

SECTION II: THE AEGEAN

CHAPTER VIII

THE DECORATIVE FLORA OF CRETE AND THE LATE HELLADIC MAINLAND

In the midst of the sea, on the long island of Crete, there dwelt a people, possessors of the fabulous Minoan culture, who are known to have had trade relations with Egypt, and with other Near-Eastern lands. Still farther away towards the north lies the Mainland of Greece, a region that proved itself to be a very hospitable host to the graft of Minoan culture. Before the close of the LH period the ceramic results of this union were to be spread over the Near East in great profusion and it becomes necessary to define the extent of Aegean influence on those traditions of Near-Eastern art that lie within the scope of our topic. Before this is possible a concise summary of the plant ornamentation of the Aegean must be presented.¹ This background forms a necessary basis without which the reaction of Aegean plant design on the main development of our story, be it large or small, cannot be determined.

¹ A great deal of interest and work has been devoted to the study of Minoan decorative art almost since the beginning of its discovery, and full advantage of this has been taken in the preparation of the present survey. The chief treatments of the subject are as follows: Edith H. Hall, *The Decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age* (Philadelphia, 1907); Ernst Reisinger, *Kretische Vasenmalerei vom Kamares bis zum Palast-Stil* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1912); Diederich Fimmen, *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur* (Leipzig, Berlin, 1924), Alois Gotsmich, *Entwicklungsgang der Kretischen Ornamentik*, Wein, 1923); Frederich Matz, *Frühkretische Siegel* (Berlin, 1928), covering a much wider field than is indicated by the title; Georg Karo, *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* (München, 1939). Comprehensive general works are Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* (London, 1921-35); J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The Archaeology of Crete* (London, 1939), and Arne Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery and The Chronology of the Mycenaean Pottery* (Stockholm, 1941), to which reference may be made for all details omitted in this summary, which is limited only to plant motives or allied forms. For botanical details see Martin Möbius, "Pflanzenbilder der Minoischen Kunst in Botanischer Betrachtung," J.D.I., XLVIII (1933), 1-39.

MIDDLE MINOAN I

MM I A pot painting follows the EM geometric traditions. Most designs are formed out of rectilinear units. Certain herring-bone and plume patterns have a superficial vegetal appearance, but no true plant motives appear.²

MM I B still demonstrates a heritage of geometric design,³ but this is now supplemented by the increasing prominence of spiralforn designs which had made their first entry in EM III, or in East Crete, MM I. As in the earlier part of MM I there is no evidence for designs derived from natural prototypes. Out of formal elements such as spirals unsymmetrically joined, zigzags with triangles added at each point, and combinations of straight lines were created patterns suggestive of, but unconnected with, jointed vegetal growth.⁴ The leafy twigs that appear may well be enlivened herring bones.⁵ In East Crete certain triple groups of leaf or flower-like units occur, or may be irregularly arranged as though branching from tendrils.⁶ Naturalistic intention actually begins in this period as the crocuses on a cup from Knossos testify.⁷ A leafy stalk with crocus flowers added at the top was found at Vasiliki.⁸ The single leaf with ribbing is a design whose naturalistic appearance may be accidental.⁹ In addition to these patterns, by MM IB the non-vegetal elements which are going to form the fundamental basis for the decoration of

² ArchC, p. 105, Fig. 16, 12, 16 (Knossos). BSA Sup. I, Pl. IV, a, f, g (Palaikastro). The cup, Pl. IV, g, shows in addition a four-partite rosette which is a cross design rather than a floral derivative. Cf. also *Ibid.*, Pl. V, c.

³ Cf. ArchC, pp. 108, 112, Figs. 17, 18.

⁴ ArchC, p. 112, Fig. 18, 9, 11. BSA Sup. I, Pls VIII, B; X, K (Palaikastro). PM I, 184, Fig. 133, c (Hagia Photia), e (Palaikastro).

⁵ ArchC, p. 112, Fig. 18, 6, 12. BSA Sup I, Pl. VIII, D (Palaikastro). PM I, 184, a, d (Knossos).

⁶ ArchC, p. 112, Fig. 18, 13, 14. BSA Sup. I, Pls. IX, a; X, b, e (Palaikastro). PM I, 184, Fig. 133, f (Knossos), g (Gournes).

⁷ PM IV, Pl. XXVIII, C. Pendlebury derives this pattern from the stiff spikes of his Pl. XIV, 2, 8 (MM IA, Knossos; ArchC, p. 110). Furumark, MPot, p. 135, states that the pot decoration was primarily abstract and formal and that representative designs appear only as secondary "pictorializations." Although this general rule appears to be true in the majority of cases, Furumark exhibits a strong tendency to use it to prove, *a priori*, that any and every naturalistic design must be a derivation of some formal pattern. He appears to disregard the appearance of primary naturalistic designs, which to be sure play an extremely minor role during the earlier phases of Minoan ceramic, but which do seem to occur sporadically.

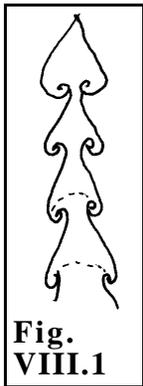
⁸ PM I, 184, Fig. 133, h.

⁹ ArchC, p. 108, Fig. 17, 21. BSA Sup. I, Pl. IX, d (Palaikastro).

the succeeding Kamares style have appeared: spiked rosettes ending in dots, spirals ending in plumes, and tangential loops or drops.¹⁰

MIDDLE MINOAN II

In the first phase of the floruit of Kamares ware, MM II A, the incipiently naturalistic designs of MM I B do not reappear. This is the heyday of the elaborated spiral ornament. Innumerable varieties of spirals (e. g. Fig. XI.36), combinations of drops (Figs. XI.6-10, 17-19, 29-35), plumes (Figs. XI.11-16), and characteristic rosettes with rounded rays are typical, but there are few designs which find a place in our story. The first relatively large group of “sacral ivy” motives¹¹ occurs now. The origin of the motive from spiral design has been clearly stated by Furumark.¹² Such cordate shapes result automatically if s-spirals are arranged, in Furumark’s words, “in axial symmetry,”¹³ and if the spiral ends are canopied by a c-spiral (Fig.VIII.1), a process for which many



**Fig.
VIII.1**

analogies may be cited. The bridging over of the two spirals forming the base of the ivy leaf is regarded by Furumark as a secondary development.

However, on the earliest example of the design, an EM III side-spouted jug from the Kamares Cave (Fig.VIII.2),¹⁴ the canopy is already present.

Moreover, an EM II (?) seal shows two s-spirals, in which the bottom curls are already canopied while the upper ones do not yet touch.¹⁵ The first

¹⁰ ArchC, pp. 109, 112.

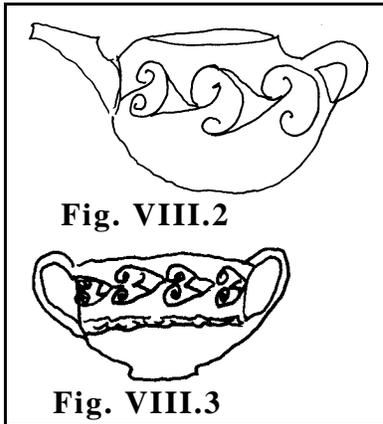
¹¹ So named by Evans because he derived the pattern from the papyrus stalk, (*Waz*) emblematic of *Wazet* (a goddess whom he considered almost as the double of the chthonic form of the Minoan goddess), which had been covered by a c-spiral (PM II, 480, Fig. 287). The sole evidence adduced by Evans consists of the designs on a unique Twelfth Dynasty scarab and on a MM I seal. In addition to the Minoan example figured by Evans cf. also Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel* (Berlin, 1928), Pl. X, 2, 10; XII, 5, 8; BSA, XXVIII (1926-7), Pl. XIX, T. XVII, B.7 (Mavrospelio). This explanation of the pattern cannot be accepted. In the first place sacral ivy prototypes can be found as early as EM III in very different contexts. In addition, as Furumark has pointed out, Evans has not explained the origin of the pointed tip of the motive (MPot, p. 140).

¹² MPot, pp. 140-1. Cf. also *Tiryas* II, 45 for the same explanation.

¹³ To a certain extent Goodyear had already recognized that such forms could be derived from spiral bands arranged in this manner (*Grammar of the Lotus*) pp. 94, 95. Cf. his Pls. IX, 7; X, 1, 2, 3, 6; LII, 6.)

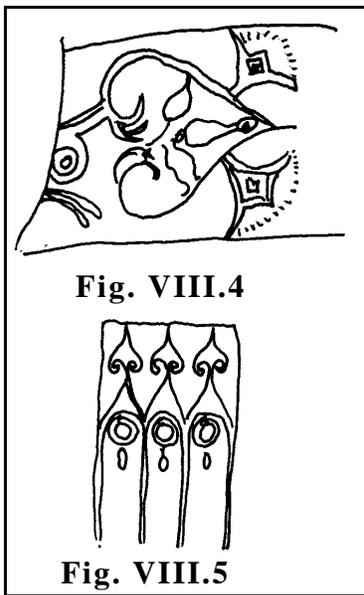
¹⁴ PM I, 110, Fig. 77, b; latter part of EM III.

¹⁵ PM II, 196, Fig. 77, b. These examples serve as warning that designs actually did not develop in the exact typological order that seems natural and logical.



preserved example of the presumptive earliest step of the design, still uncanopied, occurs on a sherd of transitional MM I B/MM II A style (cf. MM I = Fig.VIII.3).¹⁶ A MM II cup from Phaistos has a horizontal frieze of quite stalky and uncanopied leaves.¹⁷ A sherd imported into Phylakopi on Melos preserves a fragment of another continuous design where a definite c-spiral canopy region is

distinguished and the spiral ends are tipped by quatrefoils.¹⁸ Other MM II pots exemplify designs in which the individual ivy leaves have crystallized out of the spiral bands and become independent units (Figs.VIII.4, VIII.5).¹⁹ The non-vegetal nature of this



design is clear and no one would be able to forecast from the Kamares examples that it was to give rise to one of the most common plant motives of later Aegean art.

In addition to the sacral ivy, certain pseudo-palmette elements appear in MM II A (Figs. XI.26, 28, 39). They are reminiscent of leaves and have been considered as abstractions therefrom, but Pendlebury has suggested that they are to be connected with drops and the plumed ends of spirals rather than with natural prototypes.²⁰ Thus, despite

¹⁶ PM I, 231, Pl. I, a (Knossos, basement of Monolithic pillars). A small sherd from the North trench at Gournia of EM III date, showing two opposed volutes, is apparently the first example of the isolated ivy leaf (PM I, 112, Fig. 80, a, b). Fig.VIII.3 = ArchC, Pl. XIX, 1, a (Palaikastro).

¹⁷ Festos, Pl. XXI, b; floor XXIV.

¹⁸ BSA Sup. I, 150, Fig. 133.

¹⁹ PM I, Fig. 194, d. Festos, Pl. XVIII, a. PM I, 262, Fig. 194, f. Festos, p.271, Fig. 154, fragment of large pithos from floors XVI-XVIII. The design of *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXVIII (pithos from magazine XXXIV) is related. It lacks the pointed tip and is derived apparently from the c-canopy. Another example where the spiral ends are canopied by a c alone occurs (PM I, 262, Fig. 194, c (Knossos; MM IIA).

²⁰ ArchC, p. 136; cf. Chapter XI, pp.462ff., n. 68.

the rich and varied nature of the Kamares style it offers no examples of plant ornaments in MM II A.

The same style continues in MM II B, but the pseudo-palmettes no longer appear and some designs created out of typical Kamares elements begin to approach vegetal forms. Patterns on pots from Phaistos suggest a plant stalk with alternating leaves and are derived, according to Furumark, from dentate bands.²¹ A bridge-spouted pot from Phaistos has elaborated its spirals with what at first glance appear to be true crocus flowers, until, a second look reveals that they are really plumes topped by scales.²² The quadruple spiral on a two-handled Phaistos jar was enlivened with a branched raceme of florets, vaguely reminiscent of some MM I designs.²³

In strong contrast to the abstract designs, still predominant in MM II B, are the fairly limited number of examples which mark the introduction on a small scale of the first group of decorations copied from natural prototypes. Evans considers this striking break with the tradition of formal ceramic decoration to be a reflection in the applied art of wall paintings, such as the Saffron Gatherer dated by him to MM II.²⁴ Since this dating is not universally accepted,²⁵ the question of the existence of naturalistic paintings contemporaneous with MM II B must be left open. Nevertheless, the derivation of realistic designs on pottery from such a source is, by analogy with conditions in MM III, very likely.²⁶ A two-handled, hole-mouthed jar from the Kamares Cave bears a crocus flower topping an unnaturalistic stem with opposite leaves.²⁷ Other crocuses serve as filling

²¹ *Festos*, p. 259, Fig. 142; PM I, 255, Fig. 191, upper left (Knossos, Loom-weight basement). A one handled jug from Festos, p. 309, Fig. 135, probably belongs with these examples. Cf. MPot, p. 137 for a summary of the history of the dentate band. It began in MM I as a row of triangles, which became dentate in MM II. The teeth may become curving in MM II B/MM III, or the dentate form may continue, being used, according to Furumark, either in "palmette" patterns or to form stalks as in the examples here cited.

²² *Festos*, Pl. XVI, a.

²³ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXII = PM I, 257, Fig. 192, b.

²⁴ PM I, 256-266; Pl. IV.

²⁵ ArchC, p. 131, n. 3. G. A. S. Snijder, *Kretische Kunst* (Berlin, 1936), p. 28.

²⁶ As Furumark has remarked there was a continuous naturalistic tradition in Crete, carried by seals beginning in MM II. But naturalistic flowers do not occur on the seals before MM III.

²⁷ PM I, 364, Fig. 197 = BSA, XIX (1912-13), Pl. X below.

motives on a polychrome bowl from Palaikastro.²⁸ A jug from a well southwest of Knossos has a lily flower; five round-anthered stamens spring from two curving petals. Small subsidiary leaves are shown on each side of the base of the flower.²⁹

Aside from these conspicuous flowers, other plants were also used. An olive spray with a flowering stem,³⁰ grass or reed-like stalks and leaves are to be found.³¹

One of the most striking plant designs of this date is the group of three palms that decorate each side of a large, wide-mouthed jar from the Loom-weight basement at

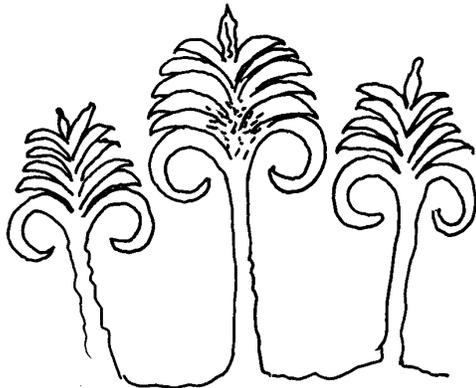


Fig. VIII.6



Fig. VIII.7

Knossos (Fig.VIII.6).³² The slightly undulating trunks rise from a white ground. The lowermost leaves are practically spiraliform, and of exactly the same shape as the lily³³ petals. The horizontal leaves above are topped by a small medial leaf bud. An analogy for

²⁸ PM I, 263 = BSA X (1903-4), 211 (Block 8; large rosettes as main motives).

²⁹ PM I, 264, Fig. 196. It is amazing that Furumark should class this design as a pictorialized member of his "later palmette class," whose reshaping has been "perhaps" stimulated by mural paintings (MPot, p. 136). His reasons are that the flower shows the usual "palmette" structure with radiating elements (here become anthers), and possesses typical dentations on the stem. It is really absurd to go to such lengths to explain a design whose naturalistic origin is self-evident, and which occurs at a period when other realistic designs are demonstrably present. The only real similarity with the pseudo-palmette class is the volute calyx; it is hardly necessary to say that such a form may result from a number of different origins. The comparison between the general form of this lily and the "palms" (later palmettes) is too generalized a character to be meaningful. Finally, the side leaflets resemble the natural small leaves of the lily stalk, which are shown in the succeeding MM III A period, fully as much as the dentate band.

³⁰ PM I, 262, Fig. 194, g (Knossos, restored design). Möbius, JDI, XLVIII (1933), 14.

³¹ PM I, 255, Fig. 191, middle (Knossos, Loom weight deposit). Möbius considers such designs as examples of the transition between a geometric herring-bone to a stem with grass-like leaves (JDI, XLVIII (1933), 29. For Furumark, they represent modifications of the dentate band (MPot, p. 137). Similar sprays apparently occurred on a MM IIIB fresco fragments (*Festos*, Pl. XL, 4, 6).

³² PM I, 253-254, Fig. 190. The design is in white on a black ground with outlines and details in "rosy terra cotta."

this group is offered by a MM II seal on which three trees, presumably palms, grow from rocks (Fig. VIII.7).³⁴ The largest tree is not only branched, but these branches in turn send forth shoots. A one-handed jug from Phaistos is covered by two trees probably homologous with those on the Knossos jar. A vermilion center stalk, ending in a broadened lobe at the top, forms the core from which spring creamy toothed, horizontal leaves. Three small leaves crown the design; the stem at the base is equipped with creamy

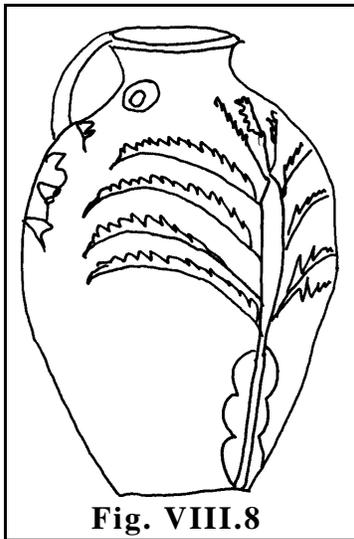


Fig. VIII.8

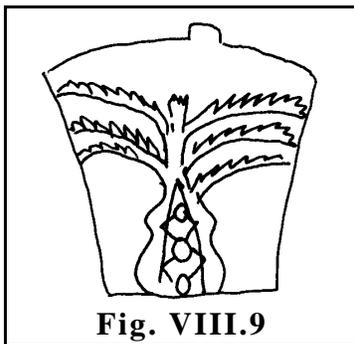


Fig. VIII.9

lobes (Fig. VIII.8).³⁵ A similar example from the same site decorates a cup with one band-handle, and is noteworthy only in that its base is triangular (Fig. VIII.9).³⁶ These forms have been discussed by Furumark,³⁷ who explains them as formal patterns created by the combination of “filled festoon borders” and “dentate bands” with the “palmette” pattern typical of MM II A. Aberg has stressed the fact that the smaller Phaistos example springs from an unnaturalistic triangular base akin to the base of PM I, Pl. III, and that a dentate band very similar to the toothed palm leaves is also shown on the same Phaistos cup. However, in view of the other naturalistic designs that begin at this period, the assumption of a purely geometric origin for these palms, and for those on the Loom-Weight deposit pot, too, seems forced. The branches of one of the palms of the triple group

on the MM II B seal already referred to are toothed and here the operation of the dentate band of ceramic decoration is out of the question. The peculiarities of the foliage crown -

³³ In some chapters, Kantor has crossed out “lily” and substituted “South-flower.”

³⁴ PM I, 275, Fig. 204, d.

³⁵ *Festos*, Pl. XXXI.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pl XX, a.

