

COMBATS BETWEEN HUMANS AND ANIMALS  
ON MYCENAEAN SEALS

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

- p. 7 line 10 N. read G. Chourmouziades.
- p. 17 Add note regarding NAM 378: Sakellariou says that the animal is a Babylonian dragon on the basis of its long knobbed tail (thus supporting her view that the sealing depicts a female with raised hands riding the animal as on NAM 167), Myk. Sph. p. 77. The bull on NAM 408 has a long tail but no knob.
- p. 31 note 31 Reichl read Reichel.
- p. 161 and Vol.2,p.22 The comparisons of NAM 89 with BN M6781 may possibly be disregarded on the grounds that the Paris gem is a forgery (as suggested by Biesantz, Minoische Bildnissgemmen).
- p. 209 note 54 Sakellariou, Myk Sph., p. 109.
- p. 215 note 130 p. 79 n. 5.
- p. 224 Sakellariou sees a dagger in the hand of the man on NAM 165 (Myk. Sph.).
- p. 267 line 14 freaco read fresco.
- p. 281 line 13 For actual read active.
- p. 323 line 3 Outdoor public shrine.
- p. 367 Art Bulletin, Vermeule June 1962, p. 168 ff.
- p. 371 La Parola del Passato, Levi for p. 70 read p. 80.
- Vol. 2 p. 11 lowest sketch(of syntax): animal's head is missing.
- |              |                       |                           |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Addition to  | Table 3c              | Table 3e                  |
|              | Rowe 509              | AR 1965-6,p.31            |
| date:        | 19th dyn.             | 13th c.                   |
| prov.:       | Megiddo               | Kition(Chrysopolitissa)   |
| man-body:    | standing,pt.Harm arms | standing,pt.Harm. arms    |
| weapn:       | spear                 | dagger                    |
| dress:       | kilt                  | kilt?                     |
| composition: | confronting           | chase(of bulls and goats) |



COMBATS BETWEEN HUMANS AND ANIMALS

on

MYCENAEAN SEALS

by

Joan Mensch

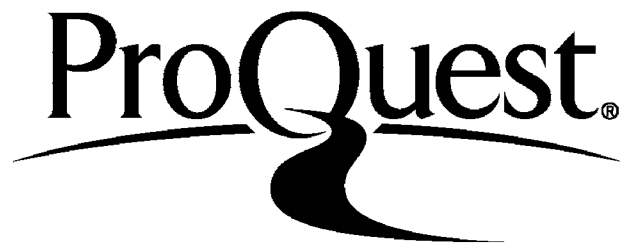
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## Synopsis

One class of representation on Mycenaean seals, the combats between humans and animals, is the subject of this thesis. It is hoped that the study of this uniform group of 42 seals may illustrate aesthetic and other criteria for dating seals as a whole as well as shed some light on the interactions between the Aegean and the Orient and Egypt through the type (form) and meaning (content) of elemental motifs employed.

After a definition of actual and possible combat scenes which shall be included in our survey, we proceed to distinguish Mycenaean from Cretan and modern gems and, on the basis of aesthetics, shape, dimensions, material and technique, to order the Helladic sealstones chronologically.

Such a chronological arrangement is prerequisite to an analysis of the elements of human and animal positions, weapon, landscape, dress, hair, miscellaneous objects and composition, as they appear in human-lion,

human-boar, human-non-bovine ruminant, human-bull and human-fantastic animal scenes. Once we know when such elements entered the Mycenaean repertoire, we may look to the arts of Crete, Egypt and the Near East for their contemporary or previous appearance, and thereby observe native initiative or foreign intrusions in the depiction of the combat theme in Greece. It is seen that, aside from some accessories of dress and hair, the mode of combating animals from a chariot with a bow and arrow, some miscellaneous objects, antithetic and Group V bull composition, and the subject of human-fantastic animal encounters, the theme and manner of expression of human-animal combats developed largely in the Aegean. Although there was great interaction between Crete and Greece, which may have provided the themes of ruminant and possibly bull combat, yet the subject matter of lion and boar combats and the idea of confronting the beast with short range weapons was a Helladic contribution.

The interpretation of underlying significance of human-animal combat scenes is shown to be quite un-

certain and although there may exist possible hints of religious or mythological connotation, no general conclusions can be drawn about any particular combat theme or about man-animal combats as a whole. The writing of this thesis owes much to Mrs. E. Vermeule, who first attracted my interest in Mycenaean archaeology and who suggested the study of Mycenaean Seals. I was greatly helped in defining and developing my topic by the criticism and advice of my supervisor at Bedford College, Mr. J.M. Goldstream. Dr. V.S.G. Kenna, in his trips to the British Museum and in his letters, made his wide knowledge of Aegean glyptics available to me. I was also fortunate to have the opportunity to discuss various problems concerning Mycenaean and Oriental gems with Mrs. A. Sakellariou and Miss E. Porada in Athens. I am especially grateful to Miss M.A.V. Gill, who took the pains to send me articles, references and sketches. I would also like to thank Lord William Tayleur, Professor S. Marinatos and Mr. Robin Higg for information about the circumstances of discovery of various seals.

The progress of this study depended a great deal upon the permission to examine objects and



FOREWORD

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registers and to have seal impressions made in the museums. My gratitude is to Dr. Higgins at the British Museum, Greek and Roman Department and to Dr. Shaw of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, who made all the BM scarabs available for my examination; to Mr. H. Catling at the Ashmolean; to the authorities at the Bibliothèque Nationale; to Dr. von Bothmer of the Metropolitan Museum New York; to Mrs. E. Touloupa at the Athens National Museum and at Thebes; to Dr. S. Alexiou in Heraklion; to Mr. N. Chourmouziadis of Volos and to Mr. Papachristodoulou and Miss Krystalli at Nauplion; and to Professor Carl Blegen for his permission to examine objects found at Pylos and to the chief guards at Chora and Pylos, Mr. D. Androutsakis and Mr. G. Alexakis. I received useful information and seal impressions from the authorities at both the Charlottenburg and Bodenstrasse Museums in Berlin, at the München Museum of Antiquities and at the Peronne Museum, France.

Most photographs have been taken from previous publications. The photographs of B 7 and B 40 were taken from seal impressions supplied by the Charlot-

tenburg Museum. The photograph of AG III p.49 fig. 28 was taken from a seal impression in the Ashmolean set of Athens Museum impressions. Dr. Kenna supplied me with a drawing of the New York seal 26.31.294.

The photograph of BN M6673 was obtained from the Bibliothèque Nationale. The illustration of unpublished scarabs in the British Museum was supplied by the museum photographic department. I was unable to obtain a photograph of the Nauplion Museum seal. As I did not have the opportunity to return to Nauplion, the drawing included in this thesis is an inexact sketch.

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We must decide whether these scenes refer to the palace arena or whether they picture some form of rustic sport or hunt.

A clear illustration of the hunt of bulls is engraved on the Hutsi gold bead seal, NAM 274, where the

CHAPTER ONE

huge contorted animal has been caught in a net. A nude man grasps the bull's horns, pulling its head toward the ground. The rocky, floral landscape plus the use of a weapon, the net, and the attempt at the bull's horns express

THE DEFINITION OF COMBAT SCENES

The objective of this chapter is to propose a list of Mycenaean seals which depict combat between humans and animals. Although many seal scenes can easily be classified as combats by their poses, weapons or landscape, others -- such as the 'acrobatic' and chariot scenes and other juxtapositions of men and animals -- need further scrutiny. We shall attempt to determine which of these more ambiguous representations might portray combats.

ACROBATIC scenes most often depict men with bulls. In four instances, however, the animal involved is a hybrid bull (NAM 79, NAM 82, MMNY 26.31.294, Pylos Museum seal ).

A recent discovery at Katsambas (near Knossos),

We must decide whether these scenes refer to the palace bulls. Carved on an ivory pyxis is the scene of a bull arena or whether they picture some form of rustic sport chasing two men who turn their heads back and point a spear towards the animal's head. The main hunter is

A clear illustration of the hunt of bulls is engraved on the Rutsi gold bead seal, NAM 274, where the huge contorted animal has been caught in a net. A nude man grasps the bull's horns, pulling its head toward the ground. The rocky, floral landscape plus the use of a weapon, the net, and the attempt at the bull's horns express the theme. A similar activity appears on the Vapheio Cup A. Marinatos states that, whereas on the Rutsi bead "...the bull is seized by the horns at the moment when he tries to free himself from the net...on the cup the bull is left in the net while the hunters are occupied with another bull". Here again, the aim of the main human actor (a girl according to Marinatos, Evans) is to arrest the bull's flight by attacking it head-on at the horns. A more unfortunate hunter or decoy has fallen to the ground in a pose recalling that of the vanquished man on the Mycenae Lion Hunt Dagger. The lush vegetation signifies a rustic scene. The net again serves as a weapon.

From the above survey, we define the following distinguishing features of bull hunt and capture: a weapon

Crete has shed further light on the hunt and capture of bulls.<sup>8</sup> Carved on an ivory pyxis is the scene of a bull chasing two men who turn their heads back and point a spear towards the animal's head.<sup>9</sup> The main hunter is once more suspended in mid-air, stopping the bull's charge by grabbing its horns. A rocky landscape sets the scene.

Other Cretan man-bull scenes have been interpreted as hunts, for example, a seal said to be from Priene (AM 202), where a bull is assaulted at a cistern, that is, outdoors. His assailant is again suspended in the air,<sup>10</sup> balancing on the animal's horns. Only the weapon is missing. Another Cretan seal from Praisos (HM 185), depicts a man in mid-air hanging onto a bull's horns.<sup>11</sup> The lines above and below the scene may symbolize vegetation. Other hints of bull capture are seen on the Cretan sealing fragment NAM 517, where a man, upside down, is in the vicinity of the horns of a bellowing bull, and on the fragment of a crystal plaque from Knossos (HM).<sup>12</sup> Here, above a galloping bull, there are traces of black hair and a rope. An Egyptian view of the Aegean bull hunt is seen on a wooden box from Kahun.<sup>13</sup>

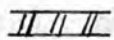
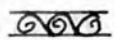
From the above survey, we define the following distinguishing features of bull hunt and capture: a weapon

(net, spear, rope)<sup>14</sup>, signs of an outdoor setting and a human leaper whose task it is to grab hold of the bull's horns to arrest its motion (see Figure 1). Other human actors, as a fallen hunter or decoy, may appear. The ferocity of the beast may be shown by its open bellowing mouth (NAM 517). Only in two cases does the scene appear to be framed in possible imitation of palace wall decoration: the Praisos seal and the Vapheio Cup A (where horizontal bands run along the top and bottom of the scene).

We shall attempt to distinguish mainland seals of the above type from those truly acrobatic scenes. The stones to be considered are: NAM 137, NAM 342, NAM 95, A.G. III p.49 fig.28<sup>15</sup>, NAM 200, AM 209, NAM 82, NAM 79, NAM 408, MMNY 26.31.294, NAM 314, NAM 370, NAM 378, NAM 152, AM 246, AM 1938.1114, Thebes 211, Pylos Museum, Jannopoulos. Scrutiny of these pieces will show that they fall into categories, roughly corresponding to Reich's four groups of bull scenes.<sup>17</sup> We must, however, add a fifth class.

In Reich's Group I the acrobat leaps over the bull's horns in the way described by the first stages of Evan's diagram.<sup>18</sup> This pose, where the man has his back to the bull and aims to release the bull's horns as soon as possible, is an unlikely natural setting or even symbol for any man-



bull activity. This same border appears on a Mycenaean heraldic scene, NAM 374, and on Cretan Group I bull scenes, eg. Z. 193. Other architectural borders:   appear on seal scenes of an outdoor nature as they do on such frescoes: NAM 58, NAM 91. Base lines appear as well on outdoor scenes: NAM 247, NAM 20, NAM 35, NAM 45, NAM 55, NAM 57, NAM 119, NAM 135, etc. Imitation dadoes are also drawn on faience reliefs with outdoor settings. As Sakellariou has pointed out regarding the significance of these borders:

Ο Evans , υποστηρίζοντας ότι οι σφραγίδες που έχουν αρχιτεκτονική βάση αντιγράφουν τοιχογραφίες, έκανε μία λογική υπόθεση . Πραγματικά, δεν είναι άπιθανο οι λιθινοί δόμοι με σκαλισμένη διακόσμηση από σπειρές ή " τρίγλυφα -ήμιρόδακες " να σχημάτιζαν τό κάτω πλαίσιο σε τοιχογραφίες, που αντέγραψαν οι σφραγιδογλύφοι... Δεν είναι βέβαια απαραίτητο, οι σφραγίδες που έχουν αρχιτεκτονική βάση να αντιγράφουν πάντα τοιχογραφίες, γιατί, όταν αυτή έγινε στοιχείο της σφραγιδογλυφίας, θα ακολουθήσε ανεξάρτητο δρόμο... Σ' όλες τις παραλλαγές της αρχιτεκτονικής βάσης είναι φανερό η πρόθεση του καλλιτέχνη να δημιουργήσει ένα συμβατικό βάθρο, ξένο προς την παράσταση, για να την πλαισιώσει προς τα κάτω ". 21

Thus, the architectural borders on NAM 370 give us no information about the theme represented but may speak of the relationship between seal engraving and monumental art. As bull scenes were among the most common of the palace fresco themes, the fact that the dado is very frequent on seals with bull scenes is not sur-

prising.<sup>22</sup> The assignment of this scenes as acrobatic must rest on the pose alone, which is similar to the obvious games on Knossos frescoes and which could not have been achieved in man-bull combat.

Only the head and torso of an acrobat flying away from the bull's head are engraved on NAM 152. His attitude could not have resulted from a futile attempt to grapple with the horns but rather appears to be a late stage in the somersault. NAM 200 resembles the above seals except for the man's kilt, the two dashes before the bull which might indicate vegetation and the man's hold on the

animal's body.<sup>23</sup> Its general appearance is acrobatic. The seal AM 209 (like the Cretan gem AM 208) would appear acrobatic as NAM 370 were it not for the dog below, the usual companion of the hunter. Only if we postulate a rustic counterpart to the palace sport, can we justify the acrobatic position of the human figure. Further obstacles are posed in interpreting the picture on NAM 82. It is difficult to tell whether the man is a hunter grabbing the animal's horns in the countryside or whether he is a provincial acrobat. As this piece does not offer many features to differentiate it from other Group I seals, we conclude that the entire class of representations be-

longing to Reichel's Group I depict acrobatic games in the palace and in the countryside.

In his Group II, Reichel includes pictures where:

"...der Mensch der sich den Hörnern des Stieres schwebend hält, mit der Vorderseite dessen Rücken zugewendet...".<sup>24</sup>

Mainland Greek seals belonging to Group II are: NAM 408, NAM 79, NAM 378, Pylos Museum and Jannopoulos.

Our main evidence of this pose in a hunt scene is the illustration on a box from Kahun, Egypt. Cretan gems of Group II which combine many features of a non-acrobatic nature are the Praisos seal (with a bull at rest, vegetation and a man grasping the animal's horns) and MMNY 26.31.291 (with a bull at rest). Another Cretan example, AM 248, depicts according to Kenna:

"...(a) man leaping on a bull from behind and grappling with him by the horns. A spray of a tree is in the field. This may indicate the wooded or country nature of the scenes in contrast to the formal games. There has been an attempt to show the speed of the gallop and the violence of the attack." 25

The picture on AM 248, however, offers a contrast to both the rustic and the formal games, with the man's tight grasp on the horns of the bellowing bull, a sign of combat rather than play. Although Kenna sees rustic sport on the above gem, he admits the hostile nature of the

Group II Cretan seal AM 249<sup>26</sup>, where a vanquished hunter is added to the scene (in the manner of the Kahun picture). Since the bull here seems even less violent than the beast on AM 248 and as both scenes show men grabbing bulls' horns in the countryside, they must both represent the same event, namely the capture of bulls. Kenna describes another Cretan Group II seal, AM 341 as: "...a man about to complete a backward somersault over a bull galloping to the right, head turned to the spectator; below, a sacred shield... bull game."<sup>27</sup> Only a man who began with his back to the charging bull (an impossibility?) could execute a backwards somersault and land in Group II position (see Figure 2). Another Cretan Group II scene, BM 78, is described in Walter's catalogue:

"Two men taming a bull. The bull stands to l. A man stands at its head, holding a horn with l. hand and a halter (?) unexpressed, with r. hand. A second man, on the far side, with r. hand on the bull's horn, is inserted in a contorted attitude above the bull's back." 28

Opinions then have been inconsistent in the interpretation of very similar representations comprising Reichel's Group II. The only consistent view would be to equate Group II with man-bull combats, as this class of seals resembles the Katsambas, Vapheio and Rutsi hunts in

the attack on the bull's head and horns, the outdoor setting and an occasional vanquished fighter.

Contrary views of Group II seals from the mainland have also been put forward. Sakellariou terms NAM 79 and NAM 408 as 'Stierspiel'<sup>29</sup>. The Pylos Museum gem and the Tiryns fresco have been named riding and taming scenes, respectively.<sup>30</sup> The interpretation of the Jannopoulos gem as acrobatic has relied solely on the triglyph-rosette base line, which as we have seen, may bear no relation at all to the picture above. In all examples of Group II mainland seals, however, humans reach for the bull's horns. NAM 408 recalls AM 248 with its bellowing trotting bull. Vegetation is drawn on the Pylos gem. We conclude then that this entire class of representations is most consistently viewed as bull hunt and capture.

Reichl includes two mainland seals, NAM 95 and A.G.IIIp.49 fig.28, in his Group III, where: "...ein neben dem Tiere befindlicher Mann dieses an den Hörnern hält und seinen Kopf nieder zureissen strebt..."<sup>31</sup> To his list we add NAM 342 and NAM 137. Conflicting assessments have been made of these seals. Sakellariou calls

NAM 342 a 'Stierspiel' and designates NAM 95 as animal taming.<sup>32</sup> One must admit, though, that the figures on NAM 95, NAM 342 and A.G.IIIp.49 fig.28 are engaged in the same immediate activity of combating the bull. Their ultimate purposes are not subject for this chapter (see Chapter Four). On NAM 137, according to Wace:

"...a man apparently naked has one hand on the rump of a bull and the other on the horns and is preparing to vault over it; above his head, from which long hair hangs, an impaled triangle appears..."<sup>33</sup>

He also describes this scene simply as "...a man grappling the bull by the horns".<sup>34</sup> Sakellariou sees in this scene a fight between man and bull.<sup>35</sup> This latter pronouncement accounts for the greater similarity of NAM 137 with Group III scenes and its dissimilarity from those of Group I (which Wace seems to overlook because of a sign in the field which may just be a plant; see Chapter Four). Group III scenes, then, are to be considered as man-bull combats.

Belonging to the miscellany of events termed Group IV are AM 246 and Thebes 211. AM 246 depicts a Group I scene in duplicate where "...an acrobat has vaulted; another acrobat appears in standing position in front of the other bull".<sup>36</sup> There is no attempt at the

bulls' horns, no weapon and no landscape. The figure on the Theban gem is as yet unparalleled in attitude. However, if we might stretch into the air the man's legs which have been cramped into a rectangular field, the pose achieved would nearly duplicate the posture of the Katsambas hunter. A tree indicates the outdoor setting, appropriate to the hunt and capture of bulls.

We add a Group V to Reichel's scheme, of scenes with men prostrate beneath animals. Mainland seals belonging to this class are: NAM 314, MMNY 26.31.294 and AM 1938.1114. Sakellariou claims that NAM 314 is a "Stierspiel" where the man has been thrown in his attempt to complete a somersault.<sup>37</sup> The other wild galloping bull in the field and the defeated man seen often in hunts (Kahun pyxis, Vapheio Cup A, AM 249) defy such interpretation. We then understand NAM 314 to be a combat scene, conforming to Kenna's view of MMNY 26.31.294 as a wild boar trampling a hunter.<sup>38</sup> A final example of Group V is the Thisbe seal AM 1938.1114(Gemma Debutandae), interpreted by Evans as a taurokathapsia because of the sacral knot in the foreground.<sup>39</sup> The appearance of a symbol of palace ritual here would prevent the assignment of Group V as combats, were it not for a ring said

to be from Smyrna. On this ring, the palatial sacral knot is coupled with a rocky landscape. This contradictory state of affairs and indeed the appearance of the sacral knot at all with Group V scenes add to the many reasons posed by Kenna for discarding the Thisbe ring (and the Smyrna ring) as forgeries. By eliminating this AM example from our discourse, Group V presents a consistent picture of man-bull combat.

In summary then, of our five groups, we define the following as man-bull combat scenes: Group II, Group III, Group IV: Thebes 211, and Group V.

CHARIOT compositions "...occur in three contexts in Mycenaean art: hunt, war and funeral games", states Mrs. Vermeule.<sup>40</sup> Of mainland seals, the only clear illustration of a chariot hunt is NAM 15. Standing in a box chariot with one of its two four-spoked wheels drawn and led by two galloping steeds are two men, a driver(?) and a marksman. The hunter aims his bow at a fleeing deer in a rocky setting. Other mainland Greek gems NAM 229 and NAM 230 present only abbreviated chariot scenes which seem to defy interpretation. In the more accomplished piece, NAM 229, (of which NAM 230 may simply



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be a poor imitation) one or two men ride in a four-spoke two wheel chariot drawn by a two horse team. The charioteer wears a long striated robe and carries a lance or a spear. Only a ground-line below sets the scene. There is no victim depicted.

Precedents exist for one as well as two and three figure chariot battle scenes (stelai 1428, 1429 from Mycenae) and possibly hunts (stele 1427).<sup>42</sup> The ceremonial garb

of the NAM 229 driver, though quite different from NAM 15, is the common apparel on "chariot craters" of LH III, on the Tiryns hunt fresco and is known as early as LM Ib on a Knossos fresco fragment.<sup>43</sup> Such long dress is common in Near Eastern hunts, eg. the Ras Shamra cup.<sup>44</sup>

More difficult to parallel is the weapon used by the NAM 229 charioteer. The spear is used by footmen<sup>45</sup> (Tiryns fresco, Tiryns sherd<sup>46</sup>, Ialysos Tomb LX crater )

in the hunt. Yet there is no Aegean picture of a charioteer hunting animals with a spear. This fact, taken together with the absence of landscape and quarry, urges us to exclude NAM 229 and NAM 230 from further consideration.

Another class of seal pictures, obscure in meaning,

show MEN STANDING BEHIND ANIMALS. On NAM 133 and NAM 280, men, only drawn to the waist, appear to be behind one or two open-mouthed lions. Their hands point to the animals' heads and on NAM 280 to their tails. Neither scene is landscaped. While NAM 133 has not been interpreted, the figures on the similar NAM 280 picture have been named either two gods or two heroes guarding or mastering two lions.<sup>47</sup> In such an assignment, scholars have chosen to emphasize a possible connection with Cretan seals as T.R. 46, T.R. 47, and H.T. 134(HM 508), where the beasts are termed as divine protectors or attendants. These Cretan scenes are far from anonymous, with their distinctive dress and weapons.

A much closer resemblance to NAM 133 and NAM 280 can be seen in the more indefinite Cretan representations: MMNY 26.31.246, HM 839, HM 900, HM 18, HM 1317, HM 3215, G. 190(HM 3372), AM 238, NAM 512, BM 79, Z. 194, BN M7985, and AM 1941.133. On these pictures we see a single man (two on G.190 and HM 900) standing behind (except MMNY 26.31.246) an often bellowing, striding beast in a natural setting (NAM 512, MMNY 26.31.246). The men direct one hand to the head of the animal, holding the other hand

close to the waist as on NAM 133 (exception: HM 1317). Clearly in one instance, BM 79, a rope is held to bind a bull by its horns. The rope was used with other animals, eg. with an ewe on AM 242 and possibly with a lion on NAM 512. It might be possible, by nature of the anonymity of NAM 133 and NAM 280 and because of their hand position, to reconstruct a rope as a weapon used for the hunt and capture of the animals. We shall then include these seals in our survey as possible man-animal combat scenes.

Another group of seals show a FIGURE HOLDING AN ANIMAL BY THE HEAD, HORNS, or NECK. Holding animals by their horns are the women on seals NAM 220, NAM 221, NAM 222, Berlin 3 and Berlin 4. The women wear elaborate flounced skirts, headdresses and jewellery (NAM 220). There is no indication of an outdoor setting. Furtwängler saw in these scenes, Artemis or Aphrodite with their sacred animals.<sup>48</sup> Others see a ritual sacrifice, by analogy with the Cretan sealing Z.4, which shows a female and animal nearly identical to those on NAM 221. At the right is a tiered structure, perhaps an altar. Other similar Cretan scenes, MMNY 26.31.309, AM 280, HM 1287, HM 183, HM 393, HM 213 and HM 1476 have all been termed scenes of ritual animal sacrifice and, according to Kenna, the

animal on AM 283 seems to be dead already.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, however, the above group of seals bear a slight resemblance to the Asine gem NAM 199 and the Mavrospelio cylinder HM 1334 where simply clad men contest with livelier animals. The animal also seems quite alive on the Cretan gem HM 1499 with a woman in flounced skirt. Furthermore, slightly elaborate clothes may be worn in the hunt and women may partake of such sport, eg. bull hunting. Yet it is rare to find a woman in skirt and jewellery in single combat with a beast. This factor, taken together with the appearance of the altar on Z. 4, urges us to exclude this group from our survey.

We arrive at a list of mainland Greek seals

and see Representations of MEN BETWEEN TWO ANIMALS are commonly termed ΠΟΤΝΙΟΣ ΘΗΡΩΝ. This term should only apply to perfectly symmetrical static groups, which are of a peaceful nature.<sup>50</sup> More dynamic scenes, where there is not perfect symmetry or where animals are held upside down, need further scrutiny: NAM 89, NAM 163, Prosymna 581, Thebes 175 and BM 1945 10-13, 133. The animals on all these scenes appear lively by their movements or their open mouths and contorted poses. The men have a definite hold on their throats or feet. The Theban and

NAM 280

NAM Inv. 9043a, b  
Jannopoulos

NOV 26. 51. 294

BM cylinders show quarry, which urges us to include this group in our survey. Among the symmetrical anti-thetic scenes of humans flanked by two animals, we include scenes where either the human or animal reach for one another and where the beast is found in the upright C pose, so common in hunts: AM 9P and BN M7271. All other seals of this group, where there seems to be no interaction between figures by nature of their hand positions (eg. B 9, HM 1583) or by the fact that bodies are turned away from one another, will be excluded from this survey.

We arrive at a list of mainland Greek seals and sealings (see note 1) with human and animal combat and possible combat scenes:

NAM 9	NAM 290	BN M6673
NAM 15	NAM 294	BN M6984
NAM 79	NAM 302	BN M7271
NAM 89	NAM 307	AM 9P
NAM 95	NAM 314	AM 247
NAM 112	NAM 324	Thebes 175
NAM 133	NAM 331	Thebes 211
NAM 137	NAM 340	Pylos Museum
NAM 163	NAM 342	Rhodes(Ialysos)
NAM 165	NAM 359	Prosymna 581
NAM 199	NAM 378	BM 1945 1013,133
NAM 224	NAM 408	Peronne
NAM 227	B 7	Nauplion 9875
NAM 228	B 40	AG IIIp.49,f.28
NAM 274	M SL681	AM 1938.1113-4, 6,8,1124
NAM 280	NAM Inv.9048a,b Jannopoulos	MMNY 26.31.294

NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

1. To be included in this list are also seals of uncertain provenance (eg. MMNY 26.31.294) and possible forgeries. Discrimination of Mycenaean from other seals shall be made in Chapter Two.
2. The term 'acrobatic' is used for convenience to denote scenes which have been so interpreted in the past. No judgment as yet has been made about the significance of this group.
3. This seal as yet has no inventory number in the Pylos museum. It is published in Ergon, 1963, p. 85 fig. 86.
4. Marinatos and Hirmer, Crete and Mycenaean Greece, p. 169.
5. Ibid.
6. Evans, PM III, pp. 180-82.
7. A decoy is intended according to Page, "Acrobats and Bulls in the Arenas of Minoan Crete", Warburg Institute Lecture, 17 November 1965.
8. The pyxis is on display in Room VI, Case 74 of the Heraklion Museum; it is published in Ergon 1963 p. 181, fig. 191.
9. These spearmen are decoys according to Page; see

note 7.

10. As the field of a seal impels the abbreviation of narrative, other armed participants in the hunt may have been excluded; or, the cistern itself may have been a suitable decoy.
11. Bosanquet, "Excavations at Praesos I", BSA viii, 1901-1902, p. 252; his horizontal rather than vertical attitude may be necessitated by the shape of the field. For the absence of a weapon, see note 10.
12. Plaque: PM III, pp. 108-111; it is on display in Room IV of the Heraklion Museum with a questionable reconstruction. The fragmentary nature of these scenes does not allow their certain interpretation as hunts.
13. Bissing, "Stierfang auf einem ägyptischen Holzgefäß", Ath. Mitt. xxiii, 1898, p. 242 ff.
14. See note 10.
15. This seal is published in a drawing from the impression in Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen, vol. III, p. 49, fig. 28. It was said to be in Athens but is missing from the National Museum.
16. This seal from the Jannopoulos Collection is published by Biesantz in Arch. Anz. 1959, p. 106, fig. 25b.

17. Reichel, "Die Stierspiele in der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur", Ath. Mitt. 1909, p. 85 ff.
18. PM III, p. 223; Evan's theory of the man landing on the bull's back before jumping to the ground, based on the Spencer-Churchill statuette (BM) is denied by Page (see note 7), who suggests a somersault without touching the bull at all. However, the positions of men in Group I indicates that the acrobat hurtled over the bull to the ground in one leap, using his hands on its body for a final thrust.
19. See PM III, p. 163 drawing; PM III, p. 86: town mosaics.
20. Bossert, Alt Kreta, abb. 82, 83.
21. Σακελλαρίου, Μυκην. Σφραγιδογραφία, pp. 79-80; PM III p. 313; PM IV p. 563.
22. Oddly enough, whereas the dadoes depicted on seals with bull scenes are very functional in appearance, those which are painted below 'Toreador' frescoes seem more like stylizations of a rocky outdoor setting.
23. See note 18.
24. Reichel, op. cit., p. 90.
25. V.E.G. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 125.
26. Ibid., p. 419; Sakellariou, Corpus p. 262, sees a second man in the lines behind the robed figure;



27. Ibid., p. 137.
28. Walters, Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum (Greek, Etruscan and Roman), p.10.
29. Sakellariou, Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel, Band 1. Die minoischen und mykenischen Siegel des Nationalmuseums in Athen, pp. 95, 422.
30. Pylos: Ergon 1963, pp.84-85; Schliemann, Tiryns, p. 303.
31. Reichl, Op. Cit., p. 91.
32. Sakellariou, Corpus, pp. 368, 342.
33. Wace, Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, p. 11.
34. Ibid.
35. Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 156.
36. Kenna, Op. Cit., p. 125.
37. Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 35.
38. Kenna, "Cretan and Mycenaean Seals in North America", AJA 1964, p. 12; the animal is really a hybrid boar-bull.
39. Evans, "The Ring of Nestor", JHS 1925, pp. 5-6.
40. E. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, p. 205.
41. Scholars who see one man here are: Mylonas, "The Figured Mycenaean Stelai", AJA 1951, p. 134; Evans, PM IV, p. 419; Sakellariou, Corpus p. 262, sees a second man in the lines behind the robed figure;

Marinatos, op. cit., p. 174 sees here a sack or an animal. If the robed man on NAM 229 does indeed hold both the reins and the weapon, then he must be alone.

42. Mylonas, ibid., interprets stelai as funeral games.
43. S. Alexiou, "Neue Wagendarstellungen aus Kreta", Arch. Anz. 1964, p. 785 ff., figs. 3-4.
44. C. Schaeffer, Ugaritica II, pl. 1
45. Schliemann, Tiryns, pl. xiv.
46. A Maiuri, "Jalisos", Annuario 1923-24, p. 233, fig. 149.
47. Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 316; Marinatos, Ergon 1956, p. 92; Vermeule, op. cit., p. 402.
48. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Geschnittenen Steine in Antiquarium, pp. 1-2.
49. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 129.
50. According to Kenna, the term also applies when the man touches the animals' heads, ibid., p. 149.
51. This list includes the obvious combat scenes which are not discussed in Chapter One as well as the more uncertain representations which we define as actual or possible combats.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CHRONOLOGY OF MYCENAEAN COMBAT SCENES

As this thesis is concerned with the combats between humans and animals on Mycenaean seals, we must decide whether all of the mainland seals in addition to seals of uncertain provenance listed in Chapter One are indeed of Mycenaean fabrication. As glyptic art arrived in Greece fully developed in LH I<sup>1</sup> at a time of close contact with Crete, it is plausible that Cretan seals may have been imported or utilized as the inspiration for Mycenaean gems. In later periods of Mycenaean colonization and trade we may expect to find Helladic seals scattered throughout the Aegean and East, including Crete. More recently, imitations of Aegean glyptic art have been produced by modern forgers. Hence, provenance

is no certain guide to craftsmanship. The task of this chapter is to arrange chronologically those seals discriminated as Mycenaean.

Many authors have provided criteria for distinguishing Cretan from Mycenaean glyptics. Furtwängler only differentiates 'Mycenaean' (including Cretan and Helladic) from Egyptian art.<sup>2</sup> Matz describes Cretan glyptics in accordance with Furtwängler's designation of 'Mycenaean' as having passionate movement, an atectonic interest in surface rather than internal structure, an interest in nature, and an ability to fill a circular field with torsional poses.<sup>3</sup>

Furumark separates Minoan LMib from Mycenaean LHIIa ceramic styles:

"...differences may be detected in compositional features, in the manner of drawing, and in the actual form of separate designs...The mainland compositions, besides being less dynamic and more symmetrical, are also much less coherent, and more mechanical. Whereas Minoan compositions give a strong impression of having been conceived tout ensemble by the artist, the Mycenaean frequently appears to have been created in an agglutinative fashion...Mainland tendency (is) to isolate the elements of the composition, to treat them as separate patterns, and to give them standardized forms. There is much less variation in the Mycenaean IIA than the LMib repertory... the differences are those which distinguish original art from imitative handicraft." He speaks of a "...traditional Helladic predilection for tectonic syntax in con-

nexion with symmetrical and agglutinative composition." <sup>4</sup>

In discussing Cretan and Mycenaean seals, Biesantz differentiates syntax from style. He claims that, whereas in the early phases, stylistic treatment is similar for both arts, a divergence is obvious in their syntax or composition. Generally agreeing with the above scholars, he attributes to Crete a predilection for: lines drawn parallel to the frame, an atectonic sense of unity, and the use of curved lines rather than straight lines and right angles. Mainland glyptic syntax is characterized by: diagonal lines forming supporting trusses, tectonic partitioning of the field, and the use of straight lines and right angles. In later periods stylistic differences also appear. Whereas Crete tends toward a less active art through a dismemberment of figures (Auflösung), Mycenae achieves this static end by segmenting body parts with sharp lines, emphasizing joints, and setting off figures from the background (Erstarrung). <sup>5</sup>

Sakellariou seems to notice these late tendencies of style, mentioned by Biesantz, in early Mycenaean art, in its sharp modelling of parts of the body and notching of profiles, contrasting with the flowing shapes of

Cretan figures. She claims to notice enough of a distinction between the glyptic art of Mycenae Shaft Grave Circles B and A to explain the foundation of Helladic seal engraving, with its emphasis on hunting and combat scenes.<sup>6</sup>

As other scholars have pointed out, it is an oversimplification to equate 'tectonic' exclusively with Mycenaean and 'organic unity' and 'naturalism' with Minoan. Diagonals and rigid decorative patterns are found in Cretan art and undulating lines are found on some Helladic seals.<sup>7</sup> A more promising method of inquiry would examine particular mainland seals, analyzing their similarities to and differences from contemporary Cretan seals.

The first appearance of seals with human and animal combat scenes in Greece corresponds to the MMIIIb-LMIIa period in Crete and the sealings of the Knossos Temple Repositories. Kenna sees in these sealing pictures from Knossos, agonistic subjects, especially bull games, exhibiting remarkable anatomy and a sense of urgency or terror unlike the more formal earlier Hieroglyph Deposit seals. With the use of the amuletic gem

for portraying quasi-religious subjects, the other seals were free to depict genre studies. Common seal shapes used in MMIIIb-LM Ia were the lentoid, the flattened cylinder and the metal signet with ring handle. Materials employed were of great variety: gold and silver and hard semi-precious stones as cornelian, jasper, amethyst, chalcedony, rock crystal, quartz, hematite and serpentine "...carefully chosen for pure colour, translucency, or variegated effect". "The range of subjects increased. In addition to the motifs from nature, compositions half-natural, half-dreamlike were invented... There were corresponding advances in technique... virtuosity is absent... and technique quietly serves the particular style."

The trend in Cretan glyptics is set by two other LM I hoards, the Hagia Triada and Zakro sealings. Whereas the varied shapes of Hagia Triada sealings recall previous glyptics, the Zakro group are nearly all lentoids as later Knossos examples. Some scenes forecast the heraldic and torsional compositions of later Cretan art.

The clearest understanding of the style of Cretan seals at this time is attained by applying the most

general aesthetic categories to MMIIIb-LMI seals and sealings (see Appendix to Chapter Two for a definition of aesthetic terms):

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seals	Remarks of Scholars
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**STYLE:**

<u>Line</u> quality	graceful curves	no straight lines or right angles
<u>direction of movement</u>	circular	lines parallel to frame
<u>relation of lines</u>	a circle or variant	rotating, radial

Form

<u>mass</u>	naturalistic, muscular treatment of surface rather than interest in bones	surface not structure; organic plasticity, atectonic
<u>pose</u>	naturalistic, graceful, moving	flowing forms, naturalism
<u>perspective</u>	close-knit figures; relation of figures to background	unity, rapport

**COMPOSITION:**

<u>general</u>	accommodation to frame	lines parallel to frame
<u>unity</u>	by glance and pose	unity, rapport, torsion
<u>balance</u>	if all figures in balance, then whole is in static balance; if individuals are not balanced, whole is in dynamic balance	free movement



Exceptions to this general aesthetic categorization are found in Cretan glyptics -- in Line which may be straight in quality, diagonal in direction and rectilinear in relation. However, this only occurs on non-lentoid, rectangular surfaces as the flattened cylinder AM 226. Even here, other features remain the same and the syntactical arrangement accommodates the shape of the frame.

Contemporary mainland seals with human-animal combats as yet come only from Mycenae:

NAM 15: found in grave IV of Shaft Grave Circle A, where five men had been buried in great splendour. In agreement with Furumark, Mylonas dates this tomb as the third earliest of Circle A after graves VI and II, in LH I.

NAM 9: found in grave III of Shaft Grave Circle A with three skeletons. Among the vases in the sepulchre were matt-painted ware and early Mycenaean ware. Mylonas dates the burial to 1580-1500. Wace states that: "The two latest shaft graves are III and I...but they are not so late though as the end of the 16th century...  
11

the series stops before the end of LH I". Then, the main difficulty with Shaft Grave seals is not their

date but their origin. Biesantz and Sakellariou claim their Mycenaean nature on the basis of tectonic structure and style. Other scholars cannot see the development of such a polished art ex nihilo or within the space of a few years (between graves B, Γ and A, IV). In judging the matter, we must examine all the features of the two seals: their style, composition, shape, dimensions, material and technique, to see whether they differ from contemporary Cretan glyptics.

According to our aesthetic categories, NAM 9 and NAM 15 exhibit the following stylistic and syntactical features:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seals
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	gracefully curved (but see Technique)
<u>direction of movement</u>	along a straight line: diagonal, vertical, horizontal
<u>relation of lines</u>	roughly rectilinear; off-centred triangle and a part elliptical-part rectangular shape
<u>Form</u> mass	naturalistic body surface modelling; muscular detail

pose	naturalistic; gracefully moving
perspective	figures may or may not overlap; all appear close-knit

COMPOSITION:

general	rectilinear and partly elliptical shapes on rectangular and elliptical frames; some accommodation to frame
unity	by glance
balance	when individual figures are unbalanced the whole is dynamically balanced

The stylistic differences of the Mycenae seals from Cretan examples stem from the direction of their lines along straight rather than circular paths. The Cretan circular pattern formed is unified by its very nature, whereas on the mainland seals, unity is attained only by the glances of beings, related by their lines into rectilinear (though partly elliptical on NAM 15) figures.

Similarities between Mycenae and Cretan seals are illustrated in Figure 3. The most striking resemblance is in Form(mass, pose, perspective). The muscular detail of the driver on NAM 15 resembles that of Z. 2 (central figure) and the pose of the man on NAM 9

recalls the lanceman's stance on H.T. 133. The treatment of the animal's head on NAM 9 is paralleled by the monster-mask on Z. 167. The lion's pose on NAM 9 is like H.T. 84-86, and the deer on NAM 15 resembles H.T. 68. The flying gallop of NAM 15 horses is common on many Minoan works of art.

The inspiration for these seals' style and syntax was mainly Minoan. However, the undulating lines of Cretan figures tend to straighten out, imposing Helladic restraints on Minoan artistry -- perhaps the restraints of a Mycenaean king who has taken a superior Cretan artist under his patronage.

Other features of these seals are:

**SHAPE:** NAM 9 is a flattened cylinder, a popular shape in contemporary Crete. Rings similar to the NAM 15 metal signet are also found in Crete.

**DIMENSIONS:** The ring's dimensions are larger than usual for this period in Crete, being 3.45 x 2.1 cm. The flattened cylinder, 2.0 x 1.5 cm., is longer and narrower than AM 226 but

however, is that the seal was acquired in 1909 from

M. Dossent. The discovery of this seal does not give us any clue to its date. We shall apply our usual methods and examine the other features of the sealstone to determine its chronology and origin.

MATERIAL: Both seals are of gold, a common material for Cretan signets, especially at the time.<sup>13</sup>

TECHNIQUE: Both Kenna's Technique 1 and 2 are used (Technique 2 on the lion's face of NAM 9 and Z. 167) in Mycenae and in Crete. On the Shaft Grave seals, lines seem to be more sharply incised, thus losing some of the suppleness and flowing quality of Cretan lines.

The above analysis results in the same conclusion derived from aesthetic considerations. There is a mixture of Minoan and Helladic features, possibly to be explained as Cretan work under Mycenaean direction.

Bearing close resemblance in theme to the Mycenae LH I Lion Hunt Dagger is the sealstone BN M6984 which, according to Evans was "...found on or near the site of Kydonia...the stone was obtained at Canea."<sup>14</sup>

The only information recorded in the museum register, however, is that the seal was acquired in 1909 from

M. Dosseur. The uncertain context of discovery of this seal does not provide any guide to its date. We shall apply our aesthetic categories and examine the other features of the sealstone to determine its chronology and origin.

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
STYLE:	Various features of this sealstone appear to be LH1-IIa. The subject of human poses seen to Mycenas Lion Seal
<u>Line quality</u> direction of movement	curved and straight along straight lines: vertical, diagonal, horizontal
<u>relation of lines</u>	rectilinear
<u>Form mass</u>	the torso of the marksman is hardly marked by musculature; only an incised line marks off his back from his chest; only indications of muscles on his legs are incised line on swollen calf; human faces though are detailed with eye, beard, long hair; lion's body marked by crescent at join of forelegs to body; bulging hind legs; mane: <i>////</i> ; detailed face
<u>pose</u>	men are crouching and upright and lion is in partial C ;stiff appearance
<u>perspective</u>	figures overlap and somewhat interrelated

COMPOSITION:

general	rectilinear on rectangular frame; accommodation to frame
unity	by glance
balance	individuals are unbalanced; some degree of dynamic balance is achieved by entire scene

DIMENSIONS:

Various features of this sealstone appear to

MATERIAL: The seal is red jasper.  
TECHNIQUE: The stone is in very good condition. Technique 1 is employed for bodies and 2 for heads.

be early LHI-IIa. The subject and human poses seem to copy the Mycenae Lion Hunt Dagger (LH I) and the compositional scheme on a flattened cylinder recalls M.SL681(LH IIa). The body of one warrior is covered by a shield as NAM 228 but the shield is more like those on Cretan seals HM 1315 and HM 260. The bulging legs of the lion recall the Kakovatos lion and its eye is treated like the eyes of boars on NAM 227 and B.40. Aside from these specific characteristics, the general treatment of human and animal mass with little musculature belongs to a later period in Mycenaean art. This mixture of styles which might point to a later Mycenaean copy of an early Mycenaean dagger on a seal possibly from Crete, leads us to suspect the gem's authenticity. Other suspect features are the

'perspective' where one figure overlaps the other and hides part of his body and the hatched rockwork.

Other elements of the seal are:

SHAPE: The shape as of NAM 9 is a flattened cylinder.

It is pierced longitudinally and a wire remains.

DIMENSIONS: The size seems average; 1.65 x 1.3 cm.

MATERIAL: The seal is red jasper.

TECHNIQUE: The stone is in very good condition.

Technique 1 is employed for bodies and 2 for heads.

As the above features are quite Aegean, the suspicion about the seal's authenticity rests mainly on aesthetic grounds. The good condition of the stone and the uncertain provenance may support the designation of this gem as a forgery.

In continuing our discussion of Mycenaean seals we shall treat together seals of a similar contextual date and other undated material with parallel features. We shall treat the seals from the east and west mainland separately in case there might be any regional differences.



The seal NAM 224 was found in the tholos excavated by Tsountas at Vapheio.<sup>15</sup> Miss Gill summarizes the reasons for Furumark's dating of the tomb to Myc.IIa (LM Ib in Crete):

"This mainland tholos excavated by Tsountas in 1889 is firmly dated by the architecture and grave goods. The bronze brazier and shallow cup with ring handles, the stemmed cup decorated with the ogival canopy and the handled lamp for example are clearly of Myc.IIa type. The seals believed by the excavator to have formed an amulet, cannot therefore be dated later, and apart from the amygdaloid 'amulet' that may be dated MMIII-LMI, are probably all within the confines of LM Ib/Myc.IIa." 16

The main problem concerning this sealstone then is not its date but its origin. We begin with its aesthetic analysis:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
<b>STYLE:</b>	
<u>Line</u>	
quality	gracefully curved
direction of movement	circular, not along straight lines
relation of lines	circle
<b>Form</b>	
mass	naturalistic; suppleness in treatment of body surface
pose	very graceful; swaying figures
perspective	figures overlap and are close-knit

DIMENSIONS: 1.75-1.25 cm. This seal is the same size as other Vapheio sealstones, eg. NAM 223.

COMPOSITION:	seals in both Crete and Zakro at this time.
general	circle on round frame; accommodation to frame
unity	by glance and pose
balance	individuals unbalanced yet whole is dynamically balanced

NAM 224 exhibits all aesthetic characteristics of Cretan seals. A nearly identical scene, adopted for a rectangular frame, is found on the sealing Z. 193 from Zakro (see Figure 3). The treatment of mass and pose are also paralleled on Z. 2 (right figure) and H.T. 125 (torso). The human heads though are paralleled on the mainland (see NAM 199). The animal's frontal face recalls many monster portraits from Zakro. The animal's limbs, resembling those of the lion on NAM 9, are like many from Crete (see Figures 3 and 5).

Other elements of the Vapheio lentoid are:  
 SHAPE: The lentoid shape of this seal became popular in the Zakro hoard. The seal is tipped in two places with gold leaf.

Such use of gold is seen on other seals, eg. the Cretan seal HM 839(LM II).  
 DIMENSIONS: 1.75-1.95 cm. This seal is the same size as other Vapheio sealstones, eg. NAM 228.

gold cups. This seems to be the average size for seals in both Greece and Crete at this time.

**MATERIAL:** This lentoid is of red jasper, a semi-precious stone popular at this time in the Aegean.

**TECHNIQUE:** The seal is executed in Kenna's Technique 1, the most common way of engraving at the time. The heads of the men may be in Technique 2, and resemble the later seal NAM 199 from Asine.

According to its various features, this seal is mainly of Cretan inspiration. (For possibility of Helladic attributes of beards and dress and for subject matter of man combating lion as Helladic, see Chapter Three). Kenna classifies this seal as "Minoan-Mycenaeen"... "....either made in Crete or on the mainland by Cretan craftsmen". We then consider this seal to be more Cretan than Mycenaeen.

Like NAM 224, this sealstone exhibits all aesthetic features of Cretan seals. Its other characteristics are: AM 247 is said to come from Gytheion, Laconia. Both its date and origin are in doubt. Evans dates this seal to LM Ib, to correspond with the dates of the



**DIMENSIONS:** 2.3 cm. These dimensions for a lentoid are paralleled in both Crete and Greece.

**MATERIAL:** The material used is brown banded agate, a very popular stone in Crete.

**TECHNIQUE:** Details are not deeply incised. Kenna's Technique 1 is used. The man's face greatly resembles the treatment on NAM 224, in Technique 2.

These characteristics attest to the assignment of AM 247 as an import from Crete.

Two further seals depicting combats between humans and animals formed part of Tsountas' bracelet, worn by the Vapheio prince: NAM 227 and NAM 228.

These seals are securely dated by the contextual evidence mentioned on p. 47 to the Myc. IIa period.

Although found alongside NAM 224, these seals exhibit quite different aesthetic traits:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seals</u>
<b>STYLE:</b> <u>Line</u> quality	graceless stark curves approaching straight lines

direction of movement	along straight lines, horizontal and vertical
relation of lines	rectilinear figure, either a parallelogram(227) or a rectangle(228)
<u>Form</u>	
mass	little muscular detail; limbs are poorly interrelated on 228; squat proportions and stiff portrayal of both men and animals
pose	very poor; feeble attempts at lanceman's and 'Harmodean' <sup>20</sup> pose; the animal on 227 is in a very weak gallop?
perspective	even when close, figures do not appear interrelated
<hr/>	
COMPOSITION:	
general	rectilinear figure on circular frame; no accommodation to frame
unity	by glance
balance	individuals are unbalanced producing no balance in the complete scene; the ability to create dynamic balance is lacking

The entire character of the style and composition of these Vapheio sealstones appears alien to the art of LM Ib in Crete, as expressed by AM 247. Squat figures with disjointed bodies in awkward

poses are not paralleled in Minoan art (see the great gap between NAM 227 and Z.190 lancemen). The composition, with its total lack of consideration of the picture frame, is foreign to Crete. Furthermore, the drawing of rocks or leaves at the top but not at the bottom of the scene on NAM 227 may indicate a Mycenaean misunderstanding of the Minoan 'aerial view'.

These Vapheio seals are called feeble Mycenaean imitations of Minoan engraving by Kenna and Biesantz.<sup>21</sup>

West Berlin, portrays a theme identical to NAM 227.

The seal was known to come from the Peloponnese by

SHAPE: Both seals are lentoids, the most common shape in LM Ib-II/Myc. II.

DIMENSIONS: Both seals are of average size for Crete and Greece.

MATERIALS: NAM 227 is of chalcedony, a popular material throughout Mycenaean glyptics and used in this period in Crete. NAM 228,

STYLE:  
Line quality  
direction of movement  
relation of  
Form  
mass  
however, appears to be of a less precious black shiny stone. It does not seem to be dull enough to be described as hematite (as Sakellariou does in the Corpus).<sup>22</sup>

there is an attempt at realistic portrayal of

TECHNIQUE: Both Techniques 1 and 2 are used.

The above factors neither prove nor deny the conclusion of aesthetic investigation, that here we have our first purely Mycenaean seal engravings, of Helladic inspiration and fabrication. They are not continuous from previous mainland examples.

B 40, at present in the Charlottenburg Museum West Berlin, portrays a theme identical to NAM 227. The seal was known to come from the Peloponnese by Milchhoefer (1883), Perrot and Chipiez (1894) and Furtwängler in his Berlin catalogue (1896).<sup>23</sup> As the exact context of discovery is unknown, we must determine the date as well as the origin of this seal. We begin with its aesthetic characteristics:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves, straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines, diagonally
relation of lines	triangle
<u>Form</u> mass	there is an attempt at realistic portrayal of



	the boar, though it is feeble; the man has thick legs with lines indicating muscles; his torso shows slight swelling and a v at neck indicates his collar bone; fingers are drawn on one hand; face is realistic
pose	human pose is convincing, with one hand outstretched the length of the spear and the other hand bent to steady the point near the beast; his legs extend far back to lend thrust; the animal is in feeble flying gallop
perspective	no overlapping; the very high curve of surface and depth of intaglio may lend depth to the scene
<hr/>	
COMPOSITION:	
general	triangle on amygdaloid frame; partial accommodation to frame
unity	by glance
balance	individual figures are unbalanced creating dynamic balance in the complete scene

In the treatment of line on the stone, there is an overwhelming Mycenaean character. The form shows an attempt at naturalism, but not with great success. The boar is very like NAM 227 in mass: its coat, ears,

jawline, eye with its prominent outline and eyeball, and limbs. Only their snouts differ. The poses of the Berlin and NAM 227 boars are identical. The human figure on the Berlin gem is unlike NAM 227 as there is an attempt to depict muscles and other body details. However, it too suffers from squat proportions and lack of coordination of parts of the body. The human pose is a great improvement on NAM 227 and is more in the tradition of the lancemen on the Lion Hunt Dagger and Z. 190. The composition is generally Mycenaean (see NAM 9). The dynamic balance is a feature more common to Crete, however.

NAM 112 was discovered at Mycenae in Chamber Tomb 79. The main stylistic characteristics of this seal seem to point to a Mycenaean origin. Only the human pose and dynamic balance may betray Cretan talent. Chronologically, this Berlin sealstone cannot be placed far from NAM 227, as both seals agree so closely in theme, and in most aesthetic categories, including the nearly identical treatment of boars.

Other features of this gem are:

SHAPE: This sealstone is amygdaloid in shape and well curved. The shape is especially

- popular in LHIIa/LMIb.
- DIMENSIONS:** The seal is of average size for Crete and Greece.
- MATERIAL:** The material used is cornelian, a common stone for seal engraving in the Aegean.
- TECHNIQUE:** Technique 1 is employed.

The element of shape then supports the chronological assignment of B 40 to LHIIa, but the designation of the seal as Mycenaean in origin rests on aesthetic considerations alone.

NAM 112 was discovered at Mycenae in Chamber Tomb 79. The only other published objects found in the tomb are seals NAM 113 and NAM 114. NAM 113 bears some resemblance to NAM 112 but more so to NAM 257 from Vapheio in the treatment of the animals' heads. NAM 114 depicts a one-handled libation jug of a type which first appeared in MM Crete (PM IV pp.448-9). It is evident on Vapheio seals NAM 231 and NAM 232. The contextual evidence may possibly point to the period of the Vapheio tholos, Myc.IIa. However, a final decision on the date and origin of NAM 112 must await

aesthetic analysis and description of its other features.

The aesthetic traits of NAM 112 are:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u>	closely related: even
<u>quality</u>	the arrowhead, which
<u>direction of</u>	stylised curves
<u>movement</u>	along straight lines,
<u>relation of</u>	vertical, diagonal
<u>lines</u>	rectilinear figure:
	parallelogram
<u>Form</u>	
<u>mass</u>	little muscular de-
	tail on man's body
	except for swellings
	of trapezium muscles
	of his arms and of
	calf muscles; leg mus-
	cles also indicated
	by lines; poor treat-
	ment of lion's body,
	with globules on
	limbs; lion's neck is
	non-existent and its
	head just sits atop
	the motionless body
<u>COMPOSITION:</u>	
<u>general</u>	
<u>unity</u>	
<u>balance</u>	
<u>pose</u>	man is in stereo-
	typed pose indica-
	ting a runner (or man
	in action) which will
	become popular in Myc.
	IIIb at Pylos; his
	arms are in unrealis-
	tic position, holding
	spear behind his back;
	his body lends no

thrust; lion's position is couchant, as many single wounded animals appear on gems; great distance between its forelegs creates an unpleasant effect

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perspective

---

figures do not overlap and are not closely related; even the arrowhead, which must have entered the lion's body, bears no relation to the shaft held by man; convention of not drawing second hindleg of lion, as it is behind

---

COMPOSITION:

general

rectilinear figure on amygdaloid shape; little accommodation to frame as evidenced by the man's head which seems to be cut off at top

---

unity

---

by glance


balance

---

both figures are unbalanced and fail to create a dynamically balanced whole

---

On stylistic and syntactical grounds, this seal exhibits no Cretan features, and is then considered to be Helladic in inspiration and fabrication. Many of its stylistic features are paralleled on Vapheio seals

NAM 227 and NAM 228. The hands of the figure are as unconvincingly posed as those of the hunter on NAM 227, in contrast to the realistic thrusts of earlier (Shaft Grave) and later (NAM 294) periods. The seated lion recalls many Vapheio gems. Its facial treatment is similar to NAM 228. The body may be a feeble attempt to copy the Vapheio lion NAM 243: see, for example, the globules  on the legs of the animals. These comparisons suggest a date of Myc.IIa, the time of the poor Helladic creations from Vapheio.

Other features of NAM 112 are:

- SHAPE: The seal is an amygdaloid, a common shape in the LM Ib/Myc.IIa period, though occasionally found afterwards in Greece. The back is striated.
- DIMENSIONS: The amygdaloid is of average size.
- MATERIAL: The seal is of rock crystal, common in the flourishing periods of Aegean glyptics.
- TECHNIQUE: Human and animal bodies are in Technique 1 but faces are in Technique 2.

As these features are generally Aegean, our dating and

judgment of the origin of this seal rests mainly on aesthetic grounds. We then consider this seal to be a Mycenaean work of Myc.IIa. It belongs to the period of the first purely Helladic works of glyptic art.

NAM 133 comes from Chamber Tomb 103 at Mycenae. The only other known objects from this unpublished burial are sealstones NAM 132, NAM 134, NAM 135 and NAM 136(?), all of which appear to be very poor works. NAM 136, an amulet seal, is like the Vapheio gem NAM 261 but much more debased in design. The only means of obtaining the date and origin of NAM 133 is by examination of its aesthetic and other features:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves, straight lines
<u>direction of</u> <u>movement</u>	along straight lines: vertical, horizontal, diagonal
<u>relation of lines</u>	rectilinear figure
<u>Form</u> <u>mass</u> balance	lower part of man's body is absent; the chest muscles are not well defined and body treatment is generally poor; some trapezium

On stylistic and syntactical grounds, this picture probably belongs to the Mycenaean period.

swelling of arms;  
 lion's body is  
 poorly done with  
 little musculature

---

pose  
 man is poorly posed,  
 and with his lower  
 half missing appears  
 to be sitting atop  
 the beast; lion is  
 also poorly posed,  
 its neck over-empha-  
 sized and forelegs  
 wide apart

---

perspective  
 there appears to be  
 a convention of omit-  
 ting in the back-  
 ground that which is  
 to be shielded from  
 view by objects in  
 the foreground, eg.  
 the second hind limb  
 of the lion; this is  
 extended, to the dis-  
 regard of realism,  
 to cover parts of the  
 background figures  
 that would appear in  
 real life, eg. man's  
 legs; figures do not  
 overlap and are not  
 close-knit

COMPOSITION:

general

rectilinear figure  
 on circular frame;  
 disregard for shape  
 of the picture's  
 frame

unity

no unity

balance

unbalanced indivi-  
 duals fail to pro-  
 duce a dynamically  
 balanced whole

DIMENSIONS: 2.65-2.75 cm.



On stylistic and syntactical grounds, NAM 133 evidently belongs to the Mycenaean period which produced the feeble art of NAM 227, NAM 228 and NAM 112. The summary treatment of muscles is known on NAM 227 as well. The odd bulging trapezium muscles are more poorly done than on NAM 112. The lion's body is a stretched out version of the Vapheio lion NAM 243. Its head, in its attempt at realistic portraiture, is like NAM 149, NAM 243, and NAM 252 from Mycenae and Vapheio, respectively. Its mane is composed of globules rather than flames. The limbs, as NAM 112, are near copies of NAM 243. As on the sealstone NAM 280, which was discovered in the Myc.I-IIa tholos 2 at Rutsi-Myrsinochorion, the man is not drawn below the waist.

Such conventions for achieving depth are absent from Cretan examples: NY 26.31.246, NAM 512, HM 839, HM 900, HM 18 and HM 1317. The generally summary treatment of attributes betrays the Mycenaean origin of this seal.

NAM 274 was discovered in the Pylos vicinity,

Other features of this sealstone are:

SHAPE: The seal is lentoid, a common shape in

LMI-II/LHII.

DIMENSIONS: 2.65-2.75 cm. This lentoid is quite large

bead seal was which might indicate a date corresponding with the Knossos palace sealings.

discovery: However, the Vapheio gem NAM 229 of

Shaft LM Ib/Myc. IIa date is 3.0 cm. of the

tomb. It was covered with heavy slabs, on which  
MATERIAL: The material used is agate, used in  
scape decoration. The upper dead person was still  
distinguishable. Perhaps four more skulls  
indicate that, in all, five persons were buried in

TECHNIQUE: There is very deep incision throughout  
was still in situ and this was magnificent. Near the  
left hand on and especially on the man's lowered  
dagger. The blade was decorated with nautilus...  
among sea creatures... a small mirror... a bronze  
dagger... gold is created. Technique 2 is used on the  
man was found... a second inlaid dagger... with cat-like  
animals in a lion's head and limbs. Again in gold,  
silver and niello... The other finds in the shaft be-

The technique supports the conclusion made on aesthetic  
grounds, that NAM 133 is Mycenaean, belonging to the  
Myc. IIa period.

We now turn to seals which were found in Myc.  
IIa context in the western Peloponnese.

