

IMAGES OF POWER IN THE BRONZE AGE AEGEAN *

In the Aegean in the Bronze Age, who are the people who occupy important positions in society and who exercise authority over the state? Who are the deities wielding power from the other world to control this one? How do we identify such people and such deities?

This paper turns to the artistic record, to the images of the human figure, to ask these questions from a particular perspective. Images of power are, of course, not restricted to those incorporating a human form. They may comprise symbols taken from the world around or from the world of the imagination. However this inquiry concentrates on the depictions of the human figure as being the most important evidence for shaping any answer to the three basic questions posed above.

In today's world, presidents and politicians – and the few remaining kings – all wear dark suits of the same cut which give no overt indication of rank or power. Modern mass media however can give us instant images to recognise their features and copious text to explain why they are important and how their utterances and actions will effect us. We are even transported to the scene of their activities and are metaphorically present to see them exercising their authority. However, before the advent of press and television coverage, mighty rulers had found other ways to differentiate themselves from ordinary people and to proclaim their rank and power. Certainly they dressed opulently and made use of symbol and ceremony to set themselves apart but one of the most potent ways to declare their superiority was to use the visual record to their own ends. Indeed, when the various artistic traditions are surveyed, the effort to pursue this differentiation can be seen as a continuum from ancient times to the present.

The perspective, then, taken in this inquiry is the comparative one, searching across these art traditions and drawing insights from the disciplines of art history, anthropology and sociology¹. Comparisons between the treatment of the gods and rulers in the arts of

* I should like to thank Robert Laffineur and Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier for the invitation to present a paper at the Heidelberg Conference and on this occasion I wish also to remember and to honour Klaus Kilian. This paper is for him.

1 Making such comparisons requires sensitivity to the differing artistic traditions. E.H. GOMBRICH, *The Image and the Eye* (1982), 16-18 and 37-39, in taking up some of the themes he discussed in his earlier work, *Art and Illusion*, reminds us that art codes reality and that the understanding of the code opens the way to visual discovery on the part of the viewer. The insights which can be gained from such comparisons are argued in the case of Greek religion by W. BUKERT, *Greek Religion* (1985), 1-6, but the same argument holds for art in the earlier period. Most recently this approach has been used to elucidate the nature of Greek artistic creativity in S.P. MORRIS, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992). In the field of Bronze Age iconography, such comparative techniques are presented in N. MARINATOS, *Art and Religion in Thera* (1984), 7-8 under the point, "analogy", though examples from Greek art and from religious phenomenology are the ones specifically mentioned. I am indebted to Sarah Immerwahr for discussions on Mycenaean and Hittite comparisons and to Gisela Walberg for discussions on Minoan and Egyptian comparisons. Both of these scholars have helped shape my thoughts for this paper. At the

various lands and different eras are used to provoke discussion on the very point of how does one identify a person in authority or a deity in the visual record. The discussion is structured as a list of points to check in the depiction of the human figure and, for each point, a set of criteria is determined, the satisfying of which would indicate a powerful mortal or an immortal. The points on the Check List cover the depiction of the body itself, its physical attributes and any added detail, as well as the characteristic roles assumed by these beings. The phrase "power elite" will be used as a convenient general term to encompass all the beings, human or divine, who exercise authority in the state or have some power over people. The phrase "power being" will be used as a convenient general term for a member of the power elite.

The Check List and Criteria for Identifying the Power Elite

A check list covering the possibilities for depicting the human body can be developed very quickly. After all, the scope of these possibilities, if surrealist techniques are excluded, is limited. Some of the scope comes from recording the differentiation already achieved in the real world through use of special clothing, symbol and ceremony. However art can provide more opportunities for aggrandisement by calling upon the imagination to create new images not bound by the constraints of the natural world. In short, the artist can make the body life-size or larger or smaller, can add things to it, can show the body and face realistically or improve upon nature, can put clothes on or take them off, can surround it with symbols or creatures, can show the figure static or in some activity. Accordingly, in the Check List proposed here, Points 1 to 7 investigate whether the human body is depicted as normal or abnormal, its size, shape, any clothing or adornment, any insignia especially objects held or carried, any symbols surrounding the body, and any accompanying creatures. Check List Points 8 to 10 are concerned with the roles played by power beings. For each of these ten points, criteria are established for the identification of the subject as a power being².

The ten illustrations and the supplementary examples used here are taken from the artistic traditions of Europe from Archaic Greek art to the present era and of Egypt and the Ancient Near East from Dynasty I of Egypt to the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In viewing the particular examples chosen, a myriad other examples will spring to the reader's mind, comparisons perhaps more apt than the ones listed here and ones which the reader has already drawn upon in the attempt to interpret Aegean iconography. The comparative exercise undertaken in this paper seeks simply to gain an overview of the way power elites have been represented in their indigenous arts and from this overview to distil the criteria for identifying people in power which can then be applied to the Bronze Age Aegean.

Heidelberg Conference Jeffrey Soles has also called our attention to the need for this comparative approach. See his paper in this volume on Knossos as a cosmological centre.

2 No doubt some of these checks and criteria underlie identifications already proposed in Aegean iconography but it will be a useful exercise to codify the process of comparison and bring objectivity to it. C. RENFREW, *The Archaeology of Cult* (1985), 1-4, issues a warning, so far as interpreting archaeological material is concerned, that "few of the real methodological problems have been systematically tackled". This warning could apply equally to interpreting iconographic detail. Noting that the reference frameworks for pioneer scholars like Sir Arthur Evans and Martin Nilsson were largely implicit, Renfrew forthrightly argues for the exposition of a clear framework which can provide the basis for systematic study, 11-26. I trust that my Check List is not too "mechanical" for him, since it does strive to provide just such a framework for assessment.

1 Abnormality – excrescences and hybridisation

Pl. LVIA The Annunciation: tempera on panel, Fra Angelico.

In Christian iconography, angels as the messengers of God are depicted as fully human figures but sprouting wings. The abnormality draws attention to the fact that they are special beings, inhabitants of the supernatural realm. The particular nature of the excrescence suggests the ease with which they can speed between the two worlds, natural and supernatural, performing their duty of bringing God's messages to mortals.

In Sumerian and Babylonian iconography such excrescences include the flames that spring from the shoulders of Utu/Shamash and flowing water with fish that streams from the shoulders of Enki/Ea³.

When parts of different creatures are actually fused then the resulting hybrid is really a new creature as with the demons of the Ancient Near East. The Assyrian Demon at the Sacred Tree is of some interest to us here since, with its upright stance and ability to perform various roles it acts like a human and not an animal. This particular form of hybridisation stresses the human component but adds to it the extra dimension of the animal attribute. In this way supernatural power is suggested⁴.

In Egyptian art even the great gods are regularly depicted as such hybrids; Horus has a falcon head, Toth an ibis head, Sekhmet a lion head, Khnum a ram head, and Anubis a jackal head⁵.

