

JOHN G. YOUNGER

AEGEAN SEALS OF THE LATE BRONZE AGE:
MASTERS AND WORKSHOPS

III. THE FIRST-GENERATION MYCENAEAN MASTERS*

Synopsis of Text

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* The two preceding Articles in this Series are:

I Introduction, *Kadmos* 21, 1982, 104–121.

II The First-Generation Minoan Masters, *Kadmos* 22, 1983, 109–136

The illustrations in Figs. 1–6 are referred to throughout in bold face, thus 1, 2, 3, etc. Besides the usual abbreviations and those specially indicated in Article I of this series, the following are also used:

Davis, E.

1977 The Vapheio Cups and Aegean Gold and Silver Work (NY and London)

Poursat, J.-C.

1977a Les Ivoires mycéniens (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 230, Paris)

1977b Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 230^{bis}, Paris)

D. The School of the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master

1. Lions with Zig-Zag Manes
2. Bulls with Striated Necks

E. Animals with Pronounced Shoulders

1. Der Kretische Stier
2. The Danicourt Master
3. The Group of I 12
4. The Master of the Lions with Claws
5. The Master of the Goobar-Head Lions
6. The Master of the Conch-Blower, HM 24
7. The Master of VII 102
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F. The Master of the Mycenae Lion Gate Relief

Illustrations

| Text | Nr. | Ref. | Text | Nr. | Ref. |
|------|------|-----------------------|------|------|----------------------------------|
| A | 1 | CMS I 243 | | 32 | CMS I 84 |
| | 2 | KZ 113 | | 7 33 | CMS I 112 |
| | 3 | CMS I 10 | D | 1 34 | CMS I 278 |
| | 4 | CMS I 103 | | 2 35 | CMS I 52 |
| | 5 | CMS I 250 | E | 1 36 | CMS VIII 141 |
| | 6 | NMA 273 | | 37 | AGDS II Berlin 34 |
| | 7 | CMS I 223 | | 2 38 | CMS I 17 |
| B | 1 8 | NMA 656 | | 39 | CMS I 389 |
| | 9 | CMS I 245 | | 40 | The Danicourt Ring |
| | 2 10 | NMA 808-811 | | 41 | CMS I 307 |
| | 11 | CMS I 130 | | 3 42 | CMS I 12 |
| | 12 | CMS V 356 | | 43 | CMS I 294 |
| | 13 | CMS V 357 | | 4 44 | CMS I 62 |
| | 14 | CMS V 349/350/380/392 | | 45 | CMS I 117 |
| | 15 | CMS XII 262a | | 5 46 | CMS I 60 |
| | 16 | CMS XII 262b | | 47 | CMS V 235 |
| | 17 | CMS XII 262c | | 48 | CMS VII 118 |
| C | 1 18 | CMS I 140 | | 49 | CS 2P |
| | 19 | CMS I 193a | | 6 50 | HM 24 |
| | 20 | CMS XIII 40 | | 51 | Vienna 1357 |
| | 2 21 | CMS I 102 | | 7 52 | CMS VII 102 |
| | 22 | CMS I 293 | | 53 | CS 318 |
| | 3 23 | CMS I 257 | F | 54 | The Lion Gate Relief, Mycenae |
| | 4 24 | CMS I 256 | | 55 | CMS I 46 |
| | 5 25 | CMS I 226 | | 56 | CS 315 |
| | 26 | AGDS II Berlin 21 | | 57 | CMS I 89 |
| | 27 | AGDS II Berlin 20 | | 58 | CMS XIII 25 |
| | 28 | CMS I 126 | | 59 | CMS VII 115a |
| | 29 | CMS I 119 | | 60 | CMS VII 115b |
| | 30 | CMS I 220 | | 61 | CMS VII 115c |
| | 6 31 | CMS I 224 | | | |

Five sketches have been taken from PM IV: 27 = PM IV fig. 560, 49 = 334, 50 = 162, and 53 = 157; 38 = PM II fig. 194 e. The illustration for the Danicourt ring, 40, comes from Sakellariou, *Festschrift Matz* pl. 6.3. The rest of the figures are drawn by the author based on published CMS and other photographs; the Lion Gate (54) was drawn from Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Primitive Greece* (1894) vol. II pl. XIV, a photograph of a plaster cast in Berlin.

