; and 71-73)
Omphalos (PLATE 53B) .
Painted Linear A Sign (PLATE 64E)
Lotus flower (PLATE 98D)
"Miniature" Bull-leaping accident (PLATE 40 D-E)
3. Man's arm in relief (= ? PLATE 17A)

7. THE NORTH EAST QUARTERS: Fig. 91

At (1), the LADIES IN BLUE FRESCO (PLATE 19)

Much smoke-stained, from a burnt burnt deposit outside north wall of "Royal Magazines". "From the locality in which they were unearthed it is probable that these had formed part of the decorations of the great East Hall of the Palace as it existed about the close of the MM III period" (Evans). Further details not stated. Perhaps from a MM IIIB destruction context, but some LM III pottery also in vicinity.

CONTEXT: enigmatic, though Evans implies MM IIIB.

BSA VII (1900-1901), p.26, a mention; PM I, p.546; PM II, Plan B; OKT, B, p.50f for pottery.

At (2), the TAUREADOR FRESCOES (PLATES 38-39 A-B, 40 A-C, 71-73)

In late collapse of LM IB-LM IIIA debris, at 1.70 metres below surface-level and 1.50 metres above floor-level, fallen from a room to west eastwards over two LM III Reoccupation walls in west half of Court of the Stone Spout. "Several fragments of fresco and parts of fresco relief, chiefly limbs of women found in the late walls" (AE/NB p.18, 1902; OKT, P, p.182). In the absence of any relief figured fragments in the relevant HM fresco trays, the reference to "women's limbs" evidently concerns the Taureador fresco girls. BSA VII (1900-1901), p.51, 94-96 emphasises "good Mycenaean vases, including LM IB", as does Hood in Kadmos IV (1965), p.29f: but SMK sherd boxes include LM IIIA material and a very few later sherds (SMA XII, pp.36-41).

CONTEXT: very probably, reverse stratigraphy with FINAL DESTRUCTION debris high above LM IIIB reoccupied Court.

OTHER FRESCOES from (2): LOTUS (PLATE 98D); "ACCIDENT" (PLATE 40D-E).

OMPHALOS FRAGMENT (PLATE 53B): PM II, p.839f.

PAINTED LINEAR A SIGN (PLATE 64E): PM I, p.637; Vol.IV, A.

General references: BSA VII (1900-1901), pp.51, 94-96; BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.9; PM II, Plan B; OKT, P, pp.182ff, and 199; OKT, B, p.51 - correcting provenance stated at PM III, p.270, Fig.183 and p.210.

At (3), MAN'S ARM IN RELIEF (? PLATE 17A)

At same level as "tortoise-shell ripple" vases ("LM IA"), above MM III, ? outside west end of Chamber 4 of North East Magazines (PM I, p.571). Not, apparently, associated with Linear B tablets from south west chamber of Magazines (OKT, B, p.49f).

CONTEXT: apparently MM IIIB-LM IA.

8. THE EAST MAGAZINES and LAPIDARY'S WORKSHOP

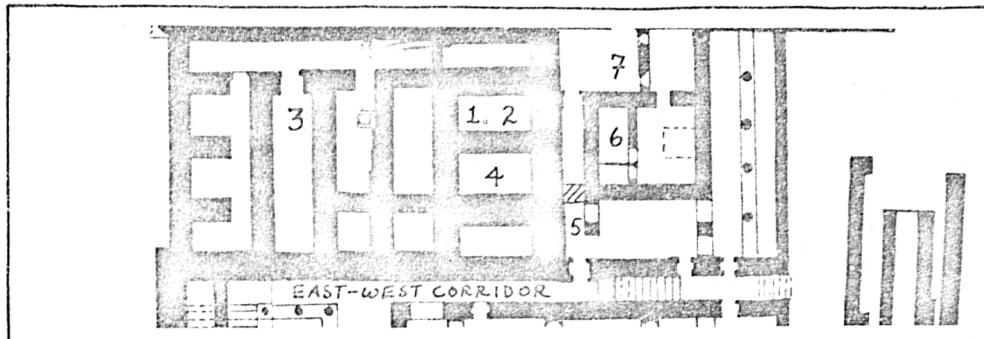


Fig.92

1. MM II Dado Bands (PLATE 4E), in stratum below 2
2. Bull Relief fragments
Spiral Fresco (PLATE 137B; 138A ?)
3. Spiral Fresco, similar to that at PLATE 137A
4. "Decorative Fresco"
5. High Reliefs Deposit
"Boxers/Wrestlers": arms (PLATE 16A-B)
hands (PLATE 17B)
legs (PLATE 16C-D)
Female Breasts (PLATE 41A-B)
Griffins (PLATE 132)
Spiral Ceiling (PLATE 141B)
"Triple Gradations" fragment (PLATE 136A)
Griffins leading chariot (PLATE 61 and Fig. 53, opp. p. 459)
6. Back of "Dual Chariot" (PLATE 59D)
7. "Miniature" Bull's Hoof in relief (PLATE 79 A6)

8. THE EAST MAGAZINES AND LAPIDARY'S WORKSHOP: Fig. 92

At (1), DADO BANDS (PLATE 4 EL)

In MM II "Kamares" level below that of pieces in following entry (p. 29, for further details).

At (2), BULL RELIEFS (PLATES 77A and 79 A4); SPIRAL (PLATE 137B)

Collapsed from upper storey, found at about 2.0 metres from surface-level on debris resting apparently on a MM III ?A floor: subsequently filled over by a thick "Mycenaean deposit" (1901) itself sealed below a late floor: this last was at 0.30-0.40 m below surface-level, with tripod cooking pots on it (unidentified and unpublished). Two large stone column-bases found with fresco. Only one pottery box from area known - SMK M I 2-3, with very fine restorable MM IIIB or LM IA "ripple" vases.

There are two versions of stratification here: (a) DM/DB 1902 (II), 21 May; and (b) PM I, Fig.187b. For filling of MM III magazines in LM IA early, see PM I, p.317 and OKT, B, p.51f.

CONTEXT: LM IA, if not earlier.

DM/DB 9-11, 13, 16-17 May 1901 (II); Ibid, 21 May 1902 (II) for detailed description of stratification; BSA VII (1900-1901) p.87; PM I, pp.248f with n.1, 317, 369f and 378.

At (3), SPIRAL FRESCO (similar to 137A: perhaps 138A ?)

From "Test 49" near north entrance, in carbonised layer with MM III sherds below gypsum floor with Medallion Pithoi standing on it (AE/NB 1913, p.103). Further south, "Test 47" below gypsum pavement produced " singularly pure MM III" and one "exceptional" ? LM II sherd which had "worked into crack at time of final conflagration " (Evans, Ibid.). Below this, two plaster floors with intervening earth layers, the last superimposed on a "mosaico" pavement (MM IIIB, according to Evans). A probe in 1913 below "mosaico" pavement brought out pottery "Too much mixed up. Some LM I, several MM III, many good EM I pieces" (OKT, P, p.XI). Stratification given at PM I, pp.320ff, Fig.233.

CONTEXT: MM IIIB, if not earlier.

COMMENT

Whatever the date of the "mosaico" floor, the earth layers and floors above it are in the nature of level-raising layers formed by material which had already become stratified - hence the occurrence in those layers of MM II-III pottery only (pace the ? LM II sherd which Evans saw was intrusive). As the fresco came up with MM III pottery only (Test 49), it seems it had been removed from a stratified deposit elsewhere as packing material for a floor laid down in LM I or later. Evans assigned the Medallion Pithoi to MM III, but Pendlebury suggests their manufacture in LM I and use into LN II (AC, p.204f).

AE/NB 1913, pp.82, 102-103 (Tests 47,49); PM I, pp.320ff,

351 n.2, and 374; OKT, P, p.XI; Penultimate Palace, pp.84-86.

The writer owes the above suggestion to Professor R.M. Harrison.

At (4), DECORATIVE FRESCO

Possibly fragments of the Grand Staircase Procession Fresco (SLIDE 44). "LM IIIA" contexts, according to PM I, p.383, Fig. 278 and PM II, Plan B. DM/DB 4 April 1902 (I) records found at depth of 2.20- 2.30 metres from surface. But fragments of this fresco series were evidently scattered over a wide area (between (4) and (6) on our plan here), and others elsewhere by same painters were found in FINAL DESTRUCTION contexts and in later dumps (NTFA and South House). For pottery with the "decorative pieces", Mackenzie refers to "Kamares fragments".

CONTEXT: uncertain, and frescoes not certainly identified.

At (5), DEPOSIT OF HIGH RELIEFS (PLATES 16 A-D; 17B; 41 A-B; 132; 136A, and 141B)

At 1.0 metre below surface but above floor-level in southern, blocked off (not reoccupied) section of N-S Corridor from "School Room ". Fragments worn and fire-stained. Burnt doorposts in eastern doorway, and scatter of Linear B tablets and clay sealings in southern doorway and beyond. Northern part of Corridor: a LM IIIB storeroom replacing earlier palatial function of passage.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 16, 23-25 May 1901 (II); BSA VII (1900-1901), pp.15 and 88; PM III, p.495; OKT, P, pp.138 and 184f; OKT, E, p.51; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), pp.76-81.

At (6), BACK of DUAL CHARIOT (SLIDE 20; PLATE 59D)

In or near Room of Stone Amphora (Lapidary's Workshop) which was "choked with the bulky remains of a LM II Lapidary's Workshop" (OKT, E, p.52). Other chariot composition pieces possibly from here, and/or from the North Threshing Floor Area (not Area of Priest King, as stated in Vol.IV, G, p.336 n.11), and also from room next to that of Palanquin Fresco on South Front. LM II-IIIA 1 stone amphora from present Lapidary's workshop: MSV, p.60f (P 322: HM 20).

CONTEXT: probably FINAL DESTRUCTION

OKT, E, p.52; Vol.IV, G, p.336 and n.11; Penultimate Palace p.87, Fig.9 claims a post-LM IIIB context apparently.

At (7), MINIATURE BULL'S HOOF IN RELIEF (PLATE 79 A6)

From "School Room", apparently above floor level which was at 3.40 metres down. Possibly from inside walls of Reoccupation structure (see Taureador Fresco entry at Section 7 (2) above). Room used in LM IIIB.

CONTEXT: uncertain, perhaps LM IIIB

OKT, P, p.181; OKT, E, p.51; pottery: Popham, SMA V, pp.8 and Pl.2(b)= PM I, p.384, Fig.279 and BSA VII (1900-1901), p.97.

9. THE DOMESTIC QUARTERS

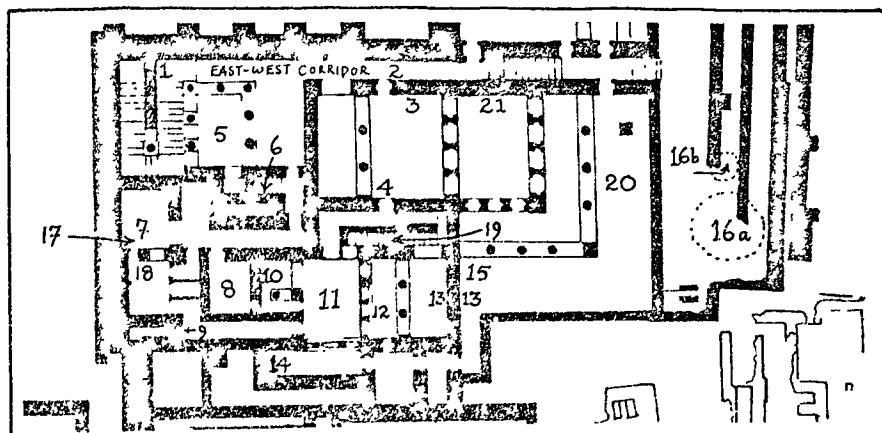


Fig.93

1. Dado Bands (p.704, Fig.94)
2. Argonaut Fresco (PLATE 170B and Fig.12, opp.p.106)
3. Bull's Foot and Plant; and ? Rockwork (PLATE 68B; v.(21)below)
4. Red and White Bands below pavement
5. Necklace Fragment (PLATE 44B)
6. Shield Fresco (PLATE 63A, B, D)
Half Rosette (PLATE 49D)
Bull fragments (PLATE 75)
Floral fragment (PLATE 111C)
Saffron Gatherer fragments, of third "panel" (PLATE 179)
7. Lotus Flower (PLATE 98B)
8. "Miniature" Bull's Head and Dress Fragments (p.706, Fig.95a-b)
9. Spiral Fresco (p.707, Fig.96)
10. Spiral Fresco (PLATE 155B)
11. Dolphin Fresco (PLATES 121-122) extending to 13 on plan;
"Miniature" Female Bull-Leapers (PLATE 39C)
Processional Youth's Head (PLATES 7B and 171 A3: SLIDE 3)
- 12 - if not at 13: Dancing Girl (PLATE 32)
13. Dolphin Fresco and Dancing Girl, according to Mackenzie.
14. Lotus Flower in relief (PLATE 98A)
15. Woman's thigh in relief (PLATE 42E: SLIDE 7)
- 16a."Labyrinth Dado" (PLATE 146A-B)
- 16b.Marbled Dado (PLATE 146C)
17. Apotropaic Sign
18. Processional Figure's Kilt (PLATE 9B)
19. Unidentified fresco fragments
20. LM III Reoccupation Plaster
21. Spiral Fresco; and ? Rockwork (PLATE 68B; see (3) above).

9. THE DOMESTIC QUARTERS: Fig. 93

At (1), RED AND WHITE DADO BANDS (Fig. 94)



Fig. 94

In situ above gypsum orthostat on east face of west wall at bottom of Grand Staircase (see SLIDE 44, right). Burnt. Clay sealings on upper landing and down staircase. No signs of reoccupation of floors. Fresco still in position.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

OKT, B, pp.53f and 58; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), pp.76f and 79f (R2 - R37).

At (2), ARGONAUT FRESCO (PLATE 170B and Fig.12, opp. p.106)

Fallen onto floor of Upper East-West Corridor, near Upper Hall of Double Axes, at time of Final Destruction. Burnt heavily. Linear B tablets, clay sealings and signs of burning on both upper and lower floors of Corridor.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

BSA VII (1900-1901), pp.101 and 107f; PM III, p.294, a mention; PM IV, p.889f, Figs.870-871 and Supplementary Pl.LXIX; OKT, P, p.131f; OKT, B, p.53f; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), pp.76f, 79 and 98 (Appendix B, iii = R1, seal type as "forged clay matrix", Q22). AE/NB 10-11 March 1902 reports other frescoes here.

At (3), BULL'S HIND FOOT AND PLANT

In situ, from floor to 0.60 metre up (where broken), on north wall of Upper Hall of the Double Axes. "The best preserved part of the fresco began about 1.0m West from doorjamb 1 (sketched) and continued west for about over a metre. The whole extent at all traceable was something over 3 metres" (Mackenzie). Badly burnt. Removed to HM in 1965.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 11 June 1901 (II); BSA VII (1900-1901), p.117;

PM I, p.337 n.1; PM III, pp.294 and 343 n.1; Ibid, p.339,
Fig.225 (small sketch, upper centre); PM IV, p.892.

At (4), MM III RED AND WHITE BANDS

Under pavement slab in south west corner of Hall of Double Axes, with MM III and Neolithic sherds. AE/NB 1913, Test 42; PM III, p.331f.

At (5), NECKLACE FRAGMENT (PLATE 44B)

Heavily burnt. probably from deposit below burnt rafter-beams with tablets, sealings and "conspicuous" Palace Style pottery: also MM I-LM III, and 1 Protocorinthian sherd (SMK N III 3). No signs of reoccupation of floors (OKT, B, p.58).

CONTEXT: evidently FINAL DESTRUCTION

For deposits, see OKT, P, pp.59, 130-134 and 150; OKT, B, pp.53f 58f and Appendix A, p.92; PM I, pp.325ff; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), pp.77-81.

At (6), SHIELD AND SPIRAL FRESCO (PLATE 63 A-B, D); BULL RELIEF FRAGMENT (unidentified); SAFFRON GATHERER FRAGMENTS (PLATE 179 A1-2); PROCESSIONAL FIGURE'S KILT FRAGMENT (MC Thesis, Fig.28, reproduced in E. Sakellarakis, Minoikon Zoma(1971), p.169, Fig.71 gamma); and BORDER FRAGMENT of TAUREADOR FRESCO TYPE (PLATE 179 A3); FLORAL FRAGMENT (PLATE 111C); BULL FRAGMENTS (PLATE 75).

Bull fragment with sealings at 4.0 metres down (DM/DB 27 May 1901 (II)) and shield fragments still lower at 4.0-4.20 metres, tumbled from above (DM/DB 27,29-30 May and 1 June 1901 (II)). Floor level reached in 1902, at about 5.40 metres down. Most frescoes show signs of burning, some heavily. Tablets and sealings found nearby in doorway into Hall of Colonnades and from passage near stairs came a cylinder sealing. The south section of stairway (no frescoes) with sealings to level of original steps, and 0.80 m below this point a store containing 3 plain amphorae and a late octopus stirrup jar. Below these in turn, a deposit of "consistently LM IIIA" vases, taken by Popham as a destruction deposit (SMA XII, p.25f, linking sealings and frescoes).

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION, though perhaps from a late collapse of upper rooms and contents. That point is, however, uncertain.

Cylinder seal assigned to c.1400 B.C. by Miss Porada (OKT, B, p.72). DM/DB loc.cit and 1 May 1902 (OKT, P, p.148); BSA VII (1900-1901), p.108; BSA VIII (1901-1902), pp.70-78; PM III, pp.401-403; OKT, P, pp.XVII and pp.133, 148; OKT, B, pp.54f and 58; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.81 (R67 -R87); SMA XII, pp.22-26 for latest discussion of pottery associated with sealings and frescoes.

At (7), LOTUS FLOWER (PLATE 98B); RELIEF BULL'S FOOT (?PLATE 80A)
Flower: in Court of Distaffs (DM/DB 7 April 1902: OKT, P, p.146), confirming second provenance of fragment in HM 49 Zeta III (S)

"North Foundations" or "Court of Distaffs". No lotus flowers known or recorded from North Foundations.

Bull's foot: from "Area of Hall of Double Axes", according to HM fresco tray. Reported "from underneath fallen blocks from E wall of room ... immediately above floor" (DM/DB 9 April 1902 (II): OKT, P, p.147). Darkened by fire.

PM III, p.298 also notes fresco leg of a processional figure from immediately outside north wall of Room of the Stone Bench, perhaps from the same figure as that noted at (18) below.

These frescoes found with sealings low down, apparently near floor-level, with Palace Style pottery and 1 sherd inscribed with three Linear B characters ("a little above floor-level"). Reoccupation vases reported "somewhat above the original floor-level". East window's supports burnt.

CONTEXT: probably FINAL DESTRUCTION along with burnt sealings and Palace Style pottery, but preserved pottery is LM IIIA, B. DM/DB 7-9 April 1902; BSA VIII (1901-1902), pp.66f, cf.78-80; SM I, p.54; OKT, P, pp.134, 146, 195 and 249; OKT, B, pp.55f and Appendix A, p.92 for Palace Style notes; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.77 (R100-101); on inscribed sherd, see J. Raison, BCH LXXXV (1961), pp.408-417 who assigns it to LM IIIA 2; on the preserved pottery from this area, see Popham, SMA XII, pp.28-29.

At (8), MINIATURE BULL'S HEAD and DOUBLE-AXE FRAGMENTS (Fig. 95)

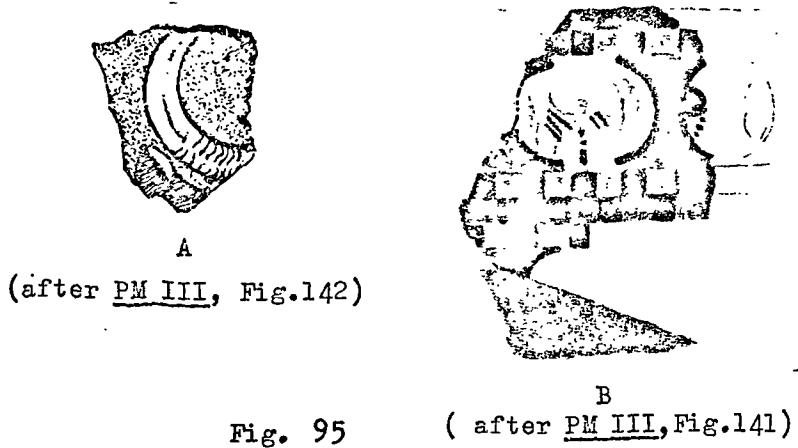


Fig. 95 (after PM III, Fig.142)

Sealed below floor (on which sealings of Final Destruction), together with ivories in the Room of the Ivory Deposit or "Lair". MM IIIB context according to Evans, though Hood privately suggests could be LM IB (like the ivory deposit in RR/N).

CONTEXT: LM IB, if not MM IIIB; Popham writes " much earlier than the final destruction " (SMA XII, p.26).

DM/DB 21-22 May 1902; AE/NB p.70f, 1902; BSA VIII (1901-1902), pp.68-70, 75f; PM III, p.207f; OKT, P, pp.132f, 148f, 197; OKT, B, pp.55, 58, 71 and Appendix A, p.92 for Palace Style sherds from this room's upper level.

At (9), SPIRAL FRESCO (Fig. 96)

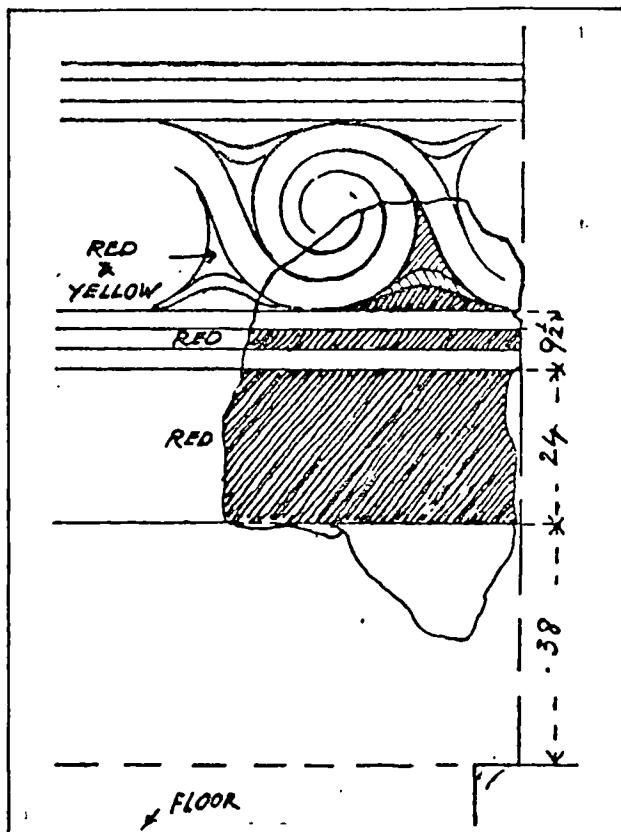


Fig. 96
(after PM III, Fig. 259)

Found in situ at west end of southern extension of "Dog's Leg Corridor", starting at 0.62 metre above pavement; scattered fragments of LM IIIA bath-tub in east doorway of Corridor.

CONTEXT: FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 1 April 1902 (I); BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.61; PM III, pp.383, 387f, Fig.259; OKT, P, p.190; OKT, B, pp.56-58; for bath-tub see PM III, p.385, Fig.256 (transferred to Queen's Bathroom), and Popham, SMA XII, p.28 and n.26, Pl.46g.

At (10), SPIRAL FRESCO (PLATE 155B)

Found in situ, very heavily burnt, on north and west walls of "Queen's Bathroom", above gypsum dado. A section, removed, restored and now housed in SMK where deteriorating rapidly; probably restored by Fyfe. Associated finds: beyond E balustrade, in Queen's Megaron, a Reoccupation wall with burnt Linear B tablets and clay sealings underneath it. Unburnt stirrup-jars, largely complete, had collapsed from above into chamber (OKT, B, Pl.XIVb), and in south-east entrance stood a pithos "of late appearance filled apparently with lime" - presumably calcined from Final Destruction fire: pithos "has no late characteristics but is otherwise difficult to date" (Popham, SMA XII, p.28).

CONTEXT: evidently FINAL DESTRUCTION

DM/DB 8 March 1902 (I); BSA VIII (1901-1902), pp.52-54, Fig.27a; PM I, p.333; PM III, pp.367, 381-384, Figs.253-255, Fyfe, p.120, Fig.43 upper; OKT, P, pp.134, 143 (a misquotation here); OKT, B, pp.56-58; SMA XII, pp.26-28.

At (11) and (13-13), DOLPHIN FRESCO (PLATES 121-123)

Parts of fresco, also spiral fresco design, found at (11) on floor of "Queen's Megaron"; other fragments of fish painting in "fresco deposit 3" on each side of east wall of East Light Well at (13-13), here with Palace Style and LM IIIA and B pottery. Frescoes evidently deposited here after east Light Well wall had already collapsed: too many fragmentary paintings here for all to have fallen from upper rooms, and some fragments join others from elsewhere in palace (including the LM IIIA 2 or B North Threshing Floor fresco dump). Therefore present frescoes must have been dumped here, sometime in LM IIIA 2 or B but before site was finally abandoned. Note that stumps of Reoccupation wall inside Queen's Megaron did not reach down to floor-level where large part of Dolphin fresco found. Some fresco fragments from area look smoke-stained. Original locations of paintings most uncertain.

CONTEXT: dolphin from Megaron, possibly pure FINAL DESTRUCTION; otherwise FINAL DESTRUCTION frescoes and pottery, with later debris, dumped perhaps late in LM IIIA or IIIB.

DM/DB 25 February and 3 March 1902 (I); AE/NB 26 February 1902, with drawings of sea-urchin from Fish Fresco and Palace Style sherds found nearby; BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.58f; PM I, p.543 n.2; PM III, pp.370 n.1 and 377f (which make clear that Evans found no evidence for overlapping of spiral fresco onto Dolphin Fresco to support his idea they are different in date); Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.82; SMA XII for recent review of pottery and possible Reoccupation as early as LM IIIA 2 (pp.26-30).

Also from (11), HEAD OF PROCESSIONAL YOUTH (SLIDE 3; PLATE 7B) and SPIRAL FRESCO (PLATE 140 D-E); MINIATURE BULL-LEAPERS (PLATE 39C).

Youth from HM 80 Beta IX "Queen's Megaron" and (eye) 83 Omikron XIII "Queen's Megaron". "Miniature" bull-leapers from upper stratum of same room: context presumably LM IIIB (PM III, p.208f, Fig.143 and p.403 - mistakenly connecting piece with those from the Ivory Deposit of the "Lair" at (8).

At ? (12), DANCING GIRL (PLATE 32)

In deposit of fresco at 0.70 metre from surface, bordering E wall of East Light Well of Megaron, i.e. (13 west) - so DM/DB 25 and 28 February 1902 (I); AE/NB 25 February 1902. At PM III, p.70, however, incorrectly attributed to "... small heap near one of the dividing pillars of the hall" unless "fresco deposit 3" extended further west than Mackenzie reported. Evans's location of fresco in panel of one such pillar is wholly conjectural. Associated with fragments of Fish Fresco, and no doubt with LM IIIA and B pottery. Some frescoes here burnt. PLATES 172-174 show further fresco fragments from this deposit.

CONTEXT: LM IIIA 2 or IIIB.

DM/DB and AE/NB loc.cit.; BSA VIII (1901-1902), pp.42, 46 and 58; PM III, p.70f, Fig.40; SMA XII, pp.26-30 for pottery review.

At (14), RELIEF LOTUS FLOWER (PLATE 98A)

Not a "bird's wing", as Evans later realised. Collapsed from room above into west corner inside South Light Well of Queen's Megaron.

CONTEXT: probably FINAL DESTRUCTION, but not closely specified AE/NB 15 and 20 March 1902; BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.51f, Fig.26; PM III, p.371f; PM IV, p.874f; SMA XII, p.27, a mention.

At (15), RELIEF WOMAN'S THIGH (PLATE 42E)

From "fresco deposit 4", at west end of South Light Well of Hall of Double Axes (DM/DB 25 February 1902). Associated pottery: SMK N IV 14 (MM - LM III), OKT, P, p.131 and OKT, B, p.57 n.9. Evans reported only MM II-III and LM I-II, including Palace Style, but this seems incorrect (PM III, p.330f and n.1; so, too, BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.42).

CONTEXT: evidently LM IIIA 2 or IIIB

At (16a), LABYRINTH and (16b) MARBLED DADOES (PLATE 146 A-C)

In large pieces, some face up, others face down, below modern threshing floor which was above south end of first and second enceinte walls east of Hall of the Double Axes. No pottery described, but attributed to MM III on stylistic grounds (and to west face of second enceinte wall) by Evans. DM/DB 31 March 1902 (I) mentions fresco cornice similar to MARBLED DADO from a "pit" on east slope in area of East Bastion, in a charred wood deposit at about 0.50 metre from surface. Pottery unmentioned.

CONTEXT: unknown, perhaps MM III

DM/DB 3 March 1902; AE/NB 2 March 1902; BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.103f, Fig.62; Ibid, p.110 suggests Marbled Dado found a little north of Labyrinth dado; PM I, p.356f; PM II, Plan B.

