

## THE 'GENIUS' IN LATE BRONZE AGE GLYPTIC: THE LATER EVOLUTION OF AN AEGEAN CULT FIGURE

PAUL REHAK

In 1964 and 1970, M.A.V. Gill catalogued approximately 60 representations of the Minoan 'genius';<sup>1</sup> these have now increased to nearly 80 (Appendix). Recent studies demonstrate that the Middle Bronze Age genius was primarily connected with fertility, moisture, and probably cleansing.<sup>2</sup> Although these functions continue, many more emerge in the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and the evolution of the genius becomes more complicated. This paper examines the expanded role of the genius in LBA Crete and the mainland, and its incorporation into Mycenaean cult at major palatial centers.

Although it is impossible to reconstruct a history of the LBA on the basis of present knowledge,<sup>3</sup> and although the chronology of the period is now controversial,<sup>4</sup> the iconographic evolution of the genius can be sketched in broad outline. On Crete, the new roles of the genius in LM IA–B perhaps reflect the reorganization and increasing centralization and complexity of neopalatial society.<sup>5</sup> Significantly, the genius begins to

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\* I would like to thank J.G. Younger for advice and helpful criticisms. Important additional information about recently discovered genii was furnished by E. Hallager, M. Vlasakis, and J. Weingarten. Loyola University of Chicago assisted generously with my travel expenses for the conference.

Source of illustrations: *Fig. 1*: ARepLondon 13 (1967) 9 Fig. 13 (drawing by author); *Fig. 2*: Symeonoglou (infra n. 30) Pl. 73 Fig. 231 (drawing by author); *Fig. 5*: Levi (infra n. 7) Fig. 175 (drawing by author); *Fig. 9*: reconstruction by author. Remaining figures from the archives of CMS.

<sup>1</sup> M.A.V. Gill, *AM* 79, 1964, 1ff.; ead., *AJA* 74, 1970, 404ff. Cf. comments by Nilsson, *MMR*<sup>2</sup> 376ff.; F. van Straten, *BABesch* 44, 1969, 110ff.; J.H. Crouwel, *Talanta* 2, 1970, 23ff.; C. Baurain in: *L'Iconographie Minoenne* 95ff.; Marinatos, *MSR* 45ff.; C. Sambin, *BCH* 113, 1989, 77ff.; J.L. Crowley, *The Aegean and the East. An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East in the Bronze Age*, *SIMA Pocketbook* 51 (1989) 58ff. ch. 2; D. Sansone, *Illinois Classical Studies* 13, 1987, 1ff.; Marinatos, *MR* 196ff. For glyptic representations, see Younger, *Iconography* 158. 215ff. s.v. Genii (incomplete, and some others listed elsewhere).

<sup>2</sup> J. Weingarten, *The Transformation of Egyptian Taweret into the Minoan Genius: A Study of Cultural Transmission in the Middle Bronze Age*, *SIMA* 88 (1991). A MM II/LM I roundel from Knossos shows a monster possibly related to the genius: E. Hallager – J. Weingarten, *BSA* 87, 1992, 177ff. See now J.G. Younger, *Bronze Age Aegean Seals in their Middle Phase (ca. 1700–1550 B.C.)*, *SIMA* 102 (1993) 37.

<sup>3</sup> The range of opinions is summarized by W.-D. Niemeier in: Krzyszkowska – Nixon (eds.), *Minoan Society* 217ff.

<sup>4</sup> Various authors in: *Archaeometry* 30.1, 1988, 165ff.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g., recent comments by A. Peatfield, *OpAth* 18, 1990, 117ff.



perform more functions imitative of human activity: for example, hunting and carrying sacrificial animals. Blue monkeys<sup>6</sup> and griffins<sup>7</sup> do the same, and all three non-human creatures appear as servitors of divinities.

The genius is evidently restricted to Crete at the start of the LBA, when its iconography becomes more diverse. It has not yet been found on 'minoanized' islands like Thera, Melos and Keos in contexts contemporary with LM I, nor — like some other Minoan cult forms — is it represented in the Mycenae shaft graves.<sup>8</sup> Libation pitchers like those carried by genii, however, appear at a number of sites outside Crete at this time, though they are never common in the Mycenaean world, and humans are never shown holding them.<sup>9</sup>

The two Vapheio gems (LH IIA context) show that the Mycenaean awareness of the genius on the mainland begins before the widespread destruction of Minoan sites at the end of LM IB.<sup>10</sup> From LM II/LH IIB to near the end of LM/LH IIIA the genius is attested in both Cretan and mainland glyptic; Younger and Pini argue that at the end of this period the production of hard stone seals ceases.<sup>11</sup> The genius then disappears from Crete but achieves new life on the mainland in a variety of media, including fresco painting, mould-made ornaments, and ivory carving; all palatial crafts connected with, and probably supervised by, major centers of power. The continued existence of the genius on the mainland underscores a significant difference between the Mycenaean and Minoan use of sealstones.<sup>12</sup> Even on the mainland, the creature does not survive into the IIIC period,<sup>13</sup> despite indications that earlier works, mainly glyptic, were occasionally rediscovered<sup>14</sup> or remained in circulation for

<sup>6</sup> E.g., the 'saffron gatherer' fresco: Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting* 170 Kn No. 1.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., the hunting griffin on Zakro sealing 183: D. Levi, *ASAtene* 8/9, 1925/26, 178 No. 183 Fig. 221 Pl. XVIII.

<sup>8</sup> E.g., the 5 tripartite shrine on gold plaques from SG III and V at Mycenae: Buchholz — Karageorghis, *PGC* 109 No. 1303 Pl. 1303.

<sup>9</sup> A Minoan silver example from Grave A of Circle B at Mycenae: ANM 8569: G. Mylonas, *Ο Ταφικός Κύκλος Β των Μυκηθών*, (1972) Pl. 16a.c.; E. Davis, *The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Ware* (1977) 134ff. No. 29 Figs. 106. 107. For a double-mouthed faience example from SG III, see K.P. Foster, *Aegean Faience of the Bronze Age* (1979) 122f. Figs. 30–31. S. Marinatos reported a stone plaque in this shape from Thera: *Excavations at Thera*, VII (1976) Pl. 54c. For a probable Minoan example from Kea, see W. Cummer — E. Schofield, *Ayia Irini: House A, Keos III* (1984) 107f. No. 1224 Pl. 77. One Minoan alabaster example was found in chamber tomb 102 at Mycenae: Sakellariou, *ThTM* 285 L 4290. On the dearth of Mycenaean examples, see R. Hägg in: Hägg — Nordquist, *Celebrations* 193. Jug-shaped beads are common at Mycenae: Sakellariou, *ThTM* Pls. 83. 114. 126. 130. 143.

<sup>10</sup> CMS I Nos. 231. 232. On the tholos and its contents, E. Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, rev. ed., (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972) 127ff.; I. Kilian-Dirlmeier, *JbZMusMainz* 34, 1987, 197ff.

