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THE EARLY MYCENAEAN LION UP TO DATE

by *Nancy R. Thomas*

Lions, the most evocative of animals represented in Aegean Bronze Age art, are associated with all problems in Aegean art—origins, transfers, iconography, technique, style—and penetrate all spheres of Aegean studies: social, political, economic, and religious/symbolic. The last investigation of the Minoan/Mycenaean lion in its full Mediterranean setting was “The Aegean Animal Style: A Study of the Lion, Griffin, and Sphinx” (1970).¹ In this paper I focus on the lion art of Early Mycenaean Greece, reviewing our current understanding of the LH I leonine objects largely associated with Schliemann’s excavations of the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, which date to the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.²

Although no new, securely dated examples of MH III or LH I lion art have been excavated since 1970, nor has the corpus of comparative Minoan objects substantially increased, the entire picture of the Aegean animal style has nevertheless been revolutionized in the last thirty years by three astounding discoveries: (1) the frescoes at Akrotiri on Thera (Santorini), (2) the frescoes at Tell el-Dab’a in Egypt, and (3) actual lion bones in Greece. No serious investigation of lion art can now omit these discoveries.

1. Rhyne 1970, my dissertation, is a discussion with catalogue of the Aegean lion and its fantastic hybrids—the griffin and sphinx—against their oriental background. By 1970 I had catalogued 475 Minoan and Mycenaean lions; in later 2002 the corpus was 920, of which only 26 are clearly from Early Mycenaean Greece. The present paper deals only with lions, not with leonine hybrids or masks; for the latter, see Graziadio, Guglielmino, and Rossi 1989.

I was Sara Immerwahr’s first Ph.D. student, and she is still my best mentor. For their generous sharing of ideas and research for this paper, I thank Robin Barber, Manfred Bietak, Edmund

Bloedow, Joost Crouwel, Ellen Davis, Oliver Dickinson, Angela von den Driesch, Robin Hägg, Stefan Hiller, Robert Laffineur, Ingo Pini, Dan Pullen, Paul Rehak, Maria Shaw, Judith Weingarten, and John Younger. Margaret Dixon at the Jacksonville University Library made books available, and my family made the manuscript possible. In Professor Immerwahr’s honor I hope to bring Greece’s most memorable animal art of the 2nd millennium B.C. across the threshold of the 3rd millennium A.C.

2. The Catalogue here, with numbers indicated in boldface, is as far as I know the only up-to-date compilation of LH I lion art. Karo (1930)

submitted no catalogue nor were his index references to “lions” complete, and Younger (1978) included only works associated with the “Lion Master” and his workshop (see notes 84–87 below). Vanschoonwinkel’s 1996 catalogue of Minoan lions was compiled before the appearance of *CMS* V.1A and 1B. For sealings see also Pini 1990, the catalogues in tables 2 and 6. I know of, but have not seen, two unpublished M.A. theses on Aegean lions: E. C. Richardson, “Lions in Bronze Age Aegean Art,” University of Cincinnati 1978, and M. A. G. Ballintijn, “Lions and Other Cats from the Shaft Graves of Mycenae” (in Dutch), University of Amsterdam 1986.

In addition, shifts in Aegean scholarship in the last thirty years have affected lion studies. The most remarkable development is the greatly expanded interchange among disciplines, a gift of the peer polity interaction model.³ The lion is now used to probe a blend of social, political, economic, and religious factors at both the material and symbolic levels.

The old desire to sort lion art into pristine Minoan and Mycenaean camps has been largely abandoned as a flawed endeavor. Both Helladic and Minoan components are acknowledged in Mycenaean art, but claims of exclusive, territorial domain in iconography, style, or ethos have fallen.⁴ As Oliver Dickinson summed up, "it seems unwise to argue that any of the really fine, but rarely represented, work found on the mainland represents a purely local development . . . lacking Cretan parallel"⁵ and, conversely, he noted that the best craftsmen at Mycenae had skills "equivalent to those available in Cretan palaces."⁶

The new discoveries at Thera and in the Nile Delta pull us away from Mycenae, adding to the international repertory in which motifs, styles, techniques, and people continually circulate. Actual lion bones, however, return us to Greece. Since 1978, the remains of *Panthera leo* have been found on nine mainland or island sites in contexts dating from the Late Neolithic through the Archaic periods. These finds, together with the newly published lion bones from nineteen Balkan/Ukrainian sites of Neolithic to Iron Age date, document the presence of the lion in the Balkan peninsula from the 5th to the 1st millennium B.C. These bones, which redirect us from artistic imagination to real-life experience, have barely begun to be incorporated into Mycenaean lion studies.

To review and update the investigation of Early Mycenaean lion art, I have arranged this paper in six sections: (1) Chronology and Evidence, (2) The Impact of Thera, (3) The Impact of Egypt, (4) The Impact of Bones, (5) Conclusions, (6) Catalogue of LH I lion art from securely dated mainland contexts (bold-faced numbers refer to Catalogue entries). Bibliographic references cite the most fruitful entry into each topic with indications of special studies and divergent opinions. I have tried to include all work published since 1970 devoted exclusively to the LH I/LM I lion.

CHRONOLOGY AND EVIDENCE

Broadly speaking, Shaft Grave Mycenae and LM IA Crete coexisted. The shaft grave burial form in Greece and the LM IA pottery style on Crete each arose within the last phase of its own MB antecedents, and each continued to exist for approximately a century.⁷ Although a subform of LM IA pottery continued to be produced side by side with LM IB Marine ware, both the *mature* LM IA pottery style on Crete and the shaft grave burial form in Greece ended at about the same moment.⁸ Therefore we can envision a broad Aegean canvas a little more than a hundred years long on which to place the events and artifacts of LH I/LMIA/LC I. The eruption of Thera occurred after the midpoint of this period.⁹

3. Renfrew 1986.

4. Vermeule (1975, pp. 33–35) and Hurwit (1979) delivered the death blow to the "Helladic soul." Scholars still debate the nature of the Helladic contribution but generally agree that Mycenaean art combined both the naturalistic and decorative worlds. In this review I assume that the wealth of the Shaft Graves was not derived from conquest or robbery but was assembled/created as a tangible response to mainland cultural and social aspirations.

5. Dickinson 1977, p. 86.

6. Dickinson 1984, p. 116, adding "and potentially deriving from such a context."

7. Dickinson (1977, p. 51) allotted the shaft grave phenomenon about a century, or four to five generations. Warren (1999, p. 902) gave the LM IA pottery style a maximum of one hundred years or three to four generations. Morgan (1988, p. 172) cited the major island settlements of Thera, Keos (modern Kea), Melos, and Kythera as flourishing during "the period of the richest of the Mycenaean Shaft Graves and the height of the Minoan palatial system."

8. Only one Shaft Grave of Grave Circle B (Rho) yielded pottery of the next phase, LM IB (Warren and Hankey 1989, p. 96), and only one from Grave Circle A (I) included early LH IIA pottery (Dickinson, pers. comm.).

9. J. Davis (1992, p. 755) estimated that the volcanic destruction of Thera

Rather than tracing descendants of Shaft Grave lion art into the subsequent LH II, or tholos, phase, as has been done by John Younger,¹⁰ this review is confined to the Shaft Grave period itself and refers to the contiguous scenes on Crete, Thera, and in the East. Correlations with Egypt and the Near East take into account both the traditional (low) and the new (high) chronologies.¹¹

The core of Early Mycenaean lion imagery comes from the two grave circles at Mycenae, and the corpus of this material has remained essentially static for the last thirty years. Reappraisal has added a few leonine objects to LH I art,¹² but only one image has appeared to fill the long-standing EH and MH voids.¹³ The twenty-four lion objects from Mycenae, twenty of which come from Schliemann's Grave Circle A, are a heterogeneous collection of unusual pieces (1–24). From elsewhere in the Argolid, the only lion images with firmly dated LH I contexts are two carved seals of the semiprecious stone amethyst (25, 26), a material not found in Shaft Grave lion art at Mycenae.¹⁴

Since 1970, chronology of the Helladic period has been reassessed, bringing the two grave circles of Mycenae into an even more overlapping

was contemporary with “a later, but not the latest” stage of LM IA in Crete, a finding recently corroborated in Warren 1999, a summary of the pottery evidence. The destruction of Thera occurred before the appearance of LH II ware, which itself began before LM IB pottery (Davis 1992, p. 736). Dickinson has stated that at least two generations elapsed between the eruption and the end of LM IB (pers. comm.).

10. Younger 1978.

11. Relative chronology within the Aegean is not at issue, but absolute chronology is contested, hinging on the date of the eruption of Thera. The traditional “low” chronology dates the eruption to the later 16th century B.C., or essentially contemporary with the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, whereas the new “high” chronology dates it to ca. 1628 B.C., or almost a hundred years before the overthrow of the Hyksos and the establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty. For low chronology see Warren 1990–1991, 1995, and the Austrian Academy's Web site (<http://www.nhm-wien.ac.at/sciem2000/index.html>); for high chronology see Manning 2000. For summaries of the evidence for both chronologies, see Forsyth 1997, pp. 106–

113; and Macdonald 2001, a review of Manning's *A Test of Time*. For the Aegean/Egyptian ramifications, see Phillips 1997–1998. Of concern for the present study, Driessen and Macdonald (1997, p. 23) kept the traditional dating as “still the most convincing and useful,” placing the eruption of Thera ca. 1550–1530 B.C. Shelmerdine (1997, pp. 539–540) and Rehak and Younger (1998a, pp. 98–100) used the high chronology in their reviews. Dickinson is at present using the low chronology, though he feels the “jury is still out” (pers. comm.).

12. Shaft Grave lion objects omitted from my dissertation but included here are 2, 4, 8, 9, 20, 23, 24. Five of these, in my opinion, are not indubitably lions: 8, 9, 20, 23, 24. I still omit the tiny faience fragment of the hind part of an animal from Shaft Grave V, Athens, N.M. 899, which Karo (1930, fig. 73, pl. CLV:899, and p. 155) called a beast of prey and Hood (1978, p. 135) saw as a “crouching beast of prey, a griffin perhaps, or a lion,” a description echoed by Foster (1981, p. 10).

13. No lion image earlier than that on the MH III stele from Mycenae's Grave Circle B, 1 (Fig. 9.1), had been found in the Aegean until the 2001 discovery of reliefs of ships and ani-

mals, including lions, carved on rocks and rock walls of a Final Neolithic settlement on the island of Andros dated 4500–3300 B.C.; see “Neolithic Carvings at Andros Site,” *Kathimerini*, English edition, Oct. 19, 2001, at <http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/news/content.asp?aid=10294>. A possible EH lion image may, in my opinion, appear on a hearth rim from Tiryns that has a terracotta impression of a big-headed animal, CMS V.IB, 425; Rutter 1993, fig. 10. See note 98 below for MH boar imagery in metal.

14. Sakellariou (1964, pp. 238, 308) cited a LH I ceramic and burial context for both gems. For the Rutsi prism, 26 (Fig. 9.39), Dickinson (1977, p. 62) noted the LH I/LM IA ceramic context, but Weingarten (1990, pp. 368–371) convincingly dated the gem on stylistic grounds to LM IB or the first half of the 15th century B.C. (see note 90 below). Although the conservative nature of ceramics in burials should be considered (most of the vases in Shaft Graves III–V are MH), I have omitted objects whose contexts are broadly dated LH I–II, such as the Kasarma cylinder seals in the Nauplion Archaeological Museum (CMS V, 584, 585).

relationship.¹⁵ Most of Grave Circle B's four lion objects are now seen as contemporary with, not earlier than, the richer graves and lion art of Grave Circle A.¹⁶ Note that lion imagery did not appear at all until the Shaft Grave sequence was at its midpoint, which makes visualized lions almost entirely a LH I phenomenon.¹⁷ The single example from the earlier MM III period is Grave Circle B's scenic stele from Grave Gamma, 1 (Fig. 9.1).¹⁸ Thus Mycenae's twenty-four lion objects (one MM III and twenty-three LH I) indicate that for about two and a half generations the warrior nobility deposited lion images in their tombs in the formats we call Shaft Grave art.¹⁹ Occasionally, ceramic evidence can suggest a subdivision of the very rich burials into pre- and post-Theran-eruption phases, and sometimes the tomb layouts allow us to assign individual objects to particular burials, but most of the graves simply present an "earlier" and a "later" division.²⁰ At present we can assign only a few of the lions to well-defined time frames.²¹

How does Mycenae relate to the rest of the Aegean during this century-plus Shaft Grave phenomenon?²² In *The Troubled Island* (1997), Jan Driessen and Colin Macdonald put new and sharper focus on LM IA Crete. Indeed, the thesis of this book may significantly affect Mycenaean lion studies, as the authors point out three anomalies in the LM IA/IB archaeological record on Crete that contradict the views of Sir Arthur Evans and others that the period was one seamless, flourishing acme of Minoan civilization.²³ The first two anomalies are (1) major earthquake destructions across Crete *within* LM IA, and (2) subsequent modifications, unfinished repairs, and partial or total abandonment of the palaces

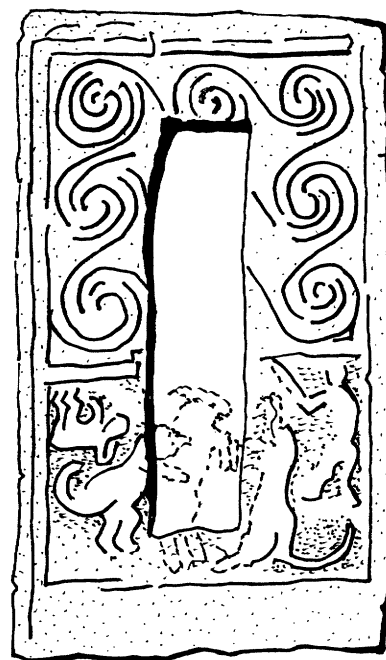


Figure 9.1. Stele (1) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Gamma (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13575). N. Thomas, after Marinatos 1990, fig. 3; Mylonas 1973, pl. 40

15. For the new meshing into a shorter time span, see Dickinson 1977, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1986, Graziadio 1988, 1991, Laffineur 1989a, Dietz 1991, 1998, Taracha 1993. Taracha (1993, tables 1 and 3, pp. 9, 33) correlated nine scholars' work plus his own.

16. Lions were associated with only three of the twenty-four graves in Grave Circle B (Gamma, Alpha, Delta) and only three of the six tombs of Grave Circle A (III–V, and an unassigned stele fragment). No lions were found in the latest graves of either circle (Rho and I).

17. The LH I period, called Late Phase II by Graziadio, corresponds with the appearance of true Mycenaean LH I ware (Graziadio 1991, p. 403).

18. Scholars disagree on the relative dates of stelai from Grave Circle B. The stele from Grave Alpha, 2 (Fig. 9.13), was considered oldest by Mylonas (1973, p. 423), Hood (1978, p. 97), and Hooker (1976, p. 42),

whereas Grave Gamma's stele, 1 (Fig. 9.1), was seen as the earliest by Dickinson (1977, p. 45) and Graziadio (1991, pp. 409, 411). Dickinson (1977, p. 45) stated that the sequence of burials in Gamma is "unusually clear" and that the stele above the grave belonged to the tomb's first burial. Similarly Graziadio (1991, pp. 409, 411), dating this burial to his Late Phase I, considered its stele to be older than the others, and he further said that Gamma's stele is the "first well-attested stele" in the circles. For the LH I date of Grave Circle B's other lion objects, a golden hilt and the silver cup from Grave Delta, 3, 4 (Figs. 9.25, 9.18), see Dickinson 1977, pp. 44–45; Graziadio 1991, table 1, p. 406.

19. Graziadio's table 1 (1991, p. 406) gives the most compact scheme, with Graves III–V contemporary with each other and with most of the last burials in Grave Circle B. For other

arrangements see Davis 1977, p. 234; Dickinson 1977, pp. 48–49; Younger 1978, p. 296; Taracha 1993, p. 34.

20. According to Dickinson, "almost certainly 'some' of the burials in III, IV, and V fall after the eruption (and at least one in I is early LH IIA)" (pers. comm.).

21. More visible in Grave Circle B than in A. For the placement of lion art in Grave IV burials, see 11, 15 (Figs. 9.15, 9.26).

22. For LH I/LM IA/LC ceramic correlations, see Davis 1992, pp. 735–736.

23. Warren (1990–1991, pp. 29, 36) considered Crete to be at its "highest level" with "no hint of internal stress" right up to the destructions at the end of LM IB, and he has continued to link LM IA and LM IB as two parts of "Minoan Crete's greatest material, social, and political achievement" (Warren 1999, p. 902).

and their environs, also within mature LM IA, paralleled by peculiarities in other structures across Crete.²⁴ These two phenomena, earthquake plus site disarray, when considered together, help explain the third anomaly, a decline in art during Evans's so-called "acme."²⁵ The destructions, repairs, modifications, and abandonments have been noted by others, including Paul Rehak and John Younger recently,²⁶ but Driessen and Macdonald, while stressing the absence of a single destruction horizon in LM IA,²⁷ see the many phenomena as related events, not scattered oddities.²⁸

If the thesis set forth in *The Troubled Island* is correct, LM IA has two *dissimilar* phases. The earlier portion (Evan's "Great Rebuilding," following his "Great Destruction" by the MM IIIB earthquake) was a true floruit with excellent building and a mass of high quality art.²⁹ The second phase, a "kind of crisis situation . . . from mature LM IA onwards,"³⁰ was initiated by an earthquake essentially contemporary with the volcanic destruction of Thera.³¹ According to Driessen and Macdonald, at this point the palace redistributive system began to falter, not only reducing the flow of goods but also shifting Minoan lifestyle from luxury to necessity as the effects of the volcanic upheaval at Thera surged through every facet of Cretan life. In fact, Driessen and Macdonald see the destructions, which occurred *during* LM IA, as the beginning of a long decline into social, political, economic, and psychological fragmentation that ultimately resulted in the devastations by fire and anarchy that swept over Crete and closed LM IB.³²

The Troubled Island details a situation with potentially serious impact on contemporary Mycenae. Can we hear in the Shaft Graves an echo of a Cretan downshift from the flourishing first phase to a troubled second phase?³³ If the big tombs at Mycenae were filled before the destruction of

24. Driessen and Macdonald 1997. Weingarten (1988, p. 14) noted that the sealings from the Temple Repositories at Knossos indicate only internal administration and that no LM IB sealings (which should have accompanied delivered goods) have been found at Knossos; she therefore speculated that LM IB Knossos may have "lived off its own hinterland" more as "an estate than a State." On the other hand, Wiener (1999, p. 414) saw continuing wealth and trade centered on Knossos through LM IB.

25. According to Driessen and Macdonald (1997, pp. 62–64), the rather meager development of art in the entire LM I period indicates that the "spirit of creation was largely gone," and that many of the best-quality Minoan objects found in the later LM IB destruction levels were made in LM IA.