³⁷ MPot, p. 136. His treatment appears to be in great part based on Aberg, *Chronologie*, IV (Stockholm, 1930-35), 161, 197.

the small central group of young leaves contrasted with the fully grown lateral foliage - are features not explainable on the basis of the pseudo-palmette pattern.³⁸ Accordingly, the stimulation which led to the creation of the Phaistos palms appears to have been a primarily naturalistic one, which was carried out, on the one hand, by the utilization of certain formalized motives already in the repertoire, but which, on the other hand, resulted also in the much more realistic Loom-Weight deposit jar. Although the possibility that the spiraliform lower leaves of the latter design may have been influenced by the spiral curls of the palmette motives cannot be entirely ruled out. The occurrence of these palm designs should not be considered part of the old MM II A palmette tradition, but a sign of the new naturalistic inspiration, which caused the insertion of such details as the dots in Fig. VIII.6 which presumably represent the inflorescence.

MIDDLE MINOAN III³⁹

This period is separated from MM II by a natural catastrophe, presumably an earthquake, which caused a break in the stratigraphy of sites over the entire island. The ceramic tradition is unbroken, but does not reach the high level of the preceding period, probably due, Pendlebury suggests, to the manufacture of the finer vessels out of materials more costly than clay.⁴⁰ For the first time naturalistic plant designs are carried out on a large scale, in white paint on black backgrounds. In MM II B the only naturalistic design of rather imposing character was that of the Knossos jar with triple palms; the few other naturalistic motives occurred as small units, generally on medium-sized vases. In strong contrast are the new MM III designs, as is strikingly exemplified by a series of small jars found in a magazine in the northwest angle of the southeast insula at Knossos.⁴¹ Tall lily

³⁸ In this connection Furumark would admit secondary influence derived from fresco designs, presumed to exist at this time.

³⁹ The distinction between MM III A and B styles is based mainly on Knossos materials, since only that site appears to have suffered an earthquake severe enough to seal in MM III A deposits (ArchC, p. 159).

⁴⁰ ArchC, p. 158.

⁴¹ PM I, 575, Fig. 419; 576, Fig. 420. Pendlebury assigns these to MM III B (ArchC, p. 163).

stems, topped by flowers and buds, and flanked by side leaves at the base, cover the whole surface freely.⁴²

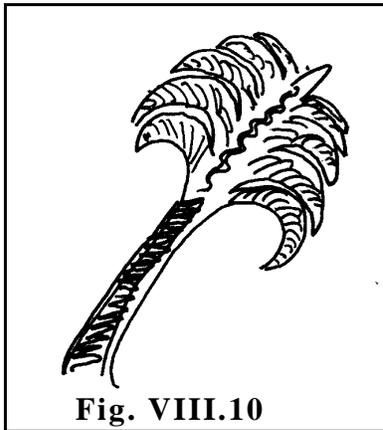


Fig. VIII.10

Of the palm we have only one example, on an ostrich-egg rhyton from Knossos. The design, still done in polychrome with red, yellow and black, is a close successor of the Loom-Weight jar. Here, too, the inflorescence of the tree appears to be indicated. A raceme similar to the olive flowers of MM II B is used as a subsidiary filling motive (Fig. VIII.10).⁴³ Olive shoots

with flowers occur on a MM III B cup from Knossos.⁴⁴

Another polychrome survival is a two-handled jar with design in yellow and white on black showing a very artificial, but highly decorative plant.⁴⁵ Two spirals curling around yellow centers for the basal leaves; above are three pairs of pointed leaves; the stem ends in a round centered “flower” which is in reality a fragment of a rosette very similar to those on contemporary pots.⁴⁶

Foliate stems are direct successors to those of MM II.⁴⁷ In addition, much more free and attenuated spiky sprays of reed-like plants occur.⁴⁸ Faience chalices with leafy sprays, of myrtle or rose (?) painted and in relief were found in the MM III Temple

⁴² PM I, 577, Fig. 421, 7, 10; 603, Fig. 433. BMC, p. 98, Fig. 123 = Pl. VII, A592 (*Lilium candidum* L.).

⁴³ PM I, Fig. 436 c, opp. p. 594; much restored. For naturalistic palm on a MM III sealing, cf. PM I, 716 = Fig. 539 a (*Phoenix daetlifera* L.)

⁴⁴ PM II, 465, Fig. 282, a. (*Olea europaea sativa* D. C.)

⁴⁵ PM I, 596, Pl. VII, left.

⁴⁶ PM I, 585, Fig. 428 (burial jar found by the stream Ghazi, a few miles from Knossos); PM II, 215, Fig. 121, b (Pilgrim flask from Zakro). Furumark classifies this plant among the palms and other designs which he considers developed from the “filled festoon border and dentate band” (MPot, p. 136). Though highly artificial, this form does not seem to be connected with the other examples cited by Furumark.

⁴⁷ PM I, 598, Fig. 439 (Knossos, polychrome bases).

⁴⁸ PM I, 580, Fig. 424 (Bath tub); 583, Fig. 427a (storage jar).

repository at Knossos.⁴⁹ Leaves of the same shape as those applied to one of these chalices are combined with rosettes of seven dotted rays forming attractive floral tufts.⁵⁰

The Knossos Temple Repository also yielded faience “votive robes” decorated by clumps of crocuses consisting of alternating buds and flowers, an Egyptianizing composition according to Evans.⁵¹ Crocuses are also to be found on pots,⁵² and a silver hair pin of the period is ornamented by a series of individual crocus flowers in high relief.⁵³

A jar from Knossos bears a clump of three flowers, possibly tulips.⁵⁴ Leguminous plants also occur on the same jug, but better examples are painted on a one-handed jug and a wide-mouthed, two-handed amphora from Palaikastro.⁵⁵

This concludes the plants of the pot painting, except for some wavy tendrils found on a vessel from Zakros that may well be non-naturalistic in origin.⁵⁶ But MM III B also marks the first appearance en masse of murals,⁵⁷ some of which were entirely devoted to plant and animal life. These are the works that must have been the prototypes for much of the pottery decoration. The Southeast house at Knossos yielded fragments of lilies and of reed spikes.⁵⁸ In the MM III B/LM I A transitional period, a phase which has yielded the majority of naturalistic paintings, stately clumps of Madonna lilies formed one of the favorite motives, and the naturalistic tendencies of the period are underlined by paintings

⁴⁹ PM I, 499, Fig. 357.

⁵⁰ BSA Sup I, 19-20, Pl. XII (Palaikastro, earlier house below LM II building in Delta 18; vat-like vase). The rosettes are akin to four-rayed MM IB forms (PM I, 101, Fig. 66a).

⁵¹ PM I, 506, Fig. 364, a, b.

⁵² BMC, p. 101, Fig. 129, A 618 (Dictaeon Cave, Psychro).

⁵³ BSA, XXVIII (1926-7), 289, Fig. 38, T. IX, B.2 (Mavrospelio).

⁵⁴ PM I, 606, Fig. 446 (found in MM III B magazine, but, on analogy with similar designs from other sites, almost certainly MM III A, according to Pendlebury [ArchC, p. 160]). A more certain example of a tulip is found on a sealing from the West Temple Repository (PM I, 696, Fig. 518, 1; cf. Möbius in JDI XLVIII [1933], 24).

⁵⁵ PM I, 606, Fig. 445, a, b. Evans terms these vetch, but cf. Möbius JDI XLVIII (1933), 23-4, who considers an identification with lupines more likely.

⁵⁶ ArchC, p. 160, Fig. 27, 7; BMC, p. 102, Fig. 130, A 628.

⁵⁷ Cf. Prentice Duell and Rutherford J. Gettens, *A Review of the Problem of Aegean Wall Painting*. Technical Studies 10 (1942).

⁵⁸ PM I, 537, Pl. IV (lilies); 537, Fig. 390 (reeds).

where half-opened flowers with unreflexed petals are shown.⁵⁹ It is the literal transcriptions of these designs which we have seen on the lily vases. Friezes of individual lily flowers appear to have occurred in the “Miniature frescoes” of Knossos⁶⁰ and at Phylakopi in Melos.⁶¹

It is not the lilies alone which find parallels in the frescoes. Crocus clumps like those on the faience votive robes are found among the rocks where a blue monkey wanders⁶² or in a formalized design of repeated clumps.⁶³ Much more naturalistic clumps were found at Hagia Triada.⁶⁴ Leafy twigs from the “House of Frescoes,”⁶⁵ from the Knossian Caravanserei,⁶⁶ and from Hagia Triada⁶⁷ are reminiscent of sprays on the faience chalices from the Temple Repository. Lupines, partially bastardized with the attributes of other plants, are found in the “House of Frescoes.”⁶⁸ Reed-like stems topped by racemes or papyrus heads were very popular, and served as an inspiration for LM I vase painters.⁶⁹

Long curving sprays with spreading leaves of sacral-ivy type appear to have played an important role in the Blue Monkey among Rocks from the “House of Frescoes” (Fig. VIII.11) and in a Hagia Triada mural.⁷⁰ Although the form has been so strongly acclimatized in its vegetative habitat, its identity with the Kamares motive is unmistakable.

⁵⁹ PM I, 605, Fig. 444 (Hagia Triada). PM II, 455, Fig. 266, C (Knossos, the House of Frescoes). PM IV, Sup. Pl. LXVII, b; AA, 1933, 291, Fig. 2; BCH, LVIIM(1933), 295, Fig. 43 (Amisos). ArtC, p. 135, Fig. 244 = PM I, 604, Fig. 44, Lily opening (Hagia Triada).

⁶⁰ PM III, 130, Fig. 85. The design is peculiar in that the stamens have coalesced into a solid-triangular form.

⁶¹ PM III, 132, Fig. 87 = BSA Sup. I, 76, Fig. 64. The alternating arrangement of the lilies has been hypothetically restored on the basis of a dagger from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae.

⁶² PM II, 447, Pl. X; 455, Fig. 266, B.

⁶³ PM II, 459, Fig. 271.

⁶⁴ ArtC, p. 136, Fig. 245. MonAnt., vol. XIII

⁶⁵ PM II, 458, Fig. 270 (myrtle); 465, Fig. 275, K (papyrus-tipped shoot)

⁶⁶ PM II, 115, Fig. 54 (myrtle?).

⁶⁷ ArtC, p. 137, Fig. 247.

⁶⁸ PM II, 465, Fig. 275, L; 454, Pl. XI.

⁶⁹ PM II, 447, Pl. X; 451, Fig. 264 (monkey among papyrus); 455, Fig. 266, D; 465, Fig. 275, J (all from the “House of Frescoes”).

⁷⁰ PM II, Pl. X (reconstruction); 480, Fig. 287, h (detail). MonAnt., Vol XIII (1903), Pls. VII,2; IX (Hagia Triada).

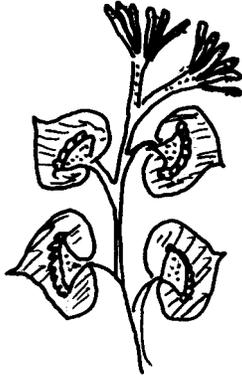


Fig. VIII.11

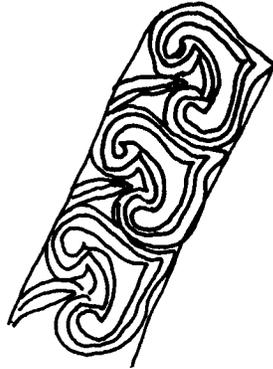


Fig. VIII.12



Fig. VIII.13

The area of the c-canopy is marked by papyrus filling.⁷¹ Surprisingly enough the motive has not appeared on MM III ceramics. As Evans has pointed out, a stone lamp pedestal from the Southeast house at Knossos (Fig. VIII.12) and a bronze cup from Mochlos (Fig. VIII.13) bear friezes of ivy leaves that lead up to the fresco designs.⁷² Single ivy leaves appear on two sealings from Zakro and on another from the Temple Repository.⁷³ The leaf appears as a sign in the Hieroglyphic writing and in Linear Script A and B.⁷⁴ Among the variants only one has a curved bar representing the c-canopy. This omission in written signs would, *a priori*, not be unusual. It is paralleled, however, by solid ivy leaves of some frescoes.⁷⁵ Such leaves are undoubtedly but solidly filled variants of the ordinary sacral ivy.⁷⁶

⁷¹ This is an excellent example showing that, when a Kamares motive did live on into succeeding periods, it could retain its original form. All surviving motives may not have necessarily remained as close to their original shapes. Nevertheless, the case of the sacral-ivy leaf may serve as a warning against too facile identification of later designs with earlier MM II motives.

⁷² PM I, 481, Fig. 288 a, c. In addition a sword from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae bears similar ornamentation. *Ibid.*, Fig. 288, b = SchGr., Pl. LXXXV, 402).

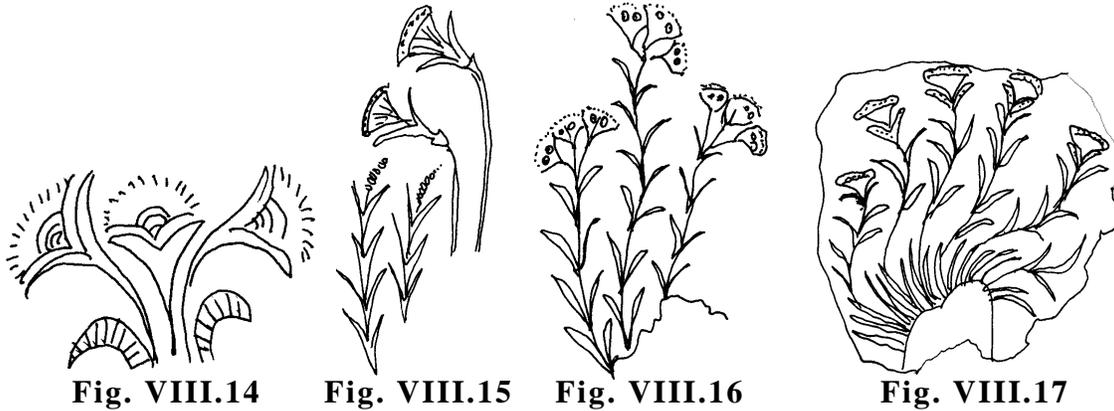
⁷³ PM I, 700, Figs. 523, a, b; 524.

⁷⁴ PM I, 643, Fig. 477, o; II, 484, Fig. 290.

⁷⁵ PM II, 465, Fig. 275, A (“House of Frescoes”). PM I, 538, Fig. 391 = *MonAnt.*, Vol XIII (1903), Pls. VII, 1; VIII (Hagia Triada).

⁷⁶ Furumark refers to the “natural ivy leaf” patterns occurring in LM I, as though he admitted the appearance of the same shape drawn from a different, realistic source (*MPot*, p. 141, 155). It is more likely that all the cordate vegetal forms of Minoan art are eventually derivable from the same original spiraliform source. Two ivy species, *Hedera helix* L. and *H. poetarum* Bertol., grow in Crete; Möbius suggests that it is possible that both mature ivy leaves and spiraliform patterns contributed to the development of the varied sacral ivy designs of MM III B and LM I A paintings (*JDI*, XLVIII, 1933, 32-34).

The first appearance of the papyrus in the “House of Frescoes” is extremely important. This plant motive must axiomatically be an Egyptian derivate, since the natural prototype does not grow in Crete. Four different variants appear. Stout long stems topped



by large flowers consisting of a small, u-shaped basal calyx, long v-bract, and triangular tuft with beaded fringe, are pulled apart by a blue monkey (Fig. VIII.15).⁷⁷ V-shaped bracts enclosing dotted tufts top slender stalks with opposite leaves in the landscape of the Monkey among Rocks (Fig. VIII.16).⁷⁸ Plain tufts with dotted tops grouped together without organic connections are presumably part of the same panel (Fig. VIII.14). And finally a fragment shows a dense clump of fairly short-stemmed flowers interspersed with stemless thick leaves (Fig. VIII.17).⁷⁹ This last form is the closest to Egyptian models, and if the clump motive were not such a commonplace in Minoan plant design, we might almost be tempted to consider the dotted tufts on stalks in the landscape of the Monkey among Rocks as an Egyptian clump design transformed in a Cretan wind. Fig. VIII.14 is also fairly simple, having a row of dots ending the tuft. In addition, these flowers are equipped with a triangular calyx, presumably of Egyptian derivation, outside of which spreads a pair of large, decidedly unEgyptian bracts. Furumark has explained these as derived from certain MM II forms,⁸⁰ which in turn are said to be “detached parts of a Kamares

⁷⁷ PM II, 451, Fig. 264.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. X.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 455, Fig. 266, D.

⁸⁰ BSA Sup. I, Pl. IX, C; *Festos*, Pl. XXV.

composition: an angle between two curves filled by a petaloid loop.” On the whole, this is fairly unconvincing. The dots of in the landscape of the Monkey among Rocks he derives from the dots which mark the “center of radiation” on certain other MM II examples of triangular units of design.⁸¹ Altogether, this explanation of the eccentricities of the fresco papyri seems forced, although it is not impossible that there was some connection with earlier triangular forms.⁸²

Fig. VIII.16 exhibits still another unusual feature - the u-shaped subsidiary calyx, which Furumark, following Wurz, derives from an Egyptian motive that was not combined with the papyrus in Egypt itself.⁸³

These Cretan vegetal types deserve the name of papyrus since they are undoubtedly intended as representations of that plant. This is more apparent in Figs. VIII.15 and 17 than in the other versions. The Minoan artists must have either themselves seen living papyrus or worked on the basis of descriptions of the plant, and in the latter case they would have been free to build up their delineations out of segments taken from the normal plant representations current at the time.⁸⁴ Egyptian pictures of papyrus did not influence the Cretans. In Egypt the band topping the umbel was always emphasized (Figs. II.7-13, 19), but this fringe did not appear filled with dots until the New Kingdom was well begun and the MM III B/LM I A transition ended (Figs. II.20, 21, 26-28). The broad, rounded triangular sheathing leaves of Egypt were not always limited to groups of three, and are very different from the attenuated lanceolate patterns that were used in Crete. When narrower forms do appear in Egypt,⁸⁵ they do not possess sufficient similarity to connect

⁸¹ BSA Sup. I, Pl. VI, A (dated by Furumark to MM III); Festos, Pl. XVIII, a; these two examples Furumark would apparently derive from filling loops! Other triangular “radiating elements” are Festos, Pl. XXXII; BSA Sup I, 15, Fig. 9. Cf. in this regard the MM IB triple groups of toothed forms; here one can hardly speak of radiating elements.

⁸² A MM IB piece shows dotted triangular tufts formed into a quatrefoil. Crocuses from an early MM III fresco have huge triangular stamens topped by dots (PM I, Pl. IV), inserted into, but not a part of the Saffron Gatherer.

⁸³ MPot, p. 138. Wurz, *Spirale und Volute* (Munich, 1914), Fig. 106.

⁸⁴ Cf. Möbius, JDI, XLVIII (1933), 18.

⁸⁵ Anc. Egy. Paint. II, Pls. LIV (Menna, Qurna 69), LXV (BM 3797).

them with any Cretan works. The appearance of papyrus in Crete marks an influx of Egyptian subject matter, but cannot be construed as a sign of influence exerted by Egyptian art.

This concludes the enumeration of those fresco plants which influenced the pot painting of the MM III and the successive phases. In addition a number of plants shown on the walls never appear to have been reproduced elsewhere. Delightful paintings of wild roses, *Pancretium* lilies, and what is probably honeysuckle are unique.⁸⁶ Iris clumps are to be found only in the House of Frescoes and at Amnisos.⁸⁷ Grape-vine shoots may be represented in the same house,⁸⁸ and lively white violets were to be seen at Hagia Triada.⁸⁹

These frescoes created in MM III B/LM I A mark, with but few minor exceptions, the highest point reached by naturalistic plant depiction in Crete, and in the old Mediterranean world in general. The abundance and variety of the species shown and their marked vitality are amazing. However, from this multitude of possible motives, only a few were selected by the pot painters.⁹⁰ These murals and the MM III B and LM I A designs closely dependent on them form the true floruit of plant design in Crete. In earlier times, MM II-III, we have seen that design was primarily abstract and geometrical. However, besides certain tendencies towards secondary naturalistic interpretations of design, a small amount of naturalistic tendency seems to have been current even then. After the

⁸⁶ PM II, 454, Pl. XI; 455, Fig. 266, A 1, A 2; 457, Fig. 268 (all from the House of Frescoes). JDI, XLVIII (1933), 26, Fig. 17, A-D.

