

IN EGYPT

Apes are not – with one exception – native to Egypt, but rather were imported from areas farther south, from Nubia, the Sudan and beyond, from as early as the late Predynastic period. They were imported to Egypt as military booty or tribute, or through trade, and are represented in many media throughout the entire Dynastic period. There seems to have been no real development in the Egyptian attitude towards them, but only an increasing variety and confirmation of roles already established in their earliest appearances. Two major species of apes are known in ancient Egypt, the *Cynocephalus* baboon and the *Cercopithecus* monkey, both with several varieties depicted; the more common names ‘baboon’ and ‘monkey’ are used here for the two species, unless a specific variety is intended. The Egyptians themselves carefully distinguished between the baboon (E 32) and monkey (E 33), even in Old Kingdom texts. The former was identified as *i'n*(<sup>∘</sup>) (fem. *i'nt*), and often as *ʕ'n*(<sup>∘</sup>) in New Kingdom inscriptions. A second identification of baboon, *kyw*, appeared in the Middle Kingdom, with New Kingdom variants *k(ʕ)yy* and *kʕk*.<sup>851</sup> The *Cercopithecus* was identified as *g(i)f* or *g(w)f* (fem. *gft*).<sup>852</sup> It is important to distinguish the two, both because the Egyptians themselves did, and because their roles within Egyptian society were quite distinct.

VANDIER D’ABBADIE (1964; 1965; 1966) is the only significant study of the ape in ancient Egyptian art, although she has limited her discussion of its non-religious depictions in painting and relief. Religious aspects have been discussed by Brunner-Traut and Otto<sup>853</sup> generally and by HORNUNG and STAEHELIN

(1976:106–108) for ape figures on scarabs and scaraboids, but no overall investigation of other media has yet been attempted.

*Cynocephalus* Baboon

Vandier d’Abbadie has isolated three varieties of *Cynocephalus* baboon,<sup>854</sup> not always distinguished in the literature but often recognisable in tomb representations. All have a dog-shaped head with long blunt muzzle, hence the name *Cynocephalus* (from the Greek for ‘dog-headed’), shoulders higher than the rump, and tail about two-thirds its standing height. The *papio hamadryas* (see Fig. 18) has light greyish-green fur with pink- or red-skinned muzzle, hands and posterior. The adult male head is covered by a heavy

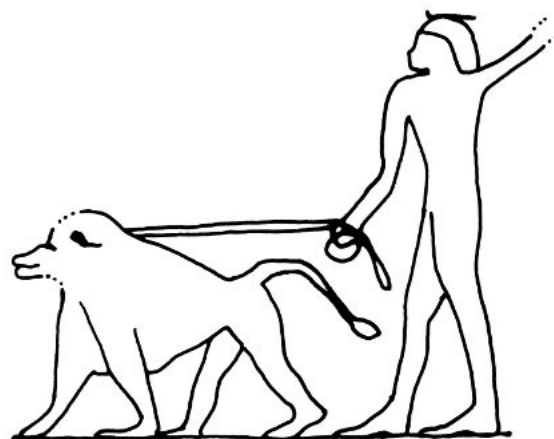


Fig. 18 Man leading *hamadryas* baboon, relief on the causeway to the pyramid of Unas at Saqqara, Egyptian, Dynasty V (VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964:155 fig. 6)

<sup>850</sup> The term ‘ape’ is employed in the present study as a generic designation for both a ‘monkey’ and a ‘baboon’ when specific terminology is unnecessary or the distinction is unclear although, generally speaking, an ape is considered more a ‘monkey’ than a ‘baboon.’ These three terms often are employed interchangeably and indiscriminately in the literature, often because distinction is unclear. The present work incorporates the descriptions of VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964, DORST and DANDELLOT 1970 and HALTENORTH and DILLER 1980. I am grateful to Rufus Churcher, Department of Zoology, University of Toronto and Mammalogy Department, Royal Ontario Museum, for the last two references.

<sup>851</sup> VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964:151. GARDINER (1957) distin-

guishes *i'n* as “sacred baboon” and *ky* as “monkey” for unspecified reasons. A glance through VANDIER D’ABBADIE’s (1965; 1966) illustrations demonstrates that *i'n* tends to be associated with more formal and *ky* less formal scenes in the New Kingdom, but the distinction is not absolute and not true in Middle Kingdom scenes.

<sup>852</sup> VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964:151.

<sup>853</sup> *LÄ* I.1:83–85 (‘Affe’), I.5:675 (‘Bebon’), both with further references.

<sup>854</sup> VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964:150–151; other authors employ similar although not always identical distinctions. Her terminology is employed here, supplemented by DORST and DANDELLOT 1970:43–44, pl. 6:5–7; HALTENORTH and DILLER 1980:261–264, pl. 49–50.

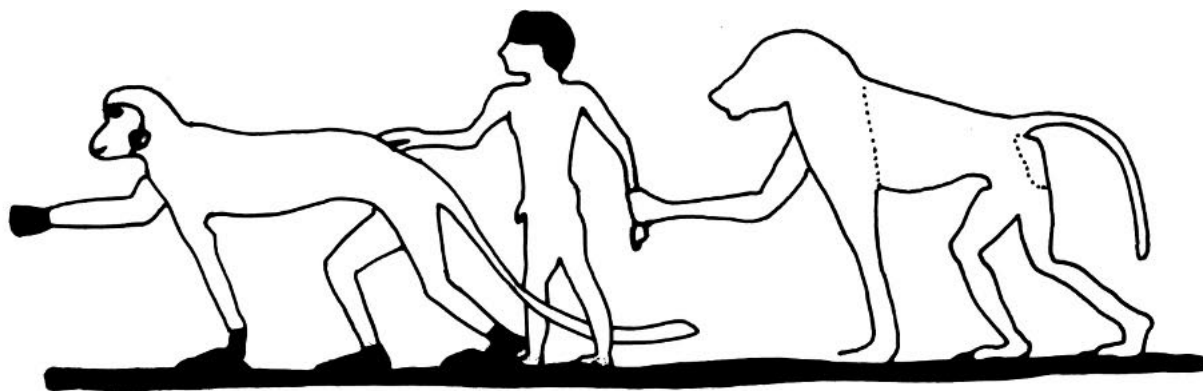


Fig. 19 Man leading *Cercopithecus* monkey (in front) and *anubis* or *cynocephalus* baboon (behind), painted relief in the tomb of Itet at Medum, Egyptian, Dynasty IV, reign of Snefru (PETRIE 1892:pl. 24)

mane or cape of fur that obscures the outline of neck, shoulders, upper arms and body. The body is short and squat, with narrow waist and wide chest. The tail is tufted at its extremity. Males are irascible and menacing in character, and quite difficult to tame,<sup>855</sup> although females are milder and easier to train. The *hamadryas* was sacred to the moon-god and god of writing and knowledge, Thoth.<sup>856</sup> It is the only ape native to Egypt in ancient times and very occasionally is still found in the deserts there. Early direct observation of its character and activities in its natural habitat would have been the source of much of its religious meaning for the ancient Egyptians.

The other two varieties, the *papio anubis* and *papio cynocephalus*, are similar in appearance to each other and often are combined in the literature (see Fig. 19:right).<sup>857</sup> They also are similar to *hamadryas* except for their larger size, the lack of mane on the male and the presence of a 'kink' in the tail that is not always depicted. The fur of the *anubis* is olive-brown and the *cynocephalus* yellow in colour, and the paws, face and posterior of both are black. The *anubis* has a more developed chest and shoulders than does the *cynocephalus*, which sometimes is mistaken for a *hamadryas* mane. Both apparently are easier to domesticate than the *hamadryas*, and also substituted for it as Thoth.<sup>858</sup> The female and young are indistin-

guishable by type in ancient Egyptian art, and Vandier d'Abbadie suggests that the Egyptians themselves did not differentiate between them. The only certain distinguishable characteristic is the mane of the *hamadryas* male, which occasionally is depicted with an all-over pattern of short vertical lines.

The *Cynocephalus* baboon, usually *hamadryas*, served primarily religious functions although it also is found in non-religious scenes together with other animals, often being led and restrained by a handler who holds him by a leash and collar. The few baboons illustrated in other, primarily New Kingdom, non-religious scenes – depicted occasionally under the chair of master or mistress, climbing amongst ships' rigging and in natural settings climbing trees to pick dates – are enough to indicate that it also was kept as a household pet, albeit not as commonly as the *Cercopithecus*. The baboon's strongest association is with the god Thoth, often serving as one of his two zoomorphic manifestations<sup>859</sup> either squatting or seated with tail on the ground and wrapped around its feet, and forepaws either resting on its knees or between its feet, or raised in front of its chest with palms out as if in worship. The earliest representations are small stone and faience figurines mostly from Abydos and Hierakonpolis dated to about Dynasty I and later (see Fig. 20),<sup>860</sup> and the figure

<sup>855</sup> Possibly the origin of the baboon determinative for *knd* ('be furious').

