Chapter 10 Exotic Animals and Fantastic Creatures

At this stage of our iconographic enquiry we turn, in Chapters 10 to 12, from the observable world around and the daily occupations of Minoans and Mycenaeans to enter the world of the exotic, the fantastic and the supernatural. This Chapter begins the journey with the exotic in the form of animals that are not indigenous to Crete – the monkey, lion and crocodile – and the fantastic in the form of creatures that have never lived anywhere except in the fertile human imagination – the griffin, sphinx, dragon and genius¹. These creatures have attracted much comment over the years but a full coverage of the seal depictions reveals just how comfortably some of them came to inhabit Aegean iconography².

Monkey, Lion and Crocodile

Monkey

African monkeys of the *Chlorocebus* genus (particularly the vervet and green monkeys) and baboons of the *Papio* genus (particularly the hamadryas baboon), were known in ancient Egypt and carefully distinguished in the art there. Either, or both, are thought to be the inspiration for monkey images in the Aegean³. When simian-like images appear in the early Minoan seal designs and as the seal shape itself⁴, such differentiation is not certain. Accordingly, the term monkey is used here for all such representations. Monkey images continue to the time of the LM IB destructions.

Monkey – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 10.1 to 10.6)

The earliest monkey images as in 10.1 and 10.2 show the animal in varied poses. In the MM II designs seated and standing poses are favoured as in 10.3 to 10.6. The long tail is always a feature. Some of the depictions already suggest human-like characteristics as in 10.5 and 10.6.

Monkey – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art (Plates 10.7 to 10.18)

The monkey is known in the Experimentation Period in its animal state, sitting among rocks or playing as in 10.7 and 10.8. It is a favourite in Minoan High Art. Its animal persona is seen in 10.9 where it is

¹ Search the IconAegean Database in the Element field for monkey, lion, crocodile, griffin, sphinx, dragon and genius. Search on sejant, couchant, statant, averted, gardant, regardant, elevated and displayed in the Syntax field. Search the IconADict Database for the definition of each term or refer to IAS.

² A shorter presentation of the significance of these exotic and fantastic creatures is included in the ZOIA Conference papers as "The Fabulous Five: monkey, lion, griffin, dragon, genius", ZOIA, 199-213. It draws on the earlier work in Crowley, AE. Although I am concentrating on the seal images here, I draw on the extensive discussions on animalia in the Aegean by Andrew Shapland and Fritz Blakolmer which cover all media. Both essays provide extensive documentation and statistical evidence: A. Shapland 2009, *Over the Horizon: Human-Animal Relations in Bronze Age Crete* and F. Blakolmer 2016d, 97-183, "Il Buono, il Brutto, il Cattivo? Character, Symbolism and Hierarchy of Animals and Supernatural Creatures in Minoan and Mycenaean Iconography". In making my own assessment of the significant seal evidence I do not think I have trespassed their insights.

³ With reference to the Late Minoan frescoes, a new source has been argued: the Hanuman langur from the Indian sub-continent, Semnopithecus, with Mesopotamia as an intermediary, in M. Pareja et al. 2020, 159-168.

⁴ For comments on the figural seals in monkey shape see Aruz, CMS B7, 57-58.

sitting quietly on rocky ground but increasingly it is shown interacting with human figures. The monkey helps a woman pick crocuses in 10.10 and, in a possible linked image, is shown as sole subject in the midst of crocus flowers⁵ in 10.11. This helper role is overlaid with the role of server in 10.15, which is composed in the VIP granting audience Icon, where a monkey and a woman both stand before a female VIP giving her the hands high gesture. In 10.12 a monkey is shown with a tie around the waist and tethered to a VIP Lord in the midst of a flower field. The monkey may be seen here as both helper, linking it with the crocus gathering in 10.10, and server, linking it with the hands high gesture in 10.15. The close relationship with human figures is highlighted by the tie around the waist which is also seen in 10.16 and 10.18. In 10.16 the monkey again gives the hands high gesture to a VIP although the identity of the figure is not clear. The images in 10.17 and 10.18 appear to take the monkey roles to a new level. In 10.17 it looks at first as if the monkey is a server giving the hands high gesture to a female figure who gives the greeting gesture in return. However, the female figure carries none of the extra features which may declare her a deity and the monkey is of enormous size in relation to her. Both these aspects suggest that it is the monkey that is the VIP. In 10.18 the case is even clearer. The monkey is seated on a stool with a human approaching – a classic VIP granting audience Icon which usually has the Great Lady seated on one of her identifying seats greeting a woman who approaches gesturing. Moreover, the monkey has a footstool and a papyrus flower plant arching over, details which raise its status further. In 10.13 and 10.14 the antithetical group composition shows the monkey in the role of attendant to special objects like the vase and the curved altar, proclaiming a symbolic role.

Lion

The lion, *Panthera leo*, was known from Egypt, the Asiatic lands and Balkans in ancient times, as Nancy Thomas has so thoroughly documented⁶. It is a regular subject in both the Egyptian and Mesopotamian artistic traditions. Although absent as an animal from Crete, it is an early starter in Minoan seals, both as an image and as the seal shape itself⁷. Its presence in mainland Greece in the Bronze Age provides lived experience for Mycenaeans at home and for Minoans visiting. Lions are one of the favourite subjects in all periods through to the end of our survey.

Lion – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 10.19 to 10.27)

In the earliest seals as in 10.19 to 10.22 the lion's body is substantial and its long tail is regularly curled at the end. The main feature is the mane, handled as a distinct pattern, with crosshatching or a leaf design being the most used at this time. Lions are regularly posed statant. The animal file as in 10.21 uses the seal perimeter as a groundline where they are described as parading lions. In 10.22 we have possibly the earliest representation of the Lion Lady. By MM II, the lion has become rather more feline in body. It is shown living an animal life, posed within a landscape as in 10.23 and leaping out from a rocky hide through a reed-filled landscape as in 10.24. The lion is now important enough to be given sole subject status. In 10.25 and 10.27 it is more formally presented in the heraldic pose sejant while in 10.27 it turns its head to the triple bud symbol. The lion head in 10.26 continues the motif of animal heads known from early times with the indigenous fauna.

Lion – ExperimentationPeriod and Minoan High Art (Plates 10.20 to 10.42)

The lion is a favourite in Minoan High Art. It continues to have a feline shape, the shaggy mane is a feature and the tail is thickened at the end even to being a knob. It now has several roles. In its animal life it can be shown coursing through a landscape in the flying gallop which accentuates its power and

⁵ Not all scholars accept that the florets are crocus.

⁶ See Thomas PHYSIS, 375-389, and more recently, ZOIA, 63-81.

