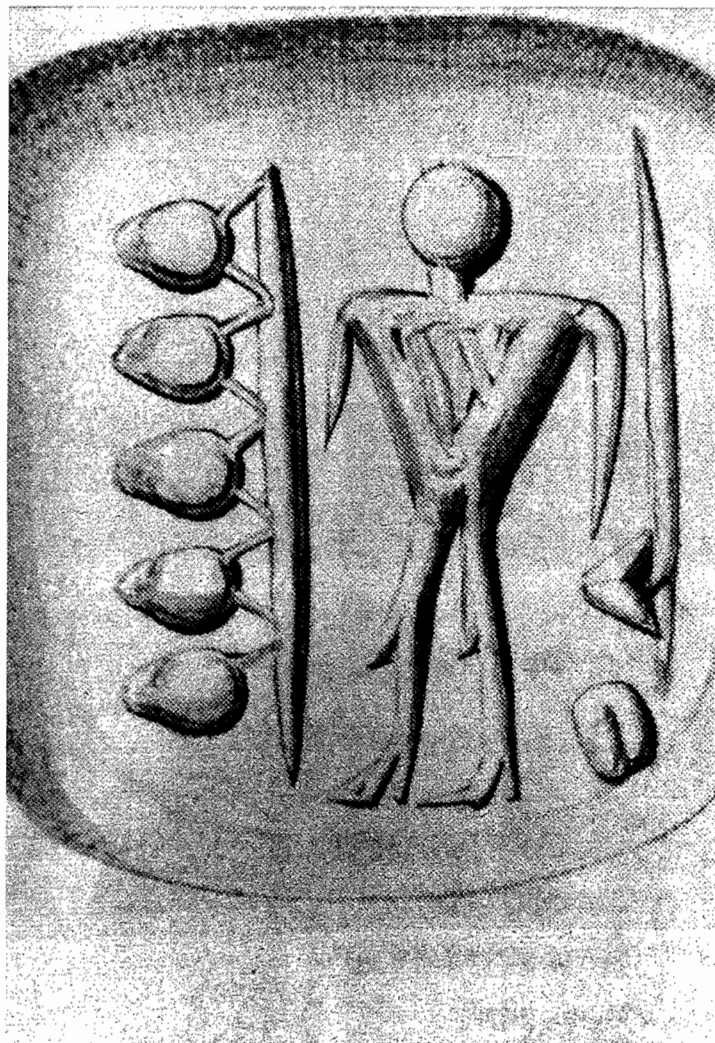




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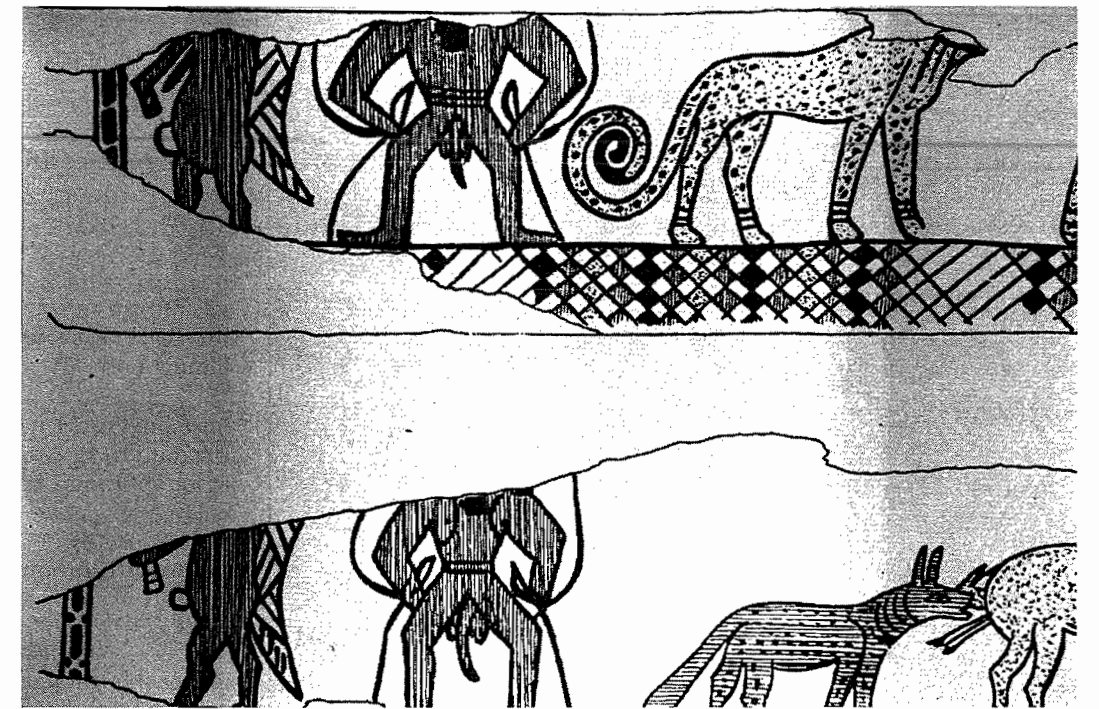


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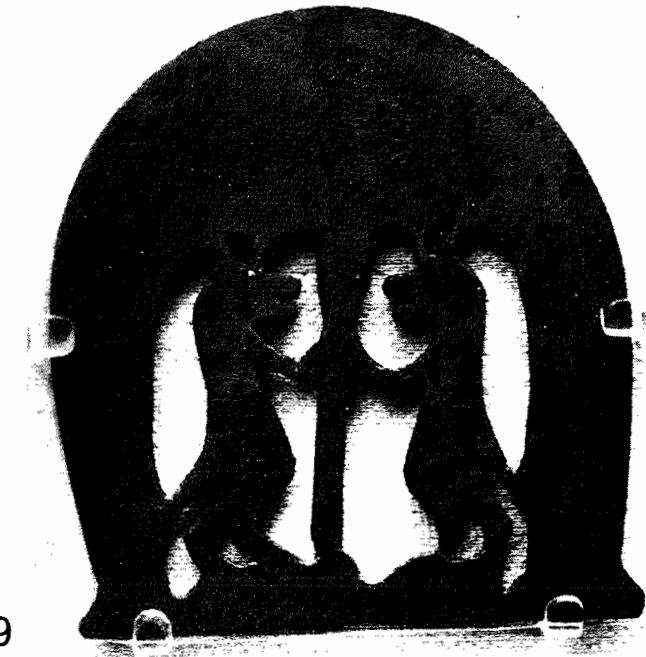
STUDIES IN MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY
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**THE TRANSFORMATION OF EGYPTIAN TAWERET
INTO
THE MINOAN GENIUS:
A Study in Cultural Transmission in the Middle Bronze Age**
By
Judith Weingarten

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PAUL ÅSTRÖMS FÖRLAG



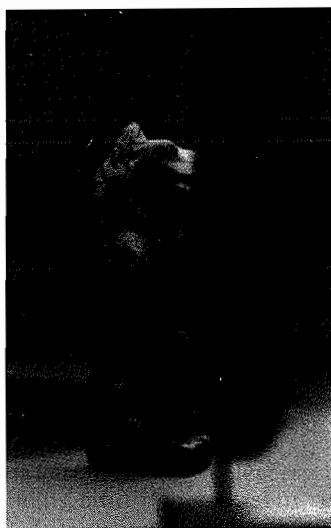
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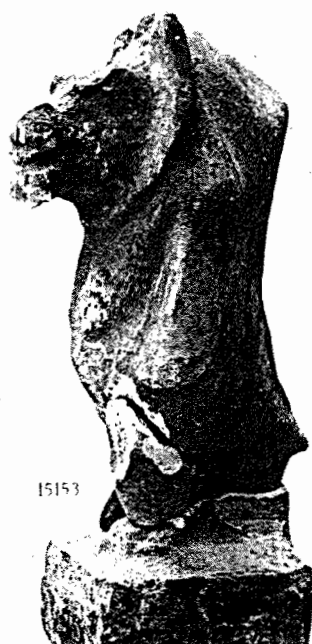
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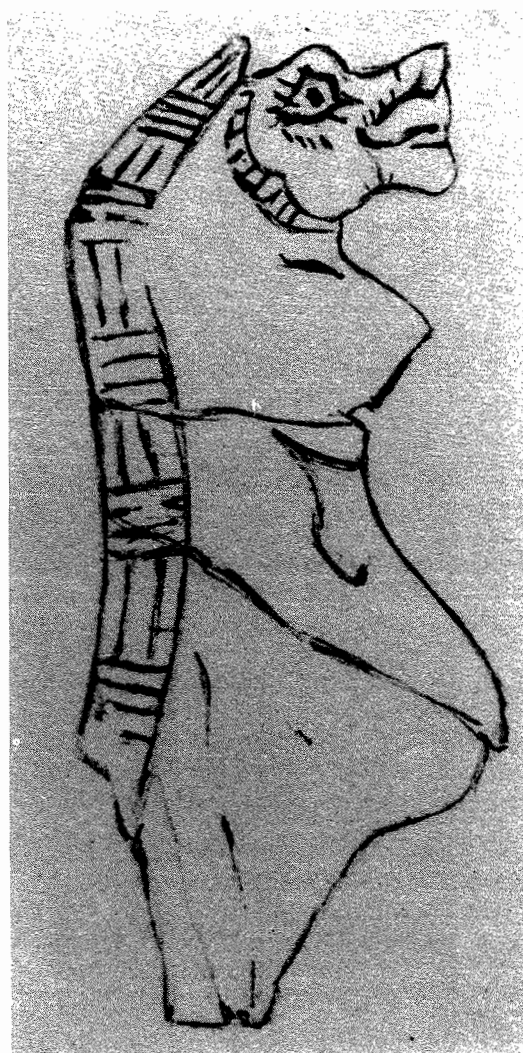
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THE TRANSFORMATION OF EGYPTIAN TAWERET INTO THE MINOAN GENIUS:

A Study in Cultural Transmission in the Middle Bronze Age

INTRODUCTION¹

Taweret, the popular Egyptian hippopotamus goddess, is almost certainly the mother of the Minoan Genius. The Minoan adoption of this foreign deity was proposed by Sir Arthur Evans,² a borrowing which was vigorously debated until seemingly confirmed by the discovery of three primitive Genii on Middle Minoan sealings from Phaistos and Knossos

¹ An earlier version of this paper, 'Notes on the Transformation of Taweret into the Minoan Genius', was presented at the 6th International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory: Interrelations in the Aegean, in Athens in 1987, and, in slightly enlarged form, to the Aegean Seminar at the Institute of Fine Arts in New York in October, 1987. I gratefully acknowledge a generous grant from the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) in support of this study. My warmest thanks are also due to Prof. P. Warren and Prof. J. G. Younger who read preliminary drafts of this paper and made many valuable comments.

In addition to the standard abbreviations I have used the following:

Apotropaia H. Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens* (diss. München 1965).

CMS *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel* (Berlin 1964-).

CS V.E.G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals* (Oxford 1960).

Genius M.A.V. Gill, 'The Minoan Genius,' *AM* 79, 1964, 1-21.

Génies minoens C. Baurain 'Pour une autre interprétation des génies minoens', *L'iconographie minoenne* (Athens 1985) 95-118; *BCH* Suppl. XI.

Magical Knives G. Steindorff, 'The Magical Knives of Ancient Egypt,' *JWAG* 9, 1946, 41-51, 106-107.

Magic Ivories F. Legge, 'Magic Ivories of the Middle Empire I,' *PSBA* 1905, 130-152; II, 1905, 297-303; III, 1906, 159-170.

Zakro Master J. Weingarten, *The Zakro Master and his Place in Prehistory*, Göteborg, 1983.

² *PM* IV 431-67, developing an earlier suggestion of F. Winter, 'Sitzungsberichte der Archäolog. Gesellschaft', *AA* 1890, 108.

(Fig. 1-3, Pl. 1-3).³ Although the borrowing has recently once again been questioned, this latest challenge, as I hope to demonstrate, is based on an insufficient understanding of the contemporary Egyptian evidence.⁴

Middle Kingdom evidence shows that the hippopotamus goddess had not yet developed some of the iconographical features which are associated with Taweret even as early as the Early New Kingdom. Yet Aegean scholars habitually publish images from the Middle Kingdom together with those from (say) the Late Period as if they were parallels, as if ancient Egypt were — alone of all civilizations — an unchanging monolith. It is an act of faith to assume that the goddess of the Middle Bronze Age (if goddess she then was)⁵ had very

³ Phaistos = *CMS* II.5 321-322; Knossos HM 202 was published in *Genius* 2-4. The arguments for and against an Egyptian inheritance are discussed in detail in M.A.V. Gill, *The Minoan Genius: an iconographical study* (diss. Birmingham University 1961, 34-41), and in its subsequent extract *Genius* 4, and n. 13 (I am indebted to Dr Gill for a copy of her unpublished thesis).

