THE STELAI OF MYCENAE GRAVE CIRCLES A AND B *

Introduction

The grave stelai from Mycenae rank amongst the best known works of Mycenaean art though little discussion of all of them has been attempted since W.A. Heurtley's 1921-3 article.1 Recently, four studies have concerned the location and provenance of the stelai within Grave Circle A.2 As for the stelai of Grave Circle B, Marinatos published them immediately after discovery,3 while Mylonas publishes the entire circle.4 Recently, several articles bring the stelai into discussions of early state formation.5

The Stelai and the Grave Circles

There are 13 sculpted stelai,6 as well as fragments of miscellaneous spiriform designs (Heurtley's stele XII): two from Grave Circle B (stele 13 is unfinished but was found still embedded in its base (Pl. LXXXIXb), and stele 14 had been re-cut as the base for an

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* I am grateful to Paul Rehak for suggesting this project and for his assistance. All dimensions are in centimeters. The following abbreviations will be used in addition to those listed in J/A 95 (1991) 1-16:

HEURTLEY = W. HEURTLEY, "The Grave Stelai," BSA 25 (1921-3), 127-146;

KARO = G. KARO, Die Schachtgräber von Mykenei (1930-1933);

MARINATOS = S. MARINATOS, "Περί τούς νέους βυσσινίους τόφους τῶν Μυκηνῶν," Γέρας Α. Κεραμοπούλου (1953), 54-88;

MYLONAS = G.E. MYLONAS, Ο ταφικός Κύκλος Β τῶν Μυκηνῶν (1972-1973);

REICHEL = W. REICHEL, "Die mykenischen Grabstelen," Eratos Vindobonensis (1893), 24-33;

SCHLEMMANN = H. SCHLEMMANN, Mycenaen. A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns (1880).


3 MARINATOS.

4 MYLONAS.


6 Circle B tombs were outlined with stones, topped by a low mound and marked by a sculpted (ShGr A and F) or a plain stele (ShGr A, F, O, and N) or by a pile of stones (ShGr Σ and Y). G.E. MYLONAS, Mycenaen and the Mycenaean Age (1966) 99. There are other stelai. A plain EC stele comes from Thera (AA 41 (1971) 214-215). Other unsculpted MH stelai come from Argos (E. PROTONOTARIOU-DEILAKI, "Burial Customs and Funerary Rites in the Prehistoric Argolid," Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June, 1988 (1990), 1990) 81, fig. 26). Eleusis, W. Cemetery (G.E. MYLONAS, Ancient Mycenae (1957) 84, n. 32), and from Lerna (Hesperia 23 (1954) 14 pl. 3C). There are two incised stelai: one from Mycenae ChT 70 with linked circles, later plastered and painted (Ch. TSOUNTAS, "Γραφή στήλης εκ Μυκηνῶν," AE 1896, 1-22; E.T. VERMEULE
unsculpted stele); the four sculpted stealai that Schliemann says he found still standing in Grave Circle A (I, II, IV, V); and from the general area of Grave Circle A fragments of at least seven other sculpted stealai (III, VI-XI). In addition, fourteen unsculpted stele were found: nine still standing in Grave Circle A (Pl. LXXVII; cf. Pl. LXXXVIIIb) and five standing in Grave Circle B. All stele found standing were oriented east-west, the sculpted faces facing west.\(^8\)

The number of unsculpted stele, therefore, approximately parallels both the number of sculpted ones and their general distribution in the Grave Circles. It is obvious too that some stele experienced a dynamic history even while considered “in use.” Whatever their purpose, each stele does not have to mark a single, or even specific burial. While the figural scenes may refer to men, the geometric designs may derive from textile patterns and therefore refer to women. Unsculpted stele should not automatically be presumed to mark women's burials, and since Schuchardt observes that they are “polished” (and the ones still on site look polished),\(^9\) perhaps they received painted designs (cf. the painted stele from ChT 70, fn. 6).

The stele were shaped from two kinds of “poros” limestone; a shelly oolithic limestone and an oolithic limestone without the shells,\(^10\) both kinds originally a light oatmeal in color.\(^11\) Five of the sculpted stele were cut from the shell-less oolithic (the “Simile” stele [I] above ShGr V, Heurtley’s stele X and XI from Grave Circle A, and the two stealai [13 and 14] from Grave Circle B); the remainder was cut from the shelly oolithic.

