

Chapter 12 The Great Gods

In this Chapter we return to the images containing human figures. In Chapter 9 we saw women and men going about their daily lives in peace and in war. However, we did not see a marked differentiation in apparel or headdress that could signify royalty as opposed to ordinary citizens, or might distinguish officiating religious personnel. Now, we have a parallel challenge. If we allow the possibility that the major Aegean deities were fully anthropomorphic, how can we differentiate them from ordinary mortals? This proves to be extremely difficult. There are no special robes, no obvious regalia or paraphernalia on show to state clearly which human figures are gods and what is their sphere of command. Oh, for the horned helmet of a Mesopotamian god or the animal head of an Egyptian deity! However, iconographic analysis of Minoan images can direct us to a group of figures which identify themselves by quite precise iconographic details¹. The term Very Important Person, or VIP for short, has been chosen as the name for this distinct group because it is a regularly used acronym which does not, of itself, identify the source of their importance as divine, royal or religious. The use of Lady for female VIPs and Lord for male VIPs similarly does not specify the source of their status. Thus, all three terms, VIP, Lady and Lord, are most useful terms as we try to identify the members of this special group at the Iconographic Description level. So, what are the iconographic details that set these personages apart from ordinary women and men and indicate that we have found our elusive deities?

Identifying Deities: The Five Criteria (Plates 12.1 to 12.20)

When compositions containing human figures are examined, the presence of a VIP Lady or VIP Lord is revealed by one or more of five iconographic criteria. Many VIPs so identified will, in fact, exhibit several of the criteria which regularly cluster in predictable ways. The five criteria are set out and explained below through twenty examples created within the developed iconography of Minoan High Art². One should note at this stage the consistency of the iconographic usage across the VIPs. The Ladies and Lords each has her/his own particular identity declared by the iconographic detail, and this usage is not transgressed by careless insertion of detail belonging to other VIPs.

1. *The Fantastic and the Supra-Normal*

Here VIPs hover in the air above other figures standing below as in 12.1, 12.5 and 12.7, clearly acting in a supra-normal way. Some VIPs have a wild animal as a tame pet, as with the lion in 12.2 and 12.20, and some are closely associated with fantastic creatures like the dragon and griffin as in 12.3 and

1 Search the IconAegean Database in the Icon Field on VIP accepting homage, VIP appearing on high, VIP carrying the catch, VIP driving the chariot, VIP full figure, VIP granting homage, VIP in the grand boat, VIP leading the prisoners, VIP with familiar and VIP with server. Search in the Element field on VIP, Lady, Lord, Great Lady, Seated Lady, Epiphany Lady, Staff Lady, Bow Lady, Sword Lady, Flower Lady, Sea Lady, Dragon Lady, Griffin Lady, Lion Lady, Agrimi Lady, Hound Lady, Bird Lady and Dolphin Lady in the Element field. Search on Mighty Lord, Epiphany Lord, Staff Lord, Bow Lord, Sword Lord, Griffin Lord, Lion Lord, Bull Lord, Agrimi Lord, Hound Lord, Dolphin Lord, Axe Lord, Mace Lord and Triple Bud Rod Lord.

Search the IconADict Database for the definition of each term or refer to IAS.

2 An earlier presentation on the criteria for identifying deities in Aegean seals was given at the Melbourne Aegeum Conference and published in DAIS, 75-87, XI-XIV.

12.4. For exotic animals and fantastic creatures acting in these roles, the term, familiar, is used in the particular sense of naming the creature who both accompanies and identifies a specific personage. The *Icon* specifically developed to encapsulate this special relationship is termed VIP with familiar.

2. *Size Differential*

Here the VIPs are very much larger or very much smaller than other human figures in the same composition. They are larger than other figures as in 12.6, 12.7, 12.8, 12.9, 12.13 and 12.14. They are smaller than other figures as in 12.1, 12.5 and 12.15. The size differential is especially clear in the two compositions. The seated females are always larger than their servers while the hovering figures are always smaller than the other figures standing below them.

3. *Pose and Position*

The seated pose is notable for the Lady VIPs since only females may be seated in the developed iconography of Minoan High Art. The position where they are seated is carefully delineated with reference to both what they are seated upon and/or what rises up behind them. Ladies are seated on a shrine as in 12.9 and 12.13, on the rocky earth as in 12.6 and 12.7, with a grand pillar at their back as in 12.14, or in a grand boat with a shrine at their back as in 12.10. A VIP may strike a bold pose holding out a weapon in the power gesture, a staff as in 12.2, 12.11 and 12.15 or a bow as in 12.17. The VIP figure is given extra import when placed in a particular position, such as atop a city as in 12.11 or above a rocky mountain as in 12.15. The particular case of the artistic formula of the antithetical group stresses the central focus position of the Mistress and Master figures as in 12.12 and 12.15; these, too, must be considered VIPs.

4. *Centre of Attention*

Within a scene involving several human figure participants, the VIP is the centre of attention of the other figures. Either they are the focus of attention of servers who gesture before them as in 12.1, 12.5, 12.14, 12.15 and 12.16 or they are the focus of attention of servers who bring gifts to them as in 12.6, 12.9 and 12.13.

5. *Sole Subject*

Here the composition isolates the VIP from surrounding detail in the focus composition and, by placing the figure against a blank background, creates a commanding presence as in 12.2 and 12.17 to 12.20. To rule out the possibility that this sole subject may be an ordinary person, comparisons can be made with VIPs identified by other criteria. The Lady in 12.17 makes the same gesture with her bow³ as the Lady in 12.15 does with her staff. The Lady in 12.19 wears the same dress and featured neck scarf as the Lady in 12.8. Then there are the sole subjects within the VIP with familiar *Icon*. The Lords in 12.2 and 12.20 are identified by the wild lion familiar that they have at heel. The Lord in 12.18 is identified by the dolphin which is his familiar at his back. The dolphin is a known sea creature and not an exotic animal or fantastic creature but that does not affect its ability to act iconographically in the same role as a lion. Thus, all three male figures are identified as VIP Lords.

Can we be sure these VIPs are our missing deities, or are we mistaking the nature of their power? Could the Ladies and Lords after all be queens and kings? It seems not, as we have no corroborating iconographic detail for monarchical power. There are no crowns or thrones, no royal robes of differentiation from subjects. The Seated Lady does use a chair/shrine. So, perhaps she could be a queen on a “throne” because she is approached by servers and bearers of gifts in the VIP granting audience *Icon*. Alternatively, these details may proclaim her a deity, particularly since, in other images, she may be seated on other

3 The lady is not drawing her bow to release an arrow. There is no arrow and the positioning of the bow in relation to her legs indicates that she is not using it as a weapon. She is presenting her bow in the power gesture as befits her identity.

supports like the rocky ground. All the other iconographic detail indicates that the description of the “Missing Ruler” of the Aegean is an accurate observation as far as the seal images are concerned. Are these Ladies and Lords priestesses or priests? There are no images of any of them officiating at, or leading others in, a religious ritual. They do not hold any special vessels that could be used to pour libations. The genius is the figure that carries the ewer. In images of animal sacrifice, as in 6.181 to 6.192, 9.58 and 9.59, there are three examples where humans stand beside the sacrifice altar, and in one the human wears a plain tunic. If there are no regular depictions of persons’ performing clearly identifiable priestly roles wearing clearly identifiable priestly robes, it seems unlikely that priestly office, if indeed there even were priests or priestesses, would propel a personage to such an elevated level as the VIPs. So, if a royal or religious role will not encompass our group of VIP Ladies and Lords, are they truly, then, our deities? Have we found our Aegean goddesses and gods at last? Let us return to the five identification criteria for deities listed at the beginning of this Chapter. Consider the first criterion, that of the *Fantastic and the Supra-Normal*. Surely VIPs who arrive through the air to be greeted by human figures below have divine power. Surely VIPs who have fantastic creatures or wild animals as pet familiars are not made of mortal clay. Consider the next three criteria, *Size Differential*, *Pose and Position* and *Centre of Attention*. All three serve to distinguish VIPs from ordinary humans within the same image. Thus, these criteria are especially telling as an identification of divine status. Cross-referencing these figures with other images, particularly with those of the *Fantastic and the Supra-Normal*, leads us back to the deity identity. The *Sole Subject* criterion invokes the artistic judgement of just what is important enough to be given such concentrated focus. These figures are usually not involved in any activity but are just there, standing with great presence. Granting a human figure such a featured role argues for a status of prime importance and again, cross-referencing with the other criteria, confirms the deity identity. It seems we have indeed found our Aegean goddesses and gods!

Now there are two particular sub-groups within the larger VIP grouping that deserve further mention at this point. The *Icon* VIP with familiar addressed in the first criterion, *The Fantastic and the Supra-Normal*, shows a Lady or Lord interacting with their animal familiar. The classic pose is where the VIP stands with familiar at heel like a pet. The VIP may hold it on a leash or just control it by touch as in 12.2. The Lady may ride her dragon as in 12.3 or the Lord drive his griffin chariot as in 12.4. The familiar may be a fantastic creature, an exotic animal or an indigenous animal, but the iconographic formula gathers them and unites them in meaning. It is not possible to extract the figures with indigenous animals like the hound and the agrimi and say that these are humans but allow that the figures with fantastic creatures and exotic wild animals are deities. Iconographic rules do not work like that. Think of the iconography of the halo in Christian art. The use of the halo signifies a saint. Even if the figures graced with a halo may look very different we are not at liberty to, say, remove all the ones looking shabby and keep the ones that are richly dressed. The iconography decrees that all are saints. So too, the iconography of the VIP with familiar reveals the divine identity of all these human figures although, alas, we do not have contemporary records that would inform us further, as is the case with the halo iconography example. The other distinct grouping is the Mistress/Master of Animals *Icon* addressed in the third criterion, *Pose and Position*. Here the iconographic antithetical group formula declares the importance of the central human figure and confers deity status, female or male⁴.

Once all the VIP deities are selected from the images according to the five criteria listed above we may ascribe their Iconographic Description, beginning with bestowing a name on each of the Ladies and Lords depicted. It is clear that there are some very clear distinguishing features which can provide convenient names devoid of interpretation. Their use is illustrated across Plates 12.21 to 12.212. VIPs may be differentiated by what they do and this activity will name them. The large female VIP who is always seated in a special place may be called the Seated Lady. The small female and male VIPs who hover above human figures below may be called the Epiphany Lady and the Epiphany Lord. The Lady

⁴ For more on the Master figures see Crowley 2010b, 79-91.

who travels across the sea in the grand boat may be called the Sea Lady. VIPs may be differentiated by their personal appearance. Remember that we cannot describe the VIPs by the clothes that they wear because these are the same as mortal human beings wear in other depictions. A name needs to be found for the Lady of great size and voluptuous body who has women servers: Great Lady seems an appropriate choice. The male VIP of powerful physique, often depicted by himself making the chest gesture, needs a name like Mighty Lord. What the VIPs carry may be seen as their insignia and this would give a name to their identity. Thus, the Staff Lady and Staff Lord hold the staff (or spear), the Bow Lady and Bow Lord carry the bow, the Sword Lady and Sword Lord brandish the sword and the Flower Lady is plucking or smelling her flower. Also holding their insignia are the Axe Lord, the Mace Lord and the Triple Bud Rod Lord. VIPs may be differentiated by their animal companion, their familiar, and thus be named. The Dragon Lady rides her dragon side-saddle. The Griffin Lady flies along with or cuddles her griffin while the Griffin Lord holds his griffin familiar or has griffins pull his chariot. The Lion Lady and Lion Lord treat their lion familiar like a pet, reaching out to it or holding it on a leash. The same is true of the Hound Lady and Hound Lord and the Bull Lord. The Agrimi Lady holds or feeds her agrimi while the Agrimi Lord holds his agrimi familiar. The Bird Lady is carried along by two of her familiars or holds one in her arms. A dolphin familiar leaps down beside the Dolphin Lady and behind the Dolphin Lord. This identification by the accompanying familiar is one of the most telling and reliable descriptions and secures a large grouping of VIPs. Running parallel to these VIPs with familiar are the Mistress and Master of Animals figures. This particular artistic formula, the antithetical group rendering of human figure flanked by animals, indicates that these figures are of deity status. The flanking animals as attendants name the central figure. Thus we have Griffin, Lion, Bull, Hound, Agrimi, Bird and Dolphin Mistresses and Masters. There is also a Bird Mistress, a Ram Mistress and a Stag Master.

Of course, we wish that we had the Minoan and Mycenaean names for each of these divinities. However, due to the Aegean silence, these names are not available. So, we must create the next best nomenclature in order for us to discuss the roles of these deities in Aegean art and life. That next best nomenclature must surely be purely descriptive titles so as to avoid moving at once into interpretation, a point increasingly being recognised in recent moves in art discussions. One example is to use the term "Enthroned Female" for the large seated female figure seen in the crocus gathering fresco from Thera and on the ivory pyxis from Mochlos. Yet, when these two female figures are compared with large seated female figures on LM I seal images, it is clear that there is never a throne *per se*. Sometimes she is seated on a shrine or on a stepped platform like a tiered shrine or on a cushion and sometimes on a stone/boulder or rocky ground. Thus, a more inclusive description seems in order. Here she is simply named the Seated Lady, a title which allows the variation of what she is seated upon to be further explained, that explanation providing further insights into the Lady's nature. The seal images provide the widest range of deity depictions and thus the opportunity to develop the required descriptive nomenclature. Accordingly, the names set out in the IconAegean Vocabulary and used here provide full coverage but allow discussion with nuance and accuracy. While there is some reticence on the part of Aegean scholars to adopt any such deity nomenclature, it seems to me to be impossible to avoid if we are to have any facility in discussing deity identity and roles. We cannot afford to wait until we do discover all the original Minoan and Mycenaean names because that may not happen. Then, even if the names do come to be discovered and translated, that will still not solve the problem unless the names occur in contexts that describe each deity and thus provide details which can be cross-referenced to identify the deity in the images. If such discoveries, translations and cross-referencing ever eventuate then, with great alacrity, we can begin to use the original Bronze Age Aegean names.

