

FORMULAIC IMPLICATIONS OF SOME LATE BRONZE AGE THREE-SIDED PRISMS

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Narrative representation, the urge to picture specific events involving specific individuals¹, was rare and generally late in Bronze Age civilizations². It was not until Pharaoh Hatshepsut recorded the expedition to Punt on the walls of her temple, Deir el Bahari, that truly narrative representation came to Egypt³. We know, of course, that the destination was Punt, the “incense land”, because words accompany the images. If the text had been omitted, or obliterated, however, would we still have been able to judge that a specific historical voyage had been pictured? We probably could, since the wealth of detail – native houses, exotic plants and animals, the loading of strange, rich cargoes, not least the Queen of Punt herself – points to a real voyage to an identifiable location. But the narrative impulse is weak, so had, say, Amenophis III repeated most of these scenes in one of his own temples (as he did Hatshepsut’s Birth Cycle⁴) would we have argued a second specific voyage to the same land or, rather, a typical voyage rendered with specific details⁵? Nothing less than the repetition of the figure of the Queen of Punt, an individual who must have been alive during the years 1490–1470, could have settled the issue.

* In addition to the standard abbreviations, the following has been used:

IconMin (eds. P. Darcque and J.-C. Poursat) *L’Iconographie minoenne*, BCH Suppl. XI, 1985.

Source of illustrations: Fig. 5: Giamalakis Pl. X No. 185 a–c; Fig. 9: *ibid.* Pl. VII No. 190 a–c. The remaining drawings from the archives of CMS.

¹ This definition of narrative art is taken from C.H. Kraeling, *Narration in Ancient Art*, AJA 61, 1957, 43, his introduction to a Symposium on the subject (from which I quote further, n. 2–4, 6, below). The action and persons depicted may be historical, legendary or mythological; what is essential is that they represent a real story rather than illustrate typical or casual scenes. A somewhat looser definition is allowed by G.A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (1976) 5: “a representation of an event, unspecific in its character or location, is still acceptable as narrative. The only thing that could not be tolerated is the absence of a specific event.”

² The development of narration in Egypt was late (XVIII–XIX Dynasty) and weak (extinct at the end of the New Kingdom). H.J. Kantor, *Narration in Egyptian Art*, AJA 61, 1957, 44–54, stressed how surprisingly few narrative works can be found in the vast corpus of Egyptian representational art. A. Perkins, *Narration in Babylonian Art*, AJA 61, 1957, 54–62, allows a much earlier appearance for narrative in this area but also notes that Babylonian narrative works are very few compared to those which are purely decorative or of symbolic intent (p. 54). Some rare Hittite examples of narrative art based on mythological cycles are given in H.G. Güterbock, *Narration in Anatolian, Syrian and Assyrian Art*, AJA 61, 1957, 62–71.

³ Kantor *op. cit.* (supra n. 2) 48, considers that the Punt reliefs record an historical event in Hatshepsut’s reign, “in every sense a narrative”. But, even here, we must be cautious; the words may have been conventional: the (untrue) claim that this was the first such voyage was repeated by every later ruler who boasted of his trade with Punt (see D.M. Dixon, *Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees*, JEA 55, 1969, 58).

⁴ The Birth Cycle does seem to have been worked out for the first time for Hatshepsut (who obviously needed divine legitimization) but its application to Amenophis III shows that the cycle was not truly an individual narrative [see Kantor *op. cit.* (supra n. 2) 48].

⁵ The distinction between narrative and typical scenes was not very important to the Egyptian artist. At all periods the artist would avoid the transitory aspects of an action just as he avoided the transitory aspects of his figures [Gaballa *op. cit.* (supra n. 1) 5].

Doubts confront us in any attempt to interpret mute images, the only images which we have across the "Great Green". In Minoan and Mycenaean art, have we any way of knowing if an image or series of images is narrative, if "the purpose of the artist was to represent a specific event, involving specific persons"⁶? The question is at once easiest and most difficult in glyptic; easiest in that the documents are nearly always intact, most difficult in that they are so brief, compositions in a single scene⁷. Certainly, a very few rings and gems *feel* narrative. The gold ring from the Athens Agora, CMS V No. 173, notes J.G. Younger, "... does seem to have reference to a particular moment rather than a generalised event"⁸. Cautiously, Dr. Younger does not commit himself to any particular interpretation (the Minotaur leading off the captive girls is dismissed by Martin Nilsson as "certainly hasty"⁹). The names of the characters, the story of the incident, may be forever irrecoverable but what we can hope to know is if the ring is narrative in intent. Should we not ask how the Bronze Age viewer could have identified the scene? The male character (I doubt Minotaur) carries a very distinctive sceptre or staff with trefoliate ornament. Is this an attribute, identifying the character, or merely an artistic device? Sadly, we never see it again¹⁰ and thus the character is lost, not only to us but probably to contemporary viewers as well. Without some means of fixing the event in time and space, even a scene meant to be narrative risks sliding into generalization¹¹, here a typical scene of women carried off into captivity by a victorious warrior.

The smaller gold ring from the Tiryns Treasure, CMS I No. 180, has been interpreted as Theseus with Ariadne, or Helen and Menelaus; Nilsson (with Karo and Evans) sees, however, a typical representation of welcome or farewell¹². What is undoubted is that the ring depicts consecutive actions: – arrival of the ship, greetings on shore, entrance of the couple into a building

⁶ Again, the definition is Kraeling's (*supra* n. 1). The term "narrative" should be reserved for depictions which tell a story in this strict sense and not extended to cover typical scenes, however detailed their representation.

⁷ R. Brilliant [Visual Narratives: Storytelling in Etruscan and Roman Art (1984) 57] denies that monoscenes can be narrative, "firstly because in that way every scene is narrative and secondly because such a scene is narrative only for a spectator who recognizes the scene represented and, knowing the story to which this scene belongs, is able to associate it with its previous history and its outcome". His first point is debatable: how would a typical cult procession (say) become narrative through being reduced to a single scene? The second point raises a real difficulty (but one not necessarily confined to monoscenes): the spectator must indeed know the story. Artists attempt to trigger the correct story in the viewer's mind by introducing clearly identifiable elements or recognizable attributes which define a specific character, or depicting unmistakable situations, for example, a dramatic culmination scene.

⁸ J.G. Younger, *Towards the Chronology of Aegean Glyptic in the Late Bronze Age* (doctoral dissertation, 1973) 82, n. 19.

⁹ M.R. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*² (1971) 39–40, with references to the theories evoked by this ring.

¹⁰ This point was stressed by L. Banti, *Myth in Pre-Classical Art*, *AJA* 58, 1954, 309–10. We now have, however, the tantalizingly similar (but not identical!) ring impression from Khania recently published by E. Hallager, *The Master Impression* (1985) 7, fig. 28f. Unfortunately, the upper part of the sceptre/staff is not preserved on the Khania impression. Whether or not it originally boasted the trefoliate ornament, as on the Agora ring, there is no doubt that the same (typical?) scene is reproduced. The two rings are so closely similar that they must have been made *intentionally* similar, two variations on a single theme, rather than two different episodes taken from a narrative tale. Replication of rings and gems is more common than previously thought. See most recently J. Weingarten, *The Sealing Structures of Minoan Crete*, *OJA* 5, 1986, 290–93.

