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POLYMNIA MUHLY

THE SANCTUARY  
OF HERMES AND APHRODITE  
AT SYME VIANNOU  
IV  
ANIMAL IMAGES OF CLAY



ATHENS 2008











ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟ  
ΤΟΥ ΕΡΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΣ  
ΣΤΗ ΣΥΜΗ ΒΙΑΝΝΟΥ

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IV  
ΠΗΛΙΝΑ ΖΩΔΙΑ

Με τη συμβολή  
τῆς Ἑλένης Νοδάρου καὶ τῆς Χριστίνας Ράθωση





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ANIMAL IMAGES OF CLAY

Handmade Figurines; Attachments; Mouldmade Plaques

With a contribution by Eleni Nodarou and Christina Rathossi



ATHENS 2008







*This study is dedicated  
to the memory of Gerhard Neumann,  
a much loved and sorely missed friend*



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*Cover ill.:* Head of LG horse figurine from Syme (31)  
*Back cover ill.:* Bull's head (150)



*Editing*

Eleftheria Kondylaki Kontou



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## PROLOGUE

The zoomorphic figurines of clay found in the excavation of the Syme sanctuary between 1972 and 2003 were deemed too numerous to be published in a single volume and were divided according to technique into two groups: those made solidly by hand, which are the primary subject of this volume, and those made hollow on the wheel. This division is to a great extent an artificial construct, since in Crete hollow animal figures and figurines were often made by hand and even those turned on the wheel were frequently fitted with solidly modeled parts. The solidly made animals were less prone to such variations, although there are occasional examples that were shaped like their wheelmade counterparts and a few with partially hollow bodies.

The somewhat flexible criteria for the division of the material allowed other factors, such as the chronological horizon of the solidly made animals, to determine the inclusion of two other groups of animal representations in this volume – the animal-shaped attachments and the mouldmade plaques decorated with animal motifs – which are only loosely related in thematic and/or technical terms to contemporary free-standing animal terracottas.

The present volume is based on 665+ objects and fragments not counting those pieces that were joined in the course of the study. The 324 entries of the catalogue represent a slightly larger number of pieces, since some of them include non-joining fragments of the same figurine or vessel. Two concordances facilitate cross-reference from catalogue numbers to the corresponding numbers in the Heraklion Museum register and vice versa and also list the find context. 141 additional fragments, primarily legs and horns of quadrupeds, which had also been registered and given museum numbers, are listed in an appendix with their find context, but, with few exceptions, are not mentioned in the text, since they seldom provide supplementary information. Nor are they included in statistical considerations of the material, since at least some of them are likely to be parts of the catalogued figurines, which, in the first two years of the excavation, were routinely restored with plaster. Finally, 200 other fragments, almost exclusively bits and pieces of legs and horns, that were not given museum numbers, have been omitted from this volume.

I am much indebted to Angeliki Lebessi for her help and endless patience during the long delayed preparation of this volume. I have also received much valuable assistance from the archaeologists of the Heraklion Museum, especially Eva Grammatikaki, Giorgchos Rethemiotakis, Popi Galanaki, Ioanna Serpetsidaki and Vasso Marsellou that I gratefully acknowledge. The study of the material in the museum would have been a lot more difficult and time-consuming without the unstinting support of the guards of the Study Collection, Kostis Tsangarakis, Nikos Kavrochorianos, Dimitris Apostolakis, Yiannis Karambinis, Giorgchos Kalisperakis

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The objects found in the early seasons of the excavation were all photographed by Giorgchos Xylouris, while the photographs of more recent finds and new joins were taken by Yiannis Patrikianos and Yiannis Ploumidis-Papadakis. The digital photographs were contributed by Katie Archontaki, except for that of the Metaxas plaque that was taken by D. Manidakis. The drawings are the work of Katie Astrinaki and Doug Faulmann, except for that of **158**, which was drawn by Nikoletta Dolia. I thank them all for their efforts on behalf of this study.

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\* The periodical and series abbreviations are those listed online by the German Archaeological Institute (January 2007), while those used for chronological periods correspond to the versions that have become standard in English and American Archaeological literature. In addition the following are used:

cm.	centimeter/s
diam.	diameter

dim.	dimensions
HM	Heraklion Museum
ht.	height
l.	length
ml.	millimeters
th.	thickness
w.	width

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## I. EXCAVATION CONTEXT

The landscape and architectural development of the Syme sanctuary have already been described in the three volumes devoted to other categories of votive objects found at the site, most recently in 2002<sup>1</sup>, so that the present discussion need only concentrate on the information pertaining directly to the material published here.

For all practical purposes none of the figurines and other objects included in this study come from contexts that can provide secure information for dating purposes. The Minoan material comes the closest. The small scrap **200** was found within the fill of the north wing of Building U, which was destroyed in MM II and consequently can be dated in MM II or earlier. The better preserved bovid **252** comes from levels of an area in the west sector of the site where only Minoan material was found, but cannot, at present, be dated more specifically by context. The same holds for horn **248**, which was also found in the west sector of the excavation, and the matched horns **250** that were excavated in the south part of the site, not far from each other. In contrast the other pair of horns **251** illustrate the scatter of Minoan pottery: one of them comes from deep Minoan levels that were sealed by a floor of the Karphi phase and may date to MM II, but the other was found in the southwest at a considerable distance.

The context of the rest of the material can only be discussed for the information it provides concerning the spatial distribution of the figurines and other related material. In this respect it is useful to consider the season in which the material was excavated. It then becomes immediately apparent that the largest number –131 out of 324 catalogued objects– were found in 1972, the year the site was ‘discovered’ by the bulldozer, which entering from the west passed over the altar of the Geometric-Archaic periods, bumped against the southeast corner of the Hellenistic-Roman shrine C-D, turned around and went back out of the site. Along the way it sheared off the fill that covered the altar, bringing to light hundreds of objects and large quantities of pottery and animal bones mixed with black soil. The season was spent collecting this material and clearing up the area in the immediate vicinity of the altar<sup>2</sup>. The following season, when systematic excavation really began, produced 60 pieces, expanding the spread of this material to the north and northeast, under Building C-D, as well as to the east, where the surface of the terraces was exposed. Quite a few pieces were also found south of the altar and especially to the southeast. It was in the latter area that two other concentrations of 29 and 25 pieces were found respectively in 1977 and again in 1981, 1983-1984, when a series of sections into the Terraces were made.

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1. Lebessi 2002, 3-5.

2. *Prakt* 1972, fig. 1.

The total of the figurines, attachments and plaques found in these seasons amounts to 245 pieces, representing the bulk of the material<sup>3</sup>. The rest of the pieces, found over several seasons up to and including 2000, account mainly for figurines that were found in the same areas or farther to the northeast, i.e. to the north of Building C-D. Only two or three pieces were found somewhat to the northwest within the confines of the Sacred Enclosure.

This short account makes it clear that practically all of the Iron Age and seventh century objects published here came from the mixture of carbonized material, animal bones, pottery and votive objects that accumulated around the altar as a result of cult activities carried out in the open. In the seventh century these deposits were covered by the stone-built terraces that extended mainly to the south and east of the altar and similar material continued to accumulate afterwards.

Considering the continuous process of deposition with the attendant displacement of earlier accumulations as well as the tidying and cleaning activities that were probably carried out periodically, it is remarkable that the pieces of broken figurines were usually found in the same area<sup>4</sup> or in adjacent areas<sup>5</sup>. Hardly any were dispersed far<sup>6</sup>. It should be noted, however, that very little of this material is anywhere near intact and relatively few missing parts have been recovered<sup>7</sup>.

A few pieces do not fit within this distribution pattern. The fragmentary body **226** was found in the west area of the sanctuary beyond the wall of the Sacred Enclosure, but on the surface and may have been mixed in the fill from the 1972 cleaning of the site, some of which was dumped in this area at the beginning of the investigation. The fragmentary part of a wheel **76**, the bull **110** and the battered ram's head **170**, were all found in the steeply inclined northwest part of the site, north of the preserved section of the Processional Road. It is likely that these pieces were dragged there by the bulldozer, which went through this area on its way out of the sanctuary. Another piece found far away from the altar is the late bird **197** that was excavated in a stratigraphically very disturbed area in the southwest part of the site that was covered with fill containing huge quantities of Minoan material that had been washed down the slope in the Roman period, as evidenced by a coin of Vespasian that was found deep in these deposits.

In summary the find circumstances of the figurines and other material published here are very similar with those of the other classes of votives published so far, indicating that from the Iron Age through the Classical period cult activity at the site was focused upon the altar, both before and after the construction of the terraces<sup>8</sup>.

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3. Similar conclusions can be reached on the basis of the uncatalogued fragments. A bit more than half of them were found in the same seasons. The difference is that the largest number was found in 1973 rather than in 1972.

4. E.g. **33**, **44**.

5. E.g. **30**, **10**, **29**, **103** and **46**, whose last piece was found after a gap of 29 years from the first.

6. E.g. **177**, **123**, **131**.

7. Heilmeyer (1972, 90 n. 236) estimated that the more than 2,000 fragmentary terracottas found in Olympia represent at most only 10% of the figurines that had been dedicated over 400 years.

8. Cf. Lebessi 1985, 19-20; Schürmann 1994, fig. 1; Lebessi 2002, fig. 1.

## II. QUESTIONS OF CHRONOLOGY AND METHOD

Zoomorphic figurines of clay were common dedications at Minoan cult places. As a recent study has concluded, the hollow, mainly wheelmade figures and figurines certainly survived into the IA in Crete and perhaps in other areas as well<sup>9</sup>. Indeed in Crete hollow animals continued to be dedicated as late as the Hellenistic period<sup>10</sup>. As survivors of the BA, wheelmade animals have become almost symbolic of continuity in religious activity, acquiring a special significance. Their publication in the Mainland and the Aegean islands, albeit still incomplete, has made significant progress and was recently augmented with an important assemblage from Samos<sup>11</sup>. In Crete publication has lagged considerably behind excavation. In fact, until the recent publication of the animals from Patsos<sup>12</sup>, Ayia Triada<sup>13</sup> and Kommos<sup>14</sup> the only substantial excavated assemblage of wheelmade animals that had been published in detail dates to the Classical period<sup>15</sup>. Nevertheless, the publication of small groups or even individual examples of wheelmade figures and figurines is of value, since they were often decorated in the current ceramic style and are therefore datable even when they lack context or survive only in fragments.

This is not the case with the solidly made and usually rather small animal terracottas, like those published in this volume. Traditionally described as 'humble' dedications, they are discussed as evidence for religious activity, but not often published in detail<sup>16</sup>. The Mainland is again ahead of Crete. Mycenaean anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines were discussed in a long study as early as 1971<sup>17</sup>, while the thousands of Minoan animal terracottas reputedly found at peak shrines, are known solely from a group excavated at Petsophas at the beginning of the twentieth century and more systematically published only in 1991<sup>18</sup>. Even the anthropomorphic Minoan terracottas had to wait until 1998 for a synthetic study<sup>19</sup>, although the LM

9. Guggisberg 1996, 364 and 371.

10. *ADelt* 42B, 1987, 567-568 fig. 334; 48B, 1992, 479; *Kretike Hestia* 5, 1993-1996, 236-238. Niniou-Kindeli 1995, pls. O-OB; 2003.

11. Jarosch 1994, 5-20 pls. 1-15.

12. Kourou and Karetsoy 1994, 87-101, 125-133.

13. D'Agata 1999, 38-46, 147 pls. 31-37, 90-91.

14. Shaw and Shaw 2000, 142-144 pls. 3.11-3.13, 3.15-3.19, 3.23-3.26. For the recent rescue of an assemblage of both wheel- and handmade figurines from Keratokambos on the south coast, said to be of LM IIIC-PG date, see *ADelt* 51B,

1996, 644-645.

15. Mortzos 1985, 80-90 pls. 44-57. For the smaller and earlier group of wheelmade horses from Gortyn see Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. 39-40.

16. For comments on excluding the "artless" figurines (primarily terracottas) from study see Kunze 1930, 142-143, repeated by Rolley 1969, 7-8.

17. French 1971.

18. Original excavation report in Myres 1902-1903, publication in Rutkowski 1991.

19. Rethemiotakis 1998.



III wheelmade Goddesses with Upraised Arms had already been studied in 1958<sup>20</sup>.

Recent publications have also contributed significantly to our knowledge of the IA and early Archaic terracotta animals in both areas. The Geometric figurines from Olympia<sup>21</sup>, for several decades the only ones published from a major Greek sanctuary, have now been joined by a sizable assemblage from the Heraion of Samos<sup>22</sup> and a small group from Isthmia<sup>23</sup>. The well dated Attic horse pyxides that have always been of great significance for the study of terracottas of the eighth century have been collected in an exemplary publication<sup>24</sup>. For the Archaic period the figurines published in the pioneering volumes of the Corinth excavations<sup>25</sup>, still of paramount importance, have been gradually supplemented by smaller assemblages of material from cultic and non-cultic contexts<sup>26</sup>. Even in Crete, where the small groups of animals from Psychro and Gortyn and a few scraps from Knossos were for years the only such material known<sup>27</sup>, the recently published terracottas from Patsos<sup>28</sup>, Ayia Triada<sup>29</sup> and Kommos<sup>30</sup> now represent a respectable corpus of solidly made animal figurines from cultic contexts.

Most of this material, just like the Syme animals, has been found in unstratified deposits. At best, as in the case of the Samian Heraion, Corinth and the Greek temples at Kommos, the context provides a terminus ante quem. Even this data may not be really significant, as is the case at the Heraion, where the construction dates of the structures of the sanctuary often provide very low chronological limits for the diverse material found in the underlying fill. Consequently, scholars confronting large bodies of unstratified material have relied traditionally on stylistic analysis in order to construct a sequence that can be fitted into a chronological frame, based on comparisons with whatever dated parallels can be found. This is the system underlying the publication of the bronze animals from Olympia<sup>31</sup>, the Theban Kabirion<sup>32</sup> and Syme itself<sup>33</sup>. Despite the methodological divergences between the two older studies, the considerable regional differences and the local variations of the material, the same stylistic evolution has been traced in broad terms in all three assemblages.

20. Alexiou 1958.

21. Heilmeyer 1972, 10-31 pls. 2-19, 37, 39.

22. Jarosch 1994, 20-29 pls 15-31.

23. Morgan 1999, 169-172 pls. 70-72.

24. Bohen 1988, 41-104 pls. 17-39.

25. Especially Stilwell 1952, 163-195 pls. 35-42; Davidson 1952, 25-28 pls. 2-4.

26. Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 134-135 pl. 14; Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, pls. 62-69; Guggisberg 1988, 177-180.

27. Psychro: Boardman 1961, pl. 21. Gortyn: Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. 38, 41. Knossos: Boardman 1961, 62-63 pl. 21; Boardman 1962,

33 pl. 5; Coldstream et al. 1973, 90-91 pl. 65; Higgins 1971, esp. 280-281 pls. 45-46.

28. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 101-112, 133-141. For the more recent exploration of the site, where much new material has been found, see *Kretike Hestia* 9, 2002, 301-304.

29. D'Agata 1999, 151-158 pls. 91-97.

30. Shaw and Shaw 2000, 136-142, 176-179, 181, 189-190 pls. 3.7-3.10, 3.12, 3.20-3.22, 3.34, 3.39.

31. Heilmeyer 1979.

32. Schmaltz 1980.

33. Schürmann 1994.

Beginning in the PG period, the figurines have well developed bodies, defined by flowing contours that are not broken up by sharp transitions; heads and limbs are of conical shape. In the following period the bodies lose volume gradually, contours become rectilinear as limbs gain independence from the body and heads acquire volume and importance. These developments gain momentum in MG, so that in the latter part of this phase the animals become much less static and more naturalistically modeled. These trends are gradually reversed in the LG period as loss of volume and geometrization of structure and posture reach their height. The evolution in the last phases of the G period and the first half of the seventh century sees a gradual increase of volume as well as the development of more naturalistic proportions and modeling, as the figure of the animal comes to be conceived as a whole.

The securely dated bronzes that provide anchoring points for this construct are few and, with the exception of a bull and two groups of a doe suckling her fawn from Thebes, datable to c. 750/740, and another bull from Delphi of c. 750-725<sup>34</sup>, come from Crete, all but one from Kommos<sup>35</sup>.

Since the Kommos material is a recent discovery, the established chronology of PG figurines is based on the similarities of the bronzes with a few terracottas found in well dated Attic graves. Beyond this early stage, however, correlations between bronzes and terracottas have been virtually confined to the horses attached to Attic pyxides. Even this connection is problematic, since the evolution of the pyxis horses after the MG phase does not correlate chronologically with that of the bronzes<sup>36</sup>. Beyond Attica the correlation of terracottas and bronzes entails additional problems. The study of PG and G bronzes, whether anthropomorphic or zoomorphic, has traditionally followed Attic chronology and so did the publication of the animal terracottas from Olympia<sup>37</sup>. J. N. Coldstream's study of the regional styles of Greek Geometric pottery, published in 1968, has had a limited impact on bronze or terracotta studies<sup>38</sup>. In so far as Crete is concerned, the recent publications of the finds from Kommos and Ayia Triada follow the chronological system established by

34. Rolley 1969, 99-100 no. 163 pl. 25. For a discussion of the dates and an illustration of a group from Thebes see Schmaltz 1980, 41-42, 100 pl. 24.

35. The most complete list of this material is given in Schürmann 1994, 6. The references to the recent publication of the Kommos material and the somewhat revised dates are listed here again:

Bull AB80 (= B308) Shaw and Shaw 2000, pls. 3.14, 3.27, PG

Ram AB 81 (=B309) Shaw and Shaw 2000, pls. 3.14, 3.27, PG

Bull AB82 (= B22) Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl.

3.28, LG

Bull AB80.1 (= B337) Shaw and Shaw 2000, pls. 3.15, 3.30, G-7th cent.

Horse AB83 (= B17) Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl. 3.29, 8th-7th cent.

Bull AB84 (= B127) Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl. 3.28, 7th cent.

36. Maass 1978, 108; Schmaltz 1980, 131-132; Bohen 1988, 42 n. 247.

37. Heilmeyer 1972, 6.

38. For various reactions see Heilmeyer 1979, 24 n. 49; Schmaltz 1980, 101 n. 124; Maass 1978, 105. See also Jarosch 1994, 3-4 for the chronology of the Samian terracottas.

Coldstream for both bronze and clay objects, whereas the two volumes devoted to Syme bronzes have rejected it as not applicable to bronze sculpture<sup>39</sup>.

Given the fundamental connection between pottery and terracotta figurines, in terms of material, technique and decoration, Coldstream's chronology of Cretan Geometric pottery will be followed in this study (Table A). There is certainly plenty of evidence that in Crete, just as in the rest of Greece, decorative trends and motifs were shared by both potters and coroplasts. Considering the limited time span of pottery fashions, similarly decorated vases and figurines must be contemporary. This close connection between pottery and figurines is most obvious in the case of wheelmade terracottas, but is also documented by handmade figurines as well<sup>40</sup>. At the same time it must be admitted that such examples, which can serve as chronological points of reference as valid as those dated by context, are rare occurrences within a mass of material that, in most periods, was sketchily decorated and is often so worn that the mere use of paint can be barely documented.

Handmade terracotta animals dated by context are not plentiful, but are less rare than dated bronzes. Many are horses. In both the Mainland and in Crete there are well dated teams of horses already in LH/LM IIIC<sup>41</sup>. The two terracottas that serve to anchor the chronology of bronze animals in the PG phase are also horses – a wheeled example found in a child's grave in Athens<sup>42</sup> and another from a somewhat later grave from Tiryns<sup>43</sup>. To these may be added a bull's head and a worn horse's head from Knossos, dated respectively to PG and LPG<sup>44</sup>, and a bull figurine from the North Cemetery at Knossos, found with PGB pottery<sup>45</sup>. Precisely dated are also the bird and animal figurines that perch on the rim of an as yet unpublished kalathos found with MPG pottery in a tomb at Kounavoi<sup>46</sup>.

Several figurines and fragments from Kommos are dated by context to Cretan PG<sup>47</sup> or LPG-PGB<sup>48</sup>. Most are bulls that are very similar to each other<sup>49</sup>. One of them comes from a more specific, LPG, context, which may suggest that they all belong to this stage.

39. Schürmann 1994, 5; Lebessi 2002, 7-8.

40. D'Agata 1999, pl. 96 D3.41, 42 and 43 of the PGB period from Ayia Triada or **158** of the MG phase and **62** of the EO period from Syme.

41. Iakovidis 1970, vol. I, 339, vol. II, 207, pl. 103 nos. 338-339 from Perati. In addition to a team of horses, a bull figurine was also found in the same LM IIIC context at Kavousi (Vronda) (Gesell, Day & Coulson 1995, 71-72 fig. 2, pl. 18a-b).

42. *ADelt* 22B, 1967, 49 pl. 70a = Xagorari 1996, pl. 25.

43. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 23. See, however, remarks in Xagorari 1996, 91 no. 45.

44. Higgins 1971, pl. 45 nos. 38, 36.

45. Coldstream and Catling 1996, 52, 611, pl. 307 no. Q.f 25.

46. *Kretike Hestia* 5, 1994-96, 316; *ARepLond* 1998-99, 117 fig. 153; *ADelt* 48, 1993, 463 pl. 146d. I am grateful to the excavator, Dr. Giorgos Rethemiotakis, for showing me this remarkable find.

47. Shaw and Shaw 2000, nos. AB1-2, AB10.

48. Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl. 3.20 nos. AB4-5, AB11, AB13.

49. Included in this group are also AB6-7, which were found in a seventh and PG-third century context.



Among the material from Kommos of interest are three relatively well preserved horses datable to PGB because of their decoration. Two of them belonged to a wheeled team<sup>50</sup> and must have originated in the same workshop as a closely similar horse from Ayia Triada<sup>51</sup>. The third horse from Kommos was also part of a wheeled team as the traces left by its missing mate suggest<sup>52</sup>.

There are no more securely dated figurines from Crete until the end of the eighth century. Thanks to the horse pyxides and to a series of finds from well dated contexts, the subsequent development of handmade animals is well documented in Attica, but only in so far as horses are concerned. In addition, even in the Attic sequence, there is a gap between LPG and MG II, when the series of pyxides really begins<sup>53</sup>.

Instead of the supple bodies of the PG horses from Athens and Eleusis with their flowing contours, the horses on the MG pyxides have sturdy, well articulated bodies, modeled with considerable attention to anatomical detail, relatively large heads and short necks, wide in profile; decoration is initially sparse, but becomes subsequently richer<sup>54</sup>. In LG Ia volume is reduced and the bodies, built of graceful curves, become more attenuated, with slimmer neck and limbs<sup>55</sup>. After this phase outlines harden, details, including facial features, are often omitted and the quality of modeling declines<sup>56</sup>. At the same time the number of the horses increases. In teams of three or four horses the outspanners often turn their neck outwards<sup>57</sup>.

The evolution of the Attic horse at the end of the eighth century and in the first half of the seventh can be seen in the horses harnessed to chariots and carts with applied strips of clay, rolled or flattened<sup>58</sup>. The horses from Grave XII, at the Athenian Agora, dated in LG IIB, are sketchily modeled with narrow bodies, bulky thighs and small heads, on which only the ears are indicated. The decoration is careless consisting of broad bands and short, often dot-like strokes<sup>59</sup>. The horses from a votive deposit on the Areopagus Hill, dated before 640, are carelessly modeled and static, built along a long vertical axis represented by their straight legs and upright neck and the shorter, horizontal axis of their body. Motion may be indicated through extended legs but is not balanced by any change in the position of the neck, which remains vertical<sup>60</sup>.

50. Shaw and Shaw 2000, AB16-17 found in a PG-MG context.

51. D'Agata 1999, 149 pl. 96 no. D3.42.

52. Shaw and Shaw 2000, AB13 found in a LPG-PGB context. For this horse see also below III, 29.

53. For the only known EG horse pyxis, which lacks the horse see Bohen 1988, 45 figs. 9a-b.

54. Bohen 1988, figs. 10a, 11a, 13a.

55. Bohen 1988, figs. 16a-17.

56. Bohen 1988, figs. 19a, 21a, 22a.

57. Bohen 1988, pl. 39.

58. Young 1939, figs. 40, 42; *ADelt* 19B, 1964, pl. 55b; Kübler 1970, pl. 9; Burr 1933, figs. 82, 84-85. For an earlier example see Higgins 1967, pl. 8b, attributed to the Eleusis workshop of pyxides and dated to the transition from MG II to LG Ia in Bohen 1988, 57 n. 279.

59. Young 1939, fig. 40. The head of a horse that belonged to a chariot (*ibid.* 42) is modeled in a more detailed manner.

60. Burr 1933, fig. 85.

The material from Kommos includes two more partially preserved horses that were found in a seventh century context, both of them of the wheeled type<sup>61</sup>. Finally from a tomb at Mastambas, in Heraklion, come two horse figurines that were found with pottery dating ca. 700<sup>62</sup>, while a wheeled horse was found in a child's burial at Gavalomouri (Kissamos), which contained pottery of approximately the same date<sup>63</sup>. Beyond these few pieces there is nothing in Crete that can be dated by context in the seventh century.

There is minimal overlap between the Syme animals and the material from Kommos and Corinth, since there is little from Syme that seems earlier than the eighth century or later than the middle of the seventh. The Attic horse pyxides are very useful comparanda for the eighth century, but they pertain primarily to the horse figurines. Among the unstratified material, the most productive comparisons are actually not with the other terracotta groups, whether from Crete or the Mainland, but with the bronzes. The far more numerous and well preserved bronze animals from Olympia, Thebes and Syme, supplemented by other studies of related material<sup>64</sup>, provide a wide range of variant forms that illustrate stylistic development in much greater detail than the smaller groups of fragile terracottas. In addition they have been more carefully studied and far better illustrated, providing much useful information not only on style but also on decoration and even on technical details.

This is not to say that in studying the Syme clay animals one need not look farther than their bronze counterparts. The fact that the horse, the most common animal among the Syme terracottas, is barely represented among the bronze animals from the sanctuary indicates that the connections between the two categories of votives are not straightforward. Although there are impressive examples of the dependence of terracottas on bronzes in the Syme material, their significance is not easy to gauge, especially since there are no parallels among the material from Olympia, where much larger groups of contemporary bronze and terracotta animals have been found<sup>65</sup>, or at Ayia Triada, another sanctuary where bronzes and terracottas were dedicated in the same periods. The figurines of a bull and a deer from Patsos and an early horse from Vrokastro, which do have connections with bronzes, serve only to indicate that this relationship could not have been exclusively characteristic of the workshops that supplied the Syme sanctuary<sup>66</sup>.

61. Shaw and Shaw 2000, AB15, AB18. To judge from its decoration AB 15 should be dated in PGB.

62. Lebessi 1970, 285-286 pl. 399c.

63. Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987, 314-315, figs. 2, 4 no. 3, pl. 4 no. 5, identified as an ox, because of its triangular, bulky, horn-like ears.

64. Herrmann 1964; Rolley 1969, 57-100 with additions in Rolley 1977, 5-13; Maass 1977; Maass 1978, 105-110; Zimmermann 1989.

65. Heilmeyer 1972, 91.

66. For the Patsos figurines see below, VII, 76 n. 322; XII, 121-122 and for the horse from Vrokastro III, 15 n. 107.

Whether such caveats have always been observed or not, there is hardly any study of bronze animals that has not stressed the inadvisability of using comparanda among other categories of evidence, such as pottery or terracottas, for making chronological correlations<sup>67</sup>. Even comparisons between free-standing and attached figurines or between different species of animals are considered problematic<sup>68</sup>.

The present volume does not pretend to be so consistent methodologically. The development of Geometric and early Archaic bronze animals, as established by Schmaltz and Schürmann, provides a useful stylistic and chronological framework, but the sort of formal analysis on which it is based cannot always be applied to the more casually modeled and usually fragmentary terracottas. Furthermore the Syme figurines are not numerous enough or sufficiently well preserved to provide evidence for internal development, although the assemblage is large enough to allow some groupings to be made on the basis of stylistic and technical features. This is particularly true of the horses, which constitute the largest group and whose affinities with both bronze and clay figurines of Cretan and non-Cretan production can be more easily established. Once the horse figurines are considered as a separate group, there is no sense in dealing with the rest of the animals as a unit. For this reason the four species that essentially comprise the Syme assemblage and the few birds found at the sanctuary are discussed here separately. The catalogue entries are divided into segments that accompany each discussion, but the numbering is consecutive to avoid confusion in the rest of the chapters, in which the material is considered as a whole<sup>69</sup>. Within each section the arrangement of the entries is roughly chronological, following their discussion, whose aim is to trace the stylistic/chronological development of each group. The chapter devoted to the attachments is an exception, because the material is too diverse to be discussed as a coherent group and was subdivided into smaller groupings of representations of the same animal and a section dealing with a few attachments of the Minoan period. The pyxis horses, although they are, strictly speaking, attachments, are included in the chapter devoted to the horse figurines, with which they are most closely connected.

This not unprecedented division of the material inevitably isolates most of the headless figurines that cannot be identified. On the other hand, consideration of each species gives a clearer idea of the composition of the assemblage and of the affinities and relative importance of each group in various periods and, most impor-

67. Zimmermann 1989, 10 n. 101; Schürmann 1994, 5 n. 24 with refs. and Langdon 1984, 73-76 for more detailed discussion. See also Lebessi 2002, 7 n. 19 for similar views concerning anthropomorphic bronzes.

68. For a good discussion see Schmaltz 1980, 100-101, 125-130.

69. With the exception of the tables and a few

photographs that illustrate specific technical details and comparanda, references to the figures and plates are confined to the entries of the catalogue. The measurements included in the entries of the catalogue correspond in every case to the maximum preserved dimensions of the objects. All dates are B.C.



tantly, illustrates more vividly the special qualities of Cretan craftsmen, who were never adverse to adapting the most diverse stimuli and ideas to produce a wealth of variations of these perishable and 'humble' objects.

In combining a chronological system based on pottery with references to bronzes, one risks confusion. For this reason the dates assigned to the individual entries of the catalogue are given in years, although, in most cases, these simply correspond to the phases of Cretan Geometric as defined by Coldstream (Table A). Within the text these phases will be referred to specifically as given in terms of either Attic or Cretan chronology. When a more specifically dated prototype can be identified, this date is also assigned to the figurine, mainly because it is impossible to estimate how much later the terracotta was made. In any case, the bronze figurines and the Attic horse pyxides, which provide most such prototypes, both evolved fairly rapidly during the eighth century so that the time gap between them and the terracottas that they influenced cannot have been significant.

The same approach will be applied to the dating of the material that is assigned to the seventh century, which presents additional problems in this respect, since two different systems are used concurrently. Anthropomorphic representations or compositions that include human figures, whether they are executed in the round or in relief, are dated according to the Dedalic phases of the tripartite division established by Jenkins<sup>70</sup>, while pottery is assigned to two phases, EO and LO, according to the system followed by the British excavators of Knossos<sup>71</sup>.

Theoretically this means that mouldmade plaques with representations of real or imaginary animals can be correlated with examples decorated with compositions that include such figures, while animal protomes attached to pottery can be dated in ceramic terms. In reality this works only for well preserved examples. Most of the plaques from Syme are fragmentary, preserving bits of common motifs that are impossible to date, while practically all protomes and other attachments are broken off or detached from the pottery or other objects that they decorated and present difficult problems, which will be discussed in the relevant chapter. Free-standing animal figurines are even more problematic, since they find no place in either system. Thus the dating of the bronze animals has to depend on the stylistic evolution summarized above, while the handmade terracottas, such as those from Syme, are only marginally better off thanks to the Attic parallels already mentioned.

Another aspect of the figurines that pertains to their chronology is their fabric. In most recent publications of animal figurines the varieties of fabric used in each assemblage have been connected with specific chronological periods<sup>72</sup>. In the pres-

70. Jenkins 1936, 59-65.

71. Brock 1957, 214. See also remarks in the preface to the publication of the North Cemetery (Coldstream and Catling 1996, xiv). It should be noted, however, that in the same publication

there is reference to some vases that may represent an intermediate, MO, phase (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 461).

72. See below XII, 118.

ent study fabric is considered as a factor that can be used primarily to identify sources of production, in other words the workshops where the figurines were produced. The petrographic analyses published at the end of this study and also discussed in Chapter XII have not contributed definitive answers, but have provided some valuable evidence in this respect,

Statistical assessments of any aspect of this material (Tables B-C) obviously depend on the correct identification of the figurines. Every effort has been made to identify the species of as many as possible. This has proved easier for the horses, which not only have many more published parallels but can sometimes be identified even when they are headless by small traces of the characteristic mane or the cross-section of the neck. Horned animals are practically impossible to identify if they are headless, since other features, such as the length and form of the tail or even the skin fold on the throat were never exclusively characteristic of a specific kind of animal; the rare exceptions are goats with short, curling tail or the examples of sheep that are decorated in a manner imitating the fleece. The same is most often the case when just the horns are missing, unless the breaks are of such shape that a sheep or goat can be identified. For these reasons some of the identifications proposed here, albeit plausible, remain uncertain. It is consequently impossible to determine conclusively whether more horse or more 'bull' terracottas were dedicated at Syme. There is no doubt, however, that, in either case, the quantitative difference would be minimal.

Some of the figurines from Syme are explicitly characterized as male, while many have no indication of sex. With the exception of the Theban Kabirion, where all bronze cattle figurines were bulls, the virtual absence of female animals, which are shown only occasionally as suckling mothers<sup>73</sup>, is a general phenomenon, although the proportional representation of 'sexless' animals varies from site to site. In most cases scholars have assumed that all animal figurines are male. According to Schmaltz, the absence of sexual characteristics is more common among terracottas than among bronzes and is probably to be attributed to the carelessness of the craftsmen<sup>74</sup>, while Zimmerman believed that the absence of sex does not designate female animals but is rather a matter related to stylistic phases and workshop practices<sup>75</sup>. In contrast, in the more recent publication of the Samian figurines, it is argued that 'sexless' animals are meant to be female, since sex is the essential characteristic of human and animal representations in Geometric and early Archaic art and consequently 'neuter' creatures are inconceivable<sup>76</sup>. This comparison between human and animal representations is not valid, because both male and female humans were given distinct sexual characteristics, while only male animals are designated as such, although it would have been just as easy to do the same for females. Moreover, this

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73. Zimmerman 1989, 325 with refs.

74. Schmaltz 1983, 103.

75. Zimmermann 1989, 325.

76. Jarosch 1994, 68.

view ignores the fact that 'sexless' animal figurines are not a feature characteristic of the Geometric and early Archaic periods, but also of the entire BA. The fact that so many animals, of both clay and bronze, continued to be made in the IA without an indication of sex, even when they were modeled with other anatomical details<sup>77</sup>, cannot be due to the carelessness of the craftsmen, but must reflect their reaction to a lack of concern on the part of many votaries, for whom the particular sex of an animal figurine was clearly far less important than the offering itself of such a gift. Consequently only generic terms are used in this study to describe the figurines without sexual characteristics. The only exception are the protomes, for which the traditional terms 'bull' and 'ram' seem entirely appropriate to me.

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77. Schürmann 1994, 201-202 for such bronzes from Syme and Olympia.



### III. HORSES AND RELATED MATERIAL

As a popular subject of Geometric art and an important status symbol in early Greek society, the horse is the most widely discussed animal in the archaeological literature devoted to this period<sup>78</sup>. Among three-dimensional representations the bronze figurines take pride of place, but even for the terracotta horses there is more information than for any other kind of animal. It is therefore reasonable to begin the discussion of the material from Syme with the horse figurines.

There is no doubt that representations of horses were more popular in mainland Greece than in Crete. This is obvious already in the Mycenaean period, when horse terracotta figurines are well attested. Given the importance of the chariot in Mycenaean iconography, it is not surprising that chariot groups are more common than single horses<sup>79</sup>. Wheeled horses are also known<sup>80</sup> and even the rare type of 'Push-me-Pull-you', with a single body and two heads facing in opposite directions, is attested<sup>81</sup>. In LH IIIC representations of teams by means of two similar but unattached animals were also made, as the two horses from Perati indicate<sup>82</sup>. The continuing popularity of the animal in the PG and G periods is not only reflected in the large number of bronze and terracotta figurines produced in these periods, but also in the fact that the chronology of both bronze and terracotta animals assigned to these phases is largely based on horse figurines<sup>83</sup>.

The horse is well represented in the small, largely unstratified group of animal figurines from the Kerameikos<sup>84</sup>. The few fragmentary examples assigned to the Submycenaean or transitional period<sup>85</sup> acquire a special significance, since such claims have rarely been made for other sites where early terracottas have been found<sup>86</sup>.

Horses certainly predominate among the zoomorphic terracottas from Olympia, an assemblage that is remarkable not only for its large size but also for its stylistic and technical homogeneity. At Olympia, if chariot teams are added to the single figurines, horses outnumber cattle and sheep (the only other significantly represented species) put together<sup>87</sup>. Although the earliest single horses are

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78. Most of the relevant references can be retrieved, albeit with considerable effort, from Zimmermann 1989.

79. French 1971, 162-163 no. 122, 164-165, 185-187; Crouwel 1981, pls. 40, 42; Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, pl. 19 no. A82; Steinhauer 2001, 64-66.

80. Morgan 1935, fig. 2d.

81. Rolley 1963, 115 pl. 19 no. 65.

82. For ref. see above II, 6 n. 41.

83. See above II, 6.

84. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, nos. 521-540.

85. Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, nos. 521-524.

86. See below 15 n. 103.

87. Heilmeyer 1972, Table a on p. 123. See also Table B in this volume.

assigned to the (Attic) LPG period<sup>88</sup>, there are few examples dated earlier than the first half of the eighth century, when numbers increase dramatically. The same is true of bovids and sheep, although these are better represented than horses in the (Attic) PG and EG phases<sup>89</sup> (Table B).

Horse figurines are also more numerous than those of cattle at the Samian Heraion. The horse appears a bit earlier, in late (Attic) PG, but is sparsely attested before (Attic) LG II, when the number of solidly made figurines shows an abrupt increase (Table B). With the exception of two horses from an Attic pyxis of the LG Ia period<sup>90</sup>, the Samian figurines are all products of local workshops. Most of the animals, including the horses, are of modest quality, but less homogeneous than the Olympia figurines.

Among the small, unstratified and fragmentary group of animal terracottas from Isthmia, only two have been identified as horses<sup>91</sup>. The horse, with or without a rider, is also represented in other, smaller groups of zoomorphic terracottas of LG, Archaic and later periods that have been published from Delos<sup>92</sup>, Sparta<sup>93</sup>, Aegina<sup>94</sup>, Epidaurios<sup>95</sup>, Argos<sup>96</sup> and Thessaly<sup>97</sup>. It is also quite common among the figurines from the Potters' Quarter at Corinth<sup>98</sup>, where the earliest were found in contexts dating c. 625-575. Many are ridden horses as are also most of the terracotta horses from Boeotian graves, where this type was enormously popular in the Archaic period<sup>99</sup>.

The horse was much less popular in Minoan than in Mycenaean art. There were certainly representations in the round already in LM IIIC, as evidenced by the two matched horses from Kavousi<sup>100</sup>. There is also a small horse of uncertain

88. Heilmeyer 1972, 20 pl. 10 no. 53.

89. Zoomorphic figurines, including horses, very similar to those from Olympia have also been found at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis at Kombothekra in northern Elis (Sinn 1981). A horse very similar to bronze horses dated to the EG phase occurs among the terracottas published from the Amyklaion (Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 46 no. 106 cf. with Zimmermann 1989, 117 pl. 25 no. 4 and Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 28).

90. Jarosch 1994, 22 n. 78 pl. 18 nos. 271-272.

91. Morgan 1999, pl. 72 nos. F25-26, pl. 73. At least one other body, F13 (pl. 70) probably belonged to a horse, to judge by the cross-section of the neck.

92. Laumonier 1956, pl. 1. For some of these horses see below, 000. For the fragment of a horse from an Attic pyxis of the LG Ib period from the workshop of Agora 4784 cf. Laumonier 1956, pl. 1 no. 16 with Bohen 1988, pl. 37.6.

93. Farrell 1907-1908, fig. 1; Woodward

1927-1928, fig. 2.

94. Margreiter 1988, pl. 7 nos. 115 and 126.

95. Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, pls. 62-66.

96. Guggisberg 1988, 175-176 fig. 4.

97. Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, pl. 13.1.

98. Stillwell 1952, Class XXIII.

99. Ure 1934, pls. 15-16; Østergaard 1991; Szabò 1994 *passim*.

100. See above II, 6 n. 41. A horse from Apesokari and two others from Archanes, all stray finds, have also been assigned to the LM III period. The horse from Apesokari (AA 1964, 804 fig. 8) was originally part of a harnessed team. The turn of its neck to the side indicates that the figurine postdates the Attic pyxides of the LG Ib period, where this feature is introduced. The strip harness and, in particular, the stiff pose and lifeless modeling are best paralleled in Attic horses of the seventh century (see above II, 7). For the horses from Archanes see also below 25.

date, found in a child's cremation burial at Liliana, near Phaistos, which may represent a transitional stage of stylistic development<sup>101</sup>, but on the whole the published groups of Geometric and Archaic figurines from Crete include proportionately fewer horses than those of the Mainland.

At Kommos horses, mainly (perhaps even exclusively) belonging to wheeled teams, are well established, but are fewer than the figurines of cattle<sup>102</sup>. The same is true of the Ayia Triada material, where bovids predominate<sup>103</sup>. No horses have been identified among the group of animals from Patsos. Although at least one example can be securely identified, since it belonged to a copy of an Athenian horse pyxis<sup>104</sup>, and there are a few other likely candidates<sup>105</sup>, bovids and caprids are more numerous.

Among the smaller groups of animals published from various Cretan sites, the only one which consists almost entirely of horses is that from Gortyn<sup>106</sup>. The few horses from Vrokastro are notable because they include an early figurine with good parallels among the (Attic) EG bronze horses from Olympia<sup>107</sup> and two fragmentary horses that can be identified as belonging to the Athenian pyxis of the Phylla workshop that was found in the old excavations of Edith Hall at the site<sup>108</sup>. The fragmentary horses that belonged to this pyxis were published more recently<sup>109</sup>. Three others of very similar size, shape and fabric, which had originally been attached to a flat surface, must have belonged to a locally made copy dependent on later, (Attic) LG Ib, prototypes<sup>110</sup>.

A few horses have also been published from various excavations at Knossos<sup>111</sup>.

101. Savignoni 1904, 641-642 fig. 113. The pottery from the cemetery seems to range from LM IIIB through Subminoan (Kanta 1980, 100; Desborough 1952, 258). As noted by Schmaltz (1980, 101 n. 121), the horse figurine is PG in style, even though its decoration conforms to an earlier tradition, but see the PG bovid 92 from Syme, which has very similar decoration.

102. For refs. see above II, 6 n. 47-49.

103. D'Agata 1999, nos. C1.56-65 identified as horses and assigned to LM IIIC through Subminoan; nos. D3.41-44 horses assigned to PGB through O.

104. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 112 no. 70 fig. 83; see also below, 17. The fragment Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 40 fig. 60, which is identified as a horse, is actually a goat, as its beard and the position of the broken horns indicate.

105. E.g. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 109 nos. 51, 53-57; cf. Jarosch 1994, nos. 282-283 from Samos.

106. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 188-189 pl. 38 except for no. 271; additional pieces on p. 54, fig. 83 nos. 4-7.

107. Hayden 1991, pl. 48.3 cf. with Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 12 esp. no. 67.

108. Cf. Hall 1914, pl. 26 with Bohen 1988, fig. 16d.

109. Hayden 1991, fig. 10, pl. 53 nos. 29-30 to be compared with Bohen 1988, pl. 30 no. 195.

110. Hayden 1991, fig. 5 nos. 8-9, pl. 49 no. 8; fig. 10, pl. 53 no. 27. One of the horses (fig. 5 no. 8) is decorated with a swirling pattern on the chest, which is as close as the Cretan craftsman approached the circles that decorated the originals.

111. Royal Road: Higgins 1971, 280 pl. 45 no. 35; Unexplored Mansion: Sackett et al. 1992, 352 pl. 294; Sanctuary of Demeter: Coldstream et al. 1973, pl. 65 nos. 260-261; Unknown provenance: Boardman 1962, 33 pl. 5d; Fortetsa: Brock 1957, 98,99 no. 1146.



The sole example of note is a surface find from Fortetsa of the MG period, which is the only terracotta animal of this period with a secure provenance that belongs to the 'Push-me-Pull-you' type<sup>112</sup>. Finally the small group of clay animals from the Psychro Cave includes no horses.

It is worth noting here that in Crete horses of bronze are more uncommon than those of clay (Tables B-C). With the addition of the more recently found horse from Kommos only nine have been published from various sites<sup>113</sup>; four of these were attachments of tripod handles<sup>114</sup>. At Syme itself there are only five horses among the 580+ zoomorphic bronzes published so far, two of which, yoked together, were part of the same object<sup>115</sup>. It seems therefore that, in so far as bronze horses are concerned, Syme conforms to the general Cretan pattern, whereas in the case of the numerous terracotta horse figurines, it follows the distribution pattern of Mainland sanctuaries.

Among the earliest horses from Syme is **1**, a tiny animal, whose widespread conical legs and similarly shaped, featureless face are also characteristic of PG animals found in other areas. At the same time its unsubstantial body and angular contours indicate that it was made at a time when the PG stage was over. The Syme horse finds its best parallels among some of the early bronze horses from Olympia that have been dated to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth century<sup>116</sup>. The same is true of the poorly made and fragmentary animals **2**, **3**, **4**, **5** and **6**, which were probably all made by the same craftsman and have good counterparts in some bronze animals of this period that have been assigned to local, Olympian, workshops. Indeed, in the case of **2**, the best preserved of this Syme group, the resemblance extends beyond the peculiar modeling of the mane, to practically every feature of the head and body, except for the long neck, which the Cretan craftsman was unable or unwilling to emulate<sup>117</sup>.

Just like the few other early animals from Syme, these horses are isolated from the bulk of the material and appear insignificant compared to the group with which the series of horse figurines really begins. Most of their successors belong to matched pairs of horses, remarkable not only for their large size but also for

112. Brock 1957, 207 pl. 111 no. 1556.

113. See Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl. 3.29 no. AB83 for the example from Kommos. The others are listed in Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, nos. 188-192, pl. 18 and Zimmermann 1989, pl. 68 no. 1-8. The two lists do not overlap completely. Zimmermann's list, the most complete, does not include Pilali's no. 188, a horse from Ayia Triada, which is considered Minoan; his no. 5 was found on Delos and is assigned to the Cretan group on grounds of style. On the horse from Ayia Triada see now D'Agata 1999, 195 no.

E3.75, pl. 117.

114. See Maass 1977, 48-49; Zimmermann 1989, pl. 68 nos. 1, 3 and 4 (dated 750-725) and no. 8 (dated late LG).

115. Schürmann 1994, 215-216 nos. 533-535. See also below XIII, 135 n. 606 for the identification of his no. 425 as a stallion rather than a bull.

116. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 13 nos. 68-74.

117. Cf. in particular Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 29 no. 219.

their quality. This description, however, does not really apply to the fragmentary team **7** and **8**, a fairly large but clumsy pair that had been attached to the lid of a copy of an Athenian pyxis<sup>118</sup>. Its closest parallel, in terms of shape and the arrangement of the decoration, is a horse in Cambridge, formerly in the Robinson Collection, that dates to the (Attic) MG II period but is not assignable to a specific workshop<sup>119</sup>. The decoration of the Cretan horse is also rectilinear but consists of a motif that had already entered the Cretan ceramic repertory in PGB, surviving through the (Cretan) MG period<sup>120</sup>. Unlike the Athenian horses, which always stood apart and were usually simply pressed onto the lids, the Syme horses leaned against each other and had been attached with a layer of clay, so that their hind legs had to be separated afterwards with a slash.

It is of interest that another copy based on the same prototypes is represented by a headless horse from the sanctuary of Hermes Kranaios at Patsos<sup>121</sup>. The Patsos horse is shaped like the Syme horses and was similarly attached to the lid, but is marginally closer to the originals in its decoration that consists of a careless but recognizable version of the tangential circles that decorated the neck or shoulders of many Athenian pyxis horses<sup>122</sup>.

A second copy of an Athenian horse pyxis is represented at Syme by the head **9**, which conforms closely to the earliest (Attic) MG II Athenian horses not only in form but also in the decoration<sup>123</sup>. The Cretan touches are confined to the more fluid contours of head and neck and the sense of motion imparted by the extended head, both features that are absent from Athenian horses of this period.

Unlike **7-8** and **9**, the group of **10-11**, **17**, **12**, **13-14**, **15-16** and **18** are purely Cretan creations, although they share many features with terracottas and bronzes from other areas dated to the (Attic) MG II phase. As already mentioned, their most obvious characteristic is their size. They were all large enough to be called figures rather than figurines, but, because of their fragmentary state, their size can only be estimated. The only horse preserved well enough to be measured, **12**, is over 20 cm. long. The team of **10** and **11** were probably larger, while the largest of the group, **17**, must have been close to 30 cm. long.

In bronze horses increase in size has been linked with the introduction of the base, which provided stability for figurines that became increasingly larger and

118. E.g. Bohen 1988, pl. 22 no. 181.

119. Bohen 1988, 51 n. 269, pl. 35.5.

120. Brock 1957, 171 motif 4b.

121. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 112 no. 70 fig. 83.

122. A fragmentary copy of a pyxis lid with an attached team of wheelmade horses from Emporio in Chios (Boardman 1967, 188-189 pl. 73 no. 26) is another Cretan copy of the same

period. It has several similarities with the Syme fragments, especially in the way the legs were formed and attached and even in the decoration of the inner, invisible, side of the horse, but the most significant resemblance is between the head and neck of the surviving horse and those of the stallion **12** from Syme.

123. Bohen 1988, 46-49, Workshop I, pls. 18-19 nos. 176, 178.

heavier in the “quest for monumentality”, also evident in pottery and tripod cauldron production c. 760<sup>124</sup>. For terracottas the same claim has been made for a group of chariot teams at Olympia, dated to the (Attic) MG II phase<sup>125</sup>. Built entirely of narrow tubular elements, these figures, which could reach a height of c. 25 and a length of c. 20 cm., had to have supports for their legs and be closely linked together to avert collapse. Their necks were so slender and long that they could not possibly have been supported in any other but the vertical or near vertical position, which is thought not only to generate the impression that the animals were moving, but also that they were being restrained with difficulty<sup>126</sup>. The horses have smoothly finished bodies without any plastic differentiation of the surface; their muzzle is long and tubular, their eyes are set high near the poll and the edge of their mane was often serrated.

These features are also present in the Syme horses, but no two groups of material could be more different. Unlike the animals from Olympia with their rod-shaped bodies, spindly legs and giraffe-like necks, the Syme horses are sturdy and well proportioned and have a lot in common with the Athenian pyxis horses. Details such as the rectangular cross-section of the head and muzzle<sup>127</sup>, the modeling of the short mane and the placement of the ears and eyes are the same. Even the pricked manes of the Syme horses create an impression similar to that of the side view of the striped manes of the Athenian horses<sup>128</sup>. Given the fragmentary state of the Syme material, the most obvious difference lies in the more slender neck of the Cretan horses that, in profile, is almost equal in width to the head, with which it is connected in a continuous curve, whereas the head of the Athenian horses is clearly differentiated from the wide neck<sup>129</sup>.

The large Syme horses do not seem to have all been produced in the same workshop, but are closely related. The head of the only horse that preserves the body, **12**, is close to those of both **10-11** and **15-16**, albeit less massive than the former and more voluminous than the latter. The strong sense of motion and power conveyed by the outthrust head, the focused, deeply set eyes and the flattened body with its swelling chest is further emphasized by the unusual modeling and placement of the shoulders and front legs. The peculiar form of the limbs reflects the treatment of the wax model for bronze animals and is found in other bronze figurines from Crete, although it is rare at Syme<sup>130</sup>. The twisted tail of **12**, whose tip ends up high on the flank, is another motif signifying motion that occurs in

124. Zimmermann 1989, 311.

125. Heilmeyer 1972, 26, pl. 13 nos. 73-76.

126. Heilmeyer 1972, 25 in reference to the fragment no. 72, pl. 12.

127. Bohen 1988, 47 in reference to horses of Workshop I, pls. 18-19 nos. 176, 178.

128. Cf. Bohen 1988, pl. 23.2 with **11**.

129. E.g. Bohen 1988, pl. 21 no. 183 for early and fig. 14 for later examples.

130. For a discussion see Schürmann 1994, 200 n. 550-552, who brings in examples from other areas, refuting Zimmermann's opinion (1989, 296) that this feature is characteristic of Cretan animals. See also below XII, 121.



bronze animals in Crete as early as the second quarter of the eighth century, but is rare and appears much later elsewhere<sup>131</sup>.

Naturalistic details and reduced body mass are certainly features shared by this group of horses and bronze animals from Syme dated to the (Attic) MG I phase, but specific comparisons –hampered, in any case, by the absence of bronze horses of this period at Syme– are not productive. It is therefore of special interest that a close similarity exists between **17** and a bronze horse from Phaistos<sup>132</sup>. The proportions of the clay horse, the graceful curve of its neck, the short mane and even the form of the eyes and the position of the ears find their exact counterparts in the bronze figurine. The latter differs only in the sharp, angular transition of the muzzle to the face. The low date (after 725) assigned to this horse<sup>133</sup> should be revised, in view of its connection with **17** and the rest of the horses in this Syme group, whose affinities are with (Attic) MG rather than LG material.

The chronological range of this group can be better determined on the basis of the decoration of **18**. Its fabric is very similar to that of **12** and the proportions and modeling of the preserved parts of the body and neck very close to those of **17**. The dog's tooth motif, used in the decoration of its flanks, albeit rare, does occur in Cretan MG<sup>134</sup>, but the decoration of this horse as a whole finds a close parallel in a figurine from Delos, which belonged to a copy of an Athenian horse pyxis of the (Attic) MG II period<sup>135</sup>. It is likely therefore that these large horse figures were dedicated by pilgrims visiting Syme during most of Cretan MG down to about the middle of the eighth century. The resemblance of **17** with the bronze horse from the Phaistos area suggests that the Cretan craftsmen making clay votives in this period were well acquainted with those produced by their metal-working colleagues.

Four other horses, very different from each other, can also be placed within this chronological horizon. The poorly preserved wheeled horse **19** is made of very similar fabric as the large horses just discussed. Its tubular body with the spine shown in relief, the short neck and low mane are all features found in this group. The tiny **20** (which can be identified as a horse by the trace of the pinched mane left at the base of the broken neck) was probably an earlier dedication. It is best paralleled by bronzes of the beginning of the eighth century with cylindrical bodies and tall, thin legs in tip-toe stance<sup>136</sup>. The dedication of the headless single-bodied team **21**, which reflects very different prototypes, must have taken place before 760, since its closest parallels in terms of the shape of the body, the heavy

131. For a discussion of this feature as a possible Minoan revival see Schürmann 1994, 207-208.

132. Zimmermann 1989, 295 pl. 68 no. 7.

133. Zimmermann 1989, 295.

134. Coldstream 1968, 244.

135. Laumonier 1956, pl. 1 no. 12. For the date cf. Bohen 1988, 53-55 fig. 13a.

136. Schürmann 1994, pl. 16. The legs of the Syme horse have been restored with flat tips. For a close parallel with better preserved legs, see below **204**.

legs and static pose are the horses from pyxides dated in 780-760<sup>137</sup>. The partly preserved wheeled horse **22**, which was of similar shape, should also belong in the latter part of the (Attic) MG II period. This is probably the appropriate date for another fragmentary but not headless, wheeled horse, **23**, whose tubular muzzle has a rounded tip, while the modeling of its mane as well as its fabric are very close to those of the fragment **31**<sup>138</sup>.

Cretan craftsmen continued to be aware of bronzes produced in areas beyond the island as is evident from **24**, which, together with the very similar **25** and the less impressive **26**, are characterized by very thin bodies with somewhat concave midriffs, supported by extended legs that, especially in **24**, create a more intense impression of motion than that conveyed by the stallion **12**. It should be noted here that both **24** and **25** seem to be made of the same fabric as the stallion and may be later products of the same workshop.

Similarly thin and active bronze animals were certainly dedicated at Syme in this period down to the middle of the eighth century<sup>139</sup>. What distinguishes **24** is that its head and neck reproduce very closely those of bronze horses produced in Peloponnesian workshops around 750<sup>140</sup>, namely the mane that ends abruptly at the base of the flat, curved neck, the plastically differentiated curve of the cheeks into which the ears merge, the conical muzzle with its flattened underside and even the plastically indicated eyes. The head **27** with its sensitively modeled muzzle and extremely thin neck also belongs in this period<sup>141</sup>.

The connections of the small fragment **31** with the 'Large Horse' group (especially **15-16**) and with the wheeled horse **23** are evident, not only in specific iconographic features, but also in the means employed to convey motion. Equally evident is the distance that Cretan craftsmen had traveled within the short time that separates **31** from its predecessors. A comparison with bronze horses of the third quarter of the eighth century attributed to Attica<sup>142</sup> leaves no doubt concerning the prototypes followed by its maker, whose sure touch betrays great familiarity, if not first-hand experience, with the carving of wax models. But no Mainland horse could have possibly kept up with **31**. With its panting mouth and laid-back, folded ears<sup>143</sup>, this small head is a representation of rushing movement and leashed power remarkable for this period. It is the precocious predecessor of the ridden horses portrayed

137. Bohen 1988, pl. 27 no. 185.

138. For the modeling of the muzzle see also the bulls **102-103**.

139. Schürmann 1994, 72-73 for discussion and pl. 29 esp. nos. 295-296.

140. E.g. Zimmermann 1989, pl. 2 nos. 53-54.

141. The fragmentary **28** with its long, very thin body may also belong in this group or be an earlier piece, as its lack of overt motion and

rather stumpy, splayed legs suggest; cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 13 no. 146. For another fragmentary example of this group see below **223**.

142. Esp. Zimmermann 1989, pl. 63 no. 6, dated ca. 740.

143. For the introduction of this feature in bronze animals in Crete ca. 750 see Schürmann 1994, 73.

on the pithos from Prinias<sup>144</sup> and of a single-bodied team of the seventh century from the same site, which is represented in full gallop, although it was mounted on wheels<sup>145</sup>. It is likely that **31** also belonged to a two-headed figurine.

Similar if somewhat later prototypes must have inspired the craftsman who made **29**, one of the best made terracotta animals from Syme. The gracefully curved, thin mane and flat legs suggest bronze models, from which the decoration must have also been borrowed. On the other hand the long cylindrical face with its bumpy forehead, which is sharply separated from the curling poll, is much closer to that of the pyxis horses of the Phila workshop, whose late products date ca. 750-740, than to that of a contemporary bronze horse from the Athenian Agora that must have also been influenced by pyxis horses<sup>146</sup>. Despite his dependence on Attic models, the Cretan craftsman made practically no attempt to model the body of the animal after the bronze or clay horses of Attica, opting instead for a strong, well proportioned and smoothly finished body, which stops just short of being too heavy an anchor for the elegant neck and unrealistic head.

A second horse from Syme, **30**, is a much less successful adaptation of similar bronze models. Its small head with the curling poll and pointed ears, which copies features of the 'mannered' bronze horses of the third and fourth quarter of the eighth century usually attributed to Corinthian workshops<sup>147</sup>, and its short and skinny neck look like incongruous appendages of the well developed body. The dark, polished surface of this figurine indicates that the craftsman had probably also aspired to reproduce the finish of his bronze prototypes<sup>148</sup>.

Whereas the craftsmen who made **29** and **30** had little interest in conforming to bronze prototypes beyond the modeling of the head, others were more faithful in following the stylistic trends of this period, modeling horses such as **34** and **32** with bodies that reproduced, in so far as the different medium allowed, the narrow midriff and developed chest and rump of contemporary bronzes<sup>149</sup>. Even the wheeled team **33**, whose one surviving head is very similar to that of **32**, was provided with bodies of similar shape, although the latter must have been largely concealed by the wheels. These horses also share the angular modeling of the neck and muzzle, but the wear of the surface has largely obliterated these features in **33**. The rhomboid cross-section of the neck also occurs in **35**, which finds a good parallel in a pair of horses from Vrokastro that most likely belonged to a local copy

144. Pernier 1914, 70 fig. 39. For the date see Schäfer 1957, 17 no. 31, which is assigned to his Group III.

145. Rizza 1984, fig. 480.

146. For the pyxis horses see Bohen 1988, pl. 31 no. 210, and for the bronze horse from the Agora Zimmermann 1989, pl. 66 no. 38.

147. E.g. Zimmermann 1989, pls. 43-45.

148. For this figurine see also below IV, 47 in reference to bull **123**.

149. For **34** cf. Zimmermann 1989, pl. 7 no. 94 and for **32** cf. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 41 no. 343, although the modeling of the head and neck of the terracotta is more 'metallic' than that of the bronze.



of an Athenian pyxis of the (Attic) LG Ib phase<sup>150</sup>. The headless, but similarly modeled **38** and **39** also belong in this group. The mutilated 'protome' **40**, which combines a long, offset mane and small, disk eyes, placed high near the poll, that make unlikely an early or a late date, also belongs in this chronological horizon. The rectangular cross-section of its long neck is most likely an indication that it belonged to a single bodied team. The small and rather carelessly made horse **36**, with its developed chest and rump, can be placed in the early part of the third quarter of the eighth century. The same is also true of **37**, the mutilated remnant of a team.

The neck of **41** was also shaped like that of **35** but there is absolutely no other connection between these two very different figurines. **41** should be associated with the most closely interconnected group of horses from Syme, **42-49**. Their most striking feature is the rough, uneven surface of the clay on which fingerprints are often discernible. This is a modeling technique that has been noted in bronze figurines of the early fourth quarter of the eighth century<sup>151</sup>, whose wax models were left unsmoothed after being pinched and shaped with the fingers. Equally evident in this group is the exaggerated shape of the bodies that have the short, narrow midriffs and overdeveloped shoulders, thighs and rump that characterize animal figurines at the end of the third quarter of the eighth century and the beginning of the fourth. In the better preserved Syme horses the rump is crooked from the addition of the long tail that was twisted and attached to one of the hind legs.

The modeling of the neck as well as the large size of **41** set it apart from the others. Its resemblance to the horse attached to a tripod handle from the Idaean cave<sup>152</sup>, is extremely close: the head is an exact copy and the body a faithful, if exuberant, version of the original, including such specifics as the sharp separation of the mane from the neck and the disproportionate volume of the rump. The neck of the Syme horse was shaped with a tool to reduce its thickness and acquired the rhomboid cross-section mentioned above that the bronze horse does not seem to have. The smoothness and angularity of the neck contrast unattractively with the swollen and rough surfaces of the body. The bronze horse has been dated in the early third quarter of the eighth century<sup>153</sup>.

The impression of heaviness and bulk that **41** conveys is not only due to its modeling but also to its size, which is considerably greater than that of the small bronze horse on the Oxford handle. The other horses in this group are less com-

150. Hayden 1991, nos. 8-9, fig. 5, pl. 49. It is likely that her no. 27, which was originally attached to a lid, also belonged to the same pyxis. The shape of the body is very similar and so are the fabric, dimensions and decoration. For the closest Athenian horses cf. Bohen 1988, pl. 34 nos. 204-205.

151. Heilmeyer 1972, 28. For the few Syme bronzes see Schürmann 1994, 110. See also below XII, 120-121.

152. Boardman 1961, 86 pl. 27 no. 377 = Zimmermann 1989, pl. 68 no. 4.

153. Maass 1977, 48-49; Zimmermann 1989, 294-295.

pact, with longer necks and smaller heads, but the modeling of the body is the same. All of them have tall manes, pinched to form a scalloped edge, and bulky ears; the larger examples have eyes, but none has a mouth or nostrils at the tip of the pointed muzzles<sup>154</sup>. Where preserved, their legs are short, conical or of almost triangular cross-section; in one team, **45** and **46**, the hind legs are of a different shape than the front. In addition, the better preserved of these horses also share the same exuberant, albeit careless and unimaginative, decorative scheme.

The workshop that produced most of these horses specialized in paired teams that were portrayed in various ways. There is no indication that **45** and **46** were connected to each other. In contrast, **42a** and **42b** were literally bound together with strips wrapped around their front legs. They were also attached at mid-body, where the gap between their narrow midriff was bridged with a bar of clay. Since this bar seems superfluous as an additional means of connecting the two animals, it probably represents a dorsal yoke<sup>155</sup>. The concept of a team is emphasized even more in **43**, in which the two animals have merged in a single body with two heads.

This emphasis on teamed figurines and several other features of these horses, such as the shape of the body with the excess swelling of the hindquarters, the long, attached tails, the slender, elongated and featureless muzzles, which in some cases have a kink (**47**) or swelling (**44**) in the middle, suggest a connection with late Athenian pyxis horses produced in the (Attic) LG Ib period<sup>156</sup>, but this does not seem to have been the result of direct imitation, since there are too many features that do not occur on the pyxis horses, such as the rather dispirited curve of the long necks, the short, more or less shapeless legs, the tall manes and the complex decoration. It may be that these horses were inspired by other Cretan copies of Attic pyxides.

The fragment **47** is very close to **44** but belonged to a larger animal than the other horses in this group. Another fragment, **49**, modeled in the same manner but made of different fabric than the others, bears a close resemblance to a ridden horse of bronze from Olympia, a cauldron attachment that has been assigned to a Corinthian workshop and dated to the third quarter of the eighth century<sup>157</sup>. Although the Syme fragment does not have the curling forelock of the bronze, it is close enough to it to reinforce the fact that the prototypes of this group of horses all date within 750-725. The emphatic modeling of the Syme group suggests a date in the latter part of this period or at the very beginning of the fourth quarter of the eighth century<sup>158</sup>.

154. The uncatalogued fragment HM 27985 must have belonged to one of these horses. It is a fragment of a pinched mane that preserves the attached, pointed, strip ears. The size suggests that it may have belonged to **46**.

155. Crouwel 1992, 41-42.

156. Bohen 1988, pls. 37.3-4; 38.2.

157. Zimmermann 1989, 186-187 pl. 41 no. 18 = Maass 1978, 109 pl. 43 no. 199.

158. This date is also indicated by a comparison with the horses from Grave XII at the Athenian Agora (Young 1939, fig. 40), which

The fabric and rough finish of the little double-headed horse **50**, which preserves the clear imprints of the fingers that shaped its spine and sloping flanks, are the same as that of the extravagantly shaped group. Its unstable stance is also very similar to that of the team **42a** and **42b**, but –because of the greater length of its legs– it recalls much earlier animals.

It may very well be that the fragmentary wheeled horse **51**, which is made of very similar fabric and has the same small, featureless face and tall mane also belongs in this period. Its short, thick legs and completely flat flanks are consequent to its function as a ‘toy’ horse; the former were insurance against breakage, while the latter permitted the wheels to be mounted much closer to the body and to turn more freely.

A few other horses from Syme can be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century on the basis of formal features that are considered characteristic of zoomorphic figurines in this period, such as the increased volume of the body or the stable stance. It is such traits that connect the small, headless figurines **53** and **52** as well as the more roughly made fragment **54** with the larger and more carefully modeled **55**. The decorated zone around the latter’s neck may reflect the neck-strap that is associated with a neck yoke. The sharply offset mane, scraped along the roots with a knife or spatula, is a feature that connects this animal with the last group of horses from Syme.

Among the other late horses from Syme the best preserved is **56**, a massively built animal with well defined joints and short, firmly planted legs. The comparison with a similar horse from Olympia<sup>159</sup> illustrates how the Cretan craftsman has exaggerated common features, making the compact body shorter and the massive head heavier. The notch at the base of the mane of **56** has been noted as a characteristic feature of Cretan bronze horses<sup>160</sup>.

The same formal features, rendered in more subdued manner, and a similar notch on the back characterize **57**, a rare example of a saddled horse. The fragment of a saddle, decorated with the same impressed motif that decorates the body and also indicates the eye, fits precisely on the left side and shows that the remnant of a clay strip on the right shoulder is probably all that is left of the rein. There are no traces suggesting that a rider was attached to the saddle. Nor are there any on the small side saddle **58**, which is of the same type but does not fit any of the horses found at Syme. There are two other such saddles from Anavlo-

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also have bulky shoulder and thigh joints, large ears and pointed, featureless muzzles. In the Attic horses, which date to LG IIb (Coldstream 1968, 84), the modeling is more schematic, while the decoration has largely degenerated to groups of dashes on reserved parts of the body.

159. Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 16 no. 94.

160. Zimmermann 1989, 296, pl. 68 nos. 1, 3. For a bronze animal from Syme that represents a similar stage of formal development with **56** see Schürmann 1994, pl. 45 no. 428, dated towards the end of the eighth century.



chos that were apparently also found as separate objects<sup>161</sup>. It is, however, improbable that such tiny objects were dedicated by themselves and much more likely that at both sites the saddles had been originally part of rider figurines. The same must have been true of 57, despite the lack of physical evidence.

There are four figurines of riders seated sidesaddle known from Crete. The crudest was found in a child's grave at Gavalomouri (Kissamos) and is dated by context to the latest (Cretan) LG or Transitional period<sup>162</sup>. The rider is naked and safely ensconced within a saddle like 58 that provides support on three sides. Another, as yet unpublished, example, on display in the Heraklion Museum, comes from the cave sanctuary of Eileithyia at Tsoutsouros (ancient *Inatos*) and is mounted on a saddle with high sides, just like those found at Anavlochos<sup>163</sup>. The same kind of saddle is also used by two naked riders from Archanes that are of much better quality than those from Gavalomouri and Tsoutsouros.

The Archanes figurines have been dated to LM III<sup>164</sup> and are said to come from a looted tomb of that period in the outskirts of the village, but it is likely that this date was assigned to the hypothetical tomb on the basis of the figurines rather than vice versa<sup>165</sup>. There cannot be any doubt, however, that the Archanes riders belong to the same chronological horizon as the figurine from Gavalomouri. In fact, because of their superior quality, they illustrate most clearly the iconographic and stylistic connections of all four Cretan figurines with bronze Geometric prototypes rather than with the BA figurine that has been considered as the closest parallel of the Archanes riders. The bronze riders in question are particularly characteristic of Arcadia<sup>166</sup>, but were also known in Crete, as a (now lost) example from Amnisos testifies<sup>167</sup>. The single known Mycenaean rider figurine has only two features in common with the Cretan examples, the subject itself and the type of saddle, neither of which has any chronological significance<sup>168</sup>, whereas every aspect of the Cretan riders can be paralleled in Geometric figurines. Even the gesture of the Archanes riders, whose arm reaches out to the horse's neck, occurs in a bronze rider from Tegea<sup>169</sup>.

Unlike the bronzes that were single castings, the terracotta riders were made in three pieces that were then attached to each other. There is good evidence from both the Gavalomouri and the Archanes figurines that care was taken to attach the

161. Demargne 1931, 384 fig. 22.

162. Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987, 315-316, 323-324 no. 22, pl. IV.1.

163. Davaras 1976, 86.

164. See above 14 n. 100.

165. For a discussion and good illustrations see Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, 522-523 figs. 517-518, 520.

166. Voyatzis 1992.

167. Schäfer et al. 1992, 228 no. D 1.b 3, pl.

74.1 (1937 photograph).

168. Voyatzis 1992, fig. 10.

169. As can be seen in the original publication by Dugas 1921, fig. 17 no. 49, when the figurine was better preserved. The same gesture also occurs in a terracotta rider from Kombothe-kra (Voyatzis 1992, 272 fig. 12), who is, however, clothed, like all other figures of this type in the seventh and sixth centuries.

rider securely onto the saddle<sup>170</sup>. On the better made Archanes riders care was also taken to attach the saddle, which is held in place by the strip that indicates the harness around the neck of the horse. In contrast, on the Gavalomouri model the saddle "just sits on the back of the horse." It seems that the craftsman who made the Syme model was guilty of negligence in securing both saddle and rider.

The impressed motif on **57** is fairly common on bronze horses of the LG period<sup>171</sup>. In pottery decoration the motif is characteristic of the latest LG or even the Transitional period<sup>172</sup>. The more roughly made **59** has several points of similarity with **57**, besides the heavy proportions, particularly the modeling of the short mane and the strongly compressed head. The latter is so worn, however, that these details are largely obscured as is also the shape of the broken muzzle, which was originally blunt with a deep slot mouth like that of the head of **57**.

The small headless horse **60** has firmly planted legs, disproportionately wide and short, but its underdeveloped body is hardly characteristic. It is its decoration that suggests a date in the late LG or Transitional phase, when the use of dotted motifs becomes popular on Cretan pottery<sup>173</sup>. The headless stallion **61** has a very similar shape; its elaborately modeled genitals find a parallel in bull **143**, which also belongs in the seventh century.

The group of large 'Protoarchaic' and early Archaic bronze horses from Olympia and other similar bronzes obviously made a strong impression on terracotta figurines not only in Crete but also on Samos and Delos<sup>174</sup>. The close resemblance to the bronzes and also the decorative motifs used in some cases leave no doubt as to the chronological horizon of these terracotta horses.

The stallion **62**, one of the best made horses from Syme, with his heavy chest and hollow abdomen is very close to the Olympia statuettes<sup>175</sup>. Although the prominently modeled shoulder and thigh joints of **62** are shown on most of these bronzes, the otherwise smooth planes of the bronze bodies clearly held no attraction for the Cretan craftsman, who opted instead for an extravagantly variegated surface, which he then also covered with elaborate painted patterns. The decoration includes the guilloche, a motif introduced in Cretan pottery during the Transitional period<sup>176</sup>.

170. See the back views of the Archanes figurines in Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 517 left and 520 right, which show how the body was flattened and pressed onto the saddle (a detail not shown on the drawing of fig. 518 upper row center). The lower body of the Gavalomouri rider is described as "almost fused" to the saddle (Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987, 315).

171. Zimmermann 1989, pls. 45-48; pl. 40 no. 5 for eyes of this type. See also Heilmeyer

1979, pls. 100-101 for the eyes of the large statuette no. 809.

172. Brock 1957, motif 9i.

173. For the dotted quasi-rosette see Brock 1957, 178 motif 9cp.

174. Jarosch 1994, pl. 24 no. 339, pl. 25 nos. 338, 344; Laumonier 1956, pl. 1 no. 17.

175. E.g. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 105 no. 819 (= Schilbach 1984, pl. 2.2); pl. 106 no. 822.

176. Coldstream 1968, 252.

Reflections of the same bronze originals can also be seen in the small fragments from Syme **63** and **64** as well as the surviving horse attached to the chariot **70**, discussed below. The head of **62** is less faithful to its prototypes than the body, but does reproduce the clear demarcation of the lower jaw and the prominent eyes, although the latter are still the traditional pellets. The small fragment **66** with eyes indicated in relief, a sharply defined, offset mane and a sensitively modeled muzzle is much closer to the bronzes<sup>177</sup>. The even smaller fragment **67**, may well be later. The modeling of the muzzle and the calligraphic mouth bring it closer to bronzes datable in the second quarter of the seventh century<sup>178</sup>. It is possible that **68** also belongs in this chronological horizon<sup>179</sup>, while the headless **69**, which has good parallels in Athens that are dated before 640<sup>180</sup>, can be placed more firmly at the end of the series of horse figurines from Syme.

## CHARIOT

The large assemblage of votive chariots of bronze and clay from Olympia seems to be exceptional even for the Mainland<sup>181</sup>. Votive chariots were certainly uncommon in Crete, where only one certain, albeit incomplete, model of bronze is known, from Syme itself, which preserves only one horse<sup>182</sup>. Another bronze model of a vehicle from Psychro may be a cart rather than a chariot<sup>183</sup>. Terracotta models are equally rare: a fragmentary example from Vrokastro was also of the rail chariot type<sup>184</sup>; a second fragmentary example from the same site, now lost, probably belonged to a cart model<sup>185</sup>.

The single clay chariot model found at Syme, **70**, is therefore of interest, especially since it is fairly complete and datable, thanks to the attached horse, which has good parallels among the other horse figurines from the sanctuary (e.g. **62**) that can be dated within the first quarter of the seventh century<sup>186</sup>.

The Syme chariot is of the type that is mounted on a wheeled plaque, which is attested at Olympia<sup>187</sup>, but is better known from Attic examples of the (Attic) LG

177. Cf. Heilmeyer 1969, nos. 823 and 822 respectively.

178. Wangenheim 1988, 66 pl. 17 no. 29, dated by context earlier than 650.

179. Cf. Wangenheim 1988, pl. 16 no. 28, of which the small Syme head could be a simplified version.

180. Burr 1933, 614 fig. 83 no. 308. Similar horses have also been found in mid-sixth century deposits at Corinth (Stillwell 1952, pl. 38 no. XXIII, 12), but they carried riders, of which there are no traces on the Syme horse.

181. Heilmeyer 1994.

182. Schürmann 1994, 166-168 pl. 59 no. 533; a pair of spoked wheels can also be associated with this model.

183. Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 97-98 no. 245 pl. 24. Listed as a cart in Crouwel 1992, 79 n. 382; also discussed in Crouwel 1981, 154; Schürmann 1994, 168 n. 384-385.

184. Hayden 1991, 138 n. 108, pl. 54 no. 37.

185. Hall 1914, 111 fig. 62.

186. See above 26.

187. Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 20 nos. 110-111, pl. 21 nos. 120-121.



period and the seventh century. These are all quadrigas and commonly include the figure of a charioteer, except for two examples that omit both chariot box and charioteer, thus providing the closest parallels of the Syme model<sup>188</sup>.

The Syme model diverges from the Attic chariots in having only two horses and four rather than two wheels. The first feature may well be canonical in Crete, where, in so far as can be determined, quadrigas are unknown, while the second is typical of wagons rather than chariots<sup>189</sup>. A third difference is that there is no indication of a yoke, which is common in other models and even in figurines of horse teams unattached to a vehicle, but is rare at Syme<sup>190</sup>.

The presence or absence of some features in the Syme model does not seem to be significant in terms of its identification or date. The context precludes its identification as a funerary cart, so that the addition of four rather than two wheels may simply reflect the concern of the craftsman to produce a stable and sturdy model, appropriate for dedication and display at a sanctuary. This concern is also evident in the way the feet of the horses were pushed into the plaque and additionally secured with clay rather than simply pressed onto its surface as is common in other models. Alternatively, the addition of four rather than two wheels to a chariot may refer to wheeled horses, which were certainly much more common in Crete than chariot or cart models<sup>191</sup>.

## WHEELS AND WHEELED BAR BASES

Although chariot models are not well attested at Syme, other kinds of wheeled objects were fairly common dedications, so that the discovery of several detached wheels is not surprising. It is unfortunate that out of a total of 19 only two can be securely associated with another object as will be discussed below. All these wheels would have revolved freely on axles added to models or horses, but only one example, the small fragment **71**, is explicitly of the four-spoked type, most often depicted on Geometric and post-Geometric vases<sup>192</sup>. The same type is represented by **72** that is solid but decorated with four symmetrically arranged triangular motifs in the place of the spokes<sup>193</sup>. It is also possible that the whirling strokes on **73** were meant to give the impression of a wheel of this type in the process of turning. Finally the

188. For an earlier model see Higgins 1967, pl. 8b, dated by Bohen 1988, 56-57 n. 279 in the transition from (Attic) MG to LG. For the two Athenian chariots, from the Kerameikos and the Agora, and a discussion with refs. see Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 168-169.

189. Crouwel 1992, pls. 19.4; 22.1

190. A pair of yoked horses of bronze is included among the small group of metal horses

from Syme (Schürmann 1994, pl. 60 no. 534). For yoked terracotta horses see above **42a-b**.

191. See also below XIII, 133-134.

192. For a fragment from Olympia see Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 21 no. 125. See also Morgan 1999, 174 for examples from Isthmia and other sites.

193. Cf. Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 21 no. 122.

impressed circles on the wheels of **87** must be purely decorative, since the same pattern appears on the front of the matching bar support. A couple of other wheels (**78**, **71**) were solidly painted or smeared with paint, at least on one side, while two others (**84-85**) had a painted band around the axle hole.

With the exception of **87** the wheeled bar bases found at Syme are also isolated finds. Only three of them, **87**, **90** and **88**, preserve a bit more than the imprints of feet. There cannot be any doubt, however, that these objects usually consisted of a team of horses, whose front and hind legs were attached to and supported by two fairly thick bars that were perforated horizontally to accommodate the axle on which the wheels were mounted. One exception is **89**, which, as the imprint of the feet indicates, only carried one horse.

A similar method of supporting terracotta chariot models can be seen in some Boeotian examples with horses mounted on bars or strips of clay<sup>194</sup>. These models are part of a series of quadrigas that include the charioteer, who was attached to the hindquarters of the animals. All of them depend on the Attic prototypes of the early seventh century mentioned above, which they resemble closely<sup>195</sup>. In some cases, however, the Boeotian craftsmen simply abbreviated the plaque to two bars or strips just wide enough to accommodate the feet of the animals and the single, summarily modeled, human figure<sup>196</sup>. Similar strip bases sometimes supported single bronze animals, including three from Syme<sup>197</sup>.

The wheeled bases from Syme cannot be related to the rather flimsy Boeotian examples, which did not have wheels, or to the similar strips sometimes used for bronze animals. Their best parallel is a fragmentary horse of the PGB period from Kommos, whose front feet are supported by a perforated bar<sup>198</sup>. As the imprint of another animal on its side indicates, it was part of a team, just like most of the horses that had been attached to the bars from Syme.

The most completely preserved of the Syme bar bases, **87**, may perhaps be dated in approximately the same period as the chariot **70**, i.e. in the Transitional phase and the beginning of the seventh century, when stamped decoration was most common. The shape of the surviving leg is not incompatible with such a date. On the basis of the presently available evidence, the rest of the surviving bars could have been made any time between the PGB period and the seventh century.

194. Szabó 1994, fig. 6 and fig. 7 for a plowing scene with the same kind of supports.

195. Szabó 1994, 24-25.

196. A similar method was also used in some Cypriot models of much later periods: e.g. Buitron-Oliver et al. 1996, 117-118 pls. 29.123-125; 30.126-128. It is not clear whether the strip which supports a yoked pair of horses from Olympia is of the same kind, as the position and attachment of the feet indicate, or simply the broken-off edge of a plaque, as is implied by the

description given in the publication (Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 20 nos. 110-111).

197. For a discussion of these and other examples see Schürmann 1994, 198, who thinks that their prototypes were attached figurines. For a terracotta bull that may be influenced by these bronzes see below IV, 49 **146**.

198. Shaw and Shaw 2000, pl. 3.9 no. AB 13, found in LPG-PGB context, datable in PGB on the basis of the decoration.

## Catalogue

1. Small horse with thin body of almost triangular cross-section, resting on stumpy, splayed and extended legs. The long neck, pinched into a ridge along the nape, culminates into a featureless, conical head.

Fine, pinkish buff clay. Solidly painted with reddish paint. Chipped and missing the tail.

Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 1)

Ht. 1.9 cm. L. 4.1 cm.

810-790

2. Roughly modeled horse with body and head of uniformly triangular cross-section, pinched out of a single lump of clay, but differentiated by means of the stronger compression of the rudimentary neck. Because of the thinness of the trunk, the shapeless, short legs were attached in contiguous pairs and are barely differentiated one from the other. Traces of slot mouth and pricked nostrils.

Fairly coarse, poorly fired, bright orange clay (closest to 5YR 6/8) with brown and white inclusions. Much worn and chipped.

(Pl. 1)

Ht. 5.3 cm. L. 12.3 cm.

810-790

3. Headless horse, very similar and of the same fabric as 2, but with shorter body. The surviving front leg is not as flat as the corresponding legs of 2. Missing three legs and most of the tail.

(Pl. 1)

Ht. 5.8 cm. L. 8.5 cm.

810-790

4. Headless stallion, very similar to 2 and 3 and of the same fabric, but with better smoothed and more corpulent body. A small lump scrotum is wedged between the hind legs, which are somewhat longer than the front pair.

Chipped and missing two of the legs and part of a third. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Pl. 1)

Ht. 4.4 cm. L. 9.5 cm.

810-790

5. Partially preserved horse, similar to 2-4 and of the same fabric. On the extremely thin head only the mane is preserved.

Missing the muzzle and the greater part of the legs. (Pl. 1)

Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 4.9 cm.

810-790

6. Partially preserved horse, very similar to 2-5 and of the same fabric. Preserves only the rear part of the body, minus the greater part of the legs.

(Pl. 1)

Ht. 3.8 cm. L. 5.9 cm.

810-790

7. Partially preserved horse with narrow body of almost triangular cross-section, supported on short, thick legs that had been attached to a lid. Small hole under the (missing) tail. On the right leg there is the imprint of a second animal; the two were attached to each other and to the lid with clay smeared onto the front and back of the hind legs as well as on the flat hindquarters; the legs were then differentiated in the back with a deep gash.

Gritty, pinkish-orange clay (between 7.5YR 7/4 and 7/6) with red, brown and white inclusions, perhaps self-slipped, certainly smoothed by hand. Decorated in black with narrow contour bands and others that frame a zone of pendent, cross-hatched triangles on the visible flank; on the unattached area of the right side only part of a curved band is visible. Missing the front of the body. Reconstructed from three fragments with some plaster additions.

(Pl. 2)

Ht. 8 cm. L. 11.3 cm.

780-760

8. Fragment of the hindquarters of the teammate of 7. Small hole under the (missing) tail.

Clay same as that of 7. Very worn.

(Pl. 2)

Ht. 5.1 cm. L. 7 cm.

780-760



**9.** Head of horse connected to neck of oval cross-section; small ears and disk eyes placed close to the poll of the short, pinched mane; narrow, pointed and featureless muzzle.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with white, grey and brown inclusions. Decorated on the face with the St. Andrew's cross that is connected to the circles defining the eyes; bands and strokes on the neck. Chipped and missing one eye. (Pl. 1)

L. 5.2 cm.

800-775

**10.** Partly preserved horse with body of oval cross-section, strongly compressed on the sides. The hair on the short, applied mane is indicated with a series of holes pierced at an angle so that they are visible on the right side; the small ears and pellet eyes are placed close to the poll. The muzzle is long, almost four-sided, and provided with pricked nostrils and slot mouth.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6) with pinkish gray core. Traces of brownish paint. Preserves the front part of the body without the legs. Reconstructed from four fragments. (Pl. 2)

Ht. 10.2 cm. L. 12.7 cm.

780-760

**11.** Head of the teammate of **10**. The perforations of the mane are visible on the left side of the neck.

Clay same as that of **10**. Surface worn and of a warm brown color. (Pl. 2)

Overall L. 7.1 cm. L. of face 6.5 cm.

780-760

**12.** Stallion with body of oval cross-section and protruding chest. The root of the tail and the (missing) spine had been modeled in relief. The rear legs are extended and the front thighs are represented as obliquely positioned raised strips; a ragged bit of clay on the right flank marks the place where the end of the (missing) twisted tail was attached. Strip penis and large hole under the (missing) lump scrotum. Head and

mane are modeled like those of **10** and **11**, but the eyes are disks rather than pellets and placed at a lower point, while the tubular muzzle has been compressed, so that the lower jaw is much more prominent.

Very coarse, reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with brown inclusions. Surface worn, cracked and peeling. Missing the legs. Reconstructed from two pieces with a patch of plaster. (Pl. 3)

Ht. 10.9 cm. L. 22 cm.

780-760

**13.** Fragment of large horse that preserves the upper part of the body with the base of the narrow neck.

Gritty brownish orange clay (close to 7.5YR 7/6) with yellowish brown core. Traces of wide band along the spine. (Pl. 3)

Ht. 4.9 cm. L. 11.7 cm.

780-760

**14.** Fragment from the midriff of the teammate of **13**.

Clay same as that of **13**. (Pl. 3)

Ht. 3.6 cm. L. 6.9 cm.

780-760

**15.** Head of horse with long, narrow muzzle, compressed to the thickness of the thin, extended neck; the blunt tip of the muzzle with its deeply impressed nostrils was also compressed, so that the lower jaw is prominent and the slotted mouth gapes open. The short, pinched mane is pricked along the edge and the triangular ears are set very close to it on top of the narrow skull; the pellet eyes may have had pricked pupils.

Very coarse, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with red and brown inclusions. Traces of paint. Chipped and missing one eye. Reconstructed from two fragments. (Pl. 3)

L. 8.7 cm. W. 5 cm.

780-760

**16.** Fragment of neck from the teammate of **15**.

Clay same as that of **15**. Surface completely abraded. (Pl. 3)

L. 6.4 cm. W. 4.5 cm.  
780-760

**17.** Partly preserved horse with body of oval cross-section, compressed on the sides. Head and mane modeled like that of **10** and **11**, but the head is lowered, following the curve of the short neck; the pellet eyes have tiny, pricked pupils.

Gritty pink clay (closest to 7.5YR 7/4) with grey core. Traces of brown paint. Missing the rear part of the body and most of the front legs. Reconstructed from two fragments with the addition of some plaster.

(Pl. 3)

Ht. 12.6 cm. L. 14.4 cm.  
760-750

**18.** Partially preserved headless horse with body of oval cross-section and short neck provided with rudimentary, pinched mane. Very gritty, reddish yellow clay (almost 5YR 7/6) with brown and white inclusions; brownish buff slip. Decorated on each flank with a zone of dog's tooth above another of vertical strokes; band of cross-hatching along the spine and on the sides of the neck, extending along the mane; chest and legs are striped. Missing the rear part of the body and the greater part of the legs.

(Fig. 1; Pl. 4)

Ht. 6.5 cm. L. 7.5 cm.  
760-750

**19.** Partially preserved, headless wheeled horse, with tubular body and neck of oval cross-section, provided with a short, pinched mane. The peeled-off ridge of the back indicates that the spine had been raised with an applied strip of clay. The perforated front legs are contiguous but were apparently differentiated from each other closer to their tips.

Gritty to very gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with white and occasionally grey inclusions. Surface uniformly brown, smooth and polished. Missing the rear part of the body and the lower part of the front legs.

(Pl. 4)

Ht. 7.8 cm. L. 9 cm.  
790-760

**20.** Small headless horse with slender body, concave at back and imperceptibly convex at the belly; a bit of the pinched mane is preserved at the base of the broken neck. Faint traces of black paint.

Gritty light brown clay (close to 7.5YR 6/4) with yellowish grey core, brown and gray inclusions. Missing the tip of the tail; legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two fragments.

(Pl. 4)

Ht. 2.3 cm. L. 6.5 cm.  
790-760

**21.** Headless team with a single body of oval cross-section, narrower at the midriff. Two circular breaks at one end and two broken stumps at the other are all that remains of the missing heads and tails.

Gritty, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Solidly painted with black paint. Chipped and missing the legs. Reconstructed from four fragments.

(Pl. 4)

Ht. 4.8 cm. L. 9.5 cm.  
780-760

**22.** Partially preserved wheeled horse with body that widens somewhat towards the rump, and raised tail. The upper part of the hind legs was formed from a solid strip of clay, barely differentiated with a shallow vertical depression and pierced with a large hole at right angles to the body.

Very gritty light brown clay (7.5YR 6/4) with white and brown inclusions. Surface uniformly grey (from exposure to fire?). Decorated with two panels of vertical strokes separated by a wide band that runs along the spine and tail. Missing the front part, part of the hind legs and the tip of the tail.

(Fig. 1; Pl. 4)

Ht. including tail 5.6 cm. L. 6.5 cm.  
780-760

**23.** Partially preserved wheeled horse with long neck provided with a long mane, pricked along the edge. The muzzle of the horizontally extended head is tubular but rounded at the tip and slightly concave between the disk eyes, which are placed on

the sides of the face; much abraded applied ears, lightly incised mouth and tiny pricked nostrils. The extremely short front legs are not differentiated from each other and are perforated horizontally.

Fine clay, uniformly fired to pinkish buff (close to 7.5YR 8/4). Traces of bands criss-crossing over part of the neck and the front legs. Chipped and missing the rear part of the body as well one each of ears and eyes. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 4)

Ht. 8.7 cm. L. 4 cm.

760-750

**24.** Horse with thin body of oval cross-section and extended legs. The pinched and well smoothed mane ends abruptly at the base of the short, arched neck. The extended head is plastically differentiated from the neck and provided with conical, well smoothed eyes and bulky ears, set near the mane. The muzzle is conical, flattened below the jaw and has a slot mouth and gashed nostrils.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with grey core, closely similar to that of stallion **12**. Possibly solidly painted. Chipped, cracked and missing the legs, tail and small parts of the body and skull. Reconstructed from two fragments. (Pl. 5)

Ht. 8.4 cm. L. 15 cm.

750-740

**25.** Headless horse with body even longer and thinner than that of **24**, supported by legs set very close together. The mane on the extremely flat neck was longer than that of **24** and pricked along the edge. Small hole through the root of the tail, which had been twisted and attached to the left leg.

Fairly coarse, brownish orange clay with red and brown inclusions, closely similar to that of stallion **12**. Missing the legs and the tip of the tail. Reconstructed from several fragments. (Pl. 5)

Ht. 5 cm. L. 12.7 cm.

750-740

**26.** Partially preserved stallion with body

compressed on the sides and of almost triangular cross-section at the base of the raised mane; long freely swinging tail; imprint of large lump scrotum.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with greyish core and brown inclusions. Traces of black paint. Cracked and missing the front part of the body, the greater part of the legs and the tip of the tail. (Pl. 5)

Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 8.3 cm.

750-740

**27.** Head of horse attached to wide and very thin neck. The large ears flank the pinched mane and the carelessly incised, circular eyes are set on either side of the (broken) poll. The tubular muzzle has a well modeled lower jaw, pricked nostrils and slot mouth.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/8). Much abraded; reconstructed from two fragments. (Pl. 5)

L. of head including mane 4.6 cm. Overall l. 4.4 cm.

750-740

**28.** Headless horse with long body of oval cross-section, somewhat concave at the abdomen. The nape, which was strongly compressed at the base, and the flattened, wide break of the neck identify it as a horse. The legs seem to have been rather short.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with greyish core. Faint traces of paint. Missing the hindquarters and the greater part of the legs. (Pl. 5)

Ht. 4.4 cm. L. 7.2 cm.

750-740 or earlier

**29.** Horse with carefully finished, almost tubular body supported by flattened, firmly planted legs. The chest protrudes slightly, the rump is fairly well developed and the hindquarters flat. The mane on the gracefully arching neck has hair indicated with finely incised strokes and is intersected at the back of the head by the forward curling poll. The head is long with bulging forehead and tubular, blunt muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and incised mouth. The



disk eyes are placed on either side of the forehead. Rows of tiny pricked holes on the forehead and poll suggest the straps of the headstall.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Traces of brownish paint. Chipped and missing part of three legs and the tip of the tail.

(Pl. 6)

Ht. 10.3 cm. L. 13.2 cm.

750-740

**30.** Horse with well smoothed and polished body of oval cross-section, long, shapeless but firmly planted legs and pendant tail. The skinny neck has no mane, which is indicated only with a sort of crest on the small head. Long strip ears applied on either side of the crest, large pellet eyes and deeply slotted mouth.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Solidly painted with worn black paint. Missing one eye and most of the muzzle; the hind legs were bent sideways during firing. Reconstructed from five pieces.

(Pl. 6)

Ht. 11.7 cm. L. 14.5 cm.

750-740

**31.** Head of horse connected with fragment of neck. Modeled like **15-16**, but the neck is even thinner and of triangular cross-section, the prominent pellet eyes are placed farther down on the sides of the face, while the ears are folded back and their interior is pricked. A groove below the ears probably traces the outline of the cheeks or, less probably, may indicate the reins, which are also suggested by a small perforation through the muzzle.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4), well smoothed by hand. Faint traces of paint. Chipped and worn; reconstructed from fragments.

(Pl. 7)

L. 8.4 cm. W. of neck 3.3 cm.

740-730

**32.** Horse with cursorily finished albeit carefully shaped, slender body, well developed at the rump, which was raised through the addition of the thick, pendant tail. Shoulder and thigh joints are sharply defined and the

knees clearly indicated on the flattened front legs. Arched neck of rhomboid cross-section, long mane, ending abruptly at the base of the neck; strip ears applied on the poll and pellet eyes set just below them; thin, faceted muzzle provided with incised mouth and pricked nostrils.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8). Faint traces of paint. Traces of smoothing tool along the flanks. Worn, chipped and missing the greater part of the hind legs. Reconstructed from four fragments.

(Pl. 7)

Ht. 12.2 cm. L. 13.2 cm.

750-725

**33.** Wheeled team of horses with cursorily modeled, swaybacked bodies, attached to each other along the sides, with a strip of clay. The pairs of their atrophied, jointless legs are folded antithetically under the body. The surviving neck and head of the right horse are modeled much like those of **32**, but the eyes are provided with pricked pupils and the ears are larger and attached on either side of the poll rather than on it. The joined bodies were perforated horizontally at the 'thigh' and 'shoulder' joints.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). Chipped and missing the head and one of the legs of the left horse and most of the tails.

(Pl. 7)

Right horse: Ht. 6.3 cm. L. 8.3 cm. Left horse: Ht. 4.3 cm. L. 6.4 cm.

750-725

**34.** Horse with short body, narrow at the midriff and well developed at the rump. Extended and splayed legs. The short neck has a fairly long, pinched mane that ends abruptly on the forehead, right above the point where the disk eyes were applied. Large strip ears with pricked interior, placed obliquely behind the eyes. Conical muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and feebly incised mouth.

Fine yellowish buff clay (fairly close to 10YR 8/3). Remains of broad strokes of purplish black paint seem to trace the contour of the

joints and legs; mane, tail and ears perhaps daubed with paint. Legs, tail and part of the neck restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 8)

Ht. 5.2 cm. L. 9.2 cm.

750-725

**35.** Headless horse with slender body. The surviving leg is long, tubular and has a rounded tip. The wide and thin neck has a rhomboid cross-section and no mane. Body and legs were smoothed with long, even strokes of a knife or narrow spatula.

Fine buff clay. Traces of paint. Missing three legs and most of the tail. (Pl. 8)

Ht. 5 cm. L. 6.9 cm.

750-725

**36.** Horse with short body, well developed shoulder and thigh joints, narrow midriff and sturdy, slightly extended legs. The (missing) tail was originally twisted and attached to the right leg. The small head with its large disk eyes and bulky ears is supported by a short and thick neck, provided with a carelessly applied strip mane.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Decorated with contour bands, filled with criss-crossing lines of variable width. Chipped and missing legs, tail and tip of muzzle. (Pl. 8)

Ht. 5 L. 8.1.

750-725

**37.** Headless horse with body shaped much like that of **36**. Traces of applied clay on the left flank indicate that it was originally attached to a teammate.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Traces of paint. Missing legs and tail. (Pl. 8)

Ht. 2.6 cm. L. 5.3 cm.

750-725

**38.** Headless horse with carelessly finished body, shaped like that of **32**. Suspended tail; moderately splayed and extended legs, nicked at the tips to indicate the hoofs. The lightly pinched and curving mane is the only indication that this is a horse.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8) with light

grey core. Traces of buff slip and black paint, even on belly.

Missing the tip of the tail, three legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 8)

Ht. 6 cm. L. 8.25 cm.

750-725

**39.** Headless horse with somewhat roughly modeled body, conical legs and extended tail.

Fine reddish yellow clay (almost 7.5YR 7/6). Decorated with barely discernible contour bands filled in with criss-crossing lines. Legs and tail restored with plaster; reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 8)

Ht. 4.5 cm. L. 7.8 cm.

750-725

**40.** Fragment of horse protome, probably from a team with a single body. The long neck is formed from a rectangular rod to which the off-set strip mane was attached. The rounded top, which corresponds to the skull, is perforated with a small hole, indicating the position of the reins. Below it on the left side there are faint marks, possibly nail impressions, densely and haphazardly clustered. The only preserved facial feature, the pellet eyes, are placed high on either side of the (broken) poll.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4) with grey core. Solidly painted with black paint, now almost completely worn off. Chipped and missing the muzzle. (Pl. 7)

L. 6.6 cm. W. of neck 2.2 cm.

750-725 ?

**41.** Horse with roughly finger-modeled body, overdeveloped at the rump and shoulders. Short neck of rhomboid cross-section, provided with a long mane that has been smoothed on with a tool. Large ears attached to the (broken) poll and pellet eyes placed just below them. The tubular muzzle was strongly compressed from above and below to shape the prominent tip with its incised mouth and pricked nostrils.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/8). Many

traces of paint on the body and of thin lines on the head. Chipped and missing the hindquarters, the legs and parts of the mane. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Pl. 9)

Ht. 6.2 cm. L. 10.3 cm.

730-720

**42a-b.** Team of horses, originally joined together by means of a short bar, which connected them at the midriff, and with strips of clay (best preserved on horse a), wrapped around their front legs. Both have roughly finger-modeled bodies, overdeveloped at the shoulders and rump and supported by short, conical, splayed legs. Their long necks are provided with a prominent mane and the small conical heads have no features except for the upright strip ears. The left horse is somewhat smaller and has a more pointed muzzle. The poll of the left horse is broken, revealing a small hole on the forehead.

Fine pink clay (closest to 7.5YR 7/4), yellowish buff slip. The faded decoration, which is best preserved on the left, least visible, side of horse b, consists of zones and panels filled with linear patterns that are combined differently on each horse. Chevrons or oblique lines and horizontal stripes were painted on the chest, throat, the sides of the neck and on the mane. Traces of thin bands on the head. Parts of both horses restored with plaster.

(Fig. 1; Pl. 9)

Horse a : Ht. 8.5 cm. L. 11.5 cm. Horse b: Ht. 9.4 cm. L. 10.4 cm.

730-720

**43.** Team of stallions with a single, finger-modeled body, overdeveloped at the rump, where the crooked tail is attached very low. The two long, curving necks culminate into small, pointed and featureless heads. The manes were scalloped and end in pointed polls that are flanked by the upright ears. The applied penis was also pinched into place in the same manner. The left head was added after the right, is thinner, crookedly attached and more carelessly decorated.

Gritty, buff clay with pinkish orange core,

yellowish buff slip. The body is covered with rows of chevrons with one row extending on the visible side of the right horse's neck; the corresponding side of the left horse (Fig. 000) has a zone of oblique strokes. Rest of the decoration worn and faded. Chipped and missing the greater part of the tail and legs.

(Fig. 1; Pl. 9)

Ht. 8.9 cm. L. 18.4 cm.

730-720

**44.** Horse modeled much like **43**, but with longer muzzle, bent and protruding slightly at the forehead; the pellet eyes are applied on the sides of the face at this point. The preserved leg is fairly short and almost triangular.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8), pinkish white slip. Decoration preserved mainly on the head, where thin bands are visible, and on the neck, which is covered with chevrons. Chipped and missing three of the legs and the tips of the muzzle and tail. Reconstructed from three pieces.

(Pl. 10)

Ht. 9.4 cm. L. 14.2 cm.

730-720

**45.** Horse very similar to **44**. The preserved hind leg is cylindrical with a flat tip, whereas the front legs are almost triangular like those of **44**.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6 to 7.5YR 7/6), much worn slip. Decorated on each flank with a single row of zig-zags that, at least on one side, extends on the neck. Facial features circled or daubed with paint. Worn and missing the muzzle, tail and part of the mane. Reconstructed from three pieces; two legs and bits of the body restored with plaster.

(Fig. 2; Pl. 10)

Ht. 11.7 cm. L. 14.2 cm.

730-720

**46.** Horse, probably teammate of **45**.

Clay same as that of **45**. Decoration best preserved on the body, which has panels of criss-crossing groups of lines on the flanks that are bisected by a row of oblique ones along the spine; the legs are striped. The



non-joining head preserves most of the mane, which is defined by broad bands and decorated with oblique strokes. Worn and missing part of the neck, part of the body, the tail and one of the legs. The ears and the tip of the muzzle are chipped off and one of the eyes is missing. Reconstructed from four pieces. (Fig. 2; Pl. 11)

Ht. 6.4 cm. L. 12 cm. L. of head and neck 6.4 cm.

730-720

**47.** Head of horse with long, pinched mane, large, petal-shaped ears flanking the poll and long, irregularly shaped, featureless muzzle. Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Traces of paint along the mane. Chipped and worn. Reconstructed from two fragments.

(Pl. 11)

Ht. 6.7 cm. W. of muzzle and mane 4.6 cm.

730-720

**48.** Partially preserved horse with roughly finger-modeled body supported on short, shapeless legs that have slightly flattened tips; thick tail placed low on the unevenly developed rump.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6), brownish buff slip. Traces of black paint. Preserves the rear part of the body minus part of one leg and most of the tail.

(Pl. 11)

Ht. 6.7 cm. L. 7.6 cm.

730-720

**49.** Head and neck of horse with disproportionately long, pinched mane and bulky ears placed near the poll. No discernible features on the partly preserved, small and conical muzzle.

Fine buff clay, inadequately fired.

(Pl. 11)

Ht. 4.9 cm.

730-720

**50.** Headless team with a single, roughly finger-modeled body of almost triangular cross-section, supported by shapeless, extended legs; the hind pair are close together, while the front are spread apart. Two

oval-shaped stumps mark the place of double heads, while another on the rump is all that remains of the single, extended tail.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). Smeared with reddish orange paint. One leg restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two fragments. (Pl. 11)

Ht. 4.3 cm. L. 5.1 cm.

730-720

**51.** Two non-joining pieces of wheeled horse with completely flattened body and short, almost rectangular legs, separated only by a crack and perforated near the tip. The triangular, upright ears flank the pinched mane, which extends from the forehead to the base of the wide, arched neck. Conical, featureless muzzle. The fragment of the rear body preserves only the root of the thick tail and part of one leg.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with grey core. Perhaps solidly painted with reddish brown paint. Chipped at the mane and muzzle. Reconstructed from small fragments with some plaster additions. (Pl. 12)

Ht. 7.7 cm. L. 7.3 cm. Dim. of rear fragment: Ht. 4.8 cm. L. 3.8 cm.

730-720 (?)

**52.** Small horse with well smoothed tubular body, lightly compressed on back and belly. The slender neck has been compressed to form the rudimentary mane and the tiny, narrow head.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 5/6). Probably solidly painted with black paint, preserved only on the rear part of the body. Missing parts of the head, tail and legs. Three legs partially restored with plaster.

Ht. 5.4 cm. L. 7.4 cm.

(Pl. 12)

725-700

**53.** Headless horse with long corpulent body and extended legs.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). Missing the legs and tail. (Pl. 12)

Ht. 3.4 cm. L. 6 cm.

725-700

**54.** Headless horse with bulky body, somewhat flattened on the underside. The front legs were widely separated through pressure as a thumbprint indicates. The partly preserved neck, which is upright and proportionally very thin, identifies the animal as a horse.

Very gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white inclusions. Traces of paint on belly. Only the front is preserved with the beginning of the legs. (Pl. 12)

Ht. 6.6 cm. L. 4.8 cm.

725-700

**55.** Horse with long tubular body, bulging at the belly. The mane, which extends low on the forehead and ends abruptly just behind the withers, is sharply differentiated from the neck by a groove made with a sharp tool. The head is small with bulky ears and large pellet eyes.

Fine brownish grey clay; the grey tone is probably due to soil conditions or exposure to fire. Solidly painted with brownish black paint except for a zone of cross-hatching around the base of the neck. Worn and missing the muzzle, the greater part of the mane, the legs and the tip of the tail.

(Pl. 13)

Ht. 6.8 cm. L. 11.6 cm.

725-700

**56.** Horse with short, heavy body, bulging at the chest and supported on thick legs, nicked at the tips. The shoulder and thigh joints are prominently modeled. The root of the tail and the prominent spine were pinched into a continuous ridge that meets the short mane at an angle, just behind the withers. On the head only the pricked ears are preserved.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). Faint traces of red bands on various areas of the body. Missing the tip of the tail and most of the face; part of two legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from several fragments.

(Pl. 13)

Ht. 9.3 cm. L. 11.1 cm.

710-700

**57.** Two non-joining fragments of saddled horse with short body supported by sturdy, firmly planted legs. Shoulder and thigh joints are modeled in high relief and so is the angular spine. Just above the right shoulder there is a bit of applied clay, probably the remnant of the rein. The non-joining head (HM 25850) is strongly compressed on the sides and crowned by a short mane that began low on the forehead and ended at the base of the (missing) neck. Blunt muzzle with pricked nostrils and slot mouth. The eyes are indicated with the same stamped concentric circles that decorate the legs and the chest. Two rows of the same motif decorate the lower edge of the separately made saddle.

Gritty orange-brown clay (closest to 7YR 6/6). The body is chipped and missing the tail and one of the legs, while the head is very worn. Only half of the saddle is preserved. (Pl. 13)

Body: Ht. 7.7 cm. L. 9.6 cm. Head: overall L. 4.4 cm. L. of face including mane 4.4 cm. Saddle: Ht. 3.8 cm. W. 3.4 cm.

710-700

**58.** Sidesaddle with hollow seat and high sides; the underside is deeply concave.

Gritty, light orange/brown clay. Solidly painted. (Pl. 12)

Ht. 2.5 cm. Dim. 2.2 x 2.3 cm.

710-700

**59.** Partially preserved horse with almost tubular body supported by sturdy legs, slightly bent at the knees. The short and thick neck was pinched to form a meager mane that continued down over the forehead, where it was flanked by large ears. Head and muzzle were compressed on the sides; additional compression formed the bony nose. Blunt muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and slot mouth; disk eyes ringed with incision. A strip of clay was roughly attached on the chest with the help of a pointed tool.

Gritty greyish brown clay. Traces of dark reddish paint in many areas. Chipped and

missing the rear half. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 14)

Ht. 10.1 L. 7.6

710-700

**60.** Headless horse with tubular body, slightly wider at shoulders and rump and supported by short, thick legs.

Fine reddish yellow clay (close to 7.5YR 6/6). Decorated with rows of tiny, pricked holes along the spine, on the flanks, chest and buttocks; others arranged in a sort of rosette pattern decorate the chest, the shoulders and thighs. Traces of reddish paint suggest that it was also solidly painted. Missing the tips of two legs. (Pl. 14)

Ht. 2.6 cm. L. 5.7 cm.

710-700

**61.** Headless stallion with body of oval cross-section, compressed on the back and belly; extended tail. The hindquarters are completely flat and so is the applied sack scrotum; the protruding sheath is the only surviving part of the strip penis.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6), yellowish buff slip. Solidly painted. Missing most of the left side of the body and the tail. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 14)

Ht. 4.2 cm. L. 7.2 cm.

710-700 (?)

**62.** Stallion with body of almost triangular cross-section widening into over-developed chest. The surface is carefully modeled to suggest the musculature, with emphasis placed on the powerful shoulder and thigh joints. The narrow abdomen accommodates the applied genitals that consist of a thin strip and a tiny ball of clay. The long (missing) tail was attached to the right leg. The spine is modeled in relief, blending gradually with the short mane of the tall, vertical neck. The head is plastically differentiated and provided with bulky ears and large pellet eyes.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8), brownish buff slip. Fine lines on the mane and around the muzzle refer respectively to hair and bri-

dle. The front part of body was elaborately decorated with a zone of checkerboard around the base of the neck, cross-hatching and a vertical guilloche on the thighs; on the rest of the body contour bands were filled in with sets of fine lines. Chipped and missing the muzzle, tail and the greater part of the legs. Reconstructed from three fragments.

(Fig. 2; Pl. 14)

Ht. 9.6 cm. L. 12 cm.

700-675

**63.** Fragment of the forepart of horse with wide, vertical neck of almost rhomboid cross-section. Traces of black paint.

Gritty pale red (2.5YR 6/6) clay with white inclusions, some of quartz. (Pl. 15)

Ht. 5.4 cm. L. 5.5 cm.

700-675

**64.** Headless horse with tubular body, rounded at the rump and somewhat hollow at the abdomen. The upright neck was compressed into a ridge at the throat and lightly pinched at the nape. The distinct turn of the body to the right and a roughness on the left flank suggest that it was part of a conjoined team.

Fine buff clay with sparse bits of grit. Preserves most of the body. (Pl. 15)

Ht. 2.6 cm. L. 4.5 cm.

700-675

**65.** Headless horse with cursorily smoothed, almost tubular body and upright neck provided with a rudimentary pinched mane.

Fine pink clay (close to 5YR 7/4) with grey core. Perhaps solidly painted. Legs and tail restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces with some plaster additions.

(Pl. 15)

Ht. 4.5 cm. L. 7.5 cm.

700-675

**66.** Head of horse with massive neck smoothed with vertical strokes of a narrow tool. The same tool was used to offset the mane from the nape and also to shape the contour of the cheeks and the prominent

lower jaw. Eyes indicated in relief, pricked nostrils and slot mouth.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Solidly painted with black paint, now almost completely worn off. Much worn and chipped. (Pl. 15)

Ht. 5.1 cm.

700-675

**67.** Head of horse with pellet eyes and long muzzle, lightly modeled to emphasize the lower jaw and tip of nose and provided with finely incised nostrils and mouth.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6).

(Pl. 15)

Ht. 2. cm. L. 3.1 cm.

c. 650 (?)

**68.** Head of small horse with short, pinched mane and delicately modeled blunt muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and lightly incised mouth. Traces of reddish paint.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Worn and cracked. (Pl. 15)

Overall L. 2.5 cm. L. of face 2.3 cm.

c. 650 (?)

**69.** Headless horse with tubular body, slightly compressed on the back and belly and supported by very long, roughly shaped legs. Smoothed on both sides with long strokes of a knife or narrow spatula starting at the tip of one leg and arching across the body to the tip of the other.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6) with pale grey core; whitish buff slip. Traces of paint. Two of the legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from five fragments.

(Pl. 15)

Ht. 8.5 cm. L. 8.1 cm.

c. 650 or later

## CHARIOT

**70.** Chariot, consisting originally of two horses attached to an almost rectangular plaque that was perforated horizontally near the front and back for the insertion of the two axles, on which the (missing) wheels were mounted. The horses' feet had been

pushed into the still moist surface and wrapped around with strips of clay. The preserved horse is headless, with a short body, compressed on back and belly, and a thin, vertical neck, provided with a short, pinched mane; the second horse, represented only by a bit of a hind leg, has left its imprint on the body of its teammate.

Fine pink clay (5YR 7/4) with occasional reddish inclusions; yellowish white slip. The horse is decorated with two broad bands that flank the spine and are connected with two pairs of verticals running respectively down the front legs and the side of the neck. The upper surface of the plaque was painted in front and behind the horses. The plaque is missing a piece of the left side.

(Pls. 15, 16)

Plaque: Dim. 11.4 x 6.1 cm. Th. 1.50 cm.

Horse: Ht. 6.50 cm. L. 6.50 cm.

700-675

## WHEELS AND WHEELED BAR BASES

**71.** Small fragment of spoked wheel, preserving part of the rim and traces of one spoke.

Fine clay, between light brown and reddish yellow (7.5YR 6/4 and 6/6). Smeared with streaky paint. (Pl. 16)

L. 4.5 cm. Th. at rim 6 ml.

**72.** Solid wheel with flat sides and wide, flat running surface.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4); buff slip. Decorated on outer side with four hatched triangles in place of spokes. Traces of paint around rim and hub on the inner side. Worn and chipped. (Pl. 16)

Diam. 6.3 cm. Th. near rim 8 ml.

**73.** Solid wheel with conical hubs and narrow running surface.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4) but more brown, highly polished on inner side with many traces of narrow tool. Decorated on outer side with oblique strokes. Worn and half restored with plaster. (Pl. 16)

Diam. 8.4 cm. Th. at rim 8 ml.



**74.** Solid wheel of the same type as **73** but seemingly somewhat smaller.

Very gritty pink clay (7.5YR 8/4) with reddish inclusions. Traces of paint on one side suggest decoration same as that of **79**. Chipped. (Pl. 16)

Diam. 6 cm. Th. near rim 8 ml.

**75.** Solid wheel with flat sides and narrow rim.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Solidly painted on outer side only (?)

Diam. 6.9 cm. Th. near rim 10.5 ml.

**76.** Solid wheel with flat sides.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Traces of black paint. Reconstructed from two fragments. Chipped.

Diam. 6.9 cm. Th. 1.1 cm.

**77.** Solid wheel with flat sides.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Painted solid on one side. Axle hole pierced from painted side and clay overflow on inner side roughly smoothed. Chipped and worn.

Diam. 3.85 cm. Th. near rim 8 ml.

**78.** Solid wheel, very thin and flimsy.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6); buff slip. Solidly painted on one side. Chipped; joined from two pieces.

Diam. 4.5 cm. Th. near edge 4.5 ml.

**79.** Large solid wheel of same type as **83** but a lot thicker.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). Traces of faded reddish color on outer side suggesting that spokes were represented with solidly painted triangular areas. Inner side clearly compressed within a radius of 1 cm. from rim, indicating area of contact with horse or chariot.

Diam. 10 cm. Th. near rim 15.5 ml.

**80.** Solid wheel with flat running surface.

Clay very gritty reddish yellow (closest to 7.5YR 6/6) with large, brown and white inclusions. Chipped and worn.

Diam. 3.8 cm. Th. 1 cm.

**81.** Solid wheel, of the same shape as **80**. A small part of the rim is flattened with a slight overflow of clay, showing where the wheel rested during firing; some overflow around axle hole. Fine buff clay. Solidly painted on both sides with worn black paint. Chipped.

Diam. 3.95 cm. Th. 9.5 ml.

**82.** Solid wheel with one flat side and with conical hub on the other (outer) side and thin rounded rim.

Very gritty almost pink clay (closest to 7.5YR 6/4) with brown and large white inclusions. Buff slip, perhaps only applied on the outer side. Axle hole pierced obliquely from outer side; excess clay on interior side then roughly smoothed. Chipped and worn. (Pl. 16)

Diam. 7.2 cm. Th. at rim 10 ml.

**83.** Solid wheel, very similar to **55**, but slightly larger and thicker.

Very gritty pink clay (7.5YR 8/4) with brown and reddish inclusions. Missing parts of edge.

Diam. 7.5 cm. Th. near rim 11 ml.

**84.** Wheel (?) of same type as **78** but much smaller and thicker.

Slightly gritty pink clay (closest to 7.5YR 7/4). Traces of paint around axle holes and rim.

Diam. 3 cm. Th. near rim 1.85 cm.

**85.** Wheel of same type as **78**.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Slight traces of paint around axle hole. Chipped and worn.

Diam. 3.7 cm. Th. near rim 9.5 ml.

**86.** Two identical wheels of same type as **78**, but smaller.

Slightly gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). One of them is only partly preserved.

Diam. 2.8 cm. Th. near edge 6.5 ml.

**87.** Wheeled bar base that preserves one attached horse's leg and the imprints of three others. The surviving leg is well modeled with prominent knee. All sides of the

base are rough, except for the underside, which has been smoothed with a tool. The front is decorated with careless rows of tiny impressed circles, just like the running surface of the matching wheels (HM 32178a-b), which are of the same type as 72 but smaller. Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with sparse brown inclusions. Many traces of reddish brown paint on both base and leg.

(Pl. 17)

Ht. (incl. leg) 6.1 cm. L. 8.7 cm. W. 2.7 cm. Diam. of wheels 5.4-5.5 cm. Th. near rim 1.6-1.75 cm.

**88.** Fragment of wheeled bar base that preserves part of an attached, shapeless leg and the imprint of another. They had both been attached close to one of the long sides, which, like the underside, is better smoothed than the others and may be the 'front.' The other two sides and the top are roughly finished.

(Pl. 17)

Fabric and paint same as those of 87.

Ht. (incl. leg) 6.5 cm. L. 8.8 cm. W. 2.9 cm.

**89.** Wheeled bar base, worn and chipped at

one end and preserving one rough, oval shaped, area where a single figurine had been attached. Well smoothed on the underside and slightly concave on sides, especially at the center of the upper surface, where the horse had been pressed on.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 8/4), well fired.

Ht. 2.7 cm. L. 9 cm. W. 3.7 cm.

**90.** Fragment of wheeled bar base that preserves one finished edge and the lower part of a cylindrical leg. Exceptionally narrow to the point that the 'hoof' takes up the entire width.

Coarse reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 8/6) with very pale brown almost white, powdery surface.

Ht. (incl. leg) 4.6 cm. L. 3.9 cm. W. 2.7 cm.

**91.** Fragmentary wheeled bar base that preserves one finished edge with a bit of one leg and the imprint of another.

Gritty, pink clay (5YR 7/4) with grey inclusions, well smoothed and fired. Traces of black paint.

Ht. (incl. leg) 3.1 cm. L. 6.5 cm. W. 3.1 cm.

## IV. CATTLE

Figurines of cattle predominate among the three-dimensional representations of animals produced in the Mainland during the BA<sup>199</sup>. The same is true in contemporary Crete, where practically all solidly made animal terracottas from well dated settlement contexts are bovids<sup>200</sup>. The evidence from peak shrines and other cult places is less precise, but seems to lead to the same conclusion. Bovids are reported to be dominant at Atsipadhes (most likely of EM II-MM II date)<sup>201</sup>, at Petsophas, where sheep and goats are also represented (MM II or later)<sup>202</sup>, and Kophinas (Neopalatial)<sup>203</sup>. At Ayia Triada most of the animals that have been assigned to the LM III C-Subminoan phases are bovids<sup>204</sup>.

In the IA the bronze horse, despite its popularity, did not overtake bovids at Olympia (Table C)<sup>205</sup>, and had no impact at all at the Theban Kabirion, where hardly any other animals except bulls were dedicated until the fifth century, when other types of votives replaced them<sup>206</sup>. In Crete, where the presence of the horse among bronze animal votives is negligible, bovids reigned supreme<sup>207</sup>.

The terracotta bovids of this period from the Mainland and the islands are represented by the assemblages published from Olympia and Samos<sup>208</sup>. At Olympia, as already mentioned, terracotta horses overwhelmed bovids (Table B), which had appeared earlier in (Attic) PG<sup>209</sup>, while on Samos, despite the votaries' preference for horses, bovids continued to be popular offerings through the first half of the seventh century (Table B)<sup>210</sup>.

In Crete, the early figurines from Kommos and Knossos<sup>211</sup> document the continuing popularity of the bull, which is also obvious in the figurines from Psychro,

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199. E.g. Tzavella-Evjen 1984, pls. 81-84 (EH); French 1971, 152 fig. 11 and 165-166; Demakopoulou 1982, pls. 39-43; Peppa-Papioannou 1985, 152-153 (Mycenaean).

200. Warren 1972, pl. 73c (EM IIB); Shaw and Shaw 1996, 286, 299-301 pls. 4.38-4.40 and 4.43-4.44 (MM II through LM IIIB); Gesell, Preston Day and Coulson 1995, 71-72, fig. 2.2, pl. 18b (LM IIIC).

201. Peatfield 1992, 72 fig. 17.

202. Rutkowski 1991, pls. 57-59.

203. *ADelt* 17B, 1961-1962, 287; 45B, 1990, 429.

204. D'Agata 1999, 58-61 nos. C1.40-55.

205. According to the number of figurines excavated, not those selected for publication:

Heilmeyer 1979, Table on p. 276.

206. Schmaltz 1980, 160.

207. See above III, 16. See also Schürmann 1994, 215 for statistics.

208. For the only two identifiable examples in the small group of animals from Isthmia see Morgan 1999, pl. 71 F15, pl. 72 F21, and for some early examples from Amyklaion Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 45 no. 105, pl. 46 no. 109. See also Sinn 1981, pl. 9 for figurines from Kombothekra.

209. Heilmeyer 1972, 123 Table a.

210. For figurines of bovids from later periods see Stillwell 1952, 188 with refs. to sparse examples from Sparta, Messenia and Rhodes.

211. See above II, 6.

Ayia Triada and most likely also from Patsos. The small group from Psychro comprises only bovids. At Ayia Triada 30 out of the 45 animal figurines that have been assigned to PGB-O times are bovids<sup>212</sup>. Most of the figurines from Patsos are headless and identification is difficult, but bovids do seem to be more numerous than the other species represented<sup>213</sup>. These groups, however, are too small to provide much comparative evidence and are, consequently, less useful in the study of the Syme bovids than the bronze figurines.

The fairly long series of terracotta figurines of cattle from Syme begins after the mid-ninth century. Just like the earliest horses, **92** finds its best parallels among the bronzes from Olympia, but of a somewhat earlier stage, which, in Cretan terms, corresponds to the end of LPG and the beginning of PGB. The shape of the body, the sense of motion conveyed by the placement of the legs and the upright head, even the slight curvature of the skull, which the Cretan craftsman achieved by lightly pinching the nape, are all present in the bronzes<sup>214</sup>.

The horse figurines from Syme assignable to the first half of the eighth century, i.e. the Cretan MG period broadly defined, are a more homogeneous group than the contemporary bovids, which are quite varied in size, fabric and modeling approach. This is far more noticeable in the terracottas, in which the stylistic trends of this period are represented by few examples, than in the equally varied but far more numerous bronzes.

The fairly large **93** with its long tubular body, moderately extended legs and large, forward looking head, echoes some of the stylistic changes that characterize the MG phase and finds good parallels among the early (Attic) MG bronze animals from Syme, a phase that is represented by sheep/rams rather than bovids<sup>215</sup>. The smaller and much livelier **94** also has good parallels among the same bronzes<sup>216</sup>. In general the terracotta is not only a lot livelier than the bronzes, it also has features that are either rare or absent in the latter. Few of the contemporary bronze animals have eyes and, although it is in this phase that the texture of horns begins to be indicated with incised strokes<sup>217</sup>, none has incisions on the forehead, which remain rare at Syme and are a later development in Mainland bronzes<sup>218</sup>. The head of the similarly shaped **95** is even closer to some of the bronzes, although the face of the terracotta is not flattened and the body still has substance<sup>219</sup>.

The triangular cross-section of the body of **98** and its splayed and extended legs

212. D'Agata 1999, 151-155 nos. D 3.7-D 3.36.

213. Only a handful of other bovids have been published from Crete. See Hayden 1991 pl. 49 no. 11 from Vrokastro; Coldstream et al. 1973, pl. 65 no. 259 from the sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos.

214. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 15 nos. 95-96. The contemporary bronze animals from Syme are in general more static (e.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 9 no.

96).

215. E.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 15 no. 162.

216. Schürmann 1994, pl. 16 nos. 180 and esp. 176.

217. Schürmann 1994, pl. 16 no. 182.

218. Schürmann 1994, 205 with refs.

219. For the fragment **96** cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 19 no. 211.



with their rounded tips are features that suggest a date in the MG phase. Considering that inlays began to be used to decorate bronze figurines in this period and that only two of the terracottas bear such decoration, it is rather surprising that one of the latter should be this early, rather bulky and undistinguished piece<sup>220</sup>.

The incompletely preserved and roughly made **97** with its heavy chest, the mere hint of a dewlap and short, fairly widely splayed legs correlates with other bronzes of this period in which emphasis is placed to the front of the body by the same means<sup>221</sup>. The same is true of **99**, whose short and blunt muzzle is shaped very much like that of some of the large MG horses (e.g. **15**)<sup>222</sup>. It is likely that **107** and **105** with their tubular, undifferentiated bodies and long legs, set close together, also belong in this period<sup>223</sup>. The inactive stance, the compression of the muzzle and the somewhat flattened legs are the only reflections of the changes that affect the bodies of bronze animals produced close to the middle of the eighth century. The rather roughly made and headless **106** also belongs in the latter stage of the MG period, as suggested by the similarity of its sagging body with those of bronze animals dated in the second quarter of the eighth century<sup>224</sup>. The peculiar way that the front legs have been attached does occur in two bronze animals of later date from Syme<sup>225</sup>, but there is no reason to suppose a connection, except for the choice of similar means to fix an unsuccessful join.

The pair **100** and **101** with their long, strongly compressed and awkward, almost sagging, bodies and extended legs do not seem out of place in this period. Nor does the preserved head of **100** with its large, deeply and regularly impressed eyes and nostrils<sup>226</sup>. It is rather the decoration of this figurine, which is unusual, considering the generally conservative approach employed for the decoration of the majority of the figurines of the G period from Syme and elsewhere. Nevertheless, even within the Syme assemblage, there are enough divergences from the traditional scheme that depended on contour lines, so that the decoration of **100** need not appear to be unique<sup>227</sup>.

The long, tubular muzzle with the rounded tip that characterizes **102** and **103** is paralleled in horses attached to pyxides produced in the Eleusis Workshop c. 760<sup>228</sup>. The same feature occurs in bronze animals from Syme dated on the basis of the developed form of their body ca. 750<sup>229</sup>. Judging from the shape of **102** and its long

220. Schürmann 1994, 209. For discussion see below XII, 125; XIII, 139 n. 625.

221. Schürmann 1994, pls. 18-19 nos. 197, 200, 203.

222. For a parallel from Ayia Triada see D'Agata 1996, pl. 91 no. D3.8.

223. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 19 nos. 206-209.

224. Schürmann 1994, pl. 21 esp. no. 222.

225. Schürmann 1994, pl. 46 no. 434; pl. 49

no. 461.

226. Cf. the bucranium **263** and the unidentified **212**.

227. See below XII, 126 for other examples.

228. Bohen 1988, pl. 24 no. 175.

229. Schürmann 1994, pl. 30 no. 309, pl. 31 no. 310. It should be mentioned, however, that these are figurines of rams not of bulls, which may explain the curved profile of the muzzles.

legs this is most likely the date to be assigned also to these two Syme figurines, as well as to the well modeled head **104**, a developed version of the head of **99**. **110** and especially **111**, which has close similarities with the horses produced c. 750 (e.g. **25**), can also be placed in this phase that, in terms of Cretan chronology, corresponds to the last years of the MG period.

Variety also characterizes the animals dedicated at Syme after this date, but groupings of similar figurines are easier to establish. The first clusters around the almost identical **112-113** and the fragmentary **114**, which were all made by the same hand. Their carefully modeled bodies, which are of nearly hourglass-shape when viewed from above, and the faceted muzzles make them immediately recognizable as figurines produced at the height of the Geometric style<sup>230</sup>. The fine, hard fabric, lustrous paint and the carefully executed details, such as the fine incisions of the dewlap and even the perfectly impressed circles of the pupils of the eyes, all speak for the attention and care lavished on these small figurines. There is a close resemblance between these Syme bulls and another bovid from Ayia Triada<sup>231</sup>, which is certainly contemporary, but much less carefully made, as is obvious from its summarily modeled, tubular body and lack of details. The poorly preserved **115** is very close to this group in practically every respect, but of much coarser fabric that has not stood up well to time. The much better made **116** is also related to the same figurines through the shape of its body, faceted muzzle and strip dewlap. The fragmentary **117** is similarly modeled and clearly belongs to this period, but is much larger and more elaborately decorated, unlike the best preserved examples of this group whose decoration is very restrained. It is likely that the battered **118** should also be placed with **117**, judging from the similar proportions and the similarly conceived decorative scheme.

The large but fragmentary **119**, **121**, **122**, **123** and **124** can all be discussed together, since they are connected through common features<sup>232</sup>. The most obvious is the long muzzle that takes up the entire face, so that the eyes have to be accommodated close to the horns. Another common feature are the metallic elements that are incorporated in the modeling or the decoration: the prominent spine and faceted muzzle of **121** and **122**<sup>233</sup>, the exaggerated, thin dewlap and curved nape of **123**<sup>234</sup>, the incised eyes of **124**<sup>235</sup>, and the inlays of **119**<sup>236</sup>. The fragmentary condition of these pieces makes it difficult to determine the degree to which the stylistic developments in this period affected the modeling of the bodies. Some concessions are

230. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 30 no. 308.

231. D'Agata 1996, pl. 91 no. D3.9.

232. The extremely worn **120** with its large, conical eyes and the uncatalogued head HM 27996, which preserves traces of the planes into which the muzzle was shaped as well as the remnant of one large pellet eye, must have belonged to figurines of

this group.

233. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 30 no. 304 for both features.

234. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 30 nos. 303, 304.

235. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 35 no. 347.

236. Cf. Schürmann 1994, 185, 209-210; D'Agata 1999, 64, 180. See also below XII, 125.

obvious in the lengthening of the legs and the stationary pose (**123** and **124**) and even in the distinctive flattening of the amputated legs of **119**, but in so far as it is possible to determine from the fragments of the bodies, there was little attempt to decrease volume. On the other hand, some of the naturalistic details that appear in bronze animals of this period, also occur in these terracottas, such as the modeling of the legs of **121**, which were plastically differentiated from the body<sup>237</sup> and the hollow ears of **123**<sup>238</sup>. It is very likely that this figurine was made by the same hand that also made the manneristic horse **30**, while the horse **34** is made of the same greenish clay as **124**. Both **34** and **124** are decorated with the same, dull purplish paint and in both the leg joints have been similarly emphasized<sup>239</sup>.

The last two figurines that can be assigned to this phase, **125** and its fragmentary twin **126**, have a close parallel among the Syme bronzes<sup>240</sup>. The only difference between the bronze bull and **125** is the undifferentiated body of the latter.

The neck of the fragmentary **127** is still modeled like that of some of the horses dated in the third quarter of the eighth century (e.g. **33**, **35**), but the softened contours of the muzzle suggest a date at the end of this period or even the beginning of the fourth quarter. The small **128**, all that remains of a rare representation of yoked oxen, is a good example of a figurine that is shaped much like those of the third quarter but has adjusted to new developments, discernible in the short, firmly planted legs, and especially in the flowing curves that connect legs and body. This is also the date that should be assigned to **129** and **130**, two very different figurines, whose rough surface has been modeled in the same way as that of the horses **42-49**<sup>241</sup>. The muzzle of **129** is shaped much like that of **127**, although the former is much smaller and, despite its shapeless body, much more delicately modeled. As for **130**, the fabric and slip are so much like those of the roughly modeled horses that it is tempting to assign the bovid to the same workshop. The latter is, however, very different with a muzzle and face that stay close to figurines of the third quarter. Nevertheless, not only the modeling technique, but also the volume of the body indicates a later date.

The fragmentary bull **131** is superficially similar to **130** but its muzzle was much softened and its body has acquired bulk. These features suggest that it belongs in the fourth quarter. This is also very likely for **132**, **133**, **134** and **135**, whose heads are modeled similarly, while their bodies, especially that of **132**, bulge at the midriff to a greater or lesser degree. This is also true of **137**, **140**, **138** and **139**, which, thanks to its well preserved head, finds a close parallel among the Olympia bronzes that has

237. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 30 nos. 305, 307 or pl. 35 no. 350.

238. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 35 no. 348.

239. An unregistered and uncatalogued fragment (found on 14-9-72 in Level 4a) preserves the nicked tip of a leg of entirely different shape but of

exactly the same fabric, decorated with bands of the same paint as those of **124** and must have belonged to another figurine made in the same workshop.

240. Schürmann 1994, pl. 39 no. 372.

241. For this technique see above III, 22 and below XII, 120-121.

been dated c. 720<sup>242</sup>. The poorly preserved **136** is also placed in this group, on the strength of the modeling of its head and legs that are slightly differentiated from the body, which is still fairly thin.

Four more figurines can be placed even later at the very end of the G period and most likely at the transition to the seventh century. For the fragmentary **141** the shape of the body, which is lightly compressed on the back and belly, and the white-on-dark decoration provide support for this date. The bulky and emphatically modeled **142** has parallels among the Syme bronzes that were difficult to date and required some detailed discussion before being placed late in the fourth quarter of the eighth century<sup>243</sup>. The terracotta and bronze bulls share the short body, thick at the shoulders and neck, the heavy head, and the naturalistic modeling of the legs, features that suggest a similar, late date for all of them. What distinguishes **142** from the bronzes is that these same features are exaggerated: the body and head are heavier, the haunches curvier and the legs much longer. The length of the flat legs and their modeling make **142** seem closer to a bull from the Theban Kabirion, dated in the third quarter, than to the animals from Syme itself<sup>244</sup>. The Cretan craftsman, while harking back to such earlier forms, had no interest in the decorative approach of his Mainland counterpart, creating instead a naturalistic version so overdone as to be equally manneristic.

The persistent interest in naturalistic detail also ended up in mannerism of a different kind in the beautifully finished **143**, whose carefully shaped and smoothed strip dewlap parallels perfectly the curve of the hollow throat, just as the similarly modeled genitals fit into the slight curvature of the belly<sup>245</sup>. The narrow tool used on the long body of **143** was also employed to model the even longer bodies of **144** and **145** that can be dated in the same transitional phase thanks to the decoration of **145**, which depends on circular patterns like that of **142**. In addition this figurine, which, thanks to the accidentally produced tilt of its head is livelier than its partner, has a close parallel in the wheeled horse found in a child's burial at Gavalomouri (Kissamos). The burial is dated by the associated pottery in the Transitional period<sup>246</sup>.

With the well preserved bull **146** it is safe to say that the Geometric period is over. This is clearly seen in the shape of the plump body with its concave back and sagging belly, as well as the head, which is attached almost like a mask at the end of the neck and is a simplified version of a well documented seventh century type with

242. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 99 no. 808.

243. Schürmann 1994, 128 esp. pl. 45 no. 428.

244. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 5 no. 109.

245. The deliberate pursuit of naturalism can also be seen in contemporary bronzes from Syme e.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 53 no. 493, where the split of the hooves is continued on the soles, just like

in **143**.

246. Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1987, 324 fig. 4.3, pl. IV.3. For very similar wheeled horses see *Tresors d'Italie du Sud*. Soprintendenza Archeologica della Basilicata, Milano, 18-6 through 15-11-1998 (1998) 128 pl. 7, dated in the eighth century.



short level horns, large ears projecting horizontally below them and eyes usually emphasized with incision. There are several bronze examples at the Kabirion<sup>247</sup> but hardly any from Syme<sup>248</sup>. The fact that the closest bronze parallel has legs connected with a strip, may suggest that the peculiar form of the front legs of **146** could have been deliberately rather than accidentally produced. The awkwardly shaped **147** with its absurdly hooved legs may well have been made by an apprentice. It has good parallels among the 'karikaturhafte' bronze animals from Olympia<sup>249</sup> and in a much better modeled bovid from Samos<sup>250</sup>.

The rest of the figurines from Syme that can be placed in this period are mainly represented by detached heads, some of which find parallels among bronzes of the seventh century. It is possible that **148** is the earliest, since the eyes are stamped rather than incised<sup>251</sup>. Its closest parallel at the Kabirion has been dated to the last quarter of the eighth century<sup>252</sup>.

The shape of **149** is close to that of a bronze bull from Syme dated in the first quarter of the seventh century<sup>253</sup>. The large head **150** is made of closely similar fabric and also has incised eyes and brows as well as incised chevrons on the forehead, all features that occur in bull figurines of the seventh century<sup>254</sup>, but the way the almond-shaped eyes are positioned on the triangular face and the spirally shaped and backward tilted ears are features that recall lion protomes so vividly that it is possible to see also the chevrons on the forehead as coming from the same source<sup>255</sup>.

The forehead of **151**, which is missing the rest of the face, also bears incisions. The stance, the proportions, the smooth unarticulated surface and lifeless bearing match fairly closely those of the horses from the Areopagus deposit<sup>256</sup>. The same applies for the smaller **152**, which may have originated in the same workshop. It is made of very similar fabric and its head is modeled in the same way, although it was given incised rather than pellet eyes. **153**, despite its fuller body, is so similar in the details that it must have been made by the same hand.

The carefully made head **154** seems to have been made of the same fabric as the ram **179** and can be placed in the same period. Finally the large heads **155** and **156** represent the last two figures of this group. The former finds a good parallel in a bronze bull from the Kabirion dated at the end of the sixth century<sup>257</sup>. The only difference seems to be in the ears, which in the terracotta could not have extended freely on either side of the head. As for **156** its modeling is close to that of a bronze statuette of a cow from Argos dated even later, i.e. at the beginning of the fifth cen-

247. Schmaltz 1980 pl. 7 esp. nos. 131 and 144.

248. Schürmann 1994, pl. 55 no. 511; for the shape of the body see *ibid.* no. 512.

249. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 115 no. 910.

250. Jarosch 1994, pl. 30 no. 375.

251. Cf. the head of horse **57**.

252. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 6 no. 124.

253. For **149** cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 51 no. 476.

254. E.g. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 6 no. 130.

255. E.g. **258-259** from Syme; Hampe 1969, pl. 106.

256. Burr 1933.

257. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 16 no. 305.

ture<sup>258</sup>. The late date and large size of these heads would raise the suspicion that they belonged to wheelmade animals, but the close match of fabric and scale between **156** and the non-joining fragment of a solidly made body indicates that, at least at Syme, the dedication of solidly made bovids survived to the Classical period.

### Catalogue

**92.** Bovid with tubular body, slightly compressed on the sides but bulkier at the rump through the addition of the large, pendent tail. Extended and slightly spread legs; conical head on which the only feature indicated are the painted dots of the eyes.

Fine buff clay with well smoothed and polished surface. Decorated in black with contour bands, connected across the rump and nape. Legs and one horn restored with plaster. (Pl. 18)

Ht. without horns 5.5 cm. L. 10.1 cm.  
850-825

**93.** Bovid with long, smooth body of oval cross-section, conical, moderately splayed legs and thick tail. The head seems like a direct extension of the body without the intermediary of a neck and the thick roll of clay from which the horns were formed is perched on rather than incorporated with the skull. No facial features.

Very coarse, pale brown clay (close to 7.5YR 6/4 in broken areas) with brown and white inclusions. Trace of black band along the spine. Reconstructed from two pieces; legs, tail, muzzle and right side of skull restored with plaster. (Pl. 18)

Ht. 9 cm. L. 16.3 cm.  
790-770

**94.** Bovid with finger-smoothed body of oval cross-section, widely extended and splayed legs and pinched-out tail. Long, almost conical, featureless muzzle, slightly misshapen

during firing; disk eyes, placed high on the forehead, on which two inverted chevrons were incised.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Traces of bands along the spine and down the legs. Chipped and missing the horns and tail; two legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 19)

Ht. 7 cm. L. 9.5 cm.  
790-770

**95.** Bovid with smoothly finished, short and tubular body, extended tail and moderately splayed, conical legs. There is no dewlap on the short but slender neck. The tubular muzzle has a rounded tip with pricked nostrils and a lopsided incised mouth as well as a slightly projecting lower jaw; disk eyes placed close together on the forehead.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6), much worn buff slip. Decorated in worn red with wide bands extending from below the horns to the rear legs and another running along the spine; bands along the upper and lower surface of the horns and around the muzzle. Missing the tips of the horns and the tail; two legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from three pieces. (Pl. 19)

Ht. 10 cm. L. 12.8 cm.  
790-770

**96.** Head of bovid with long, tubular muzzle that has no trace of facial features. Trace of short, pinched dewlap on the throat.

258. Rolley 1969, fig. 77.

Gritty orange-brown clay. (Pl. 18)  
L. 5.1 cm.  
790-770

**97.** Partially preserved bovid with body of irregular cross-section, flattened on the sides and supported on short, conical and widely splayed legs. A tiny dewlap was pinched out of the massive chest. The battered head preserves only the stump of a horn and one large, upright ear.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with brownish grey core and brown inclusions. Preserves only the front part. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 19)

Ht. 5.6 cm. L. 8.1 cm.  
790-770

**98.** Bovid with thick body of almost triangular cross-section, moderately developed at shoulder and rump and supported by short, widely splayed, legs. The worn head, on which only the root of the horns and the trace of a pellet eye with pricked pupil survive, is directly attached to the body without the intermediary of a neck. On the left flank there is a roughly circular cavity for a (now missing) inlay.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 8/6) with brown inclusions. Probably dipped in dark red paint, which even covers the convex tips of the surviving leg. Missing three legs, the muzzle and horns. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 20)

Ht. 5.6 cm. L. 8.1 cm.  
790-770

**99.** Partially preserved bovid with body of oval cross-section and sturdy neck. The dewlap, of which only a trace remains, and the head have been carefully smoothed with a narrow spatula or knife, so that the short blunt muzzle has a sharp profile with a slightly projecting lower jaw; in contrast, the mouth and nostrils were carelessly gashed. No trace of eyes or ears.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). Decorated in red with large oval blobs on the body; traces of a vertical band that ran

down the neck meeting a horizontal at the leg joint. Chipped and missing the rear part of the body as well as the greater part of the front legs and the horns. (Pl. 20)

Ht. 5.3 cm. L. 6.5 cm.  
790-760

**100.** Bull with carelessly modeled body of oval cross-section, strongly compressed on the sides and supported by short, moderately extended but firmly planted legs; prominent strip penis, (now missing) lump scrotum and tiny hole under the (missing) tail. On the battered head only the deeply impressed eyes and nostrils are preserved.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6) with greyish brown core, possibly self-slipped and polished. Painted solid in red with a reserved triangular area on each flank that is bi-sected by a vertical stroke. Chipped and missing the hindquarters, the horns and most of the muzzle; front legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from fragments.

(Fig. 2; Pl. 20)

Ht. 7.65 cm. L. 13.2 cm.  
775-750

**101.** Headless bull, very similar to **100**. Differences include the more pronounced sag of the body, the rounded tip of the surviving leg and the dewlap, of which only a trace survives. On the better preserved hindquarters there remains the root of the long, strongly compressed, strip tail.

Clay same as that of **100**. Many traces of red paint. Chipped and missing three legs. Reconstructed from three pieces. (Pl. 20)

Ht. 5.2 cm. L. 10 cm.  
775-750

**102.** Bull with long tubular body, more developed at the rump, and supported by tall, widely splayed and extended legs; suspended tail and large genitals shaped out of a single piece of clay. The muzzle is long and tubular with a gaping slot mouth, which has a tiny hole inside it; another such hole under the tail. Disk eyes and tiny strip ears. Coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8) with

white and brown/grey inclusions. Traces of paint. Chipped and missing one leg, the greater part of the horns and the tip of the tail. Reconstructed from many fragments.

(Pl. 21)

Ht. 8.2 cm. L. 12.3 cm.

760-750

**103.** Bull, similar to **102** but with shorter, tubular body, supported on long, firmly planted, legs. The tail is almost vertically extended and the hind legs widely splayed to accommodate the enormous genitals that are shaped out of a single piece of clay. The muzzle is tubular, slightly hollowed below the jaws, and has a rounded tip provided with pricked nostrils and slot mouth. The disk eyes are set on the sides of the head under a series of strokes incised on the forehead; tiny strip ears applied behind the horns.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6 to 7.5YR 7/8) with buff, well polished, surface. Traces of reddish-black paint in many areas. Missing three legs, the horns and the tip of the tail. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Pl. 21)

Ht. 6.5 cm. L. 8.4 cm.

760-750

**104.** Head of bovid, with blunt muzzle, somewhat compressed on the sides and more strongly underneath so that the lower jaw projects slightly; pricked nostrils, slot mouth and triangular strip ears applied under the horns with the tip forward. Tiny eyes impressed with hollow stick.

Fine pink clay (5YR 7/4) with thick grey core. Missing the horns, one each of the eyes and ears.

(Pl. 21)

L. 4.4 cm.

775-750

**105.** Bovid with long, tubular, well smoothed body of oval cross-section, supported on tall, almost cylindrical, firmly planted legs, set close together. Long tail, attached to right leg, strong, well-defined neck. The muzzle has been compressed on the sides, so that the face is triangular with disk eyes

attached to the sides, deeply slotted mouth and probably tiny, pricked nostrils.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (more vivid than 5YR 6/8). Decorated in red with contour bands, perhaps filled with sparse verticals. Missing the greater part of three legs, the horns and tip of muzzle.

(Fig. 3; Pl. 21)

Ht. 5.8 cm. L. 8.5 cm.

775-750

**106.** Headless bull with cursorily modeled and sagging body of almost triangular cross-section; thick, attached tail; short, pinched dewlap. The upper part of the front legs consists of a solid strip of clay of the same thickness and approximately the same length as the legs themselves.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6); yellowish buff slip. Decorated in dark red with contour lines filled in with sparse criss-crossing bands. Legs restored with plaster.

(Pl. 21)

Ht. 6.5 cm. L. 10.3 cm.

775-750

**107.** Bovid with cursorily finger-smoothed, narrow body of irregular cross-section, and extended tail. The back of the skull and the sides of the small, triangular face are somewhat concave from the pressure exerted during the attachment of the horns. No facial features.

Gritty pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). Faint traces of paint. Chipped and missing one horn. Legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Pl. 22)

Ht. 5 cm. L. 9 cm.

775-750

**108.** Head of small bovid. Triangular face with large pellet eyes, pricked nostrils and slot mouth. Slight, pinched dewlap.

Fine reddish yellow clay (almost 5YR 7/8) with pinkish buff surface. Faint traces of paint. Worn, chipped and missing the horns.

(Pl. 22)

L. of face 1.9 cm.; overall L. 2.6 cm.

750-725



**109.** Head of bovid. Long triangular muzzle with pricked nostrils and small, lightly incised mouth. Disk eyes and traces of large strip ears.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with grey core and brown inclusions. Faint traces of paint. Worn and missing part of the skull and the horns. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 22)

Ht. 3.5 L. of head without horns 5.2 cm.

750-725

**110.** Bovid with smoothly finished body of oval cross-section, supported by legs set close together; suspended tail. On the battered head only a pellet eye, set by the root of the horn, is preserved.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8), smoothed and polished. Traces of wide vertical bands on the right flank. (Pl. 22)

Ht. 8.5 cm. L. 16.3 cm.

c. 750

**111.** Headless bull with long, slender body, widening at the rounded rump. The legs were set close together and the tail had been pinched out and twisted to the right. Traces of dewlap, of strip penis and sack scrotum; hole under tail.

Coarse reddish brown clay (close to 5YR 5/4) at the core and uniformly reddish yellow (5YR 5/6) on the surface, which was well smoothed and polished. Missing the legs and most of the tail. Reconstructed from many fragments. (Pl. 22)

Ht. 3 cm. L. 8.5 cm.

c. 750

**112.** Bull with carefully finished body, well developed at the shoulders and rump and supported on long legs of triangular cross-section; long tail attached to left leg. The well proportioned neck is provided with a strip dewlap decorated with a row of obliquely incised strokes. The muzzle was faceted with a tool and furnished with a slot mouth and pricked nostrils; pellet eyes with hollow, impressed pupils. Tiny strip ears and lump scrotum.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8), possibly self-slipped. Decorated in lustrous black with contour bands, bisected by another running from nose to tail and filled in with perpendicular strokes. Worn and missing three legs and one of the horns. Reconstructed from four fragments. (Pl. 23)

Ht. 7.4 cm. L. 9.5 cm.

c. 750

**113.** Bull, almost identical with **112**, except for its shorter legs and some details of the decoration, especially the outlines with which the joints of the front legs are emphasized.

Missing three legs, the tip of the tail and the greater part of the horns. (Pl. 23)

Ht. 6 cm. L. 9 cm.

c. 750

**114.** Headless bull, made by the same hand as **112** and **113**, but smaller. The remaining trace of the dewlap has the same oblique incisions and the decoration is very similar, except that the contour bands are wider and only two perpendicular strokes survive on the nape.

Missing the tail and all but a trace of the legs. Reconstructed from two fragments.

(Pl. 23)

Ht. 3.7 cm. L. 5.8 cm.

c. 750

**115.** Bull with body of the same shape as **112** and **113**, but with prominent spine, modeled out of the same strip from which the (missing) tail was also shaped. The front legs were extended and moderately splayed; traces of large genitals. Narrow strip dewlap that was strongly pressed in place under the jaw, so that the head is tilted. Traces of strip ears and pricked eyes/pupils.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8). Worn and missing most of the face, the horns, tail and three of the legs. (Pl. 23)

Ht. 8.6 cm. L. 11.4 cm.

750-725

**116.** Small bovid, similar to **112-113**, but with longer body and very thin strip dewlap. The

head was compressed on the sides so that the face is triangular; disk eyes and strip ears. Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). Missing most of the horns, the tip of the muzzle and tail as well as the greater part of the legs.

(Pl. 23)

Ht. 4.8 cm. L. 8.3 cm.

750-725

**117.** Partially preserved bovid with body similar to that of **112-113** but longer. The strip dewlap, upright ears and the joints of the legs have been roughly smoothed with a tool, but the tubular muzzle was modeled carefully into (now worn) facets and the horns well incorporated. The eyes, placed well down the sides of the face, were impressed with a stick and so were the nostrils; there are no certain traces of the mouth.

Fairly coarse, reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8) with red/brown inclusions. Decorated in red with double contour bands, filled with verticals within which a lozenge motif was inserted behind the shoulders; other features outlined or daubed with paint. Missing the back part of the body, the legs, horns and tip of muzzle.

(Fig. 3; Pl. 23)

Ht. 5.5 cm. L. 10.3 cm.

750-725

**118.** Fragmentary bull with body of oval cross-section, whose sole surviving feature is part of the continuous pinched strip of clay from which dewlap and penis had been shaped.

Gritty greyish buff clay with light red core and red/brown inclusions, fired very hard; buff slip. The surviving front part of the body and mutilated head were subdivided into mainly triangular areas that were filled with oblique lines.

(Fig. 3; Pl. 24)

Ht. 8.5 cm. L. 12 cm.

750-725

**119.** Partially preserved bovid with smoothly finished tubular body, supported by thin, flattened legs. The well defined, fairly slender neck has no dewlap. Long, tubular muzzle with large, impressed nostrils but no

mouth; large, triangular ears. On the right thigh there is a rectangular inlay of plaster; two others, of roughly oval shape, from which the content is missing, decorate the back and the forehead between the large, conical pellet eyes.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8) with grey and brown inclusions; buff slip. Decorated in faded black with contour bands filled with verticals that converge obliquely down the front legs. Muzzle and eyes circled with bands; dot pupils. Missing the back part of the body, the greater part of the front legs and the horns. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Fig. 3; Pl. 25)

Ht. 11 cm. L. 12.4 cm.

750-725

**120.** Head of bovid, on which only the large, conical pellet eyes are preserved; pupils feebly incised or impressed with a small stick. Trace of pinched dewlap.

Coarse brown clay (close to 7.5YR 6/4 but of lighter shade). Missing horns and muzzle.

(Pl. 24)

L. 3.6 cm. W. 3.8 cm.

750-725

**121.** Partially preserved bovid with body of oval cross-section, provided with prominent, strip spine and a small strip dewlap. The shoulder joints are indicated in light relief. The muzzle was faceted with a tool and its blunt tip was provided with pricked nostrils but no mouth; large conical eyes with pricked pupils.

Very gritty, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with yellowish brown core and brown inclusions up to 4 ml. Hand-smoothed surface. Decorated in dark red with vertical bands on the flanks and oblique lines on the side of the head; the shoulder joints are carefully outlined and the legs horizontally banded. Preserves only the face and the front part of the body with the upper part of the legs; reconstructed from two fragments.

(Fig. 4; Pl. 24)

Ht. 7.6 cm. L. 11.4 cm.

750-725

**122.** Fragmentary bovid, preserving only the upper part of the body and the head. The prominent spine was shaped out of a strip of clay that merges on the rump with the pinched out tail, but ends abruptly at the back of the head. The strip from which the horns had been shaped and the sides of the tubular muzzle have been smoothed with a tool forming a raised T-shaped area on the face; the prominent pellet eyes, which are exactly the same with those of **121**, have been fitted into the angles of the T, while the strip ears were added horizontally below the horns and the pricked nostrils and slot mouth on the blunt tip of the muzzle.

Fine, poorly fired, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/8). Faint traces of black paint. Missing the horns and one ear; reconstructed from two fragments. (Pl. 26)

Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 14.3 cm.

750-725

**123.** Bull with finger-modeled but fairly well smoothed body of almost triangular cross-section, supported on long, roughly shaped but firmly planted legs; a slash and a drop-shaped ball of clay indicate the genitals. The neck is massive with a prominent nape and a dewlap shaped of added and strongly compressed clay. In contrast the head consists of the long tubular muzzle and the individually attached horns, which have naturalistically shaped, hollow ears added below them. Rows of triangular impressions decorate the area between the horns and the disk eyes.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with occasional white and brownish grit. Decorated with broad contour bands and another running from the muzzle probably to the tail. Missing one of the front legs, the greater part of the horns and the tip of the muzzle; reconstructed from four fragments.

(Pl. 26)

Ht. 10.2 cm. L. 14 cm.

750-725

**124.** Fragmentary bovid, modeled with broad strokes of knife or spatula, left

unsmoothed. Short neck with well proportioned dewlap, individually attached horns with upright ears applied below them. The muzzle is tubular, but compressed at the edge to bring up the tip of the nose; slot mouth, deeply impressed nostrils and almond-shaped eyes outlined with incision and provided with painted pupils.

Fine pale yellow clay (5YR 8/3), fired very hard and gritty to the touch. Decorated in brownish black; the only trace except for the dots on the eyes is a band around the base of the horn. On the battered body there is a trace of the band that outlined the joint.

L. 15.8 cm. L. of face 5.1 cm.

Non-joining parts: Tall, roughly modeled but firmly planted leg (18-9-72 Level 18), which preserves a trace of the outlining band; ht. 8 cm.; small fragment of rump with root of twisted tail (17-7-75 Balk of Trenches Alpha and Beta Level 5a #151) ht. 4 cm. w. 3.2 cm.; tip of well shaped horn (No context) 1.8 cm. (Pl. 27)

750-725

**125.** Bull with narrow and smoothly finished body of oval cross-section, supported on firmly planted legs, set close together and nicked at the tips to indicate the hooves. The belly is somewhat concave where the lump scrotum was pressed into place. On one side the small head is separated from the short, horizontally extended neck, with a careless groove. On the flat face only the deeply impressed eyes are indicated.

Coarse red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white and quartz inclusions, well smoothed and polished. Many traces of black paint. Worn and missing the greater part of the horns and the tail. Parts of the body and one leg restored with plaster. Reconstructed from five pieces. (Pl. 27)

Ht. 7.5 cm. L. 13 cm.

750-725

**126.** Headless bull made by the same hand and of the same fabric as **125**. The only difference is the somewhat more concave abdomen.

Missing the legs and most of the tail.

(Pl. 27)

Ht. 4 cm. L. 10.2 cm.

750-725

**127.** Fragmentary bull with long neck of almost rhomboid cross-section. Short, flat muzzle with rounded tip that has been provided with pricked nostrils and a gaping slot mouth. Disk eyes and large ears smeared horizontally behind the separately attached horns. The non-joining rear part of the body (HM 27974) preserves the strip penis and a small hole under the flat hind-quarters.

Fairly coarse, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with light grey core and grey/brown inclusions. Traces of paint. Missing most of the body, the legs and the horns. (Pl. 28)

Front part: L. 6.3 cm. Rear part: Ht. 4 cm. L. 3.8 cm.

730-720

**128.** Ox, part of a yoked team, with roughly finger-modeled, stocky body, well developed at the shoulders and rump; long, twisted tail, attached to left leg. The completely preserved leg is short, flat tipped and lightly nicked to suggest the hoof. The head is directly joined to the body, so that the heavy roll of the yoke is attached just behind the horns. The dewlap is suggested only by the pinched fold under the short, conical muzzle, which is provided with pricked eyes and mouth. The imprint of the second animal is preserved on the surviving rear leg.

Gritty, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8). Faint traces of paint. Chipped and missing the horns, most of the tail as well as two of the legs and part of the third. (Pl. 28)

Ht. 6.1 cm. L. 8.5 cm.

730-720

**129.** Bull with roughly finger-modeled body, supported on conical, extended legs; suspended tail with a small hole below it, strip penis and (now detached ?) lump scrotum. Long neck with clearly differentiated nape, rounded skull and deeply pinched strip

dewlap. Slender, slightly flattened muzzle with pricked nostrils and slot mouth with a tiny impressed hole in the center, exactly the same as those of the eyes that are placed far apart at the base of the horns.

Fine pinkish clay (7.5YR 8/4), yellowish buff slip. Decorated in dark red with a wide band extending from nose to tip of tail and a vertical down each leg; a large blob decorates each flank. Missing most of the horns; legs, part of neck and tail restored with plaster.

(Fig. 4; Pl. 28)

Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 7.8 cm.

730-720

**130.** Partially preserved bovid with roughly finger-modeled body. The space between the front legs is particularly rough and there are deeply imprinted finger marks under the head where the strip dewlap was pressed into place. The proportions of head and body and the shape of the head are similar to those of **131**, but the muzzle is completely tubular, the eyes are large pellets set close together, and the strip ears are small and set vertically below the horns; deeply impressed nostrils and incised mouth.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (close to 5YR 7/6) with sparse bits of grit. For the decoration see Fig. 000. Most of the body is missing except for the chest and the front thighs; both horns are broken off.

(Fig. 4; Pl. 28)

Ht. 8.5 cm. L. 8.9 cm.

730-720

**131.** Partially preserved bull with finger-smoothed, tubular body, supported by slightly spread legs. The large head was directly attached to the body; a slight compression behind it formed the nape and a single, deeper pinch below it the short dewlap. Horns made out of a single roll of clay, finger-smoothed to a ridge, tubular muzzle with deeply slotted mouth and pricked nostrils set on the rounded tip. Disk eyes attached low on the sides of the muzzle and large strip ears applied horizontally below the horns. Long strip penis.



Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with greyish core and pinkish buff surface. Perhaps solidly painted in black. Missing the back part of the body and the greater part of the front legs and horns. Reconstructed from fragments. (Pl. 28)

Ht. 7.9 cm. L. 11.1 cm.  
725-700

**132.** Bovid with body strongly compressed on the back and belly. The short, thick neck was deeply pinched on the sides so that the joints of the front legs and the curved profile of the muzzle were emphasized and a small dewlap was created. On the better preserved left side there are traces of an ear and of a pellet/disk eye.

Very coarse red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white, red and quartz inclusions. Very worn and missing horns and tail. Reconstructed from two pieces with the addition of some plaster. (Pl. 29)

Ht. 10.3 cm. L. 14.5 cm.  
725-700

**133.** Bull modeled much like **132**, but with somewhat less corpulent body; genitals made of one strip of clay. The battered head, on which only the large, deeply impressed nostrils are preserved, is clearly separated from the neck, as much under the jaws as on the nape, while the dewlap is only a modest fold, ending between the front legs. Two large and very deep holes were impressed with the same cylindrical tool, one each on the chest and under the tail.

Clay same as that of **132**. Very worn and missing horns and tail; three legs restored with plaster. (Pl. 29)

Ht. 8.2 cm. L. 12.  
725-700

**134.** Partially preserved bovid with cursorily modeled body and widely spread front legs. On the battered head only part of a pellet eye is preserved. The non-joining part (HM 20741) preserves the back of the corpulent body with one short, flat tipped leg, and the root of the tail that had been twisted and

attached to the left leg.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with grey core. Many traces of black paint; band running along the belly. Missing the horns, the tips of the front legs, most of the rump and the tail. (Pl. 29)

Front part: Ht. 5.1 cm. L. 3.35 cm. Rear part: Ht. 4.2 cm. L. 5.4 cm.  
725-700

**135.** Fragmentary bovid with body flattened at the belly and short, thick neck without a dewlap. The battered head had a rounded skull and preserves traces of the upright ears and the disk eyes that had pricked pupils.

Fairly coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with grey/white/brown inclusions and greyish brown surface. Traces of black paint. Tool marks on the throat. Preserves only the front part, without the legs and the greater part of the head. (Pl. 29)

Ht. 5.35 cm. L. 5.9 cm.  
725-700

**136.** Bull with body compressed on the sides but well developed at the hindquarters, on which the (missing) tail had been attached at a low point. The battered head was modeled much like that of **135** and had the same type of eyes, as well as pricked nostrils. The strip dewlap is continuous with the penis, on which the imprint of the lump scrotum is preserved. Pierced twice through the body as well as vertically near the joints of the front legs.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with light grey core and brown/greyish inclusions; buff slip. Worn and missing the legs, tail, muzzle and horns. (Pl. 30)

Ht. 5.5 cm. L. 11.9 cm.  
725-700

**137.** Partially preserved bull with long body, compressed on back and belly and supported by short, firmly planted legs. Long, narrow strip dewlap; traces of strip penis.

Gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with brownish yellow surface. Chipped and missing the rear part of the body, three legs, the muzzle

and horns. (Pl. 30)  
Ht. 5.8 cm. L. 8.2 cm.  
725-700

**138.** Headless bovid with corpulent body, supported on legs pressed close together. A bit of the strip dewlap projects above the legs.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). Many traces of red/brown paint. Missing the legs and tail. (Pl. 30)

Ht. 3.65 cm. L. 6.6 cm.  
725-700

**139.** Bull with long, tubular body, extended tail and genitals indicated with a strip and lump of clay. The proportionately small head ends in a very slender muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and slot mouth. The eyes were impressed with a hollow stick.

Very coarse red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with grey, white and quartz inclusions. Traces of black paint. Missing most of the horns, tail and legs. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Pl. 30)

Ht. 4.2 cm. L. 13.4 cm.  
725-700

**140.** Bovid with finger-smoothed tubular body, slightly flattened on the belly and supported on short legs. On the worn head only the tiny pellet eyes are preserved.

Fine reddish-yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6); buff slip. Perhaps solidly painted. Missing the tips of the muzzle, legs and tail. (Pl. 30)

Ht. 3.5 cm. L. 6.5 cm.  
725-700

**141.** Headless bovid with body of oval cross-section, somewhat compressed on back and belly, flat hindquarters and probably extended tail. A trace of the pinched dewlap survives on the vertical neck. A long, slender horn (found on 15-9-72 in Level 9) most likely belongs to it, as fabric and paint are identical.

Gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white, grey and quartz inclusions. Dipped in black paint and decorated with double contour bands in

viscous, yellowish white paint; the horn has a wide band running along its upper surface. Cracked and missing the tail; legs restored with plaster. (Pl. 30)

Ht. 3.7 cm. L. 7.9 cm. L. of horn 4.7 cm.  
c. 700

**142.** Bull with short body, supported on disproportionately long, flattened legs, the rear of which are exaggeratedly naturalistic, from the tip of the cloven hooves to the curvy hindquarters that are separated by the equally naturalistically rendered scrotum; the penis, in contrast, is only a tiny strip. The massive head is connected to the body by a barely articulated neck, provided with a short but prominent dewlap. The naturalistically modeled ears are attached below the horns, the root of which is defined with incisions. Only traces remain of the pellet eyes, pricked nostrils and slot mouth.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4) with occasional specks of brown grit, well fired, smoothed and polished. Traces in black of a circular pattern (solid or dotted circles) on the shoulder and thighs. Chipped and missing parts of the muzzle, the horns and parts of three legs. (Pl. 31)

Ht. 8.2 cm. L. 8.8 cm.  
725-700

**143.** Bull with long body of oval cross-section, well smoothed with a tool and supported on short, naturalistically modeled legs, whose broad hooves are cloven even on the soles. The neck is well proportioned and provided with a narrow strip dewlap, smoothed to conform to the concavity of the hollow throat. The blunt muzzle was strongly compressed above the tip to create the prominent, curved nose and provided with disk eyes, pricked nostrils and widely slotted mouth. The naturalistically shaped ears were attached at the base of the horns, which were formed from a strip of clay that was smoothed to an angular ridge above the hollow forehead. Sack scrotum and strip penis with a slight protuberance at the end, indicating the sheath; small hole under tail.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6); traces of yellowish buff slip and of brown paint. Missing the horns and tip of tail. Reconstructed from fragments with some plaster, also used to reconstruct two of the legs.

(Pl. 32)

Ht. 6.6 cm. L. 14.6 cm.  
c. 700

**144.** Bull with long, tubular body, smoothed with long strokes of a knife or narrow spatula and supported on firmly planted, stubby legs; long strip penis. The strip from which the horns and the slightly raised nape had been formed is missing. The muzzle is quite long, of almost rectangular cross-section, and provided with a gaping slot mouth on the blunt tip; large disk eyes, set low on the sides of the face.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6), buff slip. For the decoration, of which only faint traces can be discerned, see **145**. Missing the horns, rear legs and most of the tail.

(Pl. 31)

Ht. 8.5 cm. L. 17 cm.  
c. 700

**145.** Bull, almost identical with **144**, but with a small dewlap, the addition of which has pushed the head up; the penis and the naturalistically shaped scrotum are both preserved. Decorated with thin black bands running along the body and legs and framing a zone of concentric circles on the flanks; eyes circled with paint and genitals liberally daubed. Chipped and missing the greater part of the horns and the tail.

(Fig. 4; Pl. 31)

Ht. 8. cm. L. 16.5 cm.  
c. 700

**146.** Bull with plump body, very short, firmly planted legs, attached tail, and long neck provided with a roughly pinched, strip dewlap. The legs were pressed together and pushed up, so that the front are only separated by a crack, while the rear had to be separated with a slash. The strip from which the short, completely horizontal horns were

made, was smoothed to an angular ridge, with the strip ears and disk eyes applied respectively below and in front of them; the muzzle itself is small and featureless. A lump indicates the scrotum.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Abraded surface. One each of horns, ears and eyes restored with plaster.

(Pl. 32)

Ht. 8.7 cm. L. 9.5 cm.

700-675

**147.** Bull with cursorily tool-modeled body, flat at the back, slightly concave at the belly and supported on thick legs, nicked into splayed hooves; massive droopy tail, large penis. The long muzzle, which was provided with pricked nostrils and gashed mouth, is directly attached to the body and the join crowned by the ridge of clay from which the horns had been shaped; hollowed ears applied behind the horns.

Gritty pinkish buff clay with occasional inclusions up to 5 ml. in length; yellowish buff slip. Imprint of fine vertical bands on the flanks. Chipped and missing the horns.

(Pl. 32)

Ht. 6.2 cm. L. 13.7 cm.

700-675

**148.** Bull's head connected to short neck of almost triangular cross-section. The head is wedge-shaped with a flat forehead that is decorated with a row of oblique incisions; a roughly incised circle also marked the base of the (missing) horns. The eyes are stamped double concentric circles with incised eyebrows, the nostrils were pricked holes and the mouth was formed with a long incision. Incised chevrons decorated the pinched dewlap.

Very coarse red clay (2.5YR 5/8) with white limestone and grey mica inclusions. Much abraded and missing the horns and ears.

(Pl. 33)

L. 5.2 cm. L. of face 4.6 cm.

c. 700

**149.** Two non-joining parts of bull. The body piece is almost tubular with flat

hindquarters and preserves a trace of the large penis and scrotum, which were shaped from a single piece of clay. The head fragment is worn but preserves a bit of the pinched dewlap and the slanted, almond-shaped eyes that were defined with incision, doubled to indicated the lids.

Gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white inclusions and mica, very similar to that of **150**. Traces of black paint. The body fragment is missing the tail and rear legs and is reconstructed from two pieces. The head is missing the horns and most of the muzzle.

(Pl. 33)

Body: Ht. 8 cm. L. 9.8 cm. Head: Ht. 5.3 cm. L. 6.2 cm.

700-650

**150.** Bull's head connected to heavy neck. The pressure exerted on the applied dewlap has emphasized the outline of the lower jaw, which is modeled in low relief. The face is triangular with a short muzzle provided with a very wide and deeply incised mouth and large nostrils impressed with a stick. The slanting, almond-shaped eyes and upper lids are indicated in incision, while incised chevrons decorate the forehead. The large, abraded ears, are shaped like spirals. Very gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/8) with white inclusions and mica, closely similar to that of **149**. Missing the horns. (Pl. 33)

L. 9.5 cm. L. of face 5.6 cm.

700-650

**151.** Bovid with smoothly finished, almost tubular body, thick suspended tail, and long, firmly planted legs. The short, vertical neck is slightly compressed to form an almost imperceptible dewlap and culminates in a disproportionately small, very worn head. The pellet eyes, set close together, are very worn and the tip of the muzzle is missing, so that the best preserved feature is the single remaining, naturalistic ear. A row of incised strokes decorates the forehead.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Missing the muzzle, part of one leg, the greater part of the horns and the tip of the

tail.

(Pl. 34)

Ht. 12 cm. L. 13 cm.

675-650

**152.** Bull, very similar to **151**, but smaller and with different, long strip tail that was twisted and attached to the left leg. On the battered head there are remains of a large ear, attached at the base of the horn, and of the roughly incised eyes, set close together on the forehead. Despite the wear of the surface, there are traces of the tool that was used after the attachment of the legs in long, continuous curving strokes along the sides of the belly and the inner side of the legs. In contrast there are finger marks on the throat and nape.

Clay same as that of **151**; buff slip; faint traces of red paint. Missing the horns. Muzzle, three legs and parts of the body restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 34)

Ht. 7.2 cm. L. 8.2 cm.

675-650

**153.** Bull with short, tubular body, slightly narrower at midriff and supported on thick legs, the front pair of which are contiguous; short, strip tail, attached to hindquarters. The short strip dewlap was pinched into place at the throat causing the head to tilt up. On the battered head part of the gaping slot mouth and a pricked nostril are the only preserved features.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6), similar to that of **151** and **152**. Well smoothed but worn, chipped and missing the greater part of the legs, the horns and muzzle. Parts of the body and of two legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 34)

Ht. 6.8 cm. L. 12.3 cm.

675-650

**154.** Bull's head with tubular muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and incised mouth. The pinched dewlap was framed with incisions. Two parallel incisions also run along the flat top of the skull between



the (missing) horns, while a third, deeply and widely scored, defined the forehead and also the upper part of the eyes; the circumference of each eye consists of two converging gashes with an added stroke at the convergence to indicate the tear duct; the pupils were probably impressed lightly with a hollow stick. Trace of an ear below the left horn.

Gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with very smooth surface and fine mica inclusions, fired hard. (Pl. 35)

Ht. 4.5 cm. L. 5.7 cm.  
650-630

**155.** Bull's head connected to flattened, wide neck (whose width was further increased with the addition of nape and dewlap) and crowned by the strip of the up-swinging horns that was not incorporated into the forehead but is separated from it by a wide groove; traces of large strip ears, placed obliquely at the base of the horns. The tip of the relatively slender, slightly flattened, muzzle bears large, irregularly impressed nostrils and a gashed mouth. The face is dominated by the large, prominent pellet eyes that are held in place with smears of clay, except at the lower edge, where converging gashes form the tear duct. It is not clear whether the oval pupils are indicated with feeble incision or were impressed with a thin, hollow stick.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with many inclusions; lustrous slip of same color. Decorated in lustrous red with bands extending down the sides of the neck and muzzle, which, connecting with others running across the muzzle, may suggest a harness. Missing the ears; horns and parts of the neck and muzzle restored with plaster. Reconstructed from three fragments.

(Pl. 35)

Ht. 7.2 cm. L. 6.6 cm.  
Late sixth cent.

**156.** Bull's head with long, carefully modeled muzzle provided with incised mouth and slit nostrils; disk eyes pushed deeply into hollow sockets and provided with pricked pupils. The continuous strip of the horns forms a prominent ridge, framing the hollow forehead; long, carefully shaped ears, attached only at the base and tip. Traces of the strip dewlap. The non-joining front part of the body (HM 21028), is missing the legs, but preserves traces of the prominent dewlap.

Coarse reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with gray and brown inclusions. The body fragment preserves traces of buff slip and red paint. The greater part of the horns and one ear are missing from the head. (Pl. 35)

Ht. 6.2 cm L. 6.4 cm.  
Early 5th cent.

## V. SHEEP

In Geometric as well as post-Geometric contexts sheep/ram figurines of bronze or clay are generally less common than those of horses and cattle and their representation in published assemblages is uneven. In Mainland Greece few have been identified among the bronze animals from Olympia (Table C)<sup>259</sup> or Delphi<sup>260</sup>, while none of the ten published from the Kabirion at Thebes is earlier than the seventh century<sup>261</sup>. Contemporary handmade terracotta sheep, barely attested in Mycenaean contexts, are more common than those of bronze. Indeed at Olympia the series begins as early as that of the horses, i.e. in the ninth century, although most have been assigned to the second half of the eighth (Table B)<sup>262</sup>. In contrast very few sheep have been identified among the terracottas from Samos<sup>263</sup>. In post-Geometric times sheep are well represented only at the Potters' Quarter in Corinth, but even there they are less common than ridden horses or doves<sup>264</sup>.

In Crete sheep/rams of bronze, which are well represented among the animal figurines from Syme (Table C), are more common than on the Mainland<sup>265</sup>, but the publication record for terracottas is inadequate. Sheep are certainly identifiable among the figurines found at peak shrines<sup>266</sup>; one example from Ayia Triada has been assigned to the LM III C phase on the basis of fabric and style<sup>267</sup>, but, with the exception of the material from Syme published here, the post-Minoan periods are only represented by a few examples from Patsos and three head fragments from Ayia Triada assigned to the LG period or later<sup>268</sup>.

259. Heilmeyer 1979, 180-181 nos. 918-919, 922.

260. Rolley 1969, nos. 114, 115 (?), 120-121.

261. Schmaltz 1980, 151-153 nos. 410-419. In contrast sheep/rams were popular as finials, pendants and, in later periods as handle attachments. See Rolley 1969, nos. 116-118; Heilmeyer 1979, 181 n. 218; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, nos. 1128-1130, 1138-1140. For the symbolic use of the ram's head see Korres 1970.

262. Heilmeyer 1972, Table a on p. 123; for EG examples see pl. 4 nos. 15, 17-18. Some of the animals from Olympia identified as dogs should also be added to the rams, e.g. Heilmeyer 1972, nos. pl. 36 nos. 214-215; pl. 37 no. 213. No rams at all have been identified among the small group of animal figurines from Isthmia.

263. Jarosch 1994, 64-65 nos. 268, 452. See also Diehl 1964, 506 no. 2, fig. 3.

264. Stillwell 1952, 181-186, Class XXVI; see

also Davidson 1952 pl. 4 nos. 48-51 for other rams from Corinth. For a few examples from the Argolid see Guggisberg 1988, 178 fig. 4 no. 18 and perhaps no. 17; *ADelt* 23B, 1968, 132 pl. 77e. For one example from Tegea see Voyatzis 1990, 242 pl. 178 no. T10. Very few ram figurines were found in the graves at Ritsona, where the horse was so popular (Ure 1934, 66). For an example from the Kera-meikos dated to the fifth century see Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, pl. 100 no. 570.

265. Schürmann 1994, 215-217, Table 1.

266. For those published from Petsophas see Rutkowski 1991, pl. 49 no. 7. For unpublished examples see Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 147-151 passim.

267. D'Agata 1999, 46 pl. 24 no. C1.47.

268. For Patsos see Kourou and Karetsou 1994, nos. 46-49 and for Ayia Triada D'Agata 1999, 148 pl. 95 nos. D 3.38-40; for protomes see below X, 280-282.

One of the earliest animals from Syme, **157**, was found in the same context as the goat **183** and is very similar to it, but the large breaks at the place of the horns, which are located low on the sides of the head, indicate that **157** may not be a caprid. The short, wide tail may suggest a sheep rather than a bovid. As will be discussed below<sup>269</sup>, **183** has very close parallels in figurines dated by context in (Cretan) MPG. The body of **157** is more attenuated and angular and finds good parallels among bronze animals from Syme dated to the (Attic) EG II phase<sup>270</sup>. Formally comparable, albeit somewhat heavier, is a bronze bull from the Theban Kabirion dated in the same phase<sup>271</sup>.

As is the case with the horses, there is a big difference in size between the earliest sheep and its successor, **158**, the largest solidly made animal from Syme. Its large size and long tubular body clearly indicate its dependence on wheelmade animals, from which the method of joining the legs to the body was also borrowed<sup>272</sup>. The connection is also evident in the decoration, specifically in the way the hind legs are solidly painted and also outlined with a band, just like the legs of a wheelmade bull from Phaistos dated to the LM IIIC period<sup>273</sup>. This decorative approach was perhaps favored by Minoan craftsmen, since it does not occur in published wheelmade figures from the Mainland or the islands. On the Syme ram this feature is combined with another that depends on totally different prototypes, i.e. the strips that decorate the side of the neck and the rear part of the body. Such strips are used only on Attic pyxis horses of the MG II period<sup>274</sup>. The Cretan craftsman in borrowing this idea chose a curvilinear filling pattern, which had already entered the Cretan ceramic repertory in PGB, rather than the rectilinear motifs or dashes favored by Attic potters. This particular mixture of native and Atticizing elements is characteristic of Cretan pottery in the MG period<sup>275</sup>, when this ram must have been made. Other features of **158**, such as the thin muzzle, the shape of the horns – which, when viewed from above, look almost like a lower case omega – and the incisions that indicate their texture, appear in bronze rams from Syme dated c. 800 or a little later<sup>276</sup>. It is worth noting that the fabric of **158** looks the same as that of stallion **12**, although there are no formal similarities between these two large figures.

The fabric and modeling of another fairly large ram, **159**, are also similar to those of the stallion, including such details as the attachment of the tail and the form of the genitals. The formal features of this figure also find parallels in bronze animals from Syme dated to the (Attic) MG period<sup>277</sup>. It is also in this group of bronzes that **160**, with its slender body that widens perceptively towards the chest, finds its

269. VI, 72-73.

270. Cf. especially the bull figurine Schürmann 1994, pl. 8 no. 78.

271. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 2 no. 30.

272. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 128. See also Jarosch 1994, 58 for a better description of the technique.

273. For other examples see Guggisberg 1996,

pl. 44 no. 592 and pls. 45, 47; D'Agata 1999, nos. C 1.9 pl. 31, C 2.13 pl. 52.

274. Bohen 1988, pl. 17 no. 171, dated 825-800; pl. 21 no. 183, dated 780-760.

275. Sackett et al. 1992, 83.

276. E.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 14 no. 159, pl. 15 no. 171, pl. 16 no. 182.

277. Schürmann 1994, pl. 16 no. 173.

best, albeit not particularly close parallels<sup>278</sup>. The fragmentary head **162** is almost the same with those of the bovids **103** and **102**, but the stubs of its broken horns are exactly like those of **171**, indicating that this head belonged to another sheep/ram of this period. A ram from Samos, also dated to the MG period, has a similarly modeled head<sup>279</sup>.

The large, forward looking head is the only feature that **161** has in common with **159**. The long, curved muzzle of **161**, further emphasized by the concave throat where the pressure exerted by the fingers of the craftsman has created a dewlap-like fold of skin, and the prominent, bony spine contrast with the heavy body from which motion or tension are missing. However ungainly the shape might be, it is still close to the MG horses on some Athenian pyxides<sup>280</sup>, where the main motif of the decoration on **161**, popular in Cretan pottery of the mature MG phase<sup>281</sup>, also occurs.

It is arguable that **163** represents better than any other terracotta from Syme the increasing emphasis on naturalism that characterizes the end of the MG period, i.e. the mid-eighth century. The head of **163** is an impressive study of the mature male sheep, the barrel-shaped body is as close to a representation of the woolly, bulky body of the animal as can be achieved in clay and the legs are as spindly as the material allowed. The difference in the shape of the muzzle and the poor preservation of the legs obscure to some extent the close similarity of **164** and **163**, which are made of the same fabric and were found close to each other. The imperfections of **164** can only be explained if this figurine had been the work of an apprentice, who did not yet have the ability to emulate his master's sure touch.

Common to both figurines are the holes impressed into and through the body. They make no sense as firing holes, so they may well be another 'naturalistic' detail, meant to indicate the fleece. The fact that some other rams/sheep from Syme have this feature (e.g. **175-177**), supports this view. It is worth noting that the ram figurine from the Heraion in Samos just mentioned, also has this feature. It has been suggested that the holes, which on this piece occur on shoulders and hips, mark the places where sticks had been inserted to secure the attachment of the legs<sup>282</sup>. This seems improbable even for the Samos ram, which has several other holes on the chest and hindquarters, and does not apply at all to the rams from Syme. It seems more likely that the Samos ram, which is very much like **162** as well as the bovids **103** and **102** and totally unlike the locally produced figurines, is a Cretan figurine<sup>283</sup>.

The modeling of the hindquarters and hind legs of **163** and **164** is similar in bronze bulls and rams from Syme that have been dated in the third quarter of the eighth century; some of these animals are also provided with more naturalistically modeled genitals<sup>284</sup>. Yet the body of the terracottas has nothing to do with the shape

278. Schürmann 1994, pl.14 nos. 159-160, pl.15 no. 161.

279. See above n. 263.

280. Bohen 1988, pl. 22 no. 181, pl. 23 no. 182, pl. 27 no. 185 (for the motif).

281. Coldstream 1968, 247, 252.

282. Jarosch 1994, 58.

283. For another contemporary Cretan figurine that is close to the ram from Samos see Brock 1957, pl. 111 no. 1556.

284. Schürmann 1994, pls. 30-31.



of the bronzes, with their narrow midriff and developed shoulders and rump. At the same time, the bold modeling of the face of **163** cannot be equaled among the bronzes even in the seventh century<sup>285</sup>.

The dejected looking **165**, **166** and the fragmentary **167** are here identified without much conviction as lambs on the strength of their decoration and the lack of horns. Wavy bands or lines are ordinarily used to indicate the fleece only in the seventh century. However, the modeling and finish of **165**, the best of these animals, indicates a date close to that of the horse **50**, i.e. ca. 730-720. It is of some interest that a crudely made figurine such as **166**, which (like **167**) was probably made by an apprentice, has an almost exact counterpart among the terracottas from Corinth. The animal in question, also decorated with wavy, parallel bands, belongs within the early group of Corinthian terracottas, datable in the latter part of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth, but was assigned to the early seventh century or even earlier, because of its "extremely archaic" appearance<sup>286</sup>.

The four rams/sheep, **168-172**, can be considered as a group: the last two are clearly works of the same craftsman; **168** and **169** are also a pair despite the difference in the size and shape of the bodies; fabric, paint and decoration are identical and so are the details of the heads. The battered head **170** belonged to a very similar but considerably larger animal. The rough, finger-modeled surface of all these figurines, which connects them with the horses **42-49**, places them at the transition from the third to the fourth quarter of the eighth century<sup>287</sup>. The corpulent body of **169** also suggests such a date.

The rest of the rams from Syme belong to an advanced stage of the fourth quarter of the eighth century or even later, in the Transitional period and the seventh century. As is the case with the bronze animals, this group of terracottas displays a great deal of variety; common features are difficult to establish. In the case of an essentially nondescript and also incomplete piece like **173**, whose body is only modestly thickened, it is the uninterrupted contours of the body, the firm stance, the thick neck and almost featureless face that suggest a date in the last quarter of the eighth century.

Among the rams/sheep that can be assigned to the seventh century, the best made is undoubtedly **174**, which does not have good counterparts among the bronze rams from Syme dated in this period. The latter, just like the contemporary bovinds, are modeled in much greater detail, although there are some examples with bodies built along the same flowing lines and modeled with similarly plain and smooth surfaces<sup>288</sup>.

Even the clumsy **175** and **176** have some connections with bronzework. Their human-looking eyes and brows and featureless muzzles are very similar to those of a bronze bull from the Kabirion, where animals with conical, extended legs contin-

285. E.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 56 no. 515.

286. Stillwell 1972, 171 pl. 35 no. XXXII.1, identified as a horse.

287. See above III, 22.

288. Schürmann 1994, pl. 56 no. 516.

ued to be made in this period<sup>289</sup>. More importantly the two terracottas provide closer parallels for the modeling of a bronze ram from Syme, dated around the middle of the seventh century or a little earlier, than the bronzes that have been cited as comparanda<sup>290</sup>. The sweeping strokes of the modeling knife that shaped the wax model for the bronze ram and the terracottas have given all three bodies the same angular transitions on the flanks. The fact that the bronze is of superb and **175-176** of inferior quality should not obscure this relationship.

The solidly made but completely tubular **178** has a close parallel in a bull from Psychro, turned on the wheel<sup>291</sup>. The cylindrical curved muzzle, similar to that of **172**, and the incised, almond-shaped eyes of the Syme ram are the main evidence for a date just before the middle of the seventh century. The Psychro bull is so similar that it must be contemporary.

The carefully made but fragmentary **179** with its fleshy hindquarters, prominently modeled hip bones and offset tail seems close to the stage of development reached by a bronze bull from Syme that has been dated before the mid-seventh century<sup>292</sup>. However, these features combined with the use of incision to outline the shoulder bring this figurine even closer to the animals featured on MD plaques, so that a date around the middle of the seventh century seems more appropriate.

The large figure **181** is of interest because of its technique, which is thought to imitate bronze animals that were sometimes cast with hollow breast and/or belly<sup>293</sup>. The Syme ram seems to be the largest of the few other terracottas with this feature. The finely executed representation of the fleece, comparable to that painted by the Ram Jug Painter<sup>294</sup>, suggests a date around the middle of the seventh century or later for **181**. Its tightly curled horns are by no means a reliable chronological indicator, but do appear to be a feature that was not adopted widely for terracotta rams until the seventh century. Indeed it appears to have been more popular at the end of the century and continued to be characteristic of rams in the Classical period<sup>295</sup>.

A connection with Corinth, however indirect and remote, can be postulated for **182**, which is most likely a sheep, as the pose and wide, triangular tail indicate. As the animals from Syme itself demonstrate<sup>296</sup>, the seated pose with the legs tucked under the body was not reserved for rams only, but the particular arrangement of the legs that are flattened to serve as stabilizing supports for the body is characteristic of plastic vases in the shape of hares and rams, produced mainly in Corinth in the second half of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth. The latter were also imitated in Crete. The comparison with the back view of the plastic vase from

289. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 6 no. 130. The fragments of a third ram **177** were made by the same hand as the other two figurines.

290. E.g. Schürmann 1994, 163 pl. 58 no. 526.

291. Guggisberg 1996, pl. 45 no. 607, dated in the G period, because of its pellet eyes (= Watrous 1996, pl. 22 c, d no. 148 = Boardman 1961, pl. 21

no. 268).

292. Schürmann 1994, pl. 56 no. 518.

293. For detailed discussion see XII, 121-122.

294. Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 95 fig. 155.

295. Stillwell 1952, 182- pls. 40-41. See also Richardson 1898, figs. 4-7.

296. E.g. the horse team **33**.

Fortetsa leaves no doubt as to the prototypes of **182**<sup>297</sup>. The undifferentiated body and stick legs that are barely discernible in profile, seem closest to Corinthian originals, dated by Ducat at the beginning of the MC period<sup>298</sup>.

### Catalogue

**157.** Sheep (?) with slender body that widens to the substantial hindquarters, on which the wide, triangular tail was attached. On the conical head only the pellet eyes are preserved.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with buff surface. Sides and back of head broken off; legs, muzzle and tail restored with plaster. (Pl. 35)

Ht. 5.4 cm. L. 9 cm.

870-850

**158.** Ram with long, tubular body, completely flat at both ends; raised tail and lump scrotum. A worn strip of clay, attached like a crown on top of the skull and decorated with short, oblique incisions, is all that remains of the horns; traces on the right side indicate that their tips had been attached. The thin curved muzzle, which is provided with pricked nostrils and a feebly incised mouth, projects below the flat forehead, where the pellet eyes were pressed in deeply. The missing legs had been attached with sticks of rectangular cross-section and the body was afterwards perforated lengthwise with a similar stick; the clay that covered the chest has peeled off, but originally only the starting point of the perforation, next to the tail, would have been visible.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with brown inclusions; buff slip. Decorated in faded red/brown with vertical bands that

encircled the body, crossing a wider band that defined the spine. Near the rump two thin bands flank a vertical cable; the same motif decorates the sides of the neck, apparently combined with wider bands. Thinner bands outline the solidly painted hind legs. Worn and missing the legs, tail and tips of horns. Reconstructed from many fragments.

(Fig. 5; Pl. 36)

Ht. 14 cm. L. 26 cm.

790-760

**159.** Ram with long, narrow body, thick suspended tail, strip penis. The prominent pellet eyes are perched on the carelessly smoothed ridge of clay from which the heavy horns had been shaped; strip ears smeared horizontally behind the horns.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with brown and white inclusions, occasionally up to 2 ml. long. Decorated in orange/red with contour bands, filled with vertical strokes; features outlined or daubed. Missing the tips of the horns, ears and tail; legs and muzzle restored in plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces with some plaster additions.

(Fig. 4; Pl. 36)

Ht. 7.7 cm. L. 15 cm.

790-760

**160.** Ram with narrow body, widening at the chest, slightly concave back and convex belly that was compressed for the attachment of

297. Brock 1957, 207 pl. 111 no. 1565.

298. Ducat 1963, 445 fig. 13. See also com-

ments in Amyx 1988, 532-533.

the (missing) genitals. The horns had been individually attached and curled against the face, framing the disk eyes. On the slender, long and curved muzzle there is a trace of the lightly incised mouth.

Gritty brownish red clay with brown/grey inclusions and well burnished surface. Solidly painted (?) Missing the horns. Legs and tail restored in plaster. (Pl. 37)

Ht. 4.6 cm. L. 9.6 cm.

790-760

**161.** Sheep with shapeless body, compressed at the belly, prominent, pinched spine and pendent tail. A deeply pinched fold on the chest and throat emphasizes the long, curved muzzle. The closely set disk eyes are perched on the angular ridge of clay from which the horns had been shaped.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6); well polished yellowish buff slip. Decorated on each flank with a row of vertical chevrons, connected with sets of fine lines drawn on the spine; similar lines decorate the muzzle and are arranged horizontally on the sides of the neck, possibly continuing on the thighs; eyes and throat daubed. Missing the tips of the horns and the tip of the muzzle. Legs and tail restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Fig. 5; Pl. 37)

Ht. 5.1 cm. L. 13.3 cm.

790-760

**162.** Sheep's head with tubular muzzle, rounded at the tip and provided with pricked nostrils and slot mouth; disk eyes. The preserved bit of the right horn is shaped exactly like the horns of **171**.

Fine, poorly fired reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8). (Pl. 37)

L. 2.4 cm.

775-750

**163.** Ram with long, barrel-shaped body, curved hindquarters and short, flat tail. The naturalistic modeling of the genitals includes the indication of the sheath. The preserved hind legs are of uneven length

and have articulated joints as well as flat hooves, one of which is cloven. The muzzle is thin and curved, with the suggestion of a bump on the nose. Strip ears applied horizontally behind the horns, pellet eyes with impressed pupils, pricked nostrils and slot mouth. There is a hole on the chest and another under the tail, as well as three perforations across the body.

Fine reddish yellow clay (almost 7.5YR 7/6). Faint traces of paint. Front legs and part of one horn incorrectly restored with plaster; reconstructed from four pieces. (Pl. 37)

Ht. 7.3 cm. L. 12.4 cm.

c. 750

**164.** Ram very similar to **163**, but with shorter, more corpulent, body, strongly compressed at the leg joints; triangular attached tail. The surviving front leg is almost cylindrical with a flat tip, but the modeling of the preserved portion of the hind legs is naturalistic like that of **163**. The strip penis is barely perceptible and the lump of the scrotum is missing. The muzzle, partially modeled with a tool, has a triangular cross-section and features similar to those of **163**, but lacks the curved profile and is more bovine. The holes are fewer and randomly scattered.

Clay same as that of **163**. Faint traces of paint. Tool marks mainly on the head and neck. Three legs and part of one horn restored with plaster. (Pl. 37)

Ht. 7.2 cm. L. 10.9 cm.

c. 750

**165.** Lamb (?) with roughly finger-modeled body of triangular cross-section, short, almost conical, legs and small head with pellet eyes and slot mouth. All parts of the animal were pinched out of the same lump of clay.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6), yellowish buff slip. The flanks are decorated with vertical, broad and widely spaced, wavy bands. Chipped and missing three legs and part of the body. (Fig. 5; Pl. 38)

Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 8 cm.

730-720



**166.** Lamb (?) similar to **165**, modeled more ineptly but also provided with a few more details: the drooping head has, in addition to barely discernible pellet eyes, pricked nostrils placed next to the slot mouth; a small hole was pricked on either side of the short strip tail.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 8/4); pinkish buff slip. Decorated with similar wavy bands, pendent from a band that defines the spine. Legs restored in plaster. (Pl. 38)

Ht. 3.1 cm. L. 8.85 cm.

730-720

**167.** Roughly shaped head, most likely from an animal of the same kind as **165** and **166**. The top of the skull was pinched out of the thin neck and the eyes formed with slashes, while the wide open mouth was formed with the addition of a separate bit of clay.

Fine, uniformly brown clay.

Ht. 2.2. cm. L. 3 cm.

730-720

**168.** Ram with roughly finger-modeled body, perched on tip-toe on long, shapeless legs that are nicked into rudimentary hooves. The head is also roughly shaped, with completely attached strip horns, pellet eyes and carelessly incised mouth. The abdomen was hollowed out with a tool, to facilitate the attachment of the (now lost) genitals.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). Decorated with contour bands filled in loosely with wide vertical strokes; careless circles of the same red to black paint around the eyes. Chipped. (Pl. 38)

Ht. 6.1 cm. L. 7.9 cm.

730-720

**169.** Ram, pair of **168**, but larger and more corpulent. Fabric and decoration are the same.

Missing parts of the legs, tail and head. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 38)

Ht. 3.6 cm. L. 8.3 cm.

730-720

**170.** Ram's head, roughly finger-modeled, lightly compressed at the tip and provided with a slot mouth. Only one of the pellet eyes is preserved.

Very gritty orange clay (close to but lighter than 2.5YR 5/6) with white and brown inclusions and thick brownish-yellow core.

(Pl. 38)

L. 3.7 cm. Diam. 1.9 cm.

730-720

**171.** Sheep with roughly finger-modeled body, supported on shapeless, splayed legs; the root of the tail is prominently modeled. The individually attached horns frame the face on which the imprint of a pellet eye with pricked pupil is the only feature preserved; curved, featureless muzzle.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Solidly painted or dipped in purplish-red paint. Missing the greater part of the horns; reconstructed from four fragments. (Pl. 38)

Ht. 6.5 cm. L. 9.1 cm.

730-720

**172.** Sheep, pair of **171**, but with somewhat shorter and thicker body.

Clay same as that of **171**. Traces of black paint. Chipped and missing the legs, horns and muzzle. (Pl. 38)

Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 8 cm.

730-720

**173.** Ram with well smoothed and fairly corpulent body, lightly compressed on the sides, wide tail and short, thick neck. Curved, featureless muzzle, small, lightly impressed eyes.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4) with reddish core. Traces of wide contour bands in thick black paint. Missing the horns and parts of the tail and muzzle. Legs restored with plaster; reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 39)

Ht. 6 cm. L. 9.1 cm.

725-700

**174.** Ram with short, sturdy body, somewhat concave at the belly, thick, pendent tail and short, firmly planted, legs; the buttocks are

slightly curved, merging gradually into the wide hind legs. Strip penis and separately modeled sack scrotum. The tiny strip ears were smeared behind the individually attached and freely curling horns; featureless face with slender, curved muzzle.

Very gritty, reddish yellow clay (close to 7.5YR 6/6) with brown inclusions. Missing one leg and the tips of horns and tail. One leg restored in plaster. Reconstructed from four pieces with the addition of some plaster. (Pl. 39)

L. 8.5 cm. Ht. 5.6 cm.

700-675

**175.** Ram with body of almost rectangular cross-section, narrower at midriff. A wide, shallow groove, made with a tool, outlines the arch of the belly continuing along the extended, shapeless legs. Traces of applied scrotum. The head with its shapeless and featureless muzzle, is dominated by the incised eyes and brows, set high between the rudimentary horns, which are shaped like semi-circular projections. Deeply impressed holes on the body, legs and head, including four perforations through the sides.

Fine buff clay with burnished surface. Traces of black paint.

One of the legs and part of the tail restored in plaster. Reconstructed from four fragments. (Pl. 39)

Ht. 5.65 cm. L. 9.6 cm.

700-675

**176.** Ram, pair of **175**. Two additional grooves frame the spine and there are three instead of four perforations through the body. The lump scrotum is preserved.

Fabric and paint same as those of **174**. Tail restored in plaster. (Pl. 39)

Ht. 6.9 cm. L. 10.2 cm.

700-675

**177.** Two fragments of sheep, most likely by the same hand as **175-176**. The first preserves the shapeless hind legs, which are separated from each other with a slash, and a bit of the abdomen with a trace of the

penis. The second preserves one front leg, grooved with a tool on the outer side. Both fragments have scattered perforations.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6), buff slip. Faint traces of paint. (Pl. 39)

a/ Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 4.97 cm. b/ Ht. 4.9 cm.

700-675

**178.** Sheep with long, tubular body with thick tail, pinched into a triangle against the flat hindquarters; almost cylindrical, firmly planted legs. The head, supported by the upright neck, culminates into a tubular, curved muzzle and is framed by the freely but tightly curling horns. The only facial features indicated are the carelessly incised, almond-shaped eyes that are almost vertically placed.

Very coarse, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6) with reddish/ brown inclusions, well smoothed. Traces of brownish-black paint. Two of the legs and parts of the body restored in plaster. Reconstructed from four pieces.

(Pl. 40)

Ht. 10 cm. L. 13.5 cm.

660-650 or later

**179.** Ram with well modeled and smoothed body. The fleshy hindquarters are curved, with the hip bones modeled in relief and are crowned by the prominent tail, whose root projects as a ridge. The abdomen is concave to accommodate the long strip penis and sack scrotum. The preserved parts of the front legs are flat and the shoulder joints sharply defined with a curved groove. Two other grooves, which began at the base of the spirally curling, attached horns, frame the nose, separating the incised, almond-shaped eyes, which have impressed pupils. The uneven compression of the throat has created a prominent chest and a sharper profile for the left side of the head.

Gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white, grey and quartz inclusions. Faint traces of black paint. Missing the muzzle, the greater part of the legs and the horns. (Pl. 40)

Ht. 8.6 cm. L. 12.5 cm.

655-640

**180.** Head of sheep, cursorily modeled and very worn. The skull is round and clearly distinguished from the nape, just as the bulging forehead is distinguished from the muzzle through the sideways compression of the latter; pellet eyes, set close together. The horns, made of a continuous strip were unevenly shaped and the left was separated from the head by a rough slash; their (missing) tips were attached.

Very gritty, light red clay (2.5YR 6/8) with white and brown inclusions. Missing most of the horns, one eye and the muzzle tip.

(Pl. 40)

Ht. 2.8 cm. L. 2.7 cm.  
c. 650 ?

**181.** Sheep with barrel-shaped body, which was hollowed out and trimmed on the edges of the belly with a knife. Short, crooked tail; wide, strongly flattened and firmly planted legs; the joints of the hind legs are partly outlined with careless incision. The head, supported by the long, projecting neck, is framed by massive, vertically curling, horns, whose texture is indicated with lightly incised strokes. Except for the pellet eyes, the face, compressed to emphasize the ridge of the nose and curve of the muzzle, is featureless.

Fairly coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8); pinkish buff slip. Decorated in orange to black paint with panels of fine wavy lines, separated by a reserved strip along the spine. It is likely that the motif continued down the hind legs, while the front legs were decorated with converging vertical bands; on the muzzle and sides of face thin bands suggesting a headstall or leading rope.

Tool marks on much of the surface. About half of the body, one leg and one horn restored with plaster. Reconstructed from four pieces.

(Pl. 41)

Ht. 9.1 cm. L. 15.1 cm.  
c. 650

**182.** The rear part of a recumbant ram, well modeled and smoothed, with rounded hindquarters and fat triangular tail. The hind legs consist of long strips, smoothed onto the underside of the body and flattened to provide a resting surface; the crack separating them at the back was largely masked by the (now missing) scrotum.

Very coarse red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with inclusions up to 4 ml. Solidly painted.

(Pl. 41)

Ht. 4.2 cm. L. 6.1 cm.  
600-570

## VI. GOATS

As subjects of free-standing representations goats are the least favored animals of the Geometric bestiary<sup>299</sup>. Only two have been identified among the bronzes from Olympia (Table C)<sup>300</sup> and just one is known from Tegea<sup>301</sup>. The small group from the Theban Kabirion does not include any earlier than Subgeometric<sup>302</sup> and the same is true of the goat figurines found at the Pamisos sanctuary in Messenia<sup>303</sup>. Even fewer goats occur among the terracotta figurines published so far from the Mainland. Indeed none have been identified among the figurines from Olympia or Samos<sup>304</sup>.

The goat, a rare subject in Mycenaean art, was a popular Minoan motif<sup>305</sup>. The few goat figurines from Petsophas with their backward arching horns, pointed muzzles and short, flat tails, attached to the hindquarters, are the only terracotta figurines published so far<sup>306</sup>. A recently illustrated figurine of a billy goat of excellent quality from the site of Chalasmenos in East Crete, found in a LM III C context, illustrates the remarkable degree of naturalism attained by Minoan craftsmen in this period<sup>307</sup>.

Goats retained their popularity in Crete during the IA and are more common among the bronze animals found at cult sites than is the case on the Mainland. This is especially true of Syme (Table C)<sup>308</sup>. As is the case with sheep/ ram figurines, terracotta goats are not so well documented, so that it is difficult to determine why they are totally absent from the figurines found at Psychro or Ayia Triada, but are fairly well represented in the Syme (Table B) and Patsos groups<sup>309</sup>.

The goat figurines from Syme are few, even in comparison to the rams, but, in contrast to the Patsos group, they include examples of good quality and one figurine of early date. The small **183** has a close parallel among the animals that perch on the lip of an as yet unpublished kalathos found in a tomb at Kounavoi, near Knossos. The vase was part of an undisturbed secondary burial that can be

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299. Schmaltz 1980, 149 n. 346 for the use of the goat motif in various kinds of attachments.

300. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 116 nos. 920-921.

301. Voyatzis 1990, B30 pl. 77.

302. Schmaltz 1980, 149 pls. 22-23 nos. 400-409.

303. Valmin 1938, pl. 34 nos. 10-16.

304. See, however, remarks by Jarosch 1994, 65.

305. For Mycenaean goat figurines see French 1971, 162 and for a brief discussion of Minoan goats

Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 137-139 with refs.

306. Rutkowski 1991, pls. 48.3; 49.1 and 9; 44.1 and 11. For unpublished material from shrines see Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 147-151.

307. Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994, pl. VII.2. I am indebted to Dr. Tsipopoulou for allowing me to examine this figurine.

308. Schürmann 1994, 216-217.

309. For the goats from Patsos see Kourou and Karetsou 1994, nos. 38-44, 58, 61.



securely dated to the (Cretan) MPG period. The animals on the Kounavoi kalathos have longer necks and legs, but the shape of their bodies is exactly the same as that of the Syme goat<sup>310</sup>. The figurine from Syme also has formal similarities with bronzes that have been dated in the first half of the ninth century<sup>311</sup>. In comparison to Attic PG animals or bronzes from Olympia, the Cretan figurine, despite its curvilinear contours that give its body substance, has a more slender body and long legs that convey an impression of lightness and even elegance<sup>312</sup>.

A long gap separates the small **183** from **184**, whose tubular body and block-like head place it at the stage represented by the group of large MG horses from Syme (**10-16**). The smaller billy goat **185**, whose body in profile is Pi-shaped has good parallels among bronzes dated in (Attic) MG<sup>313</sup>. Although the terracotta goat was somewhat more static than the bronze animals, this difference is probably exaggerated by the fact that the incompletely preserved legs were restored with flat tips.

Despite its unimpressive appearance, the rather cursorily modeled billy goat **186** has an almost exact counterpart in a bronze figurine that comes from Syme itself (Pl. 43)<sup>314</sup>. The only difference between the bronze and the terracotta lies in the larger head of the latter that had to be supported on a shorter neck. The result is that the clay animal is heavier and more static than the bronze, but the similarity between them is extremely close. It should be noted that the horns and tail of **186**, which seemingly do not quite match those of the bronze figurine, are missing and have been restored. Both bronze and clay figurine belong in the second quarter of the eighth century.

The fragment **187** is small but of excellent quality, so that it can be easily placed alongside other animals of the third quarter of the eighth century<sup>315</sup>. The finely modeled **188** ultimately depends on bronze prototypes of the same period, such as a stag from Olympia dated c. 740<sup>316</sup>. The twins **190** and **189**, perhaps works of an apprentice, are almost caricatures of **188**, but cannot be dated much later, as the shape of their bodies indicates. The carefully made but battered head **191**, should also be dated in this period.

The head of **192** with the very thin, finely modeled muzzle, the prominent eyes and what must have been a majestic sweep of horns is marred only by the large, ungainly ears. They are the only feature that finds no counterpart in the wild goat that decorates the fragment of a Cretan stand found at Delphi, which provides a close parallel for the Syme terracotta<sup>317</sup>. Even the proportions of the neck and body are similar, although the bronze animal is modeled in less angular, more naturalistic manner. The tripod fragment is dated c. 700.

310. See above II, 6 n. 46.

311. Schmaltz 1980, pl. 2 nos. 27, 30.

312. This is evident even in comparisons with Syme bronzes, e.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 3 nos. 29-30.

313. Schürmann 1994, pl. 29 nos. 299-300.

314. Schürmann 1994, pl. 21 no. 229.

315. E.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 30 no. 309, pl. 31 no. 310.

316. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 87 no. 722.

317. Rolley 1977, pl. 52 no. 503.

Finally the large and quite carefully modeled head **193** is very similar to some of the protomes from Syme<sup>318</sup>, and also shares the predominantly white-on-black decoration of this category of zoomorphic representations from the sanctuary. It is primarily because of the decoration that a date in the Transitional period or in the first quarter of the seventh century is suggested here for **193**. A later date, however, cannot be excluded, since the decoration consists of dots or blobs, which are most common on goats and other animals around the middle of the century<sup>319</sup>.

### Catalogue

**183.** Goat with slender body, narrow at the midriff, fuller and rounded at the hindquarters, on which the flat tail is attached. The top of the skull is worn, but the horns had obviously been set close together. The preserved leg is fairly long and conical.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Probably solidly painted with reddish paint. Muzzle, tail and three of the legs restored with plaster.

(Pl. 42)

Ht. 6.5 cm. L. 6.3 cm.

900-870

**184.** Goat with long, tubular body with flat hindquarters, upright tail and tall, slender neck. The muzzle has an almost four-sided cross-section and its blunt tip carries a tiny, incised mouth, gouged nostrils and a tiny applied beard; tiny worn ears, small hole under the tail.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (darker and more brownish than 7.5YR 7/6). Decorated with broad contour bands, filled with densely packed vertical lines. Many traces of paint on the head. Chipped; tail and parts of the legs and horns restored with plaster. (Pl. 42)

Ht. 6.8 cm. L. 9.7 cm.

790-760

**185.** Billy goat with long, completely tubular body with flat hindquarters; small lump scro-

tum. On the broken head there are traces of the pellet eyes and vertically applied strip ears. The horns had been set close together at the top of the head and the tail was flat and upright.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Missing the tail and muzzle; the legs are restored with plaster.

(Pl. 42)

Ht. 3.8 cm. L. 6.4 cm.

770-750

**186.** Billy goat with short, cursorily modeled body resting on puny legs; the front pair were modeled with a knee joint. Only traces of the applied genitals are preserved. The head is shaped as the continuation of the short neck and was crowned by heavy horns, which begin very low, between the pellet eyes. Tiny applied ears and beard are the only other features indicated.

Fine yellowish buff clay, inadequately fired. Decorated with contour bands, roughly executed; an additional band around the neck, which is combined with another crossing the cheek obliquely towards the forehead may indicate a leading rope. Missing an ear; horns, tail and three legs restored in plaster.

(Pl. 43)

Ht. 8.1 cm. L. 10. cm.

775-750

318. See below X, **264** and **266**.

319. Cf. the face of the large goats on an East Greek oinochoe from Eleutherna, dated c. 640, that

is covered with dots on reserved ground (Stampolidis 2004, 258 no. 297).

**187.** Partially preserved billy goat with body well developed at the hindquarters, on which the flat, suspended tail was attached; the rear legs are well shaped and end in distinct hooves, set in oblique stance. A tiny lump and strip indicate the genitals; small hole under the tail. A bit of overflow under one of the hooves indicates that the possibility that this figurine was attached to some vessel or other object cannot be excluded.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with sparse but fairly large (up to 3 ml long) red/brown inclusions. Chipped and missing the front part. (Pl. 43)

Ht. 3.1 cm. L. 2.65 m.

750-725

**188.** Goat with fairly short, sturdy body, compressed on the sides and somewhat narrower at the midriff. The flat, S-shaped hind legs merge with the curvy hindquarters, on which the short tail is attached; a slight swelling indicates the knee on the firmly planted front legs. The horizontally extended head is naturalistically modeled with concave forehead, prominent pellet eyes, pricked nostrils, finely incised mouth and small, applied beard. The small, carefully shaped and slightly hollow, strip ears are attached sideways under the horns.

Fine reddish yellow clay (very close to 7.5YR 7/6); brownish pink, highly polished slip. Probably solidly painted with lustrous black paint. Chipped and missing the horns and two of the legs. Reconstructed from two pieces.

(Pl. 43)

Ht. 7.4 cm. L. 7.2 cm.

750-725

**189.** Goat with short body, narrow at the midriff and well developed at the rump. The upward-curling tail was finger-shaped as a continuation of the groove that separates the hindquarters. The rear legs are S-shaped and the front flat and contiguous. No facial features. Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). Worn and missing the greater part of the legs and horns; tail and muzzle chipped off. Reconstructed from four pieces. (Pl. 43)

Ht. 5.7 cm. L. 7.2 cm.

750-725

**190.** Goat, almost identical with **189**. Pellet eyes are preserved on the head and the front legs are better modeled.

Fabric same as **189**. Worn and missing the horns, tail, one leg and the tip of the muzzle. Reconstructed from four fragments. (Pl. 43)

Ht. 6.6 cm. L. 7.2 cm.

750-725

**191.** Head of goat with narrow muzzle, provided with incised mouth and nostrils; pellet eyes with pricked pupils and tiny, much worn ears attached behind the horns. The surviving bit of the nape indicates that the spine was modeled in low relief.

Fine reddish yellow clay (almost 7.5YR 7/6), buff slip. Decorated with bands of reddish-brown paint around the neck that merge with other running along the muzzle. Missing the horns. (Pl. 44)

Ht. 3.6 cm. L. 3.35 cm.

750-725

**192.** Goat with long tubular body and flat, extended tail. The head has a thin muzzle, provided with pricked nostrils, a lightly incised mouth and a beard; prominent pellet eyes and large ears attached under the heavy horns. Small hole under the tail.

Gritty pink clay (7.5YR 7/4) with some larger brown inclusions, greyish surface. Missing the greater part of the horns, the front legs and part of a rear leg. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 44)

Ht. 7.8 cm. L. 8.2 cm.

c. 700

**193.** Head of large goat with curved muzzle, somewhat compressed on the sides and slightly concave below the lower jaw; pricked nostrils and slot mouth.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Decoration very worn. Most likely the head was solidly black with white blobs added on the throat and white bands running along the sides of the muzzle. (Pl. 44)

L. of face 4.9 cm.

700-675 or post-650

## VII. DEER

The identification of **194** as the head of a deer is based as much on the position and shape of the horn stubs as on the long, slender and straight neck, which seems to be characteristic of most three-dimensional representations of this animal. Bronze Geometric figurines of deer are not common but do occur at most Mainland sanctuaries<sup>320</sup>, especially around the mid-eighth century. In Crete both bronze<sup>321</sup> and terracotta versions are rare. I know of only one certain clay example, a fragmentary figurine from Patsos that clearly depends upon bronze versions of the mid-eighth century<sup>322</sup>. This large figurine is also related to the group of contemporary bovids from Syme that share such features as the faceted muzzle and prominent eyes<sup>323</sup>. It is likely that another, very similar, but less well made deer/stag of the same period is represented by a head from Ayia Triada that has been identified as that of a bovid<sup>324</sup>.

The fragmentary **194** represents a somewhat earlier stage and appears to be a completely ceramic creation. Its closest parallel is the fragmentary wheeled horse **23**, whose muzzle is very similarly modeled and provided with very similar features. Both pieces seem to be made of the same fabric and must have been made in the same workshop, perhaps even by the same craftsman.

### Catalogue

**194.** Head of deer connected with slender, straight neck. The long rounded muzzle, slightly concave on the upper surface, was provided with a small incised mouth and tiny incised nostrils; the triangular horns were set together at the top of the narrow head with the tiny ears applied below them; disk eyes with pricked pupils.

Poorly fired, gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Decorated with bands of reddish brown paint around the neck, which merge with others running along the muzzle. (Pl. 44)

Overall l. 5.4 cm. L. of face including horns 3.5 cm.

760-750

320. Heilmeyer 1979, 148-151 with refs.

321. Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 89 pl. 22 no. 220.

322. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, figs. 70-71

no. 50; cf. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 87 no. 722.

323. See above, IV nos. **119-124**.

324. D'Agata 1999, pl. 94 D 3.25.



## VIII. BIRDS

It is difficult and, in the case of fragments, frequently impossible to separate free standing figurines of birds from bird-shaped attachments, especially since similar supports rather than legs, which were much too vulnerable, were commonly used for both. At least four of the birds found at Syme, **195-197** and **199** were free standing figurines and all four belong to post-Geometric periods, when such bird figurines became common. The head **198** is also assigned here because of its size and form. The rest of the birds, including several fragments, are discussed in chapter X, together with other attachments.

The fairly large but rather crudely made **195** conforms to the type of flying 'dove' that is fairly common in post-Geometric contexts, although not as popular as the seated type, exemplified at Syme by **199**. The large group of such birds from Corinth does not include any illustrated examples that look much like **195**, but there cannot be much doubt that its basic features, the flat body and tail, the relatively tall projections of the 'legs' in combination with the substantial head would not be out of place among the earliest Corinthian examples of the sixth century. The fragment **196** is of the same type and perhaps of the same date, while the headless **197** may be even later. It has a good parallel in Crete, which preserves the tilted head that is missing from the Syme example<sup>325</sup>, and others from Athens<sup>326</sup>. The Knossian dove has been dated tentatively in the sixth century, whereas the Agora birds have been assigned to the fifth. The underside of **197** shows that the missing support of the figurine was probably of the conical type as shown on sixth century birds from Ritsona graves<sup>327</sup>. Whether the base and body were perforated to facilitate even firing or to accommodate a stick that ensured a good join during this process cannot be determined.

The broken head **198** may be of an even later period. Despite its poor condition, it preserves the clear separation of the beak from the curve of the head, best seen in profile view. The closest parallels are with the heads of doves of the fifth and fourth centuries from Corinth and Attica<sup>328</sup>. The seated dove **199** can also be best paralleled in examples of the fourth century from Corinth, when tails are hardly differentiated from the bodies and legs become very short<sup>329</sup>.

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325. Coldstream et al. 1973, pl. 65 no. 264.

326. Lamberton and Rotroff 1985, fig. 16. For other examples from Athenian graves of the fifth century see *ADelt* 21B, 1966, 80 pl. 83.2.

327. Ure 1934, pl. 17 nos. 117.12, 104.42.

328. E.g. Stilwell 1952, pl. 41 nos. XXVII, 3, 7; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, pl. 102 no. 599.

329. Stilwell 1952, 184 pl. 41 no. XXVII, 13.

## Catalogue

**195.** Flying bird with plank-like body, thinnest at the long, tongue-shaped tail. The wings are shaped like arms; the left wing must have been attached to the tail, while the right was not. Rounded head, compressed to form the (missing) beak and short neck extended horizontally on the same level as the tail; large pellet eyes. Large perforation between the wings taking up the space between the stubs of the legs.

Gritty buff clay (fairly close to pink 7.5YR 8/4) with grey inclusions up to 2 ml. Upper surface smeared with dark red paint. (Pl. 44)

L. 7.8 cm. Ht. 2. cm.

6th cent.

**196.** Forepart of bird with outstretched neck culminating in schematically modeled head; between the open wings, which were broken off obliquely, part of a large vertical perforation, pierced from above, is preserved.

Gritty, light brown clay with grey core. Faint traces of black paint. Worn at the beak.

(Pl. 45)

L. 5 cm. Wing span 4.3 cm.

6th cent. ?

**197.** Headless flying bird, almost T-shaped, since the open wings and the tail are of similar form. The body is taken up by a large perforation, while the stump of the neck indicates that

the head was tilted up. The hole was made from below, where the surface is broken and very rough.

Very gritty, light red clay (2.5YR 6/6) with reddish brown inclusions. Missing the tips of the tail and wings. (Pl. 45)

L. 4 cm. Wing span 4.9 cm.

6th/5th cent.

**198.** Bird's head, on which the only feature preserved is the worn beak, which is clearly set-off from the head, and perhaps a worn pellet (?) eye.

Very gritty clay, brittle and burnt brown with brown inclusions. (Pl. 45)

L. 2.8 cm. Diam of neck 1.6 cm.

5th-4th cent.

**199.** Seated dove with roughly modeled long body that is supported by two stumpy legs and culminates in a broad tail. The removal of some clay under the back of the body has left two small protrusions below the tail to help balance the ungainly body. The narrow head has a broad, muzzle-like beak, divided with a feeble incision, and no discernible eyes.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) gritty to the touch. Traces of paint. Chipped.

(Pl. 45)

L. 9.5 cm. Ht. 3.8 cm.

4th cent.

## IX. UNIDENTIFIED QUADRUPEDS

This section brings together a number of fragmentary quadrupeds that cannot be identified, but can be dated with a greater or lesser degree of probability. It must be admitted, however, that in the case of the smaller fragments the date suggested is little more than a guess. The chronological range of this material is essentially the same as that of the better preserved examples. Some pieces can be paralleled among the already catalogued figurines, while others can be associated with bronzes. Only a few provide some new evidence.

The Minoan period is represented by the tiny fragment **200**, which was found within the destruction fill of Building U, but most likely belonged among earlier scraps that were built into the walls of this structure<sup>330</sup>. The total absence of solidly made Minoan terracotta animals that can be identified as free-standing figurines<sup>331</sup> and the minuscule size of this piece suggest that it was an attachment rather than a figurine, although there are no traces of attachment on the surviving scrap. Animal figurines of this period from peak shrines were sometimes provided with distinct tails of various kinds, but I know of no parallel for the peculiar manner in which the prominent tail of **200** was attached to the tiny body.

The PG period is also represented by a single example, **201**, which is similar to **92** or **157** but somewhat less compact<sup>332</sup>. **202** has been assigned to a later phase because its body seems to have lost the volume of the earlier animals and is more angular, while **203** has fairly good parallels among some of the EG bronzes from Syme<sup>333</sup>.

The MG period is the best represented among these fragments. Some pieces, such as **204**, the fragmentary head **207** and the headless **208**, have very close parallels among the rest of the Syme material. The first is almost identical with the little horse **20**, except for the cross-section of the neck. The small animals **205** and **206** most likely also belong with **204** to this MG group of rather small, inert figurines with relatively long, vertically extended legs<sup>334</sup>. The body of **208** is very close to **161**, which seems to have been made of the same fabric and may be by the same hand, while the carefully made muzzle **207** can be readily associated with the group of the large MG horses **10-14**. The shape and fabric of **209** are distinctive enough,

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330. See above I, 1.

331. See also below X, 87-88 no. **252**.

332. For the elongation of the midriff see Schürmann 1994, pl. 3 no. 29, although the bronze, like all others of this period from Syme, has much shorter legs than those that have been restored in

place of the missing limbs of **201**.

333. Cf. in particular Schürmann 1994, pl. 4 no. 31.

334. For **206** in particular see Schürmann 1994, pl. 14 no. 159, which has a similarly elongated body, somewhat wider at the rump.

despite its sorry state, to permit its association with other large figures of this period, such as the ram **158** and the stallion **12**.

Other fragmentary animals in this group, such as **210** and **211**, whose bodies are compressed on the sides and narrower at the midriff, while their legs are long and extended, find better parallels among the bronzes than the terracottas<sup>335</sup>. The same is true of **212**, which correlates well with a group of late MG bronze animals, several of which also have a gaping mouth that gives them a livelier appearance than their posture merits. Some of them continued to be tubular with vertical legs like **212**, but others have more developed bodies with narrow midribs and rounded hindquarters<sup>336</sup>, like several terracottas from Syme — the pair **215-216**, the related fragment **217** as well as **220**, **214** and the better preserved **218**<sup>337</sup> and **219**. At the very end of this period, i.e. around the middle of the eighth century, belong the worn **223** (which is even more extreme in its thin cross-section than the contemporary horses **25** and **28**) as well as **222**. The decoration of **222** also refers to horses, since it occurs on **29**, which is a bit later<sup>338</sup>.

It is of some interest that among this group there are three pieces (**210**, **211** and **212**) that are made of red clay, which is not otherwise represented among the other early figurines from Syme<sup>339</sup>.

The shape of the body and head of **225** indicate a date in the fourth rather than the third quarter, while the rough surface of the body suggests the transitional period 730-720<sup>340</sup>. The battered surface of **226**, which was part of a large figurine, also preserves fingerprints and is shaped very much like the finger-modeled ram **169** and can be dated in the same period. This is also true of the ungainly and roughly finished **232**, which is also very similar to the same ram figurine. Finally, **227** with its thin, pinched body finds good parallels among the equally poorly made 'lamb' **166** and several other similarly made pieces. The small fragment **228** could not have been dated on its own, but is of the same fabric and almost exactly the same shape with the non-joining rump of **127** and can be assigned to the same phase<sup>341</sup>. The fragment **229** is also impossible to date on its own, but can be related to the well preserved bulls **125** and **126** through its fabric and the manner in which the genitals were attached to the abdomen, which is the same in all three figurines. Whether **229** is of the same date as the other two or later, it must have originated in the same workshop. The same is true of **230**, which

335. Schürmann 1994, pl. 16. For the closest shape among Syme terracottas see **160**.

336. For examples of both approaches see Schürmann 1994, pl. 21.

337. Cf. Schürmann 1994, pl. 26 nos. 277-278.

338. For good parallels of **222** see Schürmann 1994, pl. 26 no. 274. A less distinctively shaped piece, like **213**, most likely belongs in this period, on the basis of its totally cylindrical shape, undifferen-

tiated surface and slightly extended hind legs.

339. See below XII, 118-119; 166-170.

340. See III, 22 and for further discussion XII, 120-121.

341. **240** cannot be dated closely but its careful workmanship, rounded forms and to some extent its fabric indicate a date in the LG period; the same is true of the worn head **224**.



is very similar with **229** and of the same fabric, but has a wider body and belongs in the fourth quarter of the eighth century.

The front view of the minute animal **234** reveals a very broad chest that suggests a date in the fourth quarter of the eighth century. This may also be the chronological range of the strange figurine **233**, to judge by the rounded shape of its head. The long neck and the bent, boneless legs that are reminiscent of the legs of the team **33** suggest that this quadruped may have been meant to represent a horse. Several other fragments (**230**, **235-239**) can be assigned to the same period or later on the basis of their wide, corpulent bodies that were shaped through pressure on the back and the belly. In the case of **238** and **230** the compression was extreme, resulting in a distorted, rectangular cross-section. The identification of **239** as part of a conjoined team of horses is tenuous, but does account for most of the features of this scrappy piece. The headless **241** is very similarly shaped and of closely similar fabric with the bovid **141** and may also be of the Transitional period.

The seventh century is represented by **242**, whose heavy, tool-shaped body and legs do not fit in any other period, and also by **243** and **244**. The body of **243** is very close to that of the seated ram **182**, while **244**, with its bulbous muzzle and carelessly slashed features has good parallels in this period<sup>342</sup>.

Whether **245** represents a lion depends on the identification of a protrusion on the side of the head as an ear and, in general, the absence of any feature that can be associated with characteristics of the four species represented in the corpus of quadrupeds from Syme. The figurine of a reclining lion is also exceptional among the bronze animals from Syme<sup>343</sup>. **245** is so worn that the pose cannot be determined, but the elongated body, the non-existent neck and the seemingly frontal development of the head are more suitable features for a reclining rather than standing figure. The same features also suggest a post-Geometric date.

### Catalogue

**200.** Minuscule, partially preserved quadruped, with tubular body supported by shapeless, widely splayed legs; disproportionately large tail, not incorporated into the curved rump. Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). Many traces of dull red paint. (Pl. 45)  
Ht. 1.95 cm. L. 1.95 cm.  
MM II or earlier

widening gradually towards the fleshy hindquarters, where the short, thick tail had been attached.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/8) with yellowish white surface. Many traces of dark brown paint. Chipped and missing the tip of the tail and the legs, which have been restored. (Pl. 45)

Ht. 4.3 cm. L. 8.2 cm.

**201.** Headless quadruped with narrow body,

900-850

342. D'Agata 1999, pl. 91 no. D.3.6, which is more carefully made and can be readily connected

with bronze protomes.

343. Schürmann 1994, pl. 59 no. 531.

**202.** Partially preserved horned quadruped (bovid?), whose body is somewhat compressed behind the short neck, above the joints of the widely extended front legs. Triangular, featureless face, concave skull and horns that slanted backwards.

Gritty clay, uniformly brown even at the breaks (close to 7.5YR 5/4), well smoothed. Missing the rear part of the body, legs and horns. (Pl. 45)

Ht. 3.4 cm. L. 3.8 cm.

810-790

**203.** Partially preserved headless quadruped (horse?) with body of oval cross section, almost vertical, long neck and short, roughly triangular, splayed legs.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with greyish core. Preserves only the front part with most of one leg. (Pl. 45)

Ht. 5.5 cm. L. 4.35 cm.

810-790

**204.** Headless quadruped (horse?), very similar to **20**, but with neck of curcular cross-section. Long, slender body, cursorily modeled, although some of the roughness of the surface is due to the lumpy, poorly levigated fabric. Long legs with rounded tips, extended tail.

Fine but lumpy reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8). Decorated in black with simple contour lines connected with bands running down the legs. Missing three legs. (Pl. 46)

Ht. 3.5 cm. L. 5.7 cm.

790-750

**205.** Small, headless quadruped (goat?) with tubular body, totally flat hindquarters, slightly spread legs and raised tail.

Gritty, reddish yellow clay (between 7.5YR 7/6 and 7/8) with grey inclusions. Missing the front of the body and the greater part of the hind legs. (Pl. 46)

Ht. 2.4 cm. L. 3.4 cm.

790-750

**206.** Small, headless quadruped (horse?). Long, tubular body with vertical neck, triangular, droopy tail and vertical legs.

Gritty, light brown clay with brown inclusions up to 2 ml. Faint traces of brown paint. Missing the greater part of the legs; reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 46)

Ht. 2.5 cm. L. 4.2 cm.

790-750

**207.** Muzzle of large quadruped, compressed just before the tip to emphasize the lower jaw, and provided with deeply and carefully impressed nostrils and slot mouth.

Gritty light red clay (2.5YR 6/6), shading into buff on the surface. Traces of bands along and around the muzzle; throat and mouth daubed with paint. (Pl. 46)

L. 2.9 cm.

790-750

**208.** Headless male quadruped with body somewhat compressed on back and belly; the surviving front legs are conical and slightly knicked at the tips; tail similar to that of **236** but bulkier; trace of lump scrotum.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6). Faint traces of reddish paint. Two legs and part of chest restored with plaster. (Pl. 46)

Ht. 4.8 cm. L. 7 cm.

790-750

**209.** Body of male quadruped (bull?), of triangular cross-section with prominently modeled spine. Traces of the following features can be discerned: the penis, the thick tail, the rear legs, which were extended, and the right ear.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with thick grey core and angular schist inclusions. A bit of the original surface that remains on the right shoulder, preserves traces of a wide band in faded black. (Pl. 46)

Ht. 8.5 cm. L. 18 cm.

790-750

**210.** Headless quadruped with body of oval cross-section, swollen at the chest and high at the rump; small hole under tail.

Very gritty, yellowish red clay (5YR 5/6) with inclusions up to 2.5 ml. Legs and part of body restored with plaster; reconstructed from fragments. (Pl. 47)

Ht. 5.2 cm. L. 10.5 cm.  
790-750

**211.** Partially preserved quadruped with body of oval cross-section and relatively long, slender, somewhat flattened legs.

Very coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8) with brownish surface. Missing large parts of the body and head and heavily restored with plaster. (Pl. 47)

Ht. 7.1 cm. L. 10.5 cm.  
790-750

**212.** Partially preserved horned quadruped (bull?) with almost tubular body, very short, thick neck and fairly short, widely splayed legs. The head has a flat forehead and nose, which is provided with enormous, impressed nostrils; deeply slotted mouth.

Very coarse, reddish yellow clay (somewhat darker than 5YR 6/8). Traces of black paint. Much worn and missing the rear part of the body, the horns and part of the lower jaw. (Pl. 47)

Ht. 7.4 cm. L. 7.25 cm.  
790-750

**213.** Partially preserved quadruped with tubular body, raised tail and contiguous hind legs.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6), poorly fired. Preserves the rear part of the body with part of the legs and the root of the tail. (Pl. 47)

Ht. 3.7 cm. L. 5.2 cm.  
790-750

**214.** Partially preserved male quadruped with bulky body of almost triangular cross-section; traces of detached lump scrotum.

Coarse reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with red, brown and white inclusions and grey core; pinkish buff slip. Preserves the hindquarters with the root of the tail and the upper part of the hind legs. (Pl. 47)

Ht. 4.9 cm. L. 9.9 cm.  
790-750

**215.** Partially preserved quadruped with body

of oval cross-section, flat hindquarters and suspended tail. Small hole under the tail.

Very coarse clay with brown/grey inclusions, light orange at the core, yellowish buff and powdery on the surface. Traces of paint. Only the rear part is preserved, missing most of the legs and the tip of the tail. (Pl. 48)

Ht. 6.6 cm. L. 8.7 cm.  
775-750

**216.** Partially preserved pair of **215**.

Clay same as that of **215**. Many traces of dark red/brown paint. Marks of a pointed tool, which was used to separate the closely set legs with a groove. Cracked and missing the legs and most of the tail. (Pl. 48)

Ht. 5.4 cm. L. 9 cm.  
775-750

**217.** Fragment of belly and chest with a trace of front legs.

Clay same as that of **215**, yellowish buff slip.  
Ht. 3.5 cm. L. 5.5 cm.  
775-750

**218.** Headless quadruped (horse?) with short body, somewhat compressed at the midriff, thick, raised tail and long, conical legs; the surviving leg is slightly bent at the tip. The nape is slightly pinched just before the broken neck.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with yellowish brown core. Traces of red paint. Missing the greater part of three legs, part of the body and the tip of the tail. (Pl. 48)

Ht. 7.8 cm. L. 9.2 cm.  
775-750

**219.** Small headless quadruped with narrow body, widening towards chest and hindquarters, and raised tail.

Gritty pinkish brown clay with yellowish grey core. Many traces of paint.

Chipped and missing legs and tail. (Pl. 48)  
Ht. 2 cm. L. 3.9 cm.  
775-750

**220.** Partially preserved quadruped, whose body widens perceptively to the rounded rump; suspended and twisted tail. Between the

thick hind legs there is the clear imprint of a finger, while the belly was smoothed with a tool.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Preserves only the hindquarters with part of the tail and hind legs. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 4.9 cm. L. 7.5 cm.

775-750

**221.** Small headless quadruped with cursorily modeled body and raised tail.

Fine, soft reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Solidly painted. Chipped and missing the tail and the greater part of the legs. Part of body and legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from three pieces. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 2.25 cm. L. 3.7 cm.

760-750

**222.** Fragmentary quadruped (horse?) that preserves only a bit of the chest and one of the widely splayed front legs.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with light grey core. Decorated with rows of tiny holes pricked along the contour of the body, down the legs and around the base of the neck.

Traces of black paint. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 4.5 cm. L. 3.7 cm.

770-750

**223.** Headless male quadruped with very thin body of triangular cross section. On the belly traces of applied long penis.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8) with brown and orange inclusions. Only the beginning of one hind leg is preserved. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 4.1 cm. L. 13 cm.

750-740

**224.** Head of horned quadruped with tubular muzzle, compressed on all sides to make the tip more prominent; slot mouth, prick nostrils and pellet eyes, of which only one is preserved.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with grey core. Worn. (Pl. 49)

H. 2.4 cm. L. 2.9 cm.

750-725 ?

**225.** Partially preserved horned quadruped (ram?), with long, cursorily finger-smoothed

body, narrower at midriff. The top of the skull is rounded and the horns seem to have angled forward; on the side the imprint of a pellet eye is discernible.

Fine, soft pink clay (close to 7.5YR 8/4) with light orange core; traces of buff slip and black paint. Missing the hindquarters, the legs and most of the muzzle. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 2.95 cm. L. 6.3 cm.

730-720

**226.** Partially preserved quadruped with finger-modeled body.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6), pinkish buff slip. Traces of linear decoration. Only part of the battered body is preserved, reconstructed from three pieces. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 4.6 cm. L. 7.6 cm.

730-720

**227.** Quadruped with thin body of triangular cross section. All parts of the body were pinched out of one piece of clay, including the head, which projects horizontally and has a long muzzle with no discernible features.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Traces of black paint. Chipped. Three legs reconstructed with plaster. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 3.5 cm. L. 7 cm.

730-720

**228.** Fragmentary quadruped. Only the rump and the root of the tail are preserved. Very similar to the non-joining rear part of **127**.

Coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with white, brown/grey inclusions. (Pl. 49)

Ht. 3.8 cm. L. 4.1 cm.

730-720

**229.** Partly preserved quadruped with tubular body. The hindquarters are flat with a slight depression in which the, 'naturalistically' divided, sack scrotum was attached by pressure exerted on either side of the abdomen.

Very gritty red clay (2.5YR 4/6) with white, brown and quartz inclusions up to 3 ml. Traces of black paint. Only the rear part is preserved, missing legs and tail. Reconstructed from small fragments. (Pl. 49)



Ht. 4.9 cm. L. 4.7 cm.  
725-700 ?

**230.** Partly preserved body of quadruped, compressed on back and belly.  
Very gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white and shiny schist inclusions. Traces of pointed tool between the closely set legs. Only part of the body and of two legs are preserved. (Pl. 49)  
Ht. 4 cm. L. 3.8 cm.  
725-700 or later

**231.** Headless male quadruped with short and thick body somewhat narrower at midriff and supported by thick, slightly spread legs; thick, probably extended tail. Clear traces of genitals.  
Fairly coarse, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with white and grey inclusions up to 2.5-3 ml. Missing the greater part of the legs and the tail. (Pl. 50)  
Ht. 5.9 cm. L. 9.3 cm.  
725-700

**232.** Headless quadruped with roughly modeled body, short, shapeless legs and equally shapeless pinched tail. Large perforation across the middle of the body.  
Very gritty reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/8) with reddish brown inclusions. Faint traces of paint. Reconstructed from three pieces. Legs restored with plaster. (Pl. 50)  
Ht. 5.1 cm. L. 7.9 cm.  
725-700

**233.** Reclining quadruped (horse?) with elongated tubular body, long, bent neck and short, flipper-like legs, which are all bent backwards. The much abraded, lumpy head has pricked nostrils and eyes, which may have originally been large pellets with pricked pupils. On the rump traces of the missing tail that was attached to the right leg.  
Fine clay, fired buff with pink core. Probably solidly painted or dipped in reddish paint. Front legs restored with plaster. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 50)  
Ht. 2.7 cm. L. 7.7 cm  
725-700

**234.** Partly preserved minuscule quadruped with tubular body and tiny head, provided with pellet eyes, pricked nostrils and mouth as well as relatively large ears, smeared on behind the eyes.  
Fine very pale brown clay (10YR 7/4). Missing most of the body and the legs. (Pl. 50)  
Ht. 1.7 cm. L. 2.3 cm.  
725-700

**235.** Partially preserved, large quadruped with tubular body, slightly compressed at back and belly and supported on short and thick, firmly planted legs.  
Very coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/8) with red/brown inclusions. Preserves only the rear part of the body, missing the tail and part of one leg. (Pl. 50)  
Ht. 8.9 cm. L. 7.3 cm.  
725-700 or later

**236.** Headless quadruped with body that was strongly compressed on back and belly; flat hindquarters with triangular, attached tail; strip penis and (now missing) lump scrotum.  
Very coarse, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 6/6) with grey core; worn yellowish buff slip. Faint traces of vertical bands on the flanks. Legs restored with plaster. (Pl. 50)  
Ht. 4 cm. L. 11 cm.  
725-700

**237.** Headless quadruped, very similar to **236**, but with longer, twisted tail, attached to right leg. Clay same as that of **236**. Traces of paint. Legs restored with plaster. (Pl. 50)  
Ht. 3.7 cm. L. 9.7 cm.  
725-700

**238.** Partially preserved male quadruped with body so strongly compressed on back and belly that its cross-section is almost rectangular. Traces of detached strip penis. The surviving rear part of the body is perforated horizontally twice, between and just above the (missing) hind legs.  
Coarse red clay (close to 2.5YR 5/6) with white and grayish brown inclusions with grey core; brownish buff slip, well smoothed and pol-

ished. Missing the front part of the body and the tail. (Pl. 50)

Ht. 3.3 cm. L. 4.6 cm.

725-700 or later

**239.** Partly preserved half of a joined team of horses (?) that consists of the headless body and part of the single front leg. The missing half had been pressed against the flank, raising a ridge along the body and bending the neck and surviving front leg sideways. The very narrow break of the neck suggests a horse.

Coarse reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with reddish brown inclusions. (Pl. 50)

Ht. 4 cm. L. 8 cm.

725-700

**240.** Partially preserved quadruped with body of oval cross-section and well smoothed pendent tail.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6) with greyish core; pinkish buff slip; many traces of dark red to brown paint. Only the hindquarters with the root of the tail are preserved.

(Pl. 51)

Ht. 2.9 cm. L. 3.5 cm.

LG

**241.** Headless quadruped with body of oval cross section, flat hindquarters and freely swinging tail. The surviving leg is short and conical with a flat tip.

Very gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white, grey and quartz inclusions. Solidly painted with densely black paint and polished. Missing the chest. Legs and tail restored with plaster.

(Pl. 51)

Ht. 4.85 cm. L. 8.1 cm.

710-700

**242.** Partly preserved, horned quadruped with body of irregular cross-section, which,

just like the short, shapeless legs was shaped with a tool. On the massive, rounded head a worn pellet eye is preserved.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (closest to 7.5YR 7/6) with yellowish grey core and white, red and brown inclusions. Faint traces of black paint. Only the front part is preserved minus the horns and the greater part of the muzzle. Reconstructed from two fragments.

(Pl. 51)

Ht. 8.2 cm. L. 6.2 cm.

7th cent

**243.** Partly preserved quadruped with body of oval cross-section and short tail attached to flat hindquarters.

Very gritty, red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white, grey and quartz inclusions up to 2.5 ml. Traces of black paint. Preserves the rear part without the legs and the tip of the tail. Chipped.

(Pl. 51)

Ht. 2.7 cm. L. 5.3 cm.

Late 7th cent.

**244.** (PL. 000) Muzzle of large quadruped, with bulbous tip, carelessly gauged nostrils and wide but shallow, slashed mouth.

Gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/8). Chipped.

(Pl. 51)

L. 3.5 cm.

7th cent.

**245.** Small quadruped with long body, to which the shapeless head is directly attached. A worn protrusion on the right side of the head may indicate an ear. On the face itself two tiny pricked holes may indicate the eyes.

Gritty orange-brown clay with brown grit. Missing the legs and tail; reconstructed from two pieces.

(Pl. 51)

Ht. 2.3 cm. L. 5.5 cm.

7th or 6th cent.

## X. ATTACHMENTS

This chapter brings together solidly made animal representations that were originally attached to vessels and other objects. A few zoomorphic attachments that are partly hollow and some representations executed partially in relief are also included. The bulk of these objects are of post-Minoan date. The few Minoan scraps discussed here are indicative of the chronological range of this material and also hint at the existence of clay votives that are otherwise undocumented so far.

The battered head of a bovid **246**, which served as the spout of a coarse vessel, can be securely dated, since it has a very close parallel from Quartier Mu at Malia, which differs only in being somewhat smaller<sup>344</sup>. The close similarity of the heads and of their fabric suggests that the Syme spout was attached to a vessel that originated at Malia.

The even more battered fragment **247** can be identified only by comparison with the protome of a wild goat from Zakro that had been attached to a vessel<sup>345</sup>. There is an earlier vase, a small jug from Kamilari<sup>346</sup>, as well as several rhyta from the old excavations at Palaikastro that preserve such attachments<sup>347</sup>, but the protome from Zakro is the closest parallel of the sad remnant of such an element from Syme. Several broken-off horns of wild goats that most likely came from such protomes have also been found at Syme, but none is of the same fabric as **247**. Some horns have scalloped edges like those of the Zakro protome and are smeared with very similar dark red paint (**248**, **250**); a matching pair (**251**) has neatly incised strokes along the upper edge. The Zakro protome is dated in LM I.

Although it cannot be excluded that **252** was a free-standing figurine, it is considered here for two reasons. Firstly because the flattened areas of the legs and underside make better sense in an animal perched on the rim of a vessel than in a free-standing terracotta, and secondly because as a figurine rather than as an attachment **252** would be an unicum at Syme<sup>348</sup>. It could be argued that this was the best the craftsman could do in attempting to make a small-scale clay version of a galloping bull, but this argument cannot explain why the legs of **252**, in addition to being extended, as the pose of the flying gallop requires, are also spread widely apart.

Galloping bulls are mainly known from two-dimensional representations dating

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344. Detournay, Poursat and Vandenabeele 1980, 112 fig. 155 no. 160.

345. Zervos 1956, fig. 442 Ht. 12.5 cm.

346. Levi 1961-1962, 76 fig. 96.

347. Sackett, Popham and Warren 1965, 258

pl. 72f.

348. The tiny fragment **200** was most likely also an attachment but has not been assigned to this category for reasons already explained (IX, 79).

in LM I-III<sup>349</sup>. Three-dimensional versions are rare and only the bronze group in the British Museum is comparable to 252<sup>350</sup>. The pose of the bronze bull is, in turn, very close to that of animals portrayed in bull leaping scenes impressed on sealings from various sites in Crete<sup>351</sup> and almost as daring in its leg extension. The body of the Syme terracotta, albeit considerably more compact, is of the same shape and so is the short and thick neck. In addition the mutilated head was positioned similarly, the horns extended upwards and the tail was raised. In view of these similarities, a date in the LM I period seems appropriate for the Syme bull.

Animal-shaped attachments continued to be popular in Crete from the PG period through the seventh century as decorative elements of various types of vessels and lids; animal- and bird-shaped spouts as well as plastic vases in bird form are also widely attested throughout this time.

In view of the variety of vessels and objects that bore zoomorphic attachments, the function and associations of the detached and fragmentary pieces found at Syme cannot always be determined. Many are identifiable as protomes that decorated dinoi or were attached to lids. Although this class of material has many parallels from other sites, it remains difficult to deal with. It is not always feasible to distinguish between them, since protomes attached to lids were sometimes given long, bent necks like those attached to dinoi, while matching lids, decorated with almost identical animal heads, were not uncommon. Dating this fragmentary material is also difficult. Even when metal prototypes were clearly the inspiration, as in the case of the dinoi decorated with griffin protomes, the gap separating models and imitations in terms of size, accuracy of detail and quality of execution is sometimes so great that proposing a connection becomes almost ludicrous. It does not, however, follow that inept imitations are necessarily of later date than better made or more faithful versions. An additional difficulty lies in the identification of the animals portrayed, not only because of their summary execution, but also because the features of different species were sometimes conflated.

Lids with animal-shaped knobs are best documented from the cemeteries of Knossos<sup>352</sup> and Arkadhes<sup>353</sup> as well as the sanctuary of Athena at Gortyn<sup>354</sup>. In a recent overview J.N. Coldstream has traced the development of Cretan lids from c. 850 when the series begins under Attic influence with conical lids provided with knobs of the same shape. In the latter part of the ninth century another type of lid,

349. For all relevant material see Younger 1995. For a clay figurine that copies the more stationary scene of an acrobat hanging on to the bull's horn see Detournay, Poursat and Vandenabeele 1980, 110-111 fig. 150 with refs.

350. Younger 1976, no. I.6 pl. 20, fig. 3. The ivory group from Knossos of uncertain date preserves only parts of the leapers. A bronze bull from Syme that is portrayed in a similar pose has been

dated in the seventh century (Schürmann 1994, 158 pl. 54 no. 502).

351. E.g. CMS II, 6 no. 102 from Gournia.

352. Coldstream 1994; see also Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, 221-222; Brock 1957, 164-165.

353. Levi 1927-1929, 497-499 fig. 592-D.

354. Johannowsky 2002, 4-22, 73-74.



shaped like a shield, is introduced. Both conical and domed lids continued to be made until the end of the O period<sup>355</sup>.

It has been repeatedly noted that domed lids had a “life of their own”<sup>356</sup> and were not specifically made to fit the vessels that they covered. They sometimes occur in similarly painted sets in tombs<sup>357</sup> and have also been found in settlements and sanctuaries<sup>358</sup>. They were often brightly decorated and, in the LG period, regularly provided with a pair of suspension holes on the rim. The decorative patterns remained conservative, so that the lids of the LG and Transitional phases have an archaizing appearance.

The publication of much new material from Knossos dated in the early and middle phases of the Geometric period suggests that animal protomes were primarily a feature of the PGB, the LG and O periods and were often attached to domed lids. As already mentioned, some protomes have a sharply bent neck, indicating that the lids to which they were attached were meant to be viewed in suspended position<sup>359</sup>. A variety of animals appear on the lids, most of which also occur in the material from Syme<sup>360</sup>.

There is an obvious connection between these clay lids and the bronze votive shields with central zoomorphic bosses. The influence of metalwork on Cretan pottery in the Geometric period and in the seventh century has often been noted. In the case of the lids, whose very form reflected metal prototypes, Coldstream has remarked that the change in their decoration during LG, when concentric zones of motifs were painted in white on a dark background, may have been motivated by a desire to simulate the engraved decoration of bronze shields. It is hardly surprising

355. Coldstream 1994.

356. Coldstream and Catling 1996, 144.

357. Coldstream 1994, 119 n. 79-80.

358. According to Coldstream et al. 1973, 119 only this type was found in the Demeter sanctuary at Knossos.

359. E.g. Brock 1957, pl. 90 no. 1322, pl. 160 no. 1267; Coldstream and Catling 1996, pl. 92, nos. 14.3, 14.43.

360. The doe and the horse do not occur among the Syme material. The doe is known from Knossos (Payne 1927-1928, pl. 10.4 no. 164; Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, pl. 20.3, and probably also Brock 1957, no. 1414, pl. 107 = Stampolidis, Karetsoy and Kanta 1998, 134 no. 226, usually identified as a calf). The horse was particularly popular in east Crete from the PGB to the LO period (Kavousi: HN 769 donated by Sir Arthur Evans. Unknown provenance: Orsi 1897,

261-262 fig. 10. Vrokastro: Hall 1914, fig. 56B and C = Hayden 1991, fig. 11, pl. 53 nos. 31-33. Adromyloi: Droop 1905-1906, 2 examples, 56-57 fig. 22), but also occurs at other sites (Knossos: Hartley 1930-1931, 108 fig. 33 nos. 2-3; Higgins 1971, 280, pl. 45 no. 39 and Coldstream et al. 1973, pl. 65 no. 261. Gortyn: Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. 38 nos. 272a-b; for a rare protome attached to the lip of a vessel see Johannowsky 2002, pl. 30 no. 300. Ayia Triada: Banti 1941-1943, fig. 38). The lids from Gortyn and the lid from Adromyloi decorated in the polychrome manner indicate that the manufacture of tall lids with handles in the shape of horse protomes was a long and persistent tradition in Crete that owed nothing to bronze prototypes. Indeed these lids served as prototypes for a unique bronze lid from Syme, dated c. 725-700 (Schürmann 1994, 172 pl. 60 no. 538).

then that the *lion* heads, which were used almost exclusively as the central bosses on the bronze shields, should also be popular on lids<sup>361</sup>.

The most interesting representation of a lion from Syme does not occur on a lid but is just as closely connected with the metal shields. The abbreviated front half of the animal with the head modeled in the round and the front legs shown in relatively high relief is a motif that occurs on many shields on which the lion's paws are superposed on other figures<sup>362</sup>. The motif was meant to be viewed in vertical position, but **253** has no suspension holes and neither does the almost identical, albeit smaller, **254**. The underside of **253** is fairly rough and has a large, deep hole in its center. This is not, however, true of **254**, the underside of which is quite smooth. It is likely, therefore, that a stick had been pushed into the center of **253** to secure the join of head and base during firing, whereas for the smaller **254** this had not been necessary. Both objects should, therefore, be considered as bases rather than plaques. Their maker and the votaries who dedicated them probably cared more for the representation of the animal itself rather than for its correct display.

In view of the rough workmanship of **253** and **254**, dating them would have been difficult, even if the lion heads had been preserved. The adaptation of the motif for a purpose completely different from its original function suggests some chronological distance from the prototypes, but, given the boundless imagination and inventiveness of Cretan craftsmen, this gap need not have been very long. A date late in the LG period, when such motifs were being used in various media, seems reasonable<sup>363</sup>.

**255**, a rare find since it is still attached to part of a lid, clearly belongs among the 'Subgeometric' group of clay lion protomes known from Crete. It shares their large pellet eyes and rounded ears, as well as the snarling mouth with the prominently displayed teeth. All these lions belong to the Neohittite type that is prevalent on the shields and other early Cretan representations of the beast, but the mane, skin markings and the characteristic facial furrows are either omitted or suggested by painted patterns. The only features that distinguish the Syme head are that the teeth are plastically indicated, while the mane is further emphasized with a pricked pattern.

The googly-eyed **255** seems quite realistic when compared with the tiny, naively made head **257**, which is barely identifiable as a lion by its wide mouth and incised

361. The debate over the precise position occupied by the shields in Cretan art in stylistic and chronological terms has been usefully summarized by Blome 1982, 15-23. See also Boardman 1967, esp. 59. Despite determined attempts to lower the chronology, recent research has re-affirmed the dates proposed by Kunze in his original publication of the material. See in particular, Stampolidis 2004,

281-282 no. 360 for the shield/lid from Eleutherna and its find context, and for a recent assessment in the light of new finds from the cave Matthäus 2000a, esp. 536; 2005, 317-323.

362. Kunze 1931, nos. 5, 8, 9; *BCH* 74, 1950, pl. 38.2.

363. Coldstream 1982; Matthäus 2003.

'teeth' and 'mane'. The long, thin neck of this protome was probably attached to a small dinos rather than a lid, although its maker's awareness of metal cauldrons decorated with lion protomes must have been hazy at best. Its closest parallel is the larger, better made and perhaps earlier lion protome from the Athenian Agora, dated in the first quarter of the seventh century<sup>364</sup>. The similarity of the fabric and slip with those of the three griffin protomes **285** suggests that the Syme protome cannot be much later.

In contrast to these handmade pieces, the mouldmade head **256** is impressive and perhaps just as early, as it bears a distinct similarity to the central boss on the shield found in Tomb L at Aphrati, dated by Kunze c. 700<sup>365</sup>. There is no way to determine what object this large piece decorated any more than there is for the even more baffling **258**. Mouldmade lion masks of this type were widely used in Crete in the seventh century as decorative elements on plaques and vessels, from small cosmetic bottles to large pithoi, but the shape of **258** makes it an unlikely attachment for either vessel or plaque. There is no difficulty, however, in relating the lion's head to others produced in Crete by the same method around the middle of the seventh century. It bears a close resemblance to the leonine heads attached to an unguent bottle in Hamburg, which was published by Hampe<sup>366</sup> and attributed to a workshop active at Arkadhes in the middle of the seventh century; among its products is the well known lion vase from Tomb L<sup>367</sup>. The Syme appliqué should be approximately contemporary with the attachment of the Heidelberg lion bowl. Both of them are close to the cat-like lion heads that appear on some bronze shields<sup>368</sup>.

The small handmade **259** is also of the same type and on the whole better made than its close parallel, which is attached to a lid from Gortyn, most likely of the LO period<sup>369</sup>.

The two protomes, **260** and **261**, which were most likely made by the same craftsman are even more artless representations of the king of beasts. The open mouth with the traces of the protruding tongue and the applied 'teeth' of **261** identify it and by extension also **260** as leonine. Despite their pellet eyes and smooth, almost bovine faces<sup>370</sup>, they have the upright, hollowed out ears of Orientalizing lions and their hollow, flanged neck is probably a feature borrowed from bronze protomes that were sometimes made separately and riveted onto the center of the shields<sup>371</sup>. Two other lion protomes in private collections, which, according to Hampe, were made

364. Brann 1962, 76 pl. 23 no. 402.

365. Levi 1927-1929, fig. 440, pl. 22 = Kunze 1931, no. 11, pl. 28.

366. Hampe 1969, pl. 21.

367. Hampe 1969, pls. 1-3; Levi 1927-1929, fig. 281 = Hampe 1969, pls. 7b, 8.

368. E.g. Kunze 1931, pl. 26 no. 10.

369. Stampolidis, Karetsoy and Kanta 1998, no. 228.

370. The fact that the lower half of the jaw is missing makes this impression much stronger than the modeling warrants.

371. Kunze 1935-1936, 71-72 pl. 25 no. 9, pl. 29 no. 12. For bull protomes see below n. 374. Some of the solid-cast bull protomes also had wholly or partly hollow-cast necks, e.g. Herrmann 1968, nos. A24, A28 from Olympia.

in the same mould as the head of the lion on the bowl from Arkadhes, have similarly shaped necks; the flange at the base of the neck has perforations just like those of the bronze protomes<sup>372</sup>.

The last lion from Syme, **262**, is a tiny mouldmade appliqué that only shows the face of the animal. The plastically rendered features and the two oblique incisions indicating the furrows on the forehead belong to the so-called Assyrianizing lions that replaced those inspired by Neohittite prototypes in the latter half of the seventh century. The Assyrianizing lions had a mane sharply delimited above the forehead, with the ears usually shown over it<sup>373</sup>. The Syme mask preserves only the face of such a lion, or rather a simplified version without the petal-like wrinkles on the muzzle, and may have been part of a plastic vase.

The largest group of animal heads from Syme are those of *bulls* and *rams*<sup>374</sup>. The earliest is **263**, which is not a protome but a bucranium attached at the underside of the skull so that only its horns and muzzle are modeled in the round; it is also larger than the protomes, with a fairly massive, tubular muzzle. Indeed it is much larger than its only parallel, the bucranium attached on the lid of an early MG I Attic pyxis<sup>375</sup>.

The similarities between the two bucrania are striking, since all their features correspond, although those of the Attic head were adapted rather than copied in the Cretan version. The Cretan craftsman also diverged from the original in choosing the white-on-dark technique of decoration, which was uncommon in this period<sup>376</sup>. In addition the two heads were differently structured: the principal component of the Cretan bucranium is the dome of the head itself, to which all other features, including the muzzle, are attached, whereas in the Attic bucranium the head is reduced to the horns that are attached, like all other features, to the face. This difference as well as the large size of **263** suggest that the Cretan bucranium served a different function from the Attic head, which was attached as an additional, decorative element, contiguous to the central knob of a lid. It is, in any case, unlikely that the Cretan head had been attached to a lid, because of the large perforation of the skull, which suggests the insertion of a stick to secure a join with something much more substantial than a pottery lid.

372. Hampe 1969, pls. 9, 11-12, esp. 22. See also Möller 1970, no. 51 pl. 50b.

373. E.g. the lion protome L7 from Olympia (Herrmann 1979, pl. 34) dated ca. 650.

374. *Bulls*: Knossos: Stampolidis, Karetsou and Kanta 1998, 134 no. 223; Brock 1957, 78 no. 866, 114 no. 1322, pl. 91 no. 1274; Coldstream and Catling 1996, pl. 92 no. 14.8. Praisos: Higgins 1954, pl. 78 no. 604. Gortyn: Rizza and Scrinari 1968, fig. 85a; figs. 85c and 85f may also be protomes;

Johannowsky 2002, pl. 10 nos. 147, 151; pl. 2 no. 13. *Rams*: Knossos: Brock 1957, 78 no. 866, pl. 91 no. 1274, 114 no. 1322; Coldstream and Catling 1996, pl. 158 no. 107.124. Rhytion (Rhotasi): *BCH* 101, 1977, 649 fig. 325. Gortyn: Johannowsky 2002, pl. 4 no. 62; pl. 44 nos. 494-495. Ayia Triada: D'Agata 1999, pl. 95 no. D. 3.40.

375. *CVA Athens I*, pl. 1:9; Smithson 1974, 381 pl. 79 b-c. See also Coldstream 1995c, 395-396.

376. Coldstream and Catling 1996, 412.



As mentioned above, the Attic pyxis is dated shortly after 850, which in Cretan terms makes **263** a product of the PGB period. The finds from the North Cemetery at Knossos indicate that plenty of Attic imports were available from the LPG through the MG phases to inspire Cretan potters who were interested in adapting non-local elements. Among these imports are vases that were apparently never exported elsewhere and some that are sparsely documented even in Attica. It is not, therefore, surprising that a Cretan version of a seemingly unique Attic vase should exist. Although these imports are presently known almost entirely from Knossos, the fact that copies of Athenian pyxides continued to be dedicated at Syme and even reached the Patsos cave in the eighth century<sup>377</sup> indicates that Attic influence was more widely disseminated in Crete in this early period than the evidence suggests.

The earliest of the bull protomes may well be **264-266**. **264** and **265** were made by the same hand and had probably been attached to matched lids. The curved muzzle of the better preserved **264**, combined with the short, slanting horns give the face a goat-like appearance. Nevertheless, the third head, **266**, which is modeled the same way but has horizontally extended horns and even an incipient dewlap, suggests that all three heads portray bulls. The modeling of the muzzle indicates that these protomes cannot be earlier than the LG period, while the roughly incised, circular eyes with the deeply gouged pupils may well be inspired by the stamped eyes of animals dated in a late phase of this period<sup>378</sup>. The decoration around the neck of **265**, which consists of rows of dots defined by bands, is popular in the EO period, which may be the most likely date for these three heads.

The rest of the bull protomes from Syme can be discussed together, since they share common features. Most are decorated in the white-on-dark technique and are modeled with narrow, frequently down-turned, muzzles and deeply impressed eyes. The thin, curved muzzle is usually reserved for rams, but at least two heads with this feature (**268** and **276**) also preserve horizontally extended horns and must be identified as bulls. Moreover the partially preserved horns of nos. **269-270**, **272** and **278**, which are very similarly modeled, seem to have been fairly straight or slightly turned forward. Several others (**271**, **274**, **277**) can also be identified as bulls' heads. Among the rest of the pieces, only **280-282** can be securely identified as rams.

The common features of **268-274** suggest that most of them are products of the same workshop. No. **278** also shares the same decorative scheme but was given pellet eyes. This is also true of **277**, which had a narrow muzzle, similar to that of **269**, but upright horns like those of some bronze bulls from Syme<sup>379</sup>. Finally nos. **275** and **276**, which were made by the same hand, are decorated in dark-on-light, but are otherwise very similar to the others. Indeed **276**, which was also given pellet eyes, has the most exaggerated, bird-like muzzle of all these protomes. These intercon-

377. See above III, 17.

378. Heilmeyer 1979, pls. 100-101 no. 809. See also above III, 24 57.

379. E.g. Schürmann 1994, pl. 38 no. 367, pl. 39 no. 374.

nections suggest that variations in the decorative scheme or in the form of the eyes are of no chronological significance and that all of these pieces belong to the same period.

The most readily datable feature of these heads is the white-on-dark decoration, which is particularly characteristic of the Transitional period, but continued to be employed even later on protomes that were attached to polychrome lids. This is the case with a bull's head from Tomb 14 of the North Cemetery at Knossos dated to the EO phase, whose face has been compressed so that its muzzle is thin, almost like that of a ram; its broken horns extended upwards like those of **277**<sup>380</sup>. The Knossian bull is not a close parallel of the Syme heads, which have not been modeled in this manner, but it does show that this sort of conflation between the features of a bull and a ram was not a peculiarity of the workshop or workshops that produced the Syme protomes. It also confirms the approximate chronological frame for the Syme protomes, which have no formal similarities with contemporary clay or bronze figurines or with the bronze bull cauldron attachments.

The long survival of the white-on-dark decoration is exemplified by the ram protome **282**. Despite the fact that features such as eyes, mouth and nostrils are represented by the same means employed in Geometric figurines, this protome is very close to the earliest Rhodian plastic vases in the shape of a ram's head, not only in details (such as the extension of the mouth with fine incisions), but also in its general shape and, in particular, the way the head projects at right angles from the column-like neck<sup>381</sup>. The ram protome on the kernos from Samos, whose attachments are closely related to the Rhodian vases, is also similar to the Syme ram<sup>382</sup>.

The much worn but pretty massive ram's head **280** is hard to place. It is, however, shaped very much like the head of the bird protome **305** and, were it not for the stubs of the horns, could be readily identified as a bird. Perhaps a date somewhere in the middle of the seventh century may not be inappropriate for the rounded form of this head that is definitely post-Geometric.

The three rather dejected looking ram's heads **281** must have belonged to a dinos. The form of the horns and the shape of the muzzle are close to those of the ram **181**, which can be dated c. 650 or later. This is the chronological range of a series of small dinoi with summarily modeled bull protomes known from sanctuaries in the Argolid<sup>383</sup> as well of coarse ware conical bowls or basins with sketchily

380. Coldstream and Catling 1996, pl. 92 no. 14.8.

381. Cf. Ducat 1966, pl. 13 no. 1.

382. Vierendeis 1961, Beil. 31, esp. nos. 1 and 4. In the same way the solidly made bovine 'mask' **279** corresponds quite closely to the hollow face of

another bull protome from Samos (Vierendeis 1961, 32 Beil. 33.2).

383. Argive Heraeum: Caskey and Amandry 1952, pl. 56; Mycenae, Agamemnoneion: Wace et al. 1953, pl. 20; Tiryns: Frickenhaus, Müller and Oelmann 1912, fig. 37 no. 199.

made bull, ram and horse protomes that are known from several sites in Crete<sup>384</sup>.

This is probably also the date of the worn *horse* protome **283**, which belongs to a group of zoomorphic tongues that were sometimes attached to the rim of pithoi as a substitute for the plainer pendant tongues on which a lid or other protective covering could be fastened. Several such horse protomes are known, all of them of better quality than **283**<sup>385</sup>.

It has often been noted that, although bronze cauldrons with *griffin* protomes are very poorly attested in Crete, clay copies were very popular. In his review of Jantzen's study of bronze griffin protomes, G. Hanfmann advocated that greater attention should be paid to the terracotta griffins, which could furnish useful information regarding chronology and iconographic development<sup>386</sup>. This opinion has been generally rejected. The most thorough appraisal of this material concluded that, in general, the clay griffins are not comparable to their prototypes, which in most cases are the hammered rather than the cast protomes<sup>387</sup>. The material more recently published from Knossos, Gortyn as well as the examples from Syme discussed here have certainly supported this view<sup>388</sup>, since the new pieces are no closer to their prototypes than those previously known<sup>389</sup>. Even the best made protomes, such as those attached to the two more or less preserved dinoi from Gortyn<sup>390</sup> and Tomb L at Arkadhes<sup>391</sup>, are only generically similar to the hammered griffins. Since both dinoi were produced in the LO period, when their metal prototypes were coming to an end, it is probable that the potters who made them had never actually seen a bronze cauldron.

The closest Cretan imitation of a bronze protome is a fragmentary head that was found in a sanctuary at Aphrati (*Arkadhes*) investigated in 1968-1969<sup>392</sup> (Pl. 57). The head can be dated by context to c. 700 or a bit later and, despite its coarse fabric, is remarkably similar to the hammered griffin protomes from Olympia and Samos<sup>393</sup>. For this reason it has been considered as a "patris" for the manufacture of clay moulds for the casting of bronze protomes<sup>394</sup> or some sort of a "model" for the manufacture of hammered griffins<sup>395</sup>. However, the head itself provides clear

384. Marinatos 1936, fig. 31 upper row center, fig. 33 nos. 2-3 (horses), fig. 33 no. 1 (ram), nos. 7-9a (bulls) from Dreros; Demargne 1931, 395 from Anavlochos; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, figs. 86a-b from Gortyn.

385. Möller 1970, nos. C16, C19; Levi 1927-1929, fig. 45; Watrous 1996, pl. 28a no. 133.

386. *Gnomon* 29, 1959, 243.

387. Herrmann 1979, 151-152 and 143 n. 13 for refs. to earlier lists, of which the most complete is in Boardman 1961, 60-61.

388. For Gortyn see Johannowsky 2002, pl. 30 nos. 310, 314 and p. 49 nos. 316, 318 for non-illustrated examples. For protomes from lids from

Knossos and other sites see below n. 403.

389. The most complete list of previously known protomes is in Boardman 1961, 60-61.

390. Johannowsky 2002, pl. 30 no. 315.

391. Levi 1927-1929, fig. 420 a-d.

392. See Lebessi 1980, 87-89 pls. 25-26a, 30c for the associated pottery and a bronze figurine found in the same area.

393. Cf. Herrmann 1979, G5 or G6; Gehrig 2004, nos. 1-2.

394. Stampolidis, Karetsou and Kanta 1998, 136 no. 90.

395. Gehrig 2004, 118.

evidence of its function. The large, smoothly bored hole inside the mouth, where the partly preserved tongue was raised in low relief, extends all the way through to the broken area of attachment at the back of the head, indicating that the latter had functioned as the spout of a coarse vessel. The fact that the head was a spout explains its narrow width, which, in front view, makes it look similar to late rather than early hammered bronze protomes<sup>396</sup>.

It is likely that the Aphrati vessel with the griffin spout is earlier than its closest parallel, the Cycladic jug in the British Museum, which also copies bronze prototypes of this period but with different eyes<sup>397</sup>. It is clear, in any case, that, whatever its origin may have been, this particular adaptation of the griffin protomes, formally close to but functionally very different from its models, was produced soon after the creation of the metal prototypes and was rapidly disseminated. Such early and faithful copies could have served as models for later imitations that would eventually become more distant from the metal originals, of which they would not have had direct knowledge.

The griffins from Syme are not very faithful versions, but include examples that depend on the same prototypes. **284** emphasizes some of the features of the same prototypes as the Aphrati spout but omits others. The rectangular ears with their outlined interior resemble the ears of many hammered griffins but are disproportionately large; the strongly curving upper half of the beak reproduces the profile of several early griffins from Olympia<sup>398</sup>. The potter that produced the Syme head had his limitations. The large pellet eyes, placed next to rather than above the beak, may represent a half-hearted attempt at reproducing the 'pop-eyed' look of the bronzes. While the knob is omitted, the forehead is decorated with a dot rosette. This is not a motif favored by Cretan potters. The use of dots in rows or within other motifs is common on LG/EO pottery, but there are only a handful of vases from Knossos where dots are arranged symmetrically to approximate a rosette<sup>399</sup>. On the other hand more or less elaborate dotted decoration is common on hammered griffin protomes; on some the dots are arranged in rosette form to decorate the beak, the sides of the face, the tongue and even the teeth<sup>400</sup>. Although the forehead knob of cast and hammered griffins sometimes bore an engraved rosette down to the second half of the seventh century<sup>401</sup>, dot rosettes are a feature of hammered protomes dated no later than 700-675. It is therefore probable that the use of this motif on **284** is an allusion to another feature of the bronze prototypes<sup>402</sup>.

396. E.g. Gehrig 2004, no. G46.

397. Tiverios 1996, 245-246 no. 14, illus. on p. 60, dated c. 680-670. For an earlier date see Herrmann 1979, 151 and for a much later Boardman 2001, fig. 37. For another fragmentary example from the Cyclades see Buschor 1929, 156 fig. 9.

398. Herrmann 1979, G7 or G15.

399. Brock 1957, Motif 9cp, illustrated with two vases of the LG phase.

400. Herrmann 1979, G6, G34; Gehrig 2004 nos. 1, 12.

401. E.g. Herrmann 1979, G5, G68, G72.

402. From the griffins this motif could have



**284** is the only example from Syme that was probably attached to a lid<sup>403</sup>. The three protomes **285** belonged to a dinos, as shown by one of them that is still attached to a small part of the vessel. Despite their poor workmanship and summary modeling, these small heads depended on the same prototypes. The large, laterally positioned ears must be descended from the relatively small and wide ears of the hammered griffins, which were sometimes positioned quite low on the sides of the face, unlike the long, upright ears of the cast protomes<sup>404</sup>. The oversize, disk eyes with their hollow pupils also recall the prominent eyes of the hammered griffins, which had deeply recessed or even inlaid pupils. The barely open beak and the hint of a knob are considered as early features<sup>405</sup>. What survives of the decoration, especially the bands around the neck, suggests that there was no scale or dot pattern here, as on the protomes of the other two Cretan dinoi.

The preserved part of a wing outlined in incision indicates that these griffins were represented similarly to those of the Arkadhes dinos, but their wings were not filled in the usual manner of the triangular type. It is of course possible that the surviving vertical strokes or billets correspond to the lower part of a sickle-shaped wing, but the length of the strokes implies a disproportionately large wing. In view of the rather cursory execution and archaizing features of the heads, it is just as likely that the wings were the fairly narrow and simply hatched version of the triangular type given to griffins and sphinxes of the LG period<sup>406</sup>.

The long, slender and steeply curving neck of **286**, which must have been attached to a large vessel, suggests that its prototypes were the cast rather than the hammered griffin protomes, but the large ears and the top knob are very similar to those of the three protomes just discussed<sup>407</sup>. It is worth noting that these features are not restricted to roughly made protomes. The same pellet eyes backed by ears projecting on either side of the head and a roughly conical knob also occur on a clay protome from Knossos, which is detailed enough to be provided with the additional 'warts' that grow on the forehead of many bronze griffins<sup>408</sup>.

The protomes mentioned so far should all be earlier than those attached to the Arkadhes and Gortyn dinoi. Another protome, **287**, despite its large upright ears, may also have been inspired by the hammered griffins, but of later date with eyes that have oval shaped depressions, like those of the Syme protome<sup>409</sup>. The much

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been transferred to the bird protomes, which served a similar function and were to some extent morphologically connected with the griffins. See below 100, **300**.

403. For others see Brock 1957, no. 1358; Boardman 1962, 33 pl. 5e, fig. 4; Coldstream and Catling 1996, nos. 14.3, 14.43, 107. 38; Johannowsky 2002, pl. 3 no. 43, pl. 10 no. 149.

404. E.g. Herrmann 1979, nos. G7 pl. 8 and G 38 pl. 17.

405. Dierichs 1981, 147.

406. Coldstream 1980, fig. 1 on a LG cup from Knossos; Sackett et al. 1992, deposit GH no. 19, pl. 39 of the eighth century.

407. For the shape of the knob and grotesquely large ears see the lid protome from Gortyn Johannowsky 2002, pl. 10 no. 149.

408. Boardman 1962, 33 fig. 4, pl. 5e.

409. Herrmann 1979, pl. 20 G47.

mutilated head 288, is probably the only example from Syme that may be connected with cast griffins, possibly even of early date with very narrow heads<sup>410</sup>.

It should be noted here that these distinctions, which are based on purely iconographic features, may well be of dubious chronological value, as better preserved examples from the North Cemetery indicate: two griffin protomes with open beaks and tongue indicated in relief served as knobs for polychrome lids of the EO phase, just like another, very different, head, which was summarily modeled with a closed beak and ears bent backwards like the horns of a goat<sup>411</sup>.

Indeed there is a certain group of griffin protomes that look very much like goats with ears that are flattened and curve backwards like short horns. One such protome from Fortetsa<sup>412</sup> has a tiny protrusion between the 'horns' and can safely be identified as a griffin. This was not indicated in the matched protomes 289 and 290 from Syme, but the open mouth suggests that these are also griffins, perhaps detached from a dinos. Their closest parallels are three detached protomes from Gortyn, which are, however, portrayed with closed mouth<sup>413</sup>.

With the exception of the few bird figurines already discussed<sup>414</sup>, the rest of the terracotta *birds* from Syme were attachments. A few small fragments have also been assigned to this category, mainly on the grounds of probability, since free-standing birds of clay or bronze are uncommon in pre-Archaic periods throughout the Greek world.

Bronze birds, poorly attested in Crete<sup>415</sup>, but common at many Greek sanctuaries, were almost exclusively attachments or pendants. Practically all this material, which has no find context, is assigned to the eighth century<sup>416</sup>. The most cursorily modeled have no wings; in others the body was flattened and the ledges projecting under the long necks indicate the wings. A more characteristic feature, since it occurs even on very schematically rendered examples, is the flat beak that identifies them as water birds. Less numerous are those characterized by a high comb and sickle-shaped tail that are usually referred to as *Pfauhähne*. Both types can be identified in a small group of birds from Olympia that are connected to a circular or rectangular base through one or two struts and seem to have been free standing figurines, although some of them were perforated and must have functioned as pendants<sup>417</sup>.

Clay birds are not so common. Until recently the only coherent group of well dated examples were those attached to the lids or perched on the handles of late MG-early LG Attic oinochoai and pitchers. A fairly large group of Geometric bird figurines from a MG I grave in Naxos has now been added to this material, not only increasing the corpus considerably, but also demonstrating in detail the intercon-

410. E.g. Herrmann 1979, pl. 38 no. G65.

411. Coldstream and Catling 1996, pl. 92 nos. 14.3, 14.43 and pl. 150 no. 107.38.

412. Brock 1957, no. 1267.

413. Johannowsky 2002, pl. 30 no. 317.

414. VIII, 77-78.

415. Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, nos. 221-225; additional examples on p. 100 nos. 11-13.

416. For basic references see Philipp 1981, 363 n. 680-683.

417. Heilmeyer 1979, 185-190 pl. 120.

nections of bronze and clay figurines<sup>418</sup>. The resemblance of the Naxian birds to the Olympia bronzes even extends to the tall, strut-like legs, which, culminating in rudimentary feet, could not really support them, so that the ends of their stubby wings had to be perforated for suspension.

In Crete there are bird attachments of the PG period<sup>419</sup>, but the small, summarily modeled birds of the PGB phase that are perched with open wings on the miniature vases and tree models found in tomb P at Fortetsa are much better known<sup>420</sup>. A headless flying bird attached to a pyxis lid from tomb 285 of the North Cemetery<sup>421</sup> and a much larger and elaborately painted attachment from Ayia Triada<sup>422</sup> can also be dated in PGB<sup>423</sup>. On the basis of form and decoration this is also the date of a small flying bird from Vrokastro, which was attached to a vessel or object through a perforated tube<sup>424</sup>. At the other end of the IA and in the O period must be placed the birds attached to the lids from Arkadhes and Kavousi<sup>425</sup> and several others that have been recently published from Ayia Triada<sup>426</sup>.

The function and date of the birds from Syme are difficult to determine and, with some exceptions, the associations proposed here can only be described as tenuous. No date can be really assigned to head fragments, such as **291** or **293**, while the fragmentary **292** and **294** do not have convincing parallels. The former can at least be securely identified as a bird. With its long neck and narrow, barely differentiated head it is closest to the MG-LG birds from the Mainland. The incised strokes on the neck find their best parallel on the bronze attachments, where they are often used as a quick and easy way to vary the surface and perhaps suggest the plumage on top of the head, along the neck or at the tail. No. **294** with its crested head and rather thick, straight beak may be connected with the *Pfauhähne*, but is certainly not a successful version and may have been the representation of a griffin.

The well preserved **295** provides more opportunities for comparisons. Its plump body, short flat tail and gracefully curving neck that culminates in the mere sugges-

418. Kourou 1999, 69-81, pls. 46b-51. This publication also includes a detailed discussion of the whole subject, so that there is no need to duplicate this information here.

419. II, 6 n. 46.

420. Brock 1957, pl. 36, no. 549.

421. Coldstream and Catling 1996, no. 285.1, fig. 138.

422. D'Agata 1999, pl. 97 no. D 3.45.

423. See also Coldstream and Catling 1996, no. 107.126 for a conical lid from the North Cemetery that may have had a bird perched next to the knob. In the same period belong the plumb hollow birds that perch on a ring kernos and a lentoid flask from the same site (Coldstream 1989a).

424. Hayden 1991, 111 no. 1, fig. 4, pl. 48. See

also another fragmentary example assigned to this date from Knossos: Sackett et al. 1992, 352 pl. 294 no. 11. Other birds from Knossos have a less specific context (Higgins 1971, 280 no. 40 Geometric; Coldstream and Catling 1996, no. 31.4 attached to the rim of a Geometric jug) or no context at all (Coldstream et al. 1973, 90 no. 264, 91 no. 265).

425. Levi 1927-1929, figs. 346 and 635-636 respectively.

426. D'Agata 1999, nos. D3.46-D3.51, pl. 97. Three bird figurines have also been published from Patsos (Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 71 fig. 84). One of them has a close, post-Geometric, parallel in Ayia Triada; cf. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, fig. 71 right with D'Agata 1999, pl. 97 no. D 3.50.



tion of a head may connect it with bronze bird pendants of similar form<sup>427</sup>, but very few of these are known south of Thessaly and, to my knowledge, none has been found in Crete. It is possible that this bird was inspired by local models that are also of very similar shape, namely the bird vases that were produced in Crete in the Subminoan period, but were revived in the ninth century<sup>428</sup>. Indeed the well known hollow birds that perch on a lentoid flask and a ring kernos found in tombs of the North Cemetery at Knossos have very similar plump bodies and the same compressed little tail as **295**, which may well be of the same date. The schematic head would not be out of place in this period. The small flying bird **296** is of the same date and has good parallels among the PGB attachments from Fortetsa<sup>429</sup>. The well preserved **297** has enough similarities with the birds from Naxos mentioned above to be also dated in PGB, when its slender, perforated tubular support also finds its best parallels among the attachments from Fortetsa and the bird from Vrokastro.

A later date is likely for **298**, whose closest parallels are the birds on the Kavousi lids. The better preserved **299**, with its plumb body and carefully incised folded wings may belong to the Transitional period or the early seventh century. Several other birds were certainly products of the seventh century. Their heads are modeled in greater detail and although they cannot be precisely identified, they have features reminiscent of specific species, a raptor (**300**, **303**) or a partridge (**302**). The earliest may well be **300** and **301** which, to judge from the decoration, are Transitional or EO. **302** with its pointed beak and small beady eyes is very similar to the birds depicted in the lower zone of the well known urn from Arkadhes, dated c. 680-670<sup>430</sup>, while **303** can be dated near the middle of the century. This head is similar to that of a bird aryballos from a Gypsadhes tomb, which has been compared to the owl vases from Arkadhes and dated c. 650<sup>431</sup>. **304**, which certainly portrays an owl, belongs firmly in this group, but is closest to the double vase in the Ashmolean Museum that is datable to the LO period, thanks to the elaborate patterns that are inserted among the dots that indicate the plumage<sup>432</sup>. The Oxford owls have a hole on their head, while the Syme owl was pierced on the chest. The more archaic looking protome **305** and the very similar **306**, whose plumage and eyes also refer to the owl vases, should also be placed in this group<sup>433</sup>.

I have placed the roughly made head **308**, which is attached to the handle of a trefoil jug, at the end of this chapter, because I have been unable to identify it. It seemed to belong to a horned animal, whose horns and muzzle were missing. At the

427. Kilian 1975, pl. 85 nos. 14-27.

428. Coldstream 1989a.

429. See above 99 n. 420.

430. Levi 1927-1929, fig. 518b. For the date see Lebessi 1976, 54, 55.

431. Coldstream, Callaghan and Musgrave 1981, 145, pl. 18 no. 11.

432. Boardman 1961, pl. 38 no. 491.

433. The mutilated **307** may be a bird or a griffin head, and is in either case most likely to be placed in the seventh century. It was certainly attached to something but the neck is too straight and tall to have been the handle of a lid.



same time, the breaks that should correspond to the horns seem to continue at an angle on the sides of the face, creating the impression of missing locks of hair. Moreover the only remotely related object that I have been able to find is the head of a sphinx attached to the handle of a vessel from Lato in the same manner as **308**<sup>434</sup>. Whether this means that the head from Syme is human I am unable to decide.

### Catalogue

#### *Minoan*

**246.** Head of bovid, flat and almost mask-like. Tubular muzzle with a smooth perforation in place of the mouth, extending to the point where the (broken) horns had been. Pricked nostrils and eyes.

Very gritty reddish clay (close to 5YR 6/6 but redder) with white and grey inclusions. Chipped and worn. (Pl. 51)

L. of face 6 cm. W. 5.3 cm.

MM IIB

**247.** Protome of wild goat, which preserves only the narrow muzzle and convex forehead on which part of a disk eye is still attached. Under the muzzle there is a remnant of the clay that had been used to attach it to a vessel.

Clay similar to that of **246** with grey core. One half of the fragment is also grey on the surface (from contact with fire?). Reconstructed from two fragments. (Pl. 51)

L. 4.9 cm.

LM I

**248.** Partially preserved horn of wild goat with scalloped upper edge.

Fine pinkish grey clay (7.5YR N7/), burnt. Decorated with broad strokes of reddish brown paint (very close to 2.5YR 4/4).

(Pl. 52)

L. 6.2 cm. W. 1.8 cm.

LM I

**249.** Horn of wild goat, smoothly finished and of semi-circular cross-section, that had been attached along one side to the (missing) other horn.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6).

L. 6.8 cm. Diam 1.3 cm.

MM-LM I

**250.** Two horns of wild goat with scalloped upper edge.

Fine pinkish buff clay with occasional brown inclusions. Traces of black paint.

L. 5.2 and 4 cm. W 1.2 and 1.4 cm.

LM I

**251.** Two horns of wild goat decorated with a row of oblique incisions along the upper edge. One of them preserves the root, which was defined with incision.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with thick grey core. (Pl. 52)

a/ L. 7.7 cm. Diam. 1.7 cm. b/ L. 6 cm. Diam. 2.3 cm.

MM-LM I

**252.** Bovid with stocky body, practically non-existent neck and pinched-out, raised tail. The pinched-out legs are so short and widely spread that they cannot serve as supports; the body actually rests precariously on a flattened triangular area of the belly and the flattened underside of the legs. Smooth surface except on the hindquarters where there is a deep thumb print.

434. Demargne 1929, 117 no. 90 fig. 33; the description of the fabric seems to match that of **308**.

Gritty, reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6). Missing the horns, face, most of the tail and two of the legs. (Pl. 52)

Ht. 3.9 cm. L. 4.7 cm.

LM I

### *Lions*

**253.** Front part of lion shown in relief on a roughly rectangular base; only the front legs and the outline of the head and shoulders are preserved. The legs end in broad paws with long toes separated by deep incisions. There is a large perforation through the center of the plaque and its underside is rough. Very coarse, red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white inclusions; surface burnt in some areas.

(Pl. 52)

Dim. of base 7.4 x 7.75 cm. Overall ht. 4.9 cm.

710-690

**254.** Base, very similar to **253**, but smaller and thinner; the legs of the lion are correspondingly shorter and set closer together.

Clay same as that of **253**. (Pl. 52)

Dim. of base 4.7 x 4.4 cm. Overall ht. 3.2 cm. 710-690

**255.** Head of lion attached to part of lid. Triangular face with oval, laterally applied ears, large pellet eyes, pricked nostrils and snarling mouth with sharp teeth and lolling tongue.

Fine, pinkish buff clay, with occasional bits of reddish grit, yellowish buff slip. On the skull and nape two converging rows of roughly pricked holes frame a column of painted chevrons and are themselves framed by narrow painted bands; facial features outlined with paint. A broad band separates the neck from the lid, which is finely banded with a zone of interlocking S's inserted near the top; in the interior a solid, red circle under the join of the head. Chipped; lid reconstructed from fragments.

(Pl. 52)

Overall ht. 5.9 cm. W. of head 4.6 cm. Preserved diam. of lid 10.3 cm.

c. 700

**256.** Partially preserved, mouldmade lion's head, modeled in high relief, with ears attached above the broad forehead; almond-shaped eyes, wrinkled nose and face; snarling mouth with lolling tongue and upper teeth indicated in some detail. The interior of the mouth was gouged out with a pointed tool.

Fine buff clay (fairly close to 10YR 7/3). Probably solidly painted or dipped. About half of head restored with plaster. (Pl. 53)

Ht. of face 3.8 cm. W. 3 cm.

700-675

**257.** Lion protome with long neck culminating into a knob-like head with a flat face. Pricked eyes, slashed mouth; short incised strokes indicate the mane as well as the beard or teeth.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6), buff slip. Bands around the neck interrupted by a vertical running down the throat; daubed eyes and mouth. (Pl. 53)

Overall L. 4.6 cm. Diam. of neck 2.3 cm.

675-650

**258.** Appliqué of lion's head with long, straight neck. Made in an open mould and trimmed (?) with a tool along the edge of the muzzle. The face is modeled in low relief with almond-shaped eyes and triangular furrows on the nose. The interior of the laid-back ears was shaped like a spiral. The reverse of the neck was deeply gouged with a tool.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with buff/brownish surface. Reconstructed from two pieces and partly restored with plaster.

(Pl. 53)

L. 7.2 cm. Ht. of relief 2.8 cm.

c. 650

**259.** Head of lion attached to fragment of lid. Modeled in low relief and of triangular shape, with large ears placed on either side of the forehead; the eyes and furrows on the forehead are indicated with careless and feeble incision and the mouth with a curved gash.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6), buff slip.

Traces of paint on the lid and periphery of the head. Chipped. (Pl. 53)

L. of face 1.7 cm. Dim. of sherd 3.5 x 3 cm.  
650-630

**260.** Lion protome with short, hollow, flanged neck. The face is triangular, culminating in a blunt nose with deeply impressed nostrils and crowned with rounded, hollow ears; pellet eyes. In the deeply slotted mouth remains of the lolling tongue are preserved, while four incised strokes on the lower edge of the nose indicate the teeth. The neck was roughly hollowed out and the edge flattened into a flange.

Gritty pinkish buff clay (close to 7.5YR 7/4). Traces of dark bands around the flange and possibly around the tip of the nose. Missing the lower jaw. (Pl. 53)

Ht. 3 cm. L. of face 3.8 cm.  
650-630

**261.** Lion protome very similar to **260** but with narrower face, compressed into a flat muzzle, and larger ears. In the broken mouth there are remains of the long tongue and on either side two interlocking teeth, shaped out of bits of clay.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). Traces of fine reddish bands around the tip of the nose and the eyes, as well as of two others crossing between the latter. Missing one eye, the flange and part of the mouth. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 53)

Ht. 2.8 cm. L. of face 3.8 cm.  
650-630

**262.** Mouldmade appliqué of lion's head detached from vessel (?) The large eyes are almost lozenge-shaped and the muzzle with its closed mouth is modeled in fairly high relief. Two faint, oblique incisions on the forehead are the only indications of the animal's 'scowl'.

Fine, faded reddish yellow clay (fairly close to 7.5YR 7/6) with grey core. (Pl. 53)

Dim. 2. x 2.3 cm.

650-630.

## *Bulls*

**263.** Detached bucranium modeled in relief so that only the straight, horizontally extended horns and the blunt, tubular muzzle project in the round. The latter was provided with a slot mouth and large impressed nostrils; the former cover the large strip ears. The large eyes were impressed deeply at the base of the horns, with whose attachment a shallow ridge was created along the forehead. The reverse is rough and had been pierced by a large hole; a second smaller hole was then made from above in the center of the forehead, breaking through to the first.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (ranging from 5YR 6/6 to 7.5YR 6/6) with buff surface. Solidly painted with reddish brown paint and decorated with white bands running across the skull; the eyes were ringed and their interior dotted to indicate the pupils.

Missing one ear; part of the muzzle and one of the horns restored with plaster. (Pl. 54)  
L. 7.5 cm. W. 9.9 cm.

840-820

**264.** Bull protome detached from lid. Curved muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and 'smiling' slot mouth. The circular, incised eyes are provided with gouged pupils and are set high and close together between the short slanted horns.

Gritty, pinkish clay (closest to 7.5YR 8/4); buff slip. Traces of paint.

Missing the right horn. (Pl. 54)

L. of face 2.7 cm. Overall l. 3.4 cm.

700-680

**265.** Bull protome, closely similar to **264** but still attached to the fragment of a lid.

Clay and slip same as those of **264**. Traces of bands alternating with rows of dots around the neck. Lid interior slipped with buff slip. Missing the horns and muzzle. (Pl. 54)

Overall l. 3.9 cm.

700-680

**266.** Bull protome, modeled much like **264** and **265**, but with eyes indicated with dots of

dark paint and horns that extend horizontally rather than obliquely; lightly pinched dewlap.

Fabric and slip same as those of **264** and **265**. The horns are defined by bands, while the face is outlined with others that continue down the sides of the neck, framing a row of large dots or blobs on the dewlap. Chipped and missing the greater part of the horns.

(Pl. 54)

L. 3 cm. Diam. of neck 2.4.

700-680

**267.** Bull protome with triangular face, provided with disk eyes, pricked nostrils and slot mouth. Horns slanted like those of **264**, pinched dewlap and bulky, upright ears.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6), buff slip. Some features were daubed with dark paint and others ringed with bands, two of which form an X on the nape. Missing the greater part of the ears and horns. (Pl. 54)

L. 3.6 cm. Diam. at base of neck 2.1 cm.

700-680.

**268.** Bull protome with narrow face ending in pointed muzzle that is provided with a slot mouth and pricked nostrils; the deeply impressed, hollow eyes are provided with pricked pupils and positioned at the base of the heavy, horizontally extended horns, which had strip ears attached under them.

Fine buff clay. Traces of thick yellowish slip and black paint, especially from a thin band that encircled the neck. Ears broken off.

(Pl. 54)

L. 4.8 cm. W. of horns 7 cm.

700-680.

**269.** Bull protome, very similar to **268**, but with longer, down curving muzzle.

Gritty, reddish yellow clay (7.5 YR 7/6), possibly slipped. Decorated in white-on-dark: a white band runs along the length of the horns, the eyes are ringed in white, while two or more wavy lines decorated the muzzle. Horns and ears broken off. (Pl. 55)

L. 5.5 cm. Diam. at base of neck 4.3 cm.

700-680.

**270.** Bull protome, very similar to **269**.

Fabric and decoration same as those of **269**. A white circle decorated the forehead and perhaps also the nape. Chipped and missing the horns and tip of muzzle. (Pl. 55)

L. 5.2 cm.

700-680.

**271.** Bull protome, very similar to **268**.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with greyish core; buff slip almost completely worn off. Decorated in dark-on-light with a wide band across the horns and skull and at least two others that ran perpendicularly between the eyes, within which traces of slip and paint are also preserved. Muzzle, left horn and ears restored in plaster. (Pl. 55)

L. 4.9 cm. Diam. of neck 3.6-4 cm.

700-680.

**272.** Bull protome very similar to **269** and **270**, but with horns curving slightly upwards halfway.

Fine, pinkish buff clay. Solidly painted with brownish-black paint. Missing the greater part of the horns and the ears, as well as the tip of the muzzle. (Pl. 55)

L. 4.3 cm. Diam. at base of neck 2.8 cm.

700-680.

**273.** Bull protome, very similar to **272** and the others, but smaller and incompletely preserved.

Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 8/4). Small hole behind each of the horns. Solidly painted with traces of added white especially around the eyes. Missing horns, muzzle and part of neck. (Pl. 55)

Overall L. 2.9 cm.

700-680.

**274.** Bull protome, similar to the others but with somewhat wider face and shorter, deeply slotted muzzle; traces of upright ears. Small hole on the forehead and at the base of the throat, very similar to those that indicate the eyes.

Very gritty clay, light brown with orange core. Most likely solidly painted or dipped,



as the abundant traces of paint inside the mouth indicate. Missing horns, ears and upper half of muzzle. (Pl. 55)

Ht. 6 cm. Diam. at base of neck 6.1 cm.  
700-680.

**275.** Bull protome, very similar to **269**, but with even more exaggerated, down curving muzzle.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6), buff slip. Decorated in dark paint with bands around the neck, along the horns and down the muzzle. Missing the horns, part of the muzzle and most of the base of the neck.

(Pl. 56)

L. 5.4 cm.  
700-680.

**276.** Bull protome, very similar to and most likely made by the same hand as **275**, but with pellet eyes and no indication of mouth or nostrils. Two small, symmetrically placed, holes, one each at the base of the throat and nape.

Clay and slip same as those of **275**. Decorated with a zone of vertical strokes around the base of the neck and banded around the eyes, muzzle and horns. Chipped at the muzzle and missing the greater part of the horns. (Fig. 6; Pl. 56)

L. 5.5 cm. Diam. at base of neck 3.9.  
700-680

**277.** Bull protome with thick neck of almost equal width as the face, which was crowned by horns extending vertically. The (now broken) cylindrical muzzle is framed by large pellet eyes.

Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 7.4), buff slip. Smeared with dark red paint. Missing the horns and muzzle. (Pl. 56)

L. 3.9 cm. Diam. of neck 3.7 cm.  
700-680

**278.** Bull (?) protome with rounded head and horns that seem to have been bent forward and up. Trace of a pellet eye.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/8), yellowish buff slip. Solidly painted with worn black

paint. Missing the horns, part of the muzzle and neck. (Pl. 56)

L. 4.9 cm.  
700-680 ?

**279.** Bull's face, smoothly finished at the back where the skull and neck would be. The throat is slightly pinched to form an incipient dewlap. The face consists mainly of the long, trumpet-shaped muzzle, whose blunt tip bears a rough incision in the shape of an inverted Pi that indicates the mouth and nostrils. The eyes are indicated in relief, on either side of the concave forehead, and further defined with incision.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with yellowish grey core. Traces of red paint around the eyes. (Pl. 56)

L. of face 3.8 cm.  
c. 600

### *Rams*

**280.** Large ram protome with smoothly finished head supported by a short, broad neck. No features are discernible except for the widely slotted mouth.

Fine buff clay. Missing the horns and lower jaw; reconstructed from many tiny fragments. (Pl. 56)

Ht. 5.1 cm.  
650 or later

**281.** Three ram protomes detached from the same dinos, one of which preserves a bit of the vessel. The horns curl so tightly that they resemble disks attached vertically to the sides of the triangular face. Slightly curved muzzle provided with pricked nostrils and feebly incised mouth; disk eyes.

Gritty, light brown clay. Solidly painted with red/brown paint (Pl. 57)

a/L. 3.1 cm. Diam. of neck 1.6 cm. b/ L. 4.8 cm. c/ L. 3.7 cm.

650 or later

**282.** Ram protome with thin, curved muzzle provided with tiny pricked nostrils and lightly slotted mouth that was expanded

with careless incision. Pellet eyes and large ears applied within the curve of the (largely broken) horns, which preserve traces of incised strokes.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6), worn buff slip. Solidly painted and banded in white around the neck. Chipped and missing the eyes as well as the greater part of the horns; reconstructed from fragments.

(Pl. 57)

Ht. 6.8 cm. Diam. at base of neck 5.4 cm.

c. 600 or later

### *Horse*

**283.** Horse's head attached to the lip fragment of a coarse vessel. Only the shape of the blunt muzzle and the plastically rendered eyes are discernible.

Very gritty, grey clay (10YR 6/1), with brown, white, red and grey inclusions and orange-colored surface. Very worn and missing the ears. (Pl. 57)

L. of face 4.15 cm. Th. of vessel walls 1.4 cm. 650-600.

### *Griffins*

**284.** Griffin protome with hollow neck. Open beak in which the tongue is outlined and raised by incision, as is also the interior of the large, rectangular ears.

Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 7/4), buff, polished slip. Decorated with a dot rosette on the skull and a band around the neck; other features daubed with paint. Reconstructed from two fragments and partially restored with plaster. (Pl. 58)

L. 6.5 cm. Diam. of neck 2.2-2.8 cm.

700-680

**285.** Three griffin protomes from the same dinos, one of which is still attached to a small part of the vessel. Roughly modeled neck, bent at a wide angle. The pellet eyes, which are provided with impressed, hollow pupils are attached to the large, laterally positioned ears; the beak is deeply slotted.

Fine reddish yellow clay (5YR 6/6), yellowish

slip. Decorated with bands around the neck. On the sherd, on either side of the neck, there are vertical strokes within an area defined by incision. Missing parts of the beak and the ears. The other two heads are less well preserved. (Pl. 58)

a/ L. 4.7 cm. Dim. of sherd 6 x 2.7 cm. b/ L. 4.7 cm. Diam. of neck 1.9 cm. c/ L. 3 cm. Diam. of neck 1.6 cm.

700-680

**286.** Griffin protome with long, thin neck. On the face, which is framed by the large, oval ears and the top knot, only the small pellet eyes remain. A large hole in the place of the mouth indicates that the beak had been open.

Fine, reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with grey core. Traces of brown paint on the face. Top knot and one ear restored with plaster. (Pl. 58)

Overall L. 11.7 cm. Diam. of neck 2.35 cm. 700-680 ?

**287.** Griffin protome with tubular neck, horn-like ears, large pellet eyes with irregularity gouged pupils, and open beak with the strip tongue raised in relief.

Fine, pink clay (7.5YR 7/4). On the throat rows of dots framed by two thin lines; facial features daubed or circled with paint. Chipped and restored with plaster.

(Fig. 6; Pl. 59)

L. 6.1 cm.

650-620 ?

**288.** Griffin protome with narrow head that has been fitted over the neck and roughly smoothed on with a tool, which was also used to model the jaws and to raise the strip tongue inside the gaping beak. It is not clear whether two tiny, worn projections on the remains of the lower jaw are meant to indicate teeth.

Coarse red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with white, brown and quartz inclusions. Traces of black paint on the neck. (Pl. 59)

Overall l. 5.4 cm.

650-620

**289.** Griffin protome detached from dinos or lid (?). Long, tubular neck merging with the back of the head on which only the stubs of the thin, closely spaced ears are preserved. The face is triangular with a gaping slot beak and pellet eyes.

Fine, very light brown clay (close to 10YR 8/4). Chipped at the beak and missing the ears. The neck is solidly painted and the eyes ringed with dark paint. (Pl. 59)

L. 4.7 cm. Diam. of neck 2.2 cm.  
650-620

**290.** Griffin protome very similar to **289**, but much broken and very worn.

Traces of brown paint. Missing the ears and most of the neck. (Pl. 59)

L. 2.4 cm. Diam. of neck 1.25 cm.  
650-620

### *Birds*

**291.** Bird's head with pellet eyes provided with pricked pupils.

Gritty orange clay (almost 5YR 6/6) with quartz grit. Chipped at the beak. (Pl. 59)

Ht. 2.75 cm. Diam. of neck 1.5 cm.  
LG?

**292.** Fragmentary and summarily rendered seated bird, detached from vessel or other object. Under one of the pellet eyes, which are the only feature shown, there are two fine, obliquely incised strokes. Rough underside.

Gritty red clay (2.5YR 5/6) with fine white grit. Missing the tail and tip of beak.

(Pl. 59)

Ht. 3 cm. L. 1.97 cm.

MG-LG

**293.** Bird's head, summarily modeled and very worn. The only feature discernible is the projection of the eyes, which may have been indicated in relief, although they could also be very worn pellets.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6) with yellowish brown core. (Pl. 59)

L. 2 cm. Diam. of neck 1.1 cm.  
LG ?

**294.** Bird (?) protome with thin, straight neck. The head has a kind of crest bisected in the back by a shallow, vertical incision, tiny pellet eyes and a slightly curved, blunt beak.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/8).

(Pl. 59)

Overall L. 2.7 cm.

LG or O ?

**295.** Seated bird detached from lid (?) Bulky body with folded wings indicated in barely perceptible relief and arching neck culminating in a tiny, aniconic head; the (missing) tail is narrow and flat. The underside is flattened and rough.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6) with light grey core. Chipped at the tail. (Pl. 59)  
Ht. 3.6 cm. L. 4.5 cm.

840-810 ?

**296.** Bird with open wings detached from tree or other object. Schematically but vividly portrayed with triangular wings, wide, flat and slightly uplifted tail and down curving neck. On the underside a small lump of clay served as means of attachment. Solidly painted with worn black paint.

Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4) with buff surface. Chipped at the tail; reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 59)

L. 3.8 cm. Wing span 3.7 cm.  
840-810

**297.** Flying bird with backward curving wings and fan-shaped tail that curves upward slightly. In contrast to the body, which is fairly substantial, the head is narrow and featureless. A narrow tube, pierced longitudinally, served as means of attachment.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). Faint traces of paint. Worn; one wing and the tail restored with plaster.

Ht. at mid body 2.6 cm. L. 6.2 cm. Wing span (after restoration) 6 cm. (Pl. 60)

840-810

**298.** Seated bird detached from lid (?). Summarily rendered with flat back and wide

tail. Oval area of attachment.

Fine orange clay with buff surface. Faint traces of paint. (Pl. 60)

Ht. 2.1 cm. L. 3.55 cm.

745-710

**299.** Seated bird detached from a vessel or other object. Head and body summarily rendered; the only details shown are the folded wings, which are indicated with groups of slightly curving incisions, and the eyes, which appear in relief but may be worn pellets.

Gritty brownish red clay (between 5YR 6/4 and 6/6). Chipped near the tail. (Pl. 60)

Ht. 2 cm. L. 4.5 cm.

7th cent.

**300.** Seated bird detached from lid or lip of vessel. Summarily rendered body and large head with down curving beak and impressed, hollow eyes.

Fine, light brown clay (10YR 8/4). Banded around the neck in worn brown paint with a dot added on the forehead and a dot rosette on the head and on the chest. There are traces of bands on either side of a solidly painted (?) area on the back, possibly indicating the wings. (Pl. 60)

Ht. 3.5 cm. L. 2.7 cm.

700-650

**301.** Bird protome perhaps detached from a lid. Long, sinuous neck culminating into knob head with disproportionately large beak divided into halves by a feeble incision. Fine pink clay (7.5YR 7/4, light brown slip (10YR 8/4). Decorated in black paint with bands down the neck, a circle of dots (or a dotted rosette) on the head and dots between bands on the beak. Reconstructed from two pieces. (Pl. 60)

Ht. 3.45 cm. L. of head 2.8 cm.

700-650.

**302.** Bird protome. The short and thin neck has a gash at the broken end, perhaps indicating the point of attachment to a vessel. The head is round with pricked eyes and a

long, pointed beak.

Fine reddish yellow clay (7.5YR 7/6). Traces of dark paint. Chipped. (Pl. 60)

L. of head 2.1 cm. Overall L. 2.6 cm.

650-630

**303.** Bird protome perhaps broken off a lid. The cylindrical neck culminates in a knob-like head dominated by the great, curved beak.

Fine reddish yellow clay (darker than 5YR 7/6), pinkish buff slip. The contour of the head and beak are outlined with wide strokes of black paint as are also the plastically indicated, almond-shaped eyes; the beak itself is daubed with paint. (Pl. 60)

L. of face 3.9 cm. Overall L. 4.1 cm.

650-630

**304.** Fragment of plastic vase in the shape of an owl. The round, solidly made head was strongly compressed on the sides to create sockets for the attachment of the pellet eyes and the short, curved and slotted beak. An irregularly shaped hole, made with a pointed tool, is located at the base of the hollow neck, under the beak.

Fine light reddish brown clay (5YR 6/4), yellowish buff slip. The head and neck are decorated with streaky lines and the 'body' with blobs and short strokes. (Pl. 60)

Ht. 5.9 cm. Ht. of head 3 cm.

650-630

**305.** Bird protome attached to fragment of lid. Sinuous neck culminating in a rounded head, on which the circular eyes and their pupils are indicated with paint.

Gritty pink clay (7.5YR 7/4) with reddish, brown and grey inclusions. Decorated with blobs on the neck and bands around its base. The surviving part of the lid is decorated with fine concentric lines and a zone of radiating tongues. Missing most of the beak.

(Fig. 6; Pl. 61)

L. 6 cm.

650-630.

**306.** Bird protome with rounded head,



compressed on the sides to form the closed beak, which was divided with a thin painted line. The almost almond-shaped eyes are outlined with paint and provided with a dotted pupil.

Gritty reddish yellow clay (5YR 7/6). The whole surface is covered with small careless dots and dashes. (Pl. 61)

L. 3.75 cm. Diam. of neck 1.4 cm.

650-630

**307.** Protome of bird (?) with long, straight, completely cylindrical neck. The mutilated head preserves only part of the curved beak and traces of a disk eye with pricked pupil. The broken base of the neck has a tiny cavity in the center.

Fine buff clay. Many traces of purplish red paint. (Pl. 61)

Ht. 6 cm. Diam. of neck 1.6 cm.

7th cent. ?

### *Unidentified*

**308.** Animal or human head attached to the base of the vertical handle of a trefoil jug, looking inward. The tiny pricked eyes are the only feature discernible.

Very gritty, light red clay (darker than 2.5YR 6/6), with white, brown and grey inclusions and grey core. Missing the muzzle and horns (?). (Pl. 61)

W. of head 4 cm. Overall ht. of fragment 7.1 cm.

7th cent. ?

## XI. MOULDMADE PLAQUES

For reasons already mentioned<sup>435</sup>, nos. 309-324 are also included in this study, despite being two- rather than three-dimensional representations of animals. The craftsmen themselves probably thought little of this distinction, producing many hybrids, such as the long series of mouldmade plaques with female figures in relief, which became quasi-three-dimensional after the flat background was trimmed off<sup>436</sup>, or the similarly made feline head 314 from Syme itself, in which the third dimension was further emphasized when a couple of slashes with a knife gave the animal an open mouth.

The few pieces and fragments discussed in this section belong to a class of terracotta votives with representations in relief, which were produced inexpensively and in abundance from moulds and became very popular in the seventh century. The largest assemblages published from Crete come from Gortyn and Axos<sup>437</sup>; small groups or isolated examples are known from several other sites<sup>438</sup>, while a significant number has been found at Syme itself.

Animals appear less often than human figures, but were common enough subjects for the decoration of the plaques. Lions, panthers and horses were particularly favored as were also mythical creatures, especially sphinxes, griffins and winged horses. The animals, real or imaginary, were represented singly or in heraldic compositions, whose central element is a human figure – the Master or Mistress of Animals – or a floral motif.

It is widely accepted that the technique of mouldmade plaques was introduced from the Near East at the end of the eighth century. The decorative motifs and compositional patterns are also thought to be largely of eastern inspiration, although the precise period of transmission is a matter of debate. There is little doubt, however, that in the seventh century the influence of Cretan metalwork was decisive in every aspect of the production of clay plaques. Technically, this influence is particularly striking in the case of the plaques where the background of the representations was partly cut away or the edge trimmed to coincide with their

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435. Prologue XI.

436. See comments by Boardman 1961, 108.

437. Rizza and Scrinari 1968; Rizza 1967/1968.

438. Lato: Demargne 1929, 417-426; Anavlochos: Demargne 1931, 395-403, 408-412; Praisos: Mollard-Besques 1954, nos. 178-179. Much of this material is discussed in Dohan 1930-1931 and

Boardman 1961, 108-113. For a more recently found example from Tsoutsouros see *BCH* 89, 1965, 887 fig. 11. For another example said to be from Aphrati see Despinis 1966. See also Blome 1982, pl. 16.3 for an example in Basel. For material of later periods see Sporn 2002, 353-354.

outline. It is clear that these plaques imitate the cut-out plaques of bronze. There are several examples of such clay plaques from Gortyn<sup>439</sup>, but only two small fragments among the plaques from Syme discussed here (317, 320)<sup>440</sup>. The decoration of the clay plaques must have also been influenced by metalwork, where the same motifs and compositional patterns were common by the mid-ninth century<sup>441</sup>.

The same motifs were also popular in the decoration of other categories of clay objects. Particularly close parallels occur in the mouldmade decoration of pithoi<sup>442</sup>, even though the technique was utilized differently in each case and produced a different kind of relief. Even the painted pottery of the period was decorated with the same compositions. Indeed the closest parallel for the Syme plaques with heraldically positioned lions is the panel decorating the shoulder of a vessel from Aphrati<sup>443</sup>.

Felines are dominant in the decoration of the best preserved plaques from Syme. Two of them, decorated with rampant lions (310 and 311), were made from the same mould that was used for a plaque dedicated at the cave sanctuary of Eileithyia at Tsoutsouros (ancient *Inatos*), on the south coast of Crete, not too far from Syme<sup>444</sup>. A third plaque (309) is almost exactly the same, the only differences being the shape of the plaque itself and a slight variation in the pattern formed by the lions' tail. Two more (312 and 313) make use of elements from the same composition in different combinations.

The motif is rare at Gortyn, where the only related plaque has a representation of rampant lions flanking a female figure<sup>445</sup>. It does occur on pithoi<sup>446</sup>, but is most common on the sixth century bronze shield straps of Olympia<sup>447</sup>. The close similarities of the composition of 309 and 310/311 and of the lions themselves with the panel on the jug from Aphrati suggest that they are all contemporary works dated ca. 670-650. The fragment of a bronze cut-out plaque from Syme, which preserves part of a similar composition, belongs in the same period<sup>448</sup>.

The lions on the Syme plaques and the Aphrati jug have a pointed muzzle and no mane; their bodies are slender with very narrow abdomen and their tails and boneless limbs, which curve into calligraphic patterns, can scarcely be differentiated from the tendrils of the motifs that support them. The animals on 313 with

439. E.g. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, nos. 79 and 122, and 317 from Syme.

440. For the bronze cut-out plaques from Syme see Lebessi 1985.

441. For a discussion of the connection between metal and clay plaques see Lebessi 1985, 78-81 with refs. A fragmentary four-sided stand from Syme, dated in the (Cretan) LPG period, is decorated on one side with the motif of the Master of Animals flanked by horses. For some of the fragments see *Prakt* 1974, pl. 168a; 1981, pl. 259b; 1997, pl. 120b. See also Lebessi 2002, 71-74 and

below XIV, 161.

442. Cf. Pernier 1914, fig. 37 (Potnia with horses on pithos from Prinias) with Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. 35 no. 236 (plaque from Gortyn).

443. Levi 1927-1929, fig. 472a-b.

444. HM 13262, illustrated in *BCH* 89, 1965, 887 fig. 11.

445. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. 14 no. 50; pl. 32 no. 216.

446. Schäfer 1957, pl. IV. 2-3.

447. Kunze 1950, 54-57; Bol 1989, 40-41.

448. Lebessi 1985, B2.

their longer, almost canine face, are somewhat heavier as is also the whole composition, which, lacking a central supporting element, develops horizontally within an oblong frame. The squatting pose as well as the placement of the front legs occur at Gortyn in representations of sphinxes in the Middle Dedalic phase<sup>449</sup> as well as later<sup>450</sup>. Antithetical representations of lions on the shield straps of Olympia, on which the squatting lions avert their heads and touch the groundline only with their feet<sup>451</sup>, provide even closer iconographic parallels. The placement of the bodies is equally contrived on both **313** and the shield straps, but the half-crouched pose of the lions imparts a sense of impending motion to the scene on the humble Syme plaque that is missing from the representations on the bronzes, where it merely contributes to a more fluid, calligraphic pattern. The elasticity of the animals' bodies and the other features that **313** shares with the rest of the lion plaques from Syme suggest that they are all approximately contemporary, although **313** must have been made in another workshop, as its different fabric indicates<sup>452</sup>. The 'mask' **314** belongs among the frontal heads best known from Gortyn<sup>453</sup>, whose background was trimmed away. The Syme example is similar but of far better quality and most likely of earlier date, since its features bring it close to heads such as **256**<sup>454</sup>. The addition of the open mouth may also refer to the snarling mouth of such early lion protomes.

The rest of the material is in fragments, which, being small and decorated with common motifs, are practically impossible to date. Some of them, such as **315-320** belonged to plaques decorated with lions or sphinxes in heraldic compositions similar to those represented on **309-311**. **315**, which is iconographically very close to the lion plaques, and **316-318** that are carefully modeled, may belong to the mid-seventh century<sup>455</sup>, while **319** and **320** are more summarily executed and could be of later date<sup>456</sup>.

The small cut-out fragment **317** is of some interest. The shape of the preserved ear and the way the outline of the face overlaps the neck indicate a feline, whose head was represented frontally. Given that the front leg of the animal was at least partly raised, the composition can be reconstructed as being similar with the representation of two confronted panthers on the so-called Crowe cuirass from Olympia<sup>457</sup>. The superior quality of this small fragment suggests an earlier date, perhaps close to that of the representation of the confronted panthers with a sin-

449. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. 19 no. 107 and pl. 27 no. 171 respectively.

450. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. 30 no. 207.

451. Kunze 1950, pl. 8 no. Ig.

452. See also below XII, 118-119.

453. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pls. 32 no. 215 and 33 no. 218.

454. X, 91.

455. For the closest parallel of **316** see the

shoulder panel of a MD pithos in Möller 1970, pl. 25 C28.

456. For the pose of the sphinxes or lions represented on **319** see Kunze 1950, pl. 16 IIIg or IV and for **320** Bol 1989, pl. 52 H21z, pl. 67 no. 45 a-c.

457. Hoffmann 1972, pl. 25b. Cf. also the striding panther on a plaque from Gortyn (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, pl. 33 no. 217).



gle frontal head on the Metaxas mitra. The mitra has been dated at the latest c. 650-640<sup>458</sup>.

A couple of other fragments are parts of representations of sphinxes. The wide stride of the long legs of the sphinx on **322** and its straight-sided wing are close to those of a sphinx on a pithos metope of the LD phase. The wing of the sphinx on the pithos covers just about all the width of the body, of which only a narrow strip of the underside is visible; on the Syme sphinx even this remnant of the body is omitted<sup>459</sup>. On **323** a small part of a crouching sphinx is preserved. The pose is that of a sphinx on the fragment of a pithos in Oxford<sup>460</sup>, but the wing is of the same type as that represented on **322**.

The small fragment **321** could not have been identified on its own, but has a completely preserved duplicate in one of two plaques belonging to the Metaxas Collection, which are said to come from Tsoutsouros<sup>461</sup>. These two pieces are of interest, since they illustrate the sort of practices that allowed craftsmen to maximize their profits with little effort. In this case the Tsoutsouros plaques can be shown to be two halves of a single, oblong plaque, decorated with a symmetrical composition of two winged horses flanking a floral ornament (Pl. 64). The Syme fragment belongs to another copy of the right half that preserves only part of the striding winged horse and the front of the flying bird above the horse's rump. All pieces are flimsy and the decoration is summarily executed in low, much worn relief. The second flying bird, which was positioned vertically between the horses' legs and is not preserved on the Syme fragment, was only lightly imprinted on the Metaxas plaque and traces of its head are discernible only on the left half.

The plaques are not difficult to date. The horses are very close to those decorating the frieze of temple A at Prinias, dated c. 640<sup>462</sup>. In the well known representation on an urn from Aphrati<sup>463</sup>, also dated c. 640, the shape of the horse led by a man is even closer to that on the Metaxas and Syme plaques in the slight narrowing of the abdomen that contributes to a somewhat more pronounced sense of motion than there is in the static horses of the Prinias frieze.

The composition on **321** and the Metaxas plaques conforms to the pattern of many other such representations of heraldically positioned animals that have a long tradition in Crete and occur on many plaques (including several from Syme) as well as other media, but the insertion of the bird motifs as filling ornaments

458. Lebessi 1969, 112 pl. 6 = Hoffmann 1972, pl. 36.

459. Möller 1970, pl. 37b C19. For a parallel on a plaque see Boardman 1961, pl. 39 no. 500.

460. Boardman 1961, pl. 40 no. 501.

461. Metaxas Collection nos. 903-904. The representation is framed by narrow raised borders, the lower of which serves as groundline. Right half: Ht. 6.2 cm. L. 7.5 cm. Left half: Ht. 6.2 cm. L. 8 cm.

Th. of both plaques 6-8 ml. The reverse has some large but not deeply impressed finger marks.

462. For the date of the Prinias riders see D'Acunto 1995, 38-43.

463. D'Acunto 1995, fig. 18. It must be admitted, however, that this is true of the horse on the right side of the plaque (and the Syme duplicate), whereas the body of the horse on the left is shaped exactly like those on the Prinias frieze.

over the horses' rumps and under their bellies gives it a Geometric flavor, recalling representations on LG pottery from areas outside Crete, such as those painted by the Cesnola Painter, whose work was known in Crete<sup>464</sup>. The horse continued to be popular on Cycladic Subgeometric pottery and in the first half of the seventh century on 'Melian' vases, on which antithetical arrangements with numerous filling motifs (including an occasional bird) were favored. Despite this long tradition, it is thought that the type of horse represented on the 'Melian' vases of this period was borrowed from Cretan representations dating c. 675-650<sup>465</sup>.

Despite the Geometric overtones of the composition on the Metaxas and Syme plaques the bird motifs are no more Geometric than the horses. The bird positioned at the upper corner of the plaques is a summarily executed flying bird of the Cretan Orientalizing type, with the lower wing omitted<sup>466</sup>. The second flying bird that was inserted between the horses' legs is clearly represented as seen from above, but the details are indistinct. There are no traces of feet protruding to the side, like those of a bird portrayed on a LG or EO lid from Fortetsa, so that it is more likely that no feet at all were shown, as on a very similar bird flying under a galloping rider on a pithos fragment from Prinias, dated before 650<sup>467</sup>. Similar flying birds with or without feet occur in Protocorinthian, Corinthian as well as Protoattic pottery<sup>468</sup>. On the basis of this limited evidence it seems that the decoration of the Cretan plaques incorporates elements that may well not have been borrowed until the seventh century and were used occasionally without ever becoming popular.

The attack of a lion on a bull was a fairly common motif in the seventh century and became especially popular in the first half of the sixth. It certainly occurs on Cretan metalwork<sup>469</sup> but not, in so far as the published material is concerned, on the terracotta plaques. Nor was it used on the bronze shield bands from Olympia. The remnant of such a scene on 324 appears to be a rare exception. The lack of parallels among the relevant material and the poor preservation of the fragment make it impossible to reconstruct the composition. The craftsman probably meant to reproduce the motif of the lion biting the bull's neck and may have succeeded in only filling the lion's mouth with the bull's ear. It is equally possible that he chose to represent the actual act of biting, somewhat like the representation on

464. For a recent discussion of this workshop see Kourou 1998 with refs. and for a list of attributions Coldstream 1971, 8-9; Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 74-75. Assigned to Euboea in the second, undated, edition of Coldstream 1968, 463-464.

465. Zaphiropoulou 2003, pl. 68 no. 84 (dated 650-625) with a bird between the hind legs of a horse.

466. Brock 1957, Motif 17ab.

467. Pernier 1914, 93 fig. 47. For the date see Schäfer 1957, 12 no. 3.

468. For the Fortetsa lid see Brock 1957, motif 17h. For non-Cretan examples see Krüger 1940, pls. 7-8, 12; Brann 1962, 91 pl. 32 no. 528 and also Mbozana-Kourou 1980, pl. 143b, for a flying bird of the Thapsos class dated c. 690.

469. See especially Kunze 1931, no. 43, pl. 39; Hoffmann 1972, pl. 25c.

an ivory panel from Nimrud, on which the muzzle of the lion overlaps the bull's nape, while its mouth still gapes open<sup>470</sup>. In any case, the head of the bull, which is the best preserved part of the scene, is very close to that of the bulls represented on the Crowe cuirass<sup>471</sup> and even closer to the head of a bull on a clay plaque from Himera<sup>472</sup>. The cuirass and the plaque are dated respectively to the end of the seventh century and the transition to the sixth<sup>473</sup>.

Technically the plaques from Syme are very similar with those found at Gortyn and other sites<sup>474</sup>. On the other hand, there are few similarities in the choice of subjects and the iconography between the material from Syme and that of Gortyn. It is likely that the Syme plaques were made in local workshops, which may have also supplied other sanctuaries in the vicinity, but not as far as the Mesara. In view of their close connections with other material from Aphrati, the two moulds that were used for the plaques found at Syme and Tsoutsouros may well have originated at Arkadhes, which, as the crow flies, is almost equidistant from these two sanctuaries.

### Catalogue

**309.** Rectangular mouldmade plaque impressed with the representation of two rampant, heraldically positioned lions regardant. In the foreground the converging front legs of the animals form an acute angle above a central floral motif, on which the other pair of front legs rest. The motif has a crescent-shaped finial and a pair of spiral leaves at mid-stalk. The lions' tails curl over the hindquarters in a figure-8 pattern. The plaque is of uneven thickness and on the reverse there are many finger marks near the center and along the edges, where there is a slight overflow of clay.

Fine, poorly fired clay, shading from pink (7.5YR 8/4) to reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6) at the core. Traces of black paint. Reconstructed from two fragments; a small, non-joining

piece of the missing upper left corner survives. (Pl. 61)

Dim. 5.5 x 5.5 cm. Th. 1.3 cm.  
670-650

**310.** Semi-elliptical mouldmade plaque, impressed from a similar, but smaller mould than that of **309**. The only difference in the representation of the lions is that their tails curl into a simple spiral. The scene is enclosed within a raised frame 5.5 ml wide. Reverse similar to that of **309** but worn.

Clay same as that of **309** but better fired. Traces of black paint. Reconstructed from two fragments. Worn at lower edge. (Pl. 61)

Dim. 4.5 x 5.6 cm. Th. 0.9 cm.  
670-650

470. Mallowan and Herrmann 1974, pl. 106 no. 105a. On the ivory, which is more than two centuries earlier, the left paw of the lion grips the front leg of the bull just as on the plaque, but the bull's ear is not shown.

471. Hoffmann 1972, pl. 25b.

472. Bonacasa 1967/1968, fig. 4.

473. For Cretan bulls of this period on a plaque (?) from Knossos see Boardman 1962, 32-33 pl. 4B.

474. See also below XII, 127.

**311.** Another copy of **310**, missing part of one side. (Pl. 62)

Dim.  $4.9 \times 4.8$  cm. Th. 0.9 cm.

670-650

**312.** Rectangular mouldmade plaque impressed with a representation of rampant lions, rearing up on both hind legs. Only one pair of front legs rest on the central motif, which is reduced to two spiral tendrils growing side by side out of the groundline. The reverse has been smoothed with a tool and is somewhat recessed, leaving a slight overflow of clay on the vertical sides.

Very gritty, pink (7.5YR 7/4) clay with many red/brown inclusions and chaff. Traces of red paint. Most of the upper edge broken off. Heads worn down. (Pl. 62)

Dim.  $5 \times 5.5$  cm. Th. 0.9 cm.

670-650

**313.** Rectangular mouldmade plaque impressed with the representation of two squatting, confronted lions regardant. Their raised front legs are parallel to and contiguous with each other, while their tails curl like those of the lions on **309**. The reverse surface is uneven and under the right edge, where the thickness is much reduced, there is the imprint of four fingers.

Very gritty reddish yellow clay (redder than 5YR 6/8) with white inclusions. Reconstructed from three fragments with the addition of some plaster. (Pl. 62)

Dim.  $10.7 \times 8.3$  cm. Th. 1.4 cm.

670-650

**314.** Mouldmade plaque in the shape of a panther's face. A segment of a disk in very low relief with a suspension hole in the center occupies the space between the upright, hollow ears. At the lower edge, behind the jaws, there is a deep, semicircular slash made with a tool. The reverse has largely peeled off, but on the original surface that survives near the edges there are clear finger marks.

Fine, almost pink clay (closest to 7.5YR 7/4) with a brownish tinge. (Pl. 62)

Ht. of face 4 cm. W. at the ears 4.65 cm.

650-630

**315.** Fragment of rectangular mouldmade plaque that preserves the curled tail of an animal, most likely a lion, from a composition such as that of **311** or **309**. The reverse is very smooth.

Very gritty light red (2.5YR 6/6) clay with white inclusions. (Pl. 63)

Ht. 3.2 cm. W. 2.3 cm. Th. 0.65 cm.

650-630

**316.** Fragment of the upper edge of a plaque that preserves part of the frontally represented head of a sphinx, crowned with an ornament of antithetically arranged spirals. A narrow raised frame, impressed with a rope pattern, runs along the edge. Fingermarks on the reverse. (Pl. 63)

Clay same as that of **315**. Traces of black paint.

Ht. 4.6 cm. W. 4.7 cm. Th. 0.78 cm.

650-630

**317.** Fragmentary cut-out plaque, which preserves the chest and neck of an animal as well as the edge of the face and one ear. The shoulder joint is outlined with a curved line. The single front leg indicated was also cut-out and the preserved part suggests that it was at least partly bent. The reverse is fairly smooth with a slight overflow of clay on the finished edges.

Clay same as that of **315**. Traces of brown paint. (Pl. 63)

Ht. 6.7 cm. W. 6 cm. Th. 1.3 cm.

650-630

**318.** Fragment of a rectangular mouldmade plaque, which preserves a bit of the lower edge and the representation of the hindquarters of a feline. The reverse has peeled off and is somewhat concave. (Pl. 63)

Clay same as that of **315**.

Dim.  $3.8 \times 3.5$  cm. Th. 0.6 cm.

650-630

**319.** Fragment of the upper edge of rectangular mouldmade plaque, which preserves two suspension holes; between them are the antithetically arranged front feet of two lions or sphinxes. The reverse is fairly smooth with some clay overflow along the edge.



Clay same as that of **315** (closer to 2.5YR 5/8).  
(Pl. 63)

Ht. 3.6 cm. L. 5.3 cm.  
640-620

**320.** Fragment of a cut-out mouldmade plaque, which preserves the antithetically positioned front feet of two lions or sphinxes, resting on a central, cut-out element. The reverse is smooth with an almost imperceptible overflow of clay near the cut edge.

Gritty reddish yellow clay with a brownish tinge (closest to 7.5YR 6/6) with white inclusions and mica. (Pl. 63)

Dim. 3 × 3.7 cm. Th. 1 cm.  
640-620

**321.** Fragment of mouldmade plaque that preserves part of the body and the wing of a winged horse. Part of a bird is visible behind the wing. On the upper left edge part of a suspension hole is preserved. The reverse is very smooth.

Clay same as that of **309**. (Pl. 64)

Dim. 3.7 x 3.0 cm. Th. 0.85 cm.  
640-620

**322.** Small fragment of plaque, which preserves the front part of a sphinx striding left;

trace of hair at the top edge. The reverse has traces of the pressing and smoothing process.

Clay same as that of **315**. Reconstructed from two fragments; much of the surface peeled off. (Pl. 63)

Ht. 4.9 cm. W. 3 cm. Th. 0.4 cm.  
640-620

**323.** Fragment of plaque, which preserves a bit of the lower edge. Of the representation of a seated sphinx, only the hind foot and the root of the wing survives. The reverse is very smooth.

Gritty clay, same as that of **315**, well fired. (Pl. 64)

Dim. 3.8 x 4 cm. Th 0.8 cm.  
640-620

**324.** Fragmentary plaque, which preserves on the upper left edge the head of a lion attacking a collapsing bull facing right. The bull's horn is almost entirely obliterated, while his ear is engulfed in the lion's open mouth. A trace of the lion's claws is preserved on the bull's leg. Fairly smooth reverse.

Gritty clay same as that of **317** with white inclusions up to 4 ml. (Pl. 64)

Dim. 3.1 x 2.6 cm.  
c. 600

## XII. TECHNIQUE AND DECORATION

The technique and decoration of zoomorphic terracottas have generated much interest in the case of wheelmade figures and figurines, but have been sparingly discussed in the case of handmade animals. This is equally true of early as well as recent publications that have all paid little attention to technical details<sup>475</sup>. The only technical aspect of the figurines that has been discussed to any extent is their fabric, the varieties of which are frequently linked to chronological periods. As already mentioned<sup>476</sup>, the present study assumes that different fabrics reflect primarily the products of different workshops that may have been located in the vicinity of the sanctuary or farther away. Evidence for on-site production of terracottas, such as has been identified in the case of votive objects of other materials, is lacking<sup>477</sup>. In any case, this is not a question that can or should be answered just on the basis of one assemblage, but has to be considered in the context of all the other as yet unpublished clay objects found at the sanctuary, including the pottery.

The fabrics used in the production of the handmade animals found at Syme are here described according to Munsell color chart determinations, except for the buff or light brown shades that cannot be matched in Munsell. Match-ups were made in broken areas, except in the few cases of intact figurines where the surface color was matched. In the description of the texture the terms 'gritty' and 'coarse' reflect the size of the inclusions. Particles larger than 2 ml. in length or diameter characterize the clay as coarse. In some cases, as those of the stallion 12 or the ram 158, whose clay is packed with large inclusions, the fabric is described as 'very coarse'.

For comparisons with other bodies of material these data may be of more use than mere verbal descriptions, but are not adequate for distinguishing fabrics securely or for dealing with the effects of uneven firing or the changes brought about by taphonomic conditions. The petrographic analyses of some of the figurines and attachments that were carried out and are published here by Drs. Nodarou and Rathossi, albeit too few to be representative of the entire range of material, can serve as a firm basis for identifying clays and clarifying some aspects of the technique.

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475. Heilmeyer 1972, 2-3; Jarosch 60-61. The most specific recent discussion is in Kourou and Karetso 1994, 134-135.

476. II, 10-11.

477. For a discussion see Lebessi 2002, 185-192.

The five different clays identified on the basis of seven samples (**114**, **270**, **46**, **51**, **97**, **177**, **226**) within the single group of material, which seemed on the basis of visual examination to be made of fine fabric fired to light orange hues (usually 7.5YR 7/6 or 5YR 7/6), provide extremely valuable evidence for the diversity of fabrics used for contemporary works (e.g. **46**, **51**). However, since macroscopic matching is obviously unreliable, there is no way of telling how much of the untested material was made of each petrographically identified clay or how long the fabrics based on each of these clays were in use.

The three samples made of micaceous fabric (**149**, **253**, **243**) seem to confirm the macroscopic identification of this fabric that looks very distinctive in terms of both firing and inclusions, but again it is not possible to tell how many other objects that look similar were actually made of this very fabric.

The fabric of **215** and of its identical pair **216**, seemed, on visual examination, to be unique, since it could not be matched in Munsell or with any of the other figurines and attachments, but whether this is also reflected in the distinctive fine volcanic fabric identified by analysis, cannot be determined. On the other hand, the EG horses **2-6**, which are formally so similar that they could only have been produced in the same workshop, most likely by the same craftsman, turn out, on the basis of the analysis of **5**, to have been made of a fabric that is distinctive in terms of both color and temper. This fabric is a variant of a low grade metamorphic clay that was used for other pieces in other periods (e.g. **247**, **238**), in other words a recipe developed by the workshop-craftsman that made the EG horse figurines. This is not so clear in the case of the horses **42-48**, which also stand out as a group because of their peculiar modeling and shared decorative approach. It is very likely that all of them were made of the same fine calcareous clay as the analyzed **46**, but their fabric does not look as homogeneous as that of **2-6** either in color or texture, being gritty rather than fine in some cases, perhaps indicating that the figurines were not all made and fired at the same time, as was the case with the group of EG horses.

The analytical study of the sampled figurines and attachments from Syme has come to the conclusion that the workshops that provided the sanctuary with animal figurines and pottery decorated with animal-shaped attachments were located in the area around the sanctuary, the limits of which are broadly defined as encompassing the south coast as well as the areas of Viannos and Males, extending as far as the eastern Mesara. The basis of the argument is that all the clays identified in the samples can be found within this area. Although this interpretation of the analytical data is well argued, there are several factors that make it less persuasive than it seems. The fact that the clays identified also occur in other areas of Crete is one such factor. Their variety, however, which, given the small number of samples, is impressive, seems even more significant and surely reflects the formal diversity of the material. Although the existence of one or more local workshop cannot be totally excluded, both analytical and stylistic evidence are indicative of multiple production centers. It is difficult enough to accept that this relatively restricted area, in which not a single Geometric settlement has been identified so far, could

support several workshops that produced clay votives and even more so to believe that, within any given period during a span of c. 150 years, locally based craftsmen consistently made them very differently from each other. The question of the provenance of the figurines and the location of the centers of their production will be discussed again in the following chapter in the context of other such discussions devoted to the much more often considered bronze votives.

The analyses have also provided important information concerning the techniques employed in the production of the figurines and attachments. It is especially interesting that, although the care taken to levigate fine clays is well demonstrated by the analyses, in the case of two fabrics (calcareous metamorphic and coarse silicate), there are indications that the craftsmen may have mixed different clays. This is documented by a single sample in each case (**209** and **246**), which are separated from each other by many centuries. It is, therefore, unclear whether they represent an established method aimed at taking advantage of the particular properties of different clays or are simply exceptional cases that demonstrate the tendency of the craftsmen to make do, on occasion, with what was conveniently on hand, just like they did in other technical details of the figurines. Thus, although in general coarse fabrics were used for larger pieces, there are a few exceptions, such as the bovid **127**, a small and well modeled figurine of surprisingly coarse clay.

The analyses also document fairly pronounced differences in the firing of different fabrics, with more samples belonging in the high ranges. This does not, however, correlate with the fact that many of the figurines have fairly thick cores of greyish shades that indicate that they were not left in the kiln at high temperatures very long. The two samples that were fired at exceptionally high temperatures (**124**, **207**) as well as **118**, which was not sampled, are exceptions within the assemblage. Similarly, very poorly fired pieces are only a little less uncommon (**122**, **186**, **194**, **213**) and so are misfired figurines<sup>478</sup>.

The technique itself, i.e. the manner in which handmade animal figurines were put together, is considered so simple, especially as compared with that of the hollow, wheelmade animals, that it is hardly mentioned<sup>479</sup>. It was certainly an additive process, in which the head, legs and tail were attached to the basic cylinder of the body. The diametrically opposite process of pinching out some or, in rare cases, all features out of the body, as was often the case with small MM clay animals, does occur at Syme, especially in the small group of early horses **2-4**<sup>480</sup>. The close connections of this group with bronze horse figurines indicate that their modeling imitated the shaping of the wax prototypes for bronze figurines cast by the lost wax method<sup>481</sup>. The same is true of a much larger group of animals from

478. **94**, whose muzzle is misshapen; **30** with legs bent sideways.

479. E.g. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 134.

480. See also sheep **165-166** and **227**.

481. See above III, 16.



Syme that were finger-modeled and then left unsmoothed, so that their surface is rough and covered with dense finger marks<sup>482</sup>. The bronze animals modeled in the same way from Syme and other Cretan sites have been dated in the transition from the third to the fourth quarter of the eighth century just like those from Olympia, but their rough modeling is considered as a feature of a particular workshop rather than characteristic of this period<sup>483</sup>. This is certainly the case with the terracottas as well, not only because of the close similarity of the figurines, but also because they do not seem to be present at any other site, an additional indication that they were a short-lived experiment of a single production center.

A single animal from Syme, the stallion **12**, demonstrates another technical link with bronze casting. As already mentioned<sup>484</sup>, the shape of the front thighs of this figure reflects a peculiarity of the wax models of some bronze animal figurines that is attested at Syme itself as well as other sites. I know of no other clay animals with this feature, except for a wheelmade bovid from Patsos that has been dated in the PG period<sup>485</sup>. This animal is of interest, since not only are his front legs modeled as rectangular raised strips, just like those of the stallion **12**, but his hind legs are also modeled in the same manner, except that the (partly broken off) upper edge of the thigh appears to have been rounded, just like those of some bronze figurines that were made of flat strips of wax not smoothed on to the body<sup>486</sup>. Since this is clearly a feature peculiar to metalwork and not to clay, the bovid from Patsos must be of later date, since there are no PG bronzes that have limbs attached in such a fashion.

Another modeling technique that is thought to have been transferred from one material to the other is exemplified at Syme by the large ram **181**, whose underside is hollow. Bronze animals with more or less hollow underside are quite common at Syme as well as other sites from the late ninth century on, while partially hollow terracottas are very rare. Nevertheless, in the publication of the bronze animals from Syme it was suggested that because one of these terracottas, a bull from Patsos, has been dated in LM IIIC, this technique was borrowed by the bronzes from the clay animals<sup>487</sup>.

In my opinion it makes no sense that this particular technique, which was presumably employed in the production of bronze animals in order to reduce the amount of metal needed for a casting, would have been invented to make objects of clay. It also seems implausible that the body of these terracotta animals was modeled on top of a wooden stick, as it is usually stated<sup>488</sup>. This method would have

482. **41-50, 129, 130, 168-172, 226**. See also above III, 22 and V, 65.

483. Schürmann 1994, 110 n. 198 for examples from other Cretan sites.

484. III, 18.

485. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, figs. 17-18 no. 9.

486. See Schürmann 1994, 200-201 n. 553 for discussion. See also above III, 18 n. 130.

487. Schürmann 1994, 181-182 n. 427; 196 n. 518; 224.

488. For such statements concerning other examples from Crete see Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 135 no. 25, figs. 46-47, which should be dated

produced a body with a cross-section shaped like an inverted U with flat edges, since the process would have had to be carried out on a level surface. Instead the underside of the Syme ram has a relatively narrow opening with vertical edges that were clearly cut with a knife (Pl. 41). The underside of the bull from Patsos, just mentioned, has an even narrower opening that was cut in exactly the same way. In addition, since this figurine is in excellent condition, the interior of the belly preserves the clear marks of the narrow knife with which the clay was dug out. These marks extend on the inner side of the legs, indicating that the figurine was complete before the emptying of the belly, which must have been done before the figurine had dried completely. The Syme ram, of which less than half is preserved, was made the same way but the traces of the tool are extremely worn.

There is no obvious technical reason why this method was used in the two animals from Syme and Patsos as well as a few others, so the only explanation that remains is that the makers of these figurines were imitating contemporary bronzes.

The technique and shape of wheelmade animal figures also influenced a few handmade figurines, including two from Syme. The cylindrical shape of the rams **158** and **178** as well as the technique employed in the attachment of the legs of **158** leave no doubt of this connection.

The cases mentioned so far are essentially exceptions, since they pertain only to a small percentage of the figurines. The majority of the clay animals from Syme were modeled and smoothed by hand. The fingerprints of the craftsmen are often discernible in areas where pressure was exerted to attach and shape parts, such as the dewlap (**130**), the mane (**43**) or the hindquarters<sup>489</sup>, or to pinch out the tail and smooth the space between the legs<sup>490</sup>. Occasionally the pressure was overdone, so that some bulls/bovids have raised or slightly turned heads<sup>491</sup>. In general the joins were well done and smoothed, so that parts could break off but were not frequently detached. The latter happened sometimes with the genitals, which had been simply pressed in place, as well as with the horns. The horns were often made of one piece and smoothed on, leaving a more or less pronounced ridge on top of the skull, a practice, common to both clay and bronze animals, that for bovids/bulls was never given up. Occasionally most of this ridge together with the horns has become detached, exposing the ball of clay from which the head had been shaped (Pl. 31).

Tools were certainly also employed, most likely in all periods. There is no doubt that the craftsmen combined fingers and tools as it suited them (e.g. **152**, **220**), although such details are usually obscured by the wear of the surface. It is, nevertheless, obvious that a fairly narrow spatula was always used to model angular transitions, as on the muzzles of several bovids dated in the third quarter of the

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not in LM IIIC, but in the early seventh century. Sporn 2001, 57 nos. 51-52, pl. 8. 7-8. For two examples from Samos of the early seventh century see Jarosch 1994, 58 nos. 361-362, pl. 28.

489. **22**, **189**, **190**.

490. **54**, **102**.

491. **115**, **131**, **145**, **153**; for another such figurine from Vrokastro see Hayden 1991, pl. 49.11.

eight century<sup>492</sup>, the neck of horses of the same period<sup>493</sup> as well as of later animals<sup>494</sup>, but also to separate legs (177) or to smooth over details such as the head and the dewlap (99) or larger surfaces, especially on the flanks<sup>495</sup> or even the whole body<sup>496</sup>. Another thin and pointed tool was also employed in the joining and smoothing process, especially in narrow areas, such as between legs, where the fingers could not reach (216, 230).

The same or a very similar tool was used to make tiny depressions evidently in the process of anchoring more securely anatomical details, such as the mane of horse 42, or the chest strip of horse 59, or the dewlap of bovid 121. Finally in some cases when clay had to be cut deeply, a quick slash of a knife provided the means<sup>497</sup>.

A few figurines have circular depressions or cavities, usually pricked or impressed with sticks, in addition to those that indicate features such as the nostrils or the anus. Some were used to elaborate anatomical features, like the pricked interior of the folded ears of horse 31 or the pricked interior of the mouth of bull 129. Others, such as that on the chest of bull 133, which was made with the same metal tool that impressed the large nostrils and anus, or the three pushed across and through the body of bull 136 are of uncertain significance and may be simply a means of varying the surface, in others words purely decorative.

Perforations are generally uncommon and have sometimes been considered firing or ventilation holes, but it is doubtful that such holes were necessary for the generally small handmade figurines. There are plenty of large or relatively large examples in the Syme assemblage, like the fragmentary bull 118, that were fired very hard without such aids. In the publication of the clay figurines from Samos it has been argued that such perforations represent the use of wooden sticks that were inserted to make the attachment of the limbs to the body more secure<sup>498</sup>. Although, as mentioned above, this was a technique used in the construction of wheelmade figures, both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic, it is again a procedure unnecessary in the production of small figurines. In the case of the particular figurine from Samos that has been used as an example of this technique, it is obvious that it bears perforations in spots that have nothing to do with joins. The same is true of the animals from Syme that have the same feature. It is therefore much more likely that these perforations were decorative rather than functional<sup>499</sup>.

Although few of the animals from Syme are technically and artistically of superior quality, most of them were products of competent craftsmen, carefully modeled and finished. For this reason the few crudely made pieces in the assemblage

492. 112-113, 121-122.

493. 32, 35, 41.

494. 66, 135.

495. E.g. 69, 211.

496. E.g. 35, 124, 144, 147, 164.

497. E.g. to divide the legs of 146 and of the pyxis horses 7 and 8 or to give a mouth to the panther head 314.

498. See above V, 64.

499. See also Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 135.

stand out as exceptions that are worth discussing, because of the insights they afford into the production of this kind of votive object.

It has already been suggested<sup>500</sup>, that the two very similar rams **163** and **164**, which were found very close together, were made of the same fabric and bear the same unusual series of perforations through the body, had been made by two different craftsmen: **163**, an extraordinarily naturalistic representation of a ram, was clearly made by an experienced and talented craftsman, whereas **164** was the work of another, who was able to copy the body of **163** closely but could not reproduce successfully the refined modeling of the head. It seems very likely that in the second figurine the hand of an advanced apprentice can be identified. It is also possible that in the two sorry sheep **166** and **167** we can also identify the hand/s of apprentice/s, who were trying to reproduce the work of the craftsman who made **165**. Other fledging craftsmen most likely made the peculiar **233**, perhaps a horse, as well as the very crudely modeled bull **147**.

The fact that these inferior pieces were dedicated at the sanctuary, relates them to the contemporary miscast or incompletely cast animal figurines of bronze, some of which were also dedicated alongside the well made pieces. In the case of Syme, in particular, it has been estimated that more than one third of the bronze animal figurines found at the site belonged to this 'defective' category<sup>501</sup>. The intrinsic worth of the metal and the complex production process provide an adequate, if not complete, explanation for the dedication of some of these poorly made figurines. In contrast, considering the cheap and easily recyclable fabric of the clay votives, it seems remarkable that even these few unsuccessful terracottas were dedicated. One can only speculate that this was occasionally allowed by an indulgent master or, more likely, when there was a need for additional stock or that they were simply dedications of the apprentices who had made them<sup>502</sup>.

Discussions of the final treatment of the surface of the figurines have been somewhat less meager than those devoted to their technique, although little more than references to the use of slip and painted decoration can be gleaned from most of the literature. This may be due in part to the poor preservation of the material, but most likely reflects a lack of interest in a decorative approach that seldom employed datable patterns and motifs. An exception is the brief but comprehensive account of the decoration of Samian figurines, which describes essentially the same practices that can be documented at Syme<sup>503</sup>.

It is very likely that, just like the Samian figurines, the majority of the animals from Syme were covered with a fugitive slip that is seldom preserved; polished surfaces are also rare<sup>504</sup>. On the other hand, most of the animals, however worn,

500. V, 64.

501. Schürmann 1994, 183. For a different view see Lebessi 2002, 187-190.

502. It seems unlikely that they could have been made by votaries, since no matter how simple

it was to shape a piece of clay, the object would still need to be fired. For 'homemade' votives see Kyrieleis 1998.

503. Jarosch 1994, 60-61.

504. E.g. **30**, **125**, **188**.



preserve traces of paint, which was clearly the preferred means of decoration and was probably used on all of them, sometimes in combination with other kinds of embellishment. The color was almost exclusively dark and after firing acquired hues that range from dull reddish to almost black tones. Truly black, shiny color is rare and seems confined to exceptionally well made pieces (e.g. **112-113**). There is very little evidence for white-on-dark patterns, which occur on only two examples from Syme<sup>505</sup>, although they were popular on protomes attached to lids.

Other methods were also used to add details or to vary the surface but seldom for strictly decorative purposes. Thus anatomical details were ordinarily indicated with pricked or impressed cavities, but there are only two pieces decorated in this manner<sup>506</sup>. Incision was also primarily used for anatomical features, such as eyes and even eyebrows, and for details such as the texture of a ram's horns (**158**), the crack of the hooves (**143**) or the hair on the forehead (**151**). On two bovids (**142**, **148**) the base of the horns is circled with incision, a feature that may go back to the BA<sup>507</sup>. Finally in the seventh century, when the use of incision becomes more frequent, perhaps as a result of the influence of metalwork, incised lines may also emphasize body structure (**179**).

The inlaid decoration of the two bovids, **98** and **119**, was another decorative method borrowed from the bronze figurines. In **119** the inlaid material survives and can be identified as plaster. It is now of greyish hue, but would originally have been white and much more noticeable in the midst of the painted decoration of this figurine. Most of the Cretan bronzes with inlays have this ornamentation on the forehead<sup>508</sup>, but two from Syme also had them on the body<sup>509</sup>, just like the two terracottas. The inlays on the bronze animals have been plausibly considered as reminiscent of the painted patterns of Minoan bulls/bovids<sup>510</sup>. Although inlays are not unknown in figurines or vases of the PGB period<sup>511</sup>, they are not related to those of the two animals from Syme, which constitute the most vivid evidence of the close connections between the craftsmen who produced the zoomorphic votives of bronze and clay dedicated at the sanctuary.

Paint was also sometimes used for indicating facial features such as eyes (**92**) or nostrils as well as 'functional'/'realistic' details such as the headstall and the neck- or breaststrap of horses<sup>512</sup>. The vertical wavy bands that indicate the fleece on some sheep figurines (**181**) are another example of this, not strictly decorative, use of

505. **193**, **141**.

506. For pricked decoration see the small horse **172**, for stamped patterns the saddled horse **57** and for impressed decoration on the forehead the bull **123**.

507. Cf. the goat horns **251**. On the bovid **124** the base of the horns was circled with paint. See also Schürmann 1994, 205 for this feature on the bronze animals.

508. Schürmann 1994, 209-210 n. 618.

509. Schürmann 1994, 210 nos. 428 and 518.

510. Schürmann 1994, 210 n. 622. See also below 126.

511. D'Agata 1999, 41 n. 102 with refs., all to material of the PGB period.

512. **9**, **55**. A goat and a ram from Syme (**186** and **181** respectively) also preserve traces of bands that may have been intended to represent a halter.

paint. It is also possible that the blobs or solidly painted circles that occur on the body of a few bovids<sup>513</sup> may be feeble links in a chain that stretches back to the dappled skin of BA bulls, since the pattern may have survived into the IA through the wheelmade figures. Even though in the best preserved example (**129**) there are only single blobs that are incorporated within a linear frame, it may not be coincidental that such motifs are used only on bovids.

For purely decorative purposes paint was applied either as a solid coat<sup>514</sup>, or, in the majority of cases, as linear patterns. The dominant decorative scheme, which is rarely abandoned, is based on bands that define the contours of the body on each flank and its separation from the extremities, emphasizing the one-sided view of the bodies<sup>515</sup>. PG animals, such as the somewhat rough but lively **92** from Syme, exemplify the simplest version of this decorative approach<sup>516</sup>. The two flanks can be separated by a bisecting band that defines the spine (**123**) and at the same time forms two panels to be filled with motifs. The simplest filler is a set of vertical bands or lines<sup>517</sup> that can sometimes be crossed<sup>518</sup>.

The third quarter of the eighth century exemplifies both the simpler, 'structural,' approach to decoration as well as a greater degree of elaboration, a practice that had already begun in MG<sup>519</sup>. This can be best seen in the bovids that can be dated c. 750-725 that happen to preserve more decorative features. In the perfectly made pair of bulls **112-113** thin lines emphasize the joins as well as all modeling details. Other figurines of this period depend on more elaborate arrangements. The complex patterns, used as fillers of flank panels already in MG, now extend more frequently over areas beyond the body itself, especially on the legs and the head<sup>520</sup>. An even greater elaboration can be seen at the end of this phase in horses **42-48**, where the uneven surface of the bodies is further fragmented by the variety of motifs that extend over every part of them, obliterating any sense of structure. The same could be said for stallion **62**, except for the fact that this is a figurine of superior quality and its masterfully shaped, powerful body overcomes the combination of rippling surface and overdone decoration.

Superficially the traditional division of surfaces in two panels seems to continue in the seventh century. Within the Syme assemblage, however, it is confined to sheep **181** and the pair of bovids **144-145**. In the former it has become a 'naturalistic' feature, while in the latter the panels on the flanks are filled with floating circular patterns.

Although in general the decoration of the figurines in its linearity and strict adherence to an one-sided scheme may be said to conform to the trends of the G period, even its more complex versions depend on simple motifs, so that by itself

513. E.g. **99**, **129**, **142**.

514. E.g. **30**, **188**. Some figurines, e.g. **98**, were actually dipped.

515. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 137.

516. For other examples see **105** and **173**.

517. **22**, **106**, **168-169**, **186**.

518. **36**, **39**.

519. **18**, **161**.

520. **118**, **121**, **131**.

it seldom provides evidence for date. It is only rarely that characteristic and therefore datable motifs of the Cretan ceramic repertoire were inserted in the more generic Geometric patterns. Such figures as the large ram **158**, the horses **7** and **8** and the stallion **62**, where native preferences intruded in the decoration of imported prototypes, provide a few but valuable check points for a chronology that must, per force, be based almost entirely on formal features.

The mouldmade plaques from Syme represent a totally different technology. As already noted, in technical details they are very similar to those from Gortyn. The reverse was smoothed either with the fingers<sup>521</sup> or with a tool<sup>522</sup> and the practice of giving the plaques a different appearance through various means, e.g. by making moulds of different size/shape for the same representation (**309** and **310**), is common in both groups<sup>523</sup>. The two plaques from Tsoutsouros that came from the same mould as **321** from Syme illustrate another way of cutting corners by the craftsmen, who divided in half a plaque with a heraldic composition more than once in order to sell two votives instead of one.

Tiny flakes of paint on some of the Syme plaques indicate that they were originally painted like those from Gortyn and other sites. On the other hand there are very few iconographic or thematic overlaps between Syme and Gortyn. The fact that copies of two plaques made of fine pinkish clay were dedicated at Syme and also at the sanctuary of Eileithyia at Tsoutsouros and the iconographic parallels that can be found in objects from Aphrati suggest that they were products of a workshop that was in the general vicinity of these two sanctuaries, perhaps at Aphrati itself.

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521. E.g. **309**, **313-314**.

522. E.g. **312**, **315**, **321**.

523. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, esp. 202-206.

### XIII. ICONOGRAPHIC AND STYLISTIC FEATURES

The particular iconographic and stylistic features of Cretan zoomorphic figurines have already been discussed in reference to the bronze animals from Syme<sup>524</sup> and much of that discussion pertains to the terracottas as well. Given their smaller number and frequently fragmentary state, an equally thorough documentation is impossible in the case of the latter. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made here, since pinpointing convergences and divergences between these two groups that developed side by side contributes to the better understanding of both.

Even if the rather restricted number of the clay figurines is further reduced to those better preserved and more competently made, it is still fair to say that *in general* terracottas seem to conform to stylistic developments less often than the bronzes as regards the shape of the body, which tends to remain tubular, without gaining or losing much volume during the course of the G period. Thus, well made horses of the advanced MG period and the third quarter of the eighth century still have almost completely cylindrical bodies<sup>525</sup>. This is even more noticeable in bull figurines, which, in many cases, keep their cylindrical shape from the MG period through the seventh century<sup>526</sup>.

It is harder to document the same tendency in the legs of the figurines, since so many of them are missing or are preserved only as short stumps, but it is obvious from those even partially preserved that, unlike their bronze counterparts<sup>527</sup>, they were seldom modeled in detail, even after 750, keeping most often to a cylindrical or quasi-conical shape when they were not of indeterminate form<sup>528</sup>. Furthermore, it was only in the last quarter of the eighth century that coroplasts finally gave most figurines firmly planted legs, largely abandoning the much livelier stance with the legs spread apart and extended to a lesser or greater degree<sup>529</sup>. The same can be said about the tail, which for all other figurines, except for the horses, remained in most cases in the extended position throughout the period represented in the Syme assemblage.

Since this evidence is provided by the better made pieces, these tendencies cannot be ascribed to carelessness; nor can they be considered as an independent development, since there are too many examples of dependence on the bronzes. Perhaps they can be best explained as due to a combination of a conservative atti-

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524. Schürmann 1994, 195-214.

525. **17**, **18** and **29**, **30** respectively.

526. **94-95**, **98-99**, **103**, **105**, **107**, **125**, **139**, **142-145**, **151**.

527. Cf. Schürmann 1994, 199.

528. E.g. cylindrical in **116**, **115** and **123** of the third quarter of eighth century; roughly shaped in

**124** of the same phase and in the well finished **151** of the seventh century; shapeless or quasi-conical in **42-48** of the fourth quarter of the eighth century and **174-176** of the seventh century. This can be also documented by the uncatalogued legs, very few of which are modeled in a naturalistic manner.

529. For exceptions see **69**, **168**, **174-176**.



tude with a practical, labor-saving approach that can also be documented in the technical details of the figurines<sup>530</sup>.

Certainly the means employed to indicate anatomical features were quite conservative and outlasted the G period, continuing to be employed until handmade animal terracottas ceased to be dedicated at Syme. Once again the fragmentary condition of the material makes detailed documentation difficult.

Not much can be said about the form/s of the tails, which, as just mentioned, served mainly as a motif signifying motion. They are thus seldom of significance for identification purposes<sup>531</sup> and when long, as in the case of some horses or bovids, they were usually twisted and attached to one of the hind legs. Within the Syme assemblage there is only one certain example of a tail twisted and attached to the back of an animal, that of the MG stallion **12**, a figurine remarkable for the variety of means the craftsman employed to give it a sense of forward motion<sup>532</sup>. This position of the tail, which is thought to be a Minoan survival, and other related motifs that appear on the bronzes are present already in the PG bovids from Kommos and survived well into the seventh century<sup>533</sup>. Other motifs with Minoan precedents, present in the bronzes, such as that of the tongue touching the nostrils, do not occur on the terracottas from Syme<sup>534</sup>.

Of those features that were specific to certain species the horns, even more vulnerable than the legs, have seldom been preserved. The horns of bovids/bulls that have at least partly survived were, as is to be expected, short and either horizontally extended<sup>535</sup> or slightly bent forward<sup>536</sup>. The longer horns with which some cattle figurines were provided (e.g. **141**) are those that have only survived as broken fragments<sup>537</sup>. The horns of rams, whose texture was sometimes indicated with incision<sup>538</sup>, were either attached to the sides of the face<sup>539</sup> or curled away from the head<sup>540</sup>. In some cases they were tightly wound up and set vertically on the side of the head<sup>541</sup>. The latter form may have some chronological significance, in that it seems to be more common in the seventh century and later, but this does not mean that it did not exist earlier<sup>542</sup>. From the surviving stubs, it seems certain that

530. XII, 122-123.

531. II, 11.

532. III, 18-19. Another example of such a tail may be **220**.

533. For a discussion see Schürmann 1994, 206-207. For examples of terracottas of the seventh century with such tails see Jarosch 1994, pl. 31 nos. 373, 406.

534. Cf. Schürmann 1994, 208-209 with references to terracottas from Olympia and Samos with this feature.

535. **92, 99, 119, 122, 124, 131**.

536. **95, 139, 155, 143, 146, 151**.

537. The length and form of the horns of the

bull figurines from the Theban Kabirion and Olympia are discussed in some detail in Schmaltz 1980, 12. Only one bull protome from Syme (**28**) had horns that extended upward, like those of some Minoan bull rhyta. See, however, the protome Coldstream and Catling 1996, pl. 92 no. 8 of the EO period from Knossos that also has such horns.

538. E.g. **158** of the MG period.

539. **158, 168, 169**.

540. E.g. **174, 178**.

541. E.g. **181** and the protomes **281** that had been attached to a dinos.

542. V, 64 n. 282.

goat horns were realistically portrayed, so that those of a wild goat were clearly distinguished from those of the domesticated kind<sup>543</sup>.

Considering the importance of the bull in all periods<sup>544</sup>, it is surprising how often its second most characteristic feature, the dewlap, is omitted, while in the bronze animals, where it appears first at the beginning of the eighth century, it was clearly of great importance<sup>545</sup>. While the early bovids from Kommos are all provided with a pinched dewlap<sup>546</sup>, hardly any of the bovids/bulls from Syme datable before 750 have such a fold and even in the third and fourth quarter of the eighth century and later it is most often a rather inconspicuous appendage<sup>547</sup>. Indeed, a similar fold was occasionally given to rams<sup>548</sup> or to goats<sup>549</sup>. Even a horse figurine might have a similar fold added to expand its chest<sup>550</sup>. In contrast the mane is seldom omitted, even if it is sometimes little more than a slight ridge along the neck<sup>551</sup>. Since the shape and details of the mane vary a great deal, its length, modeling and embellishments must have depended on the preference of the craftsmen and the prototypes that inspired individual figurines. In so far as the Syme assemblage is concerned, long manes are mainly a feature of the second half of the eighth century.

The means used to represent anatomical details, including facial features, are even more conservative. The nostrils were almost always pricked, usually with a small stick or pointed tool. Occasionally they were impressed with a stick<sup>552</sup> or with a cylindrical tool, probably of metal to judge by the crisp outline of the impression<sup>553</sup>, or incised<sup>554</sup>. Sometimes the nostrils were carelessly gashed<sup>555</sup>. These exceptions do not have any chronological significance, although large, carefully impressed nostrils seem to occur mainly in MG figurines.

In the same way the mouth is ordinarily a slot, made with the edge or the back of a knife. Within the Syme assemblage the combination of slot mouth and pricked nostrils appears on **2** of the (Cretan) EG phase, but is present already on the PG bovids and PGB horses from Kommos as well as on the PG bull's head from Knossos and the PGB bull from the North Cemetery, whereas early bronzes, including those from Syme, rarely have such features. Just as in the case of the nostrils, inci-

543. Cf. **193** with the wild goat **192**.

544. Table B.

545. Schürmann 1994, 202-204.

546. Shaw and Shaw 2000, pls. 3.7-3.8, 3.20.

547. The only exception is **123**.

548. E.g. **161**, **179**.

549. E.g. the unmistakable goat from Patsos in Kourou and Karetsou 1994, fig. 64 no. 44, which has a fold added low on its chest.

550. E.g. the stallion **12** or the horse **59**. See also below 135 n. 606.

551. E.g. on the little horse **1**. Occasionally the mane was indicated only with a series of incisions (as on a pair of horses from Samos, Jarosch 1994, pl. 19

nos. 282-283) in the same way that painted strokes were used on PGB horses (D'Agata 1999, pl. 96).

552. E.g. **117** of the third quarter of the eighth century.

553. E.g. **15**, **100**, **207**, **263** of the MG phase; **133** dated 750-725.

554. E.g. **23**, **67**, **184**, **194** all of the MG period, and **67**, dated c. 650, which had both incised nostrils and mouth.

555. As on the horse **24** of late MG date; **99** of the same phase that had both nostrils and mouth formed with gashes, while the late bull's head **155** had irregularly impressed large nostrils and a gashed mouth.

sion is sometimes used to trace the mouth in various periods<sup>556</sup>, while in a couple of figurines unusual combinations appear, such as pricked eyes and mouth (128) or impressed nostrils and incised mouth (130).

The eyes, which among the Syme terracottas, are added already in the (Cretan) PG phase (92, 157) are also indicated in a variety of ways, although the most common spherical pellets or their flattened, lentoid versions, present already on the PG bovids from Kommos and Knossos, continued to be used down to the end of the seventh century. Incised eyes are the most frequent alternative, appearing as early as the third quarter of the eighth century (27) and becoming more common (as is true of incision in general) in the seventh century<sup>557</sup>, when additional lines may be added to indicate brows or lids and even tear ducts<sup>558</sup>. The impressed eyes of the early bucranium 263 and of the MG bull 100 were made with the same tool used to impress the large, regularly shaped nostrils. Otherwise, impressed or pricked eyes occur only in a few bovids of the second half of the eighth century<sup>559</sup>. Considering the widespread use of painted decoration, it is rather surprising that the easiest method of all, the painted eye, only occurs once in the Syme figurine assemblage<sup>560</sup>.

The eyes of bronze figurines were also imitated. The large conical pellets (*Buckel-  
augen*) are restricted to one group of bovids of the third quarter of the eighth century<sup>561</sup>, while eyes executed in relief on bronze figurines are copied as such only on the horses 24 and 66. Otherwise extra large pellets were employed<sup>562</sup>. Quite exceptional are the eyes of 124 that are executed in relief, defined with two fleeting, finely incised, strokes and given painted pupils. Finally two figurines were provided with the same stamped eyes as their bronze counterparts<sup>563</sup>. Pupils, added to pellet eyes usually as tiny, pricked or occasionally impressed, holes, appear first in MG<sup>564</sup>, whereas they are a late features in the bronzes<sup>565</sup>.

A small pricked hole under the tail that represents the anus is another naturalistic feature of the Cretan bronzes that also occurs on terracottas. Within the

556. 23, 95, 158, 160, 194 of the MG period; 29, 32, 109, 188, 191 of the third quarter of the eighth century; 41, 168 dated c. 730-720; 148 of the Transitional phase; 67-68 dated c. 650.

557. 174-176, 178-179.

558. 149-150, dated in the first half of the seventh century; 154 dated c. 650-630; and 155-156, dated after the seventh century.

559. 117, 125, 128, 139, 156, 173. Such eyes are also rare in the bronze figurines (Schürmann 1994, 204). For impressed or pricked eyes in figurines of Ayia Triada and Patsos respectively see D'Agata 1999, pl. 91 D 3.8 of the MG period and Kourou and Karetsou 1994, fig. 43 no. 23 datable to 730-

720.

560. 92, dated in 850-825. Painted eyes occur a few times on attachments, mainly of the seventh century.

561. 119-122. Such eyes were also used on the figurine of a deer/stag from Patsos (Kourou and Karetsou 1994, figs. 70-71 no. 50) and another from Ayia Triada (D'Agata 1999, pl. 94 no. D 3.25).

562. 24, 30, perhaps 31, 62, 188, 192.

563. 57 and 148, both of the Transitional period.

564. Pricked: 17, 98, 33, 135-136. Impressed: 112-113, 163, 179.

565. Schürmann 1994, 205.

Syme assemblage it appears, just as in the bronzes, from the MG period on, but is not common. Out of 44 horse figurines, dated in MG or later, whose rear body is preserved, only three have this feature<sup>566</sup>, while out of the 38 bovids that meet these criteria, seven were provided with a hole under their tail. This feature also occurs on one ram and three goats<sup>567</sup>.

Other features, such as the ears and the genitals were made of strips and bits of clay and applied without any sort of consistency. Ears, which are added routinely from the MG phase, could be stuck on vertically or sideways on horned animals, in front of, behind or under the horns, and in various positions on horse figurines. The 'naturalistic' version, hollowed and more or less realistically shaped, appears rarely even in the seventh century<sup>568</sup>. Finally the genitals, which occur on the EG stallion 4 but are already present on a PG bull from Kommos, were most commonly made of a strip and a little ball of clay, but were occasionally modeled out of one piece of clay<sup>569</sup> and in a couple of bulls as a continuation of the strip dewlap<sup>570</sup>. A more naturalistically shaped scrotum occurs rarely and usually in LG or in the seventh century<sup>571</sup> and the representation of the sheath is extremely rare, appearing first in the middle of the eighth century<sup>572</sup>. Other versions of the genitals are uncommon<sup>573</sup>.

There cannot be any doubt that the addition of these features had a special significance that went beyond the production of accurately represented animals, since some of these details were actually invisible. This must have been true in many cases of the anus and even more so for the little pricked holes that were sometimes added in the interior of the ears or mouth beginning around 750<sup>574</sup>.

As is the case with the bronze figurines, very few animals were left without some

566. **7, 8, 25.**

567. In the case of the bronze animals from Syme, the anus is, with the exception of one goat, confined to bovids (Schürmann 1994, 201 with refs. to the figurines from Olympia and Thebes where this feature is rare). For the same feature in figurines from Patsos see Kourou and Karetsou 1994, nos. 23, 33-34, 52, 54.

568. **31, 34, 56, 123** all of the third quarter of the eighth century; **142** of the late fourth quarter or the Transitional period; **151** of the seventh century.

569. As on the excessively well endowed bulls **102** and **103**.

570. **118, 136.**

571. **61, 111, 142-143, 179.**

572. **61, 143, 163.** In a carefully modeled billy goat from Patsos (Kourou and Karetsou 1994, fig. 62 no. 42), which is considered Subminoan, but can be dated in the late third or early fourth quarter of the eighth century and is provided with exceptionally naturalistic genitals, the sheath is indicated with

a little ball of clay.

573. The bull **123** has a slash and a drop-shaped ball to indicate the penis and scrotum, while on two bulls from Patsos the scrotum is indicated with a ball of clay, while the penis is just a small, obliquely pricked hole (Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 33 fig. 55 and no. 45 fig. 65 dated in different periods, but both made by the same hand no earlier than the late eighth century or more likely the early seventh).

574. E.g. **31, 34** and **56** have pricked ears, while **102** and **129** have pricked mouths. These features also occur in the contemporary figurines from Patsos, e.g. Kourou and Karetsou 1994, nos. 27 and 50 have pricked ears, while no. 33 has both pricked ears and mouth. It should be noted, however, that this feature first appears on a horse of the PGB period at Ayia Triada, where the holes were placed at the base of the conical ears rather than inside them.



features on the face and head. Before 750 what was omitted were the nostrils and mouth<sup>575</sup>. In the second half of the eighth century and in the seventh some animals do have featureless muzzles<sup>576</sup>, but the only group of figurines that consistently display this characteristic are the finger-modeled horses **42-49**. Whether this was a feature taken over from the Athenian pyxis horses or the reflection of more general tendencies that have been noted in other areas is uncertain<sup>577</sup>.

The wealth of different features and details of the figurines contributes to their varied appearance<sup>578</sup>, so that when two figurines are very similar, almost identical, they stand out. Within the Syme terracotta assemblage most of these 'twins' are teams of horses, although there is also an incompletely preserved team of oxen that were joined with a neck yoke (**128**) and four pairs of identical bull figurines<sup>579</sup>. In addition there are four pairs of rams and one pair of goats<sup>580</sup>.

The horses were paired in many different ways that refer more or less explicitly to their function as draught animals, i.e. as chariot horses. The most explicit is the team of **42** that were joined with a dorsal yoke as well as bound together with a layer of clay. The surviving legs indicate that this team was a free-standing group. In another somewhat earlier team, **33**, the horses were just as closely linked by being pressed together side by side and held in place by the wheels mounted on axles that went through the perforations made in their bodies. The unusually shaped and bent legs of these horses, which look as if they are resting with their legs tucked under their bodies, were most likely reinforcements of the vulnerable perforated spots. The fragility of such groups must have encouraged other solutions such as mounting teams on wheeled bars<sup>581</sup> or on a wheeled plaque (**70**), so that the direct link between the axle and the legs or bodies of the figurines could be avoided. To make the horse even safer from breakage, those placed on the Syme chariot had been pressed together lightly and the same is likely to have been the case with those attached to bars, since the imprints of their feet are very close together. There are two more horses from Syme that must have been part of similar teams, since they have traces of a second animal left on one of their sides, but there is no evidence how they had been mounted<sup>582</sup>.

Similar caution dictated the attachment of the horses **7-8** on the lid of a pyxis that copied an Athenian prototype. The bodies of the horses were not only pressed together but were also joined to the lid with a layer of clay<sup>583</sup>. In contrast, single wheeled horses were only occasionally attached to wheeled bars (**89**) and more often directly perforated after due care had been taken to make them less fragile by giving them, in every case, rudimentary, reinforced legs<sup>584</sup>.

575. E.g. **94** and **96**.

576. E.g. **173**, **174-175**, **178**.

577. For a discussion see Schürmann 1994, 205 n. 583.

578. Cf. Schürmann 1994, 206.

579. **100-101**, **112-113**; **125-126**; **144-145**.

580. Rams: **163-164**, **168-169**, **171-172**, **174-175**; goats: **189-190**. The unidentified **215** and **216**

were also a pair, most likely of horses.

581. **87-88**, **90-91**.

582. **37**, **64**; the fragment **239** may also have been part of a conjoined team.

583. The same is true of the horses attached to other copies of Attic pyxides, such as those from Patsos and Chios (see above III, 17 n. 122).

584. **19**, **22**, **23**, **51**.

These arrangements are known from other sites. As already mentioned<sup>585</sup>, the chariot model from Syme has close parallels in Attica, while teams of horses mounted on wheeled bars were dedicated at Kommos already in PGB, as were also the more conventional wheeled teams with perforated bodies<sup>586</sup>. Wheeled horses are also known on the Mainland from PG times<sup>587</sup> and were probably dedicated in Samos<sup>588</sup>, although they are sparsely attested at Olympia<sup>589</sup>.

More unusual but not unparalleled are the teams of horses that were given only one body but two heads. At Syme this kind of short-hand version is exemplified by several figurines: **43**, the best preserved, has two heads and one tail; **50** was of the same type but is now head- and tailless, while **21** had two heads and two tails. In addition the fragmentary **31**, whose neck is extremely thin and flat, and **50** another similar fragment, most likely belonged to this kind of team. At least two of the best preserved examples from Syme were free standing figurines, while the other three such teams known from Crete, from Knossos<sup>590</sup>, Kommos<sup>591</sup> and Prinias<sup>592</sup>, were all of the wheeled type.

Clearly related to these single-bodied teams is the Push-me-Pull-you type, exemplified in Crete by the two-headed horse from Fortetsa<sup>593</sup>. This type was already known in the Mainland in Mycenaean times<sup>594</sup>, but is not attested afterwards, unless one counts a bronze group of four animals from Olympia<sup>595</sup>, which consists of two yoked pairs of Push-me-Pull-you type of animals that have been identified as bovids, but are most likely horses, since the conical protrusions on their heads that have been considered as horns could just as easily be large ears. More importantly, each pair is connected with a dorsal yoke (that is not used for oxen) so as to form a group of four, both features that clearly allude to a quadriga and not a plow or a wagon.

In so far as I know the only examples of teams with a single body outside Crete, also come from Olympia and were identified because of coincidental features and the lack of parallels as Kerberoi<sup>596</sup>. One of them is solidly made and has three heads and one tail, while the second is double-headed and has a hollow body. The artlessly modeled muzzles of the latter do look like those of dogs, but are perforated and can be securely identified as horses<sup>597</sup>. In any case, with so many such

585. III, 28.

586. See above III, 15. For wheeled teams of this period from Ayia Triada see D'Agata 1999, pl. 96 nos. D 3.41; 3.43. There are also other wheeled horses and at least one more wheeled team that have been dated in the LM IIIC-Subminoan period (D'Agata 1999, pl. 28).

587. II, 6 n. 42.

588. Preserved only as fragmentary perforated legs that could have belonged to either single animals or to wheeled teams (Jarosch 1994, fig. 6 nos. 154-155).

589. Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 40 no. 242.

590. Higgins 1971, pl. 45 no. 35.

591. Shaw and Shaw 2000, 178-179 pl. 3.21 AB 15.

592. III, 21 n. 145.

593. III, 16 n. 112.

594. See also above III, 13 n. 81.

595. Heilmeyer 1979, pl. 117 no. 927.

596. Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 39 nos. 232-233.

597. The perforations can be inferred from the description in Heilmeyer 1972, 84. Another 'dog' that is actually part of a yoked team is Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 39 no. 231, as indicated by the perforation that was meant to receive the reins.

teams now known from Crete there cannot be any doubt that both of these figurines represent horses. There is also no doubt that these two figurines from Olympia were local products, so this particular version of a horse team could not have been a Cretan monopoly. At the same time, it is clear that it was particularly popular in Crete as were also other variant representations of chariots and teams that are unknown or rare outside the island.

Another way to represent a team of horses, much simpler than those already described, was to make two separate but almost identical figurines. This duplication is already attested in both Crete and the Mainland in LM/LH IIIC and in both cases the context provides corroborative evidence of the association<sup>598</sup>. The earliest such horses from Syme, **10** and **11**, have an additional link in the way their manes were pricked at an angle, so that the 'hair' of each figurine was visible from a different side, indicating how the horses were to be positioned next to each other. The two other teams of similar size and date, **13-14** and **15-16**, have only survived as mere fragments, but were probably of the same kind. It is very likely that the two very similar horses **45** and **46** were also such a pair. In all these cases, the context is not helpful, except as regards **15** and **16** that were found close to each other. Such teams of horses occur at other sites as well, but have not been identified as such<sup>599</sup>.

Bovids are the only other animals except for horses that were not only harnessed singly but were also paired for specific purposes, to pull a plow or a wagon. This is most explicitly shown in the case of **128** that was part of a team of oxen linked under a neck yoke<sup>600</sup>. The representation was 'realistic' in the sense that the surviving animal is not designated as a bull, unlike the only other bovid from Syme that is represented as a draught animal. This is a bronze bull that is provided with an elaborate harness<sup>601</sup>. The same harness is represented in a more summary version, on a fragmentary terracotta bovid from Isthmia<sup>602</sup>, suggesting that this was an established kind of harnessing with a specific function<sup>603</sup>.

There is a fragmentary hollow bovid from Samos, dated to the EG period, that could have been part of a yoked pair<sup>604</sup>, as well as several other figures and figurines, both bovids and horses, that have perforations through their neck and/or body and are thought to have been joined in pairs with sticks or metal wire<sup>605</sup>. Bronze horses were also joined in the same fashion as the material from Syme itself indicates<sup>606</sup>, and so were bovids, as shown by the bull included in the modern reconstruction of the bronze vehicle from Psychro<sup>607</sup>. The fact that the second

598. See above, II, 6; III, 13.

599. E.g. Jarosch 1994, pl. 19 nos. 282-283.

600. The head of a bovid (of the LG period ?) from Ayia Triada also has the remnant of a yoke on its neck (D'Agata 1999, pl. 94 D 3.23).

601. Schürmann 1994, pl. 64 no. 588, dated in the beginning seventh century.

602. Morgan 1999, pl. 71 no. F18.

603. For the head of a bovid with some sort of

incised harness on the face see Jarosch 1994, pl. 13 no. 327, dated to the end of the eighth century.

604. Jarosch 1994, pl. 2 no. 6.

605. E.g. Jarosch 1994, pl. 2 no. 5; pl. 16 no. 226.

606. Schürmann 1994, pl. 59 no. 533. There is another horse from Syme with a perforation on the nape (Schürmann 1994, pl. 45 no. 425). It was identified as a miscast bull, but is surely a horse with a clumsily added fold on the chest that looks like a



animal that was hitched (erroneously) on the Psychro model is a ram with a perforated neck has some relevance for the interpretation of the other 'twin' animals from Syme, since it indicates that animals other than horses and bovids were sometimes joined together.

Whether the paired terracotta bovids from Syme refer to pairs of working animals, like the yoked **128**, is, if not certain, likely, but for the paired rams and goats, there is no obvious reason why they were made in near identical form. They certainly did not represent pairs of male and female, since in each pair the animals are designated as being both male (in three out of four pairs of sheep) or are both 'sexless' (one pair of sheep and one pair of goats). Since duplication or near duplication of a handmade figurine required special effort, it must have been deliberate. It should be noted that in at least one case of two nearly identical rams there was a third very similar animal (**175-176** and **177**) and the same is true of the unidentified fragments **215-216** and **217**. The find contexts of these 'triplets' are not helpful. On the other hand, in five cases the contextual information indicates that the paired animals were found in the same area<sup>608</sup>, and may well represent an individual dedication that must have had a special meaning. This phenomenon has not, to my knowledge, been recognized and will be referred to in the discussion of the meaning of the dedication of animal terracottas in general<sup>609</sup>.

In comparing the iconography of the terracotta animals from Syme with that of the bronzes from the sanctuary one finds divergences of uncertain significance rather than real differences. Thus the fact that a specific feature may appear at a different time or more frequently in one or the other group may simply reflect workshop preferences or a gap in the evidence, while the reasons why iconographic variants that were developed in one medium were never adopted by the other, such as the various types of terracotta horse teams, are not obvious. The most significant difference, however, is the fact that, as the evidence from Kommos indicates, anatomical details and motion motifs occur on a regular basis in the terracottas earlier than in the bronzes.

The comparison of Cretan clay animals with non-Cretan terracotta assemblages leads essentially to the same conclusions. At Olympia characteristic features, such as the dewlap and the mane, appear from the beginning and all facial features are in place by the (Attic) EG phase, but naturalistic details are confined to a minimum<sup>610</sup>. Samian coroplasts may lag behind, but once anatomical details for handmade figurines were adopted, they produced much livelier and more naturalistically modeled animals. In any case, the early phases of the Samian terracotta production, especially the PG and EG periods, are dominated by the wheelmade ani-

dewlap, but is not uncommon in bronze horses, sometimes looking even more like a dewlap than that of the Syme stallion (cf. in particular Zimmermann 1989, pl. 37 no. 163 and for an equally poor effort as that of the Syme horse, pl. 10 no. 127).

607. Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, pl. 24 no. 245.

608. Bulls **100-101, 112-113, 144-145**; rams **163-164, 171-172**. This is also very likely but not certain for at least one more pair of bulls (**125-126**).

609. See below XIV, 155.

610. Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 10.



mals, which are of superior quality, are given facial features and ears already in the PG period and even provide the occasional precocious touch<sup>611</sup>.

In contrast to Samos where all wheelmade (as well as handmade) animals date to the IA<sup>612</sup>, all four Cretan cult places with relevant assemblages (including Syme) have produced groups of earlier wheelmade figures. Since the Syme material is not yet available and the Kommos material is sparse and very fragmentary, while the Patsos animals were not found in controlled excavations, the most important group are the figures and figurines found in Ayia Triada.

The earliest wheelmade animals from Ayia Triada, which are dated in the LM IIIC-Subminoan period on the basis of technical and stylistic criteria, are remarkable for possessing every anatomical feature and motion motif that occurs on a regular basis or crops up at times in the terracotta and bronze animals of the IA. Most have painted eyes with painted pupils but there are also examples of pellet eyes with pricked pupils<sup>613</sup> and even one head with hollow pupils meant to take inlays<sup>614</sup>. One figure has eyes indicated in relief and defined with painted strokes that converge into an acute angle, probably indicating the tear duct<sup>615</sup>. Another has tiny circular depressions inside its (broken) ears, while still another has both pricked ears and mouth<sup>616</sup>. All tail motifs are present in this group, as well as the motif of the tongue touching the nostrils.

The legacy of these figures is obvious in the material of the PGB phase from Ayia Triada and other sites<sup>617</sup>, but there is no intermediate stage at Ayia Triada to document the transmission of such features<sup>618</sup>. It is even less possible to see connections in the handmade animals that have been dated to the LM IIIC-Subminoan period on the basis of similarities of fabric, slip and decoration with those of the wheelmade group, but are a much less impressive and coherent group. They do, however, include wheeled horses and part of a wheeled team<sup>619</sup>.

The evidence provided by the handmade figurines that were found in securely dated LM IIIC contexts, is more consistent. The two matched horses and the bovid from Kavousi that were all found in the same LM IIIC context are large figurines, summarily modeled, but provided with facial details. The bovid has no dewlap, but the horses have prominent manes and their stance reproduces already the

611. Jarosch 1994, pl. 6 no. 20 of the advanced (Samian) EG II period with very naturalistically modeled ears.

612. For a possible exception see Jarosch 1994, pl. 1 no. 1.

613. D'Agata 1999, pl. 17 C 1.10.

614. D'Agata 1999, pl. 13 C 1.4. Small holes on the forehead of other heads are thought to have also been inlaid (e.g. pl. 18 C 1.13).

615. D'Agata 1999, pl. 20 C 1.20.

616. D'Agata 1999, pl. 18 C 1.12 and pl. 13 C 1.4 respectively.

617. D'Agata 1999, pl. 96 D 3.41 for painted

eyes and pricked ears; for inlays see p. 41 n. 102 and above XII, 125 n. 509.

618. It has been suggested in Guggisberg 1989, 150-151 (before the full publication of the Ayia Triada material) that some of these animals with advanced features, such as pricked pellet eyes, are later and specifically of the PG period. For a discussion of the evidence for continuity of cult at Ayia Triada see D'Agata 1999, 239-241 and for bronze and clay anthropomorphic figurines of the PG period from the site Lebessi 2002, 61 fig. 28, 69 n. 189 fig. 36, 71 fig. 40.

619. D'Agata 1999, pls. 24-28.

backward slant of the body that occurs much later in bronze horses as a motif signifying motion<sup>620</sup>. The billy goat from Chalasmenos, not far from Kavousi, which was also found in a context of the same date, can only be described as an over-enthusiastic example of Cretan naturalism<sup>621</sup>.

Until more secure links can be found, the evidence from Ayia Triada and the few well-dated figurines from the last phases of the BA, serves mainly to emphasize the fact that the Cretan clay animals of the IA, unlike their bronze counterparts, had a past. If the present evidence cannot as yet tell us at what point the Minoan past infused the new Geometric style with iconographic features and motifs, it can at least demonstrate clearly that the merging process could not have been the same for terracottas and bronzes. For the clay animals the Minoan traditions were a continuum, which must have affected the new style at or shortly after its introduction, while the bronze zoomorphic figurines as newcomers took a longer time to adopt and adapt the same features and motifs.

The persistent interest in naturalism, which is the distinctive characteristic not only of Cretan terracotta and bronze animals but also of every aspect of Cretan art in the Geometric period and in the seventh century, led some talented Cretan coroplasts to almost transcend the limitations of their medium, producing as early as the (Cretan) MG period horses such as **12** and (somewhat later) **24** and **31** that give the impression of moving freely in space as well as portrayals such as the ram **163** that captured the essential nature of an animal. It also enabled them not to ignore but rather to bypass the stylistic conventions of their time and indulge themselves adding features such as the eyes of **124** that were not attempted again until centuries later<sup>622</sup>. At the same time it sometimes led them to excess, so that they exaggerated features to a grotesque point (e.g. the genitals of bulls **102-103**) or slid into mannerism, as in the case of the bulls **142-143** or in the modeling of the stallion **62**. This penchant for exaggeration, which in the case of the pottery of the PGB period has been characterized as a tendency towards "exuberant prolixity"<sup>623</sup>, manifests itself in other ways — in the overdone modeling of the bodies and/or the application of over-elaborate painted decoration<sup>624</sup>.

The preoccupation of Cretan coroplasts with naturalism is comparable only to their interest in the products of their colleagues who worked with other materials or in other venues. For those who produced the Syme terracotta animals the most important source of inspiration were the bronzes. Some of the similarities between the two groups are no doubt due to their parallel stylistic development, but in many cases the connections are so close that there cannot be any doubt that the

620. Gesell, Day and Coulson 1995, fig.2, pl. 18a-b.

621. Coulson and Tsipopoulou 1994, pl. 7.2. The context of the little horse from Liliana, near Phaistos, which is considered as a find from a burial of the LM IIIC period and has already embraced

the new PG style wholeheartedly, cannot be considered as secure. For this horse see above III, 14-15.

622. Hoffmann 1972, pl. 12.2.

623. Whitley 1991b, 355.

624. Esp. in horse figurines such as **41** and the series of **43-46**, **56**, the stallion **62**, but also the bull **142**.

coroplasts had watched their metal-working colleagues in action and had seen the finished products. Otherwise they would not have been able to imitate specific modeling, decorative or even technical features of the bronzes<sup>625</sup> and even adopt a complete modeling approach<sup>626</sup> or copy specific prototypes of both local and non-Cretan provenance<sup>627</sup>. It is worth noting here that not all of the locally available prototypes were free-standing figurines, since in at least a couple of cases they were representations of animals attached to stands<sup>628</sup>, something that argues for the familiarity of the coroplasts with a variety of objects that their metalworking colleagues produced; on occasion, some of them may even have tried their hand with the others' material, such as the maker of **31**, who must have had experience with the modeling of wax in order to produce the crisp outlines and details of this terracotta.

None of the published assemblages of terracotta animal figurines displays such close relationships with bronze figurines. There are no indications that the workshops that provided the hundreds of animal terracottas to votaries visiting Olympia had any awareness of what their colleagues were doing<sup>629</sup>, while very few figurines from Samos hark back to metal prototypes<sup>630</sup>. The same is the case at Ayia Triada, where the clay animals have no connections with their bronze counterparts<sup>631</sup>. The few animals from Patsos that have already been mentioned in this respect<sup>632</sup> are the only published Cretan terracottas that provide evidence that these connections may be a wider Cretan phenomenon. Why it should be apparent in some assemblages and not in others may depend on many factors, of which the most important must surely be the specific features of each site and the organization of the workshops that supplied both metal and clay zoomorphic votives.

Thus sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Samos and Ayia Triada, which were located outside settlements but within settled areas, were easily accessible and functioned year-round, were supplied with terracottas made by local workshops, which, without outside competition, remained conservatively attached to local traditions. In two cases these workshops also made votives for other near-by shrines. The workshops of Olympia made terracottas for the shrine of Artemis at Kombothekra, while those supplying Ayia Triada seem also to have provided, at least occasionally, a

625. E.g. the pinched mane of EG horses **2** or **5**, the *Buckelaugen* and faceted muzzles of **119**, **122** and **121**; the blade-like dewlap of **123**; the incised decoration of the mane of **29**, the notch at the lower end of the mane of **56-57**; the stamped eyes and decoration of **57**; the inlays of **98** and **119**.

626. Such as the finger-modeled surface of **41-48**.

627. Cretan: **17, 41, 192, 186**. Non-Cretan: mainly Peloponnesian **24, 30, 32, 34, 62**; Attic: **29**.

628. **41** and **192**.

629. As noted by Heilmeyer 1972, 91.

630. E.g. Jarosch 1994, pl. 18 no. 333; pl. 24 no. 339; pl. 25 no. 338.

631. For an exception see the head of a stag mentioned above, VII, 76 n. 324. See also comments in D'Agata 1999, 162 regarding the bull's head pl. 162 D 5.8 that is thought to be close to bronze cauldron heads. For a much closer correspondence cf. the head of a hollow bull from Psychro (Boardman 1961, pl. 21 no. 260) with Kyrieleis 1977, pl. 36.1-2, or the head from Olympia (Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 5 no. 20), dated in the 'Mature' G phase in the publication, with Kyrieleis 1977, pl. 33.1, dated in the Cypro-Archaic period in Matthäus 1985, 216.

632. See above II, 8.



dedication for near-by Kommos<sup>633</sup>. In contrast Syme, situated away from settlements, at an altitude that made the site only seasonally accessible, had no stable local resources and was provided with terracottas from multiple sources, as the variety of the material in terms of both form and fabric testifies. Whether the artisans brought them to the sanctuary or produced them there, is not a question that can be answered on the evidence of the material alone.

The relation between workshops and sanctuaries in pre-Classical periods has been considered primarily in connection with bronzes and, in particular with cast votives, whose technique is more complex than that of hammered or mould-made objects and requires the construction and maintenance of a kiln. The majority of scholars accept that there is evidence for the production of bronze votive objects at sanctuaries at the very least in the form of metallurgical debris and miscast or incompletely cast objects<sup>634</sup>. How many and what kinds of votives were made in situ and how the production itself was organized are questions that have been answered variously. Thus, one scholar considers the small bronze votives found at Olympia as locally made and the large, elaborate tripod cauldrons as imports<sup>635</sup>, while another believes that just about all votive objects, with the exception of weapons and jewelry, were made at the site, where local metalworkers worked alongside their colleagues from other centers who could establish 'dependencies' at the site for a time<sup>636</sup>.

In contrast, most of the metal animal figurines dedicated at remote Syme are thought to have been produced at the site by itinerant smiths<sup>637</sup>. Among the arguments advanced to support this view, the lack of Geometric sites in the vicinity, which could have supported workshops to cater to the needs of the sanctuary, may be suggestive, whereas the evidence for the in situ production of other votive objects, e.g. pottery and stone objects, is irrelevant, since it pertains to the Minoan phases of the sanctuary, when cult practices were different and the evidence for the existence of settlements in the surrounding areas is plentiful. The evidence that some craftsmen made bronze animals for more than one sanctuary<sup>638</sup> does indicate that metalworkers traveled considerable distances to visit different cult places and sell their votives but does not necessarily prove that they produced them in situ at any of them.

Some of these observations also pertain to the terracotta animals. As already noted, the lack of contemporary settlements in the general area around the site has the same implications for the production of both terracottas and bronzes<sup>639</sup>. The formal variety of the figurines that suggests the existence of multiple small production centers/individual craftsmen is, given the considerably smaller number of the terracottas, even more obvious in the clay animals than in the bronzes and, in addition, is also documented by the variety of their fabrics.

633. See above II, 7 n. 50-51.

634. For a discussion of the evidence with bibliography see Risberg 1992 and for more recent discussions of the evidence from Syme Schürmann 1994, 189-194; Lebessi 2002, 185-190.

635. Morgan 1990, 35-37.

636. Heilmeyer 1969, esp. 21-26.

637. Schürmann 1994, 193-194.

638. Schürmann 1994, 192 n. 493.

639. XII, 119-120.



On the other hand there are pronounced differences between the two groups. There is no evidence for the production of terracottas in situ, while the few poorly made clay animals that were here compared with the miscast bronzes, were not technical failures but rather incompetently made pieces<sup>640</sup>. In addition, although the manufacture of both cast bronzes and handmade terracottas, would have required kilns, the higher value of the bronze dedications could have compensated the craftsmen for the effort of maintaining such facilities, which, given the small scale production, they may well have shared. It is doubtful, however, that this was the case with the cheaper terracottas. A kiln would be indispensable if large numbers of ceramic objects, such as pottery, were produced at the site, but pottery seems to have lost its importance in cultic activity after the Minoan period and very little of it was in use for votive or other purposes in the PG and G periods or in the seventh century. Thus the amounts required to meet seasonal demand for both pottery and figurines could have been easily transported to the site.

Although no definite evidence can be brought to bear, on balance, it seems more probable that the interaction between coroplasts and metalworkers took place in settlements where permanent workshops must have existed, at least in the larger communities, where the smiths made utilitarian and also votive objects, both large and small, since it is not likely that they could have supported themselves by making the rounds of some sanctuaries that attracted the relatively few votaries that could dedicate objects of metal. Schürmann has suggested that the metal for the animal figurines probably came from the votaries and therefore the artisans made them only at sanctuaries, since they would be reluctant to invest whatever reserves they might have had in objects for which they had no orders<sup>641</sup>. Even if this hypothesis were valid, there is no reason why some votaries could not have ordered their votives in advance of their visit to the sanctuary. This must have certainly been the case with the stands and tripods, which represented a very substantial investment on the part of both customer and craftsman, and could have easily been the same for some of the figurines. Just the fact that the few bronze horses dedicated at Syme could not have provided prototypes for any of the numerous clay horses — precisely the group that includes the majority of terracottas inspired by metal prototypes — indicates that the coroplasts had come in contact with bronze horses, either imported or locally made, at other centers and not at the sanctuary itself.

The second category of material that provided inspiration for the workshops that produced terracotta animals for Syme were the Athenian pyxides and/or the copies that Cretan potters produced. The importation of large quantities of Attic pottery to Knossos and its influence on the development of local style has been extensively documented in the publication of the North Cemetery<sup>642</sup>. Among the earliest imported vases were pyxides, of both pointed and flat shape, which were rarely exported elsewhere. To judge from the bucranium 263, an adaptation of an

640. XII, 124.

641. Schürmann 1994, 194.

642. See esp. Coldstream and Catling 1996, 393-402.

#### XIV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

*“... en laissant de cotè la Crète, qui est, de tous les points de vue, à part ...”*  
(Rolley 1983, 112)

The ideological content of votive objects of the Archaic and Classical periods can be understood through the inscriptions that began to be added to the objects themselves or their supports after 700<sup>648</sup>. In contrast, the votives of the Geometric period seem, if not completely mute, at least reluctant to speak for themselves. In the case of the animal figurines the attempts that have been made to decipher their meaning cannot be placed within a particular methodological framework and have not produced widely accepted ideas. In some cases discussion seems to be focused on the objects themselves and the intent of the votaries who had dedicated them, while in others it has centered on the social and economic reasons that had prompted their dedication, but such distinctions are seldom clear-cut.

The former approach has been usually followed in the assessment of assemblages from individual sites and is often accompanied by attempts to establish connections with the deity worshiped at each site in post-Geometric times; at the same time it is acknowledged that, as studies of post-Geometric votives have shown, votive objects were seldom reserved for specific deities<sup>649</sup>. Thus, the cattle figurines from Samos have been connected with the cult of Hera, since most of them have no indication of sex and are therefore considered to represent cows, with which the goddess had special associations. They are also said to have been offered by votaries who possessed herds, while horse figurines imply a connection with warriors and consequently with a class of *hippeis*, who dedicated them as markers of their status<sup>650</sup>.

The interpretation of the bronze bull figurines from the Theban Kabirion was less straightforward, since the author of the study vacillated between considering their dedication as a general phenomenon or (given the fact that they were for centuries the only offerings dedicated at the site) as a specific feature of the sanctuary, opting finally for a connection with Kabiros and Dionysos, while at the same time stressing the influence of BA traditions that ensured the continuing importance of the bull in conservative Boeotia<sup>651</sup>. Similarly the few terracotta cattle figurines from Isthmia have been tentatively connected with Poseidon, although they could also have served as symbols of economic wealth<sup>652</sup>.

The two volumes devoted to the zoomorphic figurines of clay and bronze from

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648. van Straten 1981; Grottanelli 1989-1990 with refs.

649. Morgan 1993, 22; Himmelmann 2002, 92.

650. Jarosch 1994, 93-96.

651. Schmaltz 1980, esp. 161-164. For more recent interpretations of this material see below 153.

652. Morgan 1994, 119-120.

Olympia gave a more detailed account of both categories, in which the gods played no specific part. Rather the terracotta animals in their entirety were considered as reflecting the rural society of the area in which the sanctuary was located. In this environment horse and cattle breeding was more important than the raising of sheep, dogs watched over the animals and vehicles were used for transport within the area and for visits to the sanctuary<sup>653</sup>. This idyllic world of *Herde*, *Hof* and *Heiligtum* remained essentially unchanged in the later publication of the bronze zoomorphic figurines, although the more valuable material encouraged a somewhat different evaluation of the cattle and horse dedications as reflecting the greater social significance of herding such animals as opposed to raising sheep and goats. The increase of votives in the first half of the eighth century was connected with the beginning of the Olympic games, for which the chariot models that correspond to the rich herders of the area, were considered particularly indicative. Of the *polis* no sign could be discerned<sup>654</sup>.

A dissenting, albeit minority view, noting the scant interest of Geometric art in such activities as herding, considers the bronze figurines as purely symbolic gifts that represent possessions and serve as status markers<sup>655</sup>, but it is the 'realistic' approach that has been picked up in more recent treatments of the figurines<sup>656</sup>. Despite the much broader scope of the discussion and the fundamentally different conclusions, the interpretation of A. Snodgrass is remarkably similar with that of W.-D. Heilmeyer, since the bronze animals, specifically the most numerous bulls/bovids, are considered as reflecting a concern for herding and are therefore part of the evidence that pastoralism and, in particular, cattle ranching were more important than agriculture in the early IA<sup>657</sup>. The decrease in the number of the figurines in the latter part of the eighth century, when other votives begin to take their place, implies a return to agriculture, the attendant resettlement of the land and a population increase, which provided the pressures that eventually produced institutional innovation, i.e. the *polis*<sup>658</sup>.

653. Heilmeyer 1972, 87-88.

654. Heilmeyer 1979, 22-24, 181, 196.

655. Himmelmann 1980, 32-37, esp. 36; 2002, 92-95.

656. Schürmann 1994, 218-219; D'Agata 1999, 235-236. See also the discussion in Shaw and Shaw 2000, 172-174.

657. Snodgrass 1987, esp. 205-207, 209.

658. Snodgrass 1987, 186-209, esp. 193-194, 209. For references to this theory in discussions of early sanctuaries see Morgan 1990, 91; Polignac 1994, 5. Studies devoted to aspects of agriculture or pastoralism have all been critical of this theory (Cherry 1988, esp. 26-30; Whitley 1991a, 43. See also Jameson 1988, esp. 93-98; Hodkinson 1990,

142; Burford 1993, 75; and in particular Foxhall 1995 for an alternative interpretation of the osteological evidence from Nichoria, on which Snodgrass' theory is heavily based). A similar increase in the consumption of cattle can be seen at Kastro in the Kavousi area in the LG phase, but the cattle bones still comprise only 8.8% of the total found as opposed to the sheep/goat remains that amount to 77.9% (Klippel and Snyder 1991). Studies of ancient Greek husbandry and pastoralism are not particularly helpful, since they are either based entirely on literary sources (e.g. Isager and Skydsgaard 1992, 83-107, esp. 85-93) or express fundamentally different points of view (e.g. Hodkinson vs. Skydsgaard in Whittaker 1988).

It should be noted that, although this interpretation considers the figurines as a general phenomenon of the Geometric period, it is in reality based on the material from Olympia and the bronze figurines in particular. To some extent this is due to the fact that they were until quite recently, the only ones thoroughly published, but it is also very likely that the overwhelming riches of Olympia entice scholars to generalize<sup>659</sup>. It is actually the author of the two volumes of the Olympia figurines that has recently voiced the need for an evaluation of this material in the light of the data now available from other sanctuaries<sup>660</sup>.

The publication of the zoomorphic terracotas from Syme provides an opportunity for such a comparison that will also include the clay animals from Samos, which cover approximately the same chronological span and have been published in some detail. Since neither consideration applies to any other assemblage from Crete, Cretan terracotas from sites other than Syme will be used only for general comparisons.

The comparison of the assemblages from Olympia, Samos and Syme is summarized on Table B. In order to make all three groups conform to the same framework some adjustments of the data were necessary. Consequently chronological divisions have been conflated and rounded off<sup>661</sup> and (the relatively few) figurines that were dated to transitional stages have been assigned to the earlier of the two periods, so that those dated in MG/LG have been added to the MG groups, while those dated to LG/Transitional have been assigned to the LG period. Examples of species other than horses, cattle, sheep and goats (e.g. dogs or birds) and material other than figurines have not been included and, in all cases, unidentified, non-dated and very fragmentary pieces were omitted. The tabulation of the terracotas from Olympia is based on Heilmeyer 1972 Table a, except that the figurines separately categorized as chariot horses, horse fragments and horse figurines have been grouped here together under the single category of horses. The clay figurines from Samos were selected according to the criteria already mentioned from the catalogue in Jarosch 1994.

Table C compares the development of the bronze zoomorphic figurines from Olympia with that of their counterparts from Syme<sup>662</sup>. Samos, where only seven bronze animals were found, is omitted. The figurines from Syme were tabulated according to Table 1 in Schürmann 1994, with the following adjustments: nos. 581-588, i.e. the few figurines that were discussed in an appendix and not included among the tabulated material, have been incorporated here, while nos. 536-580 have been omitted. A slight adjustment to the number of bovids/bulls and horses reflects the identification of no. 425 as a stallion rather than a bull<sup>663</sup>.

659. E.g. according to Zimmermann 1989, 321, the introduction of bronze horse figurines was a strictly Peloponnesian phenomenon and the great metallurgical center of Argos produced them solely for Olympia.

660. Heilmeyer 2002, 89.

661. For more exact correlations and the corresponding nomenclature used in Heilmeyer 1972 and Jarosch 1994 see Table A.

662. Cf. also Schürmann 1994, 216-217.

663. See above XIII, 135 n. 606.



The tabulation of the material from Olympia is based on the catalogue of the figurines in Heilmeyer 1979, but the animals dated there at the end of the tenth century have been assigned to the ninth, following the chronology of the bronze animals from Syme, which, at their earliest stage, find parallels only at the Kabirion<sup>664</sup>. The material was selected according to the same criteria applied to the terracotta animals. It cannot be emphasized enough that the bronze animals from Olympia tabulated here constitute only a sample, amounting to c. 20% of the 4042 pieces known by 1979<sup>665</sup>, whereas the tabulated terracottas represent almost all those found, thanks to the inclusive table published in Heilmeyer 1972 Table a, where all pieces found up to 1966 are categorized and dated.

At first glance Table B shows that, despite the numerical superiority of the material from Olympia, the general development of the clay figurines from all three sites is very similar: they all begin within the PG period, peak during the eighth century and peter off c. 650; in all of them horses are more numerous than bulls/bovids. The second glance, however, reveals divergences in both respects. It is clear that at Olympia, the wealthiest sanctuary of the Greek world, the humble animal terracottas survived longer than at Samos or Syme. They begin to be dedicated in small numbers in the tenth century and, after a substantial increase in the ninth, reach a peak in the first half of the eighth century, earlier than at the other two sites. Although they decreased abruptly after 700, some continued to be dedicated down to the sixth century<sup>666</sup>.

In contrast, solidly made animals appear on Samos and at Syme only sporadically during the ninth century. At Syme there is a steady increase culminating in the second half of the eighth century, while at Samos the equivalent acceleration in the dedication of these votives after 750 constitutes an abrupt leap that continues in the first half of the seventh century, so that the bulk of the Samian assemblage is concentrated within a century, between c. 750 and 650, or even less<sup>667</sup>. At Samos the early solidly made animals are supplemented by a fair number of others made on the wheel, of which the majority are bovids<sup>668</sup>. Whether the same happened at Syme will be determined only after the publication of the hollow animal figures and figurines. In any case, at both sites handmade clay animals cease to be dedicated by 650, although at Syme there is some evidence for sporadic dedications in later periods.

Some differences can also be discerned in the distribution of the four species

664. Schürmann 1994, 13. See also Rolley 1977, 134-135 for the chronology of the early votives at Olympia.

665. For bronze animal figurines found more recently see Kyrieleis and Herrmann 2003, 110-126 figs. 65-100.

666. Heilmeyer 1972, 31.

667. According to Jarosch 1994, 29, the hand-

made animals come to an end in the early second quarter of the seventh century, but there are two or three examples that are probably later.

668. Out of the 62 best preserved wheelmade animals from Samos one is assigned to the end of the BA, while 24 are dated before 800; of these six are horses; 37 other bovids and horses were dedicated subsequently down into the seventh century.

recorded on the chart. In reality comparisons can only be made for horses, cattle and sheep, since goats are not represented at Olympia or Samos<sup>669</sup>, whereas at Syme they are present in small numbers in every period. Although, as noted, horses outnumber bovids everywhere, the margins differ. At Syme the horse seems to have only a slight advantage, whereas at Samos twice and at Olympia three times as many horses as bovids were dedicated. Rams come a distant third at both Olympia and Syme and are practically non-existent on Samos<sup>670</sup>.

If the figures on Table C are compared with those of Table B it becomes clear that the overall chronological range of the bronzes is not very different from that of the terracottas. The distribution pattern of the bronzes from Olympia matches that of the terracotta animals from the site, since the bronzes also peak in the first half of the eighth century, while the bronze animals from Syme are more numerous in the second half just like the terracottas from the site. These correspondences emphasize the fact that animal figurines of bronze and clay were two aspects of the same phenomenon. The clay animals, however, do not simply conform to what has been defined as a feature of modest offerings, i.e. "the constant attempt to imitate the most costly votives in a simpler execution and cheaper material"<sup>671</sup>. As the material from Olympia demonstrates, the terracottas did not necessarily depend on the bronzes for their stylistic development, nor were the kinds of animals that the well-to-do favored always the same as those preferred by the less affluent, as the figurines from both sanctuaries document. Rather the terracottas, even though they antedated the metal animals by centuries, came to depend on the bronzes for their popularity as votive objects<sup>672</sup>.

Beyond these generally similar patterns, there are a few other similarities and divergences. It is obvious that at both Olympia and Syme the bronze animals make a more vigorous appearance than the earliest terracottas, but this happened earlier at Syme than in Olympia. Since the rarity of bronze horses in Crete is a thoroughly documented phenomenon<sup>673</sup>, it is not so much the huge discrepancy between the few such figurines from Syme as opposed to the hundreds found at Olympia that is surprising, but rather that the bovids/bulls from the Cretan sanctuary are so many that they actually approach the number of those in the Olympia sample. Another unusual aspect of the Syme bronzes is not only the early and relatively frequent occurrence of sheep figurines, but also their constant presence throughout the period that bronze animals were dedicated, as opposed to their virtual absence at Olympia and their feeble representation among the Syme terracottas.

It is easy enough to consider the differences among these three assemblages of figurines as extensions of the different character of each sanctuary. To begin with, whether Samos and Olympia had BA roots or not, by the time they began to function Syme was already centuries old. Samos was a local cult place throughout its

669. VI, 72.

670. V, 62.

671. Kyrieleis 1998, 215.

672. Cf. Kyrieleis 1998, 215.

673. III, 16.

existence, remaining under local control even during its greatest development in the seventh and sixth centuries, when monumental architecture adorned the sanctuary and many works of sculpture and numerous objects that originated in far-flung areas, such as Egypt, Cyprus and the Near East, were dedicated<sup>674</sup>. Olympia, according to the date assigned to the earliest pottery found in the recent excavations of the black layer beneath the Pelopeion, began as a local shrine in the latter part of the eleventh century<sup>675</sup> and achieved super-regional status by the ninth, but, despite much effort, the processes through which it became the most important sanctuary of the Greek world remain uncertain. Whether some of the ideas proposed to explain the development of Olympia and other early sanctuaries, such as remoteness or a location close to communication routes<sup>676</sup>, apply to Syme or not, should be considered in relation to the Minoan phase of the sanctuary rather than its development in the IA. Syme must have functioned on a super-regional level throughout its long history, but remained always an exclusively Cretan sanctuary, whose visitors were concerned only with Cretan affairs<sup>677</sup>.

In view of these fundamental differences among the three sanctuaries, the divergences that can be discerned among the figurine assemblages seem minor and serve to underline rather than to obscure the fact that for the most part of the Geometric period and the first half of the seventh century zoomorphic figurines were an important class of votives at all three sites. This must surely mean that, whatever the local circumstances may have been, these objects expressed commonly held beliefs and shared concepts and consequently no valid conclusions can be drawn concerning their significance on the basis of the evidence from one site or region alone. The following attempt to determine the underlying reason for this ideological commonality will be centered as closely as possible on the figurines themselves and refer only briefly or not at all to aspects of the Greek IA that have been much discussed in recent bibliography, such as the Homeric associations of IA society and customs, or the emergence of the *polis*, since these studies have only rarely concerned themselves with the main subject of this volume.

In assessing the evidence that can be gleaned from the Syme terracottas concerning their meaning and the purpose of their dedication, it is worth noting again that the assemblage consists almost exclusively of four species of domesticated animals. References to wild animals are minimal, represented only by the figurines of a deer (194) and a wild goat (192); even the birds are few and of post-Geometric date. This is also true of the other two assemblages as well<sup>678</sup>. Such references are

674. Kyrieleis 1993.

675. Eder 2001, esp. 204-206 and for an overview Kyrieleis and Herrmann 2003, esp. 9, 11-12. For bronze figurines earlier than the ninth century see Lebessi 2002, 299-304 with refs. to earlier discussions; Himmelmann 2002, 95-102. See also in general Morgan 1999, 379-381, who has consis-

tently ignored the anthropomorphic bronzes.

676. Polignac 1994, 5-6, 11; 1996, 66.

677. Lebessi and Muhly 2003.

678. Bird figurines are also rare at Samos, where few unusual animals have been identified (Jarosch 1994, nos. 1156, 1158). Olympia has only a few figurines of dogs, e.g. Heilmeyer 1972, nos. 218-219.



also rare among the Syme bronze animals, whereas at Olympia uncommon species occur more often<sup>679</sup>.

As already noted, the horse holds a special position in the Syme assemblage, rivaling in popularity the bull/bovid. Like most representations of horses in the Geometric period, the figurines from Syme commonly portray them as single animals, which, except for being occasionally designated as male, were not given any distinguishing characteristics. The most specific representations portray the horse as a draught animal. There is only one reference to riding but by means of a side saddle, which within the Greek world was reserved for women<sup>680</sup>. The same is true of the terracottas from Olympia<sup>681</sup>, whereas those from Samos do include a few ridden horses of the late eighth and early seventh centuries<sup>682</sup>.

The chariot/wagon itself does not occur among the Syme terracottas. Instead the vehicle is alluded to in various ways: through the joining of two horses with a yoke or the contiguous positioning of their bodies; by the conflation of the two animals into one, two-headed body, or, most commonly, by the addition of wheels to teams or single horses. Since the single wheeled horses, which are more common than the wheeled teams, obviously allude to the chariot, it is very likely that the single, free-standing horse figurines, whether of bronze or of clay, should also be interpreted as referring to the chariot<sup>683</sup>. The same is true of two unattached but identical figurines found together<sup>684</sup>.

At Syme even the single 'vehicle' (70), which is clearly inspired by Attic chariot models placed on a wheeled platform, omits both chariot and human figures, retaining only the horses. These abstract representations, which were clearly favored in Crete, convey no information regarding the meaning that these objects had for the votaries and the reasons why those made of clay were dedicated so often at Syme, while those of bronze were rare.

The chariot and the horse as means of transport in IA Greece have been much discussed<sup>685</sup> and their significance has been explored in studies devoted to various materials, most particularly the figural scenes on LG vases<sup>686</sup>, but representations, whether two- or three-dimensional, are most often ambiguous, so that even basic questions, such as the use of the chariot in warfare during the IA, are still being debated. The chariot models from Olympia, which, unlike the Cretan versions, are quite detailed, are a good case in point. The examples that carry human figures are varied but convey no coherent picture<sup>687</sup>. There are some that have a helmeted

679. For Syme see Schürmann 1994, pl. 59 nos. 530-532; for Olympia Heilmeyer 1979, 196.

680. Piggott 1992, 90-92.

681. Heilmeyer 1972, 88. See also Heilmeyer 1994, 207 for reference to three bronze riders.

682. Jarosch 1994, 64 n. 267 for refs.

683. Bohen 1988, 11 for pyxis horses; Zimmermann 1989, 325-326 for bronzes.

684. XIII, 135.

685. Crouwel 1992 with refs.

686. Schäfer 1983; Snodgrass 1987, esp. 132-169; 1998, 13-66; Whitley 1991a, 51-53; and esp. Manakidou 1994, 5-19, 13-66; Coldstream 2003, 110-119 for Attic scenes. See also Papapostolou 2001, 20-33 for a thorough discussion of representations of ridden horses with refs.

687. For a discussion see Himmelmann 2002, 95.



driver and a second figure, a group that corresponds to the way a war chariot was used<sup>688</sup>, as well as another of bronze that carries two passengers and a crouching animal, most likely a dog<sup>689</sup>. The single figures may wear a helmet<sup>690</sup>, a wide brimmed hat<sup>691</sup> or no head cover at all.

Perhaps the best way to gauge the significance of the chariot and the horse in the Geometric period and the seventh century is through the horse burials that, on their most fundamental level, document the actual ownership of these animals by a certain segment of the population and also illustrate their real and symbolic value. Such burials are known in the BA, but are better attested in the IA<sup>692</sup>.

Burials accompanied by vehicles and/or horses occur in many cultures and periods over a wide geographical area and have been extensively discussed<sup>693</sup>. It is clear that this practice was carried out in various ways, according to local conditions and ideology, so that in some areas either the vehicles or the horses accompanied the dead, while in others both were buried. In the Aegean during the IA it was the horses or part of their gear that were placed in the grave<sup>694</sup>.

Horse burials, which in some cases are associated with burials of dogs, are more plentiful in Crete than in the Mainland, thanks to the finds from the North Cemetery at Knossos and the contemporary cemetery at Prinias<sup>695</sup>, but, with one possible exception, they were made in separate pits, away from the tombs themselves, and are not precisely datable<sup>696</sup>. The grave of the 'Hero' at Lefkandi, dated in the first half of the tenth century by the excavators or c. 950 or "before 900" by other scholars<sup>697</sup>, and the 'Royal' tombs of Salamis in Cyprus, dated between the mid-eighth and the end of the seventh century, mark the approximate chronological limits of the dated examples of this practice.

The burials of the 'Hero' of Lefkandi, whose ashes had been placed in a bronze Cypriot amphoroid krater, and of the female that shared the grave were not only

688. Heilmeyer 1994, pl. 73.2. For a discussion see Crouwel 1992, 55-65, esp. 55.

689. Heilmeyer 1994, pl. 68. 4-7.

690. Heilmeyer 1994, pl. 74 nos. 77-78.

691. Heilmeyer 1994, pl. 73 no. 76.

692. For a complete list see Reese 1995.

693. The best overview is in Piggott 1992. For recent specialist studies see Pare 1992, Emiliozi 1997.

694. The deposition of vehicles or vehicle parts is much rarer and, in so far as I know, can be documented on the Mainland only in two graves of the Kerameikos, dating respectively in the latter part of the ninth and the second half of the eighth century. For these iron tyres see Crouwel 1992, 87 n. 440-441. Parts of vehicles were also found with cremation burials of the seventh and sixth centuries at the site of Ayios Georgios in Thessaly (Tziaphalias

1978; 1994).

695. For the two burials of teams of horses associated with skeletal remains of dogs from Knossos see Coldstream and Catling 1996, 703-710. Horse bones scattered in several tombs are thought to be part of one individual. See also Day 1984 for dog burials with particular reference to IA Crete. For Prinias see Rizza 1979; 1984.

696. The exception may be Tomb 79 at Knossos, in which the horses and dogs were found below the remains of a tomb with some LG/EO vases (Coldstream and Catling 1996, 125-126). In the case of Prinias the excavator has dated these burials from the PG through the G period on the basis of their spatial distribution. For these dates see D'Acunto 1995, 48-49.

697. Thomas and Conant 1999, 97; Antonaccio 2002, 21-22.

accompanied by the sacrifice of four horses but also by a rich assemblage of gifts that served as additional status markers<sup>698</sup>, but the objects that accompanied the 'kings' buried in the monumental tombs of Salamis in Cyprus provide the clearest and most detailed demonstration of the association of horse burials and horse trappings with graves of the elite. Several of the burials in these tombs were accompanied by horses as well as chariots and/or wagons. The first burial in Tomb 79, dated ca. 760-740, was accompanied by both a quadriga and a wagon/hearse with elaborate trappings and had been provided with precious furniture, weapons, vessels, fire dogs and spits among many other objects<sup>699</sup>. The burial in Tomb 3 of the late seventh century also had both a chariot and a wagon. The presence of a bronze quiver and an iron sword inside the chariot alludes to the dual function of the vehicle as well as to its owner's prowess in both hunting and war. It also provides another illustration of the mixed references to war and hunting, which was itself "a training for war"<sup>700</sup>, conveyed by the burials of dogs and horses at Knossos and Prinias as well as by the bronze model from Olympia, where the dog is carried on the chariot along with its human occupants<sup>701</sup>.

The underlying concept of horse sacrifice has been defined as "that of conspicuous waste and an admired display of wealth"<sup>702</sup>. Indeed the excavators of the North Cemetery, hard pressed to define social hierarchy within this community, could only come up with the horse burials as markers of social distinction<sup>703</sup>. Given this demonstrably close association of the horse with the 'nobility', which made the animal "a metaphor for hunting and warfare, protection and order"<sup>704</sup>, one would expect that the wealthier votaries would prefer to offer the image of this animal to the gods. This is, however, not the case at Olympia, where more bronze 'bulls' than horses were dedicated, while the opposite is true of the cheaper terracottas. This inconsistency has gone practically unnoticed or dismissed as not significant<sup>705</sup>, but is also true at Syme (as well as other Cretan cult places), with the difference that the disparity between the numbers of bronze bovids/bulls and bronze horses is extreme.

On the Mainland the horse/chariot was a familiar symbol, but votive objects of

698. The 'Hero's' urn had been covered with a bronze bowl and a set of weapons was deposited next to it. Some of the woman's rich jewelry were also heirlooms/exotica. For a thorough discussion of the grave see Antonaccio 2002; a second burial of two horses was not associated with a grave (ARepLond 1988-1989, 118 Tomb 68). See also Lemos 2002, 161-169 and below 160 n. 761 for more refs.

699. For an overview of these tombs see Rupp 1988, esp. Tables 1 and 3. See also Karageorghis 1963 for another tomb of the seventh century from Palaipaphos with a horse burial, and Reese 1995 for more evidence of such burials and horse remains in

Cypriot tombs.

700. Hyland 2003, 6.

701. One of the rare representations of horses on Cretan vases combines this animal with a hunting dog (Coldstream and Catling 1996, no. 125.3). For an assessment of hunting scenes in Geometric art see Himmelmann 1980, 32-37.

702. Piggott 1992, 110.

703. Coldstream and Catling 1996, 720-721.

704. Carstens 2005, 77.

705. Zimmermann 1989, 1-2. See, however, comment by Morgan 1990, 90-91; cf. also Heilmeyer 2002, 88.

metal, including anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, were a new phenomenon of the IA. In Crete with its continuous tradition in the production and dedication of bronze anthropomorphic figurines it was the animal figurines of metal and the free-standing horse (which had appeared at the end of the BA) that were new<sup>706</sup>. At Olympia, however, the horse is included among the earliest bronze animals, while at Syme it does not appear until the mid-eighth century. Instead cattle and sheep fill the period down to c. 800 when a few goats are added.

It seems, therefore, that the Cretans who could afford to dedicate zoomorphic votives of metal adopted this novel idea as early or even earlier than their counterparts on the Mainland, but remained conservatively attached to the two most common species of animals that, as terracottas, had traditionally been dedicated in the Minoan past. This does not mean, however, that in the ninth and eighth centuries the well-to-do were not willing to invest in prestigious items of bronze that were decorated with images of horses/chariots and could be dedicated at cult places or deposited in the grave, such as some votive shields or the four-sided stand from Syme of the PG period<sup>707</sup> and the Fortetsa belt<sup>708</sup>. None of these objects, however, even when they were made for non-utilitarian purposes, were exclusively votive objects like the figurines<sup>