

8. CATALOGUE D: THE BACK LUNGE

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DEFINITION OF THE BACK LUNGE IN REAL-LIFE CAT BEHAVIOUR

In the *Back Lunge* attack the lion has leapt entirely onto its prey, most often standing on its back but sometimes still with its back legs on those of its victim, biting its back, or reaching as far as neck or head.



Ill. 8- 1: Real-life Back Lunge of lioness on a buffalo - from the National Geographic September 2006

INTRODUCTION TO THE CATALOGUE

I decided to filter out this particular compositional type from the *Uruk Stance* and *Rear Attack* - not simply because the lion entirely leaves the ground in its leap onto the prey (the lion is often simply shown floating over the back of the bull rather than in active attack, and examples of this *in potentia* position are also included) - but more importantly because it usefully brings together in one cluster for special study the large amount of artefacts from the Minoan and Mycenaean world which in this Catalogue we have chosen to concentrate upon in our *Chronological Focus*. Our review of Syrian seals analysed in *Catalogue C* centring on the myth of Baal and Ishtar turn out also to be the foundation for Minoan and Mycenaean variations on the iconography incorporating the lion-bull attack, helpful because the latter rarely gave easily identifiable attributes to members of their Pantheon or depicted presentation scenes to enthroned rulers and Gods.

For arranging the items in chronological order we have followed the same procedures as for *Catalogues A, B* and *C* whereby items of known provenance head an entry as anchor for others of similar date often without provenance. We then log the representative item on distribution maps and in an overview table as in previous catalogues, look in detail at the historical context of material within the chosen Chronological Focus, and then attempt in the light of it to make iconographical judgements.

APPROACH TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE CATALOGUE D COMMENTARY

In *Catalogue A*, while presenting all evidence found, we focused on the very earliest period in which the Lion and Prey image occurs (the Protohistoric), and in *Catalogue B* with almost the extreme opposite end (6-5C Achaemenid Persia and Archaic Greece). Thus it was easy to place the *Chronological Focuses* for each within the art historical sequence of the other catalogue entries, either at the beginning or the end.

This, the previous and next catalogues (three in all) between them focus on the Lion and Prey image during the Second Millennium: and this catalogue overlaps and meshes with the material from both *Catalogues C* and *E* that look in depth at the first and second halves of that millennium by making *Chronological Focus D* bestraddle them with the period 1700-1450, looking in depth primarily at the Minoan and Mycenaean material and its interdependence with Egypt and the Levant, with (to me) astonishing new insights. The *Back Lunge* examples either side of the material in this catalogue's *Chronological Focus* are thus relatively secondary, though protohistoric precedents tantalizingly line up with similar material of the same period in the first three catalogues - and moving into the First Millennium, Greek artefacts seem to follow on in a seemingly uninterrupted development, also matching up to the other compositional types dealt with so far. Nonetheless we have tried to keep to the main chronological sequence of the clusters of items listed on the basis of catalogue entries in the *Art History* half of the chapter, but the long *Chronological Focus* (with several side-studies) in the middle of it is a long diversion and may distract the reader for a while from the sequence overall. Once dealt with, though, we return to brief comments, in due order, on the remaining groups under the International Style, Dark Ages and Achaemenid/Graeco-Roman times.

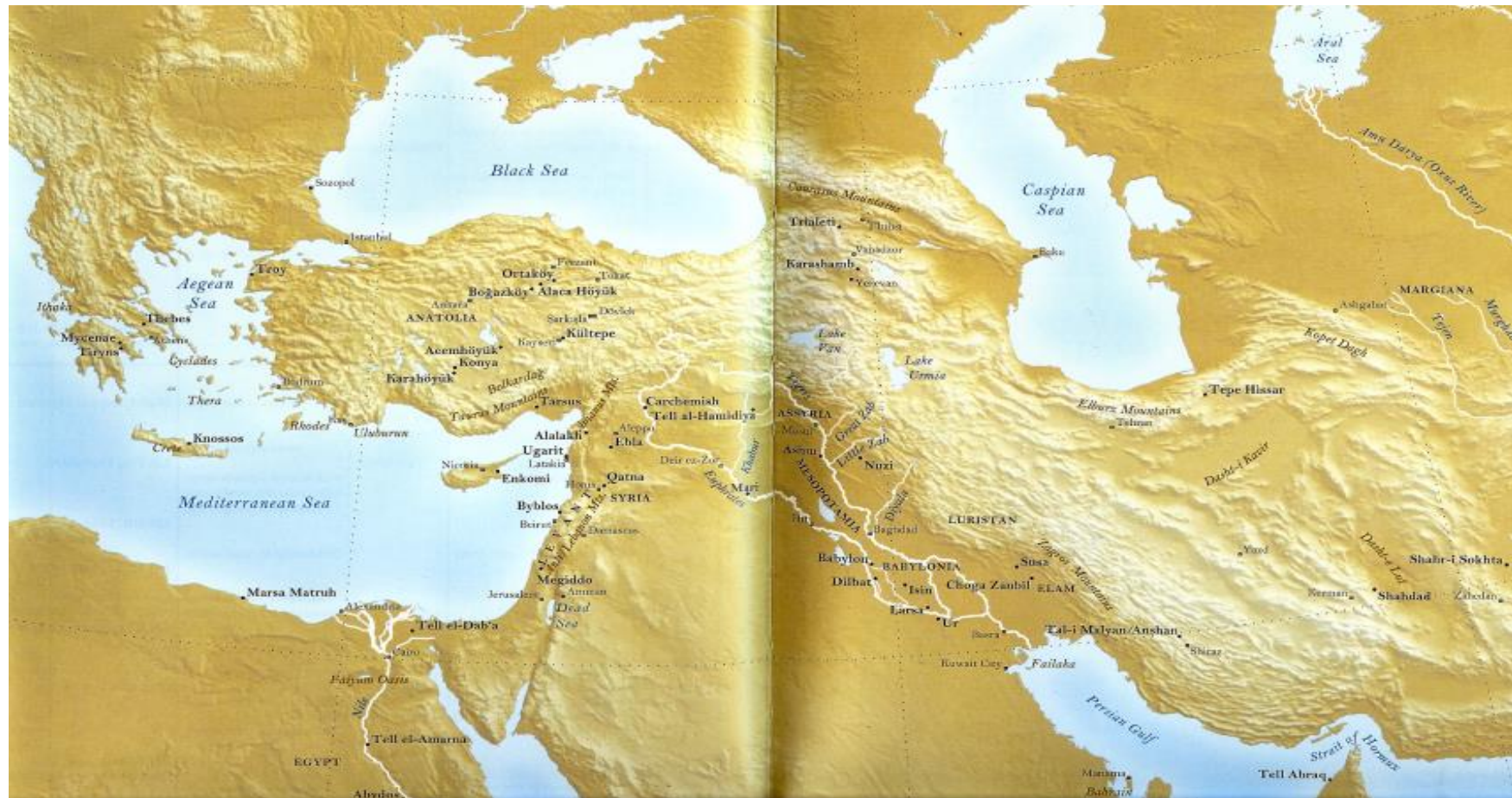
In this *Chronological Focus* it was felt important to make Knossos its centerpiece (just as in *Catalogue B* we saw Persepolis as the centre of attention). We particularly dwell on the Back Lunge artefacts (almost entirely consisting of seals) that were found at that site, especially those just before - and then after - the building of the New Palace at Knossos c.1650, since it was during the fifty years of that watershed hiatus - and very definitely after it - that Knossos and the surrounding palace network in Crete began to adopt the *Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art*, taken on seamlessly later by the Mycenaeans. This is why there is a larger number than usual of subsections to the *Chronological Focus* that sift through and compare contextual material against for the Lion-Prey seal finds there, with those from the sanctuary rooms of Knossos Palace especially under scrutiny, potentially throwing further light on the nature of the CANEA.

Only once this operation is completed are we in a position to draw conclusions and embark on *iconographical* interpretations in the second half of the chapter, where the focus material is gone through a second time. We deal with possible meanings of the material up to the *Chronological Focus* fairly briefly until we reach the material under survey within the *Focus* period. Here we chose to put certain clusters of material through a fine sieve in the hope of extracting further insights - and as we spend some time doing this, to avoid losing the main thrust of any argument it is important to note main topics given under large-font section headings and the sub-headings in different colours of decreasing size that come under them.

THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

D: THE BACK LUNGE

To lead in, below is the general map drawn up under Joan Aruz' instruction for the 2008 BEYOND BABYLON exhibition in New York, which names most relevant locations and gives the best idea of the extent of the theatre for Back Lunge finds, and where the Aegean and the Levant take centre-stage.



III. 8- 2: Catalogue D concentrates on the high incidence of material in Crete, Mycenae, Anatolia and the Levant, the latter two backing onto the Babylonian hinterland -from Aruz¹

¹ Joan Aruz et al. (eds) **BEYOND BABYLON** Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition catalogue, New York 2008

Our *Iconography* section tries to assess the *Chronological Focus* material in the context of the spread of the entire body of the *Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art* to the Aegean, whose constants for the first time in this catalogue we start to pin down with increasing certainty - along with native, Minoan variations. Hence we take some time placing the catalogue items of the period 1700-1450 against the backdrop of evident influences from both Egypt and the Levant in other fields, finally bringing all these threads together to consider their astronomical implications - in particular in relation to the Knossos Palace Throne Room and surrounding passages - and the central role Knossos appears to have played at its height as the hub of an Aegean land and sea observational network. In considering the astronomical implications of each Syro-Mesopotamian or local Minoan *CANEA* motif - in which the Back Lunge plays its part - we look at the crucial part played by the Minoan take on the Baal-Ishtar myth (whose story was spelled out at great length in *Catalogue C* in the context of Syrian seals). I often cross-refer to images from *Catalogue C* in this respect, so it is well worth re-reading those parts of the *Iconography* section of that catalogue dealing with the imagery of Venus-Ishtar and Jupiter-Baal, to gain the full benefit of interpretations that follow in this one.

It would be natural in terms of literary composition to end the catalogue on this crescendo, but there is still First Millennium material whose iconography needs at least a cursory look, especially in relation to continuities of meaning shown on certain items in the Classical world (we think here in particular of the entrance sculpture to the temple to Allāt at Palmyra (*BaLu-50*)). We therefore end with a short Coda of a handful of pages where I can usefully take the opportunity to arrive at further conclusions justifying the method we have followed in this painstakingly slow work. This can optionally be left out pending its cross-referencing and in-depth coverage in *Catalogues E* and *F*.

As with the map, in this preview we decided pre-emptively to insert our *Frequency Table* straight away, based, as before, on the first item of all the entries of the catalogue. As in previous ones, it gives a rough guide to the incidence of the Back Lunge in different periods and explains straight away the reason for our choice of period for the *Chronological Focus* within the *Art History* section following the catalogued items. To accommodate the period of highest incidence - in this instance strikingly obvious - we had to subdivide the Second Millennium into three columns instead of two.

Period	4000-3500	3500-3000	3000-2500	2500-2000	2000-1750	1750-1450	1450-1000	1000-500	500-0	0-500
No of artefacts	4	4	2	1	4	16	5	5	2	1

Ill. 8- 3: Rough count of usage per 500 years, based only on the main entry of every catalogue item

The catalogue entries now follow.

CATALOGUE OF BACK LUNGE ARTEFACTS

BaLu-1

FINDSPOT	Bought in Beirut by Woolley	
ON ARTEFACT	Convex, square stamp seal with rounded corners, gable-backed (one corner missing)	
MATERIAL	Steatite, roughly 7cm square (unusually large)	
EXCAVATION REF.	Unprovenanced	
PRESENT LOCATION	Ashmolean Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	1913.341	
PUBLISHED IN	<i>AshCat II</i> no.35	
PERIOD & DATE	Prehistoric (Late Ubaid-Early Uruk)	4000-3500

Although unprovenanced we start with this large seal (*c.f. Belland-1*) since we see it as a pioneering piece. The lion floating over a bull with lowered head is easy to pick out, but there is also a vulture with snakey neck under the bull's belly: its symmetrical pair in front of the bull faces the other way. A human is shown as if swimming sideways over the lion, with two legs remaining of a further human, the remainder lost in the broken-off corner. The other graphic marks along the broken-off edge are difficult to decipher. The main figures are not so much modelled as diagonally hatched or cross-hatched.



The next seal below left (*AshcatII* no. 37), longitudinally perforated for wearing, is of the same type as no. 35 and shows the same grouping of lion over supine prey and vulture beneath: this time a four-leaf spray is discernible next to the bird. A less well-defined group of bird in flight, lion and supine reindeer (*AshCatII* no.40) on a seal with *rounded* back and also perforated, may be roughly contemporary with the other two.



The overall stance of prey's head turned back and up to the lion's head in no.37 is matched by an early (serpentine) cylinder seal bought by Layard in Northern Iraq (Wiseman *BMCatI* no.58/ BM 89661), even more closely matched to *Back-Lunge-3* in the way the deer places its head in the lion's mouth.



BaLu-2

FINDSPOT	Susa, thought to have been imported from Luristan	
ON ARTEFACT	Hemispheroid-backed, perforated stamp seal	
MATERIAL	steatite	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Louvre	
MUSEUM REF.	Sb 882	
PUBLISHED IN	GMACat 144; GSCat 171	
PERIOD & DATE	Susa 1B	3800-3600

This seal, photographed in its case in the Louvre, clearly shows the nature of this kind of seal and it is interesting to note the authorities see it as not indigenous to Susa, but imported from Luristan whence most of this type of seal originates, some stratified. It may show a leopard, rather than lion, and the leafy, vegetative elements are not, I believe, simply decorative, but references to sprouting at Springtime.



I juxtapose the next seal design below (GMACat 1553) because again we have a leopard over bull, with the remains of a bird-wing as in the last seal of *BaLu-1* - also seen by Amiet (*La Revue du Louvre* XXIII p.217 fig.4) as deriving from Luristan when it arrived in the Louvre, bought on the market:



We insert here two rougher examples of hemispheroid stamp seals, the one below left from a Drouot (Paris) sale catalogue for 20 Nov.1961 whose entry points out 'dans le champ, *une étoile*' (note also the lion's cross-hatched neck), and below right a further perforated stamp seal *bought in Egypt* (AshCatII no.58) with yet again the by now recognisable trio of vulture over Back Lunge *in potentia*. That link between Luristan and Protohistoric Egypt (*vide Chronological Focus A*) is hinted at in passing under the next entry.



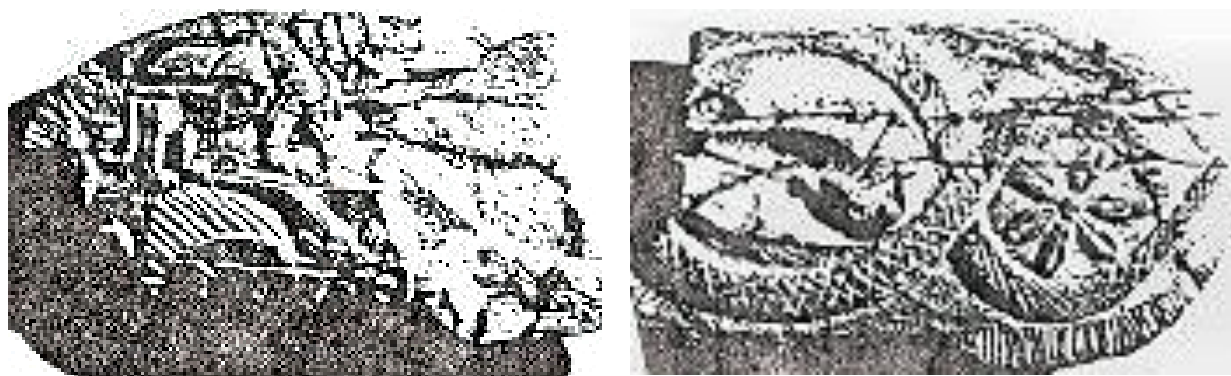
BaLu-3

FINDSPOT	Tepe Giyan	
ON ARTEFACT	Seal	
MATERIAL	Steatite	
EXCAVATION REF.	TG 2503	
PRESENT LOCATION	?Iran	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Herzfeld AMI V 1933 pl.ii, fig.22; GMA 97	
PERIOD & DATE		3500-3000

This seal follows the Drouot seal, just mentioned in the previous entry, in having a star or planet (the Sun or Venus the most likely) interposed between lion and its ibex prey. The prey places its turned head in the lion's mouth exactly as in the last seal of **BaLu-1**. Instead of a vulture over them there is a snake - with connotations explored later.



Having already awakened to relations between Luristan and Protohistoric Egypt in the previous entry - the last seal having been bought in Egypt - we bring in at this point a fragmentary ivory knife handle (Boehmer AMI VII 15-40 (1974) pl.4, figs 3-4 - Berlin Museum) showing the familiar double snake and flower motif on one side (similar to that on other handles described in previous catalogues) - with an *in potentia* Back Lunge on the other - though unusually here the lion stands over a porcupine.



The choice of porcupine underlines the African context of this particular knife handle. The flower, frequently used on Susa designs, may in fact be stellar or planetary in its reference, whilst the entwined snakes design is also to be traced back to Susa - explored more fully under the *Iconography* Section.

BaLu-4

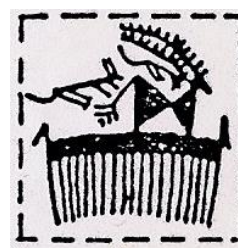
FINDSPOT	Susa, first sondage of the North Acropolis	
ON ARTEFACT	Hemispheroid seal - lengthwise perforation incomplete	
MATERIAL	Porphyry	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Louvre	
MUSEUM REF.	Louvre Sb 5686	
PUBLISHED IN	Amiet 1966, entry 22; GMACat 110	
PERIOD & DATE	Susa 1A	4000-3500

This seal quite clearly falls into the same category of hemispheroid stamp seals as the previous entries. Although it comes from a specific archaeological context, the actual dating of the Susa levels is still controversial, and since the execution of the seal is quite refined we did not make it the first entry, despite the proposed dating to the early 4M (Le Breton puts it at Susa 1A: Amiet and Porada to Susa 1B). We are back again to a leopard over the bull's back, with three birds and a further quadruped fitted into the gaps, along with further crescent, leaf and dot marks and two very pronounced swastikas taken to express the Sun's cycle of four seasons.

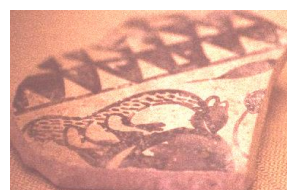


Author's photo

Le Breton saw that the double triangle simplification of the leopard and bull bodies relates the seal-style to the painted vases of Susa of the same period, most particularly to the Louvre example below (full illustration of the bowl taken from Henri Frankfort's *Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt and their Earliest Interrelations* (1924), pl.ii/1) where a painted Back Lunge by lion and jackal on reindeer with double-triangle body takes place on a comb-like frame of 19 teeth with two bird-head projections at the ends.



Pottery sherds from other Susa bowls in the Louvre (MDP XXX fig.50/15) show recurrence of the subject (left), confirmed by a further sherd from Sialk featuring a leopard, spotted in a Louvre display case, for the same period:



BaLu-5

FINDSPOT	Iran, 'Nehavand area' (Western Iran, south of Hamadan)	
ON ARTEFACT	Painted pot	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Louvre	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Amiet 'L'Iconographie archaïque de l'Iran: Quelques documents nouveaux' Syria LVI 1979 figS16-17	
PERIOD & DATE	Roughly contemporary with Tepe Gawra XIII-VIII	c.4000

Staying with pottery, this complete vase acquired for the Louvre and featured in Amiet's paper shows how the Back Lunge interspersed with three other long-horned ibex at 90° to each other (perhaps expressing the Four Seasons) features within a cycle showing the Master of the Beasts motif in three variations (one holds up two leopards just as in Egypt at Hieraconpolis and on the Gebel el-Arak ivory knife handle). Again for Iran at this time the leopard is the feline of choice, and prey the ibex with long curved horns exaggerated.



In his paper Amiet relates the figures to Tepe Gawra round stamp seals showing the same mix of motifs (discussed further in the **Iconography** section below) and also to an early cylinder seal in the Boston Museum (below - his. Fig. 18) with the same motifs in a vertical stack (including two stars over the Master).



BaLu-6

FINDSPOT	Uruk, Anu Ziggurat, between levels C & D	
ON ARTEFACT	Round stamp seal	
MATERIAL	Pink gypsum	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Berlin Museum W16 no.848	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	UVB IX pl. 29d; GMACat 218	
PERIOD & DATE	Early Uruk/Susa 17/18	3600-3400

This is the only stratified round stamp seal of what we could call the Luristan genre found at Uruk, telling its own tale about links to Susa and the Luristan hinterland (described in *Chronological Focus A*). However, as we know from the *Uruk Stance Catalogue* the upheld tail of the lion is a particularly Urukian feature, as is the rendition of the bull with forward pointing horn in sideways view, curving up, then down.



We compare it with a cylinder sealing on a numerical clay label from Susa (below left - MDP XXVI pl. lxi fig 375) which uses both these conventions, as well as emphasizing the downward vertical of the bull-tail - maybe even these characteristics were taken up by Uruk from Susa. The lion floating passively over the bull was frequently still used on Susa seals into the Proto-Elamite period (GMACat 522/526/529/535 second left to right below) with the same emphasis as the Luristan seals on leafy inserts or the Cross of the Quarters:



500 years before, both Uruk and Susa favoured processions repeating this relationship in a continuous roll of the seal - not all in active attack mode, yet not to be left out - (GMACat 224 below left - and (below right) from the Susa Acropolis (Cahiers de la DAFI VIII 1978 fig. 5/5, level 18 & fig.10 level 17B):



BaLu-7

FINDSPOT	Tell Brak, plunderers' tunnel near shaft 1, SW corner of Eye Temple Platform	
ON ARTEFACT	Square stamp seal	
MATERIAL	'greyish limestone'	
EXCAVATION REF.	Find no. F646	
PRESENT LOCATION	British Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	BM 126263	
PUBLISHED IN	Mallowan Iraq IX 1947 pl.xviii, 28; GMACat 166	
PERIOD & DATE	Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr	3500-3235

In the Tell Brak counterchanged example of two Back Lunges we see the spread of the compositional type into Syria via northern Iraq, and favouring the square format.



It is interesting to compare it with a protohistoric cylinder seal bought in Beirut (Amiet in *Syria* XL (1963) fig. 5) which although rough in execution has a telling combination of Back Lunge group flanked by a geometric rendition of the Four Quarters on one side and a spider (possibly an alternative reference from the 8-petalled flower to the Eight-Fold Zodiac) on the other. This trio points to the idea met in earlier catalogues that the lion-prey group refers to the New Year starting point within these Time divisions.



The idea of springtime reproduction in animal herds is expressed in the protohistoric (3500-3100) two-sided tabloid seal below (of schist or basalt bought in Marash, Syria, now in the Ashmolean Museum no. 1895.87/AshCatII 54) showing on one side passive Back Lunge and perched bird of prey over a sideways crouching bull, and on the other a female in birthing position in shrine next to two goats .



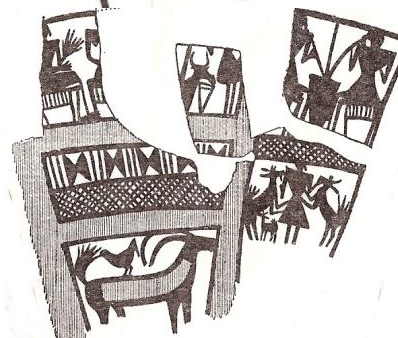
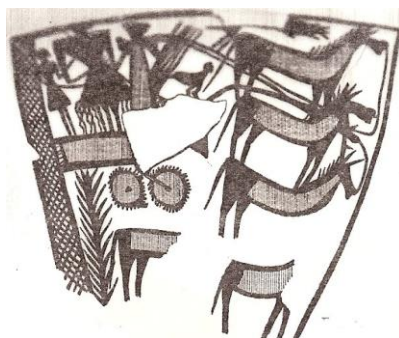
BaLu-8

FINDSPOT	Tepe Gawra, Western Temple Area, Level VIII, Room M9	
ON ARTEFACT	Sealing	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.	Find nos. TG 5594 a-d	
PRESENT LOCATION	Philadelphia Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Speiser 1935 pl. lviii, 38 (pl.x for position of room M9); GMACat 55	
PERIOD & DATE	Jemdet Nasr/Early Dynastic I	3235-3000

This composite drawing made from four sealing fragments still finds the Back Lunge in use in Northern Iran/Iraq (present-day Kurdistan) as times moved on - with the snake again included on the outer edge.



In the same period the Back Lunge appears on a Jemdet Nasr period pot from Khafaje in northern Sumer. On revisiting the pot in its case over the years it has been alarming to see how much the paint has faded (when I photographed it the horse under the lion had already dissolved from the time I first looked at it, let alone the extent of fade since the drawings made for Sidney Smith's account of its accession to the British Museum (BM 123783) in the **British Museum Quarterly VIII** (1933-4) figs 1-3 reproduced below. On it,



the Back Lunge already forms part of an iconographic programme extending from the Master of the Beasts to bring in the familiar war cart and banqueting scenes so familiar to us on contemporary artefacts from Ur.

BaLu-9

FINDSPOT	Ur, Royal Cemetery, Tomb PG 789 (of Queen Pu'abi)	
ON ARTEFACT	Gaming piece from the set found in the hollow box of the inlaid gaming board	
MATERIAL	Engraved shell	
EXCAVATION REF.	U10557 (board and pieces taken together as one artefact)	
PRESENT LOCATION	Gaming Board in the British Museum: this piece in the Iraq Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	UEII pl.96	
PERIOD & DATE	Early Dynastic I/II	3105-2700

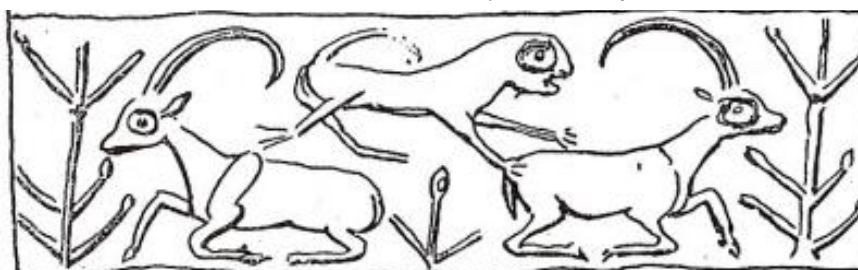
This gaming piece shows a dramatic rendition of a Back Lunge (c.f. **Belland-5**) suitably compacted to fit in the small square with the neck of the ram bent back, and accurate in showing how lions kill their felled prey with a neck bite. Its place in the iconography of the whole gaming board is pursued in **Chapter 17**.



We contrast this with a Back Lunge sealing from the Kish Early Houses stratum Y at -5m (find nos K.V878/9) now in the Ashmolean Museum (1929.285/288/**AshCatI**-107). I see it as featuring three prey, representing the three main seasons. Significant is a likely representation of The Sibitti (Ursa Major or Minor) over a vase in front of the lion-bull group, making one look back to the previous entry and interpret the shape in front of the seated lion on the Tepe Gawra sealings as also a pot indicating the Leo-Aquarian solstitial opposition - such astronomical axes are discussed at length in **Chapter 19**.



Slightly marginal, we bring in here one of a group of four ED seals from the Diyala region discussed by Ursula Moortgat-Correns in **OLZ LIV** p.348 fig.6 - this one found at Tell Agrab (Frankfort **SCSCat** 839) from a precise EDII stratum. Note the treatment of the animals' eye area, repeated on the Ur seal, next entry.



BaLu-10

FINDSPOT	Ur, Royal Cemetery, Tomb PG1054, at waist of person in burial C	
ON ARTEFACT	Cylinder seal	
MATERIAL	Lapis lazuli	
EXCAVATION REF.	U11734	
PRESENT LOCATION	Philadelphia Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	UEII pl.192,12 discussed pp.99-100; GMACat 1268	
PERIOD & DATE	EDII	c.2650

Most of the cylinder seals in the Royal Tombs of Ur feature the **Crossover Attack** (see **Catalogue G**): this one appears to be the only one featuring a Back Lunge, juxtaposed to other images not so far associated with it on earlier items in this catalogue. Yet, while seeing how the range of the **CANEA** expands we should realize seemingly new features are actually elements of the protohistoric iconography morphed into new combinations conveying the same messages from the past.

On the top register the human faced bulls of the Horizon (see also the Ur sealing in **Ill.19-6** in **Chapter 19**) appear either side of a monticule with budding bush on its summit: one has a small winged lion on its back, and the other is attacked by a lion-headed eagle. Buffering the area between their rumps is a stag with six-petalled flower rising over its shoulder. On the lower register we have a straight-forward Back Lunge with crescent Moon over the lion's back and star (or Sun) just behind its tail root. This pair faces a small man blowing a pipe sitting under the now leafy tree on the monticule followed by a human-headed bird holding a trident (in **Chapter 19** identified with Bootes and Greater Ursa Major) following a walking lion with plough over its back (also fully analysed in that chapter). The lion's eye matches the eye-style of the last seal in the previous entry, its whole face looking more human than leonine - a Mesopotamian sphinx.



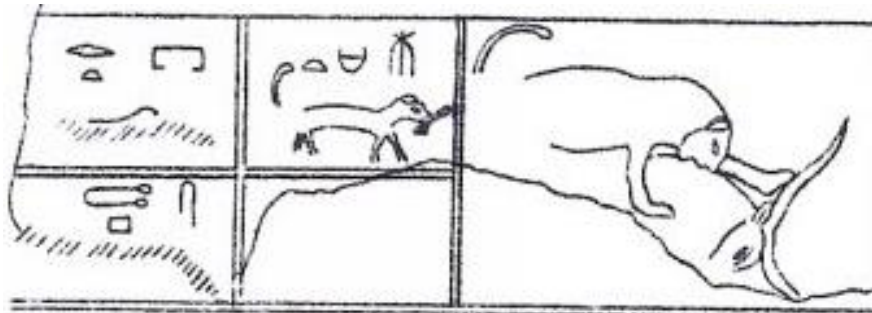
We can contrast it with the roughly contemporary unprovenanced shell cylinder seal (EDI or EDII) from Mesopotamia (**GMACat 1361**) now in the Louvre (AO 4107/**LouvCatII A125**), damaged but showing enough of a Back Lunge to read it as part of a complex ritual scene procession before a reed shrine, new elements being the figures travelling up-river in a boat and an animal presented for sacrifice.



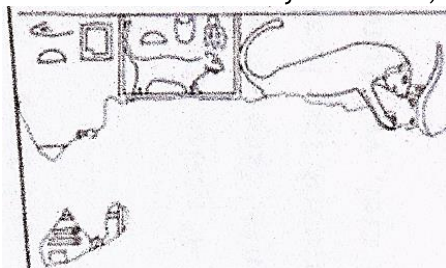
BaLu-11

FINDSPOT	Saqqara, Lower Egypt	
ON ARTEFACT	Damaged block from the Unas Causeway	
MATERIAL	Limestone	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Cairo Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Stevenson-Smith 1965, fig.179; A Labrousse and A Moussa 'La Chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas' <i>Bulletin de l'Égypte</i> CXXXIV 2002 37-9/figs 42-44	
PERIOD & DATE	VD	2310-2290

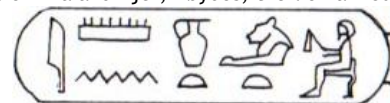
As with the contemporary lion-bull attack given on other Dynasty V monuments, the purpose of this image appears to have been to act as a section heading at one of the three dividing points portraying the activities of the Three Seasons of Egypt - much favoured as a decorative scheme on Fifth Dynasty reliefs - announcing, as it were, the images (now destroyed) that would have followed behind it.



Its restoration alongside relevant text fragments has been done in different ways (above, as in Stevenson Smith and more recently below left, as by Labrousse et al). The latter now read the phrase immediately



Detail of ivory labels of Aha and Djer, Abydos, the lion announcing first day



Cartouche of Hatshepsūt, First of the Nobles

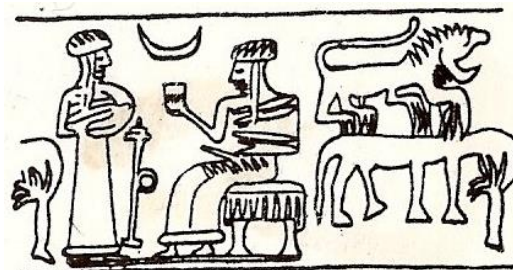
behind the Rear Attack as *'the female gives birth'* (since the crucial missing fragment at the rear of the lioness may have shown an emerging cub). However, bearing in mind the hieroglyph of lioness forequarters *can* mean 'The First' = 'Hat' (as for instance, in the hieroglyph for Queen Hatshepsūt which literally means 'First amongst the nobles'), a hieroglyph going back to the many DI AND DII ivory labels of Abydos (above right), the overall sense of the image evidently refers to the Birth of the New Year (the 'mess' hieroglyph of three fox tails referring to the concept of birth/giving birth), with the lion over the Bull of the Year. Very early in the history of ancient near-eastern art we thus have deliberately contrasted images of lioness and lion as both life-giver *and* life-taker at transition points of the cycle of life in this OK relief fragment.

On Hyksos/New Kingdom designs such contrasts were again alluded to in relation to lion-bull attack groups (**BaLu-29/32/33**), with the Back Lunge image seemingly indicating the New Year start point which for Egypt was celebrated in July/August at the rising of Sirius, herald of the Inundation season of Akhet. Yet, going by its positioning *after* fishing scenes in a plentifully stocked Nile with abundance of birds and other game for hunting, our VD Back Lunge piece seems to mark the caesura *after* a time of plenty, at the start of Winter/Peret, the very word in hieroglyphs in the succeeding box from the birthing lioness image - however there is controversy about where these scenes are meant to fit (see *Iconography* section).

BaLu-12

FINDSPOT	Susa	
ON ARTEFACT	Cylinder Seal	
MATERIAL	Bituminous limestone	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Iran Bastan Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	R de Mecquenem MDP XXIX fig.96.6	
PERIOD & DATE	Old Babylonian	1900-1500

It is harder to find fuller information about this seal, other than the bare bones of what we can see in the image - a drinks celebration under a crescent moon, juxtaposed with a Back Lunge behind the ruler's throne. By now having looked at many seals in similar vein it conjures up a New Year celebration or oath-taking ceremony.



It is close to the cylinder seal of haematite (below, with *lāma* priestess against the inscription) in the British Museum (BM 102046 - 1905.11.14,5, no.73 in Collon **BMCatIII**) classed by the latter as from the Isin-Larsa period. Its inscription (*Sun, Great God*) no doubt refers to the four-square cross in the crescent disc between official and ruler holding up his drink, and again possibly a ruler taking an oath before Shamash, God of Oaths and Justice (the ritual discussed in **Catalogue C**). It is not clear whether the two animals in the air above the Back Lunge between ruler and priestess are sheep or Fish-Goat symbols for Ea/Capricorn.



The next unprovenanced 'jaspery haematite' seal (Ashmolean Museum, donation of Miss Howes, 1944.91/**AshCatI** 537) immediately places it as Syrian Old Babylonian due to its pair of counterbalanced uprearing lions with head seen from above - the counter-changed pair of Back Lunges between them reminiscent of the convention used in the early Tell Brak example (**BaLu-7**) and Tell Halaf relief (**Belland-13**). Though a lively rendition, the heads viewed from above follow a set formula of four drill holes for eyes and dewlaps, soon to be commonly adopted in the Back Lunge motif on seals in Crete and Mycenae in the Neo-Palatial period. As for **Belland-10/Urusta-28**, the full scene suggests the cyclic round of the seasons.



Seal with sealing



Closeup of sealing: note four drill-holes for lion-head

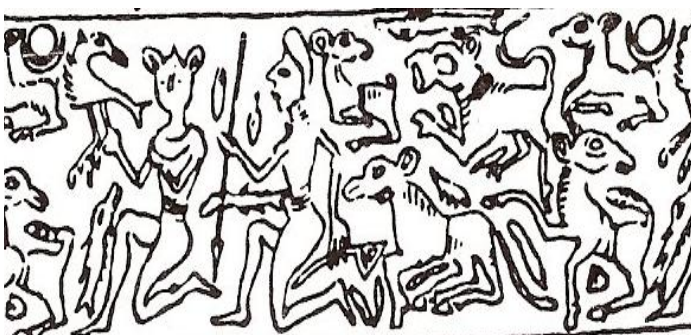
BaLu-13

FINDSPOT	Kültepe	
ON ARTEFACT	Sealing	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.	Kt. a/k 517	
PRESENT LOCATION	Ankara Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	KülCat 56	
PERIOD & DATE		1900-1800

The sealing below left shows a debt to Old Babylonian type seals in the throned figure juxtaposed with the same flying Back Lunge as seen in the last seal of the previous entry, using the same perspective on the lion's head from above. The conical hat of the ruler holding a drink and Baal standing on his bull behind him are Anatolian features mixed in, along with the *horror vacui* that fills every gap with an animal head or other small picture determinative. On seal 62 from the same catalogue (right) there is a similar mixture of motifs with cross-hatched texturing of the animals, the characteristic feature again being the lack of clear-cut spatial organization by using more than the one base-line adhered to on purely Old Babylonian seals.



On a drawn example (below left, from ICK 1 35a seal D) quoted in M T Larssen's paper in McGuire Gibson (ed.)² the Back Lunge is blended with a Rear Attack using the same prey and again the sealing strikes us first as pattern and only secondarily as a view of Man in Nature with a particular meaning (note again the Moon disc inside its crescent). Even more perfunctory is the Back Lunge on the next seal (right) referred to



by Larssen (from ICK 1 41a, seal C) where the prey has simply become a gridded platform for the crouching lion, the group being placed under the Bull of Baal with bird on its back, also on a pallet. Here the squared Sun is clearly shown nested inside the crescent, whilst the Gilgamesh figure with flowing vase abuts two figures best explained by matching them to similar iconography referring to Baal's battle with Yam on the Tyskiewicz seal (*Ratt-28*), discussed fully in the *Iconography* section in that catalogue.

² 'Seal Use in the Old Assyrian Period' in McGuire Gibson (ed.) *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East* 1976 Malibu

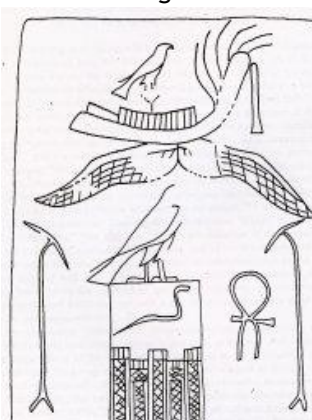
BaLu-14

FINDSPOT	Tell Fara South, Tomb 1021	
ON ARTEFACT	Scarab stamp seal	
MATERIAL		
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	London University Institute of Archaeology no. E.V46/19	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Petrie Beth Pelet II pl.xliii, 14; Tufnell Scarab Seals II pl.xl no.2616	
PERIOD & DATE	XIIID/HYKSOS	1900-1500

This entry ties in with the material under **Ratt-14** marking a period of strong Egyptian influence not only at Byblos, but all down the Levantine coast up to Sinai as the Middle Kingdom lost its grip due to increasing infiltration of the Hyksos into Lower Egypt/Palestine. British excavations at sites such as Tell Fara unearthed a huge quantity of distinctive Egyptian-inspired scarabs in large numbers, most with abstract patterns on them, many with Egyptian symbolism (sometimes in garbled forms, evidently used more in superstition than informed belief) with a tiny group using animals in the Mesopotamian style, that hint at the assertion of the cultural background of its user.



The next seal (below left) is a plain ovoid stamp seal, scaraboid in shape, listed in de Clerq (no. 76^{ter}) as without provenance. Here is a case as found under **Ratt-14** seemingly of an attempt to equate the Back Lunge at the bottom with Egyptian equivalents. These are a winged Sun-disc flying over a dagger; a bull-head with large ears; a Horus eagle with double feather headdress perched on the lion's rump, and a sprouting lotus rising in front of the lion. We are reminded that the Egyptian motifs on it already had a long pedigree reaching back to the First Dynasty (as on the drawing below middle scratched on an ivory comb - below right) from Abydos with its early form of cartouche for the Pharaoh Djet (Petrie **Tombs of the Courtiers** 1921 pl.12) to which we will refer at some length in the **Iconography** section.



In the light of the Unas Causeway Back Lunge (**BaLu-11**) I believe this concatenation of two sets of symbols amounts to a cross-cultural reference to the Season of the Inundation, and therefore to the New Year, celebrated at different times - in Egypt (Summer Solstice/Autumn Equinox) as opposed to the Mesopotamian-influenced Levant (Winter Solstice/Spring Equinox).

BaLu-15

FINDSPOT	Kültepe	
ON ARTEFACT	Stamp sealing	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.	Kt. k/k 33	
PRESENT LOCATION	Ankara Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	N. Özgüç 1965 - KültepeCat 95	
PERIOD & DATE	Cappadocian	1900-1800

In the days of the *Kārum* Kanesh sometimes the stump end of a cylinder seal was used as a separate stamp seal - a practice with precedents in ED Mesopotamia, and it is useful to have a relevant benchmark example from Kültepe itself (below left) against which to compare later examples that continue the tradition (though from the sealing alone we cannot tell whether it was simply a stand-alone stamp seal or part of a cylinder). Significantly Dunand in *Fouilles de Byblos II* no. 7805 recorded a similar, roughly carved stamp seal (below middle) - in design actually closer to a Belly Landing but, given the Egypt-Byblos theme of scarab use, more tellingly grouped here. These in turn can be set against the ensuing proliferation of stubby Hittite stamp seals used from c.1700: Delaporte *LouvCatI* pl.100 shows four examples using the Back Lunge (nos 9b/10/11/12/Louvre AO 1010-1012 and 1014) -all with a short stalk grip on the back pierced for wear like the example below right - this one in the *NewellOstenCat* no. 378 featuring the same vulture/Horus wing spread already seen to be a traditional reference to the sky on the prehistoric seals in this catalogue, continuing in use on later Levantine scarabs (*BaLu-14*). (Note too *NewellOstenCat* no. 395).



On the last of the four Louvre seals just mentioned (AO1014, below left) a bed of spirals is introduced underneath the Back Lunge whilst Contenau in *Glyptique Syro-Hittite* illustrates one from the Berlin Museum (pl.xi no. 59 - below right) entirely framed by what can still be taken as the pair of entwined snakes so often used on protohistoric and then Early Dynastic artefacts, eventually incorporated into 2M North Syrian seals. As designs moved westwards the twisting serpents were gradually standardised as a geometric end in itself in the form of the guilloche - on both Anatolian and Hittite stamp seals - nonetheless bearing the resonance of its initial reference to the God Ningishzida.



Building on such designs as these Back Lunge examples, the running spirals favoured by the Hittites reach their apotheosis on the Tyskiewicz cylinder seal dating somewhere between 1700 and 1550: the procession of the Gods on the main cylinder, framed top and bottom by two bands of running spirals, as the photograph of the actual haematite seal shows (next page), has already been analysed fully under *Ratt-28*.

BaLu-15f

Here focusing on the stamp seal end of the Tyskiewicz hammer-handled seal (photo *MetMusCat-101*³) two concentric circles of spirals are cross-linked to frame the animal heads in the centre, also cross-weaving into each other in perfect four-way geometry. At the centre are five animal heads, a human head the sixth, possibly a protozodiac divided into the Leo-Aquarius and Taurus-Eagle/Scorpio oppositions with the third the Capricorn-Cancer solstitial line (marked by the goat head opposite the lion head sideways), no doubt referring to the seasonal turning divisions of the Indo-European world.



Against it we can match earlier Anatolian stamp seals already standard amongst Anatolians before Hittite unification, twelve of which - all from Building L at Karahüyük-Konya - are illustrated by Stephen Lumsden⁴ under his fig.3 (nos 1, 9 and 2 respectively shown left to right below). This type of seal with one motif at the centre is thought to refer to the role of the official using it (we definitely know the seal with the jug at the centre (also illustrated as Lumsden's fig. 3 for instance) was used by the court cup-bearer).



On the first two we again see a succinctly suggested zodiac: with a caprid in the centre circle of the first and third: the middle one with a procession of 5 animals (?referring to the Venus synodic period) round a lion-head well express the cycle of the year and we ponder whether one of them might have been the seal of Karahüyük's 'master of the calendar', or time-keeper. The Hittites passed the running spiral on to the Archaic and Classical Greek world, both directly from Anatolia and indirectly through its contacts with Minoan Crete. Indeed, some of the earliest seals from Crete, also round, but carved on boar or hippo tusk segments express a similar idea of a processional cycle of lions, scorpions and spiders (see *Ill. 8- 66*, discussed in our *Iconography* section).

³ From the Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition catalogue 2008-09 curated by Joan Aruz et al.(eds), *BEYOND BABYLON: Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium BC* New York 2008. Other objects from this exhibition we label as '*MetMusCat-00*'.

⁴ 'Material Culture and the Middle Ground in the Old Assyrian Colony Period' in Cécile Michel (ed.) *Old Assyrian Studies in Memory of Paul Garelli* 2008, pp.21-43

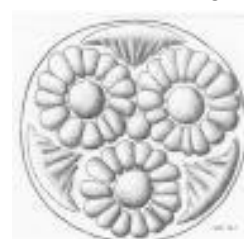
BaLu-16

FINDSPOT	Tell Atchana/Alalakh, Level VII Palace, Room 11	
ON ARTEFACT	Envelope sealing (incomplete)	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Ankara Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	7960-1 (AT/39/153)	
PUBLISHED IN	AtchCat-111	
PERIOD & DATE		c.1750-1650 BC

The Back Lunge component on this sealing (below left) shows the lion with head turned back in typical Susa *contrapposto*, whilst the ibex leaps forward in an outstretched gallop usually associated with the International Style 300-400 years later. It flies over a bull-leaping scene with two acrobats, depicted with the waspish waists to be seen in Minoan representations, with the Ankh sign for Venus firmly placed between them on the bull's back. To the right remains the top half of a ruler figure with typical Isin-Larsa turban - a period roughly *ending* c. 1750. Since due to current political conditions it is difficult to inspect this sealing first-hand it can be usefully matched against a similar bull-leaping scene on an Old Syrian haematite seal in the Erlenmeyer Collection loaned to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (below right, **MetMusCat-72**) - without a Back Lunge, but note the eight-petalled flower of Venus used along with her Ankh between Baal and his now Amorite worshipper (note also the Sun inside the Crescent). Bull-leaping evidence appears from the turn of the millennium in both Middle Kingdom Egypt, Anatolia and the Levant (**Ill. 8- 20**) and is discussed in this chapter⁵ as a *local* component of the **CANEA** in both Crete and Syria.



The style of the Back Lunge on the Alalakh sealing matches up on several counts with the sealing taken from another Old Syrian haematite seal (Ashmolean 1914.161/AshCatI 898(E) below) bought in Aleppo by Woolley, the original excavator of Alalakh. On it the lion, bull and gazelle all leap forward with the same outstretched abandon, the Venus Ankh replaced by the rosette again (it appeared at this time on Minoan sealings too - our example below right is from the Knossos Temple Repository). Human figures are absent but we have the archaic inclusion of two sets of entwined snakes, and a realistic young palm tree replaces what appears to have been the remains of a papyrus-type Tree of Life on the Alalakh sealing.



CMS II,8-116

⁵ - See frequency of the bull-leaping on Knossos seals in **Ill. 8- 72**

BaLu-17

FINDSPOT	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft grave V	
ON ARTEFACT	Hexagonal box	
MATERIAL	Wood, clad in hammered repoussé gold plaques	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Athens Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Karageorghis <i>Altägäis und Altkypros</i> (1971) Ill. 1089	
PERIOD & DATE		c.1750-1650

A Rear Attack with young palm sprouts is repeated on the lid side-panels, whilst a lion-bull-head juxtaposition with fully developed palm fronds repeats on the corresponding box panels below. Given it was found in the *second* grave circle at Mycenae, it is interesting to see the cross-cultural matches with the imagery of the Levantine world where the animals also leap at their fullest extension in a baroque abandon



even more exaggerated than on the Ashmolean seal in the previous entry. This compares with the straight Egyptian influence so noticeable in the grave goods of the earlier Circle B used c. 1780-1600. We use it as a dating landmark to flag up a period when clearly Mycenae is not yet so much involved with Crete.

As regards the uptake of the subject in Crete, It is useful to take the opportunity under this entry to look at a roughly contemporary example of one of the earliest lentoid seals from Crete with counterchanged lions on it, and a griffin on the other side - again, not precisely associated with a bull attack but simply to lay down a dating marker from stylistic features (a similar seal captioned in a British Museum display case is dated for 1650 onwards). The seal is carved in relatively soft green steatite (**CMS IS-94** Herakleon Museum):



showing a soft stone being used at this early stage of the development of the lentoid seal, later to give way to the much harder carnelian and agates that became the standard material. Note how relief modelling of the bodies is avoided, the main technique being wheel drilling to create body outlines and mane-hair or wing feather textures; a single drill hole is used for eyes and snouts - features built upon in two clusters of Back Lunge seals grouped together under the following entries.

BaLu-18

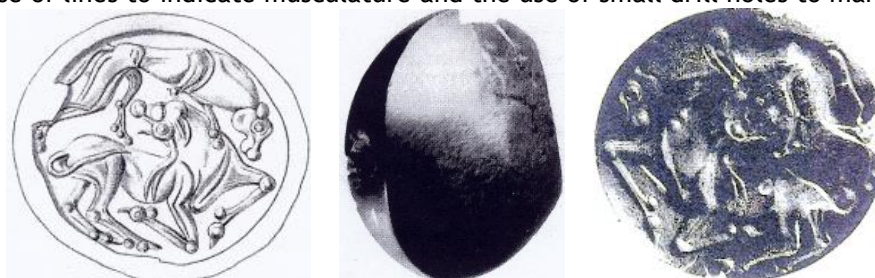
FINDSPOT	Lefkandi	
ON ARTEFACT	Scarab stamp seal	
MATERIAL	Lapis lazuli, with green flecks	
EXCAVATION REF.	Cut EE/Level 19B	LHIIIC level [1250-1200]
PRESENT LOCATION	Eretria Archaeological Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	LK/66/173	
PUBLISHED IN	CMS V -424; Aruz 2008 fig. 370; Popham-Sackett <i>Excavations at Lefkandi, Euboea 1964-66</i> (1968)	
PERIOD & DATE	Stylistic dating [CMS]/My dating	LHIIIA1-2 [1375-50]/1650-1600

Although according to the excavation report this stamp seal (left and middle top below) was found at a late level in the settlement (and despite also that the double belt on the lion's slim waist might place it as late as contemporary with the reign of Ramesses III), the material and overall style belie the late stratigraphy (even the conservative **CMS** assessment pushes it back on stylistic grounds, and Aruz and I push it back to even earlier). The poor quality of the lapis lazuli of chunky scaraboid shape (middle top) allies it to the also somewhat clumsy and poor quality central lapis lazuli stone on the bracelet from the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla (below middle bottom) exhibited (in the 2008 Metropolitan Museum exhibition *MetMusCat*-10). This area of Greece is attested as open to lapis lazuli supplies from Babylon via either the Levant or Anatolia later in its history (as in the case of Thebes hoard (see *III. 8- 40* and *III. 8- 42*). It bears comparison also (below right) with an early, rather crude Ras Shamra black steatite seal (Amiet *RSCatII*-407) on which the passivity of the bull and the pocking of the lion's mane are points in common:



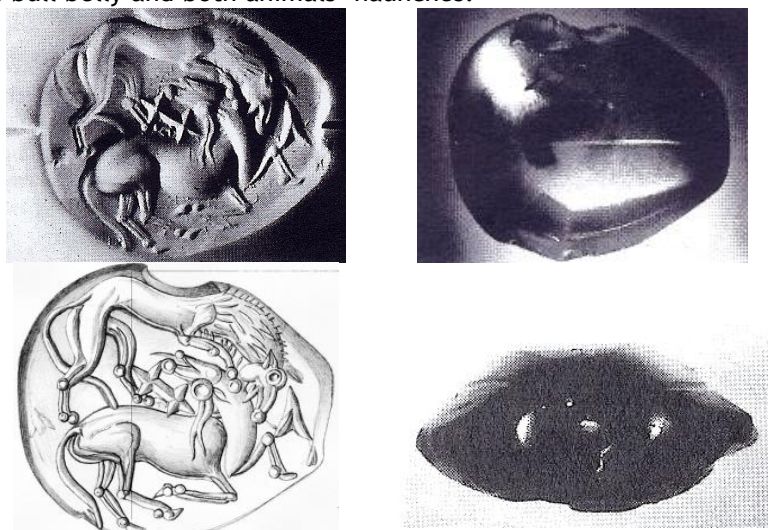
Despite some modelling on the bull's neck and belly - and haunches of both animals - it is the use of outlines and drill holes to pick out other parts of the anatomy of the two beasts (including two differently sized drill bits for the eyes) that points to its classification as an early attempt (of Middle Kingdom vintage) to portray the lion attack under the dual influence of both Asia Minor and Egypt (a variation on the syncretic blending already seen under *Ratt-14*) - note the crescent over the bull's rump, between the lion's back legs. Overall, the seal family it belongs to is not the small, light scarab one associates with either the First or Second Intermediate Periods, but more the chunky white scarabs made on Crete in its early 3M seal history, both possibly immediate successors to the Luristan type (*BaLu-2/BaLu-4*).

We therefore roughly group it with a plain hemispheroid-topped, lentoid seal of 'dark grey stone with patches' in the Metaxis Collection in the Herakleion Museum (**CMS IV** - 259) possibly found at Tsoutsouros, Crete and dated by **CMS** to LHIIIA1 on stylistic grounds. Compare particularly the profile of the lion head on both seals, the use of lines to indicate musculature and the use of small drill holes to mark feet and joints:

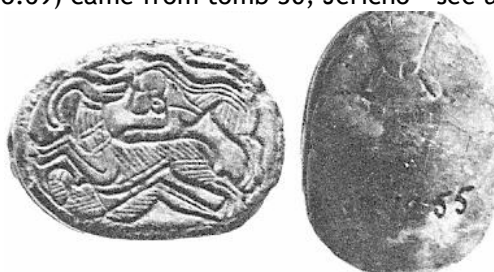


BaLu-18f

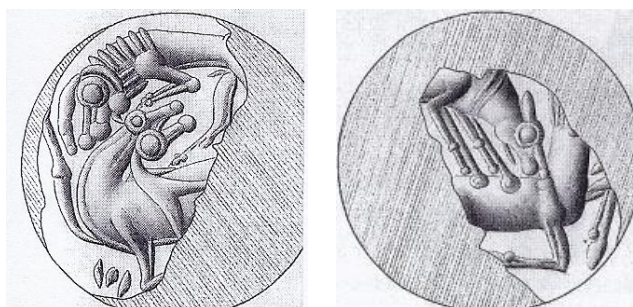
We can therefore set against these a further 'hemispheroid' carnelian seal (unprovenanced) in the Geneva Museum (**CMS X - 241**) of ovoid form with basic indications of scarab wings on the top surface, its seal side carved on a convex plane like the very earliest seals in this catalogue. Note the similar stylistic features, such as the treatment of the eyes, slim waist of the lion and drill holes used for snouts and hooves. An interesting double-cross 'thunderbolt' hieroglyph is inserted between the two animals. Again there is a mixture of line and hole drilling, best shown up in the drawing - though again there is also some rounded relief modelling to the bull belly and both animals' haunches.



It is worth contrasting all these scarabs not only with continuing local tradition going back to the Luristan examples, but also with the odd, roughly contemporary XIIIID/Hyksos scarab with the lion-bull attack on it. The yellow steatite example below from Alan Rowe's **Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the Palestine Archaeological Museum** 1936, (no.69) came from tomb 30, Jericho - see also nos 320 and 889:



Finally, significant for our **Chronological Focus** which uses the Knossos site as its focal point, the next two fragmentary sealings seem to be related (**CMS II,8 - 346/HMs 293** and **CMSII,8 - 341/HMs 1251**), the first (on which the lion attacks a stag) found on the landing of the Grand Staircase at Knossos. For the second, the precise find spot in the palace is not specified (and the **CMS** entry points out that the predator could be a



dog). The flat Y-shape of the stag's horn over its body relates to one or two seals featured in the next entries, as also the slim waist of the lion, drill holes for eye, facial features and joints - as well as now and again the insertion of Linear A/B or hieroglyphic signs.

BaLu-19

FINDSPOT	Mycenae, Akropolis, south of the N wall, Area Φ	
ON ARTEFACT	Lentoid seal	
MATERIAL	Grey and white-striped agate	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Nauplion Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	CMS V-602	
PERIOD & DATE	CMS stylistic dating/my dating	LHIIIA1-2/1650-1600
INSCRIPTION	Linear A signs on related <i>Schnurplombe</i> following	

The composition of the next two seals can be seen as related to that of the Lefkandi seal in the previous entry in the way the lion stands separately over the bull, both shown sideways with no attempt to depict the aggressive attack developed later (but note the raised head of the bull from above in the same way as the lion head is on the seals of **BaLu-22**). Compare the strictly sideways stance of both beasts on the unprovenanced seal in the Spencer-Churchill collection (below right, **CMS VIII-149**).



The same compositional arrangement is found on seals from other Mycenaean strongholds - such as the one below from the SW slope of the Midea Akropolis in a deposit SE of rooms I-IV (**CMS V S3-237**), stamped on a triple-faced *Schnurplombe* with Linear B writing over the Back Lunge sealing as well as the other two sides - seemingly authorizing someone named *Asonijo* to have made (*opa* - the word over the sealing) a megaron (*megaro*). This needs further clarification, though someone did read the signs for me (see commentary).



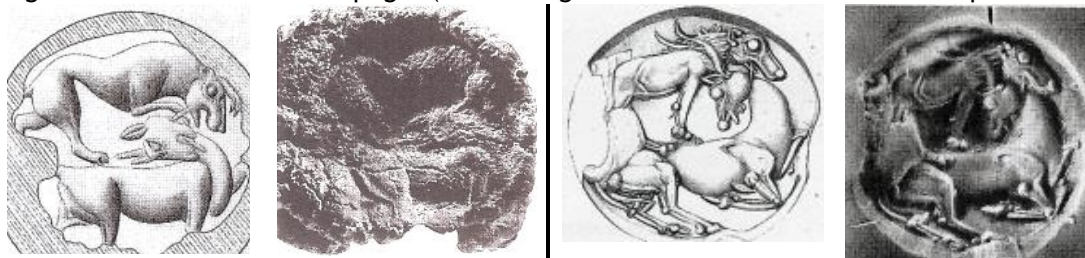
Another Back Lunge sealing found outside the Stoa of Pylos at Propylon 1 (**CMS I-310** - Athens Museum) shows a belt round the lion's slim waist (the **CMS** entry gives it an EBI stylistic dating). Here the lion's mood is activated, his body in true attack mode, with goat's or bull's head turned backward, still unresisting:



BaLu-20

FINDSPOT	Knossos Palace, Lower E-W Corridor (53 on Find Spot Map - Ill. 8- 70 main text)	
ON ARTEFACT	Sealing	
MATERIAL	Clay	
PRESENT LOCATION	Heraklion Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	HMs 310.1712	
PUBLISHED IN	CMS II, 8-345	
PERIOD & DATE		1600-1550

We group together seals from Crete of roughly the same period that use the same work techniques as in the previous entry, which partly explains their stylistic appearance, though the plumpness of the bodies of the main entry (below left) shows a further stage of finish on from the evident drill-holes of the Katsambas, Kritsa and Thebes seals following. The lentoid black veined chalcedony seal (below right, **CMS II,3-129**) is from Chamber Tomb B at the ancient port of Katsambas, serving Knossos. Note again the exaggerated bull's arching neck with head over its back that seems to come in at this time, partly as a new way of solving the design problem arising from the Back Lunge choice of composition, to fit two heads into the same zone, but also adding more drama to the bull's plight (even though the lion still makes little attempt to bite it).



The biconvex lentoid seal of dark haematite from the east Cretan village of Kritsa (**CMS V,S3-19**/Agios Nikolaos Museum) is next. Note again the lion's slim waist, the spectacle eyes and holes for hooves and joints - and linear outlining on the back haunch of the bull, here combined with further gradated modelling. Again an arrow hieroglyph or Linear A/B sign is between them (c.f. the double cross on the bull in the previous entry) emphatically on a handful of other Knossos seals such as the Knossos bullhead (below right **CMS II,8-208**). Again the lion's closed muzzle is posed at a bite position without engaging.



Was this style inspired by a seal such as the banded agate cylinder seal from the Thebes Kadmeion (**CMS V-675**), usually dated much later by the experts, but not part of the well-known Thebes lapis lazuli hoard? Here the predator is a griffin but the drill-hole style and narrow waists stand out. The seal is similar to the



Detail of Back Lunge

BaLu-20f

black haematite seal in the Metropolitan Museum below (*CMS XII* - 242) not only in its Gilgamesh-type figure holding up a lion against Back Lunge on stag and winged sphinx between, but also in the drill holes everywhere, giving the same narrow snout and spectacle eyes to the lion, and curls to the human head.



Detail of Back Lunge

Looking further at the drill hole and line style, four further seals sum up links in its development in relation to such cylinders - an unusual choice for the Aegean area (but Thebes always had a specially direct link to Near Eastern influence). The sealing below (made by a lentoid of soft stone - *CMS II*, 7-100) is from Kato Zakros (Room vii in House A), and dated stylistically by the CMS team to LM I, thus according with our own time-slot. There is either a hieroglyph beneath the pair or it is simply sprouting palm leafage on a hill).



It is interesting to match the holes-for-joints treatment to a somewhat primitive version of the composition (with floating human akin to the Luristan tradition) found at Knossos Palace 'dicht unter Grabungsoberfläche über der West-Mauer des 9 Magazines' (*CMS II*, 3-9 below left) - as also to the unprovenanced banded agate seal in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*CMS XII*- 285, below right). The griffin on the Knossos seal directly matches that on the Thebes cylinder above - and note again the skinny lion bodies and narrow doggy snouts throughout, whilst the pocked lion mane on the Met seal matches that on the Lefkandi scarab of *BaLu-18*). The cross on the bull's rump on the Met seal is either a Linear A/B sign or even a hieroglyph for the four quarters of the Year.



Finally two seals from Chania again present a combination of drilling and modelling, and if their baroque mood is exaggerated in the drawing, the double twist of the lion's head and neck is not. The one below left, probably from a chamber tomb (*CMSVS 3*-153), despite soft modelling also uses drilling to a formulaic degree. The sealing from scarp 4/5 on the Kastelli (below right - *CMS V*-235) of much later date than its twin has softened large drill hole areas blended into the overall modelling.

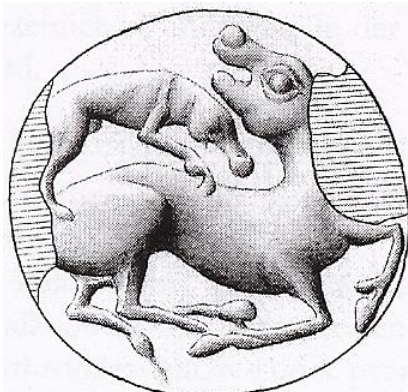


BaLu-21

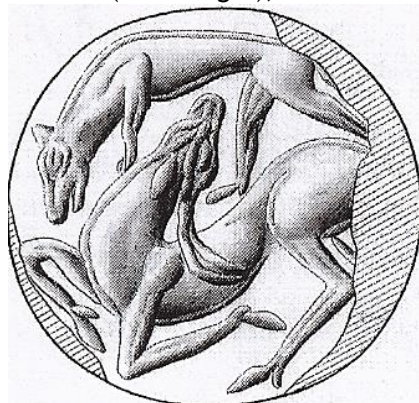
FINDSPOT	Mycenean-constructed chamber tomb, Bakla Tepe, Anatolia	
ON ARTEFACT	Biconvex lentoid seal	
MATERIAL	Marble or burnt quartz (damaged)	
EXCAVATION REF.	1/7;X/h	
PRESENT LOCATION	Izmir Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	No. 18072	
PUBLISHED IN	CMS V S3-456	
PERIOD & DATE	CMS stylistic dating/my dating	LHII-III A1/1600-1550

The seals under this entry neatly flag up the extent and interpenetration of three interconnected geographical areas of activity during the period: *the Troad*, Greek mainland and Crete - together marking out the main perimeter areas of the theatre of the Trojan War (during which saga no earthquakes are mentioned, my reason for situating this war in Neo-Palatial times).

According to the archaeological overview given on the page following the CMS entry for this seal, the linked chamber tombs - subdivided in a rectangular building with dromos - contained cremated ashes in imported Mycenaean urns, along with indigenous pottery and gold and ivory artefacts. The building would have stood out as an alien structure in relation to the enemy context in which it was sited and probably served as a memorial 'in a foreign field' established as a zone 'forever Mycenaean'.



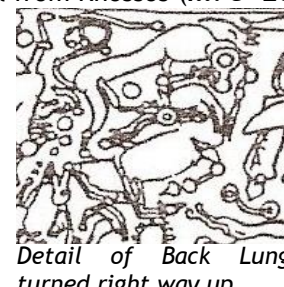
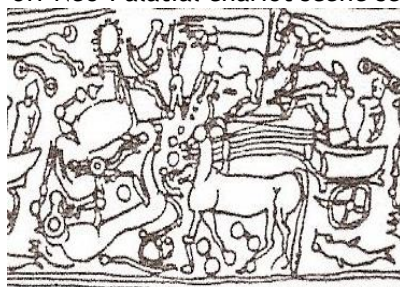
From the same period comes a sealing found in the 'house of the oil merchant, N end of the main gallery' at Mycenae (below left - **CMS V S3-218**) where outlines hem in the softly modelled anatomy of the two animals, its mood, doggy face of the predator and composition make it akin to the previous entry with histrionic bull and detached lion. It contrasts with an unprovenanced agate seal (below centre) from roughly the same time in the Ehrlenmeyer Collection, Basel Museum (**CMS X-129**) with a double shield sign in the sky. This time outlining and profuse use of drill holes for eyes, joints and feet almost reach caricature level, as the lion firmly bites at the bull's upheld neck. The same can be said of the third seal of carnelian (below right), said to come from Lyttos, Crete (**CMS II,3-210**, Herakleion Museum).



BaLu-22

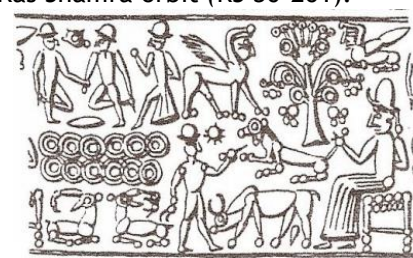
FINDSPOT	Unprovenanced - bought on the market 1891	
ON ARTEFACT	Cylinder seal	
MATERIAL	Haematite	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Louvre	
PUBLISHED IN	Delaporte, <i>LouvCat II</i> -A 955; B Salje <i>Der 'Common Style' der Mitanni-Glyptik und die Glyptik der Levante und Zyperns in der Späten Bronzezeit (BF XI)</i> Mainz 1990, pl. XXV no. 451	
PERIOD & DATE		1600-1500

On the Mitanni-related seals featured in this particular catalogue, the Back Lunge is rare. I had to look hard to find examples, which can be counted on the fingers of one hand (the Rear Attack, on the other hand, is common, with a good dozen in the Šilwa-Teššup archive alone⁶). For this entry I chose in the end to feature an unusual one in the Louvre, even though unprovenanced, since it features a Minoan-type Back Lunge (upside down) juxtaposed with a chariot scene and the usual determinatives in the sky (note especially the hand). It is classed as Cypro-Aegean by Salje but the chariot scene links it to several (later) Ras Shamra chariot scene seals (there is, however, a one-off Neo-Palatial chariot scene seal from Knossos (*III. 8- 28*)).



Detail of Back Lunge turned right way up

Bearing Ras Shamra in mind, the seal below left (*Louvre AO 14.811/RS 3.041*) is a haematite seal found in a house at Minet el-Beida with a Back Lunge of the passive type (as in *BaLu-18*) favoured by the early Mycenaeans. It shows obvious Egyptian influences before the adoption of Mitanni characteristics, reminding us that after Ras Shamra was abandoned by its ally, Egypt, it was then absorbed into the Mitanni Kingdom at its full extent (then succeeded by the Hittites). A similar placing of floating lion over bull in front of enthroned figure is seen in the Mitanni seal below right from a grave at Pyla, Cyprus (Salje *ibid.* pl. XIX no. 327) - closest neighbour to Ugarit across the water, and well within the Ras Shamra orbit (RS 30-261).



Two run-of-the-mill borderline Mitanni examples below are from the Šilwa-Teššup archive (Stein 358/259):

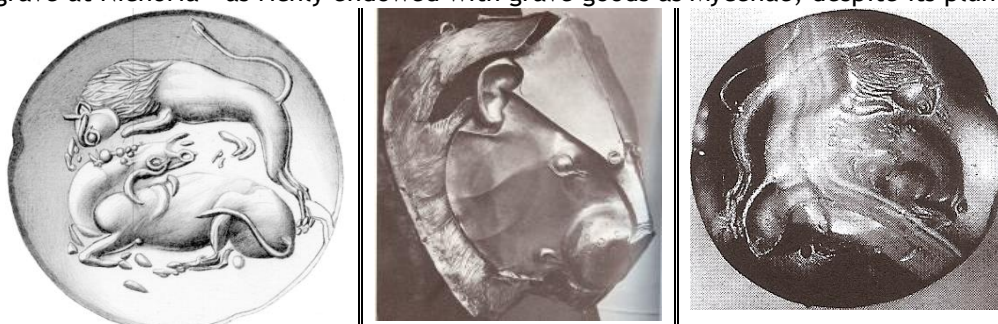


⁶ Diana Stein *Das Archiv des Šilwa-Teššup* (2 vols, text and plates) Wiesbaden 1993

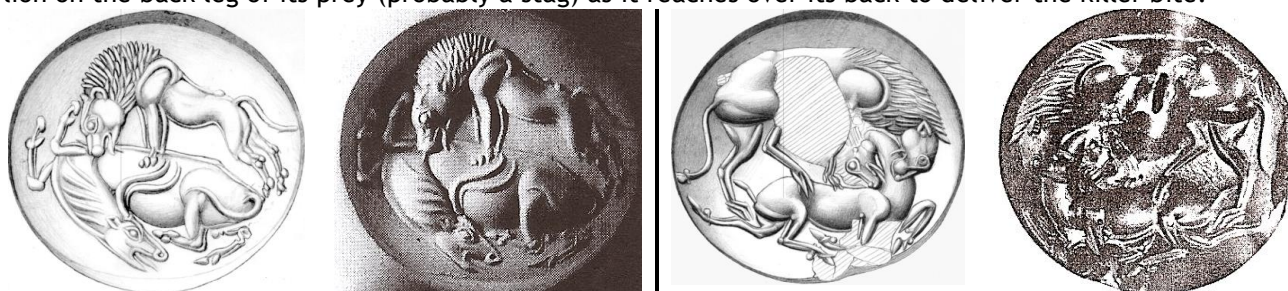
BaLu-23

FINDSPOT	Tholos grave, NW slope of Nichoria citadel (Messenia, in the Kingdom of Pylos)	
ON ARTEFACT	Lentoid seal - <i>Discussed with contextual material in Seal Group Study 2</i>	
MATERIAL	Brown and white-striped agate	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Benaki Museum, Karpophora	
MUSEUM REF.	No. 840	
PUBLISHED IN	CMS V-435	
PERIOD & DATE		1575-1525

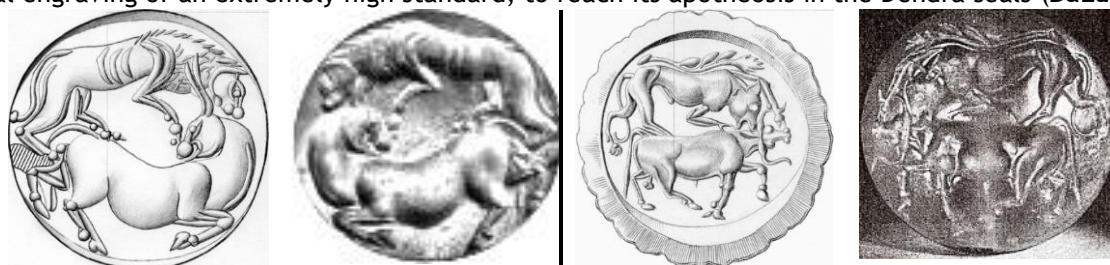
I have placed the group of seals under this entry (all from specific graves or tombs) within this time-frame due to the circular accentuation of the lioness' cheek and jaw, as treated on the gold lioness rhyton from Grave IV in Grave Circle A at Mycenae (below centre), and have given as the main item a seal found in the only tholos grave at Nichoria - as richly endowed with grave goods as Mycenae, despite its plundered state.



The next very similar example from Grave 17 at Kolonaki (Thebes) - varied by a bull head bent underneath and front legs upward (below left, **CMS V-678**) is a lentoid of exactly the same kind of agate, whilst the flecked sard seal on the right from Grave 1 of the Tombs of the Nobles in the Kalyvia Necropolis, Attica, 15 miles SE of Athens (below right, **CMS II,3-100**) shows - of ancient near-eastern pedigree - the stance of the lion on the back leg of its prey (probably a stag) as it reaches over its back to deliver the killer bite.



The seal below left (**CMS V S1B-110**) from 'Flur Gournospilia, dromos to cliff chamber grave 2' at Nemea (Corinth) of dark grey haematite is less finished than the top three examples, whilst the other (below right, **CMS i-70**), from a grave in the city below Mycenae itself, is interesting in combining the round-cheeked lioness with the more primitively treated bull-head seen from above (as in **BaLu-19** or the Ashmolean seals at the end of **BaLu-24**). Overall we can see that at this time Greece was developing its own craftsmanship in seal engraving of an extremely high standard, to reach its apotheosis in the Dendra seals (**BaLu-30**).



BaLu-24

FINDSPOT	Knossos, 'Magazine 11' and 'stepped portico stairs' (9 and 20 on Find Spot Map - see Ill. 8- 70 in main text)	
ON ARTEFACT	Sealings (four impressions of the second on gable-backed <i>Schnurplombe</i>)	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.	Ms.209.376/1or 2	
PRESENT LOCATION	Herakleion Museum 000 and HM 106	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	CMS II,8-350/51 ; (right sealing) Hallager Aegaeum 14, KN Wc 44; Gill item 03 pl.12, BSA 60 (from rediscovered Evans notebook)	
PERIOD & DATE	My dating	1600-1550

The two sealings show (left) the lion attacking a stag, with many of the stylistic characteristics of the previous seals, but with the novel presentation of the lion-head as if seen from above, front legs spread akimbo like human arms. A more polished example (middle/right) with lion attacking horse or donkey is borderline with a Forward Attack but put here for the head position: it was found 'on the stepped portico stairs' close to the Temple Repositories (23 on the Knossos Find Spot map - *Ill. 8- 70*). Hallager⁷ in his study of Roundels catalogues it in relation to an associated *Linear A* inscription. The next entries show how this lion head position endured in Crete, probably inspired by Levantine prototypes.



We squeeze in here two earlier carnelian seals in the Ashmolean using the 'spectacle style' with an aerial view of either lion or bull. The amygdaloid (*KennaCat* 331, right) is unprovenanced, but the lentoid (left - *CMS VI-380*) is said to come from the Dictaeon Cave near Lasithiu, perhaps left as an offering to Zeus:



Found in Grave 167 in the Armeni Necropolis (*CMS V 51B-276*), the seal below is a double-sided agate lentoid using (below left) the old-drill-hole style Back Lunge, backed (below right) by a fascinating single lion with the same view of the head from above that almost morphs into a double shield. Note the arrow over its back (so far on our seal sample we have only seen it with the bull) - and also the cub reaching up to two teats on the stomach implying the lion, despite its mane, here doubles as mothering lioness.



Both kinds of image come from the same time-frame - a useful anchor to remember for the next entries.

⁷ Erik Hallager The Minoan Roundel (2 vols) *Aegaeum* 14 1996

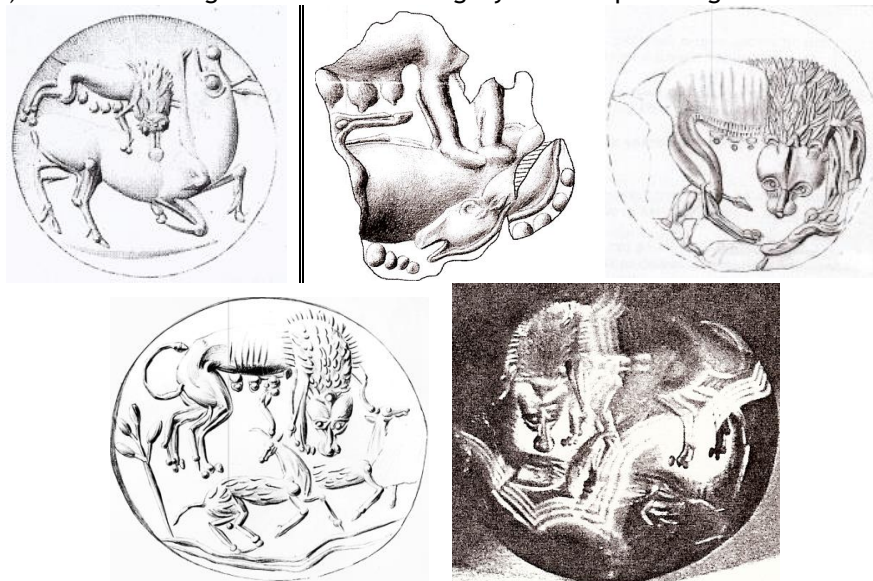
BaLu-25

FINDSPOT	Salamis, Cyprus - Gymnasium, Chamber Tomb Θ	
ON ARTEFACT	Lentoid seal	
MATERIAL	Translucent agate	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Salamis Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	CMS V-660	
PERIOD & DATE		1575-1500

As on the last seal of **BaLu-24**, the accentuation of the lion's muzzle on the seal below left can also be read as liminally referring to the double shield. We have put it as the main entry to indicate the spread of the Back Lunge in the New Palace period as far afield as Cyprus. Features of the earlier 'spectacle eye style' survive on the seal next to it (the lion head can be read both sideways and from above) from the Menidi Tholos excavation, Attica - **CMS I-384**). On it the Back Lunge composition is more interwoven, since more circular, becoming the new 'fashion' (evident in the next entry). As Mycenaean interaction with Crete



began, the introduction of the lioness (or indeed the male lion) with teats (as on the 'meteorite' seal from the Knossos Monastiraki Kephali excavation (below top left) emphasises the idea that this predator both protects life and takes it - perhaps appropriate for marking the juncture between Old and New Year (**CMS II,3-173**). Going by the fragmentary sealing from Thera (below top middle, **CMS V S3-401**), the concept travelled there too. *The CMS dating given for it is EM1 which I take as the anchor for related items - it was in Room Δ, area B, along with sealings 400/403-5.* Summing up the themes on this page (lion head viewed from above, and sometimes with teats) we also show below two later, unprovenanced, seals - one in the Ashmolean Museum (**CMS VI-355**, below top right), the other of banded agate in the British Museum (second row, **CMS VIII-159**) - both heralding the detailed carving Mycenaean patronage was to foster.



BaLu-26

FINDSPOT	Mallia, Chrysolakkos cemetery	
ON ARTEFACT	Conoid seal	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Herakleion Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	CMS II,1-419	
PERIOD & DATE		1575-1500

This conoid seal of baked clay with a Back Lunge on it is described as found in a Prepalatial context according to the French excavators but, grouped with similar seals, it fits better into the later time-frame when this composition for the attack not only takes up a swastika-like arrangement, found in a widespread net of sites, but also vividly expresses the fierce emotions of death dealer and dying prey. Compare this layout with a more primitive stage of the design on an unprovenanced prism seal in the Ashmolean Museum (below right, *CMS VI-45a/b/c*) whose rough pictograms may be astronomical.



The swastika arrangement of lion to bull appears on an onyx seal from the Gold Cup Tomb at the Aija Jannis excavation at Knossos (below left, *CMS II,3-60*): the super-elongated body of the lion is almost exactly copied on an unprovenanced Ashmolean Museum seal (*CMS VI-370*), where in this instance the bull's body is elided into that of the lion.



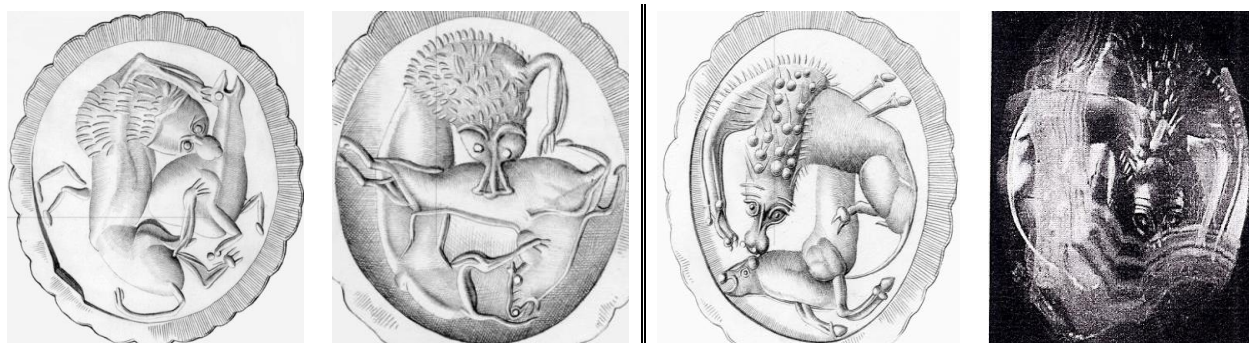
BaLu-27

FINDSPOT	Pylos (Myrsinochori, Messenia) - Floor of Grave 2, Rutsi Tholos tomb	
ON ARTEFACT	Lentoid seal - <i>Discussed with contextual material in Seal Group Study 3</i>	
MATERIAL	Banded agate	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Athens Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	CMS I-278	
PERIOD & DATE		1550-1500

CMS describes the 20 seals found in the second of two tholos tombs at Rutsi, of which **CMS I 269-274** - the oldest- were found in shaft 2 in the tomb. The remaining seals (**CMS I 275-286**) - including the one below left - were found on the chamber floor around the last two bodies placed there, still undisturbed when excavated. They were placed over the general stomach area, indicating they had been near the hands: certainly four seals seem to belong in the right hand of one of the bodies. This particular seal follows the 90°-angled lines of a Sun-swastika with the proportions of the body parts along it in perfect balance (note also the more realistic treatment of the eyes). It is worth looking at the full group of seals on the floor (see commentary in main text) which also included a Belly Landing on a *glass* lentoid (below right, **CMS I-286**):



The next seal (below left - **CMS I-36**) was a stray find on the Akropolis at Mycenae: instead of an over-lengthening of the lion's body as seen in the previous entry, the shoulder of the bull is ballooned, making up for the disappearance of its hind-quarters. The striped agate seal (drawing and photo below right) was also found at Mycenae - in Grave 83 at the Kalkani Necropolis (**CMS I-116**). The other seals found with the Vapheio Back Lunge (below second left - **CMS I-251**) we will discuss in the context of the whole Vapheio



Hoard in **Catalogue E: The Forward Attack**. The lentoid seals are all of banded agate - the favourite Mycenaean material - and mostly depict the bull with the same agonized open mouth and back legs coming up over the lion's back. They reveal a further stage - at times still disjointed - of the independent Mycenaean approach to the lion-bull attack, taken to its highest level of refinement at Midea (**BaLu-30**) with a return to the bodies one over the other but still with lion-head viewed from above much as in the Kalkani example above (the entire Dendra hoard is not discussed until **Catalogue F: the Bilateral Attack**).

BaLu-28

FINDSPOT	Myceneae, Grave IV, Circle A	
ON ARTEFACT	Sword	
MATERIAL	Bronze, inlaid with gold, silver and black niello	
PRESENT LOCATION	Athens Museum	
PUBLISHED IN	Feldman <i>Diplomacy by Design</i> pls13 & 1; Aruz et al. <i>MetMusCat</i> .no.68	
PERIOD & DATE		1575-1500

Strictly speaking this is a Rear Attack, but since the flying leap is common on Mycenaean swords in their earliest history it is important chronologically to record this sword here due to its use of outstretched animals in the flying gallop, as for Alalakh (**BaLu-16**) at this earlier-than-expected date⁸. Possibly the narrowness of the sword even dictated the invention of this extreme position (the Rear Attack is placed at the widest end of the sword where it would have joined the handle: running lions feature on its other side).



Homer says Agamemnon and Helen called on Egypt on their way home after the Trojan War, by which link we point to the dagger of Queen Aḥhotep below, more modest in character, but incised along its spine with contrasting hieroglyphs at the hilt end, locusts at the tip and lion chasing cow in flying leap between.



This can be contrasted with Tutankhamun's dagger case of some hundred years later, now showing a style in the fully synthesised International style (as also many other items from his tomb featured in **BaLu-32**). Going further back we can compare both with the static design of the Byblos dagger (last entry of **Ratt-14**).



A similar time difference in design approach and sophistication can be observed between the Gurna and Ras Shamra bowls in the following entries, between whose fashions Tutankhamun's tomb goods find their place.

⁸ Note in Poursat's *Ivoires Mycéniens* (pl.VI 1-2) two ivory panels from Archanes of the same period with flying leap lion in same style.

BaLu-29

FINDSPOT	Grave 05 in cliff tomb at Gurna, West Bank of Thebes, Egypt	
ON ARTEFACT	Circular bowl	
MATERIAL	Bronze	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Cairo Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Daressy, <i>ASAE</i> II (1901) ill.2; F von Bissing 'Eine Bronze schale aus Mykenischer Zeit' <i>JKDAI</i> XIII (1898) 28-56/pl.2	
PERIOD & DATE	XVIIIID, Egypt (Amenophis III/IV)	1550-1450

Amongst the cliff tombs behind the village of Gurna whose workmen serviced the Valley of the Kings, this bowl comes from a cliff grave containing 3 sarcophagi with a fourth resting on top of them. It was found under the head of the person in the third sarcophagus, named as the lady of the family, Sit-Amun. Von Bissing points out that New Kingdom bronze bowls tend to have a rosette at the centre, so this may be on the cusp of the Amenophis III/IV (Amarna) period (at first glance it has a radiant sun at the centre instead).



The single cow and single bull at two if its four quarters (on the left half of the photo of the bowl above) can be related to the Egyptian Hathor and Bull of the Year iconography - but the remaining two animal groups are of Levantine origin, and their detail can be inspected against the clearer drawing (next page). The cow suckling its calf (on the left half of the drawing of the bowl below) stands out as a particularly common early 2M Syro-Mesopotamian/New Palace Minoan motif of the time. What looks like a Sun burst at

BaLu-29f

the centre expressing of the radiance of the Sun (as in the Sun-disc of the Aten) is, when looked at closely, a circle of wheat stalks. The four animal groups seem to represent the Four Seasons, a Mesopotamian concept contrasting with the Three Season division of the year in Egypt - though during VD (as discussed earlier) through early contact with Mesopotamia the lion and prey group seems to have been used syncretically to announce the Inundation (**BaLu-11**)).

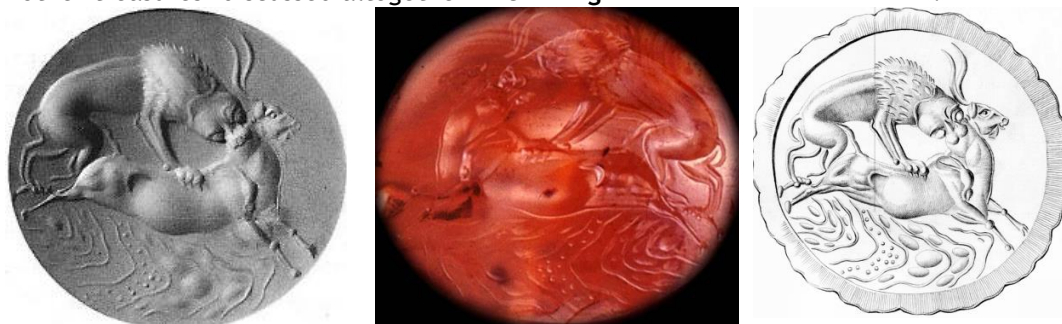


The Back Lunge thus provides the apotheosis (in top position in the drawing above) of the simultaneous end- and starting-point of the year - in the context of the Aegean seals preceding this entry making use of current fashion in its depiction of the lion's head from above. As with other dual-culture items already considered (**BaLu-14/Ratt-14** - as also Queen Ahhotep's sword under **BaLu-28**) this is an indication of Egypt opening up to the Levantine and Aegean worlds but also holding onto its own separate tradition - a situation foreshadowing its full flowering in the art of Amarna and on into Tutankhamun's reign (**BaLu-32**). It would appear the bowl belonged to the family of a court official or high-level craftsman with a Levantine background. Bronze bowls were a speciality of the Levant, associated with Phoenician craftsmanship, but since we are looking at an XVIII date, this is an early prototype for such bowls owing more to Mycenaean-Anatolian metallurgy and their access to metals as they spread to the Levant in the first place (the astronomical character of the 2M Faroughi Bowl of c. 1200 (or even earlier) is discussed in **Chapter 19**).

BaLu-30

FINDSPOT	Dendra, Midea (Greece), Royal Grave 1 in Tholos	
ON ARTEFACT	Lentoid seal	
MATERIAL	Carnelian (colour photo by kind favour Olga Krszkowska)	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Athens Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	No. 7332	
PUBLISHED IN	CMS 1-185; Persson The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea 1931 pl.xix	
PERIOD & DATE		1525-1450

Surely the finest (and biggest) Aegean seal ever made, this represents the apotheosis of the Back Lunge using the viewpoint of the lion-head seen from above (the wrinkles over its eyebrows very much echo the lion-head on the last seal under **BaLu-27**). The outstretched body of the bull (seen experimented with in the examples under **BaLu-26/27**) portrays the flying gallop in unstereotypical form, here with the bull's head held up nobly with subtly modeled musculature. This seal was one of a group of six found in Grave 1 along with other treasures -discussed altogether in **Catalogue F: The Bilateral Attack**.

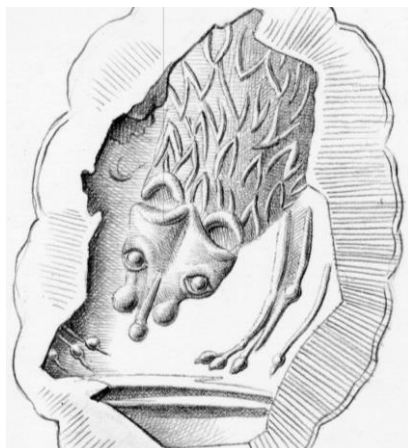


Also at Midea in Chamber Tomb 10 on a tetrahedral agate seal with gold-plated thread-hole from a female grave (**CMS I-193/Persson New Tombs (1942) pl.vii,2**) another Back Lunge design with long-horned goat is depicted, in the usual sideways view but with the same attention to the depiction of water and pebbles (better seen on the actual sealing below) as on our main entry. The second facet shows two recumbent long-horned local wild goat/ibex, with the third side blank. It was found with two other seals, one with two priestesses at a shrine containing two doves and the other showing a bull-leg above a boar (**CMS I-191/2**, below right) said by Persson to be a recut Back Lunge, of which traces can still be seen under raking light.



BaLu-30f

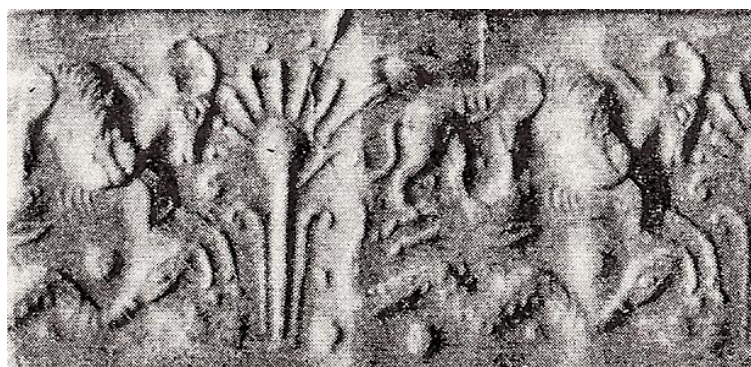
The Dendra lentoid brings us back to the theme of the overhead view of the lion: alongside our main entry we can include the remains of a Back Lunge seal of this type from Vapheio (*CMS I-247*, reproduced below) whose huge hoard, on the basis of the elaborate decoration on the gold cups in both must be roughly contemporary with the Dendra Royal graves. On other seals from Vapheio, single lions depicted often have the same round-cheeked jaw as for the sideways Back Lunges grouped with the one from Nichoria under *BaLu-24*. We remember also the swastika version of the Back Lunge appearing in the Vapheio hoard included under *BaLu-27*, though overall we cannot deal with the hoard as a whole until *Catalogue E: The Forward Attack*.



On the basis of the accentuated rounded dewlaps on the overhead view (first noted on Syrian seals such as *BaLu-13*) we can match here two unprovenanced seals, the first a lentoid carnelian seal (*CMS X-253*) in the Geneva Museum (no. 1965.20304) - in Vollenweider's catalogue (*GenevCatI* no. 197 - - also listed in John Boardman's *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* as no. 86) described as of 'red jasper'. Here a perfect fit of the composition to the lentoid disc is achieved.



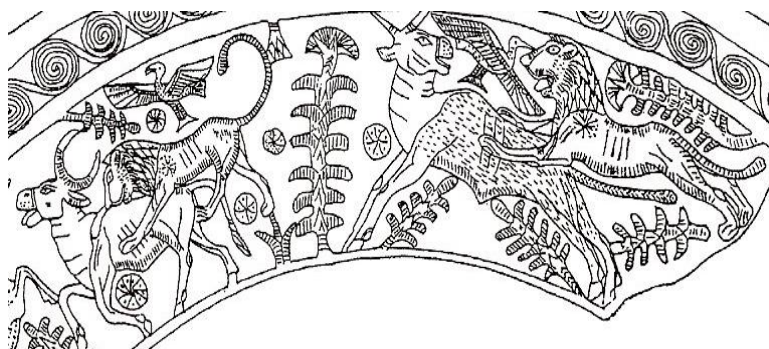
The second is an unusual Cypriote cylinder seal of blue-grey stone (Louvre AO 11992) evidently representing Astarte over Ba'al's snake juxtaposed against their palm tree, where the aerial lion-head view of the Back Lunge is by now a well-worn cliché.



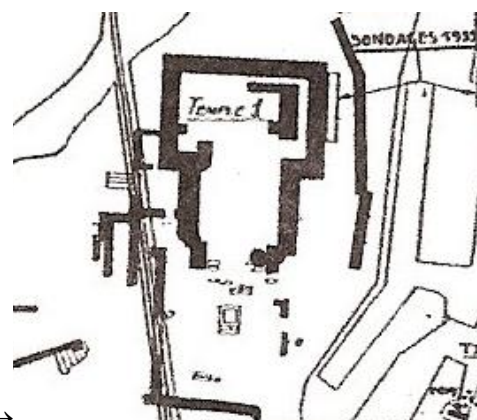
BaLu-31

FINDSPOT	Ras Shamra, in remains of large building SW of Temple of Ba'al (see map)	
ON ARTEFACT	Repoussé decorated bowl	
MATERIAL	Gold	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Aleppo Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	No. 4572	
PUBLISHED IN	Schaeffer <i>Ugaritica I</i> 1939, figs 25/26	
PERIOD & DATE	Late Syrian/Mitanni Period	1450-1300

Compared to the Gurna bowl of the century before (*BaLu-27*) the Ras Shamra bowl with its three flying gallop Back Lunge attacks (one on an ibex and two on bulls) is an assured reprise of its earliest invention at Alalakh and Mycenae (*BaLu-16/17*), and stands out as a prime example of poetic and decorative elegance.



The iconography is dwelt on in more detail in the main text alongside a black and white drawing.