Presenting the Ladies and Mistresses (Plates 12.21 to 12.128)

VIP Ladies

VIP Ladies – *Early Seal Period* (Plates 12.21 to 12.31)

There are some very early sole subject images suggesting a Lady figure when comparing the detail of later images. The seated figure with upraised arms in 12.21 could be an early Seated Lady⁵. The female figure in 12.22 with a particular hairstyle and a scarf and accompanied by a lion could be our first Lion Lady as Seated Lady. The fluid shape in 12.23 represents a standing or reclining (rotating the seal 90° to the left) female in long pants, likely a Lady. By the end of MM II there are distinct female figures shown with rounded buttocks and the hem line of long pants, sitting on a carefully shaped chair or stool as in 12.24 to 12.26. These are clear Seated Ladies showing details that will remain standard for later depictions. In 12.24 a peak at the back of the neck is defined, as also in 12.26, if that figure is fully in profile. The figures in 12.27 to 12.29 also have a clearly defined chair or seat. The body shape in 12.27 shows a clothed figure, which at first glance looks similar to the cloaked males in contemporary seals but, allowing that the figure is seated on a special stool with a tree behind (possibly a palm tree), then it is more likely to be a Lady wearing a mantle. In 12.28 there is a figure behind the Seated Lady. This figure may be a server, meaning that the Great Lady iconography is already present. In 12.29 the Seated Lady has arms upraised in an early hands high gesture, as also in 12.21, 12.25 and 12.32. Of considerable interest is the Seated Lady in 12.30 because her seat is a boulder. Furthermore, she has a scarf trailing beside her, much as the Lion Lady in 12.22. The standing female figure in 12.31 has the long patterned skirt and girdle ties with pompom ends which link her to later Lady images. It is unfortunate that the symbol placed above her is broken away, thus preventing sure identification.

VIP Ladies – *Experimentation Period and Minoan High Art* (Plates 12.32 to 12.86)

Great Lady, Seated Lady

In this Period the Great Lady is shown standing or as the Seated Lady either in sole subject compositions or attended by her women servers. She is seated welcoming servers in the VIP granting audience *Icon* as in 12.33 to 12.38. There may be one server or two, all being women except for the monkey in 12.34, and they may bring gifts to the Lady. The Lady's seat may be a constructed shrine as in 12.33, 12.37 and 12.47, with a grand pillar placed behind as in 12.34, or boulders or rocky ground as in 12.36, 12.38 and 12.45 or with a tree placed behind as in 12.35. She may be seated on a stool as in 12.39, 12.42 and 12.46 or on a pile of cushions as in 12.43. The Great Lady may also be shown with her servers ministering to her. She is shown standing with her servers beside her in 12.40 and 12.41 while in 12.39 and 12.42 she is seated and they are standing. The women servers are sometimes shown as two smaller replicas of the Lady herself as in 12.40 and 12.41. The sole subject depictions of 12.43 and 12.44 show the Lady seated on a specially shaped triple cushion and the standing Lady wearing a scarf at the neck with characteristic neck roll and flying ends similar to those in 12.40 and 12.41. A special case seems to apply to those images where a male figure stands before the Great Seated Lady as in 12.45 to 12.47. She is immediately recognisable because of her large size and being seated on rocky ground, on a stool placed before stylised rocks or a constructed shrine. The male, although smaller, is still a strong figure as he reaches out confidently to her in 12.45, or gives the pointing gesture in 12.46 and 12.47. The fact that their arms are in contact in 12.46 suggests that he, too, is a deity and, as the Mighty Lord, he is discussed below. For clothing, both the Great Lady and the Seated Lady may wear a frilled or flounced skirt but the favoured costuming for the Seated Lady is long pants.

⁵ The plait in the drawing is shown attached to the head but this connection is not clear in the seal or the impression. Contrast 12.29 where the plait is clearly attached to the head as part of the hairstyle.

Epiphany Lady

The small figures placed above men and women who gesture to them are identified as epiphany figures in the air as in 12.48 to 12.53. It is not clear in 12.53 whether the Lady is actually in the air or alighting on the rocky mountain because of the lacuna, but artistic duality would have her as both Epiphany Lady and Mistress of Animals. When detail is sufficient, their hair is shown blowing back as if they are rushing through the air to arrive before the worshipping human and their feet are poised like ballerinas *en pointe*, thus leading to the naming of the *Icon* as VIP appearing on high. They wear the frilled skirt except in the special case of 12.45 where the figure is seated and wearing long pants.

Staff Lady, Bow Lady, Sword Lady

An interesting group of Ladies shows them bearing the weapons which give them their names as in 12.54 to 12.60. The staff or spear (sometimes the differentiating detail of the point is not clear) is held out in the power gesture in 12.53 and 12.54. It is brandished along with a sword (dagger) in 12.55 while a grand spear stands upright behind the Lady in 12.56. A Lady holds out the bow in the power gesture in 12.57 while a bow is seen behind the Lady in 12.58. In 12.59 a Lady carries her bow over her shoulder as a carrying pole and from it a shape like a folded flounced skirt is suspended. In 12.60 a Lady brandishes her sword above her head as also in 12.55 and, in both these examples, the Lady wears the fleecy skirt. The Staff and Sword Ladies wear a side-pleated, frilled, fringed or fleecy skirt while the Bow Lady favours long pants.

Flower Lady

The Lady in 12.32 may be our first Flower Lady. She wears a skirt and stands giving the hands high gesture surrounded by oval shapes, possibly meant to be flowers. Later sole subject depictions of the Flower Lady show her with a variety of flowers as in 12.61 to 12.65. She holds a papyrus flower in 12.61 with another behind her and an open crocus is placed behind her in 12.62. In 12.63 to 12.65 she is surrounded by stylised flower forms. She reaches out to pick an opening flower, or stands between tree and triple bud or holds a garland around her head and body. The Flower Lady wears a frilled, flounced or fringed skirt.

Sea Lady

The association with the sea is celebrated in 12.66 to 12.70. In the first four images the Sea Lady is shown in her grand boat. This water craft has a curved hull and is distinguished by triple bud prow and dragon or griffin head stern as in 12.66, 12.67 and 12.69. The prow/stern is barely elaborated in 12.68 but this grand boat does carry a shrine as also is the case in 12.66 and 12.69. The Sea Lady is either simply carried along in her boat gesturing or else she propels her craft with oar or pole. The surface of the sea is shown as an extended tricurved arch pattern in 12.69 and it would seem sensible to see the background in 12.70 as the same patterned sea surface. This reading would identify the figure in 12.70 as the Sea Lady resting fully in her own element⁶. Where the clothing of the Sea Lady is clear she wears either a flounced skirt or long pants.

Dragon Lady, Griffin Lady, Lion Lady

These images see the Ladies as closely connected to fantastic or exotic creatures whom we term their familiars as in 12.71 to 12.77. All are depicted in the VIP with familiar *Icon*. The Dragon Lady in 12.71 and 12.72 rides her dragon familiar side-saddle, as befitting the female sex. The Griffin Lady flies through the air with her winged familiar in 12.73 or seems to embrace it as it rears up to her in 12.74. In

⁶ Not all Aegeanists see 12.70 as a figure reclining on the sea surface. CMS published the sealing with the figure standing upright. However, the pose is natural for a reclining/sleeping figure but not a standing one. It is possible that the tricurved arch pattern could be depicting an elaborate cloth but it seems reasonable to see it here as the sea surface which it regularly represents.

12.58 the Lion Lady reaches out to control her familiar. In 12.75 and 12.76 the Lion Lady acts with her familiar as an owner with her pet, scratching it under the chin or holding it on a collared leash. In 12.77 she rides her lion familiar side-saddle, as expected. In these images the Lady wears a frilled, flounced, fringed or fleecy skirt or long pants.

Agrimi Lady, Hound Lady, Bird Lady, Dolphin Lady

There is a series of images where the Lady interacts with familiars that are drawn from indigenous fauna as in 12.78 to 12.86. These, too, are depicted in the VIP with familiar *Icon*. The agrimi is a favourite with the Lady either feeding it or holding it by its remarkable horns as in 12.78 to 12.82. In 12.78 and 12.79 the Lady is also shown seated. The Hound Lady in 12.83 holds her familiar on a collared leash just like a pet. The hound itself is of mastiff shape and huge size and turns its head expectantly to its mistress. The Bird Lady in 12.84 is carried aloft by two of her familiars, their elevated wings and outspread tails providing a seat for her as Seated Lady. In 12.54 a similar pair of birds with elevated wings supports a standing Staff Lady. In 12.85 the Bird Lady holds her familiar in her arms as the bird turns its head to look at her. In 12.86 the Dolphin Lady gestures to her familiar as it leaps down in characteristic pose before her. In these images the Lady wears a frilled, flounced or fringed skirt or long pants.

VIP Ladies – Legacy Period (Plates 12.87 to 12.98)

Some of the Lady representations are continued into the Legacy Period. In 12.87 and 12.88 the VIP granting audience *Icon* is again used. The Great Lady as Seated Lady receives genius servers approaching bearing gifts of ewers. She wears a long patterned gown and holds a chalice up in the toasting gesture. In 12.88 she is approached by women servers and an even smaller male figure. The standing Great Lady in 12.89 has her two servers each side gesturing to her. The Dragon Lady appears once in 12.90, again riding her familiar side-saddle. The Griffin Lady relates to her familiar as a cherished pet in 12.91 and 12.92. As Seated Lady she holds a docile female griffin on an elaborate collared leash and then, standing, as her griffin rears up to her and turns its head to her, she wraps her arm round it to cuddle it close. In 12.93 The Griffin Lady gestures to her familiar facing her. The Agrimi Lady, too, makes an appearance as in 12.96 to 12.98, using the same artistic formula of gesturing to the quiet familiar standing before her. In 12.94 a Bird Lady is shown within a building with her familiars perched on columns each side of the entrance. The disintegrating image in 12.95 may also be a Bird Lady.

VIP Mistress of Animals

VIP Mistress of Animals – Minoan High Art (Plates 12.99 to 12.113)

In Minoan High Art the use of the antithetical group formula to depict the Mistress of Animals becomes popular. The Mistress is placed centrally, usually standing in the combination pose, with her attendant animals flanking her. Various heraldic poses are used for the animals who mostly face her although they can be addorsed.

Griffin Mistress, Lion Mistress, Hound Mistress

The Griffin Mistress is attended by her griffins either statant or rampant as in 12.99 to 12.101. Their wings are elevated with the expected curls along the wing bone and they may be crested. The Lion Mistress is seen in 12.102 to 12.106. Her lion attendants may pose statant or rampant facing her as in 12.102, 12.104 and 12.105. They may be addorsed, seen couchant on the perimeter groundline in 12.103 and as protomes in 12.106. The lions usually have large manes. In 12.102 they are shown as a pair, a male and a female with dugs although both have manes. The Mistresses stand in combination pose except for 12.100 which may be frontal and 12.104 where she is seated in combination pose on a bench or sacrifice altar like a Seated Lady. The Mistresses wear flounced or fringed skirts or long pants. They regularly wear the horn bow headdress as in 12.99 and 12.100. In 12.101 the Mistress wears a neck roll scarf with flying ends. In 12.107 the Mistress wears a long mantle and sits on a lion head,

thus exhibiting duality with the Seated Lady. We have here a Lion Hound Mistress since her attendants are carefully delineated as lion and hound, particularly with respect to body mass, head shape and tail ending.

Bird Mistress, Dolphin Mistress

The Bird Mistresses in 12.108 to 12.111 stand in combination pose with their attendants usually addorsed. The bird wings may be close or displayed in which case they fill out the circle of the seal face shape. In 12.108 the Bird Mistress stands on a waveline. In 12.112 and 12.113 the Dolphin Mistress stands in combination/frontal pose with arms raised while her dolphins leap down in characteristic pose on each side. The Bird and Dolphin Mistresses wear flounced or fringed skirts.

VIP Mistress of Animals – Legacy Period (Plates 12.114 to 12.120)

Some Mistress figures continue into the Legacy Period. In 12.114 and 12.115 the Griffin Mistress is depicted in the same artistic formula as in the earlier Period with respect to her pose, the griffin's pose and the horn bow headdress. The Lion Lady is seen in 12.116 in the antithetical group variant where the animal is centred and the Mistress doubled to stand each side, this time in profile pose. A new Mistress, a Bull Mistress, is seen in 12.117. Although the image lacks the lower half it is clear that the Mistress wears the horn bow hat and holds arms high to the bull attendants that face her. The addition of attendant genius figures, which usually attend male deities, completes the one only image. A Mistress figure wearing the horn bow hat is depicted in 12.118 but the animal attendants are mostly missing. The one head that remains does look like an agrimi and so the name Agrimi Mistress is appropriate. The Hound Mistress in 12.119 is clearer, with the hound head matching those of earlier mastiffs. In 12.120 the Dolphin Mistress, complete with triton headdress, is accompanied by her dolphins, one leaping up and one leaping down.

VIP Mistress with Animal – Minoan High Art (Plates 12.121 to 12.127), *Legacy Period* (Plate 128)

This group of images shows a Mistress with only one attendant animal, an agrimi or a ram, which rears up addorsed but leans its upper body across her, even to placing its head on her shoulder. The female figures so featured are close to the Mistress figures since they use the familiar Mistress details except that only one animal attendant is shown. Possibly the need to achieve clarity has pressured the artist to reduce the two attendants to one and then to overlap them with the Mistress figure. The animal shape in these images belongs to either an agrimi or a ram but the animal may not be clearly identified when it is the young of the species as in 12.121 to 12.123 and 12.127 and thus lacks the distinctive horns as with the familiars of the Agrimi Ladies in 12.78 to 12.82. The Ram Mistresses in 12.124 to 12.126 are clear as the horns frame the ram head in their distinctive curve. The Ram Mistress appears to be a variant of the Agrimi Mistress because of its identical treatment and because there is no equivalent ram attendant in the VIP with familiar *Icon*. These Mistresses usually stand profile and wear the flounced, frilled or fringed skirt. The Mistress in 12.125 wears a neck roll scarf with the long ends hanging down her back. One final example takes us into the Legacy Period. The detailed depiction in 12.128 shows a Ram Mistress and server, each wearing an elaborate flounced skirt and coiffure/headdress. It is the last of these Mistress with Animal images as they do not appear to continue within the Legacy Period.

