MASt@CHS - Spring Seminar 2021 (Friday, April 16): Summaries of Presentations and Discussion

JUNE 16, 2021 | Guest Post

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2021.06.01 By Rachele Pierini and Tom Palaima

[1] Rachele Pierini opened the Spring session of the MASt@CHS seminar by welcoming the participants to the session. In addition to the regular members of the MASt@CHS network and colleagues and students who have already attended previous sessions, new participants were welcomed from Austria, Belgium, Canada, Germany, Greece, Great Britain, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, and Bulgaria (S. Werner). This seminar session was the morning of the two Mornings. The presentation for the Spring 2021 meeting were Sarah Morris, who is a regular member of the MASt@CHS group, and Morris Tilton, who created the treatment of the cultural significance and economic importance of people clerk for the large grinding or hand-mill in the Mycenae 2021 MASt@CHS series.

[2] Sarah Morris dwelt with us some draughts based on studies of her field project at the site of Mitrou on northern Crete in the region of Pleria lying roughly between the coast of the Thermian Gulf and Mount Olympus (Figure 1). She outlined the possible connections between the site and the Mycenaean palace at Pylos, and discussed the evolving Homer Mycenaeans in ancient Greek geographic literature, also including the archeological evidence at Thermian Medeon and Mycenae in the Argolid to specific entries on the Linear B tablets from Mycenae and Pylos.

Figure 1. Map of northern Greece showing Mitrou in relation to other mentioned sites. By Angelos Chaniotis from Morris et al. 2020(Fig. 1).

[3] Morris Mycenaeans presented provocative points treated in the second part of her upcoming monograph, *The Playful World: Modeling Minoan Crete in the Bronze Age* (Oxbow, 2021). Her presentation dwelt with the ancient Greek and modern Greek traditions of the sea of people in the Mycenaean textile industry for the authentic and artisan production of the palaces. In this seminar, Morr pioneered her interpretation of Mycenaean religious festivals as means to promote the textile industry. Accordingly, he put forward alternative proposals about the circumstances and practices of particular ceremonies.

[4] Following Morris's presentation, Tom Palaima presented a paper on the Mycenaean Pylos Linear Linear Linear B Tablets. The central appearance of **MY Ue 718** (Figure 2) [1] is the dated sign or **MY Ra 1013** and its paleographic features in light of a comparison with ca. 18 other Mycenaean Linear B tablets from Pylos and Mycenae. Palaima's **MY Ue 718** (Figure 2) [1] is the conversion between geographical area and physical objects. [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9] [10] [11] and an implication for iconographic motifs. [12] [13] [14] and economic perspectives. [15]

[5] [2] The discussion following Morr's presentation [16] [17] [18] focused on representations of the form of consumption [19] [20] [21] [22] [23] [24] [25] [26] [27] [28] [29] [30] [31] [32] [33] [34] [35] [36] [37] [38] [39] [40] [41] [42] [43] [44] [45] [46] [47] [48] [49] [50] [51] [52] [53] [54] [55] [56] [57] [58]

times to people called Τελχῖνες (from Τελχίς, -ῖνος).

§15.1. Elena Dzukeska addressed the question of why it was important in these records to mention the place of origin of groups of women, e.g. in Pylos, in the Aa–Ad sets, having in mind the detailed occupational designations. She agrees with the hypothesis that it was due to a common association between a particular geographical area and a particular profession. In this light, the adjectives denoting these women's origin became a sort of trade mark since groups of women coming from certain places were known for their particular type of work.

§15.2. Palaima cautioned that there are other reasons for designating women in, for example, the Pylos Aa, Ab, and Ad tablets by adjectives pertaining to their places of origin. One such reason is that they are relatively new arrivals and have not yet had their specialties identified, but they are still being maintained in their arrival groups.

§15.3. Dzukeska also offered some thoughts about the occurrence of *pi-we-ri-di/-si* on Linear B tablets. By considering that the adjectives in -ιδ- fit well for female ethnics but are also used as patronymics, she wonders whether *pi-we-ri-d-* can be a feminine counterpart of a patronymic stemming from a personal name (*pi-we-re?*), as shown by examples like Χρυσηΐς from Χρύσης.