SW corner→

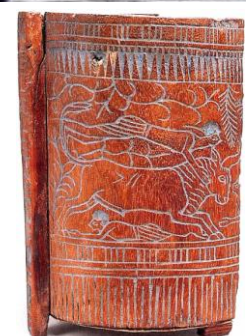
BaLu-32

FINDSPOT	Tomb KV62 (of Tut-Ankh-Amun), Valley of the Kings, Luxor	
ON ARTEFACT	Unguent jar and other items of tomb contents	
MATERIAL	Alabaster, painted	
PRESENT LOCATION	Cairo Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Marian H Feldman Diplomacy by Design 2006 pl.2	
PERIOD & DATE		1450-1300

We place all the Tutankhamun objects under this entry as roughly contemporary with the Ras Shamra gold bowl, given much of the material in his tomb was not necessarily made for him, but for predecessors, and rustled up at short notice on his unexpected death at a young age. The most striking item is the unguent jar (photographed in its case in the Cairo Museum) featuring a Back Lunge on its own on one side. Other items



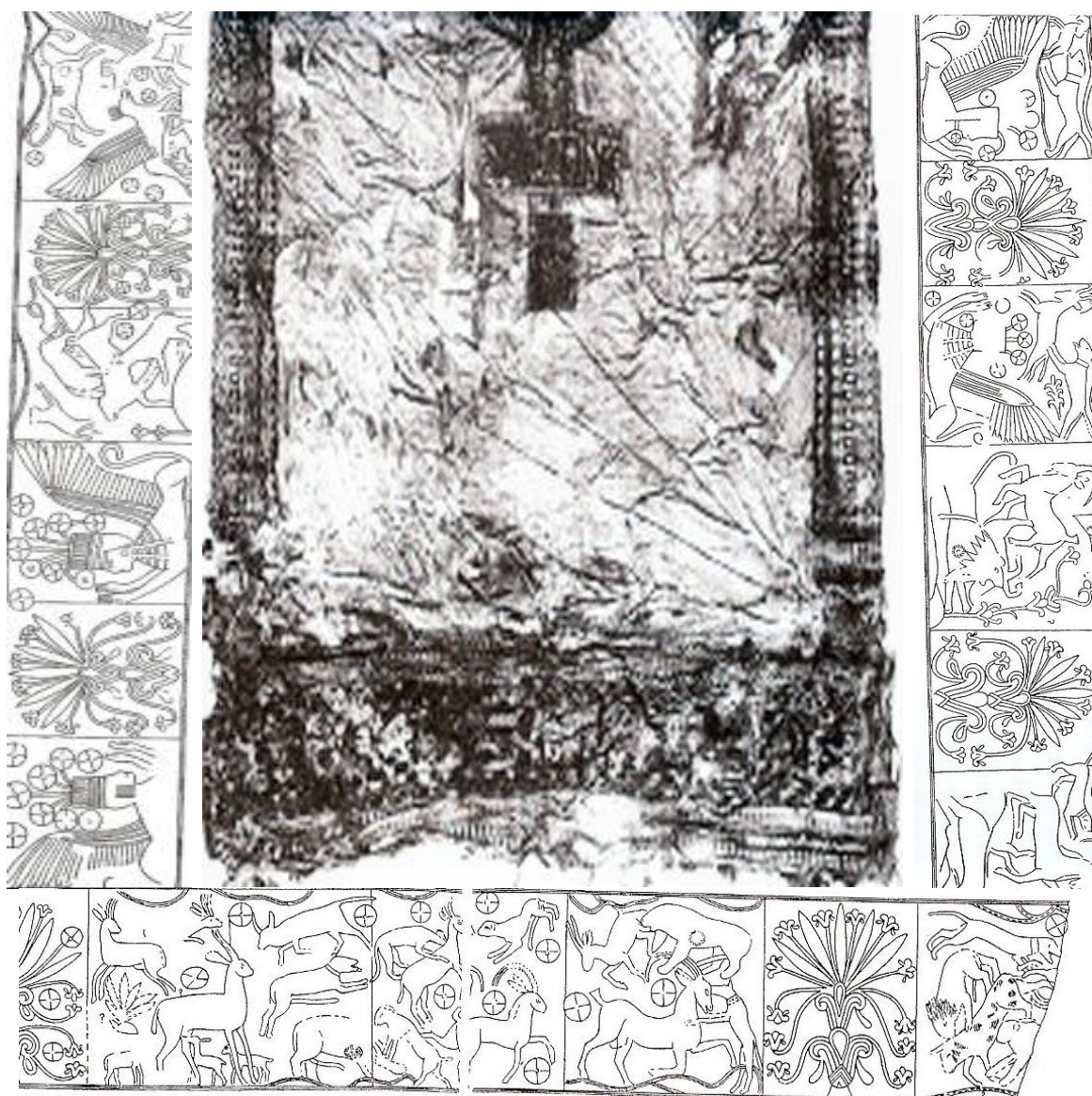
In the tomb show how closely Egyptian artists were taking on board Levantine design conventions (or using Syrian craftsmen). The 18D ivory cosmetic spoon above right (**Cairo MusCat.** JE 40079) reminds us this interaction had already started at the time of Hatshepsut's great-grandmother before even the 18D had properly been founded (her sword features as **BaLu-28**). The International Style flying leap appears on Tutankhamun's painted wood linen box below (with closeup of front panel with Rear Attack beneath) and repeats on small items such as a XIXD leather dog collar design (tomb of Mahirper, Luxor, **Cairo MusCat.** 24075) - and note the bull-leaping scene on an ointment jar from a tomb at Kahun quoted by Kantor⁹ pl.xx 2-D and photographed for Aruz et al. 2008.



⁹ H Kantor *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium BC* Bloomington Indiana 1947 (**Cairo Mus. J. d'Entrée** no.28754)

BaLu-32f

Parallels on the embroidered decorative strips on one of Tutankhamun's tunics¹⁰ with both the Ras Shamra bowl and the Bubastis jug (next entry) in mind indicate how widespread these design trends now were in the minor arts of Egypt and the Levant. All types of attack are shown on the shirt in general hunting scenes interspersed with sphinxes and palmettes, including two Rear Attacks on the bottom panel, though sometimes, as with Minoan seals, the difference between dogs and lions is not always clear.



We are reminded to include here in its right place chronologically the design of Tutankhamun's dagger case, though it favours more the dog underbiting the prey's belly (used several times on Minoan lentoids).



CMS II, 8-356



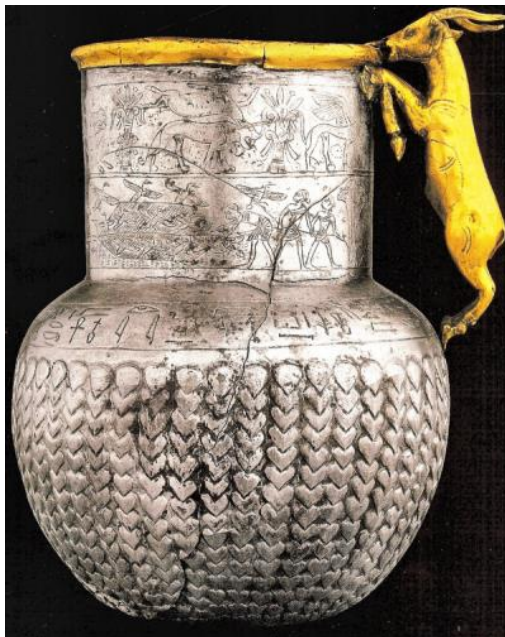
CMS II, 3-11

¹⁰ Pictures from Feldman (*ibid.*) pp 36/37, apud. G. M. Vogelsang-Eastwood's fascinating monograph, *Tutankhamun's Wardrobe* 1999

BaLu-33

FINDSPOT	Tell Bubastis, Lower Egypt	
ON ARTEFACT	Jug, engraved with Nilotic scenes and predator-prey attacks on the neck	
MATERIAL	Silver, a lotus engraved on the base - with gold rim and goat handle	
PRESENT LOCATION	Cairo Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	No. 53262	
PUBLISHED IN	C C Edgar 'Engraved Designs on a Silver Vase from Tell Basta' <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte XXV (1925)</i> 256-8, pls I/II; Porter and Moss <i>IV: Lower and Middle Egypt</i> Oxford 1934 under NORTHERN DELTA heading, p.34	
PERIOD & DATE		1450-1300
INSCRIPTION	Inscribed at belly top for Temtoneb, Royal Butler (XIXD)	

This jug, only recently clearly photographed in colour (M. Feldman *Diplomacy by Design* Chicago 2006 pl.4) was found in a railway cutting near the XIXD temple with other objects of later date, including a patera/flat metal dish (below right) with similar (though rougher) decoration on it as well. The hieroglyphic inscription round the belly of the jug identifies the owner next to him in a frame adoring a Goddess.



Above the Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription at the top of the jug belly, the bottom strip on the neck of the vase shows typical Egyptian Nile swamp scenes (as does the patera) but the top strip has (between interspersed palm trees) the new Levantine motif of lion or griffin attacks, two of them Back Lunges, juxtaposed with a gazelle pair mating - the latter again with precedents going back to the Old Kingdom. Note the twisted gazelle hoisted over a lion, a version of the lion-prey group deriving from 3M Syria.



BaLu-34

FINDSPOT	Alaca Hüyük, Anatolia	
ON ARTEFACT	Doorway sculpted orthostat, city wall	
MATERIAL	Limestone	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION		
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	W Orthmann <i>Propyläenkunstgeschichte Vol.XVIII</i> (1975) pl. 337; Bossert <i>Altanatolien</i> (1941) ill. 524-5; Feldman <i>Diplomacy by Design</i> (2006) figs 68-72	
PERIOD & DATE		c.1350-1200

In including a young calf as prey under its forepaws this doorway guardian sculpture is more inclusive than the lions guarding the Hattusas or Mycenae entry gates of some decades later (last two pictures below).



It forms the climax to a scheme of city wall reliefs on either side showing hunting and ritual scenes (note on two of the crudely carved panels illustrated below the lion-head seen from above and the charging bull):



When we look at the fragments (below left) of two relief sculptures from the centre panel at the apex of the entrance to the roughly contemporary Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae (see next page) grooves on the neck and soft mouth of the top piece suggest there was a further lion-bull pair on it, possibly referring to the astronomical alignment of the tholos tomb (and not a bull-leaping scene as deduced by Marinatos).



British Museum



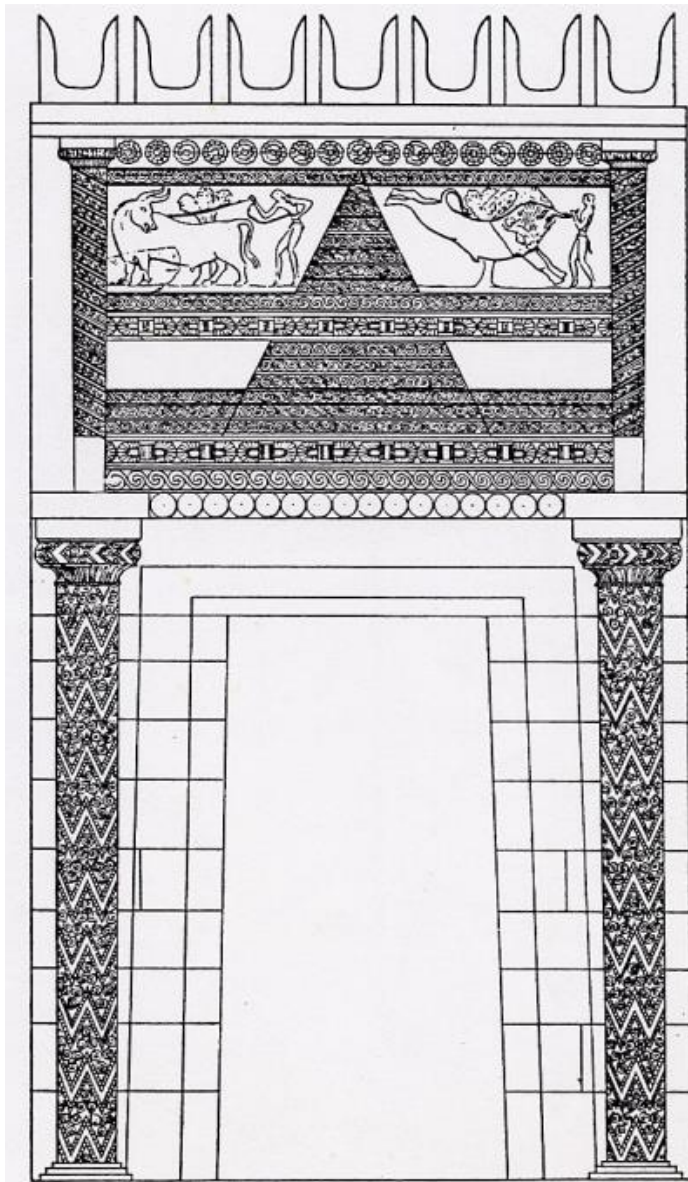
Lion Gate of Mycenae



Lion Gate of Hattusas

BaLu-34f

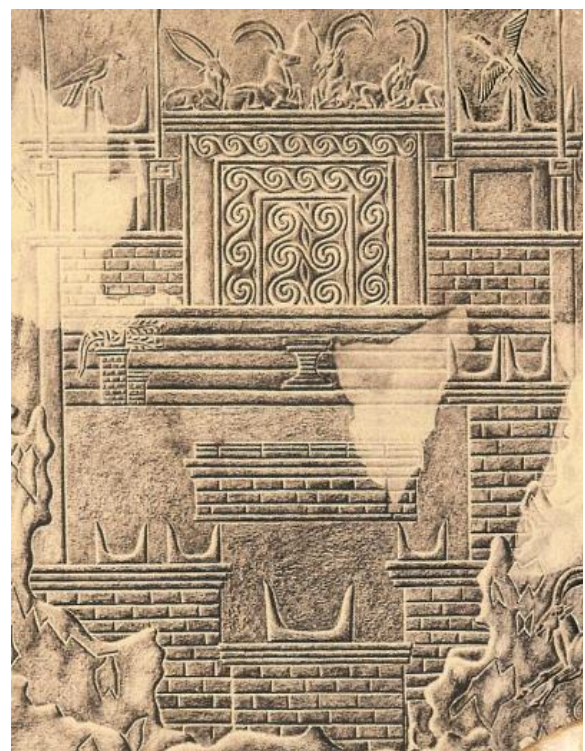
The commonly accepted reconstruction by Marinatos of the entrance reliefs to Mycenae's Treasury of Atreus as a bull-leaper scene - based only those two small fragments of the total area now lost - is not as convincing as our suggested lion-bull contrast, probably with the lion to the left and bull to the right:



Interpretation of relief fragments by Mylonas at the Treasury of Atreus facade should be replaced by opposed lion and bull



Treasury entry passage ceiling (c.f. design below)



Scene carved round the Kato Zakro conical rhyton showing cult goats, doves and horns of consecration on terraces, drawn by Thomas Phanourakis - from The Ashmolean Museum Guide to The Aegean World 2013

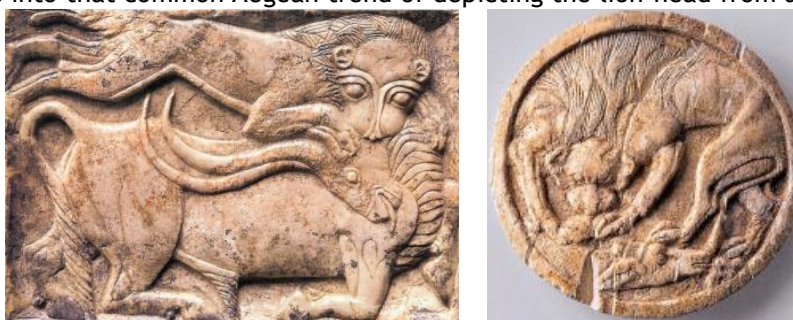
While at Mycenae's Lion Gate and Treasury of Atreus tholos tomb, we see inspiration from both Egypt (canted doorway and corbelled ceiling) and Hittite Anatolia (lion/bull entrance guardians), the overwhelming debt in its ceiling detail (see BM pieces of green or red stone below) is to ritual Minoan sanctuary decoration such as idealised (top right) on the conical stone rhyton from Kato Zakro (1600-1450).



BaLu-35

FINDSPOT	Chamber Tomb 1, Spata, Attica, Greece	
ON ARTEFACT	Plaque	
MATERIAL	Ivory	
PRESENT LOCATION	Athens Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	No. 2046	
PUBLISHED IN	Hélène Kantor 'Ivory Carving in the Mycenaean Period' <i>Archaeology XIII</i> 14-21 fig.13; Aruz et al. <i>BEYOND BABYLON Cat.</i> nos 269/268; Poursat <i>Ivoires Mycéniens</i> pls V,5; I; XVIII,1;	
PERIOD & DATE		1550-1200

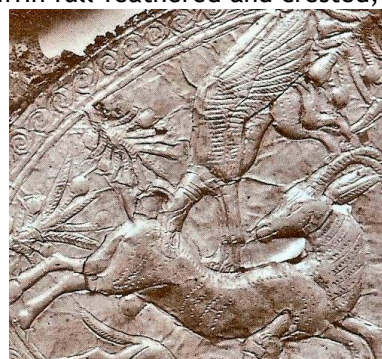
The Mycenaean ivory from Egypt and Syria - the incidence of artefacts in the material is high throughout the Mycenaean world with lion-bull images on them a favourite. The lion head on the Spata plaque, seen also on a later contorted version (right - c.f. **BaLu-26**) on a pyxis lid (Chamber Tomb 23 Mikro Kastelli, Thebes) fits into that common Aegean trend of depicting the lion-head from above (c.f. **BaLu-25**).



The Athens Mycenaean ivory pyxis which includes a Back Lunge on it (below left) has been dealt with fully (including its lid) under *Catalogue C (Ratt-34)*. The entire rendition is extravagantly mannered, with griffin in place of lion coopted into the International style proper: see also the horse-harness pieces from Tutankhamun's tomb (below right), aggressively animated, griffin full-feathered and crested, a rendition



Kantor *ibid.* fig.3 (Athens Museum)



Feldman (*ibid*) fig. 4

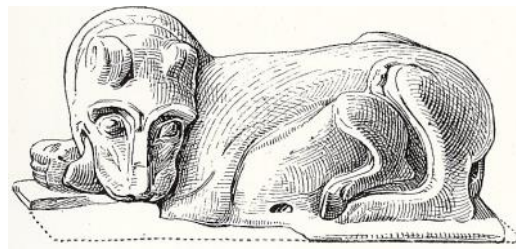
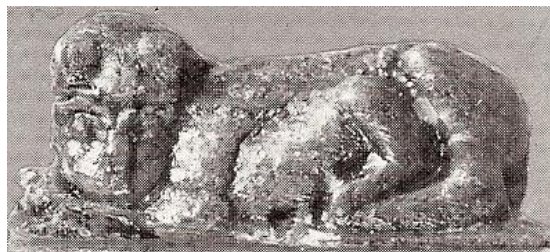
moving on from serious iconostatic appearance on seals or artefacts such as from Rutsi (see *III. 8- 34* and *III. 8- 37*) Pylos, Menidi or the Syrian Megiddo ivory below (Kantor *ibid.* fig.9) to mannered hyper-emotion.



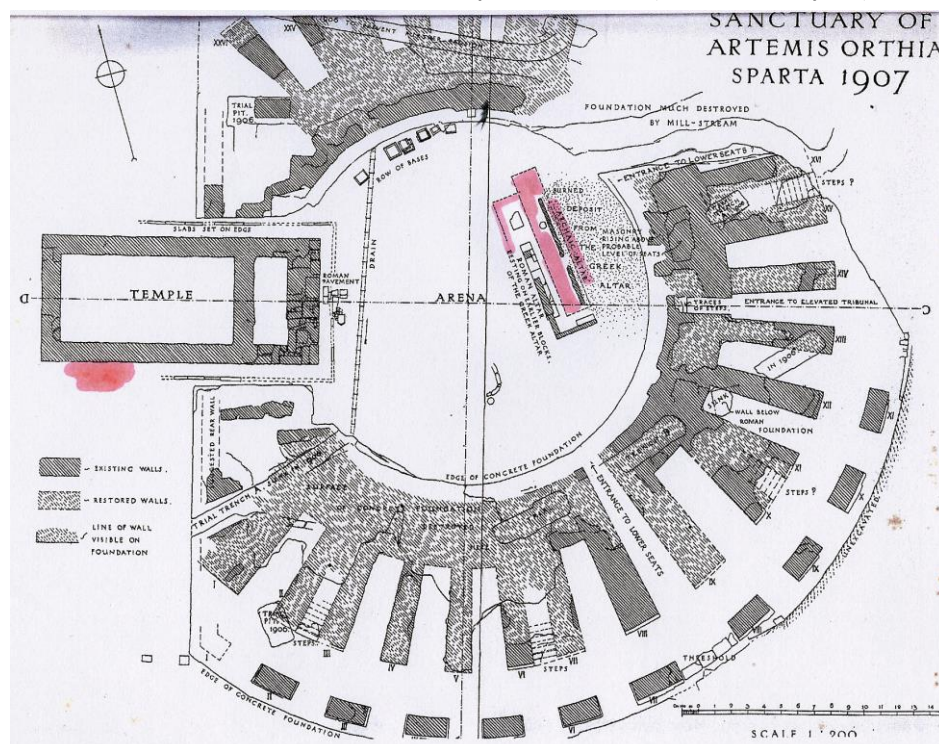
BaLu-36

FINDSPOT	Artemis Orthia Temple, Sparta	
ON ARTEFACT	Miniature carving stored in remains of Dark Age sanctuary with other lion-prey ivories, most with seal design on the underside (c.f. <i>Belland-15</i> and examples cited from Perachora)	
MATERIAL	Ivory	
PRESENT LOCATION	Athens Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	15.542 c.f. another almost the same, no. 15.539	
PUBLISHED IN	R M Dawkins <i>The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta</i> (JHS Supplement 5) 1929, pl. CXLIX, 5&8; E Marangou <i>Lakonische Elfenbein- und Schnitzereien</i> 1969 Catalogue nos 65 and 63/photos 90 and 88 respectively	
PERIOD & DATE		900-700

Found outside the pre-Achaic level temple (a long, narrow structure of wood and brick (its disinterred 'Dark Ages' period corner marked pink on the plan below), over 150 small animal figurines of ivory, many pierced end to head to take a string and wear as an amulet, were made as offerings to Artemis Orthia. Most were single animals, the majority (98) sheep, followed by dogs (28 - in myth the dog follows Artemis the huntress). But Dawkins wrote, 'Of all these carvings the class which demands special notice is that of the beasts of prey with their quarry. Of the 17 examples, 4 are notable for their size and good preservation...'.

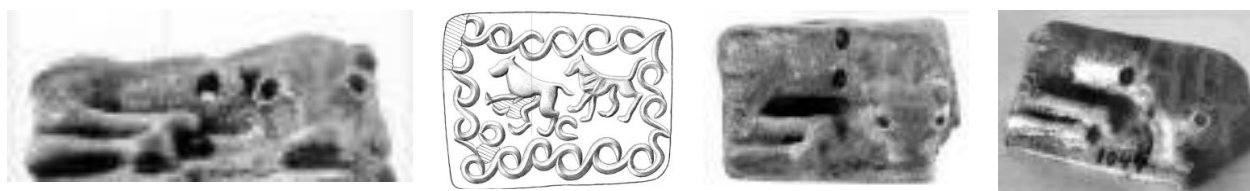


Dawkins' first plan of the temenos drawn in 1907 shows how in later times the site was encircled by a Roman amphitheatre, with its three times rebuilt temple and altars (also marked pink) as its central focus.



BaLu-36f

Such oblong pieces (topped by an animal handle and also pierced for use as an amulet) are closely reminiscent of the Proto-Palatial, Uruk-style *Minoan* hippo ivory or bone seals (such as CMS I-253 below - on which note how the thread-hole runs via the width of the animal, rather than its length) with recumbent domesticated animal on the top and stamp seal design on the underside (in the Minoan case below left, two lions are framed by a clumsy running spiral. Many of the Artemis Orthia examples also have simple designs of animals or plants incised on the underside, though not necessarily deeply enough for use as a seal.



Two more of the best Orthia temenos Back Lunge seals are shown below: the first (Dawkins *ibid.* pl. CLII, 3, below left) is in good enough condition to retain its charming abstract patterning given to the forehead (one could call it an Ionic volute), shoulder and nose - this one with two stars on its underside. The best example from Perachora (Payne/Dunbabin¹¹ 1962 pl.174 a-f) is similarly decorated but tête-bêche:



Photos of Marangou's Catalogue entry no.60 (Dawkins *ibid.* pl. CXLIX, 6, and CLII, 2a/b for the drawings) is the piece in best condition of all, not only showing the lioness over her prey's back, but with her in turn attacked by a (now headless) warrior kneeling against her flank and plunging a dagger or sword into her neck (a theme we remember had been popular two millennia before on Early Dynastic Sumerian seals). Again she is charmingly adorned with incised linear decoration, including a double scroll on her shoulder.



What is the difference between single animals offered to Artemis and the lion-prey group? The former would seem to be substitutes for animal sacrifice: the latter increasingly establishes itself as a symbol for the Goddess (see also **BaLu-49**) with particular connotations.

¹¹ Perachora: The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limenia II: Pottery, Ivories, Scarabs and other Objects from the Votice Deposit of Hera Limenia 1962 (edited posthumously by T Dunbabin) - pl.174

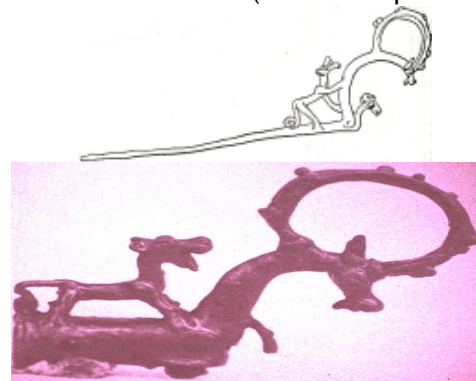
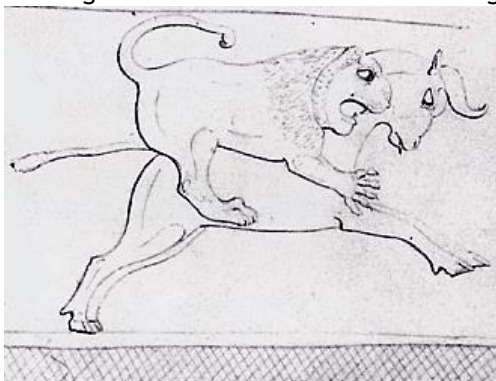
BaLu-37

FINDSPOT	Khorsabad	
ON ARTEFACT	Disc, part of a larger artefact	
MATERIAL	Bronze	
PRESENT LOCATION	Boston Museum of Fine Arts no. 48.1318	
PUBLISHED IN	Edith Porada 'An Assyrian Bronze Disc' in The Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1950 (2-8); quoted by W Hartner et al. in 'The Conquering Lion: the Life Cycle of a Symbol' Oriens XVII 1964, 161-171 fig.10	
PERIOD & DATE	Neo-Assyrian	800-700

After a shorter gap of some centuries than might at first sight be apparent (due to the wide fault-line that bedevils accuracy of chronology 1100-800 during the 'Dark Ages') the Assyrianising of the Back Lunge group, using more realism, and on items of a larger scale than seals, is well seen on two Neo-Assyrian artefacts that, echoing Levanto-Aegean habit, arrange the group in circular format, using the more straightforward sideways profile of both animals as in its early history. The bronze disc from Khorsabad discussed in Edith Porada's paper is cited by Hartner as an example of imperial, conquering symbolism, and echoed in the openwork Nimrud ivory (Iraq Museum IM79519-7ND.15 - Barnett **QEDM** 14 1982 fig. 21) - the animals in a tête-bêche version of the Back Lunge here, for comparison's sake, I have not classed as a Forward Attack.



The use of the lion-bull attack in Assyrian art is explored more closely under the **Chronological Focus** of **Catalogue F: The Bilateral Attack**, but we do have a drawing (1849-53) from the Layard archive in the British Museum (BM Add.MS) showing the detail of the embroidery on the robe of a figure on Panel 16, Chamber G of the NW Palace at Nimrud - probably the only Back Lunge to appear on Assyrian palace reliefs (c.f. **Ratt-40**) (more examples in Forward Attack mode are scratched on embroidered robes from the same Palace in **Catalogue E**). All these royal examples contrast (below right) with two typical Luristan bronzes in more provincial form (the top a brooch from the Faroughi collection (Porada 1962 fig. 56) (already shown as **Ratt-39**, for which the dating is given as any time between 1100 and 800), heralding that contrast between nomadic and urban government art that is seen throughout the millennium (more examples follow).



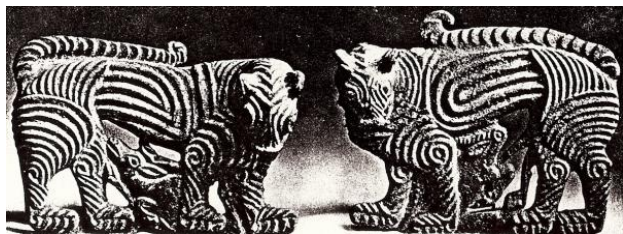
BaLu-38

FINDSPOT	Bash Adar, Russia, Barrow 2
ON ARTEFACT	Hollowed out cedar tree-trunk coffin
MATERIAL	Cedar wood
PRESENT LOCATION	Hermitage Museum
MUSEUM REF.	
PUBLISHED IN	Rudenko Frozen tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-Age Horsemen (1970) no.136
PERIOD & DATE	Late 6C

Both coffin sides (more is preserved of one side than the other) show a tiger attacking rams, deer and elk - possibly representing four different seasons and chosen for the funerary context to evoke the idea of the perpetual cycle of devouring Time and its control over Life and Death. The larch lid had a row of four tigers going in the opposite direction with two elk, two boar and three rams as prey. The tigers' wavy stripes may partly represent the longer locks of hair the animal needs to withstand the Central Asian winter.



The Mongolian origins of the Scythian invasions into East Central Asia (see map under *III. 8- 53*) make these heavily striated predators from a tomb in Mongolia on two plaques with fittings on the back for straps the earliest in this clutch of examples, with appropriately indigenous prey (Nelson Atkins Gallery Kansas - published in Emma Bunker et al. **Animal Style Art from East to West** (1970) Cat.no. 84). Achaemenid ivory chapes - not made by Greek craftsmen - have the same flavor of Scythian workmanship, with grooved or striated carving, reminding us the Medes and Persians were horsemen too, with the same nomadic roots.



The Chinese harness fitting below left (Eastern Chou Period, 6C BC) gives a bird's-eye view of a bull with two tigers on its back covered in snakes, rendered as an openwork interlace (Bunker *ibid.* no. 64). Compare (right) with the straight Back Lunge on Eastern Chou belt hook (Bunker no. 70 - 5C BC).



BaLu-39

FINDSPOT	Ex-collection A Bourguignon, 'said to be from Orvieto'	
ON ARTEFACT	Black figure handled neck amphora	
MATERIAL	Clay	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Boston Museum of Fine Arts	
MUSEUM REF.	01.8027	
PUBLISHED IN	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum 14 (USA fascicule 1: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)	
PERIOD & DATE	Period of activity of the Amasis Painter	c.560-515
INSCRIPTIONS	Names of the Gods, Achilles and Amasis are captioned	

The Back Lunge in the 6C BC was often used in the self-styled 'civilized' heartlands of Greece and Persia. On this damaged Attic vase attributed by Beazley to the Amasis painter as a late work (the potter, Amasis, is named on the back) the Back Lunge appears as the blazon on Thetis' shield in the static, in just the standing form it first appeared in at Lefkandi a millennium earlier (see **BaLu-18**), so it makes sense to see it as continuing the indigenous chain of transmission from the Aegaeo-Anatolian region. The back of the vase (below left) shows Heracles and Apollo struggling for the tripod (perhaps a reference to control of the zodiac) with Hermes interceding. The front shows Achilles in the same dress as Apollo receiving his armour (including a Ram's-head helmet) from his mother, Thetis, witnessed by Phoinix (each figure is captioned, so there are no doubts as to identity). The Back Lunge on her shield consists of a panther attacking a stag - unfortunately the shine mark on one photo and the under-exposed colour version make it difficult to reproduce the full image, probably faded anyway on the left side.



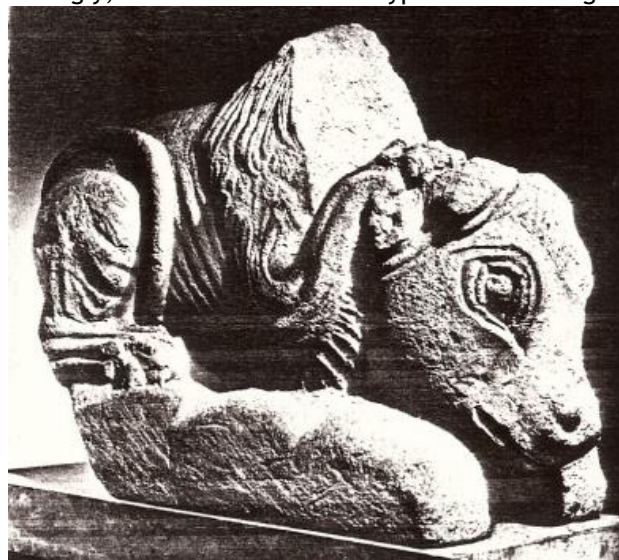
Remains of rough pebble mosaics on the floor at one corner of the peristyle of a Greek- house on the island of Motya, were described (see his figs 24A/B) by Joseph Whitaker in **Motya - A Phoenician Colony in Sicily** (1921): those undamaged showed a lion attacking a horse, a griffin attacking a horse or stag, and the third (below) a Back Lunge of the same standing type as on the Boston Vase. Possibly they represented three out of the Four Seasons, the lion on bull being Spring. Nearby were found some Doric capitals stacked up on each other - and the remains of some Greek figured vases like the one above.



BaLu-40

FINDSPOT	Alaisa/Halaesa, Sicily	
ON ARTEFACT	Sculpture, possibly funerary	
MATERIAL	Limestone	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Palermo Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	A Parrot et al. <i>Die Phönizier</i> 1977, fig. 217	
PERIOD & DATE		6C

The sculpture below was found in this abandoned Graeco-Carthaginian town on a hill-top on the plain of Messenia, Sicily¹². It has all the hallmarks of a 6C provincial sculpture in the simplicity of its composition (c.f. the pebble mosaic of **BaLu-39**) whose rigid orthogonals are only relieved by the raised right paw of the lion on the bull's head. Interestingly, the marble has been typified as coming from Albania.



For a telling contrast compare the blocked out lintel relief below that almost qualifies as a Back Lunge, placed here because it is on a gateway at Butrinto, Albania (now in the Louvre, no. 857): the picture is from Picard *Études Thasiennes* VIII fig. 72. We contrast it with a Phoenician scarab from Cyprus of lion attacking a mule or horse (Boston Museum) - of the type commonly found in Phoenician graves such as examples found in Sardinia, Carthage, Ibiza and Gibraltar - filling out a picture of the island-hopping spread of Phoenicians during the second half of the First Millennium throughout the Mediterranean - in a Levantine counterpart to simultaneous Greek colonization that came to a head at the battle of Himera when Greeks overcame the Carthaginians in Sicily, finally drawing a line between those two empires.



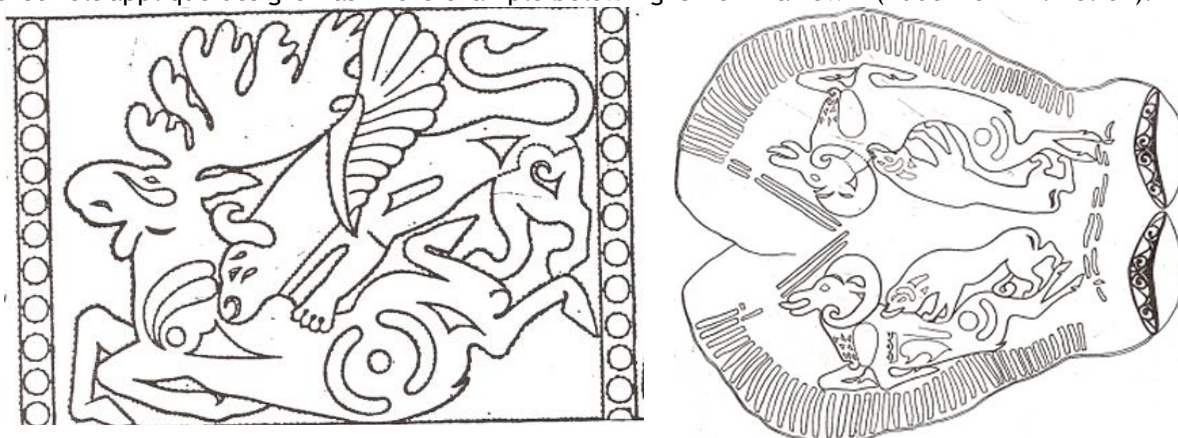
GGFR-391 - 500-480

¹² An overview of the archaeology of the site is given in G Scibona et al. *Alaisa-Halaesa: scavi e ricerche (1970-2007)* 2009

BaLu-41

FINDSPOT	Pazyryk, Siberia, Barrow 2	
ON ARTEFACT	Oblong bed or horse cover with <i>découpé</i> border and appliquéd leather cut-outs (detail of repeat border pattern motif)	
MATERIAL	Leather patchwork	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Hermitage Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Rudenko Frozen tombs of Siberia: The Pazyryk Burials of Iron-Age Horsemen (1970) no. 28 and several examples passim	
PERIOD & DATE		5C

The grave goods from the main five barrows of Pazyryk, consisting of the accoutrements and domestic belongings of nomadic horsemen of high status, are well-known: the lion-prey/griffin-prey motif often appears on them- mainly in the form of appliquéd work in leather or felt, but also even as body tattoos on the frozen dead. The twist of the prey's hind-quarters through 180° is a stylistic feature previously used on 3M Syrian and 2M Minoan seals. The Back Lunge also appears on the cloth and felt saddles of Pazyryk as coloured felt appliquéd designs - as in the example below right from Barrow 2 (Rudenko *ibid.* no. 67):



The griffin frequently replaces the lion in Scythian art, as much as it does at the time in contemporary Greek art, especially on seal rings:



GGFR 579



Dish decoration, Borovo, Thrace/Bulgaria¹³ 4C



Seal from Cyprus with owner's name and sun disc - GGFR 847

We dealt with Uruk Stance variations on the Pazyryk artefacts in **Catalogue B**, so often compared to their likely prototypes on the stairs and metalwork pieces of Persepolis: there, griffin head capitals alternated with bull-head, lion-head or human-head ones, pointers of the Cardinal Directions marked by the Cardinal Signs - the griffin apparentlyly the substitute for Scorpio, if not also the Vernal Point as was more usual. Thus the lion-prey or griffin-prey group is as frequent in Scythian art as it is on Achaemenid artefacts or Greek signet rings - the equivalent, perhaps, of wearing a crucifix as statement of personal belief.

¹³ Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria exhibition, British Museum catalogue 1976 no. 546

BaLu-42

FINDSPOT	Bhir Mound, Taxila, Pakistan	
ON ARTEFACT	Two out of three seals found (seal 2 is of a single stag)	
MATERIAL	Agate	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Taxila Museum (if unlooted)	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	G M Young 'A New Hoard from Taxila (Bhir Mound)' Ancient India I pl.X-1&3	
PERIOD & DATE		'c.500'/5C

India being the Persian Empire's easternmost Satrapy, we chose two of the three seals found in the Indian North-West Frontier territory in 1945 as the main item for this entry to demonstrate and underline the eastern extent of the spread of the Back Lunge under the centralizing force of imperial administration. On one, the lion's head is at three-quarters view - on the other, sideways. Here we are reminded of a larger-scale version from the Satrapy of Xanthos featured in *Catalogue C* as *Ratt-57* (it counts as a Rear Attack because one of the back legs of the lion is still on the ground) - the head is sideways as on Taxila seal 3).



1



3

Sealing from agate seal, GGFR 303

Tabloid agate seal, GGFR 304



Central panel from Xanthos (*Ratt-57*) - here the lion attacks a doe

Both the Taxila seals are carved in a popular rendition of the group at this time that shows the lion's back paws planted on the extended back leg of its prey - on some Greek seals reaching a mannered exaggeration that further heightens the drama of the scene. Boardman termed the centre seal below as 'Greek in style, Achaemenid in shape and subject'.



GGFR 935 British Museum



Chalcedony seal, GGFR 867 BM



GGFR 909 - Bibliothèque Nationale

BaLu-43

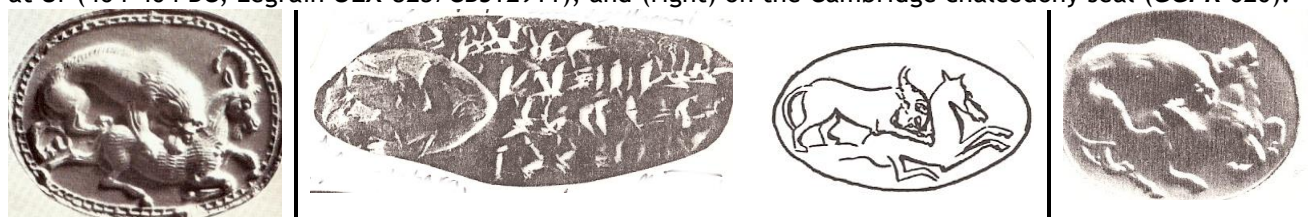
FINDSPOT	Athens (the Kamini district near the hill of the site of the Athens Museum)	
ON ARTEFACT	Stele - or narrow end of a sarcophagus	
MATERIAL	Marble	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Athens Museum	
MUSEUM REF.	No. 1487	
PUBLISHED IN	G Perrot 'Dalle de Marbre de Style Asiatique trouvée en Attique' <i>BCH</i> V 19-25; pl.I	
PERIOD & DATE		Late 5C

Perrot assigned this 'curiosity' presented to the Athens Museum in the 19C to the reign of Hadrian, but Bivar¹⁴ more accurately reads it as a monument of the time of the Persian satrapies following the Graeco-Persian Wars, when a proxenos monument might sometimes be erected at Athens for foreign diplomats (in this case possibly a Phoenician in alliance with the Achaemenids who acted as intermediary between Athens and Persepolis. The Back Lunge was taken up by the barbarians from the Persian Satrapies bordering on Scythia, as on (below right) what Rostovtseff¹⁵ saw as gold cladding for wooden rhyta, but Minns¹⁶ as quiver cladding. I have placed the Persian monument in the late 5C rather than, as favoured by Bivar, the 4C.



Photos Piotrovsky *ibid.* \ fn. Belland-46)

Contrast the same frantic action as on the larger artefacts of (below left) the design on a green jasper scaraboid (c. 500-480/*GGFR* 387); (centre) a ring sealing with cuneiform inscription from the Persian level at Ur (464-404 BC, Legrain *UEX*-823/CBS12911); and (right) on the Cambridge chalcedony seal (*GGFR* 620).



¹⁴ A D H Bivar 'A Persian Monument at Athens' in M Boyce (ed.) *W B Henning Memorial Volume* 1970 43-61

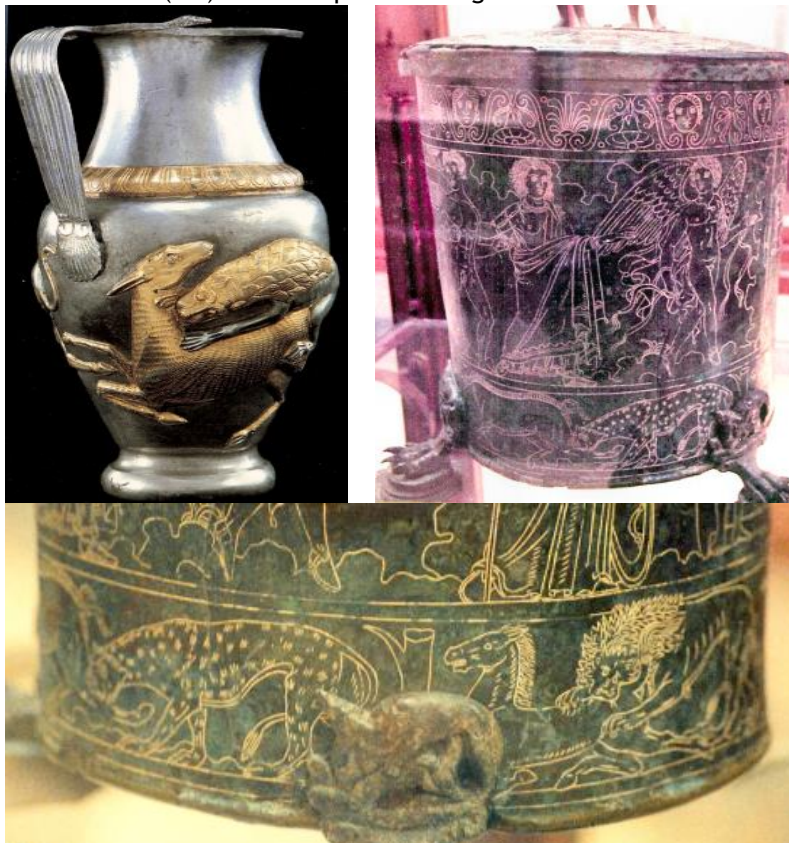
¹⁵ M Rostovtseff *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* 1922

¹⁶ Ellis H Minns *Scythians and Greeks* 1913 figs 108/114

BaLu-44

FINDSPOT	Rogozen, Thrace (Bulgaria)	
ON ARTEFACT	Metal jug	
MATERIAL	Solid silver, with gilt high-relief figured decoration	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Sofia Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	The New Thracian Treasure from Rogozen, Bulgaria British Museum 1986 - no. 155	
PERIOD & DATE		425-340

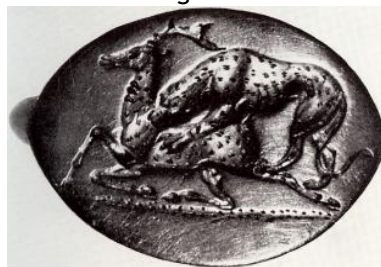
The gold of Rogozen in its 5-3C royal tombs revealed masks in the Mycenaean tradition and metal rhyta: the silver jug is emblazoned with a (by then) old-fashioned form of the Back Lunge heraldically flanked by two renditions of their Goddess Bendis seated on a lioness round the back. Southwards in Etruria, the motif is incised on a cinerary urn of c.350 (BM) on the top of whose griffin feet are solid-cast lion-doe Rear Attacks.



Comparable smaller artefacts are given below - note the interest in the leopard (much loved at Çatal Hüyük millennia before) as alternative to the lion. The graceful attack of panther on swan is most unusual:



Gold ring - Bibliothèque Nationale - GGFR 697



Gold ring from the Seven Brothers Tumulus, Hermitage - GGFR 694



Statuette found at Neidenberg, Bavaria (Archéologia Nov 1973)

BaLu-45

ORIGIN	Kition, Cyprus	
ON ARTEFACT	Coins (mostly staters, tetrobols)	
MATERIAL	Gold, silver, bronze	
LOCATION of COIN ILLUSTRATED	British Museum Department of Coins and Medals	
MUSEUM REF.	BMC 20	
PUBLISHED IN	E Babelon <i>Les Perses Achéménides</i> 1893 pl.XVIII 13-15 (Azbaal 449-425); 16-21 (Baalmalik 425-400); 22-23 (Baalram 400-392); and pl.XIX 5-10 (Melekiaton 392-361); 11-17 (Pumiaton 361-312) <i>BMCoinCat</i> Cyprus pl.IV	
PERIOD & DATE		5-4C
INSCRIPTION	Names of successive kings in Aramaic (this one, Azbaal)	449-425

Cyprus was fought over between Greece and Persia, in the end succumbing to Persian occupation (though in the short-lived reign of Demonikos (c.388) Herakles is briefly replaced by the standing figure of Athena once more). On most of these Cypriote coins the lion attacking stag appears within an incuse square (some think this coinage set the example for its uptake at Tarsus (next entry). On the obverse is the figure of Sandon/Herakles holding up his bow, surrounded by a dotted circle (at times replaced by his head alone).



In this period it is instructive to be aware of how this very motif was also popular on nomadic metalwork on the fringes of the Greek world. The plaque below left (silver, gilded lion mane) from the Loukovit Treasure (end of the 4C, Sofia Archaeological Museum - **Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria** British Museum 1976, no. 328)) also uses the stag as prey. It is thought the treasure, belonging to a local prince, was buried during Macedonian rule in Thrace, possibly during the reign of Alexander the Great himself.



The other two 4C examples, here with boar as prey, come from further east, in present-day Ukraine. The first (right) is a gold torque from the Karagodeuashkh Barrow, Kuban (excavated by E Felitsyn in 1888, Piotrovsky¹⁷ no.340, Hermitage Museum 2492/32)); the second (centre) termed by Piotrovsky 'a masterpiece of Greek workmanship' shows a detail on a sensational pectoral excavated by B Mozolovsky in 1971 from the Tolstaya Mogila Barrow, Dnepropetrovsk Region (Piotrovsky *ibid.* no. 118, Kiev Museum of Ancient Ornaments no. A3C 2494). This pectoral is dealt with in all its glorious detail in **Catalogue F: The Bilateral Attack**.

¹⁷ Boris Piotrovsky, Ludmila Galanina and Nonna Grach *Scythian Art* 1987 Leningrad and Oxford

BaLu-46

FINDSPOT	Cilician mints, chiefly of Tarsus, capital of Cilicia	
ON ARTEFACT	Persian Stater	
MATERIAL		
EXCAVATION REF.		
LOCATION of COIN ILLUSTRATED	British Museum Department of Coins and Medals	
MUSEUM REF.	BMC 39 (below left) and BMC 58 (below right)	
PUBLISHED IN	G F Hill British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia (1900)	
PERIOD & DATE		361-333
INSCRIPTIONS	MAZAIOS (recto) BAALTARS (verso)	

Six¹⁸ sees the staters of Tarsus as Cypriote in origin, which is why I have placed this entry second. However, as Mazaïos was a native of the territory, given its long tradition in this iconography I believe it more likely to be the other way round. He was a successful and trusted local Satrap awarded both the Cilician and then eventually the Syrian (Phoenician) satrapies by the Persian King (the maps in the *Art History* commentary, *III. 8- 56*, showshow this would make sense, given the contiguity of the two territories). On the stater from Tarsus below left showing a lion attacking a stag, Mazaïos' name appears in Aramaic above it - on the obverse the enthroned God Baal holds out a bunch of grapes and wheat ear, leaning on a lily or palm bud-topped staff to which the inscription of his name is aligned. Under the throne is the Ankh sign for Venus (c.f. *BaLu-16*). On the variant stater on the right with attack on the bull, Baal faces outwards and an eagle now perches on his outstretched hand. On later coins he holds the eagle, wheat ear *and* bunch of grapes.



Under Mazaïos' authority as Governor of Cilicia from 361, the Tarsus mint often produced the coinage for other cities in the satrapy such as Issos (Myriandros), Mallus and Soli. In 351 he engaged with Belesys, Satrap of Syria, in reducing the revolt in Phoenicia, and in 350 then received the government of Syria from the Persian King in addition to Cilicia until Alexander the Great's time, when Arsames took over in 333.

The variant coin designs of cities in Cappadocia on the other side of the Taurus Mountains (below left and right for Ariarathe and Gazouria (Babelon *ibid.* pl.IX nos 23/24 respectively) use the griffin as predator instead of the lion, also with Baal facing out. These are deemed by Six (*ibid.*) to imitate the seals of Tarsus.



¹⁸ J P Six Numismatic Chronicle 1895

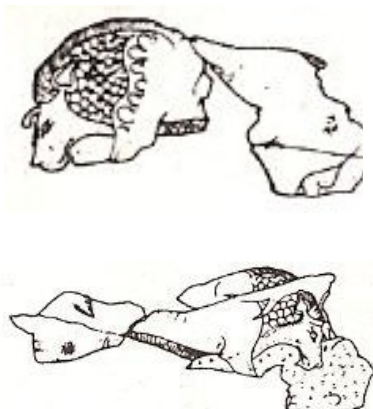
BaLu-47

FINDSPOT	Velia/Hyele, Etruria, Italy	
ON ARTEFACT	Didrachma and other Greek denominations	
MATERIAL	Bronze	
PRESENT LOCATION of COIN ILLUSTRATED	British Museum Department of Coins and Medals	
MUSEUM REF.	BMC 111	
PUBLISHED IN	B Head BMCoinCat fig.48	
PERIOD & DATE		c.350

Colonists from Phocaea on the west coast of Anatolia (not far from present-day Izmir) founded Massalia/Marseilles as early as 600 BC; Emporion in Spain in 575 BC and Hyele/Elea in 540 BC. Her 4C coinage has its inscriptions in Greek, and the head of Athena on the obverse, showing their preference for the Goddess of the Trojan War - the Troad being their homeland. Note the griffin on her helmet.



One keeps in mind all the time contrasts with the overlapping Greek, Scythian and Persian domains with sometimes only slight clues to differentiate them: below left are fragmentary pieces of ivory inlay from South Russian sarcophagi (Barnett **QEDM** fig.22) where the plain lion holds sway. But the griffin as the alternative predator was ubiquitous, whether on Greek finger-ring seals such as the chalcedony scaraboid from the Peleponnese (below right - **GGFR** 511/Boston Museum 95.81) or Scythian metalwork. Below centre is one of a pair of gold bracelets excavated by P Dubrux in 1830 from the Kul Oba barrow in the Crimea (Piotrovsky *ibid.* no.179, Hermitage Museum no. K-0 4): the borderline with the Rear Attack type is hard to draw - strictly speaking both show the griffin's hind legs standing on those of its prey rather than being placed firmly on the ground - the deciding criterion.



BaLu-48

FINDSPOT	Byblos	
ON ARTEFACT	Coins of successive kings	
MATERIAL	Gold, silver and bronze	
EXCAVATION REF.		
LOCATION of COIN ILLUSTRATED	British Museum Department of Coins and Medals	
MUSEUM REF.	1948-3-6-1	
PUBLISHED IN	Hill <i>ibid.</i> and Babelon <i>ibid.</i> pl. XXVI: 12-17 El-Baal c.360; 18-19 Adramalik c. 350; 20-21 Azbaal c.340 and 22-25 Ain-El c.333	
PERIOD & DATE		c. 350

The Satrapy of Phoenicia nonetheless had its own local kings in certain cities, Byblos (below left) being foremost, with the name of its kings over the lion attack and the name of the port of Byblos on the other side, its hippocamp and warship suitably replacing the seated gods from further north and inland. The coins of Phoenicia (named as such, below right - BMC 4) use exactly the same designs on recto and verso.



When it comes to the city of Samaria north of Persian-occupied Judah, most of its obols have a surprisingly overt Achaemenid character - as on the coin below left (c.360-40) showing the same lion attack, but contrasted on the obverse with the enthroned King of Kings. An interesting indication of the political 'pull' between Persian and Greek influence is particularly clear on a further coin from Samaria which rather crudely replaces the Persian King with the head of Athena (below right). Both coins are illustrated in Milnberg¹⁹ (pl. LIII, nos 2 and 8).



The key to the coins of Phoenicia is to remember the Satrap Maizaios was in overall charge until Alexander the Great's officials took over in 333. The coin of local ruler Abd-Hadad below, possibly from Hierapolis/Membij (Babelon *ibid.* pl.VII, 18), although retaining the usual lion attack, names Alexander himself in Aramic next to the head on the obverse.



¹⁹ L Milnberg 'Über die Münzbildnisse in Palästina und Nordwestarabien zur Perserzeit' in C Uehlinger (ed.) *Images as Media* 2000

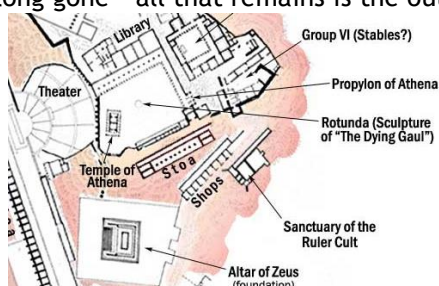
BaLu-49

FINDSPOT	Athena Temple Temenos, Pergamon	
ON ARTEFACT	Frieze slab (in three pieces) from probable altar to Athena	
MATERIAL	Marble	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	Berlin Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Frantz Winter <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> VII,2 Catalogue of Sculptures no. 343, pl.37	
PERIOD & DATE		2C BC

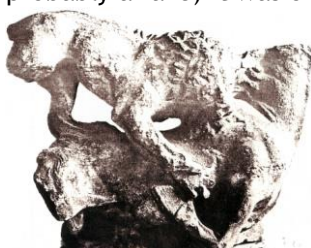
Philetairos may have started the Athena cult on his accession in 283 BC on the model of Athens - certainly the Panathenaia was celebrated in Pergamon at this time. The remains of the altar would be been in the open air, in front of the Temple of Athena Polias Nikephros. Where up to now we have seen the Back Lunge on a monumental scale as a mark of Satrapal art from sites under Persian control, here there is no doubt the symplegma is here associated with Athena. The likely reconstruction of the whole relief by Winter is given in the drawing below right where the almost completely destroyed left-hand group mirroring the right-hand one has been reconstructed, with armed Athena standing on a pedestal between them, probably a representation of the statue of Athena that would have stood inside the cella of the temple itself, and as represented on the coins of the city when in allience with Athens.



A detail of the plan of the Akropolis at Pergamon shows the Precinct of Athena at the edge of a steep promontory that looked down on the theatre built into the precipitous slope on the West and Great Altar of Zeus down below to the South. The famous library of Pergamon flanked the north side of the precinct (the temple is now long gone - all that remains is the outline of the crepidoma (right)):



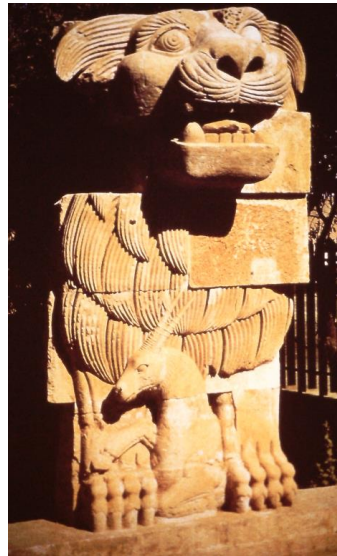
This particular composition was probably copied from the 3C BC sculpture of Pentelic marble on the south wall of the Theseion in Athens (now in the Athens Museum (NM 2707) - see Kékulé *Die antiken Bildwerke im Theseion zu Athen* - and going by a recent version that came up on the art market (below right, though this one is probably a fake) it was often replicated in this form in Hellenistic Asia Minor.



BaLu-50

FINDSPOT	Cella of Temple to Allāt, Palmyra	
ON ARTEFACT	Doorway sculpture (found in pieces, now restored)	
MATERIAL	Limestone	
PRESENT LOCATION	Palmyra Museum	[photos author]
PUBLISHED IN	M Gawlikowski 'Le premier temple d'Allāt' in Resurrecting the Past. A Joint Tribute to Adnan Bounni 1990; and 'Palmyra: Excavations in the Allāt Sanctuary' http://www.pcma.uw.edu.pl/fileadmin/pam/PAM_2006_XVIII/553.pdf (2005-2006)	
PERIOD & DATE		1C BC

Playing the same role as the Alaça Hüyük guardian doorway sculpture (**BaLu-34**) this somewhat crude piece carved into wall blocks appears to have had a similar apotropaic role in protecting the inner sanctuary of the Goddess. In the 2C AD a sculpture of Athena was placed on a socle in the cella itself, evidently equated by the Romans to the Arabs' Allāt, protectress of animals and water springs like Artemis (c.f. **BaLu-36**). The fascinating implications of the correlation are discussed in the commentary. There is still unresolved debate as to whether in the original temple of the 2C BC a baetyl would have occupied the socle.



The group retained currency in Syria in vestigial form for a long time - as in the 1C AD 'Lion of Latakia' (Damascus Museum) below - and even on a Roman lamp, spotted in passing in a case in the British Museum:



BaLu-50f

In more finished, imperial form the Syrian prototype from Palmyra was duplicated on Roman funerary monuments or sarcophagi, whether in Syria itself (as below left), or Greece (below right):

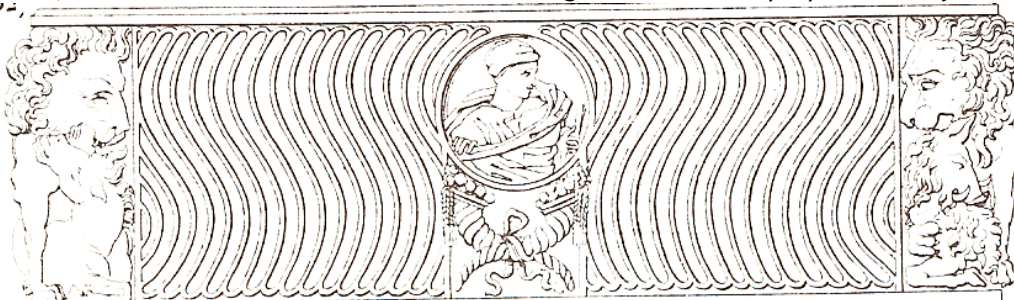


Detail of long side of sarcophagus from Antioch, 2C AD (Willemsen²⁰ pl.103)



Athens Museum NM 1177 - Narrow end of hunt sarcophagus, 2C AD (Willemsen pl.104)

The Palmyrene composition spread to the heart of the Roman Empire at Rome itself, as in the museum examples below, where each side view shows the same huge lion over a disproportionately small prey:



Louvre, Clarac²¹ pl.256 (see below details sarcophagus ends from the sides)



This sarcophagus design was a Roman favourite, as seen on two further sarcophagus-end pieces:



Palazzo Caetani, 3C (Willemsen pl.114)



Tarragona Museum, 3C (Willemsen pl.110)

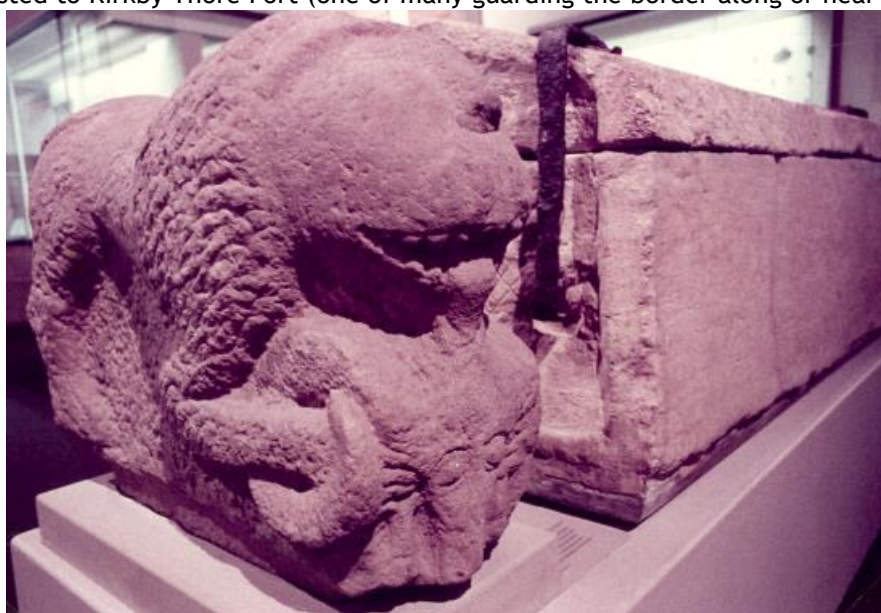
²⁰ Franz Willemsen *Die Löwenkopf-wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels* (Olympische Forschungen IV) Berlin 1959

²¹ Frédéric Comte de Clarac *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne: Description historique et graphique du Louvre et de toutes ses parties et des plus de 2500 statues antiques tirées des principaux musées et des diverses collections de l'Europe* 1841-53.

BaLu-51

FINDSPOT	Kirkby Thore, Cumberland, Cumbria, England	
ON ARTEFACT	Sarcophagus end sculpture	
MATERIAL	Red sandstone	
EXCAVATION REF.		
PRESENT LOCATION	British Museum	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN		
PERIOD & DATE		2-3C AD

This sarcophagus guardian group from provincial Britain indicates how even on the fringes of the Roman Empire the funerary meaning of the lion-prey group was still taken for granted, even if the craftsmanship to make it was lacking in the middle of nowhere. The owner of this tomb could have been a soldier from the Near East posted to Kirkby Thore Fort (one of many guarding the border along or near Hadrian's Wall).



The Back Lunge was a popular subject on small 2C Roman bronzes such as the ones below - again spotted in passing in the British Museum in a case of small Roman objects from the Townley Collection - the one on the right is a knife handle.



BaLu-52

FINDSPOT	Lod (outside Tel Aviv), Israel	
ON ARTEFACT	Mosaic floor of a private house	
MATERIAL	Faience tesserae	
EXCAVATION REF.	Discovered at Lod during road construction in 1996	
PRESENT LOCATION	Lod Museum, but touring the world in 2014	
MUSEUM REF.		
PUBLISHED IN	Minerva Mar/Apr 2014 p.3 and Minerva May/Jun 214 pp 12-16	
PERIOD & DATE		c.300 AD

In the Roman period the Back Lunge appears over and over again on mosaics - symbolically to allude to the seasons as in this example - but also purely as representations of the favourite sport of the élites, hunting.

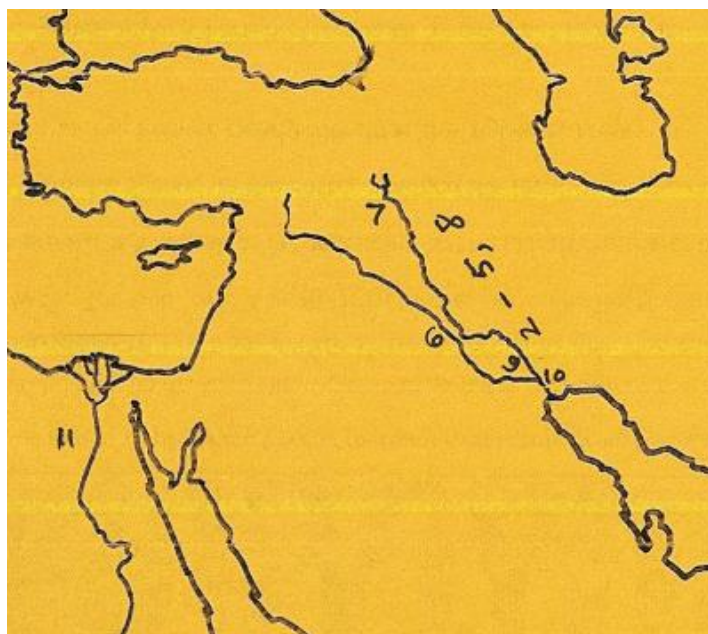


This mosaic has a central geometric zodiac design in an octagon surrounded by squares and triangles, with a Back Lunge on stag and oryx marking two of the Four Quarters (above). Underneath is a broad strip with a multitude of different sea creatures (for reasons of space not included in the illustration here). A strip of similar width runs along the top (detail shown sideways, above right), again with symbolic groups of animals amongst which are a peacock displaying - and several further lion-prey groups.

DISTRIBUTION OF CATALOGUED ARTEFACTS AND THEIR ART HISTORY

EARLIEST MATERIAL UP TO END OF THE 3M [PREPALATIAL] - BALU 1-11

I have arranged the catalogue material very roughly by date, at the same time grouping items according not only to site, but also to groups of similar seal shape, execution or iconographical similarity in the detail - such as the cross-hatched carving style characterising the first group under **BaLu-1**, where others are cruder in execution without stylistic embellishment. The earliest material featuring the Back Lunge group comprises a substantial number of stamp seals originally fashioned from round or squarish pebbles struck in half, the exterior surface evidently providing a natural hemispheroid dome usable as a grip without further working. The very earliest seals (**BaLu-1-BaLu-4**) mostly have the design carved on the slightly convex inner surface of the struck pebble, evident on the two examples photographed in the Louvre - as a class the source area of the group appears to be Luristan, absorbing design inspiration from down in Sumer/Susa.



Ill. 8- 4: Map showing the distribution of catalogue artefacts up to the end of the 3M

This earliest material (**BaLu-1** to **BaLu-11**) confirms the picture given by items contemporary to them that featured in **Catalogues A-C** - further underlining the likelihood of the lion and prey symbol originating in Susiana/Aratta beyond Uruk, whence it went on to gain common currency in Sumer during the Early Dynastic period, on larger artefacts reaching as distinguished an iconic status as the Uruk Stance stone vases of **Catalogue B**. It also confirms the findings of **Catalogue C** about the ancient ancestry of the related Rear Attack going back to as early as the 5M. Again we see Egyptian items alternating with others from Susa and the more remote provincial entrepôts of Luristan on the far side of the Zagros mountain area that fed goods and artefacts into Susa which in turn forwarded them on to the Sumerian, Syrian or even Egyptian river plains. The other compositional types up to now have also pointed up this far-flung distribution network sustaining trade interaction all the way round the Fertile Crescent long before the Old Kingdom formed in Egypt.

On **BaLu-3** in particular (but see also the Drouot seal of **BaLu-2**) a star or planet is incorporated into the iconography of these earliest seals, a feature that persists on later examples from time to time - hinting at the level at which we should read the imagery. We also pinpointed an Egyptian strand to their context, not only in the fact that the last seal of **BaLu-2** was bought in Egypt, but also in the snake iconography of the fragmentary ivory knife handle from Egypt (in **BaLu-3**) yet which seems overall still to be of Luristani/Susan inspiration - compare the seal below cited by Amiet²² depicting the typical serpent and vulture (or eagle) imagery of the time which in this catalogue we see on seals juxtaposed with the Back Lunge. Throughout their history Elamite serpent-worship retained a high profile and never died out, even in Babylonian times. The motif of the entwined serpents of protohistoric Elamite art was certainly taken up in Egypt at the same period, and later used on a group of superb Sumerian artefacts associated with the God Ningishzida.



Ill. 8- 5 Luristani seal design with twisting snake swallowing a human, serpent-vulture imagery on the obverse - Amiet fig.2

In **BaLu-4** a new treatment of the lion and bull bodies in terms of triangles emerges which relates directly to painted designs on pottery from Nehavand (Luristan) and Susa, most notably **BaLu-5**, a masterpiece of painted decoration in tune with the Luristan seals, juxtaposing ibexes, a Back Lunge group and three versions of the Master of the Beasts (it is worth closely inspecting the unusual variety of small creatures clustering round each Master, later left out - especially on smaller pieces). In the Old Syrian period in the 2M following, the entwined snake motif started to appear as miniature, stylised scene dividers on Old Anatolian and North Syrian seals (many good examples are given in **Catalogue C: The Rear Attack**) and eventually developed into the purely geometric guilloches so frequently used on Minoan and Hittite seals. In other words, the westward 'creep' of a motif like this over the centuries is symptomatic of the movement of other symbols of the area - such as the griffin of Susa - through Mesopotamia into both Anatolia and the Levant, and finally infiltrating the Aegean world (we will note the well-known Minoan snake priestess figurines that indicate a continuing interest in snake rituals connected to ideas about journeys to the Underworld - possibly transmitted via the Syrian iconography of the Asherah - see *fn. 112*).

The most useful reference collections of protohistoric seals are in the Ashmolean Museum and Louvre (not forgetting the Tepe Gawra seals in the Philadelphia Museum) against which it is possible to match the stray examples found at places such as Tepe Giyan, Uruk, and Tell Brak (**BaLu-3**, **BaLu-6** and **BaLu-7** respectively). Those unprovenanced ones from the Ashmolean were mostly bought in Syria by Hogarth and

²² Amiet 'L'Iconographie archaïque de l'Iran: Quelques documents nouveaux' Syria LVI 1979

Woolley and may originally have come from further east. This group really does seem to show that the Iranian hinterland preceded Egypt in inventing the group of motifs that included the Lion/Leopard attack/Master of the Beasts/entwined serpent) before it was revised and developed in more detail on its own doorstep in the Early Dynastic Period by enterprising groups in the city states of Sumer and the Diyala.

The Khafaje Vase, featured under **BaLu-8** under the entry for a late Tepe Gawra sealing, is a prime transitional example from the Jemdet Nasr period that bridges the protohistoric world and 3M city-state world of the Sumerian plain, featuring as it does the Master of the Beasts and Back Lunge²³ of the oldest seals alongside the chariot pulled by horses and banqueting scenes that were to be so familiar on the artefacts of Ur and Kish. Examples of the Back Lunge from the Early Dynastic period (**BaLu-9** and **BaLu-10**) are sparse due to the fact that the **Uruk Stance**, **Rear Attack** and **Crossover Attacks** were the compositional types more favoured in Sumer at this time, but the few given in this catalogue are rich in new juxtapositions from the **CANEA** cycle of imagery (see catalogue entries) - the splayed female figure in birthing mode being the most unusual, given that after these brief appearances it is later not much seen, the idea being better expressed in different imagery.

From the mid-3M - during the Akkadian dynasty followed by the barbarian Guti invasions (see the Chronological Table for **Catalogue A**)- the Back Lunge group (as also the other compositional types) disappears in Sumer for the rest of the millennium. The only other example of the use of the Back Lunge in the 3M comes from Fifth Dynasty Egypt in roughly its last third (**BaLu-11**), suggesting the adoption of a decorative programme similar to that featured in the VD Sun Temple of Niuserre (2452-22BC) at Abu Ghurob nearby - and in the VD Tomb of Ti - whose scenes are discussed in **Chapter 17: Piecing Together the CANEA**). These three roughly contemporary instances suggest some kind of Mesopotamian influence in the Pharaoh's court during the VD (for which an interesting explanation is given by Goedicke in the *Iconography* section later, concerning new priorities directed at Venus/Hathor). In fact, alongside Byblos' enduring Old Kingdom hot-line by sea to Egypt, we have a site like the 3M palace at Ebla storing treasures such as 'over twenty kilograms of lapis lazuli from Afghanistan and imported Egyptian diorite and alabaster vases inscribed with the names of Chafre/Chefren (IVD) and Pepi I (VID)' (Aruz 2008 p.8 - see *fn.28*). The Qatna royal tomb contents betray a similar top-rank interchange going on with Egypt in this time-frame (2520-2255BC). The Unas Causeway Back Lunge smoothly fits against this Syrian background, a relationship repeated during the New Kingdom and on into Tutankhamun's reign (**BaLu-32**).

Overall, as regards the persistence of the **CANEA** over into the Second Millennium, despite a huge hiatus of at least 500 years at the end of the 3M, one bears in mind the observation of an art historian of the Italian Renaissance, P Longhi, who wrote of 'these visual springs which flow forever underground, coming at crucial moments to the assistance of those whose invention is flagging, ...leading them back to the mainstream of the figurative tradition'.

²³ The juxtaposition of this pair of images is maintained on the early takeup of the **CANEA** on Aegean seals - see *III. 8- 29 & III. 8- 30*

MATERIAL FROM 2000- c.1700 [PROTOPALATIAL/OLD PALACE] BALU 12-15

The thumbnail map below is all that is needed to give an overview for sites in the first third of the Second Millennium, much as given for the *Rear Attack*, since the same kinds of artefacts in the same areas come up for the few examples of the Back Lunge that stand out as distinct from Rear Attack items (the sample for the Back Lunge is sparse partly because several borderline cases have been counted in as Rear Attacks). The Back Lunge entries interleaved with contemporary Rear Attack items smoothly dovetail in the same regions - as the preamble to heightened interchange with Crete. In the calm before the storm of Minoan seal-making the Old Babylonian examples under *BaLu-12* are unprovenanced but, as in the case of the Rear Attack, provide the same foil to the Kültepe (*BaLu-13/BaLu-15*) and Egypt-influenced material (*BaLu-14*).



Ill. 8- 6: Map showing the distribution of catalogued artefacts during roughly the first third of the 2M

In the case of the scarab stamp seals of *BaLu-14*, Egyptian influence on the Levant *and* Aegean overall as the Old Kingdom petered out it a trend to note, since from roughly the first third of the 2M we have one or two solitary scarab seals from the Levant with a Back Lunge on them corresponding to the Rear Attack examples described under *Ratt-14f*. To make any sense of the vast number of scarab seals excavated in their heartland of Lower Egypt and the Levant (several ended up as far west as Crete - see *Ill. 8- 7* - and for a short time were copied by the Minoans in their own white seals) we have to turn to the two-volume *Studies on Scarab Seals*, dealing with Egyptian scarabs found at Levantine sites. Vol. I (1978) by William Ward deals with scarabs up to the Middle Kingdom and Vol. II (1984) by Olga Tufnell those following. She and Ward between them agreed that the watershed point between the two periods was the dating during the Middle Kingdom of the seals in the Montet Jar²⁴, given its precise stratigraphy at the second half of the 21st century BC²⁵: hence Ward took on the classification of scarabs (seemingly datable to the First Intermediate Period) up to the Montet Jar, and Tufnell those following that hoard (from the rise of the Middle Kingdom). They asked Edith Porada to comment on the three cylinder seals found in the hoard, which she classed as Old Syrian of the turn of the millennium²⁶. Leafing through Ward's volume covering the earlier material, one is struck that not a single lion attack appears and it is only in Tufnell's Vol. II

²⁴ O Tufnell and W A Ward 'Relations between Byblos, Egypt and Mesopotamia at the End of the Third Millennium BC: A Study of the Montet Jar' *Syria* XLIII 165-228 (and plates). (See *Belland-10*, a small 'bilingual' scarab from the Montet Jar which I dated to later.)

²⁵ The Tod Treasure is also a useful dating tool (described under our Chronological Focus below), its contents indicating it was probably assembled around two centuries later.

²⁶ Edith Porada 'Les Cylindres de la Jarre Montet' *Syria* XLIII 1966 243-258 (and plates). Again, present-day thinking dates them later.

itemising scarabs from the century either side of the turn of the 2M that the few notable examples of Back Lunge or Rear Attack occur from Levantine sites (as it happens, mostly excavated by the British - **BaLu-14**). These few items are likely to indicate an owner of Mesopotamian culture trying to square his own cultural symbolism with its Egyptian equivalents at a time of renewed (Middle Kingdom) Egyptian impact in the area where a dual identity gave status to certain middle men with a foot in both camps, at home or abroad.

The type of stamp seal used to protect stored products in Anatolia in the first third of the 2M featured in **BaLu-15** (not necessarily using the lion attack) were often co-stamped by others. This is especially true of those using simple geometric designs in the Aegean and Anatolia on large storage jars - thought to identify olive oil or wine marking their traffic - at places such as Phaestos in Crete and Karahüyük near the south coast of Anatolia, for instance. Sometimes an Old Babylonian cylinder sealing is the co-seal, pointing to the identity of interacting groups of higher-ranking, perhaps colonial, officials working in tandem with locals, each using their own type of seal. Below are two imported seals found in Tomb B at Platanos, Crete, that neatly sum up the dual current of Mesopotamian and Egypto-Levantine input to the island at the time. We note for future reference that it is via such imported scarabs that Tawaret - associated with the Circumpolar Region of the sky on New Kingdom royal tomb star maps along with the bull leg of Meskhetiu (see **Chapter 19**) enters Crete, transformed into the Minoan Genius, possibly still with the same meaning.



III. 8- 7: Impression of imported Babylonian haematite cylinder seal and Egyptian scarab with Taweret hippo, bird and volutes found in Tomb B, Platanos, South Crete - Krzyszkowska Aegean Seals figs 45/46 discussed under Levantine Influences

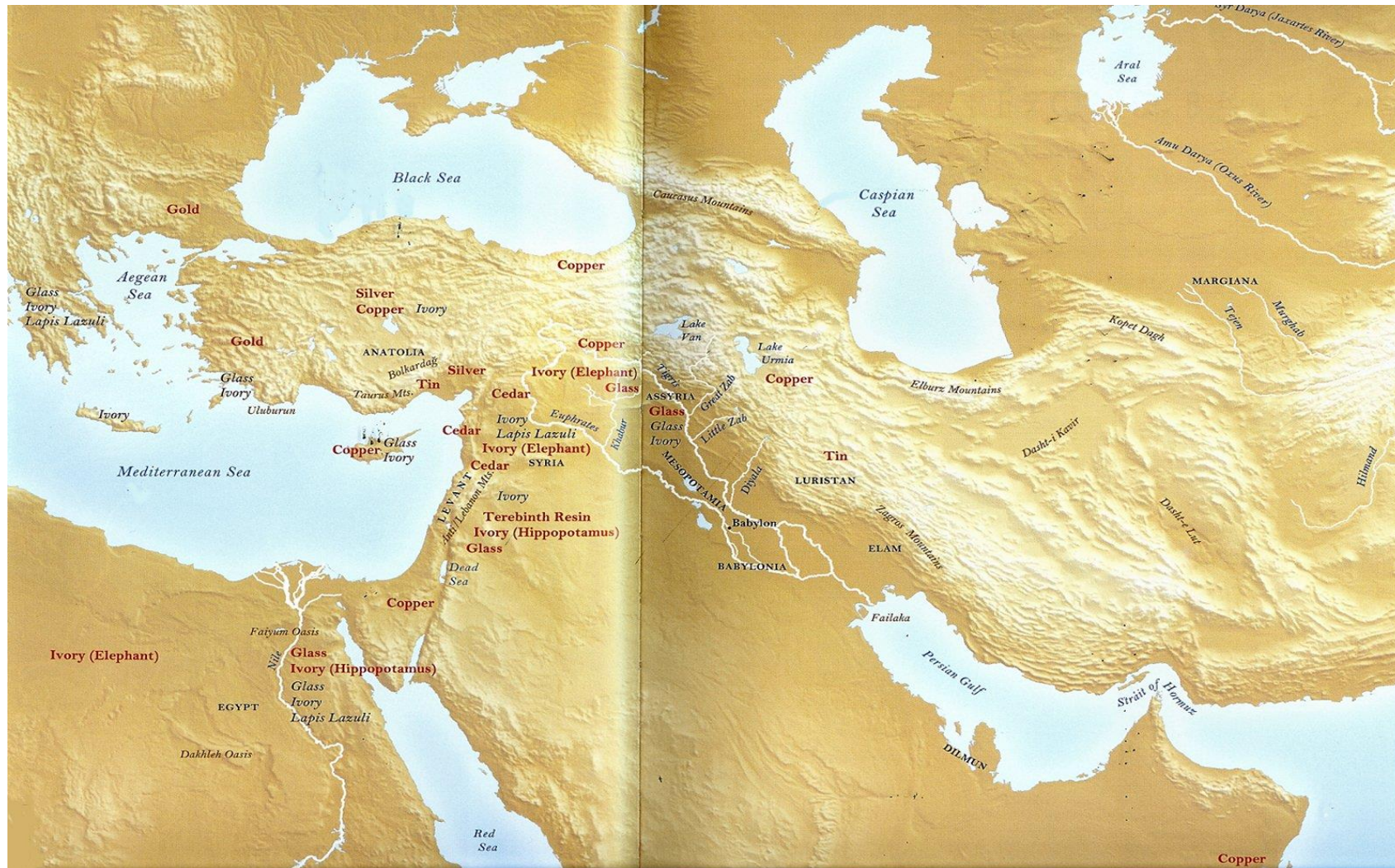
Stephen Lumsden²⁷ looked at the process of the primary acculturation of the Anatolians by merchants such as the Assyrians or Syrians whose innovations were gradually woven into their own native iconographic traditions. His analysis of the crossover of the two worlds and the gradual assimilation of what we today call ‘technology transfer’ in the end enabled the Anatolians to undercut their visitors- the classic formula for a developed colonial situation - starting in a downbeat way by first taking on internal trading within Anatolia of commodities such as wool and copper - then outwards to the Aegean world beyond the orbit of Assyrian activity. With the proliferation of minor officials at subsidiary centres in and beyond Kültepe during Period 1b, stamp seals started to appear as the native seal of choice in situations where a local ruling group might occupy public buildings isolated behind fortification walls (as at Kültepe itself) if they were acting as a clearing house for trade, whilst places further afield, such as the Purushuddum silver mines near Karahüyük to the south or the Darhumit copper mines near the Black Sea tended to lack large-scale storage facilities with ‘very little or no use of seals and sealing’ (let alone writing) at all. Certainly

²⁷ ‘Material Culture and the Middle Ground in the Old Assyrian Colony Period’ in Cécile Michel (ed.) *Old Assyrian Studies in Memory of Paul Garelli* 2008, pp.21-43

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Ill. 8-8: Map showing the overall distribution of raw materials in the Second Millennium - from Aruz (ibid.)

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at first, at places such as Acemhöyük and Karahöyük which seem not to have adopted writing, ‘stamp seals and, less frequently, cylinder seals were used to secure containers and doors in what seems to have been non-literate administrative systems’, Lumsden writes. This is especially clear in Building L at Karahöyük where ‘the designs on the seals of administrative leaders responsible for securing storeroom doors as well as containers can be identified’, these being roughly contemporary with Kültepe 1b’ - an idea to bear in mind when looking at seal practices in Crete.

Hittite supremacy bringing together and formalising the pioneer efforts of indigenous Anatolians tells its own story on the succession of seals following the first entry of **BaLu-15** through **BaLu-15f**, and epitomised on the stamp seal end of the Tyskiewicz seal (its cylinder iconography was analysed under **Ratt-28**), providing a high watermark amongst the host of other circular stamp seals with guilloché borders favoured on Hittite officials’ seals inspired by the early Anatolian models (most notably the seals of Building L at Karahöyük) - their significance neatly summed up by Stephen Lumsden (*ibid.*) as follows:

One aspect of this phenomenon is the development of a shared cultural milieu throughout central Anatolia, constructed among disparate Anatolian societies and in interaction with Assyrians and other foreign merchants and travellers, who played such significant roles in the economies of local societies. Following the collapse of the Assyrian trading system this shared culture was given political unity by the Hittite state. It might, in fact, be argued that ‘becoming Hittite’ was accomplished through artefacts and a ‘new stylistic universe’, as much as by conquering armies.’

This ‘Hittite unification’ came to its fruition in the period of our **Chronological Focus** (it is best to take the oldest date for the Tyskiewicz seal as on the borderline at 1700, given its pantheon of Gods is still wholly Levantine) but the internal process within Anatolia and its early tentacles of influence into the Aegean World leading up to that is the process Lumsden describes for the early centuries of the Second Millennium which saw the rise and fall of Kültepe, the retreat of the Assyrians and the end of Old Babylonian influence filtering through Syria from Mesopotamia. The stylistic progression shown in the **BaLu-15** entries neatly bears this out, and during the Proto-Palatial Period, Anatolian and Levantine prototypes inspired the take-up of stamp seals (usually circular) further afield on the Early Helladic mainland, Cyclades and Crete, at first using geometric motifs that probably identified products without the need for writing. The spasmodic use of the Back Lunge at the centre of the round seals of the Anatolian world was not taken up immediately in the Aegean world, but examples start to appear in the material discussed under the **Chronological Focus** immediately following this section - explicable only by the commentary put forward in our final pages.

PROTOPALATIAL PRACTICE LAYS THE GROUND FOR NEO-PALATIAL DEVELOPMENTS

The process of the 3M/early 2M spread of stamp seal use to the Aegean, probably a reflection of trading with, then in turn gradually adopting, administrative systems from the Middle East - both direct from the Levant and via Anatolia - has very specifically been plotted by seal and site in Joan Aruz’ first two chapters of her specialist analysis, bringing together instances - trickling at a primitive level during and up to the end of 3M and reaching a crescendo in a further phase in the Old Assyrian/Old Babylonian centuries up to c.1700 - of how Anatolian or Levantine-type seals were either turning up in the Aegean *koine*, or being

copied and used at the depots of nascent agricultural trading sites which - as Aruz²⁸ points out- having taken command of their own systems, abandoned the temporarily adopted foreign cylinder seal (as happened at Kültepe and on Crete itself) and went back to their own prehistoric tradition of stamps which may well originally have started as *pintadera*²⁹ for textile, body or wall decoration. There is a handful of instances of Anatolian and Aegean versions of cylinder seals (Aruz *ibid.* figs 47-48 and 65-67) which appear to be no more than rollers for repeating geometric patterns for repetitive decorative use on walls, fabric or pottery - which (sometimes with a stamp seal on the end) may have had sporadic administrative uses for identification of product or person.

We are reminded that the textile trade begun by the Assyrians - based almost wholly on woven goods from the Diyala imported into Syria and up to Kültepe - began to lose its monopoly as Anatolia and even Crete began to undertake their own large-scale weaving operations (stamp sealings have been found even on loom-weights from Crete and several Cycladic islands, suggesting inner regulation of some kind (Crete's own prime export product was wool). Indigenous metallurgy and craft workshops followed, with the concomitant need for the necessary raw materials from further east. Aruz (*ibid.*) suggests: 'Anatolia is the most tangible source of foreign influence on metallurgy in the Early Bronze Age Aegean... It is possible that this is relevant to aspects of the development of Aegean glyptic and sealing practices'. Indeed, in cases where *metal* conoid seals with simple geometric designs on them have been found on Cycladic sites, their origin is Anatolian. Metals were at first imported until the later discovery of silver at Laurion (near Athens) and gold in Thrace (and tin in the end was to be more reliably sourced from the Western Mediterranean but for the time being was also sourced via Anatolian middle men from further east). In the same way, recent spectrographic analyses have enabled the identification of most obsidian pieces found at Knossos and Mallia as originating not, as originally thought, from West Mediterranean sites, but from Cilicia and Syria via such ports as Byblos or Ugarit.

That bigger picture that Aruz fills in between main highways established between places using similar geometric designs - such as the aforementioned sites of Acemhöyük/Karahöyük in Anatolia - with Lerna on the Greek mainland or Phaistos in Crete - indicates that although some sources of influence were stronger. than others in the period before the palaces and country houses formalising them were built in the Aegean, the proliferation of lesser byways of interaction across the middle ground of the Cycladic zone (many EB stamp seals appear on the islands themselves - as also Thrace and Macedonia) means there was no one point of invasive influence but, rather, gradual infiltration from all directions - especially by sea-routes - as Aruz' overview map at the start of this catalogue - with Crete as the hub of a thalassocracy - shows.

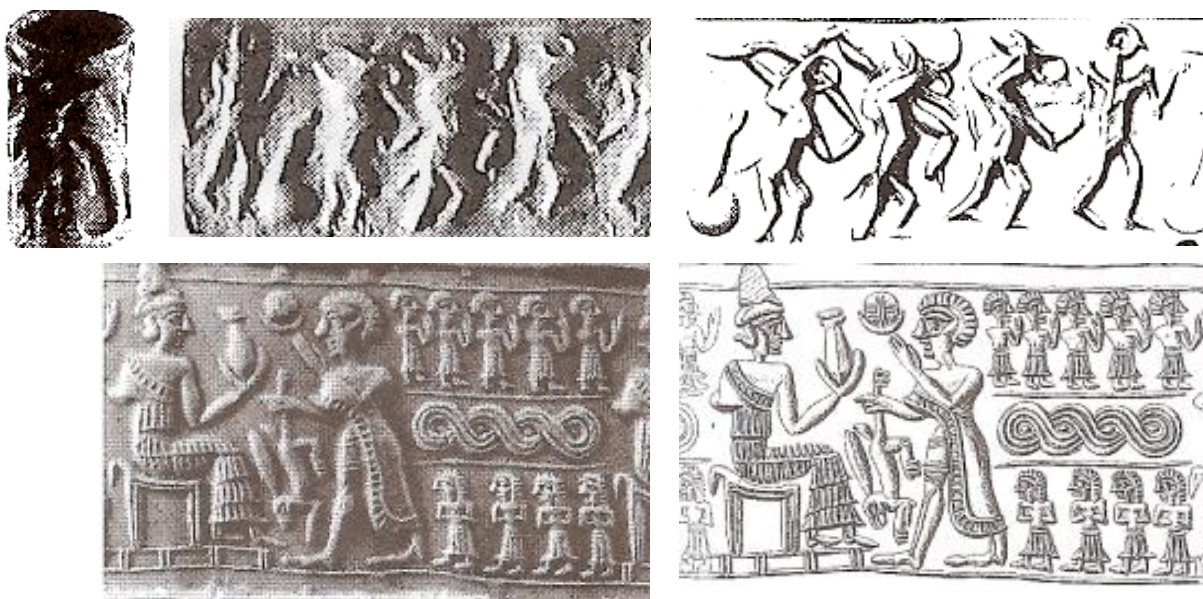
An obvious unifying factor is the precision, range and sophistication of the geometric designs carved in huge variety on the largest seal groups - of Lerna, Phaistos and Karahöyük in particular, which points to centralised training somewhere in Anatolia and/or Greece of seal craftsmen, long before the age of

²⁸ Marks of Distinction: Seals and Cultural Exchange Between the Aegean and the Orient (Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals Beiheft 7) 2008 Mainz-am-Rhein

²⁹ Very much the idea of the kindergarten potato cut where primitive shapes cut out of potato-halves are dipped in paint and printed on paper. Aruz says instances of this practice date back as far as 7M Çatal Hüyük.

Pythagorean and Platonic geometry - a consideration not emphasised by the seal experts in the catalogues³⁰. Several such examples were also found at Knossos and the other palace sites on Crete, and the use of precise geometric designs was clearly a point of departure from which all such seals - at the minor sites as well - betray a common source of instruction, meaning not only that technology transfer was happening, but also design education, seemingly by individuals backed by the local administration.

Aruz was already coming to the conclusion in her *CMS Beiheft 7 Chapter 1* that: 'Whereas seals from the Greek mainland have predominantly Anatolian parallels, Cretan seals demonstrate stronger connections with the Levant'. This is nicely exemplified by two imported cylinder seals found at Mochlos, a small island just off the coast of N-E Crete: one of silver (Early Dynastic period) depicting a crude procession of Old Babylonian-type upright striding humans and animals separated by a disembodied bull haunch (below top row - Aruz *ibid.* fig.59³¹), and the other a distinctive Syrian Pre-Classical Period haematite cylinder seal (below bottom row) with full-height presentation scene of typical stumpy Syrian figures with short haircuts flanked by the standard double register separated by a stubby serpentine guilloche (CMS V S1B-332):



III. 8- 9 Above, silver OB cylinder seal and below, imported Old Syrian haematite seal, both from Mochlos

The cylinder seals nicely point up a likely direct link with the ports of Syria in the early 2M (other Mochlos imports found on the island include copper and tin ingots, a sistrum from Egypt and a fragment of Old Hittite pottery). Spouted teapots, common in Bronze Age graves of Egypt and the Levant, also turned up in the Mochlos tombs. We pursue the matter of Oriental -v- Egyptian phases of influence on Crete and Mycenae in depth later, as a subsection of our iconographical enquiry.

Such *points de repère* are sufficient to set the scene in preparation for the profusion of detail we now set out to delineate in our *Chronological Focus* covering the next period - which sees the development of Minoan, Mycenaean and Egypto-Levantine artefacts using the Back Lunge motif during the Middle Bronze

³⁰ This is the approach taken in my small booklet on cosmic Geometry [http://www.cosmokrator.com/download/book2\(s\).pdf](http://www.cosmokrator.com/download/book2(s).pdf)

³¹ See also fn. 132

Age, a period that sees an exponential increase in trade and cultural interchange in the Aegean theatre, ultimately leading to the fully fledged International Style of the last centuries of the 2M covered in the Chronological Focus of *Catalogue E*.

From this period, as a further staging post in chronology just preceding the Neo-Palatial period, visible here and there are the remains of the earliest stage of an early palace at Knossos, most noticeable in the massive gypsum blocks on its West wall resting on a limestone socle, so sound that it was left in position for the New Palace construction over it at the start of our Chronological Focus. We will use the rebuilding of the Knossos complex as our focal point for the detailed analyses now following, much of which consists of highly fragmentary material - noting from our two maps that so far up to 1750/1700, in neither the Pre-- nor Proto-Palatial periods has the Back Lunge motif cropped up at Aegean sites, including Knossos itself.



III. 8- 10: Key 2M sites on Crete and the Greek mainland - from Joan Aruz et al. (eds) *BEYOND BABYLON* exhibition catalogue

CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS D: KEY PERIOD LINKED TO HIGH USE OF BACK LUNGE
THE BACK LUNGE MOTIF 1700-1450 [NEO-PALATIAL/NEW PALACE]

We choose this period for our *Chronological Focus* since the Back Lunge evidence is dramatically weighted towards the Aegean world - with a preponderance of Minoan and Mycenaean material at its start, and more Levanto-Egyptian-inspired examples near its end. It focuses on the Middle Minoan and Mycenaean artefacts (mostly seals) with Back Lunge on them in the New Palace/Neo-Palatial Period. We have used only rough seriation for the items, using watershed points of Aegean chronology under the general Knossos Palace headings originally used by Evans. Their phasing, with sub-periods currently accepted in the academic world today, is well summarised below by Olga Krzyszkowska in her book, *Aegean Seals* (London 2005) - whose rarely repeated course on the subject at the University of London I was fortunate to attend.

yrs BC	CRETE	MAINLAND / ISLANDS	EGYPT
7000	NEOLITHIC		
	BRONZE AGE		
3000	EM I PRE-PALATIAL	EH I / EC I	OLD KINGDOM DYNASTIES I-VI
2500	EM II Mesara tholoi	EH II / EC II mainland corridor houses	
2200	EM III / MM IA	EH III / EC III	1 ST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD
1950	MM IB 1 st palaces built	MH / MC Minoan influence in Aegean islands	MIDDLE KINGDOM DYNASTIES XI (LATE) XII - XIII (EARLY)
	MM IIA		
	MM IIB		
1700	destructions MM III NEO-PALATIAL 2 nd palaces built	Mycenae Circle B LH I / LC I	2 ND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD (HYKSOS)
1600 / 1575	MM IIIB / LM IA earthquake	Thera: Seismic Destruction Mycenae Circle A	
1525	LM IA MATURE	Thera: Volcanic Destruction	NEW KINGDOM DYNASTY XVIII (MINOAN-STYLE FRESCOES AT DAB'A) HATSHEPSUT
1500	LM IB	LH IIA: Vaphio tholos	
1450	destructions		
1425	LM II KN SOLE PALACE	LH IIB	TUTMOSIS III
1375	LM IIIA1	LH IIIA1 1 st mainland palaces built	AMENHOTEP III
1350	LM IIIA2 KN destroyed (?)	LH IIIA2 Uluburun (Kas) shipwreck	AMARNA
1300	LM IIIB POST-PALATIAL	LH IIIB final mainland palaces built	DYNASTY XIX
1250		LH IIIB1: destructions	RAMESSES II
1200		LH IIIB2: final destructions	DYNASTY XX
	LM IIIC	LH IIIC post-palatial	RAMESSES III
1100/1050	SUB-MINOAN	SUB-MYCENAEAN	
1050/1000	EARLY IRON AGE		
			3 RD INTERMEDIATE

III. 8- 11: Chronological Table - from Krzyszkowska *AEGEAN SEALS* 2005

Since there are so many seals with the motif that have no precise provenance they have either had to be left out, or are grouped on stylistic grounds with seals of firm provenance. We usually refer only to the top item under each entry as generic of the others (though in some cases the secondary items do have their own particular interest that needs to be drawn out). I have not always accepted the dating for individual seals given in the **Corpus of Minoan and Mycenaean Seals (CMS)** now so usefully accessible on-line under the *Arachne* website administered by the DAI, nor have I stopped to agonise about possible variations in date within subsections of the main periods that takes up so many pages in Aegean studies.

