

Chapter 9 The Sphere of Mortals

Human figures are depicted in seal designs across all periods and the problem is to know whether they are representing mortals or immortals. This Chapter treats the images where there are no persuasive iconographic details suggesting the figures are anything other than ordinary women and men – mortals – and they are termed here, woman and man. When there are specific iconographic details indicating that the human figures are something more than ordinary mortals, that indeed they are immortals, they are treated below in Chapter 12, The Great Gods. We turn then, in this Chapter, to the humans living their mortal life in peace and in war. We consider the images that the artists have provided showing mortals in everyday work, their social interaction and ceremonies, their athletic sports and bull sports and their participation in war and the hunt¹.

Everyday Work

Everyday Work – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 9.1 to 9.18)

Human figures, men, appear in EM III as in 9.13, 9.97 and 9.108. A burst of images from MM II shows that men and their everyday work become a main subject for the seal artists of the first palaces. These images are of stylised humans, simply shown as head, body, arms and legs, devoid of internal detail or clothing, although some images show profile facial features. These male figures hold or stand beside their tools of trade or animal, thus documenting the roles of worker, potter, porter, herder and fisherman. In 9.1 the toothed pole can be seen as a saw and its large size may well be accurate as indicating a large cross-cut saw. The tool in 9.2 can also be seen as a saw, simply re-shaped as a curve fit, and the group of workers as a team of builders marching out to fell the trees. Two roles, the potter and the porter, are given maximum coverage at this time. The potter is seen standing or sitting beside his pot, and care is taken to show whether it is jug, amphora, flask or pithos as in 9.3 to 9.6. Some indication of scale is given by the figure standing beside a huge pithos in 9.4, bringing to mind the great storage vessels found in palace magazines. The seated potter holding the amphora near a curved item in 9.5 may be working at his potter's wheel while the man granted a stool to sit upon in 9.6 is displaying the achievements of his craft. Porters are carrying loads across their shoulders on carrying poles in 9.7 to 9.9. In the same pattern as the man with tool and man with vessel, a number of depictions show the porter standing beside his carrying pole with loads, stretched out so that its full detail can be seen as in 9.10 and 9.11. As there must always be an even number of loads to balance each side when the pole is across the shoulders,

¹ Search the IconAegean Database in the Element field on woman, man, stylised man, worker, potter, porter, herder, fisherman, sailor, server, bearer, processor, gesturer, boulder kneeler, tree puller, warrior, hunter, archer, tumbler, wrestler, driver, passenger and leaper. Search on the gestures, forehead, shoulder, heart, greeting, hands high, arms high, reaching and holding hands. Search the IconAegean Database in the *Icon* field on man with tool, man with vessel, man carrying loads, man with animal, man with weapon, tending the herd, aboard ship, human pair, human group, human couple, meeting, gesturing, processing, serving at the shrine, serving at the altar, carrying the special object, sacrificing on the altar, kneeling the boulder, pulling the tree, sport running, sport wrestling, leaper preparing, leaper somersaulting, leaper landing, leaper falling, leaper fallen, leaper bulldogging, warrior aiming, war duelling, hunter aiming, hunt duelling, hunt wrestling, warrior armed, warrior fallen, hunter fallen, carrying the catch, dealing with the catch and driving the chariot.

Search the IconADict Database for the definition of each term or refer to IAS.

another means of portage must be meant when the number of loads is uneven, as with the five loads in 9.10 and 9.11. When two porters between them carry a pole on their shoulders then the loads can be suspended from it and there is no requirement to have an even number of loads for balance. Portage handled this way would be very efficient in the mountainous country of Crete. Note that the loads across all these means of portage vary in shape – some are rounded or shaped like a vessel, some are pointed, some are irregular – and the number of ties connecting the loads to the pole also vary – sometimes two, sometimes three. All such detail no doubt records the actual shape of the commodity being carried and stresses the importance of this daily work. Sometimes an enigmatic portrayal will challenge description. The rare image in 9.12 may refer to a potter kneading clay or to a worker treading grapes. A very early seal shows a man with animals in 9.13. This becomes a clearer statement in MM II of a herder with animal as in 9.14 and is further detailed in the *Icon* tending the herd as in 9.15. Fishermen are seen carrying their catch, a large fish or octopus as in 9.16 and 9.17.

While discussing these early figures at work it is important to note that the hieroglyphic script sources many of its signs in human figures as with CHIC 006, the crossed arms with hands spread in 9.18. These signs include full male and female figures as well as various body parts, CHIC 001 to 010.

Everyday Work – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art (Plates 9.19 to 9.30)

All the potters and porters seem to have gone but the roles of herder and fisherman continue and are joined by that of the sailor. The working life remains a male sphere in the images. Tending the herd continues as a favourite topic as in 9.19 to 9.24 with milking scenes and the handling of cattle and sheep. These images involve experimental poses for the male figures and much sensitive treatment of the animals. For the herders, who all treat their charges with care, the depiction of the shoulders in 9.22 and the milking poses of 9.19 and 9.20 deserve close attention. For the animals, their relationship to their herders is carefully expressed from the gentle lowing and muzzling of 9.22 and 9.23 to the bleating alarm of the mothers in 9.21 when the young are taken from them. The image in 9.20 of two herders leaning over their ewes and milking into the same bowl is accurate to true life and still seen today². Fishermen are shown as before, not in the act of fishing, but as successful in their efforts, carrying home the catch. A large fish and an octopus are held by the fisherman in 9.25, his muscular body and folded kilt well-modelled. The fisherman in 9.26 holds his splendid catch by the line while the fisherman in 9.27 holds his arm out to display a large fish. Sailors are now shown in detailed ships, actively rowing as in 9.28 and 3.78. In 9.29 a worker appears to be weaving a wickerwork barrier. If this is so, then this scene parallels the wickerwork fences in 9.15 and 8.58 and the wickerwork designs known from the early seals. In the one only example of 9.30 a woman and a man are working at a large tripod cauldron. Are they cooking or perhaps making cheese? As so often, we do not have enough examples to make sure identifications³.

Everyday Work – Legacy and Late Periods (Plates 9.31 to 9.33)

Most scenes of everyday work have disappeared. Men are still tending the herd and sailing aboard ship. A herder in 9.31 handles a large ram and another in 9.38 tethers a ewe suckling her lamb. The sailors in 9.33 each have different duties. The large figure points the way while the smaller figure handles the great steering oar.

2 The image is doubled and the CMS Editors provide a photograph taken in Crete of just such a method of milking being used, CMS VS 1A 137.

3 Recognising the lack of comparisons, the LB date of this sealing covers a long period.

Processions, Worship and Ceremony

Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 9.34 to 9.42)

Not all aspects of social interaction are thought important enough to depict. However, the early seals show pairs and groups of humans interacting with each other, as well as some formal representations which are the beginnings of ceremonies shown later in art. Standing figures may begin with a single figure as in 9.34 but there are many illustrations of pairs as in 9.35 and groups of three, often clasping arms, as in 9.36. Three or more figures in a row constitute the *Icon* processing as in 9.36 and 9.37. Many of these figures have two distinct projections from the face but it is not clear whether these represent nose and chin or an open mouth speaking, calling or singing. Two one only images, 9.38 and 9.39, indicate the figures are musicians beating drums and holding a syrinx.

Formal ceremonies are indicated in these early times in various ways. There is the procession in 9.37 where three men in the same pose of arm raised and linked to the figure in front of them stand in line behind a leader. Accordingly, many groups of three suggest that they are processors in some ceremony. Even the many pairs may be meant to be processors going two by two in a procession. The ceremony of sacrificing an animal is portrayed in 9.40 where the man reaches to the animal which is bound cross-legged with the knife between. Other images do not show the human but simply the animal, always characteristically bound cross-legged as discussed above under 6.181 to 6.189. A one only seal, 9.41, indicates a seasonal ceremony since it shows two women greeting a sunburst. Both wear special clothing and may even have masks on their heads. In 9.42 three men wear cloaks and stand in a circle, together holding another cloak with its suspension tie uppermost in an early version of the presenting the cloak ceremony discussed in the previous Chapter.

Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Minoan High Art* (Plates 9.43 to 9.54)

Peaceful human pairs and processions continue as in 9.43 to 9.45. Two men face each other in a meeting *Icon* and gesture to each other in 9.43. A pair of figures appears in 9.44, a man wearing the warrior hide apron and a woman in a frilled skirt. Each carries a double axe and, again, these may be servers going two by two in procession. In 9.45 three women are processing to a shrine. The *Icons* of serving at the shrine and serving at the altar are regularly shown, almost always with a woman server as in 9.46 and 9.47 but with a man in 9.48. A one only depiction of obeisance is shown in 9.49 but, lacking comparisons, it is difficult to be sure of the context, as noted in the discussion on the example when illustrated as 3.76.

Four *Icons* have been created to encapsulate four of the specific ceremonies performed by mortals in Minoan Crete. The two most distinctive ceremonies, kneeling the boulder and pulling the tree, are seen in the images 9.52 and 9.53. The ceremony of presenting the cloak is recalled in 9.54 while the ceremony of sacrificing on the altar is seen in 9.50 and 9.51. These illustrations are placed here as a reminder of the four important ceremonies that have been discussed above in the Chapters appropriate to the focus of the particular ceremony.

Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Legacy and Late Periods* (Plates 9.55 to 9.63)

At first some of the social interaction, ceremonies and processions continue to be depicted. In 9.55 two women are meeting, in 9.56 servers are processing to a shrine while in 9.57 a procession of men is depicted although their destination is not shown. The pulling the tree ceremony survives in one depiction 9.61. The ceremony of sacrificing also continues with servers officiating at a bull sacrifice in 9.58 and a boar sacrifice in 9.59. There are several images simply showing the sacrifice as in 9.60. All depictions show the large specially-shaped sacrifice altar. Very late images as in 9.62 and 9.63 show that the meeting and processing images remain in schematic depictions.

Mortals Gesturing

Mortals Gesturing – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 9.64 to 9.66)

There are fifteen gestures observable in Aegean iconography, of which eight are performed by mortals. The other seven appear to be the preserve of VIP deities and will be treated in Chapter 12⁴. The eight mortal gestures comprise three where the hand touches a body part, forehead, heart or shoulder, and five where the gesture addresses another person – greeting, hands high, arms high, reaching and holding hands. The full range of mortal gestures is displayed in Minoan High Art but some are already nascent in the early seals where the stylised human figures often hold their hands or arms in particular positions as if gesturing. In 9.64 three men are seated, each raising his arm. In this image the double leaf is repeated around the edge to provide a perimeter groundline for the men to sit upon; repeating a motif in this way is regularly done at this time. The men are to be read as seated in a circle, each raising an arm to the next figure in the greeting gesture. In 9.65 one of the men stretches his arm out in the greeting gesture while in 9.42 two women greet a sunburst. In 9.66 we may have the earliest forehead gesture where the man raises his arm to place his hand against his forehead. The holding hands gesture is also seen in the Early Seal Period as in 9.146 and 9.147.

