

# On the road to the godhead: Aegean Bronze Age glyptic procession scenes

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## *Introduction*

THE PRIMORDIAL ROLE of the procession in human ritualized activity—regardless of the underlying belief system—needs hardly be stressed.<sup>1</sup> It serves not only as the prosaic means of transporting officials and celebrants between two points on an itinerary, but also constitutes both a performance in itself, and a transitional zone between two psychological states. Funerals are often accompanied by processions, designed both to honor the deceased, and to broadcast the grieving entity's economic/social/political clout. In the secular sphere, processions of gift bearers, frequently claimed by the receptor to be the envoys of vassal states pledging obedience to the ruler, of prisoners and booty captured on the battle field, of exotic goods from distant lands, form a major component in state propaganda. In artistic representations the festive garb, the ritual paraphernalia, the gifts, the sacrificial animals, the succession of chariots or warriors or participants serve to identify a scene as a depiction of a procession, and allow, occasionally, the modern beholder to reconstruct elements of the cult and to suggest hierarchical stations for certain actors. The non-religious depictions are often replete with identifications of origin for envoys, prisoners, exotica, permitting additions to reconstructed political histories. In short, the procession constitutes one of the more eloquent images in a culture's pictorial repertoire.

If not already a component of their ritual behavior patterns from times immemorial,<sup>2</sup> their position on the western fringe of the Near Eastern theocratic world would have provided the Minoans and the Mycenaeans with the incentive to make extensive use of the procession. The architecture itself of their palaces is sufficiently

1 Abbreviation used in the notes: *CMS* = *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*; *HM* = Herakleion Museum; *NM* = National Archaeological Museum, Athens; *OAM* = Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

indicative: large stairways, long corridors, (restored) state rooms in the *piano nobile*, courtyards with raised runways, and theatral seating arrangements provide the scene. Fragments of wall paintings, frequently from the spaces through which the processions would pass, at Knossos, Agia Triada, Tiryns, Thebes, and Pylos, provide tantalising, albeit severely damaged and heavily restored, glimpses of the inherent splendor.<sup>3</sup> To these may be added an amorphous cluster of depictions on finger rings, seals and sealings, that, although incapable of providing a synthetic view, offer a plethora of details leading to a richer—although hypothetical—image.<sup>4</sup>

Yet, in a parallel to research into Greek religion, where, in the earlier twentieth century, the procession received much interest, but faded from view despite the recent focus on ritual,<sup>5</sup> so, too, in the study of Bronze Age Greece, the above-mentioned discoveries led to some interest in the phenomenon, only to recede despite a scholarly orientation towards religion as ritual action.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the major textbooks on the subject do not offer comprehensive treatment of processions.<sup>7</sup> While the present paper does not propose a detailed study of the procession in Minoan and Mycenaean religion, it does attempt to place this aspect of ritual in

- 2 Processions from settlement to tomb area can be postulated from Prepalatial times onwards at the Mesara tholoi. There are pavements at the tombs of Koumasa, Platanos, Apesokari, Agios Kyrillos, a possible, although unproven, site for dancing. Cf. Branigan 1970:132–135, 1998:21–22.
- 3 Cf. Immerwahr 1990:*passim*.
- 4 See also the fishermen on the ECyc stand from Phylakopi (Sakellarakis *et al.* 1994:53 ill. 13), the gift-bearers on the MM III–LM I steatite rhyton fragment HM 426 from Knossos (Evans 1928:752 fig. 486, Nilsson 1950:183 fig. 87), and the officiants on the LM III Agia Triada sarcophagus (Long 1974:pls. 6, 15, 19, Sakellarakis *et al.* 1994:213–215 ills. 97–98) for representations of processions.
- 5 Graf 1996:54.
- 6 Part of the reason therefore may be sought in the non-publication of a much-awaited doctoral dissertation, which, it may be surmised, would have both become the standard textbook on the subject and led to further studies by other scholars. For glimpses of what this dissertation would have offered, cf. Boulotis 1987.
- 7 Evans 1930:719–757. Persson 1942 treats at least three rings with scenes of procession but avoids the subject. Picard 1948 contains disparate mentions but no overview. Nilsson 1950 does not discuss processions at any length (in fact the word does not even appear in the index), surprising in view of Nilsson 1951 (originally published 1916). Vermeule 1974:48–49. Warren 1989:14 (dance), 20, 22 (robe ritual), 24, 26 (flower rituals), 30, 34, 35 fig. 19. Marinatos 1993 contains scattered references (far more than the single entry in the index would indicate). In fact, since the pages by Arthur Evans, Marinatos 1986:32–35 is the only book-length study of those surveyed to propose a section on processions. Among shorter studies, Niemeier 1989 identifies one of his six groups of glyptic representations as depicting processions, but, with other purposes in mind, does not dwell on the subject. Cf. Hägg 2001 on Mycenaean, Burkert 1985:56, 99–102 on Greek processions. Also Hiller 1984 on the *te-o-po-ri-ja* procession in Linear B.

its proper place within the catalogue of glyptic themes, and within the chain of ritual acts that constitute this repertoire. It argues that the corpus of glyptic procession scenes is greater than those depictions which most frequently feature in the scholarly literature, and that a book-length study of Minoan and Mycenaean religions is incomplete without a separate chapter on processions. In doing so, it places the procession as motif within the framework of previous work by the present writer on Minoan-Mycenaean glyptic image clusters.

After attempts by earlier scholars to classify (Greek) processions according to their typological characteristics, resulting in a plethora of types,<sup>8</sup> a recent contribution has proposed a much simpler view according to which processions can be divided into two categories.<sup>9</sup>

*Centripetal* processions proceed from within the political unit (polis) to a, or the, central shrine. They are group-orientated (phratry, clan), and therefore allow no personal encounter with the deity. A typical example is the Panathenaic procession.<sup>10</sup>

*Centrifugal* processions depart from the political center, traversing wild space on its way to an external shrine.<sup>11</sup> This form leads to personal encounters with the deity, as in the typical instance, the Dionysiac revelry.<sup>12</sup> The Eleusinian Mysteries constitute a special form, with an asymmetrical structure, since after the highly collective journey from A to B, and the intensely personal events at B, there can be no return to A because for the *mystai* all that is A has totally changed.<sup>13</sup> An extreme form exists in the Bakkhic experience, which while originating in the polis never reaches a sanctuary, nor has any precise ritual.<sup>14</sup>

With some slight adjustments this classification would be valid for the Bronze Age as well, since some processions clearly moved from two points within or around the palace (centripetal), while others transported the community out from the center to the peak (or rural) sanctuaries (centrifugal).<sup>15</sup> However—and in spite

8 Cf. especially Nilsson 1951.

9 Graf 1996:56.

10 Graf 1996:57–59.

11 Among many examples, one may retain processions from Argos to the Argive Heraion, which not only serve to move the celebrants from the *polis* to the shrine, but to reinforce the Argive claim to ownership of the intervening plain, visibly stated through the extra-mural sanctuary. Cf. Morgan and Whitelaw 1991:84–86, 106–107, 108.

12 Graf 1996:60–61.

13 Graf 1996:61–64.

14 Graf 1996:64.

15 For the present purpose it is of little concern whether the participants of the procession proceeded in ‘procession mode’ from palace to peak sanctuary, or whether part of the journey was undertaken in ‘transport mode’.

of the imperfect knowledge of Minoan and Mycenaean processions—such a classification appears too simple. If a procession is defined as the movement of people and objects from A to B within the context of a ritual activity (mainly religious but not excluding secular variants), it is obviously articulated around three main components: the space traversed, the participants, and the goal (locus B).<sup>16</sup> These components generate sufficient variables to render it questionable whether processions should be distinguished merely on their centrifugal or centripetal movement. A second componential triad<sup>17</sup> adds the sartorial and millenary particulars of the participants, the various paraphernalia carried, and the nature of the gifts to the deity, suggesting further scope for distinction—if the available evidence admits to it.

From the inception of Aegean archaeology scholars recognized procession scenes not only on fragments of wall paintings, but also on a range of finger rings, seals and sealings. While the use of the procession was discussed, and a major study completed but never published, it was not until the seminal paper of W.-D. Niemeier that an attempt was made to unite the glyptic representations as an image type.<sup>18</sup> Niemeier's 'erste Gruppe', although labeled 'Minoisch-mykenische Kultszener: menschliche Verehrer mit oder ohne Kultbauten, ohne Götterdarstellung',<sup>19</sup> contains essentially 'menschliche Verehrer, die sich zumeist in einer exzerpthaft wiedergegebenen Prozession einem Kultbau nähern.'<sup>20</sup> The classification includes: two and three women approaching a construction, two, three and four women in undefined space, a man and a woman in undefined space, a man or a woman in front of a construction, as well as slight variations on these themes (a man and a goat in front of a construction, a man among five pillars). As it is the fate of all classifications to encounter criticism and suffer the slings and arrows of proposed modification ('improvements'), so too that of Niemeier.<sup>21</sup> The Niemeier classification is interpretation-based: inclusion in a group is warranted if a scene corresponds to the classificatory concept.<sup>22</sup> Structurally, the included scenes may exhibit substantial differences, but these are subordinate to the theme. This does not exclude that a number of inclusions form structural sub-groups (and are frequently ordered in the figures to suggest this). However, the classification by interpreted theme (and particularly by identifying depictions of deities) leads to a system that places images of similar structure in different groups. An alternative classification based on the pictorial structure tempered by image content not only

16 Cf. Graf 1996:56 for the three components.

17 Not considered by Graf 1996.

18 Niemeier 1989.

19 Niemeier 1989:168 caption to fig. 1.

20 Niemeier 1989:167.

results in different groupings, but questions several identifications of deities. It will thus be argued below that the procession scenes are far more numerous, and that they form one of the more complex groups of images in the corpus of Minoan-Mycenaean glyptic ritual scenes: a problematic canonical, many variants, and a close relationship with several other groups.

*A methodological excursus*

Central to the present attempt to classify the procession scenes is the concept of the cluster.<sup>23</sup> A cluster is defined as a group of representations that congregate around a common master-type,<sup>24</sup> the physically non-existent ideal form of the message, the conceptual image subjacent to the creative act. All members of a cluster share a pictorial structure,<sup>25</sup> the system which rules how the various components (human figures, architectural elements, animals, vegetation, cultic objects) are organized within the confines of the two-dimensional space.<sup>26</sup> The support is divided into zones which, according to the pictorial structure, are defined as authorized to contain a restricted range of components. The components themselves are divided, on the basis of their nature and positioning, into primary features, which impact on the cluster-forming process, secondary traits, neither universal nor irreplaceable, and incidental additions, which may play a non-negligible role for the individual image, but do not recur systematically. Each image of a cluster stands in a relationship of varying distance from the master-type and from the other members of the cluster population, so that one

21 The present author's writings (Wedde 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1999, Thomas and Wedde 2001:5–9) on Minoan and Mycenaean ritual glyptic scenes are largely inspired by Niemeier 1989. The object is to propose a carefully argued and explicated methodology, the systematic application thereof resulting in a competing classification. The classification will not only argue in favor of certain groups based on image structure and content, but also examine rival structures and their consequences for the classification and interpretation of the representations. Any criticism of Niemeier's paper is not to be understood as a rejection of same but as the results of approaching the material from a different methodological angle. The final product (project title: *Talking hands*) is not conceived of as an 'improvement' on Niemeier 1989 (or selected pages of Nilsson 1950 or Marinatos 1993, to mention but two other key works in the history of research), but rather as a study of method and its impact on the resulting narrative.

