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# Paintbrushes

WALL-PAINTING AND VASE-PAINTING  
OF THE SECOND MILLENNIUM BC IN DIALOGUE

edited by **Andreas G. Vlachopoulos**

Proceedings of the International Conference  
on Aegean Iconography Held  
at Akrotiri, Thera, 24-26 May 2013

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**of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue**

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on Aegean Iconography held at Akrotiri, Thera,  
24-26 May 2013

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# CONTENTS

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13	<i>Andreas G. Vlachopoulos</i> Preface
<hr/>	
<b>1. Introductory Chapters</b>	
27	<b>1.1</b> <i>Christos Doumas</i> The Human Figure at the Mercy of the Paintbrush
43	<b>1.2</b> <i>Christina A. Televantou</i> The Roots of Pictorial Art in the Cyclades. From Strophilas to Akrotiri
67	<b>1.3</b> <i>Robert K. Ritner</i> Egyptian Examples of the “Koine” Art Style of the Second Millennium BC
77	<b>1.4</b> <i>Nanno Marinatos</i> The Waz-Spirals of Xeste 3, Thera: Regeneration and Solar Symbolism
87	<b>1.5</b> <i>Joost Crouwel</i> Mycenaean Pictorial Pottery – Links with Wall-painting?
<hr/>	
<b>2. Minoan Pottery and Iconography</b>	
103	<b>2.1</b> <i>Philip P. Betancourt</i> Evidence from Pottery for the Early Stages of Monumental Cretan Wall-paintings
107	<b>2.2</b> <i>Pietro Militello</i> Wall-painting and Vase-painting: The Case of Middle Minoan III Phaistos
119	<b>2.3</b> <i>Iris Tzachili</i> Vases with Plastic Decoration Depicting Landscapes from the Vrysinas Peak Sanctuary
129	<b>2.4</b> <i>Dimitra Kriga</i> Appliquéd Pottery Decoration and Stucco Relief Wall-paintings in Crete and Thera in the Second Millennium BC
143	<b>2.5</b> <i>Fritz Blakolmer</i> “Sculpted with the Paintbrush”? On the Interrelation of Relief Art and Painting in Minoan Crete and Thera

---

### 3. Cycladic Pottery and Iconography

- 3.1** *R.L.N. Barber*  
155 Subject and Setting: Early Representational Motifs on Pottery from Phylakopi (Early Cycladic IIIB-Middle Cycladic) and their Relevance to Fresco Scenes
- 3.2** *Angelia Papagiannopoulou*  
163 The Beginnings of an Island Narration. Pictorial Pottery and Wall-paintings of the Second Millennium BC
- 3.3** *Zozi Papadopoulou*  
183 Middle Cycladic Pictorial Pottery from Antiparos. The Case of the “Nippled Jug with Birds”
- 3.4** *Irene Nikolakopoulou*  
195 The Painter's Brush and How to Use it: Elementary and Advanced Lessons from Akrotiri Iconography
- 3.5** *Marisa Marthari*  
205 “The Attraction of the Pictorial” Reconsidered: Pottery and Wall-paintings, and the Artistic Environment on Late Cycladic I Thera in the Light of the Most Recent Research

---

### 4. Iconography and Ideology

- 4.1** *Robert B. Koehl*  
225 From Pot Patterns to Pictures: Thoughts on the Evolution of Aegean Wall-painting
- 4.2** *Elizabeth Shank*  
235 The Griffin Motif – An Evolutionary Tale
- 4.3** *Evangelos Kyriakidis*  
243 Situations in the Study of Minoan Iconography: The Situation of the Baetyls
- 4.4** *Lefteris Platon*  
251 Iconography Workshops at Minoan Zakros: Marrying Political-Religious Symbolism with Expressive Freedom?

---

### 5. Neopalatial Iconography. The Aegean “Koine”

- 5.1** *Toula Marketou*  
261 The Art of Wall-painting at Ialysos on Rhodes: From the Early Second Millennium BC to the Eruption of the Thera Volcano

- 277 **5.2** *Lyvia Morgan*  
Inspiration and Innovation:  
The Creation of Wall-paintings in the Absence  
of a Pictorial Pottery Tradition at Ayia Irini, Kea
- 293 **5.3** *Fragoula Georma*  
The Representation of the Human Figure  
on Theran Wall-paintings:  
Conventions and Stylistic Observations
- 301 **5.4** *Irini Papageorgiou*  
The Iconographic Subject of the Hunt in the  
Cyclades and Crete in the Second Millennium BC:  
Sounds and Echoes in the Art of Wall-painting  
and Vase-painting
- 315 **5.5** *Eleni Hatzaki*  
Pots, Frescoes, Textiles and People.  
The Social Life of Decorated Pottery  
at Late Bronze Age Knossos and Crete
- 329 **5.6** *Emily Catherine Egan*  
From Permanent to Portable:  
The Ceramic Perpetuation of Painted Landscapes  
at Knossos in the Final Palatial Period
- 339 **5.7** *Nikos Merousis*  
Larnax-painters and Vase-painters:  
*Vitae Parallelae* in Late Minoan III Crete