§15.4. In Greek mythology, Dzukeska continued, the Pierides were the daughters of Pierus, Πίερος, the eponym of Pieria and Mount Pierus; and the Mycenaean tablets may testify to a similar relationship. On the other hand, the comparison with the feminine forms of adjectives in *-e-jo* stemming from masculine names and used to describe groups of women on Linear B tablets indicates that the relationship between the feminine and the personal name may also be a relationship denoting ownership or administrative responsibility or something similar. By way of example, see: *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i* (**TH Of 25**.1; **35**.2), dat. pl. fem. and PN *ma-ri-ne-u* (*ma-ri-ne-wo wo-i-ko-de*, **KN As(2) 1519**.11); *ko-ma-we-te-ja* (**TH Of 35**.1), dat. fem. and PN *ko-ma-we* (*ko-ma-we*, **PY An 519**.10; **Jn 750**.9, *ko-ma-we-to* MUL 2, **KN Ap 618**.2); *pu2-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* (**TH Of 27**.3), dat. fem. and PN *pu2-ke-qi-ri* (**PY Ta 711**.1); *we-we-si-je-ja* (**PY Aa 762**; **Ab 217**.B), nom. pl. fem, *we-we-si-je-ja-o* (**PY Ad 318**), gen. pl. fem. and PN *we-we-si-jo* (*we-we-si-jo*, **KN Ak 9173**.1; **PY Jn 431**.18; *we-we-si-jo-jo*, [/ *ko-wa* , *me-zo-e* [, **KN Ak 622**.1.2).

§15.5. As a note of caution, Palaima mentioned that, among the 38 terms designating women's groups in the Pylos Aa, Ab, and Ad tablets, the number of terms with the -ιδ- suffixation is zero (Chadwick 1988:78–84).

§16.1. Kim Shelton remarked that the Linear B tablets shown by Morris are to be dated to the Mid-IIIB, but the destruction of the Mycenae citadel is End-IIIB. Hence, she assumes that there are predecessors to the Ivory Houses.

§16.2. With regard to the sudden increase in pictorial representations of soldiers and ships in the post-palatial period noted by Palaima, Trevor Van Damme remarked that we should take into consideration that many of these iconographic representations do appear in other media during the palatial period (especially glyptic and wall paintings). In his view, there is not so much an explosion of new motifs but rather a great deal of adoption and adaptation of motifs from other media by vase painters.

§16.3. Shelton remarked that pictorial pottery was the outlet of many other types of iconographic genres deriving from metal and stone vessels as well as ivories.

§17. Morris Silver added that the post-palatial period was more alive from an economic perspective. In his view, the palatial economies were vertically integrated in terms of economic theory, and then replaced by vertically disintegrated small firms in the post-palatial period. He also highlighted that one might then scale down the impact of the catastrophe we reconstruct at this point in history, and see this passage even rather as a change for the better in the economic system.

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Topic 2: The *to-no* Festival and Textile Trade in the Bronze Age Aegean

Presenter: Morris Silver

§19. The Pylos Fr tablets mention a festival that appears that to have had two phases or perhaps variants: (1) the *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo* (**Fr 343** and **Fr 1217**), rendered as *lechestrōtērion* which finds a Latin parallel in the *lectisternium*: "the making/spreading of the bed/couch"; and (2) the *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (mentioned only in **Fr 1222**) in which the word *to-no* is taken to be a metathesized form meaning either *thorno*– < *throno*– "throne" or **thornon* < **thronon*, meaning "flower patterned woven garment" (*Iliad* 22.441). This contribution is largely based on Chapter 11.5 of my forthcoming monograph (see Silver forthcoming).

§20. As documented in Silver (forthcoming), the mutual interpenetration of "flower" with "perfumed and dyed textile" is evident in later Greek literature including Pindar. This second festival variant, I will argue, finds a Latin parallel in the Latin *sellisternium*: "the opening/spreading of a chair/stool."[1] The *to-no* festival,[2] I submit, involved the "carrying of thrones" in the sense of stools plus the luxury textile cushions that would be placed over their seats. These "thrones" (seats of honor) were for strangers who were to be treated as if they were gods. In the normal ancient course of events, as was surely well understood, the visiting strangers would be mostly traders.