<sup>856</sup> See also BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:382 #387.

<sup>857</sup> In the present chapter and the catalogue, the species *Cynocephalus* and the sub-species (*papio*) *cynocephalus* are distinguished by indicating the former with a capital 'C' and the latter with the small letter.

<sup>858</sup> See HORNUNG and STAEHELIN 1976:107.

<sup>859</sup> He also was represented as an ibis.

<sup>860</sup> PETRIE 1903:pl. II:12, 15, III:16, VI:51, 60, 65, XI:253; MÜLLER 1964:19–21 #A13–A14, 25 #A23, 38 #A56; ADAMS 1974:24–29 #128–144, pl. 18–23 (esp. pl. 19:128, 130, 20:133–134, 22:144). See also HAYES 1953–1959:I:45.

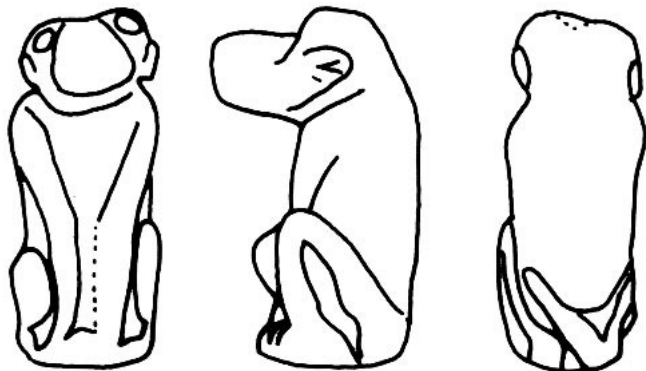


Fig. 20 Figurine of a baboon, probably representing Thoth, glazed faience, H: 9.3 cm, from Hierakonpolis 'Main Deposit,' Egyptian, probably Protodynastic–Early Dynastic (ADAMS 1974:pl. 19:128)

continues throughout the dynastic period in this canonical pose – as observed in nature – although details and attributes can vary on individual pieces.<sup>861</sup> Thoth as baboon often is found in his usual squatting position atop the balance in 'Weighing of the Heart' scenes in the 'Judgment of Osiris,' in his role as 'God of Truth.' Baboons apparently chatter amongst themselves in an agitated way at dawn, an observation suggesting to the Egyptians their greeting to the rising sun. Later illustrations depict the multiple image of *hamadryas* in this role.<sup>862</sup>

In addition to the small figurines, the *hamadryas*

is found in painting and relief as well as larger statues, and was a popular figure on seals,<sup>863</sup> amulets,<sup>864</sup> ceremonial axe heads,<sup>865</sup> some jewellery components and amuletic beads<sup>866</sup> and other apotropaic objects as 'magic rods' and 'magic wands'<sup>867</sup> in his obvious religious function. String-holes on amulets most often are visually distinct suspension loops either on the back or atop the head of the figure, although earlier examples tend to be drilled through the body or shoulder. Seals of FIP date<sup>868</sup> must have served as amulets, but usually the baboon was carved in relief on the back of New Kingdom scaraboids, either as a single figure and occasionally back-to-back.<sup>869</sup> With the exception of the 'magic' rods and wands that appear in the Middle Kingdom, and the occasional tomb illustration, two-dimensional images clearly depicting the *hamadryas* are virtually non-existent until the New Kingdom,<sup>870</sup> although other baboon types are known from the late Old Kingdom on, chiefly on seal and scarab face designs and hieroglyphic inscriptions.<sup>871</sup>

The baboon also was the animal manifestation of the minor god Babi, who ate human entrails and killed on sight. His fierce and dangerous character developed from the ill-tempered nature of the *hamadryas* male. Protective spells against him are invoked during the 'Weighing of the Heart' ceremony, and with his evil nature he is associated with the god Seth in opposition to Thoth. Babi is known as early as the Old Kingdom, when he is a royal virility symbol and apotropaic deity. Thereafter, he becomes

<sup>861</sup> E.g., HAYES 1953–1959:I:fig. 140:top right, top left; BOURRIAU 1988:116–117 #106:b. Small figurines occasionally depicted the baboon in observed and presumably non-religious poses, e.g., HAYES 1953–1959:I:fig. 138:lower.

<sup>862</sup> E.g., rings and pectorals, see REISNER 1907–1958:II:150 #12222, pl. XVII:12222; WILKINSON 1971:131, pl. LII. See also HAYES 1953–1959:I:78; TE VELDE 1988. They usually represent an ennead headed by Thoth, and not multiple representations of the god himself.

<sup>863</sup> E.g., FISCHER 1972:12–13 figs. 18, 20; WARD 1978:53 n. 199; MARTIN forthcoming:ms. 246–247 #457–458; UC 18077.

<sup>864</sup> E.g., REISNER 1907–1958:I:168 #12324–12328, pl. XXI:12324–12328; II:7–8 #12581–12585, 86 #13182, 89 #13211, 93 #13242–13243, 105–106 #13331–13341, pls. II:12581–12585, XIV:13182, 13211, 13242, XVI:13335, XXII:12581, 12585, XXIX:13336; BRUNTON 1928:pl. XCIV:14; ANDREWS 1981:100 ('Baboon'). Standing baboon amulets appeared from late Dynasty XVIII/XIX, with knees slightly flexed, supported behind by a rigid tail, and arms raised in front, e.g., REISNER 1907–1958:II:86 #13178–13183, pls. XIV:13178, XXVII:13181; MÜLLER 1964:93 #A132:d.

<sup>865</sup> HAYES 1953–1959:II:213 n. 6, fig. 126:lower; KÜHNERT-

EGGBRECHT 1969:77–78, 133 #P15–P20, pl. XXIV. All are FIP–SIP in date, and either are single or paired representations. One pair squat face-to-face, two other pairs stand with heads *regardant*.

<sup>866</sup> E.g., ENGELBACH and GUNN 1923:pl. L:2; BOURRIAU 1988:150–151 #164:a; MMA 10.130.2270–2273, .2277, .2281, .2284–2285, .2292, .2294–2295.

<sup>867</sup> E.g., HAYES 1953–1959:I:fig. 143; MÜLLER 1964:66–67 #A100; BOURRIAU 1988:114 #102.

<sup>868</sup> PETRIE 1925b:pl. I:J; MMA 66.99.155. Two FIP 'seal'-amulets are in the form of back-to-back apes, one clearly depicting baboons and the other monkeys; see WIESE 1996:67, pls. 15:282, 40:849, 77:282, 86:849.

<sup>869</sup> E.g., HORNUNG and STAEHELIN 1976:pls. 47:429, 71:643; 85:759, 89:795, 92:828, 117:D7; back-to-back image *Ibid.*:pl. 73:664. See also BROVARIKI *et al.* 1982:254 #361.

<sup>870</sup> E.g., PETRIE 1925b:pls. XII:707, XIII:840–842, XVII:1296–1297; HORNUNG and STAEHELIN 1976:433 ('Pavian'). PETRIE 1925b:pl. XIII:841 probably is SIP.

<sup>871</sup> Early examples include cylinder seals in FISCHER 1972:figs. 7–8, 10–11, 20–21.

more commonly available to all the deceased in their journey to the Netherworld, protecting against malevolent predators when called upon in several *Book of the Dead* spells.<sup>872</sup> He is illustrated only allusively.

Additionally, the baboon represents one of the four ‘Sons of Horus,’ the ape-headed Hapy, almost inevitably represented together with the rest of the quartet. Associated with the goddess Nephthys, he is a protective guardian of the deceased and, with the other ‘sons,’ is first mentioned in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*,<sup>873</sup> first depicted in the Middle Kingdom as a shrouded humanoid figure in painting and relief,<sup>874</sup> and from Dynasty XVIII also as the sculptured lid of the canopic jar containing the mummified lungs of the deceased that he protected.<sup>875</sup>

### *Cercopithecus* Monkey

The *Cercopithecus* monkey is readily distinguishable from the baboon (see Fig. 19:left; compare with the baboon at the right), having a thin and elongated profile with tail almost twice as long as the body, and small head with short and almost pointed snout. Vandier d’Abbadie has identified two varieties of the *Cercopithecus* monkey, chiefly by fur colour.<sup>876</sup> The first is a grivet, the *griseo-viridis aethiops*. The majority of its fur is greyish-green in colour – hence its more familiar name of ‘common green monkey’ – with a light grey or white stomach and throat, black face, ears, hands and feet, and tail slightly tufted at the end. The cheeks are covered by very long almost beard-like whiskers which, when depicted, are indicated by a series of near-horizontal striations on the cheeks, and shown white when represented in colour. A narrow horizontal band of white fur joins them

above the eyes. Body fur sometimes is indicated by short vertical dashes.

