

THE KNOSSIAN BULL - POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN NEO-PALATIAL CRETE? *

The bull is a prominent feature of wall decorations as part of normal, relief or miniature frescoes at the Palace at Knossos. Moreover, large scale bulls, either single or in bull-leaping scenes, are situated at some of the most spectacular and important places in the palace.

Evans' dates for the frescoes do not always accord with later scholars' ¹. But whatever the date given to each individual fresco it is important to note Camerons' observations on the fresco program as such. He believed they were thematically unified and originated with the erection of the New Palace in MM III. Concerning their dating, he stressed that the extant fresco material comes from different chronological levels - but that the theme laid out in MM III survived through the ages even into the Mycenaean period ². His view is conveniently confirmed in the fresco from the West Porch where three superimposed layers all with bull scenes were found ³.

The first sight which met a visitor to the palace —entering the proper way— was a large galloping bull (probably part of a bull-leaping scene) on the east wall of the West Porch ⁴; only after this impressive view did one enter the corridor with the Procession Fresco.

The discovery of a fresco fragment with a bull's head below one of the Kasellas in the 13th magazine ⁵ indicates that bulls or bull games ⁶ may at some time have decorated one of the large receptions halls above the West Magazines.

* The title of this conference "Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age" is —as we see it— a provocation to the participants to advance theories and ideas rather than to present and discuss the basic facts of the Aegean Prehistory which we still need so badly and which this paper also will demonstrate. Seen on this background we here venture to present some ideas on "political propaganda" in Minoan iconography.

References to seal motifs are when available CMS. For Hagia Triada the references are - if nothing else is mentioned - to those given D. LEVI, "Le cretule di Hagia Triada", *ASAtene* 8-9 (1925-1926), 71-156. Concerning Zakro the references are - if nothing else is mentioned - to D. LEVI, "Le cretule di Zakro", *ASAtene* 8-9 (1925-1926), 157-201.

We wish to thank Dr. Collin Macdonald for correcting the English text.

1 For a full discussion on the dating of each individual fresco see S. IMMERWAHR, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age* (1990), 170-79.

2 M.A.S. CAMERON, "The 'Palatial' Thematic System in the Knossos Murals. Last Notes on Knossos", in *Function Palaces*, 323-324. The fashion for relief frescoes, however, seems to have disappeared after LM IB, cf. S. HOOD, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (1978), 72.

3 *PM* II, 676 and IV, 894.

4 *PM* II, 674-678, figs. 428, 429 and *PM* IV, 894, fig. 873. Evans dated the uppermost fragment to the last age of the Palace. See also IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 176, Kn No. 29 (dated LM III).

5 *PM* I, 447, fig. 385. Evans dated it to MM III. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 173, Kn No. 18 (MM IIIB or later?).

6 IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 64.

A fragment of a bull's hind foot from the south wall in the Ante-room to the Throne Room⁷ clearly showed that an impressive bull faced the visitor waiting for a reception in the heart of the palace.

Visitors invited to the Banquet Hall above the Pillar Hall would have to walk along a passage from the Central Court with a view of life size charging bulls and bull-leapers of both sexes in high relief⁸.

Visitors entering perhaps one of the most impressive rooms at Knossos, Evans's East Hall, could in the MM III/LM IA period see magnificent stucco reliefs of at least three bulls of life size⁹, and in a later phase, on the East wall, the rare boxers or wrestlers and bull-leaping in high relief¹⁰.

On the north wall in the entrance section of the Upper Hall of the Double Axes "a stucco fragment" with "a bull's foot resting on the ground with shoots of vegetation on either side" was found¹¹.

The famous Taureador Frescoes which were presented in five different panels¹² seem originally "to have belonged to some kind of Loggia above the so-called School Room and overlooking the little 'Court of the Stone Spout'"¹³.

In addition to the above should be mentioned a bull-leaping scene in miniature fresco which may have decorated a room above or close to the Queen's Megaron¹⁴ and another piece of a miniature fresco with a bull was found in the Deposits of Ivories¹⁵.