Presenting the Lords and Masters (Plates 12.129 to 12.218)

VIP Lords

VIP Lords – Early Seal Period (Plates 12.129 to 12.131)

There are some very early male sole subject images that pose the figure with significant details. In 12.129 the figure wears a brimmed hat and holds a sword. He stands astride a boulder shape and beneath what may be the earliest depiction of an orb rod. In 12.130 the male figure wears a diagonal chest strap and

stands giving the hands high gesture with a triple bud rod above. The strong male figure in 12.131 wears clearly delineated chest clothing. He also stands giving the hands high gesture although the surrounding items are not clear enough to declare his particular identity. These figures are different from the many working men depicted in MM II as potters, porters and musicians, all of whom are linked to the tools of their trade. These early figures may provisionally be identified as the Sword Lord, Triple Bud Rod Lord and a VIP Lord.

VIP Lords – *Minoan High Art* (Plates 12.132 to 12.173)

Minoan High Art provides a plethora of male images which exhibit one or more of the criteria for identifying VIPs. While there are some scenes of interaction with other human figures, for the most part the VIPs are positioned as sole subjects with identification through their pose, by something they hold or by the animal familiar that accompanies them.

Mighty Lord

This Lord is pictured as a muscled young man in the regular Minoan male dress of belt and kilt as in 12.132 to 12.137. The characteristic pose is standing with both arms bent to the chest in the chest gesture as in 12.133. Where one arm is occupied holding something like a staff or spear then the free arm is bent to the chest as in 12.132 and 12.136 and most likely also in 12.137. The Mighty Lord is also shown in the presence of the Seated Lady to whom he reaches out his hand, as discussed above under 12.45 to 12.47 and seen again here in 12.135.

Epiphany Lord

The small male figure shown above larger human figures who greet him is the Epiphany Lord as in 12.133, 12.134 and 12.141. His particular identity in any one image is revealed by his chest gesture or by his carrying the staff or bow and sword.

Staff Lord, Bow Lord, Sword Lord, Axe Lord, Mace Lord

This grouping of male VIP figures sees each carrying a weapon. In 12.138 the Staff Lord stands proudly holding out his staff which presumably rests on the ground. He is dressed in a long kilt, wears a tasselled hat and is accompanied by his lion familiar. Compare his pose with that of the Lord in 12.132 and in 12.134. All three hold their staffs out in the power gesture. In 12.136 and 12.137 the Lord stands quietly, his staff planted by his side. In 12.139 and 12.140 the Lord is in action, striding forward with his staff or holding his staff at the ready as he checks his hound familiar. In 12.141 it is the Epiphany Lord who is also shown as the Bow Lord and Sword Lord as he brandishes a strung bow in one hand and a sword/dagger in the other. In 12.143 the Lord kneels to draw his bow, in this case a simple bow. At other times it is a composite bow with its distinctive incurve at the grip. Usually the bow is shown in its normal state of being unstrung. It is clearly seen in 12.142 where the Bow Lord holds his bow down as he stands beside his lion familiar. Understanding the shape of the composite bow allows identification of the shape behind the male figures in 12.144 to 12.146. It is the unstrung composite bow. In 12.147 the Sword Lord brandishes his weapon while he holds his lion familiar on a leash. In all these examples the Lord wears the belt and kilt or sometimes a longer kilt. For the Mace Lord of 12.150 and 12.173 the clothing is the diagonal robe while the mace is solid like a hammer. The Axe Lord depicted in 12.148 on a seal from Vathia, in 12.149 on a seal from Vaphio and on a seal from Pylos⁷ also wears the diagonal robe while his axe has a single curved blade fixed to the haft at each end of the curve. Arthur Evans identified the Vaphio figure as carrying a fenestrated axe known from Middle Bronze Age Syria. He

7 I thank Sharon Stocker and Jack Davis for drawing my attention to the rock crystal seal from the Griffin Warrior Grave at Pylos. A preliminary illustration is provided, Davis 2022, Figure 38.

further identified the clothing worn by the figure as priestly robes also emanating from Syria⁸. He was influenced by the finds in the Vaphio burial of the deceased wearing the gem and just such a fenestrated axe found among the many rich grave goods. However, the iconographic detail does not support the identification of the axe depicted on each of the three seals as the fenestrated axe. The Syrian axe is fixed to the haft substantially at three points by the three flanges cast in the axe head which produce the two looping fenestrations between. The Minoan examples are quite different in that the curved blade is fixed only at the extremities of the curve, leaving a clear space below the haft which features a central boss. As this boss is not connected to the axe blade, there is no evidence of a tripartite fixing as for the fenestrated axe. The omission of the most characteristic features of the fenestrated axe calls into question Evans' original identification. The Minoan weapon has quite a different shape but one that was without doubt intended by the seal artists who could manage to include any detail that they wished in their Minoan High Art creations. Excavation has provided evidence of fenestrated axes being brought into the Aegean area⁹ but the iconographic detail does not record their presence. It is now necessary to reassess the many arguments that have been based on seeing the axes held by VIPs in LM I seal images as identical to the Syrian fenestrated axes.

Triple Bud Rod Lord

The Triple Bud Rod Lord in 12.151 and 12.152 wears the belt and kilt and in 12.151 the brimmed hat also. In 12.151 he leads two women bound by cords as he holds a rod with a triple bud finial, the whole scene enacted below a hovering triple bud rod symbol. In 12.151 he holds a triple bud and stands in a flower field formed by triple buds while holding a monkey on a leash.

Griffin Lord, Lion Lord

In this grouping all Lords are depicted in the VIP with familiar *Icon*, with the familiars being fantastic or exotic beasts. The Griffin Lord is seen in focus syntax standing beside his huge griffin familiar in 12.153 and 12.154. In each case he holds his familiar on a leash, with the collar in 12.153 tied in a beautiful bow! A muscular griffin leaps up to its master in 12.155. The Griffin Lord drives his chariot in 12.156 pulled by two griffins leaping along in the flying gallop. He carries an adult griffin over his shoulder in 12.157 and a young griffin in his arms in 12.158. The Lion Lord is also shown in the classic focus composition of standing beside his familiar. In 12.159 to 12.163 the Lion Lord places his arm lovingly around his lion's neck and into its mane as it stands obediently beside its master. In 12.159, 12.162 and 12.163 the lion turns its head to look adoringly at its Lord and in 12.163 even takes up the fawning position of a favourite hound. Then in 12.164 the Lion Lord drives his chariot pulled by his two lion familiars. In 12.138, 12.142, 12.144 and 12.147, the Lion Lord, identified by his familiar, is also presented as Staff, Bow or Sword Lord. The dress of the Griffin and Lion Lords is regularly the belt and kilt, sometimes a longer kilt and, in the case of the Griffin Lord in 12.153, a diagonal robe.

Bull Lord, Agrimi Lord, Hound Lord, Bird? Lord, Dolphin Lord

The same VIP with familiar *Icon* is used to depict Lords whose familiar belongs to this everyday world. The Bull Lord in 12.165 to 12.168 stands beside a huge bull which he either holds on a leash or controls by stretching his arm over it. The Agrimi Lord is seen in 12.169 in the expected focus composition. The Hound Lord is a popular image. In 12.170 the Lord is armed with spear and shield with hound at heel while in 12.171 he leans back as his absolutely huge hound turns its head to him. We have already

8 Evans PM IV, 412-414. On priests, see below Chapter 13, Ceremony and Meeting the Great Gods.

9 See Aruz CMS B7 175-176; Yasur-Landau 2015, 139-150; Maran 2015, 243-270. Assaf Yasur-Landau explores the travels of fenestrated axes from the Levant to the Aegean accepting the definition of Miron, "... a fenestrated ax is defined ... as a socketed ax with two equal-sized openings, or fenestrations, on its blade ..." and gives a summary of the typology including the eye axes, "transition" and duckbill axes. Joseph Maran continues the investigation of the axes and includes a discussion on the Vaphio axe as an entangled object.

seen the Hound Lord armed with staff or bow in 12.140 and 12.146. The animal familiar in 12.144 could be hound or lion, a perennial problem of identification for Minoan iconography, but most likely here we have a mastiff of molossian shape. The Dolphin Lord in 12.173 is identified by his beautifully sculpted familiar leaping down in characteristic pose behind him. We have met him before as the Mace Lord carrying his hammer-like mace in 12.150. The Lords are usually clothed in the belt and kilt but the Dolphin, Mace and Axe Lords wear the diagonal robe. Also wearing the diagonal robe is the figure in 12.172. Now, a male figure with a bird, composed in the *Icon* of VIP with familiar, would be expected to be termed a Bird Lord. However, it is a one only depiction and the association of male identity with bird breaks all the iconographic rules which consistently associate birds with the female in Minoan idiom. In raising a question mark over giving this one only example the full title of Bird Lord, we should look to see if there is a credible alternative identity which conforms with the iconographic norms. If the bird is not a bird at all but a baby griffin then the image in 12.172 may be re-named Griffin Lord. There are iconographic details that support this reading. The image in 12.158 shows the Griffin Lord carrying a juvenile griffin. So, the griffin does not always have to be full-grown to be a familiar. There are depictions of baby griffins looking like little flying birds in 10.72¹⁰. A provisional identification of this figure as a Griffin Lord holding a baby griffin would thus see the regular iconographic associations preserved.

VIP Lords – Legacy Period (Plates 12.174 to 12.188)

Many of these Lords continue to be depicted in the Legacy Period. The Mighty Lord and Epiphany Lord are seen in 12.174 to 12.177. Of particular note is the Lord's pose in 12.175 giving the chest gesture and standing within the double horns. In 12.176 possibly the only example of a male with an erect penis is seen in the server greeting the Mighty Lord as Epiphany Lord. A Staff Lord is seen in 12.178 holding out his spear in the power gesture. The Sword Lord, Bow Lord, Axe Lord and Mace Lord are not represented. One possible example of the Triple Bud Lord is seen in 12.179. There is comparatively more continuity with the VIP with familiar *Icon*. The Griffin Lord is seen in 12.180 to 12.182 with quite a splendid rendition of the griffin chariot in 12.180. The Lion Lord in 12.183 to 12.185 stands holding his lion on a leash or stretching his controlling arm over his familiar. A Bull Lord is seen in 12.186 and an Agrimi Lord in 12.187 and 12.188. Interestingly, agrimia now pull the Lord's chariot in 12.187. We see a Hound Lord in 12.177 holding a huge familiar with very ornate collar. There appears to be no Dolphin Lord.

VIP Master of Animals

VIP Master of Animals – Early Seal Period (Plates 12.189 to 12.191)

The antithetical group formula is also used to depict the Master of Animals. As with the Mistress figures, the Master is placed centrally, usually standing in the combination pose with his attendant animals flanking him. Various heraldic poses are used for the animals who mostly face him although they can be addorsed. In the Early Seal Period the figures are not as clear but the antithetical group formula is unmistakable. In 12.189 to 12.191 we see, at a very early time, a possible Lion Master and a Hound Master and then, somewhat later, we have a possible Dolphin Master.

VIP Master of Animals – Minoan High Art (Plates 12.192 to 12.194)

The identity of the Master is clearer in Minoan High Art. In 12.192 the griffin and lion combine in attendance to a Griffin Lion Master in one of the few examples where the attendant animals are different.

¹⁰ This particular problem of the identification of young or baby griffins warrants comment on two later images from other media. A wall painting fragment from Mycenae, National Museum inv. No. 11652, shows a figure wearing a tusk helmet holding a young griffin. A pottery example from Lefkandi shows a griffin pair feeding baby bird griffins in a nest, AP, Plate 88a. The question of the nature of griffin young, whether arriving by mammalian birth or emergence from an egg, was raised in Chapter 10 above.

The damaged sealing in 12.193 shows a Hound Master holding his attendants on long leashes. He is a very interesting Master figure since he is a strongly muscled man holding his hands in the chest gesture as a Mighty Lord and he wears a plumed hat. In 12.194 the Hound Master holds his rather feline-shaped attendants under the jaw. In both 12.192 and 12.194 the animals are rampant to the Master. All Masters depicted wear the belt and kilt.

VIP Master of Animals – *Legacy Period* (Plates 12.195 to 12.212)

The apparent paucity of Master figures in Minoan High Art is corrected in the Legacy Period where all Masters are depicted but the Lion Master above all. A new Master appears, the Genius Master as in 12.195 and 10.143. In 12.195 he holds an attendant genius on each side by the tongue. The Master of Animals *Icon* is doubled in 12.196 to show a Griffin Master with attendants rampant addorsed elevated and a Stag Master with attendants statant addorsed. In 12.197 the Griffin Master has his attendants couchant addorsed on the perimeter groundline, one being inverted. The Lion Master holds his attendants suspended, sometimes inverted, in 12.198, 12.199, 12.202 and 12.204. He favours rampant lions, sometimes addorsed, in 12.200, 12.201 and 12.205. A rare Bull Master is seen in 12.206 with his bulls statant along the perimeter groundline. The Agrimi Master is seen in 12.207 with the agrimia rampant and in 12.208 with them rampant addorsed regardant. The Stag Master shown in 12.196 is seen again in 12.209 with stags rampant. The Hound Master is seen in 12.210 with hounds rampant and in 12.211 with hounds rampant addorsed regardant. A Dolphin Master is seen in 12.212 reaching out to his dolphins diving down each side. All these Masters wear the belt and kilt except for the figure in 12.200 who wears a tunic and a tusk helmet. Some of the Master figure details are of considerable interest. The Master figures in 12.196, both Griffin Master and Stag Master, are shown as in running pose instead of in the usual standing pose. In 12.205 the Master stands between curved altars that provide a support for the front legs of the rampant lions. Some of the details cross-reference the Masters to Lord figures. The Griffin Master in 12.196 carries a staff as a Staff Lord. The Lion Master in 12.201 and the Hound Master in 12.210 give the chest gesture as for the Mighty Lord.

Deities Gesturing

For all the deities described above, apart from the Mistress and Master figures which are governed by their antithetical group composition, the usual body pose is one at rest, either seated or standing. The few exceptions are when a Lady propels her grand boat or a Lord drives his chariot. These divine figures are regularly shown as sole subjects in the focus composition. Sometimes they are accompanied by their creature familiar but even then they stand serene and isolated. However, deities do gesture even in this isolated state and certainly to mortal women and men in complex scenes. There are seven gestures that are used only by divine figures: the hips, chest, brandishing, pointing, beckoning, toasting and power gestures. There are two gestures that divine figures use as well as mortals: the hands high and greeting gestures.

