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W.-D. Niemeier – O. Pilz – I. Kaiser (Hrsg.)

Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit

Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums
am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen

27.–29. Januar 2006

ATHENAIA 2



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W.-D. NIEMEIER – O. PILZ – I. KAISER (HRSG.)

● KRETA IN DER GEOMETRISCHEN
UND ARCHAISCHEN ZEIT

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MATTEO D'ACUNTO

The city siege and the lion. The Fortetsa bronze
belt and quiver between Near Eastern models
and heroic ideology

PDF-Dokument des gedruckten Beitrags

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To the memory of John Nicholas Coldstream

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VORWORT UND EINLEITENDE BEMERKUNGEN

Vorwort

Die Idee zu dem Kolloquium, dessen Akten hier vorgelegt werden, ist entstanden, als wir feststellen mussten, dass in den letzten Jahrzehnten zwar viel neue Literatur zur frühen Eisenzeit Kretas, in der die Insel eine führende Rolle in der griechischen Welt spielte, erschienen ist, aber gerade jüngeren Wissenschaftlern, die sich mit diesem Themenbereich beschäftigen, nur wenige Möglichkeiten geboten wurden, ihre Ideen zu präsentieren und zur Diskussion zu stellen. Hier sollte das Kolloquium ansetzen und die Plattform für einen Dialog bieten, den es bis dahin in dieser Form nicht gegeben hatte. Obwohl die ursprüngliche Idee darin bestand, einen kleinen Workshop für Nachwuchswissenschaftler zu veranstalten, wurde auf Anraten von Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier beschlossen, auch die renommierten Vertreter der archäologischen und historischen Forschung mit einzubeziehen. Dass dies die richtige Entscheidung war, zeigt, so hoffen wir, die vorliegende Publikation. Durch den Dialog verschiedener Forschergenerationen ist ein reflektiertes Bild entstanden, das den derzeitigen Forschungsstand in umfassender Weise widerspiegelt.

Wie der Titel besagt, zielte das Kolloquium nicht auf einen bestimmten thematischen Aspekt ab, sondern hat lediglich den zeitlichen Rahmen abgesteckt. Somit enthält der vorliegende Band einerseits neue Grabungsergebnisse, andererseits aber auch Beiträge, die sich mit der Rückbesinnung auf das minoische Erbe, den Beziehungen zum Orient, der Entstehung der Polis, dem Schriftgebrauch, der Religion und den Mythen sowie der Kunstproduktion beschäftigen. Die Vernetzung dieser einzelnen Aspekte sowohl im regionalen kretischen Zusammenhang als auch im innergriechischen bzw. mediterranen Kontext ist ein wichtiges Ergebnis des vorliegenden Bandes.

Herzlich danken wir allen Referenten für ihre in Athen vorgetragenen Beiträge und deren schriftliche Fassung für den Druck. Des Weiteren sei allen Teilnehmern für ihre unermüdliche Diskussionsbereitschaft gedankt, die ganz wesentlich zum Gelingen des Kolloquiums beigetragen hat. Allen Mitarbeitern an der Abteilung Athen, insbesondere Astrid Lindenlauf und Sascha Maul, danken wir für ihre tatkräftige Unterstützung bei der Organisation und Durchführung der Tagung. Der Gerda Henkel Stiftung schulden wir Dank für die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung, die das Kolloquium in dieser Form überhaupt erst ermöglicht hat. Darüber hinaus übernahm die Gerda Henkel Stiftung auch einen Teil der Druckkosten der vorliegenden Publikation. Die englischsprachigen Beiträge wurden von Caitlin D. Verfenstein in bewährter Weise redigiert. Kerstin Helf fertigte dankenswerterweise eine Abschrift des maschinenschriftlichen Manuskriptes des Beitrags von J. Nicolas Coldstream (+) an. Nicht zuletzt gilt unser Dank Peter Baumeister, der 2009 die redaktionelle Bearbeitung übernommen und zügig zum Abschluss gebracht hat.

Gewidmet sei der Band dem Andenken von J. Nicolas Coldstream. Nicht nur sein wegweisender Abendvortrag »Geometric and Archaic Crete: A Hunt for the Elusive Polis«, sondern auch seine äußerst kenntnisreichen Diskussionsbeiträge, die er seiner ruhigen Wesensart gemäß stets sachlich und ohne jede Polemik vortrug, haben uns – und hier glauben wir für alle Teilnehmer sprechen zu können – tief beeindruckt. Sein Tod hat uns schmerzlich berührt und hinterlässt in vieler Hinsicht eine nicht wieder zu schließende Lücke.

Einleitende Bemerkungen

Bei der archäologischen Erforschung der Kultur der Insel Kreta standen bis in die jüngere Zeit hinein die bronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen deutlich im Vordergrund. Eine der Hauptursachen hierfür bildete die frühe Entdeckung der ›minoischen‹ Palastkultur bei den von Arthur Evans im Jahr 1900 begonnenen Grabungen in Knossos. Nicht nur die eindrucksvolle architektonische Gestalt der Paläste, sondern auch die überaus reiche und vielfältige künstlerische Produktion der minoischen Kultur und deren Einfluss auf die mykenische Kultur des griechischen Festlandes hat zunächst ein nur begrenztes Interesse an der Kultur und Geschichte des nachbronzezeitlichen Kreta aufkommen lassen.

Wie die Forschung gerade in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmend erkannt hat, spielte die Insel aber auch im 10. bis 7. Jh. v. Chr. im Entstehungsprozess der griechischen Kultur der historischen Zeit eine bedeutende Rolle. Eine wichtige Voraussetzung hierfür bildete zweifelsohne die strategisch günstige Position der Insel am Schnittpunkt zahlreicher Handels- und Kommunikationswege im östlichen Mittelmeer, der es zu verdanken ist, dass sich die auswärtigen Kontakte der Insel nach dem Zusammenbruch der bronzezeitlichen Palastkultur bereits in der protogeometrischen Zeit erneut intensiviert haben. Dadurch wurde vielfältigen Einflüssen insbesondere aus der Levante und dem Vorderen Orient deutlich früher als auf dem griechischen Festland der Weg bereitet. Später, im 7. Jh. v. Chr., gingen beispielsweise die Impulse zur Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik und zur Ausstattung von Tempeln mit Skulpturenschmuck von Kreta aus. Auch in politischer Hinsicht ist die Entwicklung auf Kreta im frühen 1. Jt. v. Chr. hoch bedeutsam, bilden sich doch in diesem Zeitraum soziale Strukturen und Institutionen heraus, die zumindest teilweise bereits auf die im 8. Jh. v. Chr. entstehende Polis vorausweisen.

Das internationale Kolloquium ›Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit‹, das vom 27. bis 29. Januar 2006 an der Abteilung Athen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts stattfand und dessen Akten in diesem Band vorgelegt sind, war die bisher erste Tagung überhaupt, die sich so umfassend mit diesem für die Insel so wichtigen Zeitraum auseinandergesetzt hat. Aufgrund der inhaltlich weitgehend offenen Konzeption des Kolloquiums deckt auch die Publikation der Beiträge ein breites Themenspektrum ab, ohne deswegen an Fokussierung auf die Kernproblematik einzubüßen: den komplexen Übergangsprozess von den soziopolitischen Strukturen der ausgehenden Bronzezeit zur griechischen Polisgesellschaft. Die insgesamt 32 Beiträge beleuchten diese Entwicklung zwar in erster Linie aus archäologischer Perspektive, jedoch kommt beispielsweise in den Beiträgen von A. Chanotis und F. Guizzi durchaus auch die althistorische Sicht zur Geltung.

Innerhalb des Bandes sind die einzelnen Beiträge zu thematischen Gruppen zusammengefasst. Mit zehn Beiträgen nimmt die Präsentation neuer archäologischer und topographischer Forschungen sowie die Publikation von Funden und Befunden aus älteren Grabungen einen wichtigen Platz ein. Hervorzuheben sind hier insbesondere der konzise Überblick über die Ergebnisse der 2006 abgeschlossenen amerikanischen Grabung in der Siedlung von Azoria sowie die Publikation der geometrischen Nekropole von Eltynia. Mit dem Erscheinen des Kolloquiumsbandes verbreitert sich die Materialbasis für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit dem geometrischen und archaischen Kreta somit entscheidend.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden Beiträge, die sich gezielt mit einzelnen Gattungen der handwerklich-künstlerischen Produktion Kretas im fraglichen Zeitraum auseinandersetzen. Naturgemäß nimmt hier besonders die Keramik breiten Raum ein. Dass der Erschließungsaspekt wiederum eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wird u. a. am Beitrag über die Keramikfunde aus dem Haus Γ auf dem Hügel Nisi in Eleutherna deutlich, einer möglichen Töpferwerkstatt der geometrischen Zeit.