Two bull scenes were found outside the palace. On the northern border of the NW Treasury, "where it overlooked the Theatral Area" fragments of a fresco with a possible bull-leaping scene was found¹⁶. According to Evans the building was a treasure house connected with the Palace cult¹⁷ and thus an official building. Part of a relief fresco somewhat under life size was found in the filling material of the House of the Sacrificed Oxen¹⁸. These fragments, however, may have originated from the neighbouring palace.

7 PM IV, 893, fig 872. The foot is resting on a low dado band depicting the waved striations of stone work. On the basis of parallels to similar decorations on vases Evans dated it to "latest Palatial Phase". But in n. 1 he also quoted some LM IB parallels. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 176, Kn No. 30 (dated LM II/III).

8 PM III, 172-173; IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 174, Kn No. 21 (dated LM IB/II); see, however, HOOD (*supra* n. 2).

9 B. KAISER, *Untersuchungen zum minoischen Relief* (1976), 279, 290 identified from this phase fragments from at least 3 different bulls of which Evans only published one fragment (PM I, 375, fig. 273, "Spiral fresco deposit"). We are grateful to Prof. Robin Hägg for providing us with this information from his manuscript on, "The 'East Hall' at Knossos", to be presented in the *Proceedings of the 7th International Cretological Congress* held at Rethymnon.

10 PM III, 216, fig. 147 and 497-509; IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 171, Kn No. 8 including both phases (n. 9) (dated MM IIIB to LM IB).

11 PM IV, 892. Dated to a remodelling in LM II. PM I, 337, n. 1.

12 CAMERON (*supra* n. 2), 325 and fig. 12.

13 PM IV, 892. J. Younger ("Bronze Age Representations of Aegean Bull-Leaping", *AJA* 80 [1976], 129) believes it came from the Court. Evans had some problems in dating them. He meant they were wall-paintings of the highest level and not later than the First late Minoan period, but on the other hand the borders "betray a certain sympathy" with borders fashionable in the last age of the Palace. PM III, 211. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 175, Kn No. 23 (dated LM II/IIIA).

14 E.g. PM III, 208-209, fig. 143.

15 PM III, 207-208, fig. 142. It was found together with the well known ivory bull-leapers and "the association of a shrine with performances of the "bull-ring" is again clearly featured". PM III, 207. Another miniature fresco has been associated with bull games, the Grandstand fresco. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 64.

16 PM II, 620 and fig. 389. IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 176-177, Kn No. 31 (dated LM II/III).

17 PM II, 616.

18 PM II, 310. It was found among the rubbish material on top of the two sacrificed oxen laying on the floor of the basement.

Where would a mighty sovereign display the symbol of his power? At the entrance to the palace, where it would be the first thing to meet the eye; in the official reception rooms; on walls of corridors leading to large official rooms; in perhaps the most important ceremonial room of the palace and in a public ante-room to the sanctuary.

This short survey of mainly large-scale bull representations on the walls of the Palace at Knossos clearly shows that they were in prominent positions and, therefore, of the utmost importance to the people in power. Since bulls or bull-leaping scenes are, as far as we know, unknown in the fresco programmes of other buildings (including the palaces) in Crete, the obvious suggestion of this decorative schema is that the bull *per se* or when involved in bull-leaping scenes was the symbol of power for the sovereign at Knossos¹⁹.

Do we possess any evidence which may support this theory? In other words: do we have other pictorial representations of big, strong bulls and/or bull-leaping scenes? Here we may direct our attention to the article of John Betts "New light on Minoan Bureaucracy". In this paper Betts identifies a series of impressions from rings depicting either jumping bulls or bull-leaping scenes, and he suggests with strong arguments which to our knowledge have never been challenged, that the workshop which produced the relevant rings used in the LM IB period was in Knossos²⁰.