It is of interest that the disjuncta membra of the  
pottery of the shafts are earlier than the pottery in  
situ with the floor burial... A span of 60 to 75 years  
(say 1500-1420).  
NAM 274 was discovered in the Pylos vicinity,

in Tholos 2 at Rutsi-Myrsinochorion, which was exca-  
vated by Marinatos in 1956. Although the superstruc-

ture of this tomb hardly survives, it was found un-  
plundered containing six to seven burials. The gold

του αυτού επιφανήτων. Επομένως καλύπτουσι περίπου 60-  
70 έτων, όλίγον μετά τό 1500 μέχρι περίπου του 1420." 25

bead seal was in one of the two shafts in the burial chamber. Marinatos discusses the exact context of discovery:

Shaft II was the main burial place of the tomb. It was covered with heavy slabs, on which stood, upside down, a great jar with octopus and seascape decoration. The upper dead person was still distinguishable, but three and perhaps four more skulls indicate that, in all, five persons were buried in this shaft. Only the property of the uppermost burial was still in situ and this was magnificent. Near the left hand on a sort of platform lay a superb inlaid dagger. The blade was decorated with nautiluses... among sea creatures in gold, silver and niello. Nearby thirteen gold buttons... a small mirror... a bronze dagger... gold rivets. In the right armpit of the dead man was found... a second inlaid dagger... with cat-like animals in a rocky and wooded landscape, again in gold, silver and niello... The other finds in the shaft belonged to the earlier dead... They include a little silver goblet and fragments of a larger one; several gold leaves; a little gold spoon, some gems among which was... a precious solid gold bead bearing in fine, almost microscopic engraving of the capture of a bull. The net, the tree and the bull-fighter remind us of the famous gold cup from Vapheio which is of the same period... About 40 vases were found throughout the tholos, badly broken... With the exception of the burial on the floor, no vases were found in situ in the shafts. But it is of interest that the disjecta membra of the pottery of the shafts are earlier than the pottery in situ with the floor burial... A span of 60 to 75 years (say 1500 to 1425 BC) is covered in the stylistic evolution of all the vases in the tomb." 24

Marinatos repeats his chronological assessment of the

tholos:

"...τὰ παλαιότατα ἀνήκουσιν εἰς τὴν ΥΜΙΒ-γ περίοδον (= Μυκηναϊκὴν ΙΙΑ τοῦ Furumark), ἐνῶ τὰ νεώτατα ἠδύναντο νᾶ-καταταχθῶσιν εἰς τὴν κατηγορίαν ΙΙΙΑ:1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐρευνητοῦ. Ἐπομένως καλύπτουσι περίοδον 60-70 ἐτῶν, ὀλίγον μετὰ τὸ 1500 μέχρι περίπου τοῦ 1420." 25

The context guides us to a date for this seal which is early in the span from Myc.IIa/LMIb to Myc.IIIa. For greater accuracy in dating and in deciding the seal's origin, we must examine its various features.

The aesthetic characteristics of NAM 274 are:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
<b>STYLE:</b>	
<u>Line</u> quality	gracefully sweeping curves, no straight lines
<u>direction of movement</u>	circular
<u>relation of lines</u>	ellipse
<b>Form</b>	
<u>mass</u>	accurate muscular detail; supple surface of long human body; human face is difficult to discern; muscular expression of the contorted attitude of the bull; naturalistic face of bull
<u>pose</u>	both man and bull are in circular attitudes to fit frame; man swings on horns of contorted bull
<u>perspective</u>	figures overlap and are closely interrelated

and reaches fruition in LMII.

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Other features of NAM 274 are:

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COMPOSITION:	NAM 274 is a bead seal of lengthened amygdaloid shape.
general	complete accommodation to the frame with an ellipse on the amygdaloid shape
unity	by pose but especially by glance
balance	unbalanced individual figures produce a dynamically balanced whole

---

Every aspect of the style and syntax (as well as of the attributes: net, vegetation) of this gold bead seal may be attributed to the Cretan LM Ib tradition which created the gold cups from Vapheio. This Cretan art had its mainland imitations, eg. NAM 283 from Rutsi, thus expressing a single phenomenon in Myc. IIa, of Helladic attempts to re-create the Cretan artistry on sealstones. The syntax of NAM 274, characterized by torsion or contorsion of active figures to accommodate the circular frame, appears on many LMI sealings from Hagia Triada, eg. H.T. 48, H.T. 78, and the bull's pose is closely paralleled on H.T. 60. This syntactical treatment, thought to be peculiarly Cretan, begins to appear with LM Ib and the Rutsi gold bead seal, and reaches fruition in LM II.

to be a Cretan import of the LM Ib period.

Other features of NAM 274 are:

- SHAPE:** NAM 274 is a bead seal of lengthened amygdaloid shape with a carinated back. On its ends are circular granules. Lengthened amygdaloids appear in the Vapheio deposit and mainly belong to the Myc.IIa/LMIb period.
- DIMENSIONS:** 2.8 cm. long; this lengthened amygdaloid only appears elsewhere in the Vapheio deposit dated Myc.IIa/LMIb.
- MATERIAL:** The bead is solid gold.
- TECHNIQUE:** Incision is deep and smoothly executed. Technique 1 is employed.

These characteristics then also point to a date of Myc.IIa/LMIb and the technique may betray the Cretan hand evident in an examination of the aesthetic aspects of the Rutsi gold bead seal. The Rutsi Tholos 2 in the west Peloponnese, which produced NAM 274 and its poorer relation NAM 283, is closely paralleled by the Myc.IIa Vapheio Tholos in the eastern Peloponnese, where fine Cretan works of art are found alongside poor Helladic creations. NAM 274, like the Vapheio cups, appears then to be a Cretan import of the LMIb period.

A seal also found in the Pylos area at Kakovatos is M. SL681. Miss Gill gives a clear description of its discovery in an excavation dump and eradicates all doubts about its authenticity. She shows the inaccuracy of Evan's assignment of this seal by quoting a letter from the discoverer, Mr. Sanborn:

"My impression...is that my visit to Kakovatos was in the autumn of 1909 after the rains had begun, as rainwater had made little channels in the sloping mound of earth excavated from the tholos tomb, and the cylinder seal appeared in the mud of one of these channels not "in a little brook near the shore at Kakovatos". I also picked up several bits of gold leaf washed out of the excavated earth by the rain." 27


Miss Gill agrees with Furumark's dating of the Kakovatos tholoi to Myc.IIa at the latest. She says:

"The three tholoi, excavated a year or so before (Mr. Sanborn's discovery in 1909) each contained a single burial accompanied by Myc.IIa painted and coarse ware and the odd survivor from Myc.I period (in tholos A and C). There is nothing certainly of a later date, in spite of Fossing's claim that a fragment of glass is LH III..." 28

The Kakovatos and Rutsi groups of tholoi then appear to be the western contemporaries of the Vapheio tomb in the east. The date of the Kakovatos cylinder is then of greater certainty than its origin.

The aesthetic features of this seal are:

Aesthetic Categories      Description of Seal

<b>STYLE:</b>	
<u>Line</u>	stylised curves
<u>quality</u>	along straight lines:
<u>direction of</u>	vertical, diagonal
<u>movement</u>	vertical, diagonal
<u>relation of lines</u>	two triangles 
<hr/>	
<u>Form</u>	human body is natural-
<u>mass</u>	istically rendered
	with appropriate mus-
	cular detail; human
	head is a bit summary
	in treatment; the lion
	head, abdomen and hind
	leg muscles are well
	defined, but it has
	generally a more
	stylised appearance
	than the man; the
	'genius' is drawn with
	adequate attention to
	body details
<u>pose</u>	man is well posed in
	Harmodean attitude;
	lion seems more awk-
	ward in its upright
	position
<u>perspective</u>	there is no overlap-
	ping but figures
	appear interrelated
<hr/>	
<b>COMPOSITION:</b>	
<u>general</u>	rectilinear on rect-
	angular frame; accommo-
	dation to frame
<u>unity</u>	by glance
<u>balance</u>	man and lion alone
	would be unbalanced
	but their combination
	creates dynamic ba-
	lance; upright 'genius'
	lends static aspect



The human actor on the Munich cylinder bears much stylistic resemblance to the human figure on NAM 9 and to the bearded man on NAM 15 (especially in mass; see Figure 1), which are in turn like many Hagia Triada and Zakro figures. The realistic treatment of the lion's head and leg muscles is paralleled on H.T. 36. The 'Minoan Genius' has a lion's head like those on H.T. 40, H.T. 43 and H.T. 47. Without close Minoan counterpart is the unnatural upright pose of the lion, which is only a little more graceful than the Vapheio lion on NAM 228. This last factor, taken together with the preference for straight lines and rectilinear arrays persuades us to assign this seal on aesthetic grounds to Helladic craftsmanship.

Other characteristics of the seal are:

- SHAPE:** This seal is a cylinder, a shape which occurs very rarely in Early Mycenaean times (eg. Mycenaean-Oriental cylinder from Rutsi NAM 285). The shape is more common in the Later Mycenaean period.
- DIMENSIONS:** 1. 2.2 cm; larger than later Greek cylinders of the LHIII period from Cyprus

gold bead seal and Thebes. was NAM 280. Whereas the

MATERIAL: This cylinder is agate, a popular stone at this period in the Aegean.

TECHNIQUE: The lion's head and muscles, the Genius and the man are done in Technique 1.

This Kakovatos cylinder appears to be a finer piece than the Vapheio examples NAM 227 and NAM 228, with its human form closely related to that on NAM 9. Yet the lion's position and the fact that the Vapheio seals NAM 231 and 232 portray 'Genii' similar to the one on M SL681, do not permit us to date the seal much earlier than Myc.IIa/LM Ib. A mainland product, this gem shows a slight decline from the art of LHI (NAM 9) but a far better artistic sense than portrayed on NAM 227 and NAM 228. Then, at Kakovatos in LHIIa, some of the Minoan inspiration, evident on Greek gems at Mycenae in LHI and absent from the eastern Peloponnese in LHIIa (where works were either totally Cretan (imports) or totally Helladic), remains.

Found also in the Pylos area, in the second tholos at Rutsi-Myrsinochorion that produced the Cretan

gold bead seal NAM 274, was NAM 280. Whereas the Cretan import was found in one of the shafts of Tholos 2, this lentoid belonged to the final burial on the floor of the chamber, described by the excavator S.

Marinatos:

" 'Επί τοῦ δαπέδου τέλος ἀνεπαύετο ὁ χρονικῶς τελευταῖος νεκρός. Εἶχεν ὀγκῶδες περιδέραιον ἡλέκτρον περί τῆς 15 γλυπτάς λίθους περίξ τῶν χειρῶν, 10 ξίφη καί μαχαίρας εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν πλευρὸν καί δεκάδα ἀγγείων περίξ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ τάφος παρέσχεν εἰσέτι ὠραιότατας χρυσοδέτους γλυπτάς λίθους, δύο χρυσοῦς σφραγιστῆρας ...διάφορα χρυσαῖ ἀντικείμενα...δύο κυλίνδρους, ἓνα μυκηναϊκὸν ἐκ σαρδόνυχος καί ἓνα "ἀνατολικὸν ἐκ σαρδίου." 29

"...gems of cornelian, agate, sardonyx, and lapis lazuli..." 30

Marinatos dates the span of use of the entire tomb from Myc.IIIa to Myc.IIIa:1, from 1500-1425.<sup>31</sup>

For chronological accuracy and judgment of the origin of NAM 280, we shall first attempt an aesthetic analysis:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u>	
quality	stylised curves
direction of movement	along straight lines: horizontal, vertical; also circular
relation of lines	approximately rectilinear but one curved

side round, eg. the

Form  
mass

there is little muscular detail on the human bodies, but the overall impression is one of naturalism; most prominent are the median line vertically dividing the body into two and the breast nipples; there is swelling to indicate the trapezium muscles and biceps; heads are given more summary treatment; lion's body has little indication of muscles but legs, mane and faces, especially the eyes, are quite detailed and realistic

COMPOSITION;  
general

pose

men are posed to stand behind the animals; lions are upon their hind haunches and upright on forelegs; the backward turn of their heads is not expressed in any muscular dislocation of the neck and thus their heads seem just to sit upon the long neck

perspective

figures are not overlapping but there seems to be some interaction between them; the convention exists of excluding in the background that which is to be shielded from view by objects in the

The closest parallel is  
NAM 280 is NAM 133 from Mycenae  
exhibiting the same convention  
the point of view of general  
some resemblance between our  
lion NAM 245, described by K...

"In this gem the balance of monumental and natural claims is a problem of transposing a subject into the field of a gem in a time period." 32

Such an achievement is seen to NAM 280, with the turn of the there is too much emphasis on

foreground, eg. the second hind leg of the first lion and both legs and body of the second lion; this is extended, to the disregard of realism, to cover parts of the background figures that would appear in real life, eg. man's legs (see NAM 133)

Closer is the similarity of the faces, manes and legs COMPOSITION:

On the basis of these tical correspondences with NAM

as the rectilinear figure formed by the basic lines is curved at one side to run parallel to frame, there is partial accommodation to shape of seal by glance

unity date NAM 280 to Myc. I balance features contain a mixture of line, human form and some aspects with Minoan; animal form and dation of their necks to the

as the legs of the animal are level they produce a steady pose; the men, because of their arm positions also appear steady, giving a total impression of static balance

The closest parallel in subject matter to NAM 280 is NAM 133 from Mycenae, a much poorer gem exhibiting the same conventions in perspective. From the point of view of general composition, there is some resemblance between our lions and the Vapheio lion NAM 243, described by Kenna:

"In this gem the balance achieved between monumental and natural claims is a reminder that the problem of transposing a subject from nature to fill the field of a gem in a timeless reference was solved at the end of the first phase of the Late Minoan period." 32

Such an achievement is seen to a lesser extent on NAM 280, with the turn of the animals' heads, although there is too much emphasis on the horizontal (bodies). Closer is the similarity of the faces, manes and legs on the Vapheio and Rutsi lions.

On the basis of these stylistic and syntactical correspondences with NAM 133 and the Vapheio gem, we date NAM 280 to Myc.IIa. Its aesthetic features contain a mixture of Mycenaean elements: line, human form and some aspects of composition, with Minoan; animal form and the partial accommodation of their necks to the frame.

Other aspects of NAM 280 are:

SHAPE: The seal is a lentoid, a popular shape in LM Ib-II/Myc. II.

DIMENSIONS: 1.8 cm; the seal is not very large in comparison with the Vapheio lion. Large lentoids were characteristic in the

hoard of sealings found in the destruction level at Knossos (LMII-IIIa) but also at Vapheio (Myc.IIa). Small dimensions may indicate early date.

**MATERIAL:** The seal is cut from cornelian, a semi-precious stone used in the flowering periods of Cretan and Mycenaean glyptics.

**TECHNIQUE:** Sharp incisions are evident. Technique 1 is used.

As only the technique may point to Helladic work, our conclusion about the origin of NAM 280 rests on aesthetic considerations. We then designate this Rutsi seal as a Greek work with some Cretan inspiration. Once more (as with M SL681) a mixed Cretan-Mycenaean art is seen in the western Peloponnese in Myc.IIa.

In the succeeding period in Crete, LM II, various tendencies seen in the Hagia Triada and Zakro sealings are brought to fruition. Primary is the torsional arrangement of figures, especially animals, to fit the most prevalent shape, the lentoid seal.

According to Kenna:

"A subsidiary development of this torsional tendency is seen when it passes into a fragmentation of the torsioned objects; and this, furthered by some aesthetic compulsion, leads to a reassembling of several parts to create new forms and beings (HM 708, 1527, 870....)....It would seem that the vogue of this peculiar style and its variations lies between LM1b and LM1Ib." 33

A general aesthetic analysis shows:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>General Description of Seals</u>
<b>STYLE:</b>	
<u>Line quality</u>	graceful or stylised curves
<u>direction of movement</u>	circular, often cut by vertical axis
<u>relation of lines</u>	circle or semi-circles ◯
<b>Form</b>	
<u>mass</u>	figures are not very muscular; rather a more schematic treatment and often drill marked
<u>pose</u>	graceful if a bit disjointed; torsion-decorative poses
<u>perspective</u>	figures are close-knit, often overlapping
<b>COMPOSITION:</b>	
<u>general</u>	accommodation of circular figures to lentoid frame, though a central vertical axis may tend to cut through the frame
<u>unity</u>	by pose and glance
<u>balance</u>	if individuals are balanced the whole impression given is of static ba-



been considered to be LMIIa; 36  
pottery classification, the  
contain seals contemporary with  
period in Crete.

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Of the subject matter on LMII seals in Crete,  
Of mainland seals, possibly corresponding  
Kenna says:

to the description of LMII Cretan seals, we first  
"The interest in nature and animal life is  
still maintained, but, among the studies of animals  
in the attack motif, struggle and suffering become  
more prominent...Towards the end of LMII it seems  
that many traditional motifs and subjects were con-  
ventionally treated, and what differences exist are  
those which come from slight variations..."(In this  
period the heraldic scheme of 'Master of Animals' motif  
appears)... "Except for the small group in which the  
subjects are contorted, the underlying similarity of  
approach might indicate the monotony which preceded  
decline." 34

did positioning of two figures, sometimes flanking a  
Kenna generalizes about the shape of LMII  
central vertical axis and popular in LMII, is seen on  
seals mainly from the five destruction deposits of  
NAK 89, NAK 90, NAK 98 and NAK 92 (if we turn Sakel-  
sealings at Knossos, many of which were impressed from  
Larion's picture in the Corpus 90° to the left-  
clockwise). NAK 95's goats greatly resemble  
those on the lentoid sealstone found by Sakellarakis  
one is a flattened cylinder and a few are glandular.  
at Arkheras in a LMII-IIIa context (1400). These  
The amygdaloid shape, according to Kenna, was re-  
seals then generally appear to be later than those  
served for talismanic representation and does not  
associated with the Cretan seals of LMII. 35  
appear in the destruction level at Knossos.

As the Knossos destruction date has recently

been considered to be LMIIIa:1 on the basis of pottery classification<sup>36</sup>, the above description may concern seals contemporary with the Myc.IIb-IIIa:1 period in Greece.

Of mainland seals, possibly corresponding to the description of LMII Cretan seals, we first consider examples from the eastern Peloponnese.

NAM 95 was discovered in Chamber Tomb 58 at Mycenae. The only other published items from this tomb are sealstones: NAM 89, NAM 90, NAM 91, NAM 92, NAM 93, NAM 94, NAM 96, NAM 97, NAM 98. The heraldic positioning of two figures, sometimes flanking a central vertical axis and popular in LMII, is seen on NAM 89, NAM 90, NAM 98 and NAM 92 (if we turn Sakellariou's picture in the Corpus 90° to the left--<sup>37</sup> clockwise). NAM 93's goats greatly resemble those on the lentoid sealstone found by Sakellarakis at Arkhanes in a LMII-IIIa context (1400).<sup>38</sup> These seals then generally appear to be later than those associated with the Cretan seals of LMI. To learn more about the origin and date of NAM 95, we must

examine its various features.

Aesthetic analysis of the seal shows:

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line

quality

stylised curves

direction of movement

circular and vertical lines

relation of lines

circle pierced by a vertical central axis

Form

mass

man has long limbs and narrow waist; his torso shows little muscular detail, only the line and cavity of thorax being depicted; there are swellings on the arms and legs to indicate trapezium, bicep and calf muscles; incised lines on the legs may be shinbones; most naturalistically done is the man's head, with its armenoid features and close cap; animal's body is treated naturalistically with torsion on the proper muscles; aside from a stylised eye, there is attempt at realistic portrayal of the face

pose

animal is completely contorted in pain, its head turned inwards to fit the frame; the man

pecially in the predilection for creating a circle (see Knossos K14, R33, K34, 03 - 1. The seal with its combination of virtual

with his curving body is well done, forming a decorative S which binds together the ends of the turned beast, rather than forming a natural pose

perspective

figures overlap and are interrelated; depth is achieved by the technique of lightly engraving the lower part of the seal with the man's and animal's legs and by deeply cutting their heads and upper bodies so that in the impression, the upper part of the figures is prominent and the lower part is recessed, creating a great depth of scope 39

seal NAM 294 from western Greece with its arched appearance is closely related to Cretan than

Other characteristics

SHAPE:

The seal is a lens-shaped in the Early Mycenaean period especially in the Knossos sealing

COMPOSITION:  
general

than usual. An increasingly large lens-shaped is apparent in the sealings at Knossos

segmented circle  $\odot$  on circular frame; complete accommodation to frame

unity  
balance

by pose unbalanced individuals create a dynamically balanced whole

TECHNIQUE All stylistic and syntactical features of this seal appear to agree closely with Cretan art, es-

pecially in the predilection for the contorted animal, creating a circle (see Knossos palace sealings N1, K14, R33, R34, U8<sup>40</sup>). The direction of movement, with its combination of circular and straight lines, reminds us of the treatment of lines on the mainland seal NAM 294 from western Greece. The man's face, with its armenoid appearance and flat cap is more closely related to Cretan than Mycenaean portraits.<sup>41</sup>

Other characteristics of NAM 95 are: Group III

**SHAPE:** The seal is a lentoid, common in the Aegean in the Early Mycenaean era, and especially in the Zakro and later the LMII Knossos sealing deposits.

**DIMENSIONS:** This seal is 2.2 cm., somewhat larger than usual. An increasingly large lentoid is apparent in the LMII palace sealings at Knossos.

**MATERIAL:** The amazonite material or jasper was used throughout the Aegean in flowering periods.

**TECHNIQUE:** Generally, Technique 1 is used. There is unparalleled excellence of technique

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
TYPE: Line Quality	graceful curves

direction of in the uneven depth of cutting to  
 movement and circular  
 Relation of achieve spatial perspective: see  
 lines by vertical axis  
 'perspective'.

Form  
 mass

There are no specifically Helladic aspects of  
 this seal. The stylistic and syntactical features  
 along with the excellent technique point rather to  
 Cretan artistry, in the 'torsion school' of LMII-IIIa:1.

Another man-bull scene belonging to Group III  
 is depicted on the gem AGIIIp.49 fig.28. According  
 to Furtwängler, this banded agate lentoid was in  
 Athens and was originally found at Mycenae. He only  
 saw the impression of the gem given him by Tsountas.<sup>42</sup>  
 As this seal is not in the National Museum of Athens  
 it may be missing.

In Kenna's opinion, this seal is Cretan and  
 belongs to the LM Ib-II period.<sup>43</sup> Our judgment rests  
 on a consideration of aesthetic and other features of  
 the seal:

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line  
 quality

graceful curves

direction of movement horizontal, vertical and circular  
relation of lines semi-circle pierced by vertical axis

---

Form  
mass

All aesthetic features, especially of lines, the animal's contour, relative conventions to achieve depth, position, recall NAM 95. The man's legs closely resembles NAM 76 (IMII in style).  
naturalistic but summary; detailed face; some indication of chest muscles and trapezium swelling; swellings for arm and leg muscles; little detail of animal body but drill marks at joints; face detailed but with drill marks

---

pose

In recognizing in this seal a runner  
animal in torsional pose; man's pose is of stereotyped runner

---

perspective

IMII-IIIa:1.  
Other characteristics  
SHAPE: The seal is a shape.  
DIMENSIONS: 2 2 2 3 cm; the scene is in higher relief than bottom and the man, in front of the bull, is in higher relief than the animal (impression of seal)

---

COMPOSITION:

general

of NAM 95.  
The seal is said to be a popular stone  
semi-circle; some accommodation to frame

---

unity

later periods of  
Techniques 1 and 2  
by pose; man's glance seems to break up unity of picture

---

TECHNIQUE:

balance again find the advantage of unbalanced individuals produce achieving depth using a dynamic balance of entire scene is not quite so effective in this case.

---

All aesthetic features, especially in the relation of lines, the animal's contorted pose, the perspective conventions to achieve depth and general composition, recall NAM 95. The running pose of the man's legs closely resembles that of the human on BM 76 (LMII in style). Kenna then must be right in recognizing in this seal a Cretan import, but its date cannot be far from that of NAM 95, that is, LMII-IIIa:1.

Other characteristics of this Mycenae seal are:

**SHAPE:** The seal is a lentoid, a common LMIIb-II shape.

**DIMENSIONS:** 2.2-2.3 cm; the seal is about the size of NAM 95.

**MATERIAL:** The seal is said to be of banded agate, a popular stone in the flowering and later periods of Aegean glyptics.

**TECHNIQUE:** Techniques 1 and 2 are employed. We



again find the advanced technique for achieving depth used on NAM 95, but it is not quite so effective in this case.

Shape, dimensions and technique point to further connections between this seal and NAM 95, and support our assignment of the gem as a Cretan import of LMII-IIIa date.

Another seal from eastern mainland Greece may belong to this LMII-IIIa/Myc.IIb-IIIa period. NAM 79 was found in Chamber Tomb 44 at Mycenae; the tomb is briefly published by Tsountas:

" Μήκος δρ. 10,25, πλ.1,25 Στομ.πλ. 0,80 ,βάθ. 2,30  
θαλάμ. πλάτ. 4μ., μήκος 5,25. Ύψ. ἐν τῷ μέσῳ 2,45 ,  
διότι ἡ ὀροφή εἶναι ἀνωμαλος, μαλλον ὁπως ὀριζοντία.  
Εἴσοδος πρὸς Β. Ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρέθησαν τέσσαρα κοσμήματα  
ἐξ ὑαλώδους μάζης, ἐφ' ὧν ναύτιλοι, καί τινα τεράχια  
... Πρὸ τοῦ στομίου δέ ἐντός τοῦ θαλάμου ἀνεκαλύφθη  
λίθος ἐγγεγλυμμένος. "Ανθρακες ἐν τῷ τάφῳ ὀλίγιστοι. " 44

As little evidence of date can be culled from the context of the sealstone's discovery, both the chronology and origin of NAM 79 must be decided by analysis of the seal's individual traits. We begin with style and syntax:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
STYLE:	lapping and fi- gures seem remote from one another; all long stylised curves along straight lines, mainly horizontal rectilinear
<u>Line</u> quality direction of movement relation of lines	
COMPOSITION:	
<u>Form</u> mass	very slight accom- there is an attempt to portray the supple contours of the ani- mal's body; there is little muscular de- tail however and the joint of the foreleg extends too high cutting the body off from the neck; hooves are detailed; the animal's head is very sketchy with a pro- truding eye and tip of the nose; swell- ings of the man's body contours indi- cate calf and thigh muscles and possible trapezium and biceps; the only internal detail is the inci- sed line on the man's leg indicating the shin bone; his head is sketchy
<u>unity</u> <u>balance</u>	
<u>pose</u>	the animal is in a un- quickened stride; the man above, in a much Group II position, has his head thrown back in an unrealis- tic fashion; his pose is poor

perspective and a post quem  
ticular jadeite lentoid of slight  
sions (2.2 cm) was found with

there is no over-  
lapping and fi-  
gures seem remote  
from one another; all  
legs of the animal  
are in evidence

COMPOSITION:

general  
undulating contour lines, the  
leg, the treatment of the hoof  
chest and the quickened stride  
the animals of the two groups.  
some resemblance to NAM 79 in  
animal is the lentoid HM 179

very slight accommo-  
dation to elliptical  
frame by turning  
back of the man's head  
and since the seal is  
wider than long, the  
horizontal body of  
the animal fits; yet  
the overall impres-  
sion is of a recti-  
linear figure on a  
near-circular frame

unity  
balance

no unity  
the animal, because  
of the position of  
its hind legs appears  
unbalanced, though it  
may have ba-  
lance because of the  
triangular relation  
of forelegs under the  
horizontal body; the  
man is unbalanced;  
overall there is lack  
of balance

"Stance, particularly  
poise of body, chest well for-  
ward, use of accessories in the field  
ment of feet, legs, horns, eyes  
These may be considered represen-  
tative of the engraving." 46

The contours and limbs and par-  
ticular jadeite lentoid of slight  
sions (2.2 cm) was found with

In style and syntax, NAM 79 seems quite un-  
Cretan. In the animal's line and form, this seal much  
resembles the lentoid NAM 188, found in the tholos  
tomb at Dendra-Midea, which has a terminus ante quem

of Myc.IIIa:1 and a post quem of Myc.II. This particular jadeite lentoid of slightly large dimensions (2.2 cm) was found with two other lentoids inside the LM Ib gold octopus cup in pit 1 of the chamber among the king's burial gifts.<sup>45</sup> Long undulating contour lines, the high joint of the foreleg, the treatment of the hooves, the full raised chest and the quickened stride can be observed on the animals of the two gems. Another seal, bearing some resemblance to NAM 79 in the treatment of the animal is the lentoid HM 179 from Tomb IX at Kalyvia Messara near Phaistos. The LM II school of glyptics responsible for this lentoid is discussed by Kenna:

"Stance, particularly in the fore and hind legs, poise of body, chest well forward, curve of tail, the use of accessories in the field, for style: treatment of feet, legs, horns, eyes...for technique. These may be considered representative of early LM II engraving." 46

The contours and limbs and partly the stance resemble the NAM 79 and NAM 188 animals.

NAM 79 depicts a hybrid animal, combining features of non-bovine horned animals and bulls. Such a composite creature may be explained by the trend in

LMII to reassemble fragmented objects to create new forms.

Thus, according to aesthetic criteria, NAM 79 seems to be a Helladic contemporary of seals produced at the time when collapse was imminent at Knossos, LHIIb or LMII.

Other traits of this seal are:

SHAPE: Sakellariou describes the shape as "amygdaloid, fast elliptisch".

This is true, but the impression one gets is of a slightly lengthened circle.

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
DIMENSIONS:	1.8 x 2.1 cm; the size is odd, being between the dimensions of a lentoid and an amygdaloid or elliptical seal
STYLE:	
Line quality	stylised curves,
direction of movement	along straight lines: horizontal, diagonal; slight curving line
MATERIAL:	The seal is made of cornelian, a popular semi-precious stone used in periods of Aegean artistic flowering.
TECHNIQUE:	Technique 1 is used on bodies but Technique 2 is used on the heads. Engraving shows very sharp incisions and ridgy

lines at edges. Of these additional features, only the technique points to Helladic manufacture, supporting the results of aesthetic investigation. We then designate NAM 79 as a Mycenaean product of the LHIIb period.

MMNY 26.31.294 has been designated by Kenna as a Mycenaean work of the LHIIb period. The context of the seal's discovery is unknown. We must rely then solely upon analysis of the seal's traits in order to judge Kenna's claims. The aesthetic features of the New York seal are:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line quality</u>	stylised curves, straight lines
<u>direction of movement</u>	along straight lines: horizontal, diagonal; slight curving line of human body
<u>relation of lines</u>	rectilinear but with some rounded sides in the sweep downward of animal's head and slightly raised head and legs of human
<u>Form mass</u>	little detail on hu-

balance  
 In support of Kenna's dating in  
 ship between this seal and NAM  
 Similarities between the two ge  
 the treatment of line, with som  
 end of form. The human body su

man body except for  
 trapezium swelling,  
 slight arm and leg  
 swellings and inci-  
 sed lines on calves  
 to indicate muscles;  
 arm seems disconnec-  
 ted from rest of  
 body and head dis-  
 located; little  
 facial detail; drill  
 marks; animal's body  
 has curving contours  
 and ridges where  
 legs join body;  
 forelegs seem to cut  
 off neck from body;  
 animal's face is  
 detailed but with  
 evidence of drill  
 marks as on its leg  
 joints

pose

striding animal with  
 fallen prostrate man  
 below ; poor

perspective

all legs of animal  
 appear; one arm of  
 man is drawn; figures  
 are unrelated and do  
 not overlap

COMPOSITION:

general

rectilinear on len-  
 toid shape but slight  
 accommodation to  
 frame in sloping head  
 of animal and slight-  
 ly curved legs and  
 head of man

unity

no unity

Other features of the New York gen. are:

balance This seal is less as legs of animal  
are of varying  
The lentoid seal lengths, the animal  
seems unbalanced but  
in the LHII period the triangle formed  
by its hind and fore-  
legs may provide some  
degree of balance;  
DIMENSIONS: 1.97-2.07 cm; man unbalanced; over-  
MATERIAL: The stone is gr all impression is of  
a common gem used lack of balance periods

---

In support of Kenna's dating is the close relation-  
ship between this seal and NAM 79 in style and syntax.  
Similarities between the two gems are observed in  
the treatment of line, with some slight circularity,  
and of form. The human body surface is treated on  
both seals with the same amount of detail and there is an  
odd head position and disjointed parts of the body.  
The sweeping contour, enclosing a great volume and  
the foreleg joint segmenting the neck from the rest of  
the body of the hybrid bull-boar, are also seen on the  
NAM 79 animal. The pose, perspective conventions and  
composition generally of the New York seal are para-  
lleled on NAM 79. We then, in agreement with Kenna,  
consider MMNY 26.31.294 to be a Helladic work of  
LHIIb, on the grounds of style and syntax.

Other features of the New York gem are:



SHAPE: This seal is lenticular in shape.

The chamber The lentoid seal gained in popularity  
in different in the LMII period in Crete.

DIMENSIONS: 1.97-2.07 cm; the seal is average size.

MATERIAL: The stone is green jasper, a semi-pre-  
later precious gem used in the flowering periods  
in Cretan and Mycenaean glyptics.

TECHNIQUE: Technique 2 is evident on the animal's head  
doorway taper and limbs and Technique 1 is used for its  
body.

The chamber wall are cut two niches. The grave contained 6-7  
The technique then, in addition to the style and syntax  
skeltons. The tomb was probably constructed in LMII  
of the New York seal, shows its relation to NAM 79  
and approached by the northern dromos. This passage  
and hence supports Kenna's assignment of the gem  
was filled in after burial and the tomb forgotten.  
to the Mycenaean IIb period.

A Mycenaean cist grave near the surface, the southern  
dromos and the niches to house the bones of older  
burials, all belong to a later period of re-use of  
the tomb. According to Furumark, the two burial  
periods. A seal from the eastern Peloponnese of a possible  
Myc. IIIa ante quem date, is NAM 199 from Mycenaean

As Mr. Robin Hägg informs us, the exact  
find-spot in the tomb of NAM 199 is unrecorded in both

Necropolis I, Chamber Tomb I at Asine in the Argolid. The chamber tomb was approached by two dromoi built in different ages. The northern, short broad and vaulted, was used until LHIII and the second southern dromos, long narrow with straight sides, was used later (LHIIIc) and into Geometric times. The northern dromos is 8 m. long running NNE-SSW with a width at entry of 1.7 m. with sides slightly concave. The doorway tapers to the top. The lintel was destroyed. The chamber is irregularly rounded and into the NW wall are cut two niches. The grave contained 6-7 skeletons. The tomb was probably constructed in LHII and approached by the northern dromos. This passage was filled in after burial and the tomb forgotten. A Mycenaean cist grave near the surface, the southern dromos and the niches to house the bones of older burials, all belong to a later period of re-use of the tomb.<sup>49</sup> According to Furumark, the two burial periods of this tomb are marked by Myc.IIb-IIIa:2 ware<sup>50</sup> and by LHIIIc:1-Geometric pottery.<sup>51</sup>

As Mr. Robin Hägg informs me<sup>51</sup>, the exact find-spot in the tomb of NAM 199 is unrecorded in both

preliminary reports and field notebooks of the Asine excavations. Biesantz attributes the seal to the first burial period, LHIIb-IIIa:2. In hopes of learning more about the date and origin of this seal we shall examine its aesthetic and other features.

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> <u>quality</u> <u>direction of</u> <u>movement</u> <u>relation of lines</u>	long stylised curves along straight lines: diagonal, vertical rectilinear figure
<u>Form</u> <u>mass</u>	bodies and faces are stylised and sharply outlined; the animal is very thin and elongated; the drilling at the animal's joints and the sharp separating lines on the man's legs indicating joints and muscles, lend a decorative sense; the man's body has contours to indicate arm and leg muscles, but there is little torso detail
<u>pose</u>	both figures are stiffly posed, but, because of elongated curved bodies, they appeal to one's decorative sense; attempt at some animal torsion

perspective is difficult (there is no overlapping and figures do not appear to be closely interrelated)

---

COMPOSITION: 5, and BM 76 which depicts a man spearing an ibex (?). The Ashmolean seals and exhibit similar treatment to seal shape as through glance

---

unity  
balance

the man with his hind leg higher off the ground than his front leg seems only slightly unbalanced; animal unbalanced; whole is dynamically balanced

---

seems to be misunderstood by the Mycenaean artist, who extended its use to rectangular frames. In Cretan to be un-Minoan. There are particular features which are like Cretan (or Minoan-Mycenaean) works, however: the man's head greatly resembles those of the men on NAM 224 from Vapheio. The animal's body treatment is paralleled on another Asine flattened cylinder, NAM 198. The heraldic pose of this cylinder places it probably at the earliest, LMIIb-IIIa (to correspond with the sealings of the destruction level at Knossos). In both Asine seals there are traces of the Minoan torsional school of LMII and of the fragmentation and reassembling of figures in the sense that the animals'

identification is difficult (see pp. 90-1 and 78 ).

Cretan seals which resemble NAM 199 are the Mirabello man-agrimi combat lentoid, AM 320, the Hagia Pelagia combat AM 285, and BM 76 which depicts a man spearing an ibex (?). The Ashmolean seals are of banded agate and exhibit similar treatment of limbs of animals as NAM 199. BM 76, a LMII seal as are the others, shows a similar linearity, emphasis on joints and a partially contorted animal pose to accommodate the frame of the picture. This Cretan torsion to fit the circular frame seems to be misunderstood by the Mycenaean artist, who extended its use to rectangular frames. In Cretan seals we have obvious combats and close interrelations of figures, both of which are suppressed on our Asine gem. Here, there is a more decorative juxtaposition of figures. One other Cretan cylinder from Tomb VII at Kalyvia Messara, HM 169, bears some similarity to NAM 199. The stone is described by Kenna:

"This stone was perhaps engraved at two different periods. For one thing, a flattened cylinder is rarely engraved on both sides...The man with the bull (b) does not appear to belong to the same assured technique as that of the Minoan Genius (a) nor indeed for that matter does the captive doe(a). Moreover, what engraver of LMI would spoil the fine engraving of the Tau-ert by allowing captive animal's feet run into the genius' front paw?" 53 (obvious drill marks) and

This Messara gem (side b) can be dated as late as LMIIIa. The line, form, mass (especially limbs) on side b and the style and composition of the doe (side a) recall our seal.

Thus, on aesthetic grounds, the treatment of our seal seems to be Helladic. The date of its engraving appears to be LHIIb-IIIa.

Other characteristics of NAM 199 are:

- SHAPE: This is a flattened cylinder. There is one example of this shape among the palace sealings from the destruction level at Knossos. The shape, however, was more common in earlier periods.
- DIMENSIONS: This cylinder is 1.4 x 1.8 cm., smaller than the flattened cylinder NAM 9 from the Mycenae Shaft Graves.
- MATERIAL: The sealstone is agate, a common stone in Aegean glyptics.
- TECHNIQUE: Technique 2 is common in treatment of both figures. This may be translated into Biesantz' terminology as exhibiting Ge-  
lenkknorpel (obvious drill marks) and

in the Ialysos separation of parts of the body:  
pottery to LHI Innenzeichnung (sharp incisions),  
"Tutto" thereby creating a stiffer appearance.  
tombe si presenza con le stesse uniformi caratteris-  
tichesse decor. Sakellariou would term this "Style B",  
valentemente di tipo lineare e prelude a netta  
alla decorazio mente vasi di medie e grandi dimensioni. Ad eccezione  
della gamma le di base di incisione per indubbiamente  
cretese, tutto il resto della deposizione puo riferirsi 58  
agli ultimi periodi del miceneo o sub-miceneo rodiese."

Of the above features, only the technique  
Unfortunatamente, our assessment of Malibu's claim that  
points to obvious Mycenaean origin. This, coupled with  
the seal is a Cretan import to Rhodes must be made on  
the basis of a sketch. We can notice the following  
aesthetic features from this illustration:  
the aesthetic and contextual evidence, allows us to  
designate NAM 199 as a Mycenaean work of Myc. Ib-IIIa,  
the period of palace destruction in Crete. Although  
figures do not attain the naturalism of seals done  
under Cretan inspiration in previous periods, they  
have achieved a more coordinated and pleasant, if  
decorative, art than exhibited on poor examples from  
Vapheio: NAM 227 and 228, and from Mycenae: NAM 133 and  
NAM 112.

A seal in the Rhodes Museum but unavailable for  
examination <sup>55</sup> and published only in a drawing is  
Ialysos T. XXI no. 50. <sup>56</sup> According to Furumark, Tomb XXI

in the Ialysos cemetery is securely dated by its pottery to LHIIIc:1.<sup>57</sup> The excavator, Maiuri, states:

"Tutto il materiale in ceramica di questa tomba si presenta con le stesse uniformi caratteristiche : decorazione a colori opachi con motivi prevalentemente di tipo lineare e preludenti nettamente alla decorazione geometrica: mancano in oltre completamente vasi di medie e grandi dimensioni. Ad eccezione della gemma lenticolare d'importazione indubbiamente cretese, tutto il resto della deposizione puo riferirsi agli ultimi periodi del miceneo o sub-miceneo rodiese."

Unfortunately, our assessment of Maiuri's claim that the seal is a Cretan import to Rhodes must be made on the basis of a sketch . We can notice the following aesthetic features from this illustration:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
<b>STYLE:</b>	
<u>Line</u>	stylised curves
<u>quality</u>	along straight lines:
<u>direction of movement</u>	vertical, diagonal; circular
<u>relation of lines</u>	circle with straight side
<hr/>	
<u>Form</u>	not visible on sketch
<u>mass</u>	but seems to be some slight detail; more detailed human face;
<u>pose</u>	man runs in stereotyped action pose; some animal torsion
<u>perspective</u>	no overlapping of figures but they seem interrelated



(LHII-LIIIa) or NAM 199 (LHIIb-LIIIa) and appears more

related to Mycenaean than Cretan glyptic tradition.

COMPOSITION:

general

partial accommoda-  
tion to the circular  
frame with position  
of animals

unity

by pose and glance

balance

individuals un-  
balanced but whole  
creates dynamic ba-  
lance

DIMENSIONS:

2.2 cm.; the slight

This seal recalls NAM 199 in many aspects:

in the relation of straight and curved lines, in the slight muscular detail of figures, in the pose of animals (better executed on the Ialysos gem though) and in the composition, though in one case adopted to a rectangular frame and in the other to a circular frame. This seal also bears close relation to a Cretan gem. The human figure is a near copy of the man on BM 76, with his stereotyped running pose and tassel hanging between his legs. (His hand position, though, is more like that of the lion fighters on B 7.) The animal on BM 76, however, is twisted in on itself convincing us of its agony while the Ialysos animal, as NAM 199, just appears to be curved for decorative effect in a Mycenaean version of the torsion scheme. The date of the Ialysos gem must not be far from that of BM 76

(LMII-IIIa) or NAM 199 (LHIIb-IIIa) and appears more closely related to Mycenaean than Cretan glyptic tradition.

Other features of the Ialysos seal are:

- SHAPE: This seal is a lentoid, a popular shape from the LHII period on.
- DIMENSIONS: 2.2 cm.; the slightly large dimensions of this lentoid may indicate a date contemporary with the Knossos destruction level sealings.
- MATERIAL: The seal, according to Maiuri, is of variegated white and black sardonyx.<sup>59</sup> This stone was used in the flowering periods of Aegean glyptics.
- TECHNIQUE: This is impossible to determine from the sketch.

The dimensions of the seal may support the conclusion based on aesthetic considerations that the Ialysos seal belongs to the LHIIb-IIIa period. The context of the seal's discovery, a Mycenaean cemetery, in addition to the fact that the Minoan settlement in Rhodes at Trianda was taken over by Mycenaeans in

Myc.IIIa, may support our conclusion on grounds of style and syntax, that this gem is Helladic and not Cretan as Maiuri says. ry then gives us only a post quem date of 16th c. According to the excavators:

The situation in western Greece can be seen in two seals from tholoi in the Pylos vicinity. southwestern Messenia." 62

NAM 290 was found in Grave  $\Delta$  at Pylos in the 1953 excavations of Lord William Taylour. This small tholos, 80 m. from the palace at Ano Englianos, has a dromos facing SW to NE with (originally) vertical sides that sloped downward to the chamber. The dromos was 10 m. long and 1 m. wide at the outer end, broadening a bit toward the doorway. The door was framed with jambs of limestone blocks. The chamber was 31 ft. in diameter. Lord William Taylour dates the construction of this tomb to the late 16th century and thus to Wace's first group of tholos tombs. 60

NAM 290 was found near the door of the chamber. However Lord William Taylour informs me that:

"...that particular tomb was so thoroughly rifled that the position in which the sealstone was found tells us nothing. There were over 20 burials in that tomb but for the most part only fragments of

the skulls survived and these were found at different levels in the soil. Not a single object or burial was in its original position in that tomb." 61

The context of discovery then gives us only a post quem date of 16th c. According to the excavators:

"...the tomb was built for one of the kings who, from his seat on the throne in the megaron of the palace that stood on the neighboring hill, reigned over southwestern Messenia." 62

We again invoke aesthetic criteria in hopes of dating this seal more closely and in determining its origin:

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line  
quality

stylised curves,  
straight lines

direction of  
movement

along straight lines:  
diagonal, vertical

relation of lines

rectilinear

Form  
mass

heads of man and animal are sketchily treated, with drill marks; muscles of man's body are expressed by bulges of the legs and mainly by incised lines creating tubes along the body; joints are emphasized by the holes of the drill; similar linear treatment of animal's body surface, with ridges and knobby paws

The individual aesthetic given Helladic treatment, with linear relation of lines, the general composition. The man's the figures on NAM 9 and M 3L

pose recalls the Monich and the man is more convincingly posed than the lion; though exaggerated, the man's attitude is pleasing to the eye as more a decoration than a representation; the animal is a feeble upright creature

---

a perspective decoration, which the figures touch but do not overlap; they are interrelated but not intimately, as the lion's paws are suspended in air

---

COMPOSITION:

general

accommodate the figures to the frame by rectilinear on amygdaloid frame; there is partial accommodation to the frame with the backward extensions of the man's back leg and belt tassel (scabbard) and the curl of the lion's tail

---

unity

balance

by glance individuals are unbalanced; the whole is dynamically balanced

---

Other features of this Pylos seal are:

SHAPE:

The individual aesthetic categories are all given Helladic treatment, with the stiffness and rectilinear relation of lines, the treatment of form and general composition. The man's pose is descended from the figures on NAM 9 and M SL681 and the animal's of the

attitude recalls the Munich and Vapheio NAM 228 seals. The treatment of the animal on NAM 290 differs from these in the same way that the animal on NAM 199 differed from Helladic seals from Vapheio. The attempt to achieve Cretan naturalism seems to be replaced by a sense of decoration, which achieves vigorous movement through strong lines. The muscles have become tubelike. The man's pose is very exaggerated. As on NAM 199 there is recognition of the need, prevalent in LMII, to accommodate the figures to the frame by exaggeration or contorsion of figures, and this is carried out partially (as on NAM 199) here in the man's stance. Because of the stylistic and syntactical relationship of NAM 290 to NAM 228 and M SL681 on the one hand and to NAM 199 on the other, its date must fall between Myc.IIa and Myc.IIIa.

The technique certainly points to Helladic fabrication.

The shape and dimensions suggest a date not much later than the Vapheio seals (Myc.IIa) and the technique recalls NAM 199 (LMIIb-IIIa). We then conclude, according to all the features of this sealstone, that it is a Helladic work of a period between Myc.IIa and Myc.IIIa, perhaps Myc.IIb-IIIa.

Other features of this Pylos seal are:

SHAPE: This seal is a lengthened amygdaloid with a striated back. Such seals are found in the Vapheio deposit dated LMIIb/ Myc.IIa.

DIMENSIONS: 2.0 x 3.0 cm; this lengthened amygdaloid is as long as the longest Vapheio amygdaloid (NAM 238) but wider. Kenna considers the amygdaloids of these dimensions to represent a late phase of LMI (LM Ib/Myc. IIa).<sup>63</sup>

MATERIAL: NAM 290 is cut from amethyst, which was a common gem used in the flowering periods of Aegean glyptics.

TECHNIQUE: Technique 2 is employed for the seal. This accentuation on the instruments of engraving rather than the final product itself, shows poor workmanship. This poor technique has elsewhere been called the Erstarrung style by Biesantz and Style B by Sakellariou.<sup>64</sup>

The technique certainly points to Helladic fabrication. The shape and dimensions suggest a date not much later than the Vapheio seals (LM Ib/Myc. IIa) and the technique recalls NAM 199 (IIb-IIIa). We then conclude, according to all the features of this sealstone, that it is a Helladic work of a period between Myc. IIa and Myc. IIIa, perhaps Myc. IIb-IIIa.

Another seal of Pylos provenance is NAM 294, which was found in the Vagenas Tholos, 135 m. south of the 'Palace of Nestor'. Lord William Taylour excavated this tomb in 1957. The fullest description of the burial is given in his book, The Mycenaeans:

"The dromos has not been preserved... (It was probably on the south side)... It is estimated that the tomb contained 23 burials dating from the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries. The last burial was laid out at full length in the centre of the tomb. The remains of previous obsequies were pushed aside to make place for it and then stuffed into pits; except for four burials of an earlier period which had been put into large pithoi or storage jars." 65

Lord William Taylour has informed me that:

"The sealstone was not found in relation to any burial. It was found at roughly the same level as some complete pots that on stylistic grounds ranged from LHII to early LHIIIa. Nothing in the tomb appears to have been later than LHIIIa." 66

In order to determine to which period in the span between LHII to IIIa our seal can be dated and to settle the question of its origin, we shall first attempt aesthetic analysis:

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line  
quality

stylised curves, some straight lines, sharp



direction of movement	angles circular; along a straight line: diagonal
relation of lines	$\frac{3}{4}$ circle with one straight edge $\circ$

Form  
mass

few muscles on bodies of figures yet naturalistic not decorative treatment; prominent median line on man's torso and ribs(?); sharp lines to indicate his knee joint; some swelling but no internal incision to indicate muscles of limbs; good treatment of animal's limbs, though with added globules; its body has a curving contour and the only internal details are its hairs and joints (not very prominent); man's face is more sketchily treated than the boar's, but both employ the drill; face of dog attempts realism but seems more like a lion's face

pose

torsion position of animal to fit the frame--the boar is turned but not contorted, i.e. forming a decoration rather than trying to convince us of the real-

The treatment of line

in body treatment (especially  
and perspective, along with the  
point to Cretan origin for the  
Helladic features appear to be  
circle with a diagonal, the  
boar's body, and most important  
of the torsional pose. Here  
(there is no justification for  
without convulsions expressed

ity of its pain, a pose  
justification for  
a convulsive atti-  
tude (here the head  
and legs are not  
turned in on the body);  
man is kneeling (in  
Corpus) but if the seal  
is turned (in Μυκ.Σφ)  
he is in a variation  
of the runner's pose;  
the former seems more  
likely because of the  
dog and the man's hand  
position; his arms are  
like those of other  
spearmen except that  
one arm is bent above  
the weapon

---

perspective

---

there is much over-  
lapping and close re-  
lation of figures; the  
weapon is cut into the  
man and the man into  
the dog, to gain sculp-  
ted depth in the im-  
pression showing the  
dog as the farthest  
behind and the spear  
as most prominent  
(see note 39)

---

COMPOSITION:

general

complete accommoda-  
tion of circle to len-  
toid shape

---

unity

---

by glance and pose

balance

---

individuals are un-  
balanced, but create  
a dynamically ba-  
lanced scene

---

figures on NAM 230 (Myc. Iia) in the prominent median  
line of the torso. Like NAM 199 (Iib), there is

The treatment of line, the attempt for realism

in body treatment (especially the animal) and the pose and perspective, along with the syntactical traits point to Cretan origin for this seal. The only Helladic features appear to be the termination of the circle with a diagonal, the sharp angle made by the boar's body, and most important the 'mistreatment' of the torsional pose. Here it is purely decorative (there is no justification for the animal's turning without convulsions expressed in the position of head and limbs); in Crete the animal is contorted with head turned round to express excruciating pain (AM 285, AM 314, AM 315). Such a convulsive attitude is described by Kenna in his discussion of AM 315:

"The style of the motif is an example of the distortion of a natural form which not only fits the circular field of the gem, but is peculiarly appropriate to the lentoid shape. The head and neck are incurved and turned towards the centre of the design, and the shoulders have been formally adjusted to suit this arrangement. Since the head is in traditional profile, but in a completely new position, a striking effect is produced. This arrangement appears deliberate..." 67

Such an effect is not produced on NAM 294.

The man on our seal resembles those human figures on NAM 280 (Myc.IIa) in the prominent median line of the torso. Like NAM 199 (IIB-IIIa), there is

a sharp division of parts of his leg (Innenzeichnung according to Biesantz). There is a slight resemblance of the boar's limbs to the bull on AM 311 (LMII-III). The double line on the hind leg (Konturrippen?) is considered by Kenna to be a Cretan feature.

Thus we see in the style and syntax of NAM 294 a combination of Cretan and Mycenaean features as we did on NAM 280. The treatment of aesthetic aspects, especially the attitude of the boar, points to a period contemporary with the Knossos palace sealings, Myc.IIb-IIIa. This date is in agreement with the evidence from the context of the seal's discovery.

Other features of this seal are:

**SHAPE:** The seal is lenticular, the prevalent shape in the LMII-IIIa sealings from Knossos.

**DIMENSIONS:** 2.3-2.45 cm; the lentoid shows a slightly increased size, characteristic of the Knossos sealings (LMII-IIIa).

**MATERIAL:** This seal is of conglomerate.

TECHNIQUE: Technique 1 is used on the bodies of its relationships figures, and Technique 2 on the heads (later (LHIIB- (with prominent use of the drill). All discussed. of Biesantz' criteria for Erstarrung are evident: Konturrücken, Innenzeichnung, and Gelenkknorpel.

Aesthetic Categories There is only a slight trace of the recessed cutting of weapon, man and dog, which is more evident on NAM 95.

STYLE:  
Line  
quality  
These features also point to a mixture of Cretan and Mycenaean art. We must, therefore, attribute this seal to the mixed tradition which produced NAM 224 in eastern Crete and NAM 280 in the west. The seal is best dated to the period of the Cretan torsion school (LMII-IIIa). The treatment of mass falls between NAM 280 (Myc.IIa) and NAM 199(MIIB-IIIa). We then designate this sealstone as a work of the Myc.IIB-IIIa period.

Of unknown provenance is a lentoid in Paris BN M6673. The only information supplied by the museum register of the Cabinet des Médailles is that the gem was purchased from a M. Hanbar in 1907. We place

this gem at this point in our survey to investigate its relationship with both the earlier (LHI-IIa) and later (LHIIb-IIIa) groups of Mycenaean seals already discussed.

The seal has the following aesthetic features:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u>	
quality	stylised curves, straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines: vertical, diagonal; some curved: lion's head and feet
relation of lines	rectilinear with partially curved sides
<u>Form</u>	
mass	human torso is oddly detailed with rib marks extending from either side of the curved torso; there is trapezium and bicep swelling; his legs are also muscular, swollen at the great trochanter, thighs and calf with some incision as well for calf muscles, shin and ankle bones; little detail of human face except for a possible beard which is more obvious in the impression of the seal; there is no hair appearing from under
COMPOSITION:	
general	
unity	
balance	

It is evident from the

style and composition, especially the tiered plumed helmet; lion's body lack of balance and possibly has depth and good contour lines; mane and face are quite detailed with a big eye and odd lines radiating from it to the facial outline; evident on LHIIa works (NAM 28) his limbs show incision lines and slight globules at joints; animal forms appear to be slight variations of those evident on NAM 28 generally well done but nearly decorative in amount of surface detail

pose of which can be seen man is in a partial Harmodean pose with LHIIb-IIIa (NAM 290). The legs while in his lowered arm he points be an adaptation of the upright spear at animal's body; animal in C pose, turned but not contorted in Cretan manner

perspective Helladic version no overlapping but some relation of figures (lance)

place this seal chronologically between the na-

COMPOSITION: general treatment of body rectilinear with circular edges on a LHII-IIIa and the more decorative lentoid frame; some attitudes of LHIIb-IIIa. accommodation to shape of frame

unity by glance

balance individuals are unbalanced: lance connecting figures aids in creating a partial dynamic balance of whole

SHAPE: The seal is a lentoid.

DIMENSIONS: 1.5 x 1.7 cm; this is an average size lentoid.

MATERIAL It is evident from the treatment of both stone,

style and composition, especially in the partial lack of balance and possibly the lion's pose, that this piece is Helladic. The combination of straight and curved lines to accommodate a lentoid frame is evident on LHIIa works (NAM 280). The human and animal forms appear to be slightly decorative stylizations of those evident on NAM 9 and M SL681.

The man is in partial Harmodean posture, the complete version of which can be seen from LHI (NAM 9) to LHIIb-IIIa (NAM 290). The lion's C pose appears to be an adaptation of the upright lions of NAM 9, M SL 681 and NAM 290 to the artistic trends of the day, i.e. to a Helladic version of the torsion scheme (LMII). Aesthetic considerations then lead us to place this seal chronologically between the naturalistic treatment of body surface and pose in LHI-IIa and the more decorative treatment and torsion attitudes of LHIIb-IIIa.

Other features of the Paris seal are:

- SHAPE: The seal is a lentoid.
- DIMENSIONS: 1.5 x 1.7 cm; this is an average size lentoid.
- MATERIAL: The seal is cut of a popular Aegean stone,
- Kenna states:



red jasper.

TECHNIQUE: There is deep engraving, especially of the lion's body. Technique 1 is generally employed.

As these features tell us little of the date and origin of the seal, our designation rests solely on aesthetic grounds. We assign the Paris gem as a Helladic work of possibly Myc. IIA-IIb.

The closest relative to BN M6673 in the treatment of subject is HM 1756, a lentoid seal from the Little Palace at Knossos. Although the lion's position is similar on both gems, differences are evident in the treatment of the human being and the relation of the lion's head to body, as well as in line and general composition, which betray a Cretan rather than Mycenaean hand or at least a mixed Aegean style.

The following seals were probably produced after the fall of the Cretan palaces, in the period of Mycenaean prosperity, in late LHIIIa and LHIIIb. Of Cretan developments in glyptics at this time, Kenna states:

"There are signs of great dispersal of Cretan seal styles, and then a revival of earlier fashions in Crete itself. Traces of Cretan gem technique and style can be seen among the contemporary scarabs and scaraboids in Syria. The seals of Cyprus were also affected and there are signs that the coast of Palestine received some of the Cretan craftsmen and their patrons towards the end of the second millenium B.C....In Crete itself many of the motifs of the LMII period are used, even those associated with the earlier talismanic gems. The technique is excellent, but the material, apparently from local sources, is poor; and the style itself is of the traditional kind."70 (see Episcopi Pediadha and Knossos lapidaries workshop).

Various experiments are attempted:

"...in which the body of the animal and its legs are fantastically curved and elongated...These are original expressions of a movement which was determined to treat even natural forms as the proper material for design and to adapt them accordingly... There is a decline in variety of motifs and details."71 According to Kenna, taurokathapsia scenes disappear.

Other characteristic features of Cretan seals in this post-destruction period are the technique of using the tubular drill and the nearly exclusive use of the lentoid shape:

"In LMIII there are no glandular shaped stones or amygdaloids; nor, as far as we know, the making of gold signets with ring handles...(excluding two at Kalyvia Messara)...This is in great contrast with their frequency on the Mainland at the same time; the flattened cylinder appears but sporadically..."

Seals are not so accurately proportioned and have highly carinated backs. <sup>72</sup> Of the material used, Kenna states that poor local stones were used. He describes

the Knossos lapidaries workshop: context to the early

Myc. IIIb "In this small room were found impressions in clay of seal types normally used in Cretan practice and some pieces of stone in process of manufacture as lentoids. They were grey-green steatite. Except for an oblong piece of jasper there were no other materials of the semi-precious kind...except for the occasional use of glass, steatite seems to be the usual material for the seals of the last period." 73 House of Shields,

In a recent lecture, Kenna speaks of LMIIIa tombs with a high proportion of cornelian and pale grey agates, three main rooms, an East room...a West room...and a and the increasing use of marbles, serpentines, and on an artificial terrace supported on the east and steatites in LMIIIb. 74

Of the finding of this particular sealing, Wade and Bennett say: In the later Mycenaean age (late LMIIIa-b), there was little direct influence of Crete on Mycenaean art and we may expect that the glyptic trends in Greece at this time deviated from the paths followed in Crete. It is probable that all glyptic products found in Greece at this time are not Minoan. An examination of the sealstones and sealings found

in later Mycenaean context will show whether Helladic glyptics continued to follow old Cretan ideas or complex:

whether it gained a new creative impulse with the group of important buildings...all of which can be collapse of the Minoan world. construction date...is determined by the pottery in the fill of the terraces beneath them...it seems probable that all the houses in the From the east Peloponnese come two sealings

from Mycenae, dated securely by context to the early Myc. IIIb period: NAM 163 and NAM 165. These may be among the first works of glyptic art found in domestic context so far in Mycenaean Greece.