§20.1. The dates of the festivals are not mentioned in the Linear B texts but there are indications that they were held during the navigation season. There is some uncertainty in the meaning of the month name *po-ro-wi-to-jo* (*Plowistos* or *Phlowistos* or *Prowistos*) because, as Palaima (2004:240n120) explains: "Given other occurrences of this word in the 'recipient' slot of oil offering texts [the Pylos Fr series], it is most reasonable to interpret it as the name of a deity, linked alternatively with '*sailing*' or '*flowering*' "or '*knowing*'" (emphasis added). I cannot comment on the linguistic aspects, but deification and the observed diversity in possible linkages is suggestive of the fundamental place occupied by this time of year in Minoan/Mycenaean life. More narrowly, month of "flowering" and/or month of "navigation" and/or month of "knowing (strangers?)" all can reasonably be argued as referring to the spring.[3]

§21. There are many Minoan/Mycenaean depictions of flowers being carried to or presented to or smelled by the figure identified textually and iconographically as the Potnia of the Labyrinth as in Figures 3 and 4. Note the presence in Figure 3 of prominent symbols of Potnia including double-headed axe, figure-of-eight shield, and rosette. These scenes, I suggest, do not merely celebrate the annual blossoming of plants but rather refer to the use of flowers as inputs in the textile industry.[4] The flowers are transformed into perfumes that are applied to textiles to enhance their aroma/commercial quality.[5] (No small matter considering the use of murex-dyed cloth.) In addition, the image of the flowers may be woven into the textiles. *A flower becomes a finished cloth and the finished cloth becomes/remains a flower*. This is the "flowering" that takes place / is accomplished in the navigation season.

Figure 3. Presentation of Flowers to Potnia. Seal from Mycenae Acropolis (*CMS* I 17). Courtesy of the Heidelberg Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals.

Figure 4: Smelling the Flowers Seal from Routsi (*CMS* I 279). Courtesy of the Heidelberg Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals.

§22. There is more, however. The final step in the process of "flowering" is the "sailing" of the textiles to overseas markets. This all-important final step is, I think, hinted at in the apparent presence of the so-called "horns of consecration" in Figure 4. There is no settled meaning of the "horns" among scholars; and I was led to a ship-inspired interpretation of "horns" by an informed back-and-forth discussion of the status of an "object of red clay" from a pre-palatial cemetery in Mochlos: Is it a boat or is it horns? (see Soles 2012:193–195). That this discussion could take place convinced me that, despite doubts in the literature (Banou 2008:32), the "horns" represent a stylized version of the raised bow and stern of a (type) of ancient ship especially utilized by what I call the Labyrinth (the central authority ruling from the Palace of Minos at Knossos) to transport its textiles and personnel.

§23. Now let us take a closer look at the meaning of the festivals. The Roman *lectisternium* is sometimes described as a festival wherein visiting gods are given special treatment by worshippers. I think this misses the point. In the ancient world, humans and gods were intimate because they had to be useful to each other. In the *to-no* festival variant, I would understand that visiting strangers—traders—were treated as if they were gods by their trader hosts in Pylos or Knossos.[6] That is, the visiting traders were seated on stools made into "thrones"—seats of high honor—by making them up with luxury textile cushions.

§24. There is an element of uncertainty concerning this point, but it seems that some goddesses and their main priestesses did not sit on (only?) conventional thrones but rather on textile cushions. This is the case with the goddess in the "Crocus Gatherers Fresco" at Akrotiri and with the priestess of Athena in historical times (Herodotus 5.72.3). In Roman sources, Juno and Diana had such seats (Taylor 1935:123–124).

§25. The identification of the foreign trader with a deity explains why the campstool, a seat with no back and with an X-shaped cross-piece for legs, is sometimes identified in iconography with the incurved altar (as in Pylos). In frescoes from Pylos and Knossos the modern observer is able to glimpse feted individuals who wear long banded "Syrian" robes while seated on campstools (or incurved altar-bases). Is it reasonable to identify these individuals as honored foreign traders?

Figure 5. Figure on Throne in Syrian Banded Robe. Seal from Mochlos (*CMS* VS.1B 332). Courtesy of the Heidelberg Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals.

§26. The initial question is whether the banded robes depicted in the frescoes are really Syrian. In Figure 5 the *worshipped* figure seated on the throne/cushioned stool wears the characteristic ankle-long, [only seemingly] flounced robe usually described as a *kaunakēs* [*gaunakēs*, Assyrian *gunakku*], a thick woolen cloak that passes under the right arm-pit leaving the arm with the shoulder bare. All the individuals depicted have pronounced Syrian noses. Further, the "sun-disk in moon-crescent" is reportedly a familiar symbol in Syrian glyptic. Thus, there is a linkage among Syrians, banded robes, and cushioned stools: a Syrian who wears a characteristic Syrian banded robe is worshipped by other Syrians while seated on a cushioned stool/throne.