26. Rehak and Younger 1998a, pp. 101, 129; see also Rehak 1997a.

27. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 35.

28. E.g., the LM IA pottery choking the drains in the east wing of Knossos was explained by Rehak and Younger (1998a, p. 129) as a shift in primary palace function from residence to cult center. Driessen and Macdonald (1997, p. 44) agree on the shift of function but relate the cause to the crisis situation.

29. This first earthquake, Evans's "Great Destruction of MM IIIB," is now thought to have occurred in MM III/LM IA Transitional, when the earliest pieces of LM IA pottery were first appearing. This earthquake is now seen as broadly contemporary with the seismic event that shook Thera approximately a generation(?) before the volcanic event or actual eruption (Driessen and Macdonald 1997, pp. 17, 41).

30. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 111.

31. This second earthquake, "the big one," is identified by Driessen and Macdonald (1997, p. 88) as the tectonic earthquake that occurred slightly before the eruption on Thera within mature LM IA.

32. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, chap. 4 and pp. 101–104. Dickinson, in a critique of Driessen and Macdonald's thesis, noted that Crete's breadbasket in the Mesara had not been affected by Thera's eruption, but that "something was going wrong in LM IB" that may have been "a period of crisis" (pers. comm.).

33. See Dickinson 1977, p. 55; and Wright 1995, p. 70, on Mycenae's "special relationship" with a Minoan palace, probably Knossos, as one of the largest engines driving the rise of the Mycenaean elite.



Figure 9.2. Plaques (19) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 808–811). N. Thomas

Thera, no echo should be heard. If the richest of the graves (III, IV, and V) were still being used after Thera was destroyed, can a “blink” be detected? What form would it take?

Possibilities include either (1) a slowing of the flow of luxury items and fine craftsmen from Crete to Greece, in which case more of the goods in the late tombs would be mainland creations, or, conversely, (2) increased emigration of artisans from Knossos to Mycenae in search of patrons who still dispensed lavish orders, in which case an even greater Minoan influence would be in evidence. Could the later Shaft Graves have been poorer and richer at the same time, poorer in the overall mass of Minoan acquisitions but richer in a few really fine pieces that Knossos finally let go in exchange for food, for example?³⁴ If, on Crete, Marine Style pottery was ultimately developed to fill the gap in palatial luxury objects, as Driessen and Macdonald strongly propose,³⁵ what filled this gap on the mainland? Could the gold-covered wooden box from Shaft Grave V, with its non-Minoan-looking reliefs, 19 (Fig. 9.2), be the creation of a second-tier artisan, a woodcarver put to work with gold, a case of the local man getting the really good commission? Some of the Shaft Grave objects made in expensive materials, but with “rude-attempt” execution, may be later, not earlier, productions. In this review I note such potential “blinks.”³⁶

Other reassessments of Minoan chronology during the last thirty years have also affected Mycenaean lion studies. Scholars have now lowered the date of all three groups of Minoan sealings that formerly provided possible antecedents to Shaft Grave lions: the sealings from (1) the Temple Repositories at Knossos, (2) the Room of the Seals at Ayia Triada, and (3) House A at Zakros. The impressions from the Temple Repositories at Knossos have been redated, not without argument, from Evans’s pure

34. See Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 115, on the potentially huge profits to be made by bartering with food. Perhaps food was the missing commodity sought by Bloedow in his discussion of itinerant craftsmen and trade (1997, pp. 444–446).

35. Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 62. Hood (1978, pp. 37–38) commented on a general decline in quality

in LM IB pottery, even in fine wares, and Foster (1979, pp. 155, 173) concluded that the faience workshop at Zakros was established to imitate luxury products, which she said happens when luxury resources, such as supplies of gold, become scarce.

36. Dickinson (1977, pp. 50–51) detected a “dwindling of variety” and a “less prodigal use of metal” (the gold

ornaments are light in weight) in the latest grave in Grave Circle A, Grave I; see note 111 below. I wonder if a decline in rich objects, possibly accompanied by reduced access to gold, could have nudged the next generation of Mycenaean princes to adopt *stone* as the wealth marker: tholoi and gems are the dominant signs of elite prestige in LH II Greece.

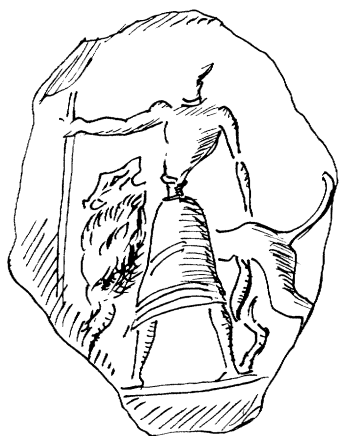


Figure 9.3. Sealing from Temple Repositories, Knossos (Herakleion Archaeological Museum 383; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE 1199u, z). N. Thomas, after Pini 1990, pl. VI:c-e

MM III to LM IA,³⁷ and those from Ayia Triada and Zakros, formerly dated MM III–early LM I,³⁸ are now said to have been impressed and burned at the end of LM IB.³⁹ Three conclusions follow: (1) all three groups are now placed after the events that *initiated* LM IA, making them more LM than MM phenomena; (2) the images found in the Temple Repositories apparently belong only to the earlier portion of LM IA (the nontroubled phase), whereas those surviving at Ayia Triada and Zakros span the full length of time from early LM IA to the end of LM IB;⁴⁰ (3) the lions represented in all three of these Minoan groups now join Shaft Grave and Theran art on the big LH I/LM I/LC I Aegean canvas.

These changes in dating call for reassessment of some older conclusions regarding style. Although it is clear that figurative naturalism itself originated in MM Crete, the particular motifs and naturalistic designs of LH I/LM I/LC I lion art now have little provable priority in one place or another. Clearly, artistic relationships among regions must be rethought. For example, lowering the date of the impressions from Zakros makes it more difficult to imagine a Minoan associate of the LM IB Zakros Master migrating to Greece early enough to become the LH I Mycenae Lion Master.⁴¹

The correlation of images among Minoan sites has also been reassessed. One of the cords that connected Zakros with the earlier Knossian Temple Repositories has apparently disappeared. A beautiful image of a crowned figure striding beside a lion (Fig. 9.3), which exists in several sealings formerly thought to have appeared both at Knossos *and* at Zakros,

37. Panagiotaki 1993. Pini (1990, p. 53) dated them LM IA on stylistic grounds and on the fallibility of using “dark zones” as a criterion in ceramic dating; Weingarten, in the discussion following Pini’s paper (Pini 1990, pp. 58–60), asserted that in a deposit with fading, floruit, and advanced seals, the most advanced types merely pre-sage the next period and do not pull the entire deposit forward, but later Weingarten (1995, p. 472 and note 5) seemed to accept the LM IA date. See also Weingarten 1989 on the Temple Repositories. Driessen and Macdonald (1997, pp. 98, 141–142, 148) speculated that the contents of the Temple Repository cist graves were manufactured before, but buried after, the second earthquake. According to Warren and Hankey (1989, p. 73, note 30), the Temple Repositories and Theran pottery “cannot be far, if at all, removed in date,” and Warren (1999, p. 896) said the Temple Repos-

itories “may well in fact date to mature LM IA.”

38. Evans (*PM I*, p. 701; *PM IV*, p. 591) said fifty percent of the Zakros images were earlier than and “altogether apart” from LM art, while Hogarth (1902, p. 90) dated Zakros art widely, from MM III to LM II.

39. Pini 1984a, p. 130, note 58. Weingarten (1986, p. 293; 1989, p. 40) dated the Ayia Triada and Zakros sealings to LM IB; see all three sealing groups in Rhyne 1970, nos. 61–101.

40. Because context can date only the impress of the seal on the clay sealing, not the manufacture of the seal itself, Pini dated all the sealings from Ayia Triada, Zakros, Khania, and Sklavokampos simply as “LM I” (1989 and pers. comm.). On the earlier production of most of the fine works used during LM IB, see Driessen and Macdonald 1997, p. 64. Good seals would have been conserved, especially if gem cutters became scarce during the period

of disarray. Perhaps we can see evidence of another “blink” in the clay rhyton from Mallia (Chapouthier and Demargne with Dessenne 1962, pls. X, XXXIX; Rhyne 1970, no. 107), whose lion attachments are reminiscent of the gold lion-head rhyton from Mycenae, 15 (Fig. 9.26). See also the Knossian cheap clay replica of a ring in Betts 1967, p. 21. For the LM I so-called “replica rings” in metal, including one type with lions, see Betts 1967, pp. 21–23; Hallager 1996, I, pp. 207–217; Schoep 1999, pp. 213–217. But note Pini’s assertion in *CMS II.6*, pp. xxv–xxvi (summarized in Krzyszkowska 2001, p. 119), that replica rings did not exist and that matching images come from a single ring.

41. Migration suggested by Younger (1979, p. 120). Weingarten (1983, p. 122) dated the Zakros Master to the earlier part of LM IB. This problem of chronology was noted by Pini (1984a, p. 130, note 58).

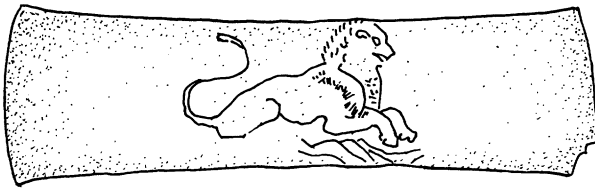


Figure 9.4. Bronze double-axe blade from near Mallia. N. Thomas, after Chittenden and Seltman 1947, pl. 4, no. 21

may in fact have occurred only at Knossos.⁴² However, an image of running lions in front of a palm tree apparently did appear identically on sealings from Ayia Triada, Zakros, and Knossos.⁴³ Summarizing the situation, Ingo Pini considered the sealings from the Temple Repositories, Ayia Triada, Zakros, Khania, Sklavokampos, and Akrotiri as sharing a number of motifs that “cannot be distinguished” stylistically or compositionally from each other.⁴⁴

Although Crete has produced a number of unusual objects reminiscent of LH I lion art, such as a bronze axe blade from Mouri near Mallia with a lion engraved on each face (Fig. 9.4), most of these pieces are too problematic in date to be considered here.⁴⁵ Other material that has been newly published or recently recatalogued or redated to LH I/LM I/LC I will be mentioned in the course of the discussion.⁴⁶

42. The Knossos sealing is from the Temple Repositories, Herakleion Archaeological Museum (hereafter, H.A.M.) 383 (*CMS* II.8, 237; *PMI*, fig. 363a; Hood 1978, no. 220C; Rhyne 1970, no. 58). The essentially identical “Zakros” sealing is Ashmolean Museum AE 1199u, z (Rhyne 1970, no. 80). Both Betts (1967, p. 19) and Pini (1990, table 6) have reassigned this so-called Zakros sealing to Knossos, with Betts surmising that there was probably some confusion in Herakleion before it was presented to the Ashmolean Museum. Pini did not include it in the *CMS* II.7 volume on Kato Zakros, but Panagiotaki (1993, p. 88) adhered to the original Zakros provenience, and Schoep (1999, p. 215, note 76) also gave it a Zakros provenience. Note: this “Zakros” sealing is not the same as the Ayia Triada example of a Bowman with lion (H.A.M. 508; *CMS* II.6, 36; Rhyne 1970, no. 79). In a different Temple Repository sealing with “lion”(?) and deity, H.A.M. 343 (*CMS* II.8, 236; Hood 1978, fig. 220D; Rhyne 1970, no. 59), the lion is now recognized as a dog (Pini 1990, pl. VII:a, b; Younger 1993, p. 20; Hallager 1996, II, p. 161). Therefore the only remaining Knossian example of person and lion (Fig. 9.3) shows a striding deity, not a warrior, and we can no

longer say, as did Morgan (1988, p. 170), that “lions first appear with warriors in the Temple Repository sealings.” Note that this Minoan image of deity and lion (Fig. 9.3) is not necessarily earlier than the Mycenaean stele from Grave Circle B, a carving that does show warriors with lions (1; Fig. 9.1).

Additional *CMS* reclassifications of lions to other animals are:

Ayia Triada:

CMS II.6, 80 (Rhyne 62)

CMS II.6, 69 (Rhyne 71)

CMS II.6, 74 (Rhyne 74)

CMS II.6, 79 (Rhyne 75)

Zakros:

CMS II.7, 200 (Rhyne 81)

CMS II.7, 31 (Rhyne 82)

CMS II.7, 51 (Rhyne 85)

CMS II.7, 63 (Rhyne 86)

CMS II.7, 174 (Rhyne 95)

43. See *CMS* II.7, 71, and *CMS* II.8, 297, 298 for corrections regarding the exact sealings involved in this often-cited triad that was first noted by Betts (1967, pp. 18–19).

44. Pini 1990, p. 53, and pers. comm. For “exact matches” in impressions found at Akrotiri, Ayia Triada, and Sklavokampos, see Pini in *CMS* II.6, pp. xxii–xxix; Krzyszkowska 2001, p. 119.

45. The double-axe blade (Chitten-

den and Seltman 1947, p. 24, pl. 4, no. 21) is 7.9 in. long and was exhibited at Burlington House in 1946 as lent by A. B. Cook; it was dated in the catalogue to “about 1500 B.C.,” with no further reference. Although Laffineur (1983b, p. 49, note 106; 1985, p. 250, note 41) included it in his lists of Minoan decorated weapons, the style of the drawing makes me wonder if the image were engraved later (post ancient), as is the case with the lion and deer on a dagger in the Benaki Museum (Papadopoulos 1998, no. 82). The ivory zoomorphic vase from the Idaean Cave (now in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum; Touchais 1985, p. 855, fig. 211; Sakellarakis 1992, p. 113, pl. 1:a–c) is shaped as a running lion whose silhouette and details are very similar to those of the lions on Shaft Grave dagger 12 (Figs. 9.21, 9.22), and on the Thera Ship Fresco (Fig. 9.5), but the context in the Idaean Cave is disturbed and is dated from MM I to late classical times.

46. I have not seen the MM III–LM I seal with lion, reported from Poros (*AR*, suppl. to *JHS*, 1986–1987, p. 53), nor the new sealings from Monastiraki; Ingo Pini saw some of the latter and thinks no lions are represented (pers. comm.).

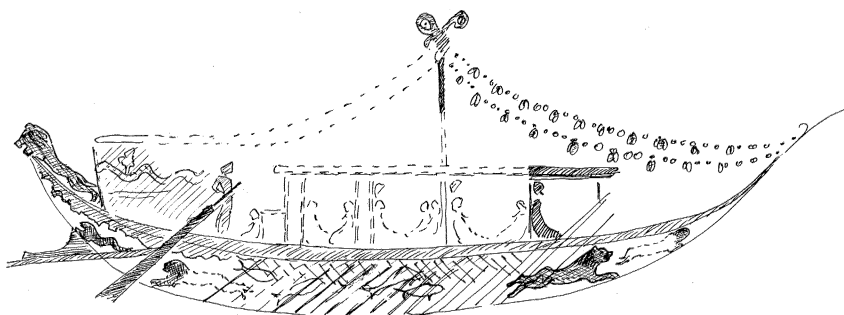


Figure 9.5. The Admiral's Ship, Miniature Fresco, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after Morgan 1988, pls. 10, 56

THE IMPACT OF THERA

The discovery of the frescoes at Akrotiri on Thera has forever altered our view of Aegean lion art. The old axis between Crete and Greece has been stretched into a triangle, firmly establishing the Cyclades as a major component in the equation. The eight painted lions from Thera⁴⁷ have been supplemented by two terracotta lion-head rhyta from Thera,⁴⁸ lion(?) frescoes at Kea,⁴⁹ and lion pottery from Melos⁵⁰ (Figs. 9.5–9.11). These

47. Miniature Fresco from the West House illustrated in Morgan 1988, color pl. C; Immerwahr 1990, color pl. XIV and pls. 25–29; Doumas 1992. The eight lions are: one lion chasing deer across hilltop (Fig. 9.7); five lions on the Admiral's Ship (ship 2), which has four lions painted on the hull—two forward, two aft—and a draped stern figure aft (Fig. 9.5); two more lion figures on the sterns of ships 1 and 4, the closest to shore behind the Admiral's Ship (Fig. 9.6). Foster (1989, p. 14) stated that the draped lions (lionesses?) on the sterns represent wooden carvings, not stuffed skins. See Morgan 1988, pp. 134–135, on the placement of lions on the high-status stern, and Raban 1984, p. 16, on turning the predator end of the ship forward to show hostile versus peaceful intentions. The animal running by the river in the "Nilotic" portion of the fresco is neither lion, leopard, nor serval, but a "free elaboration of a felid," according to Trantalidou (2000, p. 711, note 9).

48. Two lion/lioness-head rhyta, Athens, N.M. For the example from Building Alpha 2.3 (Fig. 9.8), of polished black clay imitating steatite, see *ArchEph* 1968, p. 113b; for the yellow clay rhyton from the West House, Room 4 (Fig. 9.9), see *ArchEph* 1971, p. 295. And see Koehl 1990 on these rhyta.

49. Ayia Irini, Kea, to be published by Ellen Davis and Lyvia Morgan. The miniature fresco fragments that fell into basement rooms of the northeast bastion (Area M) of the fortification wall of the town were dated by Immerwahr (1990, pp. 82–83) as possibly later than the paintings at Thera, and by Ellen Davis (pers. comm.) as belonging to Kea VI, contemporary with LM IA. Davis (1990, p. 226), referring to Abramovitz 1980, nos. 227, 228, 230, 239, 240, discussed possible lions with hairy texture rendered in "watercolor technique," with thick and thin brush strokes in graduated tones on a white ground. I am very grateful to Ellen Davis for sending me a recent photograph and description of the fragments (more exist than have been published); she says she is not sure there is a lion but that there are two eyes, therefore perhaps two animals, and a "hairy and brown and yellow" body that may be leonine (pers. comm.). The frescoes include hunting scenes associated with cauldrons, suggesting a feasting scene to Morgan (1995d, p. 244). The feasting theme is also found later at Pylos (Immerwahr 1990, p. 133); see note 161 below for the implications of real lion bones and eating.

50. The two well-dated painted sherds from Phylakopi: first (Fig. 9.10),

a sherd from a Cycladic White paneled cup (Barber 1987, pp. 153, 149, fig. 111, left) that shows the head of a dark lion with open mouth and a rectilinear band above; according to Barber (pers. comm.) this is surely a lion, apparently contemporary with the early Shaft Graves at Mycenae; second (Fig. 9.11), a bichrome sherd (Athens, N.M. 11441; Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXI:7) that shows an open, fanged mouth with a portion of a dotted muzzle facing a wing tip (bird? bat? griffin?). I thank Joost Crouwel and Robin Barber for their generous help with these objects. Crouwel dated both to late MC or MC/LC, calling the fanged lion (Fig. 9.11) "fearsome" (pers. comm.). The image of open mouth with fangs harks back to the Phaistos sealing in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum, 1064 (*CMS* II.5, 271), and to a Knossos Hieroglyphic Deposit seal (*CMS* VIII, 103), and it also presages or parallels the toothed and raging solo lion on the Lion Hunt dagger from Mycenae's Shaft Grave IV, 11 (Figs. 9.15, 9.22). See also Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1993 for an eyed jug without context (Athens, N.M. 18881) that shows two striding, bearded felines (lions?) with square heads, curled tails, split hind feet, and striped bodies.