⁸⁷ PM II, 465, Fig. 275, G, F. PM IV, Sup. Pl. LXVII, a = BCH, LVII (1933), 296, Fig. 44.

⁸⁸ PM II, 465, Fig. 275.

⁸⁹ ArtC, 134, Fig. 242; 136, Fig. 245. Cf. Möbius, *op. cit.*, 20, 27-8 for examples of other miscellaneous vegetal representations.

⁹⁰ Furumark claims that the flowers chosen as common ceramic motives were either ones such as the lilies, palms, and papyrus, which could be cast into formal molds akin to the spiraliform and pseudo-palmette designs of the Kamares style, or which, like the grasses and leafy sprays, connected up with MM II/III "pictorialized" designs (MPot, p. 141). Admittedly the stage of marked naturalistic design in Crete was a short one, but while it was prevalent there seems no reason to assume that the choice of plants was limited to those fitting in with compositional principles of a different period. During the realistic period lupines were prevalent, for instance, and they cannot be fitted into any Kamares pattern.

naturalistic⁹¹ climax in MM III B/LM I A a steady trend away from realistic plant representation is observable. In the course of this development the plants inherited from MM III B were transmuted into extremely formal designs and patterns, which, however, never quite lost their vegetative character. The beginnings of this trend can even be found in LM I A; by LM I B it was a strongly-marked tendency and reached its apex in the LM II Palace Style of Knossos.

LATE MINOAN I A

The end of MM III B glides imperceptibly into LM I A,⁹² and nowhere can this be more clearly illustrated than in vegetal patterns.⁹³ On the whole plants of this phase seem to be painted in a rather freer manner than in MM III B, yet at the same time more carelessly. The lupines,⁹⁴ lilies,⁹⁵ and crocuses⁹⁶ are now familiar motives. Leafy stalks, often used in masses as the main decoration of the body of vessels, were much more popular than at any other period.⁹⁷ Sprays with obovate leaves are presumably successors of the similar twigs, possibly myrtle, of MM III B.⁹⁸ Lanceolate leaves combined with pinnate sprays are tentatively identified as oats by Evans.⁹⁹

⁹¹ It is hardly necessary to state that by the term naturalism we do not connote the modern conception of careful, accurate copying. It has often been pointed out that even in the MM III B/LM II A phase the paintings were filled with conflation of details of different, incompatible plants, and by much stylization.

⁹² ArchC, p. 180.

⁹³ Cf. PM II, 468-473; Figs. 276-277.

⁹⁴ PM II, 381, Fig. 213, a (Knossos, South House); 470, Fig. 276, h; 471, Fig. 277.

⁹⁵ PM II, 470, Fig. 276, d, e, j (Knossos). BSA Sup I, 38, Fig. 25 (Palaikastro).

⁹⁶ PM II, 470, Fig. 276, k (Knossos). BSA Sup. I, 31, Fig. 19, f. 38, Fig. 25; Pl. XV, e (Palaikastro). BMC, p. 106, Fig. 136, A 655, 2 (Knossos); A 681,3 (Palaikastro).

⁹⁷ PM II, 2, 470, Fig. 276, f, g; 544, Fig. 349, g, h, I (well on northern slope of Gypsades). ArchC, Pl. XXXIII, 4 (Knossos). BSA XXIII (1926-7), 269, Figs. 22, 23 (cups; Mavrospelio, T. IX, D, nos. 12, 13; LM I). Hall, *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 166, Fig. 206 (Nirou Khani; cf. Eph. 1922, 17, 18, 21, Figs. 14, 15, 18. BMC, p. 106, Fig. 136, A 680, 4 (Palaikastro). Seager, *Excavations at Pseira*, p. 33, Fig. 14. BSA XVII (1910-11), Pl. VIII, 40 (Philakopis, probably Minoan import). Hazzidakis, *Villas minoennes de Tylissos*, Pl. XXIV, 1 (amphora with four handles).

⁹⁸ BMC, p. 106, Fig. 136, A 654, 2 (Knossos)

⁹⁹ PM IV, 529, Fig. 620 (Knossos, disturbed context west of Palace).

Leafy derivatives of formal designs occur. A cup from Palaikastro bears a horizontal frieze, ultimately a running spiral, made leaf-like by loops.¹⁰⁰ A single tangential loop is transformed into a pointed leaf.¹⁰¹ Spirals are enlivened by the addition of crocus or other subsidiary vegetal motives.¹⁰²

Certain LM I A designs are considered by Möbius to be derived from the natural Egyptian *Nymphaea* flower. They are characterized by carelessly drawn fringed flowers, accompanied by pointed buds, rather than leaves.¹⁰³ Some designs from Phylakopi, mentioned in this connection by Möbius, show, as he says, strong traces of crocus motives.¹⁰⁴ Other plants with obscured natural prototypes may represent flowers of *Gladiolus segetum*.¹⁰⁵ A one-handled cup is decorated by a very stylized version of an olive spray and the same motive occurs on a three-handled amphora from Pseira.¹⁰⁶ A strange combination of lanceolate leaves and dot-bordered lily calyx is to be found on a Palaikastro alabastron¹⁰⁷ and on a cup from Knossos.¹⁰⁸

This same Knossos cup shows several examples of an inflorescence named by Evans the “*Waz*-lily,” since he regards it as having arisen from the combination of a Madonna lily with the “the sacred papyrus stem or *waz*..”¹⁰⁹ The design occurs on pottery and other works during LM I A.¹¹⁰ The Egyptian papyrus appears to have no more connection with this design than with the sacral ivy. The pattern has already occurred on a fragment of a Miniature fresco where Möbius considered the triangular tipping of the lily

¹⁰⁰ BSA Sup. I, 19, Fig. 31, a (Palaikastro).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 31, Fig. 19, d (Palaikastro).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Pl. XV, d, b. BMC, p. 109, Fig. 138, A 676, 1, 5 (Palaikastro).

¹⁰³ JdI, XLVIII (1933), 25-6. PM II, 470, Fig. 276, a (Knossos); 537, Fig. 341 (very doubtful example from Palaikastro); 472, Fig. 279 (Zakro; MM III B/ LM I). JdI, XLVIII (1933), 25, Fig. 16, E (Palaikastro).

¹⁰⁴ JdI XLVIII (1933), 24-25; Figs. 15, G, H; 16, G.

¹⁰⁵ PM II, 470, Fig. 276, b, c, I (Knossos). JdI, XLVIII (1933), 27, Fig. 18, F.

¹⁰⁶ PM II, 475, Fig. 282, b (Knossos); 476, Fig. 284 (Pseira).

¹⁰⁷ BSA Sup. I, 38, Fig. 25.

¹⁰⁸ PM II, 475, Fig. 283.

¹⁰⁹ PM II, 775-6.

corolla to be derived from the coalescing of the anthers of the lily.¹¹¹ This is the most reasonable explanation of the form. The anthers of crocuses were sometimes formed by triangular elements, and such a unit could easily have penetrated into the lily motive without Egyptian aid.

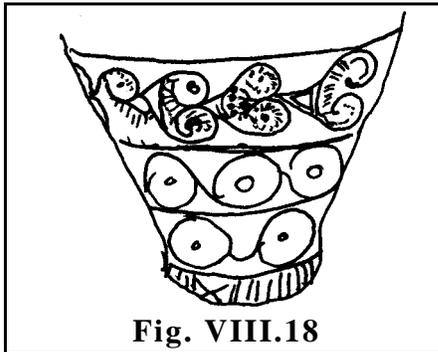


Fig. VIII.18

The sacral ivy motive does not appear in this phase as a climbing tendril, as in the preceding LM III B/LM I A murals, but it is used mainly as a continuous frieze, usually filled with rayed papyrus flowers and often with its spiral ends curling around rosettes (Fig. VIII.18).¹¹²

¹¹⁰ PM II, 477, Fig. 285, D = Eph (1922), 19, Fig. 16, upper left (Niron-Khani, bridge spouted pot); PM II 778, Fig. 404, 3; 780, Fig. 508 (component of crown and necklace of the "Priest-king" relief). PM II, 779, Fig. 507 (rim design of bronze basin from the palatial hoard).

¹¹¹ JdI XLVIII (1933), 2. An explanation of the *waz-* form as a result of the geometrization of the stamens was suggested many years ago by Kurt Müller (JdI XXX [1915], 297-8). Furumark regards this geometrization as a feature derived from jewelry design where it would be necessary to indicate the linear stamens as a solid background - as exemplified by a faience MM III pendant from the Temple Repositories (MPot., pp. 148-9; 160. Cf. PM II, 498, Fig. 356, top right). A careless example of this flower is to be found on a miniature pot from the Temple Tomb at Knossos (PM IV, 290, Fig. 225; 976-7 for date; cf. also ArchC, p. 194).

¹¹² PM II, 476, Fig. 284 (Pseira). BSA Sup. I, 31, Fig. 19, b (Palaikastro House # 42); Pl. XIV, d (Palaikastro). Cf. also Cyladic copy - BSA XVII (1910-1), Pls. XIV, 18 (Phylakopi). This interior filling of round-anthered stamens is considered by Furumark as one of two LM I A lily types (MPot, pp. 155, 188, 257). He cites a LM III B/LM I A pot from Zakro (PM II, 472, Fig. 179) as showing this type of lily, as opposed to the normal, fresco stamens. However, a glance at a series of lilies will reveal that the paint-laden brush of the Minoan pot decorator did not always make a neat flat anther, nor was the number of stamens constant. There seems no reason why the isolated Zakro flowers should be so absolutely unrelated to the normal lilies that Furumark must seek its origin, and that of the filling in the ivy leaves, in Kamares pseudo-palmette designs (MPot., pp. 155, 188). Such a derivation is typologically extremely unlikely in view of the dissimilarity of the designs in question. In addition, the correct source of the filling of the ivy leaves is clearly displayed by the Blue Monkey Fresco from the House of Frescoes (PM II, Pl. X). Here, besides the ornate spotted papyrus flowers there are others shown with rayed lines and dotted fringe. Very similar formations tip the ends of long tendrils whose foliage consists of ivy leaves filled with the self-same motive. Furumark's so-called second lily type is a derivative of MM III papyrus types of the frescoes.

He cites three examples as showing the continuation of this type in LM II. Of these PM IV, 319, Fig. 258 (Amphora from Isopata) is a papyrus-filled ivy leaf. Two sherds from Hala Sultan in the Larnaka district of Cyprus, showing thick corollas with a sheaf of stamens, are more problematic (BMC, p. 115, Fig. 150, A 705). They and similar examples from Hagia Triadha are classed as lotuses by Möbius (JdI XLVIII [1933], 25, Fig. 16, D, G). Furumark's last example, a low clump of flowers on a cup from Knossos (PM IV, 354, Fig. 297, d) and its LM III A companion piece (Annuario, VI-VII [1923-4], 109, Fig. 50 [Ialysos, T. XIX, no. 6]) are apparently merely lilies with more than three stamens. None of these

Solid ivy leaves were used in many ways,¹¹³ and could be equipped with double or triple stems.¹¹⁴ Certain two-pronged forms may be cut off ivy leaves or more probably floral derivatives.¹¹⁵

LATE HELLADIC I

It is now necessary to include the Mainland of Greece within the scope of our survey since at this time a great inrush of Cretan influence overlaid the old Middle Helladic culture and produced the hybrid LH or "Mycenaean" phases. The first plant designs to appear on the Mainland are those indigenous to Crete, but it was not long before some of them began to develop independently of Minoan traditions. The earliest LH I materials are represented by groups from Tombs XXV and XXVI at the site of the Argive Heraeum and by the earlier burial of Shaft Grave III at Mycenae, all of which are characterized by a strong admixture of MH types or of forms derived from MH tradition.¹¹⁶ Two of these earliest LH I pots from Prosymna illustrate the borrowing of Cretan naturalistic forms. Three-petaled crocus flowers with groups of three anthers form a frieze around a one-handled bowl.¹¹⁷ A one handled jug of MH derivation has a frieze of rough lily corollas.¹¹⁸ Later in the period a carelessly drawn lily with two stamens is used as a

has the slightest connection with the abstract MM II pseudo-palmette formations. (The only design at all similar, and not very close even so, is on a sherd from Mallia where the plumed ends of a spiral are thin and tipped by large dots; cf. Aberg, *Chronologie* IV, 227, Fig. 437; ArchC, p. 112, Fig 18, 8).

¹¹³ BSA Sup. I, Pl. XIII, b (filling in horizontal spiral band; Palaikastro F). BSA, XXVIII (1926-7), 288, Fig. 21 (broad leaves in double band; Mavrospelio, T. IX, B. 14; LM I). BSA Sup. I, Pl. XV, C (three leaves topping stems in a clump of lanceolate foliage; Palaikastro; LM I).

¹¹⁴ BSA Sup. I, 27, Fig. 17 (F) = BSA, XL (1939-40), Pl. XV, t (Palaikastro, 43; double stalked hanging leaves). BSA Sup. I, 39, Fig. 27 (Triple stemmed festoons; Palaikastro; F). PM II, 486, Fig. 292 (Pedestalled bowl; Gournia) and BMC, p. 109, Fig. 136, A 654,5 (Knossos; both Gournia and Knossos examples show recurrent spirals formed of single or double stemmed leaves).

¹¹⁵ BSA Sup. I, 40, Fig. 28 (Palaikastro). PM II, 470, Fig. 276, I (Knossos); BMC, p. 109, Fig. 138, A 682,2 (Palaikastro).

¹¹⁶ Pro. I, 388.

¹¹⁷ Pro. II, 162, Fig. 652, 385. T.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Fig. 652, 431 (T. 26, side chamber). Cf. Pro. I, 389/

subsidiary motive together with ivy leaves.¹¹⁹ The first crocus on the Prosymna bowl did not remain isolated but was followed by other examples.¹²⁰ Another LH I motive of completely Minoan form is the leafy spray.¹²¹ Stamen-like forms were used as filling for narrow friezes.¹²²

The sacral ivy leaf was to enjoy great popularity on the Mainland. LH I vases, belonging to a time when Minoan influences had been well acclimatized and good Mainland copies were being produced, show ivy, with papyrus filling, running in horizontal friezes and connected by wavy lines, presumably related with the ogival canopy patterns that also began at this time.¹²³ Solid ivy leaves with double stems decorate shallow one-handed cups,¹²⁴ and together with crocus flowers form the main decoration of a three-handed alabastron¹²⁵ and the subsidiary design around the three handles of a jar.¹²⁶ Ivy leaves and tendrils form an intermittent spiral band on the lowest register of a one-handed jar from the later interment of Shaft Grave VI at Mycenae.¹²⁷

Besides these sacral ivy designs, most of which have Minoan parallels, adaptations of the motive were used in a very unMinoan manner on certain LH I vases. The most

¹¹⁹ A triple clump of lilies, each with three stamens is held by one of the ladies in a LH I processional painting from the Kadmeion in Thebes (Delt. III (1917), 339, Fig. 133 = PM II, 748, Fig. 483). Cf. n. 126 below.

¹²⁰ BMC, p. 131, Fig. 174, A 766, 1 =MPot Motive 10.12, 2, A 766,3 =MPot Motive 10, 3 (Mycenae; sherds). BSA, XXV (1921-3), Pl. XXIII, o (Mycenae, Palace site, sherds). Blegen, Pl. III, 6. BSA XXV (1921-23), Pl. XLVIII, 8 (Aegisthos; tholos, MPot Motive 10, 4). *München Cat.* no.43b (MPot Motive 10, 1). Eph. 1910, 230. Figs. 19-20 (Hagia Anna; T. 2.20, one-handed angular alabastron)

¹²¹ Pro. II, 166, Fig. 659 (T.14, cist. in dromos; one-handed jug). Arch. Vol LXXXII (1932), Pl. III, 1 (Mycenae, T. 518; one-handed jug with cut away neck). BSA XXV (1921-3), Pl. XLVIII, h, j (Mycenae; Aegisthos tholos; sherds). BMC, p. 131, Fig. 174, A 764, 3 (Mycenae; sherds), also 764, 1, 2, 4. *Myk. Vasen*, Pl. XIX, 135 (Orchomenos).

¹²² Pro. II, 163, Fig. 653, 382, 453 (squat, two-handed jugs).

¹²³ Pro. I, Pl. V, 412 (T.17; amphora). Pro. II, 187, Fig. 664, 1001 (T.44; "small jug for ritual purposes").

¹²⁴ Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. II, 4 (T.516 = MPot Motive 12, 6); 39 (T.518 = Mpot motive 12,22); 7 (T.533, LH I/II = MPot Motive 12, 18; II A).

¹²⁵ Pro. I, Pl. VI, 379 (T.25).

¹²⁶ Pro. I, Pl. V, 255 (T.30) = Pro. II, 29, Fig. 145, 255.

¹²⁷ Schgr, Pl. CLXXV, 945. (MPot Motive 12, 5, "alternating spray").

complicated variant occurs on a hole-mouth, long-spouted jar from Prosymna.¹²⁸ An irregular triangular network is filled by a motive approaching in shape the ivy, but here apparently formed by two tangential loops. From this cordate form projects a triangular papyrus element fringed with dots. This element and single drops were used as filling in spaces where there was insufficient room for the complete motive. Another member of the early LH I group is a three-handled jar, whose fabric and shape are both similar to matt-painted MH types; it also bears a variant of the cordate design.¹²⁹ A third example of the motive is to be found on a very squat three-handled krater from Shaft Grave I at Mycenae, where one large leaf with its triangular shoot fills the space between the handles.¹³⁰ Grave I appears to be the latest of the shaft graves, and is placed by Karo at the end of LH I. The simplified nature of the krater design, in contrast to the patterns of the two Prosymna vessels, indicates that the early elaborations of the motives were already out of fashion at this time.

Plant forms appeared, not only on pottery, but also on jewelry. The ornamental forms that were to be most typical of Mycenaean jewelry were closely akin to Cretan styles. The shaft graves of Mycenae, where the growth of Cretan influence can be watched, do not offer many examples of ornaments in plant form, but those that do occur are the first of a long series, a series whose members became numerous in LH II and earlier LH III burials. *Waz*-lily flowers are known from Shaft Grave III, where they were embossed on or cut out of gold foil.¹³¹ This grave yielded ivy leaves made by the same techniques.¹³² A carefully worked gold papyrus bead from the Argive Heraeum site belongs to the end of LH I.¹³³

LATE MINOAN I B

¹²⁸ Pro. I, 393, no. 488; Pro. II, 165, Fig. 656 (west chamber of T.25). Blegen considers this as an early LH I pot belonging to the phase succeeding the small group of ten "earliest LH I" vessels.

¹²⁹ Pro. II, 64, Fig. 269, 914; 164, Fig. 657 (T.52).

¹³⁰ Schgr, 256-257; Pl.CLXVII, 196. MPot, p. 261, Fig. 33, Motive 11,2.

¹³¹ Schgr, Pls. XXI, 23; XXVII, 79.

¹³² Schgr, Pl. XX, 71, 80.

