

Introduction

This book examines the ways in which the gendered human figure has been portrayed in prehistoric Aegean art. Particular attention is paid to whether male and female figures have been shown in manners that suggest their roles were perceived as being distinctly different, and if so, whether these might have carried differential or parallel status or power implications.

These investigations are predicated on the belief that subtle aspects of the gendered social roles of human beings can be interpreted, at least to a degree, from the manner in which people display themselves through gestures, postures, orientation and placement in relation to one another (proxemics). Further, it is suggested that when the body language of a human figure is captured in a fixed visual image, some understanding of gender-distinct, and possibly status-imbued, roles and relationships can be gleaned, even if the image was created within the context of a society other than our own. This is because, despite a prevailing belief that gestures are learnt only within particular social contexts, there are convincing models, discussed below in Chapter Three, which can be used to show that, whilst many of the nuances of body language are indeed specific to the society in which they are displayed, some underlying gestures and postures are essentially universal and fundamental to the interaction and communication between higher mammals, of which the human being is one.

Outline of Investigation

Images of the human figure which were created in the Aegean, specifically on mainland Greece, Crete, and the smaller islands, during the Aegean's palatial Middle and Late Bronze Ages (c.1950 BC–c.1200 BC) are analysed. The artefacts examined include frescoes, a sample of glyptics (a generic term used for seal-stones, rings and impressions from these, usually made in clay), a carefully chosen selection of three-dimensional objects other than figurines, and some supplementary material. An explanation of the catalogue numbers used in the text, and which identify these artefacts, is given at the end of this chapter, as is a list of the Plates containing images in the samples examined. The Plates themselves are included in Part II of this book, together with the Tables relating to each chapter, and the Appendices, which include details of all the material identified for analysis.¹ The aim has been to examine the gestures and postures displayed on the images, to analyse in what ways people have been positioned both within their surrounding space and in relation to each other, and to consider what this might reveal about how gendered

individuals related to each other within their wider social context. Special attention has been paid to portrayals that may have reflected, or influenced, the social interaction between males and females in terms of dominance or subservience, which could in turn have signalled rank and access to means of control. Assertions made by Sir Arthur Evans, pioneer in the study of Aegean civilization in the Bronze Age, that females occupied dominant and central roles on a social and/or ideological level in at least the earlier part of the period under examination, primarily on Crete, will be considered, and questioned. However, neither will it be assumed that females adopted entirely domestic or, what may be different, subservient positions in relation to males.

Grounded theory and a structural-iconographic method, discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, have been used to analyse the visual images. In addition to patterns suggested by repeated bodily gestures and stances and the way human figures occupy their surrounding space, other elements within the image have also been taken into account. These may be closely related to the bodies (e.g. physical characteristics or clothing) or be extraneous to the figure but appear to be associated with it (e.g. seating, armour, or nearby architectural structures). Where it is identifiable, the wider context has also been considered. The way in which gender itself will be understood is defined in Chapter Four, which also outlines the gender-related attributes used, detailed in **Tables 4.5** and **4.6** (Part II).

Assumptions have been made that visual images which appear on the tangible recovered objects being examined were produced in a process of social 'discourse', and can be interpreted to provide valuable insights into the way people in the prehistoric Aegean related to each other within their own social environment. The data has been selected in the belief, made explicit by social semioticians, that the way human bodies are arranged in physical 'social' space forms an important and influential 'system of transparent signs' (Hodge and Kress 1988: 52) by which people, and other animals, understand how to live appropriately and comfortably within their social group. Whilst it is anticipated that these 'signs' can be 'read', they constitute a system that is like, but also in ways very unlike, verbal language (see Chapter Three). These signs carry meanings which, when fixed in static images created within the context of the stylistic tradition of a society's visual repertoire, are understood (at various levels of complexity) both by those who commission their production and those who perceive them. Static pictures, whether painted, engraved, embossed or impressed, 'arrest movement' (Gombrich 1982:68) and isolate bodily postures from their full context. Thus, specific gestures in such images need to be portrayed unambiguously to be

¹ For further discussion of the material see Chapter Four.

correctly read. Goffman takes a similar view of more recent 20th century AD still photographs where human postures are ‘simplified, exaggerated, and stereotyped’ (1976:1). The search for reasons *why* particular gestures and postures have become those that are isolated and arrested is implicit in this study. The issue is whether the system of signs of which they were a part, existing as it did outside our own society, can be correctly deciphered. The analysis here is founded on the belief that by observing repeated patterns depicting gestures, postures, and proxemics, as well as taking account of anomalies, identifiable rules of meaning, subtle or explicit, will emerge.

Certain choices were made in the creation and selection of the images being considered before they even entered the archaeological context and preceding any biases that may have affected their retrieval. It has been assumed that the meanings embodied within them were not arbitrarily generated but were delivered with degrees of intention by those in the position to control their production and distribution. In many instances the images were imparted onto surfaces that were difficult to obtain or that had particularly strong aesthetic qualities in their own right. Most are also of a quality which suggests that highly skilled craftspeople were employed in their making. These objects thus had both ‘prime’ and ‘added’ value (Bevan 2001: 28–9), suggesting that only a minority of individuals had the opportunity, and the power, to commission or produce them; to an extent these depictions constitute *their* projected ‘version of reality’. The frescoes, many of the glyptics, and the miscellaneous three-dimensional objects, can thus be viewed as forming part of what Hodge and Kress describe as a ‘logonomic’ system which establishes and maintains ideologies of a dominant group of people. Subversive sub-systems could have operated at the same time, made visible in more ephemeral and less costly media, but on the whole these are lost to us. There are, however, some examples of cruder images on glyptics made from more readily available materials which may reflect the activities of less powerful social groups; these are discussed below in the contexts where they occur. Even within the dominating system, certain concessions may have been made to more subservient groups which gave them the appearance of status, or high status temporarily held. Strategies operating to conciliate less powerful sections of the population, sometimes gender defined, through projected images have been known to operate whilst still acting as a further, perhaps pacifying and more subtle, means of control. Hodges and Kress see these as ‘inverted’ sets of meanings and values, ‘antiworlds’ comprised of ‘antilanguages’ (Hodge and Kress 1988:68), often active between genders, ‘...we assume that gender systems are marked by contradiction and instability, that they are sites of struggle in the past as well as the present’ (ibid.). The images here will be considered in this light.