In summary: Attention can be drawn to the body by making it abnormal in some way. Excrescences may be added; wings may spring from the shoulders to create a human figure who can fly, plants or animals may grow or implements may obtrude from the body as indication of the power latent there. Hybridisation may be employed by the artist, rendering the body basically intact and functioning as a human body, but with the head (and perhaps more features) of a bird or animal. In both cases the abnormality is intended to signify a supernatural being.

2 Body Size – relativity and focus

Pl. LVIB Pharaoh as Conqueror: Narmer Palette.

Egyptian art uses gradation by size to indicate the relative importance of the beings⁶. Pharaoh is of the same stature as the gods, for he is one of their number. Members of his court are rendered on a smaller scale, servants and children smaller again⁷. The use of the superimposed register system for organising the content of large wall paintings superbly complements the use of this size differentiation since the single figure of Pharaoh, either standing or seated, can be posed at one side of the composition while three or four registers of figures can make up the equivalent height. Emphasis on the power of the Egyptian ruler could hardly be more explicit⁸.

3 The flames are seen with Shamash, Pl. LVIIc below, and the others are illustrated in the images of gods and goddesses, P. AMIET, *Art of the Ancient Near East* (1980), 579-585 and pls. 767, 771.

4 Illustrated H. FRANKFORT, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (1969), pl. 90. Similar activities are also undertaken by a fully human figure with wings, the "Winged Genius", pl. 83. In Mesopotamian art, when a hybrid has an animal head and human body it is defined as a demon, E. PORADA, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Cylinder Seals in North American Collections*, Vol. 1. *The Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library* (1948), XXIV.

5 Illustrated in the images of gods and goddesses, K. MICHALOWSKI, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (1969), 566.

6 H. SCHÄFER, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (1974), 231-234, explains that the Egyptian artists "emphasise the king in religious and secular scenes and deceased men in their tombs by making them larger than the other people in the picture".

7 W. STEVENSON SMITH, *Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (1946), xiv, reminds us that "a certain latitude was always allowed for the representation of children, peasants, captives, and above all, animals".

8 Except perhaps the sheer size of the statuary set up all over their kingdom by successive Pharaohs.

Other artistic traditions did not use the "size = importance" convention to such effect as the Egyptians, though from time to time it proves useful for special subjects. The Last Judgement painted in the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo shows a central Christ figure, massive, dominating those around. Figures of the major saints are shown with similar grand proportions, though not, of course, so clearly focussed upon. Lesser mortals are shown smaller again and the damned are further reduced in size ⁹.

In summary: Attention can be drawn to the body by increasing its size relative to other human figures and/or to the natural phenomena of this world. Such magnification suggests importance, either as a deity or a human, and creates a focus on that figure *vis a vis* others.

3 Body Shape – especially facial detail

Pl. LVIC The Classical Gods: relief from Brauron in Attica.

None before and none since the Classical Greeks have achieved such a statement of human beauty, male and female. That their gods and goddesses are conceived of in this beautiful human form gives full meaning to the terms anthropomorphic and classical ¹⁰.

Other arts choose to depict the detail of the individual as a statement of power. The portrait by Giovanni Bellini of the Doge Leonardo Loredano is a good example. There is no doubting the power in the individual features of this remarkable face ¹¹.

Yet other arts choose a mix of the two; recording the individual details but beautifying the bodily features as well. Such juxtaposition of the perfect and generic body with the idiosyncratic and unique face is used to great effect in the depictions of Pharaoh. The great statues of Cephren are replicated for each succeeding ruler ¹² but they have their own face thus giving a continuing statement of perfection and power, but recognising the individual Pharaoh's identity ¹³.

In summary: Attention can be drawn to the body by making it particularly beautiful. While agreement on the exact nature of human beauty may not be cross cultural, one general observation may be made. Beautiful adults are shown in their vital youth or their mature prime, before the imperfections of age are apparent: the adult male figure has the athletic body of the warrior; the adult female figure has soft curves and a generous bosom. In such depictions the face is also treated as youthfully mature and without blemish. This also applies when the features are those of a particular individual and we have a portrait situation (see Point 8 below). The beauty of these power beings does not indicate whether they are deities or humans.

4 Clothing – especially headdress

Pl. LVID The Gods at Mari: wall painting from the Palace of Zimrilim.

The iconography of the gods in the Ancient Near East is complex but on this point gives very clear indicators. The headdress of a deity is the horned helmet and the usual clothing is a flounced robe ¹⁴.

9 The use of gradation in size to indicate the importance of individuals is, however, not such a favourite device of European art which chose rather to keep natural sizing and indicate importance by other means.

10 Note also the perennial inspiration of the Classical ideal for later European art.

11 J. WILLIAMS, *The World of Titian* (1976), 24.

12 Cephren, illustrated MICHALOWSKI (*supra* n. 5), pl. 62. Even when Pharaoh was depicted as the Sphinx, his individual facial features were delineated as with Amenemhat III, illustrated MICHALOWSKI (*supra* n. 5), pl. 85.

13 The Egyptian ideal of beauty and its combination with the features of an individual are discussed by SCHÄFER (*supra* n. 6), 16-18.

14 See the clothing and headdress of Shamash in Pl. LVIIc below.

Other examples of special robes and glorious headdresses spring to mind: the Aegis of Athena, the ermine trimmed gowns of European royalty, the feather cloaks of Maori chiefs; the many crowns of Pharaoh, the Triple Tiara of the Popes, King Edward's Crown used in the coronation ceremony for the kings of England, the halo which signifies holiness in Christian iconography ¹⁵.

In summary: Attention can be drawn to the body, in art as in life, by clothing it in special robes and by treating the adornment of the head in a special way. The most obvious example is that of a king who wears a robe of state and a crown upon his head. However, we are not necessarily expecting a king as the answer when we search for the power elite and the indicating details may be a little more abstruse ¹⁶. Again the richly robed and crowned power being may be mortal or immortal.

5 Insignia – especially object held

Pl. LVIf Napoleon I as Emperor: painting, Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres.

The Emperor sits on a splendid throne in full regalia. He holds two sceptres. European royalty uses such monarchical regalia particularly in coronation ceremonies. It was extremely important for Napoleon to have himself portrayed within this tradition ¹⁷.

The identity of the Greek gods and goddesses is revealed by their insignia, particularly by what they carry: Athena's Aegis, war helmet and spear, Zeus' thunderbolt, Poseidon's fishing trident, Apollo's cithara, Hermes' Caduceus. Likewise the hero Herakles is identified by his club and his lion skin.

In summary: Attention can be drawn to the body by particular insignia, especially when the hands hold some specific object. The insignia of the power beings indicates their identity as well as the nature of their power. In many cases the depiction simply records the real world use of insignia as in the example of a king with his regalia which usually includes a crown and a sceptre held as symbol of his authority. The use of insignia and regalia applies to both mortals and immortals.