Materials of this period succeed LM I A, not only over all of Crete, but they also persist as the culture of practically the whole island while Knossos indulged in the ornate LM II Palace Style, which found little currency at other sites. Thus some LM I B vessels are contemporary with LM II types.¹³⁴ Despite the sporadic importation of Palace Style pottery into the rest of Crete,¹³⁵ the close confinement of these jar to Knossos is remarkable. Moreover, even that site has yielded a relatively small number of examples. According to Pendlebury, LM I B is rarely distinguished stratigraphically from LM I A, but there is a very evident stylistic distinction. In addition, in Egypt more examples of LM I B appear in later deposits than do LM I A imports.¹³⁶

LM I B is a marine style par excellence, and plant designs are neither as prominent nor as free in composition as those of LM I A.¹³⁷ The windswept naturalistic quality derived from the MM III B/LM I A murals has been lost. Instead the vegetal forms are stiff, much stylized, and tend to be used in compositions of an artificial, non-naturalistic character. For examples, there are crocuses, the corners between their petals filled by triangular stamens, which are connected by dotted lines to form festoons filling the horizontal friezes.¹³⁸

Lilies with separate stamens were not used, at least on the materials preserved. The circular-topped, *waz*-lily occurs as the end of a spiral volute spray on a ewer from

¹³³ Pro. I, 212-3; 269; Pro. II, 136, Fig. 541, 12 (T.44; from earlier deposit, close to the bottom of the floor of the chamber). Blegen terms this shape lotus. Found with this bead were two "lantern-shaped" gold beads, which Blegen thinks may be Egyptian imports (Pro. II, 271, Fig. 541, 9, 13).

¹³⁴ Certain pots bearing designs akin to the LM II style are placed by Pendlebury in the latter part of the LM I B series (ArchC, p. 207), but otherwise he does not subdivide the LM I B period. Furumark refers to two phases within LM I B, the later one overlapping earlier LM II (MPot., p. 165; MChron., 81, 85, chart).

¹³⁵ Cf. ArchC, pp. 236-7 for list.

¹³⁶ The criticism no longer possesses its original validity now that most of the Aegean pottery in Egypt is recognized as late Hellenistic.

¹³⁷ ArchC, p. 205.

¹³⁸ PM IV, 286-7, Figs. 220 (Tyliossos), 221-2 (Knossos). Evans considers this motive as an adaptation of fresco designs showing beaded necklace and crocus chains (PM IV, 285, Fig. 219 [MM III B Miniature fresco]).

Palaikastro.¹³⁹ Stemmed forms decorate a small bowl from the same site.¹⁴⁰ Besides the solid form of the ivy leaf,¹⁴¹ the variety with c-canopy filling occurs.¹⁴²

There remain for discussion two enigmatic LM I B vessels which Pendlebury considered as contemporary with LM II because of their affinity with the Palace Style.¹⁴³ However, despite certain general resemblance to the Knossian Palace Style, the really close connections of both designs are with the Palace Style that flourished on the Mainland of Greece. A one-handled ewer from Palaikastro is decorated by two triple papyrus groups springing from a continuous undulating ground line (Fig. VIII.19).¹⁴⁴ From the lower side of this wavy line there sprout at intervals forked sprigs. This highly unusual motive must be explained on the basis of Mainland LH II rock patterns, which take varied forms, including long or short wavy lines or tricurved arches, all with small sprouts.¹⁴⁵ Such

¹³⁹ PM IV, 283, Fig. 217.

¹⁴⁰ BSA Sup I, 59, Fig. 47.

¹⁴¹ PM II, 485, Fig. 291, 2 (Knossos). According to Pendlebury, LM I B ivy leaves generally have a double or triple stalk, while that of LM I A tended to have a single stem (ArchC, p. 207).

¹⁴² PM II, 485, Fig. 291, d (Knossos). BSA Sup I, 51, Fig. 39, a (Palaikastro; rhyton; continuous horizontal frieze).

¹⁴³ ArchC, p. 207.

¹⁴⁴ BSA Sup I, Pl. XVIII, b (Palaikastro; subsidiary motives are brittle stars and rosettes); for side view cf. ArtC, p. 207, Fig. 358.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. BSA XXV (1921-3), Pl. XLVIII, v (Mycenae, Aegisthos tholos; MPot Motive 3,2). Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. V (T.518, 15; MPot Motive 33, 4). BMC, p. 137, Fig. 181, A 796 (Mycenae; alabastron; MPot Motive 33, 18). AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XX, 1 (Kakovatus; MPot Motives 33, 3, 10, 19). ILN, Feb. 15, 1936, 278, Fig. 12 (Berbat; MPot Motive 33, 19). Asine, p. 419, Fig. 273 (T.7, 54; MPot Motive 33, 19). Furumark has apparently not recognized the nature of this motive for he refers to it as "side leaves" (MPot, p. 259, n.2). Cf. PM IV, 326, Fig. 268 (LM II amphora), 331, Fig. 273 (LM II jar), ArtC, 202, Fig. 353 (LM I B rhyton, Knossos), BSA Sup I, 46, Fig. 35 (LM I), PM II, 122, Fig. 58 a, b (Knossos).

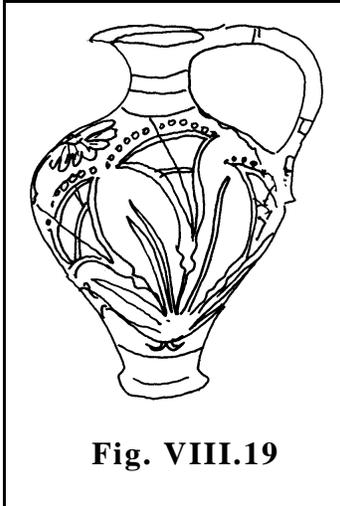


Fig. VIII.19

patterns are less frequent on Minoan pottery than on Mainland. An excellent example occurs on an alabastron from Phylakopi which Furumark quotes as a LM I B vessel.¹⁴⁶ There seems to be no reason for such a statement since the alabastron form is not native, or even common, in Crete, and since this particular example is decorated with long ivy tendrils distinctly belonging to the Mainland Palace style. It must be an import from Greece proper. It bears single rock lines¹⁴⁷ extremely close to that which is used on the Palaikastro ewer, though in a different manner. This is not the only character of Fig. VIII.19 to find parallels in the LH II Palace Style. We shall see below that a triple arrangement of the main motive is fairly typical for that style. Moreover, very similar counterparts of the patterns of the Palaikastro papyrus heads are found, not at Knossos, but at Berbati and Kakovatos,¹⁴⁸ differing only in their crown of stemmed prongs (in contrast to the unconnected dots of the Palaikastro papyri) and in the absence of a second cross bar within the tufts. Since the ewer form had become acclimatized in Greece, it is really only the dotting, known in Crete during LM I-II and the unusual application of the rock motive which can be cited as possible indications of a Cretan origin. If Fig. VIII.19 was not imported from the Mainland, it was certainly made under strong Mycenaean influence.

¹⁴⁶ BSA Sup IV, 146, Fig. 123. MPot, pp. 325, 327, Fig. 55, LM I B)

¹⁴⁷ Equivalent to half of MPot Motive 33, 19.

¹⁴⁸ ILN, Feb. 15, 1936, 278, Fig. 7. AM XXXIV (1907), Pl. XX, 1.



Fig. VIII.20

This also holds true for the second pot, a loop-handled, elongated oval rhyton from Pseira (Fig. VIII.20),¹⁴⁹ a thoroughly Cretan shape.¹⁵⁰ It is decorated by curving tree-like designs, probably the result of the combination of lily and palm, interspersed with long ivy tendrils, brittle stars, and tri-curved rock motives. Neither of the main motives, the long ivy tendrils of the palm, have Cretan parallels.¹⁵¹ The ivy

tendrils are extremely common on Mainland Palace Style vases, where there also occur excellent parallels for the palm,¹⁵²

differing only in the absence of the dentate edges given to the volutes and central lobe at Pseira. Accordingly, it seems almost a certainty that this rhyton is a meticulous copy of Mainland prototypes.¹⁵³

LATE MINOAN II

¹⁴⁹ PM IV, 326, Fig. 267 = Seager, *Pseira*, p. 25, Fig. 8.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. however, Pro. I, 406; Pro. II, 28, Fig. 140 (T.1, 96) for an apparently isolated occurrence of this form on the Mainland.

¹⁵¹ Furumark classes the palm as a typical LM I B motive (MPot, p. 180) derived from MM II-III pseudo-palmette and naturalistic palm forms (MPot, pp. 136, 141; these are both termed by him as palmettes). Since the palm does not occur in LM I A, he, as also Evans, has postulated that this gap in the series between MM and LM I B may have been bridged by mural examples now lost to us (MPot, pp. 136, 141; PM II, 495 ff.). Be that as it may, Furumark is able to cite only four LM I B occurrences of the palm. Two are alabastrons from Egypt and are of Mainland, not Cretan, manufacture (PM II, 496, Fig. 301, F; 498, Fig. 304, F (Saqqara) Cf. Chapter X, Table II, n. 17). In addition to the Pseira rhyton, the only other trace found in Crete itself is a sherd with simple palms, lacking the spiral leaves, from Zakro (BMC, p. 114, Fig. 148, A 707) which coincides perfectly with Mainland forms, and may well be an import.

¹⁵² Asine, p. 419, Fig. 273 (T.1,7). AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXII, 1 (Kakovatos); here ivy and palm are closely associated; these palms differ very slightly from those from Pseira in that the parallel subsidiary leaves of the former emerge from the central lobe itself instead of from the base of the lobe, as at Pseira. Eph., 1910, Pl. VIII,1 (Thebes, Hagia Anna, T.2,6).

¹⁵³ The likelihood that the Knossian Palace Style was based on Mainland inspiration will be discussed below. In case that is true, it would be legitimate to draw an interesting comparison between the productions of local and central workshops in Crete. In the case of the former, the Mainland inspiration seems to have evoked only rather careful imitations of the models it provided exemplified by the Pseira and Palaikastro vessels just discussed, while in the case of the great capital at Knossos, such stimulation provoked the production of an individual style.

This, the last great age of Knossos, was characterized by a series of highly stylized plant designs, displayed to the greatest advantage on tall amphoras. In no case are any new plant motives introduced. The old ones are reused but transmuted and fused together to form completely different compositions.¹⁵⁴ The units of the designs were arranged either in large, radiating clumps or in a frieze evenly spaced around the jars. Filling motives were usual, as it seems to have been desirable to provide a fairly homogeneous covering of design. However, two jars with fairly open backgrounds have been preserved.¹⁵⁵

The main elements of plant design are the lily, the papyrus, and the ivy leaf. The last is now used as a stemmed flower equivalent with the true floral elements. Hybridization between the lily and papyrus is frequent, but these Minoan plant combinations, no matter how composite their origin, almost always succeed in giving the impression of an organic, unified plant or clump, in a manner not achieved by the creations of Egypt.



Fig. VIII.21

Lilies in which a somewhat naturalistic tradition prevails retain the separate stamens, which may be connected together by webbing (Figs. VIII.21, VIII.22).¹⁵⁶ Their petals are highly spiralized, frequently containing rosettes in the middle of the coil. Descendants of the LM I *waz*-lilies are found on an amphora from the Royal Tombs at Isopata;¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ For discussions of the LM II style, cf. ArchC, pp. 208ff; PM IV, 297FF.; and MPot, pp. 166-7.

¹⁵⁵ PM IV, 327, Fig. 269; 328, Fig. 271.

¹⁵⁶ PM IV, 326, Fig. 268; 328, Fig. 271. BMC, p. 114, Fig. 148, A 702, 4 (Knossos; sherd with part of a spiral lily petal coiled around a rosette).

¹⁵⁷ PM IV, 354, Fig. 297, c. *Ibid.*, 328, Fig. 271 may form another example.



Fig. VIII.22

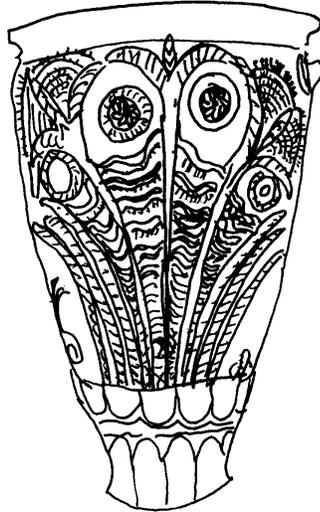


Fig. VIII.23

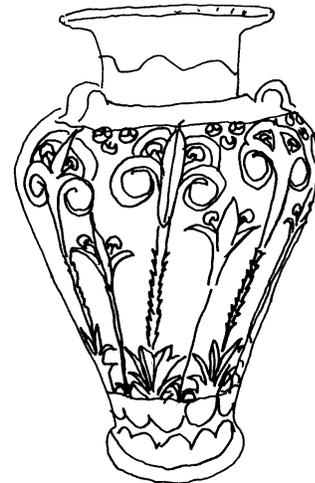


Fig. VIII.24

apparently similar forms appear on sherds from Knossos and Palaikastro.¹⁵⁸ An amphora from the Tomb of the Double Axes contains both lilies with crescent anthers and *waz*-lily types. In addition, it bears a small flower, apparently a stylized crocus.¹⁵⁹

The unhybridized form of the papyrus is characterized by three non-spiral lobes.¹⁶⁰ The space between may be vacant or filled by a crescent anther, radiating series of lines, or hatched concentric arcs (Fig. VIII.23; cf. Fig. VIII.10).¹⁶¹ Crossing of lily and papyrus is marked by the appearance of spiraliform petals (Figs. VIII.24, VIII.25).¹⁶² Foliage, derived ultimately from the frescoes, appears; it is still fairly naturalistic in Fig. VIII.24. In

¹⁵⁸ BMC, p. 114, Fig. 148, A 701; A 704, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Arch., LXV (1913-4), 50, Fig. 66. Dated to LM III A,1 by Furumark (MChron., p. 104), but some LM III A pottery was contemporary with some LM II. Cf. MChron, pp. 83-4, 111, 112; PM IV, 336, 356.

¹⁶⁰ A papyrus flower when uncontaminated by lily types does not have spiraliform petals. Thus it is confusing to find that Evans includes three *waz*-lilies (PM IV, 324, Fig. 264, D, E, H) and a multiple anthered lily (*Ibid.*, G) among his papyrus types. In addition, *Ibid.* F is a Mainland type from Kakovatos and should not be grouped among Minoan forms *Ibid.* E is from Eph. 1922, Fig. 16, 1. This is called a "characteristic LM II B decoration" by Furumark (MChron, p. 81, n. 3).

¹⁶¹ PM IV, 331, Fig. 273; 327, Fig. 269 (the smaller flowers); 326, Fig. 268 (the smallest flowers). To these may be added PM IV, 321, Fig. 262 = JHS XXIV (1910), Pl. XIII (Mycenae, T.102 = Fig. VIII.10) This papyrus agrees closely with Knossian forms and is quite different from any Mainland Palace Style papyri. Evans' statement that this jar is imported from Knossos seems justified. He dates it to the "incipient" stage of the Palace Style. Furumark has placed this motive among his Mainland papyrus forms, where it does not belong, although he has noted that it is probably an import (MPot, p. 261, Fig. 33 MPot Motive 11, 27; cf. p. 262).

¹⁶² PM IV, 327, Figs. 269, 270..

the top of the flower is covered by an undulating line with peaks crowned by



Fig. VIII.25



Fig. VIII.26



Fig. VIII.27

crescents. This is probably the result of conflation between the lily anthers and the dotting normal for the *Waz*-lily type. Fig. VIII.21¹⁶³ bears a hybrid unusual in that small, complete papyrus flowers are added above the spiral lily corolla.

Ivy leaves treated as flowers growing on short stems fill a panel of an amphora from the Northwest Palace at Knossos. The spiral ends of the “flowers” curl around rosettes. The c-canopy region covering almost all of the interior, is filled by a series of hatched registers (Fig. VIII.26).¹⁶⁴ The main motive of an amphora from the Tomb of the Double Axes consists of an ivy leaf placed point downward and enhanced by rosettes and a c-canopy inside, which is covered by a network of prongs tipped with curved “anthers” (Fig. VIII.27).¹⁶⁵ Simpler ivy leaves are used as subsidiary motives on a large amphora with marine decorations from the Royal Tomb at Isopata.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ PM IV, 326, Fig. 268.

¹⁶⁴ PM IV, 320, Fig. 260. A sherd bearing part of a similar design is shown in BMC, p. 115, Fig. 149, A 702, 1 (Knossos).

¹⁶⁵ PM IV, 320, Fig. 261 = Arch., LXV (1913-4), 49, Fig. 65. Furumark dates this vase to LM III A, 1 (MChron., p. 104 and MPot, p. 271, Fig. 36), but cf. n. 159 above.

¹⁶⁶ PM IV, 308, Fig. 243; 319, Fig. 258.

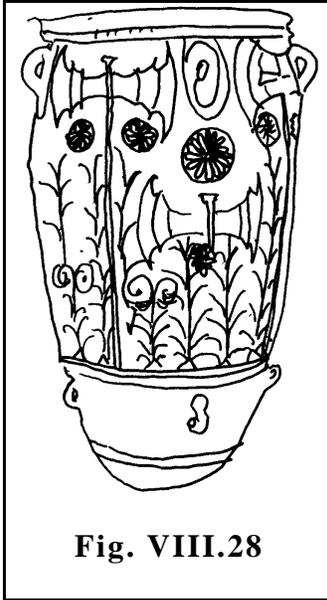


Fig. VIII.28

The last descendants of the reeds so popular in LM I A occur on a large, wide-mouthed jar with eight handles from the Northwest sanctuary at Knossos (Fig.VIII.28).¹⁶⁷ The leafy shoots are interspersed with double axes and rosettes. The shorter stems are topped by downcurving volutes, the interior edges of which are serrated as are the spirals of the palms on the Pseira rhyton.

Such are the vegetative forms found in the Palace Style of Knossos. The sum of the published vessels bearing plant designs is surprisingly small, amounting to but eleven amphoras, one wide-mouthed jar, and a very few sherds. Presumably the total number of examples, including sherds, must be greater than this. Even more striking is the fact that among the motives treated by Evans as characteristic of the Palace Style are palms and linked ivy leaves which are completely absent from Crete, being represented only on the Mainland. This evidence underlines the distinction between the Knossian and Mainland Palace Styles and suggests what a limited scope the former enjoyed.¹⁶⁸

In addition to the vessels of the Palace Style, LM II also produced a number of smaller forms with more ordinary decoration. A clump of lilies adorned a small cup found at Knossos, whose mate occurs at Ialysos.¹⁶⁹ There is one example of a *waz*-lily.¹⁷⁰ A simple and irregular papyrus form may be related to textile designs.¹⁷¹ Sherds showing

¹⁶⁷ PM IV, 342, Fig. 285.

¹⁶⁸ Of course, when the bulk of vessels decorated by marine or architectonic motives is added to those discussed here, the Knossian Palace Style takes on more substance.

¹⁶⁹ PM IV, 354, Fig. 297, d. *Annuario VI-VII* (1923-4), 129. Fig. 50 (Ialysos, T.19); LM III A ! according to Furumark.

¹⁷⁰ PM IV, 354, Fig. 297, c.