Given the unavoidable looseness of the seriation of the entries, I believe it nonetheless arrives at lines of enquiry quite as significant as a tighter one might have done. Where it is possible to take into account the precise archaeological context of Back Lunge seals in relation to the *other* artefacts they were found with - including a considerable number of other seals - we will stop to itemise such constellations of artefacts in the hope of gleaning possible clues about the role of any one Back Lunge seal in relation to its owner. This must be more fruitful than simply organising a sequence of seals in a vacuum. Because of shifting date parameters and the number of items under each entry, I have not attempted to plot a distribution map as such but two general maps are reproduced from Aruz (2008) for reference (*III. 8- 2* and *III. 8- 10*) since they bring together most of the relevant sites usually scattered in many single maps in several books.

PRELUDE I: THE INVISIBLE GAP c.1700-1650

A natural watershed occurs in material finds excavated at Knossos either side of c.1700, interpreted by the experts as due - of the many Knossos endured - to a more severe than usual earthquake. From what can be surmised, up to 1700 attempts had been made to devise a form of hieroglyphic writing to run its budding bureaucracy, examples of which, as seals or sealings, were mainly found at one spot just outside the West Magazines (*III. 8- 22* NW zone) and experimentation with Linear A script was probably contemporary, possibly a 'demotic' script using a West Semitic-related alphabet or sign system. If one runs through the 730 or more seals and sealings found at Knossos listed in the **CMS II,8** volume (arranged more or less by motif, with each cluster in rough chronological order) one is struck first by the examples of geometric designs seemingly contemporary with those at Lerna and Phaestos mentioned above for the Prepalatial period, while a further grouping shows the hieroglyphic and ivory stamp seal-type designs used up to the 1700 earthquake: these we can put aside as earlier than 1700, under the Protopalatial heading. Certainly, following the hiatus between 1700 and 1650 when the temple was being rebuilt, the seals are different.

The catalogue then features the numerous examples of the next developments in seal design for the Neo-Palatial period onwards - the main corpus coming under the period of this Chronological Focus, which we will need to analyse in various groups in minute detail. As a constraint on parameters, for mainline demonstration material to present our case, we decided to keep to the single **CMS** volume on the Knossos site seal finds (**CMS II,8**) since later material found at Knossos or at other sites (which we sometimes include in side arguments) does not materially alter the overall basic picture we will now attempt to delineate from both historical, and then iconographical, angles.

Many of the earliest ‘run-of-the-mill’ sealings simply depict single goats, stags, bulls or lions, often in association with sprigs of vegetation, but coming up to 1650 there are just a handful of instances of borrowed themes such as the Master of the Beasts, or the motif of cow or goat suckling its calf. Included in this trend are the first examples of lion-bull designs on whole or fragmentary sealings - far more than appear elsewhere in the Aegean at this time - mostly in the form of the compact Back Lunge composition, given it fitted best into the round or oval format of most Minoan or early Mycenaean seals. We will need to look into the matter of adoption of themes from the **CANEA** as they seem to show Crete in just this transition period was coming into a more direct relationship with the Levant following the 1750/1700 (or 1700/1650) gap that Colin Macdonald³² saw as so vital, given Knossos not only needed to rebuild and repair the palace, but also was in a position to take the opportunity of revamping its administrative systems.

Symptoms of this show up both in the new kinds of seal design adopted - and the development of the Linear B script for an archaic form of Greek, which started to predominate over Linear A and certainly left the hieroglyphic episode behind. It is well-known that Linear B tablets at Knossos indicate communication with, then the arrival in person of, the early Mycenaeans - who finally occupied Knossos after 1450, the end date of this Chronological Focus (though some date the occupation to as late as 1325). In some cases Linear A characters have been juxtaposed with the Bull or Lion (singly or in Back Lunge mode - e.g. **BaLu-18/19**) - though because Linear B took on some of the Linear A signs they may in fact be Linear B inscriptions! Use of the Back Lunge even seems to have started to appear at Greek mainland sites (**BaLu-18**) close to the Troad - before that 1700 changeover in administration at Knossos. A handful of interesting tomb assemblages give rise to the question of whether the motif could in fact have first been first used on the mainland and even as far east as Troy (**BaLu-21**) before Crete started its uptake via the Levant through southerly connections, at a time relations between them were one of many within a Minoan thalassocratic network throughout the Cyclades, finally penetrating the entire west coast of Anatolia and its islands.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDERING

As just indicated, while commenting on the material in chronological order, we will at times stop for short Seal Group Studies to assess the incidence and placing of those Back Lunge seals found in larger assemblages - first at Knossos itself in the Temple Repository, and then elsewhere in Crete and on the Greek mainland - in the hope of extracting further background information. As Ingo Pini points out in his Introduction to **CMS II,8**, ‘Knossos ist der einzige Fundort, an dem antike Tonversiegelungen mehr oder weniger kontinuierlich aus dem Zeitraum von FMIII/MMI.A bis SMIII.A zutage kamen’. From his Aegaeum 5 paper (*fn.95*) in which he tried to pin down the dating of hieroglyphic seals vis-a-vis the Temple Repository seals, he came to the conclusion that ‘Although pottery is much better studied and therefore better known than glyptic art, there are still enough dark zones which should admonish scholars to adopt a slightly more flexible and cautious approach when determining the chronological limits for certain deposits’ (certainly recent thinking is that there must have been considerable overlap between the different systems of writing (Hieroglyphs, Linear A and Linear B), also reflected in time drags between the use of old styles and the

³² Colin F Macdonald **Knossos** {Folio Society, London} 2005

adoption of new ones that might simply depend on an old sealcutter remaining a long time in post or a new craftsman coming onto the scene using a different technique.

In seriating the Back Lunge seals into a chronological sequence I have borne such factors in mind, and have gone for an independent chronological ordering based on idiosyncracies of design or style held in common. This approach is supported by a key statement made by Ingo Pini (p.xlii of his Introduction to *CMS I,3* covering Neo-Palatial Minoan seals in the Herakleion Museum):

‘... als Voraussetzung für Stilvergleiche zunächst gleiche Motivtypen (z.B. ein Teir in einer ganz bestimmten Haltung) zusammengeordnet werden müssen, da man beispielsweise Löwendarstellungen stilistisch nur sehr begrenzt und allgemein mit solchen von Rindern vergleichen kann. Mehrere gleiche Motivtypen mit gleichen oder ähnlichen Merkmalen zur Wiedergabe. Details, wie etwa Löwenköpfe, -pranken oder -mähen, bilden eine Gruppe, deren Einzelstücke möglicherweise mehr oder weniger zeitgleich sind; denn gerade diese Charakteristika sind m.E. zeitabhängig. Äusserste Vorsicht ist bei der Gleichsetzung einer auf diese Weise gewonnenen Gruppe mit der Produktion eines Meisters oder einer Werkstatt geboten, da Bildideen, Kompositionsschemata und typische Merkmale der Detailbehandlung natürlich auch von anderen übernommen werden konnten.’

The maps for our Chronological Focus taken in conjunction with the huge increase in catalogue material provides a quick overall *Gestalt* view of the dramatic spread of the Back Lunge to Crete, the Cyclades and Mycenae from the Near East during the New Palace period, reminding us of the myth of Europa and the Bull that can just as much symbolise the spread of the *CANEA* from the Levantine coast to the Aegean, characterised at its very heart by what I understand as the astronomical lion-bull group.

Before spelling out the evidence for the art history, we should first sketch out the historical backdrop.

ASIA MINOR AND THE AEGEAN WORLD

The general picture for this Chronological Focus is that, once Assyrian traders and the Amorites in general had penetrated the Syrian region as far as south-eastern Anatolia in the first third of the Second Millennium the ground was laid for forays further westwards into the Levantine and Greek world in turn by indigenous middle-men from those regions. In this enquiry we try to pin down precise instances of the interchange between the Minoan and early Mycenaean worlds with the rest of the ancient Near East, not only through the evidence of particular artefacts (usually seals) depicting the Back Lunge but also by looking at confirmatory indicators, some not introduced until the *Iconography* section. We know that Açınehöyük and Karahöyük in the Protopalatial phase are thought in particular to have adopted Kültepe practices and then to have probably influenced sealing practices and the use of basic geometric designs both on the early Greek mainland at Lerna and in Crete at Phaistos - not simply by their involvement in taking tin, copper and silver exchange (see map, Ill. 8- 8) beyond the orbit of Assyrians interests, passing them on as ‘part of the package’ - but possibly even controlling their clients’ budding administrative practices (Lumsden *ibid.*). The same is true of direct Levantine influence through the olive oil and wine trade.

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SIMPLIFIED TABLE SHOWING THE KINGDOMS OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST IN THE FIRST TWO THIRDS OF THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

(MINOAN AND MYCENAEAN PERIODS ARE SHOWN IN SHADES OF GREEN: The last third of the 2M is shown under the Chronological Focus for Catalogue E)

Core conventional dating, essential as an anchor, is taken from Amélie Kuhrt *The Ancient Near East 3000-330* (1995), the textbook consolidating her lectures and handouts at courses on ANE history at University College, London, over two decades.

Possible - or likely - alternative chronologies against the known sequences of dates can be read off in the two right-hand columns:

Rohl & James are radical (their dates are averaged) while Haleem (very roughly) tries to reconcile conventional with radical by following a middle path.

** Rohl's two main Dynasty Anchor Start Dates given in a TEST OF TIME I: an even more radical slippage was calculated by e.g. James in CENTURIES OF DARKNESS

CONVENTIONAL DATING	ASSYRIA (Kuhrt)	Kültepe (Teissier)	TEISSIER Syro-Palestinian. Seal Period	EGYPT (Kuhrt)	LEVANT	CRETE	GREECE	Syrian Centres	Palestinian Centres	BABYLON Old Akkad (Kuhrt)	ISIN-LARSA (Kuhrt)	HALEEM DATING	ROHL/ JAMES averaged DATING
2000	2015-1939			XI Montuhotep I 2060-2010		End Of Prepalatia						1940	
	KINGS 27-32	SYRO CAP-PADOCIAN		Montuhotep II 2010-1998				OLD SYRIAN Alalakh IV	MBI		ISHBI-ERRA	1930	
1990	SULILI	SYRO CAP-PADOCIAN		XI 1997-to 1991 Montuhotep III				OLD SYRIAN Alalakh IV	MBI			1920	
1980	KIKKIYA			XII Amenemhet I					MBI		TO 1985	1910	*1790*
1970	AKKIYA	1974		1991-1962					Ruweise Tomb 57		ISIN	1900	1780
1960	PUZUR ASHUR I	Kültepe		XII 1971					MBI		ISIN	1890	1770
1950	SHALLIM-AHHE	II							MB IIA		IŠME-DAGAN	1880	1760
1940	ILU-SHUMA	Kültepe		SENOSRET I					MB IIA		IŠME-DAGAN	1870	1750
1930	1939-00 KGS33-36	II				OP AL			MB IIA		IŠME-DAGAN	1860	1740

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CONVENTIONAL DATING	ASSYRIA (Kuhrt)	Kültepe (Teissier)	TEISSIER Syro-Palestinian. Seal Period	EGYPT (Kuhrt)	LEVANT	CRETE	GREECE	Syrian Centres	Palestinian Centres	BABYLON Old Akkad (Kuhrt)	ISIN-LARSA (Kuhrt)	HALEEM DATING	ROHL/ JAMES averaged DATING
1920	ERISHUM I	Kültepe	PRECLASSICAL 1920	ends 1926					MB IIA		LIPIT IŠTAR	1850	1730
1910	SARGON I	II	PERIOD I	XII/3 1929	Tod Treasure				MB IIA		ISIN	1840	1720
1900	PUZUR ASHUR II	Kültepe	PERIOD I	AMENEMHET II	Sphinxes of Ugarit				MB IIA		ISIN	1830	1710
1890	1900	II	PERIOD I	ends 1895	Qatna, Alalakh				MB IIA	SUMUABUM 1894	BUR SIN	1820	1700
1880	37 NARAM SIN, 4Y	Kültepe	PERIOD I	XII 1897					MB IIA	SUMUABUM 1881	BUR SIN	1810	1690
1870	?	II	PRECLASSICAL PERIOD I	Senosret II 1878					MB IIA	SUMULAEI 1880	BUR SIN	1800	1675
1860	38 ERISHUM, 1Y	Kültepe	PERIOD I	XII/5 1878					MB IIA	SUMULAEI	ISIN	1790	1660
1850	1Y	II	PERIOD I	Senosret III					MB IIA	SUMULAEI	ISIN	1780	1645
1840	?	1836	PERIOD I	1841					MB IIA	SUMULAEI 1845	ISIN	1770	1630
1830	?		1830 ■	XII/6 1842	JOSEPH				MB IIA	SABIUM 1844-1831	WARAD SIN	1760	1615
1820	1814	1820	CLASSICAL A 1820 ■	AMENEMHET III	JOSEPH				MB IIA	APIL-SIN 1830-1813	LARSA	1750	1600
1810	1813	Kültepe	PERIOD IIA ■						MB IIA	SIN-MUBALLIT 1812	LARSA	1740	1590
1800	SHAMSI-ADAD I	Ib	PERIOD IIA ■	1797					MB IIA	SIN-MUBALLIT 1793	LARSA	1730	1575

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CONVEN- TIONAL DATING	ASSYRIA (Kuhrt)	Kültepe (Teissier)	TEISSIER Syro- Palestinian. Seal Period	EGYPT (Kuhrt)	LEVANT	CRETE	GREECE	Syrian Centres	Palestinian Centres	BABYLON Old Akkad (Kuhrt)	ISIN- LARSA (Kuhrt)	HALEEM DATING	ROHL/ JAMES averaged DATING
1790	SHAMSI- ADAD I	Kültepe	PERIOD IIA ○	AMENEMHET IV ENDS 1786	Gifts to King of Byblos				MB IIA	HAMMURABI 1792	LARSA	1720	1560
1780	TO 1781	Ib	PERIOD IIA ○	Q Sobekneferu ends XII1782					MB IIA	HAMMURABI TELL LEILAN	RIM SIN 1822	1710	1545
1770		Kültepe	PERIOD IIA ○	1781	Yantin- Ammu of Byblos			Zimrilim c.1775-62	MB IIA	HAMMURABI SIPPAR	RIM SIN	1700	1530
1760		Ib	PERIOD IIA ○	XIIID/XIV				Sack of Mari 1760	MB IIA	HAMMURABI	1763	1690	1515
1750		Kültepe	PERIOD IIA ◆	XIIID/XIV				c.1750/20	MB IIA	HAMMURABI 1750		1680	1500
1740		1740	1740 ◆					Alalakh VII	MB IIB			1670	1490
1730			◆	XIIID/XIV				to c.1620	MB IIB			1660	1475
1720			CLASSICAL B 1720					c.1750/20	MB IIB			1650	1460
1710			PERIOD IIB	XIIID/XIV				Alalakh VII	MB IIB			1640	1445
1700			PERIOD IIB					to c.1620	MB IIB			1630	1430
1690			PERIOD IIB	XIIID/XIV		NEOPA LATIAL		Alalakh VII	MB IIB			1620	1415
1680			PERIOD IIB			NEOPA LATIAL		to c.1620	MB IIB			1610	1450

LION AND PREY, CANEA AND CALENDAR

THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART
CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

D: THE BACK LUNGE

CONVEN- TIONAL DATING	ASSYRIA (Kuhrt)	Kültepe (Teissier)	TEISSIER Syro- Palestinian. Seal Period	EGYPT (Kuhrt)	LEVANT	CRETE	GREECE	Syrian Centres	Palestinian Centres	BABYLON Old Akkad (Kuhrt)	ISIN- LARSA (Kuhrt)	HALEEM DATING	ROHL/ JAMES averaged DATING
1670			PERIOD IIB	XIIID/XIV				Alalakh VII	MB IIB			1600	1390
1660			PERIOD IIB	XIIID/XIV				to c.1620	MB IIB			1590	1375
1650			PERIOD IIB	XIIID/XIV				Alalakh VII	MB IIB			1580	1360
1640			PERIOD IIB	1648 *ABYDOS DYNASTY				to c.1620	MB IIB	AMISADUQQA		1570	1345
1630			PERIOD IIB	Hyksos appear				Alalakh VII	MB IIB	AMISADUQQA		1560	1330
1620			1620	Hyksos DXV				c.1620	MB IIB	AMISADUQQA		1550	1315
1610				Second				Alalakh VI-V	MB IIB	AMISADUQQA		1540	1300
1600				Intermediate			MYCENAE CIRCLE B	Alalakh VI-V	MB IIB	AMISADUQQA		1530	1290
1590			POSTCLASSICA L 1600	Period				Alalakh VI-V	MB IIB			1520	1275
1580			PERIOD III	HYKSOS DXVII				Low-grade Mitanni- type	MB IIB			1510	1260
1570			PERIOD III	HYKSOS DXVII				Seals	MB IIB			1500	1245
1560			PERIOD III	HYKSOS DXVII			MYCENAE CIRCLE A	Alalakh VI-V	MB IIB	1595 MURSILIS INVADES BABYLONIA AND ENDS THE DYNASTY		1490	1230

LION AND PREY, CANEA AND CALENDAR

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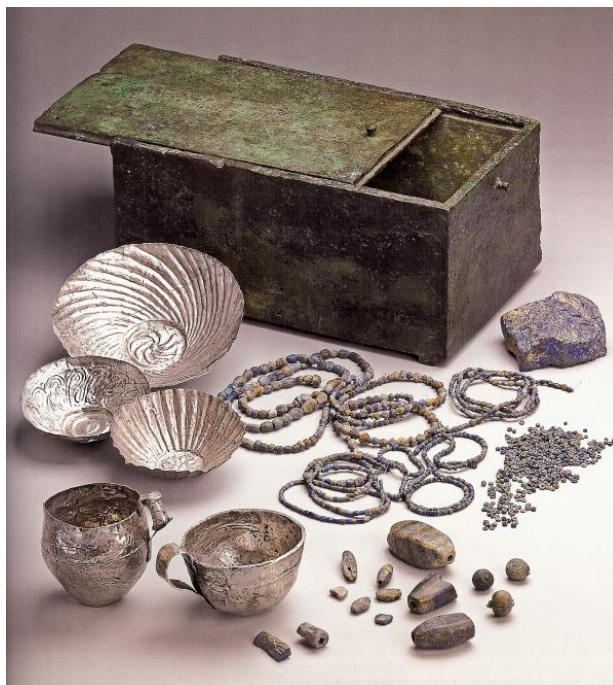
D: THE BACK LUNGE

CONVEN- TIONAL DATING	ASSYRIA (Kuhrt)	Kultepe (Teissier)	TEISSIER Syro- Palestinian. Seal Period	EGYPT (Kuhrt)	LEVANT	CRETE	GREECE	Syrian Centres	Palestinian Centres	BABYLON Old Akkad (Kuhrt)	ISIN- LARSA (Kuhrt)	HALEEM DATING	ROHL/ JAMES averaged DATING
1550			1550					Alalakh VI-V	MB IIB			1480	1215
1540				c.1540 AHMOSE		NEOPALATIAL		Low-grade Mitanni- type		KASSITES		1470	1200
1530				EVICTS the HYKSOS				Seals		KASSITES		1460	*1190*
1520				c.1540 AHMOSE				Alalakh V		RULE FOR		1450	1180
1510				EVICTS the HYKSOS				Alalakh V		NEXT 400 YRS		1440	1170
1500												1430	1160
1490										KASSITES		1420	1150
1480										RULE FOR		1410	1140
1470				HATSHEPSUT						NEXT 400 YRS		1450	1130
1460				HATSHEPSUT			VAPHEIO THOLOS			KASSITES		1390	1120
1450 - onward s				Tuthmoses III						RULE FOR NEXT 400 YRS		1380 onwards	1110 onwards

III. 8- 12: Table for this Catalogue's Chronological Focus [NEO-PALATIAL 1700-1450], including the preceding PREPALATIAL PHASE

For the Second Millennium especially, as already discussed in the previous catalogue, the chronology problems that arise from attempts to cross-calibrate dating between sites and civilisations are difficult to reconcile: even Aruz (*ibid.*) says she jumps between different dating conventions according to the material evidence handled as organised at individual excavations under firmly sequenced seriation subsets. By focusing on the key site of Knossos, I trust a sufficiently accurate overall picture will emerge from the reconciliation of our catalogue entries with our chronological table above to underpin the specifics of stages of comparatively early cross-cultural exchange *predating* the International Style - harder to pin down but enough to reveal not only the growth of a subtle internationalism but also increasing Minoan self-determination showing up in what Kopke³³ called ‘independent amalgamation or invention’ - to the extent that by the *last* third of the millennium (covered under *Catalogue E*) the harvest was reaped in a shared two-way ‘International Style’ throughout the Mediterranean’s coastal zones and immediate hinterland.

Looking at the Chronological Table above, already used for *Catalogue C* without the green-coloured columns for Crete and Mycenaean Greece, one useful dating anchor for cross-dating is the cartouche on the casket containing the Tod Treasure³⁴ from the reign of Amenemhet II of Egypt’s XIID (next illustration). Annie Caubet recently pointed out³⁵ that since its excavation by Bisson de la Roque, archeometric examination of the silver divides it into two groups: the metal of the fluted silver cups derives from the Ergani deposits of the Upper Euphrates in Syria, whilst the ingots and rings ‘are compatible with ore originating from Thasos or the Troad’. The varied lapis lazuli cylinder seals, amulets and raw pieces in the



Ill. 8- 13: Selection of silver and lapis lazuli from the Tod Treasure exhibited at the BEYOND BABYLON exhibition - MetMusCat-35

³³ **Aegaeum 5** - Weingarten post-paper debate p.118)

³⁴ See J Vandier ‘A Propos d’un Dépôt Asiatique Trouvé à Tod’ **Syria XVIII** 1937 174-82

³⁵ ‘The International Style: A Point of View from the Levant and Syria’ in **Aegaeum 18: The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium** (Proceedings of the Cincinnati Conference) Liège 1998

hoard, comprehensively analysed by Porada³⁶, range from Jemdet Nasr Elamite and Early Dynastic origins in Sumer, Susa, Bactria (Afghanistan) - and Syria (the latter probably specifically from Mari and Ebla), with the latest cylinder seal in the cache dating to the Isin-Larsa period. This aligns the point of assembly of the material - whether as tribute or booty - to a location in the Levant during the reign of Amenemhet II, though Porada thinks the Bactrian material might have been independently sent by the sea route from the Persian Gulf and up the Wadi Hammamet to Luxor, and that the material could have all been mixed together in its four caskets marked with Amenemhet's cartouche in Egypt itself, to be used as a foundation deposit for the small temple to Montu. Caubet further observed that it was not only prestige materials such as those in the Tod Treasure that were desired as booty or gifts between kingdoms, but that craft techniques spread in tandem with trade and gift exchange such that items could be copied by local craftsmen. Indeed, during this period itinerant craftsmen also travelled at their own behest or on request from a host country - or were loaned by royal patrons to each other. During the period of this Chronological Focus, direction of influence in the case of the minor arts seems to mostly have been from East to West (and also South to North in the case of Egyptian influence on design). However, the closer we come to the existence of a full-blown International Style as charted in *Catalogue E*, direction of travel went the other way with Syrians and Minoans bringing specialist craftsmanship to Egypt - as in the case of the funerary goods of Tutankhamun (*BaLu-32*) or the wall paintings of the Eastern Mediterranean (*Ill. 8- 86*) painted in the proper wet fresco technique that permanently bonds pigments into the plaster as it dries³⁷).

It has taken several conferences over the decades³⁸ - inspired by pioneering publications³⁹ - to hammer out a multivalent definition of what constitutes the International Style and to realise that from the early conditions of initial simplicity, analysed in the present Chronological Focus, ever more complex phases of development followed. This is why we separated into roughly three separate thirds the 2M Chronological Foci followed in our *Catalogues C, D and-E*. In *Catalogue C's Chronological Focus* we concentrated on the use of the *Rear Attack* in the first half of the 2M, noting its proliferation in North Syria and S-E Anatolia (with no examples from the Aegean at this time), while in *Catalogue E* we map the predominance of the *Forward Attack* in the last third of the 2M under the influence of the full-blown International Style throughout the Mediterranean. *The present Chronological Focus* takes roughly the middle third of the millennium, overlapping slightly, to home in specifically on the uptake of the Back Lunge in the Aegean region following on from its development in Syria and Anatolia. In the same way that we took Persepolis as the core monument around which to study the *Uruk Stance* in *Catalogue B*, I take as core reference site for the *Back Lunge* the New Palace at Knossos: basing our material around that focal point helps simplify our tracking of when the adoption of the CANEA - and with it, the Back Lunge - took place on Crete.

³⁶ 'Some Remarks on the Tod Treasure in Egypt' in M Dandamaev et al (eds) *Societies and Languages of the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of I M Diakonoff* 1982

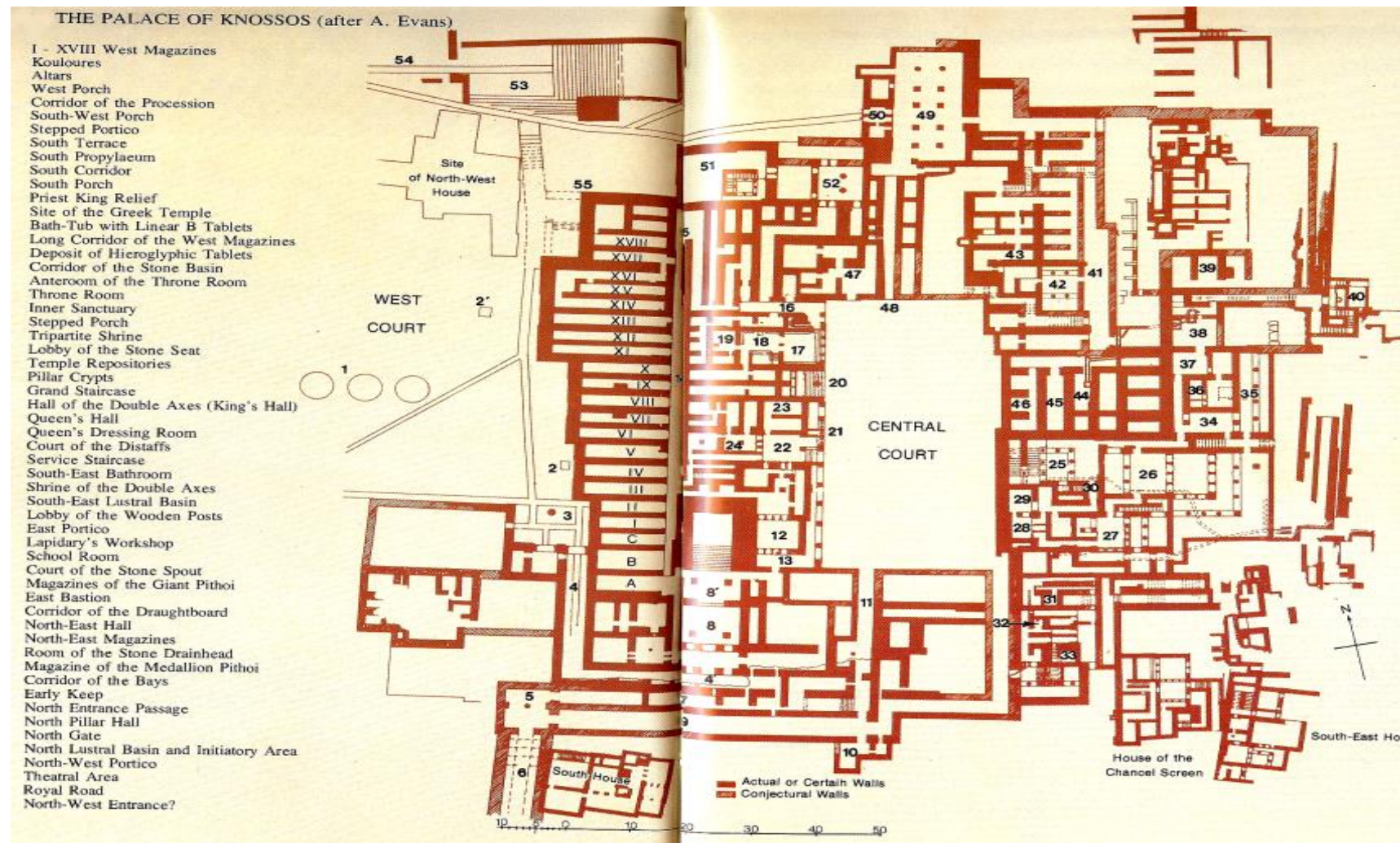
³⁷ W-D and B Niemeyer 'Minoan Frescoes in the Eastern Mediterranean' *Aegaeum* 18 1998, 69-100

³⁸ Notably those staged by the University of Liège at different host universities, the papers published as the *Aegaeum* series: the pioneering conference on dating before that was held at Gothenberg University, Sweden, Paul Åström (ed.) *High, Middle or Low?* 1987

³⁹ The two pioneering works being Helene J Kantor *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium BC* 1947 and William Stevenson-Smith *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* 1965

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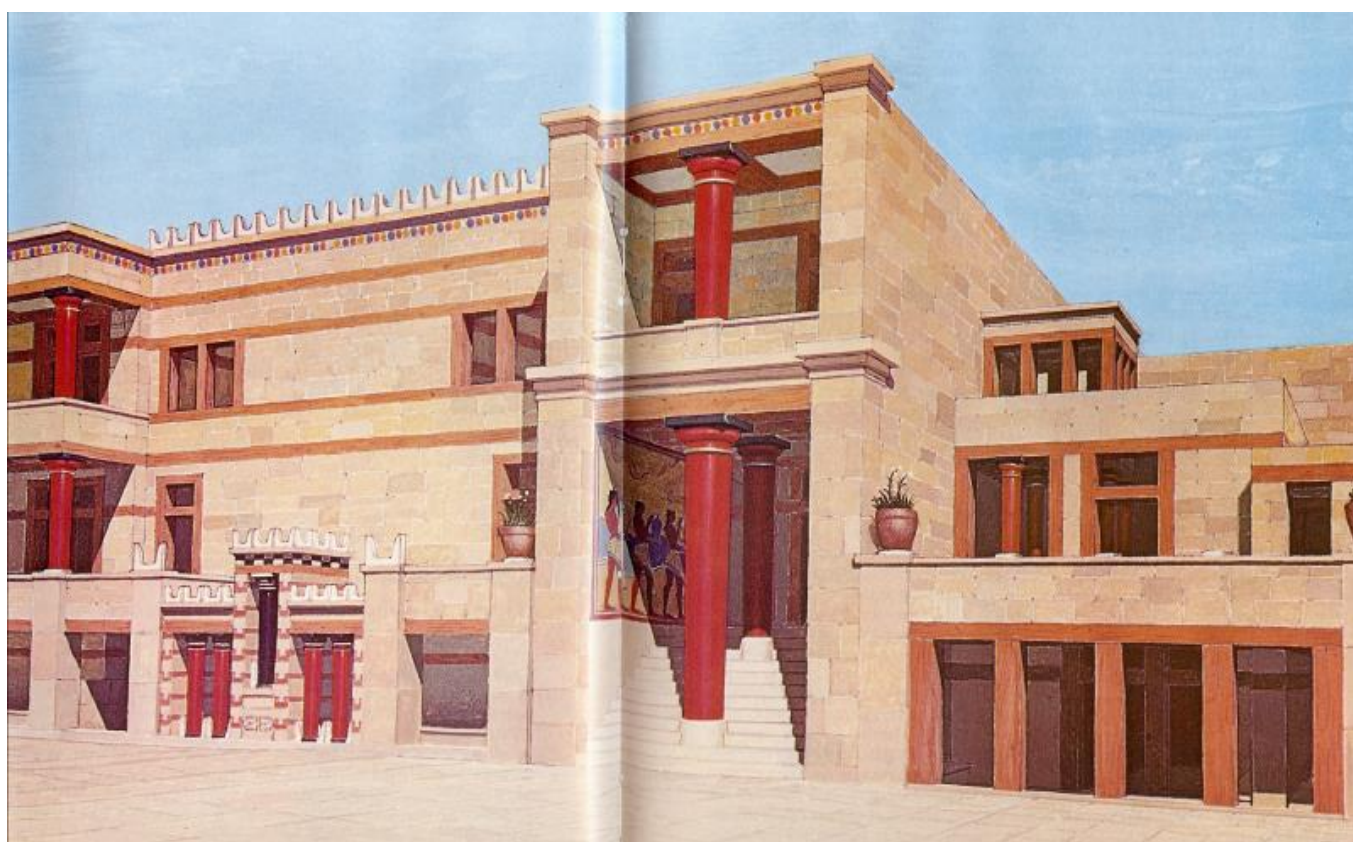
D: THE BACK LUNGE



III. 8- 14: General ground Plan of the Palace complex as given in Michailidou's *Complete Guide to the Palace of Knossos*, for the general visiting tourist: the rooms on the west side of the Central Court are of most relevance to our enquiry

PRELUDE II: THE NEW PALACE OF KNOSSOS

Given that excavation at Knossos began over a century ago⁴⁰, with endless publications and spot excavation unceasing thereafter, we use as a useful synthesis of all archaeological discovery at the site the short book already referred to above by its last excavation director Colin Macdonald (like his predecessors based at the British School at Athens), since it provides a reliably succinct and up-to-date overview of the archaeology of the palace. For the purposes of this Chronological Focus, bearing in mind levels of the old foundations remain *in situ* under the New Palace from the period before, we go straight to the closer detail of the definitive architecture of the New Palace that can be picked up by any visitor to the site today, leaving fuller accounts of its early history (and later phases) to readers to fill in for themselves if they wish.



Ill. 8- 15: Reconstruction of the East facade of the West Wing facing onto the Central Courtyard (from Michailidou ibid.) showing the staircase to an upper floor separating the triple shrine on its left - the central shrine has a single column - from the opened doorways of the Throne Room complex on the right. Just beyond the triple shrine on the left, note the entrance to a small downward staircase, explored in the Iconography section, operational in Knossos' astronomical alignment.

Macdonald puts forward the idea that after the severe earthquake of c.1750, early attempts were made by that generation to revive the ruined palace, but that it was the *succeeding* generation from 1700 onwards that took the layout and plan of the complex in hand to drastically replan and extend the building, making many of the key changes most obviously remaining today visible to anyone going over the site: some rooms were subdivided or interconnected into new movement flows, to a large extent building on top of parts of the old palace that did not need replacing. There are entrances on nearly every side or corner of the

⁴⁰ Arthur Evans *The Palace of Minos* (3 vols) 1921-36

building, each with a different function: of special interest to us are the inner facades of the West Wing looking onto the Central Courtyard which were more strongly articulated, in the rebuild encroaching on to it by a few further feet and making the open space narrower than it used to be. A reconstruction of the facade looking onto that central open space (roughly divisible into three blocks) is illustrated above: the rooms behind are of special interest to us in both the art history and iconography commentaries.

To gain a thumbnail overview of the different activity zones of the palace, Anna Michailidou's *Complete Guide to the Palace of Minos* (1993) takes the visitor round the site in an intelligible general tour of its main areas. Her general plan, good enough for first-stage familiarisation, is reproduced above, and I leave the reader to peruse it in preparation for zooming in on further detail from more academic works. I will concentrate on areas of the palace germane to the Back Lunge, keeping in mind Macdonald's conclusion that 'there is no part of the palace that is not connected in some way with the rituals enacted there').

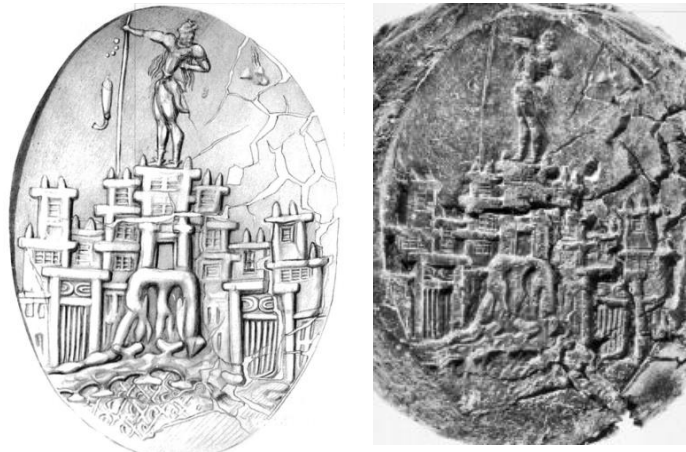
POSITIONING AND IMPLICATIONS OF BACK LUNGE SEALINGS ON THE KNOSSOS SITE

In the course of this enquiry, after a painstaking sort of minute pieces of information (mostly sealings - complete or fragmentary), we will pinpoint the find-spots of Back Lunge sealings in key rooms and passages throughout the Palace site, especially in those room complexes on the west side considered to be central to cultic activity, connected at ground level with the arena of the Central Court, open to the sky.

As Macdonald so rightly says, Knossos as rebuilt roughly 1700-1600 was 'the most ambitious monument to be constructed in the Aegean region until the Periclean building programme on the Acropolis of Athens which culminated in the Parthenon of the mid- to late 5CBC'. This happened in a period when 'a king or priest-king may have resided within the palace' (in later times it is thought the royal family moved out to one of the grand houses just outside the main palace). Indeed, it is useful to remember the myth of Theseus and Ariadne that can be interpreted as the ancient memory of that traditionally strong connection between Athens and Knossos, due in part to Athens' strong position to supply silver and lead from the nearby Laurion mines. The Athens Acropolis is the only mainland building complex with uninterrupted continuity from its Mycenaean beginnings right through to Classical times - possibly of significance for the persistence of the lion-prey theme in so much of Athens' Archaic sculpture (see *Catalogues E* and *F*). Charles Herberger⁴¹ summarises the myth marking that close link thus: 'Androgeous, son of the Goddess and King Minos ... was slain by the Athenians and as retribution Minos extracted from them a tribute of seven young men and seven maidens *every eight years* to be victims of the Minotaur in the Cretan Labyrinth'. The mention of the eight-year period should be kept in mind for our ultimately astronomical interpretation of Minoan iconography at the end.

The new palace structurally was of considerable sophistication, with spaces running into each other through a series of flexible partitions between columns (known as the *polythyron* system) that could be opened or closed according to the season (including along the inside of the Courtyard where the Ceremonial complex of rooms including the Throne Room could be opened out to the Court, or closed off for private rites, as

⁴¹ The Thread of Ariadne: The Labyrinth of the Calendar of Minos 1972



Ill. 8- 16: A recently-discovered dramatic Minoan sealing found at Khania (CMSV S1-142) depicting the Nude Hero at the top of a Knossos-style architectural complex (note the bull-head and possible bull-foreleg in the sky for later reference)

required). In some parts the palace appears to have risen three floors high on the West side, with the floors on the East Wing cleverly inserted onto lower terraces dug into the east side of the mound itself so that the overall height was kept low on that side in order not to block the rays of the rising sun in the morning as they hit the inner facade of the West Wing. The sealing from a signet ring from Khania of LM1 date (CMS V-S1A-142) above (famously known as ‘the master impression’) perfectly expresses the almost modular nature of Minoan architecture, whose spaces could be extended horizontally and vertically like a house of cards in a perfect blend of monumentality and free-moving interconnected spaces.



Ill. 8- 17: Khyan lid found in the NW corner of the Central Courtyard

Other than further repairs at Knossos after a further earthquake c.1600, in the next two centuries of the New Palace’s existence, Macdonald points out, further works seem to have concentrated more on the pictorial adornment of the walls with frescoes, a trend taken up at Akrotiri on Thera up to the volcanic cataclysm around 1525 (a cycle of destructive natural events seemed to occur roughly every century). One of the most useful dating anchors - found in the destruction levels of the ‘lustral basin’ near the NW corner of the Central Court at Knossos - is the alabaster lid of an ointment jar carved with the cartouche of the Hyksos ruler Khyan - taken by K A Kitchen to have been Pharaoh c. 1600 - and evidently the remains of an unctuous gift from Egypt to Knossos in the last decades of the 17C just preceding the 1600 earthquake. It can be read as contemporary with the Palace tidy-up that took place after it in the Central Palace Sanctuary area of seemingly obsolete cult material from the preceding period (see *Seal Group Study 1*).

SETTING THE SCENE FOR THE ART HISTORY OF BACK LUNGE SEALINGS

In attempting to make sense of Back Lunge items in the catalogue in chronological order (from Knossos *and* from other sites) we will present them with two key themes in mind:

- ◇ We must look at their imagery in terms of new developments in the Knossos design repertoire, dating roughly between 1700 and 1450 from all over the site - as listed only in **CMS II,8** - to note how they reveal a step change at this time in the absorption of more direct Oriental (i.e. Mesopotamian) - rather than solely Anatolian - influences (Syrian influence combined the two).
- ◇ Since its archaeological context serves as a perfect dating capsule for material from the very start of our Chronological Focus (c.1700-1600) we need to stop for some time to gain insight into this vital watershed phase by looking at all sealings contained in one hoard - the 'cult rubbish' packed into a pit that dates to the decades *up* to the 1600 earthquake, 'tidied away' when the New Palace was rearranged and its administration streamlined to an updated approach - probably part of the stronger Oriental influences infiltrating Knossos. In this mass of material we finally locate one - only lately rediscovered - Back Lunge sealing - seemingly signalling the arrival of the subject at Knossos and serving as a benchmark for its more profuse appearance in the decades thereafter.

We execute these two 'trawls' using illustrated tables, as and when relevant within the art historical sequence.

CRETE ENGAGES WITH THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Joan Aruz in her PhD thesis - later publicly shared as a Festschrift paper⁴² and two decades later expanded into **CMS Beiheft 7** (already referred to in fn.28) - started to assess from the evidence of seals from the Proto-Palatial Period onwards precise instances of contact between the Aegean world, Anatolia and the Levant - and on what basis their interaction might have been underpinned. As described under the Pre-Palatial Period section, the earliest years of Aegean administrations indicate the first links had primarily been direct with Anatolia itself - with no appearance of the Back Lunge - and mainly using geometric designs stamped direct onto pots in what was likely to have been a primarily non-literate exchange system. Now in her role of Curator at the Metropolitan Museum New York, given her first-hand access to 2M artefacts in museum collections all over the world, in timely fashion in this **Chronological Focus** we have been able to draw extensively upon the impressive visual documentation assembled by Aruz and her colleagues much of it rephotographed in high definition for that museum's recent exhibition and its related catalogue⁴³ precisely covering the remit of the Chronological Foci of this Catalogue - and **Catalogues C** and **E** - enabling us to evoke a more accurate panorama of the East Mediterranean region than ever before - against which the emergence of the specific Back Lunge material in this catalogue can also be chronicled ever more clearly. Resting on the foundations set down in her 2008 **CMS Beiheft 7**, in the catalogue Aruz'

⁴² 'Crete and Anatolia in the Middle Bronze Age: Sealings from Phaistos and Karahöyük' in Mellink et al. (eds) *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and its Neighbors: Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç Anakara 1993*, pp.35-54

⁴³ See the Metropolitan Museum of Art catalogue for the exhibition, held 2008-09, curated by Aruz et al entitled **BEYOND BABYLON: Art, Trade and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium BC 2008**, three of whose maps we have already used above. The 2013 paperback version changed its title to **Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.**

insights benefit further from collaboration with specialists in related fields other than seals. The artefacts brought together for the Met exhibition from sites and museums all over the world provided my own enquiry with concrete case histories on the specific meshing in the New Palace period of Knossos into orbits connecting Crete direct with the Eastern Mediterranean, with way-stations across the Cyclades, the significance of such Oriental influences in general held over for the *Iconography* section.

Where in our catalogue the Back Lunge group or its separate constituents - such as single standing lions/bulls or separate heads - appear, they may (as argued by Lumsden in the case of the examples given under **BaLu-15**) not only refer in some way to the owner's rank or activity in an administrative or cultic capacity, but often in the first place to the divine powers that underpin their authority, as hopefully already demonstrated in the contract-making seal designs of *Catalogue C* - or the sculptures of Persepolis in *Catalogue B*. This certainly appears to have been the case (**BaLu-14**) for non-Cretan seals showing an obvious early phase of the syncretic juggling of Syro-Mesopotamian motifs with equivalents from Egypt. It follows that the increasingly common appearance in both Crete and Mycenae of the Back Lunge (and to some extent other lion-prey compositional types) on seals of the middle third of the 2M is part of the evidence pointing towards a newly operative hierarchy bringing in changes to administrative systems, cult behaviour and related paraphernalia. For the Neo-Palatial period covered in this Chronological Focus, if the indications that have arisen already from our earlier *Catalogues A-C* are anything to go by, we would expect the adoption of Back Lunge imagery to be an indicator of court administration and/or religious roles held by their owner, here in specifically Aegean mode. Judith Weingarten described changes in Minoan sealing practice as 'upheavals'⁴⁴ that came about due to 'the introduction to Crete... of the full panoply of Near Eastern sealing practices'. By the end of the chapter we shall be able to become quite specific about what a Back Lunge group on a person must indicate about the nature of their belief system - and status. Finally we can make a start on our commentary following the chronological order of our catalogue items. Interestingly **BaLu-16** features a bull-leaping seal - not from Crete, but from Syria: it turns out that each cluster of Back Lunge seals up to **BaLu-27** can be related to a significant imported cylinder seal from Syria.

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL: BALU-16/17

The main item featured under **BaLu-16** - from Level VII of Alalakh in Syria - although fragmentary, has two surprising - and significant - elements if its dating is correct as catalogued by Dominique Collon: certainly it has a firm archaeological provenance from a particular level of stratigraphy⁴⁵. Enough of it has survived to pick out the depiction of a bull-leaping scene with two jumpers, juxtaposed against what remains of a typical Syro-Mesopotamian presentation scene - and is our main item for this entry due to the Back Lunge group above it. Probably one helps to explain the other - one reason why we will go on to give all instances of lion-prey and bull-leaping groups found on the Knossos site. We had the idea for **BaLu-14** that the seals under that entry seem to speak of someone with a dual cultural background - and the same may be true of this juxtaposition from Alalakh.

⁴⁴ 'Three Upheavals in Minoan Sealing Administration: Evidence for Radical Change' *Aegaeum* 5 Liège 1990 105-114

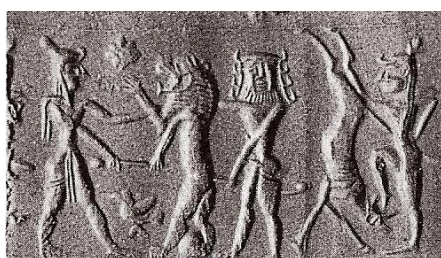
⁴⁵ The Seal Impressions of Tell Atchana/Alalakh (AtchCat) Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975

As the actual sealing could not be obtained for their 2008 exhibition from its holding museum in Syria by the Metropolitan Museum (due to civil war conditions) they exhibited their own seal (below left) on loan to their Collection by the Erlenmeyers which, though unprovenanced, seems closely related. It, too, is a Syrian seal with a fuller, undamaged grouping of the same picture elements. Bull and lion are again brought over the bull-leaping scene, but not in attack mode, with Sun inside Moon crescent to one side as a determinative indicating astronomical connotations. The Goddess' presence is suggested by her flower between the worshipper and God Ba'al with his two weapons - as well as by the Ankh held by the suppliant. Astonishing further confirmation that bull-leaping imagery could well have started *outside* Crete is seen in the next Metropolitan catalogue item in the same exhibition, where a small bull-leaping frieze (two bull-leapers somersault, one backwards and one forwards, over the Bull's back) decorates the neck of a crude early Hittite vase of similar, Proto-Palatial date (below right), conveying strong echoes of the great wild bull hunt scene of 6M Çatal Hüyük in central Anatolia, not so far from Hüseyindede - itself in the same region as the Hittite capital, Boghazhköy.



Ill. 8- 18: Bull-Leaping scene (left) on a seal from the Erlenmeyer Collection (MetMusCat-72) and (right) detail of relief on Hittite vase from Hüseyindede (Central Anatolia) with bull-leaping decoration on the neck (MetMusCat-73) - both c.1700 BC

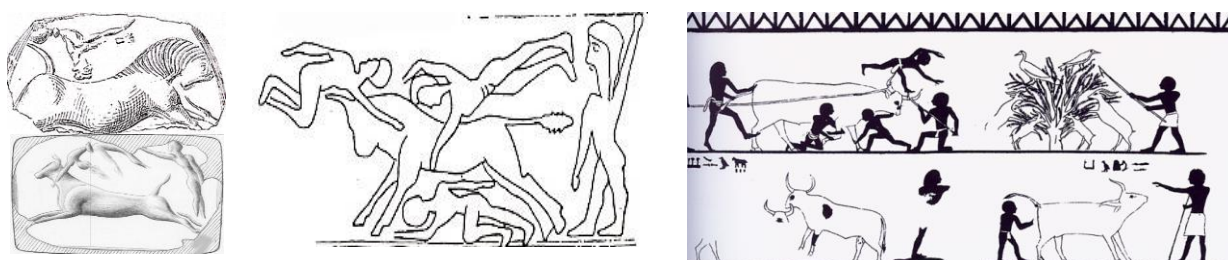
Henri Seyrig in *Syria*⁴⁶ had already been struck by the incidence on early 2M Syrian seals he bought in Aleppo - mostly without provenance - of bull-taming scenes - which seemed to point to a real-life development out of the well-known imagery from Mesopotamia of the nude hero grappling with either lions or bulls (the seal below left still has clear Old Babylonian and Akkadian traits). On several he noted the distinctive athletic appearance of lion- or bull-tamer with long tresses hanging over the back combined with top-knot and slim waist (as below left but see also *Ill. 8- 175* right) characteristic of Minoan bull-leapers later (note also the Goddess' flower and dove between the first pair on this seal). On another seal (below right) a bull-tamer on the lower register is gored by the bull. Another surprising aspect - given the



Ill. 8- 19: Bull-taming scenes on unprovenanced 19C Syrian seals - Seyrig (ibid.) figs 5 and 2

⁴⁶ 'Cylindre Représentant une Tauromachie' *Syria* XXXIII 1956 169-74

earlier-than-expected date of both items under **BaLu 16** (and the Erlenmeyer seal) - is the depiction of animals in flying leap mode so early in the 2M, matched by the even more outstretched stance of the animals on the roughly contemporary Shaft Grave Mycenaean box of **BaLu-17**. This confounds assumptions that the flying leap began in the International Style of last third of the 2M. Mellink⁴⁷ in a book review emphasizes the amount of Mycenaean pottery amongst the Alalakh finds referred to by Woolley's publication on Alalakh - albeit much from a later period. Though there is controversy about the dating of the Alalakh levels (especially seal-rich Level VII, probably destroyed by the Hittites and equated by Mellink to MMIII in Crete) the evidence of the two seals given under **BaLu-16** do point to the earliest appearance of this stylistic element (as well as the bull-leaping cult) as Levantine in origin, since even if Alalakh VII does not date as far back as the first third of the 2M, it is certainly likely to have been at least contemporary with the Old Babylonian period (Mellink *ibid.*). I have accordingly adjusted it on our Chronological Table, bearing in mind also the Alalakh palace is judged a provincial version of the grander contemporary palaces at Byblos, Ugarit and Mari. Under the **Iconography** section we look further into the manifold obvious (and not so obvious) Syrian elements taken up in Minoan culture at this time.



III. 8- 20: Bull leaper sealings from Knossos Grand Staircase (top left) and Temple Repository (bottom left); (centre) detail of seal described in full in Catalogue A as Belland-8): c.f. (right) with MK Tomb of Bakht, Beni Hasan c. 1900 Feldman *ibid.* fig. 58

The appearance of bull-leaping scenes on roughly contemporary seals from the Palace of Knossos (the one above left described by Sir Arthur Evans as from 'the Corridor of Bays' but now placed on the Landing of the Grand Staircase - as also the one from the Temple Repository underneath⁴⁸ - underlines how, at this early date when figurative motifs are only just starting to be used at Knossos, the likely *stylistic* inspiration for their stance could well derive from contemporary Syrian exemplars like those of **BaLu-16** - or the drawing Seyrig *ibid.* gives (his fig. 7, above middle) of a further unprovenanced Syrian seal from Aleppo with a bull-leaping scene involving four figures and showing the bull stance with the same outspread legs.

We are reminded by Mellink (*ibid.*) regarding his choice of the Alalakh site that 'Sir Leonard Woolley was attracted to the Amuq region by his interest in the oriental connections of the Aegean world. He rightly suspected that Minoan eastward traffic would have aimed at the ports of North Syria, whose leading inland cities [w]ould contain clues to a proper understanding of the development of Cretan civilisation'. As she put it, 'The plain of Antioch and the Amuq is a region of importance to archaeologists... Trade routes from the Northern Euphrates valley here approach the fertile hinterland of northeast Mediterranean ports where traffic from Cyprus and the Aegean meets [its] northernmost extension ... along the Syrian coast'. Being

⁴⁷ Machteld Mellink, Review of L Woolley's *Alalakh: An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay 1937-49* in *AJA* 61 1957, 395-8 (there has, of course, been much subsequent discussion since by the next generation of scholars).

⁴⁸ Both are logged on our bull-leaping seals table and marked on the Find Spot Map.

that part of Syria in the ‘armpit’ of Anatolia, it was the theatre for cross-currents between north/north-west Syria and the Anatolian hinterland. We note from Edith Porada’s early commentary on all the Alalakh seals - included in Mellink’s review - that many of them depicted items from the Syro-Mesopotamian **CANEA** that were *not* adopted by the Minoans: typical Sumerian drinking scenes with the use of long straws, and others with the lion-headed eagle between two horned animals so popular back at Lagash.

The closer links between Crete and this corner of Syria typified in the **BaLu-16/17** entries are neatly explained by Branigan⁴⁹ in an overall picture of Crete’s developing international relations whereby in the New Palace era Minoans started to trade their own goods (such as wool, pottery and honey) or offer prestigious diplomatic gifts further afield - in exchange for the raw materials they needed, since it is in this period that we know indigenous workshops were set up at key palace sites such as Aghia Triadha, Phaestos and Knossos itself. This at first happened on a modest scale using their own Minoan ships as transport, and seems partly to have been free-lance yet increasingly palace-controlled (exactly the situation as developed around the same time at Kültepe). Crete’s most obvious outreach was with Attica (Athens or Mycenae) for the lead and silver at Laurion; the three Cycladic islands of Kea, Melos and Thera - and then Syria for more direct access to tin and copper (**III. 8- 8**), . This takes us to our next catalogue item.

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT'D: BALU-18

The hefty scarab of **BaLu-18** (and the other pieces I have grouped with it) have an affinity with that family of chunky Luristani protohistoric stamp seals listed under **BaLu-1-4**, whose tradition seems to have endured across Asia Minor. The use of lapis lazuli for the main item, though not of the best quality, points to Middle Eastern/Asiatic connections reaching that part of the Greek mainland most accessible to it - Euboea. Later it was the Babylonian Kassites, in power from c.1540, who opened up the lapis lazuli routes and gifted a hoard of second-hand lapis lazuli seals⁵⁰ and raw offcuts to the ruler of Thebes - not so far away from Lefkandi, much of it - as in the case of the Tod Treasure mentioned earlier - of inferior quality with green flecks exactly like that of the **BaLu-18** seal. We have, however, under this entry compared it to a more or less contemporary bracelet with a similar quality lapis lazuli centre scarab from Qatna, showing that this low-grade lapis lazuli was around in the Levant too, and equally possibly an indirect point of supply.

It raises the question that some early scholars saw the take-up of the lion-bull group as happening first on the Greek mainland *before* reaching Crete: the mainland examples under **BaLu-17** and **BaLu-18** cannot be pinned down precisely enough to confirm this conjecture may well be the other way round, as we have just argued. If not direct from the Eastern Mediterranean at this time, clearly mainland Greece absorbed oriental influences in tempered Anatolian form which could indirectly have reached Crete -the same is true of Egyptian contact, explored in more detail later. As Ingo Pini puts it (*ibid.* p.xliv), ‘Entweder muss direkter Import aus mykenischen Werkstätten angenommen werden oder eine mehr generelle Beeinflussung minoischer Graveure durch die Entwicklung auf dem Festland’.

⁴⁹ K Branigan ‘Minoan Foreign Relations in Transition’ *Aegaeum* 3 1989 65-69

⁵⁰ Edith Porada *The Cylinder Seals found at Thebes in Boeotia* (Archiv für Orientforschung Vol. XXVIII) 1981/2

FIRST APPEARANCES OF THE BACK LUNGE AT KNOSSOS - AND ONE MORE HORS CATALOGUE

Not to lose sight of the key thread pursued in our enquiry (Back Lunge items connected to Knossos only) note that last two items listed under **BaLu-18f** are sealing fragments from Knossos Palace. Although the second example did not have a firm placing, the first (CMS II,8-346) was found on the landing of the Grand Staircase which runs down past the Queen's Quarters on the East Wing of Knossos Palace. Mirroring the staircase in the middle of the inner West wing (Ill. 8- 15) where, as we will show from our later table of Lion and Prey seal frequency (Ill. 8- 69) and Find Spot Map (Ill. 8- 70) further lion-prey sealings were found, its entrance was thus on the opposite side of the Central Courtyard. The style of both seals is again characterized by simple drill holes for joints and eyes - often dubbed the 'spectacle-eye' style, often used on mainland seals too (**BaLu-19/20/21**). Its idiosyncracies could well be explained by indigenous seal-



Ill. 8- 21: Imported double register haematite cylinder seal (shown both ways round) found just east of Knossos at Astraki/Astritsi (CMS II,3-199 and Aruz CMS Beiheft 7 fig.417).)

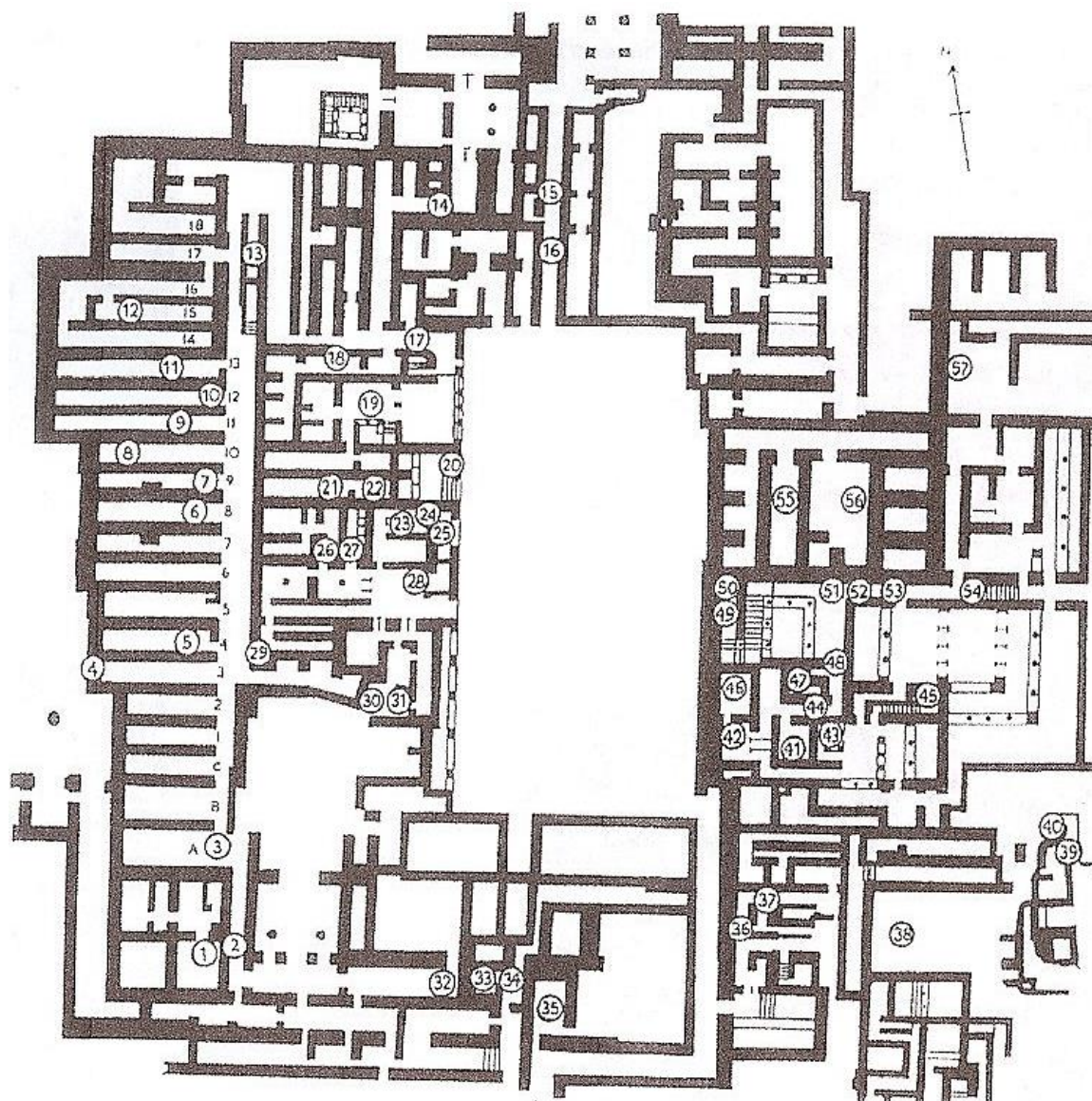
cutters imitating imported cylinder seals - or even work by visiting Levantine craftsmen: the haematite example above (Cypriote or Syro-Anatolian in character found at Astritsi near Knossos) uses just such a drilling method (again for the male hairstyles too). Note also the the hand in the sky and the simple cart-type chariot, one pulled by a winged griffin (top right).

The two Back Lunge sealings of **BaLu-18f** might at first seem to be the earliest to make such an appearance on the Knossos site. *But* we discovered they are preceded in date by one more example - not in our catalogue as such since it is a discussion piece of high significance dating to that hiatus between 1700-1650 characterised in Prelude I above, thus preceding **BaLu-18/19/20/21**. Tracking it down was unexpected - akin to sieving archaeological back-fill it emerged out of the systematic trawl of a particular hoard of buried material at Knossos, a process we must stop to describe in the next fifteen or so pages. It is lengthy, because systematic - but with so little evidence to go on it was important to use it to establish the pivotal role of that gap period in Knossos' development leading up to the **BaLu** catalogue items dating after 1650.

KNOSSOS CENTRAL PALACE SANCTUARY

It was at this early stage in our sorting of Back Lunge items from Knossos that we felt we could find out more about the possible significance of all Back Lunge sealings found on the site if we looked into the large group of sealings buried with other ritual objects in the Temple Repositories at Knossos (23 on the map above - Ill. 8- 14 or Ill. 8- 22), thrown away when the New Palace was rebuilt around 1650, meaning its contents must date from at least a generation before. Certainly *Colin Macdonald believes the Temple Repositories consisted of items deliberately taken out of use after the 1600 earthquake, thus containing*

artefacts from the entire period before (c.1750-1600) - I myself have narrowed it down to 1700-1650. The group of seals found in it will form our first contextual *Seal Group Study*, given that, chronologically, the Temple Repository seals must precede any Back Lunge entries that come into the frame later, including the two under **BaLu-18f** just described.



III. 8- 22: Temple Sanctuary seal find spots - from M A Gill's Seal Find Spots map in CMS II,8
 17 Corridor of the Stone Basin 20 Stepped Portico 23 TEMPLE REPOSITORIES
 24-25 Central Shrine and Chamber to west 26 Room of the Niche 27 Room of the Stone Vase

To pre-empt the conclusion, the extraordinary result of the exercise we undertake below - entailing a trawl of the literature on the Temple Repository and its sealings - is that we were able to pinpoint a sealing, drawn by Evans in a recently discovered field notebook but not convincingly matched to a existing sealing - as gaining the status of the earliest Back Lunge impression from Knossos. Attempts by the experts to link it to a rather rough, fragmentary sealing from the Temple Repository, if correct, means we can pin down the *only* Back Lunge item in the hoard, that not only from its context but also its crude style, must be

earlier than the **BaLu-18f** Knossos items just looked at. This means it is the earliest surviving evidence at Knossos in particular (possibly also in Crete overall) of the period when elements of the Levantine **CANEA** were beginning to be adopted. We make a gentle start by first setting the scene for the archaeological location and contextual provenance of the seal hoard in question which would not have been possible without the recent intensive reappraisal made by Marina Panagiotaki⁵¹.

Homing in on the rooms behind the West inner Façade looking onto the Central Courtyard, whose entrance to the Throne Room and triple shrine block either side of the Central Staircase we pointed out in *III. 8- 15* above, a hoard of seals was unearthed by Evans in the Temple Repositories (23 on the Find Spot Map above) in the Central Palace Sanctuary, south of the Throne Room). I can do no better than quote from Colin Macdonald's⁵² paper summarising the state of the rooms as at 1600:

The eponymous stone seat in the Lobby is the first obvious sign that the arrangement of the rooms when first built was somewhat different, since it blocks a multiple doorway known as a polythyron. The Lobby was surrounded by polythyra on three sides, all of which were blocked or modified after their original construction. The two great stone-built Repositories lay in a room about twice its present size, as it would have included the neighbouring Room of the Tall Pithos. The Pillar Crypts may also have been a single room with 6 pillars... but this is by no means certain. At any rate, when this West Wing of the Palace was built in MMIIIB it appears to have been the central Sanctuary area, perhaps supporting religious activities occurring in the Central Court.

After the MMIIIB earthquake the layout was drastically changed, with several of the spacious square rooms being divided into two rectangles. The blocking of the polythyra belongs to this stage. The absence of the great Repositories may indicate that ceremonies in the Central Court underwent a change in the second phase of the New Palace, perhaps with less emphasis on mass participation than before.

The 'ritual rubbish' contents of the two cists, or stone-lined pits, including sealings - soon came to be known as the Temple Repositories (West and East), and are shown both on Evans' original excavation plan⁵³ of 1902-3 (below right) and on Maria Panagiotaki's plan a century later (shaded orange in *III. 8- 24*). A systematic reconstruction of the sanctuary room complex - which included the two repository hoards - was drawn up by the latter in her doctoral thesis and later published under the aegis of the British School of Athens (*ibid.*). Hers is the plan we mostly refer to, showing the modified arrangement of rooms after the cist pits under the floor had been filled in and finally closed over as the rebuild began.

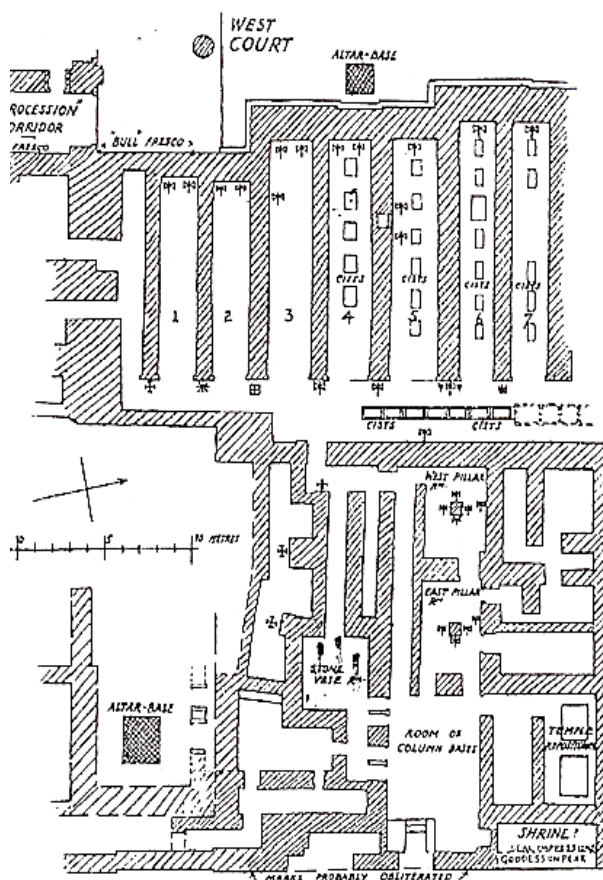
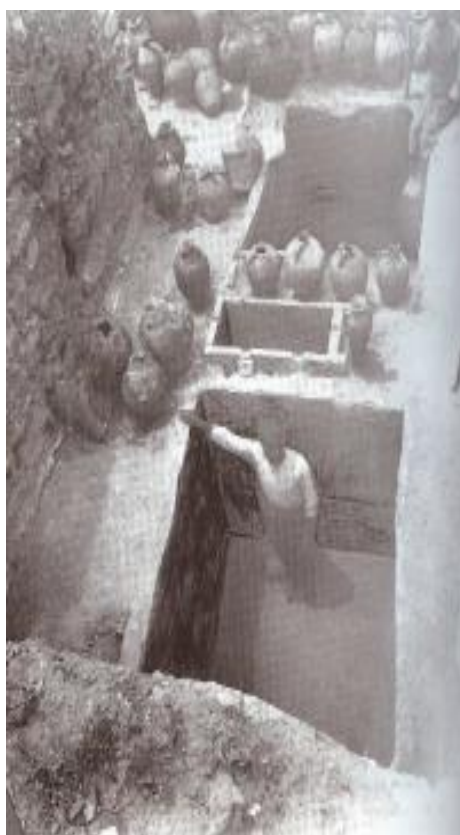
We should consider all the contents of the cists before considering the sealings included with them, in the hope of gleaning any relevant links (especially with regard to adoption of the **CANEA**) to understanding the Back Lunge motif, but leaving a comprehensive discussion of certain items for the *Iconography* commentary

⁵¹ **The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos** *British School of Athens Supplementary* Vol.31, 1999

⁵² 'The Palaces of Minos at Knossos' *The Athena Review* III,3

⁵³ This particular plan is also useful because Evans noted the incidence of double-axe masons' mark on the building blocks of the area.

⁵³ **The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos** (*British School at Athens Supplementary* Vol. XXXI) 1999



Ill. 8- 23: Photo taken of the two cists at the time of excavation once emptied (left) and Evans' own plan of the Palace Sanctuary area in BSA IX (his fig.18) - the Temple Repositories are labelled at the bottom right corner

later. There were actually other, possibly related, smaller hoards found elsewhere in the palace with varied contents - including more sealings - which Panagiotaki included in her survey.

CONTENTS OF THE TEMPLE REPOSITORIES

Divided between two cists, not often mentioned in the general books is the huge amount of pottery, thousands of painted shells, fish vertebrae and roe deer antlers present - possibly used as general packing material. To visualise the context of the sealings (there were no *seals*), it is useful to read Arthur Evans' account of the main contents of the two cists as they came out of the ground, in Sections 8/9 of his account of the 1903 Knossos excavations⁵⁴ since in Evans' words they 'showed a distinct stratification'.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE MATERIAL IN THE EAST CIST

Moving from top layers downward, the first layer uncovered was plain earth, reddened by fire. Deeper down it was its normal dark colour, mixed in with bits of charred wood, bits of gold foil and general rubble which overlaid a stratum about a metre deep of closely packed vases, either locally made with white spiral designs painted on a dark ground, or imported ware from Melos with brown decoration on a buff ground.

⁵⁴ Annual of the British School at Athens IX 1902-3, 35-94



III. 8- 24: Plan of the Temple Sanctuary rooms at the centre of the West side of the Central Courtyard of the Palace of Knossos, the east side looking onto the Central Courtyard

It is underneath this pottery packing that the most interesting finds, the first goods put in, were placed roughly 2' deep and resting on the stone floor of the cist itself in compacted earth. As Evans describes it,

*Abundant fragments of faience began to come to light together with other perfect objects of the same material. The whole... formed a wholly unique collection of objets d'art..., the fabric, but not the forms of which must have been learnt from Egypt... [including] figures of a Snake Goddess and votaries, their votive robes and girdles, cups and vases with painted designs, flowers, fruit, foliage and shells in the round, small reliefs of cows and calves and wild goats with their kids, a variety of plaques for inlaying, and quantities of beads [cobalt blue]. Among the other relics were an ivory handle and inlays, bone plumes of arrows... the usual gold foil, a clay tablet and roundels presenting inscriptions of a linear class... **numerous clay seal impressions**... and a marble cross of orthodox Greek shape [some of these appear in Ill. 8- 25].*

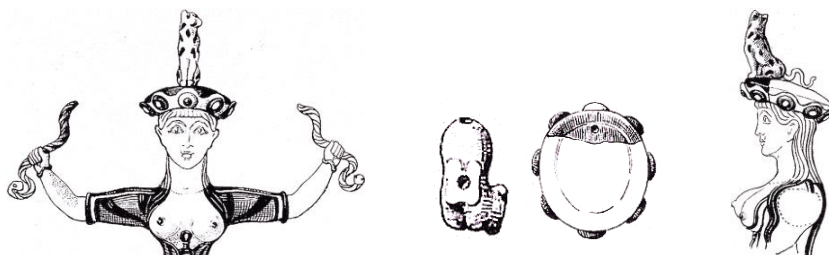
An apparently sacrificial element was represented by some remains of stag horns and the greasiness of the deposit... was also possibly due to the presence of animal matter. The burnt corn also found in some abundance may have also had an offertory character. Significant in the same stratum was ... a series of steatite libation tables [which]... exactly resemble the libation tables... found in the votive deposit of the Dictaeon Cave... [where] the cult objects... were placed on a flooring of rounded pebbles... . In the present case it looks as if the altar base and floor of the Palace shrine for which the relics found in the present Repository belonged had been paved with... an abundance of sea-shells... artificially streaked and banded with brilliant colours... . There is a strong presumption that the shrine had been paved with these bright tinted shells... (bushels of which were taken out),... cockles predominating... .



Ill. 8- 25: Assembly of some of the main finds photographed soon after their discovery in 1903

One of the photographs of key East Repository finds mentioned above is still used as part of the display in the Ashmolean Museum cases of replica repository items (the 'weasel skull' added to fish bones to look like a snake in front of the cross is an odd feature), giving some idea of their scale. The fineness of the small,

tall goblets in the photo has to be seen first-hand to appreciate their delicacy, and we cannot move on without a mention of the snake goddesses (or priestesses), the most beautiful originally found headless (as in the photograph), later put together from broken pieces, even as far as the little leopard pegged in to her circular headdress of roses (see the illustrations from Evans' *Palace of Minos I* below). Evans went as far as to suggest one cist in the Sanctuary area could have been a snake pit - not totally implausible, given the importance of snake iconography and underworld dimensions of some Minoan mythology and ritual.



III. 8- 26: The snake priestess restored with small leopard pegged in at the top - Evans *Palace of Minos* fig.362

ARRANGEMENT OF MATERIAL IN THE WEST CIST

The Western cist was made of even thicker stone slabs containing, again in Evans' words,

a surface layer of red burnt earth [which] gave place to a darker bed filled with painted clay vessels of the same types as the others. Below this again was a stratum of fatty soil... . In contrast to the corresponding layer of the other cist, faience objects were here wanting, with one notable exception - a missing part ... of the figure of a Snake Goddess... . The amount of gold foil found in this stratum was greater than had been yet found in any single spot in the Palace. It connected itself here... with the carbonized remains of what seems to have been a large and very costly chest together with smaller caskets. From the fluting and traces of ornamental designs visible on some of this gold foil it was evident that it had been used as a coating on decorative reliefs. [A large number of rock crystal petal shapes were] in some cases ... partly enveloped with gold leaf. The underside of one or two of them was coated with closely adhering silver foil... . This Repository was built of much more massive blocks than the other, possibly because it contained gold treasure while the value of the objects in the other cist was more preponderantly artistic.

We have quoted this full description because some of these items (such as the marble cross and the rock crystal pieces) are relevant to further iconographical discussion later in this chapter.

Panagiotaki⁵⁵, commenting on Evans' notes on (and sketches of) the Repositories finds (only recently rediscovered amongst Evans' papers in the Herakleion Museum) disagreed with him that since most of the finds were damaged the cists must have been disturbed by robbers - suggesting instead that most obviously they were probably ritually broken because their life as cult objects was finished, and 'the rubble, charred wood, and broken objects... point rather to a destroyed building from whose ruins the objects were collected for disposal'. What is more, the deliberate placing of the contents of the two cists in clear-cut layers pointed to 'the care involved in arranging these items... according to material', quite as much as the

⁵⁵ 'The Temple Repositories of Knossos: New Information from the Unpublished Notes of Sir Arthur Evans' *BSA* 88 1993 49-91

nature of the objects themselves, evidently the former furnishings of a comparatively small but carefully decorated shrine with shell-paved floor -- maybe even one of the adjoining chambers of the Triple Shrine itself - where so many sealings of the Mountain Goddess (*Ill. 8- 130*) were found.

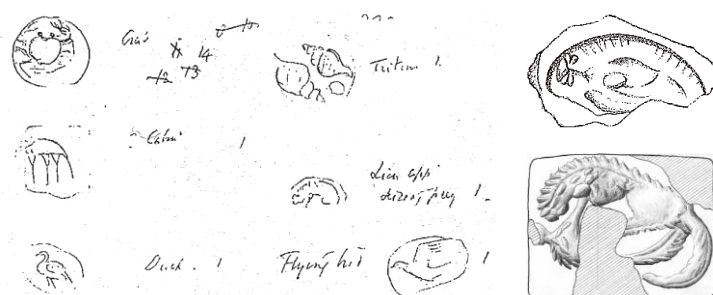
SEAL GROUP STUDY 1: THE TEMPLE REPOSITORY SEALINGS

We can now move to a consideration of the sealings found in the Eastern Repository, bearing in mind that on occasions bits of the same, or similar, sealings were also found in the Hieroglyphic Deposit, the Eastern Repository, and the Tripartite Shrine meaning, as Pini points out in his introduction to *CMS II,8*, that to some degree their activities seem to have been interconnected. Overall, we should perhaps bear in mind some truisms about the use of seals in administrative systems as summarised by Piera Ferioli and Enrica Fiandra⁵⁶ in their closing paper for the Aegaeum 5 conference: ‘In fact... clay sealings, once removed from the object, were kept until the end of the administrative period. Then after the necessary controls and final bookkeeping they were discarded in such a way that they could not be reused. But in order to ensure the correct sequence of procedures, archives reaching completion but still in operation had to be found [sic ?*filed*]. This phase would have just preceded the final disposal of the clay sealings’. Our problem, in their words, is that ‘The use of sealing to acknowledge responsibility of the sealer is certainly widespread, but the precise nature of the responsibility acknowledged and the instances in which such an acknowledgement is required vary greatly from one system to another’. In putting this group of Knossos seals under the microscope if we cannot find clues to narrow down the kinds of responsibilities - and related activities - upheld by the seal-holders operating in this particularly sacred area, we certainly hope to be able to from later examples in our catalogue using *CANEA* motifs.

In the same Knossos excavation report for the 1902-3 season in *BSA 9* already extensively quoted from above, it is in his Section 11 that Evans lists the ‘some 160’ sealings (these days assessed at 150) showing roughly ‘50 different designs’ found in the lower stratum of the Eastern Repository along with a Linear A tablet and one or two other short inscriptions. From the string remains on their backs he interpreted them as having sealed ‘documents on perishable materials - perhaps parchment or even papyrus’. I need not reiterate his list of designs (without drawings) or stop to consider the different forms of sealings that would have sealed a considerable variety of objects later gone into in all their minutiae by the experts: I simply point out that his item 23 is listed as ‘*Lion seizing prey*’ - the only one in the collection using this motif, though for decades the actual sealing he was looking at appeared either to be lost somewhere in the Herakleion Museum, or left unidentified (no-one knew what it should look like). Thanks only to Panagiotaki’s discovery of loose pages of Evans’ notes on the Repository finds found in the Herakleion Museum and reproduced in her paper⁵⁷, do we get to see the tiny sketch of it by Evans (in the group below left - also reproduced in the Repository Sealings Table following) - revealing that if this *is* the missing sealing, he did not record any prey underneath it. Unfortunately both Evans’ *and* Panagiotaki’s drawings

⁵⁶ ‘The Use of Clay Sealings in Administrative Functions from the 5-1M BC in the Orient, Nubia, Egypt and the Aegean: Similarities and differences’ *Aegaeum 5* 1990 221-231 [the discussion following refers to Knossos practice].

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*







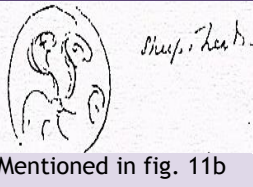



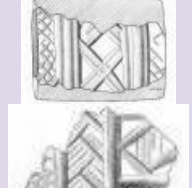





Ill. 8- 27: Section of Evans' note book (left) itemising Temple Repository seals and showing (middle right) his small sketch with caption, 'Lion app[arently] seizing prey' - reproduced in Panagiotaki *ibid.* fig. 11b. Her own drawing (*ibid.* fig.H, above right) is based on the match by her to the sealing CMS II,8-593, not necessarily accepted by the CMS catalogue authors











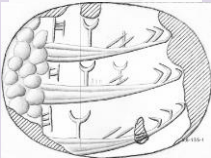



are ambiguous and the sealing she identifies it with is not an obvious lion and prey item (let alone Back Lunge item - it did not originally cross my mind to include it in my table of Lion and Prey sealings from Knossos (Ill. 8- 69) when first going through the **CMS** volume. Panagiotaki tracked down the actual sealing she thought the drawing refers to, and reckoned it matched to **CMS II,8-593** (above lower right), for her own drawing of which (*ibid.* fig.H - above top right) she describes the head of the lion as 'twisted to face the observer', saying that Evans wrongly drew it in profile. Though not obviously a Back Lunge, the **CMS II,8** drawing impels us to consider it as the most likely candidate, especially as Evans' sketch does not obviously match to any of the other Back Lunge items in our table - otherwise we must take it the sealing it refers to is still mislaid. At the end of her Temple Repository sealings list (*ibid.* pp. 113-14), Gill includes the four Evans sketches described in Panagiotaki's paper as items not accounted for in previous Temple Repository sealings lists - but she does not give them formal CMS numbers: possibly she and Pini did not agree with her matches, or they simply did not have time to comb through these late additions to the publication. Thus in my table below illustrating all Temple Repository items I insert these four Panagiotaki items quoted from Evans at points where they might in fact be accounted for by already existing items on it but I still leave Evans' own small sketch (as illustrated above) as separate and unengaged, which may be splitting hairs.
















M A V GILL'S LIST OF THOSE SEALINGS IN CMS II,8 IN THE TEMPLE REPOSITORY SEAL HOARD

★ = Editors' opinion




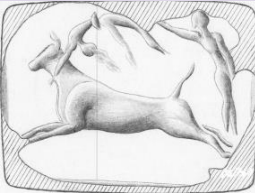
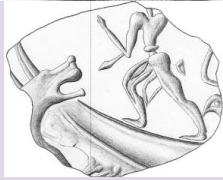

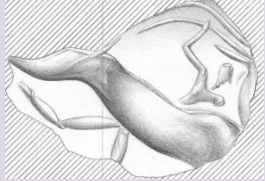




CMS II,8 no.	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9 and one Evans Sketch (Gill BSA 60)	Evans Sketch (Panagiotaki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
25			
34			

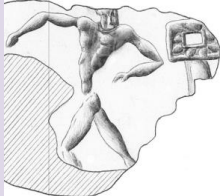
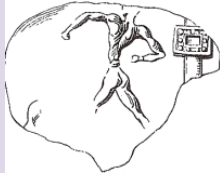




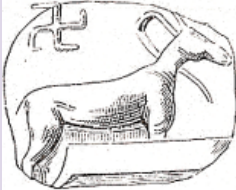

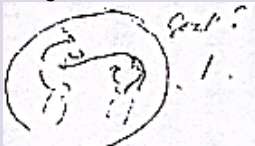



CMS II,8 no. 35	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9	Evans Sketch (Panagioataki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
			
★38			
★52			
91/92			
93			
94			
105			
111			
112			
113			

CMS II,8 no. 116	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9	Evans Sketch (Panagioataki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
116		Note how the treatment of the flower <i>exactly</i> <i>matches</i> those on the Syrian seals of BaLu-17	
119			
120			
121		 [BSA 9 fig.31]	
122			
★123			
★131			
132		 [Fig. 522a]	
135			
137			
★146			



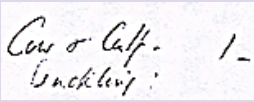
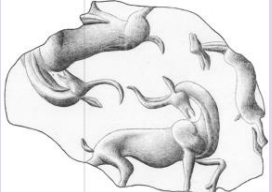
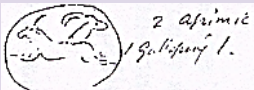



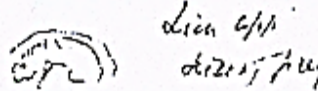
CMS II,8 no.	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9	Evans Sketch (Panagioataki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
150			
151			
153			
154/5 /6			
159			
163			
167			
★175/ ★180			
187			
191			



Note fragment 180 fits the
rendition of griffin wings in
the MINOAN CANEA table
(CMS II,8-189) - Ill. 8- 76

CMS II,8 no.	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9	Evans Sketch (Panagioataki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
★193			
	Disagree with the authors -fits later period better		
216			
221			
234			
		[BSA 9, fig. 36]	
★235			
236			
		[BSA 9, fig. 38]	
237			
		[BSA 9, fig. 37]	

CMS II,8 no. 280	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9	Evans Sketch (Panagioataki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
			
377		[BSA 9, fig. 35]	
			
378			
379			
No no.	'Goat'		<p>The two Temple Repository seals with goats match this lapis lazuli Old Assyrian seal from Tomb 45 at Aššur⁵⁸ showing a sheep suckling its young whilst nibbling at a bush, with the cuneiform <i>Dingir</i> sign over its back - confronting us with a dating conundrum.</p>  <p>Mentioned fig. 11a</p>
★396			
	[No drawing: goat on cliff]		
479			

⁵⁸ P Harper et al (eds) *Assyrian Origins: Discoveries at Ashur on the Tigris* NY Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition Cat.No. 54

CMS II,8 no. 492	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9	Evans Sketch (Panagioataki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
508			
No no.	'Cow and calf suckling'		 Mentioned fig. 11a (no.drawing) - could be no.508 above.
530			
No no.	'2 agrimi, 1 galloping'		 Mentioned fig. 11a
★534			
593			 Panagiotakis <i>ibid.</i> fig.H 'Lion app. Seizing prey'
No.no			 Reproduced by Panagiotaki as fig. 11b - most likely = 593 above

CMS II,8 no.	Drawing of Sealing	Evans Palace of Minos I - Fig. 518 or 522 OR BSA 9	Evans Sketch (Panagiotaki BSA 88, pp.74 & 78)
★599			
★610			
615	No image (v. small fragment)		
★709	No image (v. small fragment)		

Ill. 8- 28: Illustrated Register of Temple Repository Seals - Note newly identified Back Lunge item on previous page (Ill. 8- 27)

THE KNOSSOS TEMPLE REPOSITORY SEALINGS REASSEMBLED

It is worth repeating Panagiotaki's observation that - apart from ceramics and sealings - 'no other finds from the Temple Repositories have been studied since Evans', which is astonishing. The 150 or so sealings found in the hoard have been looked into by a separate set of seal experts from the pottery or artefact writers: one would have thought it would be straightforward to catalogue all the sealings together in one publication, with illustrations of each one, but there are several reasons why this did not happen, and why it was still a fiddly task to draw up the Temple Repository Sealings table above not only from very recent enquiries, but ultimately it was only feasible after the publication of **CMS II,8** in 2002. These are the reasons:

- 1 Evans' field director, Duncan Mackenzie (Donald Mackenzie's father), in charge of all parts of the site, did not focus on the detail of their contents or make any visual record of daily finds on days Evans was away, and until 1993 it was thought Evans himself had not made any notes on the Temple Repository finds.
- 2 When finds were delivered to the Herakleion Museum (which they were regularly, daily or weekly), they seem not to have been clearly labelled or kept separate from other groups of finds sent at the same time. The seemingly loose system of storage and labelling means a large group of them are now lost, or were mixed up with other sealings whilst the very fragmentary ones may even have been thrown away. It certainly appears the collection was not delivered as a unit in one bag or box.
- 3 To add to the confusion of any researcher trying to reassemble all the sealings in their mind's eye, Evans himself when writing up their archaeology in *The Palace of Minos I* described some sealings as coming from the West Repository Deposit. As Panagiotaki generously puts it, 'Such lapses of memory are to be expected after so long a gap of time'. The fact is, as he wrote himself, all sealings were found in the Eastern Repository.
- 4 I can do no better at this juncture than to quote Panagiotaki's summary in her Introduction (p.5) of archaeologists' work in following decades who tried to make sense of the Temple Repository sealings - as distinct from those found in the Palace overall (I give in footnotes references to the more useful papers):

Evans (1902-3/1921⁵⁹) published most of the clay documents, i.e. seal impressions, nodules and roundels and Gill (1965)⁶⁰ identified many of those in the Herakleion Museum; Kenna (1960)⁶¹ others in the Ashmolean. Younger (1989) and Pini (1990) have concentrated on

⁵⁹ His figs.51-60/88-90 and 496/689/694-700 respectively.

⁶⁰ M A V Gill 'The Knossos Sealings: provenance and identification' **BSA 60** 1965, 58-98.

⁶¹ V Kenna **Cretan Seals** Oxford

dating them, while Weingarten has discussed their role in administration. With Pini she infers their function from the undersides of the impressions which reveal to which types of package they were attached. The roundels and their place in administrative procedures have been studied by Hallager, who as well as studying the sealings has examined the signs inscribed on them and compared them with known scripts (1996)⁶².

These stepping stones were essential for guiding this Back Lunge enquiry, though in the end it is Panagiotaki's work, with that of the CMS editors (see next paragraph), that were indispensable.

- 5 Three years *after* Panagiotaki's book on the Central Palace Sanctuary, Gill, Pini and Müller brought out in two parts **CMS II,8** (2002), intended to deal with all seals and sealings found at Knossos Palace and its environs - in two parts because it was easier to put later work on more newly discovered seals and sealings with a more up-to-date Bibliography in a separate volume. This was the ideal opportunity to bring together all the Temple Repository sealings as a body in one publication, but as Ingo Pini found,

Da für über die Hälfte der Tonplomben aus Knossos keine oder nur sehr vague herkunftsangaben vorliegen, gaben die Autoren einer Anordnung des Materials nach chronologischen und thematischen Gesichtspunkten den Vorzug.

which means any certain Temple Repository seals are dispersed throughout the catalogue according to motif, then period and, with present location of many still unknown, certainly not reaching the 150/160 total originally cited by Evans as coming out of the Repositories.

Nonetheless, sufficient material was regathered to provide an adequate picture of how early the CANEA - and Minoan variations - were starting to enter the Knossos Canon c.1700-1650.

- 6 The nightmare for Pini and his many collaborators sorting the Knossos sealings overall was that, although they had been trying to sort them out since the 1960s, in the ensuing decades not only were new sealings coming up in new digs in or around Knossos whose dating they did not necessarily agree with, but also Pini mentions two or three more boxes with sealings in them that turned up with other material from the Herakleion Museum storage cupboards being studied by other scholars who came across them - these had to be absorbed into their already well progressed inventory.
- 7 At the same time there was a huge number of Knossos sealings whose placing they could not establish (so many of the seals whose whereabouts are cited as 'unbekannt' might actually have been part of the Repositories hoard). On the other hand they knew of seals drawn earlier, but now missing - leading Pini to say, 'Es ist zu hoffen, dass sie in Zukunft vielleicht in den Magazinen des Museums von Iraklion wiedergefunden werden'.
- 8 Since the Knossos seals had been worked on for decades by Nikolaos Platon, Director of the Herakleion Museum, Pini and his colleagues were for some time held up by how to include newly discovered material within the limitations of the former's numbering system and motif categorizations which new scholarship had by now broken apart - until eventually on his death Platon's successor, Charalambos Kritzas, agreed to a 'Neuarbeitung des Materials' and the 'Neuordnung der Tonplomben aus Knossos' - but this, as Pini expresses it so well, 'einen unverhältnismässig hohen Zeitaufwand erfordert und die Gefahr mit sich gebracht, weitere Fehler zu verursachen'.

But eventually, after all these delaying circumstances Pini (*ibid.*) writes, 'Anlässlich der Inventarisierung und Neuordnung standen uns für kurze Zeit alle Tonplomben aus Knossos gleichseitig zur Verfügung'.

Hence the timing was just right for me to see if an illustrated table could be drawn up, on the basis of the **CMS II,8** volume alone, with all the Temple Repository sealings extracted as a body. Following Pini's Introduction to the volume, in her chapter on *Seal Find Spots* Margaret Gill tried as far as possible to map seal find-spots throughout the Palace, her plan of Knossos being repeated at the back of both Parts 1 and 2. I have already reproduced above this plan of the Palace (**III. 8- 70**) with numbered items from her Key

⁶² E Hallager 'The Minoan Roundel and Other Sealed Documents in the Neopalatial Linear A Administration' *Aegaeum* 14, Liège

relevant to the Central Sanctuary area only, locating the Eastern Temple Repository at no. 23⁶³. We also referred to some of the sketches of the Knossos seals made by Evans only lately rediscovered in the *Ashmolean* archives commented upon by Gill (*ibid.* **BSA 60**, later fine-tuned by her in Popham & Gill (*ibid.* 1995), along with the sketches from two Temple Repository seals notes found at the Herakleion Museum commented upon by Panagiotaki (*ibid.* **BSA 88**) which led to those four more items, including the earliest Back Lunge, being added at the last minute to the **CMS II,8** Temple Repository list by its editors. On our table we do not show the sketches for all seals, but give a flavour of their relation to finished drawings to show how graphic renditions can sometimes diverge quite far from the originals - and obviously it is an exercise not worth doing for the really small fragments. Evans' pencil sketches were so faint and rough that, where he later had more finished drawings made (for his original archaeological report in **BSA 9** or the **Palace of Minos I** volume) we inserted the ones from there evidently deemed by him to be star items.

All the above gives some idea of the 'sieving' process that ended in the location (if not certain identification) of the only Back Lunge Group in the Temple Repository that almost slipped through the net. We went exhaustively through the available evidence of early beginnings, and have established *hors catalogue* the appearance of a Back Lunge sealing (at 23 on the Find Spot Map) which must *precede* the two already discussed under **BaLu-18f** from the Neo-Palatial period, and come from the very outset of our Chronological Focus period, seemingly when Crete was already beginning to take on **CANEA** motifs in the PrePalatial period - on larger items as well - discussed later. With this most telling item established as a 'before and after' benchmark, we can now proceed with the next stages of our chronological ordering.

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT'D: BALU-19/20/21

The seals under this entry (as **BaLu-18**) I have grouped to between 1650 and 1500, going by their comparatively basic compositional or stylistic features.

BOEOTIA AND THE DRILLED HOLE STYLE

Using the seal from Lefkandi (**BaLu-18**) from the Prepalatial period showing a plain rendition of the Back Lunge as our most recent benchmark, under the following **BaLu 19** and **BaLu-20** entries we have grouped together two sets of seals that seem to follow on from it chronologically in separate regions - one on the Greek mainland and the other in Crete. They show differing sets of stylistic emphases but overall both use its simple composition of one animal over the other in static profile, usually not actively attacking, but gradually becoming more animated. The main entry for **BaLu-19** shows a seal from Mycenae itself (set against an unprovenanced one in similar style), on both of which the animals' bulging 'spectacle eyes' are again as evident as the ones collected under **BaLu-18**. The triple-faceted *Schnurplombe* sealing underneath those two has the interesting addition of Linear B text scratched over all three facets (over the sealing as well as the two plain sides) authorizing, I am reliably told, a named person to construct a megaron⁶⁴ - here

⁶³ We will use this map again (*Ill. 8-70* - with the complete key given in Appendix A) to map the Find Spots for **CANEA** representative examples; all Lion and Prey types; **MINOAN CANEA** representative examples; and Bull Leaping seals (two of the latter also found in the Temple Repository hoard - see the discussion under **BaLu-16**).

⁶⁴ Translation given verbally by Dr Vasilis Petrakis (Athens University), fortuitously guest speaker at the Mycenaean Seminar held at Senate House, University of London on 16 January 2013, on 'The genesis of the 'Mycenaean' literate administration' - *with thanks*.

giving a more precise idea than usual of the purpose of the sealing and level of the seal-owner's authority - who with the iconographical connotations showing in previous catalogues in mind could even have been of royal rank, given a building is being sanctioned.