The Aegean Context

The artefacts being examined in this study were produced and seen by people during the Middle and Late parts of the Bronze Age in the Aegean. These were eras when the

inhabitants developed not only bronze in preference to stone for their tools and weapons, but also manipulated precious metals like gold and silver, casting, carving or embossing these, or inlaying them into artefacts using the advanced niello technique.² Exotic stones were also exploited,³ on which detailed images were engraved for use as sealings, and perhaps as personal status symbols.⁴ Most of these objects, together with often elaborate frescoes, which flourished at this time and were painted primarily on walls, reflect high levels of skill from those who crafted them. This marks the Bronze Age on mainland Greece, Crete and the smaller nearby islands as a time rich in the production of sophisticated images, numerous examples of which include the human figure; echoes of the inhabitants, or at least how it was wished the inhabitants would be perceived. The excavation of this material, begun towards the end of the nineteenth century AD, has provided crucial clues about the societies from which they came.

The periods under investigation in this book have been divided into three, as a convenient way of organising the data, and for comparative analysis. They coincide with the building and destruction of significant ‘palaces’ (‘monumental court-centred building compounds’ [Manning 2008:105, a phrase first used by Driessen 2002: 9]) on Crete and the mainland, and have been described as the First, Second and Third Palace Periods, following Dickinson 1994. The term ‘palace’ is used in its broadest sense, as

both an *architectural* label for a physical space, containing structures with a particular form, and a *social* term referring to a particular entity, a configuration of political and economic power, focused on a single centre with some degree of subordinate settlements within a more or less extensive territory.

(Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008: 290)

Together the palatial periods, fairly evenly divided in terms of time, span around 750 years, from 1950 BC to 1200 BC (see Davis 1992; Driessen et al. 2002; Rehak and Younger 1998; Shelmerdine 1997, 2008b; and Watrous 1994).

The First Palace Period (1st PP), which saw the appearance of the initial palaces, occurred in the early part of the second millennium BC. It lasted around 250 years (c.1950 BC to c.1700 BC, Low Chronology).⁵ The constructions built at this time are seen as evidence of new complex social and

² E.g. On the dagger from Grave IV Grave Circle A at Mycenae, NMA 394, Figure 6.19 and Plate M I a.

³ See glyptic materials in Appendix II (Part II).

⁴ See Chapter Four.

⁵ Alongside slightly different regional chronologies, there is also the relative and absolute. Relative chronology here is based on ‘correlations amongst different ceramic types found in reliable stratified deposits’ (Shelmerdine 2008b: 3). Scholars differ over how to determine absolute chronology, dividing them into higher and lower. The former relies on recent scientific forms of analysis, particularly radiocarbon dating, but these are unreliable for some of the later periods of the Bronze Age (Shelmerdine 2008b: 5–6). The lower chronology has therefore been adopted here. This uses the traditional method of relating ceramic finds to those from Egypt in particular, who had long independent absolute chronologies. (See Shelmerdine 2008b: fig.1.1).

economic developments in these regions,⁶ although there is some debate about whether the palaces became centres of production and redistribution, or of consumption (Manning 2008: 107). Most of the artefacts amongst the selection from this period analysed below were excavated from the sites of these large buildings, which emerged at Knossos, Phaistos and Malia dating from the period MM IB.⁷ Other sources, where accurate provenance is known, include tombs or graves (details of the provenance of all the artefacts from the primary selection compiled are given in **Appendices I–III**, Part II).

At the end of MM IIB, fires destroyed a considerable number of the settlements and palaces that had become established in the 1st PP (Younger and Rehak 2008: 140). There followed some substantial re-building and enlargement of the previous palaces, as well as the building of new, smaller palaces, or at least significant constructions that had ‘storage magazines and a large central court’ at, for example, at Zakros and possibly Hagia Triada (Younger and Rehak 2008:141, Preston 2008: 316), although this last has previously been referred to as a villa,⁸ and the original site names are been maintained here. More ‘houses’ (‘square single units’ [Younger and Rehak 2008: 141]) and farms were also built, as well as ‘villas’ (‘imposing house[s], usually in the countryside, with secondary buildings, or even a village around [them]’ [Betancourt 2008: 216; Younger and Rehak 2008: 141]). Crete, during this Second Palace Period (2nd PP), became increasingly urbanised (Younger and Rehak 2008: 141; Whitelaw 2001), and its inhabitants became central to a wider ‘Minoan civilisation’. In addition, settlements of importance emerged on some of the small nearby islands, like Akrotiri on Thera, and Phylakopi on Melos, both to Crete’s north. On the mainland at this time goods rich in imagery were also deposited in a variety of tombs, and in grave circles A and B at Mycenae, by what is thought to have been the local elite (Betancourt 2008: 217). The 2nd PP spanned around 275 years (c.1700 BC to c.1425 BC),⁹ and sites from this time have been more extensively dug and so generated more finds than the previous phase.

The 2nd PP was brought to an end on Crete by a series of destructions within LMIB. The palace at Knossos remained on Crete as a significant centre in what marked the beginning of the Third Palace Period (Early 3rd PP), when many wall paintings were renewed there (Dickinson 1994: 21–2; Preston 2008: 315), and Linear B, which was developed as an administrative script, came into use. Simultaneous with the re-occupation of Knossos,

the first palaces on the mainland were being built, establishing a palatial economy which was controlled by an ‘extremely affluent elite’ (Betancourt 2008: 219). It is believed that a number of other centres may also have been thriving across Crete in parallel with the increase in conspicuous affluence on the mainland (Preston 2008: 317), particularly at Hagia Triada. Knossos was thought to have been destroyed shortly after the beginning of LM IIIA2 (Betancourt 2008: 219), probably around c.1350 BC. The initial period of this third palatial phase spans around 75 years (c.1425 BC to c.1300 BC).¹⁰ There are mixed views about whether there was some recovery of state level institutions on Crete after this time. Betancourt believes that they remained important until LM IIIB1. Preston notes that Khania continued to prosper, even increase in influence in LM IIIB, according to elaborate burial practices, trade networks, and an archive of Linear B tablets (Preston 2008: 318). By the end of LM IIIB, however, all the central sites of Crete had been destroyed, abandoned, or reduced in size markedly (ibid).