Trials in the general "east" region in 1900 produced parts of a fish (unidentified), the "head and forearm of a man in a bright blue tunic with short sleeves " (evidently PLATE 51 A1, though Evans connects this with the Palanquin Fresco from the South Front: certainly, it is by the same painter), and also a fragment depicting " a lady swimming " (alas, unidentified: BSA VI (1899-1900), p.7). See OKT, B, p.57 for further references.

At (17), APOTROPAIC SIGN

Apparently from the Court of the Distaffs, to judge from sketch at AE/NB 17 January 1902. Possibly a surface find. Photograph in Heaton's photographic file in London Institute of Archaeology.

CONTEXT: unknown

At (18), PROCESSIONAL FIGURE'S KILT (PLATE 9B)

Found with clay sealings near doorway in north west corner of

"High Seat R(oom)" viz. near door in upper Room of the Stone Bench.

CONTEXT: evidently FINAL DESTRUCTION

AE/NB 6 March 1902; PM III, p.297, Fig.194; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), pp.77, 82 (R 101); also BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.66.

At (19), unidentified fresco fragments, and sealing, on staircase at lower level than deposit of " Late Myc. pots, espec. cups with high pedestals " (AE/NB p.45, 1902). BSA VIII (1901-1902), p.60, a mention; OKT,P, p.145; Gill, BSA 60 (1965), p.82 (R 107).

At (20), LM IIIB REOCCUPATION PLASTER, and SPIRAL (unidentified)

In East Light Well of Hall of Double Axes, LM IIIB plaster floor (unpainted) above a finer palatial "tarazza" floor (PM III, p.330). Spiral fresco, associated with LM I-IIIB sherds, found between these two floors (PM III, p.295, Fig.193 - restored).

CONTEXT: LM IIIB

At (21), SPIRAL FRIEZE

Along base of north wall within east compartment of Hall of Double Axes; Evans thought the fresco had covered a horizontal wooden beam above the high gypsum dado.

CONTEXT: evidently FINAL DESTRUCTION

PM III, p.343, Fig.229.

10. THE SOUTH-EAST ANGLE

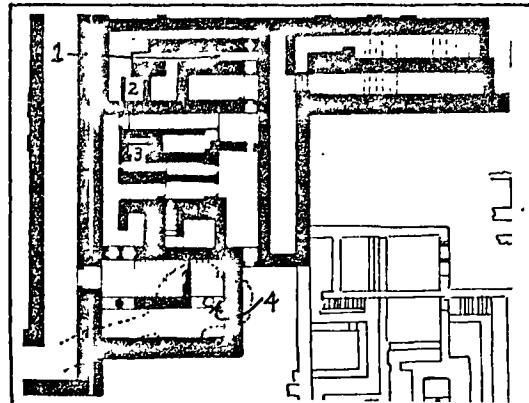


Fig.97

1. Red on White Design (unidentified)
2. Red-painted Stucco
3. Plain Plaster on Bench
4. Animal's Mane in relief (PLATE 78C and 154A)

10. THE SOUTH EAST ANGLE: Fig. 97

At (1), in Magazine of the Lily Vases and above floor, a "fresco design with red on white ground. The red has an irregular patch whose edge against the white formed a curving meander outline" (DM/DB 26 February 1902). Within Magazine, at (2), walls of small chambers covered with red-painted stucco. Pottery deposit: MM IIIB lily vases.

CONTEXT: MM IIIB

BSA VIII (1901-1902), pp.87-93, Figs.50-52 (vases).

At (3), UNPAINTED STUCCO-FACED BENCH

In Shrine of Double Axes, constructed and abandoned in LM IIIB, raised dais on north side faced with unpainted plaster - much decayed and restored to prevent further ruin. LM IIIB pottery deposit - whole vases - here, with bell-skirted clay goddesses.

CONTEXT: LM IIIB

PM II, pp.335ff, Fig.189(vases), Fig.193(goddesses); OKT, P, pp.136, 190 and 243; OKT, B, p.59f and Appendix A, p.94. For full discussion and illustration of pottery here, see Popham, SMA V, pp.7ff, 11 n.17, 16, 19 and Pls.2a, 9b,f.

At (4), ANIMAL'S MANE IN RELIEF (PLATES 78C and 154A)

Fallen from palace into "South-East Pit" (Middle Minoan) below south east corner of palace, some 10 metres south of the Shrine of the Double Axes. Found at 5.0 metres down from surface, with mainly MM III pottery but some LM IIIB "champagne cups" and two lead sling-bullets reached 6m down, apparently via "swallow-holes and chinks" (Evans). MANE fragment has square peg-hole, but painted surface gone; Evans reported a "lion's leg" with it, also in relief, but this could be a griffin's leg: unidentified. CONTEXT: LM IIIB, if not Hellenistic or Roman.

DM/DB pp.32-34, 1922 (I); PM II, pp.289ff, 333f, 336 and 344; OKT, P, p.190f; OKT, B, p.59; For plan and section of pit, see PM II, p.293, Fig.171. NB: the MANE is probably that of a BULL.

Part II
FRESCOES FROM TOWN HOUSES AT KNOSSOS

1. The Caravanserai	.....	p. 714
2. The High Priest's House	.....	p. 716
3. Hogarth's Houses	.....	p. 717
4. The House of the Chancel Screen	.....	p. 718
5. The House of the Frescoes	.....	p. 719
6. The House of the Sacrificed Oxen	.....	p. 721
7. The Little Palace	.....	p. 722
8. The North West Treasury	.....	p. 724
9. The Royal Road (North and South)	.....	p. 725
10. The Royal Villa	.....	p. 730
11. Savakis's Bothros	.....	p. 731
12. The South House	.....	p. 733
13. The South East House	.....	p. 734
14. The Temple of Demeter site	.....	p. 735
15. The Unexplored Mansion, North	.....	p. 736

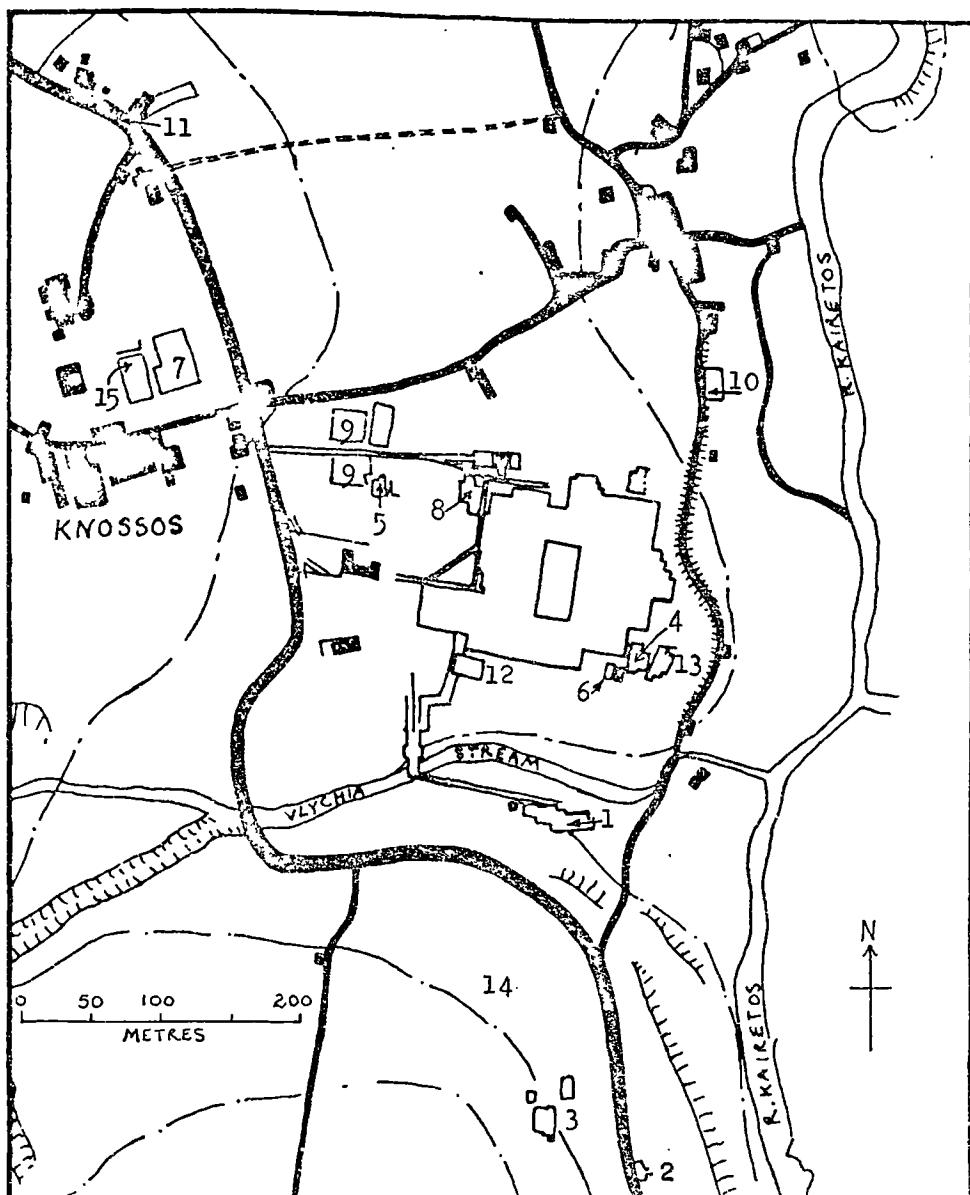


Fig. 98 Map of Knossos Town
(After Hood, Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area (1967), folder)

Modern buildings and roads are here shown as solid black areas.

1. THE CARAVANSERAI (Fig. 98, 1)

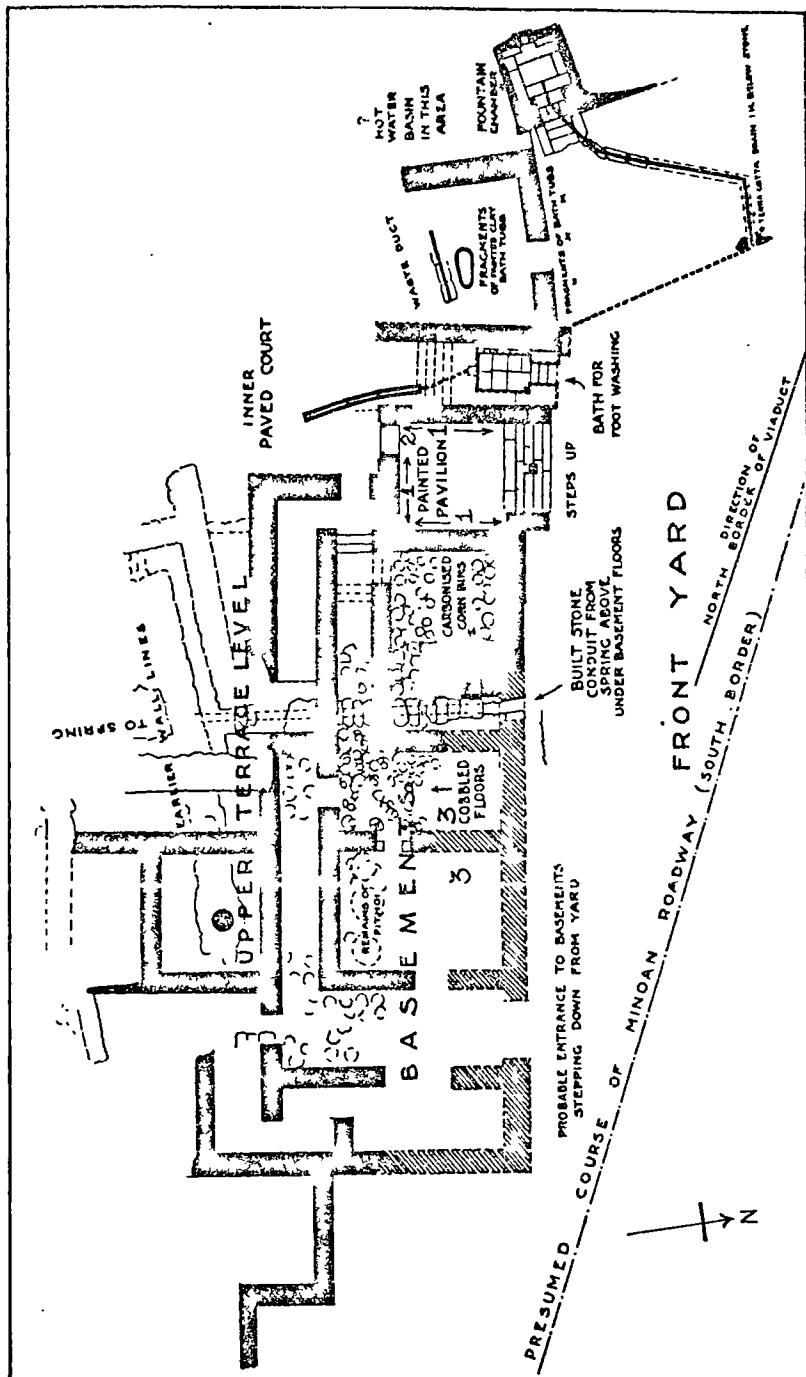


Fig. 99

1. The Partridge and Hoopoe frieze (PLATE 86)
2. Floral fragments from same frieze (PLATE 100B)
3. Unpublished white and "kyanos" blue fragments

THE CARAVANSERAI

Site history: built above older foundations in MM IIIB/LM IA or early LM IA. Contra Evans (see below), no certain evidence for damage here before LM III - perhaps as late as LM III B when the site was deserted. Mackenzie records pot-sherds from all periods between LM IA and LM IIIB in the Pavilion (1 in Fig. 99) but which were associated with the principal fresco is not explicitly stated. SMK Guide, however, claims two boxes of pottery with sherds no later than LM I (S III 2).

At (1), in the Pavilion, a continuous architectural dado found in situ extending from floor to preserved heights of all three walls (see Fig.13, opp.p.117). This plaster dado had once supported the Partridge and Hoopoe frieze (PLATE 86), likewise extending on all three walls but above the level of the lintel beam of the southern doorway. Here, at (2), occurred the floral pieces mentioned by Evans but erroneously attributed by him to a LM II redecoration: they belong to the same frieze (PM II, p.116). The frieze had collapsed into heaps of fragments at the base of the three walls, having dropped vertically from above " at a time when the walls of the apartment were more or less intact to the ceiling" (Mackenzie DB). Possibly this happened after the final desertion of the site in LM IIIB.

CONTEXT: uncertain, but not later than LM IIIB ^{late}.

At (3), a general north-eastern area, plain white and bright blue fresco fragments fallen from walls in upper rooms into the basement areas: PM II, p.107.

DM/DB 1924 (III), pp.47, 49, 53, 61, 75 and 77; PM II, 103-113ff; ASKA no.125; SMK Guide (S III 2).

2. THE HIGH PRIEST'S HOUSE (Fig.98,2)

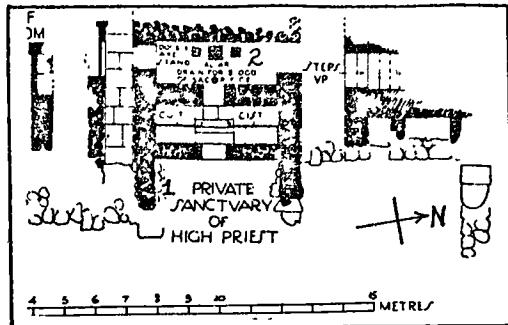


Fig.100

1. Spiral fragment (illustrated below)
2. Unpublished red-painted plaster in Adyton

Site history: constructed in MM IIIB/LM IA or early LM IA. Perhaps partially damaged in LM IB, to judge by a near-complete ewer found here (PM IV, Fig.165); and a probable LM IIIA destruction (many LM IIIA sherds and a Mycenaean type of high-handled kylix). Slight habitation in the area in LM IIIB, unless the few LM IIIB sherds mentioned by Evans represent debris washed down from the hillside to the west.

At (1), spiral fragment on a raised but flat-faced moulding found near south-east corner of house; the moulding suggests a running spiral frieze at the level of the lintel beams of doorways in a room - perhaps overlying the beams' face. The fragments from (2) are no longer identifiable.

CONTEXT: LM III, but whether A or B Evans does not say; yet the site's history suggests A rather than B.

PM IV, 205-215; Popham, Antiquity XL no.157 (1966), 26 and Pl.IVa (Mycenaean kylix); ASKA no.133.

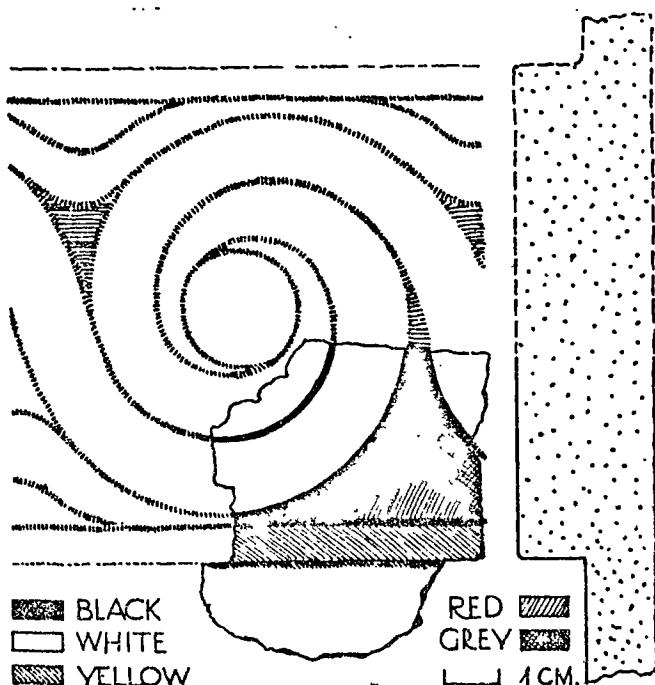


Fig. 101

3. HOGARTH'S HOUSES (Fig.98, 3)

Site history: an area on east flank of Gypsadhes Hill where Hogarth first excavated a series of town houses. Excavations in 1957-61 under Hood: ASKA no.120. The present pieces of fresco are from the new excavations, as yet unpublished; reference is here made to available excavation data.

Middle Minoan frescoes:

Trench G (level 13), Trench E (Extension level 43 "inside cross-wall") and Trench K (level 27), with MM IIIB or earlier sherds only, produced the following frescoes:

1. Red, white, blue, black banded fragments: PLATE 135 A1
2. Grey and white banded fragments: PLATE 135 A3
3. Black and blue banded fragments: PLATE 135 A2
4. Red and white banded fragments: PLATE 143 D3
5. Red lattice design and grass motif: PLATE 143 D1-2
6. Red, white and black banded fragments: PLATE 143 D4
7. Sage or vetch fragment: PLATE 109 B6
8. Sage or vetch on plaster offering-table: PLATE 118 B-C
9. Red and yellow banded fragment, unpublished.

CONTEXTS: MM III A or B (as noted in Table I, p.382 and Table II, p.390).

Late Minoan (or earlier) frescoes:

Trench B (levels 11 and 12), with LM IA or earlier pottery only, contained the following fresco piece:

10. Spiral design above red and white bands: PLATE 135 A4.

Trench H (level 17), with pottery of a similar horizon, produced interesting fragments of floor-plaster.

CONTEXT: LM IA

4. THE HOUSE OF THE CHANCEL SCREEN (Fig.98, 4)

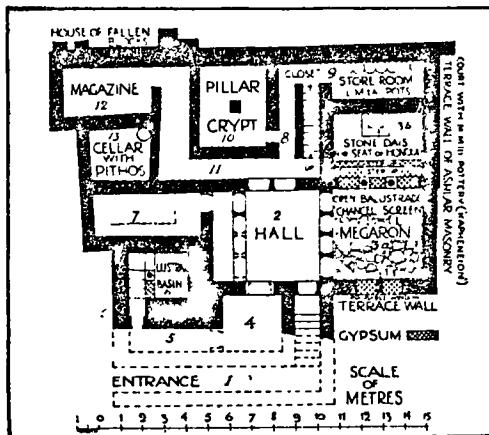


Fig.102

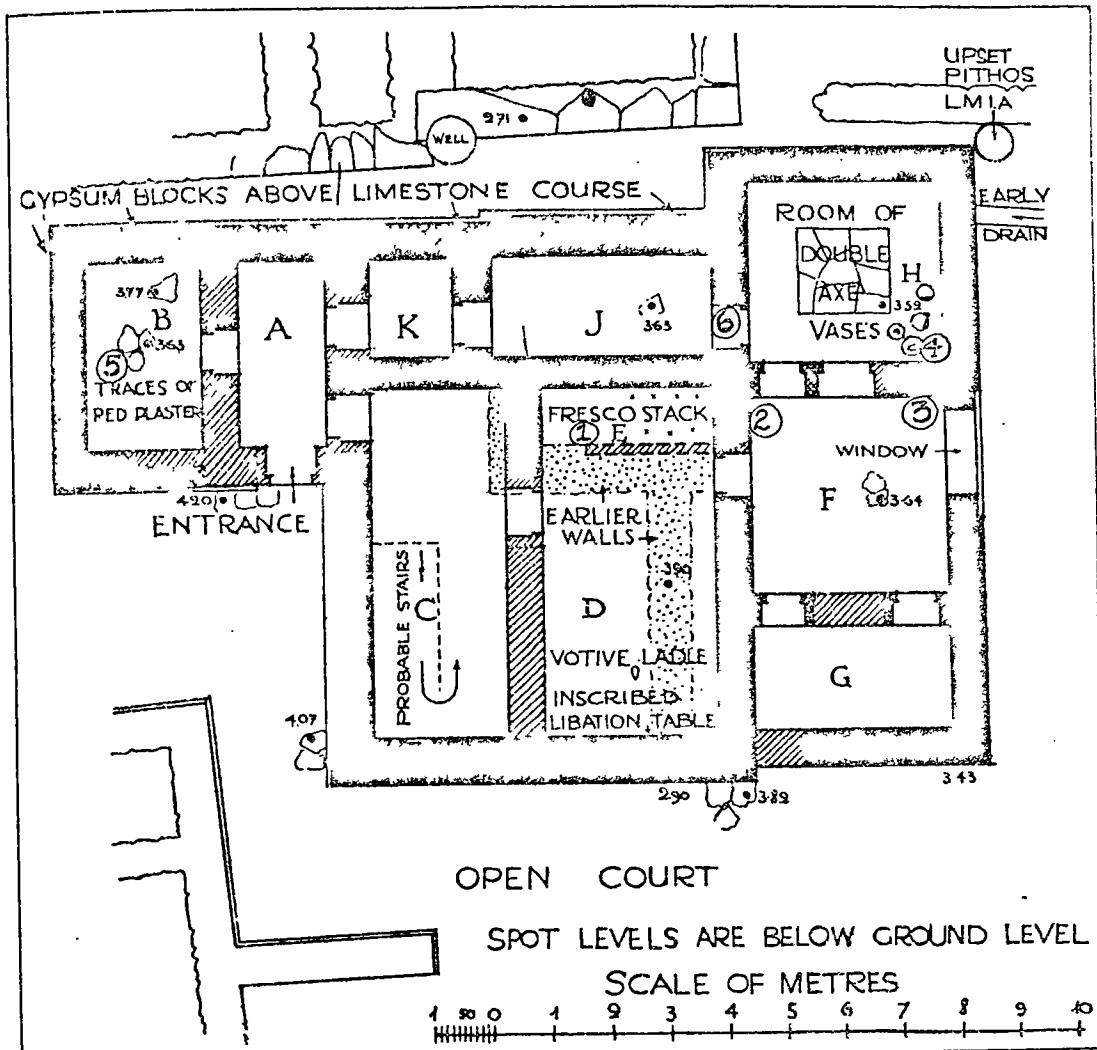
Site history: rebuilt in MM IIIB/LM IA, but was no longer inhabited after LM IA to judge by Evans's account in PM.

Plastered floor mentioned in the Room of the Stone Dais (PM II, p.394).

CONTEXT: evidently LM IA at latest.

PM II, 392ff; PM IV, 213.

5. THE HOUSE OF THE FRESCOES (Fig.98, 5)



1. Birds and Monkeys frieze (PLATES 65, 84A-B, 85B-C and SLIDE 56)
including rockwork (PLATE 68A), pebbles and sand (PLATE 70A-C),
birds' nests and eggs (PLATE 89A-B), crocuses (PLATE 90),
honeysuckle (PLATE 93A-B), irises (PLATE 94A-B), ivy (PLATE 97A),
papyrus/lotus (PLATE 99A), madonna and pancratium lilies (PLATE
106A), roses (PLATE 106B), papyrus (PLATE 107B), mallow (PLATE
113), myrtles (PLATE 115A-B), waterfalls (PLATE 160B-C).
Fragments of the goat, olive-tree and crocus panel (SLIDE 58)
The "A" and "B" groups of so-called Linear Signs (PM II, p.440f)
2. The "fringe" of the deposit at (1) above
3. Painted plaster dado in situ (comparable to that at (4))
4. Painted plaster dado in situ (SLIDE 43b)
5. Red-painted plaster, unpublished
6. the Captain of the Blacks fresco (PLATE 12A)

THE HOUSE OF THE FRESCOES

Site history: built in MM III B/LM IA and destroyed (? earthquake collapse) in advanced LM IA, as shown by sherds of that date on the house floors and by a deposit of LM IA vases in Room H. LM IB sherds occurred in levels above LM IA strata. Plundered by stone-robbers and treasure-seekers in later, including Roman, times.

At (1), Room E contained a very large "stack" of fresco fragments, in 34 layers at one point, face upwards or downwards indifferently, along the east wall, measuring (N-S) 3.65m long, 1.5m wide and 0.80 to 1.0m high. Top of stack at 2.40m below surface-level. Evans thought the "stack" was deliberately formed with frescoes removed from the walls of upper rooms; but the present writer has argued elsewhere that the fresco "stack" was formed in the process of the collapse of the house.

At (2), unknown pieces of the main "stack" stretched over the stump of the south wall of Room E: possibly fragments of the "crocus and goat" panel (SLIDE 58; see Vol.IV, F, p.25f).

At (3) in south-east corner of Room F, a painted plaster dado like that from Room H (but with different measurements) was found in situ (DM/DB 1923 (III), p.7 and PM II, pp.435 & 444 allude to this dado).

At (4) in south-west corner of Room H, a painted plaster dado found in situ to a height of 0.80m above floor-level (DM/DB 1923 (III), plan, p.8; PM II, p.443, Fig.260 = SLIDE 43b here).

At (5), traces of red-painted plaster on floor of Room B.

CONTEXT: LM IA (late).

DM/DB 1923 (III), pp.7-12, 19; PM II, pp.433-466; PM Index, p.52; ASKA no.123; Cameron (i) BSA 63 (1968), pp.14-17; (ii) Europa (MC), pp.46-65; (iii) Kadmos IV (1965), p.170f; (iv) Kadmos VII (1968), pp.45-64.

LM IA destruction pottery: PM II, pp.435-437, Figs.253-255; Chronology, p.85 and p.80 ("bulk of pottery late LM IA").

At (6) the Captain of the Blacks fresco, found high up in deposit in an area above doorway linking Rooms J and H, about 1.88m below modern surface level. Out of context.

CONTEXT: probably Hellenistic or Roman.

DM/DB 1923 (III), p.7f; PM II, p.755.

6. THE HOUSE OF THE SACRIFICED OXEN (Fig.98, 6)

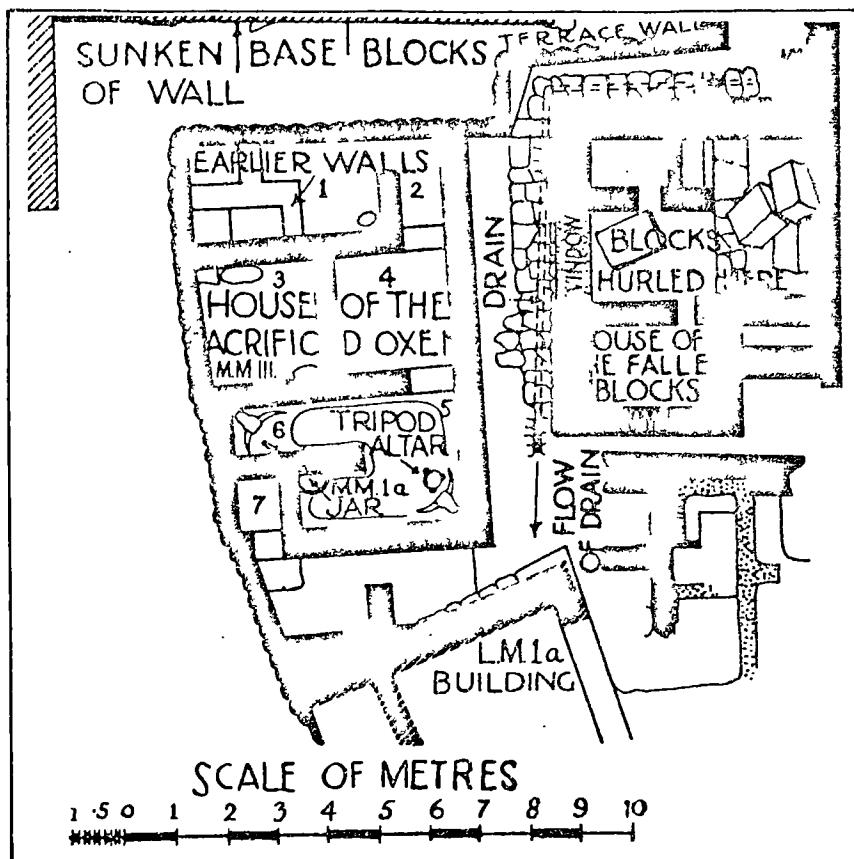


Fig. 104

- (a) Bull's dewlap in relief
- (b) Rosette boss from a spiral relief fresco

Unidentified, and exact find-spots unknown.

