Rosetta

Tzovaras, P. (2017); 'A Journey from the Unconscious to the Cosmos: Rethinking the Symbolic Function of the Ship in the Minoan World'

Rosetta 21: 50 - 76

http://www.rosetta.bham.ac.uk/issue21/Tzovaras.pdf

'A Journey from the Unconscious to the Cosmos: Rethinking the Symbolic Function of the Ship in the Minoan World'

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...Everything that is dead quivers. Not only the things of poetry, stars, moon, wood, flowers, but even a white trouser button glittering out of a puddle in the street... Everything has a secret soul, which is silent more often than it speaks....

-Wassily Kandinsky (Selbstbetrachtungen, Dokumente. Berlin: 1913: 89)

1. Introduction

As Wassily Kandinsky succinctly stated, 'everything has a secret soul' which can be identified in every object of our material reality, trying to be externalised through images, artefacts, etc. However, since each artefact is a product of ours, a part of ourselves, this secret soul of things can be perceived as our conscious or unconscious desire to project beliefs and thoughts that they have been repressed because they go beyond the logical rigour and cannot be verbally articulated or as thoughts that are considered immoral because they do not comply with the rules of social decorum. The only link between these thoughts and objects is the ability of symbolisation.

Inevitably, one of the most important products of material culture, the ship, apart from its technical function acquired a symbolic one as well. This has been attested by the abundance of its representations in various forms of art in early prehistory. Turning our attention to the ship in the Minoan world, it could not have been an exception owing to its pivotal role in the establishment of the so-called *Minoan thalassocracy*. The Minoans perceived the ship not only as a medium of their physical world but as a symbol as well, that transcends reality and connects their world with the metaphysical. Hence, the iconography on the Minoan ship bares a religious and funerary context, which can allow us to comprehend their perception of the world.

However, in order to fully understand how and why the ship acquired such an important meaning, it is necessary to examine what makes a symbol, its social implications and the role of the unconscious in symbolisation.¹ Afterwards, a reference will be made to ship's physical and non-physical purposes. Furthermore, the context in which the Minoan ship emerged during the Early Minoan III (EM) - Late Minoan IB (LM) will be defined and various case studies underlining its significance will be examined. Finally, it will be attempted to present more details on the ship's symbolic role through a metaphorical journey to the cosmos and our unconscious world.

2. What is a symbol after all?

2.1. It is a symbol not a sign: defining the symbol and its multivocality

One of the most difficult questions that must be answered is what a symbol is and how it can be defined. Undeniably, many scholars agree that anything we refer to as a symbol can be an object, ² which is a product of material culture and whose original function has been changed by its maker, always considering the social parameters.³ Therefore, albeit different, by being connected with something visible and tangible it acquires a similar function to a sign.⁴ Nevertheless, the role of a sign is to signify a thing of our physical world, by simply replacing it. Thus, its character is purely univocal.⁵ On the other hand, symbols are far more complex and more difficult to interpret. It is believed that although they constitute part of the physical world too, they exceed them by denoting and representing something hidden; a different reality, inaccessible and inexpressible due to the inability to be verbally articulated.⁶ In order to simplify things, we can imagine a symbol as a bridge, mainly constructed by emotions, that connects the physical with the metaphysical. This symbolic bridge (as any bridge), that connects two or more opposites, is not only a wide phenomenon but

¹ At this point, it should be stated that human palaeopsychology is an obsolete interpretive method of research. Although we can spot symbolic practices in it, the determination of meaning and intent in any prehistoric context is extremely complex and difficult.

² Facchini 2000: 542, 544; Jaffe 1964: 232; Kobylinski 1995: 11.

³ Jung 1964: 92; Kobylinski 1995: 10.

⁴ Kobylinski 1995: 9.

⁵ Jung 1964: 20; Ricoeur (1970: 19), distinguishes between univocal and equivocal symbols.