The Late Third Palace Period (Late 3rd PP) can be defined as beginning around c.1300 BC.¹¹ A final phase of palaces continued to be built on the mainland, which now had substantial centres at, for example, Pylos as well as Mycenae (the name of which was used to coin this mainland civilisation as ‘Mycenaean’). The final destruction of palaces and the palatial system occurred on the mainland about a hundred years later in c.1190 BC, at the end of LH IIIB (Shelmerdine and Bennet 2008: 289). Earthquakes are thought to have been the immediate cause of the collapse of Mycenae and Tiryns. The reason for the decline of other sites is not clear (Jalkotzy 2008: 387).

The split between the early and late part of this final (3rd) palace period has been adopted in this research to highlight the possibility that different developments may have been underway on Crete compared with the mainland at this time which, in turn, could have influenced what was included in the images. Maps of the sites showing provenance of the artefacts being considered (where this is known), together with an indication of the palatial period when they were probably manufactured and in main use, are at **Figures 1.1a–c**.

A critical review of previous research on art, gender and gesture in the Aegean Bronze Age follows as Chapter Two. Chapter Three outlines theoretical frameworks used to develop the analysis made in the body of this study. Chapter Four explains the samples of material identified for examination and the methodology adopted. Some of the problems involved when considering Aegean Bronze Age material are also discussed. In chapters Five to Nine detailed analyses are made of the way gendered bodily expressions have been depicted, and some emerging patterns are examined. These were identified from over

⁶ Manning also notes that there is evidence that the area of Knossos had ‘already [been] a focal point for feasting ceremonies by EM IIA... a standard arena for the negotiation and creation of social position, obligation, and power in many societies.’ (Manning 2008: 107).

⁷ At Knossos and Malia ‘palatial’ buildings were in fact thought to originate in EM III-MM IA, being formalized in MM IB (Manning 2008:111).

⁸ Most of the fresco finds included from Hagia Triada are listed as being excavated from Villa A (particularly room 14), from the Tomb (the sarcophagus), or between the Tomb and the Villa.

⁹ MM IIIA–LM IB/LH IIA.

¹⁰ LM II/LH IIB–LM IIIA2/LH IIIA2.

¹¹ LM IIIB/LH IIIB.



Figure 1.1. Map showing areas in Bronze Age Aegean. Krzyszkowska 2005: ix (with additions).

a hundred bodily positions and nuances examined. Attention was then given to those that reflected gestures and proxemics (body spacing and posture) considered in the theoretical framework as being particularly pertinent. Other patterns which it was thought worth examining emerged from the pictorial content of the artefacts themselves. In this sense the analysis here has been led sometimes by the theory, and sometimes by the practical content of the images, and how these might appear meaningful in light of the theory. The outcomes of this study have fallen broadly into the following groups: gender distinct activities; the ways in which bodies occupy space; how figures orientate towards (or away from) each other; what significance seated figures may have; and what might the gestures and position in processions reveal. Chapter Ten considers conclusions that may be drawn from this analysis.

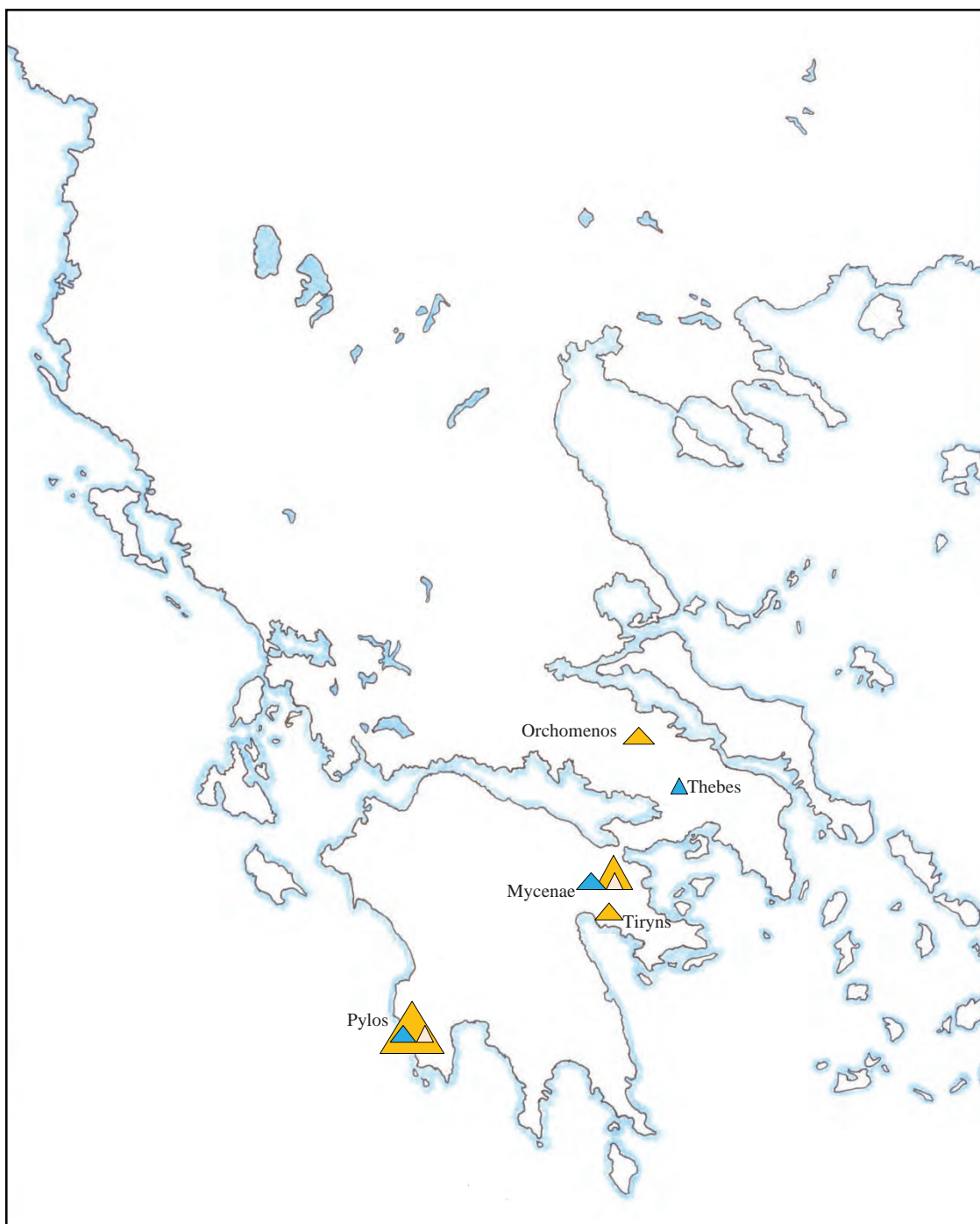
Identifying Images in the Text

The common names which are in general use for a number of the images considered in this book are used with caution, in order to minimise preconceptions about the