The hips gesture is where the figure places arms akimbo to her hips. This gesture identifies Ladies as in 12.40, 12.41 and 12.44 and may be linked to tying the waist girdle which holds the skirt. The chest gesture sees the male figure bend both arms up horizontal to place hands at his chest. This gesture is the signifying gesture of the Mighty Lord as in 12.133, 12.174 and 12.175. When one hand of the Mighty Lord is being used to hold the staff or to reach out he places the other in the chest gesture as in 12.132, 12.136 and 12.45. The brandishing gesture is when the figure holds a weapon up in the air as with the sword in 12.55, 12.60, 12.141 and 12.147. This gesture is made by the Sword Lady and the Sword Lord. The pointing gesture is where the male figure uses the index finger to point before the Seated Great Lady as in 12.46 and 12.47. In 12.46 the Lord actually touches the Lady's arm, indicating he must also have equivalence as a deity. Parallels with the Mighty Lord who gives the chest gesture in 12.45 link the three images and allow the pointing gesture to belong to the Mighty Lord. With the beckoning gesture the figure bends the arm up and holds the hand open but facing themselves, thus inviting the viewer

to approach. A Lord beckons in 12.149 and a Lady in 12.43. The toasting gesture is only seen in 12.87 where the Great Seated Lady raises a chalice as she is approached by four geniuses. The power gesture, perhaps the most striking of the deity gestures, may be given by a Lady or a Lord in holding out the power symbol. It is usually a staff as in 12.53, 12.54, 12.132, 12.134 and 12.138 but may be a bow as in 12.57 or a spear as in 12.178.

The two gestures that deities regularly share with mortals, the hands high and the greeting gestures, were discussed when examples of women and men gesturing were given in Chapter 9, 9.70 to 9.72, 9.76 and 9.78. The hands high gesture does not necessarily require a recipient to be shown. It is seen early given by Ladies in 12.21, 12.25 and 12.29 and by a Lord in 12.131. Later examples include the Lady giving the hands high gesture in 12.32, 12.48, 12.90 and 12.94. For the greeting gesture both Ladies and Lords can hold their arm and hand out. Again, it is not necessary to have a recipient shown but in cultscapes, mortals receive, and return, the gesture. The Epiphany Lady addresses mortals below her in 12.48, 12.49 and 12.52 while the Epiphany Lord greets a man in 12.176. The Sea Lady greets the shrine as she nears land in 12.66. When the Lady is sole subject she may give the greeting gesture as if to unseen recipients as in 12.64. Both the Lion Lord in 12.142 and the Hound Lord in 12.170 also give the greeting gesture as if to unseen recipients. The monkey, as befits its semi-divine nature, can give the hands high gesture as in 10.11, 10.16 and 10.17 and the greeting gesture as in 12.34, 12.152 and 10.18.

Iconographic Interpretation: Minoan and Mycenaean Pantheons

It has been a long investigation of human figure depictions but at the end we have separated the immortals from the mortals¹¹. From all the human figure representations we have selected those figures that do not have any special iconographic details to set them apart from living normal lives in this world. In Chapter 9 we have called them women and men and have explored their roles. From all the human figure representations we have selected those figures that meet specific deity criteria. In this Chapter we have described their exploits and explained their associations. We have found our anthropomorphic goddesses and gods! These immortal beings are gathered under the title, VIP, and we have given them descriptive names appropriate to their presentation as either Lady/Mistress or Lord/Master. Table 1 presents all the forty VIPs known down to the end of Minoan High Art as the provisional Minoan Pantheon of the seal images. Table 2 presents all the twenty-eight VIPs continuing into the Legacy Period along with some newly-appearing versions of Master figures as the provisional Mycenaean Pantheon of the seal images. As before, we will turn to the interpretation of the images down to and including Minoan High Art in the paragraphs below and wait until Chapter 14 to discuss the images of the Legacy Period.

However, before proceeding, it is necessary to comment upon a significant omission in the Pantheons. Those readers familiar with Aegean iconography in other media will already have noticed that there is no snake lady. Just as there are no snakes in seal images, there are no snake goddesses either; thus, there are no parallels to the faience figures from Knossos. Emily Bonney, in a carefully argued treatise, has convincingly shown that the faience “Snake Goddesses” are a particular creation of the MM III Knossos Palace built after the great destructions at the end of MM II. As such, they have no precedents in Minoan iconography and, once they were buried in the Temple Repositories after the next earthquake, they leave no trace in subsequent neopalatial art¹². This assessment accords with the seal evidence and

11 The naturalism of the rendition of figures may cause some readers to query whether such “normal” representations could possibly be gods. Where is the awe and separation from the mortal sphere that one expects in the portrayal of the gods? Its absence leads us again to comparisons with Classical art. I thank Guenter Koepcke for his illuminating comments on this matter in our discussions on the art of Minoan Crete.

12 Bonney 2011, 171-190, pays particular attention to the five extant pieces, illustrated Figs. 3 to 7, which have been assembled by Evans into two complete figurines. She assesses them as Cretan-Syrian hybrids reflecting the relationship of the Knossos ruling elite of the time with the Syrian states through the production of the shining faience and through paring eastern iconographic details with Minoan elements. See also Goodison and Morris

calls for a review of the importance that has been accorded the two statuettes, reconstructed from various pieces, as emblematic of Minoan culture.

From the Early Seal Period down to the end of Minoan High Art we have identified a total of forty VIPs as deity figures: fifteen Ladies and seven Mistresses; and fourteen Lords and four Masters. Table 1 lists the goddesses as the Epiphany, Staff, Great, Seated, Flower, Sea, Bow, Sword, Dragon, Griffin, Lion, Hound, Agrimi, Bird and Dolphin Ladies and the Griffin, Lion, Hound, Agrimi, Ram, Dolphin and Bird Mistresses. The gods are listed as the Epiphany, Staff, Mighty, Bow, Sword, Mace, Axe, Triple Bud Rod, Griffin, Lion, Hound, Agrimi, Dolphin and Bull Lords and the Griffin, Lion, Hound and Dolphin Masters. Listing the deities in Table 1 in two gendered columns brings out clearly where there are significant pairings. Where the deities are involved in action we have an Epiphany Lady and Lord and a Staff Lady and Lord. Where weapons are held we have a Bow Lady and Lord and a Sword Lady and Lord. Where deities are identified by their familiar we have a Griffin, Lion, Hound, Agrimi and Dolphin Lady and Lord. Similar pairings can be seen across the Mistress and Master deities in both Griffin, Lion, Hound and Dolphin Mistress and Master images. These significant pairings also throw into sharp relief the VIP Ladies and Lords that appear to have no gendered pair: the Great, Seated, Flower, Sea, Dragon and Bird Ladies and the Mighty, Mace, Axe, Triple Bud Rod and Bull Lord. These pairings and non-pairings, which are never trespassed in the iconography, testify to a Pantheon of divine beings that is both expansive but also intricately subtle. The artists created this iconography to picture the deities and the supernatural world that existed in the minds of the Minoans. It is difficult for us to read this iconography and reach back to the Minoan Pantheon. We have no text references and rather fewer images of deities than we would wish, some only evidenced in one clear example. However, the iconographic detail provided in the images that remain to us can take us a long way into understanding the nature of each divinity.

The forty Minoan deity VIPs listed in Table 1 show fifteen Ladies and seven Mistresses and fourteen Lords and four Masters. But do we actually have twenty-two different goddesses and eighteen different gods? Perhaps some of these images are not indicative of separate goddesses and gods but of separate aspects of their power. What we may have are twenty-two female deity personas and eighteen male deity personas, each of which shows some part of a particular deity's identity. Thus, the actual deity persons may be fewer in number. Take the example of the Classical Greek god, Apollo, who is regularly shown with his bow or with his lyre. The two images rarely share any iconographic details that would link the two images together and thus identify the same deity person but the literature provides just that detail to show that the two images are personas of the one god. In our Aegean world we do not have the literature detail to link any of the personas together but we do have iconographic details that cross-reference images and provide the evidence that some images are indeed personas of the one deity. There are two areas where the investigation of this cross-referencing of iconographic detail can reveal personas rather than persons and thus help find the actual deity identity. They are the pairings of Ladies and Mistresses, Lords and Masters and the domains of the deities.

Person or Persona: Ladies, Mistresses, Lords and Masters

Iconographic details which may suggest the same identity are the VIP with familiar figures and the Mistress and Master figures. There are seven female VIP with familiar figures: the Dragon, Griffin, Lion, Hound, Agrimi, Dolphin and Bird Ladies. There are seven Mistresses. There is no Dragon Mistress but there are Griffin, Lion, Hound, Agrimi, Ram, Dolphin and Bird Mistresses. With the Griffin Lady as in 12.73 and 12.74 and the Griffin Mistress as in 12.99 to 12.101, the female figure wears the usual female clothing and the attendant griffins share the expected details of lion bodies and eagle wings with curls on the wing bone. With the Lion Lady as in 12.75 to 12.77 and the Lion Mistress as in 12.102 to 12.107, the female figures and the lion attendants exhibit details that are usual in their iconographic schema.

1998, 113-132 and particularly Kenneth Lapatin for his treatise on the forgeries of figurines in his 2002 *Mysteries of the Snake Goddess*.

With both the griffin and the lion Lady-Mistress pairs there is one point of iconographic separation. The horn bow hat is worn by some Griffin Mistresses as in 12.99 and 12.100 and some Lion Mistresses as in 12.105 and 12.106. This striking headdress is not worn by Lady figures while many Mistress figures do not wear it either. It thus appears to be a detail which may sometimes be used within the Mistress of Animals formula but which does not constitute a differentiating detail between Ladies and Mistresses. The Hound Lady in 12.83 beside her huge hound finds a parallel in the Lion Hound Mistress of 12.107. The Agrimi Lady as in 12.78 to 12.82 is paired with the Mistresses in the associated *Icon*, the Mistress with Animal as in 12.120 to 12.127 where the nurturing and control of the animal is continued. In these images the Ram Mistress is so close to the Agrimi Mistress as to be regarded as a variant form, especially since in so many examples it is not clear whether a young agrimi or a young sheep is being depicted. The Dolphin Lady in 12.86 is paired with the Dolphin Mistress in 12.112 and 12.113. The Bird Lady as in 12.54, 12.84 and 12.85 matches the Bird Mistress in 12.108 to 12.111. Overall, the iconographic detail leads us to assess the Lady and Mistress figures as different personas of the same six deities associated with the animal identities of griffin, lion, hound, agrimi, dolphin and bird respectively.

With the Lord and Master parallels we have six Lord VIP with familiar figures: the Griffin, Lion, Hound, Agrimi, Dolphin and Bull Lords. There are four Master figures: Griffin, Lion, Hound and Dolphin. The four Master figures in the Master of Animals compositions 12.189 to 12.194 are shown with their griffin, lion, hound and dolphin attendants. We see matching detail with the Griffin Lord as in 12.153 to 12.158, the Lion Lord as in 12.159 to 12.164, the Hound Lord as in 12.170 and 12.171 and the Dolphin Lord in 12.173. The iconographic detail thus assesses that four of the Lord and Master pairings – griffin, lion, hound and dolphin – are different personas of the same deities.

In summary, the correlation of iconographic detail across the animal identities of familiar and attendant allows us to identify the Mistress/Master figures as special artistic renditions of certain Ladies and Lords who have their primary personas in the VIP with familiar formula. We should note that the evidence for the Mistress of Animals and the Master of Animals lies overwhelmingly in the seal images. We should also note that having the alternative formulas of Mistress/Master and VIP with familiar for depicting these personas not only multiplies the number of images of the deity but also reinforces that deity identity. Accordingly, we will take the group of the seven Lady figures in the VIP with familiar *Icon* as naming significant female deities and the group of the six Lord figures in the VIP with familiar *Icon* similarly as naming significant male deities. By recognising the Mistress/Master figures as alternate renditions of certain Lady/Lord figures we have reduced the forty personas to twenty-nine, some fifteen Ladies and fourteen Lords.

Person or Persona: Domains of the Deities

Much information is available about the nature of the VIP Lady and the VIP Lord personas when we investigate their spheres of interest, the domains over which they have power and the places where they are at home. Some reveal their identity within precincts we may term the Fertile Earth, the Fecund Marshland, the Wild Mountain and the Deep Ocean. Others reveal their identity in the particular attributes which set them apart from other immortals, especially when they do not have gendered parallels like the Great Lady, Dragon Lady, Mighty Lord and Bull Lord. Again, it is the interconnectedness of the iconographic detail that directs the interpretation.

For the Fertile Earth the dominant VIP image is the Great Lady, seen most clearly in the Minoan High Art images 12.33 to 12.47. Her large voluptuous body is regularly shown seated in some auspicious place as the Seated Lady. The privilege of being seated is granted only to the female, the Lady deity, and much is revealed of her nature in the identifying detail of the seat that she is sitting upon. The Great Lady's seat can be rocky ground or a place before a tree, a special stool or chair, a shrine or a place backed by a grand pillar. Her power is thus identified with the very stones of the earth itself, with the vegetation that springs from it, and with the activities of mortals who build special structures for her. In this role she is attended by servers who may also be bearers bringing gifts to her. The earth forms, the vegetation and the attendance of smaller-sized servers are the defining characteristics of the Great Lady. In the Early Seal

Period, this grand seated female image was associated with the triple bud as in 12.25 and an early tree as in 12.27. The continuation of this vegetation interest is seen in the depiction of the Flower Ladies of Minoan High Art as in 12.61 to 12.65 and is particularly clear in 12.62 with the open crocus flowering behind her. The Fertile Earth is part of the natural world of the Minoans, portrayed by their artists as a flower-filled landscape which we have termed the Lily Garden. The Fertile Earth consists of all the farmed plains and the productive hill slopes. It signifies the fertility so desired by agrarian communities that they come to worship the deity that has control over it. Thus, the Great Lady can be seen as the feminine principle immanent in the real world as the great goddess who has dominion over the earth and its productivity. Her persona as the Flower Lady reveals her core identity. Her persona as Seated Lady declares her pre-eminence.