⁶ Kobylinski 1995: 9-10; Elliade 1952:197-199; Jung 1964: 20-21, 64.

can be more specific as well.⁷ Consequently, this means that its form and meaning, can also vary depending on the individual's perception of reality on a personal, as well as a communal level. In other words, a symbol can contain a variety of meanings which is exactly what gives its multivocal character, within its cultural context in which it has emerged.⁸

2.2. Symbolism and its social implications

Implicit in the above is that the formation of a symbol is not just a "one-man show", but a social process profoundly affected by the social norms of a society. Jung, suggests that every symbol emerged into this world as the individual's projection of their psyche and the unconscious world which has been unavoidably affected and adapted or distorted to various social and technological trends.⁹ To put it simply, symbols themselves, as well as their systematic creation, serve the needs of every society to project and transfer ideas and moral values to support its function. Therefore, symbols are a significant tool for the societal elite to gain stability and control.¹⁰ This notion can be underpinned by Bower's theory on the *split-brain* and how the two cerebral hemispheres, ¹¹ which are responsible for different modes of thinking, can dominate one another according to how much 'different cultures differentially reinforce right-and left-hemisphere-dominated cognitive process'.¹² This results in the human thought (and subsequently the ability to form symbols) being culturally determined.

⁷ Diel 1986:142.

⁸ Kobylinski 1995: 12-13; Jung 1964: 92.

⁹Jung 1964: 64; Facchini 2001: 552.

¹⁰ Kobylinski 1995: 10.

¹¹ Bower 1970: 508-510.

¹² Paredes and Hepburn 1976: 126.

3. A psychoanalytic approach of the symbol formation

3.1. Deciphering the unconscious

In order to have a complete view of symbols and their functions, it would be necessary to address this process from a psychoanalytic perspective. We can easily name the study of symbols as examining the psychology of the unconscious based on what Freud stated about the mythological view of the world, according to which 'they are nothing more than psychology projected into the external world'.¹³ As it has been suggested,¹⁴ the symbols are located into the unconscious and they are nothing more than repressed thoughts that used to be in the conscious part.¹⁵ Additionally, Shnier posits that these repressed thoughts in our unconscious is the result of what we individually or communally deem as immoral and illicit;¹⁶ however, they never cease to exist, because they remain in our unconscious in an inertial state and the only way to be conscious again is by taking the form of a symbol.

3.2.a. The "therapeutic" function of symbolisation

One may ask, what exactly stimulates the unconscious to disguise a repressed thought into a symbol so as to find its way into their conscious world. At this point, a parenthesis is necessary in order to reject notions clearly affected by cultural evolutionism, such as psychic unity, and support that symbols are not inherited archetypal images into our unconscious, as suggested by Jung.¹⁷ On the other hand, it has been argued that the ability to create symbols is probably inherited and could possibly answer the question above. Focusing on the question itself, we can suspect that there is a more personal need to create symbols because their hidden meaning may help endure reality simply by denying it. This internal need can be attached to our greater necessity for something that will provide a wider meaning to our lives and help us find a place in the world.¹⁸ An interesting theory proposed by Roheim, and widely

¹³ Freud 1914: 258-259.

¹⁴ Jung 1964: 20.

¹⁵ Schnier 1953: 64.

¹⁶ Schnier 1953

¹⁷ Jung 1964: 68

¹⁸ Jung 1964: 89.

adopted by other scholars, is that when an object acquires a symbolic function and therefore a wider meaning -which comes from the unconscious plain- it may constitute a cultural phenomenon of a defence system.¹⁹ The purpose of this defence system, which can work quite effectively, is to provide us with mechanisms and tools to deal with reality and its emotional burdens.

