

The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia

Cultures in Contact



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From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean
in the Second Millennium B.C.

Edited by
Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic



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Akrotiri, Thera: Reflections from the East

As soon as systematic excavations in the Aegean began, archaeologists there and in the Near East eagerly started seeking evidence to prove the traditional dogma “*ex oriente lux*.” Gradually, however, material evidence accumulated showing the reciprocity of contacts and exchanges. Many and varied are the orientalia that have been encountered at Bronze Age Aegean sites in both Crete and the mainland and islands of Greece,¹ and many are the publications dedicated exclusively to this subject.² Discussing some more from Akrotiri, Thera, without changing the overall picture, will simply enhance the role of this island in the interaction between the Aegean and the east.

The deep shafts recently excavated at Akrotiri between the Late Cycladic (LC) I level and the bedrock for the pillars of the new shelter for the Bronze Age city have allowed us to study the site’s stratigraphy from about the middle of the fifth millennium B.C. until the end of the seventeenth or middle of the sixteenth century B.C., when the city was destroyed by a volcanic eruption and buried under thick deposits of pumice and pozzolana.³ Before the excavations, the wealth and the character of the art revealed in the Late Bronze Age ruins were plausibly understood as the outcome of maritime activities. Our recent investigations not only confirmed this view but they have also demonstrated that the maritime and mercantile history of the settlement at

Akrotiri goes back several centuries earlier. Great numbers of Early Bronze Age transport amphorae from different parts of the Aegean indicate that even before the end of the third millennium B.C. Akrotiri had become a center of trade and transactions,⁴ a role that obviously strongly influenced the development of its urbanization. It is also worth noting that, according to the archaeological evidence, viticulture and wine making,⁵ as well as tin-bronze metallurgy, were introduced in the Aegean a couple of centuries before the end of the third millennium B.C.⁶ Thera, the southernmost of the Cyclades, seems to have played a leading role in these developments, and the sudden appearance of metallurgy evidenced at Akrotiri by the discovery of crucibles, molds, tuyeres, and tuyere holders⁷ suggests that its inhabitants were engaged in



Fig. 1. Ceramic pomegranate jug. Thera, Akrotiri. Middle Bronze Age. Museum of Prehistoric Thera. Cat. no. 9144



Fig. 2. Ceramic Canaanite amphora inscribed with the sign *tet*. Thera, Akrotiri. Late Bronze Age. Museum of Prehistoric Thera. Cat. no. 3767



Fig. 3. Ceramic Canaanite amphora inscribed with the sign *kap*. Thera, Akrotiri. Late Bronze Age. Cat. no. 7577

the trade of metal. Thera’s strategic situation along the new metals route between Cyprus, an inexhaustible source of copper, and Crete’s emerging palatial society brought the maritime community of Akrotiri to the vanguard of this commerce and into direct contact with the eastern Mediterranean world.⁸ This activity may explain the presence of orientalia in the city’s late Middle and early Late Bronze Age horizons.⁹

Among the least impressive finds of eastern Mediterranean origin are a few pieces of charcoal recovered from a late third or early second millennium B.C. horizon that include specimens identified as cedar of Lebanon and pomegranate.¹⁰ According to archaeological evidence, the pomegranate—native to the region south of the Caspian Sea—was unknown in the Mediterranean

before the fourteenth century B.C.¹¹ Unless our specimen was introduced to the Aegean via the Black Sea, it probably arrived at Akrotiri together with cedar of Lebanon, thus marking the beginning of a long tradition of sea contacts between the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean. During the Middle Bronze Age the pomegranate became a popular iconographic motif, as a special category of vases indicates (fig. 1).¹²

In the following centuries, imports from the Levant and the Near East increased substantially. Three complete jars have been classed as Canaanite by leading experts, and, as far as I know, no alternative has been proposed by those who have orally argued against this identification.¹³ Two of these jars are inscribed. On the shoulder of one, a circle with cross-bars had been drawn with

