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The Arrival of Egyptian Taweret and Bes[et] on Minoan Crete: Contact and Choice

Judith Weingarten (British School at Athens)

Abstract

It has long been known that the hippopotamus-demon Taweret was imported into Crete in the Middle Minoan period (contemp. early 13th Dynasty). Although she quickly received a libation jug as her specific Minoan attribute, she otherwise displayed Egyptian iconography - swollen belly, pendulous breasts, 'hippopotanmus-like' head, and a long, broad dorsal appendage. Before the end of MM IIB, however, she began to be depicted with a head and an elegantly-decorated dorsal appendage. Her continued iconographical development into the LBA 'Minoan Genius' can be followed through changes in her bodily appearance as well as a new collection of attributes in addition to the libation jug. In there were only the iconographical hints that the related demon, Bes, had also come to Crete. Now, the first Bes-like image appears on a gem from eastern Crete datable to MM IIB. Although the demon had already substantially altered from its prototype, its Egyptian origin is quite clear. Perhaps surprisingly, the Minoans imported the rarer female demon, so-called Beset, rather than male Bes. In this paper, we examine the contemporary Egyptian iconography of Bes[et], consider how the original imported image might have looked, and how it was adapted by the Minoans. We also touch the question of why the Minoans continued to depict the 'Minoan Genius' until late in the Bronze Age while Bes and her derivatives soon disappeared.

This paper is dedicated to the memory of J.F. Romano

Keywords

Bes, Beset, Cornelian rod-shaped sealstone, Curlicue-Monster Workshop, MM II Intercultural contacts, Minoan demonology, Minoan iconography, Interconnections Crete-Egypt, Minoan Genius, Petras, Phaistos, Taweret.

The Arrival of Taweret

Taweret, the popular Egyptian hippopotamus demon, is almost certainly the mother of the Minoan Genius. The

¹ Taweret (known as Ipy in the Old and Middle Kingdom) was from earliest times a divine nurse. 'Ipy' may itself mean (wet-)nurse. In the Pyramid texts, Ipy gives suck to the dead pharaoh, thus providing sustenance for the king after death and assuring him of rebirth in the Afterlife. As a pharoah is nourished and protected, so also Taweret/Ipy magically protects the mortal mother and child. In cosmic terms, too, in the daily war between the Sun God and the forces of darkness, she and

Minoan adoption of this foreign deity was proposed by Sir Arthur Evans (PM IV 431-67), a borrowing which was vigorously debated until seemingly confirmed by the discovery of three primitive Genii on Middle Minoan sealings from Phaistos and Knossos (Gill 1961, 1964). Although this borrowing was again questioned (Baurain 1985), my own study of the Middle Kingdom Taweret confirmed that the Minoan Genius had indeed developed from the Egyptian demon; and that, in all probability, she had been directly imported from Egypt to Crete, most likely a little after 1750 BC, or, in Minoan terms, quite early in Middle Minoan IIB (Weingarten 1991; Höflmayer 2006). I'd like quickly to review that evidence and then move on to the lion-headed demon Bes - which is an entirely new subject.

Using the iconographical and chronological framework developed by Professor Hartwig Altenmüller for the host of demons that appeared on Middle Kingdom magic knives (Altenmüller 1965),² I was able to demonstrate that the Minoans who borrowed this extraordinary demon from Egypt knew quite a lot about her and about her role in Egyptian popular religion. In other words, they were not merely importing a blank demon but had been close enough to an Egyptian source to have understood Taweret's functions and then began to reinterpret the demon within a Minoan context.

Three Middle Minoan seal impressions illustrate the first stages of the representation of the Genius in Minoan art (**Figure 1**). These primitive Genii still have features that clearly link them to their Egyptian prototype, in *both* Taweret's Late-Middle Kingdom hippopotamus- and lion-headed manifestations. The early Minoan Genius had Taweret's plump body, swollen belly, and the remnants

her company of demons protect the young god as he is born anew each day and fight off his enemies (represented by the snake, Apep [Gr. Apophis) with knife or sword. See Weingarten 1991 4-6, 14-15; also Budin 2011, 38-58, 96-102.

