



## EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE AND AEGEAN TRANSFORMATION AT AKROTIRI, THERA: THE JUG NO. 8960 WITH A LIBATION SCENE

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### ABSTRACT

*In the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. Aegean and Egyptian relations are well attested by a variety of artifacts. In this article, the depiction of an emblematic falcon together with a libation scene combining principal Aegean cult elements on a jug from Akrotiri, Thera, is explored as probable corroborating evidence for sun worship in the Aegean, analogous but not identical to its Egyptian counterpart.*

### THE JUG NO 8960

In a paper entitled “Minoan Horns of Consecration Revisited: A Symbol of Sun Worship in Palatial and Post-palatial Crete?”, I have explored the possibility of Minoan horns of consecration representing both a practical device of time measurement and an abstract symbol related to the sun and embracing many aspects of Minoan cult as inferred by the relevant iconography; this hypothesis was mainly based on analogies with the Egyptian symbols for the ‘mountain’ and the ‘horizon’ and points to the possibility of specific Egyptian religious influence in the Aegean already in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The jug No 8960 from Akrotiri, Thera is examined here as probable corroborating evidence for this Egyptian influence in the Aegean. It was brought to light during excavations in the foundation shafts for the supporting pillars of the new shelter of the Theran settlement; along with some other vessels and sherds found on the same occasion and depicting pictorial scenes, it stands out as an impressive example of the creativeness and individuality of Theran potters in the MClate period,<sup>2</sup> before they turned to wall painting in Late Cycladic I.<sup>3</sup> More than anything else, these vessels show that towards the end of the Middle Cycladic period, Akrotiri was prepared to accept and absorb influences coming from areas far beyond Minoan Crete.<sup>4</sup>

The jug No 8960 has a tubular spout and it is 0.361 m. high. A wavy line encircles the base of the vase. A series of dots encircles its neck. A rock pattern in outline decorates the rim. On one side of the body of the vessel is depicted a bird standing on its tail, with its feathers extended, holding a smaller bird in its talons. Judging by the similarity of the two birds, visible both in the treatment of the head and the feathers, and their relative size, the smaller bird

must be a nestling (Figure 1).<sup>5</sup> On the other side of the vase are shown two men, facing each other. Their exactly similar appearance is illustrated by their loincloth and their headdress, consisting of curls ending in spirals. One of the two men holds a beak-spouted nipped ewer in front of his chest. The other one stretches a straight-sided cup towards the ewer; the two men are presumably performing a libation. Between them is depicted a branch with a wavy stem and pointed leaves, growing out from the crossing legs of the two men. Below their feet, and above the wavy line encircling the base of the vase, is depicted a solid rock pattern motif, probably indicating the landscape where the libation act is performed (Figure 2). The scenes of the two sides are separated with branches. Above these branches and around the two scenes are depicted rosettes, in the form of large red circles with smaller black dots around them (Figure 3).

### THE BIRD SPECIES DEPICTED ON THE JUG

The vase has been described in detail by Papagiannopoulou;<sup>6</sup> focusing on the scene with the two men, she interpreted the bird as a possible “animation of a divinity with upraised arms, like the well-known Minoan figurines”<sup>7</sup> or as a divine epiphany related to sun-cult, in comparison with the well-known silver diadem of Early Cycladic II date from Chalandriani on Syros.<sup>8</sup> In a later paper, she discussed the possibility of the bird representing a falcon deity related to fertility, as demonstrated by the nestling, but also to the sun, and possibly also associated with the local mythology, without going into details.<sup>9</sup> Boulotis, who also discussed the scene, spoke of a hybrid creature in form of a falcon or eagle, a “daemon” representing a deity of nature, and brought it in connection with the popular Cycladic breasted ewers on which bird and female



Figure 1: The bird scene on jug 8960, Akrotiri, Thera (after: Papagiannopoulou 2008, 441, Figure 40.15)

