TRADITION AND INNOVATION
IN THE FRESCO FROM ROOM 31
IN THE ‘CULT CENTER’ AT MYCENAE

When it comes to fresco painting, “Golden Mycenae” -- a site so rich in other respects -- yields pride of place to Akrotiri on Thera where the surviving evidence is both more extensive and better preserved. At the same time, no less than seven areas of the citadel have produced paintings ranging in date from LH II to an advanced stage of LH III B\(^1\) so that it is possible to glimpse some of the developments in Mycenaean wall painting at this one site over a period of

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* A number of individuals have kindly read and commented on earlier papers which deal with aspects of this presentation. I would like to thank especially the following, though they do not necessarily agree with all of my conclusions: E. Davis, J. Davis, E. French, S. Immerwahr, N. Marinatos, M. Mellink, R. Palmer, M. Shaw, J. Wright, and J. Younger. Loyola University provided generous assistance in the form of a Faculty Development Grant in 1991, travel funds for the conference in 1992, and the cost of illustrations. My deepest thanks go to B. J. Ziminski for understanding and accommodating my absences.

The following abbreviations have been used:

ANM = National Archaeological Museum at Athens.


AR = Archaeological Reports.


KTMM = S. MARINATOS and M. HIRMER, Kreta, Thera und das mykenische Hellas (1986).

LHC = S. IAKOVIDES, Late Helladic Citadelis on Mainland Greece (Monumenta Graecae et Romana IV, 1983).


Toichografies = I. KRITSELE-PROVIDI, Τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου των Μυκηνών (1982).


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\(^1\) These include the palace and its dependencies, Pithos Area, Ramp House deposit, Prehistoric Cemetery, Houses outside the citadel, Cult Center, Southwest Building.
nearly three centuries. And now that S. Immerwahr has filled a void by giving us a much needed general picture of the development and use of wall painting in the Aegean world, it seems worthwhile to return to Mycenae and to take another look at the frescoes in context and the methodologies which have been applied to their study. My specific subject in this paper is the issue of tradition and innovation in the frescoes from the ‘Cult Center’, all of which belong to a developed (LH III B) stage of Mycenaean culture.

Since a primary aim of this conference is a discussion of methodology as well as iconography, a few preliminary comments about approaches to the study of Aegean wall paintings are in order. Perhaps only at Akrotiri is the presently existing material abundant enough to permit a determination of artistic ‘hands’. Elsewhere, the main approach to Aegean painting has been the identification of subjects and themes. An important element of this iconographic analysis has involved the question of cultural transfer (tracing motifs and themes from one culture to another), and chronological evolution (the transference and change of iconography over time). We might ask even more basically what purposes Mycenaean, as opposed to Minoan, wall painting served in society.

Valuable discussions and applications of iconographic methodology and its theoretical underpinnings have been made by L. Morgan. R. Hägg likewise has made important contributions by beginning to untwine Mycenaean from Minoan threads in the analysis of religion, a task that Martin Nilsson was unable to undertake some fifty years ago, given the much more limited evidence then available to him. A promising avenue of inquiry for the study of Aegean religion in general is our increasing ability to separate the various chronological and cultural phases of the Aegean Bronze Age, and to assess the wider role that religion played in society as a whole.

Essential now for any discussion of possible religious paintings are the methodological criteria outlined by Renfrew and others in The Archaeology of Cult, even though this study of the shrine at Phylakopi did not include significant examples of painted plaster. And in the context of this conference, I. Pini has sensibly reminded us of the need to separate the initial process of accurate physical description from the subsequent process of interpretation.

In the following attempt to examine the function of selected paintings from the Mycenaean ‘Cult Center’ in the context of LH III B society, certain initial architectural problems should be considered, though a solution is not readily forthcoming. The area of the ‘Cult Center’ overlies Middle Helladic remains, and was incorporated into the citadel in LH III B:1; after a relatively short period of use, it was destroyed toward the end of LH III B:2. The development of the ‘Cult Center’ thus follows hard on the heels of an ambitious program by the rulers of Mycenae

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2 For a revised view of Aegean chronology, see various authors in “The Thera Eruption: Continuing Discussion of the Dating”, Archaeometry 30.1 (1988) 165-182, with references to earlier literature.
3 IMMERWAHR.
5 R. HÄGG, “Pictorial Programmes in Minoan Palaces and Villas”, in Iconographie minoenne 209-217.
9 C. RENFREW et al., The Archaeology of Cult (1985), Ch. 1: “Towards a Framework for the Archaeology of Cult Practice”.
10 I. PINI, “Towards a Standardization of Terminology. Problems of Description and Identification”, this volume.
to advertize their wealth, power and legitimacy though a variety of monumental projects \(^{12}\); the re-facing of the citadel entrance in conglomerate ashlar \(^{13}\), the erection of the Lion Gate \(^{14}\), the revamping of Grave Circle A \(^{15}\), and the construction of the _tholoi_ of “Atreus” and “Clytemnestra” with their apparently open _dromoi_ and facades decorated with relief sculpture \(^{16}\). These developments have been connected to a contemporary (III B) change in the organization of political power in the Argolid, even though in at least three cases existing monuments from earlier periods are apparently being adapted or reused: Grave Circle A, the relief of the Lion Gate, and decoration of the Atreus tholos facade \(^{17}\).

Within the ‘Cult Center’ itself, two discrete sets of buildings were laid out on a somewhat haphazard plan (Pl. VIII). On upper terraces were laid out “Tsountas’ House/Shrine” \(^{18}\) and

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\(^{13}\) G. MYLNOS, _Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age_ (1966) 28-29, 31; LHC 34.


Klytemnestra: _MA_ 122-124; A.J.B. WACE, _op. cit._ (1921-23) 233 (attached half columns 6 m. high when complete), 359-360; ID., “Notes on the Construction of the Tomb of Clytemnestra”, _BSA_ 50 (1955) 197; I. PAPADIMITRIOU, _ArchEph_ 1948-49 43; _PGC_ 42 #174, pl. 174: fluted half column to right of entrance; MYLONAS (supra n. 13) 122-124, figs. 115-116; _MRG_ 175-177, 177 col. fig. 133.


\(^{18}\) _Cult Places_ 44, 45 and figs. 5, 6; _MRG_ 133-138, col. figs. 101-106.
the poros-block “Megaron” 19, approached from the upper citadel by a processional ramp 20 and linked by a corridor to the Citadel House 21. At a lower level were the “Temple” or House with the Idols 22 and the “Shrine” with the fresco 23, oriented in different directions but grouped around a small court with a circular altar 24.

A significant but unresolved problem is the apparent lack of direct communication between the upper and lower areas 25. Access to the lower buildings from outside remains a possibility, through an area of the citadel wall now obscured by the Hellenistic Tower 26. Though the upper and lower complexes were evidently in use at the same time, it is worth noting that the upper buildings contained few portable contents, while those below still included a variety of small finds. Southeast of the ‘Cult Center’, across a stairway and an open drain, was a third group of LH III B buildings (the so-called “House of the High Priest”) containing frescoes with religious subjects 27. Because of their separation from the palace on the heights, O. Negbi has argued that these architecturally unsophisticated small shrines at the lowest level represent a “popular” strain of religion, a suggestion I will reappraise at the end 28.

The ‘Cult Center’ paintings themselves fall into two distinct groups. Most tantalizing are the small detached scraps found by Tsountas and Mylonas for which the original context is unknown. Most of these are thought to derive from the foot of the steep stairs at the southern edge of the ‘Cult Center’ 29. A second group consists of larger fragments or entire compositions recovered by Taylour and Mylonas, where the original setting is actually known or can be determined with a fair degree of certainty. These include the friezes of women and figure-eight shields from the “Southwest Building” 30, and the large wall fresco found in situ by Taylour in the “Shrine” or room 31, now reconstructed in the Nauplion Museum 31.

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19 Cult Places 45, 43 fig. 3 (plan).
20 MRG 128-133, col. figs. 99-101. Note the conglomerate threshold at the top of the ramp (col. fig. 100); the wall lining the ramp had traces of a frescoed chariot scene.
21 For plans and views, see Cult Places 43 fig. 1 room #4; MRG 128 fig. 95: corridor at lower right.
22 Cult Places 44 and fig. 4 (isometric drawing), 45; MRG 144-145.
23 Cult Places 44, 45, 46-47 figs. 9-14.
25 Cult Places 43-44.
26 Personal communication from E. French, summer of 1990. I am grateful to Dr. French for walking around the site with me and for stimulating discussion of the problems of the Cult Center.
27 MRG 148-150, 146 col. fig. 115 and 234 fig. 195 (figure-eight shields), 147 (“Mykenaia”); Toichographies 17 fig. 1 area B, 37-72 #B-1-B-59; IMMERWAHR 119-120; KTMH col. pl. LVII (“Mykenaia”).
29 Toichographies 17 fig. 1 area A, 21-36 #A-1-A-20; MRG 131 col. fig. 98. Mylonas attributes the discovery of a fragment with animal demons to the “area of the round altar of the Cult Center”: MRG 237 col. fig. 198 and caption; cf. KTMH col. pl. LVII (below). Part of a procession fresco is noted in Cult Places 45, under “Megaron/room 2”.
30 Supra n. 27.
31 The initial publication appears in Mycenae, 1968 91-97 fig. 2, pl. 10 a, and New Light 270-280; W. TAYLOUR, The Mycenaenae (rev. ed. 1983) 55-56 and figs. 33-35. Several aspects of the fresco are analyzed in Warrior Goddess. The painting is succinctly discussed in the Manchester dissertation of A. MOORE, The Cult rooms from the “Citadel House” excavations at Mycenae (1988), which he is now preparing for publication. I am grateful to Dr. E. French for allowing me to read Dr. Moore’s important study at the British School in Athens. A study of the fresco by N. Marinatos is in press. Meanwhile, her most recent comments appear in: “The Fresco from room 31 at Mycenae: Problems of Method and Interpretation”, in Problems in Greek Prehistory. Papers Presented at the Centenary Conference of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, Manchester, April 1986 (1988) 245-251. See also IMMERWAHR 120-121, pl. 59-60. Cf. S. Immerwahr’s forthcoming comments in “Mycenaenae and
Fresco from Room 31

The painting from room 31 originally decorated a wall surface above a high rectangular platform (65 cm. high) and a much lower one (10 cm. high) with a curved edge that is included in the Nauplion reconstruction but sometimes omitted from consideration (Pl. IXa) 32. Platforms are a regular feature in Aegean shrines for the display of cult equipment and offerings, and these constructions -- along with the fresco itself -- can be considered “focussing devices” or settings for ritual 33. Roughly contemporary with the Mycenae shrine are phases of the cult installations at Phylakopi 34 and Ayia Irini in Keos 35, and the domestic “Shrine of the Double Axes” in the Knossos palace 36. The Phylakopi comparison is particularly important (Pl. IXb), because in the West Shrine there and at Mycenae the door at the back of the room with the benches led into a small “storeroom” containing wheelmade terracotta figurines. In both cases, the statuettes have been identified as being of Argolid manufacture 37.