Mortals Gesturing – *Minoan High Art* (Plates 9.67 to 9.75)

The forehead gesture may be given by a woman or a man. It is given by two women in 9.67, by a woman and a man in 9.70 and also by one of the women in 9.73. The heart gesture and the shoulder gesture appear to be given only by women. In 9.68 the woman gives the heart gesture where her arm is placed across the breast to have her hand on her heart. In 9.69 the woman gives the shoulder gesture where she bends her arm back to place her hand on her shoulder, as also seen in 9.46, 9.149 and 9.150. The most depicted gesture continues to be the greeting gesture where the arm is stretched out in front of the body and the hand is shown palm outwards. The greeting may be given by a man or a woman. It may be addressed to another human as in 9.43, 9.148 and 9.155, to another creature as in 9.71 or to a VIP appearing on high as in 9.156. With the hands high gesture, both arms are bent at the elbow and raised up each side of the body as in 9.72 and with one of the women in 9.73. With the arms high gesture, both arms are stretched out and raised towards another figure, as performed by two of the women in 9.73. The reaching gesture is seen in the meeting or group Icons where a link is to be established between the figures. Thus, one figure reaches out to another as in 9.74 and 9.151. When groups are shown, the reaching gesture is often used to enliven the relationships between the figures as in 9.149, 9.150 and 9.155. The holding hands gesture always involves a female figure and a male figure as in 9.154 and with the two in the left curve of the bezel in 9.156.

Mortals Gesturing – *Legacy and Late Periods* (Plates 9.76 to 9.78)

Some of the gestures continue. The greeting gesture is seen in 9.76, the forehead gesture in 9.77 and 9.56 and the hands high gesture in profile in 9.78. The woman in the centre of 9.61 gives the hips gesture which has, to date, only been given by VIPs.

Athletic Sports and Bull Sports

Athletic Sports and Bull Sports – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 9.79 to 9.84)

The theme of athletic sports begins early before the bull sports appear. Three groups of wrestlers as in 9.40 to 9.42 introduce the Icon of sport wrestling. Often described as examples of *tete-beche* design, they are more credibly seen as wrestlers, each grasping leg or hand of his opponent. These actions intimate that more is intended than simply reversing the image as is done with, say, the porters who do not touch

⁴ The seven gestures given by VIPs are chest, hips, beckoning, power, brandishing, toasting and pointing. VIPs also share in the greeting and hands high gestures. See Chapter 12 below.

each other as in 9.11. Then there are the tumblers somersaulting as in 9.82 to 9.84 where the stylised figures seem quite acrobatic and some detail is added, with spiked hairstyles or a pigtail.

Athletic Sports and Bull Sports – *Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art* (Plates 9.85 to 9.90)

Interest in acrobatic skill continues with the tumblers somersaulting in a garden setting of papyrus plants as in 9.85. It is a lively, if highly organised, design exploiting the rectangular shape of the cushion seal and its diagonals. The tumblers appear to be wearing plumes on their heads. In 9.86 the tumbler executes the expected acrobatic roll, again with a stylised papyrus nearby. Wrestling/boxing becomes a more important topic. In 9.87 the wrestler/boxer has a most interesting pose. He strides forward, his lower body in profile and his upper body turned frontal. The careful muscling and neck alignment show that it is a frontal chest with arms reaching out and flexed⁵. A one only example of foot races is seen in 9.88 where a man and a woman watch the runner as he strides forward, his ringlets flying back with his speed.

The other great sports theme, the bull sports, begins in this Period as in 9.89 with a striking image of a leaper missing his vault. He falls down on the head of the bull, his arm over the curved-back horn, thus announcing that bull leaping is a dangerous game. In 9.90 the athleticism of the leapers somersaulting and landing is striking. There are various action plays in the bull sports and, in order to record the sequence fully, the seal artists create a set of six *Icons* that comprise the bull sports set: leaper preparing, leaper somersaulting, leaper landing, leaper falling, leaper fallen and leaper bulldogging. The four *Icons*, somersaulting, landing, falling and fallen, are illustrated in the examples 9.157 to 9.168, and show that the best bull sports images remaining to us are all on LM I seals, both for the poses of the leaper and the anatomy of the bull. The bulls are almost always extended in the flying gallop, as clearly seen in 9.157 to 9.160, 9.164 and 9.168. The full oval horizontal of the seal face is used to reveal the bulk and vitality of the bull with its genitals carefully delineated. Sometimes the bull is propped stationary as in 9.162 and 9.166 and sometimes the bull's head is turned frontal as in 9.160, 9.161 and 9.166. For the leaper, acrobatic skill is displayed in every pose, body at full stretch or arced over or contorted. The most popular *Icons* are those of the successful leaps, the leaper somersaulting and the leaper landing. Note how the leaper is never in contact with the bull. The leaper times the head-long rush of the bull and his leap so that he is safely in mid-flight as the bull rushes beneath him⁶. In real time it is impossible to land on the bull's back and somersault off again and the seal images testify to this⁷. Failed leaps are graphically shown with the leaper transfixed on the horns or trampled beneath the bull, limbs awry or unnaturally extended as in 9.166 to 9.168. The consummate artist of 9.167 has left us the most graphic depiction of the agony of the leaper who fails.

Athletic Sports and Bull Sports – *Legacy and Late Periods* (Plates 9.91 to 9.96)

The athletic sports theme continues in 9.91 where tumblers are placed antithetically about a papyrus thicket. The bull sports theme also continues although there are some notable changes to its presentation. The two Minoan seals, 9.92 and 9.93, give a reasonable idea of the somersaulting but the bulls are now much more constrained within the circular lentoid shape. In 9.96 an attempt to portray the leaper somersaulting and the leaper fallen in the same composition results in a rather static portrayal. Examples of the two *Icons*, leaper preparing and leaper bulldogging, are seen in 9.94 and 9.95. The leaper in 9.94 stands motionless, his arms raised as he sights the bull in preparation for his somersault, as is still done by gymnasts when launching the run to the vault. In 9.95 the leaper is trying to wrestle the bull to the

5 The surface of the sealing makes it difficult to read but the identification as a back torso is least likely.

6 See the videos of modern bull-leaping events in Portugal, YouTube, Jumping over Bulls, 27 February 2009.

7 The bronze statue of the bull and bull leaper, PM IV 221, Fig. 155, does show the leaper coming down on the bull's back, and this has led to Evans' misunderstanding of the leap, followed by Younger 1976, 125-137. The attachment of leaper to bull here has more to do with the need to have the two figures in contact for the casting process of the metal statue than it has to do with recording the nature of the leap.

ground by grasping neck and horns and throwing his full weight on the beast, just as modern cowboys do in the bulldogging events at rodeos. The fact that we have to wait until this later period to see the other two *Icons* of the bull sports set may be simply the lack of preservation that has denied us examples in Minoan High Art.

War and the Hunt

War and the Hunt – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 9.97 to 9.108)

The activities of war and the hunt have always been tied together since the skills and the mindset required by both overlap. Various hunt and war themes begin early and are continued throughout the art. A very early seal, 9.97, begins the war theme with a duelling scene showing two warriors holding bows and attacking each other with daggers or swords. This early action piece is paralleled by images which focus on the hunter or warrior with his identifying weapon, the bow or spear as in 9.98 to 9.102. Then the hunt sequence is initiated as in 9.103 to 9.108. Note the bow held up and about to release the arrow in 9.103, the carrying pole with agrimi catch balanced on each side in 104 and the agrimi mortally wounded by the arrow in 9.105. In 9.103 the hunter is accompanied by his hound in an early portrayal of this trusted association explained in the discussion of the hound in Chapter 6 above. In 9.104 the *Icon* of carrying the catch notes the success of the hunter. In 9.105 the *Icon* of dealing with the catch shows the hunter holding his agrimi quarry already killed by the arrow. In this hunt sequence the skill and success of the hunter is celebrated. Yet, the danger of the hunt is the main thrust of the images of the hunter fallen as in 9.106 and 9.107, in both cases falling prey to lions. A hunt scene may also be intended in 9.108 where the man and lions are placed on the perimeter groundline each side of patterned foliage and there is a triangular shape pointing at the lions which could be a sword or spear point.

War and the Hunt – *Minoan High Art* (Plates 9.109 to 9.132)

War and warrior scenes become favourite subjects. Warriors in the pair and processing *Icons* now march out, presumably to battle, as in 9.109 and 9.110. They wear plumed helmets, carry their spears and are protected by their eight shields. In 9.112 and 9.113 warriors wear the body armour of the hide apron while in 9.113 the long protective back flap is clearly seen. In 9.111 a large defensive shield is shown. Driving the chariot now becomes an *Icon* as in 9.114 allowing warriors to be transported to battle. Aggressive battle scenes are rendered in the war duelling *Icon* as in 9.115 to 9.119. The most telling depictions are those which display the climactic point of the delivery of the fatal blow as in 9.115 to 9.117 and 2.32 and 2.33. The brutality and loss of war are epitomised in the warrior fallen *Icon* as in 9.115 to 9.117 and 2.33. In some of the LB I-LB II examples the war theme is shown in more static forms as in 9.120. In all, war is presented in the set of *Icons* detailing the sequence of battle: driving out or processing out to battle, warrior aiming, war duelling and warrior fallen.

Hunt scenes are shown in 9.121 to 9.132 where spirited hunting encounters are rendered in the hunt duelling, hunter aiming and hunter fallen *Icons* while the result of the successful hunt is shown in the dealing with the catch *Icon*. A bearded hunter (or warrior) is featured as head profile with his bow and arrow in 9.125. The quarry for the hunt may be lion, bull or agrimi. When it is a lion as in 9.121 to 9.123 and 2.34, the animal is raised up on its hind legs to match the stature of the man and thus prove a meet adversary for the hunter hero as if it were a duel between two warriors. In most cases the hunter is clothed only in a belt and kilt, thus showing his outstanding bravery in not using armour or a shield. The hunt wrestling icon in 9.124 shows the strength of the hunter who can, barehanded, bring a magnificent agrimi to the ground, albeit aided by his sturdy hound. The mortal danger faced by the hunter is graphically portrayed in 9.126 where the hunter is trampled under the hooves of the great bull caught in the net. The hunter's skill with the spear is documented in the hunter aiming *Icons* of 9.127 to 9.129. The hunt scenes in 9.129 and 9.130 also include the trusty hound companion and place all in convincing landscape of trees and rocky ground. The final act of the hunt is documented in the dealing

with the catch *Icon* as in 9.130 to 9.132 where the agrimi, bull and lion are the quarry. The successful hunt is presented here in the set of *Icons* following the sequence of attack: hunter aiming, hunt duelling and dealing with the catch. The unsuccessful hunt is recorded in the hunter fallen *Icon*. The remaining *Icon* in the hunt set is carrying the catch when the catch is a mammal quarry, not a fish. As it is seen in the previous Period and will be seen again in the next Period, the gap in portrayal in Minoan High Art is likely to be due to the vicissitudes of the preservation of material.

War and the Hunt – Legacy and Late Periods (Plates 9.133 to 9.144)

The themes of war and the hunt are strong enough to continue into the Legacy Period along with several of the *Icons* that have organised their depiction since the Early Seal Period. The war duelling *Icon* is seen in both 9.133 and 9.134. A warrior fallen is seen in 9.134. The chariot scene in 9.135 shows the driver with his whip urging on the steeds. Hunt scenes are numerous and varied. Hunt duelling is best seen in 9.136 where the hunter attacks a huge agrimi and also in 9.140. The successful hunt is documented by the carrying the catch and dealing with the catch *Icons*. In 9.137 the hunter uses a carrying pole to bring home his trophies of boar and agrimi while in 9.141 the genius is the hunter carrying the bull catch over his shoulder. In 9.138 the hunter is dealing with his great agrimi catch, already dead on its back. The ever-present danger of the hunt is seen in the hunter fallen *Icons*. The hunter in 9.139 is being trampled by a huge and ferocious boar, his body twisted awkwardly and his legs flailing in the air. In many late sealings, there seems to be a resurgence of interest in having the lion as the combat animal facing the brave hunter. In 9.142 and 9.143 two hunters each wrestle a lion barehanded. The hunt scene in 9.144 shows the hunters arriving by chariot and the main hunter again wrestling the lion barehanded.