Figure 9.6. Ships 1 (*far left*) and 4, Miniature Fresco, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after Morgan 1988, pls. 8, 9

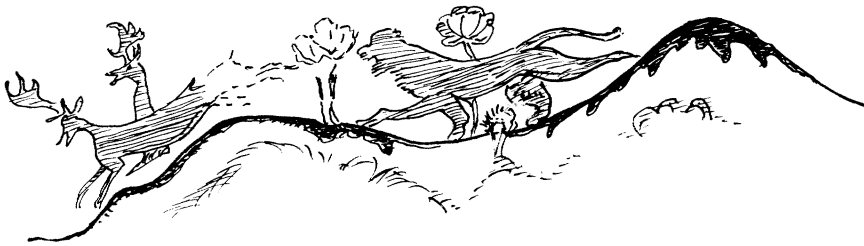


Figure 9.7. "Hilltop running lion," Miniature Fresco, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after Morgan 1988, pls. 8, 55

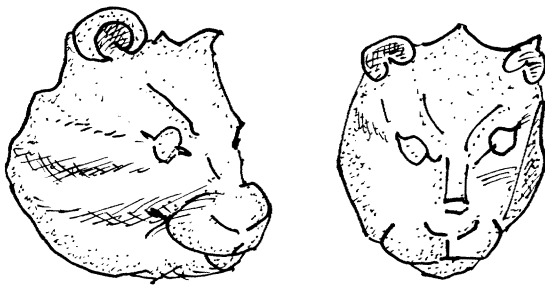


Figure 9.8. Rhyton, Building Alpha 2.3, Thera. N. Thomas, after *ArchEph* 1968, p. 113b

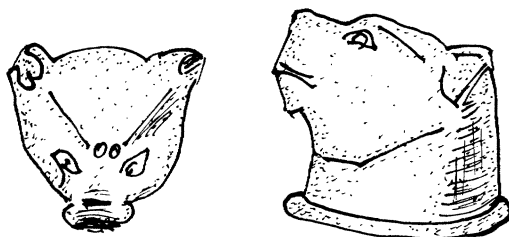


Figure 9.9. Rhyton, West House, Thera. N. Thomas, after *ArchEph* 1971, p. 295

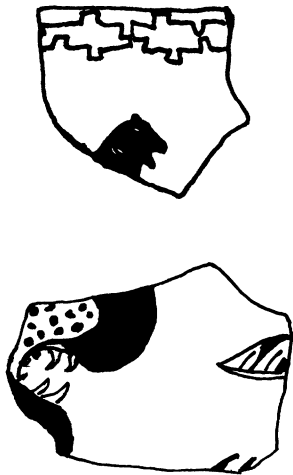


Figure 9.10 (*above*). Fragment of Cycladic White paneled cup, Phylakopi, Melos. N. Thomas, after Barber 1987, fig. 111, left

Figure 9.11 (*below*). Fragment of Bichrome ware, Phylakopi, Melos (Athens, N.M. 11441). N. Thomas, after Atkinson et al. 1904, pl. XXI:7

51. We have later leonine clay rhyta from Palaikastro and Zakros (Rhyne 1970, nos. 408, 430) in the Herakleion Archaeological Museum. These were dated LM IB–IIIA:1 by Vanschoonwinkel (1996, nos. 395, 396).

52. In the Herakleion Archaeological Museum, large-scale fragments of painted stucco from Knossos show the shoulder (mane?) and leg of an attacking animal (bull or lion?); see *PM* IV, p. 538, fig. 489. Immerwahr (1990, pp. 137, 177 [Kn 34], 218, note 12) called this the only example of a large-scale Minoan lion; Morgan (1995c, p. 36) accepted Evans's MM III date of the painting and said it possibly predates Thera's hunting lion. Shaw (1995, p. 115, citing Mark Cameron), however, preferred to see the image as a bull because "there are no signs of lions, either in relief or straight painting, elsewhere in the palace," and Vermeule (1975, p. 37, note 59) said the painting is "not dated, but may be LM IB like the [Knossos

discoveries have given us LB I lions in new media—clay rhyta,⁵¹ painted pots, and fresco⁵²—as well as in depictions of lost media not previously suspected, such as stern figures and hull paintings on ships. All these finds from the Cyclades are the earliest examples of lion art in their class found to date in the Aegean. The new lions from Akrotiri are squarely contemporary with both the flourishing phase of LM IA on Crete and at least the early-to-middle Shaft Graves at Mycenae, a fact amply demonstrated by shared characteristics appearing in all three regions.

Scholars have studied Thera's impact on Aegean lion art in terms of (1) iconography, (2) stylistic traits, (3) craft process, and (4) symbolic context, all of which influence each other. These investigations help distinguish points of origin and lines of transfer among the tangled skeins of the Early Mycenaean animal style.

ICONOGRAPHY

Identifying the particular characteristics of Minoan, Mycenaean, and Cycladic iconography is difficult, but most scholars agree on certain fundamentals, such as the initial Cretan development of decorative and naturalistic animal art and the subsequent Mycenaean addition of exceeding violence.⁵³ The violence of the hunt has, in fact, been the most studied lion theme in the last thirty years, particularly by Hans-Günter Buchholz, Ingo Pini, and Edmund Bloedow, all using seals as primary evidence,⁵⁴ and by Jean-Claude Poursat with ivories.⁵⁵ Lyvia Morgan summarized hunt and other specific themes in her overview of the lion with a focus on Thera.⁵⁶ Marijke Ballintijn broadly treated the joint impact of nature and artistic convention on lion motifs.⁵⁷ Two iconographic updates should be noted

stone] rhyton, or later."

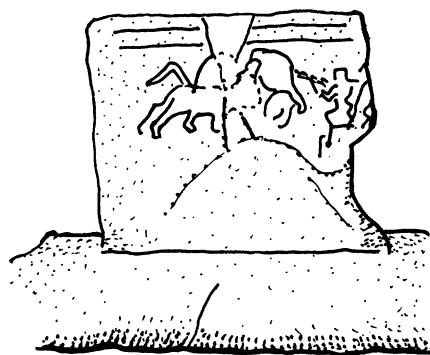
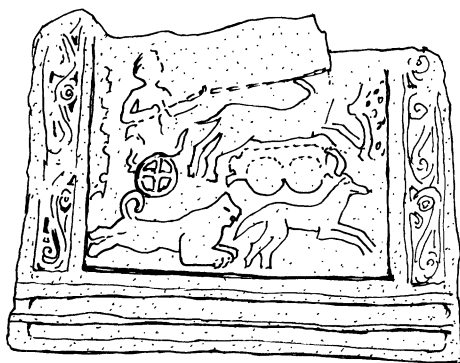
53. For basic animal iconography see Younger 1988, with diagrams of animal pose types (PT). On the differences between Shaft Grave and later Minoan lions, see Laffineur 1992, pp. 109–110; for a correlation of lion themes and steatite material, see Pini 1995; for Thera lions and mainland subject matter, see Kopcke 1981, p. 40.

54. Buchholz, Jöhrens, and Maull (1973) catalogued 132 Bronze Age examples of lion hunt in all media. Pini (1985) treated all types of lion hunt motifs on seals, with comparisons in nature, and studied (1989) armed men versus animals, including lions. Bloedow (1992, 1993, 1999) discussed lion hunt in several media. Regarding the *battue* system of hunting lions with batteurs, rabbateurs, palmettes, nets, and ropes, a system used in Africa into modern times, Papamanoli-Guest (1996) suggested that Minoan seal iconography depicted many of these elements of the lion hunt.

55. Poursat (1977a) also referred to other themes and media.

56. Morgan 1988, pp. 44–49, 166–172.

57. Ballintijn (1995), in many ways updating Morgan, dealt with the entire LB period and pointed out the coexistence (often in the same work) of real observation and artistic formulas. Mylonas (1970) treated lion themes on Grave Circle B stelai, 1, 2 (Figs. 9.1, 9.13). Donohue (1978) used the gold seals from Shaft Grave III, 6, 7 (Figs. 9.19, 9.20), to demonstrate lion poses adopted from other animals. Vanschoonwinkel (1986, p. 12) noted the Thera innovation of painting lion and dolphin together on the hull of the Admiral's Ship (Fig. 9.5), an animal pairing that has not appeared in Mycenaean art. Wohlfeil (1997) used selected seals to study the body positions of lions and bulls as indicators of Minoan and Mycenaean metaphorical language.



with regard to the lion stelai: (1) Agnès Sakellariou's squeeze of "Simile," 22 (Fig. 9.12), seems to show a fallen warrior covered by a figure-eight shield in the upper zone, which would make this a battle scene,⁵⁸ and (2) John Younger's identification of a wheel in "Unfinished," 2 (Fig. 9.13), has suggested to him a conjectural extension of the stele to the right to include a two-man chariot group.⁵⁹

Even though scholars continue to search for the sources of Early Mycenaean iconography, the Shaft Grave lions still present five "super-violent" scenarios with no Cycladic parallels, no immediate Minoan *antecedents*, and, in one case, no Minoan contemporaries.⁶⁰ These five scenarios are: (1) multiple attack (two or more lions on one prey); (2) overlapped attack (lion bodily overlapping and bearing down prey); (3) flying gallop coupled with attack, (4) lion against man, and (5) double hunt, with man versus lion and lion versus prey.

The first of these scenarios, multiple attack, appears on three Shaft Grave objects, 1, 2, 10 (Figs. 9.1, 9.13, 9.14), and on four sealings from Crete that are broadly dated to LM I or LM IB.⁶¹ Other LM I examples probably exist, but so far I have found no Minoan versions demonstrably earlier than the Shaft Grave works. Furthermore, Pini did not include any glyptic example of lion attack at all between the EM and LM periods.⁶² Conclusion regarding leonine multiple attack: no Minoan antecedents; some contemporaries.

Figure 9.12 (*left*). Stele (22) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 1427). N. Thomas

Figure 9.13 (*right*). Stele (2) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Alpha (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13576). N. Thomas, after Mylonas 1993, pl. 12:b

58. Xénaki-Sakellariou 1985, fig. 20.

59. Younger 1997, pl. XCIV:a.

60. See Rhyne 1970, pp. 108, 186, 197. I particularly thank Ingo Pini and John Younger for answering my endless questions about the seals and sealings. After noting the similarities among sealings from LM IA Crete and Thera, Pini concluded that "for me it is rather difficult to say whether a certain motif or composition originated on Crete or on the Greek mainland" (pers. comm.); for similar comments on the near impossibility of distinguishing LM/LH I-II seals on the basis of iconographic preference, see Pini 1990, including discussion on pp. 58–60, and notes 40 and 44 above.

61. Two sealings from Myrtos-Pyrgos, respectively, H.A.M. 1097 and Ayios Nikolaos Archaeological Museum 12567 (*CMS* II.6, 233, 234), both showing two lions attacking one bull; Pini (1985, p. 154, fig. 1) cited one of these, *CMS* II.6, 233, as the first example of demonstrable lion *attack* after EM seals. One sealing from Tylissos, H.A.M. 427 (*CMS* II.6, 274; Pini 1985, fig. 5), also shows two lions attacking one bull. One sealing from Khania, Archaeological Museum of Khania 1562 (*CMS* V.1A, 140), has two lions(?) and a single prey. Although Kopcke (1999, p. 344) considered the attack by multiple lions on bull to be "a genuinely Cretan motif," his Minoan

examples do not predate the Shaft Graves, and many of his examples of "Cretan" predecessors were found on the mainland or are of unknown provenience.

62. Pini 1985, pp. 153–154. Vanschoonwinkel (1990, p. 331) also stated there were no MM examples of hunting lions; note, however, that four sealings from MM Phaistos, H.A.M. 692, 711, 694, 910 (*CMS* II.5, 272, 284–286; Rhyne 1970, nos. 39, 37, 40, 38, respectively), depict single predators variously identified as lions by Buchholz, Jöhrens, and Maull (1973, no. 37), Younger (1993, pp. 9, 15), and Ballintijn (1995, p. 30).

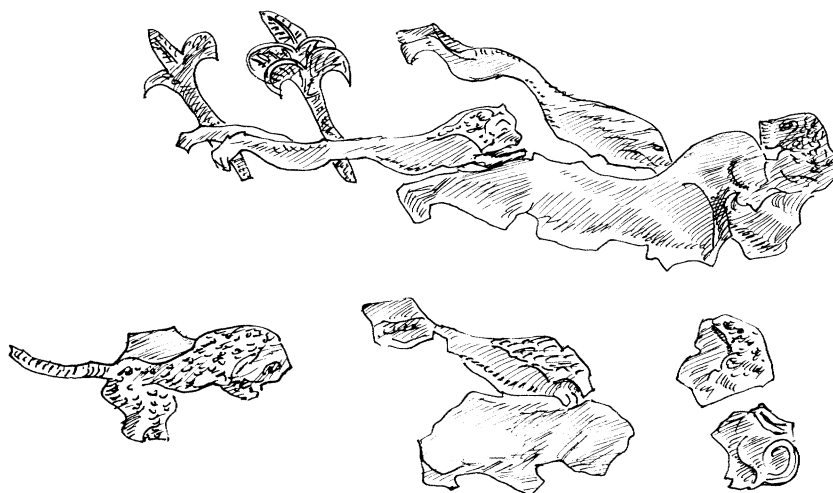


Figure 9.14. Reliefs (10) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 119, 120). N. Thomas

Overlapped attack also appears simultaneously in mainland Greece and on Crete. From Mycenae we have the “Unfinished” stele, 2, and the Lion Hunt dagger (reverse), 11 (Fig. 9.15), and from Mallia a clay seal recently identified as showing a lion (Fig. 9.16).⁶³ Pini dated this seal “hardly earlier than LM I” and stated that its “chiastic” format is new and “cannot be traced back to the MM period.”⁶⁴ The conclusion regarding overlapped attack: no Minoan antecedents; some contemporaries.

Flying gallop coupled with attack occurs on several Early Mycenaean objects in both stone and gold: the stele 22, and the gold cutouts, pommel, and plaques, 10, 13, 19 (Figs. 9.14, 9.17, 9.2). The only earlier candidate from Crete is the problematic Phaistos sealing,⁶⁵ which has been seen as either not a lion,⁶⁶ not an attack,⁶⁷ or not flying gallop.⁶⁸ A sealing from Knossos,⁶⁹ which Evans called a MM III example of the theme, has been downdated by Pini to LM I.⁷⁰ Although Evans saw MM hunting dog imagery as a prototype of this schema, his earlier canines are not really in flying gallop.⁷¹ Conclusion with regard to flying gallop with attack: no Minoan antecedents; some contemporaries.

The most well known of these especially violent themes is lion versus man. In LM IA Crete, lion and man are rarely shown in conflict; in Shaft Grave Greece, however, they are never shown in peace: 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 11, 22

63. The animal on this seal, H.A.M. 1302, was published as a quadruped in *CMS* II.1, 419, but was later identified as a lion in Pini 1984b, p. 78, pl. XIV:1.a–c; the lion’s body position is unclear in the different illustrations. For the overlapped attack pose, cf. H.A.M. 561 (*CMS* II.3, 283), a seal from a tomb at Cape Plake south of Palaikastro that depicts a lion leaping onto the back of an animal whose rear parts are not shown; the pottery associated with the Cape Plake burial is either LM I (Younger 1985, p. 68) or LM II (Effinger 1996, p. 305).

64. Pini 1990, p. 44. Evans (*PM* IV, pp. 527, 532) believed hunting dog iconography preceded that of the hunting lion, and he cited MM examples of dogs in overlapped attack. However, in Evans’s illustrations the dogs merely stand on the prey’s back without any bodily overlapping, and the seals’s dates and proveniences are not clearly given (*PM* IV, figs. 470, 471).

65. H.A.M. sealing 694 (*CMS* II.5, 285; Rhyne 1970, no. 40).

66. Pini (pers. comm.) said it may possibly show a bull in flying gallop, perhaps over a person.

67. Younger, pers. comm.

68. According to Levi’s illustration (1957–1958, no. 241).

69. The Gallery of the Jewel Fresco, lion over lioness/prey, Ashmolean Museum 1938.981 (*PM* I, fig. 539b; Kenna 1960, 6S; Rhyne 1970, no. 60).

70. Pini 1985, p. 159. The flying gallop coupled with attack appears in a combat between griffins and lions on a sealing from Sklavokampos of LM IB context, H.A.M. 638–641 (*CMS* II.6, 265).

71. See note 64.

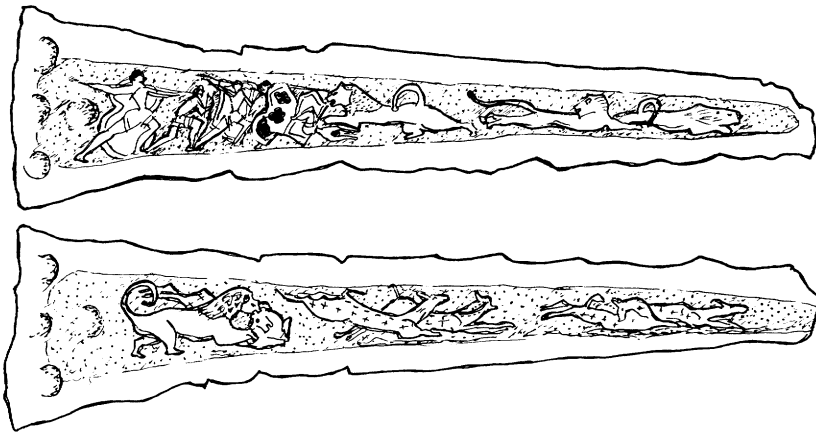


Figure 9.15. Lion Hunt dagger (11) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 394). N. Thomas

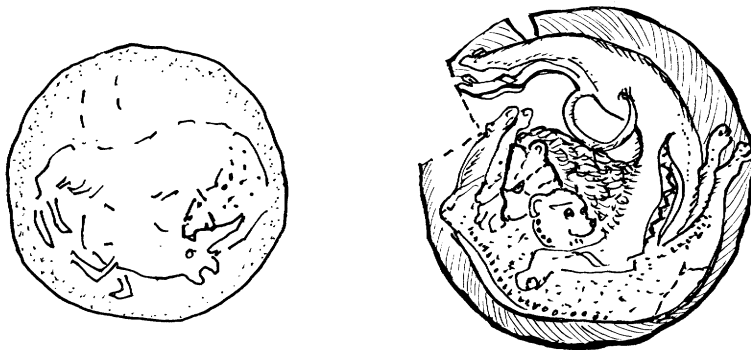


Figure 9.16 (*left*). Seal from Mallia (H.A.M. 1302). N. Thomas, after Pini 1984b, pl. XIV:1.a-c; *CMS* II.1, 419

Figure 9.17 (*right*). Pommel (13) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 295a). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. LXXVIII:295a

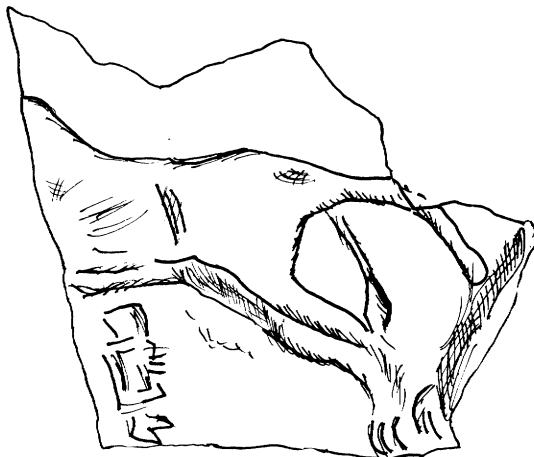


Figure 9.18. Cup (4) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Delta (Athens, N.M. 9563). N. Thomas, after Mylonas 1973, pl. 71:a



Figure 9.19 (above). Seal (6) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 33). N. Thomas



Figure 9.20 (below). Seal (7) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 34). N. Thomas

72. On the stele from Grave V, 22 (Fig. 9.12), man and lion are both engaged in violent activities, though not against each other; the nature of the stele fragments, 24 (Fig. 9.37), is indeterminate.