Impressions from these rings have been discovered at Hagia Triada, Zakro, Sklavokambos, Gournia perhaps Khania²¹, and at Knossos itself (Table 1). They represent six different bull-leaping scenes, the famous impression with two horses and a chariot, the two magnificent lions with a palm-tree behind and a combat scene. On one nodule (HM 516) the bull-leaping scenes are connected to the horse sealings. All together 51 impressions from 9 rings are found on 50 documents. 36 impressions are from bull-leaping scenes. 46 of the documents are found on lying parcel nodules. Two with impressions from the same seal were found on large noduli, while two from Zakros were found on two-stringed hanging nodules²² and two very fragmentary from Knossos might have sealed single-stringed or two-stringed hanging nodules. This distribution of document types is not by chance. As excellently argued by Weingarten the two large noduli from Zakro and Gournia are probably to be understood as tokens, on the delivery of which an official would receive accommodation at the given site²³. The two-stringed hanging nodules are most likely to have been fastened on movable (precious?) objects, while the single-stringed hanging nodules are probably only used in the local administration. The parcel nodules, however, were to some extent exchanged between

19 The newly found frescoes at Avaris in Egypt may be seen in this light, but as they are not yet fully published we cannot go deeper into the subject (Lecture at The New York Aegean Bronze Age Colloquium on February 11. 1992; Lecture in Egypt Exploration Society in London on July 8. 1992; M. BIETAK, "Minoan Wall-Paintings Unearthed at Ancient Avaris", in *Egyptian Archaeology* 2 [1992], 26-28).

20 J. BETTS, "New Light on Minoan Bureaucracy", *Kadmos* 6 (1967), 15-40; J. WEINGARTEN, "Late Bronze Age Trade within Crete: the Evidence of Seals and Sealings", in *Bronze Age Trade*, 309, n. 11; I. PINI, "Neue Beobachtungen zu den tönernen Siegelabdrücken von Zakros", *AA* (1983), 570.

21 For the Khania example, see I. PAPAPOSTOULOU, *Τά σφραγίσματα τῶν Χανίων* (1977), 33 and PINI (*supra* n. 20), 570, n. 34. Personally we are not absolutely convinced of this identification, since the ring seems too small (originally less than 2.5 cm in L.) and because the horns of the bull are rendered in a different position compared to the others.

22 A.o. paired with the famous scene of lions guarding a gate Z 112, cf. D.G. HOGARTH, "The Zakro Sealings", *JHS* 22 (1902), 76-93.

23 J. WEINGARTEN, "More Unusual Minoan Clay Nodules: Addendum II", *Kadmos* 29 (1990), 19-20.

different sites in Crete and there can be little doubt that they actually sealed written documents ²⁴.

If we consider the Gournia assemblage of probable Knossian seals we have one nodulus (HM 101) which may perhaps be of Knossian clay and a 1-seal lying parcel nodule (HM 102). It is not possible to be positive about the clay of the parcel nodule, but whatever the correct interpretation, we may imagine either that a message had been sent from Knossos to Gournia or that a representative had sealed a document in Gournia. And the same possibilities could be pointed out in connection with the collection of probable Knossian seals found in Sklavokambos, Hagia Triada, Zakro and perhaps Khania.

We fully agree with Betts when he concludes in his paper, "The picture they create seems to be of a centralized bureaucracy at Knossos, and Knossian rulers using signet rings of the finest quality with bull-leaping as their chief insignia..." ²⁵. If this is accepted, the motif on these rings of the Neopalatial period would fall well into symbolism of power known to originate from the palace itself. The big strong bull would on official documents everywhere in Crete signal the power of Knossos.

It would therefore be interesting to see how the theme is rendered in the local administrations with which Knossos was in contact. In this respect we shall confine our investigations to representations for which there can be no doubt that they were used in the Minoan administration —namely the seal impressions found on nodules and noduli in the Minoan archives.