22 The scenes are interpreted as depicting (rephrased from Niemeier 1989:figs. 1–6 to show pattern): 1. Adorant with/without construction, no deity. 2. Adorant with deity appearing from above. 3. Adorant and deity in same size. 4. Adorant with seated goddess. 5. Adorant shaking tree/leaning on baetyl with appearance of deity. 6. Depictions of deities.

23 On this method, cf. Wedde 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2000:18–23.

24 The 'icon' in the terminology of Crowley 1989:208–211.

25 Termed 'iconographical schemata' by Sourvinou-Inwood 1989:242, 247.

26 'Iconic space' in Sourvinou-Inwood 1989:242, 247.

individual can be designated the paradigm case, the most trenchant statement.<sup>27</sup> The variability inherent in any pictorial system depending on a multitude of artisans and artists to translate into images religious concepts (such as invocation, manifestation, adoration, *etc.*) for which single dogmatic models do not exist, leads to a vast scatter of individual representations that hover around a number of master-types. The relationship which each item of this scatter entertains with one or more master-types may be defined as canonical, variant or marginal. Images that respect the master-type to the greatest degree form a group of canonicals. Varying degrees of variation on one or more axes at the level of the zone (omission, addition, content) result in variants.<sup>28</sup> The marginal is a depiction that either combines building blocks from the pictorial structure of more than one cluster, placing it *à cheval* on cluster borders, or does not contain sufficient information to allow an unquestionable assignation to a cluster.<sup>29</sup>

By virtue of its imaginary nature, the master-type does not constitute the key to an objective framework for a classification: the cluster approach is a construct of the modern beholder, and reveals nothing of how the creators of the documents conceived of their interrelationship. It is merely a methodological scaffolding over which to drape a narrative that purports to reconstruct—in the present case—aspects of the religions of the Minoans and the Mycenaean. That this is so may be illustrated by reference to the entry point into the cluster, the paradigm case.<sup>30</sup> The chosen paradigm case determines the further shape of the cluster in terms of canonicals, variants and marginals. Here—unavoidably and regrettably—the scholar has tremendous impact:<sup>31</sup> the objective typology is a myth. A typology results from conscious (and subconscious: the scholar's 'hidden agenda') choices during the classificatory process (that of which notice is taken, and that which is ignored/filtered out): if a typology is true, it is true to its maker and to whoever elects to swear by it.

27 The 'prototypical' in Crowley 1989:208–211.

28 Although not analysed to any greater extent, morphologically the members of Niemeier's six groups behave in a similar fashion. There is a subtle internal play, a gradation beginning from the first image of the group and traveling through the group members, a canonical and its variations. But the interpretation-based approach causes abrupt shifts to wholly differently structured images.

29 On the marginal, *cf.* especially Wedde 1995b:275–278.

30 This is just as valid for Niemeier 1989, although here discussions of method are kept out of the reader's sight. The first image in each of Niemeier's six groups constitutes something of a paradigm case, but on the higher level of interpretation, rather than on the lower one of image structure.

31 *Talking hands* will further examine this issue, particularly the 'doors' not chosen and the paths not taken.

Two further aspects impact on the clusters and the interpretations that they generate. In the first class of images examined here the oft-noted phenomenon of 'quotations' plays a particularly forceful role.<sup>32</sup> Variant B can be considered a quote of the Canonical, with the omission of the construction. Variant C stands in a similar relationship to Variant A.<sup>33</sup> A number of marginals are included in the *Scenes of Procession* as single-figure quotes of paraphernalia-bearers because of the presumed improbability of their belonging to a different cluster. Similarly, a group of single figure depictions are included among the marginalia because of a (perceived) thematic appurtenance. While not sufficient to warrant identical cluster assignments due to incompatible image structures, linkages across cluster borders increase the range of possible contexts for a given gesture, garment or object, and thus impact on the interpretation. For example, the gesture 'hand raised to forehead' cannot be interpreted solely on the basis of its appearance in the *Scenes of Manifestation*, at the moment the deity appears as a small floating figure, but must be studied across the entire range of occurrences—which include *Scenes of Adoration* and *of Procession*.<sup>34</sup> Another example is provided by bearers of batons/staffs, persons of high status that must be studied holistically rather than according to individual scholar's predilections.<sup>35</sup>

#### *Scenes of Procession*

*Scenes of Procession* in Minoan and Mycenaean glyptic imagery are defined as depictions of mortals in generally single-file movement across the support. Occasionally the participants proceed towards a construction in a classic end-stopped composition.<sup>36</sup> In such cases no direct interaction with the construction (or the element which occupies the zone) is shown, beyond a gesture, a from-a-distance acknowledgement.<sup>37</sup> The key component is the linear movement, generally signal-

32 Niemeier 1987:167, Warren 1989:30.

33 This is true for only some of the members of Variants B and C since these clusters also contain scenes with figures that have no corresponding 'complete' image in the Canonical and Variant A (men in hide skirt, bearers of gifts and paraphernalia, dignitaries).

34 On this problem, cf. Wedde 1999:914–919. For the definition of the *Scenes of Manifestation* (scenes in which a deity appears as a small floater to the adorant [thus partially aligned on Niemeier's Group 2, but also comprising almost all of his Group 5]) and *Scenes of Adoration* (the seated deity receives homage from the adorant [including all of Niemeier's Group 4]), cf. Wedde 1992.

35 On such figures, cf. the comprehensive studies in Hallager 1985, Niemeier 1987, Younger 1995.

36 An 'end-stopped composition' is defined as an image that is closed off to one or both sides by a construction or large vegetal element so as to preclude a continuity beyond the surface of the support. Without 'end-stopping' at either end (or at the tail end if there is a construction at the other) it cannot be ascertained that the image does not constitute a quotation from a more complete representation.

ed by the in-profile aspect of the figures. Some figures turn their upper torso frontally towards the beholder, but without losing the sense of dynamic movement (as opposed to scenes involving stationary movement, ‘wiggling on the spot’, that has been understood as dancing).<sup>38</sup> This paratactic arrangement of in-profile figures one behind the other enables the recognition of depictions with linear movement but no destination as procession-scenes. While a web of interconnections aid in identifying down to single figures in non-defined space as quotations from scenes of processions, the core of the cluster stresses the multiple participants.<sup>39</sup>

Methodologically, the *Scenes of Procession* are of particular interest since the canonical expression—scenes depicting three figures moving towards a construction—does not contain conclusive proof that a procession is depicted (beyond the fact that they are treated as such by the literature).<sup>40</sup> The confirmation is provided by certain members of Variant B. Furthermore, the designated canonical is not the only possible entry point into the cluster, since undoubted procession scenes appear severally in Variants B and C.<sup>41</sup> These could arguably constitute a potential canonical. The choice of canonical is founded on a basic trait of processions: the multiplicity of participants, and on the concept of pictorial structures, *i.e.* building blocks of different nature and value.<sup>42</sup>

Canonical: three figures moving towards a construction.

Variant A: two figures moving towards a construction.

Variant B: three figures in the field, no construction; includes men dressed in hide skirt, dignitaries.

37 Due to the small size of the support and the limited opportunities for inscribing empty space, the difference between movement towards a construction and arrival at/interaction with the same is often minimal. The *Scenes of Supplication* studied *infra* offer a contrast that illustrates the opposition.

38 Cf. *infra* ‘An excursus on dance’.

39 The size of rings and seals preclude the *mise en scene* of more than four or five figures at the most, making all glyptic procession scenes by definition quotations from a more expansive master-image, *e.g.* a wall painting—with the caveat that no wall paintings remain, even in fragments, depicting the full range of actions that the glyptic corpus (as it is understood here) associates with processions.

40 It is assumed that figures depicted in profile on a row are shown in movement towards a target, represented or outside the picture surface. Such an assumption excludes any depth to the image, on the insufficient reasoning that partial overlap suffices. ‘Three women moving in a row towards a shrine’ could also signify ‘three women abreast in front of a shrine’. This becomes especially true if one adopts the stance on gestures of C. Morris and A. Peatfield, to wit, that they are means of inducing ecstatic trance (*cf. e.g.* Morris 2001, Morris and Peatfield, this volume). Performing any one of the gestures that Morris and Peatfield have identified as trance inducing would impact on the reading of an image as a procession scene, since the process of attaining a state of trance requires a stationary (and frequently uncomfortable) posture.

41 None of these scenes are included in Niemeier 1989. In the listings *infra* this is noted by the absence of a reference to *op. cit.*



Variant C: two figures in the field, no construction; includes men dressed in hide skirt, carriers of ritual paraphernalia, dignitaries.

Marginals: Tiryns *Genii* ring, single figures bearing gifts or ritual paraphernalia.<sup>43</sup>

#### CANONICAL

1. Mycenae Chambertomb 71 silver finger ring with partially preserved gold bezel.<sup>44</sup>
2. Pylos palace Room 98 clay sealing.<sup>45</sup>
3. Aidonia gold finger ring Beta.<sup>46</sup>
4. Mycenae Chambertomb 55 gold finger ring.<sup>47</sup>
5. Aidonia gold finger ring Gamma.<sup>48</sup>

Three female figures moving across the support towards a construction compose the canonical image. The construction varies in shape and complexity on each member, but in terms of its function within the pictorial structure, it remains constant: the focus towards which the women are moving. In each case it is a shrine.<sup>49</sup> Of interest are: the rocks upon which stands the shrine on Aidonia Beta (#3), perhaps suggesting a peak sanctuary—a reading that must explain the paving over which move the women;<sup>50</sup> the doubling of the shrine behind the women on Aidonia Gamma (#5), which coupled with the paving suggests a more complex sanctuary layout. The women perform several gestures. The central woman on Chambertomb 71 (#1) performs an approximation of the ‘adoration gesture’ (G4, if not G5).<sup>51</sup> Similar gestures are performed by all three women on Chambertomb

42 The number in the listing corresponds to the illustration. The illustrations have been scanned (and, if necessary, retouched) from the following sources: CMS ([photocopies] 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 14–23, 25, 32, 36–39, 41–59, 62, 65–67, 72–73, 75, 77–79, 81, 83, 85–87, 89–90); Niemeier 1989 (1–2, 4, 6, 8, 11–13, 26–31, 33–35, 68–71, 74, 76, 82, 84, 88); Nilsson 1950 (40); Marinatos 1986 (80, 91); Marinatos 1993 (60–61, 63–64); sketch by author from Demakopolou 1996 (24).

43 The analyses which follow are by necessity short. A more detailed examination of sartorial and millenary fashions, gestures, targeted constructions, and depicted space in general will have to follow in *Talking hands*. The notes provide data on the following pattern: ‘Museum number. Date. CMS number (if applicable). Niemeier (N) 1989 number (if applicable). Further references (if necessary).’

44 NM 2972. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 108. N1.2. Persson 1942:59 suggests that the lower half of the ring was engraved directly onto the silver and has corroded.

45 NM 8479. LH III B. CMS I nr. 313. N1.6. Probably from gold ring.

46 Nemea 549. LH II. CMS VS.1B nr. 114. Krystalli-Votsi 1989:38–40, pls. 5α, 7, Demakopoulou 1996:49 nr. A17.

47 NM 2853. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 86. N1.1.

48 Nemea 548. LH II. CMS VS.1B nr. 115. Krystalli-Votsi 1989:40–42, pls. 5δ, 8, Demakopoulou 1996:50 nr. A18.

49 It is generally agreed that the construction is a shrine. The suggestion by Evans 1901:184 caption to fig. 58 that a sacred gateway is depicted has not been retained.