6 Surround Symbols – especially throne or podium

Pl. LVIf *Cathedra Petri* in St Peter's, Rome: sculpture, Gianlorenzo Bernini.

When the body sits on this throne (and even if it does not) it is declared to be of utmost importance in the world here and the world to come by such a glorious set of surround symbols, subtending it and hovering around and above it ¹⁸.

This particular example of surround symbols stresses the importance of what subtends a power being. Thrones are provided for rulers, divine and human, and some of them are very elaborate indeed. The actual location of the exploits of the gods can be indicated as when the Scale Mountain subtends the activities

15 The halo which surrounds the head may be thought of as a "headdress" or as a "Surround Symbol", see Point 6 below. When the light surrounds the whole body it is termed the "aura" and is used particularly for the Virgin.

16 The crowning of Olympic athletes with a laurel wreath is but one example of something very prized being rather a humble thing in itself.

17 The most elaborate set of regalia from the ancient world seems to come from Egypt where Pharaoh has a series of crowns, each one indicating a specific area of power enjoyed by the god-king of the two lands. The monarch's regalia is of course of great significance and the pieces which comprise it carry the symbolism of power in the actual coronation ceremony. See also the discussion on Audience Scenes, Point 9 below.

18 It was originally designed as a reliquary for what was believed to be the first Pope's wooden chair.

of the Near Eastern pantheon ¹⁹. Special creatures may carry deities (see Point 7 below, Familiars) and landscape indicators can uphold deities ²⁰.

Signs and words hovering above and around Pharaoh were used to identify him and to indicate the protection of the gods. When the heretic Pharaoh, Akenaten, declared his new religion, the old artistic formulas were changed. The earlier symbols of the Horus Falcon and the Nekhbet Vulture, which hovered over Pharaoh and declared his divinity as well as his rule over the Two Lands, were set aside ²¹. The Aten sun disk now exuded rays to bathe the king and his family in light and to give them (for each ray ends in a hand) sustenance and every good gift ²².

Such hovering symbols, indicating divine protection of a special mortal are widely used. The Akkadian King, Naram Sin, conquers his enemies under the star symbols above the mountain ²³. The Assyrian king drives his chariot to battle below the image of the god, Assur, who, in the flaming sun disk draws his bow against the enemies of Assyria ²⁴. Christian iconography has angels hovering over the figures of saints ²⁵.

In summary: Attention can be drawn to the body by placing over it, around it, or under it, certain symbols. Surround symbols, especially those subtending the figure, identify and stress the importance of power beings, both deities and humans. The symbols may be ones actually in use as with thrones or may be created by the art to express something supernatural like the hovering spirit figures.

7 Familiars – animals and fantastic creatures

Pl. LVIIa Hepat on her Panther at Yazilikaya: rock carving at Hattusas.

The great Hittite goddess, Hepat here stands upon her panther familiar ²⁶. At other times it peeps out from behind her skirts ²⁷.

The list of familiars is long. Ningizzida has a serpent dragon ²⁸ and Ishtar rides a lion ²⁹. The storm gods Adad, Baal and Teshub have a bull in attendance ³⁰. Athena has her owl. Odin rides his eight-legged steed, Sleipnir, and has two ravens which fly round the world and keep him informed of everything happening ³¹.

In summary: Attention can be drawn to the body by portraying it accompanied by a familiar. A familiar is a living creature (either from this world or from the world of the imagination) which is in a symbiotic relationship with the power being. It both belongs to

19 Especially favoured on cylinder seals, as illustrated AMIET (*supra* n. 3), pls. 770-773. See also the scale mountain podium on which Shamash places his feet in Pl. LVIIc below.

20 As with the platform the weather god strides across on the Ugarit Stele, illustrated AMIET (*supra* n. 3), pl. 75.

21 Reinstated after the Amarna lapse. See SCHÄFER (*supra* n. 6), pls. 56 and 57 for illustrations of Seti I and Ramesses III using the traditional iconography again.

22 W. STEVENSON SMITH, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (1958), shows both Amenophis III, pl. 128, and Amenophis IV (Akenaten), pl. 116 (A), under the Aten disk.

23 Illustrated AMIET (*supra* n. 3), pl. 49.

24 Illustrated W. ANDRAE, *Coloured Ceramics from Assur* (1925), pl. 8.

25 Used extensively in Nativity Scenes.

26 The term "familiar" is used in the usual sense of the creature intimate with, and identifying of, a particular significant being.

27 Her son Teshub follows her, also mounted on a panther. For the full iconographic sequence see Bogazkoy-Hattusa IX *Das Hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (1975).

28 Illustrated AMIET (*supra* n. 3), pl. 581.

29 Illustrated AMIET (*supra* n. 3), pl. 580.

30 Illustrated AMIET (*supra* n. 3), pl. 582-584.

31 Illustrated K.R.G. PENDLESOHN, *The Vikings* (1980), 77.

that being and stands as a symbol of their power³². The presence of a familiar indicates a supernatural power being.

8 Official Portrait – head or full length

Pl. LVIIb Head of Alexander: silver coin, tetradrachm minted by Lysimachus.

The Alexander head on the coin has, even by this stage assumed the details of the "Alexander type". The reluctance of the Greeks to use portraiture until the Hellenistic period is of note here³³.

The portrait statue was widely used by the Roman emperors. The type, exemplified by the statue of Caesar Augustus³⁴, proclaims Caesar, ruler of the whole world, but it is a particular Caesar, in this case, Augustus. The body is the strong male figure, the face that of the individual (see above Point 3 for the discussion on Pharaoh).

In summary: The power being may be depicted as an individual, allowing the idiosyncratic details of their own image to be recorded. However, even in this case, there is usually some attempt to remove the unflattering features and to portray a more beautiful face and figure than a truly realistic portrait would allow. A further step in this direction is taken when the art develops a standardised image for the power being in which the individual's features are blended with the ideal form for the culture in an "official portrait". This depiction is used for both mortals and immortals and regularly employs attributes from Points 1 to 7 already discussed for immediate recognition of their identity and power³⁵.

9 Audience Scenes – homage, procession and investiture

Pl. LVIIc Shamash gives authority to Hammurabi: relief above the Law Code.

In an Audience Scene the power being is always seated and is approached by one or more lesser beings. These lesser beings may come singly, or stand around in groups, or move in procession. They may bring gifts to, or receive gifts from, the power being. They may pay homage by certain body positions or gestures. The Audience Scene is the classic statement of a ruler shown with subjects/attendants in the court scene. Indeed the term "Audience Scene" has been coined in the sense of a king "granting audience to ...". This example shows the investiture variant of the Audience Scene where the ruler actually bestows his authority on his favoured subject who will then represent the great ruler's power to others. This is perhaps the most famous portrayal of god-given authority in the Ancient Near East and follows a long line of investiture depictions. The Mari wall painting, "The Investiture" should be compared³⁶. The introduction scenes, which also fall into the general "audience" group show specific iconographic detail which does not appear to extend beyond the Mesopotamian tradition³⁷.