Both types of oolithic limestone were also used for other constructions: the plaques of the peribolos wall;\(^12\) for several early tholoi;\(^13\) and for early wall blocks re-used in later

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8 SCHLIEMANN 161, found one over ShGr III “extremely well fastened”; MARINATOS 68, reports the same: “τόσον καλάς ἐστερεωμέναι μεταξὺ οριζόντιων πλακάων, ὅτι πάνω μετὰ μεγίστου κόπου ἤθεληθή να τὰ ἐξαιρήσῃ.”

9 SCHLIEMANN 92; KARO 29; MARINATOS 69; MYLONAS (supra n. 6) 93.

10 C. SCHUCHARDT, Schliemann’s Excavations. An Archaeological and Historical Study (1891) 166-7, 199-209, states that “The ladies of Mycenae were evidently in the habit of lading themselves in gold” (193-4), including plaques of all kinds; thus, he assigns them the gold cushion seals CMS I, nos. 9-11 found in ShGr III and the gold rings CMS I, nos. 15 and 16 found in ShGr IV, “although the exploits they represent are so thoroughly masculine” (197 and 219).

11 Mylonas has similar problems: when ShGr Θ was accidentally discovered in 1946 by villagers, “A bronze sword is reported to have been found in it” (MYLONAS [supra n. 6] 98), but when the body had been sexed by Angel as a woman, the sword is then down-graded to a “μαρκατίβιον” (MYLONAS 109).

12 Women were, however, associated with weapons: the lentoid CMS XI, no. 26, carries a woman holding a bow; the plaster plaque from the Cult Center at Mycenae carries a female figure behind a figure-8 shield and perhaps wearing a boar’s tusk helmet (P. REHAK, “New Observations on the Mycenaean ‘Warrior Goddess,’” AA [1984] 535-545); CMS II 3, no. 16 from Knowssos (LM IA context) depicts a woman wielding a sword; and the fresco in the Mycenae Cult Center’s room 31 presents one woman standing before another, holding a sword in front of her, point down.

In any case, one unsculpted stele marked ShGr N, which held the bodies of two men (ages 45 and 28: L. ANGEL in MYLONAS §83), and an unsculpted stele was found over the male burial in ShGr T.

13 The ooliths in the oolithic limestones are calcium carbonate secretions and look like grains of sand. While shelly oolithic is fairly hard and weathers by pitting, shell-less oolithic is much softer and weathers by exfoliation. The shells imbedded in shelly oolithic are clearly from freshwater molluscs.

14 The stele in the National Museum have all been painted with a brown wash that is peeling (see the back of the painted stele from ChT 70); fresher breaks reveal the original color, confirmed by the untreated Grave Circle B stele in the Nauplion Museum and by the broken unsculpted fragments on site.
constructions (e.g., the north wall of the palace court). The quarries must be nearby, at "a hill called Magoula at Priphiatane (now Monastraki) about half an hour [walk] south of Mycenae".

The two facts, that (1) the same oolithic limestones were used for early architecture at Mycenae and for early stelai, and that (2) the sculpted stelai can be dated to late MH/LH I, in comparison with decorated objects found in the Shaft Graves of both Circles; and the hypothesis (3) that the early tholoi using poros date before LH III A1 — all imply strongly that the oolithic limestone quarries may have been used only before LH III A1.

If so, the conventional dates and phasing for the re-modeling of Grave Circle A may be questioned. Cuttings in the conglomerate (Pl. LXXXVIIa) into which the Shaft Graves were sunk reveal that the original cemetery spread over two or three terraces: ShGr I and VI in the top terrace, ShGr V, II, and IV in lower terraces. The terrain is too uneven for a simple, horizontally circular wall; instead, wall 6318 may have belonged to a complex system. If the double peribolos wall is early, as its oolithic material suggests, then its construction implies that the artificial raising of the west side of Grave Circle A and the building of the battered wall that supports it are both similarly early. The Western Bulge of the fortification wall should therefore be a separate and later construction, for, if contemporary, it alone could have supported the raised Grave Circle and no separate battered terrace wall and intervening space would have been needed.

A different phasing is therefore possible: first (Pl. XCIVb), in LH I: a terraced cemetery with Shaft Graves and stelai, a main road approaching the citadel from the west, circling south of Grave Circle A and up Ramp 4 north into the citadel; second (Pl. XCIVc), no later than LH II: the battered terrace wall, the leveling of the Circle's terrace with a peribolos wall, some stela visible, others perhaps not, a repaved Ramp 3, and a monumental early gate with the Lion Relief.

