

her Type 3 amphorae.<sup>846</sup> The profile otherwise is highly unusual, and no parallels are forthcoming in MACGILLIVRAY'S (1998) corpus of Knossian pottery. Evans described the glaze as 'brilliant vermilion' similar to the footed goblet {181} above, but it would better be described as dark red; see also comments to this glaze there.

This and another vessel rim fragment (AM 1938.453) may have been excavated in 1926, according to their joint AM catalogue card. Boardman associated both with the collection of vessels having "bright vermilion glaze" discussed by Evans, and I had earlier assumed this vessel also came from the same context as another, lost piece {181}. However, neither is included in MacGillivray's reanalysis of that deposit as a whole, nor do they seem to have any context at the site.<sup>847</sup>

**289. Bowl ('deep open bowl')**, AM 1941.1254 + KSM Box 1891 + 1893

Diorite gneiss, H. (rest.): 8.9; Dia. (rim): 13.8; (base): 4.4 cm, one rim (AM) + three joining rim/body and non-joining body and base fragments (KSM).

Deep open bowl with thin, slightly flaring rim and slightly raised flat base.

Egyptian, Dynasty III–VI.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty III–VI vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* PETRIE 1937:pl. XXIII:386; (generally) B.G. ASTON 1994:132 #111.

*References:* WARREN 1965:31 #10; 1969:110 Type 43:C2, D318; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:217 #87; PHILLIPS 1991:II:624 #237, III:1098 fig. 237; LILYQUIST 1996:160.

*Comments:* Form reconstructed from three fragments, providing entire profile. AM fragment probably Evans Bequest 1941; two others are in the KSM. Lilyquist uses only the AM rim fragment to reject the bowl as an Egyptian product, without explanation but presumably due to the unusual profile; it appears to be an early or variant form of carination but cannot be paralleled directly in known Egyptian vessels; that specifically quoted seems to be the nearest but does not have a raised base. Neither diorite material, according to B.G. Aston, is employed after the Old Kingdom (with a single Dynasty XVIII exception), implying that this vessel must be no later if it is Egyptian.

It is *possible*, given its complete lack of provenance at Knossos and the lack of Egyptian rim parallels, that the vessel rim was reworked by Minoan craftsmen in the Neo-Palatial period.

**290. Bowl fragment ('deep open bowl')**, AM 1938:409b

Anorthosite gneiss, H: 3.66; W: 3.20; Th.: 0.97–1.04 cm, one lower body fragment.

Bowl lower body, thick section.

Egyptian, Naqada III–Old Kingdom.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Naqada III–Old Kingdom vessel, without context.  
*References:* WARREN 1965:34 #30; 1969:110 Type 43:C6; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:217 #89; PHILLIPS 1991:II:624 #239, III:1098 fig. 239.

*Comments:* Warren has identified this as a 'deep open bowl' body fragment, and this is followed in the present study. It is, however, much thicker in section than all others in his category, and likely belongs either to a much larger example of the form, or to another vessel type, perhaps a spheroid jar form.

**291. Bowl fragment ('shallow carinated bowl')**, AM 1910.283

Anorthosite gneiss, white matrix with black crystals, Dia. (rim): 10–10.5; H: 1.90; W: 3.36; Th. (bottom): 0.22 cm, one rim fragment.

Open, shallow bowl with carinated shoulder, flaring rim projecting slightly farther than carination, carination sharp.

Egyptian, Dynasty IV–V.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty IV–V vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* EVANS *PM* 1:85, fig. 54 (AM E 401, from El Kab);<sup>848</sup> WARREN 1969:75, P408 (BM 4695); {172}; {175}; {213}; {294}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:111 Type 43:E3; PHILLIPS 1991:II:623 #234, III:1097 fig. 234.

*Comments:* The profile best fits the earlier (Dynasty IV–V) form of the bowl. This example is smaller than the others.

**292. Bowl fragment ('shallow carinated bowl?')**, AM 1938.409a

Anorthosite gneiss, H: 1.47; W: 4.62; Dia. (base): 3.4; Th. (base): 0.67 cm, one lower body/base fragment.

Shallow open bowl, probably a 'shallow carinated' type, with deeper profile and flat base.

Egyptian, Dynasty IV–VI.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty IV–VI vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* JÉQUIER 1934:fig. 14.f; B.G. ASTON 1994:133 #111; {412}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:111 Type 43:E4; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:219 #96; PHILLIPS 1991:II:623 #235, III:1097 fig. 235.

*Comments:* Unlike the other bowls in Warren's Type 43:E, this has a flat base and appears to be rather deep and not particularly shallow. Shallow carinated bowls with flat base also are known, but are more rare than the round-bottomed variety.

**293. Bowl fragment ('shallow carinated bowl')**, AM AE 2301

Anorthosite gneiss(?), translucent white with black markings and 'dark green spots,' H: 4.08; W: 3.39; Th.: 0.24 cm, one lower? body fragment.

Lower? body fragment, probably of open, shallow bowl with carinated rim. Well-polished.

<sup>846</sup> CUCUZZA 2000:103. On her criteria for this type, it should be included, although the body sags far more than her other examples.

<sup>847</sup> Both palace and other areas were excavated in that year, although little actual work was carried out, so they may

have come from any area(s) excavated that year – if they were even excavated that year. See EVANS in WOODWARD 1926:236–238; HOOD and TAYLOR 1981:4, 11.

<sup>848</sup> Incorrectly identified as from the tomb of Snefru by Evans. BOARDMAN 1961:162 provides the correct origin.

Egyptian, Dynasty IV–VI.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty IV–VI vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* As above, {291}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:111 Type 43:E5; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:218 #91; PHILLIPS 1991:II:623–624 #236, III:1097 fig. 236; LILYQUIST 1996:160.

*Comments:* Lilyquist rejects an Egyptian origin for this vessel, as she has not noted any “dark green spots” in any Egyptian objects, but concedes it otherwise is like anorthosite gneiss. See also {533}.

**294. Bowl fragment ('shallow carinated bowl')**, AM 1938.583 Anorthosite gneiss, white matrix with black crystals, H: 3.23; W: 10.8; Dia. (rim): 19.7; Th.: 1.9 cm, one rim fragment. Open, shallow carinated bowl with semi-rounded carination and flaring rim, very thin lower body.

Egyptian, Dynasty IV–V.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty IV–V vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* EVANS *PM* I:86 fig. 54 (AM E 401, from El Kab);<sup>849</sup> WARREN 1969:75, P408 (BM 4695); B.G. ASTON 1994:133 #112; {172}; {175}; {213}.

*References:* BOARDMAN 1961:162;<sup>850</sup> WARREN 1969:111 Type 43:E2, D323;<sup>851</sup> LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:219 #95, pl. 65:95; PHILLIPS 1991:II:626 #244, III:1101 fig. 244.

*Comments:* The profile best fits the earlier (Dynasty IV–V) form of the shallow bowl.

**295. Jar fragment ('spheroid jar?')**, KSM Box O+E 8 Gabbro(?), a dark green hornblende matrix with splodgy white feldspar crystals, H: 6.8; W: 6.1; MDim: 7.5 cm, one lower body fragment.

Spheroid jar? with thick wall tapering towards bottom.

Egyptian, Naqada II–Dynasty V.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Naqada II–Dynasty V vessel, without context.

*Comparison:* {166}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:109 Type 43:A6; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:213–214 #75; PHILLIPS 1991:II:627 #249, III:1103 fig. 249.

*Comments:* The Egyptian date range cited is the widest possible. If indeed made of gabbro, Aston's material analysis would limit its manufacture to only within Dynasty IV.<sup>852</sup>

**296. Jar fragment ('spheroid jar')**, KSM Box O+E 1 Gabbro, H: 4.7; W: 4.8; MDim: 5.5 cm, one lower body fragment.

Jar with thick-walled lower body.

Minoan, probably MM III–LM IIIA1.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably MM III–LM IIIA1 vessel, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:627–628 #250, III:1104 fig. 250.

**297. Jar fragment ('spheroid jar')**, KSM Box O+E 4 Gabbro, H: 5.6; W: 5.2; MDim: 6.0 cm, one mid-body fragment.

Jar with thick-walled body.

Minoan, probably MM III–LM IIIA1.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably MM III–LM IIIA1 vessel, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:628 #251, III:1104 fig. 251.

**298. Jar fragment ('spheroid jar')**, KSM Box 1893 Lapis lacedaemonius, H: 2.25; W: 4.7; Dia. (base): 9.2, one base fragment.

Jar with flat raised base having depressed interior profile.

Minoan, probably MM III–LM IIIA1.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably MM III–LM IIIA1 vessel, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:628 #252, III:1104 fig. 252.

**299. Jar fragments ('spheroid jar')**, KSM (unprovenanced material) (not located)<sup>853</sup>

Gabbro, (A) H: 6.0; W: 4.3; (B) H: 3.7; W: 3.9 cm. Two joining (A) and one non-joining (B) body fragments, one preserving part of circular hole for spout, broken on all edges.

Possible jar with flat collar, solid roll handles on shoulder, and spout.

Minoan, probably LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM I vessel, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:629 #254.

**300. Jar fragment ('spheroid jar')**, KSM (unprovenanced material) (not located)

Gabbro, H: 5.0; W: 1.6 cm, one body fragment.

Possible jar with flat collar and solid roll handles on shoulder, with rough interior surface.

Minoan, probably LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM I vessel, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:629 #255, III:1108 fig. 255.

**301. Jar fragment ('spheroid jar')**, KSM (unprovenanced material) (not located)

Gabbro, dimensions not stated, one base fragment.

Jar with flat raised base, possibly type with flat collar and solid roll handles on shoulder.

Minoan, probably LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM I vessel, without context.

<sup>849</sup> Incorrectly identified as from the tomb of Snefru by Evans. BOARDMAN 1961:162 provides the correct origin.

<sup>850</sup> He identifies EVANS *PM* I:fig. 55:b as this fragment. It is more likely to be bowl {175}. See comments there.

<sup>851</sup> This profile is inaccurate.

<sup>852</sup> B.G. ASTON 1994:13.

<sup>853</sup> Information for this and the two following objects is from Peter Warren (personal communication, 04 February 1989).

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:629 #256, III:1108 fig. 256.

**302. Jar(?) or other vessel fragment**, AM AE 2302

Hornblende diorite (Type A or B), H: 5.73; W: 4.04; Th. (shoulder): 0.82 cm, one upper body or possibly base/lower body fragment.

Jar? with high shoulder having a sharp angle, perhaps a 'heart-shaped' jar, or possibly a flat base of baggy closed vessel with tall upright lower body. No handles on fragment.

Egyptian, Late Predynastic–Dynasty II.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Late Predynastic–Dynasty II vessel, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1965:31 #8; 1969:110 Type 43:B2; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:216 #83; PHILLIPS 1991:II:624 #238, III:1098 fig. 238; LILYQUIST 1996:161.

*Comments:* Probably Evans Bequest 1941.

A definite angle is noticeable on the 'shoulder' that may represent the base. Warren's identification of this piece as a 'heart-shaped jar' should be questioned. It might even be a flat base/lower body fragment of another vessel type rather than the shoulder. Lilyquist, however, concurs with Warren on its Egyptian origin, without suggesting its vessel type.

**303. Seal**, AM AE 1789

Grey-green serpentine or chlorite, L: 21.0; W: 20.0; H: 11.5; SH: 2.8 mm, extremely worn surface, large chips on edge at string-holes and on one side.

Lentoid, engraved on one side only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Minoan 'genius' standing to left, in front of a tall incurved altar below a *Schnabelkanne*(?). Arms probably held in front, and abdomen indicated by parallel diagonal lines. A tall tree or bush behind altar.

Minoan, probably LM IIIA.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM IIIA seal, without context.

*Comparanda:* GILL 1970:406 #57; {435}; {503}; {523–524}.

*References:* EVANS 1894:299, fig. 40; 1909:151 #P.12, pl. I:P.12; KENNA 1960:141 #380, pl. 15:380; GILL 1964:16 #10, pl. 2:2; KENNA 1973:830; PHILLIPS 1991:II:624–625 #240, III:1099 fig. 240; *CMS* VI:#30.

*Comments:* Extreme wear precludes detailed analysis, but the *Schnabelkanne*(?) might be compared to the 'solar symbol' on {555}. KENNA (1973) had dated this seal to LM IIIB.

**304. Jar or globular flask**, KSM Box O+E 4

Lightly banded travertine? with occasional pink bands, H: 11.2; W: 13.2; Dia. (neck): 5.3 cm, one upper body and neck fragment.

Closed vessel with high shoulder and narrow upright neck. Articulated but unembellished cordon at neck/body junction. Thick body section.

Probably Levantine, LB, possibly Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XIX.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LB or possibly Dynasty XVIII–XIX vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* (neck ridge) SPARKS 1998:I:89; III:85 #683, 95 #755, 109 #871.

*Reference:* PHILLIPS 1991:II:625 #241, III:1099 fig. 241.

*Comments:* Warren notes the neck ridge is a 'wholly un-Minoan feature'.<sup>854</sup> However, it is characteristic of several Levantine closed vessel forms, and this vessel is more likely to have originated there. The pink veining is unique amongst vessels on Crete, and may help to provide an origin for the piece if the material could be identified, but I am unable to trace parallels for it.

**305. Handle fragment**, KSM Box 1893

Serpentine, L: 5.7; W. (max): 2.7; H. (max): 1.4 cm, one fragment preserving half of handle.

Detached handle, probably horizontal type, with hollows inset to accommodate inlay of another material and two or more saw marks.

Minoan, Neo-Palatial, probably LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* (MM III?)–LM I vessel, without context.

*Comparison:* {104}.

*References:* EVELY 1979:III:pl. 116:lower right; PHILLIPS 1991:II: 625–626 #242, III:1100 fig. 242; BEVAN 2001:II:415 fig. 6.35.b.

*Comments:* Probably to be attached to a vessel of visually similar stone material, the handle surface hollowed for inlay to imitate it. However, there is no drill hole or other means of attachment on the flattened underside of the handle. Saw marks suggest it may already have been removed from the vessel and regulated to scrap for reuse. Bevan indicates this fragment is located in KSM Box 1891, so it may have 'wandered' slightly since I saw it in 1989.

**306. Spout fragment**, KSM Box 1893

Serpentine or chlorite, L: 5.3; W. (max):1.4 cm, one fragment preserving about one-third of the spout.

Detached spout to a vessel, to form a bridge-spouted jar. Triangular hollows inset to form a pattern on the outer surface. Hole drilled at the bottom of spout for attachment to the vessel.

Minoan, Neo-Palatial, probably LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* (MM III?)–LM I vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* {104}; {307}.

*References:* EVELY 1979:III:pl. 116:lower right;<sup>855</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:626 #243, III:1100 fig. 243.

*Comments:* Probably to be attached to a composite vessel of visually similar stone material, the spout stone hollowed for inlay to imitate a different multi-coloured body stone. The method clearly is seen in jar {120}.

**307. Spout fragment**, KSM Box 1891 (not seen)

Breccia, black and white, L: 5.4; W. (max):5.9 cm, one fragment preserving majority of the spout.

Detached spout to a vessel, to form a bridge-spouted jar. Triangular shape cut to fit a convex vessel shoulder and tapering to deep narrow pouring end. Open at top.

Minoan, Neo-Palatial, probably LM I.

<sup>854</sup> Peter Warren (personal communication, September 1988).

<sup>855</sup> Misidentified as a handle fragment.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* (MM III?)–LM I vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* {104}; {280}; {306}.

*Reference:* BEVAN 2001:II:415 fig. 6.35.a.

*Comments:* All information is as provided by BEVAN 2001. Probably to be attached to a composite vessel of visually similar stone material, although no means of attachment is apparent in Bevan's drawing. The method clearly is seen in jar {104}, although there the spout itself has a 'bridge' not seen on this example.

**308. Roundel with seal impression,** HMs 1626 (KN Wc 48) (not seen)

Clay, dark reddish-brown, roundel: Dia. (pres.): 23.5, (est.): 25, Th.: 10.5 mm, seal impression: Dia. (est.): 7.5–7.8 mm, large fragment preserving majority of whole, incised signs partially preserved, seal impressions worn.

Roundel, roughly circular, with incised Linear A signs on obverse ([...] AB 04 [TE]) and reverse (*vest*), and two impressions from the same lentoid seal on edge. Impressions showing upper body (only) of 'monster' possibly halfway between Minoan 'genius' and goat. 'Monster' with large eye, thin 'beak' on elongated head, and long downturned 'horn' behind, arms outstretched to hold loop-handled vessel (*jug/ewer/Schnabelkanne?*) in front. Diagonal incised infill lines between back and horn of creature, possibly indicating 'tactile covering'.

Minoan, MM III–LM IB.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM III–LM I object, without context.

*Comparanda:* {141}, {159}, {448}.

*References:* HALLAGER and WEINGARTEN 1992:177–179, fig. 2, pl. 11.d–e; REHAK 1995:231 #78; POPHAM and GILL 1995:34 #1626; HALLAGER 1996:II:174 #KN Wc 48.

*Comments:* Found in a box marked "Sealings from Knossos". Popham and Gill suggest this roundel *may* have come from the 'East Temple Repository', but is not discussed or listed by PANAGIOTAKI (1995; 1999).<sup>856</sup>

The 'genius' figure is unusual, but its nearest parallel is another seal impression {141} of later date. The roundel format dates this impression not later than LM IB. It may be, as suggested by Weingarten, an amalgamation of 'genius' and 'goat' figures. Alternatively, it could be a later development of the distinct hippopotamus-headed prototype of elongated form, originating in the early Dynasty XIII image, typified by MM II seal impressions from Knossos {159} and Phaestos {448}. The 'donkey'- or 'ass'-headed demon figure may be another development of this variety.<sup>857</sup>

**309. Nodule with seal impression,** HMs 371 (not seen)

Clay, nodule: L: 16, W: 11, H: 8.5, sealing c. 15 mm, almost half preserved.

Two-hole hanging nodule with impression from a lentoid seal depicting either the head and shoulder of a Minoan 'genius' or the front part of a lion rising on his hind legs, with the back legs and tail of a(nother) lion on all fours.<sup>858</sup>

Minoan, LM I–II; nodule LM II–III.

*Context:* None known.

*Chronology:* LM I–II seal impression on LM II–III nodule, without context.

*References:* YOUNGER 1983:127; 1989:134; POPHAM and GILL 1995:32 #371; CMS II.8.1:#198.

*Comments:* This nodule, as with the others listed below {309A–309F; 317}, all almost certainly are from the palace excavations, but they have no recorded provenance. If, as seems likely from illustrations, the head is of a 'genius,' its arms do not survive and the two figures are not standing on the same ground. YOUNGER (1983) groups this figure as a genius in the 'miscellaneous style' of his 'Cretan Popular Group,' which he dates to LM I. I too am inclined to accept this figure as a 'genius'. As the hanging nodule type itself is not employed before the Final Palatial period, the lentoid seal used may have been old when it was impressed onto the nodule.

**309A. Nodule with seal impression,** HMs 1211 (not seen)

Clay, nodule: L:17.5; W: 8.5; H: 7; impression: H (pres.): 16; H (pres.): 7.5 mm, less than quarter-preserved, around edge.

Two-hole hanging nodule with incomplete impression probably from a lentoid seal. Impression depicts two fairly stylised Minoan 'genii' facing each other, apparently with a vaguely shaped vessel between them although the hands are not shown. Minoan, seal impression LM I–II(?); nodule LM II–III.

*Context:* None known.

*Chronology:* LM I–II(?) seal impression on LM II–III nodule, without context.

*Comparanda:* {309D; 309E}.

*References:* SAKELLARAKIS 1970:190 fig. 408; POPHAM and GILL 1995:33 #1211, pl. 22:1211; CMS II.8.1:#199.

*Comments:* See comments to {309}. Only the heads and upper part of the torsos are preserved on the impression, but their identification as 'genii' is secure. As the hanging nodule type itself is not employed before the Final Palatial period, the lentoid seal used may have been old when it was impressed onto the nodule.

**309B. Nodule with seal impression,** HMs 1371 (not seen)

Clay, nodule: L: 14.2, W: 7.9, H: 6.0, sealing: H (pres.): c. 11, W (pres.): c. 5 mm, almost half of design preserved in one impression, with perhaps the lower left edge preserved edge.

Two-hole hanging nodule with impression from a stone seal with convex face depicting the lower body of a 'Minoan genius' facing right, standing in front of a low pedestal ('altar') to its right. 'Genius' has spiked back, two straight legs, straight arms in front to side with paws apparently resting on the 'altar'.

Minoan, seal impression LM IIIA–B; nodule LM II–III.

*Context:* None known.

*Chronology:* LM IIIA seal impression on generally contemporary LM III nodule, without context.

*Reference:* CMS II.8.2:#329.

*Comments:* See comments to {309}. The pedestal ('altar') probably was in the centre of the composition, and thus likely this design included two 'genii,' each flanking the pedestal.

<sup>856</sup> See Knossos J, above.

<sup>857</sup> E.g., MINISTRY 1988:181–182 #150, the fresco fragment of processing 'daemons.' Note they too have a patterned 'tactile covering,' but here both ears are shown.

<sup>858</sup> The CMS II.8 reference was kindly supplied by Ingo Pini (personal communication, 13 June 2001) prior to publication of the volume.

Alternatively, only one 'genius' is shown, the 'altar' being on the right half of the composition.

**309C. Nodule with seal impression.** HMs 1451 (not seen)

Clay, nodule: L: 18, W: 7.4, H: 7.3, sealing: H: c. 17, W (pres.): 6.5 mm, probably half of design preserved in one impression, probably with edge on right side.

Two-hole hanging nodule with oval impression possibly from a metal seal-ring with convex face possibly depicting the front half of a standing 'Minoan genius' facing right. If so, the 'genius' has at least one arm bent at elbow with paw in front of face, with indications of a spiked lower body behind two straight upright legs. One vertically presented eye at top, of what might be a bull's head, that does not seem to integrate with the 'genius' design.

Minoan, seal impression LM I-III A; nodule LM II-III.

*Context:* None known.

*Chronology:* LM I-III A seal impression on generally contemporary LM II-III nodule, without context.

*Reference:* CMS II.8.2:#541.

*Comments:* See comments to {309}. Note that the CMS illustration is in horizontal format, although the 'genius' would be standing and the format vertical. An alternative interpretation of the design requires a horizontal format, possibly including the head and eye of a bull facing left, with the upper edge preserved and the lower half of the composition missing. As the hanging nodule type itself is not employed before the Final Palatial period, the lentoid seal or ring-seal used appears to have been old when it was impressed onto the nodule.

**309D. Nodules with seal impression.** HMs 1354 + s 1436 + s 1480 (not seen)

Clay, nodules: (1354): L: 17.3, W: 10, H: 16; (1436): L: 13.7, W: 12.1, H: 7.5; (1480): L: 16, W: 5.9, H: 8.7, sealing: MDim.: c. 16.5 mm, just over half of design preserved in three impressions, with some edges.

Three two-hole hanging nodules with impression possibly from a stone seal with convex face depicting upper majority of a standing 'Minoan genius' facing right. 'Genius' has arms bent at elbow with paws holding what seems to be a vessel in front of body, with indications of a spiked upper back and body, probably wasp-waist, and long snout with open mouth. Minoan, seal impression LM II-III A1, nodule LM II-III.

*Context:* None known.

*Chronology:* LM II-III A1 seal impression on generally contemporary of slightly later LM II-III nodule, without context.

*Comparison:* {309A}.

*Reference:* POPHAM and GILL 1995:34; CMS II.8.2:#542.

*Comments:* See comments to {309}.

**309E. Sealing with seal impression.** HMs 1310 (not seen)

Clay, sealing: L: 18.1, W: 9, H: 6, sealing: MDim.: c. 16 mm, just over half of design preserved in one impression, with some edges.

Sealing of unidentified type with impression possibly from a lentoid stone seal with convex face depicting upper majority of a standing 'Minoan genius' facing left. 'Genius' has a spiked upper back and body, probably wasp-waist, and long snout with open mouth.

Minoan, likely LM IIIA2-B(?).

*Context:* None known.

*Chronology:* Likely LM II-III A2 seal impression, without context.

*References:* CMS II.8.2:#545; PHILLIPS 2005b:456 n. 8.

*Comments:* See comments to {309}. The type of sealing cannot be ascertained from the preserved fragment, but the design of a wasp-waisted striated figure with separate striated 'wing' suggests the figure is a 'genius' with a long crest rather than a dorsal appendage that would be associated with the degraded 'genii' images of the 'End Palatial' period. As seal images of single 'genii' always face right, this would be the right half of a design showing two confronted antithetical 'genii,' presumably guarding an object between them.

**309F. Nodule with seal impression.** HMs 1461 (not seen)

Clay, nodule: L: 15.4, W: 10.8, H: 8.9, sealing: H (pres.): c. 10.5, W (pres.): c. 8 mm, just over half of design preserved in one impression, without edges.

Two-hole hanging nodule with impression possibly from an amygdaloid stone seal with convex face depicting upper body of a standing 'Minoan genius' facing right. 'Genius' has its one visible arm awkwardly bent at elbow with paw holding the base of a vessel, and indications of a spiked upper back and body.

Minoan, seal impression LM I-III A1; nodule LM II-III.

*Context:* None known.

*Chronology:* LM I-III A1 seal impression on LM II-III nodule, without context.

*Reference:* CMS II.8.2:#546.

*Comments:* See comments to {309}. The spiked upper back and body (without 'balls' on the end) suggests a Final Palatial date for the impression, although the figure is rather 'chubby' for the period and this may instead be a Neo-Palatial image. The hanging nodule type itself is not employed before the Final Palatial period so, if the image *is* Neo-Palatial in date, it was old when employed on this nodule.

**310. Carved fragments.** HM Γλ 107, Γλ 179

Banded travertine, (A) (HM 107): H: 10.9; Dia. (max): 2.6 cm, two joining fragments with front of face including beak missing; and (B) (HM 179): H: 8.4; Dia.: 2.0-2.7 cm, one fragment. Fragments of an unknown curved object, preserving one end and part of remainder.

(A) End fragment, with tapering curved handle terminating at top in a bird (goose/duck/swan/waterfowl) head curving to one side, with drilled eyes possibly for inlay. Small horizontal hole drilled through head, possibly at upper part of beak.

(B) Lower part of tapering curved object, broken at top. Deep mortices from bottom and at top break, for join to other, separately made portions above and below. Beginning of articulated diagonal (curved) cross bar, just above bottom.

Minoan?, probably but not certainly MM III-LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably MM III-LM I object, without context.

*Comparanda:* EVANS *PM* II.2:fig. 552:A-B; BLEGEN *et al.* 1966-1973:II:pl. 126:43 H 6; LONG 1974:pl. 6:17, 15:37.

*References:* PLATON 1966; WARREN 1969:114 Type 43:J;<sup>859</sup> LONG 1974:38; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:223 #110; PHILLIPS

<sup>859</sup> HM 107 is misidentified as HM 108 and both are described as 'thick handles.'

1991:II:628–629 #253, III:1105–1107 fig. 253; YOUNGER 1988:16, 63 #11, pl. 16; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:271–272 #272.

*Comments:* Although reconstructed as a lyre by Platon, Warren calls these ‘handle fragments’. Egyptian lyres occasionally are decorated with *regardant* bird-head terminals, the lyres so decorated are of the asymmetrical type quite different from Platon’s reconstruction and are never made of stone; Platon’s reconstruction is of a type unknown in both Egypt and the Aegean. Younger notes Platon’s reconstruction is inherently invalid, since stone is too inflexible to support the string tension necessary to produce any sound. He suggests instead it might just be a phorminx, the musical instrument depicted in the comparanda listed, all of which are LM IIIA/LH IIIB in date. These illustrations, on the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus and the Pylos fresco, in fact appear to include an animal with pointed ears rather than a bird as the zoomorphic terminus. The form and decoration of the two instruments is quite similar, and quite different from Platon’s reconstruction

Graeme Lawson,<sup>860</sup> however, rejects any reconstruction of these fragments as a musical instrument, essentially because no parallel exists worldwide at any period for a stringed instrument made of stone. He notes, however, that *theoretically* it would be possible for their use on an instrument, although Platon’s reconstruction remains incorrect as both the necessary resonance bridge over the strings and the sounding box are missing.

If not a musical instrument, their purpose is unknown. The two pieces need not necessarily belong to the same object or vessel. It is possible that they are separately attached handles to a stone vessel, as Warren had suggested, in which case the broken-off beak could be understood as a direct breakage point for the vessel. The deep mortices on the second fragment may be seen for insertion of a tenon above and below, an attachment system not known in Minoan vessels where the use of bronze pins is usual.<sup>861</sup> Alternatively, they may be later practice drill holes after the piece was already a fragment, as the alignment of one mortice is off-centre. Both fragments are quite large for attachment to a vessel, and the use of handles in bird head form are extremely rare in both Egypt and the Levant.<sup>862</sup> The proposed dating is the period when Minoan stone vessel artisans made elaborately carved vessels.

## VV.2. Hogarth’s Excavations

Hogarth assisted Evans the first season of excavations in 1900, digging outside the palace site in order to ascertain the character of the surrounding town.<sup>863</sup>

### VV.2.1.

The following is stated by Evans to have come from north-west of the palace site, apparently without

context, and by Warren<sup>864</sup> but not by Evans (in publication) to have come from Hogarth’s excavations.

### 311. Jar (‘cylinder jar’), HM A 128

Travertine, H: 10.08; Dia. (rim): 7.8; (base): 5.8 cm, chipped on base, part of body and about half of rim missing, entire profile preserved in two joining fragments.

Cylindrical jar with everted rim and base, slightly tapering body. Interior cavity slightly tapering, slightly undercut and pimped at bottom.

Egyptian, Dynasty V–FIP.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty V–First Intermediate Period vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* PETRIE 1937:pl. IIA:93A, 93C, XI:93C; WARREN 1969:P412; WARD 1971:99, fig. 16:12; B.G. ASTON 1994:99–100, 104 #34–35.

*References:* EVANS *PM* IV.1:123–124, fig. 92; WARREN 1965:32–33 #25, fig. 7, pl. Δ:7; 1969:75–76, 111 Type 43:F1, P600, D324; WARD 1971:98 fig. 15:1; WARREN 1981b:633, pl. 206:b; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:158;<sup>865</sup> LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990: 218 #94, pl. 68:94; PHILLIPS 1991:II:630–631 #258, III:1109 fig. 258; LILYQUIST 1996:148; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:41 #24.

*Comments:* Hogarth worked in the area surrounding the palace site in 1900, including to the north-west.<sup>866</sup> As Evans himself does not state (in publication) that Hogarth excavated this piece, he may not have done so. If not excavated by Hogarth, ‘north-west of the palace site’ may instead refer to the ‘unstratified deposit’ north-west of the palace which Evans described as being levelled off to construct the palace building.<sup>867</sup> However, unlike all other vessels Evans discusses from there, this one is complete, and so its discovery there is unlikely. It is an early find, to judge from its HM catalogue number, far removed from the number of a jar {166} from Evans’ excavations north-west of the palace and therefore may not have been his work. In either case, it can be given no find context. It is not mentioned in any of the preliminary Knossos reports, and not mentioned at all until the last volume of *PM*, suggesting Evans had not seen it earlier.

The form seems best correlated to B.G. Aston’s dating of late Old Kingdom through First Intermediate Period examples. The everted rim and base is not as exaggerated as the Minoan products from Mochlos {406–407}.

### VV.2.2.

The following is recorded as coming from Hogarth’s 1900 excavations at Knossos:

### 312. Pendant, HM 370

Rock-crystal, H: 21.0; W:16.0; Th.: 16.4; SH: 20.2 mm, intact.

<sup>860</sup> Personal communication, 15 October 2001 and other occasions.

<sup>861</sup> See Chapter 4, Appendix B.

<sup>862</sup> PETRIE 1937:pl. XXXIV:864, although this goose head is not directly comparable.

<sup>863</sup> EVANS *et al.* 1899–1900:70–85. See also Knossos II, above.

<sup>864</sup> WARREN 1969:111, but not in 1981b:633.

<sup>865</sup> Note the incorrect chronological limits as described: the author (or editor) mistakenly has substituted “Middle

Minoan” for ‘Early Minoan’ and “Late Minoan” for ‘Middle Minoan.’ The text should read “...imitating the shape as early as Early Minoan IIB, although most copies are Early Minoan III to Middle Minoan I.”

<sup>866</sup> EVANS *et al.* 1899–1900:pl. XII shows the locations of Hogarth’s test-pits. There are several ‘north-west of the palace site,’ most of which Hogarth does not discuss in the text.

<sup>867</sup> See Knossos R, above.

Pendant in the form of a squatting figure with bulbous body, with hands on abdomen, legs tucked around body and head upraised. Eyes drilled, and face and body summarily indicated with three incised vertical lines to indicate short hair. String-hole through side at neck.

Minoan, MM II–LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM II–LM I object, without context.

*Comparanda:* (female figure) {271?}, {378}; {452}; (ape figure) {320}.

*Reference:* PHILLIPS 1991:II:631–632 #259, III:1109 fig. 259.

*Comments:* Described as representing the Egyptian god Bes in the HM Inventory Book but clearly not; it may be seen best as a woman of the ‘squatting pregnant’ type similar to those from Phaestos and Malia. A tailless ape also is possible, similar to the clay figure from Kommos.

### VV.3. Hood’s Excavations

Hood excavated the following in 1957–1961, during which time he excavated in the areas of the Royal Road (see Knossos AA–CC), west of ‘Hogarth’s Houses’ (see Knossos II), and the Gypsades hill tombs (see Knossos RR). The following does not seem to have come from any of these. He also conducted several test and rescue excavations elsewhere on the site in these years, and the following must have been found at one of them.

**313. Alabastron (Type C)**, KSM (1957–1961) unnumbered (in box labelled ‘Knossos Area Minoan Stone’)

Travertine, H: 10.2; W: 6.1; MDim: 10.4 cm, one body fragment.

Baggy alabastron with curved profile.

Egyptian, within Dynasty XII–SIP (–very early Dynasty XVIII?).

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Within Dynasty XII–Second Intermediate Period (–very early Dynasty XVIII?) vessel, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1969:112 Type 43:I; PHILLIPS 1991:II:632 #260, III:1109 fig. 260.

### VV.4. Stray and Surface Finds

Some objects are noted only to come from Knossos, but have no find context or excavation.

**314. Scarab**, HM Σ–K 1554

Glazed faience, H: 17.2; W: 11.9; H: 7.8; SH: 0.9 mm, chipped along most of one side, with loss of some face design.

Scarab with lunate head and notched clypeus, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Tail indicated by small oval. Legs indicated by deep undercutting. Naturalistically modeled. String-hole through length. *Face:* Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription in vertical format: *Imn-R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-ḥty nb(.i)*. ‘Amon-Re-Harakhty, (my) Lord,’ the name of the combined triple deity worshipped chiefly but not exclusively in the Theban area. The sun-disc at the top is flanked either side by a barely recognisable uraeus. Line border.

Egyptian, (late Dynasty XVIII–) early Dynasty XIX.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* (Late Dynasty XVIII–) early Dynasty XIX, without context.

*Comparanda:* PETRIE 1890:pl. XXIII:106; 1925b:pl. XVIII:1378; PETRIE and TUFNELL 1930:pl. XXIX:249.

*References:* CMS II.3:#190; PHILLIPS 1991:II:633 #262, III:1110 fig. 262; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:322 #333.

*Comments:* This was found in the Athanasakis field, east of the Kairitos river (itself east of Knossos palace), and was presented to the HM by R.W. Hutchinson in 1938. All features are moulded. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) date it to Dynasty XVIII–XIX. The name of Amon-Ra is not found on scarabs before the New Kingdom. Its Dynasty XIX or possibly even late Dynasty XVIII date is indicated by the deeply incised carving, and its relative quality suggests it is early within this range, but compare this with the scarab without provenance on Crete {546} to see the decline in quality from the earlier Dynasty XVIII period.

**315. Scarab**, HM (Giamalakis) Σ–K 3153

White steatite, glazed, L: 28.7; W: 20.6; H: 12.6; SH: 2.0 mm, large chip on face edge and one leg, glaze almost entirely lost. Burnt.

Scarab with elaborate lunate head, single line between clypeus and pronotum and between elytra. Framing line around outer edge of pronotum and elytra, terminating in curve. Humeral callosities indicated, also triangle at outer edges of pronotum. Lunate tail. Legs indicated by deep undercutting and elaborate notching. String-hole along length. Glazed a turquoise colour. *Face:* Elaborate formal vertical design along length, deeply cut. Winged sun disc (*Bḥdy*) at top, with a similar or same sign below, followed by a pair of *wḏ3t* eyes (D 10), pair of game boards (*mn*) (Y 5) and another of double crowns (S 5), all in mirror image, separated in centre by a tall *dd* pillar (R 11). Line border.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XIX (after Ramesses II)–XX.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XIX (after Ramesses II)–XX, without context.

*Comparanda:* PETRIE 1896:pl. XXIV:12; 1925b:pl. XVI:1191, 1205; GIVEON and KERTESZ 1986:12 #16, fig. 16, pl. 16.

*References:* PHILLIPS 1991:II:634 #265, III:1110 fig. 265; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:327 #343; PHILLIPS 2005b:460 n. 24.

*Comments:* Said to be from Knossos, but not noted as such by Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*). The jumbled collection of powerful amuletic signs in general mirror arrangement is typical of the post-Ramesses II period, during the decline of the Empire and when increasingly more powerful amuletic aids were in vogue. Its date of manufacture thus would limit its importation to not before late LM IIIB.

**316. Scarab**, HM Σ–K 1415

Carnelian, L: 15.5; W: ; H: 11.2; H: 8.9 mm, chipped on both ends and one side of face.

Scarab, with open head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and a second on elytra. Elytra not distinguished, but both are striated vertically. Legs indicated, meeting at division between pronotum and elytra. Very high base. String-hole through length. *Face:* Undecorated.

Unknown, post-Bronze Age.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Unknown post-Bronze Age scarab, without context.

*Comparison:* {283}.

*Reference:* KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:313 #315.

*Comments:* This scarab was recovered in the Ano Pigis field, along the Vlichia stream that runs immediately south of the palace. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) incorrectly date this scarab and its parallel to MM III–LM I. Scarabs with striated elytra can be traced as early as Dynasty XII on scarab jewellery, but the feature did not become popular or widespread until Dynasty XVIII and the New Kingdom<sup>868</sup> and continued into the Late Period. By this time, they usually are found as protective amulets for the body of the deceased,<sup>869</sup> sometimes with falcon wings and mostly in blue to green stones or faience, although other colours also are found. This scarab is excessively high and short for its width, although the lack of a face design would suggest it may have been intended as a jewellery component where the base would not be visible. Nonetheless, this post-dates the NK. The scarab itself does not seem to be Egyptian, and certainly is not Minoan, but may be Phoenician.

### 317. Nodule with seal impression, HMs 1252

Clay, L: 18.9; W: 10.8, Th.: 4.8 mm, about a third of design preserved in one seal impression, cut off at side edge and fading out to top surface of nodule; a ‘leaf-shaped’ object possibly later impressed at top right edge.

Two-hole hanging nodule with twisted string impression on the back, and impression probably from a scarab seal. Impression shows a striding probably male zoomorphic figure, apparently with a falcon head and so presumably Horus, facing right on the left side. He stands on a *nb*-sign (V 30), shown in outline only. He wears a kilt, with one (left) arm hanging down to his side and fading to hand, and the other (right) hanging down then apparently curving slightly to break of nodule. His head appears to have a long diagonal at the back. Thick vertical object at top right edge. Vertical format. Thin line border.

Minoan nodule, LM II–III. Original seal most likely Egyptian, Dynasty XV–early XX, or Canaanite, MB IIB–LB IIB.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LM II–III nodule with Dynasty XV–XVIII or MB IIB–LB IIA impression, without context.

*Comparanda:* BRUNTON and ENGELBACH 1927:pl. XXVI:465. upper left; TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. XLII Type 10A1c, XLIV type 10A2c; (figure) KEEL 1989c:290 fig. 26; 1989d:*passim*; 1995b:215–216 §586–589; 1996:135 fig. 19; 1997:59 #110.

*References:* SMITH 1990:79;<sup>870</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:633–634 #264, III:1110 fig. 264; POPHAM and GILL 1995:33 #1252;<sup>871</sup>

*CMS* II.6:xxxiv n. 78;<sup>872</sup> PINI 2000:113 n. 38; *CMS* II.8.2:#720.

*Comments:* See comments to {309}. Popham and Gill suggest this nodule *may* have come from the ‘East Temple Repository,’ based on the nodule shape and the clay itself. It is not, however, discussed or listed by PANAGIOTAKI (1995; 1999).<sup>873</sup> Nonetheless, it almost certainly comes at least from the palace area. The nodule format dates its use at least to within LM II–IIIA. The impression may show either an anthropomorphic male or zooanthropomorphic (Horus-headed?) striding figure whose right arm becomes or holds a uraeus cobra figure probably represented by the wide vertical object top right. This image is well represented from Dynasty XIII through early Dynasty XX in Egypt and contemporary phases in Canaan. This is, thus far, the only scarab impression found in a Minoan context,<sup>874</sup> although several impressions from Anatolian and other cylinder seals also are known. The presence of this impression on a nodule strongly suggests scarabs were employed as seals, at least occasionally at Knossos. Not listed by HALLAGER (1996).

### 318. Seal, HM (Giamalakis) 3278

Rock crystal, L: 18.7; W: 19.7; H: 8.8; SH: 2.3 mm, worn and chipped on surface and at edge.

Lentoid seal, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Minoan ‘genius’ standing at right, facing left, with leonine head, spiked back, one arm held to front. At left, deer with hind legs in air, forelegs on ground, and neck flung back with head almost at tail.

Minoan, LM II–IIIA.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LM II–IIIA seal, without context.

*References:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:65 #380, pl. XI:380, XXVIII:380; GILL 1964:10, 20 #37, pl. 5:2; PHILLIPS 1991:II:632–633 #261, III:1110 fig. 261; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:160 #138.

*Comments:* Xenaki-Sakellariou identifies an object held in the hand of the ‘genius’ as a knife, but Gill notes a surface fracture adjacent to the paw and considers the knife a misidentification. I concur.

### 319. Seal, HM Σ-K 1590

Haematite, L: 23.9; W: 12.9; H: 6.9; SH: 1.9 mm, intact but worn.

Amygdaloid with articulated back. String-hole through length. *Face:* Cat facing right in ‘flying leap’ pose with tail behind, pouncing on a waterfowl with long neck and bill, and both wings outstretched behind it. A second waterfowl, posed

<sup>868</sup> The earliest example is a ring of Queen Mereret, wife of Senwosret III (Dynasty XII), from Dahshur. Other well-known examples are a pendant of Queen Ahhotep, mother of both Kamose and Ahmose (end Dynasty XVII–beginning of Dynasty XVIII) and a ring of Tutankhamun (late Dynasty XVIII); see ALDRED 1978:pl. 32:upper right, 45, 74)

<sup>869</sup> See ANDREWS 1994:58–59, figs. 58–59.

<sup>870</sup> This is the second (unpublished) sealing mentioned by Smith, although not specifically identified in the text.

<sup>871</sup> They also note HMs 1352 as a duplicate impression of this nodule but, according to Ingo Pini (personal communication, 20 January 2000), that impression is definitely not

from a scarab and is not a duplicate of HMs 1252; see now *CMS* II.8.1:#146 for the HMs 1352 impression. The two numbers must have been confused in Gill’s notes.

<sup>872</sup> Incorrectly; see n. 871, above.

<sup>873</sup> See Knossos J, above.

<sup>874</sup> *Contra* BETTS 1967:39 #42; SMITH 1990:79 n. 3; CLINE 1994:252 #1080; all refer to HMs 1047, which clearly is not from an Egyptian scarab. See now *CMS* II.8.1:#3. My thanks to Ingo Pini, who brought seal impression HM 1252 to my attention in 1989 and has since published it in *CMS* II.8, and for confirming that it is Smith’s “second unpublished” piece.



vertically with wings outstretched either side, flies upward in background. A series of short horizontal lines at bottom with groups of tri-stemmed plants immediately above as ground plane, with a taller plant at extreme right.

Minoan, LM II–IIIB.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LM II–IIIB seal, without context.

*Comparanda:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU and CHATZILIOU 1989: 27–28 #10, pl. V:2; SMITH 1965:Fig 105b; MORGAN 1988:pls. 51–52; {63}; {530}; {572}.

*References:* CMS II.3:LVII, #172; PHILLIPS 1991:II:633 #263, III:1110 fig. 263; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #284; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:181 #169; MILITELLO 2000:84 fig. 11.

*Comments:* The seal was taken to the HM in 1950, and is said to have been found in the Ellenika field at Knossos.

The horizontal lines and tri-stemmed plants at the bottom suggest a riverine setting, so this scene follows the theme already found in the West House frieze at Akrotiri on Thera, the ‘Nilotic dagger’ from Mycenae and another from Rutsi on the Mainland, all no later than LH IIA or LM IA in date,

### VV.5. Zidianakis’ Field

Immediately north of the palace ‘Theatral Area’ are fields belonging to Andoni Zidianakis, a foreman of the British School at Knossos.<sup>875</sup> While no excavation work has been attempted on this land, surface finds have been recorded. Immediately surrounding this field are the Royal Road excavations, the ‘Armoury,’ and a variety of Minoan houses, as well as some Roman tombs.<sup>876</sup>

### 320. Scarab, HM Σ-K 2546

Unidentified material,<sup>877</sup> L: 16.3; W: 12.1; H: 6.2; SH: 1.7 mm, chipped and broken head, otherwise intact.

Scarab with deeply undercut trapezoidal head and clypeus, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated by deep undercutting. String-hole through length. *Face:* Egyptian hieroglyphs ‘r<sup>c</sup>’ (N 5) and ‘hpr’ (L 1) and an obscure sign at the bottom, enclosed within an oval, and flanked either side by the ostrich feather ‘m3<sup>c</sup>t’ (H 4) or regnal uraei (N 12) and surmounted by (D)mn-R<sup>c</sup>, ‘Amon-Re,’ the name of the sun-god. The R<sup>c</sup>-sign at the top is winged. Vertical format. Line border.

Egyptian, Dynasty XIX–XX.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XIX–XX scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* GAUTHIER 1907–1917:II:385 #12, 389 #27, 390 #33, 36, 394 #62; TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. LXIII.3507, 3511; {482}.

*References:* CATLING 1975:26–27, fig. 50; HELCK 1979:95; KANTA 1980:315; CLINE 1987:16 n. 74, 32; WEINSTEIN 1989:25–26 n. 125; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:212 #71, pl. 46:71; PHILLIPS 1991:II:634–635 #266, III:1111 fig. 264; CLINE 1994:252 #1075; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:321 #331;<sup>878</sup> PHILLIPS 2005b:459.

*Comments:* Both the scarab and its inscription are badly and crudely executed, and the signs can be interpreted differently. The oval is not necessarily to be seen as a ‘cartouche’. Whilst those outside the ‘cartouche’ almost certainly are correct, the most problematic area is that within the ‘cartouche,’ although the sun-disc (R<sup>c</sup>) at the top is clear enough. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) have interpreted the remaining signs as the seated goddess M3<sup>c</sup>t (C 10) and the pharaoh thus referred to as Mn-M3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>, Seti I, second king of Dynasty XIX. In this interpretation, the ‘mn’ sign outside the cartouche is included as part of the name.

The inscription initially was interpreted as the name of Horemhab, the last Dynasty XVIII king, as (D)sr-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>, ‘Djeserheper(u)re,’ enclosed within an apparent cartouche. Horemhab’s name normally is written (D)sr-hprw-R<sup>c</sup>, with the ‘w’ sign. Scarabs were not issued with the name of Horemhab after his death so, if indeed his name is inscribed here, this scarab must have been made during his lifetime and presumably it either arrived contemporary with his reign or as a souvenir at some later date.<sup>879</sup>

A scarab type inscribed with the formula *dsr-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>* (‘sacred is the form/presence of Re’) and previously considered a Dynasty XVII royal name, is now recognised as a design scarab type with a formula dated elsewhere to the late Second Intermediate Period.<sup>880</sup> The ‘cartouche’ does not include the characteristic binding knot at the bottom, and might be considered a simple encircling line instead. This formula is associated with the cult of the god Re, and is one of several formulae formerly thought to be royal names. The Knossos scarab, however, is not of this type, despite the lack of the ‘w’ in the name, as the composition of a royal name (with or without a cartouche) flanked either side by a Ma<sup>c</sup>at feather and a sun disc above does not appear before the New Kingdom,<sup>881</sup> and the flanking uraei (if such they are) before the reign of Thutmose III. Rather, this is an example of a Ramesside ‘motto’ scarab, a grouping of hieroglyphic signs of amuletic power, not necessarily as a readable text. Another example was found, in contemporary LM IIIB context, at Poros {482}.

The scarab beetle itself is smaller than the base on which it sits, a characteristic usually indicating a Ramesside (Dynasty XIX) date, but already present by late Dynasty XVIII. The alternative interpretation of Seti’s name is difficult unless the ‘mn’ sign outside the ‘cartouche’ is employed, also a significantly unusu-

<sup>875</sup> HOOD and SMYTH 1981:22 #218.

<sup>876</sup> See HOOD and SMYTH 1981:survey map, E6.

<sup>877</sup> Not ‘white piece,’ bone, ivory or faience (Ingo Pini, personal communication, 09 February 1989). KEEL and KYRIAKIDES (in KARETSOU *et al.*) identify the material as “white steatite.”

<sup>878</sup> The face design is illustrated upside-down.

<sup>879</sup> Very few other objects bearing his name have been found outside Egypt. One is a terminal (dagger pommel?) from Hala Sultan Tekke on Cyprus, in a context much later than his reign; see PELTENBURG 1986:165–166, fig. 3.1.

<sup>880</sup> RYHOLT 1997:62–65; BEN-TOR, ALLEN and ALLEN 1999:64. Note in particular the forked right end of the *dsr* sign on TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. LXIII:3511, similar to that on the Knossos scarab.

<sup>881</sup> Nir Lalkin (personal communication, 08 August 2001). He does, however, suggest that the name might be of Thutmose III, as the lowermost sign may be a badly executed ‘mn’ rather than ‘dsr’.

al practice. Parallels with other examples of Seti's name on scarabs are difficult to find, including that (MATOUK 1972–1977:1:#281) cited by Keel and Kyriakides and actually of Thutmose I, nor any of the Seti I scarabs in Matouk's catalogue (#570–588). It seems best left as a Dynasty XIX–XX scarab, and probably not a royal name. The relative crude and deeply incised carving also is suggestive of Ramesside rather than Dynasty XVIII date, when mass production in large quantities resulted in a decline in quality of production.

## KOMMOS

The port town of Kommos lies on the western edge of the Mesara plain, on the coast of the Libyan Sea just north of the modern village of Matala. Evans identified Kommos as the southern end of the 'Minoan Way' joining Knossos and the southern coast,<sup>882</sup> although he did not actually excavate at the site. Evans and more recent scholars have associated it with the haven in which Menelaos took refuge during a wild storm on his way home to Sparta, described in Homer's *Odyssey* (III:291–294).

J.W. and M.C. Shaw excavated the Kommos site in 1976–1986, resuming in 1990 and continuing.<sup>883</sup> They have concentrated in three major areas, the 'Hilltop,' 'Central Hillside' and 'Southern Area'. The first two areas consisted solely of housing in two major strata, LM buildings overlying those of MM. Those on the 'Central Hillside' are particularly well preserved, whilst the 'Hilltop' walls rarely exceed 60 cm. in height and little was recovered of the underlying MM construction.

The 'Southern Area' has proved to be entirely different. Here, an Iron Age Greek temple complex was uncovered, with three superimposed temples of which the earliest is mid-11<sup>th</sup> c. BC, together with various associated buildings and altars.<sup>884</sup> They had been constructed directly above a series of 'palatial' structures that have been interpreted in part as a major commercial complex. This consists in part of a series of LM IIIA–B ship-sheds (Building P) and an earlier palatial MM III–LM IA stoa/storage magazine complex (Building J/T) with central pebble court. All are immediately south of a paved road,

framed on both sides by high orthostate walls, that clearly separates these 'Civic Buildings' from the town. Immediately north of the road is further housing, similar to that higher up the hill but apparently of higher status, as exemplified by House X.

The material recovered at the site shows almost continuous occupation from the Neolithic to the Roman era, although no architecture prior to MM I was found.<sup>885</sup> A considerable quantity of imports, from Egypt, the Near East, Cyprus and Italy in addition to Mainland Greek and Cycladic goods were found in the Minoan levels. Many of these imports are ceramic vessels, including large so-called 'Canaanite jars' and other large storage and transport vessels in addition to smaller, less practical types, that together strengthens identification of the site as a major commercial complex.

The Minoan ceramic material has been studied and published by different specialists, the 1976–1986 material by P. P. BETANCOURT (1990; Neolithic to MM III) and L.V. WATROUS (1992; LM). The material recovered since 1990 is in process of being studied by J. Rutter, who also has revised some earlier attributions through further detailed analysis and comparison.<sup>886</sup>

### A. Hilltop

The Hilltop housing was dense but not well preserved, consisting of at least one large and five other partially excavated buildings. These are at least partly divided into 'blocks' by several roads and a 'lane,' although sometimes distinguishing between the individual buildings was difficult. The area was badly eroded, especially at the top, with more sand overburden accumulating farther down the slope. The western side ended at a cliff face, at which edge the houses had collapsed.

#### A.1. The 'North House'

The most completely excavated building, and also that in prime position, is the 'North House,' constructed above underlying MM III–LM IA rooms and a very few preserved MM IB–II walls. Maria C. Shaw

<sup>882</sup> EVANS *PM* II.1:88–90, fig. 41, Map opp. p. 70.

<sup>883</sup> Annual reports by J.W. SHAW in *Hesperia* (1977 to 1986, 1993) and in *AR*.

<sup>884</sup> On the Egyptian material from these later levels, see SKONJEDELE 1994:1875–1891.

<sup>885</sup> A synopsis of the site's history is SHAW and SHAW 1997.

<sup>886</sup> I am especially grateful to Jerry Rutter for allowing me access to his unpublished Kommos material, for many long and fruitful discussions and emails concerning their identification and contexts, and for allowing me to include his

unpublished material in the present study. The final interpretation of these sherds, placing them in their full context and providing final analyses, of course, is that of Rutter. His research remains ongoing, and his publications of the 'Southern Area' (2006) and 'House X' (forthcoming) should be consulted for further details and analyses of this material, and corrections to this section. The former appeared during proof stage of the present study, and I have only added page references and noted alternate identifications here.

excavated this building in 1976–1982 and identified two phases of use, the lower (LM IB–IIIA1) and upper (by beginning of LM IIIA2–B), until it was finally abandoned (although with some evidence also exists for very limited Proto-Geometric use of the area).<sup>887</sup>

Some MM III–LM IA walls and floors were reused for the later, well-constructed roughly square building, nearly 12 metres each side. Divided into three ‘suites’ of rooms, it boasted an upper storey as indicated by at least two stairways (N8/N9, N21), a hearth (N17) and possible court (N11), and at least two entrances. The later phase is marked by several floors being raised, transfer of the hearth from the centre of room N17 to against its north wall, several interior door-blockings and a new entrance being cut, possibly creating three separate residences.

#### *A.1.1. Room[s] N6–8 (Watrous Deposit 29)?*

The east-west corridor (N7) in the north-west corner of the house led from the possible court (N11) to a probable storage space under the early phase staircase (N8) on the left and, to the right, the later phase staircase (N10) and another corridor (N6) directly opposite N8 towards the corner room (N3).<sup>888</sup> This ‘T’-shaped space produced a scattered but unified Deposit 29 of several almost complete and fragmentary vessels, almost all of LM IIIA1 date.<sup>889</sup> Some residual MM III–LM I fragments were mixed in, as

were two LM IIIA2 goblet bases that provide the deposition date. This presumably represents part of the reorganisation of the house for its later phase of use. Vessel types are conical cups, cups, cooking pots, dishes, jugs and juglet, tray, ladle, stirrup jar, goblet, and amphorae, as well as single fragments each of an Egyptian and Canaanite ‘storage jar,’ and a loomweight.

#### **321. Amphora, shoulder-lower body handled.** HM — (Exc. # C5977)

Clay, probably Marl D,<sup>890</sup> reddish-brown gritty fabric with dark and white inclusions, thick creamy white slip with patches of (10R 6/8 light red<sup>891</sup>), (A) MDim: 10.2; (B) MDim: 8.8 cm, differential surface wear and flaking, chipping, three joining shoulder and one non-joining lower handle fragments.

(A) Sloping lower shoulder of amphora, with thin section, slipped on exterior only, interior wheel marks. (B) Handle fragment, lower part of rounded profile from beginning of body junction to turn, vertical pulled strap, slightly curved profile, probably positioned on the lower shoulder.

Egyptian, mid-Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 2B–4, mid-reign of Thutmose III through end of NK).

*Context:* Mainly LM IIIA1, with some MM III–LM I and LM IIIA2.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Periods 2B–3A, mid-reign of Thutmose III through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII, but probably not later than reign of Amenhotep III) sherds, probably residual in their LM IIIA2 (early?) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general; A–B) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LIII:Type LXX/130; BRACK and BRACK 1977:pl. 63:2/13–14, 2/28–29; (B) HOLTHOER 1977:pl. 22:185/196:19.

<sup>887</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1996:17–59.

<sup>888</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1996:44.

<sup>889</sup> WATROUS 1992:34–35, 203. Floor contexts 1B1/4B and 5C, 1B2/12 and 14, and immediately above.

<sup>890</sup> The Egyptian vessel fabric identifications by Aston and Bader in summer 2002, except for those already in the HM at that time; see also the addendum at the end of this section. Janine Bourriau has suggested fabric identifications for the vessels now in the HM, based on their physical description. These are quoted mostly in terms of the ‘Vienna System,’ for which see NORDSTRÖM and BOURRIAU 1993, and ASTON 1998 for one variant identification. The following date ranges for the fabrics found at Kommos are employed in the present catalogue entries, except when the context date lies beyond the range given or the vessel form allows a more limited range to be cited:

*Marl A2:* “... occurs from the Middle Kingdom onwards ... but is most common in the late Second Intermediate Period and XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and is more plentiful in Upper than in Lower Egypt.” (NORDSTRÖM and BOURRIAU 1993:176, pl. IV.d–i)

*Marl A4:* “... occurs in the Middle Kingdom but is most common in the New Kingdom.” (NORDSTRÖM and BOURRIAU 1993:178, pl. V.d–f, i–j)

*Marl D:* “... very common in the XVIII<sup>th</sup>–XIX<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

contexts in the Delta and the Memphis-Faiyum region, and seems to occur in the south only as imports from the north.” (NORDSTRÖM and BOURRIAU 1993:181, pl. VII)

*Nile Silt B1:* “... common from the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.” (NORDSTRÖM and BOURRIAU 1993:171, pl. I.d–h)

*Nile Silt B2:* Entire Dynastic range; cannot be employed for dating purposes. (David Aston, personal communication, 01 August 2002; see also NORDSTRÖM and BOURRIAU 1993:171–73, pl. II.a–d)

*Qantir IIF.02:* “Periods 3–4, but probably sporadic before and possibly after this date range (at Qantir). Note that virtually no amphorae in this fabric display a burnished slip exterior.” (David Aston, personal communication, 01 August 2002; see also D.A. ASTON 1998:67). Janine Bourriau tells me (personal communication, 21 May 2003) this is the same as her Fabric H14 at Memphis, found here in the early Dynasty XVIII level (IV) and one sherd in the SIP level (V). It is most common in Lower Egypt. See BOURRIAU and NICHOLSON 1992:51, 71072, Table 1.

<sup>891</sup> All codes and colour descriptions shown in parentheses are MUNSSELL (2000) references. Colour descriptions *not* in parentheses are quoted in earlier published reference(s) to the sherd or its Kommos catalogue card, and are more subjective.

*References:* Kommos catalogue cards; WATROUS 1992:35 #587, 162 #587, pl. 14:587; CLINE 1994:198 #569; RUTTER 1999:173.

*Comments:* The find context of one shoulder sherd is Trench '1B1/2B,' in the upper fill above the northern rooms (N6, 10–11) of the 'North House;' this was Exc. # C2675. The other shoulder and handle fragments, Exc. # C5977 were recovered in Trench '1B1/28, 3H', were found to join with first shoulder fragment, and both now are listed as # C5977. None of these contexts is included in Watrous's description of Deposit 29, although he includes C5977 amongst the deposit contents. Presumably, it was recovered immediately nearby and within space N6–8.

Watrous calls this an "Egyptian jar," presumably on the basis of the fabric. Although quite fragmentary, the vessel can be recognised from analogies elsewhere at Kommos most likely as either as an amphora or jar. Although apparently deposited early in LM IIIA2, it should belong with the main LM IIIA1 material, and thus not later than the reign of Amenhotep III. This sherd is from a tapering elongated amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a. The handle cannot be positioned on the shoulder alone.

#### A.1.2. Room[s] N12–13 (Watrous Deposit 53)

These two small rooms form the centre of the 'North House'<sup>892</sup> and could be entered only via the large room with the hearth (N17) immediately to their south. N12 could be entered only via N13. Watrous<sup>893</sup> notes that his Deposit 53 may or may not form a meaningful floor deposit, and may just be debris; he does not distinguish between the rooms, which partly were excavated together as one. The deposit, dated to LM IIIA2, lay on, within and just under the latest (LM IIIA2) floor and thus may belong (like Deposit 29, see A.1.1, above) to the interface between the early and later phase of the building. The LM IIIA2 material on the floor was, however, worn and mixed with MM III–LM I sherds. Nearly complete vessels are a cup, conical cup, goblet and brazier, and an imported Cypriote White Shaved juglet, whilst fragmentary vessels are noted to be a cup, amphoroid krater, amphora and imported Egyptian 'storage jar,' as well as sherds of a kylix and jugs, and a triton shell. A stone platform was found in N12. Also from N12 were some shells, large ground stone implements and, from a higher fill and presumably fallen from the upper storey, two kylikes and smaller stone tools for food processing and general purpose.

M.C. Shaw, however, notes that the Cypriote WS juglet and Egyptian 'jar' both were recovered in N13,

as was the triton shell. A complete mortar and fragmentary quern of sandstone also were recovered on the floor of this room, and at a higher level were a food-processing tool, clay loomweight, shell fragments and another of pumice. She suggests it may have been used for storage.

#### 322. Amphora, Exc. # C5960 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) gritty (7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow) fabric with many white inclusions, (5YR 5/3 reddish brown) core, (2.5Y 8/4 pale yellow) slip, Dia. (max.): c. 49, MDim: 6.6 cm; Th.: 7–10 mm, differential surface wear and flaking, chipping, one body fragment.

Lower body fragment of large amphora, with tapering angle, section medium–thin, slipped on exterior only, prominent interior wheel marks.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–early XIX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* Mainly LM IIIA2, with some MM III–LM I.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in the reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII) sherd, probably residual in its LM IIIA2 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) (angle) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pls. LII:Type XLIII/260, LIII:Type LXX/130; (fabric) {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986b; WATROUS 1992:55 #955, 162 #955; CLINE 1994:198 #573; RUTTER 1999:173.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. The find context is Trench '1B/23,' one of the Deposit 53 contexts of rooms N12–13. The findspot of this fragment is physically not far removed from {321} but the fabrics are entirely different and thus they are not from the same vessel.

#### A.2. Unstratified context south of the 'North House'

A sounding was made at the eastern end in the East–West road (O2), immediately south of the south-east corner of the 'North House' in Trench 39B. Amongst the material recovered in bucket 2 was the following. It has few chronological implications although, as the context itself is located stratigraphically above LM IIIA2 'Deposit 53,' it must be no earlier than LM IIIA2 in actual deposition, although it equally could be associated with the LM IIIA1 as the IIIA2 material.<sup>894</sup>

#### 323. Amphora, thin-walled, Exc. # C4646 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) porous (5YR 5–6/1 grey) fabric with very small dark grits, (5YR 8/2 pinkish white) slip. H (pres.): 2.8; W (pres.): 4.5, cm, Th.: 4.2 mm, worn with slip chipped, one shoulder fragment.

<sup>892</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1996:49–50.

<sup>893</sup> WATROUS 1992:55, 208. Contexts 1B2/11, 13, and 23, 24A/13 and 15.

<sup>894</sup> See A.1.2 above for 'Deposit 53' and, for discussion by M.C. Shaw, SHAW and SHAW 1996:58.

Shoulder fragment of a small thin-walled amphora, slightly convex profile, interior wheel marks, slipped on exterior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2, with both LM IIIA1 and IIIA2 material.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII) sherd, probably generally contemporary with or slightly earlier than its LM IIIA2 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LIII Type LXX/130; FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pl. LIII Type XVII.7; (fabric) {322}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1982:166 n. 7, 193 n. 86; WATROUS 1992:161 #1956; CLINE 1994:177 #367; RUTTER 1999:173.

*Comments:* Watrous originally identified this as a Canaanite jar or closed vessel of North Canaanite fabric, accepted by Cline; Rutter has now identified it as Egyptian. Watrous provides only an LM IIIA dating, but notes it was recovered above his LM IIIA2 ‘Deposit 53,’ so Cline has quoted an LM IIIA2 deposition. Rutter and M.C. Shaw quote only ‘LM IIIA’ as its date of deposition, as both LM IIIA1 and A2 pottery was recovered.

### A.3. The ‘Southern Cliffside,’ Space 3 (Watrous Deposit 83)

Individual houses could not be distinguished in the south-western corner of the Hilltop, excavated in 1976–1977, although it is likely they too were housing. At the northeastern corner of this area is a small (nearly 2.5m square) slightly rectangular Space 3, well preserved on the east but not on the west, with no obvious floors and no means of entry identified.<sup>895</sup> According to M.C. Shaw, it seems to have served as a kitchen, at least in its last phase when a large pit was dug for use as a refuse dump, with much burnt fill and traces of burning on some walls. This seems implausible, however, as there seems to be little room for working, but a kitchen dump is likely.

The burnt fill consisted of an ashy deposit having considerable organic remains and much pottery, designated ‘Deposit 83’ and dated to “LM IIIB1” by Watrous.<sup>896</sup> It consists mainly of ‘pure’ LM IIIB pottery of typically domestic types, chiefly coarse cooking wares, together with a wide variety of other vessels including chiefly medium-coarse stirrup jars and amphorae, and fine vessels of most forms. Other finds include numerous burnt animal bones and limpet shells, other bone and shell, wood charcoal and

pumice pieces, fragments of two stone vases, a loomweight, faience bead, fragment of clay female figurine and cobble hand tools. Notable amongst the pottery are fragments of vessels imported from Italy, Cyprus, and Egypt, as well as Minoan sherds from Knossos, Khania and East Crete. An unrelated earlier deposit (Deposit 17, dated to LM II) was sealed below.

#### 324. Closed vessel (‘juglet’), Exc. # C3392 (PSR)

Clay, Marl A2 fairly fine gritty (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow) fabric with micaceous, light and dark inclusions, (5YR 8/3 pink) slip. Dia. (rim): 6, H (pres.): 4.2 cm, Th. (rim): 8.9, (neck): 5.2 mm, differential surface wear and flaking with patches of slip only, one rim fragment.

Rim fragment possibly of a juglet, tapering rim with thickened flattened exterior rim profile, short out-tapering neck (to sloping shoulder?), slipped on exterior. Probably had a single handle.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIB (early).

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A–early 3B, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through to mid-reign of Ramesses II) sherd, possibly but not certainly residual in its LM IIIB (early) deposition.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1981:247 n. 115; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:88 #1541, 163 #1541, fig. 73:1541, pl. 54:1541; CLINE 1994:194 #533; RUTTER 1999:173; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:254–255 #253; (drawing) top right.

*Comments:* Marl A2 is an Upper Egyptian ware. This vessel is one of only two from this region of Egypt; the other is {338}. Unlike those above {321–322}, deposition of this sherd probably is more or less contemporary with its associated finds, as the deposit is so homogenous. The find context is Trench ‘12A1/21, within ‘Deposit 83’. Watrous called this a ‘flask,’ citing the not-terribly-convincing comparison from Rifeh dated by Petrie to the reign of Thutmose III (a very early date for this shape in any case). The suggestion of ‘juglet’ was made by Janine Bourriau, as this seems too large for a ‘pilgrim flask’ and there is no evidence for a handle, which should be in evidence for this height of preserved neck; the handle must be lower down the neck; also Marl A2 fabric is unusual for a ‘pilgrim flask’. The find context is generally contemporary with early Dynasty XIX.

## B. Central Hillside

This area is located about halfway down the hill slope, not directly linked in excavation either to the ‘Hilltop’ above or the ‘Southern Area’ at the bottom, but about 27 by 30 metres in total excavated area and walls and a stratigraphical sequence down to the Final Neolithic. Few LM buildings were constructed

<sup>895</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1996:102–105; see also pl. 1.149 for section.

<sup>896</sup> WATROUS 1992:83–88. Contexts 5B/17, 20, 22, 25, and 27,

12A1/21, 64–71, 73–74, and 77. He noted several joins with material from nearby Deposit 84 in Room 14b to the north-west. Might this room be the kitchen instead?

here, but below these were a number of well-preserved MM III houses, even earlier MM I/II. Three MM III buildings were isolated within the excavated area (the 'North Building,' 'East Building,' and 'South Building'). They were destroyed at the end of this period, and largely buried by fill in the transitional MM III/LM I period when a new building ('The House of the Snake Tube') and other less well-defined spaces were erected. These continued in use through several construction phases, room additions, and superimposed floors, at least to the LM IIIB period.

*B.1. North of the 'House of the Snake Tube,' below Space 17*

At the western area of the 'Central Hillside' was exposed a large LM house known as the 'House of the Snake Tube'. Although little was excavated below the LM levels within the house itself, a number of spaces immediately surrounding it could be explored down to earlier levels and even bedrock. One such area lay just north of its north-east corner, where several small spaces (16–18) were identified into which a large 'Classical Kamares' deposit was spread together with some MM III–LM I material. The easternmost area containing this MM I–II deposit was Room 17, a rectangular space of uncertain association with surrounding walls and disturbed in MM II–III times.<sup>897</sup> Below the wall level, a small 'deposit' of probably religious nature was found within a broken clay pithos. The pithos contained a broken clay pedestalled kernos painted black with white 'veining' in imitation of stone with a number of flat discs attached to the closed top, a painted bull's ear, a stone slab with nine depressions arranged in a circle on one face, and a miniature stone amphora.

M.C. Shaw suggests this area may have been an affluent one partially associated with religious activities during the MM period.<sup>898</sup>

**325. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM 4271 (Exc. # S80)

Grey and white veined dolomitic marble, H: 5.7; Dia. (rim): 2.9; (max): 3.6; (base): 2.0 cm, intact.

'Miniature amphora' with thickened, slightly flaring rim, high shoulder and flat base.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM I–II, with a little MM II–III material.

*Chronology:* MM II, in generally contemporary MM II(–III?) shrine? deposition.

*Comparison:* {25}.

*References:* J.W. SHAW 1979:159, pl. 55:d; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23, 327; 1991:II:638 #267, III:1111 fig. 267; SHAW and SHAW 1996:271, 279–280 #58, 321, pls. 4.28.58, 4.35.58; BEVAN 2001:II:380 fig. 5.32.f.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '22A2/116,' containing Classical Kamares (i.e., MM II–III A) ware together with a kernos with red ochre. Its material confirms this vessel as a Minoan product.

*B.2. South Building, Room 25 (Betancourt Context 16)*<sup>899</sup>

The 'South Building' (or 'South House') is a complex arrangement of interconnecting rooms, incompletely excavated but having a north-south road immediately to its west. Two MM III phases can be distinguished both architecturally and stratigraphically, the earlier constructed before an MM III earthquake, and the later subsequent reconstruction of the building. The western rooms, and the majority of the building as excavated, sit mostly directly atop bedrock on two terraces, with no trace of earlier construction, whilst the eastern edge of the eastern rooms did have evidence of earlier habitation.

Room 25 is the easternmost room of the house, located in the north-east area of the building. The walls do not form a rectangle, but rather are slightly askew, perhaps part of a rebuilding of the room following an earthquake in MM III. Its north-west corner was not excavated, as it lay beneath an LM I building. Clearly a storage room, from the 67 complete or largely restorable vessels recovered there in an arranged fashion, with six large pithoi set around the walls, a seventh in a slab-paved cubicle and a further 60 vessels (more storage vessels, cooking vessels, hydria, jugs, conical cups, handled cups, lamps, rhyta, miniature closed vessels and a lid). Other finds included multiple stone tools, a fragmentary chlorite block vase, two faience beads and some plaster. Above the deposit itself, and sealing it from above, was a collection of slabs, earth and stones with sherds dating as early as MM I–II but also including many MM III sherds rather than vessels of both similar and different types.

<sup>897</sup> J.W. SHAW 1979:159–160; SHAW and SHAW 1996:146.

<sup>898</sup> J.W. SHAW 1979:160; see also SHAW and SHAW 1996:321.

This space is not included in the catalogue of GESELL 1985.

<sup>899</sup> Contexts 28B/59, 62, 70; 41A/24–25, 27, 29. The actual floor deposit excludes contexts 41A/24–25. A partial discussion and detailed plan of the deposit, including Tr. 28B contexts only, is in SHAW 1980:215–217, fig. 4. The com-

plete plan, with Tr. 41A, is in SHAW and SHAW 1996:577 pls. 3.37, 41, but C4091 is not marked on either plan. Further discussions and contents lists are BETANCOURT 1990:101–112 and SHAW and SHAW 1996:182–184. Note that the latter does not include C4091 amongst the deposit list, although its context is Tr. 41A/27.

The material above this layer largely was Late Bronze in date. A circular pit lined with stones was cut into the south-east corner in LM IIIA1, causing some contamination below. Its purpose could not be determined from the little material found within.<sup>900</sup>

**326. Bowl, straight-sided.** Exc. # C4091 (PSR)

Clay, Nile Silt B2 (2.5YR 5–6/8 light red–red) fabric, (2.5YR 5/8 red) slip, Dia. (rim): 26; H (pres.): 7.2, W (pres.): 5.9 cm, Th.: 7.6 mm, one rim fragment.

Large deep bowl with straight diagonal body, plain rounded rim, red-slipped and highly burnished interior and exterior.

Egyptian, mid–late Dynasty XVIII (Periods 2B–3A, within the reign of Thutmose III to the earlier reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII).

*Context:* MM III.

*Chronology:* Mid–late Dynasty XVIII (Periods 2B–3A, within the reign of Thutmose III to the reign of Amenhotep III) sherd, LM IIIA1 deposition intrusive into an MM III deposit.

*Comparanda:* (general) HOLTHOER 1977:pls. 27–28 Type PL; GUKSCH 1995:111 fig. 51.c.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; BETANCOURT 1990:107 #586, 192 #586, 225 #586.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench ‘41A/27, Deposit 16’. Betancourt published this fragment as having an unknown but possibly Aeginetan origin, but it was re-identified categorically as Egyptian by Aston in 2002 on the basis of its fabric. The context is secure, but is far too early for the date of the sherd according to both Aston and Bourriau. The only plausible explanation would have to be the possibility that this sherd was introduced together with the two LM IIIA1 sherds noted as “probably the result of a pit dug at the southern edge of the room”<sup>901</sup> in “the southeast corner, especially around the southeast and south walls”.<sup>902</sup> Although from the “pure” MM III deposit pail, this was below those with the intrusive sherds, and its deposition must be associated with the LM IIIA1 pit contents.

These vessels, which Holthoer calls ‘plates,’ usually are not as highly burnished as this example. Whilst the vessel form itself is not closely datable, the burnishing on both interior and exterior surfaces is not found before mid-Dynasty XVIII.

### B.3. ‘House of the Snake Tube’

This large eight-roomed house, near the scarp on the western side of the excavated area, was constructed in LM IA over the remains of several MM III rooms. It continued in use through several modification phases into LM IIIB.

#### B.3.1. ‘House of the Snake Tube,’ Room 3 (Watrous Deposit 75)

The house underwent considerable alteration from its original LM I–II design, and by LM IIIB was reduced both in size and use. Three separate rooms (3a, 3b, 4)

of the LM I–II house and another to its north (13) were opened into a single L-shaped space (now 3/13 and 4) and separated from the rest of the building. Overlying the earlier LM II ‘Deposit 20,’ ‘Deposit 75’, consists of 20 centimeters of several successive hard superimposed floor surfaces laid in Room 3 during LM IIIA2–B (early), each having sherds lying flat upon them. Watrous does not distinguish material from each layer, which is a gradual accumulation of occupational debris consisting almost entirely of sherds. More than half were of cooking wares that, together with a hearth platform in the south-east corner, suggest the room’s function in this period; other finds were some 65 shells, some bone fragments, fragments of two obsidian blades and a whetstone, and of moulds and a crucible.<sup>903</sup> Vessels, all fragmentary, include a large number of cooking dishes but also cooking pots, cups, bowls and deep bowls, goblets, jugs and juglets, kylikes, stirrup jars, ladles, kraters, amphorae, basins, lids and a stirrup jar stopper, as well as some imported fragments of Italian, Egyptian and other origin.

**327. Jar, thin-walled.** Exc. # C1474 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) (2.5YR 5/6 red) fabric with many small white angular inclusions, (10YR 8/2 very pale brown) slip, H (pres.): 3.5; W (pres.): 4.7 cm; Th.: 5–6 mm, differential surface wear and flaking, chipping, one body fragment. Body fragment of thin-walled jar, with steeply tapering slightly convex profile, slipped and burnished on exterior only, interior wheel marks, thin section.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2–B (early), with some LM I(?) and MM material.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII–mid Dynasty XIX (Periods 3–early 4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through to mid-reign of Ramesses II) sherd, in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IIIA2–B (early) context.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. L:Type XXV/183–184; (fabric) {322}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1981:247 n. 115; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:75 #1291, 162 #1291, pl. 54:1291; CLINE 1994:198 #572; RUTTER 1999:173.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. The find context is Trench ‘2A1/2,’ which generally covered the western half of the trench. The material was deposited in LM IIIA2–B (early), according to Watrous.

This sherd is from a steeply tapering elongated vessel, probably a jar. It is unlikely (although possible) to be an amphora,

<sup>900</sup> MCENROE in SHAW and SHAW 1996:214. For a summary of LM IIIA1 activity in the area, see pp. 215–217, where he notes, Table 3.3, the substantial quantity of foreign pottery at this time, including {328} and {329}.

<sup>901</sup> BETANCOURT 1990:103.

<sup>902</sup> WRIGHT, in SHAW and SHAW 1996:182.

<sup>903</sup> WATROUS 1992:71–75, 214; SHAW and SHAW 1996:223–225. The deposit contexts are not listed by Watrous.

due to its exterior burnishing. The wheel marks are not those of a 'pilgrim flask' bowl body.

### B.3.2. 'House of the Snake Tube,' Room 10 (above Watrous Deposit 27)

Room 10 is a small trapezoidal space added in LM IIIA1 to the south-eastern end of the 'House of the Snake Tube'.<sup>904</sup> This room contained Deposit 27, an LM IIIA1 floor deposit not sealed from above. The following sherds were recovered in an unstratified context in an upper level of the room above this LM IIIA1 deposit, and therefore can have been deposited no earlier than that date. The unstratified context was covered over by a fill containing LM IIIA2 and IIIB pottery, and so this deposit and context above is limited in date to LM IIIA1.

#### 328. Storage jar, tall-necked, HM — (Exc. # C287)

Clay, probably Nile silt (2.5Y 5–6/2 greyish brown to light brownish grey) coarse fabric with (10YR 5/3 brown) core, many small dark and white inclusions, smoothed (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, (A): Dia. (rim): 21.0; H (pres.): 7.2 cm, Th.: 5 mm, flaking paste, differential surface wear, chipped at edges, three joining rim/neck fragments; and (B): MDim: 4.9 cm, Th. 6.5 mm, flaking surface, two non-joining body fragments.

(A) Heavy bulbous rolled rim of large 'storage jar' with interior overhang and tall tapering neck, slipped on exterior and interior, interior and exterior wheel marks. (B) Body fragments, slightly convex, slipped on exterior.

Egyptian, within but probably early Dynasty XVIII (Period 1 or later).

*Context:* LM IIIA1.

*Chronology:* Likely early Dynasty XVIII (Period 1), but certainly not later than reign of Amenhotep III (mid-Period 3A) sherd, in somewhat later LM IIIA1 deposition.

*Comparanda:* PETRIE and BRUNTON 1924:pl. XLIV:26M2, 26M; HOPE 1989a:23 fig. 3:g–h, 24 fig. 4:a–b; GUKSCH 1995:82 fig. 36.e–f; {355}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue cards; J.W. SHAW 1981:238, 247 n. 115, pl. 60.a; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:110 #1960, 162 #1960, fig. 73:1960, pl. 55:1960; CLINE 1994:198 #570; RUTTER 1999:173; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:254–255 #253:(drawing) top, centre.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. Based on the written description (including fabric), photograph and profile drawing, David Aston would place it as early Dynasty XVIII rather than later. This vessel form, characteristically in a Nile silt fabric, is large and handleless, with an ovoid body profile and a white exterior slip, and often has a slight bulge at the neck/shoulder junction.

The find context is Trench '9A/16'. One body sherd, excavation # C140, recovered in the same room at a higher level in Trench '9A/10,' joined and was added to this vessel. Non join-

ing body sherds not seen.

Given the context, it can be no later than the reign of Amenhotep III.

#### 329. 'Pilgrim flask', Exc. # C288 (PSR)

Clay, Marl D dark multicoloured slightly gritty fabric of (5YR 7/4 pink) exterior core and (10YR 5/6–10YR 5/2 yellowish brown to greyish brown) interior, with small white inclusions, (2.5Y 8/2–5YR 7/4 pale yellow to pink) slip. H (pres.): 5.7; W (pres.): 7.5 cm, Th.: 5.2–5.5 mm, differential surface wear and flaking, two joining body ('bowl') fragments.

Central body of 'pilgrim-flask,' strongly convex profile made in several component parts luted together, slipped and burnished on exterior, interior with rough finger impression and central 'pimple,' thin section.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in reign of Thutmose IV(?) through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA1.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV to reign of Amenhotep III) sherd, in generally contemporary to slightly later LM IIIA1 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LI:Type XXXVIII; FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pl. LIII:Type XVII.15; (fabric): {332}; {339}; {352}; {358}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1981:247 n. 115; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:110 #1961, 162 #1961, fig. 73:1961, pl. 55:1961; CLINE 1994:194–195 #535; RUTTER 1999:173; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:254–255 #253:(drawing) top, second from right;<sup>905</sup> RUTTER 2006:647.

*Comments:* WATROUS's profile (1992:fig. 73:1961) depicts this fragment as the rounded bottom of the vessel, rather than its body, but lists it as a "rim fragment" in his catalogue (p. 162). It is neither. David Aston notes this is the same type of vessel as {324}.<sup>906</sup> Watrous initially had called this a 'flask,' and indeed its marl fabric identifies it as such. The central 'pimple' and exterior burnishing indicate this is the body of a multi-component 'pilgrim flask'.

### B.4. Unstratified contexts from the eastern Central Hillside area

The following sherds were recovered in unstratified contexts in the eastern side of the Central Hillside area, with few chronological implications.

#### B.4.1. North-eastern Central Hillside area (above Watrous Deposit 47)

The majority of this area consists of a single room (the 'Northeast Room') dated to LM IIIB, which is defined by earlier (MM) Spaces 35 and 38–39, and reused walls of both MM and LM IIIA2 construction.<sup>907</sup> Features of this room include a burnt hearth

<sup>904</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1996:214–215; for Deposit 27, see WATROUS 1992:31–33. The sherd is noted to be in the deposit in SHAW and SHAW 1996:625 pl. 3.108, but Watrous notes it is above the deposit.

<sup>905</sup> Illustrated horizontally, but should be vertical.

<sup>906</sup> They always are hard-fired and white-slipped. Letter of 19 September 2000.

<sup>907</sup> For discussion of this space in LM IIIB, see SHAW and SHAW 1996:220–221.



near the centre of the room, a large pithos set into the floor against its south wall and another against the east wall. A stone slab closed each of their apertures.

**330. Amphora**, Exc. # C4107 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) porous (5YR 7/3 pink) fabric, (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, H (pres.): 4.7, W (pres.): 3.5; Th.: 8.3 mm, two joining body fragments.

Lower body of medium-thin-walled amphora, with steeply tapering very slightly convex profile, interior wheel marks, slipped on exterior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV to end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA, deposited in LM IIIB or later.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII) sherd, probably residual in its LM IIIB or later deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOLLEY 1923:pl. LII Type XLIII/67; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1982:193 n. 86; WATROUS 1992:161 #1955; CLINE 1994:177 #374; RUTTER 1999:173.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '40A/53,' a fill context above LM IIIA2–B (early) floor Deposit 47<sup>908</sup> in the 'North-east Room'. Whilst it has no stratigraphical value in or of itself, this fill seems to have been deposited no earlier than LM IIIB, on this basis. Both Watrous and Rutter date the sherd's context to LM IIIA, however.

This sherd is from a steeply tapering elongated amphora, probably of medium size.

*B.4.2. Southeastern 'Central Hillside' area*

The southeastern area of the 'Central Hillside' consists of several spaces (41, 53–54, and some unnumbered) having relatively uncontaminated LM IIIB levels. The remaining areas are characterised as 'mixed,' on an exposed slope with material ranging throughout Minoan through to modern times.<sup>909</sup>

**331. Closed vessel, thin-walled**. Exc. # C1649 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) porous (5YR 6/3 light reddish brown) fabric with dark and light inclusions, heavy (5Y 8/3 pale yellow) slip, H (pres.): 2.4, W (pres.): 3.2 cm; Th.: 5.4 mm, surface chipped and worn, one body fragment.

Lower body of thin-walled closed vessel, steeply tapering profile, slipped and burnished on exterior only, slightly convex profile.

Egyptian, late SIP or later.

*Context:* LM IIIA with some LM IIIB sherds.

*Chronology:* Late SIP–early Dynasty XIX (before Period 1 to

early in reign of Ramesses II), in generally contemporary to later LM IIIA or possibly early LM IIIB deposition.

*Comparanda:* (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1981:247 n. 115; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:110 #1963, 163 #1963, pl. 55:1963; CLINE 1994:218 #751; RUTTER 1999:173.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '23B/8,' at the extreme south-eastern area of the Central Hillside excavations, in the small apparently unnumbered east-west space immediately north of Room 53 but south of the early LM IIIB wall immediately uphill. Despite being amongst material recovered in this exposed slope area, this sherd was dated by Watrous to LM IIIA, presumably as its context either underlay or otherwise pre-dated LMIIIB activity in this area, although the material does include some LM IIIB sherds; Rutter also provides this dating.

This sherd is from a steeply tapering elongated vessel, but likely not an amphora due to its exterior burnishing. The date range given is the widest possible for the fabric and context.

**C. Southern Area, House X**

House X is located immediately north of the major east-west road and Building T, at the eastern end of the excavation area and the foot of Kommos hill.<sup>910</sup> It is artificially higher than the civic buildings at equivalent levels farther south. This is the result of severe leveling for construction of Building T and for the road that clearly was intended to separate the town (and House X) from these civic buildings.

House X, identified as a large domestic house, seems to have been constructed in early LM IA. It continued with multiple floor raising, building remodellings and additions, and other changes, at least to LM IIIA2 when it was abandoned as a dwelling proper. The latest walls seem to have gone out of use in LM IIIB. It is a large and well-constructed building, probably wealthy and certainly cosmopolitan as a large number of imported objects were recovered from within. The individual rooms seem to have used piecemeal over time, those to the west going out of use first and those to the west last.

It was at least two storeys in height, with decorated fresco walls. Some 12 or 13 rooms in total, in addition to corridors and two staircases, have been excavated and published in a preliminary report, although their final publication remains pending. LM Deposits 19 and 24 (LM II) and 33 (LM IIIA1/2), all found in Room X10, have been published by WATROUS (1992).

<sup>908</sup> See WATROUS 1992:53–54, dated LM IIIA2–B1 (early).

<sup>909</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1996:233–234, pls. 1.10–1.11; the LM IIIB walls can be seen on pl. 3.111.

<sup>910</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1993:131–161.

### C.1. Room X2

This small square room, entered only from Room X5 immediately to its south, underwent numerous remodellings.<sup>911</sup> It was built on bedrock and then remodelled and enlarged to the north and west in LM IA, when it contained three large pithoi set into a pebble floor where the (later and only) doorway on the south wall was opened in LM IB. A stone platform was set into the southwest corner of the room in LM IA. It, unlike the pithoi, was not covered over by an LM IB earthen floor, and may have continued in use at this time. A number of stone tools and implements suggest the room was used for tool storage during this period. The room went out of use when the new doorway was blocked up, still in LM IB. It then apparently served as a dump through into LM II, when it may have been roofless. The doorway seems to have been blocked and unblocked numerous times over time, and the contexts in its immediate area were quite mixed. A still later surface, associated with another new wall built farther north, was littered with mixed Minoan and Iron Age pottery, a stone slab of uncertain date and a collection of shells.

#### 332. Amphora, Exc. # C8837 (PSR)

Clay, Marl D mostly (2.5YR 7/2 pale red) fabric, with many sandy and partly white inclusions (<5mm), tiny voids, (2.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown) slip, H (pres.): 8.0; W (pres.): 7.3 cm; Th. 11 mm, two joining lower body fragments, worn, slip chipped. Lower body of large amphora or jar, steeply tapering with very slightly convex profile, slipped on exterior, wheel marks interior and exterior.

Egyptian, late SIP–Dynasty XX (before Period 1–4, through to end of NK).

*Context:* LM IB (late).

*Chronology:* Late SIP through mid-Dynasty XVIII (before Period 1–2B, later reign of Thutmose III) sherd, in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IB (late) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) HOPE 1989b:111 fig. 1.1–6; (fabric): {329}; {339}; {352}; {358}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986b; CLINE 1994:175 #351; RUTTER 1999:175; 2006:647, 685; forthcoming:#471d.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench ‘66A/21,’ the uppermost LM IB fill at the southern half of Room X2 and above the LM IB floor.<sup>912</sup> Cline erroneously gives a date of “LM IIIA1” for the sherd and a specific (and correct) context of “Room 2, fill,” whilst Rutter corrects the context date to LM IB (late). Cline notes the ‘slip’ may be salt efflorescence, but this is unlikely.

Aston notes that Marl D is rare before Period 3A. This sherd is from a steeply tapering elongated vessel, an amphora or jar of some kind, fitting within HOPE’s (1989b) Category 1a.