An example combining the three variants of the Audience Scenes can be seen in the fresco by Domenico Ghirlandaio of Pope Innocent III confirming the Rule of the Order of St Francis. Figures are seen coming in procession and paying homage by kneeling while the symbols of authority (in this case the

32 A more humble example from European folklore is the black cat, supposedly the familiar of witches.

33 See N. DAVIS and C.M. KRAAY, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms: Portrait Coins and History* (1973), pls. 1-9, where the Alexander type is shown to draw upon earlier Herakles and Dionysos types and to use details from the Zeus Ammon portrayals.

34 Illustrated A. BULLOCK (ed.), *The Faces of Europe* (1980), pl. 10.

35 It is particularly useful for promoting the interests of the mortal ruler who can have his or her image set up in every official place, as is still the case.

36 Illustrated A. PARROT, *Mission de Mari* (1958), fig. 50, pl. A.

37 The introduction scene regularly shows a deity taking by the hand an important mortal (the king) and leading him into the presence of a seated great deity. This is a favourite theme at the time of Gudea of Lagash, H. FRANKFORT, *Cylinder Seals* (1939), 141-143, text fig. 37.

legitimising of the Rule of the Order) are given by the deity (in this case through the Pope) to the mortal power being (in this case St Francis) ³⁸.

In summary: Members of the power elite need to show themselves in communication with those of lesser standing. The deity has to be shown interacting with the worshippers; the ruler has to be shown in contact with the subjects. These Audience Scenes regularly involve the power being seated on an appropriate "throne" and the worshippers/subjects approaching to pay homage, in obeisance and/or with gifts. A more formal arrangement of the Audience occurs when the worshippers/subjects approach in procession. The investiture variant is particularly important because it shows the bestowing of divine authority on a significant mortal, usually a ruler. Indeed the artistic representation is likely to be a recording of the actual coronation ceremony which enacts this transfer of authority.

10 Characteristic Activities – special powers and celebrated deeds

Pl. LVIIId Dionysos riding his Panther: floor mosaic from Pella.

While depicted in this characteristic activity, the special powers of the god are indicated by the familiar, his panther, and by the thyrsos he carries.

One of the characteristic activities of the power elite is the pursuit of war and the power being has always sought to be displayed as the great commander. The equestrian statue encapsulates this in European art, having taken the prototype from the ancient world. The modern equestrian statue of Alexander the Great at Thessaloniki brings the type full circle from the horse-riding warriors of Greek and Roman art, through the portrayals of European princes as mounted conquerors, to the present day depiction of one who is still a national hero.

Hardest of all to understand are the images of power which refer to some story or particular exploit of the power being. The import of the scene where Achilles and Ajax play a board-game on the black figure vase by Exekias can only be fully understood if the Greek myth and Homer's poetry is known ³⁹.

In summary: Having the divine or human power being involved in certain characteristic activities at once identifies them and indicates to the viewer aspects of their power and authority. However the full import of that power and authority is often difficult to comprehend because the activities depicted usually need some understanding of the stories and myths of the culture to be intelligible ⁴⁰.

38 Fresco in the Sassetti Chapel, Santa Trinita, Florence, illustrated R. COUGHLAN, *The World of Michelangelo* (1975), 56.

39 Illustrated J. BOARDMAN *et al.*, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece* (1967), pl. XVII.

40 Most Christian iconography would be impossible to follow were it not for the Bible and the continuing tradition that provides reference points. Much Egyptian and Mesopotamian iconography depends for its interpretation on the accompanying hieroglyphic and cuneiform texts. In very early art like that of the pre-dynastic cylinder seals of Mesopotamia, the protagonists cannot be named and warnings against the temptation to identify them with people mentioned in later texts are given by P. AMIET, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (1961), 146-152. For the prehistoric art of the indigenous Australians, interpretation is widely regarded by scholars as an impossible task since there are no written records and the continuity of understanding is lost, A. ROSENFELD, "Recent Developments in Australian Rock Art Studies", *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference/4e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6-9 April 1992, Aegaeum* 8 (1992), 231-238, pls. LVII-LIX.

Reviewing the Checklist and turning it to the Bronze Age Aegean

The ten points listed above have set criteria for identifying mortal and immortal power beings, criteria which apply across cultural and chronological boundaries. In only two points, (1, Abnormality, and 7, accompaniment by a Familiar) do the criteria regularly indicate that the power beings so depicted are supernatural beings. In all other cases the power being may be either mortal or immortal and additional information (possibly from other sources) is needed to decide the matter⁴¹. Depictions of power beings regularly combine several of the features discussed under these ten Check Points so that the cumulative effect produces a particularly striking situation. Some of the effect is due to copying what is happening in real life, like the special rich robes or the Audience Scenes, but much is the illusion permitted by the artistic representation, like the exaggerated size or floating surround symbols.

It is now time to turn the Check List to the art of the Bronze Age Aegean and see if it can help in identifying the power beings there. Immediately we must face the single greatest problem, generically for the interpretation of Aegean iconography and specifically for our attempt to answer the three questions posed in this paper. In contrast to the artistic traditions we have been discussing, the protagonists in Aegean art are anonymous. In most traditions power beings can be identified either by name or by title because texts remain which identify them or because the knowledge of the culture continues to the present day. In these fortunate situations we are able to speak of individuals, "Queen Elizabeth I" or "Pope Gregory the Great" because they are named and listed in the historical record, or at least we are able to refer to the figure depicted as king or queen or saint or god or goddess because of the recognisable iconographic clues rendered intelligible through continuing knowledge of the cultural tradition. In the Bronze Age Aegean we have no such array of useful texts or certain continuity in tradition so from these sources we cannot be sure of the individual identity of any of those depicted or even whether we are dealing with royalty, nobility, first citizens, gods, goddesses or spirits. The Check List with its comparisons outlined above provides, then, another tool to study the Aegean images and the insights gained from the comparative material will help identify the Aegean power elite. If, as each such power being is identified, there is no widely-accepted name, then the general term "Very Important Person" (in its usual abbreviated form VIP) will be used. This abbreviation is a useful designation which avoids the decision between human and deity at too early a stage in the analysis. It also helps avoid such identifications as priestess, goddess, votary, god or priest where the context is ambivalent, while at the same time, recognising the importance of the being so depicted⁴². Subsequently, for each such VIP, a descriptive name will be proposed. These names are coined out of the depiction, from some clearly observable attribute or action. They can be replaced by better names if there is agreement, and, ultimately by the true names when and if they become known. In the meantime these descriptive names will facilitate further discussion in the following sections.

41 The great gap between mortal and immortal is regularly addressed in the chapters of H. FRANKFORT, *Kingship and the Gods* (1978). The particular nature of Pharaoh as god and king allowed him to bridge that gap. No Mesopotamian king could do this. He always remained mortal, whatever favours he was fortunate to receive from the gods. The situation in the Aegean is unknown but, until there is explicit evidence to the contrary, it is circumspect to consider that position occupied by Pharaoh remained unique.