⁷ For comments on figural seals in lion shape see Aruz, CMS B7, 58-59.

speed as in 10.28. In echoes of earlier patterning the same lion flying leaps create a dreipass spiral design in 10.29 while four frontal lion heads split the circle in a four division in 10.30. Sometimes the male lion, complete with shaggy mane, is also endowed with female dugs as seen in 10.31 and there are even suckling scenes. In its animal life the lion can be both the great predator and the vanquished quarry. The action-filled animal attack scenes show it overwhelming its prey, especially in the classic *Icons* of crunching and seizing. In other scenes it leaps at a young deer as in 10.32 or it feasts on the carcass of a quadruped that has already fallen victim to its ferocious onslaught as in 10.33. It can fall victim to the other great predator, the griffin, as in 10.73 and 10.74 but occasionally can win as in 10.76. Yet, the great lion predator is always vanquished when it meets the human hunter in hunt duelling scenes as in 10.34, even to its carcass being tied up as the victorious hunters deal with their catch in 10.35. It should be noted that the hunt images show that the lion is not easily subdued. In 10.34 a lion of immense size rears up and claws the hunter trying to dispatch it with his sword. Even though the hunter will win the contest he will be left with grievous wounds. At times the hunted lion is the sole subject of the seal design as in 10.36 where the arrow in its side is the only indication of the human aggressor. The study here is of the agony of the great beast as, in its distress, it contorts its body, scratching at the lethal missile. Turning to more formal representations of lions we see in the antithetical group compositions of 10.37 and 10.38 that lions may guard a gate shrine or a grand pillar. In 8.79 the antithetical group shows lions guarding a curved altar. In 10.39 the lion as sole subject poses statant regardant. In 10.124 the lion poses couchant on a sacrifice altar. The couchant pose is regularly used for live lions but the placing of a couchant live lion on a sacrifice altar is a one only depiction. In 10.40 to 10.42 the lion interacts with VIPs. The antithetical group features lions as attendants in Mistress of Animals and Master of Animals images, a Lion Mistress in 10.40 and a Griffin Lion Master in 10.79. There are images composed in the VIP with familiar *Icon* where the lion identifies a Lion Lord as in 10.41 and a Lion Lady as in 10.42. In both cases weapons – the sword wielded by the Lord and the composite bow behind the Lady – are present.

Lion – *Legacy Period* (Plates 10.43 to 10.57)

Animal attack scenes show the violent *Icons* of crunching and seizing as in 10.43 and 10.44. Suckling scenes are also depicted where the male lion, complete with shaggy mane, also has female dugs as in 10.45. Hunt duelling scenes remain favourites as in 10.46 to 10.48. The lions are always huge and ferocious, continuing to inflict wounds. The warriors are ever brave, thrusting their swords into the beasts, and even braver when wrestling them with bare hands as in 10.48. Heraldic poses and antithetical group compositions present lions in symbolic roles. The lion is statant before a grand pillar in 10.49 while lions as attendants pose sejant averted regardant about an orb rod in 10.50 and rampant regardant about an altar with a sunburst above in 10.51. The Master of Animals *Icon* presents the Lion Master wrestling lions with his bare hands as in 10.52 and controlling them by using a leash as in 10.53. The Lion Master in 10.54 is shown in the pose of a Mighty Lord. In 10.55 the Mistress of Animals is a Lion Mistress wearing a horn bow hat. The VIP with familiar *Icon* presents the Lion Lord in 10.56 and 10.57 and in both cases the lion is held by its collar. New motifs, the lionman and lionwoman hybrid humans, appear as in 11.21 and 11.36 to 11.40.

Crocodile

The crocodile, *Crocodylus niloticus*, a denizen of Egypt and the Nile, is featured in the art there. This reptile is likely to be the inspiration for a sinuous creature which appears early in Minoan seal designs as sole subject. The Aegean crocodile has short legs extending from a long curved body that is segmented or spiked. The head usually ends in a pointed snout. The crocodile motif does not make substantial inroads into the seal repertoire and there are no clear images later than Minoan High Art⁸.

⁸ Curved shapes in V 332 and VI 478 may echo crocodile forms.

Crocodile - Early Seal Period (Plates 10.58 to 10.63)

The crocodile is shown in various forms in MM II as in 10.58 to 10.61. The crocodile in 10.61 is closest to the natural shape⁹. One variation shows the creature with the head and forepart section repeated in reverse to form a two-headed beast as in 10.60. It is clear from all these details that a snake is not being represented. Indeed, the snake is not an image belonging to the seal repertoire¹⁰. It is also clear that the Minoan images somewhat misunderstand the true crocodile shape whereas they are more faithful to the natural shape of the monkey and the lion.

Crocodile – *Minoan High Art* (Plates 10.61 to 10.63)

Again, there are not many instances of the crocodile although they continue the low-to-the-ground spikey creature of earlier times as in 11.62 and 11.63. Its participation in the animal attack scene of 10.62 as prey of the griffin appears to be a one only example.

Griffin and Sphinx

The Aegean griffin is a fantastic creature having the body of a lion and the head and wings of a bird of prey. The Aegean sphinx is a fantastic creature with the body of a lion, the wings of a bird of prey and a human head. Such lion-bird hybrids exist in both the Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions. In Egypt the sphinx and the griffin are representations of Pharaoh, and thus male, with the sphinx head having the visage of Pharaoh. The wings are not opened out but are shown folded along the lion body, with the lion shape remaining the artistic outline. In the Mesopotamian tradition early creatures share a mix of eagle and lion features. There is the powerful storm bird, Imdugud, with the head of a lion and eagle wings and talons. There is also the dragon, Mushussu, with a lion body, the wings and talons of an eagle, the scales of a snake and small horns. In the artistic rendition of these fantastic creatures the wings are raised and spread and play a great role¹¹. In the Aegean the griffin is depicted from earliest times through to the end of our seal survey while the sphinx is rarely shown until a belated interest registers images in the Legacy Period.

Griffin

Griffin – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 10.64 to 10.69)

In Minoan seal designs the griffin is also seen early but has often been mislabelled a lion. However, careful observation of the carved detail on these early seals, particularly the ivories, distinguishes between the two as in 10.64 and 10.65 and when seen in the original as in 13.30. Griffin heads show a pointed face as for an eagle's beak whereas lion faces are flat. Griffin wings are handled as a "hump" rising from the back with crosshatched or diagonal patterning whereas the lion has its mane in a line with the backbone and its patterning coming round the neck. The representation of early griffins becomes more regularised in MM II as in 10.66 to 10.69. The wings are usually shown elevated and a crest is given distinct detail. For the most part, the lion body and tail are clear but there is still some doubt as to how to handle the legs – with lion paws or bird talons. The griffin's twisted pose in 10.66 makes it difficult to read but it does have a long plume as crest and seemingly eagle talons. The griffins in 10.67 to 10.69 show the variations of a curled or three-pronged crest, separated feathers in the elevated wings and some limbs ending in talons.

⁹ It is of note that this is the design on a figural seal in the form of a lion foot.

¹⁰ See the comments on doubtful "snake" depictions and on the absence of snakes in Minoan iconography in Chapter 4 above.

¹¹ For images see AE, Plates 9, 12, 109 and for discussion on the transferences see AE, 40-53.