---

## **6. Paintbrushes. Techniques and Technology**

- 359 **6.1** *Panagiotis Angelidis, Evangelia Kalambouki,  
Sophia Sotiropoulou, Manolis Hamaoui*  
The Preliminary Designs in the Akrotiri  
Wall-paintings
- 371 **6.2** *Maria Krigka*  
*Tropos*: The Paintbrush Then and Now.  
Touching the Traces of the Theran Wall-paintings
- 379 **6.3** *Nikos Sepetzoglou*  
The Role and Significance of Colour in the Large  
Wall-painting Compositions of Spirals  
from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri
- 391 **6.4** *Hariclia Brecoulaki*  
Does Colour make a Difference?  
The Aesthetics and Contexts of Wall-painting  
in "the Palace of Nestor" at Pylos

- 407 **6.5 Effie Tsitsa**  
From Minoan Artists to Swiss Restorers  
through the Prism of Conservation
- 

## **7. Mycenaean Palatial Paintbrushes**

- 427 **7.1 Vassilis L. Aravantinos, Ioannis Fappas,  
Panagiotis Angelidis, Maria-Paraskevi Louka, Nikos Sepetzoglou**  
The Female Figure in the Pictorial Tradition  
of Mycenaean Boeotia: Critical Overview  
and Technical Observations
- 451 **7.2 Elena Kountouri**  
Part of an Iconographic “Koine”?  
Discussing New Wall-paintings from Thebes
- 465 **7.3 Ulrich Thaler, Melissa Vettters**  
All the King’s Horses
- 495 **7.4 Iphiyenia Tournavitou**  
Unconditional Acceptance and Selective Rejection.  
Interactive Thematic Cycles in Mycenaean Painting.  
Tales of the Unexpected
- 513 **7.5 Eva Rystedt**  
The Early Mycenaean Chariot Kraters  
and the Ceramic Turn of a Presumptive Fresco Motif
- 523 **7.6 Angelos Papadopoulos**  
The Iconography of Late Helladic IIIA-B Pictorial Kraters  
and Wall-paintings: A View from the Aegean  
and the Eastern Mediterranean
- 

## **8. “In absentia...” Aegean Iconography in Postpalatial Times**

- 535 **8.1 Vassiliki Pliatsika**  
The End Justifies the Means; Wall-painting  
Reflections in the Pictorial Pottery from Mycenae
- 547 **8.2 Fanouria Dakoronia**  
Pictures from Nowhere
- 557 **8.3 Andreas G. Vlachopoulos**  
Από την «Κοινή» στο «Κενό»; / From “Koine” to “Void”?  
The Art of Paintbrushes in Postpalatial Greece  
and their Social Implications
- 

- 569 **Bibliography – References**

Paintbrushes



Angelos Papadopoulos

# The Iconography of Late Helladic IIIA-B Pictorial Kraters and Wall-paintings: A View from the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean

*I would like to express my gratitude to the scientific committee of Chrosteres for organizing a wonderful conference at the facilities of the Akrotiri Excavations on Thera, a site dear to my heart and the source of brilliant prehistoric iconography. The hospitality of the organizers added greatly to the success of this event, which brought together senior scholars and young students of iconography. I am particularly grateful to Andreas Vlachopoulos for his invitation to participate in the conference, for his continuous support and most stimulating discussions that began more than twelve years ago on the field of imagery (special thanks for his patience regarding this manuscript as well). The illustrations accompanying this text were sent to me courtesy of the British Museum in London and the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm; I am indebted to both institutions. Finally, Dr John Karavas and Dr Dave Smith assisted me with correcting my English text and I thank them. It goes without saying that I remain solely responsible for the views expressed here and for any mistakes in this text.*

## Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present and discuss the hypothesis that the iconography of certain pictorial kraters made in the Aegean and then exported to the Eastern Mediterranean does not find any thematic parallels on similar kraters discovered in Aegean contexts, but, rather, on the contemporary palatial wall-paintings. In particular, during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC several pictorial kraters that were exported to the East (Cyprus, Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian coast) had a very specific thematic repertoire that, judging from the current archaeological record, cannot be found within the Aegean region itself.<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested elsewhere that this observation reflects a conscious choice of the Aegean craftsmen which was aimed at satisfying the tastes and needs of a specific clientele outside the Aegean<sup>2</sup> with themes and motifs that were not as appealing or popular within local Aegean societies. However, a similar iconographic agenda seems to appear on the mural decoration of the great administrative centres of the Mainland, thus suggesting

the presence of a very distinctive dialogue between pictorial pottery and wall-paintings, which appears primarily in the Palatial period when wall-paintings were used primarily as means of status and ethos projection.<sup>3</sup>

## Setting the chronological, geographical and methodological framework

The focus of this essay will be on the wall-paintings that decorated the various Mainland administrative centres of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC, Late Helladic (LH) IIIA-B periods, and the contemporary pictorial vessels that were evidently produced in the Aegean region and exported to the Eastern Mediterranean. Although the art of vase and mural decoration with composite scenes, including animal and human figures, is well attested from previous periods, it is during this very period that it is possible to examine contemporaneous pictorial motifs from both crafts and explore their relationship in depth, thanks to a great number of publications and research projects.

1. Based on the current published information and excavation reports.

2. Papadopoulos 2011.

3. See Papadopoulos 2006, especially ch. 5 (142-210) for a detailed discussion on the relation between political statement and iconographic art during the Mainland Palatial period.