Eine weitere Gruppe von vier Aufsätzen, die einen stärker synthetischen Ansatz verfolgen, widmet sich dem Problem der Entstehung der Polis auf Kreta, so u. a. der möglichen Rolle von Synoikismen im Prozess der Siedlungsverdichtung, der mit der Genese der Polis einhergeht. Daran schließen

sich je zwei Beiträge an, die Heiligtümer und Kulte auf Kreta bzw. Darstellungen von Mythen in der kretischen Kunst in den Blick nehmen. Die folgenden drei Aufsätze stellen verschiedene Teilaspekte der kretischen Kultur, beispielsweise den Schriftgebrauch und die Hausarchitektur, in den gesamtgriechischen Kontext. Den Abschluss des Bandes bilden zwei Beiträge, die thematisch über den griechischen Bereich hinausgreifen, indem sie die Beziehungen Kretas zum Vorderen Orient untersuchen. Hierbei ist der wegweisende Beitrag zum Bronzegürtel und -köcher aus Fortetsa hervorzuheben.

Der Tatsache, dass die Tagung bewusst als Kolloquium konzipiert war, trägt die Publikation insofern Rechnung, als die teilweise ausführliche Diskussion zu den einzelnen Beiträgen in den Band aufgenommen wurde. Die Diskussion vertieft nicht nur einzelne Aspekte, sondern eröffnet vielfach neue Perspektiven auf die jeweiligen Sachverhalte. Dass das Athener Kolloquium einen entscheidenden Anstoß zur Beschäftigung mit den bisher stark vernachlässigten nachbronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen Kretas geliefert hat, wird daran deutlich, dass sich die Forschungsdiskussion seither intensiviert hat. Die Akten des Kolloquiums spiegeln den derzeitigen Forschungsstand zu Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit in umfassender Weise wider. Aufgrund dieser thematischen Breite steht zu hoffen, dass sich der Band als Referenzwerk für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit der materiellen Kultur und soziopolitischen Entwicklung im geometrisch-archaischen Kreta etablieren und der Forschung weitere wichtige Impulse geben wird.

W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, I. Kaiser

THE CITY SIEGE AND THE LION

The Fortetsa bronze belt and quiver between Near Eastern models and heroic ideology

τὴν δ' ἑτέραν πόλιν ἀμφὶ δὺω στρατοὶ ἦατο λαῶν
τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι ...

τεῖχος μὲν ῥ' ἄλοχοί τε φίλαι καὶ νήπια τέκνα
ῥύατ' ἐφεισταότες, μετὰ δ' ἀνέρες οὓς ἔχε γῆρας·
οἱ δ' ἴσαν...

But around the other city lay in leaguer two hosts of warriors gleaming in armour...

The wall where their dear wives and little children guarding, as they stood thereon, and therewithal the men that were holden of old age; but the rest were faring forth...

(Hom. Il. 18, 509–510 and 514–516, from the description of the Achilles' Shield, transl. by A. T. Murray)

... ὁ δ' ἐναντίον ὄρωτο λέων ὦς

Ἄτρεΐδης

... but he rushed against them like a lion, the son of Atreus
(Hom. Il. 11, 129–130, Agamemnon's aristeia, transl. by A. T. Murray)

The context of the belt and the quiver

The belt from Fortetsa Tomb P, well published by J. K. Brock, is an important piece of evidence documenting the beginning of Orientalizing bronze-working and narrative art in Crete during PGB–EG (*fig. 1*)¹. The belt is embossed and engraved and portrays the siege of a city. On both sides we see three chariots moving against a city, symbolized by an oikos which is shown with three figures inside and which is defended, on both sides, by a row of three archers.

J. Boardman has shown that the belt is related to a group of bronzes and jewels of North Syrian style which were found in Crete, mainly at Knossos, and date from the second half of the 9th century till the beginning of the 7th century B.C.; this is the so-called school of Knossos².

In the necropolis of Fortetsa at Knossos, Tomb P, a chamber tomb, is the richest of them all. Its burials date from the Late Protogeometric to the Orientalizing Period³. Many Near Eastern and Cypriot imports were buried inside⁴. They show links with Near Eastern traders and lords; the family who owned the tomb practiced the ›commerce‹ as a *prexis*⁵. This is a sign of high rank, which is emphasized by the inclusion of two extraordinary pieces of armour: the bronze belt and the trapezoidal sheet covering a quiver, both made by the same ›school of Knossos‹ (*fig. 2*)⁶.

The belt was buried in ash urn 71, which is now lost. An oinochoe and an aryballos, dating between PGB (840–810 B.C.) and Early Geometric (810–790 B.C.), were found in the same burial⁷. A clay reproduction of the Ida shields with a lion protome was used as a lid for the ash urn (*fig. 3*)⁸. According to J. K. Brock, this lid cannot be later than the beginning of the MG; others have proposed a PGB date for it⁹ but an EG date is the best candidate since this is the phase, in the Knossian repertoire, during which the domed lid appears¹⁰. Ash urn 71 is clearly a warrior burial on account of the weapons: not only the belt but also an iron spear, an iron harpe (a sort of sickle) and prob-

I would like to thank the Director of the Heraklion Museum, Dr. Nota Dimopoulou, for permission to re-publish the bronze belt and quiver from Fortetsa Tomb P. Many thanks to Professors Ida Baldassarre, Bruno d'Agostino, Mauro Menichetti and Nikolaos Ch. Stampolidis for their valuable advice.

¹ Heraklion Museum: Brock 1957, 134 f. no. 1568; 197–199 pls. 115. 116. 168; Blome 1982, 10–15 pls. 2, 1; 3, 1. 2; Erath 1997, 84–86 no. G 1 pl. 1, 1.

² Boardman 1961, 134–138; Boardman 1967, 57–67; Boardman 2005; see also Coldstream 1977, 100–102. 281–288 figs. 32. 91. 92 a; Blome 1982, 10–15 figs. 3–5, pls. 2. 3, 1–2. 4.

³ Brock 1957, 101–138.

⁴ For a survey see Hoffmann 1997, nos. 5. 7. 8. 14. 37. 75. 94. 97. 111. 116.

⁵ About the ›commerce‹ as an aristocratic *prexis* see esp. Mele 1979, 58–86.

⁶ Heraklion Museum: Brock 1957, 135 f. no. 1569; 197–199 pls. 116. 169; Blome 1982, 10–15 pl. 2, 2.

⁷ Brock 1957, 125 no. 1437. 1438; 155.

⁸ Brock 1957, 125 no. 1439; 164. 199 pls. 107. 163.

⁹ N. X. Σταμπολίδης in: Σταμπολίδης – Καρέτσου 1998, 204 f. no. 226.

¹⁰ J. N. Coldstream in: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 327–329.



Fig. 1 Heraklion Museum, from Fortetsa Tomb P, burial 71: bronze belt dating from the last third of the 9th century B.C.

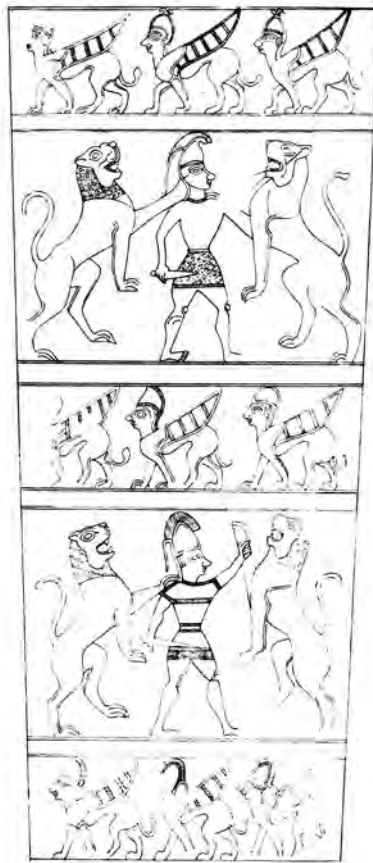


Fig. 2 Heraklion Museum, from Fortetsa Tomb P, burial 72: bronze quiver dating from the last third of the 9th century B.C.



Fig. 3 Heraklion Museum, from Fortetsa Tomb P, burial 71: clay lid in the shape of a shield with a lion head protome, probably EG

ably another iron spear¹¹. There is also an iron sword that is linked either with pithos 71 or with the adjacent pithos 72¹². The burial symbolically lays out the warrior's body with his weapons, protected by a reproduction of an Ida shield, as has been suggested by N. Ch. Stampolidis for a burial in Eleftherna, whose Ida shield is bronze¹³.

An embossed and engraved bronze quiver was also found in Tomb P just beyond the PGB pithos 72, a neighbouring warrior burial which included somewhere between one and three iron swords¹⁴. Under the handles of pithos 72 we can see a painted goddess (*fig. 4*), whose upraised hands and snakes around the waist recall Minoan iconography¹⁵. Some of the goddess' features, however, seem to be influenced by the style of the belt and the quiver (in other words the ›school of Knossos‹): for example, the toes are clearly painted, the pupil/iris is depicted as a point in the eye and the eyebrow is drawn. Therefore, the association of the quiver with the PGB pithos goes back to the deposition of the burial, i.e. ca. 840–810 B.C.¹⁶. The belt most likely belongs to a

¹¹ Iron spear and harpe: Brock 1957, 138 nos. 1624. 1625. Another spear is related to pithos 71 or 72 but is more likely to belong to the former since, in this necropolis, spears generally come in pairs (Brock 1957, 138 no. 1626; 201).