NAM 165 was discovered in the House of Shields, outside the acropolis wall. According to Wace:

"The House of Shields proper consisted of three main rooms, an East room...a West room...and a North room...The East and West rooms lie side by side on an artificial terrace supported on the east and south by a heavy cyclopean wall." 75

Of the finding of this particular sealing, Wace and Bennett say:

"In the House of Shields in 1954 we found a triangular lump of clay...it is pinched together with the fingers, the prints of which can still be seen, into a kind of peak...The base was smoothed and on it was impressed a signet. The design represents a man in combat with a lion and seems to have been carved on stone. On the sides of the lump of clay are lines which suggest a branch or foliage. The hole of the string round which the clay was pinched is still clearly visible." 76

Mrs. E. Wace-French, who has made a definitive study of the pottery of the Mycenae houses, dates the complex:

"The House of Shields is the earliest of the group of important buildings...all of which can be dated to early LHIIIb. The construction date...is determined by the pottery in the fill of the terraces beneath them...it seems probable that all the houses in the Clytemnestra group (House of Shields, West

House, House of Oil Merchant, House of Sphinxes) were destroyed simultaneously by the same fire... (the evidence of the tablets supports this conclusion)... The great destruction can be dated to the middle of LHIIIb." 77

Wace reports on the excavation of the House of Sphinxes, where NAM 163 was found:

"The basement... consists of a long corridor running north and south. From this separate rooms branch off to east and west... in the North-East Room (Room 1)... the walls were plastered, and apparently also the floor... The room was full of broken vases. In addition to the large jars of plain coarse clay found in 1952 in the centre of the room, there was a great mass of coarse domestic and kitchen pottery along the north wall mixed with many painted vases of LHIIIb style. A mug and some examples of piriform jars... Along the south side were innumerable fragments of undecorated drinking cups, kylikes, and shallow bowls. As stated, there was much wood ash... In the doorway from the corridor we found seven clay seal impressions. These are of the usual shape, triangular in section, and were pinched with the fingers around strings. The impressions are all from the same signet, which shows a man standing between two wild goats. On the back of each impression there are inscriptions in the Linear B Mycenaean script. In one case the inscription was too long for the back, and the final sign is incised on the front over the seal impression. Perhaps these impressions had been used to seal strings or cords fastening the door of the room, and perhaps too, the inscriptions are the signatures or names of seven witnesses to the sealing up of this storeroom." 78

Aside from one example from the Citadel House (contemporary with the Pylos sealings)<sup>79</sup>, these sealings represent the final stage of glyptics at Mycenae. They

are certainly Helladic. There is question however, whether the originals from which these sealings were impressed were made in the same period in which their impressions were found. We begin with an analysis of style and syntax to determine the date of these original gems:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Sealings</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves, some straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines, vertical, diagonal; some circular movement (animals' bodies on both sealings)
relation of lines	rectilinear, though with some curving sides (especially 165)
<u>Form</u> mass	very conventionalized; lack of inner detail of torso and legs of men, except for demarcation of ankle and calf(165); swellings to indicate arm and leg muscles of men; human faces are hardly drawn; animal bodies also exhibit little inner detail (lion's mane on 165) and are thin, exaggerated in form; their faces are also sketchy
<u>Unity</u>	
<u>Balance</u>	

Our sealings do not exhibit d

trend of activities in Crete (we must remember the poor quality of the impressions, however)

Rather they follow the tradition of the Mycenaean sealings, with its heraldic animal poses are stereotyped; the man on 165 is in the runner's pose (or suggesting a man in action) and the lion in the C position (derived from the torsion school); the dog is in partial flying gallop; the figures on 163 are in heraldic attitude, though lively in appearance; there is vigor and movement but according to set conventions

The lines remain as in that form recalls the description with little internal detail and heads. The poses are conventional glyptics, but here possibly employing the runner's pose for the first time seen on NAM 112 and later to become standard at Pylos. The position of the man is

**COMPOSITION:** general rectilinear on circular frame, yet partial accommodation to the frame by turning the animals' bodies and heads and position of man's legs (165)

unity, curves, and of conventional. Thus, the Mycenaean achieves a balance through glance and to some extent by pose (symmetry: 163)

balance in both cases individuals are unbalanced, and, even where there is symmetry (163), the whole remains unbalanced

Other features of the

**SHAPES:** Both sealings are from left side, in Our sealings do not exhibit direct connection with the appears. (NAM 165 seems elongated however).

**DIMENSIONS:** 163: 2.4 x 2.7 cm.; 165: 2.3 x 4.0 cm.

trend of activities in Crete in the LMIII age. Rather they follow the traditions of LMII-IIIa/Myc. I Ib-IIIa, with its heraldic and contorted compositions. The lines remain as in that period and treatment of form recalls the description of Myc. I Ib-IIIa seals, with little internal detail and summary treatment of heads. The poses are conventional (as in all Helladic glyptics, but here possibly to a greater extent), employing the runner's pose for a man in action, first seen on NAM 112 and later to be popular at Pylos, and the C animal pose, a torsion of the animal which also becomes standard at Pylos. The position of the man in NAM 163 bears likeness to NAM 95 (LMII). The liveliness in these Mycenaean sealing scenes is derived (as in NAM 290, NAM 199) from an exaggeration of the poses of figures, the use of straight lines rather than sweeping curves, and of conventions which evoke action. Thus, the Mycenaean achieve movement, but by different means.

Other features of these sealings are;

SHAPE: Both sealings are from lentoids, it appears. (NAM 165 seems elongated however).

DIMENSIONS: 163: 2.4 x 2.76 cm.; 165: 2.3 x 4.0 cm.



Both are very large, possibly attesting to their late date.

MATERIALS: The excavators suggest that these sealings were made from stone seals.

TECHNIQUE: Technique 1 is used on bodies, but Technique 2 is evident in faces. There is less evidence of the tools of engraving (or according to the terminology of Biesantz, Konturrippen, Gelenkknorpel and Innenzeichnung), as the Mycenaean technique improves.

We see then a slight development in technique and the expression of action scenes by various conventions. Otherwise, all features of these sealings are closely related with the art to Myc.IIb-IIIa. It is possible then that the original seals were made in an earlier period than the context of the discovery of the Mycenae sealings suggests (IIIa-b).

Thebes 211 and Thebes 175 were discovered in the destruction level of a part of the 'Palace of Kadmos' at Thebes in the excavations of 1963-1964.

As Catling points out, the assignment of the destruction layer to Myc.IIIa:1 by Furumark<sup>80</sup>, needs reconsideration on the basis of these recent excavations:

"The 1963/4 excavations in Thebes...have shown... that there were certainly two and probably three major destructions in Thebes during the Mycenaean period. This much seems clear from the following correlations. There was an architectural complex of fourteenth century date on the Pelopidas Street site, above which had been constructed a building violently destroyed c.1300 B.C. On the Antigone/Pindar Street site, a building destroyed c.1300 B.C. (presumably in the same misadventure as the upper building on the Pelopidas Street site) had another built over it that was burnt some thirty years later."... "The earlier building was on the same alignment as the complex excavated by Keramopoullos, further to the north; the orientation of the later building was different." 81

The seals were found in this later building among other treasures, described by the excavators:

"The objects were scattered in two adjoining groups, one of the cylinder seals of lapis lazuli and agate, other seals and jewellery; the other of golden and glass paste ornaments, mainly necklace beads. With these objects were found several pots...most of them decorated with patterns and method of decoration typical of the LHIIIb period. Under the burnt layer in which these objects were found appeared a layer of fragments of painted plaster with decorative and representational motifs." 82

As none of the cylinders found is later than 1300 and none of the pottery is post-1270, the excavators conclude that the destruction must have been in early

83  
Myc.IIIb.

As the cylinder seals found in conjunction with the two Mycenaean gems 211 and 175 span a long period of time, it is possible that context may not provide a secure date for these seals. We must turn to aesthetic analysis. We shall here consider the human-bull scene on Thebes 211:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
STYLE:	individuals are unbalanced; whole does not achieve
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves, straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines: horizontal, diagonal; angles
relation of lines	rectilinear
<u>Form</u> mass	near total lack of human muscular detail; no internal details, only slight swelling of his arm; more modelling on bull's body with evidence of drill marks and sharp contour lines; both faces are sketchy
pose	the man's pose, confined by the frame, is in slight torsion; the bull is in the flying gallop position

...thebes sealings, the Theban cylinder exhibits a vigor,

deriving not from sweeping curves and appears very  
perspective heavy, yet vigorous  
the strength of its straight lines there is over-  
lapping but figures  
do not seem to be  
interrelated

---

COMPOSITION:

general	rectilinear on rectangular frame;
SHAPE:	This is a flattened shape most popularly One example is found at
unity	no unity
balance	individuals are unbalanced; whole does not achieve balance

---

The stylistic characteristics of this seal, in line, the treatment of mass and the slight reference to torsional pose recall the Mycenae sealings. The gallop of the bull is familiar but the man's attitude has no equal. The syntax, with less accommodation to the frame and lack of unity and balance, shows that the torsional poses have not been used as effectively at Thebes as in the Argolid (especially NAM 165). The turning of figures does not suit them to the frame but pushes them out of it. As the Mycenae sealings, the Theban cylinder exhibits a vigor,

deriving not from sweeping curves and generally effective style and composition, but rather from the strength of its straight lines and its uncontrolled (wild) appearance.

Other characteristics of the Theban seal are:

- SHAPE:** This is a flattened cylinder, an early shape most popular in MMIII-LMI/LHI. One example is found in LMIII Crete at Kalyvia Messara near Phaistos, depicting a man and bull (HM 169). It is thought to be an early piece, however, engraved in two periods. The latest Mycenaean cylinder before(?) this seal is NAM 199 (IIb-IIIa).
- DIMENSIONS:** Thebes 211 is 2.7 cm. long, rather smaller than other flattened cylinders.
- MATERIAL:** The cylinder is made of onyx (agate) of brown and white. This stone was very popular in later Crete and prevalent in the lapidaries workshop at Thebes.
- TECHNIQUE:** The man's and bull's bodies are executed in Technique 1, though there is use of

according to the...  
Schuppenornament, ...  
senkrechter, v...  
und mit mehrer...  
Zacken eingefa...  
Menidi Vasen...  
haben." 86

Technique 2 in the animal's head and limbs. The beast exhibits Biesantz' Konturrippen and to a lesser extent Gelenkknorpel. There is no Innenzeichnung. (In other words, there is sharp incision of contours but smooth modelling of the animal's body). The technique recalls the Mycenae sealings.

The vase's description...  
fernces to...  
to categories

The technique, as some stylistic and syntactical features of the Theban cylinder, is paralleled on the Mycenae sealings. In addition, the appearance of the man-bull theme in LMII Crete (AM 248, AM 249) and LHIIb Greece (NAM 79, MMNY 26.31.294) may suggest that this seal belongs to a period slightly earlier than the destruction level of the Antigone/Pindar Streets complex: to LHIIIa(or IIIa-b).

gold ring...  
Another eastern mainland seal, NAM 408 was found in the tholos at Dimini, Thessaly but is not mentioned explicitly in the excavation reports.

composition:  
The structure of this tomb is related to the Myc.IIIb tholos at Menidi in Attica. Among the objects recorded by the excavators are the vases which they describe:

according to their decoration: Description of Seal

STYLE: "...eine liegende Purpurschnecke, einmal das Schuppenornament, einmal das 'Muschelnetz'...ein senkrechter, von wagerechten Wellenlinien belebter und mit mehreren Linien und einer Reihe rundlicher Zacken eingefasster Streifen...Im dromos nicht wie Menidi Vasenscherben jüngerer Stilarten gefunden haben." 86

The vases described by the excavators in their references to examples from Mykenische Vasen, belong to categories defined by Furumark as:

Form 266:	LHIIIb	Motif 62,19:	LHIIIb
150:	LHIIIa:1(?)	23:	LHIIIa:2-IIIb
8:	LHIIIa:2	70:	LHIIIa-b

The pottery ranges the Myc. IIIa to IIIb period.

Among other small objects found in the Dimini Tholos was a gold ring, NAM 407, depicting in a very sketchy manner, hardly discernable, two animals. The ring bezel is very elongated (0.8 x 1.5 cm.), in one piece with the ring, and unlike earlier Mycenaean gold rings its handle is without any decoration, as in Perati (LHIIIc).

Our analysis of NAM 408 begins with style and composition:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	lapping and the relation of figures is hard to understand
<u>Line</u>	stylised curves, straight lines
<u>quality</u>	along a straight line, horizontal and diagonal
<u>direction of movement</u>	rectilinear
<u>relation of lines</u>	
<u>Form</u>	
<u>mass</u>	no attempt at drawing human muscles; only drill marks at knee joints and incised line at thigh though there is great detail in showing the man's fingers; his face consists of globules; bull's body is more modelled though with sharp contour lines (Kontourrippen?) and drill and wheel marks on limbs; its head and horns are well done
<u>pose</u>	the man, in Group II, is in very confused attitude with undisciplined limbs; the animal, on the contrary, is very well posed in a 'trot' with its head raised in pain (possibly a remnant of the torsion school); the animal is not contorted enough however to fit the frame but it rather defies it



is perspective to escape the frame and balance. On aesthetic grounds there is little overlapping and the relation of figures is hard to understand

COMPOSITION:

general

rectilinear on lentoid frame; the animal's head seeks to escape the frame; defiance of the shape

SHAPES:

unity

no unity as figures both glance out of the scene

balance

individuals are unbalanced producing an unbalanced whole

MATERIAL:

Many parallels with the style and syntax of the Theban seal are suggested by the above analysis. Lines are similarly treated on both seals. The mass of the human body is neglected in favor of the animal's figure in both cases, and we see drill marks and sharp contour lines. Both seals misuse torsion. The animal's pose goes back to AM 247(LMIb) but is more closely related to a Cretan seal AM 248(LMII-IIIa). In fact, the Dimini seal is a near copy of AM 248 in every aspect of style and syntax and is also closely related to other Cretan seals of this period: AM 249 and BM 78, especially in treatment of form; human and animal mass and human pose and composition. As at Thebes, there

is an attempt to escape the frame and lack of unity and balance. On aesthetic grounds, 408 must be contemporary with the Theban seal and not much later than the Cretan examples.

Other features of this seal are:

SHAPE: NAM 408 is a lentoid seal, the most common shape in later Crete.

DIMENSIONS: 1.8 cm.; the seal is not as large as many late lentoids.

MATERIAL: The stone is described by Sakellariou as marble.<sup>90</sup> However the white bands on the face of the seal and the brown color on the back as well as cracks at the edges may suggest that the material is agate which had been burned and hence is no longer diaphanous.<sup>91</sup>

TECHNIQUE: Technique 1 is employed on the bodies, though Technique 2 is seen on human and animal limbs, joints and heads. The prominent drill and wheel marks are signs of lateness according to Biesantz, showing Erstarrung through Konturrippen and

According to Gelenkknorpel. Innenzeichnung appears as well with the sharp incisions separating the animal's body from its neck. The technique recalls the Theban cylinder (as well as the Cretan seals somewhat), although Innenzeichnung is more evident here on the bull's body.

On the evidence of technique, aesthetics and supported by the context of the seal's discovery, we date this Helladic piece to LHIIIa (or IIIa-b).

A gem, said to come from Larissa, is the Jannopoulos ring. Biesantz has been the only available source of information about the provenance and present whereabouts (in 1959) of the seal. He states that it was part of the collection of Captain Jannopoulos.

I have been unsuccessful in my trip to Volos in learning whether the seal is presently in their museum and therefore I was unable to find out the details of the seal's dimensions, material and to some extent, shape.

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(of man's body)  
 rectilinear  
 rectilinear  
 slight oval and wheel  
 marks on limbs  
 attempt at some torsion in pose of man's body; man is in Group II pose, with little relation to animal,

According to Biesantz, this gem is a Helladic work of the 15-14th c. B.C.<sup>94</sup> In order to assess Biesantz' claims, we shall first analyze the aesthetic traits of the Larissa seal:

COMPOSITION:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised-graceful curves; very few straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines, horizontal and diagonal; curved lines (of man's body)
relation of lines	rectilinear
<u>Form</u> mass	no inner details of muscles or joints on man's body, which exhibits Biesantz' <u>auf-lösender</u> tendency, with a disintegration of parts of the body; only summary treatment of human head; bull's body and head are more carefully modelled, and its parts form an organic whole, except for sharp lines separating off the body, neck and head ( <u>Innenzeichnung</u> ); slight drill and wheel marks on limbs
<u>pose</u>	attempt at some torsion in pose of man's body; man is in Group II pose, with little relation to animal,

and Gelaschnorpal, which are his limbs undisciplined; bull is in art according to Bissatz. flying gallop perspective no overlapping and figures are not close-knit

---

COMPOSITION: torsion remind us of the seal on NAM 408  
 general rectilinear figure on lentoid frame; the slight torsion of man's body tends to defy the frame rather than to suit it; the animal seems to gallop out of the picture  
 unity no unity  
 balance individuals are unbalanced and fail to create a balanced whole

---

Other features of the Larissa gem are:

Many aesthetic features of this seal can be compared with the style and syntax of Thebes 211 and NAM 408. There is a similar treatment of line on all gems, with possibly more emphasis on the curved line here. As on the other IIIa-b seals, more attention is paid to the treatment of the mass of the animal than to that of the man. As at Thebes and Dimini, the bull's body is well modelled with some sharp separating lines and drill and wheel marks on the limbs. There is then Innenzeichnung and to a much lesser extent Konturrippen

and Gelenkknorpel, which are signs of late Mycenaean art according to Biesantz. The man's body, however, exhibits Biesantz' late Minoan auflösender style. <sup>95</sup>

Its lack of internal detail and undisciplined pose with slight torsion remind us of the men on NAM 408 and Thebes 211 (although the body here is more curved).

The treatment of syntax, with the defiance of the frame, lack of unity and balance, can be paralleled on the two IIIa-b bull scenes. On aesthetic grounds, then, we agree with Biesantz' designation of this seal as Helladic and date it to Myc. IIIa-b.

Other features of the Larissa gem are:

SHAPE: found The seal is a lentoid which seems to be supposed to have been disturbed in spite of the stone walling in the have been set into a modern ring. shape as well as from its contents obviously dates from the LH III period." <sup>96</sup>

TECHNIQUE: The figures are executed mainly in Tech-

The only nique 1. The instruments of engraving were found in T are not particularly prominent except according to Furumai on the faces, the animal's limbs and T. 1 (Myc. IIIa:2- on some contours. (1b). E. Waut-French's study, however, shows that both types span Myc. IIIa:2-IIIb. <sup>98</sup>

In order to affirm whether the sealstone NAM 137 can be dated to the period of fabrication of the other

The technique of engraving again points to connections between the Larissa gem and the examples from Thebes and Dimini. We then date this Helladic seal to LHIIIa-b.

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line Another scene with a human and bull is depicted on seal NAM 137 from Chamber Tomb 504 at Mycenae. As the seal comes from a burial, its date is not secured. Wace describes the Tomb:

Form "The tomb is very small...it faces east and is approached by a dromos which is 5.50 m. long and 0.70 m. to 1.10 m. wide, is wedge shaped in section, and has its entrance closed by three stones. The doorway, which was walled by packed stones, is 0.70 m. deep, 0.70 m. wide, and was originally 1.06 m. high...The chamber is extremely small and roughly circular, in its present state. It is barely large enough to contain a full grown man sitting down, and was full of earth when found... in it we found the remains of one skeleton...The tomb seemed to have been disturbed in spite of the stone walling in the door...The tomb from its plan and shape as well as from its contents obviously dates from the LH III period." 96

The only objects, aside from the seal, which were found in Tomb 504 were terracotta figurines. According to Furumark's classification, they are of types T 1 (Myc. IIIa:2-IIIb) and Ψ 1 (IIIb). E. Wace-French's study, however, shows that both types span Myc. IIIa:2-IIIb. 98

In order to affirm whether the sealstone NAM 137 can be dated to the period of fabrication of the other

objects found along with it, we shall examine the aesthetic and other features of NAM 137.

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line

quality

stylised curves,  
straight lines

direction of  
movement

along straight lines:  
diagonal and hori-  
zontal

relation of lines

rectilinear

Form

mass

man's body is poorly done; the only internal details are some incisions on the torso and calf; some swelling of torso, arm and legs to show body contours; sharp lines divide off torso from limbs and head; man's head consists of dots and channels; bull's body is somewhat modelled in the middle, but sharp lines point out the joints and limbs; drill and wheel marks on limbs and face

pose

some attempt at torsion in the man's attitude; his pose is almost that of a runner; man's torso is unrelated to his undisciplined limbs; bull is in a partial trot(hind legs) but



Animal mass is treated as on its action seems internal  
 perspective sharp separation of portraiture  
 marks. The human pose shows features of a figure  
 torsion school, seen on the not be in view --  
 NAM 163 and NAM 165 and the the man's legs and  
 The runner's pose is evident entire torso appear,  
 that was seen on NAM 79 LHIIB but with no connec-  
 tion; figures overlap a partial  
 but are not close-  
 knit

Convention of showing all essential features of ob-  
 COMPOSITION:  
 general which would not show i rectilinear; attempt  
 observed on the Myc.IIIb Pylos at human torsion does  
 syntactical features of defiance not create a shape The  
 a misunderstanding of the tor which is adapted to  
 the frame; rather, rough  
 man's legs and head  
 disregard it  
 unity no unity  
 balance unity and balance, is balanced bull and  
 unbalanced man create  
 seals and sealings an unbalanced picture

Line and form are treated as on the Mycenae sealings  
 and on the Dimini and Theban seals. Lack of inner  
 detail and similar treatment of neck and arm muscles  
 are seen on NAM 163. The man's face is like that of  
 the Theban man, but mostly resembles a seal of LHIIIb  
 context from western Greece, the Akona lentoid(Pylos  
 Museum). Other features of NAM 137 are:  
 Such facial treatment was evident on NAM  
 199 (LHIIb-IIIa) and NAM 224 (LMIb/Myc.IIa) before this.  
 The amygdaloid shape is generally thought  
 to be early and to have been reserved.

Animal mass is treated as on NAM 408, with some internal modelling, but sharp separations and wheel and drill marks. The human pose shows some remnant of the torsion school, seen on the animals from Mycenae: NAM 163 and NAM 165 and the Theban and Larissa men. The runner's pose is evident on NAM 165; the animal's partial trot was seen on NAM 79 (LHIIb). The perspective convention of showing all essential features of objects, which would not show in reality, is somewhat observed on the Myc.IIIb Pylos sealing NAM 340. The syntactical features of defiance of the frame through a misunderstanding of the torsion principle, and lack of unity and balance, is seen on all other IIIa-b seals and sealings.

Because of the relationship of NAM 137 to the Mycenae, Dimini, Theban and Akona seals and sealings, we date the seal to LHIIIa (or at latest IIIa-b), a date which corresponds to the period of manufacture of other objects in Mycenae Tomb 504.

Other features of NAM 137 are:

SHAPE: The amygdaloid shape is generally thought to be early and to have been reserved

period and for talismanic stones in Late Minoan  
the eastern Crete. Amygdaloids do appear occasionally  
humans and in later Mycenaean times, at Pylos and  
syntax; Thebes Perati (Myc.IIIb,IIIc).

DIMENSIONS: 2.2 cm. long; the amygdaloid is of medium  
to slightly large proportions.

MATERIAL: The stone used is cornelian, a gem which  
discovered was common in the flowering periods of  
in the Aegean glyptics and is evident even on  
on Antigone/Perati (IIIc).

TECHNIQUE: All of Biesantz' elements of Erstarrung  
does not seem are obvious, which means in terms of  
that it might technique that the instruments of en-  
employ our engraving (wheel and drill) were in evidence  
on the Aegean and that figures were sharply incised in

#### Technique 2.

These features, especially technique, corroborate the  
conclusion about chronology already reached by aesthetic  
analysis of the seal. Then, according to context and  
individual aspects of NAM 137, we date this Helladic  
piece to Myc.IIIa-b.

Another group of seals possibly from this

period and coming from eastern mainland Greece and the eastern Mediterranean are the representations of humans and animals in heraldic or quasi-heraldic syntax: Thebes 175, BM 1945 10-13,133, Prosymna 581, NAM 89 and AM 9P and BN M7271.

The Theban agate cylinder, Thebes 175, was discovered along with the flattened cylinder Thebes 211 in the destruction layer of the part of the Kadmeion on Antigone/Pindar Streets, dated Myc.IIIb (see pp.128-9). The origin of the seal is more open to question, but does not seem to be oriental. Miss Porada suggests that it might be of local Theban origin. We shall employ our aesthetic and other criteria for judgment on the Aegean aspects and date of this cylinder seal.

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves, straight lines
direction of movement	along a straight line: vertical and diagonal
relation of lines	rectilinear
<u>Form</u> mass	human torso details consist of only a few incised lines with swel-

unity  
balance

ling toward the arms;  
limbs have little de-  
tail, except for in-  
cision running the  
length of one leg;  
human head consists  
of a dot for eye and  
a long nose and globu-  
led hair; animal bo-  
dies are very exagger-  
ated in shape, elon-  
gated and narrow near  
hind legs; wheel and  
drill marks are ob-  
vious in treatment  
of body contours and  
limbs; the manes and  
wings are striated,  
very stylised; heads  
are dominated by  
circle for the eye  
and mouths are open

The treatment of form,  
The line drawing, lack of inter-  
of sharp contours and drill marks  
the pose with its remnant of  
works of the LHIIIa (or IIIa-b)  
drical shape is best accommoda-  
pose  
gures and symmetrical composi-  
and balance are created.

human stands with  
arms extended; lions,  
stags and griffins,  
with S curved bodies,  
exhibit some amount  
of torsion; their  
poses form pleasing  
decorations

SH perspective

The cylinder is  
occasionally in

there is no over-  
lapping nor intimate  
relation of figures

COMPOSITION:  
general

derived from the  
1.8 cm. long;  
than the Kakovai

rectilinear on cylin-  
der which in impression  
is a frieze field; ac-  
commodation to the  
frame; the slightly con-  
torted beasts lend

MATERIAL:

The cylinder is made of brown and white  
agate, a stone which was very popular

	variation to the vertical and the horizontal
<u>unity</u>	<u>by glance</u>
<u>balance</u>	individual animals are unbalanced; man is balanced; entire scene attains a degree of static balance

The treatment of form, especially, is Mycenaean. The line drawing, lack of internal details and evidence of sharp contours and drill marks on limbs and heads, the pose with its remnant of torsion all recall other works of the LHIIIa (or IIIa-b) period. The cylindrical shape is best accommodated by rectilinear figures and symmetrical composition, and a better unity and balance are created.

Other aspects of this seal are:

- SHAPE: The cylinder is a shape which is found occasionally in the Aegean ( eg. Kakovatos seal), but which is obviously derived from the Orient.
- DIMENSIONS: 1.8 cm. long; the cylinder is smaller than the Kakovatos piece.
- MATERIAL: The cylinder is made of brown and white agate, a stone which was very popular

for seal engraving in the flowering periods of Aegean glyptics and which was abundant in the lapidaries workshop at Thebes. According to Miss Porada, "...the agate from Thebes has more intense color contrasts than is generally seen in the agates from Western Asia."<sup>100</sup>

**TECHNIQUE:** Technique 2 is in evidence on this seal. The tools of engraving, drill and wheel, create deep holes for eyes and joints and sharp contours on bodies and limbs.

Aside from the attributes of this seal which show Mycenaean rather than Oriental dress and hair style (as compared with Thebes 203<sup>101</sup>), the material and technique and the style and syntax of the Theban cylinder all point to the Aegean origin of this Myc.IIIa (or IIIa-b) seal.

BM 1945 10-13,133 was acquired by the British Museum from the Southesk Collection. According to the catalogue of this collection, it was found in Golgoi, Cyprus, and is a Cypriot cylinder of c.1000 B.C.

which is "somewhat in Mycenaean style". The human form is likened to Cretan figures.

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In order to assess these claims, we shall apply our aesthetic criteria and then consider other individual features of the seal.

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised to graceful curves; few straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines: diagonal, vertical, horizontal; few curves
relation of lines	rectilinear with curved edges
<u>Form</u> mass	little internal detail on human torso; only great bulge of trapezium and biceps and depression of clavicles where torso meets the neck, are indicated; the neck is very long; knees and ankles are dots and only a few internal incisions indicate calf muscles; the man's face consists of a dot for the eye and channelled outline; lions' and other animals' bodies are exaggerated in shape, with



unity

Belgian

slight to a great deal of torsion; their figures are thin and curved and on the lions' bodies there is internal detail showing hairs on the lower body contour and the mane; drill marks on limbs indicate joints; faces consist of a large circle for an eye and a dot at the tip of the nose

pose

man is upright with arms extended, bent at the elbow; lions and goats are in partial torsion poses, well done, with their heads turned back in on their bodies

perspective

there is some overlapping, but the convention exists of showing all essential parts of the body even if they would not appear in reality, being shielded by another animal (goat); figures strewn all over the field and do not appear close-knit

COMPOSITION:

general

rectilinear figure on rectangular frame (impression); accommodation to shape and also variation with the partial torsion of animals relieving the horizontal and vertical emphases

unity by glance and to some extent by pose (symmetry)

---

balance human is balanced and animals are not; central group of human and two lions creates a static balance; combination of unbalanced animals in field with this static group, creates some degree of dynamic balance

---

DIMENSIONS: 1.7 cm. long;

**MATERIAL** In addition to the many correspondences between this seal and Thebes 175: in subject matter of humans with lions, griffins and stags, and in general composition, we also see similarities with other IIIa-b seals and sealings in the treatment of form: the human torso recalls NAM 163; the stag on the far side has the pose of the NAM 163 animals; the lions' attitudes are paralleled in Thebes; the lack of much inner detail of the body surface, the slight torsion of figures and exaggerated shapes of bodies are common to IIIa-b seals; the convention of showing all parts of a figure which is behind another, thereby defying realistic portrayal and segmenting its body, can also be seen on NAM 137 and the Pylos sealing NAM 340 (IIIb); animal heads are treated as on Thebes 175.

An Argolid seal with similar subject, Prosymna 581,

Other features of the BM seal are:

**SHAPE:** The cylindrical shape of this seal is this seal was of Oriental origin. The cylinder seal Prosymna in this rarely found in the Aegean (Thebes, lost during the Kakovatos).

**DIMENSIONS:** 1.7 cm. long; the cylinder is about the same size as Thebes 175.

**MATERIAL:** The cylinder is made of hematite, a soft material which was used in the early chamber. Unlike the main chamber; and final stages of Aegean glyptics.

**TECHNIQUE:** The technique 2 is used; there is evidence causing considerable damage to the objects on the floor below. Barely of Biesantz' Gelenkknorpel in the drill broken remains of a cylix and of a stirrup vase... a body had once marks, but little or no Innenzeichnung right side in this left part of the side chamber... the remains in the or Konturrippen. consisted of a shallow cup with two high handles; a chisel of bronze and a flat, toothed saw of some material; The technique and possibly material of this scene of a cow and a suckling calf found at the points, seal, in addition to the style and syntax and the found at the blunt end of the saw... The side chamber had been general lack of Oriental attributes of dress and hair, employment of the tomb must... fall wholly in Late Helladic persuade us to consider this seal, as Thebes 175, to the side chamber, are without doubt to be assigned to be a work of Mycenaean art. The date of the seal's manufacture must lie in the Myc. III period, probably

IIIa-b. "According to the excavator, the finds from the side chamber are probably earlier than those from the floor. But the side chamber pottery is IIIb, and the

An Argolid seal with similar subject, Prosymna 581,

was found in Tomb XXXIII of the prehistoric cemetery near the Argive Heraion. According to Sakellariou, this seal was not found along with other objects from Prosymna in the Athens Museum, and may have been lost during the war.

This seal was discovered in a side chamber in the tomb. This chamber, according to Blegen, was placed without reference to the axis of the main chamber. Unlike the main chamber:

"The side chamber was small and very irregular in shape...the roof of the side chamber had fallen, causing considerable damage to the objects on the floor below. Barely within the door, on the left, lay the broken remains of a cylix and of a stirrup vase...a body had once lain in a contracted position on its right side in this left part of the side chamber...the remains in the outer right corner of the side chamber... consisted of a shallow cup with two high handles; a chisel of bronze and a flat, toothed saw of some material; two lentoid seal stones, one with an intaglio scene of a cow and a suckling calf found at the points, the other with a human figure holding two lions, found at the blunt end of the saw...The side chamber had been used for at least two burials...The construction and employment of the tomb must...fall wholly in Late Hellenic III. The earlier remains, from the cists and from the side chamber, are without doubt to be assigned to the initial phases of that period..." 104

Furumark adds:

"According to the excavator, the finds from the side chamber are probably earlier than those from the floor. But the side chamber pottery is IIIb, and the

finds from the inner left corner of the main chamber must belong to the same burials, or, possibly to another IIIb interment..." 105

As many other seals and sealings dated by style to Myc. IIIa or IIIa-b, this gem was found in Myc. IIIb context. We list its aesthetic features:

COMPOSITION:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Seal
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves; straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines: vertical, horizontal
relation of lines	rectilinear
<u>Form</u> mass	human body has little internal detail aside from a V for the clavicles and some incisions at the calf; there is some swelling of torso, arms and limbs to indicate muscles; man's face consists of a dot for the eye and globules for hair; the lions' bodies are exaggerated in shape; internal detail consists mainly of the individual hairs of the manes and sharp lines on the limbs; their heads are dominated by a huge eye and mouths are open

Mycenas (165) pieces. The general composition is paralleled

pose the man stands upright with extended arms; there is a remnant of the torsion school in the C and S curves of the lions' bodies

---

perspective figures do not overlap and do not seem very close-knit

---

COMPOSITION: shape in late Aegean glyptic.  
general rectilinear figure on circular frame; the slight torsion in the C and S attitudes of the lions partially accommodates the shape, however

---

unity by glance and pose (symmetry)

---

balance man is balanced but lions are not; whole creates some static balance

---

TECHNIQUE: The stylistic and syntactical features of this lentoid relate it closely to the Mycenae sealings and to the Theban agate cylinder. Line is treated in characteristic Myc.IIIa-b manner with a mixture of curves and straight lines (see NAM 165). The internal details and swellings of the torso are like NAM 163 and Thebes 175. As on other IIIa-b seals, globules indicate the man's short locks. The lions' bodies and faces and S and C attitudes recall the Theban(175) and Mycenae (165) pieces. The general composition is paralleled

at Thebes, and the slight torsion of figures is common throughout IIIa-b, thereby creating a degree of accommodation to the frame.

in quasi-heraldic syntax appears on NAM 99. This

Other features of Prosymna 581 are:

SHAPE: This seal is allentoid, the most popular shape in late Aegean glyptics.

DIMENSIONS: 1.5 cm; the seal is of rather small proportions for the period.

MATERIAL: The seal is made of agate. According to Kenna, such a fine stone would not have been used in Myc. IIIb, the date suggested for this seal by the objects found along with it in Tomb XXXIII.

TECHNIQUE: Technique 2 is used but the instruments of engraving are not so clearly in evidence. The technique seems like the manner of engraving used on NAM 163 and 165.

Aesthetic Categories                      Description of Seal

These additional features, especially, according to Kenna, the material, along with the style and syntax of Prosymna 581, lead us to assign it to the group of seals of Myc. IIIa or IIIa-b that were all found in

in context with Myc.IIIb objects.

FORM  
MASS

Another representation of humans and lions in quasi-heraldic syntax appears on NAM 89. This ring was found in Chamber Tomb 58 at Mycenae. The contents of the tomb are unpublished, except for a few sealstones in the Athens Museum. One of these, NAM 95, has been designated as a Minoan LMII import, and other seals in the tomb show affinities with the glyptic art of LMII-IIIa/Myc.IIb-IIIa (see p. 80). Sakellariou dates this seal to LHIIIb on the strength of its relation to Prosymna 581, which was found in context with Myc.IIIb objects. As the Prosymna seal may be dated slightly earlier than Myc.IIIb and since the sealstones found in Chamber Tomb 58 at Mycenae point to an earlier date, the chronology of the Mycenae seal is not certain. We shall first examine the aesthetic aspects of the seal.

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line  
quality

direction of  
movement

the man stands upright with extended arms; stylised curves; straight lines; along straight lines, mainly vertical, also horizontal



relation of lines

rectilinear

Form

mass

long human body is given much attention; his torso is marked by a prominent median

COMPOSITION:

general

line, clavicles which separate the neck from the body and concentric circles to indicate his breasts; his torso is curved, extending into muscular arms, with trapezium and bicep swellings and an incised line

unity

balance

at one wrist; his legs and feet are well modelled; equally detailed is the man's head, the clearest portrait since LHI, with hair and beard, ears, eye and brow, Minoan nose and

The style of this seal

and perspective, differs great

seals. The human torso bears

the chest of the human figures

Arms and legs are treated as

The closest parallel for the

on the Mycenaean seal is evident

rock crystal lentoid in Paris,

has a representation of a comb

position of its figures and the

worn to that on the LHII seal BR M6673, point to

shapely mouth; lions' mass is well expressed with intricate detail of manes, body hair and limbs and good body modelling, even showing ribs; joints over forelegs are prominent; the animals' faces are realistic with open mouths and small eyes

the man stands upright with extended arms; the animals are in C and S poses, suggesting some torsion

perspective there is overlapping and interrelation of figures as the man's hands grab the animals and the lions' paws reach for the man

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COMPOSITION:

general	rectilinear on elliptical frame; the torsion of lions in C and S poses and the horizontal thrust of the man's arms along the length of the seal allow accommodation to the frame
unity	by glance and pose (symmetry)
balance	human is balanced but animals are not; whole achieves some static balance

---

The style of this seal, especially in mass and perspective, differs greatly from that of IIIa-b seals. The human torso bears slight resemblance to the chest of the human figures on NAM 280 (Myc. IIa). Arms and legs are treated as on NAM 95 (LMII-IIIa). The closest parallel for the treatment of human mass on the Mycenae seal is evident on a broken small rock crystal lentoid in Paris, BN M3377. This lentoid has a representation of a combat among men. The position of its figures and the similarity of helmets worn to that on the LHII seal BN M6673, point to

a date for this lentoid of ,at the latest, LHIIb.  
The facial portrait on the Mycenae seal is only paralleled  
in Greece on the LHI seal NAM 5. A prism seal in  
Paris, BN M6781, depicts the heads of bearded men  
with similar details (see Figure 19 ). The mass and  
pose of the animals are better executed on the Mycenae  
gem than on the Frosymna lentoid. Yet, the head of  
one Mycenae lion is nearly identical with the heads of  
lions on Thebes 175. A real torsion is created in the  
S and C poses of lions and they are well suited to the  
shape of the frame. The scene is unified by pose and  
glance and attains static balance.

Though at first glance the Mycenae ring has  
much in common with Myc.IIIa-b seals, under aesthetic  
analysis it betrays a great degree of artistic skill  
which was more evident at a slightly earlier date  
in Crete. We may wish to relate this seal to the  
LMII-IIIa tradition that produced NAM 95, and date  
this piece (which still seems to be more of Mycenaean  
than Cretan inspiration) to LHIIb-IIIa.

Other characteristics of NAM 89 are:  
of the Mycenae ring, point to a period where figures

**SHAPE:** The seal is a signet ring. This type and may indicate its popular in earlier Mycenaean basis of contemporary glyptics although it is evident at Perati and may have been used widely at Pylos in Myc. IIIb (elliptical sealings). The ring handle is undecorated, which, according to Kenna, points to early fabrication. Such ring handles, though, are also found at Perati (IIIc), eg. NAM 390.

**DIMENSIONS:** The ring handle is the same size as NAM 15 (LHI): 1.9 cm. in diameter, and large enough to be worn. Its bezel is 1.8 cm. and 2.8 cm. and considerably smaller than the seal surface on Shaft Grave rings.

**MATERIAL:** The ring is made of red jasper.

**TECHNIQUE:** Technique 1 is employed on bodies. Tech-

nique 2 appears on the limbs and man's torso. Incision is sharp but modelling original source...

is smooth and lions' bodies are like the lion on NAM 9 in technique.

The provenance of the Paris seal is unknown. The only information given by the museum register is that it This good technique, in addition to the style and syntax was acquired from M. Hambar in 1909. In our attempt of the Mycenae ring, point to a period where figures to determine the origin and date of these seals, we

were less stereotyped and generalized than in Myc. IIIb and may indicate some Cretan inspiration. On the basis of context, aesthetic features and technique, we date this seal to the period when heraldic compositions are popular in Crete, to the time of the Knossos palace destruction, that is, LHIIb-IIIa. As with the group of man-bull scenes, the antithetic scenes in Greece began to appear in LHIIb and gained in popularity in LHIIIa-b.

Two other three figure antithetic scenes are very similar and may be treated together: AM 9P and BN M7271. According to Evans, the Ashmolean lentoid was found in Kydonia, Crete. Kenna, however, in his catalogue of the Oxford seals, does not give a provenance for the seal. He places the seal in a group of "peripheral gems" which:

"...are obviously related in varying degrees to the Cretan and mainland products and...for style and general characteristics Crete appears to have been the original source..." 110

The provenance of the Paris seal is unknown. The only information given by the museum register is that it was acquired from M. Hanbar in 1909. In our attempt to determine the origin and date of these seals, we

shall first consider their aesthetic features: overlap and are not closely interrelated

Aesthetic Categories                      Description of Seals

STYLE: POSITION:

Line                      some accommodation to  
quality                      straight lines, some stylised curves

direction of                      along straight lines:  
movement                      vertical and some horizontal

unity                      of lions in  
relation of                      rectilinear with some  
lines                      curved edges

Form                      an extension of the  
mass                      human torso and arms

balance                      lack indication of muscles and other details; on Paris seal, legs are swollen and r. thigh (original) bulges in the impression because of the seals

All of the above features seen closely to the group of quasi-lions of Myc. IIIa-b. The treatment especially in the Mycenaean adaptation scheme in the C curved Helladic origin for both pieces. Other aspects of the pose

pose                      man is upright; lions are in an upright

SHAPE:                      Both seals are in an upright C position; there is a turning of the animals' bodies but

DIMENSIONS:                      Paris: 1.9 cm.; no Cretan contorsion; hence, a decorative pattern is created than

average.

perspective	The Oxford gem figures do not overlap and are not closely interrelated
COMPOSITION: general	some accommodation to the lentoid frame by the curve of the lions' bodies; central vertical axis
TECHNIQUE: unity	by glance of lions inward and by pose (symmetry); however the man's glance calls for an extension of the frame
balance	man is balanced and lions are unbalanced; some degree of static balance is created by the whole scene

All of the above features seem to relate the two seals closely to the group of quasi-heraldic representations of Myc. IIIa-b. The treatment of line and form, especially in the Mycenaean adaptation of the Cretan torsion scheme in the C curved lions, point to a Helladic origin for both pieces.

Other aspects of the Paris and Ashmolean gems are:  
Akona tholos near Pylos, Pylos Museum (uncatalogued).  
SHAPE: Both seals are lentoids. This was the most popular shape in late Aegean glyptics.  
DIMENSIONS: Paris: 1.9 cm.; Oxford: 2.1 cm; the average.

MATERIALS: The Oxford gem is white banded agate, a popular material in the late Bronze Age in Crete and Greece. The Paris seal is hematite, a softer stone.

TECHNIQUE: The carving on the Paris seal is deep. Technique 2 is evident on both gems.

The sharp divisions between the lions' hind quarters and bodies and the men's thighs and lower legs along with the drill marks evident on heads and limbs, seem to be signs of Biesantz' Erstarrung.

The technique seems to be characteristically Helladic. We then conclude on the basis of style, syntax and technique that the two seals are Helladic and belong to the group of heraldic scenes of Myc. IIIa-b. 111

STYLE:

The third Mycenaean period may be represented in western mainland Greece in the sealstone from the Akona tholos near Pylos, Pylos Museum (uncatalogued). As general with tomb finds, its dating is not secured by context. This second of a pair of tholoi at Akona was excavated by Marinatos in 1963. The diameter of



the tomb's chamber is 6.20 m. and the height of its walls is 2.50 m. The seal was found in a pit in the chamber along with a small dagger or γλωσσοειδές μαχαίριον . Another small find from the chamber, published by Marinatos, is a κύαθος which is best related in form to Furumark's Form 227 of Myc.IIIb.<sup>112</sup> Marinatos dates the final burial in the tomb to Myc.IIIb.<sup>113</sup> The objects in the pit may belong to an earlier burial.

In order to observe the trends in west Peloponnesian glyptics in the third Late Mycenaean period and to learn more about the date of the sealstone, we shall first consider its aesthetic features.

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves; few straight lines
direction of movement	along straight lines, horizontal, little vertical; some circular (horns, man's legs)
relation of lines	rectilinear with some curves
<u>Form</u> mass	human body has no internal details to indicate muscles; we just

unity

balance

see a curving form with a hole mark at the shoulder and incisions on the thighs; human head consists of a dot for eye and channelled outline; the animal's body has smooth inner modelling except for a sharp break between rump and torso and sharp lines at the join of the foreleg to the body; legs show wheel and drill marks and the body contour shows marks of the drill, producing Konturrippen; the animal's head is done with drill marks

pose

man is in Group II man-bull pose, but with his legs kicking up to form a whirl-pattern; his hands do not grab the animal's horns but its neck; animal is in a trot; its hind half seems stationary and its fore-quarters seem active; the effect is not pleasing

perspective

no overlapping and figures are not very close-knit

COMPOSITION:

general nature of the beast rectilinear on lentoid frame; because of the slight torsion of the man's whirling legs and the animal's curving horns, there is partial

rectilinear on lentoid frame; because of the slight torsion of the man's whirling legs and the animal's curving horns, there is partial

unity	accommodation to the shape
balance	a partial unity is created by the man's glance, but this is defeated by the animal who looks out of the picture
	individuals are unbalanced and fail to create a balanced whole

The aesthetic features of the Akona lentoid were also evident on the Group II man-bull scenes found in eastern mainland Greece and dated to Myc.IIIa-b. There is a combination of straight and curved lines, relating into a rectilinear figure with some curved edges. As on NAM 408, the human mass is given summary treatment and the animal receives most attention. It is treated with smooth inner modelling and sharp contour marks and drill holes at the joints, limbs and face. The human face is like that of the man on NAM 137 (IIIa-b) and NAM 199(IIb-IIIa) and NAM 224(Myc.IIa/LMIb) before that. The animal's pose is seen on NAM 408, though the hind limbs on the Akona seal seem a bit stiffer. The hybrid nature of the beast recalls earlier gems: eg. NAM 79 (LHIIb). The treatment of syntax is not very satisfactory. Although there is partial accommodation

to the frame, individual figures are not closely related to each other (perspective), causing an unbalanced picture with little unity. The relation between this seal and the Group II man-bull scenes from the eastern mainland, persuades us to assign the Akona seal to the Myc.IIIa-b period.

Other features of the Pylos gem are:

- SHAPE: The seal is a lentoid, a popular shape in the late Aegean Bronze Age.
- DIMENSIONS: 1.5 cm.; the seal is rather small.
- MATERIAL: The seal is made of green chalcedony.
- TECHNIQUE: Technique 2 is evident, especially on the man's face. The tools of engraving are somewhat in evidence, especially the wheel which produces sharp contours of the body of the animal.

The technique again points to the relationship between the Akona gem and Myc.IIIa-b gems and sealings. On the basis of context, technique and aesthetic features, we date the Pylos Museum seal to Myc.IIIa-b. We do not see any particular differences between Helladic works of glyptic art found in the eastern and western

parts of mainland Greece at this time.

Evidence of the achievements in Mycenaean glyptics at the time of the final palace destruction in Greece, when Myc.IIIb and IIIc ware appear together, at present comes almost exclusively from the 'Palace of Nestor' at Pylos (Ano Englianos).<sup>114</sup> As with most domestic contexts, our dating is secure. Sealings were found in the palace, often alongside Linear B tablets. They fall into groups according to the areas and rooms in which they were found:

Main Complex (megaron)

archive rooms: 7.....NAM 307  
8.....NAM 302

North-East Complex (workshop)

rooms: 98.....NAM 324,314  
99.....NAM 331

Wine Magazine (on north edge)

rooms: 104.....NAM 340  
105.....NAM 342,359

Southwest Slope (of the hill)

NAM 378

uncertain.....NAM Inv.9048a,b

We shall examine each of these find spots within the palace separately:

Main Complex (Archive rooms 7 and 8):

These two rooms are on the left as one enters the central palace to approach the megaron. The excavator states that "... (here) where the tax collector apparently had his office, 100 tablets were found..." (during the excavations of 1939).<sup>115</sup> Blegen reports that among the tablets on the floor, were recovered the bronze hinges from containers and a large number of clay sealings. In 1955, after excavation of the SW palace had begun, Blegen stated:

"Our own conclusion is that the pottery from the floors of the palace by and large must be attributed to a time when the types called Myc.IIIb were associated with and beginning to give way to those that became characteristic of Myc.IIIc:1...1200...destruction."<sup>116</sup>

North-East Complex

This complex consists of many rooms forming a rectangular block. At the north-east corner is a large rectangular room (98). "It was probably a storeroom for supplies of raw materials."<sup>117</sup> Blegen says that:

"The apartment...had been buried beneath large chunks of fused clay and stone, and a thick layer of disintegrated crude brick; and here too there was a profusion of carbonized matter on the earthen floors. Under one badly crushed vessel near the middle of the chamber, Miss Rawson recovered 12 clay sealings and nine further examples were collected from other places in the room."<sup>118</sup>

To the south of this room was a very long row of niches -- perhaps fallen from niches -- room (99), in whose westerly quarter were found "...97, representing a good many different seals of varying pieces of inscribed tablets with which were associated inscribed ideograms, which Ventris and Chadwick, 119 ll complete and four fragmentary clay sealings."

Of the purpose of this area, the excavators state that:

"The presence of so many tablets and seal impressions suggests in any event that official administrative services of some kind were installed here...since several of the seal impressions are inscribed with the word O-PA, which has been interpreted as referring to some form of feudal service... palace guard...armoury?" 120

This complex then appears to be a wing of the main palace and its destruction date should agree with walls in the southwest. The South-West sector was that of the megaron (as supported by finds in the burnt first explored in 1956, and by 1961, the plan of a large layer).

#### Wine Magazine

This complex is outside the main building, to the north

and parallel to the steep north-western edge of the hill. 121

The area was excavated in 1958 and its appearance at

the time of its discovery is described below:

(The entry to the complex was at the north-west end of the vestibule (104)) "No stone threshold was found in place: the space it might have occupied was filled with burnt earth and clay in which was recovered some 14 clay seal impressions and fragments." Otherwise, the vestibule yielded nothing of interest... (In the storeroom 105)...in a restricted area beside the jars at

the right of the entrance and behind the southeastern row of pithoi were found --- perhaps fallen from niches --- some 40 or more clay sealings, complete or fragmentary, representing a good many different seals of varying artistic quality. Four of these sealings bear an inscribed ideogram, which Ventris and Chadwick, following Sundwall, have recognized as designating wine." (Wr 1358-61 𐀀𐀃 ). 122

This area appears to have belonged to the palace complex and to have suffered destruction along with the main building.

#### Southwest Slope

The only section of the hill which does not comply in date with the above complex is the array of building walls in the south-west. The South-West sector was first explored in 1956, and by 1961, the plan of a large building oriented nw to se with a later addition at its se end, became clear. Blegen dates this building:

"Its construction must be attributed to Early Mycenaean (LHI), and it had evidently been demolished before the palace of Mycenaean IIIb was erected. Abutting against its southwestern side, where its outer face was veneered with smallish, but nearly squared blocks of poros, houses forming part of the lower town of Mycenaean IIIa were built. The associated deposit contained an accumulation of potsherds of that phase... In the black earth, disturbed by the plow, that formed the superficial stratum covering this early building were found nine small fragments of inscribed tablets, and two clay sealings which had been baked hard enough by fire to be preserved." 123

Near the sw edge, 6 m. se of the throne room of the



Southwest Building, was an olive tree which was cut down to allow excavation of the area. Under the layer of vegetation decay was a burnt layer, under which were stone walls aligned with others in the nw, sw and se: the Thessaloniki provenance assigned to this gold

ring and "From the top of the burnt layer --which barely covers stereo -- came a clay sealing and a fragment of another. In the overlying disturbed black earth were collected 14 bits and fragments of inscribed tablets. Whence and how they reached this relatively modern deposit is not now determinable." 124

In Papathanasopoulos' examination of the stratified deposit of the towerlike corner of the sw building, he saw phases Myc.IIIb preceded by IIIa, II and I. In

1874, Gobineau discusses this ring, no. 44 in his

The only sealing in our survey to come from this ill-defined area is NAM 340. In both southwest areas where sealings were found, they were associated with Linear B fragments and a burnt layer. We may then assume that this sealing owes its preservation to the same great fire which swept over the main palace complex in Myc.IIIb-c, baking all of the other Pylos sealings.

however, the finding of a Mycenaean ring in such a context seems improbable. This gold ring passed from Gobineau into the hands of Danincourt, who placed it in the museum at Peronnas, France.

NAM 307, discovered in the destruction layer in Archive Room 7, and the more recently examined pieces, Inv.9048 a and b, display similarities with the ring in the Musée de Peronne. We must examine the evidence for the Thessaloniki provenance assigned to this gold ring and then, in aesthetic analysis and observation of other particularities of these pieces, determine whether this ring does provide an east mainland counterpart to the glyptic activities in Messenia.

The Peronne seal appears first in publications by Gobineau, Furtwängler and Perrot and Chipiez. In 1874, Gobineau discusses this ring, no. 44 in his collection:

"Cette bague a été trouvée en 1867, à Salonique, dans une sépulture antique, et j'ai beaucoup regretté étant alors à Athènes, de n'avoir pu connaître les détails de la découverte. Le travail de cette belle oeuvre est complètement antique..." 125

126 Perrot and Chipiez (1894) and Furtwängler (1900) 127 repeat the information about the discovery of the ring in 1867 in a Thessaloniki tomb. According to Sakellariou, however, the finding of a Mycenaean ring in such a context seems improbable. 128 This gold ring passed from Gobineau into the hands of Danincourt, who placed it in the museum at Peronne, France.

As there is little contextual evidence, we turn to an aesthetic comparison of the Peronne ring to the Myc.IIIb Pylos sealings, NAM 307 and NAM Inv. 9048 a and b.

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seals</u>
STYLE:	
<u>Line</u> quality	stylised curves; 48 are straight lines
<u>direction of</u> <u>movement</u>	along straight lines; diagonal; some curving
<u>relation of</u> <u>lines</u>	rectilinear, an x with curving ends ∞
<u>Form</u> <u>mass</u>	no attempt at great muscular detail of human torso; there is a v depression where the neck meets the torso, and indications of the lower boundary of the thorax on the r. man on 307 and the l. man on Peronne (impression); there is swelling of trapezium and bicep muscles on all figures but particularly on the r. figure on 307; legs have incision on thighs and calves and have undulating contours to indicate muscles, especially graceful on 307; bulging, well modelled muscles on 9048; on the Peronne ring, one arm of the

man at 1. (impression) is separated from the body, and his torso is disconnected from limbs; his proportions and legs are squat; on 307, thighs and lower leg of man at 1. are unconnected, but generally the treatment of bodies on 307 provide a more graceful impression with a longer figure; the figures on 9048 are even thinner; some facial detail on all pieces; lions' bodies are smoothly modelled, with lines and holes on limbs on all pieces; faces show a long nose between two round eyes, and on Peronne, a prominent mane

perspective

COMPOSITION:  
general

pose

unity

balance

the poses on all seals appear to be identical; however, the line of torso to hind legs of the men on Pylos sealings forms a straight line and strong diagonal, while this line on Peronne figures is broken and produces a feebler pose; whereas the hand of the 1. man on 307 is thrust back as with most men in Harmodean attitudes, and his back is arched (9048), the raised arm of the r. figure on Peronne (impression) seems cramped and awkwardly raised without backward thrust; poses are stereotyped;

The differences between

Pylos sealings seem to lie in

better artists of NAM 307 and

the pose of lions on the sealings is obscured by their state of preservation, but it seems to correspond to the C curving, slightly contorted bodies and top-view heads of lions on the Peronne ring; human poses on the sealings are the reverse of their poses on the seal figures overlap and appear close-knit

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perspective

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COMPOSITION:  
general

rectilinear with curved edges on an elliptical frame, probably in all cases; some accommodation to the frame by the diagonal slants of the humans and the torsional poses of the lions

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unity

---

by glance and pose (symmetry, torsion)

---

balance

---

human figures are more unbalanced on the sealings than Peronne (where their feet are firmer on the ground); animals are unbalanced; the balance created by the entire scene seems to be more dynamic on the Pylos pieces

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The differences between the Peronne seal and Pylos sealings seem to lie in craftsmanship, where the better artists of NAM 307 and NAM Inv.9048 could pro-

duce better proportioned and posed human beings whose combination with animals provided a more dynamic composition than that achieved by the Peronne artist, with his squatter and more steady figures.

The similarities, as opposed to earlier works as NAM 9 and NAM 290, are mainly found in the sphere of composition, according to Sakellariou:

" Στή σφραγίδα τῶν Μυκηνηῶν (NAM9)...οἱ ἄξονες τῆς ἀνθρώπινης μορφῆς καί τοῦ λιονταριοῦ σχηματίζουν γωνία. Στό δακτυλίδι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης καί στό σφράγισμα τῆς Πύλου, οἱ ἄξονες δέν εἶναι εὐθύγραμμοι: τό λιοντάρι δέν ὀρθώνεται, ὅπως στήν προηγούμενη παράσταση, στά ὀπίσθια σκέλη, ἀλλά, πατώντας μόνο τό ένα καί ἀπωθώντας μέ τό ἄλλο"129

These three pieces then exhibit many similar stylistic as well as syntactical features, which are characteristic of later Mycenaean glyptic art (IIIb): the combination of straight and curved lines; bodies with little inner detail and swollen and often exaggerated torsos; stereotyped poses which are nevertheless vigorous and may exhibit torsion; partial accommodation to the shape of the frame.

Other aspects of these seals are:

**SHAPE:** The sealing fragments from Pylos may come from elliptical bezels of rings like the Peronne piece.

**DIMENSIONS:** NAM 307, in its fragmentary state, is 1.4 x 2.6 cm.; 9048a is 1.5 x 1.5 cm. and b is 1.3 x 0.7 cm.; the Peronne ring is 3.2 x 2.1 cm.

**MATERIAL:** Sakellaridou suggests that the Pylos clay






**STYLE:** sealings, because of their quality, were impressed from seals made of gold. The Peronne ring is gold.

**TECHNIQUE:** Technique 1 is generally employed, with Technique 2 used possibly on faces; on NAM 307 there is less evidence of the tools of engraving than on the Peronne ring, where Konturrippen, Gelenkknorpel and Innenzeichnung appear. Deep cutting is observed on 9048.

Further differences between the Peronne and Pylos seals can be seen in their technique. The more successful technique of NAM 307 and Inv.9048 again points out the better craftsmanship of the Pylos artists. Aside from

some details of hair style, landscape and dress, these seals may be considered to be similar and contemporary, although of different artistic quality.

Other sealings from Pylos form a homogeneous group in terms of stylistic and syntactical features which are evident in Myc.IIIb. They may also be of differing artistic quality, however:

Aesthetic Categories	Description of Sealings
STYLE: <u>Line</u> quality	in all examples, we find stylised curves, which produce a straight rather than swaying impression
<hr/> direction of movement	<hr/> along straight lines, diagonal (302, 314, 324, 331, 340, 342, 359, 378), horizontal (302, 314, 324, 342), vertical (331?); some curved (359, 302, 314, 324, 331)
<hr/> relation of lines	<hr/> rectilinear with circular ends: 302  ; 314  ; 324  ; 342  ; 359  ; rectilinear: 331-triangle; 340
<hr/> <u>Form</u> <u>mass</u>	<hr/> in all cases there is little attempt to show internal detail of human



bodies with only a depression at the neck (331,302?) and trapezium and bicep swellings (302,331); some incisions on 314; the legs are well shaped but have little internal detail (302,324,331,340, but with some incision on 314, on the thigh of r. man 331, and on 359); human faces are non-descript with no hair and little other detail; good modelling of animal bodies (302,324) but drill and wheel marks on limbs of 314 (Konturrippen), 342 and sharp contour lines on 331; animals' faces are stylised (331), naturalistic (359) or with drill and wheel marks (314)

perspective

pose

men are most often in the 'runner's pose' which must indicate a man in action: 324, 331(l.), 359, or its variation with the back leg on the ground and foreleg raised (as legs of men in Harmodean posture): 302, 331(r), 340 and 314 (though prostrate); poorly posed is the man on 342 in Group III man-bull pose but having little relation to the bull, and 378 in Group II man-bull posture with undisciplined limbs; human heads are in profile; animal

COMPOSITION:  
general

unity  
balance

poses are also stereo-  
typed, the most common  
attitude being the C:  
302,331(partial), 359  
(turned sideways  $\cap$ ),  
which indicates slight  
torsion; other torsion  
poses show animals with  
back-turned heads: 314,  
302,324; 314 shows ani-  
mals in flying gallop;  
342 has a badly posed  
animal, its limbs con-  
fused with the man's;  
animal heads are in top  
view (302,331), frontal  
(359?,342) or profile  
(314,302)

perspective

figures generally do  
not overlap very much,  
but have some relation  
to each other (302,314,  
324,359,331); convention  
of showing all parts of  
a figure in the back-  
ground, though they may  
be shielded in reality  
by a foreground object  
(340)

COMPOSITION:  
general

contour swelling. Humans are  
poses: Harmodian (307,9048,Per  
first on NAM 112 and 165). An  
torted and many form the C pos  
Peronne ring, and the top view  
LHI (NAM 9), returns for lions

because of the fragmen-  
tary nature of the mate-  
rial, it is difficult to  
learn the composition of  
the entire seal surface;  
we do, however, see on  
the broken sealings,  
rectilinear figures on  
circular or elliptical  
frames, but with some  
accommodation to the  
shape made by the curved

laved. The perspective curves  
was seen also on NAM 137 (III)  
unity  
balance

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edges formed by slightly  
contorted animals: 302,  
314, 324, 359  
by glance  
individual figures are un-  
balanced in the Harmodean  
and running poses, as are  
animals in their slightly  
contorted attitudes; when  
figures are interconnec-  
ted, a dynamic balance is  
attained (302,314(?),340,  
331), but where they have  
no overlapping at all,  
balance is not achieved,  
although the impression  
may still be vigorous and  
not displeasing (324,359);  
more unsatisfactory is  
the arrangement of fi-  
gures seen on 342,378

---

with the Pylos sealings.  
These sealings present a style and syntax which  
has been observed on NAM 307, NAM Inv.9048 and the  
Peronne ring. Lines are straight and curved producing  
rectilinear figures with curved edges. Mass is treated  
in all cases with little internal detail and some  
contour swelling. Humans are stereotyped into action  
poses: Harmodean (307,9048,Peronne), or running (seen  
first on NAM 112 and 165). Animals are slightly con-  
torted and many form the C pose as on NAM 307 and the  
Peronne ring, and the top view head, seen before in  
LHI (NAM 9), returns for lions. Figures are interre-

from the material from which these clay

lated. The perspective convention exhibited by NAM 340 was seen also on NAM 137 (IIIa-b). Syntactical treatment, with partial accommodation to an elliptical or circular frame, achieved by a rectilinear figure with curved edges (of torsioned animals) creating unity by glance and/or pose and some degree of dynamic balance. In all cases, vigour is achieved by using strong lines, exaggerated shapes (at times) in slight contorsions and stereotyped poses evoking action. This trend, begun with the Mycenae sealings (and hinted at earlier in Myc. I Ib-IIIa on NAM 199 and NAM 290), reaches culmination with the Pylos sealings.