50 Paved route ascending to shrine, paving at the peak sanctuary, depicted in a paratactic decomposition into constituent components.

55 (#4), and by the second two women on Aidonia Beta (#3), but in these latter two cases and on the Mycenae ring (#4) a vegetal element is raised.<sup>52</sup> The slightly backward-leaning stance of the women on Aidonia Beta could suggest the swaying of dance,<sup>53</sup> whereas the second two women on Aidonia Gamma (#5) appear to be engaged in chatter.<sup>54</sup>

#### VARIANT A

6. Eleusis West nekropolis Grave Ηπ3 steatite precious metal ring mould.<sup>55</sup>

7. Aidonia gold finger ring Alpha.<sup>56</sup>

8. Mega Monastiri Grave Gamma gold finger ring.<sup>57</sup>

9. Knossos clay sealing.<sup>58</sup>

10. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing.<sup>59</sup>

51 The references to gesture-types refer to Wedde 1999:914 with pl. CCX.

52 On Chambertomb 71 (#1) the first two women hold a vegetal spray in the lowered hand as well. On Aidonia Beta (#3) each woman holds a flower of a species difficult to determine in her right hand. Krystalli-Votsi 1989:38 suggests a lotus in the bud stage. The second and third woman have raised it above her head, while the first holds it with the back of the hand against her hip—a posture imposed by the tree on the rocky outcrop of the shrine, which is forced to lean in above this woman by the limits of the support. Vasilikou 1997:35 hesitates to see flowers, suggesting, due to the weight of the object, a club or hammer, and refers to Papapostolou 1977:79 and pl. 42 (= CMS VS.1A nr. 177). The reading as flowers seems preferable. Persson 1942:60 reconstructs 'branches or some similar objects' in the lowered hands on Chambertomb 71. Mayer 1892:190 n.5 and Persson 1942:57 claim the human figures on Chambertomb 55 (#4) to be men (or eunuchs in Persson's case). At the time of writing the National Archaeological Museum is closed in preparation for the 2004 Olympic games, prohibiting autopsy, but studying the black and white photographs in CMS and in Vasilikou 1997:34 fig. 18, and a splendid color rendition in Sakellarakis *et al.* 1994:289 ill. 84, confirms the presence of breasts on at least the first two. According to Tsountas 1900:9, the third woman on this ring holds a knife in her lowered hand, but comparison with the lowered hands on the other two women on Sakellarakis *et al.* 1994:289 ill. 84 indicates that it is the stalk of the vegetal element, from which the artist has omitted to cut the leaves (*cf.* CMS I nr. 86). The forearm has been cut slightly longer, pushing the branch to the edge of the bezel. This observation leads to a second: the first woman is likewise to be reconstituted as holding a branch in her raised right hand—again the edge of the ring intervenes (*cf.* Tsountas 1900:9). The elbow of this arm, in turn, obliges the artist to omit the left horn from the horns of consecration which would conflict with it (*cf.* Evans 1901:189).

53 Krystalli-Votsi 1989:38 opts for ritual dancing for Aidonia Beta (#3) and refers to Papapostolou 1977:74 with pl. 38 nr. 28 (= CMS VS.1A nr. 176, here #72). *Infra* this reading for the Khania-Kastelli sealing is rejected.

54 Krystalli-Votsi 1989:40 interprets the scene as a ritual ecstatic dance.

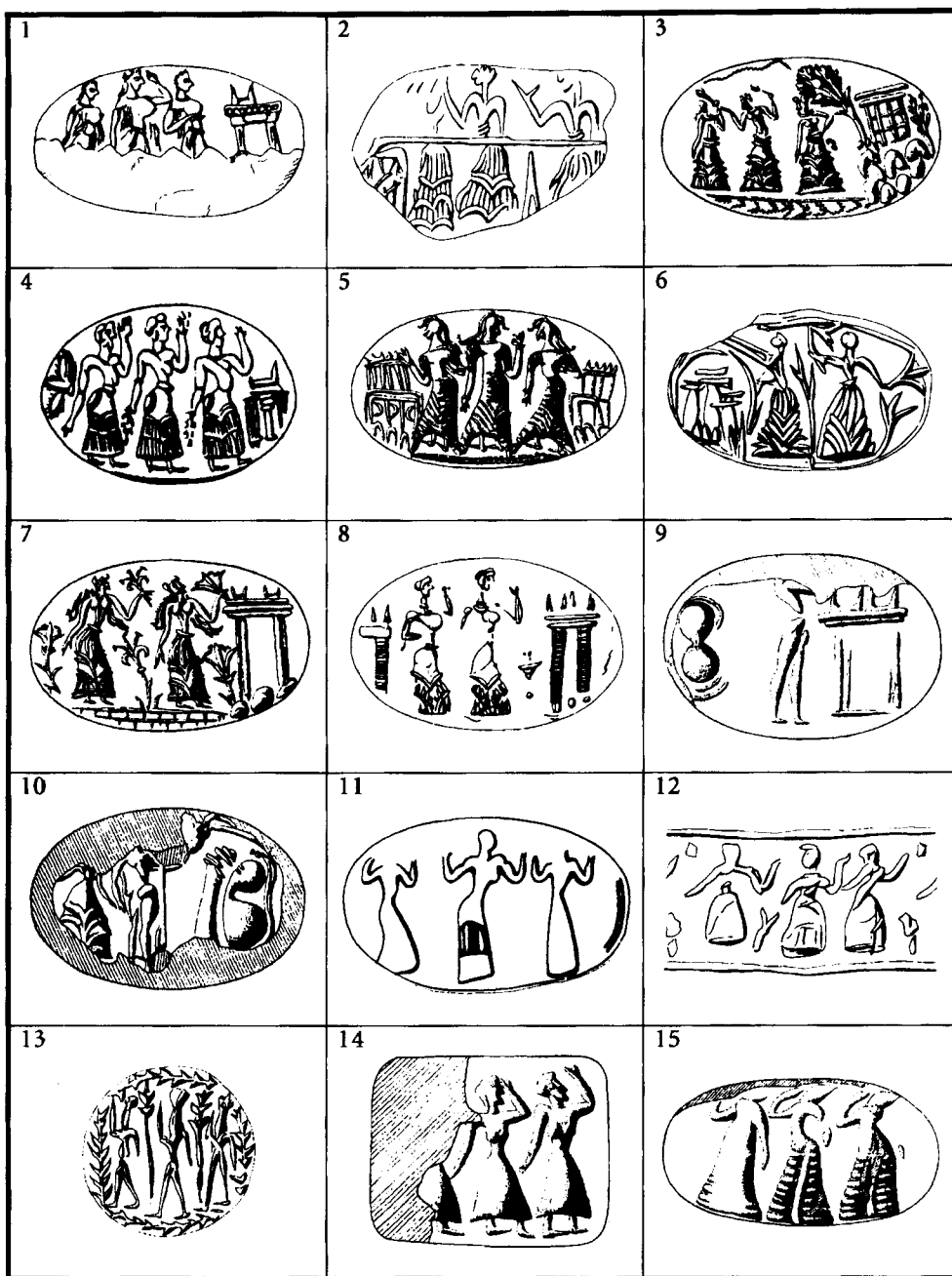
55 Eleusis no inv. nr. LH II–III context. CMS V nr. 422. Mylonas 1975:306 and pl. 64.

56 Nemea 550. LH II. CMS VS.1B nr. 113. Krystalli-Votsi 1989:35–37, Demakopoulou 1996:49 nr. A16. See also CMS VS.1B p. 468 (= col. pl. 2) nr. 113.

57 Volos M107. LH III A1–B1 context. CMS V nr. 728. N1.3.

58 HMs 378. LM I. CMS II.8 nr. 272. N1.9.

59 HMs 1135. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 5. On the date of House A, see I. Pini in CMS II.7 p. XV.



Variant A repeats the pictorial structure, the vegetal elements and the gestures of the canonical but reduced the number of adorants to two.<sup>60</sup> All three constructions towards which the women move appear to be built on rocks (that behind the women on Mega Monastiri [#8] is cut off by the limits of the support). The Eleusis mould (#6) is rather summarily cut, but it appears tolerably clear that the flowers held by the second woman, and at least two of the three vegetal elements interspersed between the women, are lilies.<sup>61</sup> A lily is also held by the second woman on Aidonia Alpha (#7), and another grows in front of her. The first woman raises a papyrus flower; a further two grow left and right of the women.<sup>62</sup> The flowing movement of the Aidonia women over the paved surface suggests dancing to some beholders.<sup>63</sup> Both women on Mega Monastiri perform Gesture G4. A flower grows between the shrine and the first woman.<sup>64</sup> The Knossian sealing (#9) is a tentative inclusion: the figure-eight shield may be a mere object, but given the frequent existence of mortals or deities behind such shields (#17–19) the scene may be attributed to this cluster.<sup>65</sup> The scene from Kato Zakros (#10), depicting a man and a woman in front of a pillar, a figure-eight shield and a bow adheres to the pictorial structure of Variant A, while placing the interpretational aspects on a different level.<sup>66</sup>

#### VARIANT B

##### 11. Mycenae Lower town clay sealing.<sup>67</sup>

- 60 Krystalli-Votsi 1989:35 argues that Aidonia Alpha may depict only part of a scene.
- 61 Mylonas 1975:306 identifies the object in her raised hand as a bird, perhaps a dove, while that in her lowered hand is not analysed beyond a designation as 'offering.'
- 62 Vasilikou 1997:35.
- 63 Krystalli-Votsi 1989:35.
- 64 Were it not for the two birds fluttering inside the shrine on the Dendra Grave 10 gold ring (NM 8748. LH I–II. CMS I nr. 191. N1.5), the representation would have been assigned to Variant A, indicating the linkages between various clusters in specific, and in pictorial language in general. Niemeier 1989:168 fig. 1 includes it in his first group.
- 65 If incorrectly classified here, it is not a procession scene at all, but rather a supplication scene and should follow on #90 *infra*.
- 66 It should be noted that the most eloquent scenes of the Canonical and Variant A groups date to Late Helladic III—with the exception of the LH II Aidonia rings. Adhering to a strict chronological order (where a date is secure) would appreciably alter the classification, and the order in which the members appear in the listings, with no gain in clarity. Doing so would also necessitate assuming that the absence of early scenes of master-type quality is real, and not a result of the vagaries of deposition and recovery. Since the classification constitutes a typological order imposed upon the extant material by an external modern beholder, with little or no relationship to original Minoan and Mycenaean thought patterns, this *en toute somme* slight inelegance is suffered in quasi-silence.
- 67 NM 7629. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 162. N1.21.