⁴ Taweret's role is contested in *Génies minoens*. His main arguments are based on the lion-headed aspect of the Minoan Genius (for lion-headed Taweret, see below p. 8) and on the character and sex of the Genius, discussed below p. 8-10. We also hope to disprove Gill's extreme scepticism (*Genius* 5-7) and (supra n. 3) 42-47: 'In so far as function is concerned, the Cretan [daemon] bears no relation to the Egyptian'; see below p. 12. On proposed Anatolian and Syrian connections, see below p. 9 n. 36, and Appendix II, n. 5.

⁵ Of the commonly-depicted Middle Kingdom apotropaic demons, Bes and Taweret (as they were later known) can perhaps best be described as 'demonic divinities'; see most recently H. G. Fischer, 'The Ancient Egyptian Attitude Towards the Monstrous', (A.E. Farkas, P.O. Harper, E.B. Harrison, eds.) *Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Mainz 1987) 18-19, 26.

much in common with her later, better documented sister. It is methodologically unsound to project the later goddess onto the earlier, and even more dubious to attempt to interpret the Minoan Genius in the light of Taweret's later manifestations.⁶

The question which I would thus first like to explore is: who was Taweret and what did she look like at the time of her importation into Crete? By plunging into the minutiae of her iconographical evolution, I hope to display convincingly the Egyptian origin and direct importation of the Minoan Genius. This evidence then allows us to approach the next issue with some confidence: how is an imported idea understood and transformed by the people who have imported it; in our case, how do the Minoans grasp and transform Taweret? The main aim of this study is to employ comparative contemporary evidence to better understand the process of cultural transmission, but prehistorians and Egyptologists might find this a useful case history in its own right.

1. MIDDLE KINGDOM TAWERET

The Middle Kingdom hippopotamus demon — who was still being called by older names than Taweret⁷ (= 'the Great One') — though I shall continue to use this epithet as a short, convenient label — already has a long history behind her: a hippopotamus demon is represented on amulets possibly no later than the 6th Dynasty, although these are often so crudely made that their iconography is far from clear. An unusually detailed early amulet (Fig. 6a) shows a fat hippopotamus monster already bearing a well-developed

6 Astrological and calendrical interpretation: *PM* IV 463-65 (dismissed by *MMR*² 380, n.48) and S. Marinatos, 'Polydipsion Argos' in (L. Palmer and J. Chadwick, eds.) *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (Cambridge 1966) 265-74. *Génies minoens* 111-113, connects the Genius with the Taweret of the Field of Offerings, and death, despite their being no contemporary evidence for such associations.

7 'Taweret' appears once as a personal name in the Middle Kingdom: M.G. Daressy, 'Monuments d'Edfu datant du moyen empire', *ASAE* 18, 1919, 51. She is known as Ipet or Ipy in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr 381), a name possibly meaning '(wet-)nurse'. In the Middle Kingdom Book of Two Ways she is addressed as *cAschat* = 'Many-faced', and, on a magical knife dated ca. 1730 B.C., as *rr.t*, 'the Sow' (*Apotropaia* 150).

dorsal appendage running from above her head down the length of her back, ending in a tail below the rump. Middle Kingdom Taweret amulets (e.g. Fig. 6b, 11th Dynasty) show a definite shortening of the muzzle and a strong tendency towards the abstraction of the whole animal. Her image on scarabs is even more schematic: on a late First Intermediate Period example found on Crete (Platanos B tholos; Pl. 4), she is distinguished from the baboon behind by her enlarged belly and dorsal appendage; the heads of both beasts have similar scant forms. On later scarabs (e.g. Fig. 7, from 2nd half-12th to 13th Dynasty) Taweret's figure is often reduced to a indeterminate species of standing animal with dorsal appendage.⁸

Middle Kingdom Taweret can more closely be studied on the so-called magical knives (e.g. Pl. 5), crescents generally carved from tusks of the hippopotamus. The knives are incised with apotropaic figures and (frequently) short texts.⁹ The inscriptions show that they belonged to women and children, and were intended to provide 'protection by night and protection by day'.¹⁰ Taweret is easily the most popular of the apotropaic figures — appearing on 45 of the 58 published knives — a

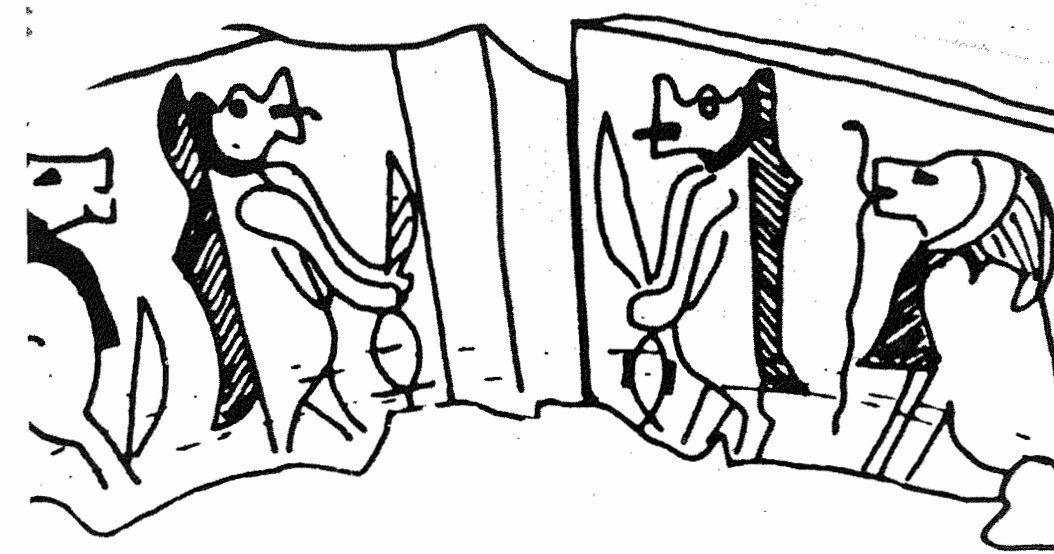
8 FIP scarab = *CMS* II.1 283; see W.A. Ward, 'The Scarabs from Tholos B at Platanos', *AJA* 85, 1981, 70-73. Uronarti = G.A. Reisner, 'Clay Sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort', *Kush* III, 1955 26-69; dates revised: O. Tufnell, 'Seal Impressions from Kahun and Uronarti', *JEA* 61, 1975, 69.

9 The poor quality and summary engraving of most magical knives contrasts oddly with the material (ivory, even hippopotamus ivory, can never have been a commonplace material) and, indeed, with the quality of many of their owners: inscriptions on some knives use formulae (e.g. 'may [he] live, be prosperous and healthy') usually associated with persons of high rank (*Magical Knives* 106); similarly, a number of inscribed feminine titles are connected with royalty (*Apotropaia* 65). See n. 18 below.

10 *Magical Knives* 50; perhaps protection against snakes or snakes and crocodiles: G. Jéquier, 'Notes et Remarques' *RevTrav* 30, 1908, 40-42. W.M.F. Petrie (*Objects of Daily Use*, London, 1927, 40) interpreted protection as the abstract subdual of evil. He also developed M.A. Murray's theory that the knives were horoscopes of specific individuals ('The Astrological Character of the Egyptian Magical Wands', *PSBA* 28, 1906, 33-43) but Steindorff (*Magical Knives* 50) contends that 'the majority of the pictures have nothing whatsoever to do with constellations and, in any event, the words pronounced by the figures themselves state that they offer protection'; indeed Petrie himself admitted that Taweret, the most common 'sign' was probably merely protective. See n. 6 above.



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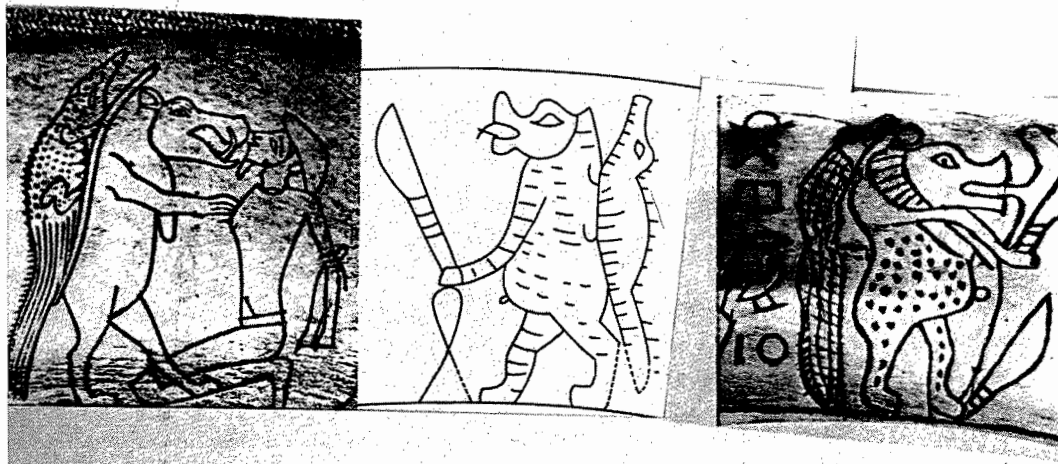
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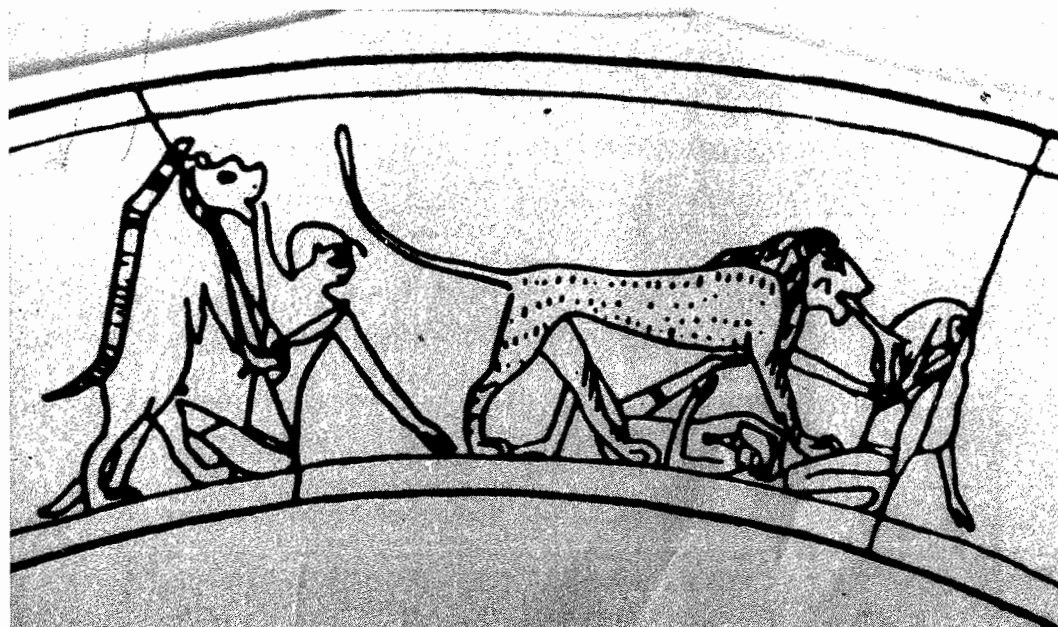
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9 a-c



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popularity consistent with her often being pictured holding the SA sign of protection and with her role, dating from very early times, as nurse and protector of mother and child.¹¹

Hartwig Altenmüller, who has most recently collected and studied the magical knives, distinguished four iconographical types of hippopotamus demon, each type equivalent to a chronological stage in her development (Fig. 4) ranging from ca. 2000 to ca. 1650 B.C.¹² Thereafter, she disappears from the apotropaia. The earliest Middle Kingdom hippopotamus demon (ca. 2000) is slender in figure, but the familiar enlarged belly appears quite quickly (by ca. 1950). Breasts, if shown at all, are always pendulous (though it is uncertain if this is a sign of pregnancy or even of her female nature).¹³ Another early characteristic is

11 Her popularity in the Middle Kingdom is also attested by numerous theophoric personal names; Ipy with 'Taweret' determinant on stele in the masculine ('Son-of') and feminine ('Daughter-of'); H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt 1935) 22,4.