The Stelai: Format, Iconography, Technique

Most sculptured stelai stood as vertical rectangles, with a design format that normally consisted of two or more stacked horizontal panels, one decorated with spiriliform patterns above one with a figural composition. An alternative horizontal arrangement with paratactic panels seems to have succeeded once or twice (the "Horsey" stele VI, perhaps the "Spirals" stele III), but also faltered (the "Wellenband" stele II). The "Unfinished" stele 13 may represent a compromise, a horizontal composition on a horizontal stele.

Only one stele, the "Re-Used" stele (14), preserves its original width and height, though the preserved height of the "Cartoon" stele (IV) is probably close to the original. The widths of nine other stelai are preserved and they fall into two major size-groups (cf. Pl. XC-XCII, drawn to scale): the "Wellenband" (II), "Unfinished" (13), and "Re-Used" (14) stelai with
widths from 42 to 77 cm.; the “Spirals” (III), “Cartoon” (IV), “Over the Sea” (V), and “Horsey” (VI) stelai with widths ca. 100 cm. The “Simile” stele (I) is the widest (125 cm.).

In iconography, the stelai divide similarly: the larger stelai employ horses and chariot scenes in military settings, presumably honoring a deceased male, while the smaller group either uses men attacking a pair of lions attacking a bull (the two stelai from Grave Circle A, 13 and 14) or only geometric motifs (“Wellenband” [II] and “Spirals” [III]). While this may suggest a connection between large stelai, warriors, and Grave Circle A, and between small stelai, herdsmen, and Grave Circle B, both sets also share iconography: many carry spiriliform patterns; fallen figures occur on the “Re-Used” stele (14) and Heurty’s stele X and XI; and a chariot was to appear on the “Unfinished” stele (15).

The artists probably first drew the motif on the limestone blank before incising it (cf. the “Unfinished” [15], Heurty’s stele XI, the “Cartoon” [IV], and the Keos [fn. 3] stelai), and then they cut the background away. The figures, thus isolated, resemble jewelry cut-outs, relying on sensitive profiling that even distinguishes muscles.

The artists also used conventional time-saving techniques: the “Unfinished” stele (13) shows us how the artist laid out the composition, marking its vertical axis (Pl. LXXXIX; cf. Pl. XCIVA) and indicating with punched dots where the spirals in the top decorative band were to go; all spirals and chariot wheels were composed with the compass; and templates were used for the Wellenbänder on stele II (best appreciated when viewed on its side) and for all the horses (Pl. XCIII). Various tools were used to cut back the background, the marks of punches, narrow flat chisels, and wide claw chisels with four or five tangs are visible, especially on the stem of the “Simile” stele (I). Most figures had their profiles channelled with

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23 Named after the cartoon of the interleaving C-spirals incised on the stem (cf. SCHLIEMANN 90).
24 Named after the running spirals under the horse; for spirals over a horse, see the pictorial krater from Tiryns with the Shield Bearers (VERMEULE and KARAGEORGIS [supra n. 6] no. X.1).
25 Named after the way the lower motif (lion-hunting prey) mocks the upper motif (man-slays-enemies).
26 HOOD (supra n. 1) 97-100, discusses stelai IV and V: the dead man rides in his chariot, the man in front is his enemy; but there are no helmets, and, while Pharaoh habitually rides alone, the Homeric “hero” would have been driven to the battle site – perhaps the stelai depict a chariot race, though on V the charioteer has a sword and the “goalie” has a slashing knife. While either interpretation fits the purpose of a grave stele, the “Simile” stele (I) clearly presents a battle scene (cf. J.H. CROUWEL, Charriots and Other Means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece [1981] passim).
27 REICHEL 27: “es sich in diesen Darstellungen sichtlich um eine Glorifizierung des Fahrenden handelt”. MARINATOS 79-80, refers to Ch. BÉLGER, “Die Mykenische Lokalsage,” Osterprogramm des Friedrichsgymnasiums zu Berlin, 1893, 326: the stelai could have provided impetus for a “Lokalsage,” a local history; thus, Pausanias, II 16.5, may be using a stele, like the “Over the Sea” stele, V, when he identifies the tomb of the charioteer Euryomedon. E. VERMEULE, The Arts of the Shaft Graves of Mycenae (1975) 18, considers the “Horsey” stele VI a “proper memorial for a horse-trainer”.
28 Cf. the similar figure on the ivory NMA 206/210 from ShGr I (J.-C. POURSAT, Catalogue des ivories myceniens du Musée National d’Athènes [1977] pl. XVIII).
29 REICHEL 24: “ihre Figuren und Ornamente nicht modelliert, sondern wie Laubsägearbeit auf einen Hintergrund geklebt” (cf. the wood box, NMA 812, KARO pl. CXLV). Some scholars (e.g., HOOD [supra n. 1] 98) therefore presume that the sculpted stelai were also painted, but Hood also expects that, if so, some plaster and paint should have survived.
30 Compare NMA 119/120 (KARO pl. XXXIII) the gold cut-outs from Shaft Grave III that carry a pride of lions attacking a bull with the scenes on the Grave Circle B stelai, 14 and 15.
32 A chisel (NMA 773) comes from ShGr V, and two more (NMA 438 [KARO pl. XCIII]) and 424), as well as a punch with wood handle (NMA 437), come from ShGr IV.
some horizontal chisel work to sharpen their edges, leaving vertical ridges that Heurtley thought resembled the spikey hair of Negroes on stelai X and XI. The stelai also reveal unfinished areas and mistakes. The fact that all the animals on the "Unfinished" (13), "Re-Used" (14), and "Simile" (I) stelai have both pairs of legs separated emphasizes how completely blank the horses are on the other stelai. In fact, it is obvious that the thin front hooves of the horse on the "Simile" stele were merely incised apart from the single large hoof of the horse-template. If the "Simile" horse is "correct," then the other horses are unfinished. Similarly, the horse's tail on the "Cartoon" stele (IV) seems incomplete; and certainly the fallen warrior wearing a figure-eight shield on the "Simile" (I) stele was left unfinished, as were some of the dividing strips in many spirals. And the lion's tail on the "Over the Sea" stele (V) is inappropriately aillurine.