Iconographic Interpretation: Mortals Beautiful, Pious and Brave

When we come to interpret the roles of women and men as presented in the seal designs we note that the subject of the lives of mortals is not the first choice of subject matter. The natural world – earth, plants and animals – provides the first images, along with integrated geometric designs. Although human figures are known early, it is not until the last phase of the Early Seal Period that the activity of humans becomes an important subject with the depiction of the stylised figures as servers, workers, hunters and warriors. In the Experimentation and Minoan High Art Periods some of the working roles are discarded while peaceful scenes of meetings, processions and ceremonies are developed along with scenes of athletic endeavour, the hunt and war. The new activity of the bull sports appears. The Legacy Period continues the war, hunt, and bull sports themes, but only some of the everyday and ceremonial activities. These changes will be considered in Chapter 14. We proceed now with the interpretation of the Minoan images.

It is in the images of the era of the building of the first palaces that we see the activities of humans coming into prominence. Everyday work becomes a major subject but it is not the work of women. We look in vain for expected images of women spinning or weaving, tasks that take up so much of women's lives in pre-industrial societies. Everyday work is shown as the work of men. The roles of potter and porter predominate, each man being shown beside his creation or his tool of trade, with considerable detail given to the various pot shapes and load shapes as in 9.3 to 9.11. In similar compositions the men with the toothed poles can be seen as builders with saws. As the great beams of the palaces had to be cut and milled from the Cretan forests, it makes sense for the artists to include a building role in their depiction of the workday world. Indeed, the stress given to the builder, potter and porter images should be seen as a celebration of the great construction projects which produced the first palaces and facilitated the trade between these emerging centres. There are also one only examples of workers who may be wine-makers in 9.12 and musicians in a band in 9.38, thus suggesting a wider workforce. The roles of herder and fisherman are documented as in 9.13 to 9.17. It is also at this time that we see the first intimations of ceremony. To the many images of sacrificed animals we now see a figure officiating as in 9.40. The presentation of the cloak is foreshadowed in 9.42. Reading three figures in a row as figures processing

in a file is a reasonable interpretation. However, we are not shown what they are processing towards and probably not all of them are marching out to work. In several cases the men have their arms around each other's shoulders as in 9.36 or have an arm raised to connect them back to a leader figure as in 9.37. So these depictions of three figures may be representing a traditional line dance. The many images of pairs may also represent a procession. Mindful of the ever-present problem of limited space on the seal face, the artists give us pairs but they, and their viewers, may easily be seeing processions. In traditional ceremonies and processions, participants regularly go two by two and the many pairs with both figures in the same pose may be representing just that. Some of these interactions reveal the first gestures being given with the greeting, forehead and holding hands gestures being shown. The Icon of the human couple is first seen in 9.145 to 9.147. The themes of athletic sports are depicted in a lively manner with the wrestlers and tumblers in 9.79 to 9.84 while the exploits of war and the hunt are given graphic portrayals in the sequence 9.97 to 9.108. All these busy little figures on the early seals have often been passed over as not telling us much about Minoan life. However, this is not seen to be the case when we take a closer look at the variety of the images. Already in this protopalatial period the artists have defined the roles of mortals in peace and war as gesturer, processor, tumbler, herder, fisherman, porter, potter, worker, archer, wrestler, hunter and warrior. At the same time the depictions of ceremonial processions and animal sacrifice begin the record of pious observances.

When we turn to the images of mortals in the Experimentation and Minoan High Art Periods we see a significant change. Women emerge as full members of the society. They are now widely represented in the images of social interaction and ceremony as in 9.43 to 9.54 and 9.67 to 9.75. They take their place beside men in the generic processions, also shown as pairs, where both may be bearers carrying symbols like the double axe. In the important ceremonies of kneeling the boulder discussed in Chapter 4 and pulling the tree discussed in Chapter 5 a woman can be the officiant as can a man. The human couple is featured as in 9.145 to 9.156 where a woman and a man are given equal stature. Women almost exclusively represent the pious Minoan community in acts of worship at special buildings which are portrayed by the two *Icons* of serving at the shrine and serving at the altar. A woman and a man are needed for the holding hands gesture but either can give the greeting, reaching, forehead, heart or hands high gestures. Only women seem to give the shoulder gesture and the arms high gesture. Now, when women are giving the hands high and arms high gestures they have often been interpreted as dancing as in 9.72 and particularly in 9.73. However, there is no attempt to show their feet as other than flat on the ground although artists are quite able to show pointed feet as movement in other contexts. There is no attempt to show clothing registering a moving body. The shape of the women in 9.73 is easily explained by their own clothed body shape. It seems more in keeping with the visual record simply to regard these women as gesturing to each other, not dancing⁸. So, in review of the role of women as shown in Minoan High Art, we can say that it is not simply that women are present beside the men in these many images but rather that they regularly take an active protagonist role. They are the processors and bearers in pairs and processions. They are the boulder kneelers and tree pullers in those two significant ceremonies, and they are, almost exclusively, the servers and gesturers at shrine and altar. For social interaction and in peaceful ceremonies and worship, the move across to predominantly women actors is striking.

In the Experimentation and Minoan High Art Periods the occupations of men remain those of earlier times although there are fewer depictions of everyday work while those of athletic prowess, of war and the hunt and the bull sports claim most attention. The palace building roles of the Early Seal Period are no more but some of the workday images continue. The competent herder is shown in 9.19 to 9.24 while successful fishermen are celebrated in 9.25 to 9.27. Although ships and seafaring have been subjects from the earliest images, the role of sailor is now made explicit as in 9.28. However, the main occupation for men is to participate in war, the hunt, athletic sports and the bull sports. The depictions of the themes of war and the hunt are increased in number as seen across 9.109 to 9.130 where the war

⁸ The dancing interpretation probably has more to do with stories of Ariadne dancing and the so-called Dance Fresco at Knossos in its reconstructed form, AP, Plate 23, than it has to do with what is actually being depicted.

duelling and hunt duelling *Icons* emphasise the ferociousness of hand-to-hand combat⁹. Driving the chariot as in 9.114 becomes a powerful *Icon* as the Minoan war machine takes up the prestige weapon and creates the new roles of driver and passenger. The earlier roles of tumbler and wrestler continue as in 9.85 and 9.86 but now we also see the runner as in 9.88. There is the whole new theme of the bull sports providing the most dangerous role of the leaper as in 9.89 and 9.90 and 9.157 to 9.168. Then there are the three ceremonies where attendance is a male prerogative. The officiant at the animal sacrifice ceremony discussed in Chapter 6 is a man although rarely depicted. When he appears he is a rather humbler worker identified by leggings. The preference is to portray the ceremony in the animal sacrificed *Icon* where the bound animal is featured, sometimes placed on the sacrifice altar, and this allows the important ceremony to be acknowledged without stressing the role of the male officiant. In the other two male-oriented ceremonies, the protagonists are duly celebrated. The ceremony of presenting the cloak, discussed in Chapter 8, portrays the personnel as appropriately caparisoned leaders ready for war and the hunt. The protagonist in the leaping the bull ceremony, discussed below, is a man of extraordinary skill and bravery.

The Ruling Elite

Who then are these women and men who lead the Minoan community, who organise the disciplined preparation for military expeditions in war, who maintain the careful observance of ceremony in peace? Who are these men and women who gesture to each other and to VIP figures? Who are the warriors and hunters, the processors and bearers, the servers at altar and shrine and the officiants at the five ceremonies of animal sacrifice, kneeling the boulder, pulling the tree, presenting the cloak and leaping the bull? They are not delineated by facial detail which gives them individual identities. The short burst of male heads seen in the Experimentation Period has not provided secure evidence of an interest in portraiture which might have been seen as elevating a man to elite status; and of course there are no women so delineated¹⁰. Instead, they are differentiated as a group by depiction of body form and dress. Women and men are clothed in splendid garments, their hair is coiffured, they wear jewellery and they possess additional enhancements of capes and mantles, scarves and cloaks. The women wear long pants, maybe diaphanous pants, and choose between skirts flounced, fringed, frilled, fleecy and side pleated, and hats high, pointed, brimmed and peaked. The men wear their minimal belt and codpiece but can add a kilt and, when going into battle, can choose from the protective array of the hide apron and a variety of helmets and shields. The intricate nature of Minoan clothing, discussed in Chapter 8 above, makes it clear that the detail of weave and cut, ribbon and bow was deeply appreciated, as was the detail of war accoutrements for males in leather, metal, and especially the woven cloak. All the actors here are of the same level of opulence, setting them apart from the relatively small number of workers, herders and fishermen depicted at this time who wear fewer and simpler items of clothing. We can only come to the conclusion that the ruling elite of the Minoan community are a group of women and men who see themselves as equals and who see that they have duties of leadership which are undertaken as they wear their very best clothes.

The sumptuous clothing and the formidable battle gear appear to belong to many people in this leadership group, with seemingly no item which distinguishes or elevates one woman or one man above others. Individuals are not singled out by facial differentiation. In many instances where a member of the ruling elite undertakes ceremonial duties, the face is just a shape, with much more effort spent on showing the coiffure and the clothing, as when kneeling the boulder in 4.109 to 4.117 and pulling the tree in 5.121 to 5.127. Thus, we must conclude that individual identity is not as important as the role being enacted. Furthermore, there are no equivalents of crowns or robes worn by only one particular figure to signify a king or a queen. There are no items of regalia that might have been held by monarchs

9 For discussion on hunting in Minoan Crete and its status as an elite pursuit see Krzyszkowska 2014a, 341-347.

10 See the discussion on portraiture in Chapter 3 above.

to display their authority. The staff, triple bud rod and orb rod belong to other figures, either divine or fantastic, to be discussed below. So, we must face the import of the oft-remarked-upon absence of ruler iconography in Minoan Crete¹¹. We also must acknowledge that there is no evidence of a priestly caste in Minoan society. There are no images of certain figures robed in particular garments officiating at identifiable religious ceremonies. The figures clad in the diagonal robe were declared to be priests long ago by Arthur Evans, and the nomenclature has remained¹². However, none of these figures is ever seen leading a procession or officiating in any of the scenes of worship at shrine or altar, and none is ever the protagonist in any of the five defining ceremonies. The male figure wearing the diagonal robe is always shown standing in calm pose, isolated from any work or action, and he needs to be rescued from the erroneous “priest” label. He is identified as a god in Chapter 12. Accordingly, with no identifiable kings or queens and no identifiable priestesses or priests, we can only conclude that the society is ruled by an elite class who perform these administrative, military and priestly roles. Membership of this ruling elite may well come through clan association or aristocratic family, as one may expect for such an early community. It may come through recognition of excellence in the military and sports arenas. Perhaps designation of particular duties is reliant on drawing lots. Information on how an individual gains membership of the ruling elite evades us at present. However, the seal images do reveal that the Minoan ruling elite comprises both women and men who set high standards of dress and performance for themselves as they fulfil their duties in peace and in war.