¹² Brock 1957, 138 no. 1627; 201.

¹³ N. X. Σταμπολίδης in: Σταμπολίδης – Καρέτσου 1998, 114–116; Stampolidis 2007.

¹⁴ Surely: Brock 1957, 138 no. 1628; 201 (›72‹). Probably: Brock 1957, 138 no. 1629 (›at foot of 72, below 65‹); 201 (›foot of 72‹). Possibly: item *supra* footnote 12.

¹⁵ About the style of this pithos and other three pithoi from Knossos North Cemetery, painted by the same hand (the ›Tree Painter‹), see Coldstream – Catling 1996, 315 f.

¹⁶ For the chronology of Knossian Protogeometric – Geometric pottery see J. N. Coldstream in: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 409–412; J. N. Coldstream in: Coldstream et al. 2001, 22.



Fig. 4 Heraklion Museum, from Fortetsa Tomb P, burial 72: PGB pithos, goddess painted under the handles



Fig. 5 Fortetsa quiver, second band from above: hero fighting lions

context between PGB and EG, probably Early Geometric, that is to say ca. 810–790 B.C.

Furthermore, the belt and the quiver were apparently made by the same craftsman or workshop, as is shown by the comparison of the profile, the details of the heads, the similarity of the fists and the feet with the toes drawn in as well as by the same ratio and features of the human bodies.

It is possible that the belt and the quiver were all originally part of one panoply that was afterwards divided between two important members of the same family. Such a situation would imply a strong link between the two aristocrat-warriors.

Thus the burial context of the belt and the quiver provides helpful points in resolving the *vexata quaestio* of their chronology:

1) The quiver is connected to a PGB pithos suggesting it was made during this phase, ca. 840–810 B.C.

2) The context of the belt is probably EG (or PGB). Since the belt was made by the same craftsman or workshop as the quiver, it cannot be much later, therefore ca. the end of the 9th century B.C.

3) If the belt and the quiver were part of the same panoply, they must both date according to the older context, to 840–810 B.C.

The Fortetsa quiver and its Near Eastern prototypes

The Fortetsa quiver is clearly related to Near Eastern prototypes in typology, iconography and style. Similar bronze coverings for quivers have been found in Luristan (the style, of course, being quite different), for example a quiver which depicts a lion tamer and lines of animals¹⁷. In Assyrian friezes, quivers are generally drawn divided in bands that are decorated with geometric patterns and flowers¹⁸, only during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) do they bear figural scenes¹⁹.

On the two main bands the Fortetsa quiver represents a helmeted *potnios* (fig. 5). He fights against two rampant lions, turning toward the right one with a sword in his right hand. In the Near East this theme is meant to demonstrate virtue: it shows a hero (who sometimes takes the form of Gilgamesh) fighting a rampant lion with a sword or a hero taming one or two lions²⁰. Scholars have shown that the theme hero–lion/lions is originally linked in Crete with the ›school of Knossos²¹ and afterwards it becomes part of the local repertoire²². It has North Syrian prototypes: the bowl from the Room of the Bronzes in the Nimrud Palace, for example, shows several vari-

¹⁷ See Muscarella 1988, no. 308 fig. 15; Muscarella 2000, 81–83. 117–119 fig. 9.

¹⁸ Madhloom 1970, 49–52 pls. 24. 25.

¹⁹ Layard 1853, pls. 5. 27; compare Muscarella 1988, 196–198.

²⁰ Hoffmann 1997, 226–230.

²¹ Gold band from the Tekke tholos: Boardman 1967, 68 no. 3 pls. 7. 12 upper part. Gold sheet from the North Cemetery of Knossos, Tomb 219 no. 91: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 221. 541 fig. 154 pl. 264 (PGB). Bronze sheet from the tholos tomb at Kavousi: Coldstream 1977, 284–287 fig. 92 a (750–680 B.C.).

²² See the clay relief dish from the necropolis of Ambelokipi at Knossos: M. Bredaki – N. Χ. Σταμπολίδης in: Σταμπολίδης – Καρέτσου 1998, 113 no. 230 (LG). 207 (LG or Orientalizing).



Fig. 6 North Syrian bronze bowl from Nimrud, Room of the Bronzes



Fig. 7 Fortetsa quiver, second band from above: hero fighting lions, closeup of the foot

ations on the theme of the hero fighting-taming the lions (*fig. 6*)²³. This bowl is linked with the ivories of the so-called Flame and Frond school, named for the flames and patterns on the animals, and is thus ascribed to the end of the 10th–9th century B.C. Tell Halaf²⁴.

The lion hunt is a topical enterprise for Near Eastern kings, widely displayed in Assyrian chronicles as well as friezes and taken on in North Syrian friezes²⁵. E. Cassin shows how the single combat, king v. lion, picks out a significant moment, pointing out at the best the prowess of the king²⁶. She shows that in this moment a sort of symbolic identification of the king with the ›king of the beasts‹ comes out; this identification is frequently expressed by Assyrian kings in their military and hunt chronicles. Hence, in early Crete, the lion head shields of the Ida type aim not only at terrifying the enemy in a ›Near Eastern way‹, but, together with the lion-combat/lion-tamer iconography, also seem to quote the hero-king's identification with the lion, which is linked with the symbolism of power in Near Eastern kingdoms. In Homeric society this symbolic identification, hero–lion, is taken on and widely developed in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* where lion parallels are made to the chieftains and best of the Achaeans (Agamemnon, Achilles, Menelaus, Ajax, Diomedes and Odysseus)²⁷.

The feet of the *potnioi* on the Fortetsa quiver (*fig. 7*) and those of the three figures inside the oikos on the belt are drawn in a peculiar way: they are pointed to the side in a view from above; all the toes are en-

²³ Layard 1853, pl. 64; Winter 1988, 199 fig. 134.

²⁴ Herrmann 1989, 102 pl. 19 b.

²⁵ See Cassin 1987; Orthmann 1971, 522 no. Malatya B/1 pl. 42 a; 532 no. Sakçagözü B/1 pl. 51 c.

²⁶ Cassin 1987; compare Winter 2000, 54–60 fig. 1 pl. 5, 1. 2.

²⁷ On the lion parallels in the Homeric poems see the most recent discussions: Clarke 1995; West 1997, 242–252. 572 f. For example, see the many lion parallels in the *Iliad* made in reference to the chieftain of the Achaeans, Agamemnon, during his *aristeia* in Hom. Il. 11, 113–121. 129–130 (quotation at the beginning of this paper). 172–178. 238–240. 292–295.



Fig. 8 Stone relief from Zincirli, Middle Neo-Hittite phase



Fig. 10 Fortetsa belt: the male and the right female inside the oikos



Fig. 9 Fortetsa quiver, first band from above: right sphinx



Fig. 11 Stone relief from Zincirli, Middle Neo-Hittite Phase

graved individually and distinguished at the beginning by a common line; the side of the feet curves inwards. This appears to be a ›motivo firma‹ of the Near Eastern craftsman. Indeed, we find parallels for this peculiar foot shape in Middle Neo-Hittite stone reliefs – not in all centres, but in Tell Halaf²⁸ and Zincirli (*fig. 8*)²⁹ – and also on the above-mentioned Nimrud bronze bowl ascribed to the ›Flame and Frond school‹. This peculiar feature pushes us to go deeper to ask from which North Syrian centre or area did the craftsmen of the ›school of Knossos‹ come. Furthermore, this ›motivo firma‹ strongly raises the following question: were the two Fortetsa bronzes made by an actual Near Eastern craftsman rather than by a Greek apprentice? This hypothesis can only be verified through the analysis of its other stylistic and iconographic aspects.

In comparison with the Tell Halaf reliefs and the ›Flame and Frond school‹ ivories, the bodies of the Fortetsa figures appear more slender³⁰. The proportions of the body are closer to those in the reliefs from North Syria from more western sites, like Zincirli³¹. As for the head, we find a similar, strongly receding profile on, for example, the Tell Halaf and Zincirli reliefs. Zincirli, incidentally, offers the best parallels for the Fortetsa figures when it comes to the long and projecting nose, the big almond eye, the simplified ear and the clear definition of the lips and the cheek (*fig. 8–11*)³².

Another strong link with Near Eastern prototypes can be seen in the crested, conical helmets worn by the warriors on the quiver and by the assailants on the belt. Indeed, as T. Dezsö has shown, they are a precise representation of Near Eastern types: these helmets are used in North Syria and the neighbouring regions roughly in the same period, from the second half of the 9th until the beginning of the 8th century B.C. On the quiver, the lion slayer in the fourth

band and many of the sphinxes wear a crested helmet of the type introduced at Carchemish during the first quarter of the 9th century B.C. (Dezsö M. 3.2)³³. The same helmet is worn by the assailants on the belt (Dezsö M. 3.1)³⁴. The other lion tamer in the second band of the quiver wears a particular type of conical, crested helmet that appears in North Syria and Assyria between the last quarter of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century B.C. (Dezsö M. 4.1)³⁵.