Regarding the scenes that decorate a number of buildings and edifices of the LH III A-B, the most comprehensive study is the one by S. Immerwahr, which recorded all major mural decorations until the time of the publication of her corpus.<sup>4</sup> Despite the recent advances in archaeological research and conservation (for example the on-going study of Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera<sup>5</sup> and the new finds at Agios Vasileios in Lakonia),<sup>6</sup> it remains a major guide to the subject and it will form the basis of the discussion presented here. So far, all major centres have produced significant amounts of multi-coloured wall-paintings: Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Thebes, Gla, Orchomenos, Agios Vasileios and Iklaina have yielded a wealth of pictorial information.<sup>7</sup>

The large pictorial kraters of the same period have been the subject of numerous studies, such as the major research by Vermeule and Karageorghis,<sup>8</sup> as they are amongst the large variety of Late Bronze Age III clay vessels that were produced in the Peloponnese and exported to the island of Cyprus. From that point, they were transported further eastwards, quite possibly via Cypriot merchants that were already supplying the Eastern Mediterranean with Cypriot ceramics of great quality.<sup>9</sup> As a result, a large number of Aegean-made vessels were found in

Cyprus, including several pictorial kraters decorated with a variety of scenes. A most useful and comprehensive catalogue is provided by Van Wijngaarden, who discussed the use, appreciation and distribution of Mycenaean pottery in Italy, Cyprus, Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian coast,<sup>10</sup> as well as the importance of the pictorial kraters abroad. A series of articles by Steel also pointed out the symbolic meaning of these kraters and what they meant to local Cypriot societies.<sup>11</sup> Recent publications<sup>12</sup> and research projects<sup>13</sup> have supplied archaeological scholarship with further unknown data, and it is worth highlighting the fact that fresh information on the pictorial kraters found in Eastern Mediterranean contexts appears very frequently thanks to new excavations and the study (or re-study) of old material in the museums.

The majority of the decorated pottery that will be discussed here was discovered on the island of Cyprus and, therefore, the different social and political organization between the Aegean and Cyprus should be kept in mind. Despite the existence of some strong candidates,<sup>14</sup> there are no “palatial” complexes or major central buildings on the island and, more to the point, not a single fragment of wall-painting which can be securely dated to the Bronze Age has been discovered yet. The majority of Mycenaean pictorial pottery in Cyprus was found in tombs and religious contexts, and was clearly part of certain “dinner sets” that were used and consumed by the resident upper classes.<sup>15</sup>

4. Immerwahr 1990a.

5. Vlachopoulos 2008a; 2010.

6. Vasilogamvrou 2012, 544, 546, figs 1171-1173.

7. For the first six sites, see Immerwahr 1990a; for Agios Vasileios, see fn. 6; for Iklaina Cosmopoulos 2012, 472-473.

8. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982; see also Pliatsika 1999 for a more recent catalogue of Aegean pictorial pottery found in the Eastern Mediterranean. Walters 1912 published a catalogue of all Aegean pottery discovered during the British Museum Excavations in Cyprus and then brought to London at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The excavators published the results of the excavation almost immediately (Murray et al. 1900), but not without omissions and problems.

9. For a discussion on the circulation of Aegean pottery in relation to the Cypriot pottery along the Eastern Mediterranean coast, see Papadimitriou 2012, 92-136; also Papadopoulos 2011, 174-178.

10. Van Wijngaarden 2001; 2002.

11. Steel 1998; 1999; 2004.

12. Yon et al. 2000.

13. The Enkomi Project, Dr D. Pilides, Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (<http://www.enkomicm.org/>). A valuable source of information is the online catalogue of the antiquities found during the British Museum Excavations in Cyprus, edited by Dr Thomas Kiely.

14. For example Building X at Kalavassos-Agios Dimitrios or Building II at Alassa-Palaeotaverna, see Knapp 2013, 363-364, figs 98-99 (Building X) and 366-368, figs 102-103 (Building II).

15. Steel 1998.



▲ **Fig. 1**  
LH IIIA2 amphoroid krater  
from an unknown tomb,  
Klavdia, Cyprus. Reg. no.  
1897, 0401.928. © Trustees  
of the British Museum.

### Provenance

The issue of provenance has been extensively discussed during the past few decades. Clay analysis, petrography and Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA), have shown that the centre of production of most (if not all) LH IIIA2-B kraters found in various Eastern Mediterranean contexts can be identified in the northeast Peloponnese and especially the site of Berbati.<sup>16</sup>

### From monumental to portable: A careful choice of exported themes?

The most celebrated pictorial theme, in both wall-paintings and pictorial pottery, is evidently that of the chariot.<sup>17</sup> With up to three passengers on board, and most commonly pulled by a pair of horses, it has been identified in wall-paintings at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos and Orchomenos. Vase-painters in both the Aegean and the East augmented this motif with

<sup>16</sup>. For example see Yellin and Maier 1992, 31-36 and also Zuckerman et al. 2010, 409-416, as well as Papadopoulos 2011, 171. For the site of Berbati, see Åkeström 1987.

<sup>17</sup>. Crouwel 1981; 2005; Immerwahr 1990a, passim.

the addition of a variety of different elements, including marching spearmen to the front and rear, animals and men carrying objects. No other decorative motif has such a wide distribution within, or beyond, the Aegean.<sup>18</sup> Occasionally, armed men are depicted standing between two chariots, in an arrangement similar to that of the well-known “Master of Animals”<sup>19</sup> (**fig. 1**).