¹¹ Such rootless narratives can puzzle spectators in any period. John Boardman [*Athenian Black Figure Vases* (1974) 200] remarks that "some Greeks may have been as much at a loss as we are to explain the circumstances of the actions" when a new story is shown and no inscriptions explain the figures.

¹² Nilsson *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 9) 38–39, with further references.

(or the reverse sequence if a departure scene). Three episodes are visualized simultaneously but meant to be understood progressively, as if over time. This is the “episodic method” of representation¹³ (which we may easily mistake for specific narrative). In wall paintings, compositions in two or three scenes epitomize rituals, processions, warfare, and so forth¹⁴. The master of this gold ring has adapted the episodic method to glyptic requirements instead of conventionally limiting himself to a single scene¹⁵. The question arises if the single scene is not itself an encapsulation of a well-known sequence, one which a Bronze Age viewer could mentally complete for himself. Is there, in fact, a relatively limited number of stock sequences from which the glyptic artist selects episodes? If so, the reconstruction of such sequences – were that possible – would tell us much about the Minoan/Mycenaean association of ideas and perhaps even something of their symbolic import.

I propose to explore this possibility by examining a handful of Late Bronze Age gems (more specifically, MM III and later), three-sided prisms with more-or-less naturalistic, or at least recognizable, subjects. My hypothesis is that the subjects are related one to the other¹⁶, that they are selected episodes from stock sequences, meant to be understood together. The corollary is that a single frame from the same sequence – as is normally encountered in glyptic practice – nonetheless stands for the whole sequence and would have been understood as such by any contemporary viewer¹⁷.

How did the artists of the prisms react to the opportunity of thrice their normal engraving space? Most with a kind of agoraphobia; only 31% of the prisms are engraved on all three faces:

- I. Engraved on 1 face – 3 gems,
- II. Engraved on 2 faces – 17 gems,
- III. Engraved on 3 faces – 9 gems¹⁸.

¹³ The episodic method can equally depict true narrative, presenting successive episodes of a story. Some Babylonian examples of episodic narratives are given in Perkins (*supra* n. 2).

¹⁴ A good example of episodes progressing over time is cited by K. Iliakis, *Morphological Analysis of Thera Wall Paintings* [in: *Thera and the Aegean World I* (1978) 627]: “in the Saffron-gatherers painting we have three different time periods: the gathering, the transporting and the unloading”.

¹⁵ This innovation was not much favoured by other glyptic artists. Perhaps the gold ring from Mycenae, CMS I No. 126 – and the similar cult ring from Archanes tholos A [J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970) fig. 125] – illustrates three successive cult practices, parts of a single ritual (though we cannot be sure that they were not performed simultaneously). Two sequential stages of a bull sacrifice may be shown on the lentoid CMS II 3 No. 338.

¹⁶ As with the study of Greek vases, some students will be persuaded of an intrinsic relationship between different sides of the same object, others will not.

¹⁷ I do not suggest that the Bronze Age viewer would understand the frame in terms of causality, the “cause” of the sequential “effects” (a post-Aristotelian frame of reference); on the contrary, he might have thought that “cause follows from effect”, that the image on the gem could prime and start an act, “an incentive move to start the desired action of the natural or supernatural beings that have its completion in their power”. [S. Langer, *Mind: An Essay on Human Feelings*, III (1982) 61]. In a later passage she explains that the aim of a mimetic rite – analogous (I suggest) to the intent of these gems – “is to formulate and, indeed, to perform that stage of the desired act, with instinctive confidence that any visible or invisible agent in close proximity will fall in with it and realize the whole” (p. 63)]. We find much the same idea in anthropology: the Trobriand concept of motivation or effect depends on a sequence understood in terms of a pattern. Once this pattern is initiated, once made evident (at any stage in its progress) it must be realized in total – “the whole is inevitably there”. See D. Demetracopoulou Lee, in: *Magic, Science and Religion, and Other Essays* (1948) 411–12.

¹⁸ I. CMS I No. 153; II 3 No. 153; Giamalakis 226. II. CMS I Nos. 193, 233, 272, 273, 287; II 3 Nos. 64, 96, 112, 254; V No. 312; X No. 277; XII No. 162; Giamalakis 186; AGDS II 45; PM IV fig. 374; IV fig. 495; to which may now be added the prism from Koukaki published in this volume by A. Onassoglou, 187ff. III. CMS I S. 169; V Nos. 191, 677; VII No. 115; VIII No. 110; IX No. 162; Giamalakis 185; 187; 190.

Added to the tendency not to complete the gem is an occasional repetition of the same scene on two faces¹⁹, perhaps a failure of imagination, perhaps an intensification of subject. These gems, and the prisms engraved on just one face, will be put aside as they do not help us explore the interplay of subjects. We are thus left with 24 gems illustrating at least two different subjects on prisms. Most of these prisms fit, I suggest, into one of two major stock sequences²⁰. Obviously, these two sequences are not the only stock sequences known to Minoan/Mycenaean artists²¹ but they are (if I have drawn them correctly) fundamental sequences, formulae which have repercussions well beyond glyptic art.

The engraver of the red jasper prism, possibly from the Peloponnese, CMS VII No. 115²² (*Fig. 1a, b, c*), gives the fullest indication of our first key sequence. The order proposed in the CMS volume is surely incorrect; rather, the gem makes excellent sequential sense in the following arrangement: a) young bulls at ease in a field, a scene which may be categorized as the animal *idyll*; b) a lion appears, the *predator*; c) the lion seizes a bull²³, the *climax* of the hunt. All three scenes are visually linked by, first, the curious plant which appears in the idyll and, again, in the climax, and, second, by the ground line under the predator's feet which moves above the scene in the climax. The engraver encapsulates the lion-bull hunt in just three scenes: the idyll, the ravaging lion, the climax²⁴.

The lion-animal hunt can be further abbreviated without the slightest loss of meaning. The engraver of the Midea agate prism²⁵, CMS I No. 193 (*Fig. 2a, b*), restricts the hunt to two scenes: a) two agrimia at rest, the idyll; b) lion seizes an agrimi, the climax. The ravaging lion is omitted, though his lurking presence before the attack is implicit.

A master from the School of the Vapheio-Rutsi Prisms – I regret that I cannot accept a single Vapheio-Rutsi Prism Master; rather, I propose that he be grouped in a school in a loose sense

¹⁹ CMS I No. 273 and V No. 312.

²⁰ Exceptions (which we shall not directly consider) are AGDS II 45 [a] two couchant boars; b) two couchant bulls], the two “dragonfly” prisms, CMS V No. 677 and IX No. 162, and the “scorpion” prism, Giamalakis 187. The dragonflies and scorpion defy my best efforts at incorporation and thus are relegated to footnote 68 below. See also the brief discussion of two-sided gems (which may share some characteristics of the three-sided prisms) in note 67 below.