42 R. HÄGG, "Pictorial Programmes in the Minoan Palaces and Villas?", *L'iconographie minoenne. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Athènes (21-22 avril 1983)*, BCH Suppl. XI (1985), 209-217, draws attention to the power of these important people over the arts when he discusses their dictation of themes as patrons (with allusions to Egypt and the Near East).

Bronze Age Aegean 1 Abnormality – excrescences and hybridisation

Pl. LVIIe Birdwoman: steatite lentoid seal from Crete.

Here the shape of the Aegean woman with narrow waist and flounced skirt is clear but the upper part of the body shows the head and wings of a bird ⁴³.

A similar hybrid, this time created by the fusion of a human body and an animal head, can be seen in the figure of the Bullman. On the example of the seal from Chania, the lithe torso of the Minoan male is topped by the head of a bull. Other examples of the Bullman hybrid show the whole front half of the bull's body (head and both fore legs) joined at the waist to the Minoan male's lower torso ⁴⁴.

In summary: The Aegean artists do not seem to favour excrescences affixed to a fully human figure but prefer the hybridisation technique to create demons like the Birdwoman and Bullman. From the analogy with the examples in other traditions, we may argue that these hybrid creatures are supernatural beings and form part of the power elite of the Aegean.

Bronze Age Aegean 2 Body Size – relativity and focus

Pl. LVIIIf VIP standing above a City: sealing from Chania.

The figure is sculpted with a substantial body but it is in relation to the city below him that it becomes quite clear that his body size is hugely exaggerated. We may call him the "City Lord" ⁴⁵.

The VIP seated on rocks beneath a tree on the gold signet from Mycenae is of much greater stature than all others present. If she stood upright, she would be head and shoulders above the other women in attendance upon her. Her importance is, of course, also attested by the fact that she is the focus of the composition which is a classic Audience Scene. We may call her the "Great Queen" ⁴⁶.

In summary: The size of the City Lord and the Great Queen identifies them as power beings.

Bronze Age Aegean 3 Body Shape – especially facial detail

Pl. LVIIIa Procession with a VIP: gold and silver signet ring from Mycenae.

A male and two females are shown with beautiful young bodies. The VIP is the central figure who is larger than the others and has enormous breasts. Only one breast is shown in the profile pose but it is exaggerated by comparison to the second female ⁴⁷. The height of this female and the size of her breast could be due to the extra space provided for her by the seal shape. An explanation more in keeping with the level of skill of the artist would be that the possibilities of the extra space and focus of this central position have been exploited to fulfil the aim of stressing this figure as the most important (She is also

43 See also *CMS I Suppl.* 98 and *CMS II* 4, 137. The fantastic nature of the hybrid creations on the Zakro sealings may also be suggestive of supernatural power. However these exhibit such peculiar iconographic detail that I have omitted them from my survey. See J. WEINGARTEN, *The Zakro Master and His Place in Prehistory* (1983).

44 I am indebted to Ingo Pini for discussions on the Chania seal. For the other Bullmen see *CMS II* 3, 67, *CMS X*, 145, 146, 232, *CMS XI*, 251. The "Minotaur" and related hybrids are treated in N. SCHLAGER, "Minotauros in der ägäischen Glyptik?", *CMS Beih.* 3 (1989), 225-239.

45 For assessment as mortal or immortal and for additional comments on the iconography of the Master Sealing see the discussion of Pls. LVIIIc and LVIIId below.

46 *CMS I*, 17. Compare the detail of the seated female in Pl. LVIIIg below, and the base for her throne with the base for the throne of the seated figure in the sealing from Thebes noted under Pl. LVIIIb below.

47 Compare the treatment of the breast of the female archer in *CMS XI*, 26.

the figure who gestures). Richly gowned (unfortunately the skirt is damaged) and coiffured we may call her the "Grand Lady". An intact depiction of the Grand Lady figure can be seen in Pl. LVIII d below.

At other times the VIP will be a similarly (or even better-) endowed female, either not clothed, or clothed in a simple garment which appears to be long pantaloons revealing her shape. A name is thus required for this protagonist who has the full outline of the female clearly defined. We may call her the "Big Woman". See Pl. LVIII d below ⁴⁸.

In summary: The Grand Lady and the Big Woman, each beautiful with their own particular attributes, can be listed in the Aegean power elite ⁴⁹.

Bronze Age Aegean 4 Clothing – especially headdress

Pl. LVIII b Head of a Warrior wearing a Boar's Tusk Helmet: ivory from Mycenae.

The special helmet of the Mycenaean warrior marks him out and a name like "Warrior Hero" would signify this importance ⁵⁰.

A signet from Tiryns ⁵¹ and a sealing from Thebes ⁵² each show an Audience Scene where the VIP is seated on a throne with attendants gathered, in these two cases genii and griffins. The VIP is clothed in a rich long robe and wears a special headdress. We may term this power being the "Great Ruler".

In summary: The Warrior Hero and the Great Ruler are differentiated from other humans by their special clothing and headdress, and as such must be considered for membership of the power elite. This status is confirmed by other features which also assign a level of importance to their roles ⁵³.

Bronze Age Aegean 5 Insignia – especially object held

Pl. LVIII c Cult Scene: gold signet ring from Knossos.

The small male figure hovering above the VIP holds a staff in his outstretched hand. The significance of the staff is not known though it also appears held out in just such a way by a female figure atop a mountain as in the Knossos sealing ⁵⁴. We may call the male figure the "Staff Master".

A similar figure, seen in Pl. LVIII d, holds a bow and we may call him the "Bow Master" ⁵⁵.

⁴⁸ For another example of the Grand Lady figure see *CMS* XI, 29 and for the Big Woman figure see *CMS* II3, 114. A similar figure to the Big Woman is seen in *CMS* II3, 103 but she is the VIP in an Audience Scene, seated before a pillar with a monkey familiar and a Grand Lady approaching her. These additional iconographic details would, according to the argument presented here, require her to be identified as a goddess and the name, "Great Woman", would be appropriate.

⁴⁹ See below Bronze Age Aegean Point 6 for identification as humans or deities.

⁵⁰ See below Pl. LVIII f for the same helmet on a white-skinned figure. For a discussion of the significance of the helmet see L. MORGAN, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera* (1988), 109-115.

⁵¹ *CMS* I, 179.

⁵² I am grateful to Vassilis Aravantinos for discussions on this sealing.

⁵³ See below Bronze Age Aegean Points 7 to 10 where their mortal or immortal identity is assigned.