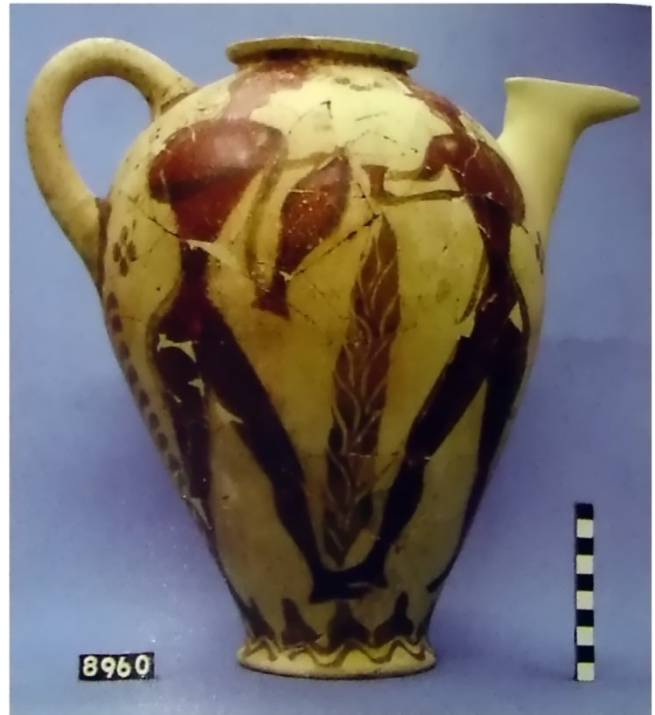


Figure 2: The libation scene on jug 8960, Akrotiri, Thera (after: Papagiannopoulou 2008, 441, Figure 40.14)

features are combined.<sup>10</sup> Dumas and Vlachopoulos referred to the bird as an eagle, without further discussing its species.<sup>11</sup>

In a recent article by Porter, however, an attempt was made to closely identify falcon representations in Egyptian art, based on a detailed analysis of real falcon traits.<sup>12</sup> Porter further identified a category of birds occurring in a series of Middle Cycladic “Bichrome” pots, to which the jug from Akrotiri belongs, also as falcons.<sup>13</sup>

He states that the basic facial features of Egyptian falcon representations indispensably and consistently depicted from the Late Dynasty I period to the Ptolemaic period are the rear black facial hook strongly contrasting the whitish rendering of the cheek, throat and neck, the hooked beak with the tomial tooth clearly shown, and the large round black eyes. Other traits of the falcon face regularly represented include the malar stripe and the fleshy cere holding the nostril. As far as the body is concerned, Egyptian artists very frequently depicted the thighs of the bird with their cover of rectangular feathers and its strong claws; they also paid close attention in depicting its rich and variegated feathers.<sup>14</sup>

Turning to the bird representation of the Theran jug, notwithstanding its schematic representation compared to Egyptian ones, it becomes clear, I believe, that all the aforementioned main facial traits of falcon depictions as known from Egyptian art are here present: the large eye with the black round iris which dominates the face, the sharply hooked beak, the lower and the upper mandibles ending at the tomial tooth depicted as a short extension painted against the beak; even the rear black facial hook backed by the nape and the crown, shown as

a continuous stripe of solid black color surrounding the face, is present. Furthermore, the thighs of the bird are stressed through their solid black color, since the feathers of this part of the body are not shown in detail, and its tail is depicted long and narrow. The strong left talons of the bird are shown extended on the back of the nestling. As far as the feathers are concerned, their length and pointed shape are also clearly depicted; and the layering of the underwings is discernible in the alteration of longer and shorter stripes ending in rounded tips.<sup>15</sup> Summing up, the bird on the Theran jug may be identified as a falcon.

#### THE BIRD AND THE SUN

In the second of his two aforementioned papers, after summarizing the relative evidence of Horus falcon influence on a variety of Aegean artifacts with cultic significance, such as the well-known signet ring from the Tiryns Treasure and the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, Porter turns to a well-known category of “Black and Red” (or “Bichrome”) pottery from Melos depicting prey birds, which he identifies as falcons, according to his detailed analysis of real falcon traits referred to above.<sup>16</sup> He continues by rightly emphasizing the most prominent iconographic element of these representations, namely the big red discs making up those birds’ bodies, thus contrasting with the careful rendering of their head features – and places them in connection with the red solar disc of Egyptian religion.<sup>17</sup> He also points to a series of such jugs found in the Temple Repositories at Knossos, on which the falcons are accompanied by small red circles arching over them, indicating the



Figure 3: Drawing of the whole scene on jug 8960, Akrotiri, Thera (after: Papagiannopoulou 2008, 442, Figure 40.20)

sun movement in the sky.<sup>18</sup> Following his argument, falcon and sun may be considered as identical concepts.

Turning to the Theran jug, its iconographic connection with the aforementioned series of jugs becomes stronger if one considers the two big dot rosettes, with their interiors painted dusk red, flanking the bird.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the fact that the scenes on both sides of the Theran jug, apart from some details painted black, are rendered in the same duck red color, may be of special significance in this respect. Thus, a similar connection of the Theran falcon with the sun may also be assumed.

