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COMBAT, MYTHS AND SEALS IN THE GRIFFIN WARRIOR TIMES

Abstract: In 2015, an intaglio gem was discovered in Pylos (Messenia, Greece) from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age with a scene of two warriors in combat. This representation is part of a group of similar images on seals. The analysis of these objects allows the suggestion that the scenes depicted on them are based on the same story/myth. This story helped to build the ideology of the Mycenaean elites based on, among other things, the use of violence in social life and set patterns of behavior, while at the same time linking the Mycenaeans living in different parts of Greece, especially in Mycenae, Pylos and Vapheio. Perhaps it had an epic dimension similar to Homer's much later work.

Keywords: Mycenae; Crete; Pylos; combat; seals; myths; Homer

In 2015 there was an extraordinary discovery in Pylos (Messenia, Greece), of a rich unrobed grave called the grave of the Griffin Warrior (Davis and Stocker 2016; Stocker and Davis 2017).¹ The discoverers suggested that a young man was buried there no later than in the period known as the Late Helladic (LH) IIA (Davis and Stocker 2016, 635).² Among the many fine

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² High chronology: c. 1635/1600-1480/1470 BC – see Manning 2010, 23, Tab. 2.2.; low chronology: c. 1560-1430 BC as suggested by Pierson *et al.* 2018.

pieces of funerary equipment was a group of four gold signet rings and an intaglio gemstone made of agate, 3.6cm long, called the Pylos Combat Agate (referred to below as the PCA, Pl. 1: 1), representing a battle scene of two warriors at the time of the settlement of a duel. At the feet of the fighters lies a dead third warrior, a swordsman. The winner of the duel is a long-haired, almost naked warrior wielding a sword, inflicting a deadly thrust into the throat of his opponent. The latter is fighting with a spear and is protected by a large figure-of-eight shield and a helmet decorated with a crescent crest. The winner is grabbing the opponent's helmet with his left hand, flexing his head back. This gem, masterful in its composition and artistic and technical merits, directs our attention again to the issues of suppositions of myths or stories functioning among the populations of Late Bronze Age Greece and the longevity of the Mycenaean cultural tradition. The discoverers, that is the authors of the above-mentioned first two articles publishing the PCA and the signet rings, touch upon this issue with prudence and sensitivity (especially Stocker and Davis 2017, 587-588, 601-602).

The period from which the PCA originates is the time of formation of Mycenaean culture, its social and political relations. The archaeological traces of these processes are the burials, especially those of elites, belonging to the upper strata of contemporary societies. Among them are the Grave Circles at Mycenae, the tholos tombs and Griffin Warrior tomb at Pylos, and the tholos tomb at Vapheio in Laconia. Numerous offerings were found in them, such as weapons, metal vessels and items of jewelry: gemstones and golden signet rings.

The discovery of the PCA has extended the short list of representations portraying a combat scene that seem to form a repetitive pattern. The essence of these compositions is the clash of warriors shielded with defensive armour to varying degrees and using a spear, while the battle is won by a warrior who is relatively unprotected, usually by thrusting a sword at the opponent's throat. This scene appears in different forms on individual seals, there are also variants of it. We see this dramatic moment in its 'purest form' at Pylos on the PCA, but it is also seen on the golden cushion seal from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae (*CMS* I no. 11, Pl. 1: 2). On both of them, the defeated fighters wear helmets with crescent crests and are protected by figure-of-eight shields, while the winner, fighting with a sword, has long hair and is wearing a belted codpiece. On the related seal from Mycenae (*CMS* I no. 16, known as the Battle in the Glen, Pl. 2: 1), the winner is wearing a boar's tusk helmet and is fighting with a short sword.

On one edge of the seal is an opponent wearing a boar's tusk helmet, a tower shield and a spear, giving the impression that he was about to escape from the battlefield (his visible leg is directed facing away from his opponent). Between these two, there is another warrior, kneeling or falling, completely devoid of defensive weaponry, and bravely defending himself with a sword (a dagger according to Stürmer 1982, 112). He is being defeated by a warrior whom we recognize as the protagonist, because he is represented almost in the middle of the composition and is the only figure standing firmly on his feet in a dominant, upright posture. Behind the hero on the other edge of the seal sits an unarmed man, probably wounded. Let us add that in this scene helmets adorn long, soft, fluttering crests, presumably of horsehair (?).