3.2.b. Symbols and the psychology of ego

Moreover, we can seek further answers in *psychoanalytic ego psychology*. According to Freud, the ego performs rational thinking and employs a mechanism of defence so as to be protected by dangerous thoughts.²⁰ Amongst others, Merkur and Segal identified as parts of this defensive mechanism the process of reaction-formation, repression and projection, which are aspects of symbolisation.²¹ To put it simply, the ego turns the irrational into rational by incorporating it into its organisation in the form of a symbol. In other words, it performs an adaptation to the symbol by making the irrational predictable and stabilising the ego. Pfister believes that because the meaning of symbols is coherent to the unconscious superego, they acquire a therapeutic function.²² Thereby, according to Cox, Eggan and Adams, one can identify themselves in a symbol's wider meaning, use it as a personal fantasy and get an insight about their situation.²³

4. Physical and non-physical functions of an object: The symbolic function of the ship

Relentlessly, all these notions lead to the question of how an object with a technical function, a watercraft, whose main purpose is aquatic mobility, acquired a symbolic value. According to Wedde, it is a common mistake to relate artefacts of our material world only with the achievement of physical goals and, subsequently, only examining the architectural features of a watercraft.²⁴ An artefact can perform several different

¹⁹ Arlow 1981: 313-317; Boyer 1981: 497-501; Roheim 1943: 81-82.

²⁰ Freud 1926: 87-98; Freud 1923:19-77.

²¹ Merkur and Segal 2005: 57.

²² Pfister 1932: 251.

²³ Cox 1948:94; Eggan 1955: 447; Adams, 1990:601

²⁴ Wedde 2000: 173.

functions and, thus, it is able to achieve non-physical goals as well. Artefacts can be classified according to their functions that have been assigned to them by their maker and the context within they both interact; thus, three subclasses of material culture can be discerned: the technical, the social and the ideological, as well as their combination.²⁵ Their social and ideological function can easily include a symbolic one. According to Kobylinski, the distortion of the pragmatics of a vessel that causes this shift in its function can be located within the role of a ship under a religious veil.²⁶ The ability of every artefact to attract and accumulate emotions that can later acquire a religious form, can be observed more often in the case of ships, which lead them to become an almost universal symbol.²⁷ More specifically, actual ships and miniatures have served as burial gifts, where imagery is charged with cultic meaning, or accompanied by other ritual symbols that they can change their meaning.²⁸

5. The ship as a symbol in the Minoan World

5.1. The classification of the symbolic ship in Minoan iconography and its ambiguity

Similarly, the ship in the Minoan world had a very prominent role and served not only as a means of transportation that connects and allows trade or as a manifestation of social status, but also in the perception of the spiritual plain and cosmos too. This offers an explanation on how it obtained a key role in various rites and became a constant trait of the Minoan iconography. According to Wedde, it can be classified as a religious image when it has an explicit relation to religion, as a cultic image when its use is related to the communication with the deities, a ritual image when its involvement is explicit in the act of communication and finally, both a cultic and a ritual image as a medium that transcends the existing reality.²⁹ Again, this multivocality of symbols and the ambiguity of Minoan art in general is more than obvious, ³⁰ so we ought to be very careful when we try to provide an explanation to events of the past

²⁵ Binford 1962: 219; Crilly 2010:321-323.

²⁶ Kobylinski 1995: 11.

²⁷ Schnier 1953: 68.

²⁸ Kobylinski 1995: 11.

²⁹ Wedde 2000: 174.

³⁰ Koehl 2016: 469.

and their different meanings considering the absence of sources;³¹ we should also take into consideration their ideology and mentalité.