The Stelai: Style and Purpose

Stylistically the stelai do not resemble anything Minoan. The "Simile" stele (I) carries a lion that exhibits the protruding jaw characteristic of the Mycenaean-Vapheio Lion Group, and all the decorative patterns and iconographic compositions can be found on metalwork from the Shaft Graves; even as sculpture, their closest parallel is also the nearest: the slightly later, LH II Lion Relief. "The impression the reliefs give is of experiment by artists, not incompetent, but unaccustomed to carve in stone on a monumental scale;" perhaps the artists might have been more familiar with something else; perhaps "a long tradition of carving in wood may lie behind them." The technique of first incising the stone suggests that the Mycenaean stelai and the incised stele from Ayia Irini in Keos (fn. 6) both belong with other incised works. The class is small, but interesting; it includes an ivory pyxis rim from ShGr I (NMA 206/210), an ivory comb and pyxis from Rutsi (LH II-IIIA context), and ivory plaques from Spata and from the Artemisium Deposit in Delos. None of these objects needs be later than LM/LH II. It is possible, therefore, that the stelai's technique and style indeed result from a technique of drawing/incising the motif on materials softer than stone, in wood or in ivory. The stelai have been called crude; perhaps 'simple' or 'direct' would be better terms. In terms of effect, the stelai's reliefs are stark and powerful; if left unpainted, their images would stand out boldly in the clear sunlight with deep black shadows outlining the silhouettes enhanced by channeling. Since the excavators found the in situ stelai all facing west, the right

34 HEURTLEY 137.
35 Thus he identifies the carved objects on X as boomerangs, while KARO 171 characterises stele XI as "Primitive Arbeit, unmykenischer, vielleicht 'negroider' Menschentypus."
36 The central zone of the Wellenband stele (II) might be another similarly blank, unfinished area.
37 HEURTLEY 145-6: the stelai reflect a "short episode in the art of the mainland, at the moment before the temporary fusion between Cretan and Mycenaean art ... the stelai, as such, have no successors".
40 HOOD (supra n. 1) 99.
41 KARO pl. CL.
42 ShGr I: KARO pl. CL, and POURSAT (supra n. 28) pl. XVIII. Rutsi: POURSAT (supra n. 28) pls. XLI, XLI. Spata: POURSAT (supra n. 28) pl. XLIX. Delos: J.C. POURSAT, Les ivoires mycéniens. Essai sur la formation d'un art mycéniens. Les stelai du sculpteur ionien (1977) pl. XII; the lions and griffins carry traits characteristic of the LH 1 Mycenaean-Vapheio Lion Group (YOUNGER [supra n. 38]): the curving sphena vein, hatched haunch fur, and flame-lock manes.
43 G. KOPCZE, "Treasure and Aesthetic Sensibility - the Question of the Shaft Grave Stelai," TUAS 6 (1981) 39-45 sees no Mycenaean insistence ever on aesthetic authority: "few [Mycenaecans] may have shared a sense that man-made objects are aesthetically perfectible ... few experienced that peculiar elation which the harmonious ordering and calculated execution of forms imparts." (p. 40-41) To Mycenaecans, good art needed to be only impressive, or narrational. Minoans insisted otherwise, that art be perfectible; Kopcke sees this notion finally beginning to operate on the Mainland in Protogeometric Attic vases.
44 VERMEULE (supra n. 27) 16-18, "the action is meant to be timeless and repeated ... impressive on its own terms, not for style, which is all simple outline ..., but for meaning, the search for grandeur, for an emblem significant in local community language ..."
side of the figures would have received light from the south; since all movement is towards the right, all moving figures face south, into the sun, shadows cast north to the left behind them, as if they were all moving from the darkness into the light. However one views the style, the effect is not crude – it is deliberate and calculating, perhaps even eschatologically illuminating.