The fresco decoration at Mycenae, however, can be considered a “palatial” element (despite its crude execution) not present at other locations, and it is worth looking very carefully at what is being shown (Pl. Xa). It is essential to note that the framework of the painting, and the figures within it, were all planned visually to take account of the two platforms, on the higher of which a number of prestige objects were actually found built into its top 38, as if part of a foundation deposit 39.

The wall surface is divided into two horizontal registers, each of which contains architectural elements suggesting that the spectator is looking into a building. The upper register includes a large, open doorway decorated with rosettes, situated adjacent to the actual doorway which led from room 31 into the small back storeroom (32) 40. But the elaborate architectural

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32 Mycenae, 1968 94. MARINATOS (supra n. 31) 245, mentions only the higher platform.
33 RENFREW et al. (supra n. 9) 19; E. THOMAS, “Kretische-mykenische und frühgriechische Kultbänke”, in Kolloquium zur Ägäischen Vorgeschichte (supra n. 16) 91-97.
34 RENFREW et al. (supra n. 9) passim.
35 On the phases of the Kea shrine, see M.E. CASKEY, “Ayia Irini, Kea: The Terracotta Statues and the Cult in the Temple”, SC 127-135.
36 G. GESELL, Town, Palace and House Cult in Minoan Crete (SIMA 67, 1985) 90-92 #37, 91 fig. 25 (plan), 181 fig. 46 a, b.
37 The fragment of another Argolid wheelmade terracotta figurine found at Tsoungiza near Nemea has been connected by J. Wright with possible religious influence from Mycenae (lecture at Loyola University of Chicago, 12 III 1991); cf. DABNEY and WRIGHT (supra n. 17) 52 and n. 61. For a discussion of analogous Minoan religious influence on other areas, see N. MARINATOS, “Minoan Threskeiocracy on Thera”, SC 167-178.
38 The finds from atop the bench were discussed by A. Moore (supra n. 31). The objects actually found atop the bench are shown on fig. 2.9 from Moore’s dissertation, and include: clay dipper/ladle with high-slung handle (inv. 68-499), ivory lion (68-1191), ivory sword/dagger pommel (68-1192), Minoan serpentine bowl (68-1193), lead vessel (68-1194), piece of obsidian (68-1194). For illustration of objects in situ, see Mycenae, 1968 pl. X b.
39 The rectangular depression for the throne base in the large Pylos megaron included a deposit of jewelry and other objects: PN I 87-88, figs. 70, 273 nos. 2-11. Some of the Egyptian faience plaques found in the Cult Center at Mycenae are of a type used in foundation deposits in Egypt: E. CLINE, “Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century B.C.”, Orientalia 56 (1987) 1-36. An ivory figurine from Tiryns which was probably thrown out of a shrine in casemate 7 has been identified as a probable import from the Levant “recalling the type of figures used as foundation deposits”: H. CATLING, AR (1984) 25.
40 The back room contained another low platform which supported offerings and a terracotta figurine: inv. 69.1221: New Light 277, pl. XLII b; TAYLOUR (supra n. 31) 59 fig. 39.
frame in the painting bears no resemblance to the actual construction of the shrine, which is humbly built except for a large conglomerate threshold at the entrance 41.

Ultimately, architectural frames and decorated doorways originated in Minoan painting, but the division of the Mycenae painting into stacked registers and their organization in relation to the platforms is highly unusual. The painted relief decoration of the ‘Great East Hall’ at Knossos, an area apparently devoted to cult, included banded socles supporting columns which served as a setting for tethered griffins and anthropomorphic figures 42. A triple-banded entablature of black, red and white appears just above the head of “La Parisienne” from Knossos, who is usually identified as a female statue or “goddess” 43. Such architectural elements are occasionally reflected in miniature compositions in glyptic 44 and on relief vessels 45. A relief frieze discovered at Zakros has been identified as part of a door frame 46, echoed by the ornamented door surrounds of shrines on the Zakros rhyton 47 and the adyton painting of Xeste 3 48. The significance of architectural representations on Crete has been the subject of a recent study by K. Krattenmaker, who has pointed out their religious and political use by the neopalatial elite, particularly in the Knossos area 49.

Although the Mycenaean use of architectural representations clearly derives from Minoan precedents, we cannot be sure how the mainlanders understood such depictions 50. Since so little of early Mycenaean painting survives, the use of painted architectural elements can first be traced in decorated tomb facades. Chamber tomb 53 at Mycenae, for example, had a doorway decorated with rosettes (Pl. Xb) which foreshadows the doorway on the ‘Cult Center’ painting 51. Later, bands with rosette decoration are used as framing devices to enclose rectangular areas (for thrones?) in the so-called “room of the throne” in the Mycenaean palace 52 and in the small megaron at Tiryns 53. Rosette borders occur in a number of other painted compositions, often enclosing other scenes or decorative elements as on the Aya Triadha sarcophagus 54 and fresco fragments from Tiryns 55. Best known of such borders

41 New Light 271 fig. 1 #7, 274-275. The material recalls the contemporary use of conglomerate elsewhere in the citadel and in the latest tholoi.
43 M.A.S. Cameron, “An Addition to ‘La Parisienne’”, KretChron 18 (1964) 38-53; KTMH col. pl. XVI; IMMERWAHR 176 Kn. No. 26, pl. 44.
44 E.g., sealing from the Temple Repositories: PM I 698 fig. 509; III 504 fig. 349.
45 E.g., on the Boxer Rhyton from Aya Triadha: KTMH pl. 106. Cf. a steatite rhyton fragment from Knossos: PM I 688 fig. 507.
47 KTMH pl. 108, 109; APG 146 fig. 140.
48 Art and Religion in Thera 75 fig. 53.
50 The “besieged city” motif appears in frescoes from the Mycenaean palace and Orchomenos: IMMERWAHR 192 My. No. 11, pl. 65; 195 Or. No. 1.
51 MA 61, fig. 16; Xenaki-Sakellariou, Οἱ θελαμοτι τάφοι τῶν Μυκηνών: Ἀνασκαφῆς Χρ. Ταούντας (1887-1898) (1985) 165-166; L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou, “Some Aspects Concerning Local Peculiarities of the Mycenaean Chamber Tombs”, in Thanatos (supra n. 12) 152 and n. 70, pl. XLV b. This is one of 11 Argolid tombs with painted facades noted by the author, who also draws attention to the tomb at Megalo Kastelli, Thebes, the facade of which included the depiction of two female figures (153 and n. 76).
52 WACE (supra n. 16 [1921-23]) 187-188, pl. XXXIII a.
53 G. Rodenwaldt, Tiryns II, Die Fresken des Palastes (1912; repr. 1976) 222, pl. XX.
54 KTMH col. pls. XXX-XXXIII.
55 MA 52 fig. 13; Rodenwaldt (supra n. 53) 53-56 #60-65, 95 fig. 38, 96 fig. 39; 242 fig. 75. Cf. now Catling (supra n. 39) 25 fig. 35.
is the translation into stone on the carved roof of the side chamber of the Orchomenos tholos 56.

Within the Mycenae mural, parts of three tapering columns survive which have elaborate bases, capitals, and shafts with spiral decoration. Once again, a Minoan origin can be traced for the tapering column 57, but the shape appears frequently in Mycenaean representations as well 58. Elaborately detailed miniature ivory columns were produced in a number of workshops, and though the majority of these are likely to be decorative, columns appear frequently in compositions which are thought to have religious significance 59. The closest parallel for the use of columns and entablatures on two levels, contemporary with the ‘Cult Center’ painting, occurs in the relief stone decoration applied to the facades of the latest tholoi (of “Atreus” and “Clytemnestra”) at Mycenae 60. Such relief decoration, incidentally, is an argument in favor of the belief that the facades were meant to be visible at all times.

Rather rarer is the depiction of anthropomorphic figures within such architectural settings. Female figures are sometimes standing at windows in Minoan and Mycenaean wall paintings 61 and on an occasional pictorial vase 62. But the “cutaway” view into an interior space is virtually unique in the Aegean 63, and resembles more a convention of Egyptian painting for suggesting interior spaces.