Fig. 4. Ceramic transport ewer inscribed with the sign of a pentagram, or pentalpha. Thera, Akrotiri. Late Bronze Age



a finger on the wet clay (fig. 2).¹⁴ The sign is not new to the Aegean world. At Akrotiri it is known from a number of pithoi designed for liquids.¹⁵ It also occurs quite often as sign 29 on tablets of the Cretan Linear A script and is identical to sign 77 of the Mycenaean Linear B.¹⁶ The same sign, identified with the Old Canaanite letter *tet*, occupies ninth place in the abecedarium incised on a thirteenth to twelfth century B.C. sherd from Izbet Sartah. According to Frank Moore Cross, this is one of the “earliest extant *tet* signs in Old Canaanite.”¹⁷ The sign occurs again in the Phoenician Ahirom inscription from Byblos, as well as in the earliest Greek epigraphic examples of the letter *theta*. The discovery of the Canaanite jar at Akrotiri establishes an earlier date for the appearance of the sign for the letter *tet*.¹⁸

Similarly, the sign incised on the other jar (fig. 3) resembles a trident and occurs in both the Linear A and Linear B scripts (as signs 54 and 27, respectively).¹⁹ It is the second of four signs in a Linear A inscription on the shoulder of a ewer from Akrotiri²⁰ and resembles the letter *kap*, which occupies eleventh place in the Izbet Sartah abecedarium. Cross recognized this sign as a “suitable archetype for both [the] Greek *kappa* and the Gezer *kap*.”²¹ Whatever the origin of these two symbols, Levantine or Aegean, their presence on the Canaanite jars indicates that they were already in use when early attempts at alphabetic script were made.

Two other incised motifs from Akrotiri may have some connection with the east. The first is on a large transport ewer (fig. 4). Below the handle of this ewer, incised before firing, is a “pentagram,” a five-pointed star drawn as one continuous line (fig. 5). Known also as a “pentalpha,” the five-pointed star was considered in Classical antiquity to be a magical sign for evoking benevolent spirits and averting evil ones. It was used by both the Pythagoreans and the Freemasons. The second example is a button-like small ivory seal found recently in an early Middle Bronze Age horizon. On its discoid surface is engraved a “hexagram,” a six-pointed star composed

Fig. 5. Detail of fig. 4



Fig. 6. Ivory seal with the sign of a hexagram. Thera, Akrotiri. Early Middle Bronze Age. Cat. no. 8385



of two equilateral intersecting triangles (fig. 6). The hexagram, considered a representation of king Solomon’s seal but better known as the Star of David, was also imbued with magical properties. Although it is difficult to interpret the presence of both types of stars on an incised wall-plaster fragment at Knossos,²² it is interesting that these signs are rather familiar in Minoan contexts, occurring particularly on clay seal impressions that “appear to belong to a class of design that served some religious, perhaps talismanic or apotropaic purpose.”²³ The original provenance of these motifs—eastern or Aegean—is debatable. However, the fact that they occur in archaeological contexts in both regions and are associated with more or less the same magical properties indicates at least an exchange of goods and ideas between these areas. These contacts are further confirmed by the discovery of objects such as a pair of wooden clappers (fig. 7),²⁴ various stone vases of Egyptian or Syro-Palestinian origin,²⁵ ivory items,²⁶ and two ostrich eggshells transformed into ceremonial vessels (rhyta) by the application of faience attachments (fig. 8).²⁷ The



Fig. 7. Pair of Egyptian wooden clappers. Thera, Akrotiri. Late Bronze Age. Cat. nos. 8583, 8584

manufacture of faience has been traced back to late fifth millennium B.C. Mesopotamia, from where it seems to have spread both eastward and westward.²⁸ Faience objects documented in Early Minoan Crete have been considered imports from the east, as was the technology of making faience, which rapidly developed on the island.²⁹ The faience items at Akrotiri have also traditionally been regarded as imports from either the east or other parts of the Aegean,³⁰ but the recent discovery of quartz powder at Akrotiri is indicative of local production.³¹