The earthly domain of the Dragon Lady is the Fecund Marshland. She is such a powerful figure as she rides her dragon familiar, side-saddle as is appropriate for a female, as in 12.71 and 12.72. This is particularly clear when the modelling of 12.71 is seen in the sealing itself as in 13.41. The cultscape of 12.71 places the Dragon Lady in the Papyrus Garden of the supernatural world in the company of the Griffin Lord. Her dragon is depicted in considerable detail as to body shape and skin surface, enjoying its animal life in this very Papyrus Garden, as indicated by the papyrus and palm plants and wavelines in 10.115 to 10.117 and the sealing 13.26¹³. The dragon also forms part of each of the two grand boats carrying the Sea Lady to shore as in the cultscapes of 12.66 and 12.69. The dragon's upper body arches over to have the head protecting the shrine being carried in the boat. The grand boat always traverses shallow waters close to land in contrast to ships which sail the high seas. This cross-referencing of iconographic details suggests that the Sea Lady is to be read as the persona that the Dragon Lady uses when coming to visit her worshippers in the real world. It is appropriate that she arrives at land which is on the edge of the coastal sea. The edge-of-the-sea marshes or shallow waters are documented in many images through the iconographic details of tricurved arch pattern, waveline and wateredge and of the waterfowl birdlife¹⁴. The fecundity of these watery realms is evidenced by the wild lushness of the plant growth and in the flocks of water birds that find in it their natural home. This watery domain is a parallel to the firm productive land which is the domain of the Great Lady with her persona of the Flower Lady. To find such a landscape depicted in seal designs comes as no surprise when one considers that the climate might well have been much wetter in the Bronze Age and marshy sea edges are likely to have been of larger extent. It would also be necessary to have a powerful deity controlling and caring for these areas and the Dragon Lady appears to be the principal deity in charge here. Yet, there is already a deity identified with the Fecund Marshland, the Bird Lady, and she may be seen as a persona of the Dragon Lady and Sea Lady by iconographic cross-referencing. The Bird Lady has a relationship with the watery shallows as in 12.54 where her bird familiars carry her beyond the wateredge. As the Bird Mistress she stands on a waveline/wateredge in 12.108. The many images of birdwomen as in 11.7 to 11.20 should also be kept in mind here, although we cannot trace the links any more closely because the birdwomen depictions are so self-referencing and thus do not reveal iconographic details that reach beyond the image. As the Dragon Lady, Sea Lady and Bird Lady do not have Lord pairings, their cluster with cross-referencing details suggests female oversight of the Fecund Marshland. Yet, there are more iconographic linkages. The Bird Lady is also the Great Lady in 12.84 and, through being carried aloft by pairs of birds over a flower field and flowering plants, she is also identified with the Flower Lady persona. The grand boats of the Dragon/Sea Lady also carry triple bud prows with the triple bud opening like a crocus flower, a link to the Great/Flower Lady. The cross-referencing through these various images suggests that the domains of the Fecund Earth and the Fecund Marshland are but different aspects of the sacred earth. However, we cannot be sure whether they are controlled by the one female deity who has two personas or by two separate deities envisioned as the Great Lady who is seated on rocks or shrines and the Dragon

13 See the discussion on the dragon in Chapter 10 above.

14 See the discussions in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 above.

Lady who rides on her fantastic familiar. There is one further point to consider about the nature of the domain of the Fecund Marshland. It appears to be a continuation in this world of the supernatural marshes of the Papyrus Garden. Once again, we are presented with one of those evocative transitions within the Minoan idiom that splices the supernatural world into this real one in effortless art.

The domain of the Wild Mountain lies beyond the lower plains and hillsides and encompasses the forests of the high country. This is the wilderness stronghold of untamed nature with its wild animals and their rapacious predators. This is the domain of the Agrimi Lady and the Agrimi Lord and the Bow Lady and the Bow Lord. The Wild Mountain is one of the earliest subjects depicted with its rocky ground, its indigenous prey animals, the agrimi, stag and boar, and their predators, the indigenous hound and the exotic lion. The presence of the lion predator reminds us that this wild domain is not entirely set in the real Cretan world but has another dimension. These wild animals and their predators become the familiars of the Agrimi, Lion and Hound Ladies as in 12.78 to 12.83 and the Agrimi, Lion and Hound Lords as in 12.159 to 12.164 and 12.169 to 12.171. This cluster of Ladies and Lords shows nurturing care and a special relationship with their familiars which is carefully recorded in the iconographic detail. The signature endemic animal, the agrimi, is the spirit of the forest and all the wild places and, as the most depicted, also stands for the other denizens of the forest, the stag and the boar. The signature endemic predator, the hound, and the exotic wild predator, the lion, are intimately linked with the agrimi. They are the protagonists in the many hunting and animal attack scenes so beloved of Minoan High Art. Yet, there is another link when predation is considered: that is with the human hunter, who cherishes the hound as his beloved companion and chooses the well-crafted bow as his weapon. There is a special bond between the hunter and the quarry whose life he takes, a bond that is observed in various ways across many hunter societies. Hunting prowess is elevated to a divine attribute when embodied in the Bow Lady and Bow Lord. In 12.57 the Bow Lady presents her bow in the power gesture. In 12.141 the Bow Lord as Epiphany Lord brandishes a bow and a hunting dagger. These two deities are also shown in their alternate persona with their animal familiars. The Bow Lady is the Lion Lady when seen with her bow and her lion in 12.58. The Bow Lord is the Lion Lord when seen with his bow and his lion in 12.142. The Bow Lord is the Hound Lord when seen with his bow and his hound in 12.144 to 12.146. So, once again, it appears that we do not have separate deities here but various deity personas. We may see the Agrimi Lady and Agrimi Lord as the principal deities responsible for the nurturing of the creatures of the wild, the agrimi, stag and boar which become prey and quarry. We may see the Bow Lady and Bow Lord as the divine hunters and the hound and lion as their companion predators. If the bond between hunter and quarry observed in the human sphere is also elevated to the divine, then these personas coalesce. The Bow Lady, Agrimi Lady, Bow Lord and Agrimi Lord, either separately or together, hold dominion over the Wild Mountain. They have the power to control indigenous animals and exotic beasts through nurture and companionship or death in the hunt.

The watery expanse of the Deep Ocean is another wild and untamed place but it lies beyond the safety of land for humans. This is the domain of the Dolphin Lord and Dolphin Lady. Mortals experience ocean power in different ways. They know it through the sea life which provides them food: dolphin, fish, octopus squid, argonaut, crab, sea-urchin, shell and triton. They celebrate these creatures by depicting them in art in all their amazing variety – even noting the predatory behaviour of dolphin, octopus and triton. Mortals experience the ocean as the highway which grants access to far-away lands. The ship is a constant motif from the earliest images and is regularly shown with its hull carried along on a waveline. However, the Deep Ocean is also a domain that holds great danger. Ships stay home to avoid the bad weather of winter but even in other seasons violent unpredictable storms can destroy both craft and crew even as they race to safe harbour. From time to time a tsunami brings all the crushing power of the ocean down upon an unsuspecting seashore, reminding humans of the uncontrollable power of the seismic shock. The dominant sea animal is the dolphin which is a beloved image from the earliest seals to the end. It is the signature animal for the high seas and so becomes the identifying familiar of the Dolphin Lady and Dolphin Lord as in 12.86 and 12.173 and the identifying attendants of the Dolphin Mistress and Master as in 12.112, 12.113 and 12.191. Certainly, the sealing image in 12.173 and 13.48 is one

of the most significant records to remain to us. It reveals the Dolphin Lord, with his familiar leaping down behind him, as a convincing principal persona for the deity controlling the Deep Ocean and its sea creatures. Yet, the Dolphin Lord must also be the controller of the storm and the tsunami. In 12.173 the Dolphin Lord is the Mace Lord holding his mace insignia over his shoulder, although another image of the Mace Lord in 12.130 does not show the dolphin. With no other comparisons available, we are left to ponder if the mace is the weapon which the Dolphin Lord uses to stir up the storm or to provoke the tsunami. In all, the domain of the Deep Ocean enjoys a peculiarly Minoan iconography developed by an island people living intimately with their vast surrounding waters. The Dolphin Lord is indeed a most powerful deity.

The Mighty Lord is the statement of male power. He is a distinct and separate figure, standing tall and exuding the power residing in his male body as in 12.132 to 12.137. He wears the usual male belt and kilt but does not parade with any equipment which could link him to war or the hunt. His only consistent identification is the chest gesture. However, the Mighty Lord joins the Great Lady in some very specific images which led Georgios Rethemiotakis to describe them as the “Divine Couple”¹⁵. In 12.45 to 12.47, the Great Lady, as Seated Lady posed on rocky ground or shrine, welcomes the Mighty Lord into her space. In 12.84 the Seated Lady as a Bird Lady is carried aloft over flowering bushes by her two bird familiars while the Mighty Lord, a distinct and separate figure standing tall, reaches out to her. In 12.45 where both give a reaching gesture their hands almost touch and she responds with a heart gesture. In 12.47 where he gives a pointing gesture she also responds with a heart gesture while in 12.47 when he gives the pointing gesture he actually touches her, holding her by the wrist as she also points her finger¹⁶. These particular images featuring the Great Lady and Mighty Lord appear to be a particular sub-set of the VIP granting audience *Icon* where the male and female deities are in a special relationship as indicated by their significant gesturing to each other – indeed, a divine couple as Rethemiotakis proposes. There is already a parallel for the portrayal of a close relationship between a female and a male in the human couple *Icon* where the same gestures are used between them. This we read as a portrayal of marriage¹⁷. It is hard to escape the conclusion that we have here, in the divine sphere, a parallel portrayal. We should consider these images the presentation of an *ieros gamos*, a sacred marriage, between the Great Lady as earth mother and the Mighty Lord as her young consort.

With the Bull Lord we have rather more examples and certainly more iconographic details to make comparisons. The Bull Lord has no gendered parallel. He is fully anthropomorphic when presented in the VIP with familiar *Icon* as a human male figure in 12.165 to 12.168. Substitution allows the fantastic creature, the genius, to act as the Bull Lord in 10.142. The number of bull heads used symbolically reinforces his strong presence. The creation of the bullman image late in Minoan High Art as in 11.28 to 11.33 adds another layer to the complexity of understanding what the bull signifies. As this hybrid creature encapsulates the strength of both the male and the bull, the bullman can be seen as the codified form of the Bull Lord. Since the bullman images are presented in the focus composition there are few iconographic details that can tease out the meaning further by comparison with other images. Then there are the many varied depictions of the ceremony of the bull sports, a selection of the best seen in 9.157 to 9.168. The amount of artistic endeavour expended in portraying the power of the bull in these graphic bull sports scenes exceeds any other animal portrayal. As argued earlier, while the bravery and skill of the human leaper are celebrated, it is the elemental power of the bull that is the defining message of the image. Thus, we must consider that the Bull Lord has one of his most significant portrayals in his animal form as the bull avatar. In all these images the bull is raised to a mythic level of speed and destructive power. If the bull is not a bull but a god being worshipped through the ceremonial dance of

15 Rethemiotakis, 2016-2017, 1-29, in discussing the image on a gold signet from Poros.

16 This image has been termed “*sacra conversazione*”, recalling Renaissance compositions. However, this is a misnomer and, by suggesting anachronistic parallels, it is misleading.

17 See the discussion of the betrothal/marriage relationship between a man and a woman in the section, Private Lives, in Chapter 9 above.

death that is the bull sports, who might he be? To find the domain of the Bull Lord in this real world we must acknowledge that mortals experience the earth in Crete in one very frightening way. Because the earth can be convulsed at any time by earthquake, it has to be a great god that can control its destructive power. Yet, how would one portray an earthquake god? A Minoan artist could hardly show devastated buildings as that might precipitate the very thing that they hoped to avoid. As in so many other cases, the artist would turn to an animal depiction to encapsulate the power of such a god. The great bull is the obvious choice, even to likening the sound of its charging hooves to the rumbling of an earthquake in the earth far below. Is the interpretation of the Bull Lord with his bull avatar as the earthquake god a leap too far since it is not underpinned by any direct contemporary iconographic details? Not so, if we are correct in interpreting the kneeling the boulder ceremony as a plea for protection from seismic shock. Furthermore, reference to the powers of the Dolphin Lord may help here. Among the many expressions of ocean power gathered under his control is the tsunami. It seems that we may have a pairing of seismic gods here so as to have a full portrayal, similar to the pairing of the Great Lady and the Dragon Lady that was necessary to encompass the full expression of productive earth. The Dolphin Lord controls the tsunami crashing in from the deep ocean and the Bull Lord controls the earthquake striking up from the deep earth. Yet perhaps it is more than a pairing. Perhaps it is the same god. There are iconographic details of bull and dolphin in the next artistic period, 14.40 to 14.42, discussed in Chapter 14, which may help with the identification of these deities. Yet, for the moment, it is a good working hypothesis to see the Bull Lord with his bull avatar and the Dolphin Lord as the fearsome gods of seismic destruction.

Identifying other domains in control of the Great Gods or other relationships between deities is rather more difficult since the examples of each deity are limited. The Sword Lady in 12.60 brandishes a huge sword but has no links to other personas except through the fleecy skirt and diaphanous mantle. The Sword Lord in 12.147 also brandishes a large sword but he is also shown as the Lion Lord who has much more coverage. In other examples, 12.55 and 12.141, the sword is small, more like a hunting dagger as appropriate to the Bow Lord in 12.141. If the Sword Lord and Sword Lady are meant to be the deities controlling war, then their minimal presence reveals that very little weight is given in the supernatural sphere to an area of activity that usually occupies much space in Bronze Age iconography. It appears that the early values of the society in prioritising wild nature and the associated hunt continue to be preferred in the iconography. The three examples of the Axe Lord, 12.148, 12.149 and the Pylos seal, show him carrying his axe insignia over his shoulder. However, it is not the fenestrated axe and there are no iconographic details which can link him to other personas and thus give a fuller view of his range of powers. The Triple Bud Rod Lord as in 12.130 and 12.151 is rarely depicted but must be acknowledged as an important deity because of his long-standing presence and the strength of the triple bud insignia. This may not so much link him to the Great Lady but rather indicate his own direct relationship with fertility, with the sprouting force of plant and flower regenerating each season. Some personas do not appear to have any particular identity attached to them. These are the two pairings of deities, the Epiphany Lady and Lord and the Staff Lady and Lord. Each has a significant feature which names the persona: the pose of appearing on high and the pose of presenting of the staff in the power gesture. These features speak to the majesty and power of the figure but do not elucidate the deity's special nature or domain of control.

The four related personas, the Griffin Lady and Griffin Mistress and the Griffin Lord and Griffin Master, give us rather more examples than the other deities named for their familiar/attendant animal but show few comparative links. The Sea Lady in 12.67 guides her grand boat shaped like a griffin body with griffin head stern while the Griffin Mistress in 12.101 wears a floating scarf at her neck just as the Great Lady does in 12.44. These two comparisons suggest that the griffin deity personas may not be sourcing their identity within a particular domain of power but rather may simply be calling attention to their divinity. The griffin, with its lion power on the earth below and its eagle power in the skies above, may well be a statement of overarching divine power. This would explain its role beside the commanding figures of female and male deities.