In contrast to the interior view on the wall surface, the decoration of the side of the bench suggests an exterior facade, with its beam ends and horns of consecration above pictorial elements which can no longer be discerned clearly (Pl. Xc) 64. Small, freestanding shrines with columns, beams, and horns of consecration appeared earlier in Minoan glyptic (Pl. XIa) and painting 65 and small and large constructions with these elements occur on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus 66. Painted horns of consecration surmount the shrine facade on one wall of a lustral basin in Xeste 3 67; the walls of another lustral basin in the domestic wing of the Zakros palace were decorated with altars supporting horns of consecration 68. Closer in date to

56 MA 128 fig. 48, 129; PGC 42 #163, pl. 163; KTMH pl. 183.
57 Supra n. 42.
58 E.g., in the Mycenae megaron frieze (supra n. 50), and on the Lion Gate relief (supra n. 14).
59 J.-C. POURSAT, Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d’Athènes (1977) pl. VIII (House of Shields); XIII (House of Sphinxes).
60 Supra n. 16. A relief block with spiral decoration was found in the ‘Megaron’ of the Cult Center (supra n. 19); O. DAUX, BCH 87 (1963) 740, 743 fig. 14.
61 Fragment from the ‘Threshing Floor area’ at Knossos: PM III 59 fig. 35; Ramp House deposit at Mycenae with women at window: KTMH col. pl. LVII (above); IMMERWAHR 190 My No. 1 a, pl. 54.
62 E.g., the ‘Window krater’ from Cyprus: IMMERWAHR pl. 45; VERMEULE-KARAGEORGHS 196 #III.12, pl. III.12.
63 Possible exception on gold ring from Midea: ANM #8748, CMS I 191. One of the Tanagra lamnakhes from tomb 22 shows a “cutaway” view into one of these burial chests: T. SPYROPOULOS, “Ἀνασκαφή ἐπὶ τὸ μυκηναϊκὸν νεκροταφείον τῆς Τανάγρας”, ArchAnAth 3 (1970) 195, fig. 15; recent discussion in IMMERWAHR 156 fig. 41 e (drawing), 158-158; KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU (supra n. 51), pl. XLVII d. Immerwahr notes, too, that this larnax is unusual in showing two tiers of decoration (IMMERWAHR 157 and n. 11).
64 Moore presents M. Cameron’s reconstruction of a possible column in his dissertation (supra n. 31), fig. 4.4 B: restoration showing principal additions. S. Immerwahr has suggested to me that the front of the bench was originally frescoed as well (personal communication, 1991).
65 Painting: PM III 84 fig. 47; sealings: PM II.2 524 fig. 326; IV.2. fig. 597 A j.
66 KTMH col. pl. XXXI.
67 Art and Religion in Thera. Here it is clear that a shrine is indicated, rather than an altar, for a doorway occurs in the center of an ashlar wall; surmounting is a pair of horns streaked with red.

68 In the lustral basin were two raised balustrades which supported, respectively, one and two columns. The painting appeared on the walls behind the columns: IMMERWAHR 185 Za No. 2; 182; A.H.S. MEGAW, AR 13 (1967) 23 and fig. 39. For columns in a lustral basin, cf. the arrangement in the Little Palace at Knossos.
the Mycenaean painting, but poorly published, are the LM III A depictions of a shrine facade and altar from a fresco dump at Ayia Triadha 69. Three-dimensional horns of consecration surmounted the bench in the ‘Shrine of the Double Axes’ at Knossos 70.

The earliest Mycenaean depictions of horizontal beams and beam ends are painted across the facades of chamber tombs 71 and tholoi 72, particularly in the Argolid; these elements are later translated into stone relief 73. Entire building facades of Minoan inspiration appear a number of times in the decoration of the Pylos palace 74. Not far in time from the Mycenaean bench painting are fresco fragments from Tiryns which show similar elements in a related color scheme 75. One fragment in particular is important (Pl. X1b), because it shows a vertical strut supporting the entablature with beam ends 76, and thus suggests a possible restoration of a missing section of the Mycenaean bench fresco.

The decoration of built architectural features and benches with frescoes may even be a Mycenaean development. At the Pylos palace, an open air “altar” near the workshops was painted to resemble rock (Pl. X1c, A) 77. Two benches in room 10 of the palace were frescoed, furthermore, one of them so that it resembled a table with curved legs and struts (Pl. X1c, B) 78. Because one of these painted benches included a pithos stand, and an adjoining pantry (Pl. X1c, C) contained kylakes, room 10 plausibly served as an area for wine-drinking.

Nevertheless, the division of the Mycenaean wall surface into registers, the presence of the platforms, and the architectonic elements decorating the side of the bench, immediately raise the problem of how we are meant to “read” the scenes. If the high bench was for the display of cult equipment and offerings, what is its relation to the architectural framework on the wall? Here, the existing evidence provides little clue. Much earlier, in LM I A-B, entire cult rooms seem to have been decorated with wall paintings on Crete 79 and Thera 80. But none of these areas preserves painted benches, and thus we are now missing the intermediate stages of development that might have led up to the appearance of decorated platforms at Pylos and Mycenae.

69 IMMERWAHR 102 and n. 12, 181 A.T. No. 4 and 5.
70 Supra n. 36.
72 Chamber tomb 81 at Mycenae: MA 133 fig. 49; KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU (supra n. 51) pl. XLVc.
74 E.g., PN II 139-140 #8 A 3, pl. 78, II; R; MW 184 #55 and col. pl.
75 RODENWALDT (supra n. 53) pl. L1; XVI.5.
76 RODENWALDT (supra n. 53) pl. XI.9.
77 PN I 103-105, figs. 83-85; II 179-180, #4 M 10, 5 M 10, pls. 109, 110.
80 Xeste 3 at Akrotiri: Art and Religion in Thera 61-84. W.-D. Niemeier accepts only this building at Akrotiri as a definite cult area (paper this volume), in contrast to the more inclusive categorization of cult rooms by Marinatos.
Anthropomorphc figures

At this point, attention can be directed toward the other figures in the Mycenae fresco. In the upper register, centered over the top of the bench and standing on two courses of paved blocks, are the figures of two female (white-skinned) figures (Pl. XIIa). If scale, costume, and attributes are significant, the figure with the sword must be the single most important individual in the fresco, despite the loss of her upper half, for she is the largest and she wears an unusual dotted and fringed robe in blue, red, and white. The color scheme and the fringe of the costume have their closest parallel in the fabric of the so-called “sacral knot” attached to the back of the dress of “La Parisienne” 81. Some of the ritual costumes at Thera are likewise fringed in red 82. The panelled garment of the Mycenae figure should be distinguished, however, from the diagonally banded ‘Syrian robe’ worn by the ‘priests’ on some sealstones 83 and by the occasional charioteer in frescoes 84.

The robe of the Mycenae figure instead is identical to that of the seated goddess attended by genii on the “Tyrryns Treasure” ring (Pl. XlIIb), an object which is probably earlier in date than the fresco but appears indebted to a pictorial source 85. A sealing impressed by a gold ring found at Thebes, reported but not yet published, is said to show a related scene with a similarly robed and enthroned goddess with attendant genii and griffins 86.

Genii, incidentally, appear in the area of the ‘Cult Center’ on two frescoes 87 as well as on a steatite mould found nearby for the manufacture of ornaments in blue glass paste (Pl. XlIb) 88 and on an unstratified sealstone from the ‘Cult Center’ showing one of the creatures flanked by anthropomorphic lions (Pl. XIIC) 89. Another painted demon appears on a fresco from the Pylos palace (Pl. XlIId) 90 and on ivories from a number of mainland administrative centers including Dendra 91, Pylos 92 and Thebes (Pl.

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81 Supra n. 43.
82 E.g., the ‘apron’ from the House of the Ladies: Art and Religion in Thera 100 fig. 67, 101 fig. 68; cf. the young ‘priestess’ from the West House: 45 fig. 26.
84 For charioteers on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, see KTMH col. pl. XXXII; for a charioteer from Knossos, IMMERWAHR 92, 94-95, 94 fig. 27.
86 For a good color illustration, see MRG 211 col. fig. 166. Cf. the comments on early Mycenaean glyptic by W.-D. NIEMEIER, “Cult Scenes on Gold Rings from the Argolid”, in Celebrations 165-170.
88 C. TSOUNTAS, ArchEph 1887 160-162, pl. 10.1; MYLONAS (supra n. 13) 167, fig. 124.50; M. GILL (supra n. 85), 1-21, #25; Toichographies 21-28, A-1 to A-5, figs. 2-3, pl. 1; IMMERWAHR 121, 192 My No. 8.
90 PN II 79 #40 H ne, pls. 26, C; for identification of figure as a genius, see M. GILL, “Apropos the Minoan ‘Genius’”, AJA 74 (1970) 404-406.
91 See discussion in P. REHAK, “An Aegean Ivory Pyxys Fragment from Dendra” (forthcoming), where it is argued that the leonine paw holding a branch on ANM #7359 represents an animal demon.
92 Inlay from Pylos palace: PN I 202, fig. 284.4; J. C. POURSAT (supra n. 59) 129 #393, pl. XL.
XIIIc) 93. The connection of these creatures with fertility and moisture in the Aegean is well attested 94 (genii with pitchers are reported most recently on an ivory mirror handle from a LM III A context on Crete). 95 The role of these creatures in "palatial" Mycenaean religion merits further investigation 96, especially now that an unusual seal has been found near Patras showing a demon carrying a human figure over its shoulder 97. In addition, the identical costume of the figures on the fresco and ring (and possibly the scaling from Thebes as well), raises the possibility that these individuals represent the same divinity, albeit with different attributes in the two works (drinking cup or "chalice" on the Tiryns ring, and sword on the Mycenaean fresco). 98.