John G. YOUNGER
THE STELAI OF MYCENAE GRAVE CIRCLES A AND B

CATALOGUE

SCULPTED STELAI

Grave Circle A

I

("Simile;" Pl. LXXXVIIIb and XCa). NMA 1427 (SCHLIEMANN 58, fig. 24; REICHEL no. 1; K. MÜLLER, "Frühmykenische Reliefs aus Kreta un

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19, 1915: 686; HEURTLEY no. 1; A.J. EVANS, The Shaft Graves and Bee-Hive Tombs at Mycenae and their Interrelation [1929] 54 ff., fig. 42; KARO 168; S. MARINATOS and M. HIRMER, Crete and Mycenae [1960] pl. 146; CROUWEL [supra n. 26] 160 S3, pl. 37), found above Shaft Grave V, the first stele from the north, 1.0 m. below peribolos level, almost 2.0 m. above tomb lip.

Material: grey shell-less oolithic limestone, some white inclusions. Condition: no top or bottom edge preserved; side edges preserved; face badly worn especially at the top. W. 123; H. preserved 112; Th. 14.5.

Decoration, in relief. Above three horizontal cavetto bands separating the plain stem is a panel carrying several superimposed friezes. At the preserved top, one man, perhaps two, are drawn right in a chariot by a horse in flying gallop. One man may be the charioteer; just to the right of his head may be the head of a second man (definite marks of the chisel or point create the right side of what seems to be a face); above the horse is a thick band divided horizontally in two – this may be thick reins, although there may be, above the horse’s neck the torso of a third man to left who holds on to the right end of this thick band. Below the horse lies horizontally a man covered by a figure-eight shield, unfinished on its top edge. Below, over the bottom border, a lion in a flying gallop chases a quadruped with a long tail. Two flanking vertical panels hold a column of cartouche-like spaces, joined each to each as if they were running spirals, and each containing an elongated S-spiral with a quirk spur or crocket-fillers; the design appears on a variety of gold objects from ShGrS III-V and A.

II

(‘Wellenband,’ Pl. LXXXVIIe and XCb). NMA 1430 (SCHLIEMANN 102f., fig. 142; REICHEL no. 2; HEURTLEY no. II; KARO 169), found above Shaft Grave II, at the peribolos level (3.5 m. above floor).

Material: shelly oolithic limestone. Condition: no top edge preserved; side and bottom edges preserved; face pitted. W. 77; H. preserved 113; Th. 14.

Decoration, in relief. One decorated panel is preserved above the plain stem, bounded at both edges by a single band, and consisting of three vertical columns. Two columns filled with vertical Wellenbänder flank a central, blank panel.

III

(‘Spirals,’ Pl. XCc). NMA 1434-1438 (REICHEL no. 3; HEURTLEY no. III), provenience unknown.

Material: shelly oolithic limestone. Condition: highly fragmentary; no top or bottom edges preserved; portions of both side edges preserved; face pitted. W. 94; H. unknown; Th. 13.

Decoration, in relief. One decorated panel above the blank stem carries four vertical columns of running spirals separated by pairs of dots.

IV

(‘Cartoon,’ Pl. LXXXVIIIId and XCd). NMA 1429 (SCHLIEMANN 97, fig. 141; REICHEL no. 4; HEURTLEY no. IV; KARO 169; CROUWEL [supra n. 26] 160 S2, pl. 36), found above Shaft Grave V, the third stele from the north, 1.0 m. below peribolos level, almost 2.0 m. above tomb lip.

Material: shelly oolithic limestone. Condition: two non-joining fragments; most of the top edge missing. W. 102; H. estimated 186; Th. 14.