Magical knives (aka wands, or 'apotropaia') appear primarily in the Late Middle Kingdom, i.e. late 12-13 Dynasty. Most commonly made of hippopotamus tusk, the knives provided magical protection for mothers and newborn children, perhaps used to draw a protective 'magic circle' around the bed of the mother and child. The knives were later deposited in tombs in order to achieve the passage to the afterlife, the rebirth of the deceased symbolically paralleling the rituals of childbirth, and to prevent the power of evil beings from doing harm to the newly dead, as vulnerable (in Egyptian thinking) to malign influences as the newly born. Thereby, the child - and, by extension, the deceased - were identified with the newborn sun god in order to harness the protective power of the demonic divinities depicted on the knives. The most common figures are the Bes (Aha) and Taweret (Ipy) demons, griffon, and serpent-necked panther as well as other creatures such as frogs, vultures, serpents, lions, animal-headed standards, the wedjat eye, and double-headed figures in the form of bulls, lions and sphinxes. See Altenmüller, 1965 (136-187); 1986; 1987; Bourriau 1991, 13-15; Roberson 2009.

of female breasts. Two Genii are hippopotamus-headed (or, at least, have elongated heads) and the diagnostic strips running down their backs are broad, and decorated with branches and lines. The lion-headed Genius on the Phaistos gold ring impression wears a broad collar – all that remains of a lion's mane – and its dorsal strip falls from nearly the ear to the ground and is decorated with wavy lines on the inside, and a border of globules on the outside (very much the mark of a jeweller at work). This lion-demon is also somewhat slimmer than the first two Genii and the breast is less emphasized. Clearly, the demon has already moved away from the imported image, a shift that took place still within Middle Minoan IIB – and most probably within a generation or so of Taweret's arrival.

The Minoans seem to have known and chose to emphasize Taweret's role in lustrations and purifications: the hippopotamus demon personifies the waters of Nun (primeval ocean) and these waters were transformed into the waters of lustration and purification. On Crete, these lustral functions were transformed into the liquid contained in the Genius's high-necked single-handled jug, forever grasped by base and handle in the Egyptian offering gesture (Weingarten 1991, 12-14). So, it is Taweret's role in lustrations that explains the Minoan Genius's 'libation jug', a reinterpretation within a Minoan context.

Some seal impressions from Middle Minoan IIIB Malia provide further insight into the next stage of the demon's development and assimilation on Crete (**Figure 2**; Weingarten and Hallager 1993).

The Genius of Malia RB has a body that is plump, but the belly is not swollen, nor is there any sign of female breasts. Like the earlier Genius on the gold ring from Phaistos, the Malia demon is lion-headed and wears a thick ornate collar, the remains of a lion's mane. The female breast is either hidden by its arm or has vanished entirely. The demon holds what looks like an ostrich-egg on its human-like paw, which - given the Genius's involvement in purifications - presumably indicates an ostrich-egg rhyton filled with liquid to be poured on the object below. The Genius of Malia RE is pictured with a carrying pole on which hangs a vase, perhaps a pearshaped rhyton, again most probably connected with liquid pouring rites. This Genius has an elongated head in the hippopotamus-headed tradition, and its belly is firm; the female breast is minimized, with only a large nipple (?) visible on a slight swelling of the chest.

The iconography of the Middle Minoan III Malia Genii falls midway between the Taweret-derived Genii of Middle Minoan II and the Minoanized canon that will take shape during Late Minoan I. They testify to the gradual assimilation of this demon and suggest no further foreign input in its development. Both documents depict the Genius participating in liquid-handling rites, the one with a probable ostrich-egg rhyton, the other in a procession carrying what may be a rhyton-vase on a pole.