If we go from West to East (Table 2) we find in Khania ²⁶ two impressions from signet rings with representations of powerful jumping bulls, the one on a nodulus ²⁷ and the other on an irregular parcel nodule ²⁸. At Knossos we have a single bull-leaping scene from the Temple Repository —in fact the earliest known on a nodule ²⁹. At Sklavokambos all the jumping bulls ³⁰ are supposed to be of Knossian origin. At Hagia Triada we find impressions from four different rings with representations of powerful jumping bulls: HT 51, HT 56, HT 108, and HT 109. At Gournia there are no more jumping bulls than the two Knossian. Finally, at Zakro we find impressions from three rings and possibly an amygdaloid with jumping bulls: Z 97 ³¹, Z 98 ³², Z 123 and Z 189.

24 Full arguments for the suggested function of the different types of documents will be found in the forthcoming E. HALLAGER, *The Minoan Roundel (Proceedings of the Danish Institute in Athens, Monographs 1)*.

25 BETTS (*supra* n. 20), 27.

26 Apart from the possible Knossian bull, CMS V, Suppl. 1A, no. 171.

27 CMS V, Suppl. 1A, no. 145.

28 GSE 89-TC 23 (Mus. no. KH 1570) coming from a slightly later context, cf. E. HALLAGER & Y. TZEDAKIS, "The Greek-Swedish Excavations at Kastelli, Khania. 1 The 1989 Excavation", AAA 21 (1988)[1993], 26-27, fig. 12.

29 HM 396 which is a nodulus with motif L48 cf. M.A.V. GILL, "The Knossos Sealings: Provenance and Identification", BSA 60 (1965), 25-26. Illustrated e.g. PM III, 218, fig. 149. The earliest clear bull scene on a sealing (MM II) is found at Phaistos where it appears on two almost similar seals (CMS II5, no. 268 and 269). These are interesting because the impressions from those two seals are, with the exception of an intermingled rope design (CMS II5 no. 165), the most frequent found at Phaistos and the seal impression which occurs on most different types of sealings - facts which naturally leads one to stress the importance of this seal.

30 With the possible exception of SKL 6 (HM 630 [1-seal lying parcel nodule]), which appears to be a walking - not jumping - bull, cf. S. MARINATOS, "Το μινωϊκόν μέγαρον του Σκλαβόκαμπου", AE 1939-41, Pl. 4:2, 3, 4 and 5.

31 This seal is found 23 times together with a cult scene, 4 times on two-stringed nodules, and 19 times on standing parcel nodules. For motif: PINI (*supra* n. 20), fig. 5b-c.

32 Found 12 times on standing parcel nodules. For motif: PINI (*supra* n. 20), fig. 5a.

Two things are worthy of note in connection with this survey of jumping bulls and bull-leaping scenes in the local administration. The one point is the administrative use and the second is the iconography of bull-leaping scenes.

Concerning the administrative use it should first be mentioned that all the discussed documents probably are of local clay. Secondly it will be noted that all the representations with a single possible exception³³ are impressions from signet rings, and thirdly it will be noted that they are found on exactly the same kind of documents as those with the Knossian rings: Two noduli, a few two-stringed hanging nodules and on parcel nodules either alone or paired with an impression from another ring³⁴.

Concerning the iconography of the bull-leaping scenes it is worthy of note that on the 10 impressions where it is fairly clear how the leaper is behaving, eight seem to conform to Evans's schema³⁵ where the leaper is landing on his feet on the bull's back. According to Younger this schema was entirely Minoan and did not survive the Mycenaean takeover³⁶. On three representations³⁷ the leaper is found landing behind the bull. This way is the same in Evans' schema and in the scene of the diving leaper. Two scenes seem to show the diving leaper, where the leaper is landing on his hands on the bull's back: one from Khania³⁸ and one from Zakro/Sklavokambos³⁹. The diving leaper scene is known in LM I and continues into LM IIIA⁴⁰.

These local representations of the jumping bull would thus seem to indicate that the local administration to some extent acknowledged Knossian symbolism or perhaps even that officials appointed by Knossos were at work in the different Cretan centres.