BaLu-20 is a Minoan group, its main entry being another seal found in a main corridor at Knossos Palace (flagged up on our Lion and Prey register (*Ill. 8- 69*)) followed by other examples from elsewhere on the island that show increasingly animated treatment of the bull's reactions (with neck turned sharply back or

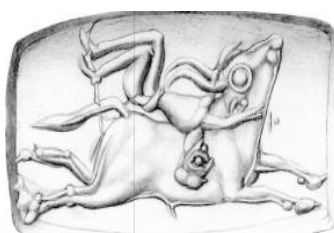


Cylinder seal, green and white banded agate (*CMS V-675*) Catalogued under **BaLu-20/20f**



This Cypro-Aegean seal (*Pierpoint-Morgan Library 1077*) cited by Joan Aruz in *CMS Beiheft 7* (her fig. 403) uses the same juxtaposition of Master of the Beasts and Back Lunge turned at 90° to it, though here more interwoven (see also the seal from Golgoi - Aruz fig.406 -*Ill. 8- 30*)

Ill. 8- 29: Thebes Hoard agate cylinder seal (CMS V-675) showing Back Lunge and Master of the Beasts juxtaposed using the drilling style used in the BaLu-20/20f examples - alongside what were probably contemporary agate seals (right) in the Thebes hoard considered by Aruz to be heirlooms from the earlier Kadmeion



Rectangular cushion seal, agate (*CMS V-674*)



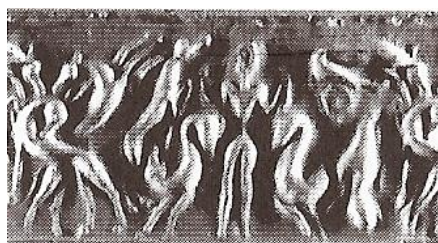
Tri-faceted cylinder seal, agate (*CMS V-672*)



Lentoid, brown and black stone, gold-lined thread-hole with granulated borders at thread hole ends (*CMS V-673*)

upstretched in anguish) but leaving the lion still more or less still detached, in position to bite but with mouth closed. Only the last histrionic seal designs from Khania in **BaLu-20f** give intimations that the lion, too, can in later designs bite more savagely. The secondary example in the second-last row could be the earliest Back Lunge of this handful, found also at Knossos 'dicht unter Grabungsoberfläche über der West-Mauer des 9 Magazines' but not included in my Lion and Prey register because catalogued in a different *CMS* volume: a human is present in this one, though not obviously a bull-leaper. The secondary entries under **BaLu-20**, perhaps focusing most on the one found at Knossos (*CMS II,3-9*), show startling parallels with the depiction of the Back Lunge on the green and white banded *agate* cylinder seal found in the Kadmeion at Thebes showing a Gilgamesh group with lions carved in the spectacle style alongside a Back Lunge at 90° to it (the predator a beaky, rooster-combed griffin, twin to the unprovenanced cylinder in the Metropolitan Museum, analysed in relation to other seals in the main lapis lazuli Thebes hoard in due course. The juxtaposition of groups in different directions was certainly common on Syrian seals in the second half of the millennium: was this cylinder seal an import from Syria that inspired local Mycenaean seal-cutters - or is it an actual Mycenaean product showing the rare adoption of the cylinder seal type on which the placing of its features sideways as well as right-side up reveal a designer still grappling with the orchestration of different motifs (note on both the sideways positioning of the Back Lunge and the use of

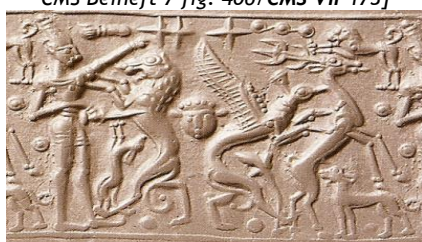
the griffin/winged sphinx as auxiliary predator to the lion). The juxtaposition of a Back Lunge and Master of the Beasts, often in the Syrian convention of 90° to each other, is seen on a cluster of Aegean seals usefully reproduced together by Aruz (*ibid.*) as her fig. 403 (above) and also her figs 406/420 and 432/4 (below):



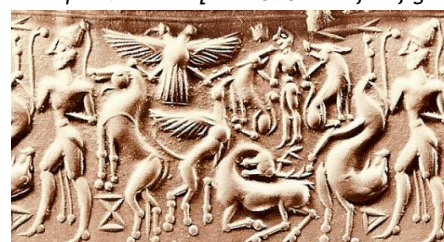
Haematite cylinder seal from Golgoi, Cyprus [Aruz CMS Beiheft 7 fig. 406/CMS VII-173]



Haematite cylinder seal, jack-knife style, unknown provenance, Bibliothèque Nationale [Aruz CMS Beiheft 7 fig. 420].



Lapis lazuli cylinder seal (CMS V-671), from the Thebes hoard itself, possibly even inspired by the earlier agate version [Aruz CMS Beiheft 7 fig. 432].



Haematite cylinder seal, Metropolitan Museum NY [Aruz CMS Beiheft 7 fig. 434/MetMusCat-]. In this case the lion-prey juxtaposed is a Forward Attack by a griffin).

III. 8- 30 Seals comparable to the Thebes Seal (CMS V-671) of roughly the same period from different sites in the Aegean

If we take a quick look at the three seals contemporary to it (**III. 8- 29**, right) also found in the Kadmeion that seem to have been native Mycenaean seals belonging to the dating context of the seals under **BaLu-20/21** (rather than of later date, as usually considered) we note the choice of subjects ties in with key themes on seals of the kingdom of Pylos Rutsi hoard discussed in *Seal Group Study 2* following shortly, before our account of the Thebes hoard. Aruz in *CMS Beiheft 7* sees this cluster of agate seals as heirlooms from the previous destroyed Kadmeion workshop which do seem to fit in with the dating of **BaLu-19/20**.

While **BaLu-21** for its secondary entries shows further items from Mycenae and Crete, the style and composition of the main seal featured, also very much along the lines of those of **BaLu-19/20** - is of specific interest due to its find spot in Anatolia in the Troad region in one of the linked chamber tomb spaces of a rectangular building with dromos. It was found with cremated ashes in imported Mycenaean urns along with indigenous pottery and gold and ivory artefacts (we had to decide in this instance not to explore the assemblage further). The building seems to have been used as a group mausoleum in memory of high-status Greeks who died away from home - not necessarily warriors, but I believe the lion-prey subject points to an owner of high rank. Overtones of the Trojan War arise here: suffice it to mention here Cyrus H Gordon's⁶⁵ comment that its *casus belli*, the retrieval of a lost wife (Helen) by her husband, was a common Levantine theme, seen in the Ugaritic stories of Keret, of Aqhat - and also of Abraham and Sarah.

⁶⁵ In Ugarit and Minoan Crete 1966, chapter III - the name Keret commonly appears in the Minoan tablets of Hagia Triadha.

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT'D -BALU-22

THE RISE OF THE KINGDOM OF THE MITANNI (HANIGALBAT) IN THE LEVANT

The last gasp of the traditional 3M Mesopotamian visual tradition is seen in Mitanni seals, the average imagery very much set in its ways in terms both of its line and blob style and the use of well-worn clichés of the **CANEA** in the seals of Nuzi and the Diyala region. Yet at the same time Syrian and Aegean-based influences on seals from outside pre-Old Assyrian territory, in Syria and the Aegean, bring in polyglot insertions that break the mould of the Anatolian flat-patterned approach expressing local mythologies (such as seen in the Shaustatar royal seal dating as far back as the mid 16C BC) by the adoption of the new visual conventions and styles - noted under **BaLu-16/17** - that would coalesce into the standardised International Style proper of the 14/13C. It is hard to know where precisely to place the seals under this entry chronologically, but we have put them here because between them they demonstrate a transitional time indicating how the base Mitanni style competed with the stronger influence of both Egypt and Crete as the Kingdom's borders moved out of central Asian heartlands westward to the Levantine coast⁶⁶. We have to remember (going by Hurrian names mentioned in the Haghia Triadha, Ugarit and Alalakh texts) that there was a known presence at all these places of Hurrians, most in prominence under Mitanni occupation.

BaLu-22 shows the extraordinary insertion of a spectacle-style Minoan Back Lunge (upside down) against a chariot scene typical of many Mitanni compositions of a more Levanto-Anatolian bent - with top border of astronomical signs (including the Hand) squeezed in at remaining blank spaces. Here the two worlds remain unblended, like oil and water. The Ras Shamra seal is a 'bilingual' showing a quiet Back Lunge of the **BaLu-18/19** type juxtaposed with a pharaonic- enthroned figure and attendant, again with Mitanni-type scattered symbols (including what could be a Linear A/B cross character brandished by the attendant).

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT'D -BALU 23







EARLY APPEARANCE OF A SEPARATE MYCENAEAN APPROACH TO MINOAN MOTIFS

The seals under this entry simply bring together seals with the markedly round jaw for the lion/lioness that echoes the outline on the gold rhyton from Mycenae's Grave Circle A, which appears to be an early stage showing Mycenae's concern for highly finished workmanship and the development of their own uniquely Mycenaean style, building on earlier practice in Boeotia. This leads us to our second *Seal Group Study*.

SEAL GROUP STUDY 2: NICHORIA (CMS V 430-441)

We are interested in considering the assemblage within which **BaLu-23** was found, putting aside as irrelevant to our pursuit seals **CMS V-442-8** from random places on the site (fragmentary and of extremely poor quality) as also the seals found on the immediate floor of the tholos (**CMS V-431/438**) along with items of gold, ivory, rock crystal, amethyst, carnelian and glass - and many fragments of bronze and silver strewn all over the ground. The contents of two graves dug into the floor (similar to shaft graves) - the first containing seal 437 and the second (plundered) containing seals 434 (contrasted bulls); 441 (contrasted goats) and 440 (a fine agate amygdaloid with a Minoan Genius on it) - are also put to one side. We focus

⁶⁶ The earliest textual reference to trade in purple dyes comes from 2M Nuzi, recording its transport from Syro Phoenicia to the Tigris.

CMS V no./ material	SEAL	CMS V no./ material	SEAL
435 Agate		430 Carnelian	
	BaLu-23		
436 Agate		432 Agate	
The swastika design, bull's open mouth and aerial view of the lion head relates this to the groups given in BaLu-27			
439 ?Carnelian		433 Agate	

Ill. 8- 31:Seals found in the last double burial inside the Nichoria Tholos, Kingdom of Pylos

only on the third area of the tholos containing a double burial (evidently the last interment in the tholos) with grave goods that included a bronze knife, two granulated gold beads, an agate prism set in gold, and the six seals tabled above, starting with **BaLu-23** itself, all of them recognizable subjects repeated at other sites. Most immediately one notes the recurrence of the two swans, double bulls, double fish (and the two types of Back Lunge) as commonly found together in such groups at other sites - the Temple Repository had swan sealings - as does the Rutsi Hoard, our *Seal Group Study 3* to follow shortly. **CMS V-436** is a swastika-type Back Lunge analysed as a type under **BaLu-26/27**, a new variation on the Back Lunge composition that was the fashion for a while, following the interest in the lion head seen from above, dealt with next.

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT'D -BALU 24/25/26/27

A CYLINDER SEAL IMPORT TO KNOSSOS PALACE AND AERIAL VIEW OF THE LION HEAD

BaLu-24 features two seals whose find spots were at the Knossos Palace site: both illustrate a new fashion whereby the lion's head is viewed from above (used on both lion *and* bull heads on the minor entries beneath). The examples following sometimes combine them with the earlier sideways, spectacle style-type

renditions. According to Hallager (*ibid.*) the right-hand seal has Linear A characters on it. Although this viewpoint had been commonly used in Mesopotamia and Syria long before, dramatically there appears to have been a prototype immediately to hand that could well have inspired the adoption of this new perspective on the animal heads, and that is the lapis lazuli cylinder seal (*CMS II,2-29*) with gold caps decorated with a tiny circle of granulation at each end of its suspension hole (*III. 8- 32* and *III. 8- 33* below) that appeared at Knossos. It is described by Evans in *Palace of Minos IV* as found on the edge of what he called the North Lustral Basin in ‘the Initiatory Area at the extreme NW corner of the Palace, 40 centimetres deeper than the MMIIIA stratum’⁶⁷. Not given a number on Gill’s Find Spot Map, the location is easily identifiable as the very top left oblong with smaller, megaron-like structure inside.



III. 8- 32: Gold-capped lapis lazuli seal and its subject matter as photographed for Evans’ Palace of Minos IV

It rolls out an impression showing an unusual blend of the typical Sumerian composition one would see on the lapis lazuli seals from 3M Ur, Mari or Ebla, with a line of small icons running over their heads⁶⁸ used as pictorial determinatives or descriptions of the planets, much as on 2M Syro-Cappadocian or Mitanni seal designs (one of the many Syrian characteristics sometimes adopted in the Aegean at this time, as already pointed out in our commentary on *BaLu-22*). Joan Aruz⁶⁹ points out that parts of the seal have been recut, such that the somewhat awkward bull-head (left) may replace a former Enkidu-type bearded human head.

Evans’ drawings of the seal for his *Palace of Minos IV* volume (top row below) is easier to read than the *CMS* drawing, revealing more clearly the row of tiny motifs across the top that, again, could have directly inspired Minoan seal design with the idea of adding a ‘hieroglyphic’ commentary - note for instance the already familiar Moon Crescent and quartered Sun Disc, along with sphinx and griffin figures. The seal is of the best quality lapis lazuli (almost purple in colour without white occlusions) and the most plausible recent explanation (succinctly summarised by Aruz in *CMS Beiheft 7* p. 96/7) is that rather than from Mesopotamia, this seal probably comes from Ebla where huge supplies of raw lapis lazuli were found from the era of its participation in the 3M Sumerian Empire (see Ebla sealing of similar type bottom row below).

There is certainly no doubt in my mind that this cylinder seal was important for the practical development of seal design at Knossos (as well as Crete and Greece overall), and along with Ebla imitations, an

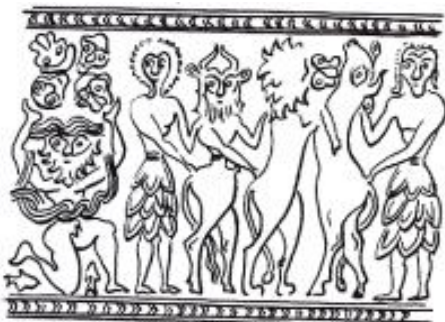
⁶⁷ The stratigraphical ambiguity of its level are summarised in Aruz *CMS Beiheft 5* p.6 (for paper title see fn.142)

⁶⁸ Aruz (*ibid.*) with fine-tuning by Møller as cited in her fn.3 states: ‘The small figures in the upper register include a sphinx paralleled on Syrian-style seals from Kültepe 1B; a Syrian griffin-demon; a winged lion griffin - a creature of the weather god both on Akkadian and MB Syrian seals; the lion protome paralleled both on Anatolian and Syrian seals; a tiny human head; and a Near Eastern sun-disk’.

⁶⁹ ‘The Aegean and the Orient: The Evidence of Stamp and Cylinder Seals’ in *Aegaeum 18* Liège and Texas 1998

explanation for the take-up of the aerial view of the lion-head, though other Old Syrian prototypes we don't know about could have inspired Knossos' seal-makers - and we have also noted in **BaLu-15f** this view of the lion head on Cappadocian/Early Hittite examples - another area of perpetual inspiration for Crete.

Certainly, the aerial view of lion *and* bull heads on Neo-Palatial seals is now frequently used, including - in **BaLu-25** - lionesses (as also griffins) with strongly pronounced teats - another novel inclusion coming in at this time whereby her motherly role in suckling her cub is contrasted with the other side of her nature as



Amiet GMA 1756



Matthiae I Tesori da Ebla
 pl.25



Amiet GMA 1758



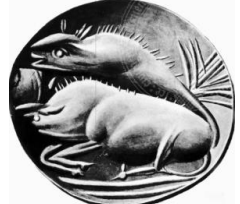













III. 8- 33: Drawings of the seal and roll-out in Evans *PALACE OF MINOS IV* (figs 345/350), against two closely similar Ebla seals

predatress, embodying the Goddess as giver of Life and Death. At the same time the interaction between feline and bull or stag becomes more contorted in order to conform to the constraints of the usually circular frame of the seal favoured in the Aegean, filling it out more evenly in all four directions and eschewing what must now have been deemed the simplistic solution of horizontal parallel zones of lion over bull used earlier. **BaLu-26** groups more seals that clearly reveal a trend to regulate the design by an underlying swastika - sometimes with ensuing somewhat crude physical distortions to keep them pinned to that hidden template. That view of the lion's head is used later even in monumental architecture where it is the viewpoint of choice for the lion in the relief sequence decorating the outer walls at the entrance zone of the Hittite settlement of Alaca Hüyük (**BaLu-34**, middle row left). On seals the trend is continued with more finesse in the examples of **BaLu-27** of which the main item comes from the Rutsi hoard, whose contents we now assess in a further *Seal Group Study*, since we gain by looking at contextual material.

SEAL GROUP STUDY 3: THE RUTSI THOLOS TOMB ASSEMBLAGE

Our principal entry for **BaLu-27** comes from a hoard found in a tomb at Rutsi, some in one of its grave shafts and others on the floor outside it. The seal groupings deserve detailed attention, being clusters of

seals now fully in Mycenaean territory, showing increased predominance of the griffin (often with teats), again with seals featuring single or double bulls (or lions). First to the items found on the floor outside the grave shaft. Note the inclusion of two cylinder seals - were they imported, or of local manufacture? They use favourite Mycenaean materials, and are assigned by Joan Aruz in *CMS Beihelf 7* to a linear cut style

CMS I NO. & SEAL TYPE	SEAL DESIGN THOLOS GRAVE 2, FLOOR	CMS I NO. AND SEAL TYPE	SEAL DESIGN THOLOS GRAVE 2, FLOOR
275 Lentoid Agate		281 Lentoid Carnelian	
276 Lentoid Agate		282 Lentoid ?Agate	
277 Lentoid Agate		283 Amygdaloid Gold + glass inlay on back	
280 Lentoid Carnelian	Note the round cheek of the lion as in <i>BaLu-23</i> 	286 Lentoid Glass	The question for this seal is whether we take the dots over the bull's back as a constellation. 
278 Lentoid Agate	Note again the round-cheeked lion: the twinning of lions and males is unusual  	284 Cylinder seal Carnelian	Placed for contrast with <i>BaLu-27</i> , though in fact a Belly Landing.  
279 Lentoid Carnelian	<i>BaLu-27</i>  	285 Cylinder seal Agate	Possibly Mycenaean attempt at a native cylinder seal using the talismanic drill style  
	This seal is the epitome of the Mycenaean priestess figure with ruffled skirt deriving from Mesopotamia and the lily from Egypt		This time using another favourite Mycenaean material, the style betrays a limited range of wheel bits was available.

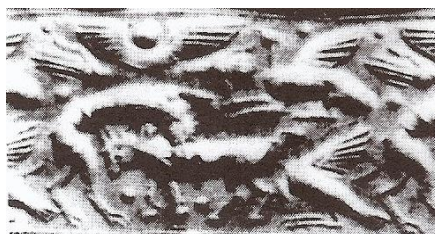
III. 8- 34: Seals of the Rutsi Hoard (Floor), Kingdom of Pylos

characteristic of a Cypro-Aegean cylinder seal group termed by Porada ‘the Melissa group’ because of the long, disc bit cuts on a seal from Melissa (below top left) to which other 15C Cypro-Aegean seals seem to relate (often featuring the lion-prey subject too (also below), Levanto-Mitanni influence on Cyprus bearing



MELISSA

Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 437



UNPROVENANCED

Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 438



RUTSI

Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 381



Bought ENKOMI Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 439



Bought SALAMIS Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 440



RUTSI

Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 441

III. 8- 35: Other disc-cut seals characterized by Porada as the ‘Melissa group, compared to the two Rutsi cylinder seals (right)

on their particular preference for the near-eastern cylinder format. The slender Rutsi cylinder seal griffin is also linked by Aruz to seals termed by Younger ‘the Rhodian Hunt group’ for showing similar mannerist behaviour and elongation of body (as in the two examples below) which may indicate the Rutsi seal itself as originating from, or inspired by visits or people or artefacts from that island:




UNPROVENANCED Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 402/CMS IX-20D

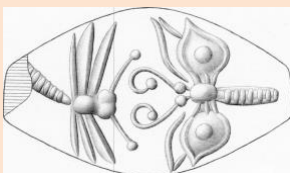


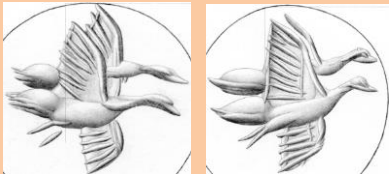
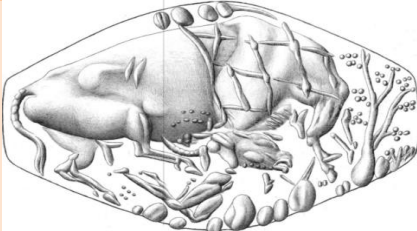


IALYSOS, RHODES Aruz *CMS Beiheft 7* fig. 396/CMS V2-656

III. 8- 36: Other seals characterized by Younger as part of the Rhodian Hunt group that could relate to the slender Rutsi griffin

The following seals were found in the Rutsi grave shaft itself:

CMS I NO. AND SEAL TYPE	SEAL DESIGNS
269	THOLOS GRAVE 2, SHAFT 2
Cushion seal, soft stone	

CMS I NO. AND SEAL TYPE	SEAL DESIGNS THOLOS GRAVE 2, SHAFT 2
270 Amygdaloid, soft stone	
271 Cushion seal, Agate, with gold caps	
272 Three-sided prism, 3 rd facet empty Amethyst	
273 Three-sided prism, 3 rd facet empty Amethyst	
274 Amygdaloid, gold-lined threadhole with granulation at ends	
Parts of two leapers at the head and under the bull's stomach can be discerned. Note also the beads of perspiration or blood around the bull's back-turned head and under the lower bull-leaper's legs - the kind of microscopic detail taken even further in the best seals of Dendra.	

Ill. 8- 37:Seals of the Rutsi Hoard (Shaft), Kingdom of Pylos

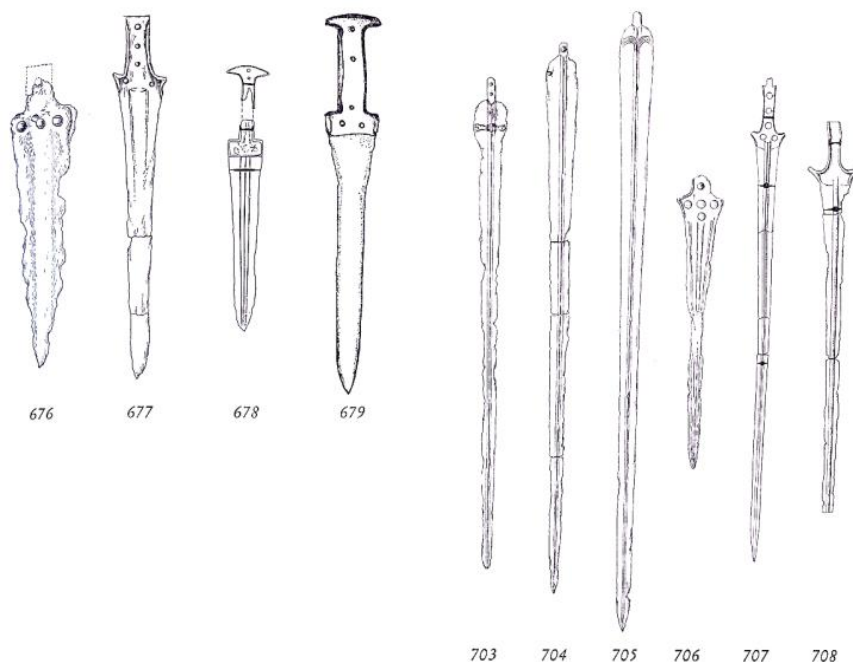
The combination of subjects shown on the seals is interesting, since similar clusters (single lion/single bull/lion-bull attack/double swans/double bulls/single griffin etc.) repeat in other seal clusters, suggesting they were not random, but deliberately formed one 'kit' for a similar group of people, as found at other Mycenaean sites - such as Mycenae itself or Dendra. For treatment of this griffin type on ivory and metal see also (*BaLu-35*). On both groups the imaginative, even histrionic, treatment on some of the amygdaloids (a new shape of seal comes centre-stage now) breaks the bounds of the run-of-the-mill items to high peaks of execution in individual seals showing a single bull or lion (274, 277, 280, 283), whilst new are the insect pair of dragon-fly and butterfly/moth⁷⁰ - implying transformation from grub to winged beauty - and priestess with lily.

⁷⁰ For the implications of the moth in relation to silk weaving on Crete and Thera, see under *Oriental Influences/ 11.Textiles* heading

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT'D -BALU 28

MINOAN/MYCENAEAN DAGGERS OR SWORDS - AND THE FLYING GALLOP

The Mycenaeans came from a background that had long fostered metalwork of the highest order from a European background: this met up with the expertise of that in the Amuq area of Anatolia/Syria in particular, resulting in a fashion for high-status decorated swords and bowls through Anatolia and the Levant deemed as suitable for diplomatic gifts for the royalty of the Aegean, the Levant and Egypt.



Ill. 8- 38: Typical Mycenaean swords from Crete, mainland Greece and Anatolia -Buchholz Altägais Altkreta (1971) Abb. 24

676 - Hagia Triada, Crete -MMI/III

679 Kastri, near Epiros

705 Archalochori, Crete - cult cave

677 Mycenae Shaft Grave 6 Grave Circle A

703 Mallia, Crete - MMII

706 Izmir, Anatolia - near Roman Forum

678 Kalbaki, Epiros

704 Kakovatos, Tholos Grave B

707/8 Knossos area, Crete

Although from our selection given in the adapted illustration above the earliest examples of both date back to the Middle Minoan period with several finds from Crete itself, nonetheless it is the Mycenaean sword-or dagger type that became almost as much a marker as pottery of Mycenaean influence (if not presence). I have thus put a Circle A Mycenaean sword as the main entry for **BaLu-28** since it is realistic to entertain the idea that the flying gallop may initially have been consolidated by Mycenaeans as a favourite design because the only way to fit moving animals into the narrow strip available on the sword spine.

Yener⁷¹ gives a pertinent view on Mycenae's place during the Second Millennium within

a different system of political organization, dominated by large geographic units... The Hittite and Mitanni states appear to have allowed the flow of commodities throughout their territories from the Eastern Mediterranean coast to northern Mesopotamia and Central Anatolia ... (in) ... what was basically a loosely affiliated confederation of semi-independent vassals. Political unity was

⁷¹ K A Yener 'A View from the Amuq in South-Central Turkey: Societies in Transformation in the 2M BC' in *Aegaeum* 18 1998 273-9

*maintained while flexible organizational structure facilitated the flow of goods and people.’ Into this, Aegean-related materials, perhaps reflecting a population, but more likely a distribution of elite commodities, enter into this contextual substratum... Thus long-distance exchange and interregional interactions impacted on the changes which resulted **within such large groups of diverse peoples and territories.***

The earlier finds of Alalakh and other settlements in the Amuq Valley (in what we might call ‘the armpit’ of Turkey’) make sense against such a context, explaining the early use of the flying gallop and bull-leaping scenes on seals precisely there (**BaLu-16**) - as also the general ‘mix’ of products (including both artefacts and raw materials) from these different territories found together in the Gelidonya⁷² and Uluburun⁷³ shipwrecks. Yener ended his paper with the comment, ‘In future years I will join you in presenting information about this very contentious area, Mukish/Unqi as the Amuq was called, where much attention was focused by generations of ruling Hittite, Hurrian/Mitannian, Assyrian and Egyptian dynasties, *not to speak of the enigmatic Aegean presence*’. It is precisely the Mycenaean contribution in reverse direction - to the Levant and beyond - that the sword designs under this entry manifest so tellingly. The link is underlined by the *Iliad*’s own description of Menelaus’ detour to Egypt following the Trojan War.

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT’D -BALU-29

A BRONZE BOWL SHOWING MIXED LEVANTINE AND EGYPTIAN PICTORIAL TRADITIONS

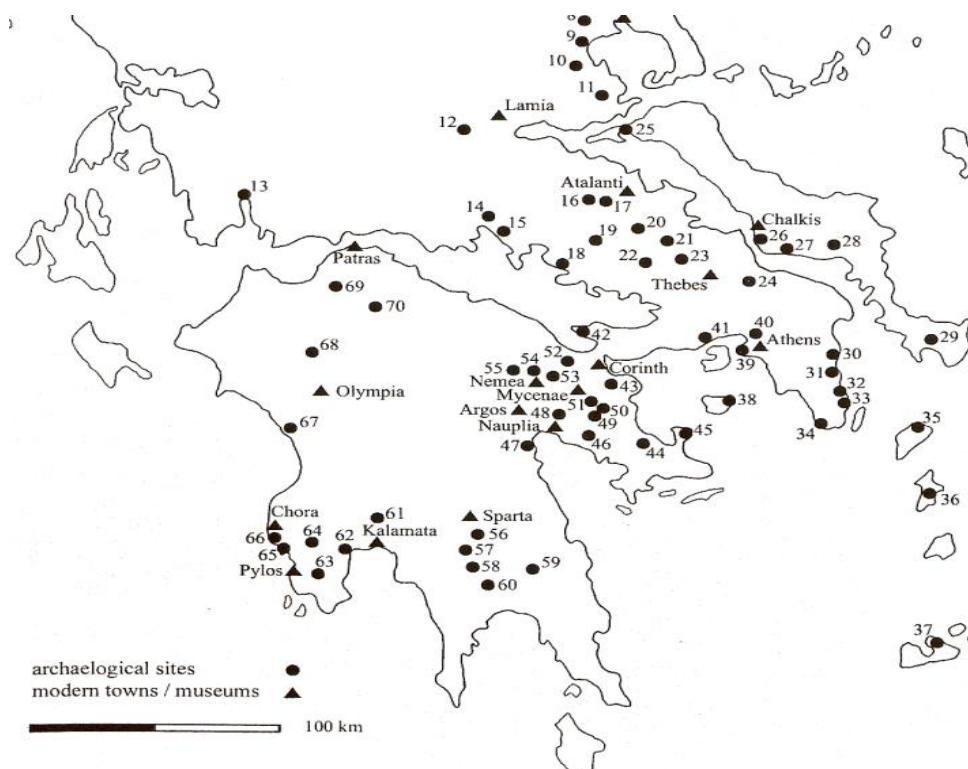
The Gurna bronze bowl is also from a tomb setting, this time from the village serving the Valley of the Kings on the West Bank opposite Luxor, Egypt. I have placed it here because the Back Lunge also depicts the lion-head viewed from above - a Syro-Mesopotamian tradition going back even to the 3M (as also is the suckling cow group at right-angles to it), but becoming a favourite with the Minoans and Mycenaeans in the Aegean in general (**BaLu-24-27**) - zones to which Egypt under the New Kingdom was opening up. We could even rate the flying ducks round the rim as mirroring the groups of swans in the Nichoria and Rutsi hoards).

The Levanto-Aegean ‘look’ of the Back Lunge and cow suckling calf apart, everything else on the bowl can be traced back to Egyptian imagery, going as far back as Old Kingdom Nile scenes. Von Bissing rates it as dating to the ‘Mykenischer Zeit’, pointing out that - going by the papyrus grove hunting scene on the Nile swamp with papyrus boats, flying ducks, fish, the lion chasing a bull and the odd mongoose after birds’ eggs - one would initially read it as a wholly Egyptian product whose motifs were the stock-in-trade of tomb - paintings of the Middle and New Kingdoms. He especially links the scenes with the painted palace of Amenophis III (the father of Amenophis IV/Akhenaten) whose ruins still remain on the West Bank at Thebes - but compared with the later Ras Shamra bowl and Bubastis jug (**BaLu-31/33**), in its more static, old-fashioned traditional style it is more likely to have been made at the turn of the early 18th Dynasty (a time of well-attested exchange between Egypt, and Creto-Levantine Mycenae). By the time of Akhenaten near the end of the 18D, Egypt was entirely involved in putting aside its own rule-bound background, leaning on

⁷² G Bass Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck 1967

⁷³ G F Bass et al. ‘The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign’ *AJA* 93 1989 1-29

the new imagery from the Levant and fully contributing towards 'The International Style' in this period after our *Chronological Focus*. At this point we give a more detailed map of mainland Greece so that the location of sites featuring in our seal studies can be located (Nichoria is not marked, but is close to Pylos):



- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 54. Aidonia | 21. Gla | 9. Pefkakia |
| 62. Akovitika | 63. Gouvalari | 42. Perachora |
| 23. Aliartos | 17. Kalapodi | 31. Perati |
| 28. Amarynthos | 69. Kallithea | 55. Petri |
| 57. Amyklaion | 67. Kakovatos | 37. Phylakopi |
| 70. Ano Mazarakis | 29. Karystos | 39. Piraeus |
| 61. Anthia | 43. Kato Almyri | 51. Prosymna |
| 38. Aphaia | 10. Kato Mavrolophos | 11. Pteleon |
| 35. Ayia Irini | 46. Kazarma | 65. Pylos-Englianos |
| 68. Ayia Triada | 15. Krisa | 64. Routsis |
| 13. Ayios Ilias | 60. Krokeai | 8. Sesklo |
| 45. Ayios Konstantinos | 33. Lavrion | 2. Sitagri |
| 30. Brauron | 27. Lefkandi | 34. Sounion |
| 26. Chalkis | 47. Lerna | 12. Stavros |
| 14. Delphi | 6. Makriyalos | 24. Tanagra |
| 1. Dikili Tash | 3. Mandalo | 32. Thorikos |
| 49. Dendra | 18. Medeon | 48. Tiryns |
| 16. Elateia | 56. Menalaion | 66. Tragana |
| 41. Eleusis | 40. Menidi | 53. Tzoungiza |
| 44. Epidauros | 50. Midea | 58. Vapheio |
| 22. Eutresis | 4. Nea Nikomedia | 36. Vryokastro |
| 19. Exarchos | 7. Nessonis | 25. Yialtra |
| 59. Geraki | 5. Olympos-A. Dimitrios | 52. Zygouries |
| | 20. Orchomenos | |

III. 8- 39: Mainland seal sites - Krzyskowska ibid. Map 2

ART HISTORY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS MATERIAL CONT'D -BALU-30

FINAL BACK LUNGE LENTOID SEAL MARKS THE END OF THIS CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS

The apotheosis of Mycenaean seal-carving and interpretation of the lion attack theme, our lead item is one of six seals found in an octopus-engraved gold bowl, discussed as a hoard in *Catalogue F: The Bilateral Attack* the latter type of attack being given on another of the seals in the group. The supreme sensitivity

and delicacy of the modelling of the two beasts on this huge carnelian lentoid in balletic Back Lunge mode, the lion head still with its now archaic viewpoint from above, stands as the culmination of the joint Minoan-Mycenaean adoption of the **CANEA** and all that it meant over 250 years. After that, it became more frivolously decorative as a component of the International Style that ricocheted back into Levantine art and thence into Egypt, when Mycenaeans began to set up bases not only on Aegean islands such as Crete itself, Cyprus and Rhodes, but also at ports like Ras Shamra on the Levantine coast, as we see on the next item.

The destruction of Knossos Palace c.1450 ends our study of material coming under close scrutiny in the Chronological Focus. Through one compositional type we understand better the genesis of an International Style in its original, much narrower form before it took off in the Post-Palatial period - now considered.

MATERIAL FOLLOWING THE PERIOD OF CHRONOLOGICAL FOCUS D **ARTEFACTS FROM THE LEVANT AND GREECE 1450-1000 [POST-PALATIAL]**

The disc-cut seals of the Rutsi Hoard (*Ill. 8- 35*) and the Rhodian Hunt Group *Ill. 8- 36*) were the first signs of the appearance of a purely decorative International Style at its most typical on seals, while the *latest* seals of the Thebes Kadmeion seal hoard (mostly Kassite, contemporary with the Amarna Period - see the *Seal Group Study 4* interlude following next) provide the end date benchmark for its *floruit* in the Levant, Aegean and Egypt. The chart on the next page summarises the chronological weave 1450-1000 between Aegean and Levantine worlds for catalogue material arising during the rest of the 2M.

Due to the nature of the evidence, during our Chronological Focus we had to almost exclusively use seals as chronological markers (because they used the Back Lunge), so in moving on to the next period which we cover more superficially we turn to a useful transitional collection of seals of wide-ranging date - the final *Seal Group Study* of this catalogue - to act as background context to make sense of the increasing number of artefacts in other media - initially from Ugarit and Egypt - that we will then look at in detail in the main Back Lunge Art History sequence.

SEAL GROUP STUDY 4: KEY REPRESENTATIVE SEALS IN THE THEBES HOARD IN THE KADMEION



Ill. 8- 40 Lapis lazuli blanks in the Thebes hoard, some of them old beads or ground-down seals -Porada (ibid.) figs B-E

The Thebes hoard consisted of one mina of lapis lazuli in the form of decommissioned seals, seal blanks, beads or old seals ground down into beads: assessed in Edith Porada's magisterial analysis as a common


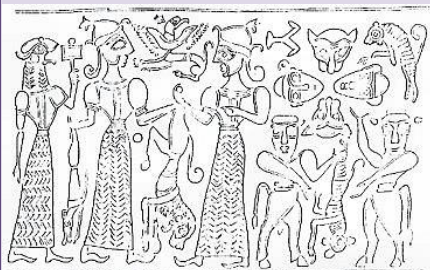




THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART
CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

D: THE BACK LUNGE

CENTURY	PERIOD	CRETE	MAINLAND		SYRIA		EGYPT	
3000	EMI	PRE-PALATIAL	EH1/EC1				OLD KINGDOM	
2500	EMII	Mesara tholoi	EHII/ECII Mainland corridor houses				DI-VI	
2200	EMIII/MMIA		EHIII/ECIII		2300 Ebla Palace G		FIP	
1950	MMIB	PROTO-PALATIAL First palaces built	MH/MC		1974 KÜLTEPE TO 1740	1920-1830		MIDDLE KINGDOM DXI-XIII
	MMIIA		Minoan Aegean Islands			Zimrilim c.1775-62		
	MMIIB					PRECLASSICAL		
1700		Destructions		1700- Alalakh VII - 1620	1820-1740 CLASSICAL A			
	MMIII	NEO-PALATIAL	<i>Mycenae Circle B</i>		1720-1620 CLASSICAL B			
1600/	MMIIIB/	Second palaces built	LHI/LCI		1600-1550		SIP	
1575	LMIA	Earthquake	Thera earthquake	1620 Alalakh VI-V 1500	POST-CLASSICAL		Hyksos Period	
1525	LMIA peak		<i>Mycenae Circle A</i> Thera Volcano		1550-1535 MITANNI peak		Minoan frescoes Avaris	
1500	LMIB		LH IIA Vapheio tholos				NEW KINGDOM DXVIII	
1450	Destructions			1620 Alalakh IV 1500			Hatshepsut	
1425	LMII	Knossos sole palace	LH IIB		1430-1330 NUZI		Tuthmoses III	
1375	LMIIIA1		LHIIIA1 First mnland palaces				Amenhotep III	
1350	LMIIIA2	Knossos destroyed?	LHIIIA2 Uluburun shipwreck				Amarna	
1300	LMIIIB	POST-PALATIAL	LHIIIB Last mainland palaces				D XIX Ramses II	
1250			LH IIIB1: Destructions				DYNASTY XX	
1200	LM IIIC		LH IIIB2: Final Destructions	POST- PALATIAL	LATE HITTITE STATES		RAMESSES III	
1100/1050	SUB-MINOAN		SUB-MYCENAEAN		TELL HALAF, KARKEMISH, etc.		TIP	
1050/1000	EARLY IRON AGE							

III. 8- 41 Rough Chronological Chart showing conventional Egyptian and Minoan-Mycenaeen Periods against New Kingdom, late Alalakh, Mitanni, Nuzi and Hittite periods

weight in Babylonian terms for a temple offering⁷⁴. Individual items date back as far as the Old Babylonian/ Old Syrian period, including several seals thought to originate in Cyprus, running through to decommissioned cylinder seals of the Mitanni and Kassite periods, giving an end date of some time during the Amarna period for when the hoard was sent (we have letters between Kassite kings and Pharaohs such as Akhenaten or his immediate predecessors). For each item in the hoard Edith Porada's full catalogue should be consulted: in the table below we simply list the key examples of each type of seal in the hoard that cross-refer to the Late Minoan and Mycenaean worlds, as also to the floruit of the International Style items using the Back Lunge that follow on in this Catalogue.

Edith Porada (<i>ibid.</i>) Seal no.	THEBES HOARD SEAL [all of lapis lazuli]	Edith Porada (<i>ibid.</i>) Seal no.	THEBES HOARD SEAL [all of lapis lazuli]
12 This, along with no. 13, of good quality lapis lazuli, is the earliest seal of the hoard, being a typical late ED/early Akkadian type dating to the first half of the 3M.		1 Note the popular Master of the Beasts theme, as well as the four zodiac animal heads popular in Anatolia (<i>BaLu-15f</i>), though overall Porada spots several Minoan features behind the seal's style ⁷⁵ .	
2 Again, the upheld lion and Master of the Beasts figure are favoured. The flounced skirts of the ladies are Mesopotamian in inspiration.		3 This seal shows the OB presentation seal type but with the Syrian characteristic of wings added to divinities. Again the Master/Mistress of the Beasts features.	
4 This seal has similar features to Seal 3, but with heraldic griffins, winged Sun-disc and winged sphinx rearing up to an enthroned ruler, more akin to Ras Shamra seals. Note again the Master/Mistress of the Beasts in apposition.		6 The two groups of Lion Tamer and Rear Attack with griffin as predator are juxtaposed on this seal with a set of hieroglyphs across the top consisting of ?Linear A/B signs, a tiny lion, human head and clenched hand- the latter identified as Cypro-Minoan by Porada.	
	OLD SYRIAN		OLD SYRIAN recut by CYPRIOTE? SYRO-MINOAN/CYPRO-RHODIAN (Aruz) The standing Rear Attack is not logged in <i>Catalogue C: The Rear Attack</i>

⁷⁴ The Cylinder Seals found at Thebes in Boeotia (Archiv für Orientforschung Vol. XXVIII) 1981/2

⁷⁵ Porada comments on this seal, 'No other Cypriote cylinder... has features for which Minoan prototypes can be as readily cited as does this cylinder, in which the head of the lion demon resembles that in a late Minoan II seal from Knossos [PM IV fig 583]', and finds other stylistic quirks seemingly derived from Crete.

⁷⁶ Porada notes its similarity to a sealing found on the Service Stairs at Knossos cited by John Boardman [PM IV fig. 593].

Edith Porada (*ibid.*)
 Seal no.

11

This is a run-of-the-mill Mitanni seal (most obvious in the style of the lion): the winged sphinx and Venus on the lion are the Syrian components and evidently included in the hoard because of its material

THEBES HOARD SEAL
 [all of lapis lazuli]



SYRO-MITANNI

21

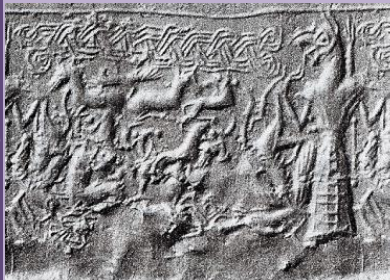
A further Mitanni-type seal using dumpy figures and rough subsidiary signs above and below showing figures wearing Babylonian helmets.



OB-MITANNI [with Bilateral Attack]

24

On this damaged seal the Polar Axis with eagle-headed figure holding up two griffins is the centrepiece of the composition. The irregular guilloche betrays a provincial hand.



SYRIAN/OLD ASSYRIAN

Note how the role of Master of the Beasts at the side is taken by an eagle-headed figure

25

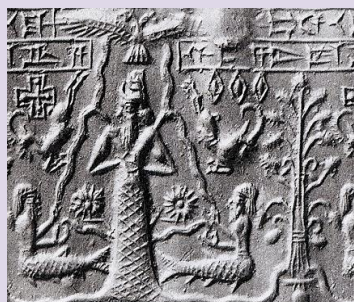
The only purely Hittite seal, with a procession of Gods, labelled in Hittite hieroglyphs. Compare with the Syro-Hittite hybrid that is the Tyszkiewicz Seal (*Ratt-28*).



HITTITE

27

Ea with Polar eagle over-head and fishy lower body is rooted in the Tree of Life. Goats run down the flowing streams at his shoulders, collected by mermen. Signs such as cross, eye lozenges and flowers fill the gaps.



KASSITE

Edith Porada (*ibid.*)
 Seal no.

19

Consisting of three heraldic units (the griffin pair sideways on, Porada reads this as a Mitanni seal with both Syro-Elamite and Mesopotamian influence.



SYRO-ELAMITE MITANNI

The only seal that can be firmly placed at Nuzi itself (c.1470)

22

To a typical Syrian presentation with Sibitti and quartered Sun in the sky, two figures in the Egyptian style were in Porada's opinion added later



SYRO-MITANNI

24 (drawing)

A drawing of it reveals the contrast between addorsed deer/bulls and eagle over them with fleeing lion at the top - and a pair of contrasted Rear Attacks underneath, also suggesting the two solstices of the Year



(The two Rear Attacks with intertwined tails underneath the addorsed deer with lion are not logged in *Catalogue C: The Rear Attack*)

26

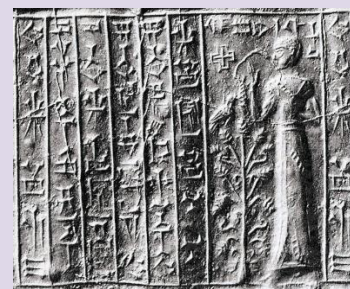
One of the Kassite seals dating the hoard. There is an equal balance between inscription and poetic image of Ea between two mountains holding two water streams, punctuated by small trees and Venus' flowers.



KASSITE

32

The ratio of text to image is higher in this seal, of similar type to no. 29. There is an Egyptian frisson in the shaven-headed man (perhaps a priest) holding a lotus to his nose at the Tree of Life

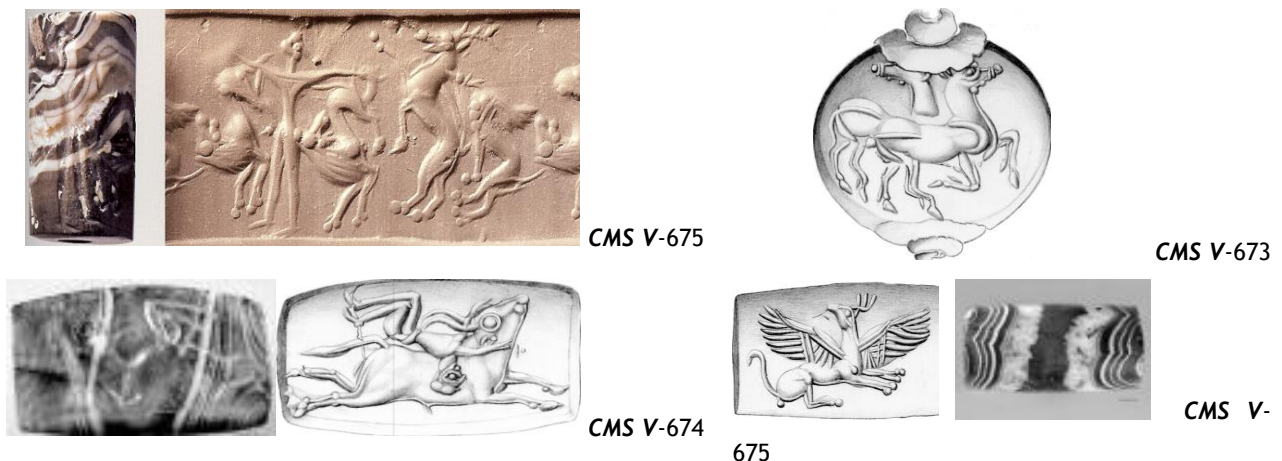


KASSITE

<p>Edith Porada (<i>ibid.</i>) Seal no. 29</p> <p>In contrast to seals 26 /27 apart from the same symbols in the background this seal has a realistic rendition of the Tree of Life as a date palm and human ruler with harpé before it.</p>	<p>THEBES HOARD SEAL [all of lapis lazuli]</p> 	<p>Edith Porada (<i>ibid.</i>) Seal no. 29</p> <p>The drawing of it reveals further details such as the two eagles flanking the date palm, and the heraldic display of shooting baby palms sprouting from it. Again, eye lozenges, flowers and cross are divine determinatives.</p>	<p>THEBES HOARD SEAL [all of lapis lazuli]</p>  <p>KASSITE</p>
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III. 8- 42: Principal seals from the Thebes Kadmeion seal hoard in rough chronological order (row by row)

Not part of the lapis lazuli hoard, but also found in the Kadmeion, were four other seals (**III. 8- 29** - illustrated again below for ease of reference) which (as discussed in relation to **BaLu-20**) from their use of agate and drill hole style used for joints and spectacle eyes, appear to be of a much earlier date than the International Style component of the main hoard and are probably, according to Aruz, native Mycenaean hierlooms of an earlier period. The agate cylinder could have been inspired, as Minoan seals were, by imported cylinders from further east - even Cyprus: certainly the favoured material, agate, places them in the main era of Mycenaean agate use (**BaLu-25/27**).



III. 8- 43: The four seals listed in CMS V of agate found in the Kadmeion (673 is simply described as of 'harter stein' -note also the gold enhancement of the thread hole)

We remember in relation to the location of both Crete and Thebes two traditions: that Minos was the son of Europa, a princess of Tyre - and that her brother Cadmus founded Thebes. Gordon (*ibid.*) reminds us that 'Europa' and 'Cadmus' are an appropriate pair of Semitic names meaning 'West' and 'East' respectively'.

As the main lapis lazuli Thebes hoard provides a *terminus post quem*, given its Kassite items coincide at some point with the Amarna Period, we can at least place the objects from Tutankhamun's tomb after it chronologically, with International Style objects around the time of Akhenaten just before them. With more material to look at from that period in **Catalogue E: The Forward Attack**, it therefore makes sense to pursue a fuller study of the International Style as our **Chronological Focus** in that catalogue.

ART HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE -BALU-31/32/33/34/35

RAS SHAMRA UGARIT, TUTANKHAMUN'S TOMB AND A VIZIER'S JUG FROM BUBASTIS

This section covers examples of Levantine and Egyptian art using what was originally identified in its narrowest sense as 'the International Style', representative examples of whose decorative approach can be seen on the Ras Shamra gold bowl and Tell Bubastis engraved silver jug with bands of lion attacks - most of them Back Lunges - contrasted with Nilotic scenes as also found on the Gurna bowl (the catalogue entries give further analyses). On these artefacts the outflung stance of several of the lions and bulls is the novel factor in contrast with the more old-fashioned, purely Egyptian (or Mesopotamian) sub-scenes. The same kinds of strip designs used previously on swords (**BaLu-28**) now decorate all kinds of small luxury objects such as ointment jars or spoons, notably on several items from Tutankamun's tomb (bearing in mind some must date from the Tell Amarna period just previous to his reign) which helps to mesh them not only with Ras Shamra (with its strong links to Crete, Cyprus and Mycenae) but also with Syria in general, at a time we know Akhenaten's thrust was to break Egypt's traditions apart and weave in half-understood syncretic religious ideas and their imagery from both the Levant and indirectly the Aegean. In fact the foundations for Egypt's fascination for Syria had been laid much earlier, during the Asiatic campaigns of Tuthmoses III.



III. 8- 44: The Ras Shamra gold bowl, Aleppo Museum, Syria

Starting from the centre of the gold bowl and moving outwards, we have the same representative animals for the quarters of the year as used in Crete and Mycenae, with determinatives of flowers with the

goats/ibex and festoons of pomegranates for the bulls and lions (their seeds signifying the counting of days). Both circles prance round a 13-petalled flower, possibly pointing at the reconciliation of lunar and solar months. The outer rim, framed inside and outside by a continuous guilloche, shows two lion-tamers of obvious Syrian type (bottom left) flanked on either side by leaping Back Lunges on a goat and bull respectively. The other half of the rim has as its centrepiece two winged sphinxes (one human-headed, one lion-headed) either side of a Tree of Life, between yet two further Back Lunge Groups, one a straight-forward lion on a bull, the other of a lion on a seated griffin - all of whose astronomical iconography it would be premature to discuss at this point (note that two of the Back Lunge groups have the polar sky eagle flying above). Suffice here it to say that many of the animals decorating the bowl are in the extravagantly extended flying leap we associate with the International Style, and that although the animal iconography for the most part rests on Mesopotamian foundations, their treatment, given away in so many details, is entirely Syrian.

We cannot resist quoting here Gordon (*ibid.*)'s mention of two not-often mentioned snippets of information - that there was a Semitic tradition of using metal incantations bowls in rituals to ward off evil, 'buried upside down in buildings whose occupants wished to be protected' and goes on to say

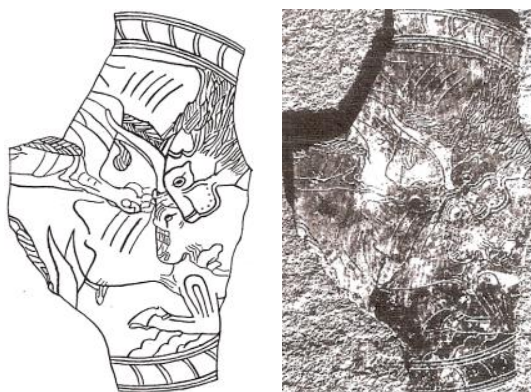
The two earliest examples of such incantation bowls are, however, Minoan. They were found buried upside down under the floor at Knossos.

We associate the use of the International Style at its peak not only with the reign of Akhenaten, but also with his successor, Tutankhamun, whose many grave goods, some well known, others more unusual - such as the embroidered panels of one of many shirts buried with him (**BaLu-32**) show this particular vintage of the style, as particularly practiced in the Levant - indeed often using Syrian craftsmen. Very close in style and subject are the engraved decorative bands on the silver jug with gold rim and goat handle inscribed with the name of Temtoneb, a royal butler of the XIXD buried at Bubastis two generations later (**BaLu-33**). As already mentioned, a telling signpost in the dating of the International Style is the Thebes lapis lazuli hoard of seal blanks and seals principally originating from Cyprus, Mitanni and Kassite Babylon, some items of which nicely dovetail with the textual record of correspondents of the Amarna Letters writing from Kassite Babylon and petty princedoms in the Levant to the Pharaohs, notably Amenophis III and Akhenaten.

On the monumental scale, it is accepted as read that there were strong enough links between the Mycenaean and Hittite worlds to account for architectural similarities such as the use of corbelled tunnels and chambers at such sites as Tiryns and Mycenae, so strikingly close in treatment to similar structures at Hattusas. The gateways of their capitals also used lion guardians at gateways while, unusually, our **BaLu-34** features the variation found at Hittite Alaca Hüyük of a crude rendition of lioness with a calf beneath her forepaws, allowing for artistic licence includable as a monumental Back Lunge. We have drawn in under **BaLu-34f** the doorway decoration of lion and bull on the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae although not strictly a lion-bull attack as such (note the suggested correction that this was not a bull-leaping scene - explained in the catalogue entry). It means the the Alaca Hüyük and Treasury of Atreus lion-with-bull guardians have a different message from the plain lion-gateways of Mycenae and Hattusas.

When it comes to placing the Mycenaean ivories of **BaLu-35**, Poursat⁷⁷ in his catalogue of Mycenaean ivories makes two or three interesting overall comments, as well as illustrating less well-known pieces that give some idea of the stages of their art historical development and variety of sites they were found at. In his section on *Formation of the Repertoire* (missing the opportunity to understand their adoption of, and contribution to, the **CANEA**⁷⁸ as put forward in our *Iconography* section later), remarking on the jumble of pieces and styles he writes, ‘Ce manque d’unité ne reflète-t-il pas la pluralité des sources auxquelles les ivoiriers ont puisé leur inspiration?’ adding, ‘Ne peut-on reconnaître, sous cette diversité, comme une stratification qui nous permettrait de discerner une histoire?’ Our suggested ‘histoire’ is given in the *Iconography* section - certainly our entry for the **BaLu-35** ivories gives one or two stepping stones in that history from the point of view of the use the Back Lunge motif, summarising stylistic changes during the time of the last Mycenaean palaces.

Valuably, Poursat relates the Mycenaean ivories to the mentions of ivory-working on the Pylos Linear B tablets and the vocabulary used for ivory artefacts and their functions. The majority of the rectangular plaques - when not a comb design - appear to have been made as small panels for insertion into furniture, most notably thrones or footstools, possibly also beds (known in Syrian contexts - see the well-known Ugarit ivory bed-head treated under **Catalogue F: The Bilateral Attack**) and copied in Assyrian furniture later. Sometimes these small panels would have formed the sides of small boxes - though the favoured container of this period, due to the natural cylinder of the elephant tusk, was the pyxis. There are several surviving examples of the latter, most notably the spectacular example from Mycenaean Athens, though in several cases only the lid - or just the main body - survives. A later pyxis lid (below) not included under our



Ill. 8- 45 :Ivory pyxis lid from Cyprus, Nikosia Museum Disc TEIII

entry comes from Kouklia-Evreti, Cyprus (to contrast with the Cypriote seals in the Thebes hoard), this time with part of a Forward Attack *engraved* on the ivory - a technique popular on Early Assyrian ivories, quicker to make, and possibly the accepted approach when the island was occupied by the Neo-Assyrians - whose mention brings us to that watershed between the Second and First Millennia where we have to telescope the ‘join’ between the two by losing two to three hundred years (as in our redating suggestions given in the right-hand columns of **Ill. 8- 12** - and for whose vagueness the ‘Dark Ages’ is often given as an excuse).

⁷⁷ Jean-Claude Poursat *Les Ivoires Mycéniens* 1977

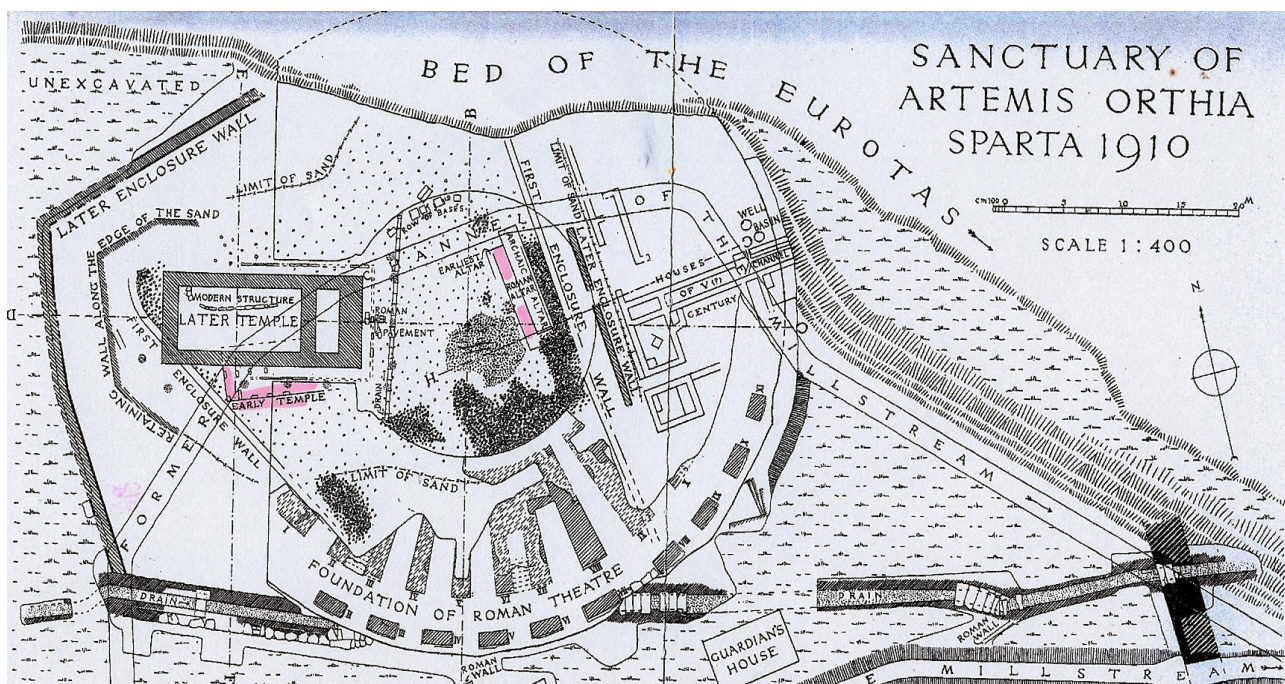
⁷⁸ See for instance the suckling cow panel from Archanes (pl.Vi,1) or the pyxis with bull-leaping scene from Katsambas (pl.X, 3-4).

THE 'DARK AGES' IN SPARTA - BALU-36

There is sufficient proof from both building orientation and the use of **CANEA** motifs that the Mycenaeans kept alive the astronomical methods of Knossos across the Mycenaean Empire as independent Mycenaean centres were established along a meridian favouring the Greek mainland further west of the Aegean zodiacal layout. The breakdown of calendrical regulation as it came to an end can explain the chaos of the 'Dark Ages' that followed, though likely to have been a shorter period than conventionally calculated.

THE SITE OF ARTEMIS ORTHIA: IVORIES OF THE GODDES AS OFFERINGS TO HER

A representative site symptomatic of the Dark Ages is the temple of Artemis Orthia in Sparta with its many small ivory offerings (**BaLu-36**) made to the Great Goddess (often compared with contemporary levels - also with similar small ivory votive offerings - of the Great Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Heraion at Olympia and the finds of Perachora). The interpenetration of the Greek cult world with that of the Orient shows up particularly clearly at this site for the period following the breakdown of sustainable government in kingdoms all round the Eastern Mediterranean c.1200 to the turn of the millennium with the disturbing exodus of displaced peoples everywhere - the reason, a few centuries later during the Persian Wars, Sparta still sided with the Lydians and Persians rather than the Athenians. Rather than looking at the Back Lunge ivories from the site in isolation, it is worth gaining an overview of what must have been going on at this outpost of Kybele/Artemis by leafing through Dawkins'⁷⁹ entire report. Looking at his map of the site three



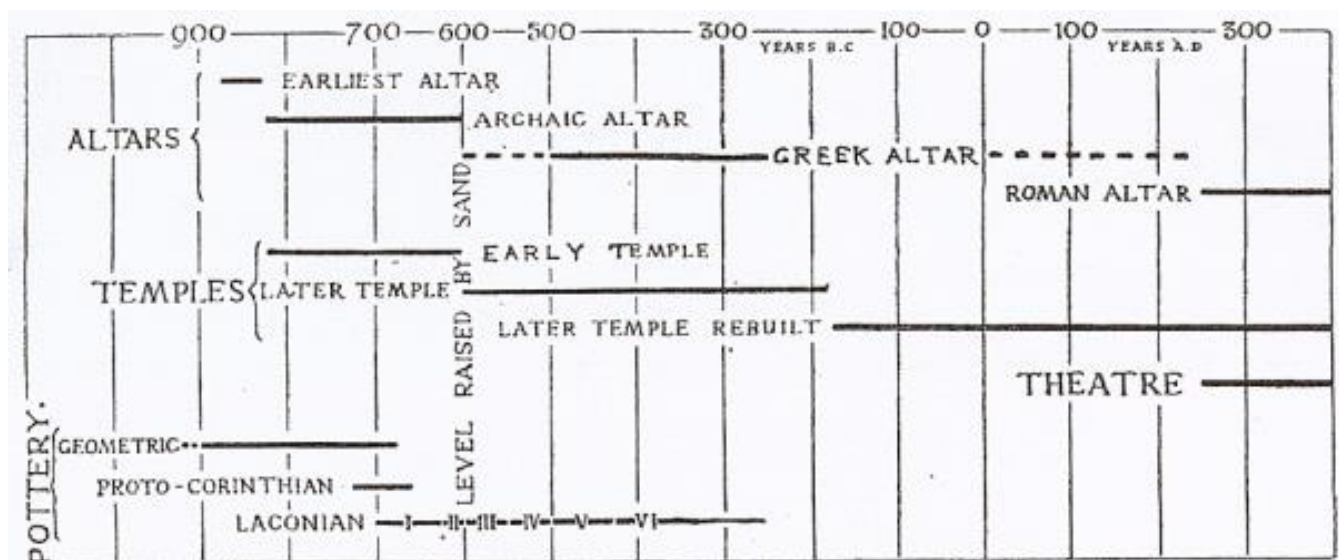
III. 8- 46: Map showing the distribution of catalogue artefacts from the Post-Palatial period to Hellenistic times

years on from the map he made in 1907 (reproduced in the catalogue entry) it now shows the earlier levels excavated: concentrating in particular on the areas highlighted in pink where the votive offerings dating to 1000-800 were found, the key paragraph in Dawkins' report (*ibid.* p.12-13) runs as follows:

⁷⁹ R M Dawkins The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (JHS Supplement 5) 1929

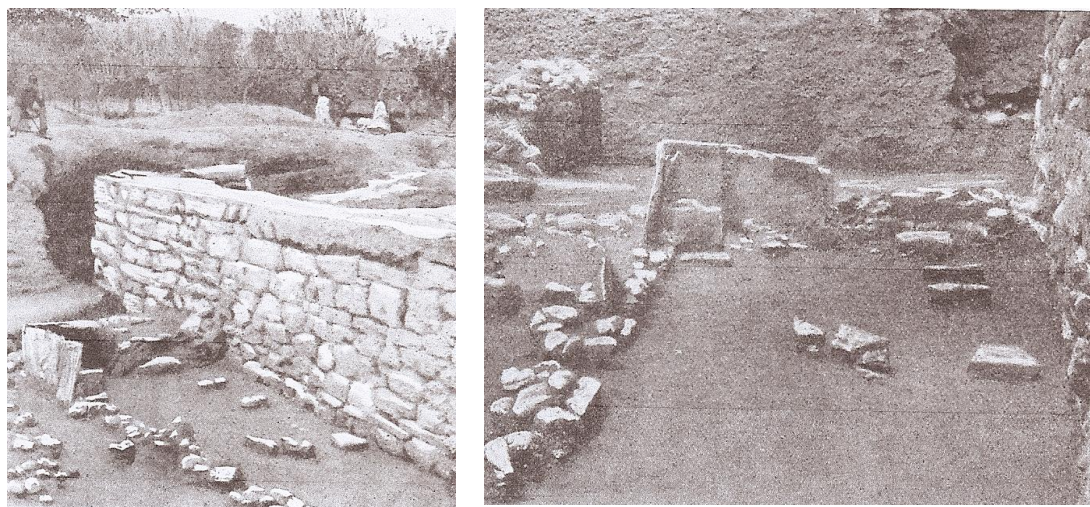
The especial richness of the deposit outside the south-east corner of the later temple may... be attributed to the nearness of this primitive temple, and it is even probable that the objects of which it consisted were stored in the western part of the building. Amongst them were a great number of bone and ivory objects, two of which demand especial notice: the ivory group of a lioness with a calf in her mouth being stabbed by a man (BaLu-36f), and the ivory relief of a ship, both found in this region [pl.CLII,2 and CX]. The former is supplemented by three other ivory carvings of lionesses with their prey found close to the south wall of the later temple, and so far west and thus near to the preserved remains of the early temple as to have certainly formed a part of its contents. These are a good deal larger and finer than the ordinary couchant animals in ivory of which so many have been found, and it is likely that they were kept as objects of especial importance, the more so as the finest ivories are generally rather earlier than the period of the destruction of the early temple. To the period during which this temple and altar were in use we may anticipate the discussion of the chronology by saying here that there is reason to think this was from the late 9C to the end of the 7C....

Dawkins gives a useful table summarizing the chronology of the different levels of the temenos, the earliest of which concern us here (the ivories were in later periods replaced by poorer, small bone, clay, or lead artefacts, and none were of lioness and prey). There were thus at least three pre-Roman stages of altar and temple deduced to have been built on the same spot for over a millennium, ending up framed by a circular Roman theatre, presumably for the participation of increasing numbers of worshippers:



Ill. 8- 47: Dawkins' chart showing the structural changes made at the site from the Post-Palatial period to Hellenistic times

Reproduced below are two photos of the relevant remains of the temple given in his report (its position under the stone Archaic Doric temple is highlighted on his plan reproduced in **Ill. 8- 46**). It is from these remains that he realised it must have been an extremely simple building, brick-built on stone foundations (a few of the latter still in place, visible in the photos). It was long and narrow (its roof must have been held up by a central row of posts also on stone foundations), its entire structure very much along the lines



Ill. 8- 48: Remains of earliest temple stone foundations exposed under the walls of the Archaic Doric temple -Dawkins figs 6/7 of the contemporary Heraeum at Olympia (found at both these temples were the remains of iron spits, used as an early form of currency, stored in their treasury or made as offerings at the altar).

Overall, the artefacts of this level reveal strong hints of links to both the Hittite Levant (the faces of the bone figurines of Artemis stand out in this respect when compared with this 8C carving from Sidon in the



Ill. 8- 49:Hittite bone figurine from Sidon - Dawkins fig. 117

British Museum cited by Dawkins) and to nearby latter-day Minoan/Mycenaean centres - as revealed by the tiny bone double-axes and bone disc or multi-faceted stamp seals (the design for one of which shows a cow suckling her calf) also found amongst the debris. Here Dawkins points us towards Poulsen⁸⁰ to follow chapter and verse the deeply-rooted mesh of Greek art's beginnings in the chaos of the entire Dark Age Near East, with suggested way-stations of immediate influence on Sparta also being Cyprus and Rhodes.

⁸⁰ Frederik Poulsen *Der Orient und die Frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig and Berlin 1912

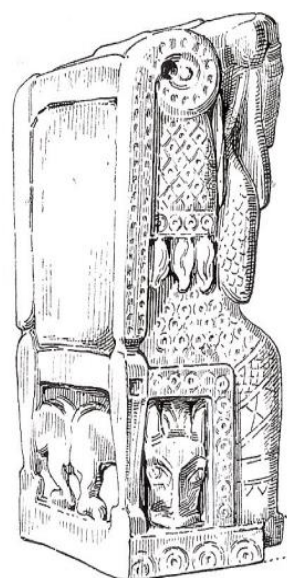
The finest lioness and prey ivories appear to have represented the Goddess herself, but then during the Protogeometric and Archaic periods, as elsewhere, she was more likely to be represented anthropomorphically in terra cotta (some painted) or bone figurines (see illustrations below) as an upright xoanon-type figure (akin to the column so much associated with the aniconic aspect of the Goddess sometimes used at Crete and Mycenae) and with high polos - as at Ephesus itself into Hellenistic times. Other ivory figurines show her seated on a throne, sometimes (below centre) alongside another Goddess (probably her complement, the child-birth goddess Eleithea, whose rites are recorded as also at times celebrated at Sparta - note the two lions rump to rump under their seat). Some figurines show Artemis Orthia with a lioness or two nestling against her skirt whilst in others she is juxtaposed with horse or dog - and indeed is frequently shown as *Potnia Theron* holding up a variety of animals - including a snake. Boar figurines are also represented amongst the remains.



Dawkins pl. XXX,6, terra cotta



Dawkins pl. CXVII,3, bone



Dawkins pl. CXXIV,c/d - ivory

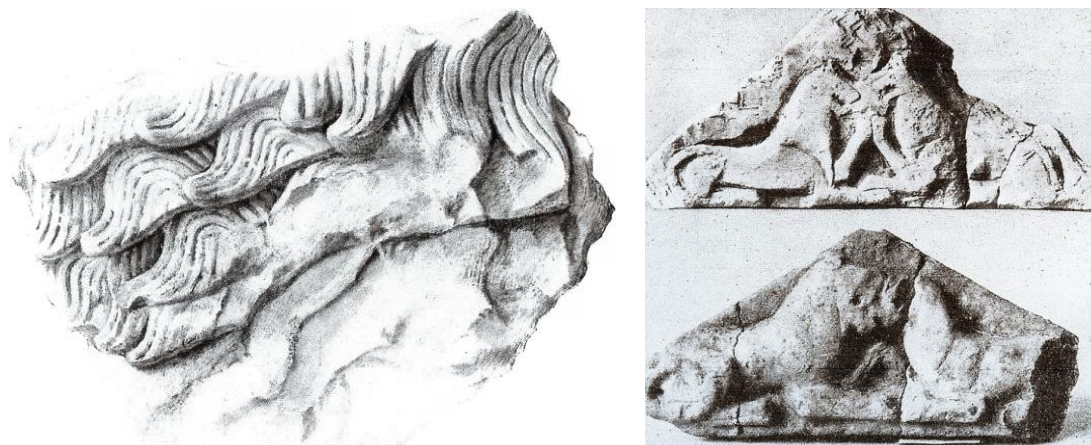


Dawkins fig.108, painted terra cotta

Ill. 8- 50: Models of Artemis Orthia from the site, including a painted terra cotta version with her lion nestling against her

Dawkins makes the point that good ivory supplies must have been reaching Sparta up to around 600BC - a tell-tale clue being two or three imported ivory kohl containers with dippers found in the lower strata, characteristic of the Middle East (Syria in particular), and that 'the supply [must have] ceased when Tyre submitted to Nebuchadnezzar in 573 BC'. This would explain the changeover to votive offerings of bone, lead and terra cotta.

The 'Dark Ages' temple was succeeded by a much larger, Archaic Doric temple all in stone (thus roughly contemporary with the temple of Assos in the Troad that used - as already seen under **Belland-17** and **Ratt-48** - nearly all the lion-prey compositional types on its Doric frieze). This marked a new beginning across the site, the former level decommissioned by an entire layer of sand that showed up as a helpful dividing level during the archaeological dig. In the case of the stone temple of Artemis Orthia, tantalisingly we have only the remains of one Doric capital (Dawkins fig.10) that belonged to fragments of a sixteen-fluted column - and a painted limestone lion mane (below left) probably from its pediment. Dawkins



Ill. 8- 51: Fragment of painted limestone Lion mane from the 7C Doric Temple of Artemis Orthia (left, Dawkins pl.V) and (right) small 'sketches' in limestone of the probable front pediment design showing confronted lions (Dawkins fig. 11)

considered two almost identical limestone miniature pedimental reliefs from the general remains (above right) to be sketches for what was likely to have been the pediment design, along the lines of the roughly contemporary Korkyra pediment (below) also with heraldically confronted leopards/lions, without prey, either side of the Gorgon - perhaps corresponding to the two lions under the enthroned Goddesses ivory.



Ill. 8- 52: The Korkyra Pediment, Archaeological Museum, Corfu

The conclusion we come to here is that the small ivory lion and prey figurines, the best of which feature in our **BaLu-36** entry, were meant to be a different type of reference to the Goddess (since astronomical), in contrast to the general meaning of the lioness alone - before her anthropomorphic form came to the fore.

SUNRISE AFTER THE DARK AGES: BALU-37 TO BALU-44

In later catalogues we tease out the chronology of the first half of the millennium to seriate artefacts more precisely. Suffice it here to say that after what might seem to be the 'regression' of the so-called Dark Ages (**BaLu-36**) at the turn of the millennium, we see reflected in the next artefacts the return of organized government in Assyria (**BaLu-37**) and ensuing Graeco-Persian worlds that incorporated the crucial, ever-present Levantine input of both the Phoenicians and Scythians with their own frequent use of the Lion-Prey theme (**BaLu-38-43**). In Hellenistic times (**BaLu-44-48**) the Back Lunge - like the Rear Attack - continued to have high currency, either on stand-alone monuments or seals and coins - and rarely in purely astronomical contexts or alongside other images of the full *Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art*.

THE NEO-ASSYRIANS - BALU-37

The next Back Lunge item of our catalogue (**BaLu-37**) returns to the circular design (as so long practiced on seals, bowls and pyxis lids) on a Neo-Assyrian bronze disc, which we contrast with a circular open-work ivory from Nimrud, with lion and bull head-to-tail. Since Assyria comes into full view under the Chronological Focus for **Catalogue F: the Bilateral Attack** (where the appearance of the motif only on ritual robes on palace reliefs takes centre stage) we leave further discussion of Assyrian engagement with lion-bull iconography until then, and move on to summarise quite briefly artefacts from the Graeco-Persian world that interweave with others from Scythia during the Archaic period from roughly 700 onwards.

SCYTHS, PHOENICIANS, GREEKS, PERSIANS AND ETRUSCANS 6C-5C BC -BALU-38-44

We have done a very rough sort of the varied material that comes under the second half of the First Millennium. Bearing in mind the motif had been part of the cultural background of the same territories all through the Second Millennium, unsurprisingly they are witness to new kinds of interconnection between states stretching between Mediterranean and Iranian Empires, drawing in new provinces on their fringes. In the interweaving of pottery, coins, metalwork, textiles and several large pieces of sculpture, use of the Back Lunge in many different contexts suggests its core meanings were still understood, even if few were now concerned with primary calendar monitoring at temple sites. On several of the larger items of what we could call Satrapal art (whether Athenian, Lycian or Phoenician) the Back Lunge does no more than proclaim that domain's allegiance to Persia, at the same time proclaiming Persia's prime authority.

In the 6C BC we see examples of the Archaic Period rendition of this compositional type not only still in use in the Greek world itself (**BaLu-39**), still self-understood as locked into a loose continuum with the fringes of Cyrus' empire in Lydia, but spreading dramatically to the Scythian world in its increasing interface with both Greeks and Persians (Ill. 8- 54). Where we understood from the Chronological Focus of **Catalogue B** the practical astronomical meanings of the lion-bull gateways at Persepolis and their proclamation of royal power in managing the Empire's calendar, how far can we say the Scythians using the Back-Lunge symbol on harnesses, tattoos, carpets and saddles knew what it referred to? Certainly on the Bash Adar coffin (**BaLu-38**) it was knowingly used in a funerary context, but most often it was used as the blazon of a devolved leader's authority, perhaps also proclaiming allegiance to the Goddess, but surely also flagged up by tribal warriors to suggest an aura of association with the great Persian, Graeco-Thracian or Lydian empires they continually made inroads into, asserting deserved or borrowed status.

Going all the way back to the site of Maikop (**Ratt-10**), the nomadic peoples of Central Asia had always played a strong part in preserving their brand of certain motifs from the **CANEA** in their metalwork and other media. Evidently the lion-bull attack was seen as a particularly strong statement of power and status, mirrored back to the people who were using it at the highest levels of meaning - the Greeks and Persians. By 700 the Central Asian peoples on the fringes found themselves in the middle ground between the oriental Greek world of the Black Sea and Anatolia, and that of the emerging Medes and Persians in Media and Fars (they themselves being of Central Asian stock). This is summed up at a glance in the map below, the long arrow from the east serving to point out early Slavic and Mongolian origins, where the earliest

examples of the nomadic Back Lunge is seen on their horse-gear (**BaLu-38**). Indeed it was thanks to the Mitanni horse experts back in the Second Millennium (their manual on horses survives in cuneiform) that horse and chariot use had started to seep down into the Levant, while the nomads in turn increasingly capitalized on what the Near East had to offer, building up their own itinerant kingdoms using **CANEA** motifs and its variations (such as the Griffin), with local additions.



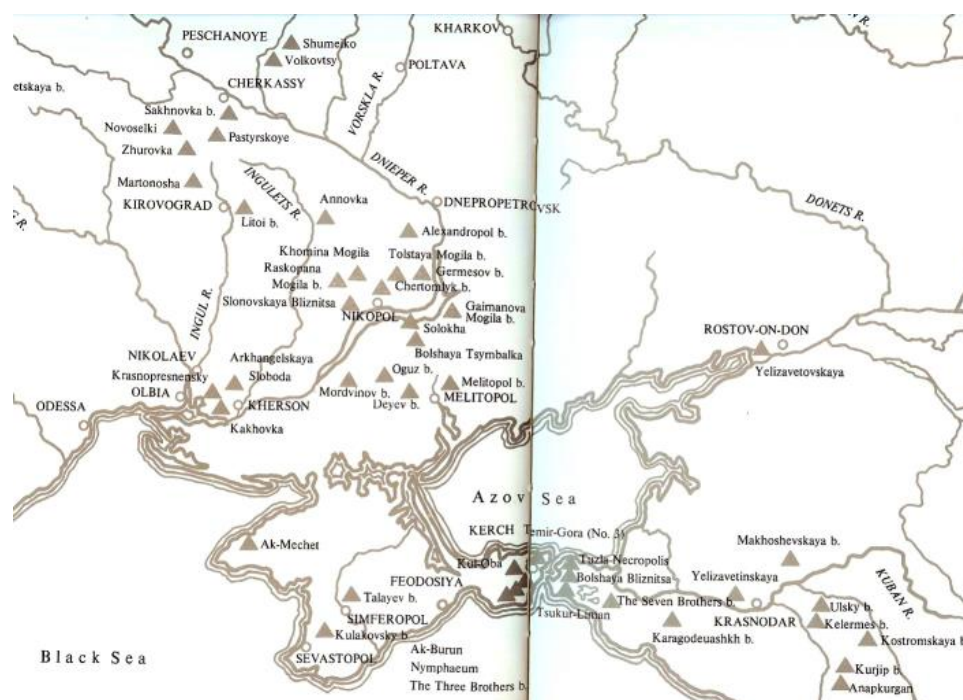
III. 8- 53: Theatre of Scythian invasions of the mid-First Millennium - National Geographic Sept 1996 p.61

For the examples under **BaLu-38/41** and their link to Median art, Razmjou⁸¹ has best expressed the nomadic art of the Medes as a style developed by them while still strongly linked to their Central Asian roots, in a blend of Scythian and Babylonian strands - the latter being the component required to express the messages of urban government at the stage where the Medes and their Persian cousins joined administrative forces to form their own, less mobile, empire (though during any year the King of Kings still moved round to the four different Achaemenid capitals in turn, according to season). For simplicity's sake we have divided up Scythian artefacts into three main blocks - the earliest (6C) showing an abstract, more primitive, Asian treatment of shapes (as in **BaLu-38**) as yet untouched by Greek or Persian influence and needing no further comment; a middle group (6-5C) showing increasing Assyro-Persian input (**BaLu-41**); and finally (in the 5-4C) the later, highly worked examples revealing the predominant influence of the Hellenistic Greek world (**BaLu-42-44**).

During the 6-5C we have pieces from all sorts of provincial outposts around the entire Mediterranean and their hinterlands where the interplay of Greek, Persian and Phoenician worked itself through (well

81

exemplified in the proxenos monument of *BaLu-43*), all using the motif in civilized or provincial form (*BaLu-40/42*) with many indications the lion-bull attack was still common on seals and seal rings all through the 5-3C, as far afield as Taxila (*BaLu-42*) in the Punjab, often deliberately copying the group from better-known, larger sculptures put up in the Persian Satrapies. Further west, from the present-day areas of Russia, Bulgaria or Italy, come further metal finds belonging to people of high status (*BaLu-44*) all using the lion-prey iconography, sometimes with leopard taking the place of the lion, and with prey as unusual as the swan (they did also appear on Minoan seals, a migrant bird, marker of the seasons).



Ill. 8- 54: Map showing main barrow sites for Scythian artefacts - from Piotrovsky ibid.

Most artefacts come from the main Scythian barrows cluster along the rivers in the country around the Black Sea, in the former Ukraine and Crimea, territory further round the Black Sea from the Dardanelles, where the three worlds met at the crossing point for the Persians into Greece during the Persian Wars.

THE SPREAD OF COINAGE 5-4C BC: BALU-45-48

During the transition period after the Persian Wars the Persian Empire - now backed up behind the East-West dividing line with mainland Greece and the Cyclades - started to partition its administration into satrapies where the use of coinage in those with more advanced economies was adopted, being in essence sealings on gold, silver or bronze instead of on clay - and exchangeable for commodities in kind⁸². The Back Lunge appears often, being the most convenient compositional type for round coins as it had been for seals. Also in many areas seal rings were ever more used by administrators instead of cylinder seals as stamps of authority or personal belief. The first use of coinage in Sardis in the late 6C was, ironically, initially taken up in Lydian-oriented Greece at Athens and Aegina, and used by colonizing Phocaians with allegiance to Athens and Athena, as at Hyele/Velia in Archaic Italy - *BaLu-47*). From the middle of the 6C coinage also

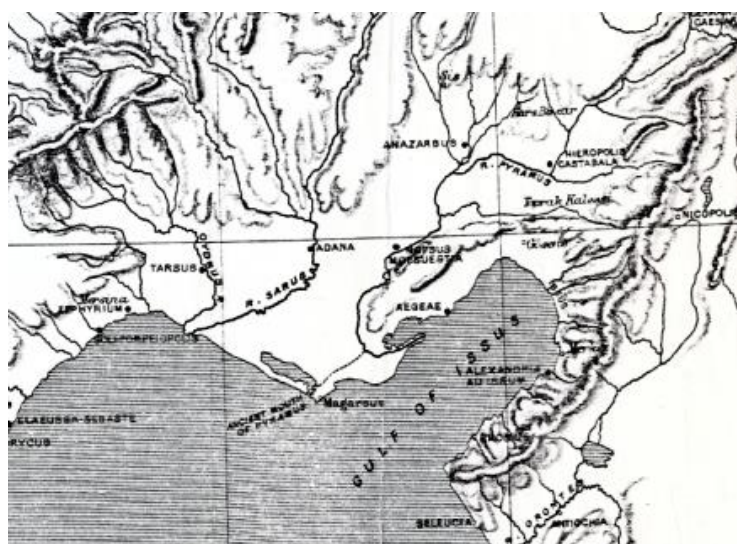
⁸² The importance of this concept in trade and economics is put forward by G G Aperghis *The Seleucid Royal Economy* 2004

started to be minted in the first Satrapy of Lycia-Caria and related territories, whose regional capital was Lycia (though none of its coins bear the lion-deer attack so prevalent on the larger monuments there (see under **BaLu-42**). Overwhelmingly it is in the Levantine Satrapies⁸³ that the lion-prey motif appeared on local coinage, its imagery used under the Persian policy of allowing subject countries to use traditional local religious imagery -at the same time coinciding with Persia's own adoption of the motif from Elamite prototypes into the imperial iconography (see **Catalogue B**). With what we already know now from this and the previous catalogue about the ubiquity of the lion-bull attack on 2M seals throughout the Levant, it is no surprise to find that the coins of Kition in Cyprus (**BaLu-45**), echoed by cities in Cilicia⁸⁴ and Cappadocia in



Ill. 8- 55: Map of Cyprus showing the location of Kition (present-day Larnaca), site of a temple to Astarte

the ^cAmuq borderlands between Anatolia and Syria (**BaLu-46**) should all use the Back Lunge - followed further down the coast in certain cities of the Fifth Satrapy designated as *Phoenicia* (which covered Syria in the north and cities such as Byblos, Hierapolis, Tyre and Sidon - as well as places like Gaza, Samaria (**BaLu-48**) Ashdod and Ashkelon further south in Palestine-Arabia).



Ill. 8- 56: (Left) detail from Hill's *BMCoinCatXXI* showing the location of Tarsus and Myriandros (Alexandria-ad-Issos) on the Cilician plain below the Taurus Mountains, in the context (right) of a general overview of Cilicia and Syria, whose lands were jointly assigned to the Satrap Mazaïos (note how Cyprus is the closest island to the international ports of Ugarit and Myriandros - both, significantly in terms of early prototypes, not far from the site of Alalakh).

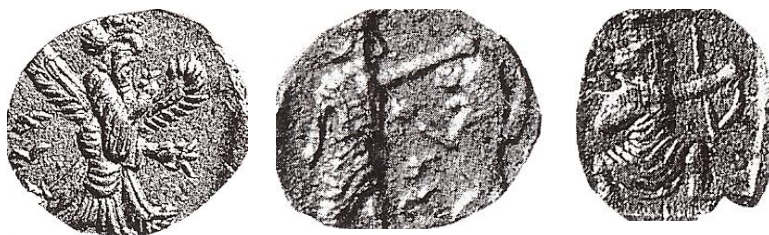
⁸³ A useful summary of those coins depicting the Lion-Prey subject are given in Bivar (*ibid.*).

⁸⁴ See Edward T Newell 'Myriandros - Alexandria Kat'issos' *American Journal of Numismatics* LIII 1-41 and plate

SELEUCID AND ROMAN SYNCRETISM

Put forward in summary fashion as a non-expert, the coins in particular are a useful group to look at (**BaLu-45-48**) to make certain points which we shall make here rather than at the end of the *Iconography* section. The choice of the motif reveals unbroken familiarity and continuity with the Second Millennium cultural allegiances of these regions, now irradiated by current political links, mostly to Persia but sometimes also to Greece, especially further south in Palestine and Arabia (Ashdod, Ashkelon and most notably Gaza - completely destroyed in the end by Alexander) where Athenian coins were deliberately copied.

Though at times use of the lion-prey motif in Syria and the lands round it may have been deliberate references to larger contemporary monuments⁸⁵ elsewhere in the Persian Empire (most notably Persepolis itself) we are accumulating the impression now that it did stand in its own right as a symbol of the Goddess. It is usually paired on the coin obverse by a related divinity of some kind - whether the head of Athena in the case of Greek linkage or (most often) with the enthroned figure of Baal-Zeus holding telling attributes as described in the catalogue entries. The comparatively recent discovery of the Samaria Hoard at Nablus in 1968 revealed other, more overtly Persian-referenced coins (**BaLu-48**) than anywhere else in



Ill. 8- 57: Variant Achaemenid designs from the Samaria Hoard, usually fronting the hippocamp/trireme design on the obverse the Phoenician Satrapy (especially in contrast to Judah nearby which mostly favoured the Athenian owl). These Samarian coins have varied obverse sides to the Samarian trireme that include not only the enthroned King of Kings (as in our catalogue entry) but also a depiction of the King of Kings grappling with a lion (Gilgamesh fashion) or drawing his bow (as on Persian Darics or Sigloi) - and, fascinatingly, even a winged Ahuramazda - perhaps standing in for the inexpressible Yahweh equivalent (above left). This syncretism (not imagined, but proved in images and inscriptions) is again seen in our final catalogue items.

THE BACK LUNGE ON HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN MONUMENTS -BALU 49-52

From the later entries we see how frequently the Back Lunge continued to be used in the Graeco-Roman world in both temple and funerary contexts. Although our remit ends with the Seleucids, we felt it important to give some idea of how the Romans through exposure to their eastern empire still gave currency to it, especially since their iconography often spells out aspects of its iconography more explicitly. The site of Pergamon, famous for its freestanding sculpture of the dying Gaul on its temple temenos, again raises the issue of the penetration of the Classical world by barbarians: in 230 Attalos I held back the Gauls attempting the invasion Pergamon. It is in a comparatively short interlude in the Hellenistic period that under Athenian influence the city flourished, with built and sculpted monuments in honour of a large

⁸⁵ Bivar *ibid.* particularly relates the monument at Athens to Levantine coinage, concluding it could be a monument to Mazaios himself.

number of the Gods and Goddesses of the Greek Pantheon, which included the small temple to Athena with its outdoor altar decorated with the spectacular pair of Back Lunges as restored in **BaLu-49**. A century later comes the guardian doorway sculpture from Palmyra (**BaLu-50**) copied in updated versions all over the

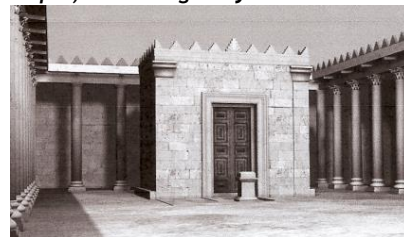
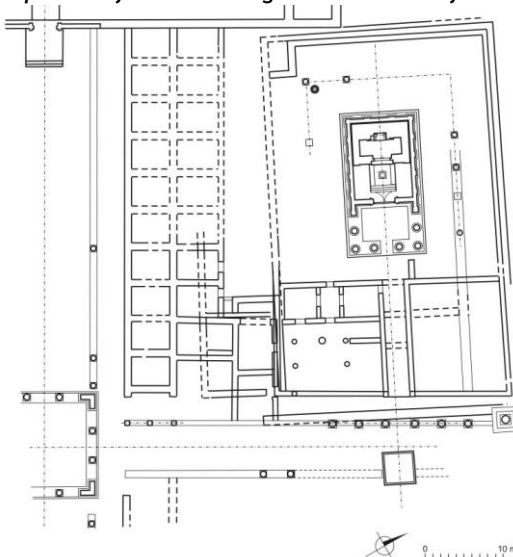


Ill. 8- 58: (Left) view of doorway into temple precinct; (centre) general view with hill behind and (right) cella area with steps up to the socle with grooves for the statue of Athena added in Roman times (photos author)

Roman Empire in later times (**BaLu-50f**), its inscriptions and two sculptures (the first from the time of its foundation and the second installed after the Roman Camp of Diocletian forced changes in its structure), give firm proof of the equation of the Arab Allāt first with Artemis - and then Minerva/Athena (below).



Ill. 8- 59: Positioning of Aramaic inscription on doorway lintel stating the temple is dedicated to Allāt-Artemis with the injunction not to shed the blood of any creature and (right) dedicatory Aramaic inscription of Shalam-allāt, the individual mainly responsible for the building and dedication of the original temple, which originally had a sundial against it



Ill. 8- 60: Plan of Cella and Pronaos of Temple of Allāt left untouched by the Roman Camp built over its precinct with (above right) likely reconstruction of the original 2C BC temple and (below) the rebuilt Roman version of the 1-2C AD.

We cannot dwell at length on the Lod Mosaic (**BaLu-52**) since it is out of our period but, it reconfirms how the lion-prey group in general was still in use as a local, traditional symbol, not only from the old days of

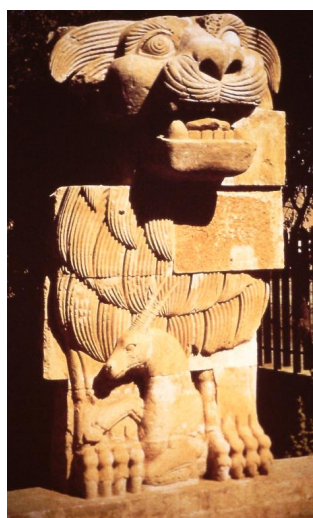
the Satrapy of Phoenicia (**BaLu-48**), but going back to 2M Syria and Canaan and still in use in Rome. It is used here in a decorative scheme suggesting turning points in the seasons of the Year.

ALLĀT, ATHENA AND THE LION-PREY IMAGE: AN ART HISTORICAL METHOD VINDICATED

Palmyra had always been the crossroads and meeting point for different cultures and cults, being on a key trade route between the Levant, Arabia and India. We have already seen the same easy process of equating the essential nature of the Gods of different Panthea in the coinage of the same territory just cited above, and how the Romans often used it in local situations (**BaLu-50f** and **BaLu-51**).



Detail from the Tyskiewicz cylinder seal (**Ratt-28**) showing Venus standing on a Rear Attack group



Guardian sculpture to the Temple of Allāt (**BaLu-50**)



Roman statue of Minerva placed inside the Temple of Allat

Ill. 8- 61: The association of the Lion-Prey group with the Goddess

When I first started out on this study some decades ago my supervisor wanted me to deal with the meaning of the lion attacking its prey only within the Achaemenid/Classical/Hellenistic context (his own specialism). This is akin to studying the meaning of Victorian Nativity scenes without taking into account its previous history, and after I had gathered preliminary evidence it was became overwhelmingly obvious that we would not be able to get at the implications of the Lion-Prey symplegma without dealing with its beginnings from the 5-4th *Millennia* BC in the ancient near east. In this particular catalogue, with the coins and Allāt Temple as cases in point, I believe my approach has been fully justified since we gain so much more of the implications of the group by knowing its local history in Syria from the previous millennium. We would miss out so many dimensions of the meaning of the Back Lunge on seals or coins, as also on the larger pieces of sculpture in the Greek world (both in relief and in the round) if we had not filled out the detail first of their ancient background and prototypes long used in the same territory (see picture juxtapositions above. In turn, without the prototypes initially developed in Mesopotamia and Syria, this choice of motif on Minoan seals would similarly lack those connotations we will be exploring shortly in the *Iconography* section. The use of the Back Lunge in the Classical (and Achaemenid - see our study of Persepolis in **Catalogue C**) - worlds raises the matter, not just of *borrowings* from earlier civilisations but - far more feasibly - the *readoption* , indeed the continued reiteration - of a motif already part of enduring local tradition.

This is further borne out by its repeated appearance in the newly discovered Lod mosaic (**BaLu-52**) on the floor of a private Roman house just outside Tel Aviv, in territory that used to be in the Satrapy of Phoenicia. What is more, the tradition remained alive into Islamic times (photo below) where the group is carved either side of an archway on the first Seljuk mosque, the Ulu Cami at Diyarbakr, built by Malik Shah



Ill. 8- 62: Seljuk mosque entrance⁸⁶ at Diyarbakr in the ^CAmuq region between Syria and Anatolia, now Kurdistan - photo Margaret Robbins

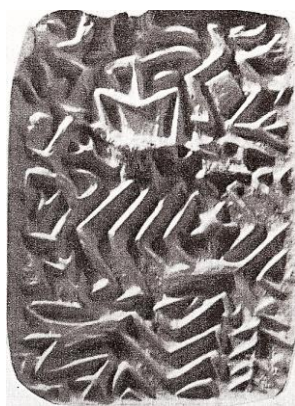
in 1091-2 after he had conquered the town - in the same general territory that gave us the seals of Kültepe, the coins of Cilicia, and the Mithraic iconostasis.

⁸⁶ See G Williams *Eastern Turkey* 1972 pl.57

ICONOGRAPHY OF CATALOGUED ARTEFACTS

ICONOGRAPHY OF EARLIEST PIECES: 4M TO c.1750: BALU-1 TO BALU-15

The protohistoric stamp seals of Luristan and associated painted clay pot of **BaLu-5** using the Back Lunge form a distinct group - though here more *in potentia* than actual physical attack - and often in conjunction with other core motifs of the **CANEA**, most usually the Master of the Beasts, himself often animal headed and wearing boots with curled-up toes (prototype of Šiva on Indus seals, and later of the God Pan in the Greek world). Clearly the large seal of **BaLu-1** compares with a similarly large, more intact double-sided seal in the Louvre (shown below, cited by Amiet *ibid.*, with reed temple entrance on the verso) - in having a secondary human on his side at the bottom meshed into a zig-zag web of animals, vegetation and stars.