The Minoan Genius emerges during the Late Bronze Age

with a new body shape and an altered dorsal strip. The pair of Genii on a Late Minoan IA stone triton from Malia (Figure 3) presents a new scene of purifications, in which a smaller demon pours liquid from a libation jug into the cupped hands of a larger, facing Genius. Their difference in size suggests that the future multiplication of Genii is not simply iconographic doublings but hints at a hierarchy of greater and lesser demons. These Malia Genii combine some early and late features. Both wear thin collars around the neck, a last trace of the lion's mane. After Late Minoan IA, this feature disappears entirely. Whereas earlier Genii had wide, ornate dorsal strips, here it is still broad but is now wavy and shell-like and decorated with just a few vertical stripes on the inside. The most striking change, however, is the development of a slender, almost wasp-waisted figure that will become the canonical form. Not only has the female breast entirely vanished, but the Genius wears a waistband like a young Minoan male and this belt, too, becomes a standard Genius feature.

This, therefore, is the state of play for the Minoan Genius by Late Minoan IA (ca. 1600 BC) – the chronological limit of our discussion in this paper.

The Arrival of Bes

When I presented my initial study of Taweret and the Minoan Genius at the Aegean Seminar in New York many years ago (1987), James Romano, then Curator of Egyptian Art at the Brooklyn Museum, asked a simple question, 'Why not Bes?' And I replied, that I thought Bes *had* arrived on Crete, probably at the same time as Taweret (Weingarten 1983, Pt II. V), because that would explain some unusual features that appeared on later monsters from the hand of the LM I Zakro Master – such as frontal heads, lion ears, and exaggerated bow legs (e.g. CMS II.7 117, 119, 122, 145B, 148). However, as I had to admit, no Bes figure had ever been found on Crete.

That remained the case until 2005, when excavations in House Tomb 2 at Petras in eastern Crete turned up five hard-stone seals in Room 3 (Krzyszkowska 2012).⁴ Although the associated pottery is definitely earlier, this little collection of gems must be dated to MM IIB – or

³ The Bes-demon is a lion-headed 'dwarf', also closely associated with childbirth and rebirth. Bes apotropaic figurines appear during the Middle Kingdom in faience, ivory, and wood, and, most frequently, on magical knives; Bes and Taweret/Ipy are the most common of the demonic company depicted on the knives (cf. n. 3 above) who

protective duties include attacking the forces of evil, whether demonic spirits or chaos serpents. See Romano 1989, I 33-57.

I am most grateful to the excavator M. Tsipopoulou for permission to discuss and publish this object as well as for the agreement of O.H. Krzyszkowska who is publishing the seals from recent excavations at Petras. I am grateful, too, to both scholars for the photographs: credit for Figure 4a: C. Papanikolopoulos; 4b: O.H. Krzyszkowska. I would also like to acknowledge my immense debt to E.F. Vink whose generosity in sharing his collection of photographs of magical knives and related material has been exceptional (credit for Figure 5b and Figure 7 a, b). My sincere thanks, too, to the staff of the Pushkin Museum for supplying photographs of Figure 5a and to those of the Cairo Museum for Figure 5c.

possibly even slightly later.⁵ One of the seals – a red carnelian gem of unusual rectangular-bar shape - was engraved with a figure strikingly reminiscent of the Egyptian demon Bes (Figure 4). However, the creature is amply endowed with long pendulous breasts, depicted in a manner entirely foreign to Minoan iconography, ⁶ so it is not based on Bes but on Beset, the female counterpart of the Middle Kingdom demon. Though by no means as common as the male Bes - known as Aha, 'the fighter', in the Middle Kingdom - there are over twenty images of this Beset (or perhaps 'Ahaet') figure surviving on magic knives, statuettes, and even a painted birth brick (Wegner 2009, 468-9; cf. Figure 5). Beset's Middle Kingdom name is unknown but she is once labelled as Sau, 'Those who Protect', which is not a personal name but a generic title. For simplicity's sake, however, I will continue to use the names Bes and Beset. Almost uniquely in Egyptian art, Bes and Beset demons are pictured frontally and full-faced rather than in profile. Most Beset figures have straight or slightly separated legs, in contrast to Bes who is almost always squat and bowlegged. Beset's breasts may be either pointed or round, and the triangle of her sex may be emphasized or not. Both the male and female usually grasp undulating snakes in their hands but Beset occasionally masters lizards or hares as well. By seizing snakes and other threatening animals, Bes and Beset control and direct the hostile forces that they represent; the subjugated snakes are harmless to the demons (Coffin text spell 885: The snake is in my hand and cannot bite me) while, at the same time, they are turned into 'weapons' against inimical forces (Ritner 1993 223-4, n. 1041).