Hounds are known from Pylos<sup>20</sup> and the Megaron at Tiryns.<sup>21</sup> At the former site, they are depicted in two chronologically distinct episodes within the same pictorial composition, first a) moving towards the hunting site under the leash of their masters and, subsequently, b) in action attacking a wild boar and guiding it to the trap. Ceramic parallels appear on a bell krater from Tomb 4 at Klavdia<sup>22</sup> in Cyprus (**figs 2-3**), on which a male figure holding two dogs, apparently on a leash, is accompanied by a depiction of a bull, but it is not possible to comment if the bull is the prey of the dogs or under attack.

While the LH IIIC period has produced a great quantity of ship imagery, not least in those depicted carrying warrior, identified on pottery from Kynos (East Locris), Lefkandi and Tiryns,<sup>23</sup> LH IIIB offers only a single example of the motif on pottery: it appears on a damaged LH IIIB1 amphoroid krater from Enkomi (**fig. 4**) and depicts a ship in section with male warriors visible both on the upper and the lower deck.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup>. For a recent study on the depiction of chariots in a variety of East Mediterranean contexts, see Feldman and Sauvage 2010.

<sup>19</sup>. Walters 1912, 67, C342; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 30, 198, IV.18.

<sup>20</sup>. Lang 1969, Pl. M, 17, 19-20 H53, 13 C 43.

<sup>21</sup>. Immerwahr 1990a, 129-130, 202-203, Ti No. 6.

<sup>22</sup>. Walters 1912, 81, C399; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 52, 204, V.73.

<sup>23</sup>. For a discussion, see Papadopoulos 2009. Also Dakoronia this volume.

<sup>24</sup>. I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and colleague Dr Georgios Bourogiannis who assisted me greatly in acquiring **fig. 4** from the Medelhavsmuseet at Stockholm. See Rystedt in Karageorghis 2003, 100-102, no. 105.

The Messenian sites of Pylos<sup>25</sup> and Iklaina have yielded fragments of wall-paintings, illustrating that ships were also part of the “palatial” mural decoration repertoire.

Archers and sling-throwers are well represented in earlier Aegean art, though they are extremely rare during the Palatial period. The recent identification of a single female archer from Pylos<sup>26</sup> represents a notable exception. Represented only by the left arm and part of the upper body, little can be said about the surrounding environment. The exact posture is not clear either, though the identification of a female holding a bow seems secure, and the site itself has previously yielded much military iconography. Males marching with bows are depicted on a krater from Enkomi<sup>27</sup> (fig. 5), in only the second example of his kind of an armed individual in LH IIIA-B Aegean art. Whether these individuals are depicted in battle remains uncertain, though the presence of weaponry is clear.

Women appearing at windows are known from mural compositions at Mycenae<sup>28</sup> and, recently, at Agios Vasileios<sup>29</sup> in Laconia. A third possible example comes from Room H4 at the citadel of Gla,<sup>30</sup> and a fourth, namely a helmeted female, has been identified in Thebes.<sup>31</sup> These female figures are depicted in profile, looking left or right, and are paralleled on the famous “Kourion Krater” (Rystedt this volume,

fig. 3) where several of them are shown within these framed spaces.<sup>32</sup>

At least two depictions of spearmen in an attacking stance have been recovered from LH IIIB Pylos,<sup>33</sup> including one from the Battle Frieze of Hall 64. Men marching with spears are also known from Tiryns<sup>34</sup> and Orchomenos.<sup>35</sup> While there are no thematic parallels on any krater thus far identified from Cyprus, an LH III conical rhyton from Ugarit (Ras Shamra)<sup>36</sup> portrays a spearman in a similar pose. This image seems to find only very limited use on clay surfaces, although recent finds from Mycenae offer possible examples of this motif from the Mainland.<sup>37</sup>

The well-known procession of women bearing gifts and offerings from Thebes<sup>38</sup> and Tiryns<sup>39</sup>, has a parallel on two vases from Kalavassos-Agios Dimitrios.<sup>40</sup> Male processions were evidently also depicted, based on the example of the “Homage Krater” from Aradippou in Cyprus.<sup>41</sup> However, in this case, armed men move towards a seated (throned?) central figure.

A unique scene involving a shrine with horns of consecration and chariots is also known from Kalavassos-Agios Dimitrios.<sup>42</sup> Its closest parallel is perhaps provided by the altar



▲ Fig. 2  
LH IIIB bell krater from Tomb 4, Klavdia, Cyprus. Reg. no. 1898, 1020.10. © Trustees of the British Museum.

25. For an old pair of fragments, see Lang 1969, Pl. L, 19 M ne; Davis, Stocker and Brecolaki presented their work in-progress on the Pylos ship frieze at the Cycladic Seminar at Athens (25 November 2013); for Iklaina, see Cosmopoulos 2012.

26. Brecolaki et al. 2008.

27. Walters 1912, 64; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 43-44, 202, V.28 (BM vase C333).

28. The lower part of two joining fragments, Immerwahr 1990a, 122-125, 192, My No. 11.

29. Vasilogamvrou 2012, 544, 546, fig. 1173.

30. Room H4 has produced a fragment showing two miniature women's heads in profile to the right, a variant of the motif known as “women at the window” (Iakovidis 1998, colour pl. IVb).