⁵⁴ *PM* IV, fig. 597 Ae. I do not see these two scenes with the staff presented as Investiture Scenes. There is no real meeting between the mortal and the god, so necessary for the handing over of authority, because the deity remains in another plane. The action here may instead represent some sort of blessing or favour. See, however, the article by Olivier Pelon in this volume. Further, I do not see the same staff held out in the same position in the Chania sealing or on the Hagia Triada vase. See E. HALLAGER, *The Master Impression* (1985), where the figure is seen holding a spear, point down and resting on the rooftops. I am indebted to Eric Hallager for further discussions on this detail, which is crucial to understanding the scene. The Hagia Triada example also shows the staff or spear grounded but this time the haft is downwards. The top of the staff or spear falls in a damaged area of the vase.

⁵⁵ The small implement held in his other hand appears to be a dagger but the bow is very distinct and has thus been taken a clearer clue to his identity. This male figure is in contradistinction to the male figure

In summary: While our comparative studies show that the object held is of great importance in identifying the bearer we cannot, as yet in the Aegean, read the exact meaning of the staff and the bow. Nevertheless these insignia call our attention to the figures and suggest that the Staff Master and the Bow Master are power beings ⁵⁶.

Bronze Age Aegean 6 Surround Symbols – especially throne or podium

Pl. LVIII d Symbols floating above and before two VIPs: gold signet ring.

These symbols appear to be the Bow Master, an eye and an ear. The human figures below are a Grand Lady and a Big Woman.

Symbols similarly float above four female figures, two VIPs and two attendants, on a gold signet ring from Isopata. These symbols appear to be a small female figure, a "heart", a "streamer", a "frond" and an "eye". The two VIPs are Grand Ladies ⁵⁷.

In summary: The Floating Symbols which hover over human figures in Aegean compositions are among the most enigmatic of all Aegean symbols. However there is no disputing that such things do not normally hang in the air in such a way and we are surely correct to use the analogy of the other artistic traditions and see here symbols of the supernatural powers or the powers themselves giving protection and blessing to the mortals below. Thus, not only are the Staff Master and Bow Master power beings, they are immortal ones. By the same analogy, the Grand Lady and the Big Woman are humans ⁵⁸.

The particular nature of what subtends the power figure is of the utmost importance for identification. We have seen from the comparisons above that mortal rulers and deities, in particular, can be identified by what they stand or sit upon. The Great Queen of the Audience Scenes who sometimes sits on rocks beneath a tree and at other times on a seat raised up on Minoan altars is a goddess. The City Lord who is raised up on a whole metropolis, as no human can be, is a god.

Bronze Age Aegean 7 Familiars – animals and fantastic creatures

Pl. LVIII e VIP riding a Dragon: agate lentoid seal from Mycenae.

The familiar here is the Minoan dragon. The human figure is not riding a donkey as a mere woman may well do but the dragon, albeit in the same side-saddle manner. As we have seen, a regular way to indicate

with his arm through a bow (which is held by a female figure) on a gold signet, *CMS* XI, 29. Here the man does not hover above the other figures.

56 See below Bronze Age Aegean Point 6 for confirmation of their status and for their identification as mortal or immortal.

57 *CMS* II3, 51. The "heart" is sometimes termed a "chrysalis". The small female figure hovering above in this scene parallels the Staff Master and the Bow Master already discussed in that they are all human figures depicted as floating symbols, an iconographic formula usually termed "epiphany". For detail on the "epiphany" and other related scenes, see W-D. NIEMEIER, "Zur Ikonographie von Gottheiten und Adoranten in den Kultszenen auf minoischen und mykenischen Siegeln", *CMS* Beih. 3 (1989), 163-86 and R. HÄGG, "Epiphany in Minoan Ritual", *BICS* 30 (1983), 184-185.

58 These conclusions concur with those reached by Michael Wedde through his analysis of Aegean images by the "Pictorial Architecture" schema. See M. WEDDE, "Pictorial Architecture: for a Theory-based Analysis of Imagery", *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference/4e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6-9 April 1992*, *Aegaeum* 8 (1992), 181-203, pls. XLV-XLVII. Note particularly his "Scenes of Adoration" which stress the enthroned position of a deity and the positioning of his "Sacred Markers" which may be a shrine, a tree or a baetyl.

deities is to have them ride on some mythical beast, the identity of the beast giving the identity of the deity. We may call her the Dragon Rider ⁵⁹.

The VIP holding a griffin on a leash on a carnelian lentoid seal from Vapheio ⁶⁰ is in a particularly close relationship with the fantastic creature. We may call him the "Griffin Lord".

The presence of animals, usually lions which he subdues, also identifies a power being we may name the Master over Animals. The preposition "over" has been chosen in preference to the usual "of" in order to differentiate the power this male deity wields from the power of the Mistress of Animals. Her relationship with her familiars appears to be one of more peaceful control ⁶¹. The Great Ruler, too, may have familiars, genii and griffins as noted above in the discussion of Pl. LVIIIb.

In summary: Using the analogy of the familiar indicating deity, we may place the Dragon Rider, the Griffin Lord, the Mistress of Animals, the Master over Animals and the Great Ruler in the Aegean power elite as deities.

Bronze Age Aegean 8 Official Portrait – head or full length

Pl. LVIII f VIP wearing a Boar's Tusk Helmet: fresco from Mycenae.

The figure is a warrior because of the boar's tusk helmet and a deity because of the griffin familiar. If we accept the usual interpretation of white skin, then the figure is female. We may call her the "Great Warrior" and list her among the power elite ⁶².

In summary: Aegean artists do not appear to favour the option of using the true portrait with the details of an individual's particular physiognomy. Instead they seem to make the generalised statement of power in a type image, both for mortals and immortals ⁶³.

Bronze Age Aegean 9 Audience Scenes – homage and procession

Pl. LVIII g VIP attended by a Monkey and a Griffin: fresco from Xeste 3 at Thera.

The VIP here has the figure of a mature woman and she is seated on a platform raised up on pillars and Minoan altars. She is attended by her griffin familiar. Both by her seating and the accompaniment of the fantastic creature as her familiar she can be identified as a goddess. This is the Audience Scene with another depiction of a Great Queen as the seated figure. Homage is done to her by the maiden and monkey offering the crocus saffron that has just been picked ⁶⁴.

In summary: The Aegean employs the Audience Scene in its basic homage form or as the procession. The power being in these Audience Scenes, according to the criteria of the other Points we have been discussing, seems always to be divine. No mortal ruler

⁵⁹ Compare the later Greek depiction of Dionysos riding his panther, Pl. LVIIId.

⁶⁰ CMS I, 223. The use of this iconographic detail to indicate status is argued by R. LAFFINEUR, "The Iconography of Mycenaean Seals and the Status of their Owners", *Aegaeum* 6 (1990), 118-160 and "Iconography as Evidence of Social and Political Status", *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference/4e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6-9 April 1992*, *Aegaeum* 8 (1992), 105-112, pls. XXIV-XXVI.

⁶¹ The new name for the Master extends into the nomenclature the distinction that was previously drawn between the Master and Mistress figures in J.L. CROWLEY, *The Aegean and the East* (1989), 34-39.