<sup>11</sup> J.G. Younger in: CMS Beih. 1, 268ff.; id., *Kadmos* 26, 1987, 46f.; I. Pini, *BICS* 29, 1982, 130; however, cf. Pini's implication that the craft went on till the end of the Mycenaean age: K. Demakopoulou (ed.), *The Mycenaean World. Five Centuries of Early Greek Culture, 1600–1100 B.C.*, (1988) 46f.

<sup>12</sup> J.H. Betts — J.G. Younger, *Kadmos* 21, 1982, 115ff.; Younger (*supra* n. 11) 263ff.; cf. his comments in *Kadmos* 16, 1977, 141ff.; J. Weingarten, *OJA* 5, 1986, 27ff.; ead., *OJA* 7, 1988, 1ff.; ead., in: ASSA 105ff.

<sup>13</sup> The genius identified on a LH IIIC bull rhyton from Tiryns is actually a rampant goat: see Appendix, Erratum.

<sup>14</sup> The Tiryns ring (CMS I No. 179) was discovered in a Geometric context, and may have been found in the looting of a tomb.



considerable periods of time.<sup>15</sup>

### 1. LIBATION POURERS

The popular Middle Minoan (MM) function of the genius as libation bearer is never lost or eclipsed, but continues into the LBA with new variations. Most common is the single genius with libation pitcher, a composition ideally suited to the field of the sealstone; on the larger field of gold rings the genius may be reduplicated (e.g., CMS I No. 179) or paired antithetically (e.g., new sealing produced by a gold ring at Thebes: Appendix No. 74).

A particularly ambitious neopalatial composition with antithetic genii occurs on a stone triton found in a LM IB context at Mallia (Appendix No. 66);<sup>16</sup> iconographically, the scene is related to both contemporary fresco<sup>17</sup> and ivory work.<sup>18</sup> Although the scene has been adapted with some difficulty to the surface of the shell, the triton is important in showing that artists are sharing a common iconography and transferring it among different media during the neopalatial period.<sup>19</sup> On the Mallia triton, a pair of facing genii form a self-contained unit and perform a gesture that may be one of 'ablution and purification' rather than simply one of libation.<sup>20</sup> A distant glyptic descendant of the scene may occur in the genii with shared pitcher on CMS XI No. 295.

In other compositions, the focus of the genius's libation may be an offering table (CMS V No. 440; cf. the one on CMS I No. 179),<sup>21</sup> a stand or 'altar' supporting horns of consecration and vegetation (CMS I No. 231), or it may be omitted entirely (CMS I No. 232; XI No. 35). In other instances the object of the libation can be a pile of stones,<sup>22</sup> a tripod,<sup>23</sup> or a palm-tree.

The palm-tree as recipient of libation seems to be important for two reasons. First, the motif is particularly long-lived, originating in MM,<sup>24</sup> and enduring on the mainland until LH IIIB. Second, the palm-tree is connected with the iconography of the Knossos throneroom, since trees were painted on both sides of the throne (not lilies as restored by Evans).<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the incurved bases painted against the wall socle, and the undulating

<sup>15</sup> CMS I No. 172, was found in LH IIIB/C fill in the Cult Center at Mycenae, but is probably a much earlier Minoan product: Younger, *Aegean Seals II*, 122; E. Cline, *BSA* 86, 1991, 33 and n. 18.

<sup>16</sup> C. Baurain – P. Darcque, *BCH* 107, 1983, 3ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the shape of the platforms or 'planters' from the LM IA villa at Amnissos: M.A.S. Cameron in: *TAW I* (1978) 581 Pl. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Pyxis from Ayia Triadha: F. Halbherr – E. Stefani – L. Banti, *ASAtene* 55, 1977, 97 and Figs. 64. 65.

<sup>19</sup> J.G. Younger in this volume 329ff., for other examples of similar motifs and treatments in different media.

<sup>20</sup> Weingarten (*supra* n. 2) 12.

<sup>21</sup> A stand appears within the door of a shrine on a gold ring in the Ashmolean Museum, AM 1938.1127: Kenna, *CS* 75 Fig. 155; 125 No. 250.

<sup>22</sup> Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1964]) 17 No. 20.

<sup>23</sup> Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1964]) 18 No. 22.

<sup>24</sup> HMs 202: Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1964]) 15 No. 7.

<sup>25</sup> M.A.S. Cameron in: Hägg – Marinatos, *FMP* 322 Fig. 3; 323 Fig. 7.

shape of the back of the throne, appear on the Zakros rhyton, where they suggest links with the cult of a goddess of nature whose realm includes mountains.<sup>26</sup> The palm is the focus of a sacrificial scene on a cushion seal from Naxos.<sup>27</sup>

On a newly discovered ivory mirror handle from a LM IIIA tomb at Pankalochori (Rethymnon) on Crete (Appendix No. 71), antithetic genii with libation jugs frame a mound shaped like the Knossos throne back and the mountaintop on the Zakros rhyton. Another genius appears with a pair of palm trees and a woman on a cylinder seal from Palaikastro.<sup>28</sup>

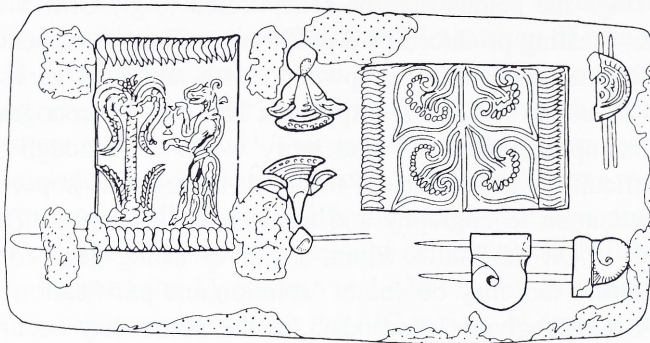


Fig. 1 Mycenae mould.

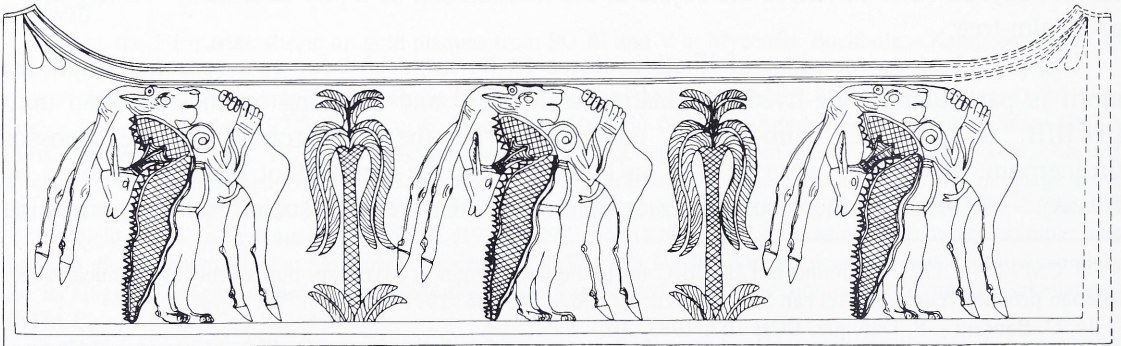


Fig. 2 Thebes ivory.