Fig. 8. Pair of ostrich-egg rhyta. Thera, Akrotiri. Late Bronze Age. Museum of Prehistoric Thera. Cat. nos. 1853, 1854



Fig. 9. Gold figurine of an ibex or gazelle. Thera, Akrotiri. Museum of Prehistoric Thera. Cat. no. 8226



Fig. 10. Ceramic Cycladic White bird-spouted ewer with flying griffin. Melos, Phylakopi. Middle Cycladic. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Cat. no. 5777

The gold figurine of an ibex or gazelle (fig. 9), associated perhaps with religion, seems totally foreign to Aegean art and might be an oriental import, possibly from Mesopotamia.³² Increased contact with the east during the Late Bronze Age is also suggested by the remains of insects native to the Near East found in stored grains.³³

Besides the actual presence of materials or artifacts, glimpses of the east can be obtained through artistic themes and motifs. There is general consensus that the griffin was introduced into Aegean iconography from Syria, with early representations appearing on the Middle Minoan II sealings from Phaistos.³⁴ Almost at the same time, this hybrid creature emerged in the Cyclades as the only decorative theme on certain beaked jugs of the Cycladic White type (fig. 10).³⁵ It has been suggested that the flying gallop pose was an artistic innovation in the Aegean at the time.³⁶ If this theory is correct, the early depiction of the griffin in this pose on the Middle Cycladic jugs may indicate that the creature entered Aegean iconography through the Cyclades. The griffin became a more frequent theme during the Middle Cycladic period, as demonstrated by its monumental depiction on large jars decorated in the bichrome technique (fig. 11).³⁷ This popularity did not fade in the succeeding LC I period, as the wall paintings show (fig. 12).³⁸

The thematic repertoire of the Akrotiri wall paintings is even more revealing in subjects and motifs with connections to the east. For example, geometric patterns such as the spiral or the imitation of marble are almost identical in Thera³⁹ and Mesopotamian⁴⁰ art. The Thera painters used images of flora and fauna to define exotic landscapes. Although the palm tree, the lion, and the wild duck were not alien to the Aegean habitat, they certainly suggest elements of a subtropical landscape when accompanied by papyrus and a leopard, as in the Miniature Frieze from the West House.⁴¹ Undeniable too is the oriental influence in the depiction of animals such as antelopes and monkeys.⁴²

Besides iconographic motifs, certain pictorial conventions are common to both Thera and eastern art.⁴³ For example, the Egyptian pose denoting pain or sorrow, known from the kneeling mourners depicted on the walls of funerary monuments at Egyptian Thebes,⁴⁴ finds echoes in the attitudes of the so-called Adorants from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri: there, the young woman seated on a rock supports her forehead with her left hand, while with her right one she indicates the source of the pain by holding her right foot, one toe of which is bleeding.⁴⁵ The mode of rendering inert or dead human bodies used in Egypt as early as the Predynastic period⁴⁶ was adopted by the painter of the Miniature Frieze in the West House to render slain or drowned warriors in the Naval Battle scene.⁴⁷

The superimposing of different scenes or the use of lateral layering to represent moving figures, as well as the vertical layering of static figures to render depth, may also reflect foreign contacts and influences.⁴⁸ In Egyptian art human figures are shown with two left or two right hands or feet, depending on the direction in which they are moving.⁴⁹ Although the Thera painters endeavored to deviate from this convention, often successfully, there are instances, such as the girl gathering saffron, in which such interventions were apparently not possible and the Egyptian convention was kept.⁵⁰ Similarly, the standard Egyptian and Mesopotamian rendering of a cow's piebald hide by means of stars with three or four rounded rays⁵¹ is an artistic idiom found also in the art of Thera, exemplified in the West House by the bulls and bull's-hide shields of the warriors in the Miniature Frieze in Room 5 and by the shields and palanquins (*ikria*) decorating the walls of Room 4.⁵²

The personification of animals, totally foreign to Aegean art, is undoubtedly attributable to oriental influences.⁵³ Representations of monkeys playing musical instruments or dancing must have been observed in the east before they were depicted in the Thera