The iconography of Beset can best be studied on surviving Late-Middle Kingdom statuettes and on magic knives. Two wooden statuettes of Beset preserve detailed features of the demoness (**Figure 5**; cf: **Figures 6**, **12** and **13**). First, there is no doubt that the female Beset is intended: entirely naked, she has long pendulous breasts and the pubic area is marked with a V and central slit.

Despite her female nature, her head is framed by a lion's mane that properly belongs to the male lion; she has round lion's ears but no tail. Facial features include overly large eye sockets and staring eyes, large flat nose, bulging cheeks, botox lips, and wide, partly open mouths – all features recurring on the Cretan demon. The latter's toothy grimace, however, seems a Minoan innovation.

While the drawings on magic knives are often schematic, Beset's common bodily characteristics are clear enough (Figures 6⁸, 7). The knife from the Late-Middle Kingdom tomb of Nakht from Lisht North (Figures 6, 10; 8) shows a fairly typical image. Again, she is entirely naked. Her lion's mane is decorated with striations, as if she's wearing a wig. She has round lion's ears, rounded breasts and nipples (?), and the triangle of her sex is depicted. The ribcage is strongly marked. She holds a pair of hares in human hands; arms are raised and bent at the elbow – very much in a Mistress of Animals pose. Finally, her legs are separated to show off a lion's tail and her feet are splayed.

Compare this Beset with the new image from eastern Crete (Figure 9). The Cretan version shares Beset's round lion ears, raised arms bent at the elbow, legs separated to reveal a lion's tail and splayed feet. Breasts are not round but long and pendulous (as on Besets Figure 6: 5, 6, 7, 11, 13; Figure 7a, b), and she lacks the triangle indicating her female sex. The pubic triangle is virtually never indicated in Minoan art, surely a matter of Minoan decorum: female breasts may be exposed but the pubic area is hidden. Decorum possibly accounts for the marks defining Beset's ribcage, which seem to have slipped down to cover the Cretan's sex like a skirt or screen. Beset's lion's mane, too, has been altered. Perhaps because there were no lions on Crete, the striped mane framing the head made little sense and so turned into striped wings or streamers projecting from both sides of the head. One small but decisive detail should remove any doubts about this figure's Egyptian ancestry. The Cretan demon retains the snake; its head clearly appears under the left armpit on the impression (cf.: the same position of the snake heads on Figure 7a, c) and is just visible, also on the right - even though the snake itself seems to have become all but meaningless.

The fading away of the snake, the change from striated lion's mane to wings or streamers, as also the alteration of the face which has become less human, goblin-like claws instead of human hands, and bristles of hair added to the face and body – all suggest that Beset is not a recent arrival but has been on Crete long enough for it to have started on the road to assimilation. I would put her at roughly the same iconographical stage of development in relation to the Egyptian Beset, as is the Phaistos lion-

⁵ Abundant pottery found on the tomb floor was undoubtedly prepalatial in character. However, the seals were found at a higher level in the tomb and were not associated with the floor pottery; thus, imo, they are part of a later, intentional intrusion, possibly connected with events surrounding the destruction of the palace in MM IIB, or even slightly later. In the discussion following Krzyszkowska 2012, the excavator, M. Tsipopoulous, confirms that there was no pottery, not even sherds, in association with the seals." (158-9)

⁶ On pendulous breasts as an indication of fecundity in Egyptian iconography, see Baines 1985, 127.