The lions on the quiver are related to the Middle Neo-Hittite type (*fig. 5*). They do not have the characteristic flames and patterns of the Tell Halaf ›Flame and Frond School‹. They show more slender bodies which are closer to some of Zincirli reliefs³⁶ than to those of Tell Halaf.

The Fortetsa belt and the city-siege: use and transformation of a Near Eastern warrior topic in an Early Greek society

Like the quiver, the Fortetsa belt references Near Eastern prototypes and certainly those of North Syria on account of the mother country of the craftsmen. On North Syrian stone reliefs³⁷ and ivories³⁸ the figures wear broad metallic belts with a distinct edge. It is clear that they are fastened on the back, as should be suggested for the Fortetsa belt; thus the siege representation must have been displayed on the front. Belts from Urartu and Luristan have figurative and narrative representations, as on the Fortetsa one³⁹. In particular, some Urartean belts represent narrative scenes in front of a fortress-city⁴⁰. Even if we may not suggest a direct link of the Urartean and Luristan belts with the Fortetsa one, they show glimpses of probably lost North-Syrian prototypes for the Knossos one.

On the Fortetsa belt the chariots have four-spoke wheels, like the Greek ones, and the axle is centred.

²⁸ Compare Orthmann 1971, pls. 10 a. c; 11 a. h.

²⁹ Especially: von Luschan 1902, 205 fig. 107 pl. 37 c (= Orthmann 1971, 539 no. Zincirli B/5 pl. 57 e, here *fig. 8*). Compare also Orthmann 1971, 537 no. Zincirli A/2 pl. 56 a; 538 no. Zincirli A/7 pl. 56 b; 539 no. Zincirli B/6 pl. 57 f; 540 f. no. Zincirli B/12 pl. 58 c; 542 no. Zincirli B/22 pl. 59 g; 152 no. Zincirli B/3 pl. 59 f; 545 no. Zincirli E/1 pl. 62 e.

³⁰ Compare Orthmann 1971, pls. 8–13; Herrmann 1989.

³¹ Compare Orthmann 1971, pls. 55–62.

³² Compare Orthmann 1971, pls. 55–61. Compare especially Orthmann 1971, 539 no. Zincirli B/5 pls. 57 e; 72 c; 541 no. Zincirli B/14 pls. 58 d; 72 d; 541 no. Zincirli B/13a pl. 58 f; von Luschan 1902, 223 f. fig. 124 pl. 42 left (compare on this relief also the ridged eyebrow, like in the *potnioi* of the quiver).

³³ Dezsö 1998, 23 f. 28 f. no. M. 3.2.

³⁴ Dezsö 1998, 23 f. 28 f. no. M. 3.1.

³⁵ Dezsö 1998, 23 f. 28 f. no. M. 4.1.

³⁶ Compare Orthmann 1971, 540 no. Zincirli B/11 pl. 58 b; 542 no. Zincirli B/24 pl. 60 b.

³⁷ Compare for example Orthmann 1971, 480 no. Ashara 1 pl. 5 a; 480 no. Babylon 1 pl. 5 b; 486 no. Islahiye 2 pl. 14 c; Karkemish 501 no. Bb/1 pl. 23 a; 504 nos. E/3. E/5 pls. 26 b. d; 505 no. F/1 pl. 28 e; 507 nos. F/4. F/5 pls. 29 b. c; 535 no. Til Barsib B/1 pl. 53; 538 nos. Zincirli A/6. A/7 pls. 56 a. b; 541 no. Zincirli B/13a pl. 58 f; 542 no. Zincirli B/23 pl. 59 f.

³⁸ Compare for example Barnett 1975, 190 no. S1 pl. 18; 192 no. S20 pl. 26; 193 no. S30 pl. 23; Herrmann 1989, pl. 14 b.

³⁹ Muscarella 1988, 433–438 nos. 578. 579; Kellner 1991a; Kellner 1991b; Muscarella 2000, 81 f. 91–93. 146 f. 154; Ziffer 2002, with discussion and bibliography.

⁴⁰ Kellner 1991a, 67–70 nos. 254. 255. 261. 269 (= Kellner 1991b, 160 f. pl. 17). 275. 279. 282 (= Kellner 1991b, 160 f. fig. 6) pls. 66–69.

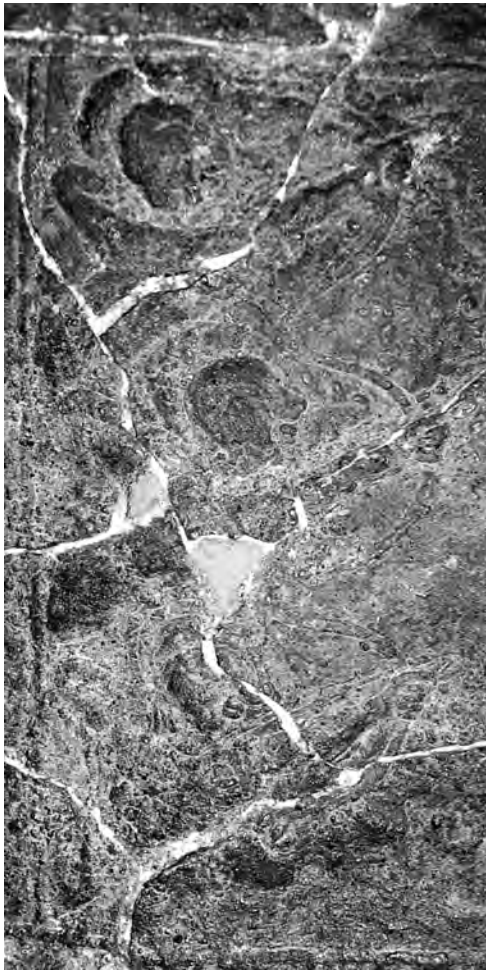


Fig. 12 The Fortetsa belt, the row of three archers on the right side of the city

This is an old Syrian type, going back to the Bronze Age⁴¹ and represented in the lion hunt scene of another North Syrian Nimrud bowl⁴². The latter representation, even if it is known only through an old drawing, offers a good parallel on account of the general aspect and pace of the horse.

On the Fortetsa belt, on each side of the city three archers, projecting from the pelvis, are drawn as in perspective in a row in order to give an impression of depth. The image is meant to depict a city defended along its sides, thus portraying it as besieged, even if the chariots and the central oikos rise from a single plane as in a frieze with two converging forces.

According to T. Dezsö, the archers and the central figure wear the so-called Urtartean crested hemispherical helmet⁴³. On the contrary, a careful



Fig. 13 Knossos, North Cemetery, Tomb 219, PGB lid

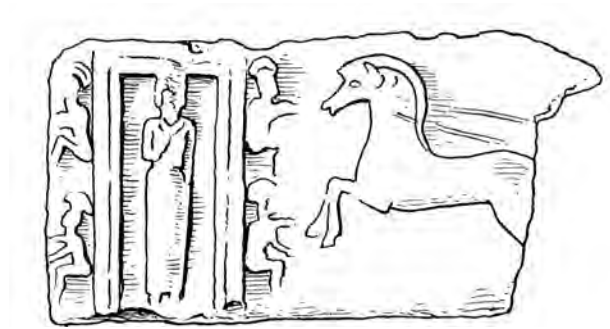


Fig. 14 Chania Museum 92, stone frieze from Chania, drawing

analysis of the bronze sheet shows that these are Greek helmets on account of the low cap shape and the high crest (*fig. 10. 12*)⁴⁴; to be even more specific, they should be understood as proto-Greek helmets of Cretan type. There are no contemporary parallels in the archaeological realia, but as J. N. Coldstream notes, this type is similar to the helmet of a warrior in the form of a protome on a PGB lid from the Knossos North Cemetery (*fig. 13*)⁴⁵. Therefore, on the Fortetsa belt the difference in the shape of the helmets was conceived to distinguish the besieged from the besiegers: the former being ›Greeks‹, the latter ›Near Easterners‹.

How then should we interpret the central oikos? A stone frieze from Chania (ca. 700 B.C., *fig. 14*)⁴⁶ shows a siege similar to the Fortetsa one. On both representations an oikos is meant as a short depic-

⁴¹ Compare Frankfort 1939, 289 pl. 45 m.

⁴² Layard 1853, pl. 65; Markoe 1985, 358 Comp. 4.

⁴³ Dezsö 1998, 23 f. footnote 193.

⁴⁴ As already pointed out by Boardman 1961, 134–136; Snodgrass 1964, 12 f.

⁴⁵ Coldstream – Catling 1996, 217. 363 no. 72 (Tomb 219) pl. 206.

⁴⁶ Chania Museum 92: Blome 1982, 7 f. fig. 2; Boardman 1991, 11 f. fig. 15; Rolley 1994, 123–125 fig. 104.