Griffin – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art (Plates 10.70 to 10.84)

The griffin is now such a popular motif that the images range from the detailed to the rather sketchy. The best griffin depictions show to advantage the lithe leonine body, the spread wings with tapering curls along the wing bone and the varied crests as in 10.70 to 10.75. When the griffin is acting as a living animal it is usually posed statant as in 10.71, couchant as in 10.70 and 10.72 or in a flying gallop when in motion as in 10.73 and 10.74. The wings are mostly shown elevated where both are raised in a line with the body so that only the wing closest to the viewer is shown fully. A new wing pose, displayed, is seen in 10.72 where the griffin twists its upper body to show the breast frontal, thus allowing the wings to be fanned out on either side and fully shown. It is a spectacular artistic use of the wings and gives the creature quite a different outline. Sometimes the griffin is represented as female with dugs as in 10.71 and also in 10.72 where there are two juveniles shown as small griffins. Their shape is more like birds since the hindquarters are not developed. Placing the juveniles to the side avoids the issue of having an eagle head suckling at the dug on a lion body. To wonder whether griffin young emerge through a mammalian birth or from an egg is an even further stretch. At least the lion only had the pairing of male mane and female dugs to confuse the situation, leaving the birthing and suckling to be considered a relatively simple mammalian matter! Animal attack scenes are a favourite where the griffin is the great predator as in the chasing and crunching *Icons* of 10.73 and 10.74 which show its massive speed and power, and in the carrying the catch *Icon* of 10.75 where its complete success as a hunter is fully revealed. Its prey can be lions or stags. In a hunt reversal, a lion crunches a griffin in 10.76. The griffin may also act in symbolic roles. The antithetical group syntax in 10.77 organises an animals at the tree of life Icon where griffins rear up as attendants at a tree shaped like a large papyrus plant. In 10.78 a griffin stands statant facing a palm tree in a sole subject composition. The antithetical group syntax organises the Master of Animals image in 10.79 where a griffin and a lion are the attendants of a Griffin Lion Master, and the Mistress of Animals image in 10.80 where griffins are the attendants to a Griffin Mistress. In the VIP with familiar *Icon* in 10.82 a Griffin Lord holds his familiar by an ornamental leash which forms the griffin's collar. In 10.81 a Griffin Lord holds in his arms a young griffin, judging by its bird-like shape and undeveloped lion limbs. Another Griffin Lord is seen in 10.122 where he carries his familiar over his shoulder. This is not a hunting scene. The griffin is not dead and slumping down with wings crumpled. On the contrary, its body is stretched forward, its head is projected and its wings are firmly raised. Being so alert and alive, it can only be the identifying familiar of the Griffin Lord. In 10.124 a griffin sejant elevated is posed on a table altar. The griffin grand boat of 10.83 carries a VIP. It has a triple bud prow while the stern is shaped like a griffin complete with wings folded close and a feathery crest. As a parallel to the chariot scenes where a man drives a horse-drawn chariot, in 10.84 the Griffin Lord is carried along by his pair of griffins whose strength and speed are again portrayed by the flying gallop and the elevated wings.

Griffin – *Legacy Period* (Plates 10.85 to 10.96)

The griffin maintains a powerful image. It continues its predatory behaviour in the attack on a stag in 10.85, this time beneath a sunburst. The animal attack hierarchy is recorded in 10.86 where a griffin attacks a lion which is attacking a stag. In 10.87 it carries off its catch, this time a bird. Its symbolic role also continues. It poses regally couchant regardant displayed in 10.88 and couchant elevated along with lions in 10.89. Within an antithetical group composition, griffins pose rampant about a grand pillar placed on a curved altar in 10.90. The antithetical group presents the griffin as attendant to the Griffin Master as in 10.91 and to the Griffin Mistress as in 10.92. In the VIP with familiar *Icon* the griffin identifies a Griffin Lady. In 10.93 she gestures to her familiar, in 10.94 she tenderly cuddles it and in 10.95, comfortably seated, she holds it on a splendid leash which also forms its collar. In 10.96 two male VIPs take on the persona of Griffin Lords as they ride in a chariot harnessed to two griffin steeds.

Sphinx

Sphinx – Early Seal Period and Minoan High Art (Plates 10.97 to 10.99)

The sphinx appears in designs on Minoan seals in MM II. In 10.97 the sphinx is given long, almost Hathor-like, curling tresses while in 10.98 it shows a mixture of attributes. In the Minoan High Art Period the sphinx is little known. The wingless lion body with male head in 10.99 is one of the rare examples.

Sphinx – *Legacy Period* (Plates 10.100 to 10.105)

In the Legacy Period the sphinx enjoys greater favour. It is mostly shown posed couchant or sejant, the wing feathers are carefully articulated and in 10.102 and 10.104 the curls on the wing bone are indicated. It regularly wears the plumed hat as in 10.100 to 10.103. All depictions are symbolic. The antithetical group organises them as attendants to a tree of life in 10.100 and poses them as a one head pair couchant gardant on the perimeter groundline in 10.105. In 10.101 to 10.104 they are granted sole subject status. Note the wavy skyline at the sphinx neck in 10.101 and the sunburst beside the sphinx in 10.102.

Dragon

The Minoan dragon is a fantastic creature having a long stout body with a tail, short strong legs, a long neck and a smallish head with a snout. It is difficult to source the features. Imagination could hybridise Egyptian animals to join the heavy hippopotamus or elephant body with the long neck and small pointed head of a giraffe. Egyptian art does have long-bodied fantastic creatures as in the early Narmer Palette which shows two felines twining their elongated necks¹². In Mesopotamian art there are hybrid creatures that are called dragons (as noted above in the griffin discussion) but the closest match to the Minoan creature appears to be the primordial sea dragon, Tiamat, with her tubular scaly body, long neck and small head¹³. Yet, it is quite possible that dragon iconography is sourced much more in the Aegean imagination. New evidence from Thera on the pre-eruption climate suggests a much wetter Aegean scene¹⁴ which might have favoured the idea of a fantastic creature living in watery marsh lands. Minoan dragons are known in the early seals and their floruit ends at, or soon after, the LM IB destructions.

Dragon – Early Seal Period (Plates 10.106 to 10.110)

The earliest representations as in 10.106 and 10.107 show a creature sufficiently different from a lion and a griffin that it is clear another beast is intended. All the features except the long neck are there in embryo form. By MM II the shape is clearer, including the long neck, as in 10.108. The variation of the feathery tail appears in 10.109 and 10.110.

Dragon – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art (Plates 10.111 to 10.124)

The dragon is now settled in appearance with the long tubular body, strong short legs and an extended neck as in 10.111 to 10.122, seen particularly clearly when the sealings are viewed in colour as in 13.26 and 13.41 and the seal in 13.31. The head ends in a long snout, sometimes rounded at the end, sometimes more beak-like. The head may have small ears and the back of the neck may show small protrusions. The skin on the body is often dappled with spots or lines which are shown upraised in the relief modelling as in 13.26. The tail, usually shown raised, may be smooth and thick or may be of the feathered sort. The dragon behaves like an animal but is always shown in calm poses, never active

¹² A motif which may have Mesopotamian links.

¹³ Another close comparison is the Akkadian alabaster mythological group from Tell Asmar, AE, Plate 132.

¹⁴ See Vlachopoulos and Zorzos, PHYSIS, 183-197.

in animal attacks as either predator or prey. The dragon pair at rest in 10.118 is a perfect example of registering their animal life. The dragon is often given sole subject status, posed appropriately, while the dragon head is featured in 10.113. When shown at ease in a landscape, its habitat comprises papyrus and palm plants as in 10.116 and 10.117 while a watery abode is indicated by the waveline in 10.115 and 10.117. The dragon also has a symbolic role to play. It may be surrounded by plant and sky symbols. In 10.119 it is placed within plants and branches in just the same way as the vase, ewer and double horns are set, while in 10.120 sunbursts are placed on each side15. The sturdy dragon of 10.121 provides a mount for the Lady who rides it side-saddle. This is the clearest depiction of the Dragon Lady and of the particular relationship with her familiar. In the papyrus landscape of 10.122 the Dragon Lady again rides her familiar, this time a feathery-tailed dragon, while enjoying the company of a striding Griffin Lord carrying his familiar. In 10.123 the female VIP is carried along in a grand boat with a triple bud prow and a dragon-shaped stern, a parallel to the griffin grand boat in 10.83. The complex image on the great gold signet in 10.124 has, among its many figures, a dragon, a griffin and a lion. There are several unusual iconographic features in this composition and a full discussion of this signet, the Nestor Ring, is undertaken in Chapter 13. However, the detail of the dragon at the base of the design is quite in keeping with dragon iconography in Minoan High Art.