Several scholars agree today that Crete was becoming strongly centralized under Knossos at the end of the LM I period⁴¹. Might one not have expected some kind of

33 Z 123 (possibly an amygdaloid).

34 Always a cult scene.

35 Evans based his type of bull-leaping on the British Museum bronze group (*PM* III, 221 and fig. 155-156). Although certain iconographic schemes can be seen in the preserved material, we have to keep in mind that "there is some uncertainty as to exactly how the vault was effected". IMMERWAHR (*supra* n. 1), 91. The eight seal impressions are HT 108, HT 109, HT 110 (could be discussed), KN L48 (*PM* III, 218, fig. 149), SKL 3, SKL 4 (MARINATOS [*supra* n. 30], Pl. 4:3 and 4), Z 97 and Z 123. The last two can (apart from D. LEVI, "Le cretule di Zakro", *ASAtene* 8-9 [1925-1926]) be found in *PM* III, 219, figs 151b and a.

36 YOUNGER (*supra* n. 13), 135.

37 HT 54, KH 1 (*CMS* V, Suppl. 1A, no. 171) and Z 189.

38 KH 52 (cf. *supra* n. 28).

39 Z 96 and SKL 5. Hogarth's drawing (*supra* n. 22, 86, fig. 27) is somewhat unclear, but both Betts' (*supra* n. 20) and Evans' (*PM* III, 219, fig. 152) drawings show clearly a diving leaper.

40 YOUNGER (*supra* n. 13), 128 and Ill. 2. The actual bull-leaping sport seems to have gradually disappeared with the breakdown of the palace administration power at the end of LM IIIB:1. Representations of the sport in IIIB are mainly found on the mainland and here the depictions of the sport was "freezed" to an artistic convenient representation (p. 135 called "Floating Leaper Schema") which quite obviously reveals that they were made when the sport in itself was in the memory of the artist's grandfather. Younger (this volume p. 512) now believes that the floating leaper scene existed also in LM I.

41 The Neopalatial period and especially its later part is the time where most scholars agree that Knossos was the major palace in Crete, and the close of the period is also the time where many scholars consider it likely that politically and economically Crete became more and more centralized under Knossos. Evans considered the LM IB destructions as a result of suppressions of rebellions (*PM* II, 348), and A. Furumark ("The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c. 1550-1400 B.C.", *OpAth* 6 [1950], 256) saw in the development of ceramics a clear dominance of Knossos at the close of the period. Also BETTS (*supra* n. 20), 26-27, implies in his paper that economic activities at different places in Crete might have been partly under the control of Knossos at the end of the LM IB period, and W.-D. NIEMEIER (*Die Palaststilkeramik von Knossos* [1985], 230-231) has argued a similar case.

resistance or demonstrations against the Knossian regime before the sites were violently destroyed? One's reaction to a motif current from LM I, "lion attacking bull", is that it might represent a local demonstration against the Knossian Bull. But our research in this respect proved disappointing. A closer study of the sealings said to represent this motif proved that the attacked animal could hardly have been a bull ⁴².

On a roundel from Knossos a lion is throwing itself above the head of an animal to bite it in the neck. It is not a bull but rather a deer ⁴³. Pini compares this scene to a similar one from Zakro (Z 117) where he identifies the attacked animal as a bovine animal ⁴⁴. On both impressions, the size of the attacked animal is almost equal that of the lion. Four impressions from Hagia Triada and Zakro could involve the "lion attacking bull". Motif HT 62 ⁴⁵ is too fragmentary and unclear to state anything definite. Motif HT 86 ⁴⁶ shows a lion on the point of attacking an animal lying on its back. Nothing can clearly point to it being a bull and its size (same as the lion) is against it. On motif HT 88 ⁴⁷ a lion and a bull can clearly be seen —but only their heads— and the bull appears as a typical bucranium, a religious symbol ⁴⁸. A lion is attacking an animal lying on its back on Z 110 ⁴⁹. As with the similar lying animal on Motif 86 from Hagia Triada, it can hardly be a bull, the nose and small horns again points to a not closely definable bovine animal.