§27. Mochlos, the findspot of the seal, as noted below, is subject to "Canaanite" involvement (Brogan et al. 2002). Taking the running spiral symbol, notable in iconography and in palaces at Zakros and Knossos, as representing a combination of twisted thread and waves of the sea, the worshipped individual / the worshipper arguably represents / is associated with a Syrian "House of the Sea" (Labyrinth)[7] who went to Mochlos to do business there. The presence of Syrians traders on Minoan/Mycenaean soil finds additional support in the finding of the "sun-disk in moon crescent" symbol on ceramics from in the "Zakros Pit Deposit."

§28. The banded robe worn by the Syrian individual with the prominent nose in Figure 6 is again the Syrian garment.[8] Further, I cannot think of a more likely seal-owner than a Syrian. If so, what is the carried ceremonial object and why would a Syrian present in Laconia (the seal's findspot) carry it? It is clear that the carried symbol is *not* the "sun-disk in crescent" displayed in the Syrian "House of the Sea" (Figure 5). Some scholars associate the object with a Syrian or Egyptian "fenestrated axe" and/or say it resembles a unique object from the Vapheio tholos (the "Vapheio Axe").[9] In my opinion, the evidence does not convincingly support these resemblances. For me, the more basic question is why would a Syrian active in Laconia wish to be depicted carrying an object of this kind with no known Minoan/Mycenaean connection? Of course, this is possible in the case of a ceremonial object. However, there are alternative identifications of the carried object such as with the papyrus flower (or perhaps "sacral knot") in Figure 7.

Figure 6. Man in Syrian Banded Robe Holds Ceremonial Object. Seal from Vatheia in Laconia (*CMS* I 225). Courtesy of the Heidelberg Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals.

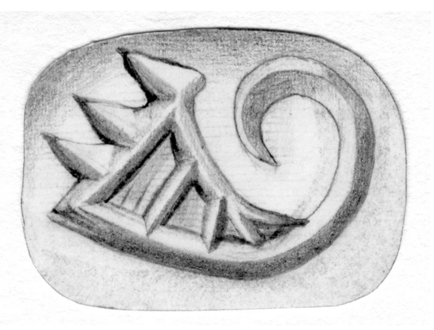

Figure 7. Papyrus Flower on Prism Seal from Mochlos (*CMS* II.2 250a). Courtesy of the Heidelberg Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals.

§29. The papyrus symbol has known local connections as is attested in the presence of a papyrus fresco in Knossos's throne room and in the depiction of the plant at Pylos in the "Megaron Hall" (36 C 17; Lang 1969, plate 136). These connections, together with other indications (in Silver forthcoming, Chapter 10.8), suggests that the papyrus plant has a special meaning to Potnia and might even be identified with her. Thus, a Syrian carrying a stick with a papyrus flower symbol in Laconia might well be recognized as being *under the protection of Potnia* or even as an *agent of Potnia*.[10] This "safe conduct" would be especially important for traders moving from one political jurisdiction to another or while traversing a wilderness.

§30. Mochlos, a harbor on Crete's north coast, is well situated for Syrian trade and its

§30. Mochlos, a harbor on Crete's north coast, is well situated for Syrian trade and its "House A," a relatively well-built house of eight rooms served by a cobbled road had "Canaanite" amphora fragments of LM III date. Somewhat later finds include engraved and miniature double headed axes. The excavated site may have hosted a branch of the Labyrinth.

§31. Several seals depict an individual in the Syrian banded robe holding a griffin by a leash. Based on this connection with a fantastic creature with strong palatial connections, it has been suggested that the individuals are Minoan/Mycenaean priests or officials. This is possible. However, it is not explained why Minoan/Mycenaean priests or officials wear a Syrian garment.[11] In addition, a foreign commercial origin for the wearers of the banded robes is not excluded by an association with/control of griffins. The griffin symbolizes not only palatial power but also the overseas projection of palatial power. The griffin serves the palace not only by guarding Potnia and the *wanax* but also by guarding the lives and property of foreign traders. Griffins are conceived as a mobile security force but not to be confused with lions. Thus, a way to understand a leashed griffin is that it is one who has been assigned to protect/serve the Syrian holder of the leash as in Figure 8.

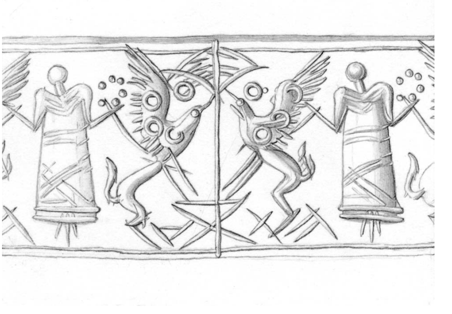

Figure 8. Griffin Opens Campstool for Syrian in Banded Robe Seal (*CMS* X 268). Courtesy of the Heidelberg Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals.