The large sword in the 'Cult Center' fresco is of the type which served in Mycenaean society not only as a weapon of war but also as a symbol of rank and power 99. Beginning with the Shaft Grave era, both swords and hilts are frequently decorated, and in LH III B an ivory pommel was deposited within the high platform in the shrine with the fresco 100. Another pommel, of white stone rather than ivory, was included in a possible deposit of ritual equipment from the north side of the Mycenae palace which also produced the famous ivory triad 101. A seal from a tomb on Naxos depicts a sword among the other religious objects displayed on a table in a cult scene (Pl. XIVa) 102.

Suspected before the female with sword are two tiny "floating" red and black male figures recently interpreted as "figurines" or "spirits" by Marinatos and Immerwahr 103. Quite similar in pose, however, are the contemporary processional males likewise suspended well above the groundline on the vestibule wall of the Pylos palace; both sets of figures share the unusual detail of downward-angled feet (Pl. XIVb) 104. At least one of the Pylos males carries an object over his shoulder (a stool?). The backthrust torso and outstretched arms of the

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93 S. SYMEONOGLOU, Kadmeia I. Mycenaean Finds from Thebes, Greece. Excavation at 14 Oedipus St. (SIMA XXXV 1973) 48-52, pls. 70-73.
95 Information provided by W.-D. Niemeier, personal communication (19 IV 1992).
96 An earlier Minoan concern with moisture and fertility still occurs (as on glass plaques from the "Tomb of the Genii" at Mycenae).
98 Parallel in costume discussed in Warrior Goddess 240.
99 I. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, "Remarks on the Non-military Functions of Swords in the Mycenaean Argolid", in Celebrations 157-161; see discussion, e.g., of the Shaft graves swords by G. GRAZIADIO, "The Process of Social Stratification at Mycenae in the Shaft Grave Period: A Comparative Examination of the Evidence", AJA 95 (1991) 403-440, passim. For specific examples of swords, see infra nn. 190-191. The sword is also a symbol of status in the Minoan world, as indicated by the ceremonial weapons from Mallia. Interestingly, the contents of the Knossos throneroom included a crystal dagger pommel and a shell cameo representing a sword and baldric: PM IV.2 931-932, figs. 902-904.
100 Mycenae, 1968 96, pl. X b: in situ.
102 CMS V.2 608; YOUNGER (supra n. 85 [1988]) 129, lists comparanda.
103 MARINATOS (supra n. 31) 248; IMMERWAHR 121, 158. One of the Tanagra larnakes shows a row of mourners and an individual holding a small figure (a figurine, child, or the deceased?) on its outstretched arm: H.W. CATTING, AR 21 (1975) 17 and fig. 26.
104 PN II 64-65 #5 H 5, pls. 3-5, N, 119 (reconstruction).
Mycenae figures, however, recalls the pose of processional males on a sealing also found at Mycenae 105.

Since the same pose was used centuries earlier in Minoan art for the depiction of males in scenes of offering and worship 106, I suggest that the 'Cult Center' males represent votaries and derive from a longstanding Minoan tradition that had gradually become assimilated into Mycenaean art.

The males in the fresco are so much smaller than the females, however, that one is reminded of the vast differences in scale in the art of pharaonic Egypt. Of even greater significance is the red and black skin color of the surviving males in the fresco, since in other Aegean polychrome frescoes, these colors are used to distinguish between Aegean and black African males 107. The black man in the Mycenae fresco can perhaps be added to the handful of similar individuals from palatial sites on Crete and the mainland where black African natives seem to be represented 108.

The other standing female figure in the upper register, bejeweled and wearing a flounced dress of Minoan derivation 109, holds aloft a staff or scepter 110. There are signs in the Mycenae figure both of borrowing from an earlier tradition and of sharing in contemporary developments. Thus her curved blue wrist-band or bracelet, and the downward turn or her hand, recall a figure in the wall-paintings from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri 111. But the flounced dress, despite its Cretan genesis, is worn by the processional female figures found as part of a repetitive tradition at almost every mainland palace site, including those from the Southwest Building near the Mycenae 'Cult Center' 112. Very similar is the costume of an ivory figurine found in another room of this shrine 113.

Her pose, however, sets her apart from the majority of her Mycenaean sisters. While the gesture with the staff can be compared to that of some LM I Minoan male figures of power 114.

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105 ANM 7631: CMS I 170.
106 Argued in Warrior Goddess 540-541 and n. 34.
107 One of the bichrome Tanagra larnakes from tomb 22 with bull-leaping scenes shows alternating figures in red and black: IMMERWAHR col. pls. XXII, XXIII.
108 E.g., the "Captain of the Blacks" from Knossos, and black-skinned figures from the Pylos palace. See P. REHAK, "Black Africans in Late Bronze Age Greece: the Fresco Evidence", forthcoming in Ancient History Bulletin.
109 MARINATOS (supra n. 31) 247. Taylour originally thought that this figure was a male in female costume: New Light 276.
110 Since the upper tip is not preserved, the object could either be Female hntressent have been identified by J. Anderson in the frescoes at Tiryns: see Warrior Goddess 538 and n. 21.
111 Art and Religion in Thera 63 fig. 42; C. DOUMAS, Thera. Pompeii of the Ancient Aegean (1983) fig. 30. The Akrotiri woman holds a necklace and the hand of the Mycenaean figure is apparently empty. On Aegean jewelry, see paper by J. Younger, this volume.
112 E.g., at Pylos: PN II 86-89 #51 H nws, pls. 34-38, E. O. For recent discussion, see IMMERWAHR 114-118: "Processional frescoes and other religious themes".
113 H.W. CATLING, AR 20 (1974) 9 fig. 10; J.-C. POURSAT, Les ivoires mycéniens. Essai sur la formation d’un art mycénien (1977) pl. III.8. The girdle over her dress resembles the one worn by the small faience "Snake Handler" from Knossos.
she most closely resembles in pose the “peak goddess” flanked by lions and a male votary on sealings from a LM II shrine on the west side of the central court at Knossos (Pl. XIVc) 115. Already at the time of the Shaft Graves, however, “scepters” are present in the Mycenaean world as “insignia of rank or of office”, and a mace head was reported among the contents of room 31 in the ‘Cult Center’ 116. And yet, the painted figure appears slightly smaller, and perhaps less important, than the female with the sword whom she faces.

**Female Figure with grain**

Perhaps the most controversial figure in the shrine fresco is the small female in the lower wall register, who appears to face the architectural facade on the side of the bench (Pl. XVa) 117. Several questions about her hotly debated: is she human or divine, was she seated or standing, and what is her relation to the scene in the upper register and to the architecture on the side of the bench? She has been called a “priestess” or “royal priestess”, a “minor goddess”, and a possible representation of the major goddess “Pothia” 118. The range of suggested identifications -- and subsequent lack of agreement about her role -- illustrates the continuing problem in Aegean art of differentiating between divine and human figures, despite the sensible criteria outlined in The Archaeology of Cult 119.

A primary difficulty is that because the figure is so well preserved, she has usually been evaluated in isolation 120, although most would now agree that a proper assessment depends on a consideration both of the iconography of the individual figure and its relation to the scene as a whole. Since she is only about half the size of the female figures in the upper register, her importance should be somewhat less than theirs. Like them, however, she appears within architecture; the entablature above her head is deliberately interrupted to accomodate the vegetal plume of her cap 121. That she is centered over the top of a platform, even though it is much lower than the other, emphasizes her significance. And although she has been compared to glyptic figures gesticulating before altars or shrines 122, her gesture of raising both hands to display bunches of grain seems to be more hieratic than a pose of attention or respect directed toward the higher bench or even the figures in the upper register.

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115 Heraklion Museum #141: PM II.2 809 fig. 528; IV.2 fig. 597 A c; APG 229 fig. 234; MORGAN 45 fig. 28. The sealing reproduced in drawings is a composite from fragments. The somewhat indistinct animal heads are usually shown as lions, but at least one illustration of the animals leaves their exact identity in doubt. See SOURVINOU-INWOOD (supra n. 114) 247 and fig. 1, n. 31, 250-251.


117 Supra n. 31. For good illustrations, see APG 82 fig. 65; R. HAMPE and E. SIMON, *The Birth of Greek Art. From the Mycenaean to the Archaic Period* (1980) fig. 75; MRG 204 fig. 113.

118 Taylour first identified her as a “priestess” (Mycenea, 1968 97) and later as a “goddess of lesser rank” (New Light 277) or a “minor goddess” (supra n. 31 [1983] 56). Hood calls her a goddess: APG 82 fig. 65: caption. Chadwick identified her as Potnia: *The Mycenaean World* (1976) 97; Immerwahr a “fertility goddess”: IMMERWAHR 121. MARINATOS (supra n. 31) 246 calls her a priestess. MRG 144, caption to col. fig. 113: “perhaps ... a priestess bringing gifts to the Goddess of the Shrine”.

119 See valuable discussion by RENFREW et al. (supra n. 9) Ch. 1, esp. 22-24.

120 E.g., by CHADWICK (supra n. 118); APG 82, caption to fig. 65.

121 A pale yellow preliminary guideline for the interrupted area is still visible. The plume suggests vegetation, perhaps a simplified version of the papyrus on a LM I A-B polychrome table of offerings found at Phylakopi: CATLING (supra n. 46) 26 and fig. 33.

122 E.g., by MORGAN, “Idea, Idiom and Iconography”, in Iconographie minoenne 16 and fig. 7; MARINATOS (supra n. 31) 246.
In addition, the persistent question of whether the figure was seated can be laid to rest \textsuperscript{123}. If the placement of the fragments in the reconstruction in Nauplion is correct, the feet of the figure are not far enough to the right for the female to be restored as sitting, as for example on a sealstone from Armeni (Pl. XVb) \textsuperscript{124}. There is also no footstool typical of enthroned figures, although a footstool appeared in a mural found nearby in the Southwest Building \textsuperscript{125}.