12 *Apotropaia* 43-46, supplemented by 'Ein Zaubermesser aus Tübingen', *WdO* 14, 1983, 30-45; and 'Ein Zaubermesser des Mittleren Reiches', *SAK* 13, 1986, 1-37 (pp. 23-25 for a discussion of the texts inscribed on some knives). The knives first appear in the late-11th Dynasty but are characteristic of the 12th and 13th Dynasties. *Apotropaia* uses — and for the sake of simplicity, I follow — a high chronology, dating the 12th Dynasty to 1779-1801 BC. For a recent discussion of the high/low chronologies, see: K.A. Kitchen, 'The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age', in (P. Åström, ed.) *High, Middle or Low?* (Göteborg 1987) 37-55. NB: the dating of most knives is typological; dates are comparative rather than absolute. If I often use absolute dates, rather than magical knife typology (A-B-C-D), these dates must nonetheless be understood only as conventional markers with a margin of error of 50 years either way; see *SAK* 13, 1986, 23.

13 Pregnant women do not have pendulous breasts in Egyptian iconography; rather, cf.: the belly and long breasts of male fecundity figures (= Nile gods, Hapy). Since her breasts are not realistic and are apparently derived from a male fecundity form, the breasts (and enlarged belly) probably have definite iconographic meaning: J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster 1985) 127; see our Pl. 22 and especially his Middle Kingdom figures, e.g. fig. 60, 61, 95, 96, 132, 133). Also cf.: the so-called female Bes with long pointed breasts on magical knives Berlin 6709 and Louvre 6447; this image by no means restricted to Ptolemaic Beset (pace J. Vanschoonwinkel, in his review of *Zakro Master*, *RBPhil* 64, 1986, 200-01: 'L'image féminine de Bès ne semble pas antérieure à l'époque ptolémaïque.'). In fact, Bes with breasts exists from the MK until well into the NK; see *Zakro Master* 102, Pl. 16 and Fischer (supra n. 5) 18.

the lion's mane outlining her head; this tends to diminish, though it does not disappear, after ca. 1800. Other leonine features, however, become more pronounced over time, until her body becomes assimilated to that of the lion-demon in the years between 1750 and 1650.

Without doubt, however, the most useful — and precise — feature for charting her passage through the Middle Kingdom is the changing contour and decoration of her dorsal appendage. Altenmüller's four Types essentially are based on the iconographical evolution of the dorsal appendage (Appendix I; Fig. 5), a line of development which I have been able to confirm in non-magical knife iconography (Appendix II)¹⁴. All in all, we can have some confidence that Altenmüller's typology extends beyond the magical knives, providing a framework which can be used (with due care) in the Middle Kingdom and into the XIIIth Dynasty.¹⁵

It will not have gone unnoticed that Altenmüller's descriptions of Taweret's development (Appendix I) make no mention of crocodiles on Taweret's back. Though it is often asserted that the crocodile is the source for Taweret's dorsal appendage, there is no early evidence showing that her appendage does in fact result from the fusion of a crocodile's tail into her back.¹⁶ The

14 Types A-D following the schema (though much simplified) of *Apotropaia* 45-46. This is a typological classification with each stage somewhat idealized; perfect fits are rare and there are some opposing tendencies even within the same Type. It is nonetheless surprisingly easy to fit most Middle Kingdom Taweret-objects into Altenmüller's categories.

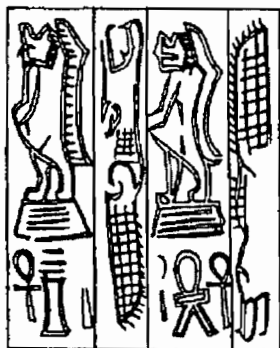
15 J. Romano's forthcoming study of Bes (*The Bes-Image in Egyptian Art*, diss. Institute of Fine Art, New York Univ.), supports Altenmüller's magical knife typology for Bes on knives and in other two-dimensional media as well; three-dimensional Bes images, however, do not fit the typology (pers. comm.); artists working in the round seem not to have shared the painter/engraver's view of Bes's unique frontal image.

16 There is a possible conceptual ambiguity in Taweret's association with the crocodile: 'les Égyptiens considéraient [l'hippopotame], à tort ou à raison, comme l'ennemi du crocodile qu'il saisit à pleine gueule et qu'il étouffe sans remission... (Jéquier [supra n. 10] 41), an antagonistic relationship perhaps illustrated on an unusual Middle Kingdom (!) cylinder seal (P. Kaplony, *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs*, II, Brussels, 1981 539, Pl. 148, 49): two Tawerets stand above the signs 'Life! Protection! Stability!'; crocodiles tête bêche in separate registers. The exhortations could suggest a

earliest amulets and scarabs already show an abstract dorsal appendage (Fig. 6a, Pl. 4); indeed, crocodiles do not seem to impinge on her personal image until some time after ca. 1850. Two (out of nine) faience figures from the Temple aux obélisques at Byblos carry clinging crocodiles (Pl. 16a¹⁷; Appendix II/5, ca. temp. Amenemhat III), while the much-published Louvre 3614 (Pl. 9a), on which a tusked hippopotamus demon with a crocodile on her back savages a foreign prisoner, is a rare and relatively late image: she carries a crocodile on only three magical knives (ca. 1800-1750; Pl. 9).¹⁸ Since Taweret's tripartite hybridization is really quite uncommon before the New Kingdom, we need not expect to find Middle Bronze Age Minoan artists coping with crocodiles as they wrestled with the goddess's already formidable form.

hippopotamus-demon demonstrating her power over the crocodile.

Fig.: Middle Kingdom Cylinder Seal.



17 M. Dunand *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, 1954, 151, 53, 54, 56. See also a recently-excavated statuette of crocodile-carrying Taweret from the Middle Kingdom palace at Bubastis (which, unfortunately, cannot be more closely dated): A. El-Sarvy, *Excavations at Tell Basta* (Prague 1979) 76-77, fig. 177-179.

18 Louvre 3614 (and MMA 30.8.318) dated ca. 1800 by *Apotropaia*; *pace Génies minoens* 99 who dates this knife 2133-1991 B.C. — thus 11th Dynasty — but such an early date, at the very start of the series of magical knives, is highly unlikely. The publication (n. 12: 1986) of a third crocodile-carrying Taweret (Pl. 9b) supports a date ca. 1800: this knife is inscribed with the name of a daughter of Amenemhet III, closely dating it to 1800-1750 (p. 23-25).

II. THE MIDDLE-MINOAN MINOAN GENIUS

We are now ready to examine what these Middle Minoan artists actually did accomplish in the translation of this complicated iconography. Margaret Gill, in her article 'The Minoan Genius', drew attention to an early group of three Middle Minoan sealings — CMS II.5 321 and 322 from Phaistos and HM 202 from Knossos — which illustrate the first extant stages of the representation of the Genius in Minoan art.¹⁹ As she rightly stressed, it is exactly the early stages which must be studied to account for the Genius's origins, physical appearance, and function (*Genius* 2-4).

Knossos HM 202

The Knossos sealing (Pl. 1, Fig. 1) almost certainly originated in the Hieroglyphic Deposit, which makes its impression, though not necessarily its engraving, slightly later than the sealings from Phaistos.²⁰ The design appears to be a close reproduction of an Egyptian original, including the elongated hippopotamus head and dorsal appendage of Taweret. Even the vegetation, as Gill pointed out, has an Egyptian 'flavour' (*Genius* 2).

The swollen belly, pendulous breast, and lion's hind-legs are characteristic of nearly all Middle Kingdom Tawerets. The Genius's stance is instruc-

19 The Phaistos sealings were found in a closed destruction deposit (though not *in situ*) marking the end of the third phase of the First Palace: E. Fiandra, 'I periodi struttivi del primo palazzo di Festos', *KrChron* 1963, 118-121, equivalent to Knossos MM IIB (*ibid* 125). The absolute chronology of MM II is far from secure, the end of MM IIB varies from ca. 1775/1750 (B.J. Kemp & R.S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt*, Mainz, 1980, 267) to ca. 1675/1650 (G. Cadogan, 'Early Minoan and Middle Minoan Chronology', *AJA* 87, 1983, 517. P. Warren (*CR* 35, 1985, 149) would place the end of MM IIB ca. 1700, with MM III beginning within the 13th Dynasty; this best accords with the conclusions of this study (see p 9 below). The Knossos sealing is yet more problematic with even its relative dating (MM IIB?) uncertain; see below n. 20.

20 Impressed on a crescent-shaped nodule characteristic of the Hieroglyphic Deposits at (MM IIB?) Knossos and (MM IIB) Mallia: M. Gill, 'Apropos the Minoan "Genius"' *AJA* 74, 1970, 405; dating: J. Weingarten, 'Sealings Structures of Minoan Crete', I, *OJA* 5, 1986, 281.



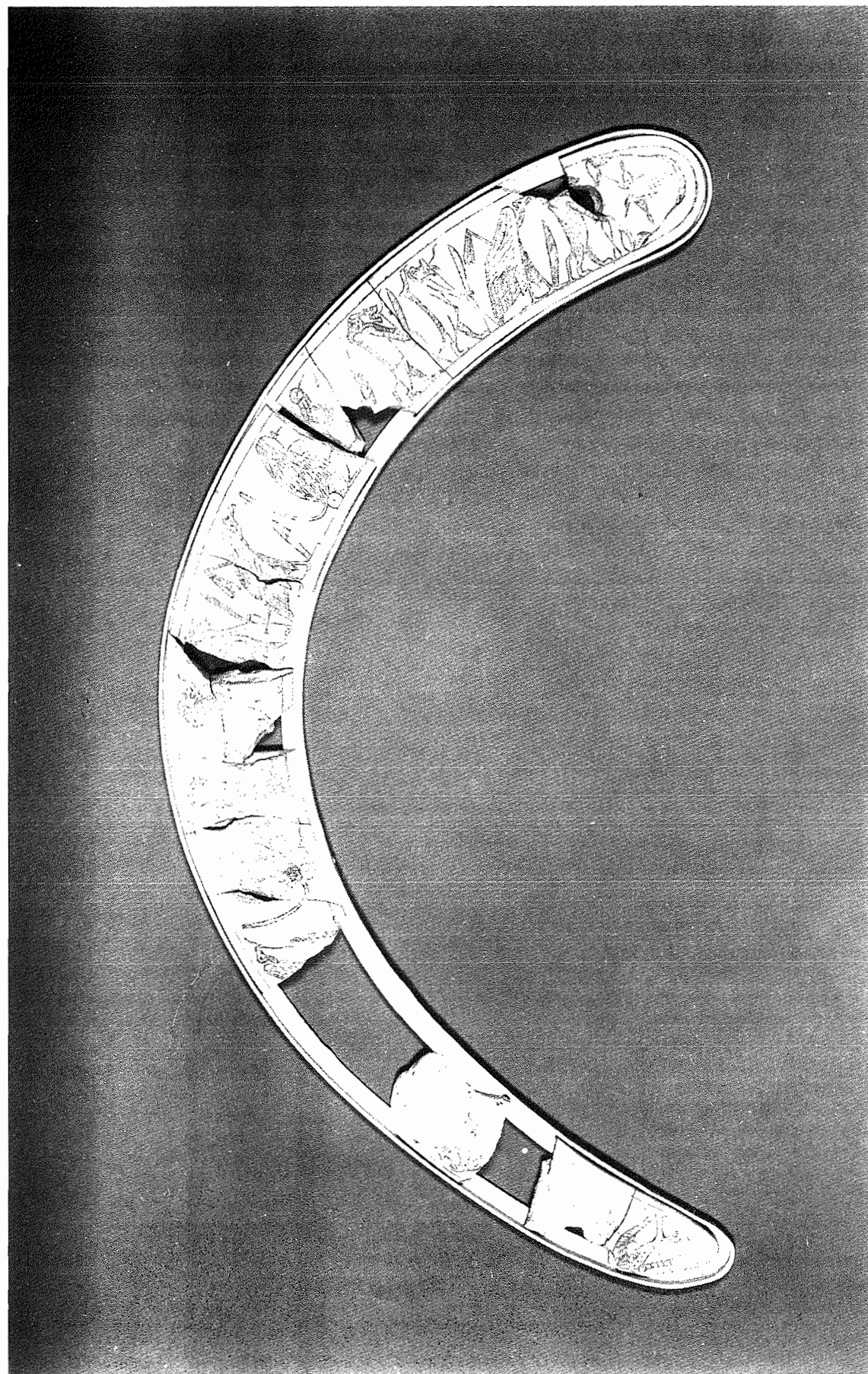
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tive: the far leg steps forward in the characteristic upright pose of Taweret (and the lion demon) on the magical knives, an animal walk with no Minoan precedents. There has already been time, however, between model and copy for the Genius to be *some-what* Minoanized: the creature holds a high-necked single-handled ewer, an image with no Egyptian (or Syrian) sanction. The demon's uplifted hands grasp the ewer by base and handle in the Egyptian offering gesture (Pl. 22), a position forever after frozen in Minoan iconography.