### C.2. Room X3

Immediately east of Room X2 is Room X3, a small and not well-understood space heavily disturbed by later building strata above.<sup>913</sup> It seems to have been constructed in LM IA, as a deposit of that date was revealed beneath the original, plastered, floor. An LM IB accumulation over this floor had been burnt, and the phase ended when the only known entrance, on the south wall, was blocked off.

Another doorway was constructed on the east wall, itself also built at this time, above the LM IB burnt level. It too was later blocked. The levels above were contaminated by later buildings, including two wall fragments preserving the corner of a later construction, to which no date could be assigned due the extremely mixed material associated with it. The room’s north wall was only partly exposed, and is not dated.

#### 333. Bowl, hemispherical, Exc. # C9395 (PSR)

Clay, Nile Silt B2 (2.5YR 5/8 red) fabric, (2.5YR 5/8 red) exterior and (2.5YR 5/4 reddish brown) interior slip, Dia. (max): 10.4; H (pres.): 4.1 cm, Th.: 1.9–5.3 mm, four joining base-upper body sherds almost to rim, surface well-preserved.

Bowl with flat string-cut base, hemispherical body, thin section thickening to base, slipped interior and exterior, burnished exterior.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 1–4, all NK).

*Context:* Mainly LM IIIA2, with some MM II, LM II, Late Geometric and Archaic.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–3A, not later than sometime in the reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII) sherd, in mixed deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) HOLTHOER 1977:pl. 19:185/122:10;<sup>914</sup> (fabric) {337}; {340}; {349}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER forthcoming:#567d.

*Comments:* The profile is nearly complete, lacking only the tip of the rim. Nile B2 is a Middle Egyptian fabric. The form is a standard one, of little use for dating purposes.

The find context is Trench ‘74B/71A,’ a mixed context containing MM II to 7<sup>th</sup> c. (Archaic) material, including LM II, Late Geometric and other pieces, together with bone, charcoal and shell, generally at the level of the cornered wall fragment. Presumably, therefore, the context actually is mixed rather than specifically LM IIIA2 in date and without chronological value, as are several contexts below it.

<sup>911</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1993:144–148, 158–159.

<sup>912</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:146 fig. 6; this context is equivalent to Trench ‘74A/69 and 71,’ identified as still LM IB in date, p. 147.

<sup>913</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:143–144.

<sup>914</sup> Note that this is a miniature bowl of similar profile.

### C.3. Room X4

At the western end of the house was Room X4, a long rectangular room connected by doorways to the north (Room X1), east (X5) and south (X7 and staircase), with a window in the northwest corner looking into Room X5.<sup>915</sup> This room was not excavated to bedrock, and levels earlier than LM IIIA1 may exist. Room X4 connects directly to X7, the household shrine. The original (i.e., lowest) floor, dated to LM IIIA1, was of hard-packed earth with a painted plaster revetment. Little pottery was found at this level, but included were imported Canaanite and Cypriote sherds together with fragments of a marvered glass flask.

The floor above also was of hard-packed earth, on which lay an extensive floor deposit of LM IIIA2 pottery. Both large and small vessel shapes are represented, including pithos, cooking pot, jug, conical and champagne cup, pyxis, together with a complete Canaanite jar (C9167), and numerous beads and pendants scattered within the fill. The room appears to have been used for storage at this time, perhaps for the shrine that apparently continued in use into LM IIIA2. Above this was much rubble packing from the collapsed walls. The room went out of use in LM IIIA2.

**334. Closed vessel ('footed jar?').** Exc. # Mi190 (not preserved) Glass, dark blue with white and yellow marvering. Largest: L: 4.2 cm, worn and flaking, two non-joining fragments and soil impression of one showing its decoration.

Mid-body and lower body/base of probable jar or bottle, convex profile turning out to short splaying base, of dark blue with marvered white and yellow horizontal threads dragged into loops or festoons ('dragged trail decoration').

Probably Egyptian, mid-late Dynasty XVIII (reigns of Thutmose III through Amenhotep III).

*Context:* LM IIIA1.

*Chronology:* Mid-late Dynasty XVIII (reigns of Thutmose III–Amenhotep III) vessel sherds, in generally contemporary or somewhat later LM IIIA1 deposition.

*Comparanda:* NOLTE 1968:pl. XIV:20; GROSE 1989:50 fig. 23:i, 55 fig. 33; JACOBSSON 1994:pl. 85:149.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; PHILLIPS 1991:I:124 n. 40, II:637 n. 3; SHAW and SHAW 1993:154–161, pl. 27.c; CLINE 1994:221 #784.

*Comments:* Recovered on the earlier, LM IIIA1, floor of the room. The find context is Trench '73A/68'. All comments are based on the published photograph, an unpublished drawing and the catalogue card. Judging from the position and quantity of the festooning, one fragment and its soil impression must be from its lower body whilst the other fragment is from near mid-body. They appear to be of globular vessel and, although no diameter measurements were recorded or perhaps

possible to record, it clearly is a larger rather than smaller form. It is just possible that the form was lentoid, but no parallels for this arrangement can be cited. The base seems to be a short splaying foot of wide diameter rather than a tall pedestalled form, suggesting a footed globular jar, amphoriskos or bottle, usually with tall cylindrical neck and two handles. The nearest parallel for the combination of shape and decoration is found in Nolte, but the others cited also provide an impression of the probable type.

### C.4. Room X6

This spacious, nearly square room at the middle of the house apparently was of utilitarian use.<sup>916</sup> A large, slightly sloping squared slab installed near a drain in its southwest corner suggests its function involved the use of liquids in some quantity. Its three doorways, on the south from Room X9 and two in the northwest corner from Rooms X5 and X3, all were blocked sometime in or at the end of LM IIIA1, when the room went out of use.

Two surfaces are noted here. The lower surface was in use by LM IB, continuing into LM II and possibly early LM IIIA1. Finds at this level included conical cups, a decorated goblet and bowl. The upper (LM IIIA2 early) surface included an apparent dump of incomplete LM IIIA1 vessels, including a jug. Both surfaces yielded bones and shells, suggesting food preparation and possibly consumption may have been its function.

**335. 'Pilgrim-flask'.** Exc. # C8006 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) mostly (5YR 6/4 light reddish brown) fabric with sandy and white inclusions (<0.5mm), (2.5Y 8.2 pale yellow) slip. Dia. (rim): 3.1; H (pres.): 7.7 cm, Th. (body) 4.6, (handle): 9.5 × 5.3 mm, differential surface wear and flaking, interior pitted, one fragment with rim/shoulder/both handles.

Rim to shoulder/upper body and handles of pilgrim-flask, with funnel-shaped mouth, ridge on exterior rim, lentoid body, two vertical strap handles mid-neck to shoulder, strongly convex profile, slipped and burnished on exterior, interior with rough finger impression.

Egyptian, mid-Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 2B–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose III through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early), with much LM IIIA1 material.

*Chronology:* Mid-late-Dynasty XVIII (Periods 2B–3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose III through reign of Amenhotep III or perhaps Akhenaten) sherd, in slightly later LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) BROVARIKI *et al.* 1982:93 #63; HOPE 1989a:26 fig. 6.d; (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LI:Type XXXVIII/1014; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

<sup>915</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1993:153–154, 159.

<sup>916</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1993:142–143, 159.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986a:239, 268, pl. 58.b.left; 1986b; SHAW and SHAW 1993:143 n. 34; WATROUS 1992:175; CLINE 1994:194 #534; BANOU 1995:657 fig. 4, pl. NH'4; RUTTER 1999:175; PHILIPPS 2005b:457.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '66A/27,' apparently a dump layer above the upper floor surface.<sup>917</sup> Watrous placed this sherd within the "LM IIIA1" period from its associated material, but further study of this material as a whole by Rutter places it slightly later, in LM IIIA2 (early) (albeit with a considerable amount of LM IIIA1 material). He suggests that at least some of it may be discarded from the basal levels of the shrine in nearby Room X7. Cline quotes a specific context of "Room 6 (context X-10), fill". Thus, it would not have been recovered on either floor of the room, and came from the fill above the second surface.

### C.5. Room X7

Room X7 is the household shrine, a small squared room at the top of a staircase (X13) created by door-blockings to the north and south.<sup>918</sup> It has three phases of use, the first indicated by some few vessels that date to LM II on the earliest floor. The second, dated to LM IIIA1, is more recognisable, with a group of two 'milk jugs,' a conical cup and brazier in the north-eastern corner of the room, and a squared area in the north-western corner covered with a thin red clayish substance.

The third floor and phase, probably to be dated to early LM IIIA2 although perhaps later in LM IIIA1 instead, consisted of a table in the south-western corner, with a deposit of 'milk jugs,' conical cup and bivalve shells, together with a brazier, incense burner, and stacks of further vessels of the same and similar types together with a triton shell and a steatite seal depicting a flying bird. Burnt patches were noted and ash was recovered in some of the appropriate vessels.

#### 336. Closed vessel (amphora?), Exc. # C12023 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (=Marl D variant) (2.5YR 6/8 light red) fabric with (7.5YR 6/4 light brown) core, (5Y 8/2 white) slip, Dia. (max.): c. 10; H (pres.): 2.8 cm, Th.: 4.4–6.6 mm, one neck/shoulder junction sherd, little worn.

Closed vessel with lower neck tapering to splaying shoulder. Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 2B–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose III through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA1.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose III through reign of Amenhotep III) sherd, in LM IIIA1 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) HOPE 1989a:27 fig. 7.a; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER forthcoming:#819.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '73A/70,' in the north-eastern corner of the shrine room X7, in its second phase of use. The latest associated pottery is LM II–IIIA1, including a brazier and conical cup together with shells, bone, plaster and charcoal.

This sherd likely is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category Ia, as the neck must be tall.

### C.6. Room X8

Immediately south of Room X5, and connected to it by a doorway in the north-east corner, is the large rectangular room X8.<sup>919</sup> To the west, it leads via another doorway to Room 14a and then the rest of the western rooms. A very wide doorway also links this room to Room X9, immediately to the east and practically a mirror image of Room X8. Both rooms front onto the paved East-West 'Minoan Road' separating the 'domestic' from 'civic' areas of the town but, in Room X8 at least, the southern wall next to the road was heavily eroded.

Room X8 was relatively uncontaminated, with the original floor first used in LM I(B?) and into LM II. Above this is a thick layer probably of a dump deposited in LM IIIA1 by the pottery found together with masses of wall debris and suggested to be the result of deliberate levelling. Multiple painted and plan plaster fragments suggest the walls had been decorated during its earliest (LM I) use.

The doorway leading to Room X5 was blocked in two stages, the first probably in LM IIIA1 and the second in LM IIIA2 when Room X8 went out of use altogether. The doorway leading to Room X14a may have been blocked by LM II. The eastern doorway, some 2.3 m. wide, was supported by wooden frames and a central post, supported by small flat slabs on the floor.

Although little LM I material was found, LM II and IIIA1 material mainly associated with the debris layer was recovered. Cooking pot fragments suggest this activity at least in LM II, whilst stone hand tools, clay lamps and two stone discs also suggest further household (and in particular food preparation) activities in the room.

The find context of both the following is Trench '59A1/65,' the central third of the room opening into Room X9 to the east. The ceramic material recovered in this and the levels above and below were uniform-

<sup>917</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1993:142 and n. 32.

<sup>918</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:136 fig. 4, 149–152.

<sup>919</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1993:139–142; fig. 4.

ly of LM IIIA date. Cline identified the context as a 'dump or fill' and provides an 'LM IIIA1' context date; Rutter has revised this to LM IIIA2.

**337. Bowl, carinated.** Exc. # C7549 (PSR)

Clay, Nile Silt B2 (7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow) fabric with (10YR 6/6–8 light red) core, (10R 6/8 light red) slip, Dia. (rim): 25; H (pres.): 5.2 cm, Th.: 9.2 mm, two joining pairs carination/lower body and one non-joining rim to lower body fragments, very worn, majority of slip lost.

Carinated bowl with externally thickened rim, slightly flaring upper body, shallow lower body, probably with flattened bottom, red-slipped interior and exterior, thick profile.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 1–4, all NK)

*Context:* LM IIIA2.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–3A, not later than end of Dynasty XVIII) sherd, in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IIIA2 context.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LII Type L/54; HOLTHOER 1977:pl. 24:185/475:24; (fabric): {333}; {340}; {349}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER 2006:648, 649; forthcoming:#806d.

*Comments:* The vessel is low-fired and very soft.

**338. 'Pilgrim flask',** Exc. # C7550 (PSR)

Clay, Marl A4 (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow) fabric with (10YR 8/3 very pale brown) slip, Dia. (mas. Pres.): 15.7, H. (pres.): 13.2; W. (pres.): 9.5 cm; Th.: 2.1–7.3 mm, surface flaked and eroded, paint worn & fugitive, two joining body fragments.

Body ('bowl') of pilgrim flask, from centre point to near maximum diameter, white-slipped exterior with three thin concentric bands in dark paint around central undecorated area, centre point very thin.

Egyptian, mid-Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, reigns of Thutmose IV(?) through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2.

*Chronology:* Mid-late Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, reigns of Thutmose IV(?) through Horemhab) sherd, in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IIIA2 context.

*Comparanda:* ENGELBACH 1915:pls. XXXVIII:93.e, LI.6; HOLTHOER 1977:pl. 22:176/44:0; HOPE 1989d:73 fig. 13.h, 74:fig. 14.f.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; CLINE 1994:195 #536; RUTTER 1999:175; 2006:647; forthcoming:#813.

*Comments:* Cline provided a 'Syro-Palestinian, LB' date and origin for this vessel, but it is now recognised as Upper Egyptian on the basis of its fabric. The only other vessel from this region of Egypt is {324}. This also is the only example of a painted Egyptian ceramic vessel at Kommos.

*C.7. Room X9*

This 'room,' at the south-east corner of the house, seems to be the largest in the house, with a rather monumental staircase rising to the south and its *sottoscala*.<sup>920</sup> It was first used in LM I, when it seems to

have been embellished with coloured plaster. Stratigraphy continued into LM II, overlying which was a thick stratum of rubble of mixed date including MM III–LM I and LM IIIA material.

**339. Amphora, tall-necked.** Exc. # C9625 (PSR)

Clay, Marl D, fine and gritty (5YR 7/4 light reddish brown) fabric, (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, H (pres.): 3.5; W (pres.): 6.6 cm; Th. 5.4 mm, two joining lower neck fragments.

Lower neck of tall-necked amphora or jar, with thin-walled, slightly in-tapering profile, slipped and highly burnished exterior, interior wheel marks.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–3A).

*Context:* LM IIIA2/B, within LM IIIA1 material.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–early 3A, not later than reign of Amenhotep III) vessel, generally contemporary or residual in its probable LM IIIA1 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. L:Type XXV/202; FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pls. LII Type XIII.12–13, LIII Type XVII.6; HOPE 1989a:27 fig. 7.a; 1989b:112 fig. 2.1, 115 fig. 5.5–6, 8; (neck) {356}; (fabric): {329}; {332}; {352}; {358}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER 1999:175; 2006:647; forthcoming:#294d.

*Comments:* Aston notes that amphorae occasionally were burnished at the neck/shoulder junction and body below. The thickness and diameter here would negate the possibility of a 'pilgrim flask'.

The find context is Trench '81C/42,' above the Room X9 floor and within the LM IIIA1 material of the rubble stratum.

This sherd is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a.

*C.8. Room X10*

This room is the north-eastern corner of the house as excavated, a rectangular room aligned north-south, supported by two pillars.<sup>921</sup> It was used initially in MM III–LM I, then again in LM II and LM IIIA1. MM IB material also was recovered below the construction level of the building.

**340. Bowl, hemispherical.** Exc. # C10951 (PSR)

Clay, Nile Silt B2 (2.5YR 5/7 red) fabric with (7.5YR 6.5–6 reddish yellow) exterior and (5YR 6.5/6 reddish yellow) interior surfaces, Dia. (rim): 9; H (pres.): 5.7 cm, Th.: 3.5 mm, two joining rim/lower body fragments, pitted and worn surface.

Bowl with hemispherical body, thin section, plain rounded rim, uncoated.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 1–4, all NK).

*Context:* LM II.

*Chronology:* Early–mid-Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–2B, reigns of Ahmose through Amenhotep II or perhaps Thutmose IV) sherd, in LM II deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) HOLTHOER 1977:pl. 26:228/44; GUKSCH 1995:85 fig. 39.d; (fabric): {333}; {337}; {349}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER forthcoming:#732d.

<sup>920</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:139–140.

<sup>921</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:137.

*Comments:* The fabric indicates a Middle Egyptian origin. The find context is Trench '87A/46,' rubble from between the two supporting pillars, consisting of uniformly LM II pottery as well as a triton shell, shell, bone, charcoal and mortar, apparently on a pebble surface.

#### D. Southern Area, 'Civic Buildings'

Unlike the other areas uphill, the Southern Area consists only partly of domestic housing, at its northern end at the bottom of the hill. The remaining majority, separated from the housing by a long ashlar east-west wall and 'Minoan Road,' chiefly consisted of the palatial building (T) and later commercial port structure (P). The entire area was a small cult centre during the Iron Age, with three superimposed temples (A–C), stone altars, a small tholos and other ancillary buildings. Prior to this, however, during the Proto-Palatial period, there seems to have been a major building complex, including what may have been an earlier palatial structure (Building AA) with paved walkway over a pebble courtyard, and a ramp leading up the hillside. During the MM III–LM IA period, a large possible civic or palatial center of ashlar construction existed, that encompassed Building J/T and a large open pebble court area, as well as a substantial kiln in late LM IA after Building J/T seems to have largely been reduced to a lesser status. In LM III, it chiefly consisted of a large LM IIIA–B shipshed building (P) facing the same large open courtyard space pebbled again at a higher level. The area seems to have been abandoned, without destruction, sometime in LM IIIB, until the first temple was erected over the remains in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

##### D.1. Building N (Watrous Deposit 61)

Directly over LM I Building T, at its north-west end, was located Building N. Its northeastern corner was unexcavated as it was directly below the three superimposed later Greek temples. It was constructed in LM IIIA at the northern end of the Building P courtyard, and may have been of an administrative nature.

The easternmost of the Building N rooms (12/13), at its southeastern corner, had a floor marked by burning at its northern end (12), where two pure copper ingots were recovered. The southern end (13) was not burnt, but was covered by debris.<sup>922</sup> A small pot-

tery Deposit 61 was recovered here, dated by Watrous to the LM IIIA2–B (early) period, with mostly LM I but a few LM IIIA1 sherds, but he does not specify its location in the room;<sup>923</sup> this now also is Rutter's Group 64. Apart from the one possible cup and the following two Egyptian 'jar' fragments listed by Watrous, no specific vessel forms have yet been mentioned in print.

**342. Jar, very thin-walled, HM** — (Exc. # C4203(a))<sup>924</sup>

Clay, probably Nile silt, (5YR 7/3 pink surface to (2.5YR 5/2 weak red) core with mostly small and some large dark and light inclusions, (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, H (pres.): 4.0; MDim: 5.2 cm, Th.: 3 mm, one body fragment, surface chipped and worn.

Lower? body of a jar, slipped on exterior only, with slightly convex profile and very thin section, interior wheel marks, lightly burnished interior.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 1–4).

*Context:* Mostly LM I and a few LM IIIA1 sherds in LM IIIB deposition.

*Chronology:* Early–mid-Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–2B, probably not later than reign of Thutmose III but possibly early 3A, not later than reign of Amenhotep III) sherd, residual in its later LM IIIB deposition of mostly LM I material. If LM IIIB in context, the sherd theoretically could date as late as Dynasty XIX.

*Comparison:* (fabric) {343}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1982:193 n. 86; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:60 #1020, 162–163 #1020; CLINE 1994:198 #566; RUTTER 1999:174.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. Note that this sherd cannot be positioned accurately. This and the following sherd {343} are combined under the same Kommos excavation number, but are distinguished in the present work by the letters 'a' and 'b' as the two sherds should not be from the same vessel; this body is far too thin for the heavy handle. Note that the fabric description is the same for both fragments, as only one fabric reference is provided on the card; whether both had the same fabric description, or to which piece the description belongs, is unknown as both fragments were in the HM when the fabrics were studied in 2000 and 2002.

The find context is Trench '44A/42,' on the floor of Room 13. Watrous noted, without explanation, that this and the following sherds are likely to be LM IIIA in date. Rutter instead provides only an LM IIIB date for the context. As the majority of sherds in the context are of LM I date, it seems reasonable to assume that this sherd more likely associated to be with them, rather than the few LM IIIA1 vessels also recorded; nonetheless, the question remains open.

This seems to be a closed vessel smaller than the majority of those represented at Kommos, but nonetheless probably an amphora or jar of some description. If this is a neck fragment (no diameter was recorded before its transfer to the HM), it

<sup>922</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1996:398–399 n. 8; see also J.W. SHAW 1986a:246 fig. 6e.

<sup>923</sup> WATROUS 1992:60; see also J.W. SHAW 1982:185. Context numbers 44A/42 and 46.

<sup>924</sup> {341} is not employed, see Addendum p. 178, below.

may well be from the same vessel as {343} below, and thus would be an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a.

**343. Amphora, shoulder to lower body-handled**, HM — (Exc. # C4203(b))

Clay, probably Nile silt, (5YR 6/4 light reddish brown) fabric with mostly small and some large dark and light inclusions including mica, (10YR 8/2 very pale brown) slip, L: 9.3; W: 3.8 cm, surface chipped and worn, one handle fragment.

Majority of vertical flat strap handle, elongated profile curving at the top, pulled, slipped.

Egyptian, probably Dynasty XIX (Periods 3B–early 4).

*Context:* Mostly LM I and a few LM IIIA1 sherds in LM IIIB deposition.

*Chronology:* Probably Dynasty XIX (Periods 3B–early 4) sherd, in LM IIIB context.

*Comparanda:* (general) HOPE 1989b:111 fig. 1.1–6; (fabric): {342}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1982:193 n. 86; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:60 #1020, 162–163 #1020; CLINE 1994:198 #566; RUTTER 1999:174; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:254–255 #253:(photo) centre left, centre left, (drawing) top, second from left; RUTTER 2006:550 #64/5, pl. 3.74.64/5.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. This and the previous sherd {342} are combined under the same Kommos excavation number, but are distinguished in the present work by the letters a–b. The find context again is Trench '44A/42;' see comments in {342} above.

This handle would have been attached to the bottom of the shoulder and the lower body of the vessel; it is too elongated and 'straight' for attachment only on the shoulder. The vertical position of the handle, combined with the early context, would suggest it to be an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a. Janine Bourriau rejects this as an early Dynasty XVIII vessel and suggests it probably is Dynasty XIX in date, and thus would have been imported in LM IIIB.

### D.2. Building T

Building T was a long narrow building directly east of Building J, bordered on its north by the paved 'Minoan Road' and at its east by the cross-road.<sup>925</sup>

Towards its western end originally was a stoa, and the eastern half a series of long narrow east-west rooms, probably storerooms, facing a large open courtyard (Space 15). These storerooms, Rooms 21–25 and 29, were linked by a long east-west corridor (Space 20). At the north-east corner was Room 24, like its neighbouring room (25) plastered, partly coloured, and subdivided into two rooms (24a and b)

by a poorly-constructed narrow wall. Building T was constructed in LM IA over MM levels, but then was destroyed by a major fire during the same period. The eastern rooms were reorganised, an upper floor added, and the building reused in LM I/II, after which the building was abandoned. The walls then were knocked down and the rooms filled in prior to construction of Building P. A well later was cut into Room 24b in the Archaic period.<sup>926</sup>

#### D.2.1. Below LM I Building T

Little of the MM levels have survived or been exposed,<sup>927</sup> but the pre-LM I material recovered included the following.

**344. Figurine**, Exc. # C7358 (PSR)

Clay, (10YR 7/1–8/2 light grey to white), painted black, H: 3.3, Dia. (base): 2.25 cm, intact but for left arm and parts of legs missing, paint flaked.

Ape with conical body and rolled attachments for arms, legs and tail. Head a flattened ball pinched to form face. Eyes indicated by impressed dots. Covered with dull black paint. Ape appears to be squatting, with arms in front of body and legs drawn up.

Minoan, MM, probably MM II.

*Contexts:* MM (II?) and Archaic.

*Chronology:* MM (II?) figurine, in generally contemporary MM (II?) context.

*References:* J.W. SHAW 1986a:253;<sup>928</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:639 #268, III:1111 fig. 268; SHAW and SHAW 1996:301 #39, pls. 4.40.39, 4.44.39.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '58A/33,'<sup>929</sup> in an Archaic well containing mixed Minoan and Greek material, in the region of the north-east corner of Building T but stratigraphically well above this structure. The figurine was partly recovered from the well and partly below the beaten earth floor of Room 24.

It has much in common with the feminine figurine and protome from nearby Phaestos {451–452}, but those are not ape images. This figurine is defined as an ape on the basis of the 'tail' attachment.

#### D.2.2. Post-LM I use of Building T

The entire building was filled in and the upper walls dismantled to raise the ground level for the construction of Building P, early in LM IIIA2. The following come from various fill contexts within or above the rooms.

<sup>925</sup> It was later realised that Building J and other walls on the eastern and southern edges of the excavation also belonged with Building T, a large open court with buildings on all three preserved sides and possibly also the eroded western side. See SHAW and SHAW 1993:162:fig. 8 for a simplified reconstruction of Building T.

<sup>926</sup> J.W. SHAW 1986a:252–254.

<sup>927</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:164 fig. 10.b, 178, for MM activity in the Southern Area.

<sup>928</sup> Noted there as C7484, the number given the fragment found below the floor. Both fragments later were joined under the single number C7358.

<sup>929</sup> For the location of this trench, see SHAW and SHAW 1996:434 pl. 1.14.

**345. Amphora, shoulder-handled**, Exc. # C7448 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) soft porous (7.5YR 8/4 pink to 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow) fabric with (7.5YR 6/4 light brown) core, small white inclusions (<0.5mm) and voids, heavy (2.5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, H (pres.): 4.7; W (pres.): 5.9 cm, Th.: (body): 8.7, (handle): 34.7 × 18.6 mm, surface chipped and worn, one shoulder/lower handle fragment.

Lower shoulder and lower handle of very large amphora, slightly convex profile body with vertical pulled strap handle, slipped on exterior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3A–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early).

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV and not later than reign of Akhenaten) sherd, generally contemporary with, or slightly earlier than, its LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LIII type LXX/130; (handle position) HOPE 1989a:27 fig. 7.c; 1989b:114 fig. 4.4; (fabric): {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986b; WATROUS 1992:175; CLINE 1994:176 #365; RUTTER 1999:174; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000: 254–255 #253(photo) centre left, left; RUTTER 2006:501 #52c/4, pl. 3.56.52c/4.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. The find context is Trench '57A1/49,' in the fill spanning Spaces 22 and 29 of Building T immediately north of the southern east-west wall of Building T and the northernmost wall of Building P Gallery 1; this is within Rutter's Group 52c.<sup>930</sup> Watrous places this sherd within a wide-ranging "LM" period only, whilst Cline gives a more specific "LM IIIA1" date and specific description of "gap between northern wall of Building P and east-west wall of Building T" for its context.

This sherd is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a.

**346. Amphora, thin-walled**, Exc. # C3350 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) porous (10YR 7/2 pale red) fabric with (10YR 4/2 weak red) core having dark and light inclusions, (5Y 8/1–2 white to pale yellow) slip, (A) H (pres.): 5.9, W (pres.): 4.2; (B) H (pres.): 3.9, W (pres.): 4.8 cm; Th. (max): 6 mm, surface chipped and worn, two non-joining body fragments.

Lower body of thin-walled amphora, with tapering convex profile, slipped on exterior only.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early).

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through reign of Akhenaten) sherd, in generally contemporary or (more likely) somewhat later LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) (body) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LIII Type LXX/130; HOPE 1989b:112 fig. 2.1; (fabric): {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345}; {347–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986b; WATROUS 1992:110 #1962, 162 #1962, pl. 55:316;<sup>931</sup> CLINE 1994:218 #754; RUTTER 1999:174; 2006:531 #57c/1, pl. 3.63.57c/1.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '36B/29,' north of Classical Building Q and the west end of LM III Building P, Gallery 1 and the south wall of Building T, in a mixed context above the Building T walls (north of Space 26). This is within Rutter's Group 57c. These sherds are considered by Watrous to date to LM IIIA1, whilst Rutter emends the context date to LM IIIA2 (early).

This sherd is from a thin-walled amphora, probably of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a.

**B.2.3. East of Building T**

The north-eastern corner of the building defined the crossroad for the east-west road and another that ran north-south along the eastern edge of both Building T and the excavations (Space 34). This road consisted of a series of two successive slab pavements in early LM IA and again either in LM I or early LM IIIA1. Subsequently, a hard-packed road 'metal' surface was overlaid in LM IIIA1, where a retaining wall was set diagonally above the road to keep it clear in late in LM IIIA2.<sup>932</sup>

**347. Amphora**, Exc. # C7070 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) dark (5YR 4/3–2 dark reddish grey-reddish brown) fabric with pinholes, creamy (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, H (pres.): 3.5; W (pres.): 3.3 cm, Th.: 7.2 mm, one shoulder fragment.

Amphora shoulder fragment, convex surface, exterior thickly and interior more thinly slipped.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early).

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through reign of Akhenaten) sherd, likely in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LII Type XLIII/260; HOPE 1989b:112 fig. 2.1, 114 fig. 4.2, 4; (fabric): {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–346}; {348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986b; WATROUS 1992:175; CLINE 1994:198 #574; RUTTER 1999:174; 2006:578:#MI/SP/11, pl. 3.88.MI/SP/11.

*Comments:* This is a Lower Egyptian fabric, from the Egyptian Delta region.

The find context is Trench '60A/17,' at the eastern edge of the excavations and east of Building T (Space 34), amongst scattered pebbles and small stones. Watrous places this context within "LM IIIA2 (early)," and Rutter concurs, above the 'metal' road but below the diagonal wall. Other material from this context included earlier pottery, down to MM III, includ-

<sup>930</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1996:pls. 1.12, 1.14 for trench location.

<sup>931</sup> WATROUS (1992:pl. 55:316), incorrectly labelled '316;' it is # C3350 {346}, whilst his pl. 54:1962 is # 3560, a Cypriote 'jug.'

<sup>932</sup> J.W. SHAW 1986:254–255.



ing a Syro-Palestinian jar fragment, as well as plaster, bone, shells and charcoal.

This sherd is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a, due to the convex shoulder curvature.

### D.3. Building P

This building, identified as a ship-shed, consists of six long galleries open to the west and towards the sea, numbered from the north. The eastern end was a long north-south wall. Each east-west wall ends in a squared reinforcing terminus. It was constructed in early LM IIIA2, and continued in use into LM IIIB. The northernmost wall was constructed virtually abutting the southern wall of earlier Building T. Six galleries have been exposed, numbered P1 through 6 from nearest the Building T walls. Excavation has exposed all of Galleries P1 to P3 (Spaces 26–28), but only the eastern half of Galleries P4 through P6 (Spaces 35–36 and 43).

The galleries are not all contemporary structures, and their stratigraphy is complicated. Galleries P1 and P2 are earliest, followed by Galleries P3 and P4, whilst Galleries P5–6 were not used before LM IIIB. Gallery P2 is the only gallery to have provided substantial floor deposits that can be attributed to LM IIIA2 (Rutter's various Group 56 sub-groups) and LM IIIB (Group 67 sub-groups), whilst Gallery P3 is the only one fully excavated.

#### D.3.1. Gallery P2

This gallery (Space 27), second from the north, is similar all the others, although narrower in width than the later extensions P3 through P6. Only the eastern (closed) and western (open) ends were exposed. An upper (LM IIIB) and lower (LM IIIA2) floor level were identified in excavation.

##### D.3.1.a. Lower Floor Deposit

Recovered on the lower floor were the following:

#### 348. Amphora, Exc. # C10218 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) hard fine (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow) fabric with (10YR 6/3 pale brown) core, having many white inclusions, (2.5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, Dia (rim): c. 12, H (rim): 2.1 cm; Th. (body): 4.7, (rim): 11.7 mm, one rim fragment, worn.

Rim of amphora, tall exterior-thickened rim, intapering neck, exterior slipped and highly burnished, interior highly burnished.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XVIII (Periods 3A–B, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through to sometime in the reign of Merenptah).

*Context:* LM IIIA2.

*Chronology:* Late Dynasty XVIII vessel (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII), generally earlier than or contemporary with, but residual in, its LM IIIA2 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LIII Type LXIII/104; FRANKFURT and WOOLLEY 1933:pl. LIII Type XVII.6; HOPE 1989b:115 fig. 5.8; (fabric): {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–347}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER 1999:174; 2006:523 #56a/2, pl. 3.59.56a/2.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '94B/114,' the northern half at the eastern end of Building P, Gallery 2 (Space 27). This context is the western half of the trench, west of the north-eastern corner, and contained nearly 6 kg of quite homogeneous LM IIIA2 sherds, and some shell fragments. This is within Rutter's Group 56a.

This sherd is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a.

#### 349. Bowl, carinated, Exc. # C10469 (PSR)

Clay, Nile Silt B2 (2.5YR 6/6 light red) fabric, (10R 6/8 light red) slip, Dia. (max.): 35; H (pres.): 3.3 cm, Th.: 13.1 mm, one body sherd with carination, quite worn, slip eroded.

Carinated bowl with shallow lower body, upright upper body. Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–early XIX (Periods 3A–B, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Merenptah).

*Context:* LM IIIA2.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Periods 3A–early B, reigns of Amenhotep III through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII) sherd, in slightly later or generally contemporary LM IIIA2 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. XLVIII Type XI; HOPE 1989a:36 pl. 3.b; (fabric) {333}; {337}; {340}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER 2006:524–525 #56b/7, 648, 649, pl. 3.59.56b/7.

*Comments:* The fabric is fairly soft, indicating a low firing temperature. The fabric is Middle Egyptian.

The find context is Trench '97E/44,' in Gallery P2, at the north-eastern (closed) end of the space, a sounding immediately below Trench 94B, and partly under part of Trench 77B immediately to the west. The context consists of a burnt fill in the north-eastern corner of Gallery P2 and at about the same level as where {348} was recovered in Trench 94B just slightly to the west, containing worn LM IIIA2 sherds together with plaster, bones and some bronze fragments.

##### D.3.2.b. Upper Floor Deposit

The following was recovered on the upper floor deposit of Gallery P2.

#### 350. Amphora, thin-walled, Exc. # C8336 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) uneven (2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown) fabric with (10YR 6/4 pale red) core, with small pinholes, sandy and many white (<1mm) inclusions, thick (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, H (pres.): 5.2; W (pres.): 8.1 cm; Th. 7 mm, two joining shoulder fragments, slip flaked.

Shoulder of large thin-walled amphora or jar, with diagonally sloping slightly convex profile, thickly slipped on exterior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIB, with LM IIIA material.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII–Dynasty XIX (Periods 3A–B, sometime in reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Merenptah) sherd, possibly but not certainly residual in its LM IIIB deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pls. LI Type XLIII/1015B, LIII Types LXIII/104, LXX/130; HOPE 1989a:27 fig. 7.b–c; 1989b:114 fig. 4:2, 4; (shoulder angle) {321}; {345}; {351}; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986b; WATROUS 1992:175; CLINE 1994:174 #342; RUTTER 1999:174; 2006:556 #67b/3, pl. 3.79.67b/3.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. The find context is Trench ‘65A4/75,’ a trench immediately south of Building Q, at the west end of Building P, Gallery 2.<sup>933</sup> This is within Rutter’s Group 67b. Cline gives a specific context of “upper floor” and Watrous placed this sherd within the “LM IIIA” period. Rutter has revised the context date to LM IIIB, on the upper floor deposit, but it also included some LM IIIA and earlier material. This sherd could be as late as Dynasty XIX, but far more likely is a residual piece.

This is a sloping-shouldered amphora form.

### D.3.2. Gallery P3

This gallery was fully excavated, although little material was recovered. Investigation here continued down below the building’s foundations, to expose MM and LM I walls below, the latter with plastered and in one case painted floors. These earlier walls are rather difficult to interpret, but do indicate that constructions other than Buildings J, N and P existed in the Neo-Palatial period, including a nearly entirely lost Proto-Palatial palatial building. Gallery P3 (Space 28), stood at least 4 m. high and like the others, gradually was filled up. It includes at least two floor levels, the former of earth and clay dated to LM IIIA2 and the latter laid down in LM IIIB.<sup>934</sup> Two distinct ovens and a hearth were noted in the gallery, all dated to LM III and set against the south wall on the floor.<sup>935</sup>

Egyptian ceramic sherds were recovered in several different contexts of the lower floor makeup and surface.

#### D.3.2.a. West end of Gallery P3

The western end of Building P, Gallery 3 (Space 28), lies immediately south of later (Archaic) Building Q. It was completely cleared, but with few resulting finds. It continued in use long after the end of the Bronze Age, when the three Iron Age temples were in use, at which time this half of P was the basis for constructing Building Z in the Geometric period, its north wall constructed immediately abutting Gallery

P3’s south wall.<sup>936</sup> Occasionally, Iron Age (‘historical’) sherds also were recovered in lower levels.

#### 351. Amphora, thin-walled, Exc. # C10065 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) (7.5YR 7/4 pink) fabric with (7.5YR 6/2 pinkish grey) core, having white inclusions, and (10YR 8/2 very pale brown) slip, H (pres.): 4.8, W (pres.): 3.2 cm; Th. 5.5 mm, two joining lower body fragments.

Lower body of amphora, strongly sloping slightly convex, wheel marks on interior, slipped exterior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early), with mostly LM IIIA1 material.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Amenhotep III through reign of Akhenaten, but likely not later than reign of Amenhotep III) vessel, probably residual in its LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pls. LII Type XLIII/260; LI Type XLIV/1061; FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pl. LIII Type XVII.6; (shoulder angle) {321}; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*References:* RUTTER 1999:174; 2006:532 #57d/6, pls. 3.64.57d/6, 3.92.f.

*Comments:* The find context is in the south-eastern space of Trench ‘94A1/52,’ with possibly earlier walls (Spaces B, E) near an area of burned earth and pebbles. This is within Rutter’s Group 57d, as is {353} below. The material was mostly LM IIIA1 with some IIIA2 (early) and some earlier LM worn sherds.

A horizontal scratch noted on the exterior surface is *not* part of a potter’s mark.

#### 352. Amphora, Exc. # C12064 (PSR)

Clay, Marl D (7.5YR 6/4 light brown) fabric with (7.5YR 5/4 brown) core, (5Y 8/2 white) slip, H (pres.): 6.9; W (pres.): 6.0 cm, Th.: 9.6 mm, one lower body fragment, surface well preserved.

Amphora lower body, slightly convex, steeply tapering, slipped on exterior only, wheel marks on interior.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 1–4, through to end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early).

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 1–3A, through reign of Akhenaten) vessel sherd, in LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LII Types XLIII/67, 260; (fabric) {329}; {332}; {339}; {358}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; Rutter 2006:647.

*Comments:* The find context is ‘Trench 94A1/58,’ just north of the south wall of the Gallery in the floor makeup, containing mostly LM IIIA2 (early) with two LM IA sherds. This was identified too late to be included in RUTTER (2006), and does not come from his Group 57d, but is from a context nearby and may be closely associated with that Group.<sup>937</sup>

#### 353. Amphora, Exc. # C12065 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (=Marl D variant) (7.5YR 6/4 light brown)

<sup>933</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:169–170; 1996:434 pl. 1.14.

<sup>934</sup> See SHAW and SHAW 1993:170–177.

<sup>935</sup> Presumably the primary (lower) floor, as the upper floor is not discussed as yet in print.

<sup>936</sup> SHAW and SHAW 1993:175–177.

<sup>937</sup> Jerry Rutter (personal communication, 3 April 2003).

fabric with (5YR 5/3 brown) core, (5Y 8/2 white) slip, H (pres.): 2.5; W (pres.): 2.7 cm, Th.: 5.4 mm, one lower shoulder fragment, slip worn and flaked.

Amphora lower shoulder, outtapering, slightly convex, slipped exterior only, wheel marks interior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early).

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through reign of Akhenaten) sherd, in LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pls. LII Type XLIII/260; LI Type XLIV/1061; FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pl. LIII Type XVII.6; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {354}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*Reference:* Kommos catalogue card.

*Comments:* This is a Lower Egyptian fabric, from the Egyptian Delta region.

The find context is Trench '94A1/51,' a large burnt area immediately west of a short LM IA north-south wall in the middle of the trench, between the two east-west walls of the Gallery. It contained mostly LM IIIA ceramics with some LM I material and a 'historical' sherd, together with shell and charcoal. This was identified too late to be included in RUTTER (forthcoming), but *does* come from his Group 57d, and may be related to {351} and {354}, which are of the same fabric.<sup>938</sup>

#### 354. Amphora. Exc. # C12066 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (=Marl D variant) (7.5YR 6/4 light brown) fabric with (10YR 5/3 brown) core, (2.5Y 8/2 white) slip, H (pres.): 2.8; W (pres.): 2.8 cm, Th.: 5.1 mm, one probably shoulder fragment, slip worn and flaked.

Amphora upper shoulder fragment, slightly convex, outtapering, slipped exterior only, wheel marks interior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2 (early).

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through reign of Akhenaten) sherd, in LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LII Types XLIII/67, 260; HOPE 1989b:114 fig. 4.1–2, 4; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353}; {356–357}; {359–360}.

*Reference:* Kommos catalogue card.

*Comments:* This is a Lower Egyptian fabric, from the Egyptian Delta region.

The find context is Trench '94A1/70,' part of the burnt pebble surface at a slightly lower level than the other contexts described above. The same grouping of LM IIIA2 with small quantity of LM I was recovered, together with some shell. This was identified too late to be included in RUTTER (forthcoming), but *does* come from his Group 57d, and may be related to {351} and {353}, which are of the same fabric.<sup>939</sup>

#### D.3.2.b. East end of Gallery P3

The eastern, closed end of Gallery P3 (Space 28) also

was entirely cleared but again revealing few finds. This end had a series of small burnt lenses over the earth and clay floor. Sometime in the 8<sup>th</sup> c., the northern wall collapsed, sealing the material below.

#### 355. Storage jar, wide-necked. Exc. # C9489 (PSR)

Clay, probably Nile Silt B2 or possibly Marl D, (5YR 6/4 light reddish brown) fabric with (10YR 6/2 pale red) core, 'more silt than marl' with tiny voids, (2.5Y 8/1-2 white to pale yellow) exterior and (5Y 8/1 white) interior slip, Dia. (rim): c. 17.5, H: (rim) 1.8, L: 4.6 cm; Th. (body) 5.5, (rim): 19.5 mm, rim fragment, worn, flaking slip.

Rim of large storage jar, thickened on interior and exterior, exterior rolled with heavy overhang and undercut, thin-walled intapering neck of convex profile, slipped interior and exterior. Egyptian, early–mid-Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–2B, through sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV)

*Context:* Mainly LM IIIA2 (early), with some MM II sherds.

*Chronology:* early–mid-Dynasty XVIII (Periods 1–2B through sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV) vessel, residual in its LM IIIA2 (early) deposition.

*Comparanda:* PETRIE and BRUNTON 1924:pl. XLIV:26M<sub>2</sub>, 26M; HOPE 1989a:23 fig. 3:g–h, 24 fig. 4:a–b; GUKSCH 1995:82 fig. 36.e–f; {328}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; FRENCH 1994:77; RUTTER 1999:174; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:254–255 #253 (photo) centre right, right; RUTTER 2006:534 #57f/2, 647, pl. 3.65.57f/2.

*Comments:* Aston cannot identify the fabric type, but confirms that nonetheless it definitely is Egyptian and related to his Qantir IIF.02 (=Marl D variant) fabric. Bourriau suggests this is the same jar type as {328}; see there for vessel description. It is a common storage jar shape, most often found in the early–mid Dynasty XVIII.

The find context is Trench '89A/11,' the northern part of Space 28 almost at the eastern interior end of Building P, Gallery 3, east of Building Z. It is a fill context in the middle of the gallery, with over 0.5 kg of mainly LM IIIA2 and some MM II sherds, bronze strips and a blade, shells and plaster. This is within Rutter's Group 57f.

#### 356. Amphora. Exc. # C9504 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (=Marl D variant) fine (7.5YR 7/4 light reddish brown) fabric with (5YR 7/6 reddish yellow) core, (2.5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, Dia. (rim): c. 10.5, H (rim) 2.0 cm; Th. (body): 5.5, (rim): 9.8 mm, one rim fragment.

Tall exterior-thickened amphora rim with slightly concave interior profile, thin upright neck near-vertical but bulging just below rim, interior and exterior slipped, highly burnished. Egyptian, late Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2.

*Chronology:* Late Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII) vessel, generally earlier than or contemporary with, but most likely residual in, its LM IIIA2 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LIII:Type LXIII/104; FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pl.

<sup>938</sup> Jerry Rutter (personal communication, 3 April 2003).

<sup>939</sup> Jerry Rutter (personal communication, 3 April 2003).

LIII:Type XVII.6; D.A. ASTON 1996b:pl. 10:47; (neck) {339}; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {357}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; FRENCH 1994:77; RUTTER 1999:174; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000: 254–255 #253 (photo) centre right, left; RUTTER 2006:539 #57h/1, pl. 3.65.57h/1.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '89A/36,' the northern part of Space 28 near multiple anchors almost at the eastern interior end of Building P, Gallery 3, east of Building Z, with almost 0.5 kg of LM IIIA2 sherds. This is within Rutter's Group 57h.

This sherd is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a.

### 357. 'Pilgrim flask(?)', Exc. # C10655 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) soft (5YR 6/6 reddish yellow) fabric with fine to medium gritty inclusions, (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, Dia.: (rim) c. 8.25; H (rim): 1.4, (pres.): 2.6, W (pres.): 2.3 cm; Th. (body) 5.8, (rim) 8.6 mm, one rim fragment, worn, highly abraded.

Tall exterior thickened rim of a possible 'pilgrim-flask' with slight overhang on exterior and concave interior profile, narrow 'funnel' neck, slipped interior and exterior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIB, with almost entirely LM IIIA2–B material.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII–XIX (Period 3, sometime in reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Merenptah) vessel, probably but not certainly residual in its LM IIIB deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pl. LIII Type XVII.15; HOPE 1989a:26 fig. 6.d; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356}; {359–360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER 1999:174; 2006:560 #69a/4, 647, pl. 3.80.69a/4.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '89A/2,' the northern half of Space 28 almost at the eastern interior end of Building P, Gallery 3, east of later Building Z. This is within Rutter's Group 69a. The context itself, covering the entire trench, apparently contained over 2 kg. of 'almost pure' LM IIIA2–B sherds deposited not earlier than LM IIIB and therefore in the upper levels of the gallery. Also found were some shells and plaster.

This is very large for a 'pilgrim flask,' and may be a small closed container instead.

### D.4. Unstratified contexts from the Southern area

The following sherds were recovered in unstratified upper contexts in the Southern area, mixed with post-Bronze Age material and with few chronological implications.

### 358. Potstand, Exc. # C6392 (PSR)

Clay, Marl D hard (10YR 6/3 pale brown) fabric fading to (10YR 6/1 reddish grey) core, with many small white angular inclusions, heavy (5Y 8/2 pale yellow)<sup>940</sup> slip, Dia. (rim): c. 23; H (pres.): 4.0 cm; Th. (rim): 31, (body): 10.7 mm, surface chipped and worn, one base/lower body fragment.

Heavy thick rolled base of large potstand with convex body, slipped on interior base and exterior. Dribbles of slip running up from interior base edge, indicating slip had been applied on vessel when upside down.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIB–Iron Age (Greek) or later..

*Chronology:* Likely later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII, although possibly Dynasty XIX) sherd, residual in its Iron Age or later deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. XLVI Types I.206, 214; (fabric) {329}; {332}; {339}; {352}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; J.W. SHAW 1986b; WATROUS 1992:110 #1965, 163 #1965, fig. 73:1965, pl. 54:1965; CLINE 1994:197 #564; RUTTER 1999:174; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000: 254–255 #253:(photo) top; top left, (drawing), bottom, right; RUTTER 2006:548 #61/7, 647, pl. 3.73.61/7.

*Comments:* See comments to {321}. The find context is Trench '50A/25,' south of Building N and north of Classical Building W at the northern edge of the open 'central court' (Space 15), in unstratified fill. This is within Rutter's Group 61. This context was dated by Watrous only within LM III, whilst Rutter gives LM IIIB as the earliest possible date. The material ranges between LM IIIB and Greek (7<sup>th</sup> c. BC). Other material includes pumice, shell and gypsum.

This is from a thick-walled potstand.

### 359. Amphora, Exc. # C9837 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (= Marl D variant) medium coarse (10YR 7/2 pale red) fabric with (2.5Y 6/2 light brownish grey) core, having numerous small to medium inclusions, (5Y 8/2 pale yellow) slip, Dia. (rim): 13, H (rim): 1.8, (pres.): 2.3 cm; Th. (body) 4.4, (rim) 10.1 mm, rim fragment, worn, slip abraded. Rim of an amphora, with strongly intapering neck, tall exterior-thickened rim with slightly concave interior profile, slipped interior and exterior, thin section.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Period 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* Mixed Bronze and Iron Age (Greek).

*Chronology:* Likely later Dynasty XVIII (Periods 3A–early B, sometime in the reign of Amenhotep IV through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII although possibly Dynasty XIX) vessel, residual in its Iron Age deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LIII:Type LXIII/104; FRANKFURT and PENDLEBURY 1933:pl. LIII:Type XVII.6; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {360}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER 1999:174; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:254–255 #253 (photo) centre right, centre; RUTTER 2006:577 #MI/Eg/1, pl. 3.87.MI/Eg/1.

*Comments:* The find context is Trench '88A/17,' a long North-South trench at the extreme eastern end of the excavations and at the east side of the Building P Galleries 1 and 2, in Space 44, with both Minoan and Iron Age sherds in poor, worn condition. Some shells and bone fragments, a plaster fragment and bronze nail also were recovered.

This sherd is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category 1a.

<sup>940</sup> WATROUS 1992:165 has this as "2.5Y 5/2," a misreading of the original catalogue card.

**360. Amphora.** Exc. # C9100 (PSR)

Clay, Qantir IIF.02 (=Marl D variant) pink buff (5YR 7/6-8 reddish yellow) slightly micaceous fabric with (10YR 7/3 pale red) core, (10YR 8/3-4 pink) slip, H (pres.): 6.1; W (pres.): 3.8 cm, Th.: 9–16 mm, one near-base fragment, slip mostly worn off.

Amphora lower body, very near base, convex, tapering to base, prominent finger marks on interior, slipped on exterior.

Egyptian, later Dynasty XVIII–XX (Periods 3–4, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through end of NK).

*Context:* LM IIIA2, with mostly worn LM IIIA1 material.

*Chronology:* Later Dynasty XVIII (Period 3A, sometime in the reign of Thutmose IV through sometime in reign of Horemhab/end of Dynasty XVIII) sherd, in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IIIA2 deposition.

*Comparanda:* (general) PEET and WOOLLEY 1923:pl. LII type XLIII/67; BRACK and BRACK 1977:pl. 63:2/28, 3/29; HOLTHER 1977:pl. 22:Q12, 185/196:19; HOPE 1989a:27 fig. 7.a, 40 pl. 7.c, 44 pl. 11.a; 1989b:112 fig. 2.1; (fabric) {322}; {323}; {327}; {330–331}; {335–336}; {341}; {345–348}; {350–351}; {353–354}; {356–357}; {359}.

*References:* Kommos catalogue card; RUTTER 2006:577 #MI/Eg/3, pl. 3.87.MI/Eg/3.

*Comments:* The base is mould-made and likely keeled in profile. This was luted to its wheel-made lower body by hand pressure and smoothed on the exterior, as indicated by the abruptly thickened junction near the base as seen here. This is a Lower Egyptian fabric, from the Delta region.

The find context is Trench '95A/37,' a mixed sand fill with some burning immediately west of the LM IA kiln constructed within the southern stoa of the LM IA 'palatial' building pebble courtyard but at a later and disassociated level. It contained mostly worn and fragmentary LM IIIA1 ceramics, with some LM IIIA2 material that defined its date and a Cypriote basin fragment. The context has no chronological value.

This sherd is from an amphora of HOPE's (1989b) Category Ia.<sup>941</sup>

**Addendum**

Sherds still held in the Kommos storerooms in summer 2002 were examined by David Aston and Bettina Bader for final fabric identifications, which are accepted here. Those few already in the HM could not be consulted. Sherds previously considered Egyptian were re-identified as originating elsewhere, whilst others previously considered to originate elsewhere were confirmed as Egyptian. They also confirmed identifications in the Syro-Palestinian collection. The resulting reorganised Kommos catalogue as presented here has four fewer objects than before, but the present text was too far along to renumber the subsequent entire catalogue, so {341} and {361} through {363} are not used.

Sherds previously catalogued or otherwise cited *in print* as Egyptian or possibly Egyptian but subsequently ascertained by Rutter or Aston and Bader to originate elsewhere are:

1) C894: RUTTER 1999:173 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/

Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:648, 649 again cites this as Egyptian;

- 2) C1845: J.W. SHAW 1986b; WATROUS 1992:75 #1294, 163 #1294, pl. 55:1294; CLINE 1994:199 #584; RUTTER 1999:173 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002);
- 3) C2556: RUTTER 1999:173 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002);
- 4) C2763: WATROUS 1992:16 #277, 162 #277, Pl. 54:946; CLINE 1994:197 #563; RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:460 #40/34, 684 again cites this as Egyptian;
- 5) C3559: J.W. SHAW 1981:219 n. 21; 1986b; WATROUS 1992:162 #488; CLINE 1994:198 #568; RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:494 #47/19 again cites this as Egyptian;
- 6) C3560: WATROUS 1992:pl.54:1962 (misidentified photograph); CLINE 1994:218 #753 (Cypriote; RUTTER 1999:168);
- 7) C3802: WATROUS 1992:16,162#294; CLINE 1994:202 #609 (Minoan; RUTTER 1999:173);
- 8) C4574: WATROUS 1992:110 #1964, 163 #1964, fig. 73:1964; CLINE 1994:197 #565; RUTTER 1999:174; KARETSOU 2000:254–255 #253:(drawing) upper, left, (photo) lower left, right (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:577 #MI/Eg/2 again cites this as Egyptian;
- 9) C6949: WATROUS 1992:60 #1021, 163 #1021, pl. 54:1021; CLINE 1994:198 #567; RUTTER 1999:174 (Unknown, not Egyptian or Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002);
- 10) C7072: CLINE 1994:173 #331; RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:499 #52a/9 again cites this as Egyptian;
- 11) C7073: CLINE 1994:174 #341 (Cypriote; RUTTER 1999:168);
- 12) C7105: CLINE 1994:217 #750 (Cypriote; RUTTER 1999:171);
- 13) C7476: CLINE 1994:175 #350; RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:503 #52e/2 again cites this as Egyptian;
- 14) C8058: CLINE 1994:176 #366 (Syro-Palestinian;

<sup>941</sup> Category 1b amphorae do not have a mould-made base (Janine Bourriau, personal communication, 23 May 2003).

RUTTER 1999:172, confirmed by Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002);

- 15) C8726: RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Rutter, personal communication, 01 November 2001, confirmed by Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002).
- 16) C10331: RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002);
- 17) C10723: RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002);
- 18) C10765: RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:488 #45/10 again cites this as Egyptian;
- 19) C11047: RUTTER 1999:174 (Syro-Palestinian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); RUTTER 2006:577 #MI/Eg/4 again cites this as Egyptian;

Sherds previously identified or otherwise cited *in print* as originating elsewhere but now ascertained by Rutter or Aston and Bader to be Egyptian and catalogued above are:

- 1) C4091: as 'unknown but possibly Aeginetan,' BETANCOURT 1990:107 #586, 192 #586; as 'suspected Anatolian,' RUTTER 1999:176 (Egyptian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002); {326});
- 2) C4107: as 'Canaanite,' J.W. SHAW 1982:193 n. 86; WATROUS 1992:161 #1955; as 'Syro-Palestinian,' CLINE 1994:177 #374 (Egyptian; RUTTER 1999:173, confirmed by Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002; {330});
- 3) C4646: as 'Canaanite,' J.W. SHAW 1982:166 n. 7, 193 n. 86; WATROUS 1992:161 #1956; as 'Syro-Palestinian,' CLINE 1994:177 #367 (Egyptian; RUTTER 1999:173, confirmed by Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002; {323});
- 4) C7070: (Egyptian; Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002; {347}); RUTTER 2006:578 now cites this as Syro-Palestinian;
- 5) C7550: as 'Syro-Palestinian,' CLINE 1994:195 #536 (Egyptian; RUTTER 1999:175, confirmed by Aston/Bader, personal communication, 01 August 2002; {338}).

### KOUMASA

The site of Koumasa lies just east of modern Koumasa village in the eastern Mesara plain, some 10

kilometres southeast of Gortyn. St. Xanthoudides was shown some jewellery and weapon fragments from here in autumn 1904, and excavated three tholoi, a square tomb and part of an associated settlement (with a shrine) that December and in summer 1906.<sup>942</sup> The tombs are located on a slight slope of the plain about 100 m. north of its settlement on Korakies hill. The villagers already had partially destroyed two of the tholoi by digging through the walls. Xanthoudides also found two Roman graves in the outer debris of the tholoi, evidently interred after the roof had collapsed.

The two large tholoi were identified as Tombs B and E, the small tholos as Tomb A and the square tomb as Tomb Γ. All tholoi exhibited the usual circular structure with its entrance to the east blocked by two upright slabs, two having preserved their lintels. Tholoi A and E had a small square antechamber lacking an entrance, more like a stone-lined pit. Immediately east of the tholoi was a flattened slab-paved area with a partially preserved stone wall at one end, forming a 'court' in front of the tholoi entrances.

Tholos E was the best preserved, but was found almost entirely devoid of objects although numerous bones were recovered. It has been dated to EM I–MM IA, possibly continuing in use to MM IB/IIA. Tholos B was rich in finds, mixed together with 'many hundreds' of burials found everywhere in the tholos and just outside the entrance where the antechamber had been. They evidently had been interred in layers. The tomb was in use from EM I–MM IA. Tomb Γ may have been a burial enclosure like others near tholoi at Platanos, Porti and elsewhere, but the south wall apparently bowed outwards. As elsewhere, the deposit was quite thick with disturbed burials and objects. Use of the tomb seems to be limited to EM II.

Tholos A was located immediately north of tholos B and west of tholos E, although about a third of the tholos wall has been lost due to the slope.<sup>943</sup> Numerous burials were found as an admixture together with a large number of finds within the tomb and the antechamber. Finds included clay pyxides, a stone cup and local 'Cycladic' figurine, two triangular bronze daggers, a gold bracelet and repoussé diadem, and seals and beads in various materials. The tomb was in use EM I–MM IB, possibly MM IIA. Walberg provided a more limited dating range of EM III–MM IA (her 'phase I') only for this tholos, on the basis of a single *askos* vessel.<sup>944</sup> Soles noted that Tholos A is a "closed

<sup>942</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:3–50. See also SOLES 1973:135–140; 1992:155–158.

<sup>943</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:32.

<sup>944</sup> WALBERG 1983:135.

EM IIa deposit".<sup>945</sup> The scaraboid form itself negates the possibility of a limited EM IIA deposition in Tholos A, or even one terminating in MM IA.

**364. Scaraboid**, HM 537

'Hard black stone,' possibly but not likely black steatite, L: 8.2; W: 8.7; H: 6.4; SH: 2.3–2.5 mm, intact as is, worn.

Scaraboid with vague head markings, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated by two parallel horizontal grooves on sides. Face outline presently rhomboidal. String-hole through length. *Face*: Four (preserved) lines of diagonal cross-hatching.

Minoan, MM (IB?–)IIA.

*Context*: EM III–MM IIA.

*Chronology*: MM (IB?–)IIA scaraboid, in generally contemporary tomb deposition.

*Comparison*: {444}.

*References*: *CMS* II.1:#154; YULE 1981:80–81 Class 30:d; 1983:366 n. 22; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:641 #269, III:1111 fig. 269; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:442; PHILLIPS 2004:166 fig. 5.top.

*Comments*: From Tholos A. The originally ovoid form of the scaraboid has been reduced by removing the head and tail area to form a rhomboidal shape. The use of a hard stone as material suggests a late date for the manufacture of this scaraboid, possibly as early as MM IB and more likely MM IIA. The reasons for its reduced state are unknown.

## LASTROS SITEIAS

The village of Lastros lies on the main road between Aghios Nikolaos and Siteia, some 39 kilometres from the former and 34 kilometres from the latter, almost directly south of Mochlos island. The name is ancient, and may have belonged to an unexcavated LM III settlement on a hill south-west of the village.

In the same direction also is an LM III cemetery, unexcavated but for one small chamber tomb. Inside this tomb was a miniature 'bath-tub' larnax, within which were recovered two figurines of children. A child's skeleton also was recovered, together with a stone grinder, and the tomb was dated LM IIIB by the excavator, presumably on the basis of the larnax. LM IIIB vessels, a bronze sword and a clay idol also are mentioned from the cemetery.<sup>946</sup>

The following is said to be from the area of Lastros, but is entirely without context.

**365. 'Bundle-backed' seal**, HM (Metaxas) 478 (not seen)

Faience, yellow, L: 20.5; W: 12.7; H: 9; SH: 2.4 mm, extremely worn surface.

'Bundle-backed' seal in 'shell'-like form, raised at centre and

tapering to splaying flutes at both ends, suggesting two scallops. String-hole through width. *Face*: Three vaguely Egyptian hieroglyphs presumably in vertical format, probably best seen as a draught-board *mn* (Y 5) in mirror image at either end, and misformed reed leaf *i* (M 17) in centre, although other interpretations also could be made. No border line.

Egyptian, probably Dynasty XXI or later.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably Dynasty XXI or later, without context.

*Comparanda*: XANTHOUIDES 1907:164–165 #42, pl. 6:42; NFA 1991:#248; KEEL 1990b:355–360, figs. 47–62; ANDREWS 1994:54 fig. 55:I; SKON-JEDELE 1994:III:1719, 1724 #2779, IV:2793 fig. 42.2779.c; 1995b:87–88 §212–213; (face design) PETRIE 1925b:pl. IX:307.

*Reference*: *CMS* IV:#96.

*Comments*: Mould-made, with the majority of its surface and their details lost. Kenna (in the *CMS*) thought this was Minoan and dated it to MM I. He interpreted the face design as Cretan renderings of Egyptian hieroglyphic signs, apparently taking the first sign as the pool with lotus flowers *š3/3ht* (M 8), as it was interpreted as "that signifying objects with the earth," and the middle sign as the handled basket *nb* (V 30) since the text was interpreted as "All. Every. Everything". The seal form, face type, and moulded manufacture are entirely inconsistent with his dating in Egyptian terms, and his assigned origin in Minoan terms. The inscription could be read as a duplicated rendering of *Imm*, the god Amun, without the water sign *n* (N 35), although it is a highly unusual arrangement. The signs can be interpreted as several others, and likely have been misidentified. The more usual arrangement would have the reed leaf duplicated at either end, and the draught-board with water sign below in the centre, as {260}. The surface is so worn that almost anything is possible.

Five examples of similar 'bundle-backed' seals also were found at Vrokastro, also of post-New Kingdom date and in tombs of 11<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> c. BC date; none are included in the present catalogue.<sup>947</sup> Another example, also not included in the present catalogue as it also has long been known as Egyptian and Post-New Kingdom in date, was purchased at Eleuthernia (southeast of Rethymnon) in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and is now in the HM. Xanthoudides originally had published it rather hesitantly as Middle Minoan, which may have been the basis of Kenna's dating of the Lastros example in the *CMS*.<sup>948</sup> Its face design is better preserved and has similar signs, but in a different order that makes equally little sense as an Egyptian inscription.

This seal form was popular in Dynasties XX–XXII, the earlier of which is contemporary with LM IIIC, the latest Bronze Age period on Crete, although E. Porada quotes Dynasty XIX–XX as its main period of production. Thus, it *might* be associated with either the cemetery or settlement on this basis. The unreadable face design, however, is not one of the three types noted by KEEL (1995b) associated with this seal type. Rather, it points to a point late within the dating range, beyond the parameters of the present study, when several variant and unreadable designs are known.

<sup>945</sup> SOLES 1992:158.

<sup>946</sup> PLATON 1959a:389; KANTA 1980:174.

<sup>947</sup> PENDLEBURY 1920b:39 #58–61; see also SKON-JEDELE 1994:III:1944–1945 #2970–2974, IV:2801 fig. 50:2970–2974.

<sup>948</sup> Now HM 64. See also SKON-JEDELE 1994:III:1719. It was not included in PENDLEBURY 1930b.

## LEBENA

The modern village of Lendas (formerly Lebena) lies in a sheltered bay on the south-central coast, immediately south of the Mesara plain and the Asterousia mountain range. The area first was explored by F. Halbherr in 1884, and shortly afterwards A. Taramelli produced a survey map of existing remains. The port town of Gortyn in Roman times, its most visible monument is the precinct of Aesclepios, god of medicine, excavated by F. Halbherr in 1900 and L. Pernier in 1910–1911; further work was carried out here by S. Alexiou and A. Lembessi in 1971.<sup>949</sup>

The area had been inhabited as early as the EM period. St. Alexiou excavated a series of tholos tombs at three separate locations of the immediately surrounding area in 1958–1960.<sup>950</sup> Two tombs were uncovered in a field at Papoura, near the coast itself, identified as Tombs I and IB. Also near the coast is a field at Yerokampos, where Alexiou found a double tholos that he called Tomb II and IIa. The last tholos, Tomb III, was excavated farther inland in a field at Zervos in 1960. All tholoi are dated to EM II and MM I, with the exception of Tomb II having an EM I stratum, and EM III is present in some tombs.<sup>951</sup> He also ascertained an EM–MM settlement was located on a low hill connected to the Lendas cape, indicated by walls, sherds and grindstones, but although he planned to excavate the site it was never begun.<sup>952</sup>

The Lebena tholoi have just been published by ALEXIOU and WARREN (2004), and should be consulted for further details or corrections to the site descriptions.

### A. Papoura, Tomb I

Tomb I at Papoura, the most western of the three tholoi, was excavated in 1958. It was built against a rock abutment on the north side and a series of large boulders to the south, with an eastern entrance. It has an internal diameter of 5.15 m. and walls 1.9 m. thick, with some small compartments constituting Tomb IA just outside the entrance. Tomb IB, adjoin-

ing Tomb I to form a double-tomb, is smaller in internal diameter at about 4.5 m., but with a similar maximum wall thickness. Apparently, both served the unexcavated settlement at Anginariopapouro nearby, which was occupied until MM IA.

The chamber of Tomb I was packed to overflowing with burials, some still articulated and in extended position. It could be divided stratigraphically into two distinct layers some 60 cm thick in total, the earlier datable to EM II with possibly a little EM III ware, while the later (upper) stratum contained pottery restricted to the MM IA period, together with a scarab and stone bowl and pyxis. The lower stratum apparently contained the majority of finds, with numerous seals, obsidian razor blades, steatite and faience bead necklaces, a gold diadem and other pottery and stone vessels mentioned. A few animal bones were also noted.

#### 366. Scarab, HM Σ-K 1925

‘White piece,’ probably glazed,<sup>953</sup> L: 21; W: 15 mm, intact.

Scarab with open head, single line between pronotum and elytra, triple line between elytra. Decorative border line around edge of elytra, pronotum and clypeus. Tail indicated by oval. Legs indicated by hollow undercutting and notching. Front and middle legs meet at mid-pronotum. String-hole through length. *Face*: Centre panel of *nfr*, ‘good, beautiful’ (F 35) aligned to length and flanked by a double-line C-scroll either side. At either end, an *ꜥnh*, ‘life’ (S 34) aligned to width and shown *tête-bêche*.<sup>954</sup> Both enclosed on three sides by a ladder border. All surrounded by line border.

Egyptian, early Dynasty XII.

*Context*: MM IA.

*Chronology*: Early Dynasty XII scarab, in generally contemporary MM IA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda*: PETRIE 1891:pl. X:151; REISNER 1955:60 #166; DUNHAM 1967:71 #166; WARD 1978:*passim*, pl. XI:277, 281 (generally Back type III, head type B2, side type c2); WARD and DEVER 1994:*passim* (Back type LS, head type B2, side type c2).

*References*: ALEXIOU 1958a:7–8 fig. 5; DAUX 1959:744, fig. 14:bis; ALEXIOU 1960a:226, fig. 12; ÅSTRÖM 1961–1962:143; CMS II.1:#180; WARD 1971:75–77; HELCK 1979:74; WARREN 1980:495 n. 125, pl. 58:1–3; CADOGAN 1983:513; YULE 1983:366 n. 22, 366–377; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:233–234 #142, pl. 47:142; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 15; 1991:II:643–644 #270, III:1112 fig. 270; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:424, 431

<sup>949</sup> See TARDITI in MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:160–163 for the Iron Age remains.

<sup>950</sup> ALEXIOU 1958a; PLATON 1958b:470–471; 1959a:370–371; DAUX 1959:742–744; ALEXIOU 1960a; 1960b:257–258; DAUX 1961:886–890; ALEXIOU 1961–1962. See also BRANIGAN 1970a:*passim* and now also ALEXIOU in MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:164–167; ALEXIOU and WARREN 2004.

<sup>951</sup> Both ALEXIOU 1960a and DAUX 1961:888 noted the lack of EM III material at all the Lebena tombs. However, BRANIGAN 1970a:167–168 has identified a small quantity of EM III objects from some of the tombs.

<sup>952</sup> ALEXIOU 1960a:227.

<sup>953</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000).

<sup>954</sup> Possibly an *ꜥnh* and *nfr* sign, if viewed from the same perspective. Neither sign exhibits the filled ‘loop’ as in the centre panel, and both more probably are *ꜥnh* signs.



fig. 2. centre, 442; PINI 2000:110, fig. 4a; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:306 #301; ALEXIOU and WARREN 2004:36–37 #85, fig. 8:85, pl. 11:B–F; PHILLIPS 2005a:44; WARREN 2005:188.

*Comments:* Alexiou notes that this scarab was found in close association with an MM IA amphoriskos.<sup>955</sup> The dating of this scarab, in combination with the tomb's MM IA date, indicates a very close overlap between the two periods.

Ward noted that the specific side type, with notched legs meeting at mid-pronotum, almost exclusively is pre-Dynasty XII in date,<sup>956</sup> but this was based on an early date for the Montet jar, now known to be early Dynasty XII in date. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) have dated the scarab to early Dynasty XVIII, a period clearly in error as it is far too late for the limited context date range in which it was found.

## B. Yerokampos, TombII/IIA

Tomb II/IIA at Yerokampos, about two kilometres west of Papoura, was excavated in 1959. The largest and most elaborate of the Lebena tombs, it consists of two adjoining tholoi which share a series of four antechambers, called A, M, AN and Δ. The antechambers were filled with artefacts, and Room AN specifically contained hundreds of conical cups, some larger vessels and a seal. No burials were found in this room. Probably due to the stratigraphical distinction exhibited in Tomb I the previous year, Alexiou notes the various strata “were studied with the greatest exactness”.<sup>957</sup>

### B.1. Tomb II

The larger of the two tholos compartments, Tomb II, had its entrance to the south-east that led into antechamber Room A and the other rooms beyond; all seem to have no entrances or exits according to the plan. The tholos chamber diameter and wall thickness are exactly those of Tomb I, at 5.15 m. and 1.9 m. respectively. It had two monolith doorjambs and capstone, with a blocking stone pointed at the top. Some thin orthostate slabs and the north-eastern edge of the wall seems to constitute an internal compartment. The tomb contents could be divided into two strata, the lower dated to EM I, and the upper to EM II–MM IA, but lacking EM III.

The earlier burials had been burnt; the underside of the entrance lintel even was blackened by smoke.

Numerous bowls, cups, jugs and an amphora all date to MM IA. Earlier pottery was found in the lower layer, including Sub-Neolithic at floor level and higher within the stratum EM I Pyrgos and Aghios Onouphrios wares, figurines, zoomorphic vessels and a bronze early dagger. The upper layer contained EM II Vasiliki ware, clay and steatite bead necklaces, amulets, local ‘Cycladic’<sup>958</sup> and other stone figurines, and bronze razors and daggers. Some vessels contained olive seeds, various animal teeth and bones, and many sea shells, suggesting offerings to the dead. Seals were recovered from both strata, but the area of strongly Sub-Neolithic features immediately at floor level produced none.

### 367. Scarab, HM Σ-K 1987

‘Probably steatite with soft white over-layer.’<sup>959</sup> L: 11.5; W: 8 mm, intact.

Scarab with open head, double line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, single line around outer edge of pronotum and elytra. Tail indicated by oval. Legs indicated by deep undercutting. String-hole through length. *Face:* Single lotus bud aligned to width, flanked by outward-curling spirals, probably indicating full bloom as one turns to meet the other at bottom. Filler design of two filled ‘leaves’. Horizontal format. Line border.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XI.

*Context:* EM II, MM IA.

*Chronology:* Late Dynasty XI scarab, in generally contemporary MM IA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* PETRIE 1891:pl. XXVI:31; WARD 1978:*passim*, pl. VII:202 (generally Back type II, Head type B, Side type d5); TUFNELL 1984:37, fig. 14; WARD and DEVER 1994:*passim* (Back type LN, head type B, side type d5); {40}.

*References:* CMS II.1:#201; WARREN 1980:495 n. 125, pl. 58:4–6; CADOGAN 1983:513; YULE 1983:366 n. 22, 366–367; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:234 #143, pl. 47:143; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 15; 1991:II:646–647 #271, III:1112 fig. 271; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:424, 431 fig. 2. left, 442; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:306 #300; ALEXIOU and WARREN 2004:133 #525, 134, fig. 35:525, pl. 116:B–F; PHILLIPS 2005a:44; WARREN 2005:187.

*Comments:* Ward<sup>960</sup> indicated the face design does not appear prior to Dynasty IX. This point was important from his earliest studies, as this scarab itself apparently was recovered not from the upper stratum but from the earlier, EM I, stratum below.<sup>961</sup> The strata are not so distinct as one would wish. Nonetheless, the emended context identification must be in error as the scarab itself is much later in date than EM I. Indeed, the Egyptian scarab seal with face design does not

<sup>955</sup> See YULE 1983:366–367 n. 23. Also see ALEXIOU in CMS II.1:193.

<sup>956</sup> WARD 1978:66.

<sup>957</sup> ALEXIOU 1960a:226.

<sup>958</sup> SAKELLARAKIS in THIMME 1977:148–149.

<sup>959</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 08 May 2000). Thus, another ‘white piece’ scarab.

<sup>960</sup> WARD 1978:53.

<sup>961</sup> ALEXIOU 1960a:227 originally had placed the scarab in the upper layer, but later changed its context to place it in the lower layer in CMS II.1:193. See also YULE 1983:366–367 n. 23.

appear before sometime in the FIP, and this example is early Middle Kingdom. If actually found in the lower (EM I) stratum, it must have worked its way down from the upper (MM IA) stratum above. Its Egyptian date of manufacture cannot support an interment date earlier than MM IA, for even EM II predates the initial Egyptian appearance of the scarab seal. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) limit its date only to the FIP, too early for the known scarab typology.

The design seems to be a simplified derivative of the *nb-ty* formula.

### B.2. Tomb IIA

The smaller Tomb IIA had its door to the north, connecting into Room A as an obvious concession to the larger tholos entrance; the external entrance may have been to the southwest, but is obscured by a modern hut. Its internal diameter, at 3.4 m., and wall thickness of 1 m., are both smaller than Tomb II.

It too contained two strata. The lower stratum was a thick burnt bone layer, which had been covered with sand before another layer of burials was added. The lower stratum is dated to EM II, and the upper to MM IA. This chamber, like Tomb II, was not in use during EM III, or at least no EM III ceramics were recovered. The ceramics from the upper layer are described as a ‘pure’ MM IA assemblage but, other than some MM IA clay vessels, a stone kernos and small pot, no further objects are specifically mentioned. The lower layer contained EM II Vasiliki ware and some bronze tools.

#### 368. Scarab, HM Σ-K 1997

Probably ‘white piece,’<sup>962</sup> L: 12; W: 9 mm, intact.

Scarab with open head, single line between pronotum and elytra, triple line between elytra. Tail indicated by oval. Legs indicated by deep undercutting. String-hole through length. *Face*: Large Z-scroll aligned to length in centre, terminating either end in a circle. Filler design either side of filled ‘leaf’. Line border.

Egyptian, early Dynasty XII.

*Context*: [EM II], MM IA.

*Chronology*: Early Dynasty XII scarab, in generally contemporary MM IA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda*: WARD 1978:pl. IX:236–238, *passim* (generally Back type III, Head type B2, Side type b1); WARD and DEVER 1994:*passim* (Head type B2, back type LS, side type e5).

*References*: ALEXIOU 1960a:227; CMS II.1:#204; WARREN 1980:495 n. 128, pl. 58:7–9 SAKELLARAKIS 1980:9–10, fig. 6:204; CADOGAN 1983:513; YULE 1983:366–367 n. 22–23; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:234–235 #144, pl. 47:144; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 15, 327; 1991:II:647 #272, III:1112 fig. 277; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:424, 431 fig. 2.right, 442; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:307 #302; ALEXIOU and WARREN 2004:152, 153

#68, 180, fig. 41:68, pl. 136:B–F; PHILLIPS 2005a:44, 45; WARREN 2005:187.

*Comments*: Recovered in the upper (MM IA) stratum, the stylistic dating parameters of this scarab and the limited possible context date are a close overlap. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) date the scarab only to the FIP, unfortunately too early for the known scarab typology, whilst Alexiou and Warren date it to “late Dynasty XI”.

## MALIA

The site of Malia lies on a small coastal plain about three kilometres east of the modern village of that name about 34 kilometres east of Herakleion, on the north-central coast directly north of the Lasithi Plain. The ancient name of the site is unrecorded, but it is known chiefly for the palace that lies in the middle of the ancient city. Although Capt. Spratt was the first to equate antiquities with the site,<sup>963</sup> the discovery of some bronze vessels and a sarcophagus by Io. Hatzidakis led to his partial excavation of the palace in 1915 and 1919.<sup>964</sup> Due to lack of funding, he relinquished his concession to the École française d’Athènes shortly thereafter. The École has excavated there almost annually since 1922, with the exception of 1933–1944 when work was halted. Excavators have included virtually all those who are or were associated with the École, and over the years they have uncovered not only the palace but also large portions of its associated city, outlying settlement at Hagia Varvara and necropoleis at Chrysolakkos and surrounding area. The site is published in a series of excavation reports that constitute the majority of volumes of the *Études Crétoises* periodically issued by the École.

Two spellings of the name persist in publication, ‘Malia’ (‘flat land’ or ‘plain’) and ‘Mallia’ (‘hair’). Both have their adherents, and indeed even modern highway signs in the area employ both spellings. The first spelling is employed in the present work as the translation better fits the circumstances.

The palace was divided into 28 *quartiers* as excavation progressed. Areas of the surrounding town were designated by successive letters of the Greek alphabet in order of excavation, but outlying areas tended to be given specific names. Scanty remains indicate the site of the palace, a slight elevation on the Zourokephali plain, was occupied during the Late Neolithic and Early Minoan periods. A number of

<sup>962</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 08 May 2000) notes it has “all the symptoms of white pieces.”

<sup>963</sup> SPRATT 1865:I:112, apparently referring to the Chrysolakkos area. He called it ‘Sivadhi Hellenico,’ and noted

that some thin gold plate scraps had been found there by peasants. See also Off-Island A: Aegina.

<sup>964</sup> HATZIDAKIS 1915b; 1918a; 1919.

excavated town areas also have yielded remains from EM III–MM IA, and it was this period that the Chrysolakkos cemetery area first came into use. The MM II period seems to have been the most extensively and densely occupied, the Neo-Palatial occupation being limited to near the palace area.

The existence of an earlier, Proto-Palatial, palace remains problematic, but the élite Proto-Palatial areas that may represent separate palatial ‘blocks’ were destroyed at the end of MM IIB, and the ‘second’ palace was constructed in MM IIIA. This palace was destroyed, apparently unfinished, early in LM IA when it was rebuilt and completed in a second phase along the same lines. The third phase, dated to LM IA–B, consists of major repairs and blocking walls added to the palace building.<sup>965</sup>

The surrounding town area also has yielded considerable habitation evidence, especially to the north-west, but the dating of each area indicates a tendency to live farther back from the sea as time progressed. An early survey of the plain has provided the probable town habitation limits of about 1.3 kilometres in area. Neither palace nor town was fortified.

The town was extensively and densely inhabited during the MM–LM I period, but was destroyed by an extremely fierce fire at the end of LM IB in conjunction with a conflagration general to the centre of the island. Both palace and town were in the main abandoned, although there is some evidence of re-occupation in *Quartiers* E and A, and especially in *Quartier* N.<sup>966</sup>

### A. The Palace

Surprisingly little relevant material has been reported from the palace excavations.

#### A.1. *Quartier* XV

*Quartier* XV of the palace is located immediately east of the southern entrance and directly opposite shrine *Quartier* XVI to its west.<sup>967</sup> *Quartier* XV seems to have had no definable function, but its proximity to both the southern entrance and the shrine suggest

a relationship.<sup>968</sup> Little is recorded from this *quartier*, but in a niche between *Quartier* XIV and XV was found a clay conical rhyton, a large clay amphora and a very elegant dish. Although the number of the niched room was not stated specifically by the excavators, presumably it was one of the two fully-enclosed rooms XV:5 or XV:6. Room XV:6 contained several rhyta (one decorated with leonine animals) and this and Room XV:7 otherwise contained three tritons and part of a miniature bronze chariot, further suggesting ritual use probably connected to the shrine. The rooms were inaccessible from the palace entrance. They appear to have been basement storage rooms, and may have been modified in the third (LM IA–B) phase.

#### 369. Amphora. HM Π 9128

Clay, H (rest.): 31.3; Dia. (rim, rest.): 12.4; (max): 22.0 cm, restored from at least three joining fragments with rim, part of neck and pedestal base restored, partially corroded surface, paint very worn.

Amphora with high shoulder and (restored) flaring rim and pedestal base, two horizontal coil loop handles on shoulder. Thick raised ridge at shoulder/neck and body/base junction. Restored with hollow underfoot. Probably all over red wash. Minoan, MM III–LM IA.

*Context:* Unstated, but presumably MM III–LM IA.

*Chronology:* MM III–LM IA vessel, in generally contemporary or slightly later presumed MM III–LM IA palace shrine(?) deposition.

*Comparanda:* {93–95}; {181}.

*References:* CHAPOUTHIER and DEMARGNE 1962:5, 55 #9128, pl. XLII:9218;<sup>969</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:650–651 #273, III:1113 fig. 273; CUCUZZA 2000:103 type 2; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:60 #38.

*Comments:* The excavators suggest that it probably was painted originally. The loose profile is completely restored.

#### A.2. ‘Hieroglyphic Deposit’

The so-called ‘Hieroglyphic Deposit’ in vestibule Room III:8 of the palace was excavated in 1923 by F. Chapouthier, but the excavation diary no longer exists for that season. This small (3 by 5 m.) rectangular room is entered from the north-east corner of the palace area, through a stone-flagged vestibule.<sup>970</sup> The floor was plastered, and the remains of a pillar(?) base was found. The deposit chiefly consists of archival

<sup>965</sup> For a summary description of the various alterations, see DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:183–186.

<sup>966</sup> As with Knossos, the history of the occupation and excavation at Malia is too long and involved for the short summary given here. An overview of both is the theme of VAN EFFENTERRE 1980; see also PELON *et al.* in MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:175–185. See also phase plans and sections in DEMARGNE 1974, and bibliography to *Quartier* Nu (Malia D, below).

<sup>967</sup> CHAPOUTHIER and DEMARGNE 1962:5; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:185.

<sup>968</sup> VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:2:338 notes they are “restés mystérieux. Ni les descriptions des fouilles, ni le mobilier preserve ne sont vraiment significatifs.”

<sup>969</sup> Identified as [HM] 9218 in the photograph and 9128 in the text.

<sup>970</sup> CHAPOUTHIER and CHARBONNEAUX 1928:16–17, pl. X; VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:364–366.

documents, mostly inscribed in Linear 'A,' and a few of the 'hieroglyphic' type, apparently recovered not in the room but its vestibule. These included roundels, hanging nodules, medallions, labels, plaques, and cones. Although given a variety of dates in earlier literature, recent re-analysis now assigns the deposit a date in MM IIIB, probably at its end.<sup>971</sup> This coincides with the earlier part of the Neo-Palatial period. A large collection of mainly unpainted ceramics, mostly conical cups, also was recovered, at least some found standing around the pillar(?) base.

**370. Roundel with seal impressions**, HM Σ-T 1401 (MA Wc 7) (not seen)

Clay, roundel: H: 40; W: 49; Th. 12–15 mm; seal impression: D: c. 14 mm, intact, seal design virtually complete in six impressions. Roundel, rounded disc shape, polished and with fingerprints both sides, with one Linear A sign (AB 180 [L 146]) inscribed on one side and five impressions from the same probably lentoid seal around edge. Seal impressions have been interpreted<sup>972</sup> as depicting a standing 'lion-headed monster' (probably Minoan 'genius'), facing left, with slightly bent arms in front holding large ovoid object in its paws, and a thick decorated collar around its neck. A faint semi-circular line follows behind the back from shoulder top to mid-leg height. In front and below large ovoid, a larger irregular ovoid with slightly pointed top and horizontal and diagonal stripes on upper half. Short diagonal line to left.

Minoan, MM III(B?).

*Context*: MM IIIB, probably late.

*Chronology*: MM III(B?) object, in generally contemporary late MM IIIB palace archival deposit.

*Comparanda*: {389}, {390}.

*References*: CHAPOUTHIER 1930:19 #H.5, fig. H.5, pl. I:H.5; GODART and OLIVIER 1976–1985:2:88 #MA Wc 7; HALLAGER and WEINGARTEN 1993:4 #2, figs. 2, 7, 12; HALLAGER 1996:II:178 #MA Wc 7; *CMS* II.6:#170, 435 #HMPin 1401; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:157 #134.α; KOEHL 2006:255 #S3.

*Comments*: Although Hallager and Weingarten opt for the other example {390} they discuss, the design of this impression as published by them seems to me to better correspond to the sketch made by Evans at Malia in 1925 {389}, on a number of criteria. Both sketch {389} and impression {370} have a near-circular impression edge (as preserved on the impression), whilst {390} has lost a substantial portion of the original lentoid edge at both the top and bottom of the impression, thus giving it an oval edge. Both have the same pose, with arms extending out horizontally only, whilst {390} has the arms out and then prominently raised forearms. Both have the two legs of the 'genius' figure separately indicated, whilst none are indicated on {390}. The lower ovoid of both is larger than the upper ovoid, is cut off with a 'squiggle' at the top and has a rounded bottom, whereas the lower ovoid of {390} is smaller than the other and has a pointed bottom. Koehl accepts Hallager and Weingarten's identification and interpretation.

Pini and Müller (in the *CMS*) consider Hallager and Weingarten's identification of a genius figure on this roundel (and that of {390}) incorrect, preferring (for this impression) to have the impression aligned differently and see possibly a butterfly in right profile. In this case, both images are irrelevant to the present catalogue and discussion. They admit, however, that an absolute image is difficult to comprehend, despite the impression having been clearly impressed. Under the circumstances, and since the drawing published by Hallager and Weingarten seems too detailed when compared with the photographs published both by them and in the *CMS*, this image is not considered for the present study.

### A.3. South-West Sondages

Immediately south-west of the palace area, R. Treuil made a number of sondages designed to explore levels earlier than the Neo-Palatial period of the palace itself. The major sondage consisted of a single sounding of four squares (L-M 21–22) totaling 9 by 9 m. immediately south of the granaries. Here, he found a number of interconnected walls running more or less aligned to the palace walls, preserved to a substantial height, in the northern half of the square. Several rooms adjoining in a line, some flagged, were identified and designated by the letters A–C. Another larger space was partly excavated immediately to the north of the central room B, and the architecture suggested a substantial building. The southern half also produced walls similarly aligned, but fewer in quantity and slightly earlier in date. The excavators dated the level and its found material recovered exclusively within MM I,<sup>973</sup> although Walberg suggests a later date (MM II–III range).<sup>974</sup> In addition to clay vessels of various and varied forms, stone vessels, worked obsidian, small objects in clay, stone and metal, as well as bones and shells were recovered.

**371. Handle with protome**, MaSM 68 P 1457

Rough gritty clay, H (pres.): 6.0; L: 6.1; W (max): 4.2; Dia. (handle): 2.3 cm, ears broken off, vessel lost.

Coil handle fragment with added protome showing an ape-like head, with deeply incised circular holes for eyes and nose, and incised line for mouth. Unpainted and undecorated. Roughly made.

Minoan, MM I, possibly later.

*Context*: MM I, possibly MM II–III.

*Chronology*: Otherwise undateable object, dated by its MM I (–II/III?) deposition.

*References*: CHEVALLIER *et al.* 1975:82, pl. XXX:7; VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:430, fig. 566; FOSTER 1982:92, 171; PHILLIPS 1991:II:652 #274, III:1112 fig. 274.

<sup>971</sup> OLIVIER and GODART 1996:28. The *CMS* II.6:189 would place the context at the beginning of LM I.

<sup>972</sup> See comments for interpretive problems of this impression.

<sup>973</sup> CHEVALLIER *et al.* 1975:38–45, Plan I–II.

<sup>974</sup> WALBERG 1983:119.

*Comments:* Found in the space north of Room B, in square M 21. Certainly could be seen as an ape's head, but its minimalist stylisation makes it difficult to identify as anything with any certainty.

#### A.4. North-East of the Palace

The area adjacent to the north-eastern corner of the palace was explored by P. Darcque in 1981.<sup>975</sup> Among the finds was the following, described as being less than five metres from the north-east corner of the building and in an ambiguous context related either to the destruction of the palace in LM IA (possibly hidden there even earlier) or to the earlier building opposite. Presumably, this would then be one of the few artefacts associated with the first phase of the 'second' palace.

#### 372. Rhyton, HNM 11246

Chlorite/schist, L: 26.6; W: 12.4; H: 10.0 cm, intact but for edge of conch hole, all-over slightly battered surface.