Site history: built in MM (?) III and destroyed by earthquake in MM IIIB. Mackenzie and Evans both emphasise the MM IIIB nature of pottery from the fill of the house (covered by a "superficial layer" with LM III sherds). No further construction here between late MM IIIB and LM II, although SMK Guide claims "MM III; some MM I and LM I" (R V 6).

Relief fresco fragments evidently "flung" into house from nearby south-east angle of the palace at time of MM IIIB destruction; briefly described at PM II, p.310.

CONTEXT: MM IIIB

DM/DB 1922 (I), p.35; PM II, pp.301-311 and 355 n.l; OKT, B, p.60.
 Pottery: see PM II, p.304, Fig.176 (faience blossom bowl and terracotta youth, Ibid, Figs.181 and 487, from house fill);
ASKA no.121, a mention.

7. THE LITTLE PALACE (Fig.98, 7)

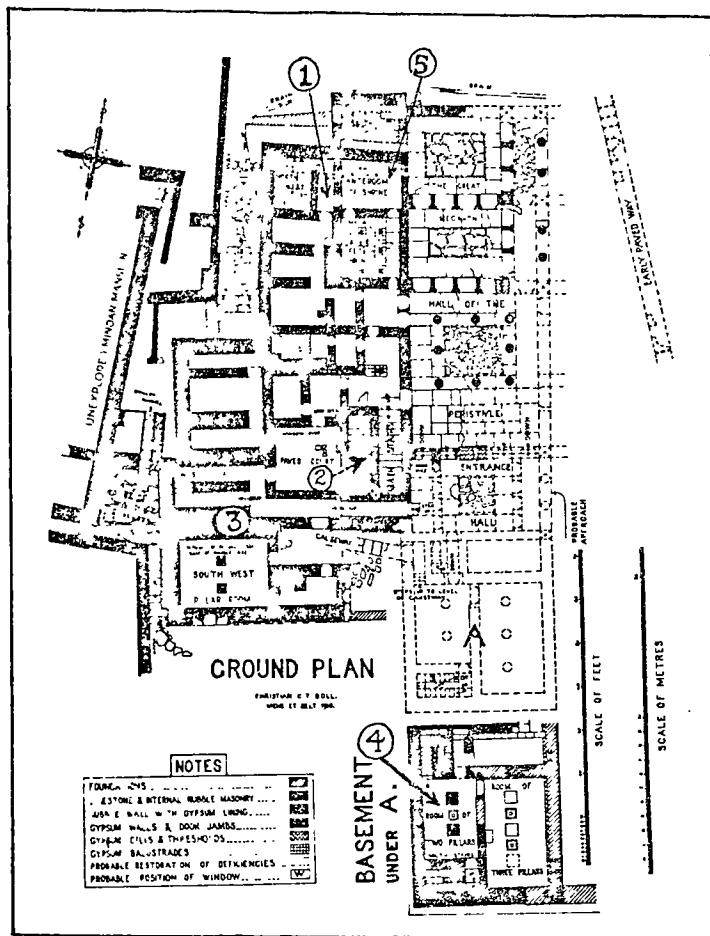


Fig.105

1. Spiraliform and "degenerate papyrus" fragments (Evans)
2. ? Dress design or fins of "miniature" fish (PLATE 190 A1)
3. ? "Genius" (PLATE 190 A3); low relief griffin wing (PLATE 190 A6); unpublished bands fragment.
4. Uncertain subject (PLATE 190 A7)
5. ? Architectural fragment (PLATE 190 A10)

Unknown locations: rosette (PLATE 190 A8) and rockwork or dress motif (PLATE 190 A9).

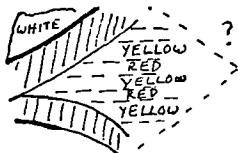
THE LITTLE PALACE

Site history: built in present form in MM IIIIB/LM IA. Two destructions, first in LM III A and finally, after a period of reoccupation, in late LM III B or early C. Mackenzie records that throughout the area "the greatest confusion prevailed everywhere in the deposit". The contexts of the frescoes are therefore not satisfactorily determinable.

At (1), the passageway immediately west of the Anteroom to the Shrine, Evans mentions spiraliform (fresco) designs and " ... inferior fragments showing degenerate papyrus decoration, and perhaps belonging to the period of Reoccupation". He drew two such pieces in AE/NB 1908, p.11, here reproduced:



(a) Papyrus



(b) ? Dress design

Fig. 106

The original fragments remain unidentified. Note that Evans also compared the papyrus designs to others on frescoes and Palace Style vessels (LM II-III A1) from the Royal Villa (qv).

PM II, p.524 n.3

At (2), in "Space below upper flight of main stairway", part of a dress design or fins of "miniature" fish, and a small white flower on grey-black (SMK P I 15, box 1448; 1931).

At (3) "East of Pit of Steatite Bull's Head", a white limb of some animal (a genius?), two band fragments, and part of a griffin's wing in very low relief (SMK P I 2, box 1427; 1908).

At (4), a Pillar Room "North of South-East Stairway", the uncertain subject at PLATE 190 A7 (SMK P I 16, box 1449; 1908).

At (5), in the "Room of the Cups. Anteroom to Shrine", an architectural fragment (SMK P I 4, box 1430; 1905).

CONTEXTS: LM III. The sherd trays in SMK invariably contain MM III to LM III B/C material, along with plain white, red and blue monochrome fresco pieces. At (2), perhaps MM IIIIB/LM IA.

BSA XI (1904-5), pp.2-16; Tomb of the Double Axes, pp.59ff;

PM II, pp.513ff; PM IV, pp.215-220; OKT, B pp.61-67; ASKA no.86.

The deposit below the main stairs at (2) was assigned to MM III-LM I by Evans, and included a bead-seal of a "chanting dervish" (PM IV, pp.216ff, Fig.167a-b).

8. THE NORTH WEST TREASURY (Fig. 98, 8)

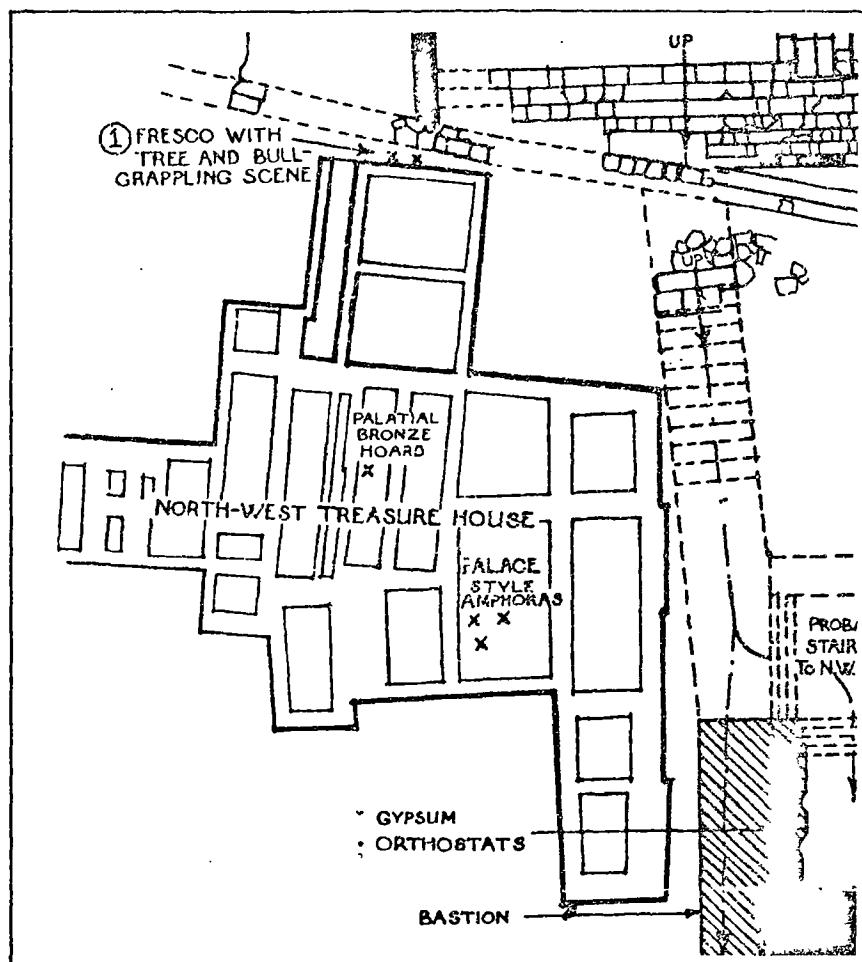


Fig.107

1. Bull and Tree fragment (PLATE 119B)

Site history: set up in MM IIIB. Three destructions, (i) LM IA, (ii) after a LM IB restoration, and (iii) LM III A1/2(early) - contemporary with that in the palace. Reoccupied, then abandoned or destroyed, in LM IIIB. Possible later intrusions on site until Hellenistic times.

At (1), the fragment was found in a superficial deposit outside the north wall of the Treasury, between it and the Royal Road causeway.

CONTEXT: probably LM III - A rather than B ?

BSA IX (1902-3), pp.116-118; PM II, pp.616-620 and Plan A in back folder; KFA Pl. VIII, Fig.2; OKT, B, p.40f for a concise site history and discussion of pottery and bronze vessels from this building. ASKA no.121, a mention.

9. THE ROYAL ROAD AREA (Fig.98 , 9N and 9S)

Site history: in 1957-61 the British School at Athens excavated town houses on both sides of the Royal Road, at points adjacent to the west of Evans's "Armoury" and of the House of the Frescoes, ASKA nos.122 and 123 respectively. The Director of the excavations, M.S.F.Hood, has supplied much of the following information which is also supplemented with information from the excavation and pottery notebooks.

Royal Road/Scouth (RR/S): houses of the First Palace period with pottery deposits of MM I, II and III here came to light above earlier structures reaching back to EM II. Well stratified, but sparse, fresco material of EM II to MM IIIA date was forthcoming. Later fresco material also turned up, mostly from different LM periods into LM IIIB, but this was either debris from houses in the area of which no further evidence survived or debris cleared out from other habitations to the north or west of the palace.

Royal Road/North (RR/N): here the town houses began in MM IIIA and apparently not earlier. Partial destructions evidently occurred in MM IIIB and LM IA, but on a grander scale in LM IB when the houses appear to have been demolished (v. ILN 17 February 1962, pp.259-261).

Although LM II and later Minoan debris was well attested in the area, significant architectural remains of those periods were absent: why so remains to be clarified. The LM IB and earlier strata were much disturbed by later robber pits, and for this reason alone the complicated stratigraphical interpretation of RR/N is still under review. Further, Evans - or else Hogarth - sunk trial pits or trenches in this area, for fragments from two substantial and important frescoes (the "Zebra" and the spiral "Festoon" frescoes) discovered in the recent excavations have been identified in fresco trays long since stored in SMK and HM (see entries below). The new excavations suggest, too, that near the north-west corner of the site there was a secondary collapse of MM IIIB debris on top of LM IB levels (JK extension = JKE): evidently a richly frescoed MM III house had remained partially standing (though perhaps choked with debris of the period) until LM IB or later when it finally gave way. The deposit is important because it contained many pieces of the "Zebra Fresco" (SLIDE 42) for which a date in MM III seems assured on yet other evidence: but this fresco is also associated with many other fresco fragments, a point which may suggest a similar date for them, too. Whatever the case, the excavators provisionally believe that it is unlikely that any fresco material from the RR/N area belongs to a post-LM II structure - for no such building is attested.

The latest possible destruction contexts for the following frescoes seem assured on the basis of the latest ceramic evidence of the earliest strata in which fragments of the murals became stratified.

Frescoes from MM III A levels (MM III A or earlier pottery only)

(a) Red and white bands (PLATE 133 A2-3): "Road Trials", Trench C extension South, level 15.

The following occurred in one MM IIIA level, RR/S E 39:

(b) Black spiral on white (PLATE 138B)
 (c) Blue plant on white (PLATE 109 B1)
 (d) Red and yellow bands with blue grass-leaves (PLATE 191 C1)
 (e) Red foliate lily band below coloured border stripes , of which other fragments occurred in "mixed" LM levels (RR/S BD 10 and 23): here illustrated.

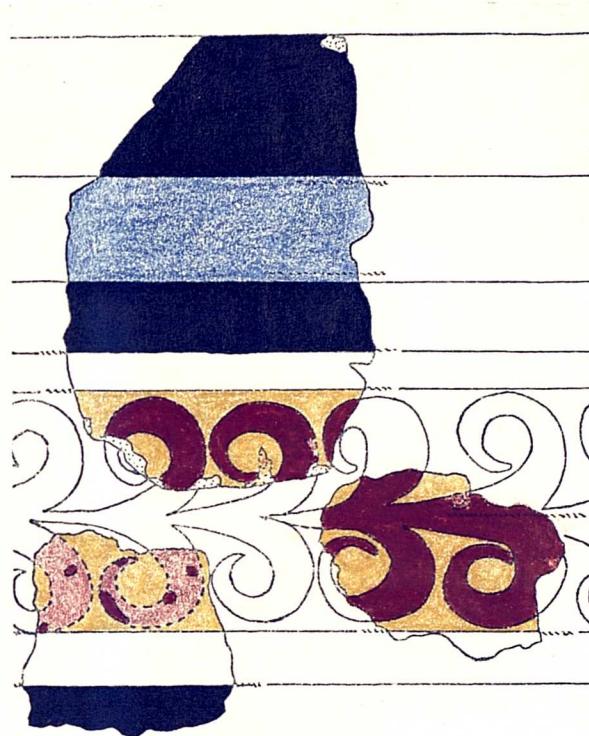


Fig. 108 sc. $\frac{1}{4}$

Frescoes from MM III B levels (MM III B or earlier pottery only)

(f) "Zebra Fresco" (PLATE 144B and SLIDE 42). Eighteen burnt fragments were sealed below an MM IIIB floor, in level H 90, in a magazine on west side of RR/N (Arch. Delt. 17 (1961-2), "Chronika" p.294). Many other pieces in MM III B debris above LM IB strata, apparently having collapsed there from outside the excavated area (levels JKE 20-27). Yet other fragments turned up in over sixty different levels in seven different trenches. Other sections of this fresco still lie in the west baulk of trench JKE. At least three fragments of the same composition were found by Evans (or Hogarth), qv. PLATE 192 B1-3 (SMK, unnumbered box marked "Knossos").

(g) Reed Fresco (PLATE 108 and SLIDE 31), from RR/N levels LA 92, JKE 26 and JKE 51. Other fragments associated with the "Zebra Fresco" in JKE 23 (late collapse of MM III B debris).

- (h) Red, white, blue, black bands (PLATE 134A-B): from RR/N levels JKE 20, 20 South, 23 (associated with "Zebra Fresco", 26, 33, 37a, 51 and H 90a, with MM IIIB or earlier pottery only.
- (i) Circular hearth with red and yellow bands and dark blue grass motif (PLATE 191A-B and Fig. 37B). Small pieces in RR/N MM III B levels (JKE 36, 36a, 38, and H 91a "MM III ?A"), but largest fragment from level JKE 43 ("LM IA/B").
- (j) Red, black and white bands (PLATE 133 A5): from RR/N level JKE 45 = H 115 (MM III B).
- (k) Grey, white and blue bands (PLATE 133 A4): from RR/N H 115.
- (l) Red and yellow bands (PLATE 133 B1): RR/S, level E 34.

Frescoes from MM III A or B levels (pottery phases not certainly determinable).

- (m) Red-painted "buon fresco" fragment (PLATE 158C): from RR/N level JKE 23 (MM III B debris in "late" collapse).
- (n) Light blue plant on white (PLATE 109 B5): from RR/S CE 19.
- (o) Blue-stemmed plant with white "Madonna lily" flowers on red (PLATE 101A-B and Fig. 109 here): from RR/S, level CE 22. Other fragments from RR/S E 37, and BD 22 = D 12 "dominantly MM III - ? A rather than B "; and also LM levels, BD 10).

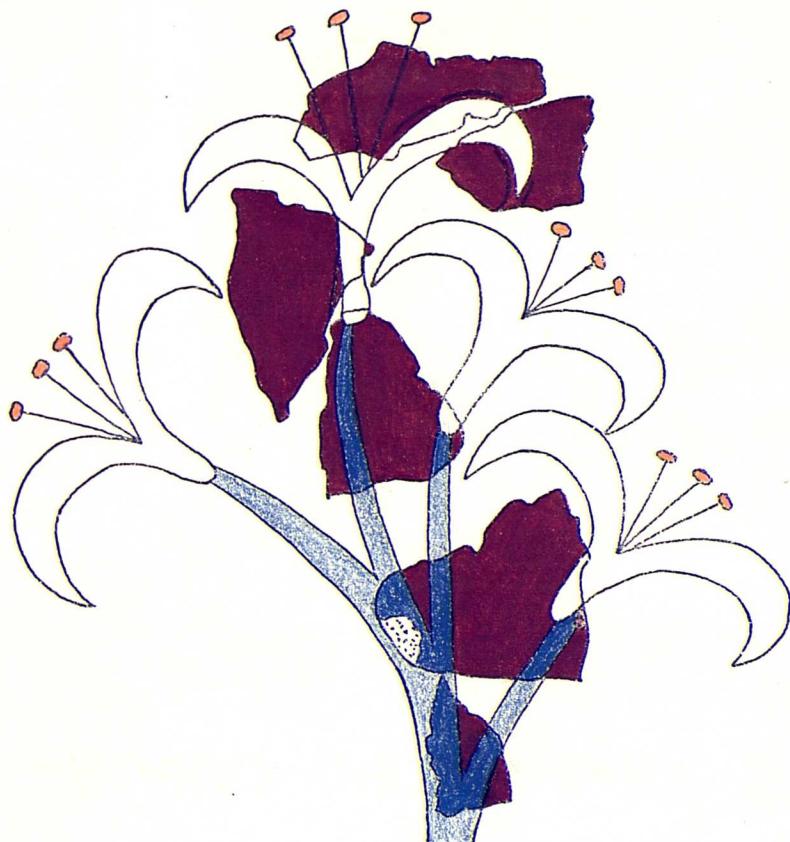


Fig. 109

Frescoes from transitional MM III B/LM IA levels

- (p) Grey and yellow reeds (PLATE 109 B3-4): from RR/S level BD 22 ("mainly MM III ?A, with 1 or 2 MM III B/LM IA sherds =

D 12 "dominantly MM III probably A").

Frescoes from LM IA levels (LM IA or earlier pottery only)

- (q) Imitation wood-veined dado (PLATE 147B): from RR/N levels LA 88 ("dominantly MM III, one or two scraps LM IA" - perhaps from top of level, so Hood) below LA 80 ("early LM IA") which in turn was below a deposit of classic LM IA pottery.
- (r) Black and white bands above blue (PLATE 133C): from RR/N level JK 62 ("nothing later than MM III B", but many other pieces from LM IA levels.
- (s) Black and blue bands (PLATE 133D): from RR/N, LM IA levels of JKE 25,30,37 and 52; H 89a (pit); and LA 73 South.

Frescoes from LM IB levels (LM IB or earlier pottery only)

- (t) Spiral "Festoon" fresco (PLATE 139 and SLIDE 41): from RR/N, in fill of collapsed mud-brick walls sealing over a LM IB pottery deposit in northern magazine at NW corner of the site (Arch. Delt. 17 (1961/2), "Chronika" p.294): specific LM IB levels with this fresco - JK 64, JKE 24,27 and 46; H 82, 93, 108, 112; and H-JK 21. NB: fragments of the "Zebra Fresco" occurred in levels JKE 24 and 27. (One piece: HM tray 14 B V).
- (u) Myrtles with relief rockwork and red and white band borders (PLATES 64D, 67A-D, 114 and 134C: SLIDE 34): from RR/N. Stratigraphically LM IB, if not MM III B. Eight fragments in JK 62 (MM III B) and others associated with the "Zebra Fresco" in JKE 23 and 26 which (like JK 62) contained MM III B sherds and mud-brick debris above levels with the LM IB deposit. One fragment was found in level H 90a, a pit with "MM III ?A" pottery, but perhaps intrusive there. Other pieces in JKE 53, an LM IA level but with some MM III B sherds. This fresco may have been part of the "late collapse" of MM III B debris, but M.S.F.Hood is certain the DESTRUCTION CONTEXT cannot be later than LM IB.
- (v) "Butcher's Broom" (PLATE 112A and SLIDE 33): from RR/N. The largest piece came from JK-LA 21 or JK 33C (both LM IB levels, the second being part of the LM IB IVORY DEPOSIT).
- (w) Bull relief fragments (PLATE 78B): from RR/N. Four of the six fragments came from the main LM IB deposit (JK 65; JKE 28; LA 2 and JK 67 - the latter with LM IA pottery and 1 ?intrusive LM III A1 sherd).
- (x) Floral scene with striped band border (PLATE 110): from RR/N, LM IB levels (JKE 24 and 30; JK 69 and 71; H 108 " area south of wall alpha-beta"; JK-LA 22 IVORY DEPOSIT; and H 112). But NB: some pieces associated with the "Zebra Fresco" in JKE 25-26. CONTEXT: LM IB, if not MM III B.
- (y) Jewelry fragment (PLATE 191 F1 and SLIDE 13b): from RR/N LA 8 with MM III B and LM IB pottery, nothing later.

Frescoes from LM II or III A levels (LM III A or earlier pottery)

- (z) Spiraliform fragment (PLATE 191 F2): from RR/N, level LA 53E with LM IB-III A pottery.
- (aa) Dark green leaves: from RR/N. Four fragments from LM II-III A levels (LA-H 19; H-A 17A; H 81D and H 66 ~ the latter with LM IB and some ? Classical Greek sherds). CONTEXT: LM III A.
- (bb) Miniature rosette (PLATE 191 F5): from RR/N, level H 96 with LM IB-III A pottery.

Frescoes from "mixed" LM III levels

- (cc) Vetch with dark blue and green leaves (PLATE 118A): from RR/S levels BD 6,15, and 15A (MM II ?B; LM III A-C and Geometric). CONTEXT: LM III C, if not Geometric.
- (dd) Chequer design and bands (PLATE 191 D1-2): from RR/S, levels BD 5, 15 and 15a and Baulk BD (pottery as (cc) above). Attributed here to same "hand" as depicted (e) in list above, as possibly the lower part of the same composition.
- (ee) Light blue plant (PLATE 109 A1-10): from RR/N. Generally from LM III A levels with ? III B scraps. But NB: one fragment from JKE 24 (much MM III B; nothing later than LM IB). CONTEXT: LM III if not LM IB.
- (ff) Myrtles and stripes (PLATE 115C): from RR/S, levels E-G 12-13, with LM pottery; but level E-G 13, with "LM IB. Good deal MM IA", contained 1 kylix foot. CONTEXT: LM III if not earlier. Attributed to the "House of the Frescoes School I".
- (gg) Veined leaves (PLATE 119C): from RR/S, level E-G 13. Comment as for (ff) to which composition these pieces probably also belonged.
- (hh) Griffin's wing (PLATE 131G): from RR/S, level B 15 " LM IA ? and LM III scraps". CONTEXT: LM III.
- (ii) Pebble fragment (PLATE 191 G1): from RR/S, level F-G 10 " LM III A. Some ? LM III B". CONTEXT: LM III ?B.
- (jj) Skirt fragment (PLATE 191 G4): from RR/S, level E-G 10C " LM III A. Some LM III ?B ". CONTEXT: LM III ?B.
- (kk) Plaster offering-table with red design (PLATE 191 G3): from RR/S level B 15. CONTEXT: LM III (see (hh) above).
- (ll) Barred border fragment (PLATE 191 G2): from RR/S level E-G 12 "LM III A. One or two ? LM III B": CONTEXT: LM III ?B.
- (mm) Red and black dotted rosettes (PLATE 191 F4): from RR/S level Baulk E-G 12 "LM III A. One or two ? IIIB". CONTEXT: LM III ?B.

Frescoes from Roman levels (Hellenistic and Roman pottery)

- (nn) Rosette fragment (PLATE 191 F3): from RR/N Well K4.

10. THE ROYAL VILLA (Fig.98,10)

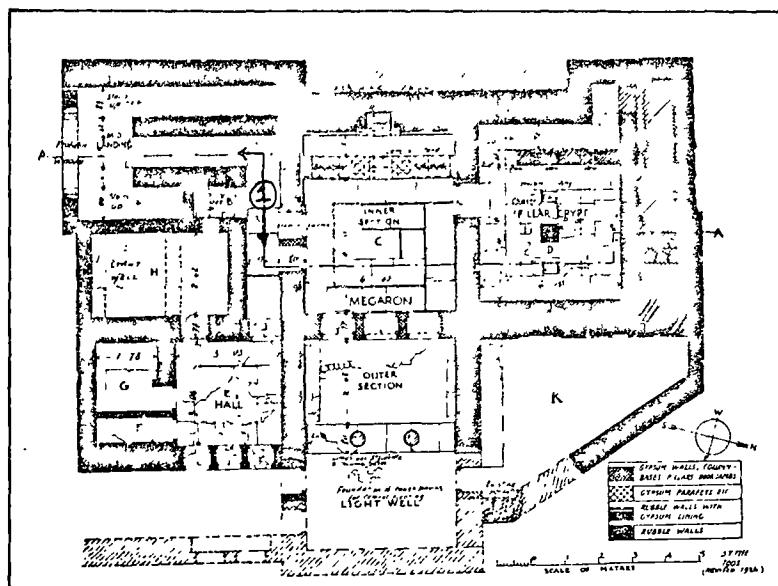


Fig. 110

1. Red-painted plaster on steps and walls of Corridor Al.
Papyrus fragments, unpublished and unidentified.

Site history: built late in MM III B; destruction in LM III Al/2 (early), contemporary with that of the Palace; partial reoccupation in LM III B.

Evans writes: "Many interesting objects were found in the house, among them vases of a wholly different character from those in the Palace itself, and wall paintings of designs like those on the vases. Two of the latter were especially beautiful, with papyrus relief forming good examples of the later palace style" (JRIBA (1904), p.114f; vases, see PM IV, p.331, Fig.273).

This suggests Evans thought the floral frescoes he found here were LM II-III Al in date even though he subsequently compared them to "degenerate papyrus decoration" on fresco fragments from the Little Palace (qv).

BSA IX (1902-3), pp.130-153; JRIBA loc.cit.; PM II, pp.396-413; OKT, B p.69; OKT, P p.194f; ASKA no.124. Pottery: PM IV, p.331, Fig.273 and p.354, Fig.297b; Chronology, p.104f; Popham in OKT, B, Appendix A, p.93 and Antiquity XL (no.157, 1966), pp.24-27, Pl.IIIa-c.

11. SAVAKIS'S BOTHROS (Fig. 98, 11)

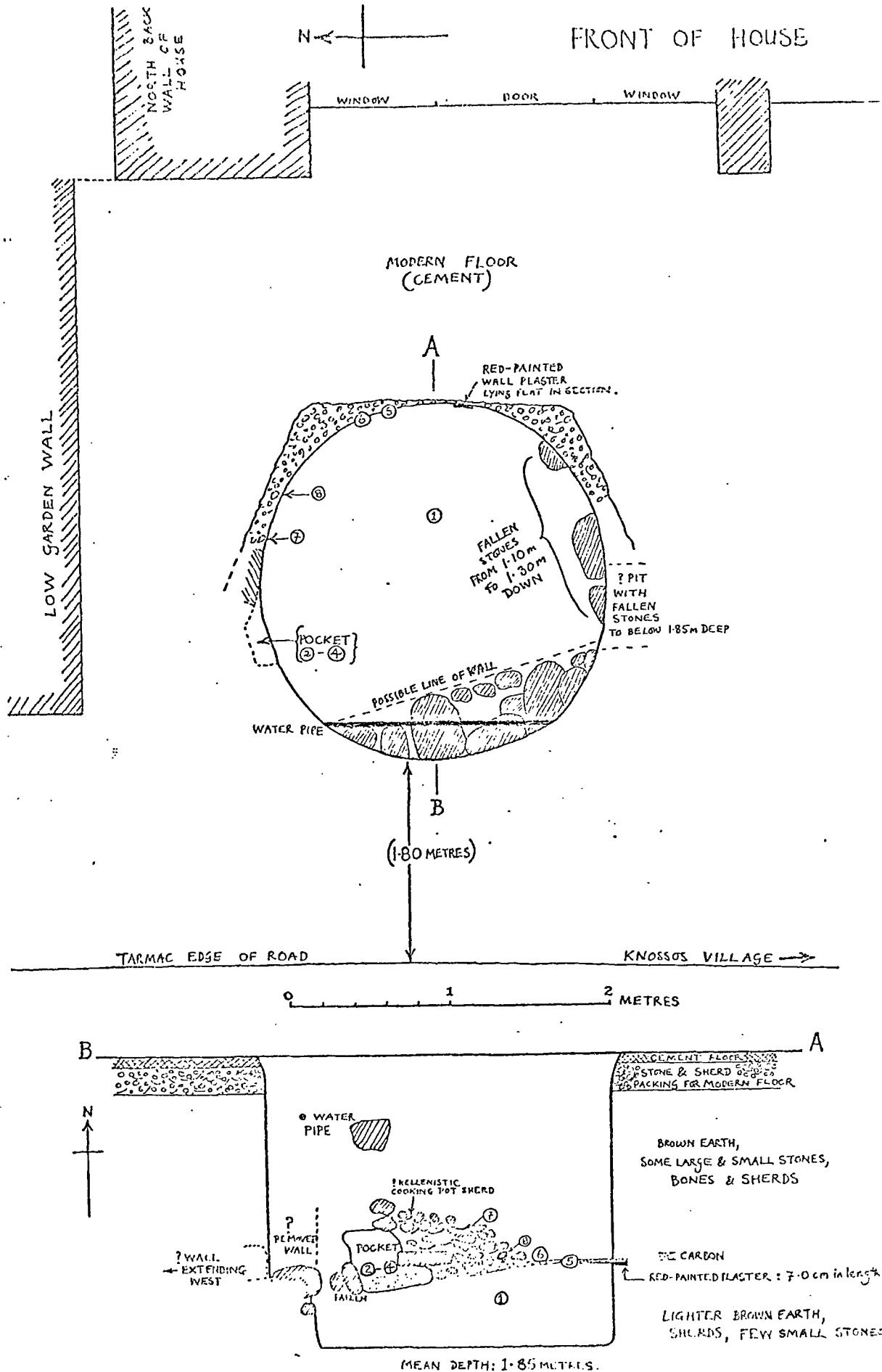


Fig. 111: Plan and section of Bothros

SAVAKIS'S BOTHROS¹

Site history: a modern water-ump, 2.2 metres in diameter and 1.85m deep, excavated without attention to stratigraphy in October 1968 in the front yard of the house of Mr. Nicholas Savakis. Located on east side of main road opposite entrance of track to the Villa Ariadne (north of ASKA no.81). House walls and MM IB/II- LM III B sherds (some restorable as vases) turned up with scraps of fresco, primarily monochrome white, blue, salmon- and Venetian red.