Can we date this proto-Genius's Egyptian model (Table 1)? The mouth is open, showing bared sharp teeth.²¹ Taweret grimaces with clenched teeth on A- and (some) B-type magical knives and she is seen intermittently with a rictus until but not after ca. 1750, (cf.: Pl. 11; Fig. 4^{2,6,12}). One amusing detail is also useful for dating: Taweret's protruding belly button. Such prominent navels are fairly common on A- and B-type Tawerets (Fig. 4^{1,3,6}) but are not found on C- or D-types; the latest example appears on a crocodile-carrying Taweret (Pl. 9b) which can be closely dated on epigraphical grounds to 1800-1750. Thus, this feature disappears no later than 1750.

The most useful dating criterion should be, of course, the dorsal appendage (Appendix I). The upper part of the appendage is lost but, below, we can see a broad tail on which numerous oblique dashes point downwards from right to left.²² The dorsal appendage is long, ending below the rump, roughly at mid-leg height if not lower. Such filled-in, exceptionally long and broad tails are best paralleled on magical knives in Boston (ca. 1750, Pl. 8) and Moscow (ca. 1800; Pl. 7).²³

All in all, comparisons (Table 1) suggest that the image upon which the Knossos Taweret was

21 Compare the open mouth and pointed teeth of CMS II.3 105 from Kalyvia, which further supports Gill's suggestion (*Genius* 3) that the fat Genius of that gem was copied from a Protopalatial original.

22 This direction of cross strokes appears on some magical knives ca. 1750: Petrie, Gaza III, J8; Boston 03.1703 (= Pl. 8); the Cecil Collection knives (= Fig. 4¹¹); and on D-type knives dated ca. 1700: Ashmolean Mus. E 2223 (= Pl. 12); the Nash Collection knives (= Fig. 4¹⁵).

23 Also cf.: the filled-in, long but narrow tail on Met. Mus. 08.200.19 (ca. 1750; Pl. 5).

based left Egypt between 1800-1700, probably sometime just before mid-century.

Phaistos CMS II.5 321, 322

The two sealings from Phaistos (CMS II.5 321 and 322) present very different images. CMS II.5 321 unfortunately only exists in two poor and imperfect impressions (Pl. 2, Fig. 2). Nonetheless, the following features are clear:

1) the proto-Genius is either hippopotamus-headed or based on an elongated hippopotamus-type head; the mouth is open but apparently toothless.

2) it has a swollen belly and perhaps the remnant of a pendulous breast; there may be a slight trace of the lion's mane at the back of her neck;

3) it carries a single-handled ewer with a long narrow foot, one hand on handle, one holding foot (the Egyptian offering gesture), exactly as HM 202 from Knossos;²⁴

4) the broad cross-hatched 'trellis' behind and partially detached from the animal is a version of Taweret's dorsal appendage; it rises high behind the ear, and descends at least to mid-leg.²⁵

CMS II.5 321 thus gives information on the height, length and cross-hatching of the dorsal appendage. The appendage extends over the head but does not touch the back of the head, a diagnostic feature of Type C (ca. 1750; Fig. 4,5) Tawerets. Cross-hatched decoration does not appear on any magical knife, but is closely paralleled by the plaited appendages of two painted Tawerets on a wooden box (Pl. 18) from the South Cemetery of

24 Perhaps because of imperfect cleaning of the nodules, *Genius* 3 pictured the ewer as a 'dangling paw of an animal'. No actual example of this type of libation jug exists, but a similar high-footed jug is depicted on a contemporary prism from the Mallia Stoneworking Atelier (CMS II.2 159): the jug possibly appears in a ritual context (two men saluting jug above an amphora) See p. 13 below. The nearer arm and hand grasping the vase's foot are lost on HM 714; see CMS II.5 321, HM 921 (photo lower right) for this feature.

25 *Genius* 3 construes the 'trellis' as a 'space-filling device', but no other gem has such a 'device' integrated into a figurative motif; closest: CMS XII 136 with an architectonic filler separated from a sheep by multiple horizontal lines, and PM I Fig. 202e ('Cretan Zeus' from the Knossos Hieroglyphic Deposit) where it forms the background.

Rifeh of 13th Dynasty date²⁶. Their protruding navels suggests a date early in the dynasty (cf.: Knossos HM 202), probably between ca. 1800-1750 (Table 1).

Happily, the second Phaistos seal impression, CMS II.5 322 (Pl. 3; Fig. 3 a, b²⁷) is better preserved. The salient features are:

1) The proto-Genius is lion-headed, its mouth wide open with no apparent teeth;²⁸

2) its head is outlined by a decorated lion's mane;

3) it has a swollen belly and the remnant of a pendulous breast drawn under the arm, inside the body line;

4) it carries an ewer in the same offering gesture as the one on the Knossos sealing and Phaistos CMS II.5 321;

5) its upright animal stance is the same as that of the Knossos Genius and of its Phaistos colleague;

6) its elegant, broad dorsal appendage falls from the ear nearly to the ground; it is decorated with vertical wavy lines and wedges on the inside, and an outer border of globules;

7) and branches and rocks suggest an outdoor Minoan landscape.

Taweret often appears with a lion's head in New Kingdom documents but it is difficult to pinpoint exactly when this leonine transformation first took place. There was undoubtedly a tendency to merge the lion and hippopotamus demons in Altenmüller's Type D phase (ca. 1750-1650), but lion-headed

26 Details of the Bes image on the Rifeh box (phallus, without tail, belt) also differ from magical knife iconography (J. Romano, pers. comm.).

27 I have not been able to reconcile the two drawings. Several discrepancies (e.g. the shape of the vases, muzzles and mouths, decoration of the manes) suggest either that the ring slipped slightly while being pressed on the wet clay or, less likely, that the two images might have been impressed by two different 'look-alike' rings. Look-alikes (seals which look so much alike that they must have been made intentionally similar) are already known at Phaistos (cf.: CMS II.5 268, 269); on look-alikes, see Weingarten, (above n. 20) 289-293.

28 The CMS drawing shows sharp, pointed teeth but this is based on one impression (photo: upper right) which seems to have been damaged in this area; the two best preserved impressions, which I used for my drawings, show no trace of teeth.

Taweret may have developed earlier, especially in other media.²⁹

Possibly the earliest (11th-12th Dynasty) is a ceremonial copper axe in the British Museum (Pl. 19), on which two antithetic lion-headed Tawerets with swollen bellies grasp a standard(?).³⁰ A lion-headed figurine from the Temple aux obélisques in Byblos (Pl. 16c; ca. temp. Amenemhat III) can be understood as Taweret only because of her peaked dorsal appendage.³¹ Two back-to-back lion-headed Tawerets guard the throne of Pharaoh Sobkemsaf I of the 17th Dynasty (Pl. 20), ca. 1650.³² The important point for our study is that the lion-headed Taweret springs into being fully-formed and coexists with the traditional hippopotamus-headed goddess in all media. Both forms are found together, for example, at Byblos. There seems to be no functional distinction between the two versions: the lion-headed guardians of Pharaoh Sobkemsaf's throne offer 'All protection and life around him', a formula uttered repeatedly by the hippopotamus-headed demon.

To return to the Phaistos Genius, it has Taweret's lion's mane outlining the head, a feature which appears on the magical knives and in other

29 M.G. Daressy interpreted the standing lion demons on the knives Cairo 9434 and 9437 (Type C) as lion-headed Tawerets: *Textes et dessins magiques*, Cairo, 19XX, 44-47. NB: the almost interchangeable bodies of lion-demon and Taweret on MMA 08.200.19 (ca. 1750; Pl. 5). Cf.: the progressive abstraction of Taweret's head on amulets and scarabs (supra p. 6) and some knives, e.g. Walters Art Gallery 71.510 (= *Magical Knives* fig. 1; ca. 1750); Boston 03.1703 (= Pl. 8; ca. 1750).

30 Probably 12th Dynasty: H.R. Hall, *Some Egyptian Axeheads in the British Museum*, *LivAnn* 16, 1929, 21. The most recent study of such ceremonial axes (E. Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten* (Berlin 1969) 63, dates all *Prunkäxte* between the early First Intermediate and late Second Intermediate Period (nearly 700 years without any typological development!). Palestinian evidence, however, permits us at least to close the series at the end of the 12th Dynasty: such axes are found in Palestinian tombs, none later than contemporary with the 12th Dynasty (Dr O. Negbi, pers. comm.).

31 Dunand (above n. 17) no. 15153; compare the near identical hippopotamus-headed figurine no. 15155 (his fig. 12b).

32 W.V. Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, London, 1981, 1-3 (correcting the attribution by E.A. Wallis Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*, London, 1914, 6).

Bm371 British Mus. Occasional Paper
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Review by J. Romano JEA 71, 1985, 38-41



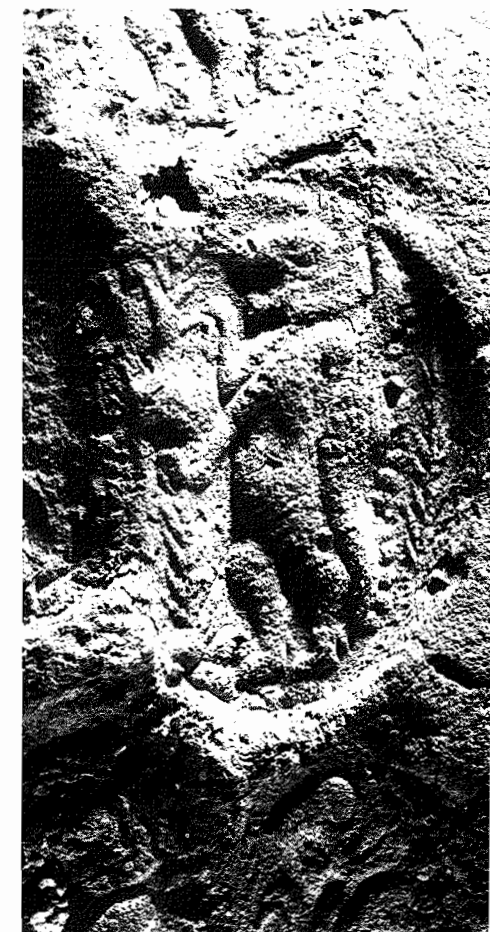
1



2



3a



3b

Fig. 6a

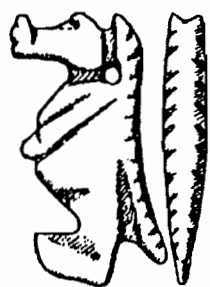


Fig. 6b



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



media in all periods and thus not helpful for dating. Its importance lies rather in demonstrating how closely the Minoan artist observed his Egyptian model.³³

Taweret usually bares her teeth or sticks out her tongue, or grimaces with protruding tongue simultaneously. A wide-open (toothless) mouth is one of her most shortlived traits; she gapes on D-type knives only (Fig. 4), the latest dated ca. 1720.³⁴

Several of Altenmüller's Tawerets have the outline of the pendulous breast *inside* the body outline (e.g. Fig. 4^{1,10,16}). This quirk is probably based on observation of three-dimensional Taweret figures: when seen in profile, the flat, pendulous breasts appear as if drawn within the body outline. This trait is last seen on magical knives ca. 1700 (Pl. 12).