²¹ The prisms do not quote many common scenes which are known from glyptic and other media, e.g. cow licking calf, *taurokathapsia*, cult scenes, which suggests the existence of additional stock sequences. The “dragonfly” and “scorpion” prisms (supra n. 20) also hint at more elaborated stock sequences than those which will occupy us in this paper.

²² The lions of this prism are judged “close” to those of the Master of the Mycenae Lion Gate Relief whose lions are “powerful, formal animals” (J.G. Younger, *Aegean Seals of the Late Bronze Age: Masters and Workshops III*, Kadmos 23, 1984, 64). With all respect to the unnamed master of this prism, his lions are neither powerful nor formal.

²³ The hornless calves of the idyll and the horned bull in the climax may have been intentionally distinguished by the artist, perhaps implying a varied herd from which the lion chose a victim. I suspect, however, that he merely muddled or forgot this detail.

²⁴ A Kassite cylinder seal depicts a similar three-stage hunt sequence, though the predator is man, not lion: (upper register) five deer at rest, trees in the field; (lower register) running deer; (middle register) chariot hunt with slaughtered game in field [A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (1940) 136, Pl. 67, No. 562].

²⁵ Younger op. cit. (supra n. 22) 48, 54 divides the engraving of this prism between two masters or, at least, between two “aspects” of a master; the climax is by the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master, Late Phase while the idyll is assigned to the M-V Lion Master: Hollow-Nose Animals. The agrimia on the two faces are alike down to the smallest detail and must be works of the same hand at much the same time. This hand fits well into the grouping of the Hollow-Nose Animals (though I would exclude CMS I No. 393 from Perati), not the M-V Lion Master in his supposed Late Phase. [Since writing these words, I found welcome corroboration in Younger, Kadmos 24 (1985) 48–50, eliminating such “aspects” and restricting nomenclature to “groups” and “sub-groups”. This effectively rejoins the two faces into one “sub-group”. Ingo Pini (in the same volume, p. 86) would do away with “workshops” as well as individual hands and their “aspects”; this seems to me altogether too pessimistic. See n. 26 below].



Fig. 1a

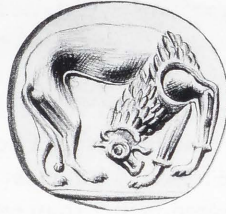


Fig. 1b

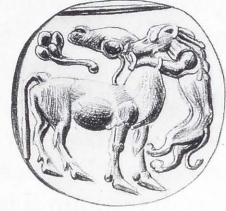


Fig. 1c



Fig. 2a



Fig. 2b



Fig. 3a



Fig. 3b



Fig. 4a



Fig. 4b

Fig. 1a-c CMS VII No. 115. *Fig. 2a,b* CMS I No. 193. *Fig. 3a,b* CMS I No. 272. *Fig. 4a,b* CMS II 3 No. 64.

(that is, artists who must have worked together, learnt from or taught one another, but did not necessarily remain in the same place)²⁶ – takes a different approach to the lion-animal hunt sequence. On the eponymous Rutsi prism, CMS I No. 272 (*Fig. 3a,b*), prey and predator are both

²⁶ J. Younger (Aegean Seals of the Late Bronze Age: Masters and Workshops II, *Kadmos* 22, 1983, 120–21) assigns only two gems to this “master”, CMS I Nos. 233 and 272 with four more gems “close” to his hand: CMS VIII No. 137, XIII No. 22, XII No. 229, HM 2096. If we allow, however, “journeymen” as well as masters and apprentices and if we do not insist on true hands but are satisfied with recognizing “allographic artists”, i.e. possibly more than one actual person, we can transmute this master into a school responsible for the Dr. Younger’s two prisms as well as CMS V No. 677, VIII No. 110, X No. 278, XIII No. 22, a grouping which I hope to prove elsewhere [The School of the Vapheio-Rutsi Prisms: a new approach to the identification of Minoan-Mycenaean glyptic artists (forthcoming)].

at rest, the idyllic moment before the hunt. The lion's pose is alert; he is comparable to the ravening lion on the prism from the Peloponnese. Had the lion and stag appeared on two separate lentoids, their parts in the drama of a lion-stag hunt would not have been apparent. Placing them together on a single gem must trigger this sequence in the viewer's mind for there is no other possible relationship between lion and stag. Lions chasing a herd of stags can be viewed *in toto* in the major arts (as on the Thera miniature fresco²⁷) but even there, as on the Rutsi prism, the violent climax of the hunt is latent, anticipated rather than explicit.

A superficially similar prism, CMS II 3 No. 64 (*Fig. 4*) from Warrior Grave III at Ayios Ioannis, significantly extends the simple lion-animal hunt formula. The bull, replacing the stag of the Rutsi prism, lies quietly in a field, his idyll soon to be rudely interrupted. But the lion's hunt has been pre-empted; a stronger predator, man, enters the scene. This prism, in fact, conflates two hunt sequences, lion-bull and man-lion. The lion plays two roles in the conflated drama: – he is the hunter turned quarry. Almost without his having noticed, this lion has been struck in the back by a lance. Evans (PM IV 547) thought that these wounded lions, sitting up and looking back have “been suddenly stricken when at rest”. However unexpected the attack, surely the beast ought to have been jolted by the spear's impact. His total unconcern underlines the conventionality of the scene²⁸, and, probably, the unreality of the theme²⁹. It seems no coincidence that this prism, asserting man's power over the supreme beast of prey was found in a Warrior Grave.

Much the same sequence is seen on another prism, CMS I No. 287, from Pylos Tholos Gamma: the badly-drawn goat seems to be fleeing, whether from a) an unseen man (branch or dart behind his back?) or b) the adjoining lion, is unclear. Man has again aborted the lion's hunt. The strange bow-like object pointing to his belly (Younger's “cleaver-shaped object”³⁰) appears lethal, the dying lion curled about it (cf.: the lion curled around a lancehead on CMS V No. 680; around an arrow on a sealing from Ayia Triada³¹; the pose is not dictated by the shape

²⁷ Sp. Marinatos, *Excavations at Thera VI* (1974) 42, Pl. 94.

²⁸ A. Evans (PM IV 547) noted that the pose was retained on such gems as CMS I No. 243 even though there was no indication of the original attack. Such poses are entirely conventional and imply an artistic tradition in which artists are content to copy from each other rather than look afresh at nature.