The two best candidates come from Tylissos and Pyrgos. On the Tylissos ring ⁵⁰, two lions are attacking an animal which could in size be a bull, but the characteristic horns are missing and so is his male attribute in an otherwise undamaged part of the sealing ⁵¹. The other example from Pyrgos ⁵², is reminiscent of the Tylissos sealing. There are no signs of the horns nor of the male attribute and we must here express the same doubt as with the Tylissos sealing ⁵³.

The attacked animals seem to be calves, cows, deer, stags - but not bulls and the same seems to hold true for bovine animals with a spear or arrow in its neck ⁵⁴. Scenes

42 I. PINI ("Das Motif des Löwenüberfalls in der spätminoischen und mykenischen Glyptik", in *L'iconographie minoenne. Actes de la Table Ronde d'Athènes [21-22 avril 1983]*, BCH Suppl. XI [1985], 154) has stated that the motif of lions attacking any kind of animal is so far not known from MM II/III.

43 KN-Rd (HM 106), GILL (*supra* n. 29), 73, no. O3, Pl. 12; cf. PINI (*supra* n. 42), 159 and fig. 9 and E. HALLAGER, "The Knossos Roundels", BSA 82 (1987), fig. 1 and Pl. 9. A fragment of a stucco relief from the palace itself must be mentioned here. Marinatos thought it presented a lion attacking a bull but Evans disagrees with the identification and from what is published, he seems to be right. PM IV, 538.

44 PINI (*supra* n. 42), 159 and fig. 8.

45 Standing parcel nodule with HT 126.

46 Dome nodulus.

47 Pyramid, single-stringed hanging nodule.

48 N. Marinatos (*Minoan Sacrificial Ritual. Cult Practice and Symbolism* [1986], 51) is of the opinion that they together with eight-shield, sacred garment and impaled triangle, relate to sacrificial ritual.

49 1-seal lying parcel nodule.

50 Large nodulus, HM 427, cf. I. HATZIDAKIS, "Τύλισος μινωική", AE 1912, 216, Pl. 16F; also PINI (*supra* n. 42), 155, fig. 5.

51 PINI (*supra* n. 42), 157 also calls it a bovine animal.

52 G. CADOGAN, "A Probable Shrine in the Country House at Pyrgos", in *Sanctuaries and Cults*, 71 and fig. 2. There exists one more, as yet unpublished impression from Pyrgos, PYR-Rb, where two lions are standing on an animal lying on its back. It is very difficult to identify this animal, but considering the others known with this iconography it is probably a deer or a bovine animal. PINI (*supra* n. 42), 166 thinks that "Musterbüchern" were used and, if so, it is highly possible that it is the same type of animal lying on its back in these representations.

53 CADOGAN (*supra* n. 52), 71, however, seems in no doubt calling it a bull.

54 CMS V, Suppl. 1A, no. 154 (KH 2, 1-seal lying parcel nodule) and CMS V, Suppl. 1A, no. 151 (KH 3, 2 two-stringed and 2 single-stringed 'two-finger' nodules), and HT 52 (1-seal lying parcel nodule), cf. I. PINI, "Towards a Standardization of Terminology. Problems of Description and Identification", in *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International*

with the slaughtered or sacrificed bulls seem with our present knowledge, not to exist in Crete in the Neopalatial period ⁵⁵.

Two bull scenes in the Minoan art, however, are exceptional. On the Boxer Rhyton from Hagia Triada it looks as if the bull-leaper is impaled on the horns of the bull ⁵⁶. Whether this simply illustrates the danger of the sport or if it has a hidden propaganda one can only guess; on the second scene, however, we find a motif which does fit our original idea of "resistance": A bull is indeed attacked and killed! This very convincing scene can be found on the Zakro sealing Z 104 ⁵⁷. But here neither mortal man nor animal are involved, rather one with a licence to kill: the Minoan genius ⁵⁸.

With this single exception, the *Minoan* bull never appears at a disadvantage either hurt or as an inferior animal in any way, and the remaining MM III/LM I representations seem to tell the same story. A few impressions may present a standing or walking bull ⁵⁹ and of the eight clear representations of lying bulls ⁶⁰, the six are carelessly turning the back of their heads against the viewer.