<sup>26</sup> On the Zakros rhyton, see N. Platon, *Zakros. The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete* (1971) 161. 164ff., col. Figs. on 165. 168; J. Shaw, *AJA* 82, 1978, 429ff. On the Knossos throne shape, see W.-D. Niemeier, *AM* 101, 1986 63ff.; id. in: Hägg – Marinatos, *FMP* 163ff., esp. 167.

<sup>27</sup> *CMS V* No. 608; Younger, *Iconography* 129.V 608 and Fig. 99. Cf. N. Marinatos, *OpAth* 15, 1984, 115ff.; ead. in: *CMS Beiht*. 3, 128. 129 Fig. 11; W.-D. Niemeier in: *CMS Beiht* 3, 182 Fig. 6,9; 183.

<sup>28</sup> *HM* 233; Gill (supra n. 1 [1964]) 16 No. 12.



On the mainland, a genius with libation pitcher faces a palm tree on a steatite mould for glass or gold ornaments from a LH IIIB context at Mycenae (*Fig. 1*), though on the mainland (unlike Crete) there is no indication that the palm is connected with throneroom decoration.<sup>29</sup> But genii without pitchers are associated with fragments of palm trees of probable IIIB date on mural fragments from the Mycenae Cult Center (Appendix No. 68), and palms punctuate the alternating genii carrying animal victims on an ivory furniture plaque from Thebes (IIIB1 context) (*Fig. 2*).<sup>30</sup> Another ivory genius, on a furniture inlay from the Pylos palace (IIIB2—C1 context), now lacks a pitcher but surely held one originally.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, a bronze hydria of earlier (15th c.?) date, found in Cyprus, has a handle decorated with registers of saluting antithetic genii flanking palm trees; around the rim is a frieze of 70 libation jugs.<sup>32</sup>

## 2. THE GENIUS AND SACRIFICE

Already at the beginning of the LBA, the genius on Crete also appears in a number of iconographic poses perhaps connected with sacrifice. A favored iconographic topos is the genius as carrier of animals, presumed to be sacrificial victims. This is another theme that originated in MM, as indicated by a MM seal found in a LM IIIA context at Kalyvia,<sup>33</sup> where the genius carries a fawn. This seal demonstrates the rediscovery or continued circulation of an earlier glyptic model (*Fig. 3*).

Humans, as well as genii, carry animal victims. Before the end of LM IB, a sealing from Zakro shows a woman transporting an animal victim.<sup>34</sup> Similar women with victims appear contemporaneously on the mainland on three of the Vapheio seals (CMS I Nos. 220—222); and the genius with a small lion on another sealing from Ayia Triadha is nearly alike in pose.<sup>35</sup>

Most popular of the animal victims is the bull (e.g., CMS V No. 209; IX No. 129; XI No. 39), but antlered stags, similar to those in hunting scenes,<sup>36</sup> are also found (e.g., CMS XI No. 38). The ivory furniture plaque from a LH IIIB context at Thebes, mentioned

<sup>29</sup> A.H.S. Megaw, *ARepLondon* 13, 1967, 9 Fig. 13; Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1970]) 406 No. 59; P. Rehak in: *Eikon* 47. On the Pylos throneroom decoration, see Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting* 198f., Py Nos. 14. 16. 18.

<sup>30</sup> Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1970]) 406 No. 54; S. Symeonoglou, *Kadmeia I*, *SIMA* 35 (1973) 48ff. Figs. 226—231.

<sup>31</sup> J.-C. Poursat, *Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes* (1977) 129 No. 393 Pl. XL; Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1964]) 15 No. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1964]) 17 No. 17.

<sup>33</sup> CMS II,3 No. 105; Younger, *Aegean Seals* V, 135: *Spectacle-Eye*; Minoan groups contemporary with LM IIIA1; Younger, *Iconography* 216: CMS II,3 No. 105a. Younger informs me that he has now redated it to MM and assigns it to his group of the 'Kalyvia Bull-Wrestler', and associates it with Phaistos sealings CMS II,5 Nos. 259. 260. 269 (see *supra* n. 2).

<sup>34</sup> Levi (*supra* n. 7) 158 No. 4 and Fig. 166.

<sup>35</sup> D. Levi, *ASAtene* 8/9, 1925/26, 109 No. 107 Fig. 123.

<sup>36</sup> For a hunted stag, cf. CMS I No. 15.



above, shows genii carrying antlered stags and facing palm trees in a repeating pattern (*Fig. 2*).<sup>37</sup>

Occasionally, the genius does not support its victims directly, but instead balances them at the ends of a carrying pole, as on a sealstone in Berlin where the victims are lions (CMS XI No. 37).<sup>38</sup> Since Younger has assigned the seal to his 'Almond Eye' group of 15th century date,<sup>39</sup> the carrying pole preserved on the seal may help to explain two much later and problematic fresco fragments of probable IIIB date discovered in the Cult Center at Mycenae.<sup>40</sup> On each, a horizontal band is preserved over the shoulders of genii, creating the impression that the object was a rope. But both the Berlin seal and frescoes of humans with carrying poles suggest that the painted genii from Mycenae should be restored in a similar fashion.<sup>41</sup>



*Fig. 3* CMS II,3 No. 105a. Kalyvia seal.



*Fig. 4* CMS V Suppl. 1B No. 153. Patras seal.

Perhaps the most surprising addition to the corpus of genii carrying animals is a seal found recently at Patras Voundeni (LH IIIA1 context), where the 'victim' is a man (CMS V Suppl. 1B No. 153) (*Fig. 4*).<sup>42</sup> His extended, curving pose recalls some depictions of bull-leapers<sup>43</sup> and 'Minotaurs',<sup>44</sup> but the head on the Patras seal is clearly human.

The genius so often carries animals interpreted as victims of hunting or destined for sacrifice that it is tempting to interpret the man on the Patras seal in the same fashion; that is, as a human sacrificial victim. But his pose, with the left arm crossed over the chest and the

<sup>37</sup> *Supra* n. 30.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the pose of the 'Master of Animals' (without a carrying pole) on CMS XI No. 301.

<sup>39</sup> Younger, *Aegean Seals IV*, 62 No. 8d.

<sup>40</sup> Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting* 121, 192 My No. 8.

<sup>41</sup> Women carry buckets on poles on the LM IIIA Ayia Triadha sarcophagus as well.

<sup>42</sup> I thank I. Pini for essential information about this find, and J.G. Younger for additional discussion.

<sup>43</sup> E.g., on CMS I No. 200. Cf. J.G. Younger, *AJA* 80, 1976, 125ff.

<sup>44</sup> N. Schlager in: CMS Beih. 3, 225ff. Cf. the comments by L. Morgan in: CMS Beih. 3, 1989, 151ff.



right extended, seems odd. This cannot be a moribund figure, like the limp stags and bulls in other representations.