¹⁷¹ PM IV, 361, Fig. 297, b (stirrup jar).

lilies, some of which have barred stamens, belonged to goblets akin to those of the Ephyraean class and form a sign of Mainland influence in LM II.¹⁷²

LATE HELLADIC II

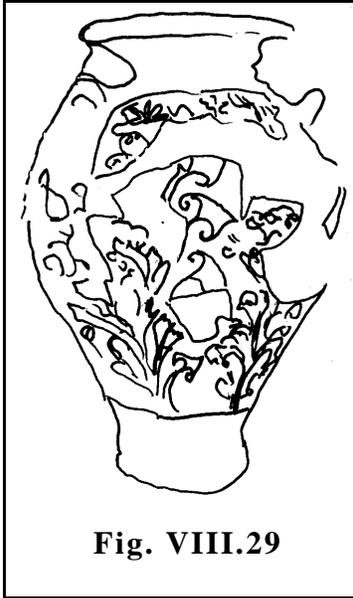


Fig. VIII.29

LH II, the mainland phase paralleling LM I B and II, presents us with a very different situation. Pottery of a Palace Style, distinct from, but related with, the Knossian, is frequent. The wide distribution which it enjoyed suggests that the Mainland style was far more at home in its area¹⁷³ than the Knossian in Crete. It appears to be well developed at the very beginning of LH II. Among the fine series of early LH II vessels from Kakovatos is one (Fig. VIII.29) which cannot be dissociated from an ewer found in Shaft Grave I at Mycenae and belonging to late LH I (Fig. VIII.30). Since

“LH I seems to be absolutely parallel to LM I A, and LH II to LM I B and LM II”¹⁷⁴ this means that Palace Style vases occur definitely earlier on the Mainland than in Crete.¹⁷⁵ The priority of the Mainland style is also made evident by the chronology of Furumark who divides the Mainland style into LH II A (“1500-1450”)

¹⁷² PM IV, 361, Fig. 301, j, q, r (Knossos). Furumark groups these with his “earliest LM III A” pottery (MChron., pp. 83-4).

¹⁷³ Though remaining a “*Herrenstil*” in a culture whose ordinaryware was of MH derivation.

¹⁷⁴ ArchC, p. 224.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 287.



Fig. VIII.30

preceding LH II B (“1450-1425”).¹⁷⁶ He equates his earlier phase of LH II A, for which among other groups, the Palace style materials from Kakovatos and T.7 at Asine are typical, with early LM I B. Late LM I B/LM II A is parallel with later LH II A; LM II B is correlated with LH II B.¹⁷⁷

It is known that there was strong Mainland influence in LM II.¹⁷⁸ This was marked at Knossos by the appearance of two-handled, pedestaled goblets connected with the Ephyraean style of the

Mainland.¹⁷⁹ Accordingly, it is possible that Knossos was not the great creative center during LM II/LH II, the focus from which the Palace Style spread, but that the local movement in central Crete was caused by stimulation derived from the widespread Mainland school. Such a viewpoint has been suggested by Snijder and Pendlebury.¹⁸⁰

In dealing with LH II pottery we will distinguish three groups, the Palace and

¹⁷⁶ MChron., p. 115. Furumark prefers the term Mycenaean I, II, and III (MPot, p.9; MChron, p. 29, n. 1). Here LH is used throughout, even when referring to Furumark’s divisions.

¹⁷⁷ MChron., p. 85. The present writer is not competent to judge the extent of actual stratigraphical material on which Furumark has based his minute subdivision of LH II into earlier and later II A, and II B phases, nor would such discussion fit within the framework of the present investigation. Furumark himself makes clear that there is no LH I-II settlement debris, so that graves remain as the only possible source of stratigraphy (MChron., pp. 28-9; in connection with this point cf. John Franklin Daniel’s remarks, *AJA*, XLVII (1943), 252). It is noteworthy that Furumark’s divisions represent distinct typological currents. LH II A is the final phase of the Mainland development which followed Minoan models. Its separation into earlier and later phases is based on subdivisions of the Minoan sequence (LM I B and an earlier phase of LM II). LH II B is the first phase of Mainland ceramics which developed independently of Crete, but which is delimited chronologically by its correspondence with LM II B (MPot, pp. 8, 495, 497). In this connection, Pendlebury’s statement that he cannot distinguish any subphases within LM II becomes important (*ArchC*, p. 208).

Since the subtleties of LH II chronology will not facilitate our attempt to provide a brief summary of Aegean plant decoration, the refinements proposed by Furumark, especially the subdivisions of LH II, have not been followed in our presentation. However, reference to his dates will be given in the footnotes.

¹⁷⁸ *ArchC*, pp. 224, 227, n. 2.

¹⁷⁹ Evans has constructed a genealogy for these goblets which goes back through a series of one-handled metal and clay forms (PM IV, 363-71). A straight-forward derivation from the Ephyraean goblets is undoubtedly the correct explanation (*ArchC*, pp. 226-7. MPot, pp. 58, 495, n. 2. *Klio* XXXII (1939), 138).

¹⁸⁰ G. A. S. Snijder, *Kretische Kunst* (1936), pp. 123-4. Cf. also Pendlebury’s remarks, *ArchC*, pp. 227 and n. 1, 227, 230, n. 2, 287; Lasithes, *BSA* XXXVII (1936-7), p.196. LM I A Palace Style is in conception Mainland Greek not Minoan. Wace-Blegen, *Klio* XXXII (1939), 138.

Ephyraean styles, and the more ordinary designs which continue LM I/LH I traditions.¹⁸¹

Since the last group continues a story already begun, we will proceed first with a summary of the plant designs on ordinary LH II painted pottery.

There are a number of examples of fairly naturalistic anthered lilies, usually placed on short stems.¹⁸² A combination of the anthered lily with the connecting stems favored in ogival canopies and in leaf designs appears on a squat three-handled jar where undulating lines spring from the corolla and run around the vase into the next lily flower.¹⁸³ A jug with cut-away neck from Korakou is painted with a design of undulating lines springing from the base of a trilobate formation.¹⁸⁴ *Waz*-lilies¹⁸⁵ occur, but are not as common as the forms with anthers.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ The Palace style appears to fall mainly within Furumark's LH II A, and the Ephyraean within his LH II B.

¹⁸² Pro. II, 171, Fig. 679, 217 (T. 18; shallow cup, exterior with seven lilies on bent stems), 221, (T. 18; shallow cup; interior, three lilies and three ribbons radiating from center in swirl pattern); *Ibid.*, Fig. 678 (T. 14, dromos; shallow cup; three double-stemmed lilies on base); 175, Fig. 688 (T.32; squat alabastron; double-stemmed lilies). Arch., LXXXIII (1932), Pls. LIV, 2 (T. 532; squat alabastron; single-stemmed lily; MPot Motive 9, 12; II B)); XXXIV, 19 (T. 517; squat alabastron; MPot Motive 9, 8; II B) Myk. Vasen, Fig. 34 (Mycenae). Blegen, *Zygouries*, (Cambridge, 1928), p. 137, Fig. 129 (sherd; double-stemmed lilies). Delt., III (1917), 196, Fig. 140 (Thebes, Kolonaki, T 16, MPot Motive 9, C; earlier II A; cf. MChron, p. 49 for date). MPot, p. 258, Fig. 32, Motive 9, 2 (Chalkis probably; T. 8; II B). Eph., 1910, 238, Fig. 25 (Hagia Anna; sherd, possibly alabastron; triple lily group, lobes as stamen, date ?).

¹⁸³ Pro. II, 176, Fig. 690, 62 T. 13).

¹⁸⁴ Blegen, *Korakou* (Concord NH, 1921), p. 50, Fig. 66, right (MPot Motive 9, 41; II B).

¹⁸⁵ Furumark classifies these as a papyrus rather than lily motive (MPot, p. 281, Fig. 33, Motive 11. No. 1 is LH I, according to Furumark, cf. Eph. 1914, Pl II,2 [Tragana, tholos, 22]; 3 belongs to the LH "II A" Palace style; 4 = Delt. III [1917], 200, Fig. 144, 4 [Thebes, Kolonaki, T. 26, 15; alabastron]). Cf. also BSA XVII (1910-1), Pl. XIV, 1 (Phylakopi, imported, alabastron [?], triple *waz*-lily group). On the basis of shape these designs are more allied to the lily, whose forms are never without the spiraliform petals, while, on the contrary, the uncontaminated papyrus head is not spiraliform even in the LH II Palace Style. The papyrus is equivalent only to the triangular projection of the *waz*-lily. In addition, we have seen that there is some evidence showing the triangular head to be developed by conflation of the lily stamens, so that the *waz*-lily was actually but a variant of the lily type. The LH III A forms derived from it belong under the heading of lily rather than papyrus (Cf. MPot, p. 265, Fig. 34, Motive 11, 32. [BMC Fig. 396; Enkomi, Old t. 12; III A, 2 earlier], 33 [SCE I, p.487; Enkomi, New t. 3, 257; III A, 2 earlier], 36 [CVA: GB, Pl. XXII, 8 = BMC 341; Enkomi, Old t. 45, 929; III A, 2, later], 38 [Annuario VI-VII, 1923-4, 151, Fig. 74; Ialysos, T. 27, 4; III A, 2, later], 39 (SCE I, Pl. CXX.3; Enkomi, T. 17, 1; III A, 2, later]).

¹⁸⁶ Pro. II, 171, Fig. 679, 217 (T.18; shallow cup; interior, four flowers in cross); 66, Fig. 281 *T. 36, 524; cup with cruder example of cross design); 175, Fig. 687, 162 (T. 2; squat alabastron; *waz*-lilies in subsidiary design, main pattern ogival canopy).

Various other plants of Minoan descent appear. There is an example of the use of leafy sprays on the outside of a shallow handleless cup.¹⁸⁷ A tall cup of Vaphio shape is decorated by crocuses.¹⁸⁸ Degenerate crocuses and double-stemmed, solid ivy leaves occur together,¹⁸⁹ or leaves with double¹⁹⁰ or triple¹⁹¹ stems may occur alone. A common decoration for small shapes was an ivy leaf placed on a bent stem formed of one to three strands.¹⁹² A squat alabastron is decorated by four stems, two running forward and two behind, each tipped by an open ivy leaf with papyriform filling.¹⁹³

THE LH II PALACE STYLE

The earliest Mainland vessel exhibiting signs of Palace Style is the one-handled, beaked jug from Shaft Grave I at Mycenae, belonging close to the end of LH I (Fig. VIII.26). It is decorated by a double sinuous line from which spring on each side solid ivy leaves along with subsidiary shoots. Brittle stars (MPot Motive 26, 1: "starfish") derived from the marine cycle of motives fill the vacant spaces.¹⁹⁴ The very first appearance of incipient Palace Style is accompanied by emphasis on the ivy-leaf motive that never appears to have become highly popular as the main ornament in Crete.¹⁹⁵ This use of ivy leaves

¹⁸⁷ Pro. II, 171, Fig. 680 (T. 13), no.43.

¹⁸⁸ Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. LVI, 1 (T. 533; MPot Motive 14, j). Another example of the crocus is Mylonas, *Prehistoric Eleusis*, 126, Fig. 106 (gr. 3, 369).

¹⁸⁹ Pro. II, 175, Fig. 689 (T. 50; straight-sided, squat alabastron; subsidiary motives); 80, Fig. 345 (T. 50, 987; sherds). Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pls. II, 5 (T. 529; one-handled shallow cup; MPot Motive 14, 14; II B); Pl. V, 7 (T. 529; squat alabastron; II B). Furumark has classed such motives under the palm heading, but they are to be connected with LH I crocuses and retain the characteristic group of anthers springing from the corners between the petals (MPot, p. 277, Fig. 38, Motive 14 [palm I], K, 14).

¹⁹⁰ Pro. II, 176, Fig. 690, 46 (T. 13; squat, three-handled jar; ivy hangs down). Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 53, Fig. 71, right (squat, one-handled jug; ivy hanging on bent stem). Cf. also MPot, p. 271, Fig. 36, Motive 12, 19 = Eph, 1910, Pl. VIII, 2 (Thebes, Hagia Anna, T. 2, 10) (II A), 20-21 (II B) = Myk. Vasen XXI.52 and Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. 515, 9.

¹⁹¹ Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 137, Fig. 129, c, 7. Eph 1910, 238, Fig.24 (Hagia Anna, sherd).

¹⁹² MPot, p. 271, Fig. 36, Motive 12, 23-25; II B.

¹⁹³ Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXXIX, 30 (T. 518).

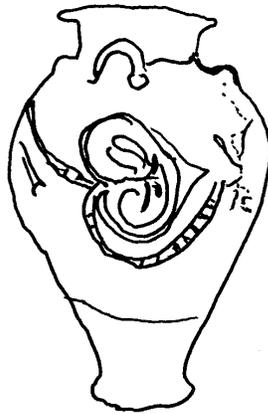
¹⁹⁴ Schgr, Pl. CLXIX, 199 (MPot Motive 12, 1).

¹⁹⁵ Although he notes that it was not worked out there in the elaborate manner of the Mainland, Karo appears to accept the ivy leaf as a common Cretan motive, and refers to Evans' treatment of the design (Schgr, p. 257. PM II, 384-9). It cannot be emphasized too strongly that in Evans' discussion all the striking examples of ivy leaves, allied to the Shaft Grave pot, are from the Mainland. Altogether, for this

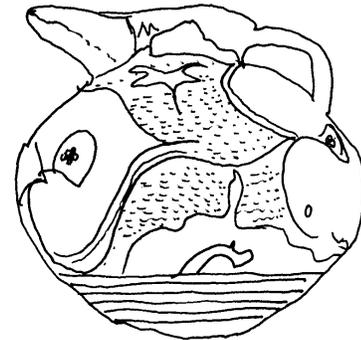
can be paralleled by pots from Tholos A at Kakovatos,¹⁹⁶ from Messenian Pylos (Fig. VIII.25),¹⁹⁷ and from the tholos of Aegisthos at Mycenae.¹⁹⁸ Ivy leaves branching off from the vertical axis of clumps of other plant motives are characteristic subsidiary motives.¹⁹⁹ In addition the ivy leaf formed the central theme of several different types of



VIII.31



VIII.32



VIII.33

composition. In one, large leaves, generally open inside with papyriform filling, are arranged horizontally; sometimes irregularly connected bands around the sides of vases form intermittent spiral strands (Figs. VIII.31, VIII.32, VIII.33).²⁰⁰ In a variant of this each ivy leaf appears to be enclosed in a larger cordate-shaped field formed from dotted lines (or in one case clock-patterned) so beloved of the LH painters. The final impression given is that of a continuous horizontal frieze of leaves, each running into the next (Fig.

motive Evans illustrates only four Cretan examples, referring to one other pot, all of them quite different from the Mainland designs. Cf. Furumark, "The greater variation displayed by open work types of the 'sacral ivy' and by ogival canopy is also probably accidental, the more so as these designs are entirely LM I B in style." MPot p. 482. In contrast to this is the view of Wace-Blegen who consider the ogival canopy completely Mainland (Klio XXXII, 1939, 135. Cf. ArchC, p. 226.

¹⁹⁶ AM, XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXIV, 7 (papyriform shape reserved inside of the leaf).

¹⁹⁷ Eph. 1914, Pl. II, I (Tragana tholos). Cf. also ILN, Jan. 3, 1939, 979, bottom.

¹⁹⁸ BSA, XXV (1921-3), Pls. XLIX, c-g; LI, e.

¹⁹⁹ AM XXXIV (1909), Pls. XXI, XXII, 1 (Kakovatos; Tholos A, 14; MPot Motive 12, 3; II A). ILN Feb. 15, 1936, 278, Fig. 7 (Berbati; tholos; MPot Motive 12, 2; II A).

²⁰⁰ AM XXXIV (1909), Pls. XVIII, 2 = MPot Motive 12, 8; II A (Fig. VIII.31). XIX, 1 (Fig. VIII.32). Pro. I, Pl. V, no. 412 (T.27). Eph. 1910, Pl. X, 2 (Hagia Anna). Fig. VIII.29 = Welter, *Aigina*, p. 23, Fig. 26.

VIII.34).²⁰¹ In another type of ivy decoration the field is divided into vertical panels, each filled by a wavy line and ivy, together forming a recurrent spiral pattern, a design closely related to the ogival canopy motive (Fig. VIII.35).²⁰² Two unique pattern were



Fig. VIII.34

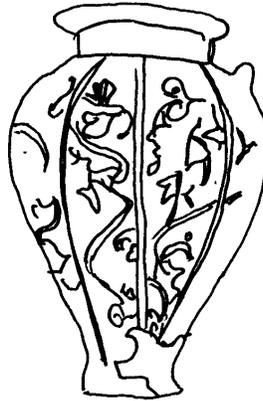


Fig. VIII.35

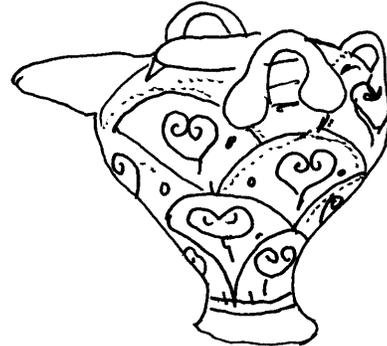


Fig. VIII.36

found in chamber tombs at Mycenae. A bridge-spouted pot is covered by a triangular network, in each section of which is an ivy leaf with papyriform filling (Fig. VIII.36).²⁰³

A jar with cut-away spout shows an ivy leaf, the central stalk of which broadens out into a cordate form; this motive is interspersed with rosettes (Fig. VIII.37).²⁰⁴

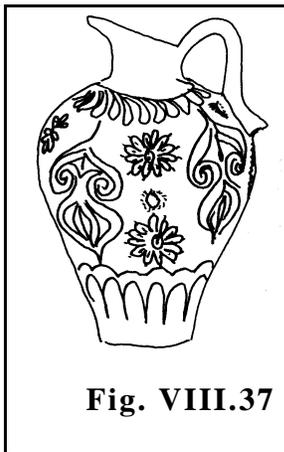


Fig. VIII.37

This last design is related to still another ivy motive, which may be termed the triangular-tipped ivy, and was not uncommon on the Palace Style. It was probably developed by the superposition of the spiral ends and c-canopy filling of the normal ivy upon the characteristic LH I ivy-like design, which we have seen to be formed of two hatched loops with triangular adjunct, on two vases from Prosymna.²⁰⁵ In the second pot from that site the drop origin of the cordate shape is plain, but has become obscured

²⁰¹ AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XIX, 2. BSA XXV (1921-3), 295, Fig. 53 (Mycenae; Epano Phournos).

²⁰² AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXIII,2 (MPot Motive 12, 7; II A. Palace Style sherds with fragmentary ivy designs [Pro. II, 86, Fig. 365; T.42, dromos])

²⁰³ Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. VI, 8 (T. 532; MPot Motive 12, 40; II A)

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. III, 2 (T.518; MPot Motive 12, ac; II A)

²⁰⁵ Pro. II, 164, Fig. 657; 165, Fig. 656.

in the other example and in the latest LH I occurrence of the motive from Shaft Grave I at Mycenae. Thus it was not difficult to assimilate this cordate pattern with the



Fig. VIII.38



Fig. VIII.39

normal ivy. The resulting motive served as the main ornament on several pithoid amphoras (Fig. VIII.38),²⁰⁶ or was used as the central filling design of running spiral friezes.²⁰⁷ On an amphora from Tomb 210 at Mycenae it was used as a small subsidiary filling motive.²⁰⁸ This vessel has been considered by Evans as an import from Knossos. The foliate bands that it bears are closely related to those on a ewer from Palaikastro, though the spiral tendril there ends in a *waz*-lily, not in a triangular-tipped ivy as at Mycenae. This motive appears to be extremely rare on Crete; examples on a ewer, said to be from Phaistos, are unique in having a triangular projection attached to each of the spiral coils of the ivy (Fig. VIII.39).²⁰⁹ A LM I B squat wide-mouthed jar bears a number of these patterns, equipped with a triangular piece filling the interior as well as projecting from the volutes. Subsidiary

²⁰⁶ Delt. III (1917), 143, Fig. 105 (Thebes, Kolonaki; T. (, 2; MPot Motive 12, aa and 38; II B). AJA XLI (1937), 35, Fig. 15 (Troy VI). Eph. 1914, 115, Figs. 25-6 (Tragana [Messenian Pylos], Tholos, 23; MPot Motive 12, x; II a; used as filling of horizontal friezes = Fig. VIII.34)

²⁰⁷ Delt. III (1917), 486, Fig. 211 (Thebes, Ismenion, T. 3, 2; MPot Motive 12, z; II A). ILN, Feb. 15, 1936, 279, Fig. 13 (Berbati; here the design is placed with the triangular adjunct downwards; MPot Motive 12, 39; II A)

²⁰⁸ PM IV, 282, Fig. 216 = JHS XXIV (1904), Pl. XIII (MPot Motive 12, y; II A).