12. Benaki gold roll seal.<sup>68</sup>
13. Mycenae Akropolis steatite lentoid.<sup>69</sup>
14. Knossos Archive Deposit rectangular clay sealing.<sup>70</sup>
15. Malia Maison Δα lead ring bezel.<sup>71</sup>
16. Nerokourou serpentine lentoid.<sup>72</sup>
17. Knossos Doorway south from Hall of the Colonnades clay sealing.<sup>73</sup>
18. Knossos Room of the Warrior clay sealing.<sup>74</sup>
19. Knossos Room of the Seal Impressions clay sealing fragment.<sup>75</sup>
20. Mycenae Chambertomb 103 rock crystal lentoid.<sup>76</sup>
21. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing H8.<sup>77</sup>
22. Agia Triada clay sealing T135.<sup>78</sup>
23. Mycenae Lower Town clay sealing.<sup>79</sup>

The frequent use of quotations and *pars pro toto* compositions in Minoan and Mycenaean glyptics suggests that one possible variation on the canonical theme is the omission of the structure to concentrate on the human figures. The recurrence of gestures present in the Canonicals and Variant A confirm the connection as a form of linkage. The Mycenae Lower town sealing (#11) depicts three women moving from left to right with their hands raised. The same gesture is performed by the middle woman on Aidonia Beta (#3).<sup>80</sup> The figures on the Benaki (#12), Mycenae Akropolis (#13) and Knossos Archive Deposit (#14) seals and the Malia ring (#15) have all one hand raised, the other lowered, as, for example, on Aidonia Alpha (#7). The highly stylized rendition on the singular Nerokourou lentoid (#16) does not allow certainty as to gestures. The vegetal elements that surround the three men on the Mycenae Akropolis lentoid (#13) suggest a connection to the instances of flowers and branches among the Canonical and Variant A representa-

68 Benaki 2080. LH. CMS V nr. 197. N1.20.

69 NM 5409. LH III. CMS I nr. 42. N1.29.

70 HMs 668. LM I. CMS II.8 nr. 265. N1.19. Evans 1935:608 fig. 597Ab restores four women, reproduced by Niemeier.

71 Agios Nikolaos 11384. MM III–LM I. CMS VS.1A nr. 58.

72 Khandia A3208. MM III–LM I. CMS VS.1A nr. 186.

73 HMs 260, 271, 361. LM I, but in LM III A or B context. CMS II.8 nr. 276. Cf. Gill 1965 R60 + 63, pl. 15 no. R63, with Evans 1930:313 fig. 205; Younger 1988:pl. 24.7, 1995:157 cat. nr. 7 with pl. LLe.

74 HMs 362. LM I. CMS II.8 nr. 277. Evans 1930:313 fig. 204.

75 HMs 1639. LM I. CMS II.8 nr. 278.

76 NM 4927. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 132.

77 HMs 44/10 etc. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 15. Hogarth 1902:78 nr. 8, fig. 6, pl. VI.8.

78 HMs 485/1-5. LM I B. CMS II.6 nr. 9. Levi 1925–26:138 nr. 135, fig. 151, pl. XIV.

79 NM 7631. LH III. CMS I nr. 170. Cf. the Knossian steatite fragment referred to in n. 4 *supra*.

80 This gesture G13 is very similar to G15, often considered an ‘epiphanic’ gesture, performed by deities. Cf. especially Alexiou 1958.

tions. As noted above, the connection with processions is not guaranteed for the items hitherto discussed. Confirmation is provided by the next three images. The three Knossian sealings with warriors behind figure-of-eight shields (#17–19), the first with a lightly dressed male bringing up the rear (?),<sup>81</sup> successfully evoke a procession.<sup>82</sup> On Chambertomb 103 (#20) the two women are preceded by a man in a hide skirt, a garment with undoubted associations to processions. The three men in a hurry on the Kato Zakros sealing (#21) and the two men accompanying the woman on Agia Triada T135 (#22, probably the most obvious procession scene in the entire glyptic repertoire) are likewise clad in the hide skirt.<sup>83</sup> Finally, the Mycenae sealing (#23) appears to depict three men bearing offerings in outstretched hands.<sup>84</sup>

#### VARIANT C

24. Aidonia gold ring Delta.<sup>85</sup>
25. Agia Triada clay sealing T122.<sup>86</sup>
26. Knossos 'House of the Frescoes' limestone cushion seal.<sup>87</sup>
27. Gournia steatite lentoid.<sup>88</sup>
28. Agios Ioannis (Knossos) steatite lentoid.<sup>89</sup>
29. Ashmolean steatite lentoid.<sup>90</sup>

- 81 Interpreted by Younger 1988:78 cat. 65 as an *aulos* player.
- 82 It cannot be excluded that the Knossian warrior sealings (#17–19) have more in common with the file of warriors on the Akrotiri miniature wallpainting (Doumas 1992:58 ill. 26, 60–61 ill. 28) and the Warrior Vase from Mycenae (Sakellarakis *et al.* 1994:232 ill. 5), but a martial component is not unknown in processions (e.g. the Panathenaic).
- 83 The hide skirt is discussed *infra* n. 115.
- 84 Probably in a bowl as on the steatite fragment referred to in n. 4 *supra*. Two curious images are best relegated to a footnote. A lentoid from Crete (BM [GR/R] 1874.4-5.4. LM II. CMS VII nr. 130) depicts three men moving from right to left. The first crouches; the second strides, probably helmeted, towards him, raising his right hand as if to tap the first in the back of the head; the third stands still, performing a similar gesture to the second, while holding a sword behind his back. On the second lentoid, from Tragana Grave I, near Pylos (NM 8404. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 263) the armed man, here with a spear, has dispatched the helmeted one, who is shown head downwards, feet up, and stabs the crouching man in the back. Although these two representations formally fill the requirements of Variant B, their contents exclude a reading as scenes of procession. Their internal connection is noted by CMS VII nr. 130.
- 85 NM BE 1996/11.2. LH II. Demakopoulou 1996:71 nr. B2. The designation as ring Delta is used here as the object belongs to the same context as rings Alpha, Beta and Gamma (*cf.* Krystalli-Votsi 1989), but was illegally removed from the excavation and offered for sale in New York in 1993, whence it was repatriated, *cf.* Demakopoulou 1996:17–20.
- 86 HMs 486/1-4, 489/1-2. LM I B. CMS II.6 nr. 13. Levi 1925–26:130 nr. 122, fig. 138, pl. XIV.
- 87 HM 1288. *Terminus post quem non* LM I B. CMS II.3 nr. 17. N1.23.
- 88 HM 395. LM I. CMS II.3 nr. 236. N1.24.
- 89 HM 1607. Undated. CMS II.3 nr. 169. N1.25.



30. Ashmolean steatite lentoid.<sup>91</sup>  
 31. Ashmolean steatite lentoid.<sup>92</sup>  
 32. Sklavokambos Room 1 clay sealing.<sup>93</sup>  
 33. Cabinet des Médailles steatite lentoid.<sup>94</sup>  
 34. Midea haematite lentoid.<sup>95</sup>  
 35. Perdika (Aigina) steatite cushion seal.<sup>96</sup>  
 36. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing 188.<sup>97</sup>  
 37. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing 186.<sup>98</sup>  
 38. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing 187.<sup>99</sup>  
 39. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing.<sup>100</sup>  
 40. Copenhagen steatite(?) lentoid.<sup>101</sup>  
 41. Malia Maison Δα steatite lentoid.<sup>102</sup>  
 42. Agia Triada clay sealing T124.<sup>103</sup>  
 43. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing H6.<sup>104</sup>  
 44. Agia Triada clay sealing T125.<sup>105</sup>  
 45. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing H10.<sup>106</sup>  
 46. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing H10.<sup>107</sup>  
 47. Agia Triada clay sealing T126.<sup>108</sup>  
 48. Sklavokambos Room 1 clay sealing.<sup>109</sup>
- 90 OAM 1938.1146. LM I. Kenna 1960:126 nr. 253, pl. 10.253. N1.27.  
 91 OAM 1938.1147. LM I. Kenna 1960:126 nr. 252, pl. 10.252. N1.28.  
 92 OAM 1938.1009. LM I. Kenna 1960:129 nr. 284, pl. 11.284. N1.26.  
 93 HMs 642. LM I. CMS II.6 nr. 267. This is a tentative inclusion given the fragmentary nature.  
 94 Paris Cabinet des Médailles N4429. LH. CMS IX nr. 164. N3.7.  
 95 NM 8771. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 195. N3.11.  
 96 Aigina 2187. (Considered in CMS to be possibly post-BA). CMS V nr. 11. N3.12.  
 97 HMs 18/2. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 12. Levi 1925–26:180 nr. 188, fig. 226, pl. XVIII.  
 98 HMs 18/1. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 14. Levi 1925–26:179 nr. 186, fig. 224, pl. XVIII.  
 99 HMs 44/9. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 13. Levi 1925–26:180 nr. 187, fig. 225, pl. XVIII.  
 100 HMs 64/2, 71/2. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 11.  
 101 Copenhagen, National Museum 1361. LM I–II. CMS XI nr. 238. Nilsson 1950:157 fig. 65.  
 102 HM 1457. LM I B (on the date *cf.* CMS II.3 p. xxxvi). CMS II.3 nr. 146.  
 103 HMs 592. LM I B. CMS II.6 nr. 10. Levi 1925–26:131 nr. 124, fig. 140, pl. IX.  
 104 HMs 71/1, 2. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 7. Hogarth 1902:77–78 nr. 6, fig. 5, pl. VI.6.  
 105 HMs 441/1–28 *etc.* (256 different sealings). LM I. CMS II.6 nr. 11. Levi 1925–26:131 nr. 125, fig. 141, pl. XIV. The vertical lines to the right are probably part of a construction, suggesting that this image could be classified as a Variant A, among which it hardly fits content-wise (it would also require assuming the presence of a second construction to the left).  
 106 HMs 17/1 *etc.* LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 16. Hogarth 1902:78 nr. 10, pl. VI.10. Levi 1925–26:158–159 nr. 10.  
 107 HMs 17/2. LM I B. CMS II.7 nr. 17. Hogarth 1902:78 nr. 10, pl. VI.10 [not same representation as previous].  
 108 HMs 583. LM I B. CMS II.6 nr. 12. Levi 1925–26:132 nr. 126, fig. 142, pl. IX.



Variant C contains a large number of variations on Variant A, quoting the two human figures without reference to architectural elements. As in Variant B, the members are divided into two groups, one reduced to figures snipped out of the standard scene, the other showing the actors dressed for the occasion and/or carrying ritual paraphernalia. Eight members (#24–31) constitute straight-forward inclusions. Aidonia Delta (#24) depicts two women with one hand raised to the face, the other lowered and holding a papyrus flower (the first) and a lily (the second), a pendant to Aidonia Alpha (#7), but with the flower switching hands. The next six are simpler compositions, two women or a woman and a man, performing gesture G4 or G5 almost always in empty space. In most cases there is clear indications of movement. The Sklavokambos sealing (#32) depicting two women is a tentative addition to the group and is reconstructed to allow inclusion here on the basis of what remains of the image.

The inclusion of the next three seals (#33–36) in a cluster depicting—by definition—mortals only may appear controversial. The Cabinet des Médailles and Midea lentoids and the Perdika cushion seal have been assigned by Niemeier to Group 3 depicting ‘in gleicher Größe dargestellte Gottheiten und Adoranten’.<sup>110</sup> The method employed here explodes this group (as it does Niemeier’s Group 6).<sup>111</sup> The main argument for including these three in Group 3 is the gesture, both arms raised, believed to be an ‘Epiphaniestitus’.<sup>112</sup> Of the documents discussed *supra*, Aidonia Beta (#3) and Mycenae Lower town (#11) indicate that mortals are just as comfortable employing it. The Cabinet des Médailles scene (#33) could be a quote from the Mycenae sealing, while the left woman’s posture is close to the central woman on Aidonia Beta. The raising of branches on the Midea (#34) and Perdikka (#35) seals is not only depicted on Aidonia Beta, but also on the Eleusis mould (#6).<sup>113</sup> It is therefore argued that the Cabinet des Médailles and Midea lentoids and the Perdika cushion seal are Variant B *Scenes of Procession*, rather than belonging to Group 3 ‘in gleicher Größe dargestellte Gottheiten und Adoranten’.