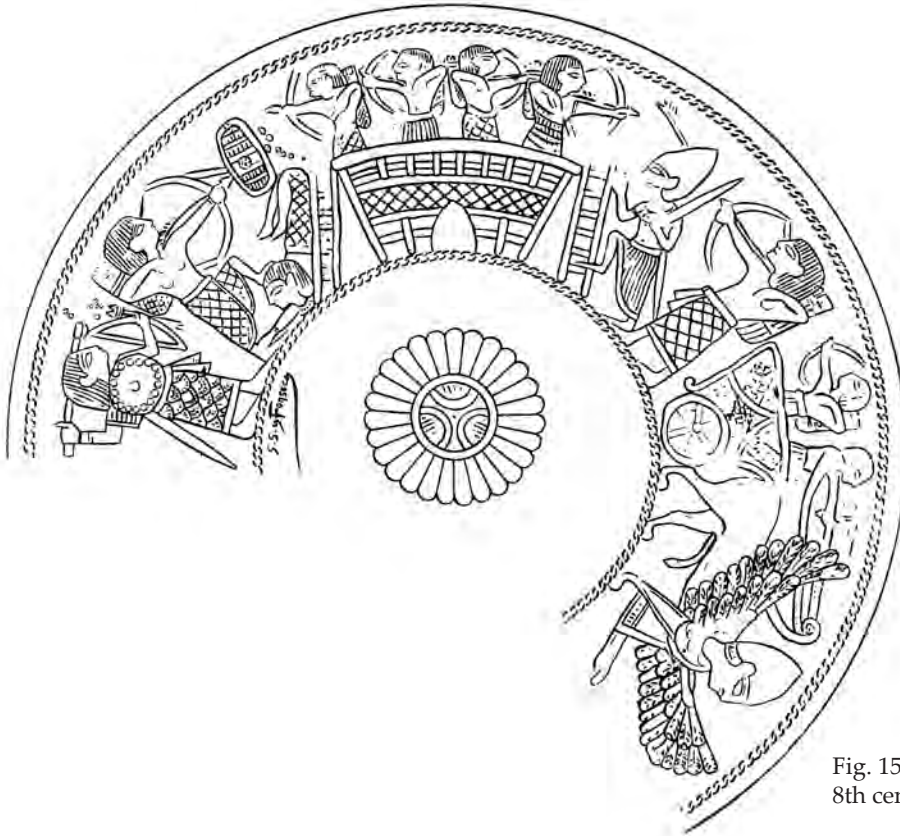


Fig. 15 Delphi, South Syrian bronze bowl, 8th century B.C.

tion of a city. The oikos on the Chania frieze certainly represents a temple because the cult image inside is shown in a hieratic position, frontal with the right hand turned toward the breast. The three images on the Fortetsa belt cannot so easily be identified as a divine triad. Indeed, some ›narrative‹ aspects are introduced here: the two females on the sides wear a similar rich garment, with epiblema, belt and polos on the head but in the Fortetsa belt they turn towards the central male who wears a helmet, probably a corslet and the belt. The man turns towards the female on the right while remaining dominant by holding each of the females by the wrist with his fists. In the Dreros Delphinion the well-known sphyrelata also show Apollo as a dominant figure by placing his cult image higher than Artemis' and Leto's⁴⁷. Hence the Fortetsa triad could represent a helmeted Apollo, with Artemis and Leto. Here they would not be conceived of as cult images but as ›narrative‹ figures, like the Homeric gods who take part in heroic life.

But I prefer the alternative hypothesis that the three central figures on the belt were human beings⁴⁸. Indeed, they are the same size as the besiegers and besieged warriors. The central figure could be a *basileus* in the role of a warrior alongside two

high-ranking females. The polos each wears would be explained as the result of a priestly position. According to this second hypothesis, the open oikos would represent a chieftain's dwelling, which would be conceived as a symbolic depiction of the city.

In any case, around 700 B.C. the Chania frieze shows a short depiction of the city through the symbolic representation of a temple with the cult image of the poliadic goddess. If the central oikos on the Fortetsa belt is meant to depict a temple with a divine triad, we have an earlier picture of this concept, going back to the end of the 9th century B.C. On the other hand, if it represents a chieftain's dwelling – I choose this hypothesis for iconographical and historical reasons – we have pictorial evidence of the change from the *basileus'* dwelling to the poliadic temple as the symbol of the city. This image would be the illustration of the model ›from chieftain's dwellings to city temples‹ during Early Greece, a model suggested by A. Mazarakis Ainian and based on the extant archaeological data and literary sources⁴⁹.

The city siege references Near Eastern prototypes, here modified. On a bronze bowl from Delphi, probably made by a South Syrian workshop and dating to the 8th century B.C., the besieged city is drawn as

⁴⁷ D'Acunto 2002/2003, 14. 18–27 fig. 11.

⁴⁸ I changed my opinion from the one expressed in D'Acunto 2002/2003, 33 f.

⁴⁹ Mazarakis Ainian 1988; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.



Fig. 16 London, British Museum 123053, from Amathus, Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl, ca. 650–625 B.C.

a frame of perpendicular elements, thought to be wooden (*fig. 15*)⁵⁰. It is defended on the upper side by archers and is being attacked with two ladders by warriors with different weapons. According to R. D. Barnett, the inclusion of a winged sphinx in the scene shows that the bowl represents a mythological legend of siege, probably Syrian or Phoenician⁵¹.

A Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl from Amathus, probably dating to the third quarter of the 7th century B.C., portrays a city with embattled walls and towers (*fig. 16*)⁵². A Greek warrior with shield and spear and a Near Eastern bowman stand on each tower. The assailants are mixed too; they are grouped as Greek hoplites with shield, spear and Ionian helmet⁵³, Near Eastern archers and horsemen with a chariot. The city is drawn as a citadel with towers, which is meant as a shortened depiction of the Levantine city-state, the seat of royal power. The siege on the Amathus bowl offers three possi-

ble explanations, amongst which we cannot make a definite choice: as a general topic relating to warrior / royal prowess, as a mythological-epic siege⁵⁴ or as a historic siege. In accordance with this last possibility, W.-D. Niemeier suggests that the hoplites on the bowl be identified as troops of Greek mercenaries fighting in the Near East⁵⁵. We may add that the two assailants on the left side of the city are Cypriot warriors, since they carry the Cypriot shield with long central spike⁵⁶. Perhaps it is not by chance that a shield of this type was buried in the same ›king's‹ tomb at Amathus where the bowl was found⁵⁷. Was this Amathus king the protagonist of a historical siege represented on the bowl?

Assyrian sieges in the stone and bronze palace reliefs show precise distinctions in the arming of the different troops⁵⁸. The besieged cities are represented in general as variations of a type of city-citadel-fortress, with embattled walls, towers and gates,

⁵⁰ Delphi Museum 4463: Guide de Delphes 156–158 no. 21 fig. 21; Markoe 1985, 51 f. 205 f. no. G 4 figs. 320. 321; about the South Syrian or ›Intermediate‹ workshops see Winter 1981; last discussion by Herrmann 2000.

⁵¹ Barnett 1977, 168 f.

⁵² London, British Museum 123053: Barnett 1977, fig. 3 pl. 48, 2; Markoe 1985, 51 f. no. Cy 4. 172–174 figs. 248. 249.

⁵³ For the Ionian helmets see Snodgrass 1964, 31 pl. 17.

⁵⁴ See Barnett 1977, 167–169.

⁵⁵ Niemeier 2001, 21–24.

⁵⁶ On this type of shield see Snodgrass 1964, 56 f. pl. 25; Barnett 1977, 163 f.

⁵⁷ London, British Museum: Barnett 1977, 157–164 figs. 1. 2 pls. 46. 47.

⁵⁸ See the city sieges on the friezes on the obelisk of Ashurbanipal I (?) (Unger 1972), on the Balawat bronze gates of Shalmanassar III (King 1915) and from the palaces of Nimrud of Ashur-Nasir-Apli II and Tiglath-Pileser III (Barnett 1960; Barnett – Faulkner 1962).



Fig. 17 London, British Museum, from Balawat, bronze reliefs of gates: siege of a North Syrian city (campaign of Shalmanassar III, ca. 858 B.C.)

in other words: a shortened representation of local royal cities (fig. 17).

Therefore, in comparison to Near Eastern siege prototypes, the two Cretan depictions introduce and choose a single new element: the probable chieftain's dwelling on the Fortetsa belt, the temple on the Chania frieze as a symbolic representation of the city.

Why is the fortified citadel replaced by the chieftain's dwelling or by the temple in these two Greek representations? If the main settlements of Early Archaic Crete, or at least some of them, as Knossos and Chania, were not walled, the reason for this change might be a result of their lack of defensive walls⁵⁹. In any case, it is clear that the new choice shows the iconographic model that could better represent a Cretan city between the end of the 9th and the end of the 8th century B.C. It is the the chieftain's dwelling and afterwards the poliadic temple which assumes the function of icon of the city. The Chania frieze, through the symbolic language which is peculiar of the images, shows the emergence of an important concept in the world of the Greek cities: the poliadic temple becomes the icon of the polis and the poliad goddess becomes the patroness and the image of the city.