5.2. Aspects of religion: demarcating the religious context where the ship's symbolism emerged

There are various examples that underline the ship's importance as a medium which goes beyond the worldly existence, as well as its role in the perception of the world during the EM III to LM IB. Before we examine them in more detail, it is crucial to demarcate some of the basic aspects of the Minoan religious system and its external influences. It is unclear if we can suggest the formation of the Aegean religion per se; however, it is widely accepted that to some extent it shares many similarities with those of the Near East cultures. This is due to the similar agrarian background that they derived from, which drove the attention to supernatural unexplained phenomena, related to fertility, death, etc.; these, are usually controlled by one or many deities that somehow needed to be appeased.³² During the first and second Palatial period, the construction of the palaces, which Nano Marinatos accurately named as the 'backbones of the religious system', gave way to a sacerdotal class whose responsibilities exceeded the religious matters with a surge in the desire to depict ritual activities and epiphanies of a deity through iconography, thus promoting an official ideology.³³ Additionally, it can be inferred that the augmentation of contacts with Egypt, especially of the 18th Dynasty, had an impact on the Minoan religion. This can be noticed on the similarities between the Egyptian solar cult and the Minoan Great goddess who gives life to everything and embodies all the aspects of the world, as well as the emphasis on fertility, regeneration, death and the after-death voyage to the Isles of the Blessed via a watercraft, etc.³⁴

³¹ Henderson 1964: 106.

³² Dickinson 1994: 361.

³³ Marinatos, N. 1993: 242-244.

³⁴ Marinatos, S. 1933: 224-227, 242; Marinatos, N. 2015: 118-119,149; Marinatos, N. 2016: 3; Nilson 1950: 622-633; Vermuele 1979: 42-82.

5.3. The ship combined with other symbols

Having meticulously examined what a symbol is and its various facets, as well as the classification of the ship as a symbol in the Minoan iconography and its context into which it emerged, it is time to delve into the various pictorial examples during the EM III to LM IB periods. The depiction of the ship alone may mean nothing, thus this will, and it should be analysed in correlation with the context within which they emerged, as well as with the various symbols that accompanied them, and which gave them a mystical meaning.

The ship and the floating objects

There are many depictions of ships accompanied by objects that do not stand on the ground but are floating above them. Some of the most characteristic examples are the two gold signet rings, namely, the Kandia (LM I) and the Minos' ring (LM IA) (figure 1; figure 2). Above the ship, there is a floating person with an extended arm. A similar floating person has been spotted on the Isopata (figure 3) and New Poros ring;³⁵ although no ship is present, according to Kyriakidis a similar typology is shared.³⁶ In addition, in his work 'Unidentified Floating Objects on Minoan Seals', Kyriakidis identified other floating objects above ships such as arrows, double axes, wheat, rayed objects, spirals (figure 4a - d), etc. In his study, Nilson suggested that the floating persons represent epiphanies.³⁷ On the other hand, Kyriakidis has given a rather interesting explanation, namely that the imagery represents constellations;³⁸ Nilson's suggestion lacks because he does not explain the similarities in form, stable relative position and direction.

The ship and the tree

A more complex imagery is a ship accompanied by a tree. There are various examples, such as a gold signet ring found in a burial at Mochlos (figure 5), where a

³⁵ Kyriakidis 2005: 139 fig. 2a.

³⁶ Kyriakidis 2005: 145.

³⁷ Nilson 1950: 341-52.

³⁸ Kyriakidis 2005: 146, 150-153.

tree grows on a shrine or a planter (LM IB),³⁹ a seal from Makrygialos (LM I) with a tree at the place where the mast would have been -according to Wedde, next to an *ikrion* or a shrine (figure 6).⁴⁰ Additionally, the *Ring of Minos* with a tree on a similar construction, but not into the ship (figure 2; figure 7), etc.

However, why was the tree so important? Apart from the existence of tree sanctuaries, according to Evans in Minoan iconography the tree marks the presence of the deity,⁴¹ or according to Nilson, the tree represents the embodiment of the goddess.⁴² Furthermore, Nano Marinatos suggests that those devices on the boat were used to transport what was considered the sacred tree and, afterwards, to be placed on a shrine. Hence inferring that the tree within the ship demonstrates the arrival of the goddess alongside a period of regeneration and fertility.⁴³