A brief analysis of some other details may help elucidate her status. An early version of the plumed cap is worn by the MM III B faience “Snake handler” from Knossos (surmounted instead by a feline figure) \textsuperscript{126}, and perhaps by a figure incorporated in the now-controversial “Priest-King” relief composition \textsuperscript{127}. On the LM III A Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, select participants in the sacrifice scenes wear similar caps \textsuperscript{128}, as well as the figures in the two chariots (drawn respectively by agrimia and griffins) \textsuperscript{129}. When such headgear is adopted on the mainland, it is virtually restricted to sphinxes \textsuperscript{130}, including one on a LH III B:2 pictorial sherd from Tiryns (Pl. XVc) \textsuperscript{131}, and to important female figures like the one on the Tiryns Treasure ring (minus the crest) \textsuperscript{132}, or the so-called “White Goddess” on a fresco from Pylos \textsuperscript{133} and a similar painted figure from Mycenae (Pl. XVIa) \textsuperscript{134}. Near the end of the Mycenaean age, the cap becomes fashionable wear again for mortals like the mourners on some of the Tanagra larnakes \textsuperscript{135}. An essential parallel for the Mycenaean fresco figure is the stucco

\textsuperscript{123} Asserted both before and after the restoration of the fragments in Nauplion: \textit{Mycenae, 1968} 97; TAYLOUR (\textit{supra} n. 31 [1983]) 56; cf. IMMERWAHR 121: “A seated (?) female figure”. MARINATOS (\textit{supra} n. 31) 246, correctly argues that the figure must be standing.

\textsuperscript{124} CMS V.1 253.

\textsuperscript{125} Toichographies 41-43 #B-2 and 3, 41-3, pl. 6; IMMERWAHR 191 My No. 4. For color illustration, see MW 183 #152-153 (ANM 11635-11636).

\textsuperscript{126} PM I 501-505; KTMH col. pl. XXV; APG 133 fig. 123; K.P. FOSTER, Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age (1979) 72-76, pls. 10, 11.


\textsuperscript{128} KTMH col. pl. XXX-XXXIII. On the sarcophagus, see C. LONG, \textit{The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus} (SIMA XI 1974).

\textsuperscript{129} Supra n. 127.

\textsuperscript{130} Antithetic sphinxes with caps appear on an ivory pyxis from Thebes (MW 72 #3 and col. figs.) and a plaque from the house of the Sphinxes at Mycenae: A.J.B. WACE, “Mycenae, 1939-53”, \textit{BSA} 49 (1954) 240-1, pl. 38 c. Of the gold rings from Mycenae, CMS I 87 and 129, and a sealstone from Ayia Triadha (CMS II.3 118), are closest. A sphinx with a plume but no headdress appears on a sealstone from Thera: CMS V.2 690. An ivory pyxis from Mycenae seems to show a male leading a sphinx, and though their preservation is poor, both figures appear to wear headdresses: ANM 2476: POURSAT (\textit{supra} n. 59) 92 #297, pl. XXVIII.

\textsuperscript{131} The cap is surmounted by a vertical element similar to that on the hat of the fresco figure, but its tip is not preserved: CATLING (\textit{supra} n. 71) 28 and fig. 45.

\textsuperscript{132} ANM 6208: CMS I 179. For good color illustration, see MRG 211 fig. 166.

\textsuperscript{133} SMITH (\textit{supra} n. 79) fig. 117 a (drawing); \textit{PN} II 83-85 #49 H nws, pls. 33, 116, 127, D, 128; IMMERWAHR pl. 58.

\textsuperscript{134} G. RODENWALDT, \textit{Der Fries des Megarons von Mykenai} (1921) 50, fig. 26; \textit{PM} IV pl. XXXI; SMITH (\textit{supra} n. 79) fig. 117 b (drawing); H. REUSCH, “Vorschlag zur Ordnung der Fragmente von Frauenfriesen aus Mykenai”, \textit{AA} 1953 53-54, 54 fig. 11.

\textsuperscript{135} For the painted larnakes, see recent discussion in IMMERWAHR 154-158; for illustration, MRG 186 fig. 140; MW 74-75 #5 and col. pl. One larnax shows a ‘priest’ and sphinx, both wearing caps and facing a central column: IMMERWAHR pl. 92.
head with headdress found in or near the ‘Cult Center’ itself: in profile and color scheme the two individuals are nearly indistinguishable, and this parallel should be examined further 136.

Another interesting detail is the sealstone bracelet. Some fresco figures of LM II–III A date who wear sealstones are apparently human 137. Similar jewels are apparently worn in LM/LH III B by some of the large wheelmade terracotta figurines from the Mycenaean citadel 138 and by the “goddess with upraised arms” from the Shrine of the Double Axes (Pl. XVIb) 139. Since J. Younger and I. Pini have argued that by LH III B the palatial centers were no longer manufacturing seals of hard stones 140, the sealstone in the Mycenaean fresco thus may be an heirloom, and seals are prominent gifts to deities in Mycenaean shrines, including those of the ‘Cult Center’ 141. A sealstone bracelet, then, may indicate high status or divinity, but does not alone serve to make the distinction between the two 142.

The upraised arms of the figure recall those of the so-called Minoan “goddess with upraised arms” 143, but we should distinguish between the two gestures. The “goddess with upraised arms” usually holds the upper arms horizontal and raises the forearms vertically; the figure with the grain and comparable individuals, by contrast, bend theirs at an angle. Recently, the goddess with upraised arms has been connected with LM III domestic house models on Crete, dissociating her from the Mycenaean mainland or from any connection with palaces or citadels 144.

The gesture with grain is repeated several times, though links apparently are with the eastern Mediterranean rather than with Crete. On the Minet el-Beida ivory pyxis lid roughly contemporary with the fresco (Pl. XVIc), a pudgy female figure sits on a Minoan incurved altar atop a mountain and extends handfuls of grain to flanking goats: both her unusual seat and her

136 The stucco head had no plume, however: _KTMH_ col. pl. LVI (profile), LVII (front); _APG_ 102 fig. 83; _MRG_ 190 col. fig. 135. Hood has made the suggestion that the facial rosettes represent tattoos, rather than beauty marks: _APG_ 102. The rosettes have a parallel in the decoration on griffin wings from Knossos ( _PM_ I 548 fig. 399 b) and on the headdresses from the megaron at Pylos ( _PN_ II pls. 114, 115) and Mycenae ( _A.J.B. WACE_ , _Mycenae: An Archaeological History and Guide_ [1949] fig. 97 a). A number of Mycenaean figurines have odd facial markings, e.g., the “Lady of Phylakopí” and two statuettes found in the Cult Center at Mycenae, including one from the “Temple” with the idols which has rosettes on her cheeks: _MW_ 192 #167, 193 col. fig. (center). Cf. E. VERMEULE, “A Mycenaean Dead Head?”, _RDAC_ 1988 299-300, pl. XXXIX.

137 E.g., the “cupbearer” from Knossos who wears a sealstone bracelet: _PM_ II 705, col. pl. XII; cf. C. BOULOTIS, “Nochmals zum Prozessionsfresko von Knossos: Palast und Darbringung von Prestige-Objekten”, _FMP_ 145-155. For important females and a male lyre-player with sealstone bracelets on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, see _KTMH_ col. pl. XXXII (above). The Vaphio prince actually had bracelets of multiple sealstones at each wrist.

138 MYLONAS ( _supra_ n. 13) fig. 128; cf. pg. 154, where it is called a votary; _MRG_ 183 col. fig. 136. For her pose and identification, cf. the two attendants in the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos: _PM_ II 340 fig. 193 a.


141 RENFREW et al. ( _supra_ n. 9) 281-295, esp. 294-295: “Sealstones from Mycenaean Sanctuaries” (J. YOUNGER).

142 Note, for example, that on the LM III A Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, the important female with offering buckets and the goddess in the griffin-drawn chariots both wear sealstones.

143 S. ALEXIOU, _'Η Μυκηναϊκή θέα μεθ' ουρομυθών χειρῶν_ (1958).

144 R. MERCEREAU, “Cretan Cylindrical Models”, _AJA_ 95 (1991) 291; an article is forthcoming in _AJA_. I am grateful to the author for sending me a copy of her _AJA_ talk. Cf. HÄG ( _supra_ n. 139).
relation to the antithetic animals have led to her designation as a goddess. Since this work is the subject of a detailed investigation in this volume by M.-H. Gates, only a few points relevant to a discussion of the Mycenae painting need to be made here. In an earlier analysis of the lid, Kantor identified the female as an Aegean divinity, but pointed out a number of non-Aegean stylistic traits. The recent discovery of a Canaanite gold pendant in the Kaš (Ulu Burun) shipwreck sheds an interesting light on the ivory lid, for there a nude goddess with headdress bends her arms in the same pose, but holds in her hands a goat and a deer instead of grain. Both figures seem to be Ponniai Theron of sorts, in addition to their other associations, but it may be a mistake to think that we can categorize such individuals as belonging definitively to one culture or another.

The iconography of another plump female with grain on an ivory plaque from tomb 49 at Mycenae recalls the figure on the pyxis lid (Pl. XVIIa), and the precious medium was imported from the east or Egypt. The foreleg of a rampant flanking animal survives (perhaps one of a pair of agrimia), but the incurved altar and mountainous setting of the pyxis lid are now missing. Her protruding buttocks and knees, and cramped pose, suggest however that this individual has been adapted from a model where the figure was seated. On several other ivory plaques from Mycenae, seated figures hold their arms in similar poses, though in one case the forearms and hands are missing (Pl. XVIIb), and in another instance the figure extends branches rather than bunches of grain.