§32. This cylinder or roll-seal, purchased in Beirut, links Syrians in banded robes, griffins representing Palace/Labyrinth, and campstools. Importantly, a *dotted rosette* and a leash are in / close to the hand of the Syrian while at the same time a griffin places its front legs on a campstool. The rosette and griffin and papyrus place the scene in the palace/labyrinth (Silver forthcoming, Chaps. 4.1, 4.2, 7.3, 7.5). My reading developed in the book is that the griffin, acting on behalf of the palace, has secured the safe arrival of the Syrian trader and now is opening the campstool for him to sit on. In this interpretation, the dotted rosette the Syrian "holds" indicates that he is being honored. The rosette may be understood as a garland/chaplet (*stephanos*) (Warren 1985). Simultaneously, as a decorative fixture on garments from Minoan to Mycenaean times (Shaw 1998:70), the rosette recalls the underlying flower (= fine textile) motive of the *to-no* festival. I understand the rosette to refer to the textile cushion that will be placed on the campstool seat to transform it into a throne—that is, a seat of worship.

§33. The central, tall papyrus plant almost seems to emerge from the campstool. It recalls the papyrus symbol of safe conduct possibly carried by the Syrian in Figure 7. More certainly, it announces the arrival/presence of Potnia herself (Silver forthcoming, Chap. 7.5) at the ceremony, as does the date-palm in Figure 9. The latter figure shows two griffins with their front legs on a campstool. The adoring griffins are surmounted by a symbol of the labyrinth in the form of either a stylized double headed axe or a stylized palm tree. Above this symbol floats the goddess herself with so-called "snake frames" (verified by the sealing *CMS* I 379). Marinatos (1984:119–120) deserves credit for identifying the protruding objects at either end of "snake frame" as dates. Thus, the "snake frames" are best understood as stylized palm branches. I submit the hypothesis that the papyrus flowers and the palm branches above the campstools correspond to the Latin "heads of gods" (*struppi*), actually bundles made from grasses, which are placed on the couches in the Latin festival.

Figure 9. Griffins, Campstool, Entrance of Potnia. Seal (*CMS* XIII 39). Courtesy of the Heidelberg Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals.

§34. We turn now from glyptic to fresco evidence. At Pylos, in the fragmentary "Procession in the Vestibule," men carry indeterminate objects, one of which is described by Lang (1969:64) as "the upright of a rectangular frame which rests on his shoulder cushioned by a large white pillow." "It is perhaps a stool," comments Wright (2004:161–162). On the wall of the megaron itself is the "Bard at the Banquet" scene that shows a lyre-player (actually lyre-*holder*) seated on rocks (?) who wears a robe with alternating bands of brown and white together with a flying bird, a bull, and two individuals wearing white robes with tan (brown) diagonal bands, who are seated on "campstools" (actually incurved altar-bases) on either side of a three-legged table. The upper bodies of the figures, my Syrian traders, seated across the table from each other are missing with the result that their genders are indeterminate (Lang 1969: II 64, 80–81, 194–195, nos. 43–44 H6, pls. 27–28, 125–126, col. pl. A; Wright 2004:161–162). Returning to Lang's reconstruction, it seems credible that some of the figures in the Pylos Room 5 Procession carry cushions (see Wright 2004:162, fig. 12). However, cushions cannot be seen on the campstool-like seats depicted in the "Bard at the Banquet" fresco, including for the seated figures who wear "Syrian" robes (see Wright 2004:163, fig. 13).

§35. The Knossos "Campstool Fresco" was found in fragments outside the walls of the palace but is believed to have come from an upper hall on the west side. As reconstructed, it includes figures holding goblets who are sitting on campstools across from one another. The best known figure of the whole composition is the so-called "La Parisienne" who wears the "sacral knot." A second partially preserved woman "wears a yellow skirt with a multi-colored flounced overskirt" (Lenuzza 2012:257). There is uncertainty about her presence, however. Thus, at least one important local figure is interacting with the seated celebrants.

