

MINOAN ZOOMORPHIC CULTURE

Since the earliest era of archaeological discovery on Crete, vivid renderings of animals have been celebrated as defining elements of Minoan culture. Animals were crafted in a rich range of substances and media in the broad Minoan world, from tiny seal stones to life-size frescoes. In this study, Emily Anderson fundamentally rethinks the status of these zoomorphic objects. Setting aside their traditional classification as "representations" or signs, she recognizes them as distinctively real embodiments of animals in the world. These fabricated animals — engaged with in quiet tombs, bustling harbors and monumental palatial halls — contributed in unique ways to Bronze Age Aegean sociocultural life and affected the status of animals within people's lived experience. Some gave new substance and contour to familiar biological species, while many exotic and fantastical beasts gained physical reality only in these fabricated embodiments. As real presences, the creatures that the Minoans crafted artfully toyed with expectation and realized new dimensions within and between animalian identities.

Emily S. K. Anderson teaches in the Department of Classics at Johns Hopkins University, where her work focuses on the visual and material cultures of the Aegean Bronze Age and the ongoing lives of ancient forms and materials. She is the author of *Seals, Craft, and Community in Bronze Age Crete* (2016).



MINOAN ZOOMORPHIC CULTURE

BETWEEN BODIES AND THINGS

EMILY S. K. ANDERSON

The Johns Hopkins University







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009452038

DOI: 10.1017/9781009452045

© Emily S. K. Anderson 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2024

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

A Cataloging-in-Publication data record for this book is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-1-009-45203-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Funding received from Office of the Dean, Krieger School of Arts & Sciences, Johns Hopkins University.



> for Elías and Camilo, and their happy hum



CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	page viii
Chronology	xi
1 LIFE AMONG THE ANIMALIAN IN BRONZE AGE CRETE AND THE SOUTHERN AEGEAN	I
2 CRAFTINESS AND PRODUCTIVITY IN BODILY THINGS THE CHANGING CONTEXTS OF CRETAN ZOOMORPHIC VESSELS	: 38
3 STONE POETS: BETWEEN LION AND PERSON IN GLYPTIC AND ORAL CULTURE OF BRONZE AGE CRETE AND THE AEGEAN	102
4 LIKENESS AND INTEGRATION AMONG Extraordinary creatures: Rethinking Minoan "Composite" Beasts	159
5 SINGULAR, SERIATED, SIMILAR: HELMETS, SHIELDS AND IKRIA AS INTUITIVE ANIMALIAN THINGS	246
6 MOVING TOWARD LIFE: PAINTED WALLS AND NOVEL ANIMALIAN PRESENCES IN AEGEAN SPACES	310
CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: RESTLESS BODIES IN THE MINOAN WORLD	372
References	380
Index	408



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much of this book was written during the difficult times of the Covid-19 pandemic. Work on the manuscript, and engagement with the rich and stimulating ideas of a robust community of scholars (past and present), was an uplifting force both during that challenging moment and as we have collectively emerged from it. In this context, the support of the many friends and colleagues who have contributed to this book, in a variety of ways, has been especially heartening. I give my deep gratitude to Christos Doumas, Andreas Vlachopoulos, Peter Warren, Jane Hickman, Ute Günkel-Maschek, Yannis Galanakis, Sapouna-Sakellarakis, Olga Krzyszkowska, Tsipopoúlou, Maria and Joseph Shaw, André Wiese, David Reese, Amalia Kakissis, Klaus Robin, Jan Shearer, Javier Barrio de Pedro, Christoph Uehlinger, and Stella Chrysoulaki at the Herakleion Museum for their remarkable generosity with material. I thank Diamantis Panagiotopoulos, who hosted my stay at the Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel (CMS) in Heidelberg during fall 2019, for conversation while there and for sharing the incredible resource of the CMS imagery with me for the book. Many others have shared discussion and support with me. While I cannot name here everyone whose involvement I have valued dearly, I especially thank Thomas Brogan, Cynthia Colburn, Sylviane Déderix, Emily Egan, Sarah Finlayson, Karen Foster, Vesa-Pekka Herva, Carl Knappett, Robert Laffineur, Stephanie Langin-Hooper, Agnete Lassen, Tom Palaima, Nikos Papadimitriou, Holly Pittman, Lauren Ristvet, Sarah Scott, Alan Shapiro, Georgios Spyropoulos and Nancy Thomas. I have felt particularly encouraged along the way by a fellow traveler on this path, Andrew Shapland, whose excellent book came out with Cambridge University Press while I was submitting my own manuscript. Working alongside a scholar as gifted and kind as Andrew has been a wonderful experience, and it is a joy to think of our ideas sitting on the bookshelf together.

I have benefited greatly from sharing ideas contained in this book in numerous talks. Early and partial versions of some chapters were workshopped in these contexts and have, in some cases, appeared in publications. This process has been hugely helpful as I refined the work, and I thank those involved immensely, in particular Kathryn Morgan (who organized a stellar conference