⁶² For further comments see P. REHAK, "New Observations on the Mycenaean 'Warrior Goddess'", *AA* (1984), 535-545.

⁶³ Note the comments of J.H. BETTS, "The Seal from Shaft Grave Gamma: A 'Mycenaean Chieftain'?", *TUAS* 6 (1981), 2-8.

⁶⁴ The Audience Scene is Wedde's Scene of Adoration, WEDDE (*supra* n. 58), 194-201 and pl. XLV.

appears to be depicted in this way. Moreover, the investiture variant, so widely used in other traditions to legitimise kingship, is not found. These omissions are of some considerable interest to our inquiry here since it means that we lack the two expected depictions a human king or queen; the mortal ruler enthroned and the god bestowing authority upon the significant mortal.

Bronze Age Aegean 10 Characteristic Activities – special powers and celebrated deeds

Pl. LVIIIh Bull Leapers: gold signet ring from Kalamata.

Here, most unusually, are two leapers in somersault over the bull at the same time. The lithe athletic bodies and their prowess are the focus of our respect here.

Other humans who have special roles to play or who perform deeds to be celebrated are the Aegean mariners, their most famous depiction being the Ship Fresco from the West House at Thera. So obviously important, sitting there in their cabins, their compatriots assembled on the boat or propelling it to its destination, they call for a title. We may suggest "Mariner Hero".

Yet others to be celebrated are the mighty warriors like those wearing the boars' tusk helmet discussed in Pl. LVIIIb above or those fighting a duel on the gold cushion-shaped seal from Mycenae⁶⁵. In this rich seal from the Shaft Graves, we have the classic statement of the duel which epitomises the individual bravery and fighting skill of the "Warrior Hero". This same bravery and skill is called upon in the hunt and we have parallel duels between man and beast when the "Hunter Hero" is victorious as also depicted on a gold cushion-shaped seal from Mycenae⁶⁶.

In summary: In trying to locate any special roles that appear culturally important and that show community respect the protagonists, we come in Aegean art to the depictions, so carefully detailed, of the Warrior Hero, Hunter Hero, Mariner Hero and the Bull Leaper referred to above. In the absence of any point indicating the supernatural, we must judge these figures mortal members of the Aegean power elite.

Another problem with the Aegean material

One of the many problems of working with Aegean Bronze Age iconography is that there are often only a few examples of very important iconographical detail and sometimes only one⁶⁷. The relatively small corpus of Aegean art pieces that depict the human figure also leaves us in the position of being forced to rely on a few, often damaged, depictions, or even on the "once only" portrayal, as with the Chania Sealing giving the one image of the City Lord. Though it is not good practice to argue from such a small basis, sometimes from only one example, this paper has done so, recognising the realities of the survival of Aegean material. However, the narrow basis for some of the identifications must always be kept in mind.

The Aegean Power Elite identified and distinguished as human or divine

Arguing then from these artistic and sociological comparisons, we can see an answer emerging to the three questions posed at the beginning of the paper. An Aegean pantheon and a set of human authority figures may be tentatively proposed as follows:

65 CMS I, 11.

66 CMS I, 9.

67 The problem becomes even more complicated when some or all of these few precious examples are not of secure archaeological provenance.

As deities:

Great Ruler, Great Queen, Great Warrior, Dragon Rider, Mistress of Animals, City Lord, Griffin Lord, Staff Master, Bow Master, Master over Animals, Birdwoman, Bullman

As humans:

Grand Lady, Big Woman, Bull Leaper, Warrior Hero, Hunter Hero, Mariner Hero

Some of these inclusions will accord with previous assessments (though the name may be different): some may surprise⁶⁸. There is no suggestion that this is the complete list. More names will be added as the whole range of images is worked through according to the Check List. There is no surety that the mortal/immortal boundary has been drawn correctly⁶⁹. However the reasons for so drawing it have been explained by the comparative criteria. There will need to be refinements in the list as other sources are drawn on for information. The texts may yet have help for us, or further finds in later excavations. However, the exercise of systematically examining the images against the arts of various lands and different eras has provided us with a defensible list under descriptive names of deities and mortals who could arguably be called the power elite of the Aegean.

The nature of society and state in the Aegean Bronze Age

In conclusion, it can only be said that Aegean art gives us, for the most part, oblique images of power⁷⁰. Only in the portrayal of the Audience Scenes with the Great Ruler, are all the expected accoutrements of the power of a great deity present. The Ruler wears a distinctive crown, is clothed in rich robes, is seated on a special throne and is attended by supernatural creatures. The Audience Scene with the Great Queen shares many of these features. Apart from these two examples, there are few grand statements of royalty or divinity.

When we do have gods and goddesses, they are fully anthropomorphic with excrescences eschewed and hybridisation used only for figures like the Birdwomen and Bullmen. Obvious fertility images are virtually non-existent; no extended use of phallic or vulva symbols, no obvious display of nakedness⁷¹ and no widespread use of mother and child groups. There are some processions but no Investiture Scenes and the great immortals seem to prefer stools and rocks to thrones, staffs rather than sceptres and elaborate hair-styles more than splendid crowns.

When human power beings are portrayed, it is not immediately clear exactly who these beings are because the clues one would expect as to position and hierarchy are either absent or highly disguised. Male VIPs appear in hero-type roles while female VIPs

68 Though I trust that identifying most of the protagonists as mortals, and not necessarily mortals engaged in religious activity, and only some specially presented and clearly identifiable figures as deities does heed the cautions of Christos Doumas. See most recently C. DOUMAS, *The Wall Paintings of Thera* (1992), 28-29.

69 If subsequently the dividing line must be drawn differently, then the same descriptive names can be used since none of the deity names use the words "god" or "goddess" and rulers or queens may be mortal or immortal. Consider again the issues raised in FRANKFORT (*supra* n. 41).

70 The originality and independence of the Minoans, their creative and sophisticated society are themes in the work of Henri van Effenterre. Yet subtle and refined as their images were, they shaped the art of the surrounding areas. H. van EFFENTERRE, *Mycènes, vie et mort d'une civilisation* (1985) and *Les Égéens: aux origines de la Grèce, Chypre, Cyclades, Crète et Mycènes* (1986).

71 The closest one comes to nakedness are the Big Women (and perhaps a "Great Woman", *supra* n. 48), voluptuous females in a near naked state, but even they are posed more discreetly than one would expect for fertility symbols.

seem to favour social activity. We do find beautifully coiffured heads and rich robes, but almost everybody seems to have them. Indeed, everyone seems to be beautiful, young and beautiful or mature and beautiful, male and female.

If we then had to search for another artistic tradition which had comparable characteristics – gods so anthropomorphic you have difficulty telling deities from their worshippers, humans always shown in their youthful or mature prime, no symbols of authority like thrones or crowns or investiture scenes but rather stress on the individual's valour and athletic ability or social role – you would come to Classical Greek art, or perhaps more fully Greek art allowing the span of Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic.