A wooden Beset statuette holding bronze snake wands in her hands (Figure 6, 12 = Romano 1989, 52) was found inside a box of magical equipment of 13th Dynasty date in a tomb shaft beneath the Ramesseum, together with 4 broken magical knives, medico-magical texts, and other ritual paraphernalia belonging to a priestly magician, whose title was 'overseer of secrets'. See Bourriau 1988, 110-1, and Figure 1; Ritner 1993, 222-4, and n. 1037. Two Beset statuettes are known only from line drawings: from Lahun of wood (Figure 6, 13 = Romano 1989 no. 50) and from Lisht of ivory (Cairo JE 44958 = Romano 1989 no. 51). A wooden Beset statuette, a surface find from Lisht (MMA 15.3.1088 = Romano 1989 no. 54) is poorly preserved. I have been unable to secure a photograph of another wooden statuette in the Cairo Museum (JE 44958= Romano 51) but, in the available thumbnail, it does not appear to be significantly different from the others.

⁸ E. F. Vink (n. 4) kindly updates a number of references on Wegner's Figure 10: (10,4) Florence 5076 = now Florence Museo Egizio 9345; (10,5) = Manchester Mus. Inv. Nr. 1799; (10,8) now Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Inv. Nr. BSAa 991; (10,9) now Berlin 14207 [change Erman, Zaubersprüche, 184, Figure 83, to Erman, Die Religion der Ägypter, Berlin/Leipzig 1934, 263, Figure 100]; (10,12) = Manchester Mus. Inv. Nr. 1790.

headed Genius (**Figure 1b**) in relation to the original imported Taweret. Both retain many of the features that securely link them to their Egyptian prototypes while the changes that have taken place are not yet enough to leave their ancestry in doubt. Thus, in the case of the Petras Beset, we are probably looking at an image also created near the end of Middle Minoan IIB.

The craftsman who carved this Beset gem belonged to a workshop that was particularly attracted to this demon's image, especially in abbreviated pars pro toto form (CMS VI 101a = Weingarten 1983 Pl. 10A; CMS III 237b = Weingarten 1993 Pl. 10C; CMS III 238a = Weingarten 1983 Pl. 10B). I dub it the 'Curlicue Monster Workshop', not only for its Beset and Beset-heads with curlicue hairstyles but for a range of curlicue designs that are remarkably characteristic of its work. This predilection provides solid links between four of the five hard-stone seals from Petras House Tomb 2 (the Beset seal plus two four-sided prisms TSK05.ME 322 and TSK05.ME 259, and the three-sided prism TSK05.ME 499). More than seven seals can be assigned to this workshop. Since all are multifaceted seals (2, 3 and 4 engraved surfaces), we have at hand a sufficient number of designs to establish their output with a fair degree of confidence. The 'Curlicue Monster Workshop' is, however, a separate study, so I will not discuss it further in this paper. Nonetheless, it shows that the Beset image – just like the image of Taweret - was already on its way to being Minoanized and was circulating on sealstones (at least in eastern Crete) late in Middle Minoan IIB. Thereafter, their histories diverged as sharply as is possible to imagine.

The Reception of Taweret and Bes

Taweret becomes the Minoan Genius, a multi-tasked monster whose form (but not necessarily whose gender) becomes relatively fixed in Late Minoan I and thereafter remained quite stable. The Genius takes on new tasks, such as carrying animals and perhaps even humans to sacrifice, and serving as an attendant on greater deities. The Genius also multiplies: we see pairs of Genii and quartets; there are hints of a hierarchy within the Genius tribe. It is a long-lived and well-travelled demon: even after the fall of Knossos, the image of the Minoan Genius is still being reproduced on the Greek mainland and on Cyprus.