Vandier d’Abbadie’s second variety, the *ruber*, is described as having much the same physical appearance although slightly larger in size, and fur golden yellow rather than green. It is not mentioned in modern field guides under this name, and no other variety corresponds to her description as given. Nor can I find any Egyptian illustration of an ape with yellow rather than green fur.<sup>877</sup>

Far easier to tame and train than baboons, monkeys are more commonly portrayed as pets<sup>878</sup> and rarely are shown in cultic or religious scenes. Indeed, they are representative of no deity in the Egyptian pantheon. To judge from their earliest representations, it seems the baboon was appreciated in Egypt before the monkey<sup>879</sup> but, as the earliest images of apes are religious in nature, it may be that the monkey was depicted only with the appearance of daily life scenes on tomb walls in Dynasty IV. Although depicted as early as the Old Kingdom, the monkey is most popular as an image in Dynasties XVIII–XIX.

Monkeys are represented in tomb scenes as early as Dynasty IV.<sup>880</sup> They are shown in procession being led by a handler or trainer and sometimes perched on his shoulder or head, as household pets below the chair of the tomb owner or his wife at banquet and in other domestic scenes eating various foods (especially fruits), climbing trees and picking figs and grapes, accompanying musicians and scampering on ships’ rigging. They often wear a leash and collar or waistband. Their antics increased in variety as other playful poses were depicted in similar scenes, and some new roles were added to the repertoire. In certain ‘hairdressing’ scenes of the Middle Kingdom and

<sup>872</sup> See FAULKNER 1969:321 (‘*B3biw*, Babi’); 1973–1978:III:191 (‘Babi’); ALLAN 1974:290 (‘*B3by*, Baba’).

<sup>873</sup> FAULKNER 1969:322 (‘*Hp*, Hapy’). See also FAULKNER 1973–1978:II:192 (‘Hapy’); ALLAN 1974:260 (‘Hapi’), 264 (‘Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuf’).

<sup>874</sup> Especially on sarcophagi and coffins, e.g., HAYES 1953–1959: I:314, 321; II:70–71, 273–273.

<sup>875</sup> Mummification and burial of sacred baboons apparently did not occur prior to Dynasty XXI, beyond the chronological scope of the present study, see HAYES 1953–1959: II:73, 227. Nonetheless the occasional mummy of a favoured pet is found in a private tomb, see *Ibid.*:111. See also D’AURIA, LACOVARA and ROEHRIG 1988:231 #187.

<sup>876</sup> VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964:150. See also DORST and DANDELLOT 1970:71–73, pl. 9:7; HALTENORTH and DILLER 1980: 292–294, pl. 53.

<sup>877</sup> Nor could Lise Manniche during her research into colour

conventions, including that of the ape (personal communication, 01 April 2000).

<sup>878</sup> See discussion in BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:274.

<sup>879</sup> The *hamadryas* is native to Egypt. It is possible that the other types were not imported until well into the Old Kingdom, but this is speculative.

<sup>880</sup> Four Old Kingdom depictions of the *ruber* are specified by VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964:figs. 3, 14–15, 18; but see MÜLLER 1964:56–57 #A90, who notes the last is painted green. Figs. 14–15 are not stated, and only that in fig. 3 is published as yellow in colour (PETRIE 1892:pl.XVII) and may be the result of discolouration or misidentification at this early date. VANDIER D’ABBADIE’s subsequent studies of Middle (1965) and New Kingdom (1966) illustrations are non-specific. Others, when described or illustrated elsewhere in colour, are green and therefore *aethiops* not *ruber* is the variety depicted according to her criteria.

early Second Intermediate Period a monkey holds a cosmetic jar for its mistress<sup>881</sup> and in the New Kingdom the monkey also is depicted playing a variety of musical instruments.<sup>882</sup>

The individual monkey also occasionally is found in the squatting pose as an amulet,<sup>883</sup> but with elbows on the knee and paws under the chin or at the mouth. In the latter it is, or seems to be, eating some food. A distinct correlation between type of ape depicted and its hand position is apparent. The baboon has its arms upraised and worshipping or resting on the upper legs and knees, evocative of its religious function, and the monkey has its elbows on the knees and hands under the chin or at the mouth. These poses are similar in other respects. The monkey amulet clearly was distinguished from its baboon counterpart, and probably served a different function.<sup>884</sup> The monkey also is found in a limited variety of poses engraved on scarab, 'button-seal' and cylinder seal faces, including in the squatting position even in the FIP when they often appear *tête-bêche* and face-to-face. Face designs of engraved back-to-back apes seem to not to be found, except as *tête-bêche* figures.<sup>885</sup> They are shown in other positions, climbing trees and walking on all fours, in later periods. A very popular

New Kingdom design depicts two or four monkeys climbing up a tree, a play on words for good wishes at the New Year.<sup>886</sup> Apparently there are no scaraboids in the shape of a monkey, all examples being identified as baboons. The abbreviated depiction of the ape on many face designs often does not allow distinction between non-*hamadryas* male baboon and monkeys. In the absence of a distinct mane, the only remarkable feature for consideration might be the length of the tail, but this often also appears to be arbitrary. Many as illustrated are ambiguous, and probably should be classified as apes, rather than as one or the other type.<sup>887</sup>

Their playfulness is echoed in three-dimensional objects. Cosmetic jars in their image are known from the late Old Kingdom, with the head as lid.<sup>888</sup> Larger scale vessels are a distinct Dynasty VI type.<sup>889</sup> By Dynasty XII they appear in high relief as one to four decorative supporters on small pots, bowls and kohl pots,<sup>890</sup> and elsewhere as zoomorphic handles on small vases.<sup>891</sup> The former seem not to have survived the SIP except as a single standing (or seated) figure carved in the round supporting a tall thin kohl pot, but the latter continued into Dynasty XVIII.<sup>892</sup> Most vessels were of travertine or anhydrite,<sup>893</sup> but other

<sup>881</sup> E.g., VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1965:fig. 5–7. The wife is seated beside her husband on a single chair, while a maid dresses her hair.

<sup>882</sup> E.g., ZIEGLER 1979:87, 117.

<sup>883</sup> E.g., REISNER 1907–1958:I:168 #12321–12323, pl. XXI:12321–12323.

<sup>884</sup> The standing monkey, contemporary to the standing baboon in the later New Kingdom on, has arms resting at the side of the body often with paws on knees rather than raised in worship, e.g., REISNER 1907–1958:I:165–167 #12304–12320, pl. XXI:12304–12320; II:6–7 #12574–12579, pls. II:12574–12576, XXI:12574–12575. The distinct correlation between type of ape depicted and its hand and arm position also was maintained in these amulets as well as the squatting type; the pose likewise also is similar in other respects.

<sup>885</sup> A highly unlikely possibility of back-to-back apes is PETRIE 1925b:pl. II:97. There are, however, some amulets of back-to-back human figures, presumably bound captives (e.g., *Ibid.*:pl. I:B1–B2) and some apes back-to-back but shown *tête-bêche* (e.g., *Ibid.*:pl. XIII:839; see also WARD 1978:pl. VI:176).

<sup>886</sup> HORNUNG and STAEHELIN 1976:108. See also BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:169 #194, 253 #356.

<sup>887</sup> E.g., PETRIE 1925b:6, 23–24, pls. II:89–90, 92–103, VI:93A, 94A, 101A, XIII:839, 846; WARD 1978:50 fig. 10:9, 53, pl. VI:173, 175–176. Some might have been intended to represent the *cynocephalus*.

<sup>888</sup> HAYES 1953–1959:I:fig. 78, inscribed with the cartouche of Meryenre/Pepi II (Dynasty VI); MFA 5.1975. Later examples include HAYES 1953–1959:I:fig. 157:lower left; Terrace

1966:60 Type A:II, pl. XX; MMA 1974.97. Paired examples also were made, especially in the Middle Kingdom. The form continues into the New Kingdom.

<sup>889</sup> VALLOGGIA 1980 (pls. XVII–XVIII represent a baboon); FISCHER 1993; B.G. ASTON 1994:139 #136. The fragments recovered at Mycenae are of this vessel type; see KARETSOU *et al.*:253–254 #252.

<sup>890</sup> E.g., PETRIE 1937:9, pl. XXVII:547; TERRACE 1966:59–60 Type A:I, pls. XV–XIX; VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1972:60 #183–184; BOURRIAU 1988:142 #144:a–b; B.G. ASTON 1994:143 #149; FAY 1998:*passim*. TBM 52.55 is a triad. Some have a distinctly cynocephalic face in profile, but on the other hand are shown with extremely long tails of the *Cercopithecus* possibly for artistic reasons; these too may be *Cynocephalus*.