viii



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ix

at the Oriental Institute in 2019 where I gained rich feedback on my discussion of the zoomorphic vessels), Thomas Tartaron and the group at the University of Pennsylvania, for discussion surrounding the ideas in the lions chapter in spring 2019, and both Jane Carter and Elma Sanders at the American Journal of Archaeology. The Zoia conference organized by Tom Palaima and Robert Laffineur sadly could not happen because of the pandemic, but working on my contribution to the volume was highly productive (and the other papers gathered in that volume embody exciting further steps forward). At Hopkins, I am very fortunate to be surrounded by a group of stimulating peers who are also truly encouraging colleagues. I give special thanks to Karen ní Mheallaigh, Matt Roller, Jen Stager, Sanchita Balachandran, Kate Gallagher, Betsy Bryan, Glenn Schwartz, Mike Harrower, Chris Cannon, Silvia Montiglio, Josh Smith, Nandini Pandey, Richard Jasnow, Paul Delnero, Jake Lauinger and Alice Mandell. Both Shane Butler and Marian Feldman have been steadfast mentors and deeply valued interlocutors who have had huge impacts on my thinking. I sincerely thank the Dean's Office at Hopkins for a subvention to support color imagery throughout the book. My students at Hopkins have been a rich source of stimulating discussion, weaving in new perspectives that challenge how I look at familiar things. At Cambridge University Press, I truly valued feedback on the manuscript from two anonymous reviewers. Edgar Mendez has been a remarkably supportive resource through every twist and turn. Throughout production, Reshma Xavier's and Preethika Ramalingam's guidance has been vital. I have been deeply thankful for the exceptional talent that hawk-eyed Kathleen Fearn has brought to the text - I couldn't have wished for a more thoughtful and thorough reader. Beatrice Rehl has proven to be a dedicated captain and advocate for this work from its earliest stages, whose wisdom, insights and interest have been absolutely crucial to its coming to happy fruition.

There is a special pleasure, and comfort, to be found in friends who also know the joys and challenges of this line of work. I thank Maria Anastasiadou for the meals, laughs and conversations that have traversed Aegean glyptic and so much more, especially during my time in Heidelberg. Hallie Franks' friendship continues to be a source of support and inspiration that unwaveringly crosses years and miles. My family has been the nourishment for this undertaking, and all others. As a child, I was surrounded by animals, in body, thing and story. My father shared his love of birds with me as far back as I can remember, and an appreciation of their peculiar wonder has driven many areas of my research for this book. My mother grew up on a working farm, and her stories of a world in which animals were part of daily life and livelihood, in all its practical and emotional depth, were baked into my upbringing and outlook. I have drawn on her knowledge, on situations ranging from escaped bulls to dealing with feral pigs, on countless occasions while writing. My uncle, Mack



X ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Keller, shared insights concerning cattle that have been crucial in rethinking the realities of engaging with the impressive beasts. Many of my formative experiences with animals were shared with my big brother, Elisha, who was my coconspirator in all sorts of adventures involving creatures great and small as we ranged through our childhood domains, including the fields, woods and pasture streams of my grandparents' farm each summer. Subtending all else, I am grateful beyond measure to the three centers of my life, Elías, Camilo and Leo. As I write this, I cross the happy mark of having spent half of my life (and growing!) with Leo, who is a more wonderful partner than one could ever hope for. He not only keeps the boat afloat but makes the voyage through the unchartered waters of daily being a joyful source of discovery. Elías and Camilo are my greatest, most cherished and most humbling teachers. Their wholly loving presence, creative perspectives and insatiable questioning open the world anew, from rooster's crow to moonrise (and in-between). Theirs is a precious space in which renderings of animals carry keen wonder, seriousness and levity; being here with them brings the reality of fabricated creatures into vivid light and tangible contour and reminds me that open-endedness is a virtue.

*

Certain discussions in the present book appeared in earlier form in other contexts:

Chapter 2: "The Reinvented Social Somatics of Ritual Performance on Early Crete: Engagements of Humans with Zoomorphic Vessels," In K. Morgan, ed., *Pomp, Circumstance, and the Performance of Politics: Acting Politically Correct in the Ancient World.* Oriental Institute Seminars. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; *in-press 2024.*

Chapter 3: "The Poetics of the Cretan Lion: Glyptic and Oral Culture in the Bronze Age Aegean," *American Journal of Archaeology* 124 (3); July 2020: 345-379.

Parts of Chapter 5 and 6: "Intuitive Things: Helmets, Shields, Ikria and the Uniqueness of Aegean Composites," In T. Palaima and R. Laffineur, eds., *ZOIA: Animal Connections in the Aegean Middle and Late Bronze Age.* Leuven: Peeters, 2021:149–160.



CHRONOLOGY

Dates BCE	Period	Crete	Cretan period	Cyclades	Mainland	Mainland period
3100-2700	EBA	EM I	Prepalatial	EC I	EHI	
2700–2400		EM IIA		EC II	EH IIA	
2400–2200		EM IIB		EC II	EH IIB	
2200–2000		EM III	Į.	EC III	EH III	
2000–1900	MBA	MM IA	Protopalatial	MCI	MHI	
1900–1800		MM IB		MC II	MHII	
1800–1700		MMII	↓			
1700–1600		MM III	Neopalatial	MC III	MH III	Early Mycenaean
1600–1525	LBA	LM IA		LC I	LH I	
1525–1450		LM IB	+	LC II	LH IIA	
1450–1400		LM II	Final Palatial		LH IIB	↓ ·
1400–1300		LM IIIA(1-2)	 	LC III	LH IIIA(1-2)	Palatial
1300–1200		LM IIIB	Postpalatial		LH IIIB	↓
1200–1070		LM IIIC	Ţ		LH III C	Postpalatial

Chronological table adapted from Shelmerdine 2008: 4 fig. 1.1, and Knappett 2020: xv.

Abbreviations EBA: Early Bronze Age; MBA: Middle Bronze Age; LBA: Late Bronze Age. *Aegean Chronology* EM: Early Minoan; MM: Middle Minoan; LM: Late Minoan; EC: Early Cycladic; MC: Middle Cycladic; EH: Early Helladic; MH: Middle Helladic; LH: Late Helladic. *Egyptian Chronology* OK: Old Kingdom (2700–2136); FIP: First Intermediate Period (2136–2023); MK: Middle Kingdom (2116–1795); SIP: Second Intermediate Period (1795–1540); NK: New Kingdom (1540–1070).