What looks like a net can be seen in the background on HT 61 from Hagia Triada ⁶¹ and in the foreground on HT 60 ⁶². HT 55 ⁶³ has a lying bull which Evans proposed was breaking through a fence ⁶⁴. As this last representation is rather close to HT 61 it may be part of the same motif: bull and net. Another from Zakro, Z 160 ⁶⁵, shows a bull in a similar position, and may perhaps belong to the same kind of scene as the others ⁶⁶. This is not

Aegean Conference/4e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia, 6-9 April 1992, Aegaeum 8 (1992), 18, Pl. III d. Pini, however, seems to prefer an interpretation of all three animals as bulls. KH 2 is called a calf by MARINATOS (supra n. 48), 63, fig. 57.

55 In the archaeological material there seems to be clear evidence for sacrificed bulls (I. SAKELLARAKIS, "Das Kuppelgrab A von Archanes und das kretisch-mykenische Tieropferitual", *PZ* 45 [1970], 215 ff, no. 1-4). The main part, however, comes from post LM IB contexts. Of the sacrificed bulls on seals and sealings presented in fig. 8, none seems to be of a clear LM IB or earlier date. Fig 8:1 and 8:6 are in the first case not bulls according to MARINATOS (supra n. 48), 12 and n. 7. Fig. 8:2 is from an unknown context, 8:3 and 8:4 are two sealings from the Archive Deposits at Knossos (whenever we date them they must be post LM IB) (GILL [supra n. 29]). The last evidence from Crete, fig. 8:5, was found on a clay stopper (HM 1049) in Quartier E at Mallia. It was found in a LM IIIB context, but Pelon thought that it originated in his phase III, i.e. LM IB/LM II. Cf. O. PELON, *Mallia. Maisons (III). Le quartier E (1963-1966)* (*EtCrét* XVI, 1970), 130-135.

56 S. HOOD, *The Minoans* (1971), 229.

57 1-seal lying parcel nodule found also together with Z 137 and Z 119. Apart from D. LEVI, "Le cretule di Zakro", *ASAtene* 8-9 (1925-1926), the motif is also illustrated in MARINATOS (supra n. 48), 44, fig. 30.

58 Being a servant of the cult (cf. MARINATOS [supra n. 48], 46 quoting M.P. Nilsson), he is also able to kill the usual hunter, the lion (as seen for example on a lentoid from Crete, *PM* IV, 522, fig. 468).

59 HT 63, SKL 6 (MARINATOS [supra n. 30], Pl. 4:6) and GO Ra (only partly preserved cf. HALLAGER [supra n. 24]). The representations on Z 99-103 with walking animals cannot be closer defined than bovine animals. As the preserved impressions are not complete it cannot be excluded that they also belong to bull-leaping scenes. HT 63 (a hanging pyramid) presents a strange variant of the bull with a deformed head and horns "laid" upon its nose—but a similar bull at Zakro (Z 97) is engaged in a bull-leaping scene.

60 HT 55, HT 58, HT 60, HT 61, KH 9 (*CMS* V, Suppl. 1A, no. 183), KH 35 (*CMS* V, Suppl. 1A, no. 139), KN-R1 (HALLAGER [supra n. 43], Pl. 11) and Z 160.

61 1-seal lying parcel nodule.

62 1-seal lying parcel nodule.

63 1-seal lying parcel nodule and a nodulus.

64 *PM* IV, 574, fig. 554.

65 1-seal lying parcel nodule.

66 On Levi's drawing of Z 160 a stroke can be seen above the horns of the animal. This stroke can hardly be interpreted as a sword. There is, however, the possibility that it is part of a badly preserved net and thus it could belong to the same scene as the others. I. PINI, "Minoische Siegel außerhalb Kretas", in *Thalassocracy*, 126-127 figs. 5, 6 and 7, has drawn attention to three seals with similar motifs.

the impressive running bull, but the bull caught at a moment of inactivity and in no way hurt.