<sup>891</sup> E.g., VON BISSING 1904–1907:I:64 #18362, pl. V:18362; PETRIE 1937:9, pl. XXVII:548; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:128 #117.

<sup>892</sup> E.g., VON BISSING 1902:81 #3966; 1904–1907:II:119–122 #18578–18580, 18586, pl. IX:18578, 18580, 18586; PETRIE 1937:11, 12, pls. XXXI:755, XXXII:812; VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1972:60–61 #185–188; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:225–226 #285–286; B.G. ASTON 1994:150 #169; SPARKS 2006:296 fig. 4.a; MMA 1989.281.101. A Dynasty XII prototype with a pair of apes is illustrated by TERRACE 1966:pl. XX:19.

<sup>893</sup> Use of anhydrite seems restricted in date only to within the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period; see TERRACE 1966:57; B.G. ASTON 1994:51–53; FAY 1998:23–27. The ostrich eggshell flask from Abydos was fitted with a separate neck/rim of anhydrite; see n. 712 above. The source



Fig. 21 Hairpin with head carved in the form of a crouching monkey eating a date or fruit, wood, L: 17.8 cm, Egyptian, late Dynasty XVIII (BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:198 #231)

materials such as precious woods, schist and faience also were employed.

Although cosmetic vessels were the most popular vehicle, the monkey also adorned a diverse assortment of objects especially during Dynasty XVIII, including hairpins (Fig. 21),<sup>894</sup> razors,<sup>895</sup> dishes,<sup>896</sup> boxes,<sup>897</sup> musical instruments<sup>898</sup> and small single, dou-

ble and multiple figurines of no practical purpose whatsoever.<sup>899</sup> Materials for these objects were expensive, including acacia and ebony wood, schist and ivory, in addition to cheaper limestone and faience. The monkey additionally appears in scenes painted on the interior of a number of small low faience bowls<sup>900</sup> and on at least one Middle Kingdom fertility figurine ('paddle doll').<sup>901</sup> The poses and activities depicted on these small vessels and objects reflect and complement the more detailed presentation on contemporary tomb walls.

The monkey held erotic connotations in ancient Egypt, especially related to women rather than men.<sup>902</sup> Notably, the objects it decorates almost all relate to toiletry and personal adornment, chiefly but not exclusively for women, and probably were associated with the use of the monkey hieroglyph in cryptographic writings of *nfr* ('good,' 'beautiful').<sup>903</sup> The little vessels contained perfumes and unguents, kohl and other eye paints. The little figurines must have been for personal amusement, as toys or ornaments, possibly to be given as gifts. Their presence in tomb illustrations depicting man and wife at banquet is thought to be representative of marital fidelity and harmony in the Afterlife.<sup>904</sup>

Although specific characteristics of baboons – especially non-*hamadryas* baboons – and monkeys can and often do appear together on the same animal as illustrated, the Egyptians maintained a conscious distinction between the sacred and secular associations of the *Cynocephalus* and *Cercopithecus* types. The *cynocephalus* baboon seems to have been regarded in the role of monkey rather than 'sacred' baboon, and its modern classification as a baboon type differs from the Egyptian point of view. It may be that the later name *kyw* refers to the *cynocephalus* type, while *i'n* was used for the sacred or *hamadryas/anubis* type.<sup>905</sup>

of the stone is unknown, but presumably it must have been accessible to the Theban rulers of Dynasty XVII since most of the artefacts with known provenance are recovered in that region, some dated to this dynasty.

<sup>894</sup> E.g., VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1972:148–149 #633–635; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:198 #231.

<sup>895</sup> E.g., BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:192–193 #224.

<sup>896</sup> E.g., MÜLLER 1964:84–85 #A121. See also BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:212 #253.

<sup>897</sup> TBM 61.19.

<sup>898</sup> MANNICHE 1975:18.

<sup>899</sup> E.g., MÜLLER 1964:77–78 #A112; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:275–276 #379–380, 280–281 #385–386. The latter also discusses further figurines in other activities. See also MMA 08.200.33, .35, 15.3.186; TBM 16.68, .81–82, 34.1183. TBM

55.176 has movable arms, a feature paralleled in another unpublished example from Tutankhamun's tomb. Some 23 have been found from the site of El-Amarna.

<sup>900</sup> E.g., VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1966:figs. 48, 49:2, 52:1–2. See also BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:144 #143.

<sup>901</sup> BRUNNER-TRAUT and BRUNNER 1981:I:196 #1733; II:pl. 17, 38:1733. See also BOURRIAU 1988:126–127 #121.

<sup>902</sup> MANNICHE 1987:43–44; see also BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:145.

<sup>903</sup> E.g., with the cryptographic monkeys and tree combinations on scarab face designs mentioned in n. 886, above. For the normal writing, see GARDINER 1957:465 (F 35). On other designs, the ape grasps a *nfr* sign (F 35), e.g., MARTIN forthcoming:ms. 57 #108.

<sup>904</sup> See also BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:173–174 #196.

<sup>905</sup> See n. 852, above.

The similarity of pose between the baboon worshipping and the monkey eating food adds to the confusion only in present day perspective. The distinction was clear to the ancient Egyptians.

#### ON CRETE

The ape is not, and never has been, native to Crete nor elsewhere in the Aegean. The ape image is a wholly imported phenomenon, in the Aegean limited almost exclusively to Crete.<sup>906</sup>

#### *Pre-Palatial (and Pre/Proto-Palatial)*<sup>907</sup>

The earliest datable image of the crouching ape on Crete is a seal with incised face design depicting two apes back-to-back, found in an EM IIA(-IIB?) tomb at Mochlos {402}. The images are crude but immediately recognisable. It also is the only two-dimensional image clearly of Pre-Palatial date. Both apes have flexed elbows and hands in front of their face. Their short tails, enlarged chests and 'humpback' appearance suggest the baboon was intended, but the image clearly is not Egyptian in either style or arrangement.

In contrast to the two-dimensional image, the three-dimensional ape makes an abundant appearance in Pre-Palatial Crete, especially as seal shapes. These come from Aghia Triadha {30} and Platanos {469} in the Messara, and from Archanes {54}; Trapeza {509}; and without context at Malia {386?} and on Crete {563; 565; 567-569}. The majority of their contexts range between EM III and MM IB and even later, but the date range of only two can be limited within this period, at Archanes Burial Building 9 {54} to MM IA (-B?) by its limited context, and Aghia Triadha {30} to MM IA by its 'white piece'-type material. All appear in essentially the same pose, squatting with bottom on the shield-shaped base, with the arms held between the legs and forepaws on the ground between the feet.<sup>908</sup> In general, all have a long muzzle and thick chunky bodies, and are virtually hunchback in appearance. Tails, on the few occasions this is indicated, are short and wrap around the

base of the figure. Although not slavishly 'imitative,' the figures clearly are derived from the baboon, the *hamadryas* in particular (e.g., Fig. 20). Several seals are so similar that they may even be from the same workshop group and perhaps were produced at the same time. This core group, all quite large and made of hippopotamus ivory, includes {54; 469; 563; 567-569}. Only two were recovered in context, at Archanes and Platanos. Whilst the Platanos context dating is, as usual, quite open, the Archanes context is quite limited (as already noted), suggesting that the entire group should be dated within its period of use, most likely earlier rather than later. Related to this group are three others, from Aghia Triadha {30}, Malia {386} and Crete {565}. These may be somewhat later in date or made elsewhere, but all are characterised by a smaller scale and less unified presentation. The first apparently is seated on a stool or chair (and dates to MM IA by its material), and the second is produced of steatite; the third is difficult to judge. The hunchback and lack of neck indicate all are intended to represent the *hamadryas* baboon.

Only one other ape figure is seated in a similar pose to {30}, the seal from Trapeza {509} where it balances on its tail like a three-legged chair. It is so vastly different from all others that one might be tempted to consider it either an import or of much later date; it is neither. It is seated rather than squatting, with arms straight and forepaws resting on the knees rather than the base, the only early ape image to do so. Its face design fits within the Minoan repertoire, but also is found in other cultures, and the seal shape itself is unique. Nonetheless, the thin body and torso, small muzzle and long tail indicate the *Cercoptes* monkey is depicted. It is the earliest datable example of the type on Crete for, by its context, it should date no later than MM I. The 'ball' form on which it sits is another strong indication of Minoan origin, looking back to the 'bottle-shaped' form of {402} and its head profile is paralleled in the schematic pendant also found at Trapeza {511}.

<sup>906</sup> Reference is made below to the few other BA Aegean ape images.

<sup>907</sup> See Distribution Map 28.