It is worth noting that most of the comparanda for the fresco figure are made of precious, portable materials that could conceivably have been created in any of a number of artistic centers, or even have been the work of itinerant craftsmen. The fresco figure, by contrast, was discovered in situ, and by the very nature of the medium it must have been painted where it was found. We must therefore assume that the gesture with grain had some meaning recognizable to the individuals at Mycenae who made direct use of the shrine, regardless of the significance of the gesture with grain elsewhere in the Mediterranean world.

145 C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, “Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra”, Syria 10 (1929) 292-293, pl. 56; H. KANTOR, “The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium, B.C.”, AJA 51 (1947) 1-108, esp. 86-89, pl. XXII J (drawing); PGC 107 #1290, pl. 1290 (detail); APG 130 fig. 122 B (drawing); J.-C. POURSAT (supra n. 113) pl. XIX.1; MRG, 253 col. fig. 208.


147 KANTOR (supra n. 145).

148 E. FRENCH, AR 36 (1989) 87 and fig. 5; G.F. BASS, “Oldest Known Shipwreck”, National Geographic Magazine 172.6 (December 1987) 693-732, esp. 718 col. fig; G.F. BASS et al., “The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign”, AJA 93 (1989) 2, 4, 4 fig. 3. The animals are called “gazelles”, but each seems to have horns of different shapes in the published photographs.

149 MA 180 fig. 72; H. KANTOR, “Ivory Carving in the Mycenaean Period”, Archaeology 13 (1960) 14-25, 24 fig. 23; N. YALOURIS, “An Unreported Use for Some Mycenaean Glass Paste Beads”, JGS 10 (1968) 9-16, esp. 13 #17; APG 130 fig. 122 C (drawing); POURSAT (supra n. 59) 93 #299, pl. XXIX; A. XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU (supra n. 51) 129 E 2473, 2475, pl. 35 #2473, 2475.


151 ANM #5897: POURSAT (supra n. 59) 19 #48, pl. IV; cf. ANM #2641: POURSAT (supra n. 113) 91 #295, pl. XXIX.

152 POURSAT (supra n. 59) 80 #270, pl. XXIV; XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU (supra n. 51) 56 Cl 2269, 2399, 2413, pl. 2#2269, 2399, 2413.
Associated animal

Difficult to connect with the fragmentary female in the lower wall panel are a crudely drawn pair of yellow animal paws to the spectator's right and a yellow animal's tail to the left. Although the uniform color indicates that the paws and tail belong to the same creature, so much is missing that the exact identification of the animal is in doubt. But it cannot be part of the female's costume, which is a blue-gray robe or "himation" draped over a white dress with black trim. The robe draped over the shoulder is superficially similar to the LM I A "himation" on the Akrotiri frescoes 153, but the ends tied over the shoulder suggest a skin garment like that worn by the so-called 'rustics' on some of the Pylos frescoes 154. These skin garments have a ragged lower edge, however, which differs from the straight horizontal hem of the Mycenaean figure's costume. Along this hem, moreover, is a fringe of decorative weights paralleled in the costume of the female with sword in the upper register of the same composition, and by her counterpart on the Tiryns Treasure ring 155. The combination of dress and robe seems to resemble the problematic costume of the female on a sealstone from Knossos who holds a sword and whip, but this resemblance is not precise 156.

Taylour briefly considered (but did not argue) that the paws on the Mycenaean painting belonged to a fantastic creature like the winged "lion-goat" on a seal in the Benaki Museum (Pl. XVIIc), but such an animal has no mainland relatives at present 157. N. Marinatos discussed the possibility that the animal represented an attendant lion or griffin, and decided in favor of the griffin, which she reconstructs as flying 158.

A consistent Aegean convention for differentiating among various creatures permits an unequivocal solution to the dilemma. Fresco griffins on Crete 159, Thera 160, Keos 161 and

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153 E.g., the West House "priestess", KTMH col. pl. XLII, and women from the upper floor: Art and Religion in Thera 68 fig. 46.
154 PN II 71-72 #22 H 64, pl. M.
156 HM 1279; CMS II.3 16; cf. comments in Warrior Goddess 543 and fig. 7.
158 MARINATOS (supra n. 31).
159 Knossos, Great East Hall: PM III 510-513, 511 fig. 355; B. KAISER, Untersuchungen zum minoischen Relief (1976) 279-282; APG 74 fig. 56 (drawing). For a leaping griffin as a relief appliqué on a vessel from Mallia, see P. BETANCOURT, The History of Minoan Pottery (1985) pl. 19 E. Knossos, Throne room: IMMERWAHR 176 Kn. No. 28. E. Davis suggests that the paintings may be no later than LM I B: "The Cycladic Style of the Thera Frescoes", TAW III 1 214-227, esp. 214-215. Knossos, NW fresco heap: PM III 40, 41 fig. 25 c; SMITH (supra n. 79) 80, fig. 115 c, d; APG 62 fig. 45 c (drawing); IMMERWAHR 172 Kn. No. 14c; E.J. BARBER, Prehistoric Textiles. The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean (1991) 321 and fig. 15.7.
160 Nilotic landscape: KTMH pl. XL (above) for best detail; cf. MORGAN pls. 5, 60, col. pl. B; IMMERWAHR col. pl. XIV; Art and Religion in Thera 44 fig. 25. Xeste 3: Unpublished but for line drawings: Art and Religion in Thera 62 fig. 40, 66-67 fig. 44; N. MARINATOS, "The Function and Interpretation of the Thera Frescoes", Iconographie minoenne 219-230, esp. 225 fig. 6; IMMERWAHR 60 fig. 20. In the summer of 1991, I was able to examine the fresco under restoration in Athens, in the company of Dr. Marinatos. An unusual detail not hitherto emphasized in reconstructions is that the griffin has a red leash "tied" to the frame of the window in the room.
161 Mentioned in IMMERWAHR 218 n. 15. E. Davis, who is publishing the figure, reports that "the wings have blue 'shoulders' and edges...and the feathers have curved triangles of red-stripes on yellow and black
the mainland (in the ‘Cult Center’ itself) \(^{162}\) are almost always white even when painted against a white background, although their pinions and scapular areas are yellow with blue markings. At Pylos, exceptional griffins with white heads and white-dappled mauve bodies from the “small megaron” \(^{163}\) are contemporary with the standard white breed in the large megaron. \(^{164}\) And painted sphinxes from Pylos share the same coloration as griffins but lack the telltale neck-feathers. \(^{165}\)

Lions are not as common as griffins in the surviving wall paintings, though they abound in repoussé and inlaid metalwork, particularly early in the Mycenaean age when they have been considered the Mycenaean animal par excellence. \(^{166}\) This early mainland fascination with the animals is illustrated, for instance, by the pair of couchant lions on an ivory mirror handle from Shaft Grave V (Pl. XVIIId), to mention one of the less-frequently cited examples. \(^{167}\) The West House miniature paintings, however, show us that even at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age yellow is the established hue for the lions leaping through landscape, carved as stern ornaments \(^{169}\), or painted on the sides of the flagship of the flotilla. \(^{170}\) In both the large and small megaron at Pylos, the lions are yellow \(^{171}\), and a fresco fragment from the inner propylon there showed a pair of yellow lions surmounting a gateway. \(^{172}\) The yellow lions of the Pylos megaron are important, moreover, because they exist alongside the white griffins. Since the Mycenae animal is yellow, it must be a lion with its forepaws raised in the air (Pl. XVIIId: reconstruction).

\[^{162}\] Warrior Goddess 541-542, 540 fig. 4, with earlier bibliography in n. 36; MW 182 #149, 181 col. pl.; MORGAN fig. 157; HAMPE and SIMON (supra n. 117) pl. 70; A. VARVARIGHOU, Tο οδοντόφωροι τα Μυκηναϊκά κράνος (1981) 100, pl. VIII b; MRG 209 col. fig. 163; C.E. MORRIS, “In Pursuit of the White Tusked Boar”, in Celebrations 149-195, esp. 149 and fig. 1.

\[^{163}\] PN II 111-114 #21 C 46, col. pl. P. The reconstruction cannot be entirely correct, for there is something yellow in front of the griffin’s beak (a lion’s tail?) which is not compatible with the yellow forepaws overlapping the purple paws of the griffin. I thank E. Davis for emphasizing the importance of this anomaly.


\[^{165}\] PN II 136-137 I A 2, col. pls. I, R.

\[^{166}\] N. MARINATOS, “Celebrations of Death and the Symbolism of the Lion Hunt”, in Celebrations 143-147. Among the more famous examples are the niello “lion hunt” dagger from SG IV, a hexagonal gold box and a gold cup with running lions from V. Less well known is a silver cup from grave Delta of Circle B with a man hunting a leaping bird: ANM #9563; E. DAVIS, The Vapheto Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware (1977) 136-137 #30, fig. 105.

\[^{167}\] KARO 142, pl. CXXXVI, 141 figs. 58, 59; POURSAT (supra n. 59) 62 #214, pl. XVIII.

\[^{168}\] Thera VI pl. 94; KTMH col. pl. XL (below) and XL1 (above); MORGAN pl. 55; MRG col. pl. 50 (upper left).

\[^{169}\] MORGAN fig. 173, 174, col. pl. C. Two other ship ornaments cannot be identified securely, but they do not appear to be griffins since they have long, serpentine bodies: see figs. 175, 177.

\[^{170}\] MORGAN pls. 10, 56, col. pl. C; MRG col. pl. 50 (far right), col. pl. 51 (far left).

\[^{171}\] Supra notes 163-164. Cf. a faience plaque from Mycenae with a yellow lion alongside an unusual blue griffin: ANM 7509; A.J.B. WACE, “Mycenae, 1939-55”, BSA 51 (1956) 111, pl. 21 b; SMITH (supra n. 79) 43, fig. 68; POSTER (supra n. 126) 129-130, 131 pl. 40.

\[^{172}\] PN II pl. 136 #2 A 2. Red lions surmount a door on one of the Pylos frescoes: PN II 137-138 #3 A 20, pl. 77.
But what does the animal signify? In the Aegean world, lions, like griffins, are images connected initially with predation \(^{173}\), as well as with divinities \(^{174}\). After the beginning of LM/LH III A, lions are rare as hunters or hunted \(^{175}\), and their main value appears to become increasingly symbolic. Most famous of the Mycenaean lions are the LH III B examples from the Pylos palace, and those of the earlier Lion Gate relief at Mycenae which was reused in the LH III B expansion of the citadel \(^{176}\). The animal in the painting thus surely recalls such palatial expressions of power and prestige.