The evidence for human sacrifice in Bronze Age Greece, moreover, is controversial, and apparent references to the practice in the Linear B tablets are both later than the seal and equally difficult to interpret.<sup>45</sup> In a recent survey of the archaeological and literary evidence, D. Hughes argued against the existence of human sacrifice as a regular feature of cult.<sup>46</sup> One of the figures on the Patras seal may represent a change in plan on the part of the craftsman, as is perhaps the case on CMS XI No. 208, discussed below.

The late 15th/early 14th century also sees the development of the topos of genius leading bull, evidently to sacrifice, as on two seals in the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>47</sup> A fresco from Knossos (stylistically LM II—III A) shows a long-robed 'priest' in a chariot leading a bull on a tether behind his vehicle.<sup>48</sup> But genii do not appear as actual sacrificers, a role evidently reserved for humans.<sup>49</sup> Significantly, the LM III A period on Crete sees the painted representation of a bull sacrifice on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus, while the remnants of such a funerary offering were found in the burial of a high-status woman in tholos A at Archanes.<sup>50</sup>

### 3. GENIUS IN HUNTING SCENES

An activity which may be a preliminary stage to sacrifice is hunting, and the relation of hunting to sacrificial ritual is well known from anthropological studies.<sup>51</sup> The genius appears as a hunter, again in imitation of human activity, on one of the sealings from a LM IB context at Zakros, where it strides through a rocky landscape and spears a bull (*Fig. 5*).<sup>52</sup> It is worth emphasizing that the genius appears as hunter on Crete at the same time that hunting and chase scenes generally become more common on Crete and the mainland. Of such representations, the Mycenae Shaft Grave examples may be chronologically the earliest (LH I context),<sup>53</sup> but a MM III—LM I relief fragment with a boar from Palaikastro<sup>54</sup> may presage

<sup>45</sup> Most recently R. Buck, *Minos* 24, 1989, 131ff.

<sup>46</sup> D. Hughes, *Human Sacrifice in Ancient Greece* (1991).

<sup>47</sup> Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1964]) 19 Nos. 29, 30; Kenna, CS 132 Nos. 305, 306.

<sup>48</sup> Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting* 175f. Kn No. 25.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. MSR 47 and n. 242; Gill (*supra* n. 1 [1964]) 10 and n. 29; 20 No. 37. The composition lacks an offering table found in many scenes of sacrifice.

<sup>50</sup> C. Long, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus*, SIMA 69 (1974); J. and E. Sakellarakis, *Archanes* (1991) 77.

<sup>51</sup> W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (1985) 58, 151ff.; Marinatos, MSR *passim*.

<sup>52</sup> D. Levi (*supra* n. 7) 162f. No. 104 Fig. 175 Pl. XV.

<sup>53</sup> Glyptic examples include CMS I Nos. 9, 15. Cf. E. Vermeule, *The Art of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae*, (1974).

<sup>54</sup> Heraklion Museum No. 993: P. Warren, *Minoan Stone Vases* (1969) 86, 177.



later Cretan hunts.<sup>55</sup> Various aspects of the bull chase become established artistic topoi at a number of Aegean sites before the end of LM IB/LH IIA.<sup>56</sup>

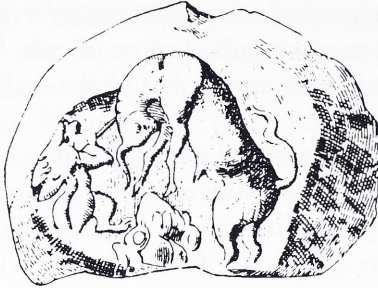


Fig. 5 Zakros sealing.



Fig. 6 CMS XI No. 208. Kakovatos seal.

An example of the genius in a hunt scene occurs on a (LH I–II?) agate cylinder seal found *ex situ* near one of the Kakovatos tholoi (CMS XI No. 208) (Fig. 6). Here, a hunter attacks a lion with his sword; behind him a genius enframes the scabbard with its paws, an unparalleled gesture but one which vaguely recalls the position of the paws when holding a libation jug. The attacking, shorts-clad male is a motif already popular in mainland glyptic beginning in LH I;<sup>57</sup> the rampant lion also has good glyptic parallels.<sup>58</sup> The creature's 'elbow-spurs' recall those on the contemporary Mallia triton, but the way in which the genius stands behind the man, awkwardly framing the scabbard with its paws, is unique, and suggests a protective gesture.<sup>59</sup> A sketch of the gem published by Vermeule does not agree with the version in CMS XI, and the genius may be an afterthought.<sup>60</sup>

The awkward addition of the genius as 'epikourios' on the Kakovatos cylinder is highlighted by comparison with other representations of unusual animals. Blue monkeys from Xeste 3 brandish swords with scabbards or pluck lyres,<sup>61</sup> and — as noted above — a genius

<sup>55</sup> For a mainland boar hunt, cf. CMS I No. 227 (LH IIA context); XI No. 32. See comments by C.E. Morris in: Hägg – Nordquist, *Celebrations* 149ff. Cf. the boar hunt on the Lasithi dagger (LM IB–IIIA): C. Long, *AJA* 82, 1978, 35ff.

<sup>56</sup> E.g., Katsamba pyxis: Heraklion Museum 345: S. Alexiou, *Prakt* 1963, 189ff. Pls. 167–168. A sealing from Zakro shows a man with lance: Levi (*supra* n. 7) 180f. No. 190; 190 Fig. 228 and Pl. XVIII. On the bull motifs on the Vapheio cups, see Davis (*supra* n. 9) 1ff.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the attacking man on CMS I Nos. 9. 11. 12.

<sup>58</sup> CMS IX No. 7D; see Younger, *Iconography* 159 IX 7 D and Fig. 115.

<sup>59</sup> Suggestion made by L. Morgan. Crouwel (*supra* n. 1) 25, compares its pose to that of the genius with jug, but the position of the paws is really rather different.

<sup>60</sup> Vermeule (*supra* n. 10) 132 Fig. 25, shows traces of a possible helmet above the head of the genius. The gem should be reexamined.

<sup>61</sup> Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting* 188 No. 13.



with spear attacks a bull on a contemporary sealing from Zakros.<sup>62</sup> But the role of the genius as assistant to humans is a limited experiment.<sup>63</sup>

#### 4. ATTENDANT OF FEMALE AND MALE FIGURES OF POWER

A more formal aspect of the genius is its attendance as servitor to female and male figures of authority, though the status of these anthropomorphic figures — actual gods, humans imitating divinities, or rulers — is still the subject of lively debate.<sup>64</sup> The evidence suggests that the genius comes to be associated with female figures in LM IA–B; its connection with male figures occurs somewhat later, probably beginning in LM II/LH IIB.

##### *a) with female figures*

Although identifying cultural differences on the basis of iconography can be a risky business,<sup>65</sup> the appearance of the genius on two important works, a sealing found at Thebes and a gold ring found at Tiryns, allows us to compare the evolution of the genius as divine attendant from Minoan and Mycenaean perspectives.