There are at least three other compositions referring to the same scheme. A partially preserved seal of unknown origin (*CMS* IX no. 158, Pl. 2: 3) shows a fight between warriors without shields, but one of them has a helmet with a crescent crest and is probably using a spear. Although the representation does not show a thrust, the centrally standing warrior without a helmet is raising his sword up and is again shown in an upright and dominant attitude. As behind him we can see the legs of a figure, probably directed head down, we guess that the hero has already defeated one opponent. We can anticipate his next victory, even though the end result of the conflict is not shown. Another seal with a somewhat similar character is the schematic but tastefully composed seal (*CMS* V no. 643, Pl. 2: 4) from Tholos I in Gouvalari (a site close to Pylos). The figures are represented schematically: they do not use shields or spears, but a warrior wounded by a thrust to the chest or throat is probably wearing a helmet. This seal is clearly different from the previously discussed ones, because both opponents are leaning backwards, which is very rare in iconography, and they are using both dagger and sword (Peatfield 1999, 72). While the other seals discussed above have a fairly realistic character, the representation from Gouvalari seems to be subordinated to the overall artistic effect, the creation of a dramatic composition using oblique lines, especially those running diagonally, rather than the desire to faithfully portray the scene of the duel. A sealing (*CMS* II.6 no. 16, Pl. 3: 3) from Ayia Triada (Crete) is an impression from a very schematic seal, where both opponents seem to be wearing helmets, the winner is also using a sword and a dagger, while the defeated man's weapon is not visible (there is a similar seal from Petras – Rupp 2012). Another seal from Mycenae can be included in this group (*CMS* I no. 12, Pl. 2: 2). Here both opponents are equipped with figure-of-eight shields

and helmets, with the winner wearing a helmet with crescent crest, while the helmet of the opponent is probably without decorations. Some details of this representation are very interesting: the defeated man is grabbing the victor's sword with his bare hand, and the victor is grasping his opponent's helmet, as can be seen on the PCA.

We see a comparable scene on two highly schematic seals, similar to each other in composition and style, again of unknown origin (*CMS* VIII no. 129, *CMS* XII no. 292, Pl. 3: 1-2). In these images, a standing warrior without a shield and without a helmet is inflicting a sword thrust at the throat of a smaller figure wielding a spear, covered by a tower shield and probably wearing a helmet. Based on stylistic features, *CMS* dates these seals to LB I-II, but Vonhoff dates them respectively to Late Minoan (LM) IIIA / B and LH IIIA / B (Vonhoff 2008, 282-283, cat. no. 25, 285, cat. no. 40). Regardless of the chronology, both seals repeat the pattern that we already know.

There are other battle scenes, but they differ from the scheme symbolized by the PCA. Examples of these are the two seals of unknown origin, the highly schematic *CMS* V no. 180b and *CMS* XII no. D013³ (Pl. 4: 2-3), where a warrior with a figure-of-eight shield seems to be defeating the other character. Even more unlike the PCA are two sealings of the same (?) seal from Ayia Triada and Iraklio, where we see a swordsman chasing an unarmed man, and in the background running animals (*CMS* II.6 no. 18/*CMS* II.8 no. 279, Pl. 4: 4). On a sealing from Ayia Triada (*CMS* II.6 no. 16, Pl. 3: 4) there is a helmeted swordsman in front of a column, and on a sealing from Kato Zakro (*CMS* II.7 no. 20, Pl. 4: 1) two spearmen are fighting. Another example would be a seal from Attica (?) (*CMS* XI no. 34, Pl. 4: 5), depicting a duel between two men without armour, fighting with short swords or daggers in almost dance-like poses, each trying to grab the opponent's head.

One of the interesting common features that link most of these representations is placing the winner, or at least his head and torso, near the vertical axis of the composition, which probably indicates who is the most important in these scenes (cf. Biesantz 1954, 12-13 for Battle in the Glen). The winner is also standing firmly on his feet and even if he is leaning forward to increase the force of the blow or pressure on the opponent, his head is higher than the head of the person being defeated. In turn, the defeated is usually bent backwards or bent forward or shown as smaller

³ *Gemma dubitanda* but see Krzyszkowska's criticism of Kenna's expertise in the field of seals (2004, 321, 332).

than the winner. These representations leave no doubt as to the hierarchy of the characters and the essence of the depicted event, by concentrating the viewer's attention on the main character.