There seems to be a close connection between the bull-leaping scenes and those with bull and net. Evans suggested that the bull-leaping scene in the North Entrance Passage might have been balanced by one, showing more peaceful methods of catching bulls on the eastern side⁶⁷. These scenes he compared to one of the Vaphio cups where bull-leaping and bull caught in a net are found combined. A similar scene is found on the LM IB ivory pyxis from Katsambas⁶⁸. Here a bull-leaper is balancing on the bull's horns, while two men are running in front, one with a spear, the other with "what may be a net"⁶⁹.

The main point in these scenes is that the bull is presented as a big powerful animal, in no way hurt or threatened. If this big strong bull is a symbol for Knossian power in LM I, contemporary iconographic representations do not seem to threaten this mighty symbol.

We have some idea of how iconography was used politically in contemporary Egypt and the Near East. It is our belief, that it was used in a similar way in Minoan Crete. The Minoans, however, as in so many other respects, adopt their own way in doing so.

Birgitta P. & Erik HALLAGER

67 *PM* III, 176.

68 S. ALEXIOU, 'Υστερομινωικοί Τάφοι Λιμένος Κνωσού (Κατσαμπά) (1967), 55-56, pls. 30-33. HOOD (*supra* n. 2), 122.

69 HOOD (*supra* n. 2), 122. This iconography has older roots in Crete. On two MM I rhyta from Porti in the Messara the acrobatic seizure of bulls is combined with painted nets over their flanks (*PM* I, 188, fig. 137). Bull's rhyta with net are also found at Mochlos and Pseira (*PM* III, 204, fig. 139). The caught bull was probably the sad end (for the bull) of the bull-leaping games as has also been suggested by J. Younger and P. Rehak at this conference.

Table 1 Knossian replica rings

seal	HT	ZA	SKL	GO	KH	KN
KN-bulls:						
HT 54	3 PN	1 N	2 PN	1 N		
HT 145	1 PN		1 PN	1 PN		
Z 96		1 PN	1 PN			
SKL 4			14 PN			
KH 1					9 PN	
HT 110	1 PN					
<hr/>						
Horse	1 PN		4 PN			
Lions	1 PN	2-S				
Combat	5 PN					2 1-S

Legend:

PN: parcel nodules

N: Noduli

2-S: Two-stringed hanging nodules

1-S: Single-stringed hanging nodules

! : uncertain

Museum numbers of the Knossian Replica rings:

HT 54: HM 497-499, HM 101 (GO), HM 1051 (Z), HM 628-629 (SKL)

HT 145: Pigorini 71975, HM 612 (SKL), HM 102 (GO)

Z 96: HM 12, HM 625 (SKL)

SKL 4: HM 613-624, 626-627

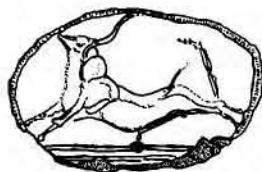
KH 1: KH 1547-1549, 1551-1557

HT 110: HM 516

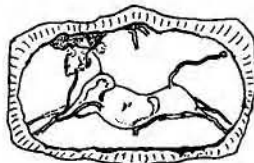
Horse and chariot: HM 516, 591 (HT), HM 632-635 (SKL)

Lions: HM 40/1-2 (Z), Pigorini no. 71980

Combat scene: HM 526/1-3, 595-596 (HT), HM 369, 1275 (KN)



HT 54



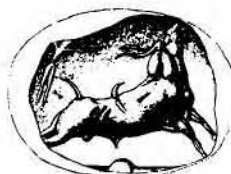
HT 145



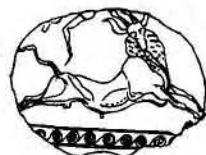
Z 96



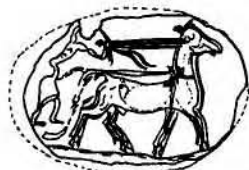
HT 110



KH 1



SKL 4



Horse



Lion