Ill. 8- 63 Large square seal with rounded corners - Amiet 1979 fig.14 (Louvre AO 25.228)

One is tempted to see the human figure as representing Orion surrounded by the animal Zo(o)diac, wearing the horns, not of Taurus but of the animals of the preceding goat Solstitial axis of the Capricorn-Cancer meridian (also marked at its zenith by the goat star Capella⁸⁷ and her Kids), explaining the significance of the goat or ibex at this period, in Sumerian myth used to express the role of Tammuz. Inclusion of a star on two of the seals certainly points to astronomical implications, whilst vegetative and herding details suggest the New Year season in particular is alluded to (other clues in additional comments made in the catalogue entries point in this direction), with the Back Lunge itself referring to the end of the Old and start of the New Year as already suggested by previous compositional types. These artefacts contrast with sealings coming from the institutionalised urban centres of Uruk, Susa and the Diyala (**BaLu-6/7**) that move on from abstract patterning to observed realism in animal depiction, a similar contrast to that between 1M Neo-Assyrian and Luristan designs (**BaLu-37**).

The Khafaje vase featured under **BaLu-8** under the entry for a Tepe Gawra sealing is a prime transitional example of the Jemdet Nasr period bridging the protohistoric world and the 3M city-state governments of the Sumerian plain, featuring as it does the Master of the Beasts and Back Lunge of the oldest seals, set against newer features of the **CANEA** such as the war cart, banqueting scenes and scorpion alluding to the autumn sacred marriage ceremony, all to appear frequently on artefacts of the Royal Tombs of Ur. Again these further scenes seem to refer to calendrical high points of the Year. Back Lunge examples from the

⁸⁷ Explained fully in Chapter 19.

Early Dynastic period are sparse due to the fact that the plentiful *Uruk Stance*, *Rear Attack* and *Crossover Attacks* were the versions more favoured in Sumer at this time. However, the catalogue entries we have (*BaLu-9/10*) for seals from Ur and Kish are associated with yet further, more unusual additions to the budding *CANEA* cycle of imagery, as discussed under their respective entries. Then, strikingly, there is a distinct watershed in the material record with the advent of the Akkadians c. 2500BC, followed by the Guti invasions, during which time *the lion-bull attack and most associated CANEA images are not used in Sumer until the return of a much reduced repertoire in the Isin-Larsa period at the turn of the 2M*. Such a strong break indicates the lion-bull attack - and its association with the *CANEA* overall - belongs to the distinct mythopoeia of a particular cultural group, and it is interesting to see that in the 2M it was in Syria that the full *CANEA* continued to survive and be developed further, under new social conditions. The Old Babylonian and Isin-Larsa seals of *BaLu-12* are significant in the placement of the Back-Lunge group immediately behind the throne of the ruler or God participating in a ritual scene which seems to refer to the Sun and Moon as the great Gods of the Calendar, their cycles understood and managed by the Ruler in government, and thus by association they endorse his authority (we have already noted one or two such juxtapositions in both *Catalogues B* and *C* where clearly the lion-prey group is associated with ruler and ritual).

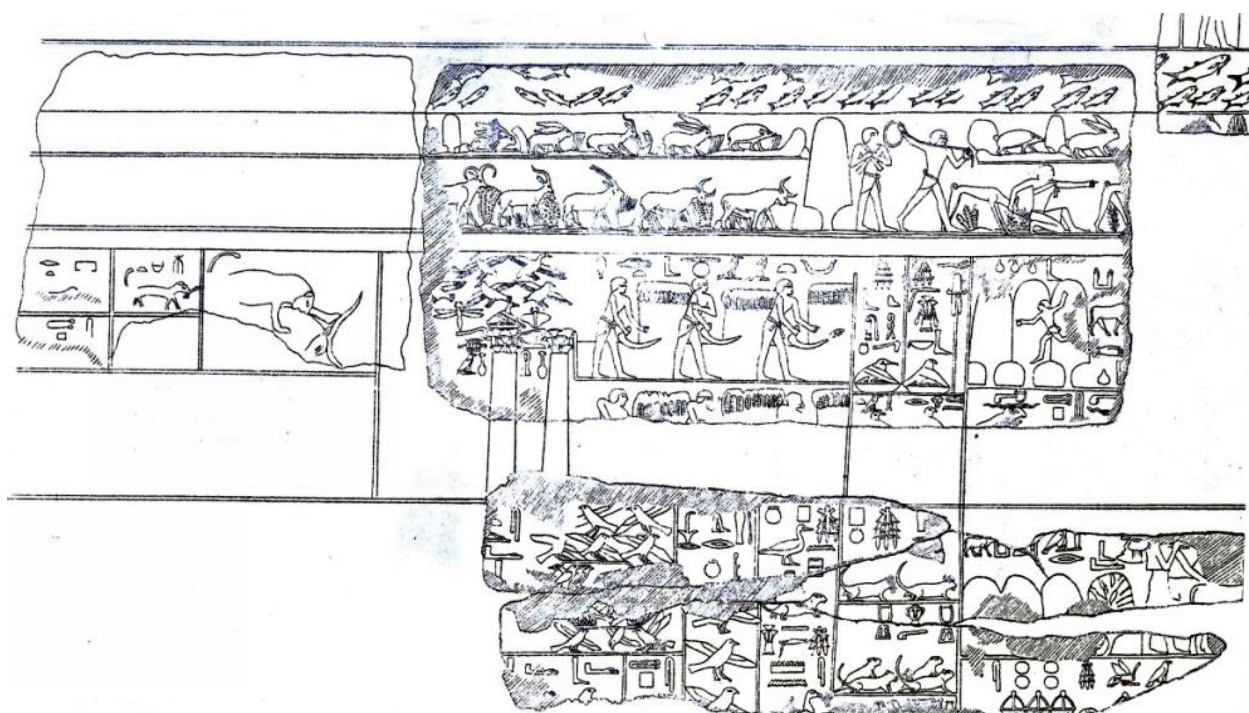
From these earliest Iranian and Sumerian beginnings differing cultures spread, met each other and mutually borrowed: in the case of contact with Egypt's canon of symbolism, cultural bilingualism developed in visual form - as we discuss next.

BI-CULTURALISM WITH EGYPT

The mixed iconography of scarab stamp seals found in the Levant is particularly revealing (*BaLu-14*), and the significance of long-standing Egyptian motifs on them that go back to the First Dynasty is particularly well analysed by Goedicke⁸⁸ in reference to the drawing on an ivory comb from the reign of Djjet (included in the *BaLu-14* entry) of which he writes, 'the picture can thus be analysed like any conglomeration of hieroglyphs which are used, in this case as ... meaning indicators, rather than as phonetic reading signs'. He points out the pair of wings is routinely explained as 'the wings of an enormous heavenly god in falcon shape whose span stretches between the horizons', indicating the line between Heaven and Earth. The Horus falcon appears twice: first perched on his barge as if sailing through Heaven; second on the cartouche of Djjet as the disposer of Kingship (the hieroglyph for his name being the serpent) referring to his Horus Name as Hr-Djjet. The W'as sceptres on either side delimit the extent of Djjet's authority on Earth, and finally an early form of the Ankh Symbol of Life is shown next to one of them, later associated with Hathor/Venus whose name, as we know, means 'House/Womb of Horus'. Looking back to the Luristani and related prehistoric stamp seals earlier in this catalogue we see the same wide wing-spans of raptors invoked on these later syncretic seals, with symbolism held in common between ancient Iran/Iraq and Egypt at this time, and seemingly between them they coined a visual language using local animal and plant behaviour to express phases of the year, and then the interface between divine and political power.

⁸⁸ Hans Goedicke 'Unity and Diversity in the Oldest Religion of Ancient Egypt' in Goedicke and Roberts (eds) *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East* Baltimore and London 1975, 201-217

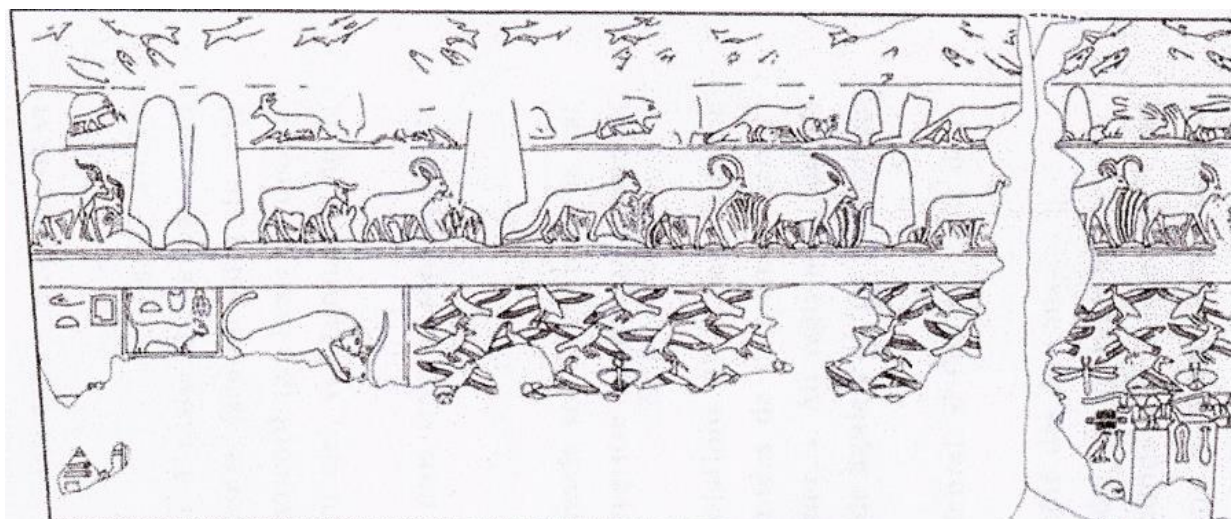
Of course, bilingualism in Egypt's imagery goes back to the Predynastic period, as described particularly from the earliest objects in *Catalogue B: The Uruk Stance* (see also *Ratt-4/7f*). During the ensuing Old Kingdom the lion-bull attack - a particularly Mesopotamian seasonal symbol - plays a part in at least three instances in Fifth Dynasty relief programmes depicting the Seasons. The compositional type for the one in Niuserra^c's Sun Temple decoration at Ghurob is difficult to classify, so not catalogued, but is discussed along with the other two in *Chapter 17 - Piecing Together the CANEA*. Our *BaLu-11*, a Back Lunge on one of the blocks of the VD Unas Causeway at the site of Saqqara further down river confirms that for some reason this pharaoh adopted the lion-bull attack from Mesopotamia, placed probably to announce not only the dry summer season of the Egyptian year after the harvest, associated with the rise of Sothis in July (the Egyptian New Year at the Summer Solstice) but by implication also the Inundation that would follow a few weeks later. What remains of the damaged inscription behind the Back Lunge (which at first glance includes the words Renpet/Peret = New Year) suggests the group is meant to announce the activities of the New Year season with its associated activities (unfortunately now damaged and lost to us). The most recent research⁸⁹ rearranges the blocks slightly differently from Stevenson Smith (see catalogue entry) in which the authors are more cautious in their reading of the pieces of text juxtaposed with the Back Lunge - coming immediately after the detailed scenes of animal reproduction and harvest referred to by Desroches-Noblecourt. The only new revelation is their reading of the lioness, its meaning interpreted as 'giving birth' - which certainly makes sense in relation to the idea of the birth of the New Year by the lioness - as giver of Life as well as taker of Life, an idea pursued on a group of Minoan seals (*BaLu-25*) and then on into the Classical world (*Belland-18*) from time to time).



III. 8- 64 Unas Causeway reliefs as reconstructed in Stevenson-Smith *ibid*.

⁸⁹ A Labrousse and A Moussa 'La Chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas' *Bulletin de l'Égypte* CXXXIV 2002 37-9/figs 42-44 (kindly shared by Prof. Philippe Collombert after a conference organised by the Petrie Museum in London in 2013)

In Labrousse et al.'s version below the block showing a multiplicity of small scenes from the preceding season has been placed over the Back Lunge section, but taking into account the other cases of the lion-bull attack on VD reliefs, if it is meant to be a pointer to the season that follows, to me it means



Ill. 8- 65 Unas Causeway reliefs as reconstructed by Labrousse and Moussa *ibid.*

Stevenson-Smith's restoration is the more likely scenario. The hieroglyphs in the separate, floating fragment underneath it have not satisfactorily been cracked - the suggestions given by Collombert, following Labrousse et al., is that it is the word for 'to choose'

We should stop to consider some key phases in the development of Egyptian religion here. According to Goedicke (*ibid.*), in the IID the Sun came to the fore as a more material representative of divine power, which is when on Egyptian artefacts the Sun disc is placed at the join between the two wings of Heaven, and emphasis is laid on the rising, shining, and setting Sun as a more dynamic manifestation of the realm of heaven, such that the passive background aether of the sky was described first as Atum (from the VID) and then in the VIIID Amun (the Hidden One), both often linked with Ra^c as Ra^c-Atum or Amun-Ra^c. But as early as the IVD Pharaoh Ra^c-Djedef was the first to couple his name with that of the Sun (compare with the above-mentioned 1D Hr-Djet). The King's name now incorporating the Sun power as devolved in him, and in the following centuries pharaohs were routinely specified as 'Son of Ra^c', whatever their other names.

Bearing in mind that as we have moved forward with succeeding catalogues we have started to understand the lion-bull group as implicating both the Venus and Sothic cycle along with that of Sun and Moon, Goedicke then makes a significant statement beautifully confirming our idea:

The striking feature of the time is generally seen in the sun-cult and its promulgation in Sun Temples [most notably at Abusir]. While the justification of this view is above doubt, the emphasis on Ra^c in the Fifth Dynasty is not isolated, but has its little-noted complementary in the religious interest in Hathor. The so-called 'sun sanctuaries' are at the same time places of worship for Hathor, who occupies in them a role equal to Ra^c. In other words, the particular sanctuary conceived and construed in the Fifth Dynasty was dedicated to two deities, Ra^c and Hathor.'

Given the significance of the 8:5 Venus:Sun cycle in Sumer and Akkad and the association of the lion-bull symbol with that Goddess observed in the commentaries to the **Uruk Stance** and **Rear Attack Catalogues** so far (whose synodic conjunctions with the Sun, demonstrated in **Chapter 19**, are absolutely crucial for

the organisation of any accurate calendar) this observation by Goedicke dramatically underlines some kind of astronomical cooperation between Egypt and Mesopotamia at this point in time, centred on sharing knowledge about such Venus-Sun calibration, and that that very calibration is symbolised by the lion-bull attack to convey overtones of Venus/Hathor too. Goedicke goes on to say:

It is an enormously positive attitude toward the world and life in it ... [and] the Fifth Dynasty interpretation has a much stronger physical overtone. This is best demonstrated by that part of the Sun Temple which is devoted to her [Venus]. While the cult of Ra^c is centred in the stark obelisk, the sockle supporting it has an inside chamber decorated with a chart of the multitude of phenomena in which Life manifests itself during the course of a year [in other words Life = Venus = the Ankh ♀ (the canonical sigil for Venus still used today)].

He points out that this iconographical contrast was only fully implemented in the temple of Niuserra^c at Ghurob (just mentioned above), but that already the transition between VD and VID was to lead to another ‘major period of intellectual changes’ with the emergence (from Pepi II onwards) of Osiris and new eschatological concepts based on the Ennead of Ptah of Memphis with Atum at its head. There is absolutely no doubt that the hieroglyphs in the box following the ‘Birth of the Year’ phrase of **BaLu-11** shows the hieroglyphs for Peret/Winter, and we know from many other sources that, whatever other calendars Egypt also used, *astronomically* the New Year was measured from the Summer Solstice in combination with the rise of Sirius). This was complicated by Sirius’ precession over a 1461-year cycle, but, conveniently, its intermediate stages could be worked out against the synodic cycles of Venus⁹⁰, hence the relevance of Venus-Sun worship, and the idea that the lion-bull image is not simply a New Year symbol, but also a symbol standing for Precession - whether of the Sun alone, or in combination with that of Venus or Sirius (see our **Catalogue B** Iconography section dealing with its multiple connotations at Persepolis, where we know the solstitial calendar was adopted after Persia’s contact with Egypt under Darius I).

The straightforward reading of the Unas Causeway Back Lunge would be (as Desroches-Noblecourt *ibid.* points out) that as harbinger of the New Year (according to her at the Inundation of the Nile during Akhet) it would be associated not only with the idea of the rebirth of the Land of Egypt through the waters of the Nile, but also of the resurrection of the soul of Pharaoh Unas himself, since the Causeway on which this relief was carved connects his tomb chamber to the bank of the River Nile down which his funerary boat would have sailed to bring his body to its final resting place in the tomb chamber under his Pyramid (alongside Zoser’s IIID pyramid at Saqqara, containing on its walls the first surviving text of the **Egyptian Book of the Dead**). We particularly see how, very much later in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek world, the funerary significance of the lion-bull group is dwelt on exclusively in individual tomb sculptures (as in the final items of **Catalogues A-D**, for instance).

However, when we come to the First Intermediate Period/Middle Kingdom and ensuing Hyksos period, countries overseas aping Egyptian prototypes grasped at the *clichés* of Egyptian iconography, and the examples gathered under **BaLu-14** (as also **Ratt-14**) nicely sum up the syncretism applied by those outside

⁹⁰ This link gives a paper, first published as a blog, explaining the interdependence of these cycles <http://lavish.co.uk/Venuscycles.pdf>

Egypt who found it important under colonial occupation to square Egypt's symbols with those of their own tradition. Coming back to the Levant still under the sway of Mesopotamia, our **BaLu-12** and **BaLu-13** nicely contrast official Old Babylonian or Isin-Larsa designs with the roughly contemporary provincial imitations of Anatolia centred on Kültepe (variations in a much larger sample have been given in **Catalogue C: the Rear Attack**). These set the parameters for the earliest seal tradition in Crete in the PrePalatial period.

With **BaLu-15**, the more one looks into Anatolia's own traditions once left to their own devices beyond the orbit of Assyrian merchant influence, the more one sees them as the key to understanding not only the rise of the Hittites, but also of the Minoan seals and administrative practices of the next period analysed in depth under our imminent *Chronological Focus* -with intriguing local changes rung on the **CANEA** in an island setting. As Annie Caubet put it so rightly⁹¹, 'Evidence from minor arts should be taken into account for a real understanding of the role played by Asiatic workshops in the elaboration of the great iconographic cycles of the Mediterranean *koine*'. Stephen Lumsden also pleads for taking seriously 'the central role of material culture in negotiating relationships between locals and incomers... The Assyrian-Anatolian cultural encounter best fits the Trade Diaspora model in which 'difference' is of paramount importance'... leading to a 'continuous process of hybridity'⁹² which we are now set to study on Crete.

BaLu-15f shows the Anatolian stamp seal tradition reaching its apotheosis in the Hittite Tyzskiewicz seal, where the occasional use of the circular seal for depicting miniature zodiacs⁹³ is seen, again bringing in a calendrical reference to tools of bureaucracy. The Tyzskiewicz stamp seal end (the cylinder iconography has already been analysed in full under **Ratt-28**) divides up into the Leo-Aquarius opposition, the Taurus-Eagle/Scorpio opposition and then the Capricorn-Cancer solstitial line to create the traditional six seasons



Processions of lions, spiders and scorpions on two ends of hippo ivory stamp seal from Platanos - CMS II, 1 no. 52

Spider in heptagonal web from Asine - CMS V,2 no.519 (see other spider-centred seals in Aruz 2008 (figs 16/Keos & 19/Lerna)

III. 8- 66 Early Bronze Age Minoan seals possibly expressing primitive zodiacs (or weaving activity in the case of the spider)

of the Indo-European world of two months each, best attested in India. There are hints that even some Protopalatial Minoan hippo ivory stamp seals following the Anatolian model might be using similar calendrical symbolism in their processions of lions, spiders and scorpions- as on the example from Platanos above, whilst the spider representing the 8-fold zodiac of Venus also crops up (in the example above right, cleverly contained within the 7-fold chain of the days of the week). Clearly, Minoan-Mycenaean seals building on such iconographical foundations used the same animals (notably lion heads) to express

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² See the references he gives for these quotations in his paper which are too lengthy and distracting to include here.

⁹³ For confirmation of such an interpretation, see Richard Rusch *Ein hethitischer Kalender* 1909 Innsbruck, succinctly reviewed in *OLZ* XII 1909, 350-1

astronomical periods of time, or even eras, whether in terms of months or seasons (see the line of six lion heads on the right on the famous Mycenaean signet ring below, with the Sun and Moon at the top, a pointer to how we should read the seal below right in the Ashmolean Museum (*CMS II,7-76*) consisting of four lion



Ill. 8- 67 Gold signet ring from the Ramp House on Mycenae Akropolis, (CMS I,17 - Athens Museum) LHI-II (compare Ashmolean lion heads with 4-fold owl (CMS II,8-520) and 4-fold wolf/hippo heads (CMS II,8-216), Temple Repository sealings, Ill. 8- 28

heads for the Year Quarters. On the mature-style Mycenaean ring the astronomical significance of the double-shield in the sky and the double axe standard between the priestesses, one holding poppy heads for the winter months, is explored further in the second half of our commentary. First we must throw a spotlight onto the material whose art historical context we laid out under our *Chronological Focus*.

ICONOGRAPHY OF NEO-PALATIAL ARTEFACTS I: BALU-16-30 [1700-1450]

A clear indicator of a radical sea-change in the development of the Knossos Palace site that took place when it was rebuilt shows up particularly well from the seal designs found there. We have already given a full account of the art history and distribution of the Neo-Palatial material under the *Chronological Focus*, revealing that Crete in this period was adopting motifs from the Syro-Mesopotamian *CANEA* - notably the Back Lunge itself. This included the insertion of pictorial ‘determinatives’ to underpin the reading of mainline images. Although Aruz’ early analysis⁹⁴ describes the noticeable style and subject changes in Minoan art that occurred from our watershed date of 1700 onwards into the rest of the Second Millennium (in particular her most recent work is the best in accounting for the fine detail of that exchange of sealing practices across the continuum that opened up between the Aegean world and Syro-Mesopotamia/Anatolia), it is the concept of Crete’s absorption of the *Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art* that provides such a neat and succinct - yet comprehensive - master tool for making sense of this new age of seal imagery in any overview of both Minoan and Mycenaean art, and we have made it the keynote of Part I of our iconographical analysis (Part II then looks at how this links to the astronomical function of the Knossos Palace site). We will now proceed to demonstrate the concept of Knossos’ adoption of the *CANEA* in stages, followed by analysis of added themes not part of the homeland body of the *CANEA*.

INTRODUCTION OF THE CANEA INTO THE MINOAN REPERTOIRE FROM C. 1700

On the basis of simply extracting mainline *CANEA* motifs appearing solely on seals and sealings from the Neo-Palatial period (conveniently listed in the *CMS II,8* catalogue that brings together most seal designs

⁹⁴ ‘Old and New Elements in the Seals and Sealings of the Temple Repository, Knossos’ *Aegaeum* 3 1989 39-52 and pls.

initially found at the Knossos site) we drew up from the next page onwards a table of the obvious **CANEA** motifs used on them, sometimes comparing them with larger artefacts from the palace using the same subject. Confining ourselves to Knossos alone for this diagnostic test, along with contemporary evidence emerging from other sites, we build up a sufficiently strong platform on which to dig further 'test trenches' that confirm Crete's full entry into the Near Eastern *koine* at this time (then backed up by a lengthy subsection dealing with the full extent of Crete's undeniable involvement with the Levant on other fronts).

Using Pini's words, 'most of the motifs... are figurative, and represent iconographically, stylistically and compositionally a rather advanced stage, belonging in my opinion to LMI'. From the evidence of the Temple Repositories that was explored as our first major chronological signpost in seal terms, however, its other contents showed LMI might be too hard and fast a dividing line, given motifs peripheral to the main Canon, such as single animals and human figures, were clearly already emerging in MMIII - and it is better to take as a rule of thumb 'MMIII/LMI' as the **CANEA** adoption transition phase that was interrupted by the earthquake separating the two periods. On that basis we can safely assert that (apart from a handful of earlier exceptions coming in via mainland Greece or Anatolia, e.g. **BaLu-18**) *it is during the period of our Chronological Focus that a cluster of key images from the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art made its way, as a body, into the Minoan seal design repertoire*, their representative find spots marked on the map below, differentiated according to three of our four tables shortly to follow.






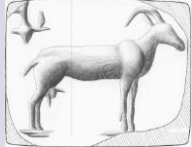

The reason we raise this issue is that, of course, the **CANEA** includes the Lion and Prey group, whatever the compositional type, though actually at Knossos most turn out to be the Back Lunge. I will place our representative example last in the first table in order to expand on it straight away in the immediately succeeding table (**Ill. 8- 69**) which attempts to log pretty well all lion-prey sealings found at Knossos, of whatever compositional type. Fragments too small to judge are left out, plus one other found in the MMIII Temple Repository, already discussed as the first instance of the appearance of the lion-bull attack at Knossos, and the important special case looked at in *Seal Group Study 1*. Before this one sealing had been pinned down from Evans' notebooks in comparatively recent years, Ingo Pini himself had noted in an *Aegaeum 5* paper⁹⁵, 'the chiastic composition of the animal attack is a new invention which cannot be traced back to the MM period' - a new invention for Crete, perhaps, but not for the Near East whence it had evidently seeped through, not just by chance or for aesthetic reasons alone, but due to its particular connotations - already in *Catalogue C* deduced as calendrical in nature, as is the entire *Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art* and - despite the fact lions were not even native to the island - now relevant to Crete.

ADOPTION OF THE CANEA ON REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES FROM KNOSSOS


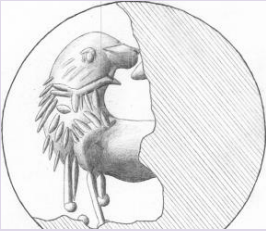

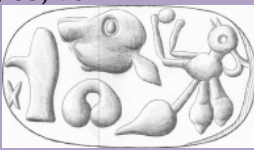

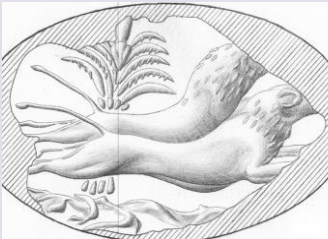


We chose one representative example of each mainline **CANEA** motif found at Knossos - adding in motifs so innocuously common (asterisked) in the main body of the **CANEA** they can be easily overlooked - such as single animals or animal heads- taken by us as deconstructed elements referring to the fuller key themes - from which we identified five as mainline **CANEA** images going all the way back to 5-4M Susa and Sumer:

⁹⁵ 'The Hieroglyphic Deposit and the Temple Repositories at Knossos' *Aegaeum 5* 1990 33-60/pls iii-vii

- ◇ *Cow, goat (or other animal) Suckling Young*
- ◇ *Heraldic animals either side of vertical axis*
- ◇ *Mistress of Beasts⁹⁶ (Potnia Theron)*
- ◇ *Master of Beasts*
- ◇ *Lion and Prey*

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no. COW OR GOAT SUCKLING YOUNG 500	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Example in larger artefacts	Other examples listed in CMS II,8 (some fragmentary, and/or borderline)
	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	 Knossos Temple Repository relief	353-4 and 500-508 & 353-4
*Single bull 402	 Lower E-W Corridor (53 on map)		401-99 The count includes examples outside the Chronological Focus, and some goats with bull-like horns are included by the CMS editors. Bulls are more frequent than other animals. Note its association with vegetation, and/or Linear A or Hieroglyphic characters.
*Bull Head 208	 Precise find spot not known	 Knossos bull head	207-14 (sometimes flanked by other animal heads) & 218/220 (with man's head between horns). Hieroglyphs or Linear A/B signs again often part of design, as in this case.
*Lone goat 378	 Temple Repository (23 on map)	This was found with another seal close in design where the sign on the top left corner has more recently been read as a swastika. Both bear a close resemblance to a Middle Assyrian lapis lazuli seal from Ashur (see all three as itemised under Ill. 8- 28)	374, 378-83, 390-400 The count is approximate, given the large number of borderline cases. The representative example, a nanny, twin to the male version (379) also found in the Temple Repository.
*Lone gazelle 375	 Hieroglyphic Deposit, North end of Long Corridor (13 on map)		












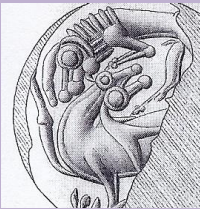
⁹⁶ Sarah Morris in 'Daidalos and Kothar: The Future of their Relationship' *Aegaeum* 18 281-9 states 'This image has no close parallel in Levantine art', though the comment is belied by 5-3M examples from Susa and Sumer further east.

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Example in larger artefacts	Typical Syro-Hittite or Mesopotamian Precedent	Other examples listed in CMS II,8 (some fragmentary, thus borderline)
ANIMAL PAIRS FLANKING CENTRAL AXIS IN HERALDIC ARRANGEMENT 509	 <p>Find spot not known: a double lion example (366, see last item of Lion and Prey table following) found on Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)</p>			509-15 and 518 More unusual variations from Knossos using the heraldic arrangement are given in the <i>Iconography</i> section exploring Levantine influence in general.
*Lone lion 301	 <p>Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)</p>			291-315, 381 This range includes examples beyond the Chronological Focus - and variations - but the overall indication is that lions in any period feature almost as often as bulls.
*Lion(ess) Head (rather than domestic cat) 90	 <p>Hieroglyphic Deposit, North end of Long Corridor (13 on map)</p>		80, 85, 90  80  85	Better examples of lion/cat head seals are from Kato Zakro (CMS II,7-75-76 & 189-98) - see next entry.
*Lion and Palm 298	 <p>Find spot not known</p>	 <p>Sabaeen bronze relief BM 2-3C AD <i>Cat C, Ill. 7-31</i></p>		297, 298, 321  <p>More examples of the lion and palm come from sites other than Knossos - e.g. Kato Zakro CMS II,7-189-90 (e.g. II,7-189 above, combined with double snakes)</p>
Note that date palms are rare on Crete, and the fruit inedible: thus the palm has imported meaning				

THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART

CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

D: THE BACK LUNGE

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Example in larger artefacts	Typical Syro-Hittite or Mesopotamian Precedent	Other examples listed in CMS II,8 (some fragmentary, thus borderline)
MISTRESS OF THE BEASTS 254	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	 Cosmic Mountain variation CMS II,8-256		254. 255, 256
MASTER OF THE BEASTS 250	 Lower E-W Corridor (53 on map)	 Aegina Treasure Pendant (MetMusCat-58), BM	 Detail of 3M Sumerian seal - Louvre AO22299	238, 245-253
MASTER OF THE BEASTS COMPARANDA Aruz (CMS Beiheft 7, pp.199-207) discusses these seals, pointing out that Minoan or Mycenaean Masters of the Beasts have straight arms with unmatching lions: those with bent arms are based directly on Mesopotamian prototypes, as in the Cypriote example from Golgoi bottom right.	 Cylinder seal, green and white banded agate (CMS V-675) Catalogued under BaLu-20/2	 Felskammergrab 33, Prosymna - CMS IS-27f. NOTE counter-changed direction of the two lions	 Duplicate of haematite seal found at Enkomi (Aruz ibid. fig. 408; MetMusCat.253)	
	 Red jasper seal ring from Tomb 58, Mycenae Athens Museum (MetMusCat.173)	 Felskammergrab 63, Elateia - CMS V,2-113	 Haematite cylinder seal fom Golgoi, Cyprus (Aruz ibid. fig.406/CMS VII-173).. Cypriote seals have lions held up in strict symmetry, the crossover of animals Mesopotamian-inspired	
LION AND PREY 346	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)			334, 341, 343-52, 355- 66 All lion and prey compositional types found at Knossos are illustrated in the next table.

III. 8- 68: CANEA motifs appearing on Knossos seals in the Neo-Palatial period - Find Spots marked with RED DOT on next Map

For the Master of the Beasts motif just preceding the lion-prey entry we have brought together for contrast other slightly later instances of it - not only because it was a favourite of the Mycenaeans both on the mainland and in Cyprus⁹⁷, but primarily because of its frequent juxtaposition with the Back Lunge, as noted not only for the many seals associated with the Thebes Hoard, but going back to as early as *BaLu-5*.

From the table the find spots given for the *CANEA*-derived examples in the left-hand column are marked with a **red spot** on the map following the next table (it is a copy of M A V Gill's *Find Spot Map 1* from *CMS II,8* for which the full key to the names of the rooms concerned is given in *Appendix A*). Though representative examples for each motif were chosen more or less at random, interestingly they appear to cluster around the four zones of areas 13, 23, 50 and 53.

FREQUENCY OF THE LION AND PREY MOTIF AT KNOSSOS










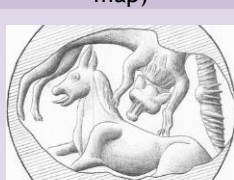

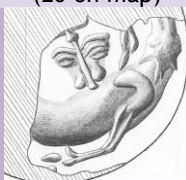
We expand on the last item of the last table, to bring together in the next one *all* the lion and prey sealings from Knossos (of any compositional type) given in the *CMS II,8* volume - this time marking find spots with a **gold cross** on the same map. Their locations blend in overall either with the other *CANEA* clusters in the East Wing and Cultic Centre (20, 21) or with others found in adjacent storage rooms or passages (9, 12, 13, 17 and 47). Not included in this Lion-Prey table, we nonetheless add a further gold cross at no.23 (the Temple Repository) to mark the 'lost' Back Lunge from that hoard (*CMS II,8* 593) accredited after the rediscovery of Evans' notebook recording the Temple Repository seals - as discussed under our *Chronological Focus* and analysed in *Group Seal Study 1 (Ill. 8- 27)*. It and the other *CANEA* artefacts found in the Temple Repository must be *pre*-Neo-Palatial by a generation or two, and provide the crucial diagnostic pointer to the period when adoption of the *CANEA* was starting (c.1750-1650BC), *before* the destruction event necessitating the rebuilding of the New Palace. This means all the items in the table follow on from it chronologically.








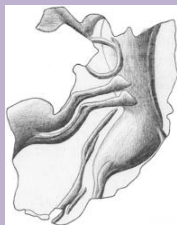



Aside from single herd animals⁹⁸ the lion and prey subject is far more common than the incidence of all the key *CANEA* motifs put together and, given neither cattle, deer nor lions were native to Crete⁹⁹ (its indigenous animal being the *agrimi* goat, untameable, but crucially linked to near-eastern Tammuz symbolism), we must conclude the adoption of non-native creatures in its imagery is further proof of an imported symbolic system using animal indicators more familiar further east. Quite evidently cattle and sheep, along with metals, were being imported into Crete and cow/bull/goat/stag rituals became part of the new livestock economy along with their long-standing naturally indigenous products of woven fabrics, pottery and honey as attested in contemporary records. Later in Part II of our iconographical commentary we will propose that the calendrical nature of the *CANEA* - as already revealed from artefacts of the Near East in *Catalogues A-C* - must therefore also lie at the heart of Crete's increasingly efficient regulation of a now-burgeoning economy, through the running of a proper state calendar.

⁹⁷ Even if missing out on the concept of the adoption of the *CANEA*, Walter Müller in 'Zu Stil und Zeitstellung des Bildthemas "Herr der Löwen"' *CMS Beiheft 6* 181-94 collects most key examples and distinguishes between Minoan and Mycenaen styles,.

⁹⁸ See Walter Müller 'Bildthemen mit Rind und Ziege auf den Weichsteinsiegeln Kretas' *CMS Beiheft 5* 151-67

⁹⁹ Greece, however, did have native lions, which had been prevalent all over Europe as far back as Palaeolithic times.

CMS II,8 NO. AND FIND SPOT AS MARKED ON MAP	SEALING	COMPOSITIONAL TYPE, ITEMISED IN OUR CATALOGUE	CMS II,8 NO. AND FIND SPOT AS MARKED ON MAP	SEALING	COMPOSITIONAL TYPE, ITEMISED IN OUR CATALOGUE
334	 Find spot not known	<i>E: Forward Attack</i>	347	 Magazine 11 (9 on map)	<i>F: Bilateral Attack</i>
341	 Find spot not known	<i>D: Back Lunge</i>	348	 Find spot not known	
343	 Room of the Jewel Fresco (21 on map)	<i>C: Rear Attack</i>	349	 Wooden staircase (47 on map)	<i>C: Rear Attack</i>
344	 Find spot not known		350	 Magazine 11 (9 on map)	<i>D: Back Lunge</i>
345	 Lower E-W Corridor (53 on map)	<i>D: Back Lunge</i>	351	 Stepped Portico (20 on map)	<i>D: Back Lunge (borderline with Forward Attack)</i>
346	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	<i>D: Back Lunge</i>	352	 Find spot not known	

CMS II,8 NO. AND FIND SPOT AS MARKED ON MAP	SEALING	COMPOSITIONAL TYPE, ITEMISED IN OUR CATALOGUE	CMS II,8 NO. AND FIND SPOT AS MARKED ON MAP	SEALING	COMPOSITIONAL TYPE, ITEMISED IN OUR CATALOGUE
356		Belly bite from below not included as a Compositional type (see Tutankhamun's dagger sheath, end of <i>BaLu-32f</i>)	362		<i>E: Forward Attack</i>
	West Quarter Store? (marked in general area on map)			Corridor of the Stone Basin (17 on map)	
357		<i>F: Bilateral Attack</i>	363		Compositional type not identifiable
	Magazine 15 (12 on map)			Wooden staircase (47 on map)	
358		Compositional type not identifiable	364		
	Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)			Find spot not known	
359		Compositional type not identifiable	365		
	Domestic Quarter Store? (marked in general area on map)			Find spot not known	
360		Compositional type not identifiable	366		<i>F: Bilateral Attack</i>
	Find spot not known			Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	
361		Foreleg of lion over bull's shoulder identifies this as Back Lunge			
	Find spot not known				

III. 8- 69: Lion and Prey sealings in CMS II,8 found at Knossos --Find spots marked with a gold cross on the next Map

With the red dots indicating sealings using other mainline CANEA motifs, the map below shows the find spots for these lion and prey sealings (gold crosses). We must now explain the green spots.



III. 8- 70: Find spots (where known) for Knossos sealings: (a) representative CANEA motifs - RED SPOTS; (b) all lion and prey motifs GOLD CROSSES; and (c) all bull-leaping sealings - GREEN SPOTS
 Map from Gill, CMS II,8 [Full key for room descriptions reproduced at Appendix A]¹⁰⁰

MINOAN ADAPTATIONS OF - AND ADDITIONS TO - THE CANEA

At first glance it might appear several other core items of the **CANEA** were *not* taken up by the Minoans from the Syro-Mesopotamian *koine* in original form. But as one's eye becomes attuned one starts to realise

¹⁰⁰ An early version of this map is her pl.1 in M Popham and MAV Gill *The Latest Sealings from the Palace and Houses at Knossos* 1995 in which Evans' notebooks sketching the Knossos sealings are reproduced, and in which she corrects her earlier assessment of them as given in *BSA* 60 (1965 cited in full under fn.60)

other **CANEA** prototypes are present in disguise, recast by the Cretans in new combinations, or in forms expressing local cultural experience. Having drawn up the two tables just laid out above, it gradually dawned that other **CANEA** items were so radically modified by the Minoans that it would be better to make a separate table of those **MINOAN CANEA** modifications, so we now have a brief section instancing the Minoans' *adaptation* of other Syro-Mesopotamian **CANEA** motifs in a further small table - on the basis of which we again expand on its last entry in yet one more table, to list all instances of the Bull-Leaping scene - given it is the image most associated with the site of Knossos. In order not to clutter the map we decided not mark the find spots for the **CANEA** variations (they are given in text under the images) but, given the iconography of the human - v - bull- v - lion struggle is so closely intertwined, with a long pedigree stretching back to 3M Sumer and beyond, we thought it significant to put in all the bull-leaping seal/sealing find-spots in the form of small *green dots* on the same map. Keeping to our parameter of citing only items appearing in **CMS II,8** this means we do not mark the spectacular bull-leaping wall paintings on this map.











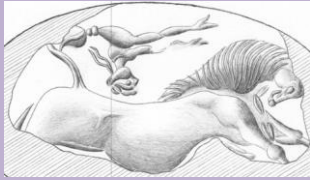

Below is our list of five key Minoanised **CANEA** items:

- ◇ Local Minoan **Cult Scenes** replace Syro-Mesopotamian **CANEA** cult scenes, most notably the
 - *Banqueting Scenes* often shown on 3M ED Sumerian seals (notably those from Ur), and
 - *Presentation Scenes* popular on Ur III, Babylonian and 2M Syrian seals, showing individuals presented to, or standing before, rulers, Gods or Goddesses.

Other than in the case of ritual plant watering or animal care scenes where there *is* overlap, though in local dress, most cult scenes on seals from Crete stand out as distinctively Minoan in character and completely individual in comparison to the cult scenes on seals of any other country. But they do also include similar astronomical references which we look at in the **Astronomy** section.

- ◇ The **Double or Triple Snake-Frame** is a variation on the **CANEA's Entwined Snakes or Guilloche** motif (originally in use in Sumer as a symbol of the God Ningishzida) used in Crete either in the form of abstract snake designs - or actual snakes held or worn as cult headgear by priestesses or goddesses. We will hope to point even to an astronomical content here too.
- ◇ The **Chariot (Auriga)** appeared often on sealings from Ur, one with Imdugud over the Bull Horizon.
- ◇ The **Griffin** replaces the **Imdugud Spread Eagle** (often *lion-headed* and sometimes with prey in its talons) frequently used in 5-3M Susa/Sumer, then in 2M Syria. It is simply a reversal of the eagle-lion combination whereby the body is now that of the lion and the head an eagle, with decorative peacock features added on the comb. It is likely the Syrians' own reworking of the hybrid points to two source territories for its adoption by the Minoans¹⁰¹, direct or at one remove. Eventually we hope to show how astronomically the griffin has connections to both the Polar Axis and Precession.
- ◇ **Bull-Leaping** groups are clearly a cultic enactment of the by now old-fashioned 3M Syro-Mesopotamian renditions of Gilgamesh or Enkidu's struggle with the Bull of Heaven, itself sometimes depicted non-symbolically in Syria and Middle Kingdom Egypt in bull-taming scenes, as will emerge shortly.



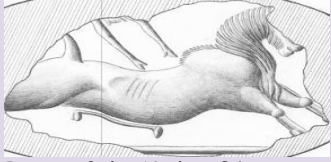
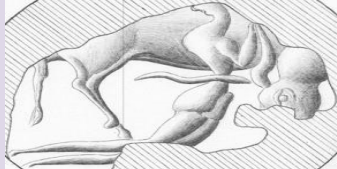







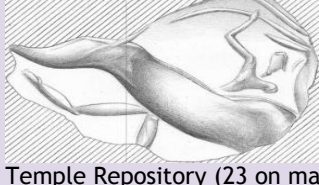
¹⁰¹ Henri Frankfort 'Notes on the Cretan Griffin' *Annual of the British School at Athens* XXXVII (1936-37) 106-122

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	KNOSSOS REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Similar examples not in CMS II,8 OR ANCIENT PRECEDENTS	Other examples listed in CMS II,8 (some fragmentary, thus borderline)
268 CULT SCENES	 Typical Cult Scene, best impressions of which (made by a seal ring) found in Room of the Clay Signet (34 on map); Landing on Grand Staircase (50); Test pit N of Shrine of the Double Axes (37); two in E-W Corridor (52/3) + others	 CMS I-17, Mycenaean Akropolis, gold seal ring (see colour reproduction in <i>Ill. 8- 67</i> , and full enlargement in <i>Ill. 8- 153</i>)	
255 DOUBLE/ TRIPLE SNAKES	 Wooden staircase (47 on map) see fuller example in COLUMN/TREE OF LIFE <i>III XXX</i>	 c.f. Aegina Treasure Pendant (MetMusCat-58), BM	 Redesigned in several different ways for the snake goddess and headress of Mistress of the Beasts as triple-snake headress (more fully worked out in Mycenaean versions, CMS I-144/5, right)
193 CHARIOT	 Ring sealing; find spot not known	 3M sealing from Ur level SIS 4-6 (see <i>Chapter 19</i>) - GMA 1260/UE III,298	207-14 
188 GRIFFIN	 Archives Deposit (41 on map)		189  Compare with wing fragment (CMS II,8-180) in Temple Repository hoard
123 BULL LEAPING	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	 c.f. bull-leaping wall-paintings at Avaris (<i>Ill. 8- 86</i>)/Appendix B)	221-231,-235

Ill. 8- 71: The Five key Minoanised CANEA images

FREQUENCY OF THE BULL LEAPING SUBJECT AT KNOSSOS

Out of the five Minoan adaptations of the **CANEA**, counting in all the Bull-Leaping images in sealing form found at Knossos we drew up the table below, though some fragments too ambiguous to interpret as such

CMS II,8 NO. AND FIND SPOT ON MAP	SEALING	CMS II,8 NO. AND FIND SPOT ON MAP	SEALING
221	 Temple Repository (23 on map)	227	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)
222	 Room of the Niche (26 on map)	228	 Archives Deposit (41 on map)
223	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	229	 Magazine 8 (6 on map) and smaller fragment Magazine 4 (5 on map)
224	 Find spot not known	230	 Northern Entrance (15-16 on map)
225	 Find spot not known	231	 Room of the Chariot Tablets (31 on map)
226	 Domestic Quarter Store? (marked in general area on map)	★235	 Temple Repository (23 on map)

III. 8- 72: Bull-leaping sealings found at Knossos - CMS II,8-221-231 (Find spots marked with green spots on map above)

are not included. They mostly coincide with the CANEA and Lion-Prey find spots in the core cult areas of the palace and associated store rooms, though one or two were also found near the bull leaping frescoes at entry zones - these find spots are marked with a **green spot** on the Find Spot Map above. An overall picture

thus emerges of most seal activity with this motif centring round the innermost Queen's Quarters and Throne Room/Sanctuary complex opposite, with related store room areas. The material shows that Bull-leaping scenes on seals from Knossos are *half as frequent* as the Lion and Prey motif on seals from the site, but both predominate by a large margin over other items in the orthodox or varied **CANEA** such as the Master of the Beasts or Cow/Goat suckling its young. The later spectacular wall-paintings of the subject at key points in the Palace (as also at Avaris) emphasized in public fashion its overwhelmingly central importance to Minoan ritual life (its true significance is further explored in the **Astronomy** section).

It has been worth going through this exercise of combing the evidence, if only to show the lion-bull theme is the most frequent, and that of them the Back Lunge in turn is the most often used compositional type.







MINOAN USE OF PICTORIAL DETERMINATIVES FROM OUTSIDE THE CANEA

The concept of adding pictorial determinatives to indicate precise meaning appears to have been a device picked up from the Egyptian hieroglyphic system, though it they were often also used in a top band on Syrian/Mitanni seals. In the Old Palace period Minoans, rather like the Hittites, had experimented briefly with their own hieroglyphs, soon dropping them in favour of the Linear A/B scripts. But on seals or larger-scale artefacts they appear to have retained the idea of including such indicators to point to the level at which iconography should be read. We look further at the importance of Egypt's influence here.

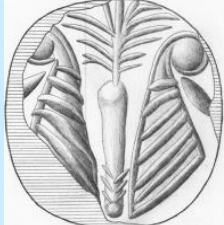
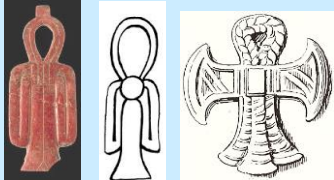







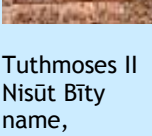
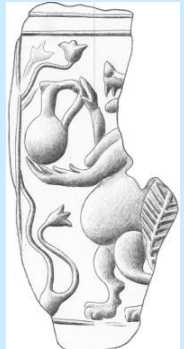


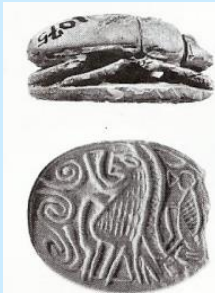
THE SEPARATE AND DIRECT INFLUENCE OF EGYPT

There is little doubt a handful of determinatives was inspired direct from Egypt rather than via the Levant (e.g. monkeys were imported as pets thence and on Syrian seals I think refer to Thoth/Mercury, though Rehak sees more superficial associations in the Theran frescoes). Examples from Knossos **CMS II,8** only are:

- **The Lily**
- **The Monkey (when referring to Thoth or Ptah) (also often featuring on 2M Syrian seals)**
- **The Isis Knot (so-called) - though possibly a version of the Standard of Inanna)**
- **The Bee/Hornet**
- **The Minoan Genius**

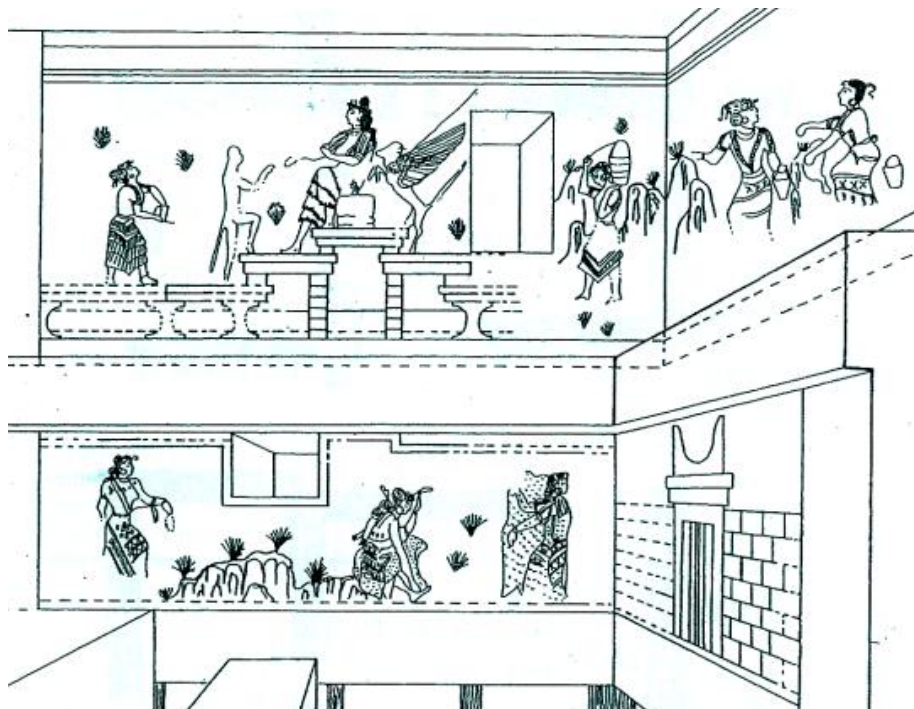
Canea Motif CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Examples of use of the motif on larger Minoan works or Egyptian precedents
138 137 LILY	 Precise find spots not known	 Thoth on Egyptian mace handle,  Lily of Upper Egypt, Karnak
262 (LEFT) 286 (RIGHT) MONKEY (see also commentary on Xeste monkey fresco (Ill. 8- 74 and Ill. 8- 124)	 Room of Egyptian Beans (left)/Long Corridor (right)	 EBLA, Lord of the Goats tomb ¹⁰²  Thoth figure, BM

¹⁰² G S Matthiae in 'Ebla et L'Egypte à L'Ancien et au Moyen Empire' AAAS XXIX-XXX 1979/80, 189-99 assigns mace to XIID Htpibre

CANEA MOTIF CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Egyptian precedents, or as used on other Minoan works	
126 ISIS KNOT	 Court of Stone Spout (57 on map) Note here the axial palm	 Isis Knot on an Egyptian artefact, and as drawn - in the New Kingdom, seen as the knotted girdle of Isis: Minoan version (right) blended with double axe is from Palaikastro (PM I fig. 310 d)	127  Archives Deposit (41 on map), with double shields - discussed fully under <i>Oriental Influences: Sacred Textiles</i>
149 BEE  NISŪT BĪTY formula	 Lentoid	 Pendant, Mallia Chrysolakkis cemetery MetMusCat fig. 32	 Tod Treasure MetMusCat fig. 25
80	 Seal, Hieroglyphic Deposit. Note also the hand with thumb out - and lion head	 Calcite bowl of Semerkhet (IID)	 Tuthmoses II Nisūt Bīty name, Temple of Hatshepsut
195 MINOAN GENIUS ¹⁰³	 Hieroglyphic Deposit (13 on map)	 Taweret on the New Kingdom Star Ceiling in the tomb of Seti I, Valley of the Kings	 Agate amygdaloid (CMS V-440) from Tholos at Nichoria
			 Imported Egyptian scarab with Taweret hippo, bird and volutes found in Tomb B, Platanos, South Crete

III. 8- 73: Egypt-inspired additions to the Minoan canon of pictorial determinatives used in apposition to core imagery - all on seals from Knossos catalogued in CMS II,8)

¹⁰³ Paul Rehak in 'The "Genius" in Late Bronze Age Glyptic: the Later Evolution of an Aegean Cult Figure' CMS Beiheft 5 215-31- writes, 'On Crete the new roles of the Genius in LMIA-B perhaps reflect the reorganisation and increasing centralization and complexity of neopalatial society'. I believe he misses the astronomical significance of the Taweret figure on the clear basis of the Egyptian precedents - and needs to insert the word 'calendrical' before 'reorganisation'.



III. 8- 74: Drawing of saffron-gathering wall-painting at Xeste (Thera), with monkey greeting priestess or goddess - see full detail and commentary around III. 8- 124

NON-EGYPTIAN MINOAN PICTORIAL DETERMINATIVES

To complete our classification of the Minoan image repertoire we finally turn to a handful of distinctively *Minoan* 'pictorial determinatives' used in the same way as the Egypt-derived examples¹⁰⁴. They could have been local inventions but in some cases can be traced back to Mitanni influence coming from Anatolia, either direct or via Syria. The five listed below have a native flavour unique to Crete, and in my opinion are astronomical in nature - to be pursued further in the *Astronomy* section of this iconographical study.

- The **Double Axe** - referring to the solstitial extremes;
- The **Hand** - possibly an embodiment of the Five Dactyls, probably a native Anatolian symbol going as far back to Çatal Huyuk and of course in Palaeolithic cave paintings before it;



III. 8- 75: Section of wall from Çatal Huyuk

- ◇ The '**Horns of Consecration**' - marking sighting lines;
- ◇ **The Double Shield** - of cow-hide and not just a weapon of defense - to be explored further;
- ◇ **Column/Tree of Life** - the Polar Axis (more is to be said on this in relation to both mountains and baetylic worship under Syrian Influences). Versions of it appear as the **Palm Tree of Baal/Ishtar**.

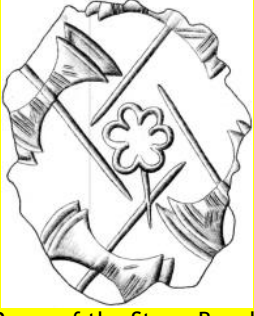

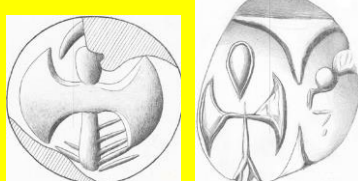




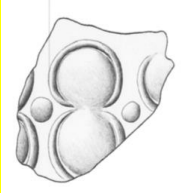
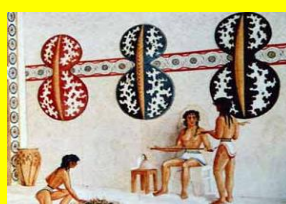





¹⁰⁴ Only the Isis Knot is Egyptian in origin, and the Hand appears to have Anatolian precedents, and the)

THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART

CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

D: THE BACK LUNGE

We decided to gather representative examples of these in the next table, still keeping to examples in the *CMS II,8* catalogue for the Knossos site only: this means we do not always have the most clear-cut depictions as developed on other artefacts or buildings, but we add these on the side for comparison.

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Example in larger artefacts	Typical Syro-Hittite or Mesopotamian Precedent	Other examples listed in CMS II,8 - or other CMS volumes
125 DOUBLE AXE	 Room of the Stone Bench (42 on map)	 Detail of priestess and pair of double-axe obelisks from the Aiya Triadha sarcophagus		55 (see also 54/56/57) 124  North end of Long Corridor, Hieroglyph Deposit North end of Long Corridor, Hieroglyph Deposit
HAND (DACTYLS)	 Queen's Megaron (43 on map) Note how the hand holds a lily		 Hittite silver rhyton MetMusCat 108	80, 15 (below - A.II.2 NW Kamares Area), 285:  See also CMS II,7-206 from Zakros
285				
272 'HORNS OF CONSECRATION '	 Sealing, find spot not known	Used to align sighting lines at south end of Knossos Palace Courtyard. See III. 8- 133	Other examples on seals also as fragmentary as our main example.	
129 DOUBLE SHIELD	 Sealing fragment, find spot not known	 Reconstruction of double shields fresco in Hall of the Double Axes	276 Find spot not known 	See also 272 above and 387 above and below where the double shield is juxtaposed with other determinatives
290 COLUMN/TREE OF LIFE (see also LION AND PALM, III. 8- 68)	 Lower E-W Corridor (53 on map)	 Lion Gate of Mycenae (See also under BaLu-34)	387/  Findspot not known	388  Findspot not known

III. 8- 76: Other pictorial determinatives used by the Minoans as markers within core imagery - all on seals from Knossos catalogued in CMS II,8) - more likely borrowed or adapted from the Levant and/or Anatolia

Note how one or two determinative are often juxtaposed, as in the case of the double axe alongside the 'Isis Knot' and Bull Head in the examples below cited by Sir Arthur Evans in *The Palace of Minos I*). This, I think, is because allusions to astronomical concepts can be brought together in different combinations.



III. 8- 77: *Isis Knot and double axe on seals cited by Evans (PM I fig.312 b/c)*

Since I view both the Egyptian and Levantine determinatives as embellishing, rather than being full components of, the **CANEA**, and to avoid confusing the picture and cluttering the map we decided not to mark the find spots for them on the Find Spot Map for Knossos above. But the locations for each example are given in both tables for those wishing to notionally place them on it, or amplify their own map.

SUMMARY

In this section we have analysed the concept of the adoption and adaptation of the *Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art* as a major key unlocking our understanding of its emergence into the Minoan world - and have shown this process as emanating mainly via the Levant in its broadest sense. In dealing with it in relation to the Aegean world it is becoming clear that the concept of the **CANEA** as a cycle of images belonging to a deeply rooted and long-lasting tradition can be much more precisely defined than the currently fashionable and over-intellectualised idea of *koine*¹⁰⁵ - whose components are rarely spelled out.

We are now in a position in the following section to assess the confirmatory evidence in other subject areas that help to fill out an increasingly detailed picture of what amounts - despite the influx of short phases of 'Egyptomania' - to a predominantly Syro-Anatolian infrastructure pervading Minoan art and architecture.

INFLUENCE OF THE LEVANT ON CRETE IN THE NEOPALATIAL PERIOD

The issues raised at the symposium entitled 'The Function of the Minoan Palaces'¹⁰⁶ held at the Swedish Institute at Athens in 1984 was afterwards neatly summarised by Jan Driessen¹⁰⁷ in an overview of the papers, in which he picks up on Stefan Hiller's comment that although no temples *as such* can be found on Crete (and despite much space taken up by storage magazines), from cultic clues in every palace quarter it would be truer to term the palace site at Knossos the '*Temple of Minos*'. The fusion of cult rooms with day

¹⁰⁵ As, for instance, in the work of Marian Feldman or Nannos Marinatos - but not to detract from the highly valuable facets of their research.

¹⁰⁶ Robin Hägg and Nanno Marinatos (eds) *The Function of Minoan Palaces (Proceedings of the IVth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens 10-16 June 1984)* Stockholm 1987

¹⁰⁷ *Comptes Rendus* section of *Aegaeum* 2 1988, 119-128

to day living quarters in the palace became more overt under the Mycenaeans - a key difference between the two being that Cretan sites made little provision for military fortification and defence.

The key issue emerging at the *Function of Minoan Palaces* conference was whether Crete - most notably Knossos itself - owed its development to the influence of the Levant, a debate to which fuel has continually been added over the years ever since, and from added perspectives. Those not versed in ancient near-eastern archaeology and adhering to the Renfrew camp that fights shy of admitting any form of diffusionism - perhaps in reaction to the work of Gordon Childe and others who gained a bad name for the concept - were prone to see Knossos' development as indigenous and self-initiated. Yet in reality it is absurd to posit the unlikelihood of a society learning from others beyond their immediate orbit, and it is the scholars with a background in the Ancient Near East looking at the Minoan Crete case who automatically spotted so many matches that they add up to a convincing body of evidence of borrowing - or imposed influence - on several levels at this time. Yener (*ibid.* see fn. 71) at a later conference in a paper on the particularly influential 'Amuq region of Syria that includes Alalakh (see **BaLu-16**) saw that city as a key candidate for a role as the 2M way-station onwards to Crete by sea for transmitting not only Syrian (and ultimately Mesopotamian) influence from the east, but also as a natural funnel for trends coming from Anatolia to the north-west of it. Indeed, Alexander MacGillivray¹⁰⁸ states:

Recent Y-DNA studies on the Cretan population show that the founder population that arrived in approximately 7000BC is identified by the J2a-M410 haplogroup, which originates in the Caucasus and Cappadocia... [until] the new populations arrived in approximately 3100BC. These newcomers include a group identified by the J2a1h-M319 haplogroup characteristic of Syro-Palestine, on present reckoning'.

As we have underlined throughout this chapter in relation the adoption of near-eastern iconography, this trend is confirmed not only by the appearance of the lion and prey symbol on seals, but also by the depiction of the bull-leaping ritual on early sealings from Alalakh that match the theme on the Hittite vase only recently come to light¹⁰⁹ (**Ill. 8- 18** right).

Looking now at other categories of oriental influence, starting with the palaces themselves I give below under separate headings twelve spheres of Levantine penetration into Crete that together made up the 'connective tissue' within which the transmission of the **CANEA** took place. I start by referring to the succinct papers of Warren¹¹⁰, Hiller¹¹¹ and Watrous¹¹² from that signpost conference - with added perspectives gradually brought in by others. I also bring new points of comparison not mentioned in those early years.

¹⁰⁸ 'Lebanon and Protopalatial Crete: Pottery, Chronology and People' **BAAL Hors-Série VI** 2009 187-193

¹⁰⁹ T Sipahi 'Eine althethitische Reliefvase vom Hüseyindede Tepesi' **Istanbuler Mitteilungen** L 2000, 63-85

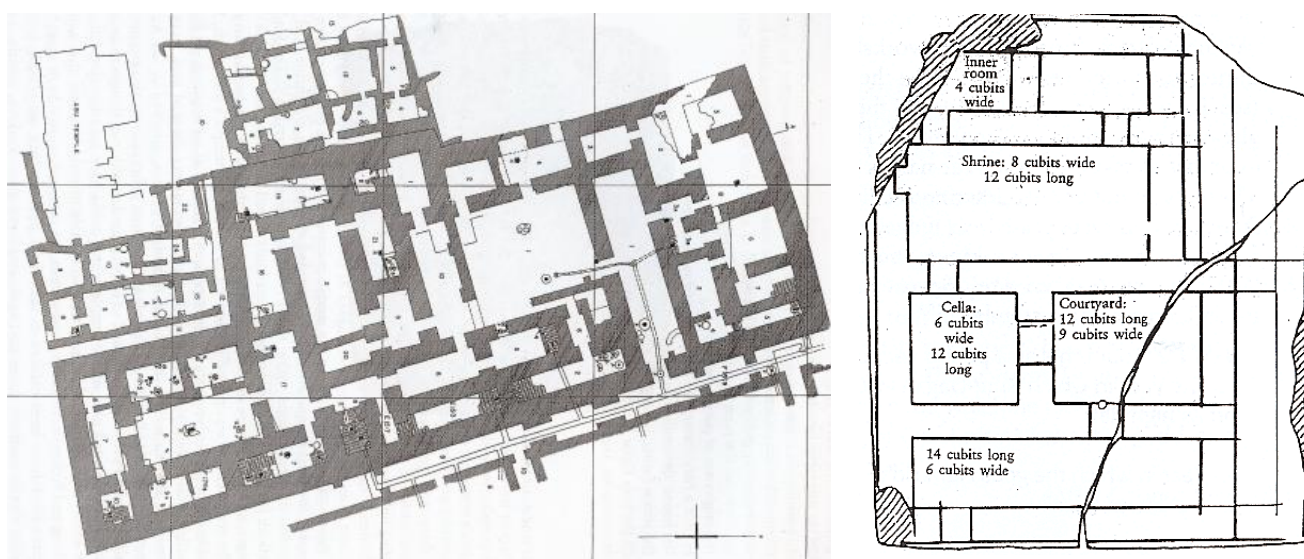
¹¹⁰ P M Warren 'The Genesis of the Minoan Palace' in *ibid.* 47-55

¹¹¹ Stefan Hiller 'Palast und Tempel im Alten Orient und im minoischen Kreta' in eds Hägg and Marinatos *ibid.* 57-64 (the shortest paper given, yet the most full of telling points.)

¹¹² L Vance Watrous 'The Role of the Near East in the Rise of the Cretan Palaces' in *ibid.* 65-70 (another of the shortest paper given, also packed with of telling points.)

1. PALACE ARCHITECTURE

Various comparisons have been made contrasting Syrian, and even Hittite palace and temple layouts (*vide* the storage chambers round the large court at Bögazhkoy (Ill. 8- 79 right, next page) with those of Minoan Palaces. The arrangement of rooms around a courtyard had developed in an *ad hoc* way at 3M Sumerian and Akkadian temple sites such as Tell Asmar (see plans below). When in the 3-2M Syria was part of Greater Mesopotamia it adopted the same arrangement of a large central court or courts in versions less methodically framed by storage areas, living quarters, archive rooms, cult zones and shrines than, say, the rigid plan of the *gigparu* at Ur - and in Crete, as Warren (*ibid.*) points out, all such functions were brought together in one complex. Such characteristics were to be seen in Syria at



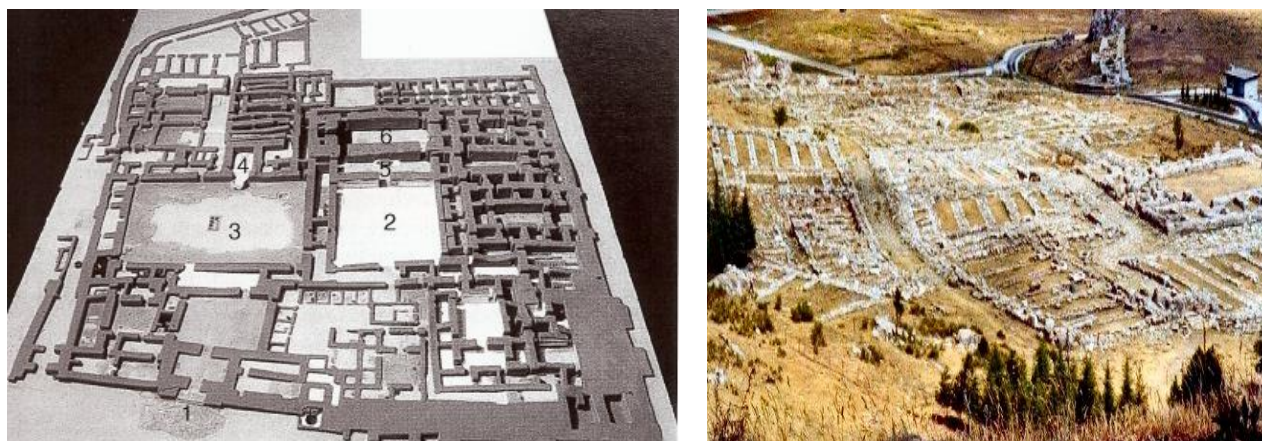
Ill. 8- 78: Tell Asmar/Eshnunna at the Akkadian level c. 2500BC - Delougaz et al. OIP 1967 pl.37 (left), and (right) a Neo-Sumerian architect's temple plan on clay tablet of c.2100 (Louvre AO338)¹¹³

mid-2M Mari and Ebla (though both still had separate temples to the side), and are taken- along with certain structural details - to have layouts that rank as the most likely prototypes for the planning of Knossos and Phaestos. We could explain the link in today's terms by an 'outside consultant' coming from the Levant to the region to work with local personnel on their placement in mountainous terrain, with rationalization of a layout to suit native conditions - or conversely by a visit to Syria by Minoan planners under royal auspices to gain information. In the light of MacGillivray's statement, however, it could also point to administrative immigrants imposing these arrangements by *force majeure*.

Hiller (*ibid.*) quotes exact parallels in the use of ashlar masonry and shallow flights of steps between Ebla and Phaistos, whilst the general layout of magazines and courtyards is especially close between the plans of Mari and Knossos (or again Qatna -v- Phaestos). In fact the use of huge orthostats for the foundation levels of both Phaistos and Knossos has a direct precedent in the architecture of Ebla, a site that crops up again and again on several fronts (along with Mari) as instrumental in the changes there (either site, for instance, provides precedents for the use of *intarsia* or *marquetry* in the rock

¹¹³ Both taken from J N Postgate 's chapter, 'The Temple' in his *Early Mesopotamia* 1992 figs 6-7 and 6-8

crystal embellishment of the Knossos Sanctuary (discussed under heading 5 below). At Alalakh remaining fragments of wall painting and the use of basalt orthostats for its foundations indicate probable alternative Syrian prototypes: yet in other construction techniques such as half-timbering, the use of cement - and columned porches - Alalakh provides as much evidence for relaying Anatolian influences to Crete - such as emphasized by Graham¹¹⁴ - this is why our portfolio of 'Levantine influence' needs to include that Anatolian dimension.



Ill. 8- 79: Court-based ground plans at the palaces of Mari (Louvre model) and Hattusas - to contrast with Knossos (Ill. 8- 132)

Clearly with the Minoan palaces there are native twists to eastern practice - Cretan adaptations to their own terrain and climate which Graham puts down to indigenous, unaided response to 'identity of function' alone. This is seen most particularly in the introduction of the Minoan column in MMII (seemingly based on the deployment of upended tree trunks¹¹⁵) which were not treated like the later Greek Orders but were simply ready-made uprights enabling their ingenious *polythyron* system of moveable partitions between them to allow free-flowing or closed-off connections between rooms, according to changing weather or functional needs. Typical Minoan palaces also used bycornute crenellations (usually called 'horns of consecration' to top off architraves, giving that punctuated skyline which could only be Minoan (**Ill. 8- 16**). Their significance becomes clear when considering the specific orientation of Minoan palaces¹¹⁶ against a terrain punctuated by mountain peaks, pursued further in the second half of our iconographical inquiry.

However, despite Graham's¹¹⁷ protestations - and giving a brief nod to the non-diffusionists - Warren's conclusion on balance was that 'to explain this new monumentality around a large central court, I think we may retain the theory of a general knowledge in Crete of the form of Near Eastern palaces'. Having just cited specific counts of direct influence, the evidence speaks beyond this conservative

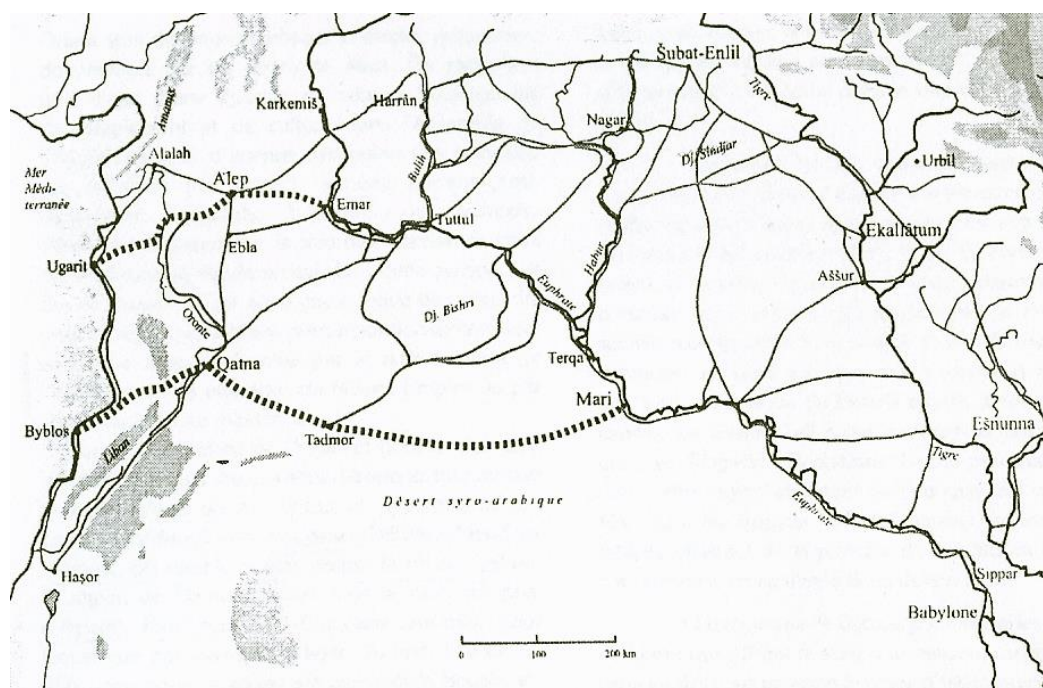
¹¹⁴ J Walter Graham in 'The Relation of the Minoan Palaces to the Near Eastern Palaces of the Second Millennium' *Mycenaean Studies* 1964 195-216 downplays Levantine influences in favour of spontaneous indigenous invention, questioning Evans' and subsequent writers' assumptions (including Leonard Woolley on the notable matches to Alalakh's palace) of 'the more or less simultaneous introduction into the Island at various points of an already stereotyped model' (Evans *PM* II 268ff). If he does admit outside influence, as I have said, it is the Indo-European counts he admits to (see further footnote under his name, below).

¹¹⁵ This, too, would have been an Anatolian feature: Woolley in particular noted the deployment of wooden columns on plain circular stone bases in the Palace of Yarim-Lim at Alalakh.

¹¹⁶ Joseph W Shaw 'The Orientation of the Minoan Palaces' *Studi in Onore di Doro Levi: Antichita Cretesi* I 1973 47-59

¹¹⁷ Graham (*ibid.*) dwells on 'the strong Luvian element in Crete', and 'some kind of cultural affinity between Arzawa and Crete'.

assessment, pointing to direct borrowings. The particular impact of Ebla is traceable on several counts (not just to do with architecture), though overall the strongest *documentary* proof of contact between Syrian palaces and Crete is attested at Mari, known from its own palace records to have been trading with Crete in tin¹¹⁸ sourced much further east (probably via the Elam route). Indicating everyday exchanges on a mundane level, in a different paper Watrous¹¹⁹ cites tablets from Mari mentioning clothing and a pair of shoes coming from Crete, and that ‘a tablet of c.1800 records tin sent to Mari from the Caspian area for Cretans and others at Ugarit, [while] two Mari tablets refer to a Cretan weapon and Cretan products being sent from Mari to Babylon’. All the same, since Ebla is geographically so much closer to Crete it is realistic to think of it, along with Alalakh via Aleppo, as the most immediately influential and accessible temple economy to Crete -with Mari operating beyond and through it along the Euphrates or desert routes (here, Lafont’s¹²⁰ map says it all: places along the



III. 8- 80: *From Mari, the Euphrates route to Alalakh, Ebla and Ugarit via Aleppo - and the alternative, shorter desert route to Byblos via Tadmor and Qatna - would both be stepping stones to onward sea journeys to Cyprus and Crete*

southern route were more subject to Egyptian influence, the northern to Anatolian and Mesopotamian connections. Syro-Mesopotamian kings from Sargon onwards all laid great store by reaching and seeing for themselves the cedar forests and sea coast of the Levant: Yahdun-Lim described the ritual sacrifice he made to the sea (part of which involved plunging the Sword of Ba'al into it), and that his army then bathed in its waters. We also know that slightly earlier Shamsi-Addu of Aššur erected a stela on the coastal shore. Lafont particularly mentions Zimrilim's visit to Ugarit near the end of his reign:

¹¹⁸ A Malamat 'Syro-Palestinian Destinations in a Mari Tin Inventory' IEJ XXI 1971 31-38

¹¹⁹ 'Crete from Earliest Prehistory through the Protopalatial Period' AJA 98 (1994) p.749

¹²⁰ Bertrand Lafont 'D'Ur à Byblos: Les relations entres la Mésopotamie et le Levant aux Ages du Bronze Ancien et Moyen - L'apport des textes' in BAAL Hors Série VI 2008 2008, 91-106 fig.2

Ce port important de la côte du Levant nord donnait ensuite accès à Chypre (Alasiya, ainsi que le cuivre et le bronze qui en provenaient, sont mentionnés dans les textes de Mari) et la Crète: plusieurs types d'objets manufacturés (cuir, armement, orfèvrerie, vaisselle de luxe) sont dits kaptarayu (= à la mode crétoise) dans les textes de Mari. D'autre part, une tablette administrative (ARM 23,556) témoigne de la rencontre qui eut lieu à Ugarit entre des représentants du roi de Mari et des marchands crétois, rencontre au cours de laquelle il fallut avoir recours à un interprète pour que les uns et les autres puissent se comprendre¹²¹.

Warren sums up with an overall acceptance of the general linkage between Crete and the Levant: 'so too the more complex form of economic organization using written documents and seal impressions on containers and doors may well owe its general idea, though not its detailed application, to Near Eastern practice'. Having demonstrated chapter and verse earlier in this chapter the self-evident influence of specific Syrian or Anatolian trends on the seals, records and pottery of Crete this, again, is probably too moderate a conclusion!

2. RECORD-KEEPING ON CLAY TABLETS IN NEAR EASTERN MODE

Although it is possible records were also kept on more perishable materials such as leather or even papyrus, the keeping of records on clay tablets after a long period of simply using geometric seal designs without text appears to have been a new move inspired by outside practice. Brice in a conference discussion following a paper by Åström and Sjöquist¹²² stated 'We must ... conclude now that Crete belonged to the literate part of the Levant and Eastern Mediterranean in a way that the mainland never did, even in Mycenaean times. The main use of the script was for keeping records and for the distribution of rations. ... If we go back in time, this precise method of recording the quantities of foodstuffs can be paralleled in the same manner and in the same medium (clay) in Mesopotamia...'.

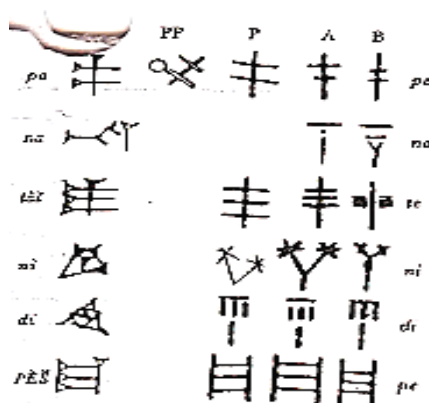
3. THE CHARACTER OF LINEAR A WRITING

The adoption of writing in Crete from its Pro-Palatial economy onwards, seemingly with experimentation in both Egyptian-type hieroglyphs and Mesopotamian signs, appears to have been initially inspired by outside practice, again with elements of native invention. The striking similarities between certain Linear A characters and Mesopotamian cuneiform signs (some retained in Linear B) were remarked upon by Hiller (*ibid.*) - whose attention was drawn to them by J G P Best - giving relevant references to his work and that of Willets and Brice (Hiller's footnotes 10 and 18). Although Linear A has not yet been fully deciphered, certain words have, and point to a North-West Semitic language. Take the examples given by Gordon (*ibid.*) first of *kulo* (total = Arabic *kullu/all*), then the

... group of Semitic nouns such as mother, man, people, town and city [in Eteocretan, taken as following on from Minoan - much as Coptic in Egypt is ancient Egyptian in origin] are not likely to be borrowings. The Minoan verbs to be, to give or donate, and to set up as an offering; the Minoan

¹²¹ M. Guichard 'Les mentions de la Crète à Mari' in A Caubet (ed.) *L'Acrobate au Taureau: Les découvertes de Tell el'Dab'a et l'archéologie de la Méditerranée orientale* Louvre, Paris 1999 165-177

¹²² Following 'The Scribes and their Helpers in the Palace at Pylos' p.319



Ill. 8- 81: Minoan syllabograms (right) compared to cuneiform signs - Hiller's fig. 3, apud. Best pronouns he, his, this and all; the Minoan conjunctions and and or; the Minoan numerals 7, 9 and 10; and the Minoan preposition to/for, are all Northwest Semitic and cannot be loanwords. Moreover the grammar and syntax are Semitic, so that the Northwest Semitic nature of Minoan is established by the primary evidence.

4. ADOPTION OF NEAR EASTERN POTTERY METHODS AND TYPES

Crete in the Neo-Palatial period adopts the potter's wheel and with it 'a number of new vase shapes... [including] the goblet, carinated cup, conical cup, fluted kantharos and theriomorphic rhyta'. Anatolian prototypes of the latter are illustrated below, and we are reminded also of the Anatolian-style jug usually held by the Minoan Genius (as on the Nichoria example - see last entry of *Ill. 8- 73*).

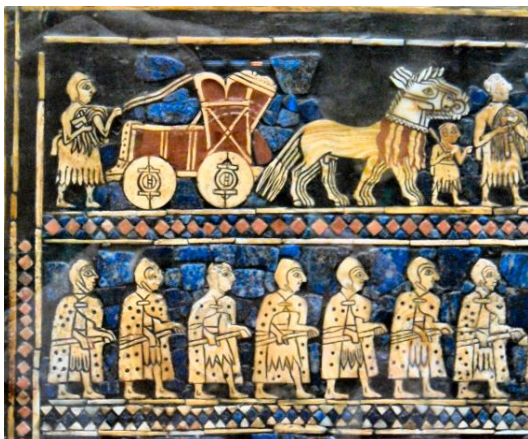


Ill. 8- 82: (left) Anatolian clay rhyta from Kültepe c.1950-1850 (MetMusCat 39/40); (middle) Old Kingdom Hittite ceremonial jug (MetMusCat 115) as carried by the Minoan Genius - still used as late as on the gold ring from Tiryns (MetMusCat-15)

From the perspective of this research we have had to give pottery a minor role in our exposition, other than to take in the overall generalization about the Syro-Anatolian influence. Watrous (*ibid.*) notes the introduction of the conical cup (ubiquitous in Mesopotamia from the 4M Uruk site onwards) 'may be especially significant because ... in the Near East [it] has been identified as a presentation vessel and ration container within the temple and state economic system'.

5. EARLY TRADITION OF INTARSIA PICTURE-ASSEMBLY, FOLLOWED BY PAINTED WALLS

The rock crystal marquetry pieces from the Knossos Temple Repository (*Ill. 8- 138*, items G/H) are a special case of wall or shrine intarsia decoration that appears to have been in the tradition of polychrome shell, lapis lazuli, carnelian, slate, limestone or other semi-precious stone inlays executed



Detail of lapis lazuli, pink and white limestone, shell and bone marquetry on *The Standard of Ur*, BM (3M)



Details of inlay on *The Ebla Victory Standard*

III. 8- 83: The tradition of Sumero-Syrian intarsia work applied on the Victory standards of Ur and Ebla

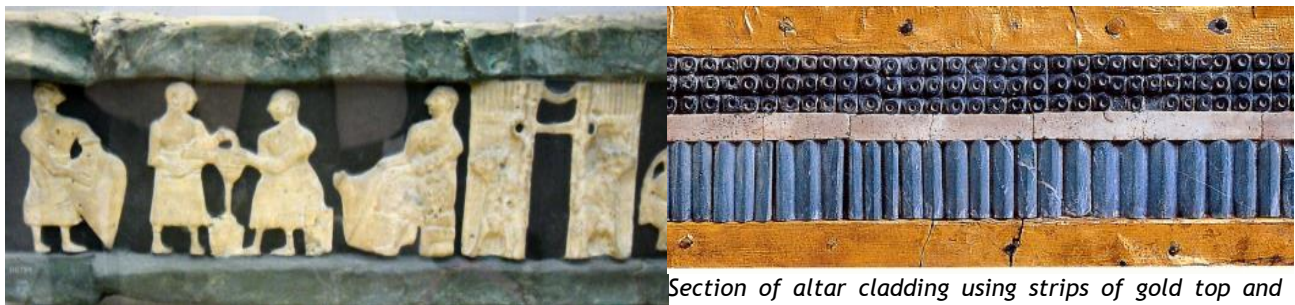
on the roughly contemporary palace furniture and ‘standards’ of Ur, Kish, Mari and Ebla - the latter two stand-alone banners or also (in the case of Ebla and Mari) embedded in rows on the wall. At Mari there were examples of this work in the walls of most of its temples and inner palace rooms. The



III. 8- 84: Calmeyer's reconstruction of the Standards of Kish (top left) and Mari (Temple of Ishtar) (bottom)¹²³, with details of actual pieces from ART OF THE FIRST CITIES MetMusCat nos 48 and 103b (right column), the latter a loose piece from another room

practice of building up pictures or decoration in hard cut-out pieces fitted together (or let into hollowed out shapes in the background material as in the case of Kish, above right) had begun earlier with the use of much larger chunks of coloured materials locally to hand in the 4-3M Sumerian architectural friezes of Al-^CUbaid and Tell Brak:

¹²³ Peter Calmeyer ‘Zur Rekonstruktion der “Standarte” von Mari’ in J R Kupper (ed.) *XVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale: La Civilisation de Mari* Paris 1967 161-9 with 3 plates



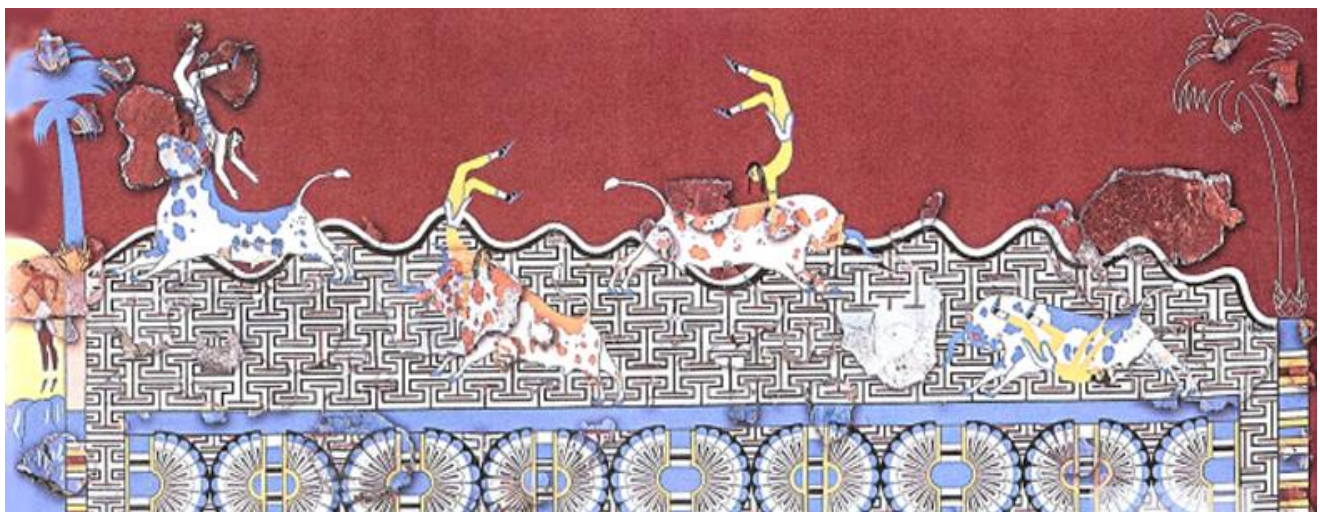
Tridachna shell, slate and copper wall frieze set on wood backing with copper nails, Al-^cUbaid (detail) British Museum

Section of altar cladding using strips of gold top and bottom, blue limestone, white marble and green shale - all attached to wooden backing with silver shanked, gold-top nails - Tell Brak Eye Temple - FIRST CITIES Cat-6

Ill. 8- 85: The architectural tradition of Sumero-Syrian intarsia work at al-^cUbaid and Tell Brak

Then in the Neo-Palatial period there is the same watershed between Temple Repository work and new developments at Knossos (already chronicled through the seals) whereby - clearly due to its links with the wider Levantine world (inclusive of Lower Egypt), wall painting took over as the prime means of wall embellishment, since the Knossos Throne Room intarsie were scrapped as old-fashioned - fortunately for us still respected as disused sacred paraphernalia and stored in the Temple Repository.

Macdonald himself noted the new preoccupation with painting in late Neo-Palatial Knossos and much has been written on the take-up of wall-painting¹²⁴, probably initially inspired by Egypt, at the palaces of Mari, Ebla and Alalakh in the Levant, and not long afterwards at Knossos in its Palace renovation and reconstruction of 1650 onwards. From the deteriorated state of the Mari Palace wall painting today with its runny, muddy colours, the consensus must be that the Minoans learned more from Egypt's durable *al fresco* techniques and pigment management, including the 'fixing' of blue, than from early Syrian practitioners, even if from fragments of wall-painting from the Alalakh palace it could, due to geography rather than the same dark colour palette, have been an initial inspiration.



Ill. 8- 86: Reconstruction from Palace F fragments of the Maze Bull-Leaping fresco)¹²⁵ at Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a: note the palm elements that match the most up-to-date restoration of painting flanking the Knossos throne (Ill. 8- 175 and Appendix B))

¹²⁴ Niemeyer ref

¹²⁵ The bull leaping wall next to the maze section illustrated above - known as the 'Beige Frieze of Taureadors' - has aided in the reverse reconstruction of five bull-leaping panels from Knossos, for four of which only sparse fragments remain (see Appendix B)

Someone in Egypt or Crete introduced a flowing, idyllic style linked by broad bands of colour that from the Hyksos period into the New Kingdom became the adopted secular fashion from Egypt to Mycenae - notably at Palace F in Avaris during the time of Hatshepsut/Tuthmoses III (above). It is significant that the definitive book on the XVIII^d period paintings at Tell ed-Dab^a¹²⁶ is based on scores of matches between the palace paintings of Avaris of bull-leaping with those at Knossos (as also its Throne Room wall painting schemes using the same red landscape strips unifying the overall composition), a novel feature being the use of blue, missing from the earth-pigment palettes of the Levantine palaces.

It looks likely, therefore, that in exchange for metals Crete began to offer itinerant craftsmen, initially painters trained by Egyptians or Egyptian-trained Levantines- and we cannot rule out that they might not have been working on their own. Though it is usually judged it was the Minoans alone who coined their own enchanting style, they could well have started off as members of an international team¹²⁷ of visiting Egypto-Levantines who by the end of the New Palace period had created a fashion that spread



Ill. 8- 87: Reconstruction of the Throne Room fresco at Avaris (left) - from Bietak et al. *ibid.* - almost identical to the usual reconstruction of the Knossos Palace Throne Room (centre) - however, compare the latter with Evan's own illustration in PMIV (right) based on the Ashmolean's archival photos, notes and sketches (shown in Ill. 8- 175 and Error! Reference source not found.) to include palms like those in the bull-leaping Maze fresco above)

wall painting techniques back to the Levant, Mycenae and Egypt¹²⁸ (most obviously to Avaris at the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmoses III, and then later Amarna) later to become an absolutely central component of the International Style¹²⁹ (see our Chronological Focus in **Catalogue E**). Reconstruction of the Avaris paintings (above) are so close to the wall paintings of the Knossos Throne Room (**Ill. 8- 175**) and Bull Leaping motifs on its seals and painted corridors there that they must have been done by the same team. They thus confirm the date of the paintings at Knossos Palace to the same early New Kingdom period under Hatshepsut - and stepson Tuthmoses III, the Pharaoh whose campaigns in Canaan and Syria inspired him at his Heb-Sed Jubilee to include in the wall carvings of his Festival Hall at Karnak Temple specimens of the plants and birds of Syria brought back to Egypt as exotic items.

¹²⁶ M. Bietak, N. Marinatos and C. Palivou *Taureador Scenes in Tell el-Dab^a (Avaris) and Knossos* Vienna 2007

¹²⁷ Further thinking on the subject comes in two papers given in *Aegaeum* 20 (1999): James D. Muhly 'Travelling Craftsmen: Love 'Em or Leave 'Em' and Louise A. Hitchcock "'Who will Personally Invite a Foreigner, Unless he is a Craftsman?'" 685-90 and 691-99.

¹²⁸ In the 2013 Kirwan Lecture at the British Museum on the work of F. W. Green given to the Sudan Archaeological Research Society, former British Museum Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities Vivian Davies described a relocated enthroned statue of Amenophis III in the Khartoum Museum initially recorded by Green on Sudanese terrain whose inscription on the back describes his 'glorious palace' built there by 'Asiatics in large numbers' - the first firm *documentary* evidence that Egypt hired foreign craftsmen during the New Kingdom.. The talk was later to be published in *Sudan and Nubia Bulletin* 19 2014.

¹²⁹ W. Stevenson-Smith, *Interconnections in the ancient Near-East: a study of the relationships between the arts of Egypt, the Aegean and western Asia* New Haven 1965 is still a classic for understanding such cross-currents

6. IMPORTED SEALS AND SEALING PRACTICES

Through her study of individual seals, and referred to constantly in this chapter, the work of Joan Aruz particularly well pins down, seal by seal, the detail of that complex interplay between the Aegean, Egyptian and Syro-Anatolian worlds that ultimately worked both ways. It is the handful of imported cylinder seals from Syria - standing out as unmistakeable signposts to incoming near-eastern influences reaching Crete¹³⁰ across the Mediterranean - that Aruz repeatedly cites as centrepieces in nearly every paper¹³¹, book or conference:

- The silver and haematite Syrian cylinder seals from Mochlos¹³², one with a presentation scene (Ill. 8- 9);
- The haematite Old Babylonian cylinder seal from Platanos with ruler and priestess (Ill. 8- 7);
- The lapis lazuli Ebla-type cylinder seal from Knossos Palace (Ill. 8- 32 and Ill. 8- 33) featuring an 3M Ur-type upright animal conflict web centring on a priestess figure in flounced skirt, with a Mitanni-style upper strip of pictorial determinatives as commentary on the scene below.

As in the case of the Platanos seal (found in association with Middle Kingdom scarabs - one of which features Taweret/the Minoan Genius (Ill. 8- 73 and Ill. 8- 7), one of Joan Aruz' less well-known papers describes the same telling juxtaposition of the two types of seal at Middle Kingdom Lisht¹³³: scarabs found alongside a haematite cylinder seal (or sealings from them) from Syria (all the seals discussed are in the NY Metropolitan Museum). At both the Lisht North and South sites, scarabs¹³⁴ from the reigns



Haematite Syrian cylinder seal - Aruz fig. 1



Clay sealing with remains of OB seal impression (drawing right) - Aruz figs 2a/b



Example of 'shield'-type wooden seal used by top Egyptian officials - Aruz fig. 4

Ill. 8- 88: Imported seals and local scarabs found at Lisht illustrated in Aruz *ibid.*

of Amenemhet I (North) and Senosret I and his Queen Neferu (South) preponderate (*two of them again featuring Taweret*), the majority incorporating the telling Syrian-type spiral decoration¹³⁵ so diagnostic of MK or Hyksos presence. Co-sealing with the scarab-holders sometimes happened at Lisht with square

¹³⁰ Most succinctly in 'The Aegean and the Orient: The Evidence of Stamp and Cylinder Seals' in *Aegaeum* 18 1998 301-10/pls xxxi-iii

¹³¹ Most recently in *Aegaeum* 20 (1999) 'Unravelling the Mysteries of the Well-Travelled Seal' 751-9: followed in the same volume by J Weingarten 'Seals as an Indicator of Trade?' & O Krzyskowska 'Traveller's Tales: The Circulation of Seals in the LBA Aegean' 760-76

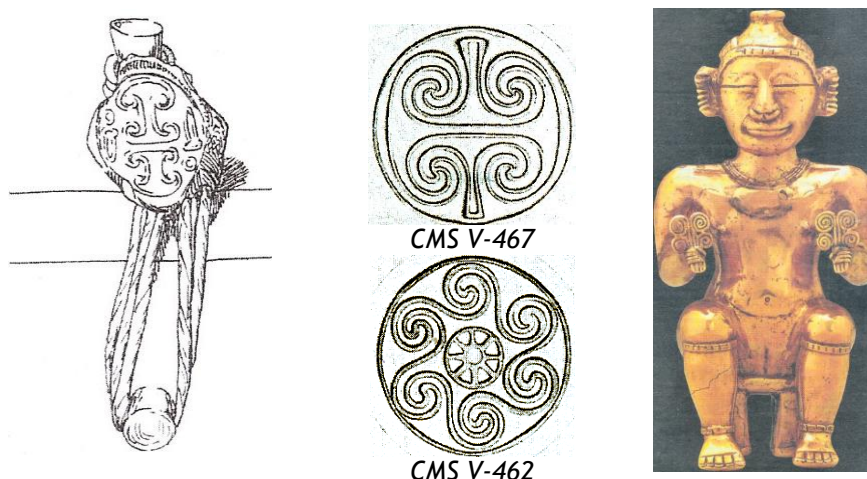
¹³² Joan Aruz 'The Silver Cylinder Seal from Mochlos' *Kadmos* XXIII 1984 186-8

¹³³ 'The Sealings of the Middle Bronze Age: A Preliminary Look at Lisht in Egypt' in M Perna (ed.) *Administrative Documents in the Aegean and their Near Eastern Counterparts: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Naples 1996* 2000 125-40

¹³⁴ See also Stuart T Smith 'Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier: Sealings from Uronarti and Asku' in T Palaima (ed.) *Aegean Seals, Sealing and Administration (Aegaeum 5)* Liège 1990 - which mentions other MK sites using these scarab types.

¹³⁵ In the discussion following her conference paper Aruz referred to 'the recent unusual discovery of two royal name scarabs in the DXII tomb of Queen Weret (note the name) at Dahshur (Oppenheim *KMT* 6 1995, 11) with spiral scrolls ending in snake heads' - a telling pointer to its ultimately Syro-Mesopotamian origins, rather than being a Cretan invention as such.