73. H.A.M. 1201, 1103, 821 (*CMS* II.1, 222, 311, 130; Rhyne 1970, nos. 1, 9:a, 20). An early form of the Master of Animals, a theme harboring violence, may appear on an ivory cylinder from Trapesa, H.A.M. 1578 (*CMS* II.1, 442b), decorated with a man standing between two lions(?) and dated by shape and material to EM II–MM IA by Yule (1980, p. 119).

74. Younger 1993, p. 186. The Mavrospepio cylinder seal of MM II/III context, H.A.M. 1334 (*CMS* II.3, 33), shows a man armed(?) near a lion, but the seal is an import according to Younger (pers. comm.). Sakellariou (cat. entry in Demakopoulou 1990, p. 279) stated that the man versus lion duel seen on Shaft Grave seal 6

(Figs. 9.1, 9.13, 9.18–9.20, 9.15, 9.12).⁷² Possible predecessors of the lion versus man image appear on a few Prepalatial Cretan seals, although in these the antipathy between lion and man is not explicit.⁷³ According to Younger, no example of man versus lion appears in the middle phase of Minoan glyptic,⁷⁴ and I have found no parallels securely dated to LM IA, either. The famous Temple Repositories sealing is a peaceful scene of deity and lion walking together (Fig. 9.3),⁷⁵ and the few Cretan examples with violence are dated either very broadly to “LM I” or to later periods.⁷⁶ These Minoan images of conflict show man attacking lion but never lion attacking man, unlike in Greece, where in over half the confrontations the lion is either the primary or equal aggressor. In Greece, the lion can even vanquish a man: 1, 4, 11 (obverse). In conclusion, for lion versus man there are no recent Minoan antecedents, and no Minoan contemporaries of the earliest Shaft Grave example (Grave Circle B’s stele from Grave Gamma, 1),⁷⁷ but there are some broadly dated LM I contemporaries.

The last and most violent of the five themes, double hunt (man versus lion and lion versus prey), appears on two stelai from Grave Circle B, 1 and 2 (Figs. 9.1, 9.13). This schema has not yet been verified for Crete earlier than late LM II.⁷⁸ Therefore there are no Minoan antecedents or contemporaries. Interestingly, both of these Grave Circle B stelai conjoin violent scenarios. On one stele, 1, two themes, multiple attack and double hunt, are mixed in a heraldic arrangement; on the other stele, 2, three schema, multiple attack, overlapped attack, and double hunt, are fused in a frieze. On both stelai, men vigorously assault lions.

Several scholars have suggested that Minoan and Cycladic painting provided the source for these large scenic carvings that appeared in a land

(Fig. 9.19) has no Minoan prototype, and that it is one of the few instances of such an image in Mycenaean art; see note 157 below for Crowley on the “duel” theme. The pose of a lion falling with an arrow in its chest, 7 (Fig. 9.20), implies violence from man; according to Donohue (1978), this pose is taken from the fallen steer motif, but the examples she cites for both steer and lion are either without context or are later than the Shaft Grave seal. See also Kopcke 1999, pp. 342–343, for a discussion of this “lion in agony” motif, which he calls a mainland contribution.

75. See note 42. Shaft Grave art has no counterpart to this peaceful scene. See note 37 on dating the Temple Repositories deposit.

76. The Knossos Palace seal, H.A.M. 901 (*CMS* II.3, 9), with an armed man in front of a bull that is being attacked by a lion is dated either late LM II (Younger, pers. comm.) or LM II–IIIA (Pini, pers. comm.);

the seal from the Little Palace at Knossos, H.A.M. 1756 (*CMS* II.3, 14), with an armed man standing upright before a falling lion, is dated to the “new palace period”; Zakros sealing, H.A.M. 65/1–4; 1147/1–3, 5 (*CMS* II.7, 33; Rhyne 1970, no. 100), with two men trussing a lion, is from a LM IB destruction level, although the seal itself could have been carved earlier (see note 40 above).

77. On the other hand, according to Marinatos (1995, p. 580), a Khania sealing (Archaeological Museum of Khania 1559 I; *CMS* V.1A, 135) with a man attacking a lion, from a LM IB destruction context, proves the theme appeared on Crete before it did in Greece.

78. For the later date of Knossos Palace seal *CMS* II.3, 9, with an armed man in front of a lion attacking a bull, see note 76; see note 81 for earlier Near Eastern versions.

without pictorial experience, in an unprecedented form, seemingly from nowhere.⁷⁹ While the idea of wide, sequential formats probably derived from painting, no iconographic parallels of any of the five especially violent lion themes themselves have been found to date in Minoan or Thera fresco or painted relief.⁸⁰

On the other hand, early Near Eastern art presents so many of these schemas that it almost appears that an Aegean strolled through a collection of ancient Mesopotamian cylinder seals and precious objects, and took notes.⁸¹ Even though scholars have not bridged the chronological gap between 3rd-millennium Akkad and mid-2nd-millennium Mycenae, we can reasonably postulate that the carvers of the Shaft Grave stelai drew from both Aegean painting and Near Eastern art, adding local lion lore and a new craft—large stone carving.⁸² A possible sequence might see the maker of the first stele, “Reused,” 1, enlarging a complex cylinder seal design of stilted, rampant animals and carving it as an open-air imitation of scenes in Aegean painting. The other example, “Unfinished,” 2, would be an even more ambitious performance. Here the artist combined several violent themes and also composed an overlapped attack, a grouping that evokes a much more muscular, active, and naturalistic fight than does the symmetrical, rampant formula.

These Helladic stelai exemplify what we do and do not know about Early Mycenaean lion iconography, demonstrating that the mainland predilection for violence was real and quite visible in the five especially violent themes, a cluster of scenarios that may well have been invented in Shaft Grave lion art.

79. With regard to Minoan and Cycladic prototypes, see Kopcke 1981, p. 41; Younger 1997, p. 237, note 51. Younger reconstructed a stele, 2 (Fig. 9.13), which he called “Unfinished” (1997, pl. XCIV:a), to show men in a chariot attacking hunting lions, and he compared the scene to that of the predator lion in a Thera fresco (Fig. 9.7). Hunting and chariots also appeared in the Kean frescoes (see Morgan 1995d), although apparently not involving lions; Immerwahr (1990, pp. 82–83) linked mainland art and Kean painting in both theme and details. Pini (1985, p. 166), however, strongly proposed Minoan glyptic as the thematic source of the Shaft Grave stelai, saying the grave markers’ subjects are unthinkable without knowledge of the Minoan glyptic repertory.

80. For Crete, see note 52; for Thera, notice that the hilltop lion in the West House Miniature Fresco is not actually attacking or in flying

gallop (Fig. 9.7). The absence of the five especially violent themes from both Thera and Cretan frescoes seems to me to align Thera more with Crete than with Greece in terms of pictorial animal combat. Morgan (1988, pp. 148, 170), however, dissected Thera lion art conceptually, seeing its strongest parallels to Crete in “attitude” and to Greece in “specifics of iconography and associative themes.”

81. Selected Mesopotamian examples of (1) overlapped attack: whereas most of the earlier Near Eastern works depict rampant, crisscrossed animals that do not bear each other down, a carved lid of shell on lapis from Ur does show a lion above—and closely embracing—a felled ram (a silver toilet box of Queen Shubad of Ur, University of Pennsylvania, University Museum; Legrain 1950, frontispiece); Evans illustrated another inlay from this box, but apparently did not notice the lid because he concluded that the image of a lion bearing down its prey with

full weight from above “has no counterpart” in the East (*PM* IV, p. 531, and fig. 474); (2) double hunt: rampant lions versus prey versus a man with a dagger (Early Dynastic III cylinder seal, National Museum, Baghdad, Ur 57; Frankfort 1970, pl. 84). For more Near Eastern antecedents of poses and compositions, see Rhyne 1970 and Crowley 1989.

82. Aruz (1995, p. 11) concluded that Syrian cylinder seals were valued as exotic jewelry in MM Crete but had “no major impact on Cretan seals.” Slightly later Kassite and Levantine art, which is contemporary with the LB Aegean, presents animals in files. See Aruz 1995 (pp. 6–11, notes 21–37) for a thorough discussion of the Near Eastern lapis lazuli cylinder seal having rampant crisscrossed animals, including lions, H.A.M. 238 (*CMS* II.2, 29; *PM* IV, fig. 350; Rhyne 1970, fig. 1); found at Knossos, the seal could have reached Crete any time from MM to LM III.

STYLISTIC TRAITS

Our understanding of stylistic traits, those markers of origins and transfers within the Aegean animal style, has also been radically affected by the discoveries at Akrotiri. In the 1970s, before the impact of Thera was fully felt in academic circles, important studies of Shaft Grave art were published by Emily Vermeule and John Younger. Vermeule's 1973 *Semple lectures*, which appeared as *The Art of the Shaft Graves of Mycenae*, sorted the mélange of sources, styles, themes, and possible meanings of the brilliant and eclectic finds from Mycenae, with frequent reference to the lion.⁸³ She cast her net between Crete and mainland Greece, with forays into the North and East, and her rich text, a verbal analogue of the art itself, intuitively evoked the Mycenaean mentality.

A different approach was taken by Younger, who focused entirely on the lion. Identifying a clearly defined set of body markings and artistic formulas that repeatedly appeared in Shaft Grave art, he sought the chief artist behind them, an artisan he named the "Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master."⁸⁴ Publishing his conclusions in a series of articles,⁸⁵ Younger chronicled the work and influence of this master, who was described as an east Cretan who migrated to Mycenae⁸⁶ and there established an important workshop that produced about half the lion art in Grave Circle A.⁸⁷ Younger traced this master's influence into the next generation's Vapheio gems and also back to Crete, the latter movement indicated by the "fish-gill" or "cheek-flap" mane.⁸⁸

83. Vermeule 1975.

84. Younger (1978) listed such anatomical peculiarities as masklike bony faces, flame locks of the mane, incised hatch marks on belly and haunches, and diagonal saphena veins on legs; he considered the gold lion-head rhyton, 15 (Fig. 9.26), to be the source of the head and face conventions. The effect of this rhyton has been studied by others. Rhyne (1970, pp. 153–154) stated that "the metallic quality of the head actually created a new type of leonine representation" in the scalloped, angular face and the linear separation of face and mane, which appeared "in other materials and techniques," 11, 12, 13, 14 (Figs. 9.15, 9.21, 9.17, 9.23); she also noted that the gold pommel, 13, echoes the rhyton's segmented face (on the lion) and its rivet marks (on the leopard). Poursat (1977a, pp. 200, 205–206) also catalogued body markings and recorded similarities between the rhyton and the daggers. In my opinion, the lions' faces on an ivory pommel, 14, look like

miniature rhyta; Weingarten (1983, pp. 66–67, pl. MSS-8) noted that Zakros sealing no. 93 (*CMS* II.7, 76) has a similarly converging composition with four lion heads (masks).

85. The three basic articles on the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master are Younger 1978, 1979, and 1981; the concept is further discussed in Betts and Younger 1982, and Younger 1983, 1984. Note the glyptic concordance in Younger 1989. In a critique of Younger's Lion Master attributions, Pini (1984a, pp. 128–130; 1996, p. 1096) emphasized the hazards in assigning "hands" and in making Minoan/Mycenaean distinctions. Laffineur (1990–1991, pp. 257–261) also worried about the great range in classes of objects assigned to the Lion Master's workshops, preferring instead connections based on similar scale and "really similar skills" in technique.

86. On chronological aspects of this scenario, see note 41.

87. Younger (1984, p. 48) identified the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master's

own hand in the gold rhyton, Lion Hunt dagger, Three Lion dagger, ivory pommel, gold pommel, gold cutouts, two gold seals, 6, 7, 10–15 (Figs. 9.19, 9.20, 9.14, 9.15, 9.21, 9.17, 9.23, 9.26), and possibly a stele, 18 (Fig. 9.24), as well as in other Shaft Grave objects without lions. Not included by Younger in the Lion Master group are 1–5, 8, 9, 16–21, 23–26 (Figs. 9.1, 9.13, 9.25, 9.18, 9.29–9.33, 9.24, 9.2, 9.34–9.39). See Thomas 1993 for an argument that lion daggers, 11 and 12 (Figs. 9.15, 9.21, 9.22), were made by different artisans.

88. Younger (1995, pp. 345–346) noticed the "fish-gill" or "cheek-flap" mane, a strange image in which the lion's cheek appears to protrude over the mane, rather than vice versa. Younger felt the oddity may have originated in the seals of the Mycenae-Vapheio lion group, such as 7 (Fig. 9.20), when a carver forgot to allow for reversal of original and impression, creating a peculiar type that was then copied in other Shaft Grave

Although Vermeule's work has not been updated, Younger markedly revised his thesis after the discovery of the Thera paintings, which show many of the same poses and body markings he had chronicled. The pan-Aegean existence of these traits now suggests to him a broader Zeitgeist and period-style, rather than the work of a particular master or workshop.⁸⁹ Younger's analysis of lion art has (1) demonstrated that artisans can work in more than one medium, a proposition now widely accepted; (2) established LM/LH I glyptic in an ongoing stylistic development;⁹⁰ and (3) tracked an identifiable set of leonine traits across space, time, and material, organizing a mass of data from which new studies will emanate.

CRAFT PROCESS

Our discovery of Akrotiri as a thriving center of artistic production has not only added new crafts to LB I Aegean lion art, such as terracotta rhyta, painted pots, and fresco, but it has also spotlighted an old inlaid dagger without context said to be from "Thera."⁹¹ This fragmentary weapon, now in Copenhagen, has in turn played a role in Robert Laffineur's 1990 proposal that Shaft Grave lion daggers, 11 and 12 (Figs. 9.15, 9.21), and other brilliantly inlaid objects from Grave Circle A were made not by Aegean metalsmiths, but by visiting or resident Levantine craftsmen working at Mycenae.⁹² According to this proposal, at the time of the Mycenaean

and Thera lion art. Rehak (1997a, p. 56, note 67) has traced the "cheek-flap" in Thera painting and Thera and Knossian lion-head rhyta (see Figs. 9.5, 9.8, 9.9). If this phenomenon indeed originated as a peculiar lapse in glyptic carving, I wonder if it could represent a "blink" in Shaft Grave craftsmanship. Two other possible explanations exist for the appearance of cheek over mane: first, the experimental nature of early attempts to cut, bend, and shape metal plates into a three-dimensional head produced an exaggerated angularity of the cheek ridge as seen on the gold rhyton, 15 (Fig. 9.26); second, in morning and afternoon light, the bright face of the distant lion sometimes appears to project over a dark void of mane (see Iwago 1996, photograph p. 59).

89. By 1985 Younger had modified the thesis from "hand" to "group" (1985, p. 50); by 1998 he saw the phenomenon as a wide Aegean *koine* (pers. comm.). For master/workshop/period styles concerning the Master of Lions theme, see Müller 2000.

90. See especially the Minoan Line-Jawed Lion group, which includes the slightly later Jasper Lion Master, identified and discussed in Younger and Betts 1979, Betts 1981, Betts and

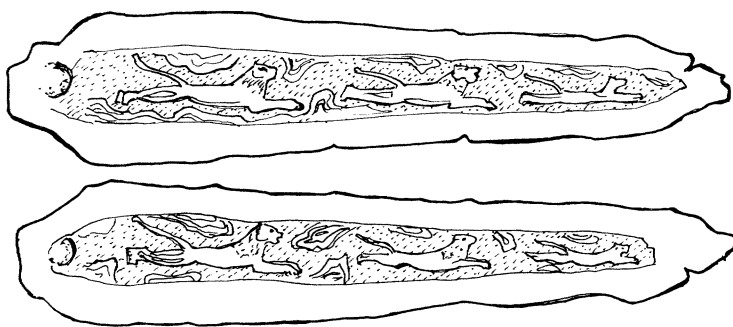
Younger 1982, and Younger 1983. Weingarten (1990) formulated the "Jasper Lion Master Paradox," a phenomenon in which single hands cannot be identified by a single set of characteristics; instead of seeking "hands" and "workshops" she identified "schools" and "allographic artists." Using this procedure, Weingarten dated the Rutsi prism, 26 (Fig. 9.39), as LH II on the basis of style and technique, even though its context was apparently contemporary with the later Shaft Graves (see note 14 above).

91. Copenhagen National Museum 3167, illustrated in Vermeule 1964, pl. XIII:C; Laffineur 1983b, fig. 6; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, pl. IX:1; Boss and Laffineur 1997, pl. LXVIII:a (detail); Papadopoulos 1998, pl. 9:63. On each side of the blade a row of gold, single-bladed axes is inlaid in a panel set into the metal. Strom (1984, p. 195) noted that "it is not certain that it was found on Thera. It was bought in the 1870s from a dealer in Athens." Branigan (1974a, p. 117) listed the weapon as a type X Minoan long dagger not likely manufactured later than MM III, whereas Tripathi (1988, p. 136) observed that it could be equally well from the mainland, and Papadopoulos (1989, p. 185,

citing Tsountas) said it was of Cycladic manufacture; Dickinson (1977, p. 68, note 2) suggested that it perhaps belonged with the fragment of a sword hilt bought in Athens at the same time, stating that there was "no reason to doubt their [Thera] provenance," but he later (1997, p. 45) reassessed the "Thera" blade as being possibly from the mainland, based on affinities with an axe design newly found on a Shaft Grave object (see note 100 below).