So, careful sleuthing of iconographic detail allows us to see, among the twenty-nine deity personas, possibly ten principal deity personas which declare individual divine identity. They are the goddesses of female flourishing, the Great and Dragon Ladies; the wild nature quartet of nurture and predation, the Agrimi Lady and Lord and the Bow Lady and Lord; the male principle of the Mighty Lord; the potent Triple Bud Rod Lord; the formidable god of ocean force, the Dolphin Lord; and the fearsome god of seismic power, the Bull Lord.

Anthropomorphic, Beautiful, Serene and Powerful

In Chapter 9, we saw the elite of Minoan society depicted as beautiful women and men, in the prime of life, clothed in the very best costume and jewellery. As they go about performing their ceremonial roles they are seen as the ideal for humankind, a beautiful pious Minoan Woman and a beautiful brave Minoan Man. In this Chapter, we see this Minoan ideal projected into the supernatural sphere. The Great Gods are depicted as a grander version of the Minoan Woman and the Minoan Man and are the focus of ceremonies performed by those very Minoan mortals. The Great Gods serenely stand in isolation or sit welcoming their mortal servers, their power obvious, revealed in their size, their pose and their familiars.

Table 1 The Minoan Pantheon in the Seal Images

VIP Personas of Deities to the end of Minoan High Art

Goddesses	Gods
Ladies	Lords
Epiphany Lady Staff Lady	Epiphany Lord Staff Lord
Great Lady Seated Lady Flower Lady	
Sea Lady	
	Mighty Lord
Bow Lady Sword Lady	Bow Lord Sword Lord
	Mace Lord Axe Lord Triple Bud Rod Lord
Dragon Lady	
Griffin Lady Lion Lady Hound Lady Agrimi Lady	Griffin Lord Lion Lord Hound Lord Agrimi Lord
Dolphin Lady*	Dolphin Lord*
Bird Lady	
	Bull Lord
Mistresses	Masters
Griffin Mistress Lion Mistress Hound Mistress*	Griffin Master Lion Master Hound Master
Agrimi Mistress Ram Mistress	
Dolphin Mistress	Dolphin Master*
Bird Mistress	

*Personas that have one clear example for the period

Table 2 The Mycenaean Pantheon in the Seal Images

VIP Personas of Deities Continuing into the Legacy Period

Goddesses	Gods
Ladies	Lords
	Epiphany Lord* Staff Lord
Great Lady Seated Lady	
	Mighty Lord
	Triple Bud Rod Lord*
Dragon Lady*	
Griffin Lady	Griffin Lord
	Lion Lord Hound Lord* Agrimi Lord
	Bull Lord*
Mistresses	Masters
Griffin Mistress Lion Mistress Hound Mistress* Agrimi Mistress*	Griffin Master Lion Master Hound Master Agrimi Master
	Stag Master
Ram Mistress*	
Dolphin Mistress	Dolphin Master*
Bull Mistress*	Bull Master*
	Genius Master

*Personas that have one clear example for the period

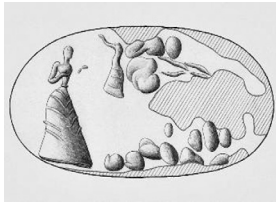
Comparisons with Images in Other Media

1. Bowl and fruitstand from the Old Palace at Phaistos showing the Great Lady in mountain shape with two servers and the Flower Lady with servers holding crocuses.
AP, Plates II and III.
2. The Goddess in the Crocus Gatherers fresco from Thera as the Great Lady in the VIP granting audience *Icon*.
AWP, Plate 22, 2.
3. The gold and ivory statue of the Mighty Lord from Palaikastro.
MacGillivray, J. A., J.M. Driessen and L.H. Sackett, 2000.
The Palaikastro Kouros: a Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and its Aegean Bronze Age Context.
4. The Agrimi Chariot and the Griffin Chariot on the short ends of the Agia Triada Sarcophagus.
CM, Plate XXIX B, XXX.
5. Clay idols giving the hands high gesture.
FLL, Plates 167 to 169.

Plates 12.1 to 12.212

Identifying Deities: The Five Criteria

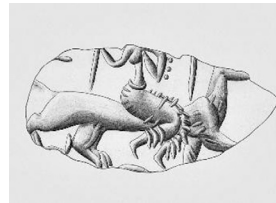
1. The Fantastic and the Supra-Normal



12.1 – Epiphany Lady
(II.6 6)



12.2 – Lion Lord
(II.8 237)



12.3 – Dragon Lady
(II.6 33)



12.4 – Griffin Lord
(II.8 193)

2. Size Differential



12.5 – Epiphany Lord
(VI 278)



12.6 – Seated Lady
(II.6 8)



12.7 – Great Lady
(X 261)

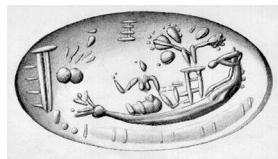


12.8 – Great Lady
(II.6 1)

3. Pose and Position



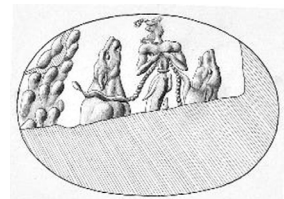
12.9 – Great Lady
(VS 1A 177)



12.10 – Sea Lady
(II.3 252)



12.11 – Mighty Lord
(VS1A 142)



12.12 – Hound Master
(II.8 248)

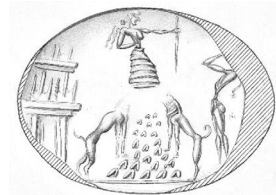
4. Centre of Attention



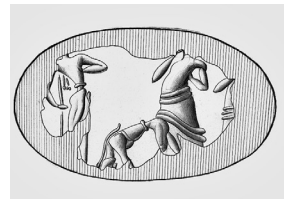
12.13 – Great Lady
(II.8 268)



12.14 – Great Lady
(II.3 103)



12.15 – Staff Lady
(II.8 256)



12.16 – Mighty Lord
(II.7 3)

5. Sole Subject



12.17 – Bow Lady
(XI 26)



12.18 – Dolphin Lord
(II.8 258)



12.19 – Great Lady
(II.6 23)

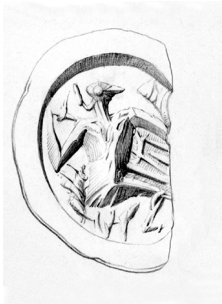


12.20 – Bow Lord
(II.6 36)

Presenting the Ladies and Mistresses

VIP Ladies

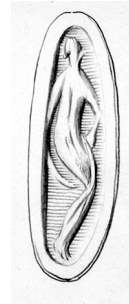
VIP Ladies – Early Seal Period



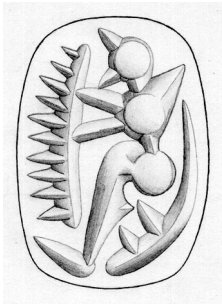
12.21 – Seated Lady
(II.1 477a/EM III-MM IA?)



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



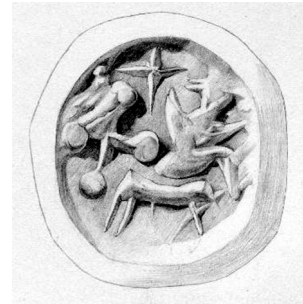
12.23 – Lady
(II.1 162/EM III-MM IA)



12.24 – Seated Lady
(VS 1A 325a/MM II)



12.25 – Flower Seated Lady
(II.2 242a/MM II)



12.26 – Seated Lady
(IX D3c/MM II)



12.27 – Seated Lady
(VI 45a/MM II)



12.28 – Great Seated Lady
(III 154a/MM II)



12.29 – Seated Lady
(XII 15b/MM II)

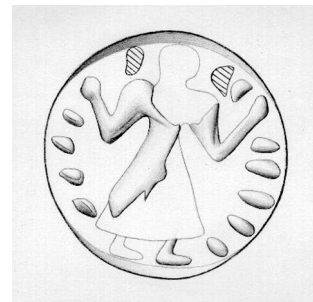
**VIP Ladies –
*Experimentation Period***



12.30 – Seated Lady
(I 416c/MM II)



12.31 – Lady
(II.8 39/MM II)



12.32 – Flower Lady?
(II.3 239/MM III-LM I)

The Great Gods

VIP Ladies – Minoan High Art

Great Lady, Seated Lady – Minoan High Art



12.33 – Great Seated Lady
(II.8 268/LM I)



12.34 – Great Seated Lady
(II.3 103/LM I-LM II)



12.35 – Great Seated Lady
(I 17/LB I-LB II)



12.36 – Great Seated Lady
(II.6 8/LM I)



12.37 – Great Seated Lady
(XI 30/LB I-LB II)



12.38 – Great Seated Lady
(VI 284/LB I-LB II)



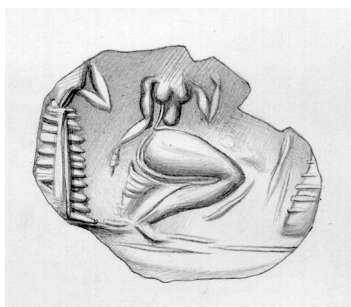
12.39 – Great Seated Lady
(VI 283/LB I-LB II)



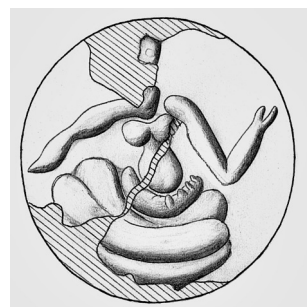
12.40 – Great Lady, servers
(II.6 1/LM I)



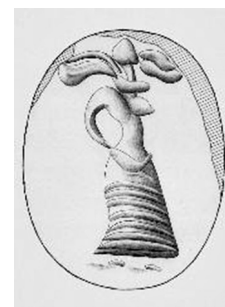
12.41 – Great Lady, servers
(II.3 218/LM I-LM II)



12.42 – Great Lady, servers
(VS 1A 179/LM I)



12.43 – Seated Lady
(II.7 22/LM I)



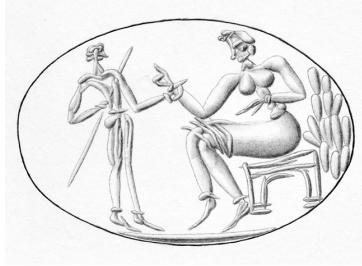
12.44 – Great Lady
(II.6 23/LM I)

The Great Gods

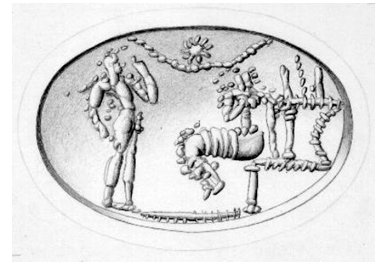
Great Lady, Seated Lady – Minoan High Art (cont.)



12.45 – Great Lady, Mighty Lord
(X 261/LM I-LM II)

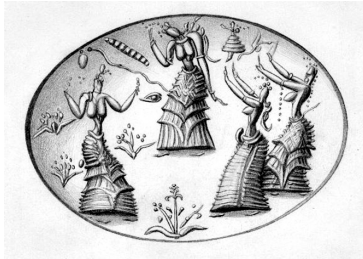


12.46 – Great Lady, Mighty Lord
(I 101/LB I-LB II?)



12.47 – Great Lady, Mighty Lord
(V 199/LM I-LM II?)

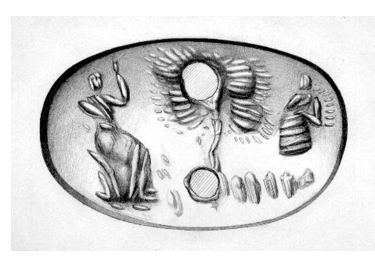
Epiphany Lady – Minoan High Art



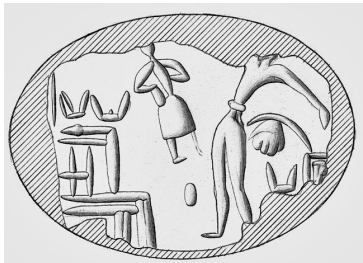
12.48 – Epiphany Lady
(II.3 51/LM I-LM II)



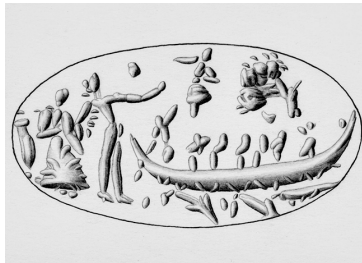
12.49 – Epiphany Lady
(II.6 6/LM I)



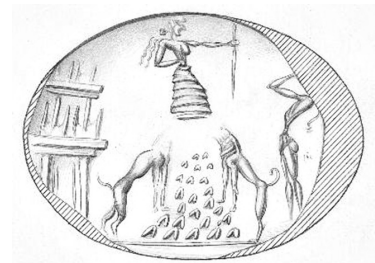
12.50 – Epiphany Lady
(II.3 305/LM I)



12.51 – Epiphany Lady
(II.7 1/LM I)



12.52 – Epiphany Lady
(VI 280/LM I)



12.53 – Staff Lady, Epiphany Lady
(II.8 256/LM I)

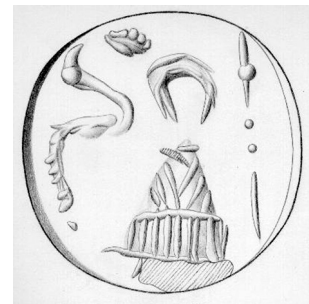
Staff Lady – Minoan High Art



12.54 – Staff Lady, Bird Lady
(II.8 257/LM I)



12.55 – Staff Lady, Sword Lady
(I 226/LB I-LB II)



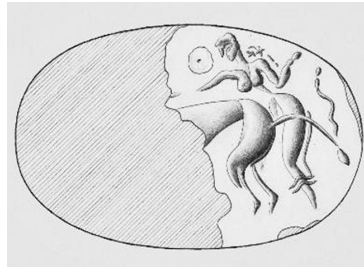
12.56 – Staff Lady, Bird Lady
(II.4 125/LM I-LM II?)