‘shield’ seals topped by carved figurines for the handle, belonging to the top Egyptians in charge there (one such shown above right). As with the Platanos group (and such mixtures of seals were found also at Tell el-Dab’a), such groupings of separate traditions of seals and sealings point to an established, triangular system of goods interchange taking place between Syria, Egypt¹³⁶ and Crete during the Middle Kingdom¹³⁷ (probably also including exchanges not only of craftsmen¹³⁸ but probably also, I believe, of astronomical practices) - attested also at Kahun. This goes a long way to explaining iconographic sharings (one Lisht sealing belonged to the ‘sailor of a Byblos ship’; another to a ‘priest of Ba^cal-Seth’). What is more, the Lisht (and Uronarti) sites offer examples of the *types* of sealing mechanism (bullae on strings, sealings securing folded pieces of parchment/papyrus) as sometimes used on Crete, with similarities of design not only with the earliest geometric designs of Lerna and Karahüyük (see the Lisht box seal illustrated below) but also with those appearing on the small island of Kea (crucial for the astronomical reasons shortly to emerge - below centre). Note in passing the same double volutes¹³⁹ held by the Colombian female statuette (below right) exhibited at a 2013 British Museum exhibition on the ancient gold artefacts of Colombia from before the arrival of



Ill. 8- 89: Detail (left) of a sealing on string from a box at Lisht¹⁴⁰ whose design matches many of Kea's 3M sealings¹⁴¹ (centre), contrasted (left) with a Colombian gold figure holding quadruple spirals in each hand

the Spanish. At the Lisht site the easily decipherable Egyptian hieroglyphs on the sealings provide a wealth of information about a host of different officials of all ranks running the site and supervising different funerary, store and craft departments, providing a much more precise idea of how the parallel organisation at Knossos might have been run if we could only read Minoan hieroglyphs and the Linear A script.

¹³⁶ See Aruz 'Siegel als Zeugnisse des kulturellen Austausches' in E Klengel-Brandt (ed.) *Mit Sieben Siegeln Versehen* Berlin 1997, 138-49 and D Arnold et al. 'Canaanite Imports at Lisht, Middle Kingdom Capital of Egypt' *Ägypten und Levante* V 1995 13-32

¹³⁷ Alexander MacGillivray 'Lebanon and Protopalatial Crete: Pottery, Chronology and People' *BAAL Hors-Série VI* 2009 187-193

¹³⁸ See - among the many papers written on the subject - W D Niemeier 'Minoan Artisans travelling Overseas: The Alalakh Frescoes and the Painted Plaster Floor at Tell Kabri (Western Galilee)' *Aegaeum* 7 Liège 1991 189-201 and plates.

¹³⁹ More relevant in this regard are the seals using this design going back to Susa and Uruk, cited by Rachel Maxwell-Hyslop in 'An Early Group of Quadruple Spirals' in Anatolia and the Ancient Near East: *Studies in Honour of Tahsin Özgüç* 1989 215-21 and pl. 45

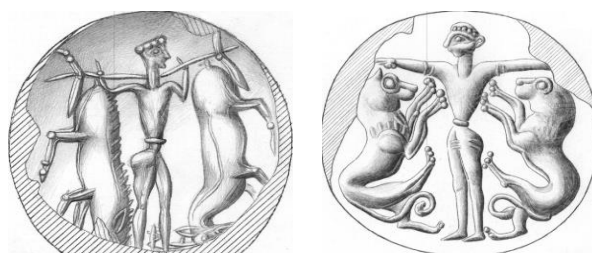
¹⁴⁰ Aruz *ibid.* 2000 fig.3

¹⁴¹ J Younger 'Early Bronze Age Seal Impressions from Keos' in F Matz (ed.) *Die Kretisch-Mykenische Glyptik und Ihre Gegenwärtige Probleme* Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1974 164-72

Coming back to the 1998 paper (*ibid.*) by Aruz first cited in this section, overall she concludes that:

- (a) most imported cylinder seals seem either not to have actually been used, or were recut to suit local use: they were almost always found in burials¹⁴² mixed in with Minoan seals - their apparent value being as amuletic, status-enhancing¹⁴³ or exotic items.
- (b) if attempts were made by Minoans to *use* imported cylinders, or make native ones, they were rarely rolled, but stamped from one side of the surface on the most prominent motif;
- (c) if *nativecylinder* seals were made they were usually carved with patterns and still had a loop handle at the top in order to use its end (or sides) as a stamp, in *petschaft* fashion;
- (d) *in Crete the foreign cylinder seal, rather as at Kültepe, never overrode the native stamp seal tradition acquired through relations with Anatolia (nor, we now see from her 2000 paper, did the Egyptian scarab or statuette shield-types briefly imitated by the Minoans endure either);*

Hence in relation to oriental influence the key factor of imported seals to strain off from the material object itself (taken along with our reading of larger artefacts and wall decoration) is their *iconography* (which of course Aruz also considers in several papers¹⁴⁴) - and with it any adoption of key design layouts (our next two headings). The difference between the realism on a seal simply showing a hunter with game suspended on a pole over his shoulders, and the higher symbolic intent of a hieraticised Master of the Beasts image can be distinguished from each other in this pair of Knossos seals:



III. 8- 90: *Master of the Beasts in real-life as a hunter (CMS II,8-238) contrasted with its 'heraldicisation' (right) (CMS II,8-250)*

This leads us to two related headings concerning iconography itself.

7A. IMPORTED ICONOGRAPHY: THE CANEA

Other than citing borrowings of single motifs, Aruz and her eminent colleagues in the field have all missed the opportunity to apply the umbrella concept of the transmission of the **CANEA** at just the time Syrian influences were coming in on other fronts. Being a symbolic system in connotation, calendrical in application, its identification as a key, intentional, foreign buy-in at one stroke comprehensively accounts for most of the genesis of core Minoan iconography, which contrasts starkly with the mainly geometric protohistoric stamp seals initially used as standard¹⁴⁵ in the

¹⁴² Joan Aruz 'Syrian Seals and the Evidence for Cultural Interaction between the Levant and Crete' in F Matz (ed.) *Sceaux Minoens et Mycéniens (CMS Beiheft 5)* Berlin 1995 1-21 (she mentions also the Syrian seals found at Tylissos (CMS II,3-128 and Poros (HM 2347)).

¹⁴³ See, for example, in *Aegaeum* 31 (2012) O Krzyszkowska 'Worn to Impress? Symbol and Status in Aegean Glyptic' 739-50 and K Kopanias 'Raw Material, Exotic Jewellery or Magic Objects? The Use of Imported Near Eastern Seals in the Aegean' 397-411

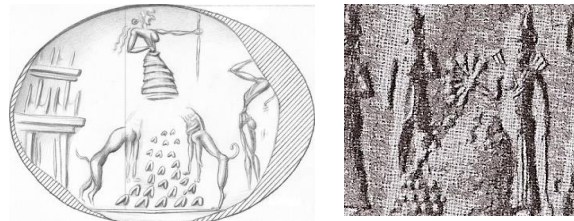
¹⁴⁴ Most recently, 'Artistic Change and Cultural Exchange - The Glyptic Evidence' in Ingo Pini (ed.) *Minoisch-Mykenische Glyptic: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion (CMS Beiheft 6)* Berlin 2000 1-13.

¹⁴⁵ Joan Aruz 'Seal Imagery and Sealing Practices in the Early Aegean World' in P Ferioli et al. *Archives Before Writing* 1994 211-35

Aegean world of which Crete was part. It is self-evident that its adoption (which we have spent half this chapter trying to prove) is in itself a major pointer to its underlying *raison d'être* - the reorganisation of Crete's economy enhanced by up-to-date astronomical methods.

7B. IMPORTED DESIGN: THE HERALDIC COMPOSITION

Hiller (*ibid.*) makes a general point about God and Goddess either side of a mountain being a motif



III. 8- 91: Minoan bilateral design either side of a mountain - Hiller fig. 9

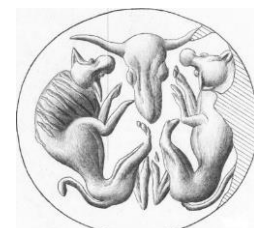
likely to have been borrowed from further east (as also the use of the mountain knoll as a central feature in plant or animal symbolism (his fig. 8). He refers tellingly to an Old Babylonian sealing showing Shamash and Astarte either side of a mountain (above right) as the kind of prototype that must have inspired the mountain goddess sealings found in and around the triple shrine of the Knossos Temple Sanctuary (Find Spot 25 *III. 8- 70*). He does not dwell on their mythology as Watrous (*ibid.*) does, and neither does he pin down how, on the compositional level alone, the



CMS II,8-326



Typical 3M Proto-Elamite seal from Susa (GMA 537)



CMS II,8-325

III. 8- 92: Examples of bilaterally symmetrical designs on sealings listed in CMS II,8 for the Knossos palace site, placed either side of a typical 4-3M Sumero-Susan prototype

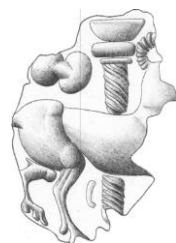
message is conveyed through the bilateral heraldic composition itself - actually first coined in early Mesopotamia and Susa, and passed on through Syria. Such a *Gestalt* arrangement is in itself a clue to the image's symbolic intent, since the subject is now hieraticised (seen also in the Master of the Beasts example above). It is used in several strict forms within the **CANEA** as a mode of *iconostasis* - the self-presentation of an intangible, enduring cosmic truth. Had Hiller been aware of the concept of the **CANEA**, I believe he would then have also noted the other instances of heraldic design used by Neo-Palatial Cretan designers as also oriental in inspiration: two random examples from Knossos are shown above (many more are given throughout this chapter). The item forming the axis of such heraldic designs comes in many forms: it may be a stool, mountain or bull-head (as illustrated above) but most often is an interchangeable tree or pillar. Simply from etymological comparisons Albright interestingly likens the Egyptian pyramid and Djed Sacred Pillar with the Hebrew *maṣṣebot*, all three with connotations of permanence and eternity, representing, he

comments, ‘as Lutz has shown, a stereotyped palm’¹⁴⁶(c.f. last entry *III. 8- 68*). This leads to the next important heading concerning an evident, deep cultural link between Crete and the Levant.

8. BAETYL ‘WORSHIP’ IN SYRIA AND ITS IMPACT ON THE MINOANS



CMS II,8-290



CMS II,8-388



III. 8- 93: Pillar as the axial focus of the design on two sealings from Knossos

On seals and larger works from the Minoan world, the axis of the heraldic design is often a pillar or column - whether of wood or stone¹⁴⁷ is not always clear. In the Knossos examples above from **CMS II,8** the pillar is shown behind a *single* animal (lion (left) or ram (right)), but more commonly as in the standard heraldic arrangement of the Lion Gate at Mycenae (below - see **BaLu-34**). The oriental origins and implications of this choice of central axis are spelled out in this section¹⁴⁸.



III. 8- 94: Sculpted tympanum of the Lion Gate at Mycenae - from Bossert¹⁴⁹ III. 10

Two end chapters by two expert contributors¹⁵⁰ in Durand’s book on Syrian baetyl worship¹⁵¹ provide an overview of the importance of the raised monolith (in varied formats) for the Bedouin Amorite peoples in Arabia and the Levant, to the extent that (given all other influences coming in via Syria) it is unsurprising to find similar practices appearing further west at Crete and Mycenae. A sourcebook of more recent examples of the practice turned to by Durand is Fahd’s account of Pre-Islamic baetyl use in the same region¹⁵² revealing just how much even present day Islamic (and, for that matter, Israelite) ritual was grounded in Stone Age practice. Overall, that Zoroastrian metaphysical principle of equating

¹⁴⁶ W Albright ‘Notes on Assyrian Lexicography and Etymology’ *RA XVI*, 189

¹⁴⁷ Sir Arthur Evans’ *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* (1910) was onto the theme at the earliest stage

¹⁴⁸ A fuller study of baetyl worship in the Levant is given by me at this link: <http://www.cosmokrator.com/newsletter.pdf> .

¹⁴⁹ H T Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete* I London 1937 [A good source of earliest photographs before the interference of restoration.]

¹⁵⁰ Christophe Nicolle ‘L’Identification des Vestiges Archéologiques de l’Aniconisme à l’Époque Amorrite’ pp 177-89 and Lionel Marti ‘Les Monuments Funéraires-Birûtu’ pp 191-200. The former discusses in particular the baetyls inside the temple to Ištar at Tell Mohammamed Diyāb, one featuring cup-marks, the largest of which in *Catalogue C* I pick out as forming the outline of Ursa Major.

¹⁵¹ Jean-Marie Durand *Le Culte des Pierres et les Monuments Commémoratifs en Syrie Amorrite* (Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 9/ Florilegium Marianum VIII) Paris 2005

¹⁵² Taufiq Fahd *Le Panthéon de l’Arabie Centrale a la veille de l’Hégire* 1968

stone with the very substance of eternal law and enduring time set down by the fixed sky¹⁵³ is borne out in their reverence for bare standing stones or inscribed stelae - the alternative tradition of Mesopotamia gave human form to them as stone statues of the Gods (the contrast between worked and unworked stone becoming a divisive religious criterion for the strict Iconoclasts).

Durand puts it in the foreword to his fascinating translation and interpretation of relevant correspondence in the 2M Mari archive that 'il faudrait supposer que le rôle des bétyles était plus important dans l'Ouest [meaning the Levantine Near East] qu'on ne le soupçonne aujourd'hui'. Knossos' art and practice in relation to this theme indicate we must include Crete and mainland Greece into 'l'Ouest'. In fact the Mari letters also reveal there to have been a measure of interchangeability between a standing stone or tree trunk, both intended to mark the precinct of God or Goddess or memorialise an important event. The practice is already well documented in Biblical references to the ^C*Asherah* which refer to a standing stone, but also either to a live tree¹⁵⁴ or wooden centrepiece involving considerable carpentry, on occasions described as 'burned down' - and some Mari letters deal specifically with orders for the felling of appropriate trees (probably cedars) to perform this function. The ^C*Asherah* - as either one or several pillars - would often be set up in the ritual 'high places' of ziggurat or mountain top (on Crete's mountainous terrain there was no need for ziggurats). In the tradition of the Sumerian Goddess Nin-Hur-Sag (*Ill. 8- 91*) she was also associated with the mountain itself - as also with its caves, venues of Her journey to the Underworld (there are obvious resonances here with Cretan cave sanctuaries). One letter from Mari (A2945) reveals that certain trees were specially associated with Hadad the Storm God or his consort, the Lady of Nagar, and in others there are mentions of the varieties of tree considered sacred that appear to have been long established from pre-Neolithic cultural norms before the quarrying of large stones was mastered.

Since here the cult use of one upright monolith in connection with Crete and Mycenae is our theme, we must focus here on prototypical Levantine monuments using just one baetyl, often rounded off in a cone at the top - or a pair (with on occasions up to three or four as cited in our first example for Mari cited below). It is notable that from both documentary and physical evidence we know the Amorites (and later the pre-Islamic Arabs) were as particular as Neolithic Man in Europe about the type of stone to be quarried for baetyl use, willing to transport pieces from far-flung quarries of specific geological makeup (such as basalt) considered especially sacred. It is no coincidence that key stone monuments of ancient Syria, Britain or France are located on, or very close to, riverine routes connecting quarry and temenos, which in Syria - as Durand points out - would be the Euphrates. At Mari the same combination of rollers on land and rafts on rivers were used as at Stonehenge to get them in place (confirmed in writing by the Mari archive - as also are the job-titles of specialist stone-masons and carpenters). We do not have overtly obvious standing stones remaining at Minoan or Mycenaean sites (the terrain was not suitable) but their depiction on artefacts is regular, and in their architecture it is

¹⁵³ (see our discussion of the Zoroastrian Heptad in *Catalogue C* and their equation of stone with Sky/Heaven)

¹⁵⁴ Archaeologists found traces within the Court of the Palms at Mari of the hole where a palm tree had been planted.

probable the bycornute horned stones in conjunction with mountain peak sightings are their substitute as a local adaptation - see *Ill. 8- 91*).

ZIMRILIM AND BAETYLS TO ISHTAR

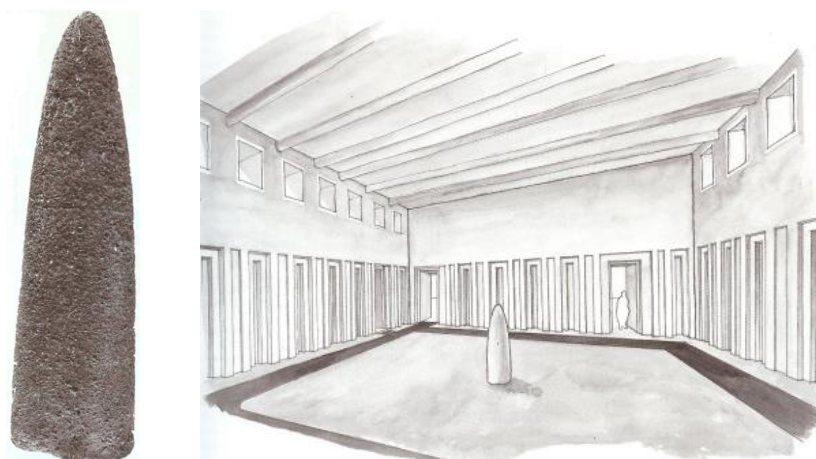
It is from the letters in the Mari archive that for the first third of the 2M a window suddenly opens onto the central importance of baetyls for the Bensim'alites as their new king, Zimrilim, takes over Mari. Alongside the rites of his immediate predecessors - Akkadian Shamsi-Addu and his son Yasmah-Addu who had had anthropomorphic statues made for every one of the Gods and Goddesses (see letter A.3609) for their month by month (or more frequent) celebration, from the very first year of his reign Zimrilim was adamant the Amorite cult should be incorporated alongside the practices of Greater Mesopotamia so far upheld in Syria under what we might call 'foreign influence'. Sumero-Akkadian statues were not always carved from one block of stone but were often an assemblage of several metals and semi-precious materials of the type referred to already under *Heading 5* above - the Mari site has given us examples of both types of statue, as well as the use of baetyls as we now describe.

In his letter (A.652) to his head administrator Zimrilim urges him at short notice to obtain in time the four baetyls, each 12 cubits high, needed to celebrate the imminent New Year Feast of Ištar (a rare account of whose proceedings we have already referred to in detail in connection with Amorite contract rituals in the *Iconography* section of **Catalogue C** - a section which first introduced the baetylic component of agreement rituals sworn in the presence of the Gods, and requiring the transportation of their statue (and/or baetyl) from their temple to the ceremonial precinct). From Zimrilim's interchange with his minister there appears already to have been some connection between long-standing baetyls to Dagan in the region and use of the same quarry to extract these further stones in honour of Ištar due to its recognised sacred nature (resting in part on the suitability of its stone).

The strong documentary evidence from the Mari archive put forward by Durand (*ibid.*) is backed up by several solid examples in the archaeological evidence of actual baetyls set up within key Syrian palace or temple precincts of the time, most notably:

- ◇ The baetyl found by Parrot in the courtyard of the Mari Temple to Ištar, broken in two;
- ◇ References to baetyls found at Ebla (in its documents described as *narū*, rather than *sikkanāt*), brought together by A Archi¹⁵⁵ and summarised in Durand (*ibid.*) as follows:
... les bétyles ont été retrouvés dans les temples d'Ébla des XVII^E-XVI^E siècles. Dans le temple N dans la cité basse, un monolithe de basalte a été trouvé s'appuyant contre deux dalles en pierre identiques dans le coin sud-ouest. Pendant le stade final d'utilisation du temple D, situé sur la pente ouest de l'acropole, deux bétyles avaient été érigés près du mur arrière de la cella, derrière une table d'offrandes.

¹⁵⁵ A Archi 'The Stele (NA-RÚ) in the Ebla Documents' in Jan Braun (ed.) *Written on Clay and Stone: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to K Szarzynska* Warsaw 1998 15-24 - for further background see also his 'Fêtes de Printemps et d'Automne et Réintégration Rituelle d'Images de Culte dans L'Anatolie Hittite' *Ugarit-Forschungen* v 1973 7-27



III. 8- 95: Top half of the monolith found in the Courtyard of the Temple to Ištar at Mari¹⁵⁶, now in the Damascus Museum, and reconstruction of its positioning -from Margueron¹⁵⁷ figs 252 and 231

On a further baetyl at Ebla, Durand continues,

*Dans les niveaux au dessus de l'hypogée G4, dans la partie nord du Palais G (c.f. les notes préliminaires dans P.Matthiae **CRAIB** 1995, 655-59) un monolithe de basalte (non publié) a été trouvé dans un contexte perturbé, érigé au milieu d'un cercle de pierres. Il se trouvait à 5m à l'ouest du mur occidental de l'hypogée, aligné avec le mur septentrional. Sa base reposait sur un niveau d'environ 1m au dessus du sommet préservé du mur nord de l'hypogée. Le monolithe a la forme d'un cone allongé, irrégulier; sa surface est polie. Cette oeuvre moins que parfait suggère aux auteurs une date de l'époque amorrite.*

Given Ebla has cropped up already under earlier headings as the most 'local' Syrian kingdom to Crete, embodying several kinds of prototypes for specific details in Knossos' palace construction and layout (*Heading 1* above), we should not be surprised to see how much parallel evidence there is for the aniconic representation of God or Goddess as stone pillar or wooden tree trunk (or indeed mountain) in Crete too, again associated with an open courtyard dedicated to Ishtar rites¹⁵⁸. A further tantalising paper¹⁵⁹ given at the same conference by Paolo Matthiae, also reported in **BAAL**, gave the following details:

The main role of the Eblaic Ishtar in the new royal ideology in the years immediately following 2000BC was certainly as dynastic goddess, patron and protecting the Old Syrian kings in Hammurabi of Babylon's age. This role is made clear in two original basalt votive monuments which probably stood in the square in front of Ishtar's Temple on the citadel: Ishtar's Stele discovered in 1986 and Ishtar's Obelisk, only partially recovered and reconstructed from two large fragments in 2007...

¹⁵⁶ A Parrot 'Excavations at Mari' Syria XXI 1954 156-7

¹⁵⁷ Jean-Claude Margueron **Mari: Métropole de l'Euphrate au III^e et au début du II^e millénaire avant J-C** Paris 2004

¹⁵⁸ Frances Pinnock 'Open Cults and Temples in Syria and the Levant' **BAAL Hors Série VI** 2008 195-207

¹⁵⁹ Paulo Matthiae 'Temples and Queens at Ebla: Recent Discoveries in a Syrian Metropolis between Mesopotamia, Egypt and Levant' in **BAAL Hors Série VI** 2008 195-207, 117-139

These stelae are carved with images referring to Ishtar: on the former she stands on a bull¹⁶⁰ and on the Obelisk tantalisingly Matthiae refers to the remains of a bull-leaping scene¹⁶¹, implying the rite was enacted in Her honour. Thus the shared cluster of mutually supportive information on the subject, in both Knossos and the Levant, begs the question about similar meanings on the Knossos side.

- ◇ Baetyl rituals are cited several times in the Émar and Ekallatum archives, in the former city several times in relation to the enthronement of a new high priestess¹⁶², with the stone in this case specifically embodying the western Amorite Goddess Hébat (a variation on Hadad's consort). Another ceremony there describes Dagan's anthropomorphic statue taken through a gateway framed by two baetyls, its face veiled, then on the return journey from the temple 'on découvre la face de Dagan. Le chariot de Dagan passe entre les Bétyles.... Sa face n'est plus couverte'.

As Durand points out, 'Même si ne nous sont plus connues les manipulations rituelles qui s'exerçait à Mari à l'égard des bétyles, ce qui en est dit à Émar ou dans la Bible peut nous éclairer d'une certaine façon. C'est ainsi que l'on peut supposer que l'essentiel consistait dans l'offrande d'un ovin et l'onction de la pierre' (with oil or perfume). It is not unreasonable to extrapolate in the same way for Knossos too.

- ◇ At Tell Bi'a its *sikkānum* to Dagan is particularly mentioned (*KTT* 157).
- ◇ These are matched further west by the line of standing stones unearthed at Gezer by R A S Macalister (below), leading archaeologists to a dawning realisation over succeeding decades that it was the western Levant where the use of standing stones was more deep-seated than the eastern regions encroaching on Mesopotamia.



Ill. 8- 96: The Great Alignment (top left as photographed for MacAlister's frontispiece in Vol II of his Excavation Report¹⁶³ and a bird's-eye view given by his successor on the site decades later, William Dever¹⁶⁴ (his fig.10)

¹⁶⁰ P Matthiae 'Les Dernières Découvertes d'Ébla en 1983-1986' *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres* 1987 Janvier-Mars 135-161 fig.9

¹⁶¹ Published in a recent *Aegypten und Levante* vol.(c.2011-2013 - not yet available in libraries I have access to.

¹⁶² The text for the entire ritual is translated in Daniel E Fleming *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar: A Window on Ancient Syrian Religion* Atlanta 1992

¹⁶³ R A S MacAlister *The Excavation of Gezer* (3 vols) London 1912

¹⁶⁴ W G Dever et al. 'Further Excavations at Gezer 1967-71' *The Biblical Archaeologist* XXXIV-4, 94-132

OLD TESTAMENT PRECEDENTS

During the Exodus, on reaching Sinai the twelve tribes are described in the Old Testament as represented by a circle of twelve standing stones at the foot of Mount Sinai, from whose summit Moses receives two stelae inscribed with the Ten Commandments, much as the 2M Hammurabi Code was written on one monolith - both therefore technically *humūsum*. Even on a modern piece of Jewish temple furnishing, as below, the Syro-Mesopotamian heraldic arrangement of two lions either side of the Tablets of the Law is retained - evidently as much an effective format for an iconostasis - or divine



Ill. 8- 97: (left) East European bronze Torah shield (19C) Jewish Museum New York (c.f. Ill. 8- 91): compare the juxtaposition of stones and tree on the Roman coin of Ambrosius - from Marinatos¹⁶⁵ fig.7.1

self-presentation - for the Jewish religion (itself steeped in 2M Levantine practice) as for the Minoan. Either side is the pair of columns/baetyls representing the Male and Female aniconic Divine (Baal and Astarte), often originally used to framed 2M city gates or temples as raw, unworked monoliths -and in more finished state framing the entrance to the Temple of Solomon, still with the same implication. Yet the Law of Moses forbids the planting (or erection) of the ^cAsherah as such (whether sacred tree or sacred pillar) at the altar of Yahweh due to its pagan associations - almost a contradiction in its double aniconism. Interestingly the Jewish tradition even preserves the alternation of heraldic Levantine-type griffins for lions going back to the 2M (see later for the astronomical significance of the griffin):



Ill. 8- 98 Top detail of an E European Hanukka Lamp, c.1900 Jewish Museum Maryland

SUMMARY

From the Mari letters Durand classifies at least five main types of commemoration that an upright stone could stand for (the main ones are already alluded to in the contract rituals related to seal iconography in our *Chronological Focus* for *Catalogue C*). The terminology for each type as used in

¹⁶⁵ Nanno Marinatos *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess* 2010

relevant Mari letters in some contexts is role specific, but at other times they are used more vaguely and interchangeably with each other. However, overall Durand and his two contributors (*ibid.*) distinguish between them as follows¹⁶⁶:

- ◇ the presence of a particular God or Goddess as a raw, unworked slab is the *sikkānum*/Hebrew *maššeboth*/English *megalith*) - in contrast to a sculpted stele with writing and images (*narūm*) in the tradition of Greater Mesopotamia: the split in practice almost certainly marking a general divide between nomad -v- urban society;
- ◇ the commemoration of an event such as the giving of laws, the marking of an agreement reached or demarcation of a land boundary is the *humūsum*, more usually a cairn of stones rather than a single monolith but in the latter case its erection is referred to as the *ramūm* rite (though the celebration of a martial victory and ensuing delimitation of a geographical border could as well be marked by a monolith as by a cairn);
- ◇ the commemoration of ancestors¹⁶⁷ or a key person's death, either as tomb or cenotaph is a *birūtum* -the more restricted Akkadian term carried over to the *humūsum*;
- ◇ the New Moon's arrival (*kispum*), especially at the New Year, is marked by the raising of a stone, most crucially when deciding on the inclusion, or not, of an intercalary month.

We cannot fully prove which of these approaches might specifically lie behind Minoan practice.

9. GOD AND GODDESS ICONOGRAPHY

This topic follows on naturally from the previous heading, though we need not dwell at length on specific Gods or Goddesses at this point other than to place this category into the list of oriental influence: we can more accurately deal with specific divinities of the Pantheon very likely shared by Crete with the Syro-Anatolian mainland in the Minoan astronomy section from *Heading 12* on.

As in the Levant, stones, trees, water springs, caves, sacred groves, empty thrones, or the animal familiars of the Gods, are all oblique references to their indescribable invisible presence. Anthropomorphism as employed in the Levant was used sparingly in Minoan cult, with the **CANEA** animal scenes and determinatives instead indicating them obliquely to give some idea of the nature of their influence - mainly focusing on that of the two Benefics, Jupiter (Baal) and Venus (Ishtar).

It is interesting to note that Nannos Marinatos¹⁶⁸ tellingly provides several specific parallels between Cretan and Hittite religious belief and cult not often dwelt on by other writers. But in the light of the previous heading, the central part played by rocks and trees in the iconography of gold seal rings, as in the examples in the first row of *Ill. 8- 71* - or on the so-called 'Ring of Minos' illustrated below - is more likely to represent aniconic local versions of the traditional Syro-Mesopotamian Gods. Their

¹⁶⁶ See also M. Dietrich et al. 'Sikkanum "Bétyle"' *UF 21* 1989 133-39

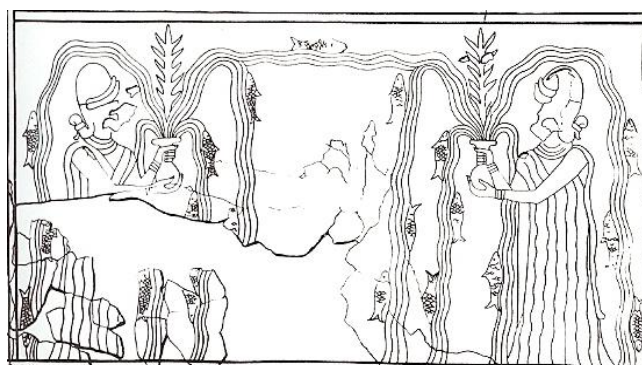
¹⁶⁷ See Johannes C de Moor 'Standing Stones and Ancestor Worship' *UF 27* 1995 1-20 and O Lorenz 'Stelen und Sohnespflicht im Totenkult Kanaans und Israels' *UF 21* 1989 243-6. The building of cenotaphs to memorialise the fallen in war memorials continues this Neolithic tradition -knowingly or unknowingly.

¹⁶⁸ *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess* Illinois 2010

embrace by gesturing youths and maidens - unclothed and re clothed - point to the celebration of journeys between life and death, fertility and dearth - emphasised on Minoan seals and wall-paintings by references to insects such as dragonflies, butterflies or moths that from the world of nature proclaim processes of self-transformation and the happy potential for resurrection. The Sumero-Levantine cult of watering the sacred tree (below right) points to more formal prototypes.



The so-called 'Ring of Minos'



Lower register of the Investiture scene, Mari Throne Room



Ur-Nammu with the rod and circle of kingship supervises the fertility of the land (3M)



Ur III period seal, Rosen Collection - Klengel-Brandt¹⁶⁹ fig. 84

III. 8- 99: (Top left) Seal design from Knossos (named 'the Ring of Minos') showing naked and clothed men and women embracing rocks and trees at a central shrine on a hillock, with priestess rowing a boat in the foreground - Ashmolean Museum 1938.1110; the other three are typical Levanto-Sumerian cult scenes centring on growth and vegetation

Nanno Marinatos makes a most valuable contribution towards understanding the scenes on Minoan-Mycenaean gold seal rings as concerning Gods and their cult using rich iconography not often appearing on ordinary seals used by officials, and probably worn only by an inner circle of people who could be classed as initiates, including priestess or king at times enacting the roles of God or Goddess. Such scenes, categorised earlier as local, Minoan equivalents of Levantine **CANEA** cult scenes, appear to revolve around the life and death journeys celebrated in the Inanna-Tammuz story and its Levantine derivatives, centring on the Annual Cycle of the death of Nature and its revival, with the female in charge (whether as Goddess or Priestess) and the male her child and lover, the youth Adonis whom she must rescue - and who with outstretched arm on other seals respects and authenticates her authority.

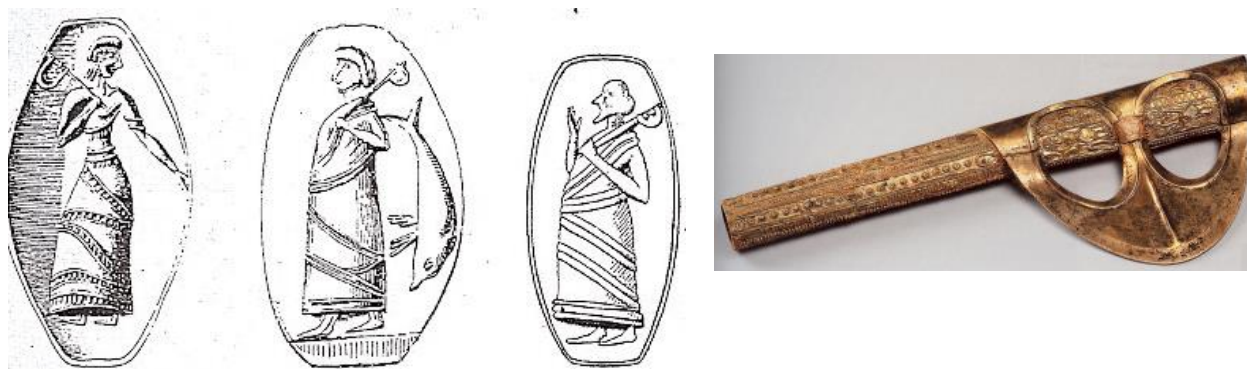
Such scenes are better dealt with under the Astronomy sections below - where I show that some of Marinatos' (and Goodison's¹⁷⁰) iconographic identifications of Gods and Goddesses can be fine-tuned.

¹⁶⁹ E Klengel-Brandt (ed.) *Mit Sieben Siegeln versehen* Berlin 1997

¹⁷⁰ Lucy Goodison *Death, Women and the Sun: Symbolism of Regeneration in Early Aegean Religion* [BICS Suppl. 53] 2001

10. PRIEST/KING AND FENESTRATED AXES

Hiller notes how several amygdaloid seals depicting a priest or other figure of authority, in toga-like robe with fancy borders wound round the body, show him holding over his shoulder the fenestrated axe whose immediate origin can be traced back to actual examples from Byblos - his illustration of three such seals is reproduced below left.



Ill. 8- 100: Amygdaloid seals showing Priest holding fenestrated axe of the Byblos type (right) - MetMusCat 25

A telling parallel detail to bring in from Ebla here, meaning this figure probably shows a priest-king, comes from a footnote in a paper by Matthiae¹⁷¹:

the fragment of statue with fenestrated axe was found in a small shrine in front of Ishtar's Temple on the Citadel and clearly was one of the kings' statues dedicated in the dynastic temple...'

It would not be farfetched, either, to see the head-gear of the middle figure with the dolphin as much the same as the eccentric royal Ebla turban. Further confirmation of the importance of Crete's adoption of Byblite/Eblaite arts and protocols comes from Lorenzo Nigro's¹⁷² analysis of Ebla's Tomb of the Lord of the Goats where King Immeya was buried: 'The king of Ebla was buried with several ceremonial weapons, among which [were] two fenestrated axes of the broad type One may here also recall for comparisons at Ebla 'the burial of a smith which included the moulds for the fusion of broad fenestrated axes very similar to the renowned golden specimens with central ridge found in the votive deposits of the Temple of the Obelisks [Byblos] dating from Abi-Shemu's times'. We note in passing that the borders on the robes of the male holding the fenestrated axe suggest no ordinary piece of weaving, but a length of cloth with elaborate borders possibly separately woven.

11. PRIESTESS DRESS AND SACRED TEXTILES

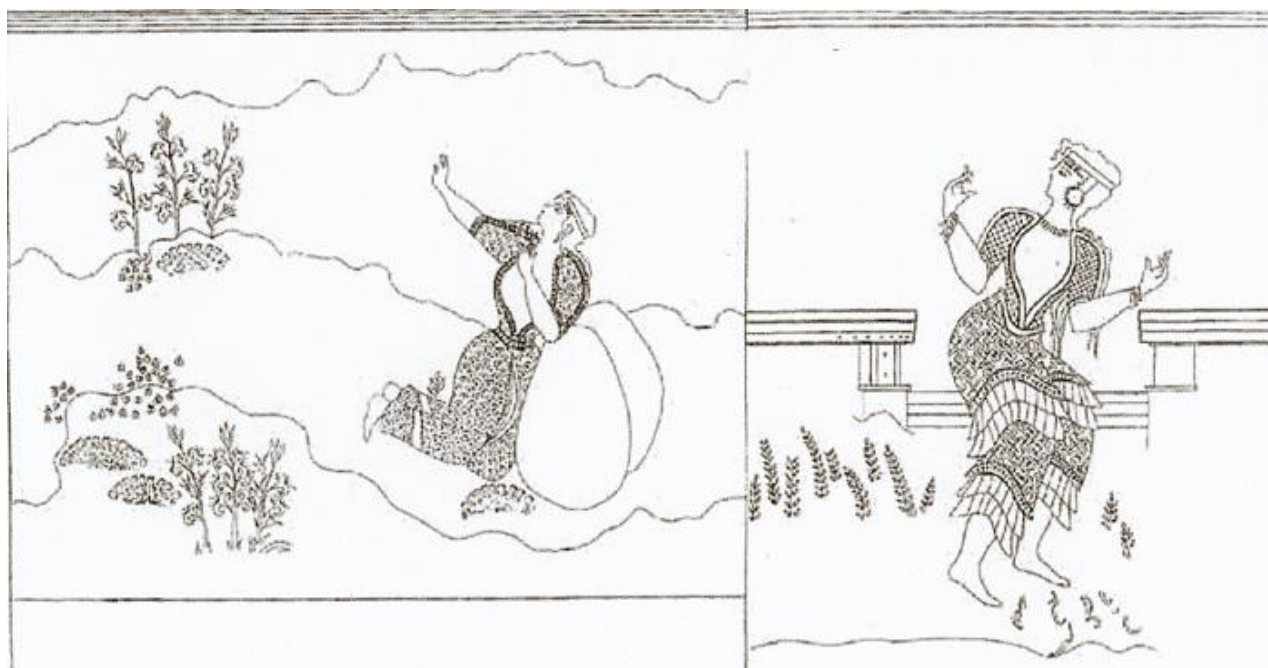
The costume of supposed priestesses - and textiles in general - loom more largely than for priests. I concentrate below on two themes concerning cloth and clothing which appear to have been triggered from sources further east, limiting ourselves to two particular angles that point to oriental influence during the Chronological Focus/Neo-Palatial period. From the huge number of loom weights found in

¹⁷¹ Paolo Matthiae 'Temples and Queens at Ebla: Recent Discoveries in a Syrian Metropolis between Mesopotamia, Egypt and Levant' *BAAL Hors Série VI* 2008 117-139 - fn 44

¹⁷² 'The Eighteen Century BC Princes of Byblos and Ebla and the Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age', also in *BAAL Hors Série VI* 2008 159-175

the archaeological record, the evidence is there for a textile technology taken up from further afield, and creatively interpreted and developed to a refined degree by the Minoans - to the extent that the roots of initial beginnings need to be dug out from undocumented obscurity. Clothing and undress being associated with the Myth of Inanna, in the Aegean both became associated in cult and ritual.

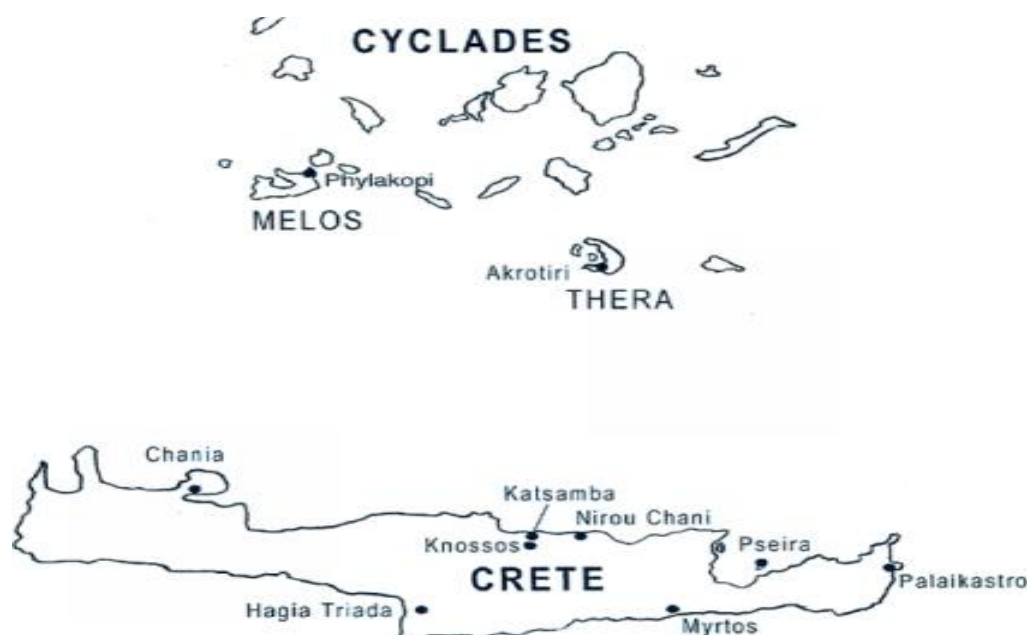
Despite differences of artistic style or medium, it is realistic to compare the Minoan women in heavily flounced skirts with the layered dress of the Old Babylonian officiating priestesses that regularly appear on Old Babylonian seals (as on the imported OB seal shown in *Ill. 8- 7*). Although there was specific technical interchange with Egypt, possibly at times relayed via the Levant, just as crucial were Crete's prime links to Sumerian practice and belief - - whether direct or, again, via the Levant. Wall-paintings from the sites marked on the map on the next page provide visual documentation to both weaving and dyeing being instigated from abroad. In the early days such layered robes had been



Ill. 8- 101: The Nature Fresco Ayia Triadha (north and east walls) - note for future reference the plants in the right-hand panel

sheep- or goatskins worn as much by Mesopotamian priests as priestesses - or high-status male and female worshippers - and of course the Gods themselves when represented in human form. In Minoan art, divinities are not separately distinguished by horned headdresses as further east (even breakaway versions such as the Mari goddess with flowing vase has a single pair of horns), but the Minoans' own use of elaborate hairdressing or headdresses of flowers and plumes are thought to refer to particular Gods and Goddesses - or priestess-queens playing their part.

Simply looking at the handsome, bareheaded young men and women interacting with the powers of Nature and Sky, on seals, or as in the wall painting panels above, we could well just be dealing with portrayals of the Aegean 's 'beautiful people' who loved nature and fine clothes - but at this time the arts were handmaid to ritual, and would not merely show profane *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* type picnics.



Ill. 8- 102: Map with wall painting sites relevant to textiles - from Donogue (ibid.) after Morgan (ibid.)

CRETE ENTERS THE LEVANTINE NETWORK OF WEAVING AND DYEING TECHNOLOGY

The fact that so many cult persons in Minoan art are not dressed in skins, but woven textiles, leads us to this outstandingly important oriental influence on Crete, so often overlooked as such. It involved the adoption of weaving and the production of textiles of such quality that eventually they ranked as a top commodity for Crete to exchange for metals from the East. Indeed, as J T Killen¹⁷³ argues for the



Ill. 8- 103: Two sealings quoted by Brendan Burke¹⁷⁴ (left) and (centre) reconstruction of a typical upright 4M loom¹⁷⁵, contrasted with a loom illustrating the myth of Circe on a Boeotian skyphos in the Ashmolean Museum - Crowfoot¹⁷⁶ fig. 4

Mycenaean period, Crete's main wealth lay in its wool and its working into textiles. Quite apart from such clues as the high incidence of loomweights on Minoan sites from its earliest beginnings and their representation on seals and sealings (illustrated above), the loom itself features as a sign in the Linear

¹⁷³ 'The Wool Industry of Crete in the Late Bronze Age' *BSA* LIX 1964 3-15

¹⁷⁴ 'The Organisation of Textile Production on Bronze Age Crete' in *Aegaeum* 16 1997 413-424

¹⁷⁵ 'from E Völling 'Schafe, Wolle und Textilien in der sumerischen Wirtschaft', in N. Crüsemann et al (eds) *Uruk: 5000 Jahre Megacity* Petersberg 2013 262-3

¹⁷⁶ G M Crowfoot 'Of the Warp-Weighted Loom' *BSA* XXXVII 1936-7, 36-47

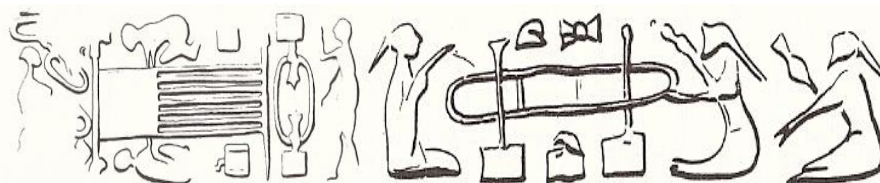
scripts, and wall-paintings depict youths or priestesses holding up a bolt of cloth, or ritual wrap-round skirt. The former is elsewhere represented by the stand-alone 'Knot of Isis' determinative (or Sacred Knot), a borrowing by the Minoans initially referred earlier to as of Egyptian origin (*Ill. 8- 73*) but probably as much the embodiment of a direct pedigree in weaving practice going back to Sumer, in the 2M commercially successful in the days of Aššur's textile trade across Syria into Anatolia - and beyond.



Ill. 8- 104: Moth motif on Mycenaean sword hilt, Shaft Grave Iota, Circle B - Mylonas, Mycenae Rich in Gold fig. 188, compared (centre) with Mycenaean seal, Ashmolean Museum (Boardman GGFR 65) - rated a silk-moth rather than a butterfly due to its furry anthers¹⁷⁷; on the gold seal ring from Vapheio (CMS I-219) the Sacred Knot may be doing duty as the body of a moth.

MESOPOTAMIAN PRECEDENTS

There are strong, close-to-hand ancient precedents for the tradition of weaving on Crete traceable to 4M Uruk or Susa and 3-2M Ur - as attested on seals and sealings of that time (below) and described in associated economic texts logging the management of weaving production. Then by the 2M Aššur in the



Ill. 8- 105: Weaving scenes on seals or sealings from (left) Susa - GMA 275 and (right) Sumer - GMA 319

Diyala had become a prime weaving centre, with women weaving fabrics at home and their husbands or agents trading their bolts of cloth into Anatolia, journeying back and forth across Syria. There is growing evidence, too, that this route began to link up eastward, not only into the emerging Asiatic silk trade (as part and parcel of the tin route) but also into the lesser byways of the cotton/indigo routes into South Asia and on into the Zanzibar Triangle (of which more shortly). Although research has been done on the rare mentions of silk and cotton¹⁷⁸ use in the Aegean (see *Ill. 8- 104*), mainline production on Crete concentrated on wool, and there are interesting mentions of the weight units used for trading wool at both Knossos and Nuzi¹⁷⁹, with actual weights found in the archaeological record at Knossos, Thera and other sites. For the Mycenaean period it is a well-known fact that the majority of the Linear B texts (around 700) describe sheep husbandry and wool textile production, but for the preceding Minoan period under our Chronological Focus we have to infer most information not only

¹⁷⁷ Trevor van Damme 'Reviewing the Evidence for a Bronze Age Silk Industry' *Aegaeum* 33 2012 163-9

¹⁷⁸ E Panagiotakopulu 'Butterflies, Flowers and Aegean Iconography: A Story about Silk and Cotton' *Wall Paintings of Thera II* 585-91

¹⁷⁹ Karl M Petruso 'Wool Evaluation at Knossos and Nuzi' *Kadmos* XXV 1986 26-

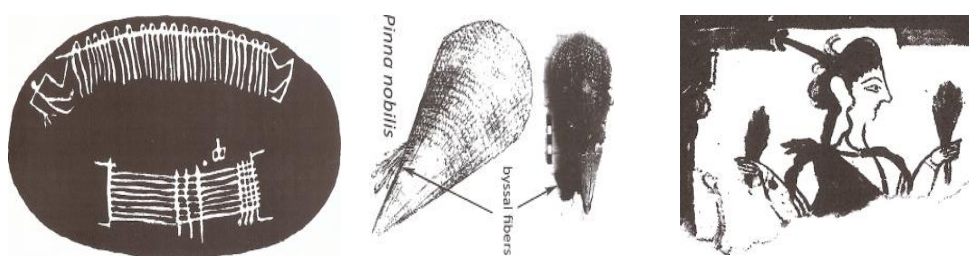
from the hardware of archaeological remains, but also indirectly from wall paintings and seals. In some cases the rare remains of actual textiles (some involving tapestry or embroidery) give tangible facts¹⁸⁰.

WOMEN AS TEMPLE WEAVERS AND SKIRT WEARERS

From the earliest volume of *The Palace of Minos* Evans made insightful comments on the question of Minoan textiles - and the dresses made from them. But recently the increasing 21C literature on the subject has made a quantum leap in working on the mass of textual and archaeological evidence now emerging on the subject, not to mention ever-deepening iconographic insights that are emerging on closer study of their depiction on seals and wall-paintings. A truly fascinating and comprehensive picture of the central importance of textiles (broadly speaking consisting mainly of wool and some linen) in the Aegean and Levant is being revealed - whose more local roots even have precedents in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in Anatolia (e.g. Çatal Hüyük) and the Levant (e.g. Nahal Hemar)¹⁸¹.

There is profuse reference to Cretan cloth being exported back either to the Levant (in the Mari records, just as textiles coming from Byblos were called *gublaya*, so goods coming from Crete were termed *kaptarayu* -Lafont *ibid.*) or Egypt (visiting Syrians are shown with bolts of cloth in several well-known tomb paintings of officials of the time of Tuthmoses III, prized in particular for their colourful and complex patterns often then copied in the painted decoration of those very tomb-holders). It appears that, in the Minoan world at least, women were the weavers and 'the holders of the patterns' (modern-day female Persian carpet weavers offer an ongoing model, the ancient precedents for which are given by Dalley¹⁸²). Elaborate patterns require knowledge of how geometric patterns can be built up through different weaves (maybe drawing on the Pre-Palatial heritage of the use of geometric shapes on seals), many examples of which are displayed on the clothes worn by enactresses themselves on the wall paintings (there is little, if any, evidence that patterns were *printed* onto the cloth).

CULT TREATMENT OF CLOTH AND CLOTHING



III. 8- 106: (Left) Badarian dish from Brunton & Caton-Thompson apud. Levy & Gilead in Nosch et al (*ibid.*) fig. 2.5; (middle) the *Pinna Nobilis* mollusk, and (right) from the Mycenaean Cult Sanctuary female possibly holding up two shells - from Burke

¹⁸⁰ J Cutler 'Ariadne's Thread: The Adoption of Cretan Weaving Technology in the Wider Southern Aegean in the Mid-2M BC in M-L Nosch and R Laffineur (eds) *Kosmos: jewellery, adornment and textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age* Leiden 2012

¹⁸¹ See M-L Nosch et al (eds) *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East*, consisting of papers presented at the Workshop of similar title held at the British Museum in 2010 - as part of the VIIth International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. The first paper by Catherine Breniquet 'Functions and Uses of Textiles in the Ancient Near East' is a useful lead-in.

¹⁸² Stephanie Dalley 'Ancient Assyrian Textiles and the Origins of Carpet Design' *Iran* XXXIX 1991 117-35. Note also her description of *Byssos* (mentioned over 40 times in the Old Testament), a very fine textile made from the hairs on certain oysters, finer even than gossamer linen, but spun with difficulty due to the shortness of its hairs (thus often twined in with other fibres). It was often spoken of in the same breath as purple dye, also from molluscs. *Byssos* ('sea silk') was pursued further by Brendan Burke in 'Looking for Sea-Silk in the Bronze Age Aegean', *Aegaeum* 33 2012 171-178, who pinpoints the most productive mollusk as *Pinna nobilis*, found on several Minoan sites in the archaeological record. He identifies its shells as possibly held up by a female in the Mycenaean Cult Sanctuary (his pl. XXXVIIa/c, inserted against the illustration above for interest, since relevant later for one Xeste 3 wall painting).

We placed the Minoan tasselled and knotted bolt of cloth in our table of Egypt-inspired determinatives (since mostly referred to by early scholars as the Knot of Isis (*Ill. 8- 73*). Certainly there are strong indications from Badarian pottery (above left) that linen weaving goes back as far as protohistoric Egypt. But the fact that the 'Isis Knot'/cloth bolt is juxtaposed with such central Minoan icons as bull-leapers or lions either side of the baetyl - as on the two seals below cited by Evans - indicates that in Crete, quite apart from their economic value, textiles held certain levels of symbolic significance.



Ill. 8- 107: The Sacred Knot on seals juxtaposed with a bull-leaping scene¹⁸³ (Smyrna, from Crete); and heraldic lion and baetyl scene, reinforced by cloth bolts, all references to the Goddess - PM I figs 310 a/b

On Minoan wall paintings cloth production, its colouring and use as loin-cloth, tunic or dress is ritualised, evidently recording certain occasions at specific times of the year when its processes became part of cult enactments apotheosising their inner spiritual significance. Several scenes show a bolt raised up by a youth as if from a dye-vat, or the ritual seven-layered skirt held up by a woman, indicating cult activity associated with the weaving of special cloth or wearing of special garments¹⁸⁴



*Ill. 8- 108: Left Upheld length of cloth in fragmentary fresco from the Pillar Crypt, Phylakopi, Melos (the figure could just as well be male - Donogue fig. 18); (centre left) Restoration by Boulotis of fragments of a procession scene with Goddess from the South House lustral basin, Knossos (S Hood's fig. 2.18 in Morgan *ibid.*; (centre right) Woman holding up a skirt, Akrotiri House of the Ladies Rm 1 - Donogue fig. 20, as also on a seal (right), PM I fig. 312a*

that continued in Mycenaean Athens - where in succeeding centuries the sacred peplos of Athena was presented during the Panathenaia by a young maiden (shown on the Parthenon Frieze, below) as the annual redressing of the *xoanon* of Athena.

¹⁸³ We have already cited under *Heading 8* the extraordinary discovery in relation to the damaged inscription on the Ishtar Obelisk at Ebla (Matthiae *ibid.*) that bull-leaping was a rite in Her honour - the cloth bolts acts as reinforcing determinative in this scene.

¹⁸⁴ For two approaches to the subject see E Barber 'Some Evidence for Traditional Ritual Costume in the Bronze Age Aegean' and John Gulizio 'Textiles for the Gods: Linear B Evidence for the use of Textiles in Religious Ceremonies' - both in *Aegaeum* 33



Ill. 8- 109: Scene on the Parthenon Frieze showing a maiden presenting the newly woven peplos for the Athena - British Museum

The black figure vase painting below¹⁸⁵ shows Athenian women engaged in spinning and weaving - and possibly also rinsing and/or dyeing activities. The scene on the Parthenon frieze surely continues earlier practice in the 2M (there are many mentions in both Aegean and Syrian records of lengths of imported cloth presented as gifts, not only to high officials¹⁸⁶ and kings, alive or dead¹⁸⁷ - but also as dedications to Gods



*Ill. 8- 110: Athenian women on a black-figure vase engaged in the various stages of textile production - from Gullberg *ibid.**

or Goddesses). Nosch¹⁸⁸ cites references indicating such a special cloth was associated with the cult of the Potnia of the Labyrinth in Mycenaean texts, and textile offerings were also made to Poseidon. Special cloth was also woven for the dead - of course associated with the final journey to the Underworld, and precisely what appears to be the meta-content of the Minoan wall paintings we will study more closely now.

THE SACRED KNOT AND THE STANDARD OF INANNA: SUMERO-LEVANTINE MYTH IN MINOAN GUISE

For a new level of iconographic insight we are now in a position to follow in detail the indications from wall paintings at Knossos, Thera and Melos showing how textile practices were bound up in myth, by looking at narratives involving both the Sacred Knot/bolt of cloth and priestess/goddess dress (the oriental impact here, much as with other borrowings, is not at first obvious). On rereading that classic

¹⁸⁵ E Gullberg et al. *The Thread of Ariadne* Göteborg 1970 fig.6

¹⁸⁶ Biga, M G 'Buried among the Living at Ebla - Funerary Practices and Rites in a XXIV BC Syrian Kingdom' *Scienze dell'Antichità* XIV 249-276 (apud. Matthiae *ibid.*)

¹⁸⁷ Matthiae (*ibid.*) his fn.60, expanded by Archi (*ibid.*)

¹⁸⁸ M-L Nosch 'Cloth in the Cult' *Aegaeum* 22 2001 471-77

seasonal Sumerian myth¹⁸⁹ telling the story of the annual descent of Inanna to the Underworld to rescue her lover, Tammuz, rescuing the fertility of life on Earth by their return journey in seven stages, we start to spot the clues. We deal with the bolt of cloth symbol first.

On balance, I now see the knotted scarf or bolt of cloth in Minoan art (examples below) as the combination of a Mesopotamian concept with the Egyptian form of the Isis Knot - certainly symbolic of the Goddess, whichever country is involved. Both may well share a common root in the protohistoric period as one of the many motifs shared between the two lands during their close interchange (see *Catalogue A*). I leave it in place on the table of Egypt-derived determinatives for the time being, given that even during the Second Millennium there seems to have been a three-way control of an



Fresco fragment from Nirou Khani room. 17



Relief models of the Sacred Knot in a tartan weave, single and in a pair from Knossos (PM I)



The Knot worn ritually by a woman (PM I fig 311)

Ill. 8- 111: Minoan examples of the Sacred Knot on a larger scale than on seals

organised weaving industry between Egypt, the Levant and Crete - as described for Lisht above (*Ill. 8- 88*). The same triangular traffic in relation to textiles includes Tell Kabri, where scarabs, if not used in funerary contexts, were used to stamp loom-weights¹⁹⁰, whilst blue- and red-dyed weavers' wool waste found at Kahun by Petrie, pointed to craftsmen visiting from Crete (given Egyptians were not known to weave wool)¹⁹¹).

Coming back to the examples of the Sacred Knot coming out of Knossos, there is no denying its more distant ancestry eastwards lies in what has long been known as the Standard of Inanna¹⁹², in the late 4M used as her reed marker flanking temple doorways or portable shrines on Uruk seals (illustrations below). In later centuries the bundle - now seemingly made of fibres of a softer nature made of woven stuff - became shorter but still stood for the presence of Ishtar/Inanna despite name and country changes as it was taken westwards (Inanna continued to be honoured at Uruk as Inanna/Ishtar well into Seleucid times). Intriguingly, on the Uruk vase itself (below right) all that remains of the ruler making offerings to Inanna on the top register (restored according to the figure on the seal above top left) is the long tasselled ceremonial sash he wears, held up as a train by his servant. The *muš* cuneiform sign

¹⁸⁹ William R Sladek *The Descent of Inanna to the Underworld* 1974 is to me the best translation of the story. His PhD thesis from Johns Hopkins University, it is available in typed form in university libraries as part of a scheme to share unpublished work.

¹⁹⁰ Nurith Goshen et al. 'Textile Production in Palatial and Non-Palatial Contexts: the Case of Tell Kabri' in Nosch et al. *ibid.* 45-53

¹⁹¹ Brendan Burke p.78 'Purple and Aegean Textile Trade in the Early Second Millennium BC' *Aegaeum* 20 1999 75-82

¹⁹² For the continued use of standards see E Bleibtreu 'Standarten auf Neuassyrischen Reliefs und Bronzetreibarbeiten' *BM XXIII* 1992



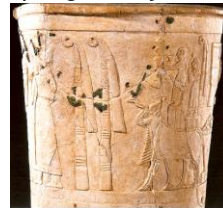
VA 11040



VA 11043



Drawing of Uruk Vase top register by S. Beaulieu



Detail of Uruk Vase top register (with ancient repairs) Iraq Museum

III. 8- 112: Late 4M Uruk seals (Berlin Museum) showing the standard of Inanna as protectress of livestock (left); and closeup of the top of the Uruk Vase (right) showing Inanna receiving offerings, behind her the shrine on ritual animal as on boat seal

continued to be used in texts for the name of Goddess Inanna (below lower left), consisting precisely of a pictograph of her standard. Clay inlays of the volute (below centre left) seem in the early stages to have represented reed bunches for friezes along wall tops, much like the Kheker frieze used to top wall decoration in the painted tombs of Egypt from as early as the Old Kingdom (below). Steinkeller¹⁹³



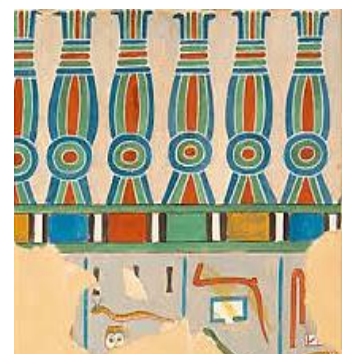
4M clay wall inlay, Uruk, probably based on rolled reed matting for doorways.



Further clay wall inlay, Uruk 4M - from Steinkeller fig. 4



Sacred knot of ivory from Knossos S-E House PM I fig. 308/ Steinkeller fig.8



Typical Kheker frieze topping wall decoration (MMA)



Cuneiform sign MUŠ

III. 8- 113: Clay wall inlays from 4M Uruk and the cuneiform sign for Inanna, compared to a 2M ivory knot from Knossos

proposed Inanna's Standard - as shown on these seals and clay inlays from Uruk - must later have been a scarf or turban attached to the top of a pole (the cuneiform sources mention it as either dyed red, or lapis lazuli blue) initially knotted onto it, but later fixed to the pole by a round metal clasp.

Paul-Alain Beaulieu in a related paper¹⁹⁴ cites one particular mention in a Neo-Babylonian text (YOS 7 183:32.2) where the cost of some cloth is definitely referred to as for Inanna's turban (and of another goddess), thus likely a pointer to how to read it in Minoan-Mycenaean contexts (above, centre right):

Two minas of woven cloth of red-coloured wool [dyed] with insaḥurētu [for] a turban for the divine standard of the Lady-of-Uruk; one and two-third minas ditto for the divine standard of Ušur-Amāssu.

¹⁹³ See Piotr Steinkeller 'Inanna's Archaic Symbol' in J Braun et al *Written on Clay and Stone* Warsaw 1998

¹⁹⁴ P-A Beaulieu 'The Turbaned Standard of Ištar' - also in J Braun et al *Written on Clay and Stone* Warsaw 1998

In the story of Inanna's descent to the Underworld, it is this headgear that is the first item of her dress and adornment to be relinquished as she takes the first step of her journey down: it can thus be the sigil for the entire journey of transformation in both directions. As Beaulieu (*ibid.*) puts it, 'the survival of a nearly identical cultic symbol for the same goddess ... provides one more example of the remarkable continuity of Mesopotamian civilisation across the three millennia of its documented existence'. Here he was referring to its survival in Uruk alone over the centuries, but even more remarkable is the way it was taken up in Crete with the entire myth of Inanna's journey to the Underworld still embedded in it - as we try to underline in this section. Steinkeller too concluded the motif of the knotted, tasselled length of cloth represented the turban of Inanna, and that later in time it must have played a similar function in Minoan ritual, given that at Uruk itself its mentions in the texts were already moving from reed to textile. He runs through a dozen Sumerian textual allusions to Inanna's headgear, in some contexts referred as worn ritually as a kind of crown by the En/Ruler, or as rolled cap with two lengths of cloth hanging down either side that could be tied round the neck, worn by priestesses or used to dress cult statues of Inanna and closely similar goddesses¹⁹⁵.

The later history of the Mesopotamian textile trade is particularly well documented as it spread from the Diyala region (Aššur in particular) into 2M Syria and Anatolia: we then have to assume it then spread to Crete and the Aegean, where high expertise in the use of weaving and dyes shows up in several intriguing ways in the rituals of the Xeste 3 frescoes, which also indicate a possible division of labour between female weavers and male fullers and dyers, and certainly embodying cult actions that seem to have involved weaving, dyeing, and ritual dress and undress - worth studying in further detail due to their supposed oriental origins, and of relevance to our Gods and Goddesses heading above.

THE WOMEN OF XESTE, THE DRESS OF INANNA/ISHTAR AND HER JOURNEY TO THE UNDERWORLD

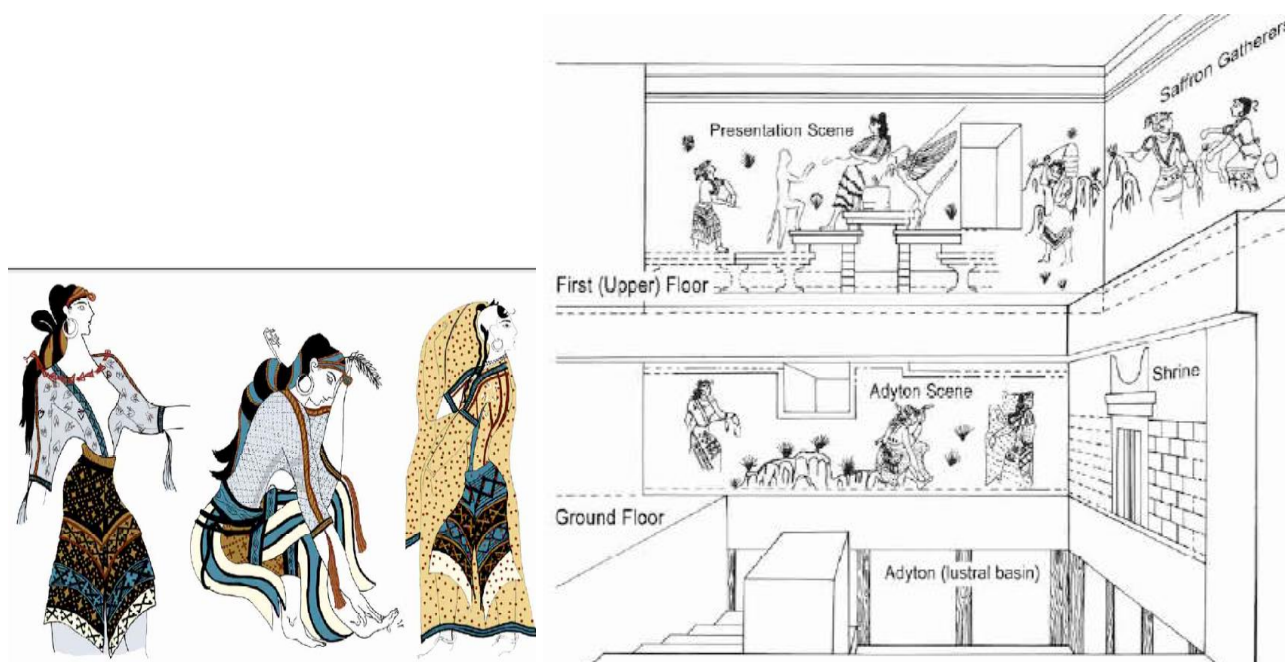
I believe the wall paintings of Xeste 3¹⁹⁶ on Thera can be read as rituals enacting the Journey of Goddess Inanna to the Underworld in its Minoan form, apparently woven into several rites of passage concerning the stages of womanhood (and to a lesser extent manhood). The original story of Inanna's descent to the Underworld to save her consort Tammuz entailed seven stages, at each of which she is forced to relinquish one item of adornment: her headdress, her necklace, and gradually all her items of dress - conversely, on her return she regains them, one by one.

We start with the wall showing three women at ground floor level (below) underneath the Monkey and Goddess presentation scene (considered at the very end of this section). One woman holds out a necklace (a key item given up by the Goddess during the Descent); a second crouches and studies her bleeding foot, while the youngest (no breasts yet) with shaved head and Egyptian-type sidelocks of

¹⁹⁵ See, for instance, I Winter 'Women in Public: The Disk of Enheduanna, the Beginning of the Office of En-Priestess, and the Weight of Visual Evidence' in *La Femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique* (XXXII^e Rencontre Assyriologique ed. J-M Durand) 1986 189-201

¹⁹⁶ My main iconographical references for the Xeste 3 frescoes are (1) Nanno Marinatos *Art and Religion in Thera* (1984); (2) Lyvia Morgan 'New discoveries and new ideas in Aegean Wall Painting' in L Morgan (ed.) *Aegean Wall Painting* 2005; and (3) Cristin J Donague *The Importance of Cloth: Aegean Textile Representation in Neo-Palatial Wall Painting* [MA Thesis Florida State University] 2006 - all containing a wealth of further, indispensable references.

youth twirls inside a diaphanous robe¹⁹⁷ - which she could as much be taking off, as putting on (this is the nearest one gets to a painted female nude in all of Minoan art, though women do also appear unclothed on gold seal ring scenes). The woman on the left with nascent breasts has loose hair, knotted at the nape in what is possibly a deliberate sacred knot; the middle one has bound her pony tail with bands, starting to bringing it under control: she has full breasts and is deemed the main initiate by Marinatos - the blood, according to Donogue, possibly referring to the onset of menstruation and cross-referring to the drops of blood on the shrine on the lower ground right wall - which all three women look towards (the youngest woman twists backwards in order to see it).



III. 8- 114: The three ladies under the presentation scene (repeated in the next illustration), and their context, skirting the lustral basin below, in relation to the horned shrine on the next wall with saffron gatherers above it-Donogue figs. 21/24

Nanno Marinatos (*ibid.* p.80) reminds us :

... the [later Greek] myths of Persephone and Eurydice... despite their different details have common themes. Both heroines were in the fields before they encountered fatal accidents. Persephone was abducted by Hades, God of the Underworld, while she was picking flowers. Eurydice while fleeing from her pursuer was bitten by a snake in her foot... Both had attendants, other young girls - a detail which is reminiscent of initiation rituals. ... It is justifiable methodologically... to postulate that the original idea was a Minoan one and that it made sense in a Minoan context.

She continues a few paragraphs later:

At the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron young girls of about the age of initiation had to serve the Goddess for a term. Before they were released they were scratched on the neck so that blood would

¹⁹⁷ Burke (*ibid.*) speculates that this diaphanous material could be of sea-silk, if not fine linen.



III. 8- 115: The three Underworld Journey initiates (two thirds life-size compared to live women in the room who in sight of the painted figures could themselves step down into the 'Underworld' sub-basement (the 'adyton'/'lustral basin') - Donogue fig. 25; (right) an axonometric view of the Xeste rooms, with Room 3 at the top corner

flow. ... Artemis demanded human sacrifice in exchange for one of her bears which had been killed by men. Here also we have initiation, symbolic death actualised by blood flow, and a myth.

Staying with this wall-painting, the middle figure wears an underskirt, the two on either side the familiar layered skirt that goes back to the dress of Inanna worn only by goddesses or priestesses¹⁹⁸. The choice of the layered skirt is in itself cultic, usually consisting of seven tiers, a significant number for the stages of the journey, but also practical in terms of its manufacture. It was based on the ancient Sumerian sheep-skin or goat-skin cladding originally used by priests *and* priestesses, and then textile modifications involving layered tufts with tasselled fringes were devised (carpet-like - see Dalley *ibid.*) - then finally layered skirts were made up of different strips of woven textile decorated with a wide variety of different patterns. Bernice Jones (*ibid.*) quotes the line from the myth of *Inanna and Enki* describing Inanna as 'Queen of the multi-coloured robe': Donogue feels the brightly coloured patterns on such dresses on wall paintings adhere to precisely this characterisation.

Most immediately, as far as the Minoans are concerned Jones points out that, whilst goddesses and priestesses only qualified for coloured robes, 'much simpler flounces of solid fabric [were] worn by secular Syrian women of the 15-13C, ...[as] on captive Syrian women in the Egyptian tomb of Rekhmire... etc.'. Moreover, 'The bare torso with flounced skirt costume appears on other Syrian female figures on a seal from Ras Shamra/Ugarit of the 18C' (below):



III. 8- 116: Old Syrian seal from Ras Shamra (Amiet no.36/ R.S. 9.888)¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ See Bernice Jones 'The Costumes of Inanna/Ishtar' in Nosch et al. *ibid.* 2013 128-139, and her earlier paper 'The Clothes-Line: Imports and Exports of Aegean Cloth(es) and Iconography' in *Aegaeum* 20/pt.2 1999 708-15/pls.CLXXVIII-CLXXXII

¹⁹⁹ P Amiet *Corpus Des Cylindres de Ras Shamra-Ugarit II: Sceaux-Cylindres* 1992

It is, after all, a hot climate for half the year and wearing a woollen skirt *and* top would have been stifling in summer (the original Sumerian tiered dress, in contrast, ran over the top of the torso downwards and other Ras Shamra seals show this was adhered to in Old Syrian high ritual). The bottom line is that we can rate Minoan dress as a creative adaptation of Syrian custom, itself ultimately rooted in Sumerian prototypes as regards various aspects of cultic practice related to the Inanna myth.

THE MEN OF XESTE

Now looking at the walls running round from the scene of the three maidens at ground floor level (below), exactly opposite the blood-spattered shrine we have a complementary trio of three young



Ill. 8- 117: *The three main walls of Xeste 3 seen from the viewpoint of the wall with the blood-spattered shrine*

men this time, *one raising a bolt of cloth* (a young boy stands behind him); a second holds up a huge liquid container and a third proffers a large saucer-like vessel (details in **Ill. 8- 118**). On the wall of the upper level above them are the remains of swishing plants and a flying duck, whilst round from that, opposite the upper floor presentation scene, are the remains of a pair of matronly ladies with their hair done up in chignons, suggesting arrival at full maturity (the differing hairstyles of all the women taken together are agreed by most scholars to point to different stages of womanhood).

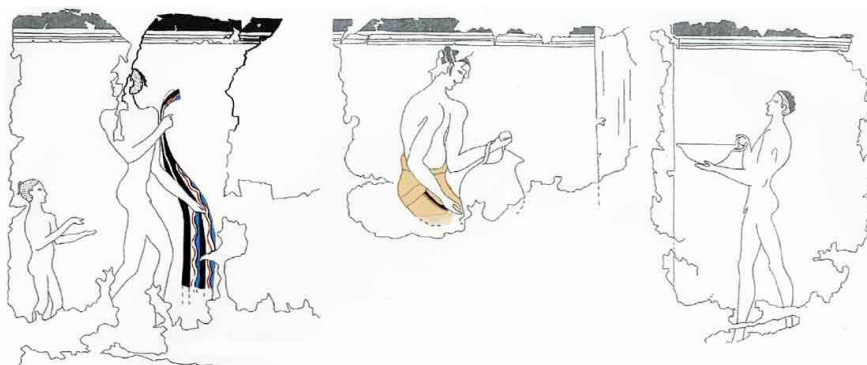
In a literal-minded way I see the three men as the Tammuz enactors, naked in the Underworld²⁰⁰ (the third wears only a loin cloth). Tammuz would have undergone the same stripping and reclothing

²⁰⁰ Their prototypes are the naked priests of Sumer, an unbroken practice upheld still in the great Temple at Jerusalem where the priest officiating in dark of the Holy of Holies divested himself of all clothing in the presence of Yahweh.

process during his parallel journey to the Underworld, we should not forget (Inanna's turban is cited in one of Steinkeller's texts as worn by Tammuz). We note here, however, that all the males are youths or boys, and that the full spectrum of stages of manhood is not so strongly underlined. This was the bias in Minoan culture - beautiful women of all ages complemented by youths, rather than men. What are the three men in this particular panel doing?

XESTE 3 AND ALLUSIONS TO DYEING

Besides these themes, the most obvious content of the the Xeste 3 frescoes is the proclamation and celebration of the process of saffron-gathering, which takes us to one more angle of interpretation, the theme of dye plants and dyeing- and the probable division of labour into women as weavers and sewers - and men as dyers - with some inner messages about the dye-vat as the Underworld (going underwater and negotiating the journey by boat is an often used alternative) and the processes of changing colour as a different metaphor for a stage, or stages, of initiation. Thus it would be easy to take the scene of the three youths as depictions of young men involved in the dyeing process (we know from texts that they were certainly fullers), from right to left bringing in the concentrated dyestuff, washing in water, and then pulling up the cloth in its final changed state from the vat (c.f. *III. 8-123* - and also *III. 8-108* top). At ritual occasions, as in the dragonfly or lepidopterae analogy, the



III. 8-118: A possible ritual enactment involving the dyeing, fulling and rinsing processes - Donogue fig. 28

process would be taken as symbolic of self-transformation. It follows from this take on it that any lustral basin (such as at Knossos itself) could well have served as a dye-vat on occasions (or at least as a rinsing pool) rather than just a purificatory bathing plunge (in other words it could have served as both, to incorporate cultic symbolism as well as practical use -nicely prefiguring the total immersion baptism rite of Christianity). Louise Hitchcock²⁰¹ describes the 'fixed clay tubs with drains attached 'in room 2 of Xeste (see plan, *III. 8-115* right) which, like those at Mari, could have been used for dyeing.

DYESTUFFS

Marcia Nugent²⁰² points out that the representation of plants on Thera wall paintings (papyrus and lily as well as saffron) could refer to seasonal celebrations (interestingly they echo the Egyptian contrast between lily and papyrus standing for Upper and Lower Egypt - with saffron distinctly Minoan). But

²⁰¹ 'A Near Eastern Perspective on Ethnicity in Minoan Crete: The Further Tale of Conical Cups...' in *Aegaeum* XX 1999 371-9 and pls.

²⁰² 'Seasonal Flux - Three Flowers for Three Seasons: Seasonal Ritual at Akrotiti in Thera' *The Wall Paintings of Thera* II 2-20

they could at the same time refer to relevant dye-plants: and here it is worth considering three key dyes used by the Minoans to give the primary colours of yellow, red and blue, starting with saffron as referred to on the Xeste 3 walls - and then others in different fresco cycles in other buildings.

YELLOW FROM SAFFRON

The Xeste 3 fresco programme lays most emphasis on saffron gathering, as if its overall message is to point to its end use in the dyeing of vivid yellow cloth by the young men -an apotheosis of the whole operation being the presentation of baskets-full of saffron stamens to the Goddess, again implying there were religious connotations to the process of colouring raw cloth - most usually wool, which absorbs dyes most intensely - but perhaps also rare examples of cotton or silk (linen only takes dyes in pale shades and was more likely to have been used for undertunics, petticoats or as the backing for



Ill. 8- 119: Presentation of crocus stamens by attendant, and the Goddess herself accepting them - (fuller detail in Ill. 8- 124)

the layered skirts, whilst Panagiotakopulu (*ibid.* - fn. 178) believes the Theran regatta fresco shows on the boat prows both wild moth eyes (referring to silk) and fluffy stars (referring to cotton) - which to



Ill. 8- 120: Decorated clay female dress models adorned with crocus clumps - from the Knossos Temple Repository

Burke²⁰³ (and me) is an ingenious and acceptable reading. Other writers believe the special dresses of goddesses or priestesses could well have included small ruffles of the much rarer silk or cotton weaves not available in large enough quantities for everyday use (these fibres 'take' dyes at very intense hues

²⁰³ Brendan Burke From Minos to Midas: Ancient Cloth Production in the Aegean and in Anatolia 2010

too). We recall the clay flat models of headless clothed females decorated with crocus clumps found in the Knossos Temple Repository, certainly implying this flower had more than decorative purpose.

PURPLE (AND REDS OR DEEP BLUES) FROM MOLLUSCS

With the Pre-Palatial period still in mind, and looking at the Snake Goddess model again, also found in the Temple Repository (*Ill. 8- 25* and *Ill. 8- 26*), it is important to note the comparatively muddy colours her skirt is painted in²⁰⁴ - akin to the palette of the Investiture scene at Mari - before the introduction of strong blues in the Neo-Palatial Period on the skirts and bodices of the women²⁰⁵. At Knossos itself hundreds of wall-painting fragments from this time use a clear blue - though this of course is paint pigment (usually Egyptian blue), not necessarily suitable for dye (but more of blue once we have dealt with purple). What we do know for certain is that the use of mollusc shells to obtain purple is so far first attested on Crete²⁰⁶ before it became common all round the east coast of the Mediterranean (interestingly there was high production at Kommos, and in the bigger picture we should not forget Libyan influence into south Crete, not only in murex technology²⁰⁷, but also in the male use of the penis sheath and cultivation of long hair locks (see *Ill. 8- 128* right). There has been increasing literature on purple dyes since Peter Warren's pioneering piece²⁰⁸, but it is also useful to read the books of experienced dyers who point out that the mollusc provides not only purple, but in fact a spectrum of hues either side of it ranging from rich reds to dark blues, depending on variations of species, amounts of dye and length of time boiling. A little telling detail here is the weavers' waste found at Kahun by Petrie of small pieces of blue and red-dyed wool, pointing to immigrants from Crete (Burke *ibid.* p.78) who may here have obtained purple simply by mixing the more common blue and red dyes. There appears to be no hint of any reference on the Xeste 3 wall paintings to mollusc dyes - but I do think other dye plants are specifically represented on other Minoan wall paintings: we have space only to follow the trail for blue in particular.

BLUE: THE INDIGO PLANT IN THE NATURE FRESCO OF AYIA TRIADA

Two of the most common vegetable/insect dyes of very ancient pedigree, little referred to in Minoan scholarship so far, are madder or cochineal beetle for pinks and pale reds - and indigo for varying depths of blue that depend on the mordant, duration of boiling and number of dippings for increased intensity. The Indigo trail is a strong indicator for Crete's involvement in what I will call 'the Zanzibar Triangle', which would have been accessed via the island's Egypt network - thus a wider net of oriental influence: at the same time this may help to explain the monkeys in Syro-Minoan iconography, usually painted blue on wall painting schemes, and the sudden appearance of blue clothing²⁰⁹.

²⁰⁴ It is interesting to see the priestess actually holds a snake in either hand, whereas on the Old Syrian seal just cited above, the pair of intertwined snakes is simply placed next to the bare-chested woman in the layered skirt (*Ill. 8- 116*).

²⁰⁵ See *passim* in Liza Cleland and Karen Stears (eds) *Colour in the Ancient World (BAR Series 1267)* Oxford 2004

²⁰⁶ Brendan Burke (*ibid.*).

²⁰⁷ D Reese 'Industrial exploitation of Murex shells: purple dye and lime production at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi' *Libyan Studies* XI 1979

²⁰⁸ 'Po-ni-ki-jo among the Dye-plants of Minoan Crete' *Kadmos* XV 1976

²⁰⁹ David Warburton in 'The Terminology of Ancient Egyptian Colours in Context' in Cleland *ibid.* shows the Egyptians had different words for dark blue (*hesbedj*) and light blue/turquoise (*mfk't*): overall, Crete's debt to Egypt for her knowledge of blue seems clear.



III. 8- 121: Two walls of the Nature Fresco, room 14 Ayia Triada, as restored by Mark Cameron (Morgan *ibid.* pl.2:3) showing priestess and leaping animals in a landscape seemingly featuring indigo plants

Corresponding to the way saffron is illustrated so specifically at Xeste, I believe the indigo plant is deliberately featured in the Nature Fresco of Aiyia Triada (above) - and that other plants represented on it, and at Xeste 3 - are intentionally precise renditions of other dye plants. Next to the dancing figure in multi-coloured skirt (see the drawing of the same figure in III. 8- 101), and in the panel next to it with leaping ibex and cats, a plant with small oval leaves (definitely not olive sprays whose leaves have pointed tips) is dotted around the landscape, looking exactly like the typical outline of the vetch-related indigo plant, current pictures of which are shown for comparison below. Warren (*ibid.*) says

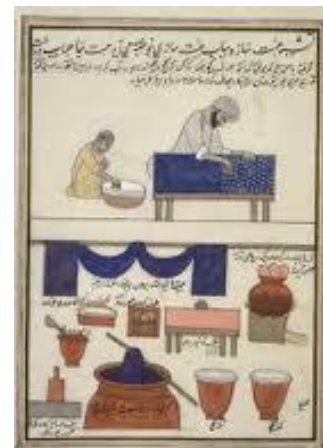


III. 8- 122: (left) the indigo plant and detail of leaf structure: the flowers (centre) can range from vivid blue to various shades of mauve and pink depending on plant variety. The dye can be extracted, stored and exported in cake form (below centre)

the texts indicate the *ponikijo* referred to in the texts must have been bulky, but lightweight - which could certainly apply to dried indigo in plant or even cake form, and he refers to another text mentioning distribution of this dye to Knossian women, presumably for processing²¹⁰. Indigo grows as easily as other vetches like peas and beans, and is attested in indigo dyeing industries as far east as

²¹⁰ However, there are other indications that *poni* = *phoini*, refer both to the palm, and even more to the colour red in the form of blood (especially congealed, more purple-looking blood) obtained from lichen, cochineal and molluscs, as well as madder (the most obvious vegetable dye for pinks and pale reds), still used on Crete in some areas today, Warren states. (Are the blood references at Xeste allusions to the colour red?)

Indonesia and as far west as the Caribbean and southern states of the USA (not forgetting the North African Tauregs' love of indigo for their turbans) . But it does not like cold weather (in places like



Ill. 8- 123: *Indigo dyers from east to west, showing dipping into slow-boiled vats (left), further processing of the finished article in Indonesia (centre) and the square and round vats, drying frames and stirrers in Arab practice (right)*

Britain the less strongly-tinged native woad takes its place). There is a continuing active tradition in West Africa (where the dyers are women) and North Africa (in Morocco the dyers are men) - and the dye has been attested on Egyptian mummy cloths²¹¹ of different periods, its name evidently pointing to its origin in India. There are tales from more recent antiquity of the effect of indigo on the human skin, being both antiseptic and warming, and both Yemeni tribes and the ancient Britons are recorded as daubing their bare bodies with blue for a variety of reasons, including as war paint.

This leads us to one last topic that puts a seal on the array of oriental influences bound up in the Minoan textile trade, which we will undertake by going back to the Xeste 3 wall painting programme and analysing its remaining scene - the blue monkey presentation to the Goddess on her griffin throne.

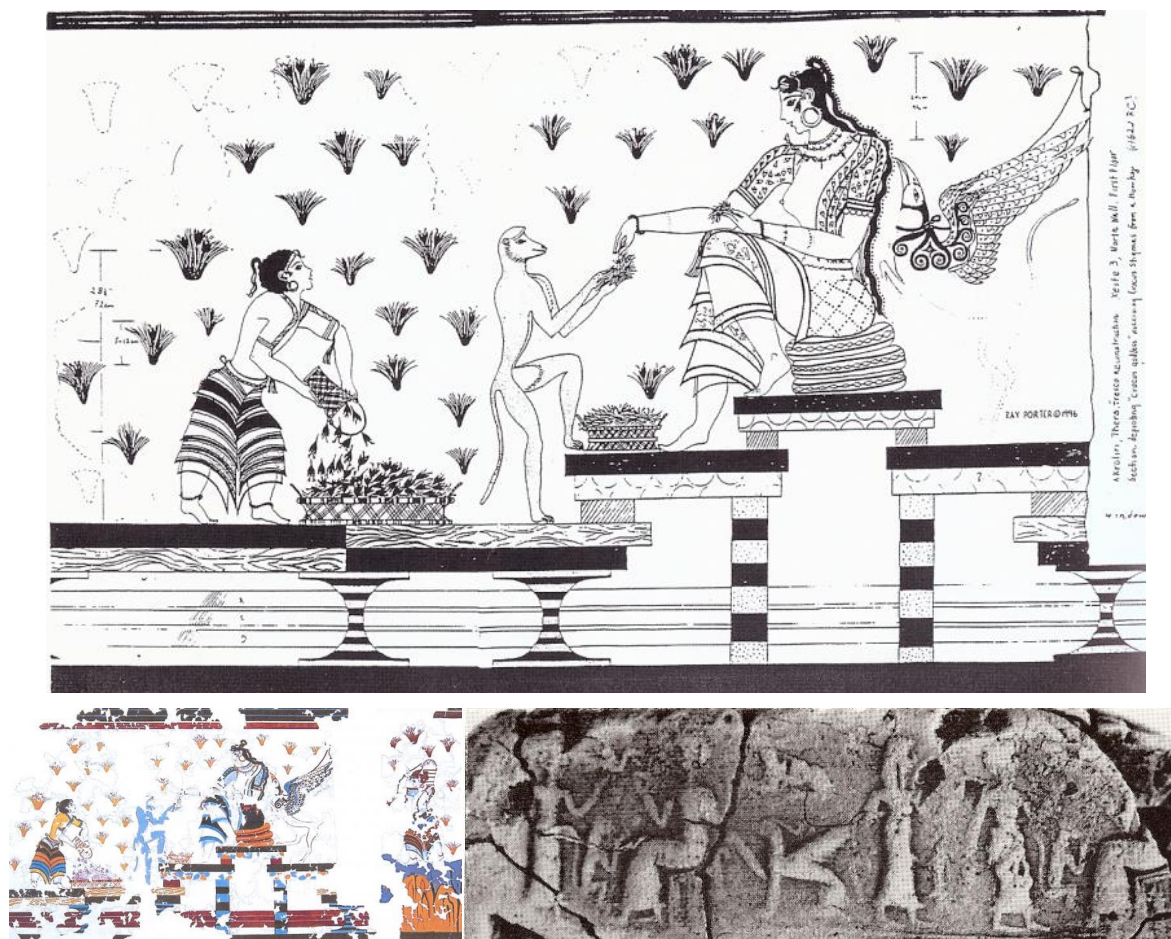
BLUE MONKEYS, OPHIR AND THE LAND OF PUNT: THE MONKEY PRESENTATION SCENE

The composition consisting of a monkey approaching an enthroned Goddess supported by a griffin was not a Minoan invention, since it is attested as early as the Kültepe 1B level on a sealing (next illustration). However, its adaptation into a scene that has the monkey offering saffron stamens to the Goddess is specifically Minoan - and there is no doubt from the painting that the monkey is painted blue, as indeed are all monkeys on Minoan wall painting schemes. Is there a reason for this?

We have noted how close the wall paintings of Knossos are to those of Avaris (**Ill. 8- 86** and Appendix B) now firmly placed by Bietak (*ibid.*) in the reign of Hatshepsut/Tuthmoses III. Aligning Egypt and Crete together at this chronological point certainly makes sense of Minoan monkey iconography, given the increased import of a particular type of monkey that became easily accessible to Egypt and the Levant after Hatshepsut's missions to the East Coast of Africa (terrain approximately covering Nubia, Ethiopia and possibly further down the East Coast of Africa to present-day Somalia/Kenya/Uganda (see

²¹¹ K Eremin et al. 'Colours of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Artefacts in the National Museum of Scotland' in Liza Cleland and Karen Stears (eds) *Colour in the Ancient World (BAR Series 1267)* Oxford 2004 - however the one using indigo (A1907.569) is 21st Dynasty.

map, *Ill. 8- 126*). Interestingly, it was after New Kingdom period contacts with Egypt that farming in Africa was adopted and began to spread throughout the same region²¹².



Actual state of the painting

Prototype of the scene, seen on the sealing of an envelope from Kültepe level 1b²¹³ dating to c. 1815-1739 [Kt.k/k 14

Ill. 8- 124: Reconstructed blue monkey-presentation scene to the Goddess on griffin throne - from Morgan *ibid*. Compare with the Old Assyrian Kültepe level 1b sealing which gives an undeniable Levanto-Anatolian prototype for the iconography

On her painted reliefs at Deir el-Bahari describing her mission to Punt, one panel shows Hatshepsut's ships being loaded with incense, ebony, gold, ivory, leopard skins - *and monkeys*. The type of small monkey native to the Punt area is usually called the blue monkey due to the lead-blue sheen of its fur, stronger on some varieties than others (next illustration). It is clearly quite a different primate from the baboon with its aggressive character, which as Thoth/Mercury appears in the theophoric names in Egyptian inscriptions in cartouches of all the Tuthmosids (interchangeably with the ibis hieroglyph). The baboon was also associated with the Sun-god, Moon-god and general calendrical counting.

Solomon in later generations is famously described as sending his ships to 'Ophir' to bring back cargoes of 'gold, silver, sandalwood, precious stones, ivory, *apes* and peacocks'. Although most interpretations take this to mean his boats went as far as India (certainly a possibility) the purely Indian components

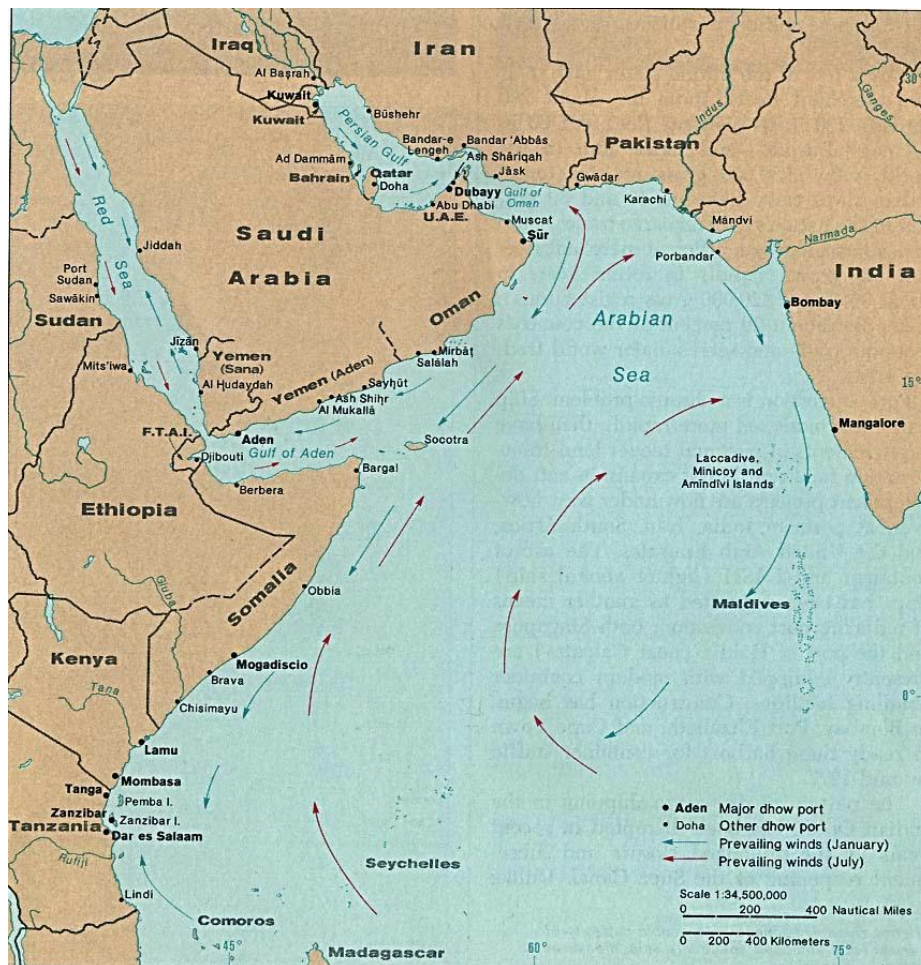
²¹² See David W Phillipson *African Archaeology* Cambridge 1985, Chapter 6

²¹³ N. Özgüç *Seals and Seal Impressions of Level 1b from Karum Kanish* (1968) 65, pl.VIIIa.



Ill. 8- 125: Examples of the blue monkey, still native to the Punt area

of the cargo (peacocks and sandalwood) could easily have been procured through intermediary entrepôts at ports on the Red Sea and East Coast of Africa (most likely around the narrow meeting point between the Horn of Africa and Yemen) without needing to go all the way to India (it would certainly have been superfluous to get monkeys from there when they were so plentiful in Africa).



Ill. 8- 126: Map of modern-day names for the Zanzibar Triangle

Interchange between India and East Africa was a gift of nature enabled by the monsoon winds blowing towards India one half of the year - and from India to East Africa during the other half - and must have been going on for thousands of years. Visiting the island of Zanzibar just off the coast of Kenya today, the crosscurrents of Indian, Arab and African cultures are particularly clear-cut as goods from India and the Arab world continue to be ferried across every year at the time the monsoon winds allow. Hence my label for the area connecting India, Arabia and Punt as 'The Zanzibar Triangle', easily accessed from the Levant via the Red Sea in one easy leg. We know already it must have been used in the Protohistoric Period to link Egypt, Sumer and Susa for a short period. It is certainly an easier route than the land route weaving in and round the Zagros foothills to Syria or across Arabia - though those land routes also had their uses (most notably the incense²¹⁴ road from Yemen up to Jerusalem).

PEACOCKS - AND INDIGO

The incense and myrrh plants Hatshepsut brought back for the terraces at Deir el-Bahari came to Africa from Arabia (where they grow naturally - as also to some extent in Ethiopia) - a route that meshed in with those further east bringing in from India not only the sandalwood and peacocks Solomon mentions, but also, I believe, indigo - in seed, plant or dried form - so common as not to need mention. I argue that Crete, strongly locked in to a thriving textile industry shared between it, Egypt and the Levant (described earlier) must have been initiated into indigo dyeing through this early XVIII D network interfacing with the Zanzibar Triangle: it ties in with all the other background evidence, the obvious clue in Crete being the depiction of profusely growing indigo plants on the fresco just cited.