Undoubtedly, all these representations are part of the phenomenon of violence, which at the end of the Middle Bronze Age began to play an important role in the lives of communities, first in Crete, and then in mainland Greece (Acheson 1999; Deger-Jalkotzy 1999; Harrell 2009; Molloy 2010, esp. 423). At least we find more traces of it, especially in the sphere of iconography, but also the deposition of weaponry, whether in places of worship, as in Crete (O'Brien 2013, 27) or in graves, mainly on the mainland, but gradually in Crete (Molloy 2012, 120; Steinmann 2012, 122-129, 405-408). The repetition of the scheme described here, i.e. the victory of a heroic warrior, armed with a sword and sometimes a helmet, over a well-protected opponent undoubtedly indicates the important role it played in shaping attitudes, imaginations, traditions, and perhaps a code of conduct through the transmitted content. In the assessment of the heroes represented, two issues are of significance. The first is the credibility or 'realism' of the representation. This can be assessed in terms of the equipment and costumes of the figures shown. On the largest seals they are represented in great detail. Some of them can be verified archaeologically, such as the types of swords or the construction of helmets made of wild boar tusks, characteristic of Mycenaean warriors, and these can be verified positively. Others, like the sheaths of swords with their decorations, or the costumes, and even shields, are all completely lost, although known from iconography. The second element of the possible 'realism' of the representations is the depiction of martial technique. Here too, the seals seem to depict it in realistic way. Experimental research on swords and their use has shown that type A and B swords, which so prominently appear in early Mycenaean graves and on seals could be used for cutting and for thrusting, and they were well-suited to fighting against a single opponent. The representation of the technique of fighting on the seals seems therefore to be in accordance with our knowledge of the possibilities of armaments at that time (Peatfield 1999, 68-69; Molloy 2010, 416-417). Although the seals are undoubtedly not excerpts from 'a combat manual, as they are vehicles intended to portray symbolic and historically contingent meanings' (Molloy 2010, 410), the scenes that appear on them look probable. The swordsman's weak defensive armour or lack of it is also consistent with observations on the technique of sword fighting. This requires a wide range of freedom of movement of the whole body (Harrell 2009, 93) and an essential element

is the use of the so-called 'live hand' to confuse the opponent or to hold him and limit his movements, which is shown on at least a few seals (Peatfield 1999, 71-72). There are exceptions, like the figure-of-eight shield of the winner on *CMS* I no. 12, but in general we get the impression that these representations are fairly faithful reproductions of the clashes of warriors in the earliest phases of the Mycenaean.

Looking at the image discussed here, we understand, as the Mycenaeans probably did, that they show a warrior of great courage and fitness in combat, who through his strength, will-power, and skills dominated his opponents. If the above remarks on the techniques of fighting are correct, the mere lack of protective armaments does not determine the evaluation of the main character as a heroic warrior, but it does indicate his imagined moral and physical attitude. The hero from the seal and the scene of the struggle, or the violence used in practice (Harel 2009, 45-46), probably corresponded to the worldview of the elites, above all of the Mycenaean elite, but of the Minoan elite as well. The social function of the sword reconstructed by Harrell, not only as a tool of struggle but also as a symbol of leadership in the social and political sense (2014), indicates that it is not by chance that this brave warrior on the seal is using a sword. Maybe these ideals provide a role model, depicting appropriate ways of behaviour, qualities that a man should distinguish himself by if he wanted to occupy a high position in contemporary society, however it was organized at that time (Wright 2004; O'Brien 2013). These representations could perhaps be only a repetition of a general motif that personified the ideology of the times. However, the discoverers of the PCA consider instead that behind this representation stands some Mycenaean and Cretan myth recognizable in Greece (perhaps differently understood – Stocker and Davis 2017, 601). This seems very likely, considering the complexity of the composition, the extraordinary diligence of execution and its great expressiveness, but also considering one of the important functions of myths, which is influencing the attitudes of recipients (Armstrong 2005, 46).