The Great Gods

Bow Lady – Minoan High Art



12.57 – Bow Lady
(XI 26/LB I-LB II)



12.58 – Bow Lady, Lion Lady
(II.6 35/LM I)



12.59 – Bow Lady
(II.6 26/LM I)

Sword Lady – Minoan High Art



12.60 – Sword Lady
(II.3 16/LB I)

Flower Lady – Minoan High Art



12.61 – Flower Lady
(XI 20a/LM I)



12.62 – Flower Lady
(III 349/LM I)

Flower Lady – Minoan High Art



12.63 – Flower Lady
(II.6 27/LM I)

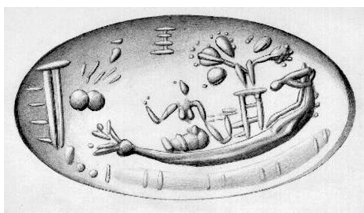


12.64 – Flower Lady
(XI 347/LM I-LM II)

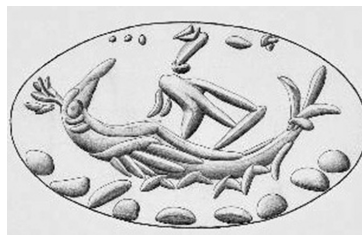


12.65 – Flower Lady
(VS 3 85/LB I-LB II)

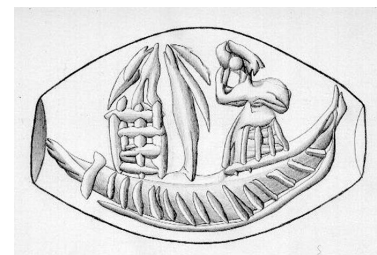
Sea Lady – Minoan High Art



12.66 – Sea Lady
(II.3 252/LM I)



12.67 – Sea Lady
(II.6 20/LM I)



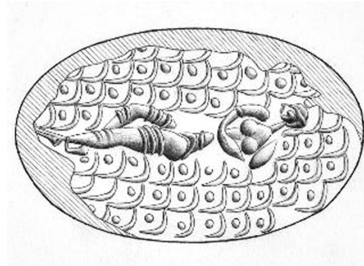
12.68 – Sea Lady
(VS 1A 55/LM I)

The Great Gods

Sea Lady – Minoan High Art

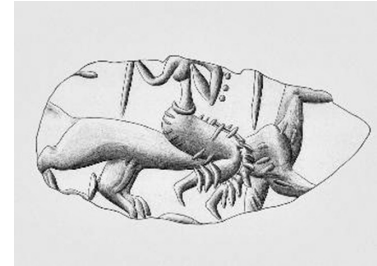


12.69 – Sea Lady
(Minos Ring/LM I)



12.70 – Sea Lady
(II.8 264/LM I)

Dragon Lady – Minoan High Art



12.71 – Dragon Lady
(II.6 33/LM I)

Dragon Lady – Minoan High Art



12.72 – Dragon Lady
(VI 321/LM I-LM II)

Griffin Lady – Minoan High Art



12.73 – Griffin Lady
(Archanes Griffin Ring/LM I)



12.74 – Griffin Lady
(VIII 146/LB I-LB II)

Lion Lady – Minoan High Art



12.75 – Lion Lady
(V 253/LM I-LM II)

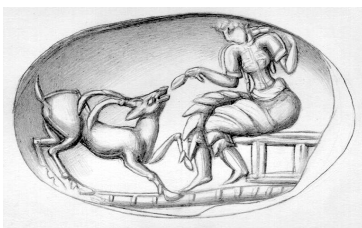


12.76 – Lion Lady
(XI 256/LM I)

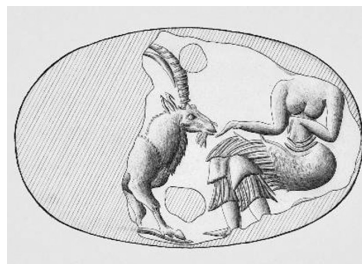


12.77 – Lion Lady
(V 584/LB I-LB II)

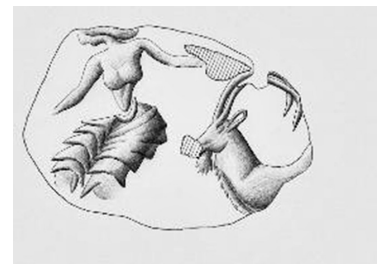
Agrimi Lady – Minoan High Art



12.78 – Agrimi Lady
(VS 1A 175/LM I)



12.79 – Agrimi Lady
(II.6 30/LM I)



12.80 – Agrimi Lady
(II.6 31/LM I)

The Great Gods

Agrimi Lady – Minoan High Art



12.81 – Agrimi Lady
(XI 27/LM I)



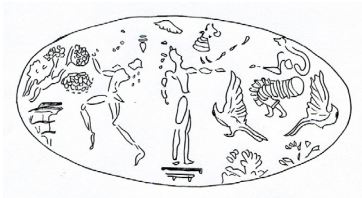
12.82 – Agrimi Lady
(X 160/LM I)

Hound Lady – Minoan High Art



12.83 – Hound Lady
(VS 1B 58/LB I-LB II)

Bird Lady – Minoan High Art



12.84 – Bird Lady, Mighty Lord
(Poros Ring/LM I)



12.85 – Bird Lady
(II.3 170/LM I)

Dolphin Lady – Minoan High Art

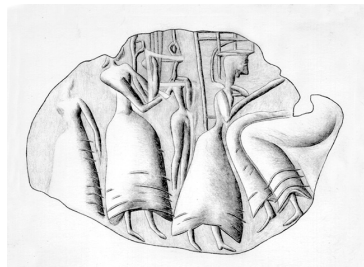


12.86 – Dolphin Lady
(VI 324/LM I)

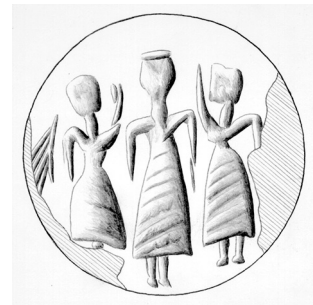
VIP Ladies – Legacy Period



12.87 – Great Seated Lady
(I 179/LB II)



12.88 – Great Seated Lady
(I 361/LB IIIA?)



12.89 – Great Lady
(I 321/LB IIIA1)



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



12.91 – Griffin Lady
(I 128/LB II-LB IIIA?)



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

The Great Gods

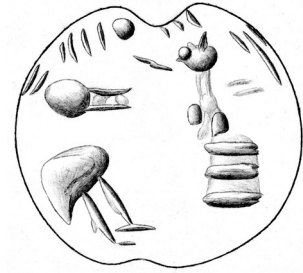
VIP Ladies – Legacy Period (cont.)



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



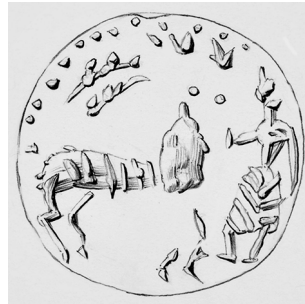
12.94 – Bird Lady
(X 270/LM II-LM IIIA1)



12.95 – Bird Lady?
(VS 3 31a/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2)



12.96 – Agrimi Lady
(VS 1B 261/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2)



12.97 – Agrimi Lady
(VI 328/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2?)



12.98 – Agrimi Lady
(VI 331/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2)

VIP Mistresses

VIP Mistress of Animals – Minoan High Art

Griffin Mistress, Lion Mistress, Hound Mistress – Minoan High Art



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



12.100 – Griffin Mistress
(II.3 276/LB I-LB II)



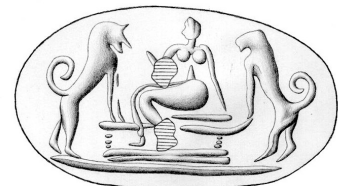
12.101 – Griffin Mistress
(VI 314/LB I-LB II)



12.102 – Lion Mistress
(VI 315/LM I-LM II)



12.103 – Lion Mistress
(IV 295/LM I)



12.104 – Lion Mistress
(VS1B 195/LM I-LM II)

VIP Mistress of Animals – Minoan High Art (cont.)

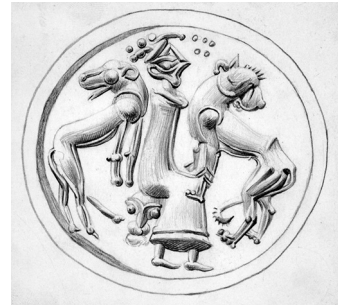
Griffin Mistress, Lion Mistress, Hound Mistress – Minoan High Art (cont.)



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



12.106 – Lion Mistress
(X 242/LB I-LB II)



12.107 – Lion Hound Mistress
(VII 118/LB I-LB II)

Bird Mistress, Dolphin Mistress – Minoan High Art



12.108 – Bird Mistress
(VII 134/LB I-LB II)



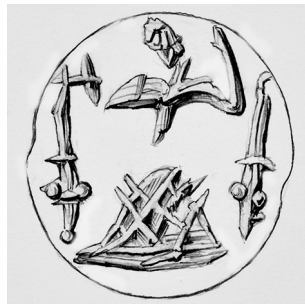
12.109 – Bird Mistress
(II.3 72/LM I)



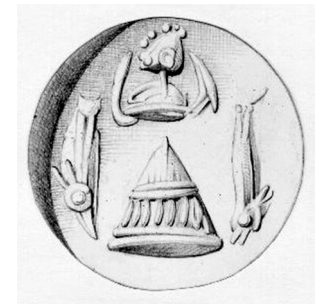
12.110 – Bird Mistress
(I 233b/LB I-LB II)



12.111 – Bird Mistress
(IX 154/LB I-LB II)



12.112 – Dolphin Mistress
(VI 333/LM I)



12.113 – Dolphin Mistress
(II.3 327/LM I)

VIP Mistress of Animals – Legacy Period



12.114 – Griffin Mistress
(V 654/LB II-LB IIIA1)



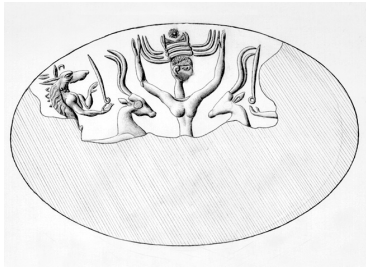
12.115 – Griffin Mistress
(II.3 63/LB II-LB IIIA1)



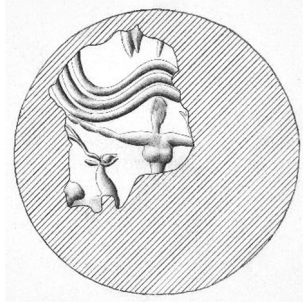
12.116 – Lion Mistress
(I 374/LB II)

The Great Gods

VIP Mistress of Animals – Legacy Period (cont.)



12.117 – Bull Mistress
(I 379/LB II-LB IIIA)

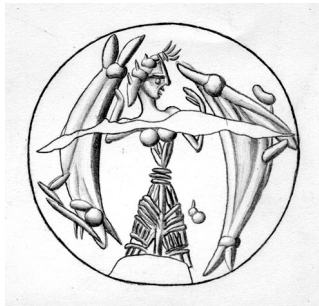


12.118 – Agrimi Mistress
(II.8 255/LM II-LM IIIA1?)



12.119 – Hound Mistress
(II.8 254/LM IIIA1)

**VIP Mistress with Animal –
Minoan High Art**



12.120 – Dolphin Mistress
(VS 1B 116/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.121 – Agrimi Mistress
(II.4 111/LM I)



12.122 – Agrimi Mistress
(II.7 23/LM I)



12.123 – Agrimi Mistress
(VS 1A 130/LM I)



12.124 – Ram Mistress
(VS 3 38/LM I)



12.125 – Ram Mistress
(I 221/LB I-LB II)

**VIP Mistress with Animal –
Legacy Period**



12.126 – Ram Mistress
(XII 239/LM I-LM II)



12.127 – Ram Mistress
(VS 1A 369/LM I)

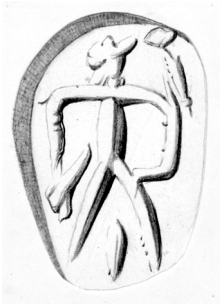


12.128 – Ram Mistress
(I 220/LB II)

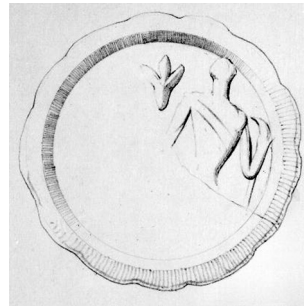
Presenting the Lords and Masters

VIP Lords

VIP Lords – Early Seal Period



12.129 – Sword Lord
(II.1 365/MM I?)



12.130 – Triple Bud Rod Lord
(II.5 325/EM III-MM IA?)



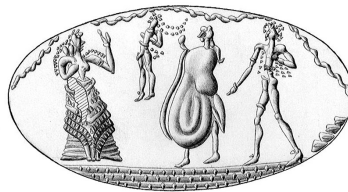
12.131 – Lord
(XII D11b /MM I-MM II)

VIP Lords – Minoan High Art

Mighty Lord, Epiphany Lord – Minoan High Art



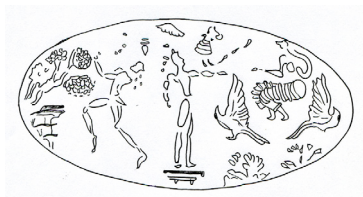
12.132 – Mighty Lord, Staff Lord
(VS 1A 142/LM I)



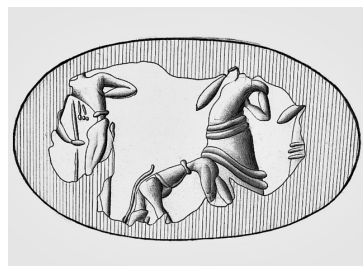
12.133 – Mighty Lord, Epiphany Lord
(VS 2 106/LM I)



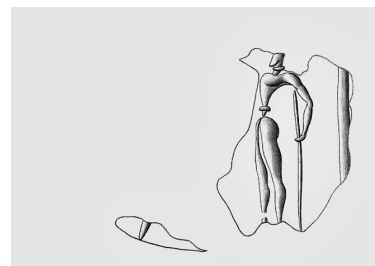
12.134 – Epiphany Lord, Staff Lord,
Mighty Lord (VI 281/LM I)



12.135 – Mighty Lord
(Poros Ring/LM I)



12.136 – Mighty Lord, Staff Lord
(II.7 3/LM I)

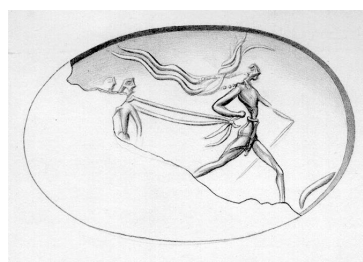


12.137 – Staff Lord
(II.7 4/LM I)

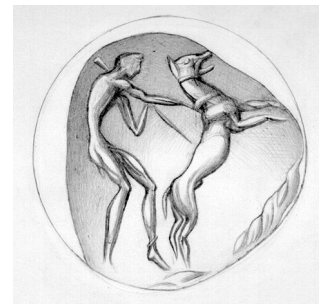
Staff Lord, Bow Lord, Sword Lord, Axe Lord, Mace Lord – Minoan High Art



12.138 – Staff Lord, Lion Lord
(II.8 237/LM I)



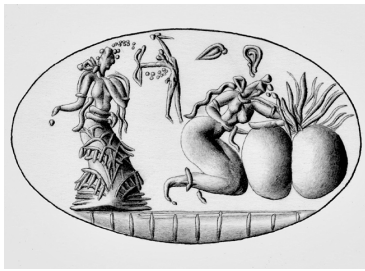
12.139 – Staff Lord
(VS 1A 133/LM I)



12.140 – Staff Lord, Hound Lord
(VS 1A 174/LM I)

The Great Gods

Staff Lord, Bow Lord, Sword Lord, Axe Lord, Mace Lord – Minoan High Art (cont.)