An unpublished sealing discovered at Thebes<sup>66</sup> depicts a central woman sitting on a throne with curved struts and a tall back; her feet rest on a footstool with spindly legs. The throne and footstool are placed atop a platform with two levels. The lower level rests on three incurved Minoan bases, three-dimensional examples of which have been found on Crete but not on the mainland.<sup>67</sup> The upper level of the platform distinctly resembles the table used in animal sacrifices.<sup>68</sup> Heraldically flanking her on either side are a genius with pitcher and a griffin. She raises one hand toward the nearer genius, but probably does not hold anything. There may be celestial elements floating over her head.

<sup>62</sup> Marinatos, MSR 44 Fig. 30.

<sup>63</sup> I disagree with N. Marinatos, who identifies this role as 'a major sphere of action', Marinatos, MSR 46.

<sup>64</sup> E. Davis, AJA 90 (1986) 216. The issue was treated in a panel discussion at the annual meeting of the AIA in New Orleans, 1992: "The Role of the Ruler in the Minoan and Mycenaean World," organized by P. Rehak and N. Marinatos; see abstracts in AJA 97, 1993, 321f.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the continuing controversy over 'Minoan' and 'Mycenaean' elements in the Cycladic paintings from Akrotiri.

<sup>66</sup> Careful descriptions have been provided by N. Marinatos and W.-D. Niemeier; J.G. Younger kindly sent a sketch.

<sup>67</sup> E.g., 4 from the palatial building at Archanes: J. and E. Sakellarakis (supra n. 50) 32 and Fig. 16. The base appears in mainland glyptic (CMS I Nos. 46. 73. 98), on a painted plaque from the 'Cult Center' and on the Lion Gate relief. Beads of paste or gold imitate the shape: Sakellariou, ThTM, Pls. 41. 42. 79. 99. 130. 131. 132.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., CMS II,3 No. 338; XI No. 52; cf. the table on the Ayia Triadha sarcophagus: for ill., see Long (supra n. 50). On bull sacrifice, cf. Younger, Iconography 176f. 186, and 257 for sacrificial tables.



The presence of fantastic creatures like the genii and griffins should indicate that the woman is divine, a *Potnia theron*.<sup>69</sup> Significantly, the chair of the Thebes goddess has a back, recalling the Knossos throne;<sup>70</sup> the sealing may thus represent a strongly 'Minoan' iconographic strain. As noted above, the outline of the back of the Knossos throne resembles the peak on the famous 'Sanctuary rhyton' found at Zakros;<sup>71</sup> a similar undulating shape is flanked by antithetic genii with ewers on an ivory mirror handle from a LM IIIA context at Pankalochori (Appendix No. 71).

The curved struts of the thrones at Knossos and on the Thebes sealing suggest a prototype in wood. Another seat with curved struts, backed by rocks (another mountain peak?), appears on a gold ring found at Mycenae (CMS I No. 101).<sup>72</sup> Backless chairs of similar form are shown on an ivory mirror handle from Mycenae, where they are occupied by women holding up branches or grain in a hieratic gesture.<sup>73</sup>

The architectural base supported by incurved 'altars' on the Thebes sealing is a variant of a type which appears in murals and in glyptic during LM I on Crete<sup>74</sup> and then spreads to 'minoanized' islands like Thera.<sup>75</sup> And a seal found at Routsis excerpts griffins on such a platform from their broader context (CMS I No. 282).

But it is important to point out that the platform on the Thebes sealing differs from the one in a wall painting from Xeste 3, and that the Cycladic goddess sits on a different kind of throne, resembling a cushion rather than a wooden chair.<sup>76</sup> Thus, the iconographic combination on the Thebes sealing of griffins, throne, and the incurved bases most closely recalls that of the Knossos throneroom and its paintings, and suggests an important link between the centers.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, the genii have forehead curls, which Crouwel identified on other works as a possible trait added by mainland artists.<sup>78</sup>

The composition on the Tiryns ring (CMS I No. 179) is related to the one on the Thebes sealing, but the woman now sits off to one side, on a 'campstool' with tassels, set above an architectural dado which stretches the length of the scene, rather than atop a platform (Fig. 7). She is approached by a line of four genii with pitchers, with vertical branches

<sup>69</sup> C. Renfrew et al., *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary at Phylakopi*, BSA Suppl. 18, 1985, 11ff., esp. 22ff.

<sup>70</sup> Backless examples were found at Katsamba and Myristis: N. Platon, *KretChron* 5, 1951, 385ff.; J. and E. Sakellarakis (supra n. 50) 25.

<sup>71</sup> Supra n. 26.

<sup>72</sup> Younger, *Iconography* 138f.; see CMS I No. 128; Niemeier (supra n. 27) 173 Fig. 4,4; 174.

<sup>73</sup> ANM 2399: Poursat (supra n. 31) 80 No. 270 Pl. XXIV; Sakellariou, *ThTM* Pl. 2. Comparable figures are discussed by Rehak (supra n. 29).

<sup>74</sup> A number of examples are collected by N. Marinatos in: *TAW* III,1 (1990) 370ff., esp. 372ff.

<sup>75</sup> Xeste 3: Marinatos, *AaR* 61f. Fig. 40; 66f. Fig. 44. Cf. comments by N. Marinatos (supra n. 74) and in: Hägg – Marinatos, *MTh* 167ff.

<sup>76</sup> The platform of the Thera goddess can be described as tripartite. Her seat resembles a cushion, and otherwise appears only on an ivory from Mycenae: Poursat (supra n. 31) 91 No. 295 Pl. XXIX; Sakellariou, *ThTM* 105f. E 2641 Pl. 27.

<sup>77</sup> Supra n. 25. 26. Cf. another Minoan gold ring found at Thebes: CMS V No. 199; Younger, *Aegean Seals* II, 135.

<sup>78</sup> Crouwel (supra n. 1) 24f.



between. Thus, the motif of the genius with jug and vegetation, originally found on MM Crete, is here reduplicated and joined to the LM I motif of the enthroned woman to create a complex pictorial scene.

Campstools with tassels are occupied by men participating in a drinking ritual in the presence of a probable goddess ('La Parisienne') on a fresco from Knossos stylistically dated to LM II–III A, <sup>79</sup> but the campstool is not a common seat for Minoan figures, who are usually seated on rocks or on architectural platforms. The crossed legs may even be indebted to New-Kingdom Egyptian thrones. <sup>80</sup> The footstool, by contrast, differs from the one on the Thebes sealing, but so closely resembles the Linear B ideogram for this object that one wonders if the ring's creator was aware of the sign. <sup>81</sup> Surviving ivory footstools, as well as the yellow-painted one on a LH III B mural from Mycenae, are rather different in form. <sup>82</sup>



Fig. 7 CMS I No. 179. Tiryns ring.

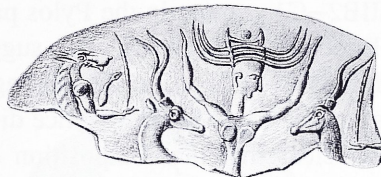


Fig. 8 CMS I No. 379. Pylos sealing.