²⁹ The discovery of lion bones in Tiryns [J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, *Ein Löwenknochen Fund aus Tiryns*, AA 1979, 447–49; *Ein Beleg für das Vorkommen des Löwen auf der Peloponnes in 'Herakleischer' Zeit*, AA 1981, 257–58] and Kea [cited by I. Pini, *Das Motiv des Löwenüberfalls in der Glyptik*, in: *IconMin* 156 and n. 12] proves that there were living lions in Greece but not that lions were wild there; the evidence could fit equally well the occasional imported lion, gifts from Asia (dangerous living gifts such as grown cheetahs are pictured presented to Pharaoh). The heyday of naturalistic representations of lions was the period of the Shaft Graves, Circle A: the lions on dagger blades from Grave IV (SG 394, 395) and the vigorous, though perhaps already slightly stylized lions on the gold bead seals, CMS I Nos. 9, 10 from Grave III (but NB: has the latter truly the pose of a wounded lion? Or is it a pose borrowed from the wounded bull?). Is it coincidence that such accurate pictures are made not long after the introduction of the Syrian technique of niello? I suggest that Aegean artists went on copying lion poses from these early artists without much chance to renew their acquaintance with lions in the wild. This seems the most satisfactory explanation for the variety of lion-animal hunt poses studied by I. Pini (op. cit. 154–66): the only truly common lion attack is over the victim's back with the incisors slipping in on either side of the vertebrae; the other poses are the occasional faults of young lions. Either wild lions were so common that artists had the opportunity to study even the lapses of youth, or they were copying earlier models; their declining grasp of leonine anatomy suggests the latter.

³⁰ Younger op. cit. (supra n. 8) 56.

³¹ D. Levi, *Le Cretule di Haghia Triada*, ASAtene 8–9, 1929, 99, No. 48. Cf. also Vapheio, CMS I No. 248.



Fig. 5a

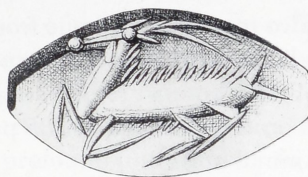


Fig. 5b

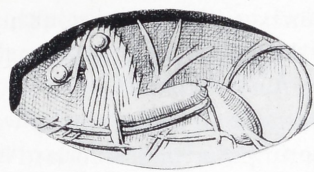


Fig. 5c



Fig. 6a



Fig. 6b

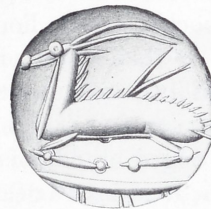


Fig. 6c



Fig. 7a



Fig. 7b

Fig. 5a-c Coll. Giamalakis No. 185. Fig. 6a-c CMS V No. 191. Fig. 7a,b CMS X No. 272.

of the gem: a lion curls around an arrow on an amygdaloid, CMS IX No. 107). The message of man's superiority is driven home by the lance to the right of the stricken beast; the predator is now the prey³².

Not only man, but the griffin can best the lion in combat³³. It may well be in this role – as lion-killer – that the griffin is introduced into another prism, Giamalakis 185 (Fig. 5a, b, c), otherwise

³² Compare the telescoped version of CMS II 3 No. 104 (Tombe dei Nobili IV, Kalyvia): lion with arrow pointed downwards before his chest, detached heads of two wild goats in field.

³³ A. Dessenne, *Le Griffon créto-mycénien*, BCH 1957, 203–15, catalogues four examples of griffin attacking lion: (from Crete) No. 7, 12, 42; (from the mainland) No. 24; but only one example of lion attacking griffin (Delian ivory cut-out inlay) No. 31. We may now add three late examples of griffin attacking lions: CMS II 4 No. 73; J. Boardman, *The De Jong Gems*, in (eds. G.P. Carratelli and G. Rizza) *Antichità Cretesi I* (1973) 115–21, No. 8; E. Hallager and Y. Tzedakis, *The Greek Swedish Excavations Kastelli Khania*, AAA 15, 1, 1982, fig. 3 – in all three cases the aggressor is implicitly the griffin. Dr. I. Pini kindly informs me that a gem in Copenhagen (unpublished) shows two lions attacking a griffin. A stage on the way to the lion-griffin reversal of the Delian ivory is now suggested by an ivory pyxis lid from Tiryns [P. Gercke and G. Hiesel, *Grabungen in der Unterstadt von Tiryns*, Tiryns V (1975) 19] where the griffin bites a lion in the neck while it is in turn bitten in the throat [the same motif seems to appear on a fragmentary sealing from Knossos; John Betts, *Some Unpublished Knossos Sealings and Sealstones*, BSA 62, 1967, No. 31]. An unpublished gem in the Khania Museum (Phylaki No. 1) sums up my proposed animal hunt hierarchy: lion attacking a bull while being simultaneously attacked by a griffin swooping from above.

an unexceptional lion-goat hunt. Two more prisms issue from the same school³⁴, but certainly not the same hand, as Giamalakis 185, a workshop also responsible for the Cut Style Cylinder from Ayios Ioannis Grave III, CMS II 3 No. 65³⁵. It is a school which likes to conflate two hunt sequences, in a lazy sort of way, as on the Giamalakis 185 prism where the griffin-lion hunt is superimposed on a standard lion-animal hunt.

On another prism from this school, said to be from Thebes, CMS V No. 191 (*Fig. 6a, b, c*), the lion lies at rest with two potential victims, a bull, and a goat. All three animals are perched on a kind of sockle (cf.: the lions on a similar sockle, CMS V No. 589 – a clear example of how props and poses – then why not mannerisms? – even of the most specific and unusual kinds can migrate from master to master yet still not define a hand). A V-shaped object, usually described as vegetation or a branch, is on, or behind, the backs of the lion and the goat. The object becomes a three-pronged branch of deadly effect above the bull, the bull's contortions being glyptic shorthand for an animal's death agony: head thrown back, legs collapsing underneath. These death convulsions are as explicit as they are conventional. Compare the fate of the agrimi on another three-sided prism, said to be from Mallia, Giamalakis 186: a) the animal stands quietly, still in the idyll; b) an abrupt end to the idyll, the agrimi in its death agony, a dart in its belly, the climax of the hunt. This pose visualizes unmistakably the death of the victim, whether or not the artists actually picture the lethal weapon. This is obvious on two lentoids from a single workshop, Vapheio, CMS I Nos. 234 and 242: the pose of the wild goat, dying with a dart in its belly – head thrown back, tongue stuck out – is exactly the same as that of the bull, though no weapon is displayed in the latter death. Again, the conventional pose marks the death agony of two bulls on amygdaloids (surely from the same master), CMS V Nos. 645 and 646 from Gouvalari Tholos 1 and 2 respectively: although one bull is struck by a dart in its lower flank, and the other is hit by a lance in its rump, the pose is exactly the same. So much for the close observation of nature! Thus, the bull dying on the sockle on the Theban gem may be thought of as *man's* victim (though the only “weapon” is a three-pronged branch) with the adjoining lion's hunt once again pre-empted.