pictorial content, the gender of the figure[s], or the nature of the activity being depicted. Alongside the images, and in the tables and appendices, each artefact has been assigned a catalogue number. The same number is used for the artefact throughout. For the frescoes, most of the numbers identifying images are drawn from Immerwahr (1990: 170–204); her fairly comprehensive catalogue has frequently been used and referred to by subsequent researchers. Sub-divisions to her numbers have been added where it was felt useful to analysis. Additional discrete numbered units mark further published fresco sections found at Pylos, adopting pictorial divisions listed by Lang (1969). Not all the painted works examined are wall paintings, hence the use of the generic term ‘fresco’, although strictly speaking not all of them used the traditional ‘fresco’ technique, judging by the deterioration that has occurred to some of the surfaces.¹² Some were painted on a sarcophagus from Hagia Triada on Crete.¹³

¹² E.g. see Morgan’s comments on Ph.no.3 (Figure 4.19 Morgan 2007: 383–4).

¹³ AT.no. 2a, 2b, 2c and 2d (Figures 2.14, 5.20 and 9.6 [details]. All sides at Plate F VI a, b, c, and d in Part II).







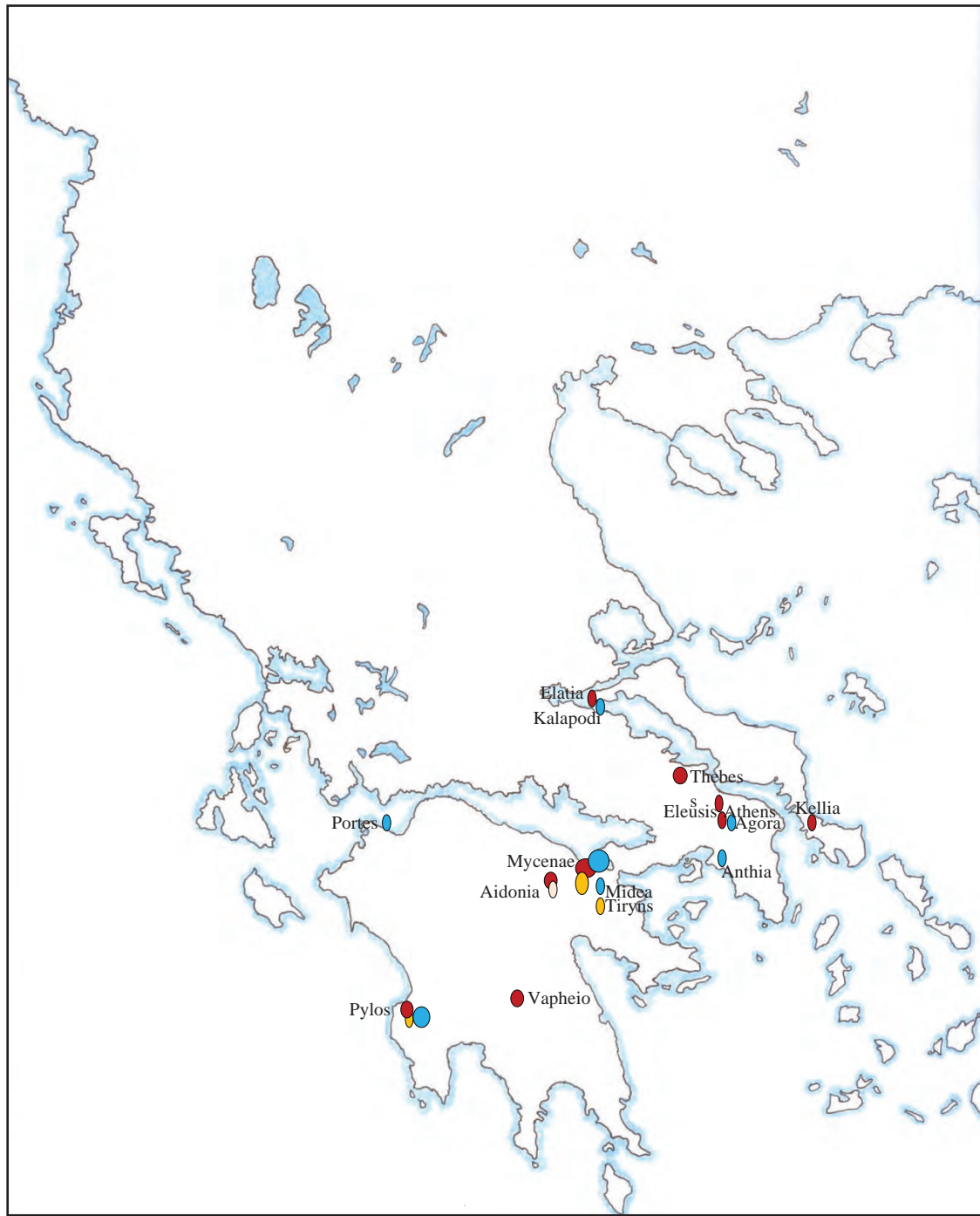
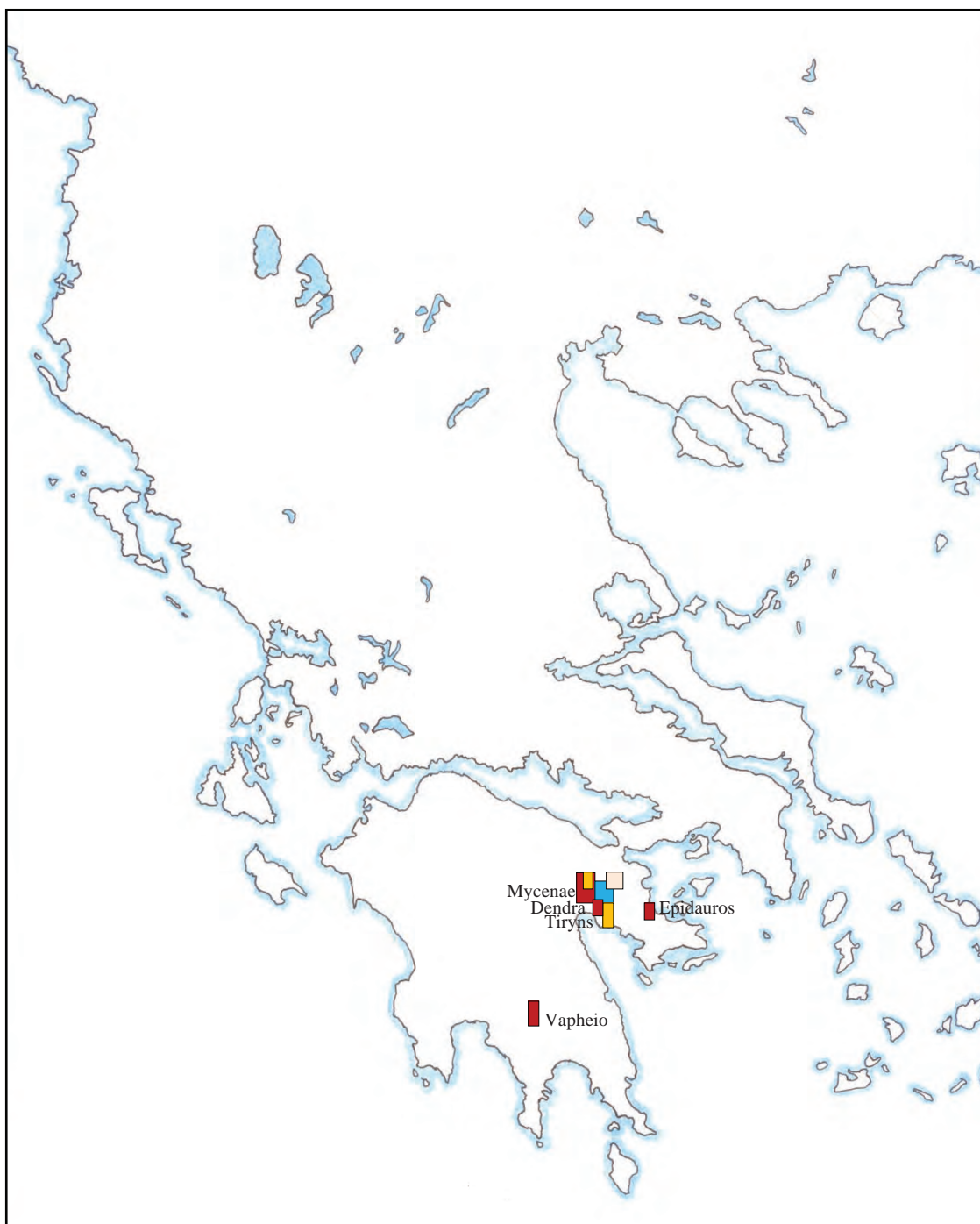
-  = 2nd PP Frescoes
-  = Early 3rd PP Frescoes
-  = Late 3rd PP Frescoes
-  = Uncertain dates, Frescoes