The Minoan Ideal for a Woman and for a Man

As a member of the ruling elite, what are the demands on a woman or a man? What are the desired qualities that epitomise the Minoan ideal? The Minoan woman is fair of face and body and is indeed most elaborately coiffured and clothed and bedecked with jewellery. She is also extremely pious, serving at altar and shrine and officiating at important ceremonies. Again, there are no indications of royal status like crowns or priestess robes although the very richness of her costuming and the special nature of her activities bespeaks of her leadership role. All in all, the Minoan male is very well turned out from the top of his head to the tips of his toes. His lean muscled body always has the correct accoutrements for war – belt, kilt, robe, armour, helmet and cloak – as well as the appropriate attire for peace – coiffure, jewellery, necklace, bracelet, armband and anklet. It is a pity that in English we have no word for male beauty. We slide off into words like handsome, manly, or some such periphrasis. Perhaps we should just take the example of the inflected languages and say, beautiful male. Yet the calling for an elite male is to war, the hunt and the bull sports¹³. For these he must be trained and his skill tested¹⁴. Only then will he have the courage to face his fate.

From our investigations of the images so far we can say that the women and men of the ruling elite are portrayed in the full beauty of youth. It is, however, a youth that is mature, with the women full-bosomed and the men of fighting age. The seals do not dwell on images of children or older folk.

11 See in particular the papers given at the 1992 Conference, *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean* published in RULER.

12 Arthur Evans believed that the priest and priest-king identity was the same. He discussed priests/priest-kings widely and saw the long robe as the indicator of their status. See his discussion on the seal showing a robed figure with a griffin, PM II, 785, Fig. 512 (CMS I 223). Robert Koehl gives a summary of the various identifications of priests that have been made over the years in his section on “Rhyta and Priests” in Koehl 2006, 337-342. The seal quoting a sacrifice scene is CMS I 80 not CMS I 223, and the garment is a simple tunic. Many researchers still accept the Evans declaration that the long robed figures are priests and also the eastern link with the Syrian fenestrated axe. See further discussion in Chapter 12 below.

13 In her essay, “The Ideals of Manhood in Minoan Crete”, Nanno Marinatos gathers these same three avenues of endeavour. I concur with her assessments on the prestige of manhood and the evidence of male authority in Crete, AWP, 149-158.

14 Robert Koehl discusses the military training of Minoan youths and their subsequent rites of passage, Koehl 2016, 113-132.

In Minoan Crete the Ideal Man is handsome, skilled and brave, a bull leaper, hunter and warrior. In Minoan Crete the Ideal Woman is beautiful and pious, exquisitely gowned to perform her ritual roles.

Private Lives (Plates 9.145 to 9.156)

As we have already commented, men and women are shown together in Minoan High Art parading in processions and participating in ceremonies together in a show of equality that is somewhat rare in ancient traditional societies. Yet, there is an additional set of images that appears to show a woman and a man enjoying a special relationship, most clearly expressed in the human couple *Icon* which is a memorable image of a woman and a man close together and linked in some way, usually by the gesture of holding hands. The two early seal examples, 9.146 and 9.147, are their first clear expression. The different treatment of his and her hair, the depiction of the woman's patterned skirt and the spray she wears in her hair give added life to the figures. There is no doubting the closeness of the pair in each image. In 9.145, an even earlier seal, a couple are shown embracing, and it has been argued that this is a scene of coitus. It could be so, but since the vital section of anatomies is missing and there are no comparable images to provide a check, it is probably better to regard the image simply as the first example of the human couple *Icon*.

The human couple *Icon* has several depictions in Minoan High Art. The close relationship of the man and woman is signified by the holding hands gesture as in 9.154 and 9.156 and possibly also in 9.151¹⁵, by the heart gesture by the woman as in 9.148¹⁶, 9.149 and 9.151, by the reaching gesture of the man as in 9.153 and in 9.155, and by the greeting gesture of the man as in 9.148 and 9.152. In 9.155 the central figures of warrior and VIP appearing on high are flanked by a woman and a man, paired by being positioned in the opposite curves of the bezel and by addressing the central figures with greeting and reaching gestures. The linking of the woman and man with a bow to be a couple as in 9.150 is a one only example and its possible significance was addressed in Chapter 3 above. In 9.149 and 9.150 the woman wears the lappet skirt which is seen as a marker of her availability for marriage¹⁷. The importance of the couple relationship is underlined by their being the only subjects in the scene or, in scenes with other participants, by those participants' focussing their attention on the couple. Other inclusions in the compositions also testify to the importance of the couple. In 9.148 the scene is set before a tree shrine with the sunburst shining overhead. In 9.154 the couple salutes a panoply. In 9.152 the couple stands beside a double boulder with plants.

Any interpretation of these images must recognise the exceptional nature of the holding hands gesture. In a traditional society, it would be improper for a man and a woman to be shown touching each other. Think of the scandal that erupted in modern times when the waltz was introduced as a dance where a man holds a woman close in his arms! In a traditional society the holding hands gesture can only be seen as the representation of a marriage or of a married couple. Where the man and woman are facing each other and linked with heart or greeting gestures it may be the actual marriage ceremony. The other images showing a man and woman close together are those of a married couple at some sensitive point in their lives like a farewell before the husband departs for war. In 9.151 and 9.152 the couple spend a quiet time in a sacred place while in 9.154 the couple salute the panoply which will soon guard him from death in battle. In 9.155 the couple surround a fully armed warrior as the woman greets a VIP deity appearing on high. Is this a mother and father couple farewelling their son to war and committing him into the care of a powerful god?

So far we have interpreted all these woman and man couple images as referring to their private lives, but is this necessarily so? The other grandly clothed men and women in scenes of procession, worship

15 Although the sealing impression is faint, the woman is giving the heart gesture and both give the reaching gesture which may actually be a holding hands gesture.

16 In this impossibly small seal it is difficult to be sure of the woman's arm positions.

17 See the discussion on the significance of the lappet skirt in the Interpretation section of Chapter 8 above.

and ceremony are seen as representatives of their community, keeping it safe through war and pious observances. It is possible that in these seemingly private moments – moments applicable to all humans – the women and men are also representing their society? The couple holding hands in the very public departure of the ship in 9.156 would seem to suggest this representative role for an elite married couple. In farewelling the ship and its crew, perhaps it is as the community leaders that they greet the VIP appearing on high and address prayers to provide a safe and successful voyage. Again, we cannot be sure of the exact meaning of this set of images because we do not have the explanatory gloss of accompanying text.

The Ceremony of Leaping the Bull (Plates 9.157 to 9.168)

The ceremony of leaping the bull provides the ultimate test of bravery for the Minoan man¹⁸. In Chapter 3 we discussed the creation of the bull sports set and sequence comprising six *Icons* carefully crafted to express each of the high points of danger faced by the leaper in the bull sports: preparing, somersaulting, landing, falling, fallen and bulldogging¹⁹. The leaper goes to the bull knowing full well that he may be successful or may fail – and die in the process. Look closely at the selection of LM I images 9.157 to 9.168 for the best portrayals of the four most often depicted *Icons* of the bull leaping. Cheer for leaper executing the high somersault and landing. Groan aghast for the leaper falling or fallen with terrible and fatal wounds²⁰. There is no doubt that this spectacular event is a celebration of the skill and courage of the bull leaper. Yet is there more? What is the role of the bull? Even the most cursory glance at these same images reveals that it is the bull that is the most significant presence in each *Icon*. The bull takes up most of the space in each image. It is a magnificent animal, the bulk of its body and explicit genitals giving testimony to its being in the prime of life. Its flying gallop pose with legs extended is joined with raised horns and tail to give a rectangular shape which hurtles through the space, dominating the whole seal face shape. In contrast, the human is slight of build and often only partly shown in the leap through arms or legs or flying hair. Is then the bull really the main subject, and if so, who or what is the bull?

Placing the bull at the centre of interest, just as it is at the centre of the image, allows us to see it as a powerful being, even a supernatural force. In Chapter 12 the bull is seen as the avatar of a powerful deity, the Bull Lord. This reading of the *Icons* reveals the bull sports as a ceremony of worship where the mortal can access the other world of the gods. The skill of the leaper allows him to commune with the deity even as he anticipates the bull's violent motion. The bull is the Bull Lord and the leaper is his worshipper in this ceremonial dance of death that unites them both.

18 The bull leapers on the seals can all be identified as male. The seals do not show colour and all images depict the leaper as male in body form and clothing. However, in some frescoes, the fact that some leapers have white skin raises the possibility that there might have been female leapers. If the colour code for humans – red skin for males and white skin for females – holds in this instance then we would have a female bull leaper, with an explanation required for her not having the expected body form of the Minoan mature female. The white-skinned leapers would need to be pre-puberty females for the body shape to be appropriate, and she would need to don male garb. For discussion of the colour convention and the sexed body see Chapin 2012, 297-304.

19 See the section on Layering Meaning through Icons in Chapter 2 above.

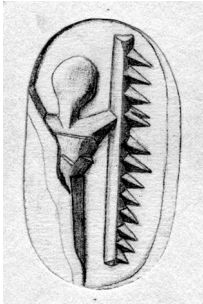
20 For pertinent comparisons between the bull sports scenes at Knossos and Tell el-Dab'a see Bietak, Marinatos and Palyvou 2007.

Comparisons with Images in Other Media

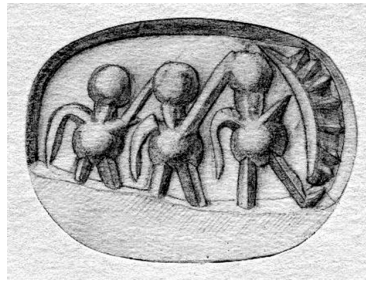
1. Clay figure of a woman giving the heart gesture from Piskokephalo.
CM, Plate 17.
2. Bronze statue of a man giving the forehead gesture from the Skoteino Cave.
FLL, Plate 179.
3. Scenes of boxers, wrestlers and bull leapers on the conical relief rhyton from Hagia Triada.
CM, Plates 106 and 107.
4. The attack on a city on the silver Siege Rhyton from Mycenae.
CM, Plate 174.
5. Restored wall painting showing a procession of women gift bearers from Thebes.
AP, Plate XXI.