²⁰⁹ L. Pernier and G. Karo, *Antiquités Crétoises*, Première Série 2, Pl. XIV, 2.

lateral lines have also been added to the point of the “leaf,” and these also occur on the jar from Mycenae.²¹⁰ A sherd from Phylakopi in Melos bears this same design, with small lateral shoots, and a cross filling the interior, and is apparently an import from the Mainland.²¹¹ The Pseira designs are very close to the triangular-tipped ivy on the jar from Mycenae, and this coincidence strengthens the case for the latter’s Cretan origin. Despite the occasional Cretan imitation of this motive, its Mainland character remains clear.

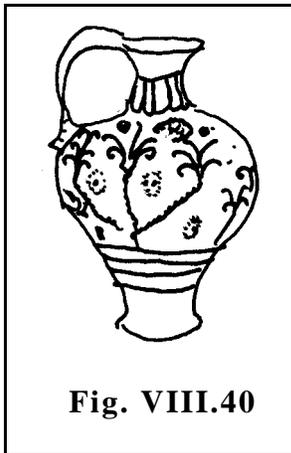


Fig. VIII.40

As at Knossos, the stately inflorescences most characteristic of the style were often grouped in clumps, although occasionally the flowering stems might be evenly spaced in a frieze. A group of three lilies growing on knobbed stems which spring from a common base is the only representative of the naturalistic lily so far known in the Mainland Palace Style (Fig. VIII.40).²¹² However, an unpublished tall vase with cut-away neck, presumably from Chalkis, may also belong with this

style.²¹³ The design consisted of a triple lily group equipped with lateral foliage at the base, presumably distantly related to the naturalistic foliage that occurred on the lilies of the Minoan frescoes. Aside from the early Prosymna example, the only other LH I lily known is from Tragana in Messenia.²¹⁴

The papyrus was a favorite motive (Figs. VIII.41-44),²¹⁵ but in no case is it patterned in the same manner as in Crete.²¹⁶ Even when the fringe of webbing encircling the top of the flower appears on the Mainland, it is a direct outgrowth of the tuft instead of

²¹⁰ Seager, *Excavations at Pseira*, p. 30, Fig. 11 (G 7, R 1).

²¹¹ JHS Sup. IV (1904), Pl. XXXI, 3.

²¹² Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXXIX, 3 (T. 518; MPot Motive 9, 1; later II A).

²¹³ MPot p. 258, Fig. 32, Motive 9, 2; pot type 123, 3; II B. The barred stamens connect the design with the Ephyraean style; cf. below, p. 346. “Facial subdivisions - each field containing a radiating lily group” (MPot, 494).

²¹⁴ Eph., 1914, Pl. II, 2 (Tholos, 22; MPot Motive 11, 1; D).

²¹⁵ AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XX, 1, 2 = Figs. VIII.37-38 (Kakovatos; MPot Motive II 26, 28). ILN, Feb 15, 1936, 278, Figs. 7, 12 = Fig. VIII.39 (Berbati, MPot, p. 587, vase type 15, 7; Motive 11, 2E), 279, Fig. 14 = Fig. VIII.40 (Berbati; MPot, p. 587, vase type 15, 8; Motive 11, 24; both this and the preceding

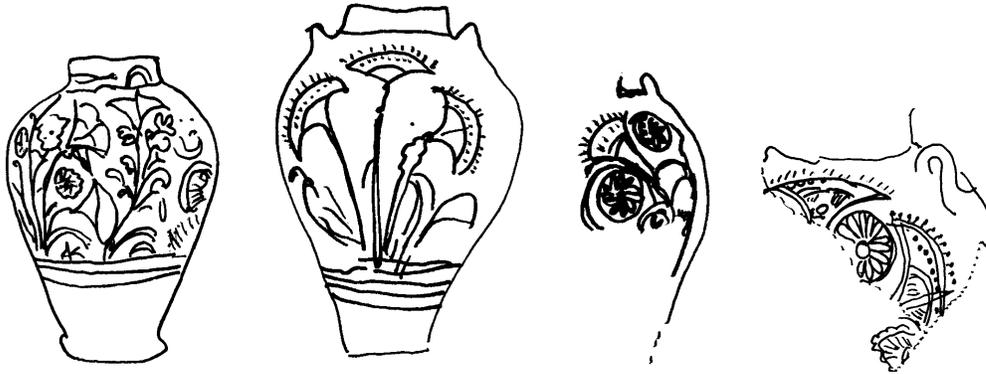


Fig. VIII.41

Fig. VIII.42

Fig. VIII.43

Fig. VIII.44

being separated by a small vacant interval as in Crete.²¹⁷

The LH II Palace Style brings the first introduction of palms as a common ceramic motive. The MM II B/III examples were fairly isolated and are not representatives of a vigorous plant motive (Figs. VIII.6, VIII.10). On the Mainland the tree occurred in representational contexts in the LH I shaft graves at Mycenae (Fig. X.13).²¹⁸ In LH II very naturalistic specimens are shown on the Vaphio cups, whose ultimate provenience

example are dated to II A). BSA, XXV (1921-3), Pl. LI, b, d (Mycenae; Aegisthos tholos). Cf. Eph. 1895, Pl. XI, 1 (Thorikos, tholos 2; MPot Motive11, 28).

²¹⁶ Furumark admits that these papyrus forms (in his terminology the “unvolved fresco type”) are commoner on the Mainland than in Crete (MPot, pp. 263, 482). However, he “infers” that LM I-II A forms “exactly” similar to LH II A examples must have existed in Crete since the LH II A papyri form an intermediate link in the typological series between MM II B/LM I A fresco types and the ornate Minoan Palace Style forms. It does not seem unjustified to regard this hypostatization as a reflection of a bias in favor of Minoan priority. Would a simpler explanation not be achieved if the Minoan Palace Style forms were considered the direct result of an impetus derived from Mainland forms? (Of course, ultimately the Mycenaean decoration of the Mainland is based on the original Minoan influence of LH I, but is it necessary to assume that each fresh Mainland development must be caused by a new introduction of Cretan styles?) Such an explanation would obviate the necessity for assuming the existence of a series of forms for which not the slightest evidence exists - to our knowledge.

²¹⁷ One example of Knossian pattern did occur at Mycenae, but is presumably an import (PM IV, 321, Fig. 262). One Knossian Palace Style jar does show connected prongs (PM IV, 331, Fig. 273).

²¹⁸ Schgr, Pls. XXVI, 46, 45 (Gr. III; hair pins; as support for animals; this form is very similar to papyrus!); XXXIII, 19-20 (Gr. III; gold foil showing felines hunting bulls); CXLIII-CXLIV, 808-811 (Gr. V; gold overlay of box; animal scenes).

remains uncertain.²¹⁹ These representations on metal work apparently furnish the beginnings of a motive²²⁰ which was greatly stylized and elaborated by the vase painters.²²¹

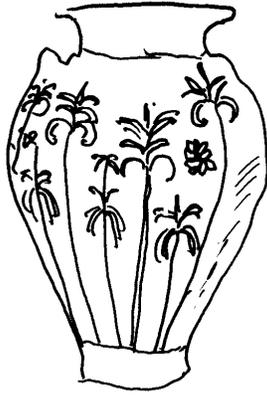


Fig. VIII.45

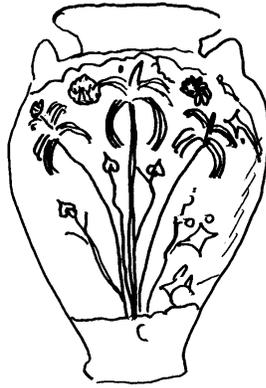


Fig. VIII.46



Fig. VIII.47

Two types may be distinguished. In the drooping palm the lowermost leaves curve outward and down in a graceful pendant manner (Figs. VIII.45-47)²²² while in the spiral

²¹⁹ Cf. G. A. S. Snijder, *Kretische Kunst*, pp. 118ff; Fernand Chapouthier, *Deux Epées d'Apparat*, découvertes en 1936 au Palais de Mallia, p. 40 and n. 4.

²²⁰ Furumark assumes without hesitation that the Mycenaean ceramic palms are derived from LM I B palms (MPot, p. 276), but we have already seen that there exists grave doubt as to the authentic Minoan character of the only two extant specimens, the Pseira rhyton and Zakros sherd. It seems almost a certainty that the great development of the palm as a ceramic motive is due wholly to Mycenaean initiative.

²²¹ Erwin Wurz has stated that the male and female palm flowers were distinguished by the various makers of a medley of designs, many of which are of completely different character and cultural provenience than others (*Die Entstehung der Säulenbasen des Altertums unter Berücksichtigung verwandten Kapitelle*, pp. 8-10). Among the assortment of patterns listed by Wurz are a considerable number of LH forms. It is not necessary to refute his fantastic attributions in detail. We need only note that among his examples of the ornamental use of the male palm flower certain MM II tangential loop designs are to be found. Meticulous attention to the minute morphological details involved in the distinction of the male and female flowers would have been highly unusual even in the climax of naturalistic work during MM III - LM I, and appears quite impossible in the stylized context of the later phases of Aegean pottery. In addition, it is extremely unlikely that the inhabitants of Crete or Greece possessed any realization of the subtleties involved in the life history of the palm. The tree, even in Crete, does not bear fruit.

²²² Myk Vasen, Pl. XXV, 189 (Mycenae). BSA XXV (1921-3), Pl. XLIX, a, k and probably d (Mycenae; Aegisthos tholos). AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXI = Fig. VIII.46 (Kakovatos, Tholos A, 15); Pl. XXII, 2 = Fig. VIII.41 (Tholos B, 17). ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, 314, bottom right = Fig. VIII.47. ,RT, T. *; lower part of jar). Asine, p. 418, Fig. 272 = Fig. VIII.44 (T. 7, 53; triple palm group; Mpo t Motive 14, 2; II A) Sherds bearing fragmentary palm designs, but not preserving the drooping or spiral basal leaves, have been found: BSA XXV (1921-3), Pl. XLVII, j (?) (Mycenae; Kato Phournos tholos), q (Cyclopean tholos). Pro. II, 93, Fig. 394 (T. 7, dromos).

palm there is only a single pair of thick, spirally curved basal leaves (Figs. VIII.49, 45, 50).²²³ The two types may be combined when some of the thin parallel leaves fall over the spiral leaves.²²⁴ The appearance of the spiral leaves may be the result of influence of the



Fig. VIII.48



Fig. VIII.49



Fig. VIII.50

lily motive, though it should be recalled that the unique palm group of MM II B had had curved basal leaves as did also some of the palms on gold foil from Shaft Grave V at Mycenae. The tops of the palm trees are formed by long pointed lobes; various combinations of spiky lateral leaves and rounded lobes complete the crown. The trunks are generally knobby and may be equipped with a series of dots. The palms usually occur in clumps of variously graduated sizes, together with ivy and subsidiary leafage. A very fine triple group, growing from a solid tricurved arch was found at Asine (Fig. VIII.48).

The majority of designs cited so far have occurred on the large, handled amphoras which were preeminently suited to carry the massed flora characteristic of the style. Smaller amphoras and other forms were ornamented by a single main unit of design. Thus each side of three-handled jars from tombs at Mycenae, Dendra and Thebes

²²⁴ Cf. n.225.



Fig. VIII.47



Fig. VIII.48

is decorated by palms which combine features of both the spiral and drooping forms. Spiral basal leaves are shown and four pairs of lateral leaves emerging from the central lobe have assumed the drooping position. Short stalked palms with undulating basal shoots adorn a three-handled jar from Isemnion (Fig. VIII.52) and a large alabastron from Prosymna.²²⁵ A wide-based and mouthed jar with three handles is covered by diagonally placed palms attached to rambling stems,²²⁶ and variations of this same theme were used on alabastra.²²⁷ Another alabastron is adorned with drooping palms looping around large rosettes.²²⁸ A central lobe with straight lateral leaves, the simplest possible form of the palm, occurs as subsidiary filling.²²⁹ In addition to these variants, certain forms, considered by Furumark to be degenerate palms, should be mentioned; they may really be descendants of the crocus motive.²³⁰

THE EPHYRAEAN STYLE

²²⁵ Delt., III (1917), 89, Fig. 64 = Fig. VIII.48 (Thebes, Ismenion, T. 3, 1; II B). Pro II, 103, Fig. 4, 174, Fig. 686 (T. 2, no. 158). According to Furumark's discussion of the origin of the basal shoots or "side leaves" (MPot, p. 326), a need was felt for motives to balance the base of isolated units of the II B style which were broad at the top. Rosettes, tricurved arches, or side leaves as in MPot Motive 9, 6, developed from the more naturalistic basal leaves of Motive 9, 2, were used for this purpose. At times such side leaves might assimilate themselves with tricurved-arch rock patterns.

²²⁶ Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. IV, 2 (T. 529; MPot Motive 14, 9; II A). Cf. MPot, 276, Fig. 38 9-11, 17.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVIII, 9, 10 (T. 529; MPot Motive 14, 11, h; II B).

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 3 (T. 530; MPot Motive 14, 17; II A).

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 2 (T. 529). Asine, p. 418, Fig. 272 (T. 7, 53; MPot Motive 14, d; II A). Myk. Vasen, Pl. XXV, 189.

²³⁰ MPot, 276, Fig. 38, 13, 14. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 53, Fig. 73, 2 (Gr. 1; MPot Motive 14, 12; II B; .askos). AM XIV (1889), Pl. IX, 1 (according to Furumark, Demetrias, T. 1) Mylonas, *Prehistoric*

This style was first distinguished by Blegen,²³¹ and the vessels belonging to it are characterized by distinctive ware, shape and decoration. They are usually painted with but one motive in an open field. The occasional use of filling motives does not destroy the impression of spaciousness. The designs themselves could be identical with the more usual units of the LH II repertoire, as in the case of lilies with stamens from Korakou.²³² Lilies with barred stamens and triple-lined shoots curving upwards from the base of the flower are very typical.²³³ Other designs show a large central lobe with side shoots like those of the lilies, and with or without spiral basal petals.²³⁴ These forms are closely related to the Palace Style palms on the Prosymna alabastron and Ismenion amphora already cited (Figs. VIII.51, VIII.52), and show that some of the motives of the Palace and Ephyraean Styles blend into each other.

LH II JEWELRY

An early LH II object of uncertain use, but probably an inlay, is a curved ivory plaque from Kakovatos, carved with a diminishing series of lilies connected by beaded crescents. The massed lines of the stamens topped by round dots appear to support the theory that the triangular *Waz* topping of the lily was derived from the geometricization of the stamens.²³⁵ A gold necklace formed of alternating *waz*-lilies and u-shaped shield motives was found in Tomb 2 at the Argive Heraeum site; a series of similar gold *waz*-lily

Eleusis, p. 129, Fig. 108, right) gr. 3, 373; MPot Motive 14, 13; II B; slender pithoid jar). Pro. II, 57, Fig. 246 (T. 34, dromos, 614; small amphora).

²³¹ Blegen, *Korakou*, pp. 54-7. Cf. also MPot, 492, 494-5, (496 Helladic inspiration).

²³² Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 56, Fig. 77. Rosettes were also common in this style; cf. *Ibid.*, Pl. VI, 2; Blegen, *Zygouries*, Pl. XV, 1, 4; Pro. II, 170, Fig. 675.

²³³ MPot, 259, Fig. 32, f. Blegen, *Korakou*, Pls. VI, 4 (MPot Motive 9, f; II B), VII, 1. Blegen, *Zygouries*, Pl. XV, 5, 6. The same type of lily flower occurs on a spindle whorl from Mycenae (Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXVIII, 16 (T. 515; MPot Motive 9, 7; II B). A sherd of a one-handled cup bearing a double-stemmed lily with barred stamens may be Ephyraean (BMC, p. 134, Fig. 176, A 782 [Argos; MPot Motive 9, e; II B]).

²³⁴ MPot, 276, Fig. 38 g. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 55, Fig. 75, 3 (MPot Motive 14, g; II B; Pl. VII, 2 (MPot Motive 14, 6; II B). Delt. III (1917), 144, Fig. 106 (Kolonaki, T. 9, 3; [pithoid amphora; II B). Asine, p. 360, Fig. 233, 1 (T.1, 1; pithoid amphora; II B). Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 137, Fig. 129, 5. .

pendants were discovered in a very large chamber tomb at Dendra.²³⁶ In another example of this motive from Tomb 6 of the Deiras necropolis at Argos, dating toward the end of LH II, the six flowers, embossed on gold foil, are paired; each projects diagonally upward. The same burial yielded an example of a lily with a single median lobe. Single, spiral lily corollas were strung into necklaces.²³⁷ A gold plaque from Thebes bears an unusual cross-like design.²³⁸ The hazy photograph published does not permit the decipherment of the exact nature of the pattern, but it is probable that the radii are topped by *waz*-lilies; this would make the pattern similar to the wheel designs of *waz*-lilies that occurred on the pottery at Prosymna.

Separate ivy leaves filled with a median lobe appear on a gold strip from Tomb 515 at Mycenae. The “Queen’s tomb” at Dendra contained a series of gold pendants of the triangular-tipped ivy shape already known to us from Palace Style pottery.²³⁹ The median lobe of the jewelry has already appeared on a Palace Style ewer.²⁴⁰ Individual c-canopied leaves appear on small chevron-shaped glass paste units made to be strung into long chains.²⁴¹ A gold cup from Dendra is ornamented by a continuous frieze of ivy.²⁴² The first

²³⁵ AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XII, 1 (Tholos A). The remainder of the small decorative pieces from this tomb are adorned by abstract spiral designs akin to much of the work found in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae.

²³⁶ Pro. I, 267; Pro. II, 144, Fig. 577, 1. ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, 313, middle right. This is the Tomb IV (“Queen’s tomb”) of the ILN report. It contained a gold cup almost identical with another from chamber tomb 2 of the earlier Dendra excavations, dated to LH III A, 1. Although Persson mentions a jar of Palace Style, it is probable that the “Queen’s tomb” belongs to the end of LH II or the transitional stage leading to LH III, i. e., LH III A, 1.

²³⁷ Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXXII, 80, d (T. 515; gold). ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, 313, middle right, first row from bottom (Dendra; gold). BCH XXVIII (1904), 388, Fig. 28 (Deiras, T. 6; gold). Eph., 1906, Pl. XV, 10 (Volo).

²³⁸ Delt., III (1917), 133, Fig. 98, 22 (Kolonaki, T. 4, 11). Furumark lists this as an “unqualified stylistic group” of II A; in addition he states that it contained III A, 2 - B (-C?) pottery. The burial had been robbed in the Fifth Century B. C. (MChron, p. 48). For parallels painted on pots cf. Pro. II, 66, Fig. 281, 524; 171, Fig. 679, no. 217.

²³⁹ Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. XXXII, 80, a, and cf. Eph., 1888, 167, Pl. IX, 6 (Mycenae). ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, middle right, third row from bottom.

²⁴⁰ Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. III, 2 (T. 518).