The chalice held by the goddess, however, is of a specifically Minoan form which is extremely rare in Cretan contexts after the LM IB destructions. <sup>83</sup> The few mainland examples are found exclusively in the Argolid. Two were buried in the LH I Shaft Graves. <sup>84</sup> Two more may have been used for cult purposes at Mycenae until III B, <sup>85</sup> but Mycenaean

<sup>79</sup> Evans, PM IV 379ff.; Immerwahr, Aegean Painting 176 Kn No. 26. Cf. a sealing from Knossos: Cretan Seals 57 Fig. 120.

<sup>80</sup> E.g., the "ecclesiastical" throne of Tutankhamun: H. Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, (1963) 111f. Pl. XXXIII.

<sup>81</sup> J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, rev. ed., (1973) 332f.

<sup>82</sup> Examples with figure-eight shields have been found in tholos A at Archanes (LM IIIA) and at Mycenae and Thebes (LH III B): J.-C. Poursat, *Les ivoires mycéniens*, (1977) Pl. IV, 1.3.

<sup>83</sup> Examples from probable LM IA/LH I contexts were found at Knossos, Thera, Makrygialos, Zakros, and in the Mycenae shaft graves. Undated is the stem of 4-lobed example in Nauplion: Evans, PM II 127 Fig. 62b. A putative example on the Campstool Fresco (supra n. 79) is fragmentary.

<sup>84</sup> Exs. from SG IV and V: Karo 118 No. 600; 148 No. 854.

<sup>85</sup> A. Wace, BSA 24, 1919/21, 200ff.; id., BSA 25, 1921/23, 1f. E. French has suggested to me that the material in the Rhyton Well was deposited when the Cult Center was reorganized (personal communication 1990). Cf. B. Kaiser, AM 95, 1980, 1ff. Fig. 2 Pls. 5, 1–2; 6, 1–2. From a LH IIIA context at Dendra came a silver example: ANM 7339: Davis (supra n. 9) 282f. No. 118 Fig. 229.



figures, including enthroned women, generally drink instead from stemmed kylikes, of which literally thousands were stored in the pantries surrounding the Pylos megaron.<sup>86</sup> Considerations of both iconography and style thus assure a LH II date for the Tiryns ring.<sup>87</sup>

In the case of the Tiryns ring, the derivation of the scene from a mural composition is particularly evident, both in the paratactic arrangement of figures akin to a procession fresco,<sup>88</sup> and in the undulating band which creates the border of the sky.<sup>89</sup> The lower triglyph-half rosette border along the bottom seldom appears in glyptic,<sup>90</sup> but actual stone revetments of this form were used at Knossos (in the vicinity of the Campstool fresco),<sup>91</sup> in the porch of the Tiryns megaron,<sup>92</sup> within the Mycenae palace,<sup>93</sup> and on the tholoi of 'Atreus' and 'Clytemnestra' at Mycenae.<sup>94</sup> The motif even appears in painting at Mycenae and Pylos.<sup>95</sup>

A final example of the glyptic genii with a goddess appears on sealings from a LH IIIB2—C1 context in the Pylos palace (CMS I No. 379) (*Fig. 8*). Younger included this in his 'Rhodian Hunt Group' and suggested a late IIIA date for the manufacture of the ring which was used to make the sealings,<sup>96</sup> making this one of the latest examples of Aegean fine glyptic art before the practice dies out.

It is clear that the composition draws on a long existing iconographic tradition. In the center is a goddess with upraised arms who wears the problematic 'snake-frame' headdress surmounted by the labrys. She has been associated with the Minoan divinity connected with the Knossos palace and throneroom, which was still in its final phase of development and use at the time this ring was produced.<sup>97</sup> In her other glyptic manifestations, this goddess is generally flanked by antithetic griffins or lions.<sup>98</sup> On the Pylos sealing, however, the

<sup>86</sup> A terracotta figurine from Lakonia holds a kylix: Buchholz – Karageorghis, PGC 103 No. 1247 Pl. 1247; K. Demakopoulou, *Τὸ Μυκηναϊκὸ Ἱερό στο Ἀμυκλαῖο καὶ ἡ ΥΕ IIIΓ Περίοδος στὴ Λακωνία* (1982) 55f. Pl. 26 No. 68a.b. Cf. the pictorial krater from Tiryns: K. Kilian, AM 95, 1980, 21ff.

<sup>87</sup> E.g., Younger, *Aegean Seals IV*, 53: 'Tiryns Ring Group', Almond-Eye; Younger, *Iconography 180f*. A. Xénaki-Sakellariou favors a LM I date on the basis of ring form: CMS Beih. 3, 324 Fig. 1; 336. Cf. comments by J. Sakellarakis in: CMS Beih. 0, 115ff.

<sup>88</sup> Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting 174f*. Kn No. 22; redated to LM IB by E. Davis, TAW III,1 (1990) 214f.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. the wavy border above the figural scene in a painting from the 'House of the Ladies' at Akrotiri: Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting col. Pls. XI. XII*. Cf. Younger, *Iconography 290*: 'Heaven Lines.'

<sup>90</sup> CMS I No. 293; Younger, *Aegean Seals III*, 54; Younger, *Iconography 322 Dado 8*. The griffin on the seal recalls the painted creatures in the Knossos throneroom and the large and small megara at Pylos.

<sup>91</sup> Evans, PM II 591 Fig. 368: NW palace angle; cf. PM II 163 Fig. 83: fragments from SW entrance porch.

<sup>92</sup> K. von Filseck, AA 1986, 1ff.

<sup>93</sup> A. Wace, BSA 25, 1921/23, 235f.

<sup>94</sup> Buchholz – Karageorghis, PGC 42 Nos. 167. 168 Pls. 167. 168.

<sup>95</sup> E.g., at Pylos, Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting 200 Py No. 25*; Mycenae: Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting 194 My No. 19*.

<sup>96</sup> J.G. Younger in: J.L. Davis – J.F. Cherry, eds., *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, UCLA Institute of Archaeology Monographs XIV, (1979) 97ff.

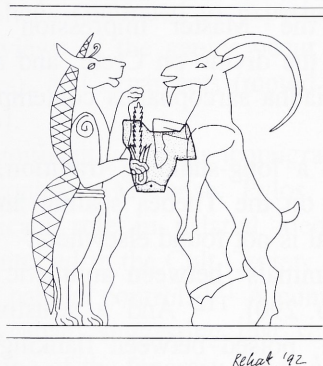
<sup>97</sup> R. Hägg – Y. Lindau, *OpAth 15*, 1984, 67ff. The phases of the throneroom are summarized by Niemeier (*supra n. 26*) and R. Hägg, *OpAth 17*, 1988, 99ff.