Plates 9.1 to 9.168

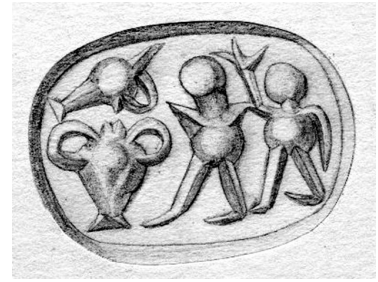
Everyday Work – *Early Seal Period*



9.1 – man with tool
(II.2 102a/MM II)



9.2 – man, toothed pole
(II.2 159b/MM II)



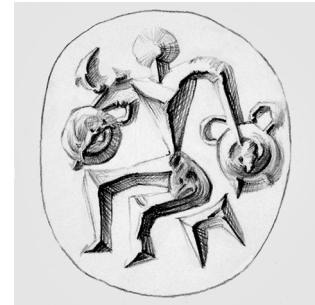
9.3 – man with vessel
(II.2 159a/MM II)



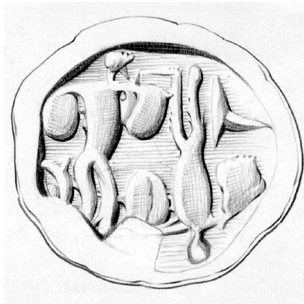
9.4 – potter, pithos
(VI 45b/MM II)



9.5 – potter, amphora
(VI 34b/MM II)



9.6 – potter, flasks
(VI 44a/MM II)



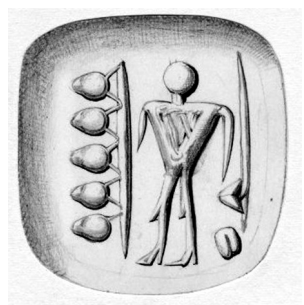
9.7 – man carrying loads
(II.1 300b/EM III-MM IA)



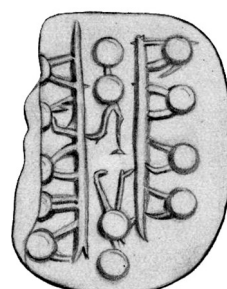
9.8 – porter
(XI 122b/MM II)



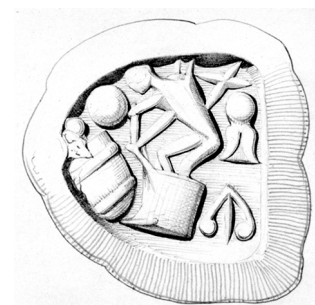
9.9 – porter
(VI 44c/MM II)



9.10 – porter, loads
(II.2 306c/MM II)



9.11 – porter, loads
(XI 298a/MM II)



9.12 – man as worker
(II.1 420b/MM II)

The Sphere of Mortals

Everyday Work – Early Seal Period (cont.)



9.13 – man with animal
(II.1 51/EM III-MM IA?)



9.14 – herder
(II.2 163b/MM II)



9.15 – tending the herd
(II.8 33/MM II)



9.16 – fisherman carrying catch
(II.2 174a/MM II)

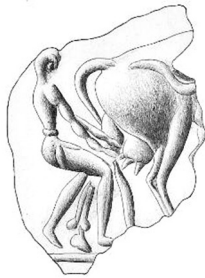


9.17 – carrying catch
(I 414c/MM II)

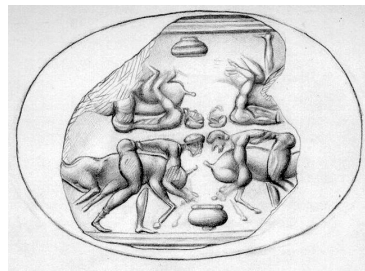


9.18 – crossed hands
(III 229c/MM II)

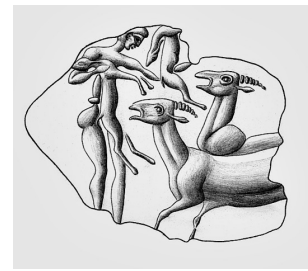
Everyday Work – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art



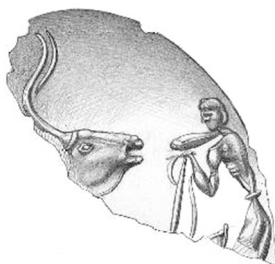
9.19 – tending the herd
(II.8 232/-)



9.20 – tending the herd
(VS 1A 137/LM I)



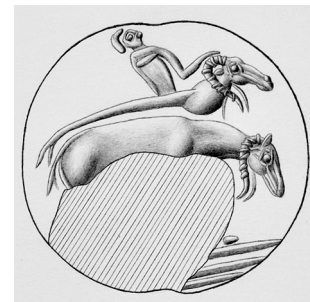
9.21 – tending the herd
(II.7 30/LM I)



9.22 – tending the herd
(II.8 233/-)



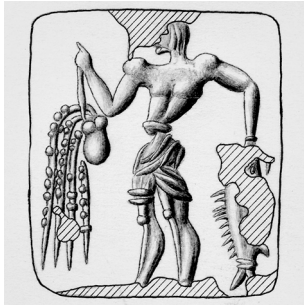
9.23 – tending the herd
(VI 329/LB I-LB II)



9.24 – tending the herd
(VI 330/LB I-LB II)

The Sphere of Mortals

Everyday Work – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art (cont.)



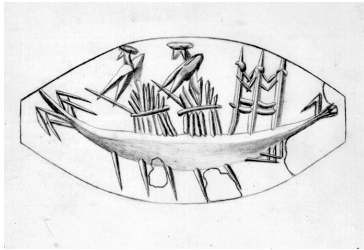
9.25 – carrying the catch
(VI 183/MM III-LM I)



9.26 – fisherman
(VII 88/LM I)



9.27 – carrying the catch
(X 144/LB I-LB II)



9.28 – aboard ship
(IS 167/LM I)



9.29 – man at work
(II.8 263/LM I-LM II?)



9.30 – workers at a tripod
(II.8 275/LB)

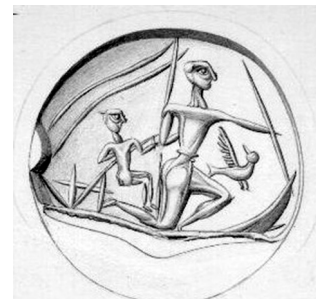
Everyday Work – Legacy and Late Periods



9.31 – herder, ram
(II.8 386/LM II-LM IIIA1)



9.32 – herder, cow, calf
(VI 327/LB II-LB IIIA1)



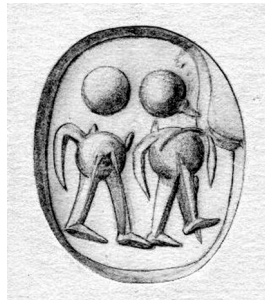
9.33 – sailor
(V 184b/LB II-LB IIIA1)

Processions, Worship and Ceremony

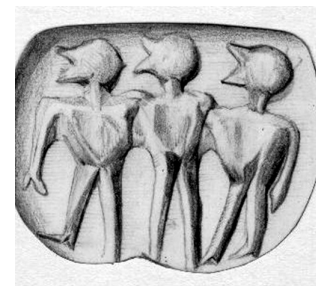
Processions, Worship and Ceremony – Early Seal Period



9.34 – man full figure
(II.1 145a/MM II)



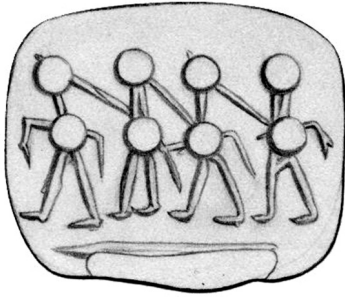
9.35 – human pair
(II.2 160b/MM II)



9.36 – procession
(II.2 2a/MM II)

The Sphere of Mortals

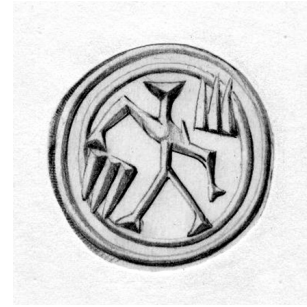
Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Early Seal Period (cont.)*



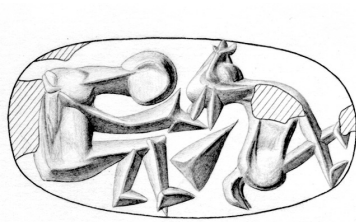
9.37 – processing
(XI 298c/MM II)



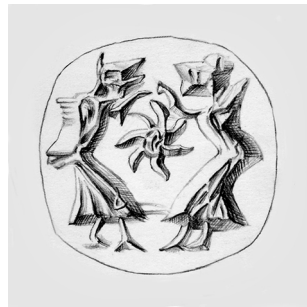
9.38 – musicians
(II.6 150/EM III-MM IA)



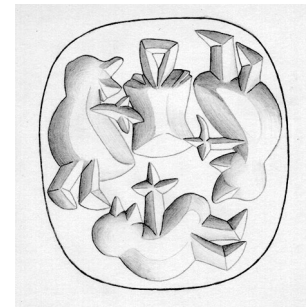
9.39 – man with syrx
(II.2 204a/EM III-MM IA)



9.40 – server, sacrifice
(III 213c/MM II)



9.41 – women gesturers
(VI 34a/MM II)

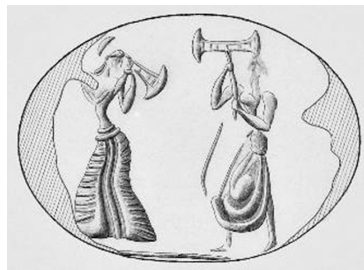


9.42 – men, cloak
(VS 1A 43c/MM II)

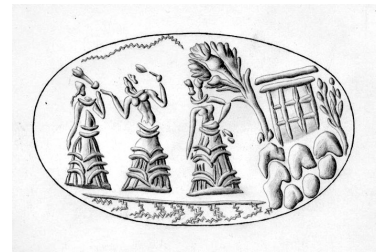
Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Minoan High Art*



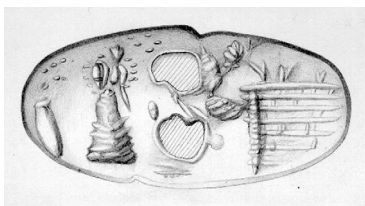
9.43 – men meeting
(II.7 18/LM I)



9.44 – pair
(II.6 10/LM I)



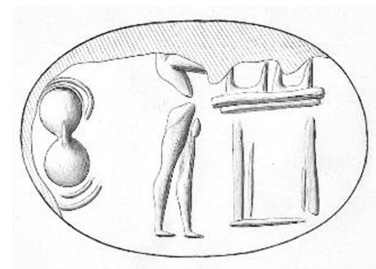
9.45 – processing
(VS 1B 114/LB I-LB II)



9.46 – serving at the shrine
(II.3 15/LM I)



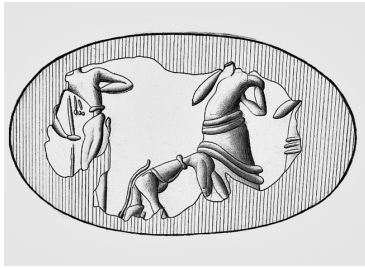
9.47 – serving at the altar
(I 410/LB I)



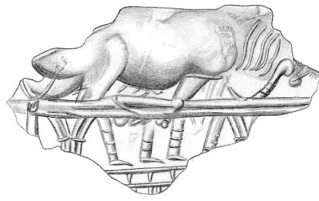
9.48 – serving at the altar
(II.8 272/LM I-LM II?)