The famous Homeric description of the shield made by Hephaistos for Achilles (Il. 18, 468–608) is a literary parallel of a narrative armour. Scholars stressed the comparisons of the Shield of Achilles with the Ida shields and the Syro-Phoenician bowls⁶⁰. We may now add the Fortetsa belt. In the Homeric description, the »city at war« focuses

on the city siege (509 ff.)⁶¹. This description is conceived of as a two-dimensional representation: indeed, the enemy army is divided into two forces on either side of the city but the city of the Homeric passage is walled as in the Near Eastern prototypes and in this manner probably mirrors defensive walls of Early Archaic cities, as in the case of Alt-Smyrna⁶². As for the meaning of the belt in heroic ideology, M. Bennett showed its symbolic significance for the Homeric warrior⁶³. It is reflected by the Geometric and Protoarchaic iconographic type representing the warrior, the hero or the god naked with the belt⁶⁴.

The figures on the Fortetsa belt are organized in groups of three: the three figures at the centre, the two groups of three defenders on both sides of the city, and the two groups of three chariots moving against them. The two chariots on the right side break this scheme of symmetries and numeric correspondences: they include only the charioteer as a passenger, and not an archer too. There are a number of different explanations we could offer for this asymmetry: it could simply be a narrative *variatio* or it might suggest that the two archers on the right have died in battle. If we follow the latter suggestion, the besieged warriors could be viewed as the winners and thus the Knossian aristocratic warrior of burial 71 would ideally side with the »Greek« winners against the »Near Easterners«. Of course, these last points are purely hypothetical.

The next question is, which city siege is represented on the belt? As for the Amathus bowl, we

⁵⁹ In Crete some smaller »defensive settlements« were walled; for some of the main centres it remains doubtful: see Hayden 1988; Nowicki 2000, *passim*; Karageorghis – Morris 2001, with full bibliography.

⁶⁰ See Fittschen 1973, 6–17 figs. 1–5 pls. 7. 8 b; Edwards 1991, 200–209 figs. 1–3; Schadewaldt 1965, 359–361 figs. 27. 28.

⁶¹ See quotation at the beginning of this article.

⁶² Akurgal 1983, 25 f.; Lang 1996, 235–243.

⁶³ Bennett 1997.

⁶⁴ D'Acunto 2000.

have three possibilities and, again, we are not able to make a definite choice from amongst them.

The first explanation is that the belt represents an enterprise which characterizes, in a general way, the heroic warrior world. This solution does not imply any reference to a specific historical or mythical siege, it is simply a theme that shows the prowess and values of the hero-warrior, in the same way as in the Shield of Achilles where the city siege points to the world of the city and the world of the heroes at war. This hypothesis allows for the possibility that the difference between Greek and Near Eastern helmets does not really mark an ›ethnic‹ distinction but is just an iconographic method of underlining, in a general way, the opposite natures between the attackers and the defenders.

The second possible explanation refers to the siege on the belt as a historical fight. A battle between Greek and Near Eastern groups brings to mind the conical helmet of Near Eastern type found in N. Ch. Stampolidis' excavations in Eleutherna⁶⁵. It was buried in a tomb of the last quarter of the 9th century B.C. The helmet is mended and restored (perhaps damaged by a weapon shot?). Conflicts could be the consequence of the movement of the Levantines towards Greece and of the Greeks towards the Levant from the Protogeometric period onwards⁶⁶. But Near Eastern sources do not mention any fighting between Greeks and Near Easterners at the end of the 9th century B.C.⁶⁷. Al Mina is now considered more of an enoikismos than a colony⁶⁸ and many scholars do not believe in the high chronology, which establishes a Greek presence at this site as early as 825–800 B.C. Moreover, a Cretan presence is not attested in the Syro-Palestinian region by any ceramic Geometric finds⁶⁹. So, even if the Eleutherna find is very tempting, the hypothesis that the belt represents a contemporary, historical siege by Near Eastern attackers against a Greek city appears to be the less suitable.

The third alternative explanation is the mythological-epic one. The hypothesis that the Fortetsa belt represents the siege of Troy cannot be supported because the besiegers should have Greek arms and not

the opposite. P. Blome put forward the hypothesis that the Fortetsa belt represents the Ilioupersis and identifies the central figures as Menelaos and Helen⁷⁰. This hypothesis, however, cannot be accepted because the helmet of the central figure is the same as that worn by the defenders and not by the assailants. Furthermore, the central warrior grasps the wrists of both females, as a careful analysis of the sheet shows. The belt refers to a pre-Homeric period and A. Snodgrass shows, in his ground-breaking book *Homer and the Artists*, that in Geometric representations only a small portion of epic themes reference Homeric and Cyclic poems⁷¹. Other narrative representations reflect different tales from all around Greece and thus the Fortetsa belt could represent a siege myth that was not preserved in the later tradition. Indeed, the siege is a topical theme in the epic: the first Trojan siege by Herakles, that of the Seven against Thebes and, on a smaller scale, the Thryoessa siege involving Nestor (Il. 11, 711–761). This theme goes back to the Near Eastern topical myths of city sieges that are mirrored by the representations⁷².

Idomeneus from Knossos had to be the protagonist of many tales,⁷³ only a small portion of which could be taken up by Homer. In the Iliad and Odyssey Idomeneus is an important chief, he leads the Cretans. He is an elderly warrior, but he is strong with the spear. He is important, as his *aristeia* in Book thirteen of the Iliad shows (361–544). A tradition reports his stay in Asia Minor, at Kolophon, where his tomb was placed⁷⁴ (an alternative to the main tradition placing his tomb at Knossos). Is the city siege on the belt referring to Idomeneus' stay in Asia Minor, representing an attack by Near Easterners against the Cretans led by the king in the centre of the city? This is simply a suggestion with no supporting proof.

Therefore, for the interpretation of the representation on the Fortetsa belt a local oral saga centred around Idomeneus is a possibility. But I believe that the most likely explanation is the first one, which takes the siege on the belt as an unspecific reference to an enterprise related, in a general way, to the world of heroic warriors. It has a general paradigm

⁶⁵ Stampolidis 2004, 282 no. 361.

⁶⁶ For a general picture see Boardman 1999; Kearsley 1999; Niemeier 2001.

⁶⁷ The first attack expedition by a group of ›Ionians‹ to the Syro-Palestinian coast is mentioned in the Assyrian chronicles at the beginning of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, a little bit after 738 B.C. (Braun 1982, 15 f.).

⁶⁸ On Al Mina see recently Kearsley 1999; Niemeier 2001, 13 f.; Luke 2003.

⁶⁹ For a review of the Greek ceramic finds see Luke 2003.

⁷⁰ Blome 1982, 78 f.

⁷¹ Snodgrass 1998.

⁷² For Near Eastern epic sieges and their relationships to the Iliad see Loudon 2006, 149–154; see also Gurney 1999, 172–175 (siege of the Syrian city of Urshu); Pritchard 1955, 22 f. (siege of Joppa in Palestine by the Egyptians).

⁷³ On Idomeneus' traditions see Federico 1999.

⁷⁴ Lycophr. Alex. 424–438; Schol. ad Hom. Od. 13, 259, 15–20 Dindorf; Servius Danielinus ad Aen. 3, 401. On this tradition see Federico 1999, 365–369.

matic character just like many representations on Greek Geometric vases.

In contrast, the defenders on the Chania frieze wear Near Eastern helmets (unfortunately the attackers are not preserved). Here it is possible, but anyway hypothetical, to identify this scene with the siege of Troy, maybe with the specific episode of the fall of Troy, the Iliouperis. The central goddess could, therefore, be Athena: her cult image, the Palladion, was tied in the tradition with the destiny of the city, starting from the Epic Cycle (but the Chania image does not reflect the canonical iconography of the Palladion ...)⁷⁵. On the Chania frieze again the alternative explanation is that the siege represents a general *topos* of warrior prowess without any reference to a mythological episode.

Conclusion

It is possible that the quiver and the belt were originally part of the same panoply: they quote two themes, the lion combat/taming and the city siege, which are strictly tied together in the ideology of Near Eastern kingship, as two faces of the same coin⁷⁶. They are used and transformed in accordance to Homeric virtue ideology.

In my view, introducing Greek iconographic elements and themes on the belt, elements and themes such as the helmet and the chieftain's dwelling as a short depiction of the city, may be explained by the dependence of the craftsman on the self-representation patterns of the local elites. The *basileis* used these *agalмата* and images for their ideological purposes. Hence, they used Near Eastern themes, but they imposed modifications on the craftsman that would correspond to local ideologies. Therefore the presence of Greek iconographic objects and themes on the Fortetsa bronzes does not show that their craftsman was a Greek rather than a North-Syrian: the iconographic aspects do not point out the ›ethnicity‹ of the artisan.

Of course, we will never know for certain whether the Fortetsa craftsman was a Near Eastern immigrant or a Greek who had been taught by a Near Eastern artisan. Nevertheless, this analysis shows

a high level of competence in workmanship on the two bronzes as well as a strong adherence to North Syrian prototypes and style; so it is indeed possible that they were hammered by a Near Eastern craftsman belonging to the first generation of the ›school of Knossos‹.