#### THE BIRD AND THE LIBATION SCENE

The size and the posture of the bird on the jug from Akrotiri clearly demonstrate its emblematic appearance, as rightly emphasized by Papagiannopoulou.<sup>20</sup> This means that we are dealing with a symbolic representation, i.e. a divine symbol; not necessarily, however, with a deity epiphany, as is commonly stated for bird representations on Aegean cultic scenes.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, the structural and iconographic connection of the two scenes depicted on the Theran vase is exemplified by the equal size of the main figures, bird and men, dominating the body of the vessel, and the spiral motifs framing the two scenes, as well as the simplistic manner in which the main figures are rendered; this connection apparently envisages a content relation of the two scenes too, emanating from their correlative meaning within a common cognitive framework. In other words, the falcon as a divine symbol was perceived as cognitively connected to the libation scene.

The heraldic syntax of the libation scene, with the two men flanking the branch, is well attested in the Aegean iconography,

from the monumental representation on the relief triangle of the Lion Gate at Mycenae to the numerous scenes and compositions carved on seals. Interestingly, on some of the latter depicting branches such as the one represented on the Theran jug, these are flanked by leonine demons holding jugs to water them, presumably performing a libation (Figure 4).<sup>22</sup> More often, the branches are depicted springing out of horns of consecration,<sup>23</sup> sometimes placed on an altar.<sup>24</sup> This association may also take the form of foliated horns of consecration, and so are emphasized.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the connection of these two elements with the act of libation is established through their frequent depiction beside a jug or a kantharos, through the replacement of the branch (or branches) by a jug or a kantharos,<sup>26</sup> or even through the combination of all three elements.<sup>27</sup> It is reasonable to assume therefore that such a crossing relationship of elements would allow for the projection of the meaning of one image to the other, even when not all elements were present. To return to the Theran jug, this would mean that the falcon on the one side of the vessel could be easily conceptually associated not only with the branches or the libation jugs but also with the horns of consecration, although the latter are not depicted.<sup>28</sup>

But are these really absent? Moving along the same lines of argumentation, it is noteworthy that the soles of the two men performing the libation are depicted crossed, with their legs forming a V-shape, recalling the scheme of the horns of consecration flanking a branch, as seen on many representations, several of which are mentioned above. If so, then the falcon on the one side of the jug was also conceptually associated with the horns of consecration.

CONCLUSION

Putting together the arguments presented above, the idea underlying the proposed association of the falcon with the horns of consecration would be that of sun worship; this idea would be also supported by the marked presence of the rosettes flanking the bird and the rock pattern depicted just under the two men's legs, recalling the mountainous landscape to which the horns of consecration are symbolically but also actually connected.<sup>29</sup>

Given that in Egypt in the 2nd millennium B.C. the sun was worshipped in the form of the falcon god Horus, considered the principal falcon god of the Egyptian pantheon and one of the most prominent deities altogether,<sup>30</sup> it is reasonable to assume that this Egyptian association reached the Aegean at a time when contacts between the two regions are widely attested.<sup>31</sup> Such an influence does not imply, however, that the religious concepts or the cult associated with sun worship between the two regions were identical.<sup>32</sup> On the Thera jug emphasis is put on the engendering or regenerating power of the sun in nature as exemplified by the nestling and the growing branches.<sup>33</sup> One would therefore speak of the free adaptation of an Egyptian idea by the people of Akrotiri, incorporated in their own religious vocabulary, and favored by the cosmopolitan environment of their island in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C.

NOTES

- 1 Emilia Banou, "Minoan 'Horns of Consecration' Revisited: A Symbol of Sun Worship in Palatial and Post-Palatial Crete?", *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 8 (1) (2008), 27-47, where the working hypothesis of the relevant comparison is discussed in detail. The inter-Aegean point of view adopted in this paper was much inspired by the work of Nanno Marinatos who keeps broadening our perspective of Aegean prehistory by steadily denoting its multifaceted religious connotations. As she plainly puts it, "For the meaning we have to look outside the "system". All 'languages', whether visual or semantic, need a grid to be deciphered: no system is decipherable by reference to itself alone", see Nanno Marinatos, "Rosette and Palm on the Bull Frieze from Tell El-Dab'A and the Minoan Solar Goddess of Kingship, in M. Bietak, N. Marinatos and Cl. Palivou, *Taureador Scenes in Tell El Daba (Avaris) and Knossos* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2007), 147.
- 2 The jug is dated to Phase C of the MC stratigraphical layers, corresponding to MMII-III A, according to Minoan imported pottery, see Irene Nikolakopoulou, Fragoula Georma, Angeliki Moschou & Photini Sofianou, "Trapped in the Middle: New Stratigraphic and Ceramic Evidence from Middle Cycladic Akrotiri, Thera", in Neil Brodie, Jenny Doole, Giorgos Gavalas & Colin Renfrew (eds), *Horizon. A Colloquium on the*