§36. By contrast to the campstool-like altar-base seats in the Pylos "Bard at the Banquet" fresco, at Knossos a real campstool and one campstool cushion are clearly visible in the original (not reconstructed) fresco. In addition, two hand-held goblets, one in blue and the other in yellow, are visible in the original (Hood 2005:55). The gender of the figure on the cushion cannot be determined from the original fresco remains but this figure wears a striped or banded garment. However, in the original version, another seated figure, whose garment is not visible, clearly has red skin, which indicates male gender (see Silver forthcoming, Chaps. 6.3, 11.4). The one visible seat cushion is white. However, in this connection, it is well to note Lang's (1969) references to a number of Pylos processions (e.g. 53 H nws) in which female participants carry bouquets of red and white *flowers*.

§37. The fragmentary seated figures from Knossos and Pylos are my feted Syrian traders come to avail themselves of the luxury textiles made available in the palaces. I trust that the picture developed of the *to-no* festival is much more informative than one generated from the Linear B texts alone.

Discussion following Silver's presentation

§38.1. Michele Mitrovich highlighted that there are elements speaking against the interpretation of the so-called horns of consecration as a ship, i.e. (1) a typical convex curvature of the inner lines of horns of consecration, as in the example from Knossos, as well as (2) an angle between a base and a "horn" and a ratio of length to width. Also (3) the ships, such as the ones seen on the frescoes from Akrotiri, display concave inner curvature of the aft and the bow which curve out from the ship's hull at an obtuse angle (4) instead of the ninety-degree angle seen on most horns of consecration.

§38.2. She also pointed out that the goddess seated on the rocks, depicted on the seal from Mycenae, *CMS* I 17, holds three floral stems that have been identified as poppies rather than lotus flowers. This connection of poppies and goddesses on Crete can be seen in the so-called Poppy Goddess, a LM III terracotta figurine from Gazi, Crete.

§38.3. The final point that Mitrovich highlighted was related to the pattern on the Syrian seal from Mochlos, which represents the traditional Guilloché or guilloche pattern characteristic of the Near Eastern iconographic vocabulary, rather than the Aegean spiral motif proposed by Morris Silver. The running spiral motif is formed by interconnected concentric circular elements, while the guilloche pattern is constructed by two undulating lines crossing each other in an alternating fashion.

§39. Tom Palaima remarked on horns as mountain peaks by drawing attention to two recent works: Banou 2008 and Vlachopoulos 2021 forthcoming. Banou 2008:38, building on an all but neglected article by B. B. Powell (1970), points out that a disc rising between the horns of consecration resembles the Egyptian symbol for the "horizon," that is similar to representations of the Egyptian goddess Hathor as a cow "bearing the sun disc between its horns." Hathor was a solar deity and the motif of a disc or rosette between the horns has been diffused all over the Eastern Mediterranean. Palaima also cautioned that in *Iliad* 22.441 the word *thronon* does not mean "flower patterned woven garment" as Silver proposes above in §19. In fact, it is always used in the neuter plural (i.e. *throna*) in Greek. It literally means 'flowers' modified as being 'of variegated colors' that Andromache while weaving metaphorically 'sprinkled' upon the 'purple bifold garment': δίπλακα πορφυρέην, ἐν δὲ θρόνα ποικίλ' ἔπασσε. The garment is ἡ δίπλαξ. The θρόνα are the decorative motif. That this is so is proved by a parallel passage in *Iliad* Book 3 (126–127), where Helen is also weaving a δίπλακα πορφυρέην, but is sprinkling 'many contests of the horse-taming Trojans and the bronze-khitoned Achaeans', i.e. a different kind of figural elements, upon it. Thirdly, with regard to thrones consisting of stools surmounted by cushions and offered as seating for distinguished figures (§§23–24 above) in the crocus gathering fresco from Akrotiri and supposedly for the priestess of Athena as attested in Herodotus 5.72.3, the Herodotus passage offers no such support. All Herodotus says on this matter is quite flatly: ἡ δὲ ἱρείη ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου, literally 'the priestess having stood up from the *thronos*'. There is no reference to a stool and cushion.

§40. Sarah Morris highlighted a recent paper on the naval fresco from Pylos, namely Brecoulaki, Stocker, Davis, and Egan 2015.