31. Immerwahr 1990a, 128, 201, Th. No. 2. Also Morgan 1988, fig. 156.

32. Murray et al. 1900, 73, 81, fig. 127; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 17-18, 196, III.12. For the history of this krater, see Karageorghis 2009, 1-6.

33. Lang 1969, 23 H 64, pls 17 M; 16 H 43, pl. B. They are dated to LH IIIB2.

34. Immerwahr 1990a, Ti No.2, 202.

35. Spyropoulos 1974b, colour pl. II; Immerwahr 1990a, 132, 165, Or No. 3.

36. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, V.36, 44, 202.

37. See Pliatsika this volume.

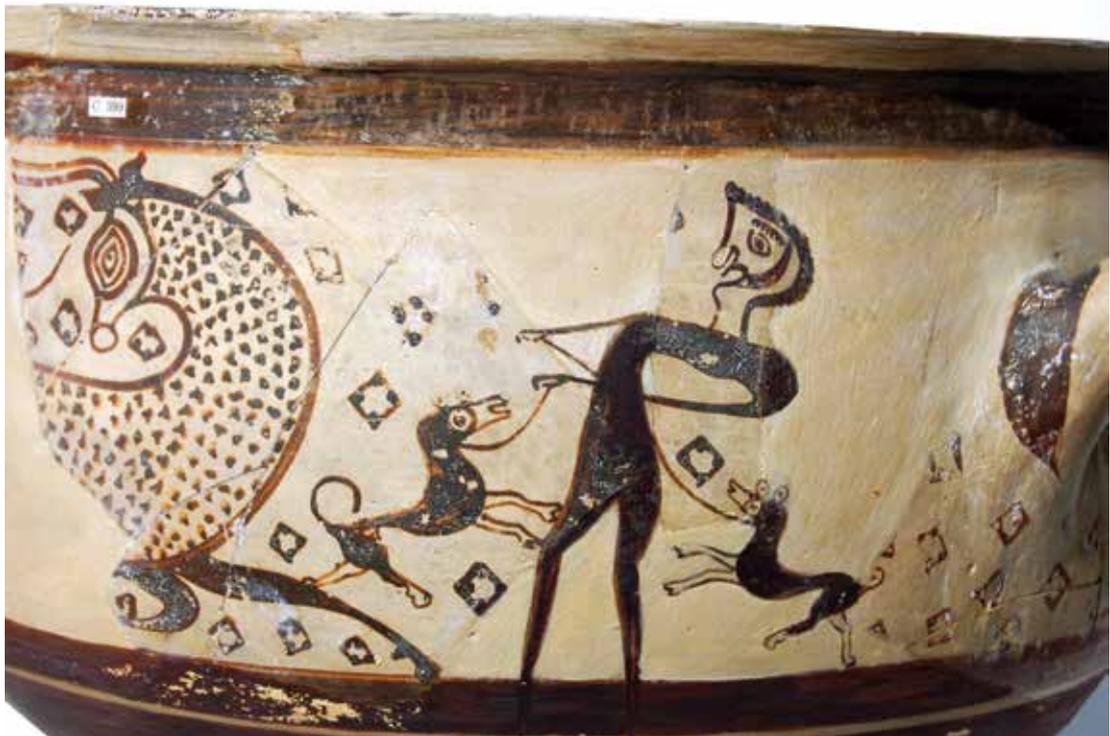
38. Immerwahr 1990a, Th No.1, 200-201, colour fig. XXI.

39. Immerwahr 1990a, Ti No. 4, Ti No. 5, 202.

40. Steel 2006.

41. Walters 1912, 65, C337; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 197, 23-24, III.29.

42. Steel 1998, 2006.



► **Fig. 3**  
Detail of the male figure with the hounds from the bell krater at fig. 2.  
© Trustees of the British Museum.

from the Room of the Frescoes at Mycenae,<sup>43</sup> which depicts horns of consecration and carries a clear and direct religious connotation. A large female figure is depicted next to this altar, wearing a long robe and carrying a sword in a non-aggressive gesture. Similar (male) robed figures armed with swords appear in Cyprus (Enkomi and Aradippou), Syria (Ugarit) and in a single example from Rhodes.<sup>44</sup>

The only example of a probable figure-of-eight shield on a vessel derives from Enkomi.<sup>45</sup> In contrast, figure-of-eight shields, an already ancient motif and religious symbol, as well as a defensive weapon, appear in mainland Greece in a variety of media from the end of the Middle Bronze Age onwards, and decorated the wall of the Cult Centre at Mycenae and the Megaron at Tiryns.<sup>46</sup>

43. Immerwahr 1990a, 120-1, 191, My No. 6; Rehak 1992b, 39-62.

44. For a presentation and discussion refer to Papadopoulos 2012a.

45. Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1992, 340 (vi) (with references).