Finally, broad, long dorsal appendages running from the ear to just above the hindquarters are found on magical knives ca. 1800-1750. The back decoration is difficult to interpret but the globules, at least, may not be arbitrary; just such globules outline crocodiles' backs on magical knives (e.g. Brussels E 2673, ca. 1850)³⁵ and may have been transferred somewhat later, though we have no such examples, to the more abstract dorsal appendages.

Summing up those features which might have chronological significance (Table 1):

- 1) The lion-headed Taweret develops during the 2nd half of the 12th Dynasty, a development which accelerates after ca. 1750;
- 2) an open, gaping mouth ca. 1730-1720.
- 3) the breast drawn *within* the body outline no later than ca. 1700;
- 4) Long dorsal appendages ca. 1800-1750.

33 *Génies minoens*, 101, misinterprets this mane as a necklace (*ibid.* 96). Traces of the mane survive on his LM I Genii (Fig. 10), as well as on the Zakro Master's 'Lion-headed Birds' (Zakro Master 76, Z 51), probable descendants of the Phaistos Genius. *Genius* 2 errs, too, in supposing the mane 'reminiscent' of Taweret's wig; on the contrary, her wig evolved from the lion's mane early in the New Kingdom.

34 Cf.: open-mouthed (surprisingly toothless) lion-headed Tawerets on the copper ceremonial axe (Pl. 19); if the axe is 12th Dynasty, Taweret on the knives picked up the habit from other media.

35 Cf.: also globules on the crocodile on Berlin 9611b (= *Magic Ivories* 39; ca. 1875).

Once again, we are urged towards a date between ca. 1800-1700, with the key points suggesting a date after mid-century.

Early Genius Iconography

We may draw some conclusions:

First, with the exception of the ewer, *all* features of the three proto-Genii have good Egyptian parallels derived from Taweret between ca. 1800 and 1700 (Table 1). There is nothing specifically Syrian and, indeed, despite assertions to the contrary, there is no hint of Syrian (or Anatolian) involvement in Taweret's Middle Bronze Age development.³⁶ The early history of the Genius therefore gives us an exceptional opportunity to study the transmission of artistic and cultural influences direct from Egypt to Minoan Crete in the Middle Bronze Age.

Second, the Minoans imported both Egyptian forms of Taweret, the hippopotamus-headed and the lion-headed. Though we cannot know whether they arrived together or not, their images were based on models of somewhat different date: the hippopotamus-headed Genius is derived from a slightly earlier Taweret (between ca. 1800 - 1750), with the lion-headed demon developing a little later, perhaps in the decades immediately after ca. 1750.³⁷

36 From the vantage point of Crete, the Minoan Genius is but a distant relative of the Anatolian bird-headed libation demon (M.J. Mellink, 'Anatolian Libation Pourers and the Minoan Genius', in Farkas, Harper & Harrison, eds. [above, n. 5] 68-71). An Anatolian bird-headed winged male figure can be dated to the 18th century B.C. (Acemhöyük seal impressions, possibly derived from the Syrian griffon-demon; cf.: *Zakro Master* Pl. 15 A, B) but he does not carry a libation pitcher until the Old Hittite period, i.e. the 17th century B.C. Thus, though the Anatolian demon may also ultimately descend from Egypt (Horus?), he is not ancestral to the Minoan Genius (*pace* Mellink *loc. cit.*); indeed, one must wonder if the Anatolian demon did not inherit his ewer from Crete. On proposed Syrian connections, see Appendix II, n. 5.

37 *Pace Génies minoens* 101, who insists on 'la primauté du caractère léonin'. Baurain can maintain this priority only by relegating the contemporary Phaistos CMS II.5 321, to a footnote (101 n. 25). While the hippopotamus head of CMS II.5 321 is arguable, the image is at least based on such an elongated head. This, and the undoubted hippopotamus head of HM 202, cannot be due (as Baurain proposes [101 n. 26]) to the later contamination of a Minoan lion-demon by the Egyptian goddess since the transformation had already been accomplished in Egypt itself.

Though the lion-headed Genius is the more striking Minoan form, the hippopotamus head lives on in various elongations, roughly boar- or ass-headed.³⁸

Third, the Minoans knew that the hippopotamus-headed demon was the same (for all practical purposes) as the lion-headed demon; the ewer proves their original functional identity. Both forms remain functionally interchangeable in the Aegean: either can carry a ewer, either can carry an animal to sacrifice, and both can serve divinities (or heroes).³⁹

Fourth, the ewer was probably the Minoan Genius's original attribute.

III. THE ROLE OF THE HIPPOPOTAMUS DEMON IN THE MIDDLE-KINGDOM

When Taweret came to Crete, did she arrive devoid of concepts, a demon without ideas? Did she insert herself into Minoan religion as a *tabula rasa* on which the Minoans could inscribe their religious (or social) requirements?⁴⁰ Before accepting the timely importation of a blank demon, it would be better to

38 Pace *Génies minoens* 102-103 who insists that 'la tête de lion fournit, de loin, le meilleur dénominateur commun', arguing that, otherwise the character of the Genius would be 'mal établie' (n. 34). A search of the literature shows that, in fact — taking Genii with intelligible heads — 24 are lion-headed and 22 have elongated heads. Baurain would no doubt reply with some justice (*Génies minoens* 97) that non-leonine Genii generally appear on seals, which he considers objects of petty and utilitarian value. It is indeed remarkable that nearly all the 'richest' Genii are lion-headed (e.g. on the bronze urns from Cyprus = *PM* IV figs. 381-382; the Tiryns gold ring = *CMS* I 179; the Mallia stone triton = *Génies minoens* [Fig. 10]; the ivory plaque from Thebes = *BCH* 92, 858-60), which is certainly significant, but perhaps reflects more the lion's social value than a rule of Genius iconography; an exception is, of course, the ass-headed Genii on the Mycenae fresco.

39 The figures are as follows for the Genius's three most common activities:

	Lion-headed	Elongated-headed
With ewer	12	6
Carrying quadruped	7	5
With male/female	1	5

40 *Genius* 4-5 argues that Taweret was a convenient demon — an intermediate level between gods and men — needed to deal with rapid social changes during the first phase of the Protopalatial period. Once adopted, however, Taweret and the Minoan Genius 'had little more in common than the most general of properties, of the type shared by all benevolent spirits.'

understand something of Taweret's role in the Middle Kingdom. Badly documented as it is, certainty is impossible but, in religious matters, probability is an advance.

The hippopotamus demon was from earliest times a divine nurse. Her oldest name was Ipy which itself may mean (wet-) nurse. In the Pyramid Texts, Ipy gives suck to the dead Pharaoh (Pyr 381, 382):

O my mother Ipy, give me this breast of yours, that I may apply it to my mouth and suck this your white, gleaming, sweet milk. As for yonder land in which I walk, I will neither thirst nor hunger in it for ever.

[translation R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford, 1969].

The milk itself affords protection: *mw bz3w*, 'milk' contains the root word *bz3*, attested in the Middle Kingdom in the sense of 'to protect', so milk is 'the protecting liquid'.⁴¹ Protection and nourishment may thus be taken as the hippopotamus demon's earliest roles.

A more forceful note is struck in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts. On two coffins from El-Barsha (Cairo 28083, J 37566)⁴² a red-painted hippopotamus demon holds the typical broad knife, and speaks:

I am Many-faced who created thunder, who mounts up to Re and repels the strength of 'Apep, who splits open the sky and drives away storm, and who nourishes the crews of Re.

(Spell 1179; translation R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III, Warminster, 1978).

Altenmüller translates (*Apotropaia* 150):

Ich bin die cAschat, die das Gebrüll des Himmels macht ... die das Himmelsgewässer öffnet und das Unheil abwehrt

In this Spell, the demon protects the young Sun God, destroys his enemies (Apopis) and unlocks

41 J. Leclant, 'Le Rôle du lait et de l'allaitement d'après les textes des pyramides,' *JNES* 10, 1951, 127.

42 Cairo 28083 dated on stylistic and epigraphical grounds to the reign of Sesostri III (1878-1859 in the high chronology) or a little earlier: E. Brovarski, 'Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom,' in (W.K. Simpson & W.M. Davis, eds.) *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and Sudan* (Boston 1981) 25-26.

Fig. 4

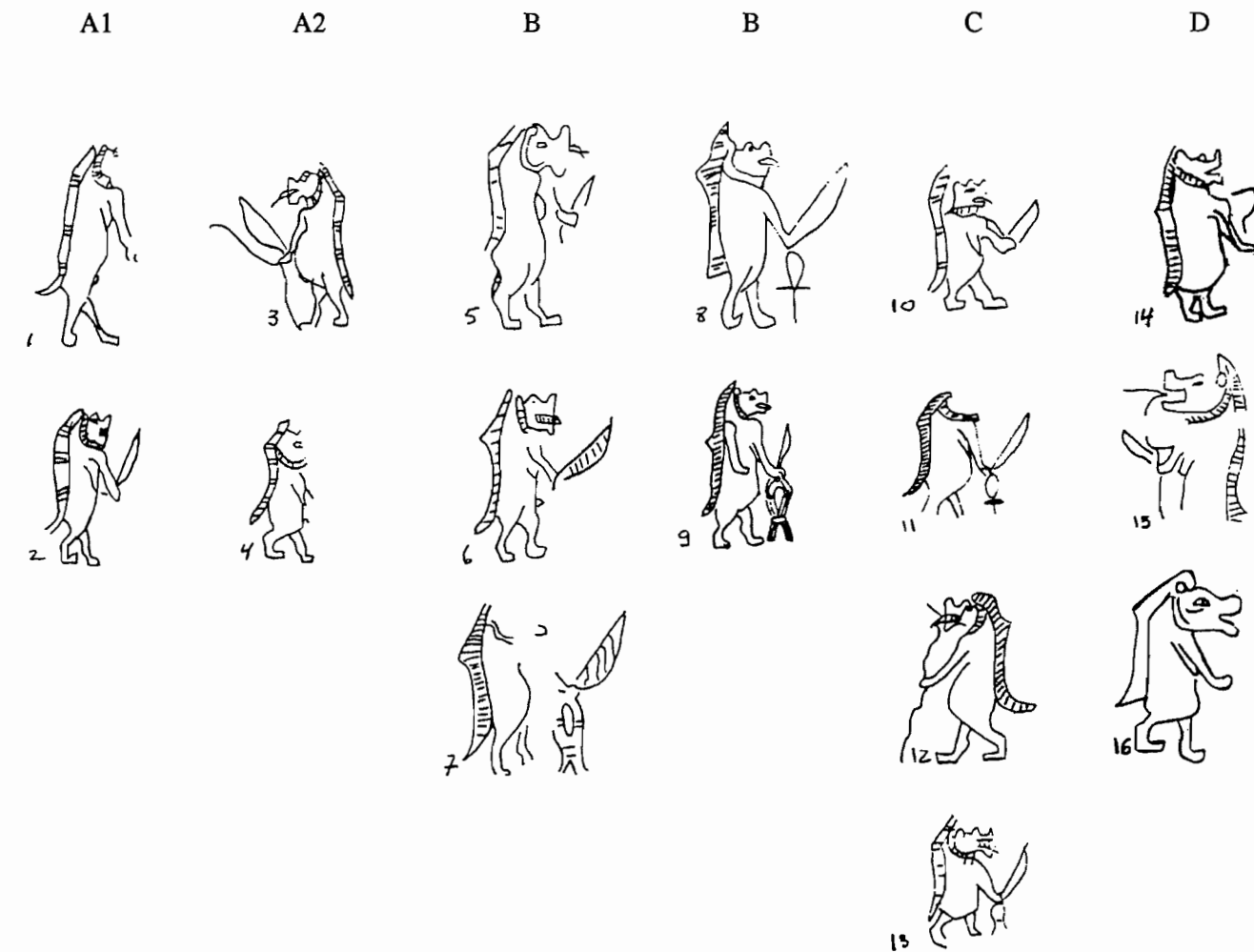
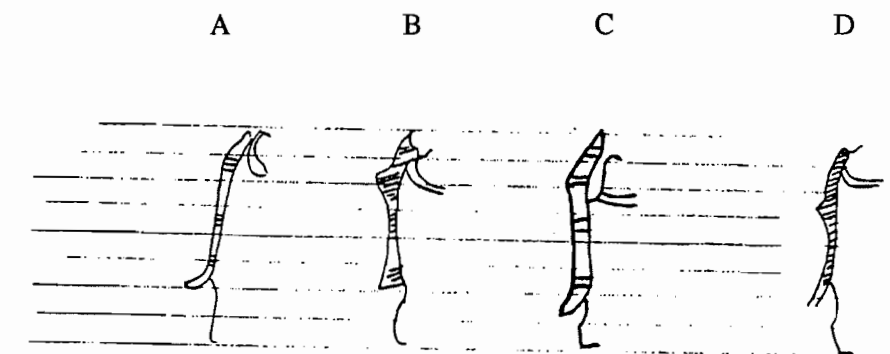


Fig. 5



- Pl. 17: Ivory from El Jisr (Descamps de Mertenfeld, *Ivoires phéniciens* Pl. 135, 1242).
 Pl. 18: Details from painted wooden box (W.M.F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London, 1907, Pl. 24).
 Pl. 19: Copper ceremonial axe (BM E 57375).
 Pl. 20: Throne of Sobkemsaf I (E.A. Wallis Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*, Pl. 12).