Dragon – *Legacy Period* (Plates 10.125 to 10.126)

Two examples remain. A dragon head with characteristic "beak" is seen in the sealing fragment 10.125 although the date is uncertain. A lentoid seal shows a Dragon Lady mounted on her familiar in 10.126. She rides across either a waveline of arcs or rocky ground shown as marbling.

Genius

The Minoan genius is a fantastic creature of hippopotamus shape with a distinctive cape attached to its back. It is always shown with upright posture, often holding a ewer, and eventually comes to show the wasp waist of a Minoan man. The source of inspiration is the Egyptian hippopotamus goddess Thoueris¹⁶. The genius enters the iconographic repertoire a little later than the other four but is present, closely imitating its Thoueris prototype, by the end of the Early Seal Period. Thereafter, its influence grows to add new roles, finishing in strong favour under the Mycenaean ascendancy.

Genius – Early Seal Period (Plates 10.127 to 10.130)

The genius appears in seal designs in MM II and, as in 10.128 to 10.130, all the features are already present except for the Minoan male waist. The pose of holding out the ewer as if ready to pour out the contents is particularly notable. The truly hippopotamus shapes of these early geniuses reveal their ultimate origin in Egypt with the hippopotamus goddess Thoueris/Ta-urt. Indeed, we have one of the very items that helped transmit the image from Egypt to Crete in the Egyptian scarab of Dynasty 11-12 found at Platanos in Tholos B. The design on this scarab, illustrated as 10.127, shows the upright hippopotamus shape with the back appendage carrying another creature, the crocodile.

Genius – Minoan High Art (Plates 10.131 to 10.144)

The developed genius, as in 10.131 to 10.144, still has echoes of its Thoueris hippopotamus antecedents. The upright stance remains but the swelling belly is now cinched in at the waist to give a Minoan man's silhouette and may be an indication that we should view the genius as male. The crocodile cape

¹⁵ These two examples are talismanic seals. The dragon is the only exotic/fantastic creature which is illustrated in the talismanic group. Onassoglou, CMS B2, *Drachen-Motiv* 134-138, XLIX.

¹⁶ See the pioneering study by Judith Weingarten, 1991, *The Transformation of Egyptian Tawret into Minoan Genius: A Study of Cultural Transmission in the Middle Bronze Age*. Additional evidence is given in Rehak, CMS B5, 215-231.

has become a knobbed appendage down the back which sometimes widens to look like a shell partly encompassing the body. The head at times looks more leonine. It usually has ears and sometimes there is a forehead curl. The genius, of course, never really had an animal life. The closest it ever came to looking like a living animal was to be posed with vegetation in the early days when it still had the swelling hippopotamus belly. By Minoan High Art it is fully established as a creature with specific symbolic roles. The original task as bearer of the ewer is still its main duty as seen in 10.133 to 10.137. The import of the particularly fine ewer in 10.133 is stressed by having water flows shown each side as running spirals. This ewer-bearing duty is also on view in the two antithetical group compositions of 10.136 and 10.137 composed in the *Icon* of animals at the tree of life where a genius as attendant poses each side of a vegetation symbol. In one, the central symbol is a curved altar supporting double horns from which sprout branches, while in the other the symbol is a stylised tree topped by a sunburst/rosette. The antithetical group also presents the genius in a guardian role about a grand pillar in 10.138 and as the Master of Animals with attendant lions in 10.141. A new role in 10.139 sees the genius as a victorious hunter. Just like the human hunter, he is shown bravely spearing a great bull that rears up to be a meet adversary. Note that the genius steadies itself for its forward lunge by standing on rocky ground. In 10.140 the link with hunting is further elaborated by the genius being shown helping a lion hunter, holding its arms around the hunter's sword scabbard in a clever variation of the original ewer-holding pose. In 10.132 a one only image shows a genius holding close to its chest/breast a small animal of some sort. This small creature, thought to be a lion, looks rather like a baby genius – if one could imagine a baby genius shown frontal face. The unusual details of this piece remind us that we are far from having all Minoan iconography at our finger tips. The three images 10.142 to 10.144 are more amenable to understanding since they all are created in the Icon of VIP with familiar. Instead of the male Lord figure holding a bull by horn or leash, the genius holds a bull¹⁷ and, in a parallel portrayal in 10.142, a cow. Instead of a Lord figure holding a lion, in 10.143 and 10.144 it is the genius. In these images the genius gains high status through substitution as the Bull Lord and the Lion Lord.

Genius – *Legacy Period* (Plates 10.145 to 10.156)

In the Legacy Period the genius appears to be in even more favour. Its primary role of ewer bearer is seen in 10.145 where it stands beside an orb rod. Antithetical group compositions show the genius attending a grand pillar in 10.146 and as a Master of Animals with attendant hounds in 10.152. Continuing the successful hunter role in the carrying the catch *Icon*, the genius carries a young agrimi in 10.147, a stag in 10.148, two lions in 10.149 and a great bull in 10.150. Presented in the same iconographic formula, the genius carries a dead man in 10.151. Returning to its original role as ewer bearer, the genius attends a Master of Animals in 10.153 and serves a Mighty Lord standing on double horns in 10.154 while a quartet of geniuses is seen bearing ewers to a Great Lady seated beside an orb rod in 10.156. The Mistress of Animals in 10.155 is attended by bulls while each side a server genius holds a palm frond upright¹⁸, a parallel to the palm branches behind the geniuses in 10.156. In these latter two examples the detail of serving a female VIP contravenes the previous association with men and male VIPs. A geniusman hybrid human appears briefly as in 11.35.

Iconographic Interpretation: Re-imagining for an Aegean Life

The Minoans created an impressive menagerie from exotic animals and fantastic creatures, all of which have links to the east. They stepped outside the fauna of their native Crete and welcomed these strange immigrants into their art and into their thought. All seven creatures were changed to accommodate to

¹⁷ As in CMS VI 305.

¹⁸ The sealing, shown in colour in 14.30, shows marks on these vertical motifs consistent with palm fronds. The description, "schlactmesser", which is sometimes used, does not fit the size or shape of the iconographic detail; nor can it call upon depicted links between the genius and sacrifice alters or scenes to be so identified.

their new domicile but only five, the monkey, lion, griffin, dragon and genius, managed to create a full new life in Crete while the other two, the crocodile and the sphinx, never gained full acceptance. The acceptance or otherwise in the Mycenaean sphere is discussed in Chapter 14. Here we concentrate on the Minoan welcome.

Whenever a motif or an idea is taken over from the grand artistic traditions of the east into Crete, it always results in an idiosyncratic solution to recast the import into the Minoan idiom. It is clear that all these creatures came in at a very early stage in the development of Minoan iconography and that each then grew into a new Aegean life. Their changing shapes incorporated later modifications, some of which might have been prompted by renewed trips to the Levant and Egypt. When we begin to look into the interpretation of the images of these seven exotic animals and fantastic creatures we must first recognise how long they have been part of the Minoan iconographic repertoire. All are there in the Early Seal Period. Most are there from the very beginning of seal design, with the genius coming a little later, but all had safely arrived and had settled their characteristic iconographic details through the thousand years to the end of MM II. These details were consolidated in Minoan High Art.