The same workshop brings another predator into the hunt sequence on CMS X No. 277 (*Fig. 7a, b*): a) a displayed bird with zigzag lines above its wings (cf.: the zigzags above the griffin's wings on the Theban gem discussed above); b) a lion at rest, the ominous V-shaped object now before his paws. The displayed bird is of the eagle/hawk family. Curiously, the Minoan artist almost never distinguishes between eagle and hawk, although the differences between the birds are extremely important and obvious. Artistic difficulty, the carelessness of most talismanic and

³⁴ The group of “Cut Style” gems clustering around Giamalakis 185 was first collected by E. Thomas [Zu stilistischen Gruppen und zu Werkstätten neupalastzeitlicher Glyptik, in: CMS Beih. 1 (1981) 225–239] who allowed that the group might have been the work of several different hands (p. 226). J. Younger redefined this “developed Cut Style”, dividing the gems into those with characteristics of Giamalakis 185 and a second group following CMS V No. 191 with its freer use of the snub nose drill [in C. Renfrew, *The Archaeology of Cult* (1985) 283–86]. I prefer to join both gems in a single school; compare the agrimia of Giamalakis 185b and CMS V No. 191c (e.g. the hairs running along the backs down to their V-shaped conclusions). Neither Thomas nor Younger include CMS X No. 277, an amygdaloidal prism, with a lion very close to that of Giamalakis 185, but I suggest it belongs to this workshop on both stylistic and thematic grounds.

³⁵ The “Cut Style Cylinder” dates the school to LM II (or, at the very latest, LM IIIA₁). Its lions are especially close to that of Giamalakis 185.

Cut Style glyptic artists, the small size of the gem, are not sufficient explanation; some of the better birds engraved at Ayia Triada, for example, could have been species-explicit had the artists so desired³⁶. But the artists did not so desire. Rather, in a characteristic which is becoming increasingly clear, the artist deliberately blended two species into a single image. I shall return to this question which, I believe, has profound implications, in a later paper. At present, let it only be said in passing that this merging of categories – whether in birds, fish³⁷, plants³⁸, mammals³⁹, or in the ambiguities of the Zakro monsters – is typical of a mode of Minoan thinking, not of artistic license.

When this workshop introduced the displayed bird and the griffin, their choice was not haphazard; the two creatures share features which could make them conceptually all but interchangeable. They share, of course, wings of the eagle/hawk type; both are hunters of the air, swooping down on their prey. Griffins hunt directly (though imperceptibly!); lions are their mightiest prey but they also seize bulls and other animals⁴⁰. The eagle/hawk hunts directly too, taking smaller prey (up to a hare for a hawk, up to a new-born lamb for an eagle, not the least of the differences between them). Yet the eagle/hawk *indirectly* participates in man's hunt of bigger game, even of lions; that is, their feathers are used to fletch man's arrows. Griffins are also assimilated to arrows: the notched plume motif on the griffin's wings (perhaps degraded to the zigzag

³⁶ Compare the so-called swallow with aigrette, p. 308 and n. 44 below. AT 14, the most lifelike of the quasi-talismanic birds at Ayia Triada, is not species-specific in any real sense. Its small size is not to blame; compare the tiny but undoubted eagles from Shaft Graves III and V at Mycenae (SG 44, 689). At Zakro, Bird-Lady Z 38 and griffins Z 54 have clear eagles' heads ... but these appear on already ambiguous creatures.

³⁷ M.A.V. Gill, Some Observations on Representations of Marine Animals in Minoan Art, in: *IconMin* 63–81: "In some cases ... the Bronze Age craftsman himself had no particular species in mind, basing his design on a general idea; but elsewhere ... the ancient artist clearly did intend to portray a particular species and ... *it is often possible to guess the probable identity of his subject.*" (p. 63, my italics). No allowance is made for deliberate hybridization (though her discussion of some fish on frescoes, p. 65, suggests such a phenomenon). The corollary of her conclusion – "... Minoan artists may not have regarded as significant such features as we consider to be distinctive ..." (p. 81) – is that they may have classified (and thus painted) marine life differently.

³⁸ Professor P. Warren, The Fresco of the Garlands from Knossos, in: *IconMin* 185–207, accepts that the identification of plants in the garlands is "made problematical by a common aspect of Minoan flower- and plant-painting: artists convey a spirit of naturalism while eschewing exact, botanical representation. They seem on occasion to have one or more plants in mind ..." (p. 192). Nonetheless, the scientific urge to classify single species gets the upper hand: regarding Garland I, for example, "The rendering of the flowers ... allows arguments for several distinct plants ..." [but, in a later passage] even "though the flowers are so well and clearly rendered that we may believe the artist probably did intend one plant". (pp. 191, 192). If, as Warren believes, the "painted garlands stand for real garlands employed in rituals" (p. 206), the need to exclude deliberate hybridization is evident. One wonders what the celebrants of the Hellotia at Corinth, to take but one example, would have thought of the presentation of Garland 4 (olive? myrtle? butcher's broom? or all three intermingled?) instead of the required garland of myrtle (p. 205). See further I. Cerceau, Les représentations végétales dans l'art égéen: problèmes d'identifications, in: *IconMin* 181–84, for recent evidence of the deliberate fusing of plant species into a single artistic image.

³⁹ Regarding the antelopes on the Thera fresco which have been identified as *Oryx Beissa*. N. Marinatos [Art and Religion in Thera (1984) 106] remarks that "it seems that in fact they are a hybrid of the Thompson and Grant gazelles and also *Oryx Beissa*". From this she concludes that the painter had never seen the real animals (*idem*) whereas I would suggest they are intentionally merged (for reasons which now escape us).

⁴⁰ Dessenne *op. cit.* (supra n. 33): (on Crete) No. 3, 19, 24, 36, 38; (from the mainland) No. 9, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30, and [teamed up with a lion] 23. We may now add: CMS II 3 Nos. 25a and b, the closely-related GS 366, CMS X Nos. 125, 126; XII No. 228 and, probably, HM 255 [I. Pini, Ein Siegelabdruck im Archäologischen Museum Iraklion, in: Πεπραγμένα του Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (1973) 221–30, Pl. 54].

motif, a motif normally restricted to griffins and displayed birds⁴¹) is identical to the notched plumes on two votive bone arrow-plumes from the Temple Repository at Knossos (PM I 548–49). Thus, griffin, eagle/hawk and man-with-bow-and-arrow are all aerial hunters.

The eagle/hawk as displaced arrow (if I may put it so) is perhaps expressed on a series of prisms from Crete, the first being from central Crete (PM IV Fig. 495): a) displayed bird with zigzags above its wings; b) fleeing goat, a dart in its back. Evans, in a chapter entitled “Type of Wounded Quarry and its Talismanic Virtue to Hunter” (PM IV 541–51) thought that the wounded wild-goat “may well have brought good sport to the huntsman” while the bird “perhaps an eagle – may have brought with it swiftness” (PM IV 541). The displayed bird in such a hunt sequence, however, may well have had a more intimate and deadly role.

The displayed bird is displaced by a waterbird on the Cut Style Cylinder from Ayios Ioannis Grave III, CMS II 3 No. 65, where it appears with a goat and two lions (or a single lion in two poses). On the analogy of the three prisms from the same school, the waterbird is neither a filler nor merely decorative, but rather an intruder from another sequence. The alternation of displayed bird and waterbird may be meaningful; it is the subject of the early prism from Mochlos⁴², CMS II 3 No. 254: a) displayed bird: b) two waterbirds *tête-bêche*. Since all prisms which we have studied until now stand within the hunt context, it is at least worth considering if these birds are similarly opposed, as hunter and prey: “Even as he spoke a bird flew by on the right, an eagle, bearing in his talons a great, white goose ...” (*Odyssey* XV 160–61; see n. 51 below).