Four sealings from Kato Zakros and two lentoids from Crete depict a pair of men clad in leather skirts proceeding with greater or lesser clarity across the picture surface (#36–41).<sup>114</sup> Reference to the three-man version discussed above (#21), and to the men appearing with one or two women (#22, 20) firmly place these in the context of processions. While bearers of objects are common participants in processions on wall paintings (to the extent that these can be reconstructed), they are rare among the glyptic scenes, comprising the two axe-bearers from Agia Triada (#42) and the axe- and garment-bearers from Kato Zakros (#43),<sup>115</sup> in

109 HMs 611. LM I B. CMS II.6 nr. 261.

110 Niemeier 1989:171 fig. 3. The present author is much less sanguine than Niemeier in identifying depictions of deities. His admirable *theophilia* is well illustrated in Niemeier 1987.

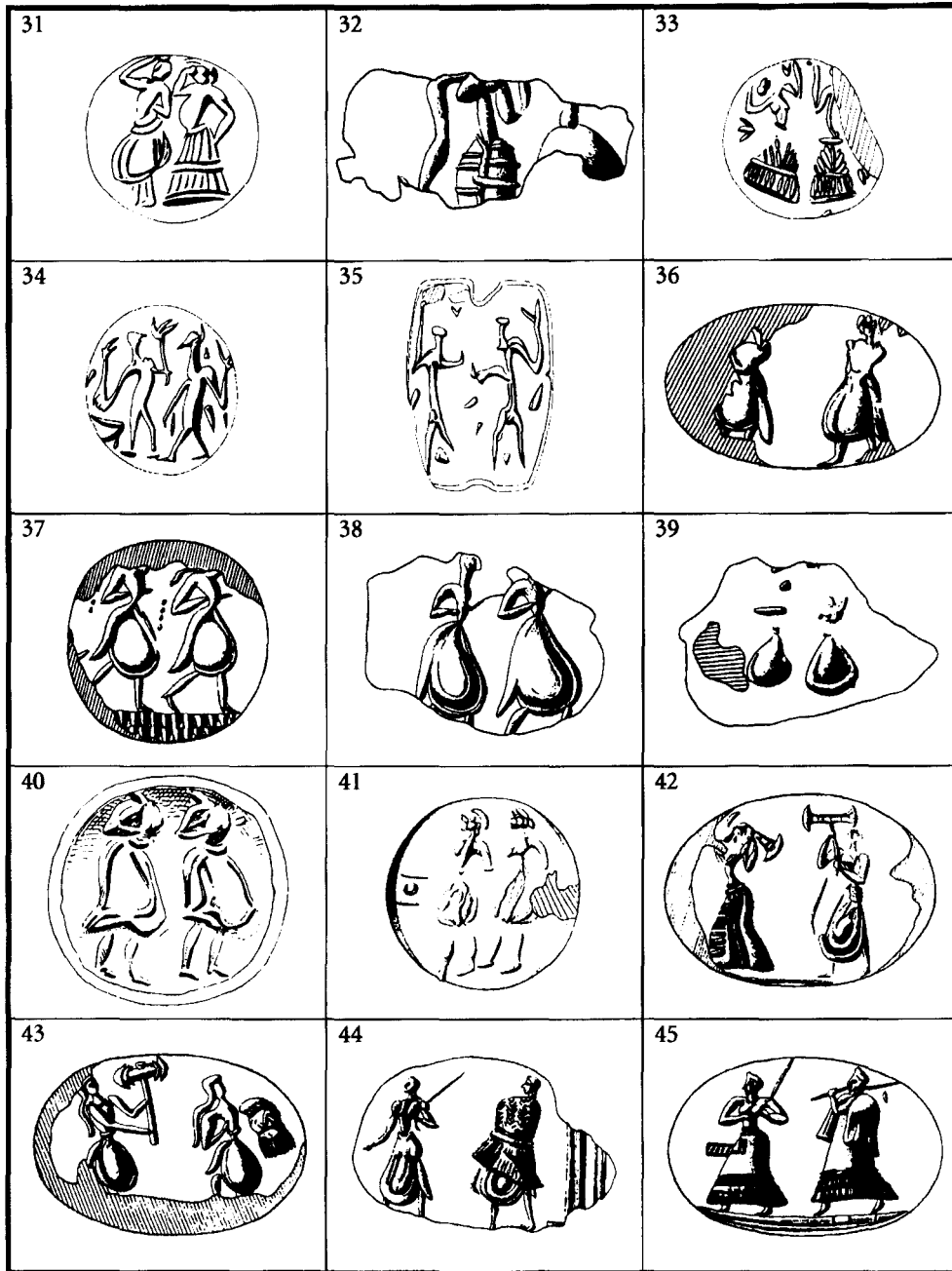
addition to a series of single figures placed among the marginals. The final group is composed by four sealings from Agia Triada and Kato Zakros (#44–47) depicting a dignitary dressed in a cape, and in three instances shouldering an axe-like implement, escorted by a subordinate, again in three cases holding a baton. The final sealing (#48) shows, it is suggested here, two such dignitaries, clad in the leather skirt and the cape, rendered in a very rudimentary style.<sup>116</sup>

111 Of the 12 members of Niemeier's third group, two may be immediately reclassified: the Avgos gold ring (HM bronze 970. Undated. *CMS* II.3 nr 305. N3.3. It is argued that the rivets of the hoop, intruding into the picture surface, led the artist to shift the tree into the middle of the composition, and the epiphanic small deity to the right), on which the deity to the right is, as sensed by Niemeier (1989:171), still in the air, justifying an assignment to the *Scenes of Manifestation*, as a variant; and the Agia Triada sealing T137, which is assigned to the *Scenes of Adoration* (HMs 576. LM I. *CMS* II.6 nr. 5. N3.4. Levi 1925-26:139 nr. 137, fig. 153, pl. IX. Again the rivets attaching the hoop to the bezel intrude into the image. and, as on the Avgos ring, have been camouflaged as the tree, shifting the seated goddess to the right. *CMS* II.6 nr. 5 draws the parallel with the Avgos ring on this point). Also in this second instance are the two interpretations close: Niemeier (1989:172) suggests that the female figure right is depicted in the moment of seating herself on the rock. Of the other ten, only three—within the framework of the methodological approach employed here—distinguish themselves from the rest as members of a possible separate cluster: the Berlin ring (Berlin 30219,512. LM I–II. *CMS* XI nr. 28. N3.1), the Knossos sealing from a gold ring (HMs 114, 115, 168/1–2. LM I. *CMS* II.8 nr. 269. N3.2. Evans 1935:602 fig. 596), and the Khania-Kastelli sealing (Khania 1024. LM I. *CMS* VS.1A nr. 180. N3.5). All three appear to depict a 'confrontation' between two figures, vehicled around a pictorial structure consisting of a construction, a superior entity, and an inferior entity. Only on the Berlin ring is the structure mirrored fully in the image. On the Knossian sealing it may be argued that the construction is to be sought on the damaged right side (Niemeier 1989:171 n. 43). The Khania sealing is problematic: the male figure stands in front of a huge squill, which may appear at the foot of a shrine (*cf.* the Agia Triada T138 sealing [#68]), while behind the female figure there appears a line—part of a construction? (Niemeier 1989:172, following Papapostolou 1977:85, reads a goddess and male adorant). Among the remaining seven members, a direct 'confrontation' can only be surmised for three, the steatite lentoid (OAM 1889.289. LM. Kenna 1960:141 nr. 375 and pl. 14.375. N3.8.), and two steatite lentoids of unknown provenance (NM 10492. LM. *CMS* I Suppl. nr. 133. N3.9; and NM 10493. LM. *CMS* I Suppl. nr. 134. N3.10). In the first case, the woman on the left appears to perform the epiphany gesture to the woman on the right, with a pole/tree separating the two. On the other two it is only the feet that clearly speak of a 'confrontation'. On the Armenoi Grave 15 serpentine lentoid, the scene may be no more than a quotation from a Variant A scene (Khania no inv. nr. LM III A–B. *CMS* V nr. 244. N3.6).

112 Niemeier 1989:171–172. *Cf.* Alexiou 1958.

113 Further parallels for the gesture among mortals—in Niemeier's view, with which the present author agrees, but other scholars may not—*cf.* the central woman on the Vapheio ring (NM 1801. LH II. *CMS* I nr. 219. N5.3) and the left woman on the Isopata ring (HM precious metal 424. LM III A1. *CMS* II.3 nr. 51. N5.9).

114 In this context one may mention the Kato Zakros House A clay sealing H7 (HMs 70. LM I B. *CMS* II.7 nr. 18) depicting two men face to face. While a hierarchy is implied it does not cross the divine/mortal divide since both are wearing a hide skirt. A 'confrontation' is in itself not an indicator that a mortal is in the presence of a deity.



## MARGINALS

49. Tiryns gold 'Genii' finger ring.<sup>117</sup>

50. Knossos limestone lentoid.<sup>118</sup>

51. Agia Triada clay sealing T123.<sup>119</sup>

52. Agia Triada clay sealing T127.<sup>120</sup>

53. 'Knossos' limestone lentoid.<sup>121</sup>

54. Agia Triada clay sealing T129.<sup>122</sup>

55. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing.<sup>123</sup>

56. Kato Zakros House A clay sealing.<sup>124</sup>

57. Agia Triada clay sealing T120.<sup>125</sup>

115 Hogarth 1902:77 nr. 6 claims the double-axe floats in front of the left figure, while Evans 1925:434 and Nilsson 1950:157 affirm that he is shown in adoration of the axe. Brandt 1965:2 follows but sees a female adorant. Niemeier 1986:79n113 establishes that the axe is being carried; cf. the new illustration in *CMS* as opposed to, e.g., Nilsson 1950:157 fig. 64. Verlinden 1985:147 tends towards the axe being carried. Marinatos 1993:136 still has the two figures 'in the presence of a large double-axe'. The uncertainty as to the sex of the two figures, expressed by Nilsson 1950:157, Niemeier 1986:78, disappears when faced by the absence of securely identified female wearers of the hide skirt—*contra* Marinatos 1993:135, who does not distinguish between the fleece skirt of the Agia Triada larnax (Long 1974:pls. 6, 15, 19, 30, 31) and the hide skirt. Her claim that the small size of an intaglio precludes rendering the shagginess (Marinatos 1993:135) is refuted by the Vapheio 'dancing woman' (#58; the *CMS* catalogue entry ignores the garment entirely) and the Kenna carnelian lentoid (*CMS* VIII nr. 146), which offer two different approaches to what is clearly a fleece skirt of the type depicted on the Agia Triada larnax and the Akrotiri miniature wall painting. Morgan 1988:98 commits the same error in claiming that figures on the miniature wall painting, the larnax, the Vapheio amygdaloid, two seals from Knossos depicting female figures wearing the Minoan 'snake frame', and the very fragmentary miniature wall paintings from Agia Eirini (*op. cit.* 94 fig. 61d) wear hide skirts: all except the 'snake frame' ladies clearly wear fleece skirts, while the Knossian 'snake frame' ladies wear the usual flounced skirt—for these latter, cf. Hägg and Lindau 1984. Televantou 1994:216 (male garment type Γ) remains non-committed: 'δέριμα ἢ προβιά'. Sapouna-Sakellarakı 1971:122–123 treats the two types as a single one, and suggests wolen imitations rather than skins. Otto 1987:17 fig. 11 (caption) interprets both figures on the Kato Zakros sealing as priestesses, but the sex of the second figure remains obscure.