²⁴¹ BCH, XXVIII (1904), 387, Fig. 24 (Deiras, T. 6).

²⁴² ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, 313, top right (“Queen’s tomb”). This is exactly matched by the design of a silver cup from Tomb 2 of the earlier excavation (RT, Pl. XXXIII, 5) and by the rim pattern on a bronze bowl from this same T. 2 (*Ibid.*, p. 95, Fig. 67; Pl. XXXI, 6 [III A, 1 - MChron., p.53]).

examples of gold plaques embossed with a number of variously arranged sacral ivy leaves occur at Volo and Argos.²⁴³

LATE MINOAN III²⁴⁴

The amount of LM III plant designs preserved is very small and forms a limited repertoire. The most interesting LM III A series is the one that succeeded to certain LM II Palace Style traditions, which it continued in a bastardized form. The upper part of a squat pithos from Palaikastro is painted with metopes, each enclosing a single inflorescence.²⁴⁵



Fig. VIII.53

These all have a spiral corolla at the base with three vertical lobes, the space between which is filled either by dotted papyrus flowers, some linked by chevrons with the main lobes or by a series of slender stems with forked ends (Fig. VIII.53).²⁴⁶ The latter are descended from the unhybridized Palace Style papyri (Figs. VIII.21, VIII.22, VIII.25).²⁴⁷ One LM II example, Fig. VIII.25, is really the same design, the only difference being that the forked “anthers” are not directly

connected with the radiating lines. The ancestors of the other plant on the Palaikastro pithos are to be found in the LM II inflorescence with spiral corollas and curved anthers (Figs. VIII.21, VIII.24-25),²⁴⁸ which show that the dotted papyriform shapes on the Palaikastro pithos plants are derived from the dotted *waz*-lily form, that has antecedents in LM I examples. Fig. VIII.21 also illustrates the source of the chevron linkage.

²⁴³ Eph., 1906, Pl. XIV, second row from top, middle (Volo). BCH XXVIII (1904), 382, Fig. 7 (Deiras, T. 6). This same tomb also contained a small gem engraved with a cross-hatched stem, topped by two superimposed triangular fluted forms - a unique design (*Ibid.*, 389, Fig. 32).

²⁴⁴ Pendlebury distinguishes two main phases in this period, III A and B, the former being introduced by a transitional LM II/III phase (ArchC, p. 253). Furumark divides both LM III A and B into two subphases (MChron, pp. 103-9).

²⁴⁵ BSA Sup. I, Pl. XXIII, a, b.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXIII, a, the right plant varies in lacking the triple lobes and in possessing a zigzag band covering the crown.

²⁴⁷ PM IV, 325, Fig. 268; 326, Fig. 270; 328, Fig. 271.

²⁴⁸ PM IV, 326-7, Figs. 268-70.



Fig. VIII.54

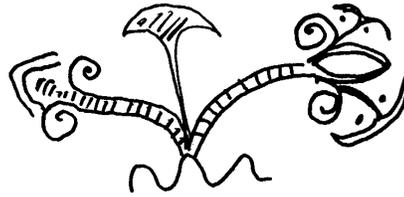


Fig. VIII.55



Fig. VIII.56

Closely related flowers are combined with the double axe motive on a larnax from Palaikastro which also bears a simplified version of the flower with spiral corolla and three lobes, growing on a long stem (Fig. VIII.54).²⁴⁹ One flower from a triple group painted on a large alabastron retains the most important units of the complete pattern (Fig. VIII.55).²⁵⁰ Lobes equipped with a linear border and chevron links are used to cover the side of a larnax from Palaikastro; the central lobe is peculiar in being surrounded by an upturned volute, appearing similar to those so common in Egypt (Fig. VIII.56).²⁵¹ However, the temptation to postulate a conflation with Egyptian designs is considerably lessened if we recall certain of the LH II jewelry designs where a central lobe has been added to the ivy leaf, producing a volute design very similar to that on the Palaikastro larnax.



Fig. VIII.57



Fig. VIII.58



Fig. VIII.59

Palace Style flowers with “forked anthers” not only gave rise to the multiple-stemmed inflorescence on the Palaikastro pithos (Fig. VIII.53), but probably also to

²⁴⁹ BSA VIII (1901-2), Pl. XVIII.

²⁵⁰ Arch. LXV (1913-4), 16, Fig. 23; Pl. II = PM IV, 357, Fig. 300 (Isopata, T. 3; Macebearer’s Tomb). Transitional LM II/III (ArchC, p.243); LM III A, 1 (MChron, p. 104).

certain extremely disintegrated patterns formed of lobes and “anther”-topped stems. These occur on a sherd of a rhyton from Palaikastro (Fig. VIII.57),²⁵² and on the large alabastron from the Macebearer’s Tomb (Fig. VIII.58, 59). This last pot also bears a triple group whose middle member is an ill-formed *waz*-lily (Fig. VIII.60). Some Palace Style motives may be quoted as analogies,²⁵³ and are also, presumably, ancestral to the weird

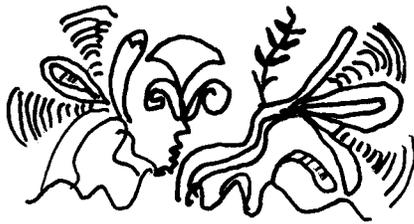


Fig. VIII.60

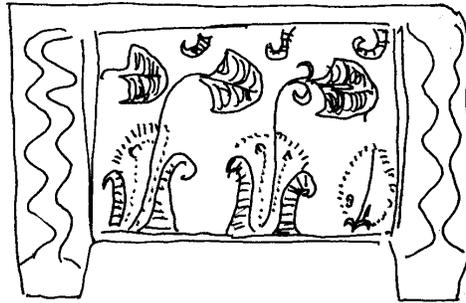


Fig. VIII.61

designs on larnakes from Zafer Papoura (Fig. VIII.61) and from Anogeia (Fig. VIII.62).²⁵⁴ A further step in degeneration has been taken by designs on a larnax from Phanurio, where the top of the original *waz*-lily has become rounded; the character of the pattern has been lost and the results are very ungainly (Fig. VIII.63).²⁵⁵

Aside from the series of ultimate Palace Style derivation, the other main series of LM III A is formed by examples of the triangular papyrus flower. Its tufts appear patterned

²⁵¹ PM IV, 330, Fig. 272, a = BSA Sup I, Pl. XXXIV (T. 18); LM III A, 2) MChron, p. 103; most pottery from last period of occupation at Palaikastro he considers III A, 2). Evans has suggested the possibility of a connection between this Cretan design and Egyptian ones.

²⁵² BSA Sup I, 104, Fig. 87, b.

²⁵³ PM IV, 303, Fig. 238; 324, Fig. 264, H.

²⁵⁴ Arch. LIX (1905), 481, Fig. 1026 (T. 100). PM IV, 338, Fig. 281.

²⁵⁵ ArtC, p. 210, Fig. 363.

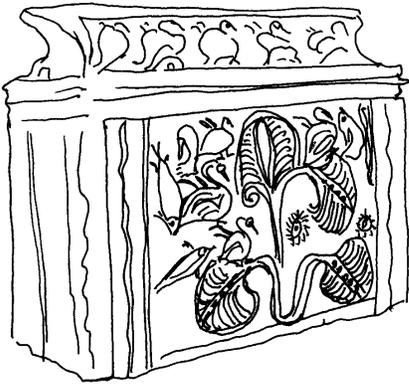


Fig. VIII.62

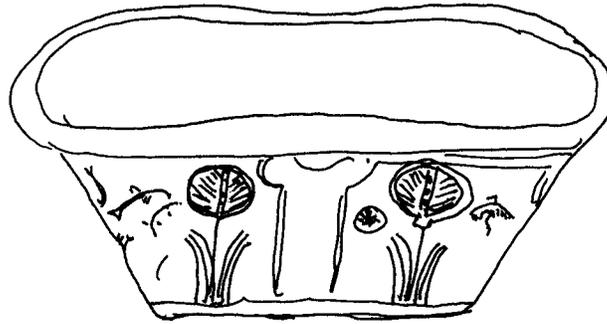


Fig. VIII.63

in various ways. Radiating lines canopying a lobe formed by a hooked “anther” of Palace Style derivation appear to be more common than tufts formed of concentric arcs. The heads may still be attached to stems (Fig. VIII.64),²⁵⁶ but tufts alone were used,²⁵⁷ often arranged in horizontal friezes where the tangent flowers degenerated into a series of concentric arcs.²⁵⁸

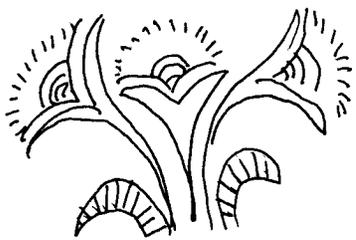


Fig. VIII.64

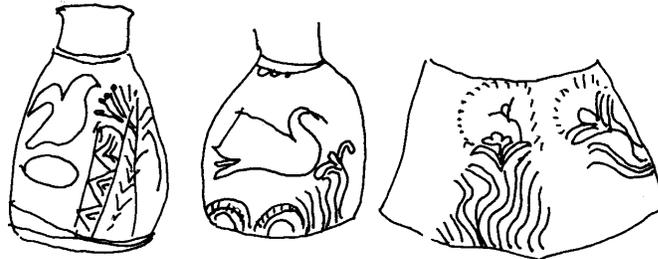


Fig. VIII.65

The bird vases typical of LM III A show papyrus and lobed flower heads which are often placed on crooked stems and flanked by series of wavy vertical lines arranged in

²⁵⁶ Several examples occur on the Macebearer’s alabastron. PM IV, 324, Fig. 264, J and I. BSA Sup I, 76, Fig. 60, a. PM IV, 370, Fig. 309, b (Knossos); 1017 (Temple Tomb; late memorial cult). Both of the last two examples are very reminiscent of Mainland designs.

²⁵⁷ Arch. LIX (1905), 412, Fig. 14 (Zafer Papoura T. 1); 481, Fig. 1026 (Zafer Papoura, T. 100). BSA Sup I, 79, Fig. 63, 2 (III A, 1); 89, Fig. 72, b (III A, 2 -MChron, p. 105).

²⁵⁸ ArchC, p. 247. BSA Sup. I, 76, Fig. 60, b (III A, 1); 105, Fig. 88, a (III A, 2); 92, Fig. 76 (III A, 2).

pyramidal fashion. On these vases there also occurs a plant formed of many pointed “buds” springing from between two flanking leaves (Fig. VIII.65).²⁵⁹ A double pot from



Fig. VIII.66

T. 104 at Zafer Papoura bears a disintegrated lily (?) and ivy designs.²⁶⁰

Another vessel which may belong here is said to be from Phaistos; it bears an erect, stalked ivy leaf from which project laterally and upwards long lobes, possibly related to the tentacles of an octopus (Fig. VIII.66).²⁶¹

From LM III B only a few papyrus designs are preserved and these have progressed almost to the last stage of disintegration. A cup from Palaikastro bears birds and a stemmed papyrus tuft,²⁶² and another bears hook-like patterns, probably derived from papyrus.²⁶³ Geometricized tufts adorn the top of a stirrup jar;²⁶⁴ other papyrus tufts are placed on the shoulder of a handled flask imported from the Mainland.²⁶⁵

LATE HELLADIC III

The earlier phases of LH III, the most complex stage in the LH series, form the great age of Mycenaean expansion; the period when the Levanto-Helladic Koine was developed. Colonies were established overseas, especially on Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Syrian mainland at Ras Shamra and its port Minet el-Beida. LH III pottery was spread over the Levant. At the same time the great citadels and palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns

²⁵⁹ PM IV, 335, Fig. 278 (Pendlebury, ArchC, p. 247, n. 7, states that this pot was found in a confused LM I-II deposit, and may be an import from the Mainland. MonAnt XIV (1904), Pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII. Cf. also sherds from the Diklaian cave (BSA VII (1899-1900), 102, Fig. 30).

²⁶⁰ Arch. LXV (1913-14), 32, Figs. 46, 76.

²⁶¹ L. Pernier and G. Karo, *Antiquités crétoises* II, Pl. XIV, 4. Vertical columns of spiral volutes occur in this period, but are presumably not floral in origin (Macebearer's alabastron; BSA Sup. I, 101, Fig. 84; BMC, p. 119. Fig. 159, A 724, 3 [Palaikastro]).

²⁶² BSA Sup I, 93, Fig. 77.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 109, Fig. 93.

²⁶⁴ BSA XXVIII (1926-7), 258, Fig. 13 (Mavrospelio, T. V, 21).

were built, and monuments such as the Treasury of Atreus were erected. In strong contrast to the international outlook, splendour and power of the earlier phases, is the end of LH III, when the highly evolved final Mycenaean series glides into the new Protogeometric style.²⁶⁶

In addition to the well-established subdivisions of LH III A, B and C,²⁶⁷ Furumark uses a number of finer subdivisions. LH III A, 2 is the normal III A, the “Tell el Amarna” style. This is preceded by III A, 1, which is a phase transitional between II B and III A, 2. Materials assigned to it by Furumark have been dated to LH II by others.²⁶⁸

Accordingly it is not surprising to find that LH III A, 1 shows a number of plant designs very similar to those found in the styles of the preceding LH II period. Examples which are so close to the motives of the Ephyraean style as to really amount to a direct continuation of that tradition are prominent. A shallow cup, with spout and large loop-handle at right angles to each other, is ornamented by lilies with the lateral shoots and dotted anthers characteristic of the Ephyraean style;²⁶⁹ there are a number of other examples of lilies with barred stamens.²⁷⁰ Stems, lying semi-prostrate, as did some LH II types,

²⁶⁵ BSA Sup I, 110, Fig. 94; MChron, p. 108; MPot, p. 617, type 192, 4.

²⁶⁶ Heurtley, QDAPV (1935-6), 90, n. 1. (This opening paragraph was marked with the following notation: “Wrong! Introductory paragraph has to be changed”).

²⁶⁷ Mackeprang, AJA, XLII (1938), 537-559. John Franklin Daniel, AJA, XLIV (1940), 555-9.

²⁶⁸ For Furumark’s discussion and evidence supporting the distinction of a separate A, 1 phase, cf. MPot, pp. 504-5. “From a typological point of view this class forms the necessary link between Myc. II and the ordinary earlier Myc. III ware, the “Tell el Amarna Style,” (MChron, p. 99. Evidence for III A, 1 as separate chronological style derived 1) from qualified groups and burial sequence especially T.518 Mycenae and T delta Schoinochori (Delt. XLVII, 190-240), 2) certain parallelism with early LM III A ware, 3) practically all earliest Mycenaean ware found in Rhodes, Cyprus belongs to this class (except two unqualified groups II B from Ialysos, NT’s 36-37, but these may have been deposited in the next period) .

²⁶⁹ Pro. II, 177, Fig. 693 (T. 2; “Transitional LH II-III”).

²⁷⁰ MPot, 258, Fig. 32, 9-11, 13-17, Motive 9, 16, 607, Pot type 144, 6 (Vromousa, Chalkis Museum, inv. no. 412; low beaked jug). Myk. Vasen, Figs. 34; 27, 315, 221 (Mycenae). BMC, p. 137, Fig. 181, A 794, 2 (Mycenae). Papavasileiou, pp. 21-24, Fig. 20 (Trypa, T.2; small pithoid jar of tall conical form; MPot Motive 9, 9). CVA, GB, Fas. I, 7 (Ialysos; large pithoid jar; MPot Motive 9, 10 and 15). Delt., III (1917), 156, Fig. 117, right (Kolonaki, T. 14, 30; jug with cut-away neck; MPot Motive 9, 11; similar examples from Berbati according to Furumark). ILN, Dec, 23, 1939, 943, upper left (Mycenae, Atreus tholos, deposit under dromos; small pithoid jar [beginning of LH III: Ant.XIV (1940), 235]).

could be topped by lilies with barred or plain anthers.²⁷¹ Another lily variant continued from II B is that termed by Furumark “fleur-de-lis,” in which the stamens have become lobate.²⁷²

Papyrus flowers no longer appear in the imposing manner of the Palace Style. They may serve as topping for crooked stems,²⁷³ or occasionally appear equipped with basal, lateral shoots derived from the Ephyraean style.²⁷⁴ Triangular papyrus heads perform various subsidiary functions.²⁷⁵ A triangular tipped papyrus motive appears on a pithoid amphora from Ialysos, and is a direct descendant of some Palace Style designs.²⁷⁶

Ivy leaves on bent stems, either hanging down²⁷⁷ or springing up²⁷⁸ continue as in LH II. Ivy-tipped stems are arranged in a cross design comparable to some LH II examples.²⁷⁹

²⁷¹ Myk. Vasen, Pl. XXVII, 216. CVA, GB, Pl. XXIV, 12 (Maroni, T.5; stemmed cup with rounded bowl, low handles; MPot Motive 9, 13). Asine, p. 415, Fig. 270, 13 (T. 7, 31; angular alanastron; MPot Motive 9, 14; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 260 for series of similar sherds of LH II B date). CVA, GB, Fas. I, 16, 17 (Hale Sultan Tekke; MPot Motive 9, 17; low beaked jug). MPot, p. 258, Fig. 32, Motive 9, 16 (Vromousa; Chalkis Museum Inv. no. 412; low-beaked jug).

²⁷² MPot p. 258, Fig. 32, 5. Delphi, *Fouilles V*, pp. 6-10, Fig. 69 (MPot Motive 9, n). Argive Heraeum II. 91-95 (OldT. 1, 10; MPot Motive 9, 5; alabastron; republished Pro. II, 27, Fig. 137, bottom; Blegen, Pro. I, 69, calls this pot a “characteristic specimen of LH II”). Furumark illustrates certain angular designs which he has placed under the heading of Iris (MPot, p. 261, Fig. 33, Motive 10 A, 3-4). There seems to be no necessity for connecting any of his Motive 10 A examples with the true iris representations of the House of the Frescoes. In any case these motives are not among the important or striking Aegean designs.

²⁷³ Delt. III (1917), 161, Fig. 120, 2 (Kolonaki, T. 15, 6; MPot Motive 11, 47). Arch. LXXXII (1932), Pl. XLII, 42 (T. 518; MPot Motive 11, 48). Eph. (1914), 90-117 (Tragana, tholos, 18; MPot Motive 11, 49. Papavasileiou, p. 24, Fig. 23, J (Oxylithos, tholos).

²⁷⁴ CVA I, Fas. 8, 10; 467, 3 (Ialysos, New T. 31, 9; MPot Motive 11, 51). Robinson, Harcum, Iliffe, *Toronto Catalogue* no. 77 (MPot Motive 11, 52).

²⁷⁵ Asine, p. 383, Fig. 249, 7 (T.2, 14; in beaded crocus festoon; MPot Motive 11, 7 (This reference Furumark gives, but he must have the wrong pot!). MPot., p. 261, Fig. 33, Mot. 11, 13; (filling in network of tricurved arches; very common design; cf. also Motive 62, 17. MPot, p. 265, Fig. 34, Motive 11, 55, 60, 62.

²⁷⁶ Triangular heads, arranged in chains or used singly appear now and continue into II B and C. They are classified by Furumark as “Bivalve Shell” and are in part papyrus derivatives (MPot, pp. 312ff; 315, Fig. 53, Motive 25, 1-7, 13, 18).

²⁷⁷ AM, XIV, 262-265 (Demetrias, T. 2, 9; squat jar, one vertical handle; MPot Motive 12, 15).