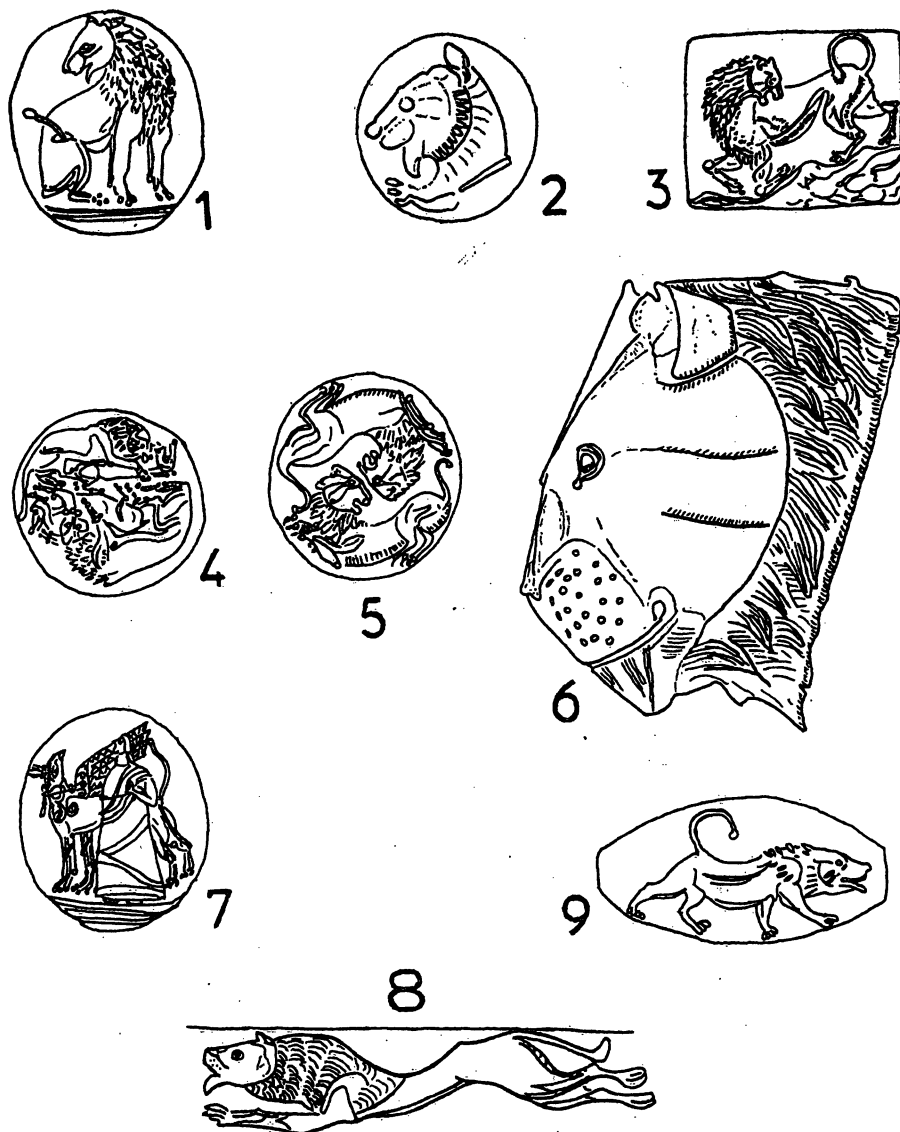


Fig. 1

- 1, 2: M-V Lion Master, Early
 3-6: M-V Lion Master, Late
 7: M-V Lion Master, Other Objects
 8, 9: Master of the Gold Cup, NMA 656



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Fig. 2

10–17: Master of the Gold Box, NMA 808–811

18–20: M-V Lion Master: Hollow Nose



Fig. 3

- 21, 22: M-V Lion Master: Pylos Jewel
 23: M-V Lion Master: Pimple-Eye Sheep
 24: M-V Lion Master: Vapheio Dogs
 25-30: Buxom Women Group
 31, 32: Sad-Eye Lions Group
 33: Wide-Eye Men Group



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Fig. 4

34: Lions with Zig-Zag Manes

35: Bulls with Striated Necks

36, 37: Der Kretische Stier

38-41: The Danicourt Master

42, 43: Group of I 12



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Fig. 5

44, 45: Master of the Lions with Claws

46, 47: Master of the Goober-Head Lions

48, 49: Master of the Lion-Head Seat

50, 51: Master of the Conch Blower, HM 24

52, 53: Master of VII 102

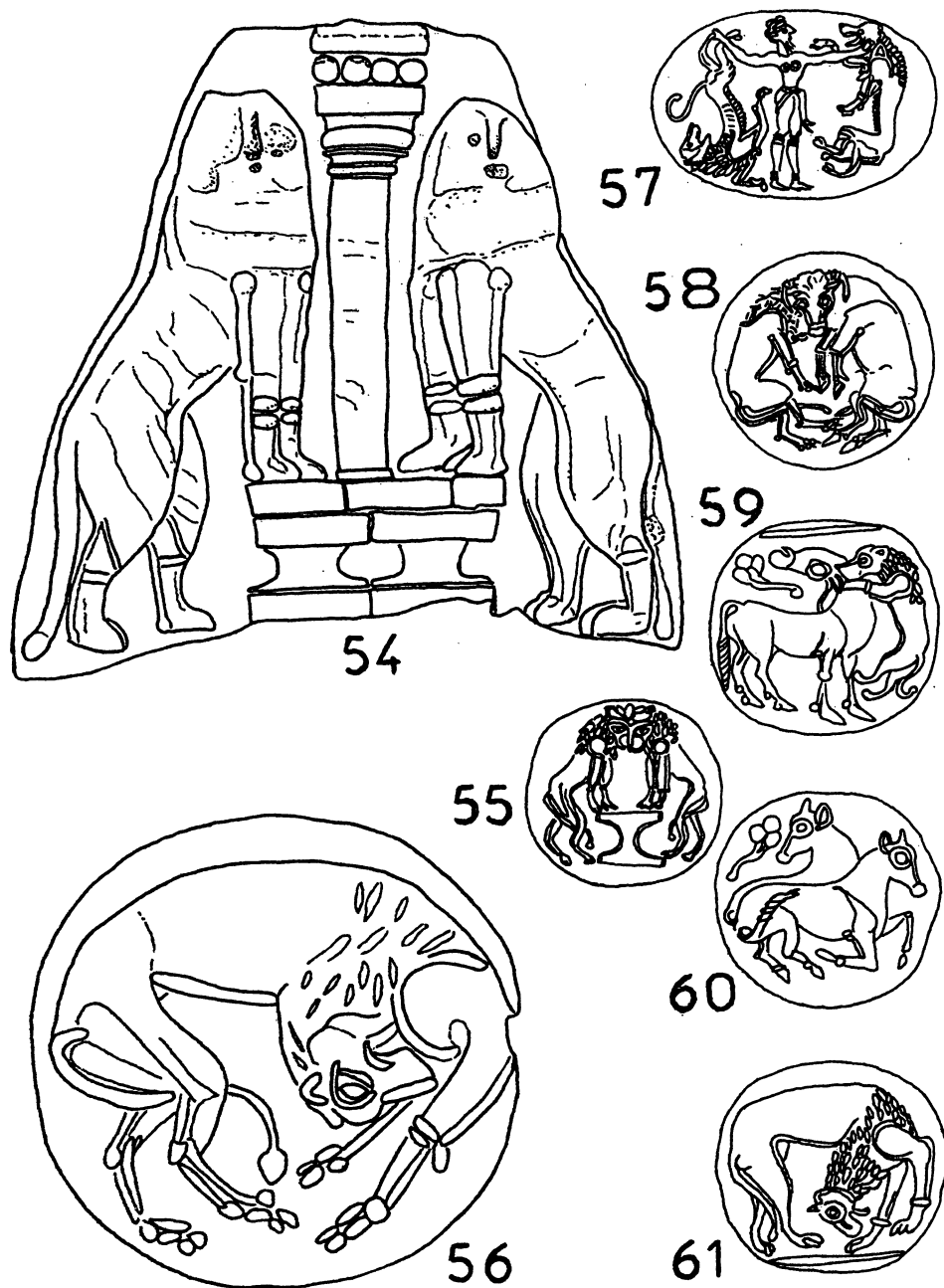


Fig. 6

54–61: Master of the Mycenae Lion Gate Relief and Group

A. The Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master

(East? Cretan, then to Mycenae, ca. 1530–1480 B.C.)

JGY identified and discussed the Mycenae-Vapheio (hereafter M-V) Lion Master, his workshop, and some of his associates in three articles (hereafter M-V L Art. I, II, III).¹ It will be convenient here to summarize the results of these articles.

The Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master's most distinctive object comes from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae, the gold lion head rhyton NMA 273 (6). The head was raised from a single plate, and the face produced in repoussée by hammering from within.² The mane consists of broad flame-like locks incised with flowing parallel lines. The cheeks, set off from the mane by a sharp ridge, are divided into three segments by horizontal ridges crossed by short incisions for the ruff. The eye is encircled by a double oval ending in a pronounced loop for the tearduct. The short muzzle, square in profile, is decorated with marks of the tubular drill to indicate whisker roots. The top ridges of the cheeks narrow to form the slightly concave bridge of the nose that flares at the end where a large C-spiral forms the nostrils.

In profile, the head is extremely formal and powerful. A curious feature is the face raised above the mane. If the face was hammered on two stone moulds carved in intaglio, identical though facing in opposite directions, the artist may have carved the stone with the intaglio face set realistically lower than the mane; the gold plates would then have been tapped into the mould, reversed, and given the finishing touches. In the reversed plates, the cheek planes are then raised above the mane.

In frontal view, the head loses much of its vigor, being rather long and narrow, and the more decorative aspects, the looped tearduct, the incurving nose with round end, the C-spiral for the nostrils, the large swollen labial muscles, and the circles for whisker roots, now predominate. Another curious feature is the nose that resembles, in its length, incurving sides, and rounded end, the noses of the frontal boars depicted on the Kato Zakro sealings KZ 62 and 63 and on the lance-head from the recently excavated shrine at Anemospilia, Archanes.³

¹ I: The Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Group, *AJA* 82, 1978, 285–299. II: Origins of the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master, *BICS* 26, 1979, 119–120. III: The Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Workshop, III, *TUAS* 6, 1981, 67–71.

² Davis 1977: 179–186.

³ *NatGeogMagazine*, February 1981, p. 206. P. Warren (private communication) identifies the object published as a lance-head, not a dagger.

The powerful profile head can be seen on a number of other objects from the Shaft Graves as well as on sealstones and ivories found elsewhere. The lions on the ivory pommel NMA 295b have the same flame locks and face raised above the mane. The paws, too, are square and heavy. The lions on the niello daggers NMA 394 and 395 add hatching to the belly and haunch, and the lions on such objects as the gold pommel NMA 295a and the cushion seal I 10 add the great saphena vein that curls over the front legs; I 10 also has the mane gouged, not engraved, into the gold.

The lion on the cushion seal I 10 also has a slightly drooping lip which can be found on a number of seals that depict lions with heads raised above the mane. One of these, I 243, depicts a seated lion with a large rhomboid eye, a mane decorated more simply with arrow-like locks, slightly more articulated paws at the end of thick legs that also have the ulna ending in a dotted carpal pad. Such traits can also be found on the work of the Line-Jawed (L-J) Lion artists (Article II in this series) and, when they are combined with the M-V Lion Master's powerful lion's body and square head set off from and above the mane, they suggest that the L-J Lion artists influenced the M-V Lion Master considerably.

Lion heads remarkably like the M-V Lion Master's can be seen on some sealings from Kato Zakro. KZ 113 (2) carries such a head to left. The mane is set below the face, one ridge that separates the cheek from the mane is hatched, the cheek itself is divided into three broad horizontal planes, and below the head seems to be preserved traces of a heavy leg and lumpy paw; these are the recognizable traits of the M-V Lion Master, but the addition of the button nose and drooping lower jaw is again due to the influence from the L-J Lion group. These same lions, with heavy legs and paws clearly indicated, appear on KZ 111 and 112.

Since the Shaft Grave objects made by the M-V Lion Master lack, for the most part, the L-J Lion traits, while his seals that impressed the KZ sealings preserve them, and since it is likely that Minoans introduced the art of engraving sealstones and their use to the Mycenaeans, it is reasonable to suppose that the M-V Lion Master was a Minoan by race who emigrated to Mycenae where his already formal style matured.

The M-V Lion Master's work comes from contexts dated no earlier than LM IB in Crete and LH I and IIA on the Mainland. His close association with the L-J Lion artists suggests some contemporaneity, at least in his early career. It would then seem probable that he worked

within the period 1530–1480 B. C., spanning parts of both LM IA and LH IIA/LM IB.

a) Objects depicting lions. Early Phase:

Seals. I 141 from Mycenae T. 515 (LH IIB context); and 243 (1) and 244, both from Vapheio (the latter, LH IIA context)

Associated sealings. KZ 111–113 (2)

Close. KZ 60, 155, and 167, AT 100

Related. KZ 75, and 184

Miscellaneous objects. NMA 119/120 from Shaft Grave III. Plaques of reddish gold. The stippled decoration is a CP trait; note the pronounced shoulder (see below, Animals with Pronounced Shoulders)

Late Phase:

Seals. I 9 and 10 (3) from Shaft Grave III; 103 (4) from Mycenae T. 68; 193b from Midea T. 10 (LH II–IIIA context); 217 from Prosymna T. 44 (LH IIA context); 247, 250 (5), and 252, all from Vapheio (the last, LH IIA context); and 277 from Rutsi (LH II–IIIA context); V 435 from Nichoria (LH IIIA ii–B context); XIII 20 from Mycenae, and 21; CS 314; and AGDS II Berlin 37 from Eleusis

Miscellaneous objects. From Shaft Grave IV: gold plated sword pommel, NMA 295a; ivory sword pommel, NMA 295b (Poursat 1977b no. 208, pl. XVII, indicates the presence of the great saphena vein over the forelegs); gold rhyton lion head (6), NMA 273; and niello daggers, NMA 394 and 395

b) Objects depicting other human figures and animals:

I 11 from Shaft Grave III; and 15 and 16 from Shaft Grave IV; and 223 from Vapheio (7; LH IIA context); a bronze dagger NMA 747 and a sword NMA 748, both from Shaft Grave V

Associated sealings. Kn HMs 336 (KSPI L 50), Kn HMs 369 (KSPI Ec), Kn HMs 321 (KSPI R 37)/AT 146/KZ 70, and Kn no. 116 (Betts 12)/AT 114; AT 112, 113, 144, and 117/SK 8; and KZ 12, 13, and 130

B. The Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master's Workshop

At Mycenae it is unlikely the M-V Lion Master worked alone. Some objects from the Shaft Graves are decorated with only a few of the Master's traits (e.g., the Mask of Agamemnon with the beard formed from flame locks) while others carry lions or other animals rendered in styles that are close to but distinctly less powerful than his. We think of these works from the Shaft Graves, therefore, as products either of

his general supervision or of those artists who worked directly with or under him.

Works created for the Shaft Graves under the Master's general supervision (M-V L art. III p. 68). Early Phase:

Sequins (NMA 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 18, 20, 81, 82, 328, and 697; cf. Poursat 1977b, pl. 43: NMA 5675 and 5677 from Kakovatos); the Cup of Nestor (NMA 412); arcade cups (NMA 220, 627, and 628); the silver nail and goddess (NMA 75)

*By one hand.*⁴ the electrum mask from Grave Gamma in Grave Circle B, and the gold masks (NMA 253 and 254) from Shaft Grave IV

Close. the gold shroud NMA 146 from Shaft Grave III

Late Phase:

a) By the Master?