Figure 1.1ai. Find sites of frescoes in Bronze Age mainland Greece.



- = 2nd PP Glyptics
- = Early 3rd PP Glyptics
- = Late 3rd PP Glyptics
- = Uncertain dates, Glyptics

Figure 1.1aii. Find sites of multi-gender glyptics in Bronze Age mainland Greece.



- = 2nd PP Miscellaneous 3D Artefacts
- = Early 3rd PP Miscellaneous 3D Artefacts
- = Late 3rd PP Miscellaneous 3D Artefacts
- = Uncertain dates, Miscellaneous 3D Artefacts

Figure 1.1aiii. Find sites of miscellaneous three-dimensional artefacts in Bronze Age mainland Greece.

Gender Roles and Relations Interpreted from Aegean Bronze Age Art

- ▲ = 2nd PP Frescoes
- ▲ = Early 3rd PP Frescoes
- ▲ = Late 3rd PP Frescoes

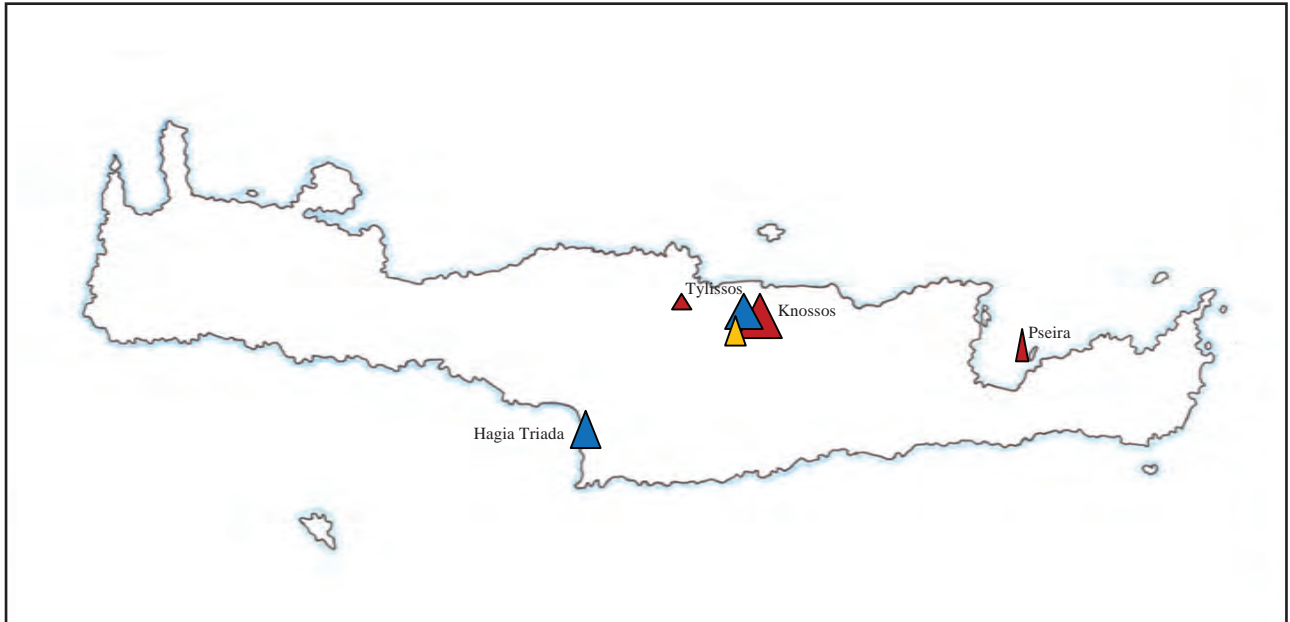


Figure 1.1bi. Find sites of frescoes in Bronze Age Crete.

- = 1st PP glyptics
- = 2nd PP glyptics
- = Early 3rd PP glyptics
- = Late 3rd PP glyptics
- = unknown period

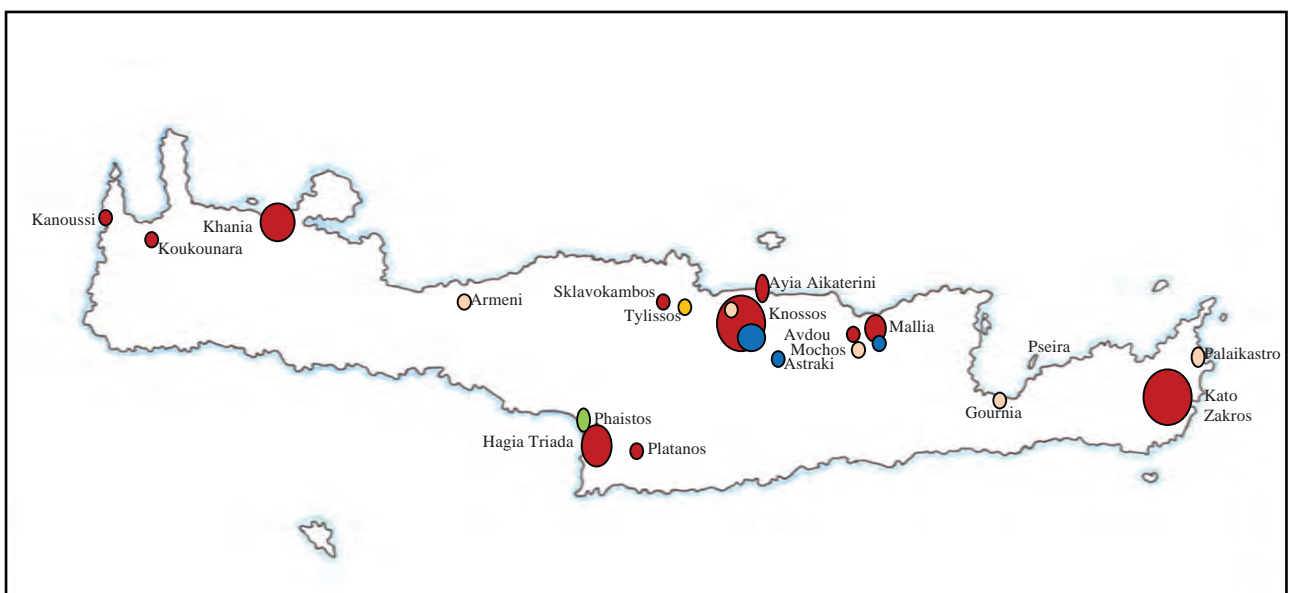


Figure 1.1bii. Find sites of multi-figured glyptics in Bronze Age Crete.

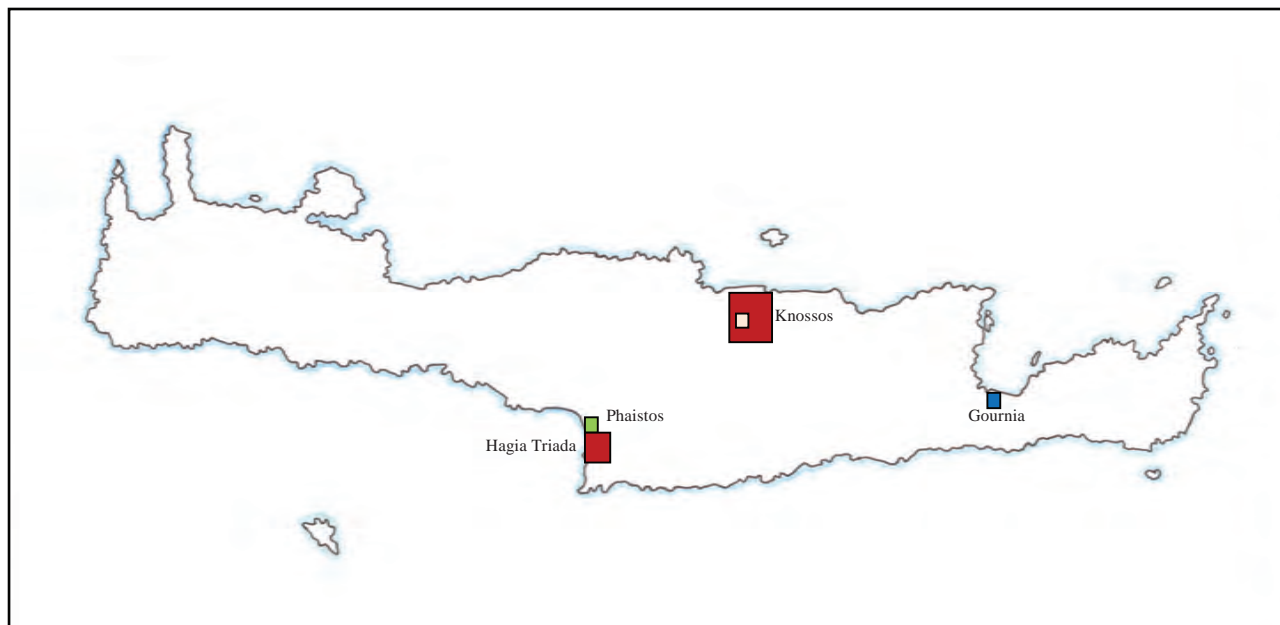
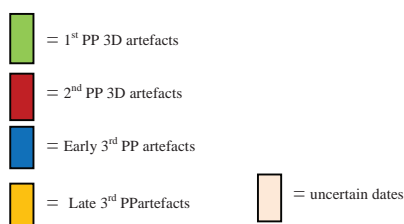


Figure 1.1biii. Find sites of three-dimensional artefacts in Bronze Age Crete.