The small area of the seal face naturally limited the number of characters that could be placed on it (Molloy 2010, 410). It is probably no coincidence that the largest compositions, the PCA and the Battle in the Glen (3.6m and 3.5cm), bear three and four figures respectively, while the others (usually smaller than two centimeters), usually show two fighters. In other types of art with larger surfaces at their disposal, more complex compositions were exhibited (Molloy 2010, 411). We can hypothesize that each seal shows one episode taken from the whole story. We have no proof that there

are more complex representations whose element would be the duel of a heroic swordsman with a spearman. Complex compositions from that time, namely the Siege Rhyton and the Silver Battle Crater from Grave Circle A at Mycenae show battle scenes, but there is no reference to our theme among them. Instead, we see on these objects a general picture of conflict rather than clearly distinguished episodes (but cf. Blakolmer 2007, 221 on Battle Krater; Stocker and Davis 2017, 594 n. 25). Until such a composition is found, we cannot be sure that the seals in question are excerpts from complex representations (Hiller 1999, 323; cf. the discussion, *ibidem*, 330; Blakolmer 2010). It is much more likely that, at the very least, the glyptic artists were choosing important episodes that were separate parts of a story (which would be suggested by the appearance of additional characters on the PCA, Battle in the Glen and CMS IX no. 158), or even chose those stories that were suitable for representation in this form and in such a small format. Taking into account the seals representing the duels, it can be assumed that Aegean artists acted like many other artists in different epochs, such as Homer, who represents the Battle of Troy primarily through successive episodes and especially the clash of outstanding warriors (though he also does not omit overall descriptions depicting battles). The creators of the most artistically advanced seals made with the greatest mastery and containing the most details acted in this way, showing, it seems, specific heroes, probably precisely known by name to both the artists and the recipients of their works.

If the story was recognizable to people living at the opposite ends of the Peloponnese, it had to be popular and circulate in the form of an oral work, as there are no convincing arguments for the existence of writing in such an early period (Driesen 2007, 76; Palaima 2010, 359). The literary form (in the sense of ‘oral literature’ – Ong 1982, 10-16; Alant 1996) of this work is unknown. The notion that it was in the form of poetry is quite widespread (Webster 1955, 11; Morris 1989, esp. 534; Hiller 1990; Younger 2007, 76-77), and maybe even that hexameter already existed in the Bronze Age (Ruijgh 1995; Sucharski 2005, 30-38). The PCA seems to support the idea that such a story may have existed already at such an early stage of the Bronze Age. After all, the depicted scenes must have had their own explanation, and it in turn must have been formed into the shape of a story. There is no guarantee that there was one particular reading of each of these representations, while all had to contain some elements well-known to their recipients (Stocker and Davis 2017, 588). The myths on which the images on the seals were based could also have had many local versions and variants, but the present author considers

it likely that the core of these stories was a common one. Despite the obvious difference in quality of the Pylos find, there are certain stylistic features that point to artistic kinship with the PCA and the Battle in the Glen signet ring. The seated figure on the signet is represented quite naturalistically, with its right hand bent backward and the right foot adjusting to the shape of the surface on which it rests resembling the ease and naturalness of the PCA pose. The poses of the characters fighting on *CMS* I no. 11, *CMS* I no. 16 and PCA seals are very similar, so it is possible that all these items were created in one workshop or center maintaining a long-lived artistic tradition and show an illustration of the same story. If that was the case, then it is highly likely that the story behind the representation on the seal went to Pylos together with the PCA, unless it was previously known there.

One can, therefore, imagine that the stories were disseminated not only by poets or singers, but could also have been propagated through the circulation of artworks and the products of artistic craft. Of course, there is also the possibility that there was a certain pattern of representation of such scenes unrelated to any particular story, reproduced by artists from different regions of early Mycenaean Greece (Stocker and Davis 2017, 598-599), but the above features connecting the three seals suggest the first hypothesis is the more likely.