Imitation triton shell with incised and carved design. Overall decoration of double lines with double loops between them at intervals, aligned to 'shell' loops. Large opening at back end surrounded by elaborate border of beaded and undecorated framing lines. Incised scene at open flat area below opening, to be viewed when triton lying horizontally, surrounded by an undulating rock work frame. Hollow throughout, drilled through from end to end slightly off centre, with ringed interior profile, hole at appendix near mouth and a small hole at apex of mouth on underside. *Scene:* Two Minoan 'genii' stand confronted atop a stepped shrine. A lower step is visible on right side only. 'Genius' on right, shorter than the other by a head, pours from a *Schnabelkanne* onto the upraised paws of the other, who appears to be drinking the contents. Both 'genii' leonine in appearance, especially head and paws, and wearing a belt(?) at waist, which is attenuated but not excessively so. Long dorsal appendage on back from head to foot, almost cloth-like with an undulating bordered edge, and pointed at top like a third ear. Teeth indicated on one 'genius,' the other hidden from view by arm. Lines at neck suggest a mane.

Minoan, LM IA.

*Context:* LM IA.

*Chronology:* LM IA object, in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IA palace destruction context.

{12}.

*References:* BAURAIN and DARQUE 1982:682–683, fig. 9; 1983:3–58; BAURAIN 1985:95–96 and *passim*, fig. 1; SANSONE 1988:2 #66; SAMBIN 1989:*passim* and 78 fig. 1; PHILLIPS 1991:II:652–653 #274, III:1114 fig. 275; WEINGARTEN 1991:10 n. 38, 12, 24 fig. 10; REHAK 1995:217, 222, 230 #66; VAN-

SCHOONWINKEL 1996:403 #508; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:182; YOUNGER 1998a:35–36, 64 #20, pl. 21; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:163–164 #143; KOEHL 2006:38, 125–126 #344.

*Comments:* The only 'action' scene involving two 'genii' and *Schnabelkanne*, underscoring the ritual cultic nature of their presence and function. Also the only object other than a seal or seal impression to depict the 'genius' on Neo Palatial Crete.

Younger identifies this as a possible wind instrument, specifically a trumpet; however, the excavators could not make it produce any sound when this was attempted. It may be that the actual triton shell itself could have been employed for this purpose, but not necessarily the triton shell *form* produced in other materials such as stone (as here), clay or faience.<sup>976</sup>

#### B. Quartier Z (Zita)

*Quartier Z* is the only area excavated east of the place, lying some 25 metres from the east palace walls at its nearest point. It was excavated in 1928 and again in 1946–1948 and 1951. The area consists of three large houses, called Z- $\alpha$ , Z- $\beta$  and Z- $\gamma$ . The first two are separated by a paved roadway, but are at right angles to each other. Both houses date to MM IIIB and continued in use to LM IB, when they were destroyed together with the palace. The third house, Z- $\gamma$ , is of MM I date, earlier than the other two.

##### B.1. House Z- $\alpha$

House Z- $\alpha$  originally was noted in 1928 and excavated 1946–1948 by J. Demargne and/or H. Gallet de Santerre.<sup>977</sup> The largest and most regular of the three, the house was divided into two distinctly separate sections by a single doorway in a later modification, one apparently for living and ritual use and the other for storage and working space. As no stairway is indicated, it probably was single-storeyed. Finds date its construction to MM IIIB and continued use to LM IB.

The living and ritual area, on the west side, included a 'lustral basin' (Room 11), a large open L-shaped room (5 and 7–10), probably consisting of a light well (9) and a pier-and-door partition (between 5 and 7/8), a toilet in one corner (unnumbered) and a long thin 'closet' (6) next to the entrance hall (4) with a storeroom for cups (4 *bis*).<sup>978</sup> This combination of closet, storeroom and lustral basin has been interpreted as a domestic shrine.<sup>979</sup> The closet or 'Treasury' (6), actually a small storage area, was recorded to contain

<sup>975</sup> BAURAIN and DARQUE 1982; see now also DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:182.

<sup>976</sup> E.g., from Myrtos Pyrgos; see KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:97 #69.

<sup>977</sup> DEMARGNE and GALLET DE SANTERRE 1953:62–100; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:188–189.

<sup>978</sup> Room numbers correspond to those in DEMARGNE and GALLET DE SANTERRE 1953:pl. LXVI:lower. The ground plan has been re-restored by MACENROE 1982:4 Ill. 1:c, with a different interpretation of room relationships.

<sup>979</sup> GESELL 1985:110 #83.

only one stone vessel and two fragments of others, while a clay rhyton came from adjoining Room 5 and from Room 11 further stone and clay vessels.

**373. Alabastron (Type B)/amphora, jar or ewer, HM Λ 2393**  
Banded travertine body, separate Egyptian travertine or Cretan calcite neck and base. **(A)** Body: H: 27.8; Dia. (rim): 7.5–8.1; (max): 19.9; (base): 9.4–9.7 cm; almost entirely preserved in numerous joining fragments. **(B)** Neck: H (pres.): 8.4; (rest.): 7.7; Dia. (rim): 10.2; (ridge, rest.): 7.7 cm; chiefly restored but almost entire profile preserved except top of rim. **(C)** Base: unknown, three joining fitted pieces. Base not located in HM in 1989. Other joining separate attachments postulated by the excavators. Surface partly burnt, the neck fragment badly burnt.

Amphora or ewer with tall body, low sloping shoulder and three groups of three vertical incised grooves along entire body. Rim and base cut to fit separately attached neck and base, which are not necessarily in the same stone. Two pairs of small holes drilled through upper shoulder opposite each other, almost in line with two of the groove groups. One group of four small holes at somewhat lower level drilled through body at almost equidistant point between them. Pair of holes drilled vertically 0.5 cm into body 'rim' not in alignment with any other holes. Separate hollow neck with tapering flared rim, cut to fit into top of amphora body. Raised horizontal ridge at bottom, fluted vertically, to appear at neck/shoulder join when attached. Separate solid flat base with concave profile, vertical fluting along horizontal band at top and bottom. Cut to fit into bottom of amphora body.

Syro-Palestinian, probably MB IIC–LB I, or Egyptian, within Dynasty XII–SIP (very early Dynasty XVIII?), with alterations and additions Minoan, probably MM III–LM I.

*Context:* MM IIB–LM IB.

*Chronology:* MB IIC–LB I or within Dynasty XII–Second Intermediate Period (very early Dynasty XVIII?) vessel, reworked in MM III–LM I, and in somewhat later LM IB domestic cultic(?) destruction context.

*Comparanda:* (possible reconstruction) Evans *PM* II.1:371 fig. 206.e.

*References:* GALLET DE SANTERRE 1949; DEMARGNE and GALLET DE SANTERRE 1953:95–96 #8, pl. XLIII:6–7. LIX; WARREN 1969:103 Type 42:B/43:I; VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:II:474–476, fig. 632–633; PHILLIPS 1991:II:654–656 #276, III:1115–1116 fig. 276; CLINE 1994:168 #289; LILYQUIST 1996:145 n. 109, WARREN 1997:210 #1, 221–222, pls. LXXVI–II.a–d, LXXIX.a; LILYQUIST 1997:225; CUCUZZA 2000:105; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:210–211 #209.

*Comments:* Originally, this was a Syro-Palestinian or Egyptian baggy alabastron, estimated by Lilyquist to have been about 35 cm tall. It was altered by holing the base entirely, removing the rim and turning the remaining body upside down. The new neck/rim and base were separately carved to fit the body.

At least two handles and possibly a third were added in another material; the last may instead have been a spout of some kind. It manifestly is not a rhyton as they state, as it has no small basal hole.<sup>980</sup>

The reconstruction proposed by the excavators relied on the addition of a second neck/rim at the top and three S-shaped handles, of which nothing was recovered. However, although this reconstruction can be paralleled with the design of known Minoan vessels, it does not fit with the quantity and position of the drilled holes, especially the group of four on the shoulder and the two on the remaining neck/rim. If their reconstruction were accurate, one would have expected three pair of shoulder holes equidistantly spaced at the same level, but the central shoulder group of four is different and set between two opposite pairs. None apparently relate to the two at the rim of the main body.

An alternative reconstruction would postulate no additions beyond the obvious handles, held in place with bronze pins but for which no evidence of attachment at the top survives on the separate neck (as preserved). The vessel may have been an ewer or amphora: the neck need not be restored as entirely circular but possibly instead with an integral open spout extending from the neck onto the body to be held in place by bronze pins in the four holes. The two holes on the rim of the main body, although inexplicably not aligned to the four holes, must have been used to position the neck with more bronze pins. The handles may have been S-shaped, in conformity with other Minoan vessels, but the second neck/rim need not necessarily have existed. A *possible* comparison for this reconstruction may be suggested in the MM IIIA clay vessel recovered in the 'Early Town Houses' at Knossos; if so, the alabastron may have been converted at this period or shortly thereafter.<sup>981</sup>

All this hypothetical reconstruction argues for a ritual vessel entirely useless for any practical purpose beyond display, without large doses of extremely secure adhesive. Such apparent impracticability is seen elsewhere on vessels converted for ritual use {105}. It may also be that the Malia vessel was altered more than once, and not all the added holes were employed in each version.

Cucuzza proposed that an amphora with 'potstand' base was intended. Given its context, not later than LM IB, it would be an early example of the type, with few instances either in the Levant or in Egypt to emulate, and would not account for the extreme shortness of the pedestal base. Nonetheless, it would fit well within the corpus of Minoan clay amphorae of this type and date, chiefly from Aghia Triadha, Phaestos and Knossos,<sup>982</sup> as well as the earlier clay amphora at Malia, {369}. The pedestal base now apparently is missing; it could not be located by myself in 1989, nor by the HM staff for the 2000 exhibition.<sup>983</sup>

## B.2. House Z-β

Opposite the paved roadway and at right angles to

<sup>980</sup> As correctly noted by Warren.

<sup>981</sup> MACGILLIVRAY 1998:50–51 Group P and fig. 1.13.e. Imported alabastra were being converted at least by LM IA, as the ewer recovered in LH IB Shaft Grave V cannot be later than LM IA (late) in date; see {590}.

<sup>982</sup> See Chapter 4, Appendix A.3.

<sup>983</sup> See KARETSOU *et al.* 2000.

House Z- $\alpha$  is House Z- $\beta$ . It is slightly smaller and less regular in plan than its neighbour, but still is a large and substantial structure, constructed in MM III–LM I and destroyed by fire in LM IB. Unlike the other, there is no specific living/storage area distinction in the plan. The northern half is far more regular in plan than the southern, which may have been a later addition. The presence of a stairway (Room I) in the northern half and several large doorless spaces to both north and south all indicate a second storey must have been located above. It also has a large room (VII) on its western side, the first room encountered on entering the building that boasts a ‘pier-and-door’ partition and (apparently) a light well, that leads beyond to a smaller room (V) accessible only via the partition. It therefore also is separated from all other rooms in the building.

Room V seems to have been a workroom of some kind, as the material found there were bronze tools and implements (including a saw, two double axes, spearpoint, chisel and other tools), stone bowls and a limestone table, a round silver bosse and carved ivory appliqué. The pottery included vases and pots, a brazier and a Marine Style alabastron, all dated to LM IB.

#### 374. Appliqué, HM O–E 275

Greenish-blue stone (likely steatite) with yellowish coating. H: 6.13, W: 2.37; Th.: 2.52 cm; Drill-holes: 35 mm, intact but with badly preserved surface, worn and battered with oxidisation and staining from reddish (Malia) soil on surface.

Appliqué carved in the form of a sphinx, with flat back having a thick knob jutting farther back from the top at right angle. Sphinx carved on front and sides only in high relief, standing on a diagonal projection under its paws. Human-headed, beardless, wearing horizontally striped *nms* headdress without uraeus and squared, vertically striped collar. Arms held tightly against sides of body. Body divides below chin into two legs decorated with double diagonal lines and terminating in gigantic lion’s paws. Two holes drilled horizontally front to back in space between, one at bottom of neck and another halfway down.

Egyptian, probably Middle Kingdom–early Dynasty XVIII (to reign of Thutmose III), or just possibly Syro-Palestinian, MB IIB–LB I.

*Context:* MM IIB–LM IB.

*Chronology:* MK–early Dynasty XVIII (to reign of Thutmose III) or MB IIB–LB I object, generally contemporary or some-

what earlier than its LM IB domestic workshop(?) destruction context.

*Comparanda:* EVERS 1929:II:15–16 #84–89, pl. I:30; BOURRIAU 1988:136–138 #138.

*References:* DESHAYES and DESSENNE 1959:17, 76–80, pl. XXIII:3, 5, XXX:4; WEINBERG 1961:319; HOOD 1971:124, fig. 101; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:236 #146, pl. 22:146; PHILLIPS 1991:II:656–657 #277, III:1117 fig. 277; CLINE 1994:133 #8; PHILLIPS 1995:764 n. 38; MICHELIDES 1995; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:166 #145.

*Comments:* Although the excavators published this as ivory, recent examination has demonstrated it is in fact of stone with a yellowish coating. The excavator suggested that the appliqué would have been applied to the leg of a piece of furniture, although a comparative parallel for such an attachment in stone is not forthcoming. He also suggested a date in Dynasty XIII on a number of bases, including the horizontal striping on the headdress typical of the Middle Kingdom and stylistic features of the face. Alternatively, assigning a Syro-Palestinian origin is difficult, as the rare furniture attachments of this period are quite crude bone inlay pieces,<sup>984</sup> but it might be possible as so little has survived from this period. Nonetheless, Egypt remains the most likely origin for this piece.

Restudy by Michaelides has highlighted wider dating possibilities, based on stylistic criteria, extending into Dynasty XVIII; thus this piece could be generally contemporary with its context date, not later than the reign of Thutmose III.

### C. Quartier M (Mu)

Quartier M (Mu), excavated in 1966–1972 and 1978 under the direction of J.-C. Poursat, lies west of the palace and the present excavation house and store-room/museum of the École.<sup>985</sup> A large excavation area now roofed over for protection, the area consists chiefly of nine completely and partially excavated buildings including six separate houses (A–F) and workshop areas for seal-making, metal-working and pottery. The area is limited in date to MM II, at the end of which the *quartier* was destroyed. Unfortunately, only the workshops area has been fully published, although a complete plan has appeared.<sup>986</sup> Areas were designated by a Roman numeral and rooms within the area by an Arabic number.

#### C.1. Building A

Building A is one of two fully excavated large houses in this *quartier*, consisting of areas I–III. Although it is considered as a single unit by the exca-

<sup>984</sup> BARNETT 1982:25. Anatolian ivory carving is quite different in style from this sphinx figure, despite some ‘egyptianising’ iconographical influence; see BARNETT 1982: 32–34, pls. 26–27.

<sup>985</sup> POURSAT, GODART and OLIVIER 1978; DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980.

<sup>986</sup> POURSAT 1996; see also DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:Plan I. For comments on dating, see WALBERG 1983:120–121.

vators, the three areas do seem to constitute at least two principle building phases. It has multiple entrances and a number of staircases scattered throughout. A row of contiguous storerooms is recognisable along the north wall of the house. Area III, the later construction phase and essentially the southern half of the house, employs a slightly different orientation, noticeably thicker walls at the south-eastern corner and a series of long narrow magazines in the south-west. The function of the eastern rooms could not be determined, but apparently they were part of a basement with rubble walls, including a possible scribal office. The easternmost may have been a stable of some kind but also might be in part another storage area, a suggestion enhanced by the large quantity of published finds from virtually every room here.

Area III, Room 11 is a large sub-basement-type room with a separate entrance from the east, and a single central pillar. Its entrance also included that to the upper storeys via the staircase immediately to the south. A number of stone bowls, lids and other vessels were found in the room, together with a clay lid and two or more spouted bowls having an interior handle and a number of clay vessel appliquéés, amulets, seals and part of a bone rod.

### 375. Lid with appliquéés, HM II 18712

Clay, H: 2.9; Dia (top): 10.8 cm, restored from seven joining fragments, handle and majority of side missing, paint flaked and worn. Partly burnt.

Flat-topped lid/cover with vertical slightly concave side-wall. Horizontal herringbone incised design around exterior bordered by incised line above and below and additional shallow groove just below top. Yellow-beige slip, with edge and centre painted reddish-brown, with added white either side of handle. Probable coil loop handle. *Appliquéés*: Two on top, separately moulded from the same mould, depicting a falcon/hawk with wings outspread, in mirror image with heads to centre. Wing and tail feathers indicated, beak and eyes moulded.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context*: MM II.

*Chronology*: MM II vessel, in generally contemporary MM II domestic(?) storage(?) destruction context.

*Comparanda*: EMERY 1938:29 #309, pl. 12:C:309; BARNETT 1982:33, pl. 25:a.

*References*: DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:119–120 #171 fig. 169; VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:II:pl. XXVI:lower; FOSTER 1982:94, 112, 173; PHILLIPS 1991:II: 658–659 #278, III:1117 fig. 278; 1995:764 n. 38; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:58 #34.

*Comments*: The excavators have compared this lid to a gaming disc found by B. Emery in the tomb of Hemaka, an official of Pharaoh Den (Dynasty I) at Saqqara, which is similar in size, shape and design. This disc-top is of limestone with pink falcons(?) and calcite and black paste diamond-pattern inlay border, and is but one of five elaborately decorated, individually designed discs found in the tomb together with

many other undecorated examples. While the general design is similar, the uniqueness of the Egyptian piece and the excessive chronological separation between the two mitigates against any possible association or inspiration from the Egyptian motif.

A better, and contemporary, parallel is an ivory falcon from Acemhüyük in central Anatolia, derived from Sumerian sources and dated to 19<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> c. BC. It is virtually identical to the Malia moulds. This lid is retained in the present catalogue only to emphasise the non-Egyptian origin of this motif.

### C.2. Building B

Building B is the other fully excavated large house, consisting of areas IV and V. Its plan is almost regular, with a single southern entrance. A number of work(?) and storerooms are at the far western end of the house, but these appear to have been kept separate from the living/social area by a different level entered by a long staircase; this area was designated Area V, the remainder of the house as Area IV. A second staircase in the living area suggests a second storey. Benches abound along the walls.

Room IV:4 is a large sub-basement-type room near the entrance, having rubble walls and an irregular earthen floor. It is subdivided into four spaces by stub-walls within the room itself and its only doorway leads into the main hall, IV:1. Published finds from Room IV:4 include a large number of stone vessels and (especially) lids, a bronze bowl, lancehead and some detached handles, basketry impressions, some animal figurines, two stone pendants and two seals, in addition to some published vessels having appliquéés and loose appliquéés (including that of a sphinx), and a further number of clay vessels not yet published. It is the only room in the house, apart from Area V, in which a large number of finds were recorded. The type of finds suggests storage of some kind.

### 376. Miniature vessel fragment ('miniature amphora?'),

MaSM 71 M 2224

Calcite, H (pres.): 4.0; W (pres.): 3.5; Dia. (max): 4.1 cm, one neck/body fragment with lower part of handle.

Miniature vessel, probably a variation on the 'miniature amphora' profile with high shoulder and fairly narrow neck, with almost rectangular profile rim(?) to shoulder and comparatively large vertical handle of rectangular section from lower body probably to rim.

Minoan, MM I–II, probably later rather than earlier within this date range.

*Context*: MM II.

*Chronology*: MM I–II vessel, in generally contemporary or (less likely) somewhat later MM II habitation (storage?) destruction context.

*References*: DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:50 #70, fig. 58; PHILLIPS 1991:II:660–661 #279, III:1118 fig. 279.

*Comments*: Although its fragmentary condition precludes pos-



itive identification, the excavator suggests it belongs to Warren's Type 28, the 'miniature amphora'.<sup>987</sup> The handle precludes any identification as Egyptian and, indeed, comparison with other 'miniature amphorae' although ultimately it may have derived from the type.

**377. Vessel protome, MaSM M68/F17**

Clay, H: 3.5; W: 3.4; L: 4.1; Hole (back): 0.2–0.6; (bottom): 1.5–1.7 cm, vessel missing, badly battered and worn surface, paint flaked and worn, ears missing.

Vessel with constricted neck(?) having painted interior. Protome in the form of a cat head having realistic features but hollow with large hole under chin, attached to neck(?) of vessel at back of head. Vessel drilled from interior after firing into back of cat head. Thick painted red band around neck and bottom hole. Eyes painted white. Single eyelids. No indication of whiskers. Note neck added to vessel surface, with moulded face, then ears separately attached.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM II.

*Chronology:* MM II vessel, in generally contemporary MM II domestic (storage(?)) destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {113}; {438}; {517–518}; (kernos appliqué?) {397}.

*References:* DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:112 #161, fig. 156; PHILLIPS 1991:II:661 #280, III:1118 fig. 280; 1995:763 n. 34.

*Comments:* Probably some kind of ritual vessel, as the holes would allow any liquid contents to slowly pour out into the hollow interior and down the exterior of the vessel itself below the cat's head. Probably not a rhyton, as it most likely is from the upper part of the vessel. Perhaps, like the Mavrikiano head {397}, part of a kernos.

### C.3. Building D

Building D is fitted into the north-west corner of Building B, and appears to have been built prior to it. It is a small rectangular structure as excavated, with only a few rooms but possibly including a staircase (Room VII:A) and certainly resembling a storage/working area of a larger house.<sup>988</sup> The only published finds are surprisingly homogenous in character. Two stone lamps and a lid from this room have been published, and presumably other clay vessels were also found in addition to those described below. The following were recovered in Room VII:4, the middle of three rooms (VII:3–5) divided internally by narrow walls in the south-east corner of the building.

**378. Bridge-spouted jar with appliqué, HM Π 19817**

Clay, H (rim): 11.1; (max): 12.0; Dia. (rim, rest.): 9.1; (max, rest.): 14.3; (base, rest.): 5.9 cm; Appliqué: H: 32.6; W: 29.4; Th.: 14.2 mm, majority of jar missing but entire profile and

half of one handle preserved, spout missing, restored from numerous joining and non-joining fragments. Paint worn and flaked on appliqué, virtually all worn off on vessel.

Bridge-spouted jar with flat base, flattened globular body and slightly articulated incurved rim. Two horizontal strap loop handles on lower shoulder and long bridge spout below rim. Moulded appliqué on shoulder at back (opposite bridge-spout). Pink-slipped and painted with amoeba-like design either side of appliqué, probably white. *Appliqué:* Moulded nearly half-globular parturient figurine of a crouching woman with short curly hair and flat pendulous breasts, her arms encircling her abdomen. Flattened surface with clearly defined facial and body features. Thick paint obscures most features when still present.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM II.

*Chronology:* MM II vessel, in generally contemporary MM II domestic(?) destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {312}; {452}.

*References:* DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:118–119 #170, fig. 167–168; FOSTER 1982:83, 109, 173; PHILLIPS 1991:II:662–663 #281, III:1119 fig. 281; 1995:764 n. 38; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:58 #35; PHILLIPS 2005a:41.

*Comments:* Suggested by the excavator to be related to the *Gravidenflasche* vessels known in Egypt and elsewhere. However, the Egyptian vessel type does not appear prior to Dynasty XVIII, more than two centuries later. The use of figurative and other appliqués is characteristic of the MM II period. The origin of the image in Egyptian *Gravidenflaschen*, although chronologically impossible, remains reiterated in the latest literature. Whilst it clearly is a Minoan product, it is not an indigenous Minoan image, but neither is it Egyptian before the New Kingdom, and another origin should be sought for the image on Crete.

**379. Bridge-spouted strainer jar with appliqués, HM Π 19814**

Clay, H (rim, rest.): 14.8; (to spout, rest.): 16.4; Dia. (rim, rest.): 10.3; (max): 13.4; (base, rest.): 6.2 cm, restored from numerous joining and non-joining fragments, with half of base, and majority of lower body, rim, spout and handle missing, together with some of upper body/shoulder. Paint worn and flaked.

Tall piriform body tapering to flat splayed base, with flaring rim having interior ledge, long strainer spout and single strap handle rim to shoulder. Horizontally undulating upper body below rim and bottom of handle. Virtually entire surface as preserved covered with sponged barbotine decoration and separately-attached appliqués. Painted white. *Appliqués:* Immediately to right side of handle is a cat, seated in profile facing right with detailed facial features. Tall flat tree directly behind, with trunk and branches indicated in low relief. Cat tail and lower front legs not preserved. Individual appliqués of half-bivalves, crabs, triton shells and other marine features, scattered over majority of preserved surface from rim to base.

Minoan, MM II.

<sup>987</sup> WARREN 1969:71–72 Type 28.

<sup>988</sup> As an example, Room V of House Z-β (Malia B.2, above).

The south-east quarter of House Z-α (Malia B.1, above), although later in date, also is reminiscent of Area VII.

*Context:* MM II.

*Chronology:* MM II vessel, in generally contemporary MM II domestic(?) destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {380–381}, {383}, {414}.

*References:* DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:120–122 #172, 123–125, figs. 170–171, 176–177; FOSTER 1982:87–88, 102, 111–112, 115–117, 173; IMMERWAHR 1985:41–44 and *passim*, figs. 1, 3; PHILLIPS 1991:II:663 #282, III:1120 fig. 282; 1995:757, 763–4; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #281; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:57 #32.

*Comments:* Although the vessel and its appliqués are all Minoan in character, the pose and attitude of the cat in addition to the multiple branching of the tree behind it are strongly reminiscent of the Egyptian type. Nonetheless, detailed examination strongly suggests the appliqués of this and the following two vessels have no derivation from the Egyptian image.

### 380. Cup with appliqués, HM Π 19815

Clay, H (rim): 7.3–7.4; (handle): 8.0; Dia. (rim, rest.): 8.1; (max): 9.4; (base): 3.3 cm, restored from numerous joining and non-joining fragments, majority of upper body and rim and entire handle missing but entire profile preserved. Paint worn and flaked. Possible ledge-loop handles missing.

Semi-globular cup with flat base, wide body and slightly flaring rim, single strap handle rising above rim to mid-body. Undulating upper body surface. Virtually entire surface as preserved covered with sponged barbotine decoration and separately attached appliqués. Painted white. May have had ledge-loop handles as {381} below. *Appliqués:* similar and identical to those in {379} above.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM II.

*Chronology:* MM II vessel, in generally contemporary MM II domestic(?) destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {379}; {381–381}, {383}, {414}.

*References:* DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:122–123 #173, 123–125, figs. 172, 175–176; FOSTER 1982:87–88, 102, 111, 115–117, 173; IMMERWAHR 1985:41–44 and *passim*; PHILLIPS 1991:II:663–664 #283; 1995:757, 763–4; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #281; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:56 #30.

*Comments:* As above, {379}. The same moulds were used to create the trees and marine appliqués on this vessel, {379} and {381}. Although the cats on {379} above are in the same pose and general design as those on this and {381} below, those on {379} are larger in scale. Those on this and {381} were created using the same mould.

### 381. Cup with appliqués, HM Π 19816

Clay, H (rim): 6.9; (handle): 7.5; Dia. (rim): 7.0; (max): 9.3; (base): 3.3 cm, restored from numerous joining and non-joining fragments, with entire profile and handle but about one-third of body and base missing, also one ledge handle.

Semi-globular cup similar to {380} above, but having a more

sharply defined body profile. Two horizontal ledge-loop handles either side of body at shoulder, over concavities. *Appliqués:* Similar and identical to those in {380} above. The cats in particular appear to have been created on the same mould as they all are of the same size and pattern on both cups. The cat has its tail wrapped around its lower body.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM II.

*Chronology:* MM II vessel, in generally contemporary MM II domestic(?) destruction context.

*Comparanda:* See above, {379–380} and below, {383}, {414}.

*References:* DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:122–123 #174, 123–125, figs. 173–176; FOSTER 1982:87–88, 102, 111, 115–117, 120–121, 173, pl. 38; IMMERWAHR 1985:41–44 and *passim*, fig. 2; PHILLIPS 1991:II:663–664 #284, III:1120 fig. 284; 1995:757, 763–4, pl. ΠΑ' fig. 2; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #281; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:56 #31.

*Comments:* As above, {379–380}.

## D. Quartier N (Nu)

Quartier N (Nu), excavated by Jan Driessen and Alexandre Farnoux from 1988, consists largely of a number of large buildings dated to the beginning of LM IIIA2, with some LM IIIB leveling and rebuilding following a destruction by fire in that period.<sup>989</sup> This too was destroyed by fire and apparently abandoned, although LM IIIC sherds amongst the ruins indicate some occupation also at this time. The two phases are clearly defined. The walls appear to consist of several houses.

A number of sondages were conducted in 1992 in a number of spaces of the various buildings, in order to uncover any earlier constructions. Directly below the LM III level, they encountered what seems to have been an important MM II building, complete with red-stuccoed walls and floors, long corridors with large slab floors, and the remains of a stuccoed staircase. This seems to have been the earliest occupation here, and was destroyed by fire (possibly at the same time as Quartier Mu) at the end of MM II. Apparently, it was partly reoccupied or rebuilt in MM III–LM IA. No description of this MM III–LM IA building is given, but in the sondage of LM III 'Room X, 2' was recovered an imported Egyptian scarab at this level.<sup>990</sup>

### 382. Scarab, HNM Σ 15 (not seen)

'White piece'(?), L: 15; W: 11; H (pres.): 3.2 mm; face virtually intact, back and sides almost entirely lost.

<sup>989</sup> DRIESSEN and FARNOUX 1993; 1994; FRENCH 1993:75–76; 1994:79–80.

<sup>990</sup> DRIESSEN and FARNOUX 1993:681 publish a MM III–LM IA date for the level in which the scarab was recovered, but Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.* 2000) cite its con-

text date as MM II–III. Jan Driessen (personal communication, 07 May 2002) informs me it was indeed in an MM III–LM I level, but he "wouldn't be surprised" if the original context was the MM II building below. In either case, the scarab is older than its context.

Scarab with deep undercutting at legs, with no indication of notching preserved. *Face*: Simple *nb-ty* pattern, with large *nh* (S 34) in centre, having two small linked 'nb' (V 30) signs at bottom, a probable 'r' (X 1) above and a small lotus bud arrangement springing from 'nb' signs either side; the lotus bud stems are angular and linked by two short lines. Horizontal format. Line border.

Egyptian, early Middle Kingdom, probably early Dynasty XII.

*Context*: MM III–LM IA.

*Chronology*: Early Middle Kingdom, probably early Dynasty XII scarab, an antique in its somewhat later MM III–LM IA fill context.

*Comparanda*: WARD 1971:68–71, fig. 15, TUFNELL 1984:117–8 pl. VII; {483}; (linked stems) TUFNELL 1984:*passim*.

*References*: DRIESSEN and FARNOUX 1993:681–682, fig. 18; FRENCH 1993:76, fig. 56; LECLANT and CLERC 1995:354; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:318 #324; *CMS V Suppl.* 3.1:#25.

*Comments*: Without the back, head and sides, it is difficult to date this scarab more precisely, but its face design identifies the piece as Egyptian. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) provide a Dynasty XII date. The piece appears to be entirely open-cut, to judge from the depth of the horizontal cuttings at the legs, but this statement is based only on the published photograph.

### E. Quartier Θ (Theta)

Quartier Θ (Theta) is located right beside the seashore, a considerable distance away from the rest of the excavated town farther inland. H. and M. van Effenterre excavated this *quartier* in 1956–1960.<sup>991</sup> It consists of a partially excavated house, named 'La Maison de la Plage,' which exhibited two construction phases. The later phase added a number of rooms, a stairway and a kiln to the original walls, and older walls were repaired. The eastern area was a potter's studio, with the kiln, a potter's wheel, a number of *auges*, tools and a large quantity of 'Khamaizi pots' of the type known to have been manufactured at Malia. There apparently are two strata, the lower dated to MM I but including at least some EM III material. The later stratum apparently is a mixed fill from a probably MM III destruction.<sup>992</sup> Unfortunately, the two objects described below were found without context.

**383. Sherd with appliqué or figurine.** HM 17177 (not located) Clay, H (pres.): 4.2 cm, head, majority of front legs and tail (possibly also lower hind legs) missing.

Vessel sherd with attached appliqué of a seated animal, probably a cat, facing left. Tail wrapped around left haunch, forelegs together.

Minoan, probably MM II, possibly MM IB.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IB–II object, without context.

*Comparanda*: See above, {379–381}, {414}.

*References*: VAN EFFENTERRE and VAN EFFENTERRE 1976:4–5, 9:fig. 62, pl. XVIII:17.177; DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:123; FOSTER 1982:87, 111, 172; PHILLIPS 1991:II:665–666 #285, III:1120 fig. 285; 1995:757, 763–4, pl. ΠΑ' fig. 2; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #280.

*Comments*: The published photograph suggests either is a vessel appliqué like {379–381} above, or a figurine. If the former, it is in very high relief unlike {379–381}. The sherd/figurine was found below the earthen bed for a large stone wall below modern ground level, amidst a burnt area with carbon remains. This wall lay in the north-east corner of the excavation, above Corridor ε. The surface context is undatable, but the piece most likely should be associated with the building, perhaps its later phase.

Note that this animal faces left, unlike those on {379–381} which face right. It therefore was made in a different mould, although in an identical pose as the Minoan vessels.

### 384. Scaraboid, HM 1759

Olive green steatite, L: 15.4; W: 10.0; H: 6.9; SH: 1.8 mm, some chipping on one edge of face, otherwise intact.

Scaraboid with flattened 'head' having two grooves to indicate clypeus, single line between clypeus and pronotum and between pronotum and elytra, no distinction between elytra. Pronotum roughly cross-hatched, elytra marked by two diagonal grooves and three light horizontal lines in the triangle thus created. 'Legs' indicated by a deeply undercut horizontal groove around body. Tapering ovoid base. String-hole through width. *Face*: Three linked centred circles along length; central circle cuts into string-hole.

Minoan, MM IB–III.

*Context*: Surface.

*Chronology*: MM IB–III scaraboid, without context.

*Comparanda*: (form) {487}; {548}; {549}; {551}; (face design) {42}.

*References*: VAN EFFENTERRE and VAN EFFENTERRE 1976:55–56, pl. X:1759, title ill.; *CMS* II.2:#84; VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:I:71–72, fig. 95–96; YULE 1981:80 Class 30:b; 1983:363 fig. 32, 366 n. 22; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:666 #286, III:1121 fig. 286; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; PHILLIPS 2004:167 fig. 7.1; 2005a:44, 45 fig. 6.2.c.

*Comments*: The scaraboid was a surface find above Corridor κ, at the north-western edge of the excavated area, and originally was thought to represent a bee. Yule identifies the face design as the 'tubular drill motif,' a typically Minoan technique appearing as early as EM III but most common in MM IB–III. Since this is a surface find it cannot be more closely dated, despite the narrow dating parameter of the excavated house, but it most likely should be associated with the later phase of the building.

### F. MM II Sanctuary

South of the modern parking lot, excavation house and museum/storeroom constructed by the École west of the Palace, Poursat excavated an MM II

<sup>991</sup> VAN EFFENTERRE and VAN EFFENTERRE 1976. See also DAUX 1957:704; 1958:827–828.

<sup>992</sup> See comments by WALBERG 1983:118–119.

'sanctuary' in 1964–1965.<sup>993</sup> The single southern entrance was flagged, with an *auge* just outside. The sanctuary building consisted of a central anteroom (Room 1) with a sanctuary-room (2) to the right and a storeroom (3) on the left. The sanctuary-room contained benches in two corners and a table of offerings with an almost central cupped depression, built into the centre of the room. Four clay pedestalled offering tables in one corner and other objects of votive significance also were found.

Two different phases were noted in the storeroom, of which the lower contained little material but is of generally MM IB date. The upper (main) stratum, of MM II date,<sup>994</sup> contained a number of cult vessels including a tubular object, a representation of 'horns of consecration' on a vessel rim, a clay triton shell and animal figurine, and pottery including pithoi. Several stone vessels were also found.

### 385. Jar ('miniature amphora' type), MaSM M65/25

Mottled grey and white marble, H: 7.2; Dia. (rim): 4.2; (max): 6.0; (base): 3.2 cm, restored from three joining fragments preserving almost entire vessel, two handles fully preserved, others partially, some surface wear.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base and thickened rim. Eight vertical pierced handles around body, four around shoulder and four others directly below. Between handles and at bottom horizontal raised bands with diagonal grooving in imitation of ropes.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM II.

*Chronology:* MM II vessel, in generally contemporary MM II cultic context.

*Comparison:* FRASER 1970:29 fig. 56.

*References:* POURSAT 1966:543, figs. 41, 45; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23, 327; 1991:II:667 #287, III:1121 fig. 287.

*Comments:* More a miniature pithos, due to the handles, but ultimately based on the 'miniature amphora' including the characteristically thick body profile.

## G. No Find Context

The following have no specific provenance at Malia.

### 386. Seal, HM Σ-K 1751

Black steatite, L: 10.0; W: 10.2; H: 16.5; SH: 1.8 mm, intact with battered and worn surface, especially face design, chipped on back of head and left foot.

Seal in the form of a seated ape, with head and arms almost negligibly articulated. Seated with knees drawn up on a short base. Ears articulated but no facial features indicated. Leans backwards. Tailless. String-hole through width at level of

upper body. *Face:* A series of small wavy lines possibly representing rockwork.

Minoan, MM I(B?)–II.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM I(B?)–II seal, without context.

*Comparanda:* {54}; {469}; {563}; {567}; {568}.

*References:* CMS II.1:#416; VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:I:548–549, fig. 795; YULE 1981:94 Class 33:d; PHILLIPS 1991:II:668 #288, III:1121 fig. 288; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:17 #157.

*Comments:* The seal apparently comes from west of the palace, but does not appear to have been published prior to the CMS. The ape figure seems to be derived from the *Cercopithecus* monkey, but its artisan did not clearly reproduce its form. The obscure face design is difficult to ascertain, and Yule characterises it as a 'miscellaneous motif'. Its general similarity to several MM IA(–B?) ape-shaped seals strongly suggests that it should date to earlier rather than later within the date range cited, but its apparent similarity to the *cercopithecus* rather than *cynocephalus* ape suggests it should not be as early as these Pre-Palatial seals, so perhaps MM IB–II.

### 387. Seal, HM (Giamalakis) 3461

Chalcedony, L: 10.9; W: 6.4; Th.: 6.2; SH: 1.8–2.4 mm, chipped on corners with ends of prism missing, including some loss of face designs. Worn surface.

Seal with four rectangular prisms. *Face A:* Minoan hieroglyphic sign: gate/enclosure (038). *Face B:* Bull lying down on ground facing right. *Face C:* Squatting ape facing left, with tail upright behind body and paws to face. Slightly humped back. The short upright tail at back is the only real indication of its simian identity. A long undulating line terminating in an 'S'-spiral behind head, indicating hair. *Face D:* S-spirals and one petaloid loop.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM II seal, without context.

*References:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:20 #108, pl. XX:108; YULE 1981:66 Class 21:b, 111 n. 154; PHILLIPS 1991:II:668 #289, III:1121 fig. 289; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:175 #158.

*Comments:* Yule places this seal within his 'MM II (–?) Hieroglyphic Deposit Group,' thus providing a date of MM II in accordance with its presently accepted dating.<sup>995</sup> The ape figure is derived mostly from the *Cercopithecus* monkey, but the humped back and short tail indicate a connection to the earlier *cynocephaleous* baboon.

### 388. Scarab, HM (Metaxas) 487

Brown and red mottled agate(?), L: 15.2; W: 11.8; H: 7.3, SH: 2.8 mm, chipped at face edge, tail end and back legs on left side.

Scarab with lunate head having notched clypeus extending to sides and around front of head. Single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, both extending to sides. Tail indicated by diagonal lines. Legs indicated by incised horizontal and diagonal lines around body. String-hole through length. *Face:* Group of seven tubular deeply drilled circles,

<sup>993</sup> POURSAT 1966. See also GESELL 1985:107 #76.

<sup>994</sup> WALBERG 1983:120 notes a few pieces ascribable to a slightly later date (her 'phase 3,' MM IIA–IIIA).

<sup>995</sup> See OLIVIER and GODART 1996:28. Yule's 'Hieroglyphic Deposit' is at Knossos, not Malia; see YULE 1980:215–219, where he also argues for a strictly MM II dating.

linked and overlapped, but of two differing diameters. The petal-like interstices have been removed.

Unknown, not Minoan, but with MM II–III Minoan face design, if ancient.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Possibly worked in ‘MM II–III,’ without context.

*References:* CMS IV:#133; VAN EFFENTERRE 1980:II:578 fig. 864; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:235 #145, pl. 48:145; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22, 327; 1991:II:668–669 #290, III:1121 fig. 290; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; PHILLIPS 2004:166 fig. 6.bottom.

*Comments:* The origin of this piece is problematic. Quirke and Fitton identified this as an ‘Aegean’ scarab, and an Egyptian or Levantine origin for this was rejected at the ‘Scarabs’ workshop in Vienna.<sup>996</sup> Its origin, therefore, is unknown. It has been dated by the hard stone material and use of tubular drill ornament, the former not used before MM II (or at least very rarely in MM IB) and the latter used on hard stone in MM (IB?)II.<sup>997</sup> Although identified as ‘agate’ in the CMS, related stones such as sardonyx and chalcedony are possible.<sup>998</sup> However, its naturalistic appearance does not fit within the Minoan seal design repertoire of this period, and it may not be ancient. If, however, it *is* ancient, it may well be another example of the Type I conversion of imported scarabs in the Proto-Palatial period on Crete, in which a Minoan artisan cuts a design onto a previously blank scarab face.<sup>999</sup>

### 389. Seal impression, HM — (not located)

Clay, dimensions and condition unknown.

Impression, probably from a lentoid seal, showing a Minoan ‘genius’ standing at right facing left, holding a jug(?) above a larger vessel(?).

Minoan, probably LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM I object, without context.

*Comparanda:* {370}, {390}.

*References:* GILL 1964:15 fig. 1, 16 #9; PHILLIPS 1991:II:669 #291, III:1122 fig. 291; HALLAGER and WEINGARTEN 1993:7.

*Comments:* According to Gill, the impression is known only from a sketch in Evans’ notebook, and was recorded at Malia in 1925. For discussion, see {370} and {390}. In light of its similarity to both comparanda, and due to their problems of identification, this image is not considered in the present study.

### 390. Roundels with seal impression, HM Σ–T 1688 (MA Wc 13), HM Σ–T 1692 (MA Wc 14) (not seen)

Clay, roundel 1688: H: 20; W: 26; Th. 5–9 mm; roundel 1692: H: 21, W: 26, Th.: 5–9 mm; seal impression: (a) [HM 1692]: D: c. 13; (2): H 15.5; W: 9 mm, intact, seal designs virtually complete in two impressions.

Two roundels, lentoid shape, badly polished and with fingerprints both sides, with two impressions from two different probably round convex seals around edge (same impressions on both roundels). Neither roundel inscribed. Seal impression

(1): Impression from probably lentoid seal (in setting) of central dot surrounded by seven striped petaloid loops. Seal impression (2): Impression from amygdaloid(?) seal, depicting a standing ‘monster’ (probably Minoan ‘genius’), facing left, with raised forearms in front holding a possible carrying pole above shoulder height. Heavy dotted line in front, from neck to across body. Decorated ‘dorsal appendage’ behind back. On or behind pole is a handleless slightly round-bottomed vase in front of figure, which is touched by its ‘hoof-like’ forepaw. In front and below large vase, a smaller globular vessel(?) with slightly pointed base set within wavy leaves(?).

Minoan, Neo-Palatial, probably MM III(B?).

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM III–LM I, probably MM III(B?) object, without context.

*Comparanda:* {370}, {389}.

*References:* HALLAGER and WEINGARTEN 1993:5–7 #4–5, 10–11, figs. 4, 6, 8, 10–11; HALLAGER 1996:II:180–181 #MA Wc 13–14; CMS II.6:#222, 436 #HMpin 1688; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:158 #134.β; KOEHL 2006:254 #S1.

*Comments:* Found in a box with material from Malia, and so presumably from here. Hallager considers them part of the ‘Hieroglyphic Deposit’ (see Malia A.2 above).

Although Hallager and Weingarten opt for this impression, the design of the other impression {369} they discuss (as published by them) seems to better correspond to the sketch made by Evans at Malia in 1925 {389}, on a number of counts; see discussion in {370}. Koehl accepts Hallager and Weingarten’s identification and interpretation.

However, Pini and Müller (in the CMS) consider Hallager and Weingarten’s identification of a genius figure on this roundel (and that of {370}) incorrect, preferring (for this impression) to have the impression aligned vertically and to see a twisted quadruped and tree branch. In this case, both images are irrelevant to the present catalogue and discussion. Under the circumstances, and since the drawing published by Hallager and Weingarten seems too detailed when compared with the photographs published both by them and in the CMS, this image is not considered in the present study.

### 391. Seal (not located)<sup>1000</sup>

Green steatite, L: 16; W: 11 mm, intact.

Seal with three oval prisms. String-hole through length. *Face A:* Identified as the head of a dog,<sup>1001</sup> but possibly representing a plant or bird of some kind. Vertical format. *Face B:* Squatting ape facing left, with tail upright behind and arms raised to mouth. Vertical format. *Face C:* Three Minoan hieroglyphs: from right to left, three-pronged object (049), trowel (044) and an open circle (073?).<sup>1002</sup> Horizontal format.

Minoan, MM IB–II.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB–II seal, without context.

*References:* CHAPOUTHIER 1932:185–186, 197–199, fig. 3, pl. I:3; 1946:pl. VI.upper; PHILLIPS 1991:II:669 #292, III:1122

<sup>996</sup> By all participants, 12 January 2002.

<sup>997</sup> YULE 1981:144, 193.

<sup>998</sup> See YULE 1980:193.

<sup>999</sup> See Chapter 7, Appendix for discussion.

<sup>1000</sup> A photograph (EFA archive photo 8845) of this seal was

registered by the École française d’Athènes in 1928, but the seal itself could not be located by myself in 1988–1989, nor by OLIVIER and GODART (1996:42).

<sup>1001</sup> CHAPOUTHIER 1932:186.

<sup>1002</sup> Not a ring.

fig. 292; OLIVIER and GODART 1996:42 #230, 240–241 #230[23].

*Comments:* The seal should be Proto-Palatial in date, as it is carved with hieroglyphic signs and so cannot be Pre-Palatial. Seals with three prisms are not later in date than MM II in any case. The ape combines the thinness of the *Cercopithecus* and the short tail of the *Cynocephalus*.

### MARATHOKEPHALO

St. Xanthoudides excavated two tholoi at Marathokephalo in 1917, almost the last of his numerous tholos excavations.<sup>1003</sup> They lie on the peak of a small hill in the Kambelitouria plain, between the villages of Panaghia and Moroni, on the south-eastern edge of the Ida mountains and just north of the Mesara plain. Tholos I largely had been destroyed by the landowner but some objects were recovered. Its date is uncertain, but Branigan suggests dates comparable to tholos II, which is better preserved.<sup>1004</sup>

Tholos II was small, about half the diameter of the largest at Platanos, and preserved about two-thirds of its circumference including the entrance.<sup>1005</sup> Unlike the majority of Mesara tholoi, the entrance lay to the south-east or even further to the south. An unspecified number of spur walls protruded from the north side, possibly like compartments 1 to 5 on tholos A at Platanos, and there were also three projecting slabs elsewhere on the exterior.<sup>1006</sup> No mention is made of any antechamber or ‘annexes’. Xanthoudides found two distinct strata of material inside the burial chamber, which he noted bore no traces of burning.

In the lower, earlier stratum he found very few objects amongst a compacted mass of earth and bones. The upper, later stratum was filled with objects. Unfortunately, he did not distinguish between upper and lower stratum finds, or even between tholoi. Objects from the site included clay kernoi, bowls, pots, a stand or cover and jugs and juglets (one possibly a Cycladic import), stone bowls, cups, pyxides, an askos, lids, jars and two palettes. Also found were nine bronze daggers of both the

early triangular and later long bladed types, and other tools and toilet implements, also obsidian cores and blades, numerous stone beads, stone pendants, clay amulets and 19 ivory and stone seals.<sup>1007</sup> Lack of specific provenance records notwithstanding, the majority of finds are from the upper stratum of tholos II. The tomb is dated to EM I–MM IA, possibly to MM IB.<sup>1008</sup>

#### 392. Ovoid, HM Σ-K 1217

‘White piece,’<sup>1009</sup> L: 14.1; W: 11.3; H: 4.7; SH: 1.9 mm, chipped at both ends of back and edges of face.

Ovoid. Ovoid shape, gable-shaped in section. String-hole through length. *Face:* Engraved asymmetrical linear design with the vague impression of a man leaning forward to the right, and above or behind him an ibex with long horns also facing right, with extraneous filler lines, all deeply cut.

Probably Egyptian, early Middle Kingdom (late Dynasty XI).

*Context:* EM I–MM IA/(early?) B.

*Chronology:* Late Dynasty XI ovoid, in generally contemporary MM IA/B (early?) tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* (asymmetrical face designs) WARD 1978:pl. XII:301, 316.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1918:21 fig. 7:bottom, second from right; PENDLEBURY 1930b:29 #48, pl. 1:48; CMS:II.1:#238; WARD 1971:93 fig. 13:6, 95; YULE 1983:366 n. 22; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:237 #152, pl. 58:152; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 15, 325 n. 36; 1991:II:671–672 #293, III:1122 fig. 293; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:442; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:307 #303.

*Comments:* Yule is unhesitating in his identification of this ovoid as a non-Minoan object, as its face design does not fit into the Minoan repertoire. On the other hand, Ward considered it unlikely to be an Egyptian design or even an imitation of one. Asymmetrical face designs are extremely rare, but are known, in Egypt at this time.

Bichta (in KARETSOU *et al.*) considers this probably of Near Eastern or Syrian provenance and of “possibly EM III–MM I” date, but it clearly is not as the tomb context pre-dates the beginning of Canaanite scarab production. The cutting follows Pini’s non-Minoan rectangular profile,<sup>1010</sup> thus indicating an Egyptian origin.

#### 393. Jar (‘cylinder jar’), Type A, HM Λ 2021

Banded tufa with golden brown translucent surface and opaque creamy white patches, H: 4.0–4.1; Dia. (rim): 3.1; (base): 2.1 cm, intact but worn in areas.

Tall ‘cylindrical’ jar with strongly projecting everted rim and

<sup>1003</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1918:15–23.

<sup>1004</sup> BRANIGAN 1970a:171 #36. He lists the types of grave goods from ‘Marathokephalo I’ on p. 168, but this seems to be in error for ‘II’ as he states ‘I’ is undatable.

<sup>1005</sup> No plan has yet been published.

<sup>1006</sup> Also common to Mesara tholoi. See BRANIGAN 1970a: 41–44.

<sup>1007</sup> The HM inventory records 19 seals from Marathokephalo (CMS II.1:248, #222–240), although Xanthoudides records only 17 were found.

<sup>1008</sup> A datable distinction between the two strata is not possible. WALBERG 1996:97 concurs with the possibility of a small amount of MM IB (generally, her ‘phase 2’) material being included here.

<sup>1009</sup> “Undoubtedly white piece material” (Olga Krzyskowska, personal communication, 08 May 2000).

<sup>1010</sup> Kindly confirmed for me by Ingo Pini (letter of 27 May 2001); see PINI 2000:110, 111 fig. 4.a–b. The cutting of {392} corresponds to fig. 4.a.

base rounded at edges, concave profile with tapering lower body. Interior cavity small.

Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* EM I–MM IA(–B?).

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, in generally contemporary EM III–MM I tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {26}, {27}, {98}, {460}, {480}.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1918:19 fig. 5:top, second from left; WARREN 1969:76 Type 30:D, P422, D231; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:672 #294, III:1122 fig. 294; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:43 #25.γ.<sup>1011</sup>

*Comments:* Egyptian ‘cylinder jar’ forms contemporary with EM II–MM I are tapering but tend to either be straight or slightly concave in profile. Convex forms almost exclusively are Predynastic and date not later than Dynasty I, and in any case do not have a defined base.<sup>1012</sup> Thus this vessel is somewhat removed from the Egyptian type so they are difficult to correlate, but the footed base would at least place its model within the Dynastic period.

### 394. Jar (‘miniature amphora’), HM Λ 2023

Steatite, H: 4.1–4.5; Dia. (rim): 2.9; (max): 3.4–3.6; (base): 1.4 cm, worn or imperfect rim.

‘Miniature amphora’ with flat base, high shoulder and thickened rim. Rim higher on one side, either badly worn or imperfect. Small interior cavity hollowed off-centre, with drill marks. Thick section.

Minoan, EM II–MM I.

*Context:* EM I–MM IA(–B?).

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, in generally contemporary EM III–MM I tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1918:19 fig. 5:top, fourth from right; WARREN 1969:211, Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:672–673 #295, III:1122 fig. 295; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:34 #13.γ.

### 395. Pendant, HM 1218

Ivory, H: 31.5; W: 21.3; Th.: 7.7; SH: 2.5 mm, cracked along height at side, otherwise intact.

Pendant possibly representing two apes back-to-back with heads hanging or ‘drooping’. Only the heads are carved, with eyes drilled. Loose horizontal groove at base, with incised diagonal intersecting lines immediately above. String-hole through thickness at shoulder level.

Minoan, EM III–MM IA.

*Context:* EM I–MM IA(–B?).

*Chronology:* EM III–MM IA object, in generally contemporary EM III–MM I tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* CMS II.1:#21; SAKELLARAKIS and SAPOUNA-SAKELLARAKI 1997:636–637, figs. 690:center left, 693:left; {459}; {475}; {511}.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1918:22 fig. 8:top centre; PENDLEBURY 1939:87, pl. XIV:1; ZERVOS 1956:pl. 206:left;<sup>1013</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:673 #296, III:1122 fig. 296.

*Comments:* This form has been identified as a ‘two-headed bird’,<sup>1014</sup> and Yule classifies this shape (although not listing this seal) as an ‘animal head finial’.<sup>1015</sup> Its formal similarity to the double ape figures, (e.g., {459}), is striking, especially in the shape of the drooping heads. To judge from the head shape, they may represent *Cercopithec*i. Others listed by Yule for this shape show a different head type altogether, with the exception of that from Trapeza {511}. These other animals have a snout, and large pointed ears and forehead, and probably correctly have been identified as heads of dogs.

## MARONIA SITEIAS

Maronia is a small village some 10 kilometres almost directly south of Siteia, on the main road past Piskokephalo to Ierapetra. A Minoan settlement was located near the village,<sup>1016</sup> and an EM burial cave was discovered in the hills near the village in 1936.<sup>1017</sup>

N. Platon excavated another two such caves in 1954, Spiliara and Ayionero, both with Vasiliki-type pottery, but these remain unpublished apart from a preliminary report.<sup>1018</sup> The landowner previously had dug in the cave, and turned over some Vasilike ware and one or two miniature stone vessels (“of Mochlos type”) that he had found. Another nine clay vessels including some Vasilike ware, more miniature stone vessels, two ‘ivory’ seals, a faience vessel, and a solid gold bead also were found in Spiliara. The cave deposits date to EM II–III.<sup>1019</sup>

### 396. Jar (‘cylinder jar’), HM Y 4113 (not seen)

Faience, glazed, H: 5.8, Dia. (rim/max.): 5.7 cm, complete but cracked and chipped at rim and glaze leached to whitish colour.

Cylindrical vessel with squared rim slightly everted on exterior; upright body and flat base. Bluish-green glaze.

Egyptian, early–mid-Dynasty I(?).

*Context:* Not stated, cave deposits generally EM II–III.

*Chronology:* Early–mid-Dynasty I(?) vessel, either generally contemporary or heirloom in its presumably EM II–III tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* (in stone) ASTON 1994:102 #30; {132}; (early context date) {404}.

*Reference:* KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:98 #72.

*Comments:* All observations are made from the published photograph. Whilst this is the Egyptian ‘cylinder jar’ form,

<sup>1011</sup> The photographs are reversed in publication: that marked ‘25β’ is this vessel, whilst ‘25γ’ actually is 25.β from Mochlos {317}.

<sup>1012</sup> See B.G. ASTON 1994:99–105.

<sup>1013</sup> Identified as having been found at Kalathiana.

<sup>1014</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:123; PENDLEBURY 1939:87.

<sup>1015</sup> YULE 1981:92–93 Class 33:b. See also KRZYSZKOWSKA 1989:122.

<sup>1016</sup> PAPADAKIS 1983:60.

<sup>1017</sup> MARINATOS 1937, 224.

<sup>1018</sup> PLATON 1954a, 364–365; 1954b:511; LEEKLEY and NOYES 1975:62.

<sup>1019</sup> PLATON in CMS II.1:498; YULE 1981:10. For the seals, see CMS II.1:#421–422.

it normally is found in stone. If this is not the one faience vessel from Spiliara mentioned in the preliminary reports, perhaps it originally was identified as stone, and is one of those mentioned there. This vessel form is not found in the other main locales of early faience vessels, the regions of Syria and Mesopotamia<sup>1020</sup> and, since the only area with a similar vessel type is Egypt, it likely is from there. This is a rare item; faience vessels were not produced in Egypt before the Early Dynastic period, and were small and simple types at that time. The publication of this vessel {396} now adds some long-awaited credence to the identity of the unpreserved Mochlos bowl {404} as an Egyptian import.

### MAVRIKIANO

The former village of Mavrikiano, once north of but now absorbed into the larger town of Elounda, lies on the coast of the Gulf of Mirabello opposite the southern part of Spinalonga island, on the north-eastern coast of Crete. In 1937, H. van Effenterre excavated what probably was a habitation site south-west of the town after a number of vessels were recovered from the area by villagers. His sondage revealed a large well-constructed wall oriented north-west to south-east up to 1.5 m. thick and over 60 m. long, together with a number of other long walls, all of large boulders. He suggested that the long wall, which has an opening, was an enclosure wall nearest the sea and surrounded housing walls that lie immediately west of it.<sup>1021</sup>

A considerable number of sherds were recovered from the sondage, especially those of lamps, cups and bowls of MM date, chiefly MM II–III although some may be of MM I date. Also found were some bridge-spouted jars, oval-mouthed amphorae, round plates with small depressions, tripod bowls, some barbotine sherds and a number of fragments suggesting a kernos with small cups and zoomorphic appliqués. Van Effenterre suggested that the objects possibly had a religious character but the limited excavation could not confirm it.

#### 397. Kernos? fragments (not located)

Clay, no dimensions given, at least eight fragments, no trace of paint mentioned.

Fragments of small cups, handle and appliqués possibly a kernos of some kind. Cups on interior of possible large bowl form, with shell appliqué and protomes of a bull's head or horn and cat's head. *Protome*: Cat's head, probably on exterior of ker-

nos(?) with large rounded eyes and ears. Possibly solid, possibly moulded.

Minoan, MM II–III.

*Context*: MM I–III.

*Chronology*: MM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary MM II–III deposition.

*Comparanda*: {162}; {517–518}; (kernos appliqué?) {377}.

*References*: VAN EFFENTERRE 1948:4, pl. III:second row centre and second from right; FOSTER 1982:90–92, 100, 105, 172; PHILLIPS 1991:II:674–675 #297, III:1123 fig. 297; 1995:763 n. 35.

*Comments*: The rounded ears are different from the other cats' heads on which the ears are preserved, with the exception of those from Vathypetro {517–518} and the fresco from Knossos {162}.

### MILATOS PEDIADHOS

The modern village of Milatos lies about a kilometre from the northern coast about six kilometres east of Malia and six kilometres north-north-west of Neapolis. The ancient city of Milatos, located between the modern village and the sea, was destroyed in the 3rd c. BC and not reoccupied. It had first been inhabited during the Bronze Age, as a large LM III cemetery is nearby. A cave, possibly used as a refuge place, contained Neolithic, EM and LM material.<sup>1022</sup>

In the area north-west of the modern village locally known as Aghios Phanourios, the LM III cemetery has been located and partially excavated one or two tombs at a time by various excavators. The first was a rock-cut chamber tomb containing two LM IIIA larnakes, discovered on the eastern slope in 1889 and presented to the (then) Candia Museum by the Bishop of Viannos.<sup>1023</sup> A.J. Evans excavated a chamber tomb on the western slope he was shown during his travels in 1899. It contained two larnakes, about 20 vessels, and the remains of a third larnax of probable earlier date.<sup>1024</sup> Each of the two complete larnakes was associated with a separate group of pottery, although both seem to be LM IIIA2–B in date. Another tomb also was found in 1910, containing a sarcophagus of LM IIIB date recovered by Xanthoudides. He also excavated three further chamber tombs in 1919, of late LM IIIB–early IIIC date.<sup>1025</sup> These contained multiple larnakes together with numerous clay vessels, bronze tools and two knives, two seals and some glass paste beads.

<sup>1020</sup> Confirmed by Joan Oates and Helen MacDonald (personal communication, 12 June 2001).

<sup>1021</sup> VAN EFFENTERRE 1948:1–4.

<sup>1022</sup> RUTKOWSKI and NOWICKI 1996:65–67.

<sup>1023</sup> ORSI 1889–1892:208–209, pl. II. See also FURUMARK

1941:II:105. Further elaboration on the dating of this and the other tombs excavated prior to 1980 is provided by KANTA 1980:125–128.

<sup>1024</sup> EVANS 1905:483–493.

<sup>1025</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1920–1921:154–157.



Another chamber tomb dating to LM IIIA–B was discovered and excavated in 1980 by C. Davaras. It contained three painted larnakes, each with one burial and the remains of an earlier burial.<sup>1026</sup> Although two of the larnakes were almost devoid of finds, larnax B contained an LM IIIA incised gypsum spouted bowl, a situlate vase, two blossom bowls and three other stone vases, several clay vessels, a bronze mirror and fragments of two bronze vessels, nine amber beads, five or six faience necklaces, several semi-precious stone beads and an assortment of ivory objects. These last included a ‘poppy-head’ pin, four or five combs, several incised plaques, a seated female figurine, a pendant or amulet in the form of a crocodile, and two spoon handles, one with a perched sphinx<sup>1027</sup> and the other a raised fist. The contents of this tomb are housed in the HNM.

**398. Pendant or amulet, HNM 8889 (not handled)**

Ivory, L: 10 cm, restored from numerous joining fragments, parts of tail and other fragments missing. Deteriorated surface, much splitting.

Pendant or figurine in the form of a crocodile, with head *regar-dant* over shoulder, both short legs facing forward. Long snout, large claws and long thick curved tail. Scales indicated by incised lines running along back and tail, alternating with rows of circular depressions. Undulating thick ridge along spine from head to end of tail. Carved in the round, incised all sides. String-hole through body at neck.

Minoan, LM IIIA–B.

*Context:* LM IIIA–B.

*Chronology:* LM IIIA–B, in generally contemporary LM IIIA–B tomb deposition.

*References:* DAVARAS 1980:522–523; 1981:26, fig. 74; CATLING 1989:104; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:259 #203, pl. 22:203; PHILLIPS 1991:II:677–678 #298, III:1123 fig. 298; CLINE 1994:239 #962; PHILLIPS 1998:855, 857 fig. 3.b.

*Comments:* This is the only example of the crocodile carved in the round, all other examples being carved in relief decorating comb handles but in similar pose and decorative style. These have been found at Archanes {62}, Karteros {102} and Palaikastro {427}.

## Mochlos

The tiny (350 metres long) island of Mochlos lies only 150 metres across the bay from the modern town of Mochlos, in the Gulf of Mirabello on the north-eastern coast of Crete. Basically, it is shaped like a wedge, with a steep cliff on the northern face that becomes a

sloping hill to the southern rocky beach. The eastern and western ends also are steeply faced to accommodate the sharply diagonal length of the island.

In 1908, R.B. Seager excavated a small settlement on the south coast of the island and, on its western limit, some 23 tombs dating to EM–LM I constructed on seven terraces of the steep hill.<sup>1028</sup> Although most are of generally EM II–III date, some continue on into later periods. Some had been reused in MM III–LM I, and others (including child jar burials) are new in this period.

The island was inhabited as early as the Final Neolithic, for a small temporary settlement has been located. A large and wealthy settlement flourished on the south coast in EM II–III, when the substantial tombs to the west were constructed. At this time the island was linked to the mainland by a small isthmus, now underwater, where traces of walls have been found.<sup>1029</sup> Another settlement was built over top of the abandoned EM village in MM III. It continued through LM I, and the tombs were cleared and reused at that time. The town was abandoned in LM IB, in conjunction with many other Minoan sites. The island again was inhabited during the Roman period, then abandoned when the isthmus no longer joined the island to the mainland in the 4th c. AD. It was later inhabited during the Byzantine period, abandoned when the Saracens conquered Crete around 825 AD, and never reoccupied.

Although later periods comparatively were sparsely represented, the EM levels and especially the tombs have yielded a veritable hoard of jewellery, stone vessels and various other objects. Cleaning and further investigation by C. Davaras and J. Soles in 1971–1972 and 1976 clarified Seager’s cemetery excavations and their stratigraphy, and further defined the relationship between the tombs. They have re-examined the town area, as well as an LM III cemetery behind it, in further work since 1989 with some spectacular results and similar clarifications for both the town and continued cemetery explorations; the town, for example, was reoccupied in LM II– IIIA1.<sup>1030</sup>

### A. The Town

Either side of the modern chapel of Aghios Nikolaos

<sup>1026</sup> DAVARAS 1980. See also CATLING 1980:53; TOUCHAIS 1981:886; CATLING 1989:103–104.

<sup>1027</sup> Listed by CLINE 1994:239 #963 as a possible import; it is an indigenous product.

<sup>1028</sup> SEAGER 1909; 1912. See also SOLES 1973:53–116; 1977.

<sup>1029</sup> SOLES 1977:8; LEATHAM and HOOD 1958–1959:273–274.

<sup>1030</sup> SOLES and DAVARAS 1992; 1994; 1996. A short summary of the island and its remains is by SOLES in MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:186–193. More recent study by Angus Smith has revealed significant LM II and IIIA1 objects; see BROGAN 2003.

on the southern face of the island, Seager excavated about a dozen LM I houses in four 'blocks' separated by streets. Blocks A, B and C lay west of the church, and Block D to its east.<sup>1031</sup> The first house east of the church was separated from the next by a very heavy wall. This second house had been badly cut into by the 'big house' described by Seager, which was the third. This house may have been that of a community leader, as it was remodeled 'along palatial lines' sometime in LM I. Seager mentioned no buildings or walls of earlier date; the earlier levels apparently consist only of artefacts.

The first house east of the church (i.e., the western part of Block D) excavated by Seager was not described or illustrated, but apparently was almost totally devoid of contents. Roman walls actually lay in the LM I level. It, like the others, seems to have been quite large, with numerous rooms and indications of an upper storey. Two ewers, a squat amphora and a small jar are recorded from the house in the LM I level, the last decorated in LM IB palatial style. Seager pitted below the floors of this house quite extensively, and everywhere found much EM II–MM I pottery, apparently in stratified levels. MM I polychrome fragments and other vessels were found in one layer, and below this EM II–III level(s). In one EM II layer deposit below a room of the house he found a small steatite jar together with a clay model boat.<sup>1032</sup>

Davaras and Soles re-located this house in 1989, now numbered House D.1.<sup>1033</sup> Their excavations revealed that five of the rooms (100–400 and 600), in what proved to be the northern and eastern part of the house, already had been cleared by Seager; they found nothing in Room 100 but discovered a deposit of "probably EM III" pottery missed by Seager in Room 600. They also exposed the western edge of the house farther west in new excavation trenches, and another building even farther west now labeled House D.4.<sup>1034</sup> They recovered no Pre- or Proto-Palatial architecture in this area that could be associated with the material remains.

### 399. Jar ('miniature amphora'), HM Λ 1234

Highly polished mottled green, black and cream steatite, H: 8.2–8.3; Dia. (rim): 3.3; (max): 5.0; (base): 2.6 cm, chipped rim and handles.

'Miniature amphora' with high shoulder, flat base and concave neck. Articulated rim and neck at join to shoulder. On the bottom is an engraved sign like two conventional arrow heads.<sup>1035</sup> Two horizontal lug handles each have a single vertical drilled hole in centre. Interior profile almost completely vertical, with the drill core unevenly broken, leaving part behind at the bottom.

Minoan, EM II(?) or III.

*Context:* EM II(?) or III.

*Chronology:* EM II(?) or III vessel, in generally contemporary EM II(?) or III deposition. See comments below.

*Comparanda:* (collared neck) {408}, {410}, {461}.

*References:* SEAGER 1909:288–289, pl. VIII:2; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P360, D199; WARREN and HANKEY 1989:125–126; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23, 326; 1991:II:689–690 #307, III:1124 fig. 307; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:31–32 #10.

*Comments:* Warren and Hankey associate the articulated rim with jars having a 'sleeved collar,' a protruding double-ridged neck and rim above the shoulder.<sup>1036</sup> However, the Mochlos example shows but a slightly protruding ridge at the bottom of the neck and a more finished and pronounced rim.

The accepted date of this deposit and therefore the vessel, EM II, is at odds with Warren's comment that use of the drill did not begin until EM III.<sup>1037</sup> Several possible solutions can be suggested: 1) Warren's earliest drill use should be pushed back to EM II; 2) the deposit date should be raised to EM III; or 3) the vessel itself either was recovered at a higher level or fell into the EM II layer from the trench section during excavation. As the only such jar to be "engraved with a sign," and because it is so well made, an EM II dating seems unlikely, and the more likely solution is to consider the jar of later date. *If* the sign on the base is considered a hieroglyphic inscription, it would have to be an arithmogramme,<sup>1038</sup> and would date the inscription at least to not earlier than MM I and possibly even to MM II. This, however, seems unlikely, as the sign is difficult to parallel elsewhere and the underside of a vessel seems an odd place for an arithmogramme to be incised.

## B. Tomb Complex I–III

Chamber Tomb Complex I–III lay on 'west terrace,' the westernmost edge of the cemetery, physically separated from the other, smaller tombs. It consists of three major rooms, originally separately distin-

<sup>1031</sup> Block B and its relationship to Blocks A and C is shown in SOLES 1977:figs. 3 and 12, the major house of Block D in SEAGER 1909:fig. 14; this is now labeled House D.3 by SOLES and DAVARAS 1996:176 fig. 1.

<sup>1032</sup> SEAGER 1909:288–290.

<sup>1033</sup> SOLES and DAVARAS 1992:440 fig. 15, 441–442; see also SOLES and DAVARAS 1996:176 fig. 1 for a collated plan of the area.

<sup>1034</sup> SOLES and DAVARAS 1994:411.

<sup>1035</sup> The description is given by SEAGER 1909:289.

<sup>1036</sup> See PETRIE 1937:8–9, pl. XXVII:518–527; D'AURIA, LACOVARA and ROEHRIG 1988:77 fig. 41; B.G. ASTON 1994:135–136 #125.

<sup>1037</sup> WARREN 1969:161.

<sup>1038</sup> The nearest parallel seems to be OLIVIER and GODART 1996:432 #3 #040.b1, on a medallion from Knossos, HM 1274, KN He (06) 01, dated to MM II. The medallion is illustrated by EVANS 1909:166 #P.80, and OLIVIER and GODART 1996:92–93 #040 [11].

guished by Seager.<sup>1039</sup> Re-examination by J. Soles has identified the group as a monumental tomb complex.<sup>1040</sup>

'Tomb' I is a smaller central room dividing 'Tombs' II and III, with two long narrow compartments each having its own western entrance but joining at the back, to a maximum depth of about three metres. It had two rooms; the northern compartment was devoid of finds, but the southern was stuffed with several strata of finds with a confused mass of at least 30 disarticulated bodies at the bottom and then some EM IIA clay and stone vessels and a few pieces of jewellery (including a Near Eastern Early Dynastic silver cylinder seal<sup>1041</sup>), with some MM III material above mixed with earth and small stones. It may be taken as an ossuary. Interestingly, Soles' cleaning also revealed a green chlorite shist miniature pyxis, amongst the earliest Minoan stone vessels, and a separate flat lid having a beveled rim, found in the rubble of one of the compartment walls.<sup>1042</sup>

'Tomb' III probably was the 'mortuary chapel' of the complex as no bones were found. The complex is 3 by 6 m. in area at its greatest extent and had two entrances, both facing west. It was heavily disturbed in MM III, and the very little earlier material found was MM IA in date.

'Tomb' II was the main burial chamber, opening to the south. All its walls are massive, employing upright slabs, although the western wall has eroded considerably. It measures 1.8 by 5.56 m. in area. The sloping north-south floor was augmented by a partially natural large cavity near the back (north end) of the room, about 1.5 m. in diameter and 70 cm. deep. Most of the finds came from this cavity, possibly as the tomb may have been partially cleared in MM III, but Seager also found some (unpublished) MM III vases on the surface at the south end of the room and "many bones" on the floor.

The room was full of bones and almost 130 objects. The upper fill material was MM III-LM I, including two knife blades. Below this was a sterile, undisturbed layer of earth lying above the cavity itself, then further objects appeared in increasing numbers as excavation progressed. The cavity clearly was stratified. At the top was some unpublished EM IIB Vasiliki ware, together with only one jug identifiable as EM III. Below this was an earlier stratum,

from which was recovered 85 gold ornaments and 15 stone vessels, three 'Koumasa-style' clay vessels, a bone amulet, ivory and steatite inlay strips, ivory seals, bronze dagger and knife blades, a bronze and two lead double axes, and a few bronze tools. The gold included diadems, hoops, strips, armlets, pendants, beads, discs, and flower pins. Soles' cleaning also recovered a shallow clay dish and five cowrie shells from the cavity.<sup>1043</sup> Soles states this earlier stratum "should date to" EM IIA; however, it is possible that it is merely earlier EM IIB material as 'Koumasa ware' also occurs in this period.<sup>1044</sup>

#### 400. Jar ('miniature amphora'), HM A 1236

Chlorite, H: 7.0; Dia. (rim): 3.1; (max): 4.2-4.5; (base): 2.4 cm, intact.

'Miniature amphora' with high shoulder, flat base and slightly flaring rim. Two horizontal lug handles on the shoulder. Interior profile straight-sided and almost perfectly vertical, rounded at bottom. Irregular diameter.

Minoan, EM II(A?).

*Context:* EM II(A?).

*Chronology:* EM II(A?) vessel, in generally contemporary EM II(A?) tomb deposition.

*References:* SEAGER 1912:25 #II:j, fig. 7:II:j, pl. II:II:j; FIMMEN 1924:169 fig. 165:second from right; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P361, D200; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:262 #212, pl. 72:212; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23, 326; 1991:II:681-682 #299, III:1123 fig. 299; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:32 #11.

*Comments:* This, like the following vessel and that from Archanes Tomb E {60}, seem to be amongst the earliest of the 'miniature amphorae' recovered in context. This jar seems to be better made than either of the others, and presumably was smoothed after gouging.

#### 401. Jar ('miniature amphora'), HM A 1238

Green/black steatite with white patches, H: 4.1; Dia. (rim): 2.5; (max): 3.6; (base): 1.7 cm, intact with chips at rim.

'Miniature amphora' with high shoulder, flat base and flaring rim. Short, wide body. Interior profile roughly gouged, slightly undercut below shoulder and misaligned.

Minoan, EM II(A?).

*Context:* EM II(A?).

*Chronology:* EM II(A?) vessel, in generally contemporary EM II(A?) tomb deposition.

*Comparison:* (general profile) {60}.

*References:* SEAGER 1912:25 #II:k, fig. 7:II:k, pl. II:II:k; FIMMEN 1924:169 fig. 165:second from left; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P362, D201; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23, 326; 1991:II:682 #300, III:1123 fig. 300; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:33 #13.α.

*Comments:* Unlike all other 'miniature amphorae' at Mochlos, the artisan has undercut the interior below the shoulder, producing a 'sculptured' interior profile; this might indicate a

<sup>1039</sup> Although he suspected they were interrelated, see SEAGER 1912:37.

<sup>1040</sup> SOLES 1973:58-68; 1977:10, fig. 7; 1992:43-51.

<sup>1041</sup> ARUZ 1985.

<sup>1042</sup> SOLES 1992:50, #M I-1.

<sup>1043</sup> SOLES 1992:50-51.

<sup>1044</sup> BETANCOURT 1985:21 table 3; 42-43 fig. 24.

slightly better artisan or a slightly date later than the other 'miniature amphorae' where the interior profile is the not undercut. Nonetheless, the interior gouging is left rough.

#### 402. Seal, HM Σ-K 744

Hippopotamus ivory,<sup>1045</sup> seal: H: 17.4; W: 13.3; Th.: 11.6; SH: 1.9; face: L: 10.5; W: 10.7 mm, intact except for top edge of finial and edge of face, but finely cracked/laminated.

Signet seal with partially articulated string-hole finial. *Face*: Two apes back-to-back, each squatting with arms in front of face and tails out behind. A rough horizontal line across top, and indications of possible vegetation in front of right ape figure.

Minoan, EM II(A?).

*Context*: EM II(A?).

*Chronology*: EM II(A?) seal, in generally contemporary EM II(A?) tomb deposition.

*References*: SEAGER 1912:34 #II:42, fig. 11:II:42; EVANS *PM* I:83 fig. 51, 123; MATZ 1928:16–17 #173, pl. XIII:2; McDERMOTT 1938:324 #602; PENDLEBURY 1939:72, fig. 10:a; KENNA 1960:18 figs. 27–28, 24 n. 3; 1964:917–918 fig. 8:a–b, 920; 1970:329 fig. #744; *CMS* II.1:#473; YULE 1980:34 Type 3:3a, fig. 139 Type 18, pl. 12 Motif 18:4; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:260 #204, pl. 58:204; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 28; 1991:II:682 #301, III:1123 fig. 301; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 400, #432; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:171–172 #152.

*Comments*: Derived from the *Cynocephalus* as indicated by its short tail and squared jaw, and the enlarged 'hump' back that suggests the *hamadryas* mane. Contemporary to Egyptian *tête-bêche* and other paired ape images on 'button seals' but clearly a Minoan product, due to its style and the bottle shape of the seal itself.<sup>1046</sup>

### C. Tomb Complex IV–VI

Seager originally had identified Chamber Tomb Complex IV–VI separately.<sup>1047</sup> Re-examination by Soles again has resulted in its identification as a tomb complex of three rooms and an elaborate approach system.<sup>1048</sup> It, like complex I–III, lies at the western edge of the cemetery on the west terrace but at a higher level, separated from the others and farther north of complex I–III. Constructed entirely of stone, it consists of large upright slabs and horizontal layers of small building stones.

'Tomb' IV seems to have been an antechamber and possibly a 'mortuary chapel' for votive offerings. One EM III burial was found in the farther back of two internal 'compartments' separated by a very low partition below an MM III stratum with-

out interments.<sup>1049</sup> It is the only entrance to 'Tomb' VI. 'Tomb' V may have been a later addition to serve as an ossuary to 'Tomb' VI, the burial chamber proper. The approach system consisted of a large paved area in front of the building, a raised terrace set against the cliff face and, in the south-east corner, a small rectangular platform that seems to have been an open-air altar, possibly used in funeral ceremonies.

#### C.1. 'Tomb' V

'Tomb' V was a single long chamber, about 5 by 1.4 m. in area. It was entered from the south, and could be blocked by the single large upright slab found nearby. The floor slopes sharply from north to south, where Seager found a large EM I deposit some 20 cm. thick below the walls at the entrance, in a red clay quite distinct from the tomb fill itself.<sup>1050</sup> Elsewhere, in this tomb fill, the bones were scattered around in complete disarray, mixed with funerary gifts of stone bowls, pot and cup, jug and low table, and a clay EM IIB two-handled jar, EM III jug and other EM II–III ceramics, possibly a secondary 'dumping' from elsewhere and therefore serving as an ossuary.<sup>1051</sup> A gold flower pendant, gold strips and scraps were also recovered, and a lead object "resembling a rodent's skull," the last unfortunately not illustrated or apparently preserved. Soles reports no new finds from his cleaning activities.

#### 403. Jar ('miniature amphora'), HM Λ 1244

Dark green and grey steatite with white mottling, H: 4.4–4.5; Dia. (rim): 2.8; (max): 3.4–3.5; (base): 2.3 cm, intact with chip at rim.

'Miniature amphora' with high shoulder, flat base and short flaring rim. Vertical interior profile with rounded bottom.

Minoan, EM II–III.

*Context*: EM II–III.

*Chronology*: EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or somewhat later EM II–III tomb deposition.

*References*: SEAGER 1912:43 #V:g, fig. 18:V:g; FIMMEN 1924:169 fig. 165:right; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P363, D202; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:261 #209, pl. 72:209; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23, 326; 1991:II:684 #302, III:1124 fig. 302; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:33 #13.β.

*Comments*: This, like {400} above, seems to have been carefully gouged and smoothed on the interior.

<sup>1045</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000).

<sup>1046</sup> The tombs of Mochlos were not considered by SBONIAS (2000), where he states that ivory was used only in his second grouping (EM III–early MM IA); this clearly is not the case for this ivory seal in an EM II(A?) context.

<sup>1047</sup> SEAGER 1912:41–56.

<sup>1048</sup> SOLES 1973:68–86; 1977:10–11, figs. 8–10; 1992:61–62.

<sup>1049</sup> SEAGER 1912:41 fig. 15 shows this as a wall, blocking entrance to Compartment B and 'Tomb' VI. In fact it is no more than a slight elevation in floor level at this point, as can be seen in SOLES 1977:10 fig. 8.

<sup>1050</sup> SEAGER 1912:92–95.

<sup>1051</sup> See comments by WALBERG 1983:129; SOLES 1992:59.

### C.2. 'Tomb' VI

'Tomb' VI, the burial chamber proper of the complex, was built directly into the cliff. It measured 3.9 by 1.8 m. in area and, like 'Tomb' II, had a large hole dug into the floor at the northern end where a quantity of beads, vessels and other objects were found. Its stratification was particularly clear, for the upper MM III–LM I reuse material lay some 50 cm. above floor level and above debris of the original east wall which had collapsed and been rebuilt in EM IIA. The lower deposit was clearly stratified EM IIA, and constituted a rich collection of stone vessels, with others of clay, silver and faience, together with jewellery and other objects lying amongst a confused mass of bones on the uneven rock floor. Immediately overlying it was a layer of EM IIA pottery up to 50 cm. thick. Included in the deposit were necklaces of gold, rock crystal and other materials, pendants of gold and silver, a large ivory cylinder seal, and gold stamped foil pieces.

Re-examination of the 'tomb' in 1971 uncovered a further EM IIB/III deposit just outside the entrance along the east wall, including pottery fragments of Vasiliki and other wares, a marble bowl, bronze dagger and scraper, ivory seal and, within a folded silver cup, a hoard of gold jewellery, all probably thrown out during an ancient cleaning, perhaps in MM III.<sup>1052</sup>

#### 404. Bowl (not preserved)

Faience, no dimensions, description or illustration provided by the excavator.

Egyptian, Old Kingdom, or possibly Minoan, EM IIA or Near Eastern, Early Bronze.

*Context:* EM IIA.

*Chronology:* EM IIA, Dynasty I–IV or Early Bronze, in generally contemporary EM IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* (context date) {396}.

*References:* SEAGER 1912:35, 53, 54 #VI:22; EVANS *PM* I:85; PENDLEBURY 1930b:31 #50; CADOGAN 1976:19; HOOD 1978:132; FOSTER 1979:34, 56; CADOGAN 1983:512; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:261 #208; PHILLIPS 1990:327; 1991:II:685 #303.

*Comments:* The bowl was so fragmentary it was impossible to preserve and, as details of its appearance are not recorded, its origin often has been the source of much speculation. Originally, Pendlebury identified it as an Egyptian import, but its

lack of preservation has hampered subsequent attempts to confirm or alter this opinion. Cadogan recently has questioned its Egyptian origin, and then suggested it might be a Near Eastern import. The major question underlying identification of its origin is that of Minoans' capability of manufacturing faience at this early period, a question still unresolved. Hood is unsure but seems to believe they were. Foster speculates and wavers between local and Syrian manufacture. However, the EM II–III context dating of a well-preserved and apparently Egyptian faience vessel {396} now adds some credence to the bowl's probable identity as an Egyptian import.

#### 405. Beads, HM unnumbered (not located)

Faience, dimensions and condition unknown.

Beads from a necklace, described as 'pear-shaped'. String-hole through length.

Minoan, EM II, or Egyptian, Dynasty I–IV.<sup>1053</sup>

*Context:* EM IIA.

*Chronology:* EM IIA or (less likely) Dynasty I–IV, in generally contemporary EM IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* EVANS *PM* I:85, fig. 53; PENDLEBURY 1930b:31 #51; CADOGAN 1976:19; Soles 1977:8; HOOD 1978:132; FOSTER 1979:34, 56; PHILLIPS 1990:327; 1991:II:686 #304, III:1124 fig. 304.

*Comments:* Not cited by Seager in his list of objects from this tomb.<sup>1054</sup> First published and illustrated by Evans from sketches made while visiting the excavations. Petrie identified the 'pear-shaped' bead type as deriving from Predynastic cone-shaped beads.<sup>1055</sup> Nonetheless, Evans believed the beads to be of "native" faience. Comments to bowl {404} above apply equally well here.

### D. Tomb Complex IX–X

Tombs IX and X, on the eastern end of the cemetery against the bedrock outcroppings, adjoin and seem to be part of a burial complex, as an inner doorway links the two single-rooms at the back and both were built at the same time. Like other tombs, they were slab-lined and rectangular in shape. Seager's report<sup>1056</sup> lists few objects from the tombs, almost all of which are of MM III–LM I date, and he suggested it had been plundered in MM III as the tomb construction is associated with an earlier (EM II–III) period. The contents listed were two small and very corroded bronze cups and four seals from 'Tomb' X; three of the latter are MM III–LM I and the fourth is MM I in date. 'Tomb' IX contained only MM I and MM III sherds.

<sup>1052</sup> SOLES 1973:82–84; DAVARAS 1975; 1981:pls. 20–21; SOLES 1977:11; 1992:58–61. Stone vessels and gold fragments previously also had been found in this area; see SEAGER 1912:55–56; PLATON 1948:589; SOLES 1992:59 n. 51.

<sup>1053</sup> PENDLEBURY 1930b:31.

<sup>1054</sup> SEAGER 1912:55 #VI:35, fig. 25:35 are the only faience beads from this tomb, strung on a necklace. This necklace, now HM 788, consists of a 63 cm. length of small plain

beads of faience (11), rock crystal/quartz (6), steatite (23) and the remainder bone, with one large shell bead in the centre (this is the necklace described by LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:261 #207, pl. 26:207). None are pear-shaped. Those mentioned as being in the HM "Middle case 53, unnumbered" by Pendlebury cannot now be identified.

<sup>1055</sup> EVANS *PM* I:85.

<sup>1056</sup> SEAGER 1912:57–58.

Davaras and Soles re-examined this tomb in 1976, together with numerous others during the 1970s.<sup>1057</sup> They clarified the construction date of ‘Tombs’ IX–X as EM II, due to the orthostate slabs at the base of the interior party wall and the design of the doorways, but could not determine which is Seager’s ‘Tomb’ X and which his ‘Tomb’ IX and so have arbitrarily assigned that nearest the rock face as ‘X’ and the other, more exposed, room as ‘IX’. The following vessel, now in the HNM, was found embedded in the southeast corner of the room they designated as ‘X’ during the 1976 cleaning and excavation.

**406. Jar (‘cylinder jar’), Type B (C?), HNM 10364**

Grey and white dolomitic limestone, H: 4.2; Dia. (rim): 4.5; (base): 3.8 cm, large chip on rim and upper body, restored. Cylindrical jar with tapering slightly concave body, strongly everted rim and base. Almost entirely white, the grey only on the rim edge.

Minoan, (EM III?–)MM I, most likely the latter.

*Context:* (EM II–III–)MM I, MM III–LM I.

*Chronology:* (EM III?–)MM I vessel, in generally contemporary MM I or (less likely) an antique in MM III–LM I tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {407}; (Egyptian) B.G. ASTON 1994:99–100, 104 #35.

*References:* PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 16, 326, 327; 1991:II:687 #305, III:1124 fig. 305; SOLES 1992:84 #M X–1, fig. 33, pl. 30:left; BEVAN 2001:II:379 fig. 5.31.a.iii.

*Comments:* Marked ‘Tb. X’ on the base. The material suggests this is a Minoan product. Its form is quite at home in Egypt, and parallels the type datable to Dynasty V–XI. B.G. Aston’s analysis of Egyptian vessels suggests a late Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period rather than Middle Kingdom date would be most likely for its Egyptian model, with tapering slightly concave body profile and excessively projecting rim and base. It should not be contemporary with the initial EM II tomb construction, as it is too well-made and not gouged on the interior, so might be an ‘antique’ with the MM III–LM I re-use of the tomb. The tomb must have been used into the MM I period as one MM I seal came from Seager’s ‘Tomb’ X and MM I sherds from Seager’s ‘Tomb’ IX. Although it is possible that the vessel is of EM III date, no other EM II–III material was recovered, and it is more likely to be of MM I deposition.

### E. Cemetery, No Find Context

Numerous objects were found in the area of the cemetery which could not be associated with any particular tomb. These chiefly consisted of stone and clay vessels, and also included a stone figurine.<sup>1058</sup>

**407. Jar (‘cylinder jar’), Type B (C?), HM A 1294**

Grey and white dolomitic limestone, H: 4.1; Dia. (rim): 3.9; (base): 3.6 cm, intact with chips on base.

Cylindrical jar with tapering strongly concave body, strongly everted rim and base, slightly rounded bottom.

Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* None, in cemetery in use EM I–LM I.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, without context but presumably from generally contemporary tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {406}; (Egyptian) B.G. ASTON 1994:99–100, 104 #35; MMA 07.228.91; MMA 11.151.755.

*References:* SEAGER 1912:80 #M:3, fig. 47:M:3, pl. II:M:3; FIMMEN 1924:169 fig. 165:left; WARREN 1969:76 Type 30:D, P423, D232; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:261–262 #210, pl. 72:210; PHILLIPS 1991:II:687–688 #306, III:1124 fig. 306; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:42–43 #25.β;<sup>1059</sup> BEVAN 2001:II:379 fig. 5.31.b.iii.

*Comments:* Its rim and base are extremely exaggerated in comparison to other Minoan derivations, even {406}, and it is unfortunate that its specific provenance at Mochlos is unknown. It is very similar to Egyptian vessels, especially of late Old Kingdom–First Intermediate Period date when such exaggerations are common; see discussion in {406} above. However, it is identified as Minoan work on the basis of its local stone material, and is the most obvious of the Minoan derivations of the Egyptian form. A date range of EM IIB–MM I is contemporary with the form in Egypt, but it is assumed such an extremely well made vessel is unlikely to be of EM IIB manufacture, so should not be earlier than EM III in date.