Fig. 11. Large ceramic pithos in the bichrome style with griffin. Thera, Akrotiri. Middle Cycladic period. Cat. no. 8885



Fig. 12. Detail of the Miniature Frieze showing a flying griffin. Thera, Akrotiri, West House. Late Cycladic I. Museum of Prehistoric Thera

wall paintings.⁵⁴ Moreover, the monkey serving the Mistress of Animals in the wall painting of the Saffron Gatherers is probably an oriental borrowing.⁵⁵

Iconographic conventions common to Thera and oriental art may reveal a much deeper interaction, extending even into the ideological domain. Although later, dating to the twelfth century B.C., the painting in the tomb of Anher-Khaou at Deir el-Medina, Egypt, shows children with partly shaven heads, exactly as boys and girls are depicted in the Thera wall paintings.⁵⁶ It is difficult to say whether this hair treatment had the same meaning in Egypt as it did in Thera, where scholars unanimously agree that it designated the child's stage of initiation.⁵⁷

There is no doubt that the orientalia at Akrotiri and the use of certain iconographic motifs, themes, and artistic conventions are evidence of contacts, exchanges, and other transactions between the Near and Middle East and the Aegean. As Béatrice Muller has pointed out, motifs such as the spirals and the imitation of marble, themes such as the stylized papyrus or tree, and scenes such as the Sacrifice in the Court of the Palm Tree appear in wall paintings at the Palace of Mari in the Middle Euphrates and at Knossos and Thera in the Aegean.⁵⁸ The organization of the wall surface in three zones, with the middle one reserved for the main theme, and the use of narrow friezes are also practices common to both regions.⁵⁹ Taking into account the earlier date of the examples from Mari, which was destroyed by Hammurabi in 1760 B.C., Muller has suggested that the Aegean parallels were most likely the result of influences from Mesopotamia rather than the reverse.⁶⁰ On the other hand, similar motifs and themes occurring in the mural art at sites of a later date, such as Alalakh in Turkey, Tel Kabri in Palestine, and Tell el-Dab'a in the Nile Delta, are generally considered to reflect Aegean influences.⁶¹ Muller has therefore proposed that relations between the Near East and the Aegean basin from the perspective of mural painting should be seen as a cultural koine

rather than as an acculturation. The dominant movement in the early second millennium B.C. was from the east to the Aegean. This direction was reversed about 1700 B.C., when Syria and the Levant experienced penetration from the Mediterranean.⁶²

Whether or not one accepts Muller's suggestion, it is beyond doubt that contacts between the Aegean and the east were established by at least the beginning of the second millennium B.C., and that their reflections we encounter in the archaeological record suggest reciprocal rather than hegemonic interaction.

1. Buchholz 1980; Dumas 1985; Krzyszkowska 1988; Dumas 1992, p. 27; Devetzi 2000; Bichta 2003; Mikrakis 2007.
2. Crawley 1989; Phillips 1997; Cline and Harris-Cline 1998; Karetsou 2000.
3. Dumas 1999; Dumas 2003a; Dumas 2003b.
4. D. E. Wilson, Day, and Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2008, p. 269; Kariotis, Day, and D. E. Wilson forthcoming.
5. Dumas 2006b; Dumas 2008c, pp. 41–42.
6. J. D. Muhly 2004; Bassiakos and Philaniotou 2007; J. D. Muhly 2008.
7. Dumas 2004b, pp. 418–23; Michailidou 2008.
8. Dumas 2007, p. 245; Dumas 2008b, p. 28; Dumas 2010, p. 754.
9. Bichta 2003.
10. Asouti 2003.
11. C. A. Ward 2003, pp. 531–32.
12. Dumas 2006a; Nikolakopoulou 2010, p. 214.
13. Dumas 1994, p. 161, pls. 83b, 84b; S. Marinatos 1976, pp. 29–30, pl. 49b.
14. Dumas 2004a, p. 500, fig. 1.
15. Dumas 1980, pp. 118–20; Dumas 2004a, p. 500, fig. 2.
16. Platon and Brice 1975, p. 176 (Linear A); Hooker 1994, p. 83 (Linear B); Dumas 2004a, p. 499, table 1.
17. Cross 1980, p. 10.
18. Dumas 2004a, p. 500.
19. Platon and Brice 1975, p. 177 (Linear A); Hooker 1994, p. 83 (Linear B); Dumas 2004a, p. 499, table 1.
20. S. Marinatos 1971, p. 44, pl. 109.
21. Cross 1980, p. 11.
22. Cameron 1979.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
24. Dumas 2000b, p. 171, pl. 121d; Mikrakis 2007.
25. Devetzi 2000; Devetzi 2008, pp. 458–59, 464–68.
26. Bichta 2003, pp. 547–49.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 542.