The Griffin Warrior from Pylos, even though he perhaps was not a member of the highest social classes of Pylos, undoubtedly belonged to the elite of this centre and probably played an important role in building its position (Stocker and Davis 2017, 602). At that time, the Pylos elite surrounded themselves after death with great riches, which we do not see in later tombs (Murphy 2016, 441-442). Those who were buried in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae were also the elite of that center and decided about its development and, similarly, great wealth accompanied them in their graves. The elites of both these centers apparently shared the same ideology, as they also recognized the same stories. This is also clearly visible in similar sets of weapons found in the graves of Mycenae or Pylos in the course of MH III-LH II, but also in a cist in the floor of the Vapheio tholos tomb in Laconia (Harrell 2009, 110-124). Among the many remarkable finds from this last grave, there is no representation similar to the seals discussed here, but its equipment belongs to the same horizon of ideology, in which wealth and violence were important elements (Acheson 1999, 97). It also demonstrates a striking resemblance to the Griffin Warrior tomb both in the form of a very large set of seals and the fact that one of them shows a figure holding a Syrian axe (*CMS* I no. 225), and such an axe was

found in the cist (Hitchcock and Banou 2009, 5). In the grave of Pylos, on the golden signets there is a figure with a mirror and a figure with a staff, and a real mirror and staff were found together with the Griffin Warrior's bones (Davis and Stocker 2016, 651-652). In turn, the Shaft Graves and the burials of Vapheio are brought into the sphere of this elite symbolism in particular by representations of chariots – in Mycenae on the signet ring (*CMS* I no. 15) and tombstones (Karo 1930, 29-25, 168-169; Younger 1997), and in the tholos tomb on seals (*CMS* I nos 229, 230). All three regions have produced works, including the seals from Mycenae, probably coming from one workshop or artistic circle, called The Mycenae-Vapheio Lion Master, whose works are mainly dated to LM I and LH I-IIA (Younger 1984, esp. pp. 46-49; cf. Stürmer 1982, 114; Becker 2015, 83-85; 2018, 94-95). While the graves from Vapheio (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1987, 200) and Pylos are dated to LH IIA, Grave Circle A is datable mainly to LH I, including the seals discussed here, but the latest finds are datable to LH IIA (Dickinson *et al.*, 2012, 12). Thus, there are many indications of close cultural and perhaps also personal connections among members of the early Mycenaean elites passing through the entire Peloponnese region in this period.

In all these areas, objects from elite burials demonstrate strong Minoan influence on local styles and ideology (Voutsaki 1999, esp. 116; Dickinson *et al.*, 2012, 24-5; Steinman 2012, 133). It is also difficult to suppose that the authors of the representations on seals or many other excellent works of art and artistic craft known from the graves of Mycenae, Vapheio or Pylos were Mycenaean artists, the level of whose contemporary abilities seem to be evidenced by the steles of Mycenae (Heurtley 1921-1923, 144-146; Blakolmer 2013, 91). Most likely, their creators were specialists from Crete, operating on that island or based on the Greek mainland (Kenna 1960, 52-54; Younger 1984; Hiller 1999, 324; Stocker and Davis 2017, 599-600). There are quite a few combat scenes in the art of Crete in the comparable period, especially in Ayia Triada (Gates 1999; La Rosa and Militello 1999; Peatfield 1999, 97; Molloy 2012, 99-112; Wiener 2016). The ideology of violence was thus shared by the inhabitants of the entire Aegean area, and the behaviors, aspirations and ideologies of the Cretan and mainland elites probably influenced each other (Molloy 2012, 95-96). In Crete, as well as on the mainland, chariots belonged to the sphere of elite representations, such as *CMS* II.6 no. 260 / *CMS* II.6 no. 19 from Ayia Triada. The development of Cretan representations of combat scenes precedes their appearance in the Mycenaean areas (Stürmer 1982, 114), but there is a lack of finds from Crete comparable to the PCA, Battle in the Glen or *CMS* I no. 11, which,

of course, could only be an accident. Until, however, such representations are found, we should assume that these are products created especially for specific recipients from the Mycenaean culture, the iconographic needs of whom related to the use of violence in socio-political and symbolic reality were more extensive than their Cretan counterparts (Gates 1999) and included the use of stories to show the ideal pattern to be followed by members of the mainland elites. It would be interesting to know the circumstances in which artists representing the Minoan tradition became acquainted with the images that are found on the Greek mainland – whether it happened in Crete in the earliest period of the first Mycenaean presence there, or whether these artists found their way for some reason to mainland Greece.