III. 8- 127: Peacock head (left) and heraldic griffins either side of a Goddess standard consisting of the snake-frame and seven-tiered skirt on pole (CMS XIII-39)

This is underlined by the Salamanic mention of peacocks coming from Ophir/Punt, a further purely Indian indicator, giving away the fact that peacocks must have been known in Hatshepsut's time as well as in Solomon's reign²¹⁵. The characteristic crest of the male peacock with iridescent blue head and feathered crest (above) was evidently transferred to the griffin in both Syrian and Minoan art at this period (Mycenaean art has spectacular renditions, as at Pylos and in the Rutsi hoard seals). Such griffins, we are reminded, flank the throne in both the Avaris and Knossos Throne Rooms (**III. 8- 87**), underlining its significance as protector of the Throne in the Xeste 3 presentation scene (**III. 8- 124**).

²¹⁴ Dealing with a later period, see O Shamir 'Coloured Textiles found along the Spice Route joining Petra and Gaza' in Cleland *ibid*.

²¹⁵ We should not also rule out the possibility that the Egyptian sacred ibis, or heron, sometimes playing the part of the phoenix, also underlies the griffin's implications (see under *Minoan CANEA Heading 4* on the Griffin).

WHAT DOES THE MONKEY IN THE XESTE 3 THRONE SCENE REPRESENT?

Coming back to the Xeste 3 presentation scene we must already view the monkey and griffin in a different light with regard to all aspects of their eastern (not to say Afro-Indian) origins.



Ill. 8- 128: Xeste saffron-gathering suite of frescoes at Thera showing upreared griffins guarding the Knossos Throne - compare with the similar group on the Syrian seal in the Vienna Museum (Hiller fig. 11 -see also (Ill. 8- 74)

We need to dig still deeper, on two counts:

- ♦ what role does the monkey play in Levantine myth, and
- ♦ what is the significance of the griffin?

Straight away we have to say we cannot deal with the question of the latter at this point, given it involves a major foray into the Minoan calendar, but we can deal now with the monkey. *Min-oan* and *mon-key*, being based on the same root, could mean the monkey simply stands for the Minoan people (certainly possible). In the minor arts monkey behaviour, being so close to humans, aped a variety of their activities as a humorous genre for entertainment. We are reminded that in Hatshepsut's Punt inscriptions baboons and monkeys are separately mentioned (as also are salukis/greyhounds, mummified examples of which - with blue monkeys) -were found in the Tomb of Siptah excavated by Theodore Davies). Where baboons were more distinctively associated with temple cults from the New Kingdom onwards, blue monkeys were beloved by the Egyptians as pets (in the wall decoration of the tomb of Ptahhotep a blue monkey on a leash sits under his throne with a group of salukis, its presence possibly a play on the name of the tomb owner himself - as will be seen presently).

On a higher level monkeys were associated with certain Gods (we are told this small monkey 'when depicted shooting with bow and arrows was an aspect of the invisible primeval God, Atum'²¹⁶). In the Levant (given baboons do not do well when exported out of their own habitat and with their aggressive temperament not conducive as pets), the smaller monkey seems often to have done duty in people's minds for the Egyptian Thoth baboon, and treated as the equivalent of quick-witted Mercury, God of Wisdom, Writing and Scribes - such that, on Old Anatolian and Old Syrian seals at least, the monkey would indeed mostly refer to that God. It is at first tempting to read the blue monkey as the Minoan equivalent of Mercury/Thoth, guide of souls through the Underworld (certainly appropriate for the Underworld aspects of the Xeste 3 programme). However, it is worth the attempt (on the little we

²¹⁶ J Dunn *The Baboons and Monkeys of Ancient Egypt* WWW p.4

have to go on) to disentangle original blue monkey meanings from separate baboon meanings, and to seek further evidence aside from associations with either Mercury or Atum, and - as in the case of both peacocks and indigo - we can throw further light on the monkey by again looking for parallels in India.

THE MONKEY AS KOTHAR, LEVANTINE GOD OF ART AND CRAFT

It is the small monkeys - so nimble, dexterous and amusing - that in the Egyptian decorative arts can be shown imitating human activities such as dancing or playing musical instruments in that humorous genre invented in 3M Sumerian art, as on the harps of Ur. And in fact Paul Rehak²¹⁷ on close inspection of the fragments left of the decorative scheme on the walls of ground floor room 4 at Xeste noted that different monkeys (one with fragments of a red leash round its chest):

- ♦ wear necklaces like the 'necklace swinger' priestess, and possibly also earrings;
- ♦ play musical instruments;
- ♦ brandish swords and sword sheaths like those held by women in the Mycenaean Cult Centre paintings (compare also the enthroned priestess or goddess holding the sword of Baal in the seal from Vienna, *III. 8- 128* above).

But in the way the monkey embodies exotic origins - possibly even the dyes and skills used by the Minoans in their textiles - and given the overall tenor of the presentation scene at Xeste 3 (reproduced again above for ease of reference) - the monkey's role here is surely not meant to be taken as amusing, but bound up with higher, more serious dimensions of Pantheon and cult.

So I argue the case for the blue monkey representing not only the the arty Minoan people but, far more than that, the Levantine Craftsman God, *Kothar-wa-Khasis*²¹⁸ (*The Skilful-and-Clever One*), cited as responsible for all levels of arts and crafts including metalwork (in Ugaritic myth he fashions the sword of Baal) - right up to the design and building of palaces. Ugaritic texts cite his forge or general base, *HK-PT*, as at both Memphis/Saqqara, home of *Ptah* - and as moving to *Kaptor* (Crete)²¹⁹. In the New Kingdom and later, one of the monkey colonies kept in the temple precincts of Egypt after Hatshepsut's trip to Africa was indeed maintained at the Temple of Ptah in Memphis - in Late Period terms Ptah the pyramid architect God is the equivalent of Hephaistos/Vulcan, God of art and architecture - and of craftsmen. There are even mentions later into the relationship between Egypt and Crete of Kothar being the mythological builder of chapels for the mainline Egyptian deities. This is akin to the Indian role of the monkey-god Hanuman as devoted servant of the higher Gods (see below) - and constant companion, especially, of Sita, embodiment of divine femininity, consort of Rāma.

In the myth of Baal and Mot - the Ugaritic variant of the Tammuz and Inanna story - it is Kothar who designs Baal's palace on Mount Saphon, opening into it the fateful window through which Mot invades to attack Baal²²⁰ (the Semitic root *p-t-h* means 'to open'). In later decades, at Libyan Carthage, Kothar had a cult outside the city under the name of Kothar-Ptah, and in other texts he is described as

²¹⁷ 'The Monkey Frieze from Xeste 3 room 4: reconstruction and Interpretation' *Aegaeum* 20 705-8 and plates.

²¹⁸ A 3M Ebla text gives his name as *Kashalu*.

²¹⁹ See J C Gibson *Canaanite Myths and Legends* and Mark S Smith *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle* 1994

²²⁰ I have pursued the stages of this much more grim story of the Underworld Journey in relation to seal iconography in *Catalogue C*.

accompanying Shapash the Sun Goddess through the Underworld (usually the role of Mercury). Other mentions give him as the power behind the Creation of the World - the artificer, through his Word, of all things made- thus to be consulted as oracle and magician. Commonly, many of these characteristics were ascribed to Thoth/Mercury - but are really crossovers from the separate domain of Kothar - just as in Greece crafts and trade were put under the aegis of Hermes, when strictly speaking they were Hephaestos' domain²²¹ - as at Athens, where Hephaistos had his own temple below the Parthenon.

This elision of the qualities of Vulcan and Mercury (perhaps because Kothar/Ptah in divine terms seen as the power 'behind Creation' is, as mentioned already, more akin to the invisible Atum, and hard to pin down). But it is precisely in the New Kingdom period - in the generation leading up to the full-blown International Style - that Kothar comes into his own as a distinct deity - and a few centuries later is fully endorsed by the clever Phoenicians, famed for their skill in all crafts: his most worthy human representative being Hiram of Tyre, builder of Solomon's Temple, contemporary with Solomon's expeditions to Ophir.

But coming back to the period of the Xeste 3 frescoes, roughly parallel with the New Kingdom in Egypt, we double back to complete the pursuit of Indian analogies.

THE MONKEY IN THE MYTHOLOGY OF INDIA

In the Vedic epic, the *Ramayana*, the monkey god Hanuman protects Goddess Sita, consort of Rama: however there is no doubt that later in Vedic India Hanuman is a different God from Vishwakarma, God of crafts, usually represented as a bearded man of middle age. In Hanuman celebrations today his standard is a triangular, saffron-dyed standard. In one incident in the saga, Hanuman steals some red dye (in the Ramayana the colour of the Gods) and covers himself in it in order to qualify as the permanent companion of Rama and Sita. In what sense do we understand the Blue Monkey as the devoted companion of the Goddess on the griffin throne, therefore? Another incident in Hanuman's life happened in his childhood, when his godfather, Pāvana, carries him to the Netherworld and 'as he departed from the earth all life panted for air, and Brahma had to beg him to return'. We have just noted the text quoting Kothar as guide of Shapash through the Underworld, a facet of the role we could perhaps ascribe to the Blue Monkey of Xeste after all, along with all those links to the entire gamut of crafts entailed in textile production. Indeed, we have more confirmation in the following quote from Ugaritic myth as translated by Nicolas Wyatt²²²: *On the sea of the monster and the dragon, Kothar-and-Khasis navigates you: Kothar-and-Khasis propels you.*

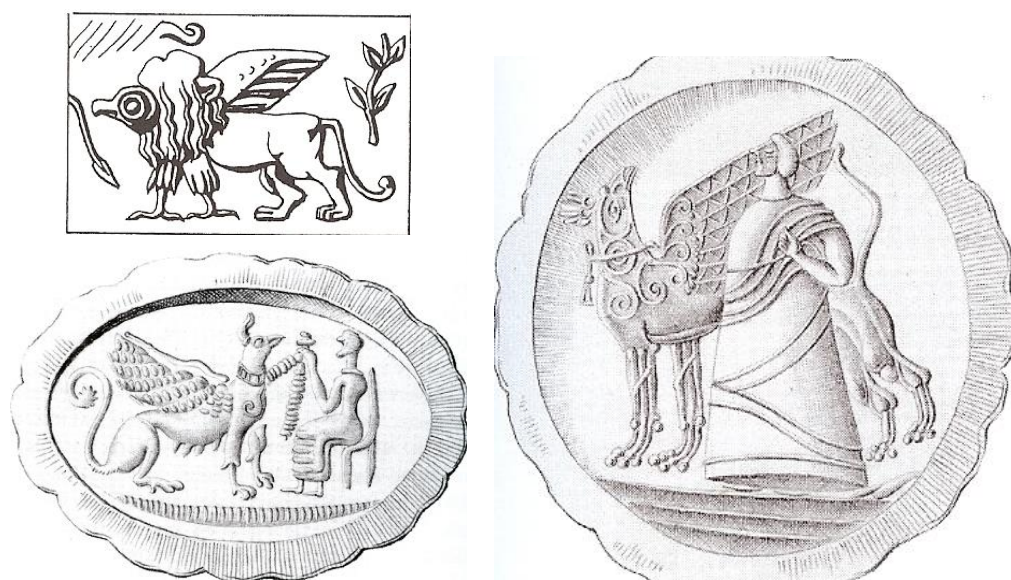
Adding together these small crumbs of evidence, on balance I still feel able to put forward the idea that the Blue Monkey in the Xeste 3 scene pays his respects to the Goddess (or priestess acting her role) in celebration of the success and symbolism of the textile trade on Crete - here in relation to both Indigo *and* the saffron dye as expressing ideas of transformation in the stages of womanhood,

²²¹ Sarah Morris gives the role to Daidalos, maker of Icarus' wings in myth - in 'Daidalos and Kothar: The Future of their Relationship' *Aegaeum* 18 282-9, which is precise for Crete alone, and echoed in her book *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* 1995.

²²² *The Mythic Mind* 2005 (pp 19-20)

both enacted as transformative journeys through spiritual and material realms. Fitting in to this trend comes a further intriguing parallel from the Maya much later in time the howler monkey, also the major deity of the arts and patron of artisans, often appears in Mayan sculpture *and is often mentioned in the Long Count inscriptions* where it personifies the day-unit (of night and day), connecting it to the process of calendrical reckoning and divination²²³. In Egyptian mythology the Sun travelling through the night in his barge every day is seen as the short equivalent of the Underworld journey - in order to be reborn on the horizon the next morning.

That calendrical angle contrasts the blue monkey as counter of the day by day with the peacock-headed griffin that concerns the measuring point of a much longer unit of time, explaining its ubiquity in both Levantine and Minoan art - which even Egypt learned from. But as we have already said, the griffin supporting the Throne of the Goddess-at Xeste cannot be fully interpreted until we deal with



Ill. 8- 129: (Top left) *The earliest rendition of the griffin: 4M sealing from Susa, Louvre - Frankfort (ibid.) fig.1; and (right) an astronomer-king or astronomer-priest is accompanied by a griffin on a lead on a Vapheio seal (Marinatos ibid. fig. 2.14; (lower left) an enthroned figure on a gold seal ring from Mycenae again keeps a griffin on a leash - ibid. fig. 12.1)*

the over-arching oriental borrowing that Crete undertook in the Neo-Palatial period - viz. the astronomical techniques necessary for running their own state calendar - which on its own serves to explain the separate detail of all the other oriental borrowings listed above. So, tantalizingly, we cannot understand its significance at Xeste until we have followed through with Part II of the Iconography section following shortly: suffice it here to say that the griffin is an old symbol in new guise²²⁴ with a central role in astronomical imagery probably channelled (like indigo) via the Indo-Iranian buffer zone of Elam: it is not surprising, then, to see the Minoan astronomer-priest or -king figure holding a griffin on a leash (see the seals above that allude to it, not as a cute pet, but to human control of a calendrical measure.

²²³ See, for instance, Michael Coe 'Supernatural Patrons of Maya Scribes and Artists in N. Hammond (ed.) *Social Process in Maya Prehistory* 1977 327-47 and H E M Braakhuis 'Artificers of the Days: Functions of the Howler Monkey Gods among the Mayas' in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 1987 25-53.

²²⁴ Best summed up in Henri Frankfort 'Notes on the Cretan Griffin' *BSA XXXVII* 1936-7 106-122

12. ASTRONOMICAL TECHNIQUES

Watrous (*ibid.*) says that it is at the start of the Neo-Palatial period that Peak Sanctuaries first appear on Crete seeming to be the adoption of the near-eastern practice of ‘meeting the Gods’ on the mountain-top (failing a mountain, the ziggurat). However, the use of mountain peaks as observational horizons could go back to the earlier, rule-of-thumb astronomical methods probably used by the Neolithic Cretans long before, upon which the Sighting Horns are based (note that I will no longer use the term, ‘horns of consecration’ for this tool, also seen as one of the Minoan determinatives). The practice of taking astronomical sightings using rod and sighting horns is expressed in the sealing below (also cited under *Heading 7B*), which was found at the central shrine half-way along the Great Courtyard facade of the Palace of Knossos- see *III. 8- 15*). Nonetheless, Watrous’ overall case stating that ‘some of these signs are reflections of Near Eastern religious and political institutions adopted by the Cretans’ is, I believe, true. He argues that, given the instability of Pre-Palatial Crete it would



III. 8- 130 The Goddess of the Mountain with sighting rod flanked by lions saluted by the ‘Adonis figure’, and set against Knossian architecture (CMS II,8-256)

appear that an emerging leader ‘may have transformed his position by imitating a Near Eastern King’ - taking on all the administrative paraphernalia that went with it. What is more, ‘Cretan and Near Eastern cult and divine iconography are similar in important details which suggests that the two religions may have been related initially’ (*religion at this time is in key respects one and the same as astronomy*). He concludes ‘the emergence of Aegean civilisation cannot be understood in isolation from the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean’: management of the calendar is part and parcel of the change from mere subsistence to ‘civilisation’, the hall-mark of the Knossos of this time.

This is why we perceive the keystone holding up the pieces of the voussoir arch of Levantine culture absorbed by the Minoan world is the by now overwhelmingly obvious transmission of astronomical knowledge - this we must proceed to spell out in the next section, in the light of Hendriksson and Blomberg’s convincing research. From it we will conclude that the only way to make sense of the high level of commonly-held imagery with the Levant (in which the lion-bull attack plays its part) is to see its role on artefacts as first and foremost celebrating phases of the calendrical year. This now takes centre stage in Part II of our exposition of Back Lunge iconography - and related images - as seen in the Minoan-Mycenaean context.

ICONOGRAPHY OF NEO-PALATIAL ARTEFACTS (1700-1450) AT KNOSSOS II: ASTRONOMY

During this period of roughly 300 years Knossos reached its apotheosis as a thalassocracy, spreading its sphere of influence throughout the Aegean²²⁵. According to Blomberg and Henriksson the Minoans were superior in sea navigation²²⁶ due to an understanding of stellar astronomy that seems to have at some point gone hand in hand with the administration of a calendar streamlined to a burgeoning Minoan economy. Using the Back Lunge seals dating to the heyday of Knossos' influence as one indicator of such activity, we have in this catalogue noted several other astronomical clues concerning that motif needing to be pursued further (it is worth reading passing observations that arose in the catalogue entries again at this point).

From Minoan iconography we have already worked on the need to attune the eye to new combinations describing perennial realities. The designers of New Palace period seals were inventive in expressing astronomical ideas through new hybrids, for instance synthesising the lion/bull/Sky hero elements into new combinations of the lion-bull attack and bull-leaper group, nicely demonstrated in this Ashmolean seal:



III. 8- 131 Cycle of the Bull of the Year with the Lion of Time controlled by the Sky Hero, in the form of counterchanged bull-man (Asterios) - lion-man - bull-leaper (CMS VI-302)

The Bull-Man, of course, is the Minotaur of famed Minoan myth, guarding access to the Labyrinth, through which Theseus must find a path with the help Thread of Ariadne's Thread (this clearly involves more than finding the way through a palace with many rooms - such as Knossos - as often suggested). For the full astronomical connotations, see under *Heading 5: Bull-Leaping* below, bearing in mind for now that the Minotaur, offspring of Pasiphaë and the Bull brought to her by Daedalos, is named *Asterios (Starry One)*.

Our exposition falls into three parts:

- 1 We look at Knossos Palace and its astronomical orientation, considering in particular the observational role of the Throne Room and other key rooms and passages nearby.
- 2 Jean Richer included visual imagery as evidence by which to make his case for the existence of the Cycladic Zodiac (see 3 below): I build on his approach by running through the Minoan use of the **CANEA** cycle and its adaptations as charted above under our Chronological Focus, in order to itemise more specifically what I understand so far of their astronomical language and/or the administrative realities they point to.

²²⁵ For the Thalassocracy theme, see papers from the conference entitled *Thalassa: L'Egée Préhistorique et la Mer*, *Aegaeum* 7 1991

²²⁶ 'M Blomberg and G Henriksson 'Evidence for the Minoan origins of stellar navigation in the Aegean' in *Proceedings of SEAC 1997* Warsaw 1999, 69-81

- 3 Finally we consider Jean Richer's own proposal²²⁷ that in the wake of Minoan colonisation of the Aegean islands and West Anatolia - and interaction with the Greek mainland - due to its role as calendrical observatory, Knossos at this time (with the help of subsidiary palaces elsewhere on the island) became the centre of a Cycladic land-sea zodiac, running across a network of islands, each of which played their part in the overall regulation of the calendar across the Aegean. As Marinatos (ibid.) puts it, the widespread homogeneity of tools of trade, weights, measures and religious symbols 'is to postulate a major kingdom (dare we call it an empire?) centred on Knossos'. Richer's theory underpins Goran Henriksson and Mary Blomberg's conclusion that Aratos' work and the Hellenic calendar in general rested on the foundations originally built up in the more advanced astronomical practices of the East (most notably planetary behaviour and identification of key stars in lists then woven into mythology) and relayed on through the Minoans²²⁸. In *Catalogue F: The Bilateral Attack* we will come to understand through our analysis of Greek Classical sculpture using the lion-prey motif that in the following millennium as the Vernal Point meridian moved westward (due to precession), Delphi took over from Knossos as the 'Centre of the World' of the time.

1. THE NEW PALACE AT KNOSSOS AND ITS ORIENTATION

During the period of our chronological focus Knossos reached its heyday of effective administration that lasted for roughly 300 years, embracing architectural and decorative adjustments to the palace necessitated nearly every one hundred years by earthquakes (c.1700/1600 and c.1500) as described above. We have shown how the Temple Repository contents in particular mark that watershed between Knossos in embryonic phase, and a Knossos upgraded to take on oriental influence of all kinds including, I would argue, a step-change in civil astronomical measurement practices - with cultic consequences. The catalogue entries show how the Back Lunge became a recurring theme on sealings found at the site, as also at subsidiary centres on the north coast of Crete and further afield on the mainland, often in combination with larger visual pieces. Focusing on the administrative headquarters at Knossos alone, our aim all through has been to map the connection between changing imagery on seals and artefacts and the running of a local Minoan calendar (I leave it to the reader to follow up similar indications at other palace centres).

To start with a basic astronomical concept more overtly expressed than usual, consider the early Back Lunge scarab (**BaLu-18**) from Lefkandi: its overall concept is Egyptian (given the beetle is known to symbolise the dawn rising Sun) whilst the crescent on the Bull's rump on its seal side means it is not far-fetched to see this Back Lunge could well indicate a preoccupation with squaring the leonine solar with the bovine lunar cycles (*Min* is a word signifying Moon, mensuration *and* the mythic King of Knossos) to calculate Day One of the Year, the crucial starting point for counting on from it, fundamental to measuring time. Its owner could feasibly have had a high-level role in the coordination and administration of the local

²²⁷ Jean Richer *La Géographie Sacrée du Monde Grec* (originally published 1967, later revised and updated n.d.) Paris; also translated as *Sacred Geography of the Ancient Greeks* New York 1994

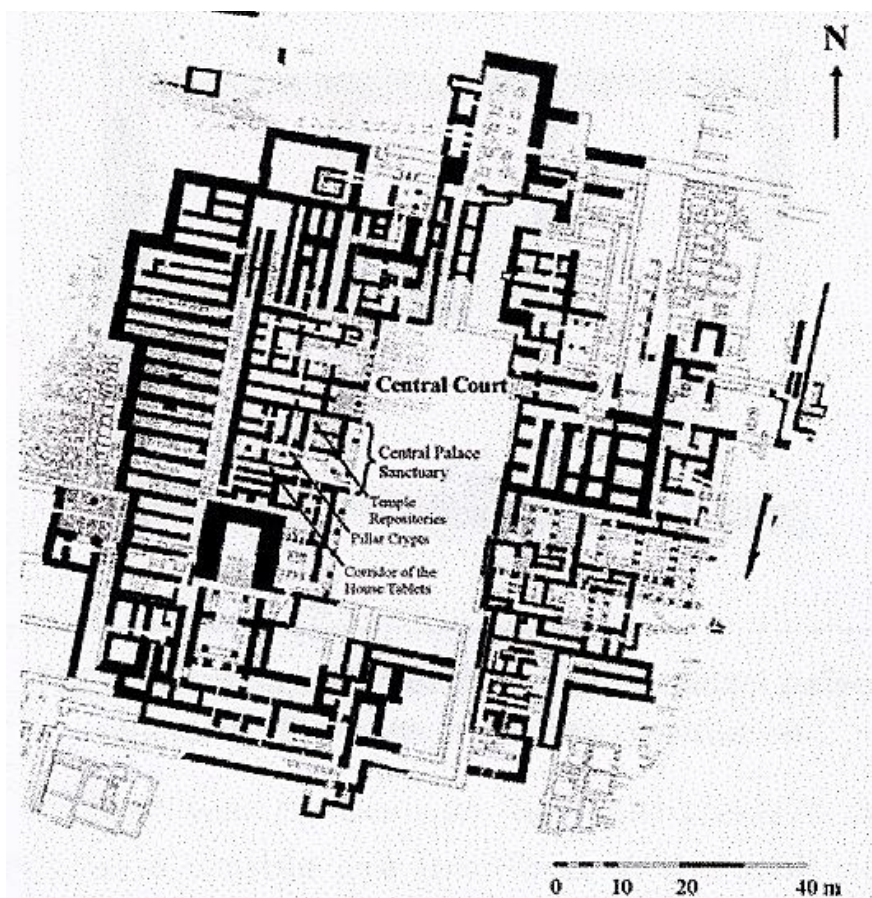
²²⁸ See 'New arguments for the Minoan origin of the stellar positions in Aratos' *Phainomena*' in *Astronomy and Cultural Diversity: Proceedings of SEAC 1999* Tenerife 2002, 303-10 and 'Literary and Archaeoastronomical Evidence for the Origins of the Hellenic Calendar in the Aegean Bronze Age' *BAR international series* VOL 1154; 2003, 53-70

calendar, with proliferation of the motif in the major palace centres, led by Knossos, pointing to other seal-holders using the same motif being charged with the same task - in other words rulers, or astronomer-priests in their service. The perennial issue of squaring Lunar with Solar cycles is fundamental to keeping the agrarian year running true to the seasons, and would have been as relevant in Crete as further East. The Sun and Crescent appears often on Minoan seals, but interestingly Jupiter and Venus were almost as important, the reasons for which will emerge shortly.

BACK LUNGE SEALS AT KNOSSOS AS INDICATORS

In the case of the Back Lunge sealings from Knossos under *BaLu-18/19/20*, and of *all* the lion-bull attack seals from the Palace tabulated in *Ill. 8- 69*, we noted how their find-spots throughout the palace (*Ill. 8- 70*) predominated in both the West wing in the Sanctuary area, and East wing around the Queen's quarters. With such an emphasis in Crete on Goddess worship we might bear in mind our finding from the previous three catalogues that the lion-bull group, like the griffin, is often juxtaposed to the throne of the Goddess Ishtar/Venus, most likely due to the role of the Venus synodic period in calendar calibration that helped refine the squaring of the luni-solar calendar (see *Chapter 19*) and pin down New Year's Day. This leads to a third possibility of ownership, that lion-bull seals could have belonged to Venus priestesses. Certainly the lioness alone was her animal familiar (*Ill. 8- 130*), the male lion being the solar beast.

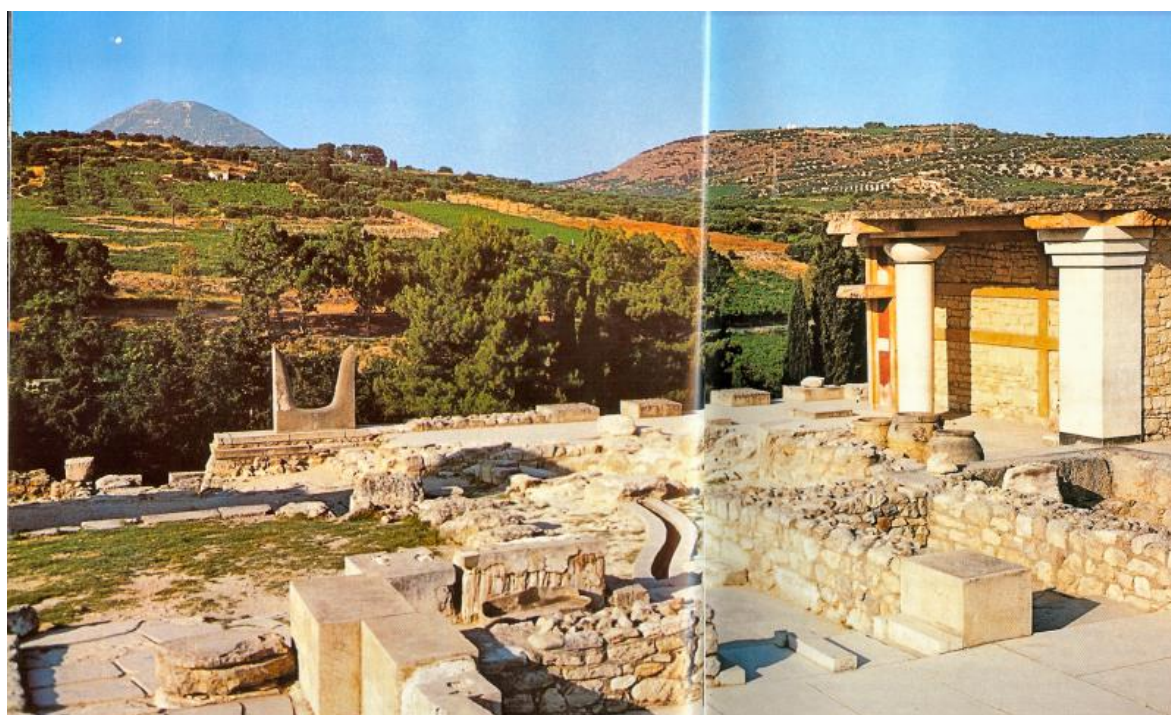
THE ASTRONOMICAL ALIGNMENT OF KNOSSOS PALACE AND THE MINOAN CALENDAR



Ill. 8- 132: Plan labelling astronomically important rooms in New Palace Knossos, mainly constructed on the former Old Palace

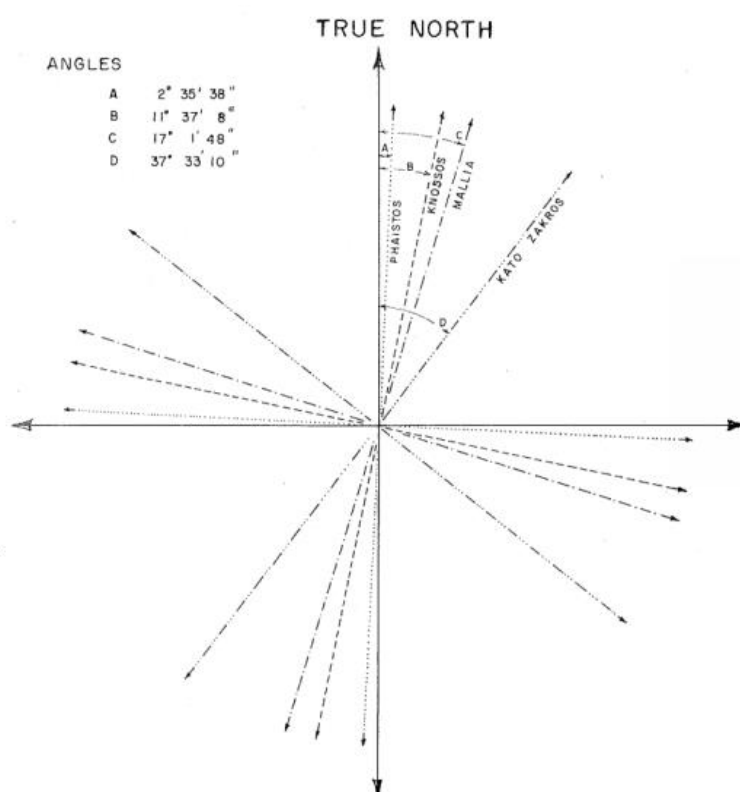
In the *Art History* section we laid down preparatory data in tables showing how seals and artefacts from Knossos illustrate other points in the **CANEA** cycle (see *Ill. 8- 68*) - by definition a set of calendrical images - marking their find spots. All these we bear in mind along with the Back Lunge sealing indicators by looking again at the layout of the Central Shrine area (*Ill. 8- 24*) within the plan of the New Palace overall (as in Hendriksson's plan above), now concentrating on its orientation in the belief that the contents of its rooms using motifs from the **CANEA** will have a direct bearing on the astronomical observation work that went on in and around it. The archaeological stratigraphy of the site indicates the astronomical alignment of the entire palace had remained constant since the previous Old Palace period - and possibly even from Pre-Palatial times. Even from first foundations the palace had its North-South axis slewed slightly North-East of true North, as the above plan indicates. Just as with the example of Persepolis in *Catalogue B: The Uruk Stance*, this angle of orientation was not deviated from when later additions were made to the building, suggesting that the core sanctuary area (marked by a bracket in the middle of the West long side of the central Courtyard in the plan above), already in place in the Old Palace, was the seed around which the increased agglomeration of chambers in the New Palace clustered, in overall layout echoing contemporary palace-temple complexes of the Levant.

Earlier we gave an idea of the architectural changes made to the palace from 1700, and said we would concentrate on the sanctuary area on the west side of the Central Courtyard (as reconstructed in *Ill. 8- 15*), being the wall of the entire palace most exposed to the full effect of the rising sun in the morning. Macdonald suggests the open space of the Court at its centre must always have been a feature of the palace layout, with its South end oriented towards Mount Juktas, the mountain sanctuary already filled with prehistoric records of cult activity, and probably serving as the exterior (probably an initial solstitial



Ill. 8- 133 Panoramic view from the south end of the Central Court towards Mt Juktas

reference point on a rise or set alignment for laying out the very first palace ground plan - well demonstrated in the panoramic view from the courtyard given in the illustration above looking southward over the sighting horns (a term I prefer to use in place of 'horns of consecration')²²⁹. Joseph W Shaw²³⁰ by 1973 had surveyed four key palaces on Crete (Knossos, Phaistos, Mallia and Kato Zakros) showing that their main oblong central court in each case pointed roughly North-South but with individual adjustments to the N-E (see diagram below) seemingly to allow for the different timing of the appearance of the rising sun over the hilly - even mountainous - eastern terrain (we are already familiar with just such an adjustment



Ill. 8- 134: Adjustments to N-S orientations of the courtyards of four key Minoan Palaces - from Shaw (ibid.)

made for Persepolis in the *Chronological Focus* for **Catalogue B: The Uruk Stance**). Shaw reminds the reader of how the 3M tholoi of the Mesara plain usually had their entrances facing east with the body inside facing E-W (this is something we are already familiar with in relation to tombs such as Maes Howe on the Orkneys at precisely the same period). Indeed, from the evidence well summed up by Keith Branigan²³¹, of imported double axes, daggers, swords and earrings - as also the swords or daggers carved on some of Stonehenge's sarsens - we should not rule out either Minoan or Mycenaean links with Wessex at this time (possibly marks of homage to them as baetyls of Baal and Ishtar - or their Briton equivalents).

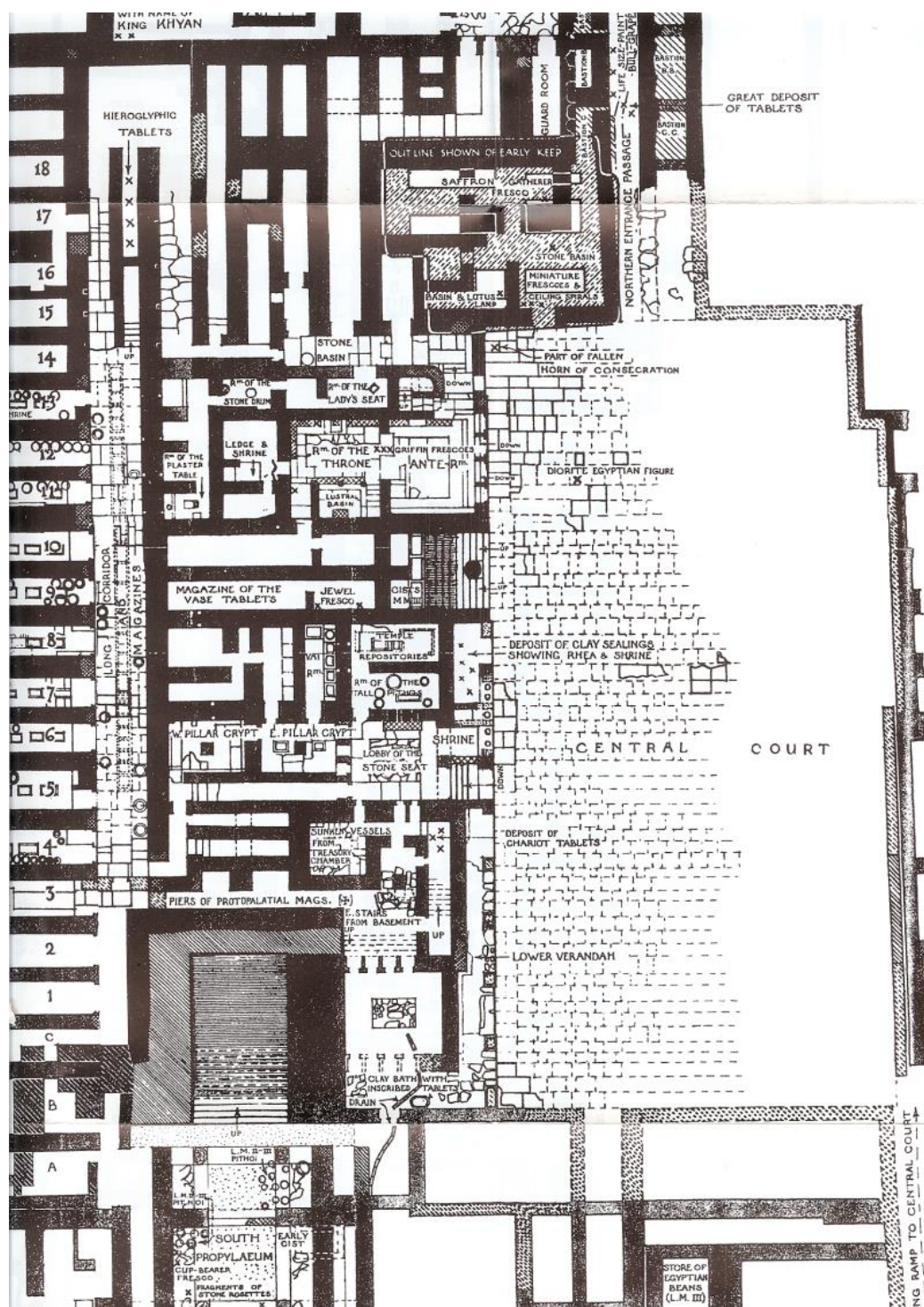
²²⁹ Archi (*ibid.* - see fn 155) points out that at Ebla the term *sidu* in its documents refers to 'the horn-shaped parts of an altar and reminds us that when offerings were made to the gods (in baetyl form or otherwise) 'bull-horns are frequent, above all in offerings to Hadda... but also to other gods...' These horns were always offered in pairs' (we are reminded here of the the cultic rows of embedded bull horns in rooms at Çatal Hüyük or low walls of Predynastic tombs at Saqqara).

²³⁰ 'The Orientation of the Minoan Palaces' in *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in Onore di Doro Levi I* 1973 47-59

²³¹ 'Wessex and Mycenae: Some Evidence Reviewed' *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* LXV 1970 89-107

KNOSSOS AS OBSERVATORY

Our next step is to pursue Henriksson's main arguments in his most recent paper (*ibid.* 2011) which so neatly summarises his observations on Knossos' astronomical role, taking Shaw's observations several steps further. Looking first at a close-up of the West half of the plan of Knossos (originally drawn up by a firm of architects for Evans - a facsimile of which is given in Macdonald's book) to concentrate on the detail of the



III. 8- 135: Close-up showing the layout of the cult rooms on the west side of the Great Courtyard at Knossos: note the uninterrupted E-W Corridor under the W and E Pillar Crypts and Shrine, with steps up to the Central Court

layout of the rooms on the west side of the central Court - the area of several cult rooms centrally placed in the middle of the West side of the Courtyard (Ill. 8- 22, Ill. 8- 23 and Ill. 8- 24) which Shaw had realized would be illuminated by the rising sun every morning, drawing Henriksson to make them the focus of his astronomical tests. As Macdonald (*ibid.*) puts it:

Immediately to the east of the West Magazines [numbered 1-18 on the plan] is a range of rooms that became the most important ones connected to the Central Court during the New Palace period: the Central Palace Sanctuary, the Stepped Porch and the Room of the Throne complex. The Central Palace Sanctuary²³² in particular provided the linchpin between all that the West Magazines contained and the Central Court where feasts and ceremonies took place. (p.75)

We could look at this complex of rooms backed by a long N-S corridor on the West side and flanked by smaller E-W corridors on either side as a distinct, self-contained cluster of chambers acting as a unit inserted within the warren of other rooms. These rooms were reworked and refined, if not in the New Palace building phase after the earthquake of c.1750-1700, then certainly following the 1600 upheaval, so it is important to pin down the plan at its astronomically obvious phase, as above. From it we can see that only one of the E-W corridors - just south of the two Pillar Crypts and the Shrine - runs the full length of the E-W direction, with an opening and steps upwards to the 'stylobate' of the Court itself. This passage bordering the south edge the cult room complex was the focus of Henriksson's experiments concerning sunrise alignments, calling it 'the Corridor of the House of Tablets' (see his plan below).



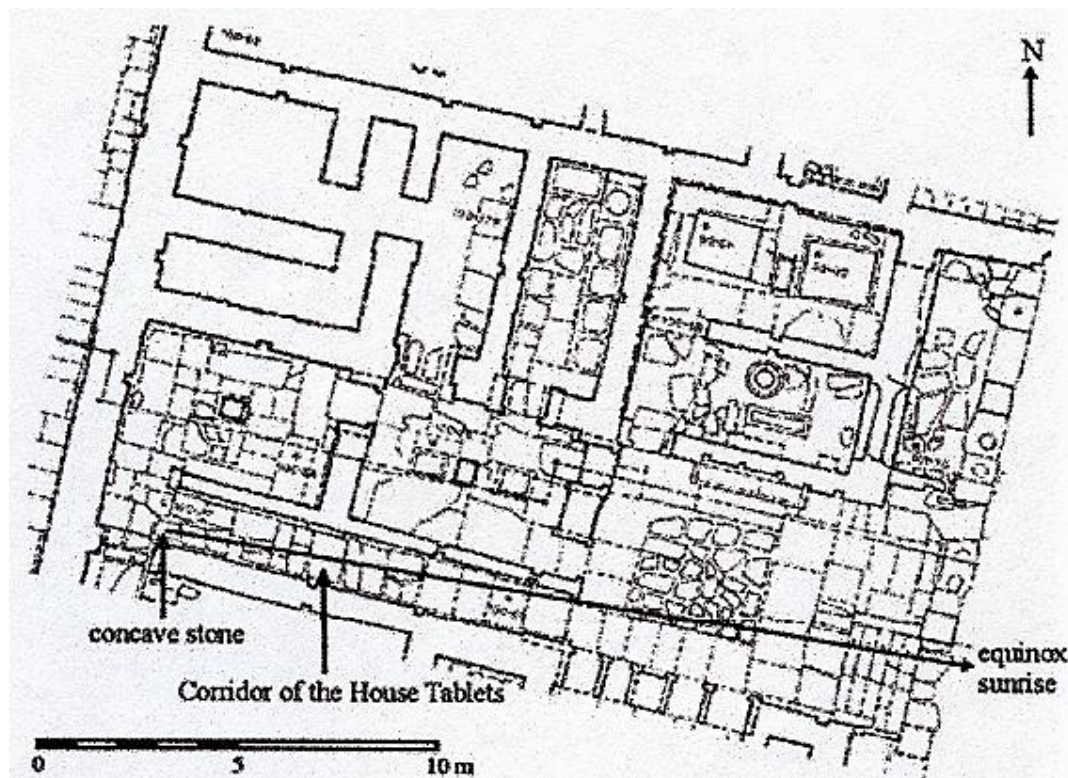
Ill. 8- 136: Stone depression in the long corridor which would have been filled with water to act as a mirror

He and his team found it of particular interest due to the shallow stone bowl let into the floor at its inner end, just at the turn of the corridor - which would usually have been in darkness. Henriksson's theory was that on the rare few days when the sunrise rays of light pierced all the way down the corridor, they would glance onto the water filling the stone depression, causing a bright reflection on the walls above. When this happened, two vital pieces of information could be ascertained:

²³² The detailed archaeology of this area and its host of fascinating contents (including seals and sealings) is covered in Marina Panagiotaki's *The Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos (British School at Athens Supplementary Vol.31)* 1999, referred to earlier.

- that the time of the Spring or Autumn equinox had arrived, and
- in relation to the current moon phase being 11 or 22 days out of synchronization with the equinoctial day, whether to insert an intercalary month or not.

This evidence is so straightforward that it is disarmingly acceptable. It leads on to a consideration of how such a phenomenon would have been institutionalized through annual ritual behavior in the rooms nearby.



Ill. 8- 137: Positioning of the Corridor of the House of Tablets and location of the concave stone in the SW corner of Knossos Palace - from Henriksson (ibid.). NB: vacant spaces are walls, paved areas being drawn in detail

We mentioned above Shaw's finding that three other key palaces had much the same orientation, within a few degrees depending on surrounding landscape (Ill. 8- 134), no doubt due to similar requirements²³³.

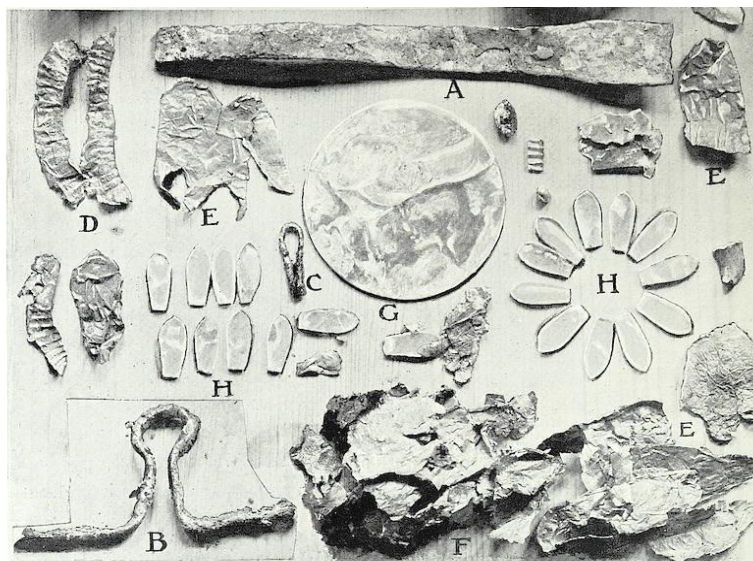
FUNCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL SANCTUARY COMPLEX AND THRONE ROOM AT KNOSSOS

Further up from the entrance to this corridor, all along the west side of the Central Court clearly there were steps and open porches leading into the other cult rooms - including the Throne Room area - where officiants such as royalty or the priesthood/priestesshood could position themselves to greet the Spring (or Autumn) Equinox sunlight at dawn.

Can we be more precise about what went on in the Central Sanctuary area from the array of decommissioned cult paraphernalia found just north of the Triple Shrine in the Temple Repositories, decommissioned at the very beginning of the New Palace period? At the time of excavation apart from

²³³ At the Mycenaean Seminar of 12 February 2014 hosted by the School of Advanced Studies, University of London, Jan Driessen in his account of excavations at Sissi (outside Mallia) discussed a Neo-Palatial structure with a strikingly similar court of similar orientation, again possibly aligned on a particular mountain peak beyond. It had a sole block of rooms on the West side almost exactly matching the Sanctuary suite at Knossos. Otherwise there was no building on other sides of this very much smaller courtyard. Along its facade at the end was a spectacular kernos seemingly showing the outline of Ursa Major by 6 (not 7) big holes, and 29 smaller holes which could have been for the counting of the months. It was rectangular in comparison to the two surviving circular kernoï from Mallia nearby.

those pieces found in the Temple Repositories themselves (illustration below) numerous pieces of rock crystal inlay were found round the lustral basin in the Throne Room, along with a rock crystal dagger pommel and small damaged crystal bowl. Amongst other pieces was a shell carved with a dagger on it, and a steatite fragment of a rhyton of ostrich egg shape carved all over with an octopus. In a niche by the north bench in the Throne Room, covered over when the griffin frescoes were painted, pieces of rock crystal inlay (one such crescent piece is illustrated below), gold foil, *lapis lazuli* and part of a stone vessel were also found. One wonders whether the rock crystal flower and its petals might have formed the centre piece of some kind of spectacular mosaic that glittered when it caught the sun.



Crescent of silvered rock crystal, part of the old wall inlay of the Throne Room



Ill. 8- 138: Items found in the Western Repository photographed by Evans: A = bronze clamp; B = bronze box handle; C = part of the box fastening; D = pieces of ribbed gold foil; E = pieces of decorated gold foil; F = possible gold foil covering for a box; G = crystal disc backed with silver foil; H = petal-shaped crystal pieces backed with gold foil

Throughout the palace lustral basins feature prominently (mostly pits accessible by stairs, as in Xeste 3 in Thera, that in later phases of the palace were filled in), not necessarily filled with water, but perhaps (as discussed in relation to the Thera Saffron Gathering wall paintings - **Ill. 8- 115**) representing steps down to the Underworld. But Macdonald puts it that the large basin associated with the Throne Room itself, quite evidently a room where rituals were enacted - when filled with water could well have served a similar function to the shallow basin in the E-W Corridor of the Tablets just south of it:

On the morning of the summer solstice the first rays of light would strike through the doorways of the complex directly into the lustral basin, rapidly disappearing after a few moments and plunging the area once again into darkness'. (Note Macdonald judged the Solstice to be the crucial juncture.)

One thinks here of the parallel at Persepolis of the King lit up briefly at the top of the Tripylon stairs by the setting Winter Sun as described in our **Catalogue B: The Uruk Stance** commentary. In the Knossos Throne Room any person enthroned, surrounded by an inner circle of people, would similarly be illuminated. We could certainly imagine for these brief moments a stage-setting with the ruler on the throne against the inlays of rock crystal that would have magnified the radiance of the light. Then in the period 1600-1450 emphasis was placed on adorning the interior palace walls with wall paintings, and it was after the 1600 rebuild that the Throne Room was decorated with the heraldic arrangement of two griffins plus palm trees

either side of the gypsum throne. Given most iconographical precedents for the griffin-supported throne give its occupant as female, many prefer to put the Venus priestess on the throne (for several reasons which will become clear *not* particularly a solar priestess, as suggested by Goodison and Marinatos (*ibid.*)).

This is probably all that needs to be said here on the function of the Knossos Temple Palace as observatory. Fuller detail and speculation on 2M & 1M Levanto-Minoan observational astronomy in the Age of Aries and how it threaded-in to the Classical Greek calendar are given overall consideration in **Chapter 22**.

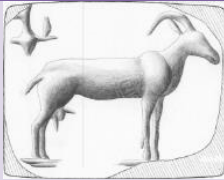



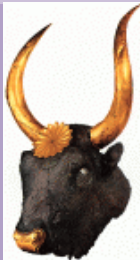




Having already seen the significance of the relationship between the lion-prey image and the astronomical layout of Persepolis in **Catalogue B**, can we make any correlation between the operation of the Minoan calendar, first in Crete and thereafter on the Greek mainland - and the sudden proliferation of lion-prey stamp seals? To underline the probability of such activity on Knossos in relation to the Back Lunge sealings and other lion attack images associated with the Cult Rooms complex and Queen's Quarters, we turn again to the tables we drew up earlier listing **CANEA** motifs found on artefacts from the Knossos site - this time filling in on the right-hand columns some interim comments on their emerging astronomical connotations.

2 ASTRONOMICAL LANGUAGE OF THE CANEA AND ITS MINOAN ADAPTATIONS

As in any detective story, conclusions derived from fact-finding emerge gradually, and hypotheses are needed first to precede facts later established by overwhelming repetition of the same clues. In the light of our survey of the basics of ancient near-eastern astronomy (**Chapter 19**) and now having surveyed a large body of artefacts in **Catalogues A-D**, from the evidence sifted up to the half-way point of all 8 catalogues this is our first tentative attempt at committing to definite interpretations of **CANEA** motifs. As we have four more catalogues' worth of evidence to assess we are still far away from being able to firm up on these until we have compiled the syntheses of all findings that lead to conclusive interpretations in **Chapter 22**.

In our table given in **III. 8- 68** (repeated below without the extra Master of the Beasts items) we listed **CANEA** motifs that entered into use at Knossos in the Neo-Palatial period, for diagnostic simplicity restricting ourself to versions found only at Knossos listed in **CMS II,8**. We took it that single animals - or their heads (asterisked on the table) - would be *pars pro toto* with similar associations in the complete groups - meaning the core list of identifiable mainline **CANEA** motifs adopted can just be counted on one hand (titles in orange). But with single animals or just their heads on other sealings, it fills out as below, the right-hand column here used for provisional suggestions for their likely astro-mythological referents.




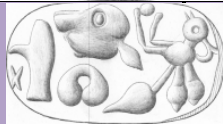

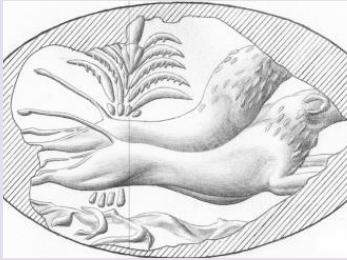



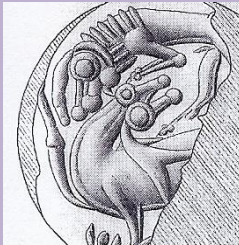
CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Example on larger artefacts	PROVISIONAL CALENDRIAL INTERPRETATION
COW OR GOAT SUCKLING YOUNG 500	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	 Knossos Temple Repository relief	SEASON WHEN YOUNG ARE BORN = SPRING CARE OF THE MOTHER GODDESS

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Examples on larger artefacts	PROVISIONAL CALENDRICAL INTERPRETATION	
*Single goat 378 [17 sealings]	 Temple Repository (23 on map)	This was found with another sealing, close in design but with the sign on the top left corner more recently interpreted as a swastika. Both resemble a Middle Assyrian lapis lazuli seal from Aššur (see all three as itemised under <i>III. 8- 28</i>)	CAPRICORN THE CAPRICORN-CANCER AXIS = THE SOLSTITIAL CULURE OF WINTER -V- SUMMER	
*Single gazelle 375		Hieroglyphic Deposit, North end of Long Corridor (13 on map)	DESERT/DRY SEASON	
*Single bull 402	 Lower E-W Corridor (53 on map)		EARTH EARTH AND ITS VEGETATION HORIZON EQUATOR THE LUNAR YEAR (A ZOROASTRIAN CONCEPT)	
*Bull Head 208	 Precise find spot not known: Note Linear A arrow over the horns	 Rhyton, Mycenae	 Rhyton, Knossos	MONTH MOON ☾ FIRST MONTH OF THE YEAR ♄ TAURUS ESP. ☆STAR ALDEBARAN (ROSETTE ON THE FOREHEAD) - SOMETIMES ASSOCIATED WITH ☆PLEIADES
ANIMAL PAIRS FLANKING CENTRAL AXIS IN HERALDIC ARRANGE- MENT 509		Find spot unknown. A double lion example was found on the Grand Staircase Landing (50 on map) (366, last item referred to in Lion and Prey table). Again, note the Linear A arrow, top right.	CONTRASTING HALVES OF THE YEAR, DEPENDING ON THE ANIMAL: E.G. AUTUMN -V- SPRING IF DEER, AS IN THIS EXAMPLE AND/OR CONTRASTING RISING AND SETTING HALVES OF THE SKY	
MISTRESS OF THE BEASTS 254	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	 Cosmic Mountain variation CMS II,8-256	SKY GODDESS AS AXIS MUNDI POTNIA THERON FLANKED BY THE RISING AND DESCENDING HALVES OF THE SOLAR YEAR	

THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART

CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

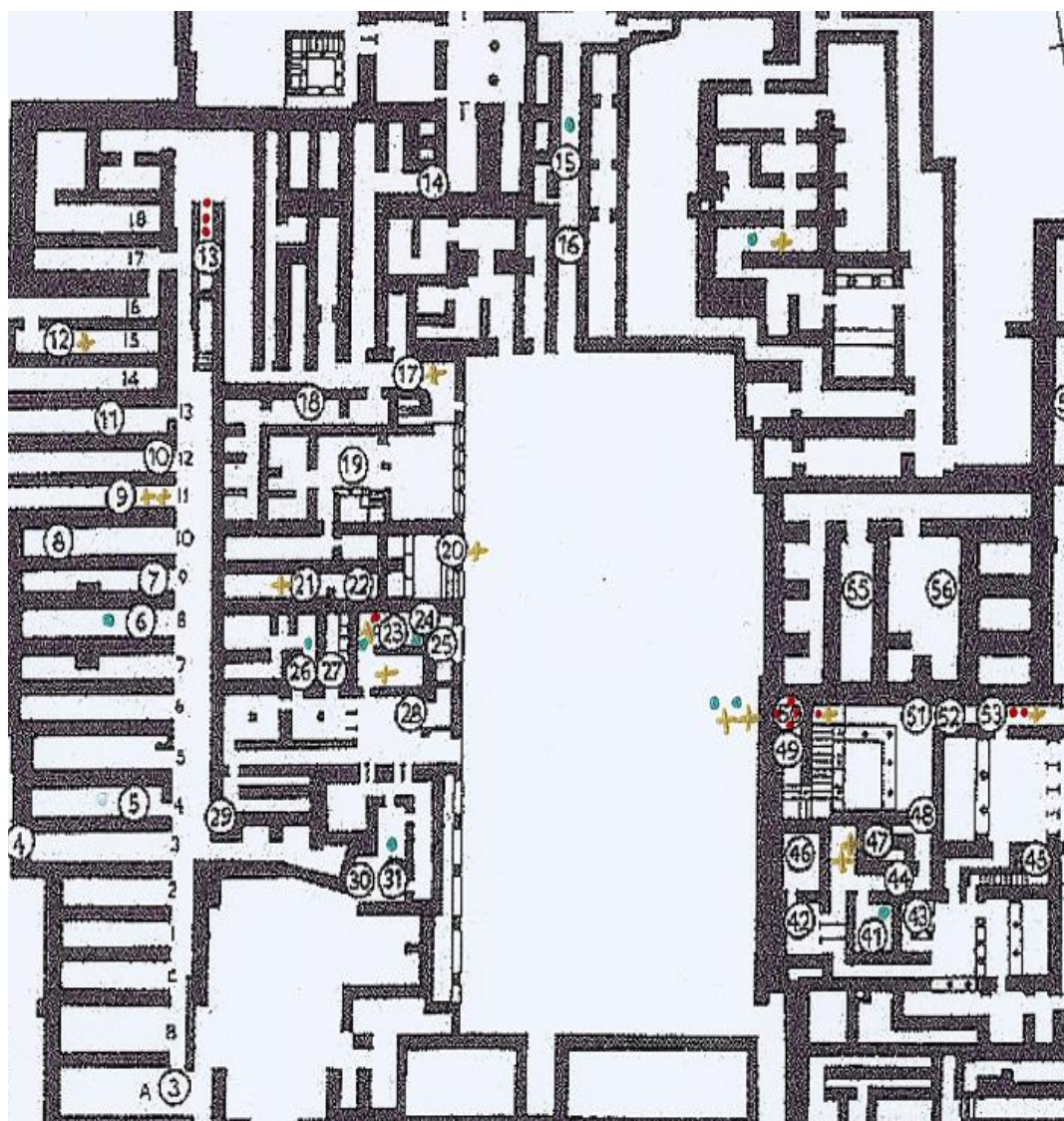
D: THE BACK LUNGE

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Other Examples, Examples on larger artefacts, or Earlier Prototypes	PROVISIONAL CALENDRIAL INTERPRETATION
*Single lion 301			TIME ♌ LEO SUMMER SUN ☉... SOLAR YEAR THE ECLIPTIC
*Lion(ess) Head (possibly includes the domestic cat) 90	 Hieroglyphic Deposit, North end of Long Corridor (13 on map)		80  DITTO 85  CYCLE OF SOLAR YEARS IF MALE LION, OR VENUS CYCLE IF A LIONESS
*Lion with Palm 298 (see later table under 16: Palm)		 Kato Zakro CMS II,7-189	POLAR AXIS TIME COUNTING OF THE YEARS (IN CENTURIES OR AGES)
MASTER OF THE BEASTS 250	 Lower E-W Corridor (53 on map)	 Detail of 3M Sumerian seal - Louvre AO22299	ORION HOLDING UP THE ASCENDING AND DESCENDING PATHS OF THE SUN/SKY OR YEAR
LION AND PREY 346	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)		CROSSING POINT OF THE ECLIPTIC WITH SKY EQUATOR AT THE VERNAL POINT NEW YEAR POINT, WHETHER MEASURED FROM A SOLSTICE OR EQUINOX

III. 8- 139: CANEA motifs appearing on Knossos seals in the Neo-Palatial period and tentative astronomical referents

In the table listing the frequency of the lion-bull attack sealings at Knossos (shown as *Ill. 8- 69*) it emerged from the Find Spots Map (*Ill. 8- 70*, reproduced below again for ease of reference) that they were concentrated in the Sanctuary rooms area and the Queen's Quarters zone opposite, dovetailing with possible observational activity that might have been going on as just discussed in the previous section.

We repeat here our original observation that, aside from the depiction of single animals (full bodied or as heads) the lion and prey subject is far more common than the occurrence of all the other key **CANEA** motifs put together. Given neither cattle, gazelle, deer nor lions were native to Crete²³⁴ (its indigenous animal being the *agrimi* goat, untameable, but perhaps imbued with near-eastern Tammuz symbolism) we



Ill. 8- 140: Find spots (where known) for Knossos sealings: (a) representative CANEA motifs - RED SPOTS; (b) all lion and prey motifs GOLD CROSSES; and (c) all bull-leaping sealings - GREEN SPOTS






must conclude the adoption of non-native creatures in the imagery is in itself a good indication of an imported symbolic system using the animals more familiar on the mainland further east.





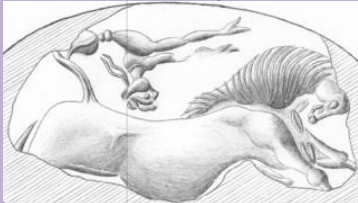

²³⁴ Greece, however, did have native (Asiatic) lions, which had been prevalent all over Europe as far back as Palaeolithic times.

MINOAN ADAPTATIONS TO THE CANEA WITH ADDED MYTHOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

Earlier we indicated how at first glance it might appear several other core items of the **CANEA** were *not* taken up by the Minoans from the Syro-Mesopotamian *koine* in original form, but we then went on to show how some **CANEA** subjects were recast by the Cretans in new combinations, or in forms expressing local cultural/cultic experience. These I drew up in a separate table of **MINOAN CANEA** modifications (**III. 8-71**). Added to these were the almost hieroglyphic determinatives introduced into their iconography, as commonly used in Syria - some Egypt-derived and others specifically Levanto-Minoan (**III. 8-73** and **III. 8-76**). All three tables are reproduced again below, again with brief suggested astronomical readings in the right-hand column (and one or two additions *hors CMS* II,8).

However, since many of the Minoan adaptations and determinatives (especially the first category of the three) require fuller commentary than can be fitted into the table, each one has been numbered in the left-hand column with a large orange number corresponding to the numbered headings following afterwards in three respective batches - for fuller explanation after their respective tables.

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	KNOSSOS REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Similar examples not in CMS II,8 OR ANCIENT PRECEDENTS	PROVISIONAL CALENDRIAL INTERPRETATION
<p>268</p> <p>CULT SCENES</p> <p>1</p>	 <p>Typical Cult Scene, best impressions of which (made by a seal ring) found in Room of the Clay Signet (34 on map); Landing on Grand Staircase (50); Test pit N of Shrine of the Double Axes (37); two in E-W Corridor (52/3) + others</p>	 <p>CMS I-17, Mycenaean Acropolis, gold seal ring (see colour reproduction in III. 8-67, and full enlargement in III. 8-153)</p>	<p>MOST SCENES REVOLVE AROUND THE BAAL-ISHTAR RESURRECTION MYTH, WITH MANY CLEAR ASTRONOMICAL SIGNS IN THE SKY</p>
<p>255</p> <p>DOUBLE OR TRIPLE SNAKE- FRAME</p> <p>2</p>	 <p>Wooden staircase (47 on map) see fuller example in Column/Tree of Life III XXX</p>  <p>c.f. Aegina Treasure Pendant, BM</p>	 <p>More fully worked out in Mycenaean versions, as CMS I-144 above, and 145 almost exactly the same - combined in Mistress of the Beasts figure.</p>	<p>THE PATHS OF ANU, ENLIL AND EA</p>

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	KNOSSOS REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Similar examples not in CMS II,8 OR ANCIENT PRECEDENTS	PROVISIONAL CALENDRIC INTERPRETATION
193 CHARIOT 3	 Ring sealing: find spot not known	 3M sealing from Ur level SIS 4-6 (GMA 1260/UE III,298 (discussed in relation to Perseus in Chapter 19)	AURIGA THE CHARIOT (DRAWN BY GRIFFINS). NOTE ON TOP REGISTER OF UR SEAL BULLS AS HORIZON AND LION ATTACKING AUTUMN EQUINOX DEER
188 GRIFFIN 4	 Archives Deposit (41 on map)	189  Compare with wing fragment (CMS II,8-180) in Temple Repository hoard (See Ill. 8- 28)	PHOENIX BIRD OF THE POLAR AXIS COINCIDENT WITH THE VERNAL POINT MERIDIAN - WHERE INTERCALATION TAKES PLACE, THUS THE MYTHICAL BEAST FOR ROYAL CONTROL OVER INTERCALATION) CANCER END OF THE SOLSTITIAL COLURE, UNDERPINNED BY SIRIUS
123 BULL LEAPING 5 SEE ALSO BULL- LEAPING TABLE	 Landing on Grand Staircase (50 on map)	 c.f. also further bull-leaping wall-paintings at Avaris and Knossos Ill. 8- 86/Appendix B	ENACTMENT OF GILGAMESH'S STRUGGLE WITH THE BULL OF HEAVEN IN HONOUR OF VENUS-ISHTAR . POSSIBLY THE BORDERS ARE A MOON-COUNTER

Ill. 8- 141: The Five key Minoanised CANEA images identified earlier in the Art History section

1 CULT SCENES ON GOLD SEAL RINGS: THE MYTH OF BAAL-ISHTAR IN CRETE

In our original identification of these cult scenes as adaptations of Mesopotamian types we stated:

Local Minoan *Cult Scenes* replace Syro-Mesopotamian *CANEA* cult scenes, such as:

- Banqueting Scenes*²³⁵ often shown on 3M ED Sumerian seals (notably those from Ur), and
- Presentation Scenes* popular on Ur III, Babylonian and 2M Syrian seals, showing individuals presented to, or standing before, rulers, Gods or Goddesses²³⁶.

At this juncture I found Nanno Marinatos' book on Minoan Kingship²³⁷ perfectly expands on the changes rung on cult scenes by the Minoans and Mycenaeans - they mostly appear on gold signet

²³⁵ The huge gatherings of crowds in the miniature frescoes of Knossos and Thera could roughly equate to Mesopotamian banqueting celebrations (in contrast the latter only portray a handful of people).

²³⁶ Though one notable old-style example is seen on the Tiryns gold seal ring (Ill. 8- 162)

²³⁷ Nanno Marinatos *Minoan Kingship and the Solar Goddess* 2010

rings. She deals with them all as one group, whether Minoan or Mycenaean, dating them to the Neo-Palatial period -which nicely coincides with our Chronological Focus, adding further richness.

Marinatos reminds us that the absence of any overt depiction of a ruler is one of the mysteries puzzling experts in Minoan art, such that there is much imaginative speculation on the status and job descriptions of the prominent male or female figures that do appear. Although King Minos is named as the legendary ruler of Crete, we can anchor him in myth, but not in history by textual record, and there are no clear-cut portrayals of him or his successors in the arts (some see the term 'Minos' to be more the equivalent of 'Pharaoh' in Egypt). Some details of his *queen's* successors' regalia (such as the flat hat with plumes seen on the enthroned figure on the Tiryns ring - *III. 8-162*) have been termed royal - but apart from that there is little description or portrayal that gives away the nature of the top 'clergy' or administrators (compare the list from the Kültepe texts in the previous catalogue of all the different kinds of officials with responsibilities in the palace).

Usually on the gold rings there is only a small handful of people who we presume are from the inner circle at the top of the community, but presented in ways unfamiliar within the former **CANEA** conventions - other than the layered dresses or pantaloons of the supposed priestesses - yet most of them we can still categorise as alternative forms of cult or presentation scenes centring on the Gods, thus retaining a strong amuletic - as well as administrative - role. So under this heading we look at the close detail of these cult scenes to try to deduce their message, in the process taking in Marinatos' voice in favour of mythological and astronomical interpretation, hopefully in the process taking her ideas forward in the light of our own findings. Our principal difference lies in my substitution of the Baal-Ishtar partnership for the Sun-Moon interplay which might at first seem obvious from the iconography - but when we look at the the mythology and the astronomy involved, we understand why: indeed, this very fact points to an imported calendrical method (*Heading 16*).

THE DIVINE COUPLE AND THEIR JOURNEYS BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH

It soon becomes apparent that, taken as a group, we can categorize the gold ring designs as enactments of events in the Death and Resurrection Myth of Inanna and Tammuz. In the Second Millennium the story was celebrated in the Levant as the Ishtar and Baal myth, an epic quite simply describing how the round of the seasons brought about the Death and Rebirth of Nature and the Year, celebrated in cultic terms at specific points in the calendar. The divine couple Baal-Ishtar as *dea and deus ex machina* are the benign planets Jupiter and Venus, the powers behind all that is harmonious and well-governed in the state as it engages with Nature, who in their attempts to keep life on Earth in balance influence Earth in their motions, conjunctions, absences and retrograde stages - as any pair of human lovers might go through. On Old Syro-Mesopotamian seals like the two below, they are often shown standing either side of the world axis, a palm standard with the flower of Venus and the eagle wings of Jupiter atop. In the *Catalogue C* Iconography section I dwelt at



Cat C, Ill.7-5 (Williams-Forte fig. 20/BN435)



Cat C, Ratt 25f

Ill. 8- 142: Typical Old Syrian seals showing the ruler as Baal being confirmed in his power by a priestess as Venus - note also the hero wrestling with bull or lion, and/or lion and prey group as components of the scene

length on Baal-Ishtar iconography, and how their trips to the Underworld as re-enacted by the God/Ruler -v- Goddess/Priestess were portrayed pictorially. Given the all-pervasive middle-eastern influence on Crete just spelled out above, it seems logical to look at parallels between such Syrian seals and the Minoan gold ring seals (Marinatos herself makes several interesting and telling juxtapositions between Minoan and Ugaritic or Hittite cult traditions too). Indeed, on closer inspection there seems on the Minoan rings much the same content as on contemporary Old Syrian seals, but viewed from a more emotional angle and using local dress and scenery - I think devised by one brilliant Minoan designer whose culturally refreshed renditions were developed by Aegean craftsmen of the next few generations on other rings for the duration of the Neo-Palatial period.

Marinatos herself writes:

It may be suspected that there is a historical reason why the rings with the Storm God are so evident in the New Palace epoch. They were designed during the period of one royal dynasty (which may have comprised some four to five kings), and this dynasty promoted the Storm God as a patron of kingship. It was contemporary with the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt. Many ring impressions were found in the palaces themselves - notably at Knossos and Zakros.... I do not believe that lack of fixed attributes confused ancient viewers: they would have recognized identity by the narrative context, knowing well, as they did, the myths of their culture.

From my own analyses given below I believe this statement is even truer than she herself realized, and that it applies as much to Ishtar/Athtar/Atana as to her consort, Baal and his Greek equivalents as set against the Cretan setting. She concentrates on Baal as the aggressive Storm God, leaving out his Adonis persona of the beloved youth - the aspect of his role emphasized earlier in Sumer in the form of the beloved Tammuz, and endorsed in Crete (and, as we just have seen, on Thera).

Simply by following its main narrative to see how the images fit, and shamelessly using Marinatos' illustrations as a convenient image bank (valuable because she includes the more unusual examples) I select below ring designs backing up my hypothesis that they depict ritually enacted Minoan versions of this perennial ancient near-eastern story. This exercise will make deeper sense to the reader if they go through the Baal-Ishtar passages in the *Iconography* section of *Catalogue C*

beforehand, though to make visual cross-references easier I will reproduce again below several of the seals used in it. The youth on the rings I will refer to as Adonis which seems to fit the Minoan persona and lovely physique of the dying God better²³⁸: the females, I believe, are more likely to be priestesses acting the part of Ishtar (or her Cretan equivalent), akin to the Ugaritic bare-breasted Athtar, or Egyptian Hathor/Venus, who nurture and suckle the ruler. Here and there, though, a particularly statuesque sole figure does seem to depict the Goddess herself.

THE ISHTAR-BAAI STORY ON MINOAN SEALS - WITH CONTRASTS TO OLD SYRIAN SEALS

This is how the story runs:

- ⊂ The earth is barren, in drought, and vegetation is not growing. Like a dying tree, Ishtar's lover, the beautiful youth, draped over an infertile rock, is expiring too. The end of summer, now the



Ill. 8- 143: Ring from Sellopoulo - Marinatos fig. 7.9b

wheat-ear is ripe, is announced by the departing swallow and Adonis' descent to the Underworld is about to start.

- ⊂ Ishtar and her attendants bewail his imminent loss, for all that it means about the cessation of vegetation, animal reproduction and, indeed, human life on Earth:



Ill. 8- 144: Ring from Mycenae - Marinatos fig. 7.5 (CMS I-126) - note the contrast between evergreen and deciduous trees

Adonis at the seasonal extremes is both eternal as sprouting palm (left) and subject to decay as deciduous tree (right) with Ishtar both mourning for his loss and monitoring his regrowth.

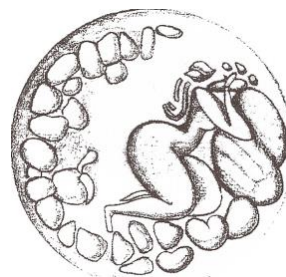
²³⁸ Strictly speaking I should call the hero Androgeos, mythical son of the Goddess and King Minos 'who is involved in the same essential pattern of Oriental ritual which gave rise to the myths of Ishtar and Tammuz, Isis and Osiris, Venus and Adonis' - R F Willetts *Cretan Cults and Festivals* 1961 p.80

- ▷ Ishtar decides to make the journey to the Underworld herself to bring back Adonis. The Minoan women don full ceremonial dress and dance to ensure the success of her journey, holding up



III. 8- 145: Ring from Mycenae - Marinatos fig. 3.4a (CMS I-86) - note the emphasis on the women's upheld hands

their hands as symbolic of Venus (see *Heading 12* below on the *Hand*). As Ishtar descends, from head down in seven stages she is commanded to relinquish her dress and adornment. In the seal below centre left she has lost headdress, ceremonial skirt and bodice, but still has her necklace and undertunic. In the less well-known seal centre right she is totally bereft, the denuded, barren stones indicating Earth's state of sympathy with her. She is as bare as the Earth is bare,



Ring impression from Hagia Triadha - Knossos seal - Marinatos fig. 7.3
 Marinatos fig. 7.2b/CMS

III. 8- 146: Ishtar in the Underworld, bereft of clothing, on two Minoan gold ring sealings (middle centre), with counterparts on Syrian seals (left/right) alluding to that underworld journey, as shown in our Cat C, Ill.7-54 (from Barrelet *ibid.* fig. 13b/d)

having abandoned all her clothes as Earth has her vegetation - yet there is hope of a return: the butterflies are mating (centre left). Note also the serpent or lightning shape in the sky which appears on other seals and probably a seasonal sign (more later). The priestesses permanently leave their breasts bare as a commemoration (also making the hot weather on Crete bearable).

▷ NOW COMES A HIATUS OF THREE DAYS - OF SUSPENDED ANIMATION BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH WHILE BAAL OR ISHTAR ARE CAPTIVE IN THE UNDERWORLD. THIS STATE OF EXISTENCE IS BOTH CAESURA AND TURNING POINT, THE NO-MAN'S LAND OF NEOMENIA AND INTERCALATION (SEE *HEADING 17*). ONCE OVER, THE CALENDAR CAN BE RESET AND EARTH REGAIN ITS LIFE.

- ▷ We learned from Ugaritic texts and Akkadian, Syrian and Hittite seals (discussed at length in *Catalogue C*) how Baal enters the domain of Mot/Death via the gap between two mountains being nothing less than the Door to the Underworld. He then chases the the God of the

Underworld (Darkness) from under the mountain (compare the striking Akkadian precedent, below, with what I see as its Minoan counterpart on a seal ring impression:



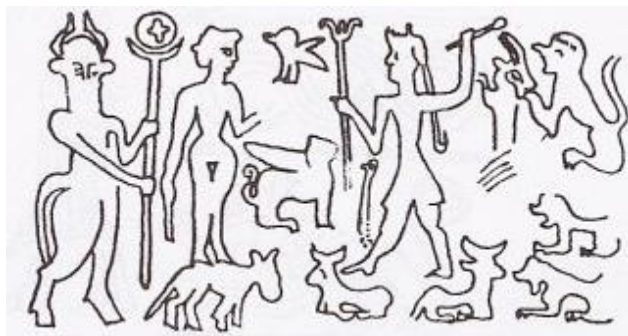
Seal of the scribe Zaganita (Louvre AO 11569) - Cat C, III.7-55



Ring impression from Hagia Triadha - Marinatos fig. 13.5a (CMS II,6-15)

III. 8- 147: The king of the Underworld is chased by Ishtar or Baal at the Door to the Underworld - In the left-hand seal note the female palm and the horns of the mountain gap through which Ishtar rises or sets as the mountain demon runs away: Shkamash and God of Waters and Wisdom, Ea, look on

- Death is overcome, Ishtar and Adonis can separately start the journey back. In the Levant, most usually Baal's victory over Mot is signified by the dead snake he holds in his hand (next illustrations) which in some seals has a baby palm (see *Heading 16*) starting to sprout from its mouth, now that suspended animation is over and life on Earth is restored. If snakes referred to the Underworld²³⁹ in Syria, the part they play in Minoan iconography is probably much the same, though it can have several other meanings depending on context (see next heading).



Baal at the entrance to the Underworld on two bull-mountains from Kültepe (note the Amorite version of Venus standing on a donkey) - Cat C, III.7-63 (Williams-Forte *ibid.* fig. 6)



Baal with sprouting plant in Mot's mouth on the two mountain tops (c.f. *Heading 13* on the Sighting Horns), the space between leading to the Underworld - Cat C, III. 7-64 (Williams-Forte *ibid.* fig. 10)

III. 8- 148: Baal on the two mountains leading to the Underworld with Mot the snake rising up under his striding leg.

Note Baal's long plait of hair in the seals above, curled at the end like a lion(ess) tail and falling down his back, canonical for the God in mid-2M Old Syria - and fashionable for the Minoans - a clue that with this particular hairstyle males were deliberately personifying Baal.

- As Ishtar starts the return journey she regains her clothing and jewellery in seven stages. In cult re-enactment, this is probably the point at which she (as priestess) is given a newly woven and dyed skirt (see under the Sacred Textiles discussion above, and **III. 8- 108**). Once her Adonis

²³⁹ In fuller versions of the myth, Baal has two battles: one with Yam, the unruly Sea, as well as with Mot from beneath the mountain - both represented by the serpent whom he conquers and on some seals holds dangling lifeless along with his mace and sword.

has resurfaced with her, the earth comes back to life and vegetation sprouts. Insects like dragonflies, moths and butterflies emerge from their pupae, mimicking on the smallest scale the Great Transformation, that is nothing less than the process of Resurrection from the Dead:



Ring from Archanes - Marinatos fig. 7.6a (CMS II,7-6)



Sealing fragment from Alalakh Level VII (Belland-8 AtchCat 105)

III. 8- 149: Note a precedent for the moth as resurrection symbol in the seal from Alalakh (right) - c.f. III. 8- 104

- There is dancing and celebration at the Resurrection of Baal and Ishtar - or their Minoan equivalents - in recognition that they are the divine agents enabling the Resurrection of Life. Rituals of tending the temple tree in its shrine continue, through sympathetic magic ensuring



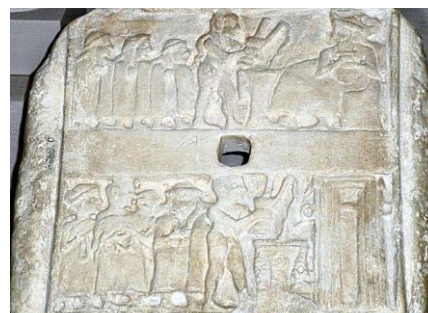
Ring from Aidonia - Marinatos fig. 5.9 (CMS V,S1B-114)- Note serpent in the sky (c.f.III. 8- 146) which Herberger (ibid.) reads as the symbol for Autumn, when snakes slough their skin.



Marinatos 8.6 seal from Vapheio (CMS I-231) - see also under Heading 10 on the Minoan Genius

III. 8- 150: Ritual watering of the Tree of Life

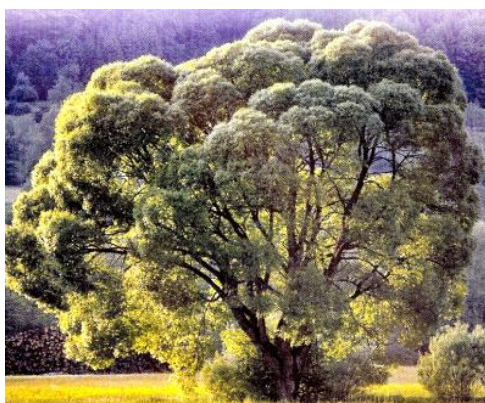
the perpetuity of plant-life as the cycle begins all over again. The centerpiece of the cult throughout the year is the watering and upkeep of the young plant (see following paragraphs), especially the palm (see *Heading 16*), ensuring success in the next cycle- this goes back to similar rituals at Ur or Mari as shown below (compare also the relief and seal from Sumer, *III. 8- 99*).



III. 8- 151: The ritual of watering the palm sprout goes back to Mari (left) and beyond that, Ur (right) - Cat C, Ills 7-33 and 7-34 - note the priest pouring the water on the plaque from Ur is ritually naked, signifying the 3-day hiatus in the Underworld

STONE AND TREE AS SYMBOLS OF DEATH AND RESURRECTION

Evans famously considered the question of the Minoan tree and pillar Cult in a separate, eponymous book. On some gold rings the obvious contrast between 'Stone' meaning Infertility/Death (quite different to baetylic aniconic divine presence in columnar form) and 'Tree' meaning Life, Regrowth and Resurrection is sometimes obviously spelled out, as in *Ill. 8- 144*, where the dying or resprouting deciduous tree equates to Adonis (Baal as the immortal Palm has other connotations, explored under *Heading 16*). Why a distinction between the two tree types?



Willow (not the weeping form) but associated with mourning



Plane, -strongly linked to Minoan royal myth



Ash, known for its pliability, echoed in the pliant Adonis

Ill. 8- 152: Three trees native to Crete with a habit closest to those depicted on the gold ring seals

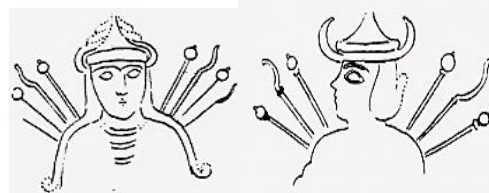
Crete is an island where several tree-species meet: it is low on palms, but does include a kind of unspectacular date palm with inedible fruits. When we look at Minoan seals in which Adonis is identified with a dying or reviving tree, it is difficult to decide from the characteristic outline of the round leaf-clusters depicting it whether it refers specifically to any one of the following native trees with similar outlines: carob, willow (not weeping willow), ash, beech or plane. The most likely is the plane tree, since still today it has mythical status in southern Crete at Gortyn: here the planes are evergreen, unusual since most of Crete's plane trees are deciduous. Associated with that very place is the myth of Zeus/Baal when as a white bull he abducted to Crete from the Levant Europa/Astarte, daughter of the King of Sidon (his son Cadmus being the founder of Thebes). In a variation of a common near-eastern *trope*, under the Gortyn plane tree she is said to have conceived the mythic kings of Crete: Minos, Radamanthys and Sarpedon (names of people or towns and village on Crete named Platanias, Platanes or Platanos are named after this tree). In the case of the Ishtar-Adonis myth we might think to be looking at a deciduous tree which loses its leaves in winter, as symbolic of Adonis' disappearance to the Underworld - but since never depicted bare-branched, it could be the evergreen version, like the palm locally symbolic of the immortality of the God and the inability of Death to kill nature permanently.

SUMMARY: THE GOLD SEAL RING FROM MYCENAE AS ICONOSTASIS

The cult scenes on the gold seal rings from Crete and Mycenae stand out as distinctively Minoan in character - and could never be confused with those of any other country. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the wearers of these gold signet rings were those initiated into what would in



Images of Ishtar/Inanna originally shown in *Catalogue C*, III.7-42: (top) Detail of Nuzi seal with nude, winged Ištar holding mirrors (Barrelet²⁴⁰ fig.12), and Anat on a seal from Ugarit with pigeon wings on bull throne (Barrelet fig.17); (below) Inanna with typical Akkadian shoulder fans including perhaps poppy heads rather than maces (Barrelet figs 2d/f);



III. 8- 153: (Left) Ring seal from Mycenae featuring Sun, Moon and Orion in the sky - Marinatos fig. 9.21 (CMS I-17 - see photo III. 8- 67). Compare with Sun and lion head determinatives in the imported seal at Knossos and similar seals from Ebla (III. 8- 33); contrasted (right) are Syrian versions of Ishtar with other attributes including possible poppy-seed heads on the shoulders

Classical Greece come to be known as The Mysteries, a rite concerning just such matters of life, death and a foretaste of immortality. To summarise, we can take the ring from Mycenae above left as standing out well beyond most of the other rings in its superb workmanship and overall allusions to the entire Baal-Ishtar story, most especially since it explicitly refers to its astronomical implications in the same way the 3-2M cylinder seals of the Syro-Levantine world placed the heavenly bodies in the sky overhead as determinatives to indicate the level on which the scene should be read.

The poppy heads held by the seated priestess (who may be the Throned Goddess herself, sitting in the gap between the two hillocks of the horizon) point to her imminent Underworld journey just as the tree behind her reaches full fruition in Autumn, harvested at the right by a young girl as the Cycle takes its down-turn and she diminishes. The poppy heads make us look again at Old Syrian Ishtar images that should perhaps be reinterpreted as poppy-heads rather than maces at her shoulder (see examples above). The six lion heads (see *CANEA* table and III. 8- 67 right) must refer to units of time - in this context possibly the months of Spring and Summer. The lilies held by the left-hand woman probably refer to Spring, while the woman in front of her is probably full-blown Summer). The other small girl seems to be dissolving into the hillock as if suggesting a small beginning, while the double double axe as the totem in the centre must refer to the extremes of all four seasons (explained under *Heading 11*). The double shield man in the sky I see as Orion in Winter (see under *Planetary Gods and Constellations* in the third section -III. 8- 185 in particular).

2 THE SNAKE, IN PARTICULAR THE SNAKE-FRAME

We have already pointed to the snake's association with Baal's struggle with Mot in the Underworld under the previous heading: the iconography even appears on a seal from Avaris (below left). However, snakes or dragons are tricky to read aright because they are polyvalent: we know from **Chapter 19** on Astronomy that it can refer to the Dragon of the Eclipse, to the constellation Draco, and even to the Milky Way. There are connotations on the meaning of the Dragon boat²⁴¹ (with Minoan Tree Shrine below right), since in Egypt such a vessel ferries Ra^c through the Underworld:



Ill. 8- 154: (Left) 17C Syrian seal from Avaris; (right) Priestess in dragon boat with tree shrine on Mochlos ring - Marinatos fig. 12.10 (c.f. Uruk shrine boat, Ill. 8- 112; and dragon boat on the Ring of Minos and Temple Repository fragment (Ill. 8- 99 and Ill. 8- 28). Note the dragon head may be a hippo head (related to that of the Minoan Genius - see Ill. 8- 158).

We originally said the *Double Snake or Triple Snake-Frame* as given in our table is a variation on the *CANEA's Entwined Snakes or Guilloche* motif (used in Sumer to symbolise the God Ningishzida in Spring, when snakes mate²⁴²), in Crete seen in the form of abstract snake designs or actual snakes held or worn as cult headgear by priestesses or goddesses, the latter so unusual and ungainly that I see it as representing the three Ways of Anu, Enlil and Ea (in other words, the Equator and the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn which mark the extreme limits of the Sun's journey at the Summer and Winter Solstices) - a way of describing the seasons that soon became obsolete.

A single snake in the sky at times shown on seals (see Ill. 8- 146 and

Ill. 8- 150) Herberger reads as referring to the 'Fall-Winter' season, quoting Euripides' *Bacchae* in which Dionysius (an alter ego of Tammuz/Adonis) is charged to appear 'as wild bull [Spring], many-headed snake [Fall/Winter, when the snake sheds its skin] or fire-breathing lion' [Summer]. In Egypt the Sun's journey dovetails with the story of Osiris' Underworld Journey which brings us back to snakes. Herberger saw how the three main seasons of Crete divide naturally into three unequal seasons (like Egypt) of 140 days for Spring, 120 days for Summer and 95 days for Autumn-Winter, not counting festival days, with the key celebrations falling on additional days at the changeover points of Winter Solstice, Summer Solstice and Spring to add up to a full 365-day year (though

²⁴¹ A familiar image in Egyptian art is the Barque of the Sun God which nightly makes its journey through the Underworld of the Dark in order to bring the Sun back to the horizon for sun-rise. I debated whether to include this as a shared motif from Egypt, but it was used in Sumer as well, and as Crete was a maritime kingdom it could not really be seen as a clear-cut 'borrowed' motif.

²⁴² See a literal depiction in Ill. 8- 155 (left)

intercalation then still had to be taken into account in the civil calendar). Overall, 5 days were given to the Winter Festival (as the 5 epagominal days added to the 360-day lunar calendar); 3 days were given to the Spring festival (when the Baal-Ishtar story was celebrated) and, he says, 7 days for the Summer Solstice festival when the Rising of Sirius would be the particular focus (again, as in Egypt).

3 THE CHARIOT

On our table we noted how even as early as Sumer the cart or chariot appears sometimes to have had astronomical connotations (if we look more carefully, in fact the war cart is deliberately grouped with other **CANEA** motifs on the protohistoric vase shown under **BaLu-8**). Chariots appear on Old Syrian seals now and again with the same ambiguity (below left, reproduced from *Catalogue C*). It all hangs on how far back the use of Auriga began as a useful Circumpolar paranatellon, not



Ill. 8- 155: (Left) Ratt-23f- note also the entwined snakes; (right) Gold ring from the Peleponese - (CMS V,1B-137)

only for the two-star sign of Aries during the 2M but, from a more oblique angle, probably also for Taurus in the previous era. Since on the Minoan seal above right the drivers are wearing royal flat caps with plumes, and their chariot is drawn by griffins against a landscape of palms *and* deciduous trees, it is fully plausible to view the motif as co-opted to convey a known astronomical/mythological placing in the sky. The example from Knossos itself (item 3 in the **CANEA** table, compared to an important Sumerian prototype - **Ill. 8- 68**) shows an early example of a chariot pulled by griffins in Crete itself: we should consider the meaning of the griffin next.

4 THE GRIFFIN

Hiller (*ibid.*) lists the obvious link between the use of the griffin in Syrian art and its emergence in Minoan art. To my way of looking, this hybrid, already discussed at length under the textiles heading, is a way of expressing the Imdugud Spread Eagle (often lion-headed, sometimes with prey in its talons) frequently used in 5-3M Susa/Sumer (**Ill. 8- 129** top left). In other words, in the 2M Levant the hybrid has become a reversal of the eagle-lion combination with the body now that of the lion and the head an eagle, with decorative peacock or heron features added on the comb - the wings sometimes retained, sometimes not. Since this is the Syrians' own reworking of an astronomical pointer, it suggests two source territories for its adoption by the Minoans²⁴³: direct from Mesopotamia, or at one remove.

²⁴³ Henri Frankfort 'Notes on the Cretan Griffin' *Annual of the British School at Athens* XXXVII (1936-37) 106-122



Ill. 8- 156: (left) small 'bilingual' plaque (Ratt-14) showing Phoenix on one side and lion-prey attack on the other, contrasted (right) with the land-outline of the phoenix (with head marked red) on the 2M Glastonbury Zodiac - discussed in Catalogue C. (Note also the dove at the centre of this zodiac which we come back to for the bird version of Ursa Major/Minor)

In fact, we saw a prototype of the griffin with peacock plume under *Ratt-14* from as early as c. 2000, grasping a couchant gazelle on the verso of a steatite plaque with Rear Attack on the recto (repeated above for ease of reference) its wings shown as *palm* leaves (see under *Heading 16* on the Palm/Phoenix). This reminds us of Egyptian images of the heron as the Phoenix bird, in myth reborn every Sirius precessional cycle of c.1500 years - bringing us back to a bird of Precession as suggested for the griffin image in the *CANEA* table - but it is probably even more than that.

Given the idea that it represents the Cancer end of the solstitial colure, standing for the Summer Solstice when Sirius rises, it is likely to also be a reference to Sirius itself, unaccounted for so far in Minoan iconography and such an important star for the calendar (especially given Crete's closeness to Egypt) that it surely could not be left out of it. There is synchronicity with the appearance of the Phoenix on the 2M Glastonbury Zodiac in Somerset²⁴⁴ in place of Aquarius in opposition to Leo - a factor to bear in mind in decoding 2M iconography when the anthropomorphism of the water pourer is dispensed with, possibly in order to avoid confusion with other sky heroes²⁴⁵ (see caption above).

In *Chapter 20* which covers further Sky Anchors within a general exploration of First Millennium Astronomy and its roots in 2M Levanto-Minoan Astronomy, we eventually hope to show why the Griffin, traditionally associated with Cancer, concerns the Polar Axis taken as co-incident with the Vernal Point Meridian, conjunct Sirius - as well as the Precession of the VP. In the third part of this *Iconography* Section we look into the Aegean Land Zodiac theory put forward by Jean Richer which appears to have come into being precisely due to the movement of the Vernal Point westwards during the Second Millennium and the role of the Aegean in measuring it.

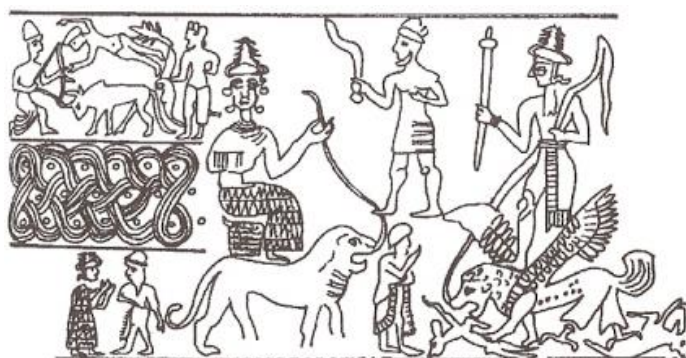
²⁴⁴ There are several intriguing clues concerning links between the Aegean world and Wiltshire but sadly it would be too much of a diversion to go into them at length at this point - note only our reference to the Mycenaean daggers depicted on Stonehenge (*fn 231*).

²⁴⁵ E.g. Orion and proto-Heracles, leader of the Dactyls, in Minoan myth symbolised by the upward jutting thumb on the Hand (*q.v.*).

Suffice it to say here that it must partly have been this understanding of the Vernal Point shift that gave the astronomer-rulers power in Syria, then at Knossos with its satellite palace observatories, which is why their throne is protected by griffins. It is only at Knossos and Avaris that an actual throne is guarded by griffins (up to then it is more usual to see depictions of the God or Ruler's throne backed by the lion-prey group (as, for instance, in seals under *Cat.C Ratt-15*, *Ratt-19* and *Ratt-21*) that refer more to the New Year- though we have already seen many examples of how the griffin was interwoven with this group, often even alternating with the lion in the attack group.

5 BULL-LEAPING

As with the snake motif, the bull is a multivalent symbol that in different contexts refers to the horizon, the earth, the passage of a Year, the constellation Taurus - and not least the Moon. When it comes to **Bull-Leaping** as such, it appears to be a cultic variation on the by then old-fashioned 3M Syro-Mesopotamian renditions of Gilgamesh or Enkidu's struggle with the Bull of Heaven, itself sometimes depicted non-symbolically in Syria and Middle Kingdom Egypt in bull-taming scenes, as already discussed. The Old Syrian seal below indicates the ritual probably had its origins in Syria (the Alalakh and related seals featured as *BaLu-16* reinforce this conclusion).



Ill. 8- 157: Seal showing Istar on her lion contrasted with Baal on a lion-eagle steed attacking prey (Belland-8) from Safadi²⁴⁶ - no.126 (private German collection, now mislaid): between them stands Reshef while the minor scenes to the left show a ruler-priestess pair and bull-leaping scene above this detail only given in Ill. 8- 20

We listed the high frequency of bull-leaping scenes in a further table (*Ill. 8- 72*), also marked on the Find spots Map, showing that on seals from Knossos they are *half as frequent* as the Lion and Prey motif on seals from the site - both predominating by a large margin over other motifs used from the orthodox, and varied, **CANEA** armoury. They mostly coincide with the **CANEA** and Lion-Prey find spots in the core cult areas of the palace and associated store rooms, though one or two were also found near the bull leaping frescoes at entry zones. An overall picture emerges of most seal activity with this motif on them centring round the innermost Queen's Quarters and Throne Room/Sanctuary complex opposite, with related store room areas. Their distribution should not be surprising if Matthiae's conclusion (see *fn 159* and *fn 160*) is correct, that in Ebla bull-leaping was a cultic display in honour of Ishtar/Venus - which need not contradict its lunar connotations, given Venusian and Moon cycles significantly coincide over the longer periods - see my paper on the

²⁴⁶ H El-Safadi 'Die Entstehung der Syrischen Glyptik und ihre Entwicklung in der Zeit von Zimrilim bis Ammitaqumma' *UF IV 1974* p.313ff

planetary implications of Venus Worship at this link <http://www.layish.co.uk/venusworship.pdf> which explains the math. In fact, we end our astronomical iconography discussion with a piece on *Minos Enneaoros* which precisely concerns this Venus-Moon interface.