Other features of the Pylos sealings are:

SHAPE: As the sealings are fragmentary, it is difficult to decide their original shape.

Most seem to be elliptical or lentoid.

DIMENSIONS: Some sealings are of large proportions, which might indicate ring bezels of elliptical shape: 302: 2.3 x 2.7 cm.; 314: 2.3 x 2.5 cm.; 324: 2.2 x 3.1 cm.; 331: 2.5 x 2.7 cm.

MATERIAL: According to Sakellariou, gold may have been the material from which these clay

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sealings were impressed.

TECHNIQUE: Both Techniques 1 and 2 are employed by the artists of the Pylos sealings. There is sharp engraving on 331, making figures like cut-outs. All the characteristics of Biesantz' Erstarrung are evident on 314 --- but generally, the tools of engraving are not obvious.

In all these features, our sealings are closely related to NAM 307 and NAM Inv.9048 and, aside from some attributes, to the Peronne signet ring. Although the Myc.IIIb period is beset with stereotyped forms, these in addition to a slightly improved technique and a better sense of composition, help to create a vigorous Mycenaean art in its final phase.

Another seal must be discussed here, on the basis of its close relationship with NAM 331; B 7 found in Syme in the Dodecanese. According to H. von Littrow of the Berlin Bodenstrasse Museum, this seal was formerly in the Rhousopolis collection.

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The aesthetic features of the Berlin seal are:

Aesthetic Categories

Description of Seal

STYLE:

Line

quality

direction of movement

relation of lines

stylised curves

along straight lines, horizontal, vertical and diagonal; circular

rectilinear with little circularity (men's arms:  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ )

Form

mass

human torsos have little detail except for slight incisions on the chest of the l. man (impression) and a V on the r. man's chest; there is swelling of the trapezium and bicep and forearm muscles of the l. man; their legs have swelling contours to indicate muscles and some slight incision of calves and thighs; the head of the l. man consists of a dot and channelled outline; the lion's body is smoothly modelled though with protrusions where limbs meet the body; wheel and drill marks are evident on the limbs and on the frontal face of the beast with its eyes of concentric circles and linear nose; the dog below is given similar treatment, with a smooth body, protrusions over limbs and evidence of wheel and drill in

Nearly all of these limbs and especially in the face, which is dominated by an eye of concentric circles and a linear mouth

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pose the human figures are in partial-Harmodean posture although the wrong hand of the man at l. holds the sword; there is a strong diagonal formed by the connection of the man's torso to his legs, thereby producing a convincing pose; thighs are exaggerated; the lion is in a variation of the C position, with a frontal head in line with the body; this head position defeats the torsion of the C pose; the dog is in striding attitude

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perspective there is no overlapping of figures; they appear interrelated but not very close-knit

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COMPOSITION: general rectilinear figure with slightly circular edge  $\ominus$  ; very little accommodation to the frame; mainly triangular appearance

---

unity by glance

---

balance individual figures are unbalanced but the entire scene forms a degree of dynamic balance, though not a great degree because the figures are not close-knit

---

are not especially evident, except for

Nearly all of these aesthetic features may be paralleled on NAM 331 from Pylos. There are the same straight lines flanking and dominating over a curved central axis, creating a rectilinear formation with only slightly curved edges. Human mass and pose are similar to that of the r. man on 331 and the contour lines and pose of lions on both pieces are alike, although the figure and face of the Berlin lion are less exaggerated and stylised than on NAM 331. Figures do not overlap and create a syntactical arrangement with unity and a degree of dynamic balance, as on 331.

Other features of the Berlin seal are:

- SHAPE: The Syme seal is a lentoid.
- DIMENSIONS: 2 cm.; this is the average diameter for an Aegean lentoid.
- MATERIAL: The lentoid is sardonyx, a common stone in late Aegean glyptics.
- TECHNIQUE: There is use of Technique 1 on bodies and Technique 2 also on bodies as well as on limbs and faces; the tools of engraving are not especially evident, except for



the Konturrippen on the lion's lower body contour and the wheel marks on faces. As on the Pylos sealings, the technique is not poor.

In all these features, our seal agrees with NAM 331 and other IIIa-b and IIIb seals and sealings. From a complete examination of this seal, we designate its origin as Helladic and date it to Myc. IIIb.

A final sealstone which needs scrutiny is Nauplion Museum 9875. The Nauplion Museum register gives no provenance for this piece. We begin with its aesthetic analysis:

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seal</u>
<u>STYLE:</u>	
<u>Line</u>	
<u>quality</u>	stylised curves, straight lines
<u>direction of movement</u>	along straight lines: horizontal, diagonal
<u>relation of lines</u>	rectilinear
<u>Form</u>	
<u>mass</u>	total lack of human musculature; no inter- nal details, just in- cisions; man's neck and feet are just curved lines;

the animals are paralleled on his face consists of lines and a dot; the lion's body is also given summary treatment; its feet are simply:  $\infty$  and there is only the eye to indicate its face; drill marks are evident

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SHAPE: This cylinder as the man stands; animals are standing or in a partial gallop

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pose

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DIMENSIONS: 2.1 cm. long; there is no overlapping and no interrelation of figures in this register arrangement

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perspective

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MATERIAL: The material of the cylinder seal is treated like a flattened cylinder by the artist as figures are engraved lengthwise on one flattened face of the seal; the rectilinear shape of the representation is better suited to a flattened cylinder but is ill-suited to the cylindrical shape but

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COMPOSITION: general

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TECHNIQUE: There are sharp

---

An examination of the Nauplion seal points out that to other seals discussed in our style and lack of sense of composition

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unity

---

balance

---

no unity

---

there is no balance of individuals or of the whole

---

The representation on the Nauplion cylinder is in a late and debased style. The shape of the seal is totally ignored by the artist, who put figures on top of one another rather than next to one another to surround the cylinder's surface. Line and the form of

the animals are paralleled on Perati seals (Myc.IIIc),  
for example, NAM 394 (especially the mass and pose).

1938.1124

Other features of the Nauplion seal are:

**SHAPE:** Evans This cylinder seal is flattened on the  
side where the representation is engraved.

**DIMENSIONS:** 2.1 cm. long; the cylinder is larger than  
Myc.IIIa-b cylinders from Thebes and Cyprus.

**MATERIAL:** The material of the seal is onyx, which  
was also used at Thebes. It is a common  
stone in the later Mycenaean period.

**TECHNIQUE:** There are sharp incisions.

An examination of the basic features of the  
Nauplion seal points out that it bears little relation  
to other seals discussed in our survey. Its debased  
style and lack of sense of composition suggest that  
it was made at the time of the Perati seals, in Myc.IIIc.

The subject of combats between men and animals  
has been of great popularity with modern forgers as  
well as with ancient artists, as seen from the Kydonia  
seal. Other suspect gems depicting this theme belong  
to a hoard of gold gems discovered, according to Evans,

on the Greek mainland at Thisbe in Boiotia: AM 1938.1113  
1938.1114 (see Chapter One), 1938.1116, 1938.1118 and  
1938.1124.

Evans describes their discovery:

"The find was made in 1915, at a time when war conditions diverted the course of discovery from official channels, and a fortunate chain of circumstances now enables me not only to describe but to exhibit...the whole hoard. Under the circumstances it is impossible without a breach of confidence to give all the details, but, from what I have been able to ascertain, the discovery was made by a peasant in a chamber tomb excavated in the rock, by the village of Dombrena. Near this spot, about a quarter of an hour NW of Kakosi, on the Akropolis height of Thisbe, Mr. W.A. Heurtley of the British School at Athens, kindly informs me that he was shown, in an olive grove, three chamber-tombs with dromoi. He adds, 'the old man who showed me had dug one completely and found a dagger and vases and some sherds, all of which he had lost'. Mr. Heurtley adds, however, that from a drawing that the old man made of one of the vases, it is clear that it was a stirrup vase of later type." 133

We shall first examine whether any stylistic or syntactical principles governing the decoration of these seals can distinguish them as modern copies. We must remember that if the forger were successful, he would be able to recreate the Helladic style.

<u>Aesthetic Categories</u>	<u>Description of Seals</u>
STYLE:	
Line	
<u>quality</u>	<u>curved</u>

direction of movement circular:1113,1114,1116  
1124; straight:1113

---

relation of lines rectilinear, forming a  
triangle, except for 1114

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Form  
mass

torso muscles are only evident on one man on 1113, where ridges indicating rectus abdominus are shown (as on NAM 9); the legs on 1113,1114, show a line for shin bone and globules for knee cap; on the arms biceps and very sharp elbows appear; the animal bodies are paralleled on Mycenaean gems; the sphinx on 1124 has the face of a woman, certainly post-Mycenaean

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pose of the context, men throw spears with 1. hand; animals have hind legs on the ground and forelegs up in the air, with nearly horizontal bodies:1124,1116; poses are not exactly duplicated on Helladic seals

perspective

there is not much overlapping; the convention used on NAM 133 and 280 is not evident on 1113, which would relate it to Cretan works but not Helladic

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COMPOSITION:

general  
unity  
balance

accommodation to frame  
by glance; none on 1118  
some degree of dynamic  
balance

---

Other features of these gems are:  
The treatment of lines and mass and composition

is paralleled on Helladic works. The lion's face on 1116 is too detailed, however. The poses of figures are unique, but may be deduced from objects found by Schliemann at Mycenae and by Tsountas at Vapheio before 1915. The pose on 1118 may derive from a confusion of NAM 15, where the deer was chased by a marksman, and from the series of women holding goats by the head. 1116 may stem from the combination of NAM 9 and NAM 227. The convention of showing the man's legs behind the beast on 1113 would signify Cretan craftsmanship, rather than Helladic, and would be inconsistent with the evidence of the context, subjects and aesthetic features.

Other oddities are noted in the attributes. On 1113 and 1124, the long braided hair is odd, as is the short hair on the woman on 1118. The man on 1116 has odd straps covering his chest, as on 1113, 1124. The woman's dress looks odd. The dagger on 1113 is more elaborate in form than on Helladic examples. The figure on 1118 uses an oriental bow on foot, uniquely in the Aegean.

Other features of these gems are:

SHAPE: 1113 and 1114 are flattened cylinders;  
seals considered: 1116, 1118 and 1124 are amygdaloid gold  
beads; all shapes are known in the Aegean.

I. CRETAN SEALS (where the major source of identification)  
DIMENSIONS: There is nothing suspect about the di-  
mensions of the Thisbe gems.

MATERIAL: All seals are gold. Kenna claims that  
1113 and 1114 were ancient gold beads  
134  
used for modern forgery.

II. MYCENAEAN SEALS (where the major source of identification)  
TECHNIQUE: Kenna claims that the technique shows signs  
135  
of modern work.

From all these features, in addition to aesthetic  
traits, we add this hoard to the Kydonia cylinder as mo-  
dern products of forgery.

East	West	Date
uncertain provenance		
B 40.....Peloponnesse		
EM N6673		
NAM 79.....Mycenae	NAM 290.....Pylos	LHII
NAM 89.....Mycenae	NAM 294.....Pylos	LIIb-
NAM 199.....Asine		IIIIa
Dodecanesse		
Rhodes...Ialysoe		
uncertain provenance		
MMNI 26.31.294		
NAM 163.....Mycenae	Pylos.....Akona	LIIIIa
NAM 165.....Mycenae		IIIIa-b
Thisbe 175..Thebes		
Thisbe 211..Thebes		
NAM 408.....Dimini		
NAM 137.....Mycenae		
Pros.581....Prosymna		

We arrive at a chronological table of the seals considered in Chapter Two:

I. CRETAN SEALS (where the major source of inspiration is Cretan)

East	West	Date
NAM 224.....Vapheio	NAM 274.....Rutsi	LM1b/
AM 247.....Gytheion		LHIIa
AGIII49-28..Mycenae		LMII
NAM 95.....Mycenae		

II. MYCENAEAN SEALS (where the main source of inspiration is Helladic, though Cretan influence may make itself more or less evident)

East	West	Date
NAM 9.....Mycenae		LHI
NAM 15.....Mycenae		
NAM 227.....Vapheio	M SL681.....Kako-	LHIIa
NAM 228.....Vapheio	vatos	
NAM 112.....Mycenae	NAM 280.....Rutsi	
NAM 133.....Mycenae		
	<u>uncertain provenance</u>	
	B 40.....Peloponnese	
	BN M6673	LHII
NAM 79.....Mycenae	NAM 290.....Pylos	LHIIb,
NAM 89.....Mycenae	NAM 294.....Pylos	IIb-
NAM 199.....Asine		IIIa
	<u>Dodecanese</u>	
	Rhodes...Ialysos	
	<u>uncertain provenance</u>	
	MMNY 26.31.294	
NAM 163.....Mycenae	Pylos.....Akona	LHIIIa
NAM 165.....Mycenae		IIIa-b
Thebes 175..Thebes		
Thebes 211..Thebes		
NAM 408.....Dimini		
NAM 137.....Mycenae		
Pros.581.....Prosymna		



East		West	Date
	Larissa		
	Cyprus		
	BM 1945	10-13,133..Golgoi	
	<u>uncertain provenance</u>		
	AM 9P.....	Kydonia (?)	
	BN M7271		
Peronne.....	Thessa-	NAM 302.....	Pylos LHIIIb
	loniki?	NAM 307.....	Pylos
		NAM 314.....	Pylos
		NAM 324.....	Pylos
		NAM 331.....	Pylos
		NAM 340.....	Pylos
		NAM 342.....	Pylos
		NAM 359.....	Pylos
		NAM 378.....	Pylos
		NAM Inv.	
		9048a,b.....	Pylos
	<u>Dodecanese</u>		
	B 7.....	Syme	
	<u>uncertain provenance</u>		
	Nauplion	9875	LHIIIc

III. FORGERIES

Kydonia BN M6984  
 Thisbe AM 1938 1113  
 1114  
 1116  
 1118  
 1124

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER TWO:


DEFINITIONS OF AESTHETIC TERMS<sup>1</sup>

The STYLE of a work of art derives from its treatment of plastic elements, which in a sculpted object consist of LINE and FORM.

One aspect of LINE is its quality, in glyptics being either straight or curved. In Chapter Two, curves have been termed either 'graceful', to designate a sweeping line:



where the distance between peaks (indicated by arrows) are far apart, or 'stylised'

(or terse):  where the peaks are close together.

The direction of movement and relation of

lines refer to the schematic line formed by the figures, for example:



The FORM of figures involves their surface appearance or treatment of mass, their poses and their relationship to one another in multi-figured scenes or perspective. The term 'torsion' describes the pose of figures

which have been turned or twisted. 'Contorsion', however, is a non-technical term that expresses the feelings of the figure in torsion pose.

The SYNTAX of a work of art, or the positioning of figures in a defined space, is first given GENERAL discussion in Chapter Two. A more successful arrangement accommodates figures to the frame which a less satisfactory grouping defies the frame. The artist may or may not achieve UNITY and BALANCE in composition. UNITY concerns the relation of figures to the frame of the picture while BALANCE is the outcome of relating figures to one another.

A picture lacks UNITY if its aesthetic quality can improve by an expansion, contraction or partitioning of its frame.

Expansion may be caused by excluded matter which the beholder is curious to discover.

Contraction may be due to a feeling that extraneous matter has been included which diverts attention from the focal point of the work of art. As the frame given to the seal engraver

is so small, unity is not generally destroyed in this manner.

Partitioning may be due to the existence of a number of independent subjects within the same frame.

UNITY is a relative concept, that is to say, a change in the frame of a picture may give it more or less UNITY, so that the statement that a picture has 'no unity' involves a subjective distinction of relatively tolerable from relatively intolerable lack of unity. This subjectively defined UNITY may be achieved either by the glances of figures toward one another, drawing our eye along an imaginary line connecting them (thus avoiding the need for expansion and partitioning of the frame), or by the pose of a single figure or many figures, turning in on itself and creating a closed circle within which the eye remains (also avoiding the need for expansion and partitioning of the frame).

BALANCE may be discussed in terms of individual

objects and the composition as a whole (or groups of objects). ~~balanced or unbalanced~~

If a 'balanced group' consists of individually 'balanced objects', the composition of the group is said to be statically balanced.

If a 'balanced group' consists of 'unbalanced objects', the composition of the group is said to be dynamically balanced. ~~are general 'ob-~~

A 'balanced object' is one whose forms would not collapse were they subjected to the normal rules of gravity, i.e. the object would maintain equilibrium. BALANCE is not absolute but rather may be regarded in degrees. Examples of a more stable balance are: a triangle supported on its base; a trapezoid supported on its long base; a horizontal line. A more unstable balance, where no great force is required to induce collapse, is evident in: vertical lines; a trapezoid standing on its shorter base. Such compositions are more tense. The use of the terms 'group' and 'object' depends on one's level of generality. Thus, at the highest level of generality, a man and a

NOTES Lion can be considered as a single 'object'

- which may either be balanced or unbalanced
1. There is no continuity between the Lerna sealings, with their decorative patterns, and the LH1 seals of the Mycenae Shaft Graves; composed into other 'objects': man, lion, see *Haasperia* xviii 1958 no.2, p. 120 ff.
  2. Purtscheller, *Die Antiken-Gemmen III*, pp. 52-56.
  3. Mats, *Die Frühkretische Siegel*, passim.
  4. Furumark, "The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c.1550-1400 B.C.", *Op. Ash.* vi, 1950, pp. 157, 160-162.
  5. Biscanti, *Kretisch-Mykenische Siegelbilder*, passim.
  6. Sakellariou, *Die Mykenische Siegelglyptik*; the chronological interval between graves B, F and A, IV is not very great; the portraits on NAM 5 may also be a Mycenaean theme, as are hunting and combat, but this says nothing of their styles.
  7. Mallink, *AJA* 1955, p. 337.
  8. Kenna, *Cretan Seals*, pp. 44-47; he later calls this technique 'Technique 1', p. 75.
  9. Mylonas, *Ancient Mycenae*, p. 124; Furumark, *Chronology*, p. 46.

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

11. Wace, "Mycenae", BSA 1921-23, pp. 119-121.
1. There is no continuity between the Lerna sealings, with their decorative patterns, and the LHI seals of the Mycenae Shaft Graves; see Hesperia xxvii 1958 no.2, p. 120 ff.
12. The subject matter and attributes of a scene, although they may be foreign in origin, may still be an integral part of Helladic art. Hence, they are uncertain guides for determining provenance. These elements shall be discussed at length in Chapter Three.
2. Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen III, pp. 52-56.
3. Matz, Die Frühkretische Siegel, passim.
4. Furumark, "The Settlement at Ialysos and Aegean History c.1550-1400 B.C.", Op. Arch. vi, 1950, pp. 157, 160-162.
13. Kenna, loc. cit.
14. Evans, Pl. IV, p. 576.
15. Τροφίταις "τροφίταις" ἐν τῷ Ἀρχαίῳ καὶ ὁ τῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο.
5. Biesantz, Kretisch-Mykenische Siegelbilder, passim.
16. Gill, The Mycenaean Seals (Ph.D.), pp. 33-34.
6. Sakellariou, Die Mykenische Siegelglyptik; the chronological interval between graves B, Γ and A, IV is not very great; the portraiture on the tholos a few plain fragments, and in the NAM 5 may also be a Mycenaean theme, as are seven vessels, two of which are not described. (270) (Form 79: stemmed cup; Myc. I-IIa), 321a their styles. ap).
7. Mellink, AJA 1955, p. 337.
8. Kenna, Cretan Seals, pp. 44-47; he later calls this technique 'Technique 1', p. 75. indicated in
19. Mylonas, Ancient Mycenae, p. 124; Furumark, left Chronology, p. 46. from its body and seems to hang like a pipe from above.

10. Ibid.
11. Wace, "Mycenae", BSA 1921-23, pp. 119-121.
12. The subject matter and attributes of a scene, although they may be foreign in origin, may still be an integral part of Helladic art.
21. Hence, they are uncertain guides for determining provenance. These elements shall be
22. discussed at length in Chapter Three.
13. Kenna, loc. cit.
14. Evans, FM IV, p. 576.
15. Τσοῦντας, "Ἐρευναί, ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Βαφέλου, Εφ. Αρχ. 1889, σελ. 129.
16. Gill, The Minoan Genius (Ph.D.), pp. 83-84;  
Furumark, Chronology, p. 49:  
"In the dromos were found the fragments of three or four huge pithoid jars (15: Form 7: Myc.IIa) and plain sherds, on the floor of the tholos a few plain fragments, and in the pit, which apparently contained one burial, ... seven vessels, two of which are not described. Types identified: 15 (15)...262(stemmed cup), (270)(Form 79: stemmed cup: Myc.I-IIa), 321a (Form 96: lamp).  
27. Gill, op. cit., pp. 85-86.  
17. Kenna, op. cit., p. 80.  
28. Ibid.; Furumark, op. cit., p. 129.  
18. Ibid.,  
29. Marinatos, Ergon 1956, p. 94.  
19. Not so poorly related, however, as indicated in  
30. Marinatos, Ill. 27  
31. Marinatos, Ergon 1956, p. 94 II.  
32. Kenna, op. cit., p. 54.  
like a pipe from above.



20. The term 'Harmodean pose' is used as a convenient shorthand to describe human arm and leg positions as on NAM 9, which bears great resemblance to the later Greek statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.
21. Kenna, op. cit., p. 54; Biesantz, op. cit., chapters iii, iv.
22. According to Tsountas in his Vapheio publication, the material is "μάζα ὑαλώδης μέλαινα".
23. Milchhoefer, Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland, p. 92; Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité vi, p. 845; Furtwängler, Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine in Antiquarium, p. 5.
24. Marinatos, ILN 6 April 1957, pp. 541-542.
25. Marinatos, Ergon 1956, p. 95.
26. Evans, PM IV, p. 462, fig. 28.
27. Gill, op. cit., pp. 85-86.
28. Ibid.; Furumark, op. cit., p. 195.
29. Marinatos, Ergon 1956, p. 94; ILN.
30. Marinatos, ILN, 27 April, 1957, p. 691.
31. Marinatos, Ergon 1956, p. 94 ff.
32. Kenna, op. cit., p. 54.

33. Ibid., p. 56 and note 2.
34. Ibid., p. 60.
35. Ibid., AJA 1964, p. 12.
36. Vermeule, "The Fall of Knossos and the Palace Style", AJA 1963, p. 195 ff.
37. Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 108.
38. Sakellarakis, "The First Untouched Royal Burial found in Crete", ILN 26 March, 1966, pp. 32-33.
39. Such a technique would seem to prove that the seal was made to be seen in its impressed rather than its original form (see Biesantz, op. cit., chapter 1).
40. Gill, "The Knossos Sealings: Provenance and Identification", BSA 1965, pl. 11, 14, 17.
41. See Σακελλαρίου, Μυκηναϊκή Σφραγιδογλυφία, pl. 13. for flat cap, see Phaistos tavole, pl. xv.
42. Furtwängler, AG III, p. 49, fig. 28.
43. Kenna, private communication of 30 March, 1966.
44. Τσοούντας, "Ἀνασκαφαὶ τάφων ἐν Μυκῆναις", Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888, σελ. 151.
45. Persson, Royal Tombs at Dendra, pp. 31-33, 44-45.
46. Kenna, "The Seals of Kalyvia Messara", Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ,

47. Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 95.
48. Kenna, "Cretan and Mycenaean Seals in North America", AJA 1964, p. 12.
49. Frödin and Persson, Asine (1922-1930), p.154 ff.
50. Furumark, Chronology, p. 32.
51. Hägg, private communication of 31 July, 1966.
52. Biesantz, op. cit., p. 159.
53. Kenna, Kret. , 1963, p. 334; I have added (a) and (b) to distinguish the Genius side (a) from the bull-wrestling side (b) of the seal.
54. Biesantz, op. cit. , passim; Sakellariou, Μυκηναϊκή Σφραγιδογλυφία, chapter 5.
55. All the Mycenaean objects in the Rhodes Museum remain sealed in boxes which have not been opened since the war.
56. Maiuri, "Jalisos", Annuario 1923-24, p. 126, fig. 46.
57. Furumark, Chronology, p. 42.
58. Maiuri, op. cit., p. 145.
59. Ibid., pp. 144-145.
60. Taylour, ILN 5 December, 1953; "Palace of Nestor Excavations", AJA 1954, p. 227 ff.; Wace, Mycenae, p. 16.

61. Taylour, private communication of 17 June, 1966.
62. "Palace of Nestor Excavations", AJA 1954, p. 31.
63. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 60. Crete after the
64. See note 54. of the Palace at Knossos, Minutes of the
65. Lord William Taylour, The Mycenaeans, p. 225;
73. see also AJA 1958, p. 178.
66. Taylour, private communication of 12 May, 1966.
67. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 55.
68. Cretan style is evident on HM 1756 in the
76. treatment of human mass: the head, turn of the
77. neck and appearance of the torso seem like a later
- debased version of one man on NAM 224. The
78. torso treatment is also related to that on
79. H.T. 127. According to the criteria of Bie- fig. 66.
80. santz (Auflösung), the style of the body is
81. Cretan. The lion's head is turned around in a
- a slight contorsion (as on HM 18) which is more
- Minoan than the decorative turn of the upright
82. Cretan lion on the Helladic gem EN M6673. from the
69. According to some scholars, notably Palmer, 860.
83. the Cretan palace at Knossos was in use until
84. the end of the Bronze Age. 20, 422.

70. Kenna, Cretan Seals, pp. 65-66.
71. Ibid.; Kenna, by private communication.
72. Kenna, "Seal Use in Ancient Crete after the  
77. Destruction of the Palaces", Minutes of the  
Mycenae Seminar 2 February, 1966, p. 327.
73. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 66.
74. Kenna, Minutes of the Mycenaean Seminar, 2  
89. February, 1966, p. 327.
75. Wace, "Mycenae", BSA 1956, pp. 107-108.
76. Wace and Bennett, Mycenae Tablets II, p. 13.
77. E. Wace-French, "Pottery Groups from Mycenae",  
BSA 1963, p. 48.
78. Wace, BSA 1954, p. 239.
79. Chadwick, Bennett, Mycenae Tablets III, p. 36 fig. 66.
80. Furumark, Chronology, p. 52.
81. Catling and Millett, "A Study of the Inscribed  
81. Stirrup-Jars from Thebes", Archaeometry vol. 8,  
82. 1965, pp. 11, 13.
82. Platon and Touloupa, "Oriental Seals from the  
Palace of Kadmos", ILN 28 November, 1964, p. 860.
83. Ibid.
84. Sakellariou, Corpus, pp. 420, 422.

85. Lolling and Walters, "Das Kuppelgrab bei Dimini", Ath. Mitt. 1884, 1884, 1886, 1887.
86. Ibid. 1886, pp. 437-438.
87. Furtwängler and Löschcke, Mykenische Vasen, pl. 21, 155; pl. 8, 47; pl. 20, 146; pl. 6, 32; pl. 27, 222; pl. 19, 137.
88. Furumark, Mycenaean Pottery, shape diagrams.
89. The Helladic character of the Dimini seal as opposed to these examples is seen in the treatment of line. Although there are superficial similarities between the Dimini and Cretan gems in human form and composition, the total confusion in depicting parts of the human body and the general defiance of the frame of the picture, along with the technique, are Helladic.
90. Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 422.
91. This is the opinion of Dr. Kenna.
92. Biesantz, Arch. Anz. 1959, p. 106.
93. At the time of completion of this thesis, I was still awaiting a letter from Volos concerning the seal.
94. Biesantz, loc. cit.
95. This would seem to contradict either Biesantz'

103. own assignment of this seal as Helladic or his  
104. criteria for the separation of Minoan and Myce-  
105. naean styles. As both styles appear in the seal,  
106. we cannot draw any conclusions on the basis of  
107. his general criteria.
96. Wace, Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, pp. 10-11.
97. Furumark, Chronology, pp. 87-89.
98. E. Wace-French, Development of Mycenaean Terracotta  
Figurines (Ph.D), pp. 93-99.
99. Porada, "Cylinder Seals from Thebes", AJA 1965,  
p. 173; for a comparative Cypriot example,  
see Karageorghis, Treasures from the Cyprus Mu-  
seum, pl. xlv, 1.
100. Porada, ibid.
101. According to Miss Porada (private communication),  
Thebes 203 displays a mixed Oriental-Mycenaean  
style. Aegean are the way of holding the sword,  
112. the long sword, the position of the man's legs off  
113. the ground and the arm up in the air and not holding  
114. the animal.
102. Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems formed  
by ...Southesk v.II Catalogue of Antique Gems,  
115. Qd14, pp. 123-124. AJA  
1939, p. 559; see also Rawson, Pyles Guide.

103. Sakellariou, Μυκηναϊκή Σφραγιδογραφία, p. 17.
104. Blegen, Prosymna I, pp. 107-108; II, p.144,fig.581.
105. Furumark, Chronology, p. 129.
106. Kenna, private communication.
107. Kenna, private communication.
108. Evans, FM IV, p. 466.
109. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 149.
110. Ibid., p. 148. 62, p. 145.
111. The seal B 9 is not included in our survey.
125. The poor state of its preservation makes it difficult to discern its origin. Furthermore,
126. the position of the animals and possibly one of the man's hands (in the impression, a dot
127. near the man's torso may be the hand of an arm bent toward the body) point to little
128. interaction between figures.
112. Furumark, Mycenaean Pottery, pp. 52-54.
113. Marinatos, Ergon 1963, p. 81 ff.
114. A sealing has been found in the Citadel House at Mycenae, Chadwick, Bennett, Mycenae Tablets III, p. 36, fig. 66.
132. "of Nestor", JHS 1925, p. 1.
133. Blegen, "Palace of Nestor Excavations", AJA 1939, p. 559; see also Rawson, Pylos Guide.
- 135.



116. Blegen, AJA 1956, p. 95.
117. Rawson, loc. cit.
118. Blegen, AJA 1958, p. 176.
119. Ibid., p. 177.
120. Ibid.
121. Rawson, loc. cit.
122. Blegen, AJA 1959, p. 122.
123. Blegen, AJA 1962, p. 145.
124. Ibid., p. 146.
125. Gobineau, "Catalogue d'une collection d'intailles asiatiques", RA 1874, p. 238.
126. Perrot and Chipiez, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, vol. 6, p. 846, fig. 430.
127. Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen III, p. 48, fig. 25.
128. Xenaki-Sakellariou, "Ena sphragisma apo ten Pylo" Festschrift für F. Matz, p. 19 ff.
129. Sakellariou, ibid., pp. 20-21.
130. Sakellariou, Μυκηναϊκή Σφραγιδογλυφία, Συμπέρασμα,
131. Ibid.
132. H. von Littrow, private communication of 27 May, 1966.
133. Evans, "The Ring of Nestor", JHS 1925, p. 1.
134. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 154 (pl. 121).
135. Ibid.

NOTE ON APPENDIX TO CHAPTER TWO

1. These definitions are convenient for use in this thesis. They do not necessarily agree with the definitions provided by aestheticians for various stylistic and syntactical features of all works of art; they only describe the manner in which terms are used in Chapter Two.

As Mycenaean art first appeared on the Greek mainland fully developed at a time of the most brilliant phase of civilization in Crete and of Minoan colonization and contacts in the East, we are not able to assume that all the motifs, including subject matter, human and animal poses, attributes and composition, entered Hellas with the first Greek speakers. In order to understand the influences acting upon the Mycenaean artist and in this way to comprehend better the extent and type of relationship the Hellenic peoples had with Egyptians and Orientals, we shall decompose our combat scenes to observe their elements

and attempt to find contemporary or previous examples of such motifs in the arts of Crete, Egypt, Cyprus and the Near East.

Our study begins with scenes depicting  
COMBATS BETWEEN HUMAN CHAPTER THREE Table 1 summarizes  
the elemental motifs in leontomachies on Mycenaean

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ICONOGRAPHICAL FORMS  
ON COMBAT SCENES BETWEEN HUMANS AND ANIMALS

complete our picture of human-lion combats in Mycenaean Greece, we add three other objects which de-

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In order to understand the influences acting upon the Mycenaean artist and in this way to comprehend better the extent and type of relationship the Helladic peoples had with Egyptians and Orientals, we shall decompose our combat scenes to observe their elements on both sides of the dagger, side A may depict the

reason for the leontomachy.

and attempt to find contemporary or previous examples of such motifs in the arts of Crete, Egypt, Cyprus and the Near East.

Our study begins with scenes depicting COMBATS BETWEEN HUMANS AND LIONS. Table 1 summarizes the elemental motifs in leontomachies on Mycenaean seals (listed chronologically on p.198ff). In order to complete our picture of human-lion combats in Mycenaean Greece, we add three other objects which depict this subject, all from Mycenae belonging to the first Late Helladic period:

NAM Inv.394: Lion Hunt Dagger from Mycenae Shaft Grave A, IV

This niello dagger blade shows on one side, a lion attacking a gazelle whose frightened companions flee. Side B gives the fullest Aegean portrayal of a lion hunt, where two lions flee while a third remains, up on its hind legs, to confront four warriors after having disposed of the first. The men carry both defensive and offensive arms: shields, a bow and spears or lances. If we may connect the activities on both sides of the dagger, side A may depict the reason for the leontomachy.

Stele 1427: Mycenae Shaft Grave A,V (see Ch.1,note 42)

This stele depicts a man driving a horse drawn chariot, with a lion chasing a gazelle below. The scene has been given many interpretations. Most often it has been considered that two registers appear with isolated scenes. Thus, the charioteer's victim would not be in the lower but in the upper register, and he would not be a hunter of lions. However, the possibility of causal relationship between the activities on sides A and B of the lion hunt dagger, suggests that we may also here be concerned with the theme of a man rescuing a gazelle from the clutches of the wild beast (a common theme in the Orient, where herdsmen protect their flocks).

Nauplion Museum 13575: Mycenae Shaft Grave B,Γ Tables

Marinatos has reconstructed the design of this stele. According to his description, the actors are two human beings to the r. and l. The man at r. is upright holding a dagger, while the man at l. has fallen either wounded or dead. Between them, is a three figured antithetic group consisting of two lions flanking an animal, only fragments of which remain.

Marinatos states that there were: *to Pylae sealings*

and is "...ἔχνη των δυο ὀπισθίων ποδῶν καὶ τῆς οὐρᾶς ζώου, τὸ ὅποτον ἔβλεπε πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν διεσθυσιν, πρὸς ἡν καὶ ὁ δευτερος λέων, ἦτοι πρὸς δεξιά. Ἐπρόκειτο περὶ βολία, ὅτι ἦτο βοῦς, οὐχι ἔλαφος, ἀγᾶγρος, ἀντιλόπη, ὡς συμβαίνει εἰς τινὰς ὁμοίας σκηνάς." 1

*Man's Position:*

In his interpretation of the scene which as he says *shows both the Aegean motif of lions catching quarry and the antithetic scheme of Asia:*

"Ἐπὶ λεόντων προσβάλλεται ἡ "αγέλη" τῶν βοῶν. Ὁ ἄσπλος νομεύς πίπτει ἤδη θῦμα τῶν θηρίων. Ὁ ἀνδρεῖος πρὸ γκιφ ἐπιτίθεται κατὰ τούτων νικηφόρος καὶ καταβάλλει ἤδη τὸν ἕνα ἐξ αὐτῶν." 2

*through its final stage at Pylae. The running posture*

*to denote a man in action begins in Myc.IIa on*

The component aspects of these objects are NAM 112, but rises in popularity only in Myc.IIIa-b listed in Table 1b.

*and is widespread at Pylae. Upright standing man*

*occur on* We derive the following information from Tables

1a and 1b. *and scenes of man behind standing lions*

*(Myc.IIa).* Crouching and prostrate man are only

Leontomachies are equally common subjects for evident on the Lion Hunt dagger of Myc.I. Most artists in eastern and western mainland Greece. More figures have frontal torso (except NAM 112) and profile human-lion combat scenes were found in Early Mycenaean times in the east and in Late Mycenaean times



*Arms:* The Harpoditean arm position, which appears from in Messenia, but this may simply be an accident of LHI-IIb is only used for dagger (or short sword) excavation. The subject is popular throughout My-

cenaeon glyptics from Shaft Graves to Pylos sealings and is the most predominant of human-animal combat scenes. In regard to other categories of the Tables, we see:

Man's Position:

Body: Human beings are either in the Harmodean attitude, running, standing still, crouching or prostrate on the ground. In lion combats, humans are most often in the Harmodean pose, which appears from the beginning of Mycenaean glyptics in LHI and continues in use through its final stage at Pylos. The running posture to denote a man in action begins in Myc.IIa on NAM 112, but gains in popularity only in Myc.IIIa-b and is widespread at Pylos. Upright standing men occur on 'heraldic' and 'quasi-heraldic' scenes (Myc.III) and scenes of men behind standing lions (Myc.IIa). Crouching and prostrate men are only evident on the Lion Hunt dagger of Myc.I. Most figures have frontal torso (except NAM 112) and profile legs and head (except NAM 9).

Arms: The Harmodean arm position, which appears from LHI-IIIb is only used for dagger (or short sword)

carriers.<sup>3</sup> Men hold spears or javelins (Myc. II-III) with both hands either up:  or down: . Arms which do not hold weapons are bent or straight (generally in antithetic three figure scenes and man C with behind animal scenes) and may be directed toward different parts of the lion's body. Direction toward the head occurs in IIIb on scenes of confrontation and antithetic scenes; toward the neck appears in confronting, man behind animal and antithetic scenes throughout the Mycenaean period; toward the front paws occurs on confronting and antithetic pictures in Myc. II-III; to the rump only occurs on NAM 280(IIa); some IIIb antithetic scenes show hands at the animal's mouth; only antithetic scenes of IIIa-b show men holding the feet of upside down lions and (IIIb) directed toward the back; IIa and III scenes of man behind animals and 'heraldry' show the man's hand above the animal's head.

Lion's Position:

Lions are found in the following attitudes: upright profile, upright C profile, upside down in S, standing on forelegs with hind legs couchant, couchant, running



in a flying gallop. Most common is the upright lion, who at first keeps his hind legs on the ground and his body diagonal (LHI: NAM 9) or vertical (LHII-IIIa: NAM 228, NAM 290, M SL681), but then forms a C with head and hind legs perpendicular to his vertical body (first on BN M6673 of LHII; variation seen earlier on Shaft Grave stele B, Γ: LHI), which is most popular in the final stages of Mycenaean glyptics (Myc.III: NAM 165, AM 9P, BN M7271, NAM 89, Prosymna 581, NAM 302, NAM 307, Peronne, NAM Inv.9048a,b, NAM 359--variation turned 90°). Possibly a further variation, where limbs and head are on opposite sides of the body is the S curve of animals held upside down in LHIII. The lion which is half standing and half couchant and the couchant lion appear in Myc.IIa (NAM 280, NAM 133, NAM 112) and the flying gallop is evident on the lion hunt scene on the Mycenae dagger and stele 1427 of LHI. Lions' heads are seen in top view at the beginning and end of Mycenaean glyptics (NAM 9: LHI and NAM 302, NAM 307, NAM 331, NAM Inv.9048 in LHIIIb ; Nauplion 9875 in LHIIIc). Profile heads are popular throughout. Our only example of a frontal head on a leontomachy scene<sup>4</sup> comes in

Myc.IIIb on a seal from the Dodecanese, B 7.

Weapon:

Offensive weapons used against lions are: the short sword or dagger, the spear or lance, bow and arrow, and in many cases none at all. Most often employed, throughout the Mycenaean period, is the short sword or dagger. The spear or lance is seen on the LHI Shaft Grave dagger and on NAM 112 (Myc.IIa). Its only possible occurrence in later leontomachies is on NAM 331 where the position of hands of the man at 1. warrants a spear. The bow and arrow are only seen on the Shaft Grave dagger, of LHI. Daggers may be directed toward the animal's head (LHI), mouth (II), throat or nape of neck (III), to its back (IIIb) or are pointed above the beast (I-III). On the stele 1427 (LHI) and on the Nauplion seal(IIIc), the dagger is attached to the man's side and not employed. Spears are directed to the animal's head (I), to its throat (IIa) or to its belly and paws (II). Scenes where offensive weaponry does not appear begin in Myc.IIa (NAM 133, 280, though a rope may be postulated) and continue into IIIb. (though the Pylae examples, as Nauplion 3375, look like scabbards). Figures are otherwise nude (II-III)

Defensive armour, consisting of shields (tower and figure-of-eight) and the boar's tooth helmet (IIa) and (BN M6673) appear in LHI and II, respectively. The chariot is used only by the man on the Mycenae Shaft Grave stele 1427 of LHI.

Landscape:

Generally, there is no landscape detail on leontomachy scenes. Only NAM 228 displays a rocky ground. It is a surprise to behold the small trees or bushes on the Peronne seal, which might put the seal in doubt, were it not for its correspondence to the recently discovered Pylos sealings NAM 307 and NAM Inv. 9048a and b. In fact, a flower seems to be drawn near the men's feet on 9048b.

Dress:

Nearly all men are girt at the waist (except on the lion hunt scene on the Mycenae dagger and BN M6673) either singly, doubly or triply and in two cases from Pylos (NAM 290, M SL 681), one from Mycenae (NAM 89) and on the Peronne seal, with a long, at times tasseled extension (though the Pylos examples, as Nauplion 9875, look like scabbards). Figures are otherwise nude (II-III)

or wear in addition, shorts with tiered flounces in early Mycenaean times (NAM 9 - NAM 290: LHI-IIIa) and in later Mycenaean times, shorter shorts with slight flounces or edgings (though early examples of this dress exist: B 40 of IIa). Only the man on NAM 89 (and possibly AM9P) wears a loin cloth.

#### Hair:

Faces are often difficult to discern and even when visible, it is possible to mistake engraving of a chin in Technique 2 for a beard. The obviously bearded man is rare (NAM 89). Hair is normally short and either curly in globules (eg. NAM 9, Prosymna 581, NAM 89, AM 9P: LHI-III) or unworked (from LHIIa on). The man on NAM 307 (IIIb) seems to have long locks.

#### Miscellaneous Objects:

On some seals, figures or objects are added to the leontomachy which may aid in our understanding of the significance of the theme (see Chapter Four). In two III scenes, dogs appear (NAM 165 and B 7). In the LHIIa K-kovatos seal M SL681, a 'Minoan Genius' stands next to the hunter; in a Pylos sealing, NAM 302,

a quadruped, called a cow by Sakellariou in the Corpus but which appears to be a hybrid with a cow's body, a horse's long legs and a deer's face., It stands near a tiered construction which may be an altar. If stele 1427 is indeed a hunt and sides A and B of the Mycenae dagger are related, then these objects along with the Nauplion seal and the stele from Circle B, depict the lions' quarry (gazelles, cow) and thus the cause for the hunter's pursuit.

Of the odd objects and markings on the Nauplion stele 13575, Marinatos says:

Helladic "Ἰπὸ τὴν οὐρανὸν τὸ συμβολικὸν WAZ, εἰς τὸ ἄνω δὲ μέρος δυσδιάκριτα ἀντικείμενα, ὧν μεταξύ τὸ ἀμφίκοιλον σύμβολον, τὸ ὁποῖον συνήθως ὀνομάζεται βωμός." 5

Griffins attack stags on Thebes 175 and the BM cylinder. (For derivation, see man-griffin scenes).

Composition:

The main compositional schemes used for leontomachies are: confronting of two figures (occasionally of more) and the antithetic scheme involving three, or four figures in an X. The confrontation of two figures is predominant in the earlier period (first on NAM 9 and Lion Hunt Dagger: LHI) but is also seen later (in II-III: NAM 290, BN M6673, NAM 165, NAM 302). The antithetic pose of three figures, though evident

machies:

on Stele B, Γ (of the animals), is most common in Myc. III (NAM 89, AM 9P, BN M7271, Thebes 175 etc.). The four figured pose is not found before the latest period of Mycenaean glyptics (LHIIIb: Peronne, NAM 307, NAM Inv.9048a,b). Other poses which are rare are the man standing behind an animal (LHIIa: NAM 133,280), the chase on NAM 359 (IIIb) and the registers of the Nauplion cylinder.

In order to decide whether these features evident on Mycenaean leontomachy scenes are native Helladic or were imported into Greek art, we shall examine the art of peripheral areas: Crete, Egypt and the Near East for concurrent features.

As Crete was indeed the forerunner of Greece in the field of glyptics, it is imperative that we begin with a study of the leontomachy in Minoan art.

Combats and possible combats between humans and lions in Minoan art only appear on seals. In the early period (EM), lions were popular in art but they were rarely depicted with human beings. Only three early Minoan seals may picture leontomachies:

HM 939 -- found in EMII deposit at Sphoungaras.

According to Hall, the face of this bird-headed ivory seal depicts:

"...the figure of a man standing between a four-legged animal and a snake(?)...The sealing surface must be regarded as the prototype of those representations of goddesses standing between animals or birds heraldically placed, which are so characteristic of Cretan culture." 6

It is not evident that the quadruped is a lion. Kenna,<sup>7</sup> comparing it with an Iranian work, calls it a dog.

We only mention this as a possible man-lion scene.

HM 1201 -- found at Marathokephalo in EMIII context.

The excavator describes the seal picture as a:

"...παράστασιν ἀνδρός ἐκ τοῦ ἐνός μέρους καὶ ἐτέρωθεν λέοντα σπαράσσοντα τετράπουν. Ἴσως ὁ τεχνίτης ἤθελε νὰ εἰκονίσῃ θηρευτὴν μέλλοντα νὰ φονεύσῃ τὸν λέοντα..." 8

The man resembles the spearman on NAM 227 in attitude.

The motif of a man present while a lion attacks quarry is seen later on Mycenae stelai (LHI) and may recall the old oriental motif of a hunter saving his flocks from the ferocious lion.

Platanos 1103 -- was discovered in EMIII-MMI context

in Hut δ, a trench near Tholos F in the Messara. The

smaller end of this ivory cylinder is decorated with features may be limited.

"...a pair of lions reversed back to back and each facing left, and behind each of them is a man (a hunter?) stretching forth his hand against the beast." Z.193: "Due uomini legano un leone,

tenendolo capovolta con la testa in basso, e stringendo in un pugno le quattro zampe." Although

the impression is poor, the animal does appear to be behind or before a lion: H.T.134, Z.194, T.R. 47, HM 18, NY 26.31.246, HM 839, HM 1317, HM 3215, NAM

512, T.R. 46, Z(BSaxvii fig.2), BN M7985 (hound?,

lion?), AM 1941.133. These scenes are often considered to be quiet episodes in the life of the goddess, or goddess who are attended by their protective beasts, (later sections of Chapter Three).

or to be scenes of quiet rustic life. As demonstrated in Chapter One, some of these scenes may possibly betray a warlike state of affairs, and in mainly Minoan inspiration. Another related piece is parallel to NAM 133 and NAM 280, we include them N 1171, a black steatite seal depicting two 10 as possibly bearing some relation to combat.

Of a more obvious combatant nature is HM 1756, depicting a man confronting a contorted lion from the Knossos Little Palace. Although of a more Cretan style, much of the inspiration for the scene may be man, or facing each other with profile or frontal



Mycenaean and hence its value in the description of Cretan features may be limited.

On an impression originally made from a flattened cylinder, Z.193: "Due uomini legano un leone, tenendolo capovolta con la testa in basso, e stringendo in un mazzo le quattro zampe." Although the impression is poor, the animal does appear to have a leonine body and thickness at the neck or a mane. According to Levi:

"Anche l'episodio del leone catturato, dunque, rappresenta probabilmente un verace soggetto di vita e dimostra ancora una volta, con tutte queste descrizioni particolareggiate e originale dell'arte cretese, quanto verisimile appaia che il leone sia realmente esistito in Creta in epoca minoica." 12 (see later sections of Chapter Three).

Closely related to Z.193 is NAM 224 from the Vapheio tholos (LM Ib/Myc. IIa), which we include as a seal of mainly Minoan inspiration. Another related piece is M 1171, a black steatite seal depicting two men tying a lion.

Other Cretan sealings and seals have heraldic designs, with a human flanked by symmetrically posed lions, either back to back with heads turned to the man, or facing each other with profile or frontal

heads. Cretan examples of both poses are found in LMII-IIIa, mainly in the Knossos palace destruction level. The first type shall not be considered as human-animal combat<sup>13</sup>, but in the second there is a group of scenes with a vivid quality, of lions in C position and kicking, having physical contact with the man; these features might warrant their inclusion as combats: R 43 (HM 219, 252) and R44 (HM 218), which were found in the East Complex of the Palace at Knossos (LMII-IIIa). In all these cases, the lions in C position or upright seem to grasp for the man as he extends his hands to their heads.<sup>14</sup>

Another 'antithetically composed' scene most definitely belongs to the combat repertoire. On Little Palace (Knossos) 19<sup>15</sup> a man strides to the left between two couchant oxen, one of which is attacked by a lion. We have all the ingredients here for an episode in the life of an oxherd, warding his flock against the dangers of wild beasts. Representing a similar theme is HM 901 where a man stands before a bull which has been attacked from the back by a lion.

The confrontation between a man and two lions on HM 1200 seems likely to be connected with combat.

Table 1c classifies information about the characteristics of these Cretan human-lion combat and animal's body of the human standing before the lion). more often, possible combat scenes.

The scenes of human-lion conflict begin, then, possibly in EMII/III- MMI, at a time of popularity of the lion on cylindrical seals from the Messara.<sup>16</sup>

Their appearance is more clearly observed in MMIII-LMI and after. Early Cretan seals with leontomachy motif are found mainly in the south of Crete (Messara), while from MMIIIb on, they are found at the great palace centers---in central (Knossos), Eastern (Zakro) and southern (Hagia Triada) districts. The subject never attains the active nature of Mycenaean leontomachies (except for HM 1756 which seems Mycenaean inspired). Other aspects of these scenes show: neck

Man's position:

Only the striding-standing and prostrate positions of humans on Mycenaean combat scenes are observed in leon-

tomachies from Crete. In the EM period, men stand with bent knees and in MMIII on they stand upright, possibly prototypes for the men on NAM 280 and 133 of Myc.IIa (though on Cretan seals, the entire human figure is drawn, the man's legs appearing below the animal's body or the human standing before the lion). The Cretan man-man combats provide a closer parallel for the action poses (Harmodean) on Helladic combats:

H.T. 112, 113, 114, 115, Z.190: LMI. HT 112 may depict a partial running pose, but not of the stereotyped quality of late Mycenaean seals and sealings. Figures generally have frontal torso (except NAM 224) and profile legs and head (except Z.193r(?) and possibly the EM example from Sphoungaras).

Arms: The Harmodean arm position in Crete is used for spear thrusters rather than dagger carriers. The Helladic position of arms bent up or down for the spear thrust does not appear. Precedents exist, however, for arms without weapons bent to the neck and rump in man behind animal scenes and to the foot on scenes where the animal is held upside down. Men's arms extend above the animal's head on 'heraldic'

scenes of LMII-IIIa, contemporary with the appearance of this pose in Greece.

Lion's Position:

The most prevalent lion attitude in Crete is the animal standing on four legs, which occurs throughout Cretan glyptics. The Helladic lions of Myc. IIa from Mycenae (NAM 133) and Pylos (NAM 280) stand up only on forelegs with hind legs bent. The only Cretan parallels are on Phaistos sealing 240 (MMIIa at the latest according to context <sup>17</sup>), on the seal of a dog Z.162 (LMI) and when the lion is couchant (Z.155, Z.143). Upright profile lion poses as NAM 9 (LMI) may also be found in Cretan lion scenes (H.T. 84, 85, 86: LMI and Phaistos 234), but not on man-lion scenes. The later Helladic variation, the upright C formation also enters Crete late, in HM 1756 (a contemporary most probably of BN M6673 and of Helladic inspiration) and is also seen on sealings from the last phase of palace occupation at Knossos (excluding a possible C pose in EM of a possible lion: HM 939). Lions in flying gallop are evident in the Phaistos sealings (eg.

233), which were found in the earliest phase of the first palace at Phaistos in association with pottery including polychrome Kamares ware and a Linear A inscription which is dated to either MMI or IIa. The pose then without doubt originated from Crete. Lions' heads are in profile view, possibly turned back. Top and frontal views appear late (LMII) and the top view (see HM 1756, HM 18) is rarer than in Greece. Due to a late entry into Cretan glyptics or a simultaneous entry as in Greece of lions in upright C and with top and front view heads, the evidence for their derivation from Crete is not decisive.

Weapon:

The only actively used weapons to combat the lion on Cretan scenes are ropes (Z 193, NAM 224, M 1171: LM1b) and possibly in one case, BN M7985, a dagger. The ropes are not evident on Helladic man-lion scenes (unless we postulate their existence on NAM 133 and 280 by analogy to EM 79). The dagger, so rare in Cretan man-lion representations and reserved for man-agrimi combats of LMII, was of great popularity in Greece. Other weapons as the spear (sceptre?) and the bow are

not used actively in combats. On other Cretan seals, however, lions are wounded by spears: H.T. 43 (LM Ib), AM 330 (LM II), NAM 506 (Second Palace Period); they are wounded by arrows: H.T. 48 (LM Ib), NY 26.31. and 278 (LM Ib according to Kenna<sup>20</sup>), BM 30 (LM II?), Agios Ioannes-Warrior Tomb III.22 (LM II-IIIa); B 2<sup>21</sup> shows a woman with a bow. These examples then prove the use of such weapons as the spear and bow and arrow against lions from LM Ib in Crete. The chariot is not used in lion combats in Crete and its origin is then yet uncertain as is the origin of the dagger which arrived late in use in Crete and was of greater popularity in Greece.

Men are most often depicted at the waist and may wear loincloth and anklets on Cretan man-lion scenes. Defensive use of tower and figure-of-eight shields in Greece is only paralleled on T.R. 47, where the man carries the tower shield. The derivation of these weapons is Minoan but their use in lion combats is not necessarily derived from Crete. The boar's tooth helmet of BN M6673 (and possibly on man-boar scene 294) is not seen on Cretan gems before LM Ib and is not seen at all on Cretan lion hunts. In Crete, a conical cap with brim was commonly worn. a kilt with hanging piece.

Landscape:

As in most Helladic seals, there is often no setting, especially in LMII. Cretan seals may show plants, aerial perspective with rocks growing from above and below from MMIII onward, obviously a forerunner to Mycenaean landscaping. Small trees as on the Peronne ring and spiral and other dados are obvious on

Cretan man-bull scenes however but not on lion scenes:

Miscellaneous Objects:

on the Vapheio Cups and many Knossos Temple Repository sealings.

The only objects found on Cretan leontomachies and possible leontomachies are a snake (EM) and oxen

Dress: 19 and HM 901: LMII-IIIa). The snake has no

Men are most often girt at the waist and may wear loin cloth and anklets on Cretan man-lion scenes.

They may be clad in the flounced shorts (NY 26.31.246: LMII, and on scenes of men against other animals and against each other: B 8:LMI, H.T. 112-114; H.T. 115, H.T. 127) which are so popular on Early Mycenaean seals.

They may also be nude. The only feature of Greek dress not paralleled on Cretan seals is the long (tasseled) extension to the girdle (NAM 89, Peronne and scabbards: NAM 290 and M SL 681). The Cup Bearer though wears a kilt with hanging piece.



Hair:

In Crete many men have short hair throughout LM times and are unbearded, as most youths partaking of hunts in Greece. Old Cretan men, as on the seal BN M6781, were bearded, as on a few Mycenaean lion combat scenes. The only trace of a beard on Cretan man-lion scenes is on NAM 512 and Vapheio seal NAM 224.

Miscellaneous Objects:

The only objects found on Cretan leontomachies and possible leontomachies are a snake (EM) and oxen (L.P. 19 and HM 901: LMII-IIIa). The snake has no Helladic parallel, but the presence of oxen attacked by the lion may have the same significance as the appearance of the hybrid animal in Myc.IIIb on the Pylos sealing NAM 302 and of quarry on the Mycenae stelai and Lion Hunt Dagger (LHI). As these Cretan examples appear late, the presence of quarry is not necessarily a Cretan notion. No Cretan leontomachies depict dogs. The 'Genius' on M SL681 is of immediate Minoan derivation, according to Miss Gill, but its appearance on leontomachies is unparalleled.

Composition:

The pose of the man standing beside animal on Mycenaean IIA seals is predominant in Cretan glyptics from MMIII-LMI. There is a very early example of the three-figured antithetic pose (EM: HM 939), which is isolated and not connected to the later appearance of this syntax in part in LM Ib and fully in LM II-IIIa (mainly at Knossos). The X-four figured antithetic pose is only approximated on a two figure sealing from Phaistos. The chase is not evident at all. The most popular of all Helladic leontomachy compositions, the confrontation of man with animal in single combat, is seen only once on HM 1756 from Knossos (a LM II seal of Mycenaean inspiration). This syntax was used in agrimi combats in later Crete.

The characteristics of Mycenaean seals which cannot be derived assuredly from Cretan sources are:

1. The Subject itself: The active obvious leontomachy which is evident on many Mycenaean works does not appear in Crete (except on HM 1756). We may only have the aftermath of the hunt (Kalathiana 851, NAM 224 etc.) or even quieter scenes. However, wounded lions

(H.T. 48), combatant lions (H.T. 84,85,86) and ferocious lions (H.T. 40, 43) appear in LM Ib. Evans in his discussion of the origin of the lion and the lion hunt scenes states that the lion, first appearing in Crete on EM seals, was part of a series of elements derived from pre-dynastic and proto-dynastic Egypt. He further states that the lion:

"...is an exotic reminiscence. It is impossible to suppose that the animal existed in a wild state in the island. Neither does there seem to be any evidence of the appearance of the lion even as a sphragistic type --on the contemporary three-sided steatite bead seals of indigenous Cretan fabric. By the second Middle Minoan Period, however, probably owing to the intimate contacts with mainland Greece then established, the lion takes an active place as a motif of prism seals in hard stones." 22

Evans postulates that the lion motif came to Crete originally from Egypt and then from Greece to Crete and from Crete back to Egypt (Aahmose Dagger of c.1571 B.C.).

The lion itself appears continuously in Crete preceding its appearance in Hellas. Leontomachies, however, aside from examples of the aftermath of the fight in EM and LM Ib, and from a gem of much Mycenaean inspiration (HM 1756), do not gain much favour in the Cretan repertoire. For this reason, we may not attribute the origin of the leontomachy motif on Myce-

naean seals (LHI-III) to Cretan origin.

2. The Man's Position:

- arms: Harmodean arm (dagger)..... LHI on  
bent or (spear)..... LHIIa on  
without weapons:  
to neck in antithetic, confronting  
scenes..... LHI on  
to paws in antithetic, confronting  
scenes..... LHII-III  
above animal's head in antithetic  
scenes..... LHIIa on  
to mouth in antithetic scenes..... LHIIIb  
to head in antithetic and con-  
fronting scenes..... LHIII

3. The Lion's Position:

- body: upright C ..... LH II on  
upside down in S..... LHIII  
head: in top view..... LHI

4. Weapon:

- dagger ..... LHI on  
directed to animal's head..... LHI  
directed to animal's mouth..... LHIIa  
directed to animal's neck(throat).... LHIIb-III  
directed to animal's back..... LHIIIb  
directed above animal..... LHI

- Egyptian spear..... LHIII
- Greek provenance directed to animal's head..... LHI  
 (directed to other parts  
 claimed by the of animal's body on Cretan by  
 wounded animal scenes)
- Catchariot.....LHI  
 use of defensive armour in hunt..... LHI  
 abroad in order to determine its provenance. Ha
- 5. Dress: tasseled belt extensions  
 (in some cases scabbards)..... LHII-III
- 6. Miscellaneous Objects:  
 quarry..... Paloponne LHI  
 dogs..... LHIII
- 7. Composition:  
 antithetic three and four figures.. LHIII, IIIb  
 confronting combat pose..... LHI  
 chase..... LHIII

In order to decide whether these features which cannot be attributed to Crete are native Greek or foreign, we must examine briefly the glyptic and other arts to the south and east.

Mycenaean contacts with Egypt and possibly artistic exchanges begin in the Early Mycenaean period. The interaction becomes more evident in Myc.IIIa with Helladic vases at Amarna and in IIIb at Gurob and other sites. Egyptian objects are also found in Greece.

Stubbings' view that the late Mycenaean pottery in

23

24

25

Egypt is of Rhodian and Cypriot rather than mainland Greek provenance has recently been totally dis-claimed by the discoveries at Berbati<sup>26</sup> and by Catling's chemical analysis of Mycenaean ware found abroad in order to determine its provenance. He states:

"The lack of Rhodian pottery in Cyprus, North Syria and Egypt is striking... Peloponnesian... is the Mycenaean pottery from Tell el Amarna..." 27

In attempting to learn whether any aspects of Mycenaean leontomachy scenes, listed on pp. 241 to 243, may be of Egyptian inspiration, we shall first be concerned with the glyptic art of Egyptian scarabs<sup>28</sup>, and then with its other more monumental art.

According to Newberry,

"Hunting scenes on scarab seals appear for the first time during the Hyksos period... To a later period, probably not earlier than the nineteenth dynasty belong the common hunt scarabs... The first and rarest type shows a hunter with lions and cheetahs chasing a gazelle. The second and commonest type represents an archer hunting the lion and other desert animals. The third type is more elaborate and depicts the hunter riding in a chariot drawn by one or more horses while on other scarabs, we sometimes see the huntsman overtaken by a lion, and lying flat on the ground, apparently slain." 29

We shall here take into account all hunt

were introduced in LMI.

scenes involving lions, as the arrangement of figures in the frame of the flat side of the scarab often obscures the victim of the hunt (gazelle or lion). According to Petrie:

"The familiar period of the lion was before the XVIIIth dynasty; in the XVIIIth and after it was more of a traditional and symbolic usage. This points to the lion having been largely driven back owing to the Hyksos and the XVIIIth dynasty love of hunting." 30

Later features of Mycenaean leontomachies may derive from XVIIIth dynasty art.