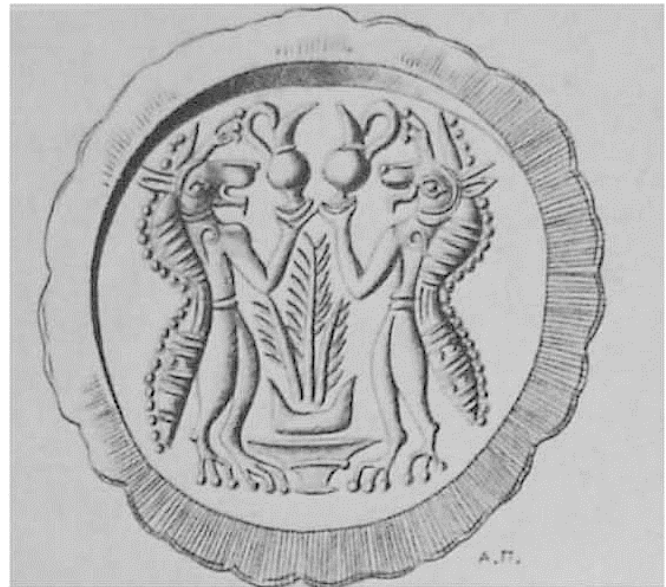


Figure 4: Drawing of a seal from the tholos tomb of Vapheio, Laconia, depicting leonine deities flanking an altar and watering a three-branch plant springing out of horns of consecration placed on an altar. On this scene all elements of the heralding syntax of the libation scene discussed in the paper are present (after: Sakellariou 1988, 264, No 231).

*Prehistory of the Cyclades* (Cambridge: Mac Donald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2008), 317, 319. For a selective adoption of Minoan ceramic influence in this phase see Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008, 322-323.

- 3 Angelia Papagiannopoulou, "From Pots to Pictures: Middle Cycladic Figurative Art from Akrotiri, Thera", in Neil Brodie, Jenny Doole, Giorgos Gavalas & Colin Renfrew (eds), *Horizon. A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades* (Cambridge: MacDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2008), 433-449, esp. 446; also Andreas G. Vlachopoulos, "From Vase Painting to Wall Painting: The Lillies Jug from Akrotiri", in R.B. Koehl (ed.), *Amilla. The Quest for Excellence. Studies Presented to Günther Kopcke for Celebration of His 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (Philadelphia: Instap Academic Press, 2013), 68-69.
- 4 Papagiannopoulou 2008, 446; Nikolakopoulou et al. 2008, 323; Katerina Bichta, "Luxuria ex Oriente: Ένα προϊστορικό ταξίδι από τη Θήρα στην Ανατολή" ["Luxuria ex Oriente: A Prehistoric Journey from Thera to the Orient"], in A. Vlachopoulos & K. Birtacha (eds), *Argonautes. Studies Presented to Professor Christos Doumas by his Students at the University of Athens (1986-2000)*], Athens 2003, 542-553.
- 5 Although carrying of nestlings is not a common behavior of raptors, female peregrine falcons have been observed returning their nestlings back to the nest after falling or carrying them from one side of the nest to the other, see Lino Cassini and Federico Morelli, "A