28. K. P. Foster 1979, pp. 22–55.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 56–59; Panagiotaki 1997, pp. 303–6; Panagiotaki 2000, pp. 154–57.
30. Bichta 2003, pp. 545–47.
31. Birtacha et al. forthcoming.
32. Dumas 1999, pp. 172–73, pls. 108, 109; Dumas 2003a, pp. 55–59; Boulotis 2005, pp. 44–46; Masseti 2008.
33. Panagiotakopulu 2008.
34. Tzavella-Evjen 1970, pp. 92–104; Davaras 1976, p. 128; Immerwahr 1990, p. 30; Hood 2000, p. 22.
35. Edgar 1904, p. 109, pl. XIV, 2; Zervos 1957, p. 39, figs. 271–73.
36. Crowley 1989, p. 118, n. 2; Immerwahr 1990, p. 30; Poursat 2008, p. 111.
37. Dumas 2001; Dumas 2003a, p. 51; Boulotis 2005, p. 57; Papagiannopoulou 2008a, pp. 436–41; Papagiannopoulou 2008b, pp. 254–55.
38. Dumas 1992, pp. 48, 65, fig. 32, pp. 131, 159, fig. 122, p. 165, fig. 128.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 50, figs. 14–17 (imitation of marble), pp. 128, 132, figs. 93, 94 (spirals).
40. Parrot 1958b, p. 67; Muller 1995, p. 50.
41. Dumas 1992, pp. 48, 66–67, figs. 33, 34.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 116–19, figs. 82–84 (antelopes), pp. 111, 120–23, figs. 85–90, pp. 128, 134, figs. 95, 96 (monkeys).
43. Dumas 1985.
44. Mekhitarian 1954, p. 101.
45. Dumas 1985, p. 30; Dumas 1992, p. 136, fig. 100, p. 142, fig. 105.

46. Wolf 1954, p. 26, pl. 5 (above), p. 28, pl. 4.
47. Dumas 1992, p. 29, pl. 26.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.
49. Gaballa 1976, p. 3.
50. Dumas 1992, p. 130, pls. 152, 156; Immerwahr 2005.
51. Mekhitarian 1954, pp. 10, 33, 40, 66, 149; Schmökkel 1963, pl. 8; Romant 1978, p. 135; Dumas 1985, pp. 31–32.
52. Dumas 1992, p. 47, pl. 26.
53. McDermott 1938, pp. 131–37; Rutten 1938, pp. 98, 105; Vandier d'Abbadie 1966, pp. 185–88.
54. Dumas 1985, p. 31; Dumas 1992, pp. 128, 132, figs. 95, 96; Papageorgiou and Birtacha 2008, pp. 302–5.
55. Dumas 1992, pp. 131, 158, fig. 122, p. 165, fig. 128.
56. For Anher-Khaou, see Erman 1894/1971, p. 219, n. 2; Säflund 1981, p. 207, fig. 26. For Thera wall paintings, see Dumas 1992, pp. 52–57, figs. 18–25, pp. 112–15, figs. 79, 81, pp. 136–52, figs. 100–116.
57. Davis 1986; Dumas 1987; Dumas 2000a.
58. Muller 1995, p. 51.
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