In sharpest contrast to the flourishing Genius, the only possible descendants of Beset, till now, are those seen on a few seals from the hand of the Zakro Master. But even these hints of Beset's presence don't really cohere: the ideas behind them remain quite fluid. In short, the demon has not achieved any fixed form. Consequently, Beset seems to leave no enduring mark on Minoan art or cult. To put it simply, the contact with both Taweret and Beset was there, but the choice, in the end, fell on the one and not the other.

So, we can now rephrase the original question and ask, 'Why Taweret and Why Not Beset?'.

The most obvious answer is that Taweret's arrival on the island was almost provident. Roughly contemporary with her introduction, the first true rhyta appeared on Crete. This class of specialized vessels - with open top and perforated base through which liquid can flow - must signal new or transformed libation or lustral rites. Whether coincidentally or not, the demon arrived on Crete just as this new ritual tradition was taking shape. Robert Koehl, in his massive study of the rhyton, proposes that rhyta plus beak-spouted libation jugs constitutes the standard Aegean 'libation set' (Koehl 2006, 339). Taweret, because of her Egyptian connection with lustration and purifications, is handed, so to speak, the beak-spouted jug, and thus she immediately (or very soon) plays an important role in Minoan religious ritual. The demon will take on additional tasks in the future but the libation jug always remains its chief attribute. So. while we cannot know if Taweret was intentionally imported to Crete for this very reason, we can be certain that she quickly found a ritual role; and thus endured. Beset's fate was different. As a female protective demon, she may simply have been redundant. Taweret, too, was a protector of children and childbirth. As one of 'Those Who Protect, Taweret might have left Beset no independent space in which to evolve. Beset, it was true, was a first-class snake-killer but there would have been little need for a 'Snake-Biter' in a land with no poisonous snakes. Which suggests, too, that the metaphorical idea of the snake as enemy of the Sun-god and symbol of chaos simply did not come across. They were both private, popular beings who mingled more freely with human beings than did deities and who acted on behalf of human beings, yet they could also mingle with higher deities (Baines 1985, 127-8). As Taweret develops into the Minoan Genius on Crete, this midway but liminal role seems to be maintained (Weingarten 1991). Beset, on the other hand, especially if depicted as entirely naked, may have clashed with ideas of Minoan decorum. So, when

Without more examples of Beset's stay on Crete, we'll probably never know. What we do know, however, is that Beset did come to Crete, and that she probably came along with Taweret. These were not the only monsters imported in the Middle Minoan period, but some of them – Taweret, the griffin, and even the sphinx – stayed and became fixtures in Minoan iconography. Others, like Beset, fell by the wayside.

Minoan artists hid her private parts, they may have

inadvertently destroyed the demon's main power point or, at least, reduced her efficacy. That may be a reason why

both the 'Curlicue Monster Workshop' and the Zakro

Master focused on Beset's aggressive full-face frontality

not a motif generally popular in Bronze Age Aegean. I

wonder if it were simply the apotropaic quality of a

staring image that appealed to them as seal carvers -

which, in their minds, turned their gems into amulets.

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quite normally in profile.

⁹ When a deity equally able to harness the powers of nature and master chaotic animals (and demons) again appears in the Aegean, it will be as the LM I Mistress of Animals, but she will be fully clothed and pictured

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Figure 1: Middle Minoan IIB Genii from Phaistos. a) CMS II.5 321; b) CMS II.5 322. Middle Minoan IIB(?) Genius from Knossos; c) CMS II.8 195.

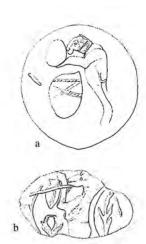


Figure 2: Middle Minoan IIB(?) Genii from Malia (after Weingarten and Hallager 1993, Figure 7, 8). a) Composite drawing of MA-Rb; b) Composite drawing of MA-Re.



Figure 3: Middle Minoan LMIA(?) Genii from Malia. Relief figures on Chlorite Triton Rhyton (after C. Baurain and Darcque, BCH 107 [1983] Figure 14).