- Peregrine Falcon in Flight Retrieves Nestling Falling from a Cliff”, *Journal of Raptor Research* 42(3), 2008, 225.
- <sup>6</sup> Papagiannopoulou 2008, 441- 444.
- <sup>7</sup> Papagiannopoulou 2008, 443.
- <sup>8</sup> Papagiannopoulou 2008, 444.
- <sup>9</sup> Angelia Papagiannopoulou, “Η πτηνόμορφη θεότητα του Ακρωτηρίου και οι ανατολικές της συγγένειες” [“The Bird Deity of Akrotiri and its Eastern Affinities”], in C. Doumas (ed.), *Ακρωτήρι Θήρας 1967-2007. Σαράντα χρόνια έρευνας. Επιστημονική Διημερίδα, Αθήνα 15-16 Δεκεμβρίου 2007* [Akrotiri, Thera 1967-2007. Forty Years of Research. A Scientific Two-Day Conference, Athens 15-16 December 2007] (forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr Angelia Papagiannopoulou who kindly allowed me to consult her unpublished paper.
- <sup>10</sup> Christos Boulotis, «Πτυχές θρησκευτικής έκφρασης στο Ακρωτήρι» [«Aspects of Religious Expression at Akrotiri”], *ΑΙΣ* 3 (2005), 58-59, 63, 74.
- <sup>11</sup> Christos Doumas, *Η πρόωμη ιστορία του Αιγαίου υπό το φως των πρόσφατων ευρημάτων από το Ακρωτήρι Θήρας* [The Early History of the Aegean under the Light of Recent Discoveries from Akrotiri, Thera], Athens: Society for the Support of Studies on Prehistoric Thera – Society for the Study and Diffusion of Greek, 2008, 30; Andreas G. Vlachopoulos. “Mythos, Logos and Eikon. Motifs of Early Greek Poetry in the Wall Paintings of Xeste 3 at Akrotiri, Thera”, in S. P. Morris and R. Laffineur (eds), *EPOS. Reconsidering Greek Epic and Aegean Bronze Age Archaeology. Proceedings of the 11<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference, Los Angeles, UCLA – The J. Paul Getty Villa, 20-23 April 2006* [Aegaeum 28], Liège 2007, 116-117, where the identification of the bird as an eagle is further implied by the association of the whole representation with the later Greek myth of Ganymede, the wine bearer of the Olympian gods, abducted by Zeus, in the form of an eagle. In general, however, no emphasis has been put on the identification of the species of the depicted bird. This may reflect a general reluctance of identifying bird species, beyond simply determining the general category, i.e. prey birds, in which the birds belong, maybe because most representations of birds are not detailed enough to allow for such an identification, and it may go back to M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Lund: C.W. K. Gleerup, 1950), 336-340, where the impossibility of such an identification is discussed at length; see also Jukka-Pekka Ruuskanen, *Birds on Aegean Bronze Age Seals. A Study of Representation* (Oulu: Pohjois-Suomen Historiallinen Yhdistys, 1992); Hara Tzavella-Evjén, *Τα πτερωτά όντα της προϊστορικής εποχής του Αιγαίου* [Winged creatures in Aegean Prehistory] (Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens 1970), 122.
- <sup>12</sup> Ray Porter, “Insights into Egyptian Horus Falcon Imagery by Way of Real Falcons and Horus falcon Influence in the Aegean in the Middle Bronze Age: Part I”, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3 (3) (2011), 27-38.
- <sup>13</sup> Ray Porter, “Insights into Egyptian Horus Falcon Imagery by Way of Real Falcons and Horus falcon Influence in the Aegean in the Middle Bronze Age: Part II”, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3 (3) (2011), 39-52.
- <sup>14</sup> Porter 2011, 28-29, 34-35.
- <sup>15</sup> All these traits also differentiate falcons from eagles.
- <sup>16</sup> Porter 2011, 42. To the examples discussed by Porter the well-known steatite rhyton from the palace of Zakros with the representation of a peak sanctuary may be added. The birds roosting or landing on the horns of conecration crowning the side chambers of the tripartite shrine depicted have been identified as falcons by the excavator, see Νικόλαος Πλάτων, *Ζάκρος. Το νέο μινωϊκό ανάκτορον* (Athens: Archaeological Society of Athens 1974), 154. I thank the anonymous referee for further pointing to the association of probable falcons with the mountainous landscape and the leafy branch deposited at an altar before the steps leading to the tripartite shrine on the Zakros rhyton, bringing together elements which also appear on the jug No 8960 from Akrotiri.
- <sup>17</sup> Porter 2011, 45.
- <sup>18</sup> Porter 2011, 46-47.
- <sup>19</sup> The motif of the rosette is closely associated with the sun in the art of the Near East, see Marinatos 2007, 145-146.
- <sup>20</sup> Papagiannopoulou 2008, 443.
- <sup>21</sup> Arthur J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos. Volume I: The Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages*, (London: McMillan and Co) 221; Nilsson 1950, 330-340; Friedrich Matz, “Göttererscheinung und Kultbild im minoischen Kreta”, *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 7* (1958) (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur), 17; Arne Furumark, “Gods of Ancient Crete”, *Opuscula Atheniensia* VI (1965), 92; Platon 1974, 154; W. D. Niemeier, “Zur Ikonographie von Gottheiten und Adoranten in den Kultszenen auf minoischen und mykenischen Siegeln” in Ingo Pini (ed.), *Fragen und Probleme der bronzzeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik. Beiträge zum 3. Internationalen Marburger Siegel-Symposium, 5-7 September 1985*, [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 3] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1989) 163-186, esp. 175. For the bird indicating divine presence see R. Hägg, “Die göttliche Epiphanie im minoischen Ritual”, *Athenische Mitteilungen* 101 (1986), 42. The generic characterization of the bird as a divine symbol proposed in the present paper is closer to the interpretation of the bird as a divine messenger, see Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Religion. Ritual, Image, and Symbol* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press 1993) 139, or as a being with its own sacral character, see Marinatos 1993, 155, probably because it shares some common traits with the deity, see Bernard C. Dietrich, “Theology and