Decoration, in relief. All (?) three decorated panels are preserved, plus the stem. The top panel contains two rows of three joined spirals each; at the right, a vertical column of three running spirals (cf. the similar spirals at the right of the top panel of stele V). The central panel carries a man in a chariot drawn right by a horse in flying gallop; in front of the horse, at the right edge, a man stands left, holding a spear above the horse. In back of the chariot, there seems to be a horizontal object shaped like the sword of stele V. The bottom panel contains two joined circles, each containing a set of three interlocking C-spirals. The stem, otherwise plain, carries a lightly incised sketch at the left of two interlocking C-spirals.

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45 The simile ("as lion hunts prey, so man hunts his enemy") repeats on the niello dagger NMA 394 from ShGr IV (KARO pl. XCI-IV); "as man hunts lion" on the obverse, "so lion hunts prey" on the reverse.

46 REICHEL 27, identifies the encircled C-spirals as shield ornaments.

47 Compare the unique button NMA 706 from ShGr V (KARO pl. LXIV/LXV).
V

("Over the Sea;" Pl. LXXXIXa and XClA). NMA 1428 (SCHLIEemann 91, fig. 140; REICHEL no. 5; HEURTYL no. 1; EVANS [supra Cat. I] 54 ff., fig. 41; KARO 168-9; E. VON MERCKLIn, Der Rennwagen im Griechenland, I [1909] 8ff., n. 5; MÜLLER [supra Cat. I] 288 fig. 14; MARINATOS and HIRMER [supra Cat. I] pl. 147; H.L. LORIMER, Homer and the Monuments [1950] 390ff.; MYLONAS [supra n. 6] 137; CROUWEL [supra n. 26] 160 S1, pl. 35) found above Shaft Grave V, the second stele from the north, 1.0 m. below peribolos level, almost 2.0 m. above tomb lip.

Material: shelly oolitic limestone. Condition: two or more joining fragments: top edge missing; museum restoration has embedded the topmost row of abraded spirals in plaster. W. 106; H. preserved 133 [Karo] or ca. 155 [according to the proportions in Schliemann's fig. 140; cf. Evans]; Th. 14.

Decoration in relief. According to SCHLIEemann fig. 140, the stele originally consisted of three decorated panels above the plain stem. The top panel (no longer visible in the museum) held at least one, probably three, rows of joined spirals. The central panel contains seven columns of three joined spirals each (the seventh column's spiral is smaller and are joined to the adjacent column at the top; contrast the spirals in stele II). The bottom panel depicts a man in a chariot drawn right by a horse in flying gallop towards a nude man standing to right. The chariot rider holds a sword in his left hand at his hip and the reins in his right hand; the man at the right holds up a sword in his left hand and raises his right hand. Spiraliform motifs surround the central scene: a single spiral with a long quirkly tail in the upper left corner; a eyelet spiral joined by a C-spiral above center; and a row of eight running spirals below the horse and man at right.

VI

("Horsey;" Pl. XClB). NMA 1451 (SCHLIEemann 105, 108, fig. 144; REICHEL no. 6; HEURTYL no. VI; EVANS [supra Cat. I] 52, fig. 40 [reproduced in P.M II fig. 1108]), both figures upside down; KARO 169-70; CROUWEL [supra n. 26] 160 S6); fragment a was apparently found in the House of the Warrior Vase according to Schliemann's diary (HEURTYL 133 n. 1; K. DEMAKOPOULOU, Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, Orchomenos. Heinrich Schliemann: the 100th Anniversary of his Death [1990] 318).

Material: shelly oolitic limestone. Condition: three or four fragments.

Decoration, in relief. The top panel contains a row of joined eyelet spirals. The main panel consists, like stele II, of three vertical columns, two narrower side columns containing spirals (two? filled with a rosette), and a broader central column containing a column of at least three horses rampant right. For part of the stem I have added fragment XClC.

VII

(Pl. XClC). NMA 1439-1442 (HEURTYL no. VII; KARO 170; CROUWEL [supra n. 26] 160 S7, pl. 37), provenience unknown.

Material: shelly oolitic limestone. Condition: three non-joining fragments: a (1439, 1440): W. 53; H. 35; Th. 12 (REICHEL no. 7a); b (1441) W. 54; H. 26; Th. 12 (SCHLIEemann 107, fig. 148); c (1442): W. 21; H. 20; Th. 12.

Decoration, in relief. Fragment b preserves the top left corner of a panel containing running spirals: fragment a preserves one of the presumably two side columns containing running spirals, the lower right central panel (there blank), and the upper right bottom panel containing a horse's protome, presumably in flying gallop and drawing a chariot, although, as Heurtley pointed out, no reins are depicted. In Pl. XClC I have added fragment XClB at the upper right corner.