²⁷⁸ Fimmen, *Die kretisch-mykenische Kultur*, p. 91, Fig. 77 (Chalkis; MPot Motive 12, 26). Mylonas, *Prehistoric Eleusis*, p. 125, Fig. 104 (Gr. 7, 364). Asine, p. 392, Fig. 255 (T. 3, 2; MPot Motive 12, 28). CVA, I, 28 (Ialysos, New T. 18, 1; MPot Motive 12, d and 27). Arch., LXXXII (1932), Pl. XL, 28 (T.518; alabastron; MPot Motive 12, 13). Eph. (1910), 209-244 (Hagia Anna, T. 2, 13; alabastron).

²⁷⁹ BMC, p. 135, Fig. 178, A 784 (Nauplion; low beaked jug; MPot Motive 12, 12).

LATE HELLADIC III A, 2

This period marks a distinct break in the plant designs. While the lilies and ivy of LH III A, 1 had directly continued LH II traditions, forming the final phase of the LH II series, the plant designs that are typical of LH III A, 2, although based on elements derived from preceding phases, are quite different. Four main classes may be distinguished, the *waz*-lily derivatives, triangular papyrus forms, compound floral designs termed by Furumark “Mycenaean III Flower,” and drooping palms. These plant forms, out of all those occurring in the history of Aegean ceramics, were given the most favorable opportunities of influencing oriental design, since the style of which they were part spread its pottery throughout the Near East.

Certain *waz*-lily²⁸⁰ types belonging to this period appear to be simplified, degenerate derivatives of a LM II compound lily-papyrus type.²⁸¹ Another variety of *waz*-lily may be descended directly from the simpler forms of LH II.²⁸²

Triangular papyrus heads became the most ordinary motive of the entire LH III period, and were especially wide-spread since they were favored for the adornment of the shoulders of stirrup jars. These designs have been classified by Furumark as the unvoluted forms of the “Mycenaean III flower.”²⁸³ The basis for this attribution is that what he considers their most important feature, the “radiating bars” and curved anthers, appear to be alien to the Mainland and derived from LM II - III A models. However, despite the

²⁸⁰ These and related forms are classified by Furumark under papyrus (MPot, p. 265, Fig. 34, Motive 11, 31-39). Since they all have spiraliform lower petals they are better placed in a separate class, while the papyrus category should, for the sake of terminological clarity, be limited to triangular-headed forms without spiral petals.

²⁸¹ MPot Motive 11, 31-34 = CVA, GB, Pl. XIX, 4 (Maroni; piriform amphoroid krater); BMC 396 (Enkomi, Old T. 12); SCE I, no. 111 (Enkomi, New T. 3, 257); CVA, GB, Pl. XXII, 6 (Maroni, T. 17 = Forsdyke, *Essays Evans*, Figs 1, 11. Minoan model, MPot Motive 11, e).

²⁸² MPot Motive 11, 35-39 = Dussaud, *Les Civilizations préhellénique.* (Paris, 1914), p. 242, Fig. 174 (Cyprus). CVA, GB, Pl. XXII, 8 (Enkomi, Old T. 45, 929; amphoroid krater); Tell el Amarna, Pl. XXX, 143 (and 141-2; globular flask); Annuario VI-VII (1923-4), 152, Fig. 75 (Ialysos, T. 27, 4); SCE I, Pl. CXX, 3, 4 (Enkomi, T. 17, 1).

MPot Motives 11, 40-43 are very degenerate, geometricized forms consisting of crude papyrus heads in the midst of vertical, linear leafage.

²⁸³ MPot, p. 293, Fig. 45, Motive 18, C, 55-101.

transformation affected by these new characters, these papyrus forms still appear to be related to, even if not lineally descended from, earlier Mainland papyri, such as some LH II subsidiary forms or some LH III A, 1 examples.²⁸⁴ For this reason, and since these patterns still give the impression of the triangular floral unit which has gone under the name of papyrus, it would seem less confusing to continue to classify them under that heading, rather than to include them in the “Mycenaean III Flower,” which contains such strikingly hybridized and elaborated forms.

There are a large number of varieties of LH III A, 2 papyri, as a glance at Furumark’s chart will show.²⁸⁵ In addition to the diagonally placed, stemless head, usually with tufted top and with “stamens” arranged in a variety of manners,²⁸⁶ there are forms to which stems and often flanking vertical “leaves” have been added.²⁸⁷ The latter are usually placed vertically to the axis of the vessel, but may lie on their sides or, in at least one case, form an unsymmetrical triple group. These stemmed forms are more closely related to the “Mycenaean III Flower” than those motives formed by triangular heads alone.

The origin of the voluted class of the “Mycenaean III Flower”²⁸⁸ has been summarized by Furumark as follows: “the genesis of the Myc. III flower may be described as a transformation of the Myc. III A:1 lily under the influence of the late LM III A:1 - LM III A:2 hybrid floral types with the Palace Style papyrus as the basic element.”²⁸⁹ These forms consist mainly of one or more down-curving volutes combined with various stem elements and crowned by tufts formed of concentric arcs or of radial hatching. In addition to the voluted “Mycenaean III Flowers” created by Minoan stimulation, there exists another

²⁸⁴ Cf. the LH III A, 1 forms classified as Motive 11, 47, 48 for instance (MPot, p.265, Fig. 34).

²⁸⁵ MPot, p. 293, Fig. 45.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 293, Fig. 45, Motive 18, C, 59-61, 70-100.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 293, Fig. 45, Motive 18, 55-8, 62-8.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 287, Fig. 42.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 286, Fig. 42, Motive 18, A, 1-32. For details of the origin and development of these forms cf. PP. 284-8.

series, more completely Mainland in origin, developed by the hybridization of the voluted class with LH III octopuses and palms.²⁹⁰

The final characteristic plant motive created in LH III A, 2 was the palm²⁹¹ whose popularity continued in LH III B,²⁹² and ended with a few last miserable descendants in III C.²⁹³ There do not exist direct ceramic links between these LH III motives and the LH II drooping palms which possessed pendant leaves with a strongly emphasized convex curve similar to the naturalistic trees of the Vaphio cup (see MPot Fig. 39) whose painted transcriptions they were. The LH III palms emphasize a secondary, concave curve and may not be directly descended from the Palace Style trees. Nevertheless, all these motives have probably the same ultimate ancestors, consisting of such naturalistic representations as on the Vaphio cup. An intermediate link between the Vaphio form and those of LH III is provided by some ivories from Tomb 6 at Deiras, belonging to the end of LH II. Here were found four palms cut out of ivory (Fig. XV.63) and a plaque carved with a palm and a sphinx (Fig. XV.62).²⁹⁴ These show the double curvature characteristic of the LH III palms. The same feature occurs on early LH III gems (Figs. XV.64-69).²⁹⁵ The LH III

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 291, Fig. 44, Motive 18, B, 33-34; cf. pp. 288-92, Fig. 43.

²⁹¹ LH II A 2 examples = MPot, p. 279, Fig. 39, 1-11.

²⁹² LH III B examples = MPot p. 279, Fig. 39, 12-19.

²⁹³ MPot, p. 281, Fig. 40, 20-22a (Motive 15, "Palm II")

²⁹⁴ BCH XXVIII (1904), 375, 385, Fig. 21; 386, Fig. 22. Vollgraff refers to comparable shapes on a glass plaque from Nauplia (Fig. XV.70) (Athanaion, 1897, Pl II, 1 = ArtPG IV, Fig. 505), and on a gold ornament (Praktika, 1897, 100; BCH, XXVIII (1904), 385). This burial is classified as an "isolated homogeneous find group" by Furumark (MChron, p. 53). However in MPot he dates Motives 7, 1 (duck) and 16, 7 (arcade) painted on vessels from this tomb as LH II B (cf. MPot, pp. 249, 281, Figs. 29, 40) and it forms a characteristic LH II B group in the chart in MChron, p. 85.

²⁹⁵ MPot, p. 279, Fig. 39, Motive 15, Glyptic, a-c. In his discussion of the origin of this motive (*Ibid.*, p. 278), Furumark is perturbed because he considers this palm type to be the only design for which Minoan, ceramic prototypes cannot be found. Nevertheless, he thinks that it is "ultimately a creation of Minoan art," but his arguments are not convincing; he refers to certain ornamental plants to be found on gold and ivory reliefs, and on seals of MM II date (cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 137, n. 1; 185, n. 11). At the same time, in reference to the palms on the Deiras ivories, he notes that "there is reason to believe that these ivories were made principally in the Mycenaean East, and the fact that the majority of the earlier palm representations of this type are found on Eastern vases may thus be of some significance." But he concludes that the possibility of unknown LM II Palace Style precedents should not be eliminated. On the whole, his treatment of the origin of this motive appears to reflect a bias in favor of Crete as the originator of representative motives (excluding those of the "pictorial" vases of course). There seems no good reason for denying to the Mainland the credit for originating this palm motive.

palms occurred most frequently on vases of the Levanto-Helladic style, and as filling on terminal pieces to the representational scenes. The palms were occasionally arranged in triple groups.

In the succeeding LH III B period there appear continuations of the same types, which require no further elucidation. Palms,²⁹⁶ triangular papyrus tufts with hooked “anthers,”²⁹⁷ and various “Mycenaean III flower” types²⁹⁸ are characteristic. The repertoire of main types was now very limited, although each is represented by a number of variants. Very little remains of this floral decoration by the time the LH III C styles have been developed. A few unrecognizable palm motives,²⁹⁹ and the last blooms of the triangular papyrus,³⁰⁰ and one “Mycenaean III Flower,”³⁰¹ represent the end of the long and stately series of LH vegetal design.

LATE HELLADIC III JEWELRY

LM III A furnishes the greater part of our examples. In fact a number of pertinent graves are classified by Furumark as LH III A, 1, that is, as belonging to the same traditional LH II-III phase as Tomb 6 at Deiras and the “Queen’s Tomb” at Dendra, whose ceramic ornaments have already been discussed under the heading of LH II. The main types of that period continue, although there are now a greater number of examples and variants. In addition, some completely new forms appear.

Plain lily corollas continue exactly as in LH II,³⁰² and there is a large variety of *waz*-lily forms.³⁰³

²⁹⁶ MPot Motive 15, 12-19.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Motive 18, C, 102-41.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Motive 18, A, 2032; B, 43-54.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Motive 15, 20-2.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Motive 18

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Motive 18, B, 49.

³⁰² Pro. II, 83, Fig. 359, 2; Pro. I, 269 (T. 41, dromos; gold). Pro. I, 305, II, 56, Fig. 242, 4 (T. 33, Cist II; paste). BSA, XXV (1921-3), 365. Fig. 79, n = 371, Fig. 81, g (Clytaemnestra tholos; grave pit in dromos; gold). RT, Pl. XXXV (T. 2; paste). Asine, p. 389, Fig. 252, left top (T. 2; paste).

A gold plaque with sacral ivy leaves from a grave pit in the dromos of the tholos of Clytaemnestra³⁰⁴ is practically identical with a LH II example from Mycenae. Triangular-tipped ivy leaves were fairly popular.³⁰⁵ Ivy leaves, cut out, or on individual, chevron-shaped plaques are found more commonly than in LH II.³⁰⁶ Plaques with continuous series of ivy or with stalked leaves variously arranged were popular.³⁰⁷ A unique design possibly related with the ivy motives occurs on a glass paste plaque from Menidi.³⁰⁸ The design may be interpreted as a lily corolla placed below an ivy volute with median lobe. Since in that case the spirals would have had to have undergone a unique spreading and flattening process, it seems more likely that the design really consists of two paired lilies diagonally placed, as on the plaque from Tomb 6 at Deiras. In the latter instance the presence of the median lobe is peculiar, but it is lacking on one version of the motive.

Among the new designs, the papyrus, which has not appeared since LH I, is the most striking. There a number of variously patterned triangular tufts, often with horizontal

³⁰³ RT, p. 29, gold object no. 4; Pl. XXVII (tholos, floor); *ibid.*, p. 24 Persson dates the tholos to LH III; Furumark places it in LH III A, 1 (MChron, p. 53). BSA XXV (1921-3), 355, Fig. 75, m (Atreus tholos; gold; twinned pendant); *ibid.*, 365, Fig. 79, j (gold foil; embossed). Asine, p. 389, Fig. 252, right top (T.2; ivory); 387, Fig. 251, left bottom (T. 2; gold). Tomb 2 was the largest at Asine and was used during LH II B - III A, 1, 2 and during III C (MChron, p. 54). The earlier deposits were much disturbed at the time of the second utilization of the chamber. Although detailed description of the tomb and its stratigraphy is given (Asine, pp. 162-170) and spots where clumps of various types of objects were found are mentioned, the publication does not state which particular small objects are derived from a specific *Fundplatz*, so that it is impossible to fit the ornaments into the stratigraphy. However, they all coincide with the general group of late LH II and early LH III.

Menidi, Pls. III, 10, 13, 14 (paste); VI, 11, 17, 19 (ivory); LH III B. BCH, II (1878), Pl. XV, 4 (Spata; ivory); LH III B.

³⁰⁴BSA XXV (1921-3), 365, Fig. 79, d.

³⁰⁵ILN, July 22, 1939, 162, Fig. 5 (Athens; gold): LH II B - III A, 1. BSA XXV (1921-3), 381, Fig. 87, c (Mycenae, Tholos of Genii; terracotta). RT, Pls. XXXI, 3; XXXII, 2 (Design on shoulder and handle of bronze jug; T. 2): LH III A, 1. BCH II (1878), Pl. XV, 3 (Spata; ivory?); LH III B. Menidi, Pl. VI, 18 (ivory); LH II B. Eph 1888, Pl. IX, 5 (Mycenae, Tsountas. T. ?; gold, associated objects).

³⁰⁶Delt., III (1917), 160, Fig. 119 (Kolonaki, T. 15; "unqualified stylistic group of LH III A, 1" (MChron, p. 54; gold?). BCH II (1878), Pl. XV, 1 (ivory?); LH II B. Asine, p. 387, Fig. 251, right, third row from top (gold). RT, Pl. XVIII, below (tholos).

³⁰⁷RT, p. 105, Fig. 80, Pl. XXXV (T. 2). Menidi, Pl. IV, 20 (paste). BSA XXV (1921-3), 385, Fig. 89, b (Mycenae, Genii tholos; paste. Menidi, Pl. IV, 3, 13, 15, 17, 19, 25 (paste).

³⁰⁸Menidi, Pl. IV, 12.

ribbing and dotted edge.³⁰⁹ More elaborate examples, closely akin to versions on LH III ivory carvings, were found at Asine and Spata.³¹⁰ Foliate bands appear on glass paste plaques and as the adornment of metal vessels.³¹¹

Certain forms from Prosymna and Menidi, which appear to be made of triple lobes combined with five smaller lobes, or at Spata with a papyrus-like motive, complete the summary of the LH III jewelry.³¹²

SOURCES FOR THE FIGURES

VIII.1	PM I, 231, PL. I, a
VIII.2	PM I, 110, Fig. 77, b
VIII.3	ArchC, Pl. XIX, 1 a
VIII.4	Festos, Pl. XVIII, a
VIII.5	Festos, p. 271, Fig. 154
VIII.6	PM I, 253, Fig. 190
VIII.7	PM I, 275, Fig. 204d
VIII.8	Festos, Pl. XXXI
VIII.9	Festos, Pl. XX, a
VIII.10	PM I, p. 594, Fig. 436c
VIII.11	PM II, 480, Fig. 287h
VIII.12	PM II, 480, Fig. 287g
VIII.13	PM II, 481, Fig. 288b
VIII.14	Same as Fig. VIII.64

³⁰⁹ BSA XXV (1921-3), Fig. 89 (Genii tholos; paste). Arch LXXXII (1932), Pl. XX, 12 (T. 523, paste). Pro. I, 269; Pro. II, 85, Fig. 362, 1 (T. 41, Cist I; gold); *ibid.*, I, 305; II, 56, Fig. 242, 3 (T. 33, Cist II; gold?); II, 56, Fig. 243, 3 may be a papyrus with median lobe. Delt. III (1917), 183, Fig. 132 (Kolonaki, T. 21; "isolated homogeneous find group" of LH III A, 2 [MChron, p. 58]). Menidi, Pl. III, 27 (paste); 21 (paste).

³¹⁰ Asine, p. 387, Fig. 251, right, second row from top (T. 2). BCH II (1878), Pl. XV, 9 (Spata; gold?).

³¹¹ RT, p. 105, Fig. 80; Pl. XXXV (T. 2). Asine, p. 394, Fig. 258 (T. 5; bronze jug's shoulder).

- VIII.15 PM II, 451, Fig. 264
- VIII.16 PM II Pl. X
- VIII.17 PM II, 455, Fig. 266 D
- VIII.18 PM II, 476, Fig. 284
- VIII.19 ArtC, 207, Fig. 358
- VIII.20 PM IV, 326, Fig. 267
- VIII.21 PM IV, 326, Fig. 268
- VIII.22 PM IV, 328, Fig. 271
- VIII.24 PM IV, 327, Fig. 269
- VIII.25 PM IV, 327, Fig. 270
- VIII.26 PM IV, 320, Fig. 260
- VIII.27 PM IV, 320, Fig. 261
- VIII.28 PM IV, 342, Fig. 285
- VIII.29 Eph 91914), PL. I, 1
- VIII.30 Schgr. Pl. CLXIX, 199
- VIII.31 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XVIII, 2
- VIII.32 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XIX, 1
- VIII.33 Eph. (1910), Pl. X, 2
- VIII.34 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XIX, 2
- VIII.35 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXIII, 2
- VIII.36 Arch LXXXII (1932), Pl. VI, 8
- VIII.37 Arch LXXXII (1932), Pl. III, 2
- VIII.38 Delt III (1917), 143, Fig. 105
- VIII.39 L. Pernier and G. Karo, *Antiquités Crétoises*, Première Série 2, Pl. XIV, 2
- VIII.40 Arch LXXXIX (1932), Pl. XXXIX, 3

³¹² Pro. I, 306; II, 74, Fig. 310, 15 (T. 38; glass paste; Blegen terms the form a double lily). Menidi, Pls. III, 11, 16 (paste); V, 32 (gold). BCH II (1878), Pl. XV, 5 (Spata; gold).

- VIII.41 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XX, 1
- VIII.42 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XX, 2
- VIII.43 ILN, Feb. 15, 1936, 278, Figs. 7, 12
- VIII.44 ILN, Feb. 15, 1936, 279, Fig. 14
- VIII.45 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXII, 2
- VIII.46 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXI
- VIII.47 ILN, Aug. 19, 1939, 314, bottom right
- VIII.48 Asine, p. 418, Fig. 272
- VIII.49 AM XXXIV (1909), Pl. XXII, 1
- VIII.50 Asine, p. 419, Fig. 273
- VIII.51 Arch LXXXII (1932), Pl. V, 15
- VIII.52 Delt. III (1917), 89, Fig. 64
- VIII.53 BSA, Sup. I, Pl. XXIII, a, b
- VIII.54 BSA VIII (1901-2), Pl. XVIII
- VIII.55 Arch. LXV (1913-14), 16, Fig. 23
- VIII.56 PM IV, 330, Fig. 272, a
- VIII.57 BSA Sup I, 104, Fig. 87, b
- VIII.58 Arch LXV (1913), 16, Fig. 23
- VIII.59 PM IV, 357, Fig. 300
- VIII.60 Arch LXV (1913), 16, Fig. 23
- VIII.61 Arch LIX (1905), 481, Fig. 1026
- VIII.62 PM IV, 338, Fig. 281
- VIII.63 ArtC, p. 210, Fig. 363
- VIII.64 PM IV, 324, Fig. 264
- VIII.65 Mon. Ant. XIV (1904), Pl XXXVII, b, c, 2a
- VIII.66 L. Pernier and G. Karo, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. XIV, 4