But we should recall that lion imagery is part of a longstanding Mycenaean iconographic tradition, and that it is not restricted to males. Even for the Shaft Grave era, E. Vermeule has emphasized that one of the graves richest in lion iconography is III, which contained the bodies of several women but no men \(^{177}\). Another female, on an unusual cylinder seal from a LH I-II context in the Kasarma tholos (Pl. XVIIb), is actually shown with both a lion and a griffin, demonstrating that the Mycenaean association of females with these animals begins quite early \(^{178}\). A recumbent lion was among several fine ivories included among the contents buried in the top of the high platform in room 31 \(^{179}\); a similarly shaped steatite example has been found on Crete in the peak sanctuary at Mt. Juktas near Knossos \(^{180}\). Rather tame-looking lions accompany some figures identified as divinities on the MM III B sealings from the Knossos Temple Repositories (Pl. XIXb) \(^{181}\), and the peak goddess on LM II sealings (mentioned above) is flanked by a pair of them (Pl. XIVc) \(^{182}\).

Elsewhere, a Middle-Syrian cylinder seal, probably influenced by Aegean iconography, shows an enthroned, long-robbed deity with sword who uses a recumbent lion as footstool and

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\(^{173}\) For concise review and summary of Aegean lion and griffin iconography, see MORGAN 44-54. A good Mycenaean example is the ivory pyxis from Athens which shows both creatures hunting other animals: KTTH pl. 236.

\(^{174}\) As, e.g., in the Knossos throne room and the paintings from Xeste 3. Some long-robed figures with griffins have been called priests, as e.g., on ANM 1761: CMS I 223. For recent discussion of such figures, see J. YOUNGER (supra n. 83).

\(^{175}\) MARINATOS (supra n. 166) for discussion of early Mycenaean evidence. Lion and warrior imagery are actually blended on a cylinder seal from the Kasarma tholos where humans drive a lion-drawn chariot: CMS V 585. Late exceptions are the ivory mirror handles from Cyprus showing warriors fighting, respectively, a lion and a griffin (PGC 163 and pls. 1748 [Koukla], 1747 [Enkomii]; POURSAT [supra n. 113] pl. XVI).

\(^{176}\) Supra notes 14 (Lion Gate) and 163-164 (Pylos megaron).

\(^{177}\) E. VERMEULE, _The Art of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae_ (1975) 37-44, esp. 37: "Grave III is a good test for those who associate the lion with the manly virtues of the Argolid". For the combat seals from III, see CMS I 9-12, Nos. 9 and 10 show lions.

\(^{178}\) CMS V.2 584.

\(^{179}\) New Light pl. XL I a, b; POURSAT (supra n. 59) pl. III.4; TAYLOUR (supra n. 31 [1983]) 57 fig. 36. For two-dimensional lions on ivory plaques from Mycenae, see A.J.B. WACE, "Mycenae, 1939-53", BSA 49 (1954) pl. 33 c.

\(^{180}\) A. KARETSOU, "Ιερόν κορυφής Γοίγκτα", PraktArchEt 1974 237, pl. 179 b; S. HILLER, _Das minoische Kreis nach den Ausgrabungen des letzten Jahrzehnts_ (1977) 170, pl. 18 g. Cf. the lion headed rhyton from Knossos (PM II 827-832, 821 fig. 537 I, 829 fig. 542 a and b, 830 figs. 544, 545) and a fragment from Delphi (PM II 833 fig. 549). A fragment of another example was found in the Royal Road excavations at Knossos: M.S.F. HOOD, AR (1961) 27, 29 fig. 41. Yellow clay examples were found at Akrotiri on Thera (Thera II pl. 37.1; Thera V pl. 80). The gold example from Mycenae may be the earliest in terms of archaeological context, but the concept of the zoomorphic rhyton seems indebted to Minoan ideas (KTTH pl. 198, col. pl. LIII; APG 162 fig. 156; DAVIS [supra n. 166] 179-183 #62, figs. 146, 147). Davis, however, argues the Mycenaean lion inspired the other examples.

\(^{181}\) A. EVANS, "Knossos Excavations, 1903", BSA 9 (1902-03) 59 fig. 38; PM II 831 figs. 546-548; APG 220 fig. 220 C, D; E. HALLAGER, "The Knossos Roundels", BSA 82 (1987) 55-70, pl. 8: Kn Ra (Wr 25). Cf. the Armenian seal (supra n. 124) and British Museum seal (CMS VII 118).

\(^{182}\) Supra n. 115.
is flanked by a griffin\textsuperscript{183}. The lion is thus a symbol with a wide range of associations in the Mediterranean, not excepting pharaonic Egypt, where it appears both as attendant of the king as well as the symbol of his valor when he vanquishes it\textsuperscript{184}.

As to why the lion in the fresco is leaping, I have no answer at present, though there must be a reason that made sense to the Mycenaeans, even if it is not apparent to us\textsuperscript{185}. Lions associated with female figures on Crete may rest their raised forepaws on the sides of a mountain (Pl. XIVc)\textsuperscript{186} or on the knees of a seated figure (Pl. XVb)\textsuperscript{187} but no such support is present in the painting. Other supports for the forepaws, such as the incurved altars of the Lion Gate relief\textsuperscript{188} and a sealstone from Mycenae with a related composition\textsuperscript{189} are also lacking in the fresco.

Iconographically, the pose of the fresco animal resembles that of the rampant lion on a sword hilt from the "Chieftain's Grave" near Knossos, where the animal appears both heraldically and as predator on the same work\textsuperscript{190}. We might recall, incidentally, the vast number of these weapons whose decoration included lions (Pl. XIXa)\textsuperscript{191}. Closer to the fresco animal in respect to the leaping pose are the leonine bodies -- of griffins rather than lions -- on a sealstone found in a LH III A context at Tiryns (Pl. XIXc)\textsuperscript{192} and a fresco fragment from the 'Cult Center' showing the "Warrior Goddess" carrying a small (baby?) griffin\textsuperscript{193}.

**Interpretation**

In summary, despite the relatively small size of the figure in the lower panel, her depiction on a wall above a low platform demands that we read her as a goddess. Her iconography supports, or at least does not vitiate, this interpretation: the extraordinary accompanying animal, the hieratic gesture with the grain, and (to a lesser extent) the sealstone bracelet and the plumed cap in a mainland setting\textsuperscript{194}. The various elements constitute a blend of earlier Minoan and contemporary Mycenaean and Near Eastern imagery.

If we are to seek an exact identification for this figure, it is tempting to call her "Sitopotnia", a name appearing along with workers in blue glass (\textit{kuwanoawoki}) and fullers (\textit{kanapeusi}) on one of the Mycenae tablets found in the Citadel House directly connected with

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185. I thank M.J. Mellink for repeatedly emphasizing this point.
186. \textit{Supra} n. 115.
187. \textit{Supra} n. 124.
188. \textit{Supra} n. 14.
189. ANM # 2316: \textit{CMS I} 46; cf. \textit{CMS I} 73 and 98.
190. \textit{PM IV.2}, 859-867, esp. 866 fig. 851; \textit{APG} 184 fig. 183.
191. E.g., the four "whirling" lions on a pommel from SG IV at Mycenae: POURSAT (\textit{supra} n. 59) 60 #208, pl. XVII. Grave Delta in Circle B produced a sword 945 m. long with an ivory pommel and a gold foil grip decorated with lion heads; the blade is engraved with griffins on both sides: \textit{APG} 175 fig. 153.
193. \textit{Supra} n. 162.
194. She thus meets the "qualifications" for divinity outlined in RENFREW et al. (\textit{supra} n. 9) 22-24. Regarding the lion, note especially 23-24: "Such mythical monsters often occur not as individual images, but in larger iconographic compositions where they frequently take a subordinate role. And here they may be of crucial interpretive significance, since the entity (usually in the Aegean an anthropomorphic one) who dominates them or is flanked by them, must generally have divine powers". Here, the non-aggressive animal attendant on a female qualifies as "mythical", despite the fact that actual lion bones have been found at Tiryns and other Aegean sites: J. BOESSNECK and A. von den DRIESCH, "Ein Löwenknochenfund aus Tiryns", \textit{AA} 1979 450-458; cf. \textit{Tiryns XI} (1990) 104 Table 12, 110-111.
the ‘Cult Center’, though there are linguistic problems even with this divine name 195. Why a “grain goddess” should be attended by a lion, moreover, is unclear unless she has some relation to a divinity like the later Rhea/Cybele, in which case the animal might serve as a ‘familiar’ figure 196.