The Mask of Agamemnon (NMA 624); the Silver Siege rhyton (NMA 477/504); silver krater (NMA 605–607);⁵ bull-head rhyton (NMA 384); niello cup (NMA 390); and stelai 1428 and 1429

b) Produced in the Master's Workshop

Seals. I 14

Related. V 180a; X 105; and XII 157 from Crete?

Other Objects: sequins (NMA 10–14, 16, 316, 319, 320, 322–327, 329–332, 334–338, 533–535, 667, 675, 676, 678–685, 696, 700, 704, 706, 707, 711–717, 719, 720, 722); diadems (NMA 219, 231, and 234); 'buckles' (NMA 340–349 and 668–674); buttons (NMA 314, 316, 319, 324); gold pin (NMA 69); armband (NMA 257); earrings (NMA 53–55); rosettes (NMA 21, 76, and 264); ivory object (NMA 824/5); breastplate (NMA 625); swords (NMA 402, 404, 407, 634, 635, 724, and 726); sword pommels (NMA 276, 277, 690, and 763); arcade cup (NMA 442); foliate cups (Karo 313, 786, and 787); stamnos (NMA 391); ewers (NMA 74, 827, and 855); and the stelai 1430 and 1431

1. The Master of the Gold Cup, NMA 656

Three lions in low repoussée relief run clockwise in flying gallop around the handle zone of gold cup NMA 656 (8) from Shaft Grave V.

⁴ Davis 1977:128 first identifies this artist.

⁵ Davis 1977:222–230 discusses both the Siege Rhyton and the silver krater and refers to the opinion shared by Sakellariou and Vermeule that they were not made by the same artist, the rhyton being Minoan, the krater Mycenaean. Davis is uncommitted but seems to imply that the noticeable differences may be less stylistic and more attributable to the influence of different patrons and places of manufacture.

As in the Master's early work, the lower jaw droops and a neat ridge lines the profile of the belly; as in the Master's later, more conventional phase, there is a sharp linear demarcation between mane and shoulder.

The legs are, however, slightly thinner than the Master's usually bulky forelegs; instead of the saphena vein they carry a horizontal V-notch at the knee on the hindlegs, and just above the knee on the forelegs; and the claws are short and curved. The mane is decorated with rows of incised arcs, some of which are arranged in shell patterns. The rectangular head is distinctive: the line that separates the mane from the head travels horizontally in a shallow S-curve to form the lower jaw; the lower jaw is thick and protrudes forward farther than the muzzle; the nose turns up; and the eye is rendered by a small circle.

Two seals carry a lion that has a weak demarcation between mane and head, a protruding lower jaw that droops, small eye rendered by a dot, rectangular head, thin, short legs ending in short claws, and no hatching along either belly or haunch, and a mane incised with short strokes placed haphazardly.

I 228 and 245 (9), both from Vapheio (the latter of LH IIA context)

2. The Master of the Gold-Plated Box, NMA 808-811

Three pairs of rectangular gold plaques decorate the sides (or the interior; Poursat 1977a:30) of a hexagonal wooden box and its cover from Shaft Grave V. After the plaques were produced from moulds the borders were hatched and some details were added or retouched on the palm fronds and lion manes.

One pair of plaques carries three rows of retorted spirals, not all of them neatly placed or executed.

On another pair of plaques a bucranium on its side occupies top center with floral patterns filling the space between the horns. Below, a lion runs in a flying gallop left. In the upper left, a stag runs right regardant; palm fronds fill the upper right.

The last pair of plaques (10) depicts a lion right in flying gallop apparently chasing a stag running right regardant; the stag's hindquarters disappear behind the lion's head. Palm fronds and tree tops fill the spaces.

Both lions have an outlined rhomboid eye, triangular or flame locks in the mane, short forelegs ending in claws, an exaggerated shoulder (outlined by a profile line on the bucranium plaque), incised belly fur

(stippled on the bucranium plaque), and thickened tail tips. The heads are rather square with drooping lower jaws, slightly turned-up noses, and cheeks divided into planes.

The stags are distinctive. The flat modeling, ending in a narrow set of pliers-like jaws, and the small dot eye set in a small circular depression find counterparts on bulls:

I 130 (11) from Mycenae T. 91 (LH II context) and 276 from Rutsi (LH II-III A context)

Perhaps the most remarkable stylistic trait of this Master is the way he made the figures stretch or contort to fit the rectangular field, and the palm fronds, tree tops, and bucranium fill all available space. It is as if he conceived the entire composition as a jigsaw puzzle.

Such an approach, stemming from a type of horror vacui, is found elsewhere only on glass seals like those from the Medeon cemetery and on the preserved matrix XII 262. The animals on these seals also have oval heads, thin muzzles shaped like a pair of pliers, and a small dot eye set in a depressed circular field.

Recently I. Pini catalogued these glass seals with new photographs (JRGZM 28, 1981, 48-81). His discussion includes many interesting and new observations, especially his distinctions between seals that have identical motifs that therefore come from the same matrix, and seals that have slightly different motifs and therefore come either from the same matrix, but recut, or from separate but almost identical matrices. The accompanying catalogue therefore separates the seals according to Pini's observations.

Pini also pays great attention to the reverse of these glass seals, most of which are shaped like a cone in section, either tall with a point (conical) or shorter with a blunter tip (conoid). He hypothesizes that these glass seals with a conical reverse were made in a two-piece mould, though no top matrix has survived and the extant mould XII 262 has no mortises on its upper surface to secure a top piece as matrices for rings commonly have. It is probable therefore that the glass seals were formed in a single-piece mould: the molten glass would be dripped into the matrix's roundel up to its rim, a thin (D. 0.2) wire would be laid on to the glass surface perhaps following a groove in the surface of the matrix (like that on XII 262c), and more glass would be added covering the wire and overlapping the top of the roundel slightly to form the glass seal's typical wheel-like rim. Finally, as the glass accumulated, sometimes slumping a bit under its own weight, it was shaped, sculpted, or cut into its conical or conoid form.

Glass seals are not alone in having conical reverses; stone seals have them, especially those in the Spectacle-Eye Group (ca., 1410–1385 B.C.) and the Mainland Popular Group (ca. 1350 B.C.); see, for instance, V 346 (the profile is drawn on V p. 617) and VII 154 (the reverse is illustrated). A few earlier seals, however, also display conical or conoid profiles: V 220 from Brauron T. 19 (LH III B? context) might belong to a late fifteenth century Dot Eye group, while 601 from Mycenae (LH III B context) should belong to a contemporary Almond Eye group. XII 261 is in the Cut-Style.