The Sphere of Mortals

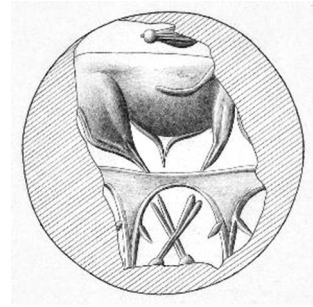
Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Minoan High Art (cont.)*



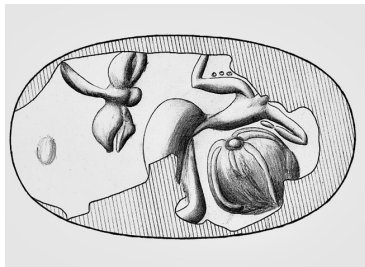
9.49 – VIP accepting homage
(II.7 3/LM I)



9.50 – sacrificing
(II.8 480/LM I-LM II)



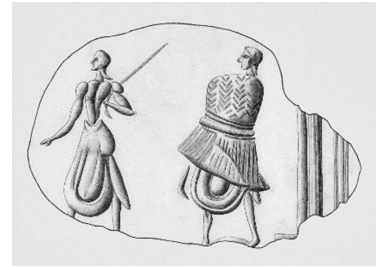
9.51 – sacrifice
(II.8 481/LM I-LM II)



9.52 – kneeling the boulder
(II.7 6/LM I)

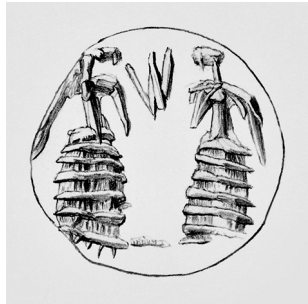


9.53 – pulling the tree
(XII 264/LM I)

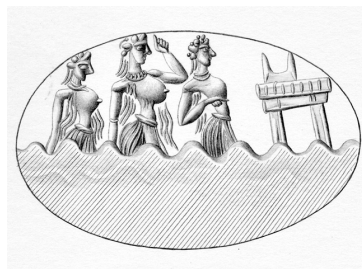


9.54 – presenting the cloak
(II.6 11/LM I)

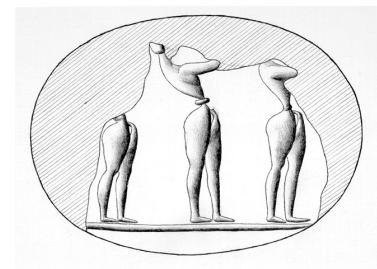
Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Legacy and Late Periods*



9.55 – meeting
(VI 291/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2?)



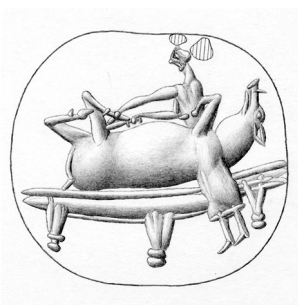
9.56 – processing
(I 108/LH II-LH IIIA1)



9.57 – processing
(I 170/LB II-LB IIIA1)



9.58 – sacrificing
(II.6 173/LM II-LM IIIA1?)



9.59 – sacrificing
(I 80/LB II-LB IIIA1)



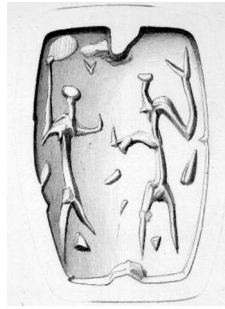
9.60 – sacrifice
(XI 52/LH II-LH IIIA1)

The Sphere of Mortals

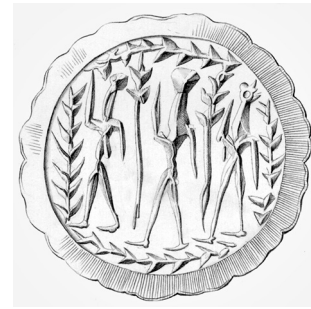
Processions, Worship and Ceremony – *Legacy and Late Periods (cont.)*



9.61 – pulling the tree
(I 126/LB II-LB IIIA1)



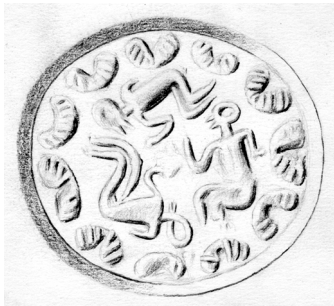
9.62 – meeting, gesturing
(V 11/LH IIIA2-LH IIIB)



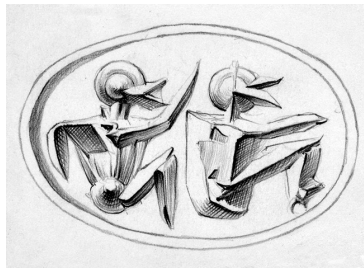
9.63 – processing, gesturing
(I 42/LH IIIA2-LH IIIB)

Mortals Gesturing

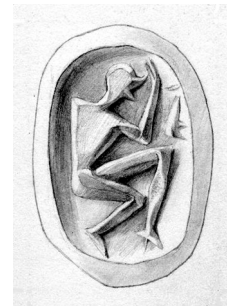
Mortals Gesturing – *Early Seal Period*



9.64 – men gesturing
(II.1 385a/EM III-MM IA)



9.65 – men gesturing
(VII 16a/MM II)



9.66 – man gesturing
(IX 14a/MM II)

Mortals Gesturing – *Minoan High Art*



9.67 – forehead gesture
(II.6 13/LM I)



9.68 – heart gesture
(VS 1A 176/LM I)



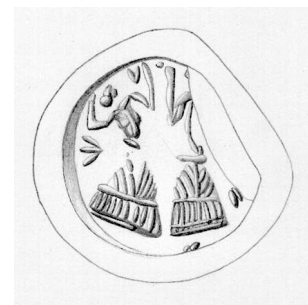
9.69 – shoulder gesture
(II.6 2/LM I)



9.70 – forehead gesture
(VI 286/LM I)



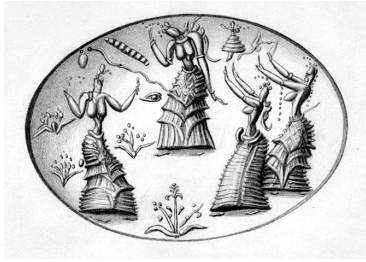
9.71 – greeting gesture
(II.6 4/LM I)



9.72 – hands high gesture
(IX 164/LM I)

The Sphere of Mortals

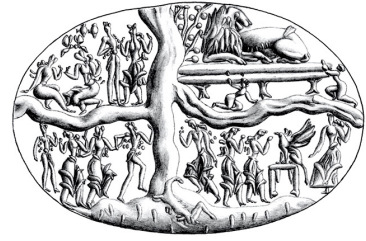
Mortals Gesturing – Minoan High Art (cont.)



9.73 – arms high gesture
(II.3 51/LM I-LM II)



9.74 – reaching gesture
(IS 113/LB I-LB II)



9.75 – holding hands gesture
(VI 277/LM I)

Mortals Gesturing – Legacy and Late Periods



9.76 – greeting gesture
(I 86/ LB II-LB IIIA1)



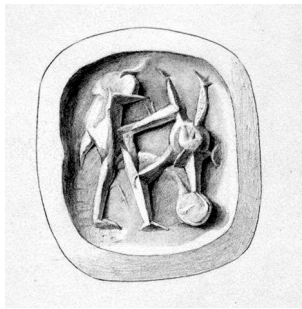
9.77 – forehead gesture
(VS 1A 75/LB II-LB IIIA1)



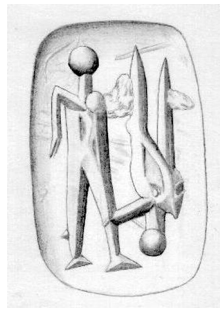
9.78 – hands high gesture
(I 127/ LB II-LB IIIA1)

Athletic Sports and Bull Sports

Athletic Sports and Bull Sports – Early Seal Period



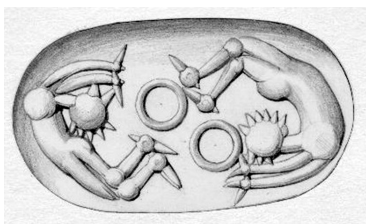
9.79 – wrestlers
(IX 2a/MM II)



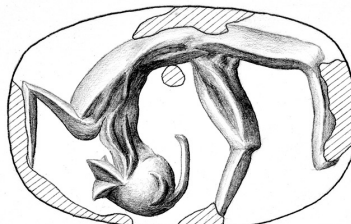
9.80 – wrestlers
(II.2 225c/MM II)



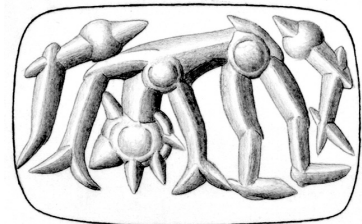
9.81 – wrestlers
(VI 46b/MM II)



9.82 – tumblers somersaulting
(II.2 230b/MM II)



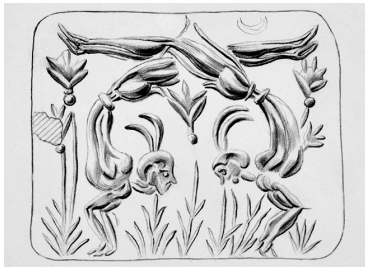
9.83 – tumbler
(III 166a/MM II)



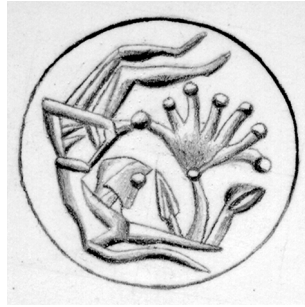
9.84 – tumbler
(III 65a/MM II)

The Sphere of Mortals

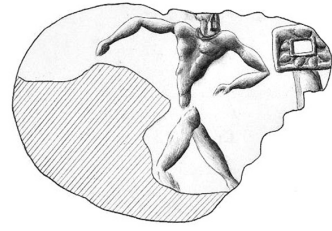
Athletic Sports and Bull Sports – *Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art*



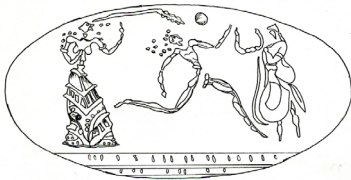
9.85 – tumblers somersaulting
(VI 184/MM III-LM I)



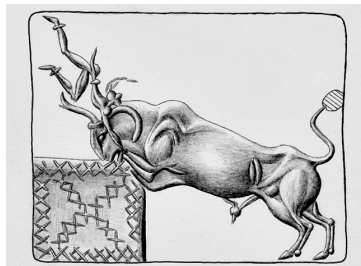
9.86 – tumbler somersaulting
(IS 169a/LB I-LB II)



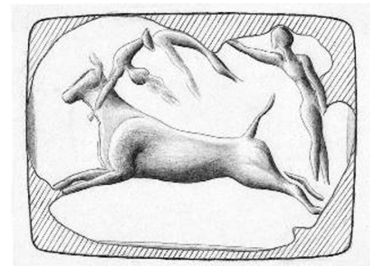
9.87 – sport wrestling
(II.8 280/LM I)



9.88 – runner
(Runner Ring/LM I)

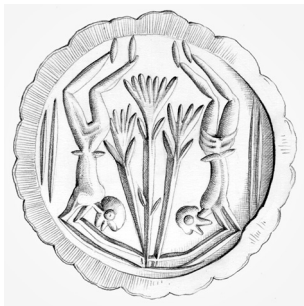


9.89 – leaper falling
(VI 181/MM III-LM I)



9.90 – leaper somersaulting, leaper landing
(II.8 221/LM I)

Athletic Sports and Bull Sports – *Legacy and Late Periods*



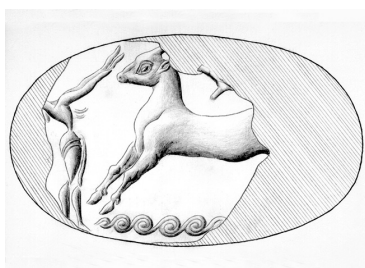
9.91 – tumbler
(I 131/LB II-LB IIIA1)



9.92 – leaper somersaulting
(III 362/LM IIIA1)



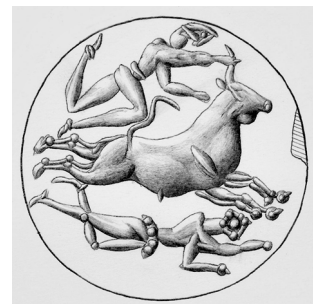
9.93 – leaper somersaulting
(VS 3 33/LM IIIA1)



9.94 – leaper preparing
(I 305/LB II-LB IIIA1)



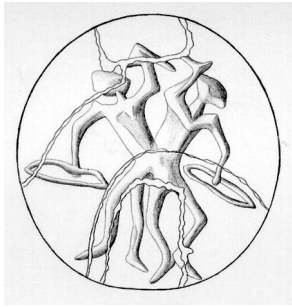
9.95 – leaper bulldogging
(II.8 229/LM II-LM IIIA1?)