Fig. 1



Fig. 3a



- Pl. 21: CMS II.2 306c (Courtesy of CMS).
 Pl. 22: Detail of lintel block, temple at Tell Basta, temp. Pepy I (after J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, Fig. 91).

Footnote illustration:

- Note n. 16: Middle Kingdom cylinder seal (after P. Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* Pl. 148,49).

Fig. 2



Fig. 3b



'Himmelsgewässer', that is, the waters of Nun, primeval ocean. The hippopotamus demon comes to personify watery chaos from which the world was formed and these waters are transformed into the waters of lustration and purification:⁴³

Au moyen des ablutions rituelles, l'humanité retourne virtuellement à cet élément pour y puiser une nouvelle vie et une éternelle jeunesse et Taweret devient de la sorte la déesse des lustrations qui précèdent, accompagnent et suivent les actes de piété et ceux de la vie courante.⁴⁴

(B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir-el-Médinet, 1934-5* [Cairo 1939] 106).

From the early New Kingdom onwards, we know of hollow Taweret statuettes, breasts perforated to allow liquids to escape drop by drop, which were used to sprinkle lustral water (or milk).⁴⁵ Even more striking are the purification basins dedicated to Taweret from which water was taken and poured on the ground as an offering to this goddess.⁴⁶

43 Baines (supra n. 13) 311: "libation/cool water which comes forth from Nun" relates the water to the most prestigious source from which it is presented in temples".

44 One such act of daily life was the purification of the new mother following childbirth. Perhaps it was through some such homely purifications that the divine nurse, Taweret, born in the waters of Nun, came to be associated with lustrations in general. A Middle Kingdom text, 'The Birth of the Royal Children', tells that the new mother 'cleansed herself in a cleansing of fourteen days', presumably removing the birth pollution so that she may rejoin society (Papyrus Westcar, written in classical Middle Egyptian, though the papyrus dates from the Hyksos period: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I [Berkeley 1975] 215, 221).

45 B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir-el-Médineh 1934-35* (Cairo 1939) 104-107.

46 B. Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir-el-Médineh, 1929* (Cairo 1930) 19-23. It is perhaps significant that the cult of Taweret is best known from the workmen's village at Deir-el-Médineh, where she had a chapel with large numbers of basins, libation vessels and votive stele (*ibid.*). Cf.: Taweret and Bes on a wall painting at another (18th Dyn.) workman's village: B.J. Kemp, 'Wall Paintings from the Workmen's Village at El-Amarna', *JEA* 65, 1979, Fig. 1. It was because Taweret was part of the popular religion, Marinatos thought (supra n. 6) 265, that she was the only Egyptian divinity imported from Egypt to Crete. In the craftsmen's villages, whose inhabitants were of the 'middling condition', there was a cosmopolitan mix of population (also at MK Kahun, see Bruyère [supra n. 45] 52). In such places, foreigners would be exposed to popular cult (as they never could be to the official religion of priests and

Such a lustral basin from Deir-el-Médineh is dedicated with a prayer to 'Taweret, the pure water'.⁴⁷

Though we have no Middle Kingdom documentation showing that Taweret received or poured liquid offerings, texts suggest that this practice can be traced back to the Middle Bronze Age. Two more spells from the Coffin Texts — though a question mark must hover over the crucial translation — suggest her early association with lustral rites.⁴⁸ It is said of the hippopotamus-demon:

His name is Hippopotamus-face, bellowing of power, it is his lustral basin(?).

[Spell 1062]

and

O Hippopotamus-face, wakeful of power, recognize him, for this is his face; 'Lustral basin(?)' is his name.

[Spell 1070]

temples), a necessary precondition for any transfer of beliefs. On the possibility that the equally popular Bes also travelled to Crete, see *Zakro Master* Chap. V.

47 Bruyère (supra n. 46) fig. 2 (= BM 465) of 19th Dynasty date. J. Černý (Some Coptic Etymologies III, *BIFAO* 57, 1958, 207-08) traces the Coptic word *ipip* ('ein Gerat aus Alabaster') to its probable root in Ipy or Ipt: the 'alabaster utensil' being thus connected with Taweret, we may see in it a designation for such libation or purification basins or bowls. Taweret also presided over the purification rites of Setmou ('jeter l'eau') in which pure water is poured from a vase over a kneeling priest who catches it in a basin and uses it to purify the floor, or table, or stone on which dishes of food will be placed: G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo 1921) 307.

48 Translation R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III (Warminster 1978) 141, 186. The related terms which are transliterated *h3sw* and *s3sw* have the determinative sign of a container of some sort, which implies a purification within such a container (I am indebted to Ms. J. Phillips of the Royal Ontario Museum for this comment); cf.: n. 47 above. The determinative thus directly support Faulkner's translation. The admittedly uncertain reading of *h3sw* = 'corpse' (L.H. Lesko, *The Egyptian Book of Two Ways* [Berkeley 1972] 62) was dismissed by Faulkner op. cit. 140:1062 n.1. 'Creek': A. Piankoff & H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Wandering of the Soul* (Princeton 1974) 19; 'mare [papyrus]: 'P. Barquet, *Les textes des sarcophages* (Paris 1986) 634.

IV. THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINOAN GENIUS

The Minoans, whose double importation of Taweret argues close familiarity with this demon, seem to have known and, originally, chose to emphasize this lustral role.⁴⁹ They pictured her pure water poured from a ewer, and we have for many years called this ewer, the Genius's earliest attribute, a 'libation' jug, but a slight shift in perspective will allow of its pouring liquids for purification and lustration. Thus, it is Taweret's role in lustrations which plausibly explains the Minoan Genius's ewer, a reinterpretation within a Minoan context.

The MM IIB Minoan Genius stands stiffly holding its upright ewer; there is surprisingly little further development of this image and little is ever added to the static posture or frozen gesture, as if alterations would damage the efficacy of the image. The Genii on a stone triton from LM I Mallia (Fig. 10), however, are more dynamic: a Genius with a double-spouted jug pours into the uplifted hands of a facing Genius, whose snout is dipped into his hands.⁵⁰ If this Genius is receiving a libation which

49 The transfer of complex symbolic values along with iconography can also be argued for two other probable MM II importations, the griffin and the sphinx.

L. Morgan's recent review of griffin iconography (*The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera: A study in Aegean culture and iconography* [Cambridge, 1988] 50-53), concludes: 'in this case the interconnections are strong enough to suggest mutual exchange. Of the numerous meanings attached to the figure of the griffin in the Near East, several parallel those observed for the Aegean: as protector in a couchant guardian attitude; in association with the sacred tree (palm?); flanking totemic columns; yoked to a chariot as a vehicle for deities; attacking animals and warrior kings; attacked by armed warrior gods'. Dr Morgan also notes that the Priestess in the Nautical Procession painting has her hands poised in the Egyptian offering gesture (above p. 7), a borrowing that 'was soon to become a standard gesture for Procession figures (*idem* p. 143).

The griffin may have arrived via Syria but the sphinx, carrying ideas of symbolic authority, seems derived direct from Egypt: J.-C. Poursat, 'Le sphinx minoen', in *Antichità Cretesi*, (Catania, 1978) 114: 'C'est exactement la conception égyptienne du sphinx, corps de lion et visage du pharaon, que nous retrouvons sur cette oeuvre.'

50 *Génies minoens*, fig. 1; C. Baurain & P. Darcque, 'Un triton en pierre Malia', *BCH* 107, 1983, fig. 14. [= our Fig 10; however, their drawing is slightly misleading: close inspection of the triton in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum clearly shows the left Genius's nose and lower droop lip visible

it is about to drink, it would be a recipient of cult, a status for which we have no evidence whatsoever. A more likely alternative explanation of his gesture is as a scene of ablutions and purification.⁵¹

If the Minoans imported Taweret with her known lustral connections and turned her into the Genius with lustral ewer, did they have no such prior practices themselves, or did they add Taweret to a pre-existing complex of ideas? And a second fundamental question: should any importance be attached to the fact that Taweret was a composite being, a monster, imported into a previously monster-free landscape?

To attempt what can only be a partial answer to the first question, there does seem to be an earlier set of ideas which might have facilitated Taweret's entry into Crete. Certainly no later than Early Minoan III/Middle Minoan Ia, we find a glyptic theme which illustrates the possible ritual handling of liquids.⁵² A man carries storage jars of some kind slung on a pole over his shoulders (*CMS* II.1 300);⁵³ in addition to the full formula of

behind the upraised paws, so the creature cannot (in any case not yet) be drinking.]

51 Although the excavators prefer an act of libation, they accept the possibility of ritual ablutions: Baurain & Darcque (*supra* n. 50) 56-68. As the Genii became 'Minoanized' (as happened quickly; as far as iconography can inform, certainly by LM I) they would inevitably shift their stance, possibly adapting their liquid-handling rites to the rain-watered land of Crete. I therefore do not necessarily deny the insights of *PM* IV 452-58 which proposed that (later) Genii were protectors of vegetation, their libations poured on altars, tripods and cairns bringing rain during the dry period in Greece. Marinatos (*supra* n. 6) 266-67, concurred, dubbing the Genii *dipsioi*, 'the much thirsty ones' (Linear B: *di-pi-si-jo-i*). The Genius's development on Crete and the process of assimilation is, however, a separate study.

52 Perhaps conceptually descended from the group of EM II-III figurines with jugs or spouts (statuettes of goddesses or a goddess?): P. Warren, 'The Beginnings of Minoan Religion', *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, I, (Catania 1978) 137-147. Two of these vases, from Mallia and Mochlos, have jutting, hollow tubular breasts which imply a liquid (water or milk) dripping or being poured in ritual contexts. The female statuettes from Myrtos and Koumasa, each of whom holds a jug in her left arm, symbolically provide and/or protect water, milk (or wine??). I am indebted to Professor Warren for his comments on these figurines and their relationship to my postulated pre-existing complex of ideas.