Before CMS V little attention was paid to conical reverses (Diss. 154–157). When JGY personally inspected seals in the NMA in the early 1970s, he noted that the following seals have conical or conoid reverses: I 66 (reverse illustrated) from Mycenae T. 26 (LH III A? context), 215 from Prosymna T. 41 (LH III Bi context), and 386 from Menidi (LH III B context), all three belonging to late fifteenth century Almond or Dot Eye Groups; and two seals from Mycenae T. 515 (LH IIB context), I 141 an early work of the Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master, and I 145 by the Master of the Potniai Leonton (ca. 1500–1475 B.C.). It is possible, therefore, that conical/conoid reverses on hard stone seals appear early in the fifteenth century, even though sporadically, gain popularity, and become common by the beginning of the fourteenth century.

It is also possible that the conical reverse for glass seals was considered an essential part of the form, a convenient shape on which one places the thumb and forefinger in order to press the seal firmly into the clay without shattering the seal. If this is so, then it is equally possible that conical reverses were developed first for glass seals and then were adopted later for seals in hard stones.

Nonetheless, until the reverses of more seals are noted and a more secure typology can be developed, the following glass seals are listed here with the proviso that they may be later adaptations of a style first found on the Mycenae gold box (Gill, CMS Beiheft I 84f.).

Glass Seals in the Style of the Master of the Gold Box, NMA 808–811:

a) Discoids:

I 37 from Mycenae; V 629 from Chalandrista? (LH III C context); VII 137

b) Lentoids, all with conical or conoid reverses:

i. From separate moulds:

From Medeon. T. 29: V 355, 356 (12), 357 (13), 358, 359, 365, and 366

Other tombs. V 393 from T. 99 (LH IIIA context), 405 from T. 239 (LH III C context), and 418 from T. 264 (LH III C context)

From Elsewhere. I 40 from Mycenae, and 100 from Mycenae T. 65; V 733 from Mega Monasteri T. Delta (LH III Aii-B context); CS no. 363 from Ayia Pelagia; Chania Museum Sigma 92 from Armenoi T. 108 (LM III Aii-B context; Pini no. 74)

ii. From the same moulds:

From Medeon T. 29. V 349/350/380/392 (14; V 392 comes from T. 99, LH III A context).

Recut, with frond:

V 348, V 351/352, V 353

Recut, with decorated tail and added ear:

V 354, V 364/385/? No. 3 from Lefkandi T. 12B (Popham and Sackett, Lefkandi I p. 225)

Recut?: V 363

From Medeon T. 29a. V 360/383, 381/382

From Elsewhere. Brussels Museum Cinquantenaire A 1343 "doubtless from the cemetery at Argos" (Pini no. 71), and Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum IDAM 34.329 from Tell Abu Hawam (LH III Aii-B context; Pini no. 72)

iii. From similar moulds:

Lamia Museum, a lentoid from Kalapodi and BE 956 from Stavros (Pini nos. 81 and 82)

c) Matrix XII 262 (15-17) said to be from Poros near Herakleion.

C. The Mycenae – Vapheio Lion Master and his Circle

Many seals and other objects not from the Mycenae Shaft Graves carry traits that are associated primarily with the M-V Lion Master but are used in conjunction with other traits in ways that distinctly declare either aspects of his personality or other artists.

1. M-V Lion Master: Hollow-Nose Animals

Margaret Gill correctly observed (Gnomon 38, 1966, 266) that I 140 was cut from the same block of raw agate as I 141 (Master, Early Phase above). The two seals and the attendant group are therefore probably by one hand – the Master's. The most distinguishing trait is the hollow nose of the cow on I 140 produced by a small raised boss surrounded by a ring on the stone, probably left by the tubular drill. This hollow nose can also be seen on other seals already attributed to the Master:

the agrimi on I 193b, and the bulls on I 252, V 435, and Berlin 37 — all from the Master's Late Phase. In addition, the forelegs of the cow on I 140 are divided into two halves, the thicker upper part has a profile line against the inner side and a thickened knee. Such a foreleg can be seen on I 252 and XIII 20 and 21 (also the work of the Master's Late Phase).

I 63 from Mycenae T. 26 (LH III A context?); 140 (18) from Mycenae T. 515 (LH IIB context); 193a (19) from Midea T. 10 (LH II-III A context); and 393 from Perati T. 1 (LH III Bii-Ci context)

Associated sealing. I 305 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context); Kn HMs 1040 (Betts 3), and III; and AT 128

Close. I 229 from Vapheio; and the bulls around the periphery of XIII 40 (20; Misc. CP Lions A, Article II in this series)

Related. I 154 from Mycenae T. 518 (LH I-II context), and 235 and 236 both from Vapheio (LH IIA context); and V 665 from Thebes, Megalo Kastelli T. 3

2. M-V Lion Master: The Pylos Jewel

I 293 (22), a large gilded cushion seal, carries a griffin whose lion's body conforms to those by the M-V Lion Master. As is common for griffins, the neck and base of the wings are decorated with spirals. On the wings are dots (contrast the dagger NMA 747 and seal I 223), which were formed by prying up a small flap of gold; the result makes a poor impression, and it is therefore likely the Pylos cushion was intended as a jewel. The crests resemble that on I 223 above. The reverse of the jewel is decorated with a net pattern formed of individual elements shaped like grains of wheat that frame spaces, once filled with blue? glass, traces of which are still preserved. The pattern can be paralleled on earrings NMA 61 and pin 69 (Karo pl. XX) from Mycenae Shaft Grave III and sword handle and hilt decoration 294 (Karo pl. LXXXVIII) from Shaft Grave IV, and on the engraved gold handle and pommel sheath of a sword from the Dendra Tholos (Persson, Royal Tombs pls. XX and XXI; LH III Ai context).

I 102 (21) from Mycenae T. 68; and I 293 (22) from Pylos Tholos IV (= old T. Delta; PN III 95-134)

Associated sealings. I 304 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context); and Kn HMs 1041 (Betts 31)

3. M-V Lion Master: Pimple-Eye Sheep

The sheep that two lions devour on I 103 (4), a work of the M-V Lion Master's Late Phase, have distinctive heads adapted from the sheep

by the earlier Couchant Agrimi Master: the horns curl under the jaw as if to frame the long, thin face that tapers to a dot for the nose; the lower jaw is a simple thin stroke, and the eye is a small dot set in a recessed area shaped like a teardrop. The woman on I 221 is a CP Woman A type.

I 221 and 257 (23), both from Vapheio (LH IIA context); and CS 200.

Related. I 113 from Mycenae T. 79

4. M-V Lion Master: Vapheio Dogs

The dog on the clay seal I 256 has a hatched haunch, belly, and tail fur, a hind leg with profile line and carpal pad, and dotted paws; he is probably a work of the M-V Lion Master. The lapis lazuli seal I 255, with which the clay lentoid is matched, depicts a dog in a much simpler style, claws instead of dotted paws and single straight strokes for legs; compare the work of the Master of the Ashmolean Dogs (Article II of this series).

I 256 (24) from Vapheio (LH IIA? context)

Related. I 255 from Vapheio (LH IIA? context)

5. M-V Lion Master and the Group of the Buxom Women

The flame-lock pattern on the woman's dress of I 226 is exactly like that for the M-V Lion Master's lion manes; this seal is probably also therefore by the Master. Her large exposed breasts, general costume, and fulsome modeling of the face can be found on a number of related seals and rings.

The M-V Lion Master?

I 226 (25) from Vapheio

The Group of the Buxom Women (each subgroup by one hand):

- a) I 279 from Rutsi (LH II–III A context); and AGDS II Berlin 21 (26) from Elis having impressed Pylos sealing I Supp. 180 (LH III Bii–Ci context)
- b) AGDS II Berlin 20 (27) from Crete
Close. I 159 from Mycenae, Philadelphus T. 4 (LH III Bi context?); and HM 1279 from Knossos (LM IA?; PM II 793 fig. 517)
- c) Master of the Cult Rings from Mycenae T. 91: I 126 (28) and 127 from Mycenae T. 91 (containing LH II metalwork)
Close. Compare KZ 112 (M-V Lion Master, Early Phase): I 119 (29) from Mycenae

T. 84; V 728 from Mega Monasteri T. Gamma (LH III A-B context); and a ring in Berlin (Bielefeld, Schmuck [ArchHom C] pl. CIIa)

Near. i. by one hand. I 220 (30) from Vapheio (LH IIA context) and 205 from Argos T. 7 (LH III A context)

ii. not by one hand. I 86 from Mycenae T. 55, and 108 from Mycenae T. 71

6. The Group of the Sad-Eye Lions

Three groups, each by one artist, use lions with their frontal heads down; all but one are depicted as dead. The first group may be by the M-V Lion Master; the line that bisects the biconvex head gives them a metallic look (I 224 has the cheeks divided into planes); the paws are large — I 224 uses claws, I 248 dots; the belly fur of I 224 and the haunch of I 248 are hatched. The second group, an inept version of the first, uses large circular eyes with a central dot; compare the Group of the Wide-Eye Men, below. The third, a singleton close to the second, has dot eyes and triangular ears.

a) I 224 (31) and 248, both from Vapheio (the former, LH IIA context); and Oxford, Mississippi, University Museums inv. no. J25

Associated sealings. KZ 193

b) I 84 (32) from Mycenae T. 48; and AGDS II Berlin 40

Close. XIII 4D

Related. I 43 from Mycenae

c) IX 107

7. The Group of the Wide-Eye Men

The Lion on I 112 is a M-V Lion type: flame lock mane sharply differentiated from the raised facial plane, large rectangular forelegs with profile line and dotted carpal pad, and dotted tail. The hunter who stabs the lion on I 68 has a large round eye with central dot similar to the lion's, a large square head, broad shoulders, wasp-waist, dainty feet on nimble legs, and no hands. A similar man, also handless, but with an almond eye and longer hair, stands on I 112.

I 68 from Mycenae T. 27; and 112 (33) from Mycenae T. 79

8. Miscellaneous Seals of the M-V Circle

I 149 from Mycenae T. 518 (LH I-II context), 232, 234, 242, 246, and 249, all from Vapheio (the first three, LH IIA context), 280 from Rutsi (LH II-III A context); VIII 121; and CMCG 266, and 271 from Phaistos

Associated sealings. I 373 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context); and Kn HMs 253 (KSPI N1), and 1009 (Betts 57)

D. The School of the M-V Lion Master

The remaining masters and groups discussed in this article all directly acknowledged their immense debt to the M-V Lion Master. Their lions and other animals are broadly conceived in much his same style, though specific traits differ markedly. The artists listed here comprise what may be loosely termed the M-V Lion School; they need not all be his colleagues or apprentices, to be sure, but they seem to have accepted his monumental and formal style as the point of departure for their own. Some of these artists may have been the M-V Lion Master's contemporaries (e.g., the artist/s of the Group of I 12 and the Master of the Goober-Head Lions, both below), but most seem a little more removed. We may perhaps then date all within the first half of the 15th Century B.C.

1. Lions with Zig-Zag Manes

Two seals, by two different artists, depict lions with manes decorated with zig-zags. IX 152 carries a lion whose head, raised above the mane, has the cheek divided into planes. I 278 has a lion with frontal face, large triangles for ears (cf. IX 107, Sad-Eye Lions c, above).

I 278 (34) from Rutsi (LH II-III A context); and IX 152 from Siteia
Related sealings. I 368 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context)

2. Bulls with Striated Necks

Several bulls have wavy or parallel striations on their necks. The major group, perhaps the work of one artist, includes I 52 that carries a bull with a frontal face whose large eyes with central dot and flaring muzzle resemble those of the Sad-Eye Lions b, above. Like the typical M-V Lion Master's animal, the bull's forelegs are divided into a thick upper half with profile lines and a thin, one-stroke lower half. Other peculiarities include the striated neck, harshly pronounced shoulder, and a corkscrew tail that also occurs on the Spata ivories (Poursat 1977b, pl. L. nos. 453 and 454). The second group consists of the two lead rings from Armenoi T. 43. The bull has a large almond eye, short legs (like I 201 in Group a), and a striated neck; the griffin has the thick lion forelegs common to the entire M-V Lion Group. The similarity of material, dimensions, and technique suggests the two rings are by one artist.

- a) I 52 (35) from Mycenae T. 10; and 197, 200, and 201 all three from Asine T. 1 (LH III Aii context)
Serpentine imitation. X 258 and VIII 156 (CP Bulls C)
Associated sealings. I 372 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context); and Kn HMs 108 (KSPI 04), 156 (KSPI 07), 211 (KSPI R13), and 250 (KSPI R8)
 b) V 266 and 267 both from Armenoi T. 43 (LM III Bi context)

E. Animals with Pronounced Shoulders (Artists identified through seals)

By far the largest group of seals and other objects produced by artists in the M-V Lion School are those that depict M-V type animals with pronounced shoulders, sometimes emphasized by a profile line (compare the gold foil cut-outs, NMA 119/120 in the Master's Early Phase). Other formal traits include parallel lines at the bottom of the rib cage and a single or double horizontal line across the forelegs depicting the wrist and carpal pad.