VIII

(Pl. XClD). NMA 1443-1446 (REICHEL no. 8; HEURTYL no. VIII; KARO 170; CROUWEL [supra n. 26] 160 S4, pl. 38), provenience unknown.

Material: shelly oolitic limestone. Condition: three sets of non-joining fragments: a: two joining fragments (1443, 1444): W. 45; H. 47; Th. 11; b (1445): W. 24; H. 30; Th. 11; c (1446): W. 30; H. 27; Th. 11; d: rim fragment.

Decoration, in relief. Fragment c preserves the top left corner of the stele with framing bands, the side one containing a narrow Wellenband; the topmost panel contains running spirals. Fragment a contains the lower left corner of a decorated panel, presumably the middle panel, and the upper left corner of the lower panel, the two panels separated by a single band. The middle panel contained a chariot, presumably drawn by a horse in flying gallop, and, below, a horizontal spear. The lower panel contained two men at the left, standing or moving right; the left man holds something in his right? hand which may be a sword or may be connected to the slightly curved line at the top of the panel. Fragment b, with a horse hoof against the side border, must preserve part of the right edge (contrast HEURTYL fig. 30).

IX

(Pl. XClIa). NMA 1447-1449 (REICHEL nos. 7b and 9; HEURTYL no. IX; KARO 170; CROUWEL [supra n. 26] 160 S5), provenience unknown.

H. 23; Th. 11; b, two joining fragments (1448, 1449); W. 42; H. 32; Th. 12. Decoration, in relief. Fragment b presents part of the plain stem and the lower portion of the bottom decorated panel separated from it by two bands (compare stelai IV and V). The bottom panel contains two chariot wheels, and the hindleg and hoof of a horse presumably in flying gallop drawing a chariot to right; above the horse is the thick line representing the reins; and above the chariot wheels are remnants of a chariot car. Fragment a presents the legs of one man and the torso of another tête-bêche, presumably fallen; to the upper right of the male torso is the end of a thick line, presumably a spear, sword, or animal tail tip; and at the top of the fragment is a curved line. The two chariot wheels are unique here, representing either a single chariot with both wheels or a wagon with the near pair of wheels depicted as on Late Geometric pots (e.g., the Hirschfeld krater). In Pl. XCIIfa I have added fragment Xla at the upper right corner.

X

(Pl. XCIIfb). NMA 1450, 1451 (HEURTLEY no. X; KARO 170), probably found in the House of the Warrior Vase.

Material: shell-less oolitic limestone. Condition: two non-joining fragments: a (1450): W. 28; H. 39; Th. 16 (SCHLIEHMANN fig. 156; REICHEL 30, no. 10: almost white poros); b (1451): W. 20; H. 29; Th. 16 (REICHEL 30, no. 11: almost white poros); Both DEMAKOPOLOU [supra Cat. VI] 317.

Decoration, incised. Fragment b presents two panels separated by a single band, presumably not the stem and bottom decorated panel, but the central and bottom panels, in which are the lower legs of a figure moving right. Fragment a presents a side edge bordered by two bands and a man whose arms seem to reach out to a curved line,48 perhaps the curved tail of a lion (compare the proximity of man and lion tail on stele 14).

XI

(Pl. XCIIfb). NMA 1452, 1453 (HEURTLEY no. XI; KARO 171), provenience unknown.

Material: shell-less oolitic limestone. Condition: two non-joining fragments: a (1452): W. 53.5; H. 42; Th. 16 (REICHEL 30, no. 12: reddish poros); b (1453): W. 33; H. 23; Th. 16 (REICHEL 30, no. 13: almost white poros).

Decoration, incised. Fragment a presents the upper right corner of the stele and its top decorated panel, which contains a horse running right,49 presumably drawing a chariot. Above the horse is a spear and below the horse is a line. Fragment b carries a man facing left against the right edge of a separate? panel, his left hand up or perhaps wielding something, perhaps a sword; to the left of his face appears what seems to be horse hoof.

"XII"

(Pl. XCIIf-c and XCIIfa). NMA 1454-1466 (HEURTLEY no. XII; KARO 171), provenience unknown.

Material: shelly oolitic limestone. Many fragments carrying various spiriliform designs.

Grave Circle B

13 ("Unfinished;" Pl. LXXXIX-b, XCIIC, XCIYa). Nauplion Mus. 13576 (MARINATOS pl. 12; MYLONAS 33-34), found above Shaft Grave A.

Material: shell-less oolitic limestone. Condition: broken at the right (right edge not preserved). L. preserved 80; H. 76; Th. 10.