46. Mycenae: Kritseli-Providi 1982, 58, no. B-33, pl. 13, ΣΤα;

### Special cases

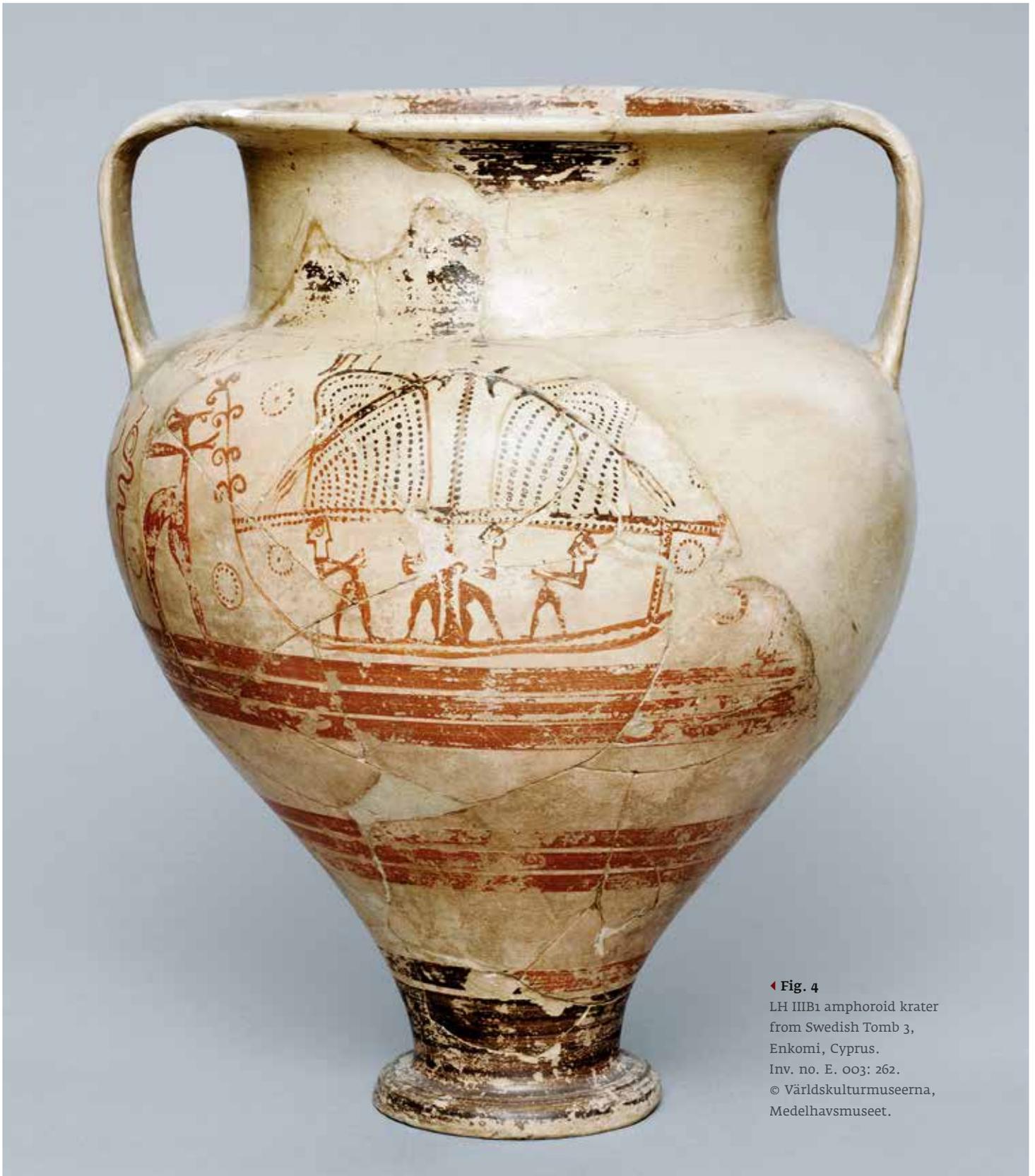
Boxers<sup>47</sup> (fig. 6) seem to constitute a distinct category, as they appear on pottery both in the Aegean and in Cyprus, but they are not portrayed in contemporary wall-painting. Despite the earlier depictions of boxers and wrestlers, on relief paintings at Neopalatial Knossos and Late Cycladic I Akrotiri, no large-scale LH IIIA-B paintings of such a theme have survived in the archaeological record, if indeed, they were ever painted.

The depiction of griffins<sup>48</sup> (fig. 7) from British Tomb 45 at Enkomi is thus far unique. Dating to LH IIIA2, two griffins are illustrated; the first is harnessed to a chariot and the second is in an antithetical position beyond it. No other examples of griffins harnessed to chariots are known in the Aegean repertoire of fresco-

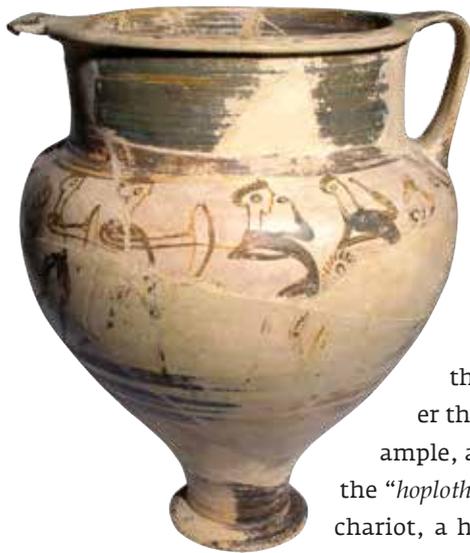
Tiryns: Immerwahr 1990a, 139, 165, 203, Ty No. 10.