1. M-V Lion Master: Der Kretische Stier

The following two seals carry smooth lion bodies, two parallel lines at the bottom of the ribcage, the saphena vein (over the hindlegs of the composite lion with bull head, which Kenna described as a "Kretischer Stier", on VIII 141 and on both forelegs and hindlegs of the Berlin lion), and hollow bull muzzles. The brilliant modeling on the Berlin seal is typical of the M-V Lion Master's work.

VIII 141 (36); and AGDS II Berlin 34 (37) said to be from Athens

Close. I 388 from Menidi (LH III B context); and CS 340 said to be from Mycenae

Near. CS 305 from Melos

2. The Danicourt Master

Sakellariou, *Festschrift für Friedrich Matz*, 19–22. Boardman, RA 1, 1970, 3–8, attributes to one artist in "the second generation of Mycenaean engravers" the Danicourt ring and I 17 and 18 from the Mycenae Treasure for which the date LH II is generally accepted. In GGFR p. 395, however, Boardman places the three extant rings in his Mycenaean Group A, thereby dating the Danicourt Master to LH I, and ascribes the Pylos sealing I 307 to his Group C (LH III A).

Besides the pronounced shoulders on lions and griffins, the Danicourt Master exhibits a noticeably nervous and cluttered style: spirals are jerky and uneven, lions are lanky with puffy faces, people have disproportionately large, square heads, and compositions, though monumental, tend to be crowded and filled with sloppily executed details. The three extant rings also share a peculiarly plain and broad hoop, slightly triangular in section.

Iconographically, the Danicourt ring and the Pylos sealings I 307 and I Supp. 173 are almost exact copies of each other, but in mirror image. There are also certain differences in iconographic detail, however; whether there are also stylistic differences is not certain since I 307 is badly preserved and I Supp. 173 seems to have been impressed either lightly or by a worn ring. To complicate the problem further, Sakellariou (*Mykenaike Sphragidoglyphia* p. 61) says the dimensions of I 307 differ from those of I Supp. 173, implying that the sealings were impressed by two slightly different rings. Such a situation is indeed possible; I. Pini has detected almost identical KZ sealings impressed by slightly different seals. The Pylos sealings, however, are still much smaller than the Danicourt ring, reflecting an original bezel two-thirds the size of the ring (1.4×2.2 cm. *vs* 2.2×3.3 cm., respectively), a difference that may be attributed to the shrinking of the sealing during the fire that preserved it. On the ring the tassels hang between the men's legs, but do not appear on the sealings; on the ring, the legs of the man who grapples the lion cross over the sword wielder's, a situation that is reversed on the sealings; and again, on the ring the grappler stretches his right arm forth to grab the lion's mane while on the sealings he holds both his arms against his chest. The absence of the tassels on the sealings may be due, as Sakellariou suggested, to their being only lightly impressed, or perhaps the ring at Pylos was worn, but the other iconographic differences must be laid to the intention of the artist to create at least two slightly different variations on one design; in other words, the two rings were intended to form a matched set, an artistic practice that was not uncommon.⁶

⁶ Kadmos 16, 1977, 141–159. The Master of the Gold Box, Karo 808–811 (above) created variations in otherwise identical glass seals cast from one mould; compare V 348 with 349 which adds a branch above the long-tailed goats. Examples of matched sets include: V 432 and 433 from the Nichoria Tholos, Cist 3 (LH III Aii–Bi context); I 255 and 256 from the Vapheio Cist (LH IIA context) and I 144 and 145 from Mycenae T. 515 (LH IIB context). I. Pini has observed different but almost identical seal types amongst the K7 sealings. Other seals were probably thought matched

I 17 (38) and 18 from the Mycenae Treasure (LH IIA?); I 389 (39) from the Menidi Tholos (LH III B context); and the Danicourt Ring (40) in the Peronne Museum from a tomb at Thessaloniki

Close, each group by one hand.

- a) AGDS I Munich 46
- b) I 132 from Mycenae T. 103, and 180 from Tiryns
- c) CP – Nervous Spirals Group: I 196 from Midea; XII 150; CS 181 from Herakleion; and HMm 1017 from Archanes Tholos B (LM III Ai context; Praktika 1967 pl. 137a)

Associated sealings. I 307 (41) and I Supp. 173 from Pylos (LH III Bii–Ci context)

3. The Group of I 12

The boar hunt on the Pylos lentoid depicts a boar with a simple outlined shoulder; its long, thin, rectangular muzzle is similar to the lion's on CS 305 (Kretischer Stier, Near, above). The hunter wears a helmet duplicated only on the amygdaloid I 12. In M-V L Article III JGY related this pair to the Master of the Gold Cup NMA 656 because the head of the lion on the cup has a weak, porcine character; it is now thought better to relate these works only within the context of the larger M-V Lion Circle.

I 12 (42) from Mycenae Shaft Grave III (LH I context), and 294 (43) from Pylos, the Grave Circle (LH II–III context)

4. Master of the Lions with Claws

For the lions, this master uses a large outlined shoulder, a prominent profile line on the leg ending in a dotted carpal pad, a large head with a heavy rounded muzzle contrasting with the small, pointed lower jaw, and claws for paws.

I 41 from Mycenae; 62 (44) from Mycenae T. 26 (LH III A? context); and 117 (45) from Mycenae T. 83

Close. HM 168 (MonAntichi 14, 1904, 621 fig. 93) from Kalyvia T. 1 (LM III Ai context)

because they are of the same material, the same shape and size, carry the same motif, were created by the same artist, or through a combination of such factors: e. g., V 591 and 592 from Nauplion, V 583–585 from the Kasarma Tholos (LH IIA context), and I 272 and 273 from the cist (LH IIA context) in that tholos. Objects in other materials were also created in matched sets, like the Vapheio cups and the Spata ivories.

5. Master of the Goober-Head Lions

This master uses a long head shaped like a peanut shell, outlined shoulder, and parallel lines at the bottom of the ribcage. The lions have a toy-like quality perhaps influenced by the L-J Lion artists.

a) Seals:

I 60 (46) from Mycenae T. 25; 78 from Mycenae T. 42; and V 235 (47) from Chania (LM III B context)

b) Ivories:

Delos Museum B7070, a bed? decoration from Delos, the Artemisium Deposit (Pour-sat 1977a, pp. 158 and passim, pl. XIII.1-4)

Close. The Master of the Lion-Head Seat

VII 118 (48); CS 2P (49) said to be from Mycenae

Associated sealing. I 374 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context)

Near. X 172

Associated sealings. I 358 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context); and Kn HMs 265 (KSPI R18)

6. Master of the Conch-Blower, HM 24

The lions on Vienna 1357 have pronounced but not outlined shoulders, manes decorated with lines, and dots with spikes for paws and claws. The man is stocky with a thick chest and thighs, clothed, and frontal; a similar man appears on HM 24. The crude style resembles that of the Master of the Lion-Head Seat (above) and the artist of I 106 (Misc. below).