The ship and the deities

The previous linkage between the tree and ship inevitably leads to the association of the ship with temples, as well as a site of epiphanies and, ensuingly, as a medium that transports the deity.⁴⁴ Therefore, theories such as the indirect presence of the goddess on a ship, via the sacred trees, the pose of figures such as on the Mochlos' ring (figure 5) and the emblems of the solar goddess with which the ships of the Theran miniature frieze (LM IA) are decorated with (figure 8),⁴⁵ signify that the ships are under divine protection, through the presence (?), of the goddess.⁴⁶ Moreover, her direct presence can be suggested when the deity is being transported by a ship, as attested to the *Ring of Minos* (figure 2), the ring from Mochlos (figure 5), on the seal from Agia Triada (figure 9), etc. According to Griffith the notion of the ship as a temple can be consolidated by the fact that the proto-Greek word *naswos* (*vnóç* in ancient Greek, which means temple) has as a verbal reflex of the word *nas-jo*, which means to dwell,

43 Marinatos, N. 1993: 138-144,183.

³⁹ Marinatos, N. 1993: 163.

⁴⁰ Wedde 2000: 185.

⁴¹ Evans 1901: 190.

⁴² Nilson 1950: 262, 264.

⁴⁴ Griffith 2002: 541-542; Marinatos, N. 1993: 164.

⁴⁵ Marinatos, N. 2015: 156; Marinatos, N. 2016: 27.

⁴⁶ Televantou 1994: 254-255, 286.

and its root is similar to the genitive $\nu \eta \delta \varsigma$ (ship), deriving from the proto-Greek *nawos*.⁴⁷ Finally, a similarity with the Egyptian religion can also be observed with many of their deities arriving by boat.

6. Exegesis

6.1. A journey to the cosmos

So far, we can identify three basic features of the ship, one concerning constellations (that gives you the ability to transcend), the ship where the goddess dwells (the ship as a temple) and the ship that transports the goddess (connected with renewal). Here, we can also add its use to a funerary context, implicitly linked with the transcendence of the soul to the Isles of Blessed 'ἐς Ἡλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης' (Hom. Od. 4.563). In this case, some more examples will be implemented. The first, is the depictions of ships connected with the transportation of the soul to the afterlife. This is implied by a Middle Minoan III (MM) seal from Anemospilia (figure 10), found on the wrist of a man.⁴⁸ A figure is depicted that uses polling as a mode of propulsion; this could be associated with the myth of Charon, who carried the souls of the dead.⁴⁹ Of equal significance is the *Ring of Minos* (figure 2), which Wedde compares with some of the scenes of the Book of the Dead, where Horemheb was depicted polling.⁵⁰ Two more examples are the ship on the larnax from Gazi (LM IIIB) (figure 11), which implies death as a journey through the ocean to another existence, and the presentation scene from the sarcophagus of Agia Triada (LM IIIA) (figure 12), where a boat (most likely a funerary bargue) is offered to the deceased.⁵¹ Finally, the boats on the so-called frying pans (Early Cycladic II) (figure 13) which were found at Chalandriani cemetery on Syros need to be examined as well.⁵² The context of their location possibly allows us to link them with a funerary ritual. Nevertheless, the most important trait of these ships is that they are accompanied by another symbol, the spirals. Although sometimes in

⁴⁷ Griffith 2002: 544.

⁴⁸ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakelaraki 1981: 204-205.

⁴⁹ Wedde 2000: 187.

⁵⁰ Wedde 1997, 2000: 193.

⁵¹ Marinatos, N. 1933: 180-181.