<sup>908</sup> A surprising number of similar figurines, identified as 'bears' and having a characteristically blunted muzzle and squatting pose, have been recovered in 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC Syrian and Mesopotamian sites, especially at Tell Brak and Susa; see PITTMAN 2002; WEISS 1985:119 #44. Their pose is virtually identical to the Minoan seal figures except that the forepaws characteristically rest on the knees

rather than between the feet, and their small rounded ears are incompatible. Most also kneel rather than squat, but see PITTMAN 2002:288 fig. 2 for an exception recovered in 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC Tell Brak. The only Pre-Palatial Minoan figure with forepaws on knees is the unique example from Trapeza {509}. Early Egyptian baboon figures, on the other hand, characteristically have their arms held between the legs and their forepaws on the ground between the feet (see Fig. 20). Thus the Minoan figure is derived from an Egyptian, not Mesopotamian, type.

Pendants (so identified as they have a string-hole but no face design) in apparent ape form also have been found at Aghia Triadha {29} and Platanos {474}. In contrast to the seals, their elbows are flexed and the lower arms held upright. The exact position of the paws is uncertain but they are generally in front of the face. Neither has a tail indicated. A third pendant {55}, in bone and from the same Archanes Burial Building (9) as the seal discussed above, is quite different and (as published) still not clearly an ape figure, but the limbs seem in a similar position to those of the seals.

The back-to-back pair of apparent apes also appear on a large bone finial or pendant from Platanos {345}, that may have been intended as a seal originally; the poor quality boar's tusk of which it was made may have necessitated its shallow exterior carving, hollow interior and consequent lack of face design. Although both figures squat in the usual pose, their entire appearance is different and resembles the monkey rather than the baboon, especially the heads. This may be due to the original shape of the tusk. Additionally, a number of highly schematic pendants suggest the form of a back-to-back pair of apes, but indicate only their heads. These are from Archanes {57}, Marathokephalo {395} and Platanos {475}, and a possible seal from Trapeza {511}. The head profiles of {57}, {395} and {511} suggest monkeys (*if* the ape form is represented here), although the blunt muzzle of {475} would suggest rather the baboon. These in fact probably do not represent apes, but may be the indigenous representations that encouraged the ape figure to be adopted on Crete.

The ape figures have distinct characteristics. While most have large ears, others are small or barely indicated. Pendant {29} gives the impression of having a thick mane, long snout and no indication of a neck, strongly suggesting a direct imitation of the *hamadryas*. The vast majority of these seals and pen-

dants (amulets?) lack any indication of a tail.<sup>909</sup> Evans commented on this phenomenon<sup>910</sup> and speculated they may represent the “Barbary ape” variety, which is tailless. But, as it is limited to the extreme north-west Africa and unknown in Egypt,<sup>911</sup> it is likely that the artisans simply neglected to depict the tail in their schematic renderings of the figure, possibly as they had never seen a live specimen.<sup>912</sup> The majority of seals and pendants are from the Mesara, but others come from Trapeza, Malia and Mochlos in the north-east. All known contexts are communal tombs, chiefly tholoi but also from a house tomb (Mochlos) and possible cave burial (Trapeza).

The earliest and only imported ape image from Crete is the figure behind the hippopotamus deity on the early Middle Kingdom scarab from Platanos {476}.<sup>913</sup> The figure is highly schematic, and more or less recognisable only by its squatting pose, due the lack of arms and lost(?) tail. It is a filler image, and bears no relation to any Minoan depiction in this or later periods except for its pose. The enlarged blunt muzzle identifies it as a *Cynocephalus* baboon rather than the *Cercopithecus* monkey.

#### *Proto-Palatial (and Proto/Neo-Palatial)*<sup>914</sup>

Notably and in complete contrast to the Pre-Palatial period, *pairs* of apes are no longer found; all are single images.<sup>915</sup>

Three-dimensional ape representations have been discussed above, and it is possible that some of them may date to the Proto-Palatial period rather than earlier, but nonetheless the ape undergoes several metamorphoses. No clearly datable Minoan three-dimensional ape image can be cited from this or subsequent periods, with two exceptions. The first is a rock crystal pendant {240} recovered in a Classical-Roman period pit at Knossos and dated to Proto-Palatial on the basis of both style and material. Its hands are held over both ears and its ‘hunchback’ appearance

<sup>909</sup> The back-to-back apparent apes on ‘pendant’ {459} also apparently lack a tail, whilst the back-to-back ‘heads only’ pendants would not have a tail depicted in any case. The only ape figure to indicate the tail seems to be {30} from Aghia Triadha, where it wraps around the bottom left of the figure. The Mochlos apes {402} also have tails.

<sup>910</sup> See EVANS *PM* I:119, 120, 683; II.2:763–764.

<sup>911</sup> *Macaca sylvana*; see HALTENORTH and DILLER 1980:267–268, pl. 51. The tailless ape also appears on the earrings from Aegina {578–581} but here the figures otherwise conform to the monkey type.

<sup>912</sup> No physical evidence for importation has been recovered on Bronze Age Crete itself, but a single fossilised ape head was

found on Thera in 1866. It was identified as a gibbon, probably of the family *Colobinae*; see GALANOPOULOS and BACON 1969:153–154, who infer its contemporaneity to immediately pre-eruption Thera. Both identifications are open to serious doubt. This species is unattested in Thera representations of the ape, of which there are a surprising number; see below.

<sup>913</sup> It is possible that pendant {562} is of this date, as it might be contemporary with Dynasty XII.

<sup>914</sup> See Distribution Map 29.

<sup>915</sup> Excluding apes interacting with other figures and those pairs of apes in a ‘guardian’ or protective role, found later; see discussion below.



and lack of defined neck suggest derivation from the baboon type, although the almost humanoid face certainly is not cynocephalic. It too is tailless.

The second is a clay ape figurine from Kommos {344}, again found in a much later 'pit' context, an Archaic well. Identified as an ape only by the small piece of clay attached at its back as a tail, it strongly resembles more-or-less contemporary figurines from Phaestos of crouching women, but a number of major differences are apparent.<sup>916</sup> It has little to do with other ape images on Crete, although it most certainly is local work, and may have been the artist's invention.

Additionally, two imports may possibly be dated to this period, although both are without context. The first is a green steatite(?) figure {439} from an illegal tomb excavation at Palaikastro, that more likely is of Dynasty XVIII date. The amethyst pendant purchased on Crete {562} is an import, either from Egypt or – much more probably – the Levant. Indications of a mane and the short upright tail strongly suggest a baboon model, but the hand and body position and almost snub nose and humanoid face are as strongly based on the monkey. It is difficult to date but should be contemporary either with the New Kingdom or perhaps Dynasty XII due to its material.

There are, however, a comparatively large number of two-dimensional figures shown on seal faces. The Proto-Palatial apes on two Malia seals {387; 391} and a third on a Phaestos sealing {447} clearly have elbows flexed and paws in front of the face, an image probably also to be restored on another fragmentary example {450} found with it. The preserved Phaestos sealing clearly derives from the monkey type, but notably the muzzle is excessively elongated and the arm position, flexed and raised in front of the face, suggests worship rather than food consumption. Perhaps the *cynocephalus* was the original model. Both Malia seals {387; 391} also depict Linear A hieroglyphic signs, indicating a date no earlier than very late MM IA and the former likely MM II due to its chalcedony material. The figures are more clearly 'minoanised,' one employing the combination of drilled circles and incised lines characteristic of the period and the other embellished with long curling hair.<sup>917</sup> Both Phaestos examples {447; 450} have foliage as filler, and their find circumstance in the

palatial sealing deposit would indicate the original seal was employed in a habitation rather than funerary or religious context. Mention might also be made of a possible ape head as vessel protome at Malia {371}, highly schematic and not certainly an ape. It was found in an LM context, but itself was dated to MM.

The representation of two apes standing face-to-face with arms held forward and *down* {564} is a precursor to two later examples flanking a religious symbol, apes and antithetical guardian figures such as those from Aghia Triadha {10} and Phaestos {456} of Neo-Palatial date, but here have no attributes. Dated to MM II–III, seal {564} may actually be Neo-Palatial. The outline of both figures is strongly related to the MM II Phaestos sealing figures {447; 450} discussed above, especially the heads, but poses alternative to squatting otherwise are not encountered prior to Neo-Palatial. Two apes face-to-face are known in Egyptian iconography, chiefly as seal face designs,<sup>918</sup> but no specific parallels are forthcoming either for several details or the presentation as a whole.<sup>919</sup> Likewise, the lentoid seal impression having two tailless apes in a 'rocky landscape' {160} is unique, but seems to be a precursor to the more complex Neo-Palatial designs whilst the ape images themselves are best paralleled by their cousin at Phaestos {447}, if not actually a Neo-Palatial image.