Decoration, incised and unfinished. At the top edge two parallel horizontal lines, presumably for marking a border, and occasional sunken dots perhaps for positioning running spirals; a X is incised over the lower horizontal line 58 cm. from the left edge. Below, and in the upper half of the stele: at left, two salient lions flank and attack a bull running right in flying gallop;50 at right, two figures in a chariot to right. The right figure is the charioteer and he leans forward toward the right break; the left figure faces left, holds a lance with both hands, and speaks the right lion. The chariot is positioned by an incised trapezoid and a sunken dot for the center of the wheel. Pl. XCIIVa attempts a reconstruction (L est. 116 cm.); it would make a nice fresco.51

48 CROUVEL. (supra n. 26) 158, n. 6: O. Dickinson suggests a man and lion’s tail; cf. the “Re-Used” stele 14.
49 CROUVEN. (supra n. 26) 158, n. 6: O. Dickinson rotates this fragment 90 degrees to show a lion rampant.
51 The basic theme of lions hunting animals occurs in the Akrotiri’s West House Nilotic fresco. KOPCKE 1981, 41, compares the stelai to such frescoes: “The message presumably was as straightforward and simple as it would appear to the naive observer ... There is no doubt that this iconography is based on excerpts from Aegean wall paintings, presumably recurrent motifs turned into a stock phrase.”
14 ("Re-Used;" Pl. LXXXIXd and XCIId). Nafplion Mus. 13575 (MARINATOS 69, 72-4; MYLONAS 50-51, pl. 40), found above Shaft Grave Γ.

Material: shell-less oolith limestone. Condition: 14 fragments, most joining. A rectangular slot was cut down the center of the stele and then it was split before being reused as the base for an unsculpted stele of shelly oolithic limestone (see below) set above Γ’s south burial (woman). Decoration, in relief. The top of two panels held three columns of three spirals each. The bottom panel held a central scene of two salient lions flanking and attacking the forequarters of a salient bull\(^{52}\) in the center. At top right, a man stands left holding a sword up with both hands; at top left, another figure lies contorted, legs up, presumably dead. Above the dead man is a horizontal key pattern and at the lower left an abstract ivy.

UNSCULPTED STELAI

Grave Circle A (SCHLIEMANN 80, 92, 154, 155, 161, 291)

Shaft Grave I (HEURTLEY 143; WACE [\textit{supra} n. 13] 61): 2 unsculpted stelai found standing at tomb lip, 50 cm. below peribolos level; SCHLIEMANN, the “Panoramic View,” opp. p. 148 (Pl. LXXXVIIb) depicts these two directly above Mrs Schliemann, who stands above the word “Excavations.”

Shaft Grave II (HEURTLEY 143; SCHUCHARDT [\textit{supra} n. 1] 112-3; WACE [\textit{supra} n. 13] 61): 2 unsculpted stelai.

Shaft Grave III (HEURTLEY 143; KARO 29): 2 unsculpted stelai set solidly in their bases and found still standing 60 cm. below the peribolos level; SCHLIEMANN, the “Panoramic View,” opp. p. 148 (Pl. LXXXVIIb) depicts these two directly above the words “the Circular Agora.” KARO no. 172b (pl. III top, large rectangular stele in the center: W. top 119, base 124; H. 157; Th. 12); no. 172a (gabled, pl. III top, at right: W. 119, base 124; H. 158 1/2 cm.). Both stelai are still on site (Pl. LXXXVIIa).


Shaft Grave VI (HEURTLEY 144, fn. 1; KARO 29, discovered by Stamatakis; WACE [\textit{supra} n. 13] 61): 1 stela.

Grave Circle B

Shaft Grave A (one male, age 23): whereabouts unknown (MARINATOS 70 n. 1; MYLONAS 379): 1 unsculpted stele of shelly oolithic limestone; it stood to the south of the “Unfinished” stele (13); Marinatos gives the dimensions: W. 65; L. 70; Th. 13 cm.

Shaft Grave Γ (two males, ages 33 and 28, and one female, age 36): whereabouts unknown (MYLONAS 45, 46): 2 unsculpted stelai, one set into the Re-Used stele (14) above the south (female) burial, of shelly “poros;” the other set into a base above the central (male) burial.


Shaft Grave O (body assumed to be female, perhaps also a child): whereabouts unknown (MYLONAS 187, 348; pl. 162b): 1 unsculpted stele and its base, partially destroyed.

\(^{52}\) Compare sealstone pose-type 54 (YOUNGER [\textit{supra} n. 50] 117-8) on CMS XIII, no. 20.
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