We shall then be concerned firstly with the leontomachy pictures on seals which were introduced with the coming of the people called Hyksos by Manetho, or the "Hikau-khoswet, 'Princes of the Desert Uplands' or 'Rulers of Foreign Countries'".<sup>31</sup> This title had been used as early as the Old Kingdom, but in this instance it is thought to refer to:

"...the infiltration into the Delta during the declining years of the Middle Kingdom of groups of several different western Asiatic peoples, chiefly Semites, forced southward, perhaps, by widespread disturbances in the lands to the north and east of Egypt. To the Egyptians the intruders appeared to be the same Asiatic fold...as those who from time immemorial had harassed the north-east border and already, during the First Intermediate Period, had overrun the Delta." 32

As these people remained in Egypt from 1720 to 1567, we may attempt to find in their art an origin for unexplained features of Mycenaean man-lion combats which were introduced in LHI.

The expulsion of the Hyksos brought the  
exclusively to the Peloponnesian group... Peloponnesian 36  
great XVIIIth dynasty and then the XIXth, with their.

stereotyped hunting scenes, where, according to

Newberry: <sup>37</sup> Magiddo and possibly by oriental cylinders

<sup>38</sup> found re "The cutting... (of scarab scene)... is generally  
deep and the subject is always more or less coarsely  
rendered; few specimens bear any trace of glazing,  
and when found it is always of an inferior kind, which  
has turned brown." <sup>33</sup> and Crete, shall be described

Later features of Mycenaean leontomachies may derive

from XVIIIth-XIXth dynastic art. riot seals are

classified in Table lg and other objects from the east

A list of elements comprising Egyptian leonto-  
machy scenes is given in Table ld. <sup>34</sup> Other Egyptian  
beginning from the Kassite period in Mesopotamia and  
objects which may give fuller treatment of the theme  
from the Second Syrian period in Syria.  
are listed in Table le.

We learn from the information supplied in  
The art of the civilization to the East of  
Tables la-b that human-lion combats appeared in Egypt  
Greece must also be considered at this point. There  
in the early Hyksos period and continued in great  
is evidence of some Mycenaean pottery at Ialysos and  
popularity in the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, thus  
Miletus and possibly at Ras Shamra and other eastern  
spanning the entire time of popularity <sup>35</sup> of this theme  
sites in the Early Mycenaean period. By the Late  
in Greece. The theme is even older in the Near East,  
Mycenaean period, Mycenaean colonies and trading posts  
where its popularity in the First Babylonian Dynasty  
were set up in the eastern Mediterranean and Mycenaean  
and later is preceded by many confrontations between  
pottery was widespread in the Near East. Of the  
humane and lions in the third and second millennia.  
provenance of this pottery, Catling has found that:



"For Cyprus...the imported pottery belongs exclusively to the Peloponnesian group...Peloponnesian 36 products are met again at Tell Atchana in North Syria."

Artistic exchanges are attested to by Mycenaean  
ivories at Megiddo<sup>37</sup> and possibly by oriental cylinders  
found recently at Thebes.<sup>38</sup> The elements of such  
oriental imports with leontomachy motif, found at  
Thebes, Perati, Argos and Crete, shall be described  
along with the elements of other Near Eastern seals  
of this theme, in Table 1f. Cypriot seals are  
classified in Table 1g and other objects from the east  
are described in Tables 1f-g. We shall consider seals  
beginning from the Kassite period in Mesopotamia and  
from the Second Syrian period in Syria.

We learn from the information supplied in  
Tables 1a-h that human-lion combats appeared in Egypt  
in the early Hyksos period and continued in great  
popularity in the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, thus  
spanning the entire time of popularity of this theme  
in Greece. The theme is even older in the Near East,  
where its popularity in the First Babylonian Dynasty  
and later is preceded by many confrontations between  
humans and lions in the third and second millenia.

As in Greece (but not in Crete), there is active combat in both Egypt and the Near East (though the action in early Near Eastern scenes may be set in the context of some myth or ritual and the lion fighters may be composite creatures rather than human beings). In order to be able to attribute the leontomachy theme to foreign Eastern and Southern influence, we must first be persuaded that lions did not exist in Greece (for example, as Nile landscapes did not) or that specific elements of this theme in Greece were preceded by similar motifs abroad. The appearance of the lion itself is seen earlier in Cretan art, but not lion combats. If lions did exist in Greece, as the realistic portrayals of lions by Mycenaean artists (see NAM 10) and the great popularity of the theme might suggest, then the artist would be depicting an event from daily life. However, as the case for the existence of lions in Mycenaean Greece is not decisive and has often been denied<sup>39</sup>, we must turn to specific elements of the theme to notice any close Egyptian or Oriental parallels.<sup>40</sup> not Oriental.

The appearance of this pose on the Entomoi cylinder

Man's Position : (15-14th c., the time of popu-

There is no precedent for the Harmodean arm position of dagger throwers in Egyptian and Oriental art.

Possible contemporaries are rare and come from Egypt

Lion's Position:

(LHI) and perhaps from Syria (Alalakh 28). These cannot be considered as forerunners of the stereo-context in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (NAM9) and which typed Mycenaean dagger pose. Hence, this pose on the Ras Shamra Cup (14th c.) and on the Cypriot mirror handle (LBIII) may be seen as evidence of the spread of the Mycenaean motif eastward. The spear throwing position with both arms bent up or down to hold the weapon must also be Helladic in origin. There are rare occurrences of the pose in late XVIIIth dynasty Egypt and Orientals hold the spear with one hand if at all (the weapon may just protrude from under their arm). The extension of arms to various parts of the animal's body on three figured antithetic scenes is here only a correlation but no definite causal relationship. Lion body positions which entered the CANES 955) as it was in LMII Crete. Miss Porada has pointed out to me, however, that the position of human arms extending above the heads of lions is not Oriental. The appearance of this pose on the Enkomi cylinder throughout Near Eastern glyptics in an attempt to

41  
in the Nicosia Museum (15-14th c., the time of popularity of the theme in the Aegean) must be due to Mycenaean influence in the eastern Mediterranean.

Lion's Position:

The top view head, which appears in earliest Mycenaean context in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (NAM9) and which returns on Pylos sealings, is not popular on contemporary Egyptian lions. In the Near East it appears later in Mitanni examples and early in Early Dynastic seals (eg. on a seal of Lugalanda from Lagash, see Figure 29). Although the lion on NAM 9 much resembles the beast on the Lagash seal, it is difficult to attribute a causal relationship to such a coincidence of features of over 1000 years apart (although it is true that Early Dynastic heirlooms have been found on Greek soil). We prefer to notice here only a correlation but no definite causal relationship. Lion body positions which entered the Mycenaean repertoire in the LHII-III periods are the upright C pose and the S pose formed by lions held upside down. The placing of lions upright occurs throughout Near Eastern glyptics in an attempt to

fit the long narrow frame of the cylinder seal.<sup>41</sup>  
The animal may also be upright and diagonal on Oriental, Egyptian as well as Cretan seals (Hagia Triada). The upright C variation of this pose, however, only occurs in Egypt in the miniature lion hunt from Tutankhamon's treasure. As Wrescinski<sup>42</sup> points out, the circularity and freeness of the lions' poses appear intrusive in Egyptian art. The torsional or circular rendering of animals in a circular field is generally attributed to Crete from the LM Ib period (H.T. 48) and more commonly in the LM II period. The Mycenaean variation of this torsional scheme (discussed in regard to NAM 294 in Chapter Two, p. 113) portrays the animal turned, up in the air, decoratively and unnaturally to fit the circular frame. Although the animal has been speared it is not contorted with its head turned in on its body (as it would be in Crete), and the torsion of its body seems unjustified. It may be possible to see the same origin of C poses in Mycenaean art. Unexplained features in LM I inventories are the use of the dagger, the chariot, and defensive armour (shields). The dagger is not used in contemporary Oriental and Egyptian lion fights although it is seen on earlier seals from the East (see Figure 10). Once again, causal relationship cannot be inferred

Mycenaeans, during the period of vogue of lentoid stones, attempted to make the lion fit the frame by turning round its head and legs, again for decorative reasons rather than in realistic portrayal.<sup>43</sup>

The S pose for lions held upside down appears in Greece at a time when animals were often held upside down in the Orient. The lions on the Mitanni seal (Frankfort, Cylinder Seals pl.42a) and on the cylinder found at Argos<sup>44</sup> are held upside down vertically but the goat held on the Argos seal is in an S attitude. As other Oriental seals found in Greece, eg. at Perati<sup>45</sup>, show other animals in this pose and although since the lions on the Argive and Mitanni seals are slightly curving (in an L), it might be postulated that this motif derived from Near Eastern art.

Weapon:  
Unexplained features in LHI leontomachies are the use of the dagger, the chariot and defensive armour (shields). The dagger is not used in contemporary Oriental and Egyptian lion fights although it is seen on earlier seals from the East (see Figure 28).  
Once again, causal relationship cannot be inferred.

over such a long time interval and we then consider the use of the dagger and the manner of its direction to various parts of the animal's body, on leontomachy scenes, to be native Helladic.

As the chariot appears only on the Mycenae stele 1427 which is of uncertain interpretation, and is not accompanied by the bow and arrow on Egyptian and Oriental chariot hunt scenes, we shall leave this element for discussion in relation to HUMAN-~~non-~~bovine RUMINANT COMBATS.

The use of defensive armour as shields in Early Mycenaean leontomachies does not derive from Crete, although the actual weapons do. As we do not find shielded lion hunters abroad, we must consider this to be a Mycenaean feature. The use of the boar's tooth helmet (LHII) is also Helladic although headgear of various types is worn on both Cretan and Egyptian man-lion scenes (LM Ib: T.R. 47, H.T. 134; Hyksos: AM pl. 25, 26).

Dress:

The only unexplained feature of Mycenaean dress is the belt extension which appears in eastern mainland Greece (Mycenae and Thessaloniki?) and which in the

western Peloponnese (Kakovatos and Pylos) appear to be scabbards (see Figure 29 ). On an Oriental seal which seems to attempt to depict Aegeans<sup>46</sup>, a conspicuous feature of dress are the belt extensions of the type seen on the Peronne ring. This may then have been considered by Orientals to be part of Aegean (Cretan) dress. However, as the sporan was widespread in Egypt in an early period and belt extensions are evident on Middle Assyrian seals, that the feature of dress was originally intrusive in Mycenaean art.

Miscellaneous Objects:

generally forming a  $\Delta$ ,  
Appearing on early Mycenaean leontomachies are the quarry which the lion hunted and which the herdsman wished to protect. These ruminants appear very commonly on Egyptian hunt scarabs from the Hyksos period on. They appear more sporadically on contemporary Oriental cylinders. However, the notion of a herdsman protecting his flock from lions was of great popularity in early Mesopotamian glyptics. Hence, in regard to this element, we must observe the correspondence of all areas to be attributed either to artistic interactions or to a common fear in the



lives of eastern Mediterraneans.

The dog accompanies the lion fighter on the LHIIIa -b sealing NAM 165. On the late XVIIIth dynasty Egyptian painting, MMNY 267.1453, the dog appears in a leontomachy scene. It is possible that the use of the dog against lions derives from Egypt. (The use of dogs in hunts will also be discussed in conjunction with other man-animal combats.)

Composition:

It is in this element that the greatest east to west influence has been proposed in the past. The confronting composition, generally forming a  $\triangle$ , may grow naturally out of man-man combats on Cretan seals. This syntax also appears continuously throughout Egyptian and Oriental glyptics from the Hyksos and First Babylonian Dynastic periods, respectively. In these cases, with a few Hyksos exceptions (eg. BM 66750, see Pl. 17), the lines of the scene relate to form a  $\square$  rather than a  $\triangle$ . The dynamic confrontation then may be native to Greece, although the idea of single combat was an old one.

The far less dynamic compositional scheme of anti-

thetic three figured scene became fashionable in the Aegean at the close of the second Late Bronze Age period. Many scholars have remarked of the derivation of this scheme from the art of Mesopotamia, as it would appear that such a composition would allow the infinite repetition of figures needed to fill the frame of a cylindrical seal.<sup>47</sup> We must however insist that various characteristics of this theme<sup>48</sup> are not entirely new to the Aegean. 'Heraldic' antithetic scenes of three figures do appear previous to the LMII period in Cretan art: in EMIII HM939, where a man is flanked by a snake and possibly a lion; in EMIII-MMI Platanos 1103, where the lions form a two figured antithetic pose (not strictly relevant here), and Z.193, NAM 224, M 1171 of LMIIb, where the three figure pose is not strictly antithetic. On Cretan scenes of men with other animals there are more striking examples.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, we find antithetically disposed animals on the Greek mainland in LHI on the Mycenae stele from Circle B, Grave Γ. The notion of antithetic syntax is not restricted to the Aegean and Orient as

gonaIs needed to break the monotony of straight lines

isolated examples of this scheme appear in Egyptian art as well, eg. the Early Dynastic wall paintings from Hierakonpolis and the Hyksos seal BM 66742 (see Pl. 17). Then the idea of antithetic composition was not new. If the scheme of a man flanked by two lions was introduced from abroad in LHII-III, it was not done so without alteration (in the positioning of animals in C and S), for adjustment to the frame of the Aegean seal.

The four figured antithetic scheme forming an X is found among Pylos sealings NAM 307, NAM Inv.90483a, b and on the Peronne ring, of LHIIIb. The only Cretan precedent for such an X pose is found on a scene of two lions, Phaistos sealing 234 (at latest MMII). This pose however, is more common on Oriental seals of the First Babylonian Dynasty and later (eg. Newell 166). It is found on Oriental cylinders which had been imported into the Aegean: HM 1460 found at Astritsi Pediadhou in Crete. It is conceivable that the antithetic arrangement arrived at by crossing figures in an X, was derived from the East, where such a crossing pose created the diagonals needed to break the monotony of straight lines

of the Oriental cylinder seal. Head of the bear.

A third pose, seen on the LHIIa seal NAM 112 and the IIIb Pylos sealing NAM 359, is the chase, where one figure has its back to the other. Such poses are seen in the Orient (eg. Second Syrian Group: CANES 942E, Cyprus:cl450: MMNY 74.51.4303) but are more common on Egyptian hunt scenes from the Hyksos period (BM 66744) on. It is possible that this pose is originally Egyptian.

Foreign influence on the Mycenaean leontomachy

Man's Position:  
The standing fighters are in the Harmodean or partial Harmodean leg posture with arms bent: V to hold the spear. A variation of the pose is seen on

NAM 294 (LHIIb-IIIa), where the man kneels (or, if the scene is turned 90°, he stands on one foot) as he thrusts his spear. The only wide deviation from depicting this subject and in addition, the Mycenaean wall painting from Tiryns. This fresco 26.31.294, where the man is prostrate, with a hybrid bear-bull (a pose better examined in conjunction with lance (LHIIIb) is part of a hunt cycle which pictures also chariotry and hunters with javelins and dogs.


The boar hunt fragment depicts at right, the arms of

men thrusting spears into the head of the boar.

Dogs follow in pursuit.

On the basis of these extant representations of man-boar combat, we see that examples of this theme come from both the eastern and western Peloponnese. They span the period from LHIIa-IIIb, but we may not draw any conclusions about the lack of LHI material on the basis of so few objects. Other elements of Mycenaean combats between men and boars are:

Man's Position:

The standing fighters are in the Harmodean or partial Harmodean leg posture with arms bent:  to hold the spear. A variation of the pose is seen on

NAM 294 (LHIIb-IIIa), where the man kneels (or, if the scene is turned 90°, he stands on one foot) as he thrusts his spear. The only wide deviation from the above postures for boar hunters is on the NY gem 26.31.294, where the man is prostrate, with a hybrid boar-bull (a pose better examined in conjunction with man-bull scenes). All heads are in profile.

All men are girt and one wears shorts (LHIIa).

Boar's Position:

The Tiryns fresco (IIIb) depicts the boar in a flying gallop towards its attacker. The Vapheio and Berlin seals (IIa) show boars in partial gallops, where

forelegs are thrust forward and hind legs either do

Miscellaneous Objects:

not exist or are on a lower plane (Vapheio). This

On two pieces from LHIIb-LHIIa and IIIb, dogs aid in

may be a feeble attempt at the flying gallop as the

the capture of the bear. These animals had also

human pose on NAM 227 may be a futile attempt at

been used in the hunt of lions (eg. NAM 163).

a Harmodean leg posture with arms bent to hold a

spear. Heads of animals are all in profile.

All combats are direct confrontations between men and

Weapon:

boars. The majority of lion fight scenes were of

The spear was the weapon used for boar combat. It was

this confronting syntax. <sup>53</sup>

always directed to the animal's head, above the eye.

It is probable that some elements of boar

Landscape:

hunt scenes: the Harmodean leg position, the flying

Rocky or grassy landscape is evident on the LHIIa

gallop, the rocky or grassy landscape, the long hair,

gems from Vapheio and the Peloponnese and on the

originated in Cretan art. In fact, nearly all the

IIIb wall painting from Tiryns. The Vagenas lentoid

features found on Mycenaean man-boar scenes have

has no scenery.

been included in the engraving on the dagger blade

Dress: York MMY 26.31.499, which according to

All men are girt and one wears shorts (LHIIa).

"...discovered in the Lamithi district, probably in the Psycho cave itself. The tang of this

Hair: has been broken away, but its upper part, which is provided with three rivets, shows two short No men are obviously bearded. The men on the Berlin wooden handle. The form itself is interesting, since, and Vagenas gems (LHIIa, IIb-IIIa, respectively) unlike it exactly corresponds with a type of short sword the man on NAM 227 (LHIIa), have long hair. tholos at Hagia Triada (PM I, p.199)—the tang being in that case so far preserved as to show another rivet hole.

Miscellaneous Objects:

On two pieces from LHIIb-IIIa and IIIb, dogs aid in MMII. The date of the Lasithi dagger can hardly be the capture of the boar. These animals had also 54

been used in the hunt of lions (eg. NAM 163). the

Composition:

All combats are direct confrontations between men and unique character of the technique, various features of boars. The majority of lion fight scenes were of human dress, landscape and the bull's gallop on the this confronting syntax. reverse side of the dagger, seem to be misunderstood

copies of It is probable that some elements of boar hunt scenes: the Harmodean leg position, the flying gallop, the rocky or grassy landscape, the long hair, originated in Cretan art. In fact, nearly all the features found on Mycenaean man-boar scenes have been included in the engraving on the dagger blade in New York MMNY 26.31.499, which according to to

Evans was: a human adversary, on the basis of Mycenaean rep "...discovered in the Lasithi district, probably in the Psychro cave itself. The tang of this

blade has been broken away, but its upper part, which is provided with three rivets, shows two short flanges on either shoulder to grip the edge of the wooden handle. The form itself is interesting, since, except that the shoulders are slightly more sloping, it exactly corresponds with a type of short sword found in the annexe of the smaller ossuary tholos at Hagia Triada (PM I, p.195)--the tang being in that case so far preserved as to show another rivet hole. This type, as pointed out above, is probably contemporary with the later class of polychrome pottery found in this annexe which belongs to the middle of MMII. The date of the Lasithi dagger can hardly be brought down lower than the close of that period." 54

Sanders supports the assertions of Evans about the dagger blade itself. 55 However, the authenticity of the engravings is open to question. Aside from the unique character of the technique, various features of human dress, landscape and the bull's gallop on the reverse side of the dagger, seem to be misunderstood copies of characteristics appearing on both Vapheio Cups. 56 We cannot then use this object with any certainty. The only other object from Crete which may have depicted human-boar combat is the fragment of a steatite vase found in trial pit E of the town site at Palaikastro (MMIII), which represents only a galloping boar. Although it might be possible to reconstruct a human adversary, on the basis of Mycenaean representation, there are no intrinsic reasons



for doing so. <sup>60</sup>ots also seem to be part of the scene.

<sup>61</sup>On fragments 199-222 deer stand behind one another.  
As the theme of combat between human and boar is not found in Crete or abroad, we consider its major elements to be of native Helladic origin.

<sup>62</sup>Fragments of a vase found at Mycenae near Tsountas' House.  
Our next group of combats involve MEN and non-bovine RUMINANTS, such as deer, goats, gazelles, ibexes, antelopes, or generally, the quarry of larger and stronger animals as well as of human hunters. <sup>57</sup>ese necks are bitten by attacking dogs.

<sup>63</sup>A bell krater, also from Cyprus and of Myc. IIIb date, depicts a robed human figure with both arms extended to the right, holding the tail and hind legs of a galloping animal. Another animal appears to be attacking the man. According to Kalfagiorgis, the animal is a stag. In addition to the seals listed in Table 3a, there are representations of this theme on palace frescoes. On a fragment from Pylos (Myc. IIIb), there is a confrontation between a man in a spotted tunic and a galloping stag. The man is ready to thrust his spear at the turned head of the animal. Other fresco fragments of huntsmen, hounds and stags appear to belong to the same wall painting. <sup>58</sup> Fresco

fragments from Tiryns also involve hunters and ruminants. <sup>59</sup> On fragments 189-193, deer, hares and plants, and men wearing belted tunics and carrying two spears appear. One hunter walks with a hound and a

horse. Chariots also seem to be part of the scene.

60

On fragments 199-222<sup>61</sup>, deer stand behind one another.

Pictorial vases may also depict the theme of combat between humans and non-bovine ruminants.

Fragments of a vase found at Mycenae near Tsountas'

House, of LHIIIb date, depict galloping and stationary stags and pursuing hounds as well as men walking

forward. Another Myc.IIIb vase, of Cypriot provenance,

shows a man with spears behind a row of galloping

stags whose necks are bitten by attacking dogs. (IIIb).

A bell krater, also from Cyprus and of Myc.IIIb date,

depicts a robed human figure with both arms extended to the right, holding the tail and hind leg of a

galloping animal. Another animal appears behind. Above

According to Karageorghis: his tail and feet (IIIb).

Heads are "The identification of the animals is not quite certain. They seem to be female. There are traces of horns (?) on the animal to the right." 62

Ruminant's Position:

The features of ruminant combats on frescoes and vases are enumerated in Table 3a.

On the LH I seal NAM 15, the deer is in a partial flying gallop, with a praline head turned back. The

Pylos an: On the basis of the above extant objects, we

notice that this combat theme existed in Greece from

of poses: stride, flying gallop, torsion pose, with

the earliest Mycenaean period (deer in Shaft Grave art) until the late palace period, with the fresco decorations at Pylos in the west and Tiryns in the east Peloponnese. The following elements of these scenes are observed:

#### Man's Position:

In most man-ruminant combats, the human figure is standing upright. In one instance from Ialysos he is in a running pose (IIb-IIIa) and on the Asine gem, his legs are in a partial Harmodean attitude (IIb-IIIa). Arms may be bent, holding the animal by the horns or holding a spear (IIIb). On the Pylos fresco, however, a Harmodean arm position is given to the spear thrower. Extended arms may hold a dagger (IIb-IIIa) or reach above the animal (IIb-IIIa) or for his tail and feet (IIIb). Heads are in profile.

#### Ruminant's Position:

On the LHI seal NAM 15, the deer is in a partial flying gallop, with a profile head turned back. The Pylos animal (IIIb) is seen in a similar attitude. The Tiryns fresco fragments (IIIb) present a variety of poses: stride, flying gallop, torsion pose, with

profile heads often turned back toward assailants. These poses are repeated on other objects. On NAM 163 (IIIa-b), the animals are upright on their hind legs. On the Asine and Ialysos gems (IIb-IIIa), the animals are upright but turned into an S pose (heads).

Weapon:

On the Mycenae picture (LHI), a marksman shoots at the deer from a chariot. The man on the Ialysos gem (IIb-IIIa) directs daggers to the back and neck of the animal. The men from the Pylos fresco and Aradippou vase (IIIb) aim spears at the animal. Defensive armour (helmets) is seen on vase fragments (IIIb).

Landscape:

The scenery is most detailed on NAM 15 (LHI) with its hanging rockwork and plants. Only a wavy line appears on the Pylos fresco fragment (IIIb).

Dress:

Some figures are nude and girt. The men on frescoes, however, are more elaborately dressed (IIIb), with belted tunic and gaiters. One figure from Cyprus wears a long robe (IIIb). The belt worn by the

man on the Ialysos gem (IIb-IIIa) has an extension hanging between his legs.

Hair:

Hair may either be short or long. Beards may be a sign of age, as the marksman on NAM 15 is clean shaven and the charioteer is bearded.

Miscellaneous Objects:

Hounds appear on the Ialysos gem (IIb-IIIa) and on IIIb bases. They also appear on fragments of frescoes from Pylos and Tiryns.

Composition:

The most frequently used syntax is the chase, with a man behind the fleeing animal (LHI-IIIb). The pursued creature often turns its head back toward its assailant. The confronting syntax is used on the Pylos fresco (IIIb), and on NAM 163 (IIIa-b), the antithetic three figure composition is employed.

As the theme of combat between humans and non-bovine ruminants was often depicted on Cretan objects, it is possible that many of these elements on Mycenaean examples derive from Minoan art. We

shall then attempt to define the elements of such Cretan scenes. Cretan seals which possibly depict this theme are:

AM 6 -- an EM seal from Mirabello. On side b of this three sided prism we see a man standing. Next to him is a horned animal with its body facing him. This animal either has its axis shifted and is thus standing with a raised head, or it is upon its hind legs with its head turned away from the man. Although no weapons appear, we include this as a possible man-goat encounter.

AM 14 -- an EM seal from southern? Crete. This man-goat scene extends over two of the three sides of a triangular prism seal. On side a, we see a man upright with one arm extended holding a spear vertically. His possible opponent, a wild goat, appears on side b, standing on a diagonal axis that Kenna suggests might indicate a mountainous landscape. This is a possible combat scene as the weapon is evident, although the opponents are separated.

AM 36 -- is an EM seal from Mallia. On side a of this rectangular seal, a man stands with his arms extended

to carry a pole across his shoulders, from which hang two horned animals. His activity may bear some relation to combat.

AM 51 -- On side b of this EM three sided prism, Kenna sees a figure touching the agrimi's horns in possible ritual activity.<sup>64</sup> The seated human may also be combating the agrimi.

G 34 -- an EM seal from the Messara. A man stands behind a tree and a horned animal raised on its hind legs. Although no weapon appears, this may be a combat scene.

G 63 -- On side b of this EM rectangular prism seal, a horned animal stands behind a man, possibly engaged in combat.

G 78 -- On this EM triangular prism bead, on side c, a man sits with his hands extended toward a goat?, which is perpendicular to him. Between the figures is a triangular object, possibly a knife. This has led M. Dessene to call the man a butcher.<sup>65</sup> His profession is difficult to discern, but there is a suggestion of combat.

Mélanges Dussaud p.122 fig.1:-- a seal from MMI context from Mallia. On one of the three sides of this seal is depicted a man upright with arms extended to the necks of flanking couchant goats. Although no weapons appear, the human hand position suggests encounter. A later antithetic scene is R56.

PM I fig.373:-- from the Hieroglyphic Deposit of sealings from Knossos belonging to the MMII-III period. Depicted on this sealing is a boy or baby, seated below a goat. Above the animal are a spear and a net-like pattern behind it. Evans sees here the goat Amaltheia with an infant. Because of the appearance of weapons, although unrelated to the human figure, we include this object in our survey. Another Cretan seal of unknown provenance, HM 2114 has a similar scene.

AM 242 -- LMI from Kastri in East Crete. This amygdaloid depicts a man standing behind a horned animal (ewe?), as she suckles her young. He bends to tie a rope around the animal's neck.

Z. 15 -- from the hoard of sealings at Zakro (LM Ib).



A man stands holding a kid in each hand. He is approached by two horned animals. Although there is no weapon, some aspect of the hunt may be depicted.

B 8 -- probably of LMI date and said to be from Syra.

A man with bent knees leans toward a spotted deer which is perpendicular to him. The animal's head is down and slightly contorted. The activities of both figures must be interrelated and although there is no visible weapon, hunt or capture may be intended.

AM 226 -- On this LMI (or MMIII-LMI) seal, a man attacks a leaping deer, attempting to kill him with his sword. A hound dashes below in flying gallop.

MMNY 14.104.3, from the same period, depicts an ibex galloping in the field and a hound running against it. Although no human appears, the hunter's spear above allows us to reconstruct another scene of chase.

HM 650 -- a Knossos sealing of destruction date (LMII-IIIa). A man carries two ruminants on a pole which is supported on his shoulders. Some aspect of hunt

and capture might be depicted.

AM 285 --- an LMII-IIIa seal from Hagia Pelagia.

On this gem, a man kneels to stab the neck of a contorted Cretan agrimi.

AM 320 --- On this LMII-IIIa seal from Mirabello,

a man in running posture, with his torso bent back and head turned away, thrusts a short sword into the neck of a huge agrimi, its body curved toward him.

BM 76 --- On this LMII-IIIa lentoid, a man in running

position with arms bent, spears an upright contorted ibex.

HM 1863 --- from LMIIIa-IIIb context at Sellopoulo,

Tomb 1 (Knossos). Two men, one with bent knees and the other in a partial running pose, seem to carry a stag which is upside down between them. A phase of combat must be depicted.

Other works of Minoan art also depict the theme of combat and possible combat between men and non-boving ruminants:

Town Mosaics from MMII. On some fragments we find figures which may have comprised a goat hunt scene.

Some pieces depict standing goats. Others show men, clad in loin cloths, carrying bows or spears. Some fragments depict outdoor settings.

PMIIIp.185fig.128-- a fragment of a steatite rhyton

of LMI? date. A man appears to be dragging a goat behind him by the horns. Below is a crested boar's head, bearing little relevance to the scene. Dendra Silver Goblet -- found on the Greek mainland

in LMIB context in the Dendra tholos, but in Cretan style. Persson describes the representation on the goblet as a:

"...hunting scene with deer and hounds in various attitudes and situations -- on the portions preserved there was no trace of huntsmen. The hounds are depicted leaping at full stretch with the front of the body thrown far forwards and the hind part stretched straight back. One of the deer is shown just at the moment when it is breaking down: the head with its proud antlers is sinking, the forelegs are giving way under the animal, one hind leg is stretched far forward, the other straight back as in a powerful stride. One deer is turning a somersault just like the bull in the net on one of the Vapheio cups..." 68

Although there are no evident weapons, the presence appears in LMI Greece, seems to be of Cretan origin.

of hounds and the lack of other attacking animals seem to imply that the human hunter was near.

Zapher Papoura Larnax -- from Chamber Tomb 9 at the LMIII cemetery of Zapher Papoura, Knossos. On one side of the larnax the four-spoke wheel of a chariot is drawn. Evans describes the other side:

"The left panel of the other side shows traces of a beardless man throwing a lasso which twists round the curved horns of a Cretan wild goat. His other hand seems to seize the goat's hind quarters, and in front of the animal is another man, the upper part much effaced, who apparently grasps its neck. The horns of another 'agrimi' are visible behind the first...On the partition between this and the next panel are palm trees." 69

As the quality of the photograph of this larnax, published by Evans, is very poor (or more probably the larnax is in a poor state of preservation) and as I was unable to find this object in the Heraklion Museum, Evans' description must suffice.

The elements of Cretan human-ruminant combat and possible combat scenes are summarized on Table 3b. We see that this theme appears from the beginning of Cretan seal engraving in EM and continues into the LMIII period. Hence, the subject matter which appears in LHI Greece, seems to be of Cretan origin.

Man's Position:

Cretan seals from EM on depict men standing straight or with bent knees, as on some Mycenaean seals.<sup>70</sup>

The Mycenaean figure leaning from a chariot (LHI) is unparalleled in Crete. The running attitude on the Ialysos gem (IIb-IIIa) is seen on contemporary Cretan seals (AM 320, BM 76) and earlier on the LMI seal AM 226. This one early Cretan instance, though, may not be responsible for the stereotyped running pose so widespread in LHIII. The partial Harmodean leg position on NAM 199 (LHIIb-IIIa) is seen earlier in Crete on 'man<sup>L</sup>bull scenes (Z. 104 where a Genius replaces the man: LM Ib) and is of Aegean origin. The spear throwing attitude (Myc. IIIb, but seen with other animals from Myc. I on) is shown on BM 76 (a seal which may be of Mycenaean inspiration). In LMI, arms are bent and grasp the horns and neck of the animal (seen in Myc. IIIb Greece). Arms extended with daggers as on the Ialysos gem (IIb-IIIa) are seen on contemporary Cretan gems (AM 285, AM 320). Then the Harmodean leg position and the arm position grasping the horns and neck of the animal may be attributed to Crete, as may be the

original running pose. on on the LMI seal AM 226,

Ruminant's Position:

The gallop seen on Mycenaean seals (LHI, III) and AM 226 (LMI), is of Cretan origin, as evidenced by MM sealings from Phaistos: 224, 225, 233 and earlier Cretan seals HM 1435 and HM 1304. The striding or standing animal (Myc.IIIb) is preceded in Crete.<sup>71</sup> The attitude of animals upright on hind legs in slight torsion (S) (IIIb-IIIa) may be derived from upright animals seen from EM on and from the Cretan torsion school. The lack of contorsion however demonstrates a Mycenaean adaptation of the Cretan pose. The turning of heads back toward assailants is evident in both LHI and LMI and may be native to both arts.

Weapon:

Of the weapons employed in Mycenaean ruminant combats, the dagger, spear and bow and arrow appear in Crete. The dagger appears uniquely on an EM prism bead G 78, but is not in vogue until the LMII-IIIa period in scenes of active man-horned animal combat.<sup>72</sup> The

appearance of the weapon on the LMI seal AM 226, however, may attest to a Cretan origin for the use of this weapon against ruminants (seen in Myc.IIIa Greece). Similarly, the New York seal MMNY 14.104.3 gives evidence of the use of the spear in LMI Crete (preceding its appearance on Mycenaean inspired gem BM 76 and the Pylos fresco fragment of Myc.IIIb). The bow and arrow is used in MM times, but it is not used from a chariot in Crete as on NAM 15 (LHI). Furthermore, the defensive use of helmets (Myc.IIIb) is not found in Crete.

Composition:

Landscape: Mycenaean landscape with its hanging rockwork and aerial perspective derives from Cretan art. The total lack of setting on some gems is found both in Crete and Greece.

Dress: Nude and girt figures appear early in Minoan art. The elaborate tunic and garters (Myc.IIIb) do not appear uniquely in LMI before the Knossos destruction appear in Crete. The hanging belt extension on the Ialysos gem (IIIb-IIIa) and the long robe (IIIb) may

The comparison of the features comprising

be intrusive in the Aegean.

Hair:

In Crete, with the exception of the Town Mosaics, hair is short. Cretan hair styles may have spread to Mycenaean Greece.

Miscellaneous Objects:

The hound seen in Myc.IIb-IIIa, appears on the LMI seal AM 226, and its participation in the deer hunt may derive from Crete.

Composition:

All compositional schemes employed on Mycenaean objects with human-ruminant combats are found on EM-MMI seals. The chase is also evident on AM 226, the New York gem and the Dendra Cup(?) at the time of its appearance on NAM 15. The confronting syntax is seen on the Mycenaean inspired group of man-horned animal scenes of LMII-IIIa (by analogy with leontomachies). The three figure antithetic composition appears uniquely in MMI before the Knossos destruction sealings, and the Cretan derivation for this later Mycenaean syntax is not certain.

The comparison of the features comprising



man-non-bovine ruminant combats results in the following list of elements which remain unexplained

Man's Position:  
by either Cretan art or obvious native Helladic initiative (eg. the stereotyped running pose, an attitude seen in Crete and given Helladic treatment).

1. The Man's Position:

body: upright man leaning from chariot...LHI

2. Weapon:

bow and arrow used from chariot.....LHI

use of defensive armour: helmet.....LHIIIb

3. Dress: as in Mycenaean art on NAM-15 (LHI).

tunic and gaiters.....LHIIIb

hanging extension to belt.....LHIIIb-IIIa

long robe.....LHIIIb

4. Composition:

three figure antithetic.....LHIIIa-b

A survey of Egyptian and Near Eastern art

may elucidate the origin of these features of

Mycenaean combats between humans and non-bovine ruminants (see Tables 3c - 3e). On the basis of objects

mentioned in the tables, we notice the following re-

Syrian Group cylinders.

Egyptian hunters (with lions and gazelles) may wear conical caps, possibly related to the Myc. IIIb hat.

Relationships:

The tunic and gaiters are evident only on monumental

Man's Position:

The LHI pose of a man leaning from a chariot occurs Egyptian hunt scenes from Hyksos times, but it took on Near Eastern chariot hunt scenes in the Kassite period. The origin of this pose is directly connected to Greece. The long robe (Myc. IIIb), however, is an intrusive feature in the Aegean and owes its

Weapon: the Near East. The hanging extension to

The hunt of deer with chariot and bow and arrow together occurs uniquely in Mycenaean art on NAM 15 (LHI).

As Wreszinski points out, this mode of hunt in general

was also an intrusive feature in Egypt which entered in c.1600 :

"Dem alten Schema der Jagddarstellung, das sich bis in die Mitte des letzten vorchrist Jahrtausend nachweisen lässt, trat im 16. Jahrhundert eine neue Komposition an die Seite, deren Eindruck von dem leichten zweirädrigen, von 2 Rossen gezogenen Wagen bestimmt wurde der damals aus Vorderasien ins Niltal gelangt war." 75

It is possible that this feature entered Egyptian and Mycenaean art in LHI from the Near East. This mode of combat is very common on Kassite and Second Syrian Group cylinders.

Egyptian hunters (with lions and gazelles) may wear conical caps, possibly related to the Myc. IIIb hat.

appears to be Mycenaean.

The majority of aspects of the hunt of

Dress: Ruminants were then imported into Greece.

The tunic and gaiters are evident only on monumental art in Greece. The tunic was frequently worn on Egyptian hunt scenes from Hyksos times, but it took a different form. This mode of dress must be native to Greece. The long robe (Myc. IIIb), however, is an intrusive feature in the Aegean and owes its origin to the Near East. The hanging extension to the belt (Myc. IIb-IIIa) is found in Hyksos Egypt and on Near Eastern seals (see man-lion scenes).

Composition:

The three figure antithetic syntax, although appearing at Mallian in MMI and once at Knossos in LMII-IIIa (on the evidence of drawings in Evan's notebooks alone), is a rare scheme for men and ruminants in the Aegean. There are examples of this syntax on late XVIIIth to XIXth dynasty scarabs from Egypt and on contemporary cylinders from the Near East. Some Hyksos pieces also employ this composition. As this syntax appears often in the east and south and sporadically in Crete, it may be of foreign origin. The adaptation of antithetic composition to fit a lentoid frame, as with leontomachies, appears to be Mycenaean.

The majority of aspects of the hunt of non-

bovine ruminants were then imported into Greece,  
mainly from Crete and partially from abroad.

The theme of man-bull encounter is most popular in the later Mycenaean period although it first occurs on the LHI Mycenae stela. The subject following objects to our list of Mycenaean man-bull seals on Table 4a:

Nauplion Museum 13576: Grave Stele, Mycenae Circle B:LHI

A human figure seems to confront a charging bull which itself is being attacked on its back by a lion(?) (Klavdia

Tiryns Palace Fresco : Myc.IIIb (Klavdia).

The human figure (a woman as it is painted white?) is horizontal over the bull in Group II position. One foot touches the beast, the other kicks in the air and one hand grasps the animal's horns.

Krater Fragment from Klavdia, Cyprus : Myc.IIIb<sup>76</sup>

On this vase fragment a spotted bull is faced by a man who holds two dogs on leads. Although there is no visible weapon, the man with his hounds may possibly be a hunter.

Excluded from this survey are the Athens  
<sup>77</sup>pyxis, where the man bears little relation to the

78

bull and the vase from Cyprus with a man and bull in Group I acrobatic position.

The theme of man-bull encounter is most popular in the later Mycenaean period although it first occurs on the LHI Mycenae stele. The subject is prevalent throughout Greece, and consists of the following features:

Man's Position:

Men rarely stand before the bull (Mycenae stele, Klavdia vase of LHI and LHIIIb, respectively). In one instance of Group III syntax the human is seated or kneeling (LHIIIb) and on another he leans backwards in a near running leg position (IIIa-b). In Group II scenes, the man is horizontal above the beast (IIb on). In the one Group IV scene he is partly

suspended upside down (IIIa-b). Group V scenes show the man prostrate on the ground beneath the bull, from LHIIIb on. Arms are generally extended to the head, neck, horns, rump or back of the bull. Heads are in profile.

Bull's Position:

Animals either stand (IIb), trot with hind legs straight and forelegs bent (IIIa) or are in flying gallop (IIIa-b). Heads are generally profile and may be directed up, down or around (IIb on). Only one seal depicts a bull with frontal face (IIIb).

Weapon:

The single example of a weapon is on the LHI Mycenae confrontation scene, where the man wields a club. Mycenaean scenes with wounded bulls: NAM 35, NAM 147, NAM 148, NAM 175?, B 20, demonstrate that spears were also used in bull hunt in Greece.

Landscape:

Occasionally a branch, tree or plant (LHIII) denote the outdoor setting.

Dress:

Most figures are nude and may be girt. There are rare instances of the wearing of a kilt (IIb), loin cloth and gaiters (IIIb) and flounced shorts (LHI, IIIb).

Hair:

Hair is short. One IIIb man may be bearded.

Miscellaneous Objects:

On one sealing (IIIb) a second bull appears. The LHI stele shows another animal, probably a lion, attacking the bull. In IIIb, hounds appear in a possible combat scene. The 'impaled triangle' (?) sign appears in IIIa-b (for significance see Chapter Four).

Composition:

Aside from the confronting composition (LHI, IIIb), bull scenes fall into Groups II (Myc. IIb-III), III (Myc. III), IV (Myc. IIIa-b) and V (Myc. IIb-IIIa), as defined in Chapter One.

As the theme of human-bull combat and possible combat occurs only rarely outside the Aegean, we must look carefully at the Cretan material for the origin of elements of this subject. In accordance with the conclusions of Chapter One, Group I Cretan scenes shall be excluded from our discussion.

Possible combats between humans and bulls are observed on the following Cretan seals:

AM 202 (MMIII-LMI), two Hagia Triada sealings termed

<sup>80</sup>  
taurokathapsia by Levi H.T. 108 and 109 (LMib),  
NAM 274 (LMib), AM 52S (LMII-IIIa), PM IV fig.597Bk  
(LMII-IIIa) and PM IV fig.597Bm (LMII-IIIa) are  
Group IV combats between men and bulls (although the  
last four pieces also bear relation to Group III).  
Group II scenes belong to the period of the Knossos  
palace destruction and include HM 185 from Praisos,  
AM 248, AM 249, M 1180, AM 341, HM 1232, MMNY 26.31.291,  
and BM 78. Belonging to Group III are AGIII p.49 fig.28  
and NAM 95, both of the LMII-IIIa period, and HM 169  
(LMIIIa). Only AM 249 belongs to Group V.

AM 247 -- from the Peloponnese, of LMib style.

A man stands at one side with one arm extended and  
pointing (as NAM 133) toward a trotting bull. Below  
is another bull (according to Evans, a cow which acts  
as a decoy by analogy with Vapheio Cup B<sup>81</sup>). The only  
possible weapon is a net, suggested by the chevrons  
at left (original). The scene may depict a form of  
chase.

AM 300 -- of LMII-IIIa(?) style. A man stands at  
one side bending toward three standing oxen, one of  
which turns its head back toward him. The pose



recalls AM 242. Although no weapon appears, the human actor's attitude repeats that of the man on AM 242, who held a rope. This scene is possibly some form of chase.

BM 38 -- from Crete, in LMII-IIIa style. A man at left (original) has lost his balance, being pushed by the nose of a bull standing behind him. Behind is another bull with raised profile head. The field is filled with a plant spray and two symbols often considered sacred, the 'impaled triangle' and the figure-of-eight shield (see Chapter Four for interpretation). This scene represents some type of man-bull confrontation.

BM 79 -- from Crete of LMII-IIIa style. A man stands behind a powerful bull in a pose recalling NAM 133 and NAM 280 lion scenes. His arms are bent at the elbow and in his hands is a rope which he has placed round the animal's horns. Although the bull appears totally disinterested, the use of the rope may indicate encounter between human and bull.

G 190 -- from Vassiliki Anogeia of LMII-III date.

On side b of this triangular prism seal, a man stands behind the animal, as on BM 79. The 'bull' however is bizarre in form, being composed of two front quarters, one upside down. The human figure is also repeated below upside down. No weapons appear but the hand position might suggest a rope.

Little Palace 19 -- of Knossos destruction date.

See man-lion scenes for a discussion of this sealing fragment. It seems as if the lion, not the man, is out to kill the bulls. A similar theme is represented on HM 901.

Z. 104 from the LM Ib hoard of sealings at Zakro.

This is our only actual combat in Crete which involves a bull. The spearsman is a Minoan Genius and not a human being.

Other Cretan objects, mentioned in Chapter One, depict the combat of men and bulls: Vapheio Cups, the Katsambas Pyxis and possibly the Knossos Crystal Plaque. One panel of the Boxer Vase from Hagia Triada (LM Ib) shows a man caught on the horns of a charging bull. It is possible that the man

dropped from above, landing by error atop the bull's horns, and will fall to his death as one figure on Vapheio Cup A. This may then be a Group IV scene and hence a man-bull combat.

Two EM-MM bull vases from Messara, Koumasa 4126 and Porti 5052, show in relief, two men clinging to the horns of the bull while a third (Koumasa) is spread across its forehead. According to Xanthoudides, these are scenes from the Minoan bull ring, but they appear more like Group IV bull hunts.

We observe from Table 4b that Minoan bull hunt scenes are concentrated in the Late Minoan period, with the exception of the early bull vases. Our examples come from all parts of Crete as well as from mainland Greece. Comparison of Cretan and Mycenaean features shows:

Man's Position:

Men stand on Cretan scenes in LM Ib and II-IIIa in compositional schemes of possible chase and man beside animal. As Mycenaean bull hunters are found in this position in LHI and it is such a natural

stance, this attitude cannot be intrusive in Helladic art. Humans are in a kneeling - near running pose on Cretan Group III scenes of LMII-IIIa. The pose of the man's legs on the Mycenaean seal NAM 137 (Myc.IIIa-b) may derive from this Cretan attitude. The Group II human position appears simultaneously in Crete and Greece in LMII-IIIa/Myc.IIb-IIIa. Its origin is uncertain. The suspended man on Group IV scenes is seen early in Crete, on the Messara vases of EMIII-MMI and from LM Ib on and must be of Cretan origin. The figure of a fallen prostrate man on Group V scenes is rare in Crete. Although it appears earlier on Minoan seals (AM 249) than on Mycenaean gems involving men and bulls, its appearance in early Mycenaean leontomachy scenes and its lack of popularity in Crete cause us to doubt its Minoan derivation. On Cretan scenes, arms extend to the bull's horns (Groups II, III, IV) or may reach for the head and neck, back or rump as on Mycenaean Group II, III and IV scenes (the origin of hand positions depends on the origin of each particular group). As in Greece, Minoan bulls' heads are in profile and possibly turned.

Bull's Position: often no landscapes. Flora is

The flying gallop is seen on Cretan bull scenes of LMI, preceding its appearance on Myc. III bull scenes.

The trot appears on Cretan seals from LM Ib and is of Minoan origin. This attitude is frequently seen in the LM II-IIIa/Myc. IIb-IIIa in Group II representations. The standing bull is common throughout Cretan glyptics but may be considered to be too natural an attitude to be intrusive in Mycenaean art. Heads are in profile and often turned up in both Crete and Greece. The frontal face appears late in Crete (LM II-IIIa), preceding its appearance on the Pylos sealing.

Weapon:

Weapons are rarely used in Cretan man-bull encounters.

However, the complete hunt episodes from Katsambas and Vapheio (LM Ib) demonstrate the use of the spear

and net. The violent attack on bulls must then be considered to be entirely Aegean. There is no example of use of the club in Crete.

Landscape:

In Crete there may be plants in the field but, as in

Greece, there is often no landscape. Flora is given full treatment on the Vapheio Cups, the Composition: 84 Katsambas pyxis and NAM 274.

Dress: was its origin to Crete. The Group III com- Figures are nude and girt from LMI on. Other modes of dress seen on Mycenaean scenes: (the kilt, loin cloth and gaiters, are of Cretan origin. The flounced shorts, worn by the man on the Pylos sealing, are seen in both Crete and Greece in the 16th c., but are of greater popularity in Greece (on leontomachy scenes). on the LM Ib Zakro sealing 104.

Hair: A strong Cretan influence is obvious in the The short hair of Mycenaean bull fighters is also seen in Crete from LMI on. may possibly be intrusive in Aegean art;

Miscellaneous Objects:

The two Minoan examples where lions attack bulls with men standing by, occur in LMII-IIIa, after the depiction of such a scene in LHI Greece. The possible 'impaled triangle' on NAM 137 (Myc. IIIa-b) appears in its more canonical form on an earlier Minoan seal (LMII-IIIa), suggesting a Cretan origin for the

presence of this symbol on bull scenes.

Composition:

The Group IV syntax, which appears late in Mycenaean art, owes its origin to Crete. The Group III composition, appearing in Myc.IIIa-b, is more popular in Crete in an earlier period (LMII-IIIa).

Group II and Group V scenes occur simultaneously in both areas and their derivation is uncertain.

The confronting of man and bull in single combat, seen possibly on the Mycenae stele of LHI, is clearly depicted on the LMib Zakro sealing 104.

A strong Cretan influence is obvious in the representation of the hunt of bulls in Greece.

Some features, however, remain unexplained and may possibly be intrusive in Aegean art:

1. The Man's Position:

Group II-horizontal above bull.....LHIIb-IIIa

Group V- prostrate beneath bull.....LHIIb-IIIa

2. Weapon:

Club.....LHI

3. Miscellaneous Objects:

Lions attacking bull.....LHI

4. Composition:  
Group II.....LHIIb-IIIa  
Group V.....LHIIb-IIIa

An examination of foreign art shows that most aspects of mainland combats between humans and bulls are native to the Aegean and intrusive in the East (see Tables 4c and 4d):

Man's Position:

The Group II horizontal position, appearing simultaneously in Crete and mainland Greece in the LHIIb-IIIa/LMII-IIIa period, is depicted on one Egyptian object, the Kahun box (XVIIIth dynasty) and on a single oriental seal of the 15th c. <sup>85</sup> The overwhelming popularity of this pose in the Aegean at the time of its rare appearance in the East, make it impossible to attribute it to foreign artistry. The attitude of prostrate man on Group V scenes from LHIIb on may find precedence in the fallen man on the Mycenaean leontomachy (Shaft Grave Dagger). On the other hand, we must recognize that this was the most common pose for figures on Egyptian scarabs of the type where the king, in bovine form, tramples his



enemies (from early XVIIIth dynasty, Tuthmosis III on). This attitude may then be intrusive in Aegean art.

Weapon:

There is no precedent for the use of the club in the East in connection with bull combat.

Miscellaneous Objects:

The combination of men with lions attacking bulls appears earlier in Greece than elsewhere. As the motif of lion attacking bulls from behind became a very popular motif in Aegean art, we consider this feature to be Aegean. Whereas in the Cretan scenes the man's victim seems to be the lion, in the sculpture on the Mycenae stele he aims for the bull's horns.

Composition:

The sporadic occurrences of Group II (as well as Group IV) syntax in Egypt and the Near East at a time of their popularity in the Aegean, only demonstrates the east and southward propagation of an Aegean scheme. As this syntax appears late in the Cretan man-bull repertoire at the time of its presence in

Greece, it may be a Mycenaean adaptation of the Cretan Group I acrobatic scheme and Group IV hunt syntax, to express an event in bull capture. The Group V composition, appearing less frequently in the Aegean, may bear some relation to the Egyptian scarabs depicting the king as a bull trampling his enemies. , forming a tail behind, may be an intrusive

feature. The hematite cylinder seal published in Syria, 1963 pl. LXXI 4, depicting a man with similar attitude and hair style, suggests a Near Eastern derivation for this element.

The only aspect of combat between humans and bulls as depicted on Mycenaean objects, which may be attributed to foreign art, is the Group V composition, with the human being prostrate beneath the bull. The most obvious feature which is foreign to Aegean art is the subject matter itself, of the combat bet

A final group of combat scenes involve artists HUMANS with FANTASTIC CREATURES, notably the GRIFFIN.

Our single Mycenaean example of this theme is series

<sup>88</sup>  
NAM 324 (LHIIIb) where, according to Sakellariou,

there are "...Männer zwischen Greifen und Hirschen." <sup>89</sup>

However, all the creatures on this sealing appear to be winged and must then be griffins and not deer.

The elements of this sealing, listed in Table 5a, are described below: confronting a griffin on the

<sup>90</sup>  
Cypriot The running pose of the man is another instance of the stereotyped attitude so common at Pylos (Myc.IIIb). The animals' turning bodies and the circular, partly antithetic composition and dress all owe their origin to Aegean art (as discussed in relation to other man-animal combats). The hair, forming a tail behind, may be an intrusive feature. The hematite cylinder seal published in Syria, 1963 pl.XXI 4, depicting a man with similar attitude and hair style, suggests a Near Eastern derivation for this element.

The most obvious feature which is foreign to Aegean art is the subject matter itself, of the combat between humans and monsters. Mycenaean artists did depict battle between griffins and other animals, eg. Pylos Museum seal 15 and many ivories from Megiddo (where there is a mixed Greek-Oriental tradition). As monsters such as dragons are often depicted in combat with men on Oriental cylinders (eg. Middle Assyrian CANES 596), we infer that the origin of this theme lies in the Near East. The appearance of a man confronting a griffin on the

Cypriot mirror handle from Enkomi O.T. 17<sup>90</sup> is an illustration of the spread of the oriental motif westward in LHIII, and its adaptation into the Pylos confronting syntax of a man in Harmodean attitude stabbing his dagger into the griffin which is up on its hind legs. (For details of foreign objects with men combating monsters, see Table 5b.)

We conclude from the above analysis in Chapter Three that there was a great deal of interaction between Cretan and Mycenaean artists in the treatment of combat subjects and relatively fewer relations with Egypt and the Near East.

Contacts with the Near East did, however, span the entire Late Bronze Age and a degree of Oriental influences are found in combat scenes between men and lions (LHI-IIIb), men and non-bovine ruminants (LHI-IIIb) and men and fantastic creatures (LHIIIb). They are observed in the appearance of some miscellaneous objects: possibly in the quarry and the griffins attacking the quarry on lion combats (LHI and III). Accessories of dress as the belt

extension (Myc.II-III) and the long robe on the Myc.IIIb vase of men and ruminants, as well as the hairdo of the man combating the griffin on the Pylos sealing, seem to derive from the Near East. The method of hunting deer with a bow and arrow from a chariot (Myc.I) is also Oriental in origin, as is the S position of the lion hanging upside down (Myc.III). An important contribution to Aegean art is the introduction of the theme of combat between humans and monsters (Myc.IIIb). Of more consequence, however, are the Oriental additions to Greek syntactical schemes, of the three and four figure antithetic compositions. These schemes are used with themes of humans combating lions, ruminants and possibly griffins, in Myc.III. Egyptian influences are evident from the earliest Mycenaean period although they seem to disappear in the final era of Mycenaean glyptics at Pylos. They are seen on combats between men and lions, ruminants and bulls in the elements of human pose, composition and possibly miscellaneous objects and dress. The use of the dog in lion hunts

(Myc.III) and the appearance of quarry in leontomachies from LHI may be attributed to Egypt. The Egyptian composition used to depict the royal beast trampling enemy warriors may provide the origin for the Group V syntax on man-bull scenes (Myc.IIb on), and for the prostrate man. The 'chase' scheme on lion scenes may also be Egyptian. This composition is prevalent on scarabs and occurs sporadically in LHIIa and IIIb Greece.

Most variations of dress, hair style and landscape in Mycenaean art derive from Crete (although we can say that lioned shorts were more reasonable in Greece). The appearance of Minoan palace period and may linger in Mycenaean art after the fall of Knossos. They are evident in combats involving men with lions, boars, ruminants, bulls and griffins. Human positions which may derive from Crete are the Harmodean leg stance (LHI), the early running pose (later stereotyped in Greece), the Group III attitude (LHIII) and Group IV suspended man (LHIII) in bull confrontations, and various arm positions: holding the feet, neck, rump, and directed

above the head of animals. The position of animals standing upright (LHI) may derive from Crete. The flying gallop, seen throughout the Mycenaean period, in combats with lions, ruminants, boars and bulls, and the trot on LHIII bull scenes, are Minoan poses. Similarly, the partial torsion of Mycenaean animals from LHII on, is copied from Crete. Bulls and lions in frontal face occur in Crete before they do in Greece.

Most variations of dress, hair style and landscape in Mycenaean art derive from Crete (although we can say that flounced shorts were more fashionable in Greece). The appearance of miscellaneous features such as the Minoan Genius on the Myc.IIa leontomachy and the hound on the man-ruminant combat of Myc.IIb-IIIa, may be attributed to Cretan influence. Certainly Minoan are the various compositional schemes of man beside lion (Myc.IIa) and of Group III and IV bull combats, as well as the circular composition on the Pylos sealing.

The subject matter and many other features of combats between humans and non-bovine ruminants seem to be of Cretan origin. Only the direct confrontation of adversaries (by analogy with Mycenaean leontomachies) may derive from Greece. On the other hand, LMI Crete does provide us with a scene of single combat between a Minoan Genius and a standing bull, contemporary with the appearance of the human-bull confrontation on the Mycenae stele. Although this type of composition cannot be attributed with certainty to Crete (because of its more frequent appearance in Greece), many other methods of bull capture (Groups III and IV) and possibly the theme itself of encounter between man and bull originated in Crete.

The offensive use of daggers, spears and possibly clubs along with the reliance on defensive armour as shields and helmets are observed in Mycenaean scenes with confronting composition. The themes of human battle with lions and boars, on the other hand, were mainly developed in Mycenaean Greece. The appearance of quarry in this immediate encounter of man and beast (from LMI lion hunt scenes may provide us with the reason for the hunt. Other native features appear in the categories of human and animal position, weapon, another method of overpowering the animal which may be Greek is expressed in Group II bull hunt syntax.



composition and dress. Humans in Harmodean stance wielding daggers (LHI) and humans with bent arms directing spears at the animal's body (LHI) are native to Greece. The running pose, although seen on AM 226, was stereotyped on the Greek mainland to become the most prevalent among later Pylos leg positions. The representation of standing figures and profile heads cannot be intrusive features in Helladic art. Animal positions as the upright lion or its later C variation and upright turned ruminants are native or native adaptations of Cretan torsion attitudes. The stance of lions on NAM 133 and NAM 280 is also Helladic as may be the top view head.

The offensive use of daggers, spears and possibly clubs along with the reliance on defensive armour as shields and helmets are observed in Mycenaean scenes with confronting composition. This immediate encounter of man and beast (from LHI on) is a distinguishing feature of Mycenaean combats. Another method of overpowering the animal which may be Greek is expressed in Group II bull hunt syntax.

The adaptation of the three figure antithetic scheme to the lentoid frame by employing animals in C and S poses, is also Mycenaean.

1. Marinatos, Geras Keramopoulou, p. 73.

2. Ibid., p. 74.

3. The only native Greek garb worn by the hunter, either in confrontation scenes or in the preliminary procession to the hunt, is the sleeved and belted tunic with gaiters protecting the legs.

a frontal or a top view head.

5. Marinatos, op. cit., p. 73.

6. Hall, Excavations in Eastern Crete: Sphoungeras, pp. 52-53; the origin of the antithetic composition is discussed later in Chapter Three.

7. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 15, fig. 17.

8. Chatzidakis, Deltion paragr. 1918, p. 21, fig. 7.

9. Xanthoudidas, The Vaulted Tombs of the Messara, p. 112.

10. The figure on T.R. 46, despite its long skirt, has the torso of a man. We include scenes with figures in odd dress, which may not be of a warlike nature, for the sake of completeness.