116 The vestimentary information to be gleaned from #36–48, in particular, and the whole cluster population in general, in terms of hierarchies, to which should be added gestures and the use of batons, staffs, sceptres, axes and other implements, will have to be treated elsewhere.

117 NM 6208. LH I–II. *CMS* I nr. 179.

118 HM 200. LM. *CMS* II.3 nr. 8. N. Platon, at *loc. cit.*, suggests a woman with naked breast, I. Pini (*ibid.* p. xlix nr. 8) questions this.

119 HMs 532, 535, 601–603. LM I B. *CMS* II.6 nr. 26. Levi 1925–26:130 nr. 123, fig. 139, pl. XII.

120 HMs 585. LM I B. *CMS* II.6 nr. 29. Levi 1925–26:133 nr. 127, fig. 143, pl. IX.

121 HM 143. LM. *CMS* II.3 nr. 170.

122 HMs 1677. LM I B. *CMS* II.6 nr. 31. Levi 1925–26:135 nr. 129, fig. 145, pl. XII.

123 HMs 1132. LM I B. *CMS* II.7 nr. 26. Levi 1925–26:181 nr. 191, fig. 229, pl. XVIII.

124 HMPin 84. LM I B. *CMS* II.7 nr. 25. Hogarth 1902:89 fig. 32.

125 HMs 534. LM I B. *CMS* II.6 nr. 24. Levi 1925–26:129 nr. 120, fig. 136, pl. XII.

58. Vapheio sardonyx amygdaloid.<sup>126</sup>  
 59. Knossos Room of the Stone Drum clay sealing.<sup>127</sup>  
 60. Malia Maison Δβ sard amygdaloid.<sup>128</sup>  
 61. 'Vathia' haematite amygdaloid.<sup>129</sup>  
 62. Vapheio onyx amygdaloid.<sup>130</sup>  
 63. Knossos haematite amygdaloid.<sup>131</sup>  
 64. Knossos green jasper amygdaloid.<sup>132</sup>  
 65. Myrsinokhori (Routsis) Tholos 2 fragmentary glass amygdaloid.<sup>133</sup>  
 66. Cretan carnelian three-sided prism.<sup>134</sup>  
 67. Mycenae Lower town Chambertomb 27 agate amygdaloid.<sup>135</sup>

By their very nature, marginals scatter along the edges of a cluster or are caught between two clusters. In the present case, only the first entry (#49) constitutes a true marginal in that it combines the seated figure from the *Scenes of Adoration* with the line of adorants, in this case Minoan *genii*, from the *Scenes of Procession*. The remaining entries on the listing depict single figures that can be understood with certainty (#50–51) to belong to the cluster while not providing the necessary structural information, or that are thematically linked to the procession, and could be conceived as quotations (#52–54), or that lack the thematic aspect, but could function as quotations (#55–56), or that possess strong thematic links to the whole concept of the procession (#57–65).<sup>136</sup> Gift-bearers, so prominent in wall paintings as to constitute the idea of the procession, are conspicuously absent from the glyptic material. Only two obvious candidate appear, the Agia Triada male figure carrying a quadruped (#52),<sup>137</sup> and the 'Knossos' female figure with a bird (#53).<sup>138</sup>

126 NM 1789. LH II. CMS I nr. 226.

127 HMs 133. LM I. CMS II.8 nr. 258. Evans 1935:414 fig. 343b.

128 HM 1456. LM I B (on the date, cf. CMS II.3 p.xxxvi). CMS II.3 nr. 147.

129 HM 85. LM. CMS II.3 nr. 198.

130 NM 1798. LH II. CMS I nr. 225.

131 OAM 1938.1049. MM III–LM I. Evans 1935:413 fig. 342. Younger 1995:163 cat. nr. 43, pl. LIVg.

132 OAM 1938.1050. MM III–LM I. Evans 1935:405 fig. 336. Younger 1995:163 cat. nr. 44, pl. LIVh.

133 Khora 2726. LH II A–III A1 context. CMS VS IA nr. 345.

134 Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antiken-Abteilung FG 50. LM I–II. CMS XI nr. 20.

135 NM 2446. LH III. CMS I nr. 68.

136 These single-figure marginals also serve to illustrate that attempts to eliminate totally the modern beholder's subjective input from pictorial analysis through recourse to a structuralist approach (however simple) will always reach a point when the scholar does intervene. The thematic/interpretational approach of, e.g., Niemeier 1989 thus serves as a companion to the structural. It should also be noted that single figures can also be quotations from other compositional patterns, *i.e.* other clusters.

137 Marinatos 1993:169 and 170 fig. 162 interprets the man as a god, the animal as a griffin. The wings cannot be made out with certainty, and the griffin is not an automatic indicator of divine nature (cf. Thomas and Wedde 2001:9).

The two Kato Zakros sealings (#55–56) are very tentative inclusions, and depend on the Agia Triada sealing (#54): the woman is here understood as a mortal leading a reluctant goat in the procession.<sup>139</sup> While the Agia Triada sealing T120 (#57) is very tentatively included, the woman depicted on the Vapheio amygdaloid (#58) wears the fleece skirt associated with religious acts, with the vigorous movement and the presence of the baton finding echoes in various securely assigned representations. Finally, the series of amygdaloids depicting ‘priests’ (#59–65) are included among the *Scenes of Procession* marginals not only by virtue of their thematic appurtenance, but also of their being frequently depicted carrying religious paraphernalia (mace, axe) or a gift/sacrificial animal (the bird on #58).<sup>140</sup> The Berlin ‘talismanic’ stone (#66) depicts a female figure carrying a papyrus flower with both hands, vaguely related to the adorants with flowers of the cluster (e.g. #4–7). A final inclusion, the Mycenae amygdaloid (#67) depicts a striding male, with an object behind his back, possibly of prestigious nature.<sup>141</sup>

### *Scenes of Supplication*

A significant omission from the above listings is an important component of Niemeier’s first group, his numbers 8–10 and 12–17, depicting a single figure in front of a shrine or an altar.<sup>142</sup> An argument based on the quotations and the *pars*

138 Marinatos 1993:156 and 157 fig. 139 opts for a goddess—another case of a scholar of greater *theophilia* than that mustered by the present author. On the problems of identifying deities in the glyptic imagery, cf. Thomas and Wedde 2001:5–9.

139 For a reading as a seated goddess in a scene related to Agia Triada sealing T128 (HMs 584. LM I. CMS II.6 nr. 30) and to the Khania-Kastelli sealing (Khania 1501–1526. MM III–LM I. CMS VS.1A nr. 175), both depicting a seated woman with a goat in front of her, cf. Hiller 2001:301 II.A.4 and pl. XCIII.18b (where it is juxtaposed with the Khania sealing as XCIII.18a). The Agia Triada T128 and the Khania sealings belong to the variants to the *Scenes of Adoration*. Agia Triada T129 can only with difficulty be considered as depicting a seated woman—the CMS reading as a ‘stark bewegte’ figure is preferable.

140 On the priests, see Marinatos 1993:127–129, Davis 1995:15–17. The scenes with a male figure with ‘captives’ on the Athens Agora grave VIII gold ring (Agora J5. LH III A1–2 context. CMS V nr. 173), and on the Khania-Kastelli sealing (Khania 1559F. LM I. CMS VS.1A nr. 133) could suggest a processional context, possibly in connection with human sacrifice. There still remains to be determined the position of the woman carrying a sacrificial animal (studied by Sakellarakis 1972, but note the necessary amendment resulting from a correct drawing of CMS II.7 nr. 23). A discussion here would exceedingly lengthen the present paper as it would be imperative to include the ‘Animal familiar’ theme (Crowley 1992:26) and other scenes depicting anthropomorphic figures and animals, a task for another occasion. Likewise not included are Niemeier 1989:figs. 1.11 and 6.11–19, all with a single figure. Further thought is required before deciding to follow Niemeier on 6.11–19 (depictions of deities) or to opt for a different reading.

141 This image illustrates the difficulty in classifying images containing a single figure. Its inclusion as depicting a possible procession participant is based on the pose and the object held in one hand, arguably related to those wielded by the left figure on #44–45.



*pro toto* approach would justify their inclusion. However, it should be noted that several of the anthropomorphic figures are engaged in an activity involving the construction (placing something on it, touching it or something on it, performing an act at it): they are not merely depicted approaching it. This observation forms the nucleus of a separate pictorial structure: sacred marker + anthropomorphic figure + paraphernalia + vegetation, where the third and fourth element may be lacking, especially if the image is incomplete.

Canonical: single figure in front of construction, placing object on, or touching, it.

Variant A: single figure in front of construction, no contact.

Variant B: woman with two children in front of construction.

Marginals: as canonical or A, but with additional elements.

#### CANONICALS

68. Phylakopi ivory lentoid.<sup>143</sup>

69. Myrsinokhori (Routsis) tholos carnelian lentoid.<sup>144</sup>

70. Idaian Cave rock crystal lentoid.<sup>145</sup>

71. Mycenae gold ring.<sup>146</sup>

The Phylakopi lentoid (#68) illustrates the contrast between a supplication scene and one of procession at its starkest: if the woman participated in a procession the journey from A to B is completed, she has entered into direct intercourse with the construction at B, placing a squill on the altar. The woman has stepped across the line separating 'in-the-throes-of-arriving' and 'initiation-of-sacred-rites', a line for the embodiment of which through empty space the size of the support generally does not provide adequate room.<sup>147</sup> On the Myrsinokhori lentoid (#69) the female adorant is depicted placing two lilies between the horns of consecration on the altar, or inhaling their fragrance subsequent to doing so,<sup>148</sup> while on the Idaian lentoid (#70) she is pouring a libation from a triton shell over the horns of consecration and the vegetal element between them.<sup>149</sup> On the con-

142 Niemeier 1989:168 fig.1.

143 NM 5877 A. LH II. CMS I nr. 410. N1.15.

144 NM 8323. LH II. CMS I nr. 279. N1.16.

145 HM 24. LM. CMS II.3 nr. 7. N1.17.

146 Inv. nr. unknown to author. LH. Evans 1901:182 fig. 56. N1.14. In Evans' personal collection (*op. cit.* 182 n. 1); at time of writing projected CMS volume for OAM not available.

147 This absence of space could suggest that the leading woman on the Eleusis mould (#6) and the Aidonia Alpha ring (#7) are depicted in the moment of transition. For classificatory purposes it appears preferable to accentuate the divide.

148 Women depicted in procession-scenes frequently carry a flower: the Myrsinokhori intaglio suggests one purpose for this.



struction depicted on the Mycenae ring (#71) a vegetal element stands between the horns, and the adorant is touching the construction.<sup>150</sup>

#### VARIANT A

72. 'Ligortyno' serpentine lentoid.<sup>151</sup>

73. Agia Triada clay sealing T136.<sup>152</sup>

74. Knossos Little Palace clay sealing.<sup>153</sup>

75. 'Knossos' agate lentoid.<sup>154</sup>

76. Aplomata grave B cushion-shaped agate.<sup>155</sup>

77. Khania-Kastelli clay sealing.<sup>156</sup>

78. Agia Triada clay sealing T138.<sup>157</sup>

79. Agia Triada clay sealing.<sup>158</sup>

80. Kato Zakros clay sealing.<sup>159</sup>

A single figure next to—but not touching—a construction (or to the element that is placed in the zone normally occupied by the construction) forms a variant to the canonical. The close parallels in the pictorial structure to the canonicals argue against a reading as procession-scenes. The adorants are shown either in direct interaction with the structure (#72, 73, 75) or in contexts that do not find more convincing readings (#74, 79, 80).<sup>160</sup> The Khania-Kastelli sealing (#77) depicts the woman reaching out to touch the construction.<sup>161</sup> An argument from pictorial structure is invoked for including the Aplomata seal (#76)<sup>162</sup> and the Agia Triada T138 sealing (#78)<sup>163</sup> in the cluster.