<sup>98</sup> Griffins alone appear in the Knossos throneroom; griffins and lions in the Pylos megaron.



flanking animals are pairs of genii offering branches<sup>99</sup> to rampant quadrupeds, probably agrimia or antelope. The woman, then, is a *Potnia theron* like the Minoan goddess, but is attended by genii like the goddess on the Tiryns ring and the Thebes sealing. A question worth asking is whether these are separate divinities or aspects of a single goddess.<sup>100</sup>

On the Pylos sealing, the compositional element of the genii with branches and rampant quadrupeds has a nearly contemporary parallel on an ivory pyxis fragment from a LH IIIA context in the Dendra tholos (Appendix No. 72) (Fig. 9).<sup>101</sup> The ivory preserves only the forepaws of the genius, its branch, and the forehoof of the quadruped, but is clearly related to the glyptic scene. The animals on the pyxis flank an undulating outcrop which recalls the back of the Knossos throne and the shape on the Pankalochori mirror handle (Appendix No. 71) of roughly the same date. In addition, the ivory medium of the pyxis fragment and the iconography of the rampant goat and vegetation suggest Near-Eastern connections and hint at the international flavor of the period.<sup>102</sup>



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Fig. 9 Dendra ivory.



Fig. 10 CMS V,1 No. 201. Benaki seal.

### b) with male figures

Several sealstones show a new association for the genius with male figures of power or authority, but are not easy to interpret. An important example is a sealstone in the Benaki Museum said to have been found in western Crete (CMS V,1 No. 201) (Fig. 10). The composition includes a man standing over horns of consecration, his arms bent and fists

<sup>99</sup> Cf. the plants on the Tiryns ring, CMS I No. 179; the objects are not swords, as stated in Younger, *Iconography* 183 I.179.

<sup>100</sup> A number of goddesses are named in the Linear B tablets, but they may represent aspects of Potnia: see e.g., Chadwick (*supra* n. 81) 275ff.

<sup>101</sup> The ivory is the subject of a forthcoming study by P. Rehak, "An ivory pyxis fragment from Dendra."

<sup>102</sup> Cf. the animals on the Minet el-Beida ivory pyxis lid. See comments by M.-H. Gates in: *Eikon* 77ff.



clasped in front of his pectorals. Flanking him are a genius with libation pitcher and a winged agrimi. Younger considers the sealstone to be a Minoan work contemporary with LM IIIA1; it thus belongs to a period of possible Mycenaean occupation of Crete.<sup>103</sup>

Here we can suggest that certain Aegean poses changed their meaning over time. The man's pose originated in the MM period when it was used for terracotta male votaries dedicated in the peak sanctuary at Petsofas near Palaikastro,<sup>104</sup> and it continues to be used for LM I bronze votaries dedicated in peak sanctuaries.<sup>105</sup> An exceptionally large and luxurious figure in the same pose is the chryselephantine 'kouros' found in a LM IB destruction level at Palaikastro.<sup>106</sup> Since Minoan gods often extend one arm in a different pose,<sup>107</sup> and because excavated Minoan ivories are usually found in groups and seem to serve as recreations of cult activities,<sup>108</sup> it is doubtful that the 'kouros' represents a god; its function as a votary merits further exploration.<sup>109</sup>

In the period after the extensive LM IB destructions, however, it may be that this pose, as it recurs on the Benaki sealstone, has changed to indicate divine status (cf. e.g., CMS I No. 68; II,3 No. 193). The horns beneath the man's feet underscore his unusual importance, recalling and perhaps abbreviating the iconography of the 'Master Impression' from Khania.<sup>110</sup> Wingless agrimia have a long association with the divine on Crete, and a pair serve as draft animals for a pair of women on the Aya Triadha sarcophagus contemporary with the sealstone.<sup>111</sup>

The genius with pitcher on the Benaki seal continues a long-standing tradition, best exemplified by the attendants of the enthroned goddesses on the Thebes sealing and the Tiryns ring. But the exact combination of elements on the seal is not found elsewhere.

Other sealstones show a standing profile 'Master of Animals' between antithetic genii (CMS XI No. 36), sometimes with pitchers (CMS XI No. 290).<sup>112</sup> And a sealstone in London shows the genius itself as the object of attention, poised between flanking men (CMS VII No. 95), perhaps indicating that the later genius was becoming an object of veneration in its own right.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Younger, *Aegean Seals* V 133: Spectacle-Eye; Younger, *Iconography* 156 Fig. 114 (caption incorrect); 158 No. 201. Cf. Niemeier (supra n. 3).

<sup>104</sup> J.L. Myres, *BSA* 9, 1903, 361ff. Pls. IX. X.

<sup>105</sup> Example from Kato Syme Viannou: *Prakt* 1988, Pls. 174. 175. Cf. C. Verlinden, *OpAth* 17, 1988, 183ff.

<sup>106</sup> *AREpLondon* 1988, 73. 74 Fig. 106.

<sup>107</sup> Niemeier (supra n. 27) *passim*.

<sup>108</sup> Examples include bull-leapers from Knossos (Evans, *PM* III 428ff.), and a pair of boys from Palaikastro (Evans, *PM* III 446 and Fig. 310). See also heads and limbs from Archanes: J. and E. Sakellarakis (supra n. 50) 44. 53.

<sup>109</sup> N. Marinatos and R. Hägg have argued against the existence of free-standing cult images on Crete in: Krzyszkowska – Nixon, *Minoan Society* 185ff.

<sup>110</sup> Khania Museum No. 1563; Hallager, *MI*, MW 210f. No. 191.

<sup>111</sup> E.g., the animals on the Zakros rhyton (supra n. 26). Cf. C. Long (supra n. 50). For other agrimi-drawn chariots, see Younger, *Iconography* 164.

<sup>112</sup> Younger dates both to the 15th century and assigns them to his 'Almond and Dot-Eye' groups: Younger, *Aegean Seals* IV 62 8d.

<sup>113</sup> Younger, *Aegean Seals* IV, 62.



*c) antithetic genii and column*

At least four times, antithetic genii flank a central column,<sup>114</sup> in a variation on a composition in a variety of media which elsewhere includes lions,<sup>115</sup> sphinxes,<sup>116</sup> griffins,<sup>117</sup> and even birds<sup>118</sup> as flanking animals. The central column has a long iconographic tradition on both Crete and the mainland, where it has usually been interpreted as an abbreviated symbol of a palace, shrine, or a male or female ruler or god.<sup>119</sup>

## FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENIUS

Since the manufacture of hard stone seals ends before LH IIIB (according to Younger and Pini), and because a number of non-glyptic genii appear on the mainland in IIIA–B, it seems clear that even though sealstone production was declining, artisans in mainland palatial workshops continued to experiment with genius iconography as administrations expanded. New views of the genius occur in wall paintings (Pylos and Mycenae), ivories (Pylos and Thebes), and ornaments (mould from near the Cult Center at Mycenae; glass plaques from tombs).

Significantly, genius iconography has been found at most of the major centers of power in IIIB contexts (Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns,<sup>120</sup> Thebes), suggesting that the creature played a significant role in palatial ideology. In addition, several of the Mycenae examples are concentrated in the Cult Center, an area linked with blue glass (kyanos) and ivory workshops under palatial control.<sup>121</sup> A number of blue glass plaques with genii were found in the tombs at Mycenae, suggesting that some of the output of the workshops was designed for the servicing of the funerary needs of dead rulers, a need which finds its fullest expression in the massive LH IIIB building program at Mycenae.<sup>122</sup>

The renewed vigor with which the genius is represented in other media after the manufacture of stone seals had ceased may owe something to glyptic models that remained in circulation, particularly in shrines and the workshops associated with them. The processions

<sup>114</sup> Gill (supra n. 1 [1964]) 17 Nos. 15, 16; ead. (supra n. 1 [1970]) No. 57; CMS XII No. 302.