At (2), a fragment depicting "miniature" rockwork and crocus clumps by the same artists' "hands" as painted the "House of the Frescoes" (PLATE 90C); found at about 1.50m down, with predominantly MM III-LM III A pottery and some ? later elements. CONTEXT: LM III.

1. At the request of Dr. Stylianos Alexiou the present writer supervised discoveries on this site.

12. THE SOUTH HOUSE (Fig.98,12)

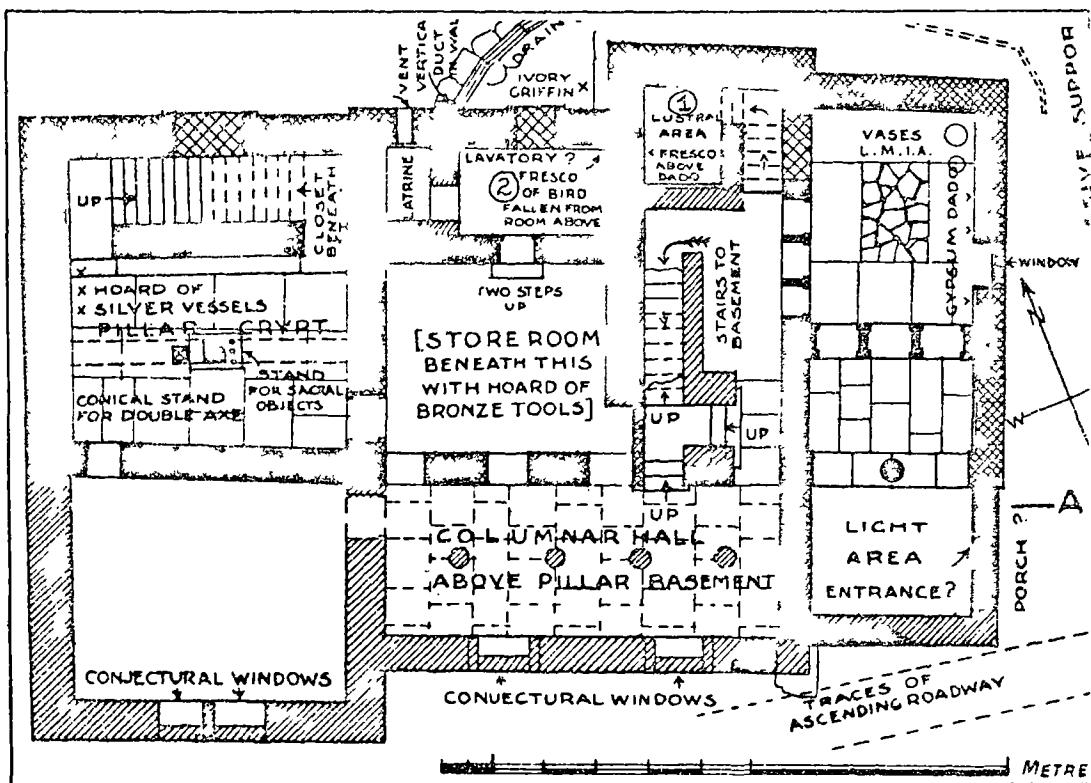


Fig. 112

1. Reeds and pebble design fragments (PLATES 111A, 160A and ? 70 A or B).
2. "Swallow" fragment (PLATE 88B and SLIDE 27g).

Site history: built in MM III B/LM IA; partial destruction in LM IA (Lustral Basin) but a final one in LM IB when the house was evidently abandoned. Excavation notebooks record no LM II nor LM III pottery from within the building.

At (1), reeds and pebble-design fresco fragments found with LM IA sherds in the debris of a fill sealed below a high gypsum-paved stone floor in the Lustral Basin. These fragments had evidently fallen from an upper room above the Lustral Basin at the time of the LM IA destruction.

CONTEXT: LM IA.

At (2), the "swallow" fragment was found fallen from an upper room into the "lavatory" below at the time of the LM IB destruction: note, however, it was painted by the same "hands" as depicted the fragments from (1). Associated in the same destruction: a stone vase, two whole pots and a hoard of silver vessels of LM I date (PM II, p.380ff, Figs.212-213 and 221).

CONTEXT: LM IB.

DM/DB 1924 (1), pp.29, 32 and 43; DM/DB 1908, p.40; PM II,

pp.378ff; PM IV, p.213; SMK Guide S I 6 (Lustral Area)

"LM I [A]; one or two MM III"; OKT, B p.75 (for mention of a LM I coarse stirrup-jar); ASKA no.121, a mention.

13. THE SOUTH EAST HOUSE (Fig. 98, 13)

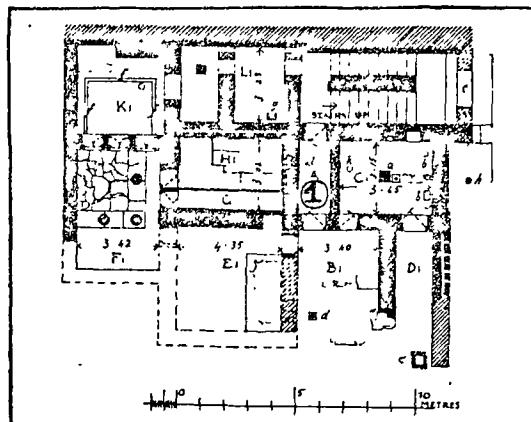


Fig. 113

1. Lily (PLATE 105), mice in reeds (PLATE 109D and SLIDE 26) and olive spray (unpublished and unidentified)

Site history: first built in MM III A, damaged in MM III B; restored in MM III B/LM IA and evidently continuously inhabited until another destruction in LM II or III A. Some rooms were reoccupied in LM III B.

At (1), the pieces mentioned were found in a floor deposit, probably having collapsed there from upper rooms, in association with "Palace Style" sherds - the latest pottery mentioned in any source as found with the frescoes (BSA IX (1902-3), p.5). Mackenzie assumed the original locus of the frescoes was room C1 above the Pillar Room (DM/DB 1902 (II) 20th May).

CONTEXT: LM II/III A1.

DM/DB 1902 (II), 20th May; DM/DB 1903 (I), 9th March;
BSA VIII (1901-2), p.110; BSA IX (1902-3), p.5; PM I, pp.345,
425f and 537ff; PM II, p.391; OKT, B, Appendix A, p.92;
ASKA no.121, a mention. NB: PM makes no mention of the
palace style sherds found with the frescoes, assigned by
Evans to MM III B.

14. THE TEMPLE OF DEMETER SITE (Fig.98,14)

Site history: Excavated in 1958-59 in the region of ASKA no.119. Fresco fragments (PLATE 193) turned up in late votive pits connected with the Temple of Demeter situated immediately below the LM IA well excavated by Hogarth on the northern slopes of Gypsades Hill. Fragments nos.6-10 were found on 20th May and 5th June, 1958, and on 2nd July 1959.

CONTEXT: Hellenistic or Roman.

Letter from Mr. J.N.Coldstream (19 January 1970)

Nos.1-5, 7 and 9: coloured and white bands

No.6: red lines on white

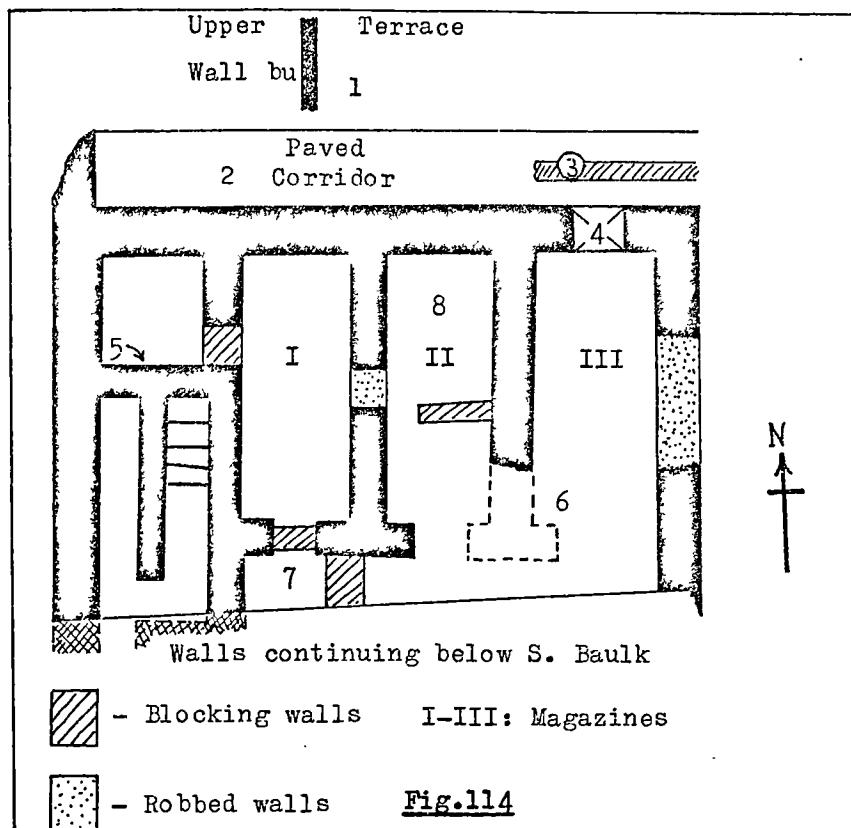
No.8: red lines on yellow

No.10: genitalia of a bull on a blue ground

No.11: red lines on salmon ground

No.12: floor plaster.

15. THE UNEXPLORED MANSION, NORTH (Fig.98,15)



(After Popham, Kadmos VIII (1969), p.44)

1. "Soapy intonaco" fragment (PLATE 195 A1) and two fragments imitating veined wood (PLATE 194 A7-8).
2. Fragment imitating veined wood, and floor plaster
3. Rosette fragment (PLATE 194 A2)
Bull's hide (?) (PLATE 194 A5)
Dress fragment (?) (PLATE 194 A6)
4. Painted offering-table (?) (PLATE 195 A3 and B)
5. Large animal (PLATES 130C and 195C-D)
6. Unpainted plaster hearth (PLATE 194B)
7. Second large animal (PLATE 195 A2)
8. Blue and black bands (PLATE 194 A1)
Yellow and black "splashed" fragment (PLATE 194 A3)

THE UNEXPLORED MANSION, NORTH

Site history: Minoan levels excavated in 1968, with the southern half of the building cleared in 1972. Constructed in MM IIIB/LM IA or early LM IA, the history of the site is one of disruptions until its final destruction or abandonment in LM III C. A LM II destruction by fire is attested in the west stairwell, and another of LM III A1 date (but without traces of fire) in the Paved Corridor. Thereafter there were several periods of "patching up" and reuse of the rooms, including in LM III C when open fires were lit inside Magazine III. Later still, Geometric to Roman settlers grubbed up parts of walls for good stone or sank wells through the floors of the building. After each disruption in Minoan times, reoccupied rooms were apparently swept out. The small size of the usually isolated fresco scraps suggest most were either uncleared debris from earlier periods of occupation or else debris washed in from other buildings once situated higher up the hill on the west side of the site. Such is the picture of poverty of the reoccupation periods after LM III A1 (or even LM II) that it is doubtful the inhabitants were either interested in or capable of making wall paintings. On this, see Popham Kadmos VIII (1969), p.43. Site: ASKA no.86.

At (1), three fresco fragments from the Upper Terrace. One (PLATE 195 A1) from a Test Trench, level 6, with MM III-LM III sherds; attributed above to a MM III B group of painters known also from the Royal Road/North site (p.355), but CONTEXT here: LM III. The other two fragments (PLATE 194 A7-8) came from below wall "bu", from a similar context. Probably from a dado area.

At (2), wall and floor plaster fragments from the west of the Paved Corridor. CONTEXT: LM II (level 11, west of Baulk 2).

At (3), part of a 14-petalled rosette, a ? bull's hide in red on white, and a ? dress fragment (PLATE 194 A2, 5-6) occurred in level 5 of the east part of the Paved Corridor: associated pottery, LM III A1 but one ? intrusive LM III A2/B sherd.

CONTEXT: LM III B, if not LM III A1.

At (4), a fragment of a moveable plaster offering-table (?), from the cleaning of the window in the north wall of Magazine III: associated pottery, LM III A1. CONTEXT: LM III A1.

At (5), about 60 fragments from a composition of a large animal, perhaps a griffin, leopard, lion or deer (PLATES 130C and 195C-D). Fallen from an upper storey, face upwards or down, along with LM III B destruction debris. CONTEXT: LM III B. Note, however, that the painting may have belonged to an upper section of the west wall of the room (or another above): as the wall was cut into the high bank of "kouskouras" on the west side of the building, it may have remained standing to a considerable height (at least 3.0m) until the time when Geometric stone-

robbers grubbed up large sections of it. The painting, or parts of it, may have clung to the wall long after the time when it was executed. Further, wherever LM III B or C blocking walls were inserted, no use was made of lime-plaster - painted or otherwise - to cover their roughish surfaces. Associated with the present fresco fragments were others with signs of burning (yellow wash oxidised to red) but the only partial destructions by fire on this site occurred in LM II and perhaps LM III A1 deposits. The original date of destruction may therefore have occurred before LM III B.

At (6), a burnt and unpainted plaster hearth (PLATE 194B) was found in levels containing LM III B to Geometric sherds in the south-east area of Magazine III (levels 17A, 18, 18A, 18B and 23). CONTEXT: LM III B, if not later.

At (7), a similar (but "yellow") animal to that noted at (5) above, by the same painter's "hand", from the space south of Magazine I. Associated pottery: one near-complete LM III B deep bowl and Geometric sherds. CONTEXT: LM III B, if not later.

At (8), blue and black bands (PLATE 194 A1) from the LM III B reoccupation of Magazine II, above a sealed deposit of LM III A2 vases and associated with a LM III B bell-skirted terracotta goddess (Popham, op.cit. Pl. Ia). CONTEXT: LM III B.

Also the fragment at PLATE 194 A3, from level 25: LM III B and perhaps later sherds. CONTEXT: LM III B, if not later; but note the greyish ground colour of the surface - perhaps burnt in an earlier destruction by fire.

Part III

FRESCOES FROM THE REST OF CRETE

1. Amnisos	..... p.740
2. Archanes	..... p.741
3. Azoria Hill (near Kavousi)	..... p.742
4. Chania	..... p.742
5. Gournia	..... p.742
6. Hagia Triada	..... p.743
(a) The LM I villa	
(b) The later town houses	
7. Katsamba	..... p.748
8. Kouramenos	..... p.748
9. Mallia	..... p.749
(a) The palace	
(b) The town houses	
10. Mochlos	..... p.750
11. Nirou Chani	..... p.751
12. Palaikastro	..... p.752
13. Petsofa	..... p.753
14. Phaistos	..... p.754
(a) The palace	
(b) The town houses	
15. Prasa	..... p.757
16. Pseira	..... p.758
17. Saktouria	..... p.758
18. Tourtouloi	..... p.758
19. Tylissos	..... p.759
20. Vathypetro	..... p.762
21. Zakro	..... p.763
(a) The palace	
(b) The town houses	
(c) The 'farmhouse', Epano Zakro	

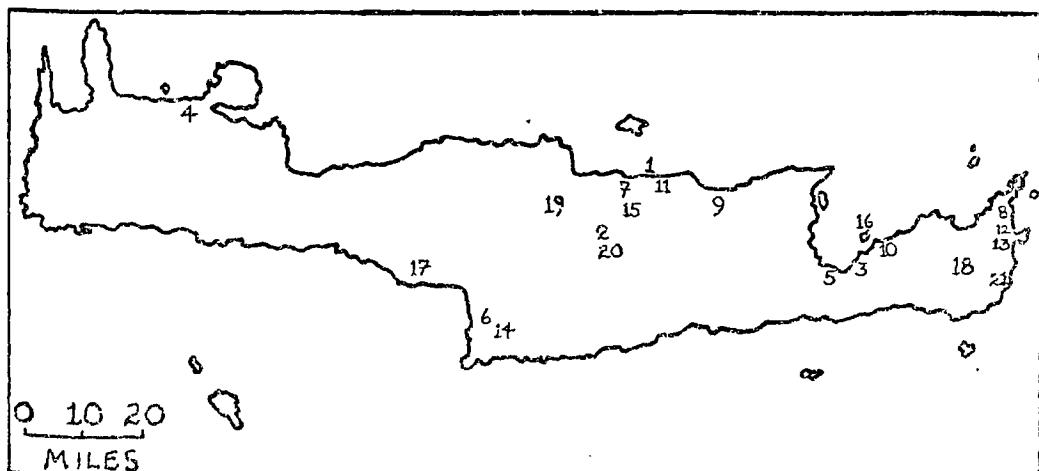


Fig.115: Minoan sites on Crete with frescoes

1. AMNISOS (Fig.115,1)

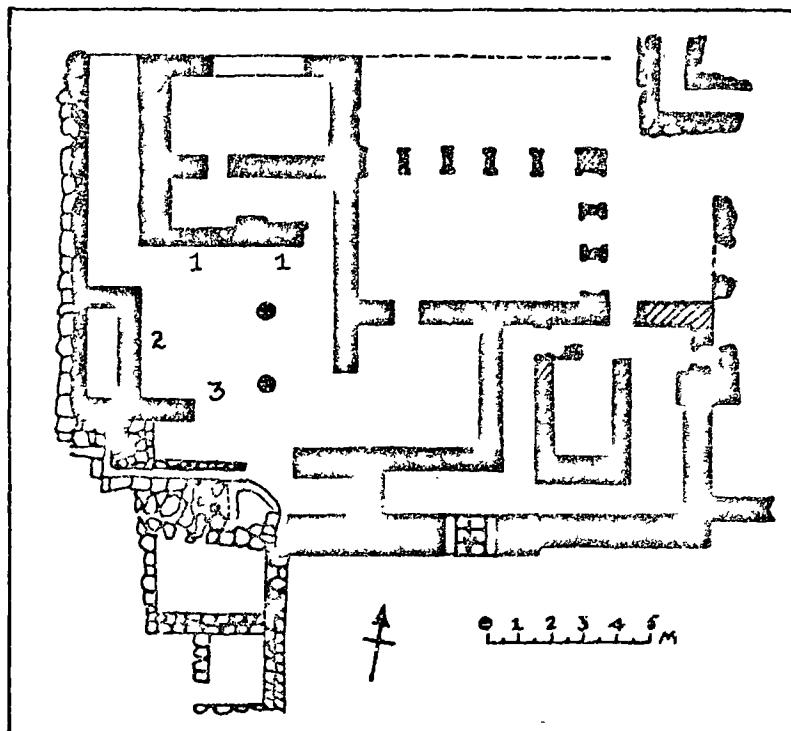


Fig.116 Plan of the Villa

1. Two Lily Panels (PLATES 102-103)
2. Iris and Reeds Panel (PLATES 95-96);
Iris flower fragment (PLATE 94C);
Perhaps Sage or Vetch fragment (PLATE 118D)
3. Painted Offering Table (PLATE 53A);
Unspecified floral pieces

1. AMNISOS VILLA

Site history: Minoan villa erected at close of MM IIIB, destroyed sometime in LM I. Destruction vases mostly appear LM IA, but a spouted jug could be LM IB. Excavator first linked destruction with volcanic explosion of Thera (LM IA), but has since, with Alexiou, linked destruction of villa with those at Phaistos, Hagia Triada, Mallia Palace, Tylissos, Nirou Chani, Gournia, Pseira, Palaikastro and Zakro, all of which occurred in LM IE.

All important frescoes occurred in Room 7 only, at heights of 0.40-1.0 metre above floor-level, having fallen from room above on upper floor. For restored ensemble, see SLIDE 59.

At (1-1), two LILY PANELS (PLATES 102-103), near north wall.

At (2), the IRIS AND REEDS PANEL (PLATES 95-96), and IRIS FLOWER FRAGMENTS (PLATE 94C), and perhaps SAGE or VETCH (PLATE 118D), collapsed along west wall.

At (3), PAINTED OFFERING TABLE (PLATE 53A), and further floral pieces not closely identifiable from excavation reports, found near south wall.

CONTEXT: LM I ?B

Marinatos, Praktika (1932), pp.85-91 (vases, p.85, Fig.5); JDAI (Arch. Anz.1933), pp.290-296; Crete and Mycenae, pp. 20,22 and 140; Alexiou, Minoikos Politismos (Herakleion 1964), p.44.

2. ARCHANES (Fig.115,2)

Site history: Minoan building on town site, perhaps erected in MM III, destroyed in LM I ?A. Large plaster area, some 2.0 metres square and painted intermittently with red lines, found in situ on east wall of Antechamber of building. Thomas Phanourakis has now restored a standing woman, with open-fronted dress, on the basis of the red lines. But this is questionable, and the lines resemble at most a rough preliminary sketch: the subject is uncertain, if only because Phanourakis has also followed some dark lines which in this writer's opinion are marks of burning, not of paint. Floral fresco fragments are mentioned from this site.

CONTEXT: LM I ?A

J.Sakellarakis, Arch. Delt.20 (1965), Part B'3, p.559f, main fresco Pl.706a: pottery Pl.707a; Archaeology in Greece 1964-65 (1965), p.28, for floral pieces, a mention.

3. AZORIA HILL (Fig.115,3)

The walls and floor of a cistern found on this hill in 1900 preserved areas of white plaster in situ. Associated finds: Early Geometric sherds and a bronze hairpin. The LM IIIIB tradition of unpainted wall-plastering evidently continued into the Geometric Period.

Harriet A. Boyd, Excavations at Kavousi, Crete (1900), p.153

4. CHANIA (Fig.115,4)

Site history: recent excavations in modern town. J. Tzedakis has found a LM IIIIB house with stucco dadoes painted with coloured bands; below this, a LM IIIA house with similar dado bands. A fragment of a RELIEF FRESCO, from a woman's hip and said to recall the Pseira reliefs, has recently been found (letter from B. Kaiser, 14 August 1969). As yet unpublished.

Information kindly supplied by J. Tzedakis and B. Kaiser.

5. GOURNIA (Fig.115,5)

Site history: Minoan town site of MM III-LM I. Town houses partly destroyed in LM IA, with reconstruction and a further destruction in LM IB. Red, yellow and light blue-grey (?burnt) plaster fragments reported in situ in bathroom or Lustral Basin of a building to south of Palace Quarters. In a western room of Palace were found moulded pieces of stucco, one like a "swallow" (according to local workmen), another like a "thunderbolt" (or figure-of-eight shield, according to excavator): unillustrated and questionably classifiable as mural frescoes.

Harriet Boyd Hawes, Gournia (Philadelphia, 1908), p.35;

LM IB pottery, Pls. VIII-XI and Colour Pls. F-I; also

Gournia (Trans. Dept. Arch. U. of Penn. 1905, Part I), pp. 35, 39 and Pl. I.

6. HAGIA TRIADA: GENERAL PLAN OF SITE. (Fig.115,6)

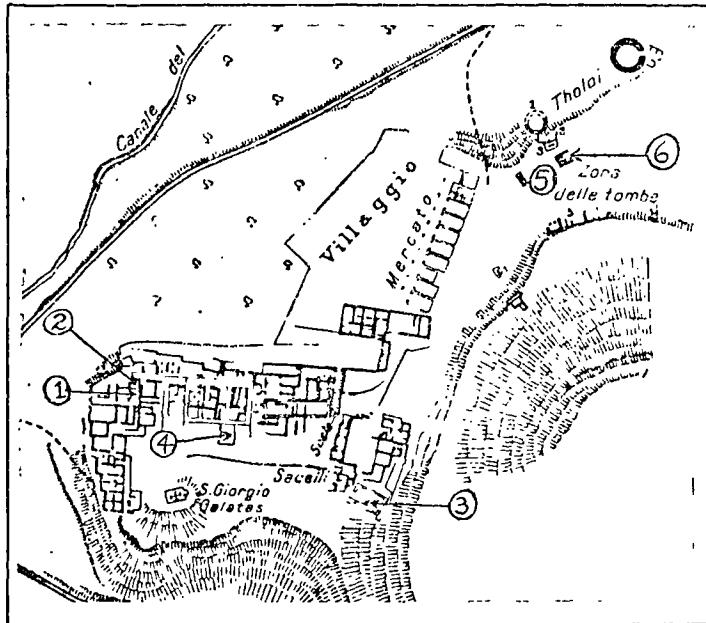


Fig.117

1. Room 14 frieze (SLIDE 54)

Kneeling Priestess panel (PLATES 22-23A and 91)

Seated Goddess panel (PLATES 21 and 159)

"Park" fresco (PLATES 66, 81 and 82C)

2. Linear A inscribed stucco fragments (PLATE 64 A-C)

3. Marine Floor fresco (PLATES 124 and 145A)

Dancing Women at Shrine (PLATE 50A)

Woman with deer (PLATE 82A and SLIDE 24)

4. Rosette fragments

5. Musicians Procession fresco (PLATES 14B, 57 and 136B)

Fragment of male cloaked figure (SLIDE 24, right)

6. The painted sarcophagus (PLATES 148-151)

HAGIA TRIADA: THE VILLA



Fig.118 View east into Room 14 (white lines)

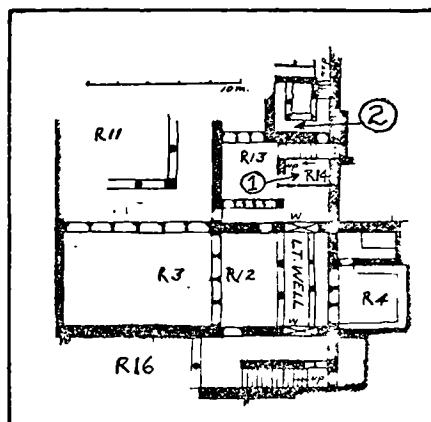


Fig.119 Plan of Royal Quarters of Villa
(after Graham, Palaces of Crete, Fig.11;
for plan of whole settlement, see Fig.117)

1. Kneeling Priestess panel (PLATES 22-23A and 91);
Seated Goddess panel (PLATES 21 and 159);
"Park" fresco (PLATES 66, 81, and 82C)
2. Linear A inscribed stucco fragments (PLATE 64 A-C)

HAGIA TRIADA: THE VILLA

Site history: set up at close of MM IIIB or early LM IA, destroyed by fire in LM IB. Destruction pottery included classic LM IB vases. Mon.Ant. XIII (1903), p.66, Fig.52f (Chronology, p.82 n.1); G. Maraglianis, Antiquités Cretoises, Vol.II, Pl.XLI, 1-2 (Chronology, loc.cit.); M. Borda, Arte Cretese (Rome 1946), p.52f, nos.59-62; C. Zervos, L'Art de la Crète (Paris 1956), no.572; Guida, Pls.18-19 (and 14-15). Linear A tablets and clay sealings from LM IB burnt deposits, and stone relief bowls (see summary in Vol.IV,A, p.8 n.6-8, and J. Betts Kadmos VI (1967), pp.15-40 relating LM IB sealings from Sklavokambos).

At (1), the KNEELING PRIESTESS PANEL (PLATES 22-23A and 91); the SEATED GODDESS FRESCO (PLATES 21 and 159), and the PARK FRESCO (PLATES 66, 81 and 82C).