J. Boardman stresses the similarities between the jewellery of the Tekke ›first deposit‹⁷⁷ and that of Tell Halaf and suggests that Tell Halaf was the mother country of the ›school of Knossos‹⁷⁸. According to the above analysis, however, I propose a centre to the west of the North Syrian region, closer to the coast. The site of Zincirli with its stone sculptures offers the best parallels for the style of both bronzes. It was possibly from there that the specialized jewelers and bronze-workers came to Knossos in the last third of the 9th century B.C.

In conclusion, in Fortetsa Tomb P, the warriors-*basileis* of the burials 71 and 72 employ a complex and new system of signs between Near Eastern models and Greek heroic ideology: their armour is narrative like Near Eastern prototypes and like the shield of the best hero in the Iliad, Achilles. The narrative themes referring to Near Eastern lion combats and city sieges are here used and transformed in order to adhere to local ideology and to be in accordance with the ›Homeric‹ system of values. This analysis leads us to face many important problems: the beginnings of narrative art in the Early Iron Age; the role of Near Eastern themes and their Greek translations and transformations; the experience of Near Eastern craftsmen working in Crete. Early Iron Age Crete offers much to think about.

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⁷⁵ EGF 37. 43 n. 9; EGF 49. 50 n. 1.

⁷⁶ For their link see Cassin 1987.

⁷⁷ On the ›first deposit‹ of the Tekke tholos see Boardman 1967; Hoffman 1997; Kotsonas 2006 (I agree with the interpretation of Kotsonas).

⁷⁸ Boardman 1967, 66 f.

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: Heraklion Museum (courtesy of the Heraklion Museum). – Fig. 2: after Brock 1957, pl. 169 (courtesy of the British School at Athens). – Fig. 3: after Σταμπολίδης – Καρέτσου 1998, n. 226 fig. p. 204 (courtesy of Prof. N. Ch. Stampolidis). – Fig. 4: after Brock 1957, pl. 163 (courtesy of the British School at Athens). – Fig. 5: Photograph M. D'Acunto. – Fig. 6: after Layard 1853, pl. 64. – Fig. 7: Photograph M. D'Acunto. – Fig. 8: after Orthmann 1971, pl. 57 B/5. – Fig. 9: Photograph M. D'Acunto. – Fig. 10: Photograph M. D'Acunto. – Fig. 11: after Orthmann 1971, pl. 72 B/5. – Fig. 12: Photograph M. D'Acunto. – Fig. 13: after Σταμπολίδης – Καρέτσου 1998, n. 225 fig. p. 204 (courtesy of Prof. N. Ch. Stampolidis). – Fig. 14: after Boardman 1991, fig. 15. – Fig. 15: after Markoe 1985, fig. p. 320. – Fig. 16: after Barnett 1977, pl. 48, 2. – Fig. 17: after King 1915, pl. 21.

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Discussion

Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier: I found it very convincing and I have discussed some time ago the silver bowl from Amanthus, which you showed also, in connection with the question of the Greek mercenaries in the Near East. In addition we have a lot of information from texts. This reflects a historical reality. Greek mercenaries were almost in every army of the Near East and they had sometimes probably also to fight against each other. Do you think that behind the representation of the Fortetsa belt is also some historical reality and if this is a real battle, where does it take place? As you have shown convincingly, this is a Greek city, the abbreviation of a Greek city as a temple or palace, but the attackers are Near Eastern. Where can we imagine this city in reality?

Matteo D'Acunto: Of course this is a complex question. We know some events from the texts. The Assyrian chronicles report that a fight in the Near East, the first fight between Greeks and Near Easterners, happened during the reign of Tiglatpileser III (744–727 B.C.), therefore later than the Fortetsa belt. That's the first mention of a fight between them. But I was very cautious about the three hypothetical levels: the historical one, the mythical one, the paradigmatic one. And in my approach it is very important to stress that we have not all the signs, which can clarify the exact meaning of the belt. I believe that we cannot exclude the possibility that the belt represents an historical event but I prefer the hypothesis that it had a generic paradigmatic character without any reference to a historical or mythical fight.

Angelos Chaniotis: You have presented your interpretation very cautiously, and it is plausible in many respects. I do not want to disagree; I just want to make a small suggestion, which has nothing to do with the representation of siege in art but with the representation of siege in literature. This may, however, give an indication of the context of this particular find. The Greeks found representations of siege in literature extremely fascinating. This is one of the most fascinating subjects from the earliest literary sources. The first image that we have in literature is the image of a city under siege, and this subject thrilled

the Greeks down to the Hellenistic period. Interestingly, the besieged city that fascinated them always was the city of somebody else, never their own city. And this made the description of sieges so fascinating and at the same time reassuring. The narrative of a siege showed to them what may happen or what had happened to others, and they were happy that thanks God or Gods, this was not their own fate. So, even if the metaphor of a city, as represented in this find, is something particularly Greek or even Cretan, this does not necessarily mean that the context of this representation is Greek or Cretan. There are some obvious difficulties in imagining it as Cretan – for instance the use of chariots, which is practically impossible in any citadel on Crete, and also the lack of fortification walls and so on. So you may have a combination on the one hand of the metaphor of the city and on the other hand the reassuring fact for the viewers that this is something that others had experienced and the viewers, Cretans or Greeks.

Matteo D'Acunto: This is a very important point. My approach to the image is anyway a symbolic one. So the belt is a composition made of not realistic but symbolic elements. So if we read these elements from a symbolic point of view, we just see the contraposition between the inside and the outside warriors. But I would never imagine that this image is giving a realistic representation.

Nikolaos Stampolidis: Και γω ήθελα να πω ότι σας ευχαριστούμε πολύ για την προσεκτική ανάλυση αλλά υπάρχουν προβλήματα, και μάλιστα μεγάλα, και σ' αυτό που είπε ο κύριος Χανιώτης προηγουμένως αλλά και σ' αυτό που, υποθέτω ότι ήθελε να πει πίσω από τις λέξεις του ο κύριος Niemeier.

Δηλαδή, αντίθετα με το ανάγλυφο των Χανίων, όπου τα άλογα όντως καλπάζουν, τα άλογα και της μίας πλευράς και της άλλης των αρμάτων στη Φορτέτσα πηγαίνουν εν πομπή, δεν τρέχουν, δε μάχονται ή, τουλάχιστον, δε μοιάζουν να μάχονται. Δεύτερον, ενώ χωράει πάρα πολύ καλά στους δίφρους των αρμάτων η δεύτερη μορφή των τοξοτών στη δεξιά πλευρά, εκεί αυτοί απουσιάζουν, απουσιάζουν εντελώς, δεν υπάρχουν κά-

ποιοι σκοτωμένοι κάτω, δεν υπάρχει κάποια διαφορετική αντιμετώπιση.

Μ'αυτά που είπαν προηγουμένως οι προλαλήσαντες και επίσης με το γεγονός ότι η κεντρική μορφή μέσα στο οικοδόμημα (δε θα το ονομάσω ούτε ναό ούτε πόρτα ούτε ο, τιδήποτε, σ'αυτό το construction, σ'αυτήν την κατασκευή τελοσπάντων), φαίνεται επίσης να αρπάζει από τα χέρια της δύο γυναικείες μορφές και κάτι τέτοιο δε θα το έκανε ποτέ ο Απόλλωνας στη μητέρα του και την αδερφή του. Αυτό είναι πάρα πολύ δύσκολο και εγώ θα το έβλεπα μόνο σαν ένα είδος μείζης σκημών. Γιατί οι μορφές των τοξοτών δεν είναι η μία πάνω στην άλλη αλλά είναι σε perspective, είναι σα να τις βλέπει κανείς απ'το πλάι, είναι η γεωμετρική προοπτική όπου το πάνω-κάτω σημαίνει μπρος-πίσω, σ'αυτήν την έννοια.

Επομένως, θα έλεγα, εάν δεν είχατε το επιχείρημα της περικεφαλαίας, το οποίο όμως μπορεί να είναι και κάτι όχι που διαχωρίζει τους μεν από τους δε, όπως για παράδειγμα στις φοινικικές φιάλες και σε άλλα αγγεία, υπάρχουν αιγυπτιαζουσες μορφές ή Αιγύπτιοι και επάνω στα τείχη και κάτω απ'τα τείχη, υπάρχουν ανατολίτες και επάνω απ'τα τείχη και κάτω απ'τα τείχη. Θα μπορούσε, επομένως, να το δει κανείς ίσως σαν πομπή αριστοκρατών, τοξοτών με τα άρματά τους, που πηγαίνουν σε ένα αντίστοιχο ιερό αριστοκρατών τοξοτών, και όπου σ'αυτήν την προοπτική του μπρος-πίσω οι μορφές των τοξοτών δε θα ήταν παρά τα >λαλούντα σύμβολα< επάνω σ'αυτήν την ναϊκή κατασκευή. Και επομένως, θα διαχωρίζα τη χανιώτικη ζωφόρο ως ένα υστερότερο παράδειγμα, ενδεχομένως και υστερότερο από αυτό που εσείς χρονολογείτε στο τέλος του 8ου αιώνα, υπάρχουν και άλλες χρονολογήσεις και από το Θεοφανίδη και από άλλους, αλλά, όπως και να το κάνουμε, έχουν περίπου έναν αιώνα διαφορά, τουλάχιστον με τη ζώνη της Φορτέτσας.