11. Levi, "Le Cretuli di Zakro", Annuario 1925-26,

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

1. Marinatos, Geras Keramopoullou, p. 73.
2. Ibid., p. 74.
3. This arm position may be employed on NAM Inv. 9048a without a weapon, but as this is a sealing, we cannot be certain.
4. The lion on NAM 359(Myc.IIIb) may have either a frontal or a top view head.
5. Marinatos, op. cit., p. 73.
6. Hall, Excavations in Eastern Crete: Sphoungaras, pp. 52-53; the origin of the antithetic composition is discussed later in Chapter Three.
7. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 15, fig. 17.
8. Chatzidakis, Deltion parar. 1918, p. 21, fig. 7.
9. Xanthoudides, The Vaulted Tombs of the Messara, p. 112.
10. The figure on T.R. 46, despite its long skirt, has the torso of a man. We include scenes with figures in odd dress, which may not be of a warlike nature, for the sake of completeness.
11. Levi, "Le Cretuli di Zakro", Annuario 1925-26,

- p. 132. belonging to the last Apephis (1750-  
12. Ibid., the 13th dynasty Hyksos scarab from  
13. For example: U104 (BSA 1965), PM IV fig. 597 Ah,  
G 358, HM 652, HM 219-257. or partial gallop:  
14. Unfortunately, I have only seen a sketch of  
M 1178, which appears more Cretan than Myce-  
naean. HM 1583, with the man's arms to his  
side and (like B 9) little interaction between  
figures, is not included. by the discovery  
15. PM IV, fig. 597 Bb. ling beard, where EM-III  
16. Xanthoudides, op. cit., pl. 13; scenes of lions  
alone appear throughout Minoan glyptics: see  
20. Phaistos sealings 230, 296, Annuario 1957-1958  
N.S. xix-xx. 1964, p. 10  
17. Levi, "Le Cretuli di Festo", Annuario 1957-1958  
22. N.S. xix-xx, pp. 7 ff. 26.  
18. Ibid.; Pope, Aegean Writing and Linear A:  
Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology vol. viii,  
p. 3. ance for Trade and Colonization", Klio  
19. Earlier Cretan examples of a partial gallop are  
HM 1304 and HM 1435. Scholarly controversy  
about this animal position had previously been  
based on its appearance on the Hyksos dagger

- hilt belonging to the last Apophis (1730-1580), the 13th dynasty Hyksos scarab from Jericho: Rowe 69 (to which we may add the Hyksos scarabs with gallop or partial gallop:
24. BM 57007, BM 57019, BM 57009, Newberry, pl. 25, 26)
  25. Land on the Mycenae Shaft Grave daggers and
  26. on the Egyptian dagger of Aahmose. Any asser-
  27. tion about Hyksos precedence for the volant scheme has been precluded by the discovery
  - of the Phaistos sealing hoard, where EM-MMII
  28. sealings depict lions and ruminants in flying gallop; see Phaistos 224, 225, 211, 233.
  20. Kenna, "Cretan and Mycenaean Seals in North America", AJA 1964, p. 10
  21. The authenticity of this gem may be doubted.
  22. Evans, PM IV, pp. 525-26.
  23. Many finds, previously thought to be Cretan, are listed by Wace and Blegen, "Pottery as
  32. Evidence for Trade and Colonization", Klio
  35. 1939, pp. 145-6 and Kantor, The Aegean and the
  34. Orient in the 2nd millenium B.C.; chapter ii; Furumark, however, reminds us of the scanty nature of the evidence: "The Settlement at

- Ialysos and Aegean History c.1550-1400 B.C.,  
Op. Arch. vol. vi 1950, pp. 213-214. Nile  
landscapes on mainland niello daggers are  
thought to be of Egyptian inspiration.
24. Abydos, Balabesh, Mostos, Saqqara, El Arish etc.
  25. Listed in Pendlebury, Aegyptiaca.
  26. Säflund, Excavations at Berbati, passim.
  27. Catling, Richards, Blin-Stoyle, "Correlations be-  
tween Composition and Provenance of Mycenaean and  
Minoan Pottery", BSA 1963, p. 114.
  28. Of unpublished glyptic art we shall rely  
mainly on the wide range of scarabs in the  
Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the  
British Museum. Examples from the
  29. Newberry, Scarabs, pp. 78-79.
  30. Petrie, Button Seals, p. 24.
  31. Hayes, Egypt from the Death of Amenemes III to  
Seqenerenre II: CAH vol.II, chap.II, p. 15.
  32. Ibid., Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant,
  33. Newberry, op. cit., p. 79.
  34. Duplicate seals for many late XVIIIth-XIXth dy-  
nasty types listed in Table 1d are:

- BM 39759: BM 45687, 45834, 42493  
BM 17306: BM 47112, 46980, 49906, 57164,  
49920, 39847, 52050  
BM 49907: BM 46867, 42367, 57162, 57163,  
52238, 45689  
BM 57158: BM 52044, 57157, 53704,  
Button Seals xiv, 964-965  
BM 3739 : BM 49904, 49916, 39202  
BM 52336: BM 57156, 46932  
BM 57154: variations: BM 45913, 53207  
Rowe 575 (18th dynasty)  
BM 49910: (crocodile?) BM 46939, 40287, 17427?  
BM 46186: BM 57152  
BM 45689: BM 52018 (19th dynasty)  
BM 57160: BM 4346, 49915, 17303, 49913, 46731,  
52230, 52259, 45686, 57161, 57159,  
45943, 47065, 52234, 46897, 53262

In the Hyksos period and continuing through the 19th dynasty are scenes of lions hunting quarry (giving men the cause for hunting lions) and lions standing alone, thereby emphasizing the popularity of the beast. Examples from the BM collection of scarabs are:

BM 57019(Hyksos), 49882(Hyksos); 18-19th dyn.:  
42806, 45694, 45157?, 49912?, 49903, 45818,  
47186, 46906, 47085, 42747, 47207, 17293;  
Hyksos lions couchant: 42865, 51935, 40752;  
lions on four legs: 40751, 46958?, 55038

35. Stubbings, Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant,  
passim.
36. Catling, Richardsett, loc. cit., p. 114.
37. Kantor, "Ivory Carving in the Mycenaean Period",

50. Archaeology 1960, p. 14 ff. *two men fighting*
38. Platon and Touloupa, "Oriental Seals from the  
51. Palace of Kadmos", ILN Nov.28, 1964. *Chora*
39. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer, chap.iii. *ide*
40. Private communication, Athens, August 1966.
41. Schaeffer, Missions en Chypre, pp. 112-113,  
52. figs. 48, 49. *the fable art of NAM 227, with*
42. Wrescinski, "Löwenjagd in alten Aegypt", in  
Morgenland 1932, p. 20. *the arm position*
43. In support of the assignment of HM 1756 as  
53. Cretan is the manner in which the head, in  
44. top view, is twisted round. *of the bear scene*
44. Roes, "Une Pierre Gravée Syro-Hittite trouvée  
à Argos", BCH 1937, pp. 1-4. *on of the chariot*
45. Πρακτικά 1953, σελ. 94, εἰκ. 6. *discern and*
46. Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes: 86. Quelques  
cylindres syriens", Syria 1963, pl. XXI 2. *boats.*
47. Nilsson, The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its  
55. survival in Greek Religion, p. 383-388. *hair*
48. Furumark, "Gods of Ancient Crete", Op. Ath.  
56. vi, p. 94. *bing of a branch inside the animal's*
49. Man- ruminants: the Mallia prism seal of MMI.



50. A Mycenaean seal representing two men fighting utilizes the X composition: Pylos Museum 13.
51. A fresco fragment from Pylos in the Chora Museum represents men holding a boar upside down, but this does not seem to be a combat scene. and NAM 79 gens. We shall treat these
52. Allowing for the feeble art of NAM 227, with bent knees and legs which are not really in Harmodean pose, though the arm position is bent to throw the spear. *lies.*
53. Although it is possible that the chariot may be considered to be a part of the boar scene from Tiryns (as the fragments seem to form a cycle), the exact connection of the chariot with the scene is impossible to discern and we shall defer discussion about the use of chariots until man- non-bovine ruminant combats.
54. Evans, PM I, p. 719. *p. 89.*
55. Sandars, "The First Aegean Swords and their Ancestry", AJA 1961, p. 23. *analysis, p. 14.*
56. The inscribing of a branch inside the animal's body is very odd, as is the arm of the boards
- 57.

- hunter which extends into a spear. His  
loin cloth with a front flap and his gaiters  
copy the garb of the man on Vapheio Cup B.
57. Hybrid creatures with bull bodies and the  
heads of stags or ibexes appear on the Pylos  
Museum and NAM 79 gems. We shall treat these  
seals along with combats between humans and  
bulls.
58. These fresco fragments are displayed in  
the museum at Chora, Triphylia.
59. Tiryns II, pl. xi , xiv.
60. For reconstruction, see Vermeule, Greece in the  
Bronze Age, pl. xxix.
61. Tiryns II, pl. xv; reconstruction: abb. 60,  
p. 142.
62. Karageorghis, CVA Cyprus, vol. 1, fasc. 1,  
p. 13, pl. 24-25; see also BCH 1959, p. 201.
63. Kenna, Cretan Seals, p. 89.
64. Ibid., p. 95.
65. Sakellariou, Collection Giamalakis, p. 14.
66. Evans, PM I, p. 515.
67. We exclude from this survey the most obvious

74. hunt of goats on an ivory cylinder AM 1938.790  
which has been considered to be a forgery.
68. Persson, Royal Tombs at Dendra, pp. 52-54.
69. Evans, Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos, p. 29,  
75. fig. 26a.
70. As this is such a natural attitude, it would  
77. be difficult to say that it was derived from  
78. abroad.
71. See note 70.
72. These scenes may be of Mycenaean inspiration.
73. Duplicates for scarab scenes listed in Table  
3c are:
80. BM 39916: late 18-19th dyn.: BM 39076, 42601,  
39920, 39917; 19th dyn.: 42243  
BM 49918: BM 53685.
81. Another man-ruminant scene, indirectly related  
to our subject, depict men in goat drawn  
chariots:
82. late 18-19th dyn.: BM 49901, 58440;  
Thothmes III-1420: BM 28112
83. late 18th dyn.: BM 27453, 38801, 39711, 37752,  
53270, 53247
- The popularity of goat representations is seen  
on Hyksos scenes where goats appear alone,  
on four legs: BM 46819, 36010, 17557, 42666  
couchant : BM 42758
84. couchant in partial gallop: BM 57009, 51019  
We must add that hunt scenes already listed on  
Table 1d, where victims of the hunt may be ru-  
minants as well as lions, must also be considered.

74. The use of bow and arrow alone is seen on  
85. the Town Mosaics. A charioteer appears in  
LMIb art in a fresco fragment and sealings,  
but in no obvious connection with hunting.
75. Wrescinski, op. cit., p. 6.
76. BM CVA Fasc.I BM 1, pl. 6, no.16.
77. Ath. Mitt. 1909, p. 93 abb.13.
78. CVA Cyprus Private Collections, pl. 4: 1-4.
79. For example: Z. 189, Z. 123, Z. 98, H.T. 145,  
87. H.T. 110, H.T. 51, H.T. 54, AM 246, G 123,  
BM 77, Knossos Little Palace 22-23 (PM IV),  
Sklavokampos 612, 613, 625, 630.
80. Levi, "Le Cretuli di Hagia Triada", Annuario,  
1925-26, p. 120.
81. Evans, PM III, p. 188.
82. Xanthoudides, op. cit., p. 40.
83. Aegean bulls with shafts in their backs are quite  
common: NAM 35?, NAM 55?, NAM 147, NAM 148,  
NAM 175?, B 20; see also Z. 104.
84. Landscaping or locating the place of a scene  
may be a Minoan notion as opposed to the more  
generalized Mycenaean art, where setting is

- of little or no import.
85. The dates of these objects are generally calculated on the basis of the appearance of such bull scenes in the Aegean and cannot be used with any certainty in determining precedence.
86. If the weapon on the stele is a sword or spear rather than a club, then its origin would be Aegean.
87. The stele scene is in a poor state of preservation and we cannot tell exactly what is happening.
88. We exclude NAM 285, a cylinder found at Rutsi, depicting a series of men alternating with couchant griffins; this piece seems to be a Mycenaean work of Oriental inspiration (perhaps attesting to the Eastern derivation of the theme generally) and more akin to HM 2242 and to NAM 223 and NAM 128, where there is little suggestion of combat. The 'heraldic' scene of a man flanked by griffins on Stathatos Collection no.7 has none of the vivid qualities

(interaction between figures) of combats.

Furthermore, according to Sakellariou, it may be a forgery, and hence it is not included in our study.

89. Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 357.

90. Murray, Smith, Walters, Excavations in Cyprus, pl. 2, 872.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SCENES OF COMBAT  
BETWEEN HUMANS AND ANIMALS

It is a difficult task to decide whether the abbreviated, generalized pictures of combat between humans and animals on Mycenaean objects are expressions of ritual, myth or simply narrative of daily activities.

Combat scenes have been designated as RELIGIOUS on the basis of miscellaneous objects in the field such as fantastic creatures: the Minoan Genius (M SL6S1) and griffin (NAM 324), and cult paraphernalia or symbols; the altar and animal beside it (NAM 302) and the impaled triangle (NAM 137); the subject itself, of man-bull activities; the syntactical schemes

which, by analogy with interpretations of similar compositions in other civilizations to the south and east, have been imputed religious significance; three figure antithesis with a human between two animals and men standing beside or behind lions (NAM CHAPTER FOUR).

THE INTERPRETATION OF SCENES OF COMBAT BETWEEN HUMANS AND ANIMALS

We begin with the elements of combat scenes which have religious significance, the miscellaneous objects. The first fabulous creature to appear on Mycenaean combat

It is a difficult task to decide whether the scenes is the Minoan Genius. This lion headed abbreviated, generalized pictures of combat between humans and animals on Mycenaean objects are art, according to Miss Gill; expressions of ritual, myth or simply narrative of daily activities. "...not only...as an attendant on the god in as other attendants, but it performs in the divine realms the ritualistic actions of the human priesthood." 1

Combat scenes have been designated as RELIGIOUS on the basis of miscellaneous objects in the field such as fantastic creatures: the Minoan Genius (M SL681) and griffin (NAM 324), and cult paraphernalia or symbols: the altar and animal beside it (NAM 302) and the impaled triangle (NAM 137); the subject itself, of man-bull activities; the syntactical schemes

which, by analogy with interpretations of similar compositions in other civilizations to the south and east, have been imputed religious significance: three figure antithesis with a human between two animals and men standing beside or behind lions (NAM 133, NAM 280). Hence, the appearance of the Genius alone is not enough. We begin with the elements of combat scenes which have the most obvious claim to religious significance, the miscellaneous objects. The first fabulous creature to appear on Mycenaean combat scenes is the Minoan Genius. This lion headed creature with a dorsal appendage appears in Aegean art, according to Miss Gill: "It is from all the other human-like...not only...as an attendant on the god in the same manner as other attendants, but it performs in the divine realms the ritualistic actions of the human priesthood." 1

In its above aspect, the actions of the Genius and his fellow actors would be in some sense sacred. However, rather than considering the Genius simply as an attendant on the god and hence engaged in some ritual on the LHIIa Kakovatos cylinder M SL681, Miss Gill states that this scene is the only occasion (see HM 367). This warlike aspect of the fantastic



where the creature performs the original function of its Egyptian Tau-ert ancestor, that of divine protection. Of the scene, she says:

"It is impossible to decide whether the god is here battling with the lion, or whether it is the hero engaged in a pursuit that was still a reality on the mainland, if a rare one." 2

Hence, the appearance of the Genius alone is not enough to persuade us of a definite religious significance for the Kakovatos representation. In the capacity of Tau-ert, the Genius would not always appear in sacred surroundings but might be involved in the protection of those neediest, namely mortals rather than gods. There is no other feature on the Kakovatos seal to distinguish it from all the other human-lion confrontations and to assume the divine nature of its hunter and the depiction of a religious act.

The representations (on Syrian objects) suggest that we should now separate the griffin from the winged and griffin-headed demon with human body and limb. The griffin appears uniquely on NAM 324 (Myc. IIIb) in combat with humans. It is depicted on other Helladic objects however, in combat with animals (on the man-lion scenes Thebes 175 and BM 1945 p10-13, 133 and ivories; for a Cretan example see HM 367). This warlike aspect of the fantastic

beast seems at odds with its peaceful function in  
might find double pictorial expression, namely in  
Aegean art. Miss Gill states that in Mycenaean an  
aspect more accessible to man's prayers as the  
art: griffin-demon. To complete our hypothesis we might  
add that we should like to regard the griffin as an  
"Angel of" "...the mythical animals are portrayed  
neither practicing evil nor as the crushed antagonists  
of the gods and heroes like those of Mesopotamia.  
Theirs is a milder office. Attendants of the deity,  
guardians of the cult object, performing ritual acts,  
or just existing without particular attribute or  
action, they are if not benevolent towards mankind,  
at least not evilly disposed." 4

appears in both peaceful and warlike scenes.  
The more violent disposition of the griffin toward  
Because of this factor, in addition to the fact that  
human beings (or of humans toward the griffin), as  
the scene on NAI 324 was unique on the Greek mainland  
exhibited on the Pylos sealing and reflected more  
and that the creatures on this sealing are treated  
clearly on the Enkomi mirror handle, as stated in  
as pleasant designs rather than evil spirits in-  
Chapter Three, owes its derivation to the Near East.  
spiring terror, it is difficult to assume that the  
The interpretation of this theme, which is prevalent  
Greeks in taking the Oriental theme also adopted  
in Oriental art from the Old Babylonian period, is  
or understood its significance in the Near East.  
religious. According to Frankfort:

"The representations (on Syrian objects)  
suggest that we should now separate the griffin from  
the winged and griffin headed demon with human body  
and limbs...Both may guard the sacred tree, but  
furthermore we find the griffin in hunting scenes,  
mostly killing game but occasionally being attacked  
by a bowman or, held captive, or restrained by the  
griffin-demon from getting its prey. The griffin-  
demon appears throughout as beneficial to man...  
It is possible that the griffin represents some  
terrifying power, against which the griffin-demon  
affords protection, or with which, in the shape of  
the griffin-demon, humanity can be reconciled...

Perhaps the consciousness of a great cosmic force might find double pictorial expression, namely in its purely terrifying aspect as the griffin, in an aspect more accessible to man's prayers as the griffin-demon. To complete our hypothesis we might add that we should like to regard the griffin as an 'Angel of Death'.

The distinction between griffin and griffin-demon is not so clear on Mycenaean representations. Rather a single beast with oriental and Minoan features

appears in both peaceful and warlike scenes. Because of this factor, in addition to the fact that the scene on NAM 324 was unique on the Greek mainland and that the creatures on this sealing are treated as pleasant designs rather than evil spirits inspiring terror, it is difficult to assume that the Greeks in taking the Oriental theme also adopted or understood its significance in the Near East.

Other miscellaneous objects appearing on combat scenes are the possible paraphernalia or symbols of religious ritual which would allow us to impart cult significance to a scene. A structure which may be an altar and an animal standing beside it are depicted on the human-lion combat scene.

NAM 302. The closest Mycenaean parallel to such a scene is the Mycenae ring NAM 119, where a quadruped stands in the vicinity of an altar. The structure on our lion combat scene differs from the tree-topped construction on NAM 119 (see Figure 30), but it seems to fit Nilsson's minimal requirements for an altar, namely: "...a quadrangular construction of some 6 height upon which nothing has been superimposed..."

Its shape has no exact parallel on Mycenaean seals, but it is tiered like the structures on NAM 127, NAM 191 and Z. 4 (Minoan). It most closely resembles the construction on NAM 123, which appears to be a platform upon which a pair of heraldic goats rest their limbs. Nilsson says that this 'platform':

"...with two steps and horizontal lines... must be one of the kind associated with sacred trees. The animals may be called either sacrificial animals or holy animals." 7

If we then assume the structure on NAM 302 to be an altar, the animal beside it may be a sacred attendant or a sacrificial victim. Furthermore, the leonotomachy itself might take on some ritual significance. These corollaries depend on the meaning that

the altar had in Mycenaean religion.

According to Mrs. Vermeule, the evidence for public shrines themselves in Greece is meagre:

"The Greek situation is in stark contrast to Crete, where every major palace, villa, farmhouse, mountain top, and cave bears testimony to public cult. In Greece there are no proven centers of cave or mountain worship, no independent rustic shrines have been found, and even within the palaces there are no rooms particularly constructed as sanctuaries... the hearth itself (of the megaron) was the center of sacrificial ritual..." 8

Nilsson, however, mentions the cave called Lychno-  
spelaio at Parnes, where Mycenaean pottery was found,<sup>9</sup> and house shrines at Asine and Berbati. Then, although it is possible that shrines were found on the Greek mainland and that the altar on NAM 302 may have significance in Mycenaean religious worship, this feature seems to be divorced from the confrontation between man and lion (which is repeated on so many other seals without altars).

Without the altar, the theme depicted on NAM 302 is one of the oldest in the Mediterranean, that of a herdsman protecting his flocks from the lion.<sup>10</sup>

A cult symbol has been seen in the plant-

11

like design on NAM 137. The interpretation of this human-bull scene as a religious act depends on two assumptions, that the design is an 'impaled triangle' and furthermore, that whenever such a sign appears, a cult scene is intended. The design itself does not take the canonical form of a pierced triangle. As compared with designs on other Mycenaean seals of the same period (especially NAM 90, see Figure 34), this sign may also be interpreted as a spray of vegetation, quite in order with the outdoor setting of a human-bull confrontation. However, even if this design were meant to be an 'impaled triangle', the generalization

that the sign denotes cult activity on the basis of a bull is a universal god of fertility and Heaven of a few instances where it does appear in ritual official 12 spring festival." 14

scenes would seem to be disproved by the bucclic nature of EM 38 and more so of NAM 106. Hence, it activities. On the other hand Nilsson, in denying would be as a result of a shaky chain of arguments the sacred nature of the bull in Crete, states: that one could assign the Mycenae seal as a cult

"It is often assumed that Minoan bull-fighting the Minoan monuments to prove that it was more than a very popular secular sport." 16

A second element which suggests a religious Many representations of bulls may fall conveniently

meaning for representations is the subject matter itself, namely any activity which involves men with bulls, the animals which many consider to have been the sacred beast of Crete.<sup>13</sup> On the basis of the possible cult symbols as bucrania, horns of consecration, and bull sacrifice scenes on gems and paintings, scholars often claim that bull sports had a deep religious significance and that bull capture was either for providing bulls for the sacral sport or for sacrifice. The animal could not simply be the victim of the act of the hunt. Persson goes so far as to claim the god's epiphany in taurine form:

"...that the god represented in the figure of a bull is a universal god of fertility and Heaven and that the bull games can be regarded as the great official spring festival." 14

Malten supports a religious interpretation of these activities.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand Nilsson, in denying the sacred nature of the bull in Crete, states:

"It is often assumed that Minoan bull-fighting was a sacral performance, but there is nothing in the Minoan monuments to prove that it was more than a very popular secular sport." 16

Many representations of bulls may fall conveniently

either into the category of sacral sport or sacrifice. The most violent of 'sacrifices' takes place on a Minoan sealing, Z. 104, where a Minoan Genius attacks the bull over a pile of rocks (or cairn). According to Miss Gill, the performance of sacrifice was one of the duties of the Genius.<sup>17</sup> The interpretation, however, of scenes where a bull is pictured with a shaft wounding it, for example: Crete -- NAM 492, G 226, AM 301, AM 312, Z. 160, Greek mainland -- NAM 35, NAM 55, NAM 147?, B 20, NAM 17, NAM 148 and possibly NAM 35, as sacrifices is more uncertain. There is no close contact of assailant and beast on these scenes and no cult paraphernalia as the cairn to merit such interpretation. Rather, the bull in these instances seems to have been the victim of the violent secular human hunt. It is then possible that our scenes of humans with bulls, which contain no cult signs, are also instances of secular rather than sacred activity. We must further recognize that even if man-bull scenes had a religious significance in Crete,



they might not have had such meaning in Greece. The bull does not seem to have been particularly revered on the mainland. We see few horns which may have symbolized its cult in Crete. Furthermore, the animals on many of our scenes are not even bulls but hybrids, and no particular care was taken in depicting the species of animal. Kenna

Evans attempted to explicate the sacred character of the symmetry which this syntax involved. He goes so far as to say that the Mycenaeans were simply mistakenly copying Minoan acrobatic scenes. He claimed that a central tree or column (central vertical axis of scene) had religious significance, by analogy with the Oriental Tree of Life and from the evidence of the Knossos Pillar (Group I), respectively, Group IV). The subject matter of human versus bull He extended this assumption to state that a human figure standing as the central vertical axis and Mycenaean Greece.

divine. The third element invoked in the assignment of religious content to Mycenaean human-animal combat scenes is their composition. One syntactical scheme which, by analogy to Near Eastern and Cretan religion, has been thought to portray cult scenes is the antithetic placing of figures, generally two flanking a central vertical axis (often a third

figure). The origin of this belief stems from the assumptions that the adoption of the syntax from the Near East (which is not absolutely true as seen in Chapter Three) was accompanied by the adoption of its Oriental significance, where a god was usually flanked by his attendants or victims.

Evans attempted to explicate the sacred character of the symmetry which this syntax involved. He claimed that a central tree or column (central vertical axis of scene) had religious significance, by analogy with the Oriental Tree of Life and from the evidence of the Knossos Pillar Basement, respectively.

He extended this assumption to state that a human figure standing as the central vertical axis and taking the place of the column or tree, must be divine as well, that is, a god.

Such a view is supported by the Mycenae seals NAM 144, 145, where the central lady wears 'snake frames'. On these 'sacred scenes', the goddess has her hands on the headdress and away from the upright animals.

NAM 280 The arguments for religious significance of

all three figure antithetic poses rest then on the assumptions that all such poses are religious in the Near East and can be proven to be in Minoan religion, and that such ideas were carried to Greece as witnessed in NAM 144. We must first point out that many Oriental scenes of this syntax, especially where there is incomplete symmetry, have been given other heroic interpretations. Furthermore, the adoption of content does not necessarily follow the adoption of motif as Webster states:

"...literary borrowing and artistic borrowing are quite likely to be independent of each other." 19

In addition, the scenes which concern us are either not strictly symmetrical or the humans and animals seem to be in closer interaction than that of worshipper and worshipped. <sup>20</sup> The antithetic scenes then are not necessarily religious.

Another syntactical scheme which has been considered to portray religious scenes is the inactive scene of human standing beside or behind an animal (here a lion). Hence, Marinatos considers the men on NAM 280 to be two gods, possibly by analogy with

Cretan scenes as T.R. 46, 47, H.T. 134, where others have seen gods and attendant beasts. For a discussion of the uncertain evidence for such interpretation, see Chapter One.

From the above survey, we may only conclude either that combat scenes were completely secular or that Mycenaean art was too general to include any specifically religious attributes or that Mycenaean religion itself was not at a level of organization or did not use the symbols which would make itself evident in art. The few questionable examples mentioned in this section may hint at religious connotation but not to the extent where we can generalize about combat scenes as a whole or even groups of combat scenes.

Aside from attributing religious import to many Mycenaean human-animal combat scenes, many have interpreted various sealstones as illustrations of HEROIC MYTHS. Mythological scenes in later Greek art are generally recognized by distinguishing attributes, unique poses or situations and in later

times, by inscriptions. Mycenaean scenes, unfortunately, lack inscription. The recognition of heroes by attributes and unique poses is beset by many hazards, as Mrs. Vermeule points out:

"We should only be able to distinguish heroes from common men by finding them in an otherworldly setting with divine or weird attributes, but these are normally interpreted as religious scenes, since men are simply present to worship and there is no suggestion of narrative.<sup>21</sup> In either case gods, men and monsters come through clearly, but heroes who are marked by spirit rather than looks are lost."<sup>22</sup>

The evidence which has been used for imputing mythological content to Mycenaean combat scenes is derived from the subject matter itself: of a human fighting a lion, boar, stag or bull, because later myths involve such combats, or of a human fighting a hybrid beast (eg. bull-goat) or a fantastic creature (griffin) because of the unreal nature of the beasts; from the use of defensive armour as shields and helmets which were worn by Homeric heroes; or from the composition: the confronting single combat of human and animal described in later mythology, and the antithetic three figure scheme, by analogy to the content of Near Eastern scenes of this syntax.

We shall first discuss the element of subject

matter. The fact that men on Mycenaean works of art contend with animals that were fought by Herakles has often led to the designation of such scenes as mythological. Schliemann sees in NAM 9 "Hercules killing the Nemean lion".<sup>23</sup> He would similarly have considered the man on NAM 227 or B 40 to be Herakles against the Erymanthean boar and the man on NAM 342 to be Herakles contending with the Cretan bull. Schliemann's view may be supported by scholars who realize that Herakles' activities seem to occur in Mycenaean times and expect that his myths originated in this period as a native creation or as an import from the East.<sup>24</sup>

Other scholars have recognized a Heraklean figure in the mythology of the Near East, which "...are at most the stuff of which myths were made..."<sup>25</sup> She recognizes as well that:

"Hunting scenes, suggesting Herakles' or Theseus' labours -- that is, a man fighting against a boar, or a bull, or a lion, or a stag -- are very rare in Minoan art."<sup>26</sup>

Banti seems to derive the heroic character of the (Herakles type) man-fighter-hunter from the Indo-European nature of the Greeks in Mycenaean times:

"The Greeks were warlike people; they loved fighting and hunting; they had a high opinion of human dignity, so high an opinion that they imagined their gods exactly as they themselves were. In consequence, their myths are tales of fights and hunts, of violence and crimes of death, of extraordinary adventures and labors accomplished by heroes; men who were often related to the gods and were in consequence stronger, more powerful, more courageous than ordinary beings." 27

This Indo-European derivation proposed for heroes such as Herakles might support Schliemann's views.

However, if according to Banti, heroes are simply glorified beings doing daily tasks, without special attributes, we shall not be able to distinguish them from ordinary beings in artistic representation and to designate any particular seal scene as heroic.

Other scholars have recognized a Heraklean figure in the mythology of the Near East, which would have reached Greece in Mycenaean times as a possible subject for seal representation. This thesis is most thoroughly examined by Levy and <sup>28</sup> by Frankfort. Herakles is recognized on Oriental objects by his distinguishing attributes and adversaries. On an Akkadian seal (c.2500 BC) from the <sup>29</sup> Southesk Collection, Herakles is identified by a

lion skin, a club and a bow. On another Akkadian seal from Tell Asmar, a lanceman and his aide combat a nine-headed dragon-bodied monster (hydra?).

On a Sumerian seal from Tell Asmar, a man opposes a serpent-bodied creature. 'Herakles' holds the 'hydra's' heads in his hands.

Various figures in Oriental mythology might be represented in these scenes as the Eastern

Herakles: Ninurta of Nippur, Marduk and Gilgamesh.

Ninurta, a member of the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon, in his 'warrior aspect' was the subject of two epics, where:

"Gudea presented the War-god with the following symbols of battle..."The chariot subduer of the foreign land; bearing splendour, clothed in terror, and its young ass...with its coachman, the mace of seven heads, weapon of battle...the mi-ib weapon of hulalu stone, with head of a panther, which turns not back against the foreign land, the sword of nine emblems, arm of valiance, the bow which roars like an ash forest, the angry arrow of battle which darts like lightning, the quiver which puts out its tongue against the gnashing wild beasts and the serpent dragon" (Gudea Cyl.137 12-9)" 30

This last mentioned serpent-dragon, according to Langdon, is one of the eleven dragons produced by Tiamat in the Babylonian Epic of Creation.



Ninurta's weapons are listed in a fragment originally also Tammuz, son of the Earth-Mother and of a hymn of praise. Aside from the bow, arrow and quiver, he speaks of: "at here, as on a bull, I place my confidence. My lord, merciful to his city, so-libious" "The divine 'lion with fifty teeth' sickle of my Anuship, I bear. My divine merciless lionish one shattering the mountain, I bear... My mace with seven heads, which like the mighty serpent with seven heads murder does I bear..." 31 as further proof of

the earthly nature of Ninurta. He states:

According to legend, Ninurta slays a lion-like monster Labbu and a six-headed wild goat. "In (Southesk)... we see a figure which pre-warrior with these of a god of fertility." 34

Of the 'Heraklean' traits noticed on the three Mesopotamian seals, Ninurta is endowed with the proper weaponry, and does battle with a seven-headed seal scenes of 'Herakles' is Marduk in the Babylonian serpent, dragon and six-headed goat (which bear some Creation Epic. In his labor to kill the dragon, resemblance to the monsters on the seals). Frank-Marduk uses bow and arrow, mace and lightning. fort strengthens the argument for identifying Ninurta as the Oriental 'Herakles' by stating that the Tell Asmar seal 32/738 was found in the temple of A-bu, a title of Ninurta. 32 He also notices that the 'Herakles' figure on the Southesk seal has plants shooting out from his shoulders and is approached by a goat. These features are explained by the fact that: d be evident on Nycenaean combat scenes. However, the aspects of the 'Heraklean labors' as de-

pected. "Like all gods who were 'sons', Ninurta was originally also Tammuz, son of the Earth-Mother and died each year with perishing vegetation. Abu was also a title for Tammuz. He is spoken of in one Sumerian epic: "On that hero, as on a bull, I place my confidence. My lord, merciful to his city, solicitous for his mother, scaled the mountain and scattered seed far and wide, and the plants with one accord named him as their king". 33

The case for the establishment of the body of Frankfort takes this last phrase as further proof of Herakles myths is further weakened by the fact that the earthly nature of Ninurta. He states:

"In (Southesk)...we see a figure which precisely unites the attributes of the hunter and warrior with those of a god of fertility." 34

Another god associated with the slaying of a dragon (chaos) and hence possibly related to our seal scenes of 'Herakles' is Marduk in the Babylonian Creation Epic. In his labor to kill the dragon, Marduk uses bow and arrow, mace and lightning. 36

In order to associate the figure on the

Oriental seals with the Greek Herakles, we must

Thus, although Herakles may have ancestry in Mycenaean times possibly in the mythology of the Orient, those concerning Ninurta and perhaps, to a lesser extent, Marduk. If the Herakles myth were transmitted west in the Bronze Age, then these episodes and attributes should be evident on Mycenaean combat scenes.

However, the aspects of the 'Heraklean labors' as de-

picted on Helladic seals are unparalleled in Eastern art. The episodes drawn in the Orient (of the fight with the hydra?) do not appear in Mycenaean art.

The case for the establishment of the body of Herakles myths is further weakened by the fact that representations in Mycenaean art contradict aspects of the later known episodes involving Herakles. For instance, the Nemean lion

"...was an especially formidable beast because it was invulnerable. Herakles therefore could of course make no impression on it with his bow or other weapons..." 35

This is not the impression that one derives from the close combat of the lion with a dagger on Mycenaean seals. The Erymanthean boar "was to be caught alive" <sup>36</sup>, but Helladic spearmen try to kill it.

Thus, although Herakles may have ancestry in Mycenaean times possibly in the mythology of the Orient, yet he is not represented in any recognizable form in Mycenaean combat scenes.

The one other Oriental figure associated with Herakles, by his status as a semi-god and animal tamer

is Gilgamesh. However, the evidence used to identify Mycenaean figures as Gilgamesh is not subject matter but the compositional scheme of the three figure antithetic scene and the matter will be discussed below under the element of composition.

A second subject matter which has been suspected of mythological content is the contest between humans and hybrid beasts (goat-bull, boar-bull) or monsters (griffin). It would be unjustified to interpret the hybrid animals as other than misunderstandings or fanciful representations of the bull. The griffin combat on NAM 324 is more intriguing and if not religious in content, might belong to a cycle of mythological tales. The humans are unarmed in this chase scene, unlike the man on the Cypriot mirror handle (LH IIIc) who has a helmet and shield. If some story about a man battling a griffin did exist, it was not well enough defined to be given a standard representation in Mycenaean art. It is also possible that the monster was added as a curiosity to the Mycenaean repertoire of human-animal confrontations.

gures. Any attribution of mythological content to a scene because the hunters employ defensive armour, such as shields and helmets, which was described in Homeric epic, is based on circular reasoning. Homer described the actual weaponry used by all warriors and hunters in Mycenaean times, which only later takes on heroic connotations.

If anything, heroes would combat animals without the use of any defensive weapons at all. As both protected and unprotected hunters appear in similar scenes (for example, NAM 228 and NAM 290), the use of defensive weapons cannot be decisive in determining the content of the picture.

Herakles The element of composition is often invoked in the designation of a scene as mythological.

The confronting syntax, where two figures of equal strength are engaged in single combat, has been thought to support Schliemann's thesis that the Heraklean labors are depicted on Mycenaean seals. However, one must recognize that the field for seal representation was small and scenes depicted may have been excerpted from pictures with many fi-

gures, as suggested on NAM 307, NAM 331 and B 7. On the Lion Hunt Dagger and the Tiryns Boar Hunt Fresco, the central figures are in confronting syntax, although other figures appear, hence denying Herakles, then the syntax used in the Orient to the evidence of 'single combat' for mythological illustrate Gilgamesh's exploits may represent content.

Herakles in Greece. However, the assignment of a human The composition of three figure antithesis in with a human flanked by two animals, has often been associated with Oriental representations of Gilgamesh and hence have been interpreted as mythological, involving Gilgamesh's Greek counterpart, Herakles. Gilgamesh was a warrior god who was also associated with Tammuz and hence a vegetation god. Like Herakles, "He was two-thirds god and one third man".<sup>37</sup>

In his attack on the monster of the cedar forest Humbaba (in both Assyrian and Sumerian texts of the epic), he plans to cut the beast's head and uses a bow and quiver, sword and hatchet.<sup>38</sup> Gilgamesh also slays a bull (Ishtar's epiphany as the bull of heaven) after Enkidu seizes it by the horns. Furthermore, Gilgamesh in his quest for the plant of 'never grow old' resembles Herakles in his final apo-

theosis (this may be a 7th c. B.C. addition to the Herakles myth, however).

Then, if Gilgamesh can be identified with Herakles, then the syntax used in the Orient to illustrate Gilgamesh's exploits may represent Herakles in Greece. However, the assignment of a human flanked by animals as Gilgamesh is uncertain and contested by many orientalists. Furthermore, we must heed Webster's warning that artistic form and literary content may be imported independently of one another. Hence, even if we could equate Gilgamesh with Herakles (itself risky), the basic assumptions that Gilgamesh = man in antithetic syntax, and that the transmission of this syntax to Greece would be accompanied by the transmission of its content, may be opposed. Therefore, we may not reach the conclusion with any certainty, that in Greece, Herakles = the man in antithetic syntax.

There is then no conclusive evidence for attributing mythological content to any of our seal-scenes. It may be that our very difficulty in (as seals were the property of the aristocrats).

recognizing mythological scenes may be symptomatic of the fact that the body of myths known in later times was not yet sufficiently widespread in Mycenaean times to present a codified picture of heroes and their exploits, known to all Greeks and hence proper for representation on works of art. According to Mrs. Vermeule, heroic myths may not have existed at all until there was a need for men to sing the praises of Mycenaean heroes, after the heroes had died.<sup>39</sup> It is also possible that existing myths (as well as religious beliefs) portrayed on gems, are hidden from use because of the general nature of Mycenaean art itself, where individualizing features and location in space and time are disregarded. Only the combats between men and griffins may give us a glimpse of the tales which may have circulated in Mycenaean times.

A final possible interpretation of Mycenaean combats between humans and animals is to consider them as narrative of DAILY RUSTIC ACTIVITIES in the lives of ordinary men or at most nobles and kings (as seals were the property of the aristocrats).



Supporting this interpretation is the fact that the patterns of hunt are varied on representations. More than one man may attack the beast, as on B 7 and NAM 331. Dogs may aid as often in everyday hunts. The quarry appearing in some leontomachy scenes provide the oldest cause of human battle with lions, seen in earliest Egypt (Lion Palette), and the Near East (Early Dynastic seals), that of the protection of the herdsman's flock from the ravaging beast.

We conclude that the scenes of combats between humans and animals as a whole may most consistently be interpreted as narrative of daily activities of nobles and kings. As Mycenaean kings were possibly semi-divine in their own times and were later the subjects of heroic myths, their daily activities became the episodes for later Greek mythology. The few intrusive man-griffin and man-lion-altar scenes either take foreign motifs out of their native contexts and carry none of their original import, or faintly hint at a religious or

mythological state of affairs or a level of artistic

expression which was not advanced enough to

distinguish everyday events from otherworldly ac-

tivities or imaginary tales.

3. Both the creature itself and the subject matter of man battling a monster may have religious import. These elements shall both be discussed at this point.

4. Gill, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

5. Frankfort, "Notes on the Cretan Griffin", BSA 1936-1937, pp. 120-121.

6. Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p. 117.

7. Ibid., p. 285.

8. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, pp. 282-283.

9. Nilsson, op. cit., pp. 67-68, 110-116.

10. Another object which has been called an altar is the meander-like design on the Mycenaean grave stele Nauplion 13575. It only faintly resembles some Cretan shrines. Here again without the 'altar', the theme depicted would be that of a herdsman protecting his flocks from the lion.

11. Wace, Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, p. 11; Sakellariou,

NOTES ON CHAPTER FOUR

12. Nilsson, op. cit., p. 230, fig. 113 and note 63.
1. Gill, The Minoan Genius (Ph.D.), p. 123.
13. The subject matter of combat between humans and monsters is discussed under miscellaneous subjects: griffin.
2. Ibid., p. 111.
3. Both the creature itself and the subject matter of man battling a monster may have religious import. These elements shall both be discussed at this point.
14. Nilsson, op. cit., p. 274 note 1 see Larsson, Religion in Greece in Prehistoric Times, p. 91 ff.
15. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild".
4. Gill, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
5. Frankfort, "Notes on the Cretan Griffin", BSA 1936-1937, pp. 120-121.
16. Nilsson, op. cit., p. 274.
17. Gill, op. cit., chapter five.
6. Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenaean Religion, p. 117.
18. Evans, Mycenaean Art and Mycenaean Culture, passim.
7. Ibid., p. 285.
19. Nilsson, From Mycenae to Homer, p. 31.
8. Vermeule, Greece in the Bronze Age, pp. 282-283.
20. Evans, Mycenaean Art and Mycenaean Culture, p. 31.
9. Nilsson, op. cit., pp. 67-68, 110-116.
10. Another object which has been called an altar is the meander-like design on the Mycenaean grave stele Nauplion 13575. It only faintly resembles some Cretan shrines. Here again without the 'altar', the theme depicted would be that of a herdsman protecting his flocks from the lion.
11. Wace, Chamber Tombs at Mycenae, p. 11 ; Sakellariou, Corpus, p. 153.

11. Corpus, p. 156 interpretation is given,
12. Nilsson, op. cit., p. 230, fig. 113 and note 63.
13. The subject matter of combat between humans and monsters is discussed under miscellaneous objects: griffin.
14. Nilsson, op. cit., p. 374 note ; see Persson, Religion in Greece in Prehistoric Times, p. 91 ff.
15. Malten, "Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild", JdI 1928, p. 137. lists of the subjects which
16. Nilsson, op. cit., p. 374. interpretation do not
17. Gill, op. cit., chapter five. an-lion combats
18. Evans, The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult, passim.
19. Webster, From Mycenae to Homer, p. 31. yed (not
20. Even if the contentions of Evans and Kenna that the position of the man's hand above the animal's head (eg. AM 9P) is a godly gesture to his worshippers is true, religious significance cannot generally be extended to all antithetic scenes where this hand position is not evident. The fact that there are so many variations in human and animal position in antithetic scenes seems to show that no particular pose carried any deep meaning. (Kunt).

21. Such religious interpretation is given, 1954,  
making a man into a god (on little evidence  
26. as seen in Chapter Four) even where there  
27. appears to be narrative, for example M SL681.
22. Vermeule, "Mythology in Mycenaean Art",  
Classical Journal December 1958, p. 99
23. Schliemann, Mycenae, p. 173.
24. Nilsson, The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology,  
29. p. 218; scholars' lists of the subjects which  
30. may be given mythological interpretation do not  
31. always agree; most include man-lion combats  
32. as heroic because lions did not exist in Greece  
33. and daily activity could not be portrayed (not  
34. necessarily true, see Chapter Three); man-boar  
35. scenes are often thought to illustrate Heraklean  
36. exploits but Webster says that they are narrative  
37. of daily activities; the stag hunt on NAM 15  
38. is called mythological because of the use of  
39. chariot and bows and arrows (but there is no  
reason why such weapons should not be used in  
stag hunts in Greece as they existed there  
or why the artist should not just be copying  
a foreign scene of hunt).

25. Banti, "Myth in Preclassical Art", AJA 1954,  
p. 309.
- For Athens Museum seals:
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Levy, "The Oriental Origin of Herakles",  
JHS 1934, p. 40 ff; Frankfort deals more  
with the oriental myth in "Gods and Myths on  
Sargonid Seals", Iraq vol.1 pt.1 1934, pp.1-29.
29. Levi, op. cit., pl. II 2, fig.
30. Langdon, Semitic Mythology, p. 126.
31. Ibid., p. 128.
32. Frankfort, op. cit., p. 11.
33. Langdon, op. cit., pp. 131, 119.
34. Frankfort, op. cit., p. 14.
35. Rose, Handbook of Greek Mythology, p. 211.
36. Ibid., p. 212.
37. Langdon, op. cit., p. 236.
38. Ibid., p. 253.
39. Vermeule, Classical Journal, Dec. 1958, p. 107.

CATALOGUE

Berlin Museum Inv. S. 4517, in Charlottenburg, W. Berlin

For Athens Museum seals:

NAM 9, 15, 79, 89, 112, 133, 137, 163, 165, 199, 227,  
228, 280, 290, 294, 302, 307, 314, 324, 331, 340,  
342, 359, 378, 408

see Sakellariou, Corpus, with the following corrections:

NAM 79: man and hybrid bull-stag

NAM 228: black shiny material

NAM 378: man's legs kicking above a bull (Group II)

NAM 408: agate

NAM Inv. 9048 a,b

Berlin Museum Inv. S. 4486, in Charlottenburg, W. Berlin

Athens Museum

fragmentary: elliptical(?)

a: 1.5 x 1.5 cm.      b: 1.3 x 0.7 cm.

sealings

two men, with backs to one another, battle two lions

Pylos -- excavations of 1960

Sakellariou, Μυκηναϊκή Σφραγιδογραφία, pl. 11.

originally in Rhousopolis collection

Furtwängler, Beschreibung no. 7.

B 40

Berlin Museum Inv. S.4517 , in Charlottenburg, W. Berlin  
amygdaloid

l. 2.0 cm. w. 1.5 cm.

cornelian grey and yellow agate

spearman attacks charging boar in outdoor setting

said to be found in Peloponnese

originally in Rhousopolis collection

Furtwängler, Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine in  
Antiquarium no. 40.

B 7

Berlin Museum Inv. S. 4486, in Charlottenburg, W. Berlin  
lentoid

d. 2.0 cm.

sardonyx

two men, one with short sword, extend their arms toward

an upright lion in centre; below the lion is a dog

said to come from Syme (Dodecanese island near Rhodes)

originally in Rhousopolis collection

Furtwängler, Beschreibung no. 7.

Siblieothèque Nationale (Paris), Cabinet des Médailles

lentoid



M SL681

München Museum antiken Kleinkunst

cylinder

l. 2.2 cm. d. 0.4-6 cm. of M. Hanbar and acquired by  
variegated grey and yellow agate

swordsman in centre attacking upright lion; Genius to left  
found Kakovatos - 1909

given by finder to Mr. James Loeb, bequeathed 1933(4)  
Musée de Peronne, France  
to München

ring with elliptical bezel  
PM IV p. 463, fig. 387

bezel: l. 3.2 cm. w. 2.1 cm

BN M6673

Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Cabinet des Médailles

lentoid

d. 1.5-7 cm.

red jasper

spearman wearing helmet attacks an upright lion

originally in possession of M. Hanbar and acquired by

the museum in 1907

PM IV p. 575

BN M7271

Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Cabinet des Médailles

lentoid

d. 1.9 cm.

hematite

MMNY 26.31.294

man standing between two upright lions

originally in possession of M. Hanbar and acquired by  
museum in 1909

Annuario 1925-26, p. 197, fig. 244.

Peronne

Musée de Peronne, France

ring with elliptical bezel

bezels: l. 3.2 cm. w. 2.1 cm

gold

two men, one armed with sword or dagger, battle two lions  
said to come from Thessaloniki

Festschrift für F. Matz, p. 21.

BM 1945 10-13, 133

British Museum

cylinder

l. 1.7 cm.

hematite

man holds two lions upside down; griffins attack stags

found in Golgoi, Cyprus

originally in Southesk collection

Southesk Catalogue vol. ii, Q d14, pp. 123-24.

MMNY 26.31.294

Metropolitan Museum New York

lentoid

1.97-2.07 cm. diam.

serpentine (green jasper)

man prostrate beneath hybrid bull-boar

AJA 1964, pl. 2, 22.

AM 9P

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford Inv. 1938.1054

lentoid

2.1 cm. diam.

white banded agate

man stands between two upright lions

Cretan Seals, p. 149, pl. 18.

Rhodes-Ialysos

Rhodes Museum, uncatalogued

lentoid

d. 2.2 cm.

variegated white and black sardonyx

man combats an upright ruminant which turns its head toward him; dog below

Ialysos Tomb XXI

Annuario 1923-24, p. 126, fig. 46

Thebes 211

Thebes Museum

flattened cylinder

l. 2.7 cm.

variegated brown and white agate (onyx)

man suspended upside down with knees bent to his body and arms reaching toward neck of bull galloping below

Kadmeion --Antigone/Pindar Streets site, 1964 excavations

ILN November 28, 1964, p. 860, fig. 4.

Thebes 175

Thebes Museum

cylinder

l. 1.8 cm. d. 0.9 cm.

man holds two lions upside down; griffins attack stags

Kadmeion --Antigone/Pindar Streets site, 1964 excavations

ILN November 28, 1964, p. 861, fig. 5.

onyx

Pylos Museum ger at his belt stands above a lion which

Pylos Museum, uncatalogued

lentoid

Jannopoulos

d. 1.5 cm.

green chalcedony

lentoid bezel of ring (modern setting)

man horizontal above a hybrid goat-bull (Group II)

Akona Tholos 2 (Pylos)

Ergon 1963, p. 84, fig. 86.

man horizontal over a galloping bull (Group II)

Prosymna 581 rosette pattern below

missing from Athens Museum(?)

lentoid

d. 1.5 cm. 1959, p. 106, fig. 23b

agate

man stands between one upright and one upside down lion

Prosymna Tomb XXXIII

Prosymna vol.ii, fig. 581.

Nauplion 9875

Nauplion Museum

cylinder

l. 2.1 cm. d. 0.7 cm.

onyx



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amethyst NAM 290  
chalcedony cylinder NAM 227, Pylos (green)  
conglomerate seal(ring) NAM 294  
cornelian: elliptical NAM 79, NAM 137, NAM 280,  
B 40  
gold elementary NAM 9, NAM 15, Peronne  
green jasper(serpentine) MMNY 26.31.294, NAM 89  
red jasper NAM 89, BN M6673, NAM 165(?),  
hematite BM 1945 10-13,133, BN M7271  
rock crystal NAM 112, NAM 408, B 7, AM 9P,  
sardonyx B 7, Rhodes-Ialysos  
black shiny material NAM 228  
sealings NAM 163, NAM 165, NAM 302, NAM 307,  
NAM 314, NAM 324, NAM 331, NAM 340  
NAM 342, NAM 359, NAM 378,  
NAM Inv. 9048 a,b

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AM 9P NAM 290, B 40
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- elliptical bezel(ring) NAM 15, NAM 89, Peronne
- fragmentary: elliptical Peronne NAM 302, NAM 307, NAM 314,  
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M SL681 NAM 227, NAM 228, NAM 280,  
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BM 1945 10-13,133

France - Bibliothèque Nationale-Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

BN M6673, BN M7271

France - Musée de Peronne, Peronne

Peronne

Germany - Charlottenburg Museum, West Berlin

B 7, B 40

Germany - Museum antiken Kleinkunst, München

M SL681

Greece - National Archaeological Museum, Athens

NAM 9, 15, 79, 89, 112, 133, 137, 163, 165, 199, 227,

228, 280, 290, 294, 302, 307, 314, 324, 331, 340,

342, 359, 378, 408, Inv. 9048 a,b

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MMNY 26.31.294

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G.....  
H.T.....  
Z.....  
B.....  
M.....  
BM.....  
MNY.....  
Prosymna.....

References:

AJA.....  
BSA.....

ABBREVIATIONS

Seals:

- AM.....Ashmolean Museum
- NAM.....National Archaeological Museum,  
Athens
- HM.....Heraklion Archaeological Museum,  
Crete
- BN.....Bibliothèque Nationale,  
Cabinet des Médailles, Paris
- G.....Giamalakis Collection numbers  
according to catalogue of  
Sakellariou
- H.T.....Hagia Triada sealings numbers  
according to Levi, Annuario  
1925-1926
- Z.....Zakro sealings numbers accor-  
ding to Levi, Annuario 1925-26
- B.....Berlin Museums, Furtwängler's  
catalogue numbers
- M.....Munich Museum of Antiquities
- EM.....British Museum Gem Catalogue
- MMNY.....Metropolitan Museum, New York
- Prosymna.....Blegen, Prosymna vol. ii fi-  
gures

References:

- AJA.....American Journal of Archaeology
- BSA.....Annual of the British School  
at Athens

- Annuario.....Annuario della R. Scuola  
Archeologica di Atene
- AG.....Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen
- Arch. Anz.....Archäologischer Anzeiger
- AR.....Archaeological Reports
- BCH.....Bulletin de correspondance  
hellénique
- Corpus.....Sakellariou, Corpus der Mi-  
noischen und Mykenischen  
Siegel. Band 1
- CANES.....Porada, Corpus of Ancient  
Near Eastern Seals in North  
America
- CVA.....Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum
- Chronology.....Furumark, The Chronology of  
Mycenaean Pottery
- CS.....Frankfort, Cylinder Seals
- Deltion.....Archaiologikon Deltion
- Eph. Arch.....Ephemeris Archaiologiki
- Ergon.....To Ergon tis archaiologikis  
etaireias
- ILN.....Illustrated London News
- JdI.....Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich deutschen  
Archäologischen Institutes
- JHS.....Journal of Hellenic Studies
- Kret.....Kritiká Chronika
- Ath. Mitt.....Mitteilungen des deutschen Ar-  
chäologischen Instituts-Athen.
- Op. Arch.....Opuscula Archaeologica

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NAM 294.....	Fig. 13	Plate 5
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AM 1938.1113.....		Plate 16



FIGURE 1

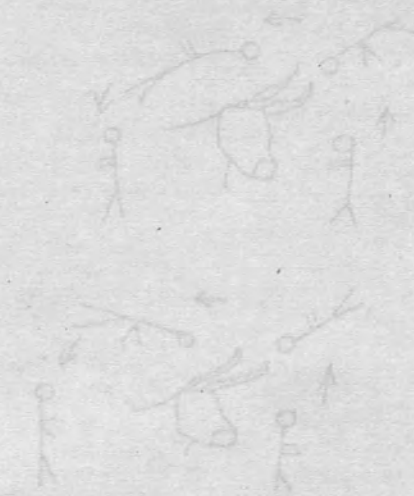
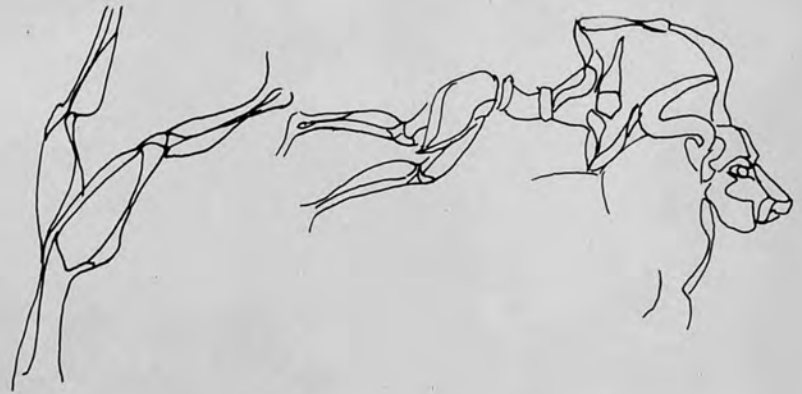


FIGURE 2





Vapheio  
Cup A



Katsambas  
Pyxis

HM 185



AM 202

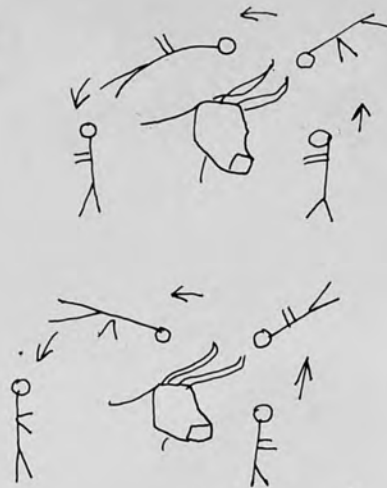


NAM 274



NAM 517

**FIGURE 1**



**FIGURE 2**

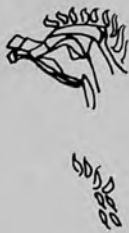
# FIGURE 3



H.T. 113-115



Z. 167



H.T. 68



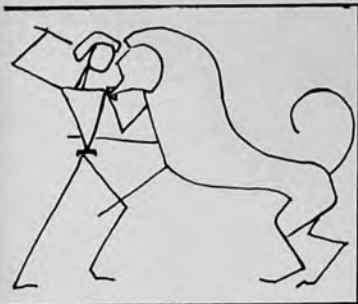
H.T. 36



H.T. 80



H.T. 76



NAM 9



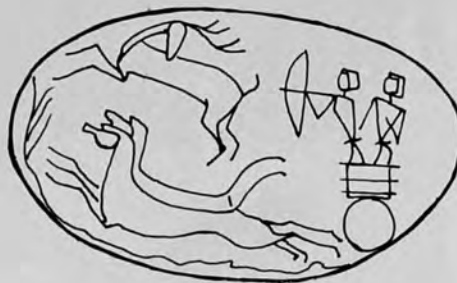
H.T. 84



H.T. 86



H.T. 85

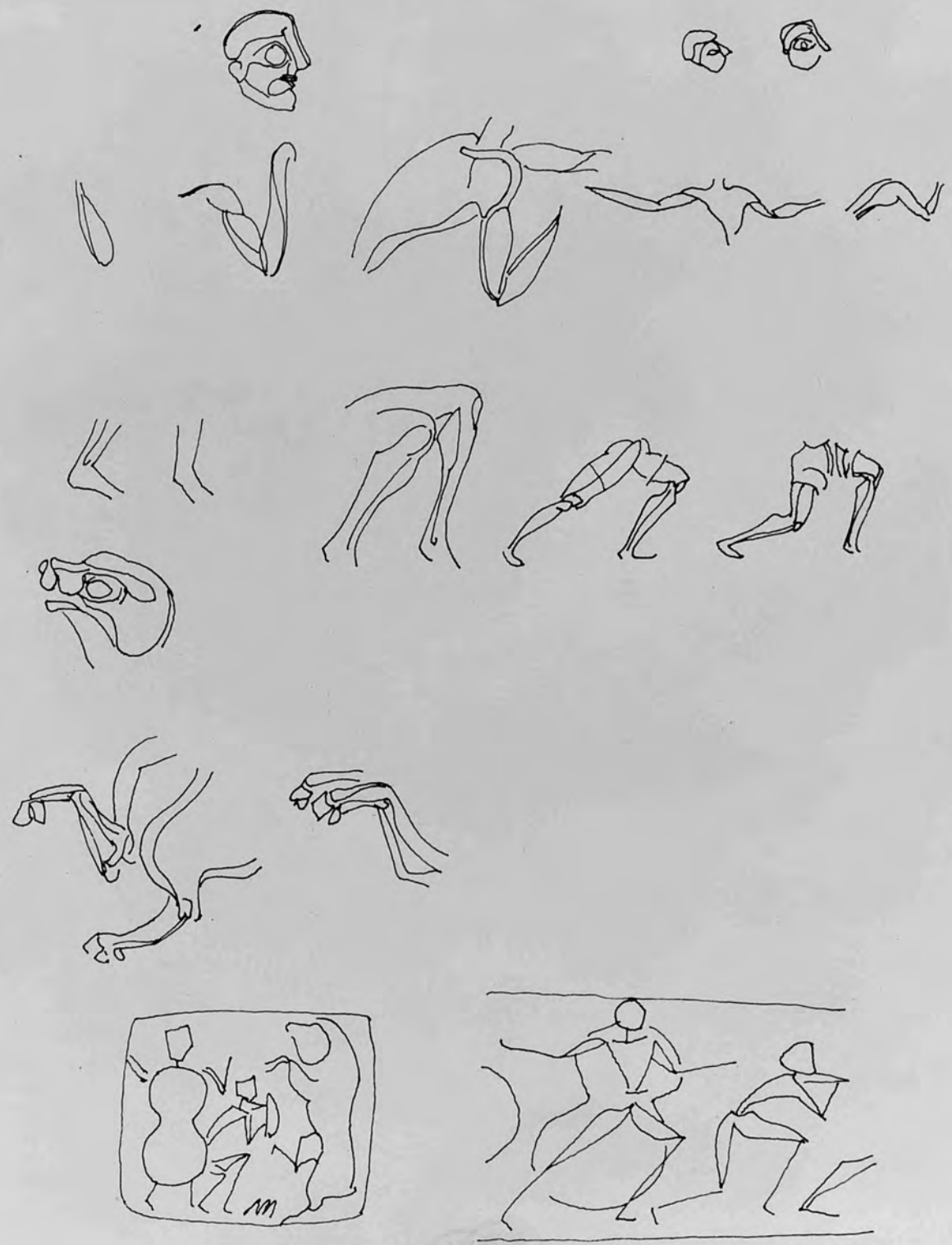


NAM 15



H.T. 68

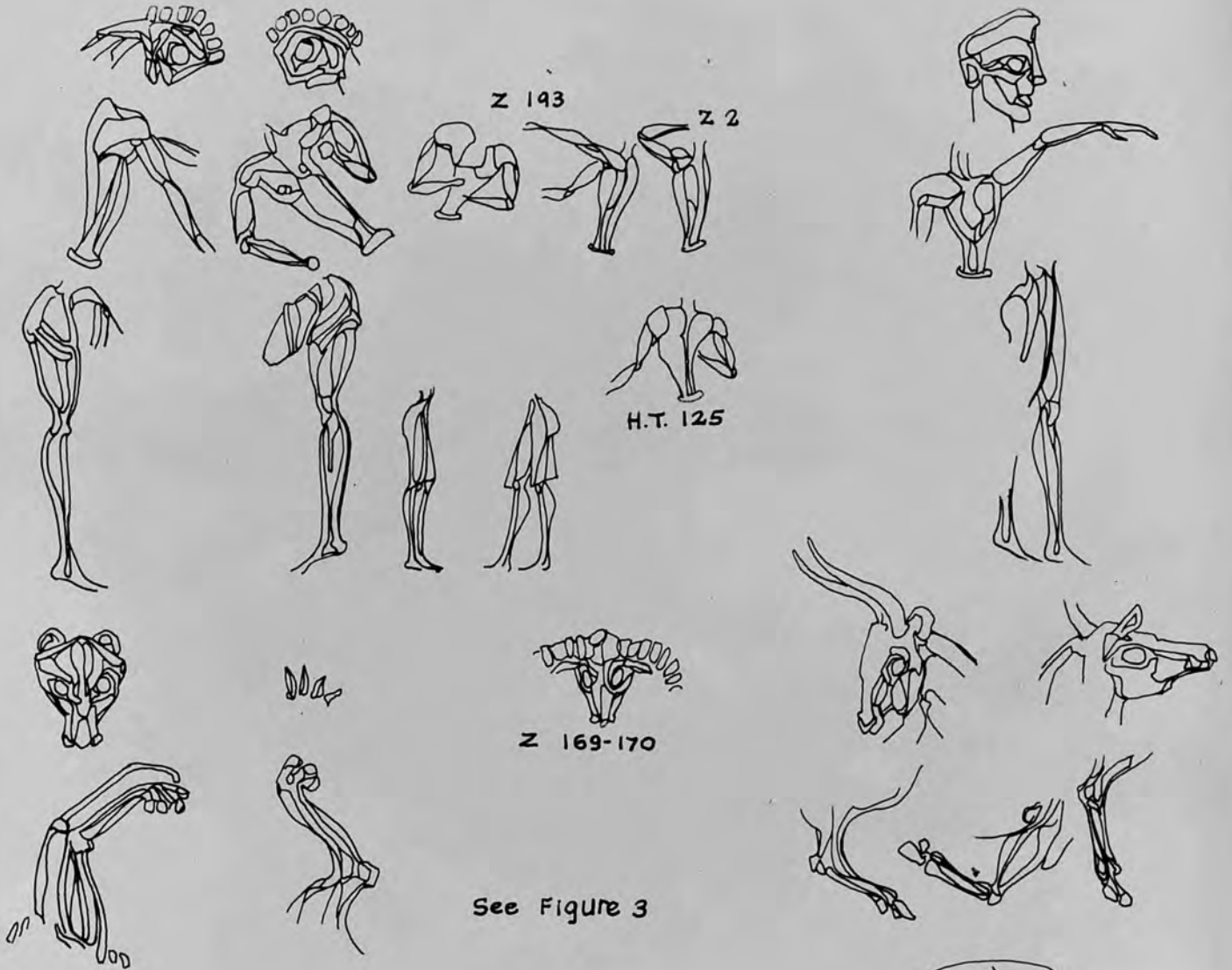
**FIGURE 4**



**BN M6984**

NAM Inv. 394

**FIGURE 5**



**NAM 224**



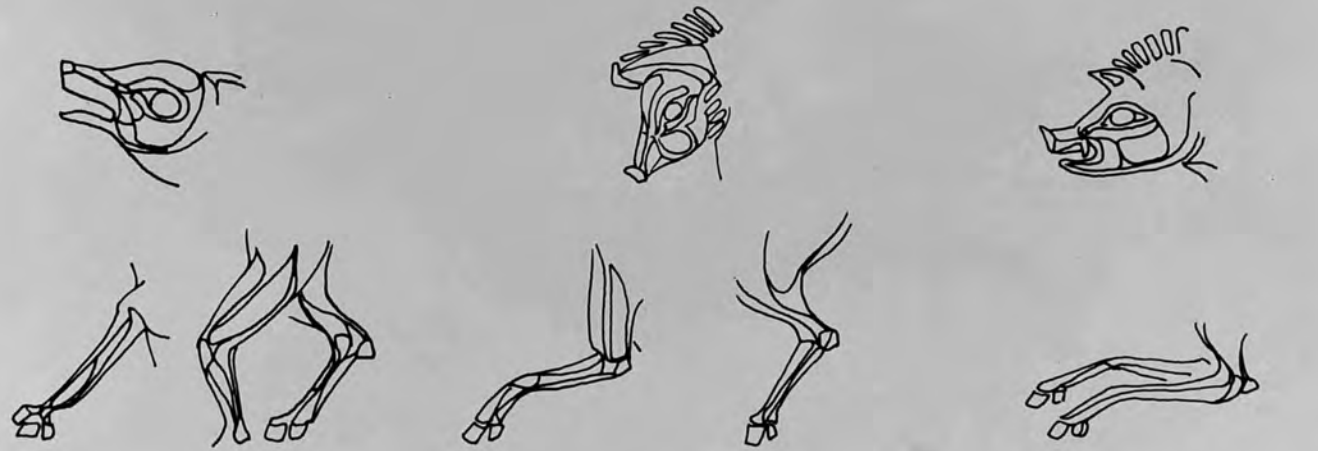
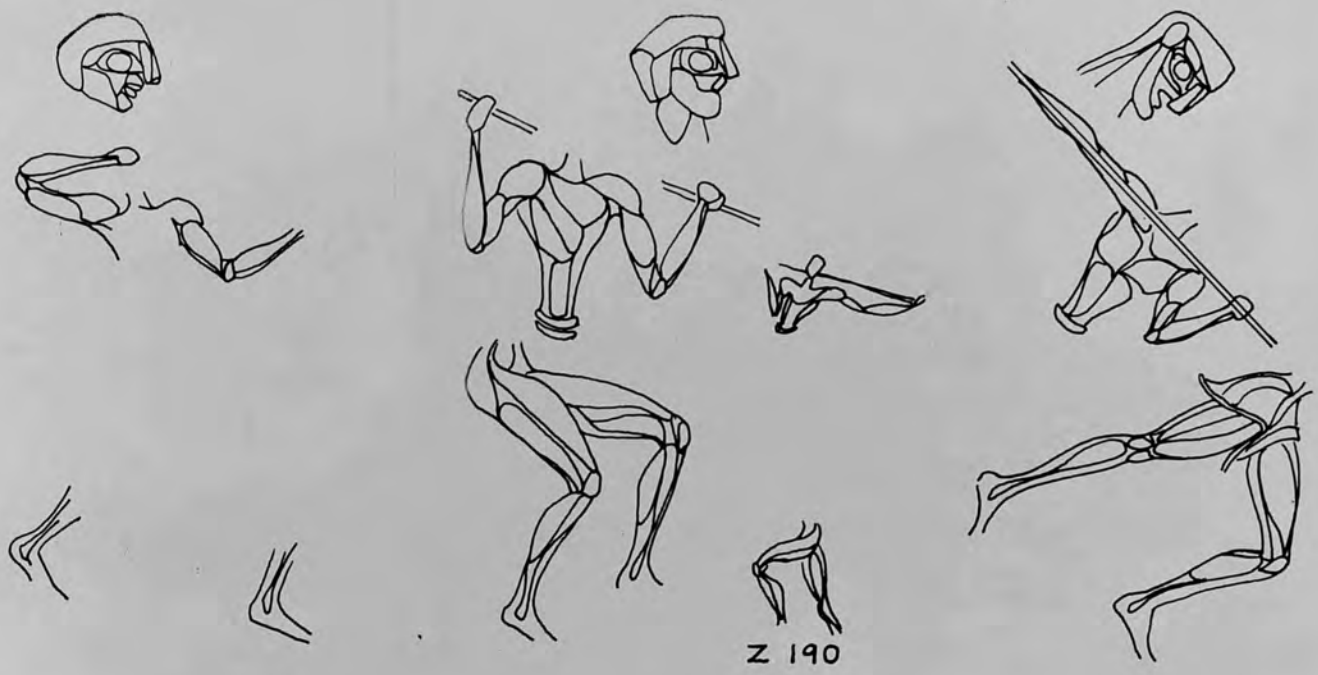
Z 193