Consider the kaleidoscope of possible influences from the east. The lion, giraffe, monkey, hippopotamus, crocodile, vulture and falcon are African fauna. Did Aegean travellers see this wildlife living then in Egypt, perhaps during journeys repeated each generation? Or were they amazed by the art showing lush vistas of Nile marshes and hieroglyphs carved or painted on the walls and monumental statuary? Or did the influence come back home with Minoan voyagers in the form of souvenir amulets and scarabs¹⁹ or even living souvenirs of pet monkeys and lion cubs? Think of the Asiatic wildlife like lions and eagles that Aegean traders and travellers might have seen. Were people hunting then with great eagles as they do now in Mongolia? Certainly, the lion and the eagle are deeply ensconced in the Mesopotamian artistic tradition, producing marvellous hybrids to guard palace gates and cover palace walls as at Mari where texts include inventories of Minoan luxury goods²⁰. Yet, most influence might have come from the cylinder seals, carried home to show gods with flowing streams, primordial Tiamat as a dragon, long-necked monsters and magnificent heroes struggling with lions²¹. All the eastern immigrants came bringing some reflection of their life and their artistic heritage from their former homelands. So, as we turn to the interpretation of each creature, we need to ponder how and why these Easterners came to the Aegean²². Is it enough to see their arrival and acceptance as the result of trade or travellers' tales or souvenir pieces? Perhaps there are deeper levels to this transference.

Companion Immigrants from the East

There are other immigrant motifs from the east that complement the evidence of the seven creatures just discussed, all coming over in the Early Seal Period, many at the very beginning in EM III-MM I. From the Mesopotamian sphere, influencing motifs include the Master of Animals, griffin, tree of life, rosette, and the artistic conventions of the animal file, heraldic poses and antithetical group. From the Egyptian sphere, influencing motifs include the palm, palmette and papyrus²³ and the particular shape of the bee. The Egyptian link seems to be particularly strong. In the early floral and foliate seal designs the palmette and palmette patterns are regular inclusions, as is the papyrus flower. Even if one allows that a native Cretan palm and an endemic tufted flower might have been part of the inspiration for these motifs, it is difficult to deny an inspirational role for the eastern date palm and the papyrus thickets of the Nile

¹⁹ For a survey of imported Egyptian items see Phillips 2008.

²⁰ See Foster 2018, 343-362.

²¹ For near eastern cylinder seals with rich iconographic content see CMS II.2 29, V 657, VS 1B 332.

²² See the overview of interconnections, AE, and also the historical overview of the early communications, Aruz CMS B7, 8-48.

²³ Refer to individual motifs discussed in AE and illustrated in Plates 4, 5, 31-34, 61-63, 93, 109-112, 113, 132, 149-154, 173, 185-187, 209-214, 421.

marshes. By the Minoan High Art Period the palm tree has become a symbol in its own right and papyrus flower plants signify a special landscape where deities and dragons play. This is the supernatural garden, the Papyrus Garden, as identified in Chapter 5. At this same early time, the composition and shape of some seals point to an Egyptian source. Hippopotamus ivory²⁴ is a favoured material for carving these fine pieces. In many cases parts of the original tooth²⁵ actually form the seal shape. A horizontal cross-section yields a seal with two circular faces, one slightly smaller than the other while the top of the tusk makes a dome-shaped seal with one face²⁶. Then there are the figural seals carved in the shape of monkeys and lions²⁷. The effort required to access the hippopotamus tusk raw material and its use to create a prestige item both indicate that the link to Egypt was important.

Yet, in spite of all this evidence of interconnections with the east, two of the seven exotic/fantastic creatures, the crocodile and the sphinx, did not make the transition as successfully as the other five. The crocodile and the sphinx remained as isolated images, never developing a true Minoan character and failing to integrate fully into the Minoan iconographic repertoire. Probing the reasons for this level of limited acceptance reveals different dynamics. The crocodile is an amazing reptile but it would be hard for Bronze Age Aegeans to imagine such a huge carnivorous aquatic beast if one did not have access to the swamps of the Nile. Travellers' tales do not provide reliable artistic detail and one could hardly bring a crocodile home for display and record. Seeing it attached to the back of the Thoueris/genius was hardly a substitute for direct experience. It is significant that the two exotic animals that did transfer successfully, the monkey and the lion, could have been seen by Minoans abroad, while green monkeys and lion cubs might even have been brought back as pets. For the sphinx, its limited appeal appears to be linked more to its meaning in its home artistic tradition. The sphinx shares the same lion body imagery as the lion and griffin which become great favourites. So, the reason for its rare appearance lies elsewhere than in the animal characteristics. In Egyptian art the sphinx is male, a representation of Pharaoh, and the head is his likeness. Thus, it is the grand image of monarchical power and authority. Was this understood by the Minoans and thus had no meaning for them as a people? The few Minoan examples seem more female, perhaps suggesting a transfer route via the Syrian coast and an even further distancing from the original Egyptian symbolism.

Each an Individual: Character and Roles

The **monkey** behaves both as an animal and as a creature with symbolic duties. Its playful animal persona obviously delights the Minoans but they also formally present it as the guardian of cultic objects like the vase and the curved altar. They are aware that it has many human characteristics which can make it both an *alter ego* for a human worshipper and a chameleon creature that can move as intermediary into the world of the anthropomorphic gods as discussed in Chapter 12. The monkey is a server to the Seated Lady in 10.15 and to a Lord in 10.12. Yet in 10.17 it is the monkey that is being worshipped by a woman. In the case of 10.18 the deification is even clearer. It is clearly a VIP granting audience *Icon* but iconographic substitution places the monkey in the expected position of the Great Lady receiving the server. Moreover, the monkey has a footstool and a papyrus flower plant arching over, details which raise its status further. It is hard to escape the conclusion that, at times, the monkey can take the place of the goddess herself. We should thus see the monkey as a semi-divine able to move between this world of humans and the supernatural world of the gods. In summary, the monkey, which has been with us

²⁴ For discussion of the materials see the work of Olga Krzyszkowska on bone, ivory and boar tusk, CMS B3, 111-126 and on ivory and related materials, Krzyszkowska 1990.

²⁵ This aggressive dangerous animal has two tusks in each jaw; the larger lower ones may grow to about 60cm.

²⁶ Hippopotamus tusk seals, section CMS II.1 252, 260, 382, 497 and dome-shaped II.1 58, 228, 231, 241, 387.

²⁷ For the hippopotamus ivory monkey-shaped seals see CMS II.1 249, 435, III 2 and for a hippopotamus ivory seal fashioned as a lion mauling a man see CMS II.1 130. There is also a reclining lion in carnelian, CMS III 19, and one in paste, a white piece, CMS IV D7. The hard stone figural seal, CMS IV D32, is in the shape of the foot of a lion and its seal design is quite a convincing rendition of a crocodile as shown in 10.61.

since the beginning and which has developed symbolic and even deified roles, disappears at the time of the Mycenaean ascendancy. Was it too closely identified with Minoan ritual and with the Great Lady?