### F. No Find Context

The following are on display in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, a bequest of Mrs. T. James Bowlker, who was a financial supporter of Seager’s excavations. They are not discussed in any of Seager’s publications of the site, but the display labels state they are from his excavations there. None are mentioned in WARREN (1969). Material and dates within quotation marks are quoted from the museum display case; the vessels themselves were not examined by the present author. The MFA kindly sent copies of the catalogue cards, where Warren’s comments are noted.

**408. Jar (‘miniature amphora’) MFA 09.24 (not handled)**

Serpentine or steatite, mottled dark and light green, H: (vessel) 7.5; (int cavity) 5.2; Dia.: (max.) 4.8; (int rim) 2.05 cm, small rim chip, otherwise intact.

‘Miniature amphora,’ tall, with outturned rim, high angled shoulder, flat splaying base. Articulated rim and neck at join to shoulder. Drilled vertical interior. No handles.

Minoan, “EM II–III,” probably the latter.

*Context:* None.

<sup>1057</sup> SOLES 1992:79–84; not mentioned in SOLES 1973.

<sup>1058</sup> SEAGER 1912:80–87. They were identified by the prefix ‘M.’

<sup>1059</sup> Photographs are reversed in publication: that marked ‘25y’ is this vessel, whilst ‘25β’ actually is ‘25.γ’ from Marathokephalo {393}.

*Chronology:* Probably EM III vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* (collared neck) {399}, {410}, {461}.

*Reference:* MFA catalogue card.

*Comments:* Stated to be derived from an Egyptian vessel type in the museum case label. However, it seems to be an integration of Warren's Types 28 ('miniature amphora') and 29 ('miniature goblet'), with the articulated neck of certain 'miniature amphorae' and the splayed base of the 'miniature goblet'; the catalogue card accepts it as Type 28. The articulated neck seems to be its only 'egyptianising' feature, for which compare those quoted. The material is stated to be 'serpentine' on the case label, but may be chlorite or steatite instead.

**409. 'Miniature goblet'** MFA 09.25 (not handled)

Serpentine, olive-green, H: (vessel) 4.8; (int cavity) 2.4 cm, intact.

'Miniature goblet,' thin elongated profile with outturned rim, high rounded shoulder, tapering lower body, lower body ridge and flat base. Drilled cylindrical interior, with drill mark. Articulated rim and neck at join to shoulder.

Minoan, "EM II-III".

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* EM II-III vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* WARREN 1969:73 Type 29A (especially HM 1243 = SEAGER 1912:fig. 47:M:2), HM 2376; (lower body ridge) WARREN 1969:P383.

*Reference:* MFA catalogue card.

*Comments:* Stated to be derived from an Egyptian vessel type in the museum case label. However, the catalogue card notes it is of Warren's Type 29.A ('miniature goblet'), which does integrate loosely with his Type 28 ('miniature amphora'). This vessel is not a good example of such integration, and it is unlikely to be anything other than a Minoan form.

**410. Jar ('miniature amphora')** MFA 09.26 (not handled)

Calcite, light brown and cream, H: (vessel) 6.7; (int cavity) 4.2, Dia. (int rim) 1.4 cm, intact.

'Miniature amphora,' tall, with outturned rim, high angled shoulder, flat base. Two low horizontal lug handles at shoulder. Articulated rim and neck at join to shoulder. Interior cavity slightly elliptical but drilled, narrower at bottom than top.

Minoan, "EM II-III".

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* EM II-III vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* (collared neck) {399}, {408}, {461}.

*Reference:* MFA catalogue card.

*Comments:* Stated to be derived from an Egyptian vessel type in the museum case label and noted on the catalogue card as Warren's Type 28 ('miniature amphora'). See comparanda quoted, and discussion at {408} above.

**411. Jar ('miniature amphora')** MFA 09.27 (not handled)

Calcite, light brown and cream, H: (vessel) 4.7; (int cavity) 4.2 cm, intact.

'Miniature amphora,' short, with outturned flat rim, tall articulated neck, almost globular body, flat base. Drilled cylindrical interior.

Minoan, "EM II-III," probably the latter

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* EM III vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* WARREN 1969:P502, P507.

*Reference:* MFA catalogue card.

*Comments:* Stated to be derived from an Egyptian vessel type

in the museum case label. The catalogue card notes this is Warren's Type 36:A ('small pot'), which does integrate with his Type 28 ('miniature amphora') but in this case has little to do with Egyptian vessel forms except for the apparent 'collared neck' profile.

**412. Spouted bowl ('shallow carinated')** MFA 09.14 (not handled)

'Dolomitic marble,' dark grey and white, H: 5.5; Dia.: 14 cm, restored from fragments, a few missing.

Carinated bowl, deeper profile with integral open spout at rim, flat base.

Minoan, probably "EM II-III" as labeled, possibly up to MM I/II.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably "EM II-III," possibly up to MM I/II vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* JÉQUIER 1934:107 fig. 14:f; (base) {292}; (spout) WARREN 1969:P283, P533=D285, P536=D289; BERNARD 1966-1967:76, 90, pl. XXIX:542, 544; (bowl profile) BERNARD 1966-1967:71, 89, pl. XXII:430, XXIII:432, 438.

*Reference:* MFA catalogue card.

*Comments:* Stated to be derived from an Egyptian vessel type in the museum case label. Unlike the Egyptian imported and Minoan derivative carinated stone bowls on Crete, this is rather tall with a narrower rim diameter and thicker profile, which Bernard assigns to Dynasty V-VI (but with rounded bottom). The spouted variant, much shallower in profile, is found in Egypt, where the nearest published parallel (in JÉQUIER 1934) comes from the pyramid of Neith, wife of Pepi II (end of Dynasty VI). The open spout form itself also was produced on Crete and has some near-parallels on the island, including at Mochlos. The catalogue card notes that the MFA bowl combines Warren's Types 8:B ('bowl with carinated or curved profile and everted rim, shallow open form with slightly carinated underside') and 37 ('spouted bowl'). No others come close to resembling the Egyptian type, but it seems this has little, if anything, to do with the Egyptian form.

## MOIRES

Moiros is the local market town for the eastern Mesara, lying some three kilometres east of Phaestos on the main road from Herakleion to Matala and Aghia Galini. Somewhere nearby, the following was recovered without context and confiscated by the authorities.

**413. Scarab,** HM Σ-K 2153 (not seen)

'White steatite,' L: 15.8; W: 11; H: 7.1 mm, large chip on face at head end, scratched elytra, edges damaged.

Scarab with lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and double line between elytra. Legs indicated. String-hole through length. *Face:* Centred circle at centre, with cross pattern having coiled single lines emanating either side from centre circle. Line border.

Egyptian, early Dynasty XII.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Early Dynasty XII scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* WARD 1978:pl. XV:378; TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. XXIII:2006.

*Reference:* KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:312 #313.

*Comments:* A virtually identical parallel to the face design was recovered at Byblos in the Montet jar, now (after much controversy) considered to consist only of Egyptian seals and dated to early Dynasty XII.<sup>1060</sup>

### MONASTIRAKI

The site of Monastiraki lies south of Rethymnon on Charakes hill in the Amari valley, about half way along the main route linking the north coast of Crete at Rethymnon and the western edge of the Messara plain, in the Atsomatos area. The site was originally noted by Pendlebury in 1933, and excavated by German army officers E. Kirsten and K. Grundmann in 1942.<sup>1061</sup> A. Kanta excavated the site for the University of Rethymnon beginning in 1980, in 1982–1984 in collaboration with Y. Tzedakis and L. Godart for the University of Naples. Further work was conducted in 1989–1994.<sup>1062</sup>

Excavations have revealed that the site was first inhabited at the beginning of the MM period. Three building periods are apparent, although little remains of the earliest. This was superseded by the second phase buildings of a ‘palatial character’ with at least two storeys, more than 60 interconnecting store-rooms and three archive rooms containing over a thousand sealings in total, constructed in the Proto-Palatial period. This second, main, phase was destroyed by earthquake and fire at the end of MM II, preserving the sealing archives that date to MM IIB. Further work from 1989 clearing the German excavations in the Amari area on the east side of the hill also revealed a further complex of large buildings with wall paintings, again destroyed by earthquake. The Greek press initially suggested it to be a Neo-Palatial ‘palace’ but it actually is Proto-Palatial and concurrent with the first buildings dug in the 1980s.<sup>1063</sup> This building is two-storey, and three architectural phases could be ascertained for it. Although the dating of the material found is problematic, it clearly was destroyed before the Neo-Palatial palace at Phaestos was constructed and apparently at about the same time as the destruction of the Proto-Palatial palace there. A roadway area also was exposed on the south slope of the hill.

A terrace wall to the east is all that represents the

third phase in the first area, but Hellenistic rooms were founded atop the Minoan buildings in the second (ex-German) area.

The following dates to the second, Proto-Palatial, phase.

#### 414. Appliqué, RM unnumbered (not seen)

Clay, dimensions not stated, lacking head and possibly part of tail, well-worn (or roughly made).

Appliqué in the form of a cat, seated facing right, with tail curling from behind the left (*not* right) haunch, over and from the back across to the forward (right) side of the body.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM II.

*Chronology:* MM II, in generally contemporary MM II destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {379–381}; {383}.

*References:* GODART and TZEDAKIS 1992:70–72, pl. LXXXVIII; PHILLIPS 1995:764–765.

*Comments:* As the vessel appliqué from Malia, this faces right in the seated position, and has a curling tail. It is, however, either much more roughly made, or quite worn (to judge from the published photograph).

If indeed representing a cat, this appliqué adds greater weight to the argument in favour of a local development for the cat image: the tail, to judge from the published photograph, is depicted unlike either Egyptian variant of the tail position, nor is it represented elsewhere on Crete. If it had been painted, no trace apparently survives.

### MYRTOS PYRGOS

The site of Myrtos Pyrgos is located on the small plateau and steep slopes of Pyrgos hill, just east of the mouth of the Myrtos River on the south-eastern coast of Crete. The modern village of Myrtos is about half a kilometre to the west and the Ierapetra Isthmus 14 kilometres to the east. Fournou Korifi (Myrtos), an important EM II site, is 1–1.5 km. east of the site. Both were identified by M.S.F. Hood, G. Cadogan and P. Warren during a survey of the area in 1962.<sup>1064</sup>

In 1970–1973, 1975–1976, 1980, 1982 and 1984 at Pyrgos, Cadogan excavated a habitation site with communal tomb. Six periods of occupation were identified, the earliest being known only from finds datable to EM II. ‘Pyrgos II’ dated to EM III/MM IA (–MM IB[?]), and included both habitations and the initial use of the tomb. ‘Pyrgos III,’ MM IB–IIB (–MM IIIA[?]), included substantial buildings and

<sup>1060</sup> WARD and DEVER 1994:91; BEN TOR 1998.

<sup>1061</sup> See KIRSTEN and GRUNDMANN in MATZ 1951:27–71.

<sup>1062</sup> PENDLEBURY 1939:291; MATZ 1951:27–71; GODART and TZEDAKIS 1992:67–72. See also WALBERG 1983:90–91; KANTA in MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:194–197; KANTA 1999. This last publication includes a map of the

excavations, pl. LXXXI. Reports of annual excavation activity can also be found in the *AR* and *BCH*.

<sup>1063</sup> FRENCH 1991:77; 1992:70; TOMLINSON 1995:74; BLACKMAN 1998:127.

<sup>1064</sup> HOOD, WARREN and CADOGAN 1964:93–95.



two cisterns and the probable first phase (or predecessor) of the later 'country house'. 'Pyrgos IV,' included streets and houses, chiefly a two-storey 'country house' with a light well, staircase and store-rooms. The tomb continued in use up to this time. Two building phases have been proposed for the house, the last of which ended in destruction during LM IB. The excavator likened the situation at the north end of a public court to that at the so-called 'palace' at Gournia. Although a few LM IIIC sherds were found, the site was not resettled after the LM IB destruction until Hellenistic times when a circular shrine was constructed over the light well and stairs of the house. It was abandoned again in or by Roman times. The latest occupation, Venetian and Ottoman, included a beacon tower on the summit. Preliminary excavation reports have been published, and the final report is now in progress.<sup>1065</sup>

Cadogan has identified part of the upper storey of the 'country house' as a 'probable' shrine, on the basis of the objects that had fallen from the upper floor into the main entrance passage of the house and its adjacent room, on the western side.<sup>1066</sup> The upper floor had been of gypsum, collapsed at about 0.75 m. above the ground floor chiefly in the passageway (Passage I) and spilling into the adjacent room. The objects associated with the shrine are four clay tubular stands (one topped by a bowl), a clay bowl with a plug handle, part of a Marine Style jug, two triton shells and a triton shell in faience, a whetstone, faience disc button, bronze rosette, Linear A tablet fragments, and two clay sealings, in addition to two porphyry fragments of Egyptian vessels. The house, including the shrine, was destroyed in LM IB.

**415. Jar fragment ('spheroid jar'),** KSM MP/70/84

Andesite porphyry (Type B), with large white and pink phenocrysts in a black matrix, H: 3.65; W: 4.0; MDim: 4.2; Dia. (est.): 17.0 cm, one shoulder fragment preserving horizontal drilled depression for handle.

Spheroid jar with perforated roll handle.

Egyptian, Naqada II–Dynasty III.

*Context:* LM IB.

*Chronology:* Naqada II–Dynasty III vessel, an antique in its LM IB destruction context.

*Comparanda:* EL-KHOULI 1978: *passim* (Class VII in general); {166}.

*References:* CADOGAN 1978:77; HANKEY 1980:211, 213 Table 1:21, 214 Table 2:8, pl. 78:right, 79:a; CADOGAN 1981:169–170; PHILLIPS 1991:II:692 #308, III:1125 fig. 308; CLINE 1994:191 #508; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:207 #206.

*Comments:* The Egyptian date range cited is the widest possible, within use of the material, to not later than Dynasty III. The horizontal drilling, presumably for the perforated handle, would limit its date to not later than Dynasty IV in any case.

**416. Bowl ('deep open bowl?') fragment/amulet,** KSM MP/70/145

Andesite porphyry (Type B), with small white and pink phenocrysts in a black matrix, H: 3.65; W: 1.55; Th.: 0.87; SH: 0.12 cm, complete.

Amulet, re-carved from a stone vessel fragment, probably a 'deep open bowl' type. All but interior bowl surface ground (or perhaps filed) to a rough finish, and one upper surface possibly broken off. String-hole drilled horizontally through thickness. Minoan, MM III(B?)–LM I, original bowl Egyptian, Early Dynastic or later.

*Context:* LM IB.

*Chronology:* Early Dynastic (or later?) vessel, an antique reworked in MM III(B?)–LM I, in generally contemporary or slightly later LM IB destruction context.

*Comparison:* (general) CIARLA 1990: *passim*.

*References:* CADOGAN 1978:77; 1981:169–170; PHILLIPS 1991:II:692–693 #309, III:1125 fig. 309; CLINE 1994:136 #36; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:191 #186.

*Comments:* Cadogan and Hankey<sup>1067</sup> considered this to be a foot amulet, but its shape is quite different and not very foot-like. It clearly is a reduced bowl form with distinct abrasion marks on all but the interior surface, probably a 'deep open bowl' type. My rejection of its identification as a 'foot amulet' and suggestion that the piece may have been 'magic' due to its material was 'happily accepted' by Hankey.<sup>1068</sup>

## NEA HALIKARNASSOS

Nea Halikarnassos, like Poros and Katsamba, today is a suburb of Herakleion east of Katsamba, separated from it by the Kairitos River and lying directly along the northern coast. Essentially it lies directly north of Knossos. Salvage excavations in 1972 by A. Kanta revealed an unfinished rock-cut chamber tomb that indicates the eastern extension of the Katsamba cemetery as known to date.<sup>1069</sup> The usual long dromos and square-cut and pillared chamber were revealed, but the chamber was not completed.

The entrance had been double-blocked, but the tomb had been extensively looted. The remaining contents will be published by one of Kanta's stu-

<sup>1065</sup> CADOGAN 1978; 1980; 1981. See also FRASER 1971:30–31; CATLING 1972:24–25; 1974:37–39 and CADOGAN in MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:202–209; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:217–218. This material is presented in collaboration with Gerald Cadogan and Vronwy Hankey; full publication of the site and contexts is forthcoming.

<sup>1066</sup> Passage 1 and Room 12. See CADOGAN 1980: figs. 21, 22; 1981:169, 170 fig. 1.

<sup>1067</sup> CADOGAN 1981:169, 170.

<sup>1068</sup> Vronwy Hankey (letter of 30 September 1988).

<sup>1069</sup> LEMBESSI 1973:564–567. See also CATLING 1979:36.

dents. Some material from the tomb are displayed in the HM; those illustrated in publication are bronze rings, a clay vase and imported Cypriote faience spouted bowl,<sup>1070</sup> and part of painted plaster tripod altar leg. The tomb was constructed in LM II–III A1, but the presence of some LM IIC vessels indicates its use at least also in that period.

**417. Weight, amulet or bead.** HM 2516 (not handled)

Red jasper, L: c. 25; W: c. 17; H: c. 16; SH: c. 2 mm, intact. Amulet or bead in the form of a *regardant* goose, duck, swan or other waterfowl, with slight indentations for eyes, numerous roughly engraved parallel lines to indicate wing and tail feathers. Short, slightly diagonal base. String-hole through length. *Face*: Unknown, if any.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII (not later than reign of Amenhotep III).

*Context*: LM II–III A1, some LM IIC.

*Chronology*: Dynasty XVIII (not later than reign of Amenhotep III), in generally contemporary or slightly later LM II–III A1 tomb context.

*Comparanda*: SAKELLARAKIS 1971:pl. 50:γ–δ; ANDREWS 1994:61 fig. 60.b; DEMAKOPOULOU 1998:57 #33.b–c.

*References*: LEMBESSI 1973:567, pl. 537:δ; TOUCHAIS 1978:756–757, fig. 249; PHILLIPS 1991:II:694–695 #310, III:1125 fig. 310.

*Comments*: Description and approximate dimensions as observed in published illustrations.

No face design is mentioned or illustrated in any publication, and it is described by Touchais as a “*Perle*”. Although the ‘bead’ strongly resembles Egyptian theriomorphic seals, the vast majority are much smaller in scale than the present piece and are made of glazed faience (see Fig. 26:A). The Egyptian carnelian bead illustrated by Andrews is of smaller scale. Other parallels are found at Dendra and Mycenae, the latter at least a local version of the type but the former probably an import; the string hole of both is through the width. Its large size suggests it may be an Egyptian weight in duck form, later converted into a bead by drilling the string-hole, as may be the Dendra piece. The probably indigenous glass beads from Aidonia are of a different type, again smaller in scale and with string hole through the width, although possibly derived from the Egyptian form exemplified at Dendra.

Note that red jasper was the most popular jasper employed during the New Kingdom.<sup>1071</sup> Deposition in LM IIC can almost certainly be ruled out, unless as an heirloom or ‘antique’.

## NIPIDITHOS PEDIADOS

Just north of Arkades and west of the Lasithi plain is the village of Nipidhitos. Excavations and other

finds in the surrounding area have revealed a number of sites. Two LM III A1 clay vases were presented to the HM, and published by Halbherr.<sup>1072</sup> N. Platon excavated a large rectangular building, part of a settlement destroyed by fire in LM I in the Xerokampos location, and an entirely empty Minoan cist tomb of unknown date, in 1956.<sup>1073</sup> N. Dimopoulou conducted a re-examination on Platon’s rectangular building in the 1980s, and reported the recovery of six pithoi, a rhyton and a bronze chisel. The destruction date was clarified as the beginning of the LM I period.<sup>1074</sup>

Some Geometric remains also came to light in the area in 1960.<sup>1075</sup> This deposit is displayed as a group in the HM, and includes pottery, an iron fibula and beads, as well as an imported scarab of much earlier date.

The scarab, however, was found at the ‘Avlis’ site, and handed in to the authorities. Thus it has no direct association either with the Geometric tomb or the LM remains.

**418. Scarab.** HM Σ–K 1757 (not handled)

Steatite, ivory-coloured with bluish-white glaze. L: 37; W: 26; H: 15 mm. Small chip on elytrum, otherwise intact.

Scarab with open head notched at front and prominent eyes, single line between clypeus and pronotum, double line between pronotum and elytra extending to sides, and triple line between elytra. Legs indicated by undercutting and fine notching. String-hole through length. Finely carved. *Face*: Lower central double-line oval enclosing signs ςnh (S 34) above and nfr (F 35) below, flanked by a pair of ςnh (S 34) and dd pillars (R 11) with s3 (V 16) sign above. Vertical format. Line border.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XII–mid-Dynasty XIII.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Late Dynasty XII–mid-Dynasty XIII scarab, without context.

*Comparanda*: NEWBERRY 1907:pl. 61:36345; PETRIE 1889:pl. 18:17235; 1917:pl. 20:S–T, W–X.

*References*: ALEXIOU 1972b:95; SKON-JEDELE 1994:1669, 1896–1902 #2690, 2800 fig. 49:2960; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:317 #322.

*Comments*: Although not mentioned in the very brief report of the Geometric deposit, this scarab is displayed in the HM and mentioned by Alexiou with that group, and this was taken by Skon-Jedele to mean it had been recovered in this deposit. She provides a detailed discussion of the face design, arguing that it fits within the Hyksos ‘good luck’ design type and possibly including the name of a royal personage or minor ‘prince’ within the oval.<sup>1076</sup> The oval is not, however, a cartouche and

<sup>1070</sup> This bowl was described by Peltenburg as having a “duck’s head” spout but, as noted by CLINE (1994:189 #487), the spout looks like a regular low spout. It is not included in the present catalogue.

<sup>1071</sup> NFA 1991:Study of scarabs.

<sup>1072</sup> HALBHERR 1901a:283–287; see also KANTA 1980:74–75.

<sup>1073</sup> PLATON 1956:417.

<sup>1074</sup> See now also DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:194, with further references, to which add FRENCH 1991:69.

<sup>1075</sup> PLATON and DAVARAS 1960:525.

<sup>1076</sup> The simple oval (without the knot and line signifying a cartouche [V 10]) are known for undoubted royal names throughout the early 2nd millennium BC and beyond; see TUFNELL 1984:1:121–122 Class 3D1, 124; RYHOLT 1997:*passim*.

the royal personage is fictitious. She concluded that this scarab had “reached Crete in Minoan times and was later discovered and reused in the Geometric period” but that “the possibility that it was exported to Geometric Crete as an antique cannot be ruled out entirely”. Although catalogued by her due to its apparent context by inclusion in the HM case, it apparently has no context whatsoever. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) provide a late Dynasty XIII date for the piece, and Ben-Tor believes it to be late Middle Kingdom.<sup>1077</sup>

### ODIGITRIAS

The monastery of Odigitrias, or Moni Odigitrias, is located in a remote inland area at the western end of the Asterousia mountain range south of the Mesara plain in south-central Crete, in the Aghia Pharango valley. It is accessible to the north only by a dirt track some five kilometres south of the village of Sivas. Two tholos tombs were observed in 1964, and cleared by St. Alexiou in 1966. Each had exterior chambers, and were well-preserved but plundered. The objects found dated the tombs to EM I–MM IA.<sup>1078</sup> Traces of an associated settlement were found nearby. An Ephorate of Antiquities survey in 1987, on the slope south of the road to Kaloi Limiones, revealed a group of rock cut tholoi with benches, entrances to side chambers having well-cut holes in the centre of the roof.<sup>1079</sup>

Before this, however, in 1979–1980, N. Dimopoulou and A. Vasilikis of the Ephorate of Antiquities excavated a funerary complex of two tholoi together with five rooms, an ossuary pit and a paved court area. Two architectural phases were recognised, the first dated to EM I–II and the later to EM III–MM IA, and the structure apparently continued in use throughout the MM period, with an estimated 150 burials in total.

The small Tholos A, 4 m. in diameter, and large Tholos B, at 6 m. diameter, both were constructed and first used in EM I–II. Both have their entrance to the east, the latter including two rectangular entrance rooms. In EM III–MM IA, three rooms ( $\alpha$ – $\gamma$ ) were constructed, apparently atop the earlier rooms of Tholos B, and a small ossuary room ( $\delta$ ) was attached to the south. No such embellishments are known for Tholos A.

Amongst the rich collection of objects were more than 275 EM and MM clay vessels and about 20 stone vessels, 11 necklaces with about 600 beads, five small copper/bronze objects (tools, daggers and weapons),

three gold diadems and a gold bracelet, two stone axes, and 30 obsidian blades. Also found were some 11 amulets (one in the form of a turtle) and 52 seals of ivory, steatite and faience including two scarabs.<sup>1080</sup> Both tombs had been looted previously, but the two burial layers in the annexes were both separate and undisturbed, whilst an EM III–MM IA closed deposit in the ossuary pit ( $\delta$ ) contained 22 of these seals and other unspecified finds. Unfortunately, the specific location of the individual finds is not yet noted in publication. Occasional further work by the Ephorate continues in the Odigitrias area.<sup>1081</sup>

### A. Tholos Tomb B

Recovered from Tholos B in the 1980 excavations of A. Vasilikis were the following:

#### 419. Scarab, HM $\Sigma$ -K 2862 (not seen)

‘White piece,’ L: 13.5; W: 9.7; H: 6.7 mm, damaged at edges and one elytrum, apparently unglazed.

Scarab with lunate head, single angular line between pronotum and elytra, single line between elytra. Legs indicated. String-hole through length. *Face*: Two parallel double lines along width divide surface into a large central field and two smaller fields either end. Central field a large diagonal cross, dividing area into four equal triangles. Hatched triangle at both ends. Overlapping line border.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: EM III–MM IA(–III?).

*Chronology*: MM IA scarab, in generally contemporary MM IA tomb deposition.

*References*: PINI 1989:104 #9, fig. 2.3; PHILLIPS 1991:II:697 #311; PINI 2000:110 #9, fig. 2.3; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:309 #307; PHILLIPS 2004:162 fig. 1.a.10.

*Comments*: The physical description of this and the other scarabs from Odigitrias {420–423} below is derived solely from that of Pini. All face designs lie within Yule’s ‘Border/Leaf Complex’.<sup>1082</sup>

Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) date the scarab to “possibly MM IB” and note that it came from Tholos B, but date its context to MM IA–B, somewhat later than the tholos context as published; presumably, then, they associate it with the subsequent MM use of the structure. The scarab is of MM IA date, as are the others.

#### 420. Scarab, HM $\Sigma$ -K 2864 (not seen)

Glazed ‘white piece,’ L: 13.9; W: 9.3; H: 5.6 mm, large split at base, edges damaged, glaze ‘flaking’.

Scarab with lunate head, double line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, the last terminating at a reversed V above rear string-hole. Legs indicated and notched. String-

<sup>1077</sup> Daphna Ben-Tor (personal communication, 07 November 2001).

<sup>1078</sup> These tombs are identified as from ‘Kephali’ and ‘Kephali Odigitrias’ by Branigan 1970a: *passim*. An LM I probable pit burial with pottery also was found nearby; see FRASER 1969:37; MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:213.

<sup>1079</sup> VALLIANOU 1987; FRENCH 1994:79; on the site, see now VASILIKIS in MYERS, MYERS and CADOGAN 1992:213–215.

<sup>1080</sup> CATLING 1982:55; TOUCHAIS 1982:625.

<sup>1081</sup> BLACKMAN 1998:116.

<sup>1082</sup> YULE 1981:209–210.

hole through length. *Face*: Six slightly diagonal parallel lines along width in centre divide design into two approximately equal fields; each with a ribbed 'leaf' with volute-shaped points in *tête-bêche* arrangement. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: EM III–MM IA(–III?).

*Chronology*: MM IA scarab, in generally contemporary MM IA tomb deposition.

*References*: PINI 1989:104 #10, fig. 2.4; PHILLIPS 1991:II:697 #312; PINI 2000:110 #10, fig. 2.4; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:310 #308; PHILLIPS 2004:162 fig. 1.a.11.

*Comments*: See above, {419}.

## B. No Find Context

Said to come from an Odigitrias tholos, not necessarily those excavated and described above, and now in the Archaeological Museum in Khania, presented from their collection in 1992 by C. and M. Mitsotakis:

### 421. Scarab, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 165 (not seen)

Glazed 'white piece,' L: 12.8; W: 8.8; H: 5.8 mm, split and deep cracking on back, glaze partly flaking.

Scarab with lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, single line between elytra bifurcating widely to pronotum line. Deep horizontal groove around body. Eyes indicated. Legs indicated, lightly feathered. String-hole through length. *Face*: Straight lines both ends along length, with feathered ends, indicating a ribbed 'leaf' in *tête-bêche* arrangement. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA scarab, without context but presumably in generally contemporary MM IA(–?) tomb deposition.

*References*: PINI 1989:103–104 #6, fig. 1.6; 1990:119 #79, pl. 13; PHILLIPS 1991:II:698 #313; *CMS V Suppl.* IA:#209; MARANGOU 1992:207 #249; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; PINI 2000:109 #6, fig. 1.6; PHILLIPS 2004:162 fig. 1.a.6.

*Comments*: See above, {419}. The mirrored ribbed-leaf design is found only on Minoan seals.

### 422. Scarab, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 156 (not seen)

Glazed 'white piece,' L: 17.4; W: 12.5; H: 8.2 mm, some splitting and deep cracking on back, apparently unglazed.

Scarab with angular lunate head, single angular line between pronotum and elytra, single line between elytra. Legs indicated, lightly feathered. String-hole through length. *Face*: Bipartite field along length in revolving symmetrical arrangement. Each half has a small and large ribbed 'leaf' at right angles to each other. Double line border.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA scarab, without context but presumably in generally contemporary MM IA(–?) tomb deposition.

*References*: PINI 1989:104 #7, fig. 2.1; 1990:118 #70, pl. 16; PHILLIPS 1991:II:698 #314; *CMS V Suppl.* IA:#210; MARANGOU 1992:207 #250; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; PINI 2000:110 #7, fig. 2.1; PHILLIPS 2004:162 fig. 1.a.7.

*Comments*: See above, {419}.

### 423. Scarab, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 91 (not seen)

'White piece,' L: 16.7; W: 12.2; H: 6.4 mm, intact, apparently unglazed.

Scarab with angular lunate head, single straight line between pronotum and elytra, double line between elytra. Eyes indicated. Legs indicated without distinguishing forelegs and rear legs, lightly feathered. String-hole through length. *Face*: A *Dreiblatt* between two hatched segments arranged in mirror-image along length. Two lightly curved parallel lines through centre of each segment. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA scarab, without context but presumably in generally contemporary MM IA(–?) tomb deposition.

*References*: PINI 1989:104 #8, fig. 2.2; 1990:118 #64, pl. 18; PHILLIPS 1991:II:698 #315; *CMS V Suppl.* IA:#211; MARANGOU 1992:207 #251; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; PINI 2000:110 #8, figs. 2.2, 4b; PHILLIPS 2004:162 fig. 1.a.8.

*Comments*: See above, {419}.

## PALAIKASTRO

Palaikastro lies on the eastern coast of Crete at the northern end of the Grandes Gulf. The modern town of Palaikastro is about two kilometres to the north. The chief site is a large Minoan town on a flat plain just south of Kastri hill, sometimes called 'Roussolakkos' ('the red hollow'), after the reddish soil of the plain that was once a marsh.

R.C. Bosanquet and R. Dawkins excavated the site in 1902–1906.<sup>1083</sup> A large portion of the town was exposed, although much has been reburied since. The town was divided into 'Blocks' by major streets, each identified by a letter of the Greek alphabet. The site had been occupied since the EM period, but the majority of remains date to LM I. The town was destroyed at the end of LM IB, although the site was reoccupied in LM III. An Archaic temple dedicated to the Diktaean Zeus was constructed over part of the site. Numerous burials were also found on the hills and slopes surrounding the plain, dating to EM II–III, MM I, and LM III.<sup>1084</sup>

<sup>1083</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902b; BOSANQUET, DAWKINS *et al.* 1902–1903; DAWKINS and CURRELLY 1903–1904; DAWKINS, HAWES and BOSANQUET 1904–1905; DAWKINS 1905–1906; BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1923; HUTCHINSON, ECCLES and BENTON 1939–1940.

<sup>1084</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:290–305; BOSANQUET, DAWKINS *et al.* 1902–1903:350–355; DAWKINS and CURRELLY 1903–1904:

227–231; DAWKINS, HAWES and BOSANQUET 1904–1905: 268–271, 290–297; DAWKINS 1905–1906. See also PINI 1968:89 and KANTA 1980:189–193. For plans of the general area and town, see SACKETT, POPHAM and WARREN 1965:pls. 64–65.

L.H. Sackett and M.R. Popham carried out further test excavations in the town and other nearby areas in 1962. They uncovered another large house, west of but unconnected to the original town excavations, and further investigated other areas excavated previously.<sup>1085</sup> Following an intensive survey of the area in 1983, the British School resumed excavation under Sackett and J.A. MacGillivray in 1986, which continues.<sup>1086</sup> They have uncovered the southwestern area of the town, including over seven further buildings, a shrine, and a magnificent figurine of a 'kouros' in ivory, steatite, rock crystal, wood and gold on an 'egyptian blue' base, and have made an extensive survey of the surrounding area and coastline.

### A. Block B

Within the town itself, Block B was the first to be excavated, when House B was partially uncovered in the 1901 season. The remainder of the house and the block were cleared the following season, which eventually proved to be in the north-eastern area of the town as completed in 1906.<sup>1087</sup> The house is one of the largest buildings in the town, destroyed in LM IB but possibly with an earlier partial destruction and modification in LM IB (or late IA?). Another house immediately to its north ('Rooms' B26–39) was extensively reoccupied in LM III.

'Rooms' B23–25 of the largest house are identified as a large open court (B24), leading to possible stables (B25), with two rooms (B23 and unnumbered) later added within the courtyard. These lay at the eastern end of the house, immediately south of, and attached to, the LM III-reoccupied house. The level of this area had been raised at some point with a filling of miscellaneous materials probably consisting of rubbish, possibly to prevent flooding. In the layer of the court (B24) itself, Bosanquet recorded a coarse green celt, a scaraboid/bean, numerous small cups and some good Mycenaean ware,<sup>1088</sup> providing an LM IIIA–B reoccupation date for the context. None of the LM III pottery or other objects was published.<sup>1089</sup>

<sup>1085</sup> SACKETT, POPHAM and WARREN 1965; SACKETT and POPHAM 1970.

<sup>1086</sup> CATLING 1984:66–67; MACGILLIVRAY *et al.* 1987. See DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:233–234 and DRIESSEN, MACGILLIVRAY and SACKETT 2002 for summaries to date.

<sup>1087</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:310–316; BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1902–1903:287–289. See also BOSANQUET and TOD 1902:305–306, and now DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:228–230.

### 424. Scaraboid (not located)

Carnelian, dimensions and condition unknown.

"Bead with scaraboid markings".

Probably Minoan, undatable as described, but not earlier than MM IB<sup>2</sup>/II.

*Context:* Probably LM IIIA–B, possibly MM III–LM I.

*Chronology:* Not earlier than MM IB<sup>2</sup>/II scaraboid<sup>2</sup>, in probable LM IIIA–B or possible MM III–LM I context.

*References:* BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:302, 315–316; PHILLIPS 1991:II:701 #316.

*Comments:* Although unpublished, Bosanquet's casual reference to this 'bead' suggests the markings were cursory and the face was not engraved. Its identification as a scaraboid is questionable, but its dating is not earlier than the use of carnelian on Crete. Presumably, it is an 'antique' in its fill context.

### B. Block Δ

The largest block, Δ, is the south-western block of the town, separated from the other excavated areas by the cross-roads. It consisted of a number of small and large houses of Neo-Palatial date, extensively robbed in modern times of the stone building blocks.<sup>1090</sup>

Dawkins probed deep beneath the Neo-Palatial levels at certain points of his excavation, including Room Δ32 near the centre of the block. Here, he discovered several levels of EM occupation. Although no architectural remains are mentioned, he recorded various early layers of pottery and other finds, now known to be of EM IIA, EM IIB and EM III date.<sup>1091</sup>

Amongst a collection of pottery from the upper EM stratum (apparently EM III, possibly EM IIB) together with 'long-beaked jugs' were recovered a fragment of obsidian and others of an ostrich eggshell and two triton-shells.

### 425. Eggshell fragments (not located)

Ostrich eggshell, dimensions unknown, two joining and non-joining fragments, heavily pitted exterior.

Body fragments.

Probably from Egypt, FIP or somewhat earlier, just possibly from Syro-Palestine.

*Context:* EM IIB or III.

*Chronology:* FIP or somewhat earlier, in probably generally contemporary EM IIB or III context.

*Comparanda:* {108}; {153}.

<sup>1088</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:315–316. For the stratigraphy, see BOSANQUET, DAWKINS *et al.* 1902–1903:287–288.

<sup>1089</sup> KANTA 1980:189 cites no published LM III wares from this area. Material from the main LM I occupation was, however, published by BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1923:figs. 36–37, 49, 127, pl. XVII.a, from House B26–39, fig. 29, and from the third House B40–46, fig. 30.

<sup>1090</sup> BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1902–1903:292–294.

<sup>1091</sup> See BETANCOURT 1985:37, 53.

*References:* DAWKINS and CURRELLY 1903–1904:202; HELCK in *LÄ* VI.1:77; SAKELLARAKIS 1990:289–290, 295, fig. 23; PHILLIPS 1991:II:702 #317, III:1126 fig. 317.

*Comments:* This is the earliest context for ostrich eggshell in the Aegean. The fragmentary condition precludes speculation of any reworking, but it could not have been made into a rhyton as non-zoomorphic rhyta did not appear on Crete prior to MM II.<sup>1092</sup> However, association with the triton shells may indicate some cultic or religious use, as suggested by Sakellarakis.

### C. Block O

Block O is a scarcely represented southern section of the town which was not excavated to any great extent. It was located on a raised rocky knoll, and consequently was more denuded than the majority of the town. The pottery is noted to date from the earliest period of the town<sup>1093</sup> (i.e., LM IA [early]), although Warren dates the single Egyptian object found only as ‘probably LM I’.<sup>1094</sup>

**426. Alabastron (Type C)**, HM unnumbered (not located)  
Travertine (presumably), H. (pres.): 14.75 cm, ‘incomplete’.  
Baggy, flat-bottomed, no further description.  
Egyptian, within Dynasty XII–XVIII.

*Context:* None, probably from LM I town level but possibly from the LM IIIA–B level.

*Chronology:* Within Dynasty XII–XVIII vessel, without context but presumably LM I–IIIB.

*References:* WARREN 1969: 113 Type 43:I; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:267 #226; PHILLIPS 1991:II:703 #318; CLINE 1994:168 #293.

*Comments:* This seems to have been found without specific context, so its date cannot be limited only to ‘LM IA (early),’ as is the town block. It is even possible it dates to the LM IIIA–B re-occupation period. As no profile is published and it cannot be located, it is possible it is a Dynasty XVIII type, but more likely pre-dates the New Kingdom. Its flat base would make it a Type C form.

### D. Block X

Block X (Chi) lies at the easternmost area of town excavations. It is the most complex of the blocks, as it contained the majority of superimposed buildings including the Archaic temple. Buildings of the MM and LM III periods were also found in the complex stratigraphy.<sup>1095</sup> Several Neo-Palatial houses were found here.

#### D.1. House 1–17

House 1–17, the ‘East House,’ occupies the eastern part of the block, one of the many buildings

destroyed at the end of LM IB, although it was reoccupied in LM III.<sup>1096</sup> The house easily can be divided in half by the presence of slab paving and doors in the east wing (Rooms 1–9) and their absence in the west wing (Rooms 10–17). The east ‘wing’ seems to be the foundations and basement of the original house, which was destroyed when the Archaic temple was constructed above it, whilst the west ‘wing’ comprises service basements. In various rooms of the west wing were found a number of finely carved ivory plaques. These included one illustrating a long-necked bird (Room 17) and another with lilies and petals (Room 15). Most probably are LM IB in date, as was the majority of the pottery found here.

Room 16 lay between staircase Room 15 and storeroom 17. Only one object is recorded specifically from this room, although pottery also must have been found.

**427. Comb**, HM O–E 149

Elephant ivory, L (pres.): 6.0; H (pres.): 2.8; Th. (max): 1.3 cm, about two-thirds of handle preserved, with lower corner broken off at edge of one peg hole. Broken (possibly sawn) in antiquity, worn in areas.

Rectangular, with raised relief decoration both sides, showing two registers of antithetical crocodiles lying back-to-back with tails intertwined at the centre, and heads *regardant* to centre, each pair on a ground line. All are scaled, with long snouts, slit eyes and no ears. The front and rear legs have long claws. Carved top, front and back, with tails of the upper pair raised to form a ‘boss’ for the comb at centre top. Top has a scaly pattern in raised relief, with spool of boss. Grooved at bottom for insertion of the (lost) teeth. Peg-hole through bottom centre of each lower animal. Points for comb teeth visible in slot. Fine detailing and workmanship.

Minoan, LM IIIA, probably LM IIIA2.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM IIIA2 object, without context but probably from generally contemporary LM IIIA/B town level.

*Comparanda:* GILL 1963:pl. I.d; (slot for separate teeth) BLEGEN 1937:I:282, II:85 fig. 361.8, 146 fig. 598; POURSAT 1977b:79 #266, pl. XXIII.266/2412.

*References:* DAWKINS, HAWES and BOSANQUET 1904–1905:284; BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1923:127, fig. 108; MARINATOS 1927–1928b:88, fig. 13; POURSAT 1976:468 #III:3, fig. 7; 1977a:pl. XI.1–2; KRZYSZKOWSKA 1988:230; PHILLIPS 1991:II:704–705 #319, III:1126 fig. 319; 1998:855, 856 fig. 2.a; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:180 #167.

*Comments:* Although the other ivories found in the house are LM IB, the comb probably is an intrusion from later LM III occupation above. All motif comparanda are of LM IIIA/B date, both by context and style; the Palaikastro comb stylisti-

<sup>1092</sup> KOEHL 2000:94 (*contra* 1981:187); BETANCOURT 1985:100. There appears to be one exception, from Khamaizi in an MM I context.

<sup>1093</sup> BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1902–1903:295–296.

<sup>1094</sup> WARREN 1969:113.

<sup>1095</sup> For a plan of Block X, see DAWKINS, HAWES and BOSANQUET 1904–1905: pl. X.

<sup>1096</sup> DAWKINS, HAWES and BOSANQUET 1904–1905:283–286, fig. 13.

cally does not differ from them, and in fact may be the latest of the series. Fragments of two combs, both having the teeth and handle made separately for insertion of one into the other, also were recovered in Tombs XIV (LH II) and XLI (LH IIIA1–2) at Prosymna, and an unfinished and undecorated comb from one of the Tsountas tombs at Mycenae (overall LH II–IIIB) also was grooved for insertion of separate teeth, but together these comparanda span LM IB–LM IIIA, which is suggestive but no real help in dating the Palaikastro comb by technical analogy.

Contextual argument for this dating is sparse but suggestive. Bosanquet and Dawkins were uninterested in the LM III material, so they recorded very little and published even less. LM IIIA–B vessels or sherds, as listed by Kanta, are recorded from spaces surrounding Room 16, in Rooms 4 (LM IIIB pithoid jar and sherds), 13 (LM III amphora), 19 (LM III kalathos), 23 (LM III pyxis) and 37 (LM IIIA jug), an LM III bronze sickle in Room 5, and an LM IIIA2 jug from within the ‘East House’.<sup>1097</sup> Not all these spaces lie within House 1–17, but they do surround Room 16 and, although carved ivories were recovered in many of the ‘west wing’ rooms, this comb is the only ivory (and the only object) recorded from Room 16. The LM III material was badly denuded in this area, as the Archaic temple was constructed over the ‘east wing’ immediately east of Room 16, so the Room 16 area would have been partly razed for Archaic temple activity although not for the temple itself. Therefore little evidence of the LM IIIA–B activity should have existed here anyway, even less survived and even less recorded; the only other LM III vessel recorded from the ‘west wing’ is an LM III amphora in Room 13. So, contextually it is possible for the comb to be of LM IIIA–B date, and stylistically it appears to be amongst the latest examples of the crocodile image. I therefore have assigned a date in the later part of LM IIIA for it, as ivories are not a feature of LM IIIB.<sup>1098</sup> It does not seem to fit as an LM IB image when compared the other examples of crocodiles, all of which are LM IIIA–B date.

In support of this re-dating, it might be noted that the central raised ‘boss,’ incorporating the encircled tails, also is a feature of the combs from the early LM IIIA2 pit-grave at Archanes {62}, the LH IIIA–B tholos at Spata, and the LM II–IIIA Temple Tomb sepulchral deposit at Knossos (the last not depicting crocodiles).<sup>1099</sup> None have the innovation of separate and insertable teeth.

#### D.2. House 51–66

House 51–66, on the westernmost edge of the block, is a large building that was preserved only at its foundation level. A ‘hoard’ deposit of 36 stone vases was found in a large LM IB deposit lying in a burned earth level above the foundation walls of Rooms 61 and 62.<sup>1100</sup> The vessels included numerous bowls of

various types, lamps, lids, cups, jars, a ladle, alabaster, rhyton and an eight-cupped kernos. Gesell identifies this hoard as evidence for a domestic shrine.<sup>1101</sup> Another nine stone vessels were found elsewhere in the house, in addition to LM IB pottery and bronze weapons and tools.

#### 428. Jar (‘heart-shaped jar’), HM A 911

Black basalt, H: 9.45; Dia. (rim): 4.5; (max): 6.4 cm, chipped on rim and handles, worn at ends of handles.

‘Heart-shaped’ with a flattened round bottom, short neck having a thickened rim with small flat collar, and two small vertical handles pierced within the body surface, with diagonal drilling at outer edges on top half to facilitate hanging.

Egyptian, Dynasty I–IV.

*Context:* LM I town level, LM IB deposit.

*Chronology:* Dynasty I–IV vessel, an antique in its LM IB context.

*Comparanda:* BRUNTON 1927:pl. XVIII:13, XXII:Group 429:lower right; BRUNTON and MORANT 1937:99, pl. XLII:11; (generally) B.G. ASTON 1994:92–93 #4–5, 121–122 #78–79; {592}.

*References:* BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1923:133–134, pl. XXX:C:1; WARREN 1965:31 #7; 1969:110 Type 43:B1, P594, D315; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:266–267 #224, pl. 72:224; PHILLIPS 1991:II:705–706 #320, III:1127 fig. 320; CLINE 1994:201 #603; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:201 #195.

*Comments:* Found in the ‘hoard’. The somewhat blunted and flat-collared rim and high ‘shoulder’ profile suggests a Dynastic (rather than Predynastic) date for this vessel.<sup>1102</sup> A larger version of the type was recovered in Chamber Tomb 55 at Mycenae {592}.

#### 429. Jar (‘shouldered jar’), HM A 909

Gabbro, H: 8.1; Dia. (rim): 5.5; (max): 7.6; (base) 3.6 cm, intact.

Shouldered jar with flat base, high shoulder and upright rim flat at top, no handles.

Minoan, EM III?–LM I.

*Context:* LM I town level, LM IB deposit.

*Chronology:* EM III?–LM I vessel, generally contemporary with or possibly an antique in its LM IB context.

*Comparanda:* EL-KHOULI 1978:O:259 #1724, III:pl. 78:1724; SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1988:pl. XII:2; {464}; {507}.

*References:* BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1923:133–134, pl. XXX:C:4; HUTCHINSON in HUTCHINSON, ECCLES and BENTON 1939–1940:89, pl. 15:v; WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:B, P407, D227; PHILLIPS 1991:II:706 #321, III:1127 fig. 321; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:201 #196.

*Comments:* Also found in the ‘hoard,’ and identified by Warren as an imitation of a ‘heart-shaped jar’. The shape is not closely similar, but it does seem to follow the general Egyptian type

<sup>1097</sup> KANTA 1980:191–192.

<sup>1098</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 10 June 2001).

<sup>1099</sup> See Knossos SS.

<sup>1100</sup> DAWKINS, HAWES and BOSANQUET 1904–1905:279–280.

<sup>1101</sup> GESELL 1985:31 n. 76, 119–120 #101. Evidence for its reli-

gious function includes the presence of an elaborate free-standing ‘horns of consecration,’ (p. 53) and a stone hammer (p. 35 n. 132).

<sup>1102</sup> Note, however, that MALLORY-GREENOUGH 2002:*passim* indicates multiple examples of this form (her Type 3a) in Predynastic graves and none in those of Dynasty I.

although without its characteristic handles. It does not resemble the imported ‘heart-shaped jar’ {428} found in the same context but, apart from the defined shoulder, it better resembles the profile of the imported ‘spheroid jar’ fragment from Syme {507} and the handleless ‘miniature amphora’ of similar height from Platanos {464} also lacking an articulated rim, and should be classed instead simply as a ‘shouldered jar’.

The short upright rim with flat top is unusual in a closed vessel, and is paralleled in an unprovenanced porphyry jar of larger scale from Egypt and a breccia jar of similar but squat-ter profile with a rounded bottom found in the MB IIB ‘Tomb of the Lord of the Goats’ at Ebla; the latter is a unique form in that region and its context certainly earlier than the LM I Palaikastro town. It has been suggested that it ‘probably’ was an Egyptian import.<sup>1103</sup> If the Egypt, Ebla, Syme, Platanos and Palaikastro vessels are related, the last probably is much older than its context.

### D.3. Room 47?

Another object found in Block X is marked “X 47,” from which Warren<sup>1104</sup> suggests it is from the hoard described in D.2. above. Equally, however, it may have come from ‘Room 47’ of Block X, and so has been separately catalogued here. Room 47 is a single-room rectangular building north-east of House 51–66, some distance from the hoard. The excavators dated the room to LM III, but they published no finds to support this date.<sup>1105</sup> An Archaic wall overlay the building.

**430. Jar (‘spheroid jar’)**, HM unnumbered (not located)<sup>1106</sup>  
Gabbro, H: 4.5 cm, condition unstated.

Closed, with slightly raised base, low sagging body and slight upright rim. Horizontal perforated roll handles on shoulder.<sup>1107</sup>  
Minoan, probably LM IB.

*Context:* LM IB or LM III?

*Chronology:* LM IB–II vessel, generally contemporary or somewhat earlier than its LM IB (if “hoard”) or LM III context (if “X 47”).

*Comparison:* {122}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:706–707 #322.

### D.4. No Find Context

One other object was found in Block X, in disturbed soil during the demolition of a field-dyke on the temple site. It therefore has no find context.

**431. Rhyton fragment**, HM Π 6387

Yellow clay, H. (pres.): 7.2; W. (pres.): 8.3; Hole: 4.2 cm, lower part of face and neck with traces of paint preserved, worn surface, especially at mouth and lower part of head.

Rhyton in the form of a cat’s head, with moulded and incised facial features, hole under jaw below the mouth. Moulded large eyes, whiskers, double eyebrows, nostrils and mouth. Painted yellow with black accent decoration over face, including forehead wrinkles, lower eyelids and lashes and stripes over cheeks.

Minoan, LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LM I object, without context.

*References:* BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1923:54, fig. 42; ZERVOS 1956: pl. 581; PINI 1988:327 fig. 2.d, 328; PHILLIPS 1991:II:707 #323, III:1128 fig. 323; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:398 #411; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:177–178 #163; KOEHL 2006:64, 237 #1336.

*Comments:* Of all known examples of a large-scale cat’s head, this is the only rhyton. It probably represents the *Felis silvestris* or a domesticated descendant, to judge from the large ears and striped coat. Vanschoonwinkel suggests it could be a lioness, but the flattened presentation of the head is more representative of a cat.<sup>1108</sup> Koehl has misnumbered his plate photograph; it is not {113} but this head.

### E. ‘Ossuary VII’

Among the numerous burial remains found in the area surrounding the plain was the so-called ‘Bone Enclosure,’ later re-named ‘Ossuary VII,’ at the southern end of a gravel ridge at the south-eastern edge of the plain, near the shore and ‘House A’.<sup>1109</sup> It was excavated first by Bosanquet in 1902 and then by Duckworth in 1903. A large (9.7 by 8.25 m.) nearly rectangular enclosure of rough limestone walls, it was divided into five narrow compartments without entrances by low east-west walls of similar material. Each compartment was further sub-divided into small cells by short discontinuous walls at right angles. Both long and short walls are at irregular intervals. Although the north-east corner was obliterated, the remainder was well-preserved until recently when a local shepherd used the stones to construct a small hut nearby.

Over 140 clay vessels (many upside-down) were found tightly packed together with numerous disarticulated bones and skulls, stone jars, bowls, cups,

<sup>1103</sup> SPARKS 1998:I:129, II:160 #1203. The Palaikastro vessel is a Minoan product, and the Ebla vessel too may be Minoan.

<sup>1104</sup> WARREN 1969:75.

<sup>1105</sup> Nor are any listed by KANTA 1980:191. A bronze dagger was, however, noted from this room by BOSANQUET and DAWKINS 1923:116.

<sup>1106</sup> WARREN 1969:75 gives its location as the “Apotheke box.”

<sup>1107</sup> Description is of the parallel {122}, cited by WARREN 1969:75.

<sup>1108</sup> Compare this, for example, with the alabaster lioness-head rhyton from Knossos illustrated by VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:359 fig. 28.6.

<sup>1109</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:292–297 and fig. 5; BOSANQUET and TOD 1902:386–387. See also DAWKINS, HAWES and BOSANQUET 1904–1905:29; SOLES 1973:227–234.



and lamps, ivory and steatite seals, and a bronze ‘cut-ter’. The ossuary initially was dated to MM I by its pottery, but Walberg’s recent re-analysis extends its range to include all four of her Kamares phases and extending the building’s use into MM III.<sup>1110</sup>

#### 432. Jar (‘miniature amphora’), HM Λ 147

Dolomitic limestone, with pale grey bands and some pink colouring. H: 5.6, Dia. (rim): 2.9; (max): 3.7 by 4.2; (base) 2.2 cm, intact but for chips on rim.

‘Miniature amphora,’ with flat base, angled shoulder and flaring rim. Horizontal handles on shoulder decorated with vertical grooves along length and articulated below. Flattened profile at front and back. Deep narrow apparently drilled interior cavity, remains of apparent core at interior bottom.

Minoan, MM I.

*Context:* MM I–III.

*Chronology:* MM I vessel, in generally contemporary or somewhat later MM I–III deposition.

*References:* BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:296, pl. XVII:3:top left; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P364; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:708 #324, III:1129 fig. 324; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:32–33 #12.

*Comments:* This vessel should date no earlier than MM I, on the basis of its context.

#### F. Aspa

In the first (1902) season, a number of LM III larnax burials were found south of ‘House A,’ in the cliffs at Aspa south-east of the plain along the shore.<sup>1111</sup> One burial consisted of a pair of ‘bathtub’-style larnakes, one upside-down atop the other in lieu of a lid, with the remnants of an adult burial and a bronze ring inside. About a yard away was found the crushed and broken remains of a second larnax burial. On its floor was found a cylinder seal. No pottery was recovered. Both burials are dated to LM III.

#### 433. Cylinder seal, HM Σ–K 233

Black serpentine,<sup>1112</sup> H: 19.3; Dia: 10.5; SH: 2.8 mm; intact with uneven and very worn surface.

Cylindrical with string-hole through length. *Face:* Woman in short skirt standing to right facing a palm(?) tree, with hands to sides; ‘genius’ standing to right with hands in front of chest; woman standing to right with left hand to side and right hand to mouth, facing a palm(?) tree. Both trees(?) have two layers of branches at top. Various assorted vertical lines as fillers. Some indications of a ground line below figures and one tree(?). The abdomen of the ‘genius’ is covered with short lines, but has no real dorsal appendage.

Minoan, LM IIIA.

*Context:* LM III.

*Chronology:* LM IIIA seal, in generally contemporary to somewhat later LM III context.

*Comparanda:* (“spectacle-eyes”) {64}, {88}.

*References:* BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:302, fig. 18; MÜLLER 1918:155; MATZ 1928:100 n. 3; CHAPOUTHIER 1937:323 n. 14; FRANKFURT 1939:303 n. 2; PENDLEBURY 1939:257 n. 2; HUTCHINSON, ECCLES and BENTON 1939–1940:45, 47 #27, fig. 17; GALLET DE SANTERRE and TRÉHEUX 1947–1948:242 n. 1; NILSSON 1949:211; 1950:385 n. 60; KENNA 1960:64 n. 5; GILL 1964:9 n. 26, 16 #12, pl. 2:1; BASS 1967:155 #36; KENNA 1968:331, pl. 108:22; KAISER 1976:74, pl. 7:13; PINI 1980:93 n. 53, 107 n. 111, 108 n. 115; *CMS* II.3:#282; YOUNGER 1986:135; SANSONE 1988:2 #64; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:269 #232, pl. 6:232; PHILLIPS 1991:II:709 #325, III:1128 fig. 325; REHAK 1995: 218 n. 28, 230 #64; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:163 #142; DRIESSEN, MACGILLIVRAY and SACKETT 2002:Burial Customs fig. 7; PHILLIPS 2005b:456 n. 8.

*Comments:* This seal is a mixture of Minoan and Syrian elements, but is of Minoan manufacture. Younger places this within his “spectacle eyes C” stylistic group, which he dates to LM IIIA.

#### G. No Find Context

Some objects were recovered without recorded context.

**434. Closed vessel (alabastron?, Type C), HM Λ 502** (not seen) ‘Granitic diorite,’ very hard, pale yellow/green with red matrix and black crystalline quartz scattered throughout, H. (pres.): 26.1; Dia. (max): 20.5; (base): 11.2 cm; bottom half preserved and partly restored, with top of body, neck and rim missing.

Baggy, flat-bottomed with concave profile.

Possibly Levantine, MB–LB.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Possibly MB–LB vessel, without context.

*Comparison:* (for material) {519?}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:113 Type 43:I, P616; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:267 #225, pl. 72:225; PHILLIPS 1991:II:709 #326, III:1130 fig. 326; WARREN 1997:216 n.58; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:203 #199.

*Comments:* Warren notes that the stone is not Cretan, but the shape is Egyptian and, as the stone is unusual, the vessel may be an import possibly from Egypt. He also notes that it is a very fine piece. Lazzarini is quoted (in KARETSOU *et al.* 2000) as suggesting the stone comes from the Wadi el-Esh in the Eastern Desert of Egypt. The profile, however, does not readily correspond to Egyptian vessels of this form.

#### 435. Seal, HM Σ–K 572

Dark green serpentine,<sup>1113</sup> L: 17.9; W: 18.8; H: 8.8; SH: 2.5 mm; chipped at edge, otherwise intact.

<sup>1110</sup> See WALBERG 1983:131.

<sup>1111</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902b:301–302, fig. 17; DRIESSEN, MACGILLIVRAY and SACKETT 2002:Burial Customs#5.

<sup>1112</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000). Often described as steatite.

<sup>1113</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000).

Lentoid, engraved on one side only. String-hole through length. *Face*: Two antithetical Minoan 'genii' facing inwards to a centre. Main part of bodies indicated by a long wide gouge, both eyes indicated by circular drilled depressions. An apparently tailless squatting ape figure in centre, facing right with both knees drawn up and both arms raised; body and limbs indicated by deep incisions, head indicated by circular drilled depression. Above, and between 'genii,' three circular drilled depressions.

Minoan, probably LM IIIB.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably LM IIIB seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: GILL 1970:406 #57; {303}; {503}; {523-525}.

*References*: KENNA 1966:73, pl. 7; GILL 1970:406 #56; *CMS* II.4:#64; PHILLIPS 1991:II:710 #327, III:1131 fig. 327; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:162 #140; PHILLIPS 2005b:456 n. 8.

*Comments*: The eyes and mouth of the 'genii' are indicated by drilling, as is the head of the ape. Bodies of both 'genii' are gouged. The rest of the design chiefly indicated by engraved lines, but one further drilled circle in front of ape. The tails are folded back and raised to conform to the edge of the seal. The entire presentation is degenerate.

The ape figure is one of only two indigenous examples on Crete after LM IB, the other being {84}. Possibly the artisan was following the design of a much earlier seal here, without really understanding the original image; an indication of this may be ape's lack of tail.

#### 436. Seal or weight, AM 1938.1103

Clear red carnelian, lightly banded, L: 16.1; W: 10.7; H: 9.3; SH: 1.9-2.0 mm, Wt.: 1.63 g (25 grns); intact but worn.

Theriomorphic, in the form of a trussed goose or duck with head *regardant* and very small drilled eyes. String-hole through length. *Face*: A series of vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines, most emanating from a drilled circle at centre edge of face, in what might be termed a 'pictorialised motif'. Egyptian, early Dynasty XVIII, probably reworked by Minoan artisan, late LM IA-B.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Early Dynasty XVIII weight(?), probably reworked into seal by Minoan artisan, late LM IA-B, without context.

*Comparanda*: HORNING and STAEHELIN 1976:pl. 67:601; HERRMANN 1985:81 #317-318, {437}.

*References*: EVANS 1901-1902:39, fig. 19; 1906:351 fig. 7, 352 #30; KENNA 1960:106 #128, pl. 6:128; BOARDMAN 1970:29 #14, Col. pl. 91:29.14; KENNA 1973:829; YULE 1981:94-95 Class 33:e; PHILLIPS 1991:II:710 #328, III:1131 fig. 328; BROWN and BENNETT 2001:434 #213, 435:fig. 213; *CMS* VI:17 #140.

*Comments*: This is a rare three-dimensional example of the Egyptian 'trussed goose or duck' hieroglyph sign (G 54), but with clearly non-Egyptian and probably Minoan face design. It could be an Egyptian amulet or weight later carved on the 'face' by a Minoan artisan. This form of amulet and scaraboid is quite rare in Egypt (see Fig. 26:B); those known also are drilled through the length but have clearly 'wrung' necks, unlike the Palaikastro piece. Most likely, but not certainly, the stomach area was 'shaved' flat to accommodate carving of a face design by a Minoan artisan. The design is unusual, but the combination of drilled circles and straight cut lines is typical of talismanic designs, and thus should be no later than LM IB in date; the early Dynasty XVIII date of manufacture (at the earliest) pre-

cludes a date earlier than late LM IA. KENNA (1973) had thought it MM II in date.

The seal was "found at Palaikastro....in 1894," according to Evans, who thought the face design represented a "rough engraving of a ship in Late Minoan style," and noted that "another specimen of a similar cornelian bead also came under my notice in the same Cretan region". He considered this Palaikastro example to be a weight, on the basis of its similar weight to another found at Palaikastro that, unfortunately, he did not illustrate. He quoted the weight of his second duck as 1.52 g (c. 24 gr.), whilst this duck is 1.63 g (25 gr.). This second duck weight presumably is {437}.

#### 437. Weight, amulet or bead, AM 1938.1102

Agate, streaky red/brown with whitish colouring at top, L: 18.6; W: 9.2; H: 6.2; SH: 2.0 mm, Wt.: 1.53 g, intact, worn at one end, chipped at bottom.

Theriomorphic weight or amuletic bead, in the form of a trussed and plucked goose or duck with wrung neck *regardant*, and featherless limbs indicated on top, bottom and sides. The neck is diagonally placed. String hole through width. Quite crudely made.

Minoan, LM(?), or possibly Egyptian, New Kingdom(?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM(?) or New Kingdom(?) weight or amuletic bead, without context.

*Comparison*: {436}.

*References*: EVANS 1901-1902:39; 1906:352 #31; KENNA 1960:105 #124, pl. 6:124; PHILLIPS 1991:II:802 #405, III:1150.

*Comments*: Rather crude and elongated representation of the 'trussed goose or duck' hieroglyph *snḏ* (G 54). Kenna thought it was a crouching lion of Middle Minoan date, but suggested it "may be an ornament or amulet rather than a seal, and the incised lines engraved to overcome a dislike of empty spaces". As a trussed goose/duck amulet, the lines on the 'face' make sense as further indication of the featherless limbs. Said by Kenna to be from Crete.

EVANS (1901-1902) noted "another specimen of a similar cornelian bead also came under my notice in the same Cretan region" as the Palaikastro seal {436}, that he (1906) describes as "cornelian duck of degenerate type," with a weight of 1.52 g (c. 24 grns), also found at Palaikastro, and included as one of his 'duck weights' but which he did not illustrate. The nearly identical description and weight of this piece indicates that the two descriptions are of the same object, and this is it. His 1906 description, however, notes that the perforation is through the length, but he may have been confused as the other weight {436} described immediately above is perforated longitudinally.

The *snḏ* amulet is rather rare in Egypt; some gold beads are in the MMA and others in Berlin.

#### 438. Protome or model, HM unnumbered

Clay, H: 3.5; W: 3.1; Th.: 3.5 cm, head only, with ears missing and broken off at neck, paint worn and flaked.

Model or protome in the form of a cat's head, solid. Moulded, with nostrils incised. Thick painted band around neck, and highlighted with thin lines and dots all over head, lines chiefly at neck and forehead and dots on cheeks. Slipped yellow (10 YR 7/4). No painted indication of pupils or whiskers. Minoan, MM III-LM I.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology:* MM III–LM I object, without context.

*Comparanda:* {162}; {397}; {517–518}.

*References:* PINI 1988:327 fig. 2.c, 328; PHILLIPS 1991:II:711 #329, III:1131 fig. 329.

*Comments:* This is assumed to be from Palaikastro as it is displayed in a case consisting exclusively of objects from that site.

This should be either from an entire model or a vessel prototype due to its solidity and point of breakage. The facial dots relate it with the Knossos fresco fragment, as does its yellow slip.

#### 439. Figurine, HM A 2555

Green stone, possibly light steatite, H: 37.0; W: 27.0; Th.: 15.0 mm; Vertical drilled hole: 3.9 mm, bottom of legs and feet lost, chipped.

Figurine in the form of a squatting ape, with elbows on knees and hands to mouth as if eating something. Carved, not incised, details including raised dots for eyes and individual fingers, very short upright tail at back. Flattened bottom but baseless. No tail indicated. String-hole through front between elbows, stomach and upper legs, vertically drilled hole through front of body to chin. Roughly carved.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XIX or possibly Dynasty XII.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XVIII–XIX (or possibly XII) figurine, without context.

*Comparanda:* VANDIER D'ABBADIE 1972:149 #633; BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS 1973:98 #1184, 362 #1184; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:198 #231–232; MMA 15.3.186; CM – (Room U34, case 158).

*References:* DAUX 1958:778; HOOD 1958a:20; PHILLIPS 1991:II:711–712 #330, III:1131 fig. 330; CLINE 1991:39; 1994:252 #1072; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:170 #151.

*Comments:* Recovered from illegal excavations together with other (unstated) objects at Palaikastro in 1955.<sup>1114</sup> The unusual vertical drilling between the legs and arms suggests it may have topped a thin vertical shaft of some kind, perhaps as a finial for a hairpin or similar tool (see Fig. 21), although this impression is aided by the loss of its feet. It more probably is a figurine. An almost exact parallel is on display in the CM, complete with lower legs and feet, one of the latter atop the other.<sup>1115</sup> Another parallel without context, also with feet and identified as “probably from Crete” by Buchholz and Karageorghis, is more likely not to have been found here.<sup>1116</sup> The ape quite clearly derives from the *Cercopithecus*.

### PANKALOCHORI RETHYMNOU

The village of Pankalochori lies about 13 kilometers south-east of Rethymnon. Some 350 m. from the village, on the road to Loutro and Arkadi, a mechanical

digger accidentally exposed an unlooted chamber tomb with three larnax and a variety of funerary offerings.<sup>1117</sup> The tomb chamber is slightly trapezoid in shape with a long partially stepped dromos.

From the chamber itself came six clay vessels, a stone tripod, bronze cauldron, pan-balance and earrings, two steatite weights, faience and semi-precious stone beads, a small unworked fragment of haematite and another of rock crystal, and an EM green serpentine seal.

One larnax (II) remained intact. It was of the footed type with lid, both painted in floral and linear decoration. It contained the remains of a wealthy woman lying on her side, heavily pregnant when she died. She was found with numerous beads of glass, rock crystal, faience, sardonyx and gold, in a variety of shapes including round, double nautilus, wheat and gourd seed, bull's head, shellfish and rosette, that could be reconstructed into seven different necklaces. A bronze mirror with carved ivory handle (recovered at her thorax region) and three painted clay alabaster also were found with her. The larnax is dated to the beginning of LM IIIA2, providing a date for the burial.

#### 440. Mirror, RM M 254 (disc), O 282 (handle) (not handled)

Ivory and bronze, (disc) Dia.: 15.2; (handle) L: 5, W: (pres.) 4.8 cm, uppermost part of ivory handle being brace for circular bronze mirror, with three drilled attachment holes and top of handle proper, fragmentary with much surface destruction, mirror complete with tenons, some bronze disease; some metal expansion so no longer fits into handle.

Mirror circular, with three tenons. Handle partially carved out down middle from top for attachment to mirror. Three straight edges and carved cutout shape at preserved bottom, three large drilled holes for attachment to tenons at bottom of bronze mirror in triangular arrangement. Similar raised relief decoration both sides. *Scene:* At preserved bottom, used as ground, are large palmiform leaves, indicating remainder of handle was of palmiform design; curled leaves infilled with slightly curving lines. Two large Minoan ‘genii’ stand, confronted, on top of palmiform leaf either side. Each holds aloft a one-handed *Schnabelkanne*, one hand at bottom and other around neck of vessel. A third, half-scale ‘genius’ stands in similar pose facing left in the centre, between two drilled holes; the third hole is drilled through its front lower body. All ‘genii’ are leonine in appearance, especially the head and paws, and wearing a belt(?) at waist, which is slightly attenuated. Long

<sup>1114</sup> CLINE 1991:39 notes only it was recovered during illicit excavations in the Siteia area, probably meaning the Siteia ‘nomos.’

<sup>1115</sup> I am grateful to Eric Cline for informing me of this piece in the CM, and for sending a photograph of it.

<sup>1116</sup> Staatliche Antikensammlung und Glyptothek, Munich, #10.369. It is not included in the present work. Buchholz

and Karageorghis’ dating of EM II for this piece clearly is in error, but has been accepted by VANSCHOONWINKEL (1996:400 #435). Its authenticity has been questioned (Martin Schultz, SAG, letter of 16 June 2000).

<sup>1117</sup> MARKOULAKI 1983; MARKOULAKI and BAXEVANI-KOUZIONI 1997.

dorsal appendage on back from head or neck to near foot, almost cloth-like with an undulating bordered edge on interior, whilst exterior edge has a row of small curled projections along length, 'cloth' infilled with repeated papyriform pattern. Mouths closed, eye large, round and seemingly protruding, with thick waist. In front of left genius a group of small tightly packed 'balls,' preserved in front of vessel on one handle face, and in front of upper legs on other face. Fine detailing and workmanship.

Minoan, LM IIIA1.

*Context:* Beginning of LM IIIA2.

*Chronology:* LM IIIA1 object, only slightly earlier than its very early LM IIIA2 tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* POURSAT 1977a:pl. XI.4; 1977b:pl. XXXII:300 (for shape); **{372}**

*References:* REHAK 1995:218, 224, 227, 231 #71; MARKOULAKI and BAXEVANI-KOUZIONI 1996:673–681, figs. 44–48; 1997:294–295, 541 pl. III.a; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:163–165 #144; PHILLIPS 2005b:456.

*Comments:* The 'genius'-figure profiles in general are best paralleled on Crete by the Malia triton figures **{372}** of LM I date, both in their clear leonine origin and only slightly attenuated waist, which might suggest this handle is earlier than its context. However, the spiked back is virtually unknown on Neo-Palatial examples, suggesting it is too early for this mirror. Certain Mycenaean examples of LH IIA through IIIB date<sup>1118</sup> are similar to the Pankalochori 'genii,' and suggest that the mirror handle could be a Mycenaean product, except that the typically Mycenaean forehead curl is absent. Mycenaean, but not Minoan, examples sometimes include a patterned 'tactile cloth,' although none of these patterns is papyriform.<sup>1119</sup> Ivory mirror handles of palmiform shape also are known from Mycenae (Tsountas' tomb 55) and at Kalyvia (LM IIIA).

REHAK (1995, prior to detailed publication of the handle itself) described its central image as a "cairn" and "mound shaped like the Knossos throne back and the mountaintop on the Zakros rhyton;" it is described as an "*arbre*" by Markoulaki and Baxevani-Kouzioni. The palmiform tree type usually is seen together with the 'genius' figure on later images.<sup>1120</sup>

## PERIVOLAKIA SITEIAS

The villages of Kato and Epano Perivolakia, are located about eight kilometres south of Lithines off the main Ierapetra-Siteias road, and a further eight kilometres inland of the south coast and the monastery of Kapsa. P. Faure discovered a number of EM cave drawings there.<sup>1121</sup> In 1984, M. Tsipopoulou excavated another cave tomb near the villages with

EM and MM burials, and an EM larnax burial.<sup>1122</sup> The excavations remain unpublished.

**441. Mould,** SM 4502 (not handled)

Clay, dimensions not stated, W. interior estimated at perhaps 5 cm, intact.

Outer mould of cat's head model or possibly appliqué, showing face only, with beginning of ears and to bottom of mouth. Large eyes, nose and single eyebrows.

Minoan, MM IB (or earlier?).

*Context:* MM IB.

*Chronology:* MM IB (or earlier?) object, in a generally contemporary MM IB burial context.

*Comparanda:* **{77}**; **{113}**; **{377}**; **{438}**; (mould) **{442}**.

*Reference:* PHILLIPS 1991:II:803 #408.

*Comments:* The recovery of a mould strongly suggests that these large cat's heads were manufactured, in considerable quantities, by this early Proto-Palatial date.

## PETRAS SITEIAS

Petras is a small and relatively recent village some four kilometres south-east of Siteia town, near the coast at the junction of the main coastal road and that leading south into the interior. R.C. Bosanquet first excavated here in 1901 for two days, uncovering the length (but not width) of a building some 17 m. long with at least three rooms on the spur of a hill near the village and the road, and the remains of "a large mansion" on its summit, together with a "large rubbish heap" nearby of mainly MM Kamares ware with some later (LM) material.<sup>1123</sup>

The major excavations, however, are those of M. Tsipopoulou, between 1985 and 1997, and are not as yet fully published.<sup>1124</sup> The first of nine occupation phases on the hill slope and summit is dated to the Final Neolithic period, followed by an EM II occupation in Phase II and then Phase III of EM III–MM IA date. She considers her Phase IV occupation, MM IB–IIA, to be non-palatial, and this is revealed by some floors mainly in small natural depressions on the summit. These depressions, also with some MM IIA–B material and here now in her Proto-Palatial (Phase V) levels, were filled in order to construct the first, earlier palace on the summit sometime in MM IIA, with two further buildings also excavated

<sup>1118</sup> CMS I:#231 (Vaphio, LH IIA lentoid); MEGAW 1967:9 fig. 13 (Mycenae, LH IIIB stone mould); SYMEONOGLOU 1973:pl. 73 (Kademon Thebes, LH IIIB1 ivory plaque).

<sup>1119</sup> See GILL 1964:*passim*; VAN STRATTEN 1969:*passim*; GILL 1970:*passim*; REHAK 1995:*passim*.

<sup>1120</sup> E.g., REHAK 1995:218 figs. 1–2, **{433}**.

<sup>1121</sup> PAPADAKIS 1983:74.

<sup>1122</sup> CATLING 1985:65; Metaxia Tsipopoulou (personal communication, 14 November 2000). Dr. Tsipopoulou kindly pro-

vided the context details of this mould and permission to use them, and mentions only an MM IB tomb in which it was recovered. Catling notes EM and MM burials and an EM larnax burial

<sup>1123</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902c.

<sup>1124</sup> CATLING 1986:94; 1987:59; 1989:105–106; FRENCH 1990; TOMLINSON 1995:69–70; TSIPOPOULOU 1997; BLACKMAN 1999:121–122; TSIPOPOULOU 1999a; 1999b; BLACKMAN 2000:144–145.

downslope that seem to have served a different function than the palace. The central palatial building was constructed within a cyclopean foundation(?) wall having bastions, a drainage system and a possible guardhouse, mostly raised at a single point in time. A hieroglyphic archive area in the palace store-room was blocked by much MM IIB pottery late in the Proto-Palatial period, apparently still in use when it was destroyed.

Phase VI (MM III–LM IA) consisted of an immediately rebuilt settlement area and much repair and enlargement to the same (first) palace, considerably altering movement within the site and continuing in use during the earlier part of the Neo-Palatial period. Various alterations during the phase included abandonment of the south-eastern complex, construction of large rooms resembling storerooms to the north-east that supported an upper storey, and blocking of the archive area entrance at its entrance area, possibly for use as foundations for larger rooms above, before some minor destructions in the palace area in LM IA.

The second (Phase VII) palace was constructed in LM IB, largely following the plan of the first palace but with a new (later) courtyard to the east having a new, plastered surface above a pebbled floor, possibly for use as a stoa. This building was destroyed in a very intense fire in LM IB and abandoned by the end of the period. Some reoccupation in LM IIIA–early B (Phase VIII) could be noted, but no material of the intervening LM II period was recovered and the majority of material was LM IIIA2 in date, suggesting a break in occupation here. Post-Minoan occupation in the Byzantine period (Phase IX) also was noted.

The following was recovered in the 1992 excavations:

**442. Mould** (not seen)

Clay, dimensions and preservation not stated.

Mould of cat's head model or possibly an appliqué, no further description.

Minoan, Proto-Palatial or early Neo-Palatial.

*Context:* Early Neo-Palatial.

*Chronology:* Proto-Palatial or early Neo-Palatial mould, in slightly later or generally contemporary early Neo-Palatial domestic context.

*Comparison:* (mould) {441}.

Unpublished.

*Comments:* Dr. Tsipopoulou very kindly informed me of the existence of this mould, as yet unpublished, together with its

context date<sup>1125</sup> presumably recovered in her Phase VI. The recovery of a mould for a cat's head model at this level and in an occupation area strongly suggests that these large heads continued to be manufactured in considerable quantities, even into the early Neo-Palatial period.

### PEZOULES KEPHALES

N. Platon's excavations at Kato Zakro, on the extreme eastern coast of Crete, included a survey and some excavations in the surrounding area. In 1967, he found and excavated two late Pre-Palatial burial 'house tombs' at Pezoules Kephales, west of the Kato Zakros plain and close to the road to the modern village of Epano Zakros, some three kilometres inland from the site of Kato Zakro. Both are low on the easterly slopes, and others also may be there. From associated finds, he dated both enclosures to EM III–MM I, but Walberg has shown their use continues throughout the MM period and possibly into LM I.<sup>1126</sup>

Tomb A was re-investigated by Marshall Becker in 1973, who also studied the retained skeletal material from both tombs (which could not be distinguished as stored). He identified some 74 individuals, with up to 40 being females. Nearly half the skeletons were adults aged 18–50, and four were children aged 6 through 18.

#### A. Tomb A

The northern of the two, called Tomb A, consisted of three compartments separated by walls, confusingly identified as rooms A–Γ, aligned essentially at a northeast/southwest angle.<sup>1127</sup> Room B, the largest (2.08–3.12 by 1.76 m.) room, is a large north-west/southeast rectangle with virtually all walls preserved at the northeastern end, whilst the smaller (1.96 by 0.64–1.04 m.) rectangular room Γ runs in the opposite direction in the western corner. Room A, apparently larger (1.72 by 1.44 m.) and possibly also rectangular but with its southeastern corner destroyed, may have been the antechamber; the wall linking it with Room Γ seems to have been a later feature dividing an originally larger space. The south-western (estimated) half of the enclosure was destroyed by erosion and, since there is no entrance, this may have been at the destroyed eastern corner of the building. Platon concluded this was an unroofed enclosure, but Soles argues for a roofed construction.

<sup>1125</sup> Metaxia Tsipopoulou (personal communication, 14 November 2000).

<sup>1126</sup> PLATON 1967:190–194; WALBERG 1983:134. See also DAUX 1968:982–984; MEGAW 1968:25–26, and most recently SOLES 1992:195–201. Note that Walberg incorrectly

ascribes all Platon's pottery to only one tomb, which she does not identify. SOLES 1992:201 ascribes use of both tombs to MM IA–B.

<sup>1127</sup> See SOLES 1973:166–173, fig. 21; 1992:195–198, 201; fig. 77.

Most of the estimated 600 burials were in confused masses within the compartments but mainly against the sides of the rooms in successive strata; some were interred either in larnakes or pithoi; some 45 skulls are reported. An undisturbed child burial in a rectangular larnax was found in Room A, and fragments of larnake were recovered here and in Room Γ. Pithos burials were found against the southeastern wall of Room B. Funeral furniture included numerous late Pre-Palatial clay vessels such as cups, conical cups, skyphoi and miniature jugs, datable to MM IA with some MM IB/II types. Beads of sardonyx, amethyst, bronze and 'Egyptian blue,' and a lentoid rock crystal seal were also found.

#### 443. Beads (not located)

'Egyptian blue' or faience,<sup>1128</sup> quantity, dimensions and condition not stated.

Narrow and cylindrical (tubular?).

Minoan, EM III–MM III or Egyptian, FIP–early New Kingdom.

*Context:* MM IA–MM III (possibly into LM I).

*Chronology:* EM IIIA–MM III or FIP–early NK beads, in wide-ranging but probably generally contemporary MM IA–MM III (possibly into LM I) tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* ALDRED 1978:31 fig. upper; ANDREWS 1990:27 fig. 18; {151}, {1152}.

*References:* DAUX 1968:982; POMERANCE 1973:22 n. 6; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:256–257 #195; PHILLIPS 1991:II:713–714 #331.

*Comments:* According to Pomerance, the beads are typical of Egyptian Middle Kingdom jewellery, but narrow cylindrical beads are a common and undatable type found throughout the Dynastic period as well as on Crete.

If 'Egyptian blue,' then they *could* be either imported or locally made, and are the only other 'Egyptian blue' objects on Crete before the Neo-Palatial period, other than the large collection of small beads from Knossos {152}.<sup>1129</sup> Since 'Egyptian blue' beads are much more common in the Neo-Palatial period on Crete, these beads are more likely to date to this time, and would be amongst the latest artefacts to be deposited here.

If actually faience and of early deposition in the tomb, they would be an additional early collection of such material found on Crete, whose origin remains controversial and quite probably indigenous.<sup>1130</sup>

## B. Tomb B

The other tomb, B, was just southeast of and further down the slope than the first. It had but one com-

partment, rectangular with a 2.24 by 3.32 m. interior.<sup>1131</sup> It is aligned more north-south. No entrance was visible, but it may have been where a large gap now exists in the eastern wall. It too probably was roofed, and the entrance may have been from here.

Two skeletons were found on its eastern side, separated from the remaining material within a row of small stones. One other skeleton lay within a narrow rectangular larnax midway along the western side. Other bones lay in a confused mass, but included some 20 skulls mostly gathered together on the northern side. Some 70 complete clay vessels were found, similar in type to those from Tomb A and also dating to MM IA according to Platon. However, the pottery (according to Walberg), spans a much later period as well, at least to late MM III. Other finds included several bronze tools such as tweezers, a chisel and small disc, stone bead and scaraboid.

#### 444. Scaraboid, HM Σ-K 2338

Carnelian, sard or sardonyx, L: 19.3; W: 14.4; H: 10.4; SH: 3.1 mm, chipped or scraped on face, otherwise intact.

Scaraboid with single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, two diagonal lines indicating clypeus. No leg markings. *Face:* Simple overall incised cross-hatch pattern.

Minoan, MM IB–III.

*Context:* MM IA–III.

*Chronology:* MM IB–III scaraboid, in generally contemporary MM IB–III tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* YULE 1981:80 Class 30:c, 147 Motif 15; {364}.

*References:* PLATON 1967:194, pl. 172; DAUX 1968:984; MEGAW 1968:26; POMERANCE 1973:22 n. 6; PHILLIPS 1991:II:714–715 #332, III:1131 fig. 332; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:319 #326; PHILLIPS 2004:166 fig. 5 bottom.

*Comments:* The scaraboid is so debased, it is barely recognisable as such. It is so far removed from the Egyptian original that its maker is unlikely to have seen one at first hand. Hard stone seals are unknown in Pre-Palatial contexts, and rare even in MM IB, so this scaraboid probably dates within MM II–III. Thus, it confirms the continued Proto-Palatial use of this tomb. The MM IA–B date range cited by Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) is unlikely, due to the material employed for the scarab.

## PHAESTOS

The site of Phaestos is situated on a large high ridge in the middle of the Mesara plain near its western end, consisting of three hills aligned east-west. The

<sup>1128</sup> Described by Pomerance as 'blue frit,' an earlier designation for 'Egyptian blue.' However, they might instead be a blue-coloured faience, as the term 'frit' often is used to describe faience. Without further examination, material identification cannot be confirmed.

<sup>1129</sup> The Knossos beads {152} have recently been analysed by M. Tite at Oxford and, surprisingly, the 'Egyptian blue'

material itself is of indigenous (i.e., Aegean) origin; see PANAGIOTAKI *et al.* 1994. It is therefore possible that the Pezoules Kephales beads also are of Aegean origin.

<sup>1130</sup> See FOSTER 1979:34, 117; also BIMSON and FREESTONE 1987:*passim*.

<sup>1131</sup> See SOLES 1973:173–176, fig. 22; 1992: 199–200.

lowest and most eastern, on which the palace was situated, is much eroded on its eastern side, resulting in the loss of much of the palace and probably the surrounding houses. Originally identified by Capt. T.A.B. Spratt,<sup>1132</sup> it was visited by F. Halbherr and surveyed by A. Taramelli in 1894.<sup>1133</sup> Taramelli also sank a few test trenches, as did A. Savignoni shortly afterwards, the latter finding the south-west corner of the palace in one trench.

Actual excavation was begun on the palace by L. Pernier under F. Halbherr in 1900 and continued until 1909. The palace plan was revealed, but he was forced to remove some later (Greek) structures immediately above. Excavation continued until 1914, and later work in 1928–1932 helped to clarify stratigraphical problems.<sup>1134</sup> D. Levi resumed excavations on the palace 1950–1966, revealing an earlier palace immediately below the one known to Pernier but with a slightly different alignment and plan.<sup>1135</sup> Room and space numbers were distinguished by Arabic (later palace) and Roman (earlier palace) numerals. He then extended to the west beyond the outer palace walls, where Pernier had conducted some trial trenches, to find Geometric and Hellenistic period housing. Further away, other houses equivalent in date to the first palace but not the second were found, with a large kiln built above in Geometric times. Excavations in the area immediately north-east of the palace indicated a similar early date for the houses there.

He also expanded down the slopes of hill. Excavations in 1960–1964 at the foot of the steep eastern slope about 50 m. south of the palace ‘cliff’ at Chalara revealed terraced housing from Neolithic to Roman times.<sup>1136</sup> Another similar large ‘town’ area was excavated at the bend in the road about 150 m. to the north-east, and called Aghia Photini after the nearby church. The construction of the tourist road leading towards the palace in 1968–1969 called for further excavation just left of the road, where further MM–Hellenistic walls were found. The city is estimated to extend as far as the modern village of Aghios Ioannis to the south.

The site has been occupied since the Final Neolithic period, as house remains of that date have been

found below the palace floors in several places. Above them were a series of EM houses. The first palace, its associated buildings and houses were constructed atop the earlier structures, probably in MM IB. After weathering two earthquakes, the second at the end of MM IIA and both with recognisable major repairs, this palace was destroyed by a massive fire at the end of MM IIB. A new palace then was constructed largely on the same lines but with its facade set some five metres back and its floor a metre higher. This palace too was destroyed at the end of LM IB, together with the other palaces and many other buildings. There is evidence for LM IIIA–C reoccupation in the palace and at Chalara.<sup>1137</sup>

The town was thriving once again in the Proto-Geometric to Late Geometric periods, including a number of houses west of the central court. A temple to Rhea was constructed south-west of the palace in the Archaic period, and Hellenistic housing was dense at Chalara. Gortyn, its rival town to the east, destroyed Phaestos around 180 BC, but at least one Roman farmhouse also was found, as were some possibly Byzantine tombs.

### A. The Palace

Surprisingly little relevant material was recovered in the Palace area, when compared to the quantities recovered in the ‘Villa Reale’ at nearby Aghia Triadha.

#### A.1. ‘Cult Room’ 10

Pernier excavated the area of the West Court and western facade of the later palace in 1900–1901. Here he found two contiguous pairs of rooms that could be entered only from this court, and inaccessible to the rest of the palace.<sup>1138</sup> They constituted a public ‘Bench Sanctuary Complex’. The two back rooms, 9 and 11, were storerooms, while Room 8 was a ‘preparation room’ and Room 10 the cult room itself. This last room, 3.7 by 2.6 m. in area, contained a plastered gypsum bench on the north wall and another on the south, and a flagged floor. Within it were found a rectangular limestone libation table fixed to the east end of the southern bench, and a collection of two female figurines, fragments of four or five others, and two amphorae between the south bench and the entrance.

<sup>1132</sup> SPRATT 1865:II:23–25.

<sup>1133</sup> TARAMELLI 1901.

<sup>1134</sup> PERNIER 1935; PERNIER and BANTI 1951.

<sup>1135</sup> LEVI 1957–1958b; 1960:431–434; 1961–1962b; 1964; 1965–1966; 1976–1981; LEVI and CARINCI 1988.

<sup>1136</sup> LEVI 1967–1968.

<sup>1137</sup> KANTA 1980:96–98.

<sup>1138</sup> PERNIER 1902:42–43; PERNIER and BANTI 1951:104–118, 582–583; LEVI 1976–1981:I.1:361–374. See also GESELL 1985:127–128 #104.

**445. Amphora,** HM Π 1635

Rough clay, H: 35.4–35.8; Dia. (rim, rest.): 10.5; (max): 14.4; (base): 10.0 cm, about two-thirds of rim missing, otherwise intact, paint worn and faded.

Amphora with high pedestal base incurving at bottom, concave underfoot, tall tapering body and flaring everted rim. Two horizontal coil loop handles on shoulder, small raised horizontal ridge at neck/shoulder join and thicker raised ridge at body/base junction. Hollow base and stem. Brown-painted on upper body to rim and at bottom of handles, handles white-painted, with tall thin horizontal wavy red band around exterior neck and horizontal red-painted band immediately below neck/shoulder ridge.

Minoan, LM I.

*Context:* MM III–LM IB.

*Chronology:* LM I vessel, in generally contemporary LM IB palace cult room destruction context.

*Comparison:* {13}.

*References:* PERNIER 1902:43, 107 fig. 39; EVANS *PM* III:402 fig. 267:d; IV.2:779, fig. 759:d; PERNIER and BANTI 1951:112–113, fig. 60:a; PHILLIPS 1991:II:719 #333, III:1132 fig. 333; CUCUZZA 2000:101 #4; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:230 #226.β.