92. Laffineur 1990–1991, pp. 270–273; 1995b, p. 248; 1995c, p. 29; Boss and Laffineur 1997, p. 194; Laffineur 1998. Laffineur (1990–1991) proposed two potential scenarios: the weapons were "manufactured on the Greek mainland by foreign craftsmen who were familiar with the technique" (p. 270), or "some precious metal plaques are likely to have been cut and engraved by mainland craftsmen before being inlaid in the blade by foreign artisans who were more expert in using niello and in inserting the metal plaques" (p. 273). This theory was not addressed in Papadopoulos 1998, which discussed and catalogued by type all the LB daggers found in mainland Greece. Papadopoulos's text was written mainly in the 1970s, and his bibliography does not include Laffineur after 1974,

Figure 9.21. Three Lion dagger (12) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 395).
N. Thomas



Shaft Graves Levantine artisans worked simultaneously in Egypt, Thera, and the Argolid,⁹³ spreading abroad their native metallurgical technique, a multitone, black-metal inlay possibly invented at MB Byblos and known as “Painting in Metals,” or *metallmalerei*.⁹⁴

This new and compelling proposal forces us to grapple with how the startling mélange of image and technique seen on the Shaft Grave daggers actually came into being. The technique itself involves both the inlaying of cut-out precious foils and the use of darkened metal, possibly including the black material “niello.” A review of the last thirty years of scholarship on *metallmalerei*⁹⁵ indicates to me that Levantine art most probably did play a role in the development of Mycenaean black-metal inlay. The particular form of inlay, however—complex, polychrome, and pictorial—that appears on the Three Lion, 12, Lion Hunt, 11, and Nilotic daggers from Mycenae, seems most likely an Aegean creation and production (Figs. 9.21, 9.22).⁹⁶

The proposal that itinerant foreigners made the Shaft Grave daggers postulates a two-stage sequence. First, sophisticated masterpieces (made in Greece by Levantines) suddenly appeared at Mycenae that had no local precedent in such metallurgy. Second, as the Mycenaeans themselves took over, more “simple” works were produced.⁹⁷ Yet a decade of new finds and research indicates to me a longer sequence involving three phases that

Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, or any of the technical analyses of niello conducted in the 1990s; see Demakopoulou 2001 for an update of Papadopoulos’s study.

93. Laffineur (1990–1991, p. 272) cited (for the Theran connection) the Copenhagen weapon, and (for Egypt) the dagger from the tomb of Ahhotep, mother of Ahmose (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 52658, 52659; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, pl. IX:3). He used traditional (low) Aegean chronology, in which the Hyksos empire in Egypt ended (and the Eighteenth Dynasty began) at approximately the time of the Theran eruption, ca. the mid-16th century B.C. For implications of the new (high) chronology, see notes 11 above and 149 below.

94. For MB II weapons from Egypt and the Levant possibly inlaid with

niello, see Montet 1928–1929; Watzinger 1933; Lucas and Harris 1962; Laffineur 1974; Kühn 1987; Müller 1987; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989; Laffineur 1990–1991, p. 269; Touchais 1999; Nicholson and Shaw 2000.

95. Laffineur 1974, Davis 1976, Dennis 1979, La Niece 1983, Papadopoulos 1986, Kühn 1987, Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, Schweizer 1993, Boss and Laffineur 1997, Giumlia-Mair and Rubinich 2002.

96. The Nilotic dagger (Fig. 9.22, top) is from Shaft Grave V, Athens, N.M. 765 (PM III, color pl. XX; Morgan 1988, pl. 185). See the highly magnified photographic details of all three daggers in Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, and Boss and Laffineur 1997.

97. Laffineur 1990–1991, pp. 273, 275. For recent proposals that the Mycenaean, Near Eastern, and Egyptian black-metal inlay is not niello at all but a black-stained bronze, known as *Hšmn-Km* = Corinthian bronze, see Giumlia-Mair and Craddock 1993, La Niece and Craddock 1993, Photos, Jones, and Papadopoulos 1994, Demakopoulou et al. 1995, Giumlia-Mair 1995, 1996, Craddock and La Niece 1996, Giumlia-Mair 1997, Jones et al. 2001. For a rebuttal of this position as it concerns Mycenaean inlay, see Boss and Laffineur 1997, and Boss 1998, an online lecture. In my opinion, because of problems in testing, the presence or absence of sulfide niello on the Shaft Grave daggers has not yet been scientifically ascertained.

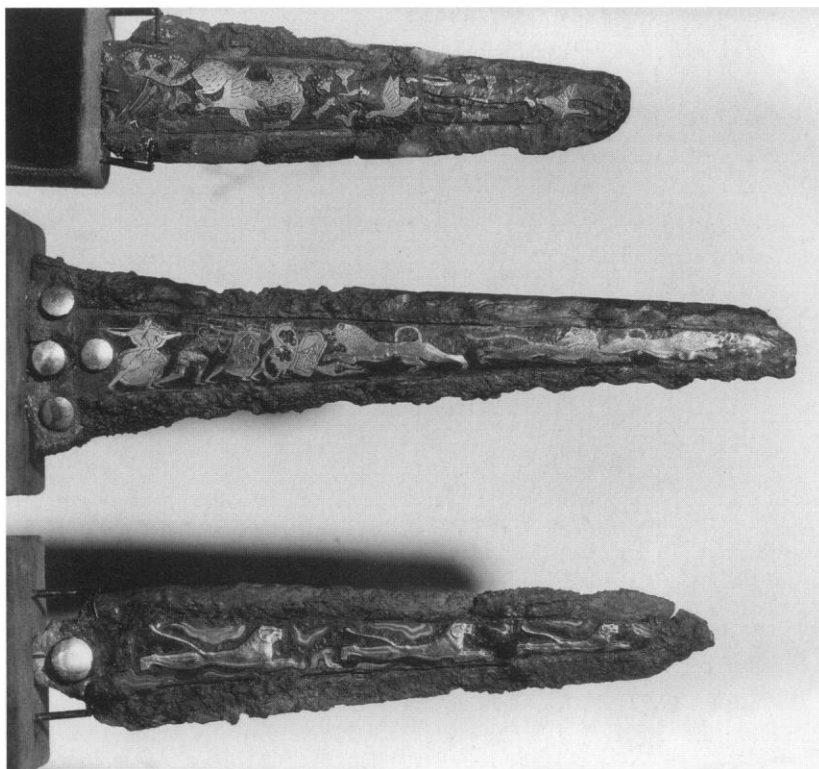


Figure 9.22. Three inlaid daggers from Shaft Grave Circle A, Mycenae: Nilotic (*top*, Athens, N.M. 765); Lion Hunt (*middle*, 11; Athens, N.M. 394); Three Lion (*bottom*, 12; Athens, N.M. 395). Hirmer Verlag, Munich

move not from complex to simple but from simple to complex. The first was an elementary stage, in which the technique of precious- and black-metal inlay was absorbed into an already burgeoning Helladic production of elaborate weaponry; the second was a brief period of the greatest technical and aesthetic achievement, during which the famous Three Lion, Lion Hunt, and Nilotic daggers were created; the third phase consisted of the continuing production of the other types of sophisticated, inlaid objects found in Mycenaean Greece.

The years since 1990 have greatly expanded our knowledge of the local and international background of the *metallmalerei* daggers. The three most important discoveries are the MH II shaft grave at Kolonna on Aigina, the paintings at Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt, and a new image from Grave Circle A at Mycenae. The shaft grave at Kolonna has yielded enough rich objects and decorated weaponry to prove that significant metalworking skills were already present in MH II Greece, including the forging of bronze knives, daggers, spearheads, and swords, and also the hammering of patterns into gold, the production of gold and silver foil, and the plating of these precious foils over bronze, even in animal-style imagery (gold-plated boars heads appear at the shoulders of a bronze razor.) Such skills form a background for LH I Shaft Grave decorative metallurgy that ranged from the inlaying of a simple band of electrum along a dagger blade (Grave Circle B, Grave Nu, no. 304) to assembling the fully pictorial inlays found in Grave Circle A.⁹⁸

The more elaborate scenes from Grave Circle A are inlaid in and embellished with a black material often called niello, a sulfide. Not all

98. On the Kolonna finds, see *Alt-Agina* IV, iii, pp. 13–66; Dietz 1998, pp. 20–21. For different stages of Helladic antecedents for elaborate, inlaid weaponry, see Graziadio 1991, pp. 419–421; Taracha 1993, pp. 22–23; Rutter 1993, pp. 776–778, 790. Dickinson (1977, p. 82) asserted that “more than one stage in such a development can in fact be identified”; Laffineur (1983a, p. 117) proposed a “gradual and organic evolution on the mainland”; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou (1989, p. 15) and Dietz (1998, p. 22) saw a long internal evolution. Graziadio (1991, p. 421) said that dagger no. 304 from Mycenae’s Grave Circle B, Grave Nu, “shows an archaic inlay possibly antecedent to the famous examples inlaid in the niello technique . . . from circle A.” On the animal style, cf. the gold-plated boars heads on the shoulders of the MH II Kolonna razor with the often-unnoticed second set of animal heads on the tangs of Mycenae’s Grave Circle B sword hilt, 3 (Fig. 9.25).

scholars agree that niello itself actually appears on the inlaid daggers, but research now suggests that the materials necessary for producing it were at hand in Shaft Grave Greece: sulfides are among the normal by-products of processing silver and bronze, and the emerging Laurion mines in Attica yielded ore that included naturally occurring sulfides ready to use as fusible, niello-type substances.⁹⁹ Helladic artisans could have noticed and learned to use these materials without foreign suggestion.

The second discovery affecting the Levantine-maker theory is the fresco painting from Tell el-Dab'a in the Nile delta. These works, with their strong Aegean affinities, now suggest direct connections between Aegean and Egyptian art. While this link strengthens the idea of the transference of technology through itinerant artisans, it obviates the necessity of seeing only Levantines in this role.

Third, Thera has not yet been proven to have been a stepping-stone for the spread of Levantine craftsmanship into the Aegean. Scholars are now considering the possibility that the so-called "Theran" dagger with its black-metal inlay (now in Copenhagen) actually may have been made at Mycenae. A previously hidden attachment of silver axes shaped like those inlaid in the dagger has been uncovered on a bracelet from Shaft Grave IV.¹⁰⁰ Thus Levantine links with Thera are now in question. Finally, sufficient evidence may not exist to support a semiresident Levantine presence at either Thera or Mycenae.¹⁰¹

In what way, then, did oriental craftsmanship make itself felt in Mycenae? A simple inlaid amulet obtained from a passing sailor or artisan, or received as a richer gift of diplomatic exchange, could have provided an

99. For recent research on niello and other black-metal inlay, see notes 95 and 97; for sulfide scrap from metal-working, see La Niece 1983, pp. 285, 288. On the Laurion mines producing ready-to-use niello-type substances, see Boss and Laffineur 1997, pp. 193–194, 196. Direct demonstration is not mandatory in duplicating a complicated craft: La Niece (1983, p. 280, note 11, and p. 282) created and experimented with niello of medieval and renaissance type, and Plenderleith (1952, p. 383, note 1) duplicated Theophilus's recipe for niello while restoring the Enkomi cup. A report of unpublished niello found on Crete still needs to be taken into account (cited in Bloedow 1997, p. 444, note 28).

100. Gold and silver bracelet, Athens, N.M. 263, illustrated before restoration in Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 201, top; and in Hood 1978, fig. 202. Dickinson (1997, p. 45, and pers. comm.) reported a new restoration of the bracelet that revealed a silver-plate attachment of four axes of the

type inlaid on the "Theran" dagger in Copenhagen (see note 91 above); the silver axes are attached to, not inlaid in, the bracelet, and their hafts meet in a whirling design. The tomahawk-type axe was considered to be an island form of weapon by Tsountas (cited in Papadopoulos 1986, p. 132, notes 27, 28). Yet its discovery on the bracelet suggested to Dickinson (1997, p. 45) that the so-called "Theran" blade might indeed have been made at Mycenae, in which case it was one of the "early essays" in the inlay technique at Mycenae, "along with other blades from the Shaft Graves into which plain metal plates or strips were inlaid, and to me this seems to provide a good basis for suggesting that in the Aegean this technique *was* developed at Mycenae rather than in Crete." Dietz (1998, p. 25) agreed with this suggestion. In my opinion Dickinson's comments, aimed at distinguishing Mycenaean from Minoan work, also hold true when considering Mycenaean versus Levantine origins.

101. Cline (1994, p. 53 and table 34, p. 58) showed no evidence of resident or semiresident Syro-Palestinians at LH I or II Mycenae. Of his ten criteria that must appear in some combination to verify foreigners at a site, Mycenae tentatively meets only one: local material worked in a new and foreign manner. Among criteria not met are: ordinary foreign objects in habitation or burial contexts, worked foreign goods in crafts areas, and foreign goods deposited as votive offerings. The fact that no Syro-Palestinian imports at all have been found at Mycenae or Tiryns, in either LH I or II contexts, cautions against regarding foreign artisans as having such a direct role in the formation of Mycenaean art. In suggesting a Levantine "enclave colony" on Thera, Laffineur (1990–1991, pp. 270–272) cited Lambrou-Phillipson 1990, pp. 167–168, but Cline (1994, p. 51) stated that Lambrou-Phillipson's evidence does not withstand scrutiny.

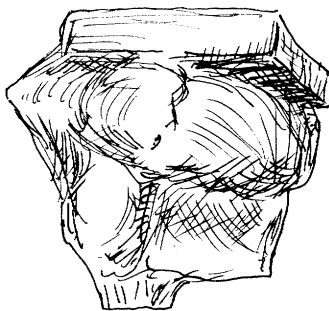
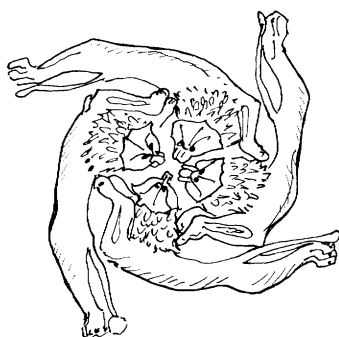


Figure 9.23 (*left*). Pommel (14) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 295b). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. LXXVII:295b

Figure 9.24 (*right*). Mirror handle (18) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 785). N. Thomas, after Patrianakou-Iliaki 1996, fig. 4

immediate visual stimulus. Mycenaean smiths themselves, whether at home or abroad, could have observed a demonstration of the technical process of inlaying with black-metal, which in turn could have catalyzed them to create their own versions of decorated weapons, first with simple inlays, then with complex pictorial designs incorporating a patron's favorite images. In light of the fluid artistic situation in the Mediterranean and our expanding knowledge of mainland metallurgy, it seems reasonable to conclude that the LH I inlaid weapons, particularly the Three Lion, Lion Hunt, and Nilotic daggers with their vivid indigenous iconography, could well have been made by Aegeans, most likely working at Mycenae.

In addition to *metallmalerei*, other crafts and processes associated with Shaft Grave lion art have been investigated in the last thirty years, particularly stelai, ivories, and metalwork. Younger recently recatalogued all the stelai and briefly discussed interesting aspects of manufacture, noting the faulty and experimental quality of the work and linking stone carving with "drawing/incising" on wood and ivory.¹⁰²

Ivory lions occur twice in the Shaft Graves: on a pommel with whirling lions in relief, 14 (Fig. 9.23), and on 18 (Fig. 9.24), a damaged three-dimensional mirror handle that recently has been redrawn as showing a single curled lion, not two heraldically confronted animals.¹⁰³

Although most of the art, including lion art, from the Shaft Graves is made of metal, I know of no comprehensive study of LH I/LM I *figurative metalwork*. Nevertheless, many of the individual, metallic, lion objects have been considered under separate investigations of rings and gemstones,¹⁰⁴ jewelry,¹⁰⁵ metal vessels,¹⁰⁶ and glass.¹⁰⁷ Some of these metal pieces,

102. Younger 1997, p. 233. Hood (1978, pp. 99) and Thomas (1993) noted this link between carving and wood/ivory work; Thomas distinguished between the two lion daggers, 11 and 12 (Figs. 9.15, 9.21), as deriving from two different technical approaches, drawing versus modeling.

103. Patrianakou-Iliaki 1996, fig. 4. For ivories, see Poursat 1977a, 1977b; for new evidence pointing to Minoan manufacture of disk-shaped mirrors and for the proposed French-Greek collaboration on an ivory corpus, see

Rehak and Younger 1998b, p. 238, note 88, p. 230, note 9.

104. For gem carving as a fount of Shaft Grave style, see Younger's articles on the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master, listed in notes 84–87 above; for a larger bibliography on glyptic, see Younger 1991.

105. While studying metal jewelry, Laffineur (1995a, p. 192) found the only provable instance of the creation of identical figures by beating foil into a hollow mold: the four small gold lions from Shaft Grave III, 5 (Fig. 9.29). This

peculiarly Mycenaean practice allies metalworking with glassmaking (for multiple copies) and with gem carving (for carving the mold). See Tournavitou 1997 for molds and workshops.

106. Davis 1977, Laffineur 1977.

107. For bibliography in all of these areas, see Dickinson 1994, and Cullen 2001, which updates the *AJA* review articles by Davis (1992), Rutter (1993), Sheldermine (1997), and Rehak and Younger (1998a). The Theran rhyta in terracotta call for more study of this material (Figs. 9.8, 9.9).

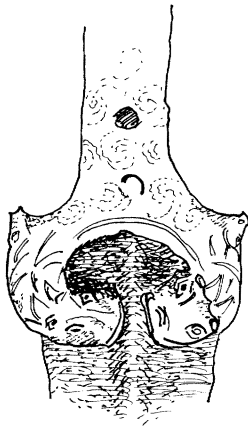


Figure 9.25. Hilt (3) from Mycenae, Grave Circle B, Grave Delta (Athens, N.M. 8710). N. Thomas

such as the gold plaques, 19 (Fig. 9.2), seem to recall a humbler substratum of wood/bone/antler carving, a craft whose influence erupted into richer materials when the occasion demanded.¹⁰⁸ Wood has left us a few actual remnants in Shaft Grave lion art, 3 and 13 (Figs. 9.25, 9.17),¹⁰⁹ and a heterogeneous collection of clues.¹¹⁰ This perishable material deserves more study. Possibly the “northern” look in Shaft Grave art actually springs from a strong tradition of woodcarving.¹¹¹

SYMBOLIC CONTEXT

Thera’s fourth major impact on studies of lion art concerns symbolic context. Scholars no longer find it sufficient to ask, as did Vermeule in 1973, whether the lion is “simply the most worthy antagonist for a true prince” or whether the animal was clearly symbolic.¹¹² Current studies of symbolism look beyond the basic concepts of “emblem,” “symbol,” and “religion” to a fuller consideration of the large and intersecting arenas of political, economic, social, and ritual practice.