Reported as found in situ on walls of small shrine, Room 14, but order of scenes never described. The north and south walls, about 9' long, constructed of mud-brick blocks long since disappeared (see photograph, Fig.118). But small width of Goddess Fresco, about 5' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " (1.68 metres), fits it alone onto east wall (or onto large squarish mud-brick blocks "facing" it, as a photograph in Noel Heaton's file in the London Institute of Archaeology suggests). Banti (Enciclopedia, p.58) reports "Park Fresco" from inner face of southern wall, perhaps partly found in situ, which leaves only the north wall for the "Kneeling Priestess panel" - the order as exhibited in HM. The thematic coherence of the scenes also requires this order, as seen in SLIDE 54. All frescoes badly burnt by fire, especially central section which may have been raised above a wooden bench or platform - for a plaster dado like those of the two flanking sections of frieze never existed there, as the relatively complete lower border shows. The mud-brick character of the structure suggests the room was not part of the original architectural design, but was inserted at a later date: hence a date no earlier than LM IA for the paintings seems indicated, in agreement with present stylistic considerations.

At (2), three fragments of LINEAR A INSCRIBED STUCCO (PLATE 64 A-C). Found in situ "a short distance above floor" at unspecified locations on walls of porticoed room, immediately north of Room 14. (Carratelli, Mon.Ant. XL (1945), pp.430-433, and Plan, Fig.1e).

In room immediately south of Room 16, unspecified fresco fragments (Guida, p.32).

CONTEXTS: LM IB

Mon.Ant. XIII (1903), pp.55-60; Guida, p.31; Interconnections, pp.77-79 and Figs.106-110 (best publication); Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Vol.V, (1963), pp.57-60, barely a mention; Rodenwaldt (Tiryns II, p.192) in 1912 deplored the inadequate publication of these frescoes, still so after seventy years.

HAGIA TRIADA: LATER SETTLEMENT



Fig.120 View east into late shrine of Room H

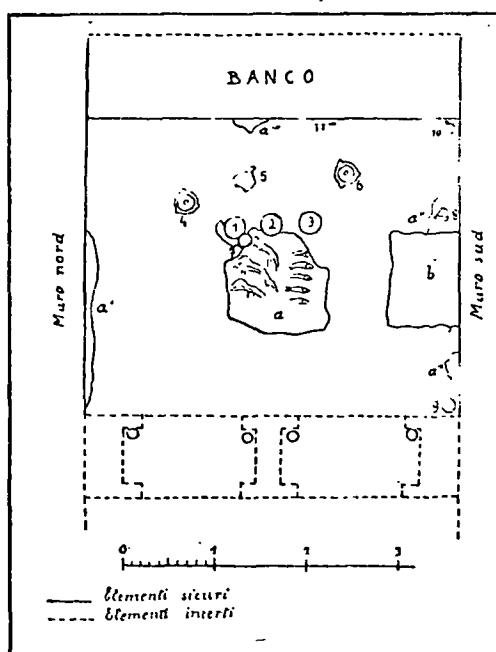


Fig.121 Plan of shrine in Room H (after MNR, p.98, Fig.23) showing positions in situ of fragments of the Marine Floor Fresco at PLATE 124.

HAGIA TRIADA: LATER SETTLEMENT

Site history: not fully published. Later town evidently built over LM IB ruins early in LM IIIA. Occupation apparently continued into LM IIIB, if not perhaps later, when site was abandoned or destroyed. A "megaron", a village and market area, two small "shrines" (Rooms E and H), and tombs belong to this settlement. Of these, Room H is said to have been constructed in MM III-LM I, destroyed by fire in LM IB, and rebuilt in LM III early. Its frescoes are in two cases heavily burnt by fire, which might support Banti's dating of them to LM I; but their styles of drawing are definitely later (LM IIIA 1) and the walls that held the murals were evidently those of the rebuilt shrine. In that case, the site - or parts of it including Room H - may have been ultimately destroyed by fire, perhaps in advanced LM IIIB. The pottery associated with the frescoes mentioned below for the most part remains unpublished. On history of site, see Guida, p.7 and plan, Pl.40; V.R.d'A, Desborough, The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors (1964), p.168.

At (3), Fig.117, in Room H, MARINE FLOOR FRESCO (PLATES 124,145A): DANCING WOMEN AT SHRINE (PLATE 50A) and WOMAN WITH DEER (PLATE 82A: SLIDE 24).

Floor scene found in situ as indicated at Fig.121. Heavily burnt. Associated with three "conical serpent-vases" and small clay cups like others from Koumasa, Gournia and Prinias (LM III ?B). Photograph of site at Fig.120. Second mentioned fresco also heavily burnt; but its location and that of the third fresco in Room H remain unpublished.

CONTEXT: LM III (?B)

Mon.Ant.XIX (1908), pp.5ff, Fig.22; Guida, pp.7, 63f and Pl.21; PC, p.290 and MMR, p.98, a mention; Banti, Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Vol.V (1963), p.60, surprisingly, barely a mention.

At (4), Fig.117, in Room E, ROSETTE FRAGMENTS (unpublished).

Found near inner faces of south and west walls of room; designs said to be simpler than those on the painted sarcophagus from HT.

CONTEXT: LM III

Guida, p.35f

? In region of (5), Fig.117, MUSICIANS PROCESSION (PLATES 14B, 57 and 136B) and FRAGMENT OF MALE CLOAKED FIGURE (SLIDE 24, right).

Borda suggests perhaps from trial trench between village and tomb of painted sarcophagus at (6). Cloaked man in style of and perhaps belonging to the WOMAN WITH DEER FRESCO: same painter.

CONTEXT: LM III

M.Borda, Arte Cretese, p.75

At (6), Fig.117, PAINTED SARCOPHAGUS (PLATES 148-151): see below p.784.

7. KATSAMBA (Fig.115,7)

Site history: Minoan house (called a "megaron" by excavator) constructed in MM IIIB (? post-seismic period) and destroyed perhaps by earthquake in LM IA. Pottery includes a fine LM IA amphora, others of MM IIIB-LM IA date, and some shallow basins from level with fresco, stratified below successive LM II and LM III strata.

"MINIATURE" FRAGMENT (SLIDE 12c), perhaps from skirt of large-scale goddess representation: dotted scale design below pictorial element on fragment.

CONTEXT: LM IA

Alexiou, Praktika (1955), pp.316-318, Fig. 2 (fresco) and Pls.119-120 (pottery).

8. KOURAMENOS (Fig.115,8)

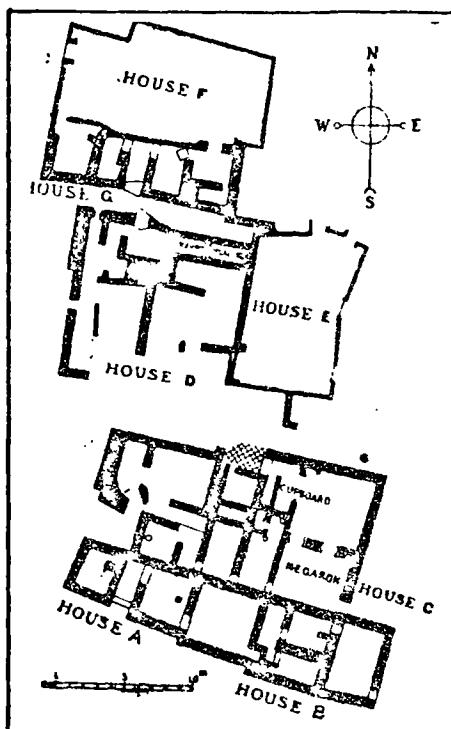


Fig.122 Plan of site

Site history: Minoan village of six excavated houses, evidently constructed in "Kamares" period but date of destruction uncertain. "Mycenaean" pottery and coarse "Bugelkannes" are mentioned.

In House C, "megaron" walls with red, blue, painted and plain stucco: wall plaster also noted elsewhere in house. "Kamares" and coarse stirrup-jars, with other "Mycenaean" pottery, noted here.

In House D, north west room with plain stucco fallen from walls. Similar pottery apparently to that in House C.

CONTEXTS: quite uncertain: LM III ?B, if not LM IB

BSA IX (1902-1903), pp.333-334.

9. MALLIA (Fig.115,9)

(a) The Palace

Site history: First constructed in MM IB with destruction in MM II; rebuilt in MM IIIA with a final destruction in LM IB.

Few significant frescoes beyond simply painted or incised pieces, occurring widely in rooms and magazines. Maisons II, p.101 n.1 mentions a "miniature fragment of a woman's head", of which a drawing kindly showed to writer by M.Pelon: but if a head at all, its style is unfamiliar. Palace rooms III,4-8; IV,5; VI,9; IX,2; XVIII,3; XIX,6; XXIV,1 may serve to show wide distribution of stucco from walls.

CONTEXT: LM IB at latest.

Etudes Cretoises XI: Maisons II (1959), loc.cit.; Guide: Fouilles Françaises, pp.8,11,27,30,33,38-39,42-43,45

(b) Town houses

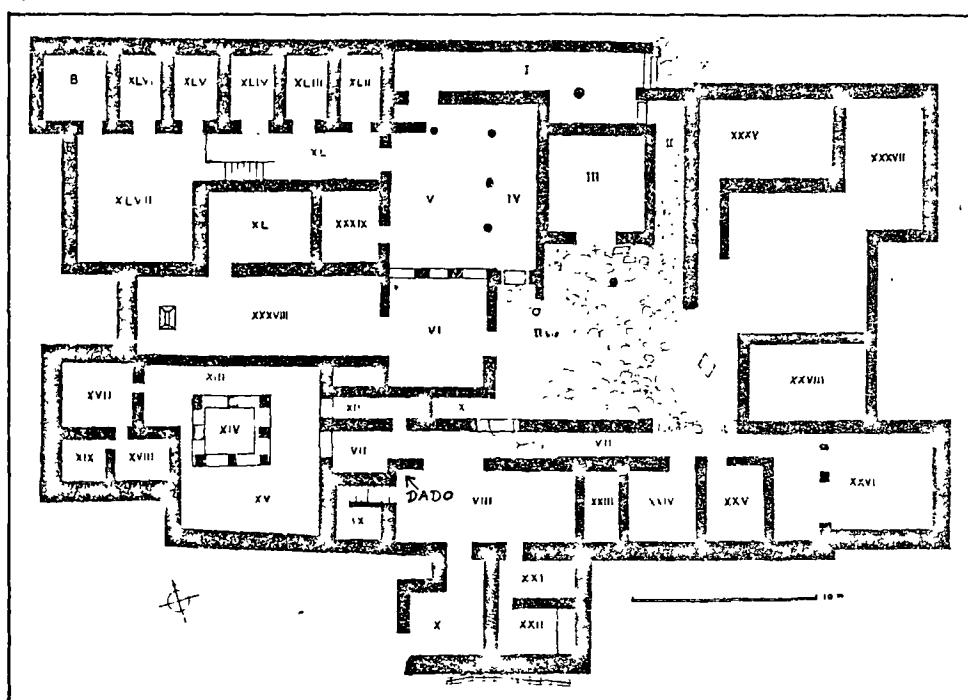


Fig.123. House E, plan.

House Zeta-alpha: stuccoed walls in Corridor 2 and "Megaron" 12; (*Ibid*, p.63f). House Zeta-beta: n and s walls stuccoed in "Megaron" 7 (*Ibid*, p.69).

House E (Fig. 123): built over MM I-II structures in MM IIIB, destroyed in LM II when Knossian Palace Style sherds were imported. LM III reoccupation in eastern part of house only.

In situ in Room VIII, DADO FRAGMENTS (PLATE 199), on north wall at NW angle of room: frescoes removed to HM. Other painted stucco pieces found in Rooms XXI-XXIII, and several floors were plastered.

CONTEXT: LM II

Maisons II, pp.101, 106, 110-113, 138-140 (dado frags: "certainly dating to LM II late"; Guide: Fouilles Françaises, pp.74-76).

10. MOCHLOS (Fig.115,10)

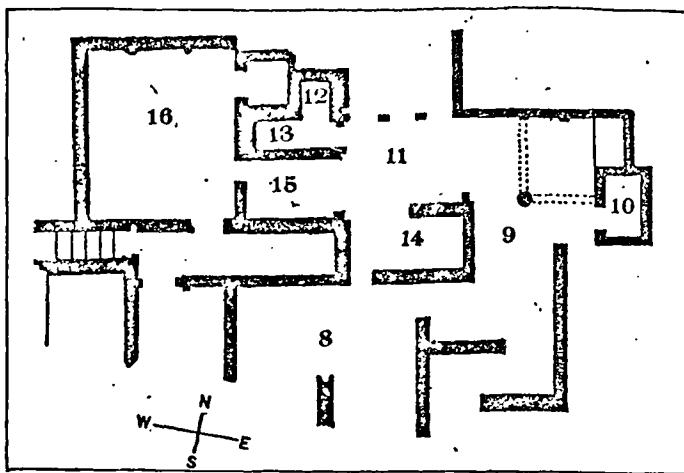


Fig. 124 HOUSE AT MOCHLOS. (Scale 1:200.)

Site history: town house built in MM III/LM I, destroyed by fire in LM IB. Red-painted plaster found near north wall of Room 16, a court.

CONTEXT: LM IB

AJA XIII (1909), pp.278-303; LM IB pottery: p.281f, Figs. 4-5.

11. NIROU CHANI (Fig.115,11)

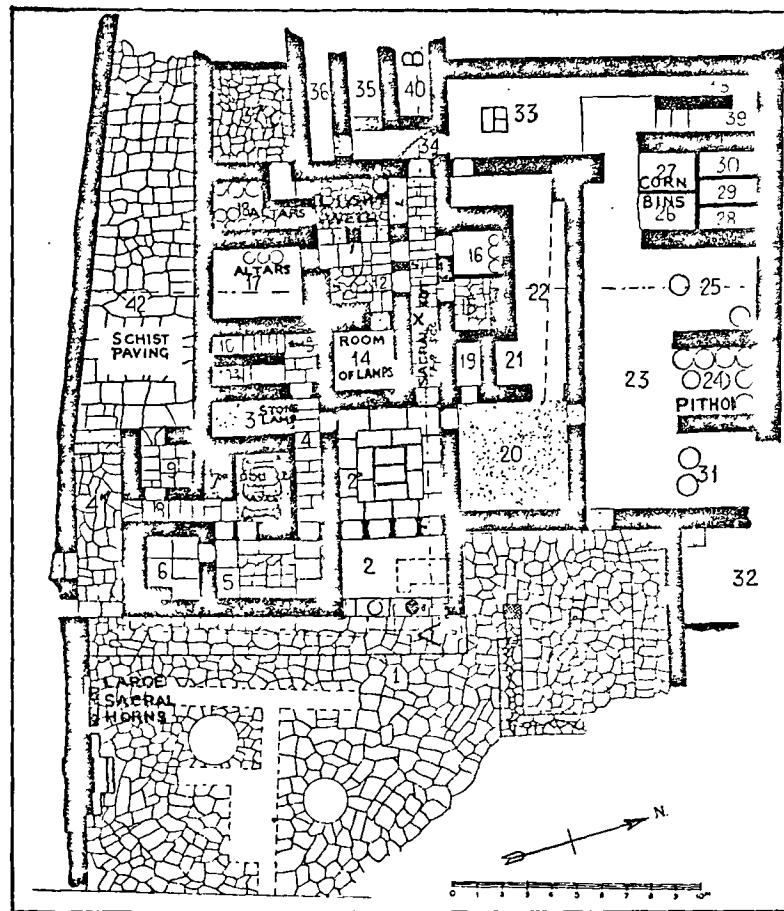


Fig.125 Plan of Villa

At x on plan, in E-W Corridor, SACRAL KNOT (PLATE 53C)

Site history: villa set up late in MM III, destroyed by fire in LM IB with classic LM IB vases in destruction deposits. Contra Chronology, p.81, there seems to have been no reoccupation here after LM IB (SMA XII, p.86 n.91).

At x on plan, SACRAL KNOT (PLATE 53C), in Corridor 11 near south wall, almost certainly fallen from upper room, perhaps that above Room 14 - a good size for a household shrine.

Rooms 12 and 14 contained stucco with coloured-stripe bands (unpublished). Room 7 may once have been a painter's workshop where pigments (notably blue) were prepared for use.

Corridor 11 had red-painted stuccoed walls. Small fragments of painted plaster occurred in other rooms on site.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Xanthoudides, Arch. Eph.(1922), p.11, and Figs.14-20 (vases); Ibid, Fig.16, 1 (LM II according to Furumark) is probably LM IB (SMA loc.cit.).

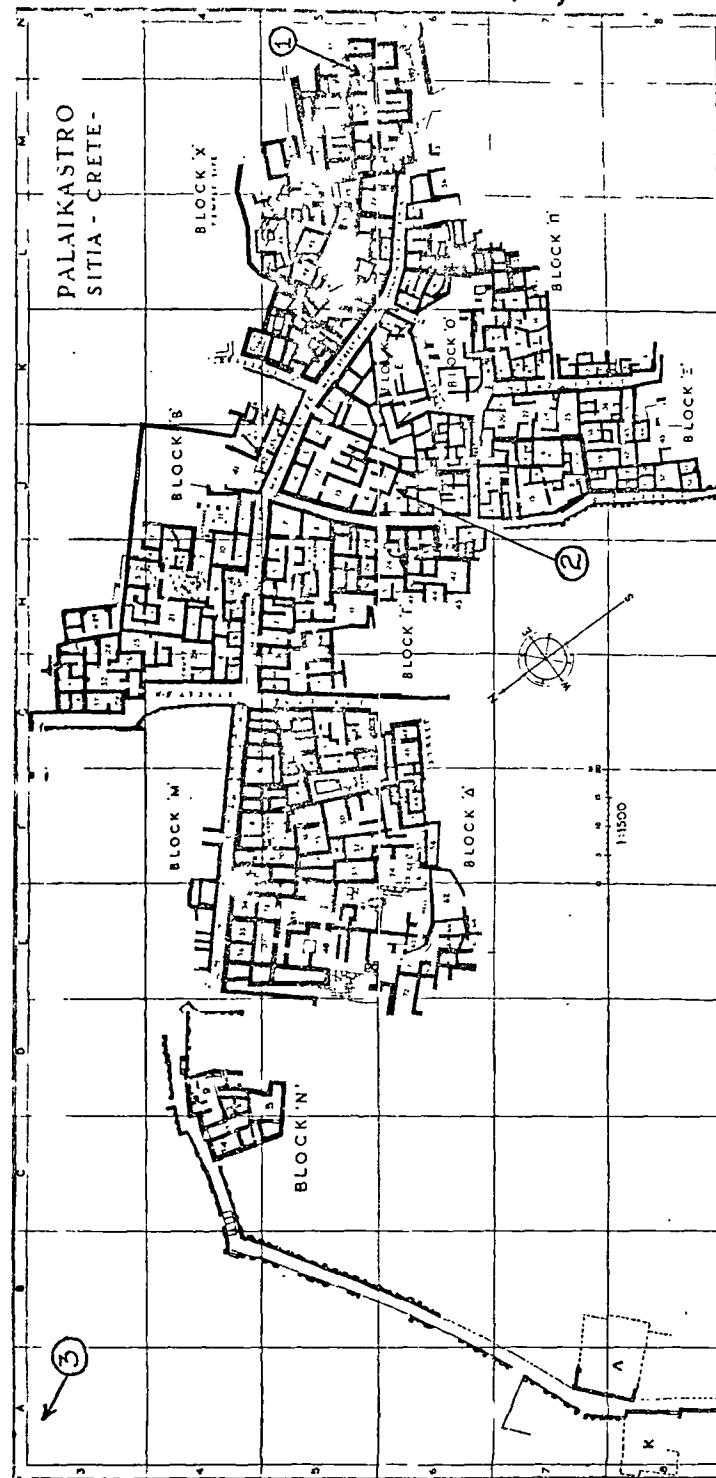


Fig. 126, Plan of town

1. Striped bands (PLATE 135 B-C1)
2. Crocus fragment (SLIDE 29a iii)
Woman's arm in relief
3. Stripe bands (PLATE 135 C2)

PALAIKASTRO

Site history: MM-IM I town, on site of even earlier settlement, destroyed in IM IB. Partial reoccupation followed in IM IIIA 1 and further destruction in the town in IM IIIB, with a refugee site erected on nearby Kastri in IM IIIC. Presently listed frescoes exclusively from MM III and IM I town houses.

At (1), STRIPED BANDS (PLATE 135 B-C1)

From MM III trial-trench in Block X, Room 4 (1963 excavations)

CONTEXT: MM III

At (2), CROCUS FRAGMENT (Slide 29a iii) and WOMAN'S ARM IN RELIEF

Found in house destruction debris in Room 18 of Block E, fairly near surface but having evidently fallen from rooms on upper storey - perhaps of House epsilon 1-17. IM IB destruction here, and house built on site of an earlier Middle Minoan house. Room 18 contained also two saddle querns and two open-mouthed pithoi (BSA IX (1902-03), 294).

CONTEXT: IM IB

BSA Suppl. Paper No.1 (1923), p.148, Fig.130 (crocuses); relief fragment recently identified by B. Kaiser. Pottery from site:

BSA IX (1902-1903), pp.32 n.5, 43 n.1, 59 n.1, 62, 64, 69ff, Figs. 31, 46, 56; BSA X (1903-1904), pp.204-207, Fig.4, a fine LM IB filler.

At (3), 100 metres NW of Block N, STRIPE BAND FRAGMENT (PLATE 135 C2).

From Trench 2, level 18 in area DD, with mostly MM III, some LM I, fill.

CONTEXT, LM I, if not MM III

Other painted plaster reported from houses in Blocks B, Γ , Δ , and N.

13. PETSOFA (Fig.115, 13)

Site history: MM III-IM I peak sanctuary on hill-top of Petsofa, immediately south of Palaikastro. Walls and low bench in south west room "plastered and white-washed"; floors covered with "whitened plaster". Associated finds: MM III-IM I sherds and rough serpentine pedestal lamp. CONTEXT: IM I. (BSA IX (1902-1903), pp.358-360).

14. PHAISTOS (Fig.115,14)

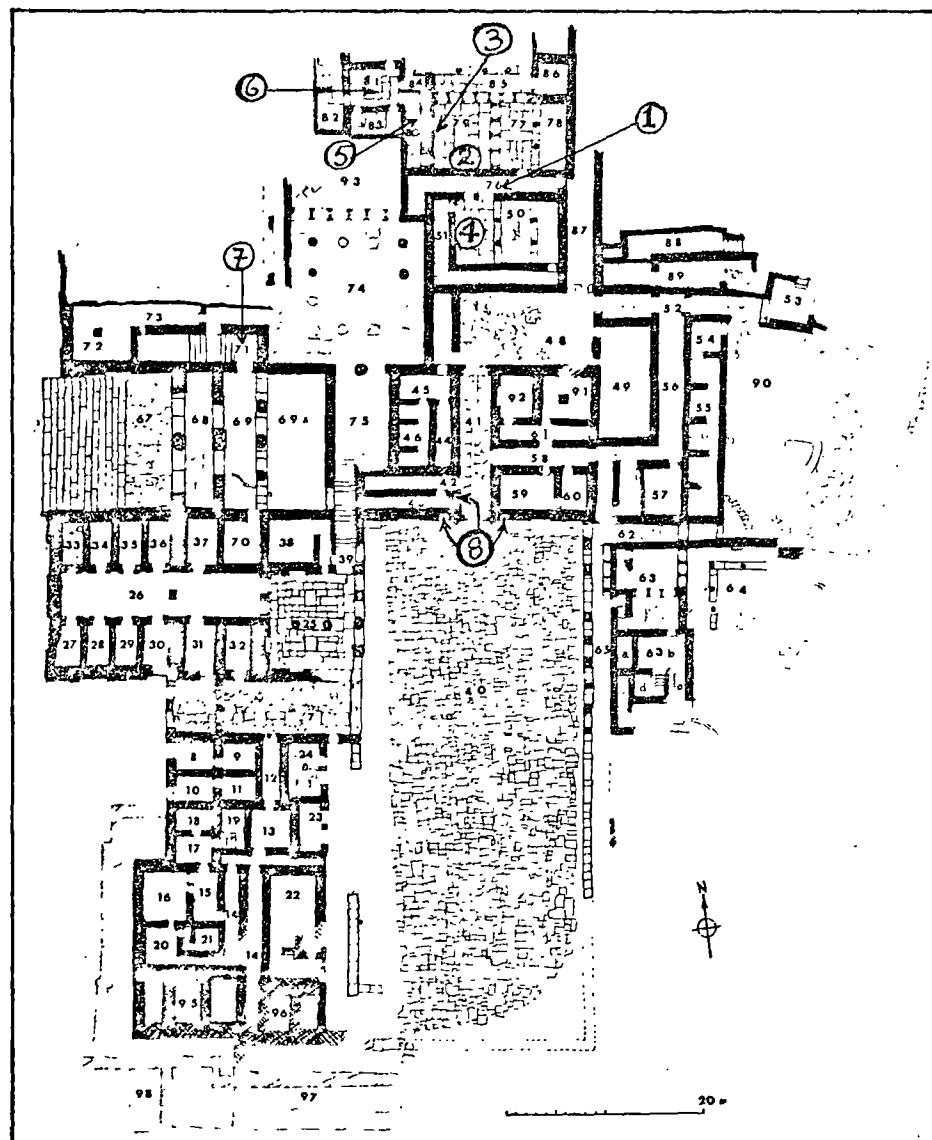


Fig. 127 Plan of palace

1. Lattice design (like that at PLATE 142)
2. Floral fragments (PLATE 200 A4,6)
Dark blue leaves and ash-grey branches
Moulded cornices
3. Spiraliform fragment (PLATE 200 A2)
White-spotted black fragments imitating stonework
4. Four-petalled rosettes
5. Spiraliform fragment (PLATE 200 A3)
Dado stripes
6. Floral fragments (like those from (2-3))
7. Dado stripes (Graham, The Palaces of Crete, Fig.129B)
8. Lattice designs (PLATE 142)

PHAISTOS: PALACE

Site history: First Palace set up in MM IB, destroyed at end of MM II. Rebuilt in MM IIIA, with final destruction in LM IB. Although enough LM IB vases were found to indicate a destruction (by fire) at that date, the paucity of finds in destruction deposits suggests the possibility the palace had been cleared and was almost empty at the time of the LM IB fire. Such vases reported from Rooms 11 and 51, and a few more found in destruction debris whose proveniences are not well established.

Festos II, p.116, Fig.64 (Guida, Pl.66); Ibid, p.274, Fig. 171. C. Zervos, L'Art de la Crete (1956), p.359, Pl.511 (incorrectly assigned to LM IA), p.363, Pl.533, and p.375, Fig.551 (probably LM IB).

At (1), LATTICE DESIGN (similar to that of PLATE 142).

Found with MM polychrome sherds in deposit sealed below third step up of staircase of Corridor 76.

CONTEXT: MM III or earlier

Festos II, pp.62, 278; Graham, The Palaces of Crete, p.79 n.9, a mention; Boll.Arte XXIX (1936), p.351ff illustrates reconstruction of staircase.

At (2), FLORAL FRAGMENTS (PLATE 200 A4,6), DARK BLUE LEAVES ON RED GROUND, ASH-GREY BRANCHES ON PLAIN GROUND and THICK MOULDED CORNICES (unpublished).

Found near south wall of Room 79 (Vestibule of Women's Quarters) in LM IB destruction debris. Probably fell from upper floors rather than from ground floor walls (against Pernier and Banti).

At (3), SPIRALIFORM FRAGMENT (PLATE 200 A2) and WHITE-SPOTTED BLACK FRAGMENTS IMITATING STONEWORK (unpublished).

Found near west wall of Room 79, in LM IB destruction debris, probably fallen from upper rooms.

CONTEXTS: LM IB

Mon.Ant.XIV (1904), pp.381f and Figs.28a-b; Festos II, pp. 284f and Pl.XL, nos.4,6 and 2.

At (4), FOUR-PETALLED ROSETTES IN RED WITH INNER WHITE DISCS (unpublished).

Found near west wall of Vestibule in Room 50, collapsed (from upper floors ?) at time of LM IB destruction. (Festos II, p.265).

CONTEXT: LM IB

At (5), DADO STRIPES (unpublished) and SPIRAL PIECE (PLATE 200 A3).

Dado in situ on walls of Corridor 80, preserved to height of 2.70 metres: painted red with brown, ? blue and white bands.

Spiral fragment fallen from upper storey, at time of LM IB destruction.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Mon.Ant. XIV (1904), p.384; Festos II, pp.291-293, Pl.XL, 3.

At (6), PLANT FRAGMENTS like those from Room 79 (i.e. PLATE 200 A4,6 at (2-3)).

Unpublished, from "Bathroom" of Room 81; also a moulded dado some 35cm high and other minor pieces; LM IB destruction deposits.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Festos II, pp.293, 295 (Mon.Ant. XIV (1904), p.387).

At (7), DADO STRIPES (Graham, op.cit., Fig.129B)

Well preserved and in situ to approx.height of 1.40 metres on east and south walls of staircase in Room 71. Evidence for original extension of dado on all walls here: red and white stripes above "yellowish" (discoloured white ?) lower area. Found in LM IB destruction context.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Festos II, p.333; Graham, loc.cit.

At (8), LATTICE DESIGNS (PLATE 142).

On back walls of three small niches ("sentry-boxes"), two in Central Court flanking north doorway into Corridor 41, the third just inside that doorway, to left, from which best preserved example came (illustrated here; preserved height 1.31 metres). All three panels burnt in LM IB destruction, while in situ.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Mon.Ant. XII (1902), p.81, Fig.21; Boll.Arte XXX (1937), pp.500ff, Figs.3-5; PM I, pp.373ff, Fig.271; Festos II, pp.60f, 222ff and Fig.138.

Festos I and II make frequent reference to the occurrence of minor painted or unpainted stucco from many rooms of the palace, most seemingly from simple striped or monochrome dadoes where painting is recorded (Festos II, pp. 40,49, 160, 226, 242, 250, 253, 265, 276, 284, 291, 293, 295, 301, 303, 333, 482, 484). The majority of references, however, simply mention "intonaco" (Festos I, pp.81, 121, 126, 152, 184, 195, 199, 201, 203, 239, 247, 251, 255, 263, 268, 272, 290, 295, 305, 318, 351, 354; Festos II, pp.51, 60, 66, 75, 83, 88, 93, 110, 115, 118, 122, 149, 160, 222, 225, 230, 238, 243, 246, 249, 263, 265, 270, 276, 285, 295, 301, 318, 320, 325, 333, 337, 339, 356, 421, 446). For Banti's assessment of the character and mural scheme of the palace wall paintings, see Festos II, p.484f.

PHAISTOS: TOWN HOUSES

Site history: a MM house on the southern slopes of the hill, apparently destroyed in MM IIIB, produced two fresco fragments of interest: a SPIRAL DESIGN (PLATE 200 A1) and a FOLIATE BAND WITH BLUE, RED AND WHITE STRIPES (PLATE 200 A5).

CONTEXT: MM IIIB

Mon. Ant. XII (1902), pp.83f and Fig.22 lower left (no.5 here); Festos II, Pl.XL, nos.1 and 5.

15. PRASA (Fig.115,15)

Site history: House A built in MM III, destroyed in LM IA. Site not fully published with its pottery. Frescoes included here by kind permission of Professor N. Platon.

In Room B, a WOMAN'S HEAD (PLATE 33A), a RELIEF SKIRT FRAGMENT (PLATE 33E), and MINIATURE TREES (PLATE 119A). Associated with LM IA conical cups; frescoes evidently fallen from upper storey Hall above Room B, a possible shrine.

CONTEXT: LM IA

Platon, KChr. H' (1954), p.449; Ibid, Θ (1955), p.562f; Praktika (1951), pp.246-250. But the shrine could have been on the upper floor with the frescoes.

16. PSEIRA (Fig.115,16)

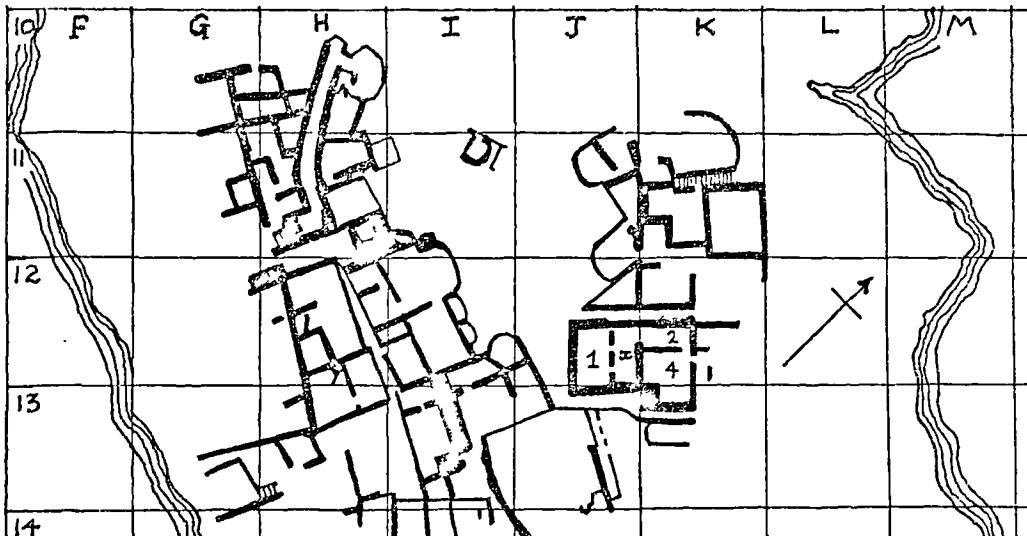


Fig.128 Plan of central area of town

Site history: MM IIIB-LM IB Minoan town on island of Pseira, destroyed by fire in LM IB. Close mercantile relations with Knossos in LM I, as shown by imported Knossian pottery.

In House JK 12, RELIEF FRESCOES OF WOMEN (PLATES 24-25).

Found collapsed from upper room in portico immediately north of Room 1 in LM IB house destruction debris, at x on plan: probably belonged to house shrine immediately above find-place. Professor J.W.Graham has recently discovered drawings of unpublished fragments of more female figures in relief from this site (letter 23 February 1969), to be published by B. Kaiser. Frescoes badly burnt in fire.

CONTEXT: LM IB

R.B.Seager, Excavations at Pseira, Crete (Anthr. Publ. U. of Pa. Museum Vol.III), pp.11 and 15, and Pl.V; pottery - Ibid, Figs.8,10-13.

17. SAKTOURIA (Fig.115,17)

Site history: Minoan farm or small villa, 50 metres east of church of Hagios Markos, constructed in MM II-III and probably destroyed in LM I. Fragment of plain white plaster, surface find with MM II-III and LM I sherds. CONTEXT: LM I (BSA 61 (1966), p.172f).

18. TOURTOULOI (Fig.115,18)

Site history: MM IIIA-LM IA villa, from which MM IIIA decorative fresco fragments from Rooms B, B α and F are reported in association with MM IIIA pottery and 1 Kamares sherd (Praktika (1960), pp.294, 296f). Building finally destroyed in LM IA.

CONTEXT: MM IIIA

N.Platon, KChr. IA, (1960), p.513f; Ergon (1960), pp.208-212; Praktika (1960), pp.294-300, with pottery at Pl.238 β -r and Pl.239 α - β .

19. TYLISSOS (Fig. 115,19)

HOUSE A

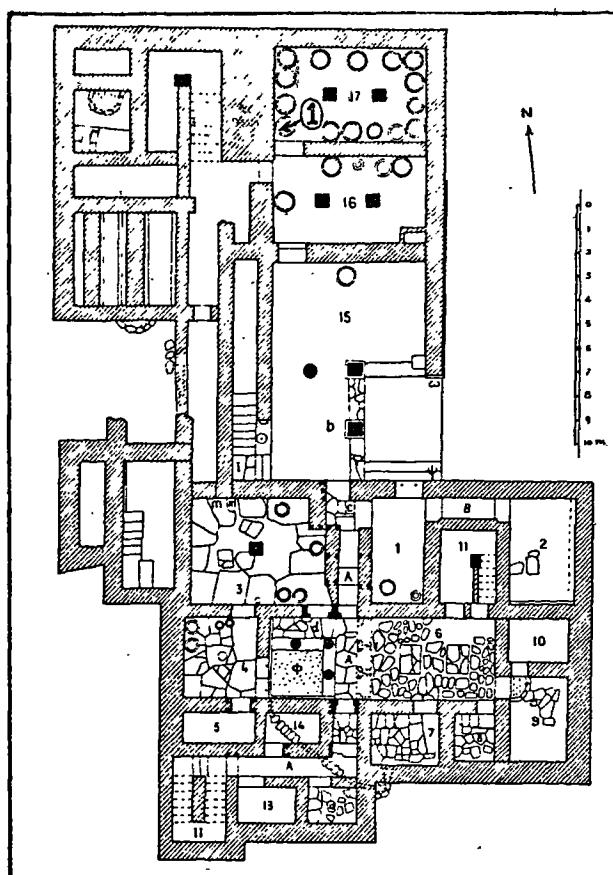


Fig.129 Plan of House A

General site history: Three small villas (sometimes termed "houses", A-C) constructed late in MM III or early LM IA but destroyed in LM IB; an apparent "limited reoccupation" after that destruction until a further one in LM IIIA along with that in the palace at Knossos. LM IB destruction accompanied by severe fire.

House A

At (1), FAN FRAGMENT (M.Shaw, AA (1972), p.180f, Figs.10-11).

Fallen inside first pithos to left of doorway within Room 17. Heavily burnt. Other frescoes reported "nearby", i.e. presumably in Room 17 - unspecified but, with Shaw, very probably the MINIATURE FRESCOES from Tylissos (PLATES 6 D-F and 31C; also Fig. 30, at p.172 above). These also heavily burnt. Probably all fallen from room above Room 17 at time of LM IB destruction.

CONTEXT: almost certainly LM IB

J.Hazzidakis, Arch.Eph.(1912), pp.224f, Pls.18-20; Les Villas minoennes de Tylissos (Études Cretoises III, Paris 1934), p.23; Tylissos à l'Epoque Minoenne (Paris 1921), Pl.IX; M.Shaw, op. cit., pp.171-188, Figs.1-14. Pottery: Les Villas, Pls.XXII-XXIV, and general discussion Ibid, pp.85-91; and see SMA XII, p.86, n.91 in part correcting Furumark's discussion at Chronology, p.81f. Linear A tablets and bronze ingots from present villas, comparable to those LM IB destructions at Hagia Triada & Zakro.

TYLISSOS: HOUSE B

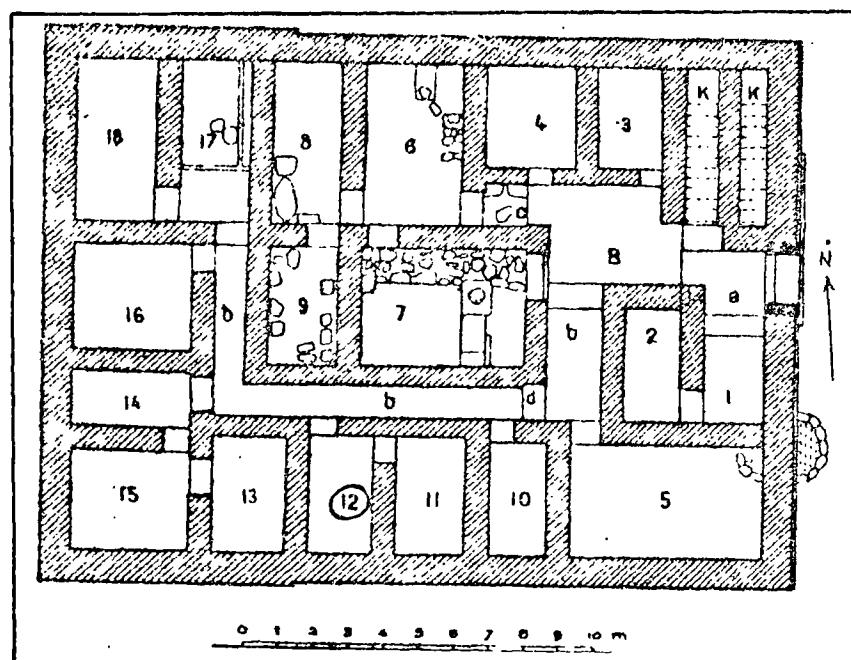


Fig.130 Plan of House B

In Room 12, wall plaster fragments reported (undescribed) along with a large broken pithos.

CONTEXT: probably LM IB

Hazzidakis, Les Villas minoennes de Tylissos, p.30

TYLISSOS: HOUSE C

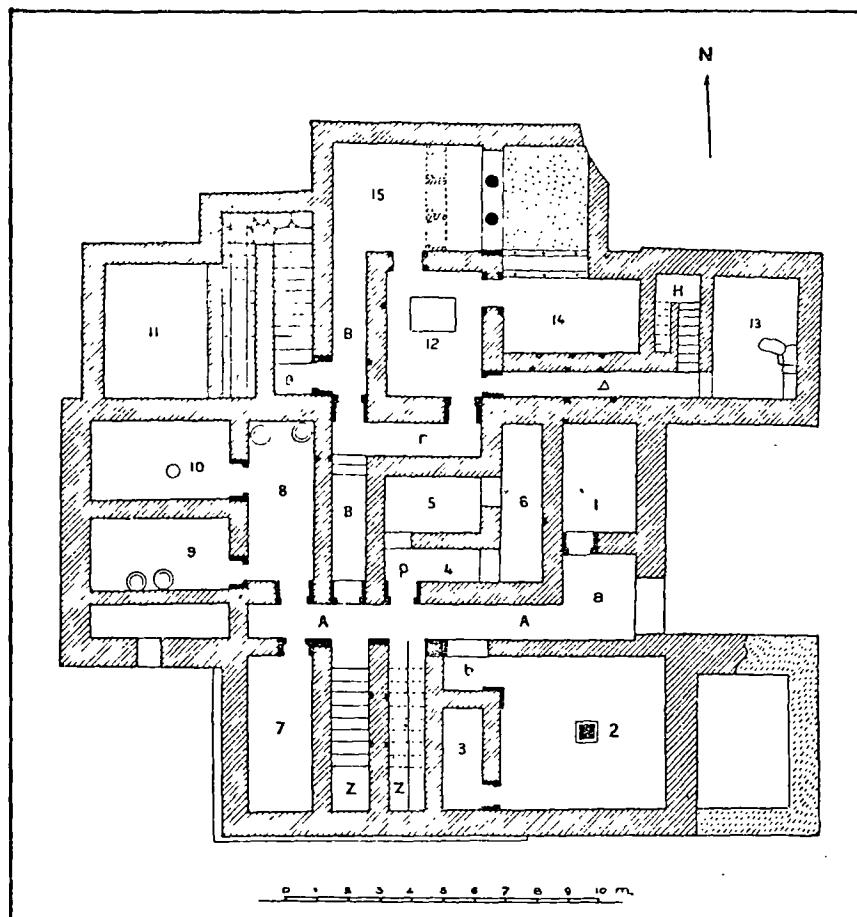


Fig.131 Plan of House C

Room 7 produced "among ordinary fragments" others depicting red crocuses on white and blue lily flowers on red grounds which the excavator compared favourably to the flowers in the "best contemporary paintings from Hagia Triada". Probably fallen from room above Room 7 (or perhaps from square room above lower magazine, Rm. 9), perhaps a household shrine.

CONTEXT: evidently LM IB

Hazzidakis, Les Villas minoennes de Tylissos, p.37.
Frescoes unpublished and not yet located.

20. VATHYPETRO (Fig.115,20)

Site history: Minoan villa built late in MM IIIB, destroyed sometime in LM I - LM IA according to excavator who, however, also equates this destruction with those of Nirou Chani and Sklavokambos (LM IB). Published pottery looks LM IA, but three LM IB sherds reported as found high up in destruction debris. Site not fully published.

"Fragments of fresco painted yellow, blue, red, green, black and white of the best Cretan workmanship" are reported (Praktika (1949), p.103).

CONTEXT: LM I (?B)

S. Marinatos, Praktika (1949), pp.100-109; Ibid, (1950), pp.242-248, and p.247, Figs. 6-7 for LM IA pottery; Ibid, (1951), pp.258-272; Ibid, (1952), pp.592-610.

21. KATO ZAKRO: PALACE (Fig.115,21)

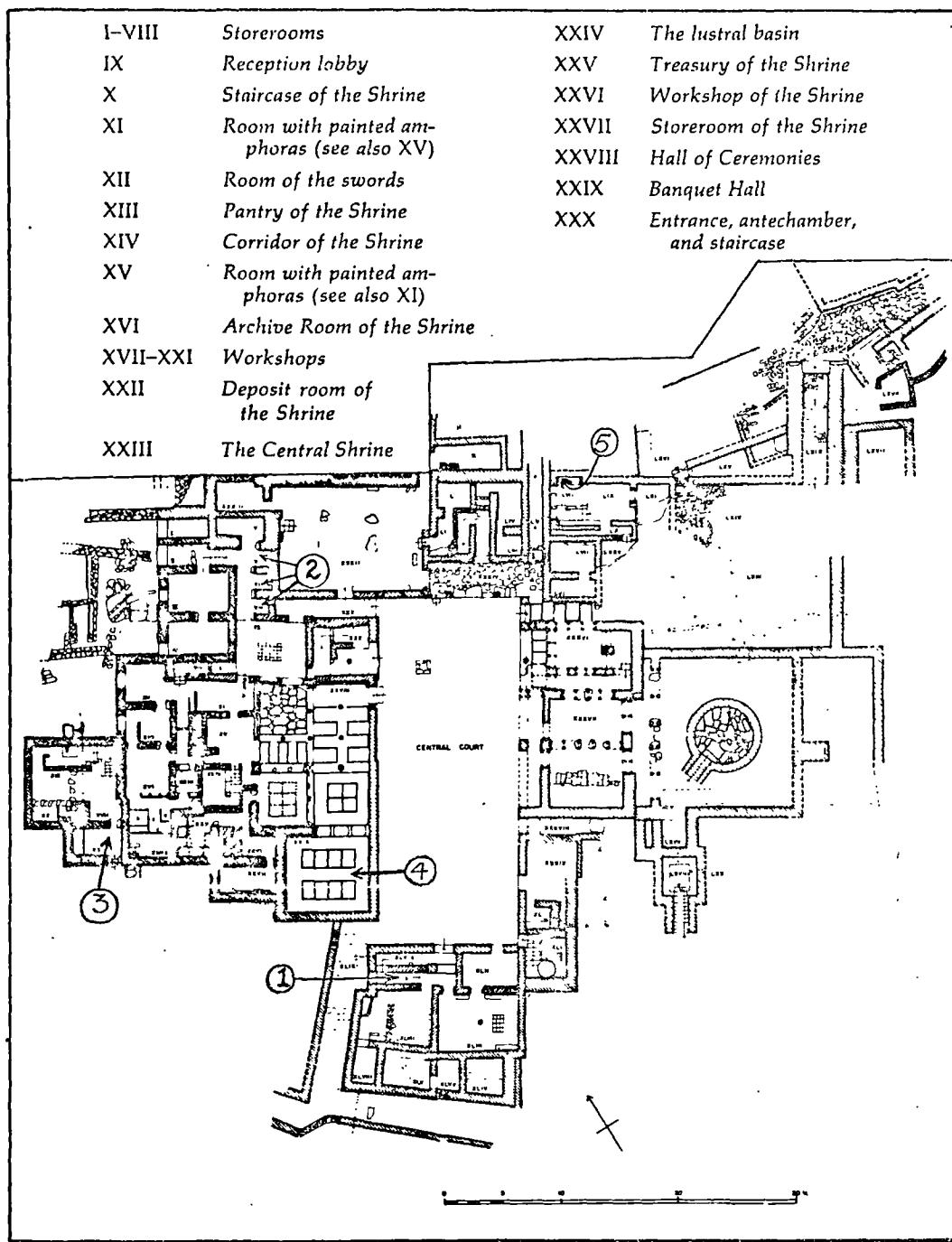


Fig. 132 Plan of the palace at Zakro

1. Floral fragments and ? lower part of female figure
2. Spiral and rosette frescoes, and striped bands
3. Large rosettes
4. Spiral frieze in relief
5. Imitation stonework, and horns of consecration

Floral fragments

KATO ZAKRO: PALACE

Site history: Minoan palace, perhaps on site of earlier MM I-II palace, constructed in MM III and destroyed by fire in LM IB; partial destructions in some areas in LM IA, but no reoccupation after LM IB. Destruction deposits particularly rich, with palace treasury surviving in Room XXIII: evidently the LM IB disaster came suddenly leaving inhabitants no time to remove precious objects.

At (1), FLORAL FRAGMENTS, and ? LOWER PART OF FEMALE FIGURE

From Corridor XLVIIb, to south of Central Court, associated with MM IIIIB-LM IA pottery. Unpublished.

CONTEXT: LM IA

Praktika (1965), p.199; BCH 90 (1966), p.922; BCH 91 (1967), p.772 for pottery.

At (2), SPIRAL AND ROSETTE FRESCOES, and STRIPED BANDS.

Fallen from upper rooms into Magazines, Rooms VI-VIII. Poorly preserved, burnt; unpublished. Associated with pithoi and over fifty other vases in LM IB destruction.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Praktika (1961), p.224; BCH 86 (1962), p.893, with pottery at pp.890-892, Figs.6,8-9; Praktika (1962), p.155; BCH 87 (1963), p.835, with pottery at Figs.12-13.

At (3), LARGE ROSETTES

Large multi-petalled rosettes (12 petals) in four colours. Heavily burnt; unpublished. From Room and Corridor XXI.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Praktika (1964), p.152; BCH 89 (1965), p.894.

At (4), SPIRAL FRIEZE IN RELIEF

From Banquet Hall, Room XXIX. Single row of running relief spirals with rosette bosses, about 26 metres long, positioned immediately below ceiling and above lintel-level on all four walls. Found collapsed at bases of walls and in northern doorway. Associated with ten wine amphoras and several jugs with handles. Now reconstructed, on exhibition with painted copy in HM.

Photograph of spirals as found: Zakros (1971), p.173, with plan of room on p.171. Heavily burnt in LM IB destruction.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Praktika (1964), p.150, and Pl.147 a-b; BCH 89 (1965), p.888 and Fig.6; Zakros, pp.170-173. Pottery: see Praktika (1964), Pl.148 a-b; BCH op.cit., p.890, Figs.4-5; Platon, Crete (1966), Pl.54. Both Crete and Zakros admirably illustrate LM IB vases.

At (5), IMITATION STONWORK, and HORNS OF CONSECRATION

From Lustral Basin, Room LVIII; in situ on NE, NW and SW walls. FLORAL FRAGMENTS found in bath below window of SE wall. Burnt.

CONTEXT: LM IB (BCH 91 (1967), p.777 and Fig.7, lower).

KATO ZAKRO: TOWN HOUSES

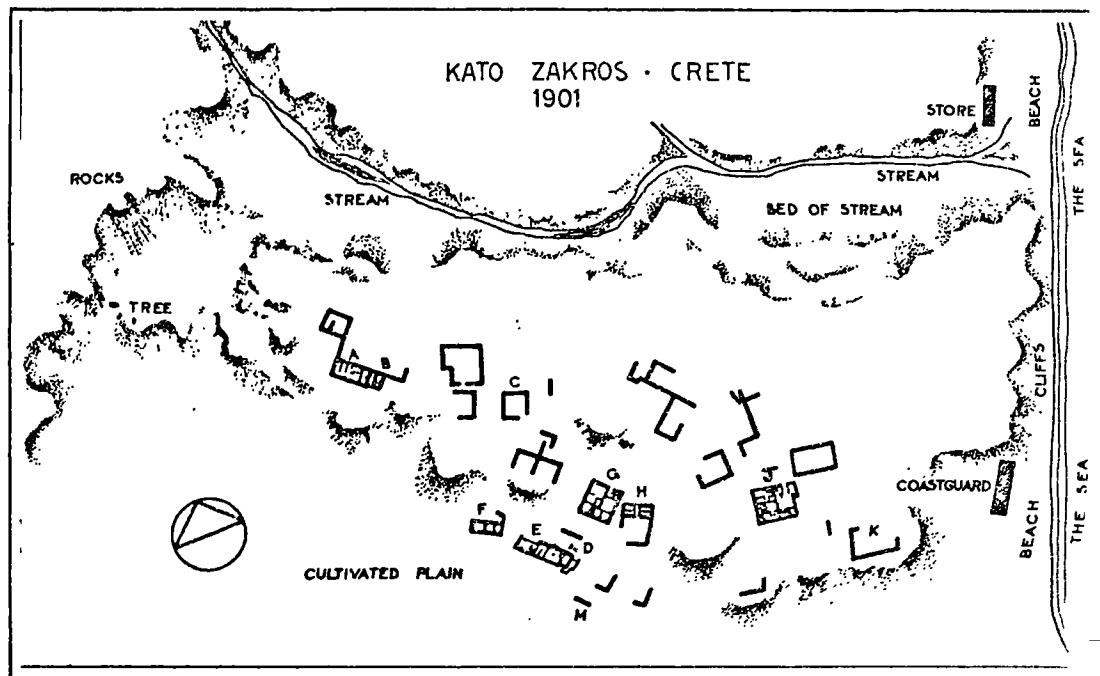


Fig. 133 Plan of the town at Kato Zakro

Site history: Minoan town houses constructed in MM III and destroyed by fire at same time as LM IB destruction in the palace. Excavated at the turn of the century by the British, the frescoes are only mentioned in early reports and their present whereabouts are unknown.

In House A, blue and yellow painted stucco reported from Rooms IV and VII in destruction debris along with hoard of clay sealings and LM IB pottery: BSA VII (1900-1901), pp.130-133, and Figs.43 (pottery) and 45 (sealings); LM IB rhyton from Rooms III and IV, JHS XXII (1902), Pl.XII, no.1 and p.333.

In House I, pictorial pieces showing "red leaf pattern" found fallen from upper room into Room I; Rooms III and XVI also had plastered walls. LM IB destruction: BSA VII (1900-1901), pp.140-142 and 146; pottery discussed and illustrated at JHS Ibid, pp.256-259, and Figs.26-29, 35-36.

In Pit I, blue and yellow painted stucco occurred with LM IA pottery, probably debris cleared out of nearby houses: BSA Ibid, p.124; JHS Ibid, Pl.XII, nos.2-3 and p.333 for the pottery.

EPANO ZAKRO: VILLA or FARMHOUSE

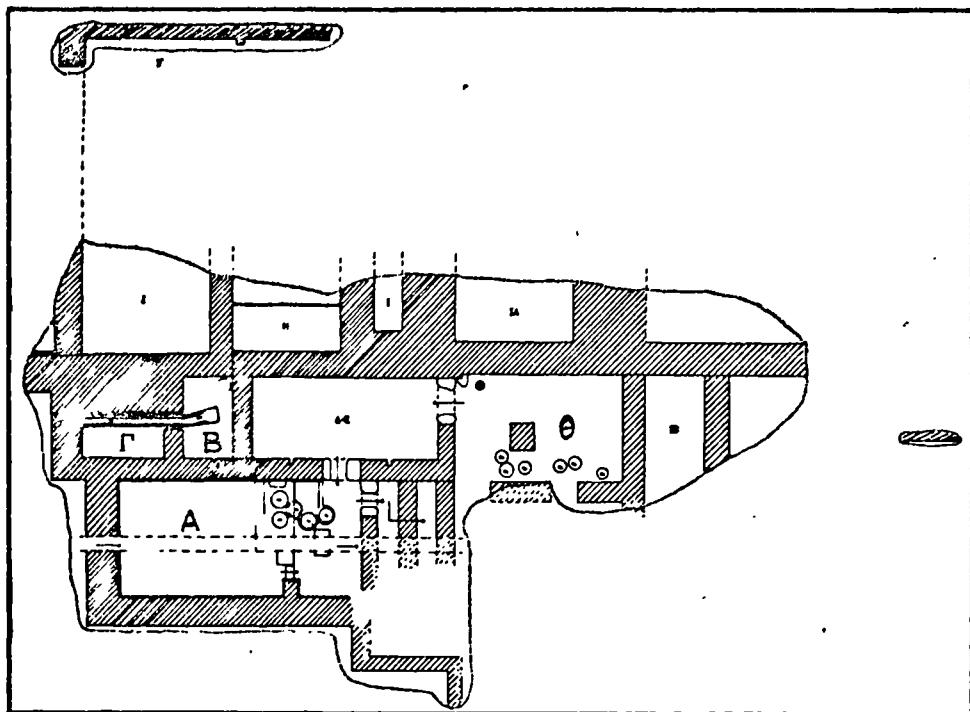


Fig.134 Plan of building

Site history: Minoan villa (rather than farmhouse ?) at Kouklou Kephali near village of Epano Zakro, built late in MM IIIB, destroyed by fire in LM IB apparently at same time as Zakro palace destruction.

In Rooms Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Theta, STRIPED BANDS in blue, yellow, white, red and occasionally black, evidently fallen from upper rooms into basement rooms.

Room Alpha

Two strata with frescoes, the lower assumed to hold contents of ground-floor room, the upper with contents of room above Room Alpha:

Lower stratum: COLOURED BANDS, LOTUS FLOWERS with red "filling-motifs" in shapes of papyrus flowers, RUNNING SPIRALS, GREEN PLANT STALKS WITH BRANCHING FLOWERS AND BUDS, and SLANTING OR ARCHED BANDS.

Upper stratum: FLORAL PIECES WITH REED-LIKE DESIGNS, MYRTLE LEAVES, LILY-LIKE FLOWERS WITH YELLOW-GREEN STALKS ON WHITE GROUND, and RED LEAVES ON BLUE GROUND; also FLOOR CEMENT from upper floor itself. Frescoes in burnt condition. Pottery from Room Alpha includes a good-sized amphora, conical cups and other domestic pottery (? the equipment of a household shrine above Room Alpha).

Provenance of very fine GODDESS'S SKIRT FRAGMENT not mentioned in report (but quite possibly from Room Alpha, too, in association with floral frescoes).

CONTEXT: LM IB

Praktika (1964), p.166; Ibid (1965), pp.217-221; BCH 89 (1965), p.894f; BCH 90 (1966), pp.925-928.