**AM 247**



**FIGURE 6**



**NAM 228**

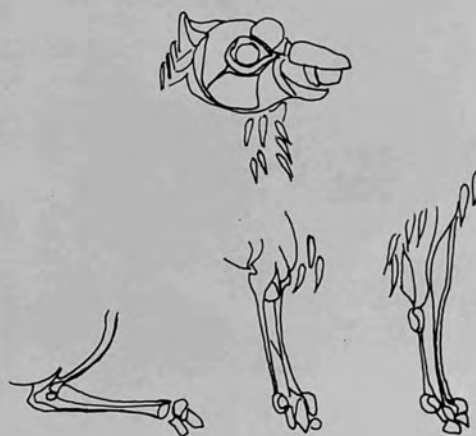
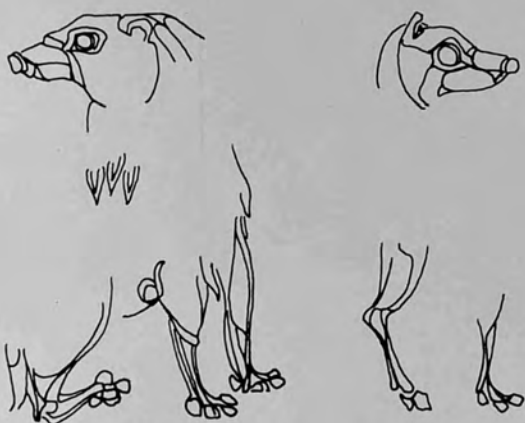


**NAM 227**



**B 40**

**FIGURE 7**



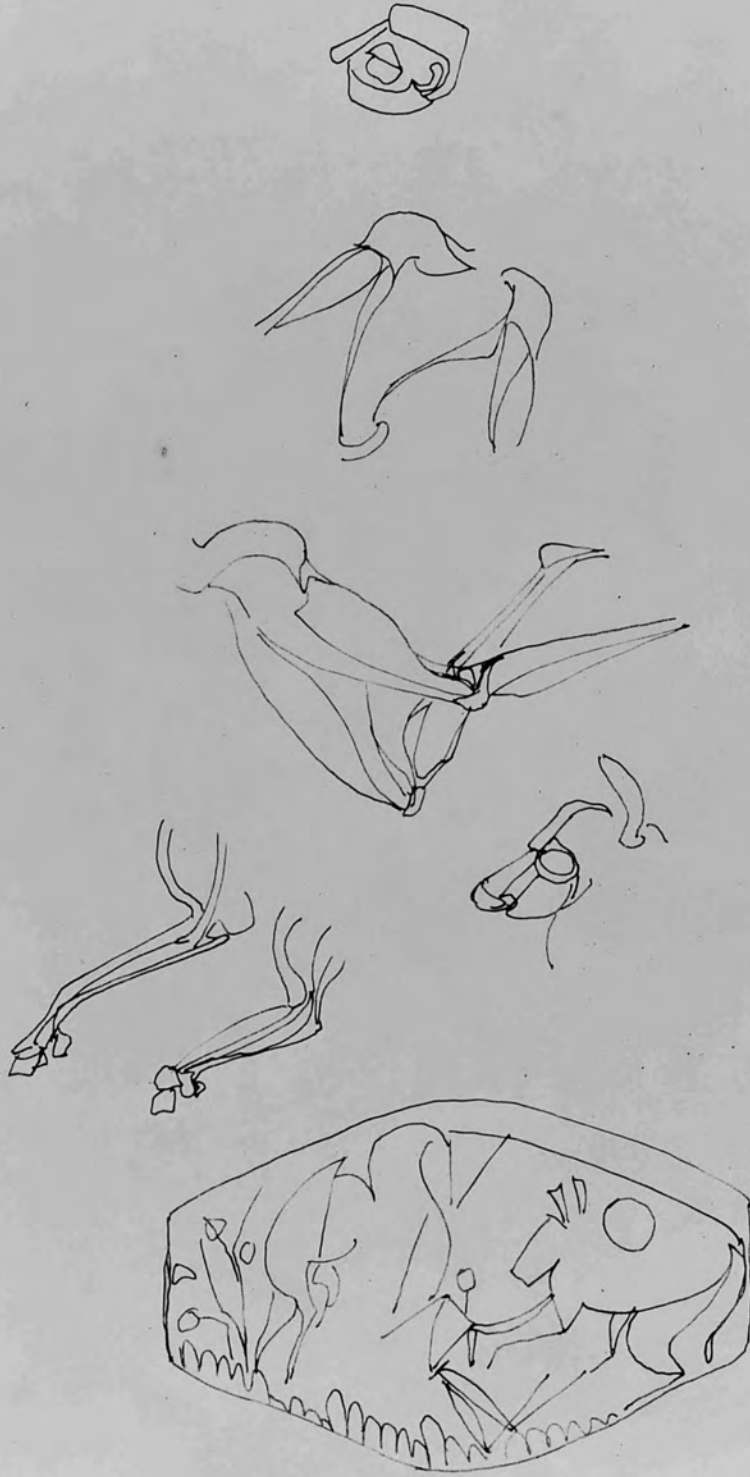
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**NAM 133**



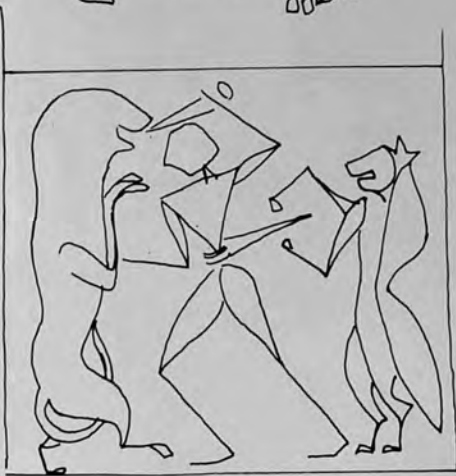
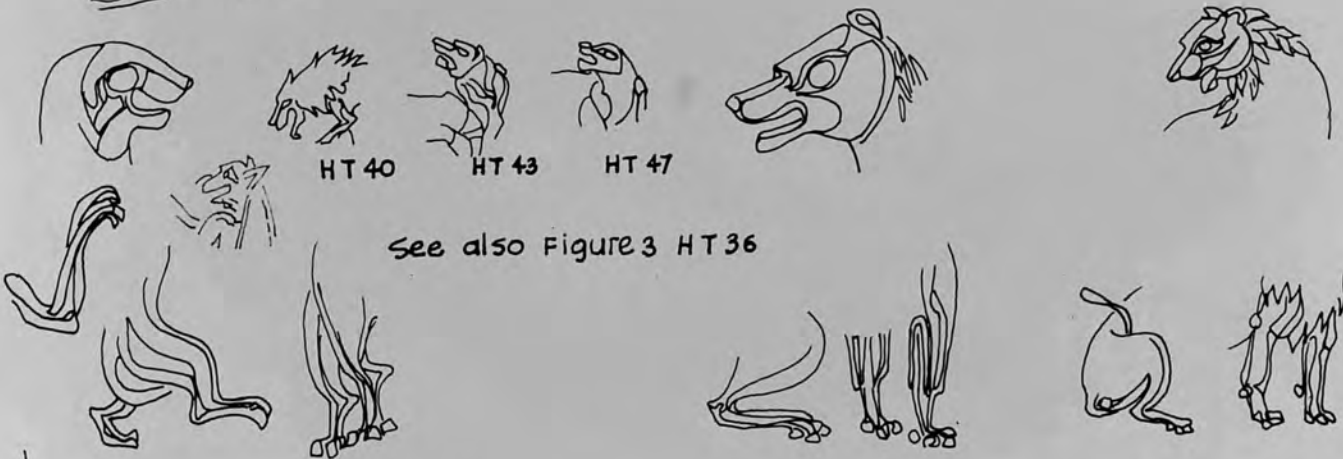
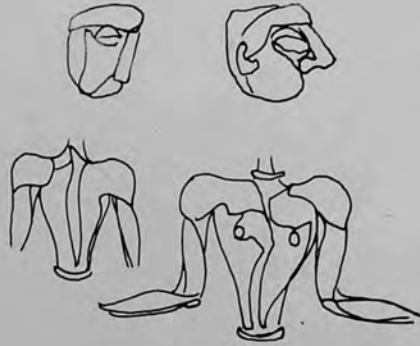
**FIGURE 8**



**NAM 274**



**FIGURE 9**



**M SL681**

See Figure 3



**NAM 280**



**NAM 243**

**FIGURE 10**

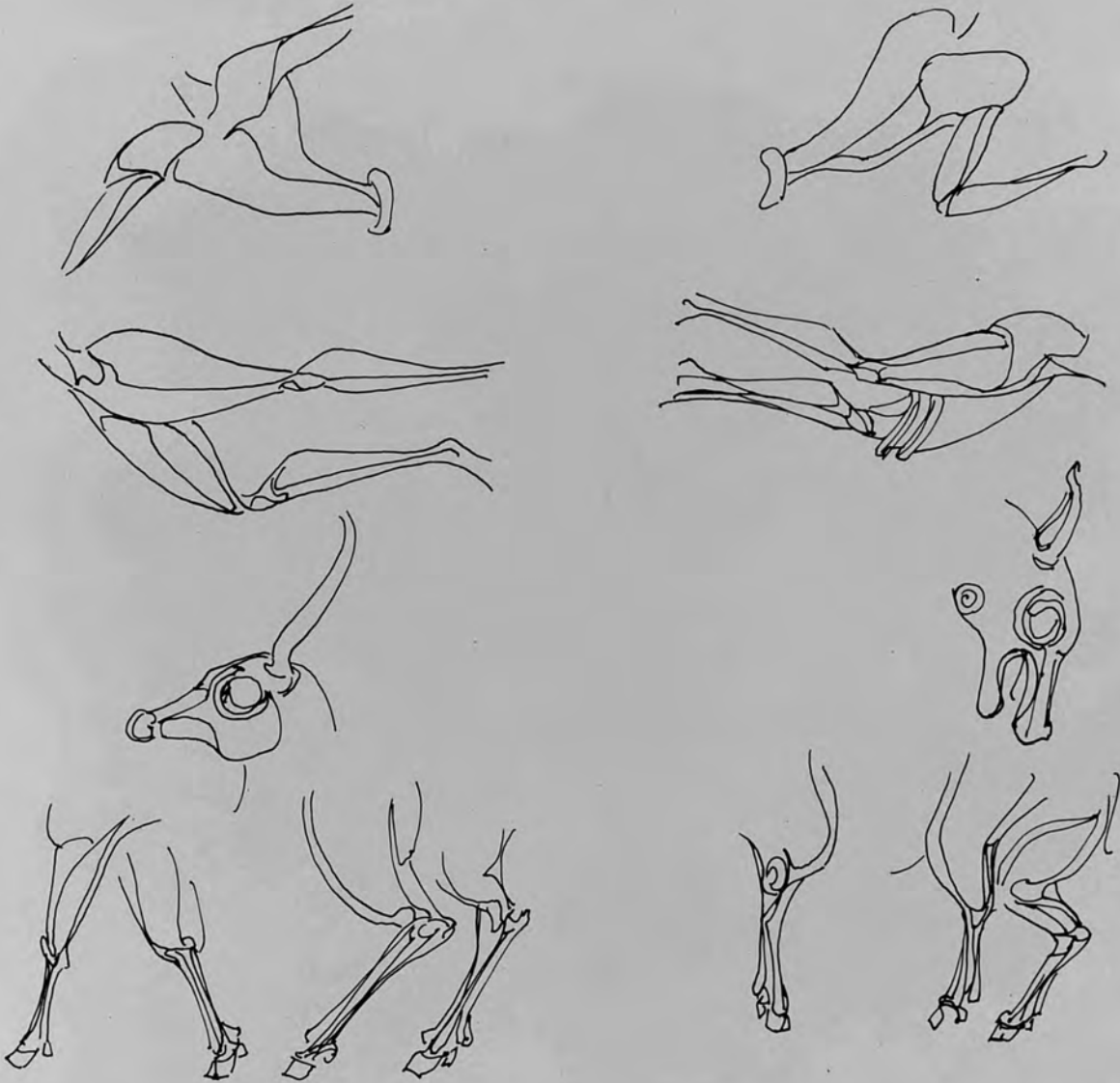


**NAM 95**



**AG III P.49 F.28**

**FIGURE 11**

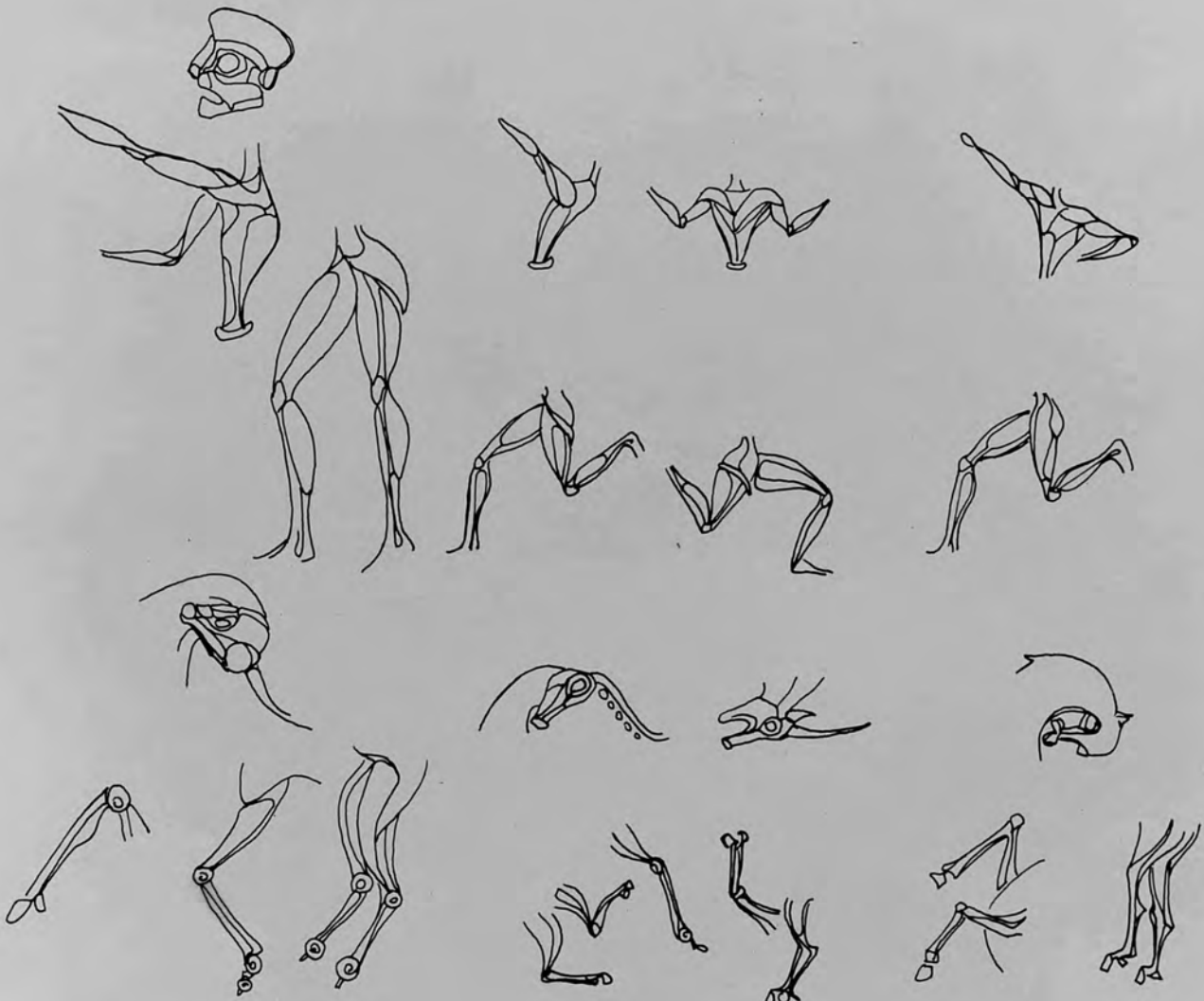


**NAM 79**



**MMNY 26.31.294**

FIGURE 12



NAM 199



AM 320

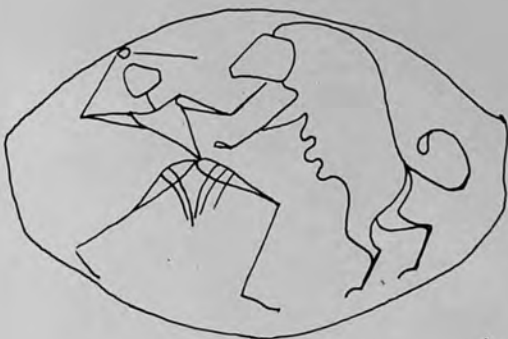
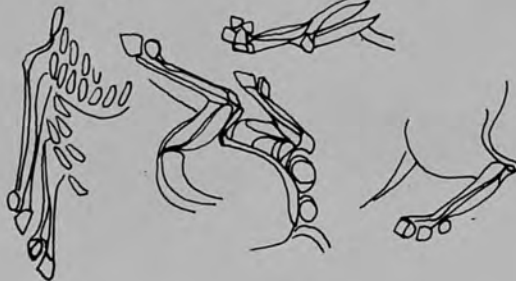
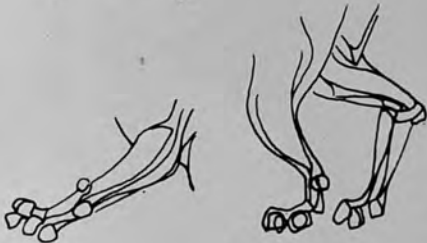


BM 76



RHODES

**FIGURE 13**



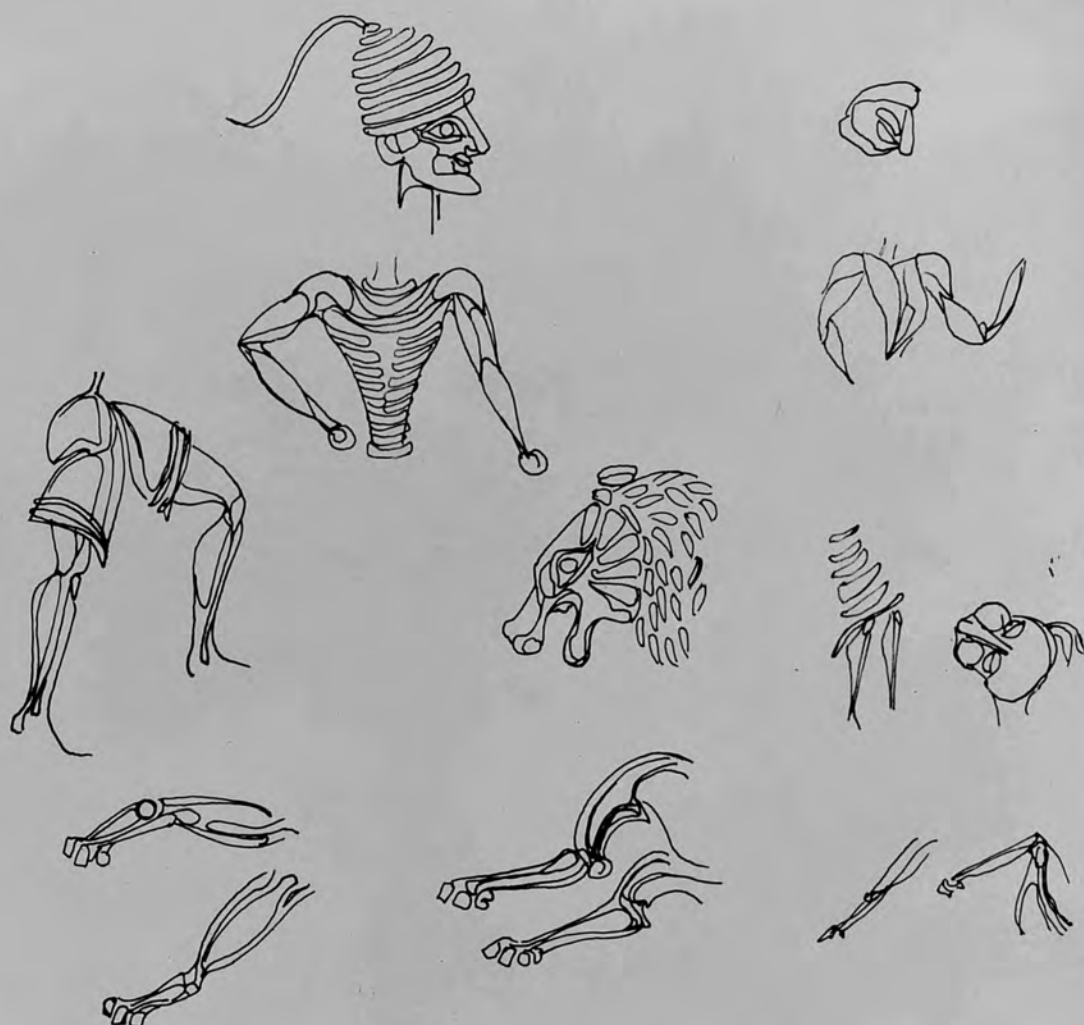
**NAM 290**



**NAM 294**



AM 285  
See AM 320  
BM 76 (Figure 12)

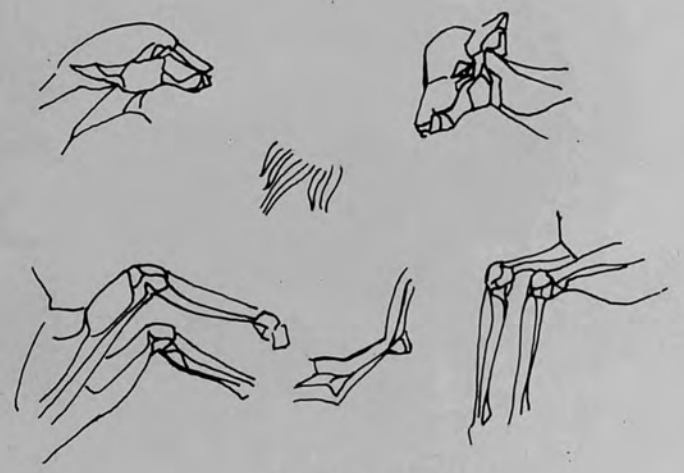
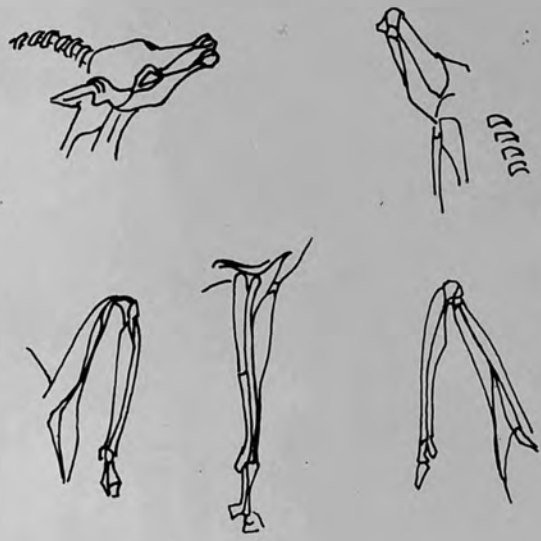
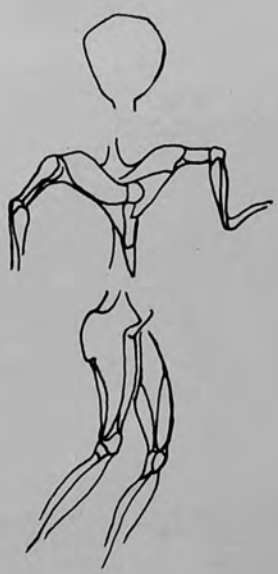


BN M6673



HM 1756

FIGURE 15

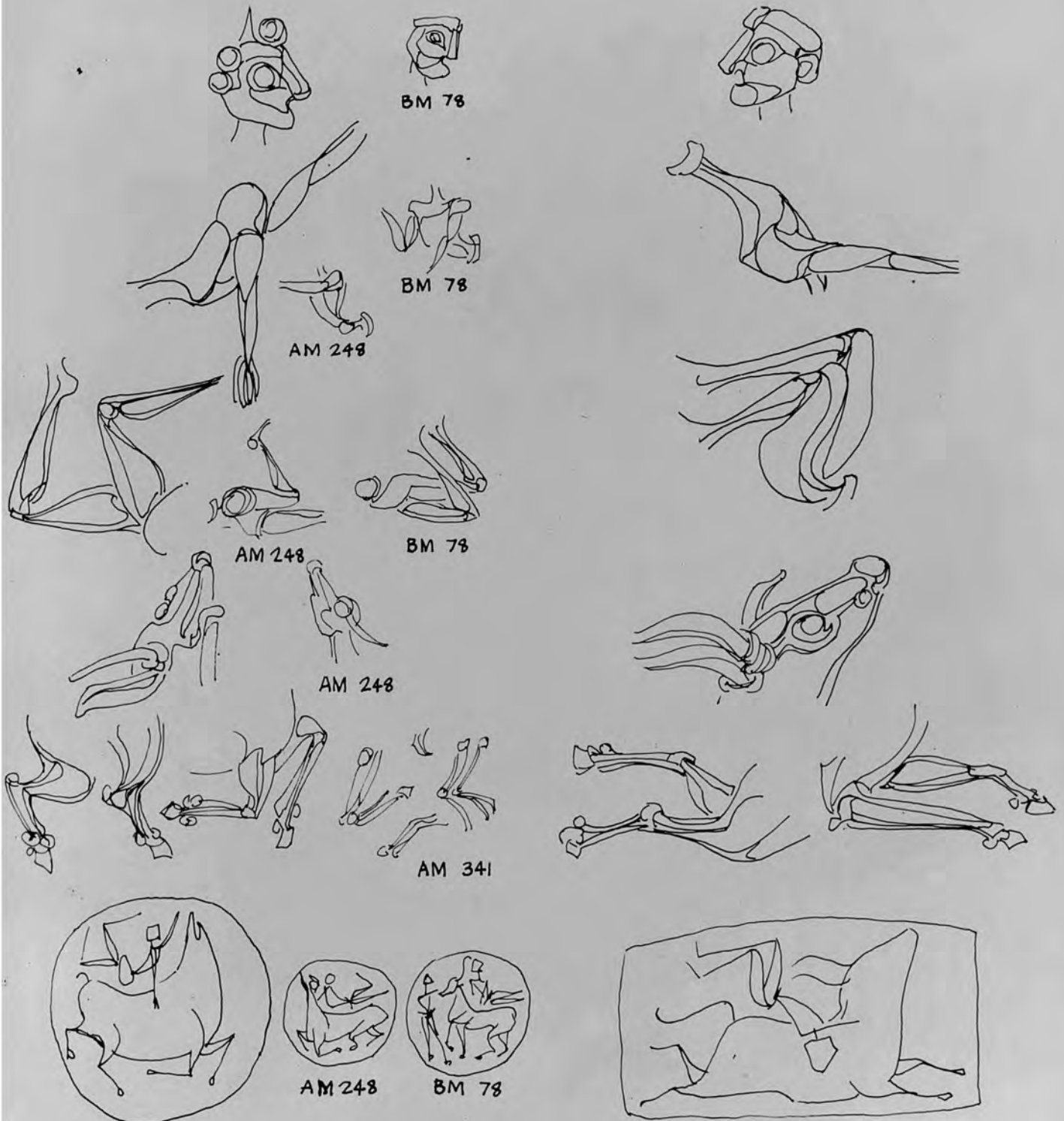


NAM 163



NAM 165

FIGURE 16

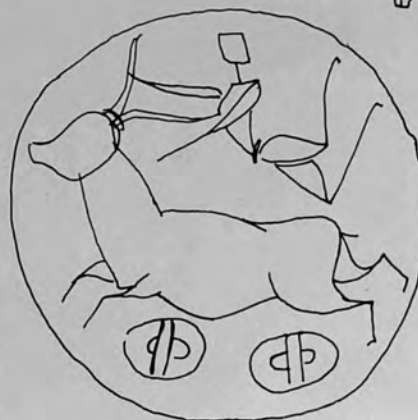
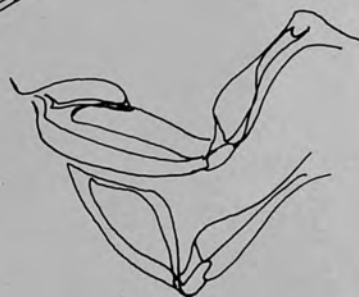
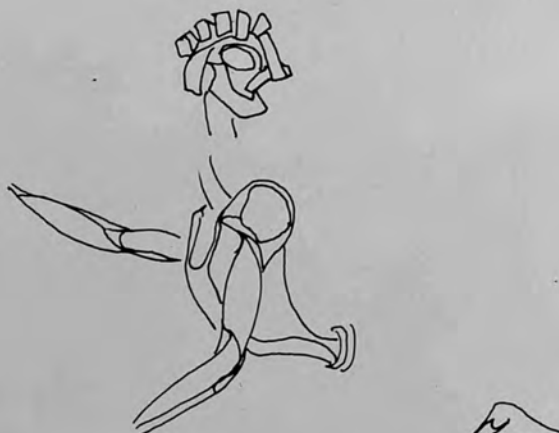


NAM 408

THEBES 211



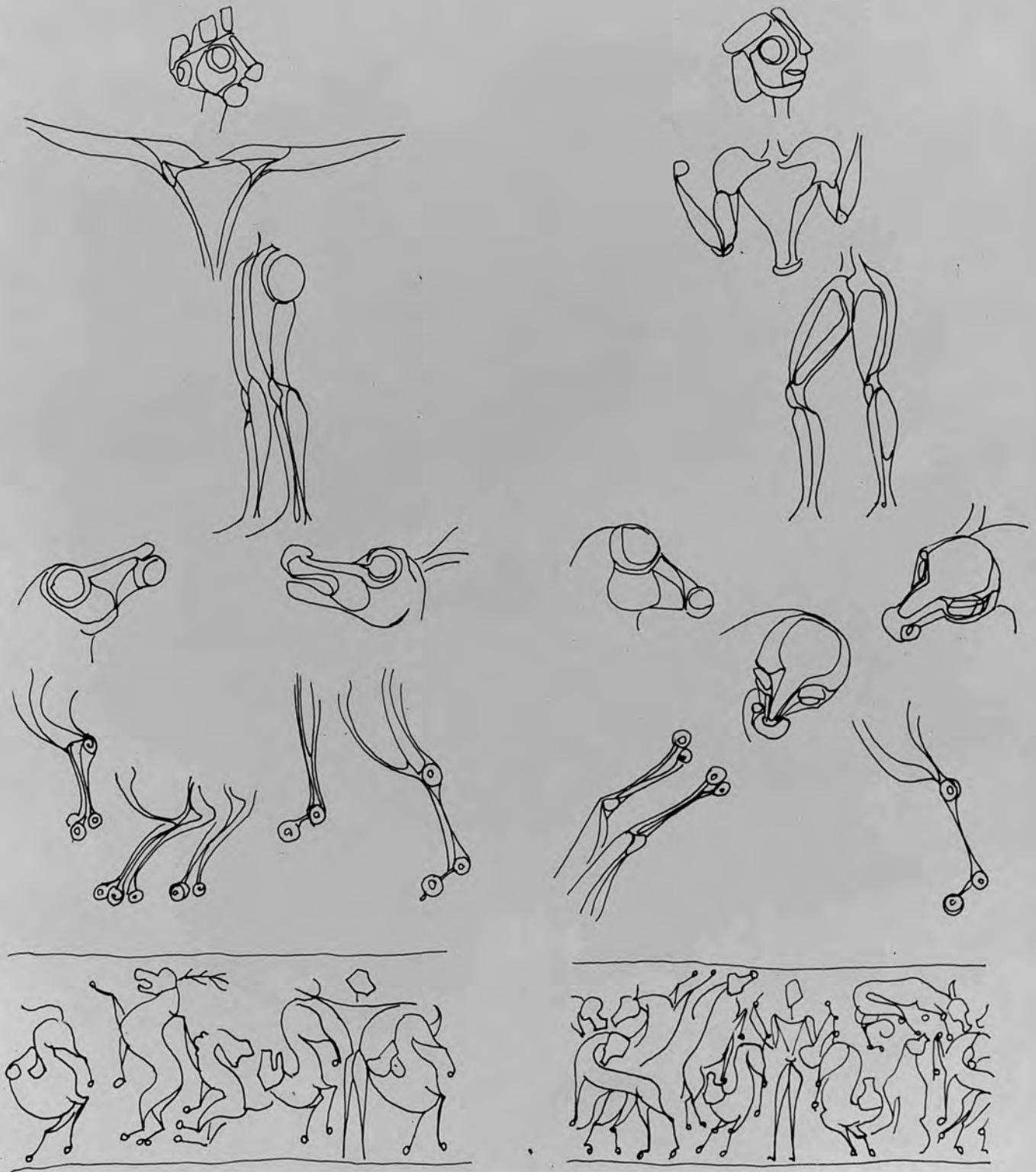
**FIGURE 17**



**NAM 137**

**JANNOPOULOS**

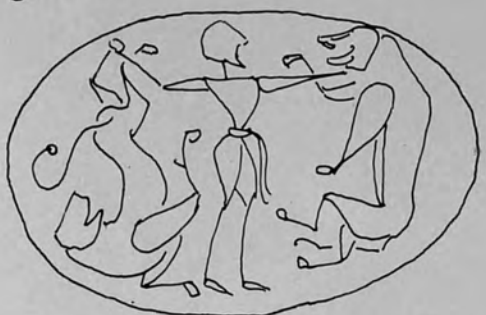
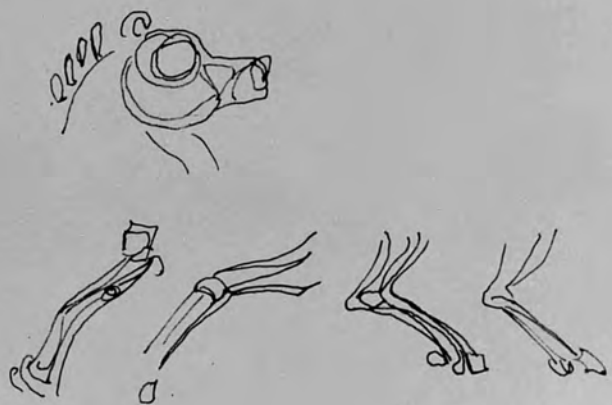
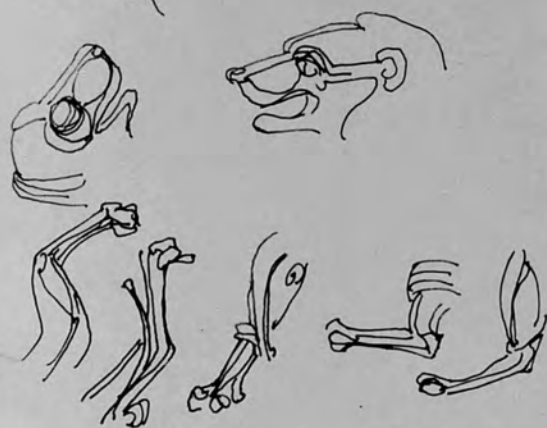
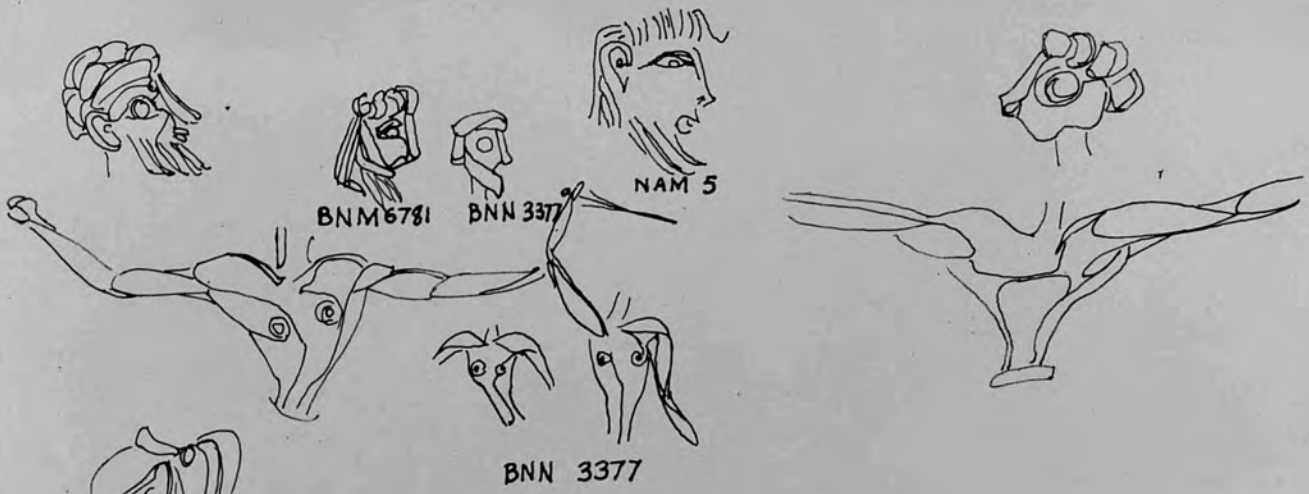
FIGURE 18



THEBES 175

BM 1945 10.33,133

FIGURE 19

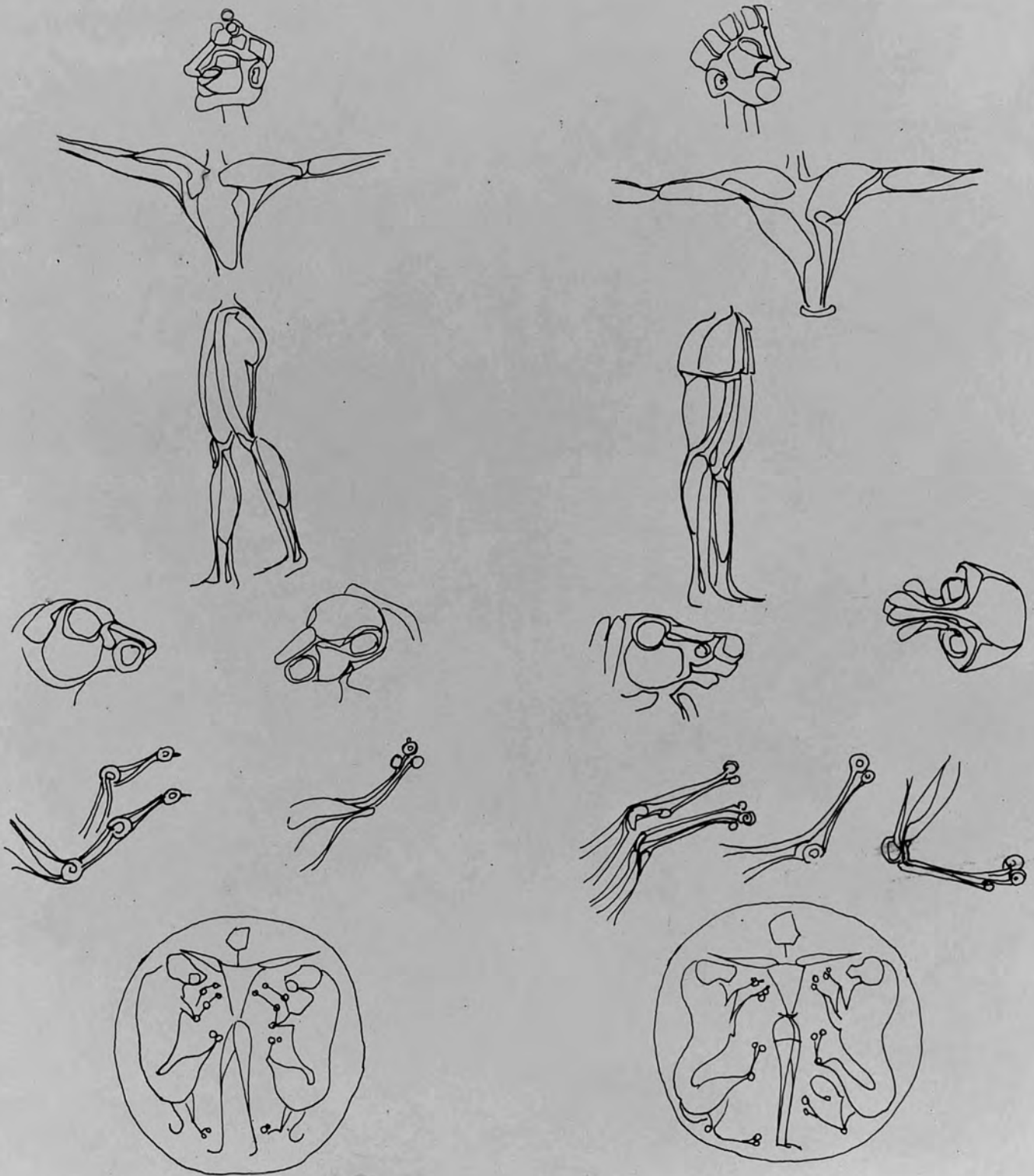


NAM 89



PROSYMNA 581

FIGURE 20



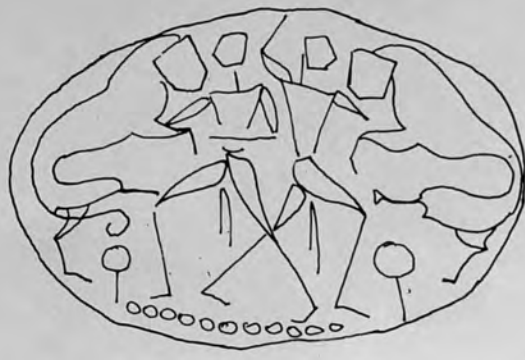
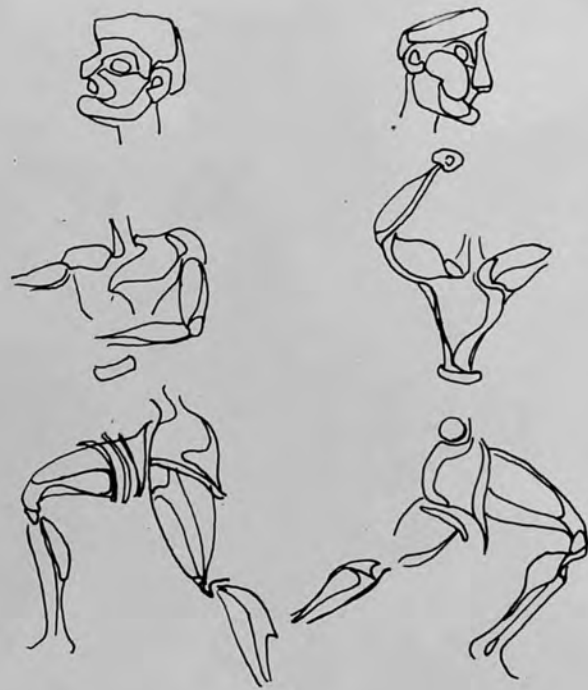
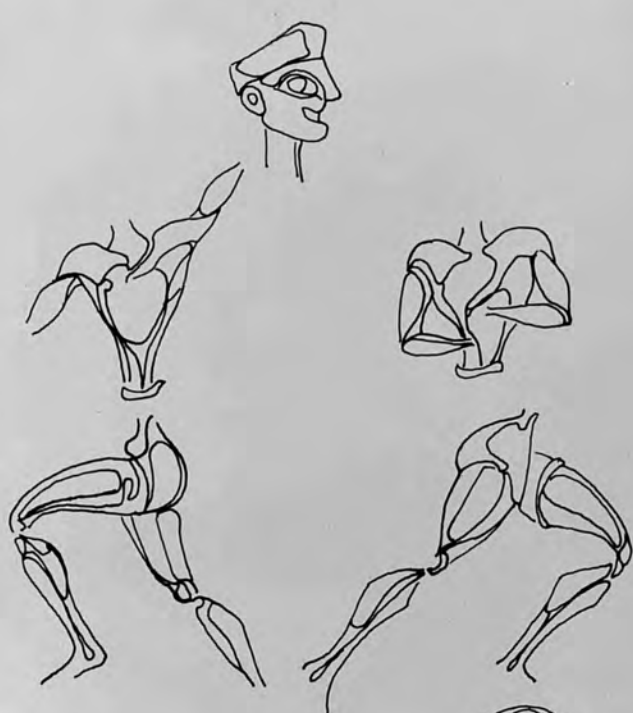
BN M7271

AM 9P

**FIGURE 21**



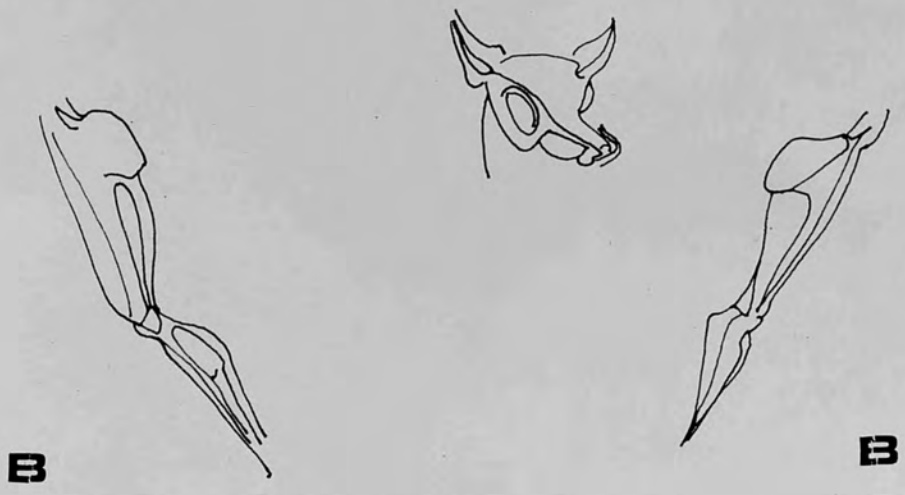
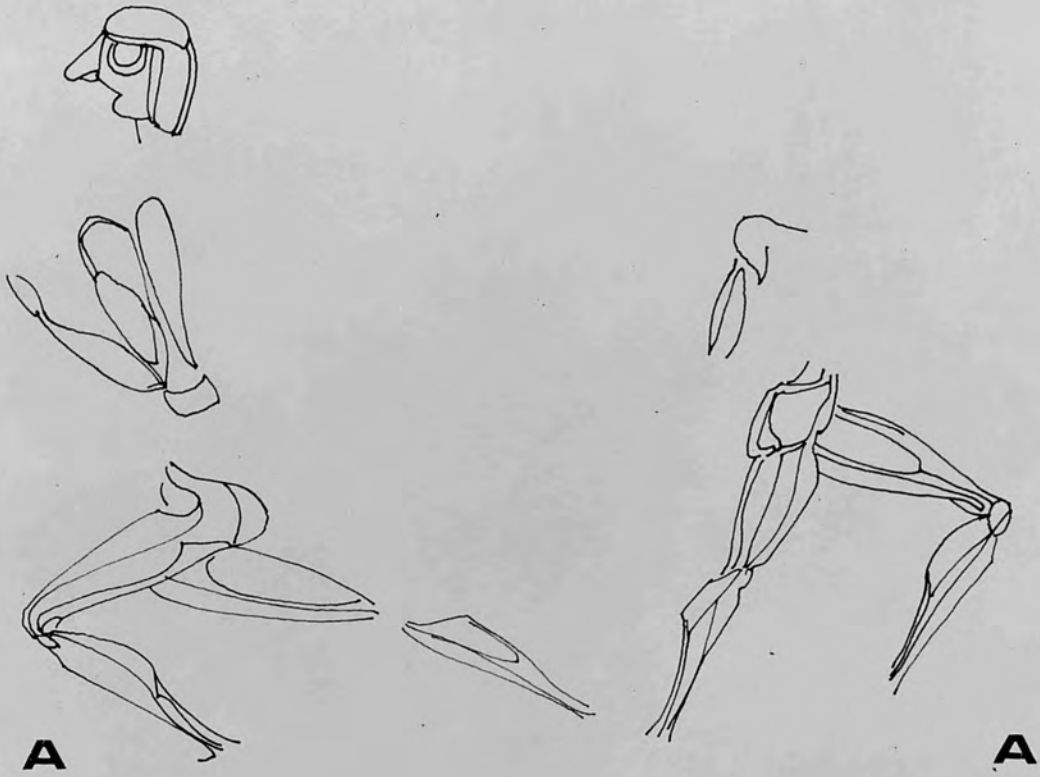
**PYLOS**



NAM 307

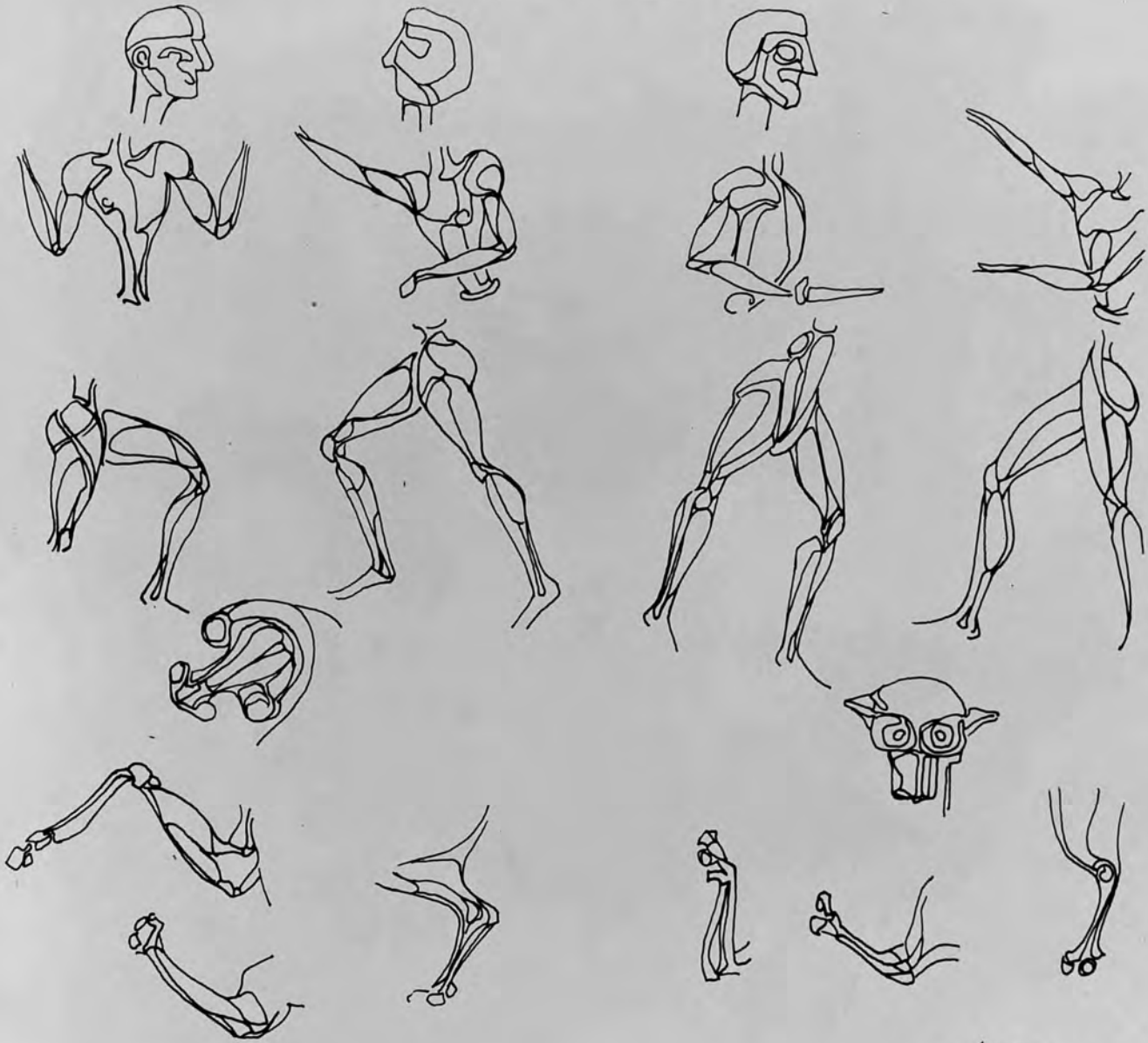
PERONNE

FIGURE 23



NAM INV.9048

FIGURE 24



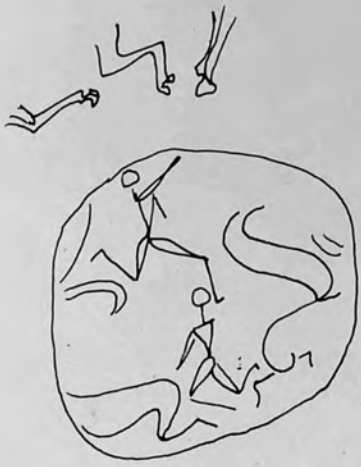
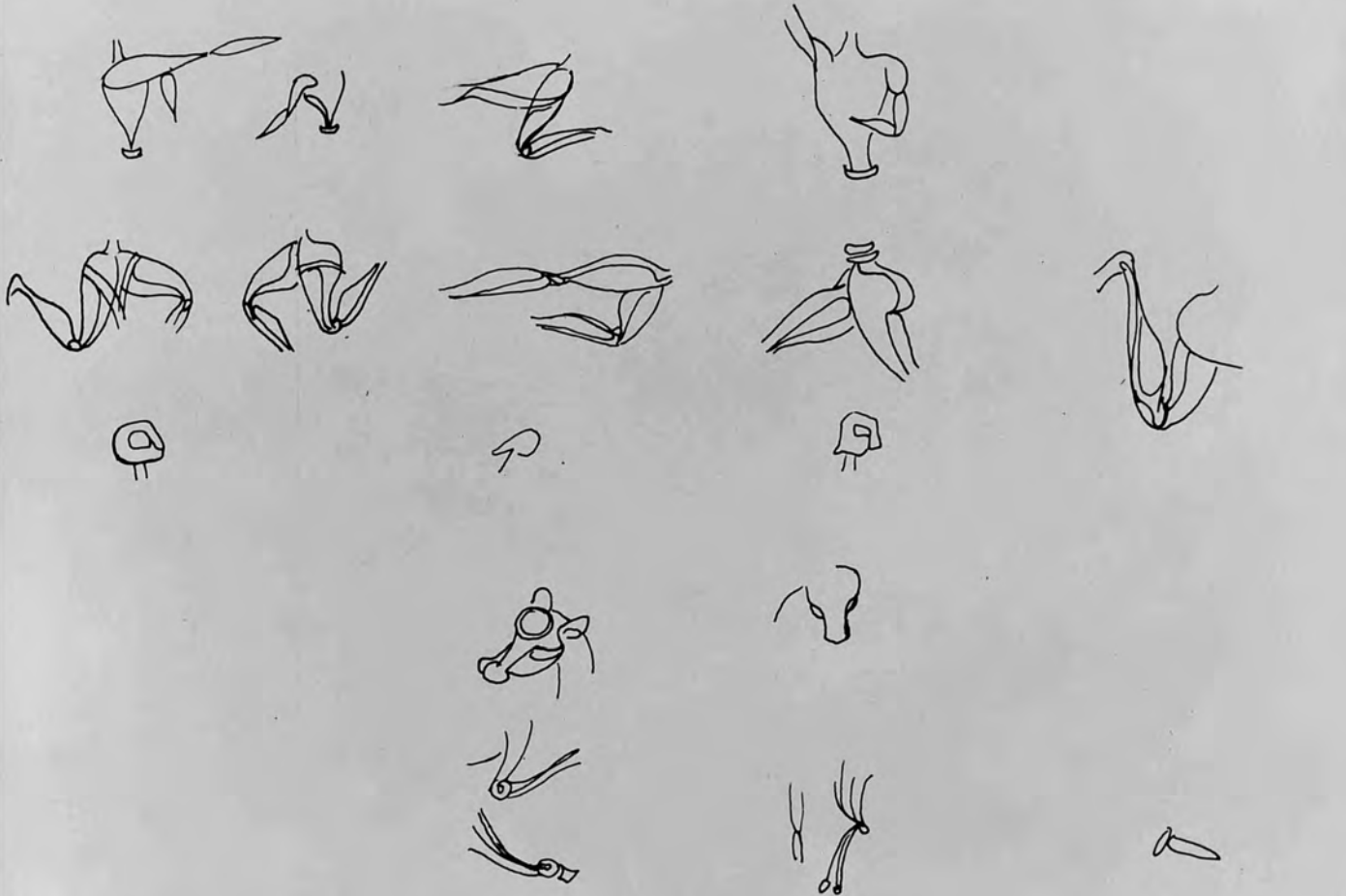
NAM 331