Another early prism (MM III) from Knossos (PM IV Fig. 374) continues the displayed bird motif but gives it a twist which may carry it beyond the hunter-hunted formula: a) a flying bird, two arrow-shaped “branches” in the field; b) an ewer, an early type of the libation jug⁴³. “It might not be too fanciful” suggested Evans (PM IV 449) “to interpret the flying swallow with sprays of vegetation ... as an emblem of the Spring”. Perhaps it is less fanciful still to interpret arrow shaped objects as arrows (though possibly assimilated to branches) and ambiguous birds not as a specific species: this “sparrow” not only lacks the diagnostic forked tail, but sports an incompatible aigrette, an eagle’s tuft⁴⁴. The libation jug can be understood in one of two ways, either in the hands of a Minoan Genius, its function to water the sacred tree⁴⁵, or as part of the sacrificial paraphernalia as seen above the altars of the Ayia Triada sarcophagus⁴⁶ and the Naxian flattened cylinder, CMS V No. 608. That sacrifice is the solution is indicated by future developments. This prism from MM III Knossos announces, as it were, the twin themes of future prisms. We have already studied one such theme, the hunt sequence, with its stereotyped hunter-

⁴¹ A rare exception: CMS II 3 No. 257 from Mochlos, a lion with crudely drawn zig-zags above. This gem, dated *terminus post quem non* LM IB, prefigures the “Cut Style” not only in technique but in choice of subject. As such, it seems a truer precursor of this style than the idiosyncratic sphinx from Thera, CMS V No. 690 suggested by A. Onassoglou [Die ‘talismanischen’ Siegel (1985) 149 and n. 859].

⁴² Found in Grave XII which contained EM III–LM IB material [Onassoglou op. cit. (supra n. 41) 273, No. 57, No. 79].

⁴³ PM IV 449.

⁴⁴ The tuft appears on the mainland: from Peristeria, MH III–LH I [Sp. Marinatos, *Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Πύλω*, Prakt 1965, Pl. 140 γ on right]; aigrettes on gold leaf eagles in Shaft Graves, Circle A, III and V (supra n. 36). The S-spiral aigrette is discussed in Onassoglou op. cit. (supra n. 41) 147–48.

⁴⁵ M.A.V. Gill, *The Minoan Genius*, AM 79, 1964, 6–7; M. Nilsson op. cit. (supra n. 9) 147–48; Sp. Marinatos, *Polydipsion Argos*, in: (eds. L. Palmer and J. Chadwick) *Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (1966) 265–66.

⁴⁶ C.R. Long, *The Ayia Triada Sarcophagus* (1974) 65–66 fig. 87.



Fig. 8a

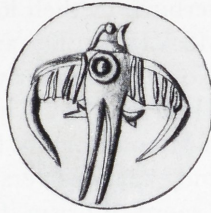


Fig. 8b

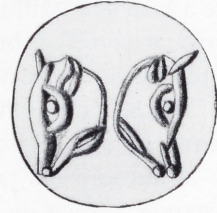


Fig. 8c



Fig. 9a



Fig. 9b



Fig. 9c

Fig. 8a-c CMS I Suppl. No. 169. Fig. 9a-c Coll. Giamalakis No. 190.

hunted formulae; the second theme, sacrifice, occupies the last part of this paper. Note first, however, how even at this early date, the prism uses the episodic method of representation to give a highly elliptical version of a hunt/sacrifice sequence, a sequence already noted by Sp. Marinatos on the two sided lentoid in the British Museum, CMS VII No. 65: a) a bull struck by a lance; b) libation jug between horns of consecration⁴⁷.

Birds play a vital role in the sacrificial sequence. Displayed bird and waterbird alternate on two prisms which I have grouped together as “acrobat” prisms. CMS I Suppl. No. 169 (Fig. 8a, b, c) depicts: a) a displayed bird, in rather an aggressive stance, related to the displayed birds of the Royal Road Master grouping⁴⁸; b) two bukrania (even the sceptical Nilsson accepted such bukrania as indicating heads of sacrificed bulls⁴⁹); c) a contorted humanoid figure described as an “acrobat” by the editor of the CMS volume. The acrobat has, however, an arrowhead or dart pointing from his arm; is he, in fact, a special form of the hunter? The second “acrobat” prism – and the only gem in our series made of a soft stone, steatite – repeats these themes though more crudely drawn (CMS II 3 No. 96): a) a waterbird; b) a single bukranium; c) a contorted figure, perhaps paralleling the previous acrobat but, in any case, surely not “a stylized bird” (as the editor of this CMS volume would have it). The same sequence, yet another prism, without the acrobat is implied on CMS XII No. 162: a) a displayed bird; b) a bukranium⁵⁰.

The function of the waterbird becomes clearer on the second eponymous prism of the School of the Vapheio-Rutsi Prisms, CMS I No. 233 from Vapheio: a) the Mistress of Birds, her own

⁴⁷ Marinatos op. cit. (supra n. 45) 271, fig. 7.

⁴⁸ The Royal Road Master and his group, see J. Weingarten, *The Zakro Master and his Place in Prehistory*, Göteborg (1983) 111–12.

⁴⁹ Nilsson op. cit. (supra n. 9) 232–35.

⁵⁰ (Water)bird and bukranium together on the face of a lentoid CMS XIII No. 49.

skirt like a bird's fantail, holds two waterbirds by their long necks⁵¹; b) an extremely contorted bull, perhaps its neck is broken (cf.: CMS VII No. 105, another extremely contorted bull with a dart in his back, and CMS I Suppl. No. 79, a similarly contorted bull though no weapon is shown). That we are in the presence of bull sacrifice (with perhaps a brace of waterbirds to follow) seems certain (cf.: CS 307 where a Minoan Genius leads a bull to the slaughter, waterbird in field – simultaneously a telescoped and expanded version of the Vapheio gem).

No weapon is seen on another bull sacrifice prism, CMS II 3 No. 112 from Kalyvia, and, again, the sacrificers are not human: a) two Minoan Genii, face to face; b) a contorted, perhaps trussed bull. Many documents connect the Minoan Genius with animal sacrifice. He leads (presumably-)domestic animals to sacrifice, merely guiding them by their horns (as in CS 307) while carrying dead or wounded wild animals, including once a bull⁵². The intimate link between sacrifice and hunting is stressed on a sealing from Zakro, Z 104, on which the Genius attacks a huge bull with a spear. Whether this is an attempt to wound and capture the bull for sacrifice (one can hardly sacrifice a dead animal) or the death is itself the symbolic act of sacrifice is impossible to decide⁵³.