The catalogue identifiers used for the frescoes in Plates F I to F XXIII in Part II are arranged in alphabetical order according to the name of the region from which they originate. They are listed in **Table 1.1** at the end of this chapter. **Table 1.2** shows the CMS¹⁴ numbers allocated to the glyptics and the plates in which they appear, and **Tables 1.3** and **Table 1.4** the museum numbers for miscellaneous objects and seated figures.

Full information about each item in the samples is provided in Part II in **Appendix I** for the frescoes, **Appendix II** for the glyptics, and **Appendix III** for miscellaneous three-dimensional objects. These indicate the artefacts' provenances, and the periods when it was thought they were produced and primarily viewed. Sometimes an artefact was recovered from an archaeological context, e.g. burial, which does not coincide with its stylistic period. Where this is known to have occurred, reference is made to the distinction in the text or footnotes. The number of males, females, or indeterminate figures apparent on the image, and a brief description of the picture contents are also included in the Appendices.

¹⁴ A common abbreviation taken from the title of a series of volumes in which these artefacts have been catalogued, namely: *Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel*, volumes begun by Matz, F. and Biesantz, H. in 1964, and still in progress.

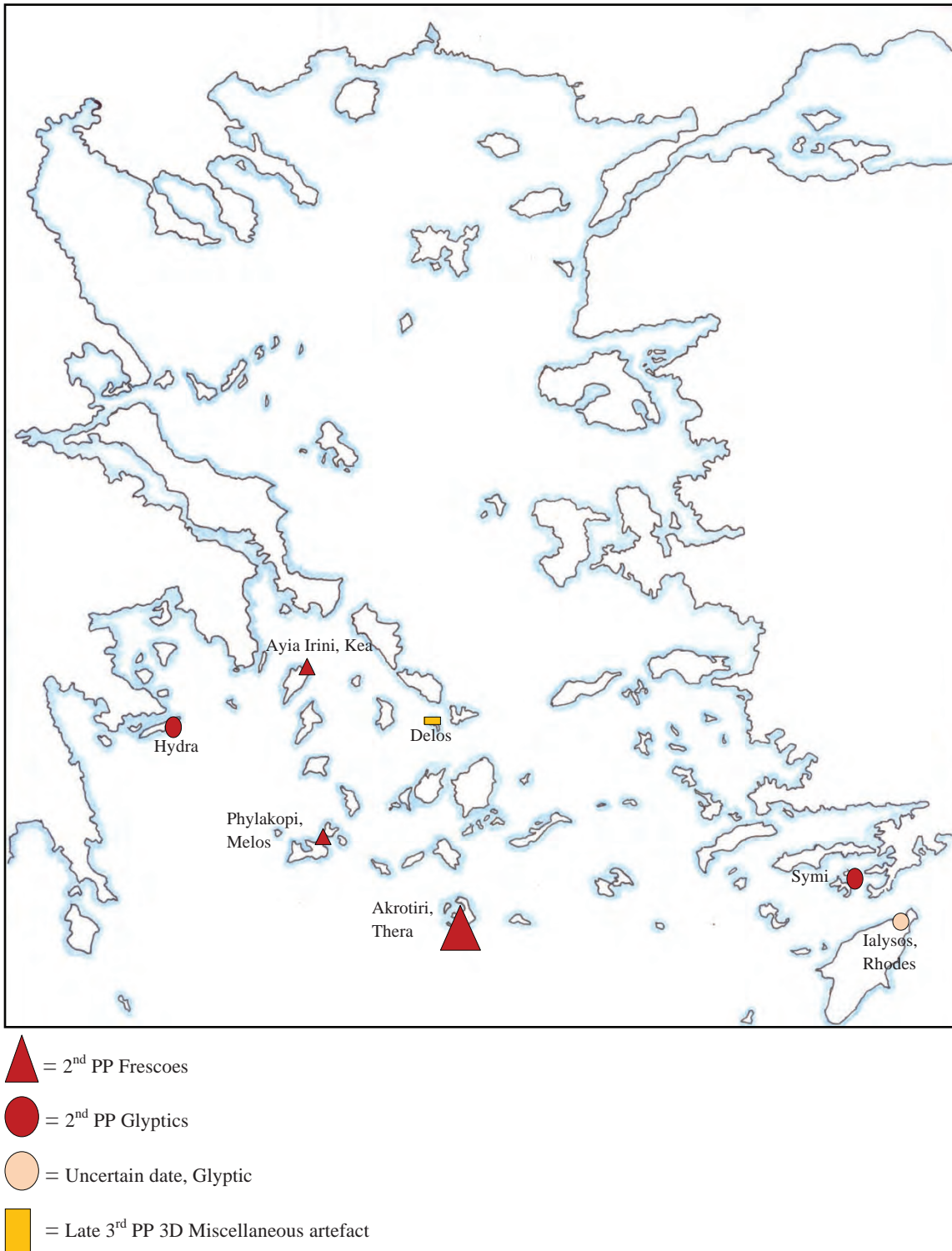


Figure 1.1c. Find sites of frescoes, multi-figure glyptics, and miscellaneous three-dimensional artefacts on small islands in the Bronze Age Aegean.