Soon after the discovery of the frescoes at Akrotiri, Sara Immerwahr used this broader political and economic context to relate Mycenaean lion art to Thera. The lion blazons on ships indicated, in her view, not only that the major ship in the fleet could have been named “The Lion,” but also that a peaceful Mycenaean naval presence existed at Thera, such as would have been appropriate for the visiting representative of the royal personage at Mycenae.¹¹³ Laffineur continued this theme, seeing not only a Mycenaean “admiral” of the fleet living in the West House at Akrotiri, but also speculating that this man was subsequently buried in Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae.¹¹⁴

Fundamental to such discussions are artistic dominance and chronological priority, which are disputed among Crete, Greece, and Thera. While

108. My personal pick of such objects, on the basis of style, would include 3, 5, 8, 9, 15, 19, 20 (Figs. 9.25, 9.29–9.31, 9.26, 9.2, 9.34). The influence of wood carving could arise during the process of hammering gold over an already carved piece of wood, or from copying the stylistic traits of such metal-clad wooden objects, or from copying woodwork itself.

109. Wood also apparently played a part in the formation of the gold lion-head rhyton, 15 (Fig. 9.26) (Demakopoulou 1990, p. 139), and in fashioning the small gold handles that were perhaps formed over now-lost wooden cores, 8, 20 (Figs. 9.30, 9.34). The stern figures depicted on the Thera ships possibly give us more information about lost woodwork in the round (Figs. 9.5, 9.6).

110. The wood-related clues from non-lion art: (1) Schliemann (1878, pp. 260, 266, 321, fig. 387) described a

wooden mold found near 340 gold buttons in Grave V, as well as carved wooden buttons covered in gold foil bearing the same design; see also Dickinson 1977, p. 77; 1997, p. 48; Demakopoulou 1990, p. 312; (2) the bronze-over-wood “hair locks” (lion mane?) from Knossos (*PM* III, fig. 276), omitted from Rhyne 1970, studied by Robin Hägg (1983a, pp. 544–545, fig. 3; 1983b); (3) wooden box with dogs in relief from Shaft Grave V, illustrated in Hood 1978, fig. 100; (4) wooden coffins and biers in the Shaft Graves, discussed in Muhly 1996; (5) gold-covered wooden handles apparently added to an Egyptian alabaster alabastron from Shaft Grave V, in Karo 1930, no. 829; Hood 1978, p. 148; according to Laffineur (1990–1991, p. 285), the use of gilded wood on these handles seems more Mycenaean than Minoan; (6) for other objects and information on wood, see Hood 1978,

p. 95 and notes 47 and 49, pp. 99, 238; Branigan 1974b, p. 157; Laffineur 1996, pp. 92, 113, note 151; for the chrysokentissi technique see Sakellariou 1984, p. 135.

111. See note 36 for “blinks” when wood carvers come to the fore. Interestingly, the rich, wooden objects often belong to the later graves. Dickinson (1989, p. 132) noted “northern” traits in the later but still rich graves. See note 136 below on “northern” affinities.

112. Vermeule 1975, p. 35.

113. Immerwahr (1977, pp. 181–182) saw reciprocal influences and concluded that contact between the two areas existed at the time of the earlier graves of Grave Circle B. She asked if the “admiral” of the West House could have been a Mycenaean.

114. Laffineur 1983a, esp. pp. 115–117; 1984, p. 138.

Immerwahr and Laffineur saw the Mycenaeans as influencing Thera, O. Negbi and J. Vanschoonwinkel proposed Thera as the source of much Mycenaean style. Alternatively, Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier argued for Minoan dominance of the other two regions through the Cretan thalassocracy.¹¹⁵ Lions were used to substantiate all of these arguments. For example, Laffineur proposed a three-part sequence in which the Mycenaean daggers inlaid with running animals first inspired the development of painted lion blazons on real Aegean ships, which, in their turn, appeared on the Akrotiri frescoes.¹¹⁶ Vanschoonwinkel and Negbi took an opposite point of view, submitting that the Thera paintings influenced mainland daggers and vases.¹¹⁷

Niemeier suggested that the emblematic lion blazons on the painted ships could be traced back to MM II–III heraldic and “bust” seals.¹¹⁸ In rebuttal, Laffineur insisted that parallels must go beyond simple occurrence of a motif to a deeper level of context; thus he aligned the running lions on Thera ships with those on Mycenaean weapons that share the same pose and also the same aggressive format and iconography of power (12, Fig. 9.21).¹¹⁹

Power and hierarchy, hot topics in Mycenaean research, have generated several studies of lions focusing on the mighty beast as analogue of masculine prowess. Nannó Marinatos analyzed metaphors of victory and pecking order that she says are suggested when man and lion are paired as analogous symbols in parallel scenes. For example, man versus man and lion versus prey are juxtaposed in zones on Shaft Grave stele, 22 (Fig. 9.12), and man versus lion and lion versus prey echo each other on the two sides of the Lion Hunt dagger, 11 (Fig. 9.15).¹²⁰ Morgan, studying symbols of dominance and societal coming of age practices, cited two pairs of parallelism in human and animal behavior: man and lion in Greece, and boxing boys and antelopes on Thera. In her view, both sets of images embody ideas of aggression, maturation, and male prowess in society.¹²¹ She later developed these concepts, using lion and bull, to compare “appropriation of power” in Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East through parallel images of “contest (sports and acrobatics) or conquest (hunting and warfare).”¹²² I have studied lion art as a marker of dominance, comparing

115. Immerwahr 1977, Laffineur 1984, Negbi 1978, Vanschoonwinkel 1986, Niemeier 1990. Immerwahr (1990, p. 136) saw the animal file schema as aligning Thera composition with Mycenae rather than with Crete. Kopcke (1981, p. 40) said the lions of the Shaft Grave daggers were Cretan or Cycladic in style no matter where they were made.

116. Laffineur 1984, pp. 135–137. One wonders if there would have been enough actual time for the sequence of inlaid dagger > real ships > painted ships to have occurred before the vol-

cano erupted, especially if the daggers belonged to the somewhat later burials of the Shaft Graves. Laffineur (1983a) considered some of the chronological problems implied in various scenarios.

117. Vanschoonwinkel 1986, p. 32; Negbi 1978, p. 654. Laffineur (1990–1991, p. 274) agreed with this view in the case of the Nilotic scene.

118. Niemeier 1990, pp. 270–271.

119. Laffineur’s comments following Niemeier 1990, p. 283. See also note 45 above regarding a similarly posed running lion from the Idaean Cave.

120. Marinatos 1990. On the other hand, Bloedow (1992, p. 304, note 54; 1999) disputed lions in this metaphorical role and instead interpreted lion schema as deriving from the natural predatory action of the animal.

121. Morgan 1995b.

122. Morgan 1996, pp. 30–31. She noted the cross-referencing of meaning implied in various Aegean objects, and she speculated that symbols from these small works were merged into a larger “cycle” of paintings created by Aegeans at Tell el-Dab’a in Egypt; see note 158 below.

four competing masculine power roles in LH Greece: chief, warrior, hunter, and ritual-maker. Surprisingly hunter, not warrior, seemed to generate and encompass the other roles.¹²³

Questions of masculine status have now been joined by the “women problem.” Paradoxically, two of the most ferocious and warlike lion images from Mycenae come from Shaft Grave III, the “women and children’s grave.”¹²⁴ The gold seals, 6, 7 (Figs. 9.19, 9.20), show the direct and terrible duel between man and lion on one seal and a grievously wounded lion on the other. As only one seal and no engraved gold finger rings were found in the rich male burials from either circle,¹²⁵ and because seals and rings were indeed associated with female burials,¹²⁶ scholars have tried to correlate the themes and media with the roles of women. Friedrich Matz concluded that Mycenaean women were great warriors.¹²⁷ Laffineur argued that seals show a lesser social status than does weaponry; hence seals were associated with women’s graves.¹²⁸ I wonder if war and status are actually the main issues here. Men did wear seals and rings as pendant jewelry,¹²⁹ and nonwarrior women could be buried with warlike seals *if* we view the ferocious image as the burial gift from a man to his wife, his mother, his sister, or his daughter, as his last and only way to go with her, to protect her in death.¹³⁰

On a complex symbolic level, Laffineur has explored in a series of articles a “system” of two related meanings, combat and eternity, as seen in arms and jewelry.¹³¹ Focusing on the double themes of (1) war/speed/strength and (2) regeneration/ metamorphosis/afterlife, he has discerned two series of objects—daggers and ships—that use lions and function as power symbols by connoting speed and regeneration. In his articles Laffineur always followed his own rule, that objects should be studied comprehensively by correlating their type, material, technique, quantity, and iconography.¹³²

Religious symbolism has also been broadly investigated by Bloedow and Marinatos, who reached differing conclusions about the lion’s role in sacrifice.¹³³ Karen Foster saw a “geocultic bond” between lions and snakes

123. Thomas 1999. Lion behavior is analogous to human military and hunting tactics, which also employ coordination, stealth, surprise, group effort, and separation and destruction from the rear; I owe these thoughts to Roger Thomas. For other studies of iconography as power, status, and militarism with discussions of lion images, see Laffineur 1983a, 1983b, 1990, 1992, 1995c, Kopcke 1999.

124. When Vermeule (1975, p. 9) stated that “the women of Grave III have more lions than any other burial,” she was referring to the many duplicates of basic types; Grave III actually has six lion formats, Grave IV has

seven counting both sides of the Lion Hunt dagger, 11 (Fig. 9.15), and Grave V has seven counting its stele and both scenes from the wooden box, 22 (Fig. 9.12) and 19 (Fig. 9.2).

125. Laffineur 1990, p. 123.

126. Laffineur 1990–1991, p. 282. Women’s ownership is deduced from the burial findspot and from the small diameters of the rings.

127. Matz 1962, p. 171.

128. Laffineur 1990, p. 123.

129. Rings can belong to men, and a small diameter does not restrict ownership to women, according to Younger (1977, p. 150). See also Philip (1995, p. 74) on weapons in women’s burials,

even inside their sarcophagi, at Middle Kingdom Lisht.

130. See Morgan 1995a on lion-killing as emblematic of man’s destroying the perpetrator of death itself.

131. Laffineur 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1985, 1987–1988, 1995c.

132. On this way of studying art, see Laffineur 1983b; 1985, pp. 247, 265; 1990–1991, pp. 247–248; 1995a.

133. Marinatos (1986, pp. 13, 49) has called sacrifice “the sacred form of violence,” and she sees lions as the victims. Bloedow (1992, p. 304, note 54; 1999) disputes lions as either “victims” or “guardians.”

in Thera ship paintings, postulating in their association an annual festival in the Cyclades like the Sed Festival in Egypt.¹³⁴ Morgan recently studied the full-frontal-faced lion, which she suggested is symbolic of death itself.¹³⁵ The frontal-faced lion occurs twice in the Shaft Graves, on the protome hilt, 3 (Fig. 9.25), from Grave Circle B, and the gold lion-head rhyton, 15 (Fig. 9.26), from Grave Circle A. Thera has also produced two examples, the clay lion-head rhyta (Figs. 9.8, 9.9).

In summary, Thera has permanently altered our understanding of the iconography, stylistic traits, craft process, and symbolic context of the lion in the Aegean animal style. Although Thera gives us more evidence to consider, such evidence has produced more speculation than certainty about absolute points of origin or lines of transfer. Ironically, the increased focus on the Cyclades may have helped push the “northern” aesthetic component out of favor: today the elusive “nomadic” strain of Shaft Grave art, noted by Vermeule and others, is being connected by Dickinson to a Mediterranean and Eastern origin.¹³⁶

The final impact of Thera in Mycenaean times was its eruption and disappearance. According to the scenario in Driessen and Macdonald's *The Troubled Island*, the tremendous earthquake associated with Thera's eruption seriously damaged Crete and sent it into a long decline.¹³⁷ How would the Shaft Grave princes on the mainland have reacted to finding their two best sources of luxury goods and artistic skill, Akrotiri and Knossos, either blown off the map or in disordered distress?

In a recent correlation of craft and kingship, Mary Helms concluded that traditional societies consider foreign, exotic, and richly crafted goods and materials to be heavily laden with cosmological value and power. Indeed, such goods are traditionally believed to tap directly into the “supernaturally and ancestrally sanctioned ethics, political-ideology, and myth-history of the polity.”¹³⁸ The objects themselves become literal “pieces” of such power-charged places, whether “out there” (other societies) or “up there” (divinely connected creation).¹³⁹ The wearers of such awesome works become in effect “crafted” lords,¹⁴⁰ and to be buried with such goods creates a powerful ancestor-to-be.¹⁴¹ Therefore the leaders *must* acquire. Honorable acquisition, display, distribution, and burial of rich and richly crafted works is often crucial at the “growth points” of societies in the evolution of a kingly image; according to Helms, societies unable to acquire such power-filled objects may begin imitating the crafting on their own.¹⁴²

134. Foster 1989, pp. 14, 16–20. While Foster saw the painted, non-lion stern figures as snakes, Morgan (1988, p. 134) did not mention snakes, calling the non-lion stern figure on ships 3, 5, and 7 “a dappled creature, plausibly interpreted by Hood and Immerwahr as a griffin.”

135. Morgan 1995a.

136. Dickinson (1997, pp. 47–49) argued against Ellen Davis's “Transylvanian connection,” Sherratt's “Carpathian connection,” Hiller's “Black Sea

connection,” and Vermeule's “northern” affinities. He suggested instead an older substratum from the East that made its way through Anatolia into the Balkans and the Aegean. See also Dickinson 1989, p. 132, on the “northern” look appearing only in one of the late and rich Shaft Graves. For similarities and differences between the Aegean and the North, see Bouzek 1985.

137. See notes 24–35.

138. Helms 1993, p. 17. In this book Helms developed an aspect of the



Figure 9.26. Rhyton (15) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 273). N. Thomas

motivations for trade that was briefly discussed by Sherratt and Sherratt (1991, esp. pp. 354–356).

139. Helms 1993, pp. 17, 47, 91, 96.

140. Helms 1993, p. 170.

141. Helms 1993, pp. 142–144. Skilled artisans and long-distance traders/hunters partook of this aura and consequently were lent from ruler to ruler; see Helms 1993, pp. 32–34, 91.

142. Helms 1993, pp. 195–200.

If the Mycenaean elite were at a critical point in their ascent when Thera disappeared and Knossos fumbled, they may have left traces of such a response, as well as clues about Minoan reactions, in their tombs. At this point, according to some scholars, an old exotic country again opened its doors to the west: Egypt.¹⁴³

THE IMPACT OF EGYPT

The 1992 announcement that “Minoan” frescoes, including images of lions, had been found in the Nile Delta at Tell el-Dab’a (ancient Avaris, the Hyksos capital of Egypt)¹⁴⁴ has spurred Aegeanists to a renewed and even more intensified study of the LB international *koine*.¹⁴⁵ The thousands of fresco fragments, apparently from a huge palatial complex of several structures, include scenes of maze-like patterns, bulls and bull-leapers, the flying gallop, the griffin, and leopards and hunting lions, all painted in true fresco technique. These amazing finds, originally thought by their discoverer, Manfred Bietak, to be from late Hyksos levels, but since redated by him to the early New Kingdom,¹⁴⁶ not only add to the international repertory of objects, styles, and motifs,¹⁴⁷ they also raise the possibility of Minoan artists actually working in Egypt.¹⁴⁸

Chronology is the key issue here. If the new (high) absolute chronology is applied and the Aegean is shifted upward by almost a century vis-à-vis Egypt, the Tell el-Dab’a frescoes are contemporary with the LM IB period and therefore not on our LH I/LM IA/LC I canvas.¹⁴⁹ If the traditional (low) chronology is retained, the frescoes are contemporary with

143. According to MacGillivray (1997), Ahmose opened an Egypt that had been closed to the Aegean for two centuries under the Hyksos.

144. Excavations directed by Manfred Bietak, University of Vienna and Director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Cairo; see Bietak 1992. On-going excavations are summarized in Bietak et al. 1994, Bietak 1994, 1995, 1996, Bietak and Marinatos 2000. The lions are from ‘Ezbet Helmi, H/I area, E dump.

145. Conferences devoted to the subject have been held with increasing frequency during the 1990s; see lists in Cline 1998 and Karetsou 2000. The Egyptian discoveries have also reactivated interest in the Aigina Treasure; for this hoard see Gates 1989; Hiller 1994–1995, pp. 25–31; Rehak and Younger 1998a, p. 126, note 224.

146. Bietak 1996, p. 72: “the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, and no

longer to the Hyksos period.” Bietak used the traditional (low) chronology (see note 11 above). See Cline 1998, pp. 209, 218–219, on the advisability of waiting for the full publication of all the findspots and their stratigraphy before assigning either a Hyksos or an Eighteenth-Dynasty date to this material, and see Bietak 2000 for a rebuttal.

147. Bietak (1996, p. 70) has discussed MM III and LM IA sherds from “secondary contexts” at Tell el-Dab’a, one of which displays a “leopard in flying gallop chasing an ungulate”; see Bietak et al. 1994, cat. no. 359.

148. Scholars who envision Minoans actually making the frescoes include Bietak (1994, 1995, 1996), Warren (1995), Morgan (1995c, 1996), Nemeier (1995), and Laffineur (1995b, 1998). Bietak (1996, p. 88, note 123) stated that Ellen Davis, Nannó Marinatos, Lyvia Morgan, and Stefan Hiller also “are unanimous on this point.”

Scholars who are unconvinced include Shaw (1995, 1997), Rehak (1997b), and Hankey and Leonard (1998). In a valuable review article, Rehak (1997b, pp. 400–402) questioned Minoan attribution until test results are published; he also suggested that the many iconographical inconsistencies in the frescoes prompt the term “Minoanizing” rather than “Minoan,” and he issued a warning that hypotheses are being stated as facts about the international *koine* in general and about Tell el-Dab’a in particular.

149. See note 11 on chronology. In the new (high) chronology, the eruption of Thera is more contemporary with the beginning of Hyksos rule than with the end of it; this would remove Eighteenth-Dynasty inlaid weapons, such as the dagger of Ahhotep, from the Shaft Grave niello question. Until the chronology issue is settled, it is premature to use the new material in definitive ways.