Part IV

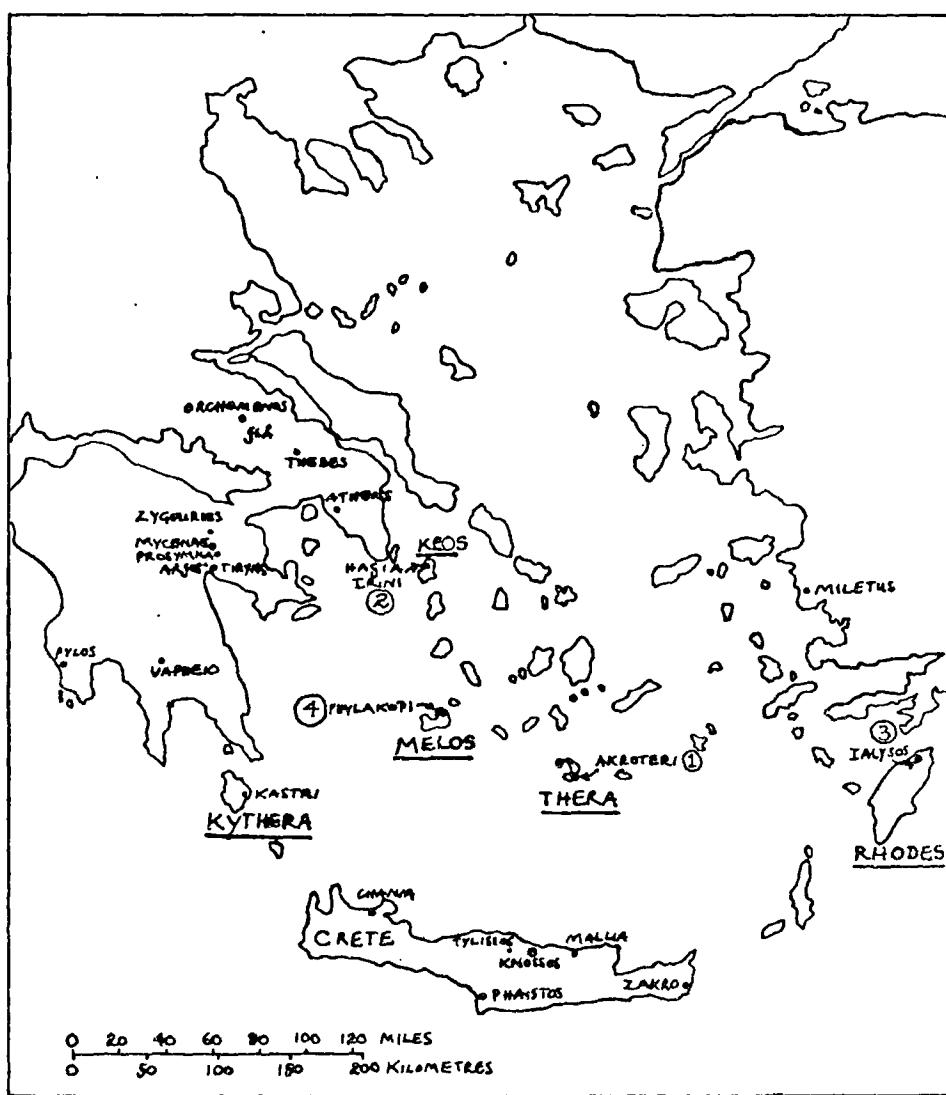
FRESCOES FROM THE CYCLADES

1. Akroteri, Thera p.768
2. Hagia Irini, Keos p.773
3. Ialysos (Trianda), Rhodes p.776
4. Phylakopi, Melos p.778

Second City

Third City

Fig.135: Map of the Cyclades



(After Hood, The Home of the Heroes (1967), p.12f)

1. AKROTERI, THERA (Fig. 135, 1)

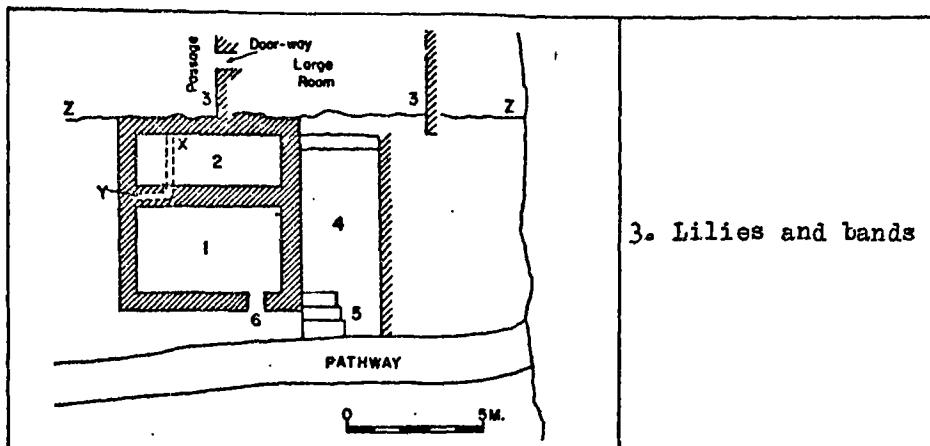


Fig. 136 Mamet and Gorceix's house near Akroteri

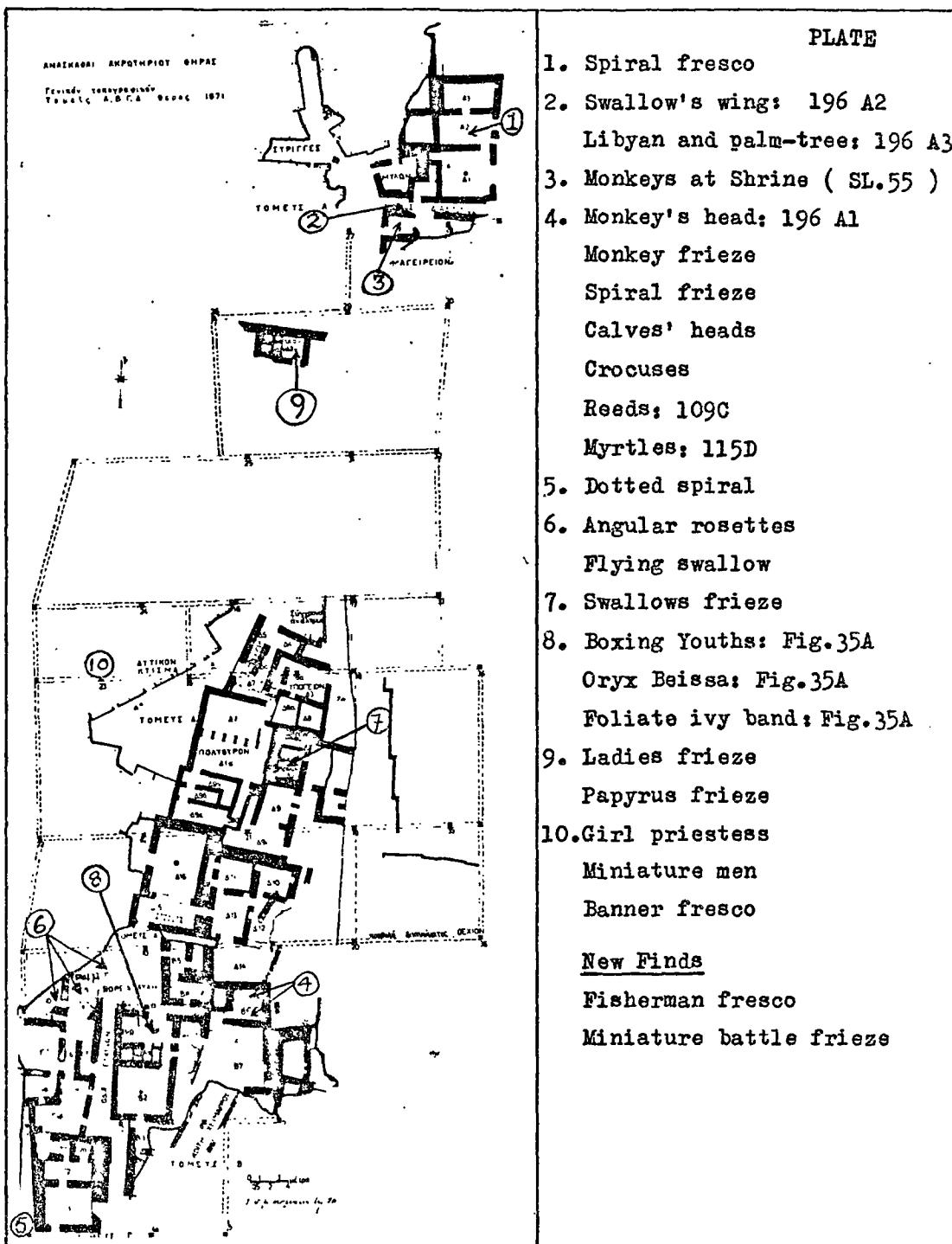


Fig.137 Marinatos's excavations
at Akroteri

AKROTERI, THERA

Mamet and Gorceix's House (Fig.136)

Site history: Minoan town house, perhaps built in MM IIIB, destroyed in LM IA by volcanic explosion of Thera. Pottery includes classic LM IA in Cretan style and Melian wares.

At (3), MADONNA LILIES AND STRIPED BANDS

In situ on walls of passage and of large room ; other fresco fragments on floors of house (thought to belong to ceiling decoration - improbably). Associated with LM IA and Melian vases; destruction deposits below lava layers.

CONTEXT: LM IA

G.Perrot and C.Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité Vol.VI (Paris 1894), pp.536-538, Figs.210-212, with plan at p.148, Fig.30; J.V.Luce, The End of Atlantis ("Paladin" ed., 1970), p.88f, Fig.15. Pottery: L.Renaudin, BCH (1922), pp.113-159; V.Duray, Histoire des Grecs Vol.I (Paris 1887), p.33f; O.Rayet and M.Collignon, Histoire de la Céramique Grecque (Paris 1888), p.9ff.

Marinatos's Excavations at Akroteri (Fig.137)

Site history: Minoan town, perhaps over earlier Middle Cycladic site, built in MM III (?B) and destroyed by volcanic eruption of Thera in LM IA, as shown by rich pottery deposits throughout settlement; this was covered by thick lava layers from explosion c.1500 B.C. No signs of later reoccupation of site after LM IA.

CONTEXT: all the following frescoes, LM IA

At (1), SPIRAL FRESCO

Found lying on top of clay chest in "Arvanitis 1", Magazine 2, as though acting as a lid (but doubtfully could be so): Room A2. Probably fallen from upper room's wall - hardly a floor fresco as Marinatos surmises. Associated with LM IA vases.

Thera II, p.21, Fig.11, and Pls.18-19.

At (2), SWALLOW'S WING (PLATE 196 A2) and LIBYAN AND PALM-TREE (PLATE 196 A3-4); also BIRD'S TAIL (unpublished).

Found on or near north wall of "Porter's Lodge" (i.e. west end of southern wall of South Corridor), perhaps fill of upper floor debris or washed down in torrent bed; associated with upper floor paving slabs in lava debris.

Swallow: Ibid, p.28, and Col.Pl.B 2 (not an "eagle" as early reports suggest). Libyan and tree: Ibid, pp.28, 54 and Col.Pl.B 3-4; AAA II (1969), pp.374f and Col.Pl.1.

In region of (1-2), DRESS FRAGMENT

"Arvanitis 1": Thera II, p.54, Fig.44

At (3), MONKEYS AT SANCTUARY or SHRINE (SLIDE 55)

At 0.30-0.50 metre above floor in "Porter's Lodge", fallen from upper room or perhaps washed in by torrent.

Ibid, pp.28f, 53 and Fig.43

At (4), MONKEY FRIEZE with RUNNING SPIRAL ABOVE

Fallen from upper floor, probably having decorated NW corner of room above Room B6; monkeys depicted over an earlier stucco layer painted with red and white bands (Thera V, p.37 and Pls. 91-93). Found especially along north wall of Room B6, with MM III-LM IA vases (Thera III, p.35).

Monkeys: Ibid, p.35 and Pls.61-62(1); Thera IV, p.45f and Pls.114-115; Thera V, p.37, Pls.91-93 and Col.Pl.D.

Spirals: Thera III, p.36, Fig.19; Thera IV, Pl.113.

MONKEY'S HEAD (PLATE 196 A1)

Evidently higher up in deposit than last entry, in Room B6; perhaps washed in from "Arvanitis 1" (area A).

Thera II, pp.11f, 54, and Col.Pl.B1; Thera III, pp.7, 63.

TWO CALVES' HEADS and CROCUSES (unpublished): Thera V, p.38, a mention correcting earlier identification of animals as "dogs".

REEDS (PLATE 109C)

Large fragment, 35 x 65 cm., found in disturbed torrent bed, higher up in deposit than first entry here; Room B6.

Thera II, pp.11f, and Pl.5(2); Thera III, p.64.

MYRTLES (PLATE 115D)

Similar find-circumstances as REEDS, Room B6.

Thera II, pp.11f, and Pl.6; Thera III, p.64; AAA I (1968 Part 3), p.219, Fig.11.

At (5), DOTTED SPIRAL FRESCO

In destruction debris in area immediately west of Room Gamma 1, near (modern) pillar 4.

Thera III, pp.38f, 63, Figs.24-25 and Col.Pl. E2 and Pl.59(1).

At (6), ANGULAR ROSETTES AND UNDULATING BANDS

Mostly attached to mud-bricks, scattered in Rooms Gamma 8-10 and North Court (north east of Room Gamma 9).

Thera III, pp.51, 63 and Pls.59(2)-60.

Also FLYING SWALLOW: Thera III, p.64 and Col.Pl.B1 and Pl.62(2).

At (7), SWALLOWS FRIEZE

Mostly in situ on South, West and North walls of Room Delta 2. Room: 2.30 x 2.50 metres. Deposit of LM IA vases here and wooden bed; whole room filled with lava. Continuous frieze.

Thera IV, pp.8,20-25,49-51, and Col.Pls.A-C and Pls.32-41, 121-126; AAA II (1969), pp.65-69; AAA IV (1971), pp.58-74, and Figs.13-15 and Col.Pl.A'(1).

At (8), BOXING YOUTHS and ORYX BEISSA (Fig.35A, opp.p.205)

Boxers: collapsed onto floor from South wall of Room B1, on that section of wall in between doorways to Rooms B 1a and B 1b.

Thera IV, pp.28,31, 46-49, Fig.3 (p.48), and Col.Pls.D-Fa and Pls.116-117, 119-120; AAA IV (1971), Front Cover in colour and pp.407ff, Fig.3. Head of left-hand youth reported on floor (Thera IV, p.31, 46-49).

Oryx: six animals on East, North and West walls of Room B1, forming a broken frieze of two continuous sections. On right of doorway (East wall), two animals, in collapsed fragmentary condition; continuing with one animal, headless but rest in situ, to right of window on eastern section of North wall; to west of same window, a single animal, followed by two further animals from thin Western partition wall of Room B1, found collapsed and in very fragmentary condition. NB: the sections on the North wall overlie an earlier painted stucco layer (Thera IV, p.33).

Ibid, pp.28-33, 46-49, and Col.Pls.D and Fb, and Pls.51b (headless oryx), 117-118; AAA IV (1971), pp.407ff and Col.Pl.A'(2)

Above both these frescoes; FOLIATE IVY BAND (Fig.35A).

Continuous frieze, almost certainly round all four walls of Room B1, at level between doorway lintels and ceiling; best attested at south west corner of room, collapsed onto floor but fragments joining or certainly associating with both Boxers and Oryx panels.

Thera IV, p.47f, Fig.3 and Col.Pl.D.

At (9), FRIEZE OF LADIES and FRIEZE OF PAPYRUS FLOWERS

In the "Room of the Ladies", on an upper floor, an interrupted frieze in two sections attributed to South and North walls, with one and ?three women respectively. Fallen in fragments onto floor of small room, 4.36 x 2.40 metres: plan of room, Thera V, p.12, Fig.2 (associated finds noted at p.13). Southern section: Thera V, p.39, Col.Pl.F(left) and H (mistakenly suggesting West wall) and Pls.11a, 96; northern section: with two or perhaps three women bending forward, Ibid, p.39f, Fig.5, and Col.Pl.G and Pls.9-10,12 and 97a.

AAA V (1972), p.1f.

Papyrus frieze, continuous, on West wall and western part of South wall, having also collapsed onto floor in this room.

Thera V, p.38f, and Col.Pls.E-F and Pls.11b and 94.

At (10), GIRL PRIESTESS, MINIATURE CLOAKED MEN and BANNER FRESCO

Found in excavating deep trench for modern pylon ("Well 23") in West House. Girl fresco: 1.50m high x 34-35cm wide, found at

depth of 3.20 metres (from top of nearby wall). Where discovered, there appears no wall to go with frescoes: perhaps therefore slipped down intact from an upper room.

Thera V, Front Cover, and p.19, Col.Pls.J-K and Pls.100-101; AAA V (1972), Front Cover, pp.2f and Col.Pl.I.

MINIATURES: found at different heights, including deep down and at top (joining fragments), in "well 23".

Thera V, pp.19, 41 and Pl.97b; AAA V (1972), p.3.

BANNER FRESCO: found at 4.50-5.0 metres down in "well 23", and also lacking a wall to go with it on east side of trench where fresco turned up: ? slipped down from wall of upper room. Height 1.83 metres x 1.01 in width.

Thera V, p.41f, Fig.6, Col.Pl.I and Pls.26 and 98; AAA V (1972), p.2f and Figs.3-4.

Frescoes presently lacking statements of provenience

(a) SPONGE-PRINTS IN MARINE SUBJECT, Bronos 2 (? near B6):

Thera I, pp.43ff, Fig.66.

(b) SMALL WOMAN'S HEAD: Thera II, p.54, a mention.

(c) From a "private house":

FISHERMAN (1.0 metre high): AAA V (1972), p.449, Front Cover and Col.Pl.IV.

MINIATURE FRESCO WITH BATTLE SCENE AND FLYING GRIFFIN

(frieze about 5-6 metres long): AAA op.cit., p.448.

Latest reports (1974) indicate this scene comes from the area of "Well 23" (see MINIATURES above).

2. HAGIA IRINI, KEOS (Fig.135,2)

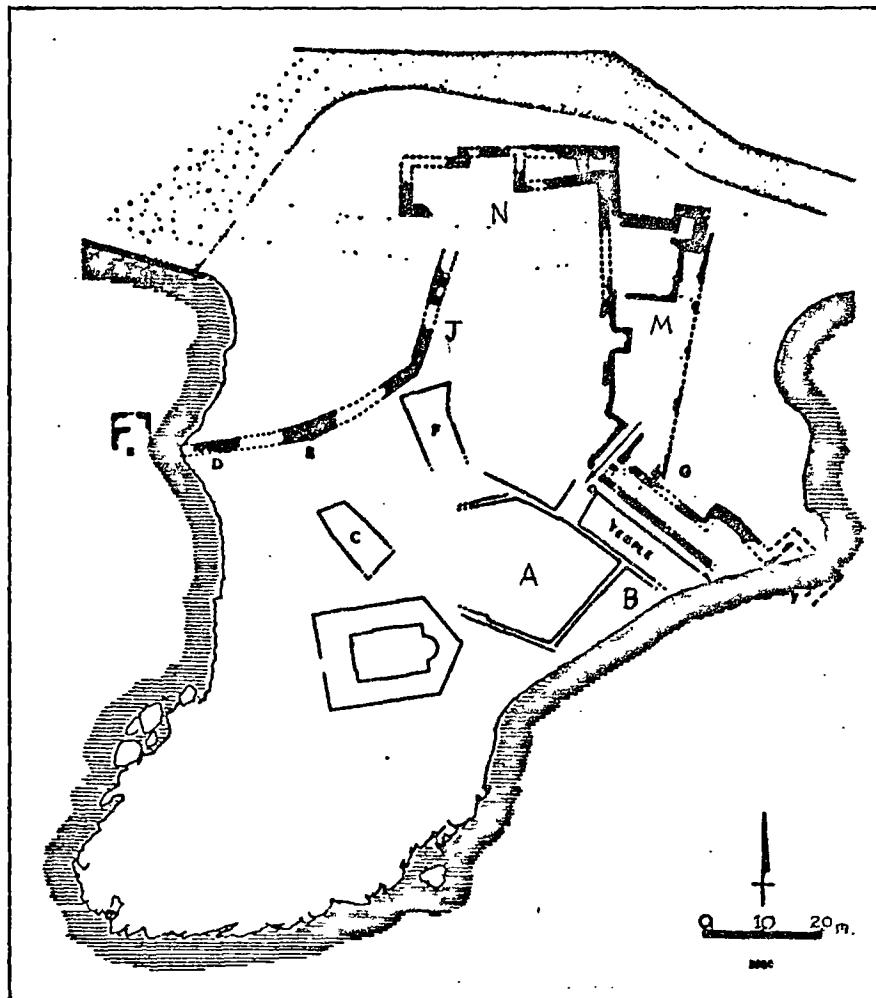


Fig.138 Plan of the settlement

Site history: a Cycladic town settlement, with an earlier EM/EH and MH/MM history and showing strong Minoan and Mycenaean social and commercial relations. The site with the frescoes belongs to the MM IIIB-LM I period, with a partial destruction in LM IA and a widespread one perhaps by earthquake at the close of LM IB/LH IIA/B. The site was partially reoccupied in later times, in LM/LH IIIA, LM/LH IIIB, and on the "Temple" site in LH IIIC - a spot that was still significant in Classical times. The following notes on the frescoes, to be published by Dr. C. Coleman in a special study, are reproduced with her permission and that of the excavator, Professor J.L. Caskey; precise indications of the frescoes' find-places must await Dr. Coleman's study, so the frescoes are here listed by area only for the most part.

The date of the contexts of the frescoes:

All the frescoes evidently belong to the MM IIIB-LM I settlement, coming primarily from houses in Areas A, B and M - probably from their upper floors whence they collapsed into basement areas. Enough pottery has been published to show the

the LM IB/LH IIA/B destruction was widespread in the town (see Caskey's excellent " Conspectus of the Pottery " in Hesperia XLI (1972), pp.357-401, especially pp.393-397, and Pls.94-95). Accordingly, the frescoes may be provisionally assumed to come from LM IB/LH IIA/B CONTEXTS, unless otherwise noted (Area J). This accords with the excavator's and Dr. Coleman's own views on the dating of the frescoes, for brief summaries of which see Caskey Hesperia XXXV (1966), p.374 and Coleman (née Catherine Abramovitz) in AJA 72 (1968), p.163. Photographs reproduced here are kindly supplied by courtesy of Dr. Coleman.

House A

Continuous frieze of at least fifteen BLUE BIRDS (PLATE 198 A3); SPIRAL DESIGN; GRIFFIN WING FRAGMENTS (PLATE 197 A6). STRIPED BANDS (Hesperia XXXV (1966), p.374, a mention), from Room XXX.

Pottery: Hesperia XXXI (1962), pp.271-273 and Pls.96 a,b,d, f and 97 a-c; also Ibid, XXXIII (1964), Pl.53.

Area B, the "Long House"

From Room II, MINIATURE MALE FIGURES and STRIPED BANDS (Hesperia XXXV (1966), p.374, a mention).

Area M

From Room I, MYRTLES AND "VINE" (SLIDE 32j); and the following MINIATURES (in same painters' "hands" as the pieces from Area B): BUILDING FAÇADE WITH ROOF-TOP "BEEHIVE" CRENELLATIONS (Hesperia XXXV (1966), Pl.90a, top right, and BCH 91 (1967), pp. 253 and 752, Fig.10); POLYGONAL WALL FAÇADE; GIRL IN LIGHT-BLUE RAGGED SKIRT (Fig.10, C6 here, opp.p. 56).

From Room II, MINIATURES (in same painters' "hands"): THREE KILTED MEN IN ?BOAT; TWO REED FRAGMENTS GROWING FROM STREAM (PLATE 198 A1-2); MINOANS AND TRIPOD COOKING POT NEAR STREAM (PLATE 197 A3); MAN IN "CULOTTE"; MEN IN LONG SLEEVELESS CLOAKS (comparable to PLATE 197 A1 here), SOME WITH WING-LIKE APPENDAGES (PLATE 197 A2); HORSES' LEGS; DOG'S MUZZLE; THREE DEER CHASED BY ?DOGS (SLIDE 23 c-d); WOMAN WITH RAISED ARM (Hesperia XXXV (1966), Pl.90a, top left, and Arch. Delt. 20 (1965), B'3, Pl.661b, right); CHARIOT FRAGMENTS (PLATE 197 A5); and LARGE FACE OF MAN (PLATE 198 A7); "LEAVES ON BANK" FRAGMENT (PLATE 198 A5: comparable to HOF fragment at PLATE 70C, though on a smaller scale).

All these pieces came from below water-level in the two rooms where no floors could be detected before excavation here was abandoned; associated sherds "undiagnostic", for the salt-water had "eaten" away whatever paint was on them.

Area N

MINIATURE MEN IN SLEEVELESS CLOAKS WITH ?INGOT (PLATE 197 A1);
in same painter's "hands" as depicted "miniatures" from areas
B and M.

Area J

MINIATURE DOLPHINS (SLIDE 37): Hesperia XXXIII (1964), p.323,
a mention. Associated pottery: LM/LH IA including a LM IA
"Vapheio" cup (Hesperia XXXI (1962), p.277 and Pl.97e (cf.
Ibid, Pl.97f from Trench L); Hesperia XLI (1972), p.392 for
further descriptions of vases). From Room VII.

CONTEXT: LM IA.

Note: But see now Coleman, Hesperia XLII no.3 (1973)
pp.293ff where the CONTEXT is now stated as LM IB/LH II.
A date in LM IB is also suggested for the fresco (Ibid,
p.296), but in the present writer's opinion that may
be on the late side and the suggested date of manufacture
of this work as argued in this thesis (MM IIIB/LM IA)
still seems preferable.

3. IALYSOS (TRIANDA), RHODES (Fig.135,3)

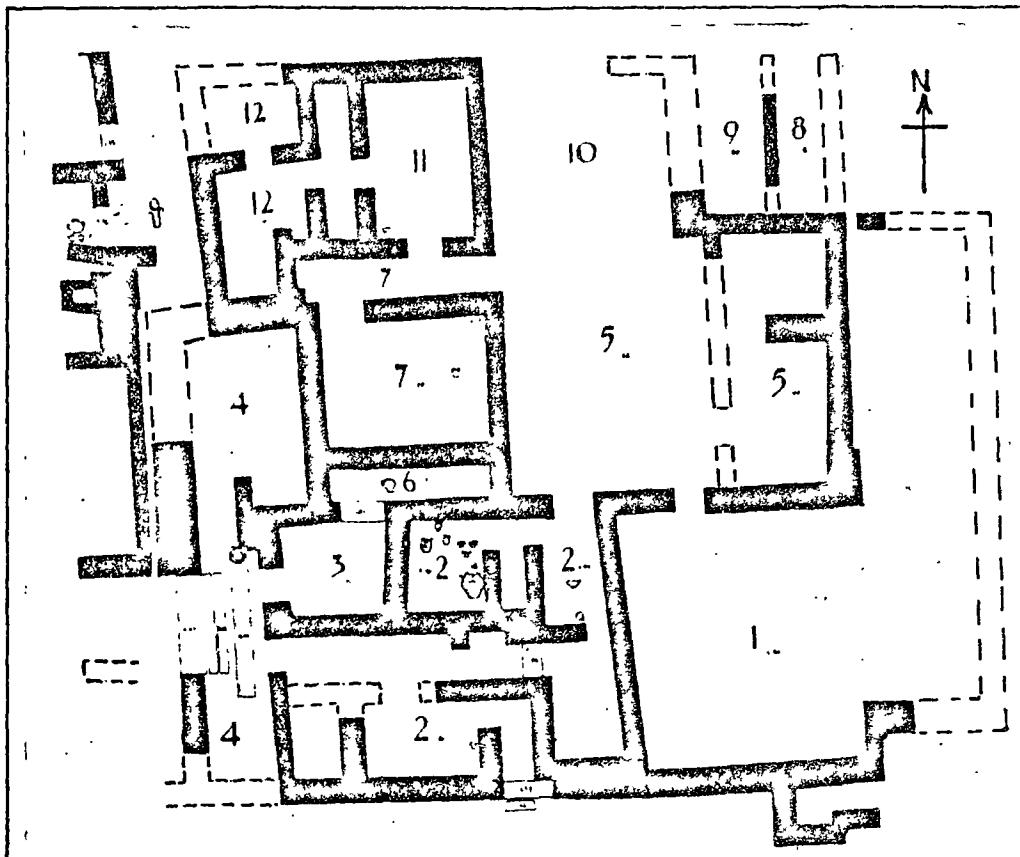


Fig.139 Plan of House 1 (Stratum IIA)

Site history: Minoan colony and town houses of LM I- IIIA date, deserted at about time of Knossos palace destruction. Most significant frescoes all from House 1, but from three distinct strata: Stratum I, IIA and IIB, as defined by Furumark (Opus.Arch. VI (1950)pp.152ff).

Stratum I, Room 7: MADONNA LILIES (PLATE 104A)
 Found in situ on east face of central wall in south east part of building. Pottery: " quite homogeneous, being exclusively LM IA" (Furumark). House built early in LM IA (no MM III pottery from it) and went out of use at close of same period, new houses being erected on top of it.

CONTEXT AND DATE: LM IA

G. Monaco, Clara Rhodos X (1941), pp.66-77, esp. pp.68-72, and Pl. VII; Furumark, op.cit., pp.152-3, 176-179 and Fig.1 (sherds from Stratum I).

Stratum IIA, Room 11, HONEYSUCKLE AND BANDS (PLATE 93C)
 Among other floral frescoes, LILIES also reported from Room 2. Apparently not in situ. House built above another of LM IA date at close of that period, destroyed violently in LM IB (crushed human victims below walls) and LM IB pottery deposits on floors.