*Comments:* Apparently this vessel (or {446} below) had a lid, but this is unpublished and was not located in the HM. Both amphorae are found in the same context.

**446. ‘Amphora,’** HM Π 1636

Rough clay, H: 29.5; Dia. (rim): 6.1; (max): 14.3; (base): 7.9 cm, intact but body cracked and two fragments restored, paint worn.

‘Amphora’ with high pedestal base incurving at bottom, tall tapering body and flaring everted rim. Two horizontal coil loop handles on shoulder, small raised horizontal ridge at neck/shoulder join and thicker raised ridge at body/base junction. Hollow profile throughout. Brown-painted on upper body to rim and at bottom of handles, with horizontal red-painted band immediately below neck/shoulder ridge.

Separate small flat lid with handle.

Minoan, LM I.

*Context:* MM III–LM IB.

*Chronology:* LM I vessel, in generally contemporary LM IB palace cult room destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {14–15}; {173}.

*References:* PERNIER 1902:43, 107; PERNIER and BANTI 1951:113, fig. 60:b, 61; PHILLIPS 1991:II:719–720 #334, III:1133 fig. 334; CUCUZZA 2000:101 #5; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:229 #226.α.

*Comments:* Useless as a storage vessel due to its hollow profile. Its connection to amphora {445} above is confirmed both by their context and exterior similarity. Their combined function is difficult to understand, especially as the diameter of the basal ‘hole’ of this ‘amphora’ is far too large to accept it as a rhyton. Cucuzza notes that a lid with central handle was

recovered with this amphora,<sup>1139</sup> and others with {13–14} from Aghia Triadha.

*A.2. Below Room 25*

Room 25 of the later palace is a large central room with two columns, at the north-western edge of the central court and immediately south of the main entrance from the West Court. It is easily accessible from the central court through a row of pillars that were blocked by pivoting doors, and from the north and south wings of the palace via a long passageway running parallel to the western edge of the central court of which the room was part. It was the sole entrance to the passage of storerooms behind it.

Levi found the seal archive (the ‘*archivio di cretule*’) of the earlier palace, consisting of more than 6,500 sealings, in a trench dug into the lower palace level from Room 25.<sup>1140</sup> They were found within a thin layer below two successive alabaster pavements belonging to the later palace and immediately above a Neolithic layer, in a closed stratum destroyed by the second earthquake during the third building phase in MM IIB.<sup>1141</sup> Numerous vessels and a few seals also were found. Most of the unbaked clay lumps and nodules were not impressed or the seal impressions could not be recognised, but about 2,800 impressions have been identified, consisting of over 326 different seal types. Fiandra, who closely examined the sealings, has suggested the majority sealed wooden door-handles or wooden chests, and only a few were used on stoppers and jar mouths.<sup>1142</sup> The total count is 19 tablets, seven bars, two hanging nodules, seven roundels, seven noduli, over 6,000 direct sealings, and one ‘miscellaneous’ sealing.

The seal designs are wide-ranging, including abstract formal and informal motifs, representations of animals, human figures, vessels and other objects, and mythological/fantastic and pseudo-figures.

**447. Sealings with seal impression,** HMs 696 + s 945D

Clay, seal impression: L: 11.0; W: 11.0 mm, design complete in 24 impressions on two lumps (seven impressions on HM 696, 17 on HM 945D).

Semi-circular lumps attaching two separate semi-rectangular objects at right angles, with impression from a seal having a slightly convex circular face. Impression shows a squatting ape facing left, seated on a curving apparent ground surface, with

<sup>1139</sup> Perhaps in error for {445} above, or perhaps it was incorrectly associated with {445}.

<sup>1140</sup> LEVI 1957–1958a. See also *CMS* II.5; WEINGARTEN 1986:280.

<sup>1141</sup> LA ROSA 1984:102 *contra* YULE 1981:17. The latest ceram-

ics from this room are MM IIB(–IIIA), according to WALBERG (1981; see also YULE 1981:3 n. 12), and the sealing archive is dated to MM IIB.

<sup>1142</sup> FIANDRA 1968.



arm raised almost to face level, hand upraised and turned forwards, tail upright behind back. Its head is elongated, and it has a slightly pronounced humpback. Two filler branches in front and behind. Only one arm indicated.

Minoan, MM II(B?).

*Context:* MM IIB.

*Chronology:* MM II(B?) sealings, in generally contemporary MM IIB palace archival destruction context.

*Comparanda:* (style) {160}, (pose) {11}, {561}, {566}; (sloping ground) {447}.

*References:* LEVI 1957–1958a:121 #242, fig. 307, pl. XVI:242; FIANDRA 1968:pl. PO':696/242; LEVI 1969:250; *CMS* II.5:#297; LEVI 1976–1981:I:pl. 224:m', 225:d'; YULE 1981:139 Motif 18, pl. 12:Motif 18:5; LA ROSA 1984:103 Fig 151:second row, centre;<sup>1143</sup> PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 27, 327; 1991:II:721 #335, III:1134 fig. 335; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #445.

*Comments:* Rope impressions on the back suggest HM 945D was used to fasten wooden door-handles.<sup>1144</sup> The rounded muzzle and slight hunchback parallel two figures from Aghia Triadha {11}, whilst the pose resembles another seal impression without provenance having a more defined sloping surface on which the figure sits.

#### 448. Sealings with seal impression, HM Σ-T 714 + Σ-T 921

Clay, seal impression: L (pres.): 16.1; W (pres.): 13.1 mm, about two-thirds preserved in two fragmentary impressions on two lumps.

Sealings with impression from a seal with convex oval face, showing standing figure iconographically midway between Egyptian standing hippopotamus deity and Minoan 'genius' facing left, holding *Schnabelkanne* at neck and bottom, all in high relief. Large leaf-shaped filler object behind filled by cross-hatching, in low relief. Figure with large open mouth and rotund abdomen.

Minoan, MM II(B?).

*Context:* MM IIB.

*Chronology:* MM II(B?) sealings, in generally contemporary MM IIB palace archival destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {159}; {449}.

*References:* LEVI 1957–1958a:125 #249, 130–131 #329, figs. 314, 329, pl. XVII:249, 264; GILL 1964:20 #39, pl. 1:4; FIANDRA 1968:pl. POE': 921/264, PEH':714; *CMS* II.5:#321; YULE 1981:138 Motif 17:C, pl. 11 Motif 17:C:8; SAMBIN 1989:90 fig. 24; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 26, 327; 1991:II:721–722 #336, III:1134 fig. 336; WEINGARTEN 1991:7–9, 22 fig. 2, pl. 2; HALLAGER and WEINGARTEN 1992:179 fig. 3; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:155 #130; WEINGARTEN 2000:117.

*Comments:* Rope impressions on the back of HM 714 suggest it was used to fasten a wooden door-handle,<sup>1145</sup> but HM 921 was inconclusive. The 'leaf' behind figure may be a misinterpretation of the dorsal appendage. Weingarten's analysis suggests the proto-'genius' was developed from the standing hippopotamus deity in Egypt common in early Dynasty XIII.

#### 449. Sealing with seal impression, HM Σ-T 697

Clay, seal impression: L: 17.2; W: c. 13 mm, design complete in seven impressions on a single lump.

Sealing with impression from seal with slightly convex oval face, showing standing figure iconographically midway between hippopotamus deity and Minoan 'genius' facing left, holding *Schnabelkanne* at rim and bottom. Leonine body and face, with sharp teeth and mane below chin, protruding abdomen and pendant breast. Long flowing 'hair' or dorsal appendage from head to feet, bordered at back by row of small circles. Three tall leafy plants: one behind to right, one growing out of vessel, and one in front of feet supported by three round circles. Feet supported by two further circles.

Minoan, MM II(B?).

*Context:* MM IIB.

*Chronology:* MM II(B?) object, in generally contemporary MM IIB palace archival destruction context.

*Comparanda:* {159}; {448}.

*References:* LEVI 1957–1958a:124–125 #248, fig. 313, pl. XVI:248; GILL 1964:16 #8, pl. 1:1; SCHACHERMEYR 1967:31, pl. XVIII:66; FIANDRA 1968:pl. POB':697/248; *CMS* II.5:#322; LEVI 1976–1981:I:pl. 224:f', 225:n; YULE 1981:138 Motif 17:C, pl. 11:Motif 17:C:9; LA ROSA 1984:103 fig. 151:third row, left;<sup>1146</sup> MELLINK 1987:71, pl. XX.15; SAMBIN 1989:78 fig. 3; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 26, 327; 1991:II:722–723 #337, III:1134 fig. 337; WEINGARTEN 1991:7–9, 22 fig. 3.a–b, pl. 3; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:155–156 #131; WEINGARTEN 2000:117.

*Comments:* The shape of the back impression suggests it was used to seal a pithos jar lid.<sup>1147</sup> Weingarten's analysis suggests the proto-'genius' was developed from the standing hippopotamus deity in Egypt common in Dynasty XIII. She also notes that the seal impression is from an engraved gold ring, one of the earliest on Crete.

#### A.3. The Palace, No Find Context

A number of sealings were not given specific provenances within the palace, but are considered part of the sealing deposit.<sup>1148</sup>

#### 450. Sealing with seal impression, HMs 1066

Clay, L (pres.): 10; W (pres.): 5 mm, about a quarter preserved in one fragmentary impression.

Sealing with impression from seal probably with circular face. Preserved area shows two legs of a figure facing left, with multi-branched plant at left edge.

Minoan, MM II(B?).

*Context:* MM IIB.

*Chronology:* MM II(B?) sealing, in generally contemporary MM IIB palace destruction context.

*Comparison:* {447}.

*References:* *CMS* II.5:#298; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 27, 327; 1991:II:723 #338, III:1134 fig. 338; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #445.

<sup>1143</sup> Image reversed.

<sup>1144</sup> FIANDRA 1968:388 #d, pl. PMA':pomello d. Analyses of HM 696 were inconclusive.

<sup>1145</sup> FIANDRA 1968:388 #b, pl. PAΘ':PM':pomello b.

<sup>1146</sup> Image reversed.

<sup>1147</sup> FIANDRA 1968:389: #n, pl. PNζ':pomello n.

<sup>1148</sup> These are listed by Yule 1981:17.

*Comments:* Although the figure could not be identified by itself, its resemblance to other seals having a similar design motif strongly suggests the figure also is an ape (possibly also with upraised arms).

## B. The Town

Immediately west of the West Court and separated from it by a north-south stretch of road, Levi found a collection of tightly packed rooms overlain by a large Hellenistic building. These rooms belonged to the Proto-Palatial town surrounding the first palace, apparently constructed in its first phase in MM IB but remaining in use throughout MM II. A large room, originally considered two and numbered Rooms XCVII (to the north) and XCVIII (to the south), later was identified as a single space.<sup>1149</sup> This large and probably rectangular room was divided by a stub-wall and pillar, with well-constructed walls and a flagged and plastered floor. Its relationship to the rest of the building and the town is obscured by the present impossibility of further excavation. One interior door led to another room to the south and a second in the opposite corner to the north.

Gesell<sup>1150</sup> has identified this space as a possible cult room, chiefly on the basis of the finds which included a painted offering table fragment, the bottom half of a tapering tube, a grotesque figurine and a conical cup found on the floor. Other finds included a stone lid and kernos, jugs and juglets, an unguentarium fragment, pitharaki and jars, a lamp, two jugs and bridge-spouted jars, cups, conical cups and a whetstone.

### 451. Figurine, HM Π 17973

Clay, H: 4.7; W (max): 5.5; Dia. (base): 14.9 cm, most of right and all left arm, both legs and back of hair missing, paint worn and flaked.

Figurine in the form of a grotesque human figure, probably female, crouched/seated on a short base, with low flattened head having coarse features, globular body, arms coil-made and wrapped loosely around and meeting at front of body, legs presumably similar but attached to body. Long hair tapering to base of back. Lower body or possible skirt and crown of hair painted black. Face, limbs and upper body painted white, with eyes outlined in black. Back of hair partly separated from back at waist level. Hollow, with hollow flat base.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM IB–II.

*Chronology:* MM II object, in generally contemporary MM II domestic? cult/shrine? destruction context.

*Comparison:* {452}.

*References:* LEVI 1976–1981:I.2:560 fig. 886, pl. 163:h.

LXIX:d–e; FOSTER 1982:83, 177; GESELL 1985:132; PHILLIPS 1991:II:724–725 #339, III:1134 fig. 339; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:59–60 #37; PHILLIPS 2005a:41.

*Comments:* The origin of this image in Egyptian *Gravidenflaschen*, although chronologically impossible, remains reiterated in the latest literature. Whilst it clearly is a Minoan product, it is not an indigenous Minoan image, but neither is it Egyptian before the New Kingdom, and another origin should be sought for it. No clear origin elsewhere is forthcoming for it, however.

## C. ‘Sud dell’Acropoli Mediana’

Levi conducted a rescue excavation on the southern acropolis slope in preparation for the tourist road constructed in 1968–1969 leading from the road/parking lot to the palace and excavation house, which he named ‘Sud dell’Acropoli Mediana’. Located north of the present roadway, it consists chiefly of three Proto-Palatial rooms (CV–CVII) including at least two building periods, and other Post-Palatial and Hellenistic walls that partially destroyed the earlier building. Both phases exhibited well-constructed walls of the same plan, one constructed atop the other.

Room CV, the easternmost of the three contiguous rooms,<sup>1151</sup> was a large presumably rectangular room of which only the northern part survived leveling for the later walls. Both walls and floor were plastered in its later phase, whilst a curved wall in one area subdivided the earlier room. The transition seems to have occurred in MM IB–II, for a number of well-made Kamares cups were found both in Room CVII and beneath it.<sup>1152</sup>

The finds from Room CV include 10 cups and dozens of conical cups, two ‘fireboxes,’ three juglets and tankards, four lamps and small plates, and a spouted jar and basin in addition to an anthropomorphic protome.

### 452. Protome, HM Π 18538

Clay, H: 3.2; W: 3.2; Th. (max): 3.0 cm, figurine intact with flaked and worn paint, broken off at base where originally attached to (missing) vessel.

Protome in the form of a crouching woman, with globular body, long hair or cap(?) hanging down back and curled at end, fluted headband around head, thin pendulous breasts, thin legs wrapped around lower body and thin arms bent at sides; left hand above and right hand on knees. Face painted white with rough black eyes and ears. Hair or cap painted black, remainder red with black patches (as preserved, likely all black originally). Hollow interior, with hole at bottom.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context:* MM II.

<sup>1149</sup> LEVI 1965–1966:366–367; 1976–1981:I.2:555–560.

<sup>1150</sup> GESELL 1985:132 #116.

<sup>1151</sup> LEVI 1976–1981:I.2:605–609.

<sup>1152</sup> LA ROSA 1984:95.

*Chronology:* MM II object, in generally contemporary MM II domestic? context.

*Comparison:* {451}.

*References:* LEVI 1976–1981:I.2:609 pl. 163:e, LXIX:a–b; FOSTER 1982:83, 109, 120, 177, pl. 35:a–b; PHILLIPS 1991:II:726 #340, III:1135 fig. 340; STAMPOLIDES, KARETSOU and KANTA 1998: 35, 35 Fig.; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:59 #36.

*Comments:* Given its date, presumably this is from the upper (later) phase of the building. Intended to sit upright as a protome, possibly atop a handle or pedestal. See discussion in {451} above.

#### D. Chalara South

The excavations at Chalara, on the foot of the eastern slope south of the palace, revealed successive layers of Neolithic to Roman habitation. The houses were terraced, and the superimposed building levels were not always distinguished in the excavation.<sup>1153</sup>

The excavation area was divided into three sections, called Chalara North, Chalara Central and Chalara South. The latest structures were the best preserved. The large area included paved streets, workshops, cisterns and courtyards amongst the housing.

Chalara South also included a large Neo-Palatial building that boasted a staircase, plastered ‘bathroom,’ a storage room full of pithoi and a corridor. The later structures above did not allow clearance of the building, and it was incompletely revealed only in some areas. Small Greek letters identify its rooms, in order to distinguish them from the capital letters employed for later structures. It is dated to the Neo-Palatial period.

##### D.1. Room $\alpha'$

Room  $\alpha'$  was a large square room to the east, immediately south of a well-preserved staircase and east of the ‘bathroom’.<sup>1154</sup> Within the room were found a considerable number of large painted amphorae and oval-mouthed amphorae, jugs and cups, oinochoe, large spouted pots, lids, bowls, stamnoi, a tripod pot, alabastron, and other large vessels. Its specific use is unknown, but the considerable number of well-preserved vessels suggests some form of storage was involved.

**453. Alabastron (Type C form),** HM — (ex-PhSM F 3771) (not located)

Clay, H: 8; Dia (rim): 1.5; (base): 4.9 cm, large chip on neck/rim possibly missing rim, paint worn.

Flat-bottomed alabastron with sloping profile and slightly

flaring upright rim. Thick horizontal and slightly wavy black-painted lines around entire profile to upper shoulder.

Minoan, LM IB.

*Context:* Neo-Palatial.

*Chronology:* LM IB vessel, in generally contemporary LM IB domestic? context.

*Comparanda:* {8}; {76}; {176A}; {269}.

*Reference:* LEVI 1967–1968:127, fig. 78:b; PHILLIPS 1991:II:727–728 #341, III:1135 fig. 341.

*Comments:* A highly stylised but obvious direct imitation of the Egyptian Type C alabastron in banded travertine. The profile is quite similar to that from Mavro Spelio Tomb VII {269}. The limited context date is dictated by the date of the vessel type, which does not appear before LM IB.

##### D.2. Room $\iota'$

Room  $\iota'$  lies almost at the southern edge of the excavations.<sup>1155</sup> Its overlying Hellenistic and LM III levels were cleared to reveal an apparently square room with paved floor. Excavation below this floor revealed an earlier, Proto-Palatial, room dated by Levi to his ‘Proto-Palatial IB’ phase, approximately equivalent to MM IIB. This small room was filled with clay amphorae, bridge-spouted and spouted jars, cups and jugs of various types and profiles, together with a bull-headed rhyton and two figurine fragments. Stone vessel types included numerous handled and handless bowls, cups and jars, and a bronze tool also was found.<sup>1156</sup> The specific purpose of the room is unknown.

**454. Jar,** HM — (ex-PhSM F 63 4369) (not located)

Alabaster, H: 3.8; Dia (rim): 3.0; (max): 4.8; (base): 2.5 cm, intact.

Pseudo-‘miniature amphora’ with squat profile, high shoulder, slightly flaring rim and flat base.

Minoan, MM I–II.

*Context:* MM IIB.

*Chronology:* MM I–II vessel, in generally contemporary MM IIB domestic(?) context.

*References:* LEVI 1976–1981:I.2:700, pl. 233:o; WARREN 1969:228 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:728–729 #342, III:1135 fig. 342.

*Comments:* The shape is quite squat for the ‘miniature amphora’ type, and its date somewhat late. This particular piece probably should not be considered within Warren’s Type 28.

#### E. No Find Context

The following are said to be from Phaestos:

**455. Scarab,** HM  $\Sigma$ -K 43 (not seen)

‘White steatite,’ L: 13.6; W: 10; H: 6.2 mm, large chip on face at one side and on right elytrum, with majority of head lost.

<sup>1153</sup> LEVI 1967–1968.

<sup>1154</sup> LEVI 1967–1968:105–132.

<sup>1155</sup> LEVI 1976–1981:I.2:695–700.

<sup>1156</sup> See LEVI and CARINCI 1988:377.

Scarab, with double line between head and pronotum, between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, and border line on pronotum only. Legs indicated and fringed, meeting at pronotum/elytra junction. String-hole through length. *Face*: A Hathor-head sistrum 'sššt' or 'šhm' (Y 8) with face, ears and curls depicted. Two pair of uraei (I 12) emanate from sistrum handle. Vertical format. No border.

Egyptian, early-mid-Dynasty XVIII (within reigns of Thutmose III to Amenhotep II).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Early-mid-Dynasty XVIII (within reigns of Thutmose III to Amenhotep II) scarab, without context but not earlier than LM IB.

*Comparanda*: BRUNTON and ENGELBACH 1927:pl. XXVI:60: 16, XLI.40; BEN-TOR 1989:71 #49; KEEL 1995:86 fig. 145.top row, right; (flanking uraei) {521}.

*Reference*: KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:324 #337.

*Comments*: Correctly dated to mid-Dynasty XVIII (within reigns of Thutmose III to Amenhotep II) by Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) on the basis of the double pair of flanking cobras. The face design is typical of this period.

Not included in Pendlebury 1930b.

#### 456. Seal, HM (Giamalakis) 3311

Chalcedony, L: 16.9; W: 16.7; H: 7.8; SH: 2.3 mm, chipped at string-hole, worn surface.

Lentoid seal, engraved on one side only. String-hole through width. *Face*: Two apes standing with bent knees facing centre and heads *regardant*, tails hanging down and spiralled at the end. They clasp hands, with kantharos below in centre between them.

Minoan, probably LM I.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably LM I seal, without context.

*Comparison*: BOARDMAN 1970:51 fig. 122.

*References*: XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:56 #355, pl. X:355, XXIX:355; MARINATOS 1987a:129, fig. 7:2; PHILLIPS 1991: II:729 #343, III:1135 fig. 343; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #448; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:175-276 #159.

*Comments*: Clearly derived from the *Cercopithecus* monkey.

## PINIES

Whilst traveling through Crete in 1894, Evans purchased a stone jar in the village of Pinies, north of Elounda village and west of Spinalonga island on the north-east coast, on April 18<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1157</sup> It often is identified as coming from the site of ancient Olous, as Evans stated this in *PM I*. The classical city-state of Olous is quite near modern Elounda. However, it initially was said to have been found near Pinies village itself. No find context is known, nor were any other objects reported in conjunction with it.

#### 457. Jar ('spheroid jar'), AM 1894.99 (= AM AE 204)

Brown serpentine or gabbro, H: 8.7, Dia. (rim): 9.5; (max): 11.5; (base): 5.7 cm, intact, with chip on one handle.

Closed, with flat collar slightly undercut, high shoulder and raised base. Solid roll handles on the shoulder. Internal base ring.

Minoan, probably MM III-LM IIIA1.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM III-LM IIIA1 vessel, without context.

*Comparanda*: EL-KHOULI 1978: pl. 59:H:1488-1492; (for base-ring) EMERY 1961:218 figs. 72, 83.

*References*: EVANS 1895:117, fig. 112; HALL 1914b:227, fig.: right; EVANS *PM I*:65-66, fig. 33; WARREN 1969:74 Type 30:A, P398, D225;<sup>1158</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:730-731 #344, III:1136 fig. 344; LILYQUIST 1996:147, pl. 10.1; BROWN and BENNETT 2001: 174-177, 430 #177, 431 fig. 177.

*Comments*: Even Evans recognised this vessel as indigenous, if only due to the material from which it was made. It strongly resembles Egyptian Early Dynastic types, probably Dynasty III vessels which tend to have solid handles rather than pierced.

The remains of some organic material was noted in 1987 at the bottom of the interior and analysed by Margaret Serpico (University College, London). Initial results indicate some form of fatty substance.<sup>1159</sup> It may have been ancient but equally might have been the remains of some substance employed during the last century by Evans' dealer.

## PISKOKEPHALO

Piskokephalo is the large town about four kilometres south of Siteia, on the main road leading to Ierapetra. Evans already had spotted a Minoan site here in 1894, and Platon excavated a well-known shrine repository on Katriana hill just north of the town in 1952. He recovered numerous clay figurines, both human and animal, together with horned beetles and some shrine models. Other finds include various beads and clay vessels, dating the shrine to MM II-III. The human figurines are similar to those of Petsafa type earlier found by Marinatos in the region in 1931.

He also excavated the remains of an LM I villa, of at least two storeys, north of the village at Fourkolia (or Klimataria). It was half destroyed by the road that had cut through it, but it was well constructed with a massive stone supporting wall on the river side.

Nearby, at the abandoned village of Berbati south-west of the town, Platon also excavated a collapsed cave, with LM III, Proto-Geometric and Geometric finds, with a larnax and much pottery. Another similar cave tomb was found near Piskokephalo

<sup>1157</sup> EVANS 1895:117. See also *NB C*:17; BROWN and BENNETT 2001:174-177.

<sup>1158</sup> Note that the illustrations of D222 and D225 are reversed in the text, pp. 74-75. D222 is the profile of jar P403 {266}, and D225 of P398 (this jar).

<sup>1159</sup> Margaret Serpico (personal communication, 13 September 1990).

town, and excavated the following year,<sup>1160</sup> with at least ten burials.

The following was recovered in 1931, but is without recorded context.<sup>1161</sup>

**458. Ovoid**, HM 1447

Hard very black stone, L: 13, W: 10, H: 7 mm, complete but worn and 'corroded' surface.

Ovoid with high vertical side profile, rounded at top. String-hole through length. *Face*: Series of horizontal lines resembling different hieroglyphs, with remnants of vertical possible line border along both long edges. Apparent 'hieroglyphs' include what may be construed as the gaming board 'mn' (Y 5) at either end, and water 'n' (N 35) in the center. These are separated by incomplete squiggled marks. Apparent vertical format.

Possibly Minoan, LM IB or later, or just possibly Levantine, LB I or later.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Possibly LM IB or later, or LB I or later, ovoid, without context.

*References*: CMS II.2:#281; YULE 1983:366 n. 22.

*Comments*: The CMS notes that the face design is hardly Minoan. Indeed, the 'hieroglyphs' here are assembled in an arrangement that, with the vertical lines at either long edge taken as the reed leaf 'i' (M 17), could be construed as a duplicated writing, in *tête-bêche* arrangement, of the name of the god Amon (*Imn*). The incomplete squiggled marks would be the bottom line of the gaming boards 'mn' (Y 5) followed by the water sign 'n' (N 35) or, less likely, extraneous to this composition. If taken as a misunderstood inscription, this Minoan or just possibly Levantine ovoid could hardly date before Egyptian Dynasty XVIII, when such compositions became popular in Egypt. It is not impossible that this is of Iron Age date, to be associated with the cave material rather than the villa.

## PLATANOS

The Platanos cemetery is located just beyond a crossroads west of the modern village of Platanos and about four kilometres southwest of Gortyn, in the eastern Mesara plain.<sup>1162</sup> Local inhabitants discovered the site when digging to find the exact location of a church presumed to have been there, in order to construct a new one atop it. St. Xanthoudides excavated the three tholoi and other interments in late 1914 and summer 1915.<sup>1163</sup> New finds in 1953 led to a small excavation by N. Platon here in 1955.<sup>1164</sup> The site is

now partly destroyed, with a road running through immediately north of the main tholoi and the field partly under cultivation and housing.

The three tholoi were identified as Tholos A, B and Γ. The better-preserved tholos B lies immediately behind tholos A to the west, and tholos Γ, almost totally destroyed, about 5 m. north of B. All have the usual circular burial compartment with an eastern entrance, and a complex of several rooms/pits constituting an 'Annexe' of unknown but probably ritual usage. Although less well preserved on the whole, the ground plan of the tholos A annexes are more intelligible than those of tholos B. The space between the two tholoi was designated Area AB.

Tholos Γ was dated to EM II-MM IA on the basis of the few objects found within; the other tombs continued beyond this date. Other minor burials were found, especially around tholos Γ, mostly consisting of small square or rectangular burial buildings arranged in groups (identified as α to γ) or long stone-lined trenches (δ and ε) which were employed as ossuaries.<sup>1165</sup> These are later in date than the tholoi. Ceramic finds from both these buildings and trenches indicate their reuse in the LM I period.

### A. Tholos Tomb A

Tholos A was the largest of the tholoi, spanning over 13 m. in internal diameter.<sup>1166</sup> Digging in the last century destroyed about half its circular wall, including the entrance and its anteroom. Part of the tholos and many of the annexe walls subsequently were destroyed during road construction. The remaining walls are quite low, but the outer diameter of the tholos itself, about 18 m., is the largest known.

Immediately east of the tholos entrance, Xanthoudides found a complex of some 10 compartments, which he called 'storerooms' and now are known as the 'Annexes.'<sup>1167</sup> The chance discovery of 20 stone vessels in 1953 led N. Platon to another small chamber containing over 400 stone and clay vessels of MM I date.<sup>1168</sup>

<sup>1160</sup> See LEEKLEY and NOYES 1975:65-66; PAPADAKIS 1983:77-79.

<sup>1161</sup> Presumably, it was collected by Marinatos, but the circumstances were not recorded.

<sup>1162</sup> The ancient village associated with the cemetery apparently lay on a small knoll immediately east of it, according to PENDLEBURY 1939:16, pl. V:2. However, XANTHOUIDES 1924 does not mention a settlement.

<sup>1163</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:88-125. For a reconstructed plan of the entire site, beyond that of tholoi A and B published by Xanthoudides, see BRANIGAN 1970a:12 fig. 2.

<sup>1164</sup> PLATON 1953:492; COOK and BOARDMAN 1954:169; PLATON 1955:568; HOOD and BOARDMAN 1956:30-31.

<sup>1165</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:93. See now also SOLES 1993:193 on 'Burial Buildings' α and γ.

<sup>1166</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:88-90.

<sup>1167</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:90; see also pl. LXII. Some compartments are called 'trenches' and others 'huts.'

<sup>1168</sup> PLATON 1953:492; COOK and BOARDMAN 1954:169; PLATON 1955:568; HOOD and BOARDMAN 1956:30-31.

Six walls adjoin the south wall of tholos A possibly as buttresses, creating five compartments numbered 1 to 5.

### A.1. The Tholos

Xanthoudides noted two clear burial strata within the tholos chamber itself. The lower, earlier layer showed evidence of several fires, including some directly on the clay floor of the tomb. The fill consisted of about 20 cm. of a hard compacted mixture of numerous fragmentary bones and some few objects, leading Xanthoudides to believe it had been cleared or robbed when the upper layer was added. The few finds included 14 complete bronze triangular daggers and fragments of others, two gold beads and a pendant on a chain.

The later, upper stratum was less compacted, having bones in much better condition and a much greater number and variety of grave goods. Finds from here included a large quantity of bronze daggers of the long, ribbed type<sup>1169</sup> and virtually all the gold ornaments. It was about 20–25 cm. thick.

Unfortunately, Xanthoudides did not publish the specific layer from which most of the objects in the tomb were found and although the upper layer is the most likely origin one cannot be certain. Also from the tholos itself were two shell dishes, bronze ‘sickles’ and a small axe, a limestone figurine, three ivory pommels and a figurine, and numerous ivory and ‘white steatite’ seals. No beads were found in the tholos except some of gold. Although he also states that ‘nothing of clay was found in ... tholos A,’<sup>1170</sup> he lists two ceramic bowls from this location on the following page. The earlier layer dates to EM I–IIB, and the upper layer to EM III–MM IB/IIA.<sup>1171</sup>

#### 459. Pendant(?), HM O–E 1026

Bone (boar’s tusk),<sup>1172</sup> H: 37.1; W: 42.1; Th.: 26.0; SH: 2.5; Holes at bottom: H: 5.5–6.0; Dia.: 2.7 mm, top of one head restored in wax, otherwise intact but worn surface.

Pendant in the form of two apes seated back-to-back on a base, each with knees drawn up and front paws on the ground between legs, all in shallow relief. Carved heads with short pointed ears, short snout and drilled eyes. Horizontal incised

line on one side of base only. String-hole through width in space between the backs of necks. Hollow interior. Two short drill holes from base.

Minoan, probably MM IA–B.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* Probably MM IA–B object, in generally contemporary or slightly later MM IA–IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:122, pl. XV:b:1026; HALL 1928:69–71, fig. 75;<sup>1173</sup> McDERMOTT 1938:209 #280; ZERVOS 1956:pl. 199:left; PHILLIPS 1991:II:735 #345, III:1137 fig. 345; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #451;<sup>1174</sup> KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:184 #170.

*Comments:* Presumably this is from the upper stratum.

This is called a ‘pendant’ in the present study as it has no ‘face’ design and is pierced horizontally, presumably for suspension although it then would hang awkwardly. The two vertical drill holes would also suggest it may have been attached to some larger object at the bottom, so it may not have been a pendant but perhaps a finial of some kind. The rounded heads, short snouts and lack of indicated mane suggest the *Cercopithecus*.

### A.2. The ‘Annexes’

Xanthoudides’ compartments, labeled  $\alpha$  to  $\kappa$ , were stuffed with bones and grave goods, especially small stone vessels of numerous shapes and ivory seals. Although he often does not give specific provenances for most of the ‘Annexe’ finds, Xanthoudides notes the stone vessels were especially thick in trench  $\alpha$ <sup>1175</sup> and the seals in hut  $\zeta$ . However, some were found elsewhere. Other finds in these compartments include clay bowls, a handled cup, askos, kernoi, and long bronze blade, all dating to the same period as the tholos itself. No chronological divisions were reported in the annexe. It probably continued even later in use.<sup>1176</sup>

#### 460. Jar (‘cylinder jar’), Type A, HM $\Lambda$ 1637

Calcite, H: 5.4; Dia. (rim): 4.0; (base): 3.4 cm, intact.

Tall cylindrical jar with thick everted rim and base rounded at edges, with a slightly convex slightly tapering body profile.

Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM III–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {26}; {27}; {98}; {393}; {480}.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:101, pl. LIII:b:1637; WARREN 1969:76 Type 30:D, P425; BRANIGAN 1970a:78 fig. 17:top

<sup>1169</sup> Including one of probable Byblite origin (HM 1902) identified by BRANIGAN 1966:125. He later misattributed it to the tholos A storerooms in BRANIGAN 1968:20.

<sup>1170</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:94.

<sup>1171</sup> BRANIGAN 1968:19–20, the terminus date based on the stylistic date of the clay bowls; see also WALBERG 1983:99. However, if they did not come from the tholos, the terminus date might be lowered to MM IA.

<sup>1172</sup> Olga Krzyżkowska (personal communication, 05 May 2000).

<sup>1173</sup> Misidentified as a seal.

<sup>1174</sup> He gives a date of EM III only.

<sup>1175</sup> They numbered almost 300 vessels. WARREN 1969:121 n. notes that stone vessels HM 1619–1903 all are from these annexes. Others were excavated the following summer and by Platon.

<sup>1176</sup> If the dating of the long dagger blade (HM 1934) by BRANIGAN 1968:20–21 is taken into consideration. This dagger type seems to date to MM IIIB–LM I.

centre; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:736 #346, III:1137 fig. 346; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:43 #25.ε;<sup>1177</sup> BEVAN 2001:II:380 fig. 5.32.c.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides specified this vessel came from trench α of the 'Annexe.'

Egyptian 'cylinder jar' forms contemporary with EM II–MM I are tapering but tend to either be straight or slightly concave in profile. Convex forms almost exclusively are Predynastic and date not later than Dynasty I, and in any case do not have a defined base.<sup>1178</sup> Thus this vessel is somewhat removed from the Egyptian type, and difficult to correlate with it. The footed base would at least place the model within the Dynastic period.

**461. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM Λ 1665

Banded tufa, H: 7.0; Dia. (rim): 2.8; (max): 4.7; (base): 2.4 cm, intact.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base and incurving rim. Two large horizontal grooves on the neck, with a ridge between. Large interior cavity undercut at the shoulder, having a thin base with a stepped ridge at the interior bottom.

Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM III–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparison:* (for neck) {399}.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:101, pl. XII:1665; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P365, D203; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:736–737 #347, III:1137 fig. 347; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:34 #14; BEVAN 2001:II:379 fig. 5.31.c.iii.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

Warren<sup>1179</sup> notes the collar imitates the Egyptian 'sleeved collar' (also called 'concave collar') form, although the Egyptian form has a single deep undercutting at shoulder level, not grooving above and below as here. The undercutting suggests a later rather than earlier date for this vessel within the context range given, although this remains uncertain.

**462. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM Λ 1666

Grey and white mottled dolomitic limestone, H: 6.6–6.8; Dia. (rim): 3.5; (max): 4.8; (base): 2.5 cm, about half of base missing, remainder intact.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base, slightly flaring thick rim and high shoulder. Interior profile undercut at shoulder but still fairly thick section.

Minoan, EM II–III.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM II–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* WARREN 1969:210 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:737 #348, III:1138 fig. 348; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:30 #15.α.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

The undercutting suggests a later rather than earlier date within the context range.

**463. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM Λ 1667

Brownish-green steatite, H: 7.3; Dia. (rim): 5.1; (max): 6.6; (base): 3.9 cm, chipped at rim and base.

'Miniature amphora' with raised flat base, high shoulder and thickened rim, very small interior cavity with interior pimple and drill marks. Unfinished or roughly finished.

Minoan, EM III.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM III vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM II–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* WARREN 1969:210 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:737 #348, III:1138 fig. 349; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:36 #16.β.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

The small interior cavity and lack of undercutting suggests an earlier rather than later date for this vessel within the context range. The raised base is not a feature of Egyptian vessels of this type, and must be of Minoan origin. Drill marks suggest a date not earlier than EM III.

**464. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM Λ 1668 (not handled)

Grey-black limestone with white veining, H: 8.52; Dia.: (base) 3.3; (max.) 4.6 cm, large chips at rim, otherwise intact.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base, sloping shoulder and short upright rim, without articulation and apparently flat on top. Very small interior cavity.

Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM III–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {429}; {507}.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:101, pl. LIII:a.1668; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P366; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:737 #350, III:1138 fig. 350; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:36 #16.γ.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

This has an extremely low and rounded 'shoulder,' and no apparent rim articulation. In general profile, it resembles the larger vessels from Syme and Palaikastro, but is not as 'defined' a form.

**465. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM Λ 1670

Grey-black limestone with white veining, H: 7.2; Dia. (rim, rest.): 4.7; (max): 6.0; (base): 3.3 cm, much rim missing and large chip on body, both restored.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base, piriform body profile and thickened rim. The interior is undercut below the shoulder, with a large but not very deep interior cavity and quite thick section. Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM III–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:pl. LIII:a.1670; WARREN 1969:210 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:738 #352, III:1139 fig. 352; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:35 #15.γ.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

<sup>1177</sup> Photographs are reversed in publication: that marked '25η' is this vessel, whilst '25ε' actually is 25η from Aghia Triadha {26}.

<sup>1178</sup> See B.G. ASTON 1994:99–105.

<sup>1179</sup> Citing PETRIE 1937:pl. XXV:460, 466, 468.

This *may* be unfinished, on the basis of the small and shallow interior cavity.

**466. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM A 1671

Grey-black limestone with white mottled veins, H: 6.7; Dia. (rim): 4.6; (max): 6.2; (base): 3.4 cm, intact.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base, piriform body profile and thickened rim. Two widely spaced rough horizontal grooved lines on upper body and wider groove inbetween. Diagonal fluting on rim. Very small rough interior cavity, probably drilled and not undercut.

Minoan, EM II–III.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM II–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:100, pl. LIII:a.1671; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P367; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:738 #353, III:1139 fig. 353; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:37 #16.δ.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

The small interior cavity and lack of undercutting suggests an earlier rather than later date for this vessel within the context range. The interior is apparently unfinished.

**467. Jar ('miniature amphora'),** HM A 1672

Grey and white dolomitic limestone, H: 5.3; Dia. (rim): 3.0; (max): 4.6; (base): 2.4 cm, intact.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base and thickened rim diagonally fluted at top. Incised decoration on upper shoulder of four wide double line 'X' patterns separated by four vertical lug handles. Handles decorated with horizontal lines in a vertical ladder pattern. Very small interior cavity, not undercut, and very thick section.

Minoan, EM II–III.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM II–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:100, 101, pl. LIII:a.1672; ZERVOS 1956:pl. 162:centre; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28, P368, D204; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:738 #354, III:1139 fig. 354; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:37 #17.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

The small interior cavity and lack of undercutting suggests an earlier rather than later date for this vessel within the context range.<sup>1180</sup> It appears to be finished.

**468. Bowl,** HM A 1894

Coarse white limestone, L: 10.9; W: 7.8; H: 4.4; Dia. (inner rim): 4.6; (base): 8.3 by 5.5 cm, chips on inner rim and large chip on right front side, otherwise intact.

Low bowl with flattened diameter having a small circular

depression in the centre and a wide groove at the shoulder. Three incised lines on the upper body as a triangle, with a fourth from one end to depression. A small raised triangular 'horn' the opposite end. Flat base.

Minoan, EM III(?)–MM I.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM III(?)–MM I vessel, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM III–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:102–103, pl. LIV:1894; ZERVOS 1956:pl. 180; WARREN 1969:104 Type 42:C, P588; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 24; 1991:II:739 #355, III:1140 fig. 355; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:39 #20.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered.

Although Xanthoudides thought the bowl represented a turtle, Warren has shown it in fact is carved and decorated to represent a beetle, with the head, pronotum and elytra clearly indicated. It is a unique adaptation of the beetle form, with the slightly raised 'horn' indicative of the indigenous beetle variety, as are indicated elsewhere in clay.<sup>1181</sup> As such, it should not be associated with the hornless scarab beetle types, from which the scarab seals are derived. Basically, this is a modified 'bird's nest' bowl, of which numerous examples were recovered here.<sup>1182</sup>

**469. Seal,** HM Σ–K 1040

Hippopotamus ivory, L: 26.2; W: 22.7; H: 33.8; SH: 2.5; Top hole: 3.3 mm, split vertically down the centre front, with battered edges. Edges of face partially destroyed.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of an ape having a particularly 'dog-like' face and tall pointed ears, seated on a low apsidal base. The arms are in front of the body, with paws between the hind feet. Drilled eyes. String-hole drilled horizontally through the side at shoulder level and another vertically from the top of the head that meets it. Tailless. *Face:* Three lions, each with front legs almost meeting in centre and bodies twisted at torso so the hind legs and tails face outwards. Bodies cross-hatched. One filler S-spiral motif between two lions. Deeply incised linear design.

Minoan, MM IA(–B?).

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* MM IA(–B?) seal, in generally contemporary or slightly later MM IA–IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* (shape) {54}; {563}; {567}; {568}; {569}.

*References:* EVANS *PM* I:118 fig. 887:1, 119; XANTHOUIDES 1924:114, pl. XIII:1040; MATZ 1928:6–7 #3, pl. 1:3, VII:8; EVANS *PM* IV:2:486 fig. 411; McDERMOTT 1938:208 #277; PENDLEBURY 1939:87, pl. 14:1:d; ZERVOS 1956:pl. 205:left, 207:top; MATZ 1958:425, pl. 29:lower right; KENNA 1960:24 fig. 39–40, 28 n. 5; 1964:920 n. 35, 925/26 fig. 11; *CMS* II.1:#249; BRANIGAN 1970a:67 fig. 13:second row, third from left; YULE 1981:94 Class 33:d, 128–129 Motif 7, pl. 6 Motif 7:B:7; KRZYSZKOWSKA 1988:216; 1989:122; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 29;

<sup>1180</sup> A virtually identical vessel in the Giamalakis collection housed in the HMMH (HM Giamalakis 23), most likely is a forgery and is not included in the present catalogue. It is said to be from 'Central Crete.'

<sup>1181</sup> E.g., a beetle-shaped rhyton from Palaikastro (SACKETT and POPHAM 1970:220, fig. 12, pl. 58:d–e; see also GESELL

1985:119, pl. 110.) and from Piskokephalo a large quantity of model clay beetles. See PLATON 1952:634–635, fig. 15; DAVARAS 1988:*passim*. They are also found at numerous other sites.

<sup>1182</sup> WARREN 1969:7–11 Type 3.



1991:II:739–740 #356, III:1141 fig. 356; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 400 #439;<sup>1183</sup> KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:174 #156.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides did not note the specific compartment in which this was recovered, but it most likely was ‘Annexe’ κ, where he says the majority of seals originated.

Yule placed this seal within the ‘Parading Lions/Spiral Complex’ of face designs, dating it to EM III–MM IA, whilst the ape’s similarity to another from Archanes {54} should place it later rather than earlier in this range. Evans casually suggested the animal might be a ‘Barbary ape,’ but quickly noted its resemblance to others of the *Cynocephalus* type. It must have been derived from the *Cynocephalus*. It is one of several seals of similar presentation, the others being cited as comparanda.

### A.3. No Find Context (The Buttress Compartments?)

The find spot(s) of the following are not specified by Xanthoudides, but each is marked with ‘A’ and an illegible number on the side. Use of the capital letter indicates association with Tholos A, whilst the number suggests this does not come from ‘Annexe’ compartment α, but presumably rather from one of the five numbered buttress compartments on its south side. The illegible number presumably would indicate the specific compartment where each had been recovered. Alternatively, these may have been given numbers as they were recovered in the tholos chamber itself.

The buttress compartments contained a large number of bones but very few objects; these included a small lamp, ivory seal and rock-crystal bead or pendant;<sup>1184</sup> they probably date to MM I. The questionable attribution of the stone vessels to the compartments, however, leaves their potentially limited context dating uncertain. If limited to MM I, they represent two very different ‘traditions’ in presentation: two are squat with small roughly hollowed interior cavity, and two are tall with large interior cavity. Xanthoudides mentions no stone vessels from these compartments.

#### 470. Jar (‘miniature amphora’), HM A 1669

Grey and white dolomitic limestone, H: 6.5; Dia. (rim): 3.5; (max): 8.1; (base): 3.2 cm, chipped and restored at rim and upper body.

‘Miniature amphora’ with flat base and very shallow upright rim. Four groups of four raised vertical ridges from just below rim to base, grooved in-between, one having but three ridges. Very small interior cavity, roughly drilled out.

Minoan, EM II–III.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA, possibly MM I.

*Chronology:* EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM II–MM IB/IIA (possibly MM I) tomb deposition.

*Comparison:* B.G. ASTON 1994:138 #132.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:100, 101, pl. LIII:a:1669;

WARREN 1969:210 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:737–738 #351, III:1138 fig. 351; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:38 #18.

*Comments:* The small interior cavity, roughly drilled interior surface and lack of undercutting suggests an earlier rather than later date for this vessel within the context range. This is, in any case, far removed from the Egyptian model, although some much larger Old Kingdom vessels (with, however, strongly articulated rim and upright collar neck) have a similar body profile.

#### 471. Jar (‘miniature amphora’), HM A 1991

Grey-black limestone with white mottled veins, H: 7.4; Dia. (rim): 3.9; (max): 6.7; (base): 2.9 cm, chipped on rim and body. ‘Miniature amphora’ with flat base, high shoulder and thickened upright rim. Very small interior cavity with central ‘pimple.’

Minoan, EM II–III.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA, possibly MM I.

*Chronology:* EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM II–MM IB/IIA (possibly MM I) tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:101, pl. LIII:a:1991; WARREN 1969:211 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:746–747 #364, III:1142 fig. 364; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:36 #16.α.

*Comments:* The small interior cavity and lack of undercutting suggests an earlier rather than later date for this vessel within the context range. It appears to be finished.

#### 472. Jar (‘miniature amphora’), HM A 1995

Green/black steatite with greyish-white patches, H: 6.1; Dia. (rim): 3.6; (max): 4.1; (base): 2.1 cm, large broken fragment at rim, now repaired.

‘Miniature amphora’ with flat base, high shoulder and barely articulated upright rim. Interior not undercut, with instepping near bottom and deep base ring drill mark at bottom.

Minoan, EM II–III.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA, possibly MM I.

*Chronology:* EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM II–MM IB/IIA (possibly MM I) tomb deposition.

*References:* WARREN 1969:211 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:747 #365, III:1143 fig. 365; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:35 #15.δ.

*Comments:* The small interior cavity and lack of undercutting suggests an earlier rather than later date for this vessel within the context range. The deep drill cutting at the interior bottom clearly indicates its method of manufacture.

#### 473. Jar (‘miniature amphora’), HM A 1996

Grey-black limestone with white mottled veins, H: 7.0; Dia. (rim): 3.7; (max): 5.4; (base): 2.6 cm, cracked through majority of body and chipped on rim.

‘Miniature amphora’ with flat base, sharply defined shoulder and upright thickened rim. Interior misaligned but profile undercut below shoulder.

Minoan, EM III–MM IB/IIA.

*Context:* EM II–MM IB/IIA, possibly MM I.

*Chronology:* EM II–III vessel, in generally contemporary or later EM III–MM IB/IIA (possibly MM I) tomb deposition.

<sup>1183</sup> He dates this seal to EM III, but see comments below.

<sup>1184</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:97 #6905; 115 #1047; 124. All published finds recorded from here were from compartment 4.

*Comparanda:* {25}; {325}.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:pl. LIII:a.1996; WARREN 1969:211 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:747 #366, III:1143 fig. 366; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:35 #15.β.

*Comments:* The undercutting suggests a later rather than earlier date for this vessel within the context range. The sharply defined shoulder suggests an Old Kingdom model for this example.<sup>1185</sup>

## B. Tholos Tomb B

Tholos B was partially destroyed by the villagers, including the entrance and parts of the wall, but Xanthoudides rebuilt them.<sup>1186</sup> At over 10 m. internal diameter, it is the second largest known, after tholos A. Virtually all its building material remained, although it had collapsed in antiquity.

The fill was about 30–90 cm. thick, none of which had been subjected to burning unlike in the majority of tholoi. Amongst the considerable number of bones were a number of clay bowls and cups including early ‘Kamares’ types, rhyta in the form of oxen and a bird, small jugs, a ‘scent bottle’ and lamp, a few stone vessels, about 80 seals mainly of stone but also of ivory and one of clay, the famous Old Babylonian haematite cylinder seal, an ivory figurine, several amulets and pendants in ivory and steatite, a few long ribbed daggers including a tanged Byblite type,<sup>1187</sup> two ‘cutters,’ a gold bead and a large quantity of stone beads and probably those of faience as well. Unlike tholos A, tholos B was not in use until EM III, and it continued through MM IB/IIA and later, as two talismanic seals of MM III/LM I date apparently are from this tholos. The two zoomorphic rhyta date to EMIII–MM IA.<sup>1188</sup>

### 474. Pendant, HM O–E 1145

Hippopotamus ivory,<sup>1189</sup> H: 31.3; W: 21.2; Th.: 10.2; SH: 2.2 mm, intact but cracked.

Pendant probably in the form of a squatting ape, with legs drawn up, arms raised in front of face and tail tucked under. Short flattened head with small snout(?) and drilled eyes. String-holes drilled side to side and a further overlapping pair diagonally from back at the same level. Marked ‘B’ on side. Minoan, EM III–MM IA.

*Context:* EM III–MM IB/IIA and later.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM IA object, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM III–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:122, pl. XV:b:1145; ZERVOS 1956:pl. 203:bottom right; HOOD 1978:190, fig. 186:D;

PHILLIPS 1991:II:741 #357, III:1141 fig. 357; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:184 #171.

*Comments:* Although an ape is not certainly represented, the drawn-up legs and upraised arms suggest the inspiration at least of this motif. It cannot be a four-footed creature, despite the tendency to illustrate it with all four legs below: the feet clearly are indicated to one side, not on the ground, when in this position. If an ape, it must have derived from the *Cynocephalus* by its thick body and short tail, but is far removed from the original. See also comments to {469}.

### 475. Pendant, HM 1146

Hippopotamus ivory,<sup>1190</sup> H: 21.9; W: 29.7, Th.: 4.6; SH: 2.3 mm, slightly chipped one corner, otherwise intact.

Pendant possibly in the form of two apes back-to-back, carved in outline from a slightly curved slab. Bodies not articulated but heads have blunt noses. Eyes drilled both front and back but not through. Four vertical depressed lines on flat surface area. String-hole front to back at shoulder level in centre. Four small vertical nicks at bottom on back.

Minoan, EM III–MM IA.

*Context:* EM III–MM IB/IIA and later.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM IA object, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM III–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {395}; {511}.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:123, pl. XV:b.1146; BRANIGAN 1970a:69 fig. 14:top centre; PHILLIPS 1991:II:74–742 #358, III:1141 fig. 358.

*Comments:* Although not certainly *Cynocephalus* apes, this pendant’s resemblance to the example from Marathokephalo and other more detailed representations of apes back-to-back suggests the same or similar motif was intended. However, no body details are indicated, and it is possible that another animal is represented. See also comments to {469}.

### 476. Scarab, HM Σ–K 1075

‘White piece,’<sup>1191</sup> with bluish-green glaze over inner coating,<sup>1192</sup> L: 20.7; W: 15.1; H: 9.3; SH: 2.5 mm, damaged on the back and at edges of face, exposing surface layers, glaze remaining near stringhole at head end.

Scarab with elaborate lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, triple line between elytrae. Head, pronotum and elytra bordered along the outer edge by a thin incised line. Double line irregularly diagonal across each elytrum, with notched interior on left side. Legs indicated by hollow undercutting, and notched. Front and middle legs meet at junction of pronotum and elytra. String-hole through length. *Face:* The Egyptian standing hippopotamus deity, facing right with hands in front of face. Long notched dorsal appendage from above head to a tail ending at knee height. An armless and tailless square-jawed squatting ape fills the area behind. Bodies of both figures, and dorsal appendage of hippopotamus deity, infilled with short filler lines. Probable animal leg (‘Foreleg of Seth’) in front of hippopotamus deity’s leg, linked to it at

<sup>1185</sup> See B.G. ASTON 1994:138 #132–135 OK variant description.

<sup>1186</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:90–92.

<sup>1187</sup> HM 1930. See BRANIGAN 1967:117; 1968:23.

<sup>1188</sup> See KOEHL 1981:187 and 2006:72, 75–76.

<sup>1189</sup> From the lower canine (Olga Krzyszkowska, personal communication, 15 August 2000).

<sup>1190</sup> From the lower canine (Olga Krzyszkowska, personal communication, 15 August 2000).

<sup>1191</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 08 May 2000).

<sup>1192</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000).

front of foot. A Z-scroll and three C-scrolls as filler in front of hippopotamus deity. Vertical format. Line border.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XI, possibly early Dynasty XII.

*Context:* EM III–MM IB/IIA and later.

*Chronology:* Late Dynasty XI, possibly early Dynasty XII scarab, in generally contemporary or slightly later MM IA–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* WARD 1978: 53, pl. VI:173 (use as filler), 180, also *passim* (generally Head type A3, Back type III, Side type c3, Tail type fig. 5:upper right with addition of horizontal line below lunate); DUNAND 1950–1958:2:562 #12936, *Atlas* pl. CXCVII:12936; (face design) NEWBERRY 1905:88 fig. 93; (raised arm of deity) BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:225–226 #285 [Dynasty XVIII]; (ape representation) GIVEON and KERTESZ 1986:40–41 #160; ('floating leg in front') {174}.

*References:* EVANS *PM* I:200 fig. 148; XANTHOUIDES 1924:117, pl. XIV:a:1075; MATZ 1928:22–23 #270, pl. VIII:11; PENDLEBURY 1930b:35 #56, pl. 1:56; EVANS *PM* IV.2:439, fig. 363; PENDLEBURY 1939:121; SMITH 1945:14; NILSSON 1950:380; *CMS* II.1:#283; ROBINSON 1968:25–26; WARREN 1980:496–497; WARD 1981:71–72, fig. I:1; CADOGAN 1983:511, 516; WALBERG 1983:147; YULE 1983:366 n. 22; KEEL 1989c:283 fig. 3; SAMBIN 1989:88 fig. 21; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:242 #161, pl. 48:161; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 15, 325 n. 25; 1991:II:742–744 #359, III:1142 fig. 359; WEINGARTEN 1991:4, pl. 4; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:442; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:304 #296.

*Comments:* Although Robinson suggested the seal is of Syrian manufacture on the basis of a parallel for the standing hippopotamus deity on a Syrian cylinder seal fragment from Byblos, Ward, Quirke and Fitton, and Weingarten (in KARETSOU *et al.*) all accept it as an Egyptian object. Quirke and Fitton see different dates for the baboon ("early MK") and the hippopotamus deity and diagonal lines crossing the elytra ("late MK/SIP"). Weingarten dated it to the FIP. Ward's analysis, based on details of the scarab back and profile rather than the face design, marked it as Egyptian in origin. There are no close parallels for the face design and especially the combination of the standing hippopotamus deity and ape, the latter clearly a *Cynocephalus* due to its blunt muzzle and despite its lack of tail. Indeed, few examples of the standing hippopotamus deity are known on seals prior to the New Kingdom. One seal, published by Newberry and inscribed with the name of Amenemhat III on the reverse, also shows the short line infilling of the hippopotamus deity's body. Nonetheless, a Levantine origin is negated by the use of both the ape and the Taweret figure, neither employed on Canaanite scarabs. Despite the many differing scholarly opinions expressed in past on differing grounds, the use of hollow undercutting and other features now can be employed to pinpoint its manufacture to within the early Middle Kingdom.

Nonetheless, some features of the face design indicate the artisan had not fully understood the image he was producing.

The arm position of the deity, raised with hands in front of face, is highly unusual if not unique for an Egyptian depiction;<sup>1193</sup> the arms usually are straight and either held diagonally in front or at the side of the body.<sup>1194</sup> It must be a misinterpretation of the long-bladed knife being held by the hands and arms in front of the body. Additionally the deity's forefoot flows directly into the 'animal leg' in front, not separated from it by a dividing line. The 'animal leg' probably is a misinterpretation of the s3-sign (V 17) or, less likely, the ʿnh-sign (S 34). Moreover, no arms are indicated on the ape figure behind. Such details betray the artisan's lack of understanding of the image being depicted. Two other unusual but not unique features are the lack of both the pendulous breasts and leonine mane.

#### 477. Scarab, HM Σ–K 1058

Lightly glazed 'white piece',<sup>1195</sup> L: 16.57 W: 11.7; H: 6.0; SH: 1.8 mm, intact but somewhat battered along the face edge on one side, back scratched.

Scarab with lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, one turning diagonally to indicate tail. Legs indicated by two horizontal grooves at front and sides, and slightly diagonal groove at back. String-hole through length. *Face:* Asymmetrical grouping of C- and S-scrolls and other forms including a separate circle. One scroll ends in a lotus blossom. Line border.

Egyptian, early Dynasty XII.

*Context:* EM III–MM IB/IIA and later.

*Chronology:* Early Dynasty XII scarab, in generally contemporary or slightly later MM IA–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* WARD 1978:*passim* (generally Head type A2, Back type I, Side type d5, Design type 2B).

*References:* EVANS *PM* I:200 fig. 149; XANTHOUIDES 1924:117, pl. XV:a:1058; MATZ 1928:22–23 #272, pl. IX:12; PENDLEBURY 1930b:35 #54, pl. I:54; SMITH 1945:14; KENNA 1960:31; *CMS* II.1:#267; ROBINSON 1968:27–28; WARREN 1980:496–497; WARD 1981:72–73, fig. I:3; CADOGAN 1983:511, 516; YULE 1983:366 n. 22; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:242–243 #162, pl. 49:162; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 15; 1991:II:744 #360, III:1142 fig. 360; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:442; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:304 #297.

*Comments:* This clearly is not a Minoan product, as the engraving follows Pini's rectangular section<sup>1196</sup> and the incised lines on the back are quite light. Quirke and Fitton suggest only an "early(?) MK" date for this scarab, whilst Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) date it to the FIP–Dynasty XI. Neither is incompatible with the tholos context date range, but the scarab itself fits within the early Dynasty XII typology.

<sup>1193</sup> The one comparison quoted not only is a kohl pot of much later Dynasty XVIII date, it is not a good parallel as the arms are raised up but are not bent. The two figures on a ceremonial axe blade, illustrated by WEINGARTEN 1991:pl. 19, at first glance appear to have bent arms, but the angularity better represents the arms holding a knife in the usual position.

<sup>1194</sup> See, for example, the collection illustrated by WEINGARTEN 1991:figs. 4, 6a–8, pls. 5–20. Even those having very schematic renderings of the arm and knife, e.g., two from the Matouk collection (MATOUK 1972–1977:II:339

#320–321; SAMBIN 1989:80 fig. 6) clearly indicate the angular distinction between lowered arms and raised knife. Interestingly but probably only by coincidence, the 'priestess' with the *Schnabelkanne* on the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus stands exactly in the pose of the hippopotamus deity, but not that of the 'genius'; see LONG 1974:pl. 31 fig. 87.

<sup>1195</sup> Identified by Ingo Pini (personal communication, 09 February 1989). Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 08 May 2000) retains a question mark on its identification.

<sup>1196</sup> See PINI 2000:110–111, fig. 4a–b.

**478. Scarab**, HM Σ-K 1124

Probably 'white piece' material,<sup>1197</sup> L: 14.5; W: 11.7; H: 7.4; SH: 2.1 mm, chipped and cracked on sides and edge of face.

Scarab with lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, deep single line between elytra. Lunate tail. Legs indicated by deep undercutting. String-hole through length. *Face*: Wide, slightly bulging central band filled by diagonal lines along length. Six pair of lines radiate from the centre, forming a six-pointed star pattern. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA, or Egyptian, late Dynasty XI–early XII.

*Context*: EM III–MM IB/IIA and later.

*Chronology*: MM IA or Late Dynasty XI–early XII scarab, in generally contemporary or slightly later MM IA–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda*: XANTHOUIDES 1924:pl. XIV:a.1097; WARD 1978:pl. III:83; (leg markings) {69}.

*References*: XANTHOUIDES 1924:118, pl. XV:a.1124; MATZ 1928: 22–23 #271, pl. IX:11; PENDLEBURY 1930b:35 #55, pl. I:55,<sup>1198</sup> SMITH 1945:13; CMS II.1:#332; ROBINSON 1968:26–27; WARD 1971:92–93, fig. 13:1; WARREN 1980:496–497; WARD 1981:71 fig. I:2, 72; YULE 1981:78 Class 29:a; CADOGAN 1983:511, 516; WALBERG 1983:147; YULE 1983:362 fig. 20, 363 n. 12, 364 fig. 27, 366 n. 22; KRZYSZKOWSKA 1989:120; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:241–242 #160, pl. 48:160; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991: II:74745 #361, III:1142 fig. 361; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:305 #298; PHILLIPS 2004:165 fig. 2; 2005a:44, 45 fig. 62b.

*Comments*: Although Robinson dismissed the resemblance between this face design and a similar one also from Platanos as 'fortuitous,' Yule considered that the present scarab belongs within the EM III–MM IA(?) 'Border/Leaf Complex,' and thus should be a Minoan product. Other scholars, notably Pendlebury, Smith and Ward, earlier had identified parallels on Egyptian scarabs, whilst Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) consider it Egyptian, of Dynasty XI–XII date. The deeply carved back and sides would mark it as Minoan in origin, and its face design fits well within Yule's group. On the other hand, the cutting of the border line falls within Pini's 'Egyptian' type, being square in section,<sup>1199</sup> and the head is of the 'lunate' type. Thus it is difficult to determine whether this is the exception that proves the rule of a Minoan origin for the piece, or the square cut border and lunate head should be the determining factor that places its origin in Egypt. The other two scarabs recovered at Platanos both have a lunate head, so this may have been the exception to Minoan manufacture in the Odigitrias/Kaloi Limenes region, and the Platanos artisan followed the models available to him.

**479. Ovoid**, HM 1123

'Hard ash-coloured stone' with black shiny inclusions,<sup>1200</sup> L: 18.2; W: 12.8; H: 5.6; SH: 2.0 mm, intact but burnt.

Ovoid. Elongated parabolic shape, gable-shaped in section, with blunted ends. String-hole through length. *Face*: Pseudo-

cross or star pattern in centre, with double C-scroll lines at sides, two parallel lines at either end. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA–IB/IIA.

*Context*: EM III–MM IB/IIA, with some MM III–LM I material.

*Chronology*: MM IA–IB/IIA ovoid, in generally contemporary or slightly later MM IA–MM IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparison*: TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. XXVI.Design Class 6C1.

*References*: XANTHOUIDES 1924:1221, pl. XV:a.1123; CMS II.1:#331; YULE 1981:80–81 Class 30:d; YULE 1983:366, 366 n. 22; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:745 #362, III:1142 fig. 362; PHILLIPS 2004:165 fig. 3.

*Comments*: Yule lists the composition of the face design as "bringing to mind" the 'Border/Leaf Complex,' dated to EM III–MM IA(?), although he does not classify it amongst that group. On the other hand, he notes its style is "clearly Minoan." All other seals noted by Yule of this 'hard ash-coloured stone' are Minoan types, and all but one of them were recovered at Platanos in this tholos, strongly indicating a similarly Minoan and indeed directly local origin for this ovoid that should not be disassociated from the rest. The face design, however, is unique on Crete. Four other seals in this material are assigned by Yule to his MM IA–B 'Ladder and Spiral Group,' suggesting that a similar date or one not far removed from it should also be assigned to this ovoid. However, he admitted it could belong to either the Pre- or Proto-Palatial period. Thus, this small collection seems to be the exception to the rule that hard stone was not employed before MM IB at the earliest.

A Canaanite design class virtually identical to this face design is isolated by Tufnell and generally dated within Canaanite MB IIB/C and with MM IIB–LM IA. This, however, post-dates the main date range of the tholos and for the other seals in this material. Nonetheless, two MM III–LM I seals apparently also were recovered in this tholos,<sup>1201</sup> so a later (i.e., Neo-Palatial) date for this ovoid cannot be entirely rejected *if* the face design is accepted as derivative of the Canaanite type. A clear identification of the material would be of some assistance here, but a Minoan origin seems certain, and MM IA–IB/IIA date range seems the better option for this piece, together with the other seals of the same 'hard ash-coloured stone.'

**C. Area AB**

Area AB was designated by Xanthoudides for the badly preserved annexes of tholos B and the small paved court of green slate slabs immediately behind tholos A.<sup>1202</sup> To the south were the remains of a wall which may have enclosed the area. The annexes seem to be similar in nature to those of tholos A, probably constituting either storerooms for the tholos or possibly burial 'huts' like those near tholos A. Some scattered bones were found in area AB together with

<sup>1197</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 08 May 2000). Identified in the CMS as 'ivory' and by Ward as 'white steatite.'

<sup>1198</sup> Misidentified as HM 1011. His hand-written note in his own copy, now in the Villa Ariadne Library at Knossos, corrects his error.

<sup>1199</sup> See PINI 2000:110, 111 fig. 4a–b. Pini kindly confirmed the cutting section from his CMS archives in Marburg.

<sup>1200</sup> "Chlorite?, similar to CMS II.1 #261" (Olga Krzyszkowska, personal communication, 08 May 2000). YULE 1981:195 suggests basalt as one possible identification.

<sup>1201</sup> See n. 1188, above.

<sup>1202</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:90.

some unspecified clay and stone vessels, a possible stone weight and a locally made ‘Cycladic’ figurine. The area basically dates to EM II?–MM IB/IIA, and possibly later, in keeping with the surrounding finds.

**480. Jar (‘cylinder jar’)**, Type A, HM A 1904

Grey and white mottled dolomitic limestone, H: 4.6; Dia. (rim): 3.3; (base): 2.4 cm, intact.

Tall cylindrical jar with short projecting everted rim and base, the body profile very slightly convex, tapering towards the bottom both on the interior and exterior.

Minoan, EM II–MM IB/IIA.

*Context:* EM II?–MM IB/IIA.

*Chronology:* EM II–MM IB/IIA vessel, in generally contemporary or slightly later EM II?–IB/IIA tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {26}; {27}; {98}; {393}; {460}.

*References:* XANTHOUDIDES 1924:101, pl. LIII:b.1904; WARREN 1969:76 Type 30:D, P424, D233;<sup>1203</sup> LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:243 #163, pl. 70:163; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:746 #363, III:1142 fig. 363; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:43 #25.δ.

*Comments:* See comments on form at {460}. Whilst this vessel is much less convex than {460}, it nonetheless is interesting that the feature is here at all on the only other example found at Platanos.

#### D. No Find Context

**481. Tube ‘jar’**, HM 1905 (not handled)

Gabbro?, with green veins through white phenocrysts, H: c. 2.5, Dia.: c. 1 cm,<sup>1204</sup> intact.

Hollow cylindrical tubular ‘jar’ with angular edges.

Most likely Minoan, EM II–MM I, possibly Egyptian, Dynasty IV(?), with alteration Minoan, LM I.

*Context:* None, but presumably limited to EM II–MM IB/IIA or LM I.

*Chronology:* EM II–MM IIA object, without recorded context but presumably in generally contemporary or later EM II–MM IB/IIA or possibly LM I deposition.

*Comparison:* (conversion?) {37}.

*References:* XANTHOUDIDES 1924:101, pl. XI:1905; WARREN 1969:132; PHILLIPS 1991:II:747 #367, III:1143 fig. 367.

*Comments:* Viewed only in the HM case. Warren suggested this “might well be” Egyptian due to its material which he identified as gabbro and its possible date as Egyptian, Predynastic-Old Kingdom, but concedes a possible Minoan origin also. He notes that, *contra* Xanthoudides, it is not *Lapis lacedaemonius*. B.G. Aston has noted, however, that the few known Egyptian vessels of gabbro are limited to Dynasty IV.<sup>1205</sup> There are no Egyptian parallels for this piece, and it most likely is a Minoan product with no Egyptian association, unless it represents the final result of carving an Egyptian vessel fragment, as {37}. If so, it would seem best associated with the latest use of the cemetery in LM I. It seems to be the only example of this ‘ves-

sel’ form on Crete if, indeed, it could be considered a vessel, and its miniature scale suggests a Pre-Palatial or early Proto-Palatial date is most likely.

#### POROS

Like the areas of Katsamba and Nea Halikarnassos farther east, Poros is a suburb of Herakleion on its eastern side, that immediately between Katsamba and the city walls. The Minoan “harbour town of Knossos” settlement uncovered at Katsamba may also have extended into Poros. Due in large measure to the present urban character of the area, most work has been limited to small rescue excavations, which continue as the need arises.

In 1940, Platon excavated an MM IIIB–LM IA cave tomb,<sup>1206</sup> and Io. Sakellarakis cleared a chamber tomb in 1959.<sup>1207</sup> In 1967–1968, A. Lembessi excavated two tombs of similar date; one was completely empty and the other had been robbed.<sup>1208</sup> Further excavations especially by A. Kanta and N. Dimopoulou have revealed still more tombs of Proto-, Neo- and Post-Palatial date.

Houses also have been found. In 1938, a wall and some pottery of the last LM III phase were uncovered but barely published, and may be anything from late LM IIIA to IIIC. In 1950, other walls were unearthed, together with LM III pottery. MM II–LM IIIA material was found in 1956 near the modern public baths,<sup>1209</sup> and a Proto-Palatial building in 1959.<sup>1210</sup> In 1969, another house nearby was partially investigated by A. Kanta working under Alexiou.<sup>1211</sup>

#### A. LM IIIB House

Kanta’s excavation of the house was a rescue operation prior to construction of the road of the new Herakleion harbour, east of the Herakleion ‘baths.’ Unfortunately, the excavation was not completed, due to time restraints, and the road now covers it. She found two successive LM IIIB floors with a pillar between them, disturbed by later sand-pit burials. Below this and in the slope were three further partial floors, interrupted by more sand-pits. A small stratigraphical test trench at the end of the excavation showed MM (III?)–LM III levels. In the earlier levels, monumental walls and wall painting fragments indi-

<sup>1203</sup> He misattributes the find spot as the tholos A annexes.

<sup>1204</sup> Dimensions are estimates, based upon visual inspection in the museum case.

<sup>1205</sup> B.G. ASTON 1994:12–13. Nonetheless, it does not seem to be a type of gabbro found on the Egyptian vessels noted by her, and is unlikely to be Egyptian.

<sup>1206</sup> PLATON 1941:270; WALTER 1942:194–195.

<sup>1207</sup> PLATON 1959a:385.

<sup>1208</sup> LEMBESSI 1967; ALEXIOU 1968a; DAUX 1968:998–1001; MEGAW 1968:21.

<sup>1209</sup> See KANTA 1980:26.

<sup>1210</sup> PLATON 1959a:385.

<sup>1211</sup> ALEXIOU 1970:518.

cated substantial habitation at that time. In the later levels domestic paraphernalia were recovered, including loom weights, spindle whorls, obsidian fragments, a faience piece, bronze tools, fragmentary stone vases, an unfinished seal and bronze arrowhead, and clay model chariot(?) wheels.

The two superimposed LM IIIB floors belonged to a multi-storeyed house. The pillar separating them also continued above the upper floor, indicating a probable third storey. On the topmost preserved floor was found a scarab, and although no other finds from this area are published, the house was well stratified at LM IIIB.

**482. Scarab**, HM Σ-K 2474

Faience, L: 16.1; W: 11.5; H: 6.9; SH: 1.3 mm, very worn with glaze lost, but intact.

Scarab with open head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs not indicated. String-hole through length. Moulded, carelessly made. *Face*: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription: *Imn ḥnh.s*, 'Amon is her life' (or, more colloquially translated, 'She belongs to Amon.'). Vertical format. Partial line border above inscription only.

Egyptian, Dynasty XIX.

*Context*: LM IIIB.

*Chronology*: Dynasty XIX scarab, in generally contemporary LM IIIB domestic context.

*Comparanda*: PETRIE 1889:fig. 44:1350, 1351; 1917:pl. XXXVII:18.12:32–33; ROWE 1936:247–248, pl. XXVII:S.47; HORNUNG and STAEHELIN 1976:237–238 #234–235; MATOUK 1972–1977:I:216 #569–572; {320}.

*References*: HANKEY and WARREN 1974:148, 152 n. 3; CATLING 1978:60; LECLANT 1979:406; HELCK 1979:95; KANTA 1980:4, 26; WARREN 1982:275; CLINE 1987:16 n. 74, 32; WARREN and HANKEY 1989:173 n. 33; WEINSTEIN 1989:26 n. 126; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:245 #169; PHILLIPS 1991:II:750–751 #368, III:1143 fig. 368; CLINE 1994:147 #127; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:324 #336.<sup>1212</sup>

*Comments*: Mould-made, with the two halves incorrectly placed together so that the inscription is inverse to the head, and not quite correctly positioned so that the face has 'slipped' down to cut off the lowermost part of the inscription. The only published illustration to date shows the inscription upside down.

The excavator and others have identified the scarab inscription as the name of Ankhesenamun, the daughter of Akhenaten and wife of Tutankhamun and Ay, following parallels also identified as her name. As such, it has been cited as a chronological marker since this writing of her name, incorporating the name of Amon, would post-date the reign of her father Akhenaten when her name was Ankhesenpa'aten, and thus place it as contemporary with the reign of either of her husbands, Akhenaten's immediate successors who reigned for the next 15 years in total.

Examples of her name are known from several sources, both official and unofficial. Normally it is written ḥnh.s-n-Imn. The writing of her name without the -n- is not attested in any incontrovertible examples, i.e., within a cartouche or with epithets, beside her depiction or in conjunction with her husband's name, or even with a female determinative.<sup>1213</sup> The artist who inscribed the name and titles of both the queen and her husband on a large travertine jar from Gurob<sup>1214</sup> accidentally omitted the relevant -n- of her name. He then corrected the error by squeezing the sign in so that the vertical line of the -n- touches both the bottom of the folded cloth sign *s* (S 29) and the ḥnh sign (S 34), and the top of the seated female deity figure below. The presence of the -n- therefore was important enough for a correction to be made to include it.

Ward and Dever quite correctly have emphasised the falsity of the assumption that "royal names could be spelled incorrectly or in an abbreviated form on scarabs made during the lifetimes of the kings supposedly named," but "whilst specialists have in general abandoned this idea, it can still be found in recent literature."<sup>1215</sup> Thus, it is highly unlikely that the name of the wife of the king would be abbreviated on a scarab during the lifetime of either of her husbands, Tutankhamun or Ay. Scarabs with her name are extremely unlikely to have been made after her death, or at most that of her second husband, as she is such a minor figure politically, and moreover the daughter of Akhenaten. One scarab also from Gurob probably has the correct writing of her name, but it apparently is damaged at the critical point.<sup>1216</sup> Scarabs with her undoubted name are quite rare as, indeed, are scarabs themselves during the reign of Tutankhamun although scarabs begin to reappear during the reign of Ay.

This unfortunately regulates the Poros scarab and its inscription to the status of a 'motto' scarab and an amuletic charm, presumably for a woman, with no specific historical and extremely little chronological importance. On such inscriptions, the combinations of signs are not necessarily intended

<sup>1212</sup> The face design is illustrated upside down.

<sup>1213</sup> I owe the origin of this research to the observations of James Weinstein, to whom I am grateful for sharing it. Ankhesenamun's name is found in both large inscriptions and small objects. Examples are the famous gold chair and other objects found in Tutankhamun's tomb, his large stela at Karnak, a wooden cubit rod, toilet articles, a wall tile, and others. All undoubtedly refer to her, and all include the -n-. For collections of her name, see GAUTHIER 1907–1917:II:372–373, *Urk* IV:2043:16, 2049:5, 2063:2, 2108:13.

<sup>1214</sup> UC 16021, see THOMAS 1981:I:50 #254 II:pl. 47:254. Note that GAUTHIER 1907–1917:II.2:372 #2 transcribes this inscription incorrectly. Petrie 1890:pl. XVIII:25, apparently the same inscription, must have been Gauthier's

source as it too is transcribed incorrectly. PETRIE 1894–1924:II.2:237 fig. 151 shows another incorrect version of the same inscription, this time with the doorbolt sign *s* (O 34). The vessel itself was consulted at UCL (Petrie Museum) for verification of the signs employed.

<sup>1215</sup> WARD and DEVER 1994:11–12.

<sup>1216</sup> To judge from the drawing in PETRIE 1890:pl. XXIII:26. It has no cartouche or epithets, but does have the female determinative. GAUTHIER 1907–1917:II.2:373 #10 indicates a ḥ (*sic*) following his transcription, which does not include the -n-. He may be incorrect here also. It is not in UCL (Petrie Museum), to judge from its lack of mention in THOMAS 1981.

to be a readable motto, although in this case the use of not readily apparent amuletic *individual* signs does suggest that the combination is the amuletic charm. All parallels cited above are from 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC/Dynasty XIX contexts, as is the LM IIIB Poros house, and the scarab is more or less contemporary with its context. Compare this to the Dynasty XVIII scarab without context {546} to see the decline in quality exhibited from early Dynasty XVIII to Dynasty XIX.

## B. Psykhoyoudhakis Plot

A recent series of excavation campaigns ending in 1993 by N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki at several locations in the Katsamba and Poros suburbs have revealed vestigial remains of Proto-Palatial, Neo-Palatial and Post-Palatial buildings exposed in adjacent plots.<sup>1217</sup>

In the Psykhoyoudhakis plot, on Odos Meteoron in the Poros suburb and at the foot of Trypeti hill, occupation of at least eight periods from Pre-Palatial to Post-Palatial was found, with material ranging from EM I through LM IIIB in date. An LM IA (late) building provided evidence for a workshop specialising in seal engraving and jewellery manufacture on its first floor. Although no finished or even partially engraved seals were found, the excavators recovered various stone fragments as raw material, semi-worked and broken seals or beads, together with pumice that would have been employed as an abrasive. However, its destruction layer contained some seals. Nearby, at the edge and into the neighbouring Pratikakis plot, was an LM IIIA2 cistern lined with plaster.

In the eastern part of the plot, plaster-decorated buildings at Proto-Palatial (MM IA–IIA/B) levels included much ceramic material such as early Kamares-style polychrome wares of fine quality, a dozen bell-figurines, a mould of a female figure pendant, stone seals, and an imported Egyptian scarab. Many of these, such as at least some of the figurines and sealones together with skulls and horns of several wild goat and two bulls, were recovered from a well used in MM IA with clear ritual associations. Nearby, in the north-east part, came architectural remains of mainly EM IIA–B date with some EM I ceramics recovered; it seems to have been a processing and distribution centre for obsidian in EM I–IIB until MM I.

A building complex with multiple rooms was dated by its pottery to ‘pure’ MM IB.<sup>1218</sup> Ceramics included carinated cups, polychrome and barbotine

wares, several ‘sheep-bells’ found wild goat and bull horns in both the rooms and the building’s foundation deposit. The excavator suggests a ‘non-ordinary,’ perhaps official function for at least some parts of this building, which she relates to use of the seals found there. No overall description of the building has yet been published, but some rooms are briefly discussed in relation to the following two seals.

### B.1. ‘Small room’

This is described as being ‘a small room of the building,’ containing finely decorated MM IB pottery including polychrome and barbotine ware. An imported Egyptian scarab also was recovered, together with a small Minoan three-sided prism.

#### 483. Scarab, HM Σ–K 3267 (not handled)

‘White piece?’, L: 14, W: 11, H: 8 mm, intact.

Scarab with open head notched at front, double line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, single line around outer edge of pronotum and elytra. Tail indicated by oval. Legs indicated by deep undercutting and notching. Head deeply undercut at front. Additional notched line on pronotum, continuing onto right elytrum. String hole through length. *Face*: Simple *nb-ty* pattern, with *nh* (S 34) having excessively large and hollow loop in centre, with a small single lotus bud arrangement springing from tall vertical angular loops either side. Separated from lower part by horizontal line, also the upper line of two small ‘*nb*’ signs (V 30) signs at bottom; these linked by two short vertical lines. Horizontal format. Line border.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XI–early Dynasty XII.

*Context*: MM IB.

*Chronology*: Late Dynasty XI–early Dynasty XII scarab, in slightly later MM IB deposition.

*Comparanda*: WARD 1978:68–71, especially 69 fig. 15.1, 11, pl. XI:317–318; (face design) {382}; (extra back markings) {510}.

*References*: WARREN and HANKEY 1989:214; PHILLIPS 1991:I:144, II:4 #371; PARIENTE 1991:942;<sup>1219</sup> LECLANT and CLERC 1993:293; BLACKMAN 1999:117; DIMOPOULOU 2000:28 #1, fig.1:1; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:315 #318; PHILLIPS 2005a:44.

*Comments*: This likely is the scarab shown to the present author in May 1989 in Herakleion by the excavator, but that was catalogued separately at the time from the scarab mentioned by Warren and Hankey.<sup>1220</sup> If so, my impression at the time (without knowing its context date) was that it was Middle Kingdom, and probably Dynasty XII, in date. The limited date of the context provides a good chronological correlation, if it is not considered earlier than its context on other grounds. Warren and Hankey, who give an FIP–early Dynasty XII date, note their date either is earlier than its context (quoted by them as MM IB–II), or the context must be dated earlier; they preferred the former scenario which was in fact the case.

Dimopoulou (in KARETSOU *et al.*) dates the scarab to early

<sup>1217</sup> PARIENTE 1991:942; BLACKMAN 1999:117–118.

<sup>1218</sup> See DIMOPOULOU 1993:451 fig. 5.

<sup>1219</sup> Note that the condensed nature of her report, taken from the Greek press, leaves the impression that this and the

following scarab {484} came from the Neo-Palatial buildings; this impression is exemplified by the report of Leclant and Clerc.

<sup>1220</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:I:144–145 n. 38.

Dynasty XII or MM IB, apparently being uncertain of its origin; she also identifies its material as 'faience.' It clearly is *not* faience, and definitely is an Egyptian rather than Minoan scarab. If indeed found in an MM IB context, it should not date later than early Dynasty XII. This is the earliest scarab to have been recovered in an occupation (not funerary) context.

The Egyptian dating quoted in the present study is based as much on the *nb-ty* face design as the scarab presentation itself, and indicates that this is one of the few scarabs generally contemporary with its context on Crete.

### B.2. 'Ample room'

Described as being 'ample' in size and in the south-east wing of the building,<sup>1221</sup> with pottery characteristic of MM IB.

#### 484. Scaraboid, HM 3665 (not seen)

Olive-green steatite, L 12, W: 8; H: 5.6 mm, battered on face and edge at back end.

Scaraboid, oval with open head indicated by two right-angled lines, diagonally laddered double line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. String hole through length. *Face*: Four diagonal parallel incised lines in centre, with four/five similar diagonally opposed lines, forming an 'X'-cross. Open space either end filled with large petaloid loop. Line border.

Minoan, MM IB.

*Context*: MM IB.

*Chronology*: MM IB scaraboid, in generally contemporary MM IB context.

*References*: PARIENTE 1991:942; LECLANT and CLERC 1993:293; DIMOPOULOU 2000:28 #2, fig. 1:2.

*Comments*: No side view is published. This is an extremely unusual scaraboid, without parallel on Crete, and may be a transitional piece between the MM IA oval examples from the Mesara and the later steatite type (Type 1) with body tapering to head. The line border is an uncommon, but not unique, feature of Proto-Palatial face designs that may again be a transitional feature from Pre-Palatial designs.

### B.3. 'Pit'

A pit also was excavated at the eastern part of this plot, containing burnt earth and mixed pottery dating down to the Post-Palatial period.<sup>1222</sup> The published description implies it lay stratigraphically above the MM IB building complex level, presumably therefore not earlier than MM II, and in it was recovered pottery up to at least LM IIIA2-B as well as a Minoan scaraboid.

#### 485. Scaraboid, HM 3266 (not seen)

Black steatite, L: 17; W: 10.4; H: 7.7 mm, slightly damaged on part of face.

Scaraboid with lightly incised back and sides, apparently single line between pronotum and elytra, but no division between

elytra, or between pronotum and head. Corner 'chips' around sides. Base ovoid strongly tapering towards the head. Head markings not clearly visible. *Face*: Two deeply drilled concentric circles of similar size surrounding a central dot, aligned along the length.

Minoan, MM IB-II.

*Context*: MM II(?)–LM IIIB(–C?).

*Chronology*: MM IB-II scaraboid, in mixed generally contemporary to somewhat later MM II(?)–LM IIIB(–C?) pit fill context.

*Comparanda*: CMS XII:#76; {384}; {551}.

*Reference*: DIMOPOULOU 2000:32 #6, fig. 1.6.

*Comments*: No side view is published, and the incised back markings are difficult to see in the published photograph. Whilst the position of the string-hole is not mentioned or illustrated, it likely is through the width similar to {487} below. This is suggested by the tapering shape and the drilled face design, which are similar to this and other comparable pieces; the excavator compares this with those listed above, two of which also are of this type. The side view also likely is similar.

### B.4. MM IIIB–LM IA context

No specifically MM IIIB–LM IA contexts are described as yet in the preliminary reports of these excavations, but presumably they too are either occupation or related fill contexts. Nonetheless, at least one stone vessel is recorded from this level in the plot.

#### 486. Bowl/cup ('spheroid jar'), HM Λ 4956 (not seen)

White marble, H: 3.5; W: (pres.) 4.8 cm; Th.: 10 mm, about one-third, preserving entire profile, handle chipped both ends. 'Spheroid bowl,' miniature, with unarticulated rim, high shoulder, flat base, horizontal roll handle(s) on shoulder tapering to both ends. Entire body vertically ribbed.

Minoan, MM III–LM IA.

*Context*: MM IIIB–LM IA.

*Chronology*: MM III–LM IA vessel, generally contemporary with its MM IIIB–LM IA context.

*Comparison*: (shape and handle) {228}.

*References*: KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:216 #216; PHILLIPS 2001:85 #E.4.

*Comments*: This appears to be the only vertically ribbed Minoan version of the 'spheroid jar' yet recovered, although one of the two altered vessels in the Kato Zakro palace {105} was fluted. An unribbed parallel of larger scale with similarly tapered handle was recovered at Knossos in an LM IB context. This general vessel form at miniature scale is found in 'EM III–MM I/II' Crete, although normally of serpentine and never with handles,<sup>1223</sup> and it is the handles that mark this example as Neo-Palatial in date.

## C. Sanoudakis Plot

This plot, on Odos Dimosthenous near the Psykhouidakis plot and excavated by the same team, exposed some 200 sq. m. more of the residential and

<sup>1221</sup> This seems to be the larger room at the bottom left quarter of the plan in DIMOPOULOU 1993:451 fig. 5.

<sup>1222</sup> DIMOPOULOU 1993:452; 2000:32; presumably this is the pit

marked on the lower right (north-east) corner of the plan, DIMOPOULOU 1993:451 fig. 5.

<sup>1223</sup> WARREN 1969:32 Type 12.



industrial quarter of the Poros settlement.<sup>1224</sup> Some four periods and eight phases of occupation were found, including at least two Neo-Palatial building phases with large buildings. The later of the two published, dated to LM IA (late), incorporated a specialised seal and jewellery workshop on the first floor where, unsurprisingly, a large number of seals and inlays were recovered.

Below this level, another large and well-constructed building, with frescoes and dating to MM IIIB–LM IA transitional, was revealed. Metal-smithing activity was attested in and around this building, including two tuyeres found in the basement. Several seals also were recovered in the building itself, including a scaraboid.

**487. Scaraboid**, HM Σ-K 3513 (not seen)

Brown steatite, L: 17, W: 11 mm, intact.

Scaraboid with flattened 'head' having two grooves to indicate clypeus, single line between clypeus and pronotum and double line between pronotum and elytra, no distinction between elytra. Pronotum roughly cross-hatched, elytra marked by two diagonal grooves. 'Legs' indicated by a deeply undercut horizontal groove around body. Tapering ovoid base. String-hole through width. *Face*: Three overlapping groups of concentric centred circles at head and mid-body area, with four diagonal grooves (each consisting of several short overlapping lines) over most of 'back' end, two short diagonal grooves filling in remaining space.

Minoan, MM IB–III.

*Context*: MM IIIB–LM IA transitional.

*Chronology*: MM IB–III scaraboid, in somewhat later MM IIIB–LM IA transitional context.

*Comparanda*: (back) {384}; (form) {384}; {548}; {549}; {551}.

*References*: PARIENTE 1991:942; LECLANT and CLERC 1993:293; DIMOPOULOU 2000:34 #19, fig. 2:19; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:315 #319.

*Comments*: This scaraboid likely is the 'scarab' mentioned in the references quoted above. It is dated by Dimopoulou (in KARETSOU *et al.*) to MM IIIB–LM I, presumably due to its context date but which to the present author is too late for this scaraboid. It compares stylistically and in material with similar scaraboids from Malia {384} and without provenance {548}; {549}; {551}, including the concentric circle face design and placement of the string hole through the width, and should be dated with them rather to MM IB–III. Indeed, it joins them as one of a few such indigenous scaraboids found on Crete. Thus it is an 'antique' in its context.

See also comments to {485}.

#### D. Tomb I

Tomb I excavated by A. Lembessi in 1967–1968 is a chamber tomb having three rock-cut pillars supporting the roof. It had been robbed, but enough

remained to indicate an MM IIIB–LM I date, with reuse in LM IIIA2 or transitional LM IIIB.<sup>1225</sup>

The tomb was entered from the east, and included the main chamber that resembled a large hypostyle hall and another, smaller chamber to one side. Apparently it was unfinished. A deep level in both the burial pit of the main chamber and the forechamber contained a series of vessels datable to MM IIIB/LM IA as well as an imported cylinder seal. A small niche also contained offerings of the earliest date, including several small MM IIIA clay cups. Finds included the remains of a wooden bier with bronze attachments, numerous ceramics of MM IIIB–LM IA date, a stone hammer/axe, six engraved seal stones and jewellery of varied types. The thieves missed a silver-leaf figure-of-eight shield, a ring with cloisonné enamel bezel, a gold earring and two beads with gold-leaf repoussé work.<sup>1226</sup> Of the skeleton, only two teeth remained.