Figure 4: MM IIB(?) Beset on orange-red carnelian sealstone from Petras House Tomb 2, Room 3. a) Rectangular bar engraved with Beset (photo credit: C. Papanikolopoulos); b) Impression of engraved face (photo credit: O. H. Krzyszkowska).

Figure 5: Late Middle Kingdom Beset wood statuettes.
a) Wood Beset statuette: Moscow, Pushkin Museum
5667 (= Romano 53a); b) Wood Beset statuette: Lausanne, Fondation Jacques-Edouard Berger (M. PageGasser/A. Wiese, Ägypten - Augenblicke der Ewigkeit,
Mainz 1997 86-87, Nr. 51; photo credit: F. Vink)

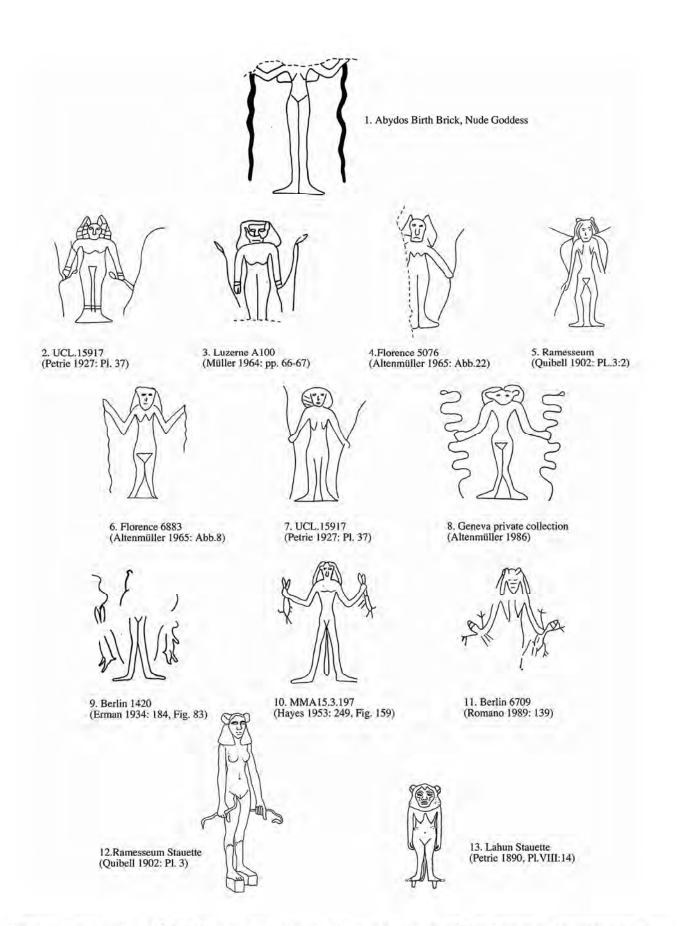


Figure 6: Beset figures on Middle Kingdom magical wands, Ramesseum leonine goddess figurine, and wooden statuette from Lahun (after Wegner 2009, Figure 10; for updated references, see n. 8 above).

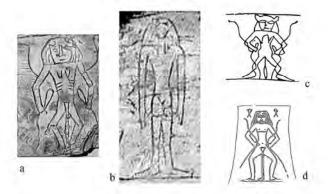


Figure 7: More Middle Kingdom Beset figures. a) Pushkin Museum 4860 (photo credit: Fred Vink); b) Pushkin Museum 6736 (= Romano 29; photo credit: Fred Vink); c) Louvre 6447 (= Romano 10A); d) JE6143 Headrest from Tomb of Neferhotep, Thebes (Miniaci-Quirke 2009, 344, Figure 10c, 10d).



Figure 8: Beset figure on magic knife from Lisht. MMA 15.3.197. Rogers Fund, 1915. Inscribed on obverse with the words 'protection by day' and 'protection by night'. Excavated Lisht North, Tomb of Nakht (Photo credit: www.metmuseum.org).