53 This theme is picked up and made popular by the MM IB/MM II Mallia Workshop Complex, a glyptic group defined

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1: Knossos HM s. 202.
 Fig. 2: Phaistos *CMS* II.5 321.
 Fig. 3: a,b. Phaistos *CMS* II.5 322.
 Fig. 4: **Schematic Typology of Taweret, 2000-1650 B.C.** (adapted from *Apotropaia* 44-46); not to scale.
 1. BM 6177, ca. 2000 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 35).
 2. UC 36/10, ca. 2000 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 18).
 3. Louvre 1489, ca. 1970 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 22).
 4. Louvre 6447, ca. 1950 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 15).
 5. New York MMA 22.1.153, ca. 1900 (courtesy The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1922).
 6. Berlin 6712, ca. 1900 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 40).
 7. Moscow 6736, ca. 1800 (Chodjasch in *Fest. Golenischeff* Pl. 2).
 8. Brussels Mus. Royaux E 7065, ca. 1800 (*Apotropaia* Fig. 14).
 9. BM 18175, ca. 1850 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 3).
 10. Brussels Mus. Royaux E 7064, ca. 1750 (*Apotropaia* Fig. 18).
 11. Cecil Coll., ca. 1750 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 23).
 12. Cairo 9434, ca. 1750 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 10).
 13. Cairo 9437, ca. 1750 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 16).
 14. Coll. MacGregor, ca. 1730 (*Magic Ivories* No. 48).
 15. Coll. Nash, ca. 1720 (*Magic Ivories* Fig. 30).
 16. Coll. Kofler, ca. 1720 (Altenmüller in H.W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke* A 101).
 Fig. 5: **The Evolution of Taweret's Dorsal Appendage, 2000 - 1650 B.C.** (adapted from *Apotropaia* 44-46); not to scale.
 Fig. 6: a) 6th Dynasty Amulet (G. Brunton, *Qau & Badari* II, Pl. XCV).
 b) 11th Dynasty Amulet (F. Petrie, *Ehnasya*, Pl. IX/A 16).
 Fig. 7: Scarabs from Uronarti, 1860-1670 B.C. (G.A. Reisner, *Kush* III, 68).
 Fig. 8: Oval seal (cartouche Amenemhat III on base); after R.E. Newberry, *Scarabs* Fig. 93.
 Fig. 9: *CMS* XI 37, an agate lentoid in the Staatl. Mus., Berlin. (Courtesy of *CMS*).
 Fig. 10: Triton from LM I Mallia (Baurain & Darcque, *BCH* 107, 1983, fig. 14).
 Pl. 1: HM s. 202 (Photo courtesy of *CMS*).
 Pl. 2: *CMS* II.5 321 (Photo courtesy of *CMS*).
 Pl. 3: a,b. *CMS* II.5 322 (Photo courtesy of *CMS*).
 Pl. 4: First Intermediate Period Scarab = *CMS* II.1 283 (Photo courtesy of *CMS*).
 Pl. 5: MMA 08.200.19 (Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908).
 Pl. 6: Detail of Brussels E 2673 (after *BMusArt* 74).
 Pl. 7: Detail of Moscow 6736 (after Chodjasch, *Fest. Golenischeff*, Moscow 1960, Pl. 2).
 Pl. 8: Detail of Boston 03.1703 (after *Magical Knives* fig. 3).
 Pl. 9: Details of a = Louvre 3614, b = Knife in a Swiss private collection, c = MMA 30.8.318 (Altenmüller 1986 fig. 6,3,7).
 Pl. 10: Detail of MMA 15.3.197 (after *Apotropaia* Fig. 13).
 Pl. 11: Detail of Leipzig 5001 (Photo courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität).
 Pl. 12: Ashmolean Museum E 2223 (*Magic Ivories* No. 54).
 Pl. 13: Wooden paddle-shaped 'doll' (BM E 23071).
 Pl. 14: Blue-green faience figurine (MMA 34.1.127).
 Pl. 15: Glazed steatite box (E. Haslauer, 'Ein miniaturkästchen', Table II).
 Pl. 16: Faience figurines, Temple aux obélisques (a,c = after *Byblos* II, Pl. 102; b = N. Jidejian, *Byblos Through the Ages*, Beirut, 1986, fig. 87).

6. There is, unfortunately, a gap where Type-C figures should be: I have not been able to discover Type-C documents which can be independently cross-dated.

7. An ivory Taweret from a tomb at El-Jisr, Palestine (Pl 17; published horizontally as 'a horse with an elaborate mane') has the thin appendage, topped with a pointed tip, of Type D (cf: Kofler A 101). The tomb is dated late in the Hyksos period, the end of the Middle Bronze Age.⁷

of the deposit seems mixed, especially the bronzes (Dr O. Negbi, personal communication); the single Bes head can possibly also be dated to the reign of Amenemhet III (J. Romano, personal communication).

7 J. Ory, 'A Middle Bronze Age Tomb at El-Jisr,' *QDAP* 12, 1946, 31-42. Since the ivories are Egypto-Canaanite in style, Tawerets of Type D- or D-inspired knives possibly lingered on in Palestine after 1650.

man/pole/jars, we also see what may be glyptic shorthand, pole/jars (Table 2). In both abbreviated and full version, ewers are often associated with the storage jars; these may be hovering in the air, pictured along side, or held by the male figure. It seems a natural assumption that the ewers pour a liquid into the storage jars or were used to take a liquid from them. On one three-sided prism, *CMS* II.2 306, the man/pole/jars formula (306c, Pl. 21) is linked to scenes connected with the fertility of animals, whether wild or domestic is uncertain: copulating goats (306a) followed by a nanny goat suckling kid (306b). Such associations are perhaps not haphazard: of 41 published examples of the (man)/pole/jars formula on prisms (Table 2), 75% also depict a quadruped, usually a goat, or, *pars pro toto*, an animal head, on a second face.⁵⁴ The prisms combine jars and quadrupeds, images that essentially define the role of the later Minoan Genius who carries either a ewer (45%) or a quadruped (34%), usually a caprid.

The man/pole/jars formula disappears after MM IIB, that is, roughly contemporary with the introduction of Taweret and, significantly, the first appearance of true rhyta. This class of specialized vessels — with open top and perforated base through which liquid can flow — must signal new or transformed libation or lustral rites.⁵⁵ Ex-

by P. Yule, *Early Cretan Seals: a Study of Chronology* (Mainz 1980) 212-213.

54 Compare Table 2 with a sample of 300 prisms (900 faces) studied by H. & M. Van Effenterre ('Vers une grammaire de la glyptique créto-mycénienne', *CMS* Beiheft 0, 22-29): 32% depict men (of which 5.7% depict men on two faces), 65% quadrupeds or animal heads, 23% jars, and 7.3% other man-made objects. The three columns on Table 2 suggest that the liquid-pouring formula can be restored as (man)/pole/jars + animal victim + man and/or man-made objects, with a fairly common doubling of 'man' on faces 'a' and 'c'. The link may survive into the Late Bronze Age on a sealing from Zakro, where the Genius slaughtering a bull, Z 104, is paired with a very rare scene of copulating goats, Z 119: *Zakro Master* MSS 3. On thematic formulae, see J. Weingarten, *Formulaic Implications of some Late Bronze Age Three-sided Prisms*, *CMS* Beiheft 3, 299-313.

55 Earlier zoomorphic askoid vases with a single opening are not true rhyta since liquid cannot flow out steadily. Rhyta must have holes at both the top and the base through which a liquid can be drained; such vases first appear in MM II: P.P. Betancourt, *The History of Minoan Pottery*, Princeton, 1985, 100. MM II globular, piriform, ovoid and animal-headed rhyta 'form an archaeologically distinct class of vessels': R.B. Koehl

perimentation with actual rhyta show that they could have filled (or been filled from) larger vases,⁵⁶ much the function we proposed for the ewers in the man/pole/jars series of prisms. We need not argue that the importation of Taweret — with her interest in rites of purification — caused the disappearance of man/pole/jars or led to the introduction of rhyta, but that all these changes associated with the ritual pouring of liquids are taking place more or less simultaneously. Taweret's arrival at Phaistos, for example, may be part of a conceptual expansion of liquid-pouring rites as represented by new cult assemblages: three rhyta, a crater, ewer and decorated votive pottery in a cult room (LV) of the MM IIB Palace at Phaistos;⁵⁷ in a MM II shrine (?) at Mallia, within the entrance of the shrine, the 'jar à libations', buried up to its handles, its foot deliberately broken, within the shrine, ewers and the earliest of clay tritons, possibly used as a libation vessel.⁵⁸

'The Functions of Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta' (R. Hägg & N. Marinatos, eds.) *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Stockholm 1981) 179. The coincidence of the arrival of Taweret and the appearance of true rhyta was pointed out to me by Mr. Koehl and I am grateful to him for this fruitful insight. An ovoid rhyton from Chamaizi is usually dated, as is all the pottery, to MM IA (G.C. Gesell, *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete*, Göteborg, 1985, 15) but the site also has Classical Kamares (MMII/IIIA) ware: G. Walberg, *Provincial Middle Minoan Pottery*, Mainz, 1983, 130-131.

56 Koehl (supra n. 55) 181-183.

57 The assemblage includes the famous 'Snake Goddess' bowl; see Koehl (supra n. 55) 184. On the cult function of the room, see Gesell (supra n. 55) 125, who adds three libation tables to the list of cult paraphernalia. On the possible use of rhyta for ritual bathing in lustral basins, see St. Alexiou, 'Periton Minoikon Deksamennon Katharmou', *KrChron* 24, 1972, 414-434.

58 J.-C. Poursat, 'Un sanctuaire du minoen moyen II à Mallia', *BCH* 90, 1966, 514-551; also Gesell (supra n. 55) 107. The finds included several ewers and a fragmentary clay triton, first in a series of man-made shells which can have served as libation vessels: C. Baurain & P. Darceque, 'Un triton en pierre à Malia', *BCH* 107 (1983) 49-58. However, the function of the central 'table à offrandes ou à libations' (and thus the cult purpose of the building) has been strongly challenged in P. Metaxa Muhly, 'Minoan Hearths', *AJA* 88, 1984, 116-120. She is persuasive, but her interpretation of the 'libation jar' at the door — as meant for either storage or collection of refuse (p. 118) — does not account for its deliberately broken foot.

The Minoan Genius is also known for carrying large beasts of all kinds to sacrifice; hence, it may be no coincidence that caprids and other quadrupeds (or their heads!) are most commonly depicted on a second face of the (man)/pole/jar prisms (Table 2). This future role of the Genius may be foreshadowed on a 4-sided prism: in a unique variant of the man/pole/jar formula (as I would have it) a man carries two Cretan goats slung on a pole over his shoulders (Table 2: CS 36a). This is an image we can connect directly with the future Minoan Genius (Fig. 9).⁵⁹

V. TAWERET TRANSFORMED

Some readers may feel, however, that the capture and slaughter of large animals does not fit what we know of Taweret: protection and nourishment seem far removed, but the demons of the apotropaia can all be violent. Though the brunt is usually borne by snakes and noxious reptiles, Middle Kingdom Taweret is a combative demon: the threat of the broad knife or sword she carries is certainly not meant to be an idle one: 'Cut off the head of the enemy when he enters the chamber of the children...'⁶⁰ She bites and devours human figures (Pl. 9a.; Pl. 10) though this is apparently not an Egyptian practice the Minoans chose to emulate. Taweret may be implicitly linked with animal sacrifice on an oval seal (with cartouche of Amenemhat III) showing a long-horned ibex tête bêche behind Taweret with her sword (fig. 8).⁶¹

59 It may be objected that poles are merely convenient carrying devices, but Middle Minoan glyptic *only* records poles carrying jars or (once) goats. The theme is very rare in LBA glyptic: besides the Genius carrying lion protomes (Fig. 9), we find carried, once each, a sacred robe (= Ayia Triada 123) and goats (= J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, London, 1970, Fig. 117). On LBA wall paintings, the ass-headed Genii on the Mycenae fresco (PM IV 366) carry a pole but its burden is lost; on the Tylosos and Kea paintings, men carry jars on pole, but both paintings are fragmentary and their contexts are lost (M.C. Shaw, *AA* 87 (1972) fig. 3, 5, 7, 13; K. Abramowitz, *Hesp* 49 (1980) Pl. 4c.).

60 *Magical Knives* 50.

61 Taweret also manifests her violent potential through her appearance on three ceremonial metal axe-heads; on one an ibex flees before her (Pl. 19, and Kühnert-Eggebrecht [supra n. 30] Table 20, 1,2); whatever their ceremonial purposes, axes are fundamentally aggressive weapons.

The Minoan Genius is also rarely depicted in an act of violence; though closely linked to sacrifice, the demon is only once seen to do the deed: on a seal impression from Zakro (*Genius* No. 27 = Z 104), it slaughters a huge upright bull with sword or spear. The Genius moves indirectly on a cylinder from Kakovatos (*CMS* XI 208): a hero stabs an upright lion while the demon urges him on from behind.

In the daily war between the Sun God and the forces of darkness, as each day the Sun God is born again in the primeval waters of Nun, Taweret protects the young god and fights off his enemies with her knife or sword (*Apotropaia* 150, 168).⁶² Her 'battle name' is 'Many-faced':

die das Gebrüll des Himmels macht, die die Maat
dem Re übermittelt und die Gewalt des Apopis
vertreibt...