**488. Cylinder seal**, HM 2347

Green jasper, H: 21.5; Dia: 10.3–10.7; SH: 3.3–3.6 mm, intact with one large and some small chips on edges and several surface cracks and small fractures in the stone. Unfinished.

Cylinder seal, with string-hole through length. *Face*: Two vertical panels with vertical repetitive designs, one a series of interlocking S-scrolls and the other four recumbent gazelles in line. The main panel shows four figures in a devotional scene. The deity, probably Anubis, stands at right, facing left, in a striding position with right arm raised in acknowledgement of the worshippers. He wears a short kilt, and has a head-dress with two thin upright ears behind his head. The central figure stands facing right, wearing a typically Near Eastern mantle with diagonal markings on the skirt, his left arm wrapped inside the cloak. The right arm is at his side, holding the hieroglyphic sign 'nfr' (F 35). A second worshipper strides forward behind him, wearing a hadgear resembling the crown of Upper Egypt, apparently nude. He holds in front a long staff in one hand, with the hieroglyphic sign 'i' (M 17) or 'mʿr' (H 6) attached to the top. The other arm is raised to support the top of the staff. In front of each figure is a stylised palm leaf. Between the second worshipper and his staff is the hieroglyphic sign 'rnh' (S 34). Between the deity and the central worshipper is a squatting ape, with paws in front of face and his tail upright behind. Framing line above and below all figures. Levantine, later 2<sup>nd</sup> Syrian Group (second half of 17<sup>th</sup> c. BC = later MB IIB).

*Context*: MM IIIB–LM I, reuse LM IIIA2–transitional LM IIIB.

*Chronology*: Second half of 17<sup>th</sup> c. BC seal (later MB IIB), in generally contemporary to somewhat later MM IIIB–LM I tomb deposition, or an heirloom in LM IIIA2–transitional LM IIIB tomb reuse.

*Comparanda*: COLLON 1986:esp. 58 #1, 59 #12, pl. 22.1, .12.

<sup>1224</sup> DIMOPOULOU 1993:458–459; pls. 142:β, 143:α–χ.

<sup>1225</sup> LEMBESSI 1967; ALEXIOU 1968a; DAUX 1968:998–1001; MEGAW 1968:21. See also KANTA 1980:27; WALBERG 1983:105–106.

<sup>1226</sup> Finds elsewhere included rivets from a bronze sword, dagger and fragment of another dagger/spearhead, spearbutt, and three boar's tusks; on their importance, see DIMOPOULOU 1999:29.

*References:* LEMBESSI 1967:208, pl. 192:α, γ; ALEXIOU 1968a:255; DAUX 1968:999; KENNA 1969:358–362, figs. 3–5; MÖLLER 1980–1982:I:95–96 #5, II:228 fig. 9; COLLON 1986:58 #5, 65 fig. 5; KEEL 1989b:211, 213 fig. 5; WARREN and HANKEY 1989:63, 171 n. 18; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:245 #170, pl. 70:170; LANGDON 1990:417 n. 53; PHILLIPS 1991:II:752–753 #369, III:1143 fig. 369; CLINE 1991:29; COLLON in MUHLY 1992:176–177, fig. 34.a; CLINE 1994:154 #184; STAMPOLIDES, KARETSOU and KANTA 1998:102–103 #72 (Greek edition, 94–95 #72).

*Comments:* The seal has strong Egyptian features, not only in the dress and positions of the figures, but also in the use of hieroglyphic signs in the field and the presence of the ‘ape’ in his standard squatting pose. The ‘ape’ clearly is a *Cercopithecus*. However, the central figure wears a costume characteristic of 18<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c. BC (later MB IIA–LB I) Syria, and the seal itself is a Levantine product even though the material probably had been imported from Egypt. Collon has included it in her ‘Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop’ which existed in 18<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> c. BC probably at a coastal site suggested to be Byblos, through compositional and stylistic details including the common but not universal motif of the squatting ape figure. Keel subsequently expanded the repertoire of this workshop to include scarab seals.<sup>1227</sup>

#### 489. ‘Amphora,’ HM 18365 (not seen)

Rough clay, H: 12.5; Dia. (rim): 8.9 cm, complete except for lower base.

‘Amphora’ with high pedestal base, tapering body and wide neck with flaring rim. Two slightly diagonal coil loop handles on shoulder, and thick raised ridge at bottom of body unevenly added just above base junction. Hollow profile throughout. Otherwise undecorated.

Minoan, MM III–LM IA.

*Context:* MM IIIB–LM I, reuse LM IIIA2–transitional LM IIIB.

*Chronology:* MM III–LM IA vessel, in generally contemporary to somewhat later MM IIIB–LM I tomb deposition, or an unlikely heirloom in LM IIIA2–transitional LM IIIB tomb reuse.

*Comparanda:* (profile) {93}; (hollow base) {22}; {14}; {15}; {162}; {446}.

*References:* MUHLY 1992:87 #227, 88 fig. 20:227, pl. 17:227; CUCUSSA 2000:103 Type 2.

*Comments:* An interesting example of the pseudo-amphora, otherwise similar to the collection of early amphorae {93–97} in the Kamilari tholos, the only other such vessel and the only hollow example to be recovered in a tomb context. Another amphora, somewhat taller, with no basal ring and not hollow,<sup>1228</sup> also was recovered in this tomb, and may be the other half of a ‘pair’ of ‘true’ and ‘hollow’ amphorae as found elsewhere in later cultic contexts at Aghia Triadha and Phaestos.

### E. Another Tomb

Recent rescue excavations led by N. Dimopoulou have uncovered portions of further settlement and

other tombs, which have yielded several Egyptian and ‘egyptianising’ objects not yet published or studied. Amongst these is a ‘cave-like’ tomb of MM IIB–LM IB date, excavated in October 1986 after it was uncovered during building work for the 14<sup>th</sup> Public School.<sup>1229</sup> The tomb, one of the few on the island that can be dated to the Neo-Palatial period, consisted of a dromos, prothalanos and elongated ‘cave-like’ main chamber. The tomb was heavily robbed, but in the prothalanos was found a pit cut into the bedrock that had been missed. Most of the material recovered came from this pit, together with a large quantity of bones and evidence for wooden ‘coffins.’

The earliest pottery, of MM IIB polychrome Kamares ware, was minimal compared to the large quantities of LM I vessels – some 250 intact and many more in fragmentary condition, mostly decorated in ripple ware, alternating style and even one phial with a ‘wish-bone’ handle and an LM IB Marine Style ewer decorated with multiple appliqués. Other finds include some six seals, 12 gold beads and a pendant, beads of amethyst and other semi-precious stones, faience, and glass, earrings of gold, bronze and lead, a silver earpick, six rings and four miniature cups of faience, bronze tools, strips and tweezers, a nephrite weight, clay loomweights and other small finds of bone and clay, and seashells and pumice stones. It also produced both an imported Egyptian lid and an Egyptian or ‘egyptianising’ scarab. The material was not associated with a particular burial in this multiple-use tomb, but was recovered in association with MM IIB–LM I pottery.

#### 490. Lid, HM A 4756

Travertine, H: 0.7; Dia.: 7.1 cm; Th.: 6.5 mm, intact but with worn surface. Flat lid with indented profile at bottom and two incised grooves around exterior top.

Levantine, probably MB II–LB II, or Egyptian, Middle–New Kingdom.

*Context:* MM IIB–LM IB, mostly LM I.

*Chronology:* MB II–LB I or Middle Kingdom–early Dynasty XVIII (not later than Thutmose III) vessel, in contemporary to somewhat later MM IIB–LM IB tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* CAUBET 1991:221 #RS 3.095, pl. V.7; SPARKS 1998:III:210 #1584; {163}; {221}; {227}; {231}.

*References:* PHILLIPS 1991:II:754 #370, III:1143 fig. 370; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:206 #205.

*Comments:* This is the only complete lid of its type found on Crete, other than the well-known Khyan lid from Knossos

<sup>1227</sup> KEEL 1989b.

<sup>1228</sup> MUHLY 1992:87 #228, fig. 20:228, pl. 21:228, HM 18343, not included in the present catalogue as it does not have a basal ridge. Its basal profile is comparable to amphora {97} from Kamilari, with a hollow stem and flat base without under-

foot. It is red-washed overall, with faint white dots on the body surface and traces of a white band on the neck.

<sup>1229</sup> DIMOPOULOU 1988. A general discussion of the tombs she excavated at Poros is found in DIMOPOULOU 1999.

{163}. It is not specifically mentioned in the preliminary excavation report.<sup>1230</sup>

I can cite only one possible comparison for the incised grooves on Egyptian and Levantine lids, a single groove around the upper surface of an inset lid of unknown date from Minet el-Beida. It is not a close comparison, but this feature would suggest that the lid may be Levantine rather than Egyptian in origin. It is unlikely to be a Minoan alteration.

**491. Scarab or scaraboid.** HM — (not located)

Material, dimensions and condition unpublished.

Scarab or scaraboid, description unpublished.

Minoan (or Egyptian), undatable from published information.

*Context:* MM IIB–LM IB, mostly LM I.

*Chronology:* Scaraboid of unknown date but probably generally contemporary with its MM IIB–LM IB tomb deposition.

*Comparison:* {550}.

*References:* DIMOPOULOU 1987:529; 1988:325; PHILLIPS 1991:I:150 n. 57.

*Comments:* This is described as an “imported scarab” in Dimopoulou’s preliminary reports.

## PORTI

In the summer of 1906, St. Xanthoudides excavated a number of burials at Porti,<sup>1231</sup> about four kilometres north-west of his Koumasa site, between the villages of Kantela and Vasiliki Anoyia in the Mesara plain. A peasant had brought the site to his attention with a small MM jug he had found there. The site itself lies on the north-western part of a large hill locally known as ‘Bairam’s Hill,’ on the larger of two terraces there. The smaller terrace probably was the acropolis of the town immediately below, now denuded.

The larger and lower terrace was the cemetery for the settlement. Here, he excavated a small rectangular tomb (δ), a series of partially preserved pithos burials and small tombs at various irregular points on the terrace, and a partially destroyed tomb, Tholos II. The terrace had long been cultivated, so that the structures above ground had been removed and the material below ground partially destroyed by plowing and denudation. A considerable length of double retaining wall was preserved around the northern end of the terrace. Both ends of the wall had fallen down together with the western quarter of the tholos tomb, which is located on the north-west corner edge of the terrace cliff; tomb δ is no longer visible.

The tholos consisted of the usual thick circular

wall and wide doorway facing east, supported by a large lintel and blocked by two large slabs, one inside and one out. In front of the doorway was a thinner-walled antechamber identified as Room α, which seems to have had no access to the outside or to two further attached rooms north of it. The tholos interior contained a burial stratum some 30–40 cm. thick, consisting of earth and a ‘stupendous’ quantity of bones, ‘many hundreds’ at least. Virtually everything in the interior had been severely blackened by fire and smoke, possibly done deliberately for fumigation when the tomb was reused. Finds were few in comparison to the number of bodies, consisting of clay jugs and miniature jugs, ‘teapots,’ cups and goblets, lamps, bowls and a spouted bowl, a rhyton and carinated cup, four stone palettes, three figurines, a kernos, ‘teapot’ and whetstone, two copper daggers, a silver pin, numerous seals and two ring-seals, and some pendants and beads including eight of faience. The clay vessels for the most part date to MM IA with some probably EM III and perhaps even EM II,<sup>1232</sup> and several vessels of MM IB/IIA date.<sup>1233</sup>

Both rooms attached to the antechamber also were employed for burials. Room γ, the farthest from the antechamber, was filled 1.5 m. thick of bones; like the tholos, it was an ossuary. Mixed together with the bones were some fragments of MM pithoi (probably reinterments of the nearby pithos burials) and other clay vessels including jugs, cups, bowls and pots, as well as a stone cylindrical jar and seal, two whorls, faience beads and another of rock crystal. Several of the clay vessels are wheel-made and are comparable with others at Phaestos, and push the latest date of this room’s use to at least MM IB if not MM IIB.<sup>1234</sup>

Room β also contained bones, but seems to have been an enclosure for pithos burials, as was Tomb δ. In it were found coarse pithos fragments, larnakes and some plain cups. In contrast to the tholos, no trace of burning was apparent.

Tomb δ was constructed partially from living rock with additional stone walls, a single rectangular room with an entrance hole a metre wide.<sup>1235</sup> One pithos burial was found in a corner of the room, suggesting the others also once may have been surrounded by a walled enclosure since removed. Due to the poor

<sup>1230</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Dimopoulou for allowing me to use here the drawing I made of this lid in 1989.

<sup>1231</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:54–69. See also BRANIGAN 1968:16–17; 1970a:106 fig. 24 and *passim*.

<sup>1232</sup> See BETANCOURT 1985:46.

<sup>1233</sup> BRANIGAN 1968:16–17, also the wheel-made vessels

described by XANTHOUIDES 1924:61 #5102, 5065. For comments on the clay vessels (as a group), see WALBERG 1983:100–101.

<sup>1234</sup> XANTHOUIDES 1924:61 #5119–5121.

<sup>1235</sup> There is no published plan, but XANTHOUIDES 1924:55 notes its length is 2.6 m. See also SOLES 1973:238–239.

preservation circumstances of the majority of pithos burials, little was found in them. The few finds included some clay cups and vases, a lamp and an ox-shaped rhyton, probably the latest object interred and not earlier than MM IIB in date. The pithoi themselves are of MM date, apparently of the ‘Kamares’ type, and therefore later than the main period of use for the tholos, or at most contemporary to the very end of its use.

**492. Jar (‘cylinder jar,’ Type B), HM A 1057**

Grey and white mottled dolomitic limestone, H (pres.): 3.5–3.7; Dia. (rim, rest.): 3.3; (base, rest.): 2.7 mm, rim and base restored at edges.

Tall cylindrical jar with projecting everted rim and base, tapering slightly convex body, uneven height.

Minoan, probably EM III–MM I, most likely late in this range.

*Context:* Mainly MM IA, some EM II?–III, MM IB–IIB.

*Chronology:* Probably (EM III?–)MM I vessel, probably in generally contemporary MM IA (or range of EM II?/III–MM IIB) tomb deposition.

*References:* XANTHOUIDES 1924:65, pl. XXXIX:a:second row, left; WARREN 1969:76 Type 30:D, P426, D234; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:246–247 #172, pl. 70:172; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:757–758 #372, III:1144 fig. 372; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:42 #25.α.

*Comments:* Xanthoudides does not specify the find spot of this jar. It most likely would have come from the tholos, but does not appear to have been blackened by fire. Therefore the other possibilities cannot be ruled out. The excavator had marked it: ‘13A.’<sup>1236</sup>

The rim projection is conjectural, but the basal projection is strong and presumably the rim would have been no less so. This compares best with the Egyptian form of Dynasty V–XI, essentially the late Old Kingdom through First Intermediate Period,<sup>1237</sup> which is generally contemporary with the earlier use of the tomb. It is not inconceivable, however, that the exaggerated style continued to be produced on Crete after it went out of fashion in Egypt.

## PRAISOS

The modern town of Nea Praisos lies just off the main road about 17 kilometres south from Siteia, following the valley between the two highland areas of eastern Crete. Farther upland is the site of ancient Praisos, like that of Arkades primarily known for its

post-Bronze Age remains. Indeed, the Classical–Hellenistic city was constructed on bedrock probably in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC although the earlier city of the same name nearby mentioned by Strabo probably was founded six centuries earlier.

A number of scholars have excavated here, including F. Halbherr and L. Mariani in 1894,<sup>1238</sup> A. Evans in 1894–1896 and, most importantly, R.C. Bosanquet in 1901.<sup>1239</sup> He also excavated and noted the presence of several chamber tombs in the area of ‘S to Mavriki’ containing LM IIIA–B remains although the bulk was of Geometric and Orientalising date and probably represent reuse of the tholoi.<sup>1240</sup> N. Platon also excavated a number of LM III tombs at ‘Kapsalos,’ ‘Photoula,’ and ‘Tzani Metochi,’ all in the immediate area of Praisos.<sup>1241</sup>

Most recently, excavations have been conducted the University of Catania from 1977,<sup>1242</sup> and an area survey by J. Whitley since 1992 for the University of Wales, Cardiff. These recovered very little EM I and MM material and then LM IIIC–Proto-Geometric refuge settlements.<sup>1243</sup> Additionally a large number of objects and other finds have been reported over the years from this same area, and a number of sites recorded by walls and surface finds. The area seems to have been well-populated in the later LM III period despite the lack of an excavated habitation site.<sup>1244</sup>

### A. Survey Site 46

Halfway up Kapsalos hill on its western side and about half a kilometre from the Praisos city site, Whitley’s survey noted the remains of a rectangular building of about 7 by 9 m., designated Site 46, on a limestone spur. A platform-like ‘terrace’ area along the entire length of the south wall is supported by another (main) wall of the building. Two earlier and possibly illegal trenches cutting into this terrace were investigated, with little diagnostic pottery. However, the north-west scarp below a path here produced good Kamares ware sherds of Palaikastro fabric. These included straight-sided cup, angular cup, conical cup, tripod legs and tripod cooking pot and a nar-

<sup>1236</sup> The lower figure instead may be ‘B,’ rather than ‘A.’

<sup>1237</sup> B.G. ASTON 1994:99–100, 104 #35.

<sup>1238</sup> HALBHERR 1894:543; MARIANI 1895:283–285; HALBHERR 1901b.

<sup>1239</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902a.

<sup>1240</sup> BOSANQUET 1901–1902a:237–238, 240–254. See also KANTA 1980:179; PAPADAKIS 1983:81–82. The later use of these tombs and other late remains, including some ‘egyptianising’ material recovered there, is described by SKON-JEJELE 1994:1909–1915.

<sup>1241</sup> PLATON 1960.

<sup>1242</sup> RIZZA 1995.

<sup>1243</sup> FRENCH 1993:77–79; 1994:82–83; TOMLINSON 1995:70; BLACKMAN 1997:117; 1998:119; 1999:122; WHITLEY, O’CONNOR and MASON 1995; WHITLEY, PRENT and THORNE 1999.

<sup>1244</sup> For a compilation of the evidence, see KANTA 1980:179–182.

row-necked vessel with appliqué at the rim, all apparently dating to the MM period. The excavators suggest a religious use for the building.

**493. Closed vessel.** (not located)

Clay, Dia. (rim): c. 5.5 cm, rim/upper body fragment with partially preserved appliqués and a further joining appliqué fragment.

Closed vessel with intapering narrow neck, everted flat rim. Appliqués on rim top, including 'horns of consecration' and two "feline animals." Only the hind legs and tail of one animal, and the forelegs and part of upper body of the other are preserved (as illustrated). The accompanying text notes that a joining fragment adds a head and body to the haunches and tail of the "central feline."

Minoan, MM(?).

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM(?) vessel, without context.

*Reference:* WHITLEY, PRENT and THORNE 1999:231, 233 fig. 7, 262.

*Comments:* This piece is included in the present catalogue as it is described as a 'feline,' but no parallels can be cited for it. One major fragment is not included in the published illustration, and the piece as fully preserved is difficult to envisage from the published description: "A joining fragment, not pictured here, attaches to the front quarters of the central feline providing it with a head and a body which curves around to the right and joins the haunches and badly worn tail." The main problem is deciding which of the two illustrated is the "central feline."<sup>1245</sup> The two animals draped over and around the 'horns of consecration' appear somewhat more 'active' than the seated cat figures, in that they seem to be interacting both with the 'horns' and each other, but they are not actually in active movement. They *may* be cats, from the published illustration, but characteristics on the unillustrated fragment may be the deciding factor for a firmer identification.

## B. No Find Context

The following was presented to the (then) Candia Museum by Sir A. Evans, and probably either purchased or found by him during his brief explorations of 1894–1896. No find context is recorded.

**494. Jar ('spheroid jar' or 'high shouldered jar'?),** HM A 7

Gabbro, H: 7.4; Dia. (rim): 7.4; (max): 14.0; (base): 5.6 cm, battered, chipped on rim and large chip on lower body.

Jar with constricted upright collar/rim, high shoulder, lower body slightly concave and tapering to flat base. Partial interior base ring.

Minoan, MM III–LM IIIA1, possibly slightly later.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM III–LM IIIA1 vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* {118}; {247}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A variant form, P404;

PHILLIPS 1991:II:760 #373, III:1144 fig. 373; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:216 #215.

*Comments:* Warren lists the jar as a variant form of his Type 30:A, but it might be derived instead from his Type 43:D.<sup>1246</sup> Its slightly concave lower profile is in contrast to both the Minoan 'spheroid jars' and the 'high shouldered jars' and is a highly unusual feature for both Egyptian and Minoan vessels.

## PRASSA

The small village of Prassa<sup>1247</sup> lies on a minor road some 4.5 kilometres inland from the north coast and about 1.5 kilometres north-east of Knossos. In 1939–1940, N. Platon excavated a house at a place called 'Korakies' near the village. A nearby well also was excavated, and found to contain a large MM IB pottery deposit.<sup>1248</sup> Interrupted by the war, he returned in 1951 to further excavate the house, now called 'House A,' and a second smaller 'House B' nearby.<sup>1249</sup>

House A apparently was constructed in MM IB, although its reported pottery dates to MM III–LM IA (or perhaps to LM IB). It was rather large and included two entrances, an eastern portico and four basement rooms. One basement room contained 16 storage pits and another was identified as an MM III–LM IA shrine,<sup>1250</sup> with an adjacent repository of MM III vessels. The house was destroyed twice in LM IA; the second destruction, at the end of the period, was final. House B, with only four rooms considerably smaller than the other, was both constructed and destroyed in LM IA.

The following object is entirely without context, and is identified in publication as having come from 'Prasa.'

**495. Seal,** HM (Giamalakis) 3438

Chalcedony, L: 23.4; W: 17.6; H: 8.1; SH: 2.6 mm, small chips at edges, otherwise intact.

Amygdaloid seal, engraved on one side only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Standing man facing right, bearded with both arms bent at elbows, wearing loincloth. Left hand holds a tri-leafed plant and the right a long bent stick(?) of some kind. In front of him and on right side of seal, an elongated squatting ape with tail upright behind and arms raised to face. A long line joins man and ape at waist. Three tri-stemmed plants in a vertical row behind man. Two horizontal lines each at top and bottom, the latter acting as ground line upon which man and ape 'float.'

Minoan, LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LM I seal, without context.

*References:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:61–61 #372, pl. VIII:372, XXVIII:372; MARINATOS 1987a:126–127, fig. 4:1; PHILLIPS

<sup>1245</sup> I have asked the opinion of several colleagues, none of whom were able to decide between the two figures illustrated.

<sup>1246</sup> WARREN 1969:110–111.

<sup>1247</sup> Also spelt 'Prasas,' as HOOD and SMYTH 1981:fig. 1.

<sup>1248</sup> PLATON 1940:489; 1941:271–272; DUNBABIN 1944:86.

<sup>1249</sup> PLATON 1951a; COOK 1952:108–109. See also PLATON 1958a; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:137–158.

<sup>1250</sup> Not included in GESELL 1985.

1991:II:762 #374, III:1144 fig. 374; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #447; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:176 #160.

*Comments:* Depicting the *Cercopithecus* monkey. Presumably it is worshipping a male deity of some kind, but interpretation is difficult.

### PRINIAS SITEIAS

The peak sanctuary of Prinias is located at an altitude of 803 metres above sea level, some eight kilometres almost due south of Siteia, between the peaks of Zou and Stavromenos near the village of Zou.<sup>1251</sup> Discovered and identified by P. Faure in 1965, the site was excavated under C. Davaras in 1971.<sup>1252</sup> The natural rock face to the north was employed as a boundary wall for the temenos area. This rich but as yet unpublished site produced a large number of votive figurines of various types. Represented are male and female worshippers and other human figurines and body parts, and animals such as bulls, including a rhyton in the form of a horned beetle, the largest such representation known,<sup>1253</sup> and a female figurine having a model beetle on her right shoulder blade.<sup>1254</sup> Ceramic finds date the sanctuary to the MM period.

**496. Model.** HNM 6080 (not handled)

Clay, H: 4.5 cm, face damaged especially at left jowl and ear, paint almost entirely flaked and worn off.

Cat's head, with moulded face and large upright ears, large eyes with double upper eyelids. Solid interior. Dark paint over entire(?) surface.

Minoan, Proto-Palatial, probably MM II.

*Context:* MM.

*Chronology:* MM II object, in generally contemporary MM II–III deposition.

*Comparanda:* {77}; {113}.

*References:* DAVARAS 1981:22, fig. 40; DETOURNAY, POURSAT and VANDENABEELE 1980:123 n. 1; FOSTER 1982:87 n. 43,<sup>1255</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:763–764 #375, III:1144 fig. 375; REHAK 1997:172, fig. 17.

*Comments:* The only example with the ears surviving, it shows their large scale in relation to the head. It should not date any earlier than the protome from Malia {377}, MM II.

### PSEIRA

The island of Pseira lies just off the north-eastern coast, at the eastern edge of the Bay of Mirabello.

Now uninhabited due to a complete lack of fresh water supply, it once supported a sizable Minoan population concentrated on a single settlement area on the eastern edge of the island. The settlement lies on a small spit of land north of the cove and ravine that formed the island's only harbour. The name of the island is derived from its shape, which resembles a louse when seen from the mainland. Even when populated, water and probably most foodstuffs probably had to be imported.

R.B. Seager and B.H. Berry excavated the town site in 1906–1907.<sup>1256</sup> They found a sizable and sophisticated town of tightly packed houses constructed of local materials separated by narrow paved streets, first constructed in the EM period. This town was destroyed in MM I, probably by earthquake, but by MM III it had been rebuilt and repopulated along similar lines. These houses, some originally double-storeyed, are well-preserved and still stand up to two metres high. The architecture was quite sophisticated, some decorated with frescos of a quality similar to those at Knossos. Some ceramics too are of similar high quality. The population must have consisted chiefly of fishermen, merchants and sailors, to judge from the large quantity of related finds. The town had expanded to south of the ravine before it was destroyed again in LM IB.

P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras began clearance of Seager's houses and re-excavation of the town area in 1985, together with an intensive survey of the island.<sup>1257</sup> At least one house of LM IIIA date has been discovered at the edge of town, indicating some further reoccupation on the island at that time. Seager noted the presence of a Roman military camp and lighthouse on the highest point of the island, and Roman remains in the town excavations.<sup>1258</sup> The remains of a Roman wall, probably a mole, built across the cove were recorded below sea level in 1955.<sup>1259</sup> The recent excavations also have revealed a Byzantine church complex overlying the town, especially in the 'plateia' area.

In addition to the town, Seager and Berry also exca-

<sup>1251</sup> Not to be confused with the more famous site of Prinias in central Crete, where Archaic temples and their sculptures were excavated by L. Pernier in 1906–1908. Prinias Siteias sometimes is called 'Zou' to distinguish it from the other, e.g. RUTKOWSKI 1986:98 #37.

<sup>1252</sup> FAURE 1967:118–119; DAVARAS 1972:651.

<sup>1253</sup> DAVARAS 1988. Rhyta and large model horned beetles also have been found at Palaikastro, Prophitis Elias at Malia, Juktas, Piskokephalo and Petsofas, amongst other places, sometimes in quantity.

<sup>1254</sup> HM 9761; see DAVARAS 1988:49.

<sup>1255</sup> She erroneously suggests this is a figurine, perhaps an appliqué like {383} above.

<sup>1256</sup> SEAGER 1910. See also comments on the pottery from their excavations in WALBERG 1983:128–129; she does not seem to disagree with Seager's basic dating parameters.

<sup>1257</sup> CATLING 1986:92; BETANCOURT, DAVARAS and MACENROE 1987; BETANCOURT and DAVARAS 1988 and continuing.

<sup>1258</sup> SEAGER 1910:6–7.

<sup>1259</sup> LEATHAM and HOOD 1958–1959:275–278.

vated an EM II–MM I cemetery on the south-eastern face of the island less than a kilometre from the town. Seager records excavating 33 graves<sup>1260</sup> consisting of house-tombs, rock-shelter burials and cist graves. Both ceramic and stone vessels were recovered there.

### A. The Plateia House

This building, discovered in 1986 by Betancourt and Davaras, was excavated annually until completion in 1990.<sup>1261</sup> It lies at the northern end of the town site, occupying the northern edge and north-eastern corner of the central ‘plateia,’ and partly is lost to the cliffs of the peninsula. The largest house excavated at Pseira, it was divided for convenience into two wings, ‘BS’ on the east and ‘BV’ on the west. The latter is a later annexe addition to BS. BS consists of 14 identified spaces or rooms, and BV a further five, as preserved, but some BS rooms are lost. The building itself dates to LM IB, although three successive earlier contexts indicate previous occupation. The earliest, MM IIB with associated walls (Context 1), indicates an earlier building below the area of room BV 6B and, above this and elsewhere below the LM IB building, a separately distinguishable MM IIB layer without walls (Context 2), and an LM IA level again without associated walls (Context 3). Above the LM IB house lay a mixed LM and Byzantine stratum (Context 8).

The LM IB building had two storeys, as indicated in the stratigraphy. Context 4 is the LM IB floor level and *in situ* floor deposits, Context 5 is the remains of the upper storey, Context 6 is the LM IB and some earlier debris within the building resulting from the wall and roof collapse, and Context 7 is the roof collapse itself. Published discussion of all finds is by room and context number.

The building is on two levels, necessitated by a comparatively gentle slope, with a staircase linking the two; Rooms BS 12–14 and all BV rooms are on the upper level, to the north-east, and are linked by a stairway in BS 7 and with BS 8 being at an intermediate level at this point. The building was entered from the south at entrance BS 11, followed by a paved vestibule (BS 6) leading directly to the staircase (BS 7, turning to above BS 9 and the upper storey) and to the rest of the building at both levels.

Space BV 5 is half of a larger room (the other half being BV 4), and divided from Room BV 1 by a partition wall leading to what may have been a central

pillar segregating BV 1 and 5 only; BV 4 has no clear separation with either space, and all constitute the westernmost portion of the building. The entire BV wing, at the higher level, stands only to two courses and doorways are not preserved.

Space BV 5, context 4 contained little pottery, mostly MM through LM IB, and one EM IIB Vasilike ware sherd; both coarse and fine wares were recovered in generally equal numbers. Little else was recovered, only a few marine shells and land snails. Apparently no material was recovered in Context 5 (if it existed here), but Context 6 had mostly closed vessels and cooking pots, with some Byzantine disturbance. It also included a metacarbonate slab as a pounding platform, two clay (loom)weights, a clay drain and stone vessel fragment. Context 8 pottery was either highly worn Minoan or Byzantine in date, and this context material also included a murex shell.

**497. Jar** (‘small pot’ or ‘cylinder jar’), Exc. # PS 2426 (not located)

Serpentinite, mottled black (5Y 2.5/1) and light grey (5Y 6/1). Dia. (rim): c. 9 cm, one rim/upper body fragment.

Jar or small pot rim, thin, everted, thin upper body.

Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* EM IIB–LM IB.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, in probably generally contemporary LM IB floor context having earlier material.

*Reference:* BETANCOURT in FLOYD 1998:128 #485, fig. 46: BS/BV 485.

*Comments:* Identified as either WARREN’s (1969) type 30 or 36 by Betancourt. Recovered in Context 6 (debris within building) of this room. By ‘Type 30’ he can only mean Warren’s sub-type D, the ‘cylinder jar with everted rim and base;’ if so, this is not only out of context (although possible given the residual material found there) but also is the only example in a dark-coloured stone other than one from Kamilari {98}, whereas multiple examples of ‘small pots’ of similar rim form (Warren Type 36:B) are known in dark-coloured stone. Neither are expected in the context here, and this fragment more likely came originally from the cemetery. Considering the material, this is far more likely to be Type 36:B than Type 30:D, and thus unrelated to Egyptian vessels.

### B. No Find Context

The following apparently was recovered by Seager, but without mention of any context.

**498. Jar** (‘miniature amphora’) (not located)

Material, dimensions and condition not known.

‘Miniature amphora.’ No further description.

Minoan, EM II–MM I.

*Context:* None stated, but probably EM II–MM I.

<sup>1260</sup> SEAGER 1910:7. They were never published, but Betancourt and Davaras have begun clearance and re-excavation in the cemetery, also not yet published.

<sup>1261</sup> FLOYD 1998.

*Chronology:* EM II–MM I vessel, without context but presumably in generally contemporary EM II–MM I tomb deposition.  
*References:* WARREN 1969:122 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:766–767 #376.

*Comments:* Most likely from the cemetery excavations, given its date and the contexts of virtually all other ‘miniature amphorae.’

**499. Figurine, HM** — (not located)

Multi-coloured marble of white, grey and brown, L: 5.2 cm, intact but battered, chipped at mouth.

Rough figurine in the form of a beetle, with single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra (possibly also dividing pronotum). ‘Legs’ indicated by single deep horizontal groove around sides. Eyes indicated by two elongated depressions or incised marks. Flat bottom. *Face:* A ‘cross,’ possibly aligned to length.

Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* None stated, but probably EM II–MM I.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I object, without context but probably in generally contemporary EM III–MM I deposition.

*Comparison:* {68}.

*References:* LEVI 1927–1929:524–525, fig. 604; PLATON 1951b:139, 140 n. 102; RUTKOWSKI 1986:245 n. 80; DAVARAS 1988:48; PHILLIPS 1991:II:767 #377, III:1145 fig. 377.

*Comments:* A quite rough figure of a beetle type. Levi thought it was a cicada, but Platon considered it a beetle with a missing horn. Levi’s comment that it was chipped at the mouth might corroborate this, but his illustration does not suggest a broken or missing horn. As the parallel from Gerontomouri {68} is hornless, so may be the Pseira piece.

No context is stated for this figure, but presumably it came from the cemetery excavated by Seager.

## PSYCHRO CAVE

The Psychro cave lies on the slope of Mount Dikte, on the south-west edge of the Lasithi Plain, about 200 metres above the plain and 1025 metres above sea level. After votive objects were found in the cave and sold by peasants in 1883, several archaeologists investigated it, including a small trench by Io. Hatzidakis and F. Halbherr in 1886, the eastern part of the upper cave by A.J. Evans and J.L. Myres in 1895, then Evans and A. Taramelli in 1896, and J. Demargne generally in 1898. The most important and definitive was that of D.G. Hogarth in 1899, for the British School of Archaeology at Athens,<sup>1262</sup> who first opened and rather superficially excavated the lower cave in only four days. Subsequent exploration, especially by Rutkowski, has more fully clarified its interior and history.<sup>1263</sup>

The cave had originally been inhabited in the Late Neolithic period, but in the EM period was used only for burial. After an apparent gap during MM I–II, the cave became an important sanctuary beginning in MM IIB, a function which continued apparently without interruption until the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC and was renewed in the Roman period and perhaps occasionally during Byzantine times. The most important periods of use, to judge from the quantity of finds, were MM III–LM I and the 8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> c. BC, although considerable LM IIIA–B pottery attests to regular use at that time also. The cave has long been identified as the shrine of Diktaean Zeus mentioned in the Linear ‘B’ tablets<sup>1264</sup> and by Hesiod in *Theogony* (477–484), the original Diktaean cave in which the god Zeus was born and raised. This identification remains controversial and generally is considered incorrect, but the cave still often is called the ‘Diktaean Cave’ in the literature.<sup>1265</sup>

Physically, there actually are two caves, the ‘Upper Grot’ and ‘Lower Grot,’ to use Hogarth’s terms. The ‘Lower Grot’ is a separate cave ‘room’ entered only through the ‘Upper Grot’ via a steep slope. Although the existence of the ‘Lower Grot’ was known earlier, Hogarth was the first to excavate it by blasting the blocking rocks with dynamite. In the ‘Upper Grot’ he recovered material in stratified layers, to which the material recovered earlier since has been related.<sup>1266</sup>

Unfortunately, Evans also purchased much of his material in Herakleion during visits in 1894 and subsequently, and with few exceptions those objects cannot be isolated from those he actually excavated.

### A. Evans’ Excavations and/or Purchases

Evans donated much of his material to the Ashmolean Museum. Those with ‘AE’ catalogue numbers entered the AM in 1896–1908, almost certainly all donated by Evans who also provided their provenance. The following objects were listed as being from the Psychro Cave, but whether they were excavated or merely purchased by Evans is unknown. If excavated, they all would have come from the eastern side of the ‘Upper Grot’ where Evans worked, although peasants also may have found elsewhere

<sup>1262</sup> HALBHERR and ORSI 1888:905–910; EVANS 1897:350–358; DEMARGNE 1902:580–583; HOGARTH 1899–1900:94–116. See now also SKON-JEDELE 1994:1916–1924; WATROUS and WIDENOR 1996:passim.

<sup>1263</sup> See now also RUTKOWSKI and NOWICKI 1996:7–19, with further references.

<sup>1264</sup> VENTRIS and CHADWICK 1973:305–307 #200, 475 #200.

<sup>1265</sup> See BOARDMAN 1961:2–3 and comments by WATROUS and WIDENOR 1996:18–19.

<sup>1266</sup> BOARDMAN 1961:3–4.



any items that Evans purchased. In either case their 'context' certainly would have to be wide-ranging.

**500. Cornflower bead**, AM AE 717

Carnelian, H: 12.3; W: 4.9; SH: 1.5 mm, intact.

Cornflower bead, rounded, with string-hole near top for attachment.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XVIII or later.

*Context*: None certain; if the 'Upper Grot,' EM, MM IIB–6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman.

*Chronology*: Late Dynasty XVIII (from reign of Akhenaten) or later bead, without certain context but deposited LM IIIA2 or later.

*Comparanda*: BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:238 #314 (fig. 15); {67}; {124}.

*References*: BOARDMAN 1961:71, 73 #332, fig. 32:332, pl. XXXIII:332; PHILLIPS 1991:II:770 #378, III:1145 fig. 378; 1992b:499; SKON-JEDELE 1994:1917–1918; HOFFMAN 1997:94–95 #EE.

*Comments*: As the type is extremely rare prior to the reign of Akhenaten in late Dynasty XVIII, it should not date any earlier. It also is known into Dynasty XXV so conceivably could be an Iron Age dedication in the cave, although its popularity after Dynasty XIX is limited. Skon-Jedele and Hoffman, both of whom studied the later Egyptian material on Crete, point out that all other known examples on Crete are from Late Minoan contexts<sup>1267</sup> and thus this too is likely to have been imported and dedicated in that period.

**501. Weight**, AM AE 773

Bronze with lead filling, H: 29.7; W: 35.7; D: 28.1 mm, W: 73.62 g, intact with well-preserved surface.

Calf's head, cut off flat at neck below ears. Small horns. Hollow-cast, with naturalistically modelled cast features. Lead filling, visible at base.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–early XIX.

*Context*: EM, MM IIB–6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman.

*Chronology*: Dynasty XVIII–early XIX weight, deposited LM IB or later.

*Comparanda*: PETRIE 1894:13, pl. XIII.6; 1926:6, pl. IX:4816, 4939; FRANKFURT 1929a:141 n. 1, pl. XXVIII:2291, 350; ROEDER 1956:324 #408, 479 #646:b, pl. 49:d; BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:60–61 #33:b; AM 1924.70; MICHAILEDOU 2000:132 fig. 8:right; MMA 68.139.2.

*References*: EVANS 1906:353 n. 9; *PM* IV.2:655, fig. 639; BOARDMAN 1961:49, 50 #228, pl. XVI:228; CRADDOCK 1976:107 Lab. #308; PHILLIPS 1991:II:770–771 #379, III:1145 fig. 379; SKON-JEDELE 1994:1917; MICHAILEDOU 2000:143 fig. 27.

*Comments*: Although considered Minoan by Evans<sup>1268</sup> and Pendlebury,<sup>1269</sup> Boardman<sup>1270</sup> suggests that this weight may be an Egyptian import. He cites several arguments, including the

"un-Minoan" finish and detailed markings of the piece itself. Its weight corresponds well with eight Egyptian *kdt*s. The lead filling is characteristic of Egyptian weights, but not of Minoan examples.<sup>1271</sup> Whilst it is not as well finished as comparable Egyptian pieces, on the whole an Egyptian origin is the more likely. Metal weights are limited in date to Dynasty XVIII–early XIX in Egypt.

Evans states it was "found in a Late Minoan association of the votive stratum of the Diktaean Cave," so the weight *probably* was excavated by him in the eastern part of the 'Upper Grot' in 1896.<sup>1272</sup>

Craddock's analysis of numerous LBA Greek bronze figurines did not address the question of origin, but his wide-ranging results for the total of 22 statuettes analysed cannot help in ascertaining an origin of this one piece.

**502. Scarab**, AM 1938.789

Pale cloudy amethyst, L: 15.3; W: 10.6; H: 8.2; SH: 2.2 mm, intact but worn (especially on sides) and some damage to the face edge.

Scarab with triangular lunate head and rayed clypeus. Single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Pronotum divided by continuation of line dividing elytra. Tail indicated by small diagonal notches, and legs by horizontal lines front and sides, and diagonal lines back and sides. String-hole through length. *Face*: 'Solar symbol' consisting of two concentric circles and a series of curved radiating lines (S.108), flanked by two pitchers or jugs (S.47). The field is powdered with small circles. Engraved, with initial drillwork employing three differently-sized drills.

Egyptian, Dynasty XII, face design Minoan, MM IB–II.

*Context*: EM, MM IIB–6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman.

*Chronology*: Dynasty XII scarab, reworked in MM (IB–)II and in generally contemporary or somewhat later MM IIB or later deposition.

*Comparanda*: MARTIN 1971:4, pl. 51 Type 2; WARD 1978: pl. XXI:316, XIII:333; YULE 1981:166 Motif 53, pl. 29:53:2, 5; TUFNELL 1984:*passim* (generally Back type I, Side type e7); {42}.

*References*: EVANS 1909:136, 151:P.1, 223 n. 27, fig. 79, pl. I:P.1; *PM* I:199, fig. 147; PENDLEBURY 1930b:13 #14; 1939:142, fig. 19.5; KENNA 1960:36, 106 #126, fig. 47, pl. 6:126; BOARDMAN 1961:4, 68–69 #285, pl. XXIV:285; KENNA 1973:829; HOOD 1978:215, 216, fig. 213:F; YULE 1981:79 Class 29:b, 167 Motif 53, pl. 39:46; 1983:365, fig. 36; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:252 #182, pl. 50:182; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 17, 323 n. 22, 326 n.; 1991:II:771–773 #380, III:1145 fig. 380; 1992b:497; SKON-JEDELE 1994:1917; PHILLIPS 2004:166 fig. 6.middle; WALKER and GALANAKIS 2007:#82; *CMS* VI:#142.

*Comments*: Evans proposed the scarab to be an Egyptian import, an identification that has been accepted almost universally since.<sup>1273</sup> The face design is typically Minoan tubular drill

<sup>1267</sup> Both failed to note that the cornflower bead from the Sanctuary of Demeter {239} also is from a later (pit) context.

<sup>1268</sup> EVANS *PM* IV.2:655.

<sup>1269</sup> By exclusion. It is not listed in PENDLEBURY 1930b.

<sup>1270</sup> BOARDMAN 1961:49.

<sup>1271</sup> E.g. AM AE 1242, from Knossos. It weighs 5.15 g. See BOARDMAN 1961:49 n. 2. A sample of the lead core was taken by P. Craddock for analysis by H. McKerrell in February 1972, but unfortunately the test results were inconclusive.

<sup>1272</sup> EVANS *PM* IV.2:655, although in n. 3 he claims it was acquired in 1897, the year following his excavations. It could well have been purchased instead, possibly in 1898 or 1899 but certainly not in 1897. Evans' *NBs* for 1897 are complete, and mention no such purchase; see BROWN and BENNETT 2001.

<sup>1273</sup> The only published hesitations seem to be BOARDMAN (1961:68), "probably," and YULE (1983:365), "perhaps" Egyptian.

ornament and vessel forms, and lies within with the MM IB–II ‘Malia Workshop Subgroup.’<sup>1274</sup> The scarab generally is considered an Egyptian import with a locally carved face design.<sup>1275</sup> According to Ward<sup>1276</sup> and still accepted, not one dated amethyst scarab is known prior to Dynasty XII. The end of Dynasty XI through early Dynasty XIII is the period when exploitation and use of amethyst was most extensive, mostly due to the discovery of the Wadi el-Hudi mines.<sup>1277</sup> Kenna notes that the back of the scarab appears “very much more worn than expected,” which may be indicative of its being an ‘antique’ when the face was carved by a Minoan artisan, probably in MM II; a date that he (1973) did not change. It probably had a blank (uninscribed) face originally, as the present dimensions of the scarab do not suggest the face was erased for recarving. It may have been a component of a necklace or otherwise attached to a piece of jewellery in such a way that only the back was visible. Alternatively, the scarab face may have been covered with gold onto which the face design was made, but removed prior to the Minoan carving.<sup>1278</sup> The face design seems to have some votive quality that, considering its stated provenance, suggests that it was carved to enhance its worth to the deity or deities worshipped in the cave. The vessels on the face may be earlier or indifferent versions of the *Schnabelkanne*, an LM vessel type with votive qualities.<sup>1279</sup>

### 503. Seal, AM AE 709

Grey serpentine or chlorite, L: 20.2; W: 18.5; H: 6.4; SH: 2.5 mm, extremely worn surface.

Lentoid, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length.

*Face:* Two confronted standing ‘genii’ flanking and facing an indeterminate object which may be a column with a base. Both seem to wear a waist belt, and have parallel filler lines over the abdomen area.

Minoan, probably LM IIIA.

*Context:* EM, MM IIB–6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman.

*Chronology:* Probably LM IIIA seal, in generally contemporary LM IIIA or later deposition.

*Comparanda:* GILL 1970:406 #57; {303}; {435}; {523–524}.

*References:* BOARDMAN 1961:71 #318; GILL 1964:7, 17 #15, pl. 2:4; PHILLIPS 1991:II:773–774 #381, III:1145 fig. 361; REHAK 1995:229 n. 114; CMS VI:#311.

*Comments:* The extremely worn condition of this seal precludes any significant discussion. Not included in KENNA 1960.

## B. Hogarth’s Excavations

In the thick mud deposit along the water’s edge at the bottom of the ‘Lower Grot,’ Hogarth found a collection of over a dozen bronze figurines, about six

engraved gems, and handfuls of common rings, pins and blades also of bronze. Other similar objects were found tucked into niches in the stalagmites that rose out of the pool, and presumably the material from the pool also had originated from the niches. Hogarth suggested a wide-ranging deposit date, chiefly during the Geometric period.<sup>1280</sup> A few Roman lamps were also found, but the bulk of the objects are of LBA date. The only finds specifically belonging to the 8<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> c. BC are some bronze fibulae and toiletry articles.<sup>1281</sup> Geometric–Archaic finds mainly came from between the blocking stones at the entrance to the cave, and Boardman<sup>1282</sup> suggests that a rock fall sometime between LM III and the Geometric period may have blocked the ‘Lower Grot,’ which was not reopened until the Roman period.

### 504. Statuette, HM X 422

Bronze, H (pres.): 9.9; W: 2.0 cm, feet missing from ankles, and the feather head-dress bent backwards. Now irremovably fixed on a plastic stand.

The god Amon-Re, standing with right foot forward and arms to sides with clenched fists, wearing a pleated kilt knotted at waist, flat-top double-plumed crown, false divine beard, necklace/collar and overshirt with wide straps. Solid-cast, with moulded and incised details, including plumes, collar, corslet with shoulder straps, belt and pleated kilt. Slightly protruding stomach.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII–XIX, possibly later.

*Context:* EM, MM IIB–6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, Roman.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XVIII or later statuette, deposited LM IB or later.

*Comparanda:* ROEDER 1956:34 #56:b, fig. 50, pl. 6:d.

*References:* HOGARTH 1899–1900:107, pl. X:1, 2; EVANS 1901:125–126; MARAGHIANNIS 1907–1915:I:pl. XXIX:6; PENDLEBURY 1930b:13 #15, Frontispiece; WAINWRIGHT 1932:126; PENDLEBURY 1939:323; BOARDMAN 1961:4, 74; SHAW 1980:247 n. 102; PHILLIPS 1991:II:774–775 #382, III:1146 fig. 382; SKON-JEDELE 1994:1917–1919; WATROUS and WIDENOR 1996:55; HOFFMAN 1997:26–27 #A; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:346 #370.

*Comments:* Hogarth suggested a deposition date of about 900 BC for the figure, but Boardman prefers a date either before 1200 or after 800 BC. Watrous and Widenor consider it “probably was dedicated” here in the Geometric–Archaic period, but Skon-Jedele argues compellingly for a New Kingdom date of manufac-

<sup>1274</sup> YULE 1981:143–144, 166–167, 213–214. See also YULE 1983:365.

<sup>1275</sup> James Weinstein (letter of 06 April 1988) suggests it is an Aegean variant of an Egyptian SIP scarab.

<sup>1276</sup> WARD 1978:86.

<sup>1277</sup> The earliest dated inscription at Wadi el-Hudi is that of the last Dynasty XI king, Montuhotep IV and the latest is Sobekhotep IV of early Dynasty XIII; see SADEK 1980–1985:I:107, II:9; I. SHAW and JAMESON 1993:95, 97. The pale amethyst colour of the Psychro scarab suggests it instead may have been mined in the Gebel el-Asr region

rather than the better-known Wadi el-Hudi; see B.G. ASTON, HARRELL and SHAW 2000:51.

<sup>1278</sup> Egyptian amethyst scarabs seldom were inscribed, according to TUFNELL 1984:39. While this perhaps is an overstatement, it underlines the common practice of not inscribing amethyst scarabs.

<sup>1279</sup> On the *Schnabelkanne*, see STÜRMER 1985:119–134.

<sup>1280</sup> HOGARTH 1899–1900:115.

<sup>1281</sup> HOGARTH 1899–1900:107–113 *passim*; WATROUS and WIDENOR 1996:54.

<sup>1282</sup> BOARDMAN 1961:115.

ture and a Late Minoan dedication.<sup>1283</sup> Stylistically, the statuette could be dated to the New Kingdom or Late Period, as so little work has been done in this field to argue for a more restricted dating, but the high quality of its workmanship and more realistic proportions suggest its earlier rather than later date of manufacture. Wainwright noted that the kilt knot is of a rare type, but Ann Russmann notes that it appears on many divine kilts in both periods.<sup>1284</sup> Moreover, the apparent lack of post-Minoan finds in the 'Lower Grot,' with the exception of the Roman lamps and some bronze tools and toilet articles, suggests that this statuette too should be assigned an LM context rather than the Iron Age, although an uncertainty should be understood.

### PYRGOS (KHANLI KASTELLI)

Some seven kilometres south of the town of Khanli Kastelli, and 20 kilometres south of Knossos near a stream and spring in a 'commanding position,' Evans identified the remains of several tombs, while attempting to trace the 'Minoan Way' from Knossos to the south coast of Crete at Kommos in 1923 or 1924.<sup>1285</sup> From his published description, he did not actually excavate the tombs, but was shown their removed contents.

These contents included a broken gold ring and beads of gold (4), stone (8) and faience (1), together with a stone jar, found with fragments of a 'bath-shaped' clay larnax with three upright handles on the sides and rope ornament that he dated to LM IA. No other objects were reported and the larnax upon which the dating rests was not published and cannot now be located. LM I larnaxe virtually are unknown.<sup>1286</sup> The gold ring is dated to LM III in Xenaki-Sakellariou's ring typology, and Younger seems to suggest it could be of LM IIIA1 date.<sup>1287</sup> These problems, together with the date of the stone jar and lack of associated pottery, bring into question both the date of the collection as a whole and whether it is even a single group of objects. If so, the context of the Pyrgos collection *may* date at least as late as LM IIIA1.<sup>1288</sup> Other individual objects cannot be assigned an LM IA context, and most can in fact be assigned none at all.

### 505. Beads, AM 1924.925

Cloudy amethyst and pale to dark carnelian having dark brown streaks, quantity: 8. (G) H: 6.4; Dia: 7.5; SH: 1.4 mm;<sup>1289</sup> (H) H: 4.1; Dia: 7.0; SH: 1.4 mm; (I) H: 6.0; Dia: 7.1; SH: 1.2 mm; (J) H: 6.1; Dia: 6.3; SH: 1.6 mm; (K) H: 11.8; Dia: 5.1; SH: 1.2 mm; (L) H: 10.8; Dia: 6.5; SH: 1.3 mm; (M) H: 10.2; Dia: 4.5; SH: 1.0 mm; (N) H: 6.2; Dia: 6.8; SH: 1.7 mm. Individually intact but modern re-stringing, some worn.

Globular amethyst and globular, barrel and spheroid carnelian types, all with string-hole drilled through length.

Egyptian, later MK–NK, and/or Minoan, MM IB–LM III.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Later Middle to New Kingdom and/or MM IB–LM III, without context.

*Comparanda:* ENGELBACH and GUNN 1923: pl. LII:73.O, 73.P2, LIII:79.P; {2}; {65}.

*References:* EVANS *PM* II.1:75–76, fig. 34:G–M; PENDLEBURY 1930b:37 #57; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:247 #173; PHILLIPS 1991:II:776–777 #383, III:1146 fig. 383; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:176.

*Comments:* Bead (G) is of amethyst, the others are carnelian. Not all beads found were identified as Egyptian. Evans originally proposed the Egyptian origin of these beads, but some Minoan 'fancy' shapes also were found in addition to those listed above.

Evans considered the amethyst and carnelian beads as 'certainly' Egyptian imports, characteristic of Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom deposits.<sup>1290</sup> The amethyst bead may or may not be Egyptian, although the stone very probably would have been imported from Egypt as amethyst is not native to Crete but apparently is known only from Egypt. It may have arrived in Crete either as raw material or a finished simple bead. The carnelian beads are unusually well carved, unlike the usual Minoan beads which appear to have been 'tumbled' into shape and have a rough surface, perhaps the criterion used by Evans to identify them as Egyptian. If so, it is an inaccurate assumption. Carnelian, like amethyst, very probably was imported from Egypt in a raw state.<sup>1291</sup>

### 506. Jar ('miniature amphora'), AM 1924.168

Grey and white mottled dolomitic marble, H (rest.): 4.63; (pres.): 4.16; Dia. (rest. rim): 2.56; (base): 1.83 cm, restored from five joining fragments with majority of rim and some shoulder missing. Worn and eroded surface.

'Miniature amphora' with flat base, high shoulder having two horizontal knob handles on shoulder and (restored) thickened rim.

Minoan, EM III–MM I/II.

<sup>1283</sup> She also did not include it in her catalogue.

<sup>1284</sup> Personal communication, 05 June 2000.

<sup>1285</sup> EVANS *PM* II.1:75–76.

<sup>1286</sup> See RUTKOWSKI 1968:222–223 and n. 17 for the sum total, the dating for virtually all of which can be placed in some doubt. DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:176 already have queried Evans' dating of the fragments.

<sup>1287</sup> XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1995:315 fig. 2:Pyrgos, 317 Type III. YOUNGER 1984:87 lists the Pyrgos ring as an LM IA prototype for his ring Type VI, which he dates to LM IIIA1. However, he notes it has his Type 5 hoop, all other examples of which (p. 86) also are from LM IIIA1 con-

texts, which suggests that the Pyrgos ring also should be dated to this period.

<sup>1288</sup> YOUNGER 1984:87 does not query the date Evans assigned to it, but a date in LM IIIA1 (or later?) may not be amiss for this ring, and therefore the latest context date for the entire collection (if indeed it had a single context).

<sup>1289</sup> Identification letters correlate to the beads as published by EVANS *PM* II.1:75 fig. 34. Bead (N) is not illustrated there.

<sup>1290</sup> EVANS *PM* II.1:75.

<sup>1291</sup> YULE 1981:193. See also WARREN 1969:190 n. 1.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I/II, without context.

*References:* EVANS *PM* II.1:76, fig. 34:A; WARREN 1969:72 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 23; 1991:II:777–778 #384, III:1146 fig. 384; DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1997:176.

*Comments:* If Evans' dating is accepted, this is one of only two 'miniature amphorae' from a 'survival' context; the other is jar {86} from Kalyvia; if not, then it is without context. The shape and material mark it as Minoan, of a type commonly found in EM III–MM I/II contexts chiefly in the Mesara. It is the only example found anywhere inland or in the Pyrgos region, all others being recovered near the coast in the Mesara, at Mochlos/Pseira, or at Malia. Its origins therefore are questionable on all counts, and it should be regarded as being without any useful provenance.

## SYME

The village of Kato Syme lies on the Lasithiou-Herakliou nomos, near the main highway along the southern coast towards Ierapetra. Roadwork northwest of this village towards the Omalos plain in 1972 uncovered ancient walls on the lower slopes of Mount Dikte high in the mountains. A. Lembessi excavated the site, annually 1972–1977 then 1981 and 1983–1985 and continuing.<sup>1292</sup> It proved to be a sanctuary dedicated to Hermes and Aphrodite from not earlier than the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The site, however, has an extremely long and apparently uninterrupted history of occupation and use from MM IIB through to late Helladic times, in a series of superimposed buildings and an increasingly complex site plan even before the sanctuary came into existence. A possibly 'sacred' spring was located nearby, and presumably is the reason for the sanctuary's location.

The earliest excavated phase is datable to the Proto-Palatial period, with Building V, having columns and a paved surface. Building U, slightly later in date and with some 22 rooms, includes a stone vessel workshop. It was partly destroyed in MM IIB by a rockslide, but the remainder continued in use through LM I, with the addition of a massive podium surrounded by a walled enclosure, and a 'processional way' leading up to it. Some floors were plastered and others employed slab paving, and some walls had polychrome plaster. The building itself seems to have gone out of use in LM I (or possibly continued in use through LM IIIA), but the podium area still was used

for open-air cult purposes through into the Archaic period. Numerous cultic vessels as well as some more mundane forms were recovered, together with votive offerings and figurines, stone vessels, bronze weapons including miniature versions, seals, and gold and silver fragments; little jewellery and no model limbs were found. Building S, built either in Neo-Palatial or Final Palatial, was reused in LM IIIB, with further cultic material recovered. The finds indicate distinct LM IIIB, LM IIIC and Sub-Minoan phases, and further buildings (R and Q) were constructed and used at this time.

Post-Minoan occupation consisted of other buildings, constructed variously in Proto-Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods, including three Late Geometric terraces apparently derived from the Late Minoan arrangement of the space, and the Greek sanctuary. Thousands more offerings were left throughout its later history; Near Eastern imports include a bronze Reshef figurine. The following was recovered in a "mixed cult horizon" and therefore without chronological significance, but the excavator associates it with the Proto-Palatial Building V.

### 507. Jar ('spheroid jar'), HM A 3387 (not handled)<sup>1293</sup>

Andesite porphyry (Type C) (?), greenish black matrix having large pink and white veined phenocrysts, H. (pres.): 3.8; Dia. (rim): 10, Th. (rim): 1.9 cm, one rim/upper shoulder fragment. Spheroid jar with wide flat collar, rectangular in profile, not undercut on exterior profile, high shoulder.

Egyptian, late Predynastic–Dynasty I(–II?).

*Context:* Not stated, but not earlier than MM IIB occupation.

*Chronology:* Late Predynastic–Dynasty I(–II?) vessel, an antique in its deposition not earlier than MM IIB.

*Comparanda:* EL-KHOULI 1978:O:259 #1724, III:pl. 78:1724; SCANDONE MATTHIAE 1988:pl. XII.2; {429}; {464}.

*References:* HANKEY 1980:213 n. 9; PHILLIPS 1991:II:780 #385; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:67 #47; LEMBESSI 2000:175, fig. 1.

*Comments:* All observations are made from the published photograph. The material appears to be andesite porphyry Type C, a stone employed in Egypt only during the Predynastic period.<sup>1294</sup> The profile, however, is not a Predynastic type, and appears to be Early Dynastic; the parallel quoted in KARETSOU *et al.* and LEMBESSI 2000 is dated to Dynasty I. It is a variation of the 'spheroid jar' type, not undercut below the exterior rim. The excavator associates this piece with the Proto-Palatial Building V. It would seem preferable to associate it with the Neo-Palatial period on the basis of comparanda found elsewhere on Crete, but an earlier date cannot be ruled out.

<sup>1292</sup> Annual and semi-annual reports in *Ergon* 1972 and continuing; CATLING 1972 and continuing. See also LEMBESSI 1981. The site also is known as 'Kato Syme,' or 'Kato Simi,' but the excavator prefers to standardise the site name as 'Syme' (Polymnia Muhly, letter of 15 August 1987). A 7<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. level produced a faience scarab; see

SKON-JEDELE 1994:1805–1808. The majority of the site description here is taken from WATROUS and WIDENOR 1996:65–67; later levels are described pp. 67–70.

<sup>1293</sup> I warmly thank Dr. Lembessi for allowing me to use her published profile of this piece.

<sup>1294</sup> Compare with B.G. ASTON 1994:21–23, pl. 4.a.

## TRAPEZA CAVE

A.J. Evans was shown this small cave north-east of the village of Tzermiadhon, about 300 metres above the north-eastern edge of the Lasithi Plain, in 1896. He purchased several objects from the local villagers and did some exploration work in the area. Digging in the cave, he reported the majority of finds were Hellenistic, but also included some EM jewellery fragments and various votives. The cave already had been looted of objects for centuries.

The cave was not explored fully until 1935 or excavated until 1936, when J.D.S. Pendlebury investigated various sites in and around Tzermiadhon.<sup>1295</sup> Within the cave, the context clearly was mixed and disturbed, but his excavations revealed that the cave had been inhabited in the Neolithic and EM I periods and during EM I–MM I was used for burials; fragments of some 118 skeletons were found.<sup>1296</sup> By MM III, the cave had fallen into disuse and only a few potsherds were recovered,<sup>1297</sup> although it was reused for a short time in LM IIIA. An Archaic pithos, Orientalising bronzes, Hellenistic material, and Byzantine sherds also were found inside, indicating later use as well.

In the area, evidence of habitation and burial continued. A Neolithic rock shelter, MM I–III pithos burials and an LM III larnax burial were found only a few years later near the cave, and two major MM III houses on the next hill.

### A. Evans' Excavations or Purchase

Evans' initial investigations resulted in the discovery of several objects from within or near the cave and purchase of others.

#### 508. Figurine (not located)<sup>1298</sup>

Faience, dimensions and condition unknown.

Figurine of the Egyptian god Bes, description unknown.

Possibly Egyptian, Middle Kingdom or later but probably Late Period.

*Context:* Neolithic–MM IIIA, LM IIIA, Archaic, Hellenistic, Byzantine.

*Chronology:* Object of unknown date, in extremely wide-ranging context.

*References:* PENDLEBURY, PENDLEBURY and MONEY-COUTTS 1935–1936:13; BOARDMAN 1961:152 n. 2; FAURE 1964:102 n. 3; PHILLIPS 1991:II:782–783 #386; SKON-JEDELE 1994:1928–1931 #2969.

*Comments:* Pendlebury noted that Evans found a faience figurine of the god Bes in the cave, but strangely Evans himself seems to have left no record of its existence.<sup>1299</sup> Despite the apparent lack of documentation for the find, its subject matter marks it for mention here.

As the Bes-image first appears in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom, the figurine can date no earlier.<sup>1300</sup> The Bes image was common throughout the remainder of the Pharaonic period, and could have been deposited at any time, if indeed Evans found it in the cave. It just might have been deposited as a votive offering during MM I, although this suggestion is highly unlikely. Whether purchased or excavated, it could date from any period from the Middle Kingdom on, on the basis of information now available. If from the cave, it must have been either an Archaic or Hellenistic votive offering.<sup>1301</sup> The majority of Bes images found on Crete are from Archaic contexts (and Skon-Jedele considers this the most likely option for the figure), but the vast majority of Evans' Trapeza material is of Hellenistic date. However, it might have been purchased by Evans elsewhere, even Egypt; Pendlebury would hardly have misidentified its iconography, but may have been misled concerning its provenance. Pendlebury may not have known about this figure in 1930, as other Iron Age material is included in his catalogue (1930b), but later learned of its existence in time to mention it in his Trapeza excavation report five years later. He did not, however, include it in his handwritten additions to his personal copy of *Aegyptiaca*, now in the Villa Ariadne library at Knossos.

### B. Pendlebury's Excavations

Although the cave clearly was disturbed, Pendlebury excavated the interior of the cave stratigraphically by area and layer. The areas were measured by distance from the entrance and the depths in 20–50 cm. Intervals, depending on the condition and circumstances of the area in question. Multiple joins were common.

Intact strata were found only near the southern wall where the passage widens; they contained traces

<sup>1295</sup> PENDLEBURY, PENDLEBURY and MONEY-COUTTS 1935–1936; PENDLEBURY 1936. See also WATROUS and WIDENOR 1996:61–62, RUTKOWSKI and NOWICKI 1996:68–69, and SKON-JEDELE 1994:1928–1931 for summaries of the cave's use, and WALBERG 1983:121–122 for comments on the MM ceramic material.

<sup>1296</sup> Although Pendlebury believed the cave had existed as a 'place of offerings' during MM I (PENDLEBURY, PENDLEBURY and MONEY-COUTTS 1935–1936:23; 1937–1938:14), this now is considered a fallacy. More recent study by Y. Spence suggests strongly that the Neolithic 'occupation' was seasonal at best (personal communication, 13 May 1989).

<sup>1297</sup> Although a few MM II vessels were found in the cave, the

MM II period is not represented on the plain. Apparently, MM I continued directly into MM III at Lasithi.

<sup>1298</sup> Not in AM, HM or KSM.

<sup>1299</sup> There might have been some record in his (now missing) *NB* for 1896. However, Evans' lack of mention of the find in later publication strongly suggests Pendlebury may have been mistaken in his site identification. No other Bes figurine from a Bronze Age context on Crete is known to me, although many are known from Iron Age contexts (see SKON-JEDELE 1994:*passim*).

<sup>1300</sup> ROMANO 1980 discusses the origin of the Bes-image.

<sup>1301</sup> Although Faure thought it was a Middle Minoan dedication.

of Late Neolithic and EM occupation. Elsewhere, the cave was used for communal burial in EM II–III and possibly for cult purposes in MM I, whilst there is some evidence for MM III, LM III, Archaic and even Byzantine use.

### B.1. Near cave entrance

In the uppermost 20 cm. of fill in the initial six metres from the entrance to the cave, the earth was thoroughly disturbed. In addition to some Byzantine sherds and a Hellenistic one, two EM II–III stone bowls and other pottery, ranging in date from Sub-Neolithic to MM I, were found.

#### 509. Seal, HM Σ-K 1570

Hippopotamus ivory,<sup>1302</sup> seal: L: 16.7; W: 16.9; H: 44.2; SH: 1.8; *face*: L: 15.7; W: 15.9 mm, very worn and pitted surface, with tail worn through the middle from the back, stained by reddish-brown soil. Chipped on face and face edge.

Theriomorphic, in the form of a seated ape atop a dome-like form. The ape is seated on its tail as if it were a three-legged stool, with forepaws resting on knees, atop a dome constricted at the bottom, somewhat similar to the signet form. Rear paws rest on dome surface, and knees are separated. Horizontal string-hole through neck. *Face*: Cross with *Zwickelfüllung* radiating lines not parallel to each other. Line border.

Minoan, probably MM IA(–B?).

*Context*: Sub-Neolithic–MM I.

*Chronology*: Probably MM IA(–B?) seal, in generally contemporary EM III–MM I tomb deposition.

*Comparanda*: REISNER 1907–1958:I:165 #12306, pl. XXI:12306; II:6 #12576, pl. II:12576; *CMS* II.1:#428; II.5:#75.

*References*: PENDLEBURY, PENDLEBURY and MONEY-COUTTS 1935–1936:97, 100 #7, fig. 21:7, pl. 14:7; PENDLEBURY 1936:960, fig. 4; BOSSERT 1937:38, 237 fig. 400:a; DEMARGNE 1937:244; McDERMOTT 1938:209 #279; PENDLEBURY 1939:87, pl. 13:2; ZERVOS 1956: pl. 208; *CMS* II.1:#435; HOOD 1978:212 fig. 210:C; YULE 1981:100 Class 331; 151 Motif 29; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:270 #236, pl. 59:236; LANGDON 1990:416 n. 40; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 29; 1991:II:784 #387, III:1147 fig. 387; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 400 #440; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:172–173 #154.

*Comments*: The form of the seal, in particular the stance of the ape, is unique, but the face design fits comfortably into Minoan repertoire. The ape clearly is derived from the *Cerco-pithecus* monkey, due to its thin and elongated body, long thin tail, and clearly defined neck. Its late dating quoted here reflects the different pose and thin presentation of the figure, as well as the Pre-Palatial face design.

### B.2. Near back of cave

Some 16–19 m. from the entrance, near the back of the cave within the first half-metre from the surface, the context seems to have been Late Neolithic to MM II, including an MM I dagger, silver knife blade, gold frag-

ments, an EM III seal, a chair for an MM I clay figurine, ivory head, bone object, stone vases and pounders, human skulls and animal jaws, and pottery. Although the last ranged in date from Late Neolithic to MM II, the bulk of the finds were EM II–III.

#### 510. Scarab, HM Σ-K 1569

Unidentified glazed material, likely ‘white piece,’ L: 18.5; W: 13.2; H: 8.1; SH: 3.0–3.4 mm, tip of clypeus missing, otherwise intact.

Scarab with open head, single line between pronotum and elytra, triple line between elytra, with pronotum and elytra decorated with a bordering line along the exterior edge. Additional triple lines: two diagonally across pronotum, one continuing onto outer corner of left elytrum, and another across inner side of right elytrum. Tail indicated by oval, legs by hollow undercutting and notching. String-hole drilled through length. *Face*: A diagonal design of Z-scrolls, with Z-scrolls at ends and surrounded by large C-scrolls in the two opposite corners. Line border.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XI–early XII.

*Context*: Late Neolithic–MM II.

*Chronology*: Late Dynasty XI–early XII scarab, in generally contemporary or somewhat later MM IA(–II?) burial deposition.

*Comparanda*: WARD 1978:pl. X:261 (*face*), *passim* (generally Back type II, Head type B1, Side type c2, Tail type fig. 5:upper right); (extra back markings) {483}.

*References*: PENDLEBURY, PENDLEBURY and MONEY-COUTTS 1935–1936:21, 23, 95, 99, 101 #16, fig. 21:16, pl. 14:16; PENDLEBURY 1936:960; *CMS* II.1:#434; WARD 1971:97 n. 405; YULE 1983:366 n. 22; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:271 #237, pl. 50:237; PHILLIPS 1990:322 n. 15; 1991:II:785 #388, III:1147 fig. 388; SKON-JEDELE 1994:1928; WATROUS and WIDENOR 1996:62; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:318 #325.

*Comments*: Quirke and Fitton suggest an early–mid Dynasty XII date for this scarab, on the basis of the spiral form. Ward’s parallels, on the other hand, suggested a late FIP–Dynasty XI date, to which they are not adverse. This combined wide dating range is not incompatible with the context as a whole, but the combination of naturalistic presentation, leg junction just in front of the pronotum/elytra junction, hollow undercutting, large face surface and simple spiral design best fit into the early Middle Kingdom (late Dynasty XI–early XII). Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) suggested an early Dynasty XVIII date that clearly is too late for the associated material in the immediate region of its recovery. It most likely was interred with one of the MM I(A?) burials, following the pattern of deposition of the other scarabs.

#### 511. Seal or pendant, HM Σ-K 1571

Ivory, L: 11.6; W: 16.6; H: 25.5; SH: 1.9 mm, intact but very worn and eroded surface.

Theriomorphic, in the form of a signet surmounted by a hanging ape-head either side of string-hole at top. Eyes drilled, ears worn but distinguishable. *Face*: Worn surface having an indistinguishable design (if any).

Minoan, EM III–MM IA.

*Context*: Late Neolithic–MM II.

<sup>1302</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000).

*Chronology:* EM III–MM IA seal/pendant, in generally contemporary or somewhat later EM III–MM II tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {395}; {459}; {475}.

*References:* PENDLEBURY, PENDLEBURY and MONEY-COUTTS 1935–1936:97, 101 #10, fig. 21:10, pl. 14:10; CMS II.1: #436; KRZYSZKOWSKA 1989:122; PHILLIPS 1991:II:785 #389, III:1147 fig. 389; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:173 #155.

*Comments:* Pendlebury suggested the face may not have been engraved but the ‘bumps’ of the worn surface indicate otherwise; it seems to be an all-over pattern that may be the remnants of cross-hatching. To judge from their head shape, the figures may represent *Cercopithec*i, if they in fact are apes.

## TSOUTSOUROS

Tsoutsouros is a small village on the southern coast, about mid-way between Ierapetra and the point of Cape Lithinon. N. Platon suggested in 1956 it was the site of ancient Inatos, where Eileithyia Inatia was worshipped, from texts naming this goddess of child-bearing, fertility and family life and descriptions of her sanctuary.

Only about 60 m. from and 7 m. above the seashore is a cave of elliptical shape, some 20 by 15.6 m. in size, locally called ‘Phylaki tou Vasili.’ It is entered through a corridor with six rock-hewn steps. In 1959, Emmanuel Kephalkakis, a local villager who had been using the cave as a stable, discovered much Roman pottery and numerous other objects inside. Following two years of plundering by the villagers, Platon and C. Davaras excavated the cave in January 1962, with a second season by Davaras that September,<sup>1303</sup> through which the identity and cultic nature of the Inatos cave-shrine was confirmed.

It contained numerous votives chiefly of Geometric to Archaic date, mainly deposited in rocky hollows, at least one possibly deliberately created for the purpose. Some earlier and later material also was found. The earliest material consisted of LM IIIA pottery, five seals and a small stone offering-table, as well as some Sub-Minoan (bronze and possibly clay votive axes and three figurines) and Proto-Geometric material. Later Hellenistic and Roman votive material was recovered above. The cave was used as a place of worship chiefly during the Geometric and Orientalising periods, but clearly was considered sacred both before and after this time.

A very large quantity of material was found in the

cave, among them at least 88 Egyptian or ‘egyptianising’ pieces.<sup>1304</sup> Virtually all are datable to the main period of the cave’s use. With one exception, all the Egyptian objects are of glazed or ‘white’ faience, and of these almost 60 are scarabs or other seals. Others include figurines (both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic), a necklace, amulets and at least one perfume flask. Some 55 are in the HM collection, and the remainder in the Metaxas collection, recently acquired by the HM. None of the Egyptian or ‘egyptianising’ material in the non-Metaxas HM collection is earlier than Iron Age in date.

### A. Dr. N. Metaxas Collection

The Dr. N. Metaxas collection in Herakleion includes a large number of finds said to come from Tsoutsouros, almost certainly from the cave. These consist chiefly of scarabs but also include three faience amulets representing a seated cat, a monkey and the god Bes, mostly of Iron Age date. Whilst not certain, such an origin is consistent both with the stated provenance and composition of the collection.

However, the probable dates of the following are not entirely consistent with the dates of the excavated finds, and so their origin in the cave must continue to remain speculative. Their provenance, nonetheless, is stated to be Tsoutsouros.

#### 512. Scaraboid, HM (Metaxas) 506

Glazed ‘white faience’ (?), L: 10.3; W: 7.7; H: 5.3; SH: 1.7 mm, intact.

Scaraboid with slight distinction between pronotum and head, no distinction between pronotum and elytra, nor between elytra. Legs indicated by two horizontal grooves on sides. String-hole through length. *Face:* Striding man, apparently wearing a kilt, on the back of a seated long-horned animal, possibly a goat. He holds the animal’s neck with one hand. Both face right. Vertical format. No border line.

Canaanite, LB IIB–Iron Age I, or Egyptian, later Dynasty XIX–TIP.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LB IIB–Iron Age I or later Dynasty XIX–TIP scaraboid, without context.

*Comparanda:* BRUNTON 1930:17, pl. XXXIV.20; GIVEON and KERTESZ 1986:26 #89, fig. 89, pl. 89; SLIWA 1989:40 #15, pl. V:15; KEEL 1990a:194–204, figs. 27, 30, 31, 32.a–c; SHUVAL 1990:135–146, #40–44; CM 71115.

*References:* CMS IV:#98; YULE 1983:366 n. 22; PHILLIPS

<sup>1303</sup> ALEXIOU 1963a:310–311; 1963b:397–398; 1964:444. See also FAURE 1964:90–93.

<sup>1304</sup> The quantity of material originally in the cave can be suggested by the approximately 600 objects found hidden in village houses in February 1962, when the authorities attempted to recover the looted finds, and the remaining

material then excavated in 1962. A summary of the cave excavations and this later material is found in SKON-JEDELE 1994:1768–1804; note her comments on the varied provenances of individual objects. She did not study the Metaxas material at first hand. See also RUTKOWSKI and NOWICKI 1996:39–40 for a general description of the cave itself.

1991:II:787–788 #390, III:1147 fig. 390; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443.

*Comments:* The striding figure represents a Canaanite deity, either Reshef or Ba'al, and is a type and image typical of the very late Bronze Age and early Iron Age. Quirke and Fitton quite rightly reject an Egyptian origin for this piece. One from Badari has a similar face design, and Pini quotes unpublished seal CM 71115 in the CM as another example. Nonetheless either this is a Canaanite piece, or one made in Egypt for the Delta or Canaanite market; if the latter, Keel suggests manufacture at Tanis, capital of the Dynasty XXI kings.

**513. Scarab**, HM (Metaxas) 426

'White faience' and gold, L: 14.0; W: 10.0; H: 5.6; SH: 1.1 mm, intact.

Scarab with notched lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated by undercutting. Decorative engraved line around exterior edge of pronotum and elytra. Unusual 'humeral callosities' extending into pronotum. Plain gold setting (funda) around face edge, with rounded mounts (annules) for (missing) swivel ring. *Face:* Four groups of overlapping triple-centred circles aligned to ends and sides, one off-centre.

Possibly Egyptian, very early Dynasty XVIII, or Egyptian/Levantine 'egyptianising,' Iron Age, or modern.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Unknown scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* (face design rings) TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. XXII:1997; {540}, {551}; ('humeral callosities') {543}.

*References:* CMS IV:#154; YULE 1983:366 n. 22; PHILLIPS 1991:II:788 #391, III:1147 fig. 391; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443.

*Comments:* Yule has identified scarabs with similar face design as Minoan products but this example as Egyptian, possibly due to its gold mounting but also due to its material. The back and side details are not found on Minoan examples. It is not Minoan, although the concentric circles pattern of the face design is paralleled on Proto-Palatial scaraboids. Quirke and Fitton prefer a non-Egyptian origin but note that, if it is Egyptian, the annules would indicate a New Kingdom date. The face design type seems, however, to better parallel SIP examples and the scarab itself is not mould-made, yet the 'humeral callosities' suggest a date not earlier than the reign of Amenhotep I and the plainness of the gold mounting also suggests this was done rather early in Dynasty XVIII.<sup>1305</sup> A scarab bearing the name of Kamose, last ruler of Dynasty XVII and probably contemporary with his reign, has a similar mounting.<sup>1306</sup> Thus it appears to be a very early New Kingdom scarab and, in Minoan terms, should have been imported no earlier than the very end of LM IA or beginning of LM IB at most. This in turn suggests that the face design cannot be Minoan workmanship as it post-dates the Proto-Palatial style, and so it is not an example of Type I scarab conversion. The small scale of the scarab itself also would argue for an early Dynasty XVIII date.

However, details of the scarab itself are odd for an Egyptian

piece of this or any date, especially the odd 'humeral callosities' that extend not only beyond the elytra but also beyond the pronotum. It is entirely possible that this is another modern piece. If not, it may be an unusual example belonging to the Iron Age period of the Inatos shrine, although parallels are not apparent. The annules and funda hide many of the scarab's features that might point more readily to an identifiable origin and date.

**514. Seal**, HM (Metaxas) 1246

Green and black mottled jadite,<sup>1307</sup> L: 14.3; W: 12.0; H: 14.3; SH: 2.1 mm, intact.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a lion's paw. Four paws and back indicated by grooving and incised lines. Leg terminates in a stump at top. Double diagonal line separates paw from lower leg at front, terminating in a raised curl. Horizontal string-hole through width of leg near top. Tuft of long hair at back of upper leg. *Face:* *Regardant* four-footed animal with spiky tail, indications of possible scales on back, long snout and large eye, facing right with head turned left. Seal paw-pads incised with parallel lines, horizontally in centre and diagonally at ends.

Minoan, MM IB–II ('Old Palatial').

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB–II seal, without context.

*Comparison:* (for shape) CMS IV:#21D.

*References:* CMS IV:#32D; YULE 1981:97 Class 33:i, 139 Motif 18; pl. 12:Motif 18:3; PHILLIPS 1991:II:788–789 #392, III:1147 fig. 392; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 400 #431; PHILLIPS 1998:849, 857 fig. 3c, 860.

*Comments:* Yule suggested that the animal depicted on the face is a crocodile. Kenna's<sup>1308</sup> previous suggestion of a 'lizard' clearly is incorrect, by the forward-facing hind legs that indicate a crocodile. Additionally, the various lines on which it stands suggest water with a high bank either side, reminiscent of the Nile and a natural habitat of the animal. Likely not from the Inatos cave.

## B. No Find Context

One other find from Tsoutsouros is entirely without provenance, and was amongst the first objects to be presented to the then 'Candia Museum,' which later became the HM. It was not a cave find.

**515. Jar ('spheroid jar)**, HM 3 (not located)

'Diorite(?)', H: 6.2 cm, intact or nearly so.

Jar with flat collar and solid roll handles.

Minoan, probably MM III–LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably MM III–LM I vessel, without context.

*Comparison:* {122}.

*References:* WARREN 1969:75 Type 30:A; PHILLIPS 1991:II:789 #393, III:1147 fig. 393.

*Comments:* Warren compares its shape to {122}.

<sup>1305</sup> See ANDREWS 1990:164.

<sup>1306</sup> TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. LXIII:3514.

<sup>1307</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000) notes this is an odd material for a Minoan seal.

<sup>1308</sup> CMS IV:398. He also suggested this seal as a possible forgery, an opinion not shared by Yule. Vanschoonwinkel accepted Kenna's identification of a 'lizard.'



**TYLOSOS**

The modern village of Tylosos lies inland about 13 kilometres south-west of Herakleion. Its name is attested in the Linear B tablets, and is listed in the Amenhotep III 'Aegean list' at Kom el-Heitan. Io. Hatzidakis excavated the Minoan site, located within the modern village, in 1909–1913,<sup>1309</sup> finding a number of MM house walls in an unintelligible plan and associated material at the lowest level. Excavation focused on uncovering the three LM I villas concentrated in a group on a low rise of ground, identified as Houses A, B and C, dated to MM III–LM I and destroyed by fire in LM IB. The site was reoccupied in LM IIIA1, continuing through an important occupation in LM IIIC, and beyond to the beginning of Proto-Geometric. A large cistern also may have been constructed in LM IIIB or C, and appears to have been used for cult purposes. House C at least was rebuilt during this period also. A few Classical Greek walls also were found, chiefly north-west of House C. He also excavated an LM IIIB–C chamber tomb nearby, with three larnakes and associated pottery and objects.<sup>1310</sup>

More recently, in 1971, Kanta made a trial trench east of House A near LM III walls to help clarify the LM III stratigraphy, which was somewhat muddled in Hatzidakis' reports.<sup>1311</sup>

The following was recovered from Hatzidakis' excavations in 1909–1910, unfortunately without recorded context.

**516. Seal, HM 925**

Dark green serpentine,<sup>1312</sup> L: 17.8; W: 17.4; Th.: 5.9; SH: 2.3–2.9 mm, much of both faces lost in single large chip, exposing string-hole.

Lentoid, engraved on one face only. Two aborted string-hole cuts along width, which sheared off both faces. *Face*: Woman (man?) in long, horizontally-striped skirt standing to right, facing right, probably holding out arms in front. Face caricatured, with bulbous eyes. Standing debased Minoan 'genius' behind, facing right, with tubular body having horizontal accent lines down body.

Minoan, probably LM IIIB.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably LM IIIB seal, without context, but deposited not earlier than LM IIIB and therefore presumably part of the later settlement complex.

*References*: HATZIDAKIS 1912:215 #10, pl. 16:β; 1921:44:j, pl. IV:j; KENNA 1966:73, pl. 6:925; *CMS* II.4:#104; PHILLIPS 1991:II:791 #394, III:1147 fig. 394; 2005b:456 n. 8.

*Comments*: Obviously never completed or used, and probably a workshop discard. Published in relation to the house excavations, and therefore did not come from the tomb. It must have come from the southern part of the site, either House A or B, as House C and its environs had not yet been excavated when it was first published.

**VATHYPETRO**

About four kilometres south of Archanes and a kilometre west of the village of Vathypetro, on the south-east slope of Mount Jouktas in north-central Crete, some ancient objects were discovered at a promontory called Pisso Liviadhia in 1948. Sp. Marinatos excavated the site in 1948–1956, uncovering a large LM I villa poorly constructed of large stones and brick, with a large paved courtyard on its western facade.<sup>1313</sup> Two (possibly three) building phases are apparent, the first limited to a single 'mansion' ('West Building') constructed at the beginning of LM IA and destroyed by earthquake by the end of this period. The second phase consists of partial re-occupation of the original mansion and construction of a new second building ('East Building'). Both were abandoned by the end of LM IB. There is some suggestion of a third phase (or possible sub-phase) in LM IB in the 'East Building', and a Korinthian aryballos was found in one of the south-western rooms. Traces of a large settlement were noted to its north, where a guard also found some LM III pottery, and a tomb also excavated by Marinatos nearby contained an LM IIIA1 double-vase.<sup>1314</sup>

The site has only been published in preliminary reports, although recent cleaning and re-examination has resulted in some clarification of the architecture. Its poor construction and the instability of the land on which it is built have both been cited as reasons for its comparatively short lifespan. However, fewer objects than would be expected were recovered during excavation, and complete destruction probably did not occur suddenly; rather, it probably was abandoned after partial destruction.

The north-eastern facade included a series of three columns of an anteroom (25 [I])<sup>1315</sup> and a prob-

<sup>1309</sup> HATZIDAKIS 1912; 1913b; 1921:1–81; 1934. See also Kanta 1980:9–13.

<sup>1310</sup> HATZIDAKIS 1913a:45–50; 1921:82–86.

<sup>1311</sup> KANTA 1980:12–13.

<sup>1312</sup> Olga Krzyszkowska (personal communication, 15 August 2000).

<sup>1313</sup> MARINATOS 1951; 1952. See also *Praktika* 1949:101–109; 1950:242–248; 1953:298; 1955:309–310; 1965:223. See now

also DRIESSEN and MACDONALD 1995:176–178; DRIESSEN and SAKELLARAKIS 1997.

<sup>1314</sup> DRIESSEN and SAKELLARAKIS 1997:63–64; KANTA 1980:35.

<sup>1315</sup> Room and space designations are those used by DRIESSEN and SAKELLARAKIS 1997. The original designations, on the original and incomplete plan published by MARINATOS (1951:259 fig.; also employed by HOOD 1997:fig. 14) follow in square brackets.

able tripartite shrine (26). At the southern end was a large room with four square-cut columns, called a 'hypostyle hall' (3-5-7 [7]). A staircase (38 [9]) immediately to its east confirms the existence of a second storey. A corridor (43 [8]) separates a collection of rooms in the south-eastern area, which seems largely devoted to industrial uses. A single large room with two rectangular pillars (40 [13]) was employed both for weaving and wine-making, to judge from the wine-press installation and thousands of loom weights found within. Here and elsewhere also were found numerous clay potter's wheels, suggesting a potter's workshop must have existed at the site. An LM I-type pottery kiln east of the 'East Building' was partly excavated.

The western rooms included a small paved sunken room (13 [2]) with stone slab seating lining three of its walls; several different layers of soil were recorded. In it were a number of conical cups, found inverted on the floor of the room, and a 'spacious' drain led outside.<sup>1316</sup> Immediately west lay a niche in the facade (1 [3]), facing the south court. Immediately south of, and accessible from, the 'bench sanctuary' was a large double-pillared magazine (10 [4]). It contained 16 pithoi, each of which was filled with undecorated jugs and a variety of decorated cups, the latter often inverted. Also found in some pithoi were quantities of large rocks.<sup>1317</sup> No specific context or room was ascribed to the following.

**517. Bowl with appliqués**, HM 10027 (not seen)

Clay, H: c. 12 cm, paint flaked and worn.

Low wide bowl with narrow base, overhanging horizontal and slightly undulating rim. Small projections and clusters of petaloid loops at intervals around rim, and appliqués at opposite sides of rim. Wide horizontal band of dark paint on exterior just below rim and at base, with 'tortoise-shell ripple' decoration in-between. *Appliqués*: Cat heads, with rounded upright ears, wide-set eyes and rounded muzzles.<sup>1318</sup>

Minoan, early LM IA.

*Context*: LM IA–B.

*Chronology*: Early LM IA vessel, in probably contemporary or slightly later LM IA destruction context or (less likely) the LM IB levels above.

*Comparanda*: {162}; {518}; {574}.

*References*: MARINATOS 1952:601, fig. 11:left; FOSTER 1982: 91–92, 111, 184; PHILLIPS 1991:II:793–794 #395.

*Comments*: If the ears are as stated by Foster, this and bowl

{518} below join the very small group of Minoan cats depicting rounded not pointed ears. The 'tortoise-shell' decoration dates the bowl to LM IA (early).<sup>1319</sup> The only other vessel appliqué in the form of a cat's head is on the MM II(?) pyxis(?) {574}, where the ears are elongated and pointed.

**518. Bowl with appliqués**, HM 10031 (not seen)

Clay, H: c. 12 cm, paint flaked and worn.

Low wide bowl with narrow base, overhanging horizontal and slightly undulating rim. Small projections and clusters of petaloid loops at intervals around rim, and appliqués at opposite sides of rim. Wide horizontal bands of dark paint at base, lower body and under exterior rim, with large running spirals on exterior body. *Appliqués*: Cat heads, with rounded upright ears, wide-set eyes and rounded muzzles.<sup>1320</sup>

Minoan, LM IA.

*Context*: LM IA–B.

*Chronology*: LM IA vessel, in probably contemporary or slightly later LM IA destruction context or (less likely) the somewhat later LM IB levels above.

*Comparanda*: As above, {517}.