Sacrifice is again the subject of a curious prism from the Mesara, Giamalakis 190 (*Fig. 9a, b, c*). The sequence is not entirely clear but perhaps the following makes the best sense: a) a man leads a domestic bull to sacrifice; b) contorted bull with a lance(?) in its head or shoulder⁵⁴ (perhaps the weapon is displayed in this sequence because the sacrificer is human rather than the Mistress or Minoan Genius, both of whom may move in mysterious ways); c) two goats salient and crossed on either side of a central pole (compare CMS I No. 123 from the Lower Town of Mycenae: two wild goats salient, back to back and regardant, are posed around a central tree with, on either side a stepped structure; This structure is associated by Nilsson with a sacred tree, the goats “either sacrificial or holy animals”⁵⁵). Perhaps the goats on our prism are meant to be tied at the place of sacrifice. Explicit bull sacrifice and anticipated goat sacrifice are also combined on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus where two agrimia lie under the table on which the bull is bleeding to death; they are obviously the next victims⁵⁶. Charlotte Long aptly compares their pose to that of the agrimia on the Midea prism (*Fig. 2*) which we discussed earlier⁵⁷. The slaughter of wild animals in the hunt, killed by man or by man's surrogate, the lion, and the slaughter of domestic animals in sacrifice are linked in a continuum of violent death. As the first act determines the relationship between man and nature in the wild and the second defines

⁵¹ The opposition of raptor (here represented by the Mistress) and waterbird may be urged by some Zakro monsters. Monsters with wings of eagle/hawk type have either raptorial bird heads (e.g. Z 20, Z 38 and perhaps Z 27) or goat heads (e.g. Z 34, Z 35 and perhaps Z 39). Waterbird protomes, on the other hand, combine with leonine features (e.g. lion legs on Z 129, lion mask on Z 57). The Mistress (and Master) of Waterbirds is a rare theme: (Mistress) CMS VII No. 134; IX No. 154; (Master) R. Higgins, *The Aegina Treasure Reconsidered*, BSA 52, 1957, 45–46, No. 1, Pl. 9a–b.

⁵² Gill op. cit. (supra n. 45) 10.

⁵³ Gill (idem) considers the hill on which the fight takes place as a “rustic altar” over which the bull will be sacrificed.

⁵⁴ The faint line running from the bull's head or shoulder seems placed like a lance but the editor, A. Xénaki-Sakelariou [Les Cachets minoens de la collection Giamalakis (1958) 32] inserts a query.

⁵⁵ Nilsson op. cit. (supra n. 9) 285.

⁵⁶ Long op. cit. (supra n. 46) 63–64.

⁵⁷ Long *ibid.* 64.



Fig. 10a

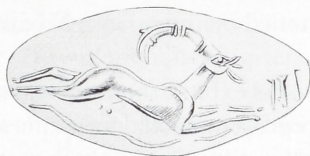


Fig. 10b



Fig. 10c

Fig. 10a-c CMS VIII No. 110.

man's place in relation to deity, the two acts are conceptually complementary⁵⁸. "One could, perhaps, most clearly grasp the animal's resemblance to man when it died. Thus the quarry turned into a sacrificial victim."⁵⁹

Our last prism may explicitly join together the twin themes of hunt and sacrifice (though it is not without difficulties). CMS VIII No. 110 (Fig. 10a, b, c), once in the Dawkins Collection⁶⁰, was made in the School of the Vapheio-Rutsi Prisms – or a workshop very close to it indeed⁶¹. Once again, man is the predatory animal: a) a man's head, bow and arrow; b) agrimi in flying gallop (such an animal, when found alone on a gem, would normally be taken as a goat out for a bit of joyous exercise but, as a frame from the hunt sequence, is more likely to be an imminent victim in desperate flight); c) a vase⁶², oddly described by Kenna as a kantharos "with fire". This prism encapsulates the hunt in two scenes, using the third face of the gem, I suggest, to allude to the hunt's ultimate culmination, not the climax of death but the climax of sacrifice, with blood or wine, not fire, pouring out of the vase⁶³. The vase is similar to the buckets used in the pouring scene on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus: pouring blood according to Paribeni⁶⁴, pouring wine according to Charlotte Long⁶⁵, pouring an unattractive mixture of wine and ten clots of

⁵⁸ P. Vidal-Naquet, *Hunting and Sacrifice in Aeschylus' Oresteia*, in: (J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet) *Tragedy and Myth in Ancient Greece* (1981) 152.

⁵⁹ W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, (1983) 20–21.

⁶⁰ Though a unique piece, its long presence in the Dawkins Collection indicates that it is almost certainly genuine [J. Betts, *Die Schweizer Sammlungen*, CMS X (1980) 33].

⁶¹ See n. 26 above.

⁶² J. Younger has kindly drawn my attention to a late bell krater from Aradippo, Cyprus [E. Vermeule and V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (1982) 54, V 103], with a bukranium hanging by a chain, an image not unlike this vase. The assimilation of vase to bukranium (or vice versa) is not unparalleled, especially on talismanic seals; see, for examples, Onassoglou *op. cit.* (supra n. 41) Amphora 4, 7, 12, 35, 36; a bukranium is assimilated to a Bird-Lady's body creating a monstrous "Bukranium Lady" at Ayia Triada, AT 105. It is true that the central rib of this vase is puzzling but, since we have no pottery or metal examples we can scarcely guess at its correct interpretation. The "chain-like" appearance of the flowing liquid (as I see it) may be due to the difficulty and novelty of the image; the engraver at least partly smoothed out the interlinked concentric circles – unnecessarily if a chain were intended.

⁶³ A similar sequence of a hunt culminating in sacrifice is pictured on a stamp seal impression from Bogazköy: (below) a kneeling archer shoots wild animals; (above) offering of animals around a central altar. This Hittite seal goes further than our Minoan gem, showing the recipient of the sacrifice or, more likely, an intermediary, a bird-headed demon who holds or raises a ram's protome [H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazköy II*, AfO 24 (1942) No. 220].

⁶⁴ R. Paribeni, *Il sarcofago dipinto di Haghia Triada*, *MonAnt* 19, 1908, 33, 43.

⁶⁵ Long *op. cit.* (supra n. 46) 36.

bull's blood according to Plato in *Critias* 119e when the kings of Atlantis followed their remarkable bull hunt with sacrifice and libation. The same buckets are carried by men and women on some fragments of the Ayia Triada Procession fresco⁶⁶. In glyptic, the characteristic twin raised handles can be found on similarly-shaped vases depicted on prisms of the First Palace Period, e.g. CMS II 2 No. 2c from Axos and II 2 No. 86c from the Mallia Stoneworking Atelier. Finally, a similar vase appears on the later flattened cylinder from Naxos already mentioned in a sacrificial context.

The Late Bronze Age three-sided prisms exploit themes from hunt and sacrifice⁶⁷. The scenes which they use are frames from stock representational sequences and the evidence suggests that the Bronze Age viewer would have had no difficulty in placing any individual episode within its proper sequence⁶⁸. The single frame – such as usually found in glyptic – is sufficient to activate the sequence, for it recalls, it primes and starts, one of relatively few stock sequences which (I venture to say) must inevitably continue to completion. The totality of the pattern may be unclear to us, causing us to view Minoan art through often rose-tinted spectacles. When we see, for example, an animal idyll, or a quadruped in flying gallop, we imagine the Minoans' love of nature and fail to interpret such images as parts of sequences, the prelude to the hunt and, ultimately, to sacrifice. Only when we see the climax, as in the lion-animal kill, are we forced to complete the preceding frames of the hunt much as any contemporary viewer might have done. The artists of these three-sided prisms did not create new sequences; they used the same representational formulae, the same (in Wittgenstein's phrase) "rules of life dressed up in pictures" as all other glyptic artists of their time, but they communicate more of it since they had more space at their command.