Squatting ape figures, antithetically back-to-back, also appear on two pair of hoops in the 'Treasure' found on the island of Aegina {578–581}, almost certainly of Minoan manufacture perhaps as early as MM IB but more likely MM II or even MM III. These hoops are a unique group, and the apes are tailless. They clearly are derived from the monkey type not found back-to-back in Egyptian jewellery, despite the lack of tail; clearly, the image was adapted from other media, and these may be the last of the tailless figures. The strongly egyptianising and orientalisising features of the large pendant {577} found with them suggests possible direct copying by the jeweller of details but not the entirety of original imported objects.

The animal depicted two-dimensionally is descended from the thinner Mochlos seal face {402} and Trapeza seal {509}, rather than the chunky seal and pendant forms mostly from the Mesara tombs.

<sup>916</sup> {451–452}. It much more closely resembles the latter, but as that is a vessel(?) protome, the other is a hollow figurine and the ape is a solid figurine, there are fundamental differences in their functions. See also Chapter 17.

<sup>917</sup> Seen also on other figures on Minoan seals, e.g., the sphinx image from Siteia (XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:20–21 #111, pl. IV:111, XX:111).

<sup>918</sup> E.g., PETRIE 1925b:pl. II:96, XIII:841.

<sup>919</sup> They also resemble the Egyptian standing *Cercopithecus* amulets of later date, but this can only be coincidental and unrelated.

The neck now is indicated, the body is thin and lean, the tail longer – in short, more cercopithecic in appearance. The difference in paw position between two- and three-dimensional images can easily be related to their presentation: ‘loose’ arms and paws on the latter would be liable to breakage, and therefore seals and pendants had the arms firmly attached to the body. The one Pre-Palatial attempt to separate paws and body {29} has broken off, and the one Proto-Palatial three-dimensional image {240} has both paws to ears rather than to the face.<sup>920</sup> Two-dimensional images had no such problem. The difference in type of ape depicted – two-dimensional images more closely related to the monkey and three-dimensional images to the baboon – might also be explained by a fear of breakage at the neck of the latter, but also may be a chronological development due to a better knowledge of the living monkey.

#### *Neo-Palatial*<sup>921</sup>

The two-dimensional ape image is most abundant in Neo-Palatial, most dated or datable to LM I (chiefly LM IB).<sup>922</sup> By this period, the ape’s appearance is standardised with a long thin body, limbs and tail chiefly derived from the monkey type but with a cynocephalic (specifically *cynocephalus*) head. The single squatting figure is found on seal impressions from Aghia Triadha {11} and Khania {126}, with paws in front of face, tail raised behind and foliage as filler, a direct continuation from the MM II Phaestos figures {447; 450}, seen also on lentoid {561} as a similarly posed but highly schematic ape together with some foliage. The ‘humped’ but not quite conoid reverse of this last seal, together with the cutting style, suggests a probably very late LM I or II dating. Conoids are not found prior to LM IIIA1, but the ‘humped’ back is quite uncommon in LM I.<sup>923</sup> Another seal impression {566}, without provenance, depicts the same solitary figure with arms and tail raised,

but now seated on a sloping ground line that provides some depth to the image.

New images and positions are introduced in this period. Apes, for the first time, are depicted interacting with other figures or objects.<sup>924</sup> They also are depicted in a guardian or protective role, flanking both an incurved altar and (sacred) vessel.<sup>925</sup> They appear (apparently) both as the object of human worship and worshipper of male and female deities, or at least are positioned as acolyte face-to-face with a human figure suggestively a deity. Elsewhere, they also appear to present a vessel of indeterminate form to a possible female deity.

Two apes squat antithetically face-to-face on seal impression {127.B} and on another they stand with forepaws resting on an incurved altar {10}.<sup>926</sup> The latter is a typically Aegean configuration of guardians flanking a central object, and is foreshadowed by the standing pair {564} of MM II–III date. The squatting ape also is found on two seal impressions together with other figures, a woman {111} and a fragmentary androgynous human figure and an unidentified animal {142}. In the former, the ape is larger than the woman and in the latter it is seated on a ‘campstool’ whilst the human figure stands, each suggesting that the ape is not the worshipper but rather the object of worship by the human adorant. All images are from non-religious contexts.

Additionally, seals without context or provenance are stylistically dated to Neo-Palatial, almost all to LM I. The squatting ape apparently is worshipping a male deity(?) on an amygdaloid from Prassa {495}, and a female deity(?) on lentoid {527}; on the latter, it appears to be offering her a type of vessel, presumably sacred in nature.<sup>927</sup> Two antithetical apes flank and guard a *kantharos*, their bodies facing each other but their heads *regardant*, on a lentoid from Phaestos {456}, similar to Aghia Triadha seal impression {10}. Although different from other figures, they still are

<sup>920</sup> The second example in each period {474; 344} are both irrelevant to the discussion. One is designed in a flattened rectangular format, the other is of clay, and neither are suited to having raised arms.

<sup>921</sup> See Distribution Map 30.

<sup>922</sup> Only one seal image can be dated earlier by its context, {111} to LM IA or perhaps early LM IB.

<sup>923</sup> Only seal {509} is different, in that the front paws rest on the knees. Its open-work shape too is unique, but still there are no projecting limbs.

<sup>924</sup> In the few earlier examples of double images, e.g., Mochlos seal face {402} and Platanos pendants {459; 475}, each ape is a separate entity which does not interact with its mirror image.

<sup>925</sup> Both incurved altar and vessel are known religious insignia. See GESELL 1985:163, *passim*; STÜRMER 1985; M.C. SHAW 1986.

<sup>926</sup> Apes are not the only animals to serve this function: a pair of ‘hounds’ in a similar pose flank an incurved altar, BOARDMAN 1970:fig. 122. The most famous image decorates the Lion Gate at Mycenae, showing a pair of incurved altars supporting a central column ‘guarded’ by ‘lions;’ see M.C. SHAW 1986.

<sup>927</sup> The very worn condition of the lentoid precludes positive identification of any single detail of the scene.

recognisable as apes, most resembling monkeys. A Khaniote roundel also inscribed with Linear A signs depicts three rather chubby apes {128} on a seal impression. Here, they are grouped in a circular arrangement, but two are face-to-face whilst the third fits in the intervening space below and *tête-bêche* to one of the pair.

An imported cylinder seal found at Poros {488} also depicts an extremely elongated crouching ape together with two human figures, worshipping a male deity. It is neither Minoan nor Egyptian, but its Syrian origin serves to illustrate the presence of similar adoptions and adaptations by other cultures in a period of intense international contact.<sup>928</sup> Note that here too the ape is positioned between the divinity and his human worshippers. This also is reflected later, with female rather than male figures, on the LM II–III A1 gold ring from Kalyvia {84}.

The new role of intercessor is best illustrated and most comprehensively explained by a contemporary wall painting from Akrotiri on Thera, where an ape (clearly a monkey) stands as intermediary between a seated goddess on a stepped dais and more earthbound women; they gather crocuses while the ape presents or offers the resulting strands of saffron to the goddess.<sup>929</sup> Three ground levels are indicated here – the women stand on the lowermost level, the goddess the highest and the ape steps from the lowest to mid-level, immediately above an incurved altar, as he reaches to offer the gift.<sup>930</sup> N. Marinatos has interpreted this scene as the ape receiving divine honours from humans, in keeping with its role as intermediary between humans and the divinity and therefore itself the object of veneration as well as worshipper. If this is true then the earlier and contemporary depictions of the ape could also be taken as representative intermediaries to a divinity, possibly themselves semi-divine, and both the

incurved altar and kantharos perhaps understood as symbols or attributes of one or more divinities.

The ‘monkey in the shrine’ fragments, also from Akrotiri, might be the remnant of a related type of composition with the monkeys as intermediaries;<sup>931</sup> at the very least it again emphasises the relationship of the animal in its well-known pose and decidedly Minoan cultic associations. Its religious connotations are undoubted. Also at this time the ape is depicted, on Crete at Knossos only, on wall paintings in the palace {161} and a nearby house {180} in more relaxed and natural poses. The only sphragistic scene with apes in a landscape {160} should also be of Neo-Palatial date, although both apes there are squatting. The garden and landscape settings, and poses and activities of the apes recall but do not imitate Egyptian tomb scenes.<sup>932</sup> One fresco {161} is dated MM IIIA, and the other {180} might be as early as MM IIIB, indicating an early choice of figurative subject matter for wall decoration.<sup>933</sup> The little remaining of the ‘Saffron Gatherer’ {161} precludes meaningful discussion, but the waist and armbands would indicate a tamed pet similar to the restrained pets of Egyptian scenes. The ‘House of Frescoes’ monkeys {180} are clearly intended to be the *Cercopithecus* type, especially the facial colouring and markings, but the profile and short tail are more reminiscent of the baboon. The blue body colour (including the hands and feet) and red ears are unrealistic and common to other scenes in the Aegean, specifically Akrotiri, but are unknown in Egypt.<sup>934</sup> The Akrotiri frescoes have a different – more clearly *Cercopithecus*-type – body shape than the ‘House of Frescoes’ apes {180} but recall the ‘Saffron Gatherer’ {161}. Clearly, by Neo-Palatial if not earlier, the actual animal was known to – and observed by – the artists of the frescoes, who nonetheless chose to embellish their illustrations with additional and unrealistic fea-

<sup>928</sup> The presence of these similar images adopted and adapted elsewhere lies outside the boundaries of the present work, and indeed could be the focus of several dissertations.