⁵² I.e. Tsountas 1899: 89-92

Minoan iconography their role was simply decorative, they can obtain a mystical meaning as well.⁵³ In Egypt, one of their interpretations is that they represent the depth of the nocturnal sky and its constellations, ⁵⁴ or according to Cirlot, the cosmic forces in motion.⁵⁵ At the same time they can be related to water and its ability to transit, regenerate and dissolve. This is in line with the cosmogony of a pre-Socratic philosopher, Thales, that the water was the source of everything. The ability to dissolve is what secures the transition of the soul to the afterlife.⁵⁶ Consequently, the ship serves as the means of transport that can navigate through the constellations. This medium is used by the goddess who wants to be transported from the metaphysical to the physical world in order to appear to the people (epiphany) and through her presence the whole nature to be reborn. Additionally, it can be seen as a way to guide the soul to transcend into a different existence which can also be associated with the idea of rebirth. Therefore, the ship constituted the link between existing reality and the one that goes beyond that and vice versa; this can be used both by the Goddess and the deceased ones. In other words, the ship can navigate into the havoc of the celestial ocean and reach to its destination, either the physical or the metaphysical world, thus securing a constant connection between the two. In that way, the symbolism of the ship is related to its most prime ability to transport, transcend and connect, thus playing a prominent role in the cosmology of the Minoans. The new sacerdotal class, which appeared in the Minoan society, exploited this iconography and symbolism in order to promote the idea that their authority had a divine origin; and, hence the ship due to its prominent role in every maritime community could not have been absent from this equation.

6.2. A journey to the unconscious

At this point, it will be interesting to briefly examine the meaning of the disguised unconscious thoughts that find their way into the consciousness and normality through the symbol of the ship and can be understood only through the unconscious mind. Bearing in mind the Freudian *Oedipal complex* and that most of our ability to form

⁵³ Marinatos, N. 2016: 6.

⁵⁴ Marinatos, N. 2015: 117; Marinatos, N. 2016: 6.

⁵⁵ Cirlot 2001: 305, 364-366.

⁵⁶ Kobylinski 1995: 13.

symbols relates to the child-mother relationship, we can suggest that the ship unconsciously becomes the symbol of the mother's womb.⁵⁷ In his theory, Schnier has supported that the shape, its relation with water and its rhythmic movement, as well as the tendency to attach it to a female identity, consolidates this notion.⁵⁸ This could explain why on some of the so-called frying pans there are images of female genitalia above the two handles and below the ship (figure 13, figure 14).⁵⁹ This allows us to interpret death as a journey through labour's water to mother's womb, a feature attributed to the symbol of ship by many scholars.⁶⁰ According to the theory of *Primary Return-to-Womb Craving*, every human after their birth is craving to return to this state of complete happiness and protection that the mother offered when they were embryos.⁶¹ This desire can also be related to our need of creating the same conditions during periods of: stress, loneliness, darkness, a warm bath, etc.⁶² In more detail, the ship on the frying pans can unconsciously be related to the so-called *trauma of birth* and function as the medium that will fulfil human desire to return to the place of their birth.

7. Conclusions

The ability to form symbols and the tendency to attach symbolic functions to objects can be understood as our innate need to communicate and externalise deeper feelings and thoughts. This ability can have a therapeutic result by filling the emptiness of our lives and offer a disguised rational explanation of the cosmos, as well as remove the feeling of anxiety, which can sometimes come with loneliness. Minoan perception of the cosmos fulfilled this need which is attested to their art. To them, the world was unified and in constant communication between the physical and metaphysical plain. Ultimately, this provided them the security that they yearned for. However, only a journey by ship could make this link possible. This ship connected opposites such as the land with the sea, life and death, and the physical with the metaphysical. A ship

⁵⁷ Roheim 1950: 444.

⁵⁸ Schnier 1973: 72.

⁵⁹ Wachsmann 1998: 71;

⁶⁰ Kobylinski 1995: 13; Schnier 1953: 74.

⁶¹ Bowlby 1958: 350.

⁶² Schnier 1953: 74.

with a 'secret soul' embarks from our unconsciousness and transcends consciousness into the unexplored oceans of cosmos.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Fraser Sturt for his valuable comments. Additionally, I would like to thank Professor Coleman, Dr Televantou and Dr Wedde for giving me the permission to reproduce their figures. Finally, a special thanks is due to the journal's reviewer and editor. FIGURES



Figure 1. Gold signet ring from Kandia (LMI). Floating person. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1938 no. 1129. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. Evans 1935: 953 fig. 923. Source: Wedde 2000: 339 Catalogue number 902.