B 7



FIGURE 25



NAM 324



NAM 314

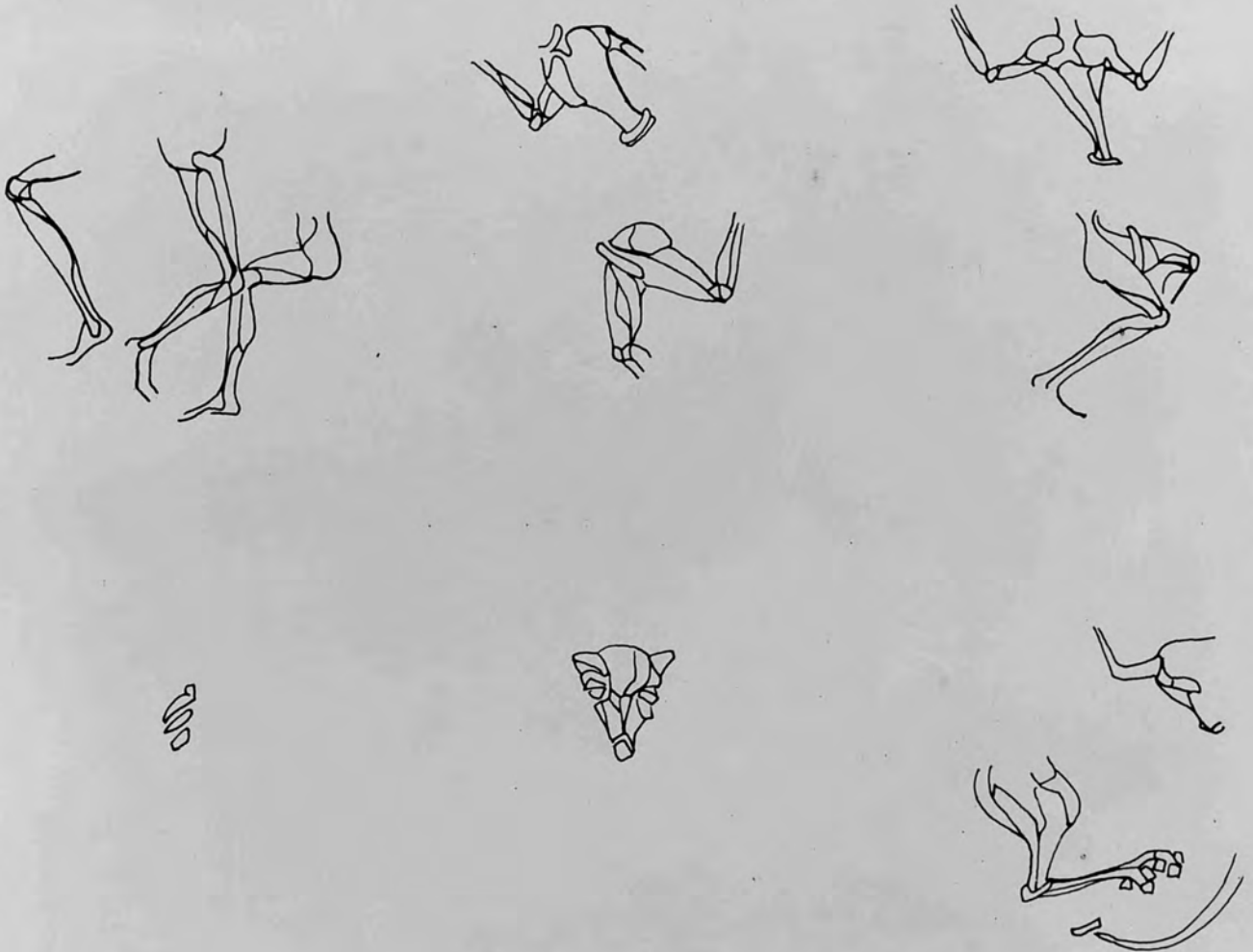


NAM. 302



NAM 378

**FIGURE 26**



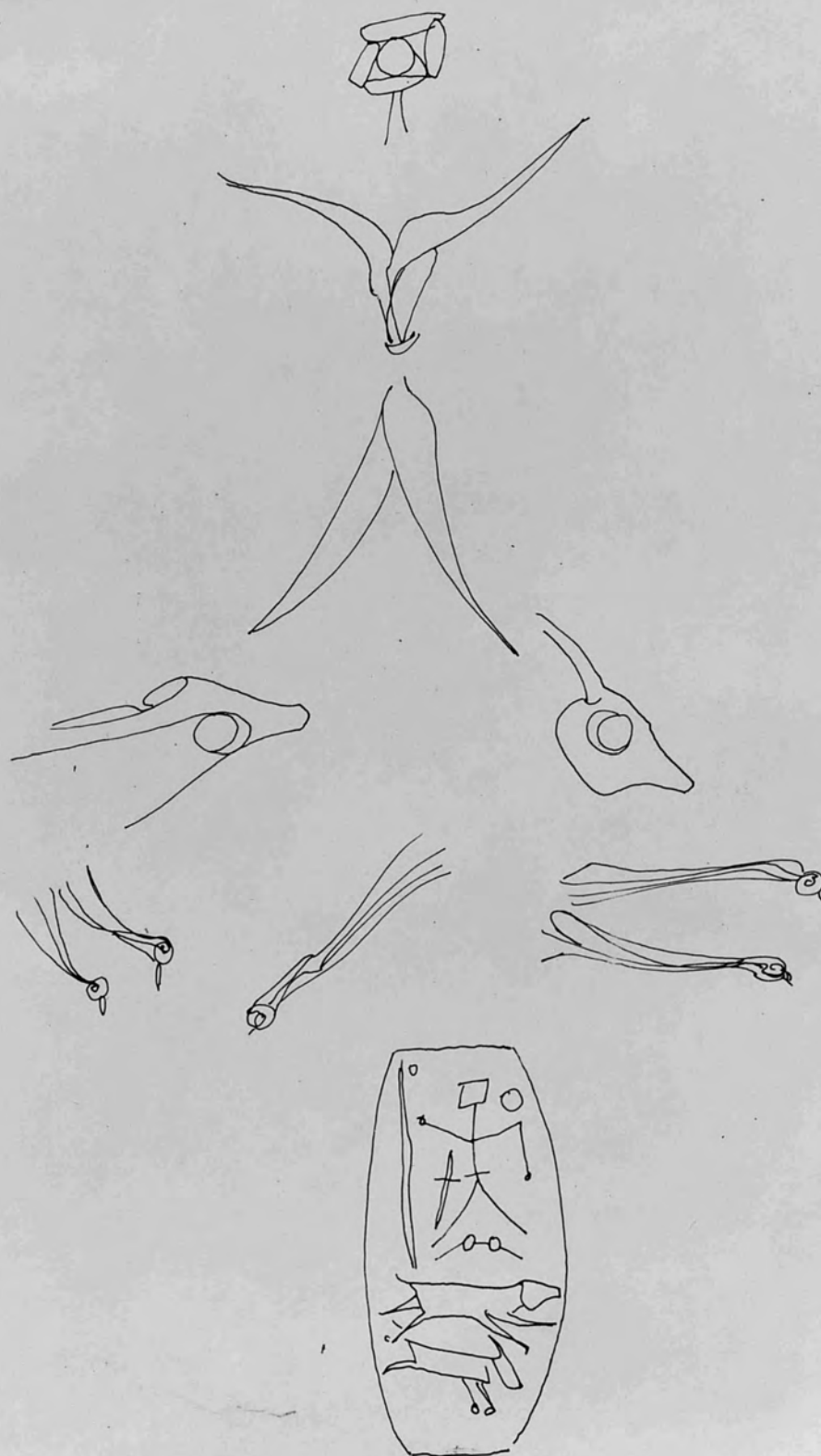
**NAM 340**



**NAM 359**



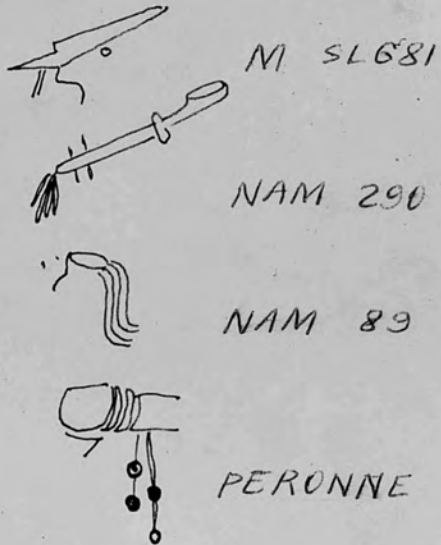
**NAM 342**



**NAUPLION 9875**



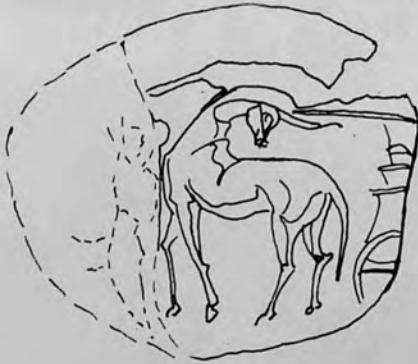
**FIGURE 28**



**FIGURE 29**



FIGURE 30



NAM 302



NAM 119



NAM 103



NAM 119



NAM 126



NAM 127



NAM 123



NAM 191



NAM 231



ZA

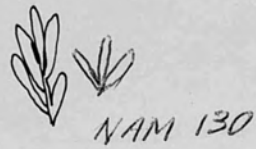
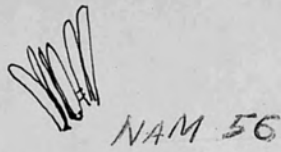
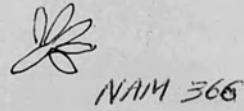
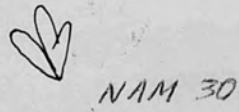
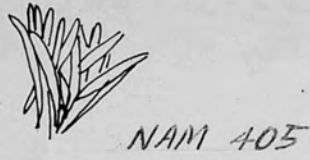
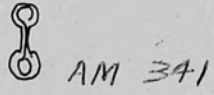
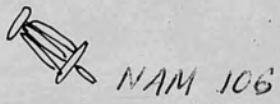
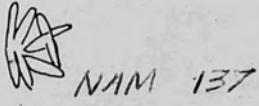


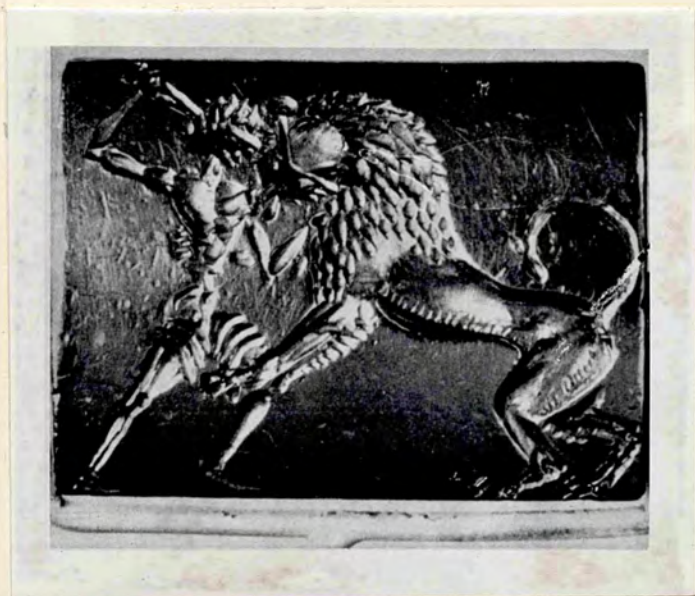
NAM 279



NAM 292

**FIGURE 31**





**NAM 9**



**NAM 15**



**NAM 224**



**AM 247**



**NAM INV.394**



**BN M6984**





M SL681



NAM 274



NAM 280



NAM 95



AGIII R49F28



**MMN Y 26.31.294**



**NAM 79**



**NAM 199**



**RHODES**



**NAM 294**



**NAM 290**



**BN M6673**

**PLATE 6**



**NAM 163**



**NAM 165**



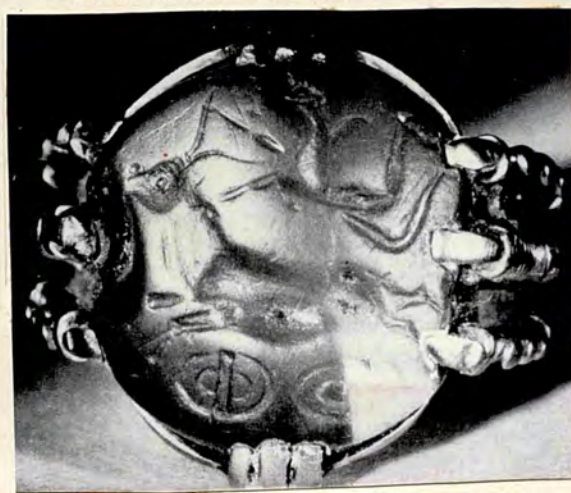
**NAM 408**



**NAM 137**



**THEBES 211**



**JANNOPOULOS**



**THEBES 175**



**NAM 89**



**PROSYMNA 581**



**BM 194510-33,133**



**BN M7271**



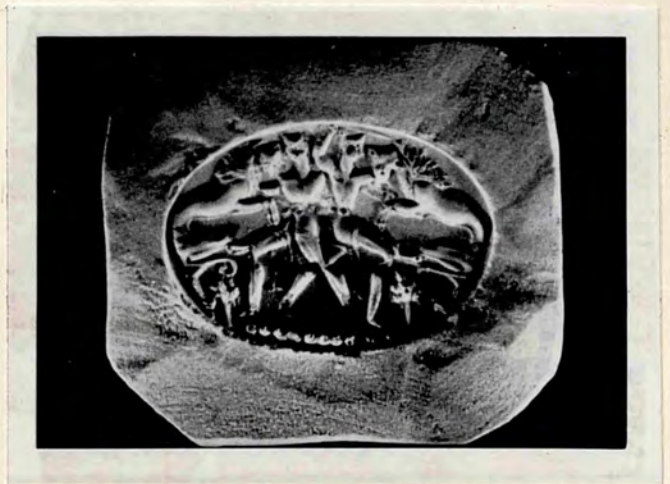
**AM 9P**



**PYLOS**



**NAM 307**



**PERONNE**



**NAM INV.9048A**



**NAM INV.9048B**





**NAM 359**



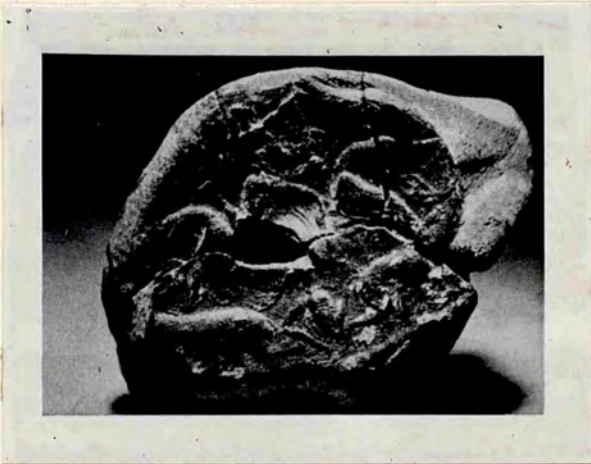
**NAM 302**



**NAM 331**



**B 7**



**NAM 324**



**NAM 314**



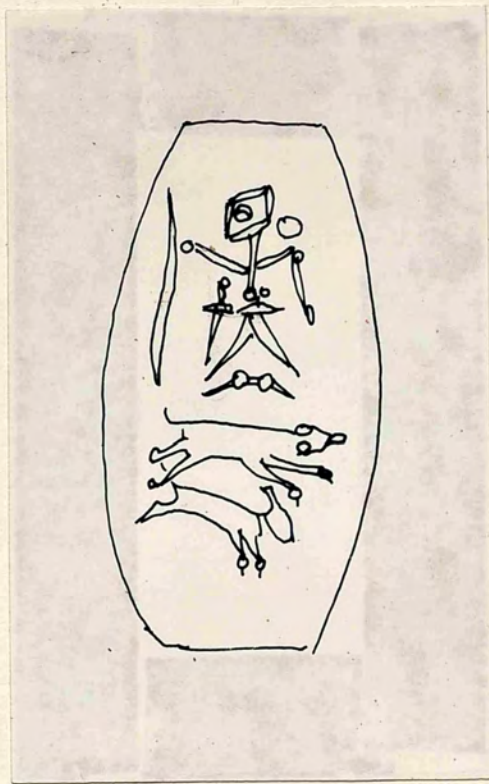
**NAM 340**



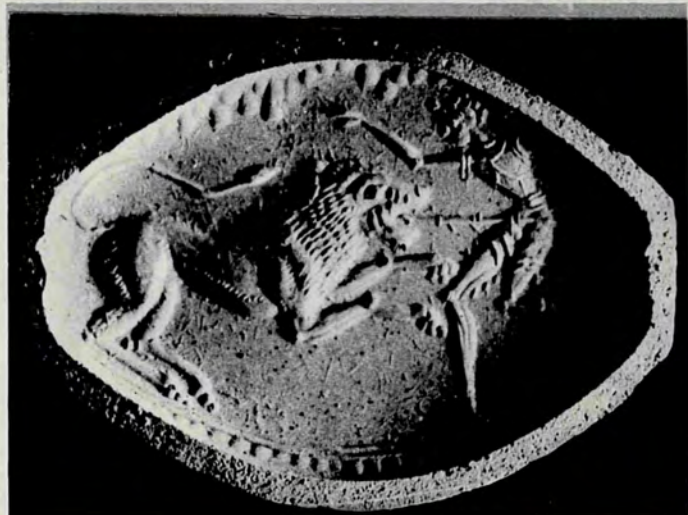
**NAM 378**



**NAM 342**



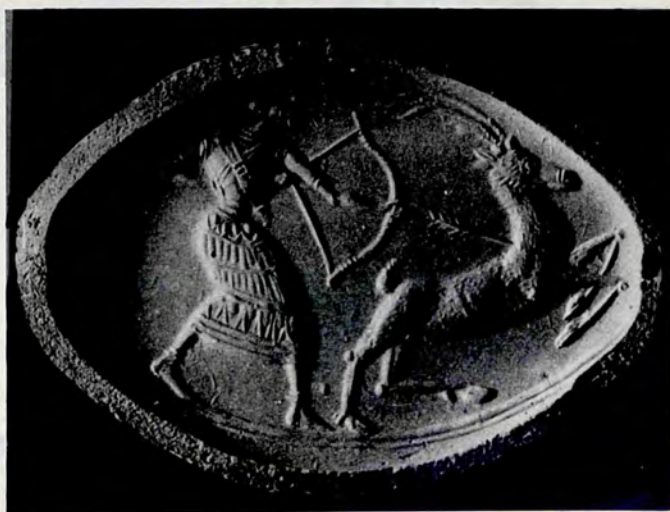
**NAUPLION 9875**



AM 1938.1116



AM 1938.1124



AM 1938.1118



AM 1938.1114



AM 1938.1113

**BM**



**66750**



**6674**



**66744**



**57007**



**29442**



**17304**



**57019**



**57009**

**28492**



**PLATE 17**

Table 1a

## MYCENAEAN HUMAN -- LION COMBAT SCENES

seals

DATE	OBJECT	PROVENANCE	POSITION OF body	OF HUMAN arms	head	POSITION OF body	OF ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LAND-SCAPE	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION	
LHI	NAM 9	My	Harmod-ean legs	Harmod-ean arms n	frontal 3/4	upright profile	top view	dagger h	none	girt floun-ced shorts	short curls	none	confronting	
LHIIa	M SL681	Ka	Harm. legs	Harm. arms p	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger m	none	girt, exten-sion fl.sh.	short	Minoan Genius	confronting	
LHIIa	NAM 228	Va	Harm. legs	Harm. arms n	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger a shield	rocky ground	-----	short	none	confronting	
LHIIa	NAM 112	My	running 3/4	bent	profile	couch-ant	profile turned	spear n	none	girt nude	long	none	chase	
LHIIa	NAM 133	My	stands (torso)	a	profile	stands haunches	profile	none	none	double girt	?	none	man beside animal	
LHIIa	NAM 280	Ru	stands (torso)	n r	profile	stands haunches	profile turned	none	none	girt	short?	none	man beside animal	
LHII	BN M 6673	?	pt.Harm. legs	bent	profile	upright	profile	spear bp helmet	lines	flounced shorts	beard?	none	confronting	
LHIIb-IIIa	NAM 290	Fy	Harm. legs	Harm. arms	profile	upright	profile	daggers m n	none	girt, exten-sion fl.sh.	cap?	beard?	none	confronting
LHIIb-IIIa	NAM 89	My	stand	extended n f	profile	upr. C	profile turn.	none	none	loin cloth	medium	beard	none	three figure antithetic
LHIII	NAM 165	My	running	m p	profile	upright	profile	none	none	shorts	'cap'	dog	confronting	
LHIII	Thebes	Th	stand	extended f	profile	up-down: S	profile turned	none	none	nude	short	stags	three figure antithetic	
LHIII	Pros.	Pr	stand	extended h f	profile	upr. C	prof.turn.	none	none	girt	short	stags	three figure antithetic	
LHIII	EM	1945	stand	extended f	profile	up-down: S	profile turned	none	none	nude	short	stags	three figure antithetic	
LHIII	AM 9F	Cr?	stand	extended a	profile	upright	profile	none	none	girt fl.shortcuts?	short	none	three figure antithetic	
LHIII	BN M 7271	?	stand	extended a	profile	upright	profile	none	none	nude	short	none	three figure antithetic	
LHIIIb	Per-rone	Ts?	Harm. legs	bent p Harm.bent	profile	upright	top view	dagger a trees	spiral	girt-exten. fl.shortcuts	short	spiral bun?	four figure antithetic	
LHIIIb	NAM 307	Fy	Harm. legs	bent m Harm.bent m	profile	upright	top view	dagger?	none	girt, sh. double g.sh.	long	none	four figure antithetic	
LHIIIb	NAM Inv 9048ab	Fy	Harm. legs	bent Harm.arms	profile	upright	top view	dagger? b:	none	fl.shortcuts	---	none	four figure antithetic	
LHIIIb	NAM 302	Fy	Harm. legs	bent extended h	profile	upright	top view?	-----	none	girt	---	altar	confronting	
LHIIIb	NAM 331	Fy	Harm.l. running	bent pt Harm.	profile	upright	top view	dagger n(back)	none	girt sh. girt nude	---	none	three figure antithetic	
LHIIIb	NAM 359	Fy	running	bent	-----	semi-cir-cle C	frontal? top view?	-----	none	double girt nude	---	none	chase	
LHIIIb	B 7	Syme	Harm. legs	bent extended hk	profile	upright	profile	dagger b	none	shorts	short	dog	three figure antithetic	
LHIIIc	Nau9875	?	stand	extended	profile	gallop	profile	dagger	none	girt nude	short	deer?	registers	

Table 1b

MYCENAEAN HUMAN -- LION COMBAT SCENES  
other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROVE- NANCE	POSITION OF body	OF arms	HUMAN head	POSITION OF body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LAND- SCAPE	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION
LHI	LionH. Dagger	My	Harm.l. prostrate crouching	bent bow-pose	profile	up.profile gallop	profile prof.turn.	spear h bow-arrow shields	none	flounced shorts	short	gazelles on re- verse	confronting confronting & three fig antithetic
LHI	Naupl. 13575 stele	My	stand prostrate	extended turned	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger? club?	waz meander?	none	----	cow altar?	
LHI	NAM Inv 1427 stele	My	stand (in char.)	extended	profile	gallop	profile	chariot dagger?	none	----	----	gazelle horses	chase



Table 1c CRETAN MAN - LION (POSSIBLE) COMBAT SCENES seals														
DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	OF arm	HUMAN head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION	
EM	Kal 851	Ka	prostrate	---	profile	ant.	profile	none	none	---	short	none	Group V (Bull)	
EMII	HM 939	Sph	stand bent knees	---	?	pt. upr.	profile	none	none	---	----	snake	three figure antithetic	
EMIII	HM 1201	Mar	stand bent knee	---	profile	gallop	profile	none	lat-tice	---	----	quarry	juxtaposed lion chases	
EMIII-EMII	Pl 1103	Flat	stand bent knee	extended	profile	stand	profile	none	none	---	----	none	lions in 2 fig antith.	
LMI	HT 134	H.T.	stand bent	---	profile	stand	profile	con. cap bow	on ground	girt fl. sh./loin?	----	none	man beside animal	
LMI	Z 194	Z.	stand bent n	---	profile	stand	profile	none?	none	----	----	none	man beside animal	
LMI	TR 47	Kn	stand bent	---	profile	stand	profile	shield	none	doub. girt loin, halber	----	none	man beside animal	
LMI	TR 46	Kn	stand extend r	---	profile	stand	profile up	con. cap spear?	ground	strapped girt fl. skirt	----	none	(wo?) man beside animal	
LMI	BGA 17 fig. 2	Z.	stand extend r	---	profile	stand	profile up	spear?	ground line	girt fl. skirt	----	none	(wo?) man beside animal	
LMib	Z 193	Z.	stand bent f	---	prof-3A	hang horiz. up. down	top? frontal?	ropes	none	nude girt loin cloth	short	none	quasi- 3 fig antithetic	
LMib	NAM 224	Va	stand bent f	tor	profile	hang horiz. up. down	top? frontal?	ropes	none	nude girt fl. shorts	short	heards	none	quasi- 3 fig antithetic
LMib	M 1171	?	stand bent f	---	profile	prostrate	turned?	ropes	none	flounced shorts	----	none	quasi- 3 fig antithetic	
LMII	HM 1756	Kn	stand bent	---	profile	upright	top view	none	none	skirt?	short?	none	confronting	
LMII-IIIa	HM 18	?	stand extend h r	---	profile	collapsing	turned	none	none	---	----	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	NY 26. 21.246	?	stand bent n (back)	---	profile	stand	turn up	none	plant	girt fl. shorts	short	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	HM 839	Kn	stand bent n	---	profile	stand	profile	none	none	---	short	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	NAM 512	?	stand extend n	---	profile	stand	profile	rope?	at line	skirt?	short?	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	BNM7985	?	stand extend h	---	profile	stand	turned	daggar?	none	girt fl. long loin	short	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	AM 1941.133?	?	stand extend a	---	profile	stand	turn up	none	none	---	short	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	HM 1317	MS	stand extend h b	---	profile	stand	turned	none	vertic. lines	---	short?	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	HM 3215	?	stand bent	---	profile	stand	turned	none	none	---	short?	none	man beside animal	
LMII-IIIa	HM 1200	Ped	stand at side	---	profile	standing?	profile	none	none	nude	short?	none	confronting?	
LMII-IIIa	HM 901	Kn	stand bent knee bent	---	profile	jumping	profile	none	none	nude	short?	bull	confronting	
LMII-IIIa	M 1178	?	stand extend p	---	profile	upright	profile	none	none	nude?	short	none	three figure antithetic	
LMII-IIIa	R 43 HM 252	Kn	stand extend a	---	profile	upright	profile	none	none	nude	----	none	three figure antithetic	
LMII-IIIa	R 44 HM 218	Kn	stand extend a	---	profile	upright	profile	none	none	fl. short	short?	none	three figure antithetic	
LMII-IIIa	HM 219-220	?Kn	stand	---	profile	upr. C?	profile	none	none	---	short	none	3 fig antith.	
LMII-IIIa	LP 19	Kn	stand	---	profile	upright	----	none	none	----	----	oxen	3 fig antith.	

Table 1d  
EGYPTIAN HUMAN - LION COMBAT SCENES scarabs

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	HUMAN head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	DRESS	MISC.	COMPOSITION
Hyksos	EM 66750	?	falls back bent knees	profile	stands on 3 legs, 4th raised	profile	none?	nude girt sporan	none	confronting
Hyksos	EM 40429	?	kneeling	profile	standing	profile	sword?	tunic?	none	chase
Hyksos	EM 66742	?	prostrate	?	couchant	profile	none	like a mummy	none	three figure antithetic
Hyksos	EM 66744	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	bow-arrow	----	quarry	chase
Hyksos	Newb. n. 2526 AM	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	bow-arrow	Belt-ext. long skirt	goats	chase lion be low man
13 dyn	Rowe 66	Tell Beit Mirsim	prostrate	profile	gallop	profile	none	girt	vultures uraeus	Group V(bull)
13 dyn	Hyksos Rowe 69	Jericho	prostrate	----	gallop	top view	none	---	goat in gallop	Group V(bull)
13 dyn	Hyksos Rowe 315	Tell Ajju	prostrate	profile	standing	profile	none	skirt	uraeus	Group V(bull)
Hyksos	Rowe 317	Jericho	standing	profile	upright	profile	none	skirt	none	confronting
12-17 dyn	H.I. 311ies	Tell el	prostrate	profile	paws at man	profile	none	skirt	none	confronting
Hyksos	IX 152	Yehudiyeh	prostrate	turned	standing	profile	none	skirt	none	Group V(bull)
12-17 dyn	H.I. 311ies	Tell el	prostrate	profile	standing	profile	none	skirt	none	Group V(bull)
Hyksos	IX 153	Yehudiyeh	standing	profile	standing	profile	bow-arrow	tunic	none	confronting
Hyksos	Cairo 36639	Tell Judalah	standing	profile	standing	profile	none	tunic	none	figures per- pendicular:
Hyksos?	EM 45553	?	standing	profile	couchant	profile	none	tunic	none	confronting
18 dyn	EM Cat	?	bent knees	profile	paws to man	profile	none	tunic	lion:hawk head	Group V(bull)
Thoth III	1020	Tell ed Duweir	prostrate	profile	standing	profile	none	long tunic Canaanite	none	Group V(bull)
18 dyn	Rowe 589	Duweir	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	long tunic Canaanite	none	Group V(bull)
18 dyn	Butt Saal	?	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	----	none	Group V(bull)
Thoth III	pl. 27/47	?	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	----	lion:hawk head	Group V(bull)
18 dyn	EM Cat	?	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	----	none	Group V(bull)
Thoth III	1059	?	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	----	lion:hawk head	Group V(bull)
18 dyn	EM Cat	?	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	----	none	Group V(bull)
Amenh II	1645	Cairo	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	----	signs	Group V(bull)
18 dyn	36474	Cairo	prostrate	profile	standing	profile	none	----	man:hawk head	confronting
Hyksos	36429	?	sitting	profile	stand-kicking	profile	none	tunic	none	confronting
1.18 dyn	EM 39114	?	prostrate	----	standing	profile	none	----	uraeus	Group V(bull)
1.18 dyn	EM 40209	?	prostrate	profile	standing	profile	none	tunic?	uraeus	Group V(bull)
1.18 dyn	EM 38832	?	prostrate	profile	standing	profile	none	----	----	Group V(bull)

Table 1d (2)

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	head	WEAPON	DRESS	MISC.	COMPOSITION
1.18 dyn?	EM 53032	?	prostrate	profile	standing	profile	none	----	circles	Group V(bull)
?	EM 36099	?	standing	profile?	couchant	profile	none	----	none	three figure antithetic
Thoth III Seti I	EM Dat. 1117	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	bow-arrow	tunic	none	confronting
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 46186	?	standing	-----	couchant	profile	none	skirt	lizard	confronting
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 40518	?	standing	profile	couchant	profile	con.cap none	skirt	goat hippo?	confronting
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 53042	?	kneeling	profile	couchant	profile	bow-arrow	----	none	chase
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 48792	?	standing prostrate	profile	standing	profile	con.cap? none	skirt?	(gazelle) goat:quarry	confronting juxtaposed
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 49910	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	none	----	crocodile	confronting
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 57160	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	bow-arrow	----	quarry	chase
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 39759	?	standing prostrate	-----	standing	profile	bow-arrow	----	none	confronting
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 17306	?	standing	-----	standing	profile	none	skirt?	quarry	juxtaposed
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 49907	?	standing	-----	standing	profile	bow-arrow	skirt?	none	confronting
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 3739	?	kneeling	profile	standing	profile	bow-arrow	----	none	confronting
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 57158	?	standing	profile	couchant	profile	con.cap? bow-arrow	----	quarry	chase
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 52336	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	turned bow	----	none	chase
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 57154	?	standing	-----	standing	profile	none	skirt?	quarry	juxtaposed
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 46187	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	none	tunic	none	chase
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 17329	?	prostrate	-----	standing	profile	none	----	quarry	Group V(bull)
1.18- 19 dyn	EM 45689	?	standing	-----	standing	profile	none	tunic	none	confronting?
19 dyn?	EM 17305	?	standing	profile	couchant	profile	short sword?	tunic	none	confronting
(or later)	EM 39558	?	standing	profile	standing	profile	turned	none	----	chase
19 dyn?	ESca1967 XIV	?	prostrate	-----	foreleg raised	profile	none	----	none	Group V(bull)
Ramesseide	SCE 258	Amathos Cyprus	kneels	profile	standing	profile	turned	none	----	chase
?	EM 40750	?	standing kneeling	profile	foreleg raised couchant	profile	spear	----	lion- griffin	confronting

Table 1e

## EGYPTIAN HUMAN - LION COMBAT SCENES

other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	HUMAN head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	DRESS	MISC.	COMPOSITION
Hyksos	Cairo		Harmodean							
Apophis I	Dagger	?	legs	profile	gallop	profile	to belly spear	loin	quarry	chase
1. 18 dyn	1453			Harm.				elabo- rate		
Tutankam.	Painting	Thebes	strides	arms profile	upright profile	profile	spear to neck	tunic	dog	confronting
	Löwenjagd abb.43			Harm.						
18 dyn	Painting	Thebes	strides	arms profile	upside down in S	profile turned	spear	tunic	none	chase
	Löwenjagd abb.32				gallop but all feet on ground		bow-arrow chariot	----	architec- tural setting	chase heraldic
18 dyn	Painting	Karnak	standing	profile	stand, S, U	profile	bow-arrow chariot			
	Löwenjagd abb.37				couchant gallop	profile frontal	bow-arrow chariot	tunic	none	chase
1.18 dyn	Painting	Thebes	standing lunging forth	profile	gallop	profile	bow-arrow chariot	tunic	men in frieze	chase
	Löwenjagd abb.39			Harm.						
Rameses III late	Painting	Medinet Habu	standing	arms turned	fallen- contorted	profile	bow-arrow chariot	tunic	below	chase

Table 1f ORIENTAL MAN - LION COMBAT SCENES seals, other objects											
DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	OF HUMAN arm	head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	head	WEAPON	DRESS	MISC.	COMPOSITION
Middle Assyrian	Wiseman 62 BM 89862	?	stride	Harm.	profile	upright profile	profile	spear	nude	quarry ostrich?	confronting
Mid. Assyrian	BM 89140	?	kneeling		profile	standing-upside down	profile	none	kilt	none	man holds animal on shoulder.
Mid. Assyrian	CANES 592E	?	standing	extend p	profile	upright profile	profile	none	kilt-extension	bulls	three figure antithetic
Late Bronze	Alalakh 28	Alalakh	standing	Harm. arms	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger?	long kilt	quarry	chase
2nd Syr.	CANES 955	?	standing	extend bent HK	profile	upright profile	profile	none	loincloth?	winged disc	three figure antithetic
2nd Syrian	CANES 942E	?	kneeling	raised	profile	legs raised	profile	?	----	none	chase
Mitanni	Wiseman 13	Alalakh	standing	extend p k t	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger n	kilt?	none	three figure antithetic
Mitanni	Alalakh 47	Alalakh	standing		profile	upside down	profile			man has wings	3 fig antith/ chase
2nd Syrian	CS pl 42a	?	standing	f	profile	vertical upside	top view	none	none	none	chase
2nd Syrian	CS pl 43a	?	standing		frontal	down	profile	none	nude	none	confronting?
1500	Syria 1963 pl 21.2	?	standing	bent	profile	partial gallop	profile	dagger m	loincloth	none	confronting
15th c?	Syria 1955 pl 4	Aleppo	horizontal		profile	standing upr. profile	profile	spear n	& extens.	none	chase
15th c?	Syria 1963 pl 21.3	?	standing	bent	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger	kilt	man	Group II (bull) confronting
Syro-Hittite?	Frak 1953	Perati	standing	f	profile	up. down S	profile	none	----	man has wings (goats)	Group IV (bull) three figure antithetic
Syro-Hittite?	BUH 1937	Argos	standing	bent f	profile	up. down L	top view	none	shorts	quarry	three figure antithetic
Van end 2 mill	CANES 1100 Morgan 153	Van?	standing	bent	profile	gallop?	profile	chariot bow-arrow	----	----	chase and 2 fig antithetic (charit)
Porada 20	Cesnola 4311	according to Myres			Hittite?-Cypriot	----	see Cypriot man-lion combats Table 1g				
Syro-Hittite?	Cesnola 4308	?	standing	bent	profile	leaps up hind legs down	profile	con. cap. spear b	nude?	goddess?	chase
3rd Syrian	CS pl 45g	?	standing	f	profile	upside down in S	profile	turned	long skirt	bull head	3 fig antith. confronting
3rd Syrian	CS pl 45m	Ras Shamra	standing	bent	profile	upright profile	profile	bow-arrow chariot	long skirt	none	confronting
14th c	Aleppo Cup	Ras Shamra	standing	bent	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger spear b	shorts tunic strap	deer?	chase confronting
14th c	Archive Tablet	Ras Shamra	kneel-pt runs	bent	profile	stand foreleg raised	profile	spear n	girt extension	none	confronting
14th c	BM clay tablet	?	standing	Harm. arms	profile	upright profile	profile	dagger? club?	kilt	deer	confronting
13th c	relief	Tell Halaf	stands	extend	profile	gallop	profile	bow-arrow chariot	----	none	chase

Table 1g

CYPRIOT MAN - LION COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN			POSITION OF ANIMAL		WEAPON	DRESS	MISC.	COMPOSITION
			body	arm	head	body	Head				
c1450	NY 74. 51.4308 Enkomi T. 17 45	Kourion Enkomi	standing			upright profile upright profile	profile turned profile	spear none	girt woman-skirt none	goddess none	chase pt 3 fig ant. confronting
e 14th c	Porada 19 NY74514311	?	standing	up n	profile	upright profile	profile	spear	shorts		three figure antithetic
e 14th c	Porada 20 Cesnola 4324	?	standing	extend	profile?	upright profile	profile	none	shorts?	goats up.down	three figure antithetic
	Cesnola 4323	?	standing	extend	profile	gallop?	profile	none	----	bull	chase?
15-14 c	MissChyp Tigs 48-9	Enkomi	standing	extend h	profile	upright profile	profile turned	none	fl. shorts or kilt	bird, Min.Genius	three figure antithetic
c1450	Porada 8	?	standing	bent	profile	upright profile	profile turned	dagger k	girt long dress	none	chase
13th c	CS fig 207	Astrakous Crete	standing		profile	upright profile	profile	chariot	loincloth	goats etc.	3-4 figure antithetic
13th c	HM 1460	Astritsi Fed.Crete	standing	bent	profile	upright profile	profile	chariot	nude	quarry?	3-4 figure antithetic
13th c	Mirror Handle	Palaio- polis	Harmodean legs	Harm. arms	profile?	upright profile	profile	dagger h (reconst.) (chariot)	kilt	none	confronting
13th c	Gaming Board	Enkomi	(standing)	arms	profile	upright profile	profile	spear m	----	goatsbull	confronting

Table 2

MYCENAEAN MAN - BOAR COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	body	arm	head	body	head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION
LHIIa	B 40	Pelopon.	Harmod. legs	bent	profile	gallop?	profile	spear h	rocks- grass	girt shorts	long	none	confronting
LHIIa	NAM 227 Va	part-Harmod.	legs	bent	profile	gallop?	profile	spear h	hanging rocks	girt nude	short	none	confronting
LHIIb- IIa	NAM 294 Fy		kneel or stand-run	bent	profile	turned in air	profile	helmet spear h	none	girt nude	long	dog	confronting
LHIIb	Fresco Tyr		-----	-----	-----	gallop	profile	spear h	shoots	---	---	dogs	confronting

Table 3a

MYCENAEAN MAN - non-bovine RUMINANT COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	OF HUMAN arm	head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LANDS, rocks and plants	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION	
LHI	NAM 15	My	standing	bent	profile	gallop	profile	bow-arrow	and	nude	short	none	chase	
LHIIb-IIIa	NAM 199	As	Harmod. legs	horn extend a	profile	turned	profile	none	none	nude	short	beard?	none	chase
LHIIb-IIIa	Rhodes	Ial	running	bent extend a	profile	turned	profile	dagger k a n	none	nude? girt? extension	short	dog	chase	
LHIIIa-b	NAM 163	My	standing	bent p	profile	diagonal	profile	none	none	nude	short	none	three figure antithetic	
LHIIIb	Chora Museum	Fy	standing	Harmod. arms	profile	gallop	profile	spear h	wavy line	tunic gaiters	short	dogs	confronting	
LHIIIb	Fresco	Tyr	----	---	---	standing gallop	profile prof.turn	----	---	---	---	---	----	
LHIIIb	Vase frag.	My	standing		profile	standing gallop	profile	helmet	none	---	---	dogs	chase	
LHIIIb	Louvre vase	Cyp	standing	bent	profile	standing gallop	profile	helmet spear	none	---	---	dogs	chase	
LHIIIb	Cyp. Museum vase	Cyp	standing	extend tail f	profile	gallop	profile	none	none	long scaled robe	short	none	chase	



Table 3b URETTAN MAN - non-bovine RUMINANT 'COMBAT' SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF body	OF HUMAN arm	head	POSITION OF body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION
EM	AM 6	Mir	standing	hang	profile	stand or upr. prof.	profile turned?	none	curves	nude?	short	none	confronting
EM	AM 14	s	standing	hang	profile	standing leg raised	profile	spear	plant?	nude?	short	none	chase?
EM	AM 36	Mal	standing	extend	profile	upside down	profile	pole f	none	nude?	short?	none	three figure antithetic
EM	AM 51	Cr	seated	extend horn	profile	----	profile	none?	none	nude?	short?	none	confronting
EM	G 34	Mes	standing		profile	upright	profile	none	tree	nude	short	zig zag	chase
EM	G 63	Cr	standing		profile	standing?	profile	none	none	nude?	short?	none	confronting? chase?
EM	G 78	Cr	seated legs up		profile	standing	profile	dagger	none	nude?	short?	none	chase
MMI	Mal. Dussaud	Mal	standing	extend	profile	couchant	profile raised	none	none	nude	short?	none	three figure antithetic
MMII-III	HM 2114	Kn	seated bent for.	extend	profile	standing	profile	spear net	none	nude	short	none	juxtaposed
LMI	AM 242	Kas	standing	extend n	profile	trot	profile turned	rope	none	kilt	short	young suckles kids in	chase
LMI	Z 15	Z.	standing	extend bent	profile	standing	profile	none	none	nude	short	hands	confronting
LMI	AM 226 NY 14.	Cr	running	horn n	profile	gallop	profile	dagger	none	nude	---	dog	chase
LMI	104.3	?	---	---	---	gallop	profile	spear	none	---	---	dog	chase
LMIIb	B 8	Syra	standing bent	bent	profile	stands-contorted	profile turned	none	none	fl. shorts nude	short	none	confronting? three figure
LMII-IIIa	HM 650	Kn	standing	extend	profile	upside down	profile	pole f	none	girt	short	none	antithetic
LMII-	IIIa	AM 285	HF	kneel	profile	prostrate	profile turned	dagger h	none	girt loin cloth	---	none	confronting
LMII-	IIIa	AM 320	Mir	running	profile	upright turned	profile	dagger h	none	loincloth	short	none	confronting
LMII-	IIIa	EM 76	Cr	running	profile	upright-contorted	profile turned	spear n	lines	loincloth?	short	none	confronting
LMII-	IIIa	R 56	Kn	standing	profile	upright extended	profile up	none	none	---	short?	none	three figure antithetic
LMIIlal	HM 1863	Sel	running?	r f	profile	upside down	profile	none	plant? (horns)	nude	short	none	three figure antithetic
MMII	Mosaics	Kn	standing	bent	profile	standing	profile	spear	rock	loincloth	long	none	----
LMI?	Steatite vase	Harmod.	legs	extended horns	profile	gallop? gallop, C	profile	bow-arrow	plant	nude	---	helmet	chase (drag)
LMIIb	Cup	Den	----	----	----	contorted	profile turned	---	none	---	---	dogs	chase
LMIII	larnax	ZP	standing	----	----	----	----	lasso	trees	---	---	---	---

Table 3c

EGYPTIAN MAN - non-bovine RUMINANT COMBAT SCENES  
searabs and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROVENANCE	POSITION OF HUMAN body	WEAPON	DRESS	COMPOSITION
Hyksos	EM 29442	?	running	bow-arrow	tunic	chase
Hyksos	EM 57007	?	standing	chain-like object	tunic	chase
18th dyn Amenhotep II	EM Cat 1640	?	standing	(Harm. arms) dagger	----	confronting
18th dyn Tutankhamon	Amarna 183	Amarna	standing	(pt. Harm. arms) ?	long skirt	chase
1.18-19th dyn	EM 47019	?	standing	bow-arrow	----	chase
1.18-19th dyn	EM 45688	?	standing	bow-arrow	----	chase
1.18-19th dyn	EM 49913	?	standing	bow-arrow	----	chase
1.18-19th dyn	EM 45685	?	standing	bow-arrow	----	chase
1.18-19th dyn	EM 49917	?	standing	bow-arrow	----	confronting
1.18-19th dyn	EM 28655	?	standing	none	----	chase
1.18-19th dyn	EM 45685	?	standing	bow-arrow	tunic	chase
1.18-19th dyn	EM 17760	?	prostrate	none	----	Group V (bull) three figure antithetic
1.18-19th dyn	EM 46926	?	standing	none	tunic	three figure antithetic
1.18-19th dyn	EM 42958	?	standing	none	tunic	three figure antithetic
1.18-19th dyn	EM 45674	?	standing	none	tunic	three figure antithetic
19th dyn?	EM 42724	?	standing	dagger? rope? chariot	long skirt	chase
19th dyn?	EM 39916	?	standing	horse	----	chase
19th dyn	Cairo 36913	?	standing	none	----	three figure antithetic
19th dyn	Rows 500 Button	Megiddo		spear	kilt	
early?	Seals 145	?	standing	none	----	juxtaposed
18th dyn	Painting	Fuimre	----	arrows	----	chase

See also Table 1d for: Rows 69, EM 40429, AM (Newberry pl. 25, 2c)

Table 3d

ORIENTAL MAN - non-bovine RUMINANT COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROVENANCE	POSITION OF HUMAN body	WEAPON	DRESS	COMPOSITION
Kassite	CS pl 21f DeClery 263	?	gal-(Harm. lop. arms)	dagger	----	chase
Kassite	Thebes 199	Bolotian Thebes	standing	none	nude	three figure antithetic
Kassite	CS pl 301 B 6985	?	standing	bow-arrow chariot	long dress	chase
Kassite	LWenjaed abb. 18 B	?	standing	bow-arrow chariot	long tunic	chase
	Thebes 197	Bolotian Thebes	standing	none	---	three figure antithetic
13th c				spear	kilt	
Mid-Assyrian	CANES 600	?	standing	n	extension	chase
13th c				dagger	kilt	
Mid-Assyrian	CANES 599E	?	standing	a	extension	confronting
Middle	CS pl 31k				kilt?	
Assyrian	DeClery 311	?	kneeling	bow-arrow	flounced shorts?	confronting
13th c	CS pl 33a					three figure
Mid-Assyrian	Iraq 19053	?	standing	none	kilt	antithetic
13th c					kilt, tasseled	three figure
Mid-Assyrian	CANES 597	?	standing	none	extension	antithetic
13-10th c	CS pl 32P					three figure
Assyrian	EM 89520	?	kneeling	none	kilt?	antithetic
2nd						
Syrian	CANES 983	?	standing	none	long dress	confronting
			one foot bent			
Dev Mitanni	CANES 1013E	?	standing	none	nude	confronting
2nd			standing			chase
Syrian	CANES 980E	?	kneeling	none	long dress	3 fig antith.
2nd Syrian	Louvre De-					
Amurru	laporte 894	?	standing	none	long dress	confronting
			one knee bent		extension-	
Mitanni	BN 440 (Cat)	?	standing	none	tassels	confronting
	Syria 1953					
	pl 21 4	Antioch?	kneeling	bow-arrow	----	chase
2nd						man bes. anim.
Syrian	CS pl 44a	?	part-running	bow-arrow	nude	confronting
3rd						three figure
Syrian	CS pl 45f	Ras Shamra Crete	standing	none	shorts	antithetic
	HM 1334	Mavrospelio	standing	none?	---	chase?
14th c	Aleppo Museum			bow-arrow	strapped chest	
Middle Syrian	Cup	Ras Shamra	standing	chariot	tunic	chase
12th c				bow-arrow		
Enurta-Tukulti tablet		Assur	standing	chariot	long dress	chase

for earlier objects see Mari moule

for later objects see Malatia relief

for Argos, Perati cylinders see MAN-LION, GRIFFIN

Table 3e

CYPRIOI MAN - non-bovine RUMINANT COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROVENANCE	POSITION OF HUMAN body	WEAPON	DRESS	COMPOSITION
	Enkomi Inv. 1965/VI-1/1	Enkomi	kneeling- running	none	girt flounced shorts?	man beside ani- mal or chase
	SCE I pl CL no. 28 Walters Art Gallery	Agios Iakovos	standing	none	---	three figure antithetic or confronting
13th c	Porada 36	?	standing	none	shorts?	three figure antithetic
LCIII	Idalion 1323 SCE II pl 185	Idalion	standing	---	---	on two faces of the seal
LCIII	Gaming Board	Enkomi	standing leans forward	bow-arrow chariot	tunic	chase

Table 4a

MYCENAEAN MAN - BULL COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	OF HUMAN arm	head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION
LHIIB	NAM 79	My	horizont.	extend horns	profile up	(striding) standing	profile	none	none	nude girt	short	none	Group II
LHIIB	NY 26. 31.294	?	prostrate	extend	profile up	standing	profile down	none	none	kilt? flap	short	none	Group V
LHIIIA-b	NAM 408	Dim	horizont.	extend k? a	profile	trot	profile up	none	none	nude?	short	none	Group II
LHIIIA-b	NAM 137	My	bent pt running	extend h r	profile	standing	profile	none	plant?	---	short	none	Group III
LHIIIA-b	Th 211	Th	upside down	extend n	profile	gallop	profile	none	tree	nude girt	short	none	Group IV
LHIIIA-b	Fylos	Fy	horizont. legs:whi	extend n k	profile	trot	profile	none	plants	flounced shorts	short	none	Group II
LHIIIB	NAM 314	Fy	prostrate	extend up	profile	gallop	profile turned	none	none	nude girt	short?	none	Group V
LHIIIB	NAM 342	Fy	seated	extend r h	profile	collapses	frontal	none	none	flounced shorts	short	none	Group III
LHIIIB	NAM 378	Fy	horizont. stand	---	---	gallop?	---	---	---	---nude?	---	---	Group II
LHI	Stele Naul3576	My	bent knee	extend	profile	charges	profile	club? h	---	flounced shorts	short?	lion	Confronting
LHIIIB	Fresco BM	Tyr Klav.	horizont.	extend horn	profile	gallop	profile	none?	none	loincloth gaiters	short?	none	Group II
LHIIIB	CVap16	Cyp	standing	bent	profile	standing	profile turned	none	none	nude	short	dogs	3 fig antit.

Table 4b

CRETAN MAN - BULL COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	OF HUMAN arm	head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION
MMIII-					profile	upright	profile			loincloth			
LMI	AM 202	Fri	suspended	to horn	up	profile	down	none	cistern?	shoes	long	none	Group IV
LMIb	AM 247	Pelop.	standing	extend	profile	trot	prof. turn	net?	lines	nude	short	none	chase
LMI	HT 108	H.T.	suspended	extend	profile	stand	profile	none	none	girt	short?	none	Group IV
LMI	HT 109	H.T.	suspended	extend	profile	gallop	profile	none	none	nude	---	none	Group IV
LMIb	NAM 274	Ru	suspended	to horn	profile	contorted	profile	net	flora	nude	long	none	Group IV
MMIII-	Archive				profile	contorted	turned			girt			
IIIa	42	Kn	suspended	to horn	profile	---	profile	---	---	---	long	none	Group IV
MMIII-	Archive				profile	contorted	turned	none	none	loin	short	none	Group IV
IIIa	43	Kn	suspended	to horn	profile	contorted	turned	none	none	loincloth	short	none	Group IV
MMIII-	AM 523	Kn	suspended	to horn n	turned	contorted	turned	none	none	gaiters	short	none	Group IV
MMIII-					profile	turned	profile						
IIIa	NAM 517	Cr	suspended	nr horn	turned	---	up	none	---	---	short	none	Group IV ?
MMIII-	AG III				profile	contorted	profile			nude			
IIIa	49 28	My	running	horn	turned	trot	turned	none	plant?	girt	short	none	Group III
MMIII-					profile	extend	profile			nude	short		
IIIa	NAM 95	My	standing	horn n	turned	contorted	turned	none	none	girt	cap	none	Group III
MMIII-					profile	turned	profile			gilt?			
IIIa	HM 195	Prai	horizont.	to horns	profile	couchant	profile	none	lines	shorts?	short	none	Group II
MMIII-					profile	prostrate	profile						
IIIa	AM 249	?	horizont.	to horns n	profile	gallop	profile	none	none	girt	short	none	Groups II, V
MMIII-					profile	gallop	profile			girt			
IIIa	AM 248	?	horizont.	h	profile	trot	up	none	plant	shorts?	short	none	Group II
MMIII-					profile	trot	profile						
IIIa	M1180	?	horizont.	to horns	profile	trot	profile	none	plant	---	short	none	Group II

Table 4b (2)

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	OF HUMAN arm	head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION
LMII-													
IIla	AM 341	?	horizont.		profile	trot	frontal	none	none	nude girt	short	shield	Group II
LMII-													
IIla	HM 1232	?	horizont.	to horns	profile	trot	frontal	none	none	nude girt	short	none	Group II
LMII-													
IIla	NY 26.51. 291	?	horizont.	n k	profile	standing	profile down	none	none	nude?	short	none	Group II
LMII-													
IIla	EM 73	?	standing horizont.	horns,n	profile	standing	profile	none	lines ground	nude girt	short	none	Group II
LMII-													
IIla	AM 300	?	standing bent	bent	profile	standing	profile prof.turn.	none	ground line	flounced kilt	short	none	chase
LMII-													
IIla	EM 38	Gr	standing pushed	bent,horn?	profile	standing	profile	none	line ground	loincloth	short		chase
LMII-													
IIla	EM 79	Cr	standing	bent	profile	standing	profile	rope horn	line	girt	short	none	man beside animal
LMII-													
IIla	G 190b	Vass. Anog.	standing	to horn n	profile	standing	profile	none	none	girt?	short	none	man bes.animal antith.repeat
LMII-													
IIla	HM 169	Kalyv Mess	kneel	to horns	profile	standing- contorted	profile turned	none	none	kilt	short	none	Group III
EMIII													
	Koum 4126	Kou	suspended	to horns	profile	standing	profile (static)	none	---	---	---	none	Group IV
MMI													
	Porti 5052	Porti	suspended	to horns	profile	standing	profile (statue)	none	---	---	---	none	Group IV
LMIIb													
	Pyxis	Kats	running	to horns	profile	gallop?	profile	spear h	rocky	nude girt	short?	none	Group IV
LMIIb													
	Cup A	Va	falling suspended	to horns	profile	gallop	profile turned	net	flora	girt loin gaiters	long	none	Group IV
LMIIb													
	Cup B Boxer	Va	standing	bent	profile	standing	profile	rope	flora	girt loin gaiters	long	none	man beside animal (chase)
IMI													
	Vase	H.T.	suspended	on horns	profile	gallop	profile	none	none	nude girt	short	none	Group IV?
IMI?													
	Plaque	Kn	---	---	---	gallop	profile	rope	---	---	long	---	Group IV?
LMIIb													
	Z 104	Z.	Harmod.	bent	profile	upright C	profile	spear n	cairn	---	---	Genius not man	confronting

Table 4c

EGYPTIAN MAN - BULL COMBAT SCENES  
Scarabs and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROVENANCE	POSITION OF HUMAN body	WEAPON	MISCELLANEOUS OBJ;	COMPOSITION
e 18th dyn Thothmes III 1570-1450	Newberry Hood Collect. ?	?	prostrate	none	none	Group V
18th dyn Thothmes III	EM Cat. 993 ?	?	prostrate	none	hawk	Group V
e 18th dyn Amenhotep II early	EM Cat. 1643 ?	?	prostrate	none	none	Group V
18th dyn Amenhotep II	Rowe 527	Tell Ajjul	prostrate	none	none	Group V
18th dyn Amenhotep III	EM Cat. 1849 ?	?	prostrate	none	none	Group V
early 215th dyn	Tomb Painting	Beni Hasan	suspended	ropes to horns r	(many men)	Group IV
18th dyn	Box	Kahun	prostrate horizontal	none	none	Group V Group II



Table 4d

ORIENTAL AND CYPRIOT MAN - BULL COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROVENANCE	POSITION OF HUMAN body	WEAPON	MISCELLANEOUS OBJ.	COMPOSITION
15th c on	Syria 1963 pl 2I 1	?	suspended	spear k	lions, goat winged genius	confronting, chase, Group IV
15th c on	Syria 1955 pl 4 2	bought Aleppo	horizontal	none	also man-lion	Group II
2nd Syrian	CS pl 421	?	one foot up on animal standing	none	winged disc	confronting?
Mitanni 15th c	CS pl 43a	?	one foot up on animal standing	none	lion	confronting?
Mid. Assyrian	CANES 596E	?	kneeling	none	dragon	chase
14th c	Aleppo Museum			bow-arrow		
Mid. Assyrian	Cup	Ras Shamra Cyprus	standing	chariot	goats	chase
LC III	Idalion 1323	Idalion	strides	con.helmet bow-arrow	none	on two sides confronting?
	Enkomi pl vi	Enkomi	standing	bow-arrow	none	confronting
	AJA 1938 pl 10b	Kourion	standing	bow-arrow	biped above?	confronting
Cypriot? Hittite?	Newell 348	?	standing	none	none	confronting
			standing	bow-arrow	goats, dogs	
LCIII	Gaming Board	Enkomi	leans forward	chariot	bird, lion	chase
	Miss. Chypre		bent knee			chase/con-
	Fig 34 relief	Enkomi	standing	none	none	fronting

Table 5a

MYCENAEAN MAN - FANTASTIC ANIMAL COMBAT SCENES  
sealing

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION body	OF arm	HUMAN head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION	
LHIIIb	NAM 324	Fy	running	bent	profile	standing- profile	torsion	profile	none	none	loincloth	long curl	none	three figure antithetic circular

Table 5b

ORIENTAL AND CYPRIOT MAN - FANTASTIC ANIMAL COMBAT SCENES  
seals and other objects

DATE	OBJECT	PROV.	POSITION OF HUMAN body	OF HUMAN arm	head	POSITION OF ANIMAL body	ANIMAL head	WEAPON	LANDS.	DRESS	HAIR	MISC.	COMPOSITION
13th c. Middle Assyrian	CANES 596E	?	stride	part p Harmodean	front	upright	profile	spear	trees	kilt	---	none	confronting
13th c Assyrian	CS pl 32b Bo2567	?	standing	extended arm	front	upside down	profile turned	none	trees	kilt	beard	none	three figure antithetic
Syro- Hittite?	Prak. I953	Perati	standing	extend f		upside down		none					three figure antithetic
Hittite?	Cesnola 4310												confronting
13-10 c Assyrian	CS 32h Pierseon Mus Holl.	?	kneeling	bent	profile	stand	profile	bow-arrow shield, cap dagger		tunic		none	confronting
LHIIIc	Enkomi OT 17 798	Enkomi	Harmod. legs	Harm. arms n	profile	upright profile	profile	n rocky		girt tunic	---	none	confronting

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TABLES

Alalakh.....	Woolley, <u>Alalakh</u>
Amarna.....	Petrie, <u>Tell el Amarna</u>
BM Cat.....	Hall, <u>Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum</u>
Butt. Seals.....	Petrie, <u>Button and Design Scarabs</u>
Cairo.....	if unnumbered: Cairo Museum if numbered: Newberry, <u>Catalogue générale des antiquités Egyptiens du Musée du Caire 36001-37521. Scarabs</u>
Cesnola.....	Myers, <u>Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus</u>
H.I. Cities.....	Petrie, <u>Hyksos and Israelite Cities</u>
L.P.....	Knossos Little Palace, number according to <u>PM IV</u>
Lowenjagd.....	Wreszczinski, <u>L'owenjagd im alten Agypten</u>
Miss. Chyp.....	Schaeffer, <u>Missions en Chypre</u>
Newb.....	Newberry, <u>Scarabs</u>
Newell.....	Osten, <u>Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of Mr. E.T. Newell</u>
Porada.....	"The Cylinder Seals of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age" <u>AJA 1948</u>
Prak.....	<u>Praktika</u>
Rowe.....	<u>Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the Palestine Archaeological Museum</u>

Wiseman.....Cylinder Seals of Western  
Asia

h.....head

n.....neck(nape or throat)

b.....belly

p.....front paws

f.....hind legs

k.....back

a.....above



Op. Ath.....Opuscula Atheniensi  
PM.....Evans, Palace of Minos at Knossos  
Praktika.....Praktika tis en Athenais  
                    Archaialogikis Etaireias  
SCE,.....Swedish Cyprus Expedition