§41. On the fenestrated axe, Nagy drew attention to the observations he provided in his recent paper **A plane tree in Naflio**. See in particular §14A:

> In a vast hall straight ahead as you enter, which houses Mycenaean antiquities, we find at the farther end of this hall a slanted-horizontal display case containing seals and sealings. One seal, found in a Mycenaean tholos tomb at Vapheio near Sparta, shows the image of a man in a long robe who is carrying a fenestrated axe (CMS I 225). This axe is shaped like a capital P with a vertical bar bisecting the semicircle attached to the straight line of the P. In a vertical display case nearby—it is to our right as we face the two posts from the "Treasury of Atreus"—we actually see the fenestrated axe (National Archaeological Museum inventory no. 1870): this object had been buried together with the seal that shows the picture of the man carrying the axe. And the man who is pictured on the seal is the same man who had been buried in the tomb containing both the axe and the seal that shows the man carrying the axe; in fact, the seal was attached to the man's wrist (Yasur-Landau 2015:141). It has been observed about this axe that, by the time it was buried with its owner in the Mycenaean tomb at Vapheio, it was already "a centuries-old ceremonial weapon," dating as far back as sometime between the 20th and 18th centuries BCE (Yasur-Landau 2015:139, 146); both the axe and the seal had been acquired from Minoan Crete (Yasur-Landau 2015:141).

§42.1. About the fenestrated axe, Palaima re-emphasized the importance of the paper by Yasur-Landau (2015).

§42.2. In addition, Palaima remarked that seated females figures are rare, and even then extremely few are literally 'enthroned', i.e. seated on a throne per se. He stressed that Morris Silver's examples are well-chosen: *CMS* I 17 shows a figure who is seated on what looks like rocks and leaning against a 'tree' or big plant of some sort that is bearing 'fruit'. Palaima also underscored that of the 10,972 images in the **IconAegean data base** on sphragistic surfaces of all kinds, the motif of the sitting female figure as the focal point for humans, animals, plants, landscapes and architectural structures appears a mere 11 times. Very few have the female figure sitting on a formal 'chair' or 'stool'. Jared Petrol is now working on this topic.

§42.3. Moreover, on Powell and sun disks and 'horns of consecration' as mountain peaks, Palaima highlighted the recent contribution by Stocker and Davis 2020.

§43. Vassilis Petrakis added that Maran 2015 provides abundant detailed information on the fenestrated axe from Vapheio in connection with western Asiatic and Egyptian axe-manufacturing techniques and traditions and the particular identification of the Vapheio axe-head as from a "rare group of Levantine semicircular axes."

§44. Morris Silver and Tom Palaima engaged in a discussion that we summarize here below.

§45.1. MS: I was familiar with Yasur-Landau (and Maran) and remain unconvinced about the "fenestrated axe." Perhaps he is correct. It will be interesting to see how he and others react to the papyrus seal from Mochlos.

§45.2. TP: So the figure on the seal is carrying a papyrus token on a vertical shaft as an identifier? Is that what you are saying? You do know that Maran 2015:266, figures 2 and 3, gives a convincing reconstruction and a closeup image of the impression of seal *CMS* I 225. And Yasur-Landau 2015:140, figure 2, shows a photo and an accurate drawing of the actual axe-head found in the same tomb. This leaves little doubt that the physical object is a Levantine-style fenestrated axe-head and that the seal shows a male figure carrying one as on other seals shown together by Yasur-Landau 2015:140, figure 1. None of these images is of a papyrus.

Furthermore, the identification of the plants on the fresco from the throne room at Knossos and the fresco fragment from the Pylos throne room (actually found in Room 17) as papyrus is highly problematical. But we hope to take this up at a future **MASt@CHS** meeting. Furthermore, I agree that in your figure 6, the seal with griffin and campstool that the central motif rising up from below the campstool resembles a papyrus plant. But this plant is very different from the so-called papyrus plant from the "Megaron Hall" at Pylos (36 C 17; Lang 1969, pl. 136) (§29 above). There is also little resemblance between the Mochlos so-called "papyrus flower" and the clear papyrus flower in the scene on your cylinder seal in your figure 8.

§45.3. MS: With respect to "emblems of safe conduct" one model is the Champagne fairs first sponsored by towns, then by the Count, and then by the King. As Syrian traders traveled from one palatial jurisdiction to another they would have become vulnerable. Grave danger would have threatened as they traveled through each "no man's land," if not for the universal (material and ideological) threat of retribution at the hands of gods such as Poseidon and Potnia. I wonder if those traveling to later Greek fairs carried such "passports" from the gods.

§45.4. TP: Forgive me, Morris, but I do not understand exactly what your point is here. Is it that the object and the images on at least four seals that other scholars from long close-up firsthand study identify as a fenestrated axe is somehow to be taken as another kind of emblem, whose significance is known within the Aegean sphere and would provide a visible symbol broadcasting the protection of the bearer by the *potnia* within that sphere?