Figure 2. The "ring of Minos". Gold signet ring from Knossos (LM IA). Floating person. Source: Evans 1935: Supplementary Plate LXV.



Figure 3. The Isopata ring from Isopata grave, Knossos (LM). Floating person. Archaeological Museum of Herakleion, no. 424. Source: Evans 1914: 10 fig. 16.



Figure 4.

a) Flat-ended prism-shaped clay lamp with seal impression from Malia (MM II). Double axe and arrow. Archaeological Museum of Herakleion, no. 1079. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. Poursat *et al.* 1978: 84, corrected by Wedde according to impression in Marburg. Detournay *et al.* 1980: 208 fig. 283 also incorrect at left extremity. Source: Wedde 2000: 336 Catalogue number 829.

b) Clay seal impression from Knossos (MM III). Wheats Archaeological Museum of Herakleion, no. 206a. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. Gray 1974:41 fig. 6q. Source: Wedde 2000: 335 Catalogue number 815.

c) Oval impression on clay lamp. Palace of Phaistos, Room 25 (MM IB-IIA). Rayed object. Archaeological Museum of Herakleion. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. CMS II.5.245. Source: Wedde 2000: 335 Fig. 818.

d) Three-sited steatite prism (MM I). Spirals. Oxford Ashmolean Museum 1925 no 57.
Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. Gray 1974:41 fig. 6i, corrected by Wedde in accordance with the impression in Marburg. Source: Wedde 2000: 333-443 Catalogue number 805.



Figure 5. Gold signet ring from Mochlos (LM IB). Tree on a shrine or planter. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. *CMS* V.184b. Source: Wedde 2000: 339 Catalogue number 904.



Figure 6. Seal from Makrygialos (LM I). Tree next to a shrine or ikrion. Archaeological Museum of Agios Nikolaos, no. 4653. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. *CMS* I. Suppl. 193. Source: Wedde 2000: 339 Catalogue number 907.



Figure 7. The "ring of Minos". Gold signet ring from Knossos (LM IA). A tree on a shrine. Drawing after Evans 1935. Source: Evans 1935: 950 fig. 917.



Figure 8. South wall, West House Room 5, Akrotiri, Thera (LM IA) (detail). National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Thera Room, BE 1974.36. Credits:Courtesy of Dr Televantou. Source: Televantou 1994: Table 58.



Figure 9. Clay seal impression from AgiaTriada (LM I). Archaeological Museum of Herakleion. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. Sakellarakis 1971: 211 fig. 10. Source: Wedde 2000: 339 Catalogue number 903.



Figure 10. Four-sided cylindrical agate seal from Anemospilia (MM III) (detail). Archaeological Museum of Herakleion no. 2752. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. Drawing by Wedde from Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1981: 221. Source: Wedde 2000:337 Catalogue number 831.



Figure 11. Painted clay larnax from Skaphidara near Gazi (LM IIIB). The one side which is covered with a ship. Archaeological Museum of Herakleion no. 18985. Credits: Courtesy of Dr Wedde. Wachsmann 1981: 203 fig. 18. Source: Wedde 2000: 320 Catalogue number 608.



Figure 12. Clay larnax with painted scenes from Agia Triada (LM IIIA). Presentation scene. Archaeological Museum of Herakleion. Source: Published by Jebulon (2015) at Wikimedia Commons, distributed under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication.

(https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sarcophagus_archmus_Heraklion.jpg).



Figure 13. Clay frying pan with incised and impressed decoration from the Chalandriani cemetery, Syros. A typical paddled boat with a fish effigy and a tassel, surrounded by running spirals. Source: Tsountas 1899: fig 11



Figure 14. Clay "frying pans" from Chalandriani, Syros (Early Cycladic II, Keros-Syros culture) (detail). The female genitalia on the frying pans. Credits: Courtesy of Professor Coleman. Source: Coleman 1985: III. 4.

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