CONTEXT: LM IB

Monaco, op.cit., pp.78-88 and Pl. IX; from Room 2, Ibid, pp. 89, no.24; Furumark, op.cit., pp.153-166, 176-179, and Figs. 1,4-6 for pottery: mostly LM IB, some intrusive LM IA and

Myc. IIIA 2 sherds in same level.

Stratum IIB, Room 8, MADONNA LILIES AND OTHER PLANTS (PLATE 104B). Not in situ. Found in eastern part of Room 8 of house put up after LM IB destruction: abandoned in LM/LH IIIA 1early, to judge from pottery left in situ.

CONTEXT: LM/LH IIIA 1(early).

Monaco, op.cit., pp.128f and Pl.XI; Furumark, op.cit., pp.166-179 and Figs.7-11 (pottery), and p.180 on abandonment of site.

House 2: red and white plaster reported in Stratum IIA (LM IA (late)-LM IB); Monaco, op.cit., pp.105 and 149.

House 3: red, white, light and dark blue bands and monochrome pieces reported in Stratum IIA (LM IA(late)-LM IB), Ibid,pp. 117 and 158.

4. PHYLAKOPI, MELOS (Fig.135,4)

SECOND CITY SETTLEMENT

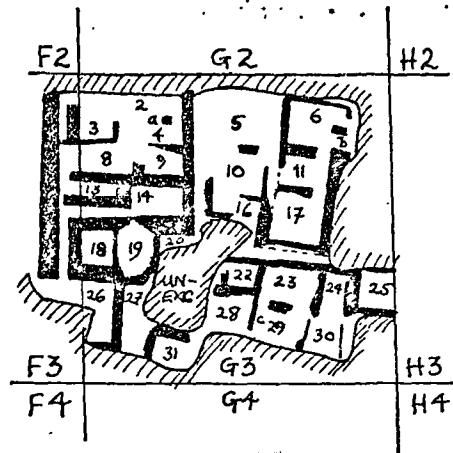


Fig. 140 Plan of Grid G3

Room 6. Two friezes of Flying Fish (PLATES 125-126, and 120C)

Rockwork and shell-bed (PLATE 120 A-B)

Woman with "net" (PLATE 36)

Bending woman (PLATE 37 A-B)

?"Net" (PLATE 37C)

Room 11. Lily flower fresco (PLATE 101 C-D)

Room 14. Spiral and rosette fresco (PLATE 138C)

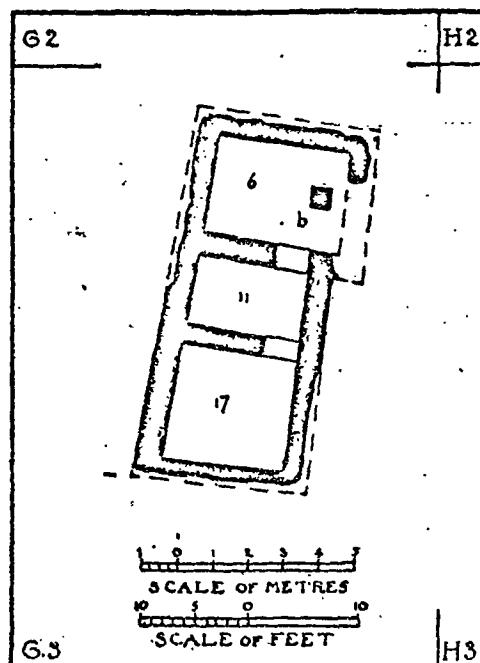


Fig. 141 Plan of small
house in Square G3.

PHYLAKOPI, SECOND CITY

General site history: Minoan colony, with three main periods of settlement: a First City of EM date; a Second City of Middle Cycladic date corresponding to MM I-III, which was destroyed by fire at the close of MM IIIB; and a Third City of the Late Cycladic/Late Minoan epoch (LM I-III). Most of the frescoes of interest come from the Second City, and probably from its latest phase, MM/MC III. In early excavation reports the pottery from this settlement is called " early Mycenaean", for Evans's pottery classification had not yet been devised.

Small house in Square G3 of town grid (Fig. 141)

Room 6, TWO FRIEZES OF FLYING FISH (PLATES 125-126, and 120C); ROCKWORK AND SHELL-BED, from same fresco series (PLATE 120 A-B); WOMAN WITH "NET" (PLATE 36); BENDING WOMAN (PLATE 37 A-B), and ?"NET" (PLATE 37C).

Fallen from an upper storey at time of MM IIIB destruction towards centre of room, occurring at 2.0 metres down to floor-level at 2.50 metres; this deposit began at level with preserved top of stone pillar (marked "b" on plans). Mackenzie notes (Phylakopi DB, 25 May 1898) that the top of this stone pillar was " ... underlying the level of the foundation stones of the Mycenaean walls of the Third City]. Simultaneously with the clearing of this ... pillar began to appear the first fragments of the fish fresco". He later conjected the frescoes may have gradually fallen into the deposit above the floor, but the find-circumstances and absence of later pottery are more consistent with a sudden collapse from an upper floor at the time of the Second City destruction (Ibid, 17 April 1899). Bosanquet also noted their occurrence " below the floor-level of a house of the Third or Late Mycenaean City. In other words they belong to the period during which the dominant influences at Phylakopi came from Crete, not from the mainland " (JHS Suppl. Paper No.4, Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos (1904), p.77: herafters abbreviated to Phylakopi).

CONTEXT: Second City destruction, MM IIIB.

Mackenzie DB 23-25 May 1898 and 17 April 1899; Phylakopi, pp.17, 20, 70-77; the "crimson surface" referred to by Bosanquet in regard to the frescoes depicting women seems rather to be preliminary sketch lines for the figures (Ibid, p.77).

Room 11, LILY FLOWER FRESCO (PLATE 101 C-D)

Mackenzie notes (DB 25 May 1898): " In room 11 in final report began simultaneously [with fish frescoes] to appear fragments of stucco with a fine crimson surface on which

were painted conventional plant and flower patterns in white and yellow" and, next day, that the floor-level was reached at 2.50 metres down, with the fresco there coming to an end. Probably collapsed from an upper room, though the excavation data does not clarify this point.

CONTEXT: Second City destruction, MM IIIB

DM/DB loc.cit.; Phylakopi, pp.75f and Fig.64

From a second house in Square G3 (Fig.140)

In Room 14, SPIRAL AND ROSETTE FRIEZE (PLATE 138C)

Uncovered at a depth of 1.50 metres, with room walls ending at 1.60 and 1.80 metres down. Fallen from upper room ?

CONTEXT: Second City destruction, MM IIIB

DM/DB 22 April 1890; Phylakopi, pp.78 and Fig.66.

Other frescoes (unpublished) from Second City, associated with "early Mycenaean" pottery:

Square B5: blue, crimson, plain white, and ? spiraliform pieces in burnt layer below foundations of a Third City bastion;

Square C5: in south-east part, red painted plaster;

Square D4: "red squares and dots in crimson on a white ground"

Phylakopi, p.78.

Pottery: Phylakopi, pp.106-129 and Pls.XIV-XXI, including MM/MC beaked jugs, local Melian pictorial wares and MM III spouted jugs and "Vapheio" cups.

PHYLAKOPI, THIRD CITY

From Room 21 in Square J3, BIRD'S HEAD (SLIDE 27h).

Mackenzie records (DB 15 May 1899): " On the W. N and E sides earlier walls of 2~~E~~ of Second City J appear at a depth of 2.10, 2 and 1.90 respectively. Here at a depth of 2.10 from the surface viz. at the west wall J i.e. at the base of the Mycenaean walls have appeared fragments of painted stucco, one fragment having had what seemed part of the head with the eye of some animal or fish " (Rosanquet's identification is to be preferred: Phylakopi, p.77). Mackenzie considered the houses in Squares J2-3 as belonging to the first of three phases of the Third City, the buildings being " submerged and then covered up by superficial constructions above them and had ceased to be inhabited before the later houses were built" (Phylakopi, p.267). Pottery from this area: Ibid, pp.264f and Pls.XXIII 1-5 and XXV 4-5 (characteristic LM IA). To judge from these vessels, and from the fact that Mackenzie assigned classic LM IB sherds to phase 2 of the Third City, phase 1 corresponds to LM/LH IA (so, too, Furumark, Opus.Arch.VI (1950), p.192).

CONTEXT: LM/LH IA.

Part V

FRESCOES FROM MINOAN TOMBS

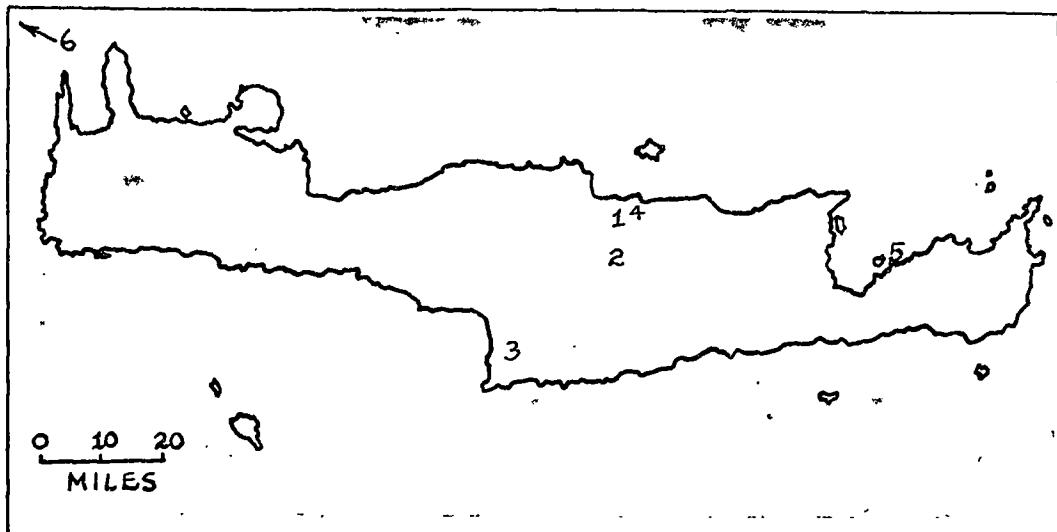


Fig.142 Distribution of Minoan tomb-sites with frescoes

1. Knossos	.... p. 783
(a) Acropolis Hill	
(b) Lower Gypsadhes	
(c) Upper Gypsadhes	
(d) The Temple Tomb	
2. Phourni, Archanes	.... p. 783
3. Hagia Triada, later settlement: the painted sarcophagus	
(PLATES 148-151 )	.... p. 784
4. Isopata, Royal Tomb	.... p. 784
5. Mochlos cemetery	.... p. 784
6. Kythera cemetery	.... p. 784
Greek mainland tomb-painting: a note	.... p. 784

FRESCOES FROM MINOAN TOMBS

1. Knossos (Fig.142, 1)

(a) On the Acropolis Hill

Test in 1953 (M.S.F.Hood) into ? Roman tomb and an ossuary grave on lower south-east slopes, 150 metres west of the palace viaduct (ASKA no.115). MM pottery and painted plaster,(?) from tombs, nearby to south.

(b) On Lower Gypsadhes

LG Tombs I and II (M.S.F.Hood, 1957) produced scraps of painted plaster from different levels dating from MM IIB to LM IA, almost certainly debris used as fill from nearby houses. One piece of interest, from Tomb II (from a MM IA-LM IA level, 2b/P 3b: 19/8/57) shown here at Fig. 143. Looks LM I; probably from a spiral design.



Fig. 143

(c) On upper Gypsadhes

Four tombs excavated by Hood produced fresco scraps, almost certainly debris from domestic occupation:

Tomb II: Shaft Grave, with small LM IIIA 2 jug and red-painted plaster found above grave;

Tomb XIII: Chamber Tomb, with LM IIIA 2 larnax fragments and red-painted plaster from fill;

Tomb XVII: ? Pit-cave, with square shaft, ransacked and plundered: red-painted fresco from area of tomb;

Tomb XVIII: MM chamber tomb, with red-painted plaster in fill which entered through collapsed roof: clearly household refuse.

BSA 53-54 (1958-59), pp.198, 220-224.

(d) The Temple Tomb

This had "disintegrated painted stucco walls and a blue-painted vault", presumably representing the night sky as in Egypt:

Sir Arthur Evans, ILN 26 Sept 1931 and an article in The Times of about the same date; PM IV, p.975.

2. Phourni, Archanes (Fig.142, 2)

Small painted scraps, and a fragment in situ (unpainted) on ceiling, from the chamber immediately west of Tholos B. Briefly seen by writer on the kind invitation of Dr.J. Sakellarakis. No painted fragments (with vivid blues, reds, orange) were found in place - possibly debris from elsewhere.

3. Hagia Triada, later settlement (Fig.142, 3)

THE PAINTED SARCOPHAGUS (PLATES 148-151)

Found standing on floor of small square, thick-walled, tomb to north east of later settlement, at (6) on the plan at Fig.117. Positioned in south-easterly half of chamber. Another sarcophagus, of clay, had been sunk into floor in other half of tomb. Both had been robbed, with their lids missing, bones lying about and grave-goods for the most part removed in antiquity. Inside the painted sarcophagus were two skulls; in the other larnax, or around it, were a third skull, two bronze razors, an incised stone and a fragmentary female clay statuette. Pottery from the tomb is classified as LM IIIA 1 by Furumark and described as "an unmixed LM IIIA deposit" by Pendlebury.

Mon. Ant. XIX (1908), pp.7-10; for pottery, see Ibid, XIV, (1904), pp.685-690, and 717, Figs.4-5 and 76; Furumark, Chronology, p.104; Pendlebury, AC, p.249. Note that the spiral decoration of the "dead man's tomb" on the sarcophagus fits in with that of real tholos tombs of the Greek mainland; and this representation is the only certain evidence for decorative fresco painting of tombs in Crete as yet known.

4. Isopata, Royal Tomb (Fig.142, 4)

Pendlebury suggests the stone-facing, less well dressed than that of the Temple Tomb at Knossos, may have been plastered (AC, p.196).

5. Mochlos cemetery (Fig.142, 5)

Tomb IV produced plain white plaster, perhaps from a plastered chamber roof, with stone bowl sherds and pottery of EM III-MM III date, at back of tomb near rear wall and the cliff behind.

R.B. Seager, Explorations in the Island of Mochlos (1912), p.46.

6. Kythera cemetery (Fig.142, 6 and Fig.135) at Kastri

Tomb E, MM IIIB-LM IB, produced red-painted and red with black painted plaster at right-hand side of doorway to Chamber 7, here scattered about; by west wall on floor, and in Chamber 4 near floor. Vertical surfaces of doorway to Chamber 7 perhaps decorated, but uncertainly so as the excavators point out.

J.N. Coldstream and G.L. Huxley, Kythera (1972), pp.223f with plan at Figs.73-75 and pottery at pp.243-252, Pls.75-79.

GREEK MAINLAND

Tombs with definite pictorial designs on painted stucco, usually spiral patterns, are known from Prosymna, Argos, Mycenae, and a tholos tomb with pictures of two goddesses or priestesses from Thebes (AAA IV (1971), p.164).

APPENDIX B

A Glossary of Archaeological and Technical Terms p.786

GLOSSARY

Backing plaster:

Foundation or preliminary layer of plaster (usually of mud, rarely of lime) applied over the bare wall to fill in crevices or to cover over rough projections.

Border impressions:

Straight, flat impressions at the sides of paintings indicating where the soft plaster abutted an architectural feature in the wall, floor or ceiling.

"Buon fresco":

Painting on a soft and malleable lime-plaster with inorganic pigments alone, the chemical reaction of the drying plaster binding plaster and pigments inseparably.

Cartoons:

Preliminary painted sketches or guide-lines of pictorial subjects or alignment lines to give a start to the design: synonymous with the Italian term, "sinopie". Invariably in red, orange or golden-yellow paints on the surface of the MAIN BODY (q.v.), below a SLIP (q.v.) or on the final painting-surface.

Cornice:

An ornamental moulding running round the walls or ceiling of a room.

Dado:

Plaster, stone or wooden skirting-board in the lower half or at the base of a wall.

"Fresco secco":

Painting on a hardened but remoistened plaster surface, normally with pigments mixed with an organic binding agency.

Frieze:

Unbroken band of ornamentation passing from one wall to another.

Frit (blue):

A calcined mixture of sand and copper silicate forming a "glass-like" paste which was pounded to make blue pigments.

Gypsum paste (or gb plaster):

Synonymous with "plaster of Paris". From calcined and powdered gypsum rock mixed with water into a putty with very hard-setting properties. Frequently used to mount fresco fragments in "panels" for exhibition, to strengthen weak joins or to support the friable undersides of broken fresco pieces. "Gb" = "gypsum backing".

"Impasto":

Thick-textured paints - most commonly white with a toothpaste-like consistency.

Impressed edges:

See BORDER IMPRESSIONS.

"Incavo":

Cutting out areas of the plaster's surface and refilling them with "impasto" or, rarely, with new layers of lime-plaster before painting them.

Incised lines:

Pictorial or guiding lines traced in the plaster's surface with a stylus or pointed end of a bird's feather.

"Intonaco":

The Italian term for a wafer-thin layer of finely prepared lime-plaster applied over CARTOONS and the MAIN BODY OF PLASTER, concealing the former from sight and providing the surface for the final stages of painting. Also called SLIP.

Main body of plaster:

The plaster layer(s) applied over the backing plaster: but not taken to include SLIPS (or INTONACO).

"On the flat":

Two-dimensional painting on a flat surface.

Panel:

A painting of limited area, restricted by borders or architectural features (e.g. the timber-framing of a wall) and occupying only a portion of a wall.

Relief:

Three-dimensionally moulded stucco, generally added onto a flat background surface.

Reserved:

Unpainted.

Retouching:

Repainting worn or faded painted parts of a composition.

School:

A group of artists painting in a recognisably individualistic style, to whom two or more paintings can be attributed.

"Sinopia" (pl. "sinopie"):

Synonymous with CARTOONS.

Slip:

Synonymous with INTONACO.

String-lines:

Guide-lines made by pressing taut lengths of string into the still soft and malleable unpainted plaster.

"Tempera":

Painting with pigments mixed with an organic binding medium on a dry plaster.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

General:

Alexiou, St., Minoikòs Póleisgrópos (1964).

Alexiou, S., Platon. N., and Guanella, H., Ancient Crete (1968).

Constable, W.G., The Painter's Workshop (1964).

Evans, Sir Arthur, The Palace of Minos at Knossos Vols. I-IV (1921-1935); - and Evans, J., Index Volume (1936).

Forsdyke, J., "Minoan Art", Proceedings of the British Academy (1929), pp. 45ff.

Graham, J.W., The Palaces of Crete (1962).

Groenewegen-Frankfort, H.A., Arrest and Movement (1951).

Hale, G., The Technique of Fresco Painting (1966 ed.)

Higgins, R., Minoan and Mycenaean Art (1967).

Hood, M.S.F., The Home of the Heroes: The Aegean before the Greeks (1967).

- The Minoans (1971).

Hood, M.S.F. and de Jong, P., "Late Minoan Warrior Graves from Ayios Ioannes and the New Hospital Site at Knossos", BSA XLVII (1952), pp. 243ff.

Hutchinson, R.W., Prehistoric Crete (1962).

Kantor, H., "The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C." AJA (1947), pp. lff.

Karo, G., Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai (1930-1933).

Kenna, V.E.G., Cretan Seals (1960).

Marinatos, S., Crete and Mycenae (1960 Engl.ed.).

- Excavations at Thera Vols. I-V (1968-1972).

Matz, F., Crete and Early Greece (1965 Engl.ed.)

- (ed), Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel (1964-)

Nilsson, M.P., The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion (1968 ed.).

Palmer, L.R., Mycenaeans and Minoans (1961).

- A New Guide to the Palace of Knossos (1969).

- The Penultimate Palace of Knossos (1969).

Palmer, L.R., and Boardman, J., On the Knossos Tablets (1963).

Pendlebury, J.D.S., The Archaeology of Crete (1939).

Platon, N., Zakros (1971).

Snijder, G., Kretische Kunst (1936).

Stevenson Smith, W., Interconnections in the Ancient Near East (1965).

Ventris, M. and Chadwick, J., Documents in Mycenaean Greek (1956).

Warren, P., Minoan Stone Vases (1969).

Frescoes and related studies:

References to excavation reports of frescoes from Minoan and Cycladic sites may be found under the entries in Appendix A. Publications relating to Mycenaean frescoes are included in the following list.

Alexiou, St., "Neue Wagendarstellungen aus Kreta" AA (1964), pp. 785ff.

Banti, L., Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Vol. V (1963), pp. 57ff.

Blegen, C.W., Prosymna I (1937).

- Zygouries (1928).

- "A Chronological Problem", Minoica (1958), pp. 61ff.

Blegen, C.W. and Rawson, M., A Guide to the Palace of Nestor (1962).

Bulle, H., Orchomenos I (1907).

Cameron, M.A.S., see Volume IV of this thesis.

Duell, P. and Gettens, R.J., "A Method of Painting in Classical Times"

Technical Studies in the Field of Fine Arts IX (1940-1941),

pp. 75ff.

- "A Review of the Problem of Aegean Wall Painting", Ibid., X (1942), pp. 178ff.

Eibner, A., Entwicklung und Werkstoffe der Wandmalerei vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit (1926).

Evans, Sir Arthur, JRIBA XVIII (1911), pp. 289ff.

- The Palace of Minos at Knossos, Vols. I-VI and Index Vol. (1921-1935, and 1936).

- Knossos Fresco Atlas (1967, ed. by M.A.S. Cameron and M.S.F. Hood).

Forbes, R.J., Studies in Ancient Technology III (1965), pp. 210ff.

Forsdyke, J., "Minoan Art", Proceedings of the British Academy 15 (1929), pp. 45ff.

Frankfort, H., The Mural Paintings of El-'Amarneh (1929).

Fyfe, T., "Painted Plaster Decoration at Knossos with Special Reference to the Architectural Schemes", JRIBA X (1903), pp.107ff.

Graham, J.W., "Further Notes on the Minoan Foot" (Proceedings of the Second International Cretological Conference 1967), pp.157ff.

Hall, E.H., The Decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age (1907).

Hall, H.R., "An Addition to the Senmut-Fresco", BSA XVI (1909-1910), pp.254ff.

Heaton, N., "The Mural Painting of Knossos: an Investigation into the Method of their Production", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts LVIII (1910), p.206ff.

- "Minoan Lime-Plaster and Fresco Painting" JRIBA XVIII (1911), pp.697ff.
- "On the Nature and Method of Execution of Specimens of Painted Plaster from the Palace at Tiryns" in G.Rodenwaldt, Tiryns II: Die Fresken des Palastes (1912), pp.211ff.
- "Fresco Painting at the Palace of Tiryns", JRIBA XX (1913), p.230.

Hopkins, C., "A Review of the Throne Room of Cnossus", AJA 67 (1963), pp.416ff.

Karo, G., Griefen am Thron (1959).

Keramopoullos, A., Ephimeris (1907), p.205; Deltion (1917), pp.1ff; and Praktika (1910-1912; 1921, 1923-24; 1927-29) on the frescoes and excavations at Thebes.

Lamb, W., "Frescoes from the Ramp House", BSA XXIV (1919-1921), pp.189ff.

- "Palace Frescoes", BSA XXV (1921-23), pp.162ff, 249ff.

Lang, M., "Picture Puzzles from Pylos: First Steps in the Study of Frescoes", Archaeology 13 (1960), pp.55ff.

- The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia: Vol.II: The Frescoes (1969).

Levi, D., "The Sarcophagus of Hagia Triada Restored", Archaeology 9 (1956), pp.192ff.

Lucas, A., Ancient Materials and Industries (1948 rev.ed.).

Matz. F., Göttererscheinung und Kultbild im minoischen Kreta
(Akad.Wiss.Litt.Berlin, 1958, no.7).

Melville, R., Review of the Florence Frescoes exhibition in London
in 1969 in The New Statesman (11 April 1969), pp.526ff.

Möbius, M., "Pflanzenbilder der minoischen Kunst", JDAI 48 (1933),
pp.1ff.

Nauert, J.P., "The Hagia Triada Sarcophagus: An Iconographical Study"
Antike Kunst 8 (1965), pp.91ff.

Paribeni, R., "Il sarcophago dipinto di Hagia Triada", Mon.Ant.
XIX (1908), pp.1ff.

Pernier, L. and Banti, L. Guida degli Scavi Italiani in Creta (1947).

Platon, N., "Συρβοὶ εἰς τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς Μινωικῆς Ταχογραφίας: Ο
κροκοτυλλέκτης πίθηκος" KChr.A (1947), pp.505ff.

- "Συρβοὶ εἰς τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς Μινωικῆς Ταχογραφίας: Η
ταχογραφία τῆς προσφορᾶς σπονδῶν" KChr. II' (1959), pp.319ff.

Reusch, H., "Der Frauenfries von Theben", AA (1948), pp.240ff.

- "Ein Schildfresko aus Theben", AA (1953), pp.16ff.

- Die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion des Frauenfrieses im böotischen
Theben (Abh.Berl.Akad. 1955, no.1) (1956).

- "Ein Frauenfries der kretisch-mykenischen Epochen aus dem
böotischen Theben", Forschungen und Fortschritte (1957), pp.82ff.

- "Zum Wandschmuck des Thronsaales in Knossos", Minoica (1958),
pp.334ff.

- "Zum Problem des Thronraumes in Knossos", Minoica und Homer
(1961), pp.31ff.

- "Zur Datierung des Thronraumes von Knossos", Kadmos III (1965),
pp.179ff.

Richmond, Sir William, JRIBA XII (1905), p.314.

Rodenwaldt, G., "Die Wandgemälde von Tiryns", Athenische Mitteilung
XXXVI (1911), pp.199ff (and "Fragmente mykenischer Wandgemälde",
Ibid, pp.221ff).

- Tiryns II: Die Fresken des Palastes (1912).

- "Die Fussböden des Megarons" JDAI 34 (1919), pp.87ff.

- Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai (1921).

Sakellarakis, E., Μινωικὸν Ζῷον (1971), esp. pp.157-183

Schachermeyer, F., "Das Keftiu Problem", Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts XLV, pp.44ff.

Schliemann, H., Mycenae (1878).

- Tiryns, der prähistorische Palast der Könige von Tiryns (1886).

Scranton, R.L., "The Art of the Early Aegean", Aesthetic Aspects of Ancient Art (1964), Chapter III, pp.151ff.

Shaw, M., "Ceiling Patterns from the Tomb of Hepzefa", AJA 74 (1970), pp.25ff.

- "The Miniature Frescoes of Tylissos Reconsidered", AA (1972), pp.171ff.

Singer, C., and others, A History of Technology Vol.I (1955).

Stevenson Smith, W., Interconnections in the Ancient Near East (1965)

· Swindler, M.H., Ancient Painting (1929).

Taylour, Lord William, "Mycenae 1968", Antiquity XLIII (1969), pp.91ff.

- "New Light on Mycenaean Religion", Antiquity XLIV (1970), pp. 270ff.

- The Mycenaeans (1964).

Threpsiades, J., Ergon (1961), pp.46ff on excavations at Gla.

Vermeule, E., Greece in the Bronze Age (1964), Chapter VII: Art in the Palaces, pp.184ff.

Vercoutter, J., L'Égypte et le Monde Égéen Préhellénique (1956).

- Égyptiens et Préhellènes (1954).

Verdelis, N., The Mycenae Tablets III (Trans.Amer.Philos.Soc. Vol. 52, Pt.7, 1962), pp.12ff for frescoes from the West House; Ibid, pp.30ff for frescoes from the House of the Oil Merchant and the House of the Sphinxes (E.B.French).

Warren, P. "A Stone Vase Maker's Workshop in the Palace at Knossos", BSA 62 (1967), pp.195ff.

- Myrtos: An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete (1972).

Pottery:

Evans, Sir Arthur, The Palace of Minos at Knossos Vols.I-IV (1921-1935).

Furumark, A., The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification

(1940-41).

- The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery (1941).

Hood, M.S.F., "Sir Arthur Evans Vindicated: A Remarkable Discovery of Late Minoan I B Vases from beside the Royal Road at Knossos", ILN 17 February 1962, pp.259ff.

- "Date of the 'Reoccupation' Pottery from the Palace of Minos at Knossos", Kadmos V (1966), pp.121ff; with a reply by M.R.Popham in a subsequent issue.

Lacy, A.D., Greek Pottery in the Bronze Age (1967).

Mackeprang, M., "Late Mycenaean Vases", AJA (1938), pp.537ff.

Popham, M.R., "The Palace at Knossos: A Matter of Definition and a Question of Fact", AJA 68 (1964), pp.349ff.

- "The Last Days of the Palace at Knossos", SMA V (1964).

- Review of OKT, P, B, in JHS (1965), pp.193ff.

- "The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos and its Pottery", Antiquity XL (1966), pp.24ff.

- "Mycenaean Correlations at the time of the Destruction of the Palace at Knossos", Proceedings of the Second International Cretological Conference (1967), pp.229ff.

- "Late Minoan Pottery, A Summary", BSA 62 (1967), pp.337ff.

- "The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos", SMA XII (1970).

- "The development of the Late Minoan Goblet and Kylix", BSA 64 (1969), pp.299ff.