<sup>929</sup> N. MARINATOS 1987a:124–130, figs. 1–3; DOUMAS 1992:158–159.

<sup>930</sup> Taking this idea a step further, the griffin posed behind the goddess transcends the middle and highest level, suggesting its slightly higher position in the hierarchy than the ape.

<sup>931</sup> SP. MARINATOS 1968–1976:II:53–54, fig. 43; N. MARINATOS 1987a: fig. 4:5; 1987b; DOUMAS 1992:186. The presence of a tail at the extreme right and forearms at the extreme left of the fragment indicates the presence of at least two more monkeys. They too clearly are *Cercopithecus*. See MORGAN 2005:pl. 4.2.b

<sup>932</sup> See VANDIER D’ABBADIE 1964; 1965; 1966. A considerable

number of similar scenes have been found at Akrotiri on Thera, including apes playing an Aegean-type lyre and with swords and scabbards, and generally cavorting in a garden landscape. See SP. MARINATOS 1967–1976:II:fig. 43, pl. B.1; III:pl. 61, 62:1; V:pl. D; MORGAN 2005:37 fig. 1.23.

<sup>933</sup> The ‘Saffron Gatherer’ fresco {161} is considered one of, if not the, earliest surviving Minoan pictorial wall frescoes; see Hood 1978:48, although others ascribe an LM II date to it (with good arguments; see catalogue entry).

<sup>934</sup> Ellen Davis notes (personal communication, 07 February 1991) that the Minoans did not possess knowledge of producing green in fresco painting, and thus resorted to the available colour most resembling it, blue. The occasional attempt to produce green in frescoes employing different techniques (e.g., HOOD 1978:fig. 56:A) generally were

tures, perhaps for cultic or traditional reasons. In both frescoes, although not in the ‘House of Frescoes’ scenes {180}, the ape is strongly associated with crocuses and saffron. This too is an attribute introduced into Minoan iconography, possibly not until this period. The flora seen on the Proto-Palatial seal images is not identifiable, but could have been intended to represent the stigmas from which the saffron is collected. Saffron does not grow in Egypt, although it could have been imported – possibly from Crete<sup>935</sup> – and apes are not associated with it there.

Only one or two three-dimensional figures are known, and both must be imported. The asymmetrical arm position of the amethyst figure {562}, with one paw on knee and the other to its mouth, is paralleled on Crete only in one of the two pendants from Isopata {245}, interred in Final Palatial but probably imported in the Neo-Palatial period.<sup>936</sup> The imported figurine without context from Palaikastro {439} may have been a figurine, a pendant, or possibly the crown of a thin (missing) rod or stick of some kind;<sup>937</sup> it appears to be eating something. Clearly it represents a monkey, but the tail is a mere stub.<sup>938</sup> The amethyst figure {562} may also be of this date, but more likely is contemporary with the Proto-Palatial period.

The imported and probably unfinished small zoomorphic pot in the form of a squatting ape from a wide-ranging (Neo-Palatial-Final Palatial) context at Aghia Triadha {19} probably also belongs to this period. Its technological similarity to the amethyst pendant {562} suggests at least a common origin for both. Its wide-ranging possible date of manufacture (LB I–II; less likely Dynasty XII–XVIII) is no help but the most likely date of importation is Neo-Palatial, as the vast majority of imported stone vessels arrived at this time.<sup>939</sup>

#### *Final Palatial*<sup>940</sup>

Two imported ape figures have been found in Final Palatial Crete, both from Isopata {245; 256}, of the

same material and possibly from the same necklace although quite different in appearance from each other. They clearly are not a pair, as they differ in pose, arm and tail position, base and even string-holes. While a contemporary dating is possible, one at least {245} is surprisingly similar to the amethyst pendant of earlier date {562}, and may also be from the Levant rather than Egypt. Both Knossian apes {245; 256} might be later successors to it, but still possibly of Neo-Palatial date rather than contemporary with their Final Palatial interment. They may not originally have been necklace beads and, if Evans’s reconstruction on a necklace is correct, must be considered in the same vein as the imported scarabs and cornflower beads re-strung into Minoan arrangements in Neo-Palatial and later.<sup>941</sup>

A worn ring from an LM IIIA1 tomb at Kalyvia {84} depicts an ape in the standard pose with paws in front of its face, worshipping a female deity(?) together with a second woman. Its worn condition and basic style suggests it may have been an heirloom at interment, but its best technological parallels seem to be LM II–III A1 in date. The composition most closely resembles the Akrotiri fresco showing an ape as intermediary between female deity and human worshipper.

The use of the ape image effectively seems to have ceased with the destruction of the palaces at the end of Neo-Palatial. It seems that the religious incentive for depicting the ape effectively ended with the LM IB destructions, and these few objects (and {435}, discussed below) may be considered the last tangible representatives of the cult involved.

#### *End Palatial*<sup>942</sup>

Only one ape image is datable to the End Palatial period on Crete, a highly schematic figure on a lentoid from Palaikastro {435} also depicting two ‘genii.’ Its composition as a whole is reminiscent of the ape as a semi-divine figure able to act as interme-

unsuccessful. She also notes that Aegean painted apes, unlike their Egyptian counterparts, are not shown with black hands and feet but rather are painted uniform with the majority of body colour.

<sup>935</sup> See FORSYTH 2000:159–163, with further references. A woman picks crocuses on the fresco fragment at Aghia Triadha A.1.1.

<sup>936</sup> Pendant {245} has its one paw to its ear, not its mouth.

<sup>937</sup> Compare with HOOD 1978:fig. 198:B–C; MINISTRY 1988:78–80 #9–10 (as a ‘crown’).

<sup>938</sup> A similar but cruder example in yellow steatite said to be

“probably from Crete” is not included in the present catalogue; see BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS 1973:98 #1184, 362 #1184. They have dated it incorrectly to EM II. It is not a Minoan product and need not necessarily have come from the island.

<sup>939</sup> See Chapter 4.

<sup>940</sup> See Distribution Map 31. Note that End Palatial finds also are indicated on this map.

<sup>941</sup> See Chapter 7 Appendix and Chapter 8.

<sup>942</sup> See Distribution Map 31. Note that Final Palatial finds also are indicated on this map.

diary between humans and deities, as in the Kalyvia ring {84} and imported Poros cylinder seal {488}, as well as the Theran fresco discussed above but the artisan has no real idea what he is depicting.

#### *Post-Palatial*

No examples can be cited.

#### COMMENTARY

The squatting ape figure in Minoan art consistently has been identified as the *Cynocephalus* in the majority of literature, stemming from Evans's early identification.<sup>943</sup> He made an exception for the wall fresco apes at Knossos {180}, identifying these as a variety of *Cercopithecus* by their white forehead band. Recently, N. Marinatos has stated that (all) Minoan apes actually are *Cercopithecus*.<sup>944</sup> Neither extreme is entirely correct, for certain examples are more obviously derived from the baboon and others – in fact the majority – from the monkey while almost always retaining some characteristics of the baboon, in particular the *cynocephalus*. The early, chiefly Pre-Palatial, three-dimensional figures appear to be derived from the baboon, but the variant details suggest no direct model although most clearly derive from a similar image. Although most common in the FIP, two-dimensional Egyptian images of the squatting ape are different in appearance than Minoan three-dimensional seals, and it could only be suggested that the three-dimensional Egyptian baboon figurine (best known from the Early Dynastic period but made throughout the Dynastic period) was the original source for Minoan ape seals. Nonetheless the differences are manifest, notably the long pointed chin and ears and common lack of tail of the latter. The lack of parallel illustrations of back-to-back ape figures in Egypt also suggests a local Minoan innovation.

The presence of the Mochlos seal {402} in an EM II(A?) tomb context makes this one of the, if not the, earliest examples of a 'minoanised' Egyptian image to be found on the island. All other relevant finds in EM II contexts (and few of these can be

cited) are artefacts rather than images: stone vessels (almost all from Knossos), faience vessels from Maronia {396} and Mochlos {404}, and possibly an ostrich eggshell from Palaikastro {425}. The early ape image differs from human representations in three main features identifiable in the crudest illustrations: the tail, the pointed ear, and the depiction of only one arm rather than two, indicating the entire body was depicted in profile.<sup>945</sup> These are sufficient to suggest that this ape figure was not a 'variation' of the human figural representation but a new image that clearly derived from Egyptian convention. And this image continued to develop in its own right, distinct from human and other figural representations.