The heroic spirit that emanates from these images reminds us of the struggles of Homer's heroes. This is probably no accident, since both Mycenaean warriors and Homeric heroes belong to formative periods, when the social, economic and power relations were only in the process of being created. This is probably why the Early Mycenaean period demonstrates more similarities to the Geometric period than to the Mycenaean Palatial period (Sherratt 1990, 817-818). These analogies concern various spheres of the functioning of the communities of those times, and they are also clearly marked in the military sphere. Numerous scenes from the *Iliad* vividly resemble our seals. The heroes who fought at Troy often tried to wound an unprotected part of the opponent's body, frequently the neck, especially when they were fighting with swords (e.g., *Il.* 11.221-240, 16.330-341), but also when using spears (e.g., *Il.* 5.655-659, 13.386-388, 22.306-327), although we also read about spears piercing armour, and even shields *and* armour (e.g. *Il.* 3.355-360, 13.370-372, 13.396-399, 17.516-519). The passage in which Menelaus grabs Paris's helmet (*Il.* 3.369-374) resembles the PCA and CMS I no. 12, although Helena's husband did so in desperation because, unlike the warriors on our seals, he did not have a sword or a spear at that moment. Such similarities may be completely coincidental, but the Homeric battles seem to be saturated with the heroic spirit known also from early Mycenaean struggles. Another element connecting the world of Mycenaean and Homeric warriors is the chariot. Its appearance on Grave Circle A grave steles and various images from that time indicates that it belonged to the image of the military elites, created by themselves. The chariot was obviously an important element of prestige, even if its precise use in a military context is unknown to us (Crouwel 1981, 119-147). Similarly, the chariot was an immanent element of the high status of Homeric heroes. Interestingly, the times described by

Homer seem to be the last period in which the chariot played a greater role in warfare in Greece, as far as can be judged on the basis of representations on vases or fine arts (Ahlberg 1971, 42-44; Crouwel 1992; 1995; Conter 2003, especially 72-75). After that period its application is gradually limited to the ceremonial or cult sphere, including sports (Anderson 1965, 350-351; Nefedkin 2001, 171-197; Brouwers 2007, 306; Dailey 2017, 128). In this respect, the Homeric world seems even closer to the early Mycenaean period than to the Archaic. The continued presence of the chariot and its representations in Mycenaean Greece until the end of the Bronze Age could have encouraged the survival of a memory of it, the traditions of its use, and inspired its mention by poets (Heurtley 1921-1923, 144-146; Conter 2003, 74-75; Vonhoff 2008, 250; Georganas 2010, 312-313; Blakolmer 2013, 91; cf. Wedde 1999 on continuity of BA galley).

It is not our intention to suggest that the story on which the PCA image is based had survived for almost a thousand years and that some traces of it can be detected in the later epics. It has been pointed out that there are some indications that some of the Bronze Age myths did not completely disappear at the turn of the Bronze and Iron Ages (recently e.g., Vlachopoulos 2007; Aulsebrook 2019; Kotsonas 2018). In the case of early Mycenaean representations, however, we must confine ourselves only to the hypothesis that they could have been based on a particular story that could have had an epic dimension like Homer's. The discovery of the Pylos Combat Agate allows us to return to the reflections on this subject, and extends the basis of our knowledge about the beginnings of Mycenaean culture and the aspirations and ideals of the members of the elite at that time. It also emphasizes the unusual technical possibilities and extremely high artistic standard that the Aegean artists were able to achieve in the field of miniature masterpieces, such as on some gems and gold signet rings.