The **lion** is one of the most frequently depicted animals, there from the beginning and popular to the end. In its animal life it is a worthy sole subject, posed calmly statant or sejant or exploding in flying gallops as in 10.28 and 10.29. It shares in suckling scenes and in animal attacks as in 10.31 to 10.33. It gradually morphs into being the great predator of other animals and into being the meet adversary of the human hunter for whom it becomes the test of ultimate bravery in the hunt as in 10.34. The symbolic life of the lion is of equal importance to its dynamic animal life. In guardian roles it is the attendant of grand pillars and curved altars as in 10.38 and 8.79. In 10.40 to 10.42 and 10.79 it identifies Mistresses and Masters and deities like the Lion Lady and the Lion Lord.

The griffin arrives very early in the iconographic repertoire, with the characteristic details of crest and wing established somewhat later, but the source of its inspiration is not very clear. In the Aegean, the wings are fully exploited artistically, their elevated and displayed poses giving a different shape from the Egyptian griffin and one more aligned to the fantastic winged creatures of the Mesopotamian repertoire. It is a notable detail that some early Minoan griffins appear to have talons. Yet it may be, after all, the bird raptors that inspire artists to combine air-borne ferocity with leonine menace. The Aegean, too, has eagles²⁸ and observation of local hunting raptors might have inspired the displayed wing pose with the couchant beast which appears to be an Aegean creation. The griffin, while not quite as frequently depicted as the lion, can almost be seen as its alter ego. It has similar experiences of animal life. It is a magnificent predator and a symbol of the power of the gods. In animal attack scenes as in 10.73 to 10.76 the griffin overpowers the animals of this world, agrimi, stag and bull, and carries them off, although it once suffers a crunching by a lion. In symbolic presentations the griffin guards trees of life and palms as in 10.77 and 10.78. It consorts with VIP deities. It is the attendant of the Griffin Mistress and the Griffin Master as in 10.79 and 10.80. It is the identifying familiar of the Griffin Lady and the Griffin Lord as in 10.81 and 10.82. When needing to travel, as in 10.81 and 10.82, she is carried along by a griffin grand boat while he drives a chariot drawn by his pair of griffins whose strength and speed are portrayed by the flying gallop and the elevated wings.

The **dragon** is there from the early seals with its shape settling later. In its animal life, the dragon is limited to quiescent poses as in 10.112 to 10.118. It is never involved in animal attacks and even in its peaceful life it is never shown in fecundity themes. The dragon's main role is symbolic. It is a creature linked to plants and sky symbols as in 10.119 and 10.120. It finds its home in marshy lands growing palm and papyrus plants as in 10.115 to 10.117. Thus, it is identified with the Papyrus Garden of the supernatural world. It is the identifying familiar of the Dragon Lady as in 10.121 to 10.123. She appropriately rides her dragon familiar side-saddle as in 10.121 and 10.122 while she is carried along in her dragon grand boat across shallow waters to arrive at a shrine. Many of these classic representations come from LM I sealings, thus placing the dragon securely as a significant fantastic creature of Minoan High Art.

The **genius**, of course, never really has an animal life. It always performs in a symbolic way. Its primary role, as seen in 10.133 to 10.137, is to hold the ewer, a vessel containing water, which provides the link between its Thoueris origin in the wide Nile marshes and its new domicile in Crete of the narrow mountain stream. This nurturing fertility role (a role also enacted by Thoueris) sees the genius associated with plants and water. With the physical change of acquiring the Minoan male's cinched waist, the genius assumes a male persona and gravitates towards male company and pursuits. Accordingly, we may be quite justified in using the masculine pronoun. In 10.139 and 10.140 he assumes the role of successful hunter, either by directly spearing the quarry or by protecting a human hunter. The genius role is further elevated when, through iconographic substitution, he takes on the roles of the deity. He is seen in the Master of Animals antithetical group as Lion Master in 10.141 and in the VIP with familiar *Icon*

²⁸ The golden eagle, Aquila chrysaetos, and Bonelli's eagle, Aquila fasciata.

as Bull Lord and Lion Lord in 10.142 to 10.144. This elevation of the genius role beyond server/helper/guardian into a higher sphere gives Fritz Blakolmer cause to claim for the genius the status of "minor deity"²⁹, a claim with which I agree. In summary, adding to its original ewer-bearing persona which survives to the end, the genius becomes the successful predator, protector of human hunters, server to deities, Master of Animals and surrogate Lion and Bull Lord.

The Fabulous Five

The exotic animals, monkey and lion, and the three fantastic creatures, griffin, dragon and genius, form a distinct iconographic group emanating from the east that became thoroughly Aegeanised in their new domicile³⁰. Finding an appropriate title for this group of rather disparate individuals is solved by turning to their origins and naming them "The Fabulous Five", with the word "fabulous" used in its original definition of "told about in fables". Their identity is not sourced in observable fact but comes from the human imagination which creates stories about supernatural or extraordinary persons or incidents.

It is the supernatural and the extraordinary that are the key words for the role played by the Fabulous Five in Minoan art and thought. Notwithstanding the fact that the monkey and lion are living animals, they do come from lands far away from Crete. Thus, their essential character is readily aligned with that of the three fantastic creatures that also come from a distant world, albeit the world of the gods. In Minoan thought and art, all five belong to a mystical and mavellous supernatural world. Yet there is, of course, a parallel universe in Aegean art where daily human activity and endemic fauna are the subjects. The agrimi, stag, boar, bull and ram are favourite motifs and humans perform ceremonies, tend their herds, go hunting and fight battles. These images do incorporate ideas of pious worship, animal fertility and human courage but all these concepts are tied into life as it is lived daily. However, the iconography clearly distinguishes this earthly abode from the supernatural realm and instances the times when the Fabulous Five can leave the supernatural world and cross the boundary into the world of humans. As great predators, the lion and griffin can attack indigenous prey like the agrimi, stag and bull, thus bringing supernatural power to achieve hunting dominance. The lion as quarry becomes the ultimate test for male bravery in the hunt when it is raised to great stature to contest the human hunter. As intermediary and protector, the monkey and the genius guide and help humans meet deities. Yet, it is always clear that the Fabulous Five define the supernatural realm in which anthropomorphic gods display their power and numinous forces exert their control. The Fabulous Five identify the deities and personify mighty strength, powerful aggression, successful hunting and the fecundity of the herds. All Five allow humans access to the supernatural through their roles as guardians of potent symbols. The monkey and the genius enjoy a semi-divine status. So, there are three inescapable facts from the seal evidence: the exotic and fantastic Fabulous Five create the visual statement of the Minoan metaphysical world; the Fabulous Five comprise the most significant transference from the east; and that transference begins very early. As we try to appreciate the full significance of this transference and the resulting artistic creativity that produced the Fabulous Five, we must acknowledge that they come with other motifs and materials that magnify their influence. The manifestation of the transference in art starts in the EM III seal images and is complete regarding the full complement of creatures and the detail of their depiction by the end of MM II. Yet, these are simply the dates by which we can track the existence of this supernatural world. It might have existed in the thought processes of the Cretan peoples long before.

Returning to the proposals made above as to how these creatures came to migrate into the iconography, we may allow that all the avenues proposed might have had some effect. However, once one accepts the momentous role of the Fabulous Five in establishing concepts of the supernatural world, a mix of travel, trade and souvenirs does not seem to provide a sufficient base for such all-encompassing influence. It becomes necessary to face the fact that there may be more to immigrant success than just knowing of the

²⁹ Blakolmer supra fn. 2, 166 and Diagram 19.

³⁰ See also Chapin and Pareja 2020, 215-225 and ZOIA, 125-134.

taxonomy of the living animals or having some familiarity with artistic renderings in their home artistic traditions of the east. There are links to Egyptian fauna and Egyptian art, especially for the monkey, lion and genius. At the time when the first indications of these links are seen in art, seals were made of hippopotamus ivory, seal shapes were hippopotamus tusks, monkeys and lions, while the iconographic repertoire also invested in palm, palmette and papyrus designs. All this suggests that there might have been a wave of early settlers bringing with them memories of their Egyptian homeland, only to have the memories coalesce around the Fabulous Five to create a metaphysical world for Aegean beliefs. Yet this is not all. The earliest depictions of lions show them of solid build and walking in animal file, a standard early Mesopotamian motif, as are winged creatures and long-necked quadrupeds. These source images for lions, griffins and dragons might have come to Crete when peoples from Syria or beyond pioneered early travel routes that were expanded in Middle and Late Bronze times. We know that migrants from the east came to Crete long before we can trace their influence in art, but now there is reason to review the timing and the routes. The seal evidence suggests that the peoples from Egypt and Syria who did come to Crete in the third millennium or earlier brought with them their own metaphysical concepts. This would explain why these exotic and fantastic creatures could take such a hold of metaphysical imagery so early and so thoroughly in the Aegean.

Setting aside for the moment the possibility that these exotic and fantastic immigrants might have been lodged in the folk memory long before we can track them in the images, we nevertheless must recognise that, in the seal record, the immigrants have had a thousand years to settle into Minoan thought and Minoan art before the time of the second palaces. The timeline of the Fabulous Five floruit encompasses 13 centuries of seal design from their arrival in the Early Seal Period to the heady life of display and influence in Minoan High Art. On the way, interest in the animal life that these creatures might once have had waned, and the symbolic representation of the metaphysical world became their pre-eminent role. The Fabulous Five members interact with ritual symbols, guard buildings, become violent and successful hunters, help humans, identify gods as their familiars and even, sometimes, stand in the deity's place. In summary, the Fabulous Five arrive early, stay late and together help create a fantastic other-world where the Minoan mind can explore concepts of fertility, renewal, power and aggression and where the humble mortal can safely access the numinous.

Comparisons with Images in Other Media

1. Monkeys gathering saffron crocus flowers growing in a rocky landscape in the Saffron Gatherer Fresco, Knossos.

AWP, Plate 4, 1.

The Blue Monkeys Fresco from Room B 6 at Acrotiri, Thera.

AP, Plates 12 and 13 and detail AWP, plate 4, 4..

2. Griffins attacking deer on an ivory pyxis from the Agora, Athens. Mylonas 1966, Plate 141.

3. A sphinx with wings displayed on an ivory plaque from Spata. CM, 216.

4. Depictions of the genius on a fresco fragment from Mycenae. CM, Plate XLIII.

5. The Lion Gate at Mycenae.

The relief sculpture occupying the relieving triangle above the gate shows rampant lions in the *Icon* of animals at the grand pillar.

CM, Plate 141.

Plates 10.1 to 10.156

Monkey, Lion and Crocodile

Monkey – Early Seal Period



10.1 – monkey, lion (II.1 253/EM III-MM IA)



10.2 – monkeys (II.1 473/EM III-MM IA)



10.3 – monkey (VII 6b/MM II)



10.4 – monkey (III 236c/MM II)



10.5 – monkeys (X 50b/MM II)



10.6 – monkey (II.5 297/MM II)

Monkey – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art



10.7 – monkeys (II.8 286/MM III-LM I)



10.8 – monkeys (V 233/MM III-LM I)



10.9 – monkey (II.6 282/LM I)



10.10 – monkey, woman (III 358/LM I)



10.11 – monkey (II.6 73/LM I)



10.12 – monkey, VIP (III 357/LM I)

Monkey – Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art (cont.)



10.13 – monkey, vase (III 377/LM I)



10.14 – monkey, altar (II.6 74/LM I)



10.15 – monkey, woman, VIP (II.3 103/LM I-LM II)



10.16 – monkey, VIP (I 377/LB I-LB II)



10.17 – monkey as VIP (II.7 24/LM I)



10.18 – monkey as VIP (II.8 262/LM I-LM II)

Lion – Early Seal Period



10.19 – lion (XII 8a/EM III-MM IA)



10.20 – lion (II.1 224a/EM III-MM IA)



10.21 – lion, spider (II.1 248a/EM III-MM IA)



10.22 – Lion Lady (II.1 55/EM III-MM IA)

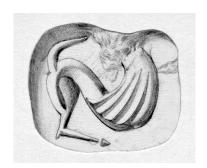


10.23 – lion (II.5 270/MM II)



10.24 – lion (VS 1B 331/MM II-MM III?)

Lion – Early Seal Period (cont.)



10.25 – lion (II.2 245c/MM II)



10.26 – lion (II.2 48/MM II-MM III)



10.27 – lion (XII 135a/MM II-MM III)

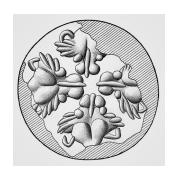
Lion – Minoan High Art



10.28 - lion (II.8 298/LM I)



10.29 – lion (X 250/LM I)



10.30 – lion head (II.7 76/LM I)



10.31 – lion (VI 355/LB I-LB II)



10.32 – lion, deer (II.7 100/LM I)



10.33-lion feeding on the catch (II.6 $94/LM\ I)$



10.34 – lion, hunter (I 9/LH I)



10.35 – lion, hunter (II.7 33/LM I)



10.36 – lion distressed, scratching, contorted (II.6 91/LM I)

Lion – Minoan High Art (cont.)



10.37 – lion, gate shrine (II.7 74/LM I)



10.38 – lion, grand pillar (VI 364/LB I-LB II)



10.39 – lion (II.3 302/LM I)



10.40 – Lion Mistress (I 145/LB I-LB II)



10.41 – Lion Lord (IX 114/LM I)



10.42 – Lion Lady (II.6 35/LM I)

Lion – Legacy Period



10.43 – lion, bull (I 185/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.44 – lion, bull (II.4 202/LM IIIA1)



10.45 – lion suckling (II.3 344/LB IIIA1-LB IIIA2)



10.46 – hunter, lion (XI 272/LH II-LH IIIA1)



10.47 – hunter, lion (I 165/LB IIIA)



10.48 – wrestler, lion (I 307/LB II-LB IIIA1)

Lion – Legacy Period (cont.)



10.49 – lion, grand pillar (II.8 290/LM IIIA1)



10.50 – lion, orb rod (VI 365/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.51 – lion, curved altar, sunburst (XI 47/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.52 – Lion Master (I 89/LB II)



10.53 – Lion Master (II.8 249/LM IIIA1)



10.54 – Lion Lord/Master (III 361/LM II-LM IIIA1)



10.55 – Lion Mistress (XI 112/LH II-LH IIIA1)



10.56 – Lion Lord (I 512/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.57 – Lion Lord (X 135/LB II-LB IIIA1)

Crocodile – *Early Seal Period*



10.58 – crocodile (II 2 315a/MM II)



10.59 – crocodile (VI 59b/MM II)



10.60 – crocodile (XI 141a/MM II)

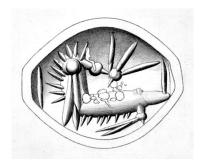
Crocodile – Early Seal Period (cont.) **Crocodile** – Minoan High Art



10.61 – crocodile (IV D32/MM II-MM III)



10.62 – crocodile, griffin (XII 291/LM I)



10.63 – crocodile (IX D15/LB I-LB II)

Griffin and Sphinx

Griffin – Early Seal Period



10.64 – griffin (II.1 250a/EM III-MM IA)



10.65 – griffin, lion (II.1 249/EM III-MM IA)



10.66 – griffin (II.2 151c/MM II)



10.67 – griffin (II.5 318/MM II)



10.68 – griffin (II.5 317/MM II)



10.69 – griffin (XI 6/MM II-MM III)

Griffin – Minoan High Art



10.70 – griffin (II.3 79/LM I?)



10.71 – griffin (I 271/LB I-LB II)



10.72 - griffins with young (II.6 101/LM I)

Griffin – Minoan High Art (cont.)



10.73 - griffin, lion, chasing (II.6 103/LM~I)



10.74 - griffin, lion, crunching (II.7 96/LM I)



10.75 – griffin, stag, carrying the catch (V $642/LB\ I\text{-}LB\ II)$



10.76 – lion, griffin, crunching (II.8 359/LM I)



10.77 – griffins, tree of life (II.6 102/LM I)



10.78 – griffin (II.7 87/LM I)



10.79 – Griffin Lion Master (II.3 167/LM I-LM II)



10.80 – Griffin Mistress (VI 317/LB I-LB II)



10.81 – Griffin Lord (II.6 29/LM I)



10.82 – Griffin Lord (I 223/LB I-LB II)

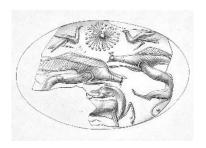


10.83 – griffin grand boat (II.6 20/LM I)



10.84 – griffin chariot (II.8 193/LM I)

Griffin - Legacy Period



10.85 – griffin, stag, bird, sunburst (II.8 192/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2)



10.86 – griffin, lion, stag (VS 1A 202/LB IIIA1)



10.87 – griffin, bird (VS 1B 101/LB IIIA1)



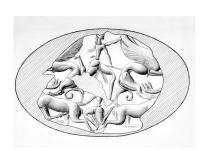
10.88 – griffin (I 293/LB II)



10.89 – griffin, lion (I 329/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.90 – griffins, grand pillar (I 98/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.91 – Griffin Master (I 324/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.92 – Griffin Mistress (II.3 63/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.93 – Griffin Lady (VIII 95/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2)



10.94 – Griffin Lady (VS 1B 429/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.95 – Griffin Lady (I 128/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.96 – griffin chariot (VS 1B 137/LB II-LB IIIA1)

Sphinx – Early Seal Period

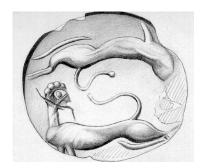


10.97 – sphinx (VI 128/MM II)



10.98 – sphinx (III 230b/MM II)

Sphinx – Minoan High Art



10.99 – sphinx (VS 1A 134/LM I)

Sphinx – Legacy Period



10.100 – sphinx, tree of life (I 87/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.101 – sphinx (I 129/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.102 – sphinx (II.3 118/LB II-IIIA1)



10.103 – sphinx (VS 3 352/LM IIIA1)



10.104 – sphinx (VS 3 359/LM IIIA1)



10.105 – sphinx (VS 1B 102/LB II-LB IIIA1)

Dragon

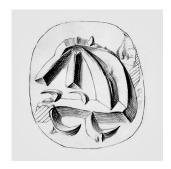
Dragon – Early Seal Period



10.106 – dragon (II.1 295a/EM III-MM IA)



10.107 – dragon (II.1 295b/EMIII MM IA)



10.108 – dragon (VI 52b/MM II)

Dragon – Early Seal Period (cont.)



10.109 – dragon (X 245a/MM II)



10.110 – dragon (VIII 20b/MM II)

Dragon – Experimentation Period

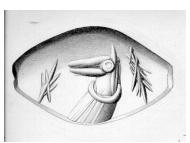


10.111 – dragon (XI 291a/MM III-LM I)

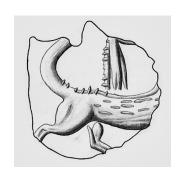
Dragon – Minoan High Art



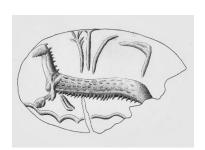
10.112 – dragon (XII 293/LM I)



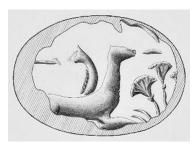
10.113 – dragon head (V 268a/LM I)



10.114 – dragon (II.7 77/LM I)



10.115 – dragon, waveline (II.6 262/LM I)



10.116 – dragon (II.6 34/LM I)



10.117 – dragon (VI 362/LM I)



10.118 – dragons (VS 1B 76/LB I-LB II)



10.119 – dragon (V 581/LM I)



10.120 – dragon, sunbursts (XII 290/LM I)

Dragon – Minoan High Art (cont.)



10.121 – Dragon Lady (II.6 33/LM I)



10.122 – Dragon Lady, Griffin Lord (VI 321/LM I-LM II)



10.123 – dragon grand boat (II.3 252/LM I)

Dragon - Legacy Period



10.124 – dragon, griffin, lion (VI 277/LM I)



10.125 – dragon (II.8 373/LM IIIA1?)



10.126 – Dragon Lady (I 167/LB II-LB IIIA1)

Genius

Genius – Early Seal Period



10.127 – scarab (II.1 283/Dynasty 11-12)



10.128 – genius (II.5 321/MM II)



10.129 – genius (II.5 322/MM II)

Genius – Minoan High Art



10.130 – genius (II.8 195/MM II-MM III)



10.131 – genius (VS 1A 128/LM I)



10.132 – genius (II.6 98/LM I)

Genius – Minoan High Art (cont.)



10.133 – genius (XII 212/LM I)



10.134 – genius (I 232/LB I-LB II)



10.135 – genius (XI 35/LB I-LB II)



10.136 – genius, altar, double horns (I 231/LB I-LB II)



10.137 – genius, tree of life (VI 310/ LB I-LB II)



10.138 – genius, grand pillar (VI 309/LM I-LM II)



10.139 – genius, bull (II.7 31/LM I)



10.140 – genius, hunter (XI 208/LB I-LB II)



10.141 – genius as Lion Master (I 172/LB I-LB II)



10.142 – genius, cow (VI 304/LB I-LB II)



10.143 – genius, lion (II.8 198/LM I-LM II)



10.144 – genius, lion (VI 306/LB I-LB II)

Genius – Legacy Period



10.145 – genius, orb rod (V 440/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.146 – genius, grand pillar (VIII 65/LM II-LM IIIA1)



10.147 – genius, agrimi (II.3 105a/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.148 – genius, stag (XI 38/LH II-LH IIIA1)



10.149 – genius, lions (XI 37/LH II-LH IIIA1)



10.150 – genius, bull (IX 129/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.151 – genius, man (VS 1B 153/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.152 – genius as Hound Master (I 161/LB IIIA1-LB IIIA2)



10.153 – Genius Master (XI 290/LH II-LH IIIA1)



10.154 – Mighty Lord, genius (V 201/LH II-LH IIIA1)



10.155 – Bull Mistress, genius (I 379/LB II-LB IIIA1)



10.156 – Great Lady, genius (I 179/LB II)