Table 1.1. Frescoes

Plate	Place	Catalogue Number
Plate F I	Ayia Irini	AI. no. 4a, 4b.
Plate F II	Akrotiri (1)	Ak. no. 4, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 6c.
Plate F III	Akrotiri (2)	Ak. no. 6d, 7, 8, 11a, 11b.
Plate F IV	Akrotiri (3)	Ak. no. 12a, Additional fragments 10a, 10b, 10c.
Plate F V	Akrotiri (4)	Ak. no.12b.
Plate F VI	Ayia Triada (1)	AT. no. 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d.
Plate F VII	Ayia Triada (2)	AT. no. 1a, 1b, 3, 4, 5.
Plate F VIII	Knossos (1)	Kn. no.7, 8a, 8d, 9, 10a, 11, 12.
Plate F IX	Knossos (2)	Kn. no. 15, 16, 17a, 17b, 17e.
Plate F X	Knossos (3)	Kn. no. 18a, 19, 22.
Plate F XI	Knossos (4)	Kn. no. 23a, 23b, 23c, 23d, 24.
Plate F XII	Knossos (5)	Kn. no. 25a, 25b, 26, 27.
Plate F XIII	Mycenae (1)	My. no. 1a, 1b, 3, 4, 5, 6.
Plate F XIV	Mycenae (2)	My. no. 7, 9, 10, 11a, 11b, 12, 21, Additional fragment no.2.
Plate F XV	Orchomenos	Or. no. 1, 2, 3, Additional fragments no. 1, 2.
Plate F XVI	Phylakopi, Pseira	Ph. no. 2, 3, Ps. no. 1a, 1b.
Plate F XVII	Pylos (1)	Py. no. 1, 4a, 4b, 6, 7.
Plate F XVIII	Pylos (2)	Py. no. 8a, 8b, 8c, 9a, 9b, 10a.
Plate F XIX	Pylos (3)	Py. no.10b, 10c, 10d, 10e, 10f, 10g.
Plate F XX	Pylos (4)	Py. no. 11a, 11b, 11c, 11d, 11e, 11f.
Plate F XXI	Pylos (5)	Py. no. 12, 13a, 13b, 14a, 14b, 30, 31.
Plate F XXII	Tiryns	Ti. no. 1, 2a, 4a, 6ai, 6aii, 6b.
Plate F XXIII	Thebes, Tylissos	Th. no. 1, Ty. no.1a,1b.

Table 1.2. Glyptics

The Glyptics are identified by their CMS number where this has been recorded, otherwise by their museum number. They are listed with these in the Plates and in Appendix II in the order of the CMS volume in which they appear.

Plate	Site	Catalogue number
CMS I (a)	mainland Greece (1)	CMS I no.11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 86, 101, 108, 126, 127, 131, 132.
CMS I (b)	mainland Greece (2)	CMS I no.159, 162, 170, 173, 180, 191, 219, 220, 229, 224, 263.
CMS I (c)	mainland Greece (3)	CMS I no. 280, 292, 306, 307, 313, 321, 324, 340, 361, 374, 514.
CMS II (a)	Crete (1)	CMS II 1 no. 306, CMS II 2 no. 206, 287, CMS II 3 no. 17, 32, 51, 52, 56, 103, 114, 128, 145, 146.
CMS II (b)	Crete (2)	CMS II 3 no. 169, 199, 218, 236, 282, 305, CMS II 4 no. 22, 121, 136, CMS II 5 no.323, 324, CMS II 6 no.1.
CMS II (c)	Crete (3)	CMS II 6 no. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17.
CMS II (d)	Crete (4)	CMS II 6 no. 261, CMS II 7 no. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.
CMS II (e)	Crete (5)	CMS II 7 no. 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 33, CMS II 8 no.221, 256, 266, 268, 269, 275, 276, 277.
CMS III & V	mainland Greece, Crete, Rhodes	CMS III no.511, CMS V no. 173, 184, 197, 199, 244, 422, 643, 657.
CMS V Supplements 1A & 1B (a)	Crete & mainland Greece	CMS V Suppl.1A no.58, 133, 137, 177, 178,179,180, 294, CMS V Suppl.1B no. 48, 82, 83, 113.

(Continued)

Table 1.2. Glyptics (Continued).

Plate	Site	Catalogue number
CMS V Supplements 1B (b), 2 & 3	Crete & mainland Greece	CMS V Suppl.1B no.114, 115, 135, 137, 194, 332 CMS V Suppl.2 no.106, CMS V Suppl.3 no. 68, 80, 243, 288.
CMS VI	Crete (6)	CMS VI no. 184, 281, 286, 285, 291, 278, 283, 321, 280, HM 989, The Runner's Ring.
CMS VII, IX, X & XI (a)	Crete, Hydra, mainland Greece, unknown provenance	CMS VII no. 95, 109, 129, 130, CMS IX no.7D, 115, 158, 164, CMS X no.261, CMS XI no.28, 29
CMS XI (b) XII & XII	Crete, mainland Greece, unknown provenance	CMS XI no. 30, 33, 34, 165, 238, 272, 282, CMS XII no.168, 292.

Table 1.3. Miscellaneous objects.

The three-dimensional artefacts are a carefully selected miscellaneous group, excluding figurines. They have been organised according to material and assigned museum numbers where these are known.

Plate	Material	Reference number
M I	Bronze, gold, marble, faience	NAM no. 394, 1758, 1759, 7511.
M II	Ivory	NAM no. 5897, 2899, 2900.
M III	Pottery, ceramic	Nafplion Museum no. 13202, 11638, HM 2841.
M IV	Serpentine (1)	HM no.342, 498, 676, 426, 2397, 255, AE 1247.
M V	Serpentine (2)	AE 1938. 698, HM no.2329, 257, 184, 256.
M VI	Silver, steatite, stone, wood	NAM no.481, 1428, 1429. HM 341.

Table 1.4. Seated figures.

Two additional plates relate to seated figures alone. These are drawn from outside the primary samples because the kinds of seating are central to the analysis. This group includes some figurines and single-figure glyptics. Identified from Younger's catalogue of seated figures (1995), these artefacts are referred to in more detail in Chapter Eight:

Plate	Object	Museum no.
SF I	Glyptics (a)	CMS I no. 128, 167, 179, CMS I Suppl.no.114, CMS II 3 no. 168, 252, CMS II 6 no. 30, 33, CMS V no. 253, 584, CMS V Suppl. 1A no.175, CMS V Suppl.1B no.195, CMS XII no.94c, CMS VI no. 33, 34, 36, 44a, 044b, 45. HMs 661,
SF II	Figurines, ceramics	NAM 12224, 7711, 142; HAM II 15074, II 18505, II 3039; Verlinden 1984: Plate 73, no. 178.