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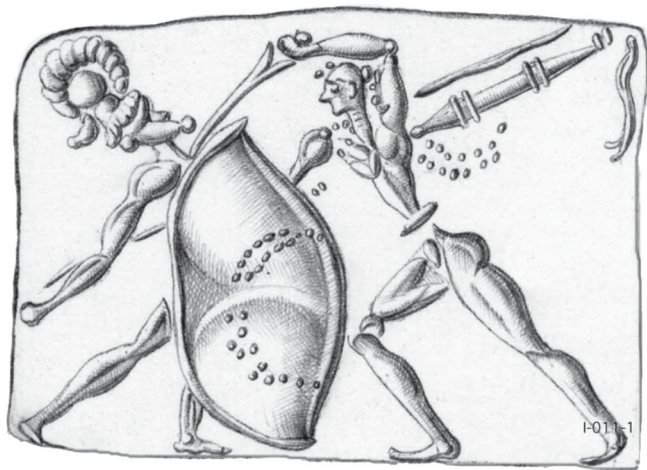
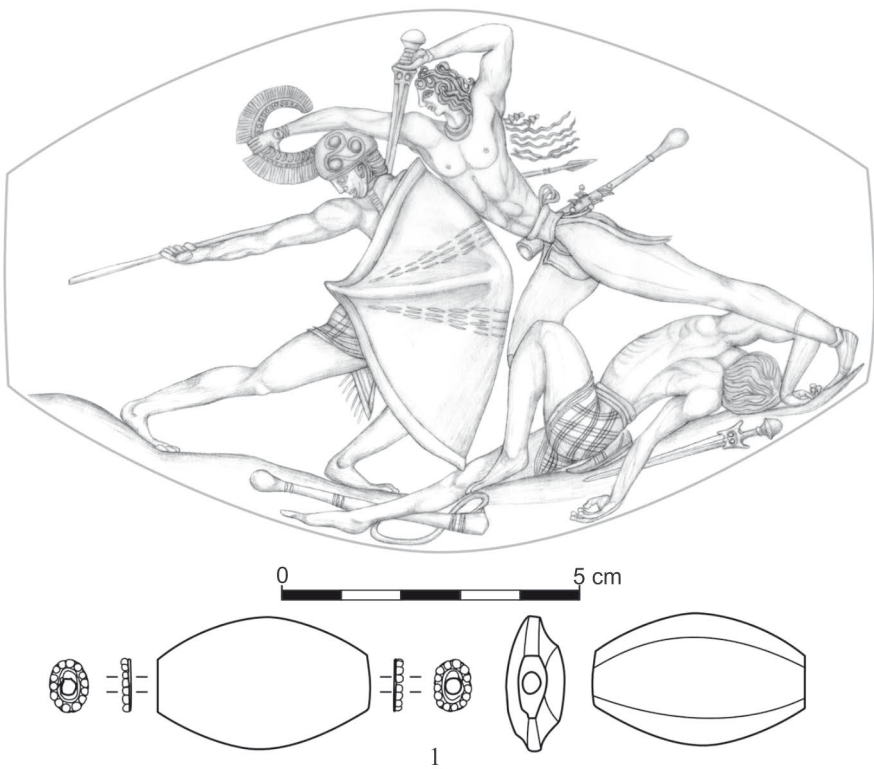
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Pl. 1: 1 – The Pylos Combat Agate. Drawing T. Ross; courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati
Pl. 1: 2 – CMS I.11. Mycenae, Shaft Grave III, LH I (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)



- Pl. 2: 1 – CMS I.16, Mycenae, Shaft Grave IV, LH I (mirror drawing of the signet ring called the Battle in Glen, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)
- Pl. 2: 2 – CMS I no. 12 Mycenae, Shaft Grave III, LH I (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)
- Pl. 2: 3 – CMS IX.158. LH I-II (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)
- Pl. 2: 4 – CMS V.643 Koukounara: Gouvalari, Tholos I, LH II/III (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)



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Pl. 3: 1 – *CMS* VII no. 129. LH II (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)

Pl. 3: 2 – *CMS* XII no. 292. LB I-II (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)

Pl. 3: 3 – *CMS* II.6 no. 16 Ayia Trada, LM I (drawing of the sealing, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)

Pl. 3: 4 – *CMS* II.6 no. 17 Ayia Triada, LM I (drawing of the sealing, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)



Pl. 4: 1 – *CMS* II.7 no. 20. Kato Zakro, LM I (drawing of the sealing, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)

Pl. 4: 2 – *CMS* V no. 180b. LM I (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)

Pl. 4: 3 – *CMS* XII. no. 13D. LM I (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)

Pl. 4: 4 – *CMS* II.8 no. 279. Knossos = *CMS* II.6 no. 15. Aghia Trada LM I (drawing of the sealings, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)

Pl. 4: 5 – *CMS* XI.34. Attika? LH II-III A (mirror drawing of the seal, courtesy Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel)