

Ann-Sofie Diener

Lady Margaret Hall
University of Oxford

**The Orientalising Phenomenon on Crete, 9th-7th
Centuries BC**

Thesis submitted for
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology

October 2016

Abstract

This thesis compiles and assesses orientalising artefacts from EIA Crete, which by definition are those that emulate Near Eastern models in design, style or technique. While oriental imports discovered on Crete have been the subject of several recent publications, there are currently no studies that deal with orientalising finds from the island in a similarly comprehensive manner. The aim of the present work is to fill this gap in scholarship and to provide a solid basis for interpretation. Following a multifaceted approach, the thesis offers an in-depth investigation of relevant pottery, terracottas, sculpture and metal finds. These classes of objects are investigated in terms of types, contexts and iconographies; they are then compared to potential Near Eastern models, which are examined in equal detail where appropriate. Based on this evidence, presumed connections to the Near East are challenged or substantiated while novel links are added, offering fresh insights into the meaning of the Cretan material. A critical revaluation of Cretan contacts with the Near East puts gained findings into a larger perspective of socio-political relations. The final part of the thesis suggests a new interpretation of the material, stressing the importance of Cretan agency, cultural self-definition and the multivalent nature of the orientalising phenomenon on the island.

Acknowledgements

As with any larger piece of research, writing this PhD has been a challenge. Fortunately, I had the kind help and support of many people. First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude toward Prof. Irene Lemos, my supervisor. She has guided me through the entire process and provided plentiful advice and encouragement. During a brief period of absence, my supervision was in the hands of Dr Anja Ulbrich, who offered valuable insights on the Cypriot material and gave me the opportunity to inspect Cretan objects in the Ashmolean Museum. In the transfer and confirmation exams, Dr Thomas Mannack, Dr Claudia Wagner and Prof. John Boardman made many useful suggestions about the contents and structure of this thesis. While I have benefitted from conversations with various scholars, all of whom I feel indebted to, I would like to name Dr Antonis Kotsonas, Dr Eleonora Pappalardo and Dr Thomas Brisart. I have troubled them with questions on several occasions and they have been invariably helpful. I am also immensely grateful to Dr Alex Mulhall and Dr Sarah Graham for helping to proofread my thesis. Any remaining mistakes are of course mine alone.

I am extremely grateful for having received a joint scholarship from the Oxford Faculty of Classics and Lady Margaret Hall, which enabled me to pursue this degree. The Faculty of Classics has awarded me two further funds, one to deliver a paper on my thesis, the other to participate in the Postgraduate Pottery Course at Knossos. In addition, the Wiener-Anspach Foundation has generously financed my stay at the Itanos excavation.

I had the pleasure of visiting Crete several times. I would like to thank Prof. Nicholas Stampolidis and his entire team as well as Prof. Athena Tsingarida and Prof.

Didier Viviers and their entire team for welcoming me to the excavations at Eleutherna and Itanos. Both campaigns have been wonderful experiences that have not only taught me much about Crete, ancient and modern, but also given me the chance to meet lots of great people. The same is true for my participation in the Postgraduate Pottery Course at Knossos, organised by Dr Matthew Haysom. During one of my other visits, Prof. Dario Palermo's team warmly received me at Prinias and Eleonora Pappalardo showed me around the site, which was an intriguing and delightful experience. On a round trip with Prof. Lemos, I further had the opportunity to meet many researchers working on the island and I would like to express my gratitude to everyone who provided us with guided tours.

Finally, I would like to thank the people close to me. These are my lovely friends, especially Andrea Leyer, Silja Spranger, Eleni Karouzou, Sarah Graham, Valeria Riedeman, Bianca Widlitzki, Christina Marini and Joanna Palermo. They have offered encouragement whenever I needed it and shared experiences and ideas over innumerable coffees. I am also immensely grateful to my amazing partner Alex Mulhall, who has always made time for me, even while finishing his own thesis, and has cheered me on during this long process. A big thank you also goes to Sue and Keith Mulhall, who generously provided a home for me during the last year of my thesis.

Last but not least, I want to address my wonderful parents, Hans und Gabriele. They have supported me in every possible way throughout this thesis – emotionally, financially and with many food parcels from home. Ich bin euch zutiefst dankbar für die grenzenlose Unterstützung, die ihr mir auf jeder Ebene entgegen gebracht habt. Diese Dissertation ist euch gewidmet.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements	ii
List of Figures	viii
Chapter 1 – Introduction	1
1.1 Background and aim of the thesis	1
1.2 ‘Orientalising’: nomenclature and definition	4
1.3 Approach and structure of the thesis.....	7
Chapter 2 – Setting the Stage.....	10
2.1 Crete	10
2.2 Near East	20
Chapter 3 – Pottery.....	25
3.1 Introduction	25
3.2 Methodology, shortcomings of the dataset and chronology	26
3.3 History of research	32
3.4 Quantitative analyses	35
Quantitative development of surveyed motifs by period	36
Quantification of surveyed motifs by sites and regions	38
Quantification of surveyed motifs by shape: site variation and functional context of motifs	41
Cemeteries	42
Settlements	44
Sanctuaries	46
Orientalising pottery in context: case study Knossos Medical Faculty Site	48
3.5 Stylistic analyses	52
Scales	55
Rosettes	56
Tongues	59
Cables	60

	Guilloches	62
	Lotuses.....	63
	Palmettes	66
	Trees	68
	Bees.....	70
	Eyes	71
	Lions	72
	Sphinxes	80
	Griffins	85
3.6	Summary and further considerations.....	92
Chapter 4 – Terracotta relief figurines and <i>pinakes</i>		95
4.1	Introduction	95
4.2	History of research	97
4.3	Terminology and moulding technique	99
4.4	Relief figurines	102
	Iconographies.....	102
	Contexts.....	105
	Chronology	108
	<i>Comparanda</i>	109
	Levantine material.....	110
	Cypriot material.....	118
	Crete: whence it came	122
	Cretan relief figurine: a suggested interpretation	124
4.5	Mould-made <i>pinakes</i>	130
4.6	Summary and further considerations.....	133
Chapter 5 – Sculpture.....		136
5.1	Introduction	136
5.2	Temple A at Prinias	137
	Introduction and building profile.....	135
	Reconstruction: securely allocable fragments and recent research.....	141
	Reconstruction: filling in the blanks	144

	Comparison with the Near East	148
	Interpretation of the building.....	151
	Synopsis.....	155
5.3	The temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn	157
	Introduction and building profile.....	157
	Sculptural finds: the seated statue.....	161
	Sculptural finds: the triads and the so-called sphinx.....	165
	Reconstruction and comparison with the Near East.....	167
	Interpretation of local cult	169
	Synopsis.....	172
5.4	Statues of seated females	174
5.5	Other material	177
Chapter 6 – Metal items.....		180
6.1	Introduction	180
6.2	History of research	181
6.3	Shields	183
	Cretan material.....	183
	Near Eastern models	189
6.4	Idaeian Cave ‘tympanon’	193
6.5	Reassessing the socio-religious meaning of the shields	196
6.6	Cypriot-type bronze stands.....	200
6.7	Knossos-Kavousi Group.....	203
6.8	Gold jewellery.....	207
6.9	Case study: lion depictions.....	209
6.10	Crete: an ‘unknown metal-working centre in the Near East’?.....	215
6.11	Chronology and development of Cretan orientalising metal productions	221
Chapter 7 – Scenarios of contact with the Near East.....		225
7.1	Trade and gift exchange	225
7.2	Religious involvement (the case of Kommos)	228
7.3	Cohabitation.....	232
7.4	Overseas military involvement.....	237

Chapter 8 – Conclusions	242
8.1 Summary of Cretan orientalising episodes and developments.....	242
8.2 Interpreting the ‘orientalising phenomenon’ on Crete	247
The <i>polis</i> -theory	247
The role of elites.....	251
Towards a holistic reading.....	253
Bibliography	258
Abbreviations	258
General references.....	263
Figures	345
 Appendix A: Index of surveyed orientalising motifs on pottery (plus Creto- Cypriot ware and BS imitations)	 498
Appendix B: Catalogue of Orientalising pottery	511
Appendix C: Illustrations accompanying Appendix B	680

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Fig. 1.1	Map of main Early Iron Age sites on Crete	346
Fig. 1.2	Chronological chart of Crete, Middle Minoan to Roman periods.....	347

Chapter 2

Fig. 2.1	Crete's location in the Eastern Mediterranean.....	348
Fig. 2.2	Map of Crete indicating walking distances from Knossos in hours (4 to 36), important mountain ranges and harbour sites	349
Fig. 2.3	Satellite images of Crete illustrating the mountainous terrain	350
Fig. 2.4	Map of the Ancient Near East indicating the sites mentioned in the text and the ancient road system	351
Fig. 2.5	Map of the southern Levant indicating sites mentioned in the text...	352
Fig. 2.6	Map of southeast Anatolia and the Levant indicating conquered Assyrian regions	353
Fig. 2.7	List of Assyrian and Urartian monarchs.....	354

Chapter 3

Fig. 3.1	Time chart of ceramic phases: Crete and other Greek regions	355
Fig. 3.2a	Map of Crete indicating the location of sites with catalogued pottery.....	356
Fig. 3.2b	Map of Crete indicating the amounts of catalogued pottery from individual sites	358
Fig. 3.3	Occurrence of surveyed motifs on pottery across Crete by period units (LPG-EG, MG-LG and O)	359
Fig. 3.4	Relative proportions of surveyed motifs on pottery across Crete by period units (LPG-EG, MG-LG and O).....	360
Fig. 3.5	Relevant Eleutherna pottery by motifs and periods	361
Fig. 3.6	Relevant Knossos pottery by motifs and periods	361
Fig. 3.7	Relevant Prinias pottery by motifs and periods	362

Fig. 3.8	Relevant Gortyn pottery by motifs and periods.....	362
Fig. 3.9	Relevant Phaistos pottery by motifs and periods.....	363
Fig. 3.10	Relevant Kommos pottery by motifs and periods.....	363
Fig. 3.11	Relevant Afrati pottery by motifs and periods	364
Fig. 3.12	Relevant Kavousi pottery by motifs and periods.....	364
Fig. 3.13	Relevant Praisos pottery by motifs and periods.....	365
Fig. 3.14	Quantification of relevant pottery by motifs and periods, summarised by region.....	366
Fig. 3.15	Relevant Eleutherna Orthi Petra cemetery pottery by shape and period.....	367
Fig. 3.16	Relevant Knossos Medical Faculty Site pottery by shape and period.....	368
Fig. 3.17	Relevant Knossos Fortetsa SE cemetery pottery by shape and period.....	369
Fig. 3.18	Relevant Prinias Siderospilia cemetery pottery by shape	370
Fig. 3.19	Relevant Afrati cemetery pottery by shape	370
Fig. 3.20	Relevant Kavousi cemetery pottery by shape.....	371
Fig. 3.21	Relevant Praisos cemetery pottery by shape	371
Fig. 3.22	Relevant Knossos settlement pottery by shape	372
Fig. 3.23	Relevant Prinias settlement pottery by shape.....	373
Fig. 3.24	Relevant Phaistos settlement pottery by shape	373
Fig. 3.25	Relevant Kavousi settlement pottery by shape	374
Fig. 3.26	Relevant Azoria settlement pottery by shape.....	374
Fig. 3.27	Relevant Gortyn sanctuary pottery by shape.....	375
Fig. 3.28	Relevant Kommos sanctuary pottery by shape.....	375
Fig. 3.29	EIA Knossian cemeteries.....	376

Fig. 3.30	Knossos Medical Faculty Site tombs with orientalising pottery; totals of pottery, ceramic imports and metal pieces per tomb organised according to the number of orientalising vases (1 to 54).	377
Fig. 3.31	Knossos Medical Faculty Site tombs with orientalising pottery; totals of orientalising vases, ceramic imports and other pottery per tomb organised according to the number of metal pieces (0 to 136)	378
Fig. 3.32	Knossos Medical Faculty Site tombs with a minimum of 20 orientalising vases or fragments thereof; ratios of orientalising vases, ceramic imports and other pottery per tomb organised according to the number of metal pieces.....	379
Fig. 3.33	Ivory furniture fitting from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room 37	380
Fig. 3.34	Selection on LM IIC vessels with rosettes from Vrokastro, Farmakokefalo and Episkopi Ierapetras	380
Fig. 3.35	MG and LG gadrooned vessels from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tombs 31 and 65	380
Fig. 3.36	Gadrooned bronze bowl from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 292, North Syrian (?)	381
Fig. 3.37	Phoenician or Phoenician-derived figured silver bowl from Praeneste	381
Fig. 3.38	Bronze bowls with drop-shaped bosses in relief.....	382
Fig. 3.39	Bronze bowl with relief network pattern, from Ashur.....	382
Fig. 3.40	Bronze bowl with figural decoration, from Iran (?).....	383
Fig. 3.41	MPC aryballos from Thebes, Boston Chimera Painter	383
Fig. 3.42	Wild Goat Style oinochoe, SiA Ic, Malibu Painter	384
Fig. 3.43	Protoattic stand in Berlin, <i>ca.</i> 660 BC, Polyphemos Painter	384
Fig. 3.44	Bronze shield from Palaikastro, detail.....	385
Fig. 3.45	MPC-LPC aryballos from Thebes in the British Museum ('Macmillan aryballos'), Chigi Painter	385
Fig. 3.46	Assyrian ivory panel from Nimrud, Residency, Principal Suite, Rooms S4-5.....	386

Fig. 3.47	Wild Goat Style dinos, SiA Ic, from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 34.....	386
Fig. 3.48	Pagoda table from Gordion Tumulus MM, detail of guilloche square	386
Fig. 3.49	North Syrian ivory furniture plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW.7.....	387
Fig. 3.50	Phoenician ivory furniture plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW 37	387
Fig. 3.51	Levantine bronze jug with lotus handle from the Idaean Cave.....	388
Fig. 3.52	Cypriot lotus-handle bowl from the Idaean Cave	388
Fig. 3.53	Parian amphora in Athens National Museum, <i>ca.</i> 670-60 BC	389
Fig. 3.54	Aryballos of the EPC Tendril Group in the British Museum, shoulder design.....	389
Fig. 3.55	Koan krater from Samos, <i>ca.</i> 700 BC; detail of metope	390
Fig. 3.56	Types of Near Eastern lotus chains.....	390
Fig. 3.57	Phoenician ivory from Spain.....	391
Fig. 3.58	Wild Goat Style oinochoai, SiA Ic, from Kameiros	391
Fig. 3.59	Cypriot Bichrome IV and V ceramics in Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.....	392
Fig. 3.60	Ivory panels from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, showing lotus-palmette chains. Assyrian and Phoenician (?).....	392
Fig. 3.61	EPC oinochoe of the Cumae Group from Cumae	393
Fig. 3.62	Ivory plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37.....	393
Fig. 3.63	Phoenician ivories from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37	394
Fig. 3.64	Phoenician bronze jug, provenance unknown; detail.....	394
Fig. 3.65	Corinthian 'circumscribed' palmettes.....	394
Fig. 3.66	Selection of Protoattic 'circumscribed' palmettes.....	395
Fig. 3.67	Depictions of 'sacred trees'.....	395
Fig. 3.68	Volute trees.....	396

Fig. 3.69	LM IIIA larnax from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 107.....	396
Fig. 3.70	Ivory plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW 37, right one Assyrian.....	397
Fig. 3.71	Minoan Final Palace Period seals from Mycenae and Knossos	397
Fig. 3.72	MPG krater from Knossos Tekke cemetery, Tomb F.....	397
Fig. 3.73	Bronze shield from the Idaean Cave	398
Fig. 3.74	Stone lion bowls.....	398
Fig. 3.75	Levantine faience lion vase from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 219	399
Fig. 3.76	MPC-LPC aryballoi painted by the Chigi painter.....	399
Fig. 3.77	Bronze shield from Idaean Cave belonging to the <i>Vierecknetzgruppe</i> ; detail.....	400
Fig. 3.78	Assyrian sculptural reliefs depicting lions, from Ashurbanipal's Palace at Nineveh, ca. 645 BC.....	400
Fig. 3.79	LM IIIC terracotta sphinx from Agia Triada, 'Piazzale dei Sacelli'.....	401
Fig. 3.80	LPC-Early Transitional olpe in Berlin, Painter of Vatican 73; detail..	401
Fig. 3.81	'Flame and Frond' style group (from Tell Halaf?), drawing of incision patterns.....	402
Fig. 3.82	Minoan griffins	402
Fig. 3.83	Selection of Assyrian lion griffins	403
Fig. 3.84	Impressions of Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals in the British Museum and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York	403
Fig. 3.85	EO polychrome pithoi from Knossos Fortetsa cemetery, Tomb P	404
Fig. 3.86	Phoenician ivory plaque from Nimrud, North West Palace, Residential Wing.....	404

Chapter 4

Fig. 4.1	MD terracotta relief figurines from Praisos-Vavelli and Lato.....	405
Fig. 4.2	MD terracotta <i>pinakes</i> from Gortyn (upper) and Lato (lower)	405
Fig. 4.3	Terracotta relief figurines from Gortyn preserving paint.....	406

Fig. 4.4	MD relief figurines from Lato, Gortyn and Axos.....	406
Fig. 4.5	Relief figurines from Axos (MD) and Gortyn (LD).....	407
Fig. 4.6	MD relief figurines from Tsoutsouros (left) and Gortyn (centre and right)	407
Fig. 4.7	PG or G bronze figurine from Agia Triada; sphyrelaton from Dreros, ca.700 BC	408
Fig. 4.8	Neopalatial bronze figurines from Gournia and Tsoutsouros (?)	408
Fig. 4.9	PG or G bronze figurines from Psychro; G terracotta figurine from Gortyn	408
Fig. 4.10	Post-palatial pottery figurines from Amari and Myrsine	409
Fig. 4.11	SM (left and centre) and PG (right) bronze figurines from Psychro ..	409
Fig. 4.12	Terracotta <i>pinax</i> in the Benaki Museum	409
Fig. 4.13	Terracotta <i>pinax</i> in the Kanellopoulos Museum	410
Fig. 4.14	PG bronze figurines from Agia Triada and Olympia.....	410
Fig. 4.15	PD and LD relief figurines from Axos	411
Fig. 4.16	Relief figurines from Lato (MD) and Gortyn.....	411
Fig. 4.17	Dissemination of relief figurines and <i>pinakes</i> from Crete	412
Fig. 4.18	LD relief figurine from the kitchen of the N Acropolis House at Azoria.....	413
Fig. 4.19	LBA relief figurines from Timna – Tel el-Baṭaṣi and of unknown provenance	413
Fig. 4.20	Relief stele, probably from Deir el-Medina	414
Fig. 4.21	LBA and EIA relief figurines of the Astarte type	414
Fig. 4.22	EIA figurine of the Tambourine player type	415
Fig. 4.23	Relief plaques depicting a large relief figure next to an identical smaller one within a temple façade	415
Fig. 4.24	MBA handmade figurines with a flat body	416
Fig. 4.25	8 th to 6 th -century Phoenician <i>Dea Gravidā</i> figurine	416

Fig. 4.26	8 th to 6 th -century Phoenician 'Breast Astarte' figurines.....	417
Fig. 4.27	Dissemination of relief figurines from Cyprus by type.....	418
Fig. 4.28	Cypriot relief figurines of the Astarte type.....	419
Fig. 4.29	Cypriot relief figurines with a drum	419
Fig. 4.30	Relief figurines from Amathus	420
Fig. 4.31	LBA relief figurines from Alalakh.....	420
Fig. 4.32	Relief figurines from Amathus	421
Fig. 4.33	LC II-III 'Base-ring' Ware figurines with flat bodies	421
Fig. 4.34	LD relief figurines of the <i>anasyrma</i> type from Syme	422
Fig. 4.35	LD relief figurines of the <i>anasyrma</i> type from Axos (left) and Gortyn (right)	422
Fig. 4.36	Ivory figurine from Nuzi with 'cut-away dress'	423
Fig. 4.37	Impression of a LBA Second Syrian Group cylinder seal with female lifting her dress	423
Fig. 4.38	Relief figurines from Arsos.....	424
Fig. 4.39	G figurines from Axos with a Cypriot-inspired head shape.....	424
Fig. 4.40	Types of <i>poloi</i> observed on Cretan relief figurines	425
Fig. 4.41	PD relief figurines from Gortyn showing tripartite elements.....	425
Fig. 4.42	<i>Pinakes</i> with Master of Animals depictions from Lato (ED) and Gortyn (MD)	426
Fig. 4.43	<i>Pinax</i> showing winged females carrying a pediment-like element	426
Fig. 4.44	<i>Pinax</i> depicting a female with tendril-sprouting headgear from Smari	427
Fig. 4.45	MD <i>pinax</i> from Gortyn depicting a sphinx and preserving white slip.....	428
Fig. 4.46	ED <i>pinax</i> from Gortyn depicting Mistress of Animals between lions.	428
Fig. 4.47	Terracotta plaque from the cult building at Azoria	428
Fig. 4.48	Simplified distribution of relief figurines and <i>pinakes</i> from Crete	429

Chapter 5

Fig. 5.1	Plan of the Prinias <i>Patela</i>	430
Fig. 5.2	Map of 'Area Templi A e B' on the Prinias <i>Patela</i> , showing Building A (here <i>Tempio A</i>), Building B (here <i>Tempio B</i>) and Building sTB (Rooms VA-VD)	431
Fig. 5.3	Plan of the porch of Building A at Prinias and the area in front of it; numbers indicating find spots of architectural fragments and other objects.....	432
Fig. 5.4	Reconstruction of Building A at Prinias according to Pernier	433
Fig. 5.5	Reconstruction of Building A at Prinias according to Stucchi	433
Fig. 5.6	Reconstruction of Building A at Prinias according to Beyer	434
Fig. 5.7	Porch area (<i>Ambiente VA</i>) of 'Building south of Temple B' at Prinias.....	435
Fig. 5.8	Minoan 'stylobate' at the Palace of Malia, Central Court, and the Palace of Knossos, light-well of Grand Staircase.....	435
Fig. 5.9	Prinias Building A, lintel as restored	436
Fig. 5.10	Prinias Building A, lintel fragments before restoration	436
Fig. 5.11	Prinias Building A, lower body of better-preserved seated female before restoration	437
Fig. 5.12	Prinias Building A, doorpost with figural decoration on two joining sides.....	437
Fig. 5.13	Prinias, fragment of sphinx body. Found in association with Wall 4 behind Building A.....	438
Fig. 5.14	Prinias Building A, fragments of lotus-palmette frieze	438
Fig. 5.15	Prinias Building A, rider frieze.....	439
Fig. 5.16	Prinias Building A, reconstruction of sphinx including newly discovered body and wing fragments	440
Fig. 5.17	Prinias Building A, seated female.....	440
Fig. 5.18	Prinias Building A, reconstruction of porch.....	441

Fig. 5.19	Long side of doorpost fragment from Prinias scaled according to a selection of seated and pacing sphinxes on terracottas and pottery.	442
Fig. 5.20	Proposed reconstruction of Building A at Prinias.....	443
Fig. 5.21	Mastaba of Sheshem-nefer IV, Giza: reconstruction of the façade, Sixth Dynasty	445
Fig. 5.22	Orthostate arrangement of the North Gate at Karatepe	445
Fig. 5.23	Map of Gortyn.....	446
Fig. 5.24	Gortyn, temple on the Acropolis Hill	447
Fig. 5.25	Reconstructions of the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn.....	448
Fig. 5.26	Interior of the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, the <i>thesaurus</i>	449
Fig. 5.27	Plan of the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn and the building to its east.....	449
Fig. 5.28	Limestone statue from the east slope of the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, early 7 th century	450
Fig. 5.29	Section of the east slope of the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn.....	451
Fig. 5.30	Section of the east slope of the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn at the height of the Chequerboard and Lower Terrace Walls	452
Fig. 5.31	Statue of the seated female <i>in-situ</i> during excavation	452
Fig. 5.32	Restored LD limestone slab from the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, depicting a triad.....	453
Fig. 5.33	LD limestone fragment from the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, depicting a feline	454
Fig. 5.34	Proposed reconstruction of the fragment depicting a feline from the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn as a relief slab.....	454
Fig. 5.35	Phoenician style ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud	455
Fig. 5.36	LO relief pithos in the Metaxa Collection depicting a Lebessi Type B couple scene	455
Fig. 5.37	Distribution of orientalising sculptural fragments on Crete	456

Fig. 5.38	Limestone head from the Zeus sanctuary at Amnisos, late 9 th or early 8 th century.....	457
Fig. 5.39	Limestone relief in the Archaeological Museum of Chania, <i>ca.</i> 700 ...	457
Fig. 5.40	Limestone slab from Tekke Tomb 2, <i>ca.</i> 700.....	458
Fig. 5.41	MD limestone relief from Malles	458
Fig. 5.42	LD limestone fragment from Phaistos	459
Chapter 6		
Fig. 6.1	Dissemination of orientalising bronzes on Crete by group	460
Fig. 6.2	Shield types: protome shield (left) and omphalos shield (right)	461
Fig. 6.3	Shield with holes running along the rim	461
Fig. 6.4	Types of rim profiles on Cretan shields.....	462
Fig. 6.5	Lion head shield from the Idaean Cave.....	462
Fig. 6.6	Lion head shield from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Tomb A1/K1; detail	463
Fig. 6.7	So-called 'basin' from Eleutherna	463
Fig. 6.8	So-called 'bowl' or 'basin' from Afrati	464
Fig. 6.9	Omphalos shield from the Idaean Cave	464
Fig. 6.10	Omphalos shield from the Idaean Cave	465
Fig. 6.11	Relief from the Palace of Sargon II at Dur Šarrukin-Khorsabad, depicting the sack of the Musasir. Drawing by E. Flandin.....	465
Fig. 6.12	Types of rims on Urartian shields.....	466
Fig. 6.13	Shield with inscription of Argišti I from Kamir Blur	466
Fig. 6.14	Lion head shield with inscription of Rusa II from Ayanis	467
Fig. 6.15	Section of the shield with an inscription of Išpuini and Menua from Anzaf.....	468
Fig. 6.16	So-called 'tympanon' from the Idaean Cave.....	469
Fig. 6.17	Part of a four-sided stand from the Idaean Cave, depicting a sphinx	470

Fig. 6.18	Part of a four-sided stand from Delphi, depicting a quadruped (hind?)	470
Fig. 6.19	Part of a four-sided stand from Syme, depicting griffins and goats ...	471
Fig. 6.20	Fragment from Delphi, probably belonging to a four-sided stand	471
Fig. 6.21	Bronze quiver from Knossos Fortetsa, Tomb P.....	472
Fig. 6.22	Bronze belt from Knossos Fortetsa, Tomb P.....	472
Fig. 6.23	Bronze sheet from Kavousi, bee-hive tomb at Skouriasmenos.....	473
Fig. 6.24	Gold band from Knossos Tekke, Tomb 2	474
Fig. 6.25	Gold foil from Knossos Fortetsa, Tomb X.....	474
Fig. 6.26	Gold foil from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 219.....	475
Fig. 6.27	Selection of orthostates from Karatepe.....	475
Fig. 6.28	Gold pectoral from Knossos Tekke, Tomb 2	476
Fig. 6.29	Gold pendant from Knossos Tekke, Tomb 2	476
Fig. 6.30	Gold pendant from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Building M.....	476
Fig. 6.31	Gold pendant from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Building M.....	477
Fig. 6.32	Gold pendant from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Building M.....	477
Fig. 6.33	Gold pendant from the Idaean Cave.....	478
Fig. 6.34	So-called Hunt Shield from the Idaean Cave.....	479
Fig. 6.35	Boar depictions on northwest Iranian bronzes.....	480
Fig. 6.36	Detail of the design on a gold cup from Hasanlu.....	480
Fig. 6.37	Detail of the design on a bronze breastplate from Hasanlu	480
Fig. 6.38	Seal of the Assyrian king and the kings' bureau: example from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud, reign of Esarhaddon; clay sealing from Niniveh	481
Fig. 6.39	Ivory plaque, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW 36; detail of the design on a silver bowl from Etruria	481
Fig. 6.40	Bronze belt buckles from Hasanlu, Burnt Building I	482

Fig. 6.41	Statue base from Carchemish, King's Gate	482
Fig. 6.42	Section of orthostate block from Carchemish, Herald's Wall.....	483
Fig. 6.43	Coarse ware <i>patrix</i> for griffin protome from Afrati	483
Fig. 6.44	Selection of griffin protomes from Samos, attributed to the Barberini workshop	483
Fig. 6.45	Reconstructed development of the Cretan lion griffin	484
Fig. 6.46	Cauldron with griffin protomes and siren attachments from Praeneste, Tomba Bernardini	485
Fig. 6.47	Cauldron with griffin protomes and siren attachments from Olympia, south of Building C.....	485
Fig. 6.48	Bull figurine standing on the wing of a 'Van Group' siren, from the Argive Heraion	486
Fig. 6.49	Clay siren from Psychro in the Ashmolean Museum.....	486
Fig. 6.50	'Van Group' bronze siren from Olympia.....	486
Fig. 6.51	'Van Group' bronze siren from Olympia.....	487
Fig. 6.52	Conical bronze stand from Praeneste, Tomba Barberini.....	487
Fig. 6.53	Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium (no. U2)	488
Fig. 6.54	Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium (no. U3)	488
Fig. 6.55	Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium (no. U4)	489
Fig. 6.56	Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium, Well 6 (no. U5)	489
Fig. 6.57	Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Alpheios bed (no. U6).....	490
Fig. 6.58	Bronze shield from Olympia, Echo Hall	490
Fig. 6.59	Sheet bronze no. 6 belonging to the sphyrelata from Olympia	491
Fig. 6.60	Reconstruction drawing of the sphyrelata triad from Olympia, Stadion Well 17	491
Fig. 6.61	Reconstruction drawing of the right hand figure of the sphyrelata triad, i.e. Sheet I and Unit A	492
Fig. 6.62	Reconstruction drawing of the left hand figure of the sphyrelata triad, i.e. Sheet II and Unit B.....	492

Fig. 6.63	Reconstruction drawing of the central figure of the sphyrrelata triad, i.e. Unit D, Sheet V and Unit C	493
-----------	--	-----

Chapter 7

Fig. 7.1	‘Tripillar Shrine’ at Kommos Temple B	494
Fig. 7.2	Pillars in Room VD of the ‘Building south of Temple B’ at Prinias: to the right the tripillar structure; in front of the adjoining wall two of the three later pillars	494
Fig. 7.3	Single burials at Afrati: variations of burials with inverted terracotta basins.....	495
Fig. 7.4	Assyrian (?) conical bronze helmet from Tomb A1K1 at Eleutherna	496

Chapter 8

Fig. 8.1	Map indicating find spots of orientalising object groups and their chronological placement.....	497
----------	---	-----

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background and aim of the thesis

Ancient contacts between Greece and the Near East¹ have always held great fascination for historians and archaeologists. Concerning the Early Iron Age (hereafter 'EIA'; ca. 1050-700 BC), a plethora of publications have investigated Greek finds discovered in the Levant,² while equal attention has been paid to Phoenician westward expansion.³ The quintessence of Greek involvement with the Near East is the emulation of 'oriental' objects and designs – that is, the creation of 'orientalising' artefacts. The groundwork for the study of such was laid as early as 1912, when Frederik Poulsen's *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* provided an inventory of then-available instances and established stylistic analysis as a means of defining artistic cross-cultural links. Subsequent researchers further refined this approach and developed explanations for the socio-political causes and mechanisms behind the emergence of orientalising objects.⁴

The last 20 years have seen a massive upsurge in the study of Eastern Mediterranean networks of contact and exchange, including their impact on regional self-portrayal. This is particularly evident from the numerous interdisciplinary conferences and exhibitions that have spotlighted relevant artefact groups.⁵ At the

¹ *N.B.*: This thesis uses the designation 'Near East' for the entire region between and including Anatolia, Egypt and western Iran. The 'Eastern Mediterranean' is understood in the wider sense that comprises Greece and Egypt (i.e. it refers to all areas bordering the Eastern Mediterranean basin), while the 'Levant' corresponds to modern southeast Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan.

² *I.a.* Riis 1982, esp. 253; Perreault 1991, 396-404; 1993, 79-82; Waldbaum 1994; 1997; Boardman 1999a, 35-54, 111-41; 2006, 514-20; Kearsley 1999; Coldstream 2005, 51f.; Lemos 2005; Fantalkin 2006.

³ Cf. n. 110.

⁴ Kunze 1931; Barnett 1948; Dunbabin 1957, esp. 49-51; Boardman 1970.

⁵ E.g. Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998; Uehlinger 2000; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003; Suter and Uehlinger 2005; Aruz et al. 2014.

same time, increased efforts have been made to advance our understanding of the ancient Mediterranean as a cultural unit and to redefine the co-existence of and complex interplay between its members.⁶ Concerning orientalising material in particular, contributions in Riva and Vella's 2006 volume have reviewed current evaluative frameworks (cf. Section 1.2). Regarding Crete, several publications have compiled and critically evaluated Near Eastern imports excavated on the island.⁷ Thomas Brisart's *Un art citoyen. Recherches sur l'orientalisation des artisanats en Grèce proto-archaïque* further analysed and interpreted orientalising object groups, contrasting the situation on Crete with other Greek regions. It should also be noted that 2014 saw the much anticipated re-opening of the Heraklion Archaeological Museum, which now gives pride of place to a spectacular array of Early Iron Age finds, and in June 2016 the new museum at Eleutherna has been inaugurated. Many of the finds featuring in the main chapters of this thesis are thus fortunately (back) on display.

In light of the above, a treatment of EIA orientalising finds from Crete seems particularly topical (for Cretan sites and chronological periods cf. Figs. 1.1 and 1.2; N.B.: the dates provided in this thesis are all BC unless stated otherwise). It is generally acknowledged that the island constituted a key node in the mediation of eastern influences and played a pioneering role in Greek orientalising developments. However, due to the enormous quantity of relevant finds, scholars have so far either opted to restrict their investigations to specific classes of items or attempted to tie selective snippets of evidence into larger historical narratives or theoretical schemes. The present thesis takes the opportunity to provide a comprehensive and integrated account of the entirety of orientalising material, aiming at the highest degree of scrupulousness permitted by the word limit. Applicable instances of pottery,

⁶ Prime examples are Horden and Purcell 2000; Harris 2005; Broodbank 2013.

⁷ Hoffman 1997; Antoniadis 2012; Pappalardo 2012.

terracottas, sculpture and metal work are carefully examined and re-assessed in terms of their orientalising characteristics; their potential Near Eastern models; their Bronze Age precursors; their contexts and significance on Crete; and the likely motivations behind their emergence. Similarly detailed attention is paid to the Near Eastern prototypes themselves in order to better comprehend original meanings and how Cretan emulations might relate to these. Although much of the discussed material has been studied before, it will become apparent that a meticulous reappraisal often favours interpretations that are markedly different from conventional readings.

1.2 ‘Orientalising’: nomenclature and definition

The term ‘orientalising’ first became established in the 1870s for describing Corinthian, ‘Melian’ and East Greek ceramics.⁸ Over time, the originally style-related concept assumed an overarching perspective,⁹ and Near-Eastern derived elements have been traced in various aspects of ancient Greek culture, especially literature and mythology.¹⁰ Inevitably, such diversification has widened and blurred definitions. Coupled with a re-intensified interest in the subject, this has exposed the term to unprecedented criticism.

Most deplored is the designation of the late 8th and 7th centuries as the ‘Orientalising period’, which is now often replaced by ‘Protoarchaic period’.¹¹ A frequent line of argumentation points out that the LBA also displays strong Near Eastern influences.¹² This is surely correct and was originally reflected in less exclusive phrases such as “period of strong Oriental influence” and “period of Orientalizing influence”¹³ (only later, *the* Orientalising period was established and became associated with the coming of Archaic art). However, no other pre-Classical chronological unit provides us with a similarly tangible accumulation of orientalising elements (in the sense of self-created appropriation rather than re-contextualised foreign exotica or simple imitations)¹⁴ within a relatively narrow timeframe and across several Mediterranean regions. These elements are indeed so conspicuous that

⁸ Cook 1997, 290f. Riva and Vella (2006b, 4) attribute a central role in this to Alexander Conze.

⁹ Brisart (2008-9, 4) describes it as a “globalised phenomenon”.

¹⁰ I.a. Astour 1965; Snodgrass 1980, 30; Burkert 1992; S. Morris 1992; Matthäus 1993, 176-83; Penglase 1997; West 1997; Dalley and Reyes 1998, 100-3; Sommer 2000, 272f., 284f.; Raaflaub 2000; 2004; Rollinger 2004, esp. 409-15; 2015; Kolotourou 2012, esp. 213-6. Covered aspects are: linguistics, poetry and the alphabet; mythology, religion and magic; legal practices, *polis* and finance; medicine and astronomy; music and fashion.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998 (*passim*) and Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 16.

¹² In this context S. Morris (1992, 102-10) argued that the LBA initiated an international age that continued into the EIA.

¹³ Riva and Vella 2006b, 7.

¹⁴ Osborne 2006, 154f.

John Boardman and Walter Burkert opted for the slightly provocative label “Orientalizing revolution”¹⁵. Apart from this, the name ‘Orientalising period’ has been criticised for selectively emphasising one aspect of material culture, which is not even equally pronounced at different sites.¹⁶ However, this likewise applies to the ‘Geometric period’, for instance, and simply adds another entry to the long list of evocative but controversial nomenclature that is Greek chronology. In fact, I would propose that the use of the word ‘orientalising’ in conjunction with ‘period’ is the least problematic, simply because everyone is well aware of its shortcomings. Greater difficulties arise when ‘orientalising’ appears separately, since it is often used indiscriminately to denote that something is of Near Eastern character or belongs to the Orientalising period.¹⁷ In order to avoid such ambiguity, in the following ‘orientalising’ on its own *always* refers to the character of an object whereas chronological placement is indicated by absolute dates, the full phrase ‘of the O(rientalising) period’ or the initial ‘O’ in an adjective position (e.g. ‘O pithos’).

Regarding the word elements, it has been suggested that the suffix ‘-ise’ obscures the identity of respective agents.¹⁸ In this thesis, the description of material as ‘orientalising’ is understood to axiomatically imply a non-oriental (in most cases local) authorship, otherwise it would be referred to as ‘oriental’ or rather Near Eastern. Further, the geographical component ‘orient’ has been judged as too vague and anachronistic.¹⁹ However, due to intense cultural cross-fertilisation in the ancient Near East, it is often impossible to narrow influences down to one specific site or even region, thus requiring a suitable umbrella term. That the concept of ‘the Orient’ was non-existent during the investigated timeframe – as was a unified Greek or Cretan

¹⁵ Burkert 1992; Boardmann 1999b, 47.

¹⁶ For Crete, Kotsonas (2013, 238) argues that only at Knossos, Afrati, Gortyn and perhaps Phaistos the ratio of orientalising elements is high enough to justify retaining the term.

¹⁷ In both instances capitalisation in spelling is inconsistent.

¹⁸ Purcell 2006, 26.

¹⁹ E.g. Purcell 2006, 35; Gunter 2009, 50-2.

identity for that matter²⁰ – is beside the point, because we are in any case dealing with modern classification. For all these reasons and the lack of a better substitute, it seems preferable to continue using the term ‘orientalising’ in the traditional way, while being careful to avoid ambiguities and unnecessary generalisations.

²⁰ E. Hall 1991, 8, 12; Perlman 2004a, 1144.

1.3 Approach and structure of the thesis

As stated in the opening section, this thesis compiles and systematically reviews the entire corpus of orientalising material from Crete in order to better understand its existence and meaning. I feel compelled to clarify at the outset the underlying premise of the entire endeavour: that we can distinguish features of a local origin from those that were newly appropriated from abroad. It is beyond doubt that the LBA-EIA Eastern Mediterranean was marked by a high level of connectivity and intermingling, as indicated by the ubiquitous buzzwords ‘globalisation’, ‘Mediterraneanisation’, ‘transculturality’, ‘interculturality’, and ‘hybridisation’.²¹ Yet, the notion that this amounts to a virtually uniform *koine* in which it is impossible to define regional characteristics, local products or agents of change²² is seriously defective on a non-theoretical level. As Philipp Stockhammer aptly highlighted, the mentioned concepts (globalisation, Mediterraneanisation, etc.) all postulate that there *are* definable cultural entities between which such amalgamations or integrations took place.²³ EIA Crete certainly had a distinct cultural profile and, as will be shown, even orientalising artefacts commonly feature characteristics that distinguish them from Near Eastern material.

In order to achieve a diachronic perspective, this thesis covers relevant objects from the 9th to 7th centuries, spanning the emergence to the decline of EIA Cretan orientalising trends.²⁴ In assessing these objects, it mostly analyses depicted motifs, iconographies and styles, but also considers techniques, types and morphologies where appropriate. From a present-day viewpoint, such an essentially art-historic

²¹ I. Morris (2003) coined ‘Mediterraneanisation’; the term hybridisation was first introduced to Mediterranean archaeology by van Dommelen (1997, 309, 319).

²² Cf. e.g. Papadopoulos 1997, 203-7; Horden and Purcell 2000, 400.

²³ Stockhammer 2013, 12f.

²⁴ Occasionally, discussed material can overlap into the early 6th century, cf. p. 30f., 109 and 223f.

method might appear old-fashioned. Yet, the constantly growing corpus of finds and the fast-advancing state of research make it imperative to periodically re-evaluate available data. Only then, and only in combination with a strong archaeological contextualisation, is it safe to proceed to the next levels of interpreting the roles and meanings of objects as well as conceptualising the societies these were used in – fields of interest that have gained much ground in the last decades²⁵.

This thesis is structured in three parts. The first, consisting of Chapter 2 alone, offers brief overviews of Crete and the Near East during the investigated periods. These contain basic information to anchor the topic within broader developments and touch on sites/regions, materials and circumstances that will figure in discussions.

The second and main part of the thesis, comprising Chapters 3 to 6, deals with the material itself. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the plentiful pottery evidence and differs from the other chapters in containing a systematised quantification (Ch. 3.4) and thorough analysis of every major orientalising motif (Ch. 3.5). This might seem very elementary but represents a desideratum, as Cretan ceramics are commonly treated by ware or period. In Chapter 4, the terracotta material is reviewed. Due to the extreme preponderance of relief figurines depicting frontal females, these are focused on in greater detail (Ch. 4.4). A larger section examines their counterparts in the Near East and Cyprus because interpretations of the Cretan examples strongly depend on these models. Next, Chapter 5 deals with available limestone sculpture. Priority is given to the fragments from Prinias (Ch. 5.2) and Gortyn (Ch. 5.3), which form the only sets and can be contextualised with architectural remains. After an intensive reassessment of the preserved evidence, new reconstructions and interpretations are advanced in each section. The final category examined is the metal finds, which are

²⁵ Cf. e.g. Kopytoff 1986; Hodder 2011.

treated by object type in Chapter 6, paying special attention to the numerous orientalising bronze shields (Ch. 6.3). A case study on lion depictions across object types presents important new insights (Ch. 6.9). The chapter ends with a discussion on groups of bronze items that have been found abroad but should be attributed to Cretan workshops (Ch. 6.10). Since Cretan orientalising objects are often related to or even modelled on local orientalising items in other materials, it is unfortunately impossible to avoid cross-referencing between Chapters 3-6.

In the third and final part of this thesis, Chapter 7 presents a critical revision of contacts between Crete and the Near East, since the nature of relationships must have affected the meaning of appropriated Near Eastern designs to a significant degree. Then, a synopsis of reconstructed orientalising episodes is provided in the first section of Chapter 8, and the thesis ends with a suggested interpretation of the orientalising phenomenon on Crete (Ch. 8.2).

Chapter 2 – Setting the stage

2.1 Crete

Crete is the southernmost Aegean island and occupies the very heart of the eastern Mediterranean. Aristotle described it as “beautifully situated to rule the Greek world”²⁶ and, while not striving for any such hegemony, its location guaranteed a critical role in long-distance travel and trade (Fig. 2.1).²⁷ Measuring 235 by 50 km,²⁸ it is also the second largest Greek island and counts as one of the so-called *megalonisoi*. Due to its strongly elongated shape, it naturally divides into longitudinal zones. Walking from Knossos, it takes a maximum of 12 hours to the south coast, but more than 24 and 34 hours to the eastern and western ends, respectively (Fig. 2.2).²⁹ Life on Crete was strongly defined by the surrounding sea, which had the capacity to both separate and connect, and formidable mountain ranges (Fig. 2.3) that create many micro-regions and always had a profound impact on local identities.³⁰ With limited mineral resources but of average fertility (a factor that varied by region), Crete remained chiefly agro-pastoralist throughout history, although specialised industries emerged at various stages.³¹

The period succeeding the final dissolution of the Bronze Age palatial system around 1250 was marked by a complex multitude of continuities and changes. Distinctly noticeable is a shift in settlement patterns during the LM IIIB to IIIC

²⁶ *Pol.* II.10, 1271b32-33.

²⁷ This illustration only shows the principal routes. The 8th-century Tanit and Elissa wrecks found off the shore of Israel demonstrate that there must have been a much greater multiplicity of direct connections (Ballard et al. 2002, 167).

²⁸ Rackham and Moody 1994, xi.

²⁹ These are computed times, which roughly accord with Pendlebury’s walking reports (Bevan 2010, 30f.)

³⁰ Chaniotis 2014, 9-11, 14-16.

³¹ *Ibid.* 11f.; Wallace 2003b; Perlman 2004b, 102f. An example of a specialised industry is Bronze Age textile production (Burke 1999).

transition. This encompassed the abandonment of many lowland coastal locations as well as the simultaneous creation of defensible and, in the case of central Crete, more extensive sites at higher altitudes.³² Principal reasons for this shift seem to have been seaborne threats and agricultural considerations.³³ Importantly, all larger 8th to 7th-century settlements were founded during this horizon of reconfiguration – of course with the exception of the much older gateway sites of Knossos, Phaistos and Chania.³⁴ Many of these LM IIIC foundations evidently constituted focal points of enduring stability, which facilitated growth and increasing socio-political complexity. Remarkable continuity also characterises several extra-urban sanctuaries that stayed in use into the EIA, including the Patsos Cave, the Idaean Cave, the Psychro Cave and the sanctuary at Syme.³⁵

The PG period saw an important caesura, which is more pronounced in the centre of the island but also traceable in the east. It is marked by the nucleation of populations at a strongly reduced number of sites³⁶ and an enhanced display of authority through monopolised assets by a small section of society. In central Crete, the latter is most apparent in the (re)use of large tholoi that occur as single or few examples per site, are particularly rich in metal finds and imports, and stayed in use for several generations; in the east, there are graves that have yielded conspicuously wealthy contents.³⁷ PG burial customs in central Crete are also distinguished by a significant broadening in the range of tomb types, which could either indicate stronger social diversification³⁸ or a novel desire to express dissimilarities. Regarding sanctuary evidence, it is generally noticeable that the amounts of dedications and the

³² Kanta 2001; Nowicki 2000; 2011.

³³ Haggis 1993, 143-60; 1996, 410; Nowicki 2001, 37; 2011; Wallace 2003a, 257.

³⁴ Wallace 2010a, 17; 2011, 197-9; Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 3.

³⁵ Prent 2005, 312-20, 339-48.

³⁶ Wallace 2003a, 257f., 260-70; 2011, 200f.; Haggis 2014, 121 (partly based on Gaignerot-Driessen forthcoming).

³⁷ Eaby 2007, esp. 354, 363f.; 2009, 99-101.

³⁸ *Id.* 2007, esp. 357f., 361. The same cannot be claimed for the east, which primarily experienced a shift from small tholoi to burial enclosures (*Id.* 2011, 181).

spectrum of votive types increased dramatically during the PG to O periods.³⁹ Beginning in the PG period, there was also an increased re-use of LBA structures, including the ruins at Ayia Triada, Amnisos and Palaikastro;⁴⁰ a remarkable rise in suburban and urban sanctuaries, which often featured temples of the newly emerged hearth type;⁴¹ and a pronounced increase in votives as well as a specialisation in the function of the different kinds of sanctuaries.⁴²

Regarding the O period, settlement patterns were quite heterogeneous. Some regions consolidated previous trends (e.g. the Mirabello area), while others attest to a reverse process of de-nucleation (e.g. the Lasithi plateau).⁴³ The subsequent century presents an equally mixed picture. Finds from Knossos famously thin out after *ca.* 630 before recording a virtual disruption between 600 and 575, which has led to the theory of a so-called 'Archaic-' or '6th-century gap'. A decline in the amounts of contemporary material across the island as a whole is, however, perhaps better explained by a lack of diagnostic features and incorrect chronological attributions. Recent research has shown that at some sites, especially Azoria and Praisos, the 6th-century phase is actually very well represented. Discussions of this horizon are beyond the scope of this thesis, but overviews are available elsewhere.⁴⁴

The Homeric poems, now largely accepted to date to the 7th century,⁴⁵ constitute the only available EIA literary sources that can provide insights into the contemporaneous situation. Interpreting them is an extremely complex undertaking and needs to be conducted in a very careful and differentiated way.⁴⁶ Despite this, they seem generally more valuable for interpreting EIA contexts than the second set

³⁹ Prent 2005, esp. 244.

⁴⁰ D'Agata 1998; Schäfer 1992, esp. 182f.; MacVeagh Thorne and Prent 2000, 174.

⁴¹ Prent 2005, esp. 625, 627-33; Prent 2007; D'Acunto 2012.

⁴² Prent 2005, esp. 626f.

⁴³ Watrous 1982, 20f.; Haggis 2014, 122 (partly based on Gaignerot-Driessen forthcoming).

⁴⁴ Prent 1996-7, 36-45; Coldstream et al. 1999; Kotsonas 2002; Erickson 2010, esp. 1-15; 2014.

⁴⁵ West 2011, 16. Cf. *ibid.* 16-19 for main arguments necessitating this dating.

⁴⁶ They include many anachronisms and narrative devices that need to be taken into account (I. Morris 1986; S. Sherratt 1990).

of literary sources at our disposal, late Classical to late antique texts (see below).

Particularly relevant is the much-cited passage in the *Odyssey* (19. 172-7):

“There is a land called Crete in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair rich land, surrounded by water, and there are many men in it, past counting, and ninety cities [“poleis”]. They have not all the same speech; their tongues are mixed. There dwell Achaeans, there great-hearted native Cretans [“Eteo-Cretans”], there Cydonians, and Dorians in three divisions, and noble Pelasgians.”⁴⁷

Susan Sherratt noted that the above mention of polyglotism is unique within the epics,⁴⁸ which means that this feature must have been considered very distinctive. Unfortunately, we know relatively little about the diversity of languages spoken on Crete. Three scripts are attested for the Bronze Age: Linear B was used for Mycenaean, a form of Greek, but Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphic remain undeciphered. During the Iron Age, a Cretan variant of the Doric dialect was widely present⁴⁹ – although some scholars stress that it was by no means as prevalent and ‘pure’ as traditionally thought⁵⁰ – while at least one non-Greek language is preserved in the so-called ‘Eteocretan’ inscriptions,⁵¹ generally accepted examples of which come from Praisos and Dreros.⁵² According to the established narrative, the island underwent a profound language shift from the Bronze to Iron Age (since Doric is not derived from Mycenaean) and this is thought to have ensued from an ethnic shift (the ‘arrival of the Dorians’, see below). However, it is important to bear in mind that preserved Linear B writing is exclusively administrative, plus find spots are few and almost entirely restricted to the north coast.⁵³ For the Iron Age, Crete has yielded an unusual amount of public legal inscriptions but ‘casual’ writing (i.e. other than on stone), although

⁴⁷ Murray in Murray and Dimock 1998, 247.

⁴⁸ S. Sherratt 1996, 90.

⁴⁹ Bile in Giannakis 2014, s.v. ‘Cretan’.

⁵⁰ Perlman 2005, 282; Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 47. For Arcado-Cypriot elements, for instance, cf. Duhoux 1988.

⁵¹ Morpurgo Davies and Olivier 2012, 111, 113-5.

⁵² Duhoux 1982, 27-85; Whitley 1998, 27. Additionally there is a contested slab from Psychro (Kenanidis and Papakitsos 2014-5) and an amphora handle from Azoria (Haggis et al. 2011a, 57f.).

⁵³ Driessen et al. 2015, 59f.

comparatively well represented in the 8th-7th centuries, is largely restricted to specific sites (Afrati, Gortyn and Kommos).⁵⁴ Consequently, these documents are fairly uninformative as to the wider use of languages in respective timeframes. Further, dialectologists assume that Proto-Dorian and Proto-Attic-Ionic dialects must have existed alongside Mycenaean,⁵⁵ so hypothetically it is possible that some form of Proto-Dorian might have been used in Bronze Age Crete. Be that as it may, this outline has shown that there is actually little certainty about the specifics of Cretan linguistic multiplicity as well as continuities versus discontinuities. What we *do* know is that the island's inhabitants seem to have spoken several languages throughout the mentioned periods, although Greek was presumably prevalent during the EIA. It is plausible that this enhanced communication skills and offered some advantages when dealing with people(s) from different origins.

Interpreting the list of groups referred to in the quoted Odyssey passage is likewise problematic. Around the beginning of the common era, Strabo commented that "according to Staphylus, the Dorians occupy the part towards the east, the Cydonians the western part, the Eteo-Cretans the southern; and to these last belongs the town Prasus [...]"⁵⁶ The association of the so-called Eteocretans with Praisos is confirmed by the above-mentioned inscriptions. It is not possible to identify them in the archaeological record,⁵⁷ but according to Hall's definitions of ethnicity this is not to be expected.⁵⁸ The circumstance that Strabo assigns them to the south instead of the east of the island (and the Dorians to the east instead of the centre) has caused some confusion,⁵⁹ but this must surely be due to his idea that the eastern part of the

⁵⁴ Whitley 1997, 649-60; Johnston 2013. For a list of legal inscriptions cf. Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 147-505.

⁵⁵ Duhoux in Giannakis 2014, s.v. 'Mycenaean Script and Language'.

⁵⁶ Strabo 10.4.6 (Translation from H.L. Jones 1928, 127).

⁵⁷ E.g. Whitley 1998a, 36-8; Tsipopoulou 2005, 551.

⁵⁸ J. Hall 1997.

⁵⁹ Cf. Duhoux 1982, 13 n. 5; Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, 59f.

island bends towards Egypt⁶⁰. The localisation of the Kydones in the west seems corroborated by the local place name of Kydonia (modern Chania) and perhaps also by the characteristic roots of particular personal names.⁶¹

It is generally agreed that the Achaeans and Dorians were mainland Greek 'newcomers', the former usually being equated with the Mycenaeans (or their descendants), but the dates of their arrival and their numbers are contested.⁶² While several features of the LBA archaeological record can be identified as characteristically Mycenaean (especially Linear B tablets and shaft graves), there are no EIA patterns, contexts or materials that can be convincingly associated with the arrival of distinct Dorian, i.e. mainland, groups.⁶³ Either these moved to Crete already during the BA (a scenario that I cannot sufficiently evaluate) or they assimilated so quickly and completely as to not leave any traces. The latter seems possible if we are dealing with a prolonged, diluted process of small numbers of households entering communities at a time,⁶⁴ but this would raise the question of why their language should become so important. The case of the Pelasgians is likewise enigmatic. The fact that they are mentioned alongside the previous groups might favour their historicity,⁶⁵ but recent studies have stressed that they seem to have functioned as a standard element connoting original inhabitants and as a mythological tool.⁶⁶ Either way, we are apparently dealing with a very mixed and dynamic island population, which may also be evidenced by 'ethnically' diverse personal names appearing

⁶⁰ Strabo 10.4.3.

⁶¹ Sekunda 2002, 300. Willets (1965, 29) suggested that they had arrived from Asia Minor during the Bronze Age.

⁶² For overviews cf. Driessen 1998-9, esp. 93f.; Prent 2005, 88-108.

⁶³ For the same evaluation cf. Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, 62.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁶⁵ Willets (1965, 29f.) associated them with a local place called Larisa (unidentified) in analogy to Thessaly.

⁶⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, esp. 110-4; McInerney 2014.

together in LBA and EIA documents.⁶⁷ By the late 9th century, the date of the earliest material discussed in this thesis, all of these groups seem to have been well integrated.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss the last key element mentioned in the Odyssey passage: the ninety *poleis*. The Iliad similarly claims that Crete had 100 *poleis* and makes specific mention of Gortyn, Knossos, Lyttos, Phaistos, Lykastos, Milatos, and Rhytion.⁶⁸ Although from antiquity onwards scholars have tried to determine the unnamed remainder,⁶⁹ it is mostly believed that the given totals are figurative and reflect dense settlement patterns, a large population and/or strong political fragmentation.⁷⁰ Interestingly, Kurt Raaflaub has made a convincing case that the epics use the term in essentially the same sense as classic convention,⁷¹ but it could be argued that the etic, i.e. external, viewpoint they present compromises their usefulness. The only unambiguous evidence for *poleis* on Crete is provided by local legislative inscriptions. The earliest available instances once adorned the exterior walls of the ‘temple in the saddle’ at Dreros, dated to the second half of the 7th century, and the Apollo Pythios temple at Gortyn, probably dating to the early 6th century.⁷² The more complete Dreros inscription records a law of iteration for the office of *kosmos* (who should be understood more like a temporary *basileus* than an office holder in the later sense)⁷³ and mentions the *polis* explicitly in the enactment formula as well as in the account of witnesses.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Cf. Raubitschek in Hoffman 1972, 15; Baumbach 1983, 4f. Civitillo (2012, 179-81) critically notes that personal names cannot be taken as evidence for ethnicity. However, if ethnicity is defined in terms of social affiliation and personal self-identification rather than biological lineage, they can serve as a basis for interpretation.

⁶⁸ *Il.* 2.644-651.

⁶⁹ Strataridaki 1988-9, 159; Perlmann 2004a, 1144f.

⁷⁰ Chaniotis 2014, 10; Sjögren 2003, 106; Wallace 2010b, 339.

⁷¹ Raaflaub 1993, 46-59.

⁷² Jeffery 1990, 311-3; Perlman 2004c, 191-5; Gagarin and Perlman 2016, 200, 202 no. Dr1, 215 no. Dr5, 265, 276f. no. G13. For a list of 7th to 5th-century *polis* inscriptions from Crete cf. Sjögren 2003, 196f.

⁷³ Seelentag 2014, 129. Herodotus’ (4,154,1-155,1) designation of Etearchos from Axos (around 630; cf. also Chaniotis 2013, 3f.), usually interpreted as a king, has to be understood against this background.

⁷⁴ Seelentag 2014, 122.

Concerning the process of *polis* formation, opinions are divided. The majority of scholars favour a gradualist view, postulating a prolonged period of evolution. Most commonly this is placed within the 8th and 7th centuries, based on archaeological phenomena that are interpreted in terms of urbanisation and institutionalisation.⁷⁵ Saro Wallace recently proposed to raise this timeframe by two centuries, considering above-mentioned nucleation and increased social complexity as signs of early ‘proto-*poleis*’.⁷⁶ A contrary stance is adopted by Antonis Kotsonas and Donald Haggis, who emphasise a 7th to 6th-century break and apparently prefer a model of revolution over evolution.⁷⁷ Evidently, archaeologists are in disagreement over the fundamental question of which kinds of material patterns can be expected to reflect social changes associated with *polis* formation. Concerning the aspect of spatial organisation, it has rightly been stressed that Crete is exceptional in that large, nucleated settlements existed throughout the entire EIA.⁷⁸ Until at least partially complete settlement plans are available for many more locales, changes between and within the structure of sites will remain elusive.

Recent scholarship, under the lead of ancient historians, has promoted the involvement of citizens as a main feature of the *polis*, the so-called ‘citizen-state’.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, our picture of Cretan social organisation largely relies on Classical non-Cretan accounts, especially by Ephoros, Plato and Aristotle⁸⁰. The works of contemporary local historians, such as Dosiadas, Echemenes and Pyrgion, are only preserved in short references by even later authors, particularly Strabo, Athenaeus and Stephanus of Byzantium.⁸¹ From these sources we learn that the main

⁷⁵ E.g. Sjögren 2003, esp. 111f.; Small 2010.

⁷⁶ Wallace 2010b, esp. 229, 325f.

⁷⁷ Kotsonas 2002; Haggis 2014, esp. 119f.; 2015, 227-9.

⁷⁸ Prent 2005, 220; Brisart 2008-9, 219.

⁷⁹ Hansen 1993a, 7-9.

⁸⁰ These are strongly conditioned by theoretical discourse and their actual interest lies in Spartan political forms and customs, which results in a generalising focus on Lyktos, cf. Perlman 1992, esp. 201.

⁸¹ Strataridaki 1988-89.

distinguishing feature of the Cretan citizen was his land-ownership and the participation in communal meals (*syssitia*), which were shared in men's clubs (*hetaireia* or *andreia*).⁸² These fostered social coherence, community values (especially military prowess) and political debate, but they also served to cement extant hierarchies by giving high-ranking families an institutionalised means of binding the less affluent.⁸³ Of similar purpose was the elite ritual in which an adult male mock-abducted a young man (*eromenos*), instructed him in important social skills (like hunting and feasting) and finally welcomed him into his *hetaireia* with the transferral of specific gifts.⁸⁴ Based on a late 7th-century inscription from Gortyn⁸⁵ and our retrospective knowledge, several 8th- to 6th-century buildings have been interpreted as *andreia*.⁸⁶ However, this does not prove a contemporary existence of the *polis* because the centrality of *andreia* to the *polis*-system does not preclude their existence outside of it. Indeed, (ranked) commensality constituted a crucial element of community life at least from LM IIIC onwards and took various forms.⁸⁷ Essentially, our only toehold remains the epigraphic record. Important about the above-mentioned inscription from Dreros is that it does not constitute a basic law, but an addendum, which shows that the office of the *kosmos* must have been well established by that time. Another crucial point is that, if Seelentag is correct and *damioi* should be translated as "the people with/of the land"⁸⁸, this could provide us with an early record of citizens and their legal competencies. Consequently, an 8th to early 7th-century timeframe for the emergence of the *polis* seems most likely. Of course, each

⁸² The main sources for the *syssitia* are Aristotle *Pol.* 1272a16-21 and Dosiadas *FGrHist* IIIB 458F2; the *andreion* is described in Aristotle *Pol.* 2.10 and Athenaeus 4.143. The *andreion* is epigraphically attested at Gortyn for the 7th century, and at Axos, Datala, Eltynia and Hierapytna later; the *hetaireia* appears at Dreros in the 7th century, and at Gortyn, Axos, Rethymnon, Dreros and Malla later (Westgate 2007, 453 n. 151; Perlman 2004b, 122 n. 150).

⁸³ Link 1994, 10-8.

⁸⁴ Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 149 (= Strabo 10.4.16); Link 1994, 24-7.

⁸⁵ Cf. n. 82.

⁸⁶ Cf. p. 152f.

⁸⁷ E.g. Prent 2005, 194f., 620f.; Whitley 2014.

⁸⁸ Seelentag 2014, 129.

EIA community followed its own trajectory and socio-political developments will have varied.

2.2 Near East

The cultural areas of the ‘Orient’ relevant to this thesis span the larger part of the ancient Near East, from Anatolia to Egypt and from the Levantine shores to the northwest Iranian plateau. Concerning terminology, many of the designations used in what follows are undeniably problematic – particularly ‘Phoenicia’/‘Phoenician’ and ‘Syria’/‘Syrian’, which both stem from rather vague ancient Greek terms to begin with.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, due to the need for collective labels, they will be applied in the conventional ways. The locations of all mentioned Near Eastern sites and regions are illustrated in Figures 2.4 to 2.6.

Similar to the situation in Greece, the 13th to 12th-century collapse of the Bronze Age palatial systems initiated major socio-political transformations. The Hittite empire had disintegrated;⁹⁰ the Egyptian empire had lost its dependencies, was divided and entered lengthy recession.⁹¹ For many regions, the resulting power vacuum entailed political fragmentation, de-urbanisation, dilapidation and probably a change to self-organisation by kinship groups and tribes.⁹² In the previously Hittite-ruled North Syrian area, established dynasties and their administrative operations continued only at Carchemish and Malatya; the former exceptionally flourished during this phase.⁹³ The later 11th and 10th centuries witnessed renewed urbanisation and the emergence of many states – Phrygia in central Anatolia; Urartu in the Armenian highlands; a patchwork of Syrian and Palestinian states in the Levant –

⁸⁹ ‘Phoenician’ meant ‘red’ and, although there are several options for what it might have referred to (Salles in Hornblower and Spawforth 2014, s.v. ‘Phoenician’), the preferred reading links it to the purple dye industry. ‘Syrian’ simply represents a shortened form of ‘Assyrian’ and was often applied interchangeably (Dalley and Reyes 1998, 94; Bunnens 2000b, 3f.). For modern ambiguities in the use of the terms cf. Fletcher 2004, 65.

⁹⁰ E.g. Hawkins 2002.

⁹¹ E.g. Weinstein 1998.

⁹² E.g. Bunnens 2000b, 16f.; Gadot 2008, 59-64.

⁹³ Güterbock 1992; Klengel 1992, 120-8.

which largely developed into centralised monarchies around the 9th to 8th centuries.⁹⁴ Yet, despite far-reaching shifts, many basic aspects of life, such as ceramic production, religion and modes of power display, were perpetuated well into the Iron Age.⁹⁵ Additionally, the Phoenician and most Cypriot cities had escaped political breakdown and prolonged economic slump, managing to preserve traditions and drive new progress.⁹⁶

In the timeframe examined by this thesis, Assyria constituted the main political and economic force in the Near East (for a list of rulers and respective reigns cf. Fig. 2.7). Having shrunk to its core territory during an 11th-century decline, it now actively resumed military expansion. Campaigning happened in two waves.⁹⁷ During the first, Ashurnasirpal II restored Assyria's former borders and his successor Shalmaneser III conquered much of the area stretching from Tabālu in the northwest to Bīt-Ḥumrî in the south (Fig. 2.6).⁹⁸ The former king is also known for moving his court to Kalḫu, modern Nimrud, which has provided an exceptionally rich collection of Near Eastern finds,⁹⁹ while the latter fought against king Ḥazā'il of Dimašqa, who is familiar to Aegean scholars from the inscribed bronze blinker and frontlet discovered at Eretria and Samos, respectively.¹⁰⁰ At this stage, conquered regions entered into a vassal status but were not politically incorporated into Assyria proper because the main purpose of expansion was economic enrichment, achieved through booty, tribute and personal exploitation of resources.¹⁰¹ The second wave of campaigning was initiated when, after a prolonged period of domestic turmoil and a struggle to

⁹⁴ Salvini in Merhav 1991, 4-13; Mazzoni 1994; Sader 2000; Voigt and Henrickson 2000.

⁹⁵ Mazzoni 2000; Aro 2013, esp. 236-42, 244-6; Manuelli 2012, 367-9.

⁹⁶ Peltenburg and Iacovou 2012, 348-51, 357. For flourishing Cypriot centres (particularly Palaepaphos and Kition) and industrial intensification cf. Iacovou 2012b, esp. 210-4, 217f. For economic and cultural exchange between Cyprus and the Levant in the 12th century cf. e.g. Sherratt 1993, 69-71.

⁹⁷ Lanfranchi 2011, 219.

⁹⁸ Bagg 2011, 191-205.

⁹⁹ Particularly the famous metal bows (Onnis 2009) and ivories (various publications by G. Herrmann).

¹⁰⁰ Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988, esp. 62, 69f. For inscriptions mentioning this ruler and historical interpretation cf. Dion 1997, 191-9; Younger 2005.

¹⁰¹ Yamada 2000, 225-72, 303-8; Bagg 2011, 204f.

keep western vassals under control, Tiglath-Pileser III annexed Bīt-Agūsi, Pattinu, western Ḥamat, Ša Imērišu and parts of Bīt-Ḥumrī.¹⁰² Sargon II – who famously led his eighth campaign against Urartu and issued the Assyrian stele from Kition (Larnaca) in Cyprus¹⁰³ – continued this policy by making into provinces further parts of Bīt-Ḥumrī, upper Pilistu, the remainder of Ḥamat, parts of Tabālu, Gurgum, Meliddu, Kummuhu and Que.¹⁰⁴ At the height of its power in the second quarter of the 7th century, the Neo-Assyrian Empire comprised the entire Levant, western Iran, southern Mesopotamia, northern Arabia and Egypt. Levantine reactions to the growth of Assyria were mixed and ranged from entering contracts willingly (seeking support against neighbouring states) to putting up determined military resistance, as individual leaders or in confederations.¹⁰⁵ Assyria allowed some key trade centres, such as Carchemish, Sidon and Tyre, to exist fairly independently for as long as possible and gave them preferential treatment.¹⁰⁶

Assyria's only substantial rival was Urartu, Biainili in vernacular (for a list of rulers and synchronisms with Assyrian monarchs cf. Fig. 2.7). This kingdom involved its southern archenemy in a lengthy power struggle and, between mentioned waves of Assyrian expansion, temporarily managed to gain the upper hand. It greatly enlarged its controlled territories under Ishpuini and Menua by claiming (among other regions) the southern kingdom of Musasir¹⁰⁷, which housed an important sanctuary of the state god Ḥaldi, and parts of northwest Iran, including the site of Hasanlu.¹⁰⁸ Urartu further extended its influence over Ḥatti (the North Syrian area west of the Euphrates), which culminated in Sarduri II winning a major battle at

¹⁰² Bagg 2011, 213-26.

¹⁰³ Cf. Radner 2010.

¹⁰⁴ Bagg 2011, 233-44.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Bagg 2011, 191-269; Lanfranchi 2011, 220-4.

¹⁰⁶ Radner (2004, 157-61) and Niemeyer (2006, 156) both stress their symbiotic relationship.

¹⁰⁷ For an overview on Musasir cf. Radner 2012, 245-54.

¹⁰⁸ Salvini 2011, 194-8.

Arpad in 754.¹⁰⁹ Other important supra-regional protagonists were the Phoenician states. While the dates and nature of their earliest involvement in the central and western Mediterranean remain contested, it is generally agreed that from the 9th century onwards their overseas presence was more permanent.¹¹⁰ The Phoenicians are usually credited as prime vectors in the dispersion of goods and ideas – in earlier periods this likely happened through royal agents, from the 8th century onwards through members of the commercial aristocracy.¹¹¹ The main problem that has long plagued scholarship is the dearth of material from the actual ‘heartland’ (although this is currently changing), which has impeded a differentiated understanding of Phoenician centres. Tyre and Sidon certainly both played important roles prior to Sidon’s destruction in 677¹¹² and it seems that they operated through separate networks.¹¹³

Although the kingdoms and city-states of the Iron Age Near East constitute distinct entities, they are also characterised by a considerable degree of interculturality, which is evident in the close affiliations between artefacts from different production centres.¹¹⁴ In this context it is necessary to comment briefly on Marion Feldman’s recent publication on styles in the ancient Near East.¹¹⁵ The main thrust of her work is to challenge the way in which Levantine material, especially metal bowls and ivories, is traditionally organised into style groups and workshops (according to her an inept exercise in connoisseurship) and to discourage attributing

¹⁰⁹ Radner 2011, 739.

¹¹⁰ For a comprehensive overview of the available material and prevailing stances cf. Gilboa 2013, esp. 312-7, 327-9. Propositions of earlier dates for settlements (*enoikismoi*) are based on Roman literary sources, cf. e.g. Niemeyer 2002, 179; 2006, 151f. For a reconstruction of the historical background of Phoenician involvement overseas cf. Aubet 2008.

¹¹¹ Bondi 1995.

¹¹² Cf. Boyes 2012, 38-41 for Tyre temporarily ruling over Sidon under Hiram II but a reversed situation under Luli (both 8th century). For an opposing view of Tyre as dominating over other Phoenician centres cf. Aubet 2011, 46-51 and Sommer 2007, 102f.

¹¹³ Fletcher 2004, 59-67.

¹¹⁴ Mazzoni 2013, esp. 467-70.

¹¹⁵ Feldman 2015.

these to particular geopolitical entities or production centres.¹¹⁶ Many of her observations and concerns are very well founded, but her conclusions are not as robust. While it is certainly questionable that any particular style can or should be linked to one specific site, ignoring the few precious links we can establish to stone reliefs excavated *in-situ* seems just as extreme. Feldman cannot help acknowledging the factual existence of regionalism,¹¹⁷ and it seems special pleading to negate *any* geographical attributions of unprovenanced material while at the same time oversimplifying chronological assignments.¹¹⁸ Most importantly, her work apparently seeks to entirely detach Near Eastern craftsmen from local courts. This is implausible considering that ivory craftsmen and metal smiths worked with precious materials whose procurement must have been strictly regulated. It is more likely that there were a large number of production centres and that these were very well connected, directly through the mobility of craftsmen but also indirectly through the mobility of their products and shared traditions.¹¹⁹ Apart from this, different sites and regions were linked through intense trade as well as an unprecedented mixing of populations. A main factor here was the Assyrian policy of conducting mass relocations as a means of political punishment and economic strategy. While this primarily involved deporting people from vassal states to the heartland in order to expand the central work force, it also reshuffled communities living at the fringes of the Empire.¹²⁰ This presumably led to the intermingling of non-elite populations, which must have advanced the spread of cultural practices and ideas.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, esp. 13-42.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 26

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

¹¹⁹ The latter is also stressed by Onnis (2009, 148).

¹²⁰ Oded 1979, 26, 32.

Chapter 3 – Pottery

3.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the large body of Cretan EIA pottery that displays orientalising features, spanning the Late Protogeometric (LPG) to Late Orientalising (LO) periods (*ca.* 875 to 630/600; cf. Fig. 3.1). The chosen timeframe includes all ceramic phases in which orientalising elements reached a noticeable level of representation and is sufficiently broad to observe diachronic patterns. In the following section, the approach taken in this chapter, its underlying methodology and main biases will be outlined. The latter mainly concerns data availability and chronology. This is succeeded by a short introduction to the history of research and current developments. Building up on this groundwork, the main part of this chapter will then first present various quantitative analyses, guided by questions on diachronic changes, geographical variation and other contextual aspects. It will secondly provide discussions on individual surveyed motifs regarding Near Eastern and Greek orientalising models as well as Bronze Age antecedents. Finally, the chapter closes with a brief summary and some final thoughts.

3.2 Methodology, shortcomings of the dataset and chronology

Since pottery constitutes a very substantial and diverse category of finds, the material has been organised in a catalogue (Appendix B). This will serve as a reference source throughout the present chapter and provides the basis for any general statements as well as specified quantifications. Because gaining access to museum holdings often proves problematic, the catalogue entirely relies on available publications. While this entails omissions, the inclusion of additional unpublished material would surely not overcome other disparities such as biases in excavation (see below). A more immediate concern is that the detail of published information varies considerably. Missing specifications on find locations or decorative designs, in particular, can potentially weaken the resolution of presented results. These difficulties notwithstanding, suggested conclusions should be representative since they are based on general observations.

Initial criteria for the selection of vessels and fragments were their adornment with orientalising patterns and motifs and/or their imitation of Cypriot Black Slip or Black on Red prototypes (hereafter called 'BS' and 'BoR'). An easily accessible index defining these patterns, motifs and Cypriot-derived classes is provided in Appendix A. Of the selected vessels and fragments, only those that are published with a photograph, described as completely identical to a vessel that is published with a photograph or presented by a scholar who is clearly consistent in the description of material were included in the catalogue. This stringency appears necessary because there are no prevailing guidelines as regards the designation of orientalising patterns, resulting in strong incongruities not only between different publications but often even within these.

In the catalogue the material is arranged by provenance and by period. Sites are grouped according to the four modern regional units – Chania, Rethymno, Heraklion and Lasithi – and then ordered from northwest to southeast (rather than by subsidiary districts) for the sake of simplicity. Their sequence and numbering corresponds to Figure 3.2a, which illustrates each location. According to this system, the reference number of each catalogue entry is provided in the following format: location number - site name initials - serial number (e.g. ‘22-GOR-17’ refers to the 17th entry for the site of Gortyn, which is found in location 22 on Fig. 3.2a; the sequence of sites and their initials can be found at the beginning of the catalogue). Every entry mentioned in the text is further provided with a picture that has the same reference number in Appendix C. Figure 3.2b demonstrates that the vast majority of relevant material comes from central and eastern Crete, and so any study of orientalising pottery must necessarily focus on these areas.¹²¹ It is important to emphasise at this stage that the mentioned sites constitute find spots and do not always coincide with places of production.¹²² However, since this chapter aims at identifying local/regional preferences, including some intra-Cretan imports does not pose a methodological flaw. If items are clearly imported, this status is indicated in respective entries.¹²³ Further information regarding employed abbreviations, dates and terminology can be obtained from the foreword to the catalogue.

As with any archaeological study covering a larger area, the presented data are inevitably distorted by a bias in excavation and varying states of publication. Concerning the former, exploration of sites traditionally depends on their historic

¹²¹ Western Crete has a rather poor publication record, but the total absence of orientalising motifs at Chania (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997) and the scarcity of such at Eleutherna (p. 38f.) indicate that we are likely dealing with an actual trend.

¹²² For most sites a local production is assumed. 8th to 7th-century pottery kilns have so far been discovered at Eleutherna (Tsatsaki 2013, 283), Knossos (Coldstream et al. 1997, 197f.), Prinias (Rizza et al. 1992, 31-41), Phaistos (Tomasello 1996, 34f.), Lato (Picard and Ducrey 1969, 793-805) and Azoria (Haggis 2014, 130).

¹²³ Cf. e.g. 2-ELE-30.

significance, the pre-existing involvement of archaeological institutions, and/or the need for rescue excavations. In the last decades this bias has been mitigated to some extent, but balancing long-standing disparities constitutes a prolonged process. Concerns about the state of publication are not so much directed at on-going excavations as at former fieldwork projects. Instructive examples are the cemetery southeast of the Third Acropolis at Praisos (excavated 1901), which is fairly substantial¹²⁴ but has received only cursory description in the original reports¹²⁵, and Prinias' Siderospilia cemetery (excavated 1969-2000), which consists of 680 tombs that remain largely unpublished¹²⁶. Successive scholars have done their best to remedy this deficit by exploratory trenching, surveying and supplementary processing of finds,¹²⁷ but for the time being we are faced with an enduring shortage of information. This sometimes also concerns sites for which other classes of material have been published in an exemplary manner, but for which no pottery studies seem to be available, such as Axos and Lato.¹²⁸

Another challenge that affects the dataset and its evaluation is the chronological allocation of vessels. In the case of Knossos, there is such a mass of pottery – albeit entirely from mixed and badly stratified contexts such as collective burials, wells and pits – that a fairly solid sequence could be established (cf. Fig. 3.1). Some controversy, however, surrounds the Protogeometric B (PGB) material. This is characterised by the introduction of new shapes and a decorative repertory that incorporates traditional PG circular motifs, rectilinear Atticising elements,

¹²⁴ Eaby 2007, 86.

¹²⁵ Bosanquet in Marshall and Bosanquet 1901-2, 240-51; Droop 1905-6, 24-36; Marshall 1905-6.

¹²⁶ For available publications cf. Rizza 1974; 1978, 106-26; Rizza and Rizzo 1984, 238. A similar situation is also encountered at Phaistos (Palermo 2001, 300).

¹²⁷ For Praisos cf. Platon 1959, 389f.; Whitley et al. 1999, esp. 251f.; Tsipopoulou 2005, 235-94. For Prinias, E. Pappalardo and A. Pautasso are currently preparing the PG and G pottery from Siderospilia for publication.

¹²⁸ For bronzes and terracottas from Axos cf. Levi 1930-1; Rizza 1967-8. For terracottas from Lato cf. Demargne 1929; Horst 1996. Only scanty pottery from Lato is accessible (Picard and Ducrey 1969, 808-15; Gaignerot-Driessen 2012, 65f.).

Minoanising features¹²⁹ as well as curvilinear patterns – the latter resulting in the often-used name ‘proto-orientalising’¹³⁰. Scholars are divided on whether PGB at Knossos should be categorised as a separate phase,¹³¹ dating to 850-820 or 840-810,¹³² or whether it represents a workshop that is contemporary with EG (ca. 810-790).¹³³ The root of this disagreement appears to be in James Brock’s original ‘survey’, where he first uses “the style” to talk about the PGB material as a whole – implying there is *one* specific style – but then emphasises heterogeneity.¹³⁴ Continuing this ambiguity, some scholars use PGB only for particularly ornate vessels, while others apply the term to the entirety of contemporaneous material. Perhaps the smaller group, which comprises the examples with orientalising decoration, should be systematically called “PGB ornate”¹³⁵ to avoid confusion. Either way, this group might indeed have been produced in one workshop during the early EG period because it does not seem to comprise many vessels¹³⁶ and because the date of PGB vessels cannot be narrowed down further than the second half of the 9th century (and thus includes 810-800).¹³⁷ Some examples of this ornate group are also found at Eltynas (Kounavoi), Archanes, Kommos, Eleutherna and Prinias;¹³⁸ the latter two certainly accommodated production centres.

¹²⁹ Coldstream 1988; 1998, 60; Kaiser 2006.

¹³⁰ Brock 1957, 143; Stampolidis et al. 1998, 82; Matthäus 2005, 329. See also “effectively Early Orientalising phase” in Whitley 2001, 120.

¹³¹ Brock 1957, 143; Coldstream in *KNC*, 311-420; 2001, 66; Kotsonas 2013, 234f.

¹³² Brock 1957, 214; Coldstream 2001, 22.

¹³³ Boardman 1967a, 59; Whitley 2004, 434; Gadolou in Aruz et al. 2014, 259. Tsipopoulou (2005, 557) confusingly appears to acknowledge PGB as a phase but at the same time suggests that it was the output of one workshop.

¹³⁴ Brock 1957, 143.

¹³⁵ Following Whitley 2004, 434.

¹³⁶ Based on the plates and figures in *KNC* and Brock 1957 there are only about 25 ‘PGB ornate’ vessels if counting examples with larger billeted, scaled and chequerboard areas as well as scroll trees, birds and humans. This number rises slightly when including similar examples labelled “PGB-EG”.

¹³⁷ Coldstream 1968, 238f.; Coldstream in *KNC*, 411.

¹³⁸ Cf. Coldstream 1968, 255f.; Rizza 1974; Sakellarakis 1986, 17f., figs. 1-2; Coldstream in *KNC*, 316; Johnston 2000, 193 no. 1, fig. 3; Kotsonas 2008, 44f., 94 no. A164; 2013, 236, fig. 2; 11-KOUN-1; 20-PRIN-52.

The only other sites with well-articulated sequences are Kommos, for which the Knossian framework has been applied,¹³⁹ and Eleutherna (Fig. 3.1).¹⁴⁰ The latter diverges from Knossos only marginally in the longer duration of its EO or – as the excavators prefer – ‘Early Protoarchaic’ phase.¹⁴¹ For the ‘Eteocretan’ east of Crete (roughly the modern regional unit of Lasithi), two conflicting chronological schemes have been advanced (Fig. 3.1).¹⁴² Metaxia Tsipopoulou’s scheme is quite radical, labelling the entire late 9th-century corpus as PGB and dating the start of the O phase at *ca.* 725, which is higher than anywhere else on Crete. While her choice of the term PGB is sound enough¹⁴³ – if understood as referring to the phase as a whole – the proposed upper margin for the O phase is too high, especially considering that she contemplates a preceding LG-EO transitional phase.¹⁴⁴ For other sites, even those with an impressive ceramic record, the reasoning behind chronological arrangements is often murky. Thus, publications regularly resort to highlighting selected instances that are easily pinpointed, while the remainder of material stays unmentioned or is inserted into a less well-defined background.¹⁴⁵ Where specifications on dates are missing I have supplemented these to the best of my knowledge.

To counteract these complications and ensure data reliability, pottery will be analysed according to three broader groupings: LPG/PGB/EG, MG/LG and O (i.e. EO/LO). Concerning the lower chronological scope of this thesis, it should be understood that the end of the O period is variable. At Knossos it stops around 630, when the cemeteries were abandoned and available material generally thins out,¹⁴⁶ while at Afrati orientalising elements clearly overlap into the first half of the 6th

¹³⁹ Cf. diverse articles by Johnston.

¹⁴⁰ Kotsonas 2008, 32 Table 1, 41-52.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, esp. 40; Stampolidis 1996. See also Stampolidis et al. 1998 for this designation.

¹⁴² Mook 2004, 69-178; Tsipopoulou 2005, 556-8.

¹⁴³ *Contra* Kotsonas 2013, 236.

¹⁴⁴ Tsipopoulou 2005, 554, 558.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. Johannowsky 2002 and Rizza 2008.

¹⁴⁶ Coldstream et al. 1999, esp. 289-93; Whitley 2001, 245; Erickson 2010, 235-8.

century.¹⁴⁷ The latter might be the case elsewhere and could be obscured by a strong likeness between late 7th and early 6th-century material.¹⁴⁸ The duration of the O phase was probably very site-specific, but this issue is complex and remains unresolved for now. Since it is necessary to draw a line, the following includes vessels whose allocated timeframe coincides, however little, with the 7th century. On the other hand, examples that display O motifs yet have been dated entirely within the 6th century are excluded. Some exceptions have been made for pots showing designs that resemble 7th-century material so closely that their omission would be counterintuitive.

¹⁴⁷ Biondi 2013, esp. 193 ('l'Orientalizzante finale', 630-550).

¹⁴⁸ Callaghan 1992, 133; Prent 1996-7, 39f., 45.

3.3 History of research

Although EIA Crete was long upstaged by the grandeur of its Bronze Age past, there has always been an interest in post-Minoan pottery. Already in the late 1890s and early 1900s, Paolo Orsi, Lucio Mariani and John Droop compiled and described outstanding ‘Hellenic’ vases, paving the way for future research.¹⁴⁹ About 20 years later, systematic studies started to appear, detailing find contexts and main properties as well as delivering the first explanatory narratives around pottery sequences and styles. Foremost among these were Humfry Payne’s contribution on Knossos, M. Hartley’s survey on vessels from north central Crete and Doro Levi’s influential report on Afrati (ancient Arkades¹⁵⁰ or Datalla¹⁵¹).¹⁵² Pottery from the PG and G periods subsequently received specialised attention in research by Vincent Desborough and Nicolas Coldstream.¹⁵³ A cornerstone in the study of post-Minoan pottery was undoubtedly the appearance of James Brock’s seminal *Fortetsa: Early Greek tombs near Knossos* in 1957, which processed material excavated by Payne, Alan Blakeway, Nikolaos Platon and himself. Among other merits, this book established a chronological framework that remains largely valid today¹⁵⁴ and a classification system for painted decoration that often still serves as a reference source.¹⁵⁵ The following decades were shaped especially by Coldstream’s prolific output on ceramics from Knossos, but also by other important EIA contributions such

¹⁴⁹ Orsi 1897; Mariani 1901; Droop 1905-6.

¹⁵⁰ Levi 1927-9, 17-22.

¹⁵¹ Viviers 1994, 235-41. Palermo (1994, 129) suggested a reconciliation of both theories, with Afrati being the community of the Dattaleis, which was partially integrated into the polis of Arkades.

¹⁵² Payne 1927-8; Hartley 1930-1; Levi 1927-9.

¹⁵³ Desborough 1952, 233-71; Coldstream 1968, 233-61.

¹⁵⁴ Apart from the lowered date for the O period (Coldstream 1973a, 36; Coldstream and Sackett 1978, 60).

¹⁵⁵ Cf. e.g. Davaras and Davaras 1968; Rizza and Scrinari 1968; Coldstream and Hatzaki 2003; Johnston 2005.

as Luigi Rocchetti's articles on Phaistos.¹⁵⁶ A major event was the 1996 publication of the Knossos North Cemetery, which had been excavated by the British School prior to the construction of the University of Crete's New Medical Faculty.¹⁵⁷ These volumes still excel in the richness of presented ceramics as well as the meticulous and comprehensive provision of data.

During the last 30 years, the traditionally strong focus on Knossos has given way to intensified study of other EIA sites and regions. Particularly noteworthy is the research carried out by Maria Andreadaki-Vlasaki for Chania, Antonis Kotsonas for Eleutherna, Werner Johannowsky for Gortyn, Alan Johnston for Kommos and Metaxia Tsipopoulou for east Crete.¹⁵⁸ In addition to these, the impending publications of the ceramics from Prinias' Siderospilia cemetery and the sanctuary at Syme Viannou both have the potential to alter current understandings. Apart from the geographically broadened scope, there has been a fresh interest in the potential cultural-historic insights that Cretan pottery may provide,¹⁵⁹ and ceramics have played a substantial role in the identification of settlement patterns through survey work.¹⁶⁰ Linked to this, the growing use of chemical and petrographic analyses, especially for coarse wares, has opened new avenues of research, allowing for the determination of local and imported products, technologies, diachronic changes in production and patterns of consumption and exchange.¹⁶¹ Concerning the aspect of orientalising pottery, Elizabeth Moignard, James Whitley, Thomas Brisart and Kostonas have produced papers exploring particular motifs, styles, wares, disseminations and social

¹⁵⁶ Cf. bibliography.

¹⁵⁷ *KNC*.

¹⁵⁸ *I.a.* Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1985; 1997; Kotsonas 2008; Johannowsky 2002; Johnston 1993, 2000; 2005; Tsipopoulou 1989; 1991; 1997; 2005.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. e.g. Erickson 2002 (for ceramic evidence indicating political control); Kotsonas 2011a (for a shift from communal to individual drinking); Wallace 2013 (for *polis* formation processes).

¹⁶⁰ For surveys on Crete cf. Moody et al. 2003, 42f. See additionally: Haggis 1996; Wallace various; Bredaki, Vasilakis and Whitelaw in Evely et al. 2007-8, 100-2 and in Morgan et al. 2009-10, 183f.

¹⁶¹ Liddy in *KNC*, 467-514 (Knossos); Moody et al. 2003 (Sphakia); D'Agata and Boileau 2009 (Thronos-Kephala); Boileau and Whitley 2010 (Knossos); Wallace 2010a (central Crete).

implications of consumption, while Coldstream and Kotsonas have dealt with the adaptation of Cypriot wares on Crete.¹⁶²

¹⁶² Coldstream 1979; 1984b; Moignard 1998; Whitley 2004; Brisart 2007; 2009; Kotsonas 2012; 2013.

3.4 Quantitative analyses

Quantitative analysis is by now a standard component of pottery studies and will be employed in this thesis as a way to systematise orientalising material.¹⁶³ Since I do not have access to the studied pottery to take measurements and because the decoration on this pottery is so distinctive as to easily identify belonging sherds,¹⁶⁴ determining 'Estimated Vessel Equivalents' (EVE)¹⁶⁵ is impossible as well as unsuitable. Instead, the following utilises basic counts, i.e. the totals of individual catalogue entries comprising single vases or fragments of the same. One shortcoming that will transpire is the limited size of some datasets presented. Although unable to support high-resolution analysis, their exclusion would severely restrict the number of examined sites. In compromise, the interpretation of these individual sets will be kept to an absolute minimum, while larger trends will receive stronger emphasis.

The ensuing sections will tackle the following questions, which aim to guide a multifaceted and contextual approach:

- 1) How do the volumes of surveyed motifs develop across the LPG to LO periods?
- 2) How do the volumes of surveyed motifs vary by site (focusing on those with substantial amounts of material) and by region (including all sites)?
- 3) Which shapes were surveyed motifs used for and does this depend on context type (cemetery, settlement, sanctuary)?

¹⁶³ For quantification of EIA assemblages cf. Verdan et al. 2011 and of Cretan vessel classes cf. Kotsonas 2011a; 2011b, 133f.

¹⁶⁴ The only case that could create problems is the relief pithoi with stamped decoration. Taking a minimalist approach, whenever pieces with decoration from the same mould were described as identical in clay composition as well as firing and come from the same site, they have been counted as one vase (e.g. 20-PRIN-21).

¹⁶⁵ Orton and Hughes 2013, 208-10.

- 4) How does the volume of material displaying surveyed motifs relate to the total of recovered pottery, imports and metal finds? This issue is examined in a case study of the Knossos Medical Faculty Site.

Quantitative development of surveyed motifs by period

Figure 3.3 records the totals of pottery items with surveyed motifs and of Cypriot-derived vessels across Crete by three temporal units (LPG/PGB/EG, MG/LG and O). Tongues and rosettes constitute the most popular ornaments overall, each category reaching over 300 pieces in the O period. Contrary to tongues, the number of rosettes reaches a noticeable level (*ca.* 20 examples) already in the LPG/PGB/EG periods but increases more tardily in the MG/LG periods. BoR pottery and cable patterns follow a rather steady growth into the O period, in which they rank third and forth in number with *ca.* 130 to 140 pieces, respectively. Guilloche, palmette and lotus motifs, on the other hand, make a rather sudden and strong appearance in the O period with 90 to 115 examples. A number of designs offer none or very few specimens during the LPG/PGB/EG and MG/LG periods before increasing to between 20 and 50 pieces in the O period. These are the eye motif, (lotus-) bee, lion, sphinx and griffin. Finally, some designs follow individual patterns: the tree motif, which adorns *ca.* 20 vessels in the LPG/PGB/EG periods, remains stable in the MG/LG period and subsequently rises to over 50 examples; scales fall from 56 examples in the LPG/PGB/EG periods to *ca.* 20 in the MG/LG periods, but register a slight recovery in the following timeframe; and BS imitations are entirely restricted to the LPG/PGB/EG periods.

Based on these observations, motifs can be divided into two main categories (excluding mentioned outliers): those that already appear during LPG/PGB/EG periods and continuously become more prevalent, and those that reach noticeable

levels of representation only in the O period. Both patterns demonstrate that, from a numerical point of view, the PGB period is not ‘proto-orientalising’¹⁶⁶ in the sense of anticipating O developments: it has not produced particularly high quantities of surveyed motifs, nor does it feature specific motifs that are otherwise restricted to the O period. Rather, the LPG/PGB/EG periods apparently prepared a basic groundwork by introducing some of the designs, while the MG/LG periods developed these further as well as established new designs. On the whole, the adornment of pottery with surveyed motifs was a prolonged, cumulative process that reached its apex in the O period.

Figure 3.4 displays the relative proportions of individual motifs within each chronological unit. Among the LPG/PGB/EG material, the most popular motifs are scales (32%), followed by BS imitations (21%), cables (17%), trees (10%), rosettes (8%) and BoR (5%). For the MG/LG periods, there is a clear shift in preferences as tongues (29%), cables (22%), rosettes (17%) and BoR (16%) become more prominent, while trees and scales take up smaller proportions (both 7%). The general pattern of ratios, however, remains stable, with six main groups dominating the spectrum. This situation changes in the O period, which is characterised by a dramatic increase in the range of motifs, indicating a growth in diversity. Only tongues (23%) and rosettes (22%) retain a clear prevalence, while previously marginal and newly introduced motifs – among them lotuses, palmettes and orientalising creatures – gain in significance. This creates the impression of a progressive development, in which every period forms an important pre-stage for the next.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. p. 29.

Quantification of surveyed motifs by sites and regions¹⁶⁷

This section is aimed at avoiding the most common pitfall of studying material from Crete: adopting an excessively Knosso-centric viewpoint. After briefly outlining the spectra of motifs encountered at a selection of sites across the island, the succeeding paragraphs will analyse variations between regions in the centre and the east. The west (modern Chania and Rethymno) is not considered separately, since relevant ceramics are extremely poorly represented outside Eleutherna. Seeing as intra-Cretan borders are likely to have shifted throughout the EIA,¹⁶⁸ designated geographical units are kept as large as possible and are based on the constant element of geo-morphological features (Fig. 3.2a).¹⁶⁹ The affiliation of sites at the shared border of two regions has been decided partly on later political configurations and partly on the knowledge of connections in ceramic styles, wares or imports.¹⁷⁰

At *Eleutherna*, the small repertory of surveyed motifs and wares mainly consists of BoR pottery, scales and tongues as well as a few eye designs and cable patterns (Fig. 3.5). Floral decoration (rosettes, palmettes and lotuses) is noticeably lacking and orientalising creatures are almost absent. The majority of material belongs to the PGB/EG and MG/LG periods; the O selection is only 'typical' in its widened spectrum of motifs. The published pottery from Eleutherna evokes the

¹⁶⁷ N.B.: A separate 'LG-EO' category exists only for Knossos, because there are some transitional vases, and for the analysis by region, to include as much material as possible.

¹⁶⁸ The recurrent theme of warfare in depictions and dedications is suggestive of conflicts (Kotsonas 2002, 57f.).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Sjögren 2003, 5, fig. 1 for the same approach, only with a more detailed breakdown.

¹⁷⁰ In particular, it might be argued that Afrati should be counted as part of the Mesara plain (cf. Lefèvre-Novaro 2014, 40). However, many of the relief pithoi produced at Afrati have been retrieved at sites on the Lasithi plateau and Lyttos (Brisart 2009, 142, fig. 60); Afrati and Lyttos shared the same alphabet (Raubitschek in *Dädalische Kunst* 1970, 39f.); and there seems to have been a particularly close relationship between Afrati and Syme in the 6th to 4th centuries (Erickson 2002). Therefore, Afrati has been included in the zone 'Lasithi plateau with surrounding area', which also comprises Lyttos and Syme.

picture of a site that is surprisingly reluctant to develop orientalisising imagery considering its respective record of metalwork.¹⁷¹

The majority of material from **Knossos** belongs to the O period, although the most popular motifs – tongues, rosettes and BoR – also exhibit a strong MG/LG presence (Fig. 3.6). The O period demonstrates a great fondness for the ornate, with complex guilloches outnumbering simpler cables and with a copious stock of lotuses, palmettes and tree designs. The amount of lions, sphinxes and griffins is significant yet low when compared to other motifs, which may reflect a lingering reservation toward figural representations.

Among the published material from **Prinias** we can detect a clear prevalence of rosette designs (Fig. 3.7). Otherwise, there are a roughly even number of instances of scales, tongues, cables, lotuses, palmettes, trees, sphinxes and BoR. The largest share of ceramics dates to the O period, but surveyed categories are also perceptible among the PGB/EG pottery. Striking is the presence of a group of tree designs, which hints at a potentially strong PGB phase and offers a close link to Knossos.¹⁷²

Concerning **Gortyn** (Fig. 3.8), two observations are important. First, there appears to be no relevant LPG-EG pottery. Since available ceramics, both from the acropolis and the slope, reach back to the LM IIIC period,¹⁷³ it might be expected to find at least some instances. Second, the distribution of O motifs is similar to Knossos (Fig. 3.6) in that tongues and rosettes feature prominently, while cables, lotuses and palmettes are also relatively well represented. A major difference is the disparity in BoR pottery, which is certainly due to most of the Gortyn material deriving from sanctuary rather than burial contexts.

¹⁷¹ Cf. p. 183 and 207.

¹⁷² Cf. p. 68f.

¹⁷³ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 4-41, 115-44.

Phaistos yields a much smaller corpus of examples belonging to a narrower range of categories (Fig. 3.9), which is not surprising considering the generally high degree of conservatism of its pottery¹⁷⁴. The range of represented motifs largely coincides with the categories that are prominent at Knossos. The seaport of **Kommos** presents a more varied and evenly distributed selection (Fig. 3.10), including some tree and lion depictions. Again like Gortyn, neither Kommos nor Phaistos offers any relevant LPG/PGB/EG material, except for two items from the latter site painted with scale patterns.¹⁷⁵

A fairly large assemblage of relevant pottery has been uncovered at **Afrati** (Fig. 3.11). The spectrum of prevailing motifs is, again, comparable to Knossos, with rosettes, tongues, cables, lotuses, palmettes and BoR adaptations taking up large shares. However, at Afrati all of these designs are slow to take hold, offering scarce PGB/EG precursors and relatively few MG/LG examples. Also conspicuous is the proportionately high representation of lion and sphinx depictions – even without counting the many unprovenanced relief pithoi that have been attributed to a local workshop and likely derive from clandestine excavations at the site.¹⁷⁶

The only east Cretan sites to yield meaningful, though small, amounts of relevant ceramics are **Kavousi** (Fig. 3.12) and **Praisos** (Fig. 3.13). They present an almost identical array of motifs, comprising scales, rosettes, eye motifs, tongues, cables, trees and BoR pottery. Ratios vary slightly, with Kavousi showing a roughly equal preponderance of scales, rosettes and cables, while Praisos clearly favours cable designs. More elaborate lotuses and palmettes or orientalising creatures are entirely lacking.

¹⁷⁴ Cucuzza 1998, 62.

¹⁷⁵ 24-PHAI-1f.

¹⁷⁶ Hornborstel in *Dädalische Kunst* 1970, 57; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 29-33; Brisart 2007; 2009; NO.PROV-9f.; NO.PROV-15; NO.PROV-17 to NO.PROV-24; NO.PROV-27 to NO.PROV-30; NO.PROV-35f.; NO.PROV-43f.; NO.PROV-46f.; NO.PROV-50 to NO.PROV-59; NO.PROV-62f.; NO.PROV-66 to NO.PROV-68; NO.PROV-71 to NO.PROV-74; NO.PROV-76f.

Observing the material by region (Fig. 3.14), it is conspicuous that the only significant amount of relevant LPG/PGB/EG pottery comes from north central Crete. Accordingly, this part of the island is likely to have been the initial driving force behind admitting orientalising imagery into the local stock of ceramic decorations. The cumulative MG/LG and O evidence of motifs from the Mesara shows a profile very similar to the north, except for the lower numbers of guilloches, tree motifs and BoR imitations. From a purely quantitative perspective, this confirms that the Mesara followed trends emanating from the north. The same cannot be claimed for the wider Lasithi area, which deviates from central Crete in showing an extremely high proportion of rosettes and a fairly strong representation of lions and sphinxes. These appear to be local peculiarities and reveal a more independent dynamic. Finally, the east is characterised by an unusually high frequency of cable motifs¹⁷⁷ and scales, the latter decreasing over time. Although this presents a noticeable variation, the rather low total of relevant pottery from the region urges caution.

Quantification of surveyed motifs by shape: site variation and functional context of motifs

This section examines the shapes on which surveyed motifs appear. The aim of this approach is to determine whether these motifs were preferably used for vessels with specific functions and whether this differs according to periods, sites and contexts. To better visualise pottery assemblages, pie charts record the material from individual sites by chronological unit. The shapes are arranged by the broader functional categories of storage vessels, fast-pouring vessels, slow-pouring vessels,

¹⁷⁷ There are further some unpublished examples from Itanos (imports from central Crete) and Palaikastro (pers. comm. A. Tsingarida and M. Prent).

exotica, drinking/eating vessels and coarse ware,¹⁷⁸ which are colour coded from white to dark grey.

Cemeteries

At **Eleutherna** (Fig. 3.15), the Orthi Petra necropolis provides material for all three chronological units, but numbers are limited (11-18 pieces). A discernible diachronic tendency is that the proportion of storage vessels steadily increases from 22% to 32% and then to 55% by the O period. This is partly explained by a temporary preference for furnishing fast-pouring oinochoai with eye designs during PGB/EG, which subsequently recedes. The number of slow-pouring vessels, mostly Creto-Cypriot specimens, remains fairly constant (PGB/EG – 33%; MG/LG – 37%; O – 36%). A final noteworthy observation is the presence of MG/LG cups, which mostly feature scale patterns.¹⁷⁹

Among the many **Knossian** cemeteries¹⁸⁰ the *Medical Faculty* site is particularly prolific, with 57, 72 and 244 pieces per examined chronological unit (Fig. 3.16). The consistently high proportion of storage vessels (LPG/PGB/EG – 38%; MG/LG – 57%; O – 45%) is to be expected from burial contexts, because most of the pithoi served as urns.¹⁸¹ The same is the case for the LPG/PGB/EG to MG/LG increase in slow-pouring unguent juglets (from 12% to 31%), which constitute typical burial offerings. By contrast, the dramatic simultaneous reduction of fast-pouring vessels (32% to 7%), which is linked to an analogous trend for drinking/eating vessels (18% to 5%), is more striking. It appears to indicate stagnation in the use of ‘food-related’ ceramics with orientalising motifs. For the O period, the high percentage of unguent

¹⁷⁸ Following Coldstream 2001.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. 2-ELE-25 and 2-ELE-36f.

¹⁸⁰ For a map of Knossian cemeteries cf. Fig. 3.29. An overview of these cemeteries and their excavation history can be found in Antoniadis 2012, 50-62.

¹⁸¹ Cavanagh in *KNC*, 659.

vessels stays unchanged, while the food-vessel situation reverses slightly (fast-pouring vessels: 13%; eating/drinking vessels: 9%). At first glance, the PGB/EG and MG/LG material from *Fortetsa SE* (Fig. 3.17) presents a different picture. However, this might be due to the small size of the datasets (9 and 12 pieces, respectively), an impression that is reinforced by the total absence of some motif categories. The O pottery in fact confirms the observations made for the Medical Faculty site with storage vessels amounting to 40% and slow-pouring juglets to even 44%, while fast-pouring vessels and drinking/eating vessels only make up 13% and 4%, respectively.

The available selection from *Prinias'* Siderospelia necropolis is diminutive (10 PGB/EG items; Fig. 3.18) but accords well with the discussed burial contexts in its preponderance of storage vessels (60%). Except for the occurrence of kraters, it is very similar to the contemporary assemblage from Fortetsa SE (see above). It should be stressed that the final publication of Siderospilia cemetery is bound to dramatically change the described impression.

The west slope cemetery at *Afrati* provides us with the large number of 77 securely identifiable instances for the O period (Fig. 3.19). It is comparable to the Knossos Medical Faculty site in the large percentage of storage vessels (34%) and unguent juglets (27%) as well as the small share of drinking/eating vessels (6%). The prevalence of pyxides/dinoi over pithoi is due to the exceptional local use of these shapes as cremation urns.¹⁸² A conspicuous difference to Knossos is posed by the strong presence of fast-pouring vessels (29%). Since there does not seem to be a corresponding abundance of drinking vessels (orientalising or otherwise), it is

¹⁸² Cf. Levi 1927-9, e.g. 100f, 119.

possible that these jugs and oinochoai functioned as prestige goods accompanying the deceased, similar to practices at Camiros.¹⁸³

The material from tombs at *Kavousi* and *Praisos* is extremely limited (9 pieces each; Figs. 3.20 and 3.21). The only discernible pattern is the large proportion of unguent juglets with orientalising designs at Kavousi (67%), which could possibly reflect a local preference.

Settlements

The relevant pottery from secondary domestic contexts at *Knossos* is less copious than that from burials, but still significant (Fig. 3.22).¹⁸⁴ For MG/LG 19 pieces are recorded, of which 53% constitute storage containers and 47% drinking/eating vessels. The large share of drinking/eating equipment and the absence of unguent juglets pose a marked divergence from funerary contexts. Among the 76 examples belonging to the O period, drinking/eating vessels maintain a relatively high share (36%). However, it is interesting to note that between the MG/LG and O chronological units the proportion of single-person vessels (kotylai, skyphoi and cups) decreases sharply from 32% to 5% in favour of larger shapes designed for shared usage (kraters/ dinoi, trays and plates), which double from 15% to 29%. A certain shift toward a more communal role of the examined motifs could also be implied by the appearance of a new category in the O period: large coarse ware relief pithoi¹⁸⁵ (10%). Otherwise, fine-ware storage vessels drop to 24%, while fast-pouring vessels suddenly jump to 29%. Most numerous among the latter are oinochoai, which, together with kraters or dinoi, were standard equipment for convivial drinking.

¹⁸³ Brisart (2008-9, 123) points out that at Camiros almost every chamber tomb contained at least one wild goat style oinochoe.

¹⁸⁴ For an overview of the numerous find spots belonging to the EIA occupation cf. Hood in Hood and Smyth 1981, 16.

¹⁸⁵ For these see also p. 84f.

Finally, the almost complete lack of unguent juglets might reflect a very restricted everyday use or result from their systematic deposition in graves.

Among the published pottery from the *Prinias* settlement on the Patela plateau are 31 relevant O pieces (Fig. 3.23). This assortment is striking in its extreme preponderance of relief pithoi, which account for 52% of the total. Further relief pithoi displaying surveyed motifs have been excavated at Prinias' Mandra di Gipari pottery workshop,¹⁸⁶ which confirms this impression. Considering the strong disparity with the contemporary Knossos assemblage, it is important to keep in mind that the Prinias pottery was excavated from wall foundations, walls and floor layers,¹⁸⁷ whereas the Knossos material was largely retrieved from wells and pits with highly structured waste deposition.¹⁸⁸ Accordingly, the much smaller amount of relief pithoi at Knossos could be due to the circumstance that this class was not disposed of together with fine wares, but largely repurposed after breakage. The remainder of the Patela ceramics comprises storage and drinking/eating vessels in equal proportions (17% and 18%) and fewer fast- and slow-pouring vessels. Unlike at Knossos, a prevalence of larger shapes over single-person vessels is not evident (both amount to 9 pieces).

The relevant O sherds discovered at the settlement of *Phaistos* are extremely few in number (10 pieces; Fig. 3.24). This is partially because its 7th-century phase is not yet well explored, a situation that the current campaign is seeking to rectify. Concerning the recorded pieces, the large share of storage vessels (60%) finds a parallel in the MG/LG settlement material from Knossos. However, it is unusual that all four remaining examples constitute unguent vessels and that there are no orientalising food/drinking vessels or relief pithoi at all. Considering that these two

¹⁸⁶ 20-PRIN-70 to 20-PRIN-75.

¹⁸⁷ 20-PRIN-6 to 20-PRIN-53.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. 8-KNO.SETT-1 to 8-KNO.SETT-134.

classes do feature sufficiently among the excavated material,¹⁸⁹ this might derive from a local taste for more traditional and plainer wares.

In the case of **Kavousi** (Fig. 3.25) the settlement material included in the chart exceptionally spans all three chronological units, yet barely 10 pieces show relevant motifs. The high ratio of unguent juglets (55%) stands out, as is the case for its cemetery.

Relevant O pottery from the nearby settlement at **Azoria** (Fig. 3.26) consists almost exclusively of coarse ware vessels, especially relief pithoi. This might be because relief pithoi were so valuable as to be retained beyond the comprehensive reorganisation of the settlement at the end of the 7th century,¹⁹⁰ to which most find contexts belong. Additionally, it indicates that orientalising designs were evidently (still) deemed suited for vessels of a communal function.

Sanctuaries

There are only two sanctuary sites for which enough orientalising pottery has been published to warrant quantification. The relevant O material from the Acropolis Hill sanctuary at **Gortyn** amounts to 92 pieces (Fig. 3.27). Most common are miniature shields (42%),¹⁹¹ which represent a terracotta equivalent of the better-known bronze examples.¹⁹² Second in number (21%) are the kernoi, another local idiosyncrasy, which continue a Late Minoan tradition.¹⁹³ Both of these shapes are non-utilitarian and can be regarded as votive offerings¹⁹⁴ that were designed for use at this sanctuary specifically.¹⁹⁵ Otherwise, food/drinking vessels make up 16% of the

¹⁸⁹ Rocchetti 1974-5 (*passim*).

¹⁹⁰ E.g. Haggis 2014, 126f.; 2015, 230.

¹⁹¹ Cf. the foreword to Appendix B for the shields being treated as a separate category at Gortyn.

¹⁹² For bronze shields cf. p. 183-9.

¹⁹³ Palermo 2002, 257-61; Johannowsky 2002, 22-6.

¹⁹⁴ Prent 2005, 268f.

¹⁹⁵ For the local cult cf. p. 169-72.

total and unguent juglets 13%. Since the sanctuary on the acropolis has not yielded any evidence for feasting, neither charred animal bones nor a hearth, it seems possible that the food/drinking vessels were deposited as votive offerings along with other classes of small finds.

The **Kommos** sanctuary has yielded 180 instances in total (including open-air deposits, Building B, Building Z and Building Q; Fig. 3.28). This low number is surprising considering the huge volume of retrieved ceramics and the cosmopolitan nature of the sanctuary, reflected in the copious Aegean and Levantine pottery imports.¹⁹⁶ The share of storage vessels is very low at 11% and excludes pithoi. Otherwise the material is equally divided between fast-pouring (27%), slow-pouring (28%) and drinking/eating vessels (28%). The former and latter were likely used during food consumption events, which are attested by several hearths and plenty of food waste.¹⁹⁷ Unlike at Gortyn, there is no trace of any shapes created exclusively for votive purposes.

The general conclusion from this overview is that in central Crete the shapes on which orientalising motifs appear are quite typical of their respective deposition contexts, i.e. burials, settlements and sanctuaries. This may sound trivial, but it illustrates that these motifs permeated ceramics fairly evenly and were not reserved for specific situations or types of vessels. By contrast, at sites with a more conservative pottery profile (e.g. Phaistos) and especially in eastern locations (Praisos, Kavousi and Azoria), orientalising designs generally occur more sporadically and seem to be associated with vessels of particular functions. Sanctuary contexts have not yielded much relevant material, a situation that is particularly striking in the

¹⁹⁶ Callaghan and Johnston in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 210-52; Bikai *ibid.*, 302-12; Johnston 2005, esp. 362-72.

¹⁹⁷ J. Shaw 2000, 220f.; *id.* in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 14-28 (inside Temple B, northwest of Building T and around Altar U).

case of pottery-rich Kommos. In terms of meaningful diachronic patterns, these can only be established for Knossos. It is interesting to note that in the G period the application of surveyed motifs seems to be most standardised, while O settlement contexts appear to reveal a 7th-century predilection for employing these motifs on larger vessels for shared usage.

Orientalising pottery in context: case study Knossos Medical Faculty Site

Few studies have tried to explore specific pottery groups from Crete in relation to their joint occurrences with other finds.¹⁹⁸ This section will do so for ceramics with orientalising motifs, focussing on the Knossos Medical Faculty cemetery (Fig. 3.29), which offers systematically excavated and thoroughly published find assemblages that are abundant enough to render quantification meaningful.¹⁹⁹ The following aims at investigating relevant pottery in relation to three other categories: the ceramic total, imported vases and metal finds, which are considered as a reliable index of wealth.²⁰⁰ Analysis will be conducted by tomb rather than individual burial²⁰¹ as the association between urns and other finds is often uncertain.²⁰² Although the tombs were used by a number of individuals over a prolonged period of time, they can serve as basic analytical units since it is axiomatic that these individuals felt closely connected in some way. It is traditionally assumed

¹⁹⁸ Whitley (2004, 433-7) classes Knossian urns according to 'ornate', 'intermediate' and 'linear' wares and compares these according to associated aryballoi, drinking vessels and metal objects. Antoniadis (2012, 171-7) sets imports against the total of material for the richest Knossian tombs.

¹⁹⁹ This is compromised by the fact that all tombs except for nos. 75 and 285 (and possibly also 111, 218 and 229) have been disturbed (Antoniadis 2012, Appendix I). For looting cf. Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 216 and Coldstream 2002, 205; for collapsed roof Hood and Boardman 1961, 69; for bulldozing Coldstream et al. 1981, 141, 143. Nevertheless, these tombs still pose the best available examples for a case study.

²⁰⁰ Cf. I. Morris 1987, 140-4; Coldstream 1994, 112, 116.

²⁰¹ For this method cf. also Kotsonas 2006, 150.

²⁰² Apart from post-depositional disturbances, satisfactory attributions are impeded by the custom of placing belonging items outside of urns (Kotsonas 2006, 150) and by highly overcrowded burial spaces.

that we are dealing with families,²⁰³ but this has met with growing criticism.²⁰⁴ In one case there is evidence for a genetic relationship between three commonly interred individuals.²⁰⁵ Otherwise we have little even basic information (e.g. on the ratio of female to male remains)²⁰⁶ and the numbers of burials, especially for the 9th and 8th centuries, seem much too low to constitute whole families.²⁰⁷ In any case, the burials represent a very selective minority and it should be kept in mind that the definition of family might also have depended on social factors such as adoption, which plays a role in 6th-century inscriptions.²⁰⁸ Concerning the metal finds, their fragmented preservation naturally confuses quantitative assessments because some pieces must have belonged to the same objects. While cited absolute numbers are thus too high, the relative proportions of metal finds between different tombs can still be considered as informative.²⁰⁹ Tombs containing gold and/or silver have been marked with asterisks in corresponding figures to indicate richer assemblages.

Figure 3.30 records the number of relevant pots found in respective tombs (x-axis) against the ceramic total, pottery imports and metal finds (y-axis). It reveals that orientalisising pottery roughly follows the gradual increase described by the ceramic total – apart from Tombs 175, 100, 219 and 104, where pottery amounts show anomalous peaks. Noticeably, the total records a rapid surge from Tombs 285 to 292, which goes hand in hand with a rise in the numbers of imports and metal finds. This is unparalleled by the orientalisising material, however, which continues the pace of

²⁰³ Cf. e.g. Brock 1957, 41; Boardman 1967, 63; Coldstream et al. 1981, 143f., 163; Coldstream et al. 1999, 291.

²⁰⁴ Cf. e.g. Whitley 1998b, 163; Kotsonas 2011c, 131f.; Antoniadis 2012, 75f.

²⁰⁵ Musgrave in *KNC*, 681.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 680.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Kotsonas 2011c, 133, figs. 4-8.

²⁰⁸ Perlman 2002, 202.

²⁰⁹ Catling's hierarchy of tombs by total number of identifiable objects (*KNC*, 547f.) generally accords with the hierarchy of tombs by total number of individual fragments used here.

gradual multiplication. Tomb 219, which contains a disproportionately large number of metal finds and pottery imports, is strikingly low on orientalising pottery.

A perhaps more accessible way of presenting the material is to organise it by number of metal finds, i.e. from 'poor' to 'rich', as on Figure 3.31. Here the pottery has been divided into 'orientalising', 'imports' and 'other'. The latter category largely consists of painted fine ware with monochrome coating, banded decoration and/or more complex designs that do not include orientalising motifs.²¹⁰ According to the most significant discrepancies in the amounts of metals, the tombs can be divided into three main groups: a) tombs with up to three finds, b) tombs with seven to 36 finds, and c) tombs with 59 to 136 finds. Strikingly, while there is a general increase in the average of all categories *between* each group, there is no distinct growth *within* individual groups. Thus, in groups a) and b) orientalising and 'other' pottery remain roughly constant, while within group c) both categories register an overall decline. Only imports appear to display a growth in numbers within group b), while within group c) they fluctuate but are generally high. Figure 3.32 measures the percentages of the three pottery categories (from Fig. 3.31) against the number of metal finds for tombs with a minimum of 20 vases. It shows that the average ratio of orientalising pottery amounts to *ca.* 19% (indicated by a thin blue line), peaking at 40% for Tomb 56. The proportions of orientalising pottery do not show any obvious patterning, with 'poor' and 'rich' scoring comparably (cf. e.g. Tombs 31, 104 and 219 for low percentages, and Tombs 19 and 218 for high percentages). Therefore there is no reason to assume that Knossian people considered orientalising motifs as particularly prestigious. This appears to be different in the case of imports. Accordingly, Figure 3.32 demonstrates that the tombs with 13 or more metal finds also show a higher

²¹⁰ Extremely few vessels, mostly drinking cups, are left entirely plain. In the case of Tomb 292, which has yielded the largest amount of ceramics, these add up to a mere handful.

average percentage of pottery imports. Interestingly, there seems to be no direct relation in the ratio of orientalising and imported pottery. Thus, Tombs 34 and 56 show high percentages of both; Tombs 14 and 218 are high in orientalising pottery but low in imports; and Tombs 31 and 136 are high in imports but low in orientalising pottery. Related to this is also the observation that the quality of ceramics carrying orientalising motifs seems to be mostly average – as far as it is possible to tell from photographs. Some vases are distinguished by a delicate shape and meticulous painting²¹¹, while others display an evidently less skilled, sometimes even quite sloppy, execution.²¹² The bulk of material, however, seems to be in the middling range.

²¹¹ Model examples are of course vessels by the Fortetsa Painter (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-340; 8-KNO.SETT-88) and the Fortetsa alabastron (8-KNO.FOR.SE-152).

²¹² Cf. e.g. 8-KNO.MED-142; 8-KNO.MED-223; 8-KNO.MED-355; 8-KNO.FOR.SE-85.

3.5 Stylistic analyses

This section compares surveyed patterns and motifs with Near Eastern counterparts, orientalising ceramics from other Greek regions and potential Minoan precursors; it further refers to Cretan orientalising expressions in other materials when appropriate. Special attention is paid to foreign imports, which represent the most tangible sources for Cretan inspiration. However, discussions will also consider examples of the same object classes found outside of Crete, since chances are good that similar specimens originally existed locally but are now absent from the archaeological record.

Published Near Eastern imports primarily consist of metal bowls (from Anatolia, Syria and the Phoenician region), metal jugs (from Egypt and the Levant) and ivory objects such as containers, flywhisks and plaques that formed part of wooden furniture (mostly from North Syria, but also South Syria and the Phoenician region; few pieces come from Egypt and Anatolia).²¹³ The find spots of bowls are clustered in central Crete (Eleutherna, Knossos, the Idaean Cave and Afrati); the jugs are so far restricted to the Idaean Cave, where the overwhelming majority of ivories also come from. Although there are a number of Egyptiaca, these seem to have made little impact on local ceramics.²¹⁴ Pottery from the Near East is largely restricted to Phoenician and Cypriot jugs and juglets (Red Slip, Bichrome and Black on Red) – except for Kommos, where excavations have produced some Phoenician amphorai

²¹³ For bowls cf. n. 253f. For jugs cf. p. 221. For Levantine ivories cf. Hogarth 1899-1900, 113 (Psychro Cave); Sakellarakis 1992, 113-5, Sakellarakis 1993, 349-55 and Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, 168-90, pls. 95-110 (Idaeon Cave); *KNC*, 630f., figs. 189-191 (Knossos); Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998, 271 no. 342 (Tsoutsouros-Inatos). See also Pappalardo 2004, esp. 209-14; 2011c, 402-5.

²¹⁴ Webb in *KNC*, 604-7; Fletcher 2004, 74; Antoniadis 2012, 101-37, 146; Pappalardo 2012, 72-84, 122-4.

and plates.²¹⁵ As is typically the case, textiles are extremely poorly preserved and none of them can be attributed to foreign centres, but this medium will also be taken into account.

Concerning Greek pottery imports, Protocorinthian to Middle Corinthian vessels are fairly common throughout Crete and a few examples have turned up at most sites.²¹⁶ These undoubtedly exerted influence on Cretan pottery, which is particularly noticeable at Afrati.²¹⁷ Attic vessels, especially of the LPG and MG periods, have been found in larger quantities at Knossos, Kommos, Eleutherna and Chania.²¹⁸ Protoattic pottery did not travel to Crete but will be considered where suitable, as Knossos had entertained particularly strong ties to Athens in the preceding centuries.²¹⁹ Cycladic imports to Crete appear from the PG period onward; attested quantities subsequently vary by region, with Eleutherna showing a strong connection in the LG to EO periods.²²⁰ At the same time, some Cretan vessels reached the Cyclades and made a noticeable impact.²²¹ East Greek pottery imports mostly belong to the LG and O periods and come from central Crete,²²² with an concentration of East Greek vases having been excavated at Kommos.²²³ Sporadic Cretan ceramics have been retrieved on East Greek islands.²²⁴

²¹⁵ For an overview of all Near Eastern and Cypriot ceramic imports cf. Pappalardo 2012, 51-72. For an overview of BoR imports cf. also Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 342f.; Coldstream 1984b, 123-31. For Kommos specifically cf. Bikai in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 302-12.

²¹⁶ Tsipopoulou 1987b; Jones 2000, 216-90 *passim*; Kotsonas 2008, 262f.; Biondi 2013, 190.

²¹⁷ Biondi 2013. For Kavousi cf. Mook 2004, 73.

²¹⁸ Coldstream in *KNC*, 393-402; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997, 230f., 233-6; Callaghan and Johnston in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 210-52; Johnston 2005, 362f.; Kotsonas 2008, 263-7. For sporadic instances from elsewhere cf. Jones 2000, 216-90 *passim*.

²¹⁹ Coldstream 1994, 116-8.

²²⁰ Kourou 1984, 111; Kotsonas 2008, 267-71. At Knossos, Cycladic imports reach an apogee in the MG period (*KNC*, 404). It has been proposed that Naxian potters worked at this site, while an involvement of Parian potters has been demonstrated for Eleutherna (Kotsonas 2011b, 144-8).

²²¹ Boardman 1961, 155; Jones 2000, 293-312 *passim*; Kotsonas 2008, 271.

²²² Jones 2000, 216-90 *passim*; Kotsonas 2008, 274-82.

²²³ Johnston 1993, 351-5, 361-70; Callaghan and Johnston in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 210-52.

²²⁴ Jones 2000, 293-312 *passim*.

In terms of the island's Bronze Age heritage, there was great continuity in the use of spaces from LM IIIC onwards, which naturally resulted in regular encounters with older material.²²⁵ Additionally, there is evidence for a deliberate re-use of LBA sites and materials from the PG period onwards. Apart from the mentioned return to LBA ruins,²²⁶ this is visible in: LM architectural parts that were built into EIA tombs at Knossos;²²⁷ the discovery of PG and G pottery in MM-LM tombs at Knossos, Ag. Fotia, Mochlos, Kamilari, Liliana and Ag. Pelagia;²²⁸ the re-use of LBA tombs as burial spaces at Knossos and elsewhere;²²⁹ and perhaps also the plundering of LM III graves at Achladia.²³⁰ While some of this might well be due to practical reasons, it also carries undertones of a physical 'appropriation' of the past, which could have served to consolidate local claims.²³¹ A particular keenness on local traditions is definitely visible at Knossos, where numerous LM III A-B larnakes and some sealstones have been discovered in EIA contexts.²³²

Although the stylistic analysis forms the main part of the present chapter, spatial constraints make it impossible to assess the entirety of material. Instead, the following will combine a representative overview with discussions on particularly striking and informative cases. Motifs are presented in the same order as in the complementary index (Appendix A).

²²⁵ At least at Knossos, the Minoan layers are extremely close to the surface in places and easily exposed due to ancient terracing.

²²⁶ Cf. p. 12.

²²⁷ Hood and Boardman 1961, 70f.; Preston 2005, 88.

²²⁸ Coldstream 1998; Wallace 2003a, 270f.; Eaby 2007, 128, 140, 152, 154.

²²⁹ Although Cavanagh has shown that the majority of Knossian chamber tombs with EIA material were constructed during this period (*KNC*, 653-7), some Medical Faculty site tombs are likely of LBA date (Coldstream 1998, 58f.) and there is evidence for the reuse of LMIIIC tholoi at various places as well as of MM-LM chamber tombs at Knossos Mavro Spelio (Eaby 2007, 228-30, 236-9, 291f.).

²³⁰ Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1995, 126.

²³¹ E.g. Preston 2005, 89f.; Wallace 2003a, 272-5.

²³² *KNC*, 69 no. 3; Coldstream 1998.

Scales

This pattern usually receives little attention, probably because of its basic and common nature. On Crete, unassuming rows of scales frame painted bands on LM IIIC and EPG vessels²³³ and varieties of this design persisted throughout the EIA (e.g. 2-ELE-11; 8-KNO.MED-50; 46-AG.GEO-7). Vases showing zones or panels of massed scales, on the other hand, are typical of the PGB/EG periods and mostly found at Knossos.²³⁴ Similar panels appear on LM IIIC pottery²³⁵ as well as Near Eastern ivory objects and furniture pieces²³⁶. The PGB-EG patterns were probably modeled on the ivories because in both instances scales can be rendered in double outline (cf. e.g. 8-KNO.AMP-21; 8-KNO.MED-15; 8-KNO.SAN-1; 20-PRIN-8 and Fig. 3.33²³⁷). The roughly contemporary Fortetsa bronze belt with zones of massed scales²³⁸ was likely influenced by similar prototypes. Small O vessels are sometimes entirely covered in scales (cf. 8-KNO.MED-193; 40-KAV-33; 48-ADRO-6). These might have been inspired, although in a more generic way, by Protocorinthian unguent vases that show large zones of scaled ornamentation.²³⁹ However, the occasional provision of scales with central dots does not necessarily imitate the compass dots commonly found on Corinthian vessels since this detail can be encountered on Cretan pottery of earlier periods.²⁴⁰

²³³ *KNC*, fig. 86 (nos. 3 and 5); Tsipopoulou et al. 2003, 99f. no. 14; Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Papadopoulou 2007, figs. 2.1, 4.14 and 8.34.

²³⁴ An exception is 2-ELE-21 (MG).

²³⁵ Kanta 1980, pls. 26.5, 89.11, 93.2, 99.1.

²³⁶ For Nimrud material cf. G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 65 (no. 291); G. Herrmann et al. 2004, 54 no. S0619 (North Syrian style), 169 no. S2201. For a pyxis from the Idaean cave cf. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, pl. 100 (no. MH E 671). For scaled panels on depictions of furniture cf. Mallowan and G. Herrmann 1974, pl. XCIII (Phoenician style).

²³⁷ See also Mallowan and G. Herrmann 1974, pls. XLIV and XLVII (North Syrian style); G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 65 (no. 287); G. Herrmann et al. 2004, 22 no. S0196.

²³⁸ Cf. p. 203-5 and Fig. 6.22.

²³⁹ Neeft 1987, 277-89 ('scale aryballoi'); Benson 1984, 75f., pl. 17 (nos. 337-339).

²⁴⁰ Cf. 8-KNO.AMP-25 (EG); 8-KNO.MED-124 (LG); 42-CHAM-1 (PGB); 46-AG.GEO-4 (LG); Kanta 1980, pl. 2.2 (LM IIIC).

Rosettes

Rosettes feature on Cretan pottery from all surveyed periods. The emergence of rosettes in the PGB period was not a novelty but was preceded by examples on LM IIIC vessels.²⁴¹ These usually assume the shape of tongue/ petal designs, frequently rendered in multiple outlines, or dot rosettes. The former type can be filled with hatching or monochrome colouring and feature chevrons in the interstices of petals. Some rosettes on PGB vessels (e.g. 8-KNO.AMP-2, 8-KNO.AMP-22 and 8-KNO.MED-44) are so similar to IIIC counterparts (Fig. 3.34) in style and concept that their painters were likely inspired by these. This would not be surprising in light of other Minoanising elements in the PGB repertoire.²⁴² Additionally, painters may have had MG-LG Attic imports in mind that show gadroon designs with internal hatching or chevrons (Fig. 3.35).²⁴³ Tongue/ petal rosettes continued uninterrupted into the O period and were by far the most popular type of this motif. It is interesting to note that some O examples display chevrons or triangular elements in the interstices, which are absent from PG and G renditions²⁴⁴ (cf. e.g. 8-KNO.MAV-1; 20-PRIN-26; 28-AFR-62). These are akin to the LM IIIC instances noted above as well as Near Eastern ivories²⁴⁵ and might have copied examples of such.

The only other well-represented type is the closely related leaf rosette, which differs merely in the pointed ends of its members. Its popularity in the O period might have partially resulted from the ubiquity of other leaf patterns, such as crosses, rows and chains, during the G period.²⁴⁶ Leaf rosettes also appear on Near Eastern ivories

²⁴¹ Kanta 1980, pls. 18.2, 22.3, 43.3, 49.4, 50.7, 77.7-9 (with chevron elements), 81.4, 103.7, 106.1, 137.2; Tsipopoulou et al. 2003, 113 fig. 12; Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Papadopoulou 2007, fig. 4.22.

²⁴² Cf. p. 29.

²⁴³ For similar designs see also Brann 1962, 68f. nos. 325, 330 and 333.

²⁴⁴ 8-KNO.AMP-3 poses an exception.

²⁴⁵ Cf. n. 241; G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 38f. (no. 232, Assyrian), 88 (no. 272).

²⁴⁶ E.g. Coldstream et al. 1981, 148 no. 35, pl. 19; *KNC*, pls. 122 (no. 110), 191 (no. 37).

and LG Attic pottery.²⁴⁷ However, given the simplicity of this design and the lack of telling details, any allocation of influences seems ill advised.

Dot rosettes are fairly rare on EIA Cretan pottery and restricted to the MG and O periods. Pertinent MG vessel fragments all come from Knossos (e.g. 8-KNO.SETT-8 and 8-KNO.SETT-9) and clearly imitate Attic models in their decorative scheme and ornamentation.²⁴⁸ O examples mostly consist of unguent juglets (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-267, 22-GOR-69, 23-AG.TRIA-1). The strong association between shape and motif suggests that in this case the rosettes were adopted from imported Corinthian counterparts.²⁴⁹ Although corresponding imports have also been discovered at Kavousi and Praisos,²⁵⁰ there is no traceable reception of this motif in the east of Crete.

There are even fewer stalk rosettes (or 'dot wheels') and lozenge rosettes. The scanty available instances of the former (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-322; 22-GOR-23) date to the O period and presumably constitute a by-product of Corinthian influences²⁵¹ as elsewhere in the Greek world²⁵². Early versions of lozenge rosettes already emerge in the MG period (e.g. 8-KNO.SETT-11, 8-KNO.GYP-2) and their shape is generally too closely related to leaf rosettes to require any external links.

Concerning the placement of the rosette motifs, tongue rosettes frequently adorn the centres of lids (cf. e.g. 8-KNO.MED-45; 8-KNO.SETT-39; 28-AFR-119). It is compelling to assume that this was inspired by Near Eastern metal bowls – either

²⁴⁷ G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 6 (no. 40a), 55 (no. 236), 137 (no. TW 27); Coulié 2013, figs. 44, 54, 56, 69.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Coulié 2013, 42-4, esp. fig. 9.

²⁴⁹ Cf. e.g. Levi 1927-9, 306, fig. 406, 346f., fig. 452. For design see also Neeft 1987, 110f., 118f., 227f.

²⁵⁰ Tsipopoulou 1987b, 236, fig. 2, 268f., pl. 5.

²⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Neeft 1987, 163-71.

²⁵² For Attic pottery with stalk rosettes cf. Kübler 1970, 139f., 342. For South Ionian vessels featuring such cf. Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005, figs. 4 and 20.

‘gadroned’/ ‘ribbed’ phialai²⁵³ (Fig. 3.36) or bowls with figural decoration encircling a tongue rosette (Fig. 3.37)²⁵⁴ – and potentially also Near Eastern ivory vessels²⁵⁵. A derivation from metal bowls is further cogent for 22-GOR-46, which imitates Assyrian bowls with drop-shaped relief bosses (*Buckelschalen*; Fig. 3.38)²⁵⁶, and 22-GOR-102, which copies Assyrian examples with a relief network pattern (*Buckelnetzschalen*; Fig. 3.39)²⁵⁷. Similar influences are discernible for 8-KNO.KEPH-7, whose central rosette is conspicuous in its unusual lozenge-shape petals that are reminiscent of two Syrian style bowls, likely from Iran (Fig. 3.40).²⁵⁸ These instances prove that such metal bowls must have existed locally, even though none have been discovered. Outside of Crete, the powerful impact of Syro-Phoenician bowls is epitomised by a group of LG Attic ceramic bowls imitating these.²⁵⁹

Although rosettes can feature as ancillary motifs, they rarely serve as fill ornaments (exceptions are: 8-KNO.FOR.SE-50, 28-AFR-63 and NO.PROV-67). This constitutes a marked difference to their role on Corinthian, Attic and South Ionian ceramics (for examples cf. Figs. 3.41-3.43).²⁶⁰ On Crete, they frequently appear in metopal arrangements (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-303; 8-KNO.MED-321), at the centre of circle systems (e.g. 8-KNO.GYP-19), in rows (especially on relief pithoi, e.g. 20-PRIN-72; 49-

²⁵³ According to Hasserodt (2009, 163f., 188-97, 372-4), four examples have been retrieved at Knossos (three are North Syrian, one is from the wider Levant); three at Eleutherna (one is probably Phrygian, another Italian); and three at the Idaean Cave (two are North Syrian, one is likely Italian). Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis (2013, 62f., pl. 45) present two additional pieces (one looks North Syrian, the other Italian) and imply that there are several more. For a brief overview of Near Eastern relief depictions of such gadroned phialai cf. Struble and Rimmer Herrmann 2009, 23.

²⁵⁴ Two examples have been retrieved at Afrati (North Syrian style); two at Eleutherna (one Phoenician style, the other North Syrian style); one at Knossos (Levantine) and two at the Idaean Cave (one North Syrian style, the other Phoenician style), cf. Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 247-52 and Hasserodt 2009, 395-409. For some of these possibly being Cretan imitations cf. p. 221. For Phoenician and Phoenician-derived bowls with central rosettes retrieved outside of Crete cf. Markoe 1985, 246-9 nos. Cy3f., 260f. nos. Cy9f., 304f. no. E11, 312f. no. G1.

²⁵⁵ Cf. G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 2 (no. 15), 115 (no. 375, Assyrian).

²⁵⁶ No Assyrian example has yet been discovered on Crete. An unpublished bowl of this class from Eleutherna might be Phrygian (Hasserodt 2009, 198, 202).

²⁵⁷ No example has yet been discovered on Crete; there is one from Samos (Hasserodt 2009, 198, 202). For Assyrian bowls of this type cf. Howes Smith 1981, 10.

²⁵⁸ Markoe 1985, 210. Second example: *ibid.*, 212, 335 no. Ir 8.

²⁵⁹ Borell 1978.

²⁶⁰ See also Benson 1989, pls. 15, 18f., 21; Coulié 2013, 116, 146, 152, 189, 192.

LITH-1) and occasionally as main motifs (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-362; 28-AFR-25). Arguably, this unusual prominence of rosettes (and other vegetal ornaments) might have been caused by a Cretan aversion to figural representations on pottery. In contrast to other Greek regions, figural depictions continued throughout the EIA;²⁶¹ yet, numbers stayed minimal – even during the G and O periods.²⁶² An additional reason may have been the impact of Near Eastern material. Row arrangements are unmistakably dependent on such, especially in the otherwise uncommon alternation of rosettes and bosses (e.g. 8-KNO-10; NO.PROV-44).²⁶³ Coldstream further suggested that rosettes set within double circles copy ‘oriental’ jewellery.²⁶⁴ On a more general level, Near Eastern art often displays rosettes in salient positions and uses them to mark important anthropomorphic figures.²⁶⁵ This creates the impression that the ornament was of special significance, which might have in some way resonated with Cretan observers.

Tongues

This motif was apparently rare during the PGB-EG periods, but underwent a first MG proliferation at Knossos before experiencing an island-wide spread in the LG and O periods. Across the corpus of material, tongue designs are preferably wrapped around the shoulder, foot and/or bottom of vessels (cf. 8-KNO.MED-304; 28-AFR-68; 45-PRAI-6). It seems plausible that this was inspired by metal vessels, an impression

²⁶¹ Lemos 2000, 12.

²⁶² As observed by Whitley 2001, 251. Human representations are particularly sparse. 7th-century exceptions are 8-KNO.MED-380, 8-KNO.FOR.SE-24, 8-KNO.FOR.SE-147, 8-KNO.KEPH-23, 22-GOR-36, 25-KOM-16, 25-KOM-17, 28-AFR-35, 28-AFR-36, 28-AFR-48, 28-AFR-146, NO.PROV-2, NO.PROV-10, NO.PROV-11, NO.PROV-15, NO.PROV-47, NO.PROV-50. For examples not in the catalogue see Boyd 1901, 146f, pls. 3f.; Pernier 1914, 66-9; Levi 1945a, 14, 21, pls. IX.1 and 22, X.2.

²⁶³ For ivories with rows of rosettes (and bosses) cf. G. Herrmann 1992, pls. 52f.; G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 2 (no. 15), 125-131 (Assyrian). For similar lines of rosettes on Assyrian architectural sculpture, bronzes and paintings cf. Winter 2010, 65 fig. 17, 69 fig. 20, 178f. figs. 3f., 182 fig. 7.

²⁶⁴ Coldstream 1980, 410.

²⁶⁵ Cf. G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 3 (no. 18), 6 (nos. 40a and 41-43), 33 (no. 225); Guralnick 2004, 226-32.

that is enhanced by examples rendering the pattern in relief (cf. 8-KNO.MED-307; 22-GOR-106). The frequent employment of tongues on lids may further be conditioned by imported Near Eastern bowls, as argued for rosettes above. A common alternative to circumferential arrangements is their incorporation into metopal configurations, which is first witnessed on MG Knossian pithoi (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-64; 8-KNO.MED-66) and constitutes a Cretan peculiarity.

Most frequently, tongues are adorned with midribs, particularly at Knossos but also elsewhere (e.g. 2-ELE-33; 40-KAV-5). The same midribs appear on tongue rosettes embellishing Near Eastern ivories and Phoenician or derived metal items.²⁶⁶ The popularity of this detail on Crete might have been favoured by a general fondness for internal patterning, such as hatching, during the G period. Concerning connections with other Greek regions, there is a thin, solid and sometimes drop-shaped type of tongue (8-KNO.MED-370; 22-GOR-74) that is paralleled on Corinthian ceramics.²⁶⁷ Its design is certainly extremely basic, which might antagonise this comparison, but a Corinthian dependency is likely considering the motif's common employment on small slow-pouring vessels and an apparently innate Cretan preference for outlined tongues.

Cables

As has been observed in the quantitative analysis, the cable is well represented as early as PGB-EG. Examples of this date include the round type with disc-shaped eyes (8-KNO.AMP-18; 8-KNO.SETT-1), the loosely intertwined type (8-KNO.SAN-2; 8-KNO.SETT-5), an outlined type that is very close to the S's pattern (8-KNO.AMP-6; 20-PRIN-7), the simple line type (2-ELE-5; 8-KNO.ATSA-2), the

²⁶⁶ Cf. G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 227 (nos. 881-886); Markoe 1985, 289 no. E4.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Levi 1927-9, 219f., fig. 246; Tsipopoulou 1987b, 268, fig. 4.

rectilinear cable (8-KNO.AMP-2) and a type with sets of concentric circles as eyes (8-KNO.AMP-20). This heterogeneity reflects the experimental character of PGB-EG pottery and the novel introduction of the motif. Two of the mentioned variations certainly arrived from the east: the disc-shaped eyes type is fairly common on Near Eastern monumental sculpture and minor objects, such as ivories and seals,²⁶⁸ and the loosely intertwined type is frequently found on Syro-Phoenician figured metal bowls.²⁶⁹ Both can also be encountered on roughly contemporary Knossian gold jewellery and the Idaean cave type shields.²⁷⁰ The rectilinear cable seems to be unique for this early period; the S's-related and concentric circle types are both Cretan derivations that adjust the motif to local tastes. Interestingly, at this stage the occurrence of the cable was restricted to Knossos, Eleutherna and Prinias, i.e. sites that are centred on the Idaean Cave, which has yielded a large number of Near Eastern ivory and metal imports.²⁷¹

During the MG-LG periods, the motif spread across central Crete. Most common was the intertwined version (cf. 24-PHAI-3; 25-KOM-1), which likely illustrates the continued prestige of mentioned metal bowls. Additionally, the cable started to appear in metope arrangements, sometimes in vertical alignments (cf. 8-KNO.MED-106; 8-KNO.FOR.NE-5). These are the forerunners of the so-called cable columns on O vessels, which present a local development. Protocorinthian, Protoattic, Cycladic and Cypriot Bichrome IV (*ca.* 700-600)²⁷² vessels also feature cable columns,²⁷³ but on these the common alternation with rosettes betrays a likely

²⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. Porada 1948, pls. CXIII, CXLVIf.; Orthmann 1971, pls. 2, 24, 51; G. Herrmann et al. 2004, 10 no. S0037, 11f. nos. S0048 and S0062, 14 no. S0095, 28 nos. S0280-S0285, 42 nos. S0458-S0462.

²⁶⁹ E.g. Markoe 1985, 254-6 nos. Cy7f., 272 no. Cy22, 311 no. E15, 312 no. G1.

²⁷⁰ Cf. Kunze 1931, e.g. pls. 5 (no. 2), 13 (no. 6), 22 (no. 8), 40 (no. 45); Boardman 1967a, 68 nos. 1f., pls. 10f.

²⁷¹ Cf. p. 239 and n. 253.

²⁷² According to Gjerstad 1948, 424f.

²⁷³ Cf. Neeft 1987, 65, 67; Benson 1989, pl. 17.3-6; Kübler 1970, 137f., fig. 19, 348-50, fig. 19; Coulié 2013, figs. 188, 194, 229f., 235; Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974, 11, 80, 84, 93.

dependency on Near Eastern textiles²⁷⁴. During the LG period, the so-called broken cable (cf. 45-PRAI-20; 47-SKLA-1) became popular in the east of the island. This variation can also be encountered on South Ionian and Protoattic pottery,²⁷⁵ but its design is too basic to allow for inferences on potential influences. Cables composed of circles and tangents adorn an Idaean Cave type shield from Palaikastro (Fig. 3.44)²⁷⁶, raising the question of whether the design might actually derive from bronzes. In the 7th century, some of the polychrome pithoi from Knossos²⁷⁷ display rounded, disc-eyed cables with midribs (cf. 8-KNO.FOR.SE-92; 8-KNO.FOR.SE-99). Similar midribs are found on Protocorinthian and Attic vessels,²⁷⁸ but the pattern originally goes back to Near Eastern prototypes.²⁷⁹ Finally, the 7th-century rectilinear cable presents an independent creation for which no foreign parallels are available.²⁸⁰

Guilloches

This pattern provides a completely different picture, both regarding its late debut in the LG-EO period and origin. Outside Crete, its appearance on pottery is restricted to Protocorinthian and East Greek examples. The Corinthian guilloche (Fig. 3.45) takes the shape of a tight interlace that closely resembles Assyrian versions (Fig. 3.46). The Cretan guilloche, on the other hand, features square compartments between the strands (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-303).²⁸¹ It is similar to the designs on South Ionian Archaic (SiA) Ic vessels (cf. Fig. 3.47 from Knossos)²⁸², which are later than the

²⁷⁴ Kunze 1931, 96.

²⁷⁵ On South Ionian Archaic (SiA) Ia vessels, the broken cable conventionally frames or divides figural zones, cf. Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005, 16, figs. 1-4. For Attic examples cf. Kübler 1970, 137f., fig. 19 and Coulié 2013, fig. 213.

²⁷⁶ See also Kunze 1931, 92; Matthäus 2000, 534.

²⁷⁷ Cf. p. 93.

²⁷⁸ Cf. Benson 1989, pls. 17 (no. 6), 19 (no. 3); Kübler 1970, 137, fig. 19.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Orthmann 1971, pl. 36 (North Syrian); G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 81 (no. 353, Phoenician); 1992, pl. 14 (no. 91, Assyrian).

²⁸⁰ Kunze 1931, 92f.

²⁸¹ An exception is the simple line guilloche on 8-KNO.MED-125 (LG).

²⁸² Cf. also *KNC*, 96 n. 11, fig. 88; Jacopi 1933, pl. 6.

first examples from Crete²⁸³ but could provide a clue that this type originated in Anatolia. This seems to be supported by the case of the guilloche square (8-KNO.AMP-47), which is fairly well represented on Cretan pottery but rare elsewhere.²⁸⁴ The only available direct parallel adorns the famous wooden table from Tumulus MM at Gordion (Fig. 3.48).²⁸⁵ Although this is thin evidence, the guilloche fits neatly with the affinity for complex geometric patterns displayed by Phrygian art. Metal bowls of a probably Phrygian origin have been retrieved at Eleutherna and notably this is the only site, other than Knossos, to have yielded an early guilloche depiction (2-ELE-40). Most likely the design was transmitted through wooden carved objects, like the mentioned table, or textiles.²⁸⁶ Both of these materials preserve only under special conditions and are notoriously absent from the archaeological record. In the course of the O period the guilloche and guilloche square spread throughout central Crete, but nowhere did it reach the same popularity as at Knossos.

Lotuses²⁸⁷

Like the guilloche, the lotus made a rather sudden appearance during the LG-EO transition. When depicted as a single plant, it mostly takes the shape of a closed bud between outward-curling sepals (8-KNO.FOR.SE-37, between feet). This rendition is also encountered in Egypt and the Levant. Here, the lotus was associated with Horus, Nefertem and Hathor, functioned as a symbol of fertility and life, and was held in high regard for its beauty, scent and medicinal purposes.²⁸⁸ On Levantine ivory objects, it is usually held or tended to by (super-)human figures or it appears in

²⁸³ For LG-EO examples cf. 2-ELE-40 and 8-KNO.MED-130.

²⁸⁴ For a South Ionian example cf. Walter 1968, 79, fig. 50.

²⁸⁵ Simpson and Alden 2010, 31-9.

²⁸⁶ Burke 2005.

²⁸⁷ In the botanical sense, the term 'lotus' is incorrect because we are dealing with water lilies other than lotuses, cf. Ossian 1999. The following will nonetheless retain the conventional use of the word.

²⁸⁸ Mallowan and G. Herrmann 1974, 9f.; Ossian 1999, 52-7.

association with creatures (Figs. 3.49 and 3.50). This convention is followed on Cypriot Bichrome IV pottery and the Idaean Cave Hunt Shield.²⁸⁹ The fact that Cretan pottery only depicts the lotus in isolation could imply that it did not carry the same meaning or that it was copied from other models. Pertinent alternatives are Levantine bronze jugs (Fig. 3.51), which are known from the Idaean Cave, and Cypriot lotus-handle bowls (Fig. 3.52), which are found across the island and were reproduced locally.²⁹⁰

Concerning Greek *comparanda*, Cretan lotuses with spirally sepals (8-KNO.FOR.SE-49; 28-AFR-127) find close counterparts on so-called ‘Melian’ vessels (Fig. 3.53) produced on Paros.²⁹¹ Some Corinthian influence is visible at Knossos and Afrati. Here we encounter lotuses with oddly duplicated buds (8-KNO.MED-183; 28-AFR-129) that recur on an aryballos of the Tendril Group (Fig. 3.54). Further, the complex back-to-back lotus on a Knossian polychrome pithos (8-KNO.FOR.SE-34) is paralleled on a krater from Samos attributed with a Koan provenance (Fig. 3.55). Simple back-to-back lotuses, which are more common, also appear on one of the Idaean Cave type shields.²⁹²

The lotus can also occur as chains. In the Near East there are three main types: the chain uniformly composed of closed buds (Fig. 3.56a), the chain with alternating closed buds and buds between sepals (Fig. 3.56b), and the chain with alternating buds and fully opened flowers (Fig. 3.56c).²⁹³ On Cretan pottery the chain with closed buds never emerged and analogously there are no bronze objects displaying this

²⁸⁹ Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974, e.g. 11, 59, 73; Fig. 6.34.

²⁹⁰ Matthäus 2000, 521f., 536f.; Karageorghis et al. 2014, 21, 52, 98, 196.

²⁹¹ Coulié 2013, 228f., 248.

²⁹² Kunze 1931, pl. 21 (no. 8).

²⁹³ The latter is particularly common in the Levant and has a long tradition that goes back at least to the 10th-century Ahirom Sarcophagus, cf. Bordreuil in Fontan and Meaux 2007, 77, fig. 4.

pattern.²⁹⁴ Instead, the only uniform chain is idiosyncratic, consisting of buds between sepals (8-KNO.FOR.SE-37; 8-KNO.FOR.SE-42). Of the alternating types both are represented, but the open flower version is slightly more common (e.g. 8-KNO.KEPH-36; 8-KNO.KEPH-38). A special variant renders lotus flowers with parallel strokes in the place of petals (8-KNO.FOR.SE-91). Surprisingly, there are direct equivalents for this on Phoenician objects (Fig. 3.57)²⁹⁵ and the Cretan depictions surely imitate these.

Outside of Crete, the alternating lotus chain with open flowers forms a standard requisite of the Wild Goat style (Fig. 3.58) and of Cypriot Bichrome IV (Fig. 3.59). However, variations in details suggest that Ionian, Cypriot and Cretan ceramic schools developed the motif independently: the Ionian convention furnishes only open flowers with receptacles and partitions buds with a line; the Cypriot convention provides both with receptacles; and the Cretan convention limits receptacles to flowers, overemphasising them.²⁹⁶

Finally, it is necessary to briefly comment on lotus and palmette combinations, which most commonly occur as chains. The simple version with all members pointing in the same direction (e.g. 8-KNO.FOR.SE-46; 12-AG.PA-1) seems to have been borrowed from Near Eastern ivories (Fig. 3.60). The more complex chain with alternate members pointing in the opposing direction (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-288), on the other hand, must have been inspired by Protocorinthian models. This is blatantly the case for two relief pithoi from Knossos and Azoria on which the flowers assume a specific profile (compare 8-KNO.MED-402 and 41-AZO-13 with Fig. 3.45, shoulder

²⁹⁴ Some bronzes show similar-looking patterns (e.g. Figs. 6.16 and 6.52), but these represent pinecones.

²⁹⁵ Cf. also Bisi in Moscati 1988, 338; Aruz in Fontan and Meaux 2007, 217 cat. 323, 346 no. 179 (catalogue).

²⁹⁶ Influences from both regions might be traceable on 8-KNO.SETT-82: Ionian influence in the rendition of petal contours and the filled-in background, and Cypriot influence in the interlocking chain. The latter element could alternatively be based on Protocorinthian designs, cf. Benson 1989, pl. 18 (no. 3).

design) and a relief pithos from the Sitia region, on which the chain describes a looping formation (compare 49-LITH-1 with Fig. 3.61).²⁹⁷ A pyxis urn from Afrati is adorned with a rare stacked composition of palmettes and lotuses (28-AFR-37), which mimics tiered arrangements with spiral sprouts found on Near Eastern ivories (Fig. 3.62).

Palmettes

Like lotuses, Cretan palmettes appear as single plants or chains. The basic motif, i.e. multiple rounded petals set between outward curling sepals, is very close to the standard Near Eastern type (cf. 28-AFR-54 with Fig. 3.63). It merely omits the drop-shaped elements that often droop from the interstices between receptacle and sepals. A shield from Gortyn (22-GOR-64) exceptionally displays stemmed buds in this position, revealing greater familiarity with complex eastern floral compositions (Fig. 3.62). Single upside-down palmettes adorn the handle terminals of imported Phoenician jugs (Fig. 3.64)²⁹⁸, and it is hardly coincidental that the same upside-down arrangement features on the shoulders of Cretan pouring vessels (e.g. 24-PHAI-10; 28-AFR-53). In some instances, Cretan potters also adopted the Phoenician type palmette with inward-curling sepals that are distanced from the petals (compare 8-KNO.FOR.SE-143 and 25-KOM-9 with Fig. 3.62).²⁹⁹ There are only few vessels that depict palmettes between antithetical creatures (20-PRIN-21; 45-PRAI-22) – a scene that, too, draws from Near Eastern models, although these mostly illustrate creatures eating from the central element.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ One vessel of the EPC Cumae Group, to which Figure 3.61 belongs, has been discovered in Tomb L at Afrati (Levi 1927-9, 368f., fig. 485; Benson 1989, 29 no. 4).

²⁹⁸ Matthäus 2000, 524-6. For these and Egyptian counterparts cf. Montilla in Aruz et al. 2014, 225f.

²⁹⁹ Kantor (1945, 815) already noted that these also occur on some early bronzes from Crete. For abstract versions of Phoenician palmettes cf. 39-VRO-7 and 41-AZO-3.

³⁰⁰ Cf. G. Herrmann et al. 2004, 43 nos. S0471-S0479; G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 6 (no. 38), 43 (no. 233), 48 (no. 235).

Several depictions reveal contacts with other Greek regions. Most obvious are the ‘circumscribed’ palmettes, whose curled sepals fuse into an outline describing a kidney-shaped background (8-KNO.MED-303; 8-KNO.MED-314; 22-GOR-64).³⁰¹ This design is popular on Protocorinthian and Protoattic pottery, on the former primarily with double palmettes (Figs. 3.65 and 3.66).³⁰² It is hard to find Near Eastern parallels for this rendition and it seems that Cretan potters either had archaeologically invisible models at hand, such as Assyrian(ising) textiles, or copied mainland pottery. A connection to Corinthian pottery is traceable in an isolated example from Afrati (28-AFR-66).³⁰³ Moreover, fill ornaments on vessels from Knossos and Afrati (8-KNO.MED-326; 28-AFR-34) reveal East Greek influence. They include elements that have been called “half [or quarter] roundels [...] neatly framed with trim rows of petals”³⁰⁴ but are counted as palmettes without sepals, as in *KNC*³⁰⁵.

Regarding possible Bronze Age prototypes, Minoan vessels decorated with palmettes are exceedingly rare.³⁰⁶ The papyrus flower, by contrast, is positively ubiquitous. It can be encountered on the majority of shapes³⁰⁷ and shares the same basic composition as palmettes and lotuses: sepals framing a central petal element. Papyrus certainly did not serve as a direct pattern for these florals, but its presence on recovered pottery could have contributed to their appropriation.

³⁰¹ Brock 1957, 83 nos. 16j-k. Sometimes, although rarely, lotuses can occur in this composition instead, cf. e.g. 8-KNO.MED-183.

³⁰² Kübler 1970, 131f., 359f.

³⁰³ Cf. with Neeft 1987, fig. 38 (centre) and Benson 1989, pl. 17.2a. See also Biondi 1994a, 61 on palmettes with lanceolate sepals.

³⁰⁴ Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005, 24.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁰⁶ Cf. e.g. Hallager and Hallager 1997a, 160, fig. 7 (LM IIIA, ‘Palace Style’).

³⁰⁷ Kanta 1980, pls. 1 (nos. 7 and 8), 20 (no. 10), 27 (no. 7), 33 (nos. 2 and 5), 56 (no. 4).

Trees

As mentioned, this motif emerged in the PGB-EG periods and continued throughout the following centuries. In the Near East, trees often take the role of the religio-imperial 'sacred tree' (or 'Tree of Life') that nurtures creatures or is being guarded or cultivated (Fig. 3.67).³⁰⁸ This provides a sharp contrast to Crete, where the plants typically appear by themselves (8-KNO.SETT-24, 28-AFR-23 and 29-AFR-49 form exceptions) and generally do not merit the same label.³⁰⁹ Most Cretan representations show volute/ scroll trees, which can have upturned or pendent branches and inward or outward facing scrolls (8-KNO.MED-4; 8-KNO.MED-13; 22-PRIN-54; 28-AFR-3). The upturned branch variant finds a good analogy at Karatepe (Fig. 3.68a) and on Phoenician scarabs,³¹⁰ while the pendent variant recurs on Assyrian fly whisks³¹¹ and ivory panels (Fig. 3.68b). Yet, despite these correlations, local tradition might have been decisive in this case. Accordingly, Coldstream has demonstrated the close relationship between the remarkable scenes on pithos 8-KNO.MED-13 and a LM IIIA larnax that was deposited in the same tomb (Fig. 3.69).³¹² Both combine a female raising her arms with volute trees and birds. On the pithos, the female is characterised as super-human by her attribution with wings and a wheeled platform. She is framed by scroll trees on the front of the vase and by linear trees in a similar depiction on the reverse, implying that we are dealing with a goddess associated with seasonal changes.³¹³ Apart from serving as a showcase

³⁰⁸ Parpola 1993, 163-9; Suter 2011, 231f. For a history of different interpretations cf. Giovino 2007. For Greek Bronze and Iron Age representations that are regarded as sacred trees cf. Kourou 2001, 33-46.

³⁰⁹ *Contra* Levi 1945a, 27; Davaras and Davaras 1968, 139; *KNC*, 118 no. 222, 187 no. 51.

³¹⁰ Cf. also Fontan and Meaux 2007, 387 no. 353.

³¹¹ G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, 222, pl. 114 (no. 363).

³¹² Coldstream 1984a, 99f.; Morgan 1987.

³¹³ Coldstream *ibid.*, 97-9.

example for late 9th-century Knossian appropriation of Bronze Age symbolism, this vessel reflects a retained understanding of depicted key elements.³¹⁴

During the PGB-EG period, Knossos and Prinias clearly played a leading role in re-introducing the motif. Painters affiliated to both sites were dedicated to this subject: the 'Tree Painter' and the 'Pittore di Priniàs', respectively.³¹⁵ Thereafter, tree designs spread throughout the centre and the east of Crete. A unique 7th-century pithos from Afrati (28-AFR-35) resumed the imagery of the above-discussed Knossian PGB-EG example. Iconographically related is also a gold pendent from Ampelokipi-Tekke, *ca.* 700, which abbreviates the female figures as heads and exchanges the scroll trees for a cable.³¹⁶ These instances prove that the relevance of the female-tree-bird composition extended geographically as well as chronologically. Given that both the Knossos and Afrati vessels served as urns, the meaning of the scene probably revolved around the aspect of life and death.³¹⁷ As mentioned, trees otherwise existed as independent ornaments (25-KOM-11; 40-KAV-11) or, less often, within a patchwork of unrelated patterns (e.g. 8-KNO.FOR.NE-18; 32-DRE-3). In some cases they may have served purely ornamental purposes;³¹⁸ in others, their meanings might have been quite multifaceted. As recently emphasised for the Minoan world, actual trees certainly played an important part in people's lives.³¹⁹ This not only pertains to religious aspects, but also to their capacity as food and timber sources, geographical markers and intergenerational reference points.

³¹⁴ Kaiser (2006, 68) stresses that the *larnax* and pithos attest to continued religious beliefs.

³¹⁵ Rizza 1974; Coldstream in *KNC*, 315f. *Contra* Kotsonas (2013, 237) who implies that the Prinias vessels might have been painted by migrant Knossian craftsmen.

³¹⁶ Boardman 1961, 135f.; 1967, 68 no. 2, pl. 11.

³¹⁷ Cf. also Coldstream in *KNC*, 316.

³¹⁸ As in post-Bronze Age Cyprus (Kourou 2001, 40).

³¹⁹ Day 2012, 15f.

Volute trees also feature on Protoattic pottery,³²⁰ but these are too generic to expose any links. While Rhodian imitations of Near Eastern palmette festoons (or ‘drooping palms’)³²¹ did not make any impact on Crete, the unusual design on 8-KNO.KEPH-13 finds close parallels on a LG piece from Samos.³²² Further, the tree on 8-KNO.FOR.SE-62, which shows the plant surrounded by worm-eating birds and insects, may be inspired by Cypriot pottery.³²³

Having emphasised that the motif was primarily local, it is important to point out that it fell under some eastern influence in the O period, especially at Knossos. Accordingly, ornate examples incorporated novel elements that find direct counterparts on Levantine ivories. This is best illustrated by comparing 8-KNO.FOR.SE-39 with the plaques in Figure 3.70. The Cretan and oriental trees share the same lozenge-shaped details at the stem, the floral elements dangling from the branches, the crowning palmettes and sometimes also the combination of upward and downward facing tiers.³²⁴ Since Cretan designs do not constitute direct copies of Near Eastern equivalents, it appears that potters selectively drew upon a variety of available models. A volute tree with lozenge details and volutes ending in floral elements also adorns one of the bronze shields.³²⁵

Bees

This animal has been included due to its recurring hybridisation with the lotus flower, which results in so-called ‘lotus-bees’ or ‘bee-lotuses’, depending on which

³²⁰ Kübler 1970, 118f., figs. 6f.

³²¹ Cook and Dupont 1998, 18, fig. 15.2; Coldstream 2003, 253, fig. 82a. Cf. with Mallowan and G. Herrmann 1974, 114 no. 108, pl. CVIII.

³²² Walter 1968, pl. 86 (no. 486).

³²³ The fill ornaments are certainly Cypriot in character (cf. Gjerstad 1948, pl. XXXII.11a) and the vessel belongs to the Creto-Cypriot class.

³²⁴ For other Cretan examples that display at least one of these features cf. 2-ELE-54; 8-KNO.MED-323, 8-KNO.FOR.SE-49, 8-KNO.KEPH-41, 20-PRIN-17 and 45-PRAI-13.

³²⁵ Cf. Kunze 1931, pl. 22 (no. 8).

element is dominant (e.g. 8-KNO.MED-362; 8-KNO.MED-173; 28-AFR-126; 45-PRAI-6).³²⁶ These composites did not exist in the Near East but apparently constituted a native creation. The choice of amalgamating the bee and lotus in particular must have resulted from the basic similarity of their silhouettes and the wish to reference the bee's habitat (the lotus denoting flowers in general).³²⁷ Perhaps the EO adoption of the bee motif itself formed a Minoan revival, much the same as the short-lived comeback of the octopus design in the LG period.³²⁸

Eyes

This design and its interpretation are likewise rather straightforward. The custom of furnishing jugs with painted eyes originated in the Phoenician sphere and probably derived from vessels with zoomorphic or anthropomorphic heads.³²⁹ It was subsequently followed in Cyprus, where the motif was used especially for Bichrome and Black on Red wares. Since the latter made a profound impact on Cretan pottery,³³⁰ it is not surprising that such eyes were also incorporated into the local repertory. Cretan potters indeed adhered to the same main types as on Cyprus: a circle or an almond-shape outline with a central dot.³³¹

³²⁶ Cf. *KNC*, 118 no. 215, 245 no. 36; Brock 1957, 81 no. 892. Moignard (1998, 82) points out that sometimes the circular arrangement of bees creates a flower-like pattern. Cf. Brock 1957, pl. 76 (no. 1145) for golden bee pendant.

³²⁷ Moignard 1998, 83.

³²⁸ For BA attestations of the motif cf. esp. Effinger 1996, pl. 48 (the Malia 'wasp' pendant). For LG octopus designs cf. Alexiou 1950a. For beekeeping on Crete cf. n. 1203.

³²⁹ Davaras and Davaras 1968, 145; Fletcher 2008, 230. For Cypriot hydriae and jugs with necks modelled as human or animal heads cf. Gjerstad 1948, figs. XXX.5, XXXV.10, XXXIX.13 and 15.

³³⁰ Cf. Appendix A.

³³¹ Compare Fig. A5 (Appendix A) with Gjerstad 1948, figs. XXV.15 and 21, XXXV.19-21.

Lions

Depictions of this animal were extremely popular in the Minoan and Mycenaean cultures, with a combined total of over 600 known instances.³³² In Bronze Age Crete, lions featured mainly on seals, either occurring on their own, in fights with other animals or in association with the Master/ Mistress of Animals (Fig. 3.71).³³³ Although lions were certainly not endemic to the island, there is mounting evidence that they inhabited contemporary mainland Greece.³³⁴ Modern opinions on the familiarity of Cretans with this animal are mixed, depending largely on the anatomical correctness of renditions.³³⁵ Most convincing is the theory that knowledge of them gradually increased in three stages: from handling foreign images to importing pelts to partaking in actual encounters on the mainland, the latter only in the Final Palace Period.³³⁶ Subsequently, lion images disappeared from the material record, only to gradually re-emerge during the later EIA.

A LPG krater from Knossos presents the first, isolated instance of this re-emergence (8-KNO.AMP-1). Its early date is extraordinary – not only for Crete, where any pre-PGB figural decorations are highly unusual,³³⁷ but also for the rest of Greece. As sufficiently demonstrated by Coldstream, the portrayed scene showing a pair of felines devouring a centrally placed warrior is paralleled on Cypriot glyptics and bronze work.³³⁸ Hugh Sackett less convincingly suggested a stylistic relationship to the animals on an Attic MG II pyxis and emphasised the technical resemblance to LH

³³² Bloedow 1992, 295.

³³³ Müller 2000; Shapland 2010, 277-84.

³³⁴ For Bronze Age to Classical osteological finds from mainland Greece cf. von Hofsten 2007, 31f. Despite some scholars claiming that these are mostly teeth or claw bones and may constitute the remains of animal hides or amulets (Langdon in Counts and Arnold 2010, 121) a wider range of body parts is actually represented (cf. Thomas 2014, 382-4).

³³⁵ Bloedow 1992, 300f.

³³⁶ Shapland 2010, 278-83.

³³⁷ For two EPG kraters cf. Brock 1957, 12 no. 45, pl. 4; D'Agata 2012. PGB human depictions are listed in Kaiser 2005, 67.

³³⁸ Coldstream 1979, 260. For a similar depiction on Egyptianising seals from the Levant cf. Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 83, fig. 100.

IIIC pictorial pottery.³³⁹ Concerning the latter, it might be interesting to note that among the material from Lefkandi kraters are the much-favoured shape and that one of these features two lions.³⁴⁰ More obvious and relevant, however, appears to be the LPG example's connection to a Knossian MPG vessel illustrating two hunters and a selection of animals (Fig. 3.72).³⁴¹ Although this vessel is evidently less advanced in its adherence to the traditional PG circle scheme and the predominant use of silhouette drawing, it shares three key characteristics with the discussed LPG vase: it is broadly contemporary, of the same shape (i.e. a bell krater) and from the same small Ampelokipi-Tekke cemetery. Tombs E and F, from which they were retrieved, are in fact located within 12 m of each other.³⁴² Without necessarily wanting to imply a workshop relation, the MPG krater does provide a more adequate local context for the emergence of the lion krater. Two more points might be of interest. Firstly, although the lion-warrior iconography of the LPG vase does not recur on later Cretan pottery, it subsequently re-surfaces on the famous Hunt Shield.³⁴³ Secondly, the krater's contents included the partial skeleton of a young woman³⁴⁴, indicating either that burial customs were not strictly regulated at this stage³⁴⁵ or that the subject was deemed appropriate for both sexes.³⁴⁶

The subsequent development of lion imagery was largely dependent on Cretan orientalising metal objects – a circumstance that is reflected in the shapes and iconographies of corresponding vessel groups. Most noticeably, there is a mid-8th to 7th-century sequence of clay shields imitating the famous Idaean Cave type with

³³⁹ Sackett and Musgrave 1976, 123. For Attic LG vessels depicting the same scene, here likely adapted from Attic gold bands, cf. Rombos 1988, 195-7, 201f.

³⁴⁰ Crouwel 2006, 242, 255, pl. 62.

³⁴¹ Catling 1976-7, 15f.; *KNC*, 8 no. 1.

³⁴² *KNC*, fig. 2.

³⁴³ Pappalardo 2001, 179. Cf. p. 209f. for the Hunt Shield.

³⁴⁴ Sackett and Musgrave 1976, 126-8.

³⁴⁵ For the extreme level of eclecticism in the Knossian 10th to 8th-century burial record cf. Whitley 1991, 186f.

³⁴⁶ Interestingly, I. Morris 1999 argues that Greece experienced greater gender differentiation only in the Archaic period.

central lion protome (for these and their Near Eastern models cf. p. 183-192).³⁴⁷ Published terracotta examples have been excavated at the Idaean Cave (5-IDA-1), Knossos (8-KNO.FOR.SE-11), Prinias (20-PRIN-13; 20-PRIN-76), Gortyn (22-GOR-22; 22-GOR-103), Afrati (28-AFR-7) and Syme Viannou (29-SYM-1). The plastic rendition of ridges separating circular registers on 28-AFR-7 underscores the close relation to metal counterparts.³⁴⁸ However, only two mid-7th-century clay shields from the art market (NO.PROV-6; NO.PROV-7) display compelling stylistic analogies to these,³⁴⁹ which is undoubtedly due to the use of moulds. The remainder of mentioned examples are highly abstract and diverse. Rather than aiming at a likeness to their bronze equivalents or to actual animals, they clearly aspire to create a strong impression of liveliness.³⁵⁰ The gaping and often toothy mouths, pronounced eyes and sometimes also energetically painted decoration lend them a remarkable fierceness that was probably conditioned by the aggressive nature of their models.

Another subject that was borrowed from metal objects is the so-called Lion Tamer, a warrior figure shown in association with one or two rampant felines, sometimes stabbing one of them (for these objects and Near Eastern models cf. p. 203 and 211). The currently published pottery evidence for such depictions counts four instances: a LG-EO plate from Ampelokipi-Tekke (8-KNO.KHAN-23); an EO krater from Prinias, which shows the motif as an unfinished sketch that was painted over (20-PRIN-16)³⁵¹; an LG-EO shield from Gortyn (22-GOR-21); and a badly damaged

³⁴⁷ For examples featuring arietine, equine, bovine and human protomes cf. *KNC*, 156 nos. 124 and 127, 159 no. 218, pls. 158, 161; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 203-5 nos. 223, 225 and 227; Tsipopoulou 2005, 256, fig. 386, pl. 137.

³⁴⁸ Cf. Kunze 1931 pls. 12, 26, 45.

³⁴⁹ Cf. Kunze 1931, pls. 26 (no. 10), 28f. (nos. 11f.).

³⁵⁰ For similar observations cf. Hampe 1969, 21.

³⁵¹ Rizza (2008, 55) tentatively interprets the sketch as a lyre player. However, the warrior's left hand seems to be raised and to hold a clawed arm, a second of which is targeted at his breast.

fragment of an O relief pithos from Plati (35-PLAT-3).³⁵² It is possible that recovered LM glyptics may have additionally encouraged the adoption of the theme on Crete. These frequently show the Master of Animals accompanied by a lion,³⁵³ especially in LM III under Mycenaean influence³⁵⁴. Lion tamers are also found on two instances of LG Attic pottery, but this is probably due to the impact of Cretan metalwork rather than ceramics.³⁵⁵

Two further instances of lion imagery that must be connected to metalwork are found on NO.PROV-11 and NO.PROV-16. The former shows a nude male figure grasping two lions with oversized frontal heads by the ears, which finds a direct equivalent in the nude female with lions on a shield from the Idaean Cave (Fig. 3.73). The lion head on the latter example is reminiscent of the famous Hunt Shield (Fig. 6.34) in two unusual characteristics: the arrow sticking in its side and herringbone mane. The same connection cannot be established for the three Knossian LG-EO vessels (8-KNO.MED-158; 8-KNO.SETT.33; 8-KNO-2) depicting a frontal lion whose shoulders and legs describe a croissant-shaped arch.³⁵⁶ As persuasively demonstrated by Hartmut Matthäus, they do not imitate protome shields as commonly argued,³⁵⁷ but instead go back to Syro-Phoenician ivories featuring identical designs.³⁵⁸ Cretan pottery painters either adapted the frontal lion directly from these or via local 8th-century gold jewellery, such as the pendants from the Idaean Cave and Eleutherna (Figs. 6.31 and 6.33).³⁵⁹

³⁵² Similar depictions are also found on two Attic LG ceramic supports, but these are derived from Boeotian prototypes rather than Near Eastern lion tamer depictions (Kübler 1970, 71). For an interpretation independent of Near Eastern models cf. also Fittschen 1969, 87f.; Rombos 1988, 199.

³⁵³ Crowley in Counts and Arnold 2010, esp. 77-89.

³⁵⁴ Barclay 2001, 379f.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Kübler 1970, 71 for references and Rombos 1988, 199 for Cretan derivation.

³⁵⁶ The second and third were curiously interpreted as Hathor heads by Levi (1945b, 319-21), followed by Coldstream (1982b, 30f.).

³⁵⁷ Cf. Coldstream 1982b, 31 (on 8-KNO.MED-158); Pappalardo 2001, pl. VIII.

³⁵⁸ Matthäus 2003.

³⁵⁹ Levi 1945b, 313; Stampolidis 2012, 208 no. 8.

A very distinctive group of ceramic vessels is formed by the so-called 'lion bowls', dated to the second and third quarters of the 7th century.³⁶⁰ Most are fashioned as a recumbent lion grasping a small receptacle between its front paws (2-ELE-53; 8-KNO-6; 25-KOM-22; 28-AFR-56; 36-PSY-5).³⁶¹ This standard version copies lion bowls made of ivory, Egyptian blue and stone, which were common throughout the Near East during the 10th to 7th centuries.³⁶² Simple examples consist of a tube that is inserted into a shallow dish and adorned with an inward-facing lion protome (including front legs) at the juncture point (Fig. 3.74). It seems possible that these originally came with a separate container made of perishable material, such as wood, that was worked into the form of a feline rear body – indeed the Cretan imitations might provide the best clue for this.³⁶³ If not, Cretan potters likely borrowed the body element from Palestinian 'lion vases'³⁶⁴, which otherwise differ in the kind of receptacle held by the lion. Two faience instances have been discovered at Knossos (for one of these cf. Fig. 3.75)³⁶⁵, illustrating that models were at hand locally. The same is true for lion bowls, with a Syrian ivory example and a faience version having been retrieved at the Idaean Cave.³⁶⁶ Stylistically speaking, the mentioned Cretan vessels largely tie in with conventions established by the Idaean Cave type shields (cf. p. 213). The lion head of 28-AFR-56 was even made from the same mould as shield protomes NO.PROV-6 and NO.PROV-6. Only NO.PROV-4 deviates both in morphology and style. This example substitutes the lion body for an unguent vessel and, oddly, the paws for human hands – an evolution that is continued by NO.PROV-5, which does

³⁶⁰ Hampe 1969, 15.

³⁶¹ 34-KOL-1 has not been counted as such (*contra* Watrous 1980, 281) because it is morphologically different and has a solid centre.

³⁶² There are ca. 100 known examples, most of which are concentrated in the region of Syro-Palestine (Muscarella 1965; Hestrin 1988; Mazzoni 2005, 49-55; O'Hea 2013, 67-72).

³⁶³ For previous suggestions on fitting containers and practical issues with this cf. O'Hea 2013, 70.

³⁶⁴ This term has also been applied to lion bowls (Boardman 1962, 34; Stampolidis 1996, 44) but Hampe 1969 established a necessary distinction.

³⁶⁵ Webb in *KNC*, 138 no. 40, 220 no. 62, 606f.

³⁶⁶ Halbherr and Orsi 1888, 70; Sakellarakis 1992, 113, pl. 1.

away with the external receptacle altogether. Its feline head is closer to original Near Eastern frontal lion heads in shape as well as the rendition of flews.³⁶⁷

Among the Cretan clay adaptations at least 2-ELE-53, 28-AFR-56 and NO.PROV-4 were functional, with pierced holes connecting the receptacle to the interior of the hollow lion body. The purpose of their Syrian models is not entirely clear, but most scholars assume that they were used either for diffusing incense or holding liquids during ritual proceedings.³⁶⁸ Given that the exceptional specimen NO.PROV-4 substitutes the lion body for an unguent vessel and assuming that this modification has practical significance, it seems likely that all of the Cretan examples were used as oil containers. Their contents could be carefully released into the projecting shallow bowl – which, much like later exaleiptra, is provided with an angled rim to prevent spillage – by unblocking ancillary holes.³⁶⁹

Afrati apparently played an important role in the production as well as artistic advancement of Cretan lion bowls. 28-AFR-56 was unearthed at this site, plus NO.PROV-4 and NO.PROV-5 have been convincingly attributed to it.³⁷⁰ The pieces from Knossos and the Dictaeon Cave might further present imports from Afrati, although the examples from Eleutherna and likely also Kommos must be the output of other centres.³⁷¹ It is interesting to note that the Protocorinthian aryballoi with plastic lion heads painted by the Chigi Painter (*ca.* 640; Fig. 3.76)³⁷² are kindred to 28-AFR-56 in the rendition of the animal's head and to NO-PROV-5 in the combination of unguent vessel and lion head element. Since the Cretan vessels certainly constitute local creations, any potential cross-influence must have emanated

³⁶⁷ Cf. G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 52 (no. 236), 59 (no. 238), 111 (no. 356a).

³⁶⁸ O'Hea 2013, 70f.

³⁶⁹ 28-AFR-56 originally featured a hole inside the lion's mouth (Levi 1945a, 28) and NO.PROV-4 has an opening in the shallow bowl. An experiment with a replica of the latter has demonstrated how easily serviceable these vessels were (Hampe 1969, 26).

³⁷⁰ Hampe 1969, 15-19, 41.

³⁷¹ So also Johnston 2005, 388 for Kommos.

³⁷² Benson 1989, 56f. nos. 1f.

from here. It is interesting to note that Afrati has yielded many Corinthian imports (although predominantly of a slightly later date) and that some of its pottery displays affiliated styles (cf. below).

Some relief pithoi and fine ware vessels exhibit *en face* lion heads as isolated motifs or at the finials of abstract chains (3-ONY-1; 16-KAST-1; 22-GOR-99; 28-AFR-15; 28-AFR-50; 28-AFR-110; 36-PSY-8; NO.PROV-15). These heads are generally highly stylised – a characteristic that they share with above-mentioned early shields. Concerning their peculiar use as finials, it has been suggested that this derives from the animal heads crowning pipe-like elongated necks on Urartian bronzes.³⁷³ However, since the neck elements do not take the same shape or appear in the same contexts, the Cretan designs were likely idiosyncratic. They might somehow have been related to the creature on sherd 28-AFR-97, which shows a lion body with a snake neck and head. As opposed to Attic LG, Protoattic and Middle Protocorinthian pottery³⁷⁴, full-bodied felines with frontal heads are entirely missing, which underscores the largely independent character of Cretan depictions.³⁷⁵

A singular link to Attic pottery is supplied by the seal impressions on relief pithos 6-AMNI-2, which reveal a strong stylistic similarity to LG lion depictions from this region.³⁷⁶ Corinthian influence, on the other hand, is reflected by three 7th-century vessels from Afrati (28-AFR-45; 28-AFR-62; 28-AFR-63). Apart from being painted in black-figure technique with incision,³⁷⁷ 28-AFR-45 and 28-AFR-63 are Corinthianising in imagery: the former exhibits a protome in side view;³⁷⁸ the latter is

³⁷³ Biondi 1994a, 58.

³⁷⁴ E.g. Kübler 1970, pl. 1; Borell 1987, pl. 8; Neeft 1987, 113, fig. 39.

³⁷⁵ This lack of ‘panther’ depictions makes it very unlikely that Crete played a leading role in the creation of this type, as has been suggested by Kübler (1970, 255).

³⁷⁶ Cf. Rombos 1988, pls. 36.b-38.

³⁷⁷ Which is very rare, but also found at Knossos (Rizza et al. 1992, 101-3).

³⁷⁸ Cf. Benson 1989, pls. 7.6, 12.7-8, 14.1. See also Biondi 2013, 193, fig. 4.

adorned with a double-bodied animal.³⁷⁹ Furthermore, there are fragments of a Transitional Style oinochoe from Knossos (8-KNO-5) that Boardman has identified as a Cretan imitation, but whose local production remains tentative.³⁸⁰ Otherwise, Corinthian impact might be visible in the dotted fur that characterises the lion bowls and the feline on 25-KOM-13. Good parallels for this are found amongst Protocorinthian and Corinthian plastic vases³⁸¹, which could also have served as models for Cretan owl vessels such as 9-KNO.MED-377 and 28-AFR-62.³⁸² Following an alternative lead, the same feature also appears on 8th-century Phrygian animal style vessels. These render every species with spotted bodies, a characteristic that has been explained as mimicking Iranian metal vessels.³⁸³ Applying the same reasoning to the Cretan material, it seems possible that the painted patterns on mentioned vessels also emulated the style of metal objects. In this case, the most likely candidates would be Cretan bronze shields belonging to Kunze's *Vierecknetzgruppe*³⁸⁴, which feature lions covered in a net pattern filled with single dots (cf. Fig. 3.77). A connection to metalwork could perhaps also explain the recurring rendition of manes as scales.³⁸⁵ Surprisingly, the Cretan motif of the dotted lion appears to have made some impact on neighbouring regions, as imitations can be observed in the Cyclades.³⁸⁶

Finally, it shall be noted that sometimes lions are arranged in antithetical pairs (8-KNO.MED-281; 13-AST-1; NO.PROV-34; NO.PROV-52) or animal files (8-KNO.MED-192; 8-KNO.FOR.SE-55). Both of these schemes go back to the Near East but do not

³⁷⁹ Cf. Amyx 1988, 662. See also Biondi 1994a, 64. For the same design on a Cretan *mitra* cf. Hoffmann 1972, 11f. no. M 4, 30, 38f., 43f., pl. 36.1.

³⁸⁰ Boardman 1962, 31.

³⁸¹ Biers 1994, 121f.

³⁸² Which is clearer on the cruder, dotted example in Callaghan et al. 1981, 145 no. 11, pl. 18.

³⁸³ Sams 1974, 190.

³⁸⁴ Kunze 1931, 241-6.

³⁸⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 15 no. 13, pl. 29. These also appear on South Ionian vases (Walter 1968, fig. 51, pls. 57 (no. 341), 61 (no. 360)).

³⁸⁶ Coulié 2013, 242, figs. 241-3.

usually include lions – unlike on South Ionian pottery, which frequently incorporates lions or ‘panthers’ into animal friezes. Furthermore, there are four vessels that illustrate lions hunting: 20-PRIN-33 shows a lioness chasing after a goat; 28-AFR-48 is adorned with two felines jumping after two goats and a stag; and on 2-ELE-45 as well as 28-AFR-90 a lion is snapping at a goat’s rear. The hunt theme is also well at home in the Near East, but there lions typically attack larger prey and are presented in the act of biting them in the rear or throat.³⁸⁷ Obviously, the goat constitutes an archetypical Cretan animal and was given preference for this very reason. Curiously, 20-PRIN-33 displays extraordinary stylistic resemblances to Assyrian depictions (Fig. 3.78) and one might wonder whether it could have been based on a seal from this region.³⁸⁸ 2-ELE-45, by contrast, is clearly related to late 8th/7th-century mainland Greek styles in its silhouette body and reserved head.³⁸⁹ 28-AFR-90 finds its best parallels on Crete itself, where sphinxes with lion bodies can feature similar horse-like tails (cf. below).

Sphinxes

The occurrence of this creature follows a chronological patterning that is similar to lion depictions, with only few PGB and G examples but a dramatically increased O presence (cf. p. 36). Regarding the sphinx’s Bronze Age ancestry, it is astonishing how elusive its Minoan forerunners are.³⁹⁰ From MMII onwards, a continued but thin sequence of representations are attested, which primarily occur in glyptics and ivory work, but also on some terracottas and potentially one fresco.³⁹¹ Two aspects, that most sphinxes resemble Egyptian, Syrian or Mycenaean prototypes

³⁸⁷ Cf. Strawn 2005, figs. 3.53, 3.103, 3.16, 4.10, 4.13-17.

³⁸⁸ For lions on Neoassyrian seals cf. Herbordt 1992, pls. 19f.

³⁸⁹ Stampolidis 2004, 247. Cf. Kübler 1970, pl. 21; Brann 1962, pls. 23, 34.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Dessenne 1957, 127.

³⁹¹ For a selection of outstanding pieces cf. Poursat 1973; Demisch 1977, 67, fig. 179; Warren 1995, 3, pl. 11.2. For a recent overview of the evidence cf. Zouzoula 2007, 74f., 99-101, 160-2, 277-9.

and that they are always illustrated outside any narrative context, have been understood to reflect the foreignness of this motif. Their function seems to have been limited to serving as a guardian figure and, very occasionally, as an emblem employed by the elite.³⁹² During the Neopalatial period, the sphinx was first equipped with the typical volute element, sometimes in the form of a 'Syrian lily-cap' – a feature that was retained thereafter.³⁹³

Starting in the post-palatial LM IIIC period, earlier types of sphinxes were superseded by a new version that was bovine-bodied and could optionally be furnished with wings.³⁹⁴ This version is best known from the Agia Triada terracottas (e.g. Fig. 3.79), but related clay and bronze figurines have also been discovered at Knossos, Phaistos, Patsos (in the Amari valley) and Vrokastro.³⁹⁵ Similar bovine sphinxes further feature on LM IIIC pottery from Lefkandi as well as Cyprus and this tradition probably ultimately derived from the Near East.³⁹⁶ External connections notwithstanding, it is important to foreground their strong presence on Crete, which might have been linked to the local significance of the bull. Some EIA potters evidently adopted this post-palatial coroplastic convention, which continued into the G period, although they practiced greater flexibility towards the represented species. Accordingly, seal impressions³⁹⁷ on a PGB-EG lid (8-KNO.MED-34) render a clearly porcine form³⁹⁸, while some LG and EO sherds (8-KNO.KEPH-61; 8-KNO.SETT-19; 8-KNO.SETT-20; 20-PRIN-69) display equine tendencies. 8-KNO.KEPH-61 and some of the sphinx depictions on MG pithos 11-KOUN-15 are further wingless, maintaining

³⁹² Zouzoula 2007, 162, 317.

³⁹³ Levi 1945a, 22 no. 1; Kourou 2011, 166.

³⁹⁴ Kourou 1992, 112f.

³⁹⁵ Bosana-Kourou 1979, 10-28, 246-50 nos. 3-17, pls. 5-19; Hayden 1991, 134 no. 38, fig. 12, 138f.; Kourou 1992, 113f., pl. XXVII.3; Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 96-8 no. 15, 120 no. 100; D'Agata 1999, 64-86, pls. XXXVIII-LIII (for potential examples from other sites cf. *ibid.* 73f.); Kourou 2011, 167f.

³⁹⁶ Kourou 1992, 112. Cf. also Sørensen 2015, 430 (Hubbard amphora).

³⁹⁷ For another piece in this technique cf. 6-AMNI-2.

³⁹⁸ *Contra* Kourou 1992, 116 ("bovine"). Kaiser (2006, 69) suggests that its style can be traced back to Near Eastern art, but the provided reference is unconvincing. However, the *stance* with a raised foreleg certainly imitates Near Eastern models (Sørensen 2015, 430).

the former variability of this element. As proposed by Coldstream, equine/bovine properties could additionally have been encouraged by Attic pottery.³⁹⁹ This could not have happened through Attic bovine sphinxes, since these are later,⁴⁰⁰ but through the ubiquitous horse depictions.

Other characteristic features of EIA sphinxes are the pointy, straight-edged wings (8-KNO.MED-158; 8-KNO.SETT-19; 8-KNO.FOR.SE-152; 18-KASTA-1; 28-AFR-34) and the provision with helmets (8-KNO.SETT-19; 8-KNO-7; NO.PROV-51). It has been emphasised that the occurrence of these features on LG pottery was conditioned by their prior appearance on Cretan orientalising metal items, especially those of the 'Knossian workshop', which in turn had borrowed them from Near Eastern art.⁴⁰¹ Indeed, broadly comparable Syro-Phoenician renditions do exist,⁴⁰² and objects from this region must have served as inspiration either directly or through mentioned metal items. However, it should be noted that both features are attested as early as the Postpalatial Period⁴⁰³ and experienced a casual continuation into the 7th century. A bridging link between Postpalatial and LG examples is provided by the same LPG krater from Ampelokipi that was mentioned in the context of lion images (p. 72f.). The reverse side of this vessel shows two feline-bodied sphinxes with straight wings, wearing crown-like headgear and a 'bib' between the rear legs. Especially the latter elements and the often-noted 'fleshy' modulation attest to a vague knowledge of Syro-Phoenician prototypes.⁴⁰⁴ Before assessing the O material, it should be pointed out that the discussed Cretan sphinx depictions apparently made some impact abroad, which can be detected in Early Protoattic and EO Naxian pottery.⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁹ Coldstream 1974, 161f.

⁴⁰⁰ Bosana-Kourou 1979, 57. Cf. also Kübler 1970, 241 for Assyrianising Attic bull-sphinx.

⁴⁰¹ Coldstream 1974; D'Albiac 1995, 61; Kourou 2011, 172.

⁴⁰² Cf. especially the Syrian 'Beaky Nose Group' (G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 294f.).

⁴⁰³ Cf. Levi 1959, 247, fig. 19; Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 96.

⁴⁰⁴ Bosana-Kourou 1979, 8; D'Albiac 1995, 70; Kourou 2011, 170.

⁴⁰⁵ Bosana-Kourou 1979, 64f., 90f. Less convincing is the case of MPC examples suggested in *ibid.* 75f.

In the second quarter of the 7th century, the Corinthian sphinx generally became prevalent in Aegean orientalising styles.⁴⁰⁶ Crete took part in this wider trend and Protocorinthian influence is visible in several details. Among these are the falciform wing that consists of a base and one row of feathers (e.g. NO.PROV-17; NO.PROV-28)⁴⁰⁷ and the distinct stylisation of the lower front leg as observed on 19-GON-1 and NO.PROV-43 (cf. with Fig. 3.80). Otherwise, there are some features that reveal connections to (North) Syrian models, such as the incision patterns on 8-KNO-9 and NO.PROV-44, which belong to the Afrati workshop.⁴⁰⁸ The former example displays a double outline and parallel strokes at knee-level; the latter describes a forked pattern on the rear legs. Both evoke associations with ivories of the 'Flame and Frond' group (Fig. 3.81), which were likely produced in the area of Tel Halaf.⁴⁰⁹ Further, the indication of plumes on the breast or at the root of the wings (e.g. 19-GON-1) finds parallels on North Syrian ivories belonging both to the 'Flame and Frond' and the 'Round-Cheeked and Ringletted' style-groups.⁴¹⁰ The latter were probably produced in the region of Sendschirli or Sakçagözü during the second half of the 8th century.⁴¹¹ Ivories belonging to both style groups have been discovered in the Idaean Cave.⁴¹²

Borrowings from Near Eastern art also included compositional schemes. Antithetical arrangements as well as *statant* depictions, which copy Levantine poses, are a common sight in all Greek orientalising styles.⁴¹³ On Crete, antithetical sphinxes are often centred on a floral element (18-KAST-1; 20-PRIN-21) or, in the case of the

⁴⁰⁶ Yet, cf. Kübler 1970, 242, pl. 58 for the impact of Cretan mid-7th-century sphinx renditions on a contemporary Attic kotyle.

⁴⁰⁷ Amyx 1988, 662.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. p. 40.

⁴⁰⁹ G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, 91-9, e.g. pls. 58, 64.

⁴¹⁰ For the second cf. G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, 99f., pls. 66f.

⁴¹¹ Wicke 2005, 85-91, 100.

⁴¹² Pappalardo 2004, 216, 129.

⁴¹³ Schiering 1957, 96-8; Kübler 1970, 89; Sørensen 2015, 428. For Phoenician-style ivories showing a sphinx stepping on florals cf. G. Herrmann et al. 2004, 91 no. S1175.

relief pithoi attributed to the Afrati workshop, step on a volute platform (e.g. NO.PROV-47; NO.PROV-50). Particularly widespread is the *statant guardant* type (e.g. 17-LYTT-7; NO.PROV.17), likely a direct loan from Levantine ivories.⁴¹⁴ A factor that clearly distinguishes Cretan sphinxes from other Greek orientalising styles is the two main hair designs: the narrow tresses falling down the shoulders – Jenkins' 'lovelocks'⁴¹⁵ – (e.g. NO.PROV-28) and the typical Daedalic 'layered wig' (e.g. 8-KNO.SETT-73). Both follow Near Eastern models, the former Syrian and the latter Egypto-Phoenician.⁴¹⁶ Concerning the gender of Cretan sphinxes, it should be noted that there are no physical characteristics, such as beards or genitals, that identify any examples as males. These features are on the whole uncommon, but do mark some Levantine, Corinthian and Attic counterparts.⁴¹⁷ It has been claimed that helmeted specimens should be considered as male⁴¹⁸, but at least for Crete this remains unfounded.

Finally, it is essential to direct attention to the fact that relief pithoi in particular show a great propensity for carrying sphinx depictions. Concerning the purpose of these vessels, Brisart has suggested that they mainly served for food storage in local *andreia* and thus played a prominent part in the civic life of communities.⁴¹⁹ That they could assume similar importance in sanctuaries is illustrated by the case of Prinias, where several pithos fragments have been retrieved in the area of Temple A⁴²⁰ and where some examples evidently reference temple iconography⁴²¹. The high value of such pithoi, which was based on their labour-

⁴¹⁴ Cf. G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 232f. (nos. 904f.); 1992, pls. 15 (no. 95), 45 (no. 219).

⁴¹⁵ Jenkins 1936, 20.

⁴¹⁶ Boardman 2007, 13.

⁴¹⁷ Payne 1931, 89; Kübler 1970, 92; G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 98f., 140 (no. 597); G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pls. 12 (no. 81), 43 (no. 233).

⁴¹⁸ Bosana-Kourou 1979, 29.

⁴¹⁹ Brisart 2009, 144-9.

⁴²⁰ E.g. Rizza 2008, 194 no. TS 7, 206 nos. TZ 70-72.

⁴²¹ Pernier 1914, 67-70, 93; Rizza 2008, pls. XLI, XLVIII, LVI.

intensive manufacture, is reflected in the circumstance that some were kept for centuries.⁴²² Crucially, Brisart's emphasis on their civic aspect might help to explain why the sphinx was considered an ideal adornment for these vessels.⁴²³ As opposed to the lion, the Syrian-derived sphinx constituted a peaceful creature⁴²⁴ and did not carry any elite associations or palatial Bronze Age 'baggage'. On the contrary, it was ultimately derived from Postpalatial figurines that are typically found in open-air sanctuaries, locations that are inclusive and communal by definition. Of course, this does not preclude that sphinxes sometimes adorned high-value private ceramics, especially at Knossos.⁴²⁵

Griffins

Griffin representations are largely a phenomenon of the final 8th and 7th centuries, with only one LG example dating slightly earlier. In Minoan Crete, these creatures were popular from the Neopalatial period onwards, when the motif appeared on numerous seals, ivory objects, reliefs and some frescos.⁴²⁶ During the Final Palatial Period, painted versions guarded the famous throne at the palace of Knossos.⁴²⁷ Griffins were depicted in symmetrical compositions, hunt or attack scenes, guarding columns or trees, being lead by super-human figures, in Master/Mistress of Animals scenes and drawing chariots.⁴²⁸ Clearly they carried religious significance, which is most apparent in their occurrence on funerary containers and the frescos next to the Knossos throne, and it seems that their main

⁴²² Boileau and Whitley 2010, 227; Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 6. One LM IIIC example was retained for ca. 700 years (Haggis et al. 2004, 354).

⁴²³ Hornbostel's statement that they posed the favourite motif in 7th-century Cretan art (Dädalische Kunst 1970, 62) is insufficient.

⁴²⁴ Unlike in the Phoenician sphere, where, under the influence of Egyptian iconography, the sphinx could be shown as violently subduing enemies (e.g. Vonhoff 2015, fig. 18).

⁴²⁵ Cf. e.g. 8-KNO.MED-281; 8-KNO.FOR.SE-152.

⁴²⁶ Bisi 1965, 171-80; Zouzoula 2007, 97-9, 150-60, 267-77.

⁴²⁷ Bisi 1965, 181-4.

⁴²⁸ Dessenne 1957; Tamvaki 1974, 288f.

role was to guard liminal zones as well as protect those crossing them.⁴²⁹ They always take the shape of a feline-bodied creature with a bird-of-prey head, typically depicted with a closed beak, spiral tresses or a crest, and wings with spiral or zigzag decoration and a notched plume (Fig. 3.82). Several options for potential origins have been suggested; yet, it seems that coastal Syria played a key part in the introduction of the motif.⁴³⁰ Griffin depictions disappeared from Crete during the final stages of the Bronze Age, but importantly they survived in the Levant.⁴³¹

The mentioned LG griffin, on 8-KNO.SETT-32, is strongly connected to the described Bronze Age type, featuring a raised head, closed beak and spiral tress. The spiral tress also relates it to an Idaean Cave type shield from Afrati⁴³² and the straight, crosshatched wings correspond to the creatures on the Kavousi bronze sheet⁴³³. All of these tell-tale elements are conventional for Levantine, particularly Phoenician, representations. The link to this region is further corroborated by a Cypriot-type four-sided stand from Syme, which depicts a Phoenician-inspired composition of opposed griffins raising their heads to eat from a central palmette tree.⁴³⁴ The creature on the LG-EO cup 8-KNO.MED-158, which was already mentioned in the context of frontal lion images, is missing its head but the rest of the body betrays the influence of orientalising metal work.⁴³⁵

The bulk of O griffins are in the form of clay protomes that were attached to cauldrons or shields; only a small number are portrayed via pottery drawings and stamped images on relief pithoi. It is noticeable that most representations belong to a

⁴²⁹ Zouzoula 2007, 275f. For other suggested meanings cf. Tamvaki 1974, 291f.

⁴³⁰ Frankfort 1936-7, 116-9.

⁴³¹ Kourou 1992, 117.

⁴³² Levi 1929, 372-4, fig. 480 a-d.

⁴³³ Cf. p. 203; Fig. 6.23. For an analysis of griffins on these two objects cf. Reed Eals 1976, 366f.

⁴³⁴ Cf. p. 200.

⁴³⁵ Coldstream 1982b, 30.

new type:⁴³⁶ the Assyrianising lion-griffin with an open mouth, protruding tongue, forehead knob and tall bull's ears, as defined by Bernard Goldman.⁴³⁷ Starting with the griffin *cauldron* protomes, these come from Gortyn (22-GOR-34; 22-GOR-118; 22-GOR-119; 22-GOR-120), Afrati (28-AFR-34), Prinias (20-PRIN-3), the Pychro Cave (36-PSY-7) and perhaps also the Idaean Cave⁴³⁸. Particularly interesting is 22-GOR-119, which resembles a lion or dog in its snout and big teeth, further underscoring the lion-griffin descent of this type. 28-AFR-34 constitutes the only instance in which the body of a griffin protome is presented, revealing that this part of the creature is avian. This fits well with the Assyrian prototypes cited by Goldman, which often exhibit bird talons (Fig. 3.83 right). *Shield* protomes are attested for Gortyn (22-GOR-20; 22-GOR-40) and Knossos (8-KNO.MED-195; 8-KNO.MED-200; 8-KNO.MED-208; 8-KNO.MED-404; 8-KNO-11). The majority of the Knossian examples are polychrome, designed to act as matching lids for pithos urns fabricated in the same technique.⁴³⁹ Generally speaking, the concept of providing shields with a central griffin protome can be understood as a natural consequence of their character as lion-griffins and the pre-existence of shields with lion protomes.

Two crucial points concerning the protomes of both groups can be observed. First, they display a high degree of variability. Indeed, only two of them are provided with a forehead knob (22-GOR-34; 22-GOR-118), some feature a closed beak (e.g. 22-GOR-120; 8-KNO.MED-208) and one instance is equipped with horns (8-KNO-11). This variability has created great confusion over the identification of griffins,⁴⁴⁰ but what it really evidences is that these examples belong to an early stage of vivid

⁴³⁶ As stressed by Reed Eals 1976, 368.

⁴³⁷ Goldman 1960. See Álvarez-Mon 2010, 336-42 for the development of the lion-griffin in Mesopotamia.

⁴³⁸ Hogarth 1899-1900, 107.

⁴³⁹ Cf. p. 93 for polychrome pithoi.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. *KNC*, 64 no. 8 for the interpretation of one example as a bull and Johannowsky 2002, 6f. for the interpretation of another as a wolf.

experimentation. Second, the protomes indicate that Gortyn probably constituted a main production centre for clay vessels with griffin protomes. This site has provided the largest total of examples as well as representatives of both discussed categories.

It has long been recognised that the griffin cauldrons essentially constitute clay counterparts of the better-known bronze specimens discovered at many Greek sites, especially Olympia and the Samian Heraion.⁴⁴¹ But since no such artefacts have surfaced on Crete, scholars were forced to resort to extravagant explanatory scenarios.⁴⁴² Fortunately, this predicament is now solved by the fact that the earliest workshops manufacturing such bronze cauldrons can be localised on Crete (cf. p. 215f.). This raises new questions concerning the causal relationship between both groups. It appears that the clay cauldrons are universally accepted as copies of the bronze versions,⁴⁴³ simply due to the common presumption that terracottas generally represent 'cheap' substitutes. However, it is vital to recognise that 22-GOR-34 is much closer to Near Eastern prototypes (cf. Fig. 3.83 top left) than any of the bronze protomes, which logically entails that it precedes them. Therefore it appears that the griffin cauldron was first developed as a clay object at Gortyn before it was translated into metal. This must have happened some time before 690/80, which is considered the starting point of the bronze production.⁴⁴⁴ Concerning the concept of providing dinoi with protomes, it should be noted that accessories of this kind are common on Crete and can also embellish relief pithoi, hydriae, oinochoai and kraters.⁴⁴⁵ It is also interesting to realise that the concept behind the cauldron protomes is basically related to the function of the Bronze Age griffin, because the symbolic protection of a vessel's contents is akin to guarding the liminal.

⁴⁴¹ Cf. p. 215.

⁴⁴² E.g. Reed Eals 1976, 374.

⁴⁴³ Cf. e.g. Levi 1957, 269f.; Boardman 1961, 60; Bisi 1965, 218; Athanasaki in Aruz et al. 2014, 275.

⁴⁴⁴ Cf. p. 222.

⁴⁴⁵ E.g. Payne 1927-8, 248 no. 74, fig. 15; Levi 1927-9, 314f., fig. 412; S. Marinatos 1936, 367f., fig. 33.1; Schäfer 1957, 13 no. 11, pl. II.2.

At this point, it needs to be underlined what a peculiar choice the appropriation of the Assyrian lion-griffin was. Unlike Levantine sphinxes, lions and palmettes, which various Greek regions adapted in broadly similar ways, this motif is extremely specific. The most likely medium for its transmission is Assyrian cylinder seals, which are found throughout the Levant and were thus theoretically as accessible to Cretans as Syro-Phoenician products. Our only potential foothold in understanding the motivation behind this adoption is the iconography of the Neo-Assyrian seals. Many show the lion-griffin (probably Anzu) in the act of being shot by an archer (probably Ninurta), who is riding a scorpion-tailed creature (cf. Fig. 3.84).⁴⁴⁶ Perhaps this imagery appeared particularly apt to Gortynians because it resonated with local religious notions. Thus, the epiclesis of Apollo Pythios – who had advanced to one of Gortyn’s main deities by the 5th century – ⁴⁴⁷ may imply that he was originally thought to have overcome a beast.⁴⁴⁸ While there is no basis for an early association of this god with archery, the use of bow and arrow is certainly attested for EIA Crete.⁴⁴⁹ Interestingly, an unusual 7th-century plaque from Gortyn depicts a winged male holding a griffin at either side and could potentially be understood against this background.⁴⁵⁰

As mentioned, there are only a handful of published relief pithoi depicting griffins. Many of them are fashioned from the same mould (e.g. 17-LYTT-4; NO.PROV-9; NO.PROV-10; NO.PROV-15) and have been ascribed to the Afrati workshop.⁴⁵¹ The griffins display a mixture of lion-griffin and bird-griffin traits: tall, upright ears; an open mouth with teeth and a protruding tongue; a spiral tress; and a lion body. As has

⁴⁴⁶ Collon 2006, 103f., figs. 170, 172-5 and 177; Álvarez-Mon 2010, 337.

⁴⁴⁷ Sporn 2002, 151-6.

⁴⁴⁸ Note that the name ‘pytho’, as first introduced by the ‘Homeric Hymn to the Pythian Apollo’, does not refer to the appearance of this creature but its decomposition after being slayed (Crosby 2012, 35f.). Which kind of beast it was originally imagined as is entirely uncertain.

⁴⁴⁹ Cf. e.g. Fig. 6.34; Palermo in Palermo et al. 2008, 206.

⁴⁵⁰ Fig. 4.42 right.

⁴⁵¹ Reed Eals 1976, 376; Brisart 2007, 108.

been shown, all of these features are at home on Crete. Their wings and the patterns on their legs, however, stand out as Corinthianising elements and were likely adopted from contemporary sphinx depictions (cf. above). Many examples are covered in random, wild incision that could have been aimed at creating a vivid effect or else might indicate feathers.⁴⁵² A unique pithos from Rethymno (3-ONY-1) fortunately puts this area on the map, too. The creatures on this vessel differ from the above-described group in the missing spiral and the painted spot and scale designs. Both characteristics place them closer to the clay cauldron protomes and 8th-century metalwork. Considering its late 7th to early 6th-century date, this pithos reflects a high degree of conservatism.

Painted depictions of griffins are rare. 28-AFR-49, which shows antithetical griffins climbing a central scroll tree, has already been mentioned in the context of orientalising sacred trees (p. 68). Despite the foreign compositional concept, the creatures' features and perhaps also their unusual back-turned heads⁴⁵³ are reminiscent of local cauldron protomes. The opposed griffins on 2-ELE-48, on the other hand, display close similarities to the discussed LG and LG-EO Knossian sherds as well as 8th-century metalwork⁴⁵⁴. This is surprising considering that the subsidiary decoration is firmly rooted in South Ionian vase painting, which had its own, more advanced versions of the creature. 22-GOR-124, finally, only preserves front paws and a lower jaw. It is still possible to identify this fragment thanks to the goatee element, which recurs on one of the relief pithos griffins (NO.PROV-15).

Cretan representations initially made a direct impact abroad – although surely through exported metal cauldrons rather than pottery – as evidenced by the toothy

⁴⁵² Pers. comm. R. R. R. Smith.

⁴⁵³ Which is paralleled on a clay *pinax* from the Tsoutsouros-Inatos Cave cf. Charisterion et al. 2011, 148 no. 142.

⁴⁵⁴ As discussed by Kotsonas 2008, 123f.

beaks on Protocorinthian and South Ionian vessels.⁴⁵⁵ However, soon other centres, such as Samos, started to manufacture similar products and these began to serve as new models.⁴⁵⁶ Crete continued its own griffin version⁴⁵⁷, although some 7th-century terracotta plaques from Praisos followed the new trend⁴⁵⁸, which might reflect this site's developing integration with Cycladic and East Greek networks.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁵ Walter 1968, pl. 57 (no. 341); Benson 1989, pl. 14 (no. 1). Schiering's type 2 (1957, 60f.) maintains affinities to Cretan depictions in its snout-like mouth, teeth and selective omission of the forehead knob.

⁴⁵⁶ For an East Greek griffin adapting these cf. Schiering 1957, 60. 7th-century Attic griffins are rare and devoid of external stylistic connections (Kübler 1970, 240f., e.g. pl. 23).

⁴⁵⁷ Cf. Johnston 1984, 39f., pl. 2a (6th-century).

⁴⁵⁸ Reed Eals 1976, 376-8 nos. 6-9 and 11, pls. 82f.

⁴⁵⁹ For 6th-century Cycladic contacts of the Azoria and Itanos regions cf. Erickson 2010, 294f.

3.6 Summary and further considerations

This chapter reveals that the appearance of orientalising motifs on Cretan pottery followed extremely diverse patterns and that the phenomenon as such was multi-layered as well as site-specific. It is clear that the use of these motifs:

- i) built up gradually from the LPG-EG to the EO-LO periods;
- ii) flourished particularly in central Crete, where north-south and east-west links connecting Knossos with Kommos and Gortyn with Afrati are also perceptible in pottery culture;
- iii) pertained to all kinds of material – from sanctuary, burial and settlement contexts, of personal and communal character, and of simple and sophisticated manufacture.

The last point is remarkable, since orientalising styles are often associated with elite-consumption and the social rationing of ‘exotic’ objects, i.e. their removal to the burial sphere to prevent social tension.⁴⁶⁰ Although it is generally problematic to compare these concepts with the findings of this chapter, largely because scholars usually focus on orientalising wares rather than motifs, Crete may well have been exceptional in this respect. Only composite creatures seem to meet the general expectation of being connected to local elites. Accordingly, they are largely restricted to exceptionally well-crafted, metal-derived and/or labour-intensive ceramics such as lion bowls, imitations of bronze shields and relief pithoi.

The survey of stylistic, iconographic and compositional parallels has demonstrated the strong impact of imported Near Eastern metal bowls and ivories as well as Cretan orientalising metal objects. Similarities between the pottery and metal objects might partially derive from the use of the same originals, but there are several

⁴⁶⁰ E.g. Whitley 1994; Gadolou in Aruz et al. 2014.

instances in which the metal objects themselves must have been copied. Concerning the manner of adaptation, it has been noted that Cretan pottery painters did not imitate one-to-one but preferred to interpret, abstract or combine. As for the regional affiliations of selected models, most seem to originate in the Levant, although a dependency on Assyrian (and in one exceptional case Phrygian) images could also be traced. Crete was further clearly well in touch with Corinthian, Attic and South Ionian traditions, which is apparent in the frequent borrowings of minor details across the material. It has been shown that Crete was not only at the receiving end of connections, but also influenced these regions as well as the Cycladic area in turn, which becomes visible in equally subtle but cumulative instances.

Throughout this chapter, it has become evident that ivories had a stimulating effect on Cretan creativity. This circumstance may also be reflected in a specific class of pottery: the polychrome pithoi (Fig. 3.85). These are only found in the region of Knossos and, based on their delicate, flake-prone slip, were purposefully designed for a funerary setting. Their technique has been variously explained as an adaptation of MM to LM ceramics (especially the Kamares style), imitation of Cypriot prototypes or independent development.⁴⁶¹ However, this disregards the unusual creamy-white slip and the colour spectrum of blue, red and yellow (the latter rarely preserved).⁴⁶² Strikingly, a very similar palette also appears on Phoenician-style ivories with blue and red cloisonné inlays and gold-leaf plating (Fig. 3.86). Therefore, I would propose that the polychrome pithoi sought to imitate such.

Moreover, it should be highlighted which images are conspicuously absent from this chapter. Many motifs that feature on Near Eastern models alongside copied instances appear to have been deliberately rejected. Among these are ‘woman in the

⁴⁶¹For traditional views cf. Brock 1957, 189, who argues for the third option.

⁴⁶²Payne 1928, 281.

window' depictions, people holding flowers and goats flanking trees – all of which were adopted for Cypriot bichrome vessels⁴⁶³ that must have used the same originals. It is implausible that there were regulations concerning the use of motifs, but it seems that there was a strong sense of convention. Markedly scarce are also identifiable mythological illustrations, which appear on scores of Corinthian and Attic vessels, and animal files, which are a hallmark of the East Greek Wild Goat style. Mythological scenes are equally rare on terracottas and bronzes, and this has been explained with reference to a lacking local popularity of the Epic cycles⁴⁶⁴ or the 'mythless' character of Cretan society, which supposedly sought to counter the glorification of individuals.⁴⁶⁵ However, the former explanation heavily relies on later sources and circular argumentation, while the latter is incompatible with the existence of high-end objects and excessively rich burials such as the ones at Eleutherna, Ampelokipi-Tekke, the Medical Faculty Site and Afrati. For pottery, the sparseness of mythological scenes, human depictions and animal files is probably symptomatic of the same cause. Despite what classical scholars are conditioned to perceive as normal, pottery is not really an object that naturally lends itself to anthropomorphic depictions or complex figural scenes. Perhaps Cretans were not inclined towards such and only succumbed to marginal experimentation when there were stronger impulses from the mainland, especially during the Mycenaean and O periods. This makes it even more remarkable that Cretan potters were so receptive towards orientalising designs.

⁴⁶³ Karagorghis and des Gagniers 1974, pls. 57f., 67, 199, 206f., 504f.

⁴⁶⁴ Whitley 2001, 251f.

⁴⁶⁵ Sporn 2013, esp. 405.

Chapter 4 – Terracotta relief figurines and *pinakes*

4.1 Introduction

Terracottas form another large class of artefacts. A major challenge when studying them is the scarcity of published 9th and 8th-century figurines, which contrasts sharply with the abundance of 7th-century material. This disparity is due to a biased scholarly interest in later periods on the one hand,⁴⁶⁶ and the newly introduced moulding technique that enabled effortless serial production on the other. Significantly, it renders any assessment by period futile and demands a modified approach. In order to make optimum use of available information, the present analysis will focus on mould-made 7th-century terracottas, while interpretative discussions will involve a larger variety of clay and bronze figurines from the LBA to the G period. It is important to note upfront that this thesis does not consider the Daedalic style as orientalising *per se*. Although inspiration for the Daedalic has been sought in the Levant,⁴⁶⁷ which is the origin of the closely associated moulding technique (see below), this region does not provide any exact parallels and it seems likely that the style first evolved on Crete⁴⁶⁸. As in the case of pottery, the inclusion of objects revolves around motifs. A significant part of this chapter will necessarily be dedicated to relief figurines depicting frontal females (otherwise known as ‘naked goddesses’, ‘goddesses with high polos’ or ‘Astarte figurines/plaques’)⁴⁶⁹, which account for the overwhelming majority of finds and have been at the centre of

⁴⁶⁶ The lack of publication has already been deplored by Prent (2005, 418). Lato is the only site for which an extensive catalogue of PG and G terracottas is accessible (Horst 1996, 27-43). Other contributions include Rizza 1967-8, 214-20, 272f.; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 206-11; D’Agata 1998; Haggis and Mook 2013, 71.

⁴⁶⁷ Ridgway 1977, 21.

⁴⁶⁸ Boardman 1978, 13.

⁴⁶⁹ Ammerman 1991; Horst 1996; Erickson 2009.

discussions on Near Eastern influences. After a brief history of research, the following will provide: a note on terminology and the moulding technique; an overview of the characteristics and contexts of mould-made figurines and plaques; a comparative evaluation of Near Eastern and Cypriot counterparts; and, finally, an interpretation of potential meanings and functions. The Near Eastern and Cypriot material will be considered in reasonable detail because any assessment of Cretan relief figurines requires a basic understanding of eastern originals.

4.2 History of research

The first systematic study of 7th-century art to include Cretan mould-made terracottas was Romilly Jenkins' *Dedolica*, published in the mid-1930s.⁴⁶⁶ Examining the terracotta and stone sculpture from Doric regions, he analysed local stylistic traits and first introduced a relative and absolute chronological sequence.⁴⁶⁷ *Dedolica* further established the idea that the outline of an anthropomorphic sculpture's head should serve as a yardstick for its placement within relative chronology, a concept that is still largely followed today. Due to the selective character of the publication, Peter Knoblauch's more comprehensive account of available material soon followed.⁴⁶⁸ The latter included a larger variety of regions and gave new emphasis to the genesis of the Daedalic style as well as the artistic treatment of the figures' bodies. Several decades later Georg Kaulen revisited the topic, surveying the 7th-century terracotta material alongside relevant bronze figurines as well as ivory, wood and limestone statuettes from East Greek regions.⁴⁶⁹ Even though such an integrated approach is laudable, this publication did not have any real impact as a result of Kaulen's doubtful historisation of archaeological material, unconventional dating and tendency to over-categorise.⁴⁷⁰

Only one year later, in 1968, Giovanni Rizza published the Gortyn material alongside a detailed stylistic study.⁴⁷¹ Apart from significantly enlarging the then-available corpus of terracottas, he also suggested a revised chronology that greatly influenced later scholarship.⁴⁷² The first stage of the Daedalic style was raised to start

⁴⁶⁶ Jenkins 1936.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. table p. 109.

⁴⁶⁸ Knoblauch 1937.

⁴⁶⁹ Kaulen 1967.

⁴⁷⁰ So also Mitten 1970, 109f.

⁴⁷¹ Rizza in Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 213-38.

⁴⁷² Cf. table p. 109.

at an earlier absolute date (*ca.* 690) – smoothening its link-up with Geometric art – and some pieces were accordingly reclassified to later phases. Subsequently, interest in the subject increased and various studies tackled either certain groups of terracottas or specific sites. New material was published by Katarina Horst and Brice Erickson, who processed the remarkable finds from Lato and Roussa Ekklesia-Anixi.⁴⁷³ Most importantly, in 2011, Oliver Pilz provided a seminal, up-to-date monograph on the entirety of published mould-made Iron Age terracottas from Crete. Apart from a comprehensive catalogue, this study also presents in-depth discussions on the issues of production, contexts, iconographies and functions. The current chapter is very much indebted to this work, but approaches the material from a different angle.

⁴⁷³ Horst 1996; Erickson 2009.

4.3 Terminology and moulding technique

While hand- and wheel-made figurines continued to be manufactured, the 7th century is particularly well known for the enormous popularity of mould-made terracottas. These fall into two sub-groups: i) relief figurines, which typically show a single frontal figure and often have the lateral clay shaved off to create the impression of a piece in the round (cf. Fig. 4.1); and ii) plaques or *pinakes*, which are rectangular in shape and feature one or more figures or creatures in profile (cf. Fig. 4.2). These sub-groups are often indiscriminately called ‘plaques’,⁴⁷⁴ owing to the circumstances that their distinction can be blurred⁴⁷⁵ and that in Near Eastern archaeology this term traditionally encompasses any type of relief depiction. Yet, as Pilz has stressed, it is important to treat them as separate categories since they derive from different traditions⁴⁷⁶ and show disparate distribution patterns (cf. below). There are further some 7th-century figurines that combine mould-made heads with wheel-made bodies.⁴⁷⁷ For similar examples from Cyprus a dependency on Phoenician prototypes has been proposed,⁴⁷⁸ but on Crete these composites could also have developed from an older practice of integrating hand-made heads or upper bodies with wheel-made lower bodies.⁴⁷⁹

The production of mould-made terracottas was rather straightforward.⁴⁸⁰ Initially, an archetype clay figurine or plaque (a so-called *patrix*) was fashioned and fired.⁴⁸¹ From this, a first generation of clay moulds (so-called *matrices*) were crafted

⁴⁷⁴ E.g. Haggis and Mook in Whitley et al. 2005-6, 104; Erickson 2009.

⁴⁷⁵ Especially when relief figurines are rendered in slightly shallower relief and the lateral clay is not shaved off closely (Pilz 2011a, 48).

⁴⁷⁶ Pilz 2011a, 47-9.

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. e.g. Haggis et al. 2011a, 31f., fig. 21.1; Papadakis 1980, 65, figs. 2, 4.

⁴⁷⁸ Yon and Caubet 1989, 33.

⁴⁷⁹ For PG anthropomorphic vases made in this technique see Pilz and Krumme 2013, 345.

⁴⁸⁰ For the following description cf. Salapata 2002, 22-4; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 204-6.

⁴⁸¹ Some were possibly made from wood (Kyrieleis 1980, 102f.).

and fired, resulting in slightly smaller one-piece negatives of the archetype.⁴⁸² In order to form the final figurines or plaques, several layers of flattened clay were pressed into the matrices from the open rear side and then released.⁴⁸³ The unbaked pieces could then be modified by re-modelling the surface with a stick⁴⁸⁴, cutting out sections⁴⁸⁵ or applying a lighter slip. After firing, the figurines could finally be coated, mostly in white, and/or embellished with red and black paint.⁴⁸⁶ Where paint is preserved, the Cretan relief figurines seem to be entirely or partially monochrome, bear outlines that articulate parts of the body and garments, or carry ornamental doodles (Fig. 4.3).⁴⁸⁷ When the quality and sharpness of a mould deteriorated, an intact first-generation terracotta piece (or part thereof) could be used to produce a second-generation mould, which was slightly smaller due to firing. As might be expected, products from the same moulds have been discovered at different sites, suggesting that there must have been some exchange in finished terracottas or matrices, which likely involved travelling craftsmen.⁴⁸⁸

In the case of the relief figurines it is clear that the technique was closely associated with this figurine type, which was introduced from abroad around the beginning of the 7th century (see below). For the *pinakes* the situation was slightly different. Although similar objects are known from the Near East, this class seems to

⁴⁸² Such are preserved at Lato (Horst 1996, 196 no. FD 12b, fig. 83) and Eleutherna (Stampolidis 2004, 272 no. 335).

⁴⁸³ For the production of plaques several joining moulds could be used (Pilz 2011a, 70).

⁴⁸⁴ Knoblauch 1937, 105f.

⁴⁸⁵ In the case of figurines, the overlapping clay; in the case of plaques, sometimes internal areas (cf. Fig. 4.43).

⁴⁸⁶ Interestingly, Knoblauch (1937, 115) states that the black paint on some figurines assumes a blue hue, which he compares to Knossian polychrome pottery. Unfortunately, it is impossible to follow this up.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. also Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XVII (no. 99b), XIX (no. 111), XX (no. 114), XXI (no. 123), XXIV (no. 157). Near Eastern examples are similarly monochrome, have highlighted areas or display contoured features (cf. Nishiyama and Yoshizawa 1997, figs. 3 (no. 2), 5 (no. 17); J. Karageorghis 1999, 56, fig. 11, pls. B, 1f.; Badre 2007, 188; Rotté 2012, 13).

⁴⁸⁸ Horst 1996, 151; Pilz 2011a, 79.

derive from a long-standing local tradition.⁴⁸⁹ During the LM IIIC and SM periods similar square plaques with plastic or painted decoration formed part of the standard cult paraphernalia placed in shrines. A very close relationship to these early examples is displayed by a LG *pinax* from Mathia Pediados, which depicts the so-called 'Goddess with Upraised Arms'.⁴⁹⁰ Based on our current knowledge it is impossible to determine whether production continued or was resumed at a certain point during the EIA. The earliest mould-made instances, of MG-LG date, come from Praisos and show nude warriors.⁴⁹¹ They differ from early relief figurines in the flatter surface of their figural decoration and one might wonder whether their production technique was in some way connected to the rising popularity of stamped designs attested on other objects.⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹ Pilz 2011a, 49f.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 50f., pl. 4.3. For LM IIIC examples featuring the same motif cf. Levi 1959, fig. 16a; Gesell 2001, 253f.

⁴⁹¹ Halbherr 1901b, 390, fig. 19; J. Demargne 1902, 572f., fig. 1; Forster 1904-5, 248f., fig. 5; Hall Dohan 1931, 212-4, figs. 1f., 4-8. See also Pilz 2011a, 63.

⁴⁹² As pointed out by Hall Dohan (1931, 214), designs on contemporary relief pithoi are comparable. For stamped warriors on gold foils cf. Sakellarakis 1988, 177-81, figs. 7-17.

4.4 Relief figurines

Iconographies

The relief figures are between 10 and 23 cm high, most of them measuring about 15-17 cm. As a rule, they represent females; only Anavlochos and Lato exceptionally provide depictions of male youths.⁴⁹³ The vast majority of female figurines are nude. Nude and clothed examples usually occur alongside each other and they seem to have been used in the same way.⁴⁹⁴ A deviation is posed by the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos and seemingly also the Archaic shrine at Azoria, which yielded only clothed examples.⁴⁹⁵

Concerning their poses, the females' legs are consistently rendered in a closed frontal position but their arms can assume a large variety of gestures. Hélène Cassimatis and Stephanie Böhm have devised two detailed typologies,⁴⁹⁶ but for the purposes of this thesis it is sufficient to distinguish four basic categories (for a discussion on *anasyrma* depictions see p. 122f.):

- i) *Both arms rest by the sides* (Fig. 4.1). On Crete, this is by far the most common and widespread gesture.
- ii) *One arm rests by the side while the opposite hand touches the breast, belly or pubis* (Fig. 4.4). Of these variations the second and third are the more popular.
- iii) *One hand is placed in relation to the breast, belly or pubis and the other is asymmetrically touching a different area* (Fig. 4.5). Most often, one hand is raised to the breast and the other lowered to the *pubis*. If the hand

⁴⁹³ J. Demargne 1929, 386, pl. 24.5; 1931, 401f., pl. 16.2; Pilz 2011a, 319 no. Ana IV/15, 329 no. Lat I/5.

⁴⁹⁴ Pilz 2011a, esp. 281.

⁴⁹⁵ Coldstream 1973b, 58, pl. 33; Haggis and Mook 2013, 71.

⁴⁹⁶ Cassimatis 1982; Böhm 1990, 76f.

contacts the breast it often lies flatly on top rather than cupping or supporting it.

- iv) *Both hands are symmetrically placed in relation to the breasts, stomach or abdomen* (Fig. 4.6). All of these variations are rare on Crete and primarily encountered on nude females. Most frequent among them are instances with the hands raised to the breasts and in this case the hands invariably cup these.

All above-mentioned arm positions are found in the same or a slightly modified way on earlier Cretan small-scale sculpture. Accordingly, Type i was employed for PG and G figurines and the famous Dreros *sphyrelata*, dated to *ca.* 700 (Fig. 4.7).⁴⁹⁷ Various Neopalatial bronze figurines further position one arm by the side while the other hand rests on the chest (Fig. 4.8), which is similar to Type iii.⁴⁹⁸ Types ii and iii might have been influenced by PG or G examples that place their hands flatly on the chest, belly and/or pubis area (Fig. 4.9). Female terracotta figurines that touch or cup both breasts were common during the Neopalatial and SM periods and several pieces have been discovered at Chania, Knossos, Phaistos, Amari and Myrsine (Fig. 4.10).⁴⁹⁹ A series of Neopalatial to PG examples from Psychro (Fig. 4.11) proves that this variant continued into the EIA, at least at this site.⁵⁰⁰ Interestingly, corresponding Daedalic mould-made figurines were excavated at Melidoni and in the wider vicinity (Eleutherna and Axos) as well as at Tsoutsouros.⁵⁰¹ The find spots at Melidoni and Tsoutsouros are cave sanctuaries like Psychro and such extra-urban

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. also Rizza 1967-8, 216-8 nos. 17-19, fig. 3; Naumann 1976, pl. 30.2; Verlinden 1984, pl. 84 (no. 213); Horst 1996, fig. 37 (no. G9).

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. also Verlinden 1984, pl. 49 (nos. 107f.); Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1995, pl. 31 (nos. 13, 16).

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. also Verlinden 1984, pl. 56 (nos. 124-127); Rethemiotakis 2001, 62-5, 85-7.

⁵⁰⁰ Naumann 1976, pls. 15-8, 24; Verlinden 1984, pls. 56, 77.

⁵⁰¹ Rizza 1967-8, 222 no. 39, fig. 5; Tsedakis and Gavrilaki 1995, 892, pl. 121; Stampolidis 2004, 209 no. 158; Kanta and Davaras 2011, 129 no. 125.

microenvironments might have constituted focal points of continuity.⁵⁰² Therefore, it seems likely that the few known 7th-century examples were offshoots of this earlier tradition. Clear evidence for the survival of Bronze Age conventions is provided by EIA figurines and plaques that perpetuate the typical gesture of the so-called ‘Goddess with the Upraised Arms’ (Fig. 4.12).⁵⁰³ 7th-century terracottas pressing both fists against the chest area further pose a case of Minoan revival (Fig. 4.13).⁵⁰⁴ Finally, pressing both hands close to the abdomen, which has been interpreted as signalling childbirth⁵⁰⁵, is also attested on Cretan PG or G material (Fig. 4.14).⁵⁰⁶

Concerning nudity, the state of knowledge has not changed much since Böhm’s survey of pre-Daedalic material.⁵⁰⁷ Although during the PG and G periods there had been some experimentation with images of naked females,⁵⁰⁸ their suddenly intensified presence must have had a certain ‘shock value’ on Crete. This could be a reason for the appearance of clothed relief figurines and also for the remarkably unassertive character of the nude versions, which is not particularly ‘pronounced’ or ‘erotic/ sexual’.⁵⁰⁹ Accordingly, pubic hair may occasionally be rendered as a painted triangle (Fig. 4.15) but – as opposed to the limestone triads from Gortyn (Fig. 5.32) as well as Levantine and Cypriot models⁵¹⁰ – the pudenda cleft is never indicated.⁵¹¹ Likewise, no Cretan figurine preserves what might be conceived as ‘voluptuous’ traits, such as large breasts, a belly button or abdominal creases.⁵¹² This and the rejection of breast cupping (which is typical for Cypriot and Near Eastern examples, see below)

⁵⁰² For continuities at extra-urban sanctuaries cf. p. 11.

⁵⁰³ Pilz 2011a, 375f.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 370-2.

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. Albright 1939, 111, 119.

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. also Naumann 1976, pl. 23.1.

⁵⁰⁷ Böhm 1990, 7-9, 23-59.

⁵⁰⁸ E.g. Naumann 1967, 20, 22f.; Rizza 1967-8, 216 no. 4, fig. 2; Haggis et al. 2011a, fig. 21.2; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, 98-101, pl. 65 (nos. 1-6).

⁵⁰⁹ *Contra* Prent 2005, 411 and Pilz 2011a, 283.

⁵¹⁰ Albright 1939, pls. A8, B6; J. Karageorghis 1999, pl. II (nos. 7, 9f.).

⁵¹¹ There is virtually one exception from Axos (Rizza 1967-8, 221f. no. 39a, fig. 5).

⁵¹² As sometimes found on Near Eastern and Cypriot examples (cf. e.g. Badre 1980, pls. VIII (no. 16), XX (no. 49), XXIX (nos. 57f.); J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. II (no. 7), XXIII (no. 7), XXX (no. 10)).

indicate that any sensuality encountered on potential models seems to have been toned down. At the same time, it is notable that a number of females wear a belt (Fig. 4.16) – a feature that finds direct parallels on male representations.⁵¹³ Moreover, the bodies of relief figurines, especially early examples, have a very tectonic and inorganic quality, giving the impression that their producers were primarily concerned with establishing a canonical form of the female body. This fits well with Jenkins' interpretation of Daedalic renditions as a pursuit of geometrically pleasing proportions.⁵¹⁴ Either way, it should be stressed that the nudity of these figurines was closely linked to their object class, as will become apparent from the discussion of Near Eastern models.

Contexts

The vast majority of Cretan mould-made terracottas come from sanctuaries and, within these, from secondary deposits created during later clearance works. Major find spots are the 'Sanctuary lower down the hill' at Axos; the Acropolis sanctuary at Gortyn; Lato (the area of the Hellenistic Agora?); the 'Altar Hill' and Vavelli at Praisos; the sanctuary at Roussa Ekklesia-Anixi; and deposits at Sitia (cf. Fig. 4.17).⁵¹⁵ As reflected by this list, most of these sanctuaries are in sub-urban or extra-urban locations and assigned to female deities.⁵¹⁶ With the exception of Gortyn, the mentioned sites appear to have featured open-air *temenē* for the entire period

⁵¹³ Cf. D'Acunto 2000, 294-8.

⁵¹⁴ Jenkins 1936, 14f.

⁵¹⁵ Gortyn: ca. 440 examples (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 161-88 nos. 60-266 (*passim*), pls. XII-XXXVII); Axos: ca. 180 examples (Rizza 1967-8, 220-42 nos. 33-99, figs. 5-14); Lato: ca. 450 examples (Horst 1996, 1); Praisos: no specifications, but of some types there were apparently "a hundred of repetitions" (Halbherr 1901b, 384); Roussa Ekklesia-Anixi: ca. 140 examples, excluding warrior plaques (Erickson 2009, 358-71); Sitia: ca. 700 examples, of which only a handful are published (Papadakis 1980).

⁵¹⁶ Pilz 2011a, 179-86. Main exceptions are the urban sanctuaries at Azoria (Haggis and Mook in Whitley et al. 2006-7, 100; Mook and Haggis 2013, 68-71) and Knossos (Coldstream 1973b, 58, pl. 33). Both yielded minor amounts of material. Lato could potentially pose another exception if the terracottas really come from the area of the later agora (Horst 1996, 2f.) rather than surrounding sites (Prent 2005, 290).

under discussion.⁵¹⁷ While the figurines could have been laid on the ground or rested against/on altars, the *pinakes* were likely suspended from trees and bushes or mounted on wooden supports.⁵¹⁸ Although figurines and *pinakes* occur alongside each other in many sanctuaries, some sites in the north of central Crete – most prominently Axos, Eleutherna, Knossos and Prinias – have only produced relief figurines. The reverse situation does not seem to be attested at any location, but this may be due to the state of excavation or wanting publication. At Azoria, close-by Pachlitzani Agriada and Smari, terracottas were found *in-situ* at shrines or small temples, demonstrating that their use was not associated with open-air spaces in particular. At Azoria, Daedalic mould-made and combination figurines were found among other offerings on and around a rectangular altar.⁵¹⁹ The fragments of relief figurines from Pachlitzani come from outside the small temple, but the interior featured a bench with remnants of other votives, suggesting that the figurines might have been displayed in the same place.⁵²⁰ The *pinakes* and relief protomes from the small cult building on Prophitis Elias at Smari again reveal a different installation. Their find pattern within the room and provision with holes attest to their suspension from the walls and ceiling.⁵²¹

In addition to sanctuaries, some Cretan mould-made terracottas have been excavated from domestic contexts and one instance comes from a cemetery. At Azoria, the fragment of a delicately worked relief figurine was found in the kitchen of a private house.⁵²² It preserves the upper part of a clothed female without *polos* (Fig. 4.18) and was situated among fine ware, storage vessels, mortars, a cheese grater and

⁵¹⁷ For Gortyn cf. p. 158f.

⁵¹⁸ Pilz 2011a, 89f., pl. 2.2. Some examples that have lateral holes were probably mounted on wooden supports (Horst 1996, 3).

⁵¹⁹ Haggis and Mook in Whitley et al. 2006-7, 100.

⁵²⁰ Alexiou 1956, 8f.; Pilz 2011a, 119.

⁵²¹ Chatzi-Vallianou 2000, 508f.; Pilz 2011a, 146f.

⁵²² Haggis and Mook in Whitley et al. 2005-2006, 104f.

an iron hoe. Another fragment was discovered in a building at Donadhes in the Lasithi region.⁵²³ The domestic context of this piece is revealed by the presence of associated spindle whorls and loom weights. The same kinds of objects and a fibula have come to light alongside the fragment of a nude figurine at a house in Eleutherna, to the north of the Orthi Petra Necropolis.⁵²⁴ Finally, two relief figurines, one of them clothed, come from rooms EB and TA at Prinias. They were found in association with pottery, tools, a horse figurine, stone beads and spindle whorls.⁵²⁵ It is unlikely that the terracottas from these four sites belonged to house shrines,⁵²⁶ as typical votive objects (apart from maybe the horse figurine) or other evidence for cult activity are lacking. Instead, it is possible that children might have used them as toys⁵²⁷ or that they simply constituted some sort of furnishing or object of display. The former option is not precluded by the circumstance that one of the figurines is naked, because the nudity of Cretan figurines was not sexualised (see above) and even modern-day dolls can be undressed. Interpreting them as furnishings or objects of display seems equally thinkable and ties in with the fact that these figurines did not have any evident practical purpose. Concerning cemeteries, one relief figurine comes from Prinias Siderospelia, although no specifications are made as to its find spot.⁵²⁸ For the *pinakes* that were found in locations other than sanctuaries the situation is quite different. The example from a domestic context at Krousonas, which was discovered alongside miniature vessels and several zoomorphic figurines, and the

⁵²³ Watrous 1980, 277 no. 33, pl. 29; Pilz 2011a, 137.

⁵²⁴ Stampolidis 2004, 84; Pilz 2011a, 169.

⁵²⁵ Rizza 2008, 44 no. EB10, 182 no. TA11, pl. CXC VII.

⁵²⁶ As argued by Prent 2005, 405. For domestic cults on Crete cf. Sjögren 2003, 59.

⁵²⁷ An idea that Pilz (2009, 108f.) already tentatively introduced as an alternative interpretation for some of the material.

⁵²⁸ Rizza 1971, 231, pl. XII.2.

pinax from the stone enclosure of a grave at Kerasa in the Lasithi region both point towards a use within the religious sphere.⁵²⁹

Chronology

Despite increased research into mould-made terracottas, their dating remains problematic. Concerning absolute chronology, German academics generally follow Rizza's higher scheme,⁵³⁰ while many others give preference to the lower dates suggested by Jenkins.⁵³¹ This is happening in mutual acceptance because both systems lack tangible reference points: datable contexts typically take the form of secondary deposits that indicate only larger time frames. It is common to adduce stylistic analogies with Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases,⁵³² but their respective chronologies are not flawless either⁵³³ and such analogies do not necessarily indicate exact contemporaneity.

The relative chronology of Cretan Daedalic terracottas, on the other hand, strongly relies on the idea of an island-wide linear process of stylistic evolution, artistic improvement and standardisation. However, it must be kept in mind that the concept of strict linearity represents a modern tool for systematising ancient material. Indeed, other factors such as craftsman skills, artistic preference and availability of prototypes must have shaped terracotta production considerably. In this context, some scholars have fittingly pointed out that the enduring convention of dating Daedalic figurines by the shape of their head is highly questionable.⁵³⁴ Since it is not the aim of this chapter to challenge established chronologies, the following will adhere to the commonly endorsed relative sequence. The main systems of correlation

⁵²⁹ Watrous 1980, 281 no. 59, pl. 29; Pilz 2011a, 137, 180.

⁵³⁰ E.g. Böhm 1990, 73f.; Horst 1996, 16; Pilz 2011a, 189.

⁵³¹ E.g. Prent 2005, 35; Erickson 2009, 358. Cf. also Adams 1978.

⁵³² Fig. 3.1.

⁵³³ Neeft 2012, 487-94.

⁵³⁴ Rolley 1994, 128; Brisart 2008-9, 31.

with absolute chronologies are provided in table format below (including abbreviations used in the text and figures) and can be consulted at will. Concerning the dates stated in the text it is important to note that these constitute *termini post quem*, since the same moulds could theoretically have been used for a longer time span, perhaps overlapping into the 6th century.

Jenkins ⁵³⁵		Rizza ⁵³⁶		Abbr.
Protodadalic	685/680-670	Protodedalico	700-690	PD
Early Dedalic	670-660/655	Dedalico Antico	690- 670	ED
Middle Dedalic	660/655-630	Medio Dedalico	670/665-640	MD
Late Dedalic	630-620	Tardo Dedalico	640-620	LD

Comparanda

It is widely acknowledged that Cretan relief figurines imitate Levantine models either directly or via Cypriot examples.⁵³⁷ However, only one study addresses this problem directly: the above-mentioned monograph by Böhm, which is primarily focused on typology and religio-historic interpretations.⁵³⁸ Otherwise, the origin of Cretan figurines is usually only touched upon.⁵³⁹ This is surely due to the lack of any recent comprehensive publications dedicated to Near Eastern and Cypriot relief figurines specifically.⁵⁴⁰ The following is intended to bridge the gap and allow us to understand the tradition from which the Cretan terracottas arose.

⁵³⁵ Jenkins 1936, 59-65.

⁵³⁶ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 238-44, esp. 242f.

⁵³⁷ See p. 122.

⁵³⁸ Böhm 1990, 86-99, 115-7.

⁵³⁹ E.g. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 248f.; N. Marinatos 2000, 27; Erickson 2009, 364f.; Pilz 2011a, 49.

⁵⁴⁰ There are various studies on Levantine and Cypriot goddesses that include nude female terracottas (e.g. U. Winter 1983, 98-134; Budin 2003, 232-41; Cornelius 2004, 62-5; Ulbrich 2008, 70-7), but these studies mostly synthesise available representations across techniques and/or materials.

Levantine material

The production of relief figurines (as I will continue to call them to avoid confusion) was a long-lived tradition that reached back to third-millennium Mesopotamia.⁵⁴¹ At some point during the 18th or 17th century, these figurines were adopted in Syria and Canaan, where they became exclusively associated with specific types of nude frontal females (see below).⁵⁴² Their popularity increased rapidly⁵⁴³ and production continued well into the Iron Age in the regions of Syria, Israel, Philistia, Judah and Transjordan. Yet, despite the longevity and comparative ubiquity of these figurines – and contrary to the impression evoked in many publications – fair quantities (i.e. over ten examples) have been discovered at relatively few sites. These are Tel Meskene–Emar, Neirab, Ugarit–Ras Shamra, Kamid el Loz–Kumidi, Tel el-Mutesellim–Megiddo, Tel Taannek–Taanach, Beit Shean, Samaria, Tel Gezer–Gezer and Ashdod (cf. Figs. 2.4 and 2.5).⁵⁴⁴ Further, apart from in LBA Canaan, relief figurines were always outnumbered by hand-made, wheel-made and/or combination technique terracottas.⁵⁴⁵

Relief figurines have been retrieved from varied contexts including religious structures⁵⁴⁶ and burials⁵⁴⁷, but the vast majority were excavated in residential quarters.⁵⁴⁸ Most of these, in turn, come from rubbish pits or fill layers located

⁵⁴¹ Moorey 2003, 28.

⁵⁴² According to Uehlinger (2001, 56) this happened only around the middle of the millennium.

⁵⁴³ Tadmor 1982, 140.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Riis 1963, 70-5; Badre 1980, 64-7, 99-103, 118-21; Holland 1977, 126f.; Nishiyama and Yoshizawa 1997, 91 for available overviews.

⁵⁴⁵ For LBA Canaan cf. Moorey 2003, 37.

⁵⁴⁶ E.g. at Beit Shean (James and McGovern 1993, 165-7, figs. 76f.), Tel Taannek (Frick 2000, 104-14) and Megiddo (May 1935, 30-3, pls. XVII-XXXI).

⁵⁴⁷ E.g. at Gezer (Macalister 1912 (vol. III), pls. 18.1, 19.7, 26.8), Megiddo (Guy 1938, pls. 89.11, 99.2, 130.25, 155.8f.) and Sahem (Fischer 1997, 61-4 nos. 4663f.).

⁵⁴⁸ U. Winter 1983, 126-9; Lipiński 1986, 89; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 100. *Contra* Tadmor 1982, 149. E.g. at Beth Shean (James and McGovern 1993, 165), Gezer (Macalister 1912 (vol. II), figs. 496f., pls. 220.3, 5-7, 11, 13, 15-19, 23 and 221.1, 6, 11, 13-16; Dever et al. 1970, 57, pl. 37.10f.; Dever 1974, 56, 113f., pls. 40.15 and 74E; 1986, 53, 239, pl. 54.2), Ashkelon (Cohen in Stager et al. 2011, 469 nos. 91-93); Beit Shemesh (Grant 1934, pl. XIX; Grant and Wright 1938, 33f., pl. LI (no. 18); 35f., pls. LI (no. 14) and LO (nos. 25, 27)), Hazor (Yadin et al. 1989, pls. CCVII (no. 36), CCXLII and CCLIII (no. 11); Ben-Tor et al. 2012, 481-3, fig. 7.2, 1 and 3), Megiddo (T. Harrison 2004, 66 no. 6, pl. 25.6), Tel Shiukh Fawqani

outside primary living spaces, e.g. in streets, courtyards and storage facilities. Accordingly, we are primarily dealing with disposal patterns rather than patterns of use, which aggravates any interpretation. It is a popular idea that the figurines must have formed part of house shrines.⁵⁴⁹ However, a secure corresponding primary find context could so far only be established for one specimen, a relief fragment from Tel Munbāqa–Ekalte in Syria, and this specimen deviates from the norm in its exceptionally large size.⁵⁵⁰ As preserved workshops reveal, relief figurine production was not centralised by sanctuaries or other institutions but, like their display, took place in domestic contexts.⁵⁵¹ It has been observed that many of the figurines are broken, but it remains unclear whether this was intentional or accidental.⁵⁵²

Iconographically, the Near Eastern material forms three distinct categories:

i) The Qudshu (or Qedeshet/ Qadesh) type depicts a nude frontal female with a Hathor hairstyle and both feet either pointing to the left, to the right or outward. The female holds a plant in either hand, with her arms describing a W-shape, or cups her breasts while standing between two plants (Fig. 4.19). In extremely rare cases she can be pictured on a lion or a horse and/or wear a crown.⁵⁵³ Some scholars also count renditions that lack any attributes but are characterised by the signature W-shaped arm position.⁵⁵⁴ The Qudshu type is encountered in southern Palestine and to a lesser degree at the coast of central Palestine.⁵⁵⁵ Clay figurines of this type generally disappear around the end of the Bronze Age.⁵⁵⁶ It is commonly believed that they

(Luciani 2005, 926f., 941, pl. 64), Lachish (Kletter 2004, 1576f., 1582) and Tel Mastuma (Nishiyama and Yoshizawa 1997, 82f.)

⁵⁴⁹ U. Winter 1983, 128; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 100.

⁵⁵⁰ It is preserved from head to stomach and measures 21 cm in height (Eichler in Eichler et al. 1984, 91), i.e. it must have been about 45 to 50 cm tall.

⁵⁵¹ Pruss 2002a, 542.

⁵⁵² Only Nishiyama and Yoshizawa (1997, pl. 92) surveyed their material in terms of this issue, but most of it is unfortunately 6th to 4th-century in date.

⁵⁵³ Pritchard 1943, 7 nos. 15 and 17; Kamlah 1993, 124 Group VI.

⁵⁵⁴ Pritchard 1943, 8 nos. 19-26.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 32; Kamlah 1993, 111.

⁵⁵⁶ For possible exceptions cf. Kamlah 1993, 111.

replicate the image of a female that is labelled *q-d-š-(t)* ('holy' / 'holiness') on contemporary Egyptian temple carvings.⁵⁵⁷ As opposed to the Qudshu relief figurines, this female regularly stands on a lion, holds one or more snakes and/or wears a crown (Fig. 4.20). Her identity and designation are contested,⁵⁵⁸ but it is generally agreed that we are dealing with a divinity in charge of vegetation, healing and war/power.⁵⁵⁹ A point that has not featured in discussions on the relief figurines is that the vast majority of terracottas – in stark contrast to equivalent depictions on faience, gold and bronze pendants⁵⁶⁰ – dispense with the mentioned sacred attributes. Therefore it seems unlikely that we are dealing with depictions of the goddess herself.

ii) The so-called Astarte type shows a frontal female without any attributes other than jewellery and with frontally arranged feet. This type is much more variable regarding hairdos⁵⁶¹ and arm-positions, especially during the Iron Age. In the vast majority of cases the depicted female cups her breasts or rest her arms by the sides; occasionally, she can combine both or place her hands on the abdomen or close to the genitals (Fig. 4.21).⁵⁶² Astarte figurines are typically nude, but from the 7th and 6th centuries they can also be clothed, perhaps due to western influences.⁵⁶³ This type has often been defined in relation to the Qudshu version: according to Miriam Tadmor it forms its opposite, depicting mortal women; Peter Moorey defined it as a Mesopotamian-derived Syrian counterpart of the Egyptian-derived Palestine Qudshu tradition; and Jens Kamlah stressed the, in his view, strong similarity of their arm

⁵⁵⁷ Cornelius 2004, 83f., pls. 5.3-5.5, 5.7, 5.16, 5.17.

⁵⁵⁸ Cornelius (2004, 84) argues that *q-d-š-(t)* is the divine name of an autonomous deity, while others consider it as an epithet of Asherah (Albright 1968, 106; Hadley 2000, 46-9, 191f.) or an indeterminable goddess (Uehlinger 2001, 56).

⁵⁵⁹ Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 68; Cornelius 2014, 98.

⁵⁶⁰ Cornelius 2004, pls. 5.19-5.21.

⁵⁶¹ For typologies of such cf. Kletter 1996, 34; Cornelius 2014, 272f.

⁵⁶² Badre 1980, 64-6, 100-2, 118f.

⁵⁶³ Riis 1961, 196f.; Gubel 1991, 133; Nishiyama and Yoshizawa 1997, 82.

placements and deduced that the Astarte type should represent a goddess, too.⁵⁶⁴ The designation of this type as Astarte actually constitutes a stopgap that seems to be based on a process of elimination: Anat had a strongly bellicose character that would be reflected in her depictions and Asherah has already been identified in the Judaeen pillar figurines.⁵⁶⁵ Considering the prolonged occurrence of this type across the Levant and the generic character of its imagery, it seems likely that a variety of deities could have been identified with the depictions.

iii) The so-called tambourine-player type represents a nude or dressed female holding a disc-shaped object. These mould-made relief figurines first appeared during the 11th or 10th century and continued into the 7th century.⁵⁶⁶ They have been excavated in Israel, Transjordan and Judah alongside hand-made examples of the same iconography;⁵⁶⁷ in the Phoenician region they usually have a wheel-made lower body with hand-made arms and a moulded face.⁵⁶⁸ Many potential identifications have been advanced for the disc-shaped object – including a bread loaf, platter and sun-disc – but more recently scholars agree that it represents a frame drum.⁵⁶⁹ This is also evident in the way that mould-made and combination-technique figurines hold the object: in front of the chest, resting it in the palm of the left hand while the right lies flatly on its surface (Fig. 4.22). The identity of the depicted, however, remains contested and suggestions range from cult participants⁵⁷⁰ to deities.⁵⁷¹ A close

⁵⁶⁴ Tadmor 1982, 149; Kamlah 1993, 112; Moorey 2003, 38.

⁵⁶⁵ Cornelius 2004, 92f.; Kletter 1996, 75f. Astarte was a goddess of hunt and battle (who became the protectress of the Phoenician royal families at Sidon and Tyre), but her portrayal inherited qualities of Ishtar (Budin 2003, 261; 2004, 107f.).

⁵⁶⁶ Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 164; Paz 2007, 55.

⁵⁶⁷ Paz 2007, 55; Kletter and Saarelainen 2011, 13-6.

⁵⁶⁸ Paz 2007, 63.

⁵⁶⁹ For overviews cf. Pritchard 1943, 55; Frick 2000, 108-14; 2007, 72-4.

⁵⁷⁰ E.g. Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 166; Paz 2007, esp. 78.

⁵⁷¹ E.g. Pritchard 1943, 84, 87; Bisi 1980, 62; Kletter and Saarelainen 2011, 25.

association with cult seems probable since tambourine players often feature in depictions of religious processions and on cult stands.⁵⁷²

As to the meaning of figurines belonging to these three groups, the depicted female has traditionally been interpreted as a fertility/ mother goddess or, less often, her servant/ worshipper.⁵⁷³ Proponents of the goddess reading can point to seals that show nude females on a podium, shrine models adorned with nude relief figurines and clay plaques rendering nude relief figurines within a temple façade.⁵⁷⁴ The servant/ worshipper reading, on the other hand, could potentially be supported by clay plaques that depict a larger relief figure next to an identical smaller one within a temple façade (Fig. 4.23). A concern for fertility and nurturing is certainly exhibited by depictions of pregnant females and *kourotrophoi*. However, these constitute only a minute portion of the total and are mostly of Iron Age date.⁵⁷⁵ For this reason, more recent publications have instead emphasised the erotic, sexual quality of the depictions.⁵⁷⁶ This makes sense for the examples touching their breasts but is not equally plausible for the remainder, unless nudity in itself is reduced to eroticism. In this respect it should be noted that the often detailed modulation of sexual organs on relevant figurines is not conspicuous but in fact perfectly in line with the attention paid to other features, for instance jewellery and headgear (cf. e.g. Fig. 4.21 left). Moreover, Near Eastern craftsmen did not have any inhibitions to depict sexuality and were usually quite explicit in this.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷² Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 166.

⁵⁷³ *I.a.* Pritchard 1943, 84; Riis 1963, 81f.; Mazar 1985, 14; James and McGovern 1993, 166; Fischer 1997, 63f.; Paz 2007, 119.

⁵⁷⁴ Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 100-5; Uehlinger 2001, 57.

⁵⁷⁵ E.g. Dothan and Ben-Shlomo 2005, 213; Cohen in Stager et al. 2011, 469 no. 93.

⁵⁷⁶ E.g. U. Winter 1983, 198; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 106; N. Marinatos 2000, 13; Budin 2002; Erickson 2009, 377.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Assante 2002 for examples of Babylonian terracotta plaques with erotic scenes. These plaques are part of the tradition from which the relief figurines derived (cf. p. 110 and Opificius 1961, 42-8, 166-8).

Concerning the function of Levantine relief figurines, these are thought to have served either as icon-like depictions set up in household shrines⁵⁷⁸ or as talismans in everyday-life situations⁵⁷⁹. Due to the lack of surviving cult statuary it is hard to verify whether they actually resembled such, but judging by the above-mentioned depictions on seals and clay shrines as well as the Munbāqa figurine this might well be the case. On the other hand, we have seen that the Qudshu-type figurines are generally characterised by an *absence* of divine attributes, which do appear on related murals. Several factors have been adduced in favour of the talisman theory: i) the shape of the figurines, which allegedly lends itself to being held in the hand; ii) that Qudshu and Astarte type depictions appear on jewellery that was presumably worn as protective amulets; iii) the connection between similar nude females and apotropaic symbols on seals; and iv) the occurrence of talismans in other Near Eastern regions. There are problems with each of these points: i) this evaluation is entirely subjective; ii) jewellery like this might have been worn for any number of reasons, including membership of specific religious groups or status display; iii) the cited cylinder seals are of Babylonian origin and actually depict a figure folding her hands in the typical praying gesture;⁵⁸⁰ iv) the textbook Neo-Assyrian talismans frequently cited in this context differ completely from the relief figurines in being shaped like specific animals, composite creatures or gods and having been carefully buried in foundation deposits, often in palatial contexts.⁵⁸¹

The only remaining line of enquiry is to investigate the emergence of Levantine relief figurines. As mentioned, the Syrians first adopted them from their Mesopotamian neighbours and in doing so replaced an earlier hand-made type of

⁵⁷⁸ Conrad 1985, 23; Kamlah 1993, 113; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 164.

⁵⁷⁹ Albright 1939, 119; Pritchard 1943, 84, 87.

⁵⁸⁰ Pruss 2002a, 541.

⁵⁸¹ Green 1983; Nakamura 2004, 14f., 19-23.

female figurine (Fig. 4.24).⁵⁸² This hand-made type is distinctively flat, which might have been a prime reason for adopting the moulding technique, and is characterised by incised patterns and pierced holes in the ears and the back of their heads.⁵⁸³ The depicted females have stubby arms or cup their breasts. Interestingly, some Phoenician sites have yielded similar Iron Age relief figurines with their arms '*en croix*',⁵⁸⁴ illustrating the close connection between both types. The Bronze Age hand-made examples mostly appear in domestic contexts and are complemented by male figurines in the same technique, which are modelled as riders and seated/enthroned figures.⁵⁸⁵ Inevitably, the female figurines have been identified with the goddess Ishtar⁵⁸⁶ and the seated/enthroned examples as male divinities.⁵⁸⁷ Considering their primary occurrence in household contexts and the presence of riders, however, it seems more likely that these images symbolised the qualities or social roles of actual people. It is interesting to note that the male figurines sport unambiguous attributes of power, and so perhaps the nudity of the females should be understood in a similar way. Examples supporting or touching their breasts could, again, be interpreted in terms of explicit sensuality. Generally, it is conspicuous that the female figurines are much more delicately modelled than their male counterparts. In addition, they are adorned with incised patterns, jewellery and complex hairdos, which all contribute to the impression that the aspect of beautification was key. Since Levantine relief figurines replaced these earlier examples, it is natural to assume that they functioned in the same way. It seems preferable to interpret them as objects of display that

⁵⁸² Pruss 2002a, 539.

⁵⁸³ For production technique cf. Badre 1980, 18f.; Pruss 2010, 46f.

⁵⁸⁴ Gubel 1982, 228.

⁵⁸⁵ Badre 1980, 63f., 99, 116f.; Pruss 2002a, 538; 2010, 80-107. An association with horseman figurines has also been suggested for relief figurines from Syrian Iron Age sites (Nishiyama and Yoshizawa 1997, 84f.).

⁵⁸⁶ Budin (2008, 84) interprets the incised 'x' on some of the figurines' chests as a baldric and "indicative of the weapons carried by the erotic goddess Ishtar". However, this element clearly constitutes a continuation of the pubic triangle (cf. Badre 1980, pls. XVII (no. 8), XXXVI (no. 2), LXII (nos. 7, 18-20)), making it a purely ornamental feature.

⁵⁸⁷ Pruss 2010, 108-10.

advertised certain qualities and statuses or else commemorated events. The Qudshu and Astarte types may have symbolised beauty, power and eroticism; pregnant depictions and *kourotrophoi* could have emphasised dynastic/ family values or marked respective occasions; and tambourine-players perhaps advertised specific roles in society or cult. Undoubtedly, the figurines could assume many more meanings that will remain inaccessible to the modern beholder.

Finally, it is necessary to comment on the Phoenician terracotta material since it is sometimes implied that the westward transmission of relief figurines happened via this region. Some relief figurines have been excavated at Tel Kazel⁵⁸⁸, Tartous⁵⁸⁹ and Tel Dor⁵⁹⁰, but they are few⁵⁹¹ and come from the fringes of the Phoenician area. Significantly, Sarepta has yielded only a single example,⁵⁹² while Tyre and Akhziv have failed to produce any.⁵⁹³ Post-8th-century pieces prove to be extremely rare in general and display strong Cypriot traits.⁵⁹⁴ Instead, during the 8th to 6th centuries, *Dea Gravida/ Tyria* type figurines became hugely popular. These were fashioned in a double mould and portrayed enthroned pregnant goddesses (Fig. 4.25).⁵⁹⁵ A standing version of this, the so-called 'Breast Astarte', is sometimes mentioned in the context of relief figurines, but it is not quite clear how many copies actually existed as scholars invariably refer to the same two examples (Fig. 4.26). Moreover, the 'Breast Astarte' differs from the relief figurines not only in technique but also in the tall

⁵⁸⁸ Badre 1991, 632, fig. 5a; Capet and Gubel 2007, 448 (group b), fig. 22.

⁵⁸⁹ Braidwood 1940, 195, 197, fig. 9 (nos. 1, 6).

⁵⁹⁰ Stern 1994, 125.

⁵⁹¹ Except for the "dozens" (Capet and Gubel 2000, 447) of examples from Tel Kazel. It is highly likely that there are a number of specimens still awaiting publication, as implied by Gubel (1991, 133), but the use of the term "vast amounts" in the context of published examples (*ibid.*) begs for caution.

⁵⁹² Prichard 1988, 31 no. 1, fig. 10.

⁵⁹³ Cf. Dayagi-Mendels 2002; Aubet 2004; Mazar 2013; Aubet et al. 2014.

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. Culican 1975-6, 51, fig. 3D. According to Riis (1949, 70), most of the examples known at the date of this publication should be Cypriot. For Cypriot terracotta imports of 8th and 7th-century dates in the Levant cf. Bisi 1989.

⁵⁹⁵ Badre 2007, 188.

podium the goddess stands on.⁵⁹⁶ This brief overview shows that the terracottas treated in this chapter are not typical of Phoenician art and that the Phoenicians cannot be seen as plausible agents in their westward transmission. In the past this has been automatically presumed because many Cypriot terracottas (such as the *Dea Gravida* figurines, chariot groups, tambourine players, sphinx thrones, masks and *naiskoi*) seem to derive from Phoenicians models.⁵⁹⁷

Cypriot material

On Cyprus, the production of relief figurines was adopted some time before the second quarter of the 7th century⁵⁹⁸ and formed part of a flourishing terracotta industry. Like on Crete, the greater number of examples have been discovered in sanctuaries, especially at Lapithos, Idalion, Arsos, Achna, Kition and Amathus (cf. Fig. 4.27).⁵⁹⁹ Also similar to Crete, these sanctuaries commonly belonged to female deities.⁶⁰⁰ The intense dedication of relief figurines was presumably linked to the rise in communal sanctuaries during the Cypro-Archaic period (750-600). Since prestigious goods (e.g. metal items and ivories) were apparently ineligible as votives,⁶⁰¹ there must have been a high demand for a more diverse range of terracottas. Another find context of Cypriot relief figurines is cemeteries. A special case is posed by Amathus, where about 45 examples have been discovered in tombs.⁶⁰² Smaller amounts were also obtained from burials at nearby Limassol⁶⁰³,

⁵⁹⁶ There are very few exceptional relief figurines from Gortyn that render a tall podium (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XXX and XXXVI).

⁵⁹⁷ Pritchard 1983, 524; Vandenabeele 1986, 351-6; 1989, 266f.; Beer 1991, 82; Gubel 1991, 134f.; V. Karageorghis 1991, 964. Several scholars acknowledge that there is a high degree of cultural and artistic exchange between Cyprus and the Phoenician state and concede that some influences might actually have extended the other way (Bisi 1989, 260; Gubel 1991, 137).

⁵⁹⁸ As evidenced by the contexts of the Cypriot examples excavated on Samos (Böhm 1990, 109).

⁵⁹⁹ Cf. J. Karageorghis 1999 *passim*.

⁶⁰⁰ Ulbrich 2008, 77.

⁶⁰¹ Fourrier in Papasavvas and Fourrier 2012, 301; Fourrier 2013, 109f.

⁶⁰² V. Karageorghis 1987b, 21f.; J. Karageorghis 1999, 9-27.

⁶⁰³ V. Karageorghis 1982, 703, fig. 58; 1987a, 725, fig. 211; J. Karageorghis 1999, 18f.

Tamassos⁶⁰⁴ and possibly Idalion⁶⁰⁵. It has been proposed that the situation at Amathus is indicative of resident Phoenicians perpetuating their own traditions.⁶⁰⁶ However, as argued above, relief figurines are not typically Phoenician and otherwise the tombs are very consistent with other Cypriot contexts, providing no signs of ethnic diversity.⁶⁰⁷ Therefore, these depositions might rather reflect a local custom.⁶⁰⁸ Since the Amathus relief figurines are stylistically early, it seems that originally these objects were not associated with sanctuaries in particular. This must have changed rather quickly and soon such figurines were purposefully made as votives, which is also evident in the details of some types (see below). It is striking that all major production centres were located in the south of the island: Amathus and Kition in the main southern bays, and Idalion, Arsos and Achna within a smaller radius of Kition. Only Lapithos is situated on the northern coast and its involvement could be explained by its position along the main shipping route to Rhodes. Several Cypriot production centres marketed their output on Rhodes and Samos,⁶⁰⁹ and Lapithos might have been exposed to their material.

Cypriot relief figurines comprise Astarte type variants,⁶¹⁰ musicians and worshippers. The former are mostly shown cupping their breasts or resting both arms by the sides, as in the Levant (Fig. 4.28). Combinations of these gestures are very infrequent and usually render the raised hand as folded over the breast on the opposite side of the body.⁶¹¹ Among the musician types, depictions with tambourines

⁶⁰⁴ J. Karageorghis 1999, 36f., 42, 45.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 142.

⁶⁰⁶ Ulbrich 2005, 204. For the suggestion that Phoenicians settled at Amathus in the 8th century cf. Hermay 1987, 379-81.

⁶⁰⁷ Janes 2013.

⁶⁰⁸ This is not intended as a reference to 'Eteo-Cypriots', which apparently formed a strictly linguistic entity (Iacovou 2006, 43f.).

⁶⁰⁹ Schmidt 1968; Sørensen 1991; Kourou 1984, 84f.; J. Karageorghis 2009.

⁶¹⁰ Cypriot scholars tend to restrict the term 'Astarte plaque' to nude relief figurines holding their breasts, but the following will maintain the terminology used for the Near Eastern material in order to avoid confusion.

⁶¹¹ J. Karageorghis 2009, 153f.

predominate. There are two sub-groups: the so-called ‘tambourine players’ rest the instrument in one hand while the other hand assumes a playing position; and the so-called ‘tambourine holders’ hold it with one hand either flatly in front of the chest or at the side of the body (Fig. 4.29).⁶¹² Examples of tambourine players seem to be rare, perhaps because the awkwardly protruding frame was prone to breaking. As mentioned in the previous section, drummers also appear on relief figurines from Israel, Transjordan and Judah (cf. p. 113). However, the hand position of the Cypriot tambourine players suggests that the motif was adopted not from these but from local imitations of Phoenician combination-technique examples, which have been found at Kition as well as Amathus and predate the relief figurines.⁶¹³ Finally, the worshippers include votaries, which typically carry a votive offering, mostly birds.⁶¹⁴

Analogous to Crete, the Astarte type can be depicted as nude or clothed; musicians and votaries are usually clothed. Early figurines often wear a see-through dress, which is indicated only by background silhouettes and incised seams, leaving them essentially nude (cf. Fig. 4.28). Some depictions wear specific types of amulets and scarves, which are understood to distinguish them as priestesses.⁶¹⁵ Nude and clothed versions usually occur alongside one another, the latter being more numerous. Exceptions are Kition and Amathus, where nude depictions are clearly prevalent, and Achna, which seems to have produced only clothed types.⁶¹⁶

As might be expected, the emergence of Cypriot relief figurines is often explained in terms of Phoenician connections.⁶¹⁷ Yet, reviewing the early material from Amathus leads to a very different impression. Two figurines from the same

⁶¹² For this classification cf. V. Karageorghis 1987b, 17f. (here applied to figurines in the snowman technique).

⁶¹³ V. Karageorghis 1991, 962f. Such a figurine was found at Kition Kathari inside a bothros that is dated to *ca.* 800-725 (Fourrier 2007, 106).

⁶¹⁴ J. Karageorghis 1999, 151-90.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 51f., pls. Xif.

⁶¹⁶ For one exception from Achna that might possibly be nude cf. J. Karageorghis 1999, 277 type 1.

⁶¹⁷ Bisi 1980, 60; V. Karageorghis 1987b, 22; Ulbrich 2008, 70.

mould discovered at this site (Fig. 4.30) are strikingly similar to Levantine counterparts that cluster in upper Syria, with examples coming from Tel Atchana-Alalakh, Çatal Hüyük in the Amuq plain, Meskene-Emar, Tel Bi'a and Munbāqa (Fig. 4.31).⁶¹⁸ The Cypriot examples do not pose exact copies of these but share the same proportions, stout modulation of upper legs, adornment with multiple bracelets and short haircut, which is very unusual on Cyprus. A connection to Meskene has already been identified for a figurine from Kition, which displays a distinct type of beaded double necklace.⁶¹⁹ Another group of figurines from Amathus differs from the norm in the rendition of breasts and belly button as three equally large pellets, the incised herringbone pattern of the hair and the indication of the pudenda cleft (Fig. 4.32). All of these characteristics can be found on terracotta material from North Syria, even though not necessarily in this combination.⁶²⁰ Finally, it might be pointed out that a relief figurine from Limassol, which finds close counterparts at Amathus, is painted with banded designs that are otherwise typical of North Syrian examples.⁶²¹ It is obvious that during the long-lasting production of these figurines external inspiration was manifold and involved material from diverse regions. However, the original impetus must come from connections to Northern Syria, especially the Amuq plain, which shows great continuity both in this type and the use of one-piece moulds.

In this context, it seems relevant that the above-mentioned Syrian predecessors (Fig. 4.24) of the relief figurines had also been imitated on Cyprus (Fig. 4.33).⁶²² Here, they were made in Base-Ring Ware, existed in a bird-faced and a

⁶¹⁸ Badre 1980, pls. XX (nos. 49-51), XXV (no. 20), XXXVif. (no. 9-16); Conrad 1985, 22.

⁶¹⁹ J. Karageorghis 1999, 7 no. 11.

⁶²⁰ E.g. Badre 1980, pls. IX, XVIII, XXX, XXXVII, XLI, LXII; Pruss 2010, pls. 14, 16, 27, 30. The herringbone pattern has already been associated with North Syrian models by Fourrier 2007, 18 (here "motif en feuilles de palmier"). *Contra* Gubel 1991, 133.

⁶²¹ Cf. V. Karageorghis 1982, fig. 58 with Nishiyama and Yoshizawa 1997, fig. 4.

⁶²² Budin 2002, 317; 2009, 84.

normal version and were often depicted as *kourotrophoi*.⁶²³ They have mainly been excavated from tombs and date to the LC II and IIIA periods (*ca.* 1450-1100).⁶²⁴ Although there is a large chronological gap between them and the first relief figurines, both phenomena must be somehow related. That the Cypriot relief figurines originally had the same meaning and function as their Levantine models might be indicated by a specific circumstance. The well-explored EIA cemetery at Amathus has yielded a large number of tambourine players (and holders) modelled in the so-called 'snowman technique'.⁶²⁵ The only other type in this technique that shares the same find contexts and frequency is horse riders.⁶²⁶ That these formed counterparts is confirmed by a double grave in which the deceased male was accompanied by a horse rider and the female by a tambourine player.⁶²⁷ Male versions of single-mould relief figurines also existed (so-called 'mantled men') and, while not very popular on Cyprus, they have been recovered in greater numbers on Samos and Lindos.⁶²⁸

Crete: whence it came

Scholars are in disagreement over the question of whether the use of relief figurines reached Crete via Cyprus or directly from the Levant.⁶²⁹ There are no imports from either region and the earliest Cretan pieces are stylistically undiagnostic.

One very distinctive type certainly reveals a direct link to the Near East: it shows a so-called *anasyrma* depiction, a frontal female lifting her lower garment so as

⁶²³ V. Karageorghis 1993, 3-13, pls. I-IX.

⁶²⁴ *Ibid.*, 21-3.

⁶²⁵ V. Karageorghis 1987b, 2-5 nos. 8-27, 18f., pls. 3-7; Bisi 1980, 60f. O'Bryhim (1997) argues that some of the 'tympanon-holders' actually carry baetyls. However, the lack of precision on these figurines prevents any interpretation based on the varying sizes of depicted objects and how they are held (cf. Kolotourou 2005, 199 on the importance of the craftsman's skills in rendering these).

⁶²⁶ V. Karageorghis 1987b, 9-11 nos. 92-127, 14f., pls. 19-26.

⁶²⁷ Hermary 2000, 23; Papantoniou 2011, 38. Cf. also V. Karageorghis 1980, 770f.

⁶²⁸ Sørensen 1991, 230f.

⁶²⁹ Cyprus: e.g. Riis 1949, 89f.; Vandenabeele 1986, 359; Budin 2004, 109. Levant: e.g. Böhm 1990, 116f.; Ammerman 1993, 39; Prent 2005, 406.

to reveal her pubis. In the Archaic period the occurrence of this imagery was entirely restricted to Crete, where it is known from Syme (two examples; Fig. 4.34) and Axos (eight examples from the same mould; Fig. 4.35, left).⁶³⁰ I would like to add a fragment from Gortyn that is broken above the pubis but conforms to the other instances in the position of arms and the preserved diagonal fold of the lower garment (Fig. 4.35, right).⁶³¹ Since Gortyn provides a wider range of Near Eastern-derived imagery,⁶³² it seems likely that the Cretan *anasyrma* type actually spread from here. Concerning its origin, Böhm argued that the motif has direct North Syrian parallels,⁶³³ although upon closer inspection this is not substantiated: some show a 'cut-away dress' (Fig. 4.36) rather than a dress that is being lifted,⁶³⁴ and the most convincing instance cited by her, a Syrian seal (Fig. 4.37), depicts a female pulling her lower dress open with one hand while holding a bird in the other. Regardless, these instances show that the general idea for the motif must have been obtained from similar models. In the most likely scenario, Cretan craftsmen encountered a Syrian depiction featuring a cut-away dress and, since they were unfamiliar with this costume, added the lifting action.

Apart from this, there are smaller details that may hint at a special connection between Cyprus and Crete. Two MD and LD figurines from Gortyn hold a drum beside their body in the manner of Cypriot examples.⁶³⁵ Further, there are Cypriot figurines that raise one hand to their breast and touch their pubis with the other (Fig. 4.38),

⁶³⁰ Rizza 1967-8, 237f. no. 86; Lebessi 2009b, 529f.

⁶³¹ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 180 no. 202.

⁶³² Cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 159 no. 44, pl. VIII (grotesque); 183 no. 215, pl. XXXII (gorgo). Equally, the palladion type (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 161 no. 59, pl. XI) might ultimately be derived from Near Eastern smiting goddesses (for an overview of these cf. Falsone 1986).

⁶³³ Böhm 1990, 89f.

⁶³⁴ As also noted by Lebessi 2009b, 529.

⁶³⁵ Cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XXII (no. 134b) and XXIX (no. 187) with J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. LIII, XXXIX (no. 8) and XLVII (no. 7).

analogous to the mentioned Cretan variant.⁶³⁶ It has been suggested that this pose followed a Cypriot tradition, but the adduced evidence is of BA date.⁶³⁷ Additionally, it is striking that most of the Cypriot examples do not feature any moulded jewellery, which is atypical and might point towards Cretan influence. Admittedly, these instances are few and do not comprise any PD or ED instances, but connections between the coroplastic traditions of both regions definitely go back further in time. During the G period (1050-750 in the local sequence), Cyprus saw a larger-scale adoption of the Cretan 'Goddess with Upraised Arms',⁶³⁸ while the peculiar head shape of some wheel-made figurines from Axos betrays a familiarity with Cypriot conventions (Fig. 4.39).⁶³⁹ If pressed to theorise which Cypriot site might have worked as a main agent in the transmission of relief figurines, Amathus could be suggested as a particularly suitable candidate. Judging by its Aegean imports, Amathus looked back on a strong history of involvement with Greek regions,⁶⁴⁰ and the range of relief figurines it has produced is comparable to Crete in terms of a predilection for nude depictions and the extreme sparseness or lack of otherwise very popular types, such as musicians and votaries (cf. Fig. 4.27).

Cretan relief figurines: a suggested interpretation

As with other anthropomorphic depictions from sanctuaries, there are three main options as to what Cretan relief figurines might have represented: deities, votaries or symbols (e.g. for fertility).⁶⁴¹ Early scholarship favoured their identification with goddesses, especially Aphrodite, based on their nudity and

⁶³⁶ See also J. Karageorghis 1999, pl. XXXIV (nos. 3, 4).

⁶³⁷ Sophocleous 1990, 284.

⁶³⁸ V. Karageorghis 1977; 1993, 58-61, 82-6; Ulbrich 2008, 67-70.

⁶³⁹ Cf. with V. Karageorghis 1993, pls. XXVII, XXXVII.

⁶⁴⁰ V. Karageorghis 1991, 960; Coldstream 1986, 325; 1995.

⁶⁴¹ Ulbrich 2008, 72.

provision with *poloi* (or *stephanai*⁶⁴²).⁶⁴³ More recently, scholars have distanced themselves from naming specific deities⁶⁴⁴ or abandoned this interpretation altogether⁶⁴⁵. The issue of nudity has already been discussed (p. 104f.). Concerning *poloi*, their occurrence does not follow any readily apparent pattern: both nude and clothed depictions can don this headgear or omit it. Additionally, sphinxes on *pinakes* and the mentioned male relief figurines can also wear versions of it,⁶⁴⁶ and literary records reveal that the same applied to real-life brides and priestesses.⁶⁴⁷ *Vice versa*, some Cretan depictions of female divinities evidently dispensed with this element.⁶⁴⁸ Given the extreme variability of the size, shape and decoration of *poloi* (Fig. 4.40), it is worth considering whether they constituted clothing that could be worn in a variety of circumstances and adorned a range of individuals, human or divine. In this context it might be relevant that the conical *polos* was well established before the 7th century; it was likely adapted from the Near East as early as the PG period. This is when it first appeared in Knossian vase painting, which also provides a singular instance of a Near Eastern-style horned helmet.⁶⁴⁹ Conical headgear further features on contemporaneous female bronze and clay figurines, which regularly exhibit a higher *polos*-like or lower diadem-like variant.⁶⁵⁰ It is possible that the absorption of this element was encouraged by the re-discovery of Minoan finds, such as seals, that display similar elements.⁶⁵¹ In any case, headdresses seem to have been common on Crete and depictions with *poloi* likely mirrored actual fashions.

⁶⁴² Pilz 2011a, 281.

⁶⁴³ This reasoning is maintained in Ammermann 1991, 204 and Erickson 2009, 364.

⁶⁴⁴ E.g. Erickson 2009, 358.

⁶⁴⁵ Böhm 1990, 137; Pilz 2011a, 282.

⁶⁴⁶ E.g. Fig. 4.2; Rizza and Scrinri 1968, pl. XIX (no. 108); J. Demargne 1931, pl. XVI.2 (no. 58).

⁶⁴⁷ Müller 1915, 81-8; Pilz 2009, 107; 2011a, 282f.

⁶⁴⁸ E.g. 28-AFR-35; Stampolidis et al. 1998, 150f. no. 336.

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. 8-KNO.MED-13; Coldstream 2000, 277f. no. G 19, fig. 4.

⁶⁵⁰ E.g. Naumann 1976, pls. 20, 24-6; Rizza 2008, pl. CXCv.

⁶⁵¹ E.g. Müller and Pini 1999, 16 no. 9, 21 no. 13.

In contrast to the Cypriot material, extremely few Cretan relief figurines carry attributes that may distinguish them as votaries or priestesses.⁶⁵² Special reference to local cults might be suspected for the *kourotrophoi* from the Eileithyia sanctuaries at Tsoutsouros-Inatos and Lato.⁶⁵³ Some scholars have further proposed that specific figurines from Gortyn and Syme should be interpreted in terms of age groups and maturation rites. Regarding Gortyn, examples with smaller breasts and slender bodies have been described as girls “at the brink of puberty”.⁶⁵⁴ Concerning Syme, the *anasyrma* examples (p. 122f.; Fig. 4.34) have been associated with maturation rites based on the reduplication of figures, the presence of a round element that has been interpreted as an altar, the allegedly underdeveloped female bodies and the relatively short hair of the depicted.⁶⁵⁵ According to Lebessi, the Syme figurines were dedicated by girls in connection to the local cult of Aphrodite; Marinatos interprets them in terms of male initiation.⁶⁵⁶

Many of the mentioned reasons for interpreting the material in respect of age groups or maturation rites are problematic. First of all, figurines from different moulds can surely be expected to show some variation in proportions and modulation without there being a deeper underlying meaning. In any case, the Syme double depiction features a heavily abraded surface, which makes the original modulation of breasts indiscernible. Second, the Syme double depiction’s putative peculiarities (reduplication and round element) also appear on figurines from Lato and Gortyn.⁶⁵⁷ Importantly, the shape of the round element on these Gortyn examples resembles the pedestal parts on Near Eastern ivory flywhisks depicting nude females,

⁶⁵² These are the mentioned cases with drums, cf. above, and instances that probably show tympana (cf. n. 1039).

⁶⁵³ Horst 1997, 91, fig. 176; Kanta and Davaras 2011, 132f. no. 129.

⁶⁵⁴ Prent 2005, 635f.

⁶⁵⁵ Lebessi 2009b, 531f.; Pilz 2011a, 304f.

⁶⁵⁶ Lebessi 2009b, 531-3; N. Marinatos 2000, 28; 2003, 144.

⁶⁵⁷ E.g. Fig. 4.1, right; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XVII (no. 99), XXI (no. 124).

and the same connection is also evident for two PD figurines from Gortyn, which render tripartite elements that undoubtedly emulate carved models (Fig. 4.41).⁶⁵⁸ Pilz already highlighted the basic iconographic congruency between relief figurines and flywhisks and the circumstance that the former were frequently coated with a white slip or covered in white paint.⁶⁵⁹ It is possible that the reduplication of figures was also due to this association, since both Near Eastern originals and Cretan imitations could feature janiform arrangements.⁶⁶⁰ Finally, as regards the broader issue of initiation, such practices may be securely attested for male cult participants at Syme, but any evidence for equivalent local rites for girls is non-existent.⁶⁶¹ Later sources on the *Ekdysia* at Phaistos and the *Periblemaia* at Lyttos indicate that clothing and the act of (un)dressing could play a central role in initiation ceremonies, yet this is, again, restricted to boys.⁶⁶²

Based on the preceding discussion and the retrieval of relief figurines from domestic (and in one case funerary) contexts, there is no reason to surmise that these objects were designed to serve exclusively as votive offerings. Instead they might have functioned the same way as in the Levant and originally also on Cyprus, as personal everyday-life articles that could assume a wide variety of uses and meanings. Some probably commemorated private occasions or advertised their owner's personal qualities or social standing. The fact that they depict females does not necessarily mean that their use was limited to women, as demonstrated by a

⁶⁵⁸ Cf. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, pls. 95f.

⁶⁵⁹ Pilz 2011a, 194. For preserved slip or paint cf. Rizza 1967-8, 222 no. 38, fig. 5; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 167 no. 97, pl. XVII, 172 no. 135b, pl. XXII; Horst 1996, 11.

⁶⁶⁰ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, pls. 95f. (nos. 4, 7), 112.

⁶⁶¹ Lebessi's association of local figurines with an earlier 'erotic goddess' is not quite conclusive (*id.* 2009b, esp. 532-4).

⁶⁶² Bremmer 1999, 44f.

figurine from Gortyn that is inscribed with a male name.⁶⁶³ It is probably by virtue of analogous customs on Cyprus that most of them ended up being dedicated at sanctuaries. At least in central Crete this does not seem to have happened in any regulated manner, i.e. communal rituals, but rather during individual visits. The situation might have been different in east Crete where sites have not only produced larger totals, but where the numbers of terracottas made from the same moulds (or generations of the same mould) and retrieved from the same contexts seem to be significantly higher.⁶⁶⁴ This could possibly indicate that, in addition to a more standardised production, terracottas were deposited within a regulated framework. A higher degree of standardisation also seems to be implied by the greater incidence of products from the same moulds appearing at different sites (especially at Lato, Praisos and Roussa Ekklesia-Anixi)⁶⁶⁵, which cannot be due to a restricted availability of moulds because at least Praisos and Lato constituted major production centres.⁶⁶⁶ In the case of Roussa Ekklesia, the similarity of figurines to those from Praisos-Vavelli might be due to Praisian political domination, which presumably involved an integration of social as well as religious customs.

A significant factor that has not received deserved attention is that the earliest relief figurines were excavated at Gortyn. This seems particularly noteworthy considering that other orientalising impulses largely emanated from northern Crete, especially Knossos. The introduction of relief figurines to Gortyn might have

⁶⁶³ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 187f. no. 257, pl. XXXVII; Jeffrey and Morpurgo-Davies 1970, 153 n. 1. This example is not a relief figurine but also depicts a female. For a female relief figurine bearing an (unfortunately incomplete) inscription cf. Johnston 2013, fig. 7.

⁶⁶⁴ Cf. Halbherr 1901b, 384 ("a hundred of repetitions"); Rizza 1967-8 (in the vast majority of cases fewer than five examples are from the same mould; exceptions are: *ibid.*, 222 no. 40a-q, 225 no. 47a-h); Rizza and Scrinari 1968 (in the vast majority of cases fewer than five examples are from the same mould; exceptions are: *ibid.*, 161f. no. 60a-i, 165f. no. 91a-i, 176 no. 167a-m, 181 nos. 207 a-h and 208 a-q); Erickson 2009, 359 (over 90 relief figurines with "most examples from one or two moulds").

⁶⁶⁵ Horst 1997, 151f.; Erickson 2009, 380.

⁶⁶⁶ Although the state of publication is wanting due to the early excavation of Praisos, it is clear that a larger variety of types is encountered. For kilns associated with terracotta production at Lato cf. Picard and Ducrey 1969, 805-7, 815-22.

constituted another aspect of the site's rapid urban and social development, which involved a settlement reconfiguration and the monumentalisation of the acropolis sanctuary.⁶⁶⁷ Gortyn had been inhabited since the end of the second millennium, but in the 8th and 7th centuries it grew into a formidable rival of Phaistos. The adoption of relief figurines might provide some indication that Gortyn had now expanded its political territory on the southern coast⁶⁶⁸ and started to foster more intense and direct overseas contacts. Perhaps these included the newcomer state of Amathus, which, like Gortyn, constituted a relatively 'young' polity that became increasingly influential in the 8th and 7th centuries.

⁶⁶⁷ Sjögren 2003, 34. Cf. also p. 157 and 162.

⁶⁶⁸ For the territory of Phaistos and Gortyn in the Archaic period cf. Cucuzza 1997; D'Acunto 2008.

4.5 Mould-made *pinakes*

This section discusses *pinakes* that are relevant to this chapter in one of two aspects. Either they carry depictions that are clearly marked as deities, putting relief figurines into a wider perspective, or they render orientalising iconographies that are related to Near Eastern models or Cretan objects in other materials.

An attribute that undeniably signifies super-human status is wings. These appear on Master/Mistress of Animals representations (e.g. Fig. 4.42), nude males flanking a central ornament (Fig. 4.2, top left) and females carrying a pediment-like element (Fig. 4.43). The latter reveal one leg while stepping forward, which could either emulate Near Eastern Ishtar depictions or denote movement similar to the *Knielaufschema*. The concept of depicting anthropomorphic figures with wings seems to have been unknown in BA Crete and was likely introduced from the Near East during the PG and G periods.⁶⁶⁹ Further, it appears possible that specific gestures signalled super-human power, especially lifting extended arms slightly with the palms facing forward (Fig. 4.2, top right) and holding the arms in the same position as the LM 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' (Fig. 4.12).⁶⁷⁰ The latter might conceivably also have been applied to non-divine representations such as praying individuals.⁶⁷¹

Additionally, a certain type of plaque from Smari, Papoura and Lato⁶⁷² could represent a deity. It shows a dressed female wearing a tendril cap (sometimes referred to as a helmet) and holding indistinct objects, for which various interpretations have been advanced (Fig. 4.44).⁶⁷³ Due to the headgear she has been

⁶⁶⁹ Cf. p. 68.

⁶⁷⁰ Pilz 2011b, 375-7. Cf. also J. Demargne 1929, pl. XXV; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 167 no. 101, 171 no. 125, pls. XXI, XXVII.

⁶⁷¹ Gaignerot-Driessen (2014, esp. 512-4) proposes that LM IIIC/SM 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' actually depict votaries.

⁶⁷² Horst 1997, 231, figs. 247f.; Chatzi-Vallianou 2000, 511f.; Pilz 2011a, 134, 322 no. Ge V/7.

⁶⁷³ Cf. Pilz 2001a, 206.

named Athena, although this reading has been challenged.⁶⁷⁴ Alternatively, the figure could be interpreted as a worshipper offering gifts,⁶⁷⁵ based on the assumed attitude.

There are a number of *pinakes* featuring sphinxes, lions and griffins (for their distribution cf. Fig. 4.17). Renditions of all three creatures, especially sphinxes and griffins, are very similar to those on relief pithoi (cf. p. 83-5 and 90) and it is possible that sometimes the same moulds were used.⁶⁷⁶ As on the pithoi, sphinxes were the much-preferred choice. The largest number of sphinx *pinakes* has been discovered at Lato, where over 40 examples from one MD mould alone have survived.⁶⁷⁷ There is no evidence for the popular theory that the sphinx was regarded as a 'demon of death', against which the plaques had a protective function.⁶⁷⁸ It can merely be observed that their two primary find spots, Gortyn and Lato, are both connected to Athena, which may hint at a link to this goddess.⁶⁷⁹ A special case is posed by some plaques from Gortyn, which show a sphinx wearing a curious piece of headgear composed of a crescent and a central cone (Fig. 4.45). Both shapes appear on Phoenician and Punic material,⁶⁸⁰ although they are not usually deployed in this particular way. Importantly, the Gortyn plaques provide a clear indication that this kind of object was indisputably meant to imitate ivories. Belonging pieces were covered in a particularly hard and shiny white slip that is well preserved even today.⁶⁸¹

Finally, it should be mentioned that some terracottas clearly attest to the impact of orientalising metal work. A *pinax* from Gortyn (Fig. 4.46) copies gold pendants like the famous Idaean Cave example, which is evident in its format and

⁶⁷⁴ For an overview cf. *ibid.*

⁶⁷⁵ J. Demargne 1929, 419.

⁶⁷⁶ Higgins 1967, 28.

⁶⁷⁷ Horst 1996, 97.

⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Pilz 2011a, 299. For demon of death cf. Demisch 1977, 83-5.

⁶⁷⁹ For Master/ Mistress of Horses depictions at both sites cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 186 no. 236, pl. XXXV; Horst 1996, 195 no. FD11, fig. 77. For Bellerophon/ chimaera depictions at both sites cf. J. Demargne 1929, pl. 30.2; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 182 no. 210, pl. XXXII. For a connection to Athena cf. also Prent 2005, 292.

⁶⁸⁰ E.g. Moscati in Moscati 1988, 303, 308, 321.

⁶⁸¹ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 175 no. 162a.

suspension hoop.⁶⁸² Unlike on the Idaean pendant, the central female is framed by two rearing lions, an arrangement that was likely inspired by Lion Tamer scenes known from various metal objects (p. 211). One such scene also appears to have adorned a very fragmentary clay plaque from Azoria (Fig. 4.47), which preserves the torso and upper legs of a male figure holding a sword and stabbing at a body opposite him. This body has been interpreted as a second male,⁶⁸³ but the surviving silhouette seems much better suited for a lion. Finally, some *pinakes* imitate metalwork in their technique. Accordingly, the backgrounds of several examples from Gortyn, including sphinx depictions and the mentioned winged females carrying a pediment (Fig. 4.43), feature cut-out sections that are reminiscent of Cretan ajourée gold sheets.⁶⁸⁴

⁶⁸² Cf. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, 133f. no. 1, pl. 81.

⁶⁸³ Stefanakis et al. 2007, 271f.

⁶⁸⁴ Cf. Fig. 4.43 with Fig. 6.26.

4.6 Summary and further considerations

From the above discussions the following picture emerges. At some point during the late 8th or beginning of the 7th century, Cretans adopted the use of relief figurines, most likely from Cyprus. This new custom was probably first introduced at Gortyn, which provides the earliest instances and most varied corpus of material. The leading role of this site may have been due to its steep political rise, which could have resulted in direct access to the southern coast and brought it in touch with overseas centres, including those in southern Cyprus. Within less than a decade, terracottas also appeared at Lato, and soon the use of relief figurines spread across the island. Relief figurines are conspicuously absent from some sites: no relevant material has been retrieved at Kommos or Afrati, and Phaistos only yielded two Daedalic fragments that might have belonged to figurines of this class⁶⁸⁵. While at Kommos we are likely witnessing an actual trend, the situations at Afrati and Phaistos are possibly subject to excavation bias. The Cretan figurines differ from their Cypriot counterparts in style, costume and gestures, which were determined by established local conventions and preferences. It seems possible that they originally did not serve as “purposely manufactured votive objects”⁶⁸⁶ but were used in various spheres of life, including the profane. This is implied by Cretan examples discovered in domestic locations as well as by the contexts and heritage of their Cypriot and Syrian precursors. In their secondary use, the relief figurines were commonly deposited in sub-urban and extra-urban sanctuaries of female deities, similar to contemporaneous developments on Cyprus. For central Crete there is no evidence that they were

⁶⁸⁵ Michelaki and D’Acunto 2008.

⁶⁸⁶ Sjögren 2003, 58.

dedicated during specific rites and this might instead have happened in unregulated, private episodes at the hands of women as well as men.

The *pinakes*, which do constitute primary votive objects and derive from a local tradition, also differ from the relief figurines in their depictions. Accordingly, some of these are marked as deities, posing an instructive contrast to the relief figurines and further substantiating that the two kinds of object did not function in the same way. Other *pinakes* render iconographies that are related to Near Eastern ivories or Cretan orientalising relief pithoi and bronzes. In contrast to the common conception of both classes of mould-made terracottas as cheap, 'mass-produced' objects, several instances reveal that their imagery and surface treatment emulated (Near Eastern) ivories and that some of them must have been finished to the standard of rather attractive objects.

Recapitulating the discussed material, a simplified illustration of distribution patterns (Fig. 4.48) reveals the strong regionalism in the occurrence of both relief figurines and *pinakes*. According to the current state of publication: i) there are proportionally fewer clothed figurines east of Azoria; ii) plaques showing griffins, sphinxes and lions are restricted to East Crete, Lasithi and Gortyn; iii) plaques showing the female with a tendril cap only occur in the Lasithi region and neighbouring areas; and iv) relief figurines cupping their breasts and the *anasyrma* type only occur in central Crete and neighbouring areas. Some of these patterns can be explained more readily than others. As mentioned, the distribution of relief figurines cupping their breasts was likely conditioned by the localised survival of a BA tradition. The iconography of the female with a tendril cap is rather specific, which may suggest that respective terracottas were related to particular cults. Similarly, the deposition of *anasyrma* depictions could have depended on the character of local deities, since at least the temples at Gortyn and Axos displayed erotic couple

depictions.⁶⁸⁷ However, why there are proportionately fewer dressed relief figurines in the far east of the island and no published *pinakes* west of the Smari-Gortyn axis remains obscure for now.

⁶⁸⁷ Cf. p. 165 and 167f.

Chapter 5 – Sculpture

5.1 Introduction

Lauren Adams already published a comprehensive discussion of the orientalising limestone sculpture from Crete,⁶⁸⁸ so it is not necessary to cover the entire corpus in detail. Instead, the following will pay special attention to specific sites and issues. The first two sections are dedicated to sculptural remains from Temple A at Prinias and the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, which provide the only multi-part assemblages. Main objectives of the discussion on Prinias are: proposing a new reconstruction; assessing this reconstruction in terms of Near Eastern dependencies as well as local backgrounds; and reviewing the function of the building. In the case of Gortyn, the find context and original purpose of the famous limestone torso are investigated; the sculpted slabs are examined in terms of iconographies, Near Eastern parallels, technique and function; and finally an identification of the deity revered is proposed. In a much briefer third section, seated female statues and statuettes are analysed. These constitute the *leitmotif* of Cretan Daedalic sculpture and have been associated with Near Eastern counterparts. The chapter closes with an overview of the remainder of orientalising material, which is of a varied nature.

⁶⁸⁸ Adams 1978.

5.2 Temple A at Prinias

Introduction and building profile

The ancient settlement named after the close-by modern village of Prinias ('Prickly Oaks') is located on top of a 680 m high triangular plateau, the so-called *Patela* (Fig. 5.1).⁶⁹¹ This plateau overlooks the main north-south road connecting Knossos and Gortyn, thus assuming a strategically important position. In the western part of the excavated central sector of the *Patela* (*Area Templi A e B*) three buildings stand out against the closely interlaced domestic architecture, from which they are separated by a street and *Piazza TZ* (Fig. 5.2): Building A, Building B and the 'Large Building south of Temple B' (hereafter referred to as Building sTB).⁶⁹² The sculpture analysed in the following mostly derives from the area of Building A and certainly belongs to this structure.⁶⁹³ It is the latest of the three and differs in orientation from Buildings B and sTB, which are aligned with the settlement grid. Building A consists of a 5.93-6.35 x 9.70 m trapezoidal *cella* and a *ca.* 3 m deep porch space.⁶⁹⁴ Its chronological placement, based on the belonging sculpture, is strongly contested with suggestions ranging from the very beginning to the end of the 7th century.⁶⁹⁵ Scholars generally agree that the seated statues and the rider frieze (see below) are key

⁶⁹¹ The site cannot currently be identified with any ancient *polis*: Rhizenia and Apollonia, which have long been treated as prime candidates, flourished in the Hellenistic period while the settlement at Prinias was abandoned during the mid-6th century (Rizza 2008, 304).

⁶⁹² The former two are commonly known as Temples A and B, but their designation will be kept neutral until discussing their function on p. 151-155.

⁶⁹³ A single belonging fragment was retrieved at the southeast edge of the *Patela* (Rizza 1969, 16f., pls. V, IX.1).

⁶⁹⁴ Pernier 1914, 32.

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 105 (first half); Jenkins 1936, 79-82 (rider frieze first half; seated females and lintel late 7th-century 'copy' of an earlier version); Richter 1949, 35 (third quarter); Beyer 1976, 32-7 (beginning of the century); Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 236 (LD, i.e. *ca.* 640-620); Boardman 1978, fig. 32.4 (*ca.* 620-600); Adams 1978, 67f. (end of the century); D'Acunto 1995, 30-43 (around the middle of the century).

indicators, and both seem to recommend a date around the middle or in the second half of the 7th century.⁶⁹⁶

Luigi Pernier, the first excavator of the site, published the majority of sculptural fragments as early as 1914.⁶⁹⁷ In the spirit of his time he commissioned their incorporation into a comprehensive gypsum restoration soon after their discovery, aggravating any later assessment of the material. In 1969, Giovanni Rizza and his team from Catania University resumed work at Prinias, yet their initial concern was the exploration of the belonging settlement and cemetery. The study of Building A continued only recently, in 2002, under the care of Antonella Pautasso.⁶⁹⁸ Apart from establishing the prehistory of the temple area from its first traceable use in LM IIIC onwards⁶⁹⁹, her cleaning also resulted in the recovery of new sculptural pieces (see below). In the course of this project a reappraisal of Pernier's restorations is being carried out and the results will be used towards an amended reconstruction of Building A. Against this background the following reassessment might seem premature, but the now-available material provides reasonable cause for a re-interpretation.

The majority of sculpture attributed to Building A was retrieved from within and outside of the frontal porch area (Fig. 5.3). Importantly, it was not discovered *in-situ*, but dispersed in the vicinity of its original display. As a result, there have been several suggestions for its placement in relation to the building, the design of which is likewise disputed. The most comprehensive reconstructions have been offered in Pernier's excavation report as well as Sandro Stucchi's and Immo Beyer's revisions

⁶⁹⁶ See additionally Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 34f. for relief pithoi showing comparable horse depictions dating between 640 and 610.

⁶⁹⁷ Pernier 1914, 48-64.

⁶⁹⁸ The only interim investigation, conducted by Angeliki Lebessi in the area of the eschara, produced some LM III and G pottery (Alexiou 1968, 184f.)

⁶⁹⁹ The *pronaos*, *eschara* and Rooms WB, WC and WD at the rear of the temple (Fig. 5.2) revealed clear evidence for repetitive food consumption as early as the LM IIIC period (Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2007, 267-78; Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2012, 197; Pautasso 2013, 81f.)

(Figs. 5.4-5.6).⁷⁰⁰ Georg Karo, Carl Weickert, Matteo D'Acunto, Vance Watrous and other scholars further advanced minor corrections and suggestions.⁷⁰¹ Concerning the type of building, there are two main rivalling concepts: one proposing an *antae* temple with a flat roof (introduced by Pernier) and the other a temple with a closed *pronaos* and pitched roof (introduced by Beyer). An open-porch *antae* scheme appears favourable due to the *cella*'s provision with a double door and the likely existence of pavement in front of it.⁷⁰² Further, the scatter of belonging sculptural fragments in this area and in front of the building suggests that there was no wall to intercept them at the time of their collapse (for dispersion of lintel fragments cf. p. 142).

The design of the roof, however, is not easily determined. Stucchi and Beyer are certainly right in drawing attention to the fragments of two stone volutes that have been found in front of the temple.⁷⁰³ With one of the fragments being 30.5 cm in height, the size of the complete volutes seems too large for them to have formed part of a base, podium or similar structure.⁷⁰⁴ While Pernier interpreted them as separate *akroteria* from the sides of the roof, Stucchi and Beyer reconstructed a central element sitting at the apex of a gable. The latter strongly recalls Phrygian horn- or spiral-shaped *akroteria*, such as the stone examples from Gordion and those on rock-cut façades and sketches.⁷⁰⁵ An affiliation to this region seems to be underlined by the

⁷⁰⁰ Pernier 1914, 75-111; 1934; Stucchi 1974, 91-109; Beyer 1976, 24-9.

⁷⁰¹ *I.a.* Karo in Kroll 1922, s.v. 'Kreta', 1796 (seated females on lintel with their backs against the central pillar); Weickert 1929, 59f. (rider frieze as an enclosure or altar); Kirsten 1940, 1146f. and Kalpaxis 1976, 68 (seated females in the upper *antae*); Coldstream 1981, 345 and Lawrence and Tomlinson 1996, 64 (follow Beyer but favour a flat roof); D'Acunto 1995, 24-6 (follows Beyer but moves rider frieze to the façade); Watrous 1998, 76f. (combines Pernier's reconstruction with Beyer's doorpost arrangement).

⁷⁰² For pavement cf. Pernier 1914, 31. Already pointed out by Kalpaxis 1976, 67 and Prent 2005, 257.

⁷⁰³ Stucchi 1974, 108f.; Beyer 1976, 30, pl. 23.

⁷⁰⁴ For details cf. Beyer 1976, 130f. nos. 26-28. Weickert 1929, 58f. interpreted them as the capitals of Aeolian columns.

⁷⁰⁵ Sams 1994, 213, pl. 20.3f.; Roller 2012, 103-5.

guilloche adorning the volutes,⁷⁰⁶ which is unique in the Cretan sculptural record. On the other hand, there are no belonging tiles (which would be consistent with a gabled roof) and – while this could be due to the use of perishable materials – there also seems to be a wide-ranging predominance of flat roofs on Crete. In the east and the Lasithi region flat roofs were fashioned with traverse beams topped by thick layers of clay and soil,⁷⁰⁷ and a recent reconstruction of Building B apparently postulates a similar structure.⁷⁰⁸

The foundations of the front end of Building A, which at *ca.* 1.33 m are more than double the width of the walls, have always been regarded as a key factor in understanding the temple. Pernier interpreted them as evidence for a heavy façade,⁷⁰⁹ while a linear incision on the foundations has been cited in favour of an orthostate placement, socle or stepped *krepis*.⁷¹⁰ Crucially, recent excavation has exposed that the front of Building sTB is the same, only in a significantly better state of preservation. Here the foundations continue into a very low socle, which is interrupted by a centrally placed entrance (Fig. 5.7).⁷¹¹ Dario Palermo suggested that this socle supported a solid superstructure made from a nondurable material,⁷¹² but judging by its low height it seems more likely that we are dealing with an adaptation of the Minoan columned ‘stylobate’ (Fig. 5.8).⁷¹³ The use of wooden columns inside Buildings A and sTB is attested by the recovery of stone bases;⁷¹⁴ the columns in the porches might not have required any bases as they rested on stone. The technical

⁷⁰⁶ Cf. p. 63.

⁷⁰⁷ For EIA buildings at Kavousi Kastro, Vronta, Khalasmeno, Katalimata, Vrokastro and Karphi cf. Mook 1998, 51.

⁷⁰⁸ Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, fig. 5.

⁷⁰⁹ Pernier 1914, 30; 1934, 176.

⁷¹⁰ Pernier 1914, 30; Kirsten 1940, 1157; Stucchi 1974, 93; Beyer 1976, 24f.; Kalpaxis 1976, 67.

⁷¹¹ Palermo in Palermo et al. 2004, 260.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*

⁷¹³ Cf. also J. Shaw 2009, 81f., figs. 129, 160.

⁷¹⁴ Pernier 1914, 33f., fig. 10; Palermo in Palermo et al. 2007, fig. 31; Palermo in Palermo et al. 2008, 198, fig. 22. Both buildings also yielded smaller columns of about 20 cm diameter (Pernier 1914, 64 nos. 13-15; Palermo in Palermo et al. 2007, 294f., fig. 33). Only Stucchi (1974, 102, fig. 7) seems to have proposed an allocation for these.

execution of the original Minoan feature is certainly different to the front of Building sTB, especially regarding the seating of columns, but the final aspect of both would have been very similar. The proposed reconstruction might at first appear anachronistic, but the continued visibility of Minoan ruins⁷¹⁵ suggests that Iron Age Cretans must have been in touch with this architectural tradition. Moreover, it is arguably more appropriate than comparisons with architectural orders that are at home in other Greek regions.

Reconstruction: securely allocable fragments and recent research

The placements of two elements are certain: a lintel and a doorpost. The lintel survives as 15 partly joining fragments depicting felines, stags and a clothed frontal female, and has a restored length of *ca.* 85-90 cm (Fig. 5.9, left).⁷¹⁶ Its function is indicated by the lengthwise arrangement of relief decoration on one or two long sides and the cavity on the topside, which presumably served to reduce weight and receive a beam (Fig. 5.9, right).⁷¹⁷ The relief decoration on the lateral faces has been restored as symmetrical compositions, with three felines facing three felines on one side and three stags facing three stags on the other. Yet, based on what is actually preserved – parts of three felines pacing to the left and one or two stags facing right (fig. 5.10)⁷¹⁸ – it seems likely that all of these animals adorned the front surface.⁷¹⁹ Regarding the reconstructed size, it is suspicious that apparently this lintel fits Pernier's *cella* door with a threshold of over 2 m and Beyer's 1.48 m-wide *pronaos* door equally well.⁷²⁰ This confirms Pautasso's general observation that not enough attention has been paid

⁷¹⁵ Cucuzza 2013, 32, 34; MacVeagh Thorne and Prent 2000, 174.

⁷¹⁶ Beyer 1976, 127 no. 25; Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 12.

⁷¹⁷ Weickert 1929, 60; Beyer 1976, 29.

⁷¹⁸ Cf. also Beyer 1976, 127f.

⁷¹⁹ As in the original reconstruction by Pernier (Fig. 5.4), followed by Stucchi (Fig. 5.5) and Watrous (1998, fig. 8.1).

⁷²⁰ Pernier 1914, 32; Beyer 1976, 26.

to the building's measurements and that reconstructions often do not actually fit the monument.⁷²¹ A newly discovered fragment belonging to the female on the lower side does not match the restored proportions, indicating that the figure was definitely more elongated.⁷²²

An aspect that has almost invariably been copied from Pernier's original reconstruction is the position of two seated females on top of the lintel.⁷²³ These statues will be discussed in more detail below; for now it is crucial to dissociate both components. Revisiting the distribution of sculptural fragments at the time of their excavation, it becomes obvious that no clear correlation can be determined (Fig. 5.3). Particularly significant is that the heaviest recovered fragment of the seated statues, a lower body, comes from outside the southeast corner of the porch, while the lintel must have been placed above the *cella* door (assuming an open porch, see above). Another major obstacle is the apparent lack of joins between the lintel and the bottom part of the seated goddess (cf. Fig. 5.11). It has not been possible to inspect the restored ensemble in the Heraklion Museum as it went on display after my latest visit, but this impression has been confirmed via personal communication with Antonella Pautasso.

The doorpost is very unassuming in appearance and preserves only rudimentary relief decoration (Fig. 5.12). Its allocation, first suggested by Ernst Kirsten,⁷²⁴ is based on the sculpted surface of two joining sides that form a 90-degree angle. The flat long side shows two animal feet, while the concave short side preserves traces of the lower legs of a frontal human figure. There are two larger fragments that apparently belong to the upper part of the short side, judging by the

⁷²¹ Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 10.

⁷²² Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2004, 250f.; Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 12f.

⁷²³ For reconstructions in the upper *antae* cf. n. 701.

⁷²⁴ Kirsten 1940, 1146.

congruent surface profile and theme.⁷²⁵ The animal on the long side was originally interpreted as a horse,⁷²⁶ but Beyer suggested that the feet belong to a sphinx.⁷²⁷ As pointed out by him, they do not exhibit the same rear tuft as the equids on the rider frieze (see below).

The assignment of the remaining sculpture is contested because there are no clear leads. Recent research has, however, corrected two misconceptions. First, several recovered wing fragments belong to a sphinx body that came to light in 2007 (Fig. 5.13) rather than a hypothetical sphinx-⁷²⁸ or bird-shaped⁷²⁹ *akroterion*.⁷³⁰ Noticeably, this body is not three-dimensional but worked in high relief, suggesting that it must have formed part of a slab.⁷³¹ The relief is rather deep compared to the lintel or the rider frieze, which might be due to its position among the other sculpture (see below). Since the wing fragments point in the wrong direction there must have been two mirror-inverted sphinx slabs.⁷³² Second, it has been underlined that the preserved parts of the rider frieze, which shows a file of mounted warriors equipped with lances and shields, justify the reconstruction of only six riders instead of Pernier's nine (Fig. 5.15, bottom).⁷³³ The therewith-attested width of *ca.* 4.5 m⁷³⁴ is insufficient for the reconstruction as a *simā* frieze, advocated by Pernier, Stucchi and Watrous,⁷³⁵ because such a frieze would be expected to stretch over the entire façade of *ca.* 5.6 m width. An elevated position is also precluded by a number of other factors, especially the lacking evidence for clamping and possibly the weight of the

⁷²⁵ Beyer 1976, 25, pls. 15.1, 17.3f.

⁷²⁶ Pernier 1914, 54 no. 7, fig. 20. This has led to the reconstruction of a symmetrical rider frieze (Stucchi 1974, 94; D'Acunto 1995, 25).

⁷²⁷ Beyer 1976, 25.

⁷²⁸ Pernier 1914, 63 no. 11, fig. 27.

⁷²⁹ Stucchi 1974, 109.

⁷³⁰ Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2012, 193; Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 12, 14.

⁷³¹ Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 12.

⁷³² *Ibid.*

⁷³³ Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 11.

⁷³⁴ For individual measurements cf. next page.

⁷³⁵ Cf. n. 700 and 701.

slabs.⁷³⁶ That the rider frieze was installed at ground level⁷³⁷ is further corroborated by the fact that a meander of the same type and size delimits the upper border of the rider frieze and the upper border of one of the larger doorpost fragments.⁷³⁸ Pernier suggested that the position of the slabs at the time of discovery, arranged loosely in a line (cf. nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10 and 11 on Fig. 5.3), and their face-down orientation meant that they had remained *in situ* following the building's destruction.⁷³⁹ However, it has been shown that the rider frieze was probably arranged just above ground level in the manner of orthostates, and it is not clear how the slabs would have travelled 1.5 to 2 m from the building's foundations by simply toppling over. Additionally, fragments of the same slabs were retrieved at about 3 m from each other, a distance that is roughly equivalent to half of the façade. Therefore, it might be suggested that elements of the frieze were moved and used as fill/levelling material when the area (including the porch) was rebuilt some time before the mid-6th century.⁷⁴⁰

Reconstruction: filling in the blanks

The previous paragraphs established that the building should be reconstructed as an *antae* temple and that the position of the lintel and the doorpost can be regarded as certain. The remaining components that need to be accommodated are:

- a) Nine fragments of a lotus-palmette frieze (Fig. 5.14), which is 0.41 m deep and 0.23 m high.⁷⁴¹

⁷³⁶ The surviving rider frieze has not been weighed before restoration, so this point is speculative. S. Marinatos (1936, 248) seems to think that it is relatively light, Weickert (1929, 59) that it is heavy.

⁷³⁷ Beyer 1976, 25; Adams 1978, 76; D'Acunto 1995, 25.

⁷³⁸ So already Beyer 1976, 26.

⁷³⁹ Pernier 1914, 19. Followed by Watrous 1998, 76; Prent 2005, 256; Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 11.

⁷⁴⁰ Beyer 1976, 22, pl. 11.1 (walls H and F).

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 119-21 nos. 1-9.

- b) Two slabs of the rider frieze showing a single mounted warrior each (Fig. 5.15).⁷⁴² These are *ca.* 0.84 m high, 0.85 m wide and 0.15 m thick.
- c) Two slabs of the rider frieze showing two mounted warriors each (Fig. 5.15).⁷⁴³ These are *ca.* 0.84 m high, 1.40 m wide and 0.15 m thick.
- d) Two relief sphinxes (the recently discovered body and the already-known wing fragments; Fig. 5.16). Measurements are not available, but the scaled reconstruction drawing implies a height between 0.70 and 0.80 m and a width between 0.60 and 0.70 m.⁷⁴⁴
- e) Two statues of seated females (Fig. 5.17).⁷⁴⁵ Their reconstructed body height is *ca.* 0.72 m and the stool they are seated on is roughly 0.25 m wide as well as deep. The protrusions below the feet suggest that there must have been a footrest, adding to the overall height and length.

Recommending an open porch and an orthostate arrangement – a combination that has never been argued for –, it is necessary to test whether it is feasible to arrange the listed components inside this porch (for following calculations cf. Fig. 5.18, left).⁷⁴⁶ According to Pernier's publication, the front wall of the *cella* is 5.93 m wide and the temple walls measure between 0.55 and 0.63 m in thickness.⁷⁴⁷ Presuming that Pernier refers to the exterior width of walls, the interior space of the porch should be between 4.67 and 4.83 m wide (5.93 m minus 2x 0.55-0.63 m). With a 2.07 m wide threshold,⁷⁴⁸ the wall space available for encasement with sculpted slabs would be *ca.* 1.30-1.38 m at either side of the door (of course any slabs on the

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 125f. nos. 20f.

⁷⁴³ *Ibid.*, 123-5 nos. 18f.

⁷⁴⁴ Pautasso in Lefèvre-Novaro et al. 2013, 12.

⁷⁴⁵ Beyer 1976, 127f. Of the second example only a shoulder/breast fragment and a fist survive (Pernier 1914, 61f., fig. 24).

⁷⁴⁶ Alternatively it has been suggested that they adorned the exterior long walls of the temple, particularly on the north side (Beyer 1976, 30f.; D'Acunto 1995, 24-6, fig. 9.).

⁷⁴⁷ Pernier 1914, 32f.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

antae would have infringed on this). Concerning the depth of the porch, the *antae* must have projected further than 2.5 m (the distance between the *cella* and the *socle* foundations⁷⁴⁹) in order to support the roof beam carried by the columns on the *socle*. Their exact length is conjectural, but assuming that the columns had the same diameter as the examples resting on the bases found inside the temple, *ca.* 0.28 m,⁷⁵⁰ it is necessary to add at least another 0.30 m, probably more. Accordingly, the *antae* walls must have been at least 2.80 m long.

Regarding the wall structure, it seems likely that the flat-topped stone course, preserved to a maximum height of 0.60-0.65 m,⁷⁵¹ served to carry the sculpted slabs and doorposts (for following calculations cf. Fig. 5.18, right). The lotus-palmette frieze was probably placed above the interior edge of this course with the sculpted slabs on top.⁷⁵² In the case of the rider frieze, which is the most complete element, the slabs are 0.15 m thick and feature a 0.08 m deep projection at the bottom of the back.⁷⁵³ Since this projection does not seem large (i.e. heavy) enough to serve for stabilisation, it might have anchored the slab into the stonework. The construction of the remaining wall is uncertain. The slabs, which reached a height of 1.67 to 1.72 m, might have been kept in place by wooden beams and the above wall probably had a facing of larger stones with a rubble-mud centre, like the bottom course.⁷⁵⁴ A layer of wooden beams above slab level might have kept the latter in place.⁷⁵⁵

Returning to the sculpted pieces, the starting point of any reconstruction has to be the doorpost. The preserved fragment measures *ca.* 0.4 m in width and, as

⁷⁴⁹ As gathered from Pernier's scaled ground plan (1914, fig. 6), which is still congruent with the latest stone plan (Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2007, fig. 3)

⁷⁵⁰ Pernier 1914, 33f.

⁷⁵¹ Pernier 1914, 30; 1934, 171.

⁷⁵² Only two thirds of the upper surface of the lotus-palmette frieze are finished, indicating that the member on top must have been smaller (Beyer 1976, 25).

⁷⁵³ Beyer 1976, 123.

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. n. 749 for stone plan. This technique was common in EIA Crete (Mook 1998, 51).

⁷⁵⁵ The use of beams in this case is conjectural, but Beyer (1978, 29f., pl. 22) also proposed a partial timber frame construction, perhaps based on Minoan architecture (cf. J. Shaw 2009, esp. 94-101).

stated, preserves the front paws of a feline, possibly a sphinx. There are two options for the original design of this creature: it must have been depicted either seated or pacing. Deploying the proportions of sphinx images on vases and terracottas, a slab with a seated sphinx would probably have been between 0.60 and 0.80 m in width, while a slab showing a pacing sphinx would have measured around 0.90 to 1.00 m (Fig. 5.19). Accordingly, there must have been a 0.30 m (1.30 m minus 1.00 m) to 0.77 m (1.37 m minus 0.60 m) wide space left on these walls. The only component that could theoretically fit this is the new slab with the seated sphinx, but an arrangement with two sphinxes behind each other facing in the same direction and at least one of them being seated can be excluded. What adorned this space necessarily remains unresolved; perhaps the respective slabs have not been retrieved or are among unpublished material.⁷⁵⁶

The rider frieze certainly has to be arranged alongside the *antae* due to its length. Placing three riders, i.e. a single and a double slab, on each side would account for 2.25 m. This leaves the seated female in the round and the new sphinx slabs. It seems that there is only one possible solution to their arrangement: since it is the only remaining slab, the sphinx has to be attributed to the space next to the riders so as to cover the remaining *antae* surface. If the sphinx slab measured *ca.* 0.70 m, the entire arrangement would have stretched over *ca.* 2.95 m, i.e. above the calculated minimum length of 2.80 m. Finally, the seated females should have adorned the heads of the *antae*, with their unfinished rear sides⁷⁵⁷ against the short sides of the wall. Their asymmetric execution – particularly of eyes, lower body cross-section and garment decoration – has led to the suggestion that they were positioned in side view,

⁷⁵⁶ Recent excavations apparently produced two more limestone fragments, interpreted as a bull and a feline, but no further information is available (Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2004, 251; Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2012, 195).

⁷⁵⁷ Pernier 1914, 54.

hence the lintel arrangement.⁷⁵⁸ However, a feline from Phaistos that belonged to a pair of ground-level portal animals is likewise asymmetric.⁷⁵⁹ Plus, if one of the statue's sides had been virtually out of sight, it would surely have been left unfinished not worked in a different manner. It makes perfect sense that the lower body of the better-preserved seated statue was discovered in front of the left *anta*,⁷⁶⁰ since it is deeper on the left side and would thus have been slightly turned towards the central entrance.

An illustration of the proposed arrangement is offered in Figure 5.20. As apparent, there are two main advantages over the standard reconstructions. First, there is a new visual coherence in that each sphinx faces a female. The seated statue is attended by a seated sphinx and it is tempting to suggest that the standing females in the doorway might have been approached by pacing versions of the creature. The sphinxes next to the seated statues are further connected to these by their deeper relief surface, which visually leads over to this sculpture in the round. Second, in this arrangement the linearity of the rider frieze is not disruptive; the mounted warriors describe a circular movement rather than a line.⁷⁶¹ This is quite important because in the past scholars have been seriously bothered by the fact that all riders face in the same direction, inventing missing pieces to enable a symmetrical arrangement.

Comparison with the Near East

The extraordinary appearance of Building A has encouraged scholars to search for potential models outside of Crete. The strongest proponent of affiliations with Egyptian architecture is Vance Watrous. Furthering observations made by John

⁷⁵⁸ Beyer 1976, 28, 130, pls. 19.1, 21.2; D'Acunto 1995, 30f.

⁷⁵⁹ Cf. p. 178f.

⁷⁶⁰ Cf. Fig. 5.3.

⁷⁶¹ The concept of a circular flow is also found at Karatepe, for instance (cf. Çambel and Özyar 2003, inserts 4 (Nkr 1-19) and 5 (SKl 7-16)).

Boardman, he argued that especially the pillars supporting the putative sima frieze, the frieze itself and the position of the seated statues in the smoke outlet recall Egyptian mastabas.⁷⁶² None of these elements were retained in the revised reconstruction (Fig. 5.20); however, the new location of the seated statues could likewise signal a link to this region. Egyptian counterparts flanking entrances are found both on monumental temples⁷⁶³ and smaller mastabas (Fig. 5.21). This association seem to be underlined by the unusual hand posture of the Prinias statues.⁷⁶⁴ Additionally, there is a fragment of a moulding that probably belonged to the upper doorway and brings to mind Egyptian false doors.⁷⁶⁵ Similar designs are also found on a 7th-century funerary monument from nearby Siderospilia⁷⁶⁶ and a slightly earlier relief from Chania⁷⁶⁷. The mentioned parallels are not detailed enough to determine whether Cretan sculptors had a first-hand knowledge of foreign models, or whether they might have followed instructions or descriptions instead.

Scholars who favour a ground-level installation of the rider frieze and other elements have naturally pointed to the orthostate arrangements of Neo-Hittite monuments.⁷⁶⁸ In this context, Adams has critically noted that these orthostates differ significantly from the Cretan slabs as they are much thicker (at least 0.30-0.40 m) and serve to keep other structures in place.⁷⁶⁹ Against this, one might counter that the walls of Cretan temples are not comparable to hefty Near Eastern installations and would not require the same robustness. Additionally, the suggested porch reconstruction could be regarded as confirmation of a Near Eastern connection, since

⁷⁶² Watrous 1998, 77f. The smoke outlet itself is a Cretan feature that also appears on a Knossian building model (Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 220f., 224 no. 1, fig. 5, pl. 20), a parallel that has already been cited by Mallwitz (1981, 620).

⁷⁶³ Cf. e.g. also Smith 1965, pl. 155b (Temple of Ramses II at Luxor).

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. p. 175.

⁷⁶⁵ Adams 1978, 72. Cf. Pernier 1914, 62f. no. 10, fig. 25 with Arnold 2003, 89 no. b.

⁷⁶⁶ Lebessi 1974a, 120f., figs. 1, 3.

⁷⁶⁷ Cf. p. 177.

⁷⁶⁸ E.g. Kirsten 1940, 1146; Beyer 1976, 30f.; Coldstream 1981, 345; D'Acunto 1995, 52f.

⁷⁶⁹ Adams 1978, 47.

orthostate-framed porch areas are typical of Neo-Hittite gates (cf. Fig. 5.22).⁷⁷⁰ However, it is essential to be bear in mind that Building sTB featured a similar entrance, only without figured slabs, demonstrating that this element had a local prehistory at Prinias. Concerning the use of figured slabs, any discussion of Building A has to take the stelai from Siderospilia (the cemetery of Prinias) into consideration.⁷⁷¹ These certainly differ in some respects: their imagery is restricted to depictions of human individuals and the decoration is realised by incision rather than in relief. On the other hand, the measurements of these stelai (H 45-109 cm; W 8-19 cm) are closely comparable to the Building A slabs and they also seem to have been incorporated into the walls of monuments.⁷⁷² The earliest being stylistically assigned to *ca.* 680-70,⁷⁷³ some, probably most of them, predate the sculpture of Building A and attest to a previous usage of figured slabs at Prinias.

The relief decoration of Building A presents local themes and motifs that copy earlier Cretan orientalising material. Accordingly, youthful warriors bearing shields likewise adorned a building at Eleutherna, while the theme of combat also appears on the Chania relief and the 6th-century Palaikastro terracotta sima.⁷⁷⁴ The Prinias riders probably portray members of local elite families – recognisable by the emblems on their shields – that are gathered in a cultic context (hence the *poloi* they are wearing).⁷⁷⁵ The lions have been compared to Corinthian representations and indeed frontal-headed ‘panthers’ with fully rendered bodies are atypical for Crete.⁷⁷⁶ However, the modulation of their heads appears to be closer to the creatures on a

⁷⁷⁰ Cf. also Orthmann 1971, 506f. (Carchemish), 521 (Malatya), 531 (Sakçagözü), 540 (Sendschirli).

⁷⁷¹ Cf. also D’Acunto 1995, 49; Pautasso 2011, 97-100.

⁷⁷² Lebessi 1976, 169f. (for funerary structures). Adams (1978, 47-9) suggests an enclosure in the style of the Altar of the Twelve Gods.

⁷⁷³ Lebessi 1976, 167f.

⁷⁷⁴ Stampolidis and Koutsogiannis 2013, 223f., fig. 5; Hutchinson et al. 1940, 41, pl. 17. For Chania relief cf. p. 177.

⁷⁷⁵ D’Acunto 1995, esp. 44.

⁷⁷⁶ Cf. p. 78.

gold pendent from Eleutherna and a LG-EO Knossian cup, especially in their outline and pronounced nose ridge.⁷⁷⁷ That the stags were equally influenced by metalwork is indicated by small details such as the orientation of antler tines, which recur in the same form on Idaean Cave shields.⁷⁷⁸ The relief depictions showing frontal females, on the other hand, are typologically related to Cretan terracottas and were probably copied from renditions in this material.⁷⁷⁹ Accordingly, some of the relief decoration is orientalising, but it borrows from earlier Cretan small-scale art that, at least in central Crete, must have lost much of its foreign pedigree by the second half of the 7th century.

Interpretation of the building

Defining the function of EIA structures can be a fairly complex matter. Conventionally, Buildings A and B are both referred to as temples due to their location on slightly elevated terrain, their *pronaos-cella* layout and the existence of interior hearths. Yet, in response to the old-fashioned tendency of readily labelling any prominent features as religious, a more recent school of thought is almost as keen to secularise buildings. This has not left Prinias unaffected, and Building B is now referred to as a ruler's dwelling⁷⁸⁰ or *prytaneion*⁷⁸¹ (where magistrates met and dined and where non-locals were received) while Building A has been reinterpreted as an *andreion* (see below).⁷⁸² This divergence in designations is to a large degree caused by the fact that buildings with internal hearths could assume a multitude of functions including private residences, temples, *andreia* and *prytaneia*. Distinguishing them in

⁷⁷⁷ Cf. Fig. 6.31 and 8-KNO.MED-158.

⁷⁷⁸ Cf. Kunze 1931, pls. 42 (no. 54), 45 (no. 59). On Near Eastern ivories depicting grazing stags, tines usually emerge from both sides of the antler column (cf. Herrmann et al. 2004, 37f.).

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. p. 102-105.

⁷⁸⁰ D'Acunto 1995, 26-9.

⁷⁸¹ Prent 2005, 464f.

⁷⁸² For *andreia* cf. p. 18.

the archaeological record is often virtually impossible since all of these building can feature similar characteristics – i.e. evidence for cult activity, consumption of food and drink as well as benches or platforms – and because temples of this period do not present a standardised shape or inventory.⁷⁸³ Matters are further complicated by the suggestion that some buildings could be multi-purpose.⁷⁸⁴

Building A (in fact also Building B) has been defined as an *andreion* by Robert Koehl and Jane Carter.⁷⁸⁵ Koehl's paper reinterpreted a wider range of Cretan EIA structures as *andreia*, including the 'Building in the saddle' at Dreros and Kommos Buildings A2 and B.⁷⁸⁶ His reasoning for Prinias was based on a fallacious reading of the architecture of Building A and a questionable emphasis on the scarcity of votives found inside, which according to him disproves its use as a temple. He reconstructed a bench running along the entire south (his 'west') wall (the belonging illustration implying a second one on the opposite side) and misunderstood Beyer's survey of remains, including earlier and later walls.⁷⁸⁷ The scarcity of votives is probably due to the fact that the entire settlement was abandoned (for an account of finds see below). Carter suggested that the Prinias sculpture consciously imitated the themes on ivory couches that, according to Ferris Beach and her, were used in Syro-Palestinian *marzēaḥ*, i.e. male elite cult and dining communities.⁷⁸⁸ Problems with this argumentation are that it presupposes a special connection between these couches and the *marzēaḥ* ⁷⁸⁹ and that similarities between Cretan, Spartan and Syro-Palestine practices are overemphasised to the point of suggesting that they were virtually

⁷⁸³ Prent 2005, 441f. For an attempted systematisation cf. *ibid.*, esp. 467f.

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 461.

⁷⁸⁵ Koehl 1997, 140f.; J.B. Carter 1997, 86-96. Followed by Prent 2005, 465.

⁷⁸⁶ Koehl 1997.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 140f., fig. 1e. Cf. Beyer 1976, 22f.

⁷⁸⁸ Ferris Beach 1992, esp. 135f.; J.B. Carter 1997, 93-6. For an overview of the *marzēaḥ* cf. Ackerman 1989, 275-8.

⁷⁸⁹ Antonaccio and Neils, 503.

identical.⁷⁹⁰ While it is possible to detect Mediterranean-wide assimilation processes in elite feasting during the EIA⁷⁹¹ and although it seems likely that Cretans occasionally dined alongside Phoenicians and other guests, it is entirely uncertain in how far this affected Cretan customs.⁷⁹² Moreover, the motifs on the ivory couches and the Prinias temple are only partially congruent⁷⁹³ and, as specified above, the latter only displays orientalising motifs that had already been assimilated.

Two Cretan structures that do undoubtedly qualify as *andreia* or ‘communal dining buildings’⁷⁹⁴ are the NW room of the large complex at Afrati and the ‘Building on the West Hill’ at Dreros.⁷⁹⁵ Admittedly, at first these might seem rather disparate: the Afrati *andreion* is part of a multi-room complex and has a bench running along all four walls, while the West Hill building consists of two similar sized rooms, one of which exhibits a hearth and two column bases but no benches.⁷⁹⁶ However, what they do have in common is that they are both very large structures or part thereof (Afrati: 12 x 22.5 m; Dreros: 10.70 x 24 m) and yielded a significant amount of weapons, which were likely on display.⁷⁹⁷ Neither of these two criteria is matched at Prinias.

Building A accommodates a central hearth that – in contrast to Buildings B and sTB – contained ash and burnt animal bones, attesting to food preparation.⁷⁹⁸ It further features a low bench stretching across two thirds of the west wall and two

⁷⁹⁰ She equalises the funerary hero-worshipping aspect of the *marzēah* with the singing of heroic ancestor poems in the Spartan *syssitia* and implies that because Spartan customs and institutions (including the *andreia/syssitia*) were called ‘Cretan’ in the 4th century these must have been exactly the same at both places during the EIA (J.B. Carter 1997, 76f.).

⁷⁹¹ E.g. Nijboer 2013.

⁷⁹² They certainly did not recline during their meals, as attested by the existence of stone benches (see below in the main text).

⁷⁹³ J.B. Carter (1997, 80) explicitly lists winged female guardians, sphinxes, woman in the window depictions, the birth of Horus, cows suckling a calf and grazing stags.

⁷⁹⁴ A term introduced by Haggis (*id.* et al. 2011a, 4-6) in response to being criticised for his use of ‘*andreion*’.

⁷⁹⁵ For their interpretation as *andreia* cf. S. Marinatos 1936, 254; Viviers 1995, 245-9. Further possible candidates are the ‘Building on the top of the hill’ at Axos and the complex on the west slope at Azoria (Prent 2005, 466; Haggis et al. 2004, 379-82, 387-90).

⁷⁹⁶ This lack of seating may be due to the use of wooden benches (Themelis 2003, 25-9).

⁷⁹⁷ For the display of weapons cf. Viviers 1995, 248f. Spaciousness and the presence of weapons are also regarded as key diagnostic features by Haggis et al. 2004, 388f.

⁷⁹⁸ Pernier 1914, 33.

ashlar blocks beside the south wall.⁷⁹⁹ Several scholars have suggested that these blocks constituted the base for cult imagery or a podium for cult equipment.⁸⁰⁰ A comparable hearth-bench-podium arrangement is encountered in the 'Building in the saddle' at Dreros and Building B at Kommos, which certainly represent temples.⁸⁰¹ Finds from the 7th-century levels of Building A at Prinias include a miniature bronze disc (sometimes called a shield), scraps of sheet metal, pins, fragments of lion and griffin protomes belonging to clay cauldrons, and fragments of large relief pithoi.⁸⁰² Unfortunately the ceramics are very generic and merely indicate storage (pithoi) and food-preparation (cauldrons). Yet, crucially, two newly discovered deposits in the *pronaos* and *cella* testify to LPG cult activity.⁸⁰³ The hearth-bench-podium arrangement and previous cult activity, in combination with the eliminated *andreion* option, form a solid basis for retaining the traditional temple designation.

The identity of the deity venerated at Temple A has generally been explained in terms of the sculpted female depictions.⁸⁰⁴ These seem to imply that we are dealing with a goddess – although, as Prent has stressed, it is important to bear in mind that the depictions are not cult images but part of the temple façade, i.e. they do not necessarily portray the deity as such.⁸⁰⁵ Any further specification is daring, since most of the imagery is rather versatile. However, a clay figurine retrieved from one of the mentioned PG deposits might offer a valuable clue. It shows a female with her

⁷⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 32; Rizza in Palermo et al. 2007, 279-81, fig. 19.

⁸⁰⁰ Pernier 1914, 32-4; Kirsten 1940, 1150; Beyer 1976, 38; Pautasso 2013, 82.

⁸⁰¹ Dreros: S. Marinatos 1936, 222-5; Beyer 1976, 17, 80f. n. 13 (for interior bench). Kommos: Shaw and Shaw 2000, 14-21 – this is counting the ca. 60 cm-wide slab of the tripillar shrine (cf. p. 228) as a platform.

⁸⁰² Pernier 1914, 64-70 nos. 1-3, 5 and 6, 74 nos. 1-3.

⁸⁰³ One of them comprises half of a closed vase covering half of a krater, the other half a krater sitting in a pit, associated with a bead, small stones, burning and a female clay figurine (Pautasso 2013, 81-4).

⁸⁰⁴ Pernier 1914, 110f. (Rhea, Britomartis and Dictynna); Beyer 1976, 37f. (*potnia*, suggests Artemis based on a stele from Siderospilia); D'Acunto 1995, 43f. (*potnia*, leaving identification open); N. Marinatos 2000, 71-3 (no identification); Pautasso 2011, 104 (Artemis).

⁸⁰⁵ Prent 2005, 259.

hands on her belly,⁸⁰⁶ which could indicate that one of the deity's competencies was fertility. A different angle of approaching this issue is to focus on Building sTB, which curiously not only shared the same type of façade but also underwent a profound transformation at roughly the same time that Temple A was constructed. New walls divided it into smaller units and the central hearth room was repurposed as a craftsman's workshop – only the rear room with the tripillar shrine retained its character.⁸⁰⁷ Presuming a link between these two buildings,⁸⁰⁸ it seems likely that Temple A replaced Building sTB (with the rear room staying as it was, perhaps because it constituted the core sacred space). This would demand that we are dealing with the same cult in both buildings. The votives from Building sTB are also few but include some weapons,⁸⁰⁹ which could provide a connection to the warriors on the rider frieze. Both signal that the deity was also concerned with warfare and male elites.⁸¹⁰ There is no indication that the goddess was in any way related to the Near East.

Synopsis

It has been argued that Building A at Prinias represents a temple, not an *andreion*. The proposed reconstruction features an open porch structure with the sculpted slabs cladding the interior walls. The rider frieze has been assigned to the walls of the *antae* and the statues of the seated females to the heads of the same. Rather than imitating Near Eastern designs, the temple appears to be quintessentially Cretan, with this type of entranceway and the sculpted slabs both having local predecessors. Some of the relief decoration is orientalising, but it appears to have

⁸⁰⁶ Pautasso in Palermo et al. 2007, 272, fig. 8; Pautasso 2013, 82.

⁸⁰⁷ Palermo in Palermo et al. 2007, 292-9; Palermo in Palermo et al. 2008, 195-206. For tripillar shrine cf. p. 229-231.

⁸⁰⁸ As seems to be implied also by Palermo (e.g. in Palermo et al. 2007, 299).

⁸⁰⁹ Palermo in Palermo et al. 2008, 206.

⁸¹⁰ An aspect stressed by D'Acunto 1995, esp. 49; Marinatos 2000, 71, 75.

been borrowed from Cretan small-scale art, which must have lost much of its foreign pedigree by the second half of the 7th century. There are only two elements that stand out and imply fresh influence from eastern regions. One is the curious volute *akroterion*, which might potentially reveal a link to Phrygia. The other is the seated statues. These are paralleled by examples from other sites and are certainly not the earliest of this kind,⁸¹¹ but their posture and placement may point towards an Egyptian connection.

⁸¹¹ Cf. p. 161f., 174-176.

5.3 The temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn

Introduction and building profile

Gortyn is located at the northern edge of the Mesara plain on both sides of the Mitropolianos river (ancient Lithaios), which extends north toward Prinias (Fig. 5.23).⁸¹² The site is well-known for being the capital of the Roman province *Creta et Cyrenaica*. During the EIA there were at least two settlement *nuclei*: a village on the Acropolis Hill (Hagios Ioannis) at the west side of the river, which was in use from LMIIIC onwards but whose post 8th-century settlement history is unclear;⁸¹³ and a village on the Prophitis Elias and Armi Hills on the east side of the river, which was settled during the PG and G periods.⁸¹⁴ It seems that during the course of the late 8th and early 7th centuries – possibly in the aftermath of a severe earthquake – the populations of both settlements moved to the plain at the foot of the hills, probably living *kata komas*.⁸¹⁵ During the late 7th century, the Acropolis Hill was aggrandised with a stone temple carrying sculpted decoration, which will be the subject of the following discussion. It seems likely that the pertaining cult was significantly older, based on the deposition of kernoi and figurines from the LM IIIB/ IIIC period onwards.⁸¹⁶ Which form the earlier cult space might have assumed (house shrine, public shrine or open air sanctuary) and its relation to the early settlement remain entirely uncertain.

⁸¹² For a more detailed description of the geography of the site cf. Taramelli 1902, 105-7.

⁸¹³ For LM IIIC cf. Desborough 1964, 32, 184; Kanta 1980, 91-2; Prent 2005, 266. The stratigraphy at the site is heavily disturbed by later building work and only little meaningful (cf. main text below). Sjögren (2003, 34) assumes that the settlement was abandoned during the 8th century, but others suggest that it may have continued into the early (Allegro 1991, 329f.; Marginesu 2005, 19; Perna 2012, 42) or later (D'Acunto 2002, 187) 7th century. Recently, Santaniello (2011, 504f.) argued against the existence of a settlement and in favour of associating the entirety of early remains with “cult activity”. In the area of the temple architectural features are indeed poorly preserved, but the rather extensive occurrence of room-like structures to the west of it seems to support the settlement reading.

⁸¹⁴ Allegro 1991, esp. 327.

⁸¹⁵ Sjögren 2003, 34. There is some late 9th and 8th-century pottery from the plain that suggests that it was (sparsely?) settled already at this point (Di Vita 1991, 309).

⁸¹⁶ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 158-60, pls. VII-VIII; Palermo 2002, 256-61.

The first excavation at Gortyn was launched by Frederico Halbherr in 1884 and the Italian School at Athens has been involved in researching the site ever since.⁸¹⁷ In 1939, Antonio Maria Colini discovered the first sculptural fragment on the Acropolis Hill (one of the triad slabs discussed below), which led to extensive excavations in this area by Valnea Santa Maria Scrinari and Giovanni Rizza in 1954 to 1957.⁸¹⁸ The latter uncovered the remainder of the sculptural material known today, the ruins of the temple and a system of terrace walls on the east slope, which contained a large votive deposit (the so-called *stipe*). Subsequent investigations under Antonio Di Vita were largely directed at exploring the plain, which provided plentiful later material.⁸¹⁹ In the 2000s, however, the acropolis re-entered the spotlight with three new projects. First, Matteo D'Acunto conducted a comprehensive re-evaluation of the site's stratigraphy and the architecture of the temple.⁸²⁰ Second, the University of Milan surveyed the top of the acropolis and recorded the remains of a large building east of the temple.⁸²¹ Finally, Simona Todaro and Emanuela Santaniello launched an on-going investigation into the site with the goal of clarifying the character of the EIA sanctuary and the plan of the temple.⁸²²

The remains of the temple on the acropolis measure 13.65 by 16 m and consist of large alabaster ashlar, with smaller limestone slabs used as fillers and levelling material (Fig. 5.24).⁸²³ The foundations comprise a system of small walls, which resulted in the reconstruction of internal rooms (for Rizza and Scrinari cf. Fig. 5.25, top).⁸²⁴ However, D'Acunto demonstrated that these walls only served to enhance the

⁸¹⁷ For an overview on the excavation history cf. Perna 2012, 22-5.

⁸¹⁸ For the final report cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968.

⁸¹⁹ For a detailed account of Hellenistic, Roman and Protobyzantine remains cf. Di Vita 2010, 71-374.

⁸²⁰ D'Acunto 2002.

⁸²¹ Bejor and Sena Chiesa 2003, 831f., fig. 2.2.

⁸²² Santaniello 2011.

⁸²³ Varetto in Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 24, 57.

⁸²⁴ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 48-50 (six internal rooms; based on walls A-E, cf. Fig. 5.24), followed by Schäfer (1972, 187) and Prent (2005, 272); Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 226f. (four internal rooms).

foundations – which was necessitated by the sloping ground – and that they did not continue above floor level (Fig. 5.25, bottom).⁸²⁵ There are no physical traces of the entrance. Rizza and Scrinari suggested that it was located at the northern short side of the building, while D’Acunto favoured the eastern long side.⁸²⁶ In a radical reassessment, Santaniello recently challenged that we are dealing with a temple at all and instead proposed a U-shaped open-air enclosure that was bordered by a rock platform to the north.⁸²⁷ She emphasised the common use of alabaster as a covering rather than building material; the poor preservation of the walls; the weathering of the inside ‘*bothros*’ (see below); and the existence of internal pits. Concerning the alabaster, the ashlar are quite formidable and do not serve as mere sheathing in Santaniello’s reconstruction either. Alabaster was also used for the ‘*bothros*’ and at least one of the retaining walls (see below), attesting to a wider application of this material. Further, the weathering of the *bothros* may well have occurred after the building fell into disrepair. Her pits are effectively Rooms 4 and 5 below the temple – a curious interpretation, but one that is impossible to accurately assess without personal autopsy. Significantly, Santaniello does not consider the retrieved sculpture and how it would have been displayed in relation to her enclosure. At least the statue of a seated female must have been accommodated inside a roofed building (see below), and it appears very unlikely that the sacred space developed from a closed temple to an open-air sanctuary within the course of the 7th century. Therefore, a simple roofed one-room temple is the most plausible option.

The temple’s centerpiece, a basin-like structure that measures 1.20 by 1.43 m and reaches *ca.* 1 m into the ground (Fig. 5.26), is equally controversial.⁸²⁸ Most

⁸²⁵ D’Acunto 2002, 190-2. Followed by Di Vita 2010, 27 and Perna 2012, 70.

⁸²⁶ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 50; D’Acunto 2002, 192.

⁸²⁷ Santaniello 2011, 505.

⁸²⁸ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 47f.

scholars understand it as a *bothros*, which would imply that the revered divinity incorporated a chthonic aspect.⁸²⁹ It has been compared to the PG and LG *bothros*-altars uncovered at Syme and Kommos,⁸³⁰ but structurally speaking these are very different and at least the Syme example clearly stands in the tradition of Minoan stepped altars.⁸³¹ Due to its cist-like shape, other researchers regard it as a *thesauros* in analogy to a similar construction in the slightly later Temple of Apollo Pythios.⁸³² It is indeed plausible that something would have been displayed in this space since its interior is neatly finished. Interestingly, the building has not yielded any traces of a built *eschara*, which means that it does not belong to the popular hearth temple type.

The date of the building has been heavily adjusted during the course of research. Scrinari initially assumed a late 9th- to early 8th-century construction due to a putative foundation deposit that contained PG pottery.⁸³³ However, the relationship between the temple and this deposit has rightly been challenged.⁸³⁴ Instead, scholars now regard the sculptural evidence as the best indication, suggestions for which range within the 7th century and mostly the second half.⁸³⁵ It has been proposed that a construction date during the later 7th century is corroborated by the retrieval of O sherds from the underlying settlement.⁸³⁶ However, these contexts also contain Byzantine pottery in various instances and therefore appear to be disturbed. Further, the structures that are directly underneath the area of the temple (Rooms 4 and 5, cf.

⁸²⁹ E.g. *ibid.*; Prent 2005, 272; Perna 2012, 57-60, 72.

⁸³⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 227 n. 1816.

⁸³¹ Cf. Lebesse 1987, 103, fig. 3 with Karetsou 1981, 138, figs. 5, 11.

⁸³² E.g. Johannowsky 2002, 112; D'Acunto 2002, 197-200; Di Vita 2010, 27.

⁸³³ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 24-6.

⁸³⁴ E.g. Di Vita 2010, 22.

⁸³⁵ For the dating of the triad slabs cf. p. 166. See further Schäfer 1972, 187f. (second half 8th century); Perlman 2000, 60 (second quarter of the 7th century); Johannowsky 2002, 1, 112 (middle of the 7th century).

⁸³⁶ D'Acunto 2002, 186-8.

Fig. 5.24, top) did not provide any 7th century pottery, only LMIIC, PG and Byzantine fragments.⁸³⁷ Therefore, the retrieved sculpture appears to provide the only clue.

Finally, it is important to briefly introduce the above-mentioned building that was recently discovered to the east of the temple (Fig. 5.27). It is larger than the latter with a minimum length of 20 m and consists of at least two rooms.⁸³⁸ In the publication it is tentatively dated between the 7th and the 4th centuries, based on its structure and the deviating alignment (apparently there is no datable stratified material). However, it could equally predate the temple, judging by its double-faced walls with a rubble core.⁸³⁹ This issue will be returned to in the following.

Sculptural finds: the seated statue

The most ancient recovered piece is the fragment of a seated female in the round (Fig. 5.28). It preserves the 80 cm-high lower torso of a seated statue that was originally composed of several individually worked blocks.⁸⁴⁰ The surviving block shows the belted lower body of a figure that is propped on a T-shaped baulk (commonly referred to as a seat or throne). The belt and dress are covered in delicately incised S-lines, cables, leaf rosettes and kidney palmettes. These are highlighted in red paint, which survives in an exceptionally good condition. Since the fragment was found in a secondary context, its shape and decoration constitute the only chronological reference points. The preserved body is blocky and rigid, which could be understood to indicate an early date if the late 7th-century Prinias statue did not display a comparable modulation.⁸⁴¹ The most advanced ornament is certainly

⁸³⁷ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 9-11, figs. 10, 13; D'Acunto 2002, 186.

⁸³⁸ Bejor and Sena Chiesa 2003, 832.

⁸³⁹ To this effect also Perna 2012, 67.

⁸⁴⁰ Levi 1956a, 272f.; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 155 no. 7; Davaras 1972, 19. The feet probably rested on a footstool, which must have been glued on, judging by the plain and smooth surface (*contra* Adams 1978, 27).

⁸⁴¹ Cf. Fig. 5.17.

the kidney palmette, which demands a date within the 7th century. Since encircled hexafoil leaf rosettes are generally more numerous in the 8th and early 7th century, a date in the first half of this century is preferable. Such is also the prevailing view, with some scholars trying to narrow it down further.⁸⁴²

Regarding its find context, previous explanations are unsatisfactory and call for revision. As mentioned, the east slope of the Acropolis Hill was provided with a system of terrace walls, three of which are of EIA date. These are the Upper Terrace Wall (*ca.* 30 m below the temple and originally interpreted as an altar)⁸⁴³, the so-called Chequerboard Wall and the Lower Terrace Wall (Fig. 5.29). Their dates are disputed among Italian scholars⁸⁴⁴, but what can be stated with a high degree of certainty is that: a) the Upper Terrace Wall is contemporaneous with the temple as it features the same material and technique;⁸⁴⁵ b) the Chequerboard Wall is no later than the late 7th century because this is the date of the most recent material from the *stipe*, which was retained by it.⁸⁴⁶

The fragment of the seated statue was discovered in Layer 6 at the foot of two secondary terrace walls belonging to the Chequerboard Wall (Fig. 5.30).⁸⁴⁷ This layer consists of soil and various-sized stones, and contained fragments of 7th-century pottery and terracotta shields. It is interpreted as rubble from the Chequerboard Wall

⁸⁴² Cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 219, Davaras 1972, 52 no. 5 and Floren 1987, 126 for PD. Cf. Kranz 1972, 21 for the second quarter of the 7th century. Cf. D'Acunto 2002, 212 and Di Vita 2010, 25 for the first half of the 7th century. Only Adams (1978, 26) and Boardman (1978, fig. 30) favour later dates (middle or third quarter of the 7th century and 650-630, respectively).

⁸⁴³ Cf. n. 851.

⁸⁴⁴ Levi 1956a, 289-90 (Upper Terrace and Chequerboard Walls: late 7th century); Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 146f. (Upper and Lower Terrace Walls: 8th century; Chequerboard Wall: mid-7th century); D'Acunto 2002, 204-7 (all of them 7th century, probably 640-620); Di Vita 2010, 22-5 (Lower Terrace Wall: 8th century according to text and 9th century according to fig. 36; Upper Terrace and Chequerboard Wall: second half 7th century); Perna 2012, 66 (Upper Terrace Wall: second half 7th century; Chequerboard Wall: end of 7th century).

⁸⁴⁵ Perna 2012, 66.

⁸⁴⁶ D'Acunto 2002, 209.

⁸⁴⁷ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 110f., 126f.

due to its location and the character of the stones.⁸⁴⁸ The proposed scenario for its formation sees the Lower Terrace Wall cave in, which resulted in a downhill slide of the soil contained by it, in turn destabilising the Chequerboard Wall higher up the slope.⁸⁴⁹ With the collapse of the Chequerboard Wall, the 7th-century contents from the *stipe* supposedly spilled over the rubble. However, the section drawing of the Chequerboard Wall (Fig. 5.30) suggests that this slide affected only the lower secondary terrace wall, while the rest of the construction seems to have remained intact. The secondary walls apparently formed a clever system that was installed for exactly such a situation. The ‘rubble’ of Layer 6 was thus probably placed there intentionally to counteract erosion on this terrace. The terracotta pieces and pottery might have been thrown in as additional fill or, based on the small number of published examples, could have been a by-product of the material used for this terrace.⁸⁵⁰

According to this reasoning, the statue cannot have belonged to a disintegrated terrace wall – whether Upper Terrace or Chequerboard Wall and as secondary building material or in a primary context⁸⁵¹ – but must have been deliberately deposited as part of Layer 6. This is also implied by its orientation at the time of excavation, lying flatly on the back in an arranged manner (Fig. 5.31). The fact that the original paint is lost only on the right side of the body (Fig. 5.28), the same side that also took the major battering, indicates that at some point it must have been positioned on its left and partially sealed in by soil, with its top exposed. This suggests that it had tumbled down the acropolis during a minor landslide, been left for an uncertain amount of time, and was then placed in the nearby find spot when the

⁸⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 110f. Followed *i.a.* by D’Acunto 2002, 204 and Di Vita 2010, 25.

⁸⁴⁹ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 111, 113.

⁸⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 110f., 126f., fig. 218.

⁸⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 150 and Perna 2012, 69: primary incorporation into the ‘altar’ (Upper Terrace); D’Acunto 2002, 212f. and Di Vita 2010, 25: secondary use in Chequerboard Wall or deposition in the *stipe*.

'rubble' terrace was constructed. Interestingly, the newly discovered building next to the temple is extremely close to the eastern edge of the slope. Providing that it indeed predates the discussed temple, it seems possible that the statue was originally accommodated in the eastern part of that building. When it partially collapsed and slumped down during the mentioned early 7th-century earthquake or, more likely, in a torrential downpour⁸⁵², the statue was dragged along. Such a dramatic incident could also explain the systematic effort of terracing the slope thereafter.

According to Rizza and Scrinari the statue must have been placed against or incorporated into a larger structure, due to the flat rear and the hollow sides of the seat.⁸⁵³ This assertion and the discovery of a fragment allegedly belonging to a second statue have led Adams to recommend a doorway arrangement similar to the canonical Prinias reconstruction, only at ground level.⁸⁵⁴ As we shall see in the discussion on seated statues, the flat rear is probably due to its insertion into a throne and does not relate to its original position. The fragment belonging to the supposed second example is difficult to evaluate without personal autopsy; based on the provided photograph it is unclear to which part of a statue it could have belonged since it looks rather flat⁸⁵⁵ and features two raised edges. In fact it seems best suited as part of a backrest, supporting the throne theory. Considering the size and ornate decoration of the seated figure, we might be dealing with a cult statue.⁸⁵⁶ This is also indicated by the well-preserved colouring, which necessitates an indoor display.

⁸⁵² Bejor and Sena Chiesa 2003, 832.

⁸⁵³ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 50. They propose that it belonged to the 'altar'.

⁸⁵⁴ Adams 1978, 25, 27, followed by Prent 2005, 268.

⁸⁵⁵ It is described as "*esterna leggermente convessa*" (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 156 no. 5), but the curve seems so extremely slight that it probably could be due to uneven weathering.

⁸⁵⁶ D'Acunto 2002, 212f.; Di Vita 2010, 25.

Sculptural finds: the triads and the so-called sphinx

The remainder of sculptural fragments were discovered spoliated in the Byzantine basilica, which was built directly above the 7th-century temple. The majority belong to two large limestone slabs that depicted probably identical triads.⁸⁵⁷ The more complete slab (restored at a height of 1.50 m) shows a frontal nude female with her arms by the sides, standing next to a male figure with his legs in profile (Fig. 5.32). The male figure is very patchy but his surviving hand envelops the female's head. The existence of a second female on his other side is necessitated by the fact that the male turns away from the surviving figure.⁸⁵⁸ A badly damaged relief fragment from Axos preserves the lower head of a female with a hand resting around her neck, evidencing that a comparable depiction must have adorned a building at this site.⁸⁵⁹

Additionally, there is a 64 cm-high limestone block preserving the head and chest of a creature that is usually labelled a 'sphinx' (Fig. 5.33).⁸⁶⁰ Most of the face is missing, but, as many scholars have rightly highlighted, the unusually elongated forehead and temple reveal that it must have been feline. It is framed by pearl locks, like those on the better-preserved triad, and what looks like the beginning of a cat's ear. The surface of the hair is rather smooth behind the third tress, which could be interpreted in terms of a haircloth. The surviving chest area describes a curve that is reminiscent of sphinx and lion depictions, suggesting that the body was cat-like. Since

⁸⁵⁷ Levi 1956a, 273; 1956b, 295-7, figs. 6-9 (fragments before restoration); Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 156f. nos. 8f., figs. 77f. (restored slabs). Rizza (in Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 251) states that the less well-preserved slab depicted an all-female triad and Böhm (1990, 97) implies that it showed a composition of three frontal figures. However, the part where the hand of the central figure would have been placed if it was identical to the other triad (see text below) is missing, so there is a good chance that they were actually the same.

⁸⁵⁸ The preserved lower body of a frontal nude female (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 49, fig. 77) might belong to this slab (Levi 1956b, 296; Böhm 1990, 96) or the other, as restored.

⁸⁵⁹ Rizza 1967-8, 287 n. 1, fig. 56; Lebessi 2009a, 543. The iconographic similarity between the Gortyn and Axos examples has already been recognised (Floren 1987, 134).

⁸⁶⁰ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 51f., 157 no. 14. Davaras (1972, 54) refers to the piece as a 'female torso'.

both head and body are feline, there is no basis for calling the creature a sphinx.⁸⁶¹ The only incongruous elements are the hair and the potential haircloth.

Concerning the dates of the sculpture, most scholars agree that the better-preserved triad and the feline creature should be LD.⁸⁶² Yet, there is no consensus over whether the other triad is contemporary⁸⁶³ or slightly earlier, i.e. MD⁸⁶⁴. The crux of the matter is that this is thought to affect whether they were displayed together or the later version replaced the earlier. In light of the poorly preserved surface of the second triad, I do not feel comfortable to take sides on this.

Regarding the technique of the feline fragment, the excavators suggested that it must have been inserted into a separately worked body due to the wedge-like shape of the chest.⁸⁶⁵ However, the 'wedge' is rather long and would necessitate a very deep and thin mortise. According to Adams, the head and chest were worked two-thirds in the round and protruded from a big orthostate that rendered the body in low relief, similar to Near Eastern examples.⁸⁶⁶ This does not comply with the circumstance that the head appears to continue into a slab-like background at the front as well as at the back (Fig. 5.33). Therefore, the whole creature, probably depicted in a seated position judging by the posture of the preserved part,⁸⁶⁷ seems to have adorned one large slab that was worked in high relief. It is not problematic that the head protrudes further than the body, since this is also the case for sphinx depictions on various relief pithoi.⁸⁶⁸ The drill-holes on top of the head evidence that the creature originally wore some kind of headgear, although no fragments have been

⁸⁶¹ As acknowledged in D'Acunto 2001 and 2002 by the use of quotation marks.

⁸⁶² *I.a.* Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 234; Schäfer 1972, 187f.; Adams 1978, 23-5; D'Acunto 2002, 197.

⁸⁶³ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 234; Schäfer 1972, 187f.; D'Acunto 2002, 197.

⁸⁶⁴ Ridgway 1977, 21; Adams 1978, 23-5; Di Vita 2010, 27f. (for both being MD-LD).

⁸⁶⁵ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 51; D'Acunto 2001, 347.

⁸⁶⁶ Adams 1978, 24, fig. 25.

⁸⁶⁷ Pers. comm. R. R. R. Smith and M. D'Acunto.

⁸⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. Dunbabin 1952, pl. 28; Schäfer 1957, pl. V.

retrieved.⁸⁶⁹ It is possible that it was adopted from Phoenician artefacts, such as ivories depicting a lioness with an Egyptian bib, a head cloth and a solar disc (Fig. 5.35).⁸⁷⁰

Reconstruction and comparison with the Near East

The ‘sphinx’ or lion is usually interpreted as one of a pair that was placed inside the doorway.⁸⁷¹ Considering the great width of the walls, which can be gauged at *ca.* 2 m⁸⁷², this seems possible. As already mentioned for Prinias, this would conform to the general guardian function of these creatures in the Near East. However, it is important to bear in mind that there are no factual indications as to its position and that it could equally have adorned the exterior walls or the inside of the temple.

The original placement of the triad slabs is also uncertain. The excavators proposed an orthostate-like arrangement on the building’s façade “secondo la tradizione presente a Zinjirli [...] e Karatepe [...]”.⁸⁷³ This idea was at least partially based on the erroneous interpretation of the temple as a *bit-hilani* type structure, i.e. with internal rooms in the back of the building.⁸⁷⁴ It is key to note that the triad slabs constitute isolated finds and that a standard orthostate frieze necessitates a larger number of slabs. Watrous argued that the slabs were placed along the inner rear wall, in analogy to Egyptian depictions.⁸⁷⁵ This suggestion is due to the common notion that the triad figures copy Egyptian models, which was first introduced by Rizza and

⁸⁶⁹ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 51, fig. 81.

⁸⁷⁰ A 7th-century lead pendant from Kavousi Kastro shows a female head wearing a solar disc (Tuner 1998, 70f.).

⁸⁷¹ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 51. Followed by Adams 1978, 24.

⁸⁷² Rizza and Scrinari 1968 curiously do not provide respective data, which have to be calculated from the scale drawings. For 1.90 m cf. Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 226; for *ca.* 2 m cf. Di Vita 2010, 27.

⁸⁷³ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 50.

⁸⁷⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 54-6. Schäfer in his review (1972, 188) already criticised the excavators for using these purely hypothetical reconstructions to argue in favour of Near Eastern parallels.

⁸⁷⁵ Watrous 1998, 75.

stubbornly persists.⁸⁷⁶ However, the Gortynian triads do *not* imitate Egyptian sculpture but have to be understood as a multiplication of Lebessi's Type B couple scene, which is probably of Cretan origin.⁸⁷⁷ This type characteristically shows a frontal female with both arms by her sides next to a semi-frontal male, who is putting one hand around her head or shoulder while touching her breast or genitals with the other (Fig. 5.36). At Gortyn, this scheme surely differed in the male wrapping his second arm around the additional female, as restored. This kind of depiction has to be distinguished from another that shows a male holding hands with two females – an iconography that is indeed likely inspired by Egyptian counterparts.⁸⁷⁸ Unlike what Böhm's categorisation of nude females recommends,⁸⁷⁹ the main message does not lie within the structure of the composition (i.e. female-male-female) but in the portrayed action. In the case of the Gortyn triad this is undeniably of an amorous, not a familial, kind. Thus, we are certainly not dealing with Artemis, Apollo and Leto as suggested by Theodora Hadzisteliou Price.⁸⁸⁰ An alternative interpretation will be proposed further below.

Having rejected orthostate and Egyptian-inspired arrangements, the triad slabs must have been displayed in a different way. The crucial clue might be provided by a particularly conspicuous feature of theirs, the raised border that encloses the *poloi*. Borders are found on several of the clay *pinakes* from Gortyn and the connection to these is strengthened by an example with a particularly deep frame that illustrates an all-female triad.⁸⁸¹ Consequently, it is conceivable that the limestone slabs were designed as monumentalised versions of these. As mentioned

⁸⁷⁶ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 251f.; Böhm 1990, 97; Watrous 1998, 75.

⁸⁷⁷ Lebessi 2009a, 543f.

⁸⁷⁸ Compare the Fortetsa belt (Fig. 6.22) and an ivory relief from Sparta (Böhm 1990, 97, fig. 17b) with an Egyptian faience amulet (Hadzisteliou Price 1971, 59, pl. IV.9).

⁸⁷⁹ Böhm 1990, 95-7.

⁸⁸⁰ Hadzisteliou Price 1971, 59, 69.

⁸⁸¹ Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 171 no. 124, pl. XXI. Many scholars have already cited this *pinax* in the context of the triad slabs (e.g. Levi 1956b, 292; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 251).

on page 106, there is evidence that clay *pinakes* were suspended from the interior walls of temples. The triad slabs must, too, have been displayed in relation to a wall for the sake of stability, and instead of being inserted they might have been fastened onto it in order to maximise the resemblance. Perhaps they were somehow fixed between two commensurate elements (slabs or beams) that doubled as raised lateral borders, because these are curiously omitted on the triad slabs themselves.

Interpretation of local cult

Theories on early cult at Gortyn vary a great deal; the only issue scholars agree on is that the acropolis sanctuary must have been dedicated to one or more female deities. Some think that the temple housed a divine triad (in accordance with the slabs and the incorrect reconstruction of three internal rooms at the rear);⁸⁸² others favour one ‘multifunctional’ goddess, which is usually identified with Athena.⁸⁸³ As elaborated above, the triad slabs show an unmistakably amorous scene and the only well-known Gortynian story of an amorous nature is the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Europa.⁸⁸⁴ Interestingly, Perna already suggested that an earlier deity that was superseded by Athena might have been Europa, or Hellotis, as she was known locally. He mainly based this on the much later tradition that Gortyn was originally called Hellotis and an equivalent situation at Corinth, where Athena replaced a goddess of this name.⁸⁸⁵ Concerning the first point, although we cannot be absolutely certain that Europa was associated with Gortyn already in the EIA (the earliest indisputable evidence for this, local coins, is dated to the 5th century)⁸⁸⁶, she was definitely known

⁸⁸² S. Marinatos 1962b, 914f. (Geraistiades); Levi 1978, 310 (Rhea, Eileithyia and Britomartis); P. Demargne 1980, 199 (Athena, Aphrodite and Artemis).

⁸⁸³ E.g. Levi 1956b, 306; D’Acunto 2002, 217; Johannowsky 2002, 108.

⁸⁸⁴ Sporn 2002, 165-7.

⁸⁸⁵ Perna 2012, 54-6.

⁸⁸⁶ Sporn 2002, 166.

on Crete and was identified with the island abroad.⁸⁸⁷ Concerning the second, however, the cults of Hellotis at Corinth and Gortyn do not seem to have had anything in common: the former involved a torch race, while at Gortyn the goddess was celebrated in a *pompe*, with her bones being presented within a myrtle wreath.⁸⁸⁸ This raises the question of whether we are really dealing with the same goddess or perhaps rather with a homonymy. In this context it is relevant that Astour made a compelling case for ‘Hellotis’ being derived from the West-Semitic *hālāl*, “to shine”,⁸⁸⁹ an epithet or name that might have been equally suited for a deity honoured with torch races⁸⁹⁰ and the deity at Gortyn (see below).

The name Europa apparently referred to the goddess of the evening star (Venus), who is first attested at LBA Ugarit but by then shows the same key features as Europa in Greek mythology.⁸⁹¹ This goddess was probably at least partially identified with Mesopotamian Ishtar, who was equally associated with planet Venus.⁸⁹² The astral nature of Cretan Europa manifests itself in the names of people surrounding her (Telephassa, “the far-shining”; Asterios/ Asterion, “the starry”) and of her mythological double, Pasiphae (“shining for all”).⁸⁹³ In terms of her connection to the east, it has been argued that the *hieros gamos* with Zeus was directly derived from the sacred union of ‘Ashtar and ‘Ashtart in bovine form (hence Zeus’ epithet Asterios).⁸⁹⁴ Regarding the Gortynian goddess specifically, pre-Daedalic dedications are unfortunately few and largely unspecific, but among them are two helmeted

⁸⁸⁷ She is depicted on a 7th-century Cretan bronze helmet in the typical pose of riding a bull (Sporn 2013, 402). The Iliad (XIV, 321f.) refers to the daughter of Phoinix and lover of Zeus, who gave birth to Radamanthys and Minos, which is one of the standard genealogies of Europa.

⁸⁸⁸ Broneer 1942, 140; Sporn 2002, 166.

⁸⁸⁹ Astour 1965, 138f.

⁸⁹⁰ Robertson 1985, 247.

⁸⁹¹ Astour 1965, 132-5. This is regardless of whether the name Europa was linguistically derived from the Semitic counterpart ‘rb (špš), which is questioned by West (1997, 451).

⁸⁹² As also implied by the fact that the Phoenicians later (re-)identified Europa with Astarte (Astour 1965, 132-5).

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, 135. For analogies between Pasiphae and Europa cf. also Andrews 1969, 60.

⁸⁹⁴ West 1997, 452.

figurines and a male that distinctly displays his genitals.⁸⁹⁵ A connection to martiality and, less so, eroticism is also evidenced by 7th-century votives,⁸⁹⁶ and both make sense in relation to an Ishtar-like character.⁸⁹⁷ The same is the case for the fertility aspect of the divinity and her characterisation as Mistress of Animals.⁸⁹⁸ The mentioned astral nature could account for why there are so many multiplications in the mythology associated with Europa (Europa - Telephassa - Pasiphae; king Asterios - Minotaur Asterios - Zeus Asterios),⁸⁹⁹ which in turn may be the reason for the multiplication of figural depictions at Gortyn, such as the second female on the triad couple depiction. Whether and how this all relates to the festival of the Hellotia must remain an open question. Perhaps the *thesauros* inside the temple actually constituted the 'tomb' of Europa where her presumed bones were kept – a theory that is of course highly speculative. Either way, it is likely that the display of these bones, whether really as early as the O period or not, somehow correlated to the myth of Zeus' tomb on Crete.⁹⁰⁰

It seems that, at Gortyn, Hellotis began to be merged with or supplanted by Athena in the 7th century. The presence of Athena is clearly indicated by a series of *pinakes* showing Bellerophon and a female statuette of the Promachos type.⁹⁰¹ The goddess is first epigraphically attested in the 5th century and by the 3rd century she had advanced to protectress of the city, Athena Poliourchos.⁹⁰² In the context of cult

⁸⁹⁵ Cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. VII f. (nos. 30, 37, 47).

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. Johannowsky 2002, 79f., pls. 46f. for miniature weapons. For *anasyrma* depiction cf. p. 122f.

⁸⁹⁷ Ishtar was a highly complex deity with a multitude of qualities (Harris 1991). The following will only regard her main traits as not much about the Ugaritic 'goddess of the evening star' is known and it is uncertain which minor characteristics they would have shared.

⁸⁹⁸ Cf. esp. Johannowsky 2002, 22-42 for kernoi and Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XIX f., XXV, XXXI for sphinxes and seated female holding a bowl of fruit, buns or other food.

⁸⁹⁹ Astour 1965, 135.

⁹⁰⁰ Literary allusions to this tomb appear from the 4th century onwards (Kokolakis 1995, 124f.), but it has been suggested that it goes back to a Minoan tradition, with the chasm on Mount Jouktas representing an early version (Karetsou 1981, 152f.; Bloedow 1991, esp. 162).

⁹⁰¹ Cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XI, XXXII. Horse figurines featured from the very beginning of the sanctuary (*ibid.*, pls. XXXVIII-XL) and were not linked to Athena specifically.

⁹⁰² Cf. *IC* IV, 51, 2-3 and 171, 13-14.

at Gortyn, it is often stressed that the specialised roles of later ‘classical’ deities were not fully developed during the EIA/Archaic period, but that when Athena prevailed the martial aspect overshadowed everything else.⁹⁰³ This view seems to oversimplify the situation. First, the generally acknowledged main competencies of the 7th-century deity – fertility, battle and acting as Mistress of Animals – are not random but often occur in this specific combination. Accordingly, the goddess *was* fully developed. Second, Athena was not as unilateral as often implied. The *potnia theron* component was retained in the gorgoneion,⁹⁰⁴ while a hangover of the fertility component may be suspected in the *phiale*. Athena is not very often depicted with this attribute,⁹⁰⁵ and at Gortyn it might have derived from the extreme popularity of kernoi. Both vessels served to offer liquid sacrifices, in the case of the kernos in addition to food.⁹⁰⁶

Synopsis

In the first half of the 7th century, a building on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn was furnished with the statue of a seated female. Conceivably, this building can be identified with the recently discovered two-room structure at the eastern edge of the slope, which seems to have been destroyed during a catastrophe involving a landslide. The seated statue likely served as a cult image, making this building a temple. Following the catastrophe, the sanctuary experienced a major reorganisation during the second half of the 7th century that included the installation of a terrace system, the disposal of previous offerings in a large deposit (the *stipe*) and the construction of a new temple. The latter was adorned with the triad slabs, which

⁹⁰³ Böhm 1990, 140; Sporn 2002, 162.

⁹⁰⁴ D’Acunto 2002, 220. For later terracottas showing gorgoneia and a helmeted female holding a shield with a central gorgoneion cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XLII, XLIV, XLV.

⁹⁰⁵ Sporn 2002, 161.

⁹⁰⁶ A later terracotta shows a seated female carrying a *phiale* in her lap in exactly the same way as an O seated female holds a bowl with food in her lap (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XXXI (no. 203), XLVII (no. 361)).

probably constituted a monumentalised version of the local *pinakes* and depicted a Cretan type of erotic scene, and the slab featuring a feline. Based on the couple scene and the core competences of the deity revered in the temple (as inferred from the votives), it is possible to hazard a guess that the sanctuary was dedicated to Hellotis-Europa. Although this deity was associated with the Levant and probably originated from there, the temple on the Acropolis Hill is not demonstratively orientalising in architecture or sculptural embellishment. This could be because Hellotis did not constitute a newly adopted deity but the people at Gortyn had venerated her for a longer period of time. A minor acknowledgement of eastern links might be implied by the feline, whose rendition seems to imitate Phoenician imagery.

5.4 Statues of seated females

As specified above, statues of seated females formed part of the sculpture found at Gortyn and Prinias. Other 7th-century limestone pieces belonging to this class have been discovered at Astritsi, Eleutherna, Goulediana and a tomb at Knossos (Fig. 5.37).⁹⁰⁷ The standard criterion for the typology of seated figurines, statuettes and statues is the seat itself,⁹⁰⁸ which is completely preserved only on the Knossos and Goulediana examples. The Knossos statuette displays a figure perched on a large throne, the backrest projecting above the *polos*, the armrests at a distance from the body. Accordingly, it belongs to the so-called 'armchair throne type', an observation that is significant because this type has so far been disregarded in the reconstruction of sculpture. The conspicuously large size of the Knossos example's throne in relation to the figure is reminiscent of LBA and G conventions. The late 7th-century Goulediana statuette, on the other hand, belongs to the so-called 'stool type'. Its seat is characterised by the same lateral arched cavities that are encountered on Egyptian examples, which likely served as models for its design.⁹⁰⁹

The seats of the Prinias and Gortyn statues are generally interpreted as stools; the former has been restored as such. However, both examples display characteristics that are inconsistent with this interpretation. The Prinias seat (Fig. 5.11) does not feature any rear legs, which suggests that these were worked separately. This really only makes sense if they were fashioned in one piece with a backrest, making the seat a throne. This backrest-leg part could have been created from a separate slab or indicated on an abutting wall using incision or plaster. Interestingly, the latter

⁹⁰⁷ Davaras 1972, 7-11, 13f.; Stampolidis et al. 1998, 141 no. 350. It should be noted that some scholars believe that the Eleutherna and Astritsi statues were depicted standing (e.g. Floren 1987, 128).

⁹⁰⁸ Following Kranz 1972, who distinguishes between the *Hockertypus*, *Thronsesseltypus* and *Throntypus*.

⁹⁰⁹ Davaras 1972, 15, figs. 11, 17.

technique was employed for the backrest of the throne in the Knossos Throne Room,⁹¹⁰ which shares the same frontal arch and lateral braces as another limestone seat retrieved from Prinias.⁹¹¹ Concerning the Gortyn piece, it is odd that the part underneath the statue's torso is T-shaped with a very narrow rail and deep lateral recesses (Fig. 5.28). The excavators suspected that these recesses must have been covered up and that the baulk itself formed a seat,⁹¹² but it seems more plausible that the preserved element was inserted into a larger throne similar to that of the Knossos statuette.

Near Eastern influences have been proposed for several details. Adams compared the more complete Prinias statue with the 9th-century seated sculptures from Tel Halaf in the rendition of the feet.⁹¹³ However, cutting these "against the projecting footstool"⁹¹⁴ surely constitutes a basic and obvious solution that sculptors could arrive at independently. She further observed that the posture of the Prinias statue – the flat left hand curled over one knee, the right fist resting on the other – recurs on one of the mentioned Tel Halaf pieces.⁹¹⁵ This is certainly correct, but a similar gesture, only with the flat hand resting on the thigh, is also found in Egyptian art.⁹¹⁶ As mentioned, the position of the Prinias statues in respect to the temple suggests an Egyptian relation⁹¹⁷ and the Gulediana statuette is also connected to this region. Finally, Adams explains the blockiness and plank-like lower body of the Gortyn statue with influence from North Syrian sculpture.⁹¹⁸ This has already been

⁹¹⁰ Evans 1899-1900, 38, fig. 8.

⁹¹¹ Pernier 1914, 107, fig. 61; Davaras 1972, 15, figs. 13f. For another example from Prinias cf. Pautasso 2014, 65, fig. 3.9.

⁹¹² Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 156.

⁹¹³ Adams 1978, 70.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹¹⁵ However, these mostly hold a vessel in one hand, cf. Bonatz 2000, 27-32, pls. V-VII. As the more recent discovery of another statue demonstrates, this type continued into the 8th century (Röllig 2003).

⁹¹⁶ Cf. e.g. Ziegler 1999, 36, 40, 44.

⁹¹⁷ Cf. p. 149.

⁹¹⁸ Adams 1978, 70.

invalidated by Kranz, who demonstrated that these fully conform to the wider development of the Greek seated figure during the 8th-7th century transition.⁹¹⁹

In the context of enthroned females, it should be pointed out that there are some relevant G terracotta statuettes from Crete,⁹²⁰ attesting to the local pre-existence of this type. It might also be relevant that some Levantine ivories and metal bowls exhibit scenes with a seated goddess being approach by choruses and offering bearers.⁹²¹ These were copied locally,⁹²² providing additional confirmation for the special relevance of this theme on Crete.

⁹¹⁹ Kranz 1972, 31.

⁹²⁰ E.g. Rizza 1967-8, fig. 3 (no. 25); Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. IX (no. 50).

⁹²¹ Cf. p. 187f.

⁹²² *Ibid.*

5.5 Other material

The earliest EIA orientalising sculpture from Crete is a half life-size, helmeted head from Amnisos (Fig. 5.38).⁹²³ It has large eyes (originally inlaid), a tall knobby nose, fleshy lips and a receding chin. These features are paralleled in Neo-Hittite art, which has inevitably led to the proposition that a Syrian stonemason crafted the piece.⁹²⁴ However, exactly the same style and theme (helmeted warrior) recur on the Fortetsa quiver mount and belt, which belong to a group of late 9th or early 8th-century orientalising Knossian metal work.⁹²⁵ Since Amnisos was located close to Knossos, probably acting as its harbour,⁹²⁶ the most obvious conclusion would be that the head was produced by a contemporary Knossian craftsman.

Proceeding in chronological sequence, the next item of interest is the Chania relief, dated to around 700 (Fig. 5.39).⁹²⁷ The preserved slab is *ca.* 40 cm high and 80 cm wide. It is uncertain which architectural component it constituted (it is usually called a 'frieze', although alternatively it might have been a lintel), but the slab reportedly belonged to a temple⁹²⁸, which is likely correct. It shows a female standing inside a building that a line of archers defends against approaching chariots. As many scholars have pointed out, its theme and iconography are closely related to the just mentioned Fortetsa belt.⁹²⁹

The fragment of a relief slab discovered in the *dromos* of Tekke Tomb 2 should be roughly contemporary (Fig. 5.40).⁹³⁰ It shows the head and shoulder of a female on one side, and the upper part of a strange creature on the other. The latter might

⁹²³ Adams 1978, 5-8; Schäfer 1992, 233 no. D,1.d1.

⁹²⁴ Adams 1978, 6.

⁹²⁵ Cf. p. 203.

⁹²⁶ Schäfer 1991.

⁹²⁷ Jantzen 1951, 80; Boardman 1961, 137f.

⁹²⁸ Jantzen 1951, 80.

⁹²⁹ Cf. e.g. Rolley 1994, 104f.; D'Acunzio 2013, 477f.

⁹³⁰ Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 220, 228 no. 76.

perhaps represent a rearing lion, intended as an abbreviation of the Lion Tamer motif.⁹³¹ The find context of the slab is evidently secondary, but due to its adornment with decoration on both sides we are likely dealing with a grave marker. Tomb 3 of the same plot also provided sculpted fragments: a piece adorned with a linear pattern and part of an animal; and a high relief with the upper legs of a nude frontal figure.⁹³²

A particularly curious artefact is the limestone relief from Malles, which displays a seated female in front view (Fig. 5.41).⁹³³ It is generally dated to the MD period, according to its hairdo and facial contours.⁹³⁴ Adams compared it to the seated statues from Tel Halaf based on the unbelted dress ending above the ankles and the assumption that the depicted figure originally held a vessel in one hand.⁹³⁵ However, a) similar dresses recur elsewhere on Crete;⁹³⁶ b) it is not possible to discern whether the figure was really holding something, as the relevant hand is missing; and c) the cited North Syrian statues differ in technique, being rendered fully in the round. Therefore, the Malles piece is better understood in relation to Cretan relief terracottas showing seated females.⁹³⁷ Interestingly, Adams highlighted that there was a zone of ash-black colouring extending upwards below the figure's knees, which suggests that the relief was partially inserted into the ground, on which burnt offerings were made.⁹³⁸ Since it is odd that the entire lower third of the figure should have been invisible, it seems likely that this use of the slab was secondary.

Finally, there are two exceptional limestone pieces from Phaistos and Axos. The former preserves the upper half of a feline head (Fig. 5.42) and probably dates to

⁹³¹ Cf. p. 211f. Boardman in Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 220 suggests a griffin.

⁹³² Boardman 1967, 74 nos. 65f., pl. 17.

⁹³³ Pernier 1916; Adams 1978, 29-32.

⁹³⁴ Davaras 1972, 53; Adams 1978, 29.

⁹³⁵ Adams 1978, 30.

⁹³⁶ On a terracotta figurine from Afrati (Levi 1927-9, 182f., fig. 205) the hem also ends above the ankles.

⁹³⁷ Cf. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XXXI (no. 203), XXXVII (nos. 255f.).

⁹³⁸ Adams 1978, 31.

the middle or the third quarter of the 7th century.⁹³⁹ Its smooth underside and wedge-like recess, now serving as the bedding for a small base, appear to indicate that it was originally inserted into a separately worked lower part. The notable asymmetry toward the right and the depicted subject reveal that it must have been installed inside a doorway, perhaps at the temple on the Palace Hill.⁹⁴⁰ Concerning its rendition, the furrowed forehead is well in line with Cretan metal counterparts,⁹⁴¹ while the ears follow 7th-century Assyrianising trends. The Axos fragment forms the front tip of a lion's lower jaw, depicting a muzzle with protruding tongue and prominent teeth, and dates to roughly the same timeframe as the Phaistos piece.⁹⁴² Strikingly, both statues were worked in the round, which means that we are probably dealing with proper portal animals in the fashion of North Syrian prototypes.⁹⁴³

This brief overview has shown that preserved orientalising limestone sculpture other than seated statues and statuettes is rather scanty and largely restricted to the 7th century. The Chania and Phaistos pieces presumably both adorned temple buildings, while at least one of the Knossos slabs (and perhaps also the Mallia relief) served as a grave marker. As in the case of Prinias and Gortyn, the displayed imagery ties in with earlier or contemporary Cretan orientalising representations in other materials. Only the Phaistos and Axos portal felines may imitate Near Eastern sculpture directly in type. This is rather interesting since the Prinias seated females and the Gortyn feline also exhibit particular eastern-derived features, implying that entrance figures might have generally been special in that way.

⁹³⁹ D'Acunto 2001a.

⁹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 343-5, 349f. For an identification of this building as a temple of Rhea cf. Pernier 1910 and as a Letoon cf. Cucuzza 1993, esp. 21-4.

⁹⁴¹ Cf. p. 213.

⁹⁴² D'Acunto 2001b, 62.

⁹⁴³ Cf. Orthman 1971, pls. 1, 4, 7, 44.

Chapter 6 – Metal items

6.1 Introduction

Metalwork is certainly the most celebrated among the EIA products from Crete. This is not only due to their high material value and often exquisite ornateness, but also the fact that some of them have been discovered in large Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries outside Crete. The following first provides a brief outline of previous research into the subject, and then continues with discussions on the main groups of orientalising metal objects. Priority will be given to the famous as well as particularly numerous bronze shields and the equally renowned Idaean Cave ‘tympanon’. The socio-religious significance of the shields will be re-examined in a separate section. Subsequently, concise reviews of the Cypriot-derived stands, the ‘Knossos-Kavousi group’ and the orientalising gold jewellery will follow. The current chapter will not provide an analysis of every relevant motif because in-depth discussion on these already exists in various forms and because the word limit precludes further elaboration. Instead, a case study examines lion depictions specifically because these creatures form a recurrent theme and because it is possible to offer some new insights. The closing section is devoted to the reassessment of bronze objects that have previously been attributed to unprovenanced Levantine workshops but were likely produced on Crete.

6.2 History of research

The majority of objects analysed in the following were retrieved as early as the 1880s, during Frederico Halbherr's exploration of the Idaean Cave.⁹⁴⁴ In the 1930s, Emil Kunze provided a first diligent systematisation, reconstruction and art historic evaluation of Cretan sheet bronzes, taking into account all available material including finds from Phaistos and Palaikastro.⁹⁴⁵ This study still forms the basis for any discussions on the Cretan shields today. After three further decades had lapsed without much progress, fresh stimulus came from John Boardman's publication of the Cretan Collection in Oxford.⁹⁴⁶ His task of processing the objects in the Ashmolean Museum had led him to formulate a model for the development of EIA Cretan figured metal items, suggesting groupings and chronological sequences.⁹⁴⁷ Before long, the same scholar offered a review of the material from Khaniala Tekke. In this, he paid special attention to the gold jewellery, deducing from its style and context that an émigré North Syrian craftsman had initiated a gradually Hellenising local production.⁹⁴⁸ As will be specified, this theory had considerable impact on EIA Cretan archaeology.⁹⁴⁹ At the beginning of the 1970s, Fulvio Canciani authored a monograph on the Cretan orientalising bronzes, proposing that most of the shields were in fact Cypriot and later than conventionally dated.⁹⁵⁰ Although acknowledged as a meticulous study that contributes new workshop groupings as well as in-depth

⁹⁴⁴ Published in Halbherr 1888; Halbherr and Orsi 1888.

⁹⁴⁵ Kunze 1931.

⁹⁴⁶ Boardman 1961.

⁹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 132-9.

⁹⁴⁸ Boardman 1967, 59-63. Cf. also Boardman 1970, 15f.

⁹⁴⁹ Cf. p. 232f.

⁹⁵⁰ Canciani 1970.

stylistic and iconographic analyses, his interpretation did not meet general approval.⁹⁵¹

In 1982 the Greek Archaeological Society launched new large-scale excavations at the Idaean Cave under the direction of Yannis Sakellarakis. These generated a wealth of discoveries, comprising gold objects as well as further bronze shields.⁹⁵² Soon afterwards, Nicholas Stampolidis started his work at Eleutherna, which has been published in a series of monographs, conference volumes and exhibition catalogues⁹⁵³. Importantly, the material from this site offers a richness that is so far only paralleled at Knossos and benefits from exceptionally intact retrieval contexts. Based on some of his finds, Stampolidis re-opened discussion on the Idaean Cave type shields and advanced alternative interpretations.⁹⁵⁴ Finally, it is essential to mention George Papasavvas' comprehensive study of the Cypriot bronze stands, which also presents a systematic examination of Cretan Cypriot-type examples.⁹⁵⁵ This has granted new insights into external connections and the internal organisation of bronze working on the island.

⁹⁵¹ Cf. e.g. Kyrieleis 1972.

⁹⁵² Cf. *i.a.* Sakellarakis 1984; 1988; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013 (vol. 2).

⁹⁵³ Stampolidis 1990; 1996; 2004; 2012; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003; Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998.

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. p. 185, 187.

⁹⁵⁵ Papasavvas 2001. Cf. also Papasavvas 2004; 2012.

6.3 Shields

Cretan material⁹⁵²

Published Idaean Cave-type shields currently amount to over 80 examples, often in very fragmentary condition. At least 58 specimens have been retrieved from the Idaean Cave;⁹⁵³ six from tomb contexts at Eleutherna;⁹⁵⁴ five from the Zeus sanctuary at Palaikastro;⁹⁵⁵ three from underneath the temple on the Palace Hill at Phaistos;⁹⁵⁶ three from tomb contexts at Afrati;⁹⁵⁷ one from the Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme;⁹⁵⁸ one from Temple B at Kommos;⁹⁵⁹ and another possible example from the building on the West Hill at Dreros (cf. Fig. 6.1).⁹⁶⁰ Outside Crete, five examples have been excavated at Delphi, one at Dodona and one at Miletus.⁹⁶¹

Kunze divided the shields into two main types: animal head shields (largely with lion protomes) and omphalos shields, most of which have a flat centre adorned with a rosette (Fig. 6.2).⁹⁶² Among these, the former is by far the most numerous. The shields come in two sizes, measuring either between 18 and 35 cm or 49 and 70 cm in

⁹⁵² As this heading implies, I regard the shields as Cretan, which is also the vastly prevalent opinion. It has already been mentioned that Canciani 1970 considered them as Cypriot. S. Morris (1992, 152) further claimed them as Near Eastern based on references to Dunbabin and Boardman. However, Dunbabin (1957, 41) clearly states that he regards the entire preserved material as Cretan but presumes that there were lost originals created by resident Near Eastern craftsmen. Boardman (1961, 138) vaguely suggests that the workshops producing the shields perhaps staffed Near Eastern craftsmen but does not specify which examples he associates with these.

⁹⁵³ Kunze 1931, 6-32 nos. 1-7, 10, 12, 14, 18-28, 31-33, 36, 38, 41-51, 54, 57, 58 and 65-73; Sakellarakis 1984, 539-541, fig. 2, pl. 241β.

⁹⁵⁴ Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 253-5 nos. 316-319; Stampolidis 2011, 400-9 nos. A52a, A58a, A45/A45a, A63, A121 and A143a (all from Tomb A1/K1; all but last listed as basins/kalathoi, cf. also p. 187f.).

⁹⁵⁵ Kunze 1931, 12-28 nos. 8, 15, 29, 40 and 59; Benton in Hutchinson et al. 1939-40, 52-4.

⁹⁵⁶ Pernier 1910, 245-9 nos. 1-4, 7-9 and 11-12; Kunze 1931, 13f. no. 9, 27f. nos. 55 and 60.

⁹⁵⁷ Levi 1927-9, 335-7, fig. 440, 372-6, figs. 480 and 490 (one referred to as lid in caption; all from Tomba L); Kunze 1931, 14 no. 11, 28 no. 56.

⁹⁵⁸ Lebessi 1974b, 226.

⁹⁵⁹ J. Shaw and Harlan in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 364f. no. 6 (B21), pl. 5.30.

⁹⁶⁰ Xanthoudides 1918, 28, fig. 12.

⁹⁶¹ Delphi: Perdrizet 1908, 105f. nos. 531-535; Amandry 1944, 45-9; Lerat 1951, 140; 1980, 104-11. Dodona: Kunze 1931, 253, pl. 51d. Miletus: Kunze 1931, 281.

⁹⁶² Cf. Kunze 1931, 52-69. At least one has an *omphalos* with a plain round centre. Snodgrass (1964, 57) suggested that Kunze no. 29 could have been provided with a spike similar to a Cypriot shield from Amathus. The occurrence of this type at the Idaean Cave is attested by a miniature (Halbherr and Orsi 1888, 30 n. 10), but the hole on Kunze no. 29 seems disproportionately small for such a spike.

diameter.⁹⁶³ There is no doubt that the miniature versions were designed as votive objects,⁹⁶⁴ and it is likely that this also applies to the larger group. No publication mentions discernible traces of use,⁹⁶⁵ and their highly ornate nature and fragility make them best suited for display. Strictly speaking, the term ‘shield’ is incorrect since we are dealing with sheet bronzes of 1 mm average thickness.⁹⁶⁶ Some feature dense rows of holes running along the rim, suggesting that they were fastened onto a support (Fig. 6.3).⁹⁶⁷ As the rims are usually raised, the backing might have been made from hide rather than wood, which was customarily used for the later Argive shields.⁹⁶⁸ This is further corroborated by the small size of the holes and their density, characteristics matched on the later Carchemish shield that was laced to a leather background.⁹⁶⁹

For shields with a limited number of holes, varying between one and three, the same interpretation has rightly been questioned.⁹⁷⁰ The axial placement of such holes along the rim, which is paralleled on clay versions,⁹⁷¹ suggests that they were intended for suspension, as does the existence of a loop on two examples.⁹⁷² This could be advanced in support of the standard theory that the shields were hung from a tree outside the cave.⁹⁷³ However, the sheets were hardly durable enough for such a

⁹⁶³ Kunze 1931, 45.

⁹⁶⁴ *Contra* Snodgrass 1964, 53.

⁹⁶⁵ Only Lippold 1909, 458 n. 1 suggested that the ‘tympanon’ (at this point called ‘Melkhart shield’) showed traces of damage inflicted in a fight.

⁹⁶⁶ Kunze 1931, 43.

⁹⁶⁷ Cf. also *ibid.*, pls. 7-9; Lerat 1980, figs. 18f. According to Canciani (1970, 33) Kunze no. 11 has regularly spaced holes, too.

⁹⁶⁸ Bol 1989, 3f.; Philipp 2004, 87. *Contra* Canciani 1970, 33, who suggests a wooden core.

⁹⁶⁹ Woolley 1921, 128; Philipp 2004, 405.

⁹⁷⁰ Kunze 1931, 46.

⁹⁷¹ Cf. Johannowsky 2002, pls. 2 (no. 13), 3 (nos. 44, 51), 5 (no. 70), 8 (no. 113); Brock 1957, pl. 107 (no. 1414).

⁹⁷² Halbherr and Orsi 1888, 696; Kunze 1931, 46.

⁹⁷³ Sakellarakis 1988a, 174.

scenario, and this hypothesis has recently been criticised as a misunderstanding of ancient sources.⁹⁷⁴

Stampolidis proposed that, despite their formal resemblance to shields, some of the Idaean Cave-type examples were actually intended and used as cauldron lids.⁹⁷⁵ This view resulted from his discovery of an example serving as a pithos-urn cover and several bronze cauldrons “close to” this urn in Tomb A1/K1 at Eleutherna.⁹⁷⁶ According to him, the diameter of the shield is compatible with the lips of some of the cauldrons and the design of the shield’s rim would have been particularly suited to this interpretation. There are several problems with this reading. First of all, it is unclear why the shield was not associated with one of cauldrons in the burial if it formed a set with it prior to deposition. Further, its use as a lid inside the tomb is not necessarily indicative of its original function because it is quite typical of this kind of context that a wider range of convenient objects (e.g. kalathoi, bronze bowls and stones) could be employed as vessel covers.⁹⁷⁷ Most importantly, the above-mentioned holes on the rims of some shields (including examples with the rim design Stampolidis refers to) do not comply with this interpretation and the nature of the rim design is actually due to imitated models (see below). Stampolidis tried to reinterpret some of these models as cauldron lids too, yet this is certainly incorrect as the inscription belonging to the Musasir relief (which he cites as evidence) explicitly names the lion head objects as shields and because an actual excavated example is provided with handles at the back.⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷⁴ Stampolidis 1998, 183.

⁹⁷⁵ Stampolidis 2007, esp. 303-6; 2011, 407-9. He states that he does not refer to the entirety of shields but to “richly adorned” examples.

⁹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* For pithos A 143 cf. Kotsonas 2008, 103-6, fig. 17.

⁹⁷⁷ Eaby 2007 *passim*.

⁹⁷⁸ Cf. p. 191.

All of the shields feature a convex surface, pronounced to a greater or lesser degree. The design of their rims appears to show two main variations (Fig. 6.4):⁹⁷⁹ a simple, fairly flat profile (hereafter called 'Type A') or an external ridge that is bent forwards and then outwards in an S-like manner (hereafter called 'Type B').⁹⁸⁰ The shield bodies are typically divided into several zones of figured decoration, which are separated by ornamental bands with raised borders (most commonly cable patterns; Fig. 6.5). In the case of the animal head shields, there is a tendency to place more emphasis on the interior zone, which can form one unit with the protome (Fig. 6.6). As a general rule, the figural decoration in the upper half rests on the interior border of its zone, whereas in the lower half the baseline is formed by the exterior border. This way, the orientation of most shields is determined by the protomes and/or their frieze decoration.⁹⁸¹ Depictions include many stock motifs and ornaments that are borrowed from Levantine art, such as the lion combat motif, the lion trampling down human victims, sphinxes, files of bulls and goats, palmette-lotus chains and the cable.⁹⁸²

Concerning the technique of how the shields were decorated,⁹⁸³ Cretan metal smiths first traced outlines onto the front of circular sheet bronzes. Then, they punched the decoration into the reverse with a range of rounded chisels while the shield was resting on moulding cement that probably consisted of layers of tar mixed with wax, fat and soil. Subsequently, delicate details were inscribed onto the front, which, like the previous steps, was executed free hand. The lion heads were

⁹⁷⁹ This is based on available publications and an inspection of the Cretan shields on display in the Heraklion Museum and the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens.

⁹⁸⁰ For examples of 'Type A' cf. Fig. 6.34; Kunze 1931, pls. 41 (no. 46), 46 (no. 68); Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl. 5.30. For examples of 'Type B' cf. Fig. 6.3; Kunze 1931, pls. 3f. (nos. 2, 3), 21 (no. 8), 40 (no. 44); Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 255 no. 319.

⁹⁸¹ Kunze 1931, 47.

⁹⁸² E.g. *ibid.*, 94f., 101-3, 159f., 178-84; Markoe 1985, 112f., 531-5; Matthäus 2000, 531-5.

⁹⁸³ The ensuing account is based on Orsi in Halbherr and Orsi 1888, 127-30; Kunze 1931, 70-4; Galanaki 2001, 190-2.

apparently hammered from the same piece as the shield body (riveting only occurred to correct mishaps), probably after having been cast into a shape that approximated the end product. In very few cases, the lions' eyes were originally inlaid in a different material.

A group of sheet bronzes⁹⁸⁴ depicting processions of dancers, musicians and offering bearers moving towards an enthroned female figure are usually referred to as *phiae/paterae*/bowls⁹⁸⁵ (or as *kalathoi*/basins/*lavamàni*⁹⁸⁶). This goes back to Halbherr and Orsi's original publication⁹⁸⁷ and was continued by Kunze, who reinterpreted other '*paterae*' as shields but retained the designation for examples of this group.⁹⁸⁸ However, some have occasionally been counted as shields,⁹⁸⁹ and Kalliope Galanaki initially classified them as one typological group along with the shields.⁹⁹⁰ Re-examining the better-preserved examples from Eleutherna and Afrati (Figs. 6.7 and 6.8), there is an important technological indication that this assessment is correct. While both shields (Figs. 6.2 and 6.9) and bowls can feature an omphalos centre and be provided with a small number of holes,⁹⁹¹ the decoration on the objects in question is embossed from inside (i.e. the outside is meant to be viewed) in the manner of the shields. This contrasts with repoussé bowls, which are always

⁹⁸⁴ This includes one object from Afrati (Levi 1927-9, 374-6, fig. 490; Kanta and Karetsou 1998, 167); one from Eleutherna (Stampolidis 2011, 403, figs. 19, 24); five published (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, 67-72 nos. 15-19, pls. 49-51) and 20 unpublished (Galanaki 2014, 304) examples from the Idaean Cave; and an uncertain amount of unpublished examples from Syme (Galanaki 2014, 304). An example from Sparta (Markoe 1985, 207f., 328f. no. G8) is closely related in style and might potentially be Cretan (Galanaki 2014, 304). However, it differs in a major technical aspect, cf. main text below.

⁹⁸⁵ E.g. Kunze 1931, 31, 48; Canciani 1970, 54; Markoe 1985, 165f. nos. Cr.7-9; Hoffman 1997, 32 n. 21; Pappalardo 2011a.

⁹⁸⁶ Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 253f.; Stampolidis 2011, 400-5. Both publications also apply this designation to objects of the same shape that show other decoration.

⁹⁸⁷ Orsi in Halbherr and Orsi 1888, 166-74.

⁹⁸⁸ Kunze 1931, 47f.

⁹⁸⁹ Matthäus 1999, 258; Pappalardo 2011a, 232f.

⁹⁹⁰ Galanaki 2001, 169.

⁹⁹¹ For bowls cf. Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 239f., 248, 251.

embossed from the outside (i.e. the inside is meant to be viewed).⁹⁹² The latter point is crucial and has rightly been cited by Kunze as one of his main criteria for reinterpreting other '*paterae*'.⁹⁹³ The fact that the figural decoration does not change baseline does not pose a problem, as this is also the case on several objects that are commonly identified as shields (cf. e.g. Fig. 6.10).⁹⁹⁴ Evidently, the interpretation of this group has been heavily influenced by the depicted theme. Similar processions of musicians and offering bearers approaching a seated figure are found on Near Eastern bowls (one of them being of the omphalos type)⁹⁹⁵; indeed, one such instance has been detected among the Idaean Cave material.⁹⁹⁶ Cypriot bowls imitating these Near Eastern models incorporated dance scenes,⁹⁹⁷ and Cretans likely adopted this additional component because it suited local customs.⁹⁹⁸ That Cretan shields can emulate the designs on metals bowls has already been observed for clay versions (cf. p. 58) and is generally accepted for the friezes of the bronze examples.⁹⁹⁹ This is probably due to the extremely restricted ornamental repertory of imitated shield models (p. 191), which resulted in Cretans looking for further sources of inspiration. Finally, it is likely that the female depictions have subconsciously contributed to the interpretation as bowls or basins, but it should be pointed out that female representations also occur on several shields from the Idaean Cave and one each from Palaikastro, Phaistos and Eleutherna.¹⁰⁰⁰ Intriguingly, this and the observation that some types of dedications from the cave (especially jewellery and ivories) are usually

⁹⁹² Markoe 1985, 10. It seems that Markoe knew the larger Idaean Cave example only as a reconstruction drawing (*ibid.* 238) and this is why he included the Idaean fragments as bowls.

⁹⁹³ Kunze 1931, 47.

⁹⁹⁴ Cf. also *ibid.*, pls. 35, 38; Amandry 1944, 45-9.

⁹⁹⁵ Markoe 1985, 347 no. U6.

⁹⁹⁶ Matthäus 2000, 533, fig. 12; Pappalardo 2011a, 230f.

⁹⁹⁷ Kourou 1985, 417. One of them is also an omphalos bowl (Markoe 1985, 246f. no. Cy3).

⁹⁹⁸ For the importance of dance on Crete and LBA evidence for circular dances cf. Soar 2010, 137-43.

⁹⁹⁹ E.g. Markoe 1985, 112.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Pernier 1910, fig. 4 (frontal nude); Kunze 1931, pls. 3 (Mistress of Lions), 8 and 24 (Qudshu type, cf. p. 111f.), 38.

associated with the female sphere, has led to the cautious suggestion that a goddess might have been venerated alongside Zeus.¹⁰⁰¹

Near Eastern models

It is generally agreed that the Cretan shields emulated Near Eastern counterparts. Parallels for the lion head type have been detected on Assyrian terracottas and stone reliefs as well as on North Syrian orthostates.¹⁰⁰² Most attention has been directed at the Assyrian mural showing the sack of the Urartian temple at Musasir (Fig. 6.11), because the religious setting of the depicted shields corresponds to the sanctuary find spots of the majority of Cretan examples. The belonging booty inscription lists (among other items):

“6 golden shields which were hanging in his cella and shone brightly, and heads of wild lions emerge from their centre [...], 12 big silver shields, whose bands are decorated with dragon, lion or aurochs heads”.¹⁰⁰³

Based on the Musasir relief and actual shield finds, Urartian influence has often been implied in a rather vague manner,¹⁰⁰⁴ but the topic has never been pursued systematically. This is due to extreme delays in the publication of excavation reports and continued illegal digging that fed scores of unprovenanced objects into the art market, both of which have for a long time complicated dealing with Urartian material.¹⁰⁰⁵ Additionally, the readiness of early scholars to deliberately include North Syrian objects in their studies (based on presumed ancient political borders) has resulted in a certain stigma and made this topic an unpopular choice.¹⁰⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰¹ Prent 2005, 371f., 375.

¹⁰⁰² *I.a.* Lippold 1909, 457; Kunze 1931, 64-6; Canciani 1970, 46f.; Stampolidis 2007, 303. In Assyria, this type of shield seems to have been abandoned after Shalmanesser III (Snodgrass 1964, 52).

¹⁰⁰³ Salvini in Merhav 1991, 12.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *I.a.* Karo 1919, 151f.; Snodgrass 1964, 52; Canciani 1970, 47; Markoe 1985, 14f.; Batmaz 2013, 243f.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Wartke 1990, 6-14; Seidl 2004, 3-5.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Herzfeld (1921, 149) and Maxwell-Hyslop (1956, 156) categorically claimed all North Syrian material as Urartian. Urartu indeed expanded its territory westward under Menua (*ca.* 810-786), but seemingly did not reach further than Malatya-Meliddu (Zimansky 1998, 33).

Concerning the Urartian shields mentioned below, their provenance is verified by their discovery in legal excavations and by engraved inscriptions referring to Urartian monarchs.¹⁰⁰⁷ A re-assessment of the relations between Cretan and Urartian bronzes seems particularly worthwhile in light of the 2003 study on Urartian bronze work by Ursula Seidl, which has created a much richer basis for comparison.

Although the Near East accommodated many important metalworking centres (including Assyria and the North Syrian and Phoenician states)¹⁰⁰⁸ Urartu seems to have been special in this respect, since the exceptionally plentiful Musasir booty is admiringly referred to in various contemporaneous and later Assyrian letters, annals and inscriptions.¹⁰⁰⁹ Regarding our topic, decorated bronze shields between 70 and 100 cm in diameter have been discovered at Karmir Blur, Toprak Kale, Altintepe, Anzaf and Ayanis (cf. Fig. 2.4).¹⁰¹⁰ Almost all of these shields are furbished with votive inscriptions and it is likely that they were specifically produced for dedicatory purposes. At Altintepe, Ayanis and probably also Toprak Kale, they were suspended from the walls of courts enclosing Haldi temples.¹⁰¹¹ Concerning their design, it is particularly noticeable that their rim profiles fall into the same two categories as the Cretan examples (Fig. 6.12).¹⁰¹² Granted, Urartian Type B shields have a larger flat area adjacent to the rim, but this is likely due to their provision with inscriptions. Also, the horizontal S-bend is more pronounced on the Cretan version, which commonly features a row of punched bosses in this position. For the Urartian shields the corresponding bend appears to be a technological choice and is sometimes

¹⁰⁰⁷ Erzen 1962, 406f.; Özgüç 1966, 41f.; Piotrovskii 1970, figs. 38f.; Wartke 1990, 47f.; Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 161-3; Seidl 2004, 30f., 35f., 39-43.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Cf. *i.a.* Börker-Klähn 1973; Markoe 1985; Acquaro and Moscati in Moscati 1988, 422-47; J. Curtis, Dalley and Walker in J. Curtis 1988, 83-118; J. Curtis 1994, esp. 2-8, 14, 17-22; I. Winter 2010, 335-67.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Dalley in J. Curtis 1988, 99.

¹⁰¹⁰ Cf. Seidl 2004, 84 for list.

¹⁰¹¹ Erzen 1962, 406f.; Özgüç 1966, 41f., pl. XXXIV (no. 7); Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 161f.

¹⁰¹² Canciani (1970, 47) already briefly touched upon this point.

fortified with a wire¹⁰¹³, while on the Cretan examples it is purely ornamental. Importantly, however, the S-bend is very specific and so far only occurs on shields from these two regions.¹⁰¹⁴

Beyond this, the basic layout of the figural decoration on Urartian shields is comparable to their Cretan counterparts. The Type B examples feature a plain area or rosette at their centre (as on the Cretan omphalos type), and their body is divided into two to three zones of figural decoration, here containing striding lions and bulls (Fig. 6.13).¹⁰¹⁵ As on the Cretan shields, the figures change baseline at mid-height.¹⁰¹⁶ Further, there is a so far unique actual specimen with a central lion protome, which has been excavated at Ayanis (cf. Fig. 6.14).¹⁰¹⁷ A highly exceptional Type A shield from Anzaf shows a file of Urartian gods charging against an opposing army (probably Assyrians); lions hurrying ahead, attacking enemy soldiers; and soldiers of a different army (probably Urartians) closing in from the other side (Fig. 6.15).¹⁰¹⁸ Accordingly, at least two themes encountered on Cretan shields could derive from these models: warriors engaged in lion fights¹⁰¹⁹ and animal files¹⁰²⁰. As opposed to the highly standardised and rigidly paratactic decoration of the Urartian Type B shields, other metalwork from this region features a larger range of subjects and higher degree of animation. Belts and pectorals in particular show various composite creatures, including griffins and sphinxes, and men engaged in battles or hunts that involve lions and bulls.¹⁰²¹

¹⁰¹³ Wartke 1990, 57; Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 161; Seidl 2004, 86.

¹⁰¹⁴ Cf. Deszö 2012, pl. 19 (no. 69) for Assyrian examples with curled-up rims but no S-bends.

¹⁰¹⁵ Seidl 2004, 86.

¹⁰¹⁶ So already Matthäus 2005, 318.

¹⁰¹⁷ Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 162f. no. 58; Batmaz 2013, 244f.

¹⁰¹⁸ Cf. Belli 1999, esp. 35f., fig. 17.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. Fig. 6.34; Kunze 1931, 204-12, pls. 36f.; Canciani 1970, 149-53.

¹⁰²⁰ Cf. e.g. Kunze 1931, pls. 7, 40, 42; Amandry 1944, figs. 8f.; Canciani 1970, 164-6; Sakellarakis 1984, pl. 241β; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 253.

¹⁰²¹ E.g. Röllig 1997; Seidl 2004, 152-5, 205f.

Having observed these correspondences, it is necessary to highlight that the Urartian shields differ fundamentally from their Cretan counterparts in technical aspects.¹⁰²² The decoration of the Urartian examples was first carefully traced and then completed through incision and punching (both onto the front surface), using different kinds of burins.¹⁰²³ At least some instances preserve signs of tin-plating, which would have given them a silvery sheen.¹⁰²⁴ The lion head of the Ayanis shield was cast separately in the lost wax technique and weighs about 5 kg.¹⁰²⁵ It was riveted to a separate metal strip or 'collar', which in turn was attached to the shield's centre.¹⁰²⁶ A property that the protomes from both regions share is their provision with eye inlays; in the case of the Ayanis lion, these were made of white and black stone.¹⁰²⁷

Summing up, the Cretan shields are similar to Urartian counterparts in their basic design, decorative themes and probably also dedicatory purpose. Technologically, the shields from both regions deviate strongly, a factor that seems to preclude that Cretan craftsmen were in direct contact with Urartian metal smiths themselves. It appears more likely that non-specialist Cretans were in touch with Urartian or related material culture and commissioned their own versions at home.

¹⁰²² For Cretan examples cf. p. 186f.

¹⁰²³ Reindell 2001, 280f.

¹⁰²⁴ *Ibid.*, 281; Ingo et al. 2010, 797f.

¹⁰²⁵ Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 162; Batmaz 2013, 245.

¹⁰²⁶ Reindell 2001, 283.

¹⁰²⁷ Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 162.

6.4 Idaean Cave ‘tympanon’

This object constitutes a round sheet bronze measuring 55 cm in diameter (Fig. 6.16).¹⁰²⁸ The majority of scholars believe that it belonged to a tympanon, i.e. frame drum or tambourine – an interpretation that is largely based on its figural decoration (see below).¹⁰²⁹ Since tympana are commonly made of wood and hide, the sheet would have formed the head of a particularly ornate, non-functional metal version.¹⁰³⁰ A smaller number of researchers have referred to it simply as a *pinax*.¹⁰³¹ A problem with both suggestions is that there are small, regularly spaced holes running alongside the rim, similar to some of the shields. These imply that the disc was probably laced to a leather or textile background of some kind. Concerning its origin, the highly orientalising character of the item has led to the proposition that its maker came from the Near East.¹⁰³² However, the combined lack of similar finds from the east and its retrieval on Crete strongly recommend a local manufacture, as is mostly acknowledged.¹⁰³³

The disc displays a three-figure composition: in the centre, a bearded male is stamping a bull to the ground while stretching a subdued lion above his head; on either side, a winged genie holds a circular item in each hand, facing the central male. The overall impression of the depiction is strongly Assyrianising, but some Syrian influence has been observed in the design of the garments and the rendition of the

¹⁰²⁸ Kunze 1931, 32 no. 74.

¹⁰²⁹ Originally it was called the ‘Melkart Shield’, but Thiersch (1913, 49f.) established it as a tympanon. This was followed *i.a.* by Kunze 1931, 32; Demargne 1947, 295; Matz 1950, 479; Snodgrass 1964, 42; Boardman 1999a, 58; Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2000.

¹⁰³⁰ Matthäus in Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2000, 306. *Contra* Kunze 1931, 49, who regards it as cult equipment.

¹⁰³¹ Studnitzka (Kunze 1931, 50, pers. comm.); Canciani 1970, 55; Pilz 2011a, 52.

¹⁰³² Boardman 1999b, 58.

¹⁰³³ For a local manufacture cf. *i.a.* Kunze 1931, 197; Blome 1982, 16; J. Curtis 1994, 1; Braun-Holzinger in Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2000, 302.

animals.¹⁰³⁴ As emphasised by Eva Braun-Holzinger, the Master of Animals motif has a long history in Mesopotamia.¹⁰³⁵ However, there are no parallels for the iconography encountered on the mount. Although her references for male figures shouldering a lion are indeed similar in this aspect, the Mesopotamian images of a hero dominating both animals commonly show him stepping on the bull's neck while holding the lion at the side. On the bronze sheet these two iconographies were fused, probably to dramatise the effect. Genies of the depicted kind are commonly associated with fertility and vegetation, both in the case of Levantine renditions¹⁰³⁶ and Assyrian art, which frequently shows them in the act of pollinating a Tree of Life with a pinecone.¹⁰³⁷ Suitably, the central scene on the mount is framed by a pinecone chain, an ornament that is otherwise rare on Cretan bronzes despite its popularity in Assyrian and Assyrian-derived art.¹⁰³⁸

The round objects held by the genies are usually understood to represent tympana. However, this identification is not as straightforward as has been implied. By definition, tympana are played singly. If standing, the player usually supports the instrument with the palm of one hand while the other does most of the beating.¹⁰³⁹ The circumstance that the genies hold one disc in each hand would better suit an interpretation as cymbals, yet these are usually smaller and held at a central handle, which is not the case on the depiction.¹⁰⁴⁰ To add to the confusion, the genie to the right additionally holds a stick-like item in each hand, which could represent further percussive devices. These incongruities appear to be critical and two potential

¹⁰³⁴ Braun-Holzinger in Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2000, 299-302.

¹⁰³⁵ *Ibid.*, 300f.

¹⁰³⁶ *Ibid.*, 286f.

¹⁰³⁷ Cf. e.g. Parpola 1993, 164f. n. 165, fig. 3.

¹⁰³⁸ Seidl 2004, 121.

¹⁰³⁹ A figurine from Praesos (Halbherr 1901b, 390f.; Hall Dohan 1931, 221) and a similar example in the British Museum (Kolotourou 2012, 217f.) have been interpreted as holding a tympanon. In these instances the disc is attached to a strap worn around the neck, which could have served as a way to facilitate playing with both hands.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For cymbals on Crete cf. Aign 1963, 58.

explanations come to mind: either the craftsman was confused about the requested content of the representation or else the imagery was not supposed to be understood literally. The first scenario seems less plausible considering that the composition as a whole was obviously well planned. The second option, by contrast, could make sense if the depicted action was deliberately augmented to evoke a more powerful impression, as in the case of the hero's subjugation of two animals. Accordingly, the multiplication of instruments and their mid-air position, rather than being held properly, might have helped to reproduce the atmosphere created by the noise and swiftness of percussive rhythms. The genies are usually identified with the Kouretes, warrior spirits or *daimones*.¹⁰⁴¹ According to later tradition, these clashed their arms to hide crying infant Zeus from his child-eating father Kronos and became associated with music in more general terms. Although fitting rather neatly on a visual level, this interpretation heavily relies on an early association of the Idaean Cave with the birthplace of Zeus and a likewise early existence of the corresponding myth, both of which are highly doubtful (see following discussion). An alternative hypothesis could be that the choice of adapting Assyrian-type winged genies was not due to the superhuman character of the depicted figures but rather the spiritual nature of the scene and/or because the inclusion of wings could have added to the idea of swiftness and rapture. It may be proposed that the imagery of the 'tympanon' should be understood in the context of ritualised hunting, based on the central motif and the connection between cult and percussive instruments.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰⁴¹ Cf. *i.a.* Boardman 1970, 17; Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2000, 307; Matthäus 2005, 318f.; Prent 2005, 372.

¹⁰⁴² For the role of percussion in cult cf. Kolotourou 2005, esp. 185f., 189.

6.5 Reassessing the socio-religious meaning of the shields

The sociological background for the production of the shields and the ‘tympanon’ is generally sought in the association of the Idaean Cave with the Cretan-born Zeus and related male maturation rites. More specifically, it is assumed that both were meant to reference the myth of the Kouretes or armed dances in honour of these Kouretes. There are, however, several problems with this interpretation.

First, locating the ancient birthplace of Zeus is everything but straightforward. The earliest surviving literary source, Hesiod, merely informs us that Rhea gave birth to Zeus at Lyttos and that Gaia hid him in a cave on Mount Aigion, simply ‘Goat Mountain’.¹⁰⁴³ Consequently, various caves in the wider vicinity of Lyttos have been proposed as possible identifications: Arkalochori, Phaneromeni and Psychro.¹⁰⁴⁴ Later authors assigned the birthplace of Zeus to mountains called Ida or Dikte – names that were used interchangeably,¹⁰⁴⁵ possibly because they originated from (perhaps related) generic Minoan terms for mountains.¹⁰⁴⁶ Literary accounts as well as archaeological evidence conclusively link the EIA Diktaian Zeus to east Crete, especially the sites of Praisos and Palaikastro.¹⁰⁴⁷ Concerning Palaikastro, where he was known as the Great Kouros, Alexander MacGillivray further presented an elaborate argument for a Minoan predecessor.¹⁰⁴⁸ While his reasoning is persuasive, it should be pointed out that some of the presented finds come from Chania. Additionally, Linear B tablets from Knossos mentioning a Diktaian Zeus indicate that another sanctuary of this deity was likely located in the wider vicinity of this site.¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴³ Hesiod *Theogony* 476-84.

¹⁰⁴⁴ S. Marinatos 1937, 222; 1962a, 88f.; Boardman 1961, 2. For overview cf. Prent 2005, 166f.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For overview cf. Thorne 2000, 156-60.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Owens 1993, 159.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Crowther 2000, 145f.; Thorne 2000, 160; Prent 2005, 540.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. MacGillivray 2000, 126-9.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Owens 1993, 156f. For the Linear B evidence cf. Crowther 2000, 147.

Therefore, we might consider that during the LBA the cult of the Kouros was practised at various sites throughout the island, but in subsequent centuries became more regionalised. In the case of the Idaean Cave, a cult of Zeus is attested from the Classical period onwards, but it has been suggested that he replaced a Minoan precursor as early as the end of the LBA.¹⁰⁵⁰ When exactly the Idaean Cave started to be identified with his birthplace must remain uncertain. Citing the shields and ‘tympanon’ in this context is little helpful as it effectively initiates a circular argument in which Zeus Kretagenes is attested through the presence of these finds whose interpretation in turn relies on his presumed cult.

It is critical to note that the LBA Kouros was not attached with any martial qualities,¹⁰⁵¹ just as the above-mentioned Hesiod passage does not include any references to Kouretes or armed dances. The sources usually cited for armed dances are Strabo, who probably relied on Ephorus,¹⁰⁵² and the Palaikastro Hymn, which dates to the Severan period but whose text goes back to between the 6th and 3rd centuries.¹⁰⁵³ A close reading of the hymn, which should be given priority as it actually originates from Crete, reveals that it does *not* mention a performance of armed dances. Instead, it refers to the singing and playing of instruments beside an altar, which is where the shielded Kouretes were hiding Zeus by their resounding dancing.¹⁰⁵⁴ The facts that both events seem to be connected by the same locality and that orientalising shields were retrieved from the area of this altar raise an intriguing thought. Perhaps the EIA shields are not symptomatic of a pre-existing tradition at all but their prolonged display¹⁰⁵⁵ inspired later mythogenesis.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Prent 2005, 158-60.

¹⁰⁵¹ Myres 1902-3, 376-80. According to Rutkowski (1991, 44), the only weapons are the daggers that male figurines are often furnished with.

¹⁰⁵² Cf. Strabo 10.3.11.

¹⁰⁵³ Prent 2005, 357f.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Murray 1919, 358.

¹⁰⁵⁵ For the display of an Idaean shield well into the Roman period cf. Sakellarakis 1988, 114.

Resulting from the above, the motivation behind the production of the shields must be sought in factors other than the Kouretes myth. A perhaps more instructive angle of investigation is to look at the contexts of their Urartian models. Fortunately, valuable information regarding the meaning of these is provided by the mentioned lion-head example from Ayanis. It was suspended from the external wall of the local Haldi temple, above a hearth and next to a quiver and bone object containing millet seeds.¹⁰⁵⁶ The head of the lion was directed downwards towards the hearth (rather than straight ahead); the inscription on its rim contains a curse formula warning anyone not to interfere with the fire. This assemblage has been interpreted in terms of a Haldi cult revolving around warfare, fertility and fire¹⁰⁵⁷ – aspects that are also attested through other Urartian material.¹⁰⁵⁸ In light of this, it might not be coincidental that the ‘tympanon’ and some Cretan shields display fertility-related imagery.¹⁰⁵⁹ That one of Cretan Zeus’ competencies was fertility is also confirmed in several of his epithets,¹⁰⁶⁰ the above cited Palaikastro Hymn as well as his mentioned death and rebirth.¹⁰⁶¹ The special importance of hearths in EIA Crete, on the other hand, is self-evident in the predominance of hearth temples.¹⁰⁶² This superficial comparison is not meant to suggest that there was any sort of religious cross-fertilisation between Urartu and Crete, but it seems possible that key aspects of the cult surrounding the shields could have seemed familiar to Cretans. Finally, it should be pointed out that the imagery adorning a recently discovered 10th-century krater from Thronos Kephala attests to the performance of armed dances at a very early

¹⁰⁵⁶ Çilingiroğlu 2005, 32.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 35f.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Biagov 1978; Zimansky 1998, 33, 86; Belli 1999, 37-41.

¹⁰⁵⁹ For tympanon cf. p. 194.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Verbruggen 1981, 143-5.

¹⁰⁶¹ Cf. also Sakellarakis 1988b, 212.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. p. 12.

date.¹⁰⁶³ Intriguingly, the dancing warriors wear shields in front of their bodies, providing some evidence for the pre-existence and cultural importance of these objects before the emergence of the Idaean-cave type shields.

¹⁰⁶³ D'Agata 2012, esp. 221-9, fig. 2.

6.6 Cypriot-type bronze stands

These occur in two variants: as tripods and four-sided stands with ajouré panels. Both variants are crowned by a ring element that could hold a variety of vessels,¹⁰⁶⁴ making these objects particularly versatile. Compared to the shields, the stands form a relatively small group. Five examples (or fragments thereof) have been retrieved from Knossian tombs; four from the sanctuary at Syme; two from the sanctuary at Amnisos; and one each from the Idaean Cave, the sanctuary at Palaikastro and a tomb at Vrokastro (Cf. Fig. 6.1).¹⁰⁶⁵ Beyond Crete, five more come from Delphi, two from Theran tombs and one from the Athena sanctuary at Ialysos.¹⁰⁶⁶ Five of the listed instances are four-sided stands that preserve discernible orientalising motifs in their ajouré panels. Interestingly they were all excavated at prominent supra-regional sanctuaries: the Idaean Cave, Syme and Delphi. The example from the Idaean Cave, which is extremely fragmentary but preserves a large ship scene, also includes the depiction of a sphinx (Fig. 6.17).¹⁰⁶⁷ The bovine/equine features of this sphinx have links to Cyprus, as discussed in the pottery chapter (p. 81), although by the time the stands were produced¹⁰⁶⁸ these features must have been entirely naturalised. The four remaining examples are adorned with quadrupeds or griffins flanking a central element (cf. e.g. Figs. 6.18 and 6.19).¹⁰⁶⁹ The piece from Syme (Fig. 6.19) clearly emulates Levantine models in showing the griffins and goats as feeding from Phoenician palmettes. Additionally, the creatures on this stand (and a small piece from Delphi that must have belonged to an identical

¹⁰⁶⁴ Papasavvas 2012, 130.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Papasavvas 2001, 246-55 nos. 37-39, 41-45, 47, 48-50, 54, 56.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 247-56 nos. 40, 46, 51-53, 55, 57, 58.

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 250 no. 48β (from the Idaean Cave); Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, 87f. no. β, pls. 59.10, 60, 61.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Cf. p. 201.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Papasavvas 2001, 253-6 nos. 52α and 53 (from Delphi), 54 (from Syme), 57α (from Delphi). See also Amandry 1944, 56-61; Picard 1991, 160 no. 24.

example) appear to imitate North Syrian ivories in their striated patterns.¹⁰⁷⁰ Finally, there is a small bronze from Delphi, which likely represents a lion biting into the head of an otherwise missing human figure (Fig. 6.20).¹⁰⁷¹ This piece is not usually counted as belonging to a stand but is morphologically very similar to the mentioned Idaean Cave example and other products from the same workshop.

Both variants of stands were first produced on Cyprus and had their heyday in the 13th and 12th centuries.¹⁰⁷² While the tripods constituted a formalised version of prototypes found in Anatolia and the northern Levant, the figured four-sided stands presented a new creation that transferred the design of wooden furniture with ivory inlays into metal.¹⁰⁷³ Apparently in tandem with the trade in copper ingots,¹⁰⁷⁴ Cypriot stands were marketed in the Levant, the Aegean, Crete and further west. A SM Tomb at Knossos North Cemetery has yielded such an import.¹⁰⁷⁵ This triggered local productions, which on Crete – the second most important centre after Cyprus – are attested for the late 10th/ 9th to the beginning of the 7th centuries and flourished especially in the 8th century. The retrieved examples constitute the output of four distinct workshops, two of which were probably located at Knossos.¹⁰⁷⁶ Scholarship is divided on questions concerning the manufacture of the stands,¹⁰⁷⁷ but either way

¹⁰⁷⁰ G. Herrmann et al. 2004, 114 nos. S1525-S1530 (belonging to the 'Flame and Frond' group, cf. G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, 91, fig. 36). Animals on Cypriot stands can also be rendered with striation (e.g. Catling 1984, pl. XIV) but they do not show the same patterning as the Cretan examples.

¹⁰⁷¹ Perdrizet 1908, 56f. no. 181; Rolley 1969, 95f. no. 156 (from Delphi).

¹⁰⁷² Catling (1984, 78, 86, 89) suggested that the stands' production was restricted to these two centuries and that specimens from later contexts had been subject to prolonged circulation and used as 'heirlooms'. Other scholars (e.g. Matthäus 1985, 332; Muhly in J. Curtis 1988, 335) argued in favour of a continued Cypriot production.

¹⁰⁷³ Catling 1984, 73, 75; Matthäus 1985, 329; Papasavvas 2004, 33.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Papasavvas 2004, 49f.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *KNC*, 194 no. 1, pl. 276 (Tomb 201). This piece constitutes the earliest example on Crete and is LBA Cypriot, cf. Papasavvas 2004, 48.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Papasavvas 2001, 190-5.

¹⁰⁷⁷ The stands were cast in the lost-wax technique. Catling (1964, 72) and Matthäus (1985, 300, 326) favour 'piece casting', i.e. that the different parts of the stands were cast separately and soldered together subsequently. Papasavvas (2004, 37f.), on the other hand, favours casting in one, i.e. that the different parts of the stands were assembling as a wax model and then cast.

the processes involved seem so complex as to require a technology transfer through direct instruction by experienced craftsmen.¹⁰⁷⁸

¹⁰⁷⁸ Papasavvas 2004, 49.

6.7 Knossos-Kavousi Group

This body of objects was initially compiled by Boardman and constitutes ‘stage one’ of the first series in his classification system.¹⁰⁷⁹ It is defined as the stylistically earliest group of orientalising metal items and compares more closely to instances of Near Eastern art than later products in this sequence. The group comprises a bronze quiver mount (Fig. 6.21) and belt from Fortetsa (Fig. 6.22);¹⁰⁸⁰ a bronze sheet from Kavousi (Fig. 6.23);¹⁰⁸¹ a gold band from Tekke (Fig. 6.24) and another with decoration made from the same matrix, once in the Nelidow Collection;¹⁰⁸² and two cut-out gold foils, one from Fortetsa (Fig. 6.25) and the other from the Medical Faculty Site (Fig. 6.26).¹⁰⁸³ The decoration of these items is fairly standardised, with almost all of them depicting similar renditions of the Lion Tamer motif (p. 211). The Fortetsa quiver and Kavousi sheet additionally share secondary files of helmeted sphinxes and griffins. Only the Fortetsa belt stands out in its diverging theme: a triad enclosed within a building is protected by a row of archers that fend off approaching chariots on either side. This choice of subject was likely to some degree predicated on the shape of the object; a Cretan parallel can be found on the limestone relief from Chania, mentioned above (p. 177). An extraordinary feature of these bronzes that has been highlighted before is the inclusion of diverse types of Near Eastern helmets, which are portrayed with a remarkable level of accuracy.¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁷⁹ Boardman 1961, 134f. His ‘first series’ consists of gold jewellery and related sheet metals and is subdivided into three stylistic stages; the ‘second series’ covers the Idaean Cave type shields and is defined by a shared morphology rather than style.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Brock 1957, 134-6 nos. 1568 and 1569.

¹⁰⁸¹ Boyd 1901, 147f.

¹⁰⁸² Boardman 1967, 68 no. 3; Higgins 1969, 150.

¹⁰⁸³ Brock 1957, 54 no. 578; Coldstream 1991, 296; *KNC*, 221 no. 91, 541.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Desz  1998, 24f. This is still the case even if the helmets of the archers defending the building on the Fortetsa belt are Corinthian (Snodgrass 1964, 12f.).

The available contexts of objects belonging to this group indicate a deposition between the PGB and MG periods.¹⁰⁸⁵ According to Boardman, their production should be assigned to the late 9th or early 8th century and Tamás Desző, in his study of Near Eastern helmets, has suggested a timeframe within the first half of the 8th century.¹⁰⁸⁶ Indirect confirmation that the production of this group predates the shields may be suspected in the usage of crude stencils for the Fortetsa quiver and Kavousi sheet (as indicated by the rigid paratactic composition and repetitive renditions)¹⁰⁸⁷ and the employment of a matrix for the Tekke band¹⁰⁸⁸. The shields, on the contrary, were drawn entirely freehand¹⁰⁸⁹ and exhibit a higher degree of independence and confidence in working with sheet metal.

It has recently been proposed that the Fortetsa quiver and belt were crafted by a North Syrian metal smith from the area of Sendschirli, based on the shape of facial features and feet.¹⁰⁹⁰ Indeed, reliefs from Karatepe, which is not far away from Sendschirli, also display parallels for these traits (Fig. 6.27). However, arguably the most significant characteristic of both quiver and mount is their strongly eclectic mixture of influences¹⁰⁹¹: the former combines North Syrian (helmeted sphinxes; some helmets as such)¹⁰⁹² and Phoenician (Lion Tamer)¹⁰⁹³ imagery, while the latter juxtaposes Assyrian/-ising (archers; chariots)¹⁰⁹⁴ and Cretan (triad; other helmets) components. Due to Assyrian and Phoenician involvement in the Sendschirli-

¹⁰⁸⁵ Cf. n. 1080-1083. The Tekke band was deposited inside a PGB vessel; the Fortetsa quiver belonged to PGB-EG vase no. 72 (i.e. no. 1440); and the Fortetsa gold foil was probably associated with MG vase no. 83 (i.e. no. 530). The urn containing the Fortetsa belt is lost, but pottery retrieved from it dates to the PGB and EG periods. The PGB date suggested for the Medical Faculty site foil in *KNC* is not based on context, and a lower date has been proposed in Stampolidis et al. 1998, 135 no. 334. Blome (1982, 12) pointed out that the subsidiary patterns on the Fortetsa belt has parallels on PGB pottery.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Boardman 1961, 134-8; Desző 1998, 24.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Cf. Matz 1950, 479.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Boardman 1967a, 68 no. 3.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. p. 186.

¹⁰⁹⁰ D'Acunto 2013, 474-6, 482.

¹⁰⁹¹ As also noted by Demargne 1964, 347.

¹⁰⁹² Cf. p. 203.

¹⁰⁹³ Cf. p. 211.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Boardman 1999a, 74.

Karatepe area, this does not contradict the proposed interpretation. However, especially the belt shows a noticeable simplification and dissolution of the eastern components: members of the chariot crew are presented behind each other rather than stacked, a feature that seems more typical of Greek depictions; the chariots and horses do not show any embellishment or trappings as they customarily do in the Near East;¹⁰⁹⁵ and the crouching archers miss their lower bodies as if they were shooting down from a battlement, which they are not. All this contrasts strongly with the accuracy and detail paid to the triad, especially the well-preserved right female. Her Cretan garments are rendered fastidiously and her hair even shows the same stepped fringe that recurs on the mentioned Knossian grave marker.¹⁰⁹⁶ Therefore the Fortetsa bronzes should be understood as the products of a Cretan metal smith employing a range of different models from the Near East. The motif of the lion slayer was probably chosen due to a specific relevance of this iconography at Knossos (see below). The theme of the Fortetsa belt, on the other hand, could have referenced a particular historic event, presented a generic mythologic narrative or served as an elite symbol.¹⁰⁹⁷

In discussions on the Tekke gold band or ‘diadem’, it is common to mention the Attic gold bands¹⁰⁹⁸ because these are equally adorned with stamped designs and some of them carry similar orientalising decoration. One example in particular resembles the Tekke band in terms of the lion fight theme, metopal composition and subsidiary patterns.¹⁰⁹⁹ However, the Attic diadems certainly postdate the Cretan

¹⁰⁹⁵ Cf. e.g. Reade 1988, fig. 91.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Cf. Fig. 5.40.

¹⁰⁹⁷ As suggested for the comparable scene on the Amathus bowl (D’Acunto 2013, 479; Niemeier 2001, 21).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ohly 1953; J. Carter 1972, 41f. n. 90.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ohly 1953, pls. 3 and 15 (no. A7).

finds¹¹⁰⁰ and if there was a connection, influences must have emanated from Knossos. This could be supported by the Nelidow example, which was supposedly retrieved in Athens.¹¹⁰¹

¹¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 108 places the first two groups of these gold relief sheets with the Dipylon ivories. For these, a date in the 760s (Schweitzer *et al.* 1971, 137) or 750s (Coldstream 2003, 110) has been suggested. Hoffman 1997, 227 places them in the late 8th century.

¹¹⁰¹ Boardman 1967, 68 no. 3.

6.8 Gold jewellery

The majority of orientalising gold jewellery has been discovered at the Idaean Cave, Knossos and Eleutherna,¹¹⁰² but stray pieces also come from Afrati and Praisos.¹¹⁰³ Particularly well known are the sets from Tekke Tomb 2, which were found deposited within two internally buried PGB vessels.¹¹⁰⁴ Although the relevant material is generally rather heterogeneous, a large part of it is characterised by the use of granulation, filigree and/or cloisonné. Granulation was already known in the LBA Aegean but this tradition seems to have been disrupted during LM IIIC. Since the technique was thought extremely hard to master, scholars have traditionally attributed the manufacture of the Cretan orientalising jewellery to Near Eastern craftsmen or local pupils of these.¹¹⁰⁵ However, a fundamental reappraisal by Jack Ogden has demonstrated that the seemingly complex designs produced by EIA gold smiths could be achieved through basic methods and that mere examination of objects displaying these techniques would have sufficed to manage reproduction.¹¹⁰⁶ The re-emergence of jewellery with granulation, filigree and cloisonné on Crete does not present an isolated phenomenon; comparable material has been discovered at Lefkandi (*ca.* 900 and 850), Athens (*ca.* 800) and Eleusis (*ca.* 800).¹¹⁰⁷

Based on published instances, the most popular jewellery motifs were crescent shapes, females and felines. The crescents, especially, have invited habitual comparison with Levantine finery, but it is important to bear in mind that lunate

¹¹⁰² Brock 1957, 99 nos. 1144f., pl. 76; Boardman 1967, 68f. nos. 1f., 18f. and 47f., pls. 7-12; Lebessi 1975; *KNC*, 69 no. 3, 190 no. 1, pls. 264f.; Stampolidis 2012, 207-10 nos. 5-9, 11 and 16; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, 134-7 nos. 1-3, 5f. and 8, 144f. nos. 8 and 12α, pls. 81f., 85.

¹¹⁰³ Marshall and Bosanquet 1901-2, 243f., fig. 11; Marshall 1905-6, 65, fig. 1; Levi 1927-9, 478, pl. XII.

¹¹⁰⁴ Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 216; Boardman 1967, 68f. For interpretation of this assemblage cf. p. 232f.

¹¹⁰⁵ For overview cf. Hoffman 1997, 215-7.

¹¹⁰⁶ Ogden 1988, 15f.; 1992, 65-7.

¹¹⁰⁷ Smithson 1968, 113f., pl. 32; Higgins 1969, 144f.; Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 136a-b; Coldstream 2003, 374.

designs were current in Late Minoan Crete and might well have been rediscovered locally.¹¹⁰⁸ Only two pieces, the Tekke pectoral (Fig. 6.28) and the 'boat shape' pendent from the same context (Fig. 6.29), are cogently related to Near Eastern material in this respect. However, both of them reveal noticeable incongruences: on the pectoral the common orientation of the attached sickle-shaped trinkets is inverted,¹¹⁰⁹ while the pendant combines a body characteristic of Phoenician earrings¹¹¹⁰ with three conical attachments that recall a Syrian type.¹¹¹¹ This, again, suggests that Cretan metal smiths were at work and took pleasure in creating new orientalising blends. Another source of inspiration might have been Urartian or related gold work. Accordingly, a pair of crescent-shaped Urartian earrings feature exactly the same kind of tubular loops with vertical grooves that are found on two pendants from Eleutherna (Figs. 6.30 and 6.31).¹¹¹²

Boardman ascribed the vast majority of gold items to the 'second stage' of his first series, which according to him may have been partially contemporary with the 'first stage', the Knossos-Kavousi Group (see above).¹¹¹³ This proposed chronological overlap seems to be corroborated by the above-mentioned Eleutherna pendants and another example from the same site (Fig. 6.32). These are extremely similar to a second-stage specimen from the Idaean Cave (Fig. 6.33) in some features (lug bails; lion depiction), while sharing others with objects of the Knossos-Kavousi Group (helmet type; Lion Tamer theme).

¹¹⁰⁸ J. Younger 1992, 260f., pls. LXIII-LXIV.

¹¹⁰⁹ Moscati 1988, 15, 42f., fig. 13, pl. XIX; Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, 393 no. 378.

¹¹¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 202f., pl. 158; Almagro Gorbea 1986, pls. XII, XXIII.

¹¹¹¹ Boardman 1967, 66f.; Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, fig. 127.

¹¹¹² Merhav 1991, 194.

¹¹¹³ Boardman 1961, 135f.

6.9 Case study: lion depictions

The best-preserved lion depictions are provided by the famous Idaean Cave ‘Hunt Shield’ (Fig. 6.34).¹¹¹⁴ The upper left of its broad internal frieze shows an armed bowman targeting a feline that carries a vulture on its back. Archers shooting at felines are ubiquitous throughout the Near East;¹¹¹⁵ vultures, however, are associated with Assyrian and Egyptian/-ising hunt and battle scenes in particular.¹¹¹⁶ A direct parallel for such a bird being perched on a lion occurs on a bronze bowl from Olympia, which is probably of Phoenician make.¹¹¹⁷ A connection to Egyptian or Phoenician material might also been implied by another Cretan shield, which featured a bird-of-prey protome and whose imagery includes snakes wearing sun-discs (Fig. 6.3).¹¹¹⁸ Vultures are indigenous to central Crete and still inhabit elevated positions, such as the Lasithiotika Ori and the Prinias *Patela*. Thus, while their pictorial rendition was adapted from foreign models, they may well have borne a special local meaning. Returning to the Hunt Shield, the lower right of the internal broad frieze depicts another warrior fighting a lion; in this case they are locked in close combat. Lying on the ground, the warrior stabs at the throat of the beast, which is biting into his helmet. As mentioned in the section on the iconographically-related Knossian MPG krater (p. 72), the image of a lion biting its victim in the head can be traced back to Cyprus. The motif of a fallen warrior stabbing at a feline is likewise attested on a

¹¹¹⁴ Literature on the subject often mentions the Hunt Shield as a unique piece. However, there are fragments of at least three further shields that must have carried designs with the same topic (Kunze 1931, 20f. nos. 31, 33 and 36, pls. 36f.).

¹¹¹⁵ Cf. e.g. Strawn 2005, figs. 3.11, 3.67-3.74, 4.111, 4.113f., 4.117-4.125, 4.134-4.143.

¹¹¹⁶ Hencken 1950, 301; Teissier 1996, 96, fig. 178; Keel and Uehlinger 1998, 118f., fig. 153a; Strawn 2005, figs. 4.84, 4.91, 4.105.

¹¹¹⁷ Markoe 1985, 112, 123f., 207, 326f. (no. G7). Hasserodt (2009, 225-257) favours a North Syrian provenance.

¹¹¹⁸ Kunze 1931, 6 no. 1, pls. 1f.

Late Cypriot bronze stand.¹¹¹⁹ As in the case of the Master of Animals on the 'tympanon', it seems that the Cretan artist may have merged two motifs to dramatise the action.

The narrow exterior frieze of the Hunt Shield continues the lion hunt theme. Apart from repeating the discussed scenes, it illustrates warriors being trampled down by attacking lions and mounted archers shooting backwards at them. Both of these iconographies have well-known, direct counterparts in the Near East.¹¹²⁰ A particularly interesting element is the so-called 'bear', which replaces a feline in the upper half of the depiction.¹¹²¹ At first glance, the intended species is indeed not readily recognisable. Yet, remarkably, boar representations on northwest Iranian bronzes turn out to be extremely similar, exhibiting the same stripy fur and featuring a comparable head shape (Fig. 6.35).¹¹²² Stylistic relations to this region are also apparent in the lion renditions themselves. These have been compared to ivories of the North Syrian Flame and Frond school on account of the engravings on their rear legs,¹¹²³ but the engravings do not actually match the typical flame designs.¹¹²⁴ Instead, they are composed of parallel lines, which resemble patterns occurring on bronze objects from Hasanlu. A cup from this site shows a lion that is in fact extremely similar to the Hunt Shield creatures in its head shape and features, body shape and proportions, and the existence of markings on the claws (Fig. 6.36).¹¹²⁵ Only two details are missing: the pointy tongue and the broad bands with internal

¹¹¹⁹ Cf. Papasavvas 2001, 242f. no. 28, figs. 68, 70.

¹¹²⁰ Cf. Poulsen 1912, 22f., figs. 12f.; Markoe 1985, 256f. (no. Cy8); David 2011, 86-9. For archers in chariots shooting backwards cf. Layard 1853, pl. 10; Seidl 2004, 154, figs. 108f.

¹¹²¹ Kunze 1931, 81.

¹¹²² Löw 1998, 130-3, 135f., fig. 28, pl. 7a.

¹¹²³ Matthäus 2005, 320.

¹¹²⁴ Cf. Fig 3.81.

¹¹²⁵ Some ivories from Nimrud display comparable markings (Canciani 1970, 76; see G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, 179 no. 219, pl. 32 for a better example). This is not surprising because Assyrian and North Syrian ivories were imported to Hasanlu and respective influences are discernible in the local material (I. Winter 1981, 22f.).

chasing. Both are found on other bronzes of the same provenance (cf. Fig. 6.37 for chased bands).¹¹²⁶

A particularly significant feline-related motif on Cretan metalwork is the Lion Tamer, which has already been mentioned in the context of the Knossos-Kavousi group and some pottery instances.¹¹²⁷ It shows a helmeted warrior opposing a rearing lion (Figs. 6.23 and 6.24); sometimes a second animal is added to create a symmetric arrangement (Figs. 6.21 and 6.26). The warrior typically grips the lion's paw with one hand (or, less frequently, reaches into its mouth), while stabbing its side with a dagger in the other.¹¹²⁸ In Assyria, a similar iconography recurs on seals and numerous sealings that have been attributed to the king and his bureau (Fig. 6.38).¹¹²⁹ They are dated between the 9th and 7th centuries and show the king holding a lion upright by its ear while pressing a dagger against its chest. Irene Winter has stressed that this specific lion combat is not an abbreviation for the royal hunt, because the lion assumes the role of an equal opponent, and advanced that the feline instead represents an additional embodiment of the king.¹¹³⁰ From Assyria, the motif entered Phoenician and Syrian art where it was modified to incorporate the typical gestures of holding the lion by the paw or reaching into its mouth. Even though the garments of the Cretan examples appear to be inspired by North Syrian depictions,¹¹³¹ and although a (North) Syrian bronze bowl from Nimrud features the theme very prominently¹¹³², Phoenician ivories and metal bowls are closer in terms of iconography and therefore pose more convincing models (Fig. 6.39). Since the

¹¹²⁶ Cf. e.g. Löw 1998, figs. 65f., 114.

¹¹²⁷ Cf. p. 74f. and 203.

¹¹²⁸ Pappalardo 2011b, 196-8.

¹¹²⁹ Herbordt 1992, 123-7; 1997, 281; Radner 2008, 487-90.

¹¹³⁰ I. Winter 2000, 54-60.

¹¹³¹ Hoffman 2005, 372f. Cf. also Pappalardo 2011b, 198.

¹¹³² Layard 1853, no. 64; Onnis 2009, fig. 7 (no. BM N17).

metal bowls are thought to date later than the Knossos-Kavousi Group,¹¹³³ it appears likely that the Cretan imagery was adopted from Phoenician ivories. Interestingly, North Syrian, Phoenician and Cretan Lion Tamers always occur separately rather than in larger hunt scenes. This suggests that the motif might have retained some of its original meaning, associating the depicted hero with the qualities of a lion.¹¹³⁴ As mentioned in the relevant pottery section (p. 72), lion representations were highly popular during the LBA. Two types are conceptually related to the Lion Tamer: the Master of Lions holding an animal on either side and the helmet-wearing hunter that was accompanied by a lion.¹¹³⁵ Strikingly, seal stones carrying Master and hunter depictions cluster in the area of Knossos,¹¹³⁶ just like EIA Lion Tamers. Accordingly, the choice of adapting this specific iconography might have been conditioned by a re-established local connection.

As frequently mentioned by now, lions also appear as the protomes of Idaean Cave-type shields. These can be divided into two subgroups: simple lion head protomes (cf. Fig. 6.5)¹¹³⁷ and lion head protomes with additional front legs executed in repoussé (cf. Figs. 6.2, left, and 6.6).¹¹³⁸ Where they occur, the legs are usually part of the central composition and hold on to a pair of heraldic creatures, mostly sphinxes. The mentioned Urartian protome shield from Ayanis is of the simple lion head variant. Near Eastern instances of the legged type are found on two belt buckles retrieved from Burnt Building I at Hasanlu, probably both of 9th-century date (Fig. 6.40).¹¹³⁹ One example depicts a lion clasping two frontal quadrupeds, probably bulls;

¹¹³³ Markoe (1985, 149-56) assigns them to his Period III (*ca.* 710-675), Falsone (1994, 428, 431f.) to his Period II (*ca.* 700-550).

¹¹³⁴ Cf. D'Acunto 2013, 474, who also stresses that this reflects Homeric symbolism.

¹¹³⁵ Chittenden 1947, 109f.; Nilsson 1950, 308f., 343.

¹¹³⁶ Nilsson 1950, 306, 328f.; Pini 1984, nos. 24, 167 and 193; 1999, no. 36; 2002, nos. 237 and 249-252.

¹¹³⁷ Cf. also Kunze 1931, pl. 4.

¹¹³⁸ Cf. also *ibid.*, pl. 7.

¹¹³⁹ I. Winter 1980, 27.

the other is fragmentary but preserves a lion above a horned figure in profile, perhaps part of a pair. The only other available legged lion protome adorns a unique helmet of contested origin (Uartian, Assyrian or Assyro-Babylonian).¹¹⁴⁰ It differs strongly from the Iranian and Cretan depictions in rendering the back and rear legs of the animal in a view ‘from above’ and omitting the prey. These discrepancies and the total lack of any other parallels underscore the importance of Iranian material as a source of potential models for the Cretan renditions.

Concerning the style of the shield protomes, there is one particularly well-preserved example that should receive special attention (Fig. 6.5).¹¹⁴¹ Regarding the general division into North Syrian versus Assyrian/-ising types, the Cretan head is clearly affiliated with the former. The Uartian protome from Ayanis is strongly Assyrianising – as reflected especially in the folded-up ears and the very flat upper profile with the raised nasal root – and such examples cannot have served as stylistic models. Instead, the Cretan protome appears to be rather close to 10th/ 9th-century statue bases from Carchemish and Sendschirli in its round, upright ears, flat nose with a volute-like front part, and open mouth with protruding tongue (Fig. 6.41). Lions on relief depictions from the former site further display a comparable heart-shaped head modulation with a slender jaw and nose area (Fig. 6.42). The excessively furrowed forehead of the Cretan creature recurs on ivories from an unidentified Syrian centre.¹¹⁴² The “radiating bang-effect” of its mane, on the other hand, is characteristic of a South Syrian ivory-carving school.¹¹⁴³ An example from Sendschirli attributed to this school has already been cited in this context;¹¹⁴⁴ fragments of

¹¹⁴⁰ Desz  2001, 30-2 no. 8, pl. 7.

¹¹⁴¹ Cf. also Blome 1982, 17 n. 93.

¹¹⁴² Cf. Barnett 1957, pl. XXII.

¹¹⁴³ I. Winter 1981, 120.

¹¹⁴⁴ D’Acunto 2001a, 336-8.

similar instances have been retrieved from the South-East Palace at Nimrud.¹¹⁴⁵ According to these findings, the Cretan lion matches North Syrian counterparts in its facial design; the mane, however, is probably inspired by South Syrian models. It is possible that the Cretans encountered both styles separately or that South Syrian objects reached them via North Syria, as suggested by the Sendschirli piece. Alternatively, there might have existed Syrian originals that already combined both aspects, since intense exchange and amalgamation of styles were taking place.¹¹⁴⁶ Other Idaean Cave-type shield protomes are not very well preserved, but at least two seem to follow the same basic design as on the discussed instance.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁵ Cf. Barnett 1957, pl. XCIX (nos. S 360 q and r).

¹¹⁴⁶ Cf. G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2013 for 'Intermediate style'.

¹¹⁴⁷ Kunze 1931, 6f. no. 3, 14 no. 11, pls. 4f., 28.

6.10 Crete: an ‘unknown metal-working centre in the Near East’?

The categories of metal items that have been considered in previous sections are indisputably connected to Crete through their physical recovery on the island (or at least of most belonging instances). This section is dedicated to interlinked groups of objects that have been excavated elsewhere but should, as will be argued, be assigned to Cretan workshops. In some cases, suggestions to this effect have been made before, yet without following the argument through. By piecing the evidence together and extending it further, this section aims at elucidating the role of Crete as one of the major orientalising bronze-working centres in the late 8th to early 7th-century Aegean.

The first objects that need to be reviewed are the cauldrons with griffin and lion head protomes manufactured in the Barberini and Bernardini workshops – the forerunners of the elegant later textbook examples. Products of these workshops have been discovered at Olympia, Samos, Delos, Delphi, Praeneste, Vetulonia, Miletus and Bayındır (Turkey).¹¹⁴⁸ In his comprehensive study of the Samos griffins, Ulrich Gehrig argued for a placement of both workshops on Crete.¹¹⁴⁹ He highlighted technical similarities with the Idaean Cave-type shield protomes, which were likewise hammered into exquisitely thin sheets and fashioned in one piece (p. 186f.). Further, he drew attention to stylistic correspondences between the lion cauldron protomes and the shields protomes, especially in the modelling of flews and nasal ribbing, and between the griffin protomes and bronze fragments from the Idaean Cave that are adorned with feather patterns. Any lingering doubts about the Cretan setting of these

¹¹⁴⁸ Perdrizet 1908, 85-7 nos. 383, 385 and 391; C. D. Curtis 1919, 72-5 no. 75; 1925, 45f. no. 81; Amandry 1938, 310-2 no. 11; 1944, 67-74; Jantzen 1955, 13f. nos. 6, 11f. and 15-20, 37f.; Rolley 1973, 506-11 no. 15; H.-V. Herrmann 1979, 18-25 nos. G2f, G5f, G13-G16, G19-G27, G32-G34, G36 and G38-G40, 162 nos. 5 and 8; Özgen 1988, 34, figs. 29f., 187, fig. 29f.; Held 2000, 155f.; Gehrig 2004, 17 n. 71, 91f., 95, 112 tab. V (nos. 34, 47, 69 and 71), 182-5 nos. 1-4 and 7.

¹¹⁴⁹ Gehrig 2004, 152-71, esp. 158.

workshops can be effectively dispelled with the help of a clay griffin head from Afrati (Fig. 6.43). Discovered already in 1970,¹¹⁵⁰ Nikolaos Stampolidis correctly realised that this coarse-ware fragment must represent the *patrix* of a metal griffin protome.¹¹⁵¹ Yet, beyond this, it shows remarkable morphological analogies to products of the Barberini workshop (Fig. 6.44), particularly in the stubby forehead knob and the characteristic bulb-shaped eyes that are segmented by annular recesses. The distorted proportions of the finished metal products should not distract from this, as they are simply due to extensive chasing. As expounded in the section on the clay griffin cauldrons (p. 87f.), these objects constitute a Cretan creation that adapts a specific type of Assyrian lion-griffin. The Afrati *patrix* is evidently based on such local models; 22-GOR-34, in particular, poses a convincing parallel. The only iconographical difference between the clay and bronze versions consists of the additional spiral tress on the latter. This modification may be ascribed to the necessity of making the griffins identifiable to a non-Cretan audience that was not necessarily familiar with the Assyrian prototype but could be expected to recognise this well-established hallmark of the bird-griffin. For convenience, the suggested development of the lion-griffin from Assyrian depiction to Cretan bronze cauldron is visualised in Figure 6.45.

Related to the griffin cauldrons is the complex issue of the so-called ‘siren attachments’. These are cauldron rim ornaments representing anthropomorphised sun discs,¹¹⁵² which were initially provided with a rear hoop for the insertion of a suspension ring. The current corpus of about 80 preserved examples has been divided into three main groups: those displaying strongly Assyrian features; those ascribed to the wider southeast Anatolian area (so-called ‘Van Group’); and those

¹¹⁵⁰ Lebessi 1970, 458.

¹¹⁵¹ Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998, 143.

¹¹⁵² H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, 53; Wartke 1985, 95.

attributed to various mainland Greek centres.¹¹⁵³ The origin of the copious 'Van Group' has long been a bone of contention, with most scholars arguing for Urartian¹¹⁵⁴ or North Syrian¹¹⁵⁵ production centres. Crucially, on some of the Bernardini cauldrons 'siren attachments' occur alongside griffin (and/or lion) protomes (Figs. 6.46 and 6.47). It is generally assumed that sirens and cauldrons present original configurations, while the griffins were added retroactively.¹¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, it might be proposed that Cretan metal smiths upcycled Near Eastern siren cauldrons. However, a unique bronze find from Argos reveals that this interpretation is misleading. It consists of a small, ornate bull figurine that stands on part of a wing belonging to a 'Van Group' siren (Fig. 6.48).¹¹⁵⁷ Significantly, the only available parallel for the unusual incised patterns on this bull is found on the animals of the Idaean Cave 'tympanon' (Fig. 6.16). Maintaining consistency, this means that the bull should be attributed with a Cretan provenance. The fact that it is cast in one piece together with the siren wing surely implies that the entire attachment was produced on this island.

No metal 'siren attachments' have been reported from Crete, but there appears to be part of a surviving clay version from Psychro (Fig. 6.49) that attests to a local awareness of these objects. John Boardman initially published the fragment as a 'siren',¹¹⁵⁸ yet subsequently this piece disappeared from discussions. Having re-examined the piece, its craned neck position indeed seems to suit such an interpretation exclusively (cf. Fig. 6.50). The only factor that might at first seem incongruent is that its profile describes an outward bend at the bottom of the neck.

¹¹⁵³ Cf. H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, 27-113; Muscarella 1992, 317f.

¹¹⁵⁴ *I.a.* Lehmann-Haupt 1931, 494f.; Maxwell-Hyslop 1956, 151f.; Birmingham 1961, 90f.; Kyrieleis 1966, esp. 2-11.

¹¹⁵⁵ *I.a.* H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, 65f.; I. Winter 1976, 16f.; Young 1981, 109f.; Muscarella 1992, 21-4.

¹¹⁵⁶ Cf. esp. H.-V. Herrmann 1979, 138f.

¹¹⁵⁷ Kunze 1950, 96f.

¹¹⁵⁸ Boardman 1961, 60 no. 258.

However, a 'Van Group' attachment from Olympia features a similar bulge where the neck meets the garment seam (Fig. 6.51). This specimen is further characterised by a strongly abbreviated chest area, which would suit the conjectural shoulder line of the Psychro example and might imply it was morphologically similar. Finally, the scale pattern covering the Cretan object's cranium is highly unusual for anthropomorphic representation but would be particularly apt for a 'siren' that was displayed in combination with clay griffins, which can be painted with similar scales (cf. 22-GOR-34; 28-AFR-34). Based on the Argive and Psychro pieces, it seems that some 'Van Group' siren attachments must have been produced on Crete, which makes it very likely that the cauldrons combining these with lion and griffin protomes actually present original configurations.

Another important class of objects, the conical repoussé stands from Praeneste (Fig. 6.52) and Olympia (Figs. 6.53-6.57; Herrmann nos. U2-U6),¹¹⁵⁹ are connected to the griffin cauldrons through one shared find context (Tomba Barberini) and might originally have formed sets with these. Several scholars already highlighted the strong affinities between the stands and the Idaean Cave 'tympanon',¹¹⁶⁰ and a full reiteration of their discussions seems redundant. Generally speaking, similarities are readily apparent in the choice of subjects, the proportions of depicted figures, the rendition of subsidiary patterns, and the densely designed surface layout referred to as *horror vacui*, which also distinguishes the Idaean 'Hunt Shield' and 'Sphinx Shield'.¹¹⁶¹ The shape of the stands has been interpreted in terms of Near Eastern prototypes,¹¹⁶² but the most convincing parallels are actually found on Crete. Accordingly, the tripartite structure of the only complete piece (*conus, torus*

¹¹⁵⁹ C. D. Curtis 1925, 44f. no. 80; H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, 162-4.

¹¹⁶⁰ Kunze 1931, 36; Dunbabin 1957, 41; Boardmann 1961, 151; H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, 179f.; Markoe 1985, 111; Philipp 2004, 402f. Boardman (1970, 17) even contemplated a possible production on Crete.

¹¹⁶¹ Matthäus 2000, 305. Cf. Kunze 1931, pls. 1f. and Fig. 6.34 (*infra*).

¹¹⁶² H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, 174-7 (overview of interpretations).

and upside-down *conus*) recurs in the same form on clay stands and kernoi from Gortyn and Afrati.¹¹⁶³ It seems that a small fragment from Samos that has escaped attention so far also belongs with this group.¹¹⁶⁴ It depicts the same element that is found on Figure 6.56, which is commonly designated as a frontal ‘siren’ but probably shows a frontal seated sphinx.

Related to the conical stands is an orientalising shield from Olympia that shows two bearded sphinxes flanking a volute tree (Fig. 6.58).¹¹⁶⁵ It features the same unusual clusters of chased bosses as on Olympia stand U3; its theme is related to the stand from Praeneste; and the only parallel for the curious three-winged body of its sphinx is encountered on Olympia stand U2. Apart from this, the Olympia shield is linked to the Idaean Cave shields through the characteristic line of chased bosses that runs along the rim.¹¹⁶⁶ From a stylistic viewpoint, it finds a near-exact match in one of the oriental-looking bronze strip fragments belonging to the Cretan sphyrelata from Olympia (Fig. 6.59).¹¹⁶⁷

These sphyrelata have been reconstructed as a triad, whose better-preserved external figures represented females of approximately 1.20 m in height (Figs. 6.60-6.63).¹¹⁶⁸ Their front-side garments and body parts are worked in Cretan Daedalic style, dated to *ca.* 670,¹¹⁶⁹ while the back of the garments are composed of oriental-style strips riveted together in irregular registers.¹¹⁷⁰ Ursula Seidl divided these strips into three categories and attributed them to workshops at Sendschirli, Carchemish and an unidentified location.¹¹⁷¹ Yet, as subsequently demonstrated by Eleanor

¹¹⁶³ Cf. Levi 1927-9, 345f., fig. 448; Johannowsky 2002, esp. pls. 12f., 16f.

¹¹⁶⁴ Jantzen 1972, 85, pl. 84 (B 891).

¹¹⁶⁵ Philipp 2004, 402f.

¹¹⁶⁶ Cf. Figs. 6.6 and 6.34; Kunze 1931, pls. 3f.

¹¹⁶⁷ Rittig in Borell and Rittig 1998, 37-9.

¹¹⁶⁸ Borell in Borell and Rittig 1998, esp. 179-87.

¹¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, esp. 151.

¹¹⁷⁰ Rittig in Borell and Rittig 1998, 9-11, 25-53.

¹¹⁷¹ Seidl 1999, 278-82.

Guralnick, the employed imagery mostly consists of common-stock motifs that are impossible to pinpoint geographically and odd variations that are otherwise unattested.¹¹⁷² Further, atom absorption spectroscopy analysis has shown that strips belonging to the different categories have identical trace element profiles¹¹⁷³ – indicating that they must have been made with the same ‘recipe’ and, thus, came from the same or closely related workshop(s). Even more intriguing, analysis of Daedalic sphyrelata parts belonging to the garments and hair produced exactly the same results.¹¹⁷⁴ This has been interpreted as proof that they were fashioned from recycled Near Eastern material of the kind that was used for the garments.¹¹⁷⁵ In the popular explanatory scenario, old Near Eastern material was available at Olympia, either as circulated scrap metal or through misappropriation, and itinerant Cretan craftsmen used this when they produced the sphyrelata on-site. However, in light of a) the observations made by Guralnick, b) the stylistic congruence between the mentioned oriental-style strip and the Cretan shield from Olympia and c) the chemical conformity of all groupings of sphyrelata parts, it seems unavoidable to propose an obvious alternative: that the entire triad was produced in the same Cretan workshop(s). In this scenario, the oriental-style strips would represent an earlier stage of orientalising Cretan metalwork that is roughly contemporary with the other objects discussed in this section.

¹¹⁷² Guralnick 2004a, 188-202.

¹¹⁷³ Rittig in Borell and Ritting 1998, 61f.

¹¹⁷⁴ Riederer in Borell and Ritting 1998, 213.

¹¹⁷⁵ It has been suggested that this material was melted down (*ibid.*, 212f.; Guralnick 2004, 209; Feldman 2015, 145). However, since this process would have changed the composition of trace elements, any potential re-use could only have happened through re-forging.

6.11 Chronology and development of Cretan orientalising metal productions

During the 10th and 9th centuries, Near Eastern bronze imports such as Egyptian lotus jugs and Syro-Phoenician bull bowls started to reach Crete with increased frequency.¹¹⁷⁶ Around the same time, Cypriot metal smiths must have visited the island and imparted their expertise in creating bronze stands, which started to be produced locally. Cretan craftsmen further began to manufacture imitations of foreign-type objects, which are so extremely close to their models that they can be hard to differentiate. These include copies of Cypriot bowls with lotus-flower handles¹¹⁷⁷ and, later, also of Syro-Phoenician figured bowls.¹¹⁷⁸ In the late 9th or early 8th century, Cretans fashioned the objects belonging to the Knossos-Kavousi group and started to produce the orientalising gold jewellery that is partially contemporaneous. The date for the Knossos-Kavousi group results from find contexts, Deszö's observations on helmet types and their anteriority to the first shields.

The chronological allocation of the shields is traditionally contested and has split scholarship into different camps. Some researchers assume that they started in the late 9th century;¹¹⁷⁹ others suggest a timeframe in the 8th century and the first half of the 7th century;¹¹⁸⁰ and a third group favours a 7th-century date for the entire corpus.¹¹⁸¹ It is unnecessary to reiterate the extensive discussions that resulted in respective proposals. The only factual reference points available to scholars that published a longer time ago were the contexts of the Afrati and Delphi shields, which

¹¹⁷⁶ Matthäus 2000, 522-4. For the Fortetsa bull bowl cf. Falsone 1987.

¹¹⁷⁷ Levi 1927-9, 472f.; Stampolidis 1990, 393 n. 40; Matthäus 2000, 535f. The earliest imports (and possibly also imitations) are of 10th-9th century date, cf. Stampolidis et al. 1998, 121 no. 281.

¹¹⁷⁸ Stampolidis et al. 1998, 126 no. 313 (labelled 'Cypro-Phoenician', but the peculiar sun disc is paralleled on Kunze 1931, pls. 4f.); Levi 1927-9, figs. 408 and 491a-b. See also Markoe 1985, 114f.

¹¹⁷⁹ *I.a.* Kunze 1931, 247; Boardman 1967a, 59; Matthäus 2000, 535.

¹¹⁸⁰ *I.a.* Demargne 1964, 36; Coldstream 2003, 382.

¹¹⁸¹ *I.a.* Benton 1938-9; Gabelmann 1965, 32f.; Canciani 1970, 14f.

vaguely indicate a deposition in the late 8th to 7th centuries.¹¹⁸² These can now be complemented by an example from Eleutherna, whose associated pottery provides a *terminus ante quem* in the LG period.¹¹⁸³ Further, a MG krater from Prinias closely imitates the style and depictions of the 'Square Net' group shields, necessitating an at least contemporary date for the latter.¹¹⁸⁴

As demonstrated above, it seems likely that the Cretan shields were modelled on counterparts from ancient Urartu or closely related derivatives. Fortunately, the vast majority of Urartian examples feature royal inscriptions and the named rulers can be tied in with Assyrian chronology. Accordingly, it is certain that the Urartian Type B shield was introduced under Argishti I,¹¹⁸⁵ *ca.* 785-763, which in turn provides a clear-cut *terminus post quem* for the Cretan shields. This leaves enough time for Cretan workshops to initiate their own production before the middle of the 8th century, the end of the MG period. Judging by the lack of Urartian exports to Crete, it seems most likely that the Cretans encountered respective material in Urartu or adjacent North Syrian regions which were under Urartian influence at that time.¹¹⁸⁶ Urartu was at the height of its political power as well as geographical expansion and must have constituted a metalworking centre of great renown. It is probably via Urartian intermediaries that Cretans came in touch with Iranian material, influences of which can be traced in several instances.

Around the end of the 8th century, the orientalising Bernardini and Barberini workshops took up production on Crete. The earliest belonging griffin cauldrons have been assigned to 690/680.¹¹⁸⁷ However, some of the finds attributed to these workshops were discovered in tomb contexts dated to the first quarter of the 7th

¹¹⁸² Cf. Levi 1927-9, 20, 245; Amandry 1944, 45-9; Picard 1991, 160f.

¹¹⁸³ Stampolidis 2007, 299-301.

¹¹⁸⁴ Pautasso *forthcoming*.

¹¹⁸⁵ Seidl 2004, 88.

¹¹⁸⁶ Cf. also Karo 1919, 151.

¹¹⁸⁷ Gehrig 2004, 171-4.

century,¹¹⁸⁸ requiring an at least slightly earlier manufacture. Conspicuous about most of the Barberini and Bernardini products as well as the probably contemporaneous ‘tympanon’ is their Assyrianising style.¹¹⁸⁹ This might have been conditioned by increased Assyrian influence in the Levant and on Cyprus, which now fostered direct ties with this superpower. After Sargon II had intervened in the Cypriot rebellion against Tyre 709/708, the island dispatched a delegation to the Assyrian palace.¹¹⁹⁰ Shortly after this episode, Kition seems to have reached independence¹¹⁹¹ and the Cypriot states advanced to vassal status.¹¹⁹² This might also have affected Crete, which was always in close touch with Cyprus, making Assyria more palpable. Some of the Idaean Cave-type shields had already been sent or dedicated abroad, but the products of the Barberini and Bernardini workshops were now exported in larger numbers and to more numerous sites.

A class of Cretan bronzes that has not been discussed separately but has received detailed treatment elsewhere¹¹⁹³ is Daedalic armour. It comprises helmets, corselets and *mitrae* (abdominal guards), which were adorned with chased decoration. Some of them carry orientalising designs – palmettes, rosettes, tongues, cables and felines; in a few cases also griffins and sphinxes – that are closely similar to pottery and terracotta renditions. Most of the armour probably comes from the *andreion* at Afrati, which was looted during clandestine excavations in 1976; other instances have been retrieved at Axos, Dreros, Onythe (Rethymnon), Delphi and Olympia. Dated to the third quarter of the 7th century and overlapping into the 6th

¹¹⁸⁸ C. D. Curtis 1919, 72-5 no. 75; 1925, 45f. no. 81.

¹¹⁸⁹ Such a late date for the ‘tympanon’ and Assyrianizing metalwork has already been suggested by Benton 1938-9; Dunbabin 1957, 41f.; Pappalardo 2001, 170.

¹¹⁹⁰ Radner 2010, 434.

¹¹⁹¹ Yon and Childs 1997, 12.

¹¹⁹² Radner 2010, 438-40.

¹¹⁹³ Hoffman 1972.

century,¹¹⁹⁴ this group of artefacts ends the sequence of Cretan orientalising metal finds.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 41-6.

Chapter 7 – Scenarios of contact with the Near East

In order to gain a clearer understanding of the meanings that orientalising objects might have carried in EIA Cretan society, it is important to define the kinds of contact its members entertained with the Near East. The following investigates four main categories: trade and gift exchange, religious involvement, cohabitation and military conflict or cooperation.

7.1 Trade and gift exchange

Trade and gift exchange represent the most ‘casual’ connections to the outside world. It is widely acknowledged that Crete constituted a key transshipment point for long-distance trade between the Levant and mainland Greece (or further west) as well as North Africa and mainland Greece (cf. Fig. 2.1).¹¹⁹⁵ This status guaranteed that it habitually received thoroughfare visits, which are attested by the influx of foreign objects. For the 11th and early 10th centuries such objects are still comparatively sparse and point at particularly close links with Cyprus; during the later 10th to 7th centuries, however, foreign artefacts arrived in significant quantities and from various eastern regions.¹¹⁹⁶ Many of these *orientalia* probably indicate targeted gift exchange that accompanied trade in basic commodities and served to promote good relations.

¹¹⁹⁵ As eloquently put by Sherratt and Sherratt (1993, 364), it was part of the “main highway of east-west maritime traffic”, which constituted “the artery of trade from the Bronze Age to the Medieval period”. EIA use of this artery is attested by the late 7th to early 6th-century Kekova Adasi shipwreck discovered off the Antalya coast (Greene et al. 2011).

¹¹⁹⁶ For Near Eastern objects from EIA Crete cf. Hoffman 1997, 24-95; Jones 2000, 216-92, 313-41; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 341-9; Antoniadis 2012; Pappalardo 2012, 22-90. For accounts including material from Crete see also Fletcher 2004; Hölbl 2005; Kourou 2008; 2009.

As often highlighted, the presence of Near Eastern ‘imports’ constitutes a basic requirement for the emergence of orientalising trends.¹¹⁹⁷ Yet, it is vital not to postulate a deterministic connection, since the mere presence of foreign items did not automatically trigger local imitation. This is best illustrated by the case of EIA Lefkandi, the inhabitants of which acquired plentiful Near Eastern material but never developed any orientalising styles.¹¹⁹⁸ Local agency was decisive, a factor that needs to be considered in any evaluation.

Despite its advantageous location, Crete itself is generally not regarded as an active participant in EIA trade,¹¹⁹⁹ but rather as a stopover for other seafaring parties, especially Cypriots, Phoenicians, and Euboeans.¹²⁰⁰ This is due to the overall scarcity of Cretan finds abroad, especially of pottery, and the island’s reputation as a historically isolated and passive region (the Minoan period posing a notable exception).¹²⁰¹ Yet, at the very least it should be expected that locals controlled foreign transit traffic using their harbours and related infrastructure, and that they seized opportunities to get involved in on-site goods trading. Imported merchandise certainly comprised metals, since the local gold and bronze industries demanded the procurement of gold, copper and tin. We have no firm evidence regarding what might have been exported in turn, but prime candidates could be timber,¹²⁰² honey,¹²⁰³

¹¹⁹⁷ E.g. Matthäus 1993, 165.

¹¹⁹⁸ Lemos 2000, 12.

¹¹⁹⁹ Whitley 2001, 121; Prent 2005, 624. Cf. Erickson 2010, 279f. n. 42 for further references.

¹²⁰⁰ For an overview with detailed references cf. Gilboa 2013, 326f. For an extremely critical account of Greek, especially Euboean, entrepreneurship cf. Papadopoulos 1997, 191-9.

¹²⁰¹ For Cretan artefacts overseas see Jones 2000, 293-312.

¹²⁰² For forests on Crete cf. Chaniotis 1996, 99f. It is controversial how dense or extensive these were, but Cretan timber, especially cypress, was exported during later periods (Rackham and Moody 1994, 128-31).

¹²⁰³ Bee keeping constituted a significant aspect of Cretan culture and husbandry throughout antiquity (Chaniotis 1996, 99 n. 52; 1999b, 209). Harissis and Harissis (2009, 41-51) recently reinterpreted Minoan depictions in terms of apicultural activities. For Classical to Late Roman beekeeping cf. Moody et al. 2003, 89f.

native medicinal and aromatic herbs,¹²⁰⁴ agricultural surpluses¹²⁰⁵ (depending on annual yields) and perhaps also locally sourced iron¹²⁰⁶. Importantly, frequent involvement with external contacts must have facilitated social networking with foreign entrepreneurs, merchants and voyagers. Regardless of whether Cretan communities themselves had the knowhow and relevant resources for long-distance travel, this gave some of their members plenty of opportunities to participate in joint ventures.¹²⁰⁷ Excellent examples of a Cretan willingness for such are the colonisation of Gela, together with Rhodes (dated to *ca.* 688), and of Cyrene, together with Thera (dated to *ca.* 630)¹²⁰⁸.

¹²⁰⁴ For native herbs and their international reputation in antiquity cf. Rackham and Moody 1994, 71, 130.

¹²⁰⁵ Jones 2000, 180; Brisart *forthcoming*, 14.

¹²⁰⁶ Markoe 1998. His argument for a Phoenician management of this process, however, is unfounded. The toponyms *Phoinix* and *Phoinikous* have been convincingly linked to the occurrence of *Phoenix theophrasti*, the native palm tree (Rackham and Moody 1994, 65, 68, 107f.)

¹²⁰⁷ Such are also assumed for Euboeans and Levantines (Boardman 1999b, 42f., 45; 2001, 39; Fletcher 2004, 59-62).

¹²⁰⁸ Herodotus IV 150-8 and 161; Thucydides VI 4.3; Whitley 2001, 245-7; Osborne 2009, 8-17.

7.2 Religious involvement (the case of Kommos)

A higher level of contact has been proposed for the sanctuary at Kommos. The rear half of Temple B, which dates to between 800 and 600, accommodated a ‘tripillar shrine’ (Fig. 7.1).¹²²¹ This was composed of a triangular platform (itself a reused Minoan block) and three upright stone shafts that were socketed into its top. A mysterious piece of wood – variously interpreted as a bowl, lamp, pillar or tree stump¹²²² – was located directly behind it. During the second phase of Temple B, a large stone slab was placed against the backs of the shafts, probably to prop up a bronze shield, pieces of which have been found nearby.¹²²³

The exceptional character of this pillar installation led its excavator, Joseph Shaw, to search for extra-Cretan parallels. He advanced that the Kommos structure was Phoenician in type and probably also in making.¹²²⁴ This was based on the use of standing stones at the 8th-century Sarepta temple, a 7th-century Phoenician-inscribed pillar from Cyprus, depictions of similar elements on Punic *stelae*, and the retrieval of numerous Phoenician sherds¹²²⁵ in Temple B and its precursor, Temple A. By and large, scholarship eagerly welcomed his conclusion and Kommos soon became routinely cited as evidence for a Phoenician presence on Crete. Some commentators, however, cautioned that comparable pillar installations are found more widely across the contemporary Near East and that the lack of Phoenician ceramics associated directly with the level of the structure’s initial set-up (Temple B, phase 1) contradicts

¹²²¹ For the tripillar shrine cf. J. Shaw 1989, 165-72. For Temple B cf. J. Shaw in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 14-24.

¹²²² Pappalardo 2002, 267; J. Shaw 2004, 200f.

¹²²³ Cf. n. 959.

¹²²⁴ J. Shaw 1989, 174-80, 182.

¹²²⁵ Bikai in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 302-12. Despite the large amount of sherds (*ca.* 340 pieces), it remains uncertain how many vessels these belong to. Bikai gauges their total as probably “not great” (*id.* 2000, 302). Kourou (2000, 1068) considers this pottery in itself sufficient to suggest that “at least a small number of foreign residents” were present at Kommos.

this interpretation.¹²²⁶ The last point is particularly important since this poses a stark contrast to the preceding and succeeding levels (Temple A, phase 2 and Temple B, phase 2), which yielded the highest and second highest concentrations of such ceramics, respectively.¹²²⁷ The only other objects that could signal a Phoenician presence, faience statuettes representing the Egyptian deities Sehkmet and Nefertem,¹²²⁸ likewise belong to the second phase of Temple B. Even if they were indeed dedicated by passing Phoenicians – as opposed to having been deposited by locals, as some scholars argue¹²²⁹ – this hardly amounts to a claim of ownership. The presence of the faiences does not confirm that Phoenicians had an unusually close connection to the tripillar structure: the statuettes are only two among several offerings;¹²³⁰ also, faiences portraying these and other Egyptian gods have been found at numerous other sites on Crete. The largest quantities in fact come from Amnisos and the Tsoutsouros-Inatos Cave,¹²³¹ which are not commonly associated with a strong Phoenician involvement.

Fortunately, a similar pillar installation has recently been excavated in Building sTB at Prinias,¹²³² providing the first available Cretan parallel and a fresh perspective. In the rear room of this building, three abutting stone shafts are set against the back wall (Fig. 7.2).¹²³³ Unlike at Kommos, they are not socketed into a tall stone platform but inserted into the soil. This difference is surely due to the environment at Kommos, where the sandy beach threatened to silt up floor levels. The Prinias pillar structure, dated to the late 8th or early 7th-century, was erected

¹²²⁶ Pappalardo 2002, esp. 269f.; Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 353; Goula 2011, 427f.

¹²²⁷ Gilboa et al. 2015, 76-80. This study also confirmed that the pottery is indeed Phoenician and originates in the area of Sidon, Sarepta or Tyre (*ibid.*, 89f.)

¹²²⁸ M. Shaw in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 168f., 189 nos. AB85 and AB86.

¹²²⁹ Prent 2005, 475 (for male aristocrats); Goula 2011, 435f. (for local women).

¹²³⁰ J. Shaw 2006, 41-3.

¹²³¹ Stürmer in Schäfer 1992, 251f., pls. 78f.; Charisterion et al. 2011, 171-83.

¹²³² For this building cf. p. 137, 140 and 155.

¹²³³ Palermo in Palermo et al. 2008, 200f.; Palermo in Palermo et al. 2012, 212.

after its Kommos equivalent and thus cannot provide any information on potential ‘influences’ on the latter. Still, two points are noteworthy. First, at Prinias there are no signs of a direct Phoenician involvement or special ties to Kommos. Consequently, there is no reason to doubt that the structure poses an endemic feature, which means that it formed part of a central Cretan cultural vocabulary during the EIA. In this respect it should be pointed out that standing stones or ‘baetyls’ are known from local Bronze Age contexts¹²³⁴ and that at least one of these (at Kephala Vasiliki) continued to be used as late as the PG period,¹²³⁵ acting as a link between both eras.¹²³⁶

Second, during a LO phase, the Prinias installation was expanded with three further shafts positioned in front of the adjacent wall, this time set at a distance from each other (Fig. 7.2).¹²³⁷ The shafts certainly did not replace the existing examples since those were furnished with the same slabs that were laid in front of the new ones and show signs of continued activity. The Kommos pillars are usually interpreted as symbolising or marking the presence of a divine triad. It is thought that they embodied Baal or Tanit, Ashera and Astarte or, for the locals, Apollo, Artemis and Leto.¹²³⁸ Transferring this explanation to Prinias, should we assume that there was a sudden duplication of revered deities? I would like to suggest an alternative hypothesis. To me it is striking that the setting-up of the second-generation shafts was roughly concurrent with the construction of Temple A, *and* that the final number of pillars exactly matches the number of horsemen depicted in the patio of Temple A, which have been convincingly identified as representatives of leading resident families.¹²³⁹ It is extremely unlikely that there are further examples of either shafts or

¹²³⁴ As also noted by Prent (2005, 474). For actual BA examples and depictions on seals and rings cf. Warren 1990.

¹²³⁵ Eliopoulos 1998, 307, figs. 9f.

¹²³⁶ La Rosa 2001, 222.

¹²³⁷ Palermo in Palermo et al. 2008, 200f.; Palermo in Palermo et al. 2012, 214.

¹²³⁸ J. Shaw 1998, 18-20.

¹²³⁹ Cf. p. 150.

horsemen left uncovered, because both areas have been examined meticulously and all of the shafts were unearthed *in-situ*. Supposing a connection between the two buildings,¹²⁴⁰ it might be proposed that the pillars marked the claims of different social units involved in the activities taking place in Building sTB and that the number of these units doubled in the later 7th century. This might have led to an increased budget and the wish for a more imposing edifice, which was constructed in the shape of Temple A. In a similar vein, it has lately been argued that the LMIIC-SM figurines of the ‘Goddesses with Upraised Arms’ do not in fact embody deities, as traditionally thought, but represent social groups participating in cult.¹²⁴¹ The use of stelai to flag contact points between deities and individuals, groups of individuals or gentilitial groups is attested elsewhere in the Greek world, although slightly later.¹²⁴²

¹²⁴⁰ For a connection between Temple A and Building sTB see also p. 140 and 155.

¹²⁴¹ Gaignerot-Driessen 2014, esp. 512-4.

¹²⁴² Gaifman 2012, esp. 195, 200-2, 205 (on Metapontium, Selinous and Thera). At the first two sites this practice seems to have started in the 7th century.

7.3 Cohabitation

The highest level of familiarity between different people is generated through living alongside one another. In the case of EIA Crete, it has been suggested that Near Eastern immigrants settled on the island. John Boardman famously interpreted one of the Tekke tholoi (Tomb 2) as the resting place of a goldsmith from Tel Halaf and a specific type of burial at Afrati as indicative of a North Syrian population (not Phoenician, as sometimes claimed!). Both theories were commonly accepted for quite some time.¹²⁴³ Boardman's Tekke reading was founded on the orientalising characteristics of the jewellery retrieved from this tomb (p. 207f.), their association with bars and dumps of precious metals, and their careful deposition inside buried vases, which he explained in terms of Near Eastern foundation deposits.¹²⁴⁴ Although Ageliki Lebessi voiced an early critique on the presumed role of Near Eastern goldsmiths in the Aegean,¹²⁴⁵ a systematic refutation of Boardman's Tekke émigré-theory appeared only much later in a monograph by Gail Hoffman.¹²⁴⁶ Subsequently, the tholos became redefined as a local elite burial place.¹²⁴⁷ The only point worth adding is that comparable jewellery has been discovered in female interments at Eleutherna¹²⁴⁸, which probably indicates that the Tekke material likewise belonged to socially high-ranking women. Reasons for placing it in buried containers instead of

¹²⁴³ For a list of its numerous proponents cf. Kotsonas 2006, 153 n. 11. According to Coldstream (1993, 100), the craftsman's right to re-use the tholos was based on his marriage to a local aristocrat and the 'gradually Hellenised' gold jewellery was made by their offspring.

¹²⁴⁴ Boardman 1967, esp. 63f., 66f.

¹²⁴⁵ Lebessi 1975, 173.

¹²⁴⁶ Hoffman 1997, 196f., 201-4. In response, Boardman retracted his interpretation of the founding deposit and reinterpreted the immigrant as a rich unskilled individual (*id.* 2005, 166).

¹²⁴⁷ Kotsonas 2006, 155-9.

¹²⁴⁸ Stampolidis 2012, esp. 181, 184, 186f.

decking the remains as at Eleutherna must have been that the Knossos individuals were cremated and that the local practice of tomb-reuse encouraged looting.¹²⁴⁹

Concerning the issue of immigrant or itinerant craftsmen, it has been proposed that Near Eastern artisans were also involved in the production of Cretan pottery, bronzes and ivories.¹²⁵⁰ While it is plausible that skilled individuals from other Greek areas would have temporarily relocated to the island (as in the case of Cypriot bronze smiths as well as Cypriot and Parian potters)¹²⁵¹, this does not equally apply to Near Eastern craftsmen. These seem to have been closely dependent on and controlled by royal courts and did not move arbitrarily.¹²⁵² It is conceivable that they might have ‘defected’ to other Near Eastern courts, especially after having been sent there in exchange for products or services, but EIA Crete did not feature any equivalent institutions. Although some inhabitants of the island were evidently wealthy, judging by the precious contents of some tombs,¹²⁵³ it is unlikely that they had the necessary international reputation and power to attract Levantine craftsmen. Most importantly, there are no archaeological materials that could substantiate the local presence of such people.

The case of Afrati is more complex. Its main cemetery is located on the western ledge of Ayios Elias and accommodates a range of burial types.¹²⁵⁴ One of these is the single cremation in an upright urn, covered by an inverted terracotta basin (Fig. 7.3). Boardman observed that a cumulative appearance of such inverted terracotta vessels (sometimes also larger ‘bath tubs’) is also found at Carchemish’s Nebi Yunus cemetery and proposed that the Afrati population comprised refugees

¹²⁴⁹ Cf. p. 48f.

¹²⁵⁰ Cf. overviews and discussion in Hoffman 1997, 156-65, 176-85.

¹²⁵¹ Kotsonas 2011b, 141-4, 147f.

¹²⁵² Esp. Zaccagnini 1983; Muhly 2005.

¹²⁵³ Cf. e.g. the tholoi at Afrati and Ampelokipi-Tekke (Eaby 2007, 116f., 160f.).

¹²⁵⁴ Cf. Levi 1927-9, *passim*, pl. IV.

originating from this site.¹²⁵⁵ In fact, the same kinds of covers have been documented at the EIA cremation cemeteries of Deve Hüyük and Tel Shiukh Fawqâni, both situated in the wider vicinity of Carchemish.¹²⁵⁶ Several scholars have challenged Boardman's theory, objecting that many other aspects of the Afrati and Carchemish burials do not correspond.¹²⁵⁷ They specifically emphasised that the Afrati burials partially protruded above ground level (forming miniature tumuli, cf. below) and that their grave goods were placed inside the urn, whereas the Carchemish burials were fully inserted into the soil and their grave goods placed outside the urn. By contrast, Eleonora Pappalardo recently voiced new support for the theory of a cultural link between both regions. She underlined the lack of standardised burial customs in Syria, which, according to her, renders discrepancies between Afrati and Carchemish moot, and foregrounded similarities between the relevant Tel Shiukh burials and the Cretan contexts.¹²⁵⁸ Rather than envisaging a foreign presence at Afrati, Pappalardo proposed that the local population consciously adopted foreign customs.¹²⁵⁹

An important factor that has been neglected is the high frequency of these burials with upside-down basins at Afrati. Judging by the recorded remains, they account for over half of the total number of interments and around 80% of the graves.¹²⁶⁰ Attributing them to Syrian newcomers would entail that these formed the majority of the buried population. Boardman was apparently aware of this issue but argued that the newcomers "convinced" locals to imitate their customs.¹²⁶¹ Either way, one would expect at least some of the burials to produce foreign personal items

¹²⁵⁵ Boardman 1970, 20-2.

¹²⁵⁶ Moorey 1980, 5; Bachelot et al. 2001, 13-5; Bachelot et al. 2002; Al-Bahloul et al. 2005, 999-1002. For an overview of cremation cemeteries in the Levant cf. Tenu 2013, 424f.

¹²⁵⁷ Biondi 1994b, 79; Hoffman 1997, 168-72; Böhm 2001, 127-30.

¹²⁵⁸ Pappalardo 2012, 231f. She suggests that the Tel Shiukh burials also emerged from the ground and that in both cases the majority of grave goods were left in the area of the funerary pyre rather than being placed inside the urns. However, in the case of Tel Shiukh the former point is uncertain, while the latter is definitely inaccurate (Tenu 2013, 425, 430).

¹²⁵⁹ Pappalardo 2012, 233-8.

¹²⁶⁰ Levi 1927-9, 78-389, pl. IV.

¹²⁶¹ Boardman 1970, 22.

or local substitutes, which they did not. As Giacomo Biondi pointed out, the much-cited orientalisising lion bowl (28-AFR-56) was retrieved from Tholos R and can therefore not be employed to reinforce this line of argumentation.¹²⁶² The burials of the type in question contained a spectrum of grave goods that does not conform to their Syrian counterparts at all but is characteristic of Cretan customs.¹²⁶³ Boardman's and Pappalardo's interpretations both hinge on the assumption that the use of upside-down vessels cannot constitute an independent local development. Regarding this, Biondi has signalled that, based on the grave goods, some of the burials appear to be much older than the 7th century, which could allow for a gradual emergence.¹²⁶⁴ Further, it is interesting to note that several examples preserved an encasement of stones and were topped with a layer of soil that formed a small mound.¹²⁶⁵ This raises the question whether we might in fact be dealing with something conceptually similar to Melissa Eaby's 'pseudo-tholoi', which consist of a laterally placed pithos that is covered in stones "typically forming an ellipsoidal tomb resembling a tholos".¹²⁶⁶ These are found in clusters with large tholoi, a situation that is paralleled at Afrati.¹²⁶⁷ Thus, the inverted vase may have served to create a small-scale terracotta equivalent of a stone-built tholos, a convenient and economical way to create a single-person burial space that imitates the traditional vault element.

The only positive indicators of foreigners settling on the island are the *cippi* discovered at the Atsalenio cemetery in Knossos and the Orthi Petra necropolis in

¹²⁶² Biondi 2002, 79.

¹²⁶³ At Afrati, the burials usually contained one or two small vessels (mostly aryballoi, oinochoai or cups) and only exceptionally a small metal object or bead (Levi 1927-9, 78-389, 546; Eaby 2007, 117). At Yunus, burials were accompanied by pottery, feeding bottles, clay figurines, seals, fibulae, pins, beads, spindle whorls, kohl pots, arrowheads, bracelets and amulets (Woolley 1939-40, 16). At Tel Shiukh, female individuals commonly received spindle whorls and astragali, male individuals arrowheads, and children astragali and personal ornaments such as bracelets, rings and beads (Tenu 2013, 430, 433f.).

¹²⁶⁴ Biondi 2002, 80f.

¹²⁶⁵ Levi 1927-9, 82f.; Böhm 2001, 128.

¹²⁶⁶ Eaby 2007, 321.

¹²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 75, 321.

Eleutherna.¹²⁶⁸ These represent carved blocks that were used as grave markers, incense altars and/or supports for iconic or aniconic elements. The Atsalenio piece was found in a secondary context, blocking the entrance of a LPG-LG chamber tomb, but is typologically related to late 8th-century *cippi-stelai* from Tyre¹²⁶⁹. Although the three Eleutherna examples were likewise displaced, they very probably belonged to Building A (*ca.* 720-600)¹²⁷⁰. Their closest parallel seems to be a 7th to 6th-century type that originated at Carthage.¹²⁷¹ Apart from demonstrating that Phoenician individuals of diverse backgrounds lived in Cretan communities, these stones also show that the local population respected their expressions of cultural identity and religiosity.¹²⁷² Concerning the wider picture, it is doubtful that such a sparsely attested Phoenician presence had any real impact on Cretan life, sense of self, or artistic preference. Appropriately, 8th to 7th-century Eleutherna flaunts an impressive array of imports but, apart from the discussed metal items, is rather wanting in orientalising material, especially concerning pottery.¹²⁷³

¹²⁶⁸ The Phoenician-inscribed bowl from Knossos Tomb J (*KNC*, 563f. no. J.f1., fig. 157) has often been cited in this context (e.g. Coldstream 1982a, 271; Negbi 1992, 607f.; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 365) but cannot provide any positive evidence for the local settlement of foreigners.

¹²⁶⁹ Kourou and Karetsou 1998, 245f., 249f.; Kourou 2000, 1071.

¹²⁷⁰ Stampolidis 2003, 221-6.

¹²⁷¹ Cf. Spagnoli 2012, 76, 78f., fig. 22.

¹²⁷² Whether these individuals were craftsmen (as proposed by Kourou 2009, 367) rather than of any other occupation is uncertain.

¹²⁷³ Cf. p. 38f. and 42.

7.4 Overseas military involvement

The last mode of contact to be investigated is the engagement in military encounters abroad. This category is extremely difficult to trace; the most promising approach is identifying foreign objects found on Crete, the local retrieval of which is conspicuous in one way or other. One such object is the 9th-century Near Eastern conical bronze helmet from tomb A1K1 at Eleutherna (Fig. 7.4).¹²⁷⁴ This piece displays severe ancient damage, suggesting that it reached the island through Cretans serving in an eastern army or as spoils from an antagonistic encounter in the Near East. The same interpretation has been advanced for the only other known EIA Near Eastern helmet discovered on Greek soil, a 'Syro-Assyrian' conical example from a tomb at Palaepaphos.¹²⁷⁵ It is likely that it was either taken as booty during the 709/708 battle between the kings of Cyprus and Šilṭa of Tyre, who was aided by Assyrian troops, or constituted the property of a Cypriot mercenary or vassal soldier serving in an eastern army.¹²⁷⁶ Such mercenaries or vassal soldiers might be depicted on a 'Cypro-Phoenician' silver bowl from Amathus, which shows the siege of a fortified city involving Greek hoplites, Cypriots and Assyrian-looking warriors.¹²⁷⁷ Finally, it should be pointed out that the occurrence of North Syrian bronze horse trappings in sanctuaries at Eretria, Samos and Miletus has also been understood as evidence for Greek mercenaries or soldiers in the Near East. More specifically, these trappings, which bear inscriptions mentioning their seizure by Ḥazā'il of Damascus,

¹²⁷⁴ Stampolidis 2004, 282 no. 361. He does not explicitly state a provenance but implies that it is Assyrian. An example attributed to this region does seem comparable (Desző 2001, pls. 12f.) based on provided photographs. Conical pointed helmets are also attested for North Syria (Maner 2009, 256f.).

¹²⁷⁵ Desző 2001, 58f. no. 35, pl. 47. The best parallel for the Palaepaphos piece is a late 9th/early 8th-century helmet excavated at Sendschirli (*ibid.*; Desző 1998, 11f., ill. 6).

¹²⁷⁶ Desző and Vér 2013, 345f. For this war and the subsequently changing relationship between Cyprus and Assyria cf. Radner 2010, 434, 438-40.

¹²⁷⁷ Niemeier 2001, 21; Luraghi 2006, 36-8; D'Acunto 2013, 479. Opinions as to its date range from the late 8th century to ca. 650-625; it may depict a historical event or a genre scene.

might have been appropriated by Greeks that were involved in Tiglat-Pileser III's conquest of Damascus.¹²⁷⁸ Returning to the Eleutherna helmet, it seems possible that its Cretan owner had participated in a joint Greek military operation in the Levant or Cyprus, to which Eleutherna certainly maintained close contacts.¹²⁷⁹ Near Eastern helmets of various kinds are depicted on the Knossos-Kavousi Group,¹²⁸⁰ which seems to support a particular interest in this type of object.

Another class of objects that may have been acquired through conflict is Near Eastern seals. Secure evidence for Cretans being in touch with such is scant, but at least in the case of the Cretan lion griffin protomes a dependency on Neo-Assyrian seals could be demonstrated.¹²⁸¹ It is the nature of seals that they were intimately linked to their owners, who used them for administrative, legal or amuletic purposes and wore them around their necks or suspended from pins.¹²⁸² Although some Near Eastern examples have been excavated from post-Bronze Age Mediterranean contexts, these are rare and their production dates are much earlier than their find contexts.¹²⁸³ This suggests that such examples constituted chance finds rediscovered in antiquity. Since there was apparently no 'market' for seals during the EIA – in strong opposition to the BA situation –¹²⁸⁴ Near Eastern seals must have been obtained directly from their owners, likely in a forceful manner. Whether this also happened at the hands of Cretans is uncertain, but the targeting of specific imagery that was compatible with local understandings implies that Cretans were relatively

¹²⁷⁸ Burkert 1992, 163 n. 14; Buchholz 1994, 44f.; Luraghi 2006, 38-40. Kourou (2009, 367) explains them in terms of gift exchange. For overviews of Greek mercenaries in Egypt and the Levant from the late 7th century onwards cf. Niemeier 2001, 16-24; Boardman 2006, 520-31; Fantalkin 2006, 202f.

¹²⁷⁹ E.g. Stampolidis 1998; Kourou 2000, 1069f.

¹²⁸⁰ Cf. p. 203.

¹²⁸¹ Cf. p. 89. Perhaps the same applies to the lioness on a relief pithos sherd from Prinias, cf. p. 80.

¹²⁸² Collon 1987, 113-9; 2001, esp. 20f., 26-8; Radner 2008, esp. 482, 490.

¹²⁸³ Collon 1987, 138.

¹²⁸⁴ See Kopanias 2012 for the roughly 100 known Near Eastern cylinder seals from BA contexts in the Aegean. Apart from very few exceptions, such as the Kadmeion examples (Porada 1981-2), seals probably travelled through small-scale exchange or trade by merchants and travellers (Pini 2005). Foreign examples, imitations of such and instances carrying intercultural imagery were likely worn as signs of a high social status (Arúz 2005).

close to the source. Intriguingly, Dominique Collon noted that Neo-Assyrian seals with mythological scenes involving Ninurta are broken disproportionately often and deduced that they were worn by military personnel.¹²⁸⁵ This includes the type from which the Cretan lion griffin was adopted, supporting the proposed theory. Currently, the only other Greek sites that have yielded Neo-Assyrian seals seem to be the sanctuaries at Samos and Olympia¹²⁸⁶ and it might not be coincidental that these are connected to Crete through other groups of objects.¹²⁸⁷

Finally, it is worth considering whether the Levantine ivories from the Idaean Cave could belong within this category of contact as well. They constitute by far the largest corpus of Syrian and Phoenician originals in the Aegean, accounting for about two thirds of the published total (*ca.* 140 pieces).¹²⁸⁸ Usually, their presence is explained within the framework of trade, either as finished products¹²⁸⁹ or raw materials that were worked by attendant itinerant craftsmen¹²⁹⁰. However, scholars studying related ivories excavated at Near Eastern sites¹²⁹¹ do *not* regard trade as their main mode of dissemination but rather the seizure of tribute or booty. This is based on details from the Assyrian royal inscriptions as well as the observation that foreign-style examples and instances inscribed with the names of foreign rulers were systematically deposited in the storage areas of Near Eastern buildings, which contrasts with the placement of local-style examples in areas of display.¹²⁹² Moreover, Levantine ivories discovered in the Aegean do not show a diffused distribution pattern that would be more typical of ‘exotica’ travelling through trade. Their

¹²⁸⁵ Collon 2001, 28.

¹²⁸⁶ Collon 1987, 135-7; Völling 1999, 286-9.

¹²⁸⁷ E.g. ivories, see main text below.

¹²⁸⁸ Sakellarakis 1993, 356-9; Pappalardo 2004, 226-9.

¹²⁸⁹ Sakellarakis 1993, 359f.; Matthäus 2005, 305.

¹²⁹⁰ Barnett 1948, 6; Kourou 2000, 1069; Pappalardo 2004, 232.

¹²⁹¹ For find spots cf. I. Winter 1976, 11-4, figs. 1f.

¹²⁹² Ivories in Assyrian style were absent in the palace areas designated for long-term storage of booty but instead retrieved in reception rooms (G. Herrmann 1997, 287, 289).

provenances are extremely clustered, with the Idaean Cave and the Heraion on Samos claiming the vast majority.¹²⁹³ It seems highly unlikely that only these specific sanctuaries (or the people frequenting them) showed a demand. Therefore it may be proposed that the Cretan assemblage, too, was acquired as booty and that the fewer Samian and Rhodian examples reached their final locations via Crete or through joint operations. Crete had long-established contacts to both regions and EIA finds suggest that these were maintained during the surveyed timeframe.

In combination, these three cases indicate that overseas combat must have played a role in EIA Crete. There are no available sources for ‘Cretans’ participating in such prior to the Hellenistic period, when they served as mercenaries on a larger scale.¹²⁹⁴ However, Assyrian sources from the time of Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II and Esarhaddon famously mention the presence of *lam(a)n-āja* in the Levant, who attacked coastal areas and had to be expelled by the Assyrians.¹²⁹⁵ Although these *lam(a)n-āja* are etymologically related to the later Ionians of the west Anatolian coast, Neo-Babylonian and Archaic Greek texts give the impression that this term used to be much more generic and centred on the Aegean.¹²⁹⁶ The Assyrian royal inscriptions themselves merely state that the *lam(a)n-āja* lived in “the midst of the Sea of the Setting Sun”¹²⁹⁷, which served as a standard *topos* for islands in the Mediterranean. While it is generally agreed that Cretans were referred to as *Keftiu/Kaptara* in the Bronze Age, it is striking that ‘Ionians’ make their earliest appearance within the Greek sphere on two Linear B tablets from Knossos.¹²⁹⁸ Since group designations are

¹²⁹³ Sakellarakis 1993, 356-9; Pappalardo 2004, 226-9.

¹²⁹⁴ E.g. Spyridakis 1992.

¹²⁹⁵ Cf. Brinkman 1989, 54-7 and Rollinger 2001, 237-43 for collected passages. One of the mentioned Greek-Assyrian fights at sea might be depicted on a mural at Til Barsip (Deszö and Vér 2013, 336).

¹²⁹⁶ Rollinger 2001, 237-43; 2007, 281f.; Crielaard 2009, 41f. Boardman (2006, 510) and Lanfranchi (2000, 15 n. 27) interpret it as a universal term meaning ‘westerner’ or ‘Greek’. The same seems suggested in the Ugaritic use of ‘Yaman’ (Rollinger 2011, 267 n. 5).

¹²⁹⁷ Rollinger 2001, 239.

¹²⁹⁸ Chatwick 1977, 108f.

changeable¹²⁹⁹ it is not compelling that these were identical with their later namesakes¹³⁰⁰, but at any rate the tablets attest to the presence of ‘Ionians’ on Crete. I do by no means wish to suggest that all of the *Iam(a)n-āja* were Cretans, but these groups may well have included Cretans.¹³⁰¹ Concerning their specific deeds in the east, there is later literary evidence that localised piracy could turn into mercenary services.¹³⁰² Sometimes, ‘Ionians’ seem to have conducted international military campaigns, for instance in cooperation with Midas of Phrygia in Que.¹³⁰³ We further know that *Iam(a)n-āja* were captured and it is plausible that some were subsequently forced to serve in the Assyrian army.¹³⁰⁴ As regards chronology, at least a portion of the Levantine ivories from Crete must have been acquired before the end of the 9th century, because some instances of PGB-EG pottery emulated designs on such. This appears compatible with the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, which treat the assaults by *Iam(a)n-āja* as a well-known situation that must have emerged at an earlier stage.¹³⁰⁵ Needless to say, there may well have been ventures to the east that are entirely unattested.

¹²⁹⁹ A point stressed by Rollinger 2007, 260.

¹³⁰⁰ *Contra* Driessen (1998-9, 84f.), who considers these as locally stationed mainlanders without further explanation.

¹³⁰¹ Interestingly, the Odyssey mentions similar raids on Egypt that were conducted from/via Crete (Boardman 2006, 526).

¹³⁰² Luraghi 2006, 35.

¹³⁰³ Lanfranchi 2000, 14-22.

¹³⁰⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 28f. for the suggestion that some captured ‘Ionian’ sailors were enrolled in the Assyrian fluvial marine.

¹³⁰⁵ Rollinger 2001, 239.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions

This final chapter is divided into two parts. The first outlines the main results from previous discussions in the form of a diachronic narrative, which is provided with a supplementary map on Figure 8.1 (this figure will not be referred to separately in order to avoid constant repetition and the reader is asked to consult it at will). The second part evaluates the orientalising phenomenon on a more theoretical level, examining possible interpretations.

8. 1 Summary of Cretan orientalising episodes and developments

The earliest EIA objects imitating eastern models seem to have been the Cypriot-type bronze stands (Ch. 6.6), which emerged around the late 10th or 9th centuries. This presumably happened under the influence of visiting Cypriot craftsmen, since their complex and specific production method required a personal transmission of skills. Although the first known examples carrying orientalising figural decoration date within the 8th century, the initial appearance of these stands is crucial because it demonstrates the presence of Cretan bronze working schools that were manufacturing larger items at Knossos and elsewhere. Probably around the same time, in the 10th and 9th centuries, Near Eastern metal items (such as Egyptian jugs and Syro-Phoenician bowls) started to reach the island (p. 221), leading to a growing local awareness of eastern metalwork.

During the late 9th century the first orientalising ornaments appeared on ceramics of the 'PGB ornate' group. This group was not only particularly innovative but additionally revived Minoan elements (p. 28f.). Also in the late 9th or perhaps the

early 8th century, local metal smiths produced bronze and gold sheet objects with orientalising designs including Lion Tamers and a city siege scene (Ch. 6.7; p. 211f.). Interestingly, the style employed on some of these is matched on an isolated sculptural find from Amnisos (p. 177). Simultaneously, gold jewellery emulating Near Eastern motifs and techniques made a debut (Ch. 6.8). Knossos seems to have been at the core of all these developments, although analogous trends are visible in material from other centres such as Eleutherna, Prinias and, less so, Vrokastro.

In the second quarter of the 8th century, Cretan bronze workshops started to produce the famous shields (Chs. 6.3 and 6.11). These have been discovered primarily in the Idaean Cave, but also at Palaikastro, Eleutherna, Phaistos, Afrati, Syme, Dreros and Kommos; abroad, examples come from Delphi, Dodona and Miletus. Their basic design, decorative schemes and dedicatory purpose seem to link them to Urartian counterparts. The employed technique deviates significantly, however, suggesting that Cretan imitation was founded on observation rather than instruction. It appears highly likely that there existed a direct link to the Urartian cultural sphere, perhaps via adjacent North Syrian regions under its influence. This scenario seems to be strengthened by the observation that the shields display several features that are otherwise unique to metalwork from Iran, which was controlled by Urartu at this point in time (Ch. 2.2). The production of the Idaean Cave shields cannot have been predicated on the myth of the Kouretes due to the lack of contemporary evidence, and it seems more plausible that, on the contrary, this myth developed from the continued display of such shields (Ch. 6.5). Armed dances with shields were taking place as early as the 10th-century and the adoption of a Urartian type might have been due to the region's international renown as a metalworking centre (p. 198f; Ch. 2.2).

Concerning pottery, the 8th century saw a progressive intensification in the use of orientalising motifs (p. 36f.). Particularly popular were tongue, rosette and cable patterns, which continued trends established in the PGB-EG periods. The placement of rosettes and tongues suggests that their proliferation was founded on the influence of Near Eastern metal bowls (p. 57f. and 60). The same is the case for the design of cable patterns.

The end of the 8th and beginning of the 7th century brought several changes. Concerning metalwork, local workshops started to manufacture large griffin protome cauldrons, conical stands and probably also 'siren' cauldrons (Ch. 6.10). These seem to have been produced exclusively for export and were distinguished by stronger Assyrianising characteristics, which could have been due to Assyria's recently cemented predominance in the Levant and its involvement with Cyprus. At the same time, orientalising limestone sculpture started to play a noticeable role, as evidenced by the Gortyn seated statue (p. 161-164), which is the earliest preserved in a string of statues of this type (Ch. 5.4), the Chania relief and the carved slabs from Teke (p. 177f.).

Another novelty was the production of mould-made relief figurines depicting frontal females (Ch. 4.4). While imitating a Levantine type of object, the Cretan versions were idiosyncratic in their unusual degree of variation and adjustment to established local conventions. The stylistically earliest examples come from Gortyn and may have developed as a result of contacts with Cyprus, which in turn had borrowed this type from North Syrian coroplastics (p. 120f.). The circumstance that in the Levant relief figurines primarily occur in domestic contexts, their lack of distinguishing attributes, and the nature of the figurine type they originally replaced all render their traditional interpretation as representing deities unsatisfactory. Instead, it seems preferable to understand them as personal items that could,

probably among other functions, commemorate private events and advertise specific qualities or social roles (p. 116f.). This function seems to have been partially retained when these figurines were adopted on Cyprus and Crete, although there they assumed a secondary purpose as votives. On Cyprus, they were soon produced specifically as dedicatory objects and it seems that in the east of Crete their production and deposition also became regulated.

In terms of pottery, the late 8th and 7th centuries witnessed the arrival of numerous motifs that are considered orientalising *par excellence*, such as the lotus, palmette and griffin (p. 36f.). Many details reveal that Cretan potters were aware of orientalising ceramics from other parts of Greece, such as Corinth, East Greece and Athens (Ch. 3.5). It seems likely that this contributed to the flourishing of analogous trends, although local styles and repertoires were unique. Vessels adorned with orientalising motifs feature across the entire spectrum of shapes and types of find contexts (p. 41-48). At least at Knossos, tombs of varying wealth have yielded proportionately similar amounts of such vessels, implying that they were not reserved for an exclusive elite (p. 50f.). Some diversity is discernible in regional and site-specific preferences for certain motifs (p. 38-41). A large share of the material from Knossos is adorned with tongues and rosettes, but cable designs, lotuses and palmettes are also well represented. The Mesara region displays a very similar profile, suggesting that it followed Knossian developments. The wider Lasithi, however, diverges in a proportionately greater predilection for rosettes, lions and sphinxes, while the east of Crete is characterised by an unusually high frequency of cable motifs.

The second half of the 7th century coincided with the construction of the temples at Prinias and Gortyn, which both displayed imposing orientalising sculptural embellishments (Chs. 5.2 and 5.3). In the past, it has been suggested that

these borrowed heavily from Near Eastern monumental art and architecture. A revaluation has shown that they instead combine local architectural forms and iconographies with established orientalising imagery (p. 148-151 and 167-169). Only few elements were innovative; conspicuously these affect figures guarding the access to buildings, like in the case of Phaistos and Axos (p. 179). On account of the scarcity of preserved remains across Crete, it is impossible to establish whether the use of orientalising sculpture was broadly symptomatic of respective cults having ties to the Near East. In the case of Prinias this is extremely doubtful; at Gortyn the unusual portal felines may have advertised the Levantine origin of the local goddess (p. 169-172).

8.2 Interpreting the ‘orientalising phenomenon’ on Crete

As announced at the beginning of the chapter, this final section explores potential reasons for the occurrence of orientalising artefacts on EIA Crete. It opens with a discussion of the current theory, which links orientalising material to *polis* formation. Next, the relationship between relevant artefacts and elites is briefly considered. Finally, a holistic interpretation of the orientalising phenomenon on Crete is offered.

The *polis*-theory

It has recently been proposed that the entire corpus of 7th-century orientalising material should be viewed in terms of emerging citizenship. More precisely, it was argued that ‘the *polis*’ systematically employed ‘the orientalising style’ to mark its institutions and to unify its members.¹³⁰⁶ On the surface, this theory is extremely attractive because it creates the impression of a coherent picture. Looking at the detail of argumentation, however, a number of the inferences are debatable. This can be illustrated by discussing two broad exemplars: the metal objects and temples with sculpted decoration.

Concerning the former, large bronze items and gold finery are believed to have disappeared in the 7th century because a new convention of modesty among citizens rendered them socially inappropriate.¹³⁰⁷ The pieces of bronze armour from Afrati¹³⁰⁸ have been presented as a notable exception in which individual prestige could be publicly advertised.¹³⁰⁹ These constituted battle spoils inscribed with the

¹³⁰⁶ Brisart 2008-9. Most explicitly: 240-3, 281-5, 301f.

¹³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 237f.

¹³⁰⁸ Cf. p. 223f.

¹³⁰⁹ Brisart 2008-9, 272.

names of their captors and exhibited in the local *andreion*, supposedly to promote social cohesion through the display of a common military history.¹³¹⁰ However, in this case it is curious why the armour should have been inscribed with the names of individuals rather than of the *hetaireia* or *polis*. Further, it constituted 'communal' booty only in its secondary function; its primary purpose before capture was undeniably for use by an individual. Even if worn while performing civic duties, it certainly showcased social prominence – especially considering the ornate and unique character of the engraved imagery.¹³¹¹ Aside from this, the presence (whether production or circulation) of orientalising bronzes seems to have continued well into the 7th century, judging by the numerous objects in other materials that imitate their designs.¹³¹² As for gold jewellery, manufacture certainly continued in the 7th century, even if evidence is slimmer.¹³¹³

The only metal-related factor that does mark some discontinuity and might provide a case in favour of the suggested *polis* reading is the apparent decline in the use of orientalising bronze cauldrons and stands. Of course, negative evidence for metal items should always be treated with extreme care, but there is some indication that we are dealing with an actual trend rather than accidental survival. Accordingly, the early 7th-century Barberini and Bernardini workshops located on Crete¹³¹⁴ achieved a final attested feat in this area of craftsmanship, but, contrary to related clay versions, their bronze products seem to have been destined specifically for export.¹³¹⁵ This, and the discovery of larger orientalising terracotta stands,¹³¹⁶ might

¹³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹¹ Cf. Hoffmann 1972, 34-40.

¹³¹² Cf. e.g. p. 73-5 and 131f.

¹³¹³ Cf. e.g. Levi 1927-9, 478, pl. XII; Brock 1957, 99 nos. 1144f., pl. 76; Lebessi 1975; *KNC*, 190 no. 1, pl. 265; Stampolidis et al. 1998, 150f. no. 336; Stampolidis 2012, 209 no. 9; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2013, 137 no. 8, pl. 82.

¹³¹⁴ Cf. p. 215f.

¹³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

indicate that clay equipment gradually superseded bronze counterparts in the 7th century. Interestingly, these cauldrons and stands were objects of shared use, unlike personal adornments or private dedications. In speculating about possible reasons for such a change, it could be proposed that the composition of the people using these cauldrons had become less exclusive and that this was reflected in the choice of less exclusive material.

A link to the emergence of citizenship has also been proposed for the 7th-century temples and their architectural sculpture. In terms of Temple A at Prinias, its location next to *Piazza* TZ and Building B, presumably a 'ruler's dwelling',¹³¹⁷ has been highlighted.¹³¹⁸ The temple edifice has been considered symptomatic of the pooling of resources to realise such a 'monumental' project and of power passing from ruler to citizens, while the display of orientalising decoration has been understood to mark its close association to the *polis*.¹³¹⁹ Needless to say, we know nothing about the financing of Cretan EIA building work and the temple could equally have been sponsored by a large group of moderately well off people (as implied by the citizen theory) or a small group of very wealthy individuals. What we can do is place Temple A in context, not only with the neighbouring building but the settlement as a whole. This makes it clear that the *ca.* 14 by 6.50 m temple is by no means monumental – in fact, the suites of rooms that Dario Palermo has identified as 'private residences' are two to three times its size.¹³²⁰ Further, on the southern terrace of the *Patela* another temple has come to light that shares the same layout, incorporation into an *insula* unit and direct access to a street.¹³²¹ Its existence likely

¹³¹⁶ E.g. Levi 1927-9, 345f., fig. 448; 1957, 230f., fig. 27; Haggis et al. 2004, 377f., figs. 30, 33; Haggis et al. 2011b, 454, fig. 19.

¹³¹⁷ Cf. p. 151.

¹³¹⁸ Brisart 2008-9, 301f.

¹³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 300f.

¹³²⁰ Palermo 2011, 90, 93.

¹³²¹ *Ibid.*, 91, fig. 3.

implies that Temple A was not the main temple of the town on the *Patela* – of which *ca.* 90 per cent remains unexcavated at any rate – but that there were several temples that serviced respective quarters and were likely commissioned by the residents thereof. It shall also be mentioned again that Temple A seems to have replaced Building sTB and not Building B.¹³²² Regardless of its ostentatious sculptural embellishment, the construction of Temple A does not mark a significant break in the development of the town.

For the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn the situation is different. It is plausible that this building represented the main civic sanctuary and that there was an intentional correlation between its sculpted triads¹³²³ and the terracotta relief figurines, which represent the prevailing class of dedications and carry related depictions.¹³²⁴ It has been suggested that the figurines gave the citizens a way of expressing their support for the *polis* by referencing the sculpture.¹³²⁵ However, since the earliest figurines stylistically predate the triads, causality must have run in the opposite direction (at least at first). This could further corroborate the civic nature of this temple, as the design of the sculptural programme appears to have taken pre-existing dedications of growing popularity into account.

The preceding brief discussion has demonstrated that it is not possible to establish a comprehensive relationship between orientalising material and the emergence of the citizen-state. In accordance, this thesis has shown that, while witnessing some new Near Eastern-derived aspects, overall the 7th century continued a pre-existing trend. Consequently, although *poleis* or their citizens may have used orientalising objects, it does not seem likely that the entirety of these could have

¹³²² Cf. p. 155 and 231.

¹³²³ Cf. p. 165.

¹³²⁴ Cf. p. 102f. and 105.

¹³²⁵ Brisart 2008-9, 316f.

been employed in an exclusive and uniform way, which would have been necessary if they were meant to act as a civic 'hallmark'. Furthermore, the geographical patterning of orientalising material (cf. Fig. 8.1) does not conform to this theory either. While Knossos and Gortyn have indeed yielded impressive amounts – even across the spectrum of find categories – this does not equally apply to Dreros, for instance, which was certainly a *polis* by the 7th century.¹³²⁶ This circumstance cannot be explained by disparate find contexts since at Dreros both an EIA cemetery and temple have been excavated.

Perhaps it would be helpful to move away from emphasising the importance of socio-political systems and instead highlight the role of urban centres in central Crete. The vast majority of orientalising finds come from Knossos, Gortyn, Afrati and, to a lesser degree, Eleutherna, Prinias and Phaistos, which all constituted larger towns in Sjögren's classification.¹³²⁷ Other sites that have yielded significant amounts or at least several find categories are the sanctuaries at the Idaean Cave, Syme and Palaikastro. These were presumably linked to urban centres (in the case of the Idaean Cave a connection to Knossos and Eleutherna is certain), but it seems likely that there was also a secondary network joining sanctuaries with each other. This might be implied by the find patterns of Cypriot-type stands and Idaean Cave-type shields.

The role of elites

Orientalia discovered in Greece are usually associated with elite groups that sought to define their superior social status through the exclusive possession of

¹³²⁶ Cf. p. 16 and 18.

¹³²⁷ Sjögren 2003, 39.

foreign goods.¹³²⁸ Although orientalising artefacts did not hold the same 'distance value', they emulated foreign models and it could therefore be assumed that they functioned in a similar way. A connection to members of the elite is particularly plausible for orientalising metal items, since their manufacture required expensive imported resources, large amounts of production materials and special craftsman expertise. As has become clear, the corpus examined in this thesis largely consists of object types that demonstrably copied eastern models, including specific kinds of vessel stands and shields.¹³²⁹ By contrast, types that were essentially local – cups and cauldrons, for example – only rarely show corresponding decoration. This suggests that the embellishment of metal objects with orientalising designs was not primarily linked to factors of cost or clientele (although they were probably owned or dedicated by elite members) but depended on the actual objects and their cultural associations. The adornment of Near Eastern-type items with Near Eastern-derived motifs – even if realised in an extremely eclectic manner, incorporating motifs and styles from various origins – was probably an obvious choice.

Regarding ceramics, it has further been observed that orientalising instances belonging to various periods reveal a detailed knowledge of models, especially metal objects and ivories.¹³³⁰ Since these largely constituted luxury items to which potters or pottery painters presumably did not have direct access, it appears likely that rich clients in possession of such items instructed these craftsmen directly. If this is correct, some vessels may have been owned by members of the elite who wished to display their wealth, connections and knowledge in this medium. Further, the available corpus of orientalising PGB and EG pottery comprises large vessels of top

¹³²⁸ Cf. e.g. Duploux 2006, 151-83. Of course 'the elite' was very heterogeneous and some members must have distinguished themselves through alternative strategies and values, cf. Brisart 2008-9, 243-318.

¹³²⁹ Cf. Chs. 6.3, 6.6 and 6.10.

¹³³⁰ Cf. Ch. 3.5.

quality, indicating that affluent customers must have played a leading role in kick-starting the use of foreign-derived motifs on local ceramics. During the LG-O periods, on the other hand, orientalising designs adorned vases of varying standards, from intricate masterpieces to rather clumsy specimens.¹³³¹ The same can be observed for terracotta relief figurines. These are often considered the poor man's substitute for more costly objects, but delicate examples that preserve a highly lustrous coating demonstrate their potential appeal.¹³³² Rather than being either a prerogative of 'the elite' or only suitable for 'the rest', the use of orientalising pottery and terracottas surely pervaded 7th-century society.

Towards a holistic reading

It is not surprising that explanatory models centred on elites or citizens cannot account for all of the discussed orientalising expressions, since the inhabitants of EIA Crete cannot be reduced to purely economic or political beings. As has become clear throughout this thesis, the production and use of relevant objects represents an extremely diverse and complex phenomenon, which was fed by a number of 'hard' and 'soft' factors. Regarding the metalwork – which had an enduring effect especially on pottery but also on other kinds of objects – two potential factors that have not yet been touched upon are related to the material as such. First, many of the required resources – copper, tin and gold – had to be imported to Crete. Especially for copper and gold it is highly likely that these arrived from the east: copper from Cyprus and gold ultimately from Egypt/Nubia, Iran or Anatolia/the Caucasus, probably via Levantine intermediaries.¹³³³ It is possible that there was a strong association between the channels these resources came through and the

¹³³¹ Cf. p. 51.

¹³³² Cf. p. 134.

¹³³³ For metal resources cf. Moorey 1994, 219f.; Kassianidou 2012, 230-7, 244.

orientalising decoration employed on the manufactured objects. Second, the visual properties of the finished products could have encouraged their adornment with orientalising designs. Thus, in a polished state, bronze would have shone in a colour rather similar to gold and, as the epics attest,¹³³⁴ items made in either metal evidently reminded their observers of the sun, which rises in the east. This might sound trivial or mysticising, but in the visually much less stimulating everyday life of the EIA, larger metal artefacts must have generated a profound effect.

More significant from a historical perspective is that sometimes the adoption of orientalising elements appears to have been triggered by actual experiences in the Near East. In certain cases the adoption may have worked as a powerful display of cultural appropriation arising from Cretan participation in overseas conflicts.¹³³⁵ This is probable for instances of PGB and EG orientalising pottery as well as metal items belonging to the Knossos-Kavousi group, both of which feature motifs that are paralleled on Levantine ivories.¹³³⁶ The metal finds additionally attest to some understanding of North Syrian styles and a very detailed notion of the appearance of Near Eastern soldiers, as particularly evident from their helmets.¹³³⁷ Based on this and observations made in Chapter 7.4, it is possible that Cretans were involved in inter-regional conflicts taking place in the Levant and brought back ivories as booty. Selected motifs encountered on such were subsequently used on the mentioned local objects. In other cases, the adoption of orientalising designs might have represented an inspired borrowing of customs or material expressions from encounters of a non-

¹³³⁴ Cf. e.g. *Il.* XI, 512-4 (comparing Paris' armour to the shining sun) and XXII, 131-5 (likening Achilles' armour to fire and the rising sun).

¹³³⁵ Cf. p. 237-401.

¹³³⁶ Cf. Ch. 3.5 and e.g. p. 211f.

¹³³⁷ Cf. p. 203.

military nature. This has been proposed for the shields and might also be assumed for the early 7th-century Assyrianising bronzes.¹³³⁸

In addition to external contacts, the development of orientalising themes must have been profoundly shaped by a densely-knit internal network connecting Cretan sites across regions. This is evident in many aspects, for example the perceptible influence of Knossian pottery on ceramic fashions in the Mesara, the occurrence of shields at sites stretching from Eleutherna to Palaikastro, and the circulation of clay figurines or figurine moulds in the east.¹³³⁹ Indeed, it seems likely that only few Cretan communities fostered direct links to the east – top candidates being Knossos, Eleutherna, Gortyn and Afrati – while the vast majority probably received impulses indirectly through these (or additional) intermediaries.

As mentioned in the summary, it appears that during the 7th century contacts with other Greek regions became more central to the advancement of orientalising trends on Crete, especially concerning developments in pottery and coroplastics.¹³⁴⁰ Although Cretans rarely copied foreign orientalising material in a faithful manner, evidently preferring to create their own idiosyncratic interpretations, they chose to partake in wider developments. This observation contradicts the opinion that the island experienced an abrupt ‘reorientation’ from the Levant towards the Greek world in the 6th century, following the breakdown of the Assyrian trading networks and a concomitant disappearance of orientalising material.¹³⁴¹ Contacts with the east do not necessarily entail orientalising developments, just as the latter do not exclude affiliations to the Greek mainland – there is evidence that all three factors coincided in the 7th century and to a lesser degree already in the 8th century. Further, some

¹³³⁸ Chs. 6.3, 6.4 and 6.10.

¹³³⁹ Cf. p. 41, 123f. and 183.

¹³⁴⁰ Cf. Chs. 3.5 and 4.4.

¹³⁴¹ Erickson 2010, esp. 273, 299, 306.

orientalising fashions apparently continued into the early 6th century, probably by virtue of having become completely absorbed into the local repertory.

Finally, it is worth emphasising how eclectic the Cretan usage of eastern inspired designs proves to be across the different categories of finds. It is evident that it was not the islanders' intention to faithfully emulate the material culture of a specific Near Eastern area. Instead, they composed their own distinct creations, drawing inspiration from objects originating in a wider range of regions encompassing the Levant, Urartu and Assyria and to a lesser degree also Iran, Egypt and Phrygia. The selection of models appears to have been based on their suitability for local traditions, tastes or needs, and in some cases probably also on the compatibility with rediscovered Minoan fashions. Given that two main determinants for the appearance of orientalising material seem to have been the role of urban centres (or connection to such) and contacts to the east (directly or indirectly through another centre), it is likely that orientalising objects expressed a certain cosmopolitan self-perception. Introducing the concept of identity, it is of course important to stress that these objects constitute only a portion of finds excavated at any site. For Knossos, Gortyn and Afrati these portions are markedly higher than elsewhere. It was presumably only a small minority of the population that ventured abroad and only these individuals could have been able to distinguish the styles and motifs associated with different Near Eastern centres or traditions.¹³⁴² The rest of the islanders must have recognised orientalising designs as something new and probably also as something generically Near Eastern, since adaptation appears to have been selective rather than random, indicating a widespread basic understanding. Therefore, it is possible that the modern term 'orientalising' might actually come

¹³⁴² Cf. Panagiotopoulos 2013, 160.

rather close to the impression originally intended for and evoked by the studied objects.

In closing, this analysis has shown that the orientalising phenomenon is extremely multi-faceted and complex. Initially, the development of Cretan orientalising themes was probably triggered by endeavours abroad. Over time, these themes were utilised by a range of different people, elite members, citizens and others, and in a range of contexts, including those of domestic, religious and funerary nature, both public and private. It seems that aspects other than political form or economic standing also played a role; the materiality of objects and especially their cultural associations apparently constituted significant factors. The continued production and use of orientalising objects shows that the inhabitants of EIA Crete were internationally well integrated and that, rather than being 'influenced' by foreigners passing by or temporarily involved on site, they made full use of their own agency.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>KNC</i>	Coldstream, J. N. and Catling, H. W. (eds.), 1996. <i>Knossos North Cemetery: Early Greek Tombs</i> . London: British School at Athens. <i>BSA Suppl.</i> 28.
<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AAA</i>	<i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i>
<i>ACE Bulletin</i>	<i>The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
<i>ACL</i>	<i>Atti dei Convegni Lincei</i>
<i>ActaAnthung</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>ActaAth</i>	<i>Skifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae)</i>
<i>ADPV</i>	<i>Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>Aegaeum</i>	<i>Aegaeum: Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège</i>
<i>Aegis</i>	<i>Aegis: Archéologie du monde minoen, presses universitaires de Louvain</i>
<i>AF</i>	<i>Archäologische Forschungen</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
<i>AH</i>	<i>Acta Hyperborea</i>
<i>AI</i>	<i>Archaeology International</i>
<i>AIAM</i>	<i>Archaeological Institute of America Monographs</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
<i>AMS</i>	<i>Asia Minor Studien</i>
<i>ANES</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>AnnASorAnt</i>	<i>Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica. Università degli Studi di Napoli "l'Orientale", Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico</i>
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity: a Quarterly Review of Archaeology</i>
<i>AntK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
<i>AOS</i>	<i>American Oriental Series</i>
<i>ApplPhysA</i>	<i>Applied Physics A: Material Science & Processing</i>
<i>APS</i>	<i>Allard Pierson Series</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>Archaeology</i>	<i>Archaeology Magazine</i>
<i>ArchPer</i>	<i>Archaeologia Perusina</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Ars Orientalis: the Arts of Islam and the East</i>
<i>ASAtene</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>ASOR</i>	<i>American School of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>AssyrMisc</i>	<i>Assyriological Miscellanies</i>

<i>AVO</i>	<i>Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients</i>
<i>AWE</i>	<i>Ancient West and East</i>
<i>BAAL</i>	<i>Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises</i>
<i>BAHBeyrouth</i>	<i>Bibliothèque archéologique et historique. Institut français d'archéologie de Beyrouth</i>
<i>BaM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
<i>BAOM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Ancient Orient Museum</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports, British Series</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BC</i>	<i>Biblioteca di Antichità Cipriote</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BdA</i>	<i>Bollettino d'Arte</i>
<i>BEFAR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
<i>Berytus</i>	<i>Berytus: Archaeological Studies</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Baghdader Forschungen</i>
<i>BIAA</i>	<i>British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monographs</i>
<i>BibAr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Archaeologica, Rome</i>
<i>BiblArch</i>	<i>The Biblical Archaeologist. The American School of Oriental Research New Haven</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>BMOP</i>	<i>British Museum Occasional Papers</i>
<i>BMRP</i>	<i>British Museum Research Publications</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Colloquia Antiqua (Supplement Ancient West and East)</i>
<i>Caeculus</i>	<i>Caeculus: Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>CÉFR</i>	<i>Collection de l'École Française de Rome</i>
<i>CHANE</i>	<i>Culture and History of the Ancient Near East</i>
<i>ClAnt</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>ClPhil</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>ClRh</i>	<i>Clara Rhodos</i>
<i>CMO</i>	<i>Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen</i>
<i>CMS</i>	<i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel</i>
<i>CPCActs</i>	<i>Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre</i>
<i>CPCPapers</i>	<i>Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre</i>
<i>CPCS</i>	<i>University of California Publications, Classical Studies</i>
<i>CretAnt</i>	<i>Creta Antica: Rivista Internazionale di Studi Archeologici, Storici ed Epigrafici</i>
<i>CretSt</i>	<i>Cretan Studies</i>
<i>CronASA</i>	<i>Cronache di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte</i>
<i>CSF</i>	<i>Collezione di Studi Fenici</i>
<i>CSHA</i>	<i>California Studies in the History of Art</i>
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
<i>Deltion</i>	<i>Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>ELS</i>	<i>Edinburgh Leventis Studies</i>
<i>EJA</i>	<i>European Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>ÉtCrét</i>	<i>Études Crétoises</i>
<i>Eulimene</i>	<i>Ευλημένη: Μελέτες στην κλασική αρχαιολογία, την επιγραφική, τη νομισματική και την παπυρολογία</i>
<i>FdD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>

<i>GaR</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
<i>HANEM</i>	<i>History of the Ancient Near East Monographs</i>
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>HfM</i>	<i>Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>History of Religions</i>
<i>HSAO</i>	<i>Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>Ichnia</i>	<i>Ichnia: Collana del Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici, Università degli Studi di Macerata</i>
<i>IMJ</i>	<i>Israel Museum Journal</i>
<i>Incunabula graeca</i>	<i>Incunabula graeca: Collana dell'Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche di Roma</i>
<i>INJA</i>	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration</i>
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>Iraq. Published by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq</i>
<i>Janus</i>	<i>Janus: Arbeiten zur Alten und Byzantinischen Geschichte</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JLCR</i>	<i>Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion</i>
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>JMC</i>	<i>Journal of Material Culture</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i>
<i>Kadmos</i>	<i>Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik</i>
<i>Kernos</i>	<i>Kernos: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique</i>
<i>KMT</i>	<i>KMT: a Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt</i>
<i>KretChron</i>	<i>Κρητικά Χρονικά: Κείμενα και Μελέται της Κρητικής Ιστορίας</i>
<i>LCL</i>	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>
<i>Levant</i>	<i>Levant: Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History</i>
<i>LHB/OTS</i>	<i>Library of Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament Studies</i>
<i>MarbWPr</i>	<i>Marburger Winckelmann-Programm</i>
<i>MDOG</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
<i>MeditArch</i>	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology: Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World</i>
<i>MelBeyrouth</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth</i>
<i>MemAmAc</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
<i>MetrMusJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
<i>MHR</i>	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
<i>Michmanim</i>	<i>Michmanim: a Bilingual Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum, University of Haifa</i>
<i>MilForsch</i>	<i>Milesische Forschungen</i>
<i>MKT</i>	<i>Menschen – Kulturen – Traditionen: Studien aus den Forschungsclustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>

<i>MMA</i>	<i>Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>MMFM</i>	<i>Medelhavsmuseet: Focus on the Mediterranean</i>
<i>MMS</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Studies</i>
<i>Mnemosyne</i>	<i>Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca classica batava</i>
<i>MSAtene</i>	<i>Monografie della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</i>
<i>Muse</i>	<i>Muse: Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, Univeristy of Missouri, Columbia</i>
<i>NatGeogRes</i>	<i>National Geographic Research</i>
<i>NCSIG</i>	<i>Newsletter of the Coroplastic Studies Interest Group</i>
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i>
<i>Numen</i>	<i>Numen: International Review for the History of Religions</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
<i>OF</i>	<i>Olympische Forschungen</i>
<i>Oikumene</i>	<i>Oikumene: Studia ad historiam antiquam classicam et orientalem pertinentia</i>
<i>OIP</i>	<i>University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications</i>
<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
<i>OpAth</i>	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
<i>OrEx</i>	<i>Orient Express</i>
<i>Origini</i>	<i>Origini Preistoria e Protostoria delle Civiltà Antiche</i>
<i>Ostraka</i>	<i>Ostraka: Rivista di Antichità</i>
<i>PAN</i>	<i>Philosophy, Activism, Nature</i>
<i>Pasiphae</i>	<i>Biblioteca di Pasiphae: Collana di Filologia e Antichità Egee</i>
<i>PBF</i>	<i>Prähistorische Bronzefunde</i>
<i>Philippika</i>	<i>Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen</i>
<i>PIA</i>	<i>Publications of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv</i>
<i>PM</i>	<i>Prehistory Monographs</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato: Rivista di Studi Antichi</i>
<i>Prakt</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
<i>PUCL</i>	<i>Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université Catholique de Louvain</i>
<i>QRS</i>	<i>Quaderni de la Ricerca Scientifica</i>
<i>Quaderni</i>	<i>Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di Messina</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RAPon</i>	<i>Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent</i>
<i>RdA</i>	<i>Rivista di Archeologia</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>Rendiconti</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche</i>
<i>RGRW</i>	<i>Religions in the Graeco-Roman World</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>SaarBeitr</i>	<i>Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde</i>
<i>SAAS</i>	<i>State Archives of Assyria Studies</i>
<i>SBA</i>	<i>Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde</i>
<i>SGKAO</i>	<i>Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients</i>
<i>SicGym</i>	<i>Siculorum Gymnasium</i>
<i>SIMA</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>

<i>SIMAL</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature</i>
<i>SMAG</i>	<i>Studi e Materiali di Archeologia Greca</i>
<i>SMAR</i>	<i>Studi e Materiali di Archeologia Roma</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
<i>SSCA</i>	<i>Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology</i>
<i>StArch</i>	<i>Studia Archaeologica</i>
<i>StPh</i>	<i>Studia Phoenicia</i>
<i>StSem</i>	<i>Studi Semitici</i>
<i>Syria</i>	<i>Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie</i>
<i>Talanta</i>	<i>Τάλαντα: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TMO</i>	<i>Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient</i>
<i>TS</i>	<i>Transcultural Studies</i>
<i>UCOP</i>	<i>University of Cambridge Oriental Publications</i>
<i>UPMAP</i>	<i>University of Pennsylvania Museum Anthropological Publications</i>
<i>VicOr</i>	<i>Vicino Oriente</i>
<i>WA</i>	<i>World Archaeology</i>
<i>WIC</i>	<i>Warburg Institute Colloquia</i>
<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

General references

- Ackerman, S.
1989 'A marzēah in Ezekiel 8:7-13?'. *HTR* 82.3, 267-81.
- Adams, L.
1978 *Orientalizing Sculpture in Soft Limestone from Crete and Mainland Greece*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports. *BAR Suppl.* 42.
- Aign, B. P.
1963 *Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des ägäischen Raumes bis um 700 vor Christus*. Frankfurt: University Press.
- Al-Bahloul, Kh., Barro, A. and d'Alfonso, L.
2005 'Area H: the Iron Age cremation cemetery'. In: L. Bachelot and F. M. Fales (eds.), *Tell Shiukh Fawqani, 1994-1998*. Padova: Sargon, 997-1026. *HANEM* 6.
- Albenda, P.
1994 'Assyrian sacred trees in the Brooklyn Museum'. *Iraq* 56, 123-33.
- Albright, W. F.
1939 'Astarte plaques and figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim'. In: R. Dussaud (ed.), *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, par ses amis et ses élèves*. Paris: Geuthner, 107-20. *BAHBeyrouth* 30.
1968 *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: a Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths*. London: Athlone. *JLCR* 7.
- Alexiou, S.
1950a 'Παραστάσεις πολύποδος επί πρωτοελληνικών αγγείων εκ Κρήτης'. *KretChron* 4, 294-318.
1950b 'Πρωτογεωμετρικός ναΐσκος της Συλλογής Γιαμαλάκη'. *KretChron* 4, 441-62.
1956 'Ιερόν παρά το Καβούσι Ιεραπέτρας'. *KretChron* 10, 7-19.
1970 'Μικραί ανασκαφαί και περισυλλογή αρχαιοτήτων'. *Prakt* 1968, 184-6.
- Allegro, N.
1991 'Gortina, l'abitato geometrico di Profitis Ilias'. In: Musti 1991, 321-30.
- Almagro Gorbea, M. J.
1986 *Orfebrería fenicio-púnica del Museo Arqueológico Nacional*. Madrid: s.n.

- Àlvarez-Mon, J.
 2010 'The golden griffin from Arjan'. In: J. Àlvarez-Mon and M. B. Garrison (eds.), *Elam and Persia*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 299-373.
- Amandry, P.
 1938 'Vases, bronzes et terres cuites de Delphes (Fouilles de 1938)'. *BCH* 62, 305-31.
 1944 'Petits objets de Delphes'. *BCH* 68-9, 36-74.
- Ammerman, R. M.
 1991 'The naked standing goddess: a group of Archaic terracotta figurines from Paestum'. *AJA* 95.2, 203-30.
 1993 *The Sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum, 2: the Votive Terracottas*. Rome: Bretschneider. *ArchPer* 11.
- Amyx, D. A.
 1988 *Corinthian Vase Painting of the Archaic Period*. Berkeley: University of California Press. *CSHA* 25.
- Andreadaki-Vlasaki, M.
 1985 'Γεωμετρικά νεκροταφεία στο Νόμο Χανίων'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Ε' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A. Heraklion: Εταιρία Κρητικών Ιστορικών Μελετών, 10-35.
 1997 'The Geometric period: the pottery'. In: Hallager and Hallager 1997b, 229-40.
- Andreadaki-Vlasaki, M. and Papadopoulou, E.
 2007 'Recent evidence for the destruction of the LM IIIC habitation at Khamalevri, Rethymnon'. In: S. Deger-Jalkotzy and M. Zavadil (eds.), *LH IIIC Chronology and Synchronisms, II: LM IIIC Middle. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at the Austrian Academy of Sciences at Vienna, October 29th and 30th, 2004*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 27-53.
- Andrews, P. B. S.
 1969 'The myth of Europa and Minos'. *GaR* 16.1, 60-6.
- Antonaccio, C. and Neils, J.
 1993 'Symposium: "From pasture to polis: art in the age of Homer" (Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri-Columbia, October 23, 1993)'. *BMCR* 4, 499-504.

- Antoniadis, V.
 2012 *Early Iron Age Cemeteries at Knossos: the Appreciation of Oriental Imports and their Imitations by Knossian Society*. Universitat Pompeu Fabra, doctoral thesis.
- Arnold, D.
 1999 'Old Kingdom statues in their architectural setting'. In: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41-9.
 2003 *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*. Princeton: University Press.
- Aro, S.
 2013 'Carchemish before and after 1200 BC'. In: A. Mouton, I. Rutherford and I. Yakubovich (eds.), *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion between Anatolia and the Aegean*. Leiden: Brill, 233-76. CHANE 64.
- Aro, S. and Whiting, R. M.
 2000 (eds.) *The Heirs of Assyria. Proceedings of the Opening Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project held in Tvärminne, Finland, October 8-11, 1998 (= Melammu Symposia I)*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Aruz, J.
 2005 'Unravelling the mysteries of the well-travelled seal'. In: Laffineur and Greco 2005, 751-8.
- Aruz, J., Graff, S. B. and Rakic, Y.
 2014 (eds.) *From Assyria to Iberia: at the Dawn of the Classical Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Assante, J.
 2002 'Sex, magic and the liminal body in the erotic art and texts of the Old Babylonian period'. In: Parpola and Whiting 2002, 27-51.
- Astour, M. C.
 1965 *Hellenosemitica: an Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece*. Leiden: Brill.
- Aubet, M. E.
 2001 *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade* (2nd edition). Cambridge: University Press.
 2004 (ed.) *The Phoenician Cemetery of Tyre-Al Bass, Excavations 1997-1999*. Beirut: Ministère de la Culture. BAAL Hors-Série 1.
 2008 'Political and economic implications of the new Phoenician chronologies'. In: Sagona 2008, 247-59.

- Aubet, M. E., Núñez, F. and Trellisó, L.
 2014 (eds.) *The Phoenician Cemetery of Tyre-Al Bass, 2. Archaeological Seasons 2002-2005*. Beirut: Ministère de la Culture. *BAAL Hors-Série* 9.
- Averett, E. W.
 2004 'Drumming for the divine: a female tympanon player from Cyprus'. *Muse* 36-9, 15-28.
- Bachelot, L., Bodet, C., Gailhard, N., Quenet, P. and Tenu, A.
 2001 'Tell Shioukh Faouqâni: campagne 2000'. *OrEx* 2001.1, 9-15.
- Bachelot, L., Le Goff, I. and Tenu, A.
 2002 'La nécropole de l'Âge du Fer de Tell Shioukh Faouqâni (Syrie)'. *OrEx* 2002.1, 17-20.
- Badre, L.
 1980 *Les figurines anthropomorphes en terre cuite à l'Âge de Bronze en Syrie*. Paris: Geuthner.
- 1991 'Recent Phoenician discoveries at Tell Kazel'. In: E. Acquaro (ed.), *Atti del 2 Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma 9-14 Novembre 1987*. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 627-39. *CSF* 30.
- 2007 'L'art des modeleurs d'argile en Phénicie'. In: Fontan and Le Meaux 2007, 187-93.
- Bagg, A. M.
 2011 *Die Assyrier und das Westland: Studien zur historischen Geographie und Herrschaftspraxis in der Levante im 1. Jt. v. u. Z.* Leuven: Peeters. *OLA* 216.
- Ballard, R. D., Stager, L. E., Master, D., Yoerger, D., Mindell, D., Whitcomb, L. L., Singh, H. and Piechcolota, D.
 2002 'Iron Age shipwrecks in the deep water off Ashkelon, Israel'. *AJA* 106.2, 151-68.
- Barclay, A. E.
 2001 'The potnia theron: adaptation of a Near Eastern image'. In: Laffineur and Hägg 2001, 373-86.
- Barnett, R. D.
 1948 'Early Greek and oriental ivories'. *JHS* 68, 1-25.
- 1957 *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories: with Other Examples of Ancient Near Eastern Ivories in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.

- Batmaz, A.
2013 'A lion-headed shield from Ayanis: an identifier of the Urartian culture?'. In: L. Bombardieri, A. D'Agostino, G. Guarducci, V. Orsi and S. Valentini (eds.), *SOMA 2012: Identity and Connectivity. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 243-52. *BAR international Series* 2581.
- Baumbach, L.
1983 'An examination of the personal names in the Knossos tablets as evidence for the social structure of Crete in the Late Minoan II period'. In: O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon (eds.), *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium, 1981*. Bristol: Classical Press, 3-10.
- Beer, C.
1991 'Eastern influence and style? A reconsideration of some terracottas of Cypriote manufacture'. In: Vandenabeele and Laffineur 1991, 77-85.
- Bejor, G. and Sena Chiesa, G.
2003 'Gortyna (Creta). Campagna 2002. I lavori sull'acropoli'. *ASAtene* 81.2, 827-35.
- Belli, O.
1999 *The Anzaf Fortresses and the Gods of Urartu*. Galatasary, İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari.
- Benson, J.L.
1984 *The Potter's Quarter: the Pottery*. Princeton: American School of Classical Studies Athens. *Corinth* 15, 3.

1989 *Earlier Corinthian Workshops: a Study of Corinthian Geometric and Protocorinthian Stylistic Groups*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum. *APS, Scripta Minora* 1.
- Benton, S.
1938-39 'The date of the Cretan shields'. *BSA* 39, 52-64.
- Ben-Tor, A., Ben-Ami, D. and Sandhaus, D.
2012 *Hazor VI: the Selz Foundation Hazor Excavations in Memory of Yigael Yadin. The 1990-2009 Excavations, the Iron Age*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Bevan, A.
2010 'Political geography and palatial Crete'. *JMA* 23.1, 27-54.

- Beyer, I.
1976 *Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias A und die Chronologie der kretischen Kunst des 8. und 7. Jhs. v. Chr.* Berlin: Wasmuth.
- Biagov, L. N.
1978 'Über die Natur des Gottes Haldi und der Göttin Arubani-Bagbartu'. *Oikumene* 2, 149-52.
- Biers, W. R.
1994 'Mass production, standardized parts, and the Corinthian "plastic" vase'. *Hesperia* 63.4, 509-16.
- Biondi, G.
1994a 'Osservazioni sulla ceramica a figure nere della necropoli del Prophitis Ilias di Aphrati'. *CronASA* 33, 55-70.
1994b 'Orientali a Creta?'. *CronASA* 33, 77-83.
2013 'La necropoli di Aphrati-Arkades dopo l'orientalizzante tardo'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 187-99.
- Birmingham, J. M.
1961 'The overland route across Anatolia in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.'. *AnSt* 11, 185-95.
- Bisi, A. M.
1965 *Il grifone: storia di un motivo iconografico nell'antico Oriente mediterraneo*. Rome: Centro di Studi Semitici/ Istituto di Studi del Vivino Oriente. *StSem* 13.
1980 'Les déesses au tympanon de la Mésopotamie à Carthage'. *AssyrMisc* 1, 57-85.
1989 'Le rayonnement des terres cuites chypriotes au Levant aux premier siècles de l'Âge du Fer'. In: Peltenburg 1989, 256-65.
- Bloedow, E. F.
1991 'Evidence for an early date for the cult of Cretan Zeus'. *Kernos* 4, 139-77.
1992 'On lions in Mycenaean and Minoan culture'. In: R. Laffineur and J. L. Crowley (eds.), *EIKŌN. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Hobart, Australia 6-9 April 1992*. Liège: University Press, 295-306. *Aegaeum* 8.
- Blome, P.
1982 *Die figürliche Bilderwelt Kretas in der geometrischen und früharchaischen Periode*. Mainz: von Zabern.

Boardman, J.

- 1961 *The Cretan Collection in Oxford: the Dictaeon Cave and Iron Age Crete.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1962 'Archaic finds at Knossos'. *BSA* 57, 28-34.
- 1967 'The Khaniala Tekke Tombs, II'. *BSA* 62, 57-75.
- 1970 'Orientalen auf Kreta'. In: *Dädalische Kunst* 1970, 14-25.
- 1978 *Greek Sculpture: the Archaic Period, a Handbook.* London: Thames and Hudson.
- 1979 'Crete and Cyprus in the seventh century'. In: *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C.", Nicosia, 16th April-22nd April 1978.* Nicosia: Department of Antiquities Cyprus, 264-8.
- 1999a *The Greeks Overseas: their Early Colonies and Trade* (4th edition). London: Thames and Hudson.
- 1999b 'Greek colonization: the eastern contribution'. In: *La colonisation grecque en Méditerranée occidentale. Actes de la rencontre scientifique en hommage à Georges Vallet organisée par le Centre Jean-Bérard, l'École Française de Rome, l'Istituto Universitario Orientale et l'Università degli Studi di Napoli "Federico II" (Rome-Naples, 15-18 novembre 1995).* Rome: École Française, 39-50. *CÉFR* 251.
- 2001 'Aspects of "colonization"'. *BASOR* 322, 33-42.
- 2005 'The Knossos Tekke jewellery hoards'. In: R. Gigli (ed.), *ΜΕΓΑΛΟ ΝΗΣΟΙ: Studi dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per il suo ottantesimo compleanno.* Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 163-6.
- 2006 'Greeks in the East Mediterranean (south Anatolia, Syria, Egypt)'. In: Tsetskhladze 2006, 507-34.

Böhm, S.

- 1990 *Die "Nackte Göttin": Zur Ikonographie und Deutung unbekleideter weiblicher Figuren in der frögrichischen Kunst.* Mainz: von Zabern.
- 2001 'Abschied nehmen von einer schönen Idee. Kreta und die eingewanderten Orientalen'. In: S. Böhm and K. V. v. Eickstedt (eds.), *IOAKH: Festschrift Jörg Schäfer.* Würzburg: Ergon, 125-30.

Boileau, M. and Whitley, J.

- 2010 'Patterns of production and consumption of coarse to semi-fine pottery at Early Iron Age Knossos'. *BSA* 105, 225-68.

- Bol, P.
1989 *Argivische Schilde*. Berlin: de Gruyter. OF 17.
- Bonatz, D.
2000 *Das syro-hethitische Grabdenkmal: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung einer neuen Bildgattung in der Eisenzeit im nordsyrisch-südostanatolischen Raum*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Bondi, S. F.
1995 'Le commerce, les échanges, l'économie'. In: V. Krings (ed.), *La civilisation phénicienne et punique: manuel de recherche*. Leiden: Brill, 268-81.
- Borell, B.
1978 *Attisch geometrische Schalen: Eine spätgeometrische Keramikgattung und ihre Beziehung zum Orient*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Borell, B. and Rittig, D.
1998 *Orientalische und griechische Bronzereliefs aus Olympia: Der Fundkomplex aus Brunnen 17*. Berlin: de Gruyter. OF 26.
- Börker-Klähn, J.
1973 'Verkannte neuassyrische Bronzestatuetten'. *BaM* 6, 41-64.
1982 *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*. Mainz: von Zabern. BF 4.
- Bosana-Kourou, P.
1979 *The Sphinx in Early Archaic Greek Art*. University of Oxford, doctoral thesis.
- Boyd, H. A.
1901 'Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, in 1900'. *AJA* 5.2, 125-57.
- Boyes, P. J.
2012 "'The King of the Sidonians": Phoenician ideologies and the myth of the kingdom of Tyre-Sidon'. *BASOR* 365, 33-44.
- Braidwood, R. J.,
1940 'Report on two sondages on the coast of Syria, south of Tartous'. *Syria* 21.2, 183-221.
- Brann, E. T. H.
1962 *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, mid 8th to late 7th century B.C.* Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Braun-Holzinger, E. A. and Matthäus, H.

- 2000 'Schutzgenien in Mesopotamien und den angrenzenden Gebieten: Ihre Übernahme in Zypern, Kreta und dem griechischen Festland'. In: Uehlinger 2000, 283-321.
- 2002 (eds.) *Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und Griechenland an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Kontinuität und Wandel von Strukturen und Mechanismen kultureller Interaktion. Kolloquium des Sonderforschungsbereiches 295 "Kulturelle und sprachliche Kontakte" der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 11.-12. Dezember 1998.* Möhnesee: Bibliopolis.

Bremmer, J. N.

- 1999 *Greek Religion* (2nd edition). Cambridge: University Press. *GaR, New Surveys in the Classics* 24.

Brinkman, J. A.

- 1989 'The Akkadian words for "Ionia" and "Ionian"'. In: R. F. Sutton, Jr. (ed.), *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, S.J.* Wauconda, IL: Bolchazy-Carducci, 53-71.

Brisart, T.

- 2007 'L'atelier de pithoi à reliefs d'Aphrati: les fragments du musée Bénaki'. *BCH* 131, 95-137.
- 2008-9 *Un art citoyen: recherches sur l'orientalisation des artisanats en Grèce proto-archaïque.* Université libre de Bruxelles, doctoral thesis.
- 2009 'Les pithoi à reliefs de l'atelier d'Afrati: fonction et statut d'une production orientalisante'. In: A. Tsingarida (ed.), *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th - 4th centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université de Bruxelles, 27-29 April 2006.* Brussels: CReA-Patrimoine, 145-59. *Études d'Archéologie* 3.

Forthcoming

'Making sense of fine wares dissemination: a Cretan perspective'. In: A. Tsingarida (ed.), *Réseaux de distribution et usages de la céramique dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes de la table ronde de Bruxelles. 17-18 septembre 2009.* Bruxelles: Université libre de Bruxelles, 1-25.

Brock, J. K.

- 1957 *Fortetsa: Early Greek Tombs near Knossos.* Cambridge: University Press.

Broneer, O.

- 1942 'Hero cults in the Corinthian Agora'. *Hesperia* 11.2, 128-61.

- Broodbank, C.
 2013 *The Making of the Middle Sea: a History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Brouskari, M. M.
 1975 'Collection Paul Canellopoulos, VI: Δαιδάλεια 'Όστρακα'. *BCH* 99, 385-400.
- Buchholz, H.-G.
 1994 'Einige kyprische Pferde-Stirnbänder und Scheuklappen'. In: P. Calmeyer, K. Hecker, L. Jakob-Rost and C. B. F. Walker (eds.), *Beiträge zur altorientalischen Archäologie und Altertumskunde. Festschrift für Bartel Hrouda zum 65. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 43-59.
- Budin, S. L.
 2002 'Creating a goddess of sex'. In: D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Boston, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 315-24. *ASOR* 7.
 2003 *The Origin of Aphrodite*. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press.
 2004 'A reconsideration of the Aphrodite-Ashtart syncretism'. *Numen* 51.2, 95-145.
 2009 'Girl, woman, mother, goddess: Bronze Age Cypriot terracotta figurines'. *MMFM* 5, 76-88.
- Bunnens, G.
 2000a (ed.) *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*. Leuven: Peeters. *ANES Suppl.* 7.
 2000b 'Syria in the Iron Age: problems of definition'. In: Bunnens 2000a, 3-19.
- Burke, B.
 1999 'Purple and Aegean textile trade in the early second millennium BC'. In: P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *MELETEMATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as he Enters his 65th Year*. Liège: Université de Liège, 75-82. *Aegaeum* 20.
 2005 'Textile production at Gordion and the Phrygian economy'. In: L. Kealhofer (ed.), *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University and Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 69-81.
- Burkert, W.
 1992 *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.

- Cadogan, G., Iacovou, M., Kopaka, K. and Whitley, J.
 2012 (eds.) *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus. Papers Arising from the Conference in Nicosia Organised by the British School at Athens, the University of Crete and the University of Cyprus, in November-December 2006*. London: British School at Athens. *BSA Studies* 20.
- Callaghan, P. J.
 1992 'Archaic to Hellenistic pottery'. In: L. H. Sackett (ed.), *Knossos from Greek City to Roman Colony: Excavations at the Unexplored Mansion, 2*. London: Thames and Hudson, 89-136. *BSA Suppl.* 21.
- Callaghan, P. J., Coldstream, J. N. and Musgrave, J. H.
 1981 'Knossos: an early Greek tomb on Lower Gypsadhes Hill'. *BSA* 76, 141-65.
- Çambel, H. and Özyar, A.
 2003 *Karatepe Arslantaş – Azatiwataya. Die Bildwerke*. Mainz: von Zabern. *AF* 29.
- Canciani, F.
 1970 *Bronzi orientali e orientalizzanti a Creta nell'VIII e VII sec. a. C.* Rome: Bretschneider. *StArch* 12.
- Capet, E. and Gubel, E.
 2000 'Tell Kazel: six centuries of Iron Age occupation (c. 1200-612 B.C.)'. In: Bunnens 2000a, 425-57.
- Carter, J.
 1972 'The beginning of narrative art in the Greek Geometric period'. *BSA* 67, 25-58.
- Carter, J. B.
 1997 'Thiasos and marzeah: ancestor cult in the age of Homer'. In: S. Langdon (ed.), *New Light on a Dark Age: Exploring the Culture of Geometric Greece*. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press, 72-112.
- Cassimatis, H.
 1982 'Figurines dédaliques de Gortyne: essai de typologie'. *BCH* 106.1, 447-64.
- Catling, H. W.
 1976-7 'The Knossos area, 1974-1976'. *AR* 23, 3-23.
 1984 'Workshop and heirloom: prehistoric bronze stands in the east Mediterranean'. *RDAC* 1984, 69-91.

- Caubet, A.
2013 'Working ivory in Syria and Anatolia during the Late Bronze-Iron Age'. In: Yener 2013, 449-63.
- Cavanagh, W. G. and Curtis, M.
1998 (eds.) *Post-Minoan Crete: Proceedings of the First Colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete held by the British School at Athens and the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 10-11 November 1995*. London: British School at Athens. *BSA Studies* 2.
- Chaniotis, A.
1996 'Von Hirten, Kräutersammlern, Epheben und Pilgern: Leben auf den Bergen im antiken Kreta'. In: G. Siebert (ed.), *Nature et paysage dans la pensée et l'environnement des civilisations antiques. Actes du colloque de Strassbourg, 1992*. Paris: de Boccard, 91-107.
1999a (ed.) *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
1999b 'Milking the mountain: economic activities on the Cretan uplands in the Classical and Hellenistic period'. In: Chaniotis 1999a, 181-220.
2013 'Memories of early Crete'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 1-18.
2014 *Das Antike Kreta* (2nd edition). Munich: Beck.
- Chatwick, J.
1977 'The Ionian name'. In: K. H. Kinzl (ed.), *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory: Studies Presented to Fritz Schachermeyr*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 106-9.
- Chatzi-Vallianou, D.
1980 'Σμάρι Πεδιάδας. Ένα απομονωμένο κέντρο υστερομινωικού πρωτοελληνικού πολιτισμού στην Κρήτη'. *AAA* 1980, 20-60.
2000 'Η λατρεία της Αθηνάς στην Ακρόπολη Σμαρίου'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Η'Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A3. Heraklion: Εταιρία Κρητικών Ιστορικών Μελετών, 505-36.
- Chatzi-Vallianou, D. and Euthymiou, O.
2000 'Κραμεική από την ακρόπολη του Σμαρίου'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Η'Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A3. Heraklion: Εταιρία Κρητικών Ιστορικών Μελετών, 537-56.
- Chittenden, J.
1947 'The Master of Animals'. *Hesperia* 16, 89-114.

- Çilingiroğlu, A.
 2005 'Ritual ceremonies in the temple area of Ayanis'. In: A. Çilingiroğlu and G. Darbyshire (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 5: Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-10 August 2001*. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 31-8. *BIAA* 31.
- Civitillo, M.
 2012 'Ethnicity and language: once again on personal names from Knossos'. In: P. Carlier, Ch. de Lamberterie, M. Egetmeyer, N. Guilleux, F. Rougemont and J. Zurbach (eds.), *Études mycéniennes 2010. Actes du XIIIe colloque international sur les textes égéens; Sèvres, Paris, Nanterre, 20-23 septembre 2010*. Pisa: Serra, 177-94. *Pasiphae* 10.
- Cline, E.
 1995 'Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor: Minoans and Mycenaeans abroad'. In: R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Liège: University Press, 265-87. *Aegaeum* 12.
- Coldstream, J. N.
 1960 'A Geometric well at Knossos'. *BSA* 55, 159-71.
 1963 'Five tombs at Knossos'. *BSA* 58, 30-43.
 1968 *Greek Geometric Pottery: a Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology*. London: Methuen.
 1972 'Knossos 1951-1961: Protogeometric and Geometric pottery from the town'. *BSA* 67, 63-98.
 1973a 'Knossos 1951-1961: Orientalizing and Archaic pottery from the town'. *BSA* 68, 33-63.
 1973b *Knossos: the Sanctuary of Demeter*. London: British School at Athens. *BSA Suppl.* 8.
 1974 'Sphinxes and griffins from Geometric Knossos'. In: G. Rizza (ed.), *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, 2. Catania: Università di Catania and Istituto di Archeologia, 161-4. *CronASA* 13.
 1979 'Some Cypriote traits in Cretan pottery, c. 950-700 BC'. In: *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C.", Nicosia, 16th-22nd April 1978*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 257-63.
 1980 'Some new tomb vases from early Hellenic Knossos'. In: *Η Στήλη: Εκδοθήκη στο Σωματείο των Φίλων του Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*. Athens: Corporation of Friends of Nikolaos Kontoleonos, 408-12.

- 1981 'Die Tempel von Dreros and Prinias a und die Chronologie der kretischen Kunst des 8. und 7. jhs. v. chr. by Immo Beyer'. *AJA* 85.3, 345-6.
- 1982a 'Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean'. In: Niemeyer 1982, 261-75.
- 1982b 'A menagerie on a Late Geometric cup from Knossos'. *RA* 1982 (= *Hommage à Henri Metzinger*), 25-32.
- 1984a 'A Protogeometric nature goddess from Knossos'. *BICS* 31, 93-104.
- 1984b 'Cypriaca and Cretocypriaca from the North Cemetery of Knossos'. *RDAC* 1984, 122-37.
- 1986 'Kition and Amathus: some reflections on their westward links during the Early Iron Age'. In: Karageorghis 1986, 321-9.
- 1988 'Some Minoan reflections in Cretan Geometric art'. In: H. Betts, J. T. Hooker and J. R. Green (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, 2. Bristol: Classical Press, 23-32.
- 1991 'Knossos: an urban nucleus in the Dark Age?' In: Musti 1991, 187-99.
- 1993 'Mixed marriages at the frontiers of the early Greek world'. *OJA* 12.1, 89-107.
- 1994 'Urns with lids: the visible face of the Knossian "Dark Age"'. In: D. Evely, H. Hughes-Brock and N. Momigliano (eds.), *Knossos: a Labyrinth of History. Papers in Honour of Sinclair Hood*. London: British School at Athens, 105-21.
- 1995 'Greek Geometric and Archaic imports from the tombs of Amathus, II'. *RDAC* 1995, 199-214.
- 1998 'Minos redivivus: some nostalgic Knossians of the ninth century BC (a summary)'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 58-61.
- 2000 'Evans' Greek finds: the early Greek town of Knossos and its encroachment on the borders of the Minoan palace'. *BSA* 95, 259-99.
- 2001 'The Early Greek period: Subminoan to Late Orientalising'. In: J. N. Coldstream, L. J. Eiring and G. Forste (eds.), *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Greek and Roman*. London: British School at Athens, 21-76. *BSA Studies* 7.
- 2002 'Knossos: "Geometric" tombs excavated by D. G. Hogarth, 1900'. *BSA* 97, 201-16.
- 2003 *Geometric Greece, 900-700 BC* (2nd edition). London: Routledge.

- 2005 'Other people's pots: ceramic borrowing between the early Greeks and Levantines, in various Mediterranean contexts'. In: E. Herring, I. Lemos, F. Lo Schiavo, L. Vagnetti, R. Whitehouse and J. Wilkins (eds.), *Across Frontiers: Etruscans, Greeks, Phoenicians and Cypriots. Studies in Honour of David Ridgway and Francesca Romana Serra Ridgway*. London: Accordia Research Institute, 49-55.
- Coldstream, J. N. and Hatzaki, E. M.
2003 'Knossos: early Greek occupation under the Roman Villa Dionysos'. *BSA* 98, 279-306.
- Coldstream, J. N., Huxley, G. L. and Webb, V. E. S.
1999 'The Archaic Gap'. *BSA* 94, 289-307.
- Coldstream, J. N., Macdonald, C. F. and Catling, H. W.
1997 'Knossos: area of South-West Houses, early Hellenic occupation'. *BSA* 92, 191-245.
- Coldstream, J. N. and Sackett, L. H.
1978 'Knossos: two deposits of orientaling pottery'. *BSA* 73, 45-60.
- Collon, D.
1987 *First Impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East*. London: British Museum.
- 2001 'How seals were worn and carried: the archaeological and iconographic evidence'. In: W. W. Hallo and I. J. Winter (eds.), *Proceedings of the XLV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, 2: Seals and Seal Impressions*. Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 15-30.
- 2006 'The iconography of Ninurta'. In: P. Taylor (ed.), *The Iconography of Cylinder Seals*. London: The Warburg Institute, 100-9. *WIC* 9.
- Conrad, D.
1985 'A note on an Astarte plaque from Tel Akko'. *Michmanim* 2, 19-24.
- Cook, R. M.
1997 *Greek Painted Pottery* (3rd edition). London: Routledge.
- Cook, R. M. and Dupont, P.
1998 *East Greek Pottery*. London: Routledge.
- Cook, A. B.
1914-40 *Zeus: a Study in Ancient Religion (Vols. 1-3)*. Cambridge: University Press.

- Cornelius, I.
 2004 *The Many Faces of the Goddess: the Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeset, and Asherah, c. 1500-1000 BCE.* Fribourg: Academic Press. OBO 204.
- 2014 'The plaque figurines from Gezer'. In: G. H. Gilmour (ed.), *Gezer: the Objects from Phases I and II (1964-1974)*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 269-78.
- Counts, D. B. and Arnold, B.
 2010 *The Master of Animals in Old World Archaeology.* Budapest: Archaeolingua.
- Coulié, A.
 2013 *La céramique grecque aux époques géométrique et orientalisante (XIe-VIe siècle av. J.-C.).* Paris: Picard. Manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques.
- Courby, F.
 1922 *Les vases grecs à reliefs.* Paris: Picard.
- Crielaard, J. P.
 2009 'The Ionians in the Archaic period: shifting identities in a changing world'. In: T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: the Role of Power and Tradition.* Amsterdam: University Press, 37-84.
- Crouwel, J.
 2006 'Late Mycenaean pictorial pottery'. In: D. Evely (ed.), *Lefkandi IV, the Bronze Age: the Late Helladic IIIC Settlement at Xeropolis.* London: British School of Athens, 233-55. BSA Suppl. 39.
- Crowther, C.
 2000 'Dikte'. In: MacGillivray et al. 2000, 145-8.
- Cucuzza, N.
 1993 'Leto e il cosiddetto tempio di Rhea di Festòs'. *Quaderni* 8, 21-7.
- 1997 'Conziderazioni su alcuni culti nella Messarà di epoca storica e sui rapporti territoriali fra Festòs e Gortina'. *Rendiconti* (ser. 9) 8, 63-93.
- 1998 'Geometric Phaistos: a survey'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 62-8.
- 2013 'Minoan ruins in Archaic Crete'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 31-41.
- Culican, W.
 1975-6 'Some Phoenician masks and other terracottas'. *Berytus* 24, 47-87.

- Curtis, C. D.
- 1919 'The Bernardini Tomb'. *MemAmAc* 3, 9-90.
- 1925 'The Barberini Tomb'. *MemAmAc* 5, 9-52.
- Curtis, J.
- 1988 (ed.) *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000-539 B.C.* London: Kegan Paul in association with the British Museum.
- 1994 'Mesopotamian bronzes from Greek sites: workshops of origin'. *Iraq* 56, 1-25.
- D'Acunto, M.
- 1995 'I cavalieri di Priniàs ed il tempio A'. *AnnAStorAnt* n.s. 2, 15-55.
- 2000 'L'attributo della cintura e la questione degli inizi della scultura monumentale a Creta e a Naxos'. *Ostraka* 9.2, 289-326.
- 2001a 'Il periodo orientalizzante: una testa di felino in *poros*'. In: *I cento anni dello scavo di Festòs: giornate lincee, Roma, 13-14 dicembre 2000*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 309-54. *ACL* 173.
- 2001b 'Il *gorgoneion* in pietra da Axòs e la modificazione del tipo a Creta tra modelli orientali e Greci'. *AnnAStorAnt* n.s. 8, 47-63.
- 2002 'Gortina, il santuario protoarcaico sull'acropoli di Haghios Ioannis: una riconsiderazione'. *ASAtene* 80, 183-229.
- 2008 'La *lissè petre* in *Od.* III, 293-296 ed I territori di Gortina e di Festòs in epoca archaica'. *CretAnt* 9, 265-86.
- 2012 'I templi a focolare central cretesi alto-arcaici ed arcaici: rituali sacrificali e simbolismo politico'. In: V. Nizzo and L. La Rocca (eds.), *Antropologia e archeologia a confronto: rappresentazioni e pratiche del sacro. Atti dell'Incontro Internazionale di Studi, Roma, Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", 20-21 maggio 2011*. Rome: ESS, 251-61.
- 2013 'The city siege and the lion: the Fortetsa bronze belt and quiver between Near Eastern models and heroic ideology'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 471-87.
- Dädalische Kunst (no editor)
- 1970 *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Ausstellung vom 23. September bis 27. Dezember 1970* (Friedrich Matz um 80. Geburtstag am 15. August 1970). Main: von Zabern.

- D'Agata, A. L.
 1998 'Changing patterns in a Minoan and post-Minoan sanctuary: the case of Hagia Triada'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 19-26.
 1999 *Haghia Triada, 2: Statuine minoiche e post-minoiche dai vecchi scavi di Hagia Triada (Creta)*. Padova: Bottega d'Erasmus. *MSAtene* 11.
 2012 'The power of images: a figured krater from Thronos Kephala (ancient Sybrita) and the process of *polis* formation in Early Iron Age Crete'. *SMEA* 54, 207-47.
- D'Agata, A. L. and Boileau, M.-C.
 2009 'Pottery production and consumption in Early Iron Age Crete: the case of Thronos Kephala (ancient Sybrita)'. *SMEA* 51, 165-222.
- D'Albiac, C.
 1995 'The "diagnostic" wings of monsters'. In: C. Morris (ed.), *Klados: Essays in Honour of J. N. Coldstream*. London: University of London, 63-72.
- Dalley, S. and Reyes, A. T.
 1998 'Mesopotamian contact and influence in the Greek world, 1: to the Persian conquest'. In: S. Dalley (ed.), *The Legacy of Mesopotamia*. Oxford: University Press, 85-106.
- Davaras, C.
 1972 *Die Statue aus Astritsi: Ein Beitrag zur dädalischen Kunst auf Kreta und zu den Anfängen der griechischen Plastik*. Bern: Francke. *AntK Suppl.* 8.
- Davaras, C. and Davaras, K.
 1968 'Two Geometric tombs at Atsalenio near Knossos'. *BSA* 63, 133-46.
- David, A.
 2011 'Devouring the enemy: ancient Egyptian metaphors of domination'. *ACE Bulletin* 22, 83-100.
- Dawkins, R. M.
 1913-4 'Excavations at Plati in Lasithi, Crete'. *BSA* 20, 1-17.
- Day, J.
 2012 'Caught in a web of a living world: tree-human interactions in Minoan Crete. *PAN* 9, 11-21.
- Dayagi-Mendels, M.
 2002 *The Akhziv Cemeteries: the Ben-Dor Excavations, 1941-1944*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority. *IAA Reports* 15.
- Demargne, J.
 1902 'Antiquités de Praesos et de l'Antre Dictéen'. *BCH* 26, 571- 83.

- 1929 'Terres cuites archaïques de Lato'. *BCH* 53, 283-429.
- 1931 'Recherches sur le site de l'Anavlochos'. *BCH* 55, 365-412.
- Demargne, P.
- 1947 *La Crète dédalique: Études sur les origines d'une renaissance*. Paris: de Boccard.
- 1964 *Naissance de l'art grec*. Paris: Gallimard. *L'Univers des Formes* 6.
- 1972 'Un pithos archaïque crétois au Musée du Louvre'. *RA* (new series) 1 (= Études de céramique et de peinture antiques offertes à Pierre Devambez), 35-46.
- 1980 'Rèflexions sur les origines d'Athena'. In: *Η Στήλη: Εκδοθήκη στο το Σωματείο των Φίλων του Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος*. Athens: Corporation of Friends of Nikolaos Kontoleonos, 197-200.
- Demisch, H.
- 1977 *Die Sphinx: Geschichte ihrer Darstellung von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: Urarchhaus.
- Derin, Z. and Çilingiroğlu, A.
- 2001 'Armour and Weapons'. In: A. Çilingiroğlu and M. Salvini (eds.), *Ayanis, 1: Ten Years of Excavations at Rusaḫinili Eiduru-kai 1989-1998*. Rome: Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, 155-87.
- Desborough, V. R.
- 1952 *Protogeometric Pottery*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Descœudres, J.-P.
- 1981 *CVA Schweiz, 4 (Basel, Antikenmuseum 1)*. Bern: Lang.
- Deshayes, J.,
- 1951 'Tessons géométriques et archaïques d'Itanos (Crète)'. *BCH* 75, 201-9.
- Dessenne, A.
- 1957 *Le sphinx: étude iconographique*. Paris: de Boccard. *BEFAR* 186.
- Deszõ, T.
- 1998 *Oriental Influence in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Helmet Traditions in the 9th-7th centuries B.C.: the Patterns of Orientalization*. Oxford: Hedges. *BAR International Series* 691.
- 2001 *Near Eastern Helmets of the Iron Age*. Oxford: Hedges. *BAR International Series* 992.
- 2012 *The Assyrian Army*. Budapest: Eötvös University Press. *Assyriologia* 8.1.

- Desz , T. and V r,  .
- 2013 'Assyrians and Greeks: the nature of contacts in the 9th-7th centuries BC'. *ActaAnthung* 53, 325-59.
- Dever, W. G.
- 1974 *Gezer 2: Report of the 1967-70 Seasons in Fields I and II*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College/Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology. *Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology* 2.
- 1986 *Gezer 4: the 1969-71 Seasons in Field VI, the "Acropolis"*. Jerusalem: Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology. *Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology* 4.
- Dever, W. G., Lance, H. D. and Wright, G. E.
- 1970 *Gezer 1: Preliminary Report of the 1964-66 Seasons*. Jerusalem: Hebrew Union College, Biblical and Archaeological School. *Annual of the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology* 1.
- Dion, P. E.
- 1997 *Les Aram ens   l' ge du Fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*. Paris: Gabalda.
- Di Vita, A.
- 1991 'Gortina in et  geometrica'. In: Musti 1991, 309-19.
- 2010 *Gortina di Creta: quindici secoli di vita urbana*. Rome: Bretschneider. *BibAr* 45.
- Dothan, M. and Ben-Shlomo, D.
- 2005 *Ashdod VI: The Excavations of Areas H and K (1969-1969)*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority. *IAA Reports* 24.
- Driessen, J.
- 1998-9 'Kretes and Iawones: some observations on the identity of Late Bronze Age Knossians'. *Minos* 33-34 (= J. Bennet and J. Driessen (eds.), A-NA-QO-TA: Studies Presented to J. T. Killen), 83-105.
- Driessen, J., Farnoux, A. and Langohr, C.
- 2015 'Two more Linear B inscribed stirrup jars from Malia'. In: I. Kaiser, O. Kouka and D. Panagiotopoulos (eds.), *Ein Minoer im Exil. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier*. Bonn: Habelt, 59-74.
- Droop, J. P.
- 1905-6 'Some Geometric pottery from Crete'. *BSA* 12, 24-62.
- Duhoux, Y.
- 1982 *L' t ocr tois: les textes, la langue*. Amsterdam: Gieben.

- 1988 'Les éléments grecs non doriens du crétois et la situation dialectale greque au II^e millénaire'. *CretSt* 1, 57-72.
- Dunbabin, T. J.
- 1952 'Cretan relief pithoi in Dr. Giamalakes' collection'. *BSA* 47, 153-8.
- 1957 *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours: Studies in the Relations between Greece and the Countries of the Near East in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.* London: The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. *Suppl. Papers* 8.
- Duplouy, A.
- 2006 *Le prestige des élites. Recherches sur les modes de reconnaissance sociale en Grèce entre les X^e and V^e siècles avant J.-C.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Eaby, M. S.
- 2007 *Mortuary Variability in Early Iron Age Cretan Burials.* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, doctoral thesis.
- 2009 'Early Iron Age Cretan tholoi'. In: Ç. Ö. Aygün (ed.), *SOMA 2007: Proceedings of the XI Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Istanbul Technical University, 24-29 April 2007.* Oxford: Archaeopress, 98-105. *BAR International Series* 1900.
- 2011 'Regionalism in Early Iron Age Cretan burials'. In: J. M. A. Murphy (ed.), *Prehistoric Crete: Regional and Diachronic Studies on Mortuary Systems.* Philadelphia, Penn.: Institute for Aegean Prehistory, 165-202.
- Effinger, M.
- 1996 *Minoischer Schmuck.* *BAR International Series* 646.
- Eichler, S., Frank, D. R., Machule, D., Mozer, G. and Pape, W.
- 1984 'Ausgrabungen in Tall Munbāqa 1983'. *MDOG* 116, 65-93.
- Eliopoulos, Th.
- 1998 'A preliminary report on the discovery of a temple complex of the Dark Ages at Kephala Vasilikis'. In: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998, 301-13.
- Erickson, B. L.
- 2002 'Afrati and Kato Syme: pottery, continuity and cult in Late Archaic and Classical Crete'. *Hesperia* 71.1, 41-90.
- 2009 'Roussa Ekklesia, part 1: religion and politics in east Crete'. *AJA* 113.3, 353-404.

- 2010 *Crete in Transition: Pottery Styles and Island History in the Archaic and Classical Periods*. Athens: American School of Classical Studies. *Hesperia Suppl.* 45.
- 2014 'Mind the gap'. In: Pilz and Seelentag 2014, 67-90.
- Erzen, A.
1962 'Untersuchungen in der urartäischen Stadt Toprakkale bei Van in den Jahren 1959-1961'. *AA* 77.2, 383-414.
- Evans, A. J.
1899-1900 'Knossos. Summary Report of the Excavations in 1900: I. The Palace', *BSA* 6, 3-70.
- Evely, D., Hall, H., Morgan, C. and Pitt, R. K.
2007-8 (eds.) 'Archaeology in Greece'. *AR* 54, 1-113.
- Falchi, I. and Pernier, L.
1913 'Vetulonia: il Circolo del Monile d'Argento e il Circolo dei Lebeti di Bronzo'. *NSc* 11, 425-39.
- Falsone, G.
1986 'Anat or Astarte? A Phoenician bronze statuette of a smiting goddess'. In: C. Bonnett, E. Lipiński and P. Marchetti (eds.), *Religio Phoenicia. Acta Colloquii Namurcensis Habiti Diebus 14 et 15 Mensis Decembris Anni 1984*. Namur: Société des Études Classiques, 53-67. *StPh* 4.
- 1987 'La coupe phénicienne de Fortetsa, Crète: une reconsidération'. In: Lipiński 1987, 181-94.
- Fantalkin, A.
2006 'Identity in the making: Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age'. In: A. Villing and U. Schlotzhauer (eds.), *Naukratis: Greek Diversity in Egypt. Studies on East Greek Pottery and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean*. London: British Museum Press, 199-208.
- Feldman, M. H.
2015 *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant*. Chicago: University Press.
- Ferris Beach, E.
1992 'The Samaria ivories, marzeah and biblical texts'. *BiblArch* 55.3, 130-9.
- Fischer, P. M.
1997 *A Late Bronze to Early Iron Age Tomb at Saḥem, Jordan*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. *ADPV* 21.

- Fittschen, K.
1969 *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellung bei den Griechen*. Hamburg: Hessling.
- Fletcher, R. N.
2004 'Sidonians, Tyrians and Greeks in the Mediterranean: the evidence from Egyptianising amulets'. *AWE* 3, 51-77.
2008 'A Cypro-Phoenician oinochoe in Attic black-figure'. *AWE* 7, 217-33.
2012 'Opening the Mediterranean: Assyria, the Levant and the transformation of Early Iron Age trade'. *Antiquity* 86, 211-20.
- Floren, J.
1987 *Die griechische Plastik, 1: Die geometrische und archaische Plastik*. Munich: Beck.
- Fontan É. and Le Meaux, H.
2007 (eds.) *La Méditerranée des Phéniciens: de Tyr à Carthage*. Paris: Somogy. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Forsdyke, E. J.
1926-7 'The Mavro Spelio Cemetery at Knossos'. *BSA* 28, 243-96.
- Forster, E. S.
1901-2 'Praesos: the terracottas'. *BSA* 8, 271-81.
1904-5 'Terracotta plaques from Praesos, East Crete'. *BSA* 11, 243-57.
- Fourrier, S.
2007 *La coroplastie chypriote archaïque: Identités culturelles et politiques à l'époque des royaumes*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée. *TMO* 46.
2013 'Constructing the peripheries: extra-urban sanctuaries and peer-polity interaction in Iron Age Cyprus'. *BASOR* 370, 103-22.
- Frankfort, H.
1936-7 'Notes on the Cretan griffin'. *BSA* 37, 106-22.
- Frick, F. S.
2000 *Tell Taannek 1963-1968: the Iron Age Cultic Structure*. Birzeit: Palestinian Institute of Archaeology, Excavations and Surveys. *Tell Taannek* 4.
- Gabelmann, H.
1965 *Studien zum frühgriechischen Löwenbild*. Berlin: Mann.

- Gadot, Y.
2008 'Continuity and change in the Late Bronze to Iron Age transition in Israel's coastal plain: a long-term perspective'. In: A. Fantalkin and A. Yasur-Landau (eds.), *Bene Israel: Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and the Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Honour of Israel Finkelstein*. Leiden: Brill, 55-73. *CHANE* 31.
- Gagarin, M. and Perlman, P. J.
2016 *The Laws of Ancient Crete c. 650-400 BCE*. Oxford: University Press.
- Gaifman, M.
2012 *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity*. Oxford: University Press. *Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation*.
- Gaignerot-Driessen, F.
2012 'The 'Temple House' at Lato reconsidered'. *OJA* 31.1, 59-82.
2014 'Goddesses refusing to appear? Reconsidering the Late Minoan III figures with upraised arms.' *AJA* 119.3, 489-520.
- Gaignerot-Driessen, F. and Driessen, J.
2014 (eds.) *Cretan Cities: Formation and Transformation*. Louvain: University Press. *Aegis* 7.
- Galanaki, K.
2001 *Θεοί, δαίμονες και θνητοί σε χάλκινα τορεύματα από το Ιδαίο Άντρο: Εικονογραφική προσέγγιση*. Heraklion University, doctoral thesis.
2014 'Cretan metal repousée omphalos bowls'. In: Karageorghis et al. 2014, 304-6.
- Gehrig, U.
2004 *Die Greifenprotomen aus dem Heraion*. Bonn: Habelt. *Samos* 9.
- Gesell, G. C.
2001 'The function of the plaque in the shrines of the Goddess with Up-raised Hands'. In: Laffineur and Hägg 2001, 253-8.
- Gesell, G. C. and Day, L. P.
2005 (eds.) *Kavousi, 1: the Archaeological Survey of the Kavousi Region*. Philadelphia, Penn.: INSTAP Academic Press. *PM* 16.
- Gesell, G. C., Day, L. P. and Coulson, W. D. E.
1983 'Excavations and survey at Kavousi, 1978-1981'. *Hesperia* 52, 389-420.
1985 'Kavousi, 1982-1983: the Kastro'. *Hesperia* 54, 327-55.
1988 'Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1987'. *Hesperia* 57, 279-301.

- 1991 'Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1988'. *Hesperia* 60, 145-77.
- 1995 'Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, 1989 and 1990'. *Hesperia* 64, 67-120.
- Giannakis, G. K.
2014 (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*. Leiden: Brill.
- Gilboa, A.
2013 'À-propos Huelva: a reassessment of 'early' Phoenicians in the west'. In: J. M. Campos and J. Alvar (eds.), *Tarteso: el emporio del metal*. Córdoba: Almuzara, 311-42.
- Gilboa, A., Waiman-Barak, P. and Jones, R.
2015 'On the origin of Iron Age Phoenician ceramics at Kommos, Crete: regional and diachronic perspectives across the Bronze Age to Iron Age transition'. *BASOR* 374, 75-102.
- Giovino, M.
2007 *The Assyrian Sacred Tree: a History of Interpretations*. Fribourg: Academic Press. OBO 230.
- Gjerstad, E.
1948 *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 4.2: The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods*. Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Gjødese, M.
1970 'The artistic context and environment of some Greek bronzes in the Master Bronzes Exhibition'. In: S. Doeringer, D. G. Mitten and A. Steinberg (eds.), *Art and Technology: a Symposium on Classical Bronzes*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 145-65.
- Goldman, B.
1960 'The development of the lion-griffin'. *AJA* 64.4, 319-28.
- Goula, E.
2011 'Φοινικική παρουσία στον Κομμό: μια εναλλακτική προσέγγιση των αρχαιολογικών δεδομένων'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Ι' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006)*, A (Ιστορικοί Χρόνοι, Τοπογραφία - Οικιστική - Αρχιτεκτονική - Νέες Ανασκαφές - Κρήτη, Αιγαίο, Ανατολική Μεσόγειος). Chania: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος "Ο Χρυσόστομος", 411-43.
- Grant, E.
1934 *Ain Shems Excavations (Palestine), 3: Rumeileh being Ain Shems Excavations*. New York: Little and Ives.

- Grant, E. and Wright, G. E.
 1938 *Ain Shems Excavations (Palestine), 4: Pottery*. Baltimore: Furst.
- Green, A.
 1983 'Neo-Assyrian apotropaic figurines: figurines, rituals and monumental art, with special reference to the figurines from the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq at Nimrud'. *Iraq* 45.1 (= Papers of the 29th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, London, 5-9 July 1982), 87-96.
- Greene, E. S., Leidwanger, J. and Özdaş, H. A.
 2011 'Two Early Archaic shipwrecks at Kekova Adasi and Kepçe Burnu, Turkey.' *INJA* 40.1, 60-8.
- Gubel, E.
 1982 'Notes sur un fragment de statuette phénicienne de la région d'Amurru'. In: *Archéologie au Levant: Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah*. Paris: de Boccard, 225-31. *CMO* 12.
 1986 (ed.), *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen*. Brussels: Générale de Banque. Exhibition catalogue.
 1991 'From Amathus to Zarephath and back again'. In: Vandenabeele and Laffineur 1991, 131-7.
- Gunter, A. C.
 2009 *Greek Art and the Orient*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Guralnick, E.
 2004a 'A group of Near Eastern Bronzes from Olympia'. *AJA* 108.2, 187-222.
 2004b 'Neo-Assyrian patterned fabrics'. *Iraq* 66, 221-32.
- Güterbock, H. G.
 1992 'Survival of the Hittite dynasty'. In: W. W. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years: the 12th century BC from Beyond the Danube to the Tigris*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 53-5.
- Guy, P. L. O.
 1938 *Megiddo Tombs*. Chicago, Ill.: University Press. *OIP* 33.
- Hadley, J. A.
 2000 *The Cult of Asherah in Ancient Israel and Judah: Evidence for a Hebrew Goddess*. Cambridge: University Press. *UCOP* 57.
- Hadzisteliou Price, T.
 1971 'Double and multiple representations in Greek art and religious thought'. *JHS* 91, 48-69.

- Haggis, D. C.
- 1993 'Intensive survey, traditional settlement patterns, and Dark Age Crete: the case of Iron Age Kavousi'. *JMA* 6.2, 131-74.
- 1996 'Archaeological survey at Kavousi, east Crete: preliminary report'. *Hesperia* 65.4, 373-432.
- 2013 'Excavation of an Archaic city at Azoria in eastern Crete'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 59-76.
- 2014 'Azoria and Archaic urbanization'. In: Gaignerot-Driessen and Driessen 2014, 119-39.
- 2015 'The archaeology of urbanization: research design and the excavation of an Archaic Greek city on Crete'. In: D. C. Haggis and C. M. Antonaccio (eds.), *Classical Archaeology in Context: Theory and Practice in Excavation in the Greek World*. Boston: de Gruyter, 219-58.
- Haggis, D. C. and Mook, M. S.
- 2011 'The Archaic houses at Azoria'. In: K. T. Glowacki and N. Vogeikoff-Brogan (eds.), *ΣΤΕΓΑ: the Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*. Princeton, N. J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 367-80. *Hesperia Suppl.* 44.
- Haggis, D. C., Mook, M. S., Carter, T. and Snyder, L. M.
- 2007 'Excavations at Azoria, 2003-2004, part 2: the Final Neolithic, Late Prepalatial, and Early Iron Age occupation'. *Hesperia* 76.4, 665-716.
- Haggis, D. C., Mook, M. S., Coulson, W. D. E. and Tobin, J. L.
- 1997 'Excavations on the Kastro at Kavousi: an architectural overview'. *Hesperia* 66.3, 315-90.
- Haggis, D. C., Mook, M. S., Fitzsimons, R. D., Scarry, C. M., Snyder, L. M. and West, W.C.
- 2011a 'Excavations in the Archaic civic building at Azoria in 2005-2006'. *Hesperia* 80.1, 1-70.
- Haggis, D. C., Mook, M. S., Fitzsimons, R. D., Scarry, C. M. and Snyder, L. M.
- 2011b 'The excavation of Archaic houses at Azoria in 2005-2006'. *Hesperia* 80.3, 431-89.
- Haggis, D. C., Mook, M. S., Scarry, C. M., Snyder L. M. and West, W. C.
- 2004 'Excavations at Azoria, 2002'. *Hesperia* 73.3, 339-400.
- Haggis, D. C. and Nowicki, K.
- 1993 'Khalasmeno and Katalimata: two Early Iron Age settlements in Monastiraki, east Crete'. *Hesperia* 62.3, 303-37.

- Halbherr, F.
 1888 'Scavi e trovamenti nell'antro di Zeus sul monte Ida in Creta'. *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 2, 689-768.
- 1901a 'Cretan Expedition XI. Three Cretan necropoleis: report on the researches at Erganos, Panaghia, and Courtes'. *AJA* 5.3, 259-93.
- 1901b 'Cretan Expedition XVI. Report on the researches at Praesos'. *AJA* 5.4, 371-92.
- Halbherr, F. and Orsi, P.
 1888 *Antichità dell'antro di Zeus Ideo e di altre località in Creta*. Rome: Loescher.
- Hall, E.
 1991 *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-definition through Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hall, E. H.
 1914 *Excavations in Eastern Crete: Vrokastro*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University Museum. *UPMAP* 3.3.
- Hall, J. M.
 1997 *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Hall Dohan, E.
 1931 'Archaic Cretan terracottas in America'. *MMS* 3.2, 209-28.
- Hallager, E. and Hallager, B. P.
 1997a *Late Minoan III Pottery: Chronology and Terminology. Acts of a Meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens, August 12-14, 1994*. Athens: The Swedish Institute.
- 1997b (eds.) *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania 1970-1987: from the Geometric to the Modern Greek Period*. Jonsered: Åström.
- Hampe, R.
 1969 *Kretische Löwenschale des siebten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Heidelberg: Winter.
- Hansen, M. H.
 1993a (ed.) *The Ancient Greek City-State. Symposium on the Occasion of the 250th Anniversary of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, July, 1-4 1992*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard. *HfM* 67.
- 1993b 'Introduction'. In: Hansen 1993a, 7-29.

- Harissis, H. V. and Harissis, A. V.
 2009 *Apiculture in the Prehistoric Aegean: Minoan and Mycenaean Symbols Revisited*. Oxford: Hedges. *BAR International Series* 1958.
- Harris, R.
 1991 'Inanna-Ishtar as paradox and a coincidence of opposites'. *HR* 30.3, 261-78.
- Harris, W. V.
 2005 (ed.) *Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Oxford: University Press.
- Harrison, J. E.
 1908-9 'The kouretes and Zeus Kouros: a study in Pre-historic sociology'. *BSA* 15, 308-38.
- Harrison, T. P.
 2004 *Megiddo, 3: Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations*. Chicago: Oriental Institute. *OIP* 127.
- Hartley, M.
 1930-1 'Early Greek vases from Crete'. *BSA* 31, 56-114.
- Hasserodt, M.
 2009 *Griechische und orientalische Metallphialen des frühen ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. in Griechenland*. Bonn: Habelt. *AMS* 62.
- Hawkins, J. D.
 2002 'Anatolia: the end of the Hittite Empire and after'. In: Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2002, 143-51.
- Hayden, B. J.
 1991 'Terracotta figures, figurines, and vase attachments from Vrokastro, Crete'. *Hesperia* 60.1, 103-44.
 2002 *Reports on the Vrokastro Area, Eastern Crete, 1: Catalogue of Pottery from the Bronze and Early Iron Age Settlement of Vrokastro in the Collections of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and the Archaeological Museum, Herakleion, Crete*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. *University Museum Monographs* 113.
 2005 *Reports on the Vrokastro Area, Eastern Crete 3: The Vrokastro Regional Survey Project, Sites and Pottery*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. *University Museum Monographs* 116.
- Held, W.
 2000 *Das Heiligtum der Athena in Milet*. Mainz: von Zabern. *MilForsch* 2.

- Hencken, H.
1950 'Herzsprung shields and Greek trade'. *AJA* 54.4, 294-309.
- Herbordt, S.
1992 *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.-7. Jh. v. Chr., unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Siegelungen auf Tafeln und Tonverschlüssen*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project. SAAS 1.
1997 'Neo-Assyrian royal and administrative seals and their use'. In: Waetzoldt and Hauptmann 1997, 279-83.
- Hermay, A.
1987 'Amathonte de Chypre et les Phéniciens'. In: Lipiński 1987, 375-88.
2000 *Amathonte, 5: Les figurines en terre cuite archaïques et classiques. Les sculptures en pierre*. Athens: Ecole Française d'Athènes. *Études Chypriotes* 15.
- Herrmann, G.
1986 *Ivories from Room SW37 Fort Shalmaneser*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq. *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963)* 4.
1992 *The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq. *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963)* 5.
1997 'The Nimrud ivories, 3: the Assyrian tradition'. In: Waetzoldt and Hauptmann 1997, 285-90.
- Herrmann, G., Coffey, H. and Laidlaw, S.
2004 *The Published Ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud: a Scanned Archive of Photographs*. London: British School of Archeology in Iraq and University College London.
- Herrmann, G. and Laidlaw, S.
2008 *Ivories from the North West Palace (1845-1992)*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq. *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963)* 6.
2013 'Assyrian Nimrud and the Phoenicians'. *AI* 16, 84-95.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/ai.1611> (Retrieved on 14 November 2013)
- Herrmann, H.-V.
1966a *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit, 1: Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze*. Berlin: de Gruyter. *OF* 6.
1966b 'Urartu und Griechenland'. *Jdl* 81, 79-141.
1979 *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit, 2: Kesselprotomen und Stabdreifüsse*. Berlin: de Gruyter. *OF* 11.

- Herzfeld, E.
 1921 'Khattische und khalidische Bronzen'. In: K. Regling and H. Reich (eds.), *Festschrift zu C. F. Lehmann-Haupts sechzigstem Geburtstage*. Vienna: Braumüller, 145-57. *Janus* 1.
- Hestrin, R.
 1988 'A note on the "lion bowls" and the Asherah'. *IMJ* 7, 115-8.
- Higgins, R. A.
 1967 *Greek Terracottas*. London: Methuen.
 1969 *Early Greek Jewellery*. London: Methuen.
- Hodder, I.
 2011 'Human-thing entanglement: towards an integrated archaeological perspective'. *JRAI* (n.s.) 17, 154-77.
- Hoffmann, H.
 1972 *Early Cretan Armorers*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Hoffman, G. L.
 1997 *Imports and Immigrants: Near Eastern Contacts with Iron Age Crete*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
 2005 'Defining identities: Greek artistic interaction with the Near East'. In: Suter and Uehlinger 2005, 351-89.
- Hogarth, D. G.
 1899-1900 'The Dictaeon Cave'. *BSA* 6, 94-116.
- Hölbl, G.
 2005 'Ägyptisches Kulturgut in der griechischen Welt im frühen ersten Jahrtausend vor Christus (10. - 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)'. In: H. Beck, P. C. Bol and M. Bückling (eds.), *Ägypten – Griechenland – Rom: Abwehr und Berührung*. Tübingen: Wasmuth. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Holland, T. A.
 1977 'A study of Palestinian Iron Age baked clay figurines with special reference to Jerusalem: Cave 1'. *Levant* 9, 121-55.
- Hood, M. S. F. and Boardman, J.
 1961 'Early Iron Age tombs at Knossos (Knossos Survey 25)'. *BSA* 56, 68-80.
- Hood, S. and Smyth, D.
 1981 *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area* (2nd edition). London: Thames and Hudson. *BSA Suppl.* 14.

- Horden, P. and Purcell, N.
2000 *The Corrupting Sea: a Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hornblower, S. and Spawforth, A.
2014 (eds.) *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization* (2nd edition). Oxford: University Press.
- Horst, K.
1996 *Die anthropomorphen Terrakotten aus Lato von der mittelminoischen Zeit bis zum Ende des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.* Göttingen University, doctoral thesis.
- Howes Smith, P. H. G.
1981 'Two oriental bronze bowls in Utrecht'. *BABesch* 56, 3-36.
- Hutchinson, R. W. and Boardman, J.
1954 'The Khaniala Tekke tombs'. *BSA* 49, 215-28.
- Hutchinson, R. W., Eccles, E. and Benton, S.
1939-40 'Unpublished objects from Palaikastro and Praisos, 2'. *BSA* 40, 38-59.
- Iacovou, M.
2006 "'Greeks", "Phoenicians" and "Eteocypriots": ethnic identities in the Cypriot kingdoms'. In: J. Chrysostomides and Ch. Dendrinos (eds.), *"Sweet Land ...": Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus*. Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 27-59.
2008 'Cultural and political configurations in Iron Age Cyprus: the sequel to a Protohistoric episode'. *AJA* 112.4, 625-57.
2012a (ed.) *Cyprus and the Aegean in the Early Iron Age: the Legacy of Nicolas Coldstream*. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
2012b 'External and internal migrations during the 12th century BC: setting the stage for an economically successful Early Iron Age in Cyprus'. In: Iacovou 2012a, 207-27.
- Ingo, G. M., Çilingiroğlu, A., Faraldi, F., Riccucci, C., Casaletto, M. P., Erdem, A. and Batmaz, A.
2010 'The bronze shields found at the Ayanis fortress (Van region, Turkey): manufacturing techniques and corrosion phenomena'. *ApplPhysA* 100, 793-800.
- Jacopi, G.
1933 *Esplorazione archeologica di Camiro, 2: scavi nella necropolis Camiresi 1929-1930*. Bergamo: Istituto Storico-Archeologico di Rodi. *CIRh* 7.

- James, F. W. and McGovern, P. E.
 1993 (eds.) *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: a Study of Levels VII and VII*. Philadelphia, Penn.: the University Museum and University of Pennsylvania. *University Museum Monographs* 85.
- Janes, S.
 2013 'Death and burial in the age of the Cypriot city-kingdoms: social complexity based on the mortuary evidence'. *BASOR* 370, 145-68.
- Jantzen, U.
 1951 'Die spätminoische Nekropole von Kydonia'. In: F. Matz (ed.), *Forschungen auf Kreta 1942*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 72-81.
 1955 *Griechische Greifenkessel*. Berlin: Mann.
 1972 *Ägyptische und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Bonn: Habelt. *Samos* 8.
- Jeffery, L. H.
 1990 *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: a Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth centuries B.C.* (2nd edition) Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jeffery, L. H. and Mopurgo-Davies, A.
 1970 'POINIKASTAS and POINIKAZEN: BM 1969. 4-2.1, A new Archaic inscription from Crete'. *Kadmos* 9, 118-54.
- Jenkins, R. J. H.
 1936 *Dedolica: a Study of Dorian Plastic Art in the Seventh Century B.C.* Cambridge: University Press.
- Johannowsky, W.
 2002 *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina, 2*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. *MSAtene* 16.
- Johnston, A. W.
 1984 'Fragmenta Britannica, 3: pithoi'. *BICS* 31, 39-50.
 1993 'Pottery from Archaic Building Q at Kommos'. *Hesperia* 62.3, 339-82.
 2000 'Building Z at Kommos: an 8th-century pottery sequence'. *Hesperia* 69.2, 189-226.
 2005 'Kommos: further Iron Age pottery'. *Hesperia* 74.3, 309-93.
 2013 'Writing in and around Archaic Crete'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 427-35.

- Jones, D. W.
2000 *External Relations of Early Iron Age Crete, 1100-600 B. C.* Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania. *AIAM* n.s. 4.
- Jones, H. L.
1928 *The Geography of Strabo, 5: Books 10-12.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Kaiser, I.
2006 'Protogeometric B – Minoan and oriental influences on a Cretan pottery style of the second half of the 9th cent. B.C.'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του 9ου Διεθνούς Κριτολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα, 1-6 Οκτωβρίου 2001*. Heraklion: Χεταιρεία Κρητικών Χιστορικών Μελετών, 63-70.
- Kalpaxis, A. E.
1976 *Früharchaische Baukunst in Griechenland und Kleinasien.* Athens: Athanasiou.
- Kamlah, J.
1993 'Tell el-Fuḥḥār (Zarqu?) und die pflanzenhaltende Göttin in Palästina: Ergebnisse des Zeraqōn-Surveys 1989'. *ZDPV* 109.2, 101-27.
- Kanta, A.
1980 *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete: a Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution.* Göteborg: Åström. *SIMA* 58.
1991 'Cult, continuity and the evidence of pottery at the sanctuary of Syme Viannou, Crete'. In: Musti 1991, 479-505.
2001 'Cretan refuge settlements: problems and historical implications within the wider context of the Eastern Mediterranean towards the end of the Bronze Age'. In: Karageorghis and Morris 2001, 13-21.
- Kanta, A. and Davaras, K.
2011 (eds.) *Ελουθία Χαριστήιον: Το Ιερό Σπήλαιο της Θεάς στον Τσούτσουρο*. Heraklion: Δήμος Μίνωα Πεδιάδας.
- Kanta, A. and Karetsou, A.
1998 'From Arkadhes to Rytion: interactions of an isolated area of Crete with the Aegean and the East Mediterranean'. In: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998, 159-73.
- Kantor, H. J.
1945 *Plant Ornament: its Origin and Development in the Ancient Near East.* Oriental Institute at Chicago, doctoral thesis.
1962 'A bronze plaque with relief decoration from Tell Tainat.' *JNES* 21.2, 93-117.

Karageorghis, J.

- 1999 *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus, 5: The Cypro-Achaic Period. Small Female Figurines, B: Figurines Moulées*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- 2009 'Moulds, production and circulation of terracottas of Cypriot style in Cyprus and the Eastern Aegean during the Archaic period'. In: V. Karageorghis and Ou. Kouka (eds.), *Cyprus and the East Aegean: Intercultural Contacts from 3000 to 500 BC. An International Archaeological Symposium held at Pythagoreion, Samos, October 17th - 18th 2008*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation, 144-70.

Karageorghis, V.

- 1977 *The Goddess with Uplifted Arms in Cyprus*. Lund: Liber Läromedel/Gleerup. *Scripta Minora Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 1977-1978.2.
- 1980 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1979'. *BCH* 104.2, 761-803.
- 1982 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1981'. *BCH* 106.2, 685-744.
- 1983 'New Phoenician discoveries in Cyprus'. In: P. Bartoloni (ed.), *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici: Roma, 5-10 novembre 1979*. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 173-7. *CSF* 16.
- 1986 (ed.) *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident", Nicosia, 8-14 September 1985*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- 1987a 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1986'. *BCH* 111.2, 663-733.
- 1987b *La nécropole d'Amathonte, tombes 113-367, 3.1: the Terracottas*. Nicosia: Service des Antiquités de Chypre. *Études Chypriotes* 9.
- 1991 'Amathus between the Greeks and the Phoenicians'. In: E. Acquaro (ed.), *Atti del 2 Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 9-14 Novembre 1987*. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 959-68. *CSF* 30.
- 1993 *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus, 2: the Late Cypriote II – Cypro-Geometric III*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.

Karageorghis, V. and des Gagniers, J.

- 1974 *La céramique chypriote de style figuré: Âge du Fer (1050-500 av. J.-C.)*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo. *BC* 2.

- Karageorghis, V., Kanta, A., Stampolidis, N. Chr. and Sakellarakis, G.
 2014 (eds.) *Kypriaka in Crete: from the Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*. Nicosia: Institute for Aegean Prehistory.
- Karageorghis, V. and Morris, Chr.
 2001 (eds.) *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c. 1200 B.C. Proceedings of an International Workshop held at Trinity College Dublin, 7th-9th May, 1999*. Dublin: Trinity College/ Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. and Stampolidis, N.
 1998 (eds.) *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus – Dodecanese – Crete, 16th-6th cent. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Rethymno 13-16 May 1997*. Athens: University of Crete.
- Karetsou, A.
 1981 'The peak sanctuary of Mt. Juktas'. In: R. Hägg and N. Marinatos (eds.), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May, 1980*. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen, 137-53. *ActaAth* 4.
- Karo, G.
 1919 'Orient und Hellas in archaischer Zeit'. *AM* 44, 106-56.
- Kassianidou, V.
 2012 'The origin and use of metals in Iron Age Cyprus'. In: Iacovou 2012a, 229-59.
- Kaulen, G.
 1967 *Daidalika: Werkstätten griechischer Kleinplastik des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin: Wasmuth.
- Kearsley, R. A.
 1999 'Greeks overseas in the 8th century B.C.: Euboeans, Al Mina and Assyrian imperialism'. In: Tsetschladze 1999, 109-34.
- Keel, O. and Uehlinger, Chr.
 1998 *Gods, Goddesses and Images of God in Ancient Israel*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Kenanidis, I. K. and Papakitsos, E. C.
 2014-5 'The Eteocretan inscription from Psychro (Crete) is genuine. *Anistoriton View Points* 14.2, 1-7.
- Kerschner, M. and Schlotzhauer, U.
 2005 'A new classification system for East Greek pottery'. *AWE* 4, 1-55.

- Kestemont, G.
 1985 'Les Phéniciens en Syrie du nord'. In: E. Lipiński and E. Gubel (eds.), *Phoenicia and its Neighbours. Proceedings of the Colloquium held on the 9th and 10th of December 1983 at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, in Cooperation with the Centrum voor Myceense en Archaisch-Griekse Cultuur*. Leuven: Peeters, 135-49. *StPh* 3.
- Kirsten
 1940 'Rhizenia'. In: W. Kroll and K. Mittelhaus (eds.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1138-54. *Suppl.* 7.
- Klengel, H.
 1992 *Syria, 3000 to 300 B.C.: a Handbook of Political History*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
 2000 'The 'crisis years' and the new political system in Early Iron Age Syria: some introductory remarks', in: Bunnens 2000a, 21-30.
- Kletter, R.
 1996 *The Judean Pillar-Figurines and the Archaeology of Asherah*. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum. *BAR International Series* 636.
 2004 'Section D: clay figurines'. In: D. Ussishkin (ed.), *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973-1994)*. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 1572-83. *PIA* 22.
- Kletter, R. and Saarelainen, K.
 2011 'Judean Drummers'. *ZDPV* 127.1, 11-28.
- Knoblauch, P.
 1937 *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei in Kreta, Rhodos, Athen und Böotien*. Bleicherode a. H.: Nieft.
- Koehl, R. B.
 1997 'The villas at Ayia Triada and Nirou Chani and the origin of the Cretan andreion'. In: R. Hägg (ed.), *The Function of the "Minoan Villa". Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 6-8 June, 1992*. Stockholm: Swedish Institute at Athens, 137-47. *ActaAth* 46.
- Kokolakis, M.
 1995 'Zeus' tomb: an object of pride and reproach'. *Kernos* 8, 123-38.

Kolotourou, K.

- 2005 'Music and cult: the significance of percussion and the Cypriote connection'. In: V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus and S. Rogge (eds.), *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period. Proceedings of an International Symposium on Cypriote Archaeology, Erlangen, 23-24 July 2004*. Möhnese-Wamel: Bibliopolis, 183-204.
- 2012 'Musico-cultural amalgamations in the Eastern Mediterranean: a percussive view from the Aegean'. *Talanta* 44, 206-26.

Kopaniass, K.

- 2012 'Raw material, exotic jewellery or magic objects? The use of imported Near Eastern seals in the Aegean'. In: M.-L. Nosch and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Kosmos: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 13th International Aegean Conference/13^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Copenhagen, Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research, 21-26 April 2010*. Leuven: Peeters, 397-406. *Aegaeum* 33.

Kopytoff, I.

- 1986 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process'. In: A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: University Press, 64-91.

Kotsonas, A.

- 2002 'The rise of the polis in central Crete'. *Eulimene* 3, 37-72.
- 2006 'Wealth and status in Iron Age Knossos'. *OJA* 25, 149-72.
- 2008 *The Archaeology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna: the Early Iron Age Pottery*. Athens: Scripta LTD. University of Edinburgh, doctoral thesis.
- 2009 'Three early limestone sculptures from Gortyn and their Mediterranean profile'. In: Stampolidis et al. 2009, 179-90.
- 2011a 'Ceramic variability and drinking habits in Iron Age Crete'. In: Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 899-911.
- 2011b 'Foreign identity and ceramic production in Early Iron Age Crete'. In: Rizza 2011, 133-55.
- 2011c 'Quantification of ceramics from Early Iron Age tombs'. In: Verdan et al. 2011, 129-38.

- 2012 “‘Creto-Cypriot” and “Cypro-Phoenician” complexities in the archaeology of interaction between Crete and Cyprus’. In: Iacovou 2012a, 155-81.
- 2013 ‘Orientalizing ceramic styles and wares of Early Iron Age Crete: aspects of production, dissemination and consumption’. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 233-52.
- Kourou, N.
- 1984 ‘Local Naxian workshops and the import-export pottery trade of the island in the Geometric period.’ In: H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam, 12-25 April, 1984*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 107-12.
- 1985 ‘Musical procession scenes in early Greek art: their oriental and Cypriot models’. In: Πρακτικά Β’ Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία, 20-25 Απριλίου 1982. Τόμος Α’: Αρχαίων Τμήμα. Nicosia: Χεταιρεία Κυπριακών Σπουδών, 415-22.
- 1992 ‘Aegean orientalizing versus oriental art: the evidence of monsters’. In: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The Civilizations of the Aegean and their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 BC. Proceedings of an International Symposium, 18-24 September 1989*. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation, 110-22.
- 2000 ‘Phoenician presence in Early Iron Age Crete reconsidered’. In: *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos, Cádiz, 2 al 6 de Octubre de 1995, 3*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1067-81.
- 2001 ‘The sacred tree in Greek art. Mycenaean versus Near Eastern traditions’. In: S. Ribichini, M. Rocchi and P. Xella (eds.), *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca: Stato degli studi e prospettive della ricerca. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale, Roma, 20-22 maggio 1999*. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- 2008 ‘The evidence from the Aegean’. In: Sagona 2008, 305-64.
- 2009 ‘The Aegean and the Levant in the Early Iron Age: recent developments’. In: *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean: Lebanon in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Beirut, 2008*. Beirut: Ministry of Culture, 361-74. *BAAL Hors-Série* 6.
- 2011 ‘Following the sphinx: tradition and innovation in Early Iron Age Crete’. In: Rizza 2011, 165-77.

- 2014 'Rhodes, un important carrefour en Méditerranée orientale'. In: A. Coulié and M. Filimonos-Tsopotou (eds.), *Rhodes: Une île grecque aux portes de l'Orient, XV^e-V^e siècle avant J.-C.* Paris: Somogy, 76-88. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Kourou, N. and Karetsou, A.
- 1994 'Το ιερό του Ερμού Κραναίου στην Πατσό Αμαρίου'. In: L. Rocchetti (ed.), *Sybrita: La valle di Amari fra bronzo e ferro*. Rome: Gruppo editoriale international, 81-164. *Incunabula Graeca* 6.
- 1998 'An enigmatic stone from Knossos: a reused cippus?'. In: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998, 243-54.
- Kranz, P.
- 1972 'Frühe griechische Sitzfiguren: Zum Problem der Typenbildung und des orientalischen Einflusses in der frühen griechischen Rundplastik'. *AM* 87, 1-55.
- Kroll, W.
- 1922 *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 11 (*Katoikoi-Kynegoi*). Stuttgart: Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Kübler, K.,
- 1970 *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*, 2. Berlin: de Gruyter. *Kerameikos* 6.
- Kunze, E.
- 1931 *Kretische Bronzereliefs*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- 1950 'Verkannter orientalischer Kesselschmuck aus dem argivischen Heraion'. In: G. Behrens and J. Werner (eds.), *Reinecke Festschrift: Zum 75. Geburtstag von Paul Reinecke am 25. September 1947*. Mainz: Schneider, 96-101.
- Kyrieleis, H.
- 1966 'Zum orientalischen Kesselschmuck'. *MarbWPr* 1966, 1-25.
- 1972 'Review: Bronzi orientali ed orientalizzanti a Creta nell' VIII e VII sec. A. C. by Fulvio Canciani'. *Gnomon* 44.7, 704-9.
- 1980 'Archaische Holzfunde aus Samos'. *AM* 95, 87-147.
- Kyrieleis, H. and Röllig, W.
- 1988 'Ein orientalischer Pferdeschmuck aus dem Heraion auf Samos'. *AM* 103, 37-75.

- Laffineur, R. and Greco, E.
 2005 (eds.) *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference/ 10^e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14-18 April 2004*. Liège: Université de Liège. *Aegaeum* 25.
- Laffineur, R. and Hägg, R.
 2001 (eds.) *Potnia: Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age, Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference/8e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000*. Liège: Université de Liège. *Aegaeum* 22.
- Lanfranchi, G. B.
 2000 'The ideological and political impact of the Assyrian imperial expansion on the Greek world in the 8th and 7th centuries BC'. In: Aro and Whiting 2000, 7-34.
 2011 'The expansion of the Neo-Assyrian empire and its peripheries: military, political and ideological resistance'. In: Chr. Ulf and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Lag Troia in Kilikien? Der aktuelle Streit um Homers Ilias*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 219-33.
- La Rosa, V.
 2001 'Minoan baetyls: between funerary rituals and epiphanies'. In: Laffineur and Hägg 2001, 221-7.
- Lawrence, A. W. and Tomlinson, R. A.
 1996 *Greek Architecture* (5th edition). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Layard, A. H.
 1853 *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh, Including Bas-Reliefs from the Palace of Sennacherib and Bronzes from the Ruins of Nimroud. From Drawings Made on the Spot, during a Second Expedition to Assyria*. London: Murray.
- Lebessi, A. K.
 1970 'Αφράτι'. *Deltion* 25, 455-61.
 1971 'Εἰς τάφος του 7ου π.Χ. Αιώνος'. *AAA* 1971, 384-92.
 1974a 'Monumento funerario del VII sec. a. C. a Creta'. In: G. Rizza (ed.), *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, 2. Catania: Università di Catania and Istituto di Archeologia, 120-8. *CronASA* 13.
 1974b 'Ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης στὴ Σύμην Βιάννου'. *Prakt* 1974, 222-7.

- 1975 'The Fortetsa gold rings'. *BSA* 70, 169-76.
- 1976 *Οι στήλες του Πρινιά*. Athens: Υπουργέων Πολιτισμού και Επιστημών.
- 1985 *Το Ιερό του Ερμή και της Αφροδίτης στη Σύμη Βιάννου: Χάλκινα Ανθρωπόμορφα Ειδώλια*. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία.
- 1987 'A sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite in Crete'. *NatGeogRes* 3, 102-13.
- 2009a 'The heterosexual couple in Cretan iconography'. *CretAnt* 10, 539-61.
- 2009b 'The erotic goddess of the Syme sanctuary, Crete'. *AJA* 113.4, 521-45.
- Lefèvre-Novaro, D.
2014 *Du massif de l'Ida aux pentes du mont Diktè: peuples, territoires et communautés en Messara du XIII^e au VII^e siècle av. J.-C.* Paris: de Boccard.
- Lefèvre-Novaro, D., Pautasso, A., Rizza, S. and Lamaze, J.
2013 'Dreros e Prinias: nuovi dati e prospettive di ricerca sulla polis a Creta'. *Thiasos* 2.2, 3-20.
- Lehmann-Haupt, C. F.
1931 *Armenien einst und jetzt, 2. Auf chaldischer und griechischer Spur im türkischen Ostarmenien, in Nordassyrien und vom großen Zab zum Schwarzen Meer*. Berlin: Behr.
- Lemos, I.
2000 'Songs for heroes: the lack of images in early Greece'. In: N. K. Rutter and B. A. Sparkes (eds.), *Word and Image in Ancient Greece*. Edinburgh: University Press. *ELS* 1.
2005 'The changing relationship of the Euboeans and the East'. In: Villing 2005, 53-60.
- Lerat, L.
1951 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1950: Delphes'. *BCH* 75, 134-40.
1980 'Trois boucliers archaïques de Delphes'. *BCH* 104, 93-114.
- Levi, D.
1927-9 'Arkades: una città cretese all'alba della civiltà ellenica'. *ASAtene* 10-12.

- 1930-1 'I bronzi di Axòs'. *ASAtene* 13-14, 43-146.
- 1945a 'Early Hellenic pottery of Crete'. *Hesperia* 14.1, 1-32.
- 1945b 'Gleanings from Crete'. *AJA* 49.3, 270-329.
- 1956a 'Attività della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene nell'anno 1955'. *BdA* 41, 238-74.
- 1956b 'Il palladio di Gortina'. *PP* 11, 285-315.
- 1957 'Gli scavi del 1954 sull'acropoli di Gortina'. *ASAtene* 33-34 (n.s. 17-18), 207-88.
- 1959 'La villa rurale minoica di Gortina'. *BdA* 44, 237-65.
- 1978 'Caratteri e continuità del culto cretese sulle vette montane'. *PP* 33, 294-313.
- Link, S.
1994 *Das griechische Kreta. Untersuchungen zu seiner staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Lipiński, E.
1986 'The Syro-Palestinian iconography of women and goddess'. *IEJ* 36.1, 87-96.
- 1987 (ed.) *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C. Proceedings of the Conference held in Leuven from the 14th to the 16th of November 1985.* Leuven: Peeters. *StPh* 5.
- Lippold, G.
1909 'Griechische Schilde'. In: *Münchener archäologische Studien: Dem Andenken Adolf Furtwänglers gewidmet.* Munich: Beck, 399-504.
- Löw, U.
1998 *Figürlich verzierte Metallgefäße aus Nord- und Nordwestiran.* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag. *AVO* 6.
- Luraghi, N.
2006 'Traders, pirates, warriors: the proto-history of Greek mercenary soldiers in the Eastern Mediterranean'. *Phoenix* 60.1, 21-47.
- Macalister, R. A. S.
1912 *The Excavation of Gezer, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909.* London: Murray.

- MacGillivray, A.
2000 'The Great Kouros in Cretan art'. In: MacGillivray et al. 2000, 123-30.
- MacGillivray, A., Driessen, J. M. and Sackett, L. H.
2000 (eds.) *The Palaikastro Kouros: a Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and its Aegean Bronze Age Context*. London: British School Athens. *BSA Studies* 6.
- MacVeagh Thorne, S. and Prent, M.
2000 'The sanctuary of Diktaean Zeus at Palaikastro: a re-examination of the excavations by the British School in 1902-1906'. In: *Πεπραγμένα Η' Διεθνούς Κριτολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A2. Heraklion: Χεταιρία Κρητικών Ιστοριών Μελετών, 169-78.
- Mallowan, M. and Herrmann, G.
1974 *Furniture from SW7 Fort Shalmaneser: Commentary, Catalogue and Plates*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq. *Ivories from Nimrud (1949-1963)* 3.
- Mallwitz, A.
1981 'Kritisches zur Architektur Griechenlands im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert'. *AA* 1981, 599-642.
- Maner, Ç.
2009 'Neo-Hittite helmets and their depictions'. In: Ç. Ö. Aygün (ed.), *SOMA 2007. Proceedings of the XI Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Istanbul Technical University, 24-29 April 2007*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 254-61. *BAR International Series* 1900.
- Manuelli, F.
2012 'A view from the east: Arslantepe and the central Anatolian world during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, interactions and local development'. *Origini* 34, 361-74.
- Marcadé, J.
1949 'Un casque crétois trouvé à Delphes'. *BCH* 73, 421-36.
- Marginesu, G.
2005 *Gortina di Creta: prospettive epigrafiche per lo studio della forma urbana*. Athens: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene. *Tripodes* 2.
- Mariani, L.
1901 'Cretan Expedition XIII: the vases of Erganos and Courtes'. *AJA* 5.3, 302-14.

- Marinatos, N.
- 2000 *The Goddess and the Warrior: the Naked Goddess and Mistress of Animals in Early Greek Religion*. London: Routledge.
- 2003 'Striding across boundaries: Hermes and Aphrodite as gods of initiation'. In: D. B. Dodd and Ch. A. Faraone (eds.), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 130-51.
- Marinatos, S.
- 1936 'Le temple géométrique de Dréros'. *BCH* 60, 214-85.
- 1937 'Ausgrabungen und Funde auf Kreta'. *AA* 1937, 222-34.
- 1962a 'Zur Frage der Grotte von Arkalochori'. *Kadmos* 1, 87-94.
- 1962b 'Die Wanderung des Zeus', *AA* 1962, 903-15.
- Markoe, G.
- 1985 *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*. Berkeley: University of California Press. *CPCS* 26.
- 1998 'The Phoenicians on Crete: transit trade and the search for ores'. In: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998, 233-41.
- 2000 *Phoenicians*. London: British Museum Press.
- Marshall, F. H.
- 1905-6 'Tombs of Hellenic date at Praesos'. *BSA* 12, 63-70.
- Marshall, J. H. and Bosanquet, R. C.
- 1901-2 'Excavations at Praesos, 1'. *BSA* 8, 231-70.
- Matthäus, H.
- 1985 *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern. Mit einem Anhang der bronzezeitlichen Schwertfunde auf Cypern*. Munich: Beck. *PBF* (Abteilung 2) 8.
- 1993 'Zur Rezeption orientalischer Kunst-, Kultur- und Lebensformen in Griechenland'. In: K. Raaflaub (ed.), *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike: Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 165-86.

- 1999 'The Greek symposion and the Near East. Chronology and mechanisms of cultural transfer'. In: R. F. Docter and E. M. Moormann (eds.), *Classical Archaeology towards the Third Millennium: Reflections and Perspectives. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Amsterdam, July 12-17, 1998*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 256-60. *APS* 12.
- 2000 'Die idäische Zeus-Grotte auf Kreta: Griechenland und der Vordere Orient im frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr'. *AA* 2000, 517-47.
- 2003 'Nahöstliche und kretische Löwenprotomen: Zur Herkunft einer Bildformel griechisch geometrischer Kunst'. *AA* 2003, 83-95.
- 2005 'Toreutik und Vasenmalerei im früheisenzeitlichen Kreta: minoisches Erbe, lokale Traditionen und Fremdeinflüsse'. In: Suter and Uehlinger 2005, 291-350.
- Matz, F.
1950 *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst, 1: Die geometrische und früharchaische Form*. Frankfurt: Klostermann.
- Maxwell-Hyslop, K. R.
1956 'Urtartian bronzes in Etruscan tombs'. *Iraq* 18.2, 150-67.
1971 *Western Asiatic Jewellery c. 3000-612 B.C.* London: Methuen.
- May, H. G.
1935 *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*. Chicago: University Press. *OIP* 26.
- Mazar, A.
1985 'Pottery plaques depicting goddesses standing in temple facades'. *Michmanim* 2, 5-17.
- Mazar, E.
2013 *The Northern Cemetery of Akhziv (10th-6th centuries BCE): the Tophet Site. The Sam Turner Expedition Final Report of the Excavations 1992-2004*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- Mazarakis Ainian, A.
1997 *From Rulers' Dwellings to Temples: Architecture, Religion and Society in Early Iron Age Greece (1100-700 B.C.)*. Jonsered: Åström. *SIMA* 121.
2011 (ed.) *The "Dark Ages" Revisited: Acts of an International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson, University of Thessaly, Volos, 14-17 June 2007*. Volos: University of Thessaly Press.

- Mazzoni, S.
 1994 'Aramaean and Luwian new foundations'. In: Mazzoni (ed.), *Nuove fondazioni nel Vicino Oriente antico: realtà e ideologia. Atti del colloquio 4-6 dicembre 1991, Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche del Mondo Antico, Sezione di Egittologia e Scienze Storiche del Vicino Oriente, Università degli Studi di Pisa*. Pisa: Giardini, 319-40.
- 2000 'Crisis and change: the beginning of the Iron Age in Syria'. In: P. Matthiae, A. Enea, L. Peyrone and F. Pinnock (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, May 18th-23rd 1998*. Rome: La Sapienza, 1045-58.
- 2005 'Pyxides and hand-lion bowls: a case study of minor arts'. In: Suter and Uehlinger 2005, 43-66.
- 2013 'Arts and cross-cultural communication in the early 1st millennium: the Syro-Anatolian contact'. In: Yener 2013, 465-92.
- McInerney, J.
 2014 'Pelagians and Leleges: using the past to understand the present'. In: J. Ker and Chr. Pieper (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World. Proceedings from the Penn-Leiden Colloquia on Ancient Values*, 7. Leiden: Brill.
- Merhav, R.
 1991 (ed.) *Urartu: a Metalworking Center in the First Millennium B.C.E.* Jerusalem: Israel Museum. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Michelaki, A. and D'Acunto, M.
 2008 'Una testina fittile dedalica da Festòs'. *CretAnt* 9, 245-251.
- Mitten, D. G.
 1970 'Die Stilphasen der geometrischen Kunst in Keramik und Plastik von Mykene zum 7. Jahrhundert by Georg Kaulen; Daidalika, Werkstätten griechischer Kleinplastik des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. by Georg Kaulen'. *AJA* 74.1, 107-10.
- Moignard, E.
 1998 'Native wit: some orientalising pottery from the Knossos North Cemetery'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 80-6.
- Momigliano, N.
 2007 'Introduction'. In: N. Momigliano (ed.), *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Neolithic and Bronze Age (Minoan)*. London: BSA, 1-8. *BSA Studies* 14.

- Moody, J., Robinson, H. L., Francis, J., Nixon, L. and Wildon, L.
 2003 'Ceramic fabric analysis and survey archaeology: the Sphakia Survey'. *BSA* 98, 37-105.
- Mook, M. S.
 1998 'Early Iron Age domestic architecture: the Northwest Building on the Kastro at Kavousi'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 45-57.
 2004 'From foundation to abandonment: new ceramic phasing for the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age on the Kastro at Kavousi'. In: L. Preston Day, M. S. Mook and J. D. Muhly (eds.), *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*. Philadelphia, Penn.: INSTAP Academic Press, 163-79. *PM* 10.
- Mook, M. S. and Haggis, D. C.
 2013 'Excavation of an Archaic city at Azoria in eastern Crete'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 59-75.
- Moorey, P. R. S.
 1980 *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B. C. at Deve Hüyük, near Carchemish, Salvaged by T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Wooley in 1913 (with a Catalogue Raisonné of the Objects in Berlin, Cambridge, Liverpool, London and Oxford)*. Oxford: BAR. *BAR International Series* 87.
 1994 *Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: the Archaeological Evidence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 2003 *Idols of the People: Miniature Images of Clay in the Ancient Near East*. Oxford: University Press. Schweich lectures 2001.
- Moortgat, A.
 1949 *Tammuz: der Unsterblichkeitsglaube in der altorientalischen Bildkunst*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Morgan, C., Pitt, R. K., Mulliez, D. and Evely, D.
 2009-10 'Archaeology in Greece', *AR* 56, 1-201.
- Morgan, L.
 1987 'A Minoan larnax from Knossos'. *BSA* 82, 171-200.
- Morpurgo Davies, A. and Olivier, J.-P.
 2012 'Syllabic scripts and languages in the second and first millennia BC'. In: Cadogan et al. 2012, 105-18.

- Morris, I.
1986 'The use and abuse of Homer'. *ClAnt* 5, 81-138.
- 1987 *Burial and Ancient Society: the Rise of the Greek City-state*. Cambridge: University Press. *New Studies in Archaeology*.
- 1999 'Archaeology and gender ideologies in Early Archaic Greece'. *TAPA* 129, 305-17.
- 2003 'Mediterraneanization'. *MHR* 18.2, 30-55.
- Morris, S. P.
1992 *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*. Princeton: University Press.
- Morstadt, B.
2015 'Phönizische Bestattungen: Beobachtungen zu Lage, Typus und Beigaben der Gräber'. In: Nawracala and Nawracala 2015, 345-62.
- Moscatti S.
1988 (ed.) *The Phoenicians*. Milan: Bompiani. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Muhly, J. D.
2005 'Travelling craftsmen: love 'em or leave 'em'. In: Laffineur and Greco 2005, 685-90.
- Müller, V. K.
1915 *Der Polos: die griechische Götterkrone*. Berlin: Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität.
- Müller, W.
2000 'Zu Stil und Zeitstellung des Bildthemas Herr der Löwen'. In: Pini (ed.), *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion*. Berlin: Mann, 181-94. *CMS Suppl.* 6.
- Müller, W. and Pini, I.
1999 *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, 2.6: Die Siegelabdrücke von Aj. Triada und anderen zentral- und ostkretischen Fundorten*. Berlin: Mann.
- Murray, A. T. and Dimock, G. E.
1998 *Homer: Odyssey, Books 13-24* (2nd edition, corrected reprint). Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. *LCL* 105.
- Murray, G.
1908-9 'The Hymn of the Kouretes'. *BSA* 15, 357-65.

Muscarella, O. W.

- 1965 'A third lion bowl from Hasanlu'. In: *Archaeology* 18.1, 41-6.
- 1972 'A bronze vase from Iran and its Greek connections'. *MetrMusJ* 5, 25-50.
- 1992 'Greek and oriental cauldron attachments: a review'. In: G. Kopcke and I. Tokumaru (eds.), *Greece between East and West: 10th-8th Centuries BC. Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University March 15-16th, 1990*. Mainz: von Zabern, 16-45.

Musti, D.

- 1991 (ed.) *La transizione dal miceneo all'alto arcaismo: Dal palazzo alla città. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Roma, 14-19 Marzo 1988*. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

Myres, J. I.

- 1902-3 'The sanctuary site of Petsophas'. *BSA* 9, 356-87.

Nakamura, C.

- 2004 'Dedicating magic: Neo-Assyrian apotropaic figurines and the protection of Assur'. *WA* 36.1, 11-25.

Naumann, U.

- 1976 *Subminoische und protogeometrische Bronzeplastik auf Kreta*. Berlin: Mann. *AM Suppl.* 6.

Nawracala, S. and Nawracala, R.

- 2015 (eds.) *ΠΟΛΥΜΑΘΕΙΑ: Festschrift für Hartmut Matthäus anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages*. Aachen: Shaker Verlag.

Neeft, C. W.

- 1987 *Protocorinthian Subgeometric Aryballoi*. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum. *APS* 7.
- 2012 'Absolute chronology and Corinthian pottery.' In: R. Panvini and L. Sole (eds.), *La Sicilia in età arcaica: dalle apoikiai al 480 a. C. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Caltanissetta, Museo Archeologico, 27-29 marzo 2008*. Caltanissetta: Sciascia, 485-96.

Negbi, O.

- 1992 'Early Phoenician presence in the Mediterranean islands: a reappraisal'. *AJA* 96.4, 599-615.

Niemeier, W.-D.

- 2001 'Archaic Greeks in the Orient: textual and archaeological evidence'. *BASOR* 322, 11-32.
- 2005a 'The Minoans and Mycenaeans in western Asia Minor: settlement, emporia or acculturation?'. In: Laffineur and Greco 2005, 199-204.
- 2005b 'Minoans, Mycenaeans, Hittites and Ionians in western Asia Minor: new excavations in Bronze Age Miletus-Millawanda'. In: Villing 2005, 1-36.

Niemeier, W.-D., Pilz, O. and Kaiser, I.

- 2013 (eds.) *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen, 27.-29. Januar 2006*. Munich: Hirmer. *Athenaia* 2.

Niemeyer, H. G.

- 1982 *Phönizier im Westen. Die Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums über 'Die phönizische Expansion im westlichen Mittelmeerraum' in Köln vom 24. bis 27. April 1979*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- 2002 'Die Phönizier am Mittelmeer: neue Forschungen zur frühen Expansion'. In: Braun-Holzinger and Matthäus 2002, 177-95.
- 2006 'The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean. Between expansion and colonisation: a non-Greek model of overseas settlement and presence'. In: Tsetskhladze 2006, 143-68.

Nijboer, A. J.

- 2013 'Banquet, marzeah, symposion and symposium during the Iron Age: disparity and mimicry'. F. de Angelis (ed.), *Regionalism and Globalism in Antiquity: Exploring their Limits*. Leuven: Peeters, 95-125. *CA* 7.

Nilsson, M. P.

- 1950 *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek religion* (2nd edition). Lund: Gleerup. *Acta Regiae Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis* 9.

Nishiyama, S. and Yoshizawa, S.

- 1997 'Who worshipped the clay goddess? The late first millennium BC terracotta figurines from Tell Mastuma, northwest Syria'. *BAOM* 18, 73-97.

Novák, M.

- 2013 'Between the Mušku and the Aramaeans: the early history of Guzana/Tell Halaf'. In: Yener 2013, 293-309.

- Nowicki, K.
 2000 *Defensible Sites in Crete c. 1200-800: LM IIIB/IIIC Through Early Geometric*. Liège: Université de Liège. *Aegaeum* 21.
- 2001 'Sea-raiders and refugees: problems of defensible sites in Crete c. 1200 B.C.'. In: Karageorghis and Morris 2001, 23-39.
- 2011 'Settlement in crisis: the end of the LM/LH IIIB and Early IIIC in Crete and other south Aegean islands'. In: Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 391-406.
- O'Bryhim, S.
 1997 'The sphere-beating anthropomorphic figurines of Amathus'. *BASOR* 306, 39-45.
- Oded, B.
 1979 *Mass Deportations and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Ogden, J.
 1992 *Ancient Jewellery*. London: British Museum Press.
- 1998 'The jewellery of Dark Age Greece. Construction and cultural connections'. In: D. Williams (ed.), *The Art of the Greek Goldsmith*. London: British Museum Press, 14-21.
- O'Hea, M.
 2013 'A lion-bowl and other worked stone objects from Jebel Khalid'. *MeditArch* 26, 67-80.
- Ohly, D.
 1953 *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin: Mann.
- Onnis, F.
 2009 'The Nimrud bowls: new data from an analysis of the objects'. *Iraq* 71, 139-50.
- Opificius, R.
 1961 *Das altbabylonische Terrakottarelief*. Berlin: de Gruyter. *Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 2.
- Orsi, P.
 1897 'Cretan Expedition V: note on a Mycenaean vase and on some Geometric vases of the Syllogos of Candia'. *AJA* 1.3, 251-65.

- Orthmann, W.
 1971 *Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst*. Saarbrücken: Universität des Saarlandes. SBA 8.
- Orton, C. and Hughes, M.
 2013 *Pottery in Archaeology* (2nd edition). Cambridge: University Press.
- Osborne, R.
 2006 'W(h)ither orientalization?'. In: Riva and Vella 2006, 153-8.
 2009 *Greece in the Making, 1200-479 B.C.* (2nd edition). London: Routledge.
- Ossian, C.
 1999 'The most beautiful of flowers: water lilies and lotuses in ancient Egypt'. *KMT* 10.1, 49-59.
- Owens, G.
 1993 'Minoan DI-KA-TA'. *Kadmos* 32, 156-61.
- Özgen, E.
 1988 (ed.) *Antalya Museum*. Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
- Özgüç, T.
 1966 *Altintepe: mimarlık anitlari ve duvar resimleri/ Architectural Monuments and Wall Paintings*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Palermo, D.
 1994 'Arkades o Dattalla'. *CronASA* 33, 123-9.
 2001 'Il periodo protogeometrico e geometrico a Festòs: la documentazione ceramica'. In: *I cento anni dello scavo di Festòs: giornate lincee, Roma, 13-14 dicembre 2000*. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 299-309. *ACL* 173.
 2002 'La cronologia dei cosiddetti "kernoi" e il problema delle origini del culto sull'acropoli di Gortyna'. *CretAnt* 3, 255-62.
 2011 'Edifici pubblici e residenze private sulla Patela di Priniàs'. In: Rizza 2011, 85-96.
- Palermo, D., Pautasso, A. and Patanè, R.
 2008 'Lo scavo del 2007 sulla Patela di Priniàs: relazione preliminare'. *CretAnt* 9, 179-208.

- Palermo, D., Pautasso, A., Rizza, S., Biondi, G. and Patanè, R.
 2004 'Lo scavo del 2003 sulla Patela di Priniàs: relazione preliminare'. *CretAnt* 5, 249-77.
- 2007 'Lo scavo del 2005 sulla Patela di Priniàs: relazione preliminare'. *CretAnt* 8, 265-314.
- 2012 'Le campagne del 2009 e del 2010 sulla Patela di Priniàs: relazione preliminare'. *CretAnt* 13, 191-223.
- Panagiotopoulos, D.
 2013 'Material versus design: a transcultural approach to the two contrasting properties of things'. *TS* 2013.1, 145-76.
- Papadakis, N.
 1980 'Γεωμετρικός-αρχαϊκός αποθέτες στην πόλη της Σητείας'. *AAA* 13, 61-7.
- Papadopoulos, J. K.
 1997 'Phantom Euboians'. *JMA* 10.2, 191-219.
- Papageorgiou, D.
 2009 'The marine environment and its influence on seafaring and maritime routes in the Prehistoric Aegean'. *EJA* 11, 199-222.
- Papantoniou, G.
 2011 "'Hellenising" the "Cypriot goddess": "reading" the Amathousian terracotta figurines'. In: A. Kouremenos, S. Chandrasekaran and R. Rossi (eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 35-48.
- Papasavvas, G.
 2001 *Χάλκινοι υποστάτες από την Κύπρο και την Κρήτη: Τριποδικοί και τετράπλευροι υποστάτες από την Ύστερη Εποχή του Χαλκού έως την Πρώιμη Εποχή τοθ Σιδήρου*. Nicosia: Ίδρυμα Λεβέντη.
- 2004 'Cypriot bronze stands and their Mediterranean perspective'. *RAPon* 14, 31-60.
- 2012 'Cretan bronze stands of Cypriot types from sanctuaries and cemeteries: Cretan society in the Early Iron Age'. In: Iacovou 2012a, 129-53.
- Papasavvas, G. and Fourrier, S.
 2012 'Votives from Cretan and Cypriot sanctuaries: regional versus island-wide influence'. In: Cadogan et al. 2012, 289-305.

- Pappalardo, E.
- 2001 'I bronzi dell'antro Ideo nel contesto della produzione cretese coeva'. *CretAnt* 2, 169-98.
 - 2002 'Il "tripillar shrine" di Kommos: alcune considerazioni'. *CretAnt* 3, 263-72.
 - 2004 'Avori orientali da Creta: il ruolo di Creta nella distribuzione degli avori nel mediterraneo orientale'. *CretAnt* 5, 205-47.
 - 2011a 'Itinerant iconographies: the case of the bronze pateras with scene of procession'. In: H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger and S. Schröder (eds.), *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas: Kulturelle Beziehungen von der Späten Bronzezeit bis zur Frühen Eisenzeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 229-40.
 - 2011b 'Tra Cnosso e l'Antro Ideo: iconografie e rapporti con l'Oriente'. In: Rizza 2011, 193-207.
 - 2012 *Importazioni orientali a Creta: I livelli dei contatti*. Florence: Le Lettere.
- Parpola, S.
- 1993 'The Assyrian Tree of Life: tracing the origins of Jewish monotheism and Greek philosophy'. *JNES* 52.3, 161-208.
- Parpola, S. and Whiting, R. M.
- 2002 (eds.) *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Pautasso, A.
- 2011 'Immagini e identità: osservazioni sulla scultura di Priniàs'. In: Rizza 2011, 97-107.
 - 2013 'New research in the area of Temple A'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 79-85.
 - 2014 'Prinias: Une cité crétoise de l'Âge du Fer et son histoire'. In: Gaignerot-Driessen and Driessen 2014, 59-77.
- forthcoming* 'The lion, the sphinx and the deer: cultural connections and local identities in Geometric Crete'. Talk held at the conference "Island, Mainland, Coastland and Hinterland: Ceramic Perspectives on Connectivity in the Ancient Mediterranean", February 1-3, 2013, Amsterdam.

- Payne, H. G. G.
 1927-8 'Early Greek vases from Knossos'. *BSA* 29, 224-98.
- 1931 *Necrocorinthia: a Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Paz, S.
 2007 *Drums, Women and Goddesses: Drumming and Gender in Iron Age 2 Israel*. Fribourg: Academic Press. *OBO* 232.
- Peltenburg, E.
 1989 (ed.) *Early Society in Cyprus*. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Peltenburg, E. and Iacovou, M.
 2012 'Crete and Cyprus: contrasting political configurations'. In: Cadogan et al. 2012, 345-63.
- Penglase, C.
 1997 'Mesopotamian influence on the Homeric Hymn to Demeter in Assyrian times'. In: Waetzoldt and Hauptmann 1997, 153-8.
- Perdrizet, P.
 1908 *Petits bronzes, terres cuites, antiquités diverses*. Paris: Fontemoing. *FdD* 5.
- Perlman, P. J.
 1992 'One hundred-citied Crete and the "Cretan ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ"'. *ClPhil* 87.3, 193-205.
- 2000 'Gortyn: the first seven hundred years (Part I)'. In: P. Flensted-Jensen, Th. H. Nielsen and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Polis & Politics: Studies in Ancient Greek History. Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 59-89.
- 2002 'Gortyn: the first seven hundred years, Part II: the laws from the temple of Apollo Pythios'. In: T. Heine Nielsen (ed.), *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 187-227. *CPCPapers* 6.
- 2004a 'Crete'. In: M. H. Hansen and Th. H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis: an Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*. Oxford: University Press, 1144-95.

- 2004b 'Tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor: the economies of Archaic Eleutherna'. *ClAnt* 23.1, 95-137.
- 2004c 'Writing on the walls: the architectural context of Archaic Cretan laws'. In: L. Preston Day, M. S. Mook and J. D. Muhly (eds.), *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*. Philadelphia, Penn.: INSTAP Press, 181-97.
- 2005 'Imagining Crete'. In: M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Imaginary Polis. Symposium, January 7-10, 2004*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne, 282-334. *CPCActs* 7.
- 2010 'Of battle, booty and (citizen) women: a 'new' inscription from Archaic Axos, Crete'. *Hesperia* 79.1, 79-112.
- Perna, R.
2012 *L'acropoli di Gortina: la tavola "A" della carta archeologica della città di Gortina*. Macerata: Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici dell'Università. *Ichnia* s.n. 6.
- Pernier, L.
1910 'Memorie del culto di Rhea a Phaestos'. In: *Saggi di storia antica e di archeologia: A Giulio Beloch nel trentesimo dell'insegnamento nell'Ateneo Romano*. Roma: Loescher, 241-53.
- 1914 'Templi arcaici sulla Patela di Prinias: contributo allo studio dell'arte Dedalica'. *ASAtene* 1, 19-111.
- 1916 'Una scultura in pietra di arte dedalica dal territorio di Malles (Creta)'. *ASAtene* 2, 312-4.
- 1934 'New elements for the study of the Archaic temple of Prinias'. *AJA* 38.1, 171-7.
- Perreault, J. Y.
1991 'Les débuts de la presence effective de Grecs sur la côte syro-palestinienne à l'Âge du Fer'. In: *Ο Ελληνισμός στην Ανατολή: Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Αρχαιολογικού Συνεδρίου, Δελφοί, 6-9 Νοεμβρίου 1986/ International Meeting of History and Archaeology, Delphi, 2-9 November 1986*. Athens: European Cultural Centre of Delphi, 393-406.
- 1993 'Les *emporía* grecs du Levant: mythe ou réalité?'. In: A. Bresson and P. Rouillard (eds.), *L'Emporion*. Paris: de Boccard, 59-83. *Publications du Centre Pierre Paris* 26.

- Philipp, H.
2004 *Archaische Silhouettenbleche und Schildzeichen in Olympia*. Berlin: de Gruyter. OF 30.
- Picard, O.
1991 (ed.) *Guide de Delphes: Le Musée*. Paris: de Boccard.
- Picard, O. and Ducrey, P.
1969 'Recherches à Latô'. *BHC* 93.2, 792-822.
- Pilz, O.
2009 'Some remarks on meaning and function of mouldmade terracotta relief plaques depicting naked and dressed female figurines'. In: C. Prêtre (ed.), *Le donateur, l'offrande et la déesse: systèmes votifs dans les sanctuaires de déesses du monde grec. Actes du 31e colloque international organisé par l'UMR Halma-Ipel (Université Charles-de-Gaulle/Lille 3, 13-15 décembre 2007)*. Liège: Centre International d'Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 97-110. *Kernos Suppl.* 23.
- 2011a *Frühe matrizengeformte Terrakotten auf Kreta: Votivpraxis und Gesellschaftsstruktur in spätgeometrischer und früharchaischer Zeit*. Möhnesee: Bibliopolis. *Beiträge zur Archäologie Griechenlands* 2.
- 2011b 'The language of gesture in Archaic Cretan art: the evidence of the terracotta relief plaques'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Η' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά, 1-8 Οκτωβρίου 2006)*, A5. Chania: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος "Ο Χρυσόστομος", 369-81.
- Pilz, O. and Krumme, M.
2013 'Das Heiligtum von Kako Plaï auf dem Anavlochos (Kreta)'. In: I. Gerlach and D. Raue (eds.), *Sanktuar und Ritual: Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund*. Rahden: Leidorf, 343-8. *MKT* 10.
- Pilz, O. and Seelentag, G.
2014 (eds.) *Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete. Proceedings of the International Conference, Mainz, May 20-21, 2011*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Pini, I.
1984 (ed.) *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, 2.3: Iraklion, Archäologisches Museum. Die Siegel der Neupalastzeit*. Berlin: Mann.
- 1999 (ed.) *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, 2.6: Iraklion, Archäologisches Museum. Die Siegel von Aj. Triada und anderen zentral- und ostkretischen Fundorten*. Berlin: Mann.

- 2002 (ed.) *Corpus der minoischen und mykensichen Siegel*, 2.8.1: *Die Siegelabdrücke von Knossos*. Berlin: Mann.
- 2005 'Seals as indicators of trade?'. In: Laffineur and Greco 2005, 777-84.
- Piotrovskii, B. B.
1970 *Kamir Blur: al'bom*. Leningrad: Avrora.
- Platon, N.
1954 'Ανασκαφή Όνυθέ Γουλεδιανών Ρεθύμνης'. *Prakt* 1954, 377-82.
1959 'Η αρχαιολογική κίνησις εν Κρήτη κατά το στον 1959'. *KretChron* 13, 359-93.
- Popham, M. R. and Lemos, I.
1996 (eds.) *Lefkandi, 3: The Toumba Cemetery. The Excavations of 1981, 1984, 1986 and 1992-6: Plates*. Athens: British School.
- Porada, E.
1948 *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections, 1: the Collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Washington: Pantheon.
1981-2 'The cylinder seals found at Thebes in Boeotia'. *AfO* 28, 1-70.
- Poulsen, P. F.
1912 *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Poursat, J.-C.
1973 'Le sphinx minoen: un nouveau document'. In: G. Rizza (ed.), *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi, 1*. Catania: Università di Catania and Istituto di Archeologia, 111-4. *CronASA* 12.
- Prent, M.
1997 'The 6th century BC in Crete: the best candidate for being a Dark Age?'. *Caeculus* 3 (= Debating Dark Ages), 35-46.
2005 *Cretan Sanctuaries and Cults: Continuity and Change from Late Minoan IIIC to the Archaic Period*. Leiden: Brill. *RGRW* 154.
2007 'Cretan Early Iron Age hearth temples and the articulation of sacred space'. *BSA* 15 (= Building Communities: House, Settlement and Society in the Aegean and Beyond), 141-8.

- Preston, L.
 2005 'The Kephala tholos at Knossos: a study in the reuse of the past'. *BSA* 100, 61-123.
- Pritchard, J. B.
 1943 *Palestinian Figurines in Relation to a Certain Goddess Known through Literature*. New Haven: American Oriental Society. AOS 24.
 1975 *Sarepta: a Preliminary Report on the Iron Age. Excavations of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1970-72*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University Museum and University of Pennsylvania.
 1983 'Sarepta and Phoenician culture in the west'. In: P. Bartoloni (ed.), *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma, 5-10 Novembre 1979*. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 521-5.
 1988 *Sarepta, 4: the Objects from Area II, X. The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania Excavations at Sarafand, Lebanon*. Beyrouth: Département des Publications de l'Université Libanaise. *Publications de l'Université Libanaise, Section des Études Archéologiques* 2.
- Pruss, A.
 2002 'The use of nude female figurines'. In: Parpola and Whiting 2002, 537-45.
 2010 *Die Amuq-Terrakotten: Untersuchungen zu den Terrakotta-Figuren des 2. und 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. aus den Grabungen des Oriental Institute Chicago in der Amuq-Ebene*. Turnhout: Brepols. Subartu 26.
- Purcell, N.
 2006 'Orientalizing: five historical questions'. In: Riva and Vella 2006, 21-30.
- Raaflaub, K. A.
 1993 'Homer to Solon: the rise of the polis'. In: Hansen 1993a, 41-105.
 2000 'Influence, adaptation and interaction: Near Eastern and early Greek political thought'. In: Aro and Whiting 2000, 51-64.
 2004 'Zwischen Ost und West: Phönizische Einflüsse auf die griechische Polisbildung?'. In: Rollinger and Ulf 2004, 271-89.
- Rackham, O. and Moody, J.
 1994 *The Making of the Cretan Landscape*. Manchester: University Press.

Radner, K.

- 2004 'Assyrische Handelspolitik: die Symbiose mit unabhängigen Handelszentren und ihre Kontrolle durch Assyrien'. In: R. Rollinger and Chr. Ulf (eds.), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project held in Innsbruck, Austria, October 3rd-8th, 2002*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 152-59.
- 2008 'The delegation of power: Neo-Assyrian bureau seals'. In: P. Briant, W. F. M. Henkelman and M. W. Stolper (eds.), *L'Archive des fortifications de Persépolis: État des questions et perspectives de recherches. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la « Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre » et le « Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides » (GDR 2538 CNRS), 3-4 novembre 2006*. Paris: de Boccard, 481-515.
- 2010 'The stele of Sargon II of Assyria at Kition: a focus for an emerging Cypriot identity?'. In: R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang and I. Madreiter (eds.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 429-49. *Philippika* 34.
- 2011 'Assyrians and Urartians'. In: S. R. Steadman and J. G. McMahon (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (10,000-323 BCE)*. Oxford: University Press, 734-51.
- 2012 'Between a rock and a hard place: Muşasir, Kumme, Ukku and Šubria – the buffer states between Assyria and Urartu'. In: S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf and P. Zimansky (eds.), *Biainili – Urartu. The Proceedings of the Symposium held in Munich, 12-14 October 2007/ Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007*. Leuven: Peeters, 243-64.

Reade, J.

- 1988 *Assyrian Sculpture* (2nd edition). London: British Museum Press.

Reed Eals, N. B.

- 1971 'Relief amphoras of Archaic Crete'. *Muse* 5, 26-34.
- 1976 'Griffins in post-Minoan Cretan art'. *Hesperia* 45.4, 365-79.

Reindell, I.

- 2001 'Observations on the bronze shield GPM 1628, inv. Ay.39.01, found during the 2001 archaeological campaign at Ayanis'. *SMEA* 43.2, 280-3.

Rethemiotakis, G.

- 2001 *Minoan Clay Figures and Figurines: from the Neopalatial to the Subminoan Period*. Athens: The Archaeological Society at Athens. *Αρχαίοι Τόποι και Μουσεία της Ελλάδος* 25.

Rethemiotakis, G. and Egglezou, M.

- 2010 *Το Γεωμετρικό Νεκροταφείο της Έλτυνας*. Heraklion: Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Κρητολογικών Σπουδών.

Richter, G. M. A.

- 1949 *Archaic Greek Art Against its Historical Background: a Survey*. Oxford: University Press.

Ridgway, B. S.

- 1977 *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*. Princeton: University Press

Riis, P. J.

- 1949 'The Syrian Astarte plaques and their western connection'. *Berytus* 9, 69-90.
- 1961 'Plaquettes syriennes d'Astarté dans des milieux grecs'. *MelBeyrouth* 37, 193-8.
- 1982 'Griechen in Phönizien'. In: Niemeyer 1982, 237-360.

Riva, C. and Vella, N. C.

- 2006a (eds.) *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. London: Equinox. MMA 10.
- 2006b 'Introduction'. In: Riva and Vella 2006a, 1-20.

Rizza, G.

- 1967-8 'Le terrecotte di Axòs'. *ASAtene* 45-46 (n.s. 29-30), 211-302.
- 1969 'Nuove ricerche sulla Patela e nel territorio di Priniàs'. *CronASA* 8, 7-32.
- 1971 'Scavi e ricerche dell'Istituto e della Scuola di Archaeologia negli anni 1968-71'. *SicGym* 1971, 218-33.
- 1973 'Nuove scoperte a Priniàs'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Γ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου: Ρεθυμνον, 18-23 Σεπτεμβρίου 1971*. Athens, 286-9.

- 1974 'Ceramiche figurate di Priniàs'. In: G. Rizza (ed.), *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, 2. Catania: Università di Catania and Istituto di Archeologia, 151-60. *CronASA* 13.
- 1978 'Gli scavi di Priniàs e il problema delle origini dell'arte greca'. In: *Un decennio di ricerche archeologiche*, 1. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 85-107. *QRS* 100.
- 1983 'Prinias nelle fasi geometrica e orientalizzante'. *ASAtene* 61, 45-51.
- 2008 *Priniàs: la città arcaica sulla Patela. Scavi condotti negli anni 1969-2000*. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. *SMAG* 8.
- 2011 (ed.) *Identità culturale, etnicità: Processi di trasformazione a Creta fra Dark Age e archaism. Per i cento anni dello scavo di Priniàs 1906-2006, convegno di studi, Atene 9-12 novembre 2006*. Catania: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. *SMAG* 10.
- Rizza, G., Palermo, D. and Tomasello, F.
- 1992 *Mandra di Gipari: una officina protoarcaica di vasai nel territorio di Prinias*. Catania: Università di Catania. *SMAG* 5.
- Rizza, G. and Rizzo, M. A.
- 1984 'Prinias'. In: Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene (ed.), *Creta antica: cento anni di archeologia italiana, 1884-1984*. Rome: De Luca, 227-56.
- Rizza, G. and Scrinari, V. S. M.
- 1968 *Il santuario sull'acropoli di Gortina*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. *MSAtene* 2.16.
- Robertson, N.
- 1985 'The origin of the Panathenaea'. *RhM* n.s. 128, 231-95.
- Rocchetti, L.
- 1967-8 'Il deposito protogeometrico di Petrokephali presso Festòs'. *ASAtene* 45-46 (n.s. 29-30), 182-209.
- 1974-5 'La ceramica dell'abitato geometrico di Fèstos a occidente del palazzo minoico'. *ASAtene* 52-53 (n.s. 36-37), 169-300.
- 1988-9 'La ceramica della necropoli di Curtes'. *ASAtene* 66-67 (n.s. 48-49), 173-257.

- 1990 'La necropoli di Curtes'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Χανιά, 1987*. Chania: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος "Ο Χρυσόστομος", 261-5.
- Rodenwaldt, G.
1939 *Korkyra: archaische Bauten und Bildwerke, 2: Die Bildwerke des Artemistempel*. Berlin: Mann.
- Roller, L. E.
2012 'Pictures in stone: incised drawings on early Phrygian architecture'. In: C. B. Rose (ed.), *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 101-10. *Gordion Special Studies* 6.
- Rolley, C.
1969 *Les statuettes de bronze*. Paris: de Boccard. *FdD* 5.
1973 'Bronzes géométriques et orientaux à Délos'. *BCH Suppl.* 1973, 491-524.
1994 *La sculpture grecque, 1: Des origines au milieu du V^e siècle*. Paris: Picard. *Manuels d'art et d'archéologie antiques*.
- Röllig, W.
1997 'Ein urartäisches Gürtelblech mit Darstellung einer Löwenjagd'. *Orientalia* 66, 213-21.
2003 'Das Sitzbild des Kammaki von Tell Halaf'. In: R. Dittmann, C. Eder and B. Jacobs (eds.), *Alturtumswissenschaften im Dialog: Festschrift für Wolfram Nagel*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 421-32. *AOAT* 306.
- Rollinger, R.
2001 'The ancient Greeks and the impact of the ancient Near East: textual evidence and historical perspective (ca. 750-650 BC)'. In: R. M. Whiting (ed.), *Mythology and Mythologies: Methodological Approaches to Intercultural Influences. Proceedings of the Second Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project held in Paris, France, October 4-7, 1999*. Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 233-64.
2004 'Die Verschriftlichung von Normen: Einflüsse und Elemente orientalischer Kulturtechnik in den homerischen Epen, dargestellt am Beispiel des Vertragswesens'. In: Rollinger and Ulf 2004, 369-425.

- 2007 'Zu Herkunft und Hintergrund der in altorientalischen Texten genannten "Griechen"'. In: R. Rollinger and J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Getrennte Wege? Kommunikation, Raum und Wahrnehmung in der alten Welt*. Frankfurt: Antike Verlag, 259-330. *Oikumene* 2.
- 2011 'Der Blick aus dem Osten: "Griechen" in vorderasiatischen Quellen des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. – eine Zusammenschau'. In: H. Matthäus, N. Oettinger and S. Schröder (eds.), *Der Orient und die Anfänge Europas: kulturelle Beziehungen von der späten Bronzezeit bis zur frühen Eisenzeit*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 267-82. *Philippika* 42.
- 2015 'Old battles, new horizons: the ancient Near East and the Homeric epics'. In: R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen (eds.), *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World: Impact, Continuities, Parallels. Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of the Melammu Project held in Obergurgl, Austria, November 4-8, 2013*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 5-32.
- Rollinger, R. and Ulf, Chr.
2004 (eds.) *Griechische Archaik: Interne Entwicklung – externe Impulse*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Rombos, T.
1988 *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery*. Jonsered: Åström. *SIMAL* 68.
- Rotté, E.
2012 'Egyptian plaque terracottas of standing nude women from the late period: Egyptian heritage or foreign influences'. *NCSIG* 7, 13-6.
- Rutkowski, B.
1991 *Petsophas: a Cretan Peak Sanctuary*. Warsaw: Art and Archaeology. Studies and Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology and Civilization 1.
- Sackett, H. and Musgrave, J. H.
1976 'A new figured krater from Knossos'. *BSA* 71, 117-29.
- Sader, H.
2000 'The Aramaean kingdoms of Syria: origin and formation processes'. In: Bunnens 2000a, 61-76.
- Sagona, Cl.
2008 (ed.) *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*. Leuven: Peeters. *ANES Suppl.* 28.

Sakellarakis, J. A.

- 1984 'Ανασκαφή Ιδαίου Άντρου'. *Prakt* 1984, 507-99.
- 1986 'Πρωτογεωμετρική - γεωμετρική κεραμική από τις Αρχάνες'. *KretChron* 1986, 7-50.
- 1988a 'Some Geometric and Archaic votives from the Idaian Cave'. In: R. Hägg, N. Marinatos and G. C. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*. Göteborg: Åström, 173-92. *ActaAth* 40
- 1988b 'The Idaean Cave: Minoan and Greek worship'. *Kernos* 1, 207-14.
- 1992 'The Idaean Cave ivories'. In: J. L. Fitton (ed.), *Ivory in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period*. London: British Museum, 113-40. *BMOP* 85.
- 1993 'Ivory trade in the Aegean in the 8th century B. C. E.'. In: A. Biran and J. Aviram (eds.), *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 345-66.

Sakellarakis, J. A. and Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E.

- 2013 *Το Ιδαίο Άντρο: Ιερό και Μαντείο*. Athens: Η Αθηναίς Αρχαιολογική Χεταιρει. Athens: Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία. *Βιβλιώθηκε της εν Αθηναίς Αρχαιολογικής Χεταιρείας* 279-281.

Salapata, G.

- 2002 'Greek votive plaques: manufacture, display, disposal'. *BaBesch* 77, 19-42.

Salvini, M.

- 2011 'Assyrien und Urartu'. In: J. Renger (ed.), *Assur – Gott, Stadt und Land, 5. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 18.-21. Februar 2004 in Berlin*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 191-210.

Sams, G. K.

- 1974 'Phrygian painted animals: Anatolian orientalizing art'. *AS* 24, 169-96.
- 1994 'Aspects of early Phrygian architecture at Gordion'. In: A. Çilingiroğlu and D. H. French (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages. The Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6-12 August 1990*. London: British School of Archaeology at Ankara, 211-20.

- Santaniello, E.
- 2004 'Produzione ceramica a Gortyna tra età orientalizzante e arcaica: I rivoltamenti dell "*oikopedo SAIA*". *ASAtene* 82.2, 443-75.
- 2011 'Gortyn in the Dark Age: a new interpretation of the evidence from the Hagios Ioannis Hill'. In: Mazarakis Ainian 2011, 503-13.
- Sapouna-Sakellarakis, E.
- 1995 *Die bronzenen Menschenfiguren auf Kreta und in der Ägäis*. Stuttgart: Steiner. *PBF* (Abteilung 1) 5.
- Savignoni, L.
- 1901 'Cretan Expedition XVIII: fragments of Cretan pithoi'. *AJA* 5.4, 404-17.
- Schäfer, J.
- 1957 *Studien zu den griechischen Reliefpithoi des 8.-6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Kreta, Rhodos, Tenos und Boiotien*. Kallmütz: Lassleben.
- 1972 'G. Rizza – V. Santa Maria Scrinari: Il Sanctuario sull'Acropoli di Gortina, Vol. 1'. *Gnomon* 44.2, 185-95.
- 1991 'Amnisos – harbour town of Minos?'. In: R. Laffineur and L. Basch (eds.), *Thalassa: l'Égée préhistorique et la mer. Actes de la troisième Rencontre Égéenne Internationale de l'Université de Liège, Station de recherches sous-marines et océanographiques (StaReSO), Calvi, Corse (23-25 avril 1990)*. Liège: Université de Liège, 111-5. *Aegaeum* 7.
- 1992 *Amnisos: nach den archäologischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*. Berlin: Mann.
- Schiering, W.
- 1957 *Werkstätten orientalisierender Keramik auf Rhodos*. Berlin: Mann.
- Schmidt, G.
- 1968 *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos*. Bonn: Habelt. *Samos* 7.
- Schofield, C.
- 2011 *Kretan Cult and Customs, Especially in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods: a Religious, Social and Political Study*. University College London, Masters thesis.
- Schreiber, N.
- 2003 *The Cypro-Phoenician Pottery of the Iron Age*. Leiden: Brill. *CHANE* 13.

- Schweitzer, B., Hausmann, U. and Briegleb, J.
1971 *Greek Geometric Art*. London: Phaidon.
- Seelentag, G.
2014 'An epic perspective on institutionalization in Archaic Crete'. In: Pilz and Seelentag 2014, 121-40.
- Seidl, U.
1999 'Orientalische Bleche in Olympia'. *ZA* 89, 269-82.

2004 *Bronzekunst Urartus*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Sekunda, N. V.
2002 'Land-use, ethnicity, and federalism in West Crete'. In: R. Brock and St. Hodkinson (eds.), *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*. Oxford: University Press, 327-47.
- Shapland, A.
2010 'The Minoan lion: presence and absence on Bronze Age Crete'. *WA* 42.2, 273-89.
- Shaw, J. W.
1989 'Phoenicians in southern Crete'. *AJA* 1993, 165-83.

1998 'Kommos in southern Crete: an Aegean barometer for east-west interconnections'. In: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998, 13-24.

2000 'Pilgrims at the Greek sanctuary at Kommos'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Η'Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A3. Heraklion: Εταιρία Κρητικών Ιστορικών Μελετών, 219-23.

2004 'Temple B at Kommos, Crete: a response'. *CretAnt* 5, 199-202.

2006 *Kommos: a Minoan Harbor Town and Greek Sanctuary in Southern Crete*. Athens: American School of Classical Studies.

2009 *Minoan Architecture: Materials and Technique*. Padova: d'Erasmio. *Studi di Archeologia Cretese* 7.
- Shaw, J. W. and Shaw, M. C.
1993 'Excavations at Kommos (Crete) 1991-1992'. *Hesperia* 62, 129-90.

2000 (eds.) *Kommos, 4: the Greek Sanctuary*. Princeton: University Press.

- Shaw, M. C.
1983 'Two cups with incised decoration from Kommos, Crete'. *AJA* 87.4, 443-52.
- Sherratt, S.
1990 "'Reading the texts": archaeology and the Homeric question'. *Antiquity* 64, 807-24.

1993 'Commerce, iron and ideology: metallurgical innovation in 12th-11th century Cyprus'. In: V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium Organized by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus and the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation, Nicosia 30-31 October*. Nicosia: University of Cyprus and A. G. Leventis Foundation, 59-106.

1996 'With us but not of us: the role of Crete in the Homeric epic'. In: R. D. G. Eveley, I. S. Lemos and S. Sherratt (eds.), *Minotaur and Centaur: Studies in the Archaeology of Crete and Euboea Presented to Mervyn Popham*. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 87-99. *BAR International Series* 638.
- Sherratt, S. and Sherratt, A.
1993 'The growth of the Mediterranean economy in the early first millennium BC'. *WA* 24.3, 361-78.
- Simantoni-Bournia, E.
2004 *La céramique grecque à reliefs: Ateliers insulaires du VIII^e au VI^e siècle avant J.-C.* Geneva: Droz. *École Pratique des Hautes Études* 32.
- Simpson, E. and Alden, H. A.
2010 *The Furniture from Tumulus MM*. Leiden: Brill. The Gordion Wooden Objects 1. *CHANE* 32.
- Sjögren, L.
2003 *Cretan Locations: Discerning Site Variations in Iron Age and Archaic Crete (800-500 BC)*. Oxford: Archaeopress. *BAR International Series* 1185.
- Small, D. B.
2010 'The Archaic *polis* of Azoria: a window into Cretan 'political' social structure'. *JMA* 23.2, 197-217.
- Smith, W. S.
1965 *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (2nd edition). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

- Smithson, E. L.
1986 'The tomb of a rich Athenian lady'. *Hesperia* 37, 77-116.
- Snodgrass, A. M.
1964 *Early Greek Armour and Weapons: from the End of the Bronze Age to 600 B. C.* Edinburg: University Press.

1980 *Archaic Greece: the Age of Experiment.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Soar, K.
2010 'Circular dance performances in the Prehistoric Aegean'. In: A. Michaels (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual, 2: Body, Performance, Agency, and Experience.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 137-56.
- Sommer, M.
2000 *Europas Ahnen: Ursprünge des Politischen bei den Phönikern.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

2007 'Networks of commerce and knowledge in the Iron Age: the case of the Phoenicians'. *MHR* 22.1, 97-111.
- Sophocleous, S.
1990 'À propos de figurines crétoises et chypriotes types iconographiques communs'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ 'Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Χανιά, 1987.* Chania: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος "Ο Χρυσόστομος", 281-8.
- Sørensen, L. W.
1991 'Cypriot terracottas from Lindos in the light of new discoveries'. In: Vandenabeele and Laffineur 1991, 225-40.

2015 'Here there be monsters: hybrids painted on Cypriot Iron Age pottery'. In: J. Fejfer, M. Moltesen and A. Rathje (eds.), *Tradition: Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World.* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 427-50. *AH* 14.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, Chr.
2003 'Herodotus (and others) on Pelasgians: some perceptions of ethnicity'. In: P. Derow and R. Parker (eds.), *Herodotus and his World. Essays from a Conference in Memory of George Forrest.* Oxford: University Press, 103-44.
- Spagnoli, F.
2012 'Un altare bruciaprofumi puntico dalla "Casa del Sacello Domestico" a Mozia'. *VicOr* 16, 71-96.

- Sporn, K.
 2002 *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit.* Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte. *Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern* 3.
- 2013 'Kretische Mythen versus Mythen über Kreta: Zur Einführung von Mythenbildern kretischer Thematik auf Kreta'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 395-408.
- Spyridakis, S.
 1992 'Cretan soldiers overseas: a prosopography'. In: S. Spyridakis (ed.), *Cretica: Studies on Ancient Crete*. New Rochelle: Caratzas, 55-82.
- Stager, L. E., Master, D. M. and Schloen, J. D.
 2011 (eds.) *Ashkelon, 3: the Seventh Century*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns. *Final Reports of the Leon Levy Foundation Expedition to Ashkelon* 3.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr.
 1990 'Eleutherna on Crete: an interim report on the Geometric-Archaic cemetery'. *BSA* 85, 375-403.
- 1996 *Ελεύθερνα 3, 3: Αντίποινα. Συμβολή στη μελέτη των ηθών και των εθίμων της γεωμετρικής περιόδου, Εκδόσεις Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης, Ρέθυμνο/ Eleutherna 3, 3 Antipoina. Contribution to the Study of the Customs of the Geometric-Archaic Period in Greece, Publications of the University of Crete*. Rethymno: Εκδόσεις Πανεπιστημίου Κρήτης.
- 1998 'Imports and agalmata: the Eleutherna experience'. In: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998, 175-84.
- 2003 'On the Phoenician presence in the Aegean'. In: Karageorghis and Stampolidis 2003, 217-32.
- 2004 *Ελεύθερνα: πόλη, ακρόπολη, νεκρόπολη*. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης.
- 2007 'The "shields": an Eleuthernian view of the Idaean Cave'. In: P. P. Betancourt, M. C. Nelson and H. Williams (eds.), *Krinoi kai Limenes: Studies in Honor of Joseph and Maria Shaw*. Philadelphia, Penn.: INSTAP Academic Press, 297-311. *PM* 22.
- 2011 'Eleutherna and the Idaean Cave: an attempt to reconstruct interactions and rituals'. In: Rizza 2011, 395-420.

- 2012 (ed.) *'Princesses' of the Mediterranean in the Dawn of History*. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr., Kanta, A. and Giannikouri, A.
2009 (eds.) *Athanasia: the Earthly, the Celestial and the Underworld in the Mediterranean from the Late Bronze and the Early Iron Age. International Archaeological Conference, Rhodes 28-31 May, 2009*. Heraklion: University of Crete.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr. and Karageorghis, V.
2003 (eds.) *Ploes – Sea Routes: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, Crete, September 29th-October 2nd 2002*. Athens: University of Crete and Leventis Foundation.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr. and Karetsou, A.
1998 (eds.) *Ανατολική Μεσόγειος: Κύπρος - Δωδεκάνησα - Κρήτη, 16ος - 6ος αι. π. Χ.* Heraklion: Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr., Karetsou, A. and Kanta, A.
1998 (eds.) *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus – Dodecanese – Crete, 16th-6th cent. B.C.* Heraklion: University of Crete and Ministry of Culture. Exhibition Catalogue.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr. and Kotsonas, A.
2006 'Phoenicians in Crete'. In: S. Deger-Jalkotzy and I. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: from the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*. Edinburgh: University Press, 337-60.
- Stampolidis, N. Chr. and Koutsogiannis, D.
2013 "Quaestiones daedalicæ": Αποκατάσταση δύο μνημείων του 7ου αι. π.Χ. στην νεκρόπολη της "Ορθής Πέτρας" της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας στην Κρήτη'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 221-32.
- Stefanakis, M. I., West, W. C., Haggis, D. C., Mook, M. S., Fitzsimons, R. D., Scarry, C. M. and Snyder, L. M.
2007 'Excavations at Azoria, 2003-2004, part 1: the Archaic civic complex'. *Hesperia* 76.2, 243-321.
- Stern, E.
1994 *Dor: Ruler of the Seas. Twelve Years of Excavations at the Israelite-Phoenician Harbour Town on the Carmel Coast*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

- Stockhammer, P. W.
 2013 'From hybridity to entanglement, from essentialism to practice'. *ARW* 28.1 (= W. P. van Pelt (ed.), *Archaeology and Cultural Mixture*), 11-28.
- Strataridaki, A.
 1988-9 'The historians of ancient Crete: a study in regional historiography'. *KretChron* 28-9, 137-93.
- Strawn, B. A.
 2005 *What is Stronger than a Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Fribourg: Academic Press. OBO 212.
- Struble, E. J. and Rimmer Herrmann, V.
 2009 'An eternal feast at Sam'al: the new Iron Age mortuary stele from Zincirli in context'. *BASOR* 356, 15-49.
- Stucchi, S.
 1974 'Questioni relative al Tempio A di Priniàs ed al formarsi degli ordini dorico e ionico'. In: G. Rizza (ed.), *Antichità Cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi*, 2. Catania: Università di Catania and Istituto di Archeologia, 89-119. *CronASA* 13.
- Suter, C.
 2011 'Images, tradition and meaning: the Samaria and other Levantine ivories of the Iron Age'. In: F. Grant (ed.), *A Common Cultural Heritage: Studies on Mesopotamia and the Biblical World in Honor of Barry L. Eichler*. Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press.
- Suter, C. E. and Uehlinger, C.
 2005 (eds.) *Crafts and Images in Contact: Studies on Eastern Mediterranean Art of the First Millennium B.C.E.* Fribourg: Academic Press. OBO 210.
- Tadmor, M.
 1982 'Female cult figurines in Late Canaan and Early Israel: archaeological evidence'. In: T. Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays. Papers read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5-7 December, 1979*. Tokyo: Yamakawa-Shuppansha, 139-73.
- Tamvaki, A.
 1974 'The seals and sealings from the Citadel House area: a study in Mycenaean glyptic and iconography'. *BSA* 69, 259-93.

- Taramelli, A.
1902 'Cretan Expedition, XXI: Gortyna'. *AJA* 6.2, 101-65.
- Teissier, B.
1996 *Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age*. Freiburg: University Press. *OBO Series Archaeologica* 11.
- Tenu, A.
2013 'Funerary practices and society at the Late Bronze-Iron Age transition: a view from Tell Shiukh Fawqâni and Tell an-Nasriyah'. In: Yener 2013, 423-48.
- Themelis, P. G.
2003 *Ancient Eleutherna: East Sector*. Athens: Archaeological Resources Fund.
- Thiersch, H.
1913 'Altkretisches Kuretengerät'. *AA* 1913, 48-53.
- Thomas, N. R.
2014 'A lion's eye view of the Greek Bronze Age'. In: G. Touchais, R. Laffineur and F. Rougemont (eds.), *Physis: l'environnement naturel et la relation homme-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique. Actes de la 14e Rencontre Égéenne Internationale, Paris, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA), 11-14 décembre 2012*. Leuven: Peeters, 375-92.
- Thorne, S.,
2000 'Diktaian Zeus in later Greek tradition'. In: MacGillivray et al. 2000, 149-62.
- Tomasello, F.
1996 'Fornaci a Festòs ed Haghia Triada dall "età" mediominoica alla geometrica'. In: E. Γαβριλάκη (ed.), *Κεραμικά εργαστήρια στην Κρήτη από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα. Πρακτικά ημερίδας: Μαργαρίτης, 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995*. Rethymno: Ιστορική Λαογραφική Εταιρεία, 27-37.
- Tsatsaki, N.
2013 'From a Geometric "potter's quarter" at Eleutherna: analysis of finds from "House Γ" at the location of Nissi'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 263-86.
- Tsedakis, G. and Gavrilaki, E.
1995 'Η ανασκαφή στο σπηλάου Μελιδονίου'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ' Διεθνούς Κριτολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ρέθυμνο 1991, 1.2*. Rethymno: Εταιρία Κρητικών Ιστορικών Μελετών, 887-94.

- Tsetschladze, G. R.
 1999 (ed.), *Ancient Greeks West and East*. Leiden: Brill. *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 196.
 2006 (ed.) *Greek Colonisation: an Account of Greek Colonies and other Settlements Overseas*. Leiden: Brill. *Mnemosyne Suppl.* 193.
- Tsipopoulou, M.
 1987a 'Τάφοι της πρώιμης εποχής του σιδηρίου στην ανατολική Κρήτη'. In: *Ειλαπίνη: Τόμος Τιμητικός για τον Καθηγητή Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα*. Heraklion, 253-69.
 1987b 'Κορινθιακή κεραμική στην ανατολική Κρήτη κατά τις φάσεις Ύστερη Γεωμετρική και Ανατολίζουσα'. *KretChron* 27, 261-82.
 1989 *Archaeological Survey at Aghia Photia, Siteia*. Partille: Åström. *SIMAL* 76.
 1991 'Ceramica dei periodi subminoici, geometrico ed orientalizzante in Creta orientale'. *Seminari SMEA* 1990, 137-64.
 1997 'Phatsi Droggara: un dépôt de céramique de la fin de Âge du Bronze et du début de Âge du Fer provenant de Crète orientale'. In: J. Driessen and A. Farnoux (eds.), *La Crète mycénienne. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée par l'École Française d'Athènes, 26-28 mars 1991*. Paris: de Boccard, 455-84.
 2005 *Η Ανατολική Κρήτη στην Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου*. Heraklion: Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού.
 2013 'Eteocretan Geometric revisited: the pottery from the burial cave at Kephala, Piskokephalo, Siteia.' In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 133-56.
- Tsipopoulou, M. and Vagnetti, L.
 1995 *Achladia: Scavi ricerche della Missione Greco-Italiana in Creta orientale (1991-1993)*. Rome: Gruppo editoriale internazionale. *Incunabula Graeca* 97.
- Tsipopoulou, M., Vagnetti, L. and Liston, M.
 2003 'New evidence for the Dark Ages in the isthmus of Hierapetra: an unplundered tholos tomb at Vasiliki'. *SMEA* 45, 85-124.
- Turner, L. A.
 1998 'New daedolica: a figured lead pendant from the Kastro at Kavousi'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 69-74.

Tzanakaki, K.

- 2013 'Αγία Ρούμελη 1970 (TAPPA): Οι αρχαϊκές ταφές'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 201-20.

Uehlinger, U.

- 2000 (ed.) *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural and Religious History of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East (1st millennium B.C.E.)*. Fribourg: University Press. OBO 175.
- 2001 'Nackte Göttin, B: In der Bildkunst'. In: D. O. Edzard (ed.), *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archaeologie*, 9 (Nab-Nuzi). Berlin: de Gruyter, 53-64.

Ulbrich, A.

- 2005 'Anat and Astarte in Cypriot Iron Age sanctuaries'. In: J. T. Clarke (ed.), *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxbow, 182-206. *Levant Suppl. Series 2*.
- 2008 *Kypris: Heiligtümer und Kulte weiblicher Gottheiten auf Zypern in der kyproarchaischen und kyproklassischen Epoche (Königszeit)*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag. AOAT 44.

Vandenabeele, F.

- 1986 'Phoenician influence on the Cypro-Achaic terracotta production and Cypriot influence abroad'. In: Karageorghis 1986, 351-61.
- 1989 'Has Phoenician influence modified Cypriot terracotta production?'. In: Peltenburg 1989, 266-71.

Vandenabeele, F. and Laffineur, R.

- 1991 (eds.) *Cypriot Terracottas. Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriot Studies, Brussels - Liège - Amsterdam, 29 May - 1 June, 1989; Organized by the "Groupe de contact interuniversitaire d'études chypriotes"*. Brussels-Liège: Leventis Foundation/ Vrije Universiteit Brussel/ Université de Liège.

Van Dommelen, P.

- 1997 'Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean'. *WA 28.3* (= Culture, Contact and Colonialism), 305-23.

Van Effenterre, H.

- 2009 *La nécropole de Dréros*. Paris: de Boccard. *ÉtCrét* 8.2.

- Van Effenterre, H. and Demargne, J.
1937 'Recherches à Dréros'. *BCH* 61, 5-32.
- Verbruggen, H.
1981 *Le Zeus crétois*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres
- Verdan, S., Theurillat, T. and Kenzelmann Pfyffer, A.
2011 (eds.) *Early Iron Age Pottery: a Quantitative Approach. Proceedings of the International Round Table Organized by the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece (Athens, November 28-30, 2008)*. Oxford: Archaeopress. BAR International Series 2254.
- Verlinden, C.
1984 *Les statuettes anthropomorphes crétoises en bronze et en plomb, du III^e millénaire au VII^e siècle av. J.-C.* Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Supérieur d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, Collège Erasme. *PUCL* 41.
- Villing, A.
2005 (ed.) *The Greeks in the East*. London: British Museum. *BMRP* 157.
- Viviers, D.
1994 'La cité de Dattalla et l'expansion territoriale de Lyktos en Crète central'. *BCH* 118.1, 229-59.
- Voigt, M. M. and Henrickson, R. C.
2000 'Formation of the Phrygian state: the Early Iron Age at Gordion'. *AS* 50, 37-54.
- Völling, E.
1999 'Zwei altorientalische Siegel aus Olympia'. *AA* 1999.2, 277-89.
- Vonhoff, Chr.
2015 'Phoenician bronzes in Cyprus'. In: J. J. Ávila (ed.), *Phoenician Bronzes in Mediterranean*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 271-94.
- Von Hofsten, S.
2007 *The Feline-Prey Theme in Archaic Greek Art: Classification, Distribution, Origin, Iconographic Context*. Stockholm: Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies. *SSCA* 13.
- Waetzoldt, H. and Hauptmann, H.
1997 (eds.) *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. 39^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6.-10. Juli 1992*. Heidelberg: Orientverlag. *HSAO* 6.

- Waldbaum, J. C.
- 1994 'Early Greek contacts with the southern Levant, ca. 1000-600: the eastern perspective'. *BASOR* 293, 53-66.
- 1997 'Greeks in the East or Greeks and the East? Problems in the definition and recognition of presence'. *BASOR* 305, 1-17.
- Wallace, S.
- 2003a 'The perpetuated past: re-use or continuity in material culture and the structuring of identity in Early Iron Age Crete'. *BSA* 98, 251-77.
- 2003b 'The changing role of herding in the Early Iron Age of Crete: some implications of settlement shift through economy'. *AJA* 107.4, 601-27.
- 2010a 'The roots of the Cretan polis: surface evidence for the history of large settlements in central Crete'. *AA* 2010, 13-89.
- 2010b *Ancient Crete: from Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives, Twelfth – Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge: Univeristy Press.
- 2011 'Surface ceramic data on the origins of Cretan *poleis*: five central Cretan cases'. In: *Πεπραγμένα του Ι'Διεθνούς Κριτολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά 1-8 Οκτωβρου 2006)*, A5. Chania: Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος "Ο Χρυσόστομος", 171-211.
- 2013 'Citadel *and* city-state: insights from surface ceramics into sociopolitical change in Protogeometric through Archaic Crete'. In: Niemeier et al. 2013, 103-28.
- Walter, H.
- 1968 *Frühe samische Gefässe: Chronologie und Landschaftsstile ostgriechischer Gefässe*. Bonn: Habelt. *Samos* 5.
- Warren, P.
- 1990 'Of baetyls'. *OpAth* 18.3, 193-206.
- Wartke, R.-B.
- 1990 *Toprakkale: Untersuchungen zu den Metallobjekten im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. *SGKAO* 22.
- Watrous, L. V.
- 1980 'Pendlebury's excavations in the plain of Lasithi: the Iron Age sites'. *BSA* 75, 269-83.

- 1982 *Lasithi: a History of Settlement on a Highland Plain in Crete*. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens. *Hesperia Suppl.* 18.
- 1998 'Crete and Egypt in the seventh century BC: Temple A at Prinias'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 75-9.
- Weickert, C.
1929 *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*. Augsburg: Filser.
- Weinstein, J. M.
1998 'Egyptian relations with the Eastern Mediterranean world at the end of the second millennium BCE'. In: S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 188-96.
- Wengrow, D.
2011 'Cognition, materiality and monsters: the cultural transmission of counter-intuitive forms in Bronze Age societies'. *JMS* 16.2, 131-49.
- West, M. L.
1997 *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Early Poetry and Myth*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 2011 *The Making of the Iliad: Disquisition and Analytical Commentary*. Oxford: University Press.
- Westgate, R.
2007 'House and society in Classical and Hellenistic Crete: a case study in regional variation'. *AJA* 111.3, 423-57.
- Whitley, J.
1991 *Style and Society in Dark Age Greece: the Changing Face of a Pre-Literate Society 1100-700 BC*. Cambridge: University Press.
- 1994 'Protoattic pottery: a contextual approach'. In: I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*. Cambridge: University Press, 51-70.
- 1997 'Cretan laws and Cretan literacy'. *AJA* 101.4, 635-61.
- 1998a 'From Minoans to Eteocretans: the Praisos region 1200-500 BC'. In: Cavanagh and Curtis 1998, 27-39.

- 1998b 'Knossos without Minos' (= review *KNC*). *AJA* 102.3, 611-3.
- 2001 *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: University Press.
- 2004 'Style wars: towards an explanation of Cretan exceptionalism'. In: G. Cadogan, E. Hatzaki and A. Vassilakis (eds.), *Knossos: Palace, City, State. Proceedings of the Conference in Herakleion Organised by the British School at Athens and the 23rd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Herakleion, in November 2000, for the Centenary of Sir Arthur Evan's Excavations at Knossos*. London: BSA, 433-42. *BSA Studies* 12.
- 2014 'Commensality and the "citizen state": the case of Praisos'. In: Gaignerot-Driessen and Driessen 2014, 141-61.
- Whitley, J., Germanidou, S., Urem-Kotsou, D., Dimoula, A., Nikolakopoulou, I., Karnava, A. and Evely, D.
2006-7 'Archaeology in Greece'. *AR* 53, 1-121.
- Whitley, J., Germanidou, S., Urem-Kotsou, D., Dimoula, A., Nikolakopoulou, I., Karnava, A. and Hatzaki, E.
2005-6 'Archaeology in Greece'. *AR* 52, 1-112.
- Whitley, J., Prent, M., and Thorne, S.
1999 'Praisos IV: a preliminary report on the 1993 and 1994 survey seasons'. *BSA* 94, 215-64.
- Wicke, D.
2005 "'Roundcheeked and Ringletted": Gibt es einen nordwestsyrischen Regionalstil in der altorientalischen Elfenbeinschnitzerei?'. In: Suter and Uehlinger 2005, 67-110.
- Wide, S.
1897 'Nachleben mykenischer Ornamente'. *AM* 22, 233-58.
- Willetts, R. F.
1965 *Ancient Crete: a Social History from Early Times until the Roman Occupation*. London: Routledge and K. Paul.
- Winter, I. J.
1976 'Phoenician and North Syrian ivory carving in historical context: questions of style and distribution'. *Iraq* 38.1, 1-22.

- 1980 *A Decorated Breastplate from Hasanlu, Iran: Type, Style and Context of the Equestrian Ornament*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University Museum. *University Museum Monographs* 39.
- 1981 'Is there a south Syrian style of ivory carving in the early first millennium B.C.?'. *Iraq* 43.2, 101-30.
- 2000 'Le palais imaginaire: scale and meaning in the iconography of Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals'. In: Uehlinger 2000, 51-87.
- 2010 *On Art in the Ancient Near East, 1: Of the First Millennium B.C.E.* Leiden: Brill. *CHANE* 34.
- Winter, U.
- 1983 *Frau und Göttin: exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im alten Israel und dessen Umwelt*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. *OBO* 53.
- Woodward, A. M.
- 1929 'Archaeology in Greece, 1928-1929'. *JHS* 49.2, 22-239.
- Woolley, C. L.
- 1921 *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Djerabis on Behalf of the British Museum, 2: The Town Defences*. London: British Museum.
- 1939-40 'The Iron-Age graves of Charchemish'. *AAA* 26, 11-37.
- Xanthoudides, S.
- 1918 'Η αρχαιολογική περιφέρεια (Κρήτης)'. *Deltion* 4, 9-32.
- Yadin, Y., Shulamit, G. and Ben-Tor, A.
- 1989 *Hazor 3-4: The James A. de Rothschild Expedition at Hazor. An Account of the Third and Fourth Season of Excavations, 1957-1958*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Israel Exploration Society.
- Yamada, S.
- 2000 *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: a Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmanesar III (859-824 BC) Relating to his Campaigns to the West*. Leiden: Brill. *CHANE* 3.
- Yener, K. A.
- 2013 (ed.) *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul, May 31-June 1, 2010*. Leuven: Peeters. *ANES Suppl.* 42.

- Yon, M.
1987 'Le royaume de Kition: époque archaïque'. In: Lipiński 1987, 357-74.
- Yon, M. and Caubet, A.
1989 'Ateliers de figurines à Kition'. In: V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age. Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium, April 1988*. London: British Museum Publications, 28-43.
- Yon, M. and Childs, W. A. P.
1997 'Kition in the tenth to fourth centuries B.C.'. *BASOR* 308, 9-17.
- Young, R. S.
1981 *Three Great Early Tumuli*. Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania. *The Gordion Excavations Final Reports* 1.
- Younger, J. G.
1992 'Representations of Minoan-Mycenean jewelry'. In: R. Laffineur and J. L. Cowley (eds.), *EIKŌN: Aegean Bronze Age Iconography, Shaping a Methodology. Proceedings of the 4th International Aegean Conference, University of Tasmania, Australia, 6-9 April 1992*. Liège: Université de Liège, 257-93. *Aegaeum* 8.
- Younger, K. L., Jr.
2005 "'Hazeal, son of a nobody": some reflections in light of recent study'. In: P. Bienkowski, C. Mee and E. Slater (eds.), *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard*. New York: Clark, 245-70. *LHB/OTS* 426.
- Zaccagnini, C.
1983 'Patterns of mobility among ancient Near Eastern craftsmen'. *JNES* 42.4, 245-64.
- Ziegler, C.
1999 'Nonroyal Statuary'. In: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 57-71.
- Zimansky, P. E.
1988 *Ancient Ararat: a Handbook of Urartian Studies*. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books.
- Zouzoula, E.
2007 *The Fantastic Creatures of Bronze Age Crete*. University of Nottingham, doctoral thesis.

FIGURES

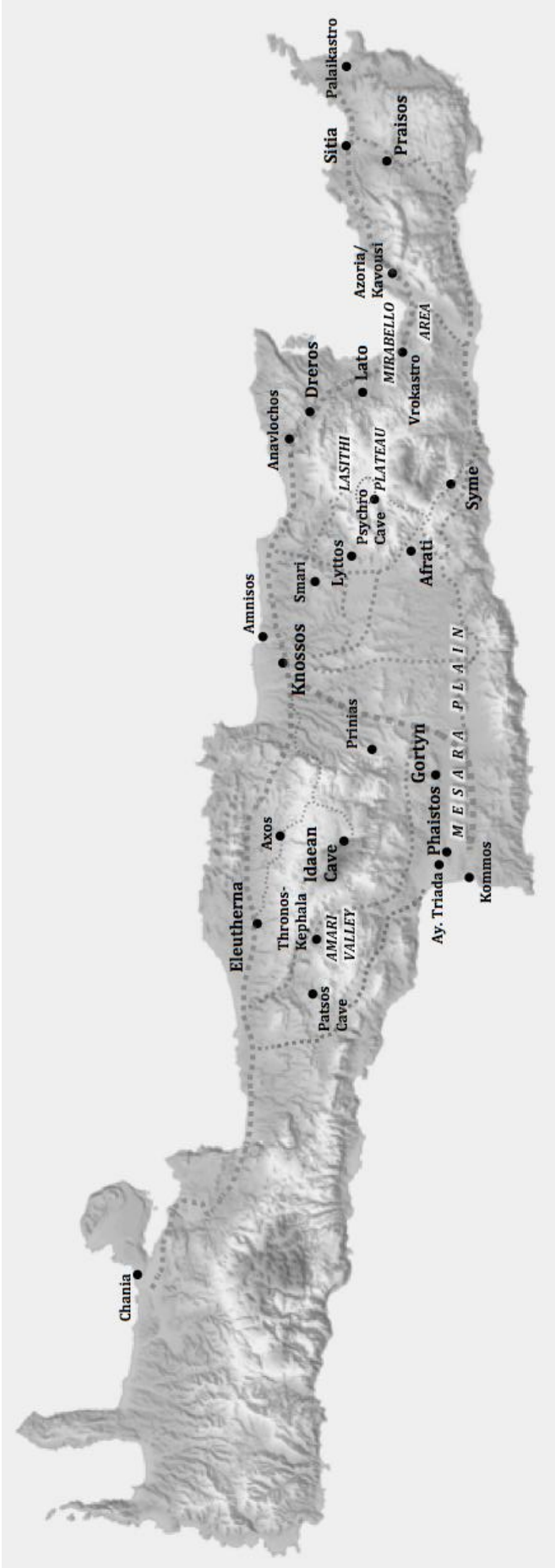


Figure 1.1: Map of main Early Iron Age sites on Crete.

Dotted lines indicate modern roads.
(After Google Maps)

Cretan Chronology (Middle Minoan – Roman)				
Middle Minoan	MM IA	ca. 2050-1950 / 20 th cent.	Prepalatial Period	B R O N Z E A G E (BA)
	MM IB	ca. 1950-1900 / 19 th cent.		
	MM IIA	ca. 1900-1850 / 1800-1750	Protopalatial/ Old Palace Period	
	MM IIB	ca. 1850-1800 / 1750-1700		
	Late Minoan	MM IIIA	ca. 1800-1750 / 1700-1640	
MM IIIB		ca. 1750-1675 / 1640-1600		
LM IA		ca. 1675-1580 / 1600-1510		
LM IB		ca. 1580-1490 / 1510-1430		
LM II		ca. 1490-1430 / 1430-1390		
LM IIIA1		ca. 1430-1370 / 1390-1360		
LM IIIA2		ca. 1370-1320 / 1360-1330	(Final Palatial Period?)	
LM IIIB Early		ca. 1320-1250 / 1330-1250	Postpalatial Period	
LM IIIB Late		ca. 1250-1200 / 1250-1190		
	LM IIIC	ca. 1200-1100 / 1190-1070		
Subminoan	SM	ca.1100/ 1070-970	Early Iron Age (EIA)	I R O N A G E (IA)
Protogeometric, Early	EPG	ca. 970-900		
	---	MPG		
---	LPG	ca. 875-840/845		
Protogeometric B	PGB	ca. 845/840-810/800		
Geometric, Early	EG	ca. 810-790		
	---	MG		
---	LG	ca. 745-710/700		
Orientalising, Early	EO	ca. 710/700- 670		
	---	LO		
Archaic	A	ca. 630/early 6 th cent.-480	(Later) Iron Age	
Classical	CL	ca. 480-330		
Hellenistic	HL	ca. 330-67		
Roman	R	ca. 67-330 AD		

Figure 1.2: Chronological chart of Crete, Middle Minoan to Roman periods.

(Based on Coldstream 2001, 22; Momigliano 2007, Table 0.2)

Chapter 2 Figures



Figure 2.1: Crete's location in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Dotted lines indicate main maritime routes.

(Adapted from Google Maps)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 2.2: Map of Crete indicating walking distances from Knossos in hours (4 to 36), important mountain ranges and harbour sites.
(Map adapted from Bevan 2010, fig. 3a; harbours mostly based on Sjögren 2003)



Figure 2.3: Satellite images of Crete illustrating the mountainous terrain.

Above: view from the west; below: view from the east.

(After http://www.wkistler.de/more3/3CreteW07a75_23.96737E%2035.42170N.jpg and http://earth.imagico.de/views/crete2_large.jpg; retrieved from the World Wide Web on 16/09/2016)

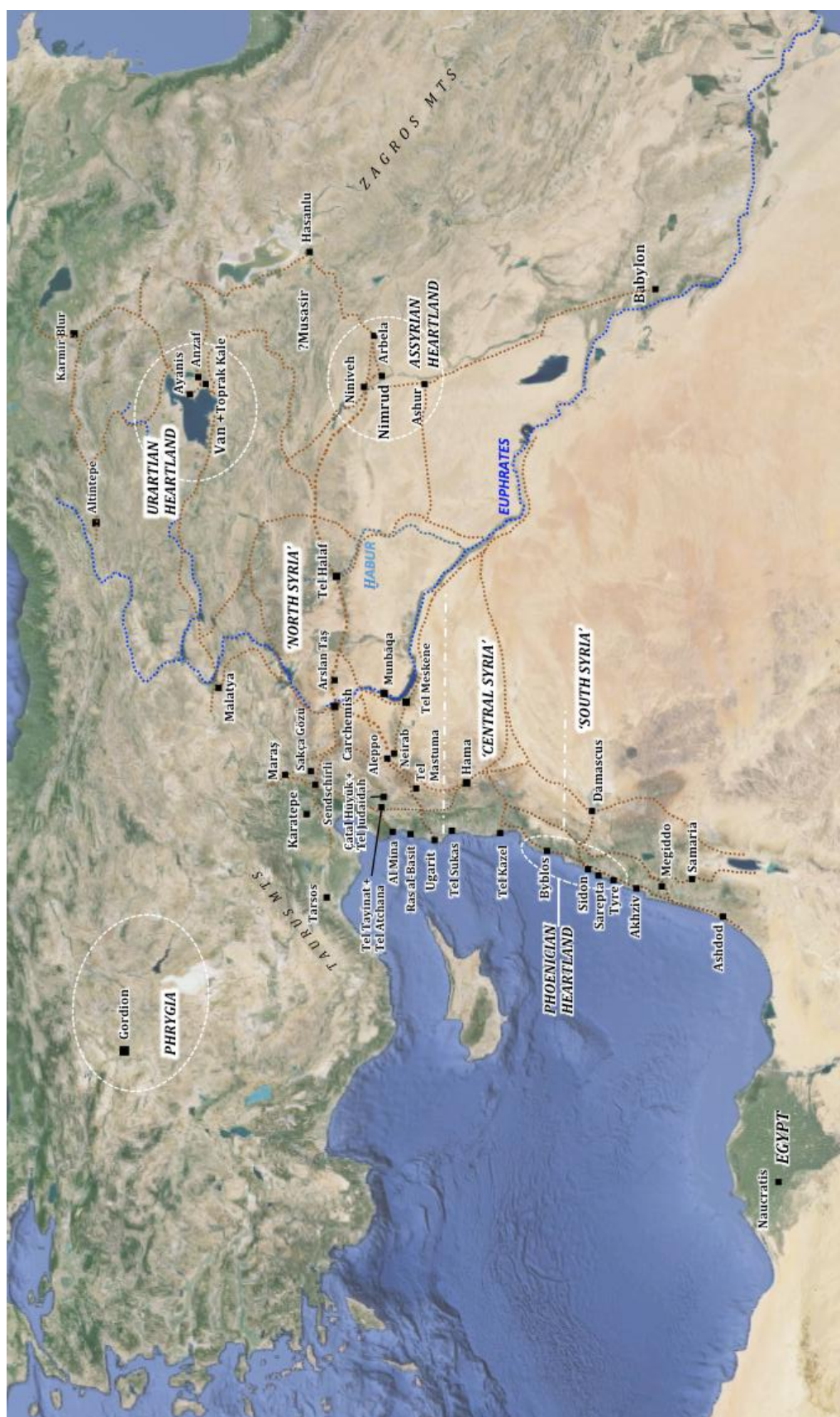


Figure 2.4: Map of the Ancient Near East indicating the sites mentioned in the text and the ancient road system.

(Adapted from Google Maps; roads after Novák 2013, fig. 1)



Figure 2.5: Map of the southern Levant indicating sites mentioned in the text.
 (Adapted from Google Maps)



Figure 2.6: Map of southeast Anatolia and the Levant indicating conquered Assyrian regions.

(Adapted from Google Maps; regions after Bagg 2011, pls. 4.12-4.17)

Assyria		Urartu
Tukulti-Ninurta II (891-884)		
Ashurnasirpal II (884-859)		
Shalmaneser III (859-824)	859, 856, 844 840-830	Aramu Sarduri I (Son of Lutipri)
Shamshi-Adad V (824-811)	818/ 820	Ishpuini
Adad-Nirari III (811-783)		Menua
Shalmaneser IV (783-773)	774	Argishti I (Son of Menua)
Ashurdan III (773-755)		
Ashur-Nirari V (755-745)	?	Sarduri II (Sarduri, Son of Argishti)
Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727)	743, 735?	
Shalmaneser V (727-722 BC)		
Sargon II (721-705 BC)	714 709/708	Rusa I (Son of Sarduri) Argishti II (Son of Rusa)
Sennacherib (705-681 BC)		
Esarhaddon (681-669 BC)	673-672	Rusa II (son of Argishti)
Ashurbanipal (669-631 BC)	655, 652 646/642	Rusa III (Son of Erimena) Sarduri III (Son of Sarduri)

Figure 2.7: List of Assyrian and Urartian monarchs.

For Assyrian monarchs the full reigns are provided in brackets. For the contemporary Urartian rulers their occurrence in Assyrian sources is indicated above the arrows.
(After Seidl 2004, 208; Salvini 2011, 210)

Chapter 3 Figures

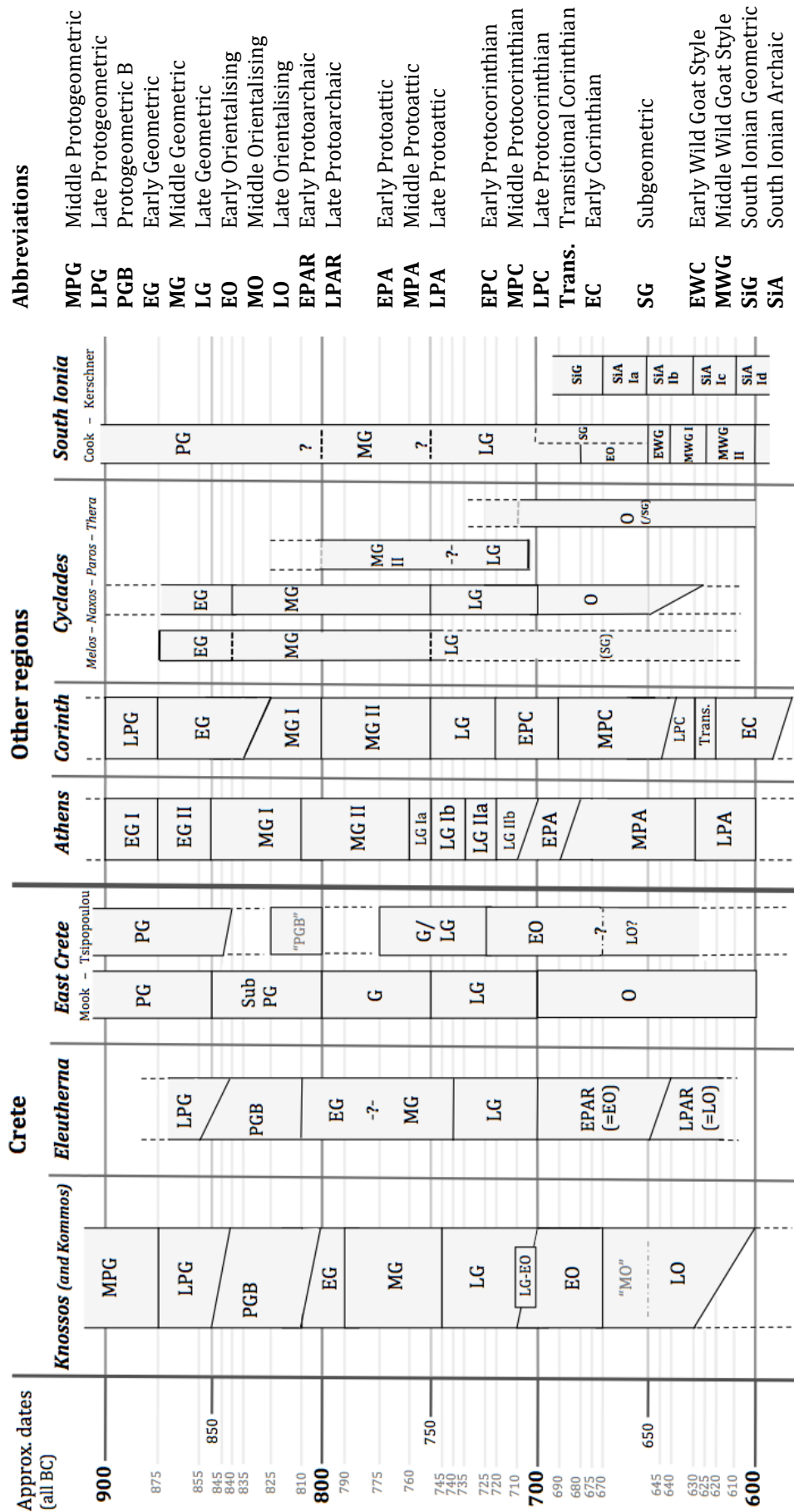


Figure 3.1 Time chart of ceramic phases: Crete and other Greek regions.

(After Coldstream 2001, 22; Kotsonas 2008, 50-53; Mook 2004; Tsipopoulou 2005, 555-8; Coulié 2013; Cook and Dupont 1998; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005, 8)

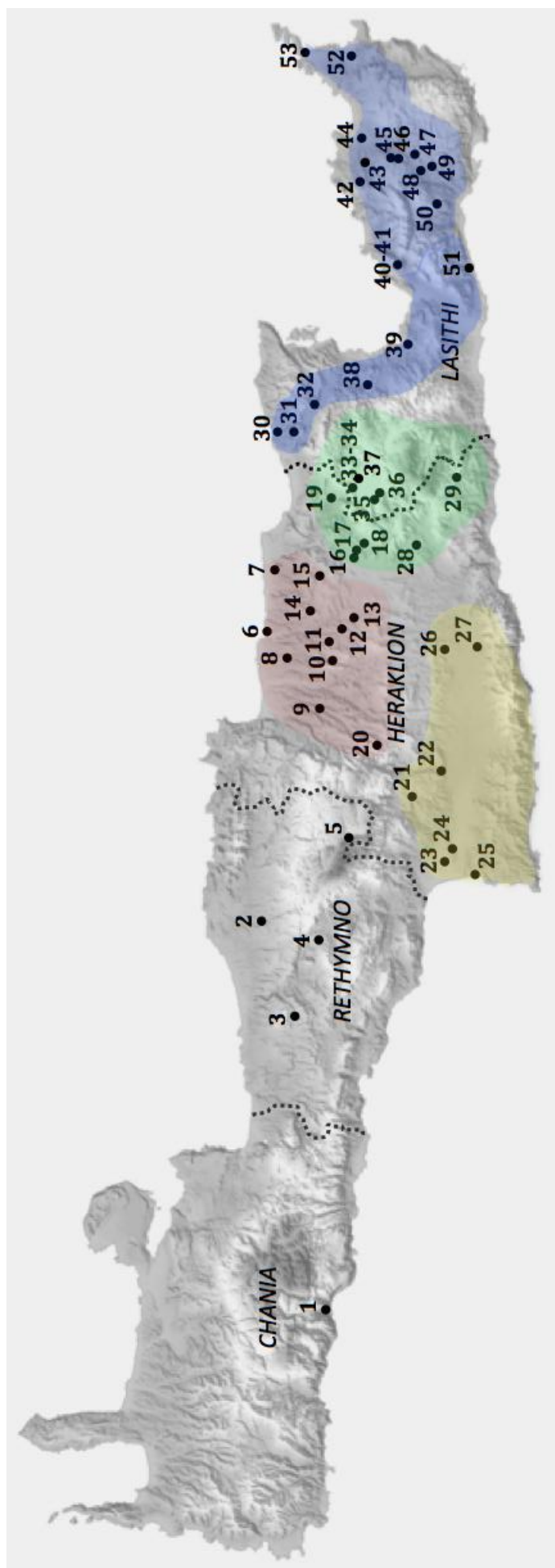


Figure 3.2a: Map of Crete indicating the location of sites with catalogued pottery.

Modern districts are labelled in italics and the suggested regional division is highlighted in colour (north central Crete in red; the Mesara in yellow; the Lassithi plateau with surrounding area in green; and east Crete in blue).

Sites organised numerically

CHANIA

- 1 Agia Roumeli (ancient Tarra)

RETHYMNO

- 2 Eleutherna (ancient Apollonia)
- 3 Onythe
- 4 Thronos-Kephala (ancient Sybrita)
- 5 Idaean Cave

HERAKLION

- 6 Amnisos
- 7 Gouves
- 8 Knossos
- 9 Krousonas
- 10 Archanes
- 11 Kounavoi (ancient Eltynas)
- 12 Ag. Paraskies
- 13 Astritsi
- 14 Episkopi
- 15 Smari
- 16 Kastel(l)i
- 17 Lyttos/Xidas (ancient Lyktos)
- 18 Kastamonitza
- 19 Gonies
- 20 Prinias
- 21 Kourtes
- 22 Gortyn
- 23 Ag. Triada
- 24 Phaistos (including Piskokephali)
- 25 Kommos
- 26 Ligortinos
- 27 Rotasi (ancient Rytion)
- 28 Afrati (ancient Arkades/Dattalla)
- 29 Syme Viannou

LASSITHI

- 30 Milatos
- 31 Anavlochos
- 32 Dreros
- 33-34 Ag. Georgios Papoura; Kolonna
- 35 Plati
- 36 Psychro
- 37 Ag. Anna
- 38 Lato (ancient Goulas)
- 39 Vrokastro
- 40-41 Kavousi; Azoria
- 42 Chamezi
- 43 Achladia
- 44 Piskokephalo
- 45 Praisos (including Skalais Cave)
- 46 Ag. Georgios (formerly Tourtouli)
- 47 Sklavoi
- 48 Adromyloi (also Andromyloi/Adhromyloi)
- 49 Lithines
- 50 Ag. Stephanos
- 51 Ag. Photia
- 52 Palaikastro (including Kastri)
- 53 Itanos

Sites organised alphabetically

Amnisos	6
Afrati	28
Ag. Paraskies	12
Ag. Triada	23
Archanes	10
Astritsi	13
Episkopi	14
Gonies	19
Gortyn	22
Gouves	7
Kastamonitza	18
Kastelli	16
Knossos	8
Kommos	25
Kounavi	11
Kourtes	21
Krousonas	9
Ligortinos	26
Lyttos	17
Phaistos	24
Prinias	20
Rotasi	27
Smari	15
Syme Viannou	29
Achladia	43
Ag. Anna	37
Ag. Georgios	46
Ag. Georgios Papoura	33
Ag. Photia	51
Ag. Stephanos	50
Anavlochos	31
Adromyloi	48
Azoria(s)	41
Chamezi	42
Dreros	32
Itanos	53
Kavousi	40
Kolonna	34
Lato	38
Lithines	49
Milatos	30
Palaikastro	52
Piskokephalo	44
Plati	35
Praisos	45
Psychro Cave	36
Sklavoi	47
Vrokastro	39

Figure 3.2a (continued).

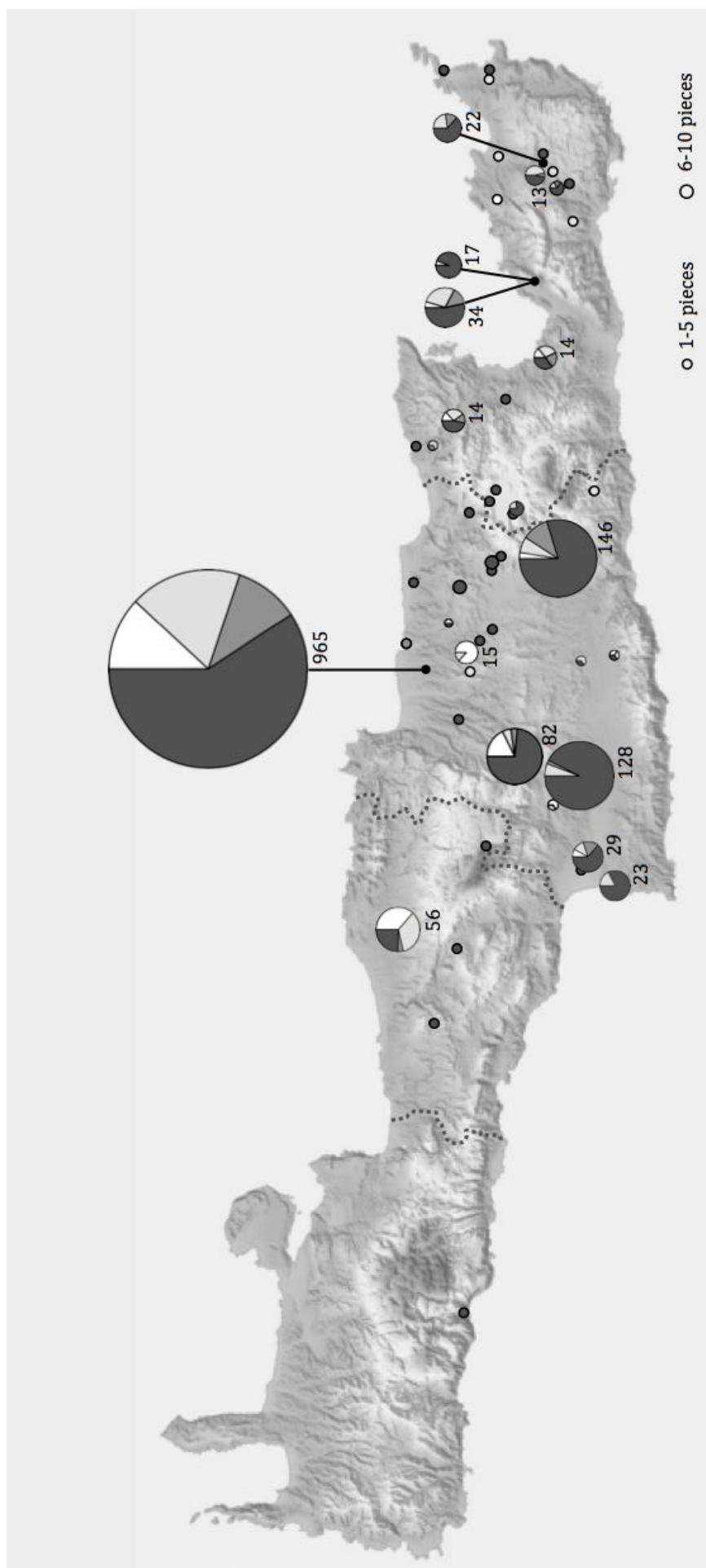


Figure 3.2b: Map of Crete indicating the amounts of catalogued pottery from individual sites.

Sites with more than 10 pieces are provided with totals next to the pie charts. The chronological allocation of pieces is indicated by in grey scale (LPG-EG in white; MG in light grey; LG in medium dark grey; O in dark grey).

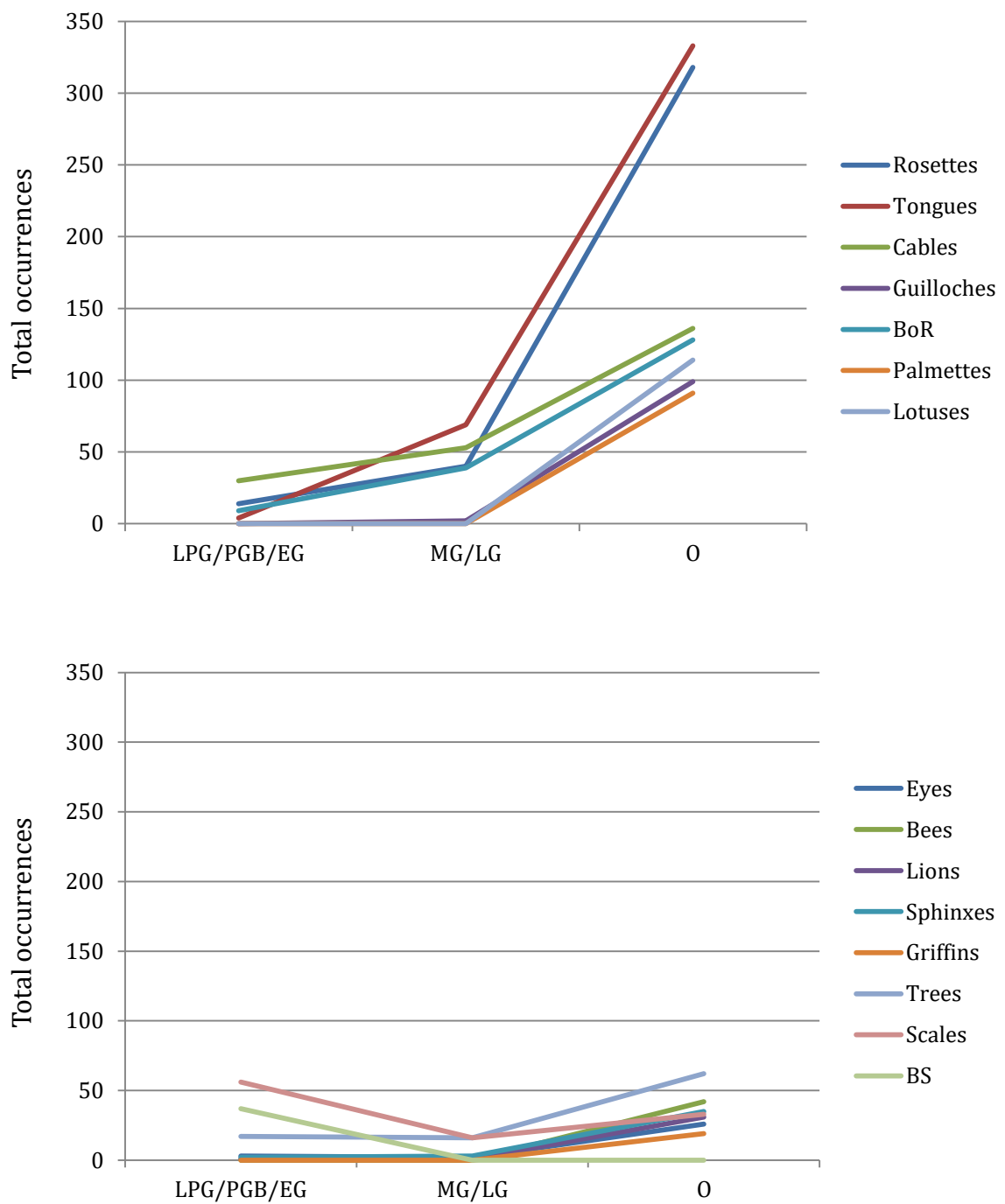


Figure 3.3: Occurrence of surveyed motifs on pottery across Crete by period units (LPG-EG, MG-LG and O).

Total instances of motifs: 2036.

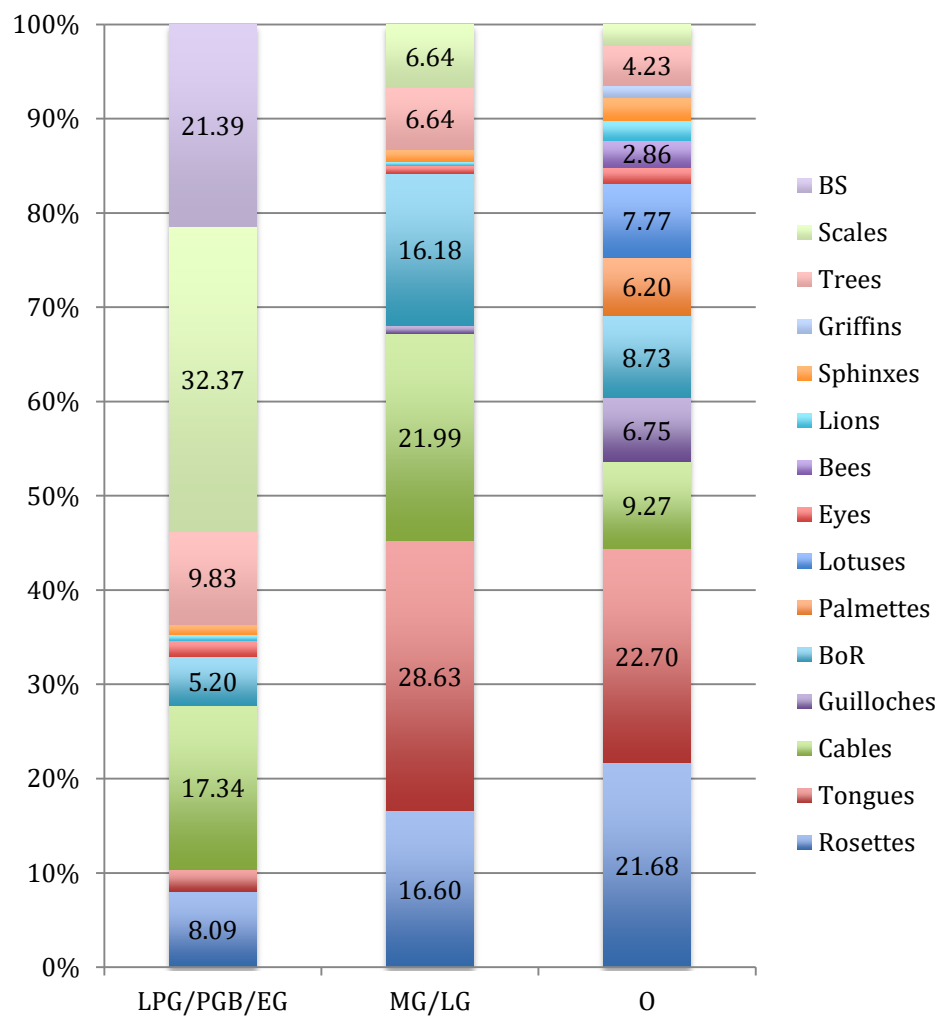


Figure 3.4: Relative proportions of surveyed motifs on pottery across Crete by period units (LPG-EG, MG-LG and O).

Total instances of motifs: 1881.

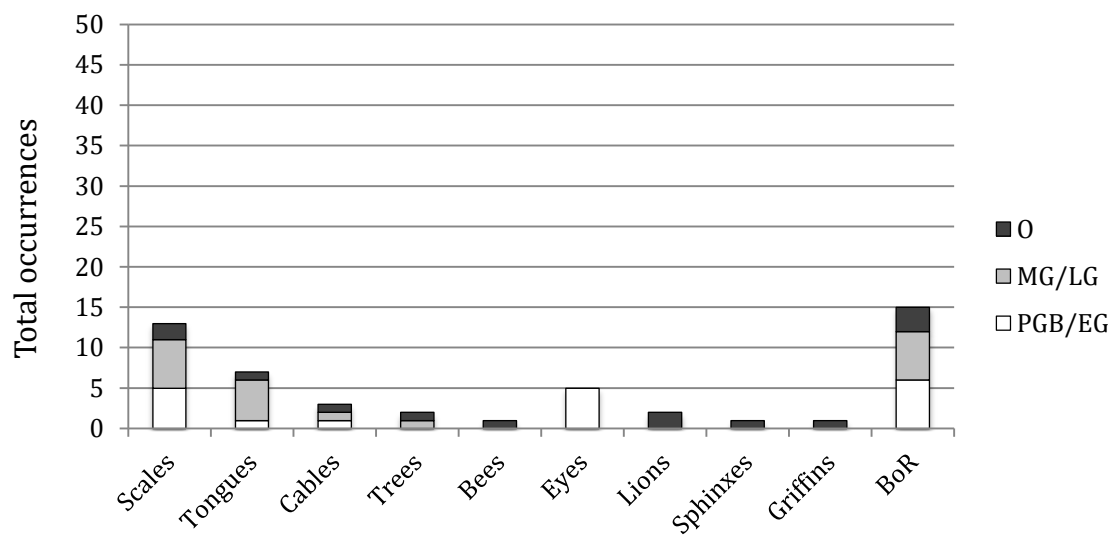


Figure 3.5: Relevant Eleutherna pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 49.

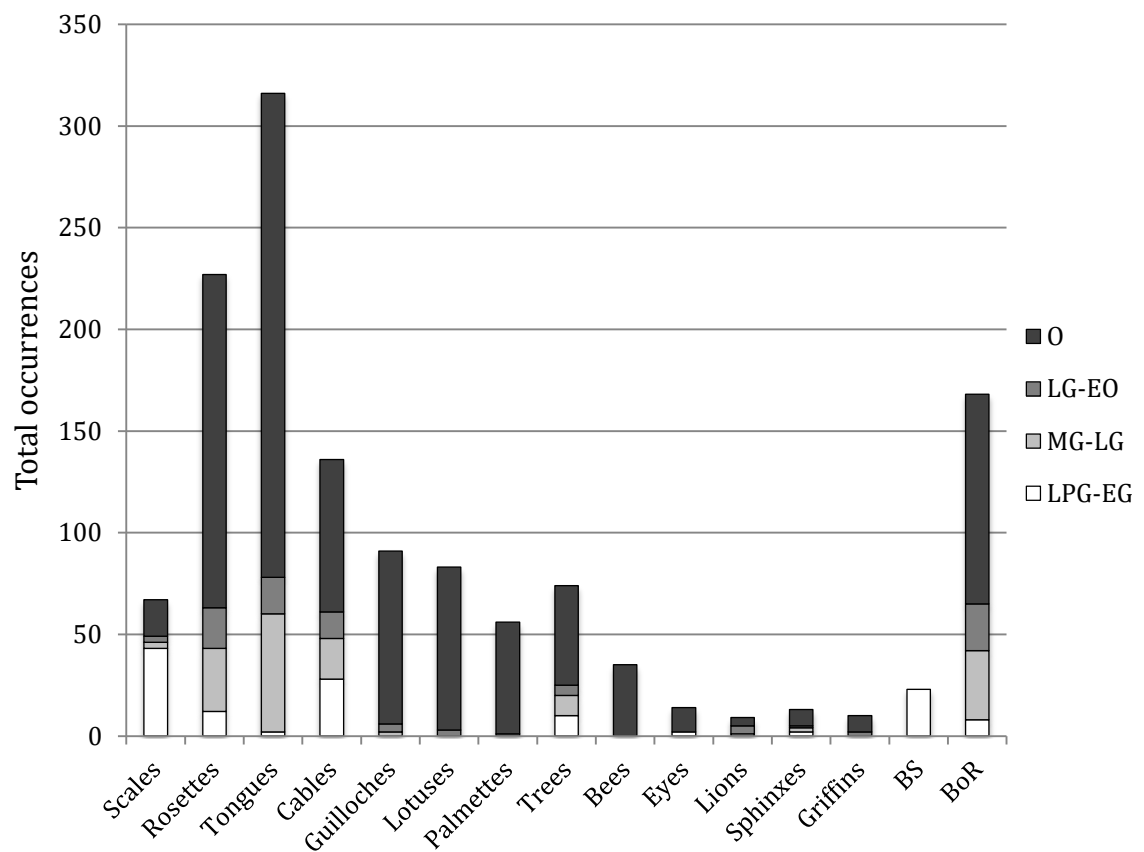


Figure 3.6: Relevant Knossos pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 1322.

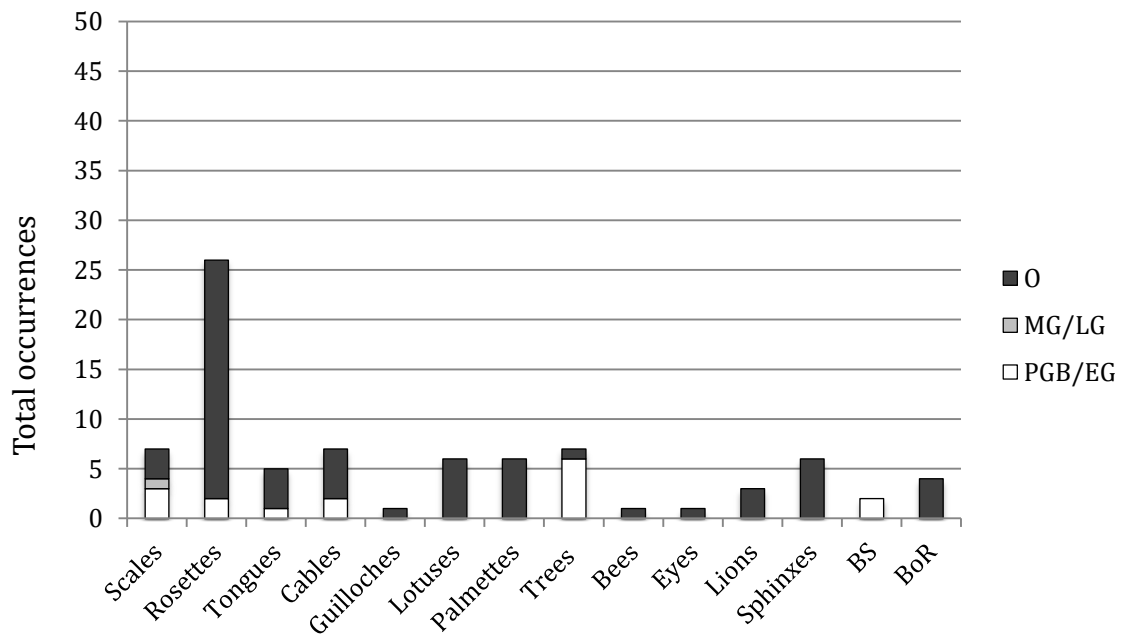


Figure 3.7: Relevant Prinias pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 82.

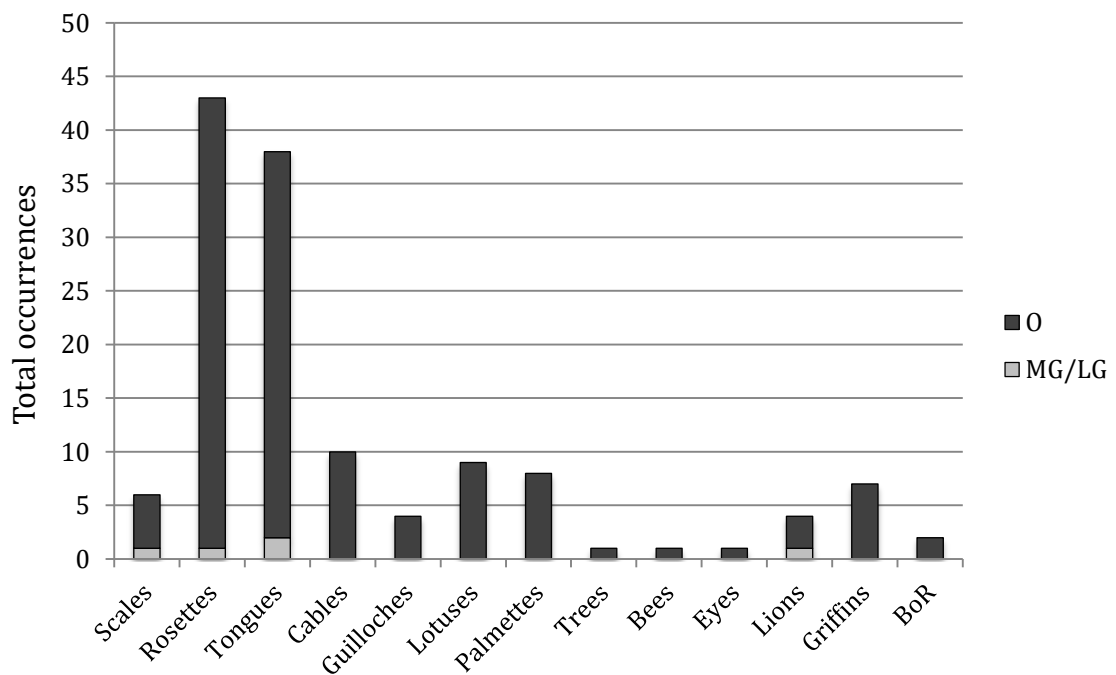


Figure 3.8: Relevant Gortyn pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 134.

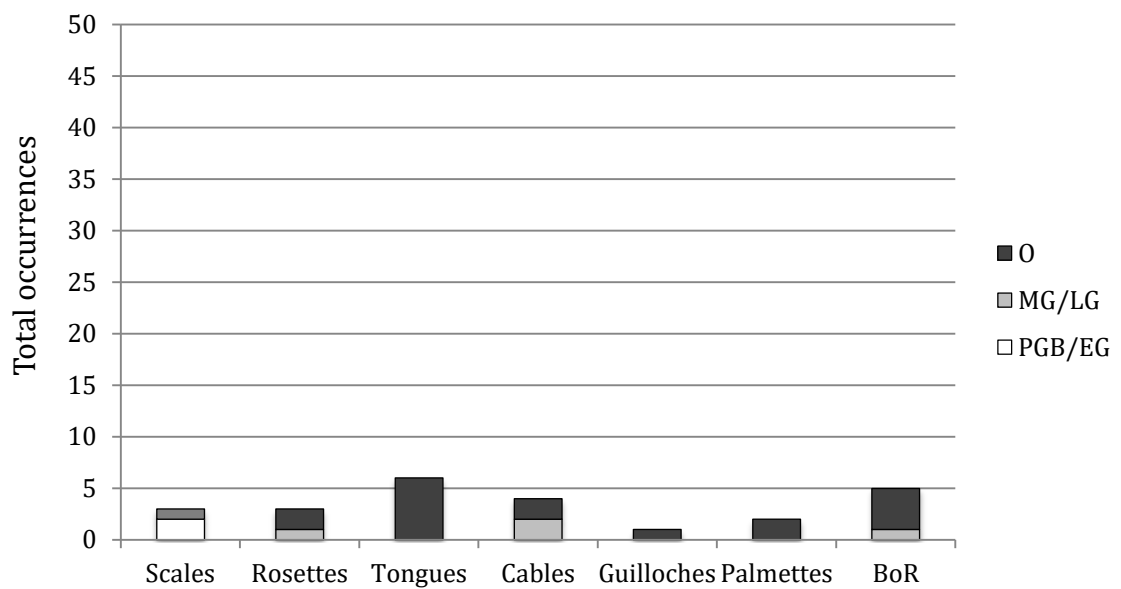


Figure 3.9: Relevant Phaistos pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 23.

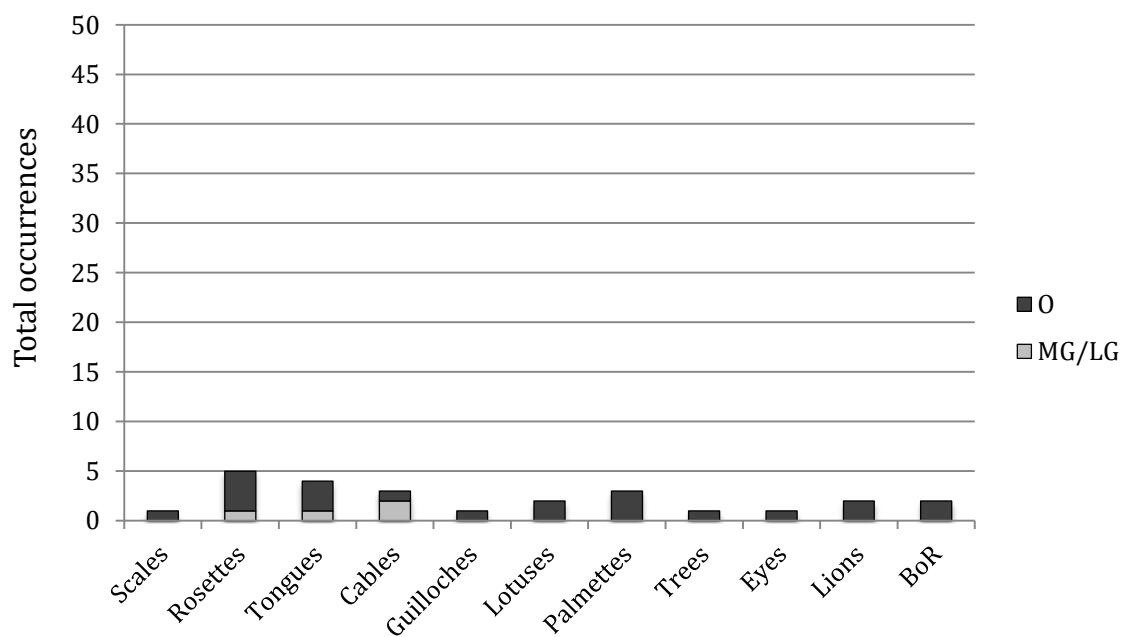


Figure 3.10: Relevant Kommos pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 25.

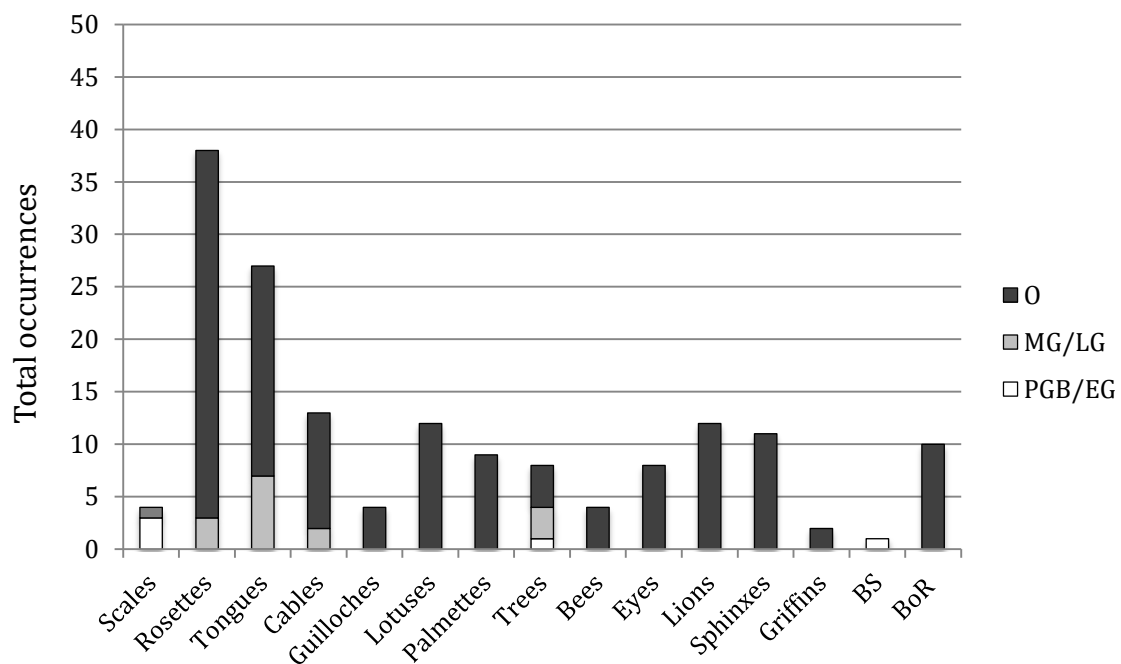


Figure 3.11: Relevant Afrati pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 162.

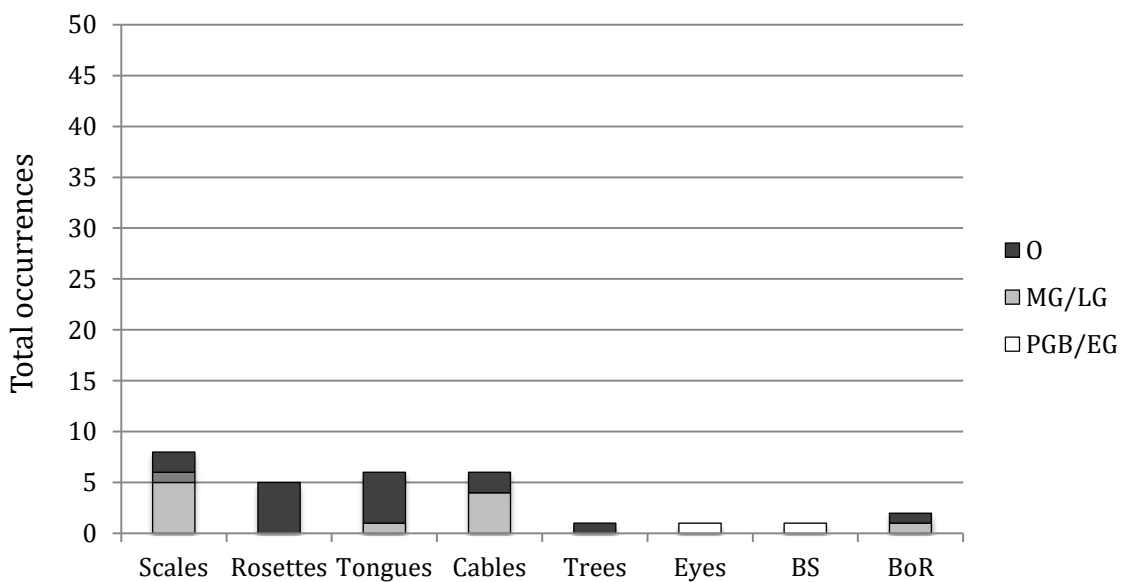


Figure 3.12: Relevant Kavousi pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 29.

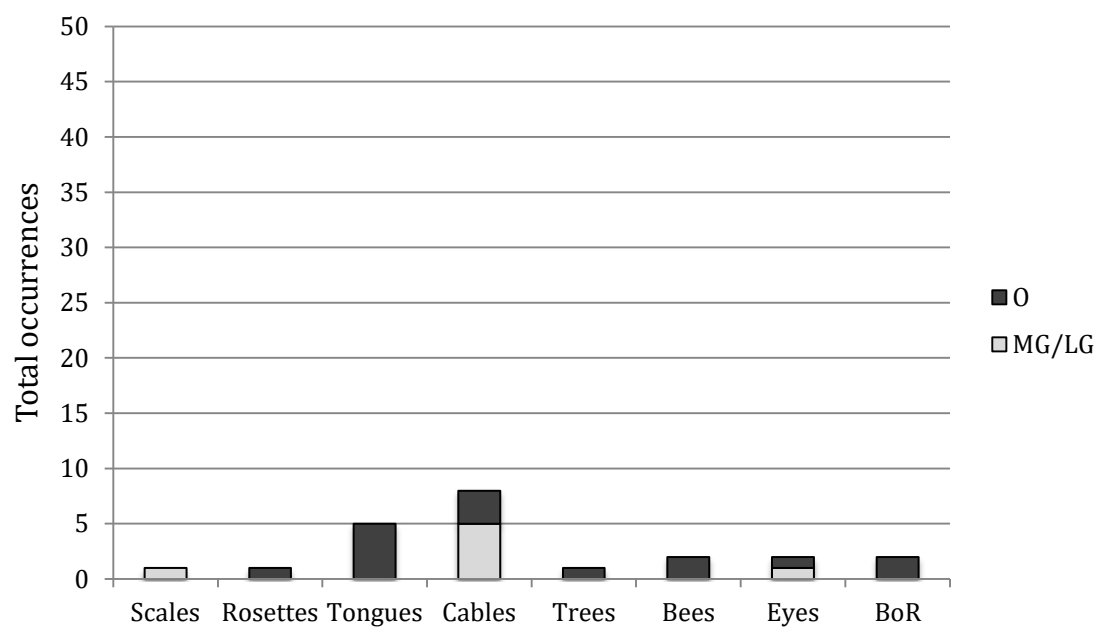


Figure 3.13: Relevant Praisos pottery by motifs and periods.

Total instances of motifs: 22.

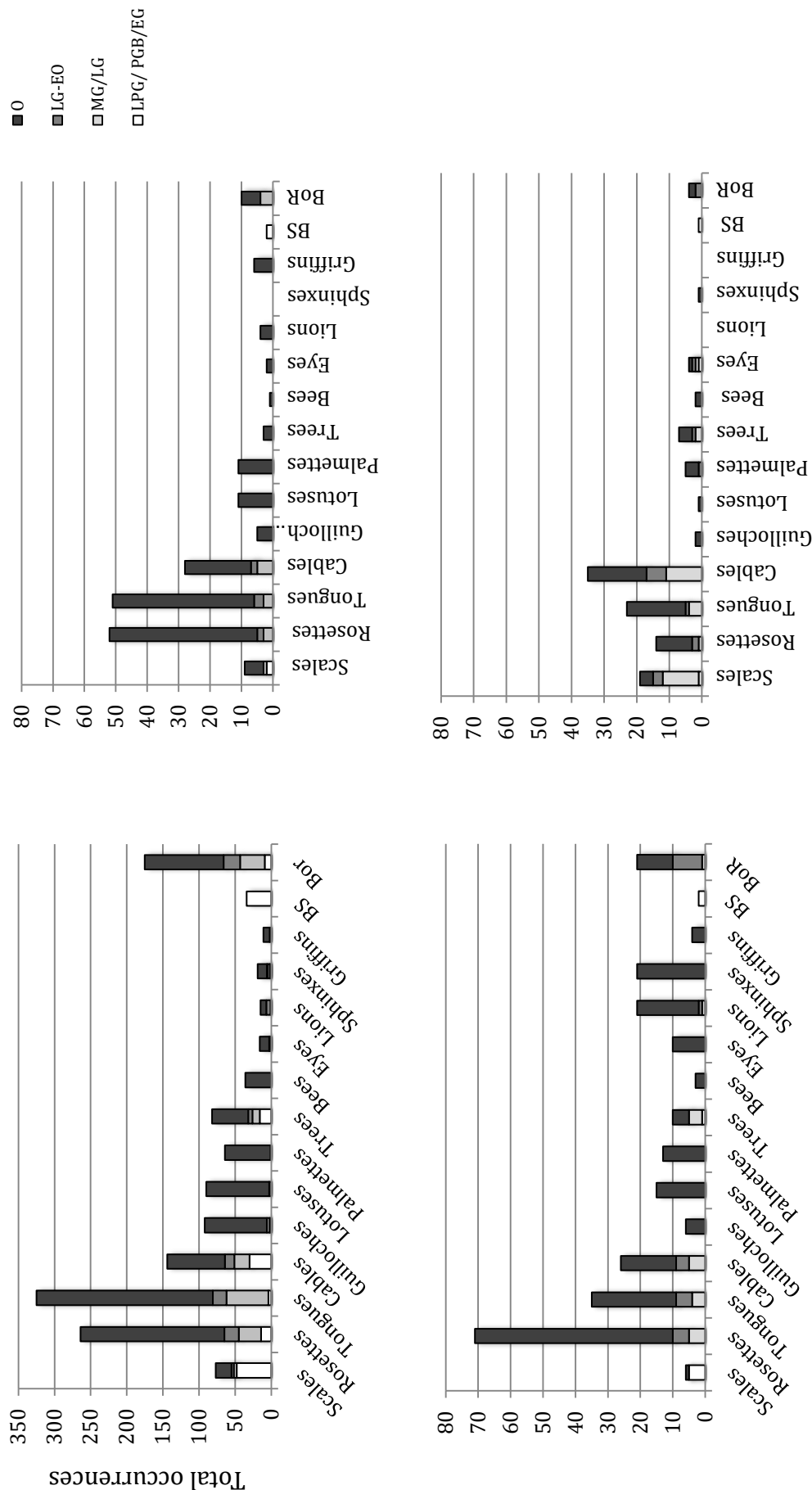


Figure 3.14: Quantification of relevant pottery by motifs and periods, summarised by region.

Upper left: north central Crete (total instances of motifs: 1444); upper right: Mesara region (total instances of motifs: 195); lower left: Lasithi with surrounding area (total instances of motifs 264); lower right: east Crete (total instances of motifs: 118).

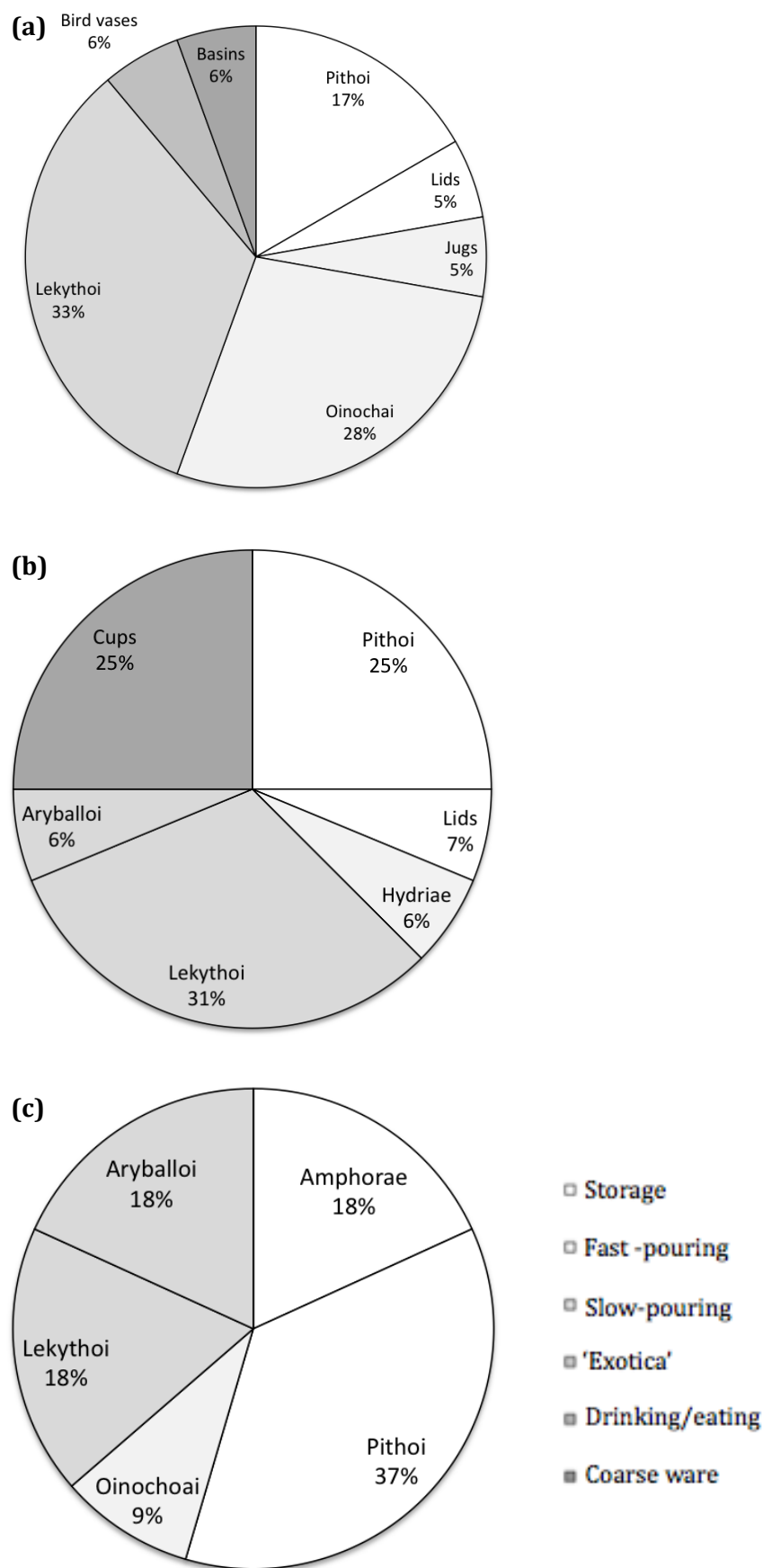


Figure 3.15: Relevant Eleutherna Orthi Petra cemetery pottery by shape and period.

(a) PGB/EG periods (total: 18 pieces); (b) MG/LG periods (total: 16 pieces); (c) O period (total: 11 pieces).

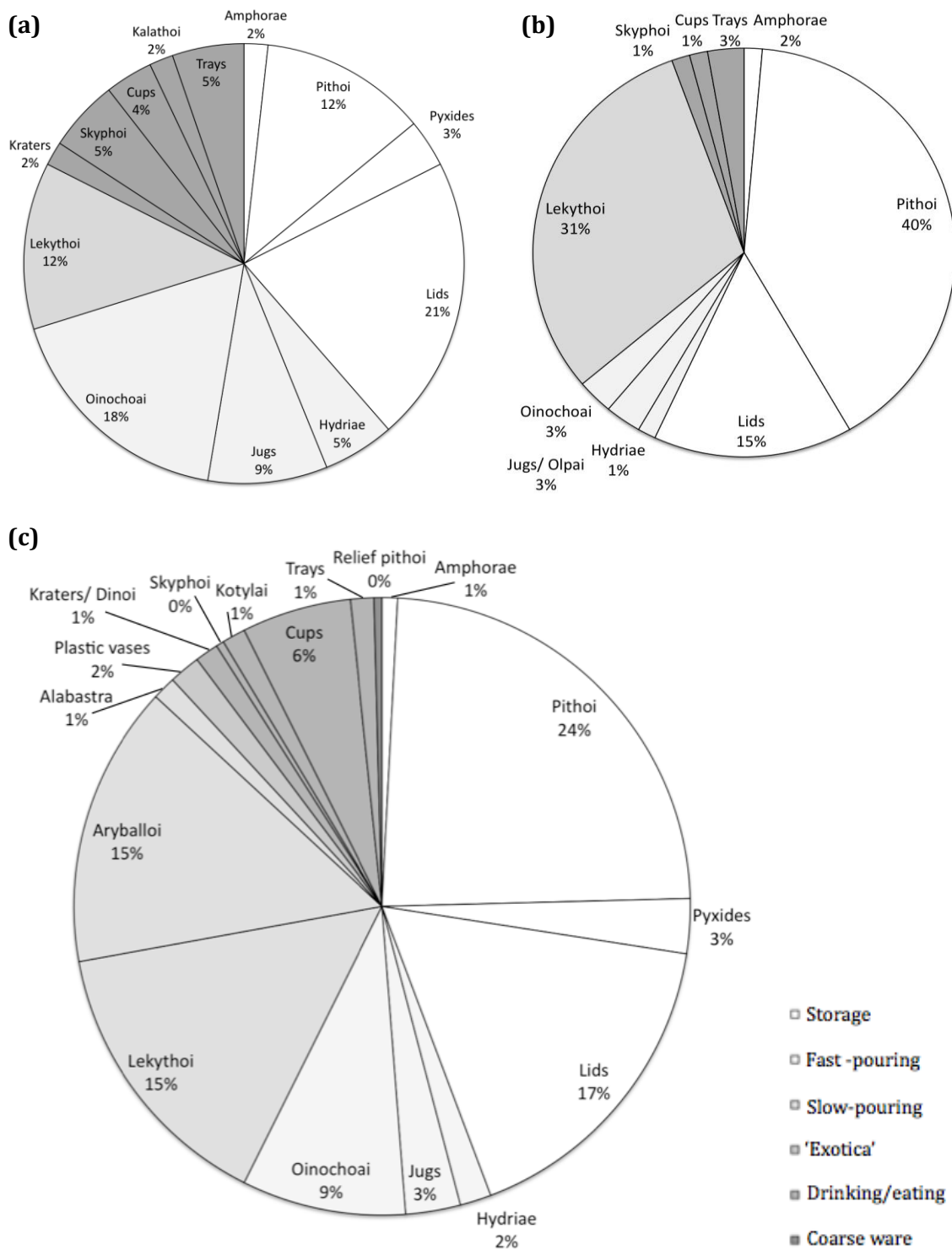


Figure 3.16: Relevant Knossos Medical Faculty Site pottery by shape and period.

(a) LPG/PGB/EG periods (total: 57 pieces); (b) MG/LG periods (total: 72 pieces); (c) O periods (total: 244 pieces).

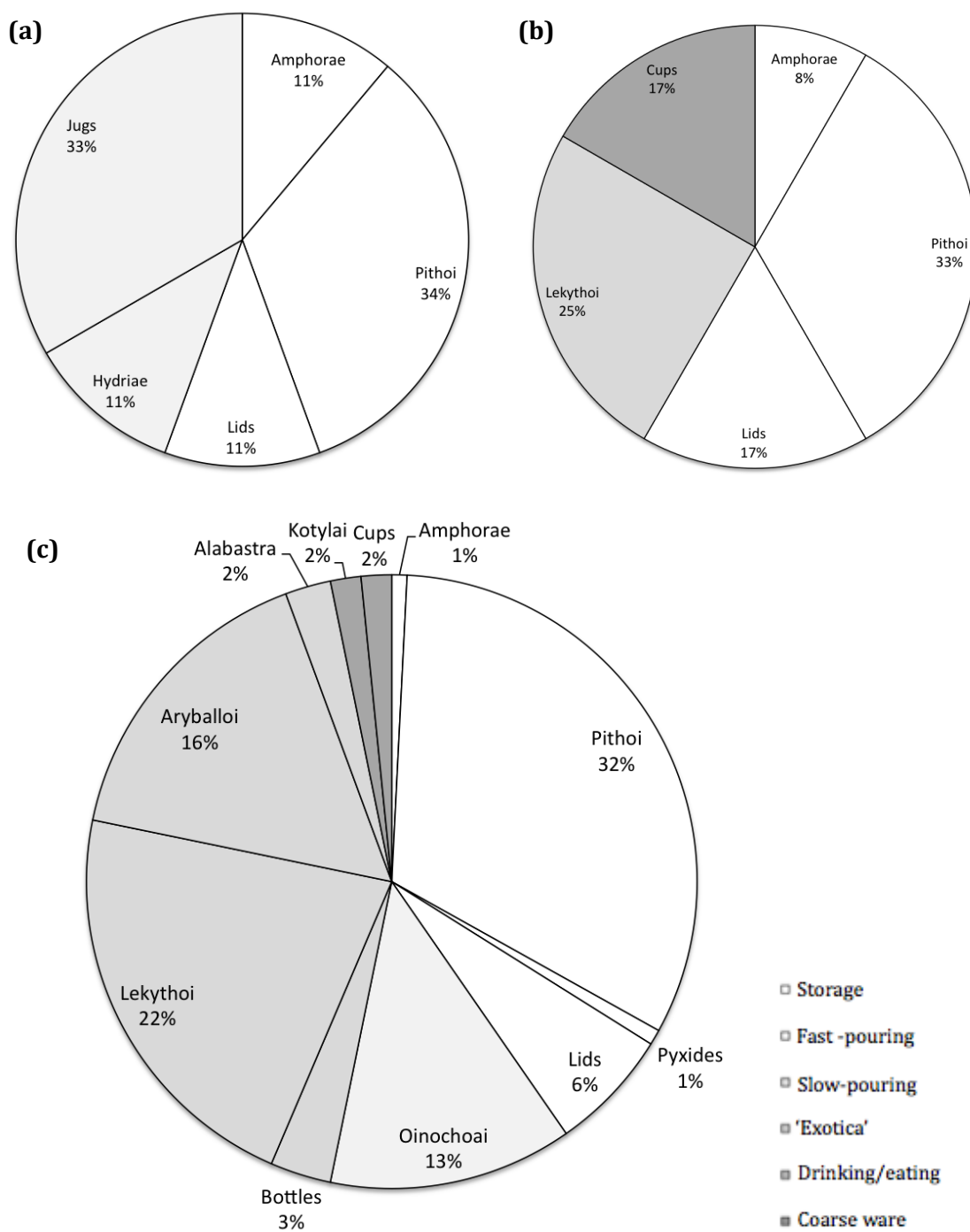


Figure 3.17: Relevant Knossos Fortetsa SE cemetery pottery by shape and period.

(a) PGB/EG periods (total: 9 pieces); (b) MG/LG periods (total: 12 pieces); (c) O periods (total: 124 pieces).

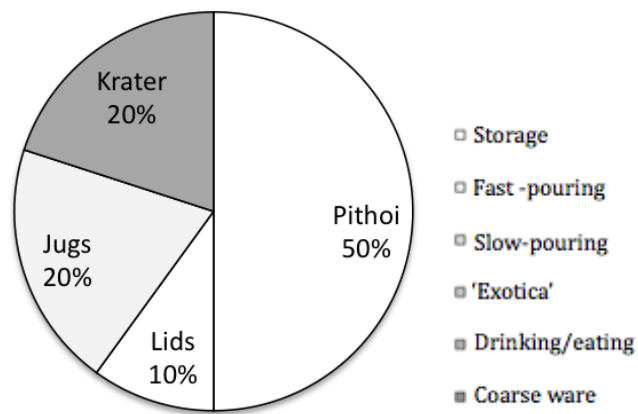


Figure 3.18: Relevant Prinias Siderospilia cemetery pottery by shape.
PGB/EG periods (total: 10 pieces).

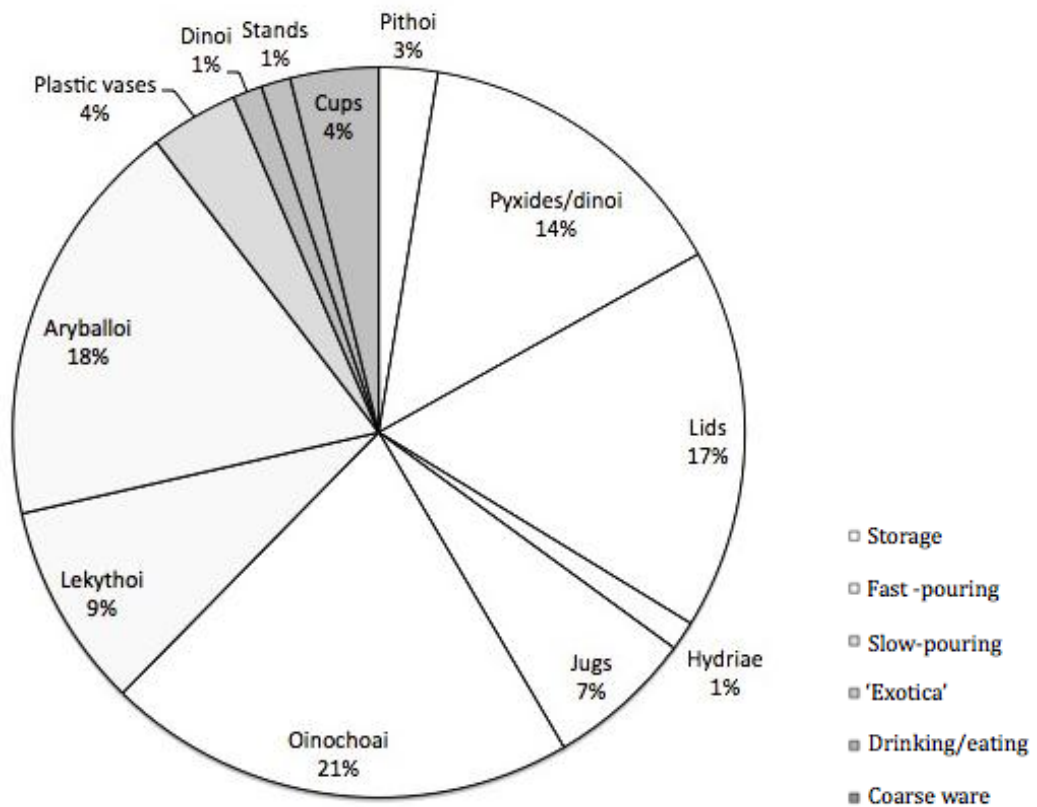


Figure 3.19: Relevant Afrati cemetery pottery by shape.
O period (total: 77 pieces).

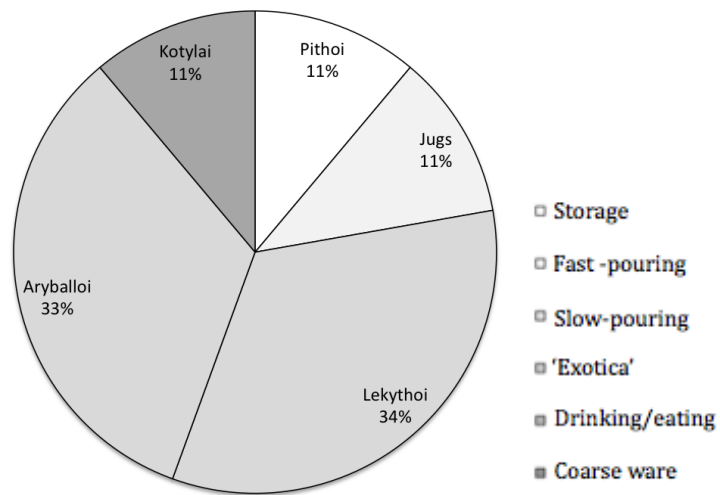


Figure 3.20: Relevant Kavousi cemetery pottery by shape.

O period (total: 9 pieces).

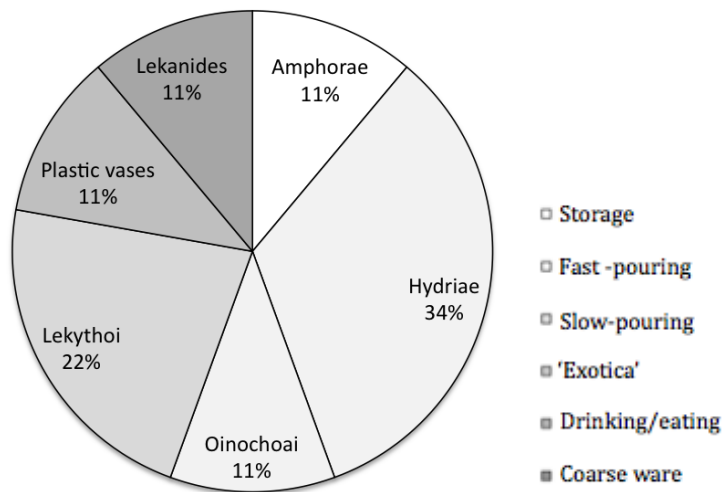


Figure 3.21: Relevant Praisos cemetery pottery by shape.

O period (total: 9 pieces).

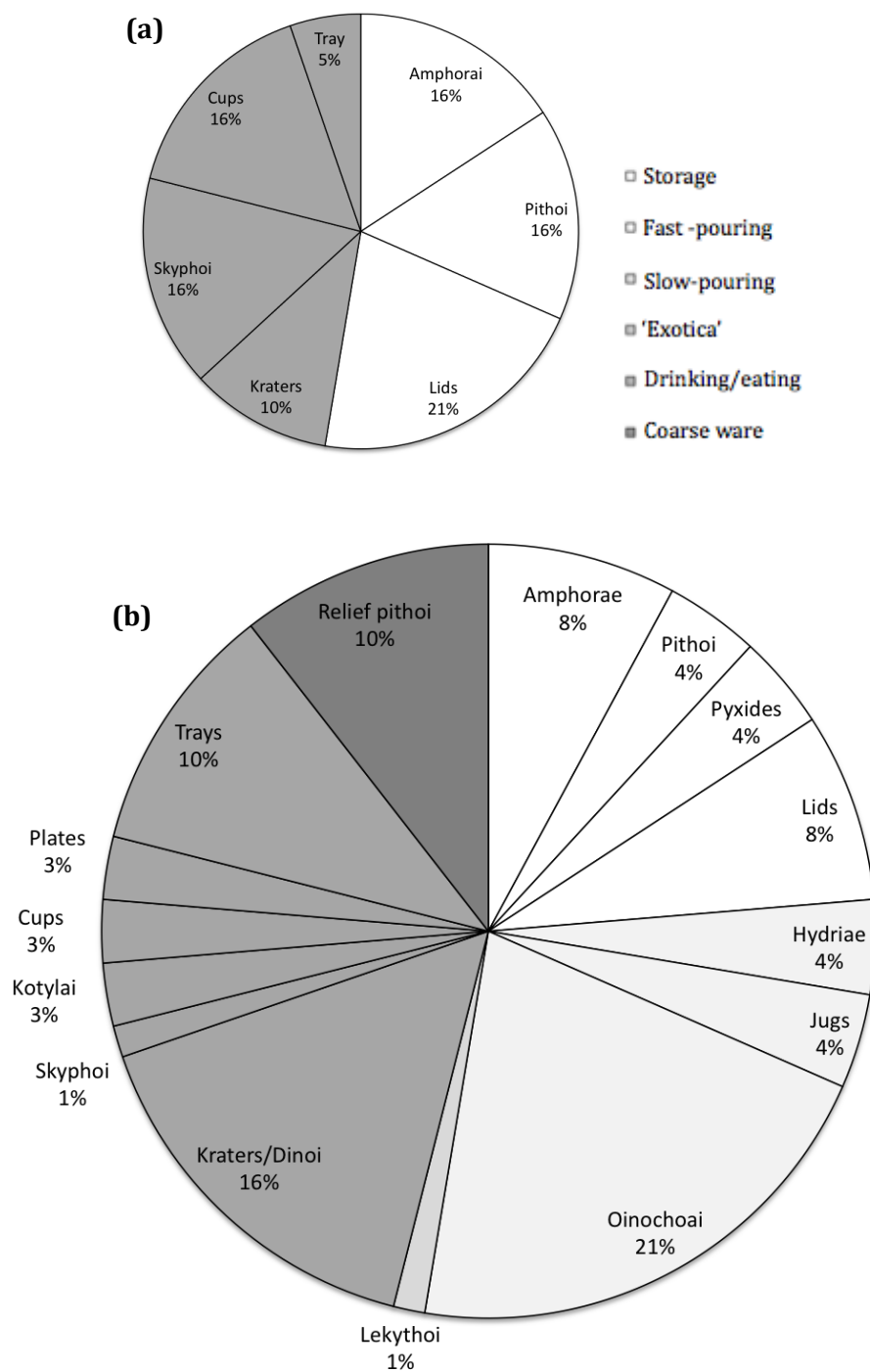


Figure 3.22: Relevant Knossos settlement pottery by shape.

(a) MG/LG periods (total: 19 pieces); (b) O periods (total: 76 pieces).

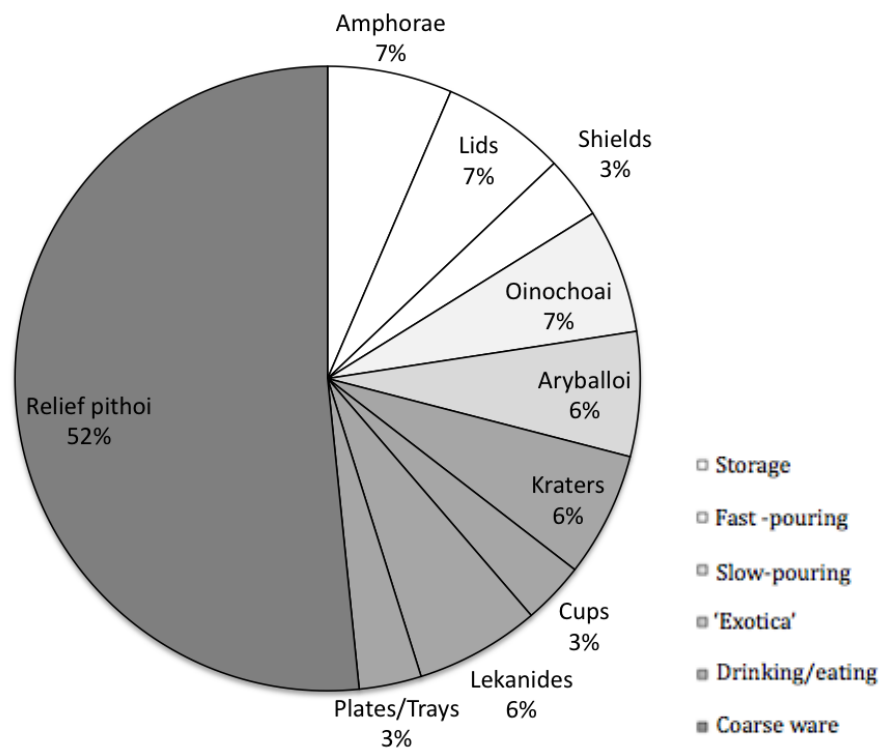


Figure 3.23: Relevant Prinias settlement pottery by shape.
O period (total: 31 pieces).

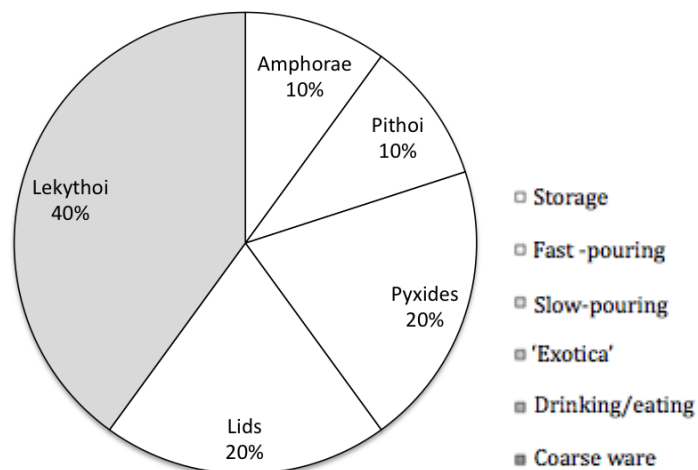


Figure 3.24: Relevant Phaistos settlement pottery by shape.
O period (total: 10 pieces).

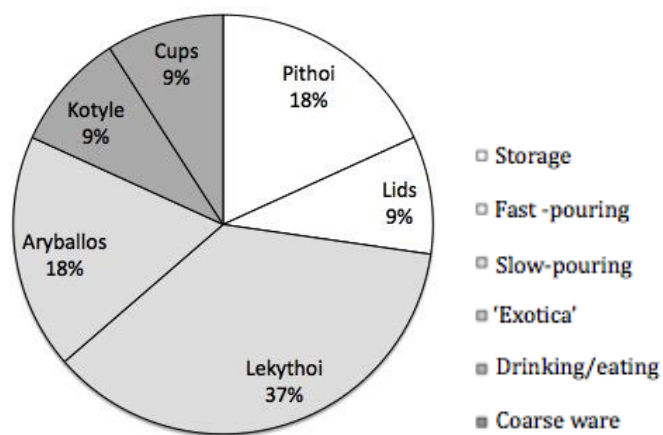


Figure 3.25: Relevant Kavousi settlement pottery by shape.

LPG to O periods (total: 11 pieces).

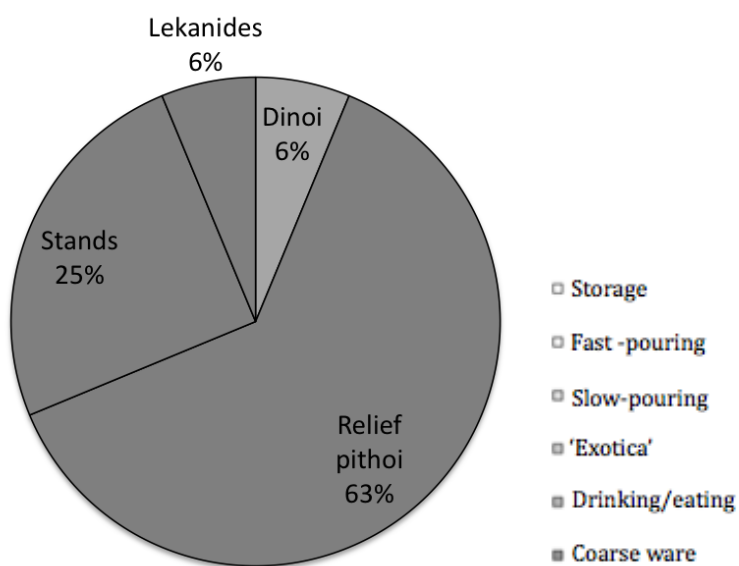


Figure 3.26: Relevant Azoria settlement pottery by shape.

O period (total: 16 pieces).

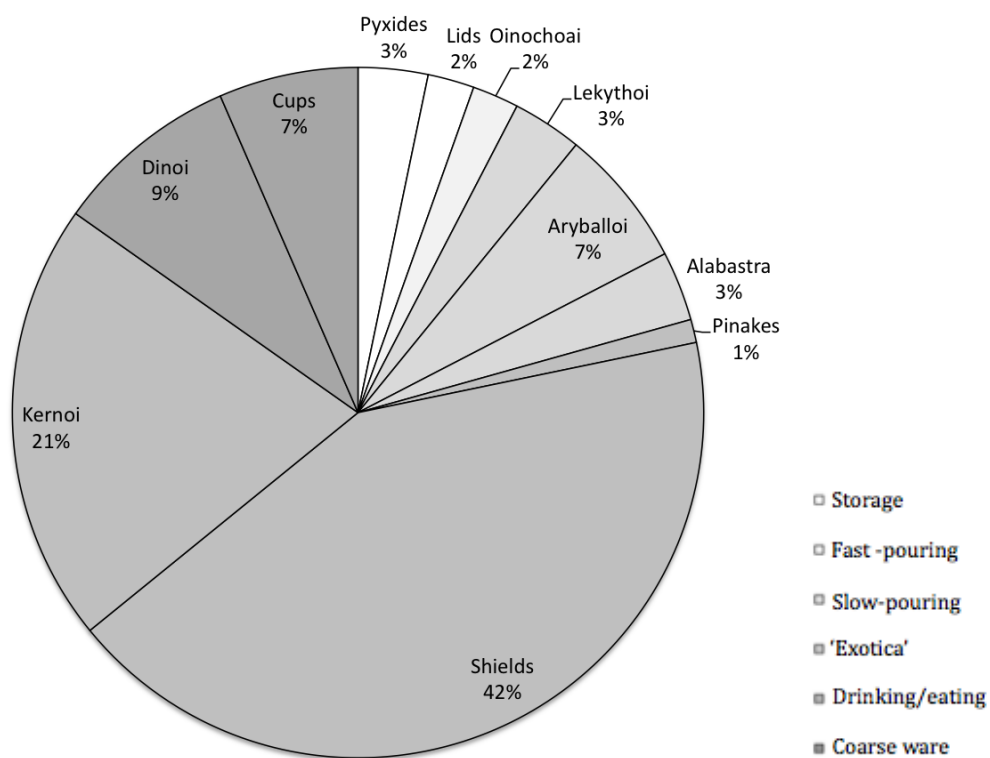


Figure 3.27: Relevant Gortyn sanctuary pottery by shape.

O period (total: 92 pieces).

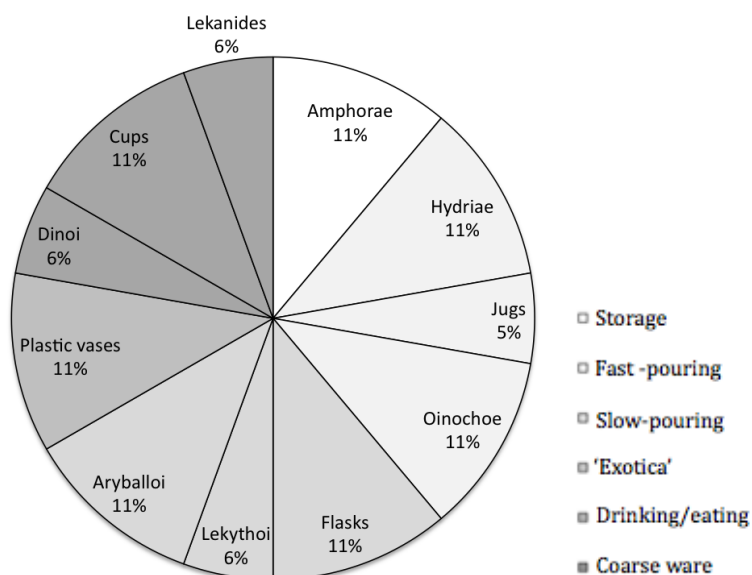


Figure 3.28: Relevant Kommos sanctuary pottery by shape.

O period (total: 18 pieces).

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.29: EIA Knossian cemeteries.

Upper map indicating all cemeteries; lower map showing detail of region 1/L1 (Knossos North Cemetery), which contains the Medical Faculty Site (A).
(Antoniadis 2012, figs. 5 and 6)

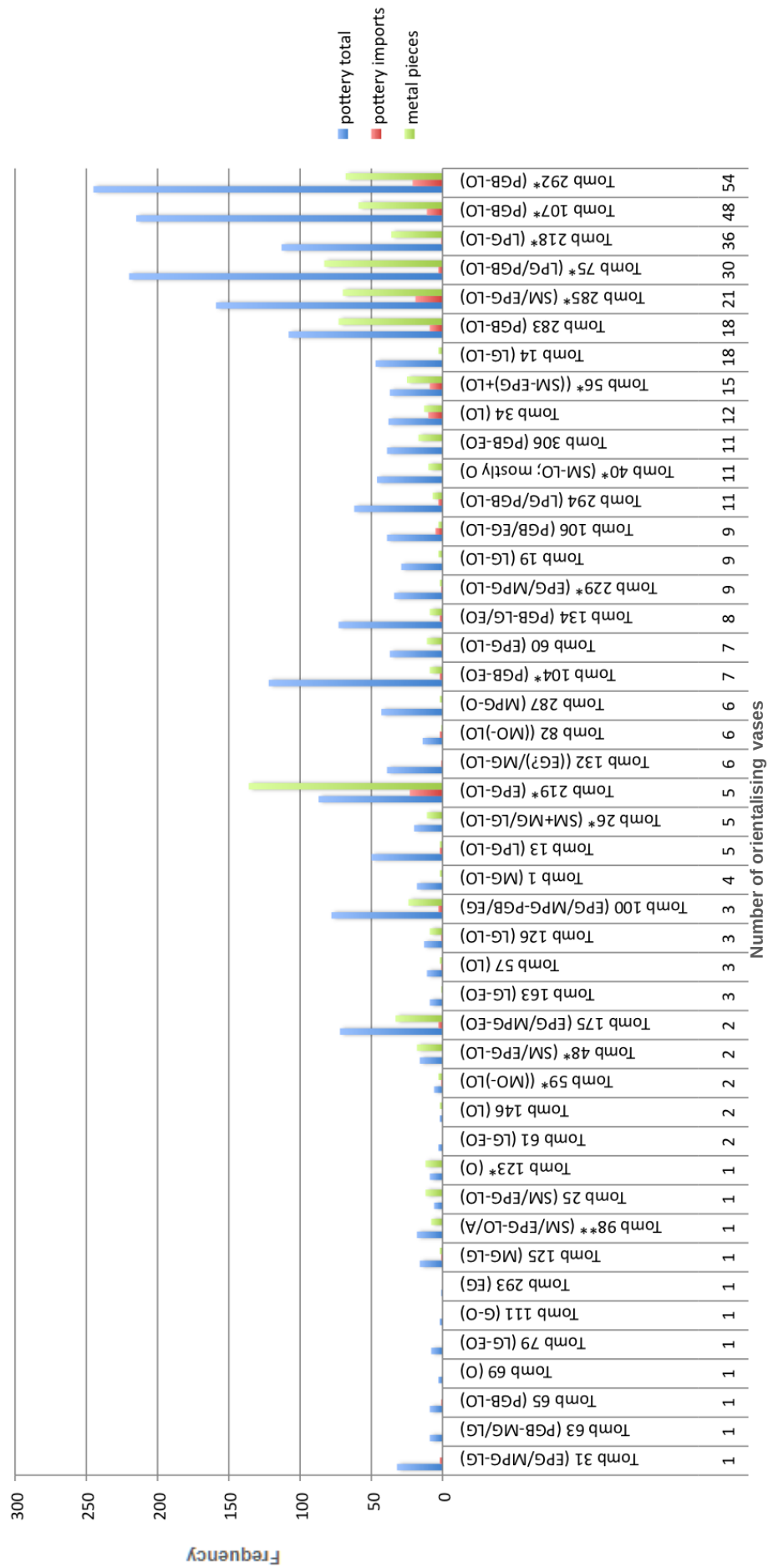


Figure 3.30: Knossos Medical Faculty Site tombs with orientalising pottery; totals of pottery, ceramic imports and metal pieces per tomb organised according to the number of orientalising vases (1 to 54).

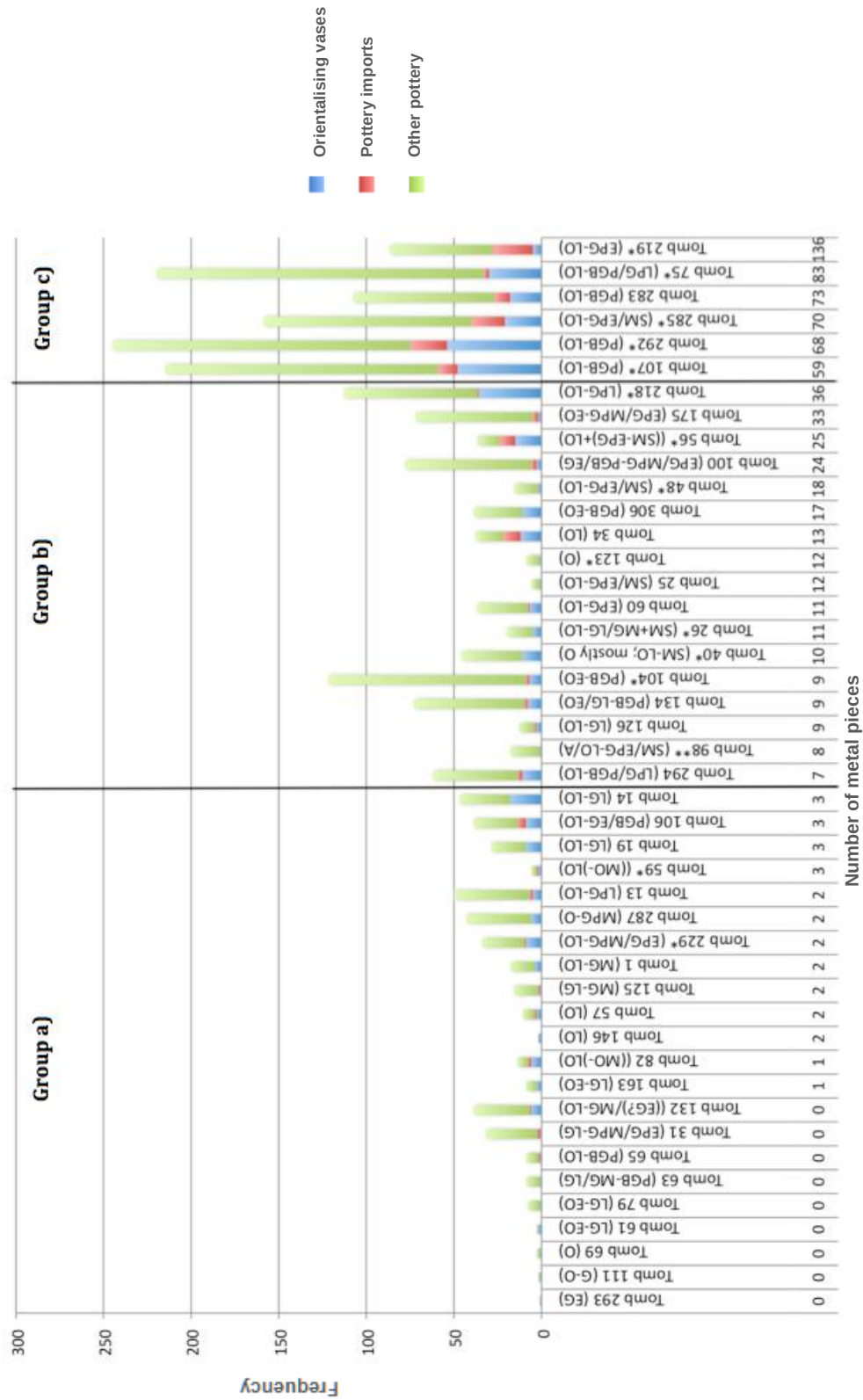


Figure 3.31: Knossos Medical Faculty Site tombs with orientalising pottery; totals of orientalising vases, ceramic imports and other pottery per tomb organised according to the number of metal pieces (0 to 136).

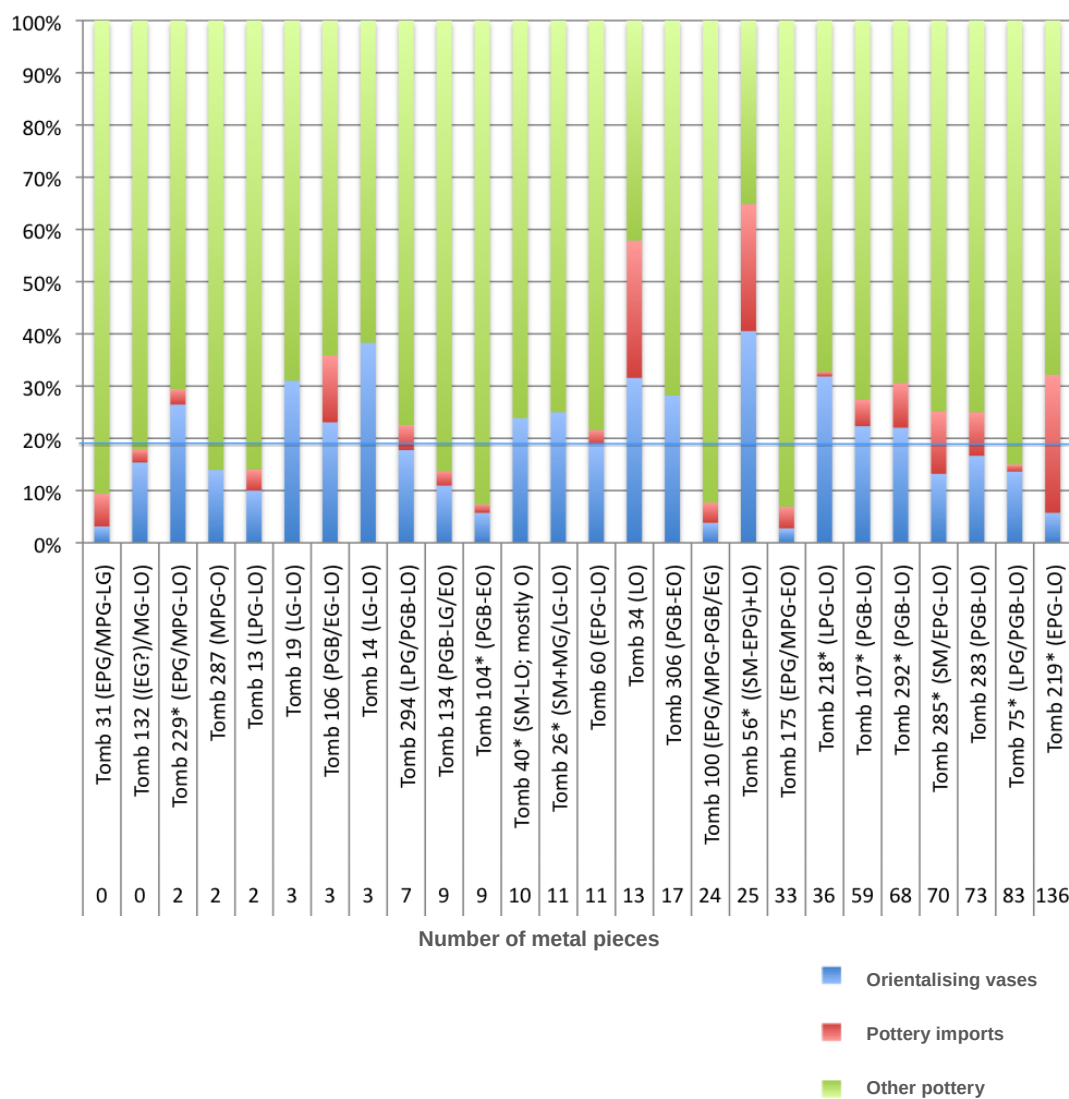


Figure 3.32: Knossos Medical Faculty Site tombs with a minimum of 20 orientalising vases or fragments thereof; ratios of orientalising vases, ceramic imports and other pottery per tomb organised according to the number of metal pieces.

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.33: Ivory furniture fitting from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room 37.

(G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 64 no. 290)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.34: Selection on LM IIIC vessels with rosettes from Vrokastro, Farmakokefalo and Episkopi Ierapetras.

(Kanta 1980, pls. 50.7, 114.1 and 116.1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.35: MG and LG gadrooned vessels from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tombs 31 and 65.

(KNC, fig. 93, pl. 94)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.36: Gadrooned bronze bowl from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 292, North Syrian (?).

(KNC, fig. 172, pl. 286)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.37: Phoenician or Phoenician-derived figured silver bowl from Praeneste.

(Markoe 1985, 289 no. E4)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.38: Bronze bowls with drop-shaped bosses in relief.

No. 1 from Delphi (Assyrian?); Nos. 2-3 from Ashur.
(Hasserodt 2009, pl. 6.1-3)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.39: Bronze bowl with relief network pattern, from Ashur.

(Hasserodt 2009, pl. 7.2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.40: Bronze bowl with figural decoration, from Iran (?).

(Markoe 1985, 332 no. Ir3)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.41: MPC aryballos from Thebes, Boston Chimera Painter.

(Benson 1989, pl. 20)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.42: Wild Goat Style oinochoe, SiA Ic, Malibu Painter.

(Coulié 2013, 161 fig. 151; date after Kerschner and Schotzhauer 2005)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.43: Protoattic stand in Berlin, ca. 660 BC, Polyphemos Painter.

(Coulié 2013, 211 fig. 205a)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.44: Bronze shield from Palaikastro, detail.

(Kunze 1931, pl. 38 no. 40)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.45: MPC-LPC aryballos from Thebes in the British Museum ('Macmillan aryballos'), Chigi Painter.

(http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=287829001&objectid=399476; retrieved from the World Wide Web on 03/10/2016)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.46: Assyrian ivory panel from Nimrud, Residency, Principal Suite, Rooms S4-5.

(G. Herrmann 1992, pl. 10 no. 61)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.47: Wild Goat Style dinos, SiA Ic, from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 34.

(KNC, fig. 81)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.48: Pagoda table from Gordion Tumulus MM, detail of guilloche square.

(Simpson 2010, fig. 21)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.49: North Syrian ivory furniture plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW.7.

(Mallowan and G. Herrmann 1974, pl. XV and LVII)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.50: Phoenician ivory furniture plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW 37.

(G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 3 no. 19 and 27 no. 112)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.51: Levantine bronze jug with lotus handle from the Idaean Cave.
(Matthäus 2000, 521 fig. 2b)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.52: Cypriot lotus-handle bowl from the Idaean Cave.
(Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, pl. 44)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.53: Parian amphora in Athens National Museum, ca. 670-60 BC.

(Coulié 2013, 228 fig. 228)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.54: Aryballos of the EPC Tendril Group in the British Museum, shoulder design.

(Neeft 1987, 79 fig. 22)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.55: Koan krater from Samos, ca. 700 BC; detail of metope.

(Walter 1968, 55 fig. 33, pl. 72)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.56: Types of Near Eastern lotus chains.

(a) Urartian bronze arm guard; (b) Phoenician style ivory plaque from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room 37; (c) Ivory plaque from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room 37.
(Seidl 2004, 79 fig. 40; G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 46 no. 212 and 224 no. 857)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.57: Phoenician ivory from Spain.

(Poulsen 1912, fig. 49)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.58: Wild Goat Style oinochoai, SiA Ic, from Kameiros.

(Jacopi 1931, fig. 19; Schiering 1957, pl. 5)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Fig. 3.59: Cypriot Bichrome IV and V ceramics in Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.
(Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974, 54 and 78)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.60: Ivory panels from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, showing lotus-palmette chains. Assyrian and Phoenician (?).
(G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 47 no. 218 and 320 no. 1236)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.61: EPC oinochoe of the Cumae Group from Cumae.

(Benson 1989, pl. 8.1a)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.62: Ivory plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37.

(G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 37 no. 164 and 40 nos. 179)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.63: Phoenician ivories from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37.

(G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 47 no. 216 and 283 no. 1079)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.64: Phoenician bronze jug, provenance unknown; detail.

(Markoe 2000, fig. 57)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.65: Corinthian 'circumscribed' palmettes.

(a) EPC aryballos from Kallithea, Ephoreia workshop; (b) MPC II-LPC aryballos in Boston, Boston Painter. Drawings.

(Benson 1989, pl. 7; Amyx 1988, pl. 11)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.66: Selection of Protoattic ‘circumscribed’ palmettes.

(Kübler 1970, fig. 15)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.67: Depictions of ‘sacred trees’.

(a) Phoenician silver bowl from Kourion; (b) Syrian ivory panel from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37; (c) Assyrian stone slab from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, Nimrud.

(Markoe 1985, 259 no. Cy8; G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 294 no. 1130; Albenda 1994, fig. 4)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.68: Volute trees.

(a) Orthostate from Karatepe North Gate, 9th century); (b) Ivory plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW37, Assyrian.

(Çambel and Özyar 2003, pl. 81; Herrmann 1986, pls. 203 no. 783 and 208 no. 796)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.69: LM IIIA larnax from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 107.

(Morgan 1987, figs. 7 and 9)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.70: Ivory plaques from Nimrud, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW 37, right one Assyrian.

(G. Herrmann 1986, pls. 207f. no. 794 and 796)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.71: Minoan Final Palace Period seals from Mycenae and Knossos.

(Müller 2000, fig. 1 upper centre; Shapland 2010, fig. 6b)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.72: MPG krater from Knossos Tekke cemetery, Tomb F.

(Catling 1976, figs. 34f.)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.73: Bronze shield from the Idaean Cave.

(Kunze 1931, pl. 3 no. 2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.74: Stone lion bowls.

(a) Example from Sendschirli, 8th century BC; (b) Example in a private collection in Berlin.
(Von Luschan 1943, pl. 14; Hampe 1969, pl. 5)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.75: Levantine faience lion vase from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 219.
(*KNC*, pls. 299f.)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.76: MPC-LPC aryballoi painted by the Chigi painter.

(a) Example from Thebes in the British museum ('Macmillan vase'); b) Example from Kameiros in the Pergamon Museum.
(Amyx 1988, 11.1a-b; Benson 1989, pl. 20.1a-b)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.77: Bronze shield from Idaean Cave belonging to the *Vierecknetzgruppe*; detail.

(Kunze 1931, pl. 6 no. 4)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.78: Assyrian sculptural reliefs depicting lions, from Ashurbanipal's Palace at Nineveh, ca. 645 BC.

(Reade 1998, figs. 82 and 87 detail)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.79: LM IIIC terracotta sphinx from Agia Triada, 'Piazzale dei Sacelli'.
(D'Agata 1999, pl. XL)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.80: LPC-Early Transitional olpe in Berlin, Painter of Vatican 73; detail.
(Amyx 1988, pl. 22.1a)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.81: 'Flame and Frond' style group ivories (from Tell Halaf?), drawing of incision patterns.

(G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, 91 fig. 36)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.82: Minoan griffins.

Larnax from Palaikastro; seal from Vapheio
(Bisi 1965, pls. XII, XVII)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.83: Selection of Assyrian lion griffins.

(Goldman 1960, fig. 7)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.84: Impressions of Neo-Assyrian cylinder seals in the British Museum and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

(Collon 2006, figs. 172 and 177)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.85: EO polychrome pithoi from Knossos Fortetsa cemetery, Tomb P.
(Brock 1957, pls. 188 and 120)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 3.86: Phoenician ivory plaque from Nimrud, North West Palace, Residential Wing.

Cloisonné technique with gold foil plating and lapis lazuli and carnelian inlays.
(G. Herrmann and Laidlaw 2008, pl. V)

Chapter 4 Figures

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.1: MD terracotta relief figurines from Praisos-Vavelli and Lato.

(Erickson 2009, fig. 5; Horst 1996, fig. 133 no. MD9)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.2: MD terracotta *pinakes* from Gortyn (upper) and Lato (lower).

(Rizza and Scrinari 1969, XXV no. 163a, XXVII no. 173a; Horst 1996, fig. 186 no. MD22b)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.3: Terracotta relief figurines from Gortyn preserving paint.

Left and centre ED, right MD.

(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XIII no. 71, XV no. 91a, XXI no. 119).

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.4: MD relief figurines from Lato, Gortyn and Axos.

(Horst 1996, fig. 116 no. MD6b; Rizza 1968, pl. XX no. 120a; Rizza 1967-8, fig. 8 no. 62)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.5: Relief figurines from Axos (MD) and Gortyn (LD).

(Rizza 1967-8, fig. 8 no. 67; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. XXXIX no. 185a)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.6: MD relief figurines from Tsoutsouros (left) and Gortyn (centre and right).

(Kanta and Davaras 2011, fig. 125; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XIX no. 112 and XV no. 90)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.7: PG or G bronze figurine from Agia Triada; sphyrelaton from Dreros, ca.700 BC.

(Naumann 1976, pl. 30.1; Beyer 1976, pl. 48)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.8: Neopalatial bronze figurines from Gournia and Tsoutsouros (?).

(Verlinden 1984, pls. 46 no. 101 and 50 no. 109)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.9: PG or G bronze figurines from Psychro; G terracotta figurine from Gortyn.

(Naumann 1976, pl. 28.2; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, IX no. 51)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.10: Post-palatial pottery figurines from Amari and Myrsine.
(Rethemiotakis 2001, fig. 70 and 74)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.11: SM (left and centre) and PG (right) bronze figurines from Psychro.
(Naumann 1976, pl. 15.3, 17.2 and 24.2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Fig. 4.12: Terracotta *pinax* in the Benaki Museum.
(Pilz 2011b, fig. 5)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.13: Terracotta *pinax* in the Kanellopoulos Museum.

(Pilz 2011b, fig. 1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.14: PG bronze figurines from Agia Triada and Olympia.

(Naumann 1976, pls. 23.2 and 3)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.15: PD and LD relief figurines from Axos.

(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XII no. 60b and XV no. 91b)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.16: Relief figurines from Lato (MD) and Gortyn.

(Horst 1996, fig. 142 no. MD12a; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. XXXVII no. 258)

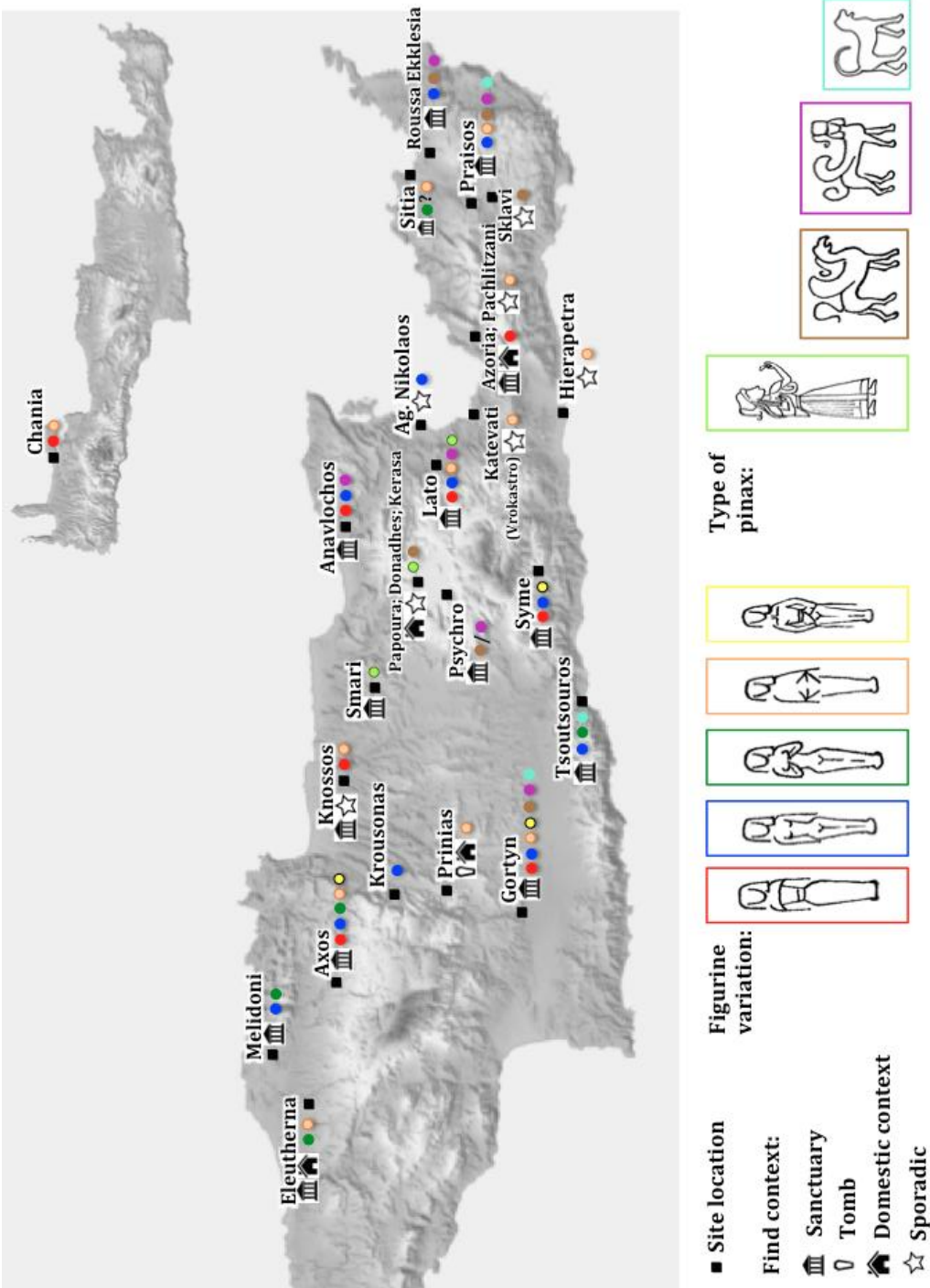


Figure 4.17: Dissemination of relief figurines and pinakes from Crete.

The map only indicates the find spots of terracottas belonging to distinguishable types; it does not include fragments of uncertain type. (Largely based on Pilz 2011a, 317-39)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.18: LD relief figurine from the kitchen of the N Acropolis House at Azoria.
(Whitley et al. 2005-6, fig. 159)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.19: LBA relief figurines from Timna – Tel el-Baṭaši and of unknown provenance.

(Kamlah 1993, fig. 8 nos. III.6 and V.7)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.20: Relief stele, probably from Deir el-Medina.

(Cornelius 2004, pl. 5.4).

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.21: LBA and EIA relief figurines of the Astarte type.

From Tel Munbāqa, Tel Judaidah, Ugarit and Tel Beit Mirsim.

(Pruss 2002a, fig. 2; 2010, pl. 20 no. 173; Badre 1980, pl. LX no. 14; Albright 1939, pl. A.6)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.22: EIA figurine of the Tambourine player type.

From Tel Rehov.
(Paz 2007, fig. 3.2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.23: Relief plaques depicting a large relief figure next to an identical smaller one within a temple façade.

Provenances unknown; left in the Hecht Museum, Haifa, right in the Petrie Collection, London.
(Mazar 1985, figs. 2 and 16).

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.24: MBA handmade figurines with a flat body.

From Halawa, Tel Judaidah and of unknown provenance
(Pruss 2002, fig. 1; 2010, pl. 6 no. 49; Badre 1980, pl. LXIII no. 25)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.25: 8th to 6th-century Phoenician *Dea Gravida* figurine.

From Sarepta.
(Pritchard 1975, fig. 46 no. 1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.26: 8th to 6th-century Phoenician 'Breast Astarte' figurines.

Left from Akhziv, right from Sarepta.

(Gubel 1986, 113 no. 36; Pritchard 1975, fig. 46 no. 3)

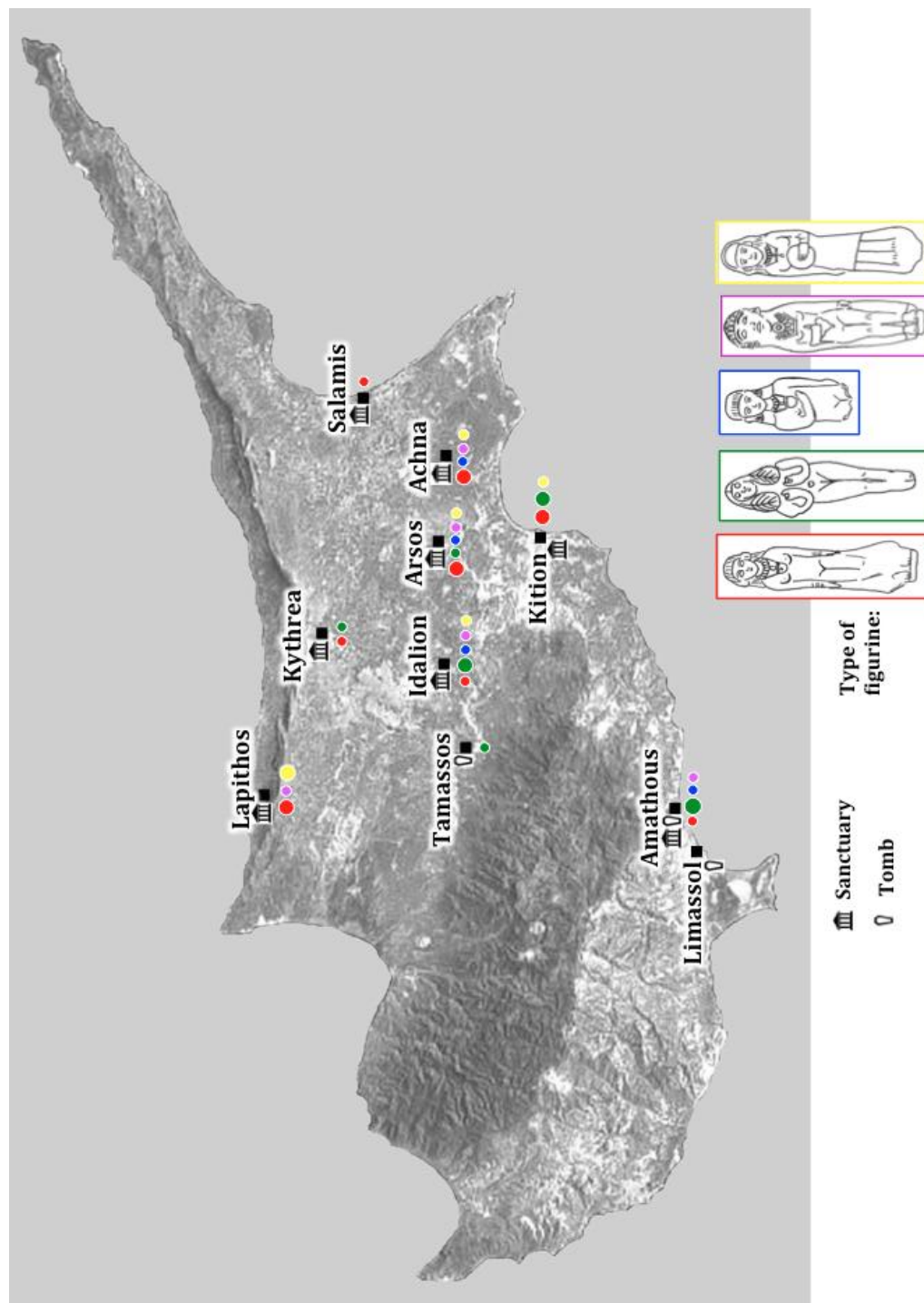


Figure 4.27: Dissemination of relief figurines from Cyprus by type.

The map only includes relief figurines, not depictions of this type in other techniques. (Largely based on J. Karageorghis 1999)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.28: Cypriot relief figurines of the Astarte type.

From Amathus and Arsos.

(J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. II.3 and XXVI.1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.29: Cypriot relief figurines with a drum.

Left: tambourine player type, in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri;
right: tambourine holder type, from Arsos, in the Nicosia Archaeological Museum.

(Averett 2004, fig. 1; Bisi 1980, pl. III.2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.30: Relief figurines from Amathus.

(J. Karageorghis 1999, pl. II nos. 5 and 6)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.31: LBA relief figurines from Alalakh.

(Badre 1980, pl. XX nos. 49 and 51)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.32: Relief figurines from Amathus.

(J. Karageorghis 1999, pls. II no. 23 and III no. 31)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.33: LC II-III 'Base-ring' Ware figurines with flat bodies.

(V. Karageorghis 1993, pls. I no. 4, II no. 7, III no. 8)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.34: LD relief figurines of the *anasyrma* type from Syme.
(Lebessi 2009b, figs. 7 and 8)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.35: LD relief figurines of the *anasyrma* type from Axos (left) and Gortyn (right).
(Rizza 1967-8, fig. 12 no. 86; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. XXIX no. 202)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.36: Ivory figurine from Nuzi with 'cut-away dress'.

(Porada 1948, pl. CXLIII no. 945E)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.37: Impression of a LBA Second Syrian Group cylinder seal with female lifting her dress.

(Böhm 1990, pl. 34e)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.38: Relief figurines from Arsos.

One hand touches the breast; the other the pubis.

(J. Karageorghis 1999, pl. XXXIV nos. 1 and 2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.39: G figurines from Axos with a Cypriot-inspired head shape.

(Rizza 1967-8, fig. 4 no. 34)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.40: Types of *poloi* observed on Cretan relief figurines.

(Cassimatis 1982, fig. 9)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.41: PD relief figurines from Gortyn showing tripartite elements.

(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. XII nos. 60c and 62)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.42: *Pinakes* with Master of Animals depictions from Lato (ED) and Gortyn (MD).

(Horst 1996, fig. 76 no. FD11a; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. XIX no. 106 and XXI no. 127)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.43: *Pinax* showing winged females carrying a pediment-like element.

(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. XXXI no. 208a)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.44: *Pinax* depicting a female with tendril-sprouting headgear from Smari.
(Chatzi-Vallianou 2000, fig. 4, photo 10β)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.45: MD *pinax* from Gortyn depicting a sphinx and preserving white slip.
(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. XXV no. 162a)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.46: ED *pinax* from Gortyn depicting Mistress of Animals between lions.
(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. XIV no. 80)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 4.47: Terracotta plaque from the cult building at Azoria.
(Mook and Haggis 2013, fig. 23)

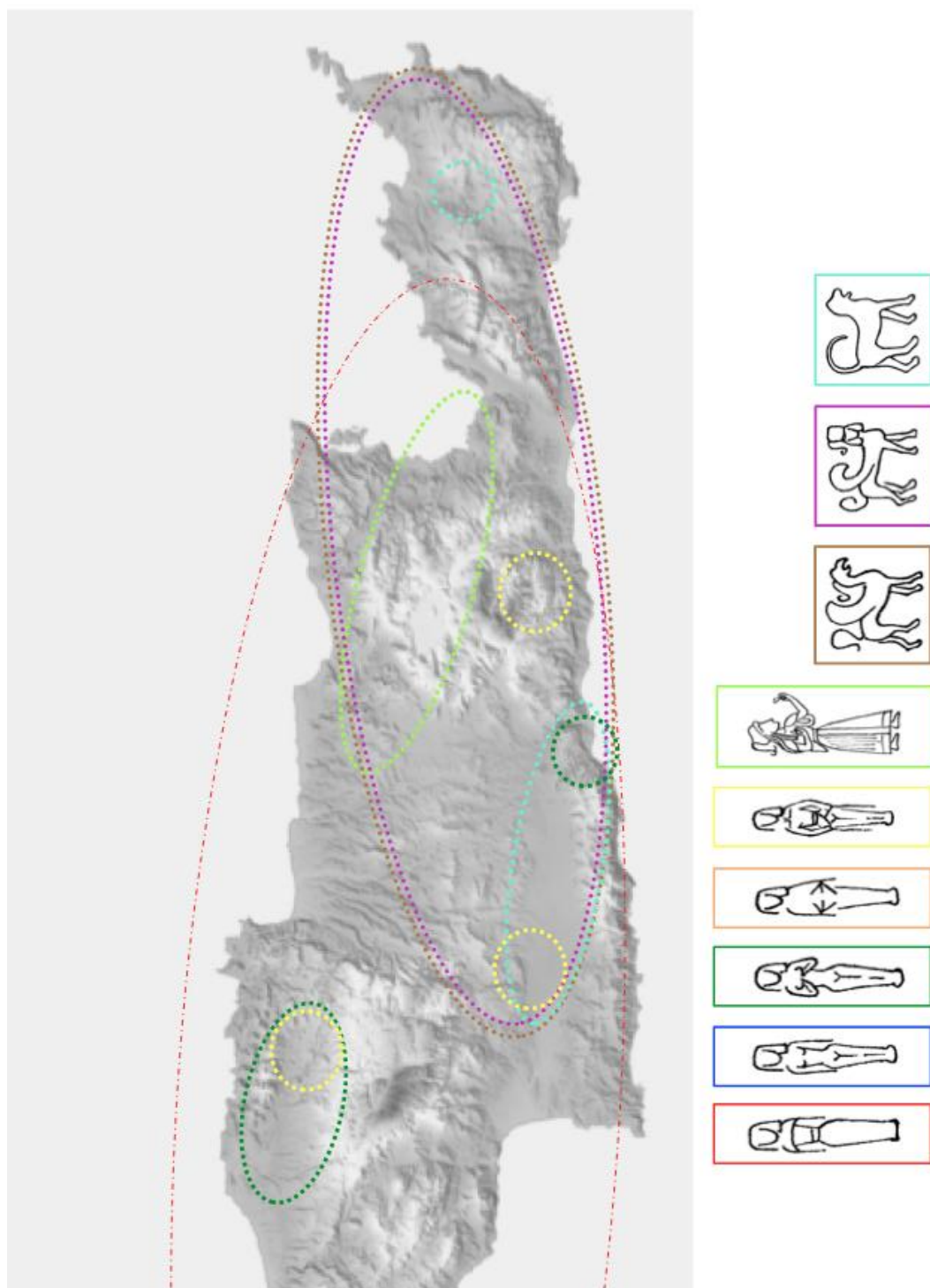


Figure 4.48: Simplified distribution of relief figurines and *pinakes* from Crete.

Based on Fig. 4.17.

Chapter 5 Figures

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.1: Plan of the Prinias *Patela*.
(Rizza 2008, Table B)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.2: Map of 'Area Templi A e B' on the Prinias Patela, showing Building A (here *Tempio A*), Building B (here *Tempio B*) and Building sTB (Rooms VA-VD).

(Palermo et al. 2012, fig. 1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.3: Plan of the porch of Building A at Prinias and the area in front of it; numbers indicating find spots of architectural fragments and other objects.

Fragments belonging to the lintel are marked in green; fragments belonging to the seated females are marked in blue.
(Adapted from Pernier 1914, fig. 2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.4: Reconstruction of Building A at Prinias according to Pernier.
(Pernier 1914, Tables V and VI)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.5: Reconstruction of Building A at Prinias according to Stucchi.
(Stucchi 1974, fig. 9)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.6: Reconstruction of Building A at Prinias according to Beyer.
(Beyer 1976, pls. 12.2 and 24)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.7: Porch area (*Ambiente* VA) of 'Building south of Temple B' at Prinias.
(Palermo et al. 2004, fig. 12)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.8: Minoan 'stylobate' at the Palace of Malia, Central Court, and the Palace of Knossos, light-well of Grand Staircase.
(Shaw 2009, figs. 132, 134)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.9: Prinias Building A, lintel as restored.

Left: relief decoration on joining sides; right: section of lintel indicating cavity.
(After Beyer 1976, pls. 19.1 and 21.1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.10: Prinias Building A, lintel fragments before restoration.

(Pernier 1914, fig. 21)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.11: Prinias Bulding A, lower body of better-preserved seated female before restoration.

(Pernier 1914, fig. 21)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.12: Prinias Building A, doorpost with figural decoration on two joining sides.

(Beyer 1976, pls. 15 and 16)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.13: Prinias, fragment of sphinx body. Found in association with Wall 4 behind Building A.

(Lefèvre-Novaro and Pautasso 2013, fig. 12)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.14: Prinias Building A, fragments of lotus-palmette frieze.

(Pernier 1914, fig. 18; Beyer 1976, pl. 14.2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.15: Prinias Temple A, rider frieze.

Top: fragments before restoration; below: graphical reconstruction of the current state of the frieze, indicating ancient fragments (white) and modern additions (black).
(Pernier 1914, fig. 19; Lefèvre-Novaro and Pautasso 2013, fig. 8)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.16: Prinias Building A, reconstruction of sphinx including newly discovered body and wing fragments.

(Lefèvre-Novaro and Pautasso 2013, fig. 13)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.17: Prinias Building A, seated female.

Left, front view of restored state; right, side view of reconstruction showing corrected position of hands.

(Pernier 1914, fig. 45; Beyer 1976, pl. 21.1)

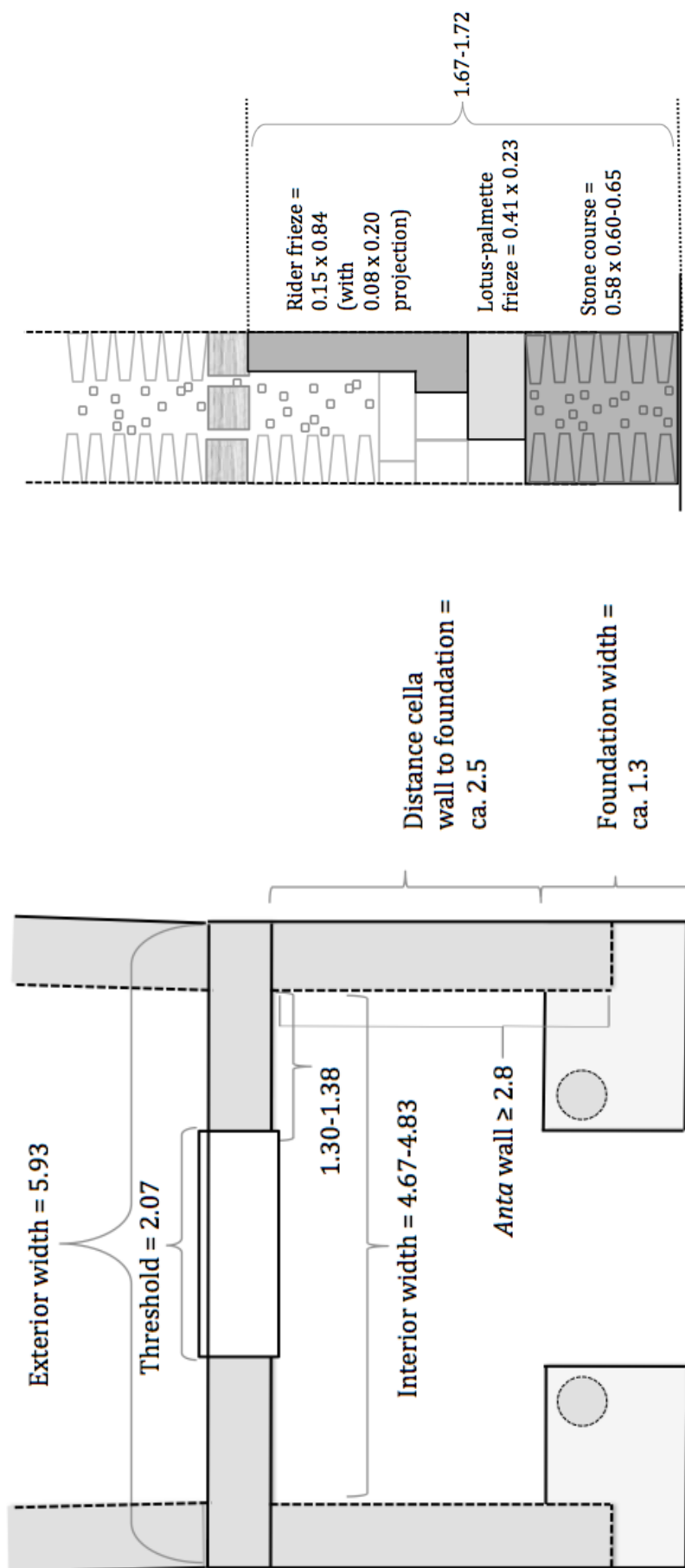


Figure 5.18: Prinias Building A, reconstruction of porch. Measurements are provided in meters.

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.19: Long side of doorpost fragment from Prinias scaled according to a selection of seated and pacing sphinxes on terracottas and pottery.

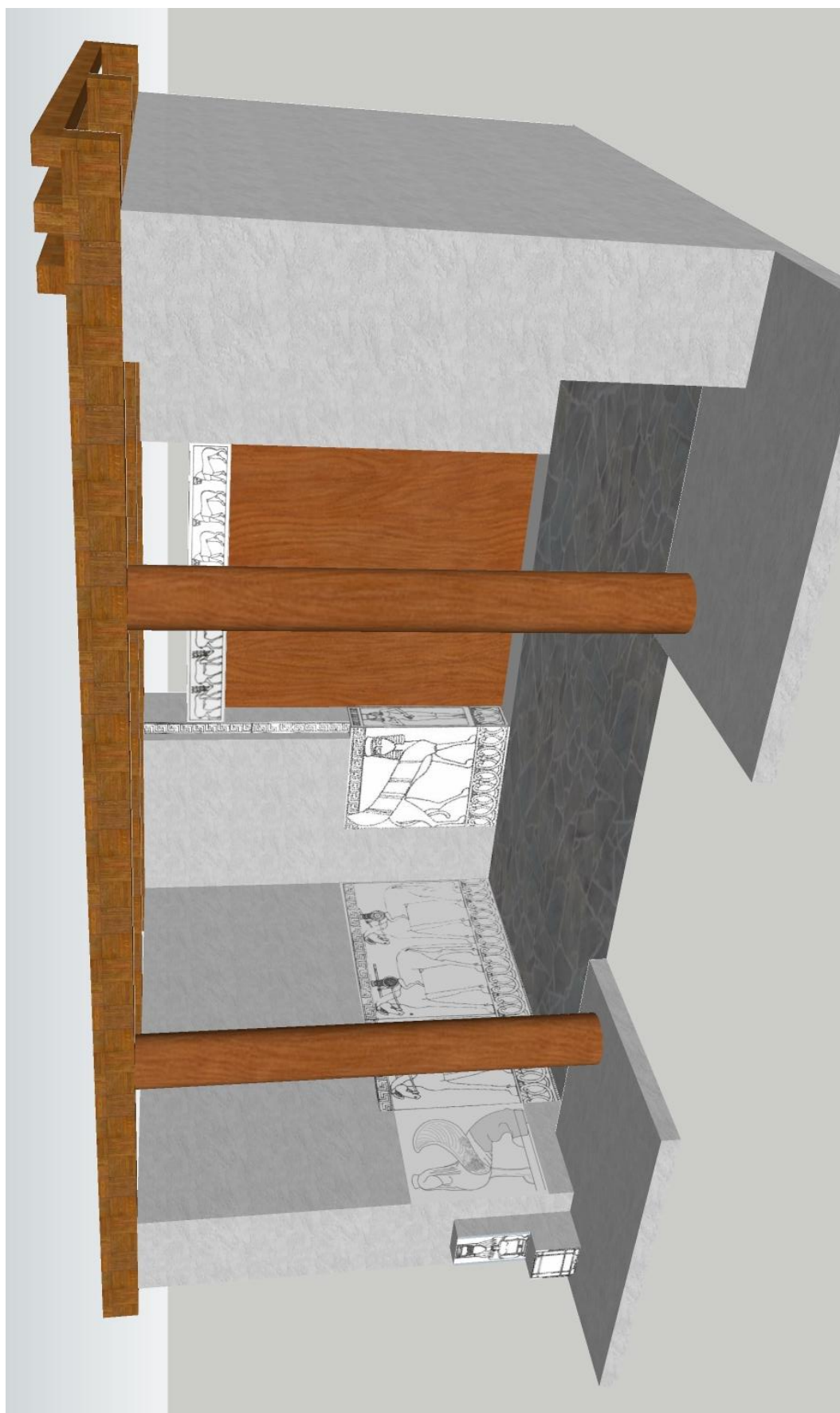


Figure 5.20: Proposed reconstruction of Building A at Prinias.
(Credit for assistance with the computer programme goes to A. Mulhall)

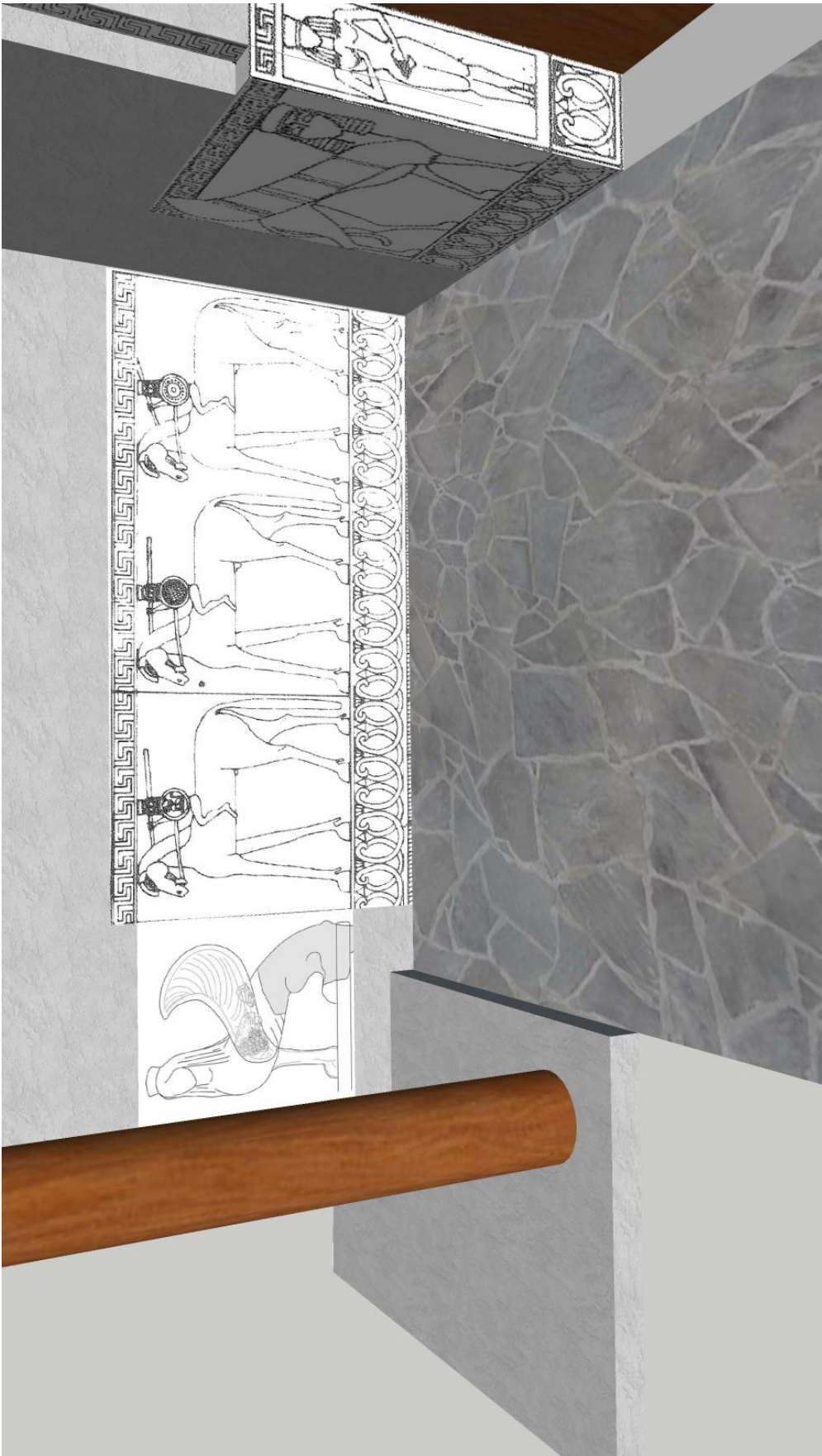


Figure 5.20 (continued).

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.21: Mastaba of Sheshem-nefer IV, Giza: reconstruction of the façade, Sixth Dynasty.

(Arnold 1999, fig. 22)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.22: Orthostate arrangement of the North Gate at Karatepe.

(Çambel and Özyar 2003, pls. 8 and 10)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.23: Map of Gortyn.

(Di Vita 2010, fig. 7; 'Armi' inserted)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.24: Gortyn, temple on the Acropolis Hill.

Above, stone plan; below: view of the temple from the south-west.
(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, fig. 43, Table B)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.25: Reconstructions of the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn.

Top according to Rizza and Scrinari, bottom according to D'Acunto.
(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, fig. 76; D'Acunto 2002, fig. 7)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.26: Interior of the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, the *thesauros*.
(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, fig. 67)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.27: Plan of the temple on the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn and the building to its east.
(Bejor and Sena Chiesa 2003, fig. 2.2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.28: Limestone statue from the east slope of the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, early 7th century.
(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. II and III)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.29: Section of the east slope of the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn.

Indicating the location of the upper terrace wall (muro di terrazzamento superiore), checkerboard wall (muro a scacchiera) and lower terrace wall (muro inferiore di terrazzamento).
(D'Acunto 2002, fig. 13)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.30: Section of the east slope of the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn at the height of the Chequerboard and Lower Terrace Walls.

Layer 6 is marked in blue.

(After Rizza and Scrinari 1968, Table G)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Fig. 5.31: Statue of the seated female *in-situ* during excavation.

(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, fig. 193)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.32: Restored LD limestone slab from the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, depicting a triad.

(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. 4)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.33: LD limestone fragment from the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn, depicting a feline.

(Rizza and Scrinari 1968, figs. 79 and 80, pl. V)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.34: Proposed reconstruction of the fragment depicting a feline from the Acropolis Hill at Gortyn as a relief slab.

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.35: Phoenician style ivories from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud.

(G. Herrmann et al. 2004, 43)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.36: LO relief pithos in the Metaxa Collection depicting a Lebessi Type B couple scene.

(Detail of Lebessi 2009a, fig. 11)

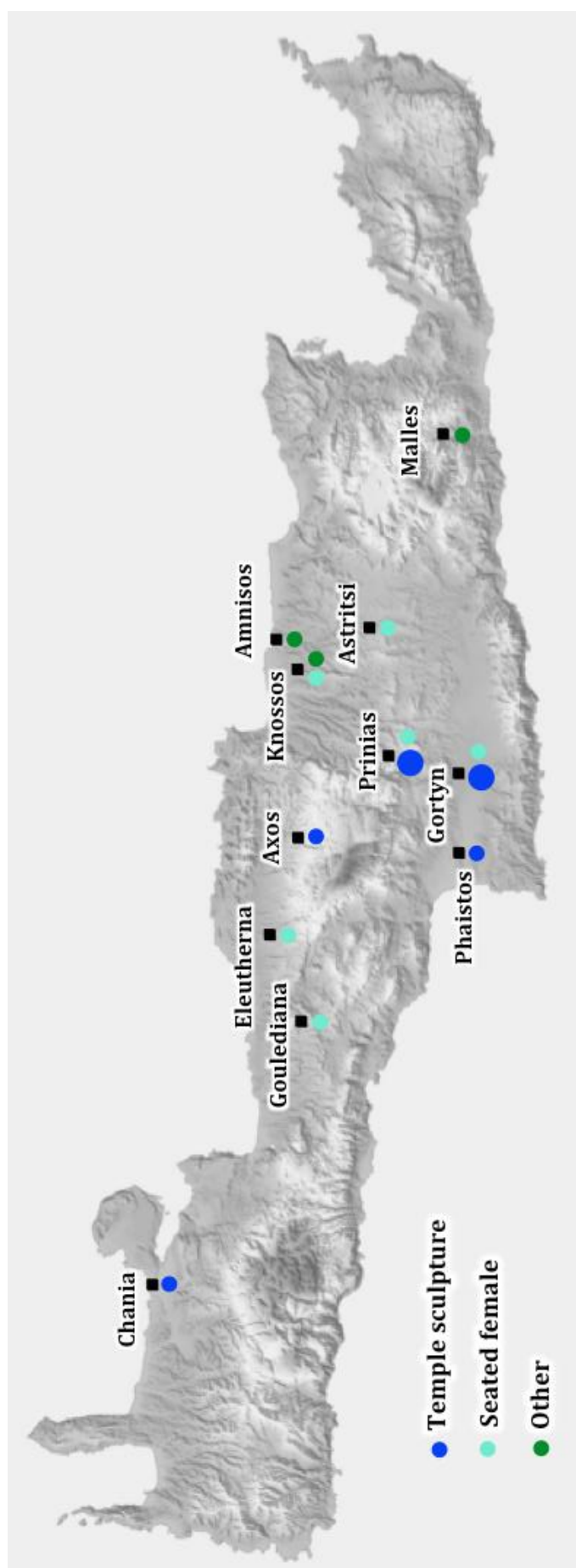


Figure 5.37: Distribution of orientalising sculptural fragments on Crete.

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.38: Limestone head from the Zeus sanctuary at Amnisos, late 9th or early 8th century.

(Adams 1978, pls. 1 and 2)



Figure 5.39: Limestone relief in the Archaeological Museum of Chania, ca. 700.

(Own photographs)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.40: Limestone slab from Tekke Tomb 2, ca. 700.

(Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, pl. 30)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.41: MD limestone relief from Malles.

(Pernier 1916, figs. 1, 2)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 5.42: LD limestone fragment from Phaistos.

(D'Acunto 2001, fig. 2 and 4)

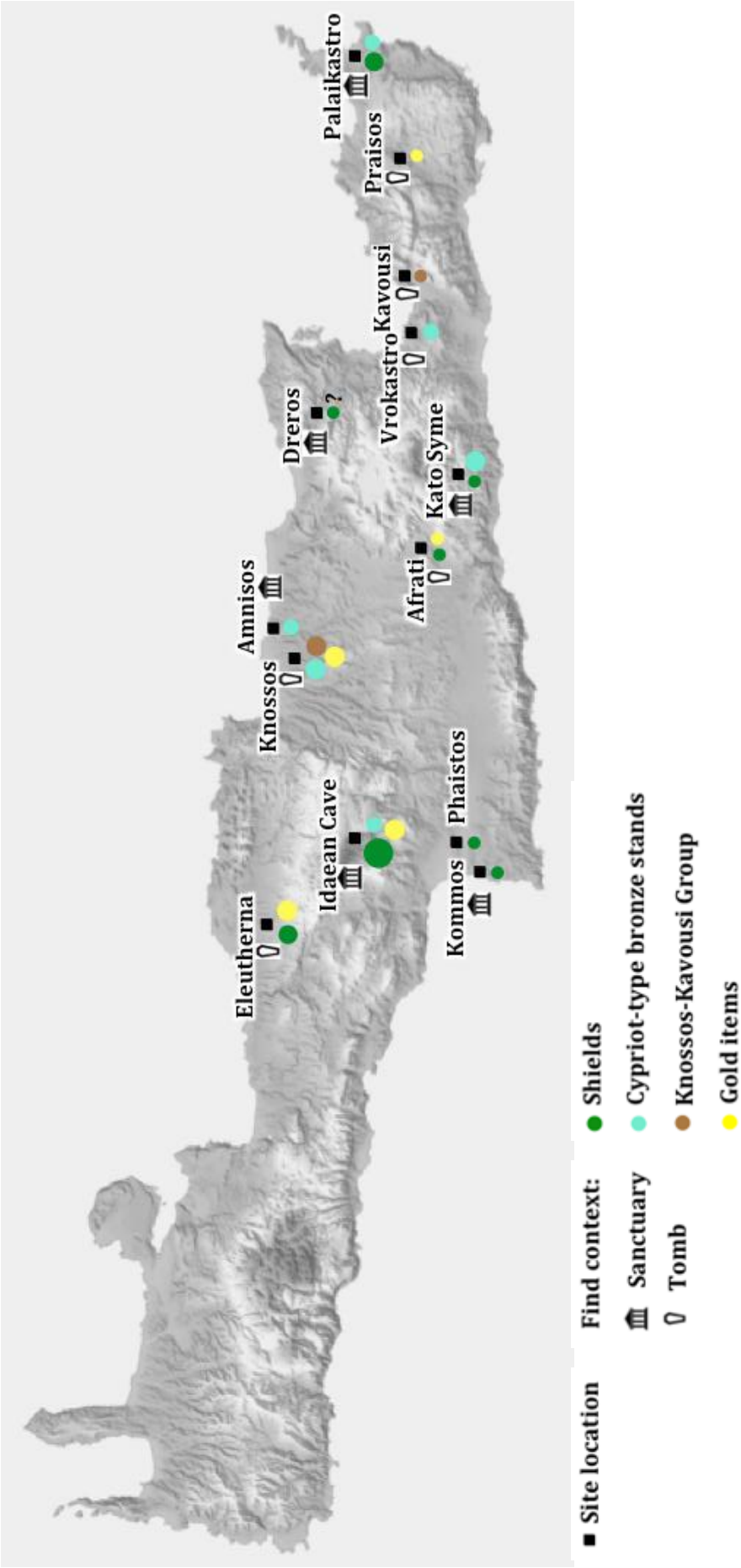


Figure 6.1: Dissemination of orientalising bronzes on Crete by group.

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.2: Shield types: protome shield (left) and omphalos shield (right).

Both examples from the Idaean Cave.
(Kunze 1931, pls. 6 and 34).

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.3: Shield with holes running along the rim.

From the Idaean Cave.
(Kunze 1931, pl. 1).

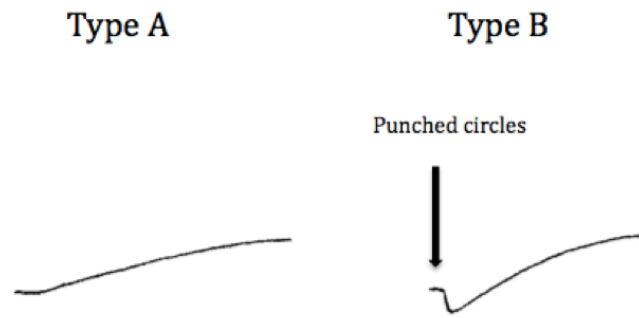


Figure 6.4: Types of rim profiles on Cretan shields.

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.5: Lion head shield from the Idaean Cave.

(Kunze 1931, pl. 26)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Fig. 6.6: Lion head shield from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Tomb A1/K1; detail.

(Stampolidis 2004, 282 no. 360; Stampolidis 2007, fig. 36.6)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.7: So-called 'basin' from Eleutherna.

(Stampolidis 2004, 280 no. 357; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 227)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.8: So-called 'bowl' or 'basin' from Afrati.

(Kanta and Karetsou 1998, fig. 13)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.9: Omphalos shield from the Idaean Cave.

(Sakellarakis 1984, fig. 2,)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.10: Omphalos shield from the Idaean Cave.

(Kunze 1931, pl. 33)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.11: Relief from the Palace of Sargon II at Dur Šarrukin-Khorsabad, depicting the sack of the Musasir. Drawing by E. Flandin.

(Radner 2012, fig. 17.06)

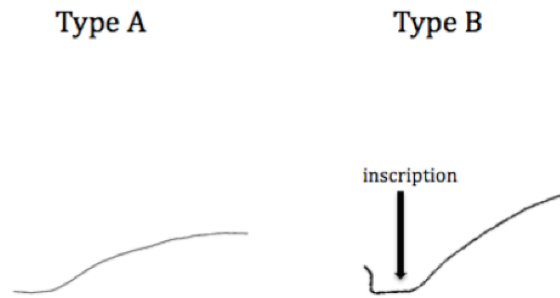


Figure 6.12: Types of rims on Urartian shields.

(Adapted from Seidl 2004, figs. 48 and 49)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.13: Shield with inscription of Argišti I from Kamir Blur.

(Seidl 2004, fig. 51)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.14: Lion head shield with inscription of Rusa II from Ayanis.

(Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, figs. 11f. and 21)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.15: Section of the shield with an inscription of Išpuini and Menua from Anzaf.

(Seidl 2004, fig. 48)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.16: So-called 'tympanon' from the Idaean Cave.

(Kunze 1931, pl. 49)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.17: Part of a four-sided stand from the Idaean Cave, depicting a sphinx.
(Papasavvas 2001, fig. 145)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.18: Part of a four-sided stand from Delphi, depicting a quadruped (hind?).
(Picard 1991, 160)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.19: Part of a four-sided stand from Syme, depicting griffins and goats.
(Papasavvas 2001, fig. 162)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.20: Fragment from Delphi, probably belonging to a four-sided stand.
(Perdrizet 1908, 56)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.21: Bronze quiver from Knossos Fortetsa, Tomb P.

(Brock 1957, pls. 116 and 169)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.22: Bronze belt from Knossos Fortetsa, Tomb P.

(Brock 1957, pls. 115 and 168)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.23: Bronze sheet from Kavousi, bee-hive tomb at Skouriasmenos.
(Boyd 1901, figs. 10f.)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.24: Gold band from Knossos Tekke, Tomb 2.

(Boardman 1967, pl. 12)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.25: Gold foil from Knossos Fortetsa, Tomb X.

(Brock 1957, pl. 167)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.26: Gold foil from Knossos Medical Faculty Site, Tomb 219.
(KNC, pl. 264)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.27: Selection of orthostates from Karatepe.
(Orthmann 1971, pl. 18a; Çambel and Özyar 2003, pl. 145 detail)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.28: Gold pectoral from Knossos Tekke, Tomb 2.

(Boardman 1967, pl. 10)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.29: Gold pendant from Knossos Tekke, Tomb 2.

(Boardman 1967, pl. 11)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.30: Gold pendant from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Building M.

(Stampolidis 2012, 208 no. 7)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.31: Gold pendant from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Building M.
(Stampolidis 2012, 208 no. 8)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.32: Gold pendant from Eleutherna, Orthi Petra, Building M.
(Stampolidis 2012, 208 no. 6)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.33: Gold pendant from the Idaean Cave.

Lower part does not belong, cf. Boardman 1961, 136 n. 2.
(Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 2013, pl. 81)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.34: So-called Hunt Shield from the Idaean Cave.

(Kunze 1931, pl. 10, suppl. pl. 1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.35: Boar depictions on northwest Iranian bronzes.

(Adapted from Löw 1998, figs. 28 and 84)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.36: Detail of the design on a gold cup from Hasanlu.

(Löw 1998, fig. 14b)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.37: Detail of the design on a bronze breastplate from Hasanlu.

(Winter 1980, fold-out plate)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.38: Seal of the Assyrian king and the kings' bureau: example from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud, reign of Esarhaddon; clay sealing from Niniveh.

(Winter 2000, fig. 1; Radner 2008, fig. 3)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.39: Ivory plaque, Fort Shalmaneser, Room SW 36; detail of the design on a silver bowl from Etruria.

(G. Herrmann 1986, pl. 16; Markoe 1986, 292)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.40: Bronze belt buckles from Hasanlu, Burnt Building I.

(Details of Winter 1980, figs. 70b and 71b)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.41: Statue base from Carchemish, King's Gate.

(Orthmann 1971, pl. 32)

- *Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright* -

Figure 6.42: Section of orthostate block from Carchemish, Herald's Wall.
(Orthmann 1971, pl. 26)

- *Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright* -

Figure 6.43: Coarse ware *patris* for griffin protome from Afrati.
(Stampolidis and Karetsou, 143 no. 90)

- *Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright* -

Figure 6.44: Selection of griffin protomes from Samos, attributed to the Barberini workshop.
(Gehrig 2004, pls. 2, 3 and 5)

- *Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright* -

Figure 6.45: Reconstructed development of the Cretan lion griffin.

(Adapted Assyrian model to Cretan clay protome, to coarse ware *patrix*, to Barberini bronze protome).

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.46: Cauldron with griffin protomes and siren attachments from Praeneste, Tomba Bernardini.

(Curtis 1919, pl. 52)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.47: Cauldron with griffin protomes and siren attachments from Olympia, south of Building C.

(H.-V. Herrmann 1979, pl. 1)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.48: Bull figurine standing on the wing of a 'Van Group' siren, from the Argive Heraion.

(Kunze 1950, pls. 16f.)



Figure 6.49: Clay siren from Psychro in the Ashmolean Museum.

(Own photographs)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.50: 'Van Group' bronze siren from Olympia.

(H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, pl. 16)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.51: 'Van Group' bronze siren from Olympia.

(H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, pl. 13)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.52: Conical bronze stand from Praeneste, Tomba Barberini.

(Curtis 1925, 44f. no. 80, pls. 27f.)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.53: Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium (no. U2).
(H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, pls. 65 and 67)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.54: Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium (no. U3).
(H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, pls. 68f.)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.55: Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium (no. U4).
(H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, pl. 69)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.56: Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Stadium, Well 6 (no. U5).
(H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, pl. 70)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.57: Conical bronze stand from Olympia, Alpheios bed (no. U6).
(H.-V. Herrmann 1966a, pl. 72)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.58: Bronze shield from Olympia, Echo Hall.
(Philipp 2004, pl. 104)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.59: Sheet bronze no. 6 belonging to the sphyrelata from Olympia.
(Borell and Rittig 1998, pl. 10)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.60: Reconstruction drawing of the sphyrelata triad from Olympia, Stadion Well 17.
(Borell and Rittig 1998, pl. 57)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.61: Reconstruction drawing of the right hand figure of the sphyrelata triad, i.e. Sheet I and Unit A.

(Borell and Rittig 1998, pl. 54)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.62: Reconstruction drawing of the left hand figure of the sphyrelata triad, i.e. Sheet II and Unit B.

(Borell and Ritting 1998, pl. 55)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 6.63: Reconstruction drawing of the central figure of the sphyrelata triad, i.e. Unit D, Sheet V and Unit C.

(Borell and Ritting 1998, pl. 56)

Chapter 7 Figures

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 7.1: ‘Tripillar Shrine’ at Kommos Temple B.

(Detail of Shaw 1989, fig. 4)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 7.2: Pillars in Room VD of the ‘Building south of Temple B’ at Prinias: to the right the tripillar structure; in front of the adjoining wall two of the three later pillars.

(Palermo et al. 2008, fig. 31)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 7.3: Single burials at Afrati: variations of burials with inverted terracotta basins.

(Levi 1927-9, fig. 57)

- Figure removed from digital copy of thesis due to copyright -

Figure 7.4: Assyrian (?) conical bronze helmet from Tomb A1K1 at Eleutherna.
(Stampolidis 2004, 282 no. 361)

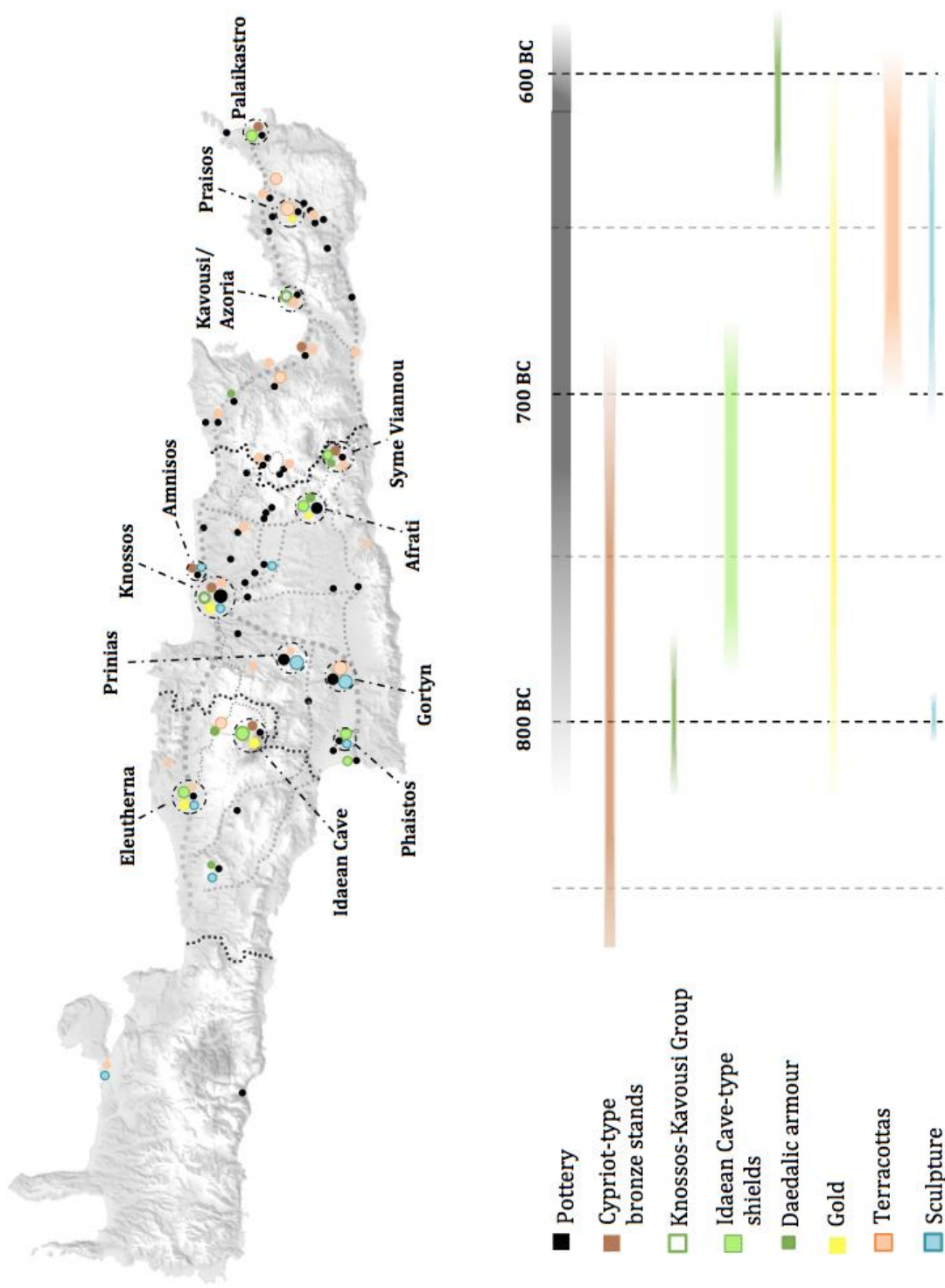


Figure 8.1: Map indicating find spots of orientalising object groups and their chronological placement.

Appendix A: Index of surveyed orientalising motifs on pottery (plus Creto-Cypriot ware and BS imitations)

Publications on Cretan material do not specify the range of motifs that are counted as orientalising, but the categories listed in this index roughly accord with general conventions.¹ To facilitate understanding, the index is provided with figures illustrating representative instances of mentioned patterns and motifs. Descriptions are deliberately concise, only the section on imitations of Black on Red (BoR) and Black Slip (BS) pottery is slightly more comprehensive since their derivation is evident and therefore not discussed separately in Chapter 3.5.

- **Scales, rosettes and tongues** (Fig. A1; below).

These designs might at first appear too commonplace to warrant a classification as ‘orientalising’ and indeed they also occur in the periods preceding and succeeding the investigated timeframe. However, they are typical of other Greek orientalising styles (Corinthian, Protoattic, East Greek), in which they form the backbone of secondary decoration. Regarding definition, the term ‘scales’ is applied to patterns that describe a free-hand arched shape, must not exceed a certain size (which is admittedly subjective) and have to occur in rows, clustered or massed (a-f). This sometimes involves designs that are labelled ‘arcs/arches’ or ‘semi-circles’ in publications. As additional embellishments, scales frequently feature cross-hatching (c, f) or dots (b, e). The category ‘rosettes’ (g-o) comprises decorations featuring a variety of petal types, which can be shaped as tongues/petals (g, h, l, m), leaves

¹ Cf. e.g. Borell 1978, 91f.; Boardman 1999, 77-81.

(i, j), dots (k), drops (n) and lozenges (o). Quatrefoils, i.e. examples with four symmetrically arranged, mostly leaf-shaped petals (so-called 'leaf crosses'), and octofoils, composed of two quatrefoils with differing petal shapes, are not included because these seem to follow a different concept. Finally, tongue designs (p-v) describe a row of narrow, long arches, which can feature internal mid-ribs (q) or monochrome centres (r, s). In very few instances the tongues can be drop-shaped (s); rather common is their provision with arcading (s-v). It has to be pointed out that the distinction between tongues and rosettes with tongue-shaped petals can be blurred, depending on which part of the vessel they adorn. Some scholars count lingulate designs on the shoulder of vessels as rosettes² because they are in some sense centred. In this thesis, only centred lingulate designs that feature a small and uninterrupted internal area are counted as rosettes (e.g. at the centre of lids or shields), whereas designs with a large internal area, i.e. exceeding the diameter of two petals, and interrupted by features (e.g. the neck of a vessel) are counted as tongues. Therefore, lingulate designs framing the neck of vessels are recorded as tongues, not rosettes.

² Cf. e.g. Levi 1929, 311 about 28-AFR-32 and Brock 1957, 106 about 8-KNO.FOR.SE-138.

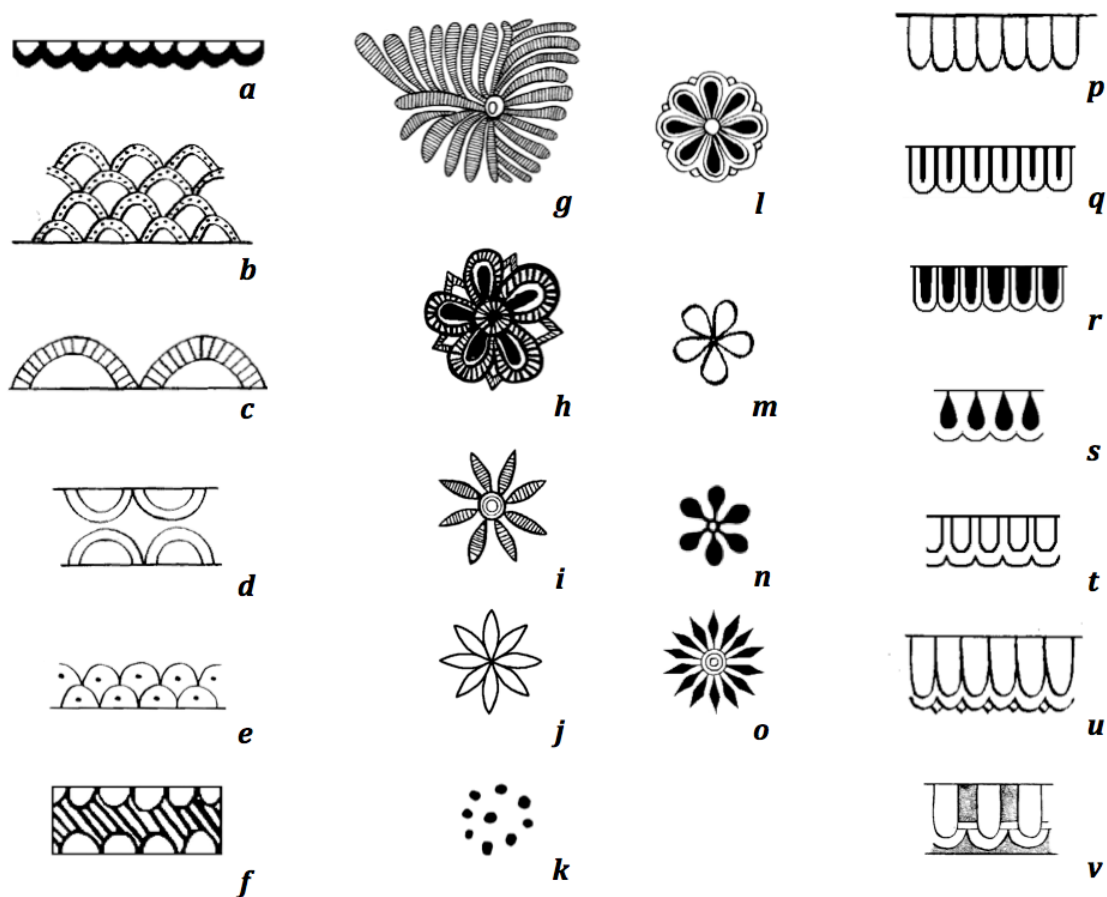


Figure A1: Scales, rosettes and tongues.

Scales: (a) LPG-EO; (b) PGB; (c) PGB-EG; (d) PGB, O; (e) PGB- EG, LG-EO; (f) MG-LG.

Rosettes: (g) and (h) PGB; (i) PGB-EG; (j) MG-LO; (k) MG-EO; (l), (m), (n) and (o) O.

Tongues: (p) PGB-LO; (q) EG-LO; (r) MG, O; (s) MG, O; (t) LG-LO; (u) and (v) O.

(Partially redrawn from *KNC*; Brock 1957; Tsipopoulou 2005).

- **Cables, guilloches, lotuses and palmettes** (Figs. A2 and A3; below).

These four designs appear to be universally acknowledged as core orientalising stock. However, employed terminologies vary greatly, urgently requiring specification. In this thesis, the term ‘cable’ refers to a pattern of two threads that are entwined in a simple manner (Fig. A2, a-h), with or without circular elements (so-called ‘eyes’) inserted in the spaces created by the two threads (b, e, f, g,). Many scholars include the so-called ‘Ss’ or ‘S’s’ pattern – a line of unconnected sigmoid shapes – and the so-called ‘step pattern’ (or

‘rectilinear cable’), its 7th-century outline version, in this category (depicted next to e and h).³ However, in the simple ‘Ss’ version the sigmoids can be generously spaced – counteracting the sense of a cable – and the motif co-exists with the cable from an early point, suggesting that we are dealing with an independent pattern. Therefore, only variations that deliberately approximate cable designs by including dotted eyes (e; the so-called ‘broken cable’) or distinct internal spaces between threads (h) are recorded as cables. The term ‘guilloche’, on the other hand, is reserved for depictions that display multiple tiers and more complex weaving patterns (Fig. A2, i-n). Like cables, guilloches can occur as circumferential motifs (k), horizontal segments (l-m) or standing ‘columns’ (j), but they are additionally found as squares (i) and panels (n). Both cables and guilloches can be adorned with cross-hatching and dots (c, f, g, l, m). Finally, lotuses and palettes (Fig. A3) mostly consist of a central petal element that is placed between sepals rendered as external volutes or spirals (a-c, i-k, m), circular elements (n) or straight leaves⁴ (d-f, l). In cases that display pointed petals (or sometimes even abstract triangles or lozenges) the motif is called ‘lotus’ (a-f); in cases that feature rounded petals or tongues as the central element the motif is labelled ‘palmette’ (i-m). While the lotus mostly features a single petal (in older publications this type is sometimes referred to as ‘fleur de lys’), the palmette usually consists of three or more, but can dispense with the sepals. Both motifs can occur in elaborate chain designs (d-f, l-n), sometimes combining lotuses and palmettes (g, h).

³ Cf. e.g. Markoe 1985, 158f.

⁴ *Contra* Kantor 1945, 809 who interprets them – despite the different shape of the central element – as three leaves.

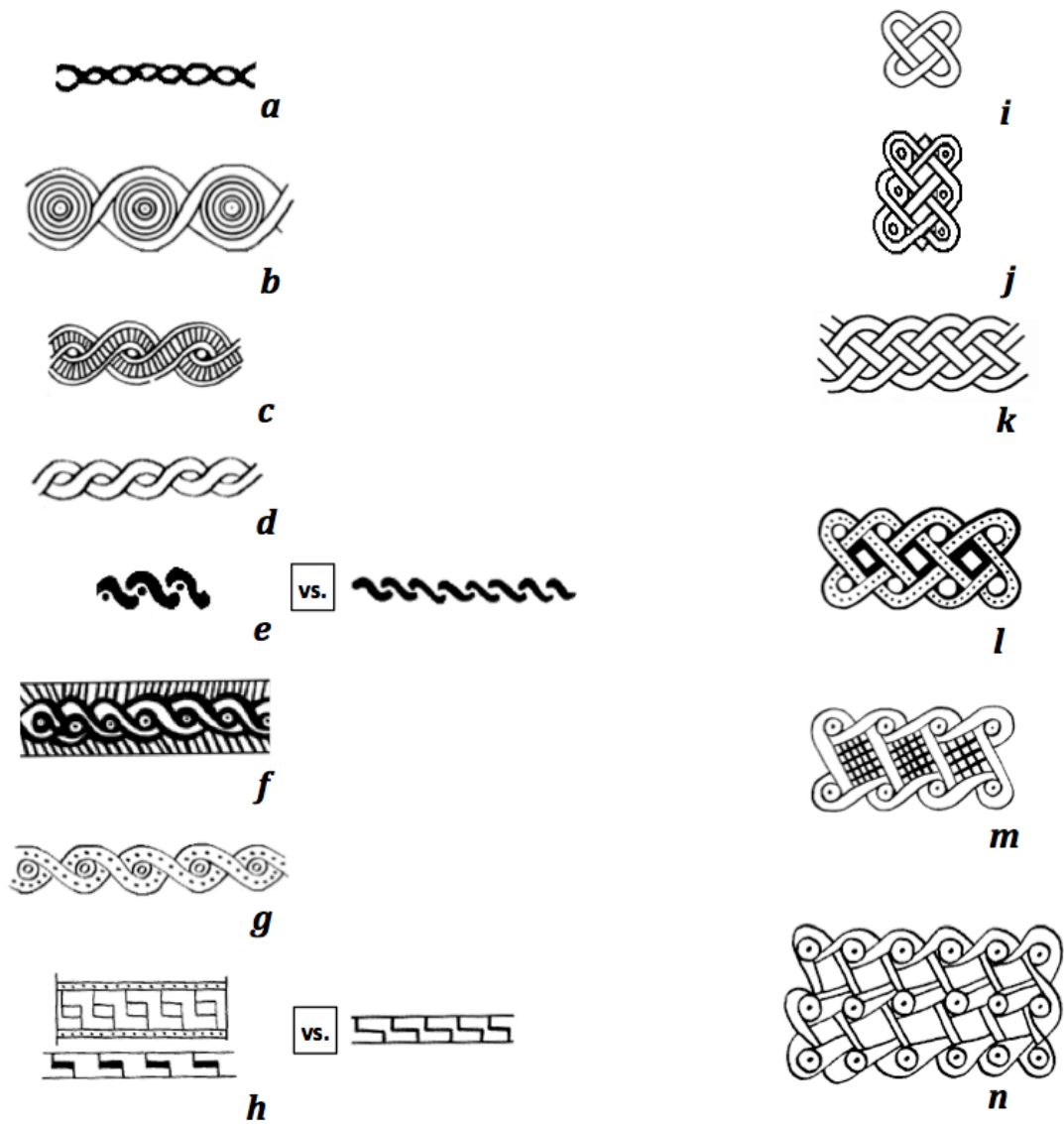


Figure A2: Cables and guilloches.

Cables: (a) LPG-EO; (b) LPG-EG, O; (c) PGB-EG; (d) PGB-LO; (e) LG; (f) LG-EO; (g) and (h) O.

Guilloches: (i) and (j) LG-EO; (k)-(n) O.

(Partially redrawn from Brock 1957; Tsipopoulou 2005)

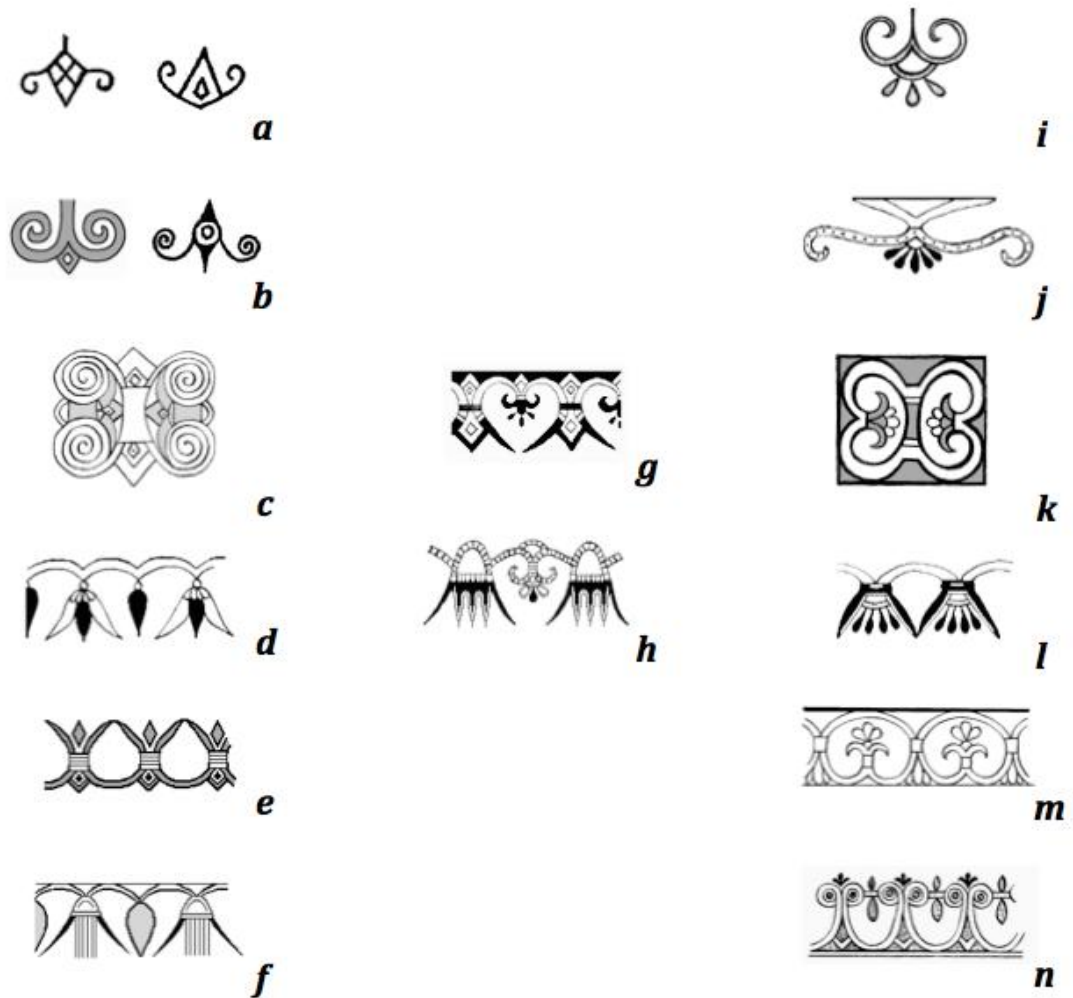


Figure A3: Lotuses, lotus palmettes and palmettes.

Lotuses: (a) LG(?)–EO; (b–f) O.

Lotus-palmette designs: (g–h) O.

Palmettes: (i–n) O.

(Partially redrawn from *KNC*; Brock 1957; Coldstream and Sackett 1978; Tsipopoulou 2005)

- **Tree, bee and eye motifs** (Figs. A4 and A5).

These designs do not really form one cohesive category but constitute the remainder of orientalising motifs other than creatures. Trees or branches (Fig. A4) are often indiscriminately referred to as ‘Trees of Life’/‘sacred trees’, which should be avoided. Typologically, tree designs can be classified by the shape of their branches: there are those with spirals or scrolls (a–b, d–e, k–l), which can sometimes be replaced by abstract circular elements (h–j); those

with linear branches (c, f); and those with leafy branches (g). Scroll trees are by far the most popular and elaborate type, especially in the PGB-EG and O periods, when their crowns regularly feature small ornaments (a-b, h, j, l). Bee motifs (Fig. A5, a-e) are included because many O examples display a strong hybridism with lotus flowers, resulting in the frequent use of the terms ‘lotus bee’ or ‘bee-lotus’. This hybridism is particularly pronounced in more abstract versions (b) and complex designs in which floral components are substituted with a bee (c; the bees taking the place of a central lotus or palmette petal, cf. volutes at either side of bees’ heads). Finally, some vessels – mostly jugs and oinochoai – can be adorned with eye motifs on or underneath the rim (Fig. A5, f-j), which change from more abstract (f-h) to more naturalistic (i-j) over time. This decoration is characteristic of Levantine and especially Cypriot EIA vessels, thus qualifying it as an orientalising element.

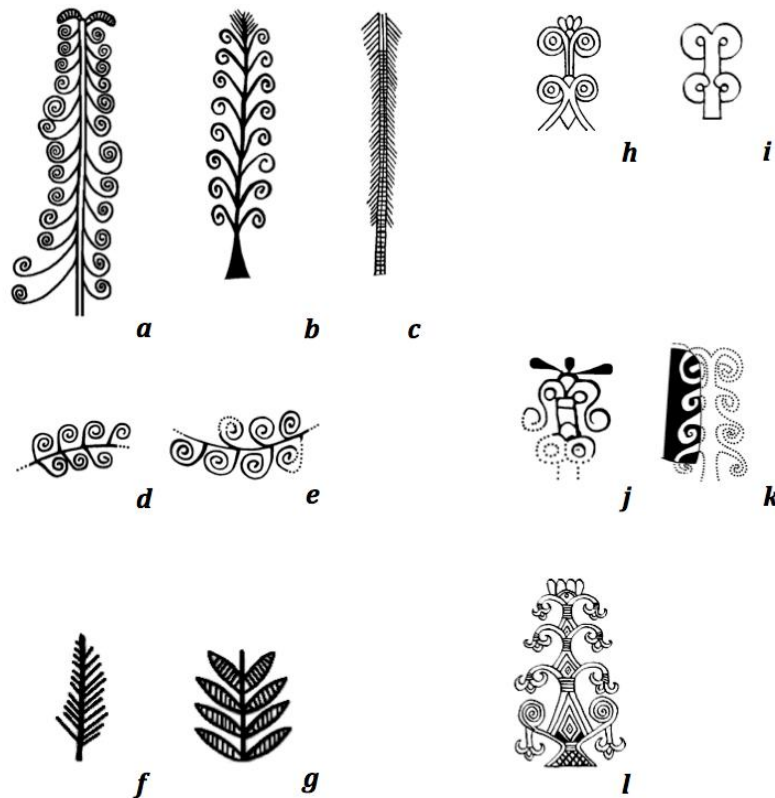


Figure A4: Trees.

(a-c) PGB-EG; (d, e) PGB-LG; (f, g) LG-EO; (h-k) O; (l) EO.

(Partially redrawn from *KNC*; Brock 1957; Johnston 2005; Tsipopoulou 2005)

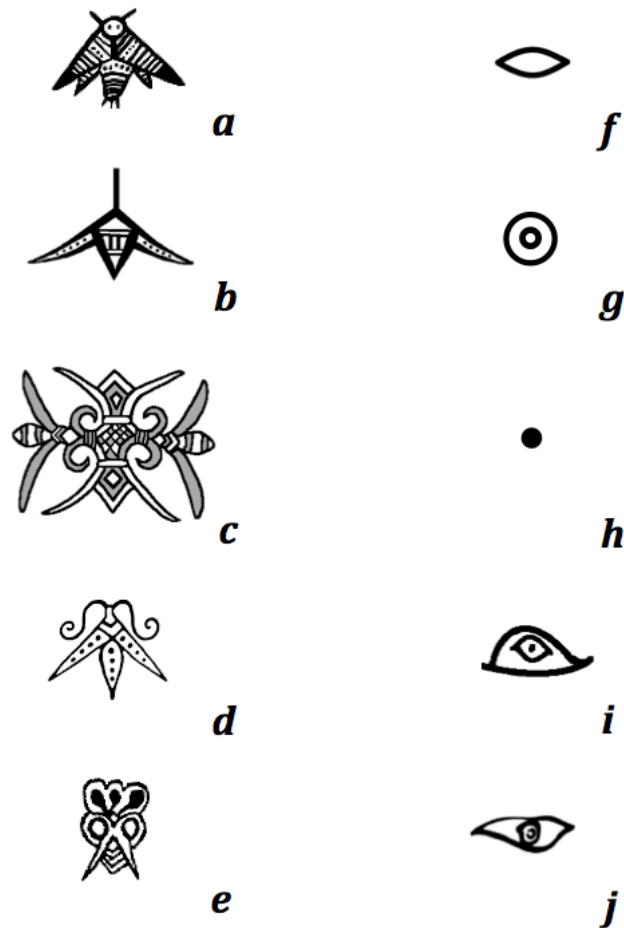


Figure A5: 'Lotus bees' and eye motifs.

'Lotus bees': (a-c) EO; (d,e) LO.

Eye motif: (f) PGB; (g) PGB-EG, EO; (h) EG; (i) EO; (j) LO.

(Partially redrawn from *KNC*; Payne 1928; Brock 1957; Tsipopoulou 2005)

- **Lion, sphinx and griffin (Fig. A6).⁵**

These three creatures are conventionally viewed as the core figural representatives among Cretan orientalising motifs, but their renditions are so heterogeneous that some basic definitions are required. In this thesis, the term 'lion' is used for every feline regardless of whether its coat is plain or spotted and whether it sports a mane or not (a-e), because these features occur

⁵ Centaurs also occur on Crete in the O period but they are not included in this survey as I subscribe to the view that they are essentially a Greek development (e.g. Lemos 2000, 18). For confusions over the use of the terms 'sphinx' and 'centaur' for early Greek art cf. Kourou 2011, 167.

independently and are evidently not species-specific.⁶ Several examples assume a frontal head position (such as d) and are sometimes labelled ‘panthers’ in publications. Yet, due to the existence of Near Eastern leonine counterparts and the lack of any concomitant distinguishing characteristics these are not treated separately.⁷ Indeed, it is likely that many depictions actually represent lionesses,⁸ but this is of minor importance in this context. Some lions are anatomically inaccurate or very abstract and may therefore not be readily identifiable as such at first glance, but their pictorial contexts (e.g. a-b) or more easily recognizable parallels (e.g. for d) verify a corresponding interpretation. O sphinxes, on the other hand, present a more standardised picture, mostly assuming the ‘classical’ form of a composite creature with a female human head, leonine body and bird’s wings (i-j). Some PG and G instances deviate from this norm by displaying porcine (f) or bovine/equine (g-h) bodies, but local antecedents of this type verify their identification as sphinxes. Griffin depictions are extremely variable (k-o). They can feature a closed or open mouth – which is occasionally equipped with a row of teeth and/or a protruding tongue –, tall ears, a forehead knob and/or a spiral tress. When a belonging body is rendered, it is mostly feline (n-o). The typology of their depictions and reasons for the high degree in variation constitutes a central aspect of the section discussing this creature.⁹

⁶ Cf. 28-AFR-63 featuring a double-bodied lion with a frontal head, one body of which is rendered with a mane, the other without and 22-GOR-17, which shows a dotted feline in a typical lion slayer composition.

⁷ Cf. also Hampe 1969, 41f. The situation on Crete contrasts with Corinthian and East Greek pottery, which more clearly differentiate between lions that are characterised by a mane and ‘panthers’ that commonly lack such, have a frontal head and display spots, circles or flecking covering the body partially or entirely (Schiering 1957, 52-7; Amyx 1988, 663f.). Kübler 1970, 254f. defines felines with frontal heads that have a open mouth or are engaged in biting prey as ‘lions’, while inactive felines with frontal heads are interpreted as ‘panthers’.

⁸ Cf. also Stampolidis 1996, 44 on 2-ELE-54.

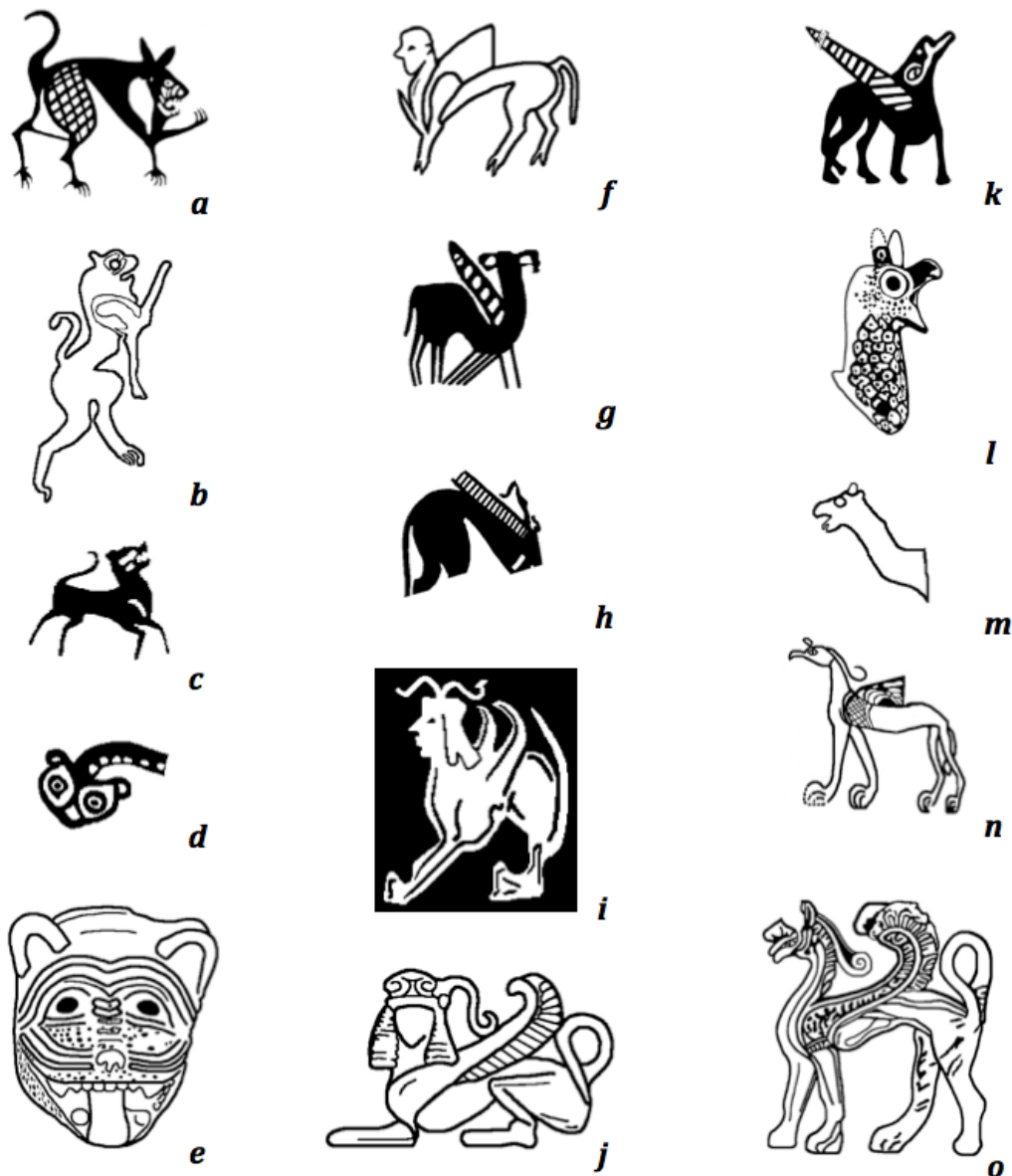


Figure A6: Lions, sphinxes and griffins.

Lions: (a) LPG; (b) LG-EO; (c-d) EO; (e) LO.

Sphinxes: (f) PGB-EG; (g) MG; (h) LG; (i-j) LO.

Griffins: (k) LG; (l) EO; (m-n) EO; (o) O.

(Partially redrawn from *KNC*; Coldstream 1974; Kotsonas 2008)

• **Imitations of Cypriot Black Slip (BS) and Cypriot Black on Red (BoR) (Fig. A7).**

These two groups form an entirely different category as they are not necessarily adorned with orientalising designs (although some BoR examples include such) but ridges, banding and circle systems. BS and BoR are not discussed in Chapter 3.5 because they have been subject to comprehensive studies and their Cypriot

derivation has been sufficiently demonstrated.¹⁰ However, they have been included in the statistics for the sake of aspired completeness. Imitations of Cypriot BS vessels mainly consist of oinochoai (sometimes called 'lekythoi' or 'trefoil-lipped jugs') and a minute number of amphorai. They are usually made from coarse micaceous clay and their body is typically characterised by incised grooves or vertically-applied strips; the oinochoai additionally feature grouped horizontal incisions on the lower neck (a). The start date of their Cretan production has recently been raised to the beginning of the EPG period, but they continued into PGB-EG and later.¹¹ The picture presented by Cretan BoR vessels is much more complex. The ultimate origin of their prototypes was long contested, as reflected in their enduring designation as 'Cypro-Phoenician', but a convincing case has been made for their emergence and continued production on Cyprus.¹² Cretan versions of this group, which were produced from the PGB-EG onwards, consist mostly of lekythoi but also comprise numerous aryballoi, alabastra, oinochoai and one pyxis. There are two main systems of decoration. In the first, the shoulder is adorned with small sets of concentric circles, alternative ornamentation (eyes, stars, swastikas, etc.) or is left plain, while the remainder of the body displays one or more groups of horizontal bands (c) and sometimes one group of large concentric circles (b). The second exhibits large sets of concentric circles centred on the mid-points of two or more flanks (so-called 'side-circles'), while the gaps at the front and the back can be filled with small sets of circles or other motifs (d-e). The latter system can be enhanced by transverse grouped bands cutting through the side-circles (f) and additional smaller sets of concentric circles in corners created by the bands. The first imitations of BoR

¹⁰ Coldstream 1979 and in *KNC*, 347; Kotsonas 2011c, 2012 and 2013.

¹¹ Kotsonas 2012, 161. Also they seem to influence other shapes as these can also feature applied vertical ribs or painted versions of such (e.g. 8-KNO.AMP-28; 8-KNO.MED-3).

¹² Schreiber 2003, esp. 80f.

were produced in the PGB-EG period, shortly following the import of Cypriot vessels of this type, and their popularity continued throughout the investigated timeframe. Concerning the Cretan material, one has to distinguish between direct copies of the Cypriot prototypes (b) and free adaptations (d-e).¹³ The latter not only modify the shape of these vessels – e.g. change the mouths into a disc shape, dispense with or multiply neck ridges, narrow the necks, make bodies biconical, add conical feet – but also adjust the decoration to local taste, e.g. by inserting Cretan orientalising motifs (d-f). A problem with these free adaptations is where to draw the line between still inspired by Cypriot prototypes and so generic that the latter can no longer be cited as models. This thesis includes all vessels defined as lekythoi that follow either of the two decorative schemes named above, but only counts aryballoi of the side-circle version. This is because the aryballos shape existed before the introduction of Cypriot BoR and so did the PG system of concentric circles, which is consequently not diagnostic. Concerning the designation of this class, the term ‘Creto-Cypriot’, which was originally reserved for a specific type of lekythos with side-circles (d), is today used for all Cretan vessels copying or adapting Cypriot BoR.¹⁴ Concerning external involvement in the production of Creto-Cypriot vessels and the adoption of this class, at least one Knossian oinochoe was likely crafted locally by a Cypriot potter.¹⁵

¹³ Cf. Coldstream 1984b, 127-146; Coldstream *KNC*, 353f.

¹⁴ Coldstream *KNC*, 353f.; Kotsonas 2012, 156. However, see differentiation in Antoniadis 2012, 160f., who excludes direct copies and Brock’s Fortetsa types E (i) and (ii).

¹⁵ Coldstream 1984b, 137; Kotsonas 2011c, 141-144. Kotsonas *ibid.* also contemplated the possible production of lekythoi by immigrant/itinerant craftsmen, but rejected this theory after further study, cf. Kotsonas 2012, 170. The presence of a presumed local unguent factory has been demonstrated to be untenable, cf. Hoffman 1997, 176-85; Schreiber 2003, 293-306.

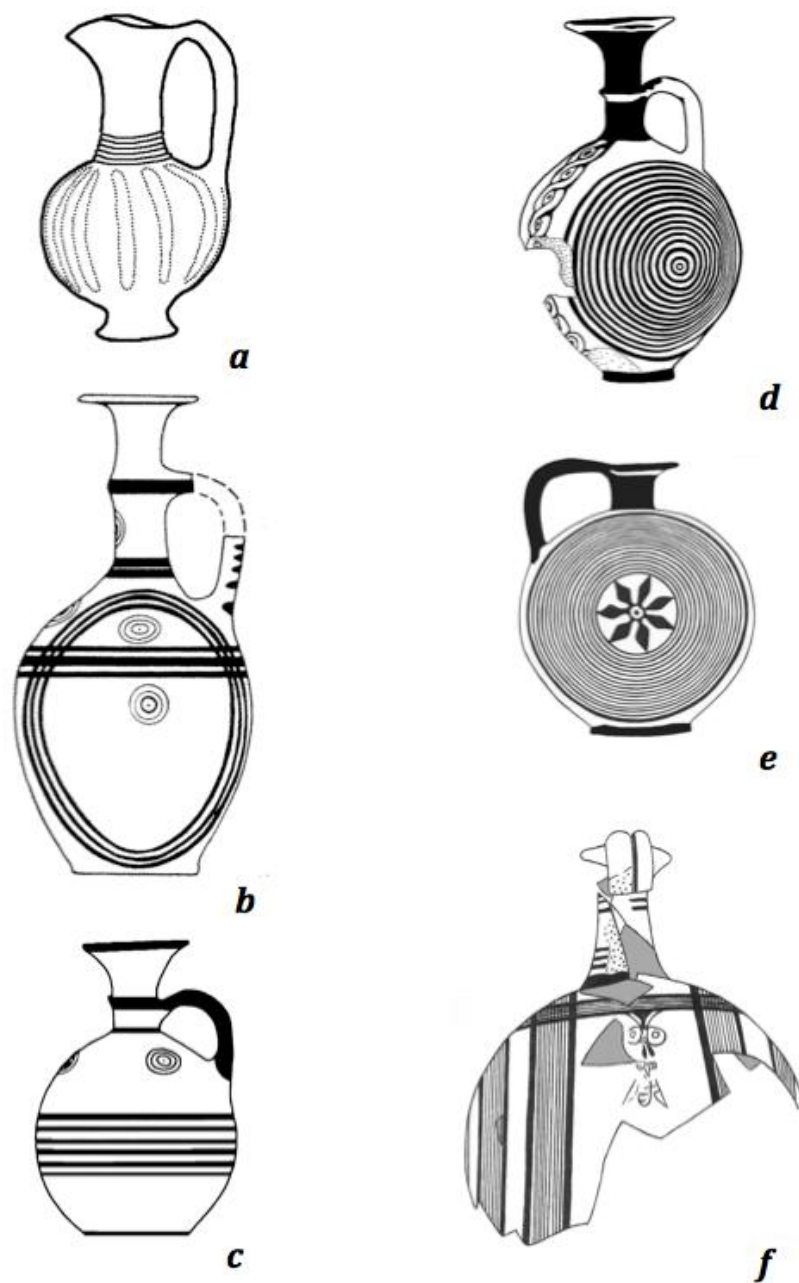


Figure A7: Imitation of Cypriot BS and Creto-Cypriot pottery.

Imitation of Cypriot BS: (a) PGB-EG.

Creto-Cypriot pottery: (b) MG-LG; (c) LG; (d) LG-EO; (e) EO; (f) LO
(Partially redrawn from Coldstream 1984b)