Summary and Conclusions

If the small figure has been correctly identified as a goddess, the fresco from room 31 should show a triad of deities of slightly different ranks, a situation familiar from the Linear B tablets where individual gods are assigned different offerings 197. The occurrence of both male and female deities in the tablets, interestingly enough, is not paralleled either on this fresco or on the other paintings from the ‘Cult Center’, where the major figures are all female 198. The representation of several deities within the same composition differs, moreover, from the majority of Aegean scenes which show a single divine figure – whether male or female – appearing at the moment of epiphany 199. Gatherings of multiple gods are more frequent in Egyptian and Hittite depictions.

What is truely noteworthy in the fresco from room 31 is the way in which iconographic elements and artistic conventions from a variety of sources have been meaningfully integrated by LH III B. Equally significant is the recurring emphasis on symbols of power that we tend to associate with the ruling elite at Mycenae: sword, scepter/staff, lion, impressive display architecture (isodomic masonry and columns). Several of these symbols are repeated, and thus reinforced, by the contents of the shrine (ivory pommel, lion and female figurines, and conglomerate threshold). Thus, I am sure that O. Negbi’s recent designation of this shrine as “popular”, rather than palatial, cannot be entirely correct, even though her idea that the layout of the shrine reveals some Levantine influence seems plausible 200.

We may, however, imagine that the shrine was used by workers in this area of the citadel who were connected with the palatial administration. Workshops nearby specializing in ivory and blue glass (kyanos) in and around this area were presumably under royal control 201. The ‘palatial’ connection of these crafts is indicated by the mention of workers in blue glass (kuwanowokoi) in the Linear B tablets from Mycenae 202, and by the existence at both Mycenae and Thebes of workshops for ivory and other foreign materials 203. The Pylos tablets

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196 W. BURKERT, Greek Religion (1985) 177-178.


198 Also, no male terracotta figurines were found, though these are documented at Tiryns and at Phylakopi, e.g., RENFREW et al. (supra n. 9) pls. 35-37.

199 HÄGG and NIEMEIER, supra n. 114.

200 NEGBI (supra n. 28) 346.


202 Supra nn. 195, 201.

203 For imported lapis lazuli, see: MW 252 #273-275, 253 col. figs; E. PORADA, “The Cylinder Seals found at Thebes in Boiotia”, Archiv für Orientforschung 28 (1981) 1-78. For finished jewelry, see MW 116 #51
specifically inventoried furniture made of ebony, decorated with inlays of kyanos and ivory, all of which materials had to be imported into Greece.

Moreover, the exotic Egyptian and Minoan articles deposited in the Mycenae shrine with the fresco were presumably not donated by commoners. E. Cline has argued that at least some of the many Egyptian objects at Mycenae (a plaque and two scarabs from shrines in the ‘Cult Center’ alone) may have arrived as a result of diplomatic contacts. The role of shippers in the process of Late Bronze Age trade and diplomatic exchanges among rulers now receives considerable support from the contents of Ulu Burun (Kaş) shipwreck, which carried not only unworked logs of ebony, tusks and teeth of ivory, and ingots of blue glass, but also a gold scarab of Nefertiti.

The ivory debitage and blanks actually found at Mycenae in room 32 behind the fresco imply that this was a shrine associated with the workshops nearby, and a narrow “window” into room 32 may have allowed workers to look in from outside. Another Egyptian stone vessel was found in a workshop for ivory and faience excavated outside the Mycenae citadel. And O. Krzyżkowski suggests that the ivory relief head of a warrior found in Cyprus was probably produced by a Mycenae workshop for the adornment of an ivory footstool, intended perhaps as a diplomatic gift rather than as an item of trade per se.

The connection between shrine and workshop at Mycenae suggested here is paralleled at Pylos by the layout of the painted “altar” near room 93 in relation to the “Southeast Workshops” (Pl. Xic, A), and by the allocations of “temple bronze” mentioned in the Linear B tablets. The activities of such workshops and the possible movement of artisans among the major centers helps, incidentally, to suggest a means for the transfer of iconography from one palatial site to another.

Although the exact organization of palatial ateliers still escapes us, the wide range of containers in the Mycenae shrine for holding, pouring, and the consumption of liquids, also indicates that pouring and drinking was a principal cult activity here. We might recall in this

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204 CHADWICK (supra n. 195) 147-150, 332-336.
205 E.g., Minoan stone bowl (Mycenae, 1968 96); faience plaque of Amenhotep III-found next to low platform (New Light 95-96). On etyptica at Mycenae, see CLINE (supra n. 89) 29-42.
206 See discussion in MYOLONAS (supra n. 13) 80-83.
208 P.M. FRASER, AR 16 (1970) 13; Mycenae, 1968 94; Cult Places 45.
209 Cult Places 44: “The gap in the north wall at the junction is only 30 cms. and cannot have been used as a doorway. Its purpose is obscure”.
210 MYOLONAS (supra n. 13) 80-83, 81 n. 85 on the vase.
212 FN I 30-305, figs. 227, 228. For the frescoed “altar” in front of room 93 and the “Northeastern Building” at Pylos: PN II 178 #26 D 92, pl. 107.
214 New Light 275, specifically names the following vessels from the main room: jug, kylix, miniature jug, hydria, alabastron. From a bench built within the room came: kylikes, a cup, ladles, jugs, stirrup jar, piriform jar, alabastron, and hydria.
connection the libation channel next to the throne in the megaron at Pylos, a channel whose purpose is made clear by the appearance of the painted jug immediately above on the wall dado 215. The importance of drinking is also emphasized in room 10 at Pylos with its pithos stand, frescoed benches and adjacent store of kylikes (Pl. Xic, B and C) 216, and by the "chalice" held by the Týrns goddess (Pl. XIIb) whose robe resembles that of the goddess with sword in the Mycenaean Cult Center painting. If these analogies are correct, the "palatial" iconography of the fresco in room 31, and the rituals enacted there, may be part of a deliberate attempt to connect the workshops with the central authority of Mycenae. The painting can thus be seen to fulfill two related functions in its LH III B context: it supports a dominant ideology and asserts "membership in [a] corporate group", both important aspects of late Mycenaean religion 217. A question for further investigation is whether the administration at Mycenae may have been organized at least partially along theocratic lines, a suggestion also made for the Cretan palaces 218.

In closing, I would draw particular attention to the iconographic features the fresco shares with the earlier Lion Gate relief, which when reset in the LH III B gate of the citadel is perhaps the one monument that best symbolizes Mycenae in its late phase. Common to both compositions are the lion with raised forepaws, the presence of a row of blocks (above a bench in the fresco; above a pair of incurved Minoan altars on the relief), tapering column which supports an entablature or horizontal beams, and circular beam ends. The fresco includes the representation of a doorway set next to an actual door, and the Lion relief was set above the major entrance into the citadel. And the conglomerate threshold of the shrine recalls the extensive use of this type of stone both at the citadel entrance and inside the palace for architectural accents 219. In a recent discussion of the Lion Gate relief, M. Shaw emphasized primarily the connection between the lions and altars and the concept of a protected gateway 220. According to the interpretation of the visual evidence proposed here, the message of both the Lion Gate relief and the shrine painting may be more generally one that reiterates a message of political power and control, and of self-advertizement by the ruling elite. The artisans in the workshops represented an important subsidiary group within this hierarchical structure. In view of the iconography of the shrine fresco, with its emphasis on important female figures and relatively insignificant male figures 221, I would also suggest that the generally accepted interpretation of the Lion Gate relief as the secular "coat of arms" of the male wâna of Mycenae should be reconsidered 222.

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215 PN I 68; II 178-179, #1 M 6, 2 M 6, pls. 108, 126; McALLUM (supra n. 164); on the role of libations, R. HAGG, "The Role of Libations in Mycenaean Ceremony and Cult", in Celebrations 177-184.
216 Supra n. 78.
217 WRIGHT (supra n. 8) 316: the major focus was on reinforcing the position of the ruling authority by emphasizing lineage, militarist authority, and the locale of the palace and its extension into the territory controlled by the palace.
219 WACE (supra n. 16) passim; LHC 33, 34, 40, 59-62, 64; WRIGHT (supra n. 12) passim.
220 SHAW (supra n. 14).
221 The significance of an ivory male head remains unclear: New Light 275, pl. XLI c, d; TAYLOUR (supra n. 31 [1983]) 57 fig. 37; POULIAT (supra n. 113) pl. III.1-3. For a suggestion that it belonged to a cult statue, see MW 70-71 #2 and col. figs.
222 E.g., MYLONAS (supra n. 13) 173, 206-210; WRIGHT (supra n. 12) 182.
CHART OF ICONOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS

MINOAN CONTRIBUTIONS
- fresco decoration of cult rooms.
- representation of predominantly female divinities (though the Linear B texts clearly indicate the existence of male members of the pantheon).
- presence of males only in poses of worshippers/attendants.
- some differences of scale among males and females.
- depiction of one female in Minoan court costume.
- some elements of architectonic framework (cf. "Great East Hall" at Knossos).
- horns of consecration and beam ends.

EGYPT
- marked differences in scale among figures.
- views into interiors of buildings.
- presence of black (African?) figure (cf. Egyptian artifacts found in shrine and other parts of 'Cult Center').

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
- gesture of female figure with grain?
- attendant lion (perhaps from Egypt, or through Crete; cf. also Lion Gate at Bogazkoy).
- internal arrangements of shrine (Levant).

MYCENAEAN ELEMENTS
- selective use of groundline (for female, but not for male, figures) (cf. Pylos frescoes).
- odd combination of interior/exterior views.
- apparently deliberate juxtaposition of upper and lower registers.
- painting of benches and platforms in addition to walls.
- location of shrines near workshop areas.
- further development of earlier (mainly Minoan) iconographic elements.
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