12.141 – Epiphany Lord, Bow Lord, Sword Lord (VI 278/LM I)



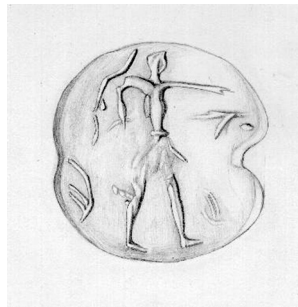
12.142 – Bow Lord, Lion Lord (II.6 36/LM I)



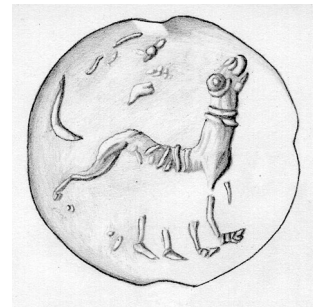
12.143 – Bow Lord (II.6 21/LM I)



12.144 – Bow Lord, Hound Lord (X 161/LM I)



12.145 – Bow Lord (II.3 330b/LM I?)



12.146 – Bow Lord, Hound Lord (VS 1A 119/LM I)



12.147 – Sword Lord, Lion Lord (IX 114/LM I)



12.148 – Axe Lord (II.3 198/LM I)

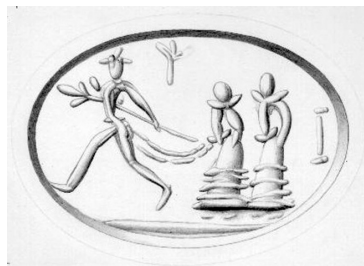


12.149 – Axe Lord (I 225/LB I-LB II)

Triple Bud Rod Lord – Minoan High Art



12.150 – Mace Lord (II.3 147/LB I)



12.151 – Triple Bud Rod Lord (V 173/LH I-LH II)



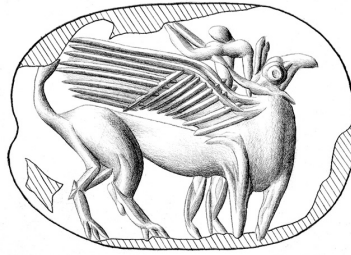
12.152 – Triple Bud Rod Lord (III 357/LM I)

The Great Gods

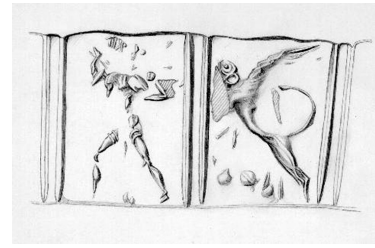
Griffin Lord – Minoan High Art



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



12.154 – Griffin Lord
(VS 3 245a/LB I-LB II)



12.155 – Griffin Lord
(II.3 328/LM I)



12.156 – Griffin Lord
(II.8 193/LM I)



12.157 – Griffin Lord
(VI 321/LM I-LM II)



12.158 – Griffin Lord
(II.6 29/LM I)

Lion Lord – Minoan High Art



12.159 – Lion Lord
(XII 207/LM I-LM II)



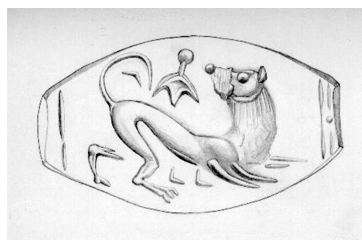
12.160 – Lion Lord
(II.3 24/LB I-LB II)



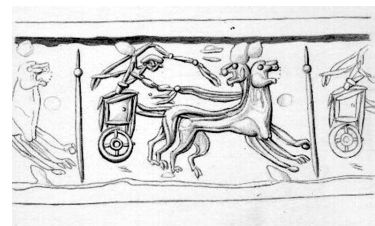
12.161 – Lion Lord
(II.7 27/LM I)



12.162 – Lion Lord
(II.3 27/LB I-LB II)



12.163 – Lion Lord
(II.3 329/LB I-LB II)



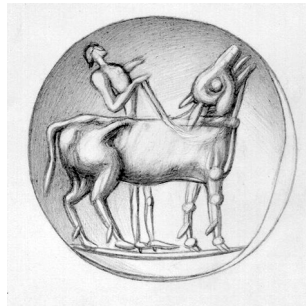
12.164 – Lion Lord
(V 585/LB I-LB II)

The Great Gods

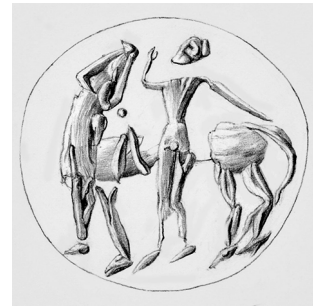
Bull Lord – Minoan High Art



12.165 – Bull Lord
(VII 102/LB I-LB II)



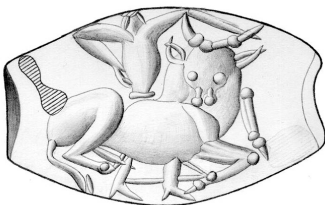
12.166 – Bull Lord
(VS 1A 173/LM I)



12.167 – Bull Lord
(VI 326/LM I-LM II)

Agrimi Lord – Minoan High Art

**Hound Lord –
Experimentation Period**



12.168 – Bull Lord
(VS 1B 61/LB I-LB II)



12.169 – Agrimi Lord
(VS 1B 88/LB I-LB II)



12.170 – Hound Lord
(II.8 236/MM III-LM I)

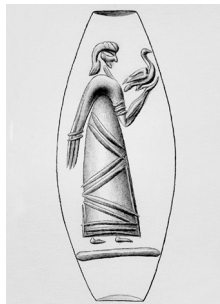
Hound Lord – Minoan High Art

Bird? Lord – Minoan High Art

Dolphin Lord – Minoan High Art



12.171 – Hound Lord
(VI 325/LB I-LB II)



12.172 – Bird? Lord
(VI 318/LB I-LB II)



12.173 – Dolphin Lord, Mace Lord
(II.8 258/LM I)

VIP Lords – Legacy Period



12.174 – Mighty Lord
(I 68/LB II)



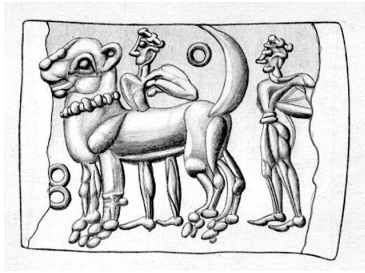
12.175 – Mighty Lord
(V 201/LH II-LH IIIA1)



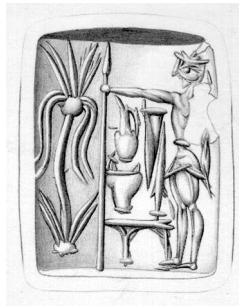
12.176 – Mighty Lord, Epiphany Lord
(I 292/LB IIIA1?)

The Great Gods

VIP Lords – Legacy Period (cont.)



12.177 – Mighty Lord, Hound Lord
(II.3 52/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.178 – Staff Lord
(V 608/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2)



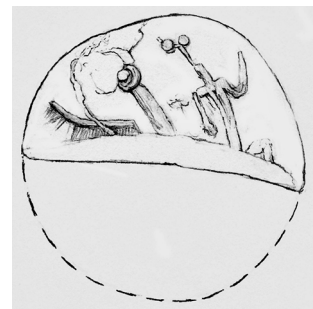
12.179 – Triple Bud Rod Lord
(VS 1B 187/LB IIIA1-LB IIIA2)



12.180 – Griffin Lord
(VS 1B 137/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.181 – Griffin Lord
(I 285/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.182 – Griffin Lord
(VI 332/LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2?)



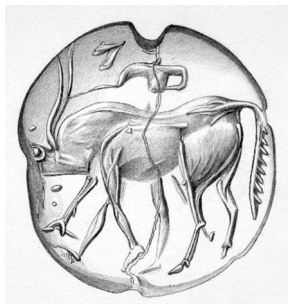
12.183 – Lion Lord
(I 512/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.184 – Lion Lord
(I 133/LB II-LB IIIA1)



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



12.186 – Bull Lord
(X 259/LM II-LM IIIA1)



12.187 – Agrimi Lord
(VI 285/LB II-LB IIIA1)



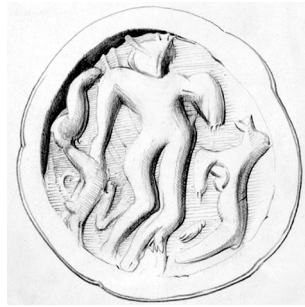
12.188 – Agrimi Lord
(I 199/LB IIIA1-LB IIIA2)

VIP Masters

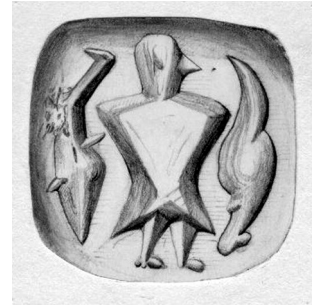
VIP Master of Animals – *Early Seal Period*



12.189 – Lion Master
(II.1 442b/EM III-MM IA)



12.190 – Hound Master
(II.1 469/EM III-MM IA)

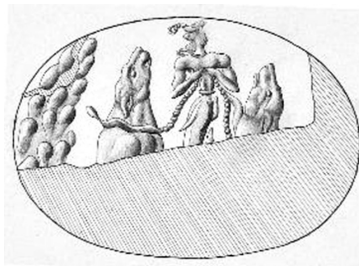


12.191 – Dolphin Master
(II.2 267b/MM II)

VIP Master of Animals – *Minoan High Art*



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



12.193 – Hound Master
(II.8 248/LM I)

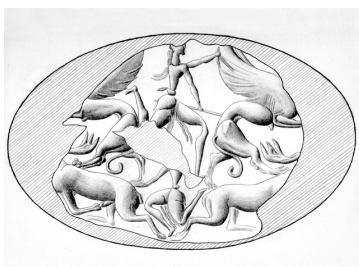


12.194 – Hound Master
(VS 1B 62/LB I-LB II)

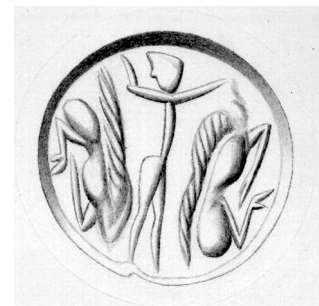
VIP Master of Animals – *Legacy Period*



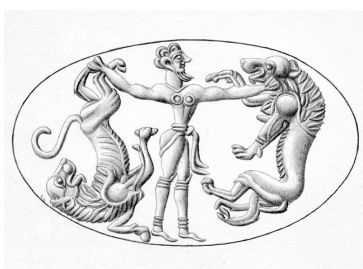
12.195 – Genius Master
(XI 36/LB II-LB IIIA1)



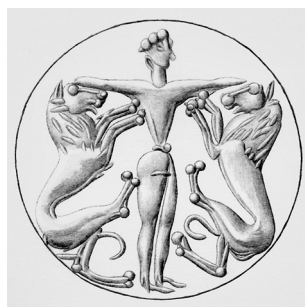
12.196 – Griffin Master, Stag Master
(I 324/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.197 – Griffin Master
(V 669/LB IIIA1-LB IIIA2)



12.198 – Lion Master
(I 89/LB II)



12.199 – Lion Master
(VI 312/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.200 – Lion Master
(VI 313/LB II-LB IIIA1)

The Great Gods

VIP Master of Animals – Legacy Period (cont.)



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



12.202 – Lion Master
(VS 2 113/LB II-LB IIIA1)



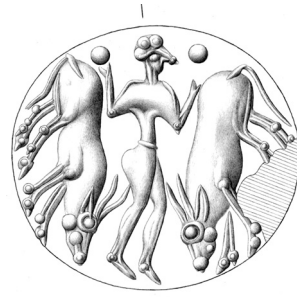
12.203 – Lion Master
(XI 301/LB II-LB IIIA1)



12.204 – Lion Master
(II.8 250/LM IIIA1)



12.205 – Lion Master
(XI 257/LB IIIA1)



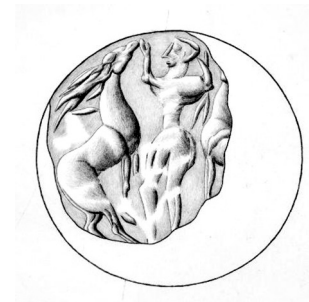
12.206 – Bull Master
(VIII 147/LB IIIA1)



12.207 – Agrimi Master
(I 163/LB IIIA1-LB IIIA2)



12.208 – Agrimi Master
(IV D38/LB IIIA1)



12.209 – Stag Master
(V 594/LB II-LB IIIA1?)



12.210 – Hound Master
(II.3 193/LB IIIA1-LB IIIA2)



12.211 – Hound Master
(II.8 253/LM IIIA1?)



12.212 – Dolphin Master
(V 181/LB II?)