If the arts of Classical and Bronze Age Greece show the most interesting similarities are we then to propose that the societies also will show corresponding parallels? One would expect some correlation. However we do not apparently have in the Bronze Age Aegean, at least on Crete and the Mainland, independent city states stressing the values of citizenship and individual prowess. The picture of Bronze Age society that emerges from the evidence from the Minoan palaces and Mycenaean citadels is one of institutional organisation and bureaucratic control ⁷², exactly the sort of society that usually has an art full of authority symbols, in particular ones legitimising kingly power. So there is a tension here. Bronze Age Aegean art gives us pictures of a power elite of anthropomorphic gods, warriors, athletes and beautiful women that would be quite as acceptable, given an update in clothing fashions, in Classical Greece. Bronze Age art does not give the expected endorsement of centralised power that would correspond to the state as known from other sources ⁷³. The tension is fascinating and poses many questions about the relationship of Aegean art to Aegean society, as many questions perhaps as have already been raised by the foregoing analysis of Aegean images of power.

Janice L. CROWLEY

72 There is no space here to examine the differences between the palace economies of Crete and of Mainland Greece or the differences in society and religion between the Minoans and the Mycenaeans. It is interesting that the clearest depiction of a grand monarch comes from Mainland sources and it is possible that the Great Ruler may be male. After all a long rich robe does not necessarily mean a female body underneath and, with Minoan forms continuing in art, ringlets and a slim waist are attributes of a beautiful male body.

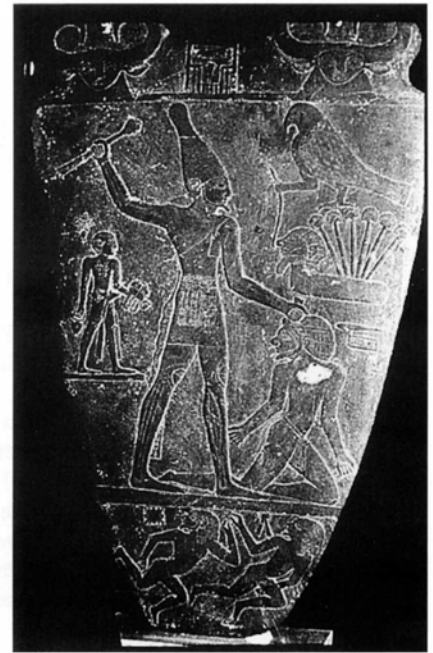
73 At this conference both Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy and Carol Thomas drew our attention to other strands in Mycenaean society which may represent alternative, perhaps earlier, forms of governance and it is possible that the art may reflect these. I await with interest their papers in this volume.

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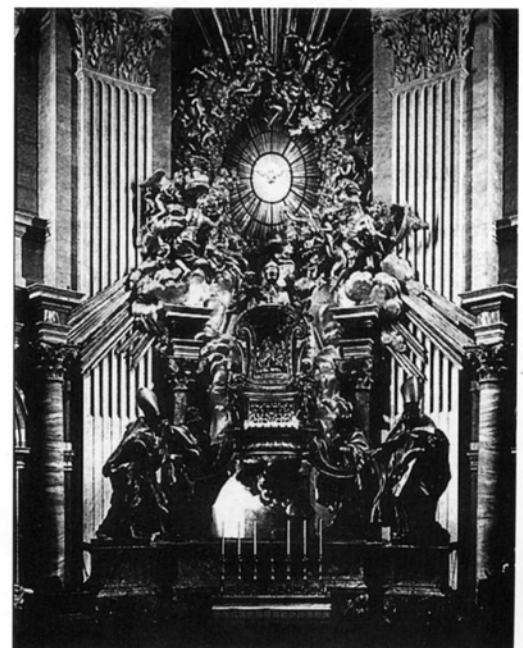
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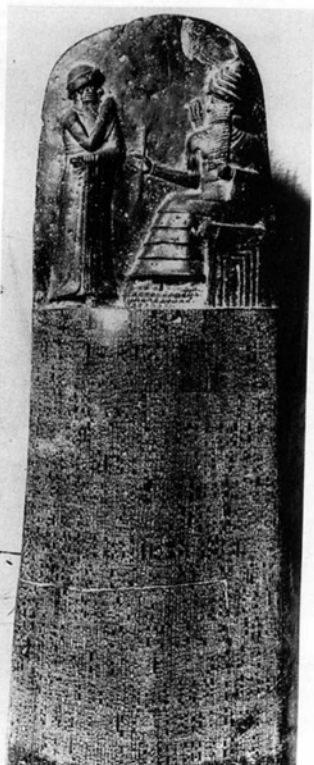




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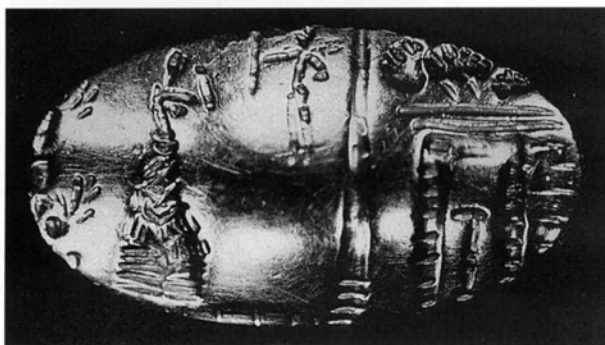
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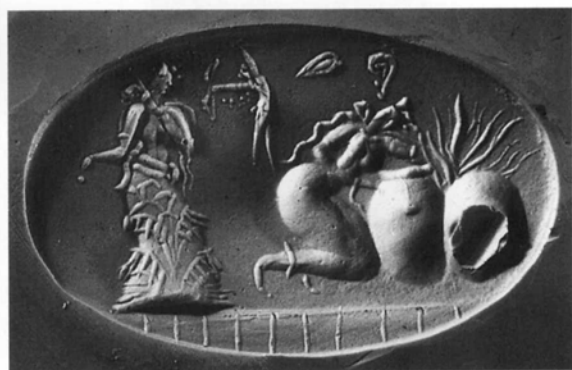
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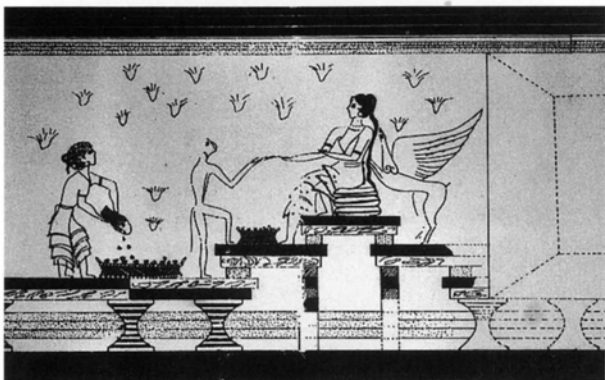
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