DISKUSSION

N. MARINATOS sieht ein wichtiges Ergebnis des Referates darin, daß Jagd und Opfer bei den Minoern untereinander austauschbare Konzeptionen sind. Ebenso ist von Bedeutung, daß Wesen, die wir nicht unbedingt als gleich ansehen würden, wie Löwen und Raubvogelarten, gleichrangig waren. So hat sie sogar Delphine als Raubtiere identifiziert, die in das Schema passen.

J.G. YOUNGER macht J. Weingarten auf einen Glockenkrater aus Aradippo (E. Vermeule – V. Karageorghis, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting* (1982) 205 Abb. V. 103) aufmerksam, auf dem ein Bukranion an einer Kette hängt. Außerdem hat E. Vermeule aus der Tomba tou Skou-

⁶⁶ Nilsson (supra n. 9) fig. 108a, b.

⁶⁷ Hunting or sacrificial themes also appear on a number of two-sided gems, mostly lentoids: CMS II 3 Nos. 13, 25a/b, 105, 330; VII No. 65; VIII No. 47; I Suppl. No. 94; AGDS München 70; CS 334; HM 2075(?). Subjects on two-sided gems apparently quite unrelated to hunt and sacrifice: CMS IV No. 283; V Nos. 180, 184(?); IX No. 110; XII No. 276; CS 243; CS 30P; AG Pl. III 18; Et. Crét. XXVI No. 258; HM 2113; HM 2807; HM 2815. I have not attempted any classification of the talismanic fish, plants, stars, etc. which appear on gems engraved on two or three faces.

⁶⁸ Some few prisms do not conform to the hunt/sacrifice pattern (see n. 20 above). AGDS II 45 – a) two oxen couchant; b) two boars couchant – might be thought of as a "double idyll" or, more simply, comparable to CMS I No. 273 and V No. 312 (p. 302 above), gems which merely repeat the same images on two faces. The "dragonfly" prisms, CMS IX No. 162 and V No. 677, and the "scorpion" prism, Giamalakis 187, are hors de combat. It is not impossible that the butterfly and the dragonfly are opposed as hunter/hunted (rather in the manner of displayed bird/waterbird) as there is a widespread misconception that dragonflies can sting. But this is pure speculation and I draw the line at introducing the scratching dog of this gem's third face into the alleged aerial combat.

rou einen Stierschädel publiziert, dessen ausgehöhlte Rückseite auf eine Verwendung als Maske hindeuten könnte.

I. PINI fragt nach einer Erklärung für die Darstellung von zwei liegenden Ebern auf einer Seite des dreiseitigen Prismas CMS XI Nr. 55b aus Berlin. Auch J. Betts dürfte seiner Meinung nach hierzu eine Frage stellen.

J. WEINGARTEN verweist auf die Bemerkungen zu Anfang ihres Referates, daß sie nur zwei Sequenzen weiterverfolgen wollte. Sie will nicht behaupten, daß alle dreiseitigen Prismen dieselbe Geschichte erzählen. So muß sie gestehen, daß z.B. die Schmetterlinge auf dem Prisma CMS V Nr. 677b und c aus Theben, obwohl sie sich lange und intensiv bemühte, nicht in ihre Sequenzen passen. Sie glaubt, daß die Minoer nicht nur diese zwei Sequenzen hatten, sondern eine größere Anzahl.

J. BETTS hat eine Frage zu den Schmetterlingen, mit denen er sich auseinandersetzen hatte. Es gibt außer den großen Schmetterlingen noch ein anderes Insekt, das er nicht zu deuten weiß. Die Kombination auf dem Goldring von Archanes muß, auch wenn man nicht A. Evans' Verbindung von menschlicher Seele und Schmetterlingen akzeptiert, eine bestimmte Bedeutung gehabt haben, die in irgend einer Weise in J. Weingartens Sequenzen passen könnte.

J. WEINGARTEN bestätigt, daß es eine Sequenz gegeben haben muß, zu deren Interpretation es aber keinen Zugang gibt. Sie erinnert an die sehr verschiedenen Deutungsvorschläge über Schmetterlinge und Insekten.

J. BETTS sagt, daß man, um die Sache weiterzuverfolgen, auf die talismanischen dreiseitigen Prismen achten muß, trotz aller Schwierigkeiten auf diesem Gebiet. Diese dürften Sequenzen erbringen, die möglicherweise mit religiösen Dingen zu tun haben, wie etwa die Kombination von Kannenmotiven mit dem sogenannten Dreiteiligen Heiligtum auf talismanischen Siegeln.

J. WEINGARTEN hält diese Kombination ebenfalls für signifikant. Sie beabsichtigt, das Problem weiterzuverfolgen und zu prüfen, ob nicht auch auf früheren Prismen dieselbe Sequenz erscheint.

L. MORGAN ist von J. Weingartens Auffassung überzeugt. Ihrer Ansicht nach sollte man die Schlußfolgerungen, die z.B. auch die Posen von Tieren miteinbeziehen, auch auf andere Kunstgattungen übertragen. Das Siegel CMS II 3 Nr. 64, auf dem J. Weingarten den Löwen als jagendes und gejagtes Tier zugleich sieht, wäre z.B. mit den Darstellungen auf den Dolchklingen aus den Schachtgräbern vergleichbar. Sie ist sich sicher, daß es noch mehr solche Parallelen gibt.

J. BETTS fragt L. Morgan, ob ihr auf den theräischen Fresken eine Sequenz bekannt ist, bei der ein Greif einen Löwen jagt.

L. MORGAN verneint dies, gibt aber zu, daß sie bei einigen Beispielen an diese Möglichkeit gedacht hat. Sie ist aber hier zu der Ansicht gekommen, daß Greif und Löwe gleichberechtigt sind.

J. WEINGARTEN sieht beide einander sehr nahe stehen. Aber es gibt auch Ausnahmen, wie z.B. bei allen Kampfscenen. Fast immer hat jedoch der Greif die Oberhand.

N. MARINATOS fügt hinzu, daß es bei den Minoern die feste hierarchische Ordnung eines »Raubtiersystems« gibt. Ganz oben, über den Löwen, stehen Greifen und Dämonen. Es gibt Beispiele, bei denen Dämonen wahrscheinlich Löwen zum Opfer führen, sie jagen oder an einer Leine halten. Ihrer Meinung nach haben in diesem hierarchischen System die imaginären Wesen einen höheren Rang als die realen.

J. WEINGARTEN stimmt einer solchen Hierarchie grundsätzlich zu, meint jedoch, daß die Positionen innerhalb des Systems nicht exakt zu bestimmen sind.