<sup>115</sup> E.g., the Lion Gate at Mycenae: for recent discussion of its symbolic significance, see Rehak (supra n. 29). Cf. CMS VII No. 154.

<sup>116</sup> E.g., on an ivory plaque from Mycenae: Poursat (supra n. 31) 43f. No. 138 Pl. XII.

<sup>117</sup> E.g., tethered griffins from the 'Great East Hall' at Knossos: Evans, PM III, Figs. 355–359; Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting* 171 Kn No. 8 e. For glyptic examples, see CMS I Nos. 98, 218.

<sup>118</sup> CMS VII No. 187.

<sup>119</sup> Reasonable discussion by Nilsson, *MMR*<sup>2</sup> (supra n. 1) 236ff.

<sup>120</sup> Supra n. 14.

<sup>121</sup> O. Krzyszkowska has recently raised the interesting suggestion that some ivory furniture was manufactured for diplomatic exchanges: *BSA* 86, 1991, 107ff.

<sup>122</sup> E. French in: *Images of Authority*. Papers presented to Joyce Reynolds on the occasion of her 70th birthday, ed. by M. MacKenzie – C. Roueché, The Cambridge Philosophical Society, Suppl. 16 (1989) 122ff. Cf. comments by J. Wright in: *Thanatos, Aegaeum* 1 (1987) 171ff., and id., *AJA* 95, 1991, 316.



of repeating genii on the Thebes ivory plaque and the fresco fragments from the Mycenae 'Cult Center' may derive from the earlier glyptic examples like the Tiryns ring. Another sealstone (CMS I No. 172), of much earlier Minoan manufacture, was found in the Cult Center in unstratified fill of probable LH III B—C date.<sup>123</sup> The Mycenaean use of the genius thus differs significantly from the Minoan. On the mainland the creature becomes part of an established palatial iconography, common to all the major centers, but developing without direct contemporary production of glyptic in hard stone.

## APPENDIX

## CATALOGUE OF GENII IN ADDITION TO M.A.V. GILL (SUPRA N. 1).

- No. 60 Fragmentary hematite cylinder; genius with vessel, from Cyprus; Sansone (supra n. 1) 1 No. 60.
- No. 61 Hematite cylinder seal; Sansone (supra n. 1) 1 No. 61.
- No. 62 Steatite lentoid with antithetic genii; between them, 3 dots and two vertical elements (plants?); Medeon, grave 29; Delphi Museum; CMS V No. 367.
- No. 63 Agate amygdaloid seal with genius holding ewer over pillar or stand; plant behind; Nichoria, tholos tomb, LH IIIA2—B1 context; CMS V No. 440; Younger, *Iconography* 216.
- No. 64 Steatite cylinder seal, Palaikastro, Crete; Sansone (supra n. 1) 2 No. 64.
- No. 65 Fragment of a glass plaque with genius, Mycenae akropolis; G. Mylonas, *Prakt* 1963, 101; Sansone (supra n. 1) 2 No. 65.
- No. 66 Steatite triton with two genii on platform, one with pitcher, from Mallia (Ayios Nikolaos Museum); LM IB context; C. Baurain and P. Darcque, *BCH* 107, 1983, 3ff.
- No. 67 Hematite lentoid; uncanonical genius above waist, kilt and human legs below; flanking dogs; CMS VII No. 126; Sansone (supra n. 1) 2 No. 67.
- No. 68 Fresco genii with pole; fragments of palm trees, from area southwest of Cult Center; LH III B—C context; I. Kritsele-Providi, *Τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου των Μυκηνών* (Athens, 1982) A 1—5, 21ff., Figs. 2—3, Pl. 1; Immerwahr, *Aegean Painting* 121 and n. 20; 192 My No. 8.
- No. 69 Carnelian amygdaloid seal with antithetic genii jointly holding one pitcher; Monte Carlo, collection of G. Sangiorgi, no Inv. No.; CMS XI No. 295.

<sup>123</sup> Cline (supra n. 15). For glyptic representations, see Younger, *Iconography* 158. 215ff., s.v. Genii (incomplete, and some others listed elsewhere).



- No. 70 Steatite lentoid seal with antithetic genii flanking central column; NY, Metropolitan Museum No. 26.31.338; CMS XII No. 302; Crowley (supra n. 1) Fig. 146.
- No. 71 Ivory mirror handle from Pankalochori; antithetic genii with jugs over cairn; Rethymnon Museum; LM IIIA context (unpublished; information provided by W.-D. Niemeier and M. Vlasakis).
- No. 72 Ivory pyxis fragment from Dendra; genius with branch facing rampant caprid; Athens National Museum No. 7359 (on display); LH IIIA context; A. Persson, *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, (Lund, 1931) 41 No. 6; 59 and n. 1, Fig. 36; Poursat (infra n. 31) 115 No. 358 Pl. XXXVIII; Rehak forthcoming (supra n. 101).
- No. 73 Lentoid seal with genius carrying man; found near Patras; LH IIIA context; Patras Museum 3983; CMS V Suppl. 1B No. 153.
- No. 74 Unpublished sealing from Thebes (impression of gold ring); enthroned goddess on platform with footstool flanked on each side by a genius with pitcher and a griffin; (under study by V. Aravantinos).
- No. 75 Steatite lentoid seal, unknown origin, antithetic genii, smaller genius to L; branch to R. CMS I Suppl. No.137; Younger, *Iconography* 216.
- No. 76 Sealing from Khania; small genius with paw in air and a quadruped; LM IIIA1 context; CMS V Suppl. 1A No. 122.
- No. 77 Clay bar with impression of genius from Khania: CMS V Suppl. 1A No. 128.
- No. 78 Two possible sealings with genii on roundel from Mallia; E. Hallager — J. Weingarten, *BCH* 117, 1993, 1ff.

*Possible:*

- No. 79 Sealing from Zakros palace shrine; ?genius; Platon (supra n. 26) 147; Younger, *Iconography* 219: Miscellaneous.
- No. 80 Knossos sealing No. 1025; possible carapace of genius; J. Betts, *BSA* 62, 1967, 31 No. 5.
- No. 81 Knossos sealing No. HMs 106; palm tree and ?genius; Betts, *op.cit.* 38 No. 36.
- No. 82 Knossos sealing No. 1042; ?genius above waist; human legs below (cf. CMS VII No. 126); Betts, *op.cit.* 30 No. 4.

*Erratum:*

Bull rhyton from Tiryns with pictorial decoration shows a rampant goat, not the genius; LH IIIC context; correct identification noted only by Vermeule — Karageorghis, *MPVP* 224 No. XI.85.1, Pl. XI.85.1.