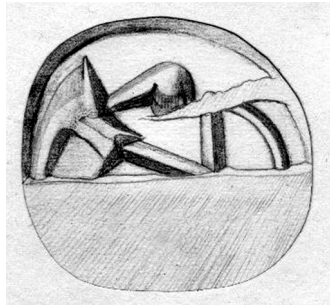
9.96 – leaper fallen, leaper somersaulting
(VI 342/LB II-LB IIIA1)

War and the Hunt

War and the Hunt – Early Seal Period



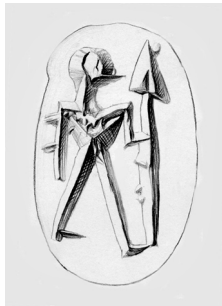
9.97 – warriors war duelling
(VS 1A 294/EM III-MM IA)



9.98 – archer
(II.2 98a/MM II)



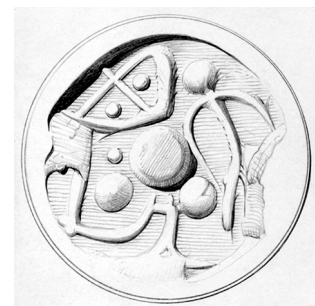
9.99 – archer
(II.2 164c/MM II)



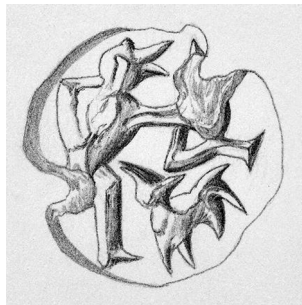
9.100 – man with weapon
(VI 68a/MM II)



9.101 – warrior with spear
(XII 68a/MM II)



9.102 – bow and arrow
(II.1 426b/MM I?)



9.103 – hunter, bow, hound
(VIII 12/MM II)



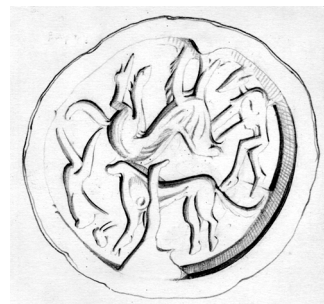
9.104 – hunter carrying the catch
(VI 25a/MM II)



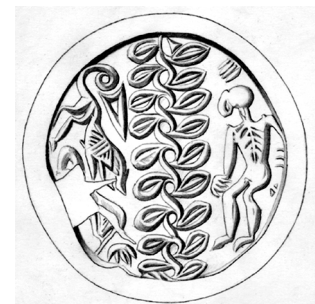
9.105 – hunter dealing with the catch
(IV D12a/MM II)



9.106 – hunter fallen
(II.6 149/EM III-MM IA)



9.107 – hunter fallen
(II.1 311b/EM III-MM IA)



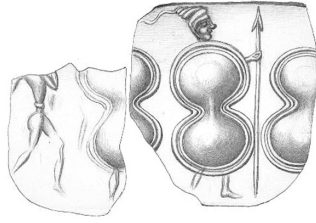
9.108 – hunter
(II.1 222a/EM III-MM IA)

The Sphere of Mortals

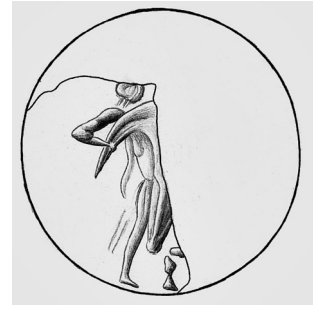
War and the Hunt – Minoan High Art



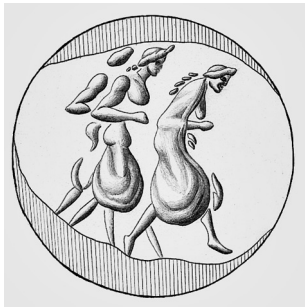
9.109 – warriors armed
(II.3 32/LM I)



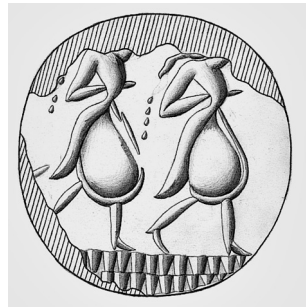
9.110 – warriors armed
(II.8 276/LM I?)



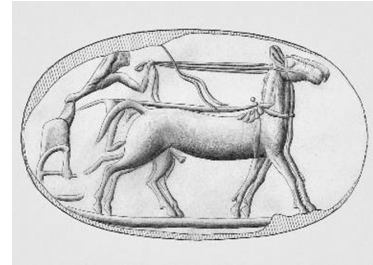
9.111 – warrior, defensive shield
(II.7 251/LM I)



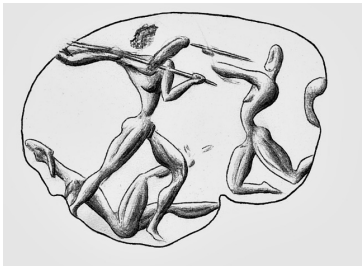
9.112 – warrior group
(II.7 15/LM I)



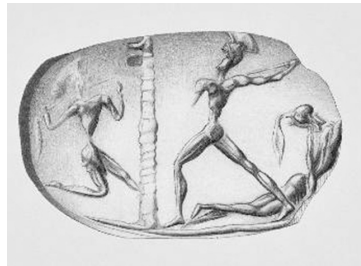
9.113 – warrior pair
(II.7 14/LM I)



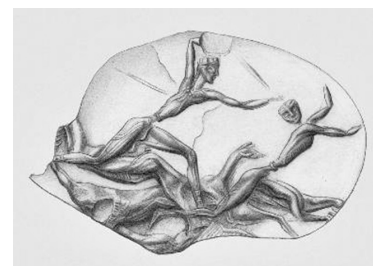
9.114 – driving the chariot
(II.6 19/LM I)



9.115 – war duelling, warrior fallen
(II.7 20/LM I)



9.116 – war duelling, warrior fallen
(II.6 17/LM I)



9.117 – war duelling
(II.6 15/LM I)



9.118 – war duelling
(II.6 16/LM I)



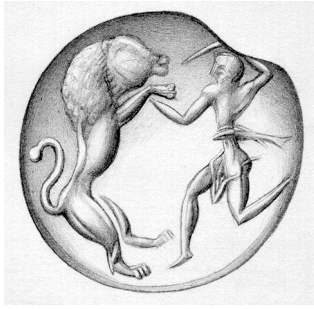
9.119 – war duelling
(VII 129/LB I-LB II)



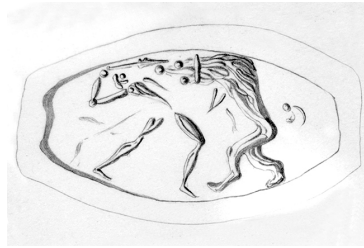
9.120 – warriors
(VII 130/LB I-LB II)

The Sphere of Mortals

War and the Hunt – Minoan High Art (cont.)



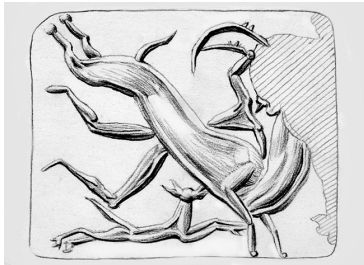
9.121 – hunt duelling
(VS 1A 135/LM I)



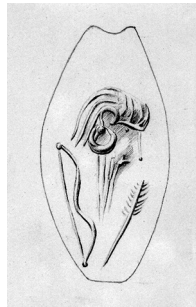
9.122 – hunt duelling
(IV 233/LM I)



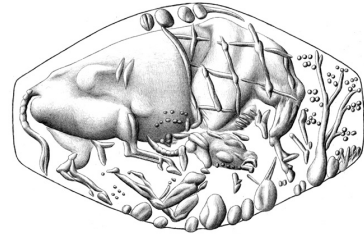
9.123 – hunt duelling
(IX 152/LB I)



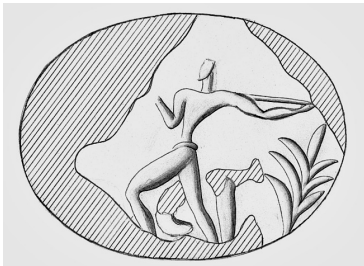
9.124 – hunt wrestling
(VI 179/MM III-LM I)



9.125 – head profile
(VIII 110b/LM I)



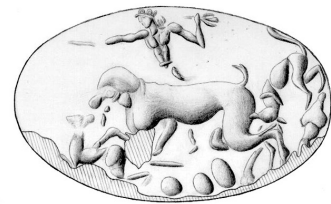
9.126 – hunter fallen
(I 274/LB I-LB II)



9.127 – hunter aiming
(II.7 19/LM I)



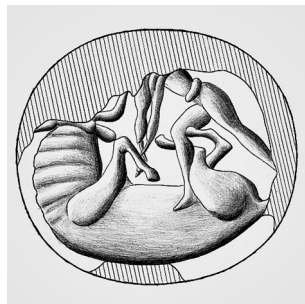
9.128 – hunter aiming
(II.6 37/LM I)



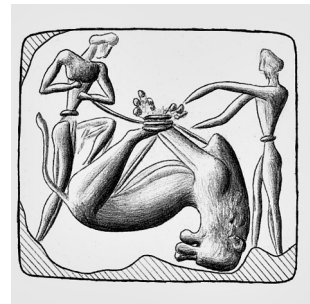
9.129 – hunter aiming
(VS 1B 341/LM I)



9.130 – dealing with the catch
(VS 3 400/LM I)



9.131 – dealing with catch
(II.7 32/LM I)



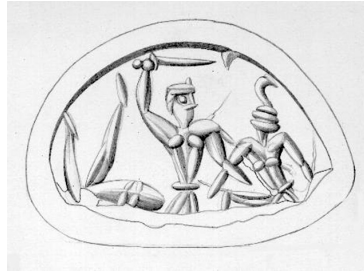
9.132 – dealing with catch
(II.7.33/LM I)