(CT 1179, *Apotropaia* 150)

She is called 'Tête-d'hippopotame-à-l'attaque furieuse', 'Hippopotamus-face-Wild-Strength', or 'Hippopotamus-face who rages with divine striking force' (CT 1062/1170).⁶³

Taweret is a powerful demon, no doubt a demon of dangerous unpredictability (as is the hippopotamus itself) and, as such, malign as well as benign.⁶⁴ Carrying animal victims to sacrifice may be a Minoan extension of her devouring or decapitating the enemies of Re. This does not deny her female gender,⁶⁵ but signals a functional ambi-

62 Taweret's devotion to the young Sun God may be reflected in the Genius's penchant for the Minoan god and male retainers. The Genius appears twice with a goddess (*Genius* No. 49, and on a Cypriot cylinder seal: *BCH* 91, 1967, 251-253), six times with male figures (*Genius* 46-48, 50-52), and thrice with personages of indeterminate sex (*Genius* 12, 13, 26). Four male figures certainly represent the young god; the Kakovatos male is either a hero or god.

63 Translations: Barquet, Piankoff, and Lesko (supra n. 48).

64 On the fierceness of the hippopotamus (an animal most of us have seen only in zoos, lazily open-mouthed in a caged pool), see T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, Uppsala, 1953, 10-14. The male hippopotamus is associated with powers of chaos; it is malevolent, while the female is practically always benign: Säve-Söderbergh *op. cit.* 43-56. The beast's unpredictability is stressed in *Apotropaia* 148-49.

65 *Génies minoens* 110-111, interprets the Genius as male: 'tantôt accomplissent des libations ou des purifications, tantôt

APPENDIX II

SOME COMPARISONS OF *APOTROPAIA*'S TYPOLOGY WITH NON-MAGIC KNIFE ICONOGRAPHY

Altenmüller based his analysis of Taweret's iconographic evolution on the magical knives but, when represented in other media, her image follows much the same lines of development.

1. Compare a Taweret painted on a wooden 'paddle doll' in the British Museum (BM 23071; Pl. 13): her smooth, unpeaked dorsal appendage, marked with multiple cross strokes, extending slightly above the head, is close to A2 in type, a category confirmed by its 11th Dynasty date (2023-1963).¹

2. Three-dimensional figurines are more complex, but we have little difficulty in also placing a faience Taweret² (MMA 34.1.127; Pl. 14) from a 12th Dynasty burial in A:2 (thus early in the Dynasty); this classification is supported by the fact that the tomb was last opened - at the latest - in the middle of the 12th Dynasty. Note also the thick lion's mane outlining the head up to the ears, a typical early characteristic.

3. We can associate a hippopotamus demon drawn in the style of the apotropaia on an unpublished child's feeding cup from Lisht (North Pyramid Cemetery) with B-type figures - her strongly tapered peak at shoulder height is quite clear - and she is very like a Taweret on a knife in Brussels (E2673; Pl. 6) dated ca. 1850.³

1 These 'dolls' are Upper Egyptian fertility figurines: J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (Cambridge 1988) 127.

2 Found in the girl Hepy's burial at Lisht (A. Lansing, *BullMM*, Nov. 1934, 30).

3 MMA 44.4.4 (I am grateful to J. Bourriau, who will be publishing the bowl, for permission to cite the piece; Miss Bourriau comments (personal communication) that the other objects found in a basket with the bowl can better be dated to the late 12th Dynasty, thus a little later than Brussels E 2673 (ca. 1850) but within the comparative dates of B-Type Tawerets (ca. 1900-1800).

4. Also similar to the B-type of Brussels E2673 (Pl. 6) are the tiny Taweret figures (Pl. 15) on a miniature glazed steatite box; the cover has the cartouche of Amenemhat III (high chronology: 1859-1814 B.C.).⁴

5. Compare equally a Taweret figurine from the Temple aux obélisques at Byblos (Pl. 16b) with its Type B shoulder-height sharply peaked dorsal appendage.⁵ This agrees well with the revised date of the Temple's destruction: Prince Ib-she-mu, whose name was incised on a fallen obelisk, may be taken as a contemporary of the same Amenemhat III (high chronology: 1859-1814 B.C.); thus the faience probably dates to mid-century or later.⁶

4 E. Haslauer, 'Ein miniaturkästchen mit dem Namen des Königs Amenemhet III,' *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft*, Fest. Hermann Vetters (1986) 10-13. This box, published after *Apotropaia*, independently supports Altenmüller's Taweret typology. I am grateful to J. Romano for bringing this box to my attention.

5 M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, II, Paris, 1954, no. 15153-15161. There is *no* evidence for a Syrian devotion to this goddess; on the contrary, contrast the number of figurines at Byblos: 9 Tawerets, 31 naturalistic hippopotamus figurines, and more than 30 cynocephalic apes. This very limited evidence for Taweret at Byblos, at a time when Byblos was politically and religiously considered part of Egypt (W.H.F. Kuykendall, *Egyptian Religious activity in Palestine and Syria during the Third and Second Millennia B.C.* (diss. Johns Hopkins University, 1965) 189-190) must weigh very heavily against her importation from Syria to Crete. *Genius* 5-6 nonetheless promotes a Syrian route to Crete, arguing that 'it was at [Syrian] hands that [Taweret] was transformed, becoming less of a goddess and more of a protective "genius"'. But there is no evidence whatsoever that Taweret was other than a protective demon during the Middle Kingdom in Egypt itself! See text p. 3 and n. 5.

6 Revised dating: Kuykendall (supra n. 5) 50. Dunand's contention (supra n. 5) that the faience was part of an early 12th Dynasty foundation deposit (p. 954) cannot be sustained. Much

APPENDIX I

APOTROPALIA'S TYPOLOGY OF TAWERET'S DORSAL APPENDAGE

Type A1 + A2 (ca. 2000-1950*): usually decorated by sets of three horizontal dashes, the appendage is attached to the back of her head, runs down the back, and ends in a pointed tail at the rump.

Examples: A1 — UC 36/10 (ca. 2000, Fig. 4)
A2 — Louvre 1489 (ca. 1970, Fig. 4)

Type B (ca. 1900-1800*): attached to the back of her head but rising slightly above it; it has a strongly tapered peak on the outside just below shoulder height, ending in a short tail at or below the rump; filled in with oblique dashes.

Examples: Berlin 6712 (ca. 1900, Fig. 4)
Brussels E 2673 (ca. 1850, Pl. 6)
Moscow 6736 (ca. 1800, Fig. 4, Pl. 7)
Brussels E 7065 (ca. 1800, Fig. 4)

Related: New York 15.3.197 (ca. 1800, Pl. 10)

Type C (ca. 1750*): extended high over the head but not touching the back of the head, runs parallel to her body from shoulder height to rump; filled in by irregular sets of dashes.

Examples: Cairo 9437 (ca. 1750, Fig. 4)
Brussels E 7064 (ca. 1750, Fig. 4)
Related: Boston 03.1703 (ca. 1750, Pl. 8)
MMA 08.200.19 (ca. 1750, Pl. 5)
Cecil Coll. (ca. 1750, Fig. 4)

Type D (ca. 1750-1650*): as C but mostly thinner, the peak usually well below the shoulder, and the top often with pointed tip; filled in with dashes.

Examples: Coll. Kofler (ca. 1720, Fig. 4)
Nash Coll. (ca. 1720, Fig. 4)
Ashmolean Museum E 2223 (ca. 1700, Pl. 12)

* For the dating of the typology see text n. 12.

valence in her very nature, an ambivalence already clearly attested in Middle Kingdom Taweret.⁶⁶

The importation of a demon who, on the one side, protects and purifies, nourishes and fructifies, and, on the other, daily destroys the young god's enemies, suggests a tentative answer to our second question regarding the necessity of the Minoans' adoption of a composite being. Hybrid in nature (animal and human, hippopotamus and lion, water and land) her monstrosity mirrors her demonic ambivalence: protective and aggressive, benevolent and malevolent, a perfect mediator between the heavens and the earth.

ils conduisent, portent, maîtrisent, massacrent un animal tel un lion, un taureau, tantôt ils posent en maîtres des animaux, tantôt ils rendent hommage à une silhouette humaine ... ces activités cadrent mal avec le sexe féminin....' Gill, however (supra n. 3, 404) judges the Genius as female, assuming that its white-coloured skin on frescoes follows normal Minoan convention [NB: on the Mycenae fresco fragment, the Genii are yellow rather than white].

There is no good evidence to show whether or not demonic illustration follows human colour conventions (Taweret and all demons are usually red in MK Egypt) but none of Baurain's retrospectively sexist list of activities need exclude a female Genius: female libation or purification, a rhyton presented by priestess to goddess on the clay 'matrix' and sealings at Zakro and Knossos (PM II fig. 498); sacrifice and libation on the long sides of the Ayia Triada sarcophagus; the Mistress of Animals demonstrates muscle by lifting lions and caprids (though probably not bulls). I am at a loss to understand why homage to humankind is a masculine trait (it is doubtful if the Genius pays homage to humans but, rather, to divinities; see above n. 62).

⁶⁶ The negative aspects of Taweret may later split off into an entirely malign demon, the New Kingdom 'Devourer' or 'Devourer of the Dead'; the Devourer, also a female demon, has the head of a crocodile, the body of a lion and the hindquarters of a hippopotamus, i.e. a reassembled Taweret. It may not be coincidence that the concentrated nastiness of the Devourer (who appears in the late 18th Dynasty) is balanced by the increasing domestication of Taweret, who has certainly now achieved the status of goddess. On the Devourer, see Ch. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin 1976) 163-186; also see H. Fischer (supra n. 5) 20-21.

TABLE 1
SOME ICONOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF
MIDDLE KINGDOM TAWERET

	2000-1950*	1900-1800*	ca. 1750*	1750-1650*
dorsal appendage	A1-A2	B	C	D
— long, broad		X	X	
— plaited		X	X	
human stance	X	X	X	X
hippopotamus-headed	X	X	X	X
lion-headed		?	X	X
lion mane	X	X	X	X
rictus	X	X	X	
open-mouthed				X
protruding navel	X	X	X	
breasts in body line		X	X	X

TABLE 2
THE (MAN)/POLE/JAR FORMULA ON THREE-SIDED
PRISMS

Seal-no.*	pole face 'a'	animal victim face 'b'	man/ man-made object face 'c'
CMS II.2 237	pole/jars	quadruped + dog?	man/jars
CMS IV 10	pole/jars	goat	man/jars
CMS IV 125	pole/jars	goat head	dagger
CMS VII 206	pole/jars	quadruped	jars
G 62	pole/jars	quadruped	daggers
CS 12	pole/jars	quadruped	man
CS 14	pole/jars	goat	man + spear
CS 44	pole/jars	goat	men
CMS II.2 151	pole/jars	quadruped	waterbirds
CMS VII 212	pole/jars	bukranium	geometric
CMS VII 216	pole/jars	quadruped	fish
CMS IX 13	pole/jars	goat	geometric
CMS X 272	pole/jars	bukranium	(blank)
CMS XII 47	pole/jars	quadruped	geometric
CMS XII 48	pole/jars	goat heads	dog
CMS XII 64	pole/jars	bukranium	dog
G 55	pole/jars	quadruped	geometric
G 61	pole/jars	quadruped	spiders?
G 78	pole/jars	goat + man	geometric
CMS II.2 225	pole/jars	insect	men
CS 69	pole/jars	birds	geometric
G 98	pole/jars	geometric	geometric
CMS XI 122	man/pole/jars	quadruped	man/jars
CMS XI 298	man/pole/jars	goat + dog?	men
CS 2	men/pole/jars	goat	men
CS 6	man/pole/jars	goat + man	man/jars
CS 37	man/pole/jars	goats	man/jars
CS 51	man/pole/jars	cow or calf	man + goat head
CMS VII 17	man/pole/jars	quadruped (dog?)	arrow heads
CMS II.2 214	man/pole/jars	goat	geometric
CMS II.2 224	man/pole/jars	goat	spider
CMS II.2 306	man/pole/jars	goats	nanny + kid
CMS IX 5D	man/pole/jars	horned quadruped	birds?
CS 5	man/pole/jars	goat	geometric
CS 45	man/pole/jars	geometric	men
CMS II.2 302	man/pole/jars	waterbirds	man
CMS XI 7	man/pole/jars	fish	men
G 83	man/pole/jars	jars	men
G 84	man/pole/jars	jars	man + spiders
CMS IV 11	man/pole/jars	bird + fish	scorpion
CS 1	man/pole/jars	insects	geometric
cf.:			
CMS II.1 300	men/poles/jars	lions	
G 63	pole/jars	man/goat	men birds
CS 36	man/pole/goats	quadruped	man fish

* G = A. Xénaki-Sakellariou, *Les Cachets Minoens de la Collection Giamalakis*, Paris 1958.