Shaft Grave Mycenae and therefore affect LH I lion studies whether one believes they were painted by Minoans abroad or by Egyptians who had learned the Aegean idiom and fresco technique. By strengthening the concept of artistic transference via actual working artisans, not merely through trade or gift, the paintings support theories that resident or traveling foreigners could have worked in the Argolid as well as that Aegeans themselves worked abroad.¹⁵⁰

The Tell el-Dab'a lion scenes are being reconstructed by Nannó Marinatos, who, with Bietak, has described the lions in both rocky and aquatic settings. By 1994 Marinatos had tentatively formed a two-part scene: leopards chasing a deer(?) against a red background in the upper zone, and lions chasing an ibex on a beige ground in the lower; on the basis of associated fragments showing men's greaves or boots, Morgan deduced a chase or hunt scene.¹⁵¹ Ellen Davis called the lions "delightful" creatures with white areas and whiskers on the jaws, smaller than the Kean animals, and she reported that Rudolfine Seeber, the conservator, has constructed another lion from a fragment showing a white and yellow animal of about the same scale as that of the Kean "lion."¹⁵² Bietak's photograph of the leopard shows the rear parts of the animal, with its legs and long spotted tail fully extended, in flying gallop in front of blue plants on a red ground (Fig. 9.27).¹⁵³ Lyla Brock's conjectural reconstruction of the full scene presents leopards, lions, and prey in a two-zone landscape.¹⁵⁴

Placement of these works within the shared artistic repertoire of the LB Mediterranean has not only generated a great deal of controversy but has challenged our developing concepts of transference itself. Since 1970, the means of artistic migration have been analyzed and sorted into various levels of adoption and absorption.¹⁵⁵ Of particular relevance to the lion are Janice Crowley's conclusions that the shared international repertoire was assembled in LM/LH I, earlier than some have thought,¹⁵⁶ and that the true Mycenaean duel of man versus lion has no parallel in the East.¹⁵⁷ Any future attempts to weave the new Egyptian lions into the

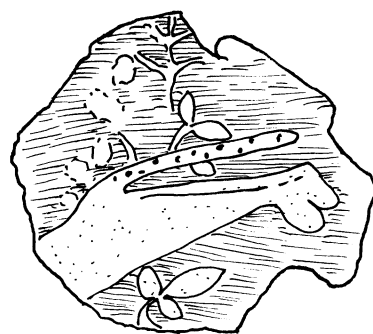


Figure 9.27. Fragment of the "leopard" fresco, Tell el-Dab'a, Egypt. N. Thomas, after Bietak 1995, color pl. 4:2

150. On itinerant artists, see Nie-meier 1991 and Bloedow 1997. I am currently working on the variance in transferability of technique versus that of iconography, style, and meaning in the LB eastern Mediterranean; the two most problematic illustrations of this variance are the inlaid daggers from Mycenae and the paintings from Tell el-Dab'a.

151. Marinatos 1996; Morgan 1995c, p. 36; see also Bietak and Marinatos 2000, pp. 42–44.

152. Pers. comm.; for the Kean lion, see note 49.

153. Bietak 1995, p. 24, color pl. 4:2. The limestone couchant lion illustrated in Bietak 1995, pl. 17, is

Egyptian, not Aegean (Bietak, pers. comm.).

154. Reconstruction in Bietak et al. 1994, no. 230, pp. 205–206. I have now seen the photographs and facsimiles of the actual fresco fragments published by Marinatos (1998, pp. 84–85, 90), showing many lions running in both directions in both aquatic and rocky settings on both red and beige grounds.

155. Particularly Crowley 1989, which is an updated companion to Helene Kantor's 1947 monograph; see especially Crowley's tables 1–3, pp. 294–298. For other studies of artistic transference, see Morgan 1995c, p. 31; Warren 1995, p. 11; 2000.

156. Crowley 1989, p. 288; concerning specifics of her table 3, p. 298, I would suggest that Heraldic Poses and Antithetical Group first appeared in the Old Palace period on the strength of Phaistos sealing no. 234, H.A.M. sealing 688ß (*CMS* II.5, 282; Rhyne 1970, no. 35). Since the EM II–MM IA ivory seal from Trapesa, H.A.M. 1578 (*CMS* II.1, 442b), may show a rude form of the Master of Animals with lion, this motif could possibly be moved back to the Old Palace period as well. See note 73 above.

157. Crowley 1989, p. 136. On the duel, see note 74 above.

broad Mediterranean canvas of the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. should begin with Morgan's reminder that no contact at all is necessary for different regions to utilize the lion as metaphor for male heroism and conquest. The "natural symbolism of the behavior of the animal" automatically generates these metaphors.¹⁵⁸

THE IMPACT OF BONES

The frescoes of Akrotiri and Tell el-Dab'a have taken us far afield, but actual lion bones return us to Greece and to the mixing of art with real-life experience. Even before the 1979 publication of the first bones from Tiryns, many scholars believed that lions existed in Bronze Age Greece, as reported by classical authors and as depicted in naturalistic Aegean art.¹⁵⁹ Skeptics, on the other hand, believed the classical sightings were of the maneless mountain lion and that the animal in art derived from Eastern conventions.

Since 1978, however, bones and teeth of *Panthera leo*, the large-maned lion, have been found in nine locations in mainland and island Greece in contexts ranging from Late Neolithic to Early Iron Age date.¹⁶⁰ Three of these sites also yielded material from Iron Age to Archaic levels.

The Greek finds, in alphabetical and then chronological order by site, are:

DELPHI (unpublished): LB to Iron Age; *osteologische Nachweise* (osteological proofs). Manhart 1998, map fig. 60, p. 183, with reference to personal communication from F. Poplin.

DELPHI (unpublished): Archaic, 6th century B.C.; waste heap near edge of first peribolos, one foot bone. Poplin 1992, p. 693; Manhart 1998, map fig. 60, p. 183; Driesch said the Delphi finds "date into Archaic times" (pers. comm.).

DIKILI TASH (Macedonia): Late Neolithic; one radius. Trantalidou 2000, p. 716, note 19, and p. 712, table 2.

KALAPODI (Boiotia): LH IIIC, Artemis/Apollo Temple; one claw and one metacarpus. Stanzel (1991, p. 114) said the bones seem to come from what was not a very strong animal; see also Driesch and Boessneck 1990, p. 111.

158. Morgan 1995c, p. 31; see also Morgan 1996, p. 31, on the possibility of a program of subjects created by Aegeans in Egypt who had perhaps seen and been inspired by Middle and Old Kingdom animal-analogy paintings. For a comparison of selected examples of lions and lion art in Egypt and the Aegean, see Kleinsgütl 2000.

159. For a summary of classical Greek references to the lion, see Boessneck and Driesch 1979, pp. 447–448; Bloedow 1992, pp. 299–300; Trantalidou 2000, p. 716, note 18. For

realistic behavior, see Vermeule 1975, p. 39; Pini 1985; Ballintijn 1995. For connections between Minoan iconography and the African *battue* system of hunting lions, see Papamanoli-Guest 1996, and note 54 above.

160. The family *Felidae* (cats) comprises three extant genera and many species. The big cats genus (*Panthera*) consists of four species: leopard (*pardus*), jaguar (*onca*), tiger (*tigris*), and lion (*leo*). *Felis* is the genus of smaller cats and the American mountain lion (Darlington 1957, p. 397), but note that Linnaeus's older designation,

Felis leo, refers to the same animal that our *Panthera leo* does: both are the lion (Ted T. Allen, pers. comm.). The extinct Pleistocene cave lion, called by some *Felis leo* Linné and by others *Panthera leo spelaea*, is considered by most English and French paleozoologists to be a lion extremely similar to the modern lion (Kurtén 1968, p. 85). Palaeolithic remains of this cave lion (*Panthera leo spelaea* Goldf.) have now been reported from Macedonia, Attica, and the Peloponnese (Trantalidou 2000, p. 712, table 2, with references).

KALAPODI (Boiotia): Geometric/Archaic, 7th century B.C.; one scapula fragment with cut marks. Stanzel 1991, pp. 113–114; Driesch 1994, p. 14; Manhart 1998, p. 182.

KASTANAS (Macedonia): levels 8, 10–13, between LB and early Middle Iron Age, 1200–800/700 B.C.; twelve bones (humerus, metapodien, calcaneus, talus, phalanges) suggesting five animals, the calcaneus showing cut marks. Becker 1986, pp. 167–173; Driesch and Boessneck 1990, p. 111; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Trantalidou 2000, pp. 712, 716, note 19.

KEA (unpublished): Ayia Irini; three teeth, one dated MM III–LM IB, the other two (from different animals) found in House M and provisionally dated by J. Coy as LM IB–LH II. Davis 1980, p. 288.

MYCENAE (unpublished): one tooth with a suspension hole, from the acropolis (Athens, N.M. 2727). According to Demakopoulou and Crouwel 1993, p. 10, note 16, citing information from Poplin, the tooth was found in 1886 by Tsountas and has only recently been identified.

PYLOS: LH; Northwest Palace and room 88; two teeth from one lion. Nobis 1993, p. 163.

SAMOS (unpublished): EB; one metacarpus excavated by V. Milojević, according to Driesch (pers. comm. with dates and details).

TIRYNS: LH I; one male humerus, found in 1980 in a garbage pit with Shaft Grave type pottery and bones of cow, sheep, pig, dog, and red deer. Boessneck and Driesch (1981, p. 258) stated that cut marks indicate preparation for cooking, that flesh of wild cats is tasty, and that this bone was not likely used as a talisman because of its features indicating strong musculature.¹⁶¹

TIRYNS: LH IIIB:2; four bones, rib (portion), ulna, humerus-corpus, and calcaneus were listed by Driesch and Boessneck (1990, p. 111). The calcaneus was found in October 1978 in Grave 67 near the foot of a human male skeleton; it was the first lion bone unearthed at Tiryns and was published as possibly an amulet by Boessneck and Driesch (1979). Perhaps another lion bone was found by Kilian in the summer of 1991 (John Younger, pers. comm.). Kleinsgütl (2000, p. 699) cited a total of seven lion bones from Tiryns.

TIRYNS: LH IIIC, dated ca. 1200 B.C. by Driesch (1994, p. 13); one male ulna. Driesch and Boessneck 1990.

When the Tiryns bones and the Kean teeth were first published, some scholars accepted them as proof that actual lions had existed in some form in Mycenaean Greece.¹⁶² Others prudently cautioned against envisioning the beast as necessarily native, plentiful, or wild.¹⁶³ Alternative explanations for the presence of such remains included the importation of amulets or skins,¹⁶⁴ of pets to parade in palaces,¹⁶⁵ and of animals for artificial hunting

161. Immerwahr (1990, p. 133) said the painted hunting scenes at Pylos show large tripods being carried “presumably for cooking the meat.” Cooking and hunting were also depicted together in the Kean miniatures (see note 49 above). For actually cooking and eating lion meat, see Driesch 1994, pp. 14–15.

162. Pini (1985, pp. 154–158), Morgan (1988, pp. 44–45), and Ballintijn (1995, pp. 31–32) cited the bones

as validation of actually observed animal behavior. In the mid-19th century, M. Gaudry reported lion remains at Pikermi, near Athens (cited in Wallace 1876, p. 114), but I have no additional information about them. For lion bones from Troy VIII and IX, see Morgan 1988, p. 45. For lion bones from Egypt see Kleinsgütl 2000, and for summaries of European Palaeolithic lion bones and lion art, see Wagner 1981, Driesch 1994.

163. Halstead 1987, p. 75; Younger 1988, p. xi; Laffineur 1992, p. 109; Rutter 1993, p. 754, note 32; Dickinson 1994, p. 28. Most scholars do not propose that lions ever lived on Crete, though Papamanoli-Guest (1996, p. 346) suggests that lion bones were possibly missed by early excavators. No lion bones were reported in recent work on Cretan fauna published in Reese 1996.

164. Dickinson 1994, p. 28.

165. Younger, pers. comm.

parks.¹⁶⁶ Other writers stressed errors in Mycenaean leonine representation. The main obstacle to accepting the existence of lions in the wild, however, was the apparent absence of *any* bones from earlier contexts or from northern locations.¹⁶⁷

Tracing a report of lion finds in Bulgaria,¹⁶⁸ I wrote an inquiry to Angela von den Driesch, who immediately sent me a copy of Henriette Manhart's 1997 dissertation; Manhart listed *Panthera leo* finds from *nine* different Bulgarian and Hungarian sites stretching from the Black Sea to Hungary, and covering a long chronological span from Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic to the end of the Bronze Age.¹⁶⁹ Further reports of lion bones in the Balkans and Ukraine give dates from the Early Neolithic through the Early Iron Age and increase the number of northern locations to nineteen. The most interesting site is Durankulak, located on the Black Sea south of the Danube, where lion bones have been found in three different horizons, two in the Chalcolithic and one in the Late Bronze Age. The latest find is contemporary with the LH IIIB/C bones at Tiryns.¹⁷⁰ Durankulak also produced the most spectacular single cache: ten bones from three lions, including a youth and two adults, one of whom was "plus grand, mâle probablement."¹⁷¹ The crania and claws from this Chalcolithic family were missing, and cut marks on the bones suggested to the researchers that the animals were probably skinned and eaten at the hunting site and that their heads and claws were taken back to the village as trophies. L. Ninov, who published the find, stated that at this early period there was no possibility of importing lions from Africa or Asia, that these bones categorically confirm the existence of the autochthonous lion in south-eastern Europe in prehistoric times, and that most researchers estimate that the lion lived in the Balkan peninsula into the period reported by Herodotos and Aristotle.¹⁷²

166. See Ballintijn 1995, p. 32, on staged expeditions in Egyptian and Near Eastern art and literature.

167. See Dickinson 1992, p. 398, on the apparent lack of bones "from any pre-Mycenaean deposits here [Tiryns] or elsewhere," and similar comments by Younger on the Listserve AegeaNet of Sept. 7, 1997. Regarding the scarcity of lion bones in excavated contexts, Payne (1985, pp. 222–225) faulted the argument of silence, noting that "normal excavation" recovers only six percent of sheep and goat bones. He speculated on how few lion remains would have ended up in graves and houses and questioned whether sites chosen for excavation would include distant hunting deposits. Mycenae is not on his list of sites from which animal bone data has been published (Payne 1985, pp. 237–240).

168. Ninov 1989. Stefan Hiller very kindly sent me the article, which is in Bulgarian with a French summary. Two lion finds in Bulgaria had been cited earlier by Driesch and Boessneck (1990, p. 111, notes 96, 97).

169. Manhart (1998, pp. 20–22) dated the Chalcolithic period in eastern Europe to 5200–3500 B.C. The oldest lion find she cited dates back at least to the 6th millennium B.C. She mapped the findspots (fig. 60, p. 183), discussed the habitat and food supply needed by lions in the Balkans (pp. 217–219), and included information on lion bone finds in modern Greece at Kastanas, Kalapodi, Tiryns, Delphi, and Samos (map in fig. 60, p. 183).

170. Manhart 1998, p. 181.

171. Ninov 1989, p. 61; Manhart 1998, p. 181; Ninov 1999, pp. 327–329.

172. Ninov 1989, p. 61. Vörös

(1983, pp. 44–46) said the small-statured lions of southeastern Europe are identified with the Persian lion and are classified as *Panthera leo persica*; he suggested that the animal migrated into the Carpathian Basin during a climatic change ca. 3500 B.C. Note that the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains of lions found in this basin (at Gyöngyöshalász-Encspusztá, Tiszaföldvár-Téglagyár, Tiszalúc-Sarkad, and Zengővárkony), as well as the LH lion bones from Tiryns and Kalapodi, are said to be from rather small animals (Vörös 1983, p. 46; Stanzel 1991, p. 114). Interestingly, Manhart's map of lion bones from the Balkans (1998, p. 183) is generally congruent with Penner's map of European sites with Shaft Grave type ornament (Penner 1998, esp. pp. 162–164, 179).

The Balkan/southern Ukrainian finds, in alphabetical and then chronological order by site,¹⁷³ are:

BOLGRAD (Ukraine, near Odessa): Late Neolithic–Chalcolithic, ca. 3500 B.C.; one bone. Bibikova 1973; Vörös 1983, pp. 42, 44; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

DEVETASKA-HÖHLE (Bulgaria): Chalcolithic; one humerus fragment. Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

DURANKULAK (Bulgaria, Black Sea coast): Chalcolithic; twelve bones from two horizons, including the “family” (my quotations). Ninov 1989, p. 61; Manhart 1998, pp. 28–39, 181, 183; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

DURANKULAK (Bulgaria, Black Sea coast): LB; one mandible. Manhart 1998, p. 181; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

GOLJAMO DELČEVO (Bulgaria, Black Sea area): early Chalcolithic; one vertebra. Manhart 1998, pp. 29, 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

GYÖNGYÖSHALÁSZ-ENCSPUSZTA (Hungary): late Chalcolithic or Aegean EB III, ca. 2500 B.C.; jawbone with teeth, from a settlement. Vörös 1983, pp. 40–44, fig. 8; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

KARANOVO (Bulgaria): Early Neolithic; one tooth. Cited by Stefan Hiller (pers. comm.) with reference to Hiller and Nikolov 1997, I, p. 392, and II, pl. XXXVII:7, which I have not seen; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

KIRKLARELI (Turkish Thrace): Middle Neolithic; *Panthera leo* remains in two levels. Benecke 1998, pp. 174–175.

MAYAKI (Ukraine, near Odessa): Chalcolithic or Aegean EB III, late 4th–mid-3rd millennium B.C.; nine bones including a jawbone with teeth. Bibikova 1973, p. 59, fig. 1; Vörös 1983, pp. 42–44; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

SLATINO (Bulgaria): early Chalcolithic, mid-5th millennium B.C.; one right ulna. Ninov 1989, p. 61, fig. 1; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

SOZOPOL (Bulgaria, Black Sea, under water): Chalcolithic; one tibia and four phalanges, from two animals. Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

TISZAFÖLDVÁR-TÉGLAGYÁR (Hungary): late middle Chalcolithic or Aegean EB II, ca. 3000 B.C.; one pelvis fragment from a settlement. Vörös 1983, pp. 38–44, fig. 4; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

TISZALÚC-SÁRKAD (Hungary): late middle Chalcolithic or Aegean EB II, ca. 3000 B.C.; two teeth and seven bones, including limb bones, from eight different excavation sites in a settlement. Vörös 1983, pp. 38–44, figs. 3, 5–7; Vörös 1987; Manhart 1998, p. 180; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

ZENGÖVÁRKONY (Hungary): Late Neolithic, ca. 3500 B.C.; one tooth from a grave (plaster cast of a lost original). Vörös 1983, pp. 36–38, 44; Manhart 1998, pp. 180–181; Ninov 1999, pp. 326–333.

For six other sites in the lower Ukraine that have produced (unspecified numbers of) *Panthera leo* bones in Chalcolithic and Early Iron Age contexts, see Krakhmalnaya 1999, p. 231.

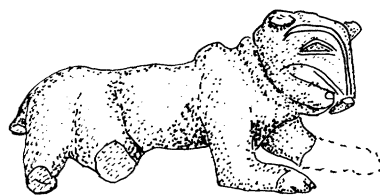
The Balkan bones seem to have filled the void from earlier times and northern places.¹⁷⁴ The lion surely roamed, however plentifully, in Bronze Age Greece. But art is not life, and as Ballintijn judiciously observed, Mycenaean artists blended lions, other animals, and purely artistic formulas, often in the same image.¹⁷⁵

173. I thank Andrea von den Driesch for sending me copies of many hard-to-find articles, and for sharing information on unpublished finds.