The figure follows a progressive but not abrupt development from presenting baboon through to monkey characteristics, specifically from the Pre-Palatial to Proto-Palatial period.<sup>946</sup> Transference to the monkey image seems to have occurred during the late Pre-Palatial and/or early Proto-Palatial, concurrent with construction of the first palaces. This, it might be suggested, was the result of possible observation of the animal itself or, more likely, source representations, although the lack of contemporary imported finds is problematic. Nonetheless, Proto-Palatial Minoan figures are limited only to palatial sites, and early recognisably monkey-like representations are two-dimensional figures in contrast to the three-dimensional baboon-like forms. It is even possible that live animals were imported as pets in the Proto-Palatial period although, if so, they were unlikely to have been seen beyond the palaces.

One might perhaps postulate the importation of one or more Egyptian scarabs including one or more apes on their face designs, except that the supposed Minoan 'imitations' at MM IIA Phaestos {447; 450} are in fact far more naturalistic in presentation than any contemporary (late Middle Kingdom) Egyptian 'originals' that are extremely rare even in Egypt at that time.<sup>947</sup> Therefore it can only be supposed that the artisan involved actually had observed or had

<sup>943</sup> See EVANS *PM* I:119, 120, 683; II.2:763–764.

<sup>944</sup> N. MARINATOS 1987a:125 n. 8.

<sup>945</sup> Compare with the human figure on a seal also found at Mochlos (*CMS* II.1:#477.a) in EM II–III tomb XVIII (SEAGER 1912:69–70; SOLES 1992:105–106. This depiction exemplifies the "conventional pose" for human figures, with lower body in profile and upper body shown frontally from this time on in Aegean glyptic, as noted by YULE 1981:119.

<sup>946</sup> Evans's identification of certain ape-shaped seals lacking a tail as representing the "Barbary ape" is untenable, if only due to its present and previous limited distribution, unless one would wish to postulate – rashly and entirely without evidence – Early Minoan contact with the north-west coast of Africa.

<sup>947</sup> They were even more rare in Syro-Palestine, if their total absence in TUFNELL 1984 is any indication.

been given a detailed description of a real ape (probably a *cynocephalus*) and recorded it with some degree of accuracy. The inclusion of foliage as filler is a Minoan feature, not found in Egyptian seal designs. The earlier figures from Malia {387; 391} are less detailed, more stylised and (despite their undoubted Minoan manufacture) visually closer to Egyptian designs.

Employing the benefit of hindsight afforded by Neo-Palatial representations, it is probable that within the Proto-Palatial period, if not earlier, the Minoans must have adopted the ape as a cultic symbol of some sort. Whether or not the original concept was maintained through its Proto-Palatial development and survived intact in Neo-Palatial, or had developed into something entirely different by that time, is not discernable from the remaining evidence. Although no secondary figures are found in the Proto-Palatial – or indeed in many Neo-Palatial – illustrations, the interpretation derived from the later illustrations and described above is strongly suggestive of an intermediary role for the ape. If the Minoans understood the concept of divine zoomorphic manifestation and its representation in Egypt, their interpretation of that role differed considerably from the Egyptian original. The Minoan preference for the monkey over the baboon as symbol suggests visual sources consisted of small objects and possibly vessels that may or may not have been physically imported to Crete, rather than the more ponderous cultic images associated with the baboon. The objects and images that were imported to Bronze Age Crete rarely had cultic importance in Egypt.

The probability of actual importation of the animal increases to virtual certainty with the Knossian frescoes of early Neo-Palatial. The depiction especially of facial details in the frescoes – specifically the white forehead band in {180} – must have had some directly observed source, and were incorporated together with an incorrect mixture of features of different ape types and use of imaginary details such as the red ears on apes other than the

*hamadryas*.<sup>948</sup> The Minoan fresco painters must have been able to observe the animals directly and combined various features of different apes and unrealistic embellishments, probably knowingly, either for artistic or cultic reasons. Although the ape is not represented as interacting with divinities, humans or religious objects until the LM I rings, seals and seal impressions, the possibility that such obviously cultic roles were associated with it in earlier periods is entirely tenable. Such roles undoubtedly were acquired as attributes and functions following introduction of the ape image to Crete, as they are unknown in Egypt. The real ape *per se*, both monkey and baboon, was unimportant to the cultic function of the ape image and may not in fact have been considered divine. The Minoans also illustrated such fantastic creatures as the sphinx and griffin, imported from the Levantine area,<sup>949</sup> in addition to such animals of local origin as the bull, agrimi and horned beetle that also had cultic inference. The ape was regarded as another fantastic creature, presumably having certain specific powers, and as such worthy of its cultic role. The animals and scenes depicted on the Knossos and Akrotiri frescoes must then be considered religious in intent and imbued with cultic meaning, an observation that coincides well with their associated contexts and the general tenor of ‘scenic’ frescoes on both islands.

The ‘sudden’ variety of imagery associated with the squatting ape seen in the LM I rings, seals and seal impressions is evidence of no more than the expanded artistic expression of the Minoan artisan and his subject matter, and is paralleled in the development of the ‘genii.’ The relationship expressed could only be a continuation of interrelationships not previously represented<sup>950</sup> but already known to them. Only in the Neo-Palatial period do illustrated figures commonly interact with each other on seals, frescoes and other forms of two-dimensional art, rather than merely occupying the same field.

It is notable too that, with the exception of the Akrotiri frescoes, Aegean representations of the ape are virtually exclusive to Crete.<sup>951</sup> It clearly is a cultic

<sup>948</sup> Representation of the red ears may have had a similar cultic symbolism as those seen on the priestess in the West House, Room 5 at Akrotiri, as the monkeys in House Beta, Room 6, comparable to {180}, also have red ears; see DOUMAS 1992:56–57 pls. 24–24, 120–124 pls. 85–89. The intermediary monkey in House Xeste 3, Room 3a, also *may* have had red ears, although this area of the fresco is lost; see *Ibid.*:158–159 pl. 122. All the women with which it is

associated, the deity and ‘Crocus Pickers,’ have ears accented in red; see *Ibid.*:152–167 pl. 116–130.

<sup>949</sup> See RHYNE 1970:*passim*.

<sup>950</sup> Or that have not survived.

<sup>951</sup> Some blue-painted plaster fragments were recovered at Phylakopi on Melos near the ‘Pillar Crypt’ area, including one reconstructed as the head of a monkey, but this seems to be the only other instance. See MORGAN 1990:256 fig. 7, 260.

figure limited to the Minoan world, and is not included in Mycenaean cult imagery, both temporally and geographically, hence its near disappearance at the end of Neo-Palatial. The sole exception appears to be a sealing from an LH IIIB2–C1 context in the Pylos palace, with notable similarity to earlier LM I Knoss-

ian images.<sup>952</sup> This dearth is in contrast to the other Minoan cultic image derived from an Egyptian cultic figure, the Minoan ‘genius,’ that seems to have increased in popularity and was accepted wholeheartedly into the Mycenaean cultic repertoire whilst, as the ape, virtually disappearing on Crete itself.

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<sup>952</sup> *CMS* I:#377. Similarities include the general composition (compare with {142}) and the belt around its waist (compare with {142; 161}). The original seal for the Pylos sealing most likely was an LM I heirloom or souvenir brought from Crete in the End Palatial or Post-Palatial period. Nonetheless, a few post-LM IB representations are cited above.

Other indigenous so-called “ape” images are misidentifications. N. MARINATOS 1987a:128 is incorrect in her identification of an ape on the Mycenae ‘Siege’ rhyton; it clearly is a human head. Her identifications, *Ibid.*:125, of an ape on rings *CMS* I *Suppl.*:#114 and 180 also are incorrect. Note also that #114 is not from Phaestos as she claims, nor even identifiably from Crete; the *CMS* states it is without provenance. #180 is a geometric pattern. Gill 1963:9 n. 3a also

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misidentifies an ape on seal NMA 4640; see *CMS* I:#459, clearly not depicting an ape.

Nonetheless, imported ape images on the Mainland are known, especially at Mycenae. The most important are an ‘Egyptian blue’ figurine inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep II (NMA 4573) and an extremely large travertine zoomorphic jar restored by P. Kourachanes (SAKELLARAKIS 1976:178–189, pl. IV:9; NMA 6250/2657), of probable Dynasty VI date but apparently imported much later. Both were found on the Mycenae acropolis, without specific context. Another ‘Egyptian blue’ figurine was recovered at Tiryns; on both these figures, see CLINE 1991b. An ape amulet was found at Seremeti in Aitolia in an LH IIIA tholos tomb (MASTROKOSTAS 1973:207, pl. 173:γ).