47. Walters 1912, 64, C334; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 44, 202, V.29.

48. Walters 1912, 79-80, C397; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 43, 202, V.27; Papadopoulos 2011, 173.



◀ Fig. 4  
LH III B1 amphoroid krater  
from Swedish Tomb 3,  
Enkomi, Cyprus.  
Inv. no. E. 003: 262.  
© Världskulturmuseerna,  
Medelhavsmuseet.



▲ Fig. 5  
LH III B amphoroid krater  
from Tomb 45, Enkomi,  
Cyprus. Reg. no. 1897,  
0401.928. © Trustees  
of the British Museum.

painting. The nearest example is the plastered Late Minoan III larnax from Hagia Triada, which depicts two female figures driving a chariot drawn by griffins (but it is a unique portable artefact in comparison with permanent wall-paintings).<sup>49</sup>

*Note:* There is a number of these motifs depicted on media other than wall and vase surfaces. For example, a fragmentary ivory plaque<sup>50</sup> from the “*hoplotheke*” at Thebes depicts parts of a chariot, a horse, two passengers, a collared dog, a boar(?) and a tree, very similar to the Tiryns Hunting Frieze. Similarly, the figure-of-eight shield appears on all kinds of objects made of various materials throughout the Late Bronze Age.<sup>51</sup> Finally, as Crouwel<sup>52</sup> has shown, there are some rare images of griffins harnessed to chariots on sealstones and ivory as well.

## Discussion

Based on this thematic comparison, it can be suggested that the two arts moved along the same path regarding the complex scenes and motifs they would represent. Both vase and fresco-painters were capable of using the same iconographic elements in order to produce similar pictorial compositions based on certain thematic repertoires. Both groups of artisans were obviously aware of the relevant practices, myths, events and stories, and they were able to immortalize them on the clay and plaster surfaces respectively. The latter, in fact, gave these skilled painters the opportunity to explore their motifs in depth and without the limitations posed by the narrow frame that the pottery-painters had to deal with between the base and the neck of the krater.

49. Papadopoulos 2011 for a brief discussion and references.

50. Aravantinos 2000b, 55-59, figs 20-21.

51. Papadopoulos 2006.

52. Crouwel 2005, pl. lv. f-g.

Three major questions, however, arise from this comparison based on the actual thematic repertoire as well as its context. Firstly, why are actual battle and hunting scenes not depicted on pottery although they frequently appear on wall-paintings; secondly, what is the reason why these decorated kraters are absent from the Mainland; and, finally, how is it possible that both mural- and pottery-paintings were made by the same cultural group, when only one set of them was “consumed” by it, while the other was apparently meant for export? It seems that there were restrictions and patterns regarding the production, distribution and consequently the consumption of the motifs depicted on these specific media.

1. It has been suggested elsewhere that the LH IIIA-B wall-paintings had a very specific purpose to serve and that this was to decorate the buildings of major sites and, at the same time, to project the status, authority and prowess of the Mainland upper class.<sup>53</sup> The battle friezes from the Megaron at Mycenae and Hall 64 of Pylos, together with the hunting scenes from Tiryns and Orchomenos, aimed at delivering a powerful message regarding the power and authority of the local polity. There was a reason for them being located at central sites and key locations as they formed a kind of *insignium dignitatis*. Therefore, it is logical not to expect to find them painted on portable works of art, such as pottery, as their function was directly associated with that of the centres of authority.

It would be rather easy to express the argument that there was not enough space on the surface of the vessel to portray a full battle or hunting activity, but this is not entirely true. The two vessels from Kalavassos-Agios Dimitrios, for example, clearly show that a procession of women can be depicted with ease on such a surface and, equally, the Enkomi ship points out that it is possible to have multi-levelled narratives.

53. Papadopoulos 2006, ch. 5, esp. 206-210.

Therefore, it can be suggested that the lack of battle and hunting compositions is far from accidental, as the artisans had the skill to create them but rather opted consciously to leave them out of the iconographic repertoire, as they were meant to be kept within the walls of buildings under central control as signs of authority. As a matter of fact, this may also explain the occurrence of so many pottery vessels with “aggressive” decoration (warriors, hunters, hounds, battles) during the following LH IIIC period, as the collapse of the administrative systems transferred (some of) these motifs from the walls of the old establishment to the clay surfaces of the new upper classes.<sup>54</sup>

2. With the exception of the numerous chariot kraters, the rest of the discussed themes appear mostly in non-Aegean contexts. The deposition processes and the destruction of tombs and settlement sites by modern building activities and long periods of looting are perhaps reasons contributing to the minimal survival of pictorial kraters decorated with the discussed motifs, but this does not seem to be a satisfactory explanation. Similar conditions apply both in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, and yet large quantities of vessels have been found. It seems that a possible explanation lies within the symbolic interpretation of these objects and the way they were appreciated by non-Aegean societies. Steel has highlighted convincingly the role of Mycenaean ceramics and “dinner sets” for the elite stratum of Cypriot society.<sup>55</sup> Apart from the chariot, a widely-known status symbol all around the Eastern Mediterranean littoral, the rest of the aforementioned scenes painted on these artefacts were made selectively for the

54. Additionally, the lack of the “palatial” control of the trade routes and the shortage of expensive raw materials forced the Aegean craftsmen to turn to more modest materials, such as pottery. Occasionally the proportions of the figures on these kraters are similar to those of the wall-paintings from the same period (see for example the Warrior Vase from Mycenae).