The Sphere of Mortals

War and the Hunt – Legacy and Late Periods



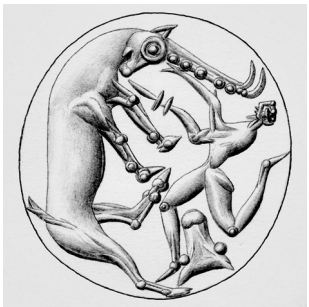
9.133 – war duelling
(XI 34/LH II-LH IIIA1)



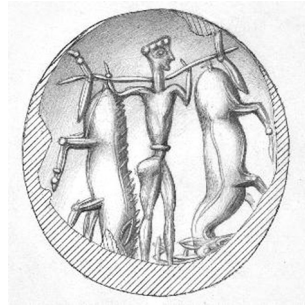
9.134 – war duelling, warrior fallen
(IX 158/LB II-LB IIIA1)



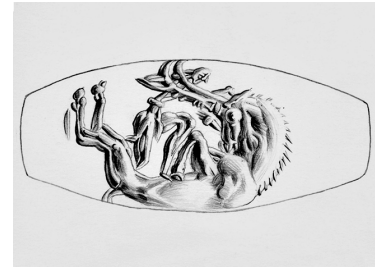
9.135 – driving the chariot
(VII 87/LB II-LB IIIA1)



9.136 – hunt duelling
(VI 344/LB IIIA1)



9.137 – carrying the catch
(II.8 238/LM IIIA1)



9.138 – dealing with the catch
(VI 345/LB II-LB IIIA1)



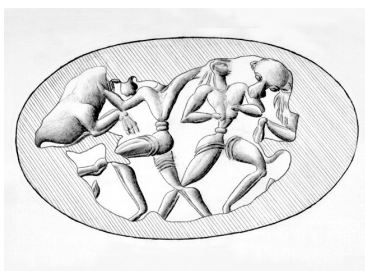
9.139 – hunter fallen
(XII 240/LB II-LB IIIA1)



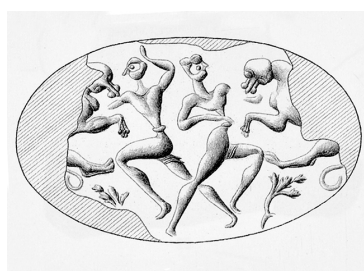
9.140 – hunt duelling
(VII 131/LB II-LB IIIA1)



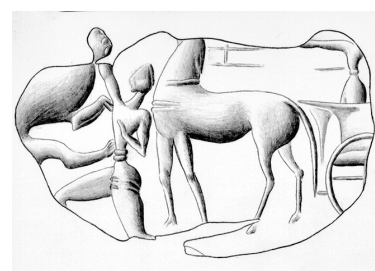
9.141 – genius hunter
(XI 39/LB II-LB IIIA1)



9.142 – hunt wrestling
(I 307/LB II-LB IIIA1)



9.143 – hunt wrestling
(IS 173/LB II-LB IIIA1)



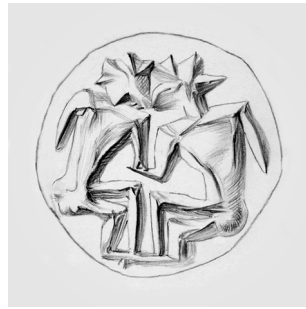
9.144 – hunt scene
(I 302/LB II-LB IIIA1)

Iconographic Interpretation: Mortals Beautiful, Pious and Brave

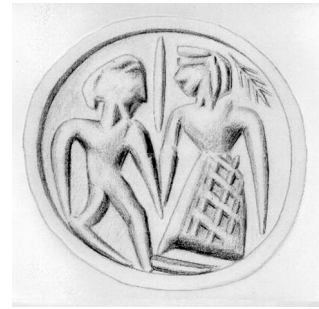
Private Lives



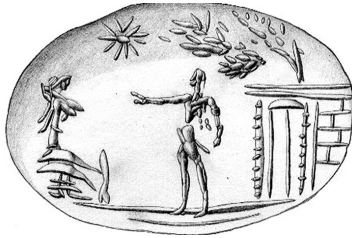
9.145 – human couple
(II.1 446a/EM III-MM IA)



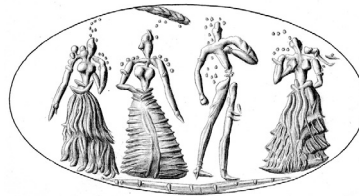
9.146 – human couple
(VI 23/MM II)



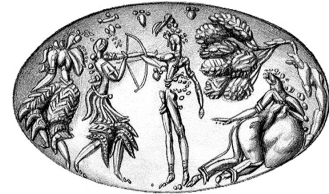
9.147 – human couple
(II.5 324/MM II)



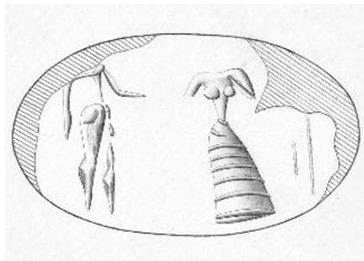
9.148 – couple gesturing
(XI 28/LM I)



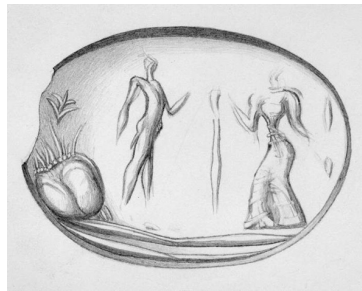
9.149 – couple gesturing
(VS 3 68/LM I)



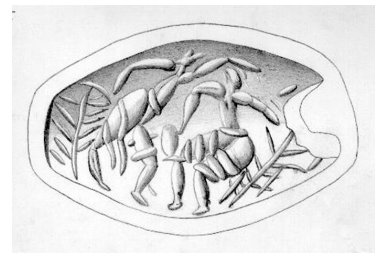
9.150 – couple gesturing
(XI 29/LM I)



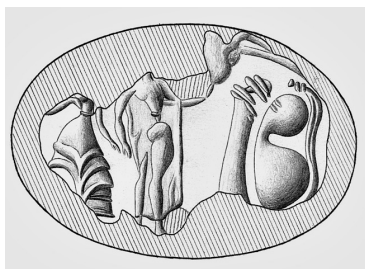
9.151 – couple gesturing
(II.8 269/LB)



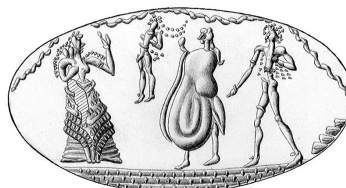
9.152 – couple gesturing
(VS 1A 180/LM I)



9.153 – couple gesturing
(IX 115/LB I)



9.154 – couple holding hands
(II.7 5/LM I)



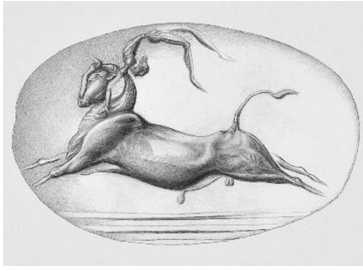
9.155 – woman, warrior, man
(VS 2 106/LM I)



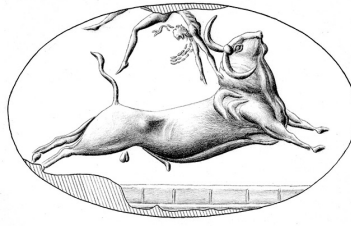
9.156 – couple holding hands
(VI 280/LM I)

The Sphere of Mortals

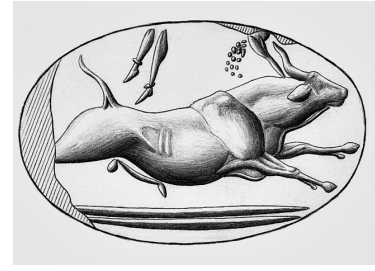
The Ceremony of Leaping the Bull



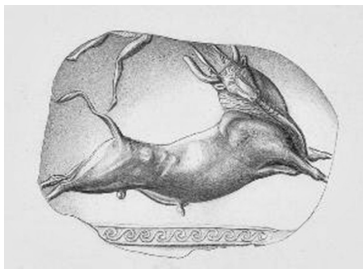
9.157 – leaper somersaulting
(II.6 44/LM I)



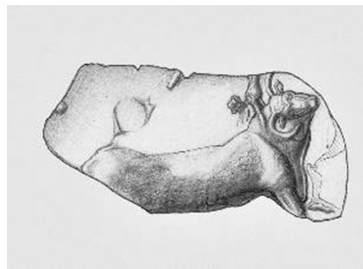
9.158 – leaper somersaulting
(VS 3 392/LM I)



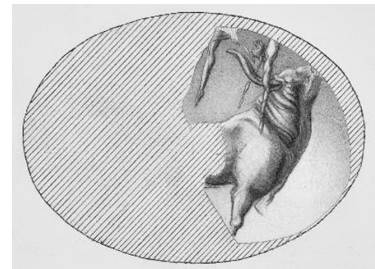
9.159 – leaper somersaulting
(II.7 37/LM I)



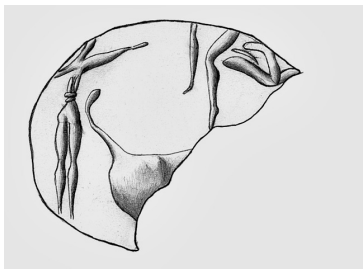
9.160 – leaper somersaulting
(II.6 256/LM I)



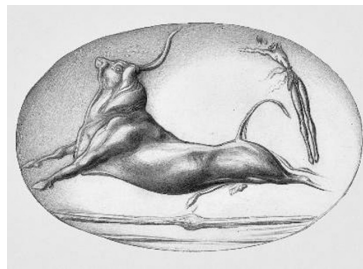
9.161 – leaper somersaulting
(II.6 42/LM I)



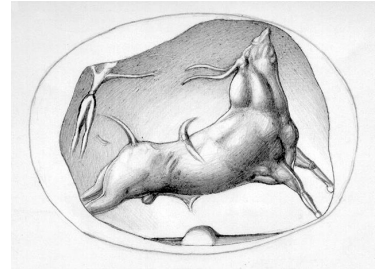
9.162 – leaper somersaulting
(II.6 257/LM I)



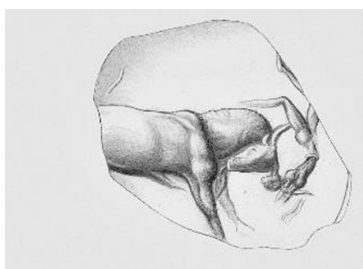
9.163 – leaper landing, leaper
somersaulting (II.7 35/LM I)



9.164 – leaper landing
(II.6 43/LM I)



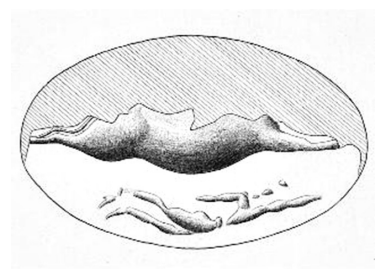
9.165 – leaper landing
(VS 1A 171/LM I)



9.166 – leaper falling
(II.6 39/LM I)



9.167 – leaper falling
(II.6 40/LM I)



9.168 – leaper fallen
(II.8 227/-)