§45.5. MS: Yes, I am of the view that the symbols were functional and that the functions need to be explained. My hypothesis is that the symbols carried by the Syrian trader (in the banded robe) were intended to protect the trader in Aegean territory. Perhaps, if better understood, the "fenestrated axe" was a universal symbol that played a protective role in Egypt, Syria, and the Aegean.

§45.6. MS: With respect to Davis Stocker and "horns" as mountains there is the question of why *two* mountains are needed. Why not two genii with only one horn = mountain on which grows the tree = Potnia? I think the plant/tree between the two horns is Potnia, a circuiting goddess. That is, she is in a ship.

§45.7. TP: So what do you do then with two plants on the Routsi seal? Two potnias? And the examples with double axes set inside the 'horns'? Let me say this is all very intriguing and the example of Powell's now rehabilitated interpretation of the horns of consecration, even if not believed by you, indicates that new proposed interpretations have the great benefit of getting us to rethink old assumptions. So thank you for bringing all these important questions about our established scholarly beliefs or rather assumptions to the fore for further examination.

§46. Trevor Van Damme added to the discussion a recent find from Agios Vassileos. In particular, in the 2016 *Praktika*, Adamantia Vasilogamvrou reported on a spectacular altar with horns of consecration found with in situ wheel-made bull figures and figurines (particularly relevant are pp. 146–149 and figs. 6–9). This seems like a very exciting new piece of evidence for understanding how horn of consecration were employed on the mainland beyond architectural and iconographic settings. It also, at least in my opinion, strengthens the likelihood that they do in fact represent bull horns.

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[1] The *sella* is defined as a chair but may (typically) be of a type lacking a back and arms. On Roman coins, it seems to be depicted in this way and it is shown draped with fringed textiles (called *Babylonica*) over the seat upon which sits a portable cultic emblem.

[2] My main source is Petrakis (2002–2003). Previous scholarship on the meaning of the festival is more fully acknowledged in my forthcoming monograph.

[3] The month name occurs several times in the Pylos Fr series of tablets.

[4] The stick/nightstick/baton held by the individual wearing the figure-of-eight shield offers the hint that the delivery is mandated by contract or law.

[5] Note in the famous Akrotiri frescoes the sympathetic attention given to the (actually tedious) collection of the many, many small and fragile crocus stamens used for the production of precious saffron dye (see Chap. 2 of my book: Silver forthcoming).

[6] The welcome given to the strangers loosely fits Livy's (5.13.5–8) description of Rome's first *lectisternium* in which private individuals also prepared lavish couches and entertained on them even complete strangers.

[7] In the third millennium BCE, the god Enki possessed a "house of the sea" whose "interior is a twisted thread" (Kramer and Maier 1985:49).

[8] Several different views of the banded robe are available. The version shown above provides the best view of the ceremonial object but does not clearly show the bare right shoulder. The best view of the bare right shoulder is in *CMS* II.3 198. See also *CMS* IS 113).

[9] References are provided in Silver forthcoming.

[10] An alternative safe conduct symbolism is that the ceremonial object carried by the Syrian is Poseidon's *triaina* "trident." Homer uses the word three times, twice for hitting something (*Iliad* 12.27, *Odyssey* 4.506) and in *Odyssey* 5.291 for stirring up the waves when Odysseus departs from Calypso. "Hence, we see that as far as Homer is concerned, we have no literary evidence about the attribute of Poseidon, except as to the purposes for which it was employed. There is nothing to indicate its shape, except that that it must be more or less of tripartite shape; that such a shape does not necessarily imply the three-pronged object familiar to us, I will endeavor to show later" (Walters 1992–1893:14; emphasis added). As Walters (1892–1893, esp. 17) shows, the trident has taken many forms in Greek art including a number that have a floral character.

[11] Making a Syrian into a priest of the god would be a way of making the Syrian sacred to the god and thereby placing him under the god's protection. Recall that in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* the god Apollo seeks out and captures a ship loaded with Cretan merchants in order to make them his priests. Even more promising as a symbol of safe conduct and wealth generation is Hermes's "staff with three branches" (*Homeric Hymn to Mercury* 528–532). The *tripetēlos* seems comparable to the object carried by the Syrian and to an ornament on the prow of ships depicted on the Mochlos "Ship Cup" which has been compared to a *fleur-de-lys* (references in Silver forthcoming).

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