The later spectacular wall-paintings of bull leaping at key points in the Palace at Knossos - and of course at Avaris (for both, see Appendix B) - emphasized in public fashion its overwhelmingly central importance to Minoan ritual life, regarding which Herberger (ibid.) asserts that the five different colours of the borders round them are detailed *abaci* for Moon-Counting involving both the Metonic and Saros cycles (these chapters I leave the reader to absorb in their full detail). There is certainly no doubt about the central importance of Moon calculations for the Minoan Calendar and its squaring to the Solar Year - which Marinatos emphasizes - but the noticeable new development in Crete in the Neo-Palatial period is the inclusion of the crucial Jupiter-Venus cycles and the Baal-Ishtar state mythology that fine-tunes that undertaking. The point to emphasise here is Herberger's reminder that the bull-leaping frescoes embody the myth of the Minotaur at the centre of the Labyrinth, the latter in reality being the maze of mathematico-astronomical interconnections needed to maintain an accurate calendar (see further under *Heading 11* on the Labrys/Double Axe, and *Heading 17* on the Caesuraed Oval). As he puts it (see *Ill. 8- 131*): *The Minoan king is a bull-man, but he is also a lion-man... he undergoes a yearly cycle of death and rebirth: as bull he is the waxing year from the winter solstice to the summer solstice and as lion he is the waning year from summer solstice to winter solstice - the destroyer of the bull*. We consider the astronomical meaning of Theseus' journey to the centre of the Labyrinth using the Thread of Ariadne - precisely in relation to *Minos Enneaoros* - at the end.

THE DETERMINATIVES

It was not always possible to find stand-alone examples of each motif from our restricted sample of seals in *CMS II,8*. We have already seen how they are often shown together in different combinations, but this very fact deepens the implications of their cross-referring astronomical allusions, as they actually serve to cross-check each other! Again, see fuller commentary under headings following the numbering of the large orange digits in the left column afterwards.

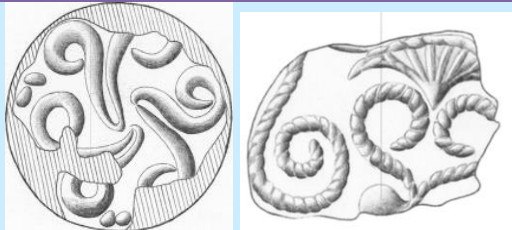


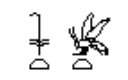




THE EGYPT-DERIVED DETERMINATIVES

6 LILY

Added to the comment on the table, more has been said about the Lily under some images under the Sacred Textiles heading, as shown on wall-paintings and on seals. It appears to have been a seasonal plant for Spring into Summer, and its roots may have been a dye. However, its origins as the sign for Lower Egypt could even be a reference to Crete's relations with Lower Egypt, and even a reference to Northern Crete using the same idea.

7 MONKEY

The monkey is not native to Crete, which is why I have listed it as ultimately Egyptian in inspiration, given Hatshepsut probably initiated Levantine interest in the small blue monkey from

Canea Motif CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	PROVISIONAL CALENDRIAL INTERPRETATION
<p>138 137 LILY</p> <p>6</p> <p>262 (LEFT) 286 (RIGHT) MONKEY - see commentary on Xeste monkey fresco (Ill. 8- 74 and Ill. 8- 124)</p> <p>7</p>	 <p>Precise find spots not known</p>  <p>Room of Egyptian Beans (left)/Long Corridor (right)</p>	<p>SPRING, GOING INTO SUMMER</p> <p>?DYESTUFF</p> <p>EITHER KOTHAR, GOD OF CRAFTS AND ARCHITECTURE</p> <p>OR</p> <p>MERCURY (PROTO-NABU) (OR BOTH)</p>
<p>126 ISIS KNOT = TEXTILE BOLT OR RITUAL SKIRT</p> <p>8</p>	 <p>Court of Stone Spout (57 on map) combined here with sprouting palm</p>	<p>WEAVING CULT ASSOCIATED WITH MYTH OF INANNA- ISHTAR</p>
<p>149 BEE</p> <p>9</p>  <p>NISŪT BĪTY formula</p>	<p>80</p>  <p>Lentoid</p>  <p>Seal, Hieroglyphic Deposit. Note also the hand with thumb out, and calf head</p>	<p>IMITATION OF PHARAONIC EPITHET FOR THE RULER AS QUEEN BEE MODEL OF AN ORGANISED SOCIETY</p> <p>MAKER OF NECTAR/HONEY YET WITH A STING</p>
<p>195</p> <p>MINOAN GENIUS²⁴⁷</p> <p>10</p>	 <p>Hieroglyphic Deposit (13 on map)</p>  <p>Fuller image given under Ill. 8- 161</p>	<p>ADAPTATION OF THE HIPPO GODDESS WITH CROCODILE DOWN HER BACK FROM NEW KINGDOM STAR CEILINGS (THE MOST RELEVANT, THE ONE IN THE TOMB OF HATSHEPSUT'S VIZIER, SENENMUT (LEFT), ILLUSTRATING THE CIRCUMPOLAR STARS (SEE FULL CEILING IN Ill. 8- 161)</p>

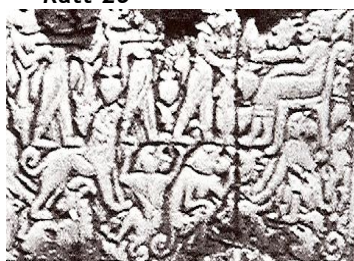
Ill. 8- 158: Egypt-inspired additions to the Minoan canon of pictorial determinatives used in apposition to core imagery - all on seals from Knossos catalogued in CMS II,8

²⁴⁷ Paul Rehak in 'The "Genius" in Late Bronze Age Glyptic: the Later Evolution of an Aegean Cult Figure' CMS Beiheft 5 215-31- writes, 'On Crete the new roles of the Genius in LMIA-B perhaps reflect the reorganisation and increasing centralization and complexity of neopalatial society'. I believe he misses the astronomical significance of the Taweret figure on the obvious basis of the Egyptian precedents - and needs to insert the word 'calendrical' before 'reorganisation'.

Somalia into Egypt and the Levant (see the full discussion under the Sacred Textiles section). In the illustrations below used in *Catalogue C*, clearly monkeys were common on Syrian seals in the same period, and I believe mostly refer to Thoth/Mercury/Nabu, but in the textile context in the Xeste 3 frescoes there is a very strong case to be made for its identity being extended to Kothar, God of Crafts - Rehak²⁴⁸ sees more superficial associations. Monkeys on Old Syrian seals in *Catalogue C* usually appear in homunculus-like rough outlines (as on two seals from Knossos in the table, much akin to those on two of the Syrian seals below). But now and again they are more clearly characterised: the big one below left is definitely a baboon, probably a clear reference to Thoth, but in the seal below top, the monkey sitting between Venus rising on the horizon and Ruler offering a goat (left below) - a recurring trio on other seals - is the more usual type, perhaps to be understood as a Venus-Mercury conjunction - yet it could also be Kothar, given the same pairing of monkey and Goddess/priestess in the Xeste 3 Enthronement fresco.



Ratt-20



Ratt-15 (detail)f



Ratt-21f (detail)

Ill. 8- 159: The monkey on items from Catalogue C (in the seal above, note the griffin version of a Rear Attack

Very possibly we should differentiate between the baboon as Thoth (clearly understood in the Byblos artefacts so directly influenced by Egypt) and the small blue monkey as Kothar - yet that they often bleed into each other at the hands of less well-informed artists or their patrons. Certainly Ugaritic Kothar (*ktr*) is the same as the Syriac *Kuthar*, known as 'father of Tammuz', and (with one consonant change) Kinyras is Adonis' father in Greek. A manuscript in the British Museum gives a rare and interesting West Semitic variation of the story of Tammuz, stating that the people of Phoenicia worshipped Balthi queen of Cyprus, because she fell in love with Tammuz, son of Kuthar, King of the Phoenicians, so moved to Byblos, finally dying in a city nearby where Tammuz was buried. These tenuous clues criss-cross and get distorted as in a game of Chinese Whispers!

²⁴⁸ Paul Rehak 'The Monkey Frieze from Xeste 3, Room 4' *MELETEMATA (Aegaeum 20)* vol.III 1999 705-8

Earlier I quoted the more usually mentioned sources giving Crete as the original 'smithy of Kothar', before it moved to Memphis in Egypt, the sub-text being that Crete was famed for its craftsmen who travelled to both Egypt and the Levant to work on projects. We have perhaps underplayed the fact that such craftsmanship may well have included metalwork as well as weaving and painting - particularly swords (*Ill. 8- 38*). Looking again at the weaponry of Baal - Kothar's father - is it farfetched to see at least one of them as related to mining, metal extraction or metal-working, rather than both being the aggressive weapons we associate more with Mars?

Here we call in the tradition of the planetary metals: in Sumer very early on Silver was equated with the Moon and Gold with the Sun, unsurprisingly. Why did Jupiter/Baal become more important than Shamash after Hammurabi's era? Because that planetary God has always been equated with Tin²⁴⁹, from precisely the period when the tin trade was flourishing all across Syria and into the Aegean! We are reminded also that Venus is always given Copper as her metal - the other component of Bronze - so in the Bronze Age the Jupiter-Venus couple has a specific resonance at this level for these territories. On balance, on Old Syrian seals I would still usually interpret the monkey as representing Hermes/Thoth, but in the context of Xeste 3 and on one or two seals with more orthodox iconography, definitely as Hephaestos/Kothar, the smith-god not only associated with oracle-giving, but also, due to mining associations, with the Underworld itself - in terms of the mineral-bearing mountains - which is why, as well as Mercury, he is described as Guide of souls through the Underworld. I have slightly added to my Table of the Gods as given in *Catalogue C*, to include Kothar as son of Baal and Ishtar (*Ill. 8- 184*) - tying in with the later Classical Greek version of the myth in which Hephaistos is called the son of Jupiter and Juno.

8 ISIS KNOT

Nothing further needs to be added here to what has been written at length in the Sacred Textile section under *Oriental Influences*.

9 BEE OR HORNET

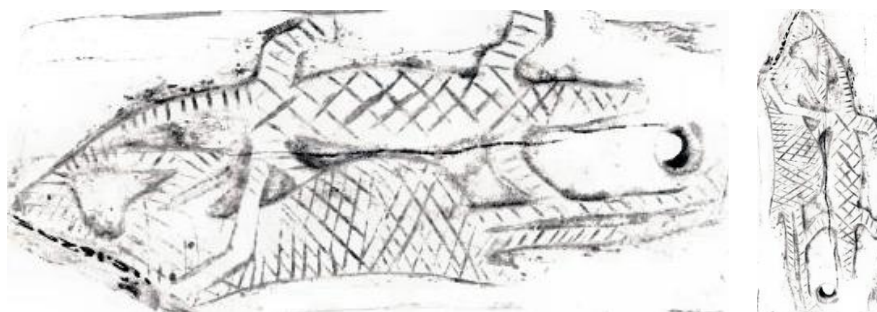
Several mentions have been made of various insects in the Minoan repertoire, for which there are precedents in Egyptian imagery going back to the Old Kingdom (such as the scarab beetle, or the dragonfly in Nilotic scenes). Crete, along with Kythera, was a key honey-producing island and bees of course provide a model of social organisation that evokes admiration, often with attempts to emulate it at the human level. Actually the bee or hornet formed the hieroglyph defining the Pharaoh as 'Nisūt/*Queen Bee*' (rather than 'Pharaoh') particularly with reference to rulership of Lower Egypt. For this reason, following his occupation of Egypt Napoleon adopted the bee as an imperial emblem on his dress and other artefacts²⁵⁰ Were the Minoans using it to signify their Ruler too, or did it mean whoever used it was indicating alliance with Lower Egypt -at places such as Avaris?

²⁴⁹ See C Gillis' paper and bibliography on the symbolic uses of tin in 'The Use of Colour in the Aegean Bronze Age' in Cleland *ibid*.

²⁵⁰ The royal throne of Burma destroyed by British troops was covered with huge, gold-lacquered bees, of which only four exist today

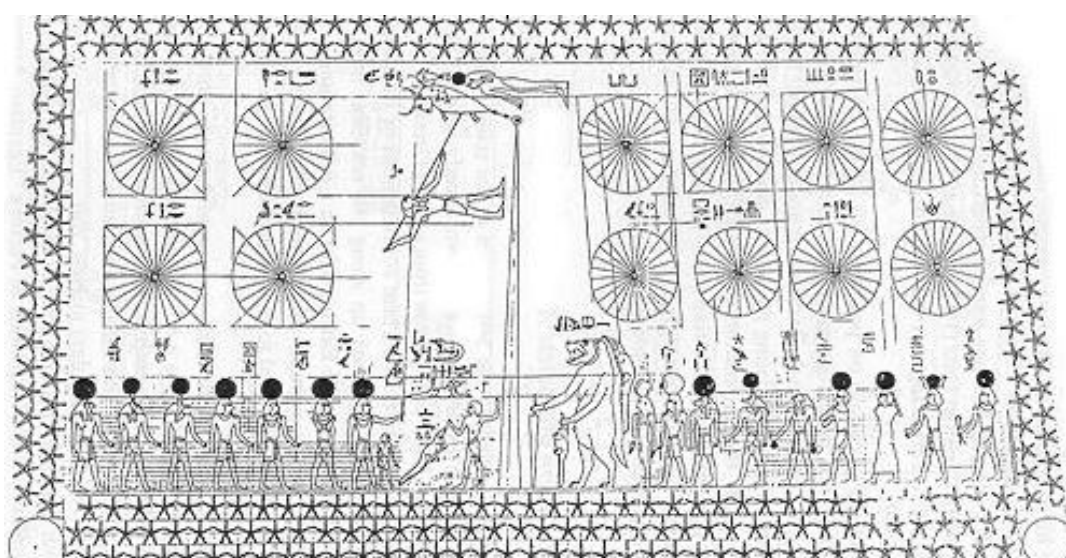
10 THE MINOAN GENIUS

The Minoan Genius, in Egypt known as the Hippo Goddess Taweret, was popular on Middle Kingdom hippo ivory wands, but beginnings of her imagery probably go back as far as the Protodynastic period when the the pregnant hippo looks more human (**Ratt-2**), already paired with the crocodile:



Ill. 8- 160: Back of Ratt-2 Ivory knife handle (left) Petrie Museum, University College, London

But the most direct inspiration for Crete are New Kingdom star ceilings, most probably the very first one drawn on the ceiling of the tomb of Senenmut, vizier of Hatshepsut (see star map below) - since there was a hiatus in time before the well-known 19D star ceilings of the Ramesseides.



Ill. 8- 161: Overview of the Star Ceiling of Senenmut, Vizier to Hatshepsut: the twelve circles represent the months, whilst key planets and stars march either side of Taweret holding the Peg of the Sky and aligning, through the spear of Horus, with Ursa Major as Meskhetiu/Hindleg of the Bull in the Circumpolar region

There must have been a reason for its adoption in Crete, and I see its appearance in the Neo-Palatial period at Knossos (see the sealing in the *Determinatives Table*) as retaining its astronomical sense (the head on the 'dragon' boats of Minoan sealings looks like a hippo head - Minoans did not 'do' dragons - though on other seals more leonine). In almost every Minoan case it holds the characteristic Anatolian water ewer (as in the Tiryns ring below, and see also **Ill. 8- 150**) suggesting it was associated with water (quite different from the old-fashioned Mesopotamian depictions of Ea with streams of water). The use of the ewer gives away the fact that Taweret in the Minoan mind was possibly fused with the Hapi figure which also has a drooping breast and holds up water jugs referring to the life-giving Nile Inundation in Aswan at the time of the rising of Sirius.



Ill. 8- 162: (Left) The Tiryns ring (CMS I-179): unusually a banquet presentation scene to a ruler in traditional CANEA mode (see also photo in Ill. 8- 82) - note wheat ears, Moon and Sun in the sky above, and the row of caesured ovals below (Heading 17); (centre) a more unusual portrayal of the Minoan Genius with two stellar determinatives (CMS XI-38), and (right) the Hapi figure with water vessels on his tray and the papyrus plant of Upper Egypt on his head, whence the Inundation proceeds

In Egypt, of course, the rising of Sirius was associated with the Summer Solstice, when the Year started to go downhill, as it were, yet for Egypt the Inundation happened at that time, bringing life-giving waters. In the Levant it was the Winter Solstice that was the turning point to celebrate, associated with the Sun reaching its extreme in Capricorn, its Goat associated with the Return of Tammuz/Adonis and the prospect of Spring (the Minoan seal below has its Syrian counterpart):



Ill. 8- 163: Winter solstice: Capricorn - (left) Marinatos fig. 5.8 (CMS I-119, c.f. goats on the Zakro rhyton, BaLu-34f); (right) an Old Syrian equivalent, repeated from Cat.C - Williams-Forte *ibid.* pl. I,3 (Seyrig Coll. Bibliothèque Nationale Paris)

In Crete, do we see equal significance given to both Solstices, with as much weight given to Sirius through Griffin and Genius, as to the Solstitial Colure with Goat and Griffin at either end?

LEVANTO-MINOAN INVENTED DETERMINATIVES

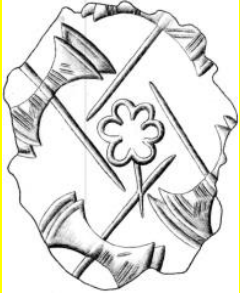
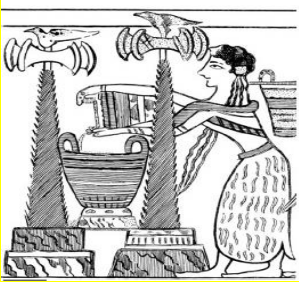



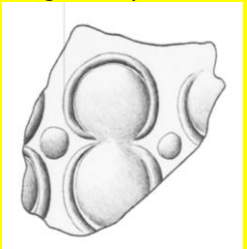

Again in the *Art History* section we gathered representative examples of these in a further table, still restricting our sample to items in the **CMS II,8** catalogue for the Knossos site only: this means we did not always have the most clear-cut depictions as developed on other artefacts or buildings (sometimes given in the middle column for comparison), especially since, as originally mentioned, several determinative are often used together (see **Ill. 8- 77**). We did not mark either Egyptian or Levantine determinatives on the Find Spot Map above, but the locations for each example are given in both tables for those wishing to notionally place them on it, or amplify their own map. I have again made tentative astronomical interpretations for these determinatives in the right-hand column, and the last batch of fuller commentary afterwards again follows the orange numbering of the left-hand column.



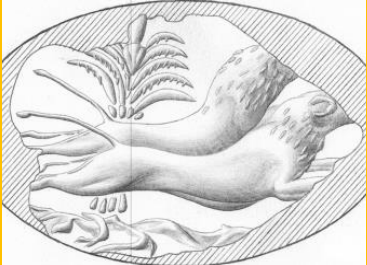



THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART

CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

D: THE BACK LUNGE

At this point it seemed important to differentiate between the baetylic column and tree of life/palm in the last row of the original table - given the palm was particularly associated with both Baal and Ishtar in the Levant. Also, prompted both by Marinatos and Herberger's insistence on its importance as more than decorative, despite no examples in *CMS II,8*, we added the new category of **Caesuraed Oval** at *Heading 17*.

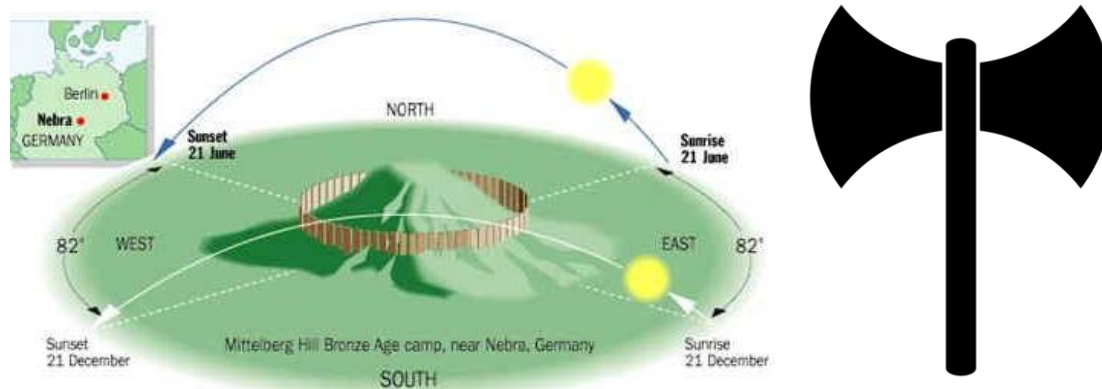
CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no.	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Further examples, sometimes on larger artefacts	PROVISIONAL CALENDRIAL INTERPRETATION
125 DOUBLE AXE 11	 Room of the Stone Bench (42 on map)	 Detail of priestess and pair of double-axe-topped obelisks on the Aiya Triadha sarcophagus	THE SOLSTITIAL EXTREMES
285 HAND (DACTYL) 12	 Queen's Megaron (43 on map) - note lily in the hand.	15  Find Spot not known	REFERS TO VENUS' SYNODIC PERIOD OF 5:8 EARTH YEARS SIGN OF GODDESS VENUS
22 SIGHTING HORNS (‘HORNS OF CONSECRATION’) 13	 Sealing, find spot not known	Used to align main sighting on Mt Juktas at south end of Knossos Palace Courtyard but probably also in other places for intermediate sightings in other directions. See III. 8- 133	SIGHTING TOOL FOR MEASURING ALIGNMENTS ON RISINGS AND SETTINGS OF PLANETARY BODIES AND STARS
129 DOUBLE SHIELD 14	 Sealing fragment, find spot not known	 Reconstruction of double shields fresco in Hall of the Double Axes	ORION

CANEA MOTIF and CMS II,8 no. 290 COLUMN/BAETYL	REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLE and Find Spot	Further examples, sometimes on larger artefacts	PROVISIONAL CALENDRIAL INTERPRETATION
15	 Lower E-W Corridor (53 on map)	 Lion Gate of Mycenae (See also under <i>BaLu-34</i>)	AXIS MUNDI ANICONIC PRESENCE OF A GOD OR GODDESS
298 PALM/TREE OF LIFE 16		89 	TREE OF BAAL AND ISHTAR POLAR AXIS TIME COUNTING OF THE YEARS (IN YEARS, CENTURIES OR ERAS)
HORS CMS II,8 THE CAESURAED OVAL 17	 <i>Relief fragment, Knossos</i>	 <i>Maze bull-leaping scene, Avaris</i>	THE THREE-DAY PERIOD IN THE UNDERWORLD (NOTE THE 3 SPIRALS IN THE CAESURA) DAYS OF THE MONTH AND THE NEOMENIA: THERE ARE 12 PETALS EITHER SIDE OF THE CAESURA, WITH THE 3 SPIRALS MAKING 27 DAYS - PLUS THE TWO CENTRES TO EACH SETS OF PETALS MAKING 29 DAYS. INTERCALATION

Ill. 8- 164: Other pictorial determinatives used by the Minoans as markers within core imagery - all except the last on seals from Knossos catalogued in CMS II,8 - most likely borrowed or adapted from the Levant and/or Anatolia

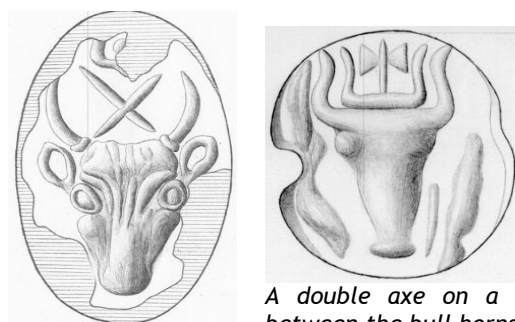
11 THE DOUBLE AXE

Macdonald notes that double axe incisions (a double triangle creating an angular figure of 8 on its side) were frequent on stones in the SW corner of the palace (some dating back from the previous Old Palace - see *Ill. 8- 23* right) and that they do not seem to be mason's marks. In Hendriksson's view they mark the zone of the Palace housing astronomical observation activities (see his map, *Ill. 8- 137*). Those who have read our *Chapter 19* on *Astronomy*, and remember not only Section 0 of Astrolabe K, but also the link we made to the Nebra Planisphere, will immediately recognize the *labrys* as the shape made by joining up the triangles for the rising and setting solstitial extreme axes of the Sun in any one year, as shown in the illustration for the site of Nebra itself (reproduced below from *Chapter 19* for ease of reference), the median line being the West-East Equinoctial axis.



III. 8- 165: The Solstitial colure extremes at Nebra compared to the Minoan Double Axe iconostasis

This interpretation appears likely, given we never see anyone holding such an axe as a weapon in Minoan art, though we could argue for it as appropriate for Baal's axe. We note here the well-known motif of the Bull with the double axe between its horns that appears on so many Minoan seals, which would simply refer to the Bull as the Year and its main divisions along solstitial lines:



*A double axe on a sighting horn
between the bull horns*

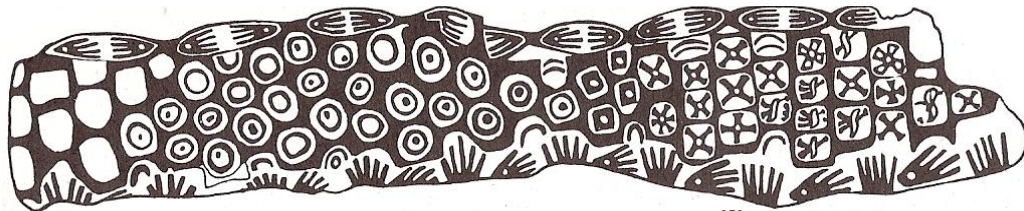
III. 8- 166: The Bull and double axe theme on seals (left) from Knossos (CMS II,8-207) and (right) CMS V S1A-141) from Chania

Göran Henriksson recently summarized his work done over several decades proving the Minoan calendar used on Crete must have been regulated at Knossos²⁵¹ and secondary centres in the provincial palaces - matching nicely the distribution of the Back Lunge sealings -much as in the Early Dynastic period in Sumer different cities had different observational responsibilities, co-ordinated at the calendrical 'omphalos' of Uruk where the divine couple Anu-Inanna (the forbears of Baal-Ishtar) were supreme. By the time Macdonald wrote his book on Knossos, though he did not give references to Henriksson and his colleagues' research at the Uppsala Observatory by name, he simply takes it as conventional thinking for understanding Knossos, as follows: 'It has also been convincingly argued that the subsequent architectural arrangement of rooms on the west side of the court was related to the position of the sun as it rose on the solstices and equinox - implying the active calculation of a solar calendar'. The double axe simply announces Knossos' function in this regard.

²⁵¹ The Evidence from Knossos on the Minoan Calendar' *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* XI,1 2011 59-68

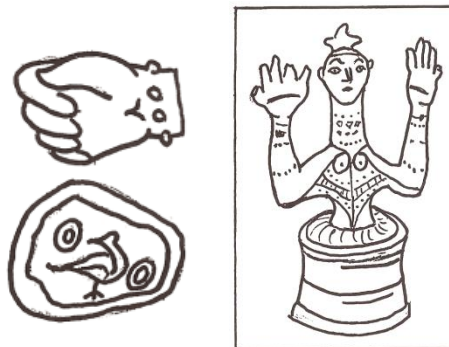
12 HAND

The *Hand* - is almost certainly a reference to the Five Dactyls, often found in the Anatolian context going as far back as Çatal Hüyük (see wall painting fragment below) and of course Palaeolithic cave paintings before that, being the easiest abacus immediately to hand to count days, months - and the Venus:Earth ratio.



Ill. 8- 167: Section of wall from Çatal Hüyük - Krupp²⁵² p.303

As well as featuring on some hieroglyphic seals, larger Minoan artefacts emphasise the hand: the two illustrated next were singled out by Herberger (for convenience I use his drawings, though crude) - the first an Early Minoan carnelian seal in the shape of a cupped hand; the other the Dark Ages clay figure of a goddess holding up her two enlarged hands:



Ill. 8- 168: Carnelian seal in the form of a hand, the seal design at the wrist end (Athens Museum AM1938.1144), and clay goddess from the Shrine of the Double Axe at Knossos - Herberger figs 3 and 2

Herberger reminds us Pythagoras, Philosopher of Sacred Number, was said to be initiated into the mysteries of the Dactyls in the Idaean Cave, birthplace of the Cretan Zeus/Baal:

Cronos and Rhea were the mythical parents of Zeus which probably reflects their antiquity as divinities surviving from a religion antecedent to the Olympian religion of Greece in which Zeus was the preeminent divinity. According to myth Rhea created the five Dactyls as attendants on her lover Cronos while Zeus was still an infant in the Dictaeon Cave ... [and according to Pausanias]... the Dactyls were worshipped at Elis under the names of Herakles, Paeonius, Epimedes, Jasius and Idas [Herakles the thumb and the others fingers].

Cronos, of course, is El/Saturn - in Syria, too, named as the father of Baal/Zeus, and we know his synodic cycle round the zodiac is roughly 30 years (6 x 5). The main problem for the astronomers of Crete (the Minotaureans) was to make sense of the interweaving of the different synodic cycles of all the planets - which between them created in the sky the actual Labyrinth whose measures are a tangle to be unlocked, and the centre point of which is an understanding of their overall coordination.

²⁵² E C Krupp *Echoes of the Ancient Skies: The Astronomy of Lost Civilisations* 1983

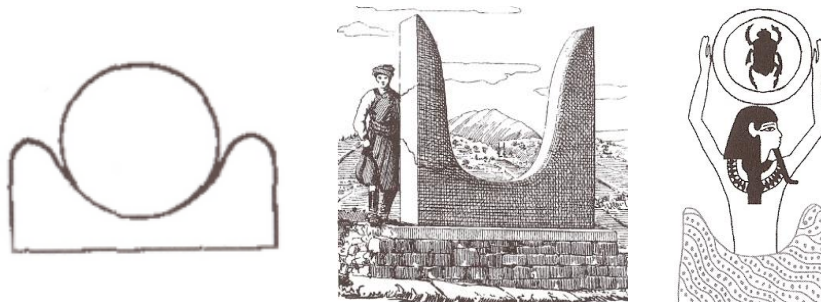
In the 2M Levant traditionally the Hand always referred to Venus (in Islamic times it became The Hand of Fatima, while for Jews it is the Hamsa hand amulet - *khams/hams* meaning 5) - but maybe also to Baal, since on the Old Syrian seal below a hand is shown both open next to Baal and closed over Venus' attendant - maybe referring to their direct and retrograde movements



III. 8- 169: Old Syrian seal found in Cyprus with Baal, Ishtar and worshipper - Urs Winter²⁵³ fig. 484

over the course of their synodic cycles. Baal (with long hair lock, holding three weapons and bull leash) stands on his bull, and Venus herself with characteristic horned hat is enthroned with her pigeon overhead, attendant between.

13 SIGHTING HORNS ['HORNS OF CONSECRATION']



III. 8- 170: (Left) Egyptian hieroglyph for 'horizon'; (centre) Evans himself saw how Mt Juktas was framed by a huge pair of sighting horns, likening them to bull-horns; (right) Egyptian image of the rising morning sun as scarab (c.f. BaLu-18)

We note how the Sighting Horns for viewing important alignments has precedents in both the Egyptian hieroglyph for *akhet*/horizon and Akkadian and Levanto-Syrian seals on which the Sun, Jupiter or Venus are shown rising through the gap between two mountains (c.f. III. 8- 153):



III. 8- 171: (Left) Seal of Adda showing the Sun-rise witnessed by Inanna and Ea, British Museum ME 89115 (Cat C, III. 7-55); (right) Baal on the mountain swinging Mot by his hair (Ratt-29)

²⁵³ Frau und Göttin (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 53) 1983

Really nothing more needs to be said to certify its astronomical use: it may be used decoratively to top battlements on ritual Minoan architecture, but they may just as much also have practical use for a variety of intermediate sighting alignments on other planets or stars.



Ill. 8- 172: Ishtar on the mountain with sighting rod, palace architecture behind: CMS II,8-256 (c.f.Ill. 8- 16 and Ill. 8- 179)

14 DOUBLE SHIELD

The Double Shield was traditionally made of cow-hide and clearly not just a weapon of defense when appearing as an epiphany in the sky: I believe it is a glyph for Orion the warrior, explored more fully at the end of Section 3 on the *Aegean Land Zodiac*.

15 BAETYL/COLUMN

Much has already been said on Baetyl worship under the *Oriental Influences* section. In astronomical terms it stands for the Axis Mundi or Polar Axis. To some extent it is interchangeable with the Palm, but at this point we decided to differentiate the Tree of Life from the stone Column, as the Palm of Baal and Ishtar under the next heading:

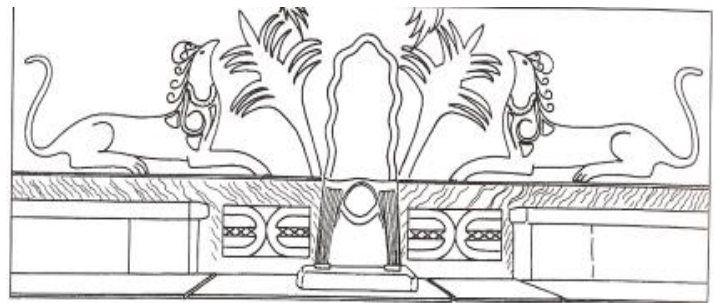
16 TREE OF LIFE/PALM

The palm is a frequently used attribute with other *CANEA* motifs on artefacts from the Protohistoric period onwards (e.g. *Belland-4* and *BaLu-8*). In the Second Millennium it is overtly made into an attribute of both Baal (see examples below from *Catalogue C*) and Ishtar (its association with Inanna goes back to the stone carvings from Uruk in which she holds a date bunch, and she is juxtaposed with the female palm in the Akkadian period (see *Ill. 8- 147*).



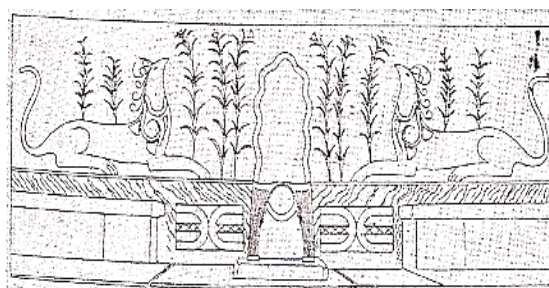
Ill. 8- 173: (Cat C, Ill.7-57 Anatolian seals cited by Williams-Forte (her figs 3/1/2), the first two (a & b) from N.Ozguç' seal catalogues and the third (c) from a British Museum Cappadocian tablet. Her fig. 7, a seal from Florence (d), shows a conifer

Baal's association with the Palm is clearly demonstrated on the Old Anatolian seals from Kültepe, above, where he simply holds one palm branch, which sometimes sprouts out of the Mot snake, whilst at Mari on the Throne Room wall-painting, Ishtar's dove flies over her palm, paired with a lotus tree - the central scene next to it depicting Ishtar bestowing her authority on the King. As the Divine Couple of State Myth, on other seals both Venus and Jupiter²⁵⁴ are identified together with the Palm. On the seal below left the Ruler takes his place opposite Venus under the Moon and Sun symbols in the sky to receive her authority, the Baal-Ishtar palm providing the Axis. Conquering Humbaba/Mot, Baal-Jupiter is repeated at the side - taking twelve years to make the circuit of the Zodiac, he spends one year - equalling one ridge of the palm trunk - in each of the Twelve Signs.



III. 8- 174: (Left) Levanto-Anatolian seal - from *LADDERS TO HEAVEN* (fig. 215), Royal Ontario Museum 1981 (Cat C.-III.7-50); (right) drawing of recent, more accurate restoration of Throne Room wall painting with griffins and palms - from Neimeyer apud. Bietak et al. fig. 136a (see also next illustration)

The very recently more accurate re-restoration of Knossos' Throne Room frescoes by Pepi Stephanaki in the Ashmolean Museum²⁵⁵ public display (drawn above right) was done on the basis of



III. 8- 175 (Top centre) original, conventional restoration of Knossos Throne with lilies and bilateral griffins flanking the throne: compare (top left) with reconstructed detail of palm tree on one side as confirmed by drawings and photos (below left and right) - c.f. also (top right) Minoan Genius watering palm on seal from Phaistos, as also in III. 8- 186)

²⁵⁴ (12 x 5 being the basis of the Sexagesimal system)

²⁵⁵ Yannis Galanakis (ed.) *The Aegean World* (Ashmolean Museum Guide) 2013

actual paint fragments long stored in the Herakleion Museum, and archival drawing and photographic records in the Ashmolean from the time of the original excavations by Evans' team (the illustrations in the block above speak for themselves). I like to read the up-to-date restoration of the Knossos Throne fresco as representing the palms of Baal and Ishtar on either side, conveying their authority to the occupant of the throne in just the same way as at Mari, but more obliquely, without using the anthropomorphism found on seals. The flanking griffins and caesuraed ovals complete the message, the latter to be discussed next.



A Syrian ruler contemplates the iconostasis of Baal-El (note the emphasis on Baal's dactyls) standing on the horned snake before Venus in her sprouting bower on completion of the Journey to the Underworld (alluded to by her nudity), repeated from Cat.C III.7-70 - Williams-Forte pl.I,2 (Seyrig Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale)



We mentioned we would add in a determinative not appearing on our sample of Knossos seals, but clearly a key Minoan symbol that cannot be left out - also with astronomical connotations:

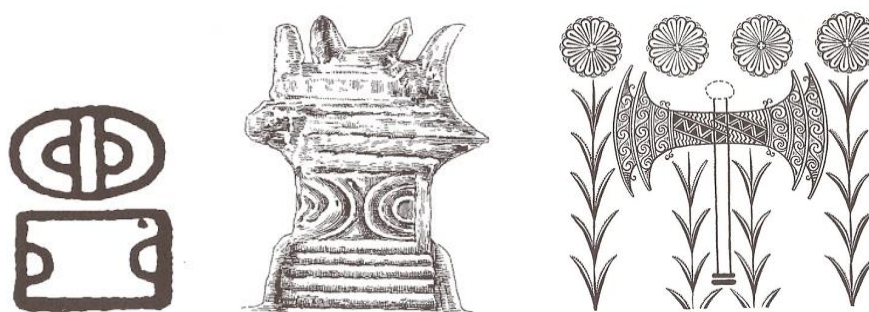
17 THE CAESURAED OVAL

Marinatos describes this determinative as a Rosette consisting of two Half-Rosettes, with the spaces between their oval ends corresponding to the 'incurved altar' so often used in heraldic seal designs. But this symbol, whose use she perceptively traces back to Hittite hieroglyphs, is subtly



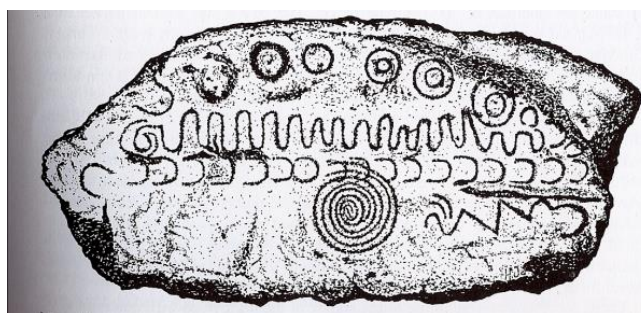
III. 8- 176: Relief fragment from Knossos c.f. Treasury of Atreus BaLu-34f - note the three spirals inside the caesura

different from the Flower of the Goddess (c.f. the flowers over the double axe in *III. 8- 177*) which is usually 8-, 12- or 16-petalled (see, too, the Temple Repository flower sealing (*III. 8- 28 - CMS II,8-116*) often of simple 8-petalled form exactly as depicted on certain Syrian prototypes which go back to Susa and Sumer and always referring to Inanna/Venus. I believe what we are looking at



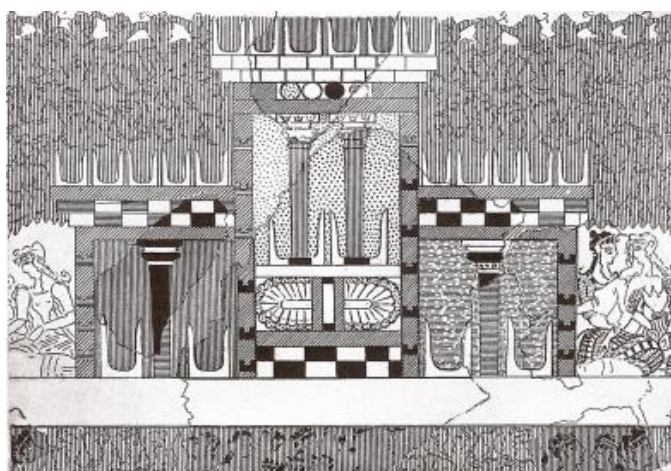
Ill. 8- 177: (left) Hittite hieroglyph; (centre) gold plate ornament from Mycenaean Shaft Graves - Marinatos fig. 10.8 and (right) double axe with the flowers of the Goddess - Marinatos fig. 9.12 - Evans PM IV fig.286

here is a reference to the counting of the two fortnights of the Moon, interrupted by the caesura of the three days of the neomenia, or dark of the moon, when it has no light at all. Neolithic moon-counting markings on stones seem to bear this out, as on the Irish stone below.



Ill. 8- 178: Astronomical counting on a stone from Knowth - Krupp *ibid.* p.301; c.f. the drawing bottom right with the similar shape in the sky on the gold ring seal impression, Ill. 8- 146

Herberger's Chapter III on parallels in the versions of the oval design round the Taureador fresco at Knossos, which goes into Moon counting in great detail, should be consulted for those interested in the fine detail. By analogy one unit stands in miniature as a potent sigil, not only for the Baal-Ishtar journey to the Underworld and their stay there for three days when everything on Earth comes to a standstill - but also, in the much longer time-frame, for that no-man's-land of intercalary days



Ill. 8- 179: Knossos: fragment of fresco of cult building - drawing of miniature fresco at Knossos

between the lunar and solar year. This is why it makes sense when placed with other astronomical determinatives, as in the illustration above, and hence its ubiquity at Knossos, Avaris and Mycenae.

CONCEPT OF THE CANEA AS AN ICONOGRAPHICAL FORCE FIELD

Overall, what conclusions can we now come to concerning the Minoan use and adaptation of the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art - and as further reinforced by their own idiosyncratic additions?

Joan Aruz over the years became the expert in understanding shifts of imagery between the Levant, Egypt and Crete - with Cyprus entering the Aegean theatre in the later period - such that her mastery over the precise details of exchange through particular artefacts is second to none. Hence my reliance on her various works quoted throughout this particular catalogue. She comes within a whisker of homing in on the idea of the transfer of the **CANEA** in item 3 of a less well-known paper by her²⁵⁶ that focuses on East-West interchange in the Aegean, summarized on the very first page under the following four categories:

In an attempt to understand the significance of the glyptic evidence for Aegean culture contact, this paper focuses on four phenomena:

- 1 *IMPORT CLUSTERS with associated local IMITATIONS;*
- 2 *IMPORTS with special characteristics - those that were unfinished or flawed and those that were recarved - and/or made into jewellery;*
- 3 *ICONOGRAPHIC TRANSFERS and*
- 4 *STYLISTIC TRANSFERS - these latter providing potentially the most significant evidence for a profound impact of foreign culture on the visual expression of Aegean thought.*

I believe her **ICONOGRAPHIC TRANSFERS** item is actually even more significant than the Stylistic Transfers she rates topmost - because of that interface of the **CANEA** with state astronomy and the upkeep of the calendar (creatures in Aegean iconography she rates simply as demons or hybrids, but those with a grounding in the astrological tradition see them making better sense as hybrids with zodiacal content).

A decade earlier, in the introduction to an Aegaeum conference paper Crowley²⁵⁷ aptly stated her purpose was to '*consider most carefully the gradual development of traditional repertoires and the timing and nature of significant innovative bursts*'. She noted that overall Aegean art was initially based on geometric and marine designs, but that at the Transition humans start to appear frequently in scenes of everyday life and ritual (much as had been going on in Egypt centuries before). Indeed, the latter half of her paper is taken up with the Minoan and Mycenaean approach to the development of the portrayal of the human figure which could be seen as the preamble to the concentration on the human anatomy in all its glory in Attic and Classical Greek art. This preoccupation with sport and anatomy was indeed the contribution of Aegean art that in the First Millennium set it apart from all other ancient near-eastern art.

However her paper also handles traditional repertoires in terms of what she calls 'icons' that appear to continually repeat, along with new scenes that become part of that repertoire such as bull-leaping. Here again there she was on the brink of understanding our concept of the Canon of Ancient Near Eastern art and its cycle of images which we have anatomised in detail (supported visually in our **III. 8- 68**). We also categorised certain purely Minoan images as local adaptations of the mainline **CANEA** (supported visually in our **III. 8- 71**) and then introduced the idea that, after contact with Egyptian use of hieroglyphs (leading to

²⁵⁶ 'Artistic Change and Cultural Exchange - The Glyptic Evidence' *CMS Beiheft* 6 2000 1-13

²⁵⁷ Janice Crowley 'Subject Matter in Aegean Art: the Crucial Changes' in *Aegaeum* 3 Liège 1989 203-14/pls XLVII/XLVIII

the brief use of their own system of hieroglyphs), they also used small visual additions as pictorial determinatives - some seemingly derived from Egypt - as well as the Levant and Anatolia - many resting on Mitanni prototypes - (supported visually in our *Ill. 8- 73* and *Ill. 8- 76*).

I humbly submit that the concept of the adoption of the *Canon of Ancient Near Eastern Art* and its additions and adaptations is an *all-encompassing force-field* accounting for what Crowley called ‘a relatively small number of themes... repeatedly handled by means of the same icons’. I believe it fulfils what Crowley herself was looking for: ‘When the iconographical point of view is taken and a theory is required satisfactorily to transcend a particular medium and apply to all artistic endeavour, thoughts may turn in new directions and provide new insights’ (and further on) ‘Thus I would argue that the icon is the compositional imperative in Aegean representational art’. In conclusion, she poses a final question: ‘... was there some profound change at the time of the Transition which caused the people to see themselves in a new light and want this articulated in art?’

Neither Aruz nor Crowley, along with other commentators in similar vein, were fully able to put their finger on the prime cause of such changes in iconography - which was the uptake of the Levantine astronomical tradition in order to run their own Aegean-based calendar - with a little help from Egypt on certain specialist angles. This is because there have been few scholars taking a practical approach to the question of Crete’s calendar and how it was managed: this leads us to the next section.

3. KNOSSOS AND THE CYCLADEAN PROTO-ZODIAC

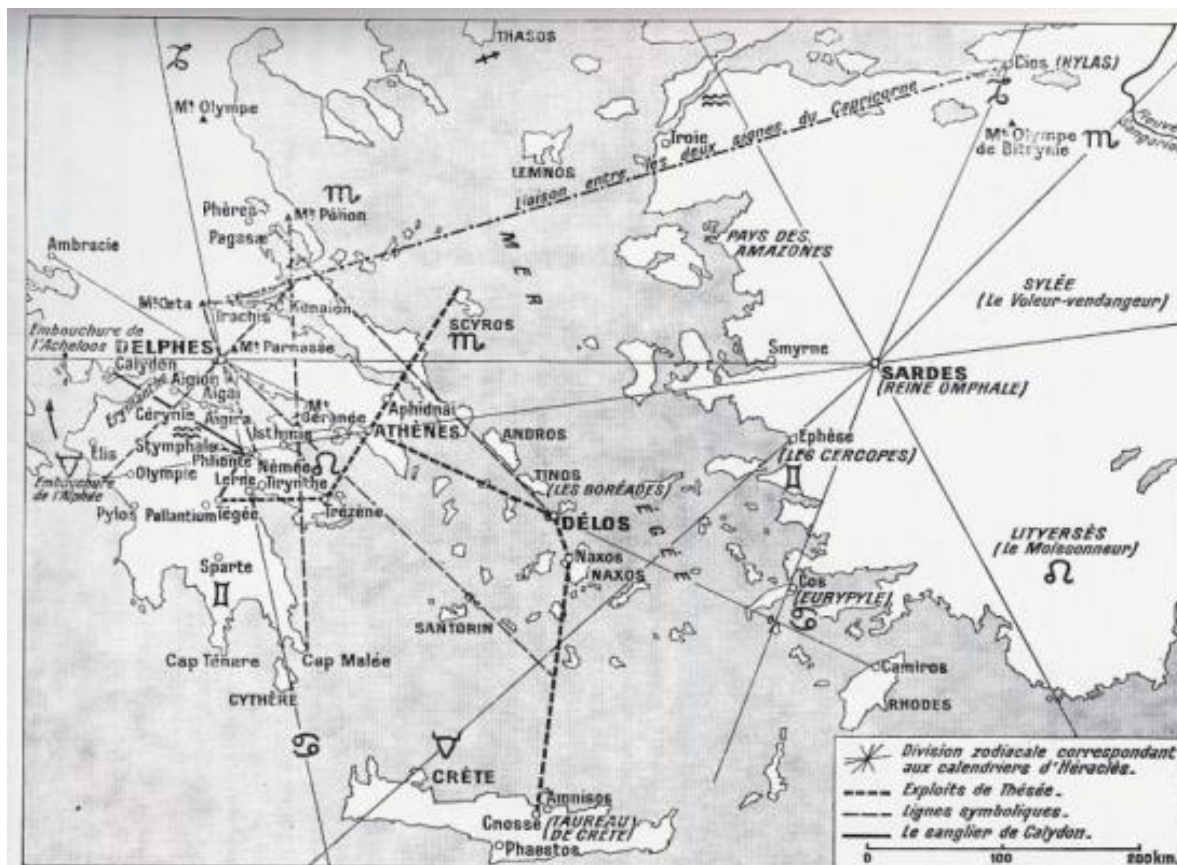
From hundreds of clues on artefacts, Jean Richer believed Knossos, like its successor, Delphi in the following millennium, had stood at the centre of a fairly primitive land-sea zodiac - which may help to account for the strong emphasis on the Lion and Prey theme at certain sites.

In *Chapter 20* we look in detail at the new astronomical benchmarks that emerged from the Second Millennium onwards, connected both to the emergence of a new Vernal Point in Aries as it was realized that the Sun at the turn of the millennium had moved out of Taurus altogether at the Spring Equinox, as well as to increasing knowledge about astronomical phenomena overall - from which adjustments in myth and art followed. Suffice it to say here that we have enough clues from our own study of the astronomical dimensions of Knossos to give credence to the idea that Crete lay at the centre of a network that in the next millennium was to lead to Greece’s pre-eminence in a grand programme of temple building sited along astronomical alignments to secure state calendar calculation much more efficiently. Given the plethora of material evidence from the First Millennium, Richer restricted himself to unlocking the mapping of the the Greek Calendar in the Archaic and Classical periods - a vast project²⁵⁸. His presentation of the case is sometimes fragmented, and I only use those of his findings relevant to an overall understanding of the *CANEA*, building on it further in *Catalogues E* and *F*) - but his overall vision is true.

It is much harder to establish what went on in that previous, transitional period during the Bronze Age that laid those foundations for Greek temple orientation and the development of Greek astronomy (much of it

²⁵⁸ *Géographie Sacrée du Monde Grec* (revised edn) Paris 1983

direct from Babylon, but some, we realize, coming from Minoan traditions) - because there is so little deciphered textual evidence that might have helped. Certainly I am not sure how far Richer was aware of



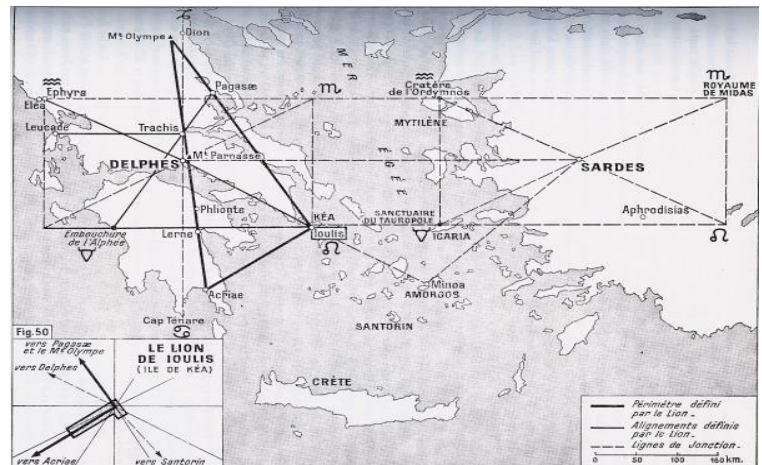
Ill. 8- 180: Richer's Map V - the only map with Knossos on it - others mark Mt Ida as the focal point instead

the questioning in academic circles that had started about the astronomical allusions in the myths that linked Greece to Crete from the period before, that among other things pointed to the evolution of a land-sea zodiac through cult and trade thrusting out like an ever-expanding spider's web across the Cyclades²⁵⁹ - and I think he was unaware at the time of his death in the 1990s of the work of the upcoming generation of Swedish scholars such as Blomberg and Hendriksson on the sheer mechanics of Minoan astronomical observation (we have quoted their valuable work in this particular catalogue - and other papers in **Chapter 20**. Richer's only suggested map for this period naming Knossos itself is shown above, which traces the paths of the spread of the cults of key Gods/Planets, indicating that to a large degree such a tentative 2M zodiac was co-terminus with the Minoan thalassocratic empire, reaching as far as the coastal sites (including Troy) of the Lydian and Greek mainlands, with key centres at Delos, Sardis - and Kea.

THE LION OF KEA

Here and there Richer does mention the much older material he came across that helped him realize there must have been a long prelude to fully-blown Greek calendrical mastery - one monument being the Lion of Ioulis carved into a mountainside on Kea island (illustrated below): He makes the following points about the significance of this lion - and its orientation - as follows:

²⁵⁹ See Herberger *ibid*.



III. 8- 181: The 2M Lion of Ioulis (Leo) on Kea island Richer's map VI giving its orientation towards the tip of Greece at Cancer

- Eighteen feet long, it is situated in a quiet valley on the NE promontory of the island.
- Oriented almost exactly along an NE-SW axis, to Richer it evoked 'certains sphinx égyptiens'.
- Its head is turned to face SSE - the direction of the Winter Solstice sunrise over the hill opposite: extending that axis northwards links it to Delhi and the peak of the original Mount Olympus (see map above). He thus sees it as a reminder, in tune with Egyptian astronomy, of the rise of Sirius in Leo at the Summer Solstice during the Age of Taurus c. 4200-c.2000 when the Spring Equinox would correspondingly have been in Taurus. The later coins of Kea showed a dog leaping up to a radiant star, confirming this idea (we are reminded of the dogs either side of the incurved altar on seals of Knossos and related Levantine jewellery).
- He quotes Goethe's comment that it seemed to 19C travellers to be the 'prehistoric trace of a lost civilisation' of far extent geographically - perhaps to be identified with Atlantis.
- He wonders whether 'Atlantis' was not simply local to the Aegean, but psychologically more widely associated with the Hyperborean region (we know that contemporary Britons, for instance, in the 3rd and 2nd millennia were laying out stone circles all over the island and consulted on certain aspects of astronomy by Europeans further east. Herberger helpfully gives the relevant passage from Hecataeus (6C BC) as quoted by Diodorus Siculus in the 5C BC:

Opposite to the coast of Celtic Gaul there is an island in the ocean, not smaller than Sicily, lying to the North - which is inhabited by the Hyperboreans, who are so named because they dwell beyond the North Wind.... In this island there is a magnificent grove of Apollo and a remarkable temple, of round form adorned with many sacred offerings.... The Hyperboreans use a peculiar dialect, and have a remarkable attachment to the Greeks, especially to the Athenians and the Delians, deducing their friendship from remote periods. It is related that some Greeks formerly visited the Hyperboreans, with whom they left sacred gifts of great value, and also that in ancient times Abaris, coming from the Hyperboreans into Greece, renewed their family intercourse with the Delians. It is also said that in this island the Moon appears very near to the earth, that certain eminences of terrestrial form are plainly seen in it, that Apollo visits the island once in a course of nineteen years, in which period the stars complete their revolutions, and that for this reason the Greeks distinguish the cycle of nineteen years by the name of 'the great year'.

During the season of his appearance the God plays upon the harp and dances every night, from the Vernal Equinox until the rising of the Pleiades....'

- In myth, the local hero of Kea (his head is shown on later coins) is Aristides, son of Apollo (not simply the Sun God but - as we show elsewhere - with connotations as God of the Zodiac) and the Nympe Cyrene (north Libya) whom Apollo loved for overcoming a lion. Aristides himself is fascinatingly described as a worshipper of the Bee Goddess, said to express the 'soul of the Lion' (see *Heading 9* on the Bee above).
- Overall, Richer concludes 'le Lion de Kéa a représentée le gardien zodiacal du signe du Lion et du calendrier à une époque qui semble se confondre avec les origines memes du calendrier. Et ce n'est sans doute pas par hasard qu'il regarde vers l'Égypte'.



CMS V-498 - agate
Aya Irini, Temple, room V



CMS V-493 - jasper-like
Aya Irini, House B, room 2



CMS V-383 -round clay sealing
Aya Irini, find spot not given

Ill. 8- 182: Lion seals and a sealing found at Aya Irini, Kea

CMS V gives some 50-60 seals and sealings from Kea, most of them 3M round sealings of pure geometric design as at Phaestos - but there are three seals from the Neopalatial period showing lions, one with palm.

In the absence of further mention of the Minoan period by Richer, I believe we can fill out the 2M proto-zodiac to place the Lion of Kea into a more extended network southward to North Africa centred on Crete in the Neo-Palatial period up until the time the Mycenaeans took over, leading in the end to the establishment from the Dark Ages into the Archaic period of a full mainland Greek zodiac recalibrated from Delphi. We have seen how much Crete was part of that tradition of mountain observation points that afterwards with the introduction of the Levantine palace system were still drawn in to architectural alignments - for us most particularly the alignment between Knossos palace and Mount Juktas. We can do no more than hint at what the other points de repère might have been from island to island and onwards to the mainlands of both Greece and Anatolia across the Aegean during the Second Millennium, but these suffice to then more strongly underline the pioneering role of Knossos as the key ganglion in the network that brought local economies into some kind of order as surplus produce and herds were regulated under what must have developed into a reliable and commonly held calendar.

The spread of the Back Lunge design all over the Aegean, as borne out by the sites of our catalogued examples of the Back Lunge on seals (along with related **CANEA** designs of implicit astronomical content) is an indicator that backs up Richer's case, accounting for the spread of the astronomical techniques for regulating the calendar based on the Venus Cycle that was the key to reconciling the Luni-Solar Calendar - it also explains why King Minos is described in myths as connected to this 8-fold cycle (discussed shortly

below). Only this underlying spread of knowledge would explain the concomitant successful spread of trade and unified governance that, despite natural disasters, was valid and endured for the 300 years of the Neo-Palatial period. What heavenly bodies should we expect them to have taken into consideration?

EPIPHANIES IN THE SKY: PLANETARY GODS AND CONSTELLATIONS

As a way of double-checking and reviewing all that has been collected in the *Art History* and *Iconography* commentaries, to finalise this *Iconography* section we should rely on the premise that in **CANEA**-based Minoan art just as in Syrian art we would expect to see all the planets in the Pantheon represented - along with the usual important stars or star groups defining cardinal turning points of the year. So we quickly run through the expected gamut of planets using our planetary table from **Catalogue C** as a checklist, and then proceed to consider possible representations of stars by making what I see as matches to Minoan images.

PLANETS

On the Syrian seals discussed in **Catalogue C**, apart from Sun, Moon, Saturn (El), Mercury, and The Waters (Ea/Neptune), it is mostly the two benign planets, Jupiter/Baal and Venus/Ishtar, the divine couple, who appear centre stage as the figureheads of the full complement of the planets of the Pantheon with the particular remit of sponsoring life on Earth and maintaining it on a harmonious footing. Their entire Journey to the Underworld and back is encapsulated in their juxtaposition into one iconostasis - with telling allusions made through their attributes or determinatives in the sky - nicely exemplified in the seal below.






















Ill. 8- 183: A repeat of Cat C, Ill.7-67 - Williams-Forte ibid. fig.11/PierPoiMorCat 967

On the gold signet rings in particular, the equivalents of Baal and Ishtar appear over and over again - Baal as the beautiful and athletic youth, and Ishtar as the Goddess in various states of undress, or as a priestess with bared breasts referring to that journey. In the ring we took to represent all of them (*Ill. 8- 153*) the Sun and Moon appear in the sky with three women holding seasonal plants for Spring, Summer and Autumn/Winter. In the seal above, Baal's resurrection plant is the lily, still associated with Easter today, and probably with the same significance on Minoan images - as also is the eight- (or more) petalled flower of Venus (taken as needing no embellishment, Sun and Moon also look down in the seal above - twice). The squaring of Sun and Moon (the story of the Bull and Pasiphaë) by taking the *labrys* extremes of the Sun was comparatively straightforward compared to the need to fine-tune the Year not only through the well-known eight-fold Venus-Ariadne cycle, but also, I believe, due to the gradual changeover to the twelve-fold zodiac during the Second Millennium - which Jupiter's journey through one sign a year (taking twelve years to

THE CANON OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART
CATALOGUES OF EVIDENCE

D: THE BACK LUNGE

GOD	PLANET/ SYMBOLIC ANIMAL/ HUMAN	GOD	PLANET/ SYMBOLIC ANIMAL/ HUMAN	GOD	PLANET/ SYMBOLIC ANIMAL/ HUMAN	GOD	PLANET/ SYMBOLIC ANIMAL/ HUMAN
ANU/ABU SKY  FATHER OF THE GODS	SATURN  GOAT BULL OLD MAN WITH A BEARD	ENLIL AIR/ ATMOS- PHERE	JUPITER  BULL MATURE MAN IN PRIME OF LIFE RAGING BULL/WILD STORM	NINHURSAG KI COW WITH CALF EARTH MOUNTAIN AND CAVE - LATER BLENDED WITH VENUS	EARTH  PLANT LIFE	ENKI/EA WATERS WISDOM BEARDED MAN WITH STREAMS NEPTUNE  RULER OF PISCES 	
LEVANTINE→ EQUIVALENT	EL BULL	BAAL HADAD SON OF DAGAN	KOTHAR SON OF BAAL  AND IŠTAR	ALLAT  ←IŠTAR HUSBANDS↓	ANAT ATHENA VIRGO 	DAGAN/ YAM FISH, STREAMS OF WATER	
↓ SON ↓ SON ↓ SON ↑			 AND IŠTAR	MARS 	ANAT ATHENA VIRGO 	SON ↓	
NANNAR FULL MOON SIN CRESCENT	 BULL 	↑ MARDUK HAS 50 NAMES, THE IGIGI/ WEEKS					← STATUE OF MARDUK BACK TO BABYLON C.1200
SON OF NANNAR ↓		↑		↑	→ DAUGHTER OF NANNAR	NUDE OR WARRIORESS	SON ↓
UTU/SHAMASH FIRE, LIGHT	SUN/LION 	 BULL-CALF OF UTU [MARUTUK] ²⁶⁰		INANNA/ IŠTAR 	VENUS DAUGHTER OF NANNAR SISTER OF UTU	NABU/MERCURY CIVILISATION 	
SON OF UTU ↓ NERGAL MARS  (PLUTO)	=MOT →	NERGAL/MARS DEATH		LIFE LIONESS		ENTWINED SNAKES MONKEY, SHOE SCRIBAL BUREAUCRACY AND ORGANISATION	

III. 8- 184 Table of the Planetary Gods as a three-generation Family- according to Nijhowne's summary of Lambert's exposition of the Pantheon (explained under the version of this table in Catalogue C), and translated in terms of current astrological terminology

²⁶⁰ W Lambert 1964, 3-13

complete the circuit) would have championed - explaining why he is featured on both Syrian and Minoan seals not only as King of the Sky in place of Shamash the Sun, God of Justice, but also as the Father of Kothar. It is Daedalos/Kothar who builds the Labyrinth (devising the mating of Pasiphaë by the Great Bull which ends in the birth of the Minotaur who lives at its centre). It follows that Cretan and Athenian astronomers, possibly known as the Daedalids, particularly cultivated Kothar/Hephaistos, and seem to have had the status also of artificers, planners and even diviners. Looking into myth for further clues, Herberger understands the *twin* of Heracles, Talos (their joint mother being Alcmene of Delphi) as the equivalent of Daedalos/Kothar - who was succeeded by Apollo in the Classical era, a pointer to the fact that possibly even in his original form as Kothar, this God was nothing less than the God of the Zodiac, just as Apollo was. Talos' brother Heracles, like Gilgamesh, is the Sun hero (an avatar of Gilgamesh) whose Twelve Labours are a way of describing his journey through each sign of the zodiac, hence his interface with the Zodiac makes him twin of Talos/Apollo.

The table above repeats that in **Catalogue C**, with one important difference: the inclusion of Kothar. Running across the top row first, we realize that in Minoan art, apart from Sun and Moon as determinatives and Jupiter and Venus as humans, the elemental Gods are represented by Nature itself, as land, water and trees. Certainly the next row describing the Levantine forms of these Gods is the most relevant to our understanding of the Minoan Pantheon, even if there is sparse known terminology for them. Given we have talked at length about the representations of Mercury -v- Vulcan, and given Mars' characteristics are sometimes added to those of Baal himself, this is probably all that needs to be said without complicating this basic outline unnecessarily.

STARS

Stellar references on seals that archaeologists see as 'epiphanies' in the sky seem in many cases to literally represent particular constellations. Marinatos interprets them as 'signs' (not Signs) in the following terms:

A few passages from the Iliad might aid our understanding of the ancient viewer's perspective on meteor or bird epiphanies: 'Athena swooped down from heaven through the air, like a shrieking, long-winged bird of prey' (Iliad 19/350); ... Athena and Apollo ... sit down in the form of vultures on 'the tall oak tree sacred to aegis-bearing Zeus' (Iliad 8/70)... [and] in another passage 'Athena, who had already set her heart on action, sped down from the peaks of Olympus like a shooting star that is discharged by Zeus as a warning to sailors... and comes blazing through the sky tossing out innumerable sparks' (Iliad 4/23 and 58-59). ... A hovering insect, a sparkling meteor, a swooping bird: all are manifestations of the gods, but none of them in the true form of the divinity'

Certainly there are birds to consider in relation to specific Gods - most particularly the dove of Venus and the eagle of Jupiter. But often it is more straight-forward to accept that some epiphanies - aside from signs of Nature such as mating butterflies or dragonflies emerging from their pupa - *do* give the gods in their 'true form', when simply read as stars. On this latter front we can only scratch the surface by a quick consideration of Zodiac Signs and four perennial sky markers: Sirius, Orion, the Bears/Bull Legs and Polar Axis.

ZODIAC SIGNS AND SIRIUS

In our commentary so far from Minoan art we have deduced instances where:

- ✧ ☉ The Bull Head speaks loudly of Taurus itself, when showing the prominent rosette or flash on its forehead for the star Aldebaran (Venus is exalted in Taurus);
- ✧ ♊: At the Gemini position, Orion is more prominent below, and steals its thunder;
- ✧ ☾ The Griffin refers both to ★ Sirius, underneath Cancer (Jupiter is exalted in Cancer) - and to the Solstitial Colure with Capricorn at the opposite end (Tammuz the Goat rules Capricorn);
- ✧ ♐ Thus the Capricorn goat, especially the *agrimi*, is a reference to Capricorn and the Winter Solstice;
- ✧ ♌ The Lion is sometimes simply Leo (and not one of its other meanings);
- ✧ ♍ Much has been said on the possibility that Virgo is represented by Atana/Potnia, predecessor of Athena;
- ✧ ♏ It appears the 8-legged scorpion (an arthropod) is replaced on Crete by the Octopus;
- ✧ ♐ Sagittarius does not appear as such in Minoan art - nor do horses - but Jupiter-Baal rules it. The figure with the bow and arrow seems more to refer to Orion at this time (we noticed in Syrian art how the ♐♊ opposition was sometimes blended with the ♐♋ opposition marking the Solstitial Colure);
- ✧ ♒ We have already pointed out that it looks as if Aquarius the Water Pourer is not represented by a human figure - rather
- ✧ ♑ Figures with water jugs, or expanses of water with boat may replace the Mesopotamian figure of God Ea with flowing streams pouring from his shoulders as Neptune/Pisces, often blended with Aquarius;
- ✧ ♈ Although the Vernal Point moves to Aries in the Second Millennium, it took time for its impact to reach Syria and Crete, and the Aries-Libra opposition featuring sheep or scales does not feature in Minoan iconography - but the Ram starts to appear in Mycenaean art. (One clear instance of the Scales appears on one of the Syrian seals under **Ratt-18**, but probably as a symbol of Shamash God of Justice).

Just as in the case of Richer's proposed land-sea zodiacs mapped out over the Aegean, some paired Sign oppositions matter more than others and can be more or less left out in a backwater role, while the Solstitial and Equinoctial Colures are the most important (both from the Age of Taurus and the Capricorn-Cancer colure from the Age of Aries). The three imported divinities that appear in the Linear B tablets are Potnia Atana (Athena/Virgo) ♋ Poseidon/Pisces - and Enyalios, God of the new Warrior Sign Aries, so markedly sponsored by the Mycenaeans.

Apart from the Signs of the Zodiac certain constellations take centre stage in the iconography, simply because in real-time astronomy they are key lower or upper paranatellonta in calendar management:

SIRIUS

Sirius has been dealt with under the Griffin heading above.

ORION

Orion, the male warrior in the sky holding sword in one hand and bow in the other, is the primordial pose of the 'Smiting God' taken up by Baal himself on so many Syrian seals: the contrasted pictures below speak for

themselves. As a variation on the Orion epiphany on Minoan seals, Orion is often merged with the bull-hide Double Shield (see *Ill. 8- 153*) which seems to cross-refer to the Bull of Heaven and the two halves of the sky.



Ring from Knossos (Marinatos fig. 5.7 - Evans PMI-115)



Main stars of the Orion



Ring from Knossos (Marinatos fig. 13.13 - Ashmolean)

Ill. 8- 185: Appearance of Orion in the sky holding up either staff of the meridian (top left) or, more literally, his bow (right and bottom left) - both in the Ashmolean Museum - see Ill. 8- 153 for Orion as the Double Shield

THE BULL LEGS: URSA MAJOR AND URSA MINOR

So crucial are they as the ‘stabilisers’ of astronomical observation (given all meridians run through them to the Polar Centre from one angle or another) that in *Chapter 19* and every catalogue so far, the supra-zodiacal constellations of Ursa Major and Minor receive discussion or mention. Indeed we have discussed how in the ancient Near-East they have been characterized as the Hind Leg and Foreleg of the Bull [of Heaven], with the Head initiating the Bull Body of the Year at Taurus. Strictly speaking we should not in the present context call them ‘the Bears’ - even if I sometimes lapse to the traditional names given by Northern Europe and America.

It was realized the Bull Legs are also handy small-scale indicators of Precession, in esoteric texts plausibly described as ‘the wings of Draco’ - which could be a helpful approach towards decoding the Minoan Genius (seal below right) when we remember that the original Taweret on the Senenmut Star Ceiling has a crocodile [Draco] on her back, which is turned into a vestigial wing by the Minoans (the face perhaps more leonine than hippo-like), with human torso and arms with lion legs as seen in the earliest Protohistoric example, *Ill. 8- 160*).

On the handful of seals from Kültepe placed under *Ratt-18* in *Catalogue C* - the best example is reproduced above left - there is no question that we have the outline of Ursa Major floating over the drinking cup of the God Ea enthroned, approached by El/Baal, Ishtar, the Monkey of Mercury/Kothar, and Sun in the Moon as a double determinative in the sky (note also the lion-griffin between Jupiter and Venus, close in silhouette to the Genius). We could even understand the Indian merchant approaching the God (we concluded in *Catalogue C* that he was not a Ruler) as the human representative of Mars/Nergal, making up the full complement of planets. We made much in *Catalogue C* of the rare textual mentions that not only is Venus exalted in Ursa Major, but

that Ursa Major itself was often invoked in divination ceremonies, as was the Venus bird, possibly to be associated more with Ursa Minor. We therefore found it appropriate that Venus sometimes uses Ursa Major as her scimitar on seals, and that a *kernos* with six or seven cup-marks in the outline of the Great (or Lesser) Bear was found in the Bronze Age Temple of Ishtar at Tell Mohammed Diyab (Ill. 7-47), so similar to the newly discovered *kernos* at Sissi outside Mallia (fn 233). They may also be shown on the Master Impression (Ill. 8- 16).



Catalogue C, Ratt-18 Seal from Vapheio - CMS I-231

Ill. 8- 186: Variations in the depiction of Ursa Major/Minor on an Old Syrian seal - compared to the wings on the Minoan Genius

Certainly in the Iconography section of *Catalogue C* we gave considerable attention to the small bird over the cup, quoting texts showing it often had an oracular role, and considering its close juxtaposition to the outline of Ursa Major it is not unreasonable to see it as representing Ursa *Minor*, whose use by astronomers in super-accurate time calculation was given an esoteric and initiatory dimension in later Mithraic texts. I find it significant that it is a bird, and not a Bull Leg or Bear, that appears at the centre of the 2M Glastonbury Zodiac (Ill. 8- 156), We have the precedent on the Minoan Triple Shrine (below left) for a pair of doves/swallows perching on the two side panels of the Triple Shrine - an idea that goes back to anthropomorphic Anatolian representations of the Triple Goddess (below centre), while Marinatos gives us a lesser-known gold seal ring (below right) showing the Goddess seated on a throne borne by two birds, acknowledged by the Adonis figure in Orion stance and repeated swooning at his tree (right).



Miniature Triple Shrine on the lines of the architectural version at Knossos with baetyls replacing female figures - as on the mould from Syria (centre). Note sighting horns and caesuraed oval.



Jewellery mould showing North Syrian Triple Goddess: pigeons over side goddesses flank central goddess with Sun disc in Moon Crescent crown - Cat C, Ill.7-37



Gold ring from Poros, near Knossos, showing the Goddess seated on a throne of two birds: Marinatos fig. 7.10 (c.f. Minoan wall paintings featuring swallows)

Ill. 8- 187: Examples of bird pairs and The Goddess in antahropomorphic and baetylic forms

To me the two birds represent Ursae Major et Minoris either side of the Polar Axis, which we deal with next.

THE POLAR AXIS AND TIME COUNTING

In the Old Syrian seal below the bird of Ishtar and the Bull of Baal are the determinatives in the sky showing the classic encounter between the Divine Couple. That Ishtar's pigeon also points to the Polar Centre is borne



Ill. 8- 188: (left) Old Syrian seal showing Venus and Baal with Nabu-Kothar between and Polar bird above - Cat C.-Ill.7-36 and (right) detail on emphasizing the Polar Centre in relation to the solstitial extremes framed by sighting horns - Marinatos fig. 9.2b

out by the placing of a bird at the centre of the Double Axe, as in the larnax decoration above, a precedent for which is seen in the Mari Throne Room wall painting that shows Venus' dove fluttering over the female palm which reaches fruition in Autumn/Winter, contrasted with the deciduous lotus tree of Baal flanked by the Griffin of the Solstitial Colure. The male palm, too, is often used to refer to Baal, and the divine couple so



Ill. 8- 189: Right-hand section of the Investiture wall painting at Mari - Cat C.-Ill.7-38

often flank a palm, perhaps summing up their respective synodic cycles round the Zodiac. The Polar Axis can be marked by the bird of Ursa Minor at the top of the Palm as Tree of Life - or indeed a baetyl. We will note in our *Conclusions* below that the self-projection of the archetypal Minoan Ruler (King Minos) was imagery in terms of the Baal-Ištar couple, in terms both of a marriage and of the transmission of royal authority from the Goddess.

CONCLUSIONS

Through our study of the Back Lunge - and in particular its use in Minoan and Mycenaean art during what Crowley (ibid.) called 'The Transition' between MMIII and LMI - I believe we have been able to enhance our theory concerning its true significance on two fronts.

COINCIDENCE OF ADOPTION OF THE CANEA WITH THE TAKEUP OF LEVANTINE ASTRONOMY

I see the simple answer to the paradigm shift at the Transition (coinciding with the one hundred-year run-up to the Neo-Palatial period at Knossos and more or less parallel with the Shaft Grave era in Mycenae) is the adoption of Syro-Mesopotamian astronomical practices as part of a heightened initiative to set up a more precisely controlled calendar leading to a more effective economy that allowed Crete and Mycenae to stand on their own feet, rather than continue as satellites of the Anatolian, Egyptian or Levantine urban states.

Since not part of the continuum of the main land mass of the Near East, Hendriksson and Blomfield's decoding of the astronomical orientation of sites on Crete and Greece as a special case on very different landscapes have been crucial to proving that such a turn of the rudder in running their own countries was indeed going on, hence our need to spend some time on their findings to suggest a connection with the sudden uptake of the lion-prey symbolic group from the Transition watershed and for the duration of the Neo-Palatial. The Back Lunge was the most common compositional type, suitable, from the design point of view, for fitting into the circular format of their stamp seal types. We might also say the subsequent increased takeup of the cylinder seal after remaining impervious to them during most of the Neo-Palatial period also points to an even deeper engagement with the practices of the Levant, with Cyprus, Rhodes and other islands as important way-stations.

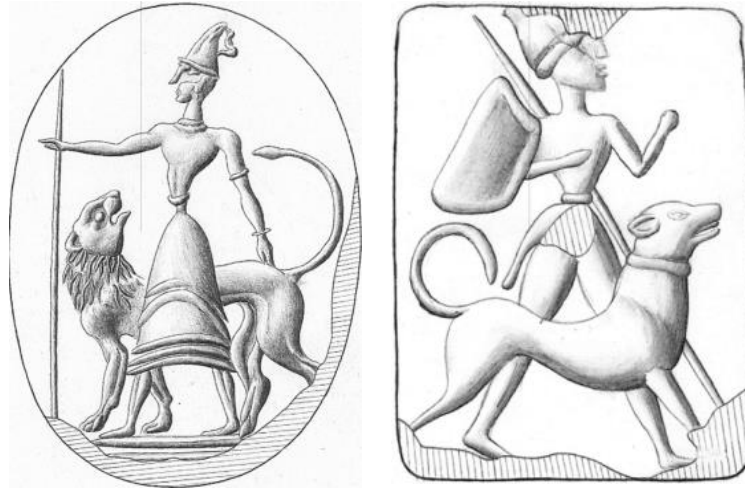
To underpin our case we dwelt at length on the full gamut of clues pointing to Crete and Mycenae's seemingly deliberate adoption, along with astronomical methods, of the more material aspects of Levantine urban life and imagery that went with it - ending in the conclusion that it would be putting our head in the sand not to consider the Aegean as an individual case within ancient near-eastern civilisation, albeit with native elements coming in to stamp it with a peculiarly local charm that can only be explained by a natural talent for observation and innovative design ability to ring the changes on the repeating icons Crowley well refers to.

Our continued emphasis on the central role Ishtar-Venus-The Goddess played in royal ideology -as in 2M Syria the divine source of royal authority, and on the king who takes the role of Baal - is due to the few pointed clues given in the myths about Crete and its ruling dynasty, some of which have already been mentioned.

MINOS ENNEAOROS: CRETAN MYTHS AS CLUES TO THE ADOPTION OF THE VENUS-JUPITER CYCLES

Putting aside the strong identification of Minoan culture with the story of Baal and Ishtar's journey to the underworld, Marinatos herself (ibid.) sees the role-model for the Ruler in Crete as Baal. Because, as already mentioned, any actual rulers of Crete as individual human beings remain undepicted or recorded, we usually

see young men enacting his more passive Adonis aspect, but comparing the headdress on the figure in the seal from Knossos (below left) with Syrian and Hittite counterparts, she interprets it as an example of how the ruler-might have also adopted the role of-Baal (or his Cretan equivalent) in his dress:



Ill. 8- 190: Minos as Baal with Lion in (left) ruler mode with sighting rod, and (right) in warrior mode with Dog - CMS II,8-237/236

Certainly in the two Temple Repository seals above, the one on the left is possibly even in astronomer -ruler mode as he holds out his staff in the same way as the Adonis figures on the gold signet rings as if a sighting rod, his animal familiar being the Lion of the Sun. On the right, the figure in more Martial, warrior mode with dog matches the weapon-wielding Baal prototype also to some degree, though not with his characteristic weapons - certainly the hats on both recall the long, pointed Pharaonic headgear of Syrian rulers on seals.

Homer in *The Odyssey* mentions Minos as ‘Nine-Year-fold King (*Enneaeoros*), the familiar of Zeus/Baal’, meaning, according to Herberger (ibid.), that after a cycle of eight years, at the start of the Ninth, if not ritually sacrificed he would have to step down or go through some ritual of self-revalidation and renewal. Obviously this points to the yardstick being the eight-year Return of Venus when the Calendar would be reset and the counting could start over again from scratch. Herberger mentions only the relation of the Luni-Solar cycles coming together at the eight-year point, but the Venus synodic period is the real clincher - borne out by the importance of the Baal-Ishtar myth for the Minoans. However, what he says as far as it goes is valid:

‘... the commonly accepted interpretation has been that the Minoan kingship was governed by a lunar-solar cycle of eight years at the end of which the king had to renew his sacred powers by a ritual reunion with the Godhead from which he emerged, as if reborn. This interpretation is based primarily on three grounds:

- It is an astronomical fact that the solar year of 365 days is longer by 11 days than the lunar year of 354 days, with the consequence that the start of the solar year can be made to coincide with the start of a lunar year at new moon in no shorter period than every eight*

- years. This, of course, is only an approximate coordination but it is easily observed without elaborate instruments and is a close enough reconciliation of lunar and solar time for ritual purposes;*
- *Although Homer speaks of nine years, it was the ancient Greek practice to include both the first and last terms of a sequence in counting, so that nine years by his count would yield what we would call eight years;*
 - *The final ground for the interpretation is that periodic kingship, including the replacement or renewal of a sacred king at the end of a great year [of 8 years] is known to have been a practice common to many ancient cultures with a solar-lunar religious base.*

Marinatos, too, places all the emphasis on Sun-Moon interplay, which of course is important, but does not emphasise enough the Venus Key which explains why it is that Goddess that takes precedence in Minoan culture.

In the available myths we have the further story of Androgeos - described as the son of the Goddess and King Minos - bringing in the eight-year renewal cycle of Ishtar once more. When he was slain by the Athenians, Minos demanded a tribute *every eight years* of seven male and seven female young Athenians, to be fed at the centre of the Labyrinth to the Minotaur (otherwise known as Asterios, son of Pasiphae and the Bull). Clearly we again have a direct allusion to the eight-year cycle of Venus (in other words, 8 Earth years fit almost exactly into 5 synodic cycles, or Hands, of Venus). The sacrificial victims add up to 14, a fortnight - the number of days of the waxing or waning moon either side of the Caesuraed Oval. If the Labyrinth of myth is the labyrinth of the Minoan Calendar as suggested by Herberger, the dovetailing of Venusian and Lunar cycles every 99 lunations (a question whose math, as already mentioned, I have dealt with in my paper on *Venus Worship* at <http://www.layish.co.uk/venusworship.pdf>) certainly makes sense of the astrological tradition that the Moon rules Taurus, and that Venus is exalted in Taurus - pointing to a Calendar that started in March in Spring.

SUMMARY

We have gone into great detail to show from the evidence that Neo-Palatial Crete came into the orbit of the Levantine *koine*, but that it had been able at the same time to ring the changes on its imported mythology and imagery. Because Minoan texts are so sparse there is added reason to use the evidence from its art to show that this island, too, lived by the Baal-Ishtar myth - whatever their local terminology for it was. That is why we have taken great pains to prove it through image clusters. We have also shown that their adoption of the **CANEA** was part and parcel of using more up-to-date methods for running their calendar, which underpinned a successful palace administration - and an empire with tentacles reaching into Anatolia, Greece and even the Zanzibar Triangle on the east coast of Egypt.

We used the Back Lunge as our leitmotif - but I believe we would have arrived at similar conclusions if we have decided to take a different one from the Canon instead. But the Back Lunge was the most fruitful thread of

Ariadne to lead us through the maze, given it stands at the changeover point between Old and New in the Cycle of the Year, as then embodyies a handful of devolved meanings from that primordial cosmic base.

CODA: ICONOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON POST-1450 MATERIAL

In order not to be distracted from the crescendo of conclusions reached for the iconography of our Chronological Focus material, we thought it best for the post-1450 evidence to simply mention passing iconographical considerations in the catalogue entries themselves and under the *Art History* section commentary - until we are in a position to link them up with contemporary material in the specialist periods of later catalogues and really do them justice. Our aim here was to deal with the connection between the Minoan Calendar and the Back Lunge image, and if we are to understand the meaning of the Minoan version of the Back Lunge I trust we have adequately mapped to what extent it makes sense to regard Crete as the western extension of the Syro-Mesopotamian world. The 1450-1000 Back Lunge material is covered in the next catalogue, *Catalogue E*, while the First Millennium material is given full treatment in the *Catalogue F Chronological Focus*.

From the takeover of the Mycenaeans onwards, there are will be many considerations to take into account concerning the transmission of Levanto-Aegean iconography into Greek art in the ensuing International Period, its eventual break-up - and the regrouping that followed after the Dark Ages. Even if from the items in this catalogue the birth of early monumental Greek art may be seen to have owed its origins to Egypt, its iconography markedly delved into the treasure-trove of its Minoan-Mycenaean heritage, and one more well-known Minoan myth gives us some clues.

The story goes that Theseus (son of the Mycenaean king of Athens, Aegeus) presented himself as Son of Poseidon to Minos when the latter came to Athens to inspect the youths and maidens to be sacrificed, proving his credentials by retrieving the gold ring Minos threw in the ocean for him to dive for (helped by Poseidon's consort, Amphitrite, just as Ariadne later helped him through the maze - both of them avatars of the Goddess). Later accounts tell us that Minos was eventually slain by Theseus in alliance with Daidalos (a human manifestation of Kothar, said to have been the architect of the Labyrinth). Clearly at the heart of the story is the conflict between the Mycenaeans (who claimed descent from Poseidon) and the Minoans (of Levantine descent, as in the myth of Europa and the Bull) that finally ended in the Mycenaean takeover of Crete. When it is stated that Theseus killed the Minotaur at the centre of the Labyrinth, an intimation that at this point, around 1450, the running of the Minoan Calendar came to an end. The ensuing 'Dark Ages', with Knossos under sole Mycenaean management, and the dislocation and eventual dismantling of the former Knossoso-based land-sea zodiac 'empire', suggest that it took several centuries before the Greeks were able to get a revamped system going, with their 8C Archaic Temple-observatory building programme now centred on the omphalos at Delphi, whose archaic pediment sculpture on the Temple to Apollo again featured lion-prey sculptures (as also did the archaic pedimental sculpture on the Temple to Athena (the Pro-Parthenon) at Athens).

APPENDIX A: FULL KEY TO THE KNOSSOS FIND SPOT MAP IN CMS II,8

1	Doorway west of the Corridor of the Cup-bearer Fresco
2	Corridor of the Cupbearer Fresco
3	South-West Angle
4	West wall by Magazine 3
5	Magazine 4
6	Magazine 8
7	Magazine 9
8	Magazine 10
9	Magazine 11
10	Magazine 12
11	Magazine 13
12	Magazine 15
13	North end of Long Corridor ('Hieroglyphic Deposit')
14	North of the Room of the Stirrup Jars
15	Northern Entrance Passage, near Bull Relief
16	Northern Entrance Passage, east of the Room of the Spiral Cornice
17	Corridor of the Stone Basin
18	East doorway of the Room of the Stone Drum
19	Test-pit south of the Throne Room (1964)
20	Stepped Portico
21	Room of the Jewel Fresco
22	Room of the Warrior Seal
23	Eastern Temple Repository
24–25	Central Shrine and Chamber to west
26	Room of the Niche
27	Room of the Stone Vats
28	Room of the Column Base
29	Corridor of the House Tablets
30	Just south of the Stone Vase Room
31	Room of the Chariot Tablets
32–35	South-West Basement
32	Room to the west of the Room of the Clay Seals
33	Room of the Seal Impressions
34	Room of the Clay Signet
35	Room of the Egyptian Beans ("Lapidary's Workshop") [Evans]
36	Corridor of the Sword Tablets
37	Test-pit north of the Shrine of the Double Axes
38	Kapheneion (Rubbish heap, south-east border of Palace)
39–40	South-East Pillar Room
41–54	East Wing
41	Treasury Room
42	Room of the Stone Bench
43	Queen's Megaron
44	Corridor by Treasury
45	Secret Staircase
46	Court of the Distaffs
47	Wooden Staircase (Area of the Daemon Seals)
48	Doorway south from the Hall of the Colonnades and beyond
49	Grand Staircase
50	Landing on Grand Staircase
51	Doorway north of the Hall of the Colonnades
52	Upper East-West Corridor
53	Lower East-West Corridor

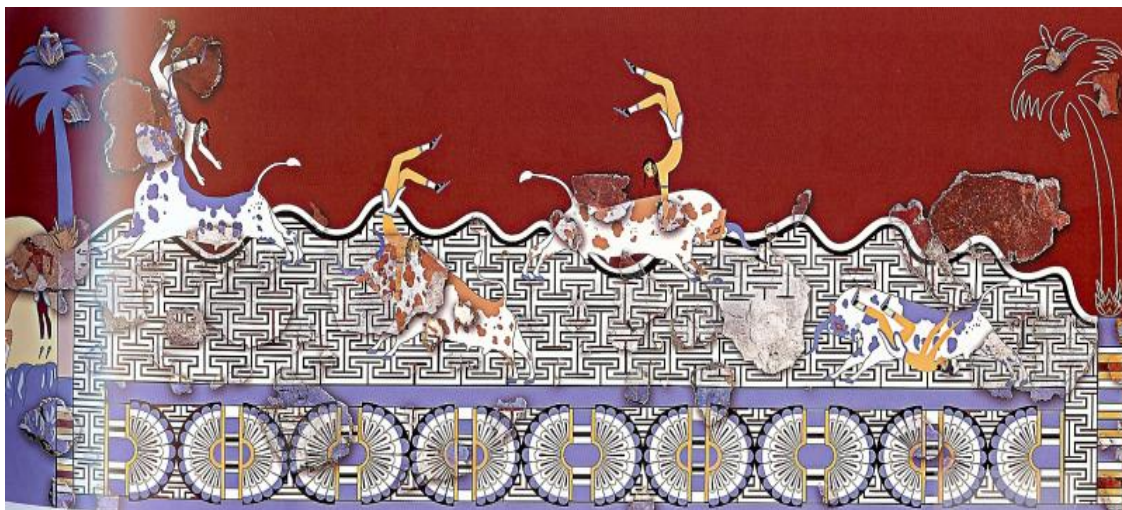
- 54 Top of East-West Staircase
- 55 Magazine of the Medallion Pithoi
- 56 Room of the Olive Press
- 57 Court of the Stone Spout
- 58 Cleaning west of Propylon
- 59 Below West Court

Little Palace (Plan 2)

- 1-2 Main Staircase
- 3 Stairs North Landing
- 4 East end of Cup Room
- 5 Room South-West of the Room of the Fetish
- 6 Room South of the Room of the Fetish
- 7 Hall of the Peristyle
- 8 Room West of the Room of the Fetish (Room South of the Shrine)
- 9 Room of the Fetish
- 10 Lustral Area
- 11 Corridor by Shrine (Room West of Megaron? balustrade)
- 12 Room North of Shrine
- 13 Megaron

APPENDIX B: MATCHES BETWEEN THE BULL-LEAPING FRESCOES OF AVARIS AND FRAGMENTARY REMAINS FOUND AT KNOSSOS

Note below the bull-leaping wall-painting at Tell ed-Dab'a ascribed by Manfred Bietak to the Hatshepsut/Tuthmosid III era, and comparable to the Knossos wall-paintings of not only the bull-leaping scenes, but also the overall layout, caesured oval and palm tree motifs and colouring used in the Throne Room there:



Ill. 8- 191 Reconstruction from fragments of Tell ed-Dab'a 'Toreador Fresco', Palace F - from Aruz et al. BEYOND BABYLON fig.39



Ill. 8- 192: (left) Avaris Maze Bulls compared to (right) Knossos Bull-Leaping fragmentary fresco pieces



PANEL 1

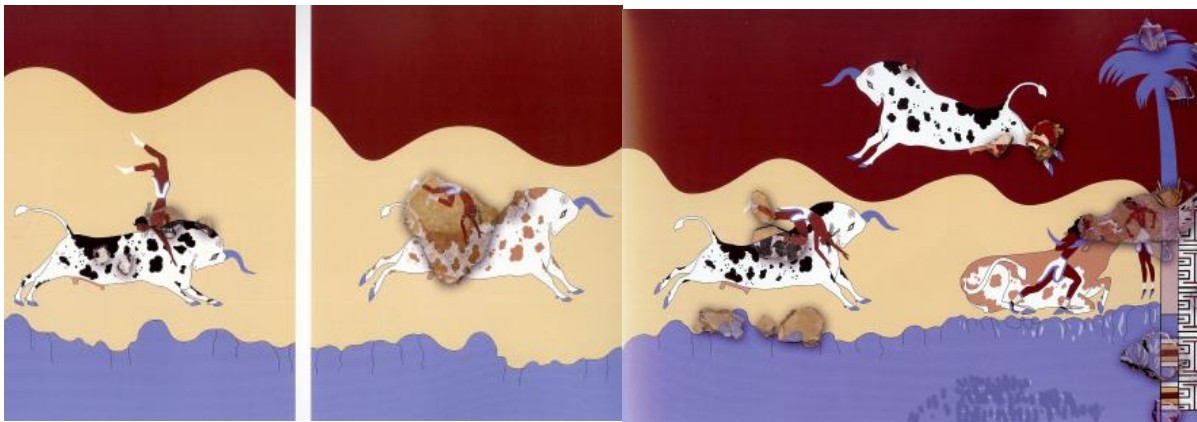
PANEL 2

PANEL 3

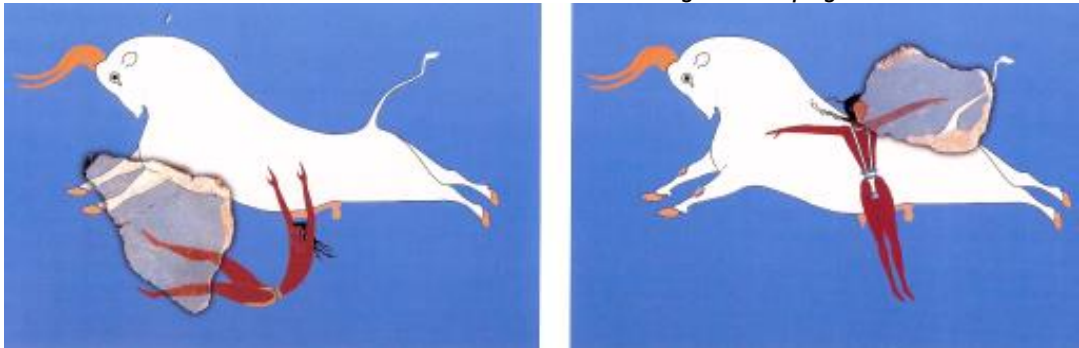
PANEL 4

PANEL 5

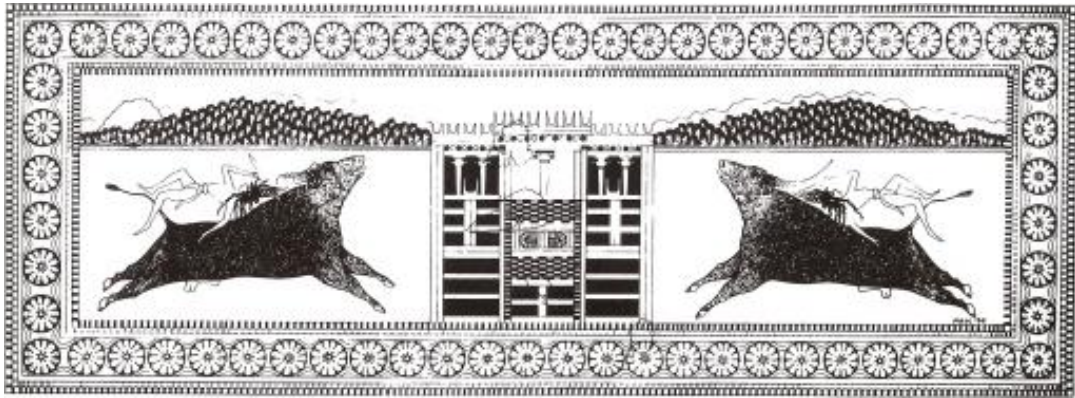
III. 8- 193 The 5 large Bull-Leaping panels from Knossos, as restored from handfuls of fragments



Ill. 8- 194: Avaris: The Beige Bull-Leaping Fresco



MINIATURE FRESCOES
AT KNOSSOS
RECONSTRUCTED



RECONSTRUCTION OF
BULL-LEAPING
COMPOSITION FROM
MAGAZINES ROOM
XXIII

Ill. 8- 195: Lesser bull-leaping scenes from Knossos, as restored

SEAL CATALOGUES CONSULTED

ABBREVI A- TION	AUTHOR/ EDITOR	YEAR	PUBLICATION
AshCatI	BUCHANAN, B	1966	Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum I: Cylinder Seals Oxford
AshCatII	BUCHANAN, B (ed. P R S MOOREY)	1985	Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum II: the Prehistoric Stamp Seals Oxford
AshCatIII	BUCHANAN, B with	1988	Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean

	P R S MOOREY		Museum III: The Iron Age Stamp Seals, Oxford
AtchCat	COLLON, D	1975	The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/ Alalakh (2 vols) AOAT XXVII Newkirchen-Vluyn
BMCatI	WISEMAN, D	1962	Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Cylinder Seals I, London
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