149 Nilsson 1950:153 sees a woman 'apparently blowing a triton-shell trumpet.' Younger 1988:37, 77 cat. nr. 61 with pl. XXIV.3 identifies her as an adolescent girl. N. Platon, in *CMS* II.3 nr. 7, interprets the woman as offering the triton shell.

150 Note the feet pointing to the right, suggesting that the woman has performed her ritual act and is moving away.

151 Paris Cabinet de Médailles. Dépôt du Louvre. AM 1844 (=A 1166). LH. *CMS* IX nr. 163. N1.12.

152 HMs 487/1-3. LM I B. *CMS* II.6 nr. 3. N1.10. Levi 1925-26:139 nr. 136, fig. 152, pl. XIV.

153 HMs 418. LM I. *CMS* II.8 nr. 273. N1.8.

154 Athens private coll. no inv. nr. LM II-III A1. *CMS* VS.1A nr. 75. The gesture G5 (fist to forehead) performed by the woman is also performed by the man and woman on the Ashmolean lentoid (#31), in the absence of movement, raising the possibility that the latter could be a quotation from a *Scene of Supplication* involving two adorants. In the absence of firmer indications it appears preferable to read it as a *Scene of Procession*. For G5 performed in movement, cf. Agia Triada T122 (#25).

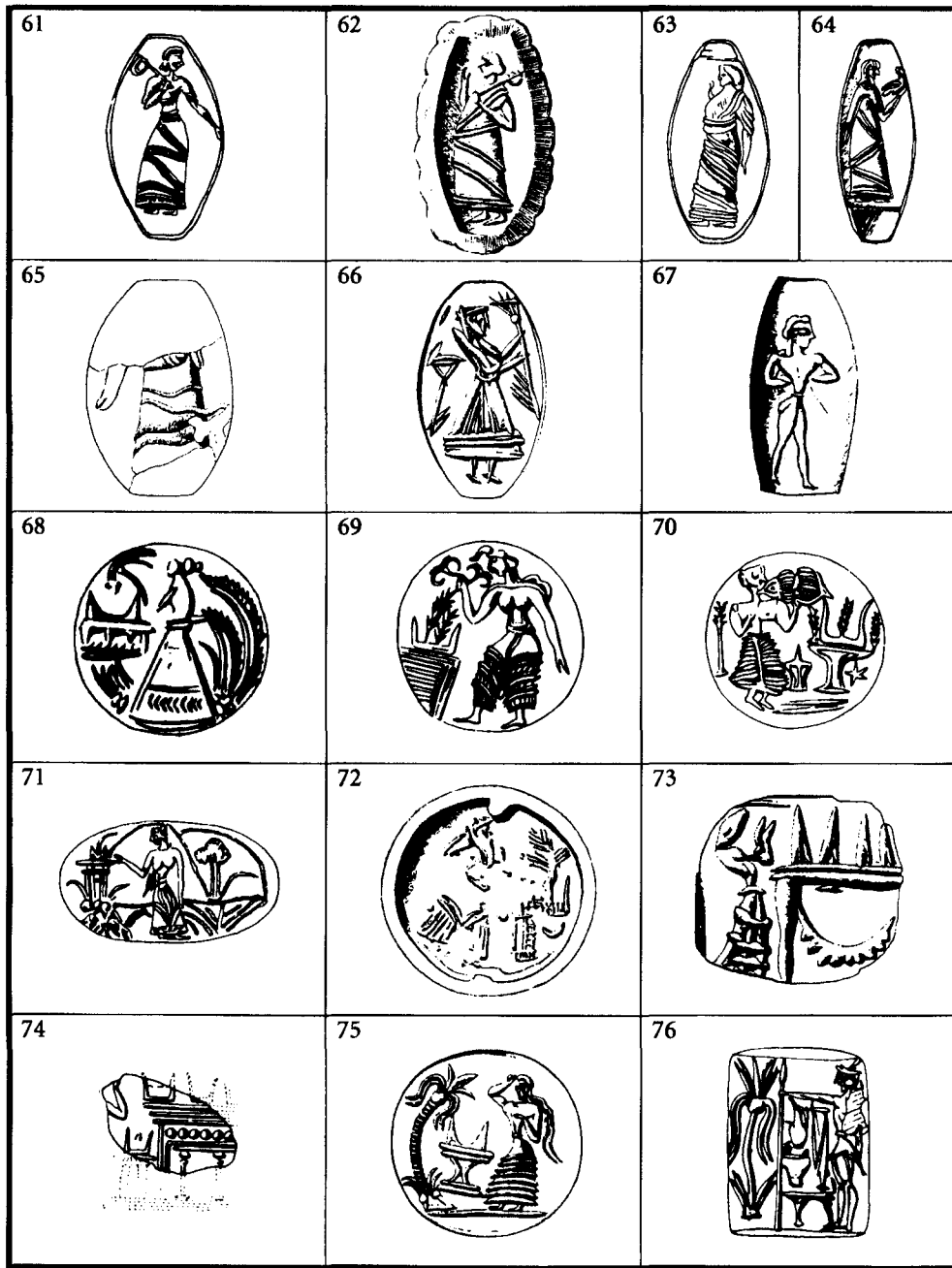
155 Naxos no inv. nr. LH III C. *CMS* V nr. 608. N6.9.

156 Khania 1025, 2027, 2055, 2059, 2090-2092. LM I. *CMS* VS.1A nr. 176. N6.2.

157 HMs 523. LM I. *CMS* II.6 nr. 2. N6.3. Levi 1925-26:140 nr. 138, fig. 154, pl. VIII.

158 HMs 544. LM I. *CMS* II.6 nr. 25.

159 Marinatos 1986:55 fig. 45. Not in *CMS* II.7.



## VARIANT B

81. Agia Triada clay sealing T140.<sup>164</sup>  
 82. 'Mokhlos' steatite lentoid.<sup>165</sup>  
 83. Knossos steatite lentoid.<sup>166</sup>  
 84. Mycenae Lower town (grave) agate lentoid.<sup>167</sup>  
 85. Agia Triada clay sealing T119.<sup>168</sup>  
 86. Agia Triada clay sealing T119.<sup>169</sup>

Four images depict a woman with two girls, either in front of a construction or in non-defined space. It is here argued that they form a variant to the female adorant approaching a construction, and therefore depict mortals.<sup>170</sup> The small figures also appear left and right of the seated deity on the Mycenae Ramp House ring,<sup>171</sup> but this depiction's eclectic composition counsels caution in resorting to it as proof for their divine status.<sup>172</sup> The wing-like extension on either side of the head on the Mycenae 'woman with little helpers' seal (#84) may appear non-anthropomorphic but are not ubiquitous for the image type. The two Agia Triada

160 The Little Palace sealing (#74) is too fragmentary to allow certainty, but what remains is close to Agia Triada T136 (#73). From the size of the construction it is evident that the number of figures to the left were restricted. On the Agia Triada sealing (#79) the author see part of a tree to the right of the woman, thus creating a scene rather similar to Agia Triada T138 (#78). The Kato Zakros sealing (#80) is a doubtful inclusion, primarily on the image structure rather than from a direct reading of the object to the right.

161 Niemeier 1989:181, 182 fig. 6 classifies the Khania-Kastelli sealing in his Group 6, depictions of deities. He feels the woman is shown turning away from the construction (in opposition to adorants on 168 fig. 1.1–6), and that her gesture is similar to that of the central woman on the Arkhanes ring (175 fig. 5.2), which he reads as a deity (a reading disputed by many, including Wedde 1992:188–190).

162 Some scholars understand the male figure as a deity: Niemeier 1989:183, Marinatos 1986:23 fig. 12, 1993:173 with 174 fig. 174. Whittaker, this volume, suggests a priest in charge of the sacrifice. Vermeule 1974:39, 58 understands the male as a warrior.

163 Niemeier 1989:181, 182 fig. 6.3 reads the woman as a deity.

164 HMs 505 *etc.* LM I. CMS II.6 nr. 1. N6.4.

165 HM 148. LM. CMS II.3 nr. 218. N6.5.

166 HM 1411. LM. CMS II.4 nr. 136.

167 NM 6235. LH III (?). CMS I nr. 159. N6.6.

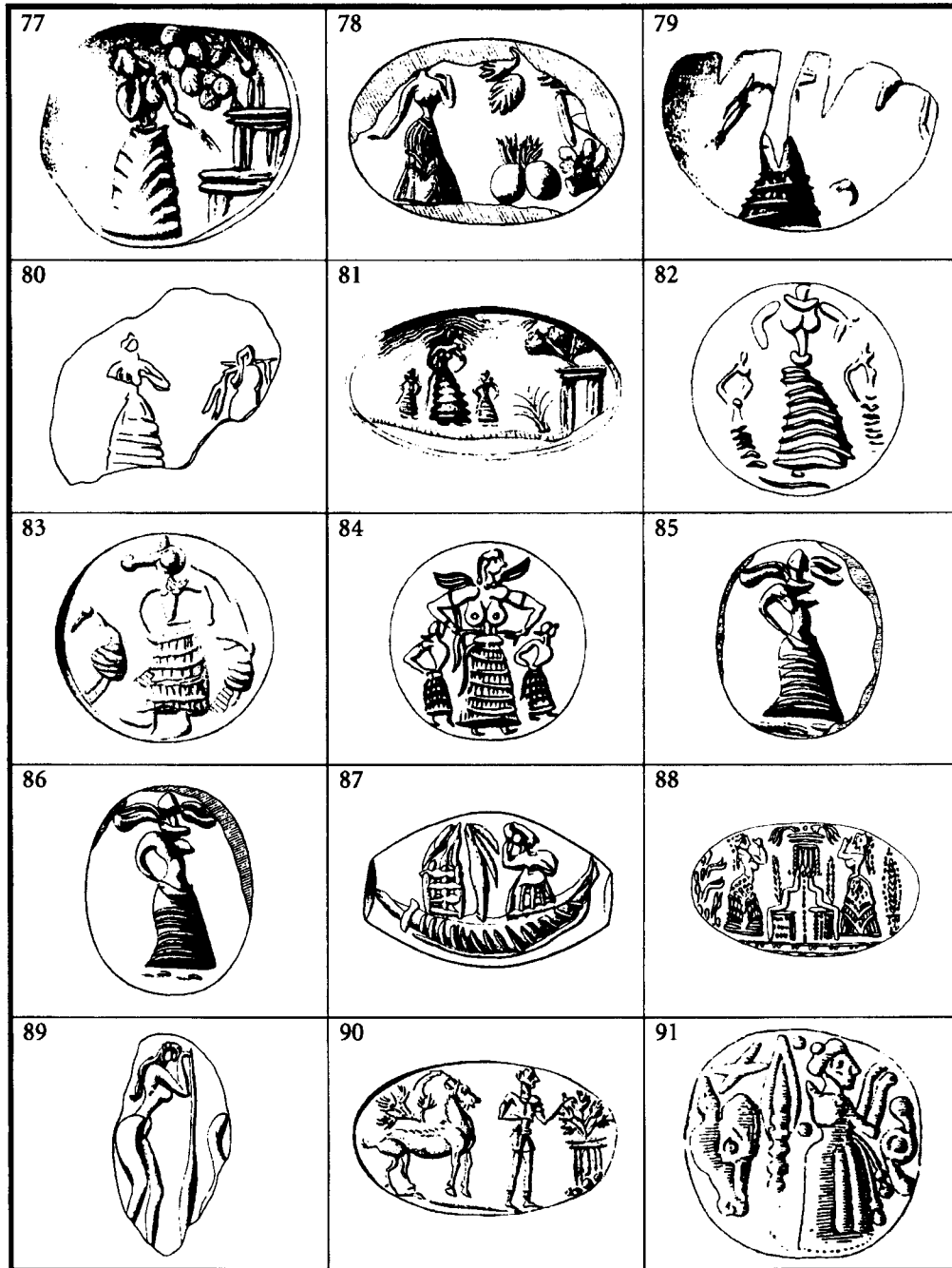
168 HMs 607, 609. LM I B. CMS II.6 nr. 22.