- Theophany in Homer and Minoan Crete”, *Kernos* 7 (1994), 69; Porter 2011, 32.
- <sup>22</sup> See, for example, I. Pini, *Kleinere Europäische Sammlungen* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel XI] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1988), 309, No 295; A. Sakellariou, *Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel I] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1988), 264, No 231, from the tholos tomb of Vapheio, Laconia.
- <sup>23</sup> See, for example, Sakellariou 1964, 104, No 88 from Mycenae and 493, No 465 from Crete; J.A. Sakellarakis, *Athen, Nationalmuseum* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel I Supplement] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1982), 78, 41, with a jug beside the horns; Pini 1988, 133, No 117 and 314, No 328, with two jugs beside the horns; J. A. Sakellarakis and V.E.G. Kenna, *Iraklion. Sammlung Metaxas* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel IV] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1969), 211, No 181, with a jug beside the horns; H. Hughes-Brock and J. Boardman, *Die englischen Museen I. Oxford, The Ashmolean Museum* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel VI] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 2009), 360, No 196, also with a jug beside foliated horns.
- <sup>24</sup> See, for example, the golden seal ring at the Benaki Museum, in I. Pini, *Kleinere griechische Sammlungen* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel IV] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1975-1976), 154, No 199, or the seal from the Idaean Cave, in N. Platon and I. Pini, *Iraklion Archäologisches Museum. Die Siegel der Neupalastzeit* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel II3] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1984), 8, No 7;
- <sup>25</sup> See, for example, Sakellarakis 1982, 128, No 127; Sakellarakis and Kenna 1969, 231, No 201; 409, No 44D; 410, 45D; Platon and Pini 1984, 367, No 31, with a jug between the foliated horns; H. and M. van Effenterre, *Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel IX] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1972), 116, No 92; W. Müller and I. Pini, *Iraklion Archäologisches Museum. Sammlung Giamalakis* [Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel III] (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 2007), 528, No 343, with a palm tree between the foliated horns.
- <sup>26</sup> See examples in endnotes 21 and 23.
- <sup>27</sup> Sakellarakis and Kenna 1969, 413, No 48D, showing a jug between horns of consecration together with a second jug, from the mouth of which a branch appears.
- <sup>28</sup> The use of parallels as a basic means of layering meaning in Minoan iconography is rightly emphasized by Janice L. Crowley, *The Iconography of Aegean Seals* [Aegaeum 34], (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 320, 373-375.
- <sup>29</sup> Banou 2008, 33-35 and 35-39 for the connection of the mountainous landscape with the sun.
- <sup>30</sup> Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), 200-203.
- <sup>31</sup> See, for example, E. H. Cline & D. Harris-Cline (eds), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium. Proceedings of the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati 18-20 April 1997* [Aegaeum 18], Université de Liège – University of Texas, 1998, esp. The first day; Helene J. Kantor; 5-122 with several contributions; *A. Karetsou (ed.), Κρήτη-Αίγυπτος. Πολιτισμικοί δεσμοί τριών χιλιετιών [Crete-Egypt. Cultural bonds of three millennia]* (Athens: Ministry of Culture), 2000, with several contributions.
- <sup>32</sup> See, for example, Nanno Marinatos, “Some Reflections on the Rhetoric of Aegean and Egyptian Art”, in Peter J. Holliday (ed), *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 87, who stresses that “... a culture borrows only that which fits its own cognitive or visual schemata”.
- <sup>33</sup> The scene as a whole brings to mind the bronze tablet from the cave of Psychro, Crete, with the whole nature in form of men, birds and fish celebrating the sun (and the noon) depicted among dominant horns of consecration. For a discussion of the scene and a drawing see Nanno Marinatos, *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess. A Near Eastern Koine* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 108.