55. Steel 1998.

Cypriot clientele. It is worth noting though the obvious lack of the two Aegean major symbolic scenes, those of combat and hunting, as it seems that they were not supposed to “leave” the Aegean region.

3. In order to provide an explanation for the lack, up to this date, of similar pictorial vessels from the Aegean region, the most logical assumption could be that the upper classes of the Mycenaean “koine” had other means of projecting their ethos and did not use these kraters. It is the time of the impressive tomb constructions, the rich offerings and the great architectural complexes. On the other hand, Cyprus lacks these monumental constructions (both for the living and the dead), and, as previously stated, there are no contemporary wall-paintings and the social strategies that the upper levels of the society followed seem to have a lot to do with borrowing and adopting symbols of authority from neighbouring societies. In other words, the Aegean elite(s) did not need the pictorial kraters to project any legitimate authority or prowess, while the Cypriot upper class appreciated and consumed them as exotica that were easily affordable and very impressive, due to the practices they followed.

### From the vase to the wall to the vase?

Boulotis argued persuasively that the pottery-painters who created the Middle Minoan II Kamares ware were the most appropriate craftsmen to decorate the walls of the palaces, as they were already very skilled with the secrets of polychromy<sup>56</sup> and accuracy in designing complex motifs. It is indeed a very strong case, further supported by the recent finds at Akrotiri, which include multi-coloured large vessels

56. Boulotis 1993 and 1995. See also Betancourt this volume.



▲ Fig. 6  
Part of a LH IIIB1 amphoroid krater from Tomb 93, Enkomi, Cyprus. Reg. no. 1897, 0401.1287. © Trustees of the British Museum.



▲ Fig. 7  
LH IIIB bell krater from Tomb 48, Enkomi, Cyprus. Reg. no. 1897, 0401.927. © Trustees of the British Museum. (Tournavitou this volume, fig. 8).

decorated with human figures, animals as well as mythical creatures dating to the last phase of the Middle Cycladic III period.<sup>57</sup> It seems acceptable that the art of wall-painting, a direct import from Egypt, found fertile ground in the Aegean art and the skilful craftsmen explored this new decorative technique.

During the LH IIIA-B period however, it seems that the large and complex compositions that included several human and animal figures, landscape elements and architectural features inspired the vase-painters to depict parts of these compositions on the kraters and, rarely, on other shapes as well. Some of the themes discussed above (such as the male individual between the chariots) appear to “suffer” within the narrow frame of the vessel, while the rooms in the Megaron at Mycenae have more space to deploy and create a more persuasive narrative.<sup>58</sup>

One very distinctive difference, however, is the so-called *horror vacui*. Several of the chariot kraters from both Aegean and non-Aegean contexts appear to have no free space between the various features, as for example, the legs of the horses; unlike the wall-paintings that leave plenty of space to the extent that in some cases (e.g. the Tiryns “*Hunt Frieze*”) their action appears to be portrayed in a rather abstract way with the minimum of decoration (especially when bearing in mind and comparing it with the Cretan mural decoration). Although there is no definitive and universally acceptable explanation regarding this issue, it is perhaps worth considering the possibility that the vase-painters aimed in this way at making their work of art more impressive and, therefore, creating an object that might lack the space of a wall, but is nonetheless a glorious object worth acquiring and circulating.

<sup>57</sup>. Nikolakopoulou 2010, 213-222; Vlachopoulos 2013d. Also Nikolakopoulou this volume.

<sup>58</sup>. This view of course does not exclude the possibility that wall- and vase-painters worked, explored and developed their crafts at the same time, perhaps even sharing new iconographic codes and solutions.

## Conclusions

The LH IIIA-B Aegean wall-paintings seem to have a direct connection with the contemporary pictorial pottery produced in mainland Greece. Several common iconographic elements appear in both crafts and there is clearly a common pictorial language between these skilled artisans.<sup>59</sup> They had almost identical iconographic agendas and the human figure was a major focal point for both crafts. It is also likely that the kraters themselves were eventually reproducing parts of larger scenes, originally found upon walls.

The most notable difference, however, is the lack of battle and hunting scenes from the kraters, whereas these appear frequently on the walls at various sites within the Aegean. Adding the fact that the great majority of these kraters was found in non-Aegean contexts, and especially on the island of Cyprus, we have to assume that these two media and their iconography served two different purposes: the Mainland wall-paintings project the status of the local ruling class, while the (Aegean-made, but Cypriot in context) pictorial kraters were used as exotic objects and symbols of prestige by the Cypriot elite(s). At the same time, the themes of battle and hunting remained strictly Aegean in character, as these were meant to support a very Aegean social mechanism. It seems, however, that both mural and vase compositions would be addressed to people who would appreciate the actual medium (wall, vessel) as well as the iconographic message (chariots, armed individuals, processions, etc). Despite the social differences regarding the appreciation and consumption of these two categories of art, there must have been a common guide-book and a set of restrictions during their production.

<sup>59</sup>. As already observed by Immerwahr 1990b, 237-245 in her study on the Akrotiri dolphins and swallows.

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