169 HMs 536, 537, 604, 605, 606, 608. LM I B. CMS II.6 nr. 23.

170 Niemeier 1989:181 and 182 fig. 6.4–6 claims the female to be divine. The recourse to the gesture, hands on hip, while attested for a deity on the Kato Zakros House A manifestation scene (HMs 47/1-3. LM I B; CMS II.7 nr. 1. N2.5), is not necessarily valid for the gold ring from Mycenae Chambertomb 91 (NM3179. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 126. N5.1) since a reading as deity for this figure is far from assured. Marinatos 1993:188 with fig. 194 and nn. 68–69 reads a high priestess.

171 NM 992; LH II. CMS I nr. 17. N4.1.

172 Wedde 1992:190–191.



sealings (#85–86) are here considered quotations from an image such as the Mycenae lentoid.<sup>173</sup>

#### MARGINALS

87. Makrygialos serpentine amygdaloid.<sup>174</sup>

88. Mycenae Chambertomb 91 gold ring.<sup>175</sup>

89. Khania-Kastelli clay sealing.<sup>176</sup>

90. Mycenae Chambertomb 84 gold ring.<sup>177</sup>

91. Cretan lentoid seal.<sup>178</sup>

The Makrygialos seal (#87) belongs to the small group of images depicting Minoan cult boats in which the watercraft is modeled on contemporary ship building practices, as opposed the group of fantastical craft.<sup>179</sup> But the palm-tree, construction and female figure duplicate the Variant A structure. The Mycenae ring (#88), in terms of pictorial structure a *Scene of Pyramidal Hierarchy*,<sup>180</sup> arranges the elements as mirror images along a central axis, vegetation + adorant + construction. The Kastelli sealing (#89) has been interpreted as the goddess of navigation with a steering-oar at the bow or stern of the craft,<sup>181</sup> but also as an adorant invoking the deity in front of a sacred pole,<sup>182</sup> in which case the scene should be read as a *Scene of Supplication*.<sup>183</sup> The Mycenae Chambertomb 84 ring (#90) shows a man touching the 'sacred tree' in the enclosure, a scene comparable to the Myrsinokhori lentoid (#69), but for the addition of the goat and a second vegetal element.<sup>184</sup> The Cretan lentoid (#91) depicts a female figure in a posture identical to that on the Agia Triada T136 sealing (#73) but with additions that suggest a sacrifice scene.<sup>185</sup>

173 Verlinden 1985:144 reads a woman dressing for these and the Mycenae seal (#84), a reading not valid for the other three members of the group.

174 Agios Nikolaos 4653. LM I. CMS VS.1A nr. 55. N6.8. Wedde 2000:339 cat. nr. 907.

175 NM 3180. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 127. N1.7.

176 Khania 2117. LM I A. CMS VS.1A nr. 143. Wedde 2000:340 cat. nr. 909.

177 NM 3148. LH II–III. CMS I nr. 119. N1.13.

178 Evans 1928:33 fig. 15 (Evans dates to MM II on p.33), Marinatos 1986:43 fig. 26.

179 For the distinction, and the corpus, cf. Wedde 1997, 2000:173–199.

180 Cf. Wedde 1995a.

181 Boulotis 1989. Followed by Wedde 2000:340 cat. nr. 909.

182 Hallager and Vlasaki 1984:1–6.

183 The parallel drawn by Hallager and Vlasaki 1984:4 with the Ashmolean gold ring (OAM 1938.1127. LM. Evans 1901:170 fig. 48. N2.1) could suggest a quotation from a *Scene of Manifestation*, but the absent floating deity, the single most important element for recognizing such a composition, argues against doing so.

184 The goat may be understood as a sacrificial victim (cf. Marinatos 1986:12, Whittaker, this volume). This scene is to be contrasted to the Agia Triada woman with goat (#54).

*Excursus on dance*

Scholars have frequently invoked dance to explain the impression of rhythmic swaying or prescribed postures or ecstatic movement imparted by many figures in the corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean ritual glyptic imagery.<sup>186</sup> While it is quasi-certain that dance played a substantial role in cultic actions, elements of dance choreography do not in themselves contain sufficient classificatory eloquence to warrant a role in the cluster formation process. For, while figures that most scholars would without discomfort describe as ‘dancing’ can be identified in most of the isolated clusters, the instances sweep across all considerations of pictorial structure, and leave large numbers of figures that some may understand as ‘dancing’, others as engaging in stereotypic, ‘ritual’ postures, and others yet as mere movement (walking, running, *etc.*). Even allowing for a catch-all definition, ‘ritually significant posturing with codified gesticulation’, wide enough to allow touching and clutching objects, and thus bordering on the anarchy of modern avant-garde dance, would not contribute to a carefully reasoned classification—unless ‘dancing’ (in this wide sense) was raised to the superordinate principle of all Minoan and Mycenaean ritual representations and the clusters studied here and elsewhere deemed to form separate contexts within an overall ritual dance performance.

Before ignoring for the present purpose the scenes garnering more universal suffrage as depictions of dancing, it may be noted that scenes in which all the actors are dancing (in the widest sense) are few, and do not form a typologically distinct group (let alone a cluster in the sense in which the word is employed here). It is far more often a question of one or the other participant who could be described as engaging in dance-related ‘posturing with codified gesticulation’. In the *Scenes of Procession* only the Aidonia Beta (#3) ring among the canonicals, possible Aidonia Alpha (#7) in Variant A, the Mycenae Lower town sealing (#11) in Variant B, Aidonia Delta (#24), the Ashmolean lentoid (#30) and the Cabinet des Médailles lentoid (#33) in Variant C could be understood as scenes of dance, with it being necessary to distinguish, on the one hand, rhythmic swaying, from, on the other, a hieratic, stiffer movement with both arms raised on the Mycenae sealing (#11). Once a search for possible candidates has begun it is not possible to avoid contemplating the Agia Triada sealing T135 (#22): the central woman appears to ‘strut her stuff’, while the men could be waving their staffs in rhythmic movements. Among the single figures, the woman in the fleece skirt with the staff raised behind her head on the Vapheio amygdaloid (#58) is a certain (?) candidate for a

185 Marinatos 1986:43 is more specific: ‘the woman must be the ministrant of the cult which involves sacrifice expressed as hunting.’

186 Ulanowska 1993, Cane 2001. See relevant further literature quoted there.

dancer. In other words: identifying some scenes as depicting dancing, while excluding others, probably says more about the individual modern beholder than about dance in Minoan and Mycenaean ritual.<sup>187</sup> Rhythmic movement probably constitutes a significant activity in a procession, but must be deemed subordinate to the clustering process.<sup>188</sup>

### *Summary discussion*

The principal importance of gathering and classifying all representations of processions, and quotations from such scenes, on finger rings, seals and sealings, lies in the greater richness of information offered by the glyptic documents, compared to the remains of wall paintings. The large scale compositions, as attested by the fragments, appear to prioritize the gift bearer, whereas the glyptic scenes offer a holistic view: context, simple adorants, hierarchically superior participants/officiants, bearers of ritual paraphernalia, bringers of sacrificial animals (?), dignitaries. The small support, and the findspots scattered throughout the Minoan and Mycenaean realms, coupled with the realization that these scenes constitute voices from at least two religions, not a single system of belief, place a questionmark to attempts at reconstructing a 'typical' Minoan or Mycenaean ritual procession. Yet it would be equally false to create checklists for each religion, a presence/absence matrix for the various types of scenes—said types being analytical tools of the modern beholder rather than categories of ancient thought. The evidence is skewed in favor of such sites that have produced archives of sealings, such as Agia Triada and Kato Zakros, or a large number of graves, such as Mycenae.

While statistics are the Pavlov's dog of image classification and analysis, it should not go unnoted that the *Scenes of Procession*, with some 66 members, constitute the largest separate cluster in the Minoan and Mycenaean glyptic repertoire. How many different factors, from cultural to depositionary/recovery-related, have been involved is impossible to establish. Certain is however that despite its size, working with the cluster rapidly becomes a study of absences—the gift bearers being only the most obvious. Whereas there are clear traces of a hierarchy among the participants (in the cluster-encompassing, fictitious, modern reconstruction of a procession), the certainty that the upper-most echelons are all present remains elusive: the documents are too few; too little is known about millenary and sartorial hierarchies; insignias of rank, be they depicted on glyptic supports, or extant

187 It is symptomatic that the scene most frequently cited as depicting dancing, the Isopata ring (HM precious metal 424. LM III A1. CMS II.3 nr. 51. N5.9), has recently been questioned: Cane 2001:42–44.

188 A more detailed study of dance must be eschewed in the present framework.

as artefacts, cannot be ranked internally, both due to their low numbers and their sprinkling through time; favored provenances (Agia Triada, Kato Zakros) may not necessarily provide evidence valid for the centers of power.

For all this study's necessary summariness, it is, nonetheless, suggested that the isolation of the *Scenes of Supplication* from the *Scenes of Procession* offers two further moments in the ritual action that was the Minoan and Mycenaean religions. It is argued that four of the clusters analyzed to date depict separate acts, in 'cartoon-form' as it were, in the endeavor of mortals to gain an audience with the divine sphere.

1. The *Scenes of Procession* depict the movement from the secular to the sacred realm, that is the lieu where past experience indicates that the divinity is liable to manifest her/himself. The evidence suggests that this is a communal activity.
2. The *Scenes of Supplication* appear to form the first step upon arrival, the initial offering of a gift, placed on an altar. The pictorial formula involves a single mortal, but it cannot be excluded that the action is repeated.
3. *Scenes of Manifestation* depict the moment the deity manifests itself as a small floating figure. Variants to this cluster combine two stages, both the appearance of the deity and the ecstatic acts that precede this.
4. *Scenes of Adoration* document the activities of the adorants at the feet of the manifest and enthroned deity.

A reconstruction such as this must be riddled by loopholes and inconsistencies caused as much by analytical shortcomings as by absences and ambiguities in the available data. This is particularly obvious in the reconfigurations that occur repeatedly: when the gift is offered the absence of gift bearers is forgotten, the possible sacrificial animals no longer appear, and the paraphernalia are elsewhere; when the deity is being adored the dignitaries have vanished into thin air and any suggestion (via the floating divine figure) that the deity is male is conveniently ignored. Some of these analytical *gaffes* can be smoothed over by arguing for the insertion between Step 2 and 3 of full-blown sacrificial scenes, not accounted for in the present scheme, but well-known and -studied.<sup>189</sup> Yet the enduring impression is that of the siren-calls of the many unexplained mysteries beckoning the modern beholder back to the drawing-board.

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Note: CMS V Suppl. 3 appeared too late to be consulted for this paper.