*References*: MARINATOS 1952:601, fig. 11:right; FOSTER 1982:91–92, 111, 184; PHILLIPS 1991:II:794 #396.

*Comments*: As above, {517}. The painted decoration can be dated to LM IA.

## NO FIND CONTEXT OR PROVENANCE

Some objects without provenance or find context are recorded as having originated within certain areas of the island.

### A. Central Crete

The following are recorded from 'Central Crete.'

**519. Closed vessel/jar (? , alabastron Type C?) or ewer(?)**,

AM AE 384

Serpentinite, probably from an ophiolite complex,<sup>1321</sup> H: 11.3; Dia. (rim): 8.08; (base): 5.93 cm, intact but for one large chip on the rim.

Tall, egg-shaped body with a slightly undercut faceted collar and rounded base profile. Hollow bottom.

Northern Levant, MB (IIB?)–LB I, or possibly Cyprus, probably reworked MM III–LM I by a Minoan artisan.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably MB (IIB?)–LB I vessel, probably reworked in MM III–LM I, without context.

*Comparanda*: (for collar) PETRIE 1937: pl. XXV:466, 468; (except base) EL-KHOULI 1978: pl. 77:1900; (from Levant, of serpentinite) SCANDONE MATTHAIE 1988:pl. XIII:3; LILYQUIST 1995:pl. 5.3.second from left; SPARKS 1998:III:76 #591, 110 #879, 117 #940; (material) BEVAN 2001 I:202,413 fig. 6.13.b–c; {434?}.

<sup>1316</sup> It generally is considered a 'bench sanctuary,' e.g., GESSELL 1985:136–137 #129. DRIESSEN and SAKELLARAKIS 1997:70–72 now suggest a more practical function, possibly related to olive or pottery production.

<sup>1317</sup> MARINATOS 1952:599–604. See also GESELL 1985:136 #129:a.

<sup>1318</sup> The single published photograph shows the bowl upside down, and the appliqués are not visible. The description here is taken from FOSTER 1982:91–92.

<sup>1319</sup> See BETANCOURT 1985:130. The context does not allow an earlier date, despite the popularity of the decoration in MM II; see *Ibid.*:113–114.

<sup>1320</sup> As n. 1318 above.

<sup>1321</sup> Andrew Shortland (personal communication, 10 November 2000), from examination of the vessel itself.

*References:* WARREN 1965:31 #9; 1969:110 Type 43:B:3, P595, D316; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:251 #181, pl. 70:181; PHILLIPS 1991:II:795–796 #397, III:1148 fig. 397; LILYQUIST 1996:147, 148, pl. 9.1; WARREN 1997:216–217 #9, pl. LXXXII.a–b; LILYQUIST 1997:226; BEVAN 2001:I:202, II:393 fig. 6.13.a; BROWN and BENNETT 2001:478 #428, 479:fig. 428; WALKER and GALANAKIS 2007:#78.

*Comments:* Found or (more likely) purchased by Evans in 1899. Its only provenance is ‘Central Crete.’ Andrew Shortland considers the vessel to be of “serpentinite, probably from an ophiolite complex.” Ophiolite complexes mainly occur on Cyprus in most of the Troodos area, in north-west Syria and in the Anti-och area of Turkey, although they also extend around into the Gulf region and occur in the more central Anatolian area. This strongly suggests that the vessel is not of Egyptian manufacture,<sup>1322</sup> but parallels from these ophiolite-rich regions too are rare. Serpentinite alabastra are recovered in the Levant at Ebla (MB IIB–C), Gezer (LB II) and Megiddo (LB IIA), and Bevan has identified other vessels of similar stone at Tell el-‘Ajjul and Alalakh. The dates given above for this vessel are limited by the dates of these serpentinite alabastra and the probable latest date of Minoan conversion.

Identification of the ‘base’ and ‘rim’ are difficult to determine: I have placed the ‘base’ as the wider, rounded profile in contrast to WARREN (1969) who shows this as the rim; he has since inclined to agree (1997). As I have it, the vessel resembles a Type C alabastron undercut at the base, and hollowed at the bottom. One reason I have placed the more narrow edge as the rim is the faceting at the top, smoothly polished on three facets. The base is roughly cut on the interior edge and corner profile. The interior also is not finished, suggesting the vessel was originally a closed type. Whichever way the vessel should stand at present, it is clear that both rim and base profiles were reduced from an originally smooth-tapering body profile to form the ‘base’ and ‘rim’ articulation. The fact that it is bottomless is interesting. It could not have been intended to be a rhyton, as the hole is far too large. It seems to be more like a potstand than anything else, but hollow jar-stands are not a Minoan vessel type and potstands do not have a strongly convex profile. The jar as it has survived may have been an aborted attempt at converting an unknown foreign vessel form to a Minoan vessel form in a manner similar to the Minoan conversion of the Egyptian alabastron type.<sup>1323</sup>

Warren noted that the ‘collar’ (here the base) is typically Egyptian, but the carved ‘base’ (here the rim) is not. However, both collar and rim are alterations of the original vessel profile. The resulting vessel is unique, without further evidence for any further alteration (i.e. drill-holes) to change the vessel form or function. Warren compares the material to that of an alabastron at Palaikastro {434}, but they seem quite different when the published photographs are compared. All in all, it is a rather puzzling piece.

#### 520. Scarab, AM 1941.683

‘White steatite,’ L: 20.2; W: 14.1; H: 8.6; SH: 2.2 mm, intact but worn on back.

Scarab with open head having two notches immediately above pronotum, no distinction between pronotum and elytra, nor between elytra. Legs indicated by deep undercutting and notching. String-hole through length. *Face:* Six linked Z-scrolls in centre, bordered by four pairs of linked Z-scrolls. Line border.

Egyptian, late Dynasty XII–early Dynasty XIII.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Late Dynasty XII–early Dynasty XIII scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* (back) MARTIN 1971:pl. 52:Back Type 5; (face design) TUFNELL 1984:pl. V:1198, 1200; WARD and DEVER 1994:99 fig. 5:1a.2, 100 fig. 5:1b.25, *passim* (Back type PN, head type B1, side type d14).

*References:* EVANS *NB* C:3; 1895:57; PHILLIPS 1991:II:800 #401, III:1148 fig. 401; BROWN and BENNETT 2001:8–9, 22–23, 400 #7, 401:fig. 7.

*Comments:* Evans Bequest 1941, probably that purchased by him from Jean Mitsotakis in Herakleion on 16 March 1894, recorded in his *NB* as “Egyptian scarab, one of whi[ch], XII–XIII Dyn, I secured, are found in Messara district, they seem to be mostly of spiral patterns.” This is the only scarab amongst the Evans material in the AM that fits this description, and so presumably is that mentioned in the *NB* and was found in the Mesara region. This identification remains uncertain, but is most likely.

#### 521. A. Scarab, AM 1941.1211

Glazed ‘white steatite,’ L: 19.3; W: 13.1; H: 8.0; SH: 1.4 mm, chipped at edge of face, worn and covered with reddish and greenish material.

Scarab with open head, pronotum and elytra decorated with a bordering line along the exterior edge. Single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Humeral callosities indicated. Legs indicated by deep undercutting and notching even to front. String-hole through length. Glazed. *Face:* Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription in vertical format: (*Mn-hpr-R*), ‘Menkheperre,’ the prenomen of Pharaoh Thutmose III, flanked by two registers of uraei joined to cartouche, and winged object which could be a sun-disc or a scarab above. Line border.

Egyptian, early–mid-Dynasty XVIII (reign of Thutmose III or slightly later).

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Early–mid-Dynasty XVIII (reign of Thutmose III or slightly later) scarab, without context.

#### OR

#### 521. B. Scarab, AM 1941.1216

‘White steatite,’ L: 14.9; W: 11.0; H: 7.3; SH: 1.5 mm, horizontal cracking along the length from head to wings and chip on side.

Scarab with lunate head having rayed clypeus, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated by deep undercutting and notching. String-hole through

<sup>1322</sup> The stone of {519} is visually similar to ‘Type A serpentine’ in B.G. ASTON 1994:56–59, pl. 12.a, but ophiolite is not found in Egypt. Lilyquist does not recognise the stone as Egyptian, on visual but not geological criteria. Rachael Sparks (letter of 10 November 2000) notes a Levantine origin is more likely than Cypriote. Note, however, that ophiolite *is* found on Crete; see WILLIAMS

2005:621 fig. 4 for a map of ophiolite sources in the East Mediterranean.

<sup>1323</sup> As were alabastra {373}, {590} and {593}. He suggested that the vessel may be an Egyptian ‘heart-shaped jar,’ with its base re-carved by Minoan craftsmen, as was bowl {105}. Alternatively, and more likely, it could be a form similar to the Type C alabastron, but again re-carved by the Minoans.

length. *Face*: Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription in horizontal format: (*Mn-hpr-R*), 'Menkheperre,' the prenomen of Pharaoh Thutmose III, flanked by uraei crowned with a sun-disc. Line border.

Egyptian, early-mid-Dynasty XVIII, probably reign of Thutmose III.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Early-mid-Dynasty XVIII (reign of Thutmose III or slightly later) scarab, without context.

*Comparison*: JAEGER 1982:pl. 125:a.

*Chronology*: Mid-Dynasty XVIII (reign of Thutmose III or slightly later) scarab, without context.

*References* (*521A and B*): EVANS NB C:17; PHILLIPS 1991:II:800-801 #402, III:1149 fig. 402; BROWN and BENNETT 2001:47-48, 408 #39a-b, 409:fig. 39a-39b.

*Comments*: Evans Bequest 1941. Evans "obtained a scarab with a Cartouche of Thothmes III - well executed & I suppose of contemporary work" at Axos on 23 March 1894. Three scarabs with a cartouche of Thutmose III were presented to the AM by Evans, of which one (AM 1941.346) is *not* "well-executed." Although the possibilities exist that the scarab in question was not presented to the AM and that Evans also purchased scarabs from Egypt as well as Crete, it is likely that one of the two scarabs described above is that purchased by him at Axos.

Axos is a small inland hillside village located about halfway between Herakleion and Rethymnon, just within the Rethymon *nomos* in the Mylopotamos district. Evans travelled between these two cities on 23-24 March 1894.<sup>1324</sup> The only Minoan finds recorded from here are a figurine, a "probably late" LM IIIB spouted cup, a "probably early" LM IIIC alabastron, and some Sub-Minoan vessels, reported by Taramelli in 1899.<sup>1325</sup>

Although scarabs inscribed with the name of Thutmose III were made and re-issued long after his death, both scarabs here can be dated more or less contemporary with his reign or shortly thereafter, due to the fineness of their carving. They have no relationship to any of the other early finds reported from the Axos area.

#### 522. Scarab, HM (Metaxas) 1333

Glazed 'white piece,' L: 15.2; W: 9.6; H: 7.3; SH: 2.0 mm, chipped on edges.

Scarab with angular lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated by two deep horizontal grooves around body. String-hole through length. *Face*: Cross-hatched pattern of multiple paired lines. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: (face) CMS IL.5:#100; IV:#100; REISNER 1923:pl. 2.

*References*: CMS IV:#99; YULE 1981:78 Class 29:a, 147 Motif 25, pl. 17 Motif 25:17; 1983:363 n. 12, 366 n. 22; PINI 1989:103 #4; 1990:117 #27; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:185 #8, pl. 44:8;

PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:801 #403, III:1149 fig. 403; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; PINI 2000:109 #4, fig. 1.4.; PHILLIPS 2004:162 fig. 1.a.4.

*Comments*: Said to have been found at 'Andiskari,' located in the Asterousia mountain range south of the Mesara plain and north-west of Lendas/Lebena; Branigan notes that this is the same site as Chrysostomos, where he excavated two tholoi.<sup>1326</sup>

The face design is found in both the Minoan and Egyptian repertoire, but the scarab itself is Minoan and so then must also be its face design. The dating quoted here follows Pini's observation that 'white piece' material was of short-lived use in MM IA.<sup>1327</sup>

#### 523. Seal, AM 1938.1043

Varigated red and white carnelian, L: 22.7; W: 16.2; H: 9.0; SH: 2.5-2.9 mm, intact with an unpolished surface and a large chip on back at bottom.

Amygdaloid seal with truncated ends, engraved on one side and faceted on the other, each facet having an engraved line along the centre length. String-hole through length. *Face*: Two standing Minoan 'genii' with spiked dorsal appendage antithetically facing a central pole, with arms raised holding a *Schnabelkanne*. The 'pole' has numerous diagonal lines sprouting from it, and a six-pointed 'star' at the top. A tri-leafed plant stands behind each 'genius,' and a short horizontal line below the 'pole' may indicate a ground line.

Minoan, LM II-III A.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM II-III A seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: GILL 1970:406 #57; YULE 1981:32 Class I:b; {303}; {435}; {503}; {524}.

*References*: EVANS PM IV.2:453, fig. 377; KENNA 1960:132 #304, pl. 12:304; GILL 1964:9, 17 #19, pl. 2:5; KENNA 1973:830; PHILLIPS 1991:II:798-799 #399, III:1148 fig. 399; CMS VI:#310.

*Comments*: Originally a large bead. The 'pole' might perhaps be interpreted as a tree and the six-pointed 'star' may be a solar symbol.<sup>1328</sup> According to Evans and Kenna, the only provenance is 'from Central Crete.' KENNA later (1973) dated this seal to "LM II."

#### 524. Seal, AM 1938.1044

Grey-green serpentine or chlorite, L: 23.1; W: 22.7; H: 7.2; SH: 3.2 mm, intact, with chip at bottom and top of string-hole on face side, and a generally worn and scratched surface.

Lentoid, engraved on one side only. String-hole through length. *Face*: Two Minoan 'genii' facing towards a central column. The two 'genii' are of different heights and types, the shorter, on the left, having a row of dots along its back. Both appear to wear a waistbelt. The 'column' consists of two thin vertical lines, incompletely hollowed out inbetween to form one thick line, topped by two unequal flattened discs, one atop the other.

Minoan, LM IA(?)–B.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM IA(?)–B seal, without context.

For a description of the proposed method, see WARREN 1969:103; 1997:216-127 and alabastron {373}.

<sup>1324</sup> PENDLEBURY 1939, 8, 238, 261; BROWN 1993:40.

<sup>1325</sup> TARAMELLI 1899:313-315; KANTA 1980:201; RIZZO 1984:35. For further and later excavated finds and material, see LEEKLEY and NOYES 1975:102.

<sup>1326</sup> BRANIGAN 1970b:79; see also 163 fig. 38. Thus this too *might*

be included amongst the 'Kalo Limenes' scarabs {80-83}, given BRANIGAN's remark (1984:31) that some of the Metaxas pieces from this region may have been come from the Chrysostomos tholoi and others in the immediate area.

<sup>1327</sup> PINI 1992:203.

<sup>1328</sup> Similar to those on seals {290} and {554}.

*Comparanda:* GILL 1970:406 #57; {303}; {372}; {435}; {503}.  
*References:* KENNA 1960:137 #338, pl. 13:338; GILL 1964:17 #16, pl. 2:3; YOUNGER 1983:127; PHILLIPS 1991:II:799 #400, III:1148 fig. 400; REHAK 1995:229 n. 14; *CMS* VI:#309.

*Comments:* Kenna identified the column as a 'sacred pillar,' and suggested the stone may have been the base for a fine gold overlay. Younger places this as a "miscellaneous style" within his "Cretan popular" stylistic group, which he dates to the late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 15<sup>th</sup> c. BC, or generally LM IA(?)–B. The inequal scale of the two 'genii' is paralleled at Malia {372}. GILL notes that the seal comes from the 'Knossos district.'

#### 525. Seal, AM 1938.791

Pale reddish-brown carnelian, L: 17.1; W: 8.8; SH: 2.6–2.7 mm, intact.

Elongated seal with three prisms and rounded ends. All faces oval, with engraved lines, some drilling and much smoothing of the large interior engraved space. All faces surrounded by a thin line border. String-hole through length. *Face A:* Cat seated on its hind legs in profile to left, with face shown frontally, tail curled around and behind body (S.75). Minoan hieroglyph signs as fillers: 'silphium' (031) between the ears, a leg (010) behind, a snake (S.84) in front and, below the cat's body, a gate (038) appears to be used as a ground line. *Face B:* A panel of three palmettes springing outwards within a border at either end, with centre space having three Minoan hieroglyph signs: from top to bottom, the 'silphium' (031), a pronged instrument (092) and a template (036). *Face C:* Combination of four C-scrolls in pairs and lunettes at either end, joined to form a palmette design with three Minoan hieroglyphs in centre: the trowel (044), the adze (046) and a wheel or 'solar symbol' (S.108 [033?]), with a 'stiktogramme' (unnumbered)<sup>1329</sup> behind. Minoan, MM II(B?).

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM II(B?) seal, without context.

*References:* EVANS 1909:153 #P.23, 270–271, fig. 121; *PM* I:278, fig. 207:a; MATZ 1928:116 n. 2; PENDLEBURY 1939:142, fig. 25:b; KENNA 1960:113 #174, pl. 8:174; 1964:914, 917–918 fig. 2; BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS 1973:113 fig. 38:1372, 114 #1372; KENNA 1973:830; HOOD 1978:216, fig. 214; YULE 1981:130 Motif 9:B, 140–141 Motif 19, pl. 7 Motif 9:B:4, 13 Motif 19:31; PHILLIPS 1991:II:796–798 #398, III:1148 fig. 398; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #283; OLIVIER and GODART 1997:43 #257, 254–255 #257[7]; BROWN and BENNETT 2001:472 #396, 473:fig. 396; WALKER and GALANAKIS 2007:#122; *CMS* VI:#93.

*Comments:* Evans interpreted this seal as representing a royal badge, especially Face A. Three of the hieroglyphs on this face are found together in association with a sealing having a seal impression representing a male portrait head from the 'Hieroglyphic Deposit' at Knossos.<sup>1330</sup> He believed it represented a recurring title possibly royal in nature, an interpretation that since has won if not overwhelming support then at least some reasonable acceptance.<sup>1331</sup> Seals with three prisms are not later in date than MM II.

Yule places Face B within the MM IB–II 'Malia Workshop Complex,' and relates it to the 'Border/Leaf Complex' group.

Kenna<sup>1332</sup> notes that the string hole is larger than usual, and suggests that a gold flange was inserted for decorative wear, comparable to similar flanges seen on some Mesopotamian cylinders that are associated with royal use.

The provenance of this seal is unclear. According to Evans, either it was found near Knossos or he purchased it in Candia (Herakleion) in 1899, or it was found in 'Central Crete' in 1898.<sup>1333</sup> According to the AM register and Kenna, it was purchased in Lasithi, a location quite far removed from Knossos. The relevant Evans notebooks are missing.

## B. Eastern Crete

The following are recorded from the area of 'Eastern Crete.'

#### 526. Statuette fragment, IM 360 (not handled)

Black-green stone, H: 6.8 cm, battered and broken.

Fragment of a possible composite statuette, representing the Egyptian double crown without indication of vulture or cobra uraeus.

Egyptian, undatable as is, possibly Bronze Age, possibly later.  
*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Undatable object, without context.

*Reference:* PHILLIPS 1991:II:802–803 #407.

*Comments:* This fragment was found near Ierapetra and presented to the IM in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It originally was thought to stand upside down, and was identified as an animal hoof in its original accessions entry. The lack of any indication of the royal uraeus renders this piece undatable, as does its battered condition. It is included here as a possible Egyptian sculpture imported during the Bronze Age. Originally displayed in the old museum gallery, but now not displayed in the new museum rooms. All description is taken from its old display case, under poor lighting and visual conditions.

#### 527. Seal, HM (Giamalakis) 3054

Steatite, L: 14.6; W: 14.2; H: 6.5; SH: 0.9 mm, broken in half and repaired, very worn surface.

Lentoid seal engraved on one face only. String-hole through width. *Face:* Squatting ape at right, with exceptionally long hanging ears, upright tail behind, holding in front a tapering vessel with horizontal body lines and vertical lines emanating from rim. A dancing woman faces it on the left, wearing a long skirt with thickened waist. Three lines indicate a plant behind her. Both 'float' above a ground line possibly indicating a rocky flat landscape.

Minoan, probably LM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM I seal, without context.

*References:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:58 #359, pl. XII:359, XXVIII:359; MARINATOS 1987a:125–127, fig. 4:3; PHILLIPS 1991:II:802 #406, III:1150 fig. 406; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #447.

*Comments:* Said to come from Siteia.

#### 528. Seal (weight?), AM 1938.1101

Agate, pale with reddish-brown patch either side, L: 15.3; W: 10.9; H: 10.6; SH: 2.5 mm, Wt.: 2.08 g, intact.

<sup>1329</sup> OLIVIER and GODART 1997:444–445.

<sup>1330</sup> EVANS 1909:270, fig. 121; *PM* I:278, fig. 206. See Knossos K.

<sup>1331</sup> See, for example, KENNA 1960:113; HOOD 1978:216.

<sup>1332</sup> KENNA 1960:113.

<sup>1333</sup> EVANS 1909:270 n. 1, and caption to fig. 121, *contra* 1909:153 #P.23.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a 'sleeping' goose or duck, with head *regardant* and resting on its back and wings crossed or tucked behind with eyes open. Feathers indicated by curved lines. String-hole through width, and aborted attempt at a second string-hole through length from front. Drillwork and hollowed out engraved lines, with some attempt at relief-work. *Face*: Standing bull, facing right, with head raised. Bucranium (O14) in front of its foreleg.

Minoan, MM IB–III.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IB–III seal, without context.

*References*: EVANS 1906:351 fig. 6; KENNA 1960:106 #125, pl. 6:125; BOARDMAN 1970:35, 39 #4; KENNA 1973:829; YULE 1981:94–95 Class 33:e, 125 Motif 3; PHILLIPS 1991:II:808–809 #414, III:1150 fig. 414; BROWN and BENNETT 2001:434 #214, 435:fig. 214; CMS VI:#139.

*Comments*: The indicated feathers suggest a live 'sleeping' bird but with eyes open, rather than a 'plucked' ('trussed') one. Although illustrated by EVANS (1906), it was not included as one of his 'duck weights,' and is not weight {529} as its recorded gramme weight is quite different from that piece. The illustration is annotated "East Crete," so it may have been found there, or Evans actually meant {529} had been recovered there and this seal has no provenance whatsoever on Crete. Both have string-hole through the width. Kenna noted only that this seal is from Crete and (1973) dated it to MM II.

#### 529. Weight or seal (not located)

Carnelian, Wt.: 2.6 g (c. 40.12 grns), dimensions and condition not stated.

Theriomorphic, carved apparently in the form of a goose or duck with head *regardant*. String hole through width. *Face*: "A rude Late Minoan engraving of what appears to be a hippopotamus."

Minoan, LM(?)

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM(?) weight or amuletic bead, without context.

*Comparanda*: {436}; {437}; {528}.

*Reference*: EVANS 1906:351–352 #29.

*Comments*: Found in East Crete in 1894. This, from its description and stated gramme weight, is not that illustrated by Evans as his fig. 6 in his publication of this piece, as the illustration clearly is of another seal {528} having a recorded gramme weight sufficiently different as to exclude it. We must assume from Evans' use of seal {528} for the illustration that either he did not actually purchase this carnelian 'weight,' but only noted details and perhaps also sketched it. Unlike all other references to his 1906 illustrations, he writes "see fig. 6" in his description of this piece. The face design does not 'sound' Egyptian, and it may be a late example of the seal type rather than an Egyptian weight. Dated here, with some misgiving, on the basis of Evans' assessment of the face design. This Minoan face design might also have been added to an Egyptian weight.

#### 530. Seal, AM 1938.1083

Haematite, L: 21.9; W: 13.9; H: 7.4; SH: 1.9–2.7 mm, intact but worn at the edges.

Amygdaloid with two grooves along length of back. String-hole through length. *Face*: Cat facing right siezing a waterfowl with long neck, bill and wings in its mouth, by the joint of the wing. The bird has both wings outspread, attempting to escape. Tri-stemmed plant behind bird and another behind cat's tail. Single long horizontal ground line below.

Minoan, LM II–IIIB, but possibly LM I.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM II–IIIB (possibly LM I) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: {63}; {319}; {572}.

*References*: EVANS *PM* III:117, fig. 68; KENNA 1960:135 #328, pl. 13:328; PHILLIPS 1991:II:801–802 #404, III:1149 fig. 404; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #284; MILITELLO 2000:84 fig. 12; CMS VI:#368.

*Comments*: The seal is said to come from the 'Province of Mirabello,' now in the western portion of the Lasithiou *nomos*, the easternmost province on Crete.

### C. Western Crete

The following are recorded from the area of 'Western Crete.'

#### 531. Alabastron (Type C), KM A 1009 (not located)

Travertine?,<sup>1334</sup> H: 10.7; Dia. (base): 9 cm, apparently intact. Baggy alabastron with flaring rim, 'pear'-shaped with a wide mouth.<sup>1335</sup>

Egyptian, SIP (–very early Dynasty XVIII?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: SIP (–very early Dynasty XVIII?) vessel, without context.

*Comparison*: {250}.

*References*: WARREN 1969:113 Type 43:I; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:183–184 #5, pl. 65:5; PHILLIPS 1991:II:805–806 #410; CLINE 1994:254 #1090.

*Comments*: See also {131}, the alternative identification of this vessel. According to a KM catalogue card seen by Warren, it is from 'Selinon 1899.' But he suggests rather it is "almost certainly from Khania LM IIIA2–B tombs, since it is with all this material and it probably the *Alabasterschale* mentioned by Jantzen."<sup>1336</sup> Jantzen refers to the 1938 excavations by V. Theophanides of an LM III chamber tomb under Odos K. Manu #14–21, south of the Khania Law Courts. However, the current KM catalogue card states merely that it is without provenance and was donated to the KM by M. Tsisourakis in May 1900. Two (or three) chamber tombs were excavated in 1900 in the Odos K. Manu area, the finds including two gold rings, a bronze mirror, bronze rings, a stone vase and three destroyed bronze vases. However, the stone vase (A1010, a pot) is not the alabastron under discussion.<sup>1337</sup> Warren's suggestion is untenable as the catalogue number *was* employed in

<sup>1334</sup> According to the KM catalogue card, it is of 'beige-coloured marble.' According to both Warren and Lambrou-Phillipson, it is of 'alabaster.'

<sup>1335</sup> According to the KM catalogue card description, Lambrou-Phillipson may have located it, as she provides its only pub-

lished illustration. Warren compares it to {250}.

<sup>1336</sup> WARREN 1969:113, with reference to JANTZEN in MATZ 1951:77.

<sup>1337</sup> ANON. 1900:466; JANTZEN in MATZ 1951:73; KANTA 1980:225.

1900, as indicated by the use of slightly higher numbers (including A1010) shortly afterwards.<sup>1338</sup> The current card refers to an earlier card, which presumably notes the 'Selinon 1899' provenance and was that seen by Warren but which could not be found during my visit.

Selinon is the south-westernmost *nome* of Crete. This provenance for an Egyptian vessel is cause for some speculation, as so little has ever been reported in the area and it is far removed from any of the palatial or even large sites where virtually every other alabastron has been found.

**532. Seal**, Benaki Museum 1517

Lapis lacedaemonius, L: 26.5; W: 24.8; H: 9.0; SH: 1.8 mm; chipped at face edge.

Lentoid, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length. *Face*: Man in centre facing right standing on a 'horns of consecration,' 'wasp-waisted' with arms tucked to chest and wearing a short loincloth. Winged agrimi standing in front, to right, with front hoofs atop one 'horn' and head reared to face man. Behind man, to left and facing right, stands a Minoan 'genius' with long 'snout' presenting a *Schnabelkanne* with both paws.

'Minoan, LM I-III A1' but more likely a modern forgery.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM I-III A1 or modern seal, without context.

*References*: EVANS *PM* I:708, fig. 532; IV.2:467, fig. 392; SEGALL 1938:14 #2, pl. 4:2; CHILLENDEEN 1947:109, pl. XVII:d; NILSSON 1950:148, 173, 354, 358, fig. 56; BIESANTZ 1954:86; GILL 1964:13-14, 21 #52, pl. 7:5; BETTS 1965; HOOD 1965:106; ALEXIOU 1969:74 fig. 25; *CMS* V.1:#201; YOUNGER 1986:133.2; 1988a:156 fig. 114,<sup>1339</sup> 158 #201; CROWLEY 1989:414 fig. 68.b; PHILLIPS 1991:II:803-805 #409, III:1150 fig. 409; REHAK 1995:227 fig. 10, 227-228; WEDDE 1995:498 n. 25.

*Comments*: Said to be from Pyrgos Psilonero, some 15 kilometres west of Khania, according to Evans who apparently was informed by the then owner. The seal was purchased by A. Rizos-Rangabe, probably in May-June 1912, who had been told a local peasant had recently found it and wished to sell. Rizos-Rangabe apparently showed it to Evans shortly after, who presumably made a cast that was in the Benaki Museum by 1913 but now cannot be found; it must be the source of Evans' original illustration. The seal itself was sold by Rizos-Rangabe to the Benaki Museum in 1931.

Although Younger accepts this as genuine, within his "spectacle eyes A" stylistic group and dates it to LM III A1, Gill suggested (largely on iconographical grounds) the seal might be a forgery, a theme enlarged upon by Betts. The 'Master of Animals' pose of the man is unparalleled and improbable above a 'horns of consecration,' and the winged agrimi too seems to be unparalleled.<sup>1340</sup> If authentic, Betts and Hood both suggest it may have been plundered illicitly from an LM tomb at nearby Maleme, where a necklace and six skulls were found in 1910.<sup>1341</sup> Nonetheless, its dubious origin and iconography leave its authenticity in doubt.

<sup>1338</sup> KM A1010 in 1900, KM A1016 in 1913, KM A1026 in 1928; see JANTZEN in MATZ 1951:73, 76-77. See also LEAKLEY 1975:112 and ANDREADAKI-VLASAKI 1997 for chamber tombs found at Khania.

<sup>1339</sup> Caption incorrect.

## D. No Find Context or Provenance (Crete)

The following have no recorded provenance but the island itself.

**533. Bowl fragment**, AM unnumbered (not located)

"Diorite, Dia.: c. 23 cm," one fragment.

"Open, with recurved rim, very thin but not translucent profile."

Probably Egyptian, probably Early Dynastic.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably Early Dynastic vessel, without context.

*Comparanda*: PETRIE and BRUNTON 1924a: pl. IV:64 9 (here Fig. 7.B); MÜLLER 1964:53 #84.b; (base profile) {292}.

*References*: PENDLEBURY 1930b:40 #66; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:275 #249; PHILLIPS 1991:II:809-810 #416.

*Comments*: Pendlebury is the only source for this fragment. WARREN (1969) does not list it, either as an import or as a Minoan version, and nothing resembling it (as described, without stated provenance) has been located in the AM. To judge from Pendlebury's description and comparison (quoted here; see Fig. 7.B), the vessel should not be a Minoan form and may indeed have been Egyptian. If so, it would correspond to Warren's Type 43:C or E (1969:111, 'deep open bowl' or 'shallow carinated bowl') and be paralleled in base profile by bowl {292}. This *may* be one of the diorite bowl fragments {293} from Knossos, *if* it already was in the AM collection by 1930, as Pendlebury states his #66 was held by the AM in his catalogue, but he does not include {293} there. It would depend on whether the fragment was joined by others not now located that includes any of the 'recurved rim' he mentions, since {293} is not a rim sherd.

**534. Jar ('miniature amphora')**, HM 2514 (not located)

Material, dimensions and condition not stated.

'Miniature amphora.' No further description.

Minoan, EM II-MM I.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: EM II-MM I vessel, without context.

*References*: WARREN 1969:215 Type 28; PHILLIPS 1991:II:825 #443.

*Comments*: Noted in the HM Inventory Book as entirely without context. A closer date cannot be suggested without further information.

**535. Jar ('miniature goblet?')**, KM (Mitsotakis) A 103 (not seen)

Banded tufa, H: 8.5; Dia. (rim): 4.3; (base): 2.9 cm. Intact.

'Miniature amphora' with splayed rim flattened at top, high shoulder and flat splaying base.

Minoan, MM I-II.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM I-II vessel, without context.

*Comparanda*: WARREN 1969:71-72 Type 28.

*Reference*: MARANGOU 1992:169 #199.

<sup>1340</sup> Although a similar animal in entirely different pose is found on a seal impression from Pylos; see *CMS* I:#316.

<sup>1341</sup> Possibly that excavated by C. Davaras in 1966. See MEGAW 1967:23-24.

*Comments:* The material indicates this to be an indigenous vessel and, as noted in its publication, is unique. Its form, however, is dissimilar to the ‘miniature amphora’ type and resembles more closely the well-known Egyptian *hs*-jar (W 14) with its splaying base, high shoulder and flaring rim. However, the flaring rim form is not found on *hs*-jars at this early date, so inspiration for the shape is not Egyptian. A basalt vessel in the same Mitsotakis collection<sup>1342</sup> appears related to this one although it is shorter and with a wider mouth, and the ‘miniature goblet’ type to which it belongs also may have been a partial inspiration for the vessel. Alternatively and less likely, it may be an amalgamation of the ‘miniature amphora’ and ‘cylinder’ jar types, generally the latter given a constricted neck.<sup>1343</sup>

**536. Jar (‘miniature amphora’)**, KM (Mitsotakis) Λ 75 (not seen) Greyish white limestone, H: 3.7; Dia. (rim): 2.1; (base): 1.9 cm, much of the body restored, locally abraded surface. Ovoid body with sloping shoulder, slightly flaring short neck with exterior-thickened rim, flat base. Minoan, EM III–MM I.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* EM III–MM I vessel, without context.

*Comparison:* {464}.

*Reference:* MARANGO 1992:163–164 #179.

*Comments:* This jar, although similar to the ‘miniature amphorae’, has a far more prominent neck and rim than is usual, and is called a ‘handleless amphoriskos’ in the original publication. Nonetheless, it fits well within the ‘miniature amphora’ type, as noted there.

**536A. Jar (‘spheroid jar’?)** (not traced)

‘Steatite,’ dimensions unknown, condition apparently good. Spheroid jar, with high shoulder and flat base. Multiple horizontal flutes on the shoulder. No handles indicated.

Minoan, probably MM III–LM IIIA1.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM III–LM IIIA1 vessel, without context.

*Comparanda:* {5}, {16–17}, {74}, {273}.

*Reference:* BROWN and BENNETT 2001:242–243, 450 #289, 451 fig. 289.

*Comments:* Whilst travelling through Crete in 1896, Evans was shown a stone jar in Herakleion on May 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>1344</sup> It was shown by a peasant family member together with “a Mycenaean clay head...from Kephala” (i.e., Knossos), but this does not necessarily mean that the bowl also is from Knossos. No more is known of this jar than its material, and its shape thanks to a sketch he made at the time in his notebook. This sketch strongly suggests it is another of the ‘egyptianising’ spheroid vessels with horizontal flutes covering the shoulder. Three examples of this type are found at Aghia Triadha in the south, whilst two others are from Knossos and Gournes in the north and near Herakleion. All boast handles and are in different but harder stones than this vessel, suggesting that, despite its

profile, this ‘steatite’ vessel should be classified as WARREN’s (1969) Type 9:A (“bowl with horizontal grooves”) rather than an ‘egyptianising’ type. Nonetheless, the sketch appears to show a fluted rather than grooved profile, which would argue for it being an ‘egyptianising’ type like the comparanda quoted above. No more can be said unless the vessel is found.

**537. Scarab**, AM 1931.475

Amethyst, L: 20.0; W: 14.9; H: 11.3, SH: 2.2 mm, numerous chips on sides and face.

Scarab with lunate head having undistinguished clypeus, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated by diagonal lines. String-hole through length. *Face:* Probable Egyptian hieroglyphs, including a sacred barque (P 3) at top, and other unrecognisable signs possibly more hieratic in character. Likely vertical format. No border line.

Probably Egyptian, (late Dynasty XVIII?–) Dynasty XX–TIP, Dynasty XXII.<sup>1345</sup>

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* (Late Dynasty XVIII?–) Dynasty XX–TIP scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* MARTIN 1971:pl. 51 Back Type 2:a; (solar barque at top) MATOUK 1972–1977:I:197 #758; BEN-TOR 1989:71–72 #1–4, 8, 10; SLIWA 1989:47 #31, pl. X:31.

*References:* KENNA 1960:108 #145, pl. 6:145; 1973:829; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:806–807 #411, III:1150 fig. 411.

*Comments:* Kenna identified the scarab as a Minoan imitation, and the signs as Linear ‘A’ and ‘B.’ He suggested it may have had amuletic or votive significance and that the signs also that significance. He (1973) dated it to MM II. The two ‘cup-sinkings’ he describes are fictitious, one being a large circular chip and the other a small shallow drilled dot, apparently post-dating the scarab itself. The presence of the sacred/solar barque would identify it as an Egyptian piece, and the unidentifiable inscription as a formula invoking the blessing or protection of Amon-Ra, who is identified by his solar barque. Amethyst is a common material for scarabs in Dynasty XII–early XIII, but “found only infrequently in the New Kingdom and...used only sporadically in jewellery-making until the Roman Period.”<sup>1346</sup> Although it is possible this may date as early as the later Dynasty XVIII, it is more likely to date to Dynasty XX–TIP, when scarabs having the solar barque as part of the face design are known in some number, often in hard stone. Several patterns of formulae are known, but none parallel this example, nor are any found in this material.

**538. Scarab**, NMA 4680

‘White steatite,’ L: 17.6; W: 13.1; H: 8.5; SH: 1.7 mm, intact with some chipping on elytra edges.

Scarab with square head and notched clypeus, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated by horizontal line around head and diagonal line at back. String-hole through length. *Face:* Cross in centre, diago-

<sup>1342</sup> MARANGO 1992:163 #168 (Λ74); see also WARREN 1969:72–73 Type 29 ‘miniature goblet,’ especially two vessels from Mochlos (D208/P373 and D210/P375).

<sup>1343</sup> This seems to be the suggestion in MARANGO 1992:169; investigation of the references given there, however, leaves this solution unconvincing.

<sup>1344</sup> BROWN and BENNETT 2001:242–243. He did not purchase it.

<sup>1345</sup> James Weinstein (letter of 06 April 1988).

<sup>1346</sup> ANDREWS 1990:40.



nally notched along each length. *Zwickelfüllung* to edge in each corner. Line border.

Canaanite, Iron Age I (late LB IIC or later).

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Iron Age I (late LB IIC or later) scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* NEWBERRY 1907:202–204, pl. XIII:36811, 36810, 36804, 36805; PETRIE 1925b:pl. IX:374; XIX:1527, 1528; HORNUNG and STAEBELIN 1976:360–361:#872, pl. 97:872; TUFNELL 1984:pl. I:1018; KEEL 1995:353–354, figs. 44–46; 1997: 587 #161; (face design) WARD 1978:pl. IV:101; KEEL 199b:354 figs. 44–46; 1997:401 #872, 587 #161, 629 #276.

*References:* MATZ 1928:22–23 #275; PENDLEBURY 1930b:40 #71, pl. I:71; WAINWRIGHT 1932:126; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:369 #520, pl. 55:520; PHILLIPS 1991:II:810–811 #418, III:1151 fig. 418; CLINE 1994:252 #1078.

*Comments:* Yule's Minoan comparanda suggests the possibility that it even may be an Aegean piece. However, the use of notching on the cross-bars is not an Aegean or Egyptian device, and the piece should be considered Canaanite. Both Keel and Daphna Ben-Tor see it as Iron Age I, not MB IIB–C in date,<sup>1347</sup> based as much on the scarab type as its face design. It has been cited in previous relevant literature with a variety of Bronze Age dates; some references are listed above.<sup>1348</sup>

### 539. Scarab, NMA 4679

'White steatite,' L: 20.1; W: 14.5; H: 9.6; SH: 2.3 mm, intact but somewhat worn, chip on lower left face edge.

Scarab with open head notched in centre and on clypeus, no distinction between pronotum and elytra except slight notch either side, nor between elytra. Legs indicated by deep undercutting. String-hole through length. *Face:* Standing male figure facing right, holding a flower in his left hand, right arm to side. Headdress and kilt indicated by narrow diagonal lines. Filler at top and bottom right. Vertical format. Rope border. Canaanite, MB IIB–C, or Egyptian, Dynasty XV.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MB IIB–C/Dynasty XV scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* GARSTANG 1901:8, pl. X:114; MARTIN 1971:pl. 52 Back Type 5:a; HORNUNG and STAEBELIN 1976:362–363:884, pl. 99:884 (without rope border); TUFNELL 1984:*passim* (generally Back Type O, Head type B2, Side type e7); WARD and DEVER 1994:*passim* (Back type PN, head type B2, side type e7); KEEL 1997:143 #112.

*References:* MATZ 1928:22–23 #274, pl. III:10; PENDLEBURY 1930b:40 #70, pl. I:70; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:369 #519;<sup>1349</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:811 #419, III:1151 fig. 419.

*Comments:* This is absolutely typical of MB IIB–C and Dynasty XV scarabs.

### 540. Scarab, HM (Metaxas) 1108

Glazed yellow faience,<sup>1350</sup> L: 15.5; W: 1.5; H: 7.1; SH: 2.1 mm,

chipped and worn, especially around string-hole at head and in centre of one centred circle on face.

Scarab with lunate head, no distinction between pronotum and elytra, nor between elytra. Legs indicated by two parallel horizontal lines around body. Design deeply incised. String-hole through length. *Face:* Irregularly arranged collection of nine centred circles, all drilled.

Possibly modern, *perhaps* Egyptian, Dynasty XXII.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably modern, *perhaps* Egyptian, Dynasty XXII scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* (profile) {512}; (face design) YULE 1980:143–144 Motif 23, pl. 15 Motif 23:3, 12.

*References:* CMS IV:#95; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22, 325 n. 36; 1991:II:812 #422, III:1152 fig. 422; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443.

*Comments:* This appears carved rather than moulded, leaving open the strong possibility of a date earlier than the LBA. Quirke and Fitton considered it 'Aegean,' and thus not Egyptian, but both the unusual material and colouration are difficult to see as Aegean features. The face design would fit within the EM III–MM I(–III?) period, but both the lunate head and lack of a border line strongly suggest it is not Minoan. The yellow faience also is distinctly odd for an Egyptian piece. The participants of the 'Scarabs' workshop in Vienna hesitantly suggested it *may* be a Dynasty XXII piece, and it does resemble in profile another scarab from Tsoutsouros of late Dynasty XIX–Third Intermediate Period date.<sup>1351</sup> It is a distinct oddity, and may well be a modern forgery.

### 541. Scarab, HM (Giamalakis) Σ–K 3250

Chalcedony, L: 13.4; W: 10.6; H: 7.8; SH: 2.8 mm, intact but for one chip on head.

Scarab with plain formed head, single line between pronotum and elytra continuing onto sides, two lines between elytra which turn outwards for tail. Legs indicated by diagonal and horizontal undercutting. String-hole through length, narrowing to interior. *Face:* Linear design of two half-elliptical lines rising from a horizontal line, each filled with an opposed diagonal line and separated by a vertical line forked at the top. Below, five short vertical lines. Horizontal format. Line border, which may be part of the design.<sup>1352</sup>

Probably Egyptian, either early Middle Kingdom or late MK–early Dynasty XVIII.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably either early Middle Kingdom or late Middle Kingdom–early Dynasty XVIII scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* (face design) TUFNELL 1984:I:112 fig. 23:23, 117 fig. left; WARD and DEVER 1994:*passim* (Back type LS); {40}.

*References:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:26 #154, pl. V:154, XXI:154; YULE 1983:366 n. 22; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22;

<sup>1347</sup> D. Ben-Tor (personal communication, 07 November 2001).

<sup>1348</sup> Dated by Pendlebury to Dynasty XIX, by Wainwright to the 'Hyksos' period (i.e. Dynasty XV), paralleled to the FIP in WARD 1978:16 fig. 3:Period 2, 48–49:IB. James Weinstein (letter of 06 April 1988) dated it to the SIP (i.e., Hyksos period) and "would not be surprised" if it was later, citing PETRIE 1906a:pl. IX:188–189; NEWBERRY 1907:#36810; TUFNELL 1984:pl. I:1018.

<sup>1349</sup> The figure is misidentified as a female.

<sup>1350</sup> As described in the CMS. It might well be steatite or 'white piece.'

<sup>1351</sup> By all participants, 12 January 2002.

<sup>1352</sup> Here illustrated upside down, to conform with other scarabs. The face design is shown relative to the scarab head position.

1991:II:813 #423, III:1152 fig. 423; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:320 #328.

*Comments:* Although Yule classified this piece as possibly Egyptian or Minoan, Pini notes it is “certainly not Minoan.”<sup>1353</sup> The scarab itself fits neither typological development well. Its height is excessive for a Minoan scarab and is extremely uncommon in Egypt. The participants of the ‘Scarabs’ workshop in Vienna suggested either an early Middle Kingdom or late Middle Kingdom date.<sup>1354</sup> The best shape parallel is an unusual scarab from the tomb of Maket (found in coffin 9, together with a scarab of Thutmose III), although that from Aghios Onouphrios is comparable. The face motif seems to be a debased or misunderstood example of the *nb-ty* design or, alternatively, a deformed version of the hieroglyph *h3* (M 16), a popular early NK scarab face design. The illustration depicts this upside-down, because it shows the face design relative to the scarab itself. The latter suggests an early Dynasty XVIII date, but the material is employed mostly in the mid–later Middle Kingdom when the *nb-ty* face design was losing popularity but still could be found, so either date may be possible. It may even be an ‘egyptianising’ scarab made and imported from elsewhere.<sup>1355</sup>

#### 542. Scarab, BM 1966.3-28.23

‘White steatite(?) of stone-like character with blue-green glaze, with gold inlay, L: 17.7; W: 12.0; H: 8.0; SH: 1.4–1.5 mm, chipped on rim and part of face, worn on back and bottom edge of side, glaze chipped and worn. Originally in a (gold?) setting.

Scarab with open head and prominent eyes, single line between clypeus and pronotum, pronotum and elytra extending to sides, and between elytra. Decorative line around edge of pronotum. Legs indicated by undercutting and notching with an ‘almost fern-like’ character. String-hole through length. Thin gold inlaid lines between clypeus and pronotum, pronotum and elytra, between elytra and around eyes. Tail marked by deeply carved diamond shape. Finely carved. *Face:* Seven characters of a probably votive inscription in an unidentified script, surrounded by an elaborate ring of intertwined S-scrolls. Inscription indicates a horizontal format. Line border.

Probably Egyptian, late Dynasty XII, with pseudo-hieroglyphic signs (not Egyptian, Levantine or Minoan).

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Late Dynasty XII scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* WARD and DEVER 1994: *passim* (Back type LN, head type B2, side type D12); {197}; (glyphs) PETRIE 1907:pl. XXIII.1.

*References:* KENNA 1963a:1–2; CMS VIII:#151; HIGGINS 1967:52, fig. 17; BOARDMAN 1970:398; BUCHHOLZ 1974:440, fig. 81; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:370; PHILLIPS 1991:II:814–815 #425, III:1152 fig. 425; 1992b:498, 503 fig. 2; VIENNA 1994:167 #157; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:439 fig. 6, 440–441, 443–444.

*Comments:* Formerly in the Capt. E.G. Spencer-Churchill collection, purchased by him either in Egypt or Paris in the early 1920s.

Although the scarab itself probably is Egyptian, the face

design with its unidentified script appears not to be. Quirke and Fitton comment that the quality of the scarab precludes dismissal of the inscription as debased Egyptian hieroglyphs, so it must be as intended. The difference in quality between the scarab and its face design border, compared with the inscription, would most likely indicate that the latter was carved by a different and far less accomplished artisan.

The inscription was cut through the glaze, but is then itself “filled” with a blue glaze<sup>1356</sup> of a colour darker than the original turquoise, suggesting again that the inscription was a later addition. Also, the cut-lines of the inscription are thinner in execution than those of the scroll design. The gold inlay is original, as it is covered by the glaze in places, notably around the eyes. However, the specific S-scroll border is overly ornate and unparalleled elsewhere on Egyptian scarabs, and the deeply carved tail marking is rare if not unknown in Egypt. Geoffrey Martin (for Quirke and Fitton) isolated its specifically late Dynasty XII date by the naturalistic head detail. These glyphs may be compared with other similarly obscure glyphs on a late Middle Kingdom cowroid found by Petrie at Rifeh, suggesting the inscription may have been added in Egypt, as noted by Quirke and Fitton, but not by its original artisan. This is possible, as many scarabs were made with part or all of the face left blank, that it might later be carved with the eventual customer’s choice of text.

The majority of the signs are unique, although two were identified as Linear ‘A’ signs by Kenna; Boardman, however, notes that the script is not demonstrably Minoan. See also Quirke and Fitton’s comments, generally that they are an otherwise unattested script transitional between Cretan hieroglyphic and Linear A, probably commissioned in Egypt itself. If so, they should date to MM II–III, when the later script was being developed.

#### 543. Scarab, MAH 204.70

Black steatite/phyllite chlorite, L: 14.8; W: 11.5; H: 8.0; SH: 2.4 mm, chipped at clypeus but otherwise intact.

Scarab with lunate head and notched clypeus, single line between pronotum and elytra extending to sides, and between elytra. Possible indication of humeral callosities extending from front legs onto elytra. Legs indicated by diagonal lines. *Face:* Formal arrangement of five centered circles, one in centre and one on each corner, separated by four ‘petals’ emanating from the centre circle. Incomplete line border.

Probably modern.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably modern scarab, without context.

*Comparanda:* (face design) TUFNELL 1984:I:125 Type 5, II:pl. XXI:1947, XXII:1968; (‘humeral callosities’) {365}.

*References:* CMS VIII:#132;<sup>1357</sup> BETTS in DÖRIG 1975:#43; VOLLENWEIDER 1983:139 #186, fig. 186; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:816 #427, III:1152 fig. 427.

*Comments:* Formerly in the Rev. V.E.G. Kenna collection. Quirke and Fitton suggest it *may* be Egyptian, of New Kingdom or later date. The participants of the ‘Scarabs’ workshop in Vienna, however, reject it both as an Egyptian and a Levantine piece.<sup>1358</sup> If anything, the face design *might* be a

<sup>1353</sup> Ingo Pini (personal communication, 09 February 1989).

<sup>1354</sup> By all participants, 12 January 2002.

<sup>1355</sup> See also scarab {40}.

<sup>1356</sup> I.D. Jenkins, Greek and Roman Department, British Museum (letter of 08 March 1990).

<sup>1357</sup> Dated by Kenna to MM IB.

<sup>1358</sup> By all participants, 12 January 2002.

Minoan 'interpretation' of generally contemporary Second Intermediate Period and early Dynasty XVIII designs incorporating concentric circles and 'cross' patterns, sometimes called a 'rosette' design. The side profile is uncharacteristic of all these possible dates, however, and it may even be a modern forgery.

**544. Scarab**, HM (Giamalakis) Σ-K 3252

Ivory or bone, L: 15.6; W: 11.7; H: 7.0, SH: 1.6 mm, intact. Scarab with notched open head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra, decorative line along outer edge of pronotum and elytra. Humeral callosities indicated. Legs indicated by deep undercutting and notching, also notched along base. String-hole through length. *Face*: Standing sphinx facing right, with royal beard and uraeus on forehead and tail curling behind and partly off seal face. Raised cobra uraeus in front of sphinx, and possibly a small 'm3ʿt' feather (H 6) in front of forepaws. Deformed inscription, *nfr ntr* ('good god') above its back, the diagonal line being the end of the sphinx's tail, with tuft. Horizontal format. Line border. Levantine, LB IIB.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LB IIB scarab, without context.

*Comparanda*: PETRIE 1894:pl. XV:144; MINISTRY 1988:254–255 #278 (from Perati); BEN-TOR 1993:65 #27.

*References*: PHILLIPS 1991:II:823–824 #439, III:1155 fig. 439; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:327 #342; PHILLIPS 2005b:460 n. 23.

*Comments*: Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) correctly date this scarab to Dynasty XIX. A scarab with almost identical face design, of superior quality, was recovered at Tell el-Ajjul, and others are known throughout Palestine. Another, also of superior quality, was recovered in a tomb at Perati on the Mainland where it would have been an antique in its LH IIIC context. The malformed lettering would indicate this example more likely is a later rather than earlier NK product, probably Levantine of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC<sup>1359</sup> (LB IIB) rather than contemporary Egyptian Dynasty XIX. Although a similar face design also was recovered at Amarna, the misunderstood rendering of the hieroglyphs on the Crete scarab would suggest rather a Canaanite origin and its deep cutting and rather distorted overlap of tail and border line at least a Ramesside date.

**545. Scarab**, HM (Giamalakis) Σ-K 3444

Glazed faience, H: 19.3; W: 12.2; H: 8.1; SH: 1.7 mm, intact. Scarab with open head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. C-scroll decoration at bottom of pronotum. Legs indicated by deep undercutting. String-hole through length. *Face*: Horus falcon (G 5) in centre, facing right, with 'h3' (M 18) in front and 'ʿnh' (S 34) behind. Extraneous line in front of hawk. Horizontal format. Line border. Egyptian, post-Third Intermediate Period.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Post-Third Intermediate Period scarab, without context.

*Comparanda*: {43}; {265}; ('cryptographic writing') DRIOTON 1957:13–14, 30 #108.

*References*: PHILLIPS 1991:II:824 #440, III:1155 fig. 440; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:333 #354.

*Comments*: See above, {43}. Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.*) provide a Dynasty XXVI date; Nir Lalkin puts it slightly earlier and in Dynasty XXV as the exact same composition is not found at Naucratis.<sup>1360</sup> The back profile, high at the pronotum and then tapering to the tail, is typical of this late period. This scarab is included here as it had been incorrectly dated in my earlier thesis (1991), but the correct dating places it beyond the chronological scope of the present study. Apparent cryptographic writing of *Imn*, 'Amon,' the god Amon. However, the use of cryptographic writing generally is no longer accepted by Egyptologists.

**546. Scarab**, HM (Giamalakis) Σ-K 3617 (not seen)

'Synthetic material' (faience?), L: 15.2; W: 11.1; H: 7.2 mm, worn, some chipping on face edge and back worn.

Scarab, with lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Legs indicated, meeting at elytra-pronotum junction. String-hole through length. *Face*: Hieroglyphic inscription and invocation to the god 'Amon-Ra, (my) Lord' ('*Imn-Rʿ nb(.i)*'), the water sign 'n' (N 35) shown only as a horizontal line. Vertical format. Line border.

Egyptian, Dynasty XVIII (reign of Amenhotep III or earlier). *Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Dynasty XVIII (reign of Amenhotep III or earlier) scarab, without context.

*Comparanda*: PETRIE 1890:pl. XXIII:106; 1925b:pl. XVIII:1378; PETRIE and TUFNELL 1930:pl. XXIX:249.

*Reference*: KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:328 #344.

*Comments*: Keel and Kyriakides (in KARETSOU *et al.* 2000) correctly note that this inscription dates mainly to Dynasty XVIII. The piece appears to be mould-made. The good, even and well-placed quality of the signs and scarab markings indicate also a Dynasty XVIII date not later than the reign of Amenhotep III; compare this to the Dynasty XIX scarabs from Knossos {314} and Poros {482} to see the decline in quality exhibited in the later period.

**547. Scarab**, KM (Mitsotakis) unnumbered (not seen)

Glazed 'white piece,' L: 14.5; W: 9.9; H: 7.5 mm; SH not stated, edges slightly damaged.

Scarab with ovoid shape slightly elongated at head end, and flat face. Open triangular head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. 'Legs' indicated by two deeply undercut horizontal grooves around body. String-hole through length. Light blue glaze. *Face*: Large swelling lines forming a 'Z', either side filled with diagonal lines, either end blank. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA scaraboid, without context.

*References*: PINI 2000:110 #11, fig. 3; *CMS V Suppl.* 3.1:#135; PHILLIPS 2004:162 fig. 1.a.9.

*Comments*: The face design would fall within Yule's 'Border/Leaf Complex.' Dating follows Pini's observation that use of 'white piece' material was a short-lived phenome-

<sup>1359</sup> Nir Lalkin (personal communication, 20 August 2001).

<sup>1360</sup> Nir Lalkin (personal communications, 08 and 20 August 2001).

non during MM IA.<sup>1361</sup> Although lacking a recorded provenance, it most likely is from the Mesara region.

**548. Scaraboid**, HM (Giamalakis) Σ-K 3498

Green steatite, L: 17.0; W: 12.9; H: 7.2; SH: 2.0 mm, broken on face edge and chipped head.

Scaraboid with two short, non-joining, lines between 'clypeus' and pronotum, three between pronotum and elytra and single long line between elytra. 'Legs' indicated by very thick horizontal groove around body. Ovoid base tapering towards head end, splaying in profile. String-hole through width. *Face*: A ship having both mast and rigging, with oars indicated below. C-scrolls used as fillers above the mast and beside the ship.

Minoan, MM IB-II.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IB-II scaraboid, without context.

*Comparanda*: {384}; {549}; {551}; (splayed base) KEEL 1989a:47-50 #18-19, 52-54 # 25-27.

*References*: XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:30 #184, pl. XXII: 184; YULE 1981:78 Class 29:a, 166 Motif 52; PHILLIPS 1990: 323 n. 22; 1991:II:813-814 #424, III:1152 fig. 424; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:319 #327; PHILLIPS 2004:167 fig. 7.4; 2005a:44.

*Comments*: Although it differs in face design, this seems to be one of several Minoan Proto-Palatial scaraboids of a particular type having similar material, profile and body shape. The ship shows little differentiation between prow and stern, a form depicted elsewhere as a Minoan hieroglyph (040) and which also serves in part to date the scaraboid to the Proto-Palatial period. The unusual profile, with splaying base greater than the scarab body, is also seen in the 'Omega Group' of seals from a late 18<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c. (late MB IIA-B) Palestinian workshop, although their face designs and other features are unrelated.

**549. Scaraboid** (not located)

Green steatite, L: 14; W: 10; SH: 2.5 mm, large chip on one side, obliterating about a quarter of the face design.

Scaraboid with deeply-incised cross on back, the 'tail' end marked by numerous irregular diagonal cross-hatched lines. Deep horizontal line around sides. Tapering ovoid base. String-hole through width. *Face*: Triple concentric circle ring just off-centre of face, surrounded by a large diamond shape consisting of incised double lines to face edge.

Minoan, MM IB-III.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IB-III scaraboid, without context.

*Comparanda*: {384}; {548}; {551}.

*References*: CMS VIII:#27; Catling 1968:50; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:815-816 #426, III:1152 fig. 426; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443; PHILLIPS 2004:167 fig. 7.2; 2005a:44.

*Comments*: Formerly in the J.M. Dawkins collection, having been purchased by him in Crete.<sup>1362</sup> Upon his death, Sotheby's sold it at auction 25 July 1967 to Spink and Son,<sup>1363</sup> who unfortunately have no record of its subsequent owner.<sup>1364</sup>

**550. Scaraboid**, HM (Giamalakis) 3618

Black steatite, L: 10.9; W: 7.9; H: 5.6; SH: 1.3 mm, large chip on head, otherwise intact.

Scaraboid with two horizontal grooves as clypeus and pronotum, and double line between elytra. 'Legs' indicated by two horizontal grooves around body. String hole through length. *Face*: Linear design of large cross in centre, framed by single line either end and triple lines in same direction on sides, possibly meant to convey a double axe.

Minoan, MM IIB-LM IB.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IIB-LM IB scaraboid, without context.

*Comparanda*: TUFNELL 1984:I:112 fig. 23:23; {270}; {491}.

*Reference*: PHILLIPS 1991:II:824 #441, III:1154 fig. 441.

*Comments*: The back and sides resemble the Knossos scarab, except for the legs. A scarab with similar face design, in carnelian, was recovered in coffin 9 in the tomb of Maket, dated not earlier than the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>1365</sup>

**551. Scaraboid**, MMA 26.31.46

Pale green steatite, L: 15.2; W: 10.3; H: 7.5; SH: 2.0 mm, damaged at back end one side of face.

Scaraboid with pointed 'head,' numerous incised cross-hatched lines indicating pronotum and two pairs of diagonal lines indicating elytra (after a fashion). Single line between pronotum and elytra. 'Legs' indicated by a deeply undercut horizontal groove around body. Tapering ovoid base. String-hole almost through width but not quite completely through on one side. *Face*: Four incomplete triple-centred circles aligned to the sides and ends of the body.

Minoan, MM IB-III.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IB-III seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: YULE 1981:144 Motif 23, pl.15:Motif 23:18; {384}; {548}; {549}; (face design) TUFNELL 1984:II:pl. XXII:1997, {513}.

*References*: CMS XII:#75; VAN EFFENTERRE and VAN EFFENTERRE 1976:56 n. 1; YULE 1981:80 Class 30:b; 1983:363 fig. 33, 366 n. 22; PHILLIPS 1990:323 n. 22; 1991:II:826 #445, III: 1155A fig. 445; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:444; PHILLIPS 2004: 167 fig. 7.3; 2005a:44.

*Comments*: This seal belonged originally to R.B. Seager and, upon his death in 1925, was presented together with the rest of his gem collection to the MMA. He probably purchased it in Crete, most likely in eastern Crete where he spent the majority of his working life, although its provenance is unknown.

Yule<sup>1366</sup> identifies the face design as 'tubular drill motif,' common in MM IB-III but known in EM III-MM IA. It also can be compared to the concentric circle motif in SIP Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian scarabs, and may be contemporary with them; if so, it is later rather than earlier within the dating range cited.

**552. Scaraboid**, MMA 26.31.283

Black marble, L: 17.8; W: 14.3; H: 7.8; SH: 1.6-2.0 mm, intact but worn. Infill visible in places.

<sup>1361</sup> PINI 1992:203.

<sup>1362</sup> CMS VIII:XVII.

<sup>1363</sup> Felicity Nicholson, Antiquities Dept., Sotheby's (letter of 02 June 1988). See also CATLING 1968:50.

<sup>1364</sup> Paul Champkins, Spink and Son, Ltd. (letter of 10 August 1988).

<sup>1365</sup> See HANKEY and TUFNELL 1973:110; WARREN and HANKEY 1989:145-146.

<sup>1366</sup> YULE 1981:80.

Scaraboid with ovoid shape and slightly convex flat face and back as if a very rough oval lentoid or oval plaque. Lunate head, single line between pronotum and elytra, and between elytra. Short diagonal lines filling pronotum and elytra, and abortive ‘humeral callosities’ apparently indicated, all enclosed within a line border. All lines infilled with a white substance. String hole through length. *Face*: Unfinished design with apparent ‘bull’s head’ at one end and lines above resembling the modern letter ‘U.’

Probably modern.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably modern scaraboid, without context.

*References*: *CMS* XII:#120; PHILLIPS 1991:II:826–827 #446, III:1155A fig. 446; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443.

*Comments*: Also part of the Seager Bequest, as seal {551} above. Quirke and Fitton suggested this may be an Egyptian seal recut in the Aegean but (as they also note) ‘black marble’ is not an Egyptian stone so an Egyptian origin is less likely.

Both Ingo Pini and Walter Müller consider this piece “rubbish,”<sup>1367</sup> and therefore irrelevant to the present catalogue and discussion. The participants of the ‘Scarabs’ workshop in Vienna also reject it both as an Egyptian and as a Levantine piece.<sup>1368</sup> It is included here as it was included in the *CMS* and discussed by Quirke and Fitton.

**553. Ovoid**, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 1 (not seen)

‘White piece,’ L: 13.7; W: 11.8; H: 3.9 mm; SH not stated, chipped at edge.

Ovoid. Nearly circular, slightly ovoid shape, gable-shaped section. String-hole through length. *Face*: *Nb.ty* motif of two ‘nb’ signs (V 30) joined by a horizontal line and ladder pattern, surmounted by an ‘*nh*’ sign (S 34) infilled at the bottom and flanked either side by a ‘double-branching flower’, all loosely linked by a small rounded base, basically a development of the ‘3h’ sign (M 15).

Possibly Egyptian, early Dynasty XII, or Canaanite, late MB IIA–B.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Early Dynasty XII or late MB IIA–B ovoid, without context.

*Comparanda*: (shape) WARD 1978:50 fig. 10.4, .11–16, .20; {28}, {18}, {392}, (face) WARD 1978:70 fig. 15.8–10, .12; {367}.

*References*: *CMS* V *Suppl.* 1A:#206; MARANGOU 1992:206 #246; QUIRKE and FITTON 1997:443.

*Comments*: The *nb.ty* motif on the face rarely appears after early Dynasty XII, and the slightly flattened oval shape of the ovoid itself and face design on this example both appear to fit better in the earlier phase of the type. Quirke and Fitton note the central motif could conceivably be an Aegean imitation of a Red Crown or plant motifs over two *nb*-baskets, but they suggest it more likely is Near Eastern. The unusual signs and ‘upside down’ *nb*-basket in the middle all suggest a misunderstanding of the original Egyptian hieroglyphs and possibly a Canaanite origin for the piece, although these are rare.<sup>1369</sup> The nearest parallels are in the Matouk collection in Beirut, acquired in Egypt.

**554. Seal**, AM 1938.1041

Banded agate, L: 22.5; W: 24.1; H: 9.0; SH: 2.3–2.7 mm, intact.

Lentoid, engraved on one side only, with conoid back. String-hole through length. *Face*: Minoan ‘genius’ standing behind a bull, leading it towards left. Both arms of the ‘genius’ are raised and holding bull by a rope attached to the base of its horns. Dorsal appendage of ‘genius’ indicated by a row of round-tipped horizontal ‘spikes’ on back. Engraved, with drilling for the ‘genius’ paws and the bull’s nose and joints.

Minoan, LM IIIA.<sup>1370</sup>

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM IIIA seal, without context.

*Comparison*: GILL 1964:19 #30, pl. 4:5.

*References*: EVANS *PM* IV.2:443–444, fig. 368:b, *Suppl.* pl. LV:b; KENNA 1960:132 #306, pl. 12:306; GILL 1964:19 #29, pl. 4:4; KENNA 1973:830; PHILLIPS 1991:II:807 #412, III:1150 fig. 412; WALKER and GALANAKIS 2007:#90; *CMS* VI:#304.

*Comments*: A.J. Evans purchased the seal in Athens, from the original Greek owner who had brought it from Crete. KENNA (1973) dated it to LM II. The ‘agate’ material identification should not be taken literally, and it could be a related stone instead.

**555. Cylinder seal**, AM 1938.1091

Haematite, L: 22.5; Dia: 9.5; SH: 2.2–2.4 mm, intact.

Cylindrical, engraved on the circumference. String-hole through length. *Face*: Six figures facing left. From right to left: Minoan ‘genius’ standing, holding a *Schnabelkanne* by rim and base, with tall thin ‘altar’ below vessel. No dorsal appendage apparent of ‘genius.’ Above ‘genius’ is a legless flying bird. Thin horned figure (‘bull-man’) wearing loincloth, striding with hands tucked under arms. ‘Solar symbol’ (S.108) atop an elongated stem. Pair of goats or stags standing on their hind legs, the first resting its front legs on a pedestal. Striding male figure wearing rounded cap and loincloth, with one arm raised in front of face and other to side/behind. Vertical line with round head in front. Striding figure wearing knee-length skirt or dress, holding another vessel(?) in front of his face. Tall stand tied with a bow, supporting a bowl or cup in front. A small figure-eight shield between the stand and the ‘genius.’ Above the last three figures are rudimentary ‘moon and crescent’ signs. At top and bottom, long horizontal lines as incomplete borders. Engraved with some drill-work.

Cypro-Minoan, LM II(–IIIA1?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM II(–IIIA1?) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: FRANKFORT 1939: pl. XLIV, XLV; PINI 1980:81 #B.1, B.3, fig. 10.

*References*: EVANS *PM* IV.2:458–459, fig. 383; FRANKFORT 1939:303 n. 2; PENDLEBURY 1939:257 n. 1; NILSSON 1950:385 n. 60 #5; KENNA 1960:139 #358, pl. 14:358; GILL 1964:16–17 #13, pl. 2:6; BUCHOLZ in BASS 1967:153 #14; KENNA 1968: 331, pl. 108:21; 1973:830; PINI 1980:79–80 #B.1, 93, fig. 9; YOUNGER 1985:71.i); PHILLIPS 1991:II:807–808 #413, III:1150 fig. 413; WALKER and GALANAKIS 2007:#83; *CMS* VI:#290.

<sup>1367</sup> Personal communications, 18 May 2001.

<sup>1368</sup> By all participants, 12 January 2002.

<sup>1369</sup> See TUFNELL 1984:I:117 class 3A2; pl. VII:3A2 and comments of BEN-TOR 1999:64.

<sup>1370</sup> Dated by the shape. YOUNGER 1973:II:155 notes that conoid backs first appear on Crete in LM IIIA1.

*Comments:* Kenna notes that here the Minoan engraver has attempted to follow the style of seal engraving seen in the fine Cypriote cylinders of the earlier part of the 2nd millennium BC and related cylinders in Frankfurt's second and third Syrian groups, but (1973) dates it to LM IIIA2. Pini characterises it as a "Cylinder seal with (Cypro-)Aegean and Cypro-Oriental iconographical typology and Aegean painterly style in Cypro-Oriental syntax." Younger places this within his "dot-eye mumps" stylistic group, which he suggests is Knossian and of LM II date.

**556. Seal**, AM 1967.938

Green marble, L: 23.2; W: 23.3; H: 8.0; SH: 1.8 mm, intact. Lentoid seal, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Two standing Minoan 'genii' face each other either side of a tall cross-hatched column in centre. Each holds both short arms out in front, and has a long 'plume' from the top of its head. A short vertical incised line crosses behind their beaked mouths. The column is baseless, but has a double-layered horizontal capital with opposing diagonal stripes. Minoan, probably LM IIIB.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM IIIB seal, without context.

*Comparanda:* {576}; {534}.

*References:* CMS VIII:#65; CATLING 1968:50; GILL 1970:406 #57; WESENBURG 1971:18 #51, pl. 59; PHILLIPS 1991:II: 816–817 #428, III:1152 fig. 428; REHAK 1995:229 n. 11; PHILLIPS 2005b:456 n. 84.

*Comments:* Formerly in the J.M. Dawkins collection, having been purchased by him in Crete.<sup>1371</sup>

**557. Seal**, BSM S4470 (7578) (FG 12) (not seen)

Lapis lacedaemonius, L: 22.7; W: 22.6; H: 9.2; SH: 2.2 mm, some chipping at edge and engraved face.

Lentoid, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Standing Minoan 'genius' facing right, carrying an upside-down stag over its far shoulder. 'Genius' with spiked back and large drilled eyes. Stag head to left. An eight-pointed star both in front and behind legs of 'genius,' that in front with a large circular centre. A tall plant immediately in front of legs.

Minoan, LM II–IIIA1.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LM II–IIIA1 seal, without context.

*Comparanda:* {64}; {266}.

*References:* MILCHHOEFER 1883:54, 55 fig. 44.b; FURTWÄGLER 1896:I:3 #12, pl. I:12; BOSSERT 1923:33 #317.a, pl. 317.a; EVANS *PM* IV.2:441, fig. 364; BOSSERT 1937:288 fig. 391.a; GILL 1964:20 #35, pl. 5:6; SCHACHERMEYR 1967:31, pl. XVIII:67; ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1969:32 #29, pl. 8:29–29a; CMS XI:#38; PHILLIPS 1991:II:818–819 #431, III:1154 fig. 431; REHAK 1995:219.

*Comments:* Originally part of the Rhusopoulos collection, Athens.

**558. Seal**, BSM S4471 (7573) (FG 11) (not seen)

Mottled carnelian, L: 20.0; W: 19.6; H: 8.4; SH: 2.5 mm, large chip on one side, with some loss of face design.

Lentoid, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Standing Minoan 'genius' facing left, carrying a

pole over its far shoulder, with lion skins draped over either end of pole. Pole curves down from weight of skins. 'Genius' has no real dorsal appendage indicated.

Minoan, LM II–IIIA1.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* LM II–IIIA1 seal, without context.

*References:* MILCHHOEFER 1883:54, 55 fig. 44.b; SCHUCHHARDT 1891:292, fig. 289; FURTWÄGLER 1896:I:2 #11; pl. I:11; EVANS *PM* IV.2:442, 522, fig. 367, 468; NILSSON 1950:378, fig. 185; GILL 1964:20 #41, pl. 4:7; ZWIERLEIN-DIEHL 1969:32 #28, pl. 7:28; CMS XI:#37; PHILLIPS 1991:II:819 #432, III:1154 fig. 432; REHAK 1995:220.

*Comments:* Originally part of the Rhusopoulos collection. Rehak states that Younger assigns this to his 15<sup>th</sup> c. BC 'Almond Eye' group, but his citation is incorrect.

**559. Seal**, HM (Giamalakis) 3506

Steatite, L: 13.1; W: 13.6; H: 5.7; SH: 2.2 mm, intact.

Lentoid seal, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Two debased Minoan 'genii' stand facing each other either side of a tall column in centre. No arms or feet visible, but bodies and long 'plume' from top of 'head' are horizontally striped. Column with vertical flute in centre, topped by three drilled circles in horizontal line below solid horizontal line, and two drilled circles at base.

Minoan, probably LM IIIB.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM IIIB seal, without context.

*Comparanda:* {556}; {560}.

*References:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:54 #344, pl. XXIX:344; PHILLIPS 1991:II:821 #434, III:1154 fig. 434; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:162–163 #141; PHILLIPS 2005b:456 n. 8.

*Comments:* This is a very debased representation of 'genius' figures in heraldic arrangement. Its iconography is not recognisable without reference to others of a more defined image.

**560. Seal**, NMA 4651 (not handled)

Hard greenish-black stone, L: 19; W: 19 mm, intact but worn.

Lentoid, engraved on one face only. String-hole through length. *Face:* Two very degraded Minoan 'genii' stand anti-thetically, with an obscure object (probably a column) in centre between them. No arms or feet visible, but bodies and long 'plume' (detached from 'head') are hatched. Column also hatched.

Minoan, probably LM IIIB.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Probably LM IIIB seal, without context.

*Comparanda:* {556}; {559}.

*References:* CMS I:#476; PHILLIPS 1991:II:825–826 #444, III:1155 fig. 444; 2005b:456 n. 8.

*Comments:* Said to be from Crete. Its iconography is not recognisable without reference to others of a more defined image. This is a very debased representation of 'genius' figures in heraldic arrangement.

**561. Seal**, NMA 4656

Carnelian, L: 12.6; W: 12.8; H: 6.0, SH: 1.5–1.9 mm, intact with (originally) rough surface, chip on edge.

Rough lentoid, engraved on one face only, other face 'humped'

<sup>1371</sup> CMS VIII:XVII.

but not quite conoid. String-hole through length. *Face*: Ape with legs drawn up in seated position, facing right. Both arms raised to front of face, upraised curled tail. Three incised lines in front, indicating foliage. Engraved with added drill work for head, shoulder, lower body and tail.

Minoan, LM I.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM I seal, without context.

*References*: *CMS* I:#478; PHILLIPS 1991:II:810 #417, III:1151 fig. 417.

*Comments*: Representing a *Cercopithecus* monkey.

**562. Amulet or pendant** (not located)<sup>1372</sup>

Amethyst,<sup>1373</sup> Dia.: 15 by 23, SH: 1.5 mm, lower front broken off.

Squatting ape with left hand on knee, right hand to mouth. Tail vertically up the back. Face and body sculptured, with hollow drilled eyes. Regular incised lines from front to back of head indicating hair. Horizontal string-hole drilled through sides at neck.

Probably Levantine, probably MB IB–IIA.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MB IB–IIA object, without context.

*Comparanda*: MUSCARELLA 1974:#176; MMA 26.7.897; MMA 10.130.2270–2273, .2277, .2281, .2284–2285, .2292, .2294–2299.

*References*: *CMS* VIII:#109; CANCIANI 1973:107–108; PHILLIPS 1991:II:817–818 #429, III:1153 fig. 429; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:400 #437.

*Comments*: Purchased on Crete.<sup>1374</sup> Kenna (in the *CMS*) proposed a Minoan origin and MM II dating for this piece and Vanschoonwinkel, for unknown reasons, has emended this to EM III–MM I.

This is not a seal, despite its inclusion in the *CMS*, as there is no face design.<sup>1375</sup> Pini<sup>1376</sup> rejects both Kenna's origin and date, suggesting it "most probably is an import somewhere from the Levantine area or even from Egypt." Its apparent uniqueness does not help in dating, but should be equivalent to either Dynasty XII or perhaps XIII in the Levantine area; there are no Egyptian parallels for its presentation. Amethyst is virtually unknown prior to Dynasty XII, and is extremely uncommon thereafter in the SIP and New Kingdom.<sup>1377</sup> Egyptian amethyst figurines and amulets in the form of an ape are quite naturalistic in appearance, unlike this example; it cannot be Egyptian work.

**563. Seal**, HM (Giamalakis) 300

Ivory or boar's tusk, L: 26.9; W: 23.1; H: 30.0; SH: 2.9; (top of head): 2.6 mm, ear broken off, numerous chips on base especially in front of paws, otherwise intact.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a seated ape, with front paws between rear paws. Sculptured body and head, with ears indicated and eyes drilled. Horizontal string-hole drilled through side at shoulders and vertical hole from top of head to meet it. Both eyes drilled. Seated on a very low apsidal base.

Tailless. *Face*: More or less elliptical triangular shape, with five horizontal rows of linked Z-scrolls, each linked to each other on the left by four further Z-scrolls. Two floating petaloid loops at top, both filled with parallel lines.

Minoan, MM IA(–B?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA(–B?) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: YULE 1981:pl. 26:Motif 46:3; (shape) {54}; {469}; {567}; {568}; {569}.

*References*: XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1958:1 #2, pl. I:2, XV:2; MARINATOS and HIRMER 1960:79, pl. 12; BOARDMAN 1970:77, pl. 4; YULE 1981:94 Class 33:d, 161 Motif 46; PHILLIPS 1991:II:818 #430, III:1153 fig. 430; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365 fig. 28.12, 400 #442.

*Comments*: Yule places this face design within the 'Parading Lions/Spiral Complex,' dating it to EM III–MM IA. Its dating is further strengthened by the Archanes and Platanos parallels. Marinatos and Hirmer suggest it is probably from Lasithi, an attribution followed by Vanschoonwinkel. The ape clearly is derived from the *Cynocephalus* baboon, with a large humped neck and squat body, but lacks a tail.

**564. Seal**, 'Private Collection' (not seen)

Banded pink and creamy yellow tufa, L: 15.6; W: 12.6; Th.: 4.1; SH: 2.3 mm, chipped at one edge of SH, otherwise intact. Rectangular plate seal engraved on two opposite faces. String-hole through length. *Face A*: Six dots separated into pairs by three diagonal wavy lines. *Face B*: Two apes standing facing centre and each other in mirror image. Tails hang down behind, and arms hang forward and down.

Minoan, MM II–III.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM II–III seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: {10}; {128}; {456}.

*References*: *CMS* X:17, #50; YULE 1981:73 Class 26:c; CHRISTIE'S 1989:28–29 #48; PHILLIPS 1991:II:821–822 #435, III:1154 fig. 435; HUGHES-BROCK 1995:113; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:400 #434.

*Comments*: Yule identifies the figures as men, but the tails are clearly evident. They resemble late Dynasty XVIII and later figures of standing *Cercopithec*i on face designs, who are supported by a rigid tail and have arms down and resting on the legs; however, their dating precludes any imitation of these amulets by the Minoan artisan who made this seal.

This is the earliest example of the non-squatting ape figure in Minoan art. The arm position too is found only rarely later. Their pose resembles only two later examples of antithetical figures flanking religious symbols from Aghia Triadha {10} and Phaestos {456}, suggesting this too *may* have come from the Mesara area, but the arrangement is found elsewhere with other animal figures. Presumably, as the two later examples flank a religious symbol, this piece is the earliest example of the ape as an apotropaic 'demi-deity' rather than as the single worshipping figure suggested by its squatting pose with

<sup>1372</sup> Robert Erskine (personal communication, 13 September 1990) believes he sold it, shortly after its publication in the *CMS*, to George Ortiz (Geneva).

<sup>1373</sup> Actually amethyst matrix, the core material that is lighter in colour and of lesser quality than amethyst proper (Robert Erskine, personal communication, 13 September 1990).

<sup>1374</sup> *CMS* VIII:XVII.

<sup>1375</sup> None described in the *CMS*, and confirmed by Robert Erskine (personal communication, 13 September 1990).

<sup>1376</sup> Ingo Pini (letter of 10 June 1988).

<sup>1377</sup> See MARTIN 1971:5; WARD 1978:84–86. YULE (1980:197–198) notes that Minoan work in hard stone is rare before MM II.

upraised arms. Although the tall thin bodies and long tails point towards a *Cercopithecus*, the small ‘hump’ on the back of both figures suggests some reflection of the *Cynocephalus*.

The seal itself is reminiscent of rectangular plaques that appeared in Second Intermediate Period Egypt at a possibly contemporary but more likely somewhat later date than those of Yule’s Type 26:c. Comparison of the two types indicates that they most likely are unrelated.

Christie’s sold this and the following seal at auction to a ‘Private Collection.’ Both formerly were in the Erlenmeyer collection, the majority of which was purchased in Greece. Their Minoan manufacture is virtually certain as the ape image was not adopted beyond Crete in the Aegean, with a very few exceptions of later date.

**565. Seal, ‘Private Collection’ (not seen)**

Ivory, L (pres.): 11.8; W (pres.): 9.0; H: 27.8; SH: 1.7–2.1 mm, well-preserved upper half, but worn and abraded with severe damage to the lower body, especially loss of lower half of legs including left knee and lower leg, virtually entire edge of base. The large chips on right cheek and ear and large crack up right side of back are older than other losses.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a squatting ape, with arms to front and paws between feet. Eyes drilled. Horizontal string-hole through neck, side to side. Squatting on low oval(?) base. *Face*: Cross-hatched incised lines.

Minoan, probably MM IA(–B?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably MM IA(–B?) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: {30}; {54}, {469}.

*References*: CMS X:26, #31; CHRISTIE’S 1989:22 #19; PHILLIPS 1991:II:822–823 #436, III:1154 fig. 436.

*Comments*: Details of recent history as {564} above. Seal face probably about H: 15.7; W: 9.5 originally. Betts (in the CMS) raises doubts but reserves judgment on its authenticity. The figure is derived from the *Cynocephalus* baboon, with its hunchback and lack of defined neck. Thinner in width than the parallels quoted, possibly due to the size of the raw ivory fragment used.

**566. Nodulus with seal impression, HMs 1695 (not seen)**

Clay, nodulus: L: 23.3; W: 17.4; H: 7.5; seal impression: H: c. 24; W: c. 17.5 mm, entire impression preserved in one example.

Disc-shaped nodulus with seal impression, from an oval ring with soft stone bezel, depicting a crouching ape facing left, seated on an apparently sloping surface, with head slightly bowed, hands to mouth and stiff upright tail behind, slightly ‘kinked’ at end. Eye emphasised, snout pointed, and body and legs thin. Minoan, probably LM I.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably LM I object, without context.

*Comparison*: (sloping groundline) {447}.

*References*: PINI 1983:48 n. 31; PHILLIPS 1991:II:823 #437; HALLAGER 1996:II:211; CMS II.6 #282, 440 #HMs 1695.

*Comments*: Clearly a *Cercopithecus* is represented here. The nodulus was confiscated in 1929 apparently together with

other objects from an Englishman named Burrage, and handed over to the HM.<sup>1378</sup> It is stated to be unpublished in the CMS, but Pini kindly confirmed this is the sealing he noted in 1983.<sup>1379</sup> Another seal impression, from Phaestos {447}, also indicates a sloping surface for the ape figure.

**567. Seal, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 4 (not seen)**

Glazed ivory(?), L: 10.0; W: 7.6; H: 17.7; SH: 2.3–2.5 mm, both lower sides sheared off, lower front badly corroded.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a squatting ape with large ears, seated on a base with forepaws resting on base between hind paws. Pointed nose/mouth, prominent ridge on forehead between ears, eyes drilled through head, no tail indicated. Horizontal string-hole drilled through sides at upper arm level. Low apsidal base. *Face*: Three deeply incised lines along length and short diagonal lines in disconnected herringbone ornament pattern.

Minoan, MM IA(–B?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA(–B?) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: (shape) {54}; {469}; {563}; {568}; {569}; (face) YULE 1980:pl. 23 Motif 35.3–4.

*Reference*: CMS V Suppl. 1A:326 #302.

*Comments*: The seal clearly represents a *Cynocephalus* baboon.

**568. Seal, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 144 (not seen)**

Glazed ivory, present L: 12.6, W: 16.7 mm, front half only below neck, with beginning of face design, string hole not preserved.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a squatting ape, seated with forepaws resting between hind paws. No base. *Face*: More or less elliptical triangular shape, probably apsidal, with two C-scrolls (as preserved) at flat/front end.

Minoan, MM IA(–B?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA(–B?) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: (shape) {563}, {569}.

*Reference*: CMS V Suppl. 1A:327 #303.

*Comments*: See comments to {567} above.

**569. Seal, Berlin, Grumach unnumbered (not seen)**

Ivory, yellowish, H: 17.6, W: 11.4, Th.: 18.9, L (base): 17.6; W (base): 11.3 mm, left shoulder and side of head and both ears missing, surface eroded, some lamination and chipping on base.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a squatting ape, seated on ground with forepaws resting between hind paws. String hole through width between knees and arms. Low apsidal base. *Face*: Three roughly incised C-scrolls in circular formation, each facing towards centre, one along squared ‘front’ of seal. Minoan, MM IA(–B?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA(–B?) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: (shape) {54}; {469}; {563}; {567}; {568}.

*References*: CMS XI:78 #69; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:400 #438.<sup>1380</sup>

*Comments*: See also comments to {567} above. It has no prove-

<sup>1378</sup> Pini’s interpretation of the HM accessions register. Ingo Pini (personal communication, 16 May 2000) informs me that no one at the Herakelion Museum actually knows what this means, but the seal was confiscated with some

other objects which then came to the museum in Herakleion.

<sup>1379</sup> Personal communication, 20 January 2000.

<sup>1380</sup> Described in error as made of “amethyst.”



nance, and may not even have been found on Crete. However, the ape iconography of this seal and its comparanda is not found off the island and, if not a forgery, it most likely is a Minoan product. The string hole position and size is unparalleled on excavated examples, and may indicate the first possibility.

**570. Seal**, AM 1941.684

'White piece,' L: 11.8; W: 9.9; H: 8.2; SH: 1.5 mm, intact with flaking surface.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a sleeping/trussed goose or duck, with head *regardant* and resting on its back. Rudely carved eyes appear to be open. No body detailing. String-hole through width. *Face*: In centre, broken S-scrolls ending in two buds with opposite corners filled in by cross-hatched triangles. At either end, parallel vertical lines. Two horizontal lines divide face into three parts.

Minoan, MM IA.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: CMS II.1:#383:a; II.2:#207:a; IV:#121:a.

*References*: KENNA 1960:100 #87, pl. 5:87; 1973:829; YULE 1981:95 Class 33:e, 162 Motif 47; HUGHES-BROCK 1989:87–88; PHILLIPS 1990:325 n. 32; PINI 1990:118 #59, pl. 18; PHILLIPS 1991:II:809 #415, III:1151 fig. 415; CMS VI:#11.

*Comments*: Yule classifies the face design within the 'Border-Leaf Complex' group. KENNA (1973) dated it to MM I. The material is as identified by Julian Henderson for Hughes-Brock, and the dating follows Pini's observation that 'white piece' material had a limited period of use within MM IA.<sup>1381</sup>

**571. Seal**, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 9 (not seen)

Glazed bone, L: 19.6–19.9; W: 10.3–11.8; H: 14.3; SH: 2.3 mm, cracked and lightly corroded surface.

Theriomorphic seal in the form of a 'sleeping' goose or duck with head *regardant* and resting on its back. Tall profile, on a slightly raised rectangular base. Wings indicated by double line along length of body not hidden by head and beak. Eyes drilled. String-hole through width. *Face*: Essentially divided in half, one part a four-petalled flower within a square frame, the other a reverse-L infill-pattern. Line border.

Minoan, MM IA–B.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM IA–B seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: (shape) YULE 1980:94–95 Class 33e; {80}; {570}.

*Reference*: CMS V Suppl. 1A:324–325 #301.

*Comments*: The drilled open eyes suggest this is a live 'sleeping' bird. It is very similar to the seal from Kaloi Limiones, except more proportionate in relative scale.

**572. Seal**, NMA 10109

Haematite, L: 20.1; W: 10.3; H: 5.8; SH: 1.8 mm, chipped at edge of string-hole both ends.

Amygdaloid with convex face, raised back having a concave outer profile, engraved on one face only. String hole through length. *Face*: Cat having large eyes and long limbs facing left in a 'flying leap' pose with tail in air, chasing a waterfowl with long neck, bill and wings. The bird's head is *regardant*, and it is about to fly. Three groups of tri-stemmed plans, two below the cat and the third above. The cat's ribs are indicated. Eyes drilled.

Minoan, LM II–IIIB, but just possibly LM I.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: LM II–IIIB (or possibly LM I) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: {63}; {319}; {530}.

*References*: CMS I Suppl.:#75; PHILLIPS 1991:II:823 #438, III:1155 fig. 438; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:364, 393 #284; MILITELLO 2000:84 fig. 13.

**573. Seal**, KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 158 (not seen)

Yellowish 'white paste,' L: 11.6; W: 9.7; H: 7; SH: 2 mm, mostly intact but surface flaked in places, some cracking, chipped at edge, worn.

Theriomorphic seal, possibly in the form of a cat's head. With small snout, slightly open mouth and two engraved eyes, one of which is depicted vertically and the other horizontally. Nose and mouth indicated by horizontal engraved lines. A deeply incised wide vertical line divides the forehead from just behind nose, and a series of engraved horizontal lines between the battered ears. String hole drilled horizontally below ears. Rather roughly carved. *Face*: Single tri-leafed plant. Border line. Roughly engraved.

Minoan, probably EM III–MM IA(?).

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably EM III–MM IA(?) seal, without context.

*Comparanda*: {377}; {431}; {438}.

*References*: CMS V Suppl. IA:#225; MARANGO 1992: #265.

*Comments*: Tsipopolou (in the CMS) and Pini (in MARANGO) both suggest the head might be of a dog or hound, but the iconography of the head is surprisingly similar to the cat's heads on the various Proto-Palatial objects listed as comparanda. If accepted as a cat's head, it is the earliest example of the type on Crete. The form is unique, and the seal is dated by its face design that fits well within Yule's 'Border/Leaf Complex' group.