HM 24 (50; PM IV fig. 162) from the Idaean cave; and Vienna 1357 (51; GGFR pl. 189)

7. Master of VII 102

This master employs a large head for both lion and bull and ripple striations for the bull's neck.

VII 102 (52) from Crete; and CS 318 (53) said to be from Athens

Related sealing. I 381 from Pylos (LH III Bii-Ci context)

8. Animals with Pronounced Shoulders, Miscellaneous:

I 51 from Mycenae T. 10, 71 from Mycenae T. 29, 106 from Mycenae T. 68, 190 from Midea T. 8 (LH IIA - Palace Style context), 204 from Argos, Aspis T. 7 (LH III A

context), and 385 from Menidi (LH III B context); V 678 from Thebes, Kolonaki T. 17 (LH III Ai context); VII 125 from Crete; IX 134; AGDS I Munich 57 from Crete; a lentoid from Asine Ch. T. 1 (LH III Ci context; Asine p. 374 fig. 242.2); and Kn HMs 199 (KSPI Vc), and 328/1008/MΔ (Betts 66)

F. Master of the Mycenae Lion Gate Relief

According to Mylonas (Ancient Mycenae pp. 15–35) the present Lion Gate was constructed of conglomerate in LH III B as part of the western extension of the West Circuit Wall around Grave Circle A. An earlier enceinte of limestone ran just east of the present half of the western wall and east of Circle A. The gate for this earlier enceinte has not been discovered, but sections of the ramp (Ramp 3) that led from this gate to the citadel indicates that it lay just east of the present gate. In the fill of this ramp was MH and LH III pottery, and in the fill of the north circuit wall, of limestone and therefore probably part of the earlier enceinte, was LH III A:2 pottery. Below Ramp 3 are the remains of an even earlier ramp (Ramp 4) in whose fill was found MH pottery; this ramp also led from the entrance area to the citadel. Mylonas thinks the acropolis was not provided with a circuit wall before LH III A:2, and thus there would have been no gate in the fifteenth century B.C.

The archaeological evidence implies the existence of a LH III A:2 gate, while Ramp 4 also suggests, though by itself it does not demand, an even earlier monumental entrance. The construction of the present Lion Gate is surely LH III B, but since the relief is not integral with the gate and indeed is of a different material, it is possible that the relief was not carved for the present gate: the relief is of limestone, like that of the earlier enceinte; the gate's framing blocks of conglomerate, especially those against the east end of the relief, did not, before reconstruction, fit tightly (Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Fig. facing p. 32); and, since the space allowed for the heads is now too cramped to allow a fulsome mane and large head, the relief may actually have been trimmed for the present setting.

The lions of the Lion Gate (54) are powerful, formal animals, with large and rectangular bodies carved flat in limestone against a deeply recessed background. Some of the stylistic traits these lions display are ones that seem to occur on sealstones much earlier than the LH III B date of the Lion Gate itself.

The feet are constructed of two or three overlapping crescent shaped wedges that stand for toes. Such feet are not found on seals; instead of

the usual dotted toes, however, I 46 (attributed below to the same master as the Lion Relief), presents small claws. Though dots were technically easy to produce on seals with the snub-nose drill, the more difficult small claws on I 46 could be considered as renderings in plan of the type of paws seen in elevation on the relief.

Below the bellies of the lions on the relief there is a thin flap of skin that suggests the profile lines commonly found on seals.⁷ The profile lines that one might expect to accent their shoulders, however, are not extant. But since the heads were attached separately with dowels, and probably consisted of carved steatite covered with gold foil,⁷ it is possible that they also provided the visible portion of the mane, in which case these gilded attachments could have terminated in a rolled ridge to provide the expected profile line around the lion's shoulders.⁸

More diagnostic stylistically are the legs. The forelegs consist of a long central shaft bordered for two-thirds of the way down by profile lines starting from a boss just under the shoulder that probably depicts the top of the ulna. Where the profile lines stop, two parallel horizontal ridges articulating the carpus cross the leg; a similar ridge for the tarsus crosses the hindlegs just below the knee. On the forelegs the carpal pad is added on the inside of the second horizontal ridge.

Several sealstones carry animals whose legs are given a similar anatomical treatment. On VII 115c (listed below) the lion's upper foreleg consists of a central shaft flanked by two profile lines as on the relief, while a similar arrangement is found on other seals: I 60 (Goober-Head Lions), 62 and 117 (Lions with Claws), Berlin 34 (Kretischer Stier), and CS 318 and VII 102 (Master of VII 102). On the relief, the profile lines of the upper foreleg begin from small bosses under the shoulder; such bosses occur on the bull of I 52 (Bulls with striated Necks a), and in the armpit of the lions on Berlin 34 (Kretischer Stier), I 41 and 62 (Lions with Claws), and CS 318 and VII 102 (Master of VII 102); see XIII 25 below. The carpal pad that ends the profile line is a trait common to the entire group of seals in this Pronounced Shoulder section; see especially I 41, 62, and 385, and CS 318.

The most stylized feature of the lions on the relief, however, is the double horizontal ridge at the wrist of the forelegs, and in view of its

⁷ JGY, following Wace, *AJA* 82, 1978, 298 n. 32.

⁸ Similar ridges occur on the bronze plate fragment with the ear and cheek of a life-sized bull head from the Apollo Maleatas Sanctuary at Epidauros (Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age p. 63 fig. 9); the ridges also enable gold plates to be attached to seals (JGY, *BSA* 74, 1979, 265–266).

comparative rarity it is taken here as the main criterion for attributing the following seals to the Master of the Lion Gate Relief.

I 46 (55) from Mycenae T. 8; and CS 315 (56) from Knossos (said to have been found with "mature" LM II pottery)

Close (not by one hand). I 89 (57) from Mycenae T. 58; XIII 25 (58); and VII 115 (59-61) obtained in the Peloponnese⁹

Associated sealing. Kn HMs 225 (KSPI 06)

⁹ The small size, D. 1.3 cm., of the prism may account for the child-like quality of the piece, the linear demarcation between head and mane, and the single horizontal ridge at the wrist of the foreleg.