Matteo D'Acunto: Professor Stampolidis raised some important questions. The first one: the position of the chariots and of the horses. In my opinion this position does not depend on the procession. As I have tried to show it depends on the North-Syrian way of drawing the pace of the horses during this period. Indeed, if we compare the Chania frieze with the Fortetsa belt we can see two different approaches to the horse moving. The second one is Assyrianising: it was taken as well from the North Syrian art. Because in North-Syrian art, after the half of the 8th century, there is a trend of Assyrianising style. Assyrianising stylistic and iconographic elements were introduced to Greece by the way of North Syrian art. But if we look to the North Syrian bowls (as the Nimrud ones I showed) and to the stone-reliefs from

Zinçirli and Tell Halaf, which are Middle Neo-Hittite (earlier than 750 B.C.), we do not see horses moving and running quickly, even if they are involved in war or hunt: they show the same pace as the horses on the Fortetsa belt. It means that the pace of the horses on the belt is a stylistic feature related to the North Syrian style of the Middle Neo-Hittite phase. It shows not processional but running chariots. So from this point of view I suggest a different interpretation from Professor Stampolidis' one. It is a siege fight involving chariots not a procession.

Nikolaos Stampolidis: Ότι τα δύο, το κράνος δηλαδή αυτών που βρίσκονται κοντά στην κατασκευή και το άλλο, δεν είναι απαραίτητο να τους διαχωρίζει διότι έχουμε δει και στα υπόλοιπα έργα να υπάρχουν και οι μεν και οι δε, και μέσα στην πόλη και έξω από την πόλη.

Matteo D'Acunto: We find this mix of armours of the warriors – besiegers and besieged – on the Delphi and on the Amathous bowl: it is not clear if these differences on the two bowls may have or have not a specific meaning with reference to the >ethnicity< of the warriors involved in the fight. But if we look at the Assyrian reliefs, they are true chronicles and there is a very precise representation of specific weapons and helmets. Because, of course, they are related to the chronicles of the Assyrian kings: they aim at showing the king with the Assyrian army as the winner of the other peoples. As for the Fortetsa belt, it is important to read the syntax of the image itself: there is a so clear opposition between inside warriors and outside ones. Therefore, this opposition has a symbolic meaning with reference to the interpretation of the image. Does this difference relate to an >ethnic< distinction between the besiegers and the besieged warriors? Otherwise, is it just a way of differentiating the two armies without any reference to Near Easterners against Greeks? We are not able to choose between these two hypotheses. But if the image had a generic paradigmatic character – as I would prefer – then, we should believe in the second hypothesis. It is clear as well that the lack of the second warrior on the two right chariots is deliberate. It means something, I agree with you. It is not a problem of lack of space, as suggested by Brock. I was very cautious about the interpretation of this point: a possibility is that it is showing that the defenders are winning against the attackers. But this is just a suggestion.

Nikolaos Stampolidis: There is a contradiction if you say that this was done by a Cretan or by an Oriental. Then the two suppositions do not go together, do not suit.

Angeliki Lebessi: Ήθελα μόνο να σας πω ότι τελευταία η κυρία Μπάνου στους Αμπελοκήπους έχει βρει επίσης μία ζώνη, του ίδιου τύπου με παράσταση πολεμιστών, και μήπως βιαζόμαστε λίγο για την ερμηνεία. Όσον αφορά τα δύο αυτά μνημεία, τα έργα που μας δείξατε, σίγουρα έχουν βασική διαφορά αυτά καθεαυτά μες την κατασκευή, που πολύ σωστά λέτε κατασκευή, γιατί στο μεν ανάγλυφο των Χανίων έχουμε μία γυναικεία μορφή και στο άλλο έχουμε τρεις μορφές, ό,τι τις πούμε, δεν ξέρω τι είναι αυτές. Στη μία μεριά πηγαίνουν με κανονικό βάδισμα τα άλογα, και σίγουρα κάτι άλλο θέλανε να δείξουνε. Το βέβαιο είναι ότι έχουμε μία σύνταξη αντιθετική που πρέπει να εκφράζει δύο διαφορετικές αντιλήψεις, ο ένας απέναντι του άλλου. Αν είναι εχθρική, φιλική, αυτό είναι δικό μας θέμα. Αυτοί οι άνθρωποι θέλανε να δείξουν δύο αντίθετα ρεύματα. Νομίζω κάπου εκεί πρέπει να σταθούμε.

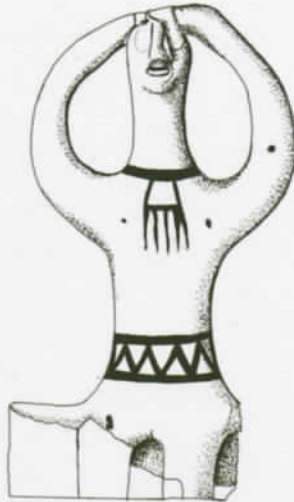
Τώρα για το κράνος, εμένα μου φαίνεται ότι η αντρική μορφή ανάμεσα στις δύο γυναικείες, έχει κράνος (cup helmet) με λοφίο από μικρές κεραίες όπως στο θραύσμα αγγείου του Βόλου της ΥΕ III C περιόδου. Δηλαδή ότι ο τύπος είναι ελληνικός. Τώρα μπορεί να υπάρχει και ο ανατολικός τύπος μαζί. Δεν ξέρω εάν πρέπει με βάση τα ανατολικά πρότυπα να ερμηνέψουμε ή να δεχτούμε ότι υπάρχουν ανατολικά μοτίβα αλλά ότι έχουν ένα συμβολισμό εκεί που έγινε το έργο. Γιατί και από μεταλλοτεχνίτες της ανατολής να έχει γίνει ένα έργο, η ιδεολογία του έργου απηχεί τον τόπο όπου έγινε και ανατέθηκε.

Matteo D'Acunto: According to the interpretation which I prefer, I attribute a generic heroic-paradigmatic meaning to the image just like the siege described on the Shield of Achilles. If this is the case, the different armour simply marks the opposition between the outside and inside warriors. The relationship between the representation on the belt and the heroic values of the warrior buried in this tomb is very important. It refers to heroic values. Finally, I know the Ambelokipi belt. It is very important for our question. But I was not discussing it because just a photograph of one fragment has been published so far.

Angeliki Lebessi: Στα πλακίδια της Γόρτυνας, τα παλιά, που είχε δημοσιεύσει ο Rizza, υπάρχουν μορφές ντυμένες, κινούμενες, δεν είναι ιερατική στάση, και είναι κάτω από οικοδόμημα, από κατασκευή.

Matteo D'Acunto: Και αυτό ανοίγει ένα άλλο μεγάλο θέμα. Μόνο θέλω να πω ότι η κυρία Μαρινάτος έχει γράψει ένα πολύ σημαντικό βιβλίο σ' αυτό το θέμα: το 'Τριαδικό Σχήμα' έρχεται από την ανατολή, αλλά οι Έλληνες το χρησιμοποιούν για αυτούς και για τα ελληνικά. Δηλαδή η τριάδα έχει οπωσδήποτε σημασία στη θέση της, στην Ελλάδα, στην Κρήτη.

Maria Vlazaki: Μόνο να θυμίσω σε όλους ότι το δεύτερο είναι τμήμα ζωφόρου από τα Χανιά, σημαίνει από οικοδόμημα που φτιάχτηκε εκεί. Βέβαια είναι εκεί, τέλος 8^{ου} ή αρχές 7^{ου}.



Die Insel Kreta, durch ihre geostrategische Lage im Schnittpunkt vieler Handels- und Kommunikationswege begünstigt, nahm nach dem Ende der bronzezeitlichen Paläste früher wieder am Interaktionsprozess mit den Kulturen des Ostmittelmeerraums teil als das übrige Griechenland. Schon vom 10. bis zum 7. Jh. v. Chr. wurden zahlreiche Impulse von außen aufgenommen, die sich zum einen in der materiellen Hinterlassenschaft widerspiegeln und zum anderen halfen, Strukturen und Institutionen den Weg zu bereiten, die zur Entstehung der Polis beitrugen. Hier setzte das dreitägige Kolloquium zum geometrischen und archaischen Kreta an, das im Januar 2006 an der Abteilung Athen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts stattfand. Ziel war es, den Forschungen zum Neubeginn in der Frühen Eisenzeit und der weiteren Entwicklung in der archaischen Zeit ein Forum zu bieten, in dem sich Grabungs- und Materialwissenschaft sowie alt- und kunsthistorische Analyse begegnen konnten. Durch die Präsentation neuer Grabungsergebnisse, die Diskussion der Beziehungen zum Vorderen Orient sowie die Auseinandersetzung mit Aspekten der kultischen Praxis und schließlich einzelnen Materialgattungen wurde der Beitrag Kretas zur frühgriechischen Kulturgeschichte herausgestellt.