**574. Pyxis(?) with appliqué**, "Private German Collection" (not seen)

Clay, (head) H: 2.7; (vessel): H (pres.): 1.9; W (pres.): 4.1 cm.; Th.: 2–3 mm, base.lower body fragment, with attached appliqué, worn surface especially at bottom, paint worn and flaked.

Lower body/base fragment of small closed vessel (suggested to be a pyxis), with attached appliqué in the form of a cat's head apparently serving as its foot. Interior and exterior painted black, the latter having painted white bottom border of triangles, with a zig-zag then dotted horizontal lines above; the next decorative line above these is insufficiently preserved for comment. *Appliqué*: Cat's head, flattened and solid, with worn but realistically moulded features, large eyes and large pointed ears, single eyelids, and nose and mouth. Cat black except ears, painted 'brick'-red. Flattened profile view.

Minoan, probably MM II.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: Probably MM II appliqué, without context.

*Comparanda*: {517}; {518}.

*References*: PINI 1988; MILITELLO 2000:85 #8.

*Comments*: Pini suggested this vessel to be a pyxis, probably having three feet in the form of cat's heads. This is the only 3D cat's head with the ears fully preserved. The only other vessel appliqué in the form of cat's heads are those on the

<sup>1381</sup> PINI 1992:203.

LM IA (early) bowls from Vathypetro {517–518}, where the ears are rounded.

**575. Seal**, BM 1876.5–13.3

Dark green jasper, L: 20; W: 13; SH: 3 mm, chipped on edge. Elongated bead with three prisms and rounded ends. All faces oval, with engraved lines and some drill work. String-hole through length. *Face A*: Agrimi facing and running to right. Bucranium above rear, and drilled concentric circles in front and behind head. Partial line border. *Face B*: Deer running to left, with head *regardant*. Drilled double concentric circles above. Partial line border only. *Face C*: Cat standing or running to right, with head frontal. ‘Star’ design<sup>1382</sup> below stomach and large drilled dot above. Partial line border.

Minoan, MM II.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM II seal, without context.

*References*: SMITH and MURRAY 1888:45 #99; EVANS 1897:345; WALTERS 1926:2 #5, pl. I:5; KENNA 1960:73 n. 8; *CMS* VII:#45; YULE 1981:130 Motif 9:B, pl. 7:Motif 9:B:5; PHILLIPS 1991:II:824–825 #442, III:1155 fig. 442.

*Comments*: Purchased from D.N. Petrides, as is the pendant {576} below. The cat, actually appearing in arrested movement that is best described as ‘startled,’ is the earliest known image of the animal in an active pose.

**576. Pendant**, BM 1876.11–20.2

Gold with pyrozone (probably diopside)<sup>1383</sup> cloisonné inlay, H: 2.1; W: 4.0 mm, Wt: 45.5 gr, majority of inlay pieces and one ring missing, string-hole loop possibly missing.

Pendant in the form of a falcon or hawk, standing facing right with head looking down and wings outspread in a protective attitude. Details of head and individual wing feathers distinguished. Feet with two long talons widespread. Outer (only) wing-feathers and tail originally inlaid. Plain flat back separately made and soldered to stamped plate. Probable string-hole above back, now lost. Small hole at extremity of forward wing and forward talon, with small wire ring through hole in wing; that through talon is lost.

Minoan, MM III, just possibly Egyptian, SIP.

*Context*: None.

*Chronology*: MM III (or Second Intermediate Period) object, without context.

*Comparanda*: ALDRED 1978:118 #39, pl. 39=ANDREWS 1990:132 fig. 115; ALDRED 1978:117 #28:top, pl. 28:top.

*References*: PERROT and CHIPIEZ 1882–1914:III:838 fig. 609;<sup>1384</sup> MARSHALL 1911:62–63 #817, pl. VIII:817; HIGGINS 1957:51, 56, 57, pl. 15:g; 1979:60, fig. 59:left; PHILLIPS 1991:II:819–821 #433, III:1154 fig. 433; VIENNA 1994:214 #241; KARETSOU *et al.* 2000:189–190 #182.

*Comments*: Purchased by the BM in 1876 together with a

number of other pieces of gold jewellery and seals (including {575} below) from D.N. Petrides, and said to have been found on Crete. Originally thought to be Phoenician, and published as such by Perrot and Chipiez. Higgins<sup>1385</sup> suggested this, other 1875/1876 purchases and the ‘Aegina Treasure’ all may have had the same original provenance, and argued they were illicit plunder from Chrysolakkos.<sup>1386</sup> His later investigations resulted in a differing opinion, but although he no longer associated the ‘Aegina Treasure’ with Chrysolakkos, the four 1875/1876 purchases including this piece “could well come from the Chrysolakkos tomb.”<sup>1387</sup> Lesley Fitton (in Vienna 1994) placed its origin on Aegina<sup>1388</sup> but more recently (in KARETSOU *et al.* 2000) transfers it to Crete.

Although the figure strongly resembles the Egyptian god Horus in his role as divine protector, and was considered “Egyptian(?)” by Marshall, it is not Egyptian work and probably is an Aegean/Minoan version as asserted by Higgins (and I.E.S. Edwards, whom Higgins consulted). Similarities and parallels to details of other dateable jewellery point to a date probably in MM III. Fitton queried a possible Egyptian or even Hyksos origin for this piece, citing a pectoral from the tomb of Queen Ahhotep (end of Dynasty XVII) as parallel,<sup>1389</sup> but the use of inlay for the outer wings only does not seem to be characteristic of Egyptian jewellery and, as Fitton notes, the head is “somewhat un-Egyptian.”

Originally part of a larger item of jewellery, attached by wire at the forward wing and talon. Fitton (in KARETSOU *et al.* 2000) suggests that the “holes for attachment could show that the piece was re-worked or adapted in Minoan Crete, possibly to be worn as a pendant.” This seems a likely possibility.

## OFF-ISLAND

A number of imported Egyptian objects, although not found on Crete itself, have been identified as having been imported to other Aegean sites through Minoan intermediaries. The following objects are not the sum total of non-Cretan finds of Egyptian imports, but are limited to those having evidence of arriving through Crete in some manner or are Minoan objects having Egyptian influence which had subsequently been exported from the island.<sup>1390</sup>

### A. Aegina

The island of Aegina, near the northern end of the Saronic Gulf about 20 kilometres south of Piraeus and east of the Peloponnese coast, chiefly is known for the Archaic temple to Aphaia and other Classical

<sup>1382</sup> Possibly a ‘crab,’ as described on the BM case card.

<sup>1383</sup> This is a natural material, not glass.

<sup>1384</sup> Image reversed.

<sup>1385</sup> HIGGINS 1957:51 n. 86, 56.

<sup>1386</sup> See also Off-Island A: Aegina.

<sup>1387</sup> HIGGINS 1979:60.

<sup>1388</sup> See Off-Island A: Aegina.

<sup>1389</sup> Likely that illustrated by ALDRED 1978:pl. 39 and ANDREWS 1990:fig. 115, of gold cloisonné with coloured

stone inlays, probably made for the coronation of her son Ahmose, founder of Dynasty XVIII. This and the other comparanda all illustrate the uniform Egyptian presentation of the wingspan.

<sup>1390</sup> For more substantial compendia of Egyptian imported goods outside of Crete, see PENDLEBURY 1930b:*passim*; BROWN 1975:*passim*; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:*passim* and CLINE 1994:*passim*.

to Hellenistic sites. It also has revealed a number of EH–LH habitation and cemetery sites.

One of the most spectacular finds from the island is the so-called ‘Aegina Treasure,’ a magnificent collection of jewellery principally in worked gold but also of rock crystal, amethyst, carnelian, green jasper and lapis lazuli, together with a gold cup. The jewellery included diadems, hoops, beads and pendants, a pectoral, bracelet, finger-rings, and strips and plaques probably for attachment to clothing. The BM purchased the majority of the collection in 1892 for £4,000 via Cresswell’s, the British sponge-exportation firm whose agents in residence on Aegina, the Brown family, discovered the ‘Treasure’ and were the actual ‘owners.’ Some additional pieces were purchased from the Brown family’s nanny in 1914, for £5. A stirrup jar and jug assumed to have been found with the jewellery were purchased in 1893, and four other stirrup jars also associated with the jewellery were purchased by the AM at about the same time, all from the same source.<sup>1391</sup> They range from LH IIIA2 to LH IIIC in date, but actually have no association with the ‘Treasure’ beyond the identity of their seller and their recovery on Aegina.

The origin of the ‘Treasure’ is obscured by its circumstances of discovery, exportation and sale by the Brown family.<sup>1392</sup> R.A. Higgins has pursued the history and circumstances of the ‘Treasure.’ He originally concluded that it was of Minoan manufacture and, despite its stated origin, probably had been part of the gold grave goods found at Chrysolakkos near Malia on Crete.<sup>1393</sup> Further investigation<sup>1394</sup> confirmed his belief in a Minoan manufacture but indicated to him that its point of discovery probably was as stated by the Brown family, namely found some time between 1887 and 1890 near an old windmill on the Brown vineyard near ‘Windmill Hill,’ the site of an ancient cemetery just north of the town of Aegina and north-east of Cape Kolonna, in a Mycenaean tomb accidentally discovered by a workman planting vines.

This conclusion was supported by the presence of other tombs in the immediate area, in fact a cemetery. Four chamber tombs were excavated by A.D.

Keramopoullou in Brown’s vineyard in 1904<sup>1395</sup> and others by G. Welter between 1926 and 1940, together with successive settlements of EH, MH and LH date nearby at Cape Kolonna.<sup>1396</sup> Imported EM III–MM III sherds were found in the MH settlement level. Higgins pointed out that the town arrangement is Mycenaean, not Minoan as on Kythera,<sup>1397</sup> but believed that some Minoan immigrants lived there. More recently, an MH ‘Warrior Grave’ was revealed by the Austrian excavators at the foot of the Archaic temple, containing a gold diadem comparable with those in the ‘Treasure’ and prompting Higgins (and others) to suggest this area is the more likely origin for it. In this scenario, supported by the recent revelation that Cresswell had marked the area as its findspot to the BM during negotiations for the Mycenaean vases,<sup>1398</sup> George Brown probably had dug illegally on land not his own and had given his own land as the findspot to avoid prosecution for theft. The actual circumstances surrounding the discovery of the ‘Treasure’ are all rather murky, and probably will never be settled, although it is accepted that they were found on Aegina and not Crete.<sup>1399</sup> It also has been suggested that it represents more than one grave, at least of two women and a man on the basis of the diadems.

**577. Pendant,** BM 1892.5-20.8 (BMJ 762)

Gold, H: 6; W: 6.3 cm, Wt: 138 grns, intact.

Pendant worked in two cut-out plates, the front plate embossed and the back plate flat with its edges folded over to the front. Design of a standing male figure facing right with forward head and upper body, holding the neck of a waterbird in each outstretched hand. He stands on a short flat ground-line terminating either end in an upright lotus flower, and a third stands between his legs. The outer petals of all lotuses and the inner petals of the lotus to left are ribbed horizontally. The birds each face outward, standing on a double-curved, horizontally-ribbed line terminating in a bud-like form, which appears from behind the man and is supported by the two terminal lotuses. The man wears a plain kilt with long, alternately plain and vertically-ribbed sash, bracelets and armbands on both arms, large circular earrings (or possibly curled hair), and a tall head-dress with three distinct vertically-ribbed elements. Below each lotus and on the lower ribbed line above is a small hole, by which a disc is attached with an integral gold wire (one

<sup>1391</sup> See HIGGINS 1979:14–15 figs. 5–6 (AM) and 7 (BM).

<sup>1392</sup> It initially was dated to the Archaic period (e.g., EVANS 1892–1983; PERROT and CHIPIEZ 1882–1914:VII:236–245; see also Murray’s analysis prior to their purchase by the BM, in HIGGINS 1979:10–11). This dating has since been revived (HOPKINS 1962) but ultimately rejected.

<sup>1393</sup> HIGGINS 1957; thus its inclusion in the present study. Recent re-analysis of the ceramics recovered here provide a wide range of MM IB–III for the building; see STÜRMER 1993.

<sup>1394</sup> HIGGINS 1979:51–54.

<sup>1395</sup> KERAMOPOULLOU 1910:178, 183.

<sup>1396</sup> WELTER 1925:319, fig. 4; 1937:23; HIGGINS 1979:53–54.

<sup>1397</sup> HIGGINS 1979:53. See also below, B: Kythera.

<sup>1398</sup> The vases are not directly related to the ‘Treasure.’

<sup>1399</sup> This is the general consensus of the recent colloquium on the ‘Treasure’ at the British Museum, 21–22 November 2000. The colloquium also generally agreed that the ‘Treasure’ probably was made on the island.

has been repaired). Each of the five discs is embossed with a ring of small dots along the outer edge, and a single dot in the centre. Embossed using the repoussé technique.

Minoan, MM IB(?)–III.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB(?)–III pendant, without context.

*References:* EVANS 1892–1893:197–203 #B, fig. 2:a, 2:b; PERROT and CHIPIEZ 1882–1914:VII:238–239, fig. 106; TSOUNTAS and MANATT 1897:390, fig. 165; MARSHALL 1911:54–55 #762, pl. VI:762, VII:762; HIGGINS 1957:45–46, pl. 9:a–b; BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS 1973:109 #1305, 388 #1305; HOOD 1978:196–197, fig. 193; HIGGINS 1979:22–25, 63–64 #1, and *passim*, fig. 11; GATES 1989:218–221, pl. XLIX; PHILLIPS 1991:II:830–831 #447, III:1155A fig. 447; VIENNA 1994:212–213 #239; .

*Comments:* Although there is no specific parallel for this piece, a large number of parallels to its various details are known. The repoussé discs are seen in a number of similar objects from Chrysolakkos and unprovenanced pieces, the lotus flowers are best paralleled at Chrysolakkos<sup>1400</sup> and the figure grasping two birds is a common ‘Master of Animals’ theme.<sup>1401</sup> The pseudo-Egyptian features here include the lotuses, the use of a flat ground plane, the pose and style of the man, his kilt, and the two birds. Their Egyptian origin is far removed from this Aegean (Minoan?) product.

#### 578. ‘Hoop,’ BM 1892.5-20.12 (BMJ 763)

Gold and carnelian, H: 10.3; Dia. (ring): 6.5 cm, Wt: 387 grns, one ‘owl’ pendant attachment missing.

Penannular hoop or ring worked in double cut-out plates, the edges of one folded over the other, with raised ridge in centre and diagonal lines along edges, terminating in ‘snake-heads’ with mouths touching. Interior filled with clay. Four small holes on inside edge hold interior design in place by use of gold wire. Interior design and plate of two thin standing dogs antithetical with mouths touching, and one front leg raised and touching that of other dog. One dog is male, the other female.<sup>1402</sup> Ears and curled tails added using gold wire. Gold wire collar attaches to elongated carnelian bead, attached to penannular ring at other end. Standing front paws rest atop heads of tailless apes, who squat back-to-back with hands to mouth. Projection on their backs joins to an elongated carnelian bead set vertically and linked to joined front paws of dogs. Four incised lines along length of beads and another four around circumference. Feet of apes joined to a thick curved line and to the penannular ring via a gold wire loop. Dogs’ hind legs rest on other end of curved line. Fourteen small holes on outside edge of penannular ring serve to attach pendants of alternating design. One type has a flat undecorated disc with integral wire joined to ring by a long looped wire chain having a small globular carnelian bead at disc end. The other shows an ‘owl’ with repoussé features having wings and tail outspread, linked to ring by a shorter loop-in-loop wire chain with small globular carnelian bead at bird end

and, near ring, an elongated carnelian bead similar to those at dogs’ necks, but not incised. Facial features and eyes of all figures and wings of birds indicated by repoussé. Both obverse and reverse of all figured gold work is in repoussé. All figures except ring are hollow.

Minoan, MM IB(?)–III.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB(?)–III object, without context.

*Comparanda:* {579–582}.

*References:* EVANS 1892–1893:203–204 #C, fig. 6; PERROT and CHIPIEZ 1882–1914:VII:240–241, fig. 107;<sup>1403</sup> TSOUNTAS and MANATT 1897:390–391, fig. 166;<sup>1404</sup> MARSHALL 1911:55 #763, pl. VI:763; McDERMOTT 1938:316–317 #569–572; HIGGINS 1957:47–48, pl. 10:a; HOOD 1978:195–197, fig. 192; HIGGINS 1979:26–27, 63 #2, fig. 64; GATES 1989:223–224, pl. LII:b; PHILLIPS 1991:II:831–832 #578, III:1156 fig. 578; VIENNA 1994:213 #240; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #580.

*Comments:* One of four almost identical pieces, differing only in the use of bead attachments, and possibly constituting two pairs of hoops suggested to be earrings. There is, however, no indication of wear and no clear means of attachment to the ear, unless the ‘snake-heads’ originally were not touching, and they are better described as ‘hoops.’ Minor differences can be noted between the two pair, chiefly the greater detailing on one pair than the other in the heads of both dogs and snakes, the eyes of the apes, the jewellery (waist band, bracelets and anklets) worn by the apes, the sex of the dogs, and the different beads employed. This example is paired with {580}.

The ‘egyptianising’ feature here is the presence of a pair of squatting ape figures, shown back-to-back. Their profiles are those of the *Cercopithecus* monkey but, however, they are tailless. The work clearly is Minoan, not Egyptian.

#### 579. ‘Hoop,’ BM 1892.5-20.13 (BMJ 764)

As above, {578}, Wt: 464 grns, several discs damaged, one dog’s tail and carnelian bead missing above his neck, also one owl and two discs.

As above, {578}, with some variations. This example and its pair {581} below have a small globular bead and twisted wire between dogs’ heads and inside penannular ring, and ‘teardrop’ beads attached to outside penannular ring instead of elongated beads at both places, also dogs’ tails loop down rather than up. Both dogs are female. Snakes heads do not meet exactly. Additionally, all details are less refined and cruder in execution, and the owls are slightly smaller in scale. Minoan, MM IB(?)–III.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB(?)–III object, without context.

*References:* PERROT and CHIPIEZ 1882–1914:VII:240–241; MARSHALL 1911:55 #764; McDERMOTT 1938:316–317 #569–572; BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS 1973:109 #1304, 388 #1304; PHILLIPS 1991:II:832 #579; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #580.

<sup>1400</sup> HIGGINS 1979:24 fig. 13.

<sup>1401</sup> See CHITTENDEN 1947.

<sup>1402</sup> This detail was noted by Mrs. Higgins during the colloquium.

<sup>1403</sup> Note this drawing of one ‘hoop’ actually combines features of both of both {578/580} and {579/581}. The tails loop upwards, the owls are the larger type, the beads on the links to the owls are elongated (not ‘teardrop’), and the

apes’ eyes are elaborated, as on {578/580}, but chains with small globular bead link the dogs’ heads and outer penannular ring, both dogs are female and the snake heads are unelaborated, as on {579/581}. The snake heads do not meet exactly.

<sup>1404</sup> This is an inaccurate composite drawing, lacking most of the beads.

*Comments:* See above, {578}. This example is paired with {581}.

**580. 'Hoop.'** BM 1892.5-20.11 (BMJ 765)

As above, {578}, Wt: 339 grns, one disc damaged, two owls missing and two owl chains short and missing long carnelian bead.

As above, {578}, the other half of the pair.<sup>1405</sup> Snake heads do not meet exactly.

Minoan, MM IB(?)–III.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB(?)–III object, without context.

*References:* MARSHALL 1911:55 #765, pl. VI:765; McDERMOTT 1938:216–317 #569–572; HIGGINS 1979:63 #2; PHILLIPS 1991:II:832–833 #580; VIENNA 1994:213 #240; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #580.

*Comments:* See above, {578}. This example is paired with {578}.

**581. 'Hoop.'** BM 1892.5-20.10 (BMJ 766)

As above, {578} Wt: 475 grns, intact but for lack of small carnelian bead at end of owl chains.

As above, {579}, the other half of the pair. Snake heads do not quite meet.

Minoan, MM IB(?)–III.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB(?)–III object, without context.

*References:* MARSHALL 1911:56 #766; McDERMOTT 1938:216–217 #569–572; HIGGINS 1957:47–48, pl. 10:b; 1979:63 #2, fig. 17, 65; PHILLIPS 1991:II:833 #581, III:1156 fig. 581; VANSCHOONWINKEL 1996:365, 401 #580.

*Comments:* See above, {578}. This example is paired with {579}.

**582. Pendant(s),** BM 1892.5-20.111 + 112

Gold, (A) #.111: H: 12.9; W: 14.6; Th.: 1.9 mm; (B) #.112: H: 12.9; W: 14.8; Th.: 1.7 mm, intact as preserved.

Pair of pendants in the form of an owl, in repoussé, similar to those described in {578} above. Ribbed wings, pierced hole through tail. Each one side only, without accompanying back half.

Minoan, MM IB(?)–III.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* MM IB(?)–III objects, without context.

*Comparanda:* ALDRED 1978:115 #15:sides, Col. pl. 15:sides; {578–581}.

*References:* HIGGINS 1957:47 n. 41, 54; PHILLIPS 1991:II:833 #452.

*Comments:* Higgins notes the possibility that there may have been a fifth 'earring' (hoop) suggested by the presence of these two extra 'owl' halves of the type belonging to hoops {579} and {581} above. These owls originally were attached to hoop {578} above but are smaller than the others of the pair {578} and {580}. Similarly, they are far more detailed than the owls of the pair {579} and {581} above, although of similar size. They were purchased with the rest of the 1892 Aegina material, together also with other carnelian beads similar to those in

the hoops amongst the rest of the 'Treasure,' specifically those in the re-strung necklaces. It is possible that one fits inside the other, to make a single pendant, and may have been part of a necklace or pendant related to a dissimilar incomplete example also in the 'Treasure.'<sup>1406</sup>

These owls are nicely paralleled by 24 hollow repoussé birds found in the treasure of Princess Khnumet (daughter of Amenemhet II) at Dashur and dated to mid-Dynasty XII, or about the point of transition from the Pre-Palatial to the Proto-Palatial period. Although otherwise similar, these birds are not owls, as they are beaked and have more downturned wings. These too are pierced at the tail for suspension, but all were found loose so their original arrangement is unknown. These and other Aegean parallels in the Khnumet treasure suggest a similar general date for the 'Treasure,' perhaps MM IB or more likely MM II, but its date may extend into MM III.

## B. Kythera

The large island of Kythera lies about 60 kilometres north-west of the north-western tip of Crete, near the southernmost point of the Peloponnese. At the site of Kastri on the eastern side of the island abundant MM–LM I/(II?) tomb and settlement remains were found, indicating the presence of a Minoan colony here.

S. Benton identified the settlement site on the Kastri headland, on the south-east coast facing Crete near the bay of Avlemon, in the mid-1920s.<sup>1407</sup> She reported MM–LM II sherds. R. Hope-Simpson's survey in 1957–1958 included the Kastri site, with sherds of MM II–LM IIIB date recorded.<sup>1408</sup> The British School excavated at Kastri in 1963–1965 under J.N. Coldstream and G.L. Huxley, indicating a longer period of occupation from the EM IIB<sup>1409</sup> through the Middle Byzantine period although the major occupation was MM III–LM I. The Minoan colony seems to cease in LM I or II, and was succeeded by Mycenaean occupation in LH IIIA2. Still later occupation is identified with Classical Skandeia. Tombs of similar BA date were scattered in the surrounding area, especially on the Asproga ridge to the north.

### B.1. Chamber Tomb A near Kastri

A group of four typically Minoan multi-chamber tombs were found 300 metres north of the Kastri settlement. Tomb A, the earliest, consisted of a dromos and large main chamber, with three side-chambers linked to it by a short passage.<sup>1410</sup> It was found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. when one of its chambers was cut

<sup>1405</sup> HIGGINS 1957:47 n. 41 incorrectly notes #763 {578} and #766 {581} are of the same type.

<sup>1406</sup> See HIGGINS 1979:30 fig. 27, with carnelian barrel bead and two hanging loop-in-loop chains terminating in a similar owl attachment.

<sup>1407</sup> BENTON 1931–1932:245–246.

<sup>1408</sup> WATERHOUSE and HOPE-SIMPSON 1961:152–156.

<sup>1409</sup> See WILSON 1984:304.

<sup>1410</sup> COLDSTREAM and HUXLEY 1972:221, figs. 62–65.

through during construction of the Avlemon road, and its subsequent exposure resulted in almost complete denudation by the time Coldstream excavated the tomb and its neighbours in 1963. Nonetheless a few objects survived, including a clay lamp dated to LM IA, a stone bowl and a tankard. Some MM IIIB ‘tortoise-shell ripple’ sherds were found just outside the area of the blocking wall, and may well have come from this tomb originally. The tomb thus has been dated to MM IIIB(?)–LM I.

**583. Vessel fragment**, KyM unnumbered (not seen)

Faience, Dia. (rest.): 7.2 cm, one rim fragment.

Rim fragment with straight rim and tapering body. Turquoise blue on surface, buff in section. Horizontal dark blue band at exterior rim, black in section, with patches of light blue on the surface.

Probably Minoan, MM III–LM I.

*Context:* MM IIIB(?)–LM I.

*Chronology:* Probably MM III–LM I object, in a generally contemporary or slightly later MM IIIB(?)–LM I tomb context.

*References:* COLDSTREAM and HUXLEY 1972:228, fig. 83:A:2, pl. 68:A:2; BROWN 1975:38; FOSTER 1979:149, fig. 103; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:380 #552; PHILLIPS 1991:II:835-836 #453, III:1157 fig. 453; CLINE 1994:213 #710.

*Comments:* Coldstream suggests this fragment was part of an Egyptian conical rhyton imitating the Minoan type. The machinations of this suggestion seem a bit far-fetched, and a Minoan origin is far more likely. However, no example of a Minoan conical rhyton exists in faience, although the form is well known in clay and other materials and is known in Egyptian versions<sup>1411</sup> as well as a well-known ‘egyptianising’ Cypriote example.<sup>1412</sup> The rim profile is inconsistent with those of faience rhyta, both Minoan and Egyptian, both of which have some form of articulation at the rim. Foster suggests a plausible alternative in the common Minoan cup with incurving sides. Another alternative is the chalice form, represented by two faience examples in the MM IIIB ‘Temple Repositories’ at Knossos.<sup>1413</sup> Despite Coldstream, this most likely is a Minoan piece.

### B.2. No Find Context

Many objects have no provenance. The following was found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> c. allegedly from a grave, and was given to the museum shortly afterwards by the island deputy, Sp. Stais.

**584. Bowl**, NMA 4578

Yellowish marble with black patches, H: 2.1–2.3; Dia. (rim):

4.9; (base): 2.8 cm, intact, with a worn rim, possibly with upper part of inscription worn off.

Short open bowl, with flat base, tapering body, rounded inner profile. Graffito inscription on exterior near rim: *nḥ n R<sup>c</sup>w*, ‘Enclosure of Re,’ the name of the Sun Temple of Weserkaf (founder of Dynasty V) at Abusir.<sup>1414</sup> Highly polished smooth interior and exterior.

Egyptian, Dynasty V, reign of Weserkaf or later.

*Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty V (reign of Weserkaf) vessel, without context.

*References:* EVANS 1897:349-350, figs. 23–24; TSOUNTAS and MANATT 1897:279; SETHE 1917:55–58, fig. 1; MYLONAS 1948:211, fig. 1:c; PORTER and MOSS 1927–1951:VII:403; SMITH 1965:8–9, fig. 10; COLDSTREAM and HUXLEY 1972:266, fig. 95:P:1, pl. 86:upper right; BROWN 1975:106–107, n. 5; SAKEL-LARAKIS 1976:175; CADOGAN 1983:512; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:380 #553, pl. 74:553;<sup>1415</sup> PHILLIPS 1991:II:836–837 #454, III:1157 fig. 454; CLINE 1994:254 #1097.

*Comments:* Sethe first recognised and identified the inscription. Evans restored the first symbol with a horizontal upper bar joining the two diagonal lines<sup>1416</sup> but there is no longer (and probably never was) any trace of this alleged bar. Pendlebury did not include this vessel in his catalogue (1930b). Nor did Brown, for unspecified reasons, but he clearly assumes it could not have been imported at the time of its manufacture and indeed its very antiquity suggests a later date of importation. Unless associated with the LH IIIA2 settlement or imported at an even later date, it must have arrived during Minoan occupation of the island and thus via Crete.

### C. Thera

The island of Thera lies some 75 kilometres directly north of Crete, and is its nearest large inhabited island. The island is most famous for its geological history, especially for the island’s volcanic eruption late in LM IA that deposited up to 18 metres of tephra (volcanic ash) over the remaining portions of the island above sea level.

Numerous archaeologists have explored the islands, the earliest being the minor investigations and excavations of Alafousos and Nomikos in 1866, Fouqué in 1867 and H. Gorceix and H. Mamet (for the French School) in 1869–1870. They uncovered part of a Late Bronze Age town on the second largest island (Therasia), a small collection of clay vessels, a stone chalice and an apparently silicified skull of a monkey, amongst other material. The German Insti-

<sup>1411</sup> BROVARSKI *et al.* 1982:152–153, 154 #160–162; KOEHL 2000:96–97.

<sup>1412</sup> KARAGEORGHIS 1976:31, pl. III.

<sup>1413</sup> EVANS *PM* I:499 fig. 357:b–c. See also Knossos J.

<sup>1414</sup> GARDINER 1957:sign-list O 48; N 5; O 24. For the temple, see PORTER and MOSS 1960–:III.1:324–325. For the temple name, see RICKE 1965–1969:I:42–43; II:4,6, fig. 1.

<sup>1415</sup> The inscription is misidentified as the name of Weserkaf himself.

<sup>1416</sup> The sign actually portrays the form of the Sun-Temple itself, not the ‘altar’ sign assumed by Evans. The upper part of the temple was never inscribed.

tute excavated the Archaic-Roman site of Thera on the main island of Thera in 1895–1903, the Italian School also began excavations of two other minor Classical sites in 1923, and N. Zafeiropoulos some Archaic and later graves from 1961 through into the early 1970s. Early Cycladic cist graves also were excavated in the 1920s.<sup>1417</sup>

The French School also excavated a house on the main island (Thera) in the late 1860s, later the site of the present Akrotiri excavations. These, the most famous and important excavations, were begun by Spyridon Marinatos in 1967 and have continued annually, since his death in 1974 under the direction of Christos Doumas. They have uncovered a Late Bronze Age town (named after the modern town of Akrotiri nearby), with multiple houses preserved to the upper storey, enclosed by the tephra from the volcanic eruption. These houses lay directly along the path of a modern ravine, that had greatly reduced the height of the ash layer, and so the amount of overburden needing removal. The excavations have uncovered numerous well-preserved frescoes, masses of pottery, many metal and stone vessels, and some organic remains (sometimes in the negative, utilising the technique of pouring plaster into any holes exposed). The site rightly has been called a ‘Bronze Age Pompeii,’ and has proved to be a treasure trove of material. Recent sondages, cut in order to sink foundations for pillars to support a protective roof over the site, have uncovered occupation layers continuing down into the Neolithic. The BA town itself ceased to exist when it was covered by the volcanic ash of the eruption late in (but not at the end of) LM IA. It was not until the Archaic period, it seems, that Thera again was occupied. This provides a definite *terminus post quem* of late LM IA for any Bronze Age indigenous material recovered on the island.

Excavations at Akrotiri were divided into sectors, identified by a Greek letter and corresponding to a group of contiguous rooms or, when identified, an individual building was provided with a number within the sector. Sector Δ basically is in the middle of the excavated area, framed by a street and square to the west, another square to the north, the modern ravine and another square(?) to the east, and the rooms of Sector B to the south. It comprises four independent units, of which at least two boasted frescoed rooms. One, with the ‘Spring Fres-

co,’ was in Room Δ2 on the ground floor, but the other was on the upper floor of Room Δ17.

This room, one of several comprising the northernmost of the four units, lay directly along the path of the ravine, and had been badly destroyed, but some features and contents survived.<sup>1418</sup> Only a fragment of the fresco was found, depicting osier branches and fallen from above, but parts of the upper (stone flagged) floor also survived. The room itself seems to have been a storeroom, and had been divided into two compartments, containing hundreds of pottery sherds, mainly medium-size jars (one filled with land-snails), two imported vases, a painted clay offering-table and boar’s-head rhyton, and a large bronze ewer. Also found were numerous bronze tools and hooks, a dacite spouted mortar and eight inlaid ‘alabaster’ discs from a gaming board. The room above produced a stone vase (not described) and a large cylindrical lead half-talent weight with bronze handle. Also found, whether amongst the ground or first floor material not stated, were a veined limestone double-spouted neck inlay piece, and an imported vessel fragment.

**585. Jar fragment (‘cylinder jar’)/(abortive) rhyton.** Akrotiri Exc. #3835 (not seen)

Travertine’ or ‘limestone,’ H: (pres.) 5.4; Dia. (base): 4.0 cm, surface badly eroded, one base/lower body fragment.

Cylindrical jar with flat base, tapering cylindrical lower body, flaring out at base. Incomplete vertical (drill?) hole off centre on base. Traces of red colouration on interior.

Probably Egyptian, Dynasty V–very early Dynasty XVIII, probably later rather than earlier in this time range.

*Context:* Late LM IA.

*Chronology:* Probably Dynasty V(?)–very early Dynasty XVIII vessel, in late LM IA deposition.

*Comparison:* (abortive conversion) {592}.

*References:* WARREN 1979:97 fig. 10:3835, 99–100 #3835; CLINE 1994:201 #598; DEVETSI 2000:125–127, fig. 2.

*Comments:* This vessel is not mentioned by Marinatos, but Warren notes it was recovered in “Delta Room 17, west part.” Warren identified it as “probably” Egyptian alabaster (= travertine), but Devetsi notes a recent test by Perdikatsis has identified the material as limestone. The latter material is not an argument against an Egyptian origin for the vessel, although its use there is far less common.

The basal drill-hole, although incomplete, suggests an abortive conversion to a rhyton, as noted by Devetsi. As the Therans also made their own rhyta in stone as well as clay, uncertainty remains as to whether this drilling was attempted by a Minoan or a Theraean. I have opted to include this vessel as an example of Minoan stone vessel importation, (abortive) conversion and subsequent exportation, for several reasons. It is the only example of an Egyptian import so far recovered at Akrotiri, after intensive excavation of a

<sup>1417</sup> See LEEKLEY and NOYES 1975:52–53 for further references, and now also Tzachili 2005.

<sup>1418</sup> MARINATOS 1968–1976:VII:13–15, 28, pls. 13–17, 43.a–b, 44.d, 46.a, 51, 52.d–e, 54.c, 55.d, 56.a, 57.a

clearly well-to-do town area for some 35 years. Imported Minoan vessels are relatively common at Akrotiri,<sup>1419</sup> and a number of Minoan vessels made of travertine also have been recovered here.<sup>1420</sup> This suggests that importation of stone vessels to Thera from Crete was not uncommon, whereas 'direct' importation of stone vessels from Egypt without passing through Crete was not.

It is impossible to know why conversion to a rhyton was aborted, but it clearly was used as a 'paint pot' subsequently. It may have been recovered together with an offering table, boar's head rhyton and multiple storage vessels, suggesting possible ritual association within the building, if it was found amongst the ground floor material. Alternatively, it may be the undescribed stone vessel found with the lead weight on the upper room floor.<sup>1421</sup>

This is, however, the only example of a 'cylinder jar' recovered in an LM context, and as such is another 'unique' imported vessel form at this time. Its date of manufacture therefore could be as late as early Dynasty XVIII, as the type continues to be produced well into the New Kingdom in Egypt.

It is not included in KOEHL (2006).

#### D. Mycenae

The history of excavation at Mycenae, in the Argolid on mainland Greece, is almost as long and involved as that of Knossos, but without the early stability of a single guiding force provided by Evans there. H. Schliemann began excavations on the site in 1874, and others have continued almost without pause for over a century.<sup>1422</sup> Numerous Egyptian objects have been recovered from the palace, houses and tombs of the site, as well as numerous imports from other areas of the East Mediterranean – including Crete.

Among the latter finds are some that most likely came to Mycenae from Crete, but had originated from elsewhere.<sup>1423</sup> Several vessels appear to be further examples of Egyptian imports reworked and adapted by Minoan craftsmen, that must have been imported from the island; only these are discussed in the present study.<sup>1424</sup>

#### D.1. No Find Context, Acropolis

Tsountas excavated for several seasons on the Mycenae Acropolis, from the palace at its summit down to immediately along the citadel wall, uncovering not only the denuded palace remains but also working in virtually the entire citadel within the walls. Much of his material was recovered without recorded context, although provenance sometimes can be limited to certain areas within the citadel when the actual year of excavation is known. Areas in which he excavated in his 1886 season include only within the palace and in and around 'Shrine Gamma' and what has since become known as 'Tsountas' House' in the 'Cult Centre' area. One of the objects he uncovered in the Mycenae Acropolis but without known context in his 1886 season is the following:

#### 586. Jar ('spheroid jar')/jar(?), NMA 2778

Hornblende diorite (Type A),<sup>1425</sup> hard grey/black/brown with white massed crystals, H: 13.9; Dia. (rim): 18.1; (max): 25.0; (base): 11.2; Holes: 3.0–4.2 cm, intact with some chipping on body and rim.

High shouldered, with nearly flat collar rim having virtually no exterior undercut but strongly undercut on interior. Collar apparently reworked on exterior, with incised lines indicating rope or coil around exterior rim edge. Three pairs of holes on rim, evenly arranged and diagonally aligned, near mouth for addition of separate handles or, more likely, neck. No indication of handles.

Egyptian, Dynasty I–IV, alterations Minoan, MM III–LM I. *Context:* None.

*Chronology:* Dynasty I–IV vessel, an antique reworked in MM III–LM I, without context.

*References:* WARREN 1969:107, 114 Type 43:D; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:348 #460; PHILLIPS 1991:II:844 #459, III:1162 fig. 459; CLINE 1994:189–190 #492; WARREN 1997:217–218 #11.

*Comments:* Almost certainly excavated in the area of 'Tsountas' House,' as very little was recovered in the palace area that year, and Tsountas almost certainly would have noted everything specifically recovered in 'Shrine Gamma.'

<sup>1419</sup> WARREN 1979:89–99 and *passim*; DEVETSI 2000:*passim*.

<sup>1420</sup> WARREN 1979:93–94 #NM3964, 94#2028; DEVETSI 2000:125 #5,131–133 #1(?). Devetsi argues that the second vessel (apparently of travertine), appears to be an Aegean innovation from Egyptian types, but BEVAN 2001:230–231 n. 98 accepts it as an Egyptian product. The piece certainly is problematic, but I lean towards a non-Egyptian origin.

<sup>1421</sup> See MARINATOS 1968–1976:VII:pl. 15.b. It *may* be the stone vase within another stone? vessel behind the lead weight, in this *in situ* photograph of the upper floor material, including the fresco fragment lower right in the photograph.. If so, it appears to have been found upside-down.

<sup>1422</sup> See MYLONAS 1957:7–11; IAKOVIDES and FRENCH 2003.

<sup>1423</sup> The following are only a small percentage of the imported Egyptian finds from this site, and includes only stone vessels which can be shown to have arrived through Minoan

intermediaries due to their conversion, this *not* accomplished by Mycenaean artisans who display a different working technique. See PENDLEBURY 1930b:53–57 #85–102; BROWN 1975:41–43; CLINE 1994:*passim*; 1995 for major collations of imported Egyptian finds. The converted vessels were not recognised by Pendlebury or Brown. Note that the ewer NMA 4920 suggested by WARREN 1969:43–44 to be a converted Egyptian alabastron is made of a single piece of travertine, and thus is not a conversion; see WARREN 1997:220–221.

<sup>1424</sup> I am currently preparing a parallel but separate study of the Egyptian and 'egyptianising' material recovered at Mycenae and other Mainland sites in their contexts, similar to the present volume.

<sup>1425</sup> Suggested by WARREN 1997, on the basis of description in B.G. ASTON 1994.



Originally a jar with wide everted rim, the rim must have been reduced and partly sunk on top, its outer edge rounded off and the incised decoration added. The holes indicate additional elements to the piece, probably of Minoan workmanship, which most likely consisted of a tall 'pulley' type known elsewhere on alabastra such as the Malia amphora {373}. Warren suggests the addition of three pulley-shaped handles, but the sunken profile of the upper rim suggests rather a base for the neck instead and no drill-holes are found on the shoulder. The jar never possessed handles, and is a genuine Egyptian product.

#### D.2. The 'House of Sphinxes'

West of the cyclopean walls of the citadel and south of the 'Tomb of Klytemnestra,' A.J.B. Wace excavated a group of three contiguous houses on the east side of the modern road leading to the Lion Gate during the 1950s; from north to south they were called the 'House of Shields,' the 'House of the Oil Merchant' and the 'House of Sphinxes.' A fourth house was excavated immediately west of the central house by N. Verdalis shortly afterwards, and was called the 'West House.' These all lay on a north-south slope, probably beside the ancient road leading to the citadel. These houses recently have been fully published by Tournavitou.<sup>1426</sup>

The southernmost house, the 'House of Sphinxes,'<sup>1427</sup> was constructed directly onto living rock, unlike the others that rested on built-up fill. This house, like the 'House of the Oil Merchant,' preserved only its basement, which consisted of a long central corridor running almost north-south, with rooms leading off either side. To the west were one small and three large rooms (all assigned even numbers), and to the east a long room and a hollow open area (all assigned odd numbers). The far western wall was extremely thick, and constructed directly against rock. The north walls abutted those of the 'House of the Oil Merchant,' indicating a later construction date, sometime during LH IIIB. At the extreme north-west, a Hellenistic wall was constructed atop it, and further Hellenistic remains overlay the building.

The considerable debris overlying these rooms but under the Hellenistic levels were the remains of the upper storey(s), which had collapsed when the house was destroyed suddenly by fire about the middle of LH IIIB. Both the fill above and the rooms themselves contained large quantities of objects. In Room

1, in the north-east corner, was found a large number of ivory plaques and inlays in the fill and broken clay vessels on the floor. Room 2, in the north-west corner also contained ivories of high quality and also pumice stone. In Room 6 were found 10 clay tablets inscribed in Linear 'B' and carbonised seeds in Room 8. Room 10 contained the remains of what must have been a jewellery box. These all probably were basement storerooms of some kind, and evidence for their upper storeys survived.

Room 10,<sup>1428</sup> in the south-west corner, was rectangular and without an entrance, but its floor was some 2 metres higher than the rest of the house due to the sloping ground. Much Mycenaean house debris had fallen over the room and wall when the house collapsed. A Proto-Geometric child's burial had been dug deep into the south-west corner rubble, and a thick Hellenistic wall covered the west wall and west part of the room and house. The upper layers were quite disturbed. A stone bowl and painted piriform jar were found here, both belonging with the Mycenaean house.

Below this were the burnt upper layers of the fill of Room 10. Below this and at the lowest level just above bedrock was the 'pure' Mycenaean layer; here were found a pithos and stone vessel. Fragments of another pithos and a large jar fragment were found farther west, some 60 cm. above the rock in a clearly Mycenaean layer. In a similar layer to the south were recovered fragments of similar pithoi and a third stone vessel, this last being an imported and converted Egyptian jar. The burnt layer must have come from an upper room or from the staircase area of the building. The other two vessels are of breccia and crystalline limestone.

**587. Jar ('spheroid jar')/jar,** BEMM 8484 = MM 1507 (ex-NM 11505; Mycenae Exc. 55-51)

Hornblende diorite (Type B), with grey/white, black, green/black splotchy crystals, Dia. (rim): 12.3; (max.): 19.6; H: (pres.) 7.4; W: (pres.) 10.8 cm, Th.: 8.6-19.5 mm, two joining rim/upper body fragments.

High-shouldered spheroid jar, with nearly flat collar rim undercut on exterior and strongly undercut on interior. Polished interior rim and exterior. Three shallow pointed flutes cut around the flat collar top. No evidence for handles.

Egyptian, Dynasty I-IV, with alterations Minoan, MM III-LM I.

*Context:* LH IIIB (middle) (= LM IIIB late) or later.

<sup>1426</sup> TOURNAVITOU 1995; see her bibliography for earlier references; I include Wace references in the *BSA* for the convenience of those who do not have Tournavitou to hand.

<sup>1427</sup> WACE *et al.* 1953:14; 1954:233, 238-243; 1955:185-189;

WACE and DESBOROUGH 1956:113-116; HOOD 1960:9; 1962a:9; TOURNAVITOU 1995:41-65. See also FRENCH 1979.

<sup>1428</sup> TOURNAVITOU 1995:55 fig. 22, 57-58.

*Chronology:* Dynasty I–IV jar, reworked in MM III–LM I and even then an antique in its even later LH IIIB (middle) or later debris context.

*Comparanda:* (rim grooves) {7};<sup>1429</sup> {178}.

*References:* WACE and DESBOROUGH 1956:116, pl. 24:b:lower left; WARREN 1969:107, 114 Type 43:D;<sup>1430</sup> BROWN 1975:41 #2; DICKERS 1990:140–141; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:340 #429, pl. 73:429; PHILLIPS 1991:II:846–847 #460, III:1163 fig. 460; CLINE 1994:190 #493; TOURNAVITOU 1995:231 fig. 44; WARREN 1997:217 #10, pl. LXXXII.c.

*Comments:* Warren identifies this as an example of an Egyptian vessel altered by Minoan craftsmen, and later exported to Mycenae. The adaptation here is the addition of collar fluting, for which he quotes a parallel in a Minoan ‘spheroid jar’ from Aghia Triadha {7} and suggests this may have been converted into a bridge-spouted jar or another jar type. Another converted (probably) Egyptian vessel {178} also was provided with collar fluting.

The find spot indicates only that it either is part of the upper floor destruction or, alternatively, debris from farther uphill. The fragment likely is of earlier use and a remnant in its context.

### D.3. The ‘House of Shields’

The ‘House of Shields’ (initially named the ‘North House’) is the northernmost of three contiguous houses excavated by Wace outside the citadel in 1950–1955.<sup>1431</sup> Its designation as a ‘house’ is somewhat conjectural, since it exhibits few features of domestic occupation but rather consists of three rooms: one east-west rectangular room at the north end, and two north-south rectangular rooms (both 17.7 by 5.6–5.7 m in size) immediately south of it, and with contents unique to the site and sometimes unparalleled in Mycenaean archaeology. Only the ground floor walls survived, but it may not have had an upper storey originally. The vast majority of the building was disturbed in the Proto-Geometric/Geometric and Hellenistic periods, but not to floor level. It was constructed in LH IIIB (early), consisting mostly of rubble stone and wooden beam framework, and destroyed together with the other houses in a conflagration in LH IIIB (middle).

#### D.3.1. Ivory Deposit area

The West Room (initially called the South Room) of the building had a rough clay floor topped by finer clay; there is some evidence for a staircase immediately to its south. The only entrance seems to have

been on the eastern side of its north wall. A bench ran along the entire length of the west wall and an insubstantial interior east-west wall essentially divided the room in half but did not extend all the way to the west wall. A black burnt layer lay immediately on the floor, with a uniform red burnt layer that continued over the top of the truncated walls. The finds, a highly unusual assortment of ivory, stone, faience, wood and gold artefacts, mostly were recovered in these layers, mostly in the west part of the room, including much of the ivory deposit, but the finds are differentially scattered by excavation ‘sector.’<sup>1432</sup>

Unusually, virtually no pottery was recovered, and none could be assigned with the room’s destruction level. The large quantity of ivories, including the numerous shields that gave the building its name, apparently fell from wall-shelving. Large quantities of stone objects, including vessels and inlay pieces, seem to have had a similar origin, as did the faience objects (beads, inlays and some vessels) and the Linear B tablet. The excavators and, latterly, Tournavitou, suggested the building as a ‘warehouse’ or at least a ‘workshop’ area, but neither of these designations can adequately explain why many of the objects are unparalleled elsewhere.

The southern half of the room, along the western side contained the majority of the burnt ivory pieces, together with some other stone vessels, burnt wood, faience and bronze objects, and an obsidian blade. The following was recovered in this area, at the south-western section.

**588. Alabastron (Type C)/closed vessel,** BEMM 9266 = MM 1504 (ex-NM 12359; Mycenae Exc. 53-162)

Banded travertine, light grey-yellowish with darker grey banding, H (pres.): c. 13.8; Dia. (rim, pres.): 5.2; (max): 13.8; (base, rest.): 6.5; (max.): 13.8 cm, Th.: 7.5–11.7; Dia. (holes): 2.7 mm; 16 joining fragments, with nearly whole profile, about half of vessel and two small drill holes preserved next each other just below present ‘rim,’ burnt surface, some exterior surface flaked off, interior surface rough.

Baggy alabastron, apparently with flat base. The rim/neck has been deliberately removed, and two (preserved) holes 4.0 mm apart just below ‘rim’ possibly for attachment of an added rim/neck. No interior ridging.

Egyptian, Second Intermediate Period–early Dynasty XVIII, converted Minoan?, MM III–LM IIIA1.

*Context:* LH IIIB (middle) destruction deposition context.

*Chronology:* Second Intermediate Period–early Dynasty

<sup>1429</sup> Parallel quoted from WARREN 1969. Note that this is a Minoan vessel.

<sup>1430</sup> He lists the present height as 7.4 cm. Note that his material identification of “gabbro” was later (1997) emended to “diorite.”

<sup>1431</sup> WACE *et al.* 1954:235–238; 1955:180–184; WACE and DESBOROUGH 1956:107–113; TOURNAVITOU 1995:16–28.

<sup>1432</sup> See TOURNAVITOU 1995:17 fig. 6, 20–21 figs. 8–9.

XVIII vessel, converted by Minoans(?), MM III–LM IIIA1, in a much later LH IIIB (middle) destruction deposition.

*References:* WACE and DESBOROUGH 1956:116; WARREN 1969:108, 114 Type 43:I; BROWN 1975:41 #4; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:347 #455; CLINE 1993:227; 1994:164 #253; 1995:100–101 #33, pl. 7.1; TOURNAVITOU 1995:221–222, 235 table 17, pl. 31.d.

*Comments:* The vessel is partially burnt, suggesting it was recovered in the red burnt layer of the fill or amongst the ivory deposit at floor level, and therefore presumably in use when the building was destroyed. The alteration might be Minoan or, perhaps but less likely, even Mycenaean. The exterior edge at rim (as displayed) has been rounded off, suggesting perhaps rather than the usual conversion into a high-shouldered closed vessel, the pins perhaps to hold a flat circular disc ‘base’ in place. The small area of ‘original’ alabastron flat base does not argue against this possibility, but the use of two drill-holes immediately next each other does, as usually only four or five individual holes around the diameter are used.<sup>1433</sup> The particularly good preservation of the vessel suggests it *may* still have been in use even into the LH IIIB period of its debris context and, if so, was over two centuries old by that time. If – as seems far more likely – this is not converted in the ‘usual’ manner of Type Ib, it remains one of only a very few Egyptian alabastra converted into an Aegean vessel *without* turning it upside down to produce a high-shouldered form, and should be considered a Type II conversion.

#### D.3.2. No Find Context, ‘House of Shields’

The following was identified in 2002 in the bag of scrap stone fragments recovered in the ‘House of Shields’ in 1954, so no specific context within the building can be assigned to it.

**589. Closed vessel/spouted vessel or scrap?**, from bag BEMM 9486 (Mycenae Exc. 54-465)

Conglomerate stone, dioritic type but non-crystalline, sub-rectangular black ‘crystals’ in a white limestone-like matrix. Dim. (max.): 13.2; Dia. (max): 8.2 cm, Th.:9–13; mm; one lower neck fragment.

Steeply tapering neck of a closed vessel, polished interior neck and exterior, unpolished upper body. Two small diagonal and parallel drill-holes through upper section of fragment, with larger diagonal drill-hole at generally right angle and cutting through smaller holes.

Unknown, not local, possibly Egyptian (if stone is identifiable as such) but its profile is highly unusual if so, undatable as yet.

*Context:* None, but not earlier than LH IIIB (middle) (= LM IIIB (late)).

*Chronology:* Unknown vessel, presumably from a later secondary or debris context not earlier than LH IIIB (middle) but perhaps of later date.

*Comparison:* (drilling) {194}.

*References:* Unpublished.

*Comments:* The fragment appears not to have been burnt, so

most likely it is from a secondary hillwash context stratigraphically above the building and associated fill levels.

The multiple drillings suggest either the addition of a handle or other attachment, a secondary re-use of the fragment for unknown purposes, or perhaps used as scrap as occurred at Knossos {194}. The odd angles at which the large and two small drill holes are placed next each other suggests either that the two small holes held a pins in place for the larger drill hole, as was rendered more successfully on the converted rhyton at Kato Zakro {104}, or perhaps this simply was a practice piece.

#### D.4. Grave Circle A

Schliemann’s major discovery and excavation consisted of a ‘Grave Circle’ just inside and south-west of the Lion Gate. Now known as Grave Circle A, to distinguish it from that found in 1951 and named Grave Circle B, it consisted of six shaft graves within a circular stone wall. Many of them were extremely rich, and Schliemann identified some with characters from Homer’s *Iliad*. Recent restudy of the graves has provided a better sense of their chronology, with Grave IV the earliest at LH IA-B (and one MM IIIB vessel), Graves II, III, V and VI at LH IB, and Grave I the latest and dating to LH IIA.<sup>1434</sup>

Shaft Grave V contained three male skeletons,<sup>1435</sup> the head of one covered by a gold mask that Schliemann called the ‘Mask of Agamemnon,’ identifying the skeleton with King Agamemnon of Mycenae. One of the other skeletons also had a gold mask. Other tomb furniture included gold plaques from a wooden box, a silver and niello jug with Minoan parallels, bronze and niello daggers including the ‘Nilotic’ dagger, swords, lances, gold necklaces, cups and pectoral, stone and clay vessels, and many other pieces. All the pottery in this grave is dated to LH IB, and so therefore must be the grave itself. Although about two centuries before the events portrayed in the *Iliad*, the ‘Grave Circle,’ if not royal, then certainly is the nearest equivalent to it in that earlier society.

**590. Alabastron (Type C)/bridge-spouted jar**, NMA 829

Banded travertine, bronze and gold, H: 14.6; Dia. (rim): 6.1; (max): 12.3; (jar base): 6.0; (holes): 1.05/0.25 cm, large part of body lost, with spout and outer core of handles missing, gold leaf splitting and weak.

Bridge-spouted jar with wide piriform body, hollow footed base with separate flat plug. Large hole at shoulder level with handles, surrounded by four small holes for attachment of a separate spout. Two raised horizontal loop wooden handles attached by wire to the shoulder through drilled holes through profile. Horizontally ribbed bronze fitting attached at mouth.

<sup>1433</sup> See, for example, {593}.

<sup>1434</sup> DIETZ 1991:247–250, fig. 78.

<sup>1435</sup> See comments by VERMEULE 1975:7, 9. One was the

famous ‘masked lady,’ a mummy even then recognised as a male figure.

Gold-leaf covering around rim and over handles. Separate flat plug tapered to fit flush with base.<sup>1436</sup>

Egyptian, SIP, with alterations and additions Minoan, probably LM IA.

*Context:* LH IB (= late LM IA).

*Chronology:* Second Intermediate Period vessel, reworked probably in late LM IA and in a generally contemporary or slightly later LH IB tomb deposition.

*Comparanda:* {105} (for handles); {250-251}; {373}.

*References:* KARO 1930-1933:I:147 #829, II:pl. CXXXVII; WARREN 1967a:44 #Q2, pl. VII:Q2; 1969:104 Type 42:B, 162; SAKELLARAKIS 1976:177-178, pl. II:4; HANKEY 1987:43; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:355-356 #unnumbered; PHILLIPS 1991:II:839-840 #455, III:1158 fig. 455; CLINE 1994:201 #597; LILYQUIST 1996:147, pl. 7.2; WARREN 1997:211 #2, 221-222, pl. LXXIX.b; LILYQUIST 1997:225; PHILLIPS 2001:79 #1.e; BEVAN 2001:II:414 fig. 6.34.b.

*Comments:* Originally, this was an Egyptian Type C alabastron, comparable to those from the Isopata 'Royal Tomb' {250-251} of much later context date.<sup>1437</sup> Minoan artisans altered the Mycenaean example by turning it upside down, cutting a large hole in the original base to form the new mouth, and plugging the original mouth to form the new base. The removed portion of the original base was shaved flat, reduced in diameter and tapered to fit the new base. The bronze fitting at the new mouth was added and covered with gold leaf. Holes were drilled into the new shoulder for the attachment of the handles and a bridge-spout; this last was not recovered but staining still marks its triangular outline. The handles also were covered with gold leaf, as may have been the spout.

The new vessel is typically Minoan. The alteration can be paralleled at Malia. Metal fittings to vessels can be paralleled in vessels from Kato Zakro {105} and Knossos {145}.<sup>1438</sup> Its identification as a Minoan work also is supported by the lack of Mycenaean stone vessels at this date.<sup>1439</sup>

#### D.5. Grave Circle B

A group of leading Greek archaeologists including as field directors G. Mylonas and I. Papadimitriou excavated Grave Circle B in 1952-1955, following its discovery outside the cyclopean walls in 1951 by the Greek Archaeological Service. Some 24 graves were found within the grave circle, of which 14 were 'real' shaft graves. Most contained goods rivalling Schliemann's material at Grave Circle A. The majority were MH IIIB, but some were LH IA and/or B, and two are

dated MH IIIA, based on their pottery.<sup>1440</sup> The two Grave Circles overlap to a large extent, although in general 'B' is earlier than 'A.'

Grave O contained two skeletons, a woman and child, on a pebble-covered floor three metres below ground level. It had been marked by a grave stela, which unfortunately had been removed during earlier construction of a cistern immediately above. The wooden roof had collapsed, crushing the contents. A few clay vessels were found at roof level. A considerable amount of jewellery was worn by the woman, who had a necklace of gold rosette beads, bracelets, rings, diadems and earrings, a silver pin and bronze pins with a rock-crystal head, a belt of electrum beads with amber(?) spacers, and a necklace of rock-crystal, amethyst and sardonyx beads. The other skeleton had no grave goods attributed to it, but it is associated with a clay askos and bridge-spouted bowl. About 30 clay vessels were found, the latest of which date this tomb to LH IB.<sup>1441</sup> These include a polychrome hydria and jar, bridge-spouted jar and other jar, askos, and amphora. Also recovered was a rock crystal bowl with handle in the form of a bird's head, found in the north-east corner amidst the majority of clay vessels.

#### 591. Zoomorphic bowl ('κρυβη'), NMA 8638 (not handled)

Pale slightly greyish rock-crystal, L: 13.2; H: 5.7 cm, restored nearly complete from four or five fragments.

Ovoid bowl in the form of a swan, as if 'floating' on its back. Hollowed bowl interior with flat rim dipping in middle body area, coming to a low wide spout with flaring angular corners at tail end. Handle in the form of the neck and *regardant* head, from mid-height at other end, beak resting on and attached to rim. Head naturalistic, with carved 'overbite' beak and lightly drilled but not hollowed eyes.

Minoan, (MM III-LM IA (late).

*Context:* LH IB (= LM IA late).

*Chronology:* Probably LM IA vessel, in a generally contemporary or slightly later LH IB tomb deposition.

*References:* MYLONAS 1957:146, figs. 60-61; MARINATOS and HIRMER 1973:pl. 235:lower; WARREN 1969:104 Type 42:C; SAKELLARAKIS 1971:226-227, pl. 51:α; MYLONAS 1972-1973: I:203, 204 fig. 22, pl. α', II:pls. 183-185; BUCHHOLZ and KARAGEORGHIS 1973:93 #1156, 356 #1156; VERMEULE 1975:18 n. 30,

<sup>1436</sup> WARREN 1969:104 describes a band of gold leaf put around the (new) foot. There is no band at present, but the green staining and logic both suggest some fitting must have existed to hold the plug in place, probably of gold-covered bronze as at the rim.

<sup>1437</sup> HANKEY earlier (1987:43) considered this a "drop vase of Middle Kingdom date," but later changed her mind and considered it of "SIP-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty" date; see MANNING 1996:17 n. 4. On contextual as well as typological grounds, it can date no later than very early Dynasty XVIII.

<sup>1438</sup> Other examples are an unpublished round-bottomed 'alabaster' vessel with vertical double-rings either side of

the rim for metal loop handles, and HM 2721, the rock-crystal rhyton (PLATON 1971:139:photo upper right). See also the description in WARREN 1969:162-163.

<sup>1439</sup> WARREN 1969:107, 162.

<sup>1440</sup> DIETZ 1991:128-130, fig. 44. See also MYLONAS 1957:128-176; VERMEULE 1975:*passim*.

<sup>1441</sup> DIETZ 1991:250 fig. 78. She dates the child's burial as earlier than the woman, and notes the leftover remains of an earlier (LH IA) burial in the south-west corner that might be associated with the child. The bulk of finds belong with the woman, including the rock-crystal bowl.

20; SAKELLARAKIS 1976:176–177, pl. I:1; HOOD 1978:142, fig. 134; MYLONAS 1983:54 fig. 43, 221 fig. 173; DICKERS 1990:151, fig. 2.2; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:341 #431, pl. 73:431; PHILLIPS 1991:II:843–844 #458, III:1161 fig. 458; 2001:86 #F.1.

*Comments:* Mylonas calls this vessel a ‘κρυβη.’

Warren suggested the bowl is either a Minoan or Egyptian product. However, B.G. Aston<sup>1442</sup> notes that rock-crystal was not used in large vessel manufacture after Dynasty II (and then only for miniature vessels until Dynasty VI) in Egypt. Thus, the bowl must be of Aegean manufacture. As stone vessels were not manufactured on the Mainland at this time, it must be considered a Minoan product exported to the Mainland. Sakellarakis, Vermeule and Hood also recognised the probability of its Minoan origin.

The bird's pose most strongly suggests that it is a swan rather than a duck or goose that is represented here, since the goose at least does not pose in this manner and the duck's neck is not elongated enough to be able to leave a space when its head is *regardant*.

#### D.6. Tsountas' Chamber Tombs

Ch. Tsountas excavated a total of 102 tombs in the area surrounding the citadel, mostly distinct cemetery groups reaching in some cases a considerable distance from it, over several excavation seasons in 1887–1898. Unfortunately, many were rather summarily published whilst even more were not published at all, with the sole exception of CT 102 that Tsountas allowed Bosanquet to describe in some detail in 1904. Some of Tsountas' excavation notebooks are missing, and those that do survive do not always provide a complete description either of the tomb or its contents. The tomb contents, now in the NMA, finally were published in 1985 by A. Xenaki-Sakellariou, and the 1991–1994 Mycenae Survey has since re-located many but not all of the tombs.<sup>1443</sup>

##### D.6.1. Chamber Tomb 55

Ch. Tsountas excavated seven chamber tombs in a single cemetery group in 1892, numbered CT 55 through 61. CT 55, as all others excavated that season, remains unpublished apart from its contents.<sup>1444</sup> The tomb was not identified in the recent Mycenae Survey, but Shelton hints that it may have been located in the Aghios Giorgios cemetery.<sup>1445</sup>

Lack of publication notwithstanding, this was a rich tomb although no pottery was recorded during excavation; either none was found or it was fragmen-

tary and thus not retained. Recovered was the ivory handle of a mirror with raised relief of confronted women, and a large hollowed tusk with ‘egyptianising’ raised relief decoration, a possibly Syro-Palestinian faience vessel fragment, a bone inlay, fragments of decorated gold sheet, an antique Egyptian stone jar, lentoid seal, ring, a gold loop-in-loop necklace with spool pendant, rosette beads (12) and others of papyriform (3) and drop (3) shape, faience scored spherical beads (33) for an apparently graduated necklace, and many other objects described by Xenaki-Sakellariou.

#### 592. ‘Heart-shaped’ jar/(abortive) rhyton. NMA Λ 2919

Granodiorite,<sup>1446</sup> H: (pres.) 15.0; Dia. (rim): 6.2; (max.): 12.2; (base): 5.9; L (handle): 3.1 cm, Th.: 6.6/3.0 mm, complete and intact, small chips on rim edge.

Tall ‘heart-shaped’ jar, short slightly flaring rim, two horizontal pierced roll handles on shoulder, slightly raised flat base, maximum diameter just about mid-body. Incomplete drill hole through base just off-centre, indicating abortive conversion to a rhyton by a Minoan artisan.

Egyptian, Naqada II–Dynasty I, converted to Minoan rhyton, LM I–IIIA1.

*Context:* LH IIB–III.

*Chronology:* Egyptian, Naqada II–Dynasty I, alteration LM I–IIIA1 and in a generally contemporary or (more likely) somewhat later LH IIB–III tomb deposition context.

*Comparanda:* EL-KHOULI 1978:III:pls. 56.1411–1423, 57:1425–1438, 58:1449,1460–1464; ASTON 1994:92:Type 4, 121 Type 78; {428}; (abortive conversion) {585}.

*References:* EVANS *PM* II.1:31 n. 1; STAIS 1915:127 #2919; WARREN 1969:107, 114 Type 43B; SAKELLARAKIS 1976:178, pl. IV.8; XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:170, 175 # Λ 2919, pl. 73:2919; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:340 #428, pl. 73:428;<sup>1447</sup> CLINE 1994:201 #604; 1995:102 #52; LILYQUIST 1996:160; PAPAIOGLOU-MANIOUDAKI 1998:211 #13.

*Comments:* Much larger in scale than the Palaikastro vessel, but still a ‘heart-shaped’ jar form, correctly cited as Egyptian by Warren. It has a more ‘barrel-shaped’ body than the other, although the high shoulder is noticeable. Apparently not seen or not recognised by Pendlebury. Lilyquist prefers to see this as having an ‘unclear’ origin, due to its ‘flaccid’ rim and brown, black and white stone. Warren noted this is one of the oldest imports into the Aegean world, but did not list it as a converted Minoan vessel.

The drilling extends completely through the base as a small hole, but the final wider hole is broken off and complete only through a short distance on the exterior part of the section. Thus it is an abortive conversion to a rhyton, as also is {585}, but the Mycenae vessel may have been employed as a rhyton since it *was* in fact pierced through. It is possible, although not

<sup>1442</sup> B.G. ASTON 1994:65 (‘quartz-crystal’).

<sup>1443</sup> See SHELTON 1993; IAKOVIDES and FRENCH 2003:64–67.

<sup>1444</sup> TSOUNTAS 1892:57; XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:41, 168–175, pls. 68–73. Tsountas' notebooks for 1892 are not located.

<sup>1445</sup> SHELTON 1993:208.

<sup>1446</sup> Compare with B.G. ASTON 1994:15 ‘Granodiorite.’ It does not compare with her descriptions and photographs of ‘hornblende diorite,’ pp. 13–15.

<sup>1447</sup> She lists this vessel in error as coming from CT 58 on p. 326.

indicated on the vessel itself, that the rim also was reduced as no rim overhang is present on the profile. It is one of the few imports that could be dated within the Predynastic period, partly on the ‘barrel-shaped’ profile with maximum diameter being at mid-body, *if* the rim originally was sharp-edged.

#### D.6.2. Chamber Tomb 68

In 1883, Tsountas excavated 16 chamber tombs in a single cemetery group, numbered CT 62-77. Chamber Tomb 68 was not published originally by Tsountas,<sup>1448</sup> and its location and dimensions are not recorded. The tomb was not identified in the recent Mycenae Survey, but is now thought to be located in one of two possible cemeteries, either Aghios Giorgios or Alepotrypa.

Nonetheless, it contained a large amount of gold and faience jewellery pieces including pendants and small figurines, stone beads, a cylinder seal and five other seals, three arrowheads and a stone ewer. It is dated to LH II–IIIA(–B?).

#### 593. Alabastron (Type C)/ewer, NMA 3080

Banded travertine, H: 21.3; Dia. (rim): 4.9; (max): 21.2; (base, ext.): 9.4; (base, int.): 7.5; (hole): 0.9 cm, much restored from 19 joining fragments but exterior profile obtainable.

Ewer with high shoulder, tapering body, flattened bottom, no neck or articulated rim. Large hole drilled through shoulder. Five small holes drilled at base for ‘pins’ to hold base plug.

Egyptian, SIP–Dynasty XVIII, with alterations Minoan, MM III(?)–LM IIIA1.

*Context:* LH II–IIIA(–B?) (= LM IB–IIIA[B]).

*Chronology:* Second Intermediate Period–Dynasty XVIII vessel, reworked possible heirloom in MM III–LM IIIA1 and in a generally contemporary or (more likely) somewhat later LH II–IIIA(–B?) tomb deposition.

*References:* WARREN 1967a:48 #Q5; 1969:43, 44 Type 19:B, 107; XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:196 #3080, pl. 84:3080; DICKERS 1990:126–128; PHILLIPS 1991:II:840–841 #456, III:1159 fig. 456; CLINE 1994:204 #628; LILYQUIST 1996:148; WARREN 1997:218 #12, pl. LXXXIII.a–d.

*Comments:* Originally, this was an Egyptian Type C alabastron. It probably but not certainly boasted a flaring rim, but this has been removed (hence the wide ranging date of manufacture quoted here). It was converted to an ewer by Minoan craftsmen, by turning it upside down, its presumed flaring rim removed, and a hole cut into its base. The drilled hole in the new shoulder either is for the separately attached handle, although it is much larger than usual for such a function, or

alternatively for a spout, but without the smaller holes for its attachment.<sup>1449</sup> The vessel has been overenthusiastically restored with heavy plastering, with the result that the interior profile and thickness are impossible to measure.

Further alterations have been described by Warren, who notes the addition of a ‘common Minoan pulley-shaped neck and separate handle’ possibly of white, marble-like limestone, as is the base plug. Both are made separately, the separate neck being inserted into the hole in the original base and a plug filling the original mouth.<sup>1450</sup> Warren notes that a fragment of the lip of the rim/neck survives, and apparently one of the bronze pins; these and the separate base plug were not in evidence when I first saw the vessel December 1987 but the base plug is illustrated clearly by XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985 and a profile of both rim/neck fragment and plug with pin by WARREN 1997. The ‘pulley’ neck and handle have since been restored to the vessel, and all now are on display in the museum case; the base plug cannot be ascertained in the case, but five bronze pins now are in evidence to hold it, and can be seen in WARREN’S (1997) photograph. The base plug is *not* the circular piece removed from the original alabastron bottom, as the hole at the present neck (Dia. 4.9 cm) is much smaller in diameter than the hole to be plugged by the pins (Dia. [int.] 7.5 cm). The handle is embellished with a groove around the external edge, and a thin ‘lip’ joins the handle to the neck by two small pins at the neck (restored portion); presumably a plug holds the lower portion to the vessel shoulder at the drilled hole. The handle (as exhibited in the NMA) is entirely restored to c. 1.5 cm wide, with an incised rectangular line near and around the visible exterior edges.

Note that, unless these separate pieces also were adhered by an impermeable adhesive, the vessel would be entirely useless as a vessel. The unequal profiles of base plug and (converted) vessel base emphasise this point.

#### D.6.3. Chamber Tomb 102

Chamber Tomb 102 is located at the Third Kilometer cemetery (Mycenae Survey 18 93/CD-AJ), on the east side of Panagia Ridge in the general area of the Third Kilometre marker on left side of the road from the village of Mycenae to the acropolis, and near Tomb 505 later excavated by Wace.<sup>1451</sup> It was excavated in by Ch. Tsountas in the 1897 and 1898 seasons, and proved to be very rich in finds.

It was the usual chamber tomb form, with a square-cut chamber carved directly into rock and a ‘short dromos’ with its entrance blocked.<sup>1452</sup> Two ‘Palace Style’ amphorae were recovered in the dro-

<sup>1448</sup> XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:42, 192–196.

<sup>1449</sup> As on vessels {373}, {590} and perhaps also {148}.

<sup>1450</sup> WARREN 1969:43, 44; 1997:218.

<sup>1451</sup> TSOUNTAS 1899:102; BOSANQUET 1904:323–329; WACE 1932:3; XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:44, 279–286, 290–291, pls. 137–141; SHELTON 1993:204–205, 205 fig. 5:18, 210. See also TSOUNTAS 1899.

<sup>1452</sup> This is the description as given by BOSANQUET 1904:323, who also stated it lay “between the so-called Treasuries of

Atreus and Clytemnestra and near the carriage-road leading up to the Lion Gate.” No chamber tomb has been located between these two ‘treasuries,’ and the Mycenae Survey, who located CT 102 on the basis of WACE’S description (1932:3, 3 fig. 1), measured its *dromos* as being 15 m. in length – not “short” by any means. However, the material described by BOSANQUET 1904 corresponds to that in CT 102 as published by XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985.

mos and the remaining material in the chamber, all crushed when the roof collapsed.

Apparently it had been partly plundered, but nonetheless contained a surprising quantity of fine material including gold cut-outs of butterflies (11), 'flowers' (17), rosettes (8), nautili (2), and other fragments, a necklace of 12 trailing rosette panel beads, amethyst (4) and glass globular beads, bronze arrowheads (8), fragments of lapis lazuli carved as sphinxes (3), faience inlay pieces in several shapes, faience sword hilt and pommel, gold enamelled cloisonné plaque/pendant, and fragments of a silver vessel. The only other vessels were of stone, and included two Minoan serpentine lamps, two Minoan bridge spouted jars (one common and the second of unusual form) of gabbro, a Minoan beaked jug and ewer, and fragment of a converted alabastron of banded travertine.

The two Minoan 'Palace-Style' amphorae, recovered in the dromos, are not associated with the rest of the material remains, and Bosanquet suggested they might be later in date but preferred them to be approximately contemporary with the interment that he thought was in use for only a short period of time (LH II). Analysis of the contents in fact suggests instead that the tomb ranges in use between LH IIA and LH IIIC (late).

**594. Alabastron (probably Type C)/closed vessel**, NMA 4926<sup>1453</sup>  
Banded travertine, H (pres.): 3.1; Dia. (rim): 13.6; (neck) 5.9 cm; (hole): c. 3.9, Th. (rim): 11.7 mm, one rim-top of body fragment, with attached pin, partly battered and weathered, especially on interior body.

Large alabastron, with flaring rim, angular rim edge and flat rim top, distinct line at rim/body junction on exterior, presumably baggy body. Converted by Minoan artisan into an indeterminate closed vessel form, presumably of generally alabastron shape, by adding slight inset at interior rim top, engraving an alternating palmiform band around rim top, with beading at rim edge, and probably also a single engraved line on exterior below rim. Added hole drilled near rim edge for insertion of bronze pin (still present).

Egyptian, Probably fairly early Dynasty XVIII.

*Context:* LH IIA–IIIC (late).

*Chronology:* Probably fairly early Dynasty XVIII vessel, converted by a Minoan artisan MM IIIB–LM IIIA1, and in a

generally contemporary or (more likely) somewhat later LH IIA–IIIC (late) tomb deposition context.

*References:* SAKELLARAKIS 1976:183, pl. X.28; XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:280, 286 # A 4926, pl. 141:4926.

*Comments:* Not listed by Pendlebury, Lambrou-Phillipson or Cline; its Egyptian origin was not recognised by Sakellarakis or Xenaki-Sakellariou. This originally was an alabastron, now converted into a piriform vessel of some kind with the original mouth remaining in use; it is possible that the alabastron body was not altered in the conversion. The single engraved line around the exterior rim might suggest an original feature of some Egyptian alabastra (e.g., {90}), but it is more likely a Minoan addition as the Egyptian type generally has between two and four bands, rather than just one, at this location. The bronze pin, here cut down at both ends to below the rim section, may have been added for attachment of a handle, although no other evidence for any such attachment can be seen or has survived. This is the most elaborate added engraving on an imported Egyptian vessel, and the sole example of this form of decoration on an alabastron. It seems it must be considered a Type II conversion and, like {588}, was not reversed.

The rim section, flaring but with a distinction angle at body/rim section, flattened rim top and angular rim edge (evident even with the added beading) all suggest this is a very late example of an alabastron of the 'flaring' rim type, probably fairly early Dynasty XVIII in date.

#### D.6.3. No Find Context, Tsountas' Tombs

The following was found without recorded context during Tsountas' tomb excavations.<sup>1454</sup>

**595. Alabastron (Type C)/vase**, NMA 3252

Banded travertine, H (rest.): 26.9; Dia. (rim): 6.5; (max): 23.5; (base, rest.): 10.8 cm, restored from numerous body fragments, with all base, upper shoulder and rim lost.

Baggy alabastron with rounded profile, hole in bottom to make new rim. Original rim presumably plugged with separate attachment.

Egyptian, Dynasty XII–SIP (–Dynasty XVIII?), with alterations Minoan, MM III–LM I.

*Context:* None, possibly LH IIIA–B (= LM IIIA–B) tomb.

*Chronology:* Dynasty XII–Second Intermediate Period (–Dynasty XVIII?) vessel, reworked possibly heirloom in MM III–LM I, without context but possibly in a somewhat later LH IIIA–B tomb deposition.

*References:* XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU 1985:266 #3252, pl. 130:3252; DICKERS 1990:131–132, pl. 2.2; PHILLIPS 1991:II:842 #457, III:1160 fig. 457; CLINE 1994:164 #248; LILYQUIST 1996:147 n. 121; WARREN 1997:218–219 #13.

<sup>1453</sup> I thank Dr. Lena Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Ephor of the Prehistoric Collection at the NMA, for showing me this piece in September 2002. Its one published photograph gives no hint of its true history. It is a good example of the need to study the material at first hand for proper identification.

<sup>1454</sup> WARREN 1997:I:220 also notes another Egyptian travertine vessel from Tsountas' 1895 excavations, a jug (NMA 3225) with a Minoan grey and white mottled marble lid added. Although he suggests this may be sufficient to

include it as another example of Minoan conversion of an Egyptian vessel, it is not included in the present catalogue since the vessel itself was not subjected to alteration and was not found on Crete (it is listed as CLINE 1994:254 #1092). Egyptian jars with added Minoan lids are found on Crete, at Katsamba {117} and Angeliana {45}. See also the rim fragment from Knossos {220}, having a similar grooved rim profile as this vessel. It will be discussed in a future volume of the present series; see n. 1424, above.

*Comments:* The rim is missing, so a closer date of manufacture is not possible, but the convex body profile suggests an earlier rather than later date. Found by Tsountas during his 1895 season without recorded context, the year he excavated Chamber Tombs 78–92. Xenaki-Sakellariou has suggested it probably came from Chamber Tomb 81, of LH IIIA–B date,<sup>1455</sup> although uncertainty must remain. Originally a Type C alabastron, it has been converted into a tall jar, ewer or other vase by cutting a hole on the bottom and turning it upside-down, and probably adding a neck and handles (not found). No drill-holes for such additions remain, but this area is largely restored.

### E. Pylos

The site of Pylos, on the hill of Ano Englianos in Messenia, lies just inland on the south-west coast of the Peloponnese about five kilometres north of the modern town. The University of Cincinnati excavated there in 1952–1964, under the direction of Carl Blegen, following earlier trial excavation in 1939 by Blegen and K. Kourouniotis. On the hill plateau was found the remains of a Mycenaean palace, other surrounding buildings and a number of chamber tombs.<sup>1456</sup>

The palace itself consists chiefly of a large ‘megaron’ with an anteroom, portico and courtyard preceding it, a typical Mycenaean arrangement. Surrounding it were a considerable number of smaller rooms, mostly storage and some living quarters. The main entrance was through a double propylon, with archive rooms and guardrooms either side. Several stairways testify to an upper storey.

The main courtyard (Room 3),<sup>1457</sup> with a plastered floor and decorated walls, separated the propylon (1–2) from the megaron rooms (4–6). From there, one would enter into the open entrance portico (4),<sup>1458</sup> the first space leading to the large four-columned throne room with central hearth (6) that is typical of Mycenaean palaces. The portico too was plastered and decorated.

The courtyard and portico were separated only by the two columns *in antis* supporting the roof of the latter. From the courtyard were recovered a gold earring or pendant, two pieces of silver, a bronze knife fragment, stone vessel fragments and obsidian arrowhead, an uninscribed clay tablet, an amphora and hydria, and numerous sherds of mostly LH IIIB

date but clearly are debris. The portico also contained a bronze knife and five silver fragments, another 38 amorphous bronze pieces, seven ivory bits, two stone lamp fragments and other vessel fragments, and clay krater and sherds of various vessels. Recent re-analysis of the material by P.A. Mountjoy indicates the palace was destroyed in the Transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC (early) phase.<sup>1459</sup>

**596. ‘Spheroid jar’(?)/bridge-spouted jar(?)**, Chora Museum — (ex-NMA 7795) (not seen)<sup>1460</sup>

Andesite porphyry,<sup>1461</sup> white phenocrysts in dark matrix, (A) H (pres.): 4.5; W (pres.): 6.0; Th.: 1.5; Dia (spout): 2.2; (B) H (pres.): 3; W (pres.): 5 cm, two joining and one non-joining body fragments with spout hole.

Thick-walled closed vessel (‘spheroid jar’) with (probably added) spout hole.

Probably Egyptian, Naqada II–Dynasty IV, with possible Minoan alterations, MM III–LM I.

*Context:* Transitional LH IIIB2/IIIC (early) (= LM IIIC).

*Chronology:* Naqada II–Dynasty IV, reworked antique in MM III–LM IA and probably remnant in its even later LH IIIB (middle) debris context.

*References:* BLEGEN *et al.* 1966–1973:I.1:65, 71; I.2:pls. 268.c. bottom right, 269:11; WARREN 1969:277; DICKERS 1990:140–141; LAMBROU-PHILLIPSON 1990:368 #517, pl. 74:517; PHILLIPS 1991:II:848 #461, III:1163 fig. 461; CLINE 1994:191 #503; WARREN 1997:219 #14.

*Comments:* The Egyptian date range cited is the widest possible, limited by its material to not later than Dynasty IV. Two joining pieces were recovered from the portico and the third, non-joining fragment from the courtyard.

Warren noted the material as Egyptian, and suggested the jar was like those from Kato Zakro {104–105}, one of which {104} had a spout hole added for conversion to a bridge-spouted jar. This appears to have been a similar conversion.

### LAST MINUTE ENTRIES

The following are relevant artefacts or updated information recently reported but too late to include in the catalogue. Initial ‘catalogue’ references are assigned below for future reference.

#### GALATAS

Recovered from this recently discovered Neo-Palatial palatial building, not included in the present catalogue, are fragments of an ostrich eggshell {67A} in a fill context composed of building material of the first

<sup>1455</sup> This cemetery is located in the Aghios Giorgios cemetery (SHELTON 1993:210), where also either CT 55 or 68 likely was located. See D.6.1–2, above.

<sup>1456</sup> BLEGEN *et al.* 1966–1973.

<sup>1457</sup> BLEGEN *et al.* 1966–1973:I:63–65.

<sup>1458</sup> BLEGEN *et al.* 1966–1973:I:65–71.

<sup>1459</sup> MOUNTJOY 1997:135.

<sup>1460</sup> Transferred from NMA to the Chora Museum, according to NMA records consulted in 1989. I did not see it on display in the Chora Museum in 1989.

<sup>1461</sup> WARREN 1997:219, on the basis of B.G. ASTON 1994; presumably this would be her Type B.



phase of the palace, together with brightly coloured wall plaster fragments, a clay figurine of a male adonant, and much pottery of Knossian fabric.<sup>1462</sup>

### GERONTOMOURI

Mention is made of newly excavated material from P.B. Betancourt and Ch. Davaras' excavations at Aghios Charalambos in the Lasithi plain area (Gerontomouri in the present catalogue), including a tiny ostrich eggshell fragment and an ivory monkey figurine pierced for suspension, another ivory pendant also pierced for suspension, and two carnelian 'foot amulets,' additional to the stone figurine **{68}**<sup>1463</sup> and 'white paste' scarab **{69}**<sup>1464</sup> already included in the present catalogue. The date range of the material recovered is Final Neolithic to MM IIB, although interment apparently is MM IIB.

Betancourt initially noted that the ostrich eggshell **{69A}** is "the first piece from an inland site, and gives us proof that such objects were not only imported to ... Crete but also distributed to inland sites." However, more detailed subsequent examination has identified the fragment as 'probably shell, but too thin for an ostrich.'<sup>1465</sup>

Little can be said about the ivory monkey figure (here catalogued as **{69B}**) as it is very badly preserved but, as illustrated by Betancourt,<sup>1466</sup> it conforms to the usual type found in the Mesara tholoi and other tombs. The pendant, "perhaps a figure with two heads" **{69C}**,<sup>1467</sup> is directly comparable to others in ivory from Aghia Triadha **{29}** and Platanos **{474}**, and a third in bone from Archanes **{55}** and it, like the others, is not to my mind an 'egyptianising' piece. All are from burial contexts.

Also announced was the exciting discovery of five further examples of 'arch' sistra **{69D-H}** similar to that from Archanes **{53}**, thus bringing the total number of known Pre-/Proto-Palatial examples to six.<sup>1468</sup> These, like the Archanes example, are of local clay, but unlike it are painted in the light-on-dark technique, the white design being a series of horizon-

tal lines around the exterior except for the handle. No clay discs were specified as being recovered with the instruments. For further comments on the practicalities and identification of these pieces, see the discussion for the Archanes piece **{53}**. Their discovery underlines my argument for a local origin for the type.

On the foot amulets, I follow Branigan's<sup>1469</sup> assessment and do not see them as having any relationship to Egyptian 'leg amulets.' The carnelian beads also mentioned by Betancourt are insufficiently distinctive to be identified as of Egyptian origin, as he himself notes,<sup>1470</sup> and so are not included as a late addition to the present catalogue.

### KATO ZAKROS

Leftheris Platon illustrated a complete clay tall alabastron **{110A}** painted in imitation of banded travertine recovered at Kato Zakros, in his 'Minoan Seminar' lecture at the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London on 03 March 2004, entitled "Zakros – palace, town, and hinterland: challenges for Minoan archaeology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century." The vessel very much resembles that from Aghia Triadha **{8}**.

### MOCHLOS

Jeffrey Soles has recently reported an imported Egyptian bronze 'arched' sistrum **{399A}** from a pit in Room 2.2 of House C.3 from his recent town excavations.<sup>1471</sup> This is the only imported and the only metal example of the instrument reported from the Aegean. Its LM IB context date is consistent with the appearance and use of the 'arch' sistrum in New Kingdom Egypt, unlike the MM clay examples from Archanes **{53}** and Gerontomouri **{69D-H}** that are earlier in date than any Egyptian example of this sistrum type.

Vance Watrous recently proposed that the lower stratum in Tomb II should be dated to MM IA rather than EM II, specifically citing the signet seal with the

<sup>1462</sup> WHITLEY 2005:110.

<sup>1463</sup> BETANCOURT 2005:450, fig. CII:b. Now illustrated; Betancourt notes this has 'an incised human figure on the base' that is extremely schematic if considered such.

<sup>1464</sup> BETANCOURT 2005:450, fig. CII-a.

<sup>1465</sup> Philip Betancourt (personal communication, 25 April 2004). See now also WHITLEY 2005:109, which clarifies this statement as "eggshell, but not ostrich."

<sup>1466</sup> BETANCOURT 2005:451, pl. CII:j.

<sup>1467</sup> BETANCOURT 2003:8, 8 fig. 4, 9.

<sup>1468</sup> BETANCOURT 2005:450, 452, fig. CII:c. See also the bronze example from Mochlos **{399A}**, discussed below.

<sup>1469</sup> BRANIGAN 1970c, *contra* Betancourt 2005:450, pPl. CII:d.

<sup>1470</sup> BETANCOURT 2005:451, pl. CII:h-i.

<sup>1471</sup> Excavation # CA 281; SOLES 2005:433, pl. XCIX:f. On the house itself, see Soles and Davaras 1996:194–198. See now also WHITLEY 2005:103. Note that the "Old Kingdom" dating of Egyptian comparanda all refer to the 'naos' (not 'arch') sistrum type; see discussion in Archanes **{53}** of the present catalogue.

two apes back-to-back {402} as an MM IA piece.<sup>1472</sup> His argument is based in part on the form of the seal itself that he identifies as being an MM IA form rather than of EM II date. This would substantially revise consideration of these figures as constituting the earliest image of the apes on Crete, but the very uniqueness of the image circumvents direct commentary. The Mochlos tombs and others have recently been comprehensively re-examined by Borja LEGARRA-HERRERO (2006), which should be consulted for analysis of Watrous's proposal

#### NO FIND CONTEXT OR PROVENANCE KNOWN

Helen Hughes-Brock tells me<sup>1473</sup> that she has recently identified amongst the Ashmolean Museum seal collection an additional 'Style I' scaraboid {552A}.<sup>1474</sup> This is AM 1925.58, a seal purchased in Athens by A.M. Woodward, which she recognised after reading PHILLIPS 2004. It was initially published as KENNA 1960:#144, and will be published in full by her as *CMS* VI:#151 (see also her p. 19). It is possible that this represents instead a bird with head *regardant*; the seal itself is inaccessible at time of writing due to museum refurbishment.

A double-headed signet seal {527A} in bone recently has been published as *CMS* V *Suppl.* 3.1

#133. It is strongly related to pendants from Archanes {57}, Marathokephalo {395} and Platanos {475}, and the possible seal from Trapeza {511} already included in the present catalogue. This is KM (Mitsotakis) Σ 214 and is without provenance.

An agate 'weight' or seal in the form of a bird with head *regardant* suggested to be from Crete is published as #26184 in the collection of the Archaeological Museum, University of Michigan {571A}, as it was acquired together with a 'group of Minoan Cretan stones.' Its string hole is through the width and its face design appears to be a stylised goat with head *regardant*, probably of MM IB–II date (if genuine). The bird's excessively small head is comparable to two agate weights recovered in much later mainland contexts, the Royal Tholos at Dendra and a chamber tomb at Mycenae.

#### MAINLAND SITES

Whilst studying further like material recovered on the Greek Mainland, I have noted a surprising number of further imported Egyptian stone vessels and jewellery pieces with evidence for Minoan conversion, additional to those discussed in Appendix B to Chapter 4. These will be discussed in a future publication, currently in preparation.

<sup>1472</sup> WATROUS 2005:111 #II.42. Note, however, that the small Middle Kingdom kohl pot he cites as an example of the "popular" back-to-back monkey motif in Egypt actually depicts two monkeys in raised relief, each wrapped around one half of the vessel exterior with its fingers and toes nearly touching those of the other and both heads turned

to the left. These figures are *not* back-to-back, and the motif is the antithesis of 'popular' in Egypt.

<sup>1473</sup> Helen Hughes-Brock (personal communication, 27 May 2006).

<sup>1474</sup> See typological discussion in Chapter 7, and PHILLIPS 2004:167–168, fig. 7.