174. For remains of other wild animals, such as fallow deer, wild pig, and brown bear found in association with the lion bones, see Manhart 1998, Krakhmalnaya 1999, Ninov 1999.

175. Ballintijn (1995, pp. 36–37) demonstrated that realistic observation and artistic formulas are not an either/or choice in Aegean art.

Figure 9.28. Chalcolithic terracotta figurine from Goljamo Delčevo, Bulgaria. N. Thomas, after Manhart 1998, fig. 59



With the actual lion bones as background, scholars can now reassess the Mycenaean fusion of art and life. As a prelude to such future studies, I cite a new relative, a recumbent young lioness in terracotta found at Goljamo Delčevo in Bulgaria near the Black Sea (Fig. 9.28). This hollow clay figurine with a head-shaped lid, from a late Chalcolithic horizon, is apparently the oldest example of lion art discovered to date on the Balkan peninsula.¹⁷⁶ Its clay modeler, like the later Mycenaean metalsmith of the gold lion-head rhyton, curled a loop at the mouth's corner and pushed his material into long diagonal lines, exaggerating the ridge from nostril to wild eyes, fusing artifice, resistant material, and lioness into one striking image.¹⁷⁷

CONCLUSIONS

This study of the Early Mycenaean lion has summarized the discoveries and scholarship of the last thirty years, meshing the new lions from Thera and Tell el-Dab'a with the older corpus of LH I/LM I art. In addition, it has contributed ideas in the following areas: (1) correlating Shaft Grave art with a "divided" LM IA period on Crete, as precipitated by the eruption of Thera; (2) identifying five "super-violent" iconographical themes; (3) disputing the theory of Levantine craftsmen as makers of the three great *metallmalerei* daggers from the Shaft Graves; (4) listing the actual lion bones discovered to date in Greece and the northern Balkans; and (5) updating previous catalogues of Shaft Grave lion art.

After reviewing the lion in scholarship—summarizing what we have and have not learned—we return to the lion in art, a figural creature that was both real and imagined. Although the lion roamed Greece long before the arrival of the Shaft Grave princes, it first "appeared" at Mycenae in borrowed garb, Cretan and oriental "clothes." We look *at* these representations of real animals, in their Minoan and Eastern modes, and trace their visible artistic genealogies. We look *through* them and glimpse the invisible Mycenaean mentalities they embody. But even when we have reduced these works to their constituent parts and have followed them all over the Mediterranean, they reassemble themselves on the Greek mainland in their fresh materials and invented formats, and boldly announce a new identity.

Occasionally an artist's hand reaches out to us, a hand leaving a trail that opens a window into the real living conditions of Bronze Age Greece. Then we can cross the millennia to ancient Mycenae, where a person, with tools in hand, stands in a workshop. As we watch that artisan visualizing, revisualizing, and turning lions into art, we keep smelling the fires and hearing the hammers.

176. Willms 1986, fig. 1.2; Willms also showed a similarly reclining but headless zoomorphic clay figurine from Ploska Mogila in south-central Bulgaria (fig. 1.1), and he suggested that both figurines are young lionesses. For other early Balkan examples of zoomorphic handles, including painted ceramics possibly with lions, see Makay 1988 (I thank Stefan Hiller for alerting me to this article). See note 13 above for Late Neolithic lion art at Andros.

177. Cf. the "all-purpose" Vinča face of Serbia in Sandars 1968, p. 116 and fig. 43.

CATALOGUE

MYCENAE, GRAVE CIRCLE B

- 1 Stele (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13575) Fig. 9.1
 Grave Gamma.
 Limestone relief, 14 fragments, central part cut away; stele reused as base.
 Two rampant lions attack central animal now missing except for leg and
 tail; above right, armed man, above left, fallen man.
 Mylonas 1973, pl. 40; Rhyne 1970, no. 142; Younger 1997, no. 14,
 "Reused."
- 2 Stele (Nauplion, Archaeological Museum 13576) Fig. 9.13
 Grave Alpha.
 Limestone relief, cracked, right edge missing; unfinished incision.
 Two lions attack central running bull; at right 2 men, possibly in chariot,
 with 1 man spearing lion.
 Mylonas 1973, pl. 12:b; Younger 1997, no. 13, "Unfinished."
- 3 Hilt (Athens, N.M. 8710) Fig. 9.25
 Grave Delta.
 Gold repoussé plating over wood, from type A sword (Hood 1978, p. 176),
 with ivory pommel and a bronze blade incised with griffins.
 Two lion protomes grip blade in mouths; smaller animal heads on tangs.
 Mylonas 1957, fig. 51; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 170, below; Rhyne
 1970, no. 141; Hood 1978, fig. 173.
- 4 Cup (Athens, N.M. 9563 = Grave Delta, no. 326) Fig. 9.18
 Grave Delta, from fill.
 Silver cup fragment, repoussé.
 Lion runs left; below him stands (falls?) small man with shield.
 Mylonas 1973, pl. 71:a; Dickinson 1977, pp. 44–45; Davis 1977, no. 30,
 fig. 105.

MYCENAE, GRAVE CIRCLE A

- 5 Ornaments (Athens, N.M. 32) Fig. 9.29
 Grave III.
 Thin gold leaf.
 Curled recumbent lion, seen from above; 4 identical, 2 with 4 holes for
 sewing.
 Schliemann 1878, fig. 263; Karo 1930, pl. XXVII:32; Rhyne 1970, no. 155;
 Hood 1978, fig. 194; Laffineur 1995c, p. 29.
- 6 Seal (Athens, N.M. 33) Fig. 9.19
 Grave III.
 Gold rectangular cushion seal, perforated.
 Rampant lion to right and armed man to left attack each other.
 Karo 1930, pl. XXIV:33; *CMS* I, 9; Rhyne 1970, no. 137; Hood 1978,
 fig. 228:B; Younger 1978, no. 8; Donohue 1978; Sakellariou in Demakopoulou
 1990, p. 279.
- 7 Seal (Athens, N.M. 34) Fig. 9.20
 Grave III.
 Gold rectangular cushion seal, perforated.
 Lion, wounded with arrow in flank, walks left, head turned back, landscape.
 Karo 1930, pl. XXIV:34; *CMS* I, 10; Rhyne 1970, no. 138; Donohue 1978,
 fig. 1; Hood 1978, fig. 228:C; Younger 1978, no. 7; 1995, pp. 345–346.

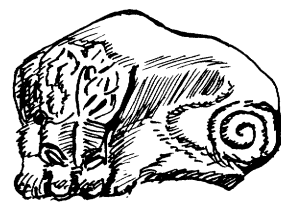


Figure 9.29. Ornament (5) from
 Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III
 (Athens, N.M. 32). N. Thomas



Figure 9.30. Reliefs (8) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 108). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. XXXIII:108

- 8 Reliefs (Athens, N.M. 108) Fig. 9.30
Grave III.

Thin gold leaf, perhaps plating of now-lost wooden handle or grip (Karo 1930, p. 298), 9–10 fragments.

Lion, standing(?); some pieces with head, some with flank and claws. Not accepted as a lion by Wace (1965, p. 338, note 1), or listed in Rhyne 1970.

Karo 1930, pp. 58, 298, pl. XXXIII:108.

- 9 Metal strip (Athens, N.M. 109) Fig. 9.31
Grave III.

Thin gold leaf.

Four animals, perhaps lions (Karo 1930, p. 58), lie in a row. Vermeule 1975, p. 40) said “awkward crouching lion . . . with equally uncertain deer.” Rhyne (1970, p. 233 and fig. 85) called it a “beast.”

Karo 1930, p. 58, pls. XXXII, XXXIII:109.

- 10 Reliefs (Athens, N.M. 119, 120) Fig. 9.14
Grave III.

Thin gold cut-outs or inlays, fragmentary.

Lions in flying gallop attack running bull from above, behind, and front; palm tree landscape. N.M. 119 has 3 lions attacking bull, and 120 shows 2 lions and 1 cat attacking bull.

Karo 1930, pl. XXXIII:119, 120; Rhyne 1970, no. 156; Younger 1978, no. 6; Morgan 1988, p. 43, pl. 58.

- 11 Dagger blade (Athens, N.M. 394) Figs. 9.15, 9.22 (middle)
Grave IV.

The Lion Hunt dagger, type B dagger (Weinstein 1981, p. 48), tangleless type II dagger (Papadopoulos 1998, no. 37). Tsountas and Manatt (1897, p. 90) considered it to be from a north–south (earlier) burial.

Bronze, decorated with rich materials that are cut out and inlaid on separate plates inserted along middle of each face. Obverse: 5 armed men versus 3 lions, 2 of which flee to right in flying gallop while largest turns and attacks men. Reverse: 1 lion versus 5 “Mediterranean deer,” 4 of which flee to right in flying gallop while 1 is felled by lion.

Karo 1930, pls. XCIII, XCIV:394; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pls. XXXV, center, XXXVI; Rhyne 1970, no. 149; Younger 1978, no. 3; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, no. 1, pls. I, II (both faces); Sakellariou in Demakopoulou 1990, p. 143; Boss and Laffineur 1997, pl. LXVII; Papadopoulos 1998, no. 37, pp. 4–10, pl. 5.

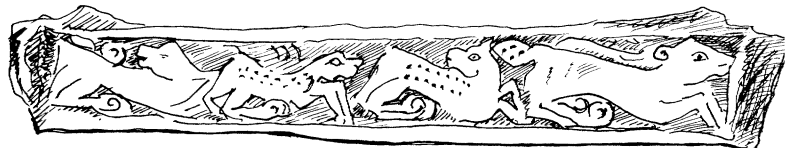
- 12 Dagger blade (Athens, N.M. 395) Figs. 9.21, 9.22 (bottom)
Grave IV.

The Three Lion dagger, tangleless type II dagger (Papadopoulos 1998, no. 34).

Bronze, decorated with rich materials in both flat and repoussé work that is cut out and inlaid on a separate plate inserted along middle of each face. Similar but not identical scene on each face: 3 lions in flying gallop run to right in setting of rocks and clouds.

Karo 1930, pls. XCIII, XCIV:395; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pl. XXXV, below; Rhyne 1970, no. 148; Hood 1978, fig. 177 (detail of rear); Younger 1978,

Figure 9.31. Gold strip (9) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave III (Athens, N.M. 109). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pls. XXXII, XXXIII:109



no. 2; Xénaki-Sakellariou and Chatziliou 1989, no. 2, pl. III; Demakopoulou et al. 1995, fig. 1; Boss and Laffineur 1997, pls. LXIX:c, LXX:a; Papadopoulos 1998, no. 34, pp. 8–9, pl. 4.

- 13 Pommel (Athens, N.M. 295a) Fig. 9.17
Grave IV.

Gold repoussé casing of wooden pommel (Hood 1978, p. 176) from dagger or sword.

Combat between lion and leopard, both in flying gallop clockwise.

Karo 1930, pls. LXXV, LXXVIII:295a; Rhyne 1970, no. 151; Hood 1978, fig. 174; Younger 1978, no. 5.

- 14 Pommel (Athens, N.M. 295b) Fig. 9.23
Grave IV.

Ivory relief, from sword.

Four lions in flying gallop, heads converging in radial pinwheel design.

Karo 1930, pls. LXXV, LXXVI, LXXVII:295b; Rhyne 1970, no. 150; Younger 1978, no. 4.

- 15 Rhyton (Athens, N.M. 273) Fig. 9.26
Grave IV.

Heavy gold plate hammered and engraved, rivet holes visible for missing back plate. Reportedly found in east–west (later) burial (Tsountas and Manatt 1897, p. 90; Dickinson 1977, p. 49).

Lion head.

Karo 1930, pls. CXVII, CXVIII:273; Rhyne 1970, no. 152; Laffineur 1977, no. 26; Davis 1977, no. 62; Hood 1978, fig. 156; Younger 1978, no. 1.

- 16 Pin head (Athens, N.M. 274) Fig. 9.32
Grave IV.

Gold repoussé, biconical with two sections joined by twisted gold wire.

Two lions above and 2 griffins below run in circular file in flying gallop; lions's feet outward, griffins's feet inward.

Schliemann 1878, no. 309; Karo 1930, pl. XXXII:274; Rhyne 1970, no. 153; Vermeule 1964, fig. 19; Younger 1983, p. 131, Demakopoulou 1990, p. 298, no. 247.

- 17 Cup (Athens, N.M. 656) Fig. 9.33
Grave V.

Thin gold sheet, repoussé, single-handled goblet.

Three lions in flying gallop run in file around bowl of goblet.

Karo 1930, pl. CXXV:656; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 192, top; Rhyne 1970, no. 147; Davis 1977, no. 52; Hood 1978, fig. 152.

- 18 Mirror handle (Athens, N.M. 785) Fig. 9.24
Grave V.

Ivory high relief, fragmentary mirror handle.

Originally restored as 2 confronted lions's heads and foreparts. Redrawn by Patrianakou-Iliaki (1996, fig. 4) as 1 lion seated left with head turned back sharply.

Karo 1930, figs. 58, 59, pl. CXXXVI:785; Rhyne 1970, no. 144; Poursat 1977b, no. 214; Patrianakou-Iliaki 1996, fig. 4 (= Fig. 9.24).

- 19 Plaques (Athens, N.M. 808–811) Fig. 9.2
Grave V.

Gold repoussé over hexagonal wooden box; 12 plaques with repeated designs, 8 of which include lions. Left: 4 similar, lion in flying gallop to right,



Figure 9.32. Pin head (16) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave IV (Athens, N.M. 274). N. Thomas



Figure 9.33. Cup (17) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 656). N. Thomas

Figure 9.34 (left). Gold handles (20) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 843).
N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, fig. 63

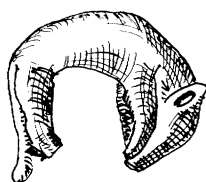


Figure 9.35 (right). Pendant (21) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 275).
N. Thomas



attacking running stag; palm fronds. Right: 4 similar, lion in flying gallop to left, charging rearing deer, bucranium above, palms.

Karo 1930, pls. CXLIII, CXLIV:808–811; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, figs. 198, 199; Rhyne 1970, nos. 145, 146; Sakellariou in Demakopoulou 1990, pp. 143, 145.

- 20 Handles (Athens, N.M. 843)
Grave V.

Fig. 9.34

Gold sheet metal, three-dimensional, four pairs; Karo (1930, p. 298) said they are perhaps handles of a box cover, plated over a now-lost wooden core; Vermeule (1975, p. 40) called them pairs of handles or part of a hilt.

Lion(?) with head curled toward feet; “lion” (Karo 1930, p. 147); not listed as lion in Wace 1965 or Rhyne 1970; Vermeule (1975, p. 40) said “more dormouse than lion.”

Karo 1930, fig. 63, pl. CXLIII:843.

- 21 Pendant (Athens, N.M. 275)
Grave V.

Fig. 9.35

Gold over silver (Staïs 1926, p. 41), perforated; “necklace element” (Vermeule 1975, p. 40).

Lion couchant, face out.

Karo 1930, pl. XXXII:275; Rhyne 1970, no. 154.

- 22 Stele (Athens, N.M. 1427)
Grave V.

Fig. 9.12

Limestone, incision and low relief.

Figural zones above and below. Above: charioteer and horse run over warrior fallen under figure-eight shield. Below: lion runs right in flying gallop chasing running quadruped.

Karo 1930, pl. VII:1427; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 146; Rhyne 1970, no. 143; Hood 1978, fig. 81; Younger 1978, no. 18; Crouwel 1981, p. 119, pl. 37; Younger 1997, no. I, “Simile.”

- 23 Reliefs (Athens, N.M. 792)
Grave V.

Fig. 9.36

Thin gold leaf.

Two silhouettes of upright, elliptical animals called “lions” by Karo (1930, p. 142), who stated that their manes are similar to those on lion handles, 20, but that they do not belong to these handles.

Karo 1930, pl. CXLIII:792.

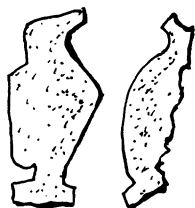


Figure 9.36. Reliefs (23) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Grave V (Athens, N.M. 792). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. CXLIII:792

- 24 Stele (Athens, N.M. 1450, 1451, or 1434)
Not associated with a particular grave.

Fig. 9.37

Limestone, incision.

Two nonjoining fragments. Man gripping/touching(?) wheel, reins, or animal's tail: a “lion” (Crouwel 1981, p. 153, note 6); “possibly a lion or a horse”

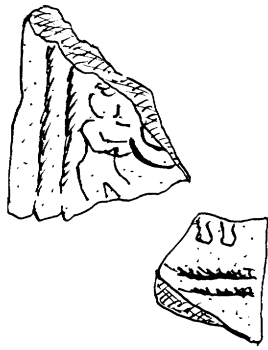


Figure 9.37 (*left*). Fragments of stele (24) from Mycenae, Grave Circle A, not associated with a particular grave (Athens, N.M. 1450, 1451, or 1434). N. Thomas, after Karo 1930, pl. X:a, b

Figure 9.38 (*right*). Seal (25) from Prosymna, Tomb 44 (Athens, N.M. 6615). N. Thomas, after *CMS* I, 217

(Demakopoulou 1990, p. 317); “perhaps the curved tail of a lion” (Younger 1997, p. 237). See Rysted 2001 for a strong case against any animal connection; note that Karo (1930, pp. 34–35, 170) said “man” with no mention of an animal; the smaller fragment shows two human feet.

Schliemann 1878, fig. 143; Karo 1930, fig. 13 (x:a, b), pl. X:a, b; Crouwel 1981, p. 153; Demakopoulou 1990, no. 275; Younger 1997, nos. X, XI; Rysted 2001, figs. 1, 2:a, b.

PROSYMNA

- 25 Seal (Athens, N.M. 6615)
Tomb 44.

Fig. 9.38

Amethyst lentoid; Sakellariou (1964, p. 238) said it came from LH I ceramic area of tomb; Younger (1984, p. 48) called it a late example of the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master’s work.

Lion contorted in circular pose around ornament.
CMS I, 217; Rhyne 1970, no. 140.

PYLOS

- 26 Seal (Athens, N.M. 8332)
Rutsi tholos, cist grave 2.

Fig. 9.39

Amethyst 3-sided prism; cist grave 2, the oldest and unplundered part of the burial site, is dated second half of 16th century B.C., or LH I, by Sakellariou (1964, p. 304); the seal itself has been dated LM IB/LH IIA, or first half of 15th century B.C., by Weingarten (1990, pp. 377–378; see my notes 14 and 90).

Three sides: (a) lion seated to left, head turned back, tree behind, ground lines; (b) stag seated to left, head turned back, plant or pronged dot behind, ground lines; (c) blank.

CMS I, 272; Rhyne 1970, no. 139.



Figure 9.39. Seal (26) from Pylos, Rutsi tholos, cist grave 2 (Athens, N.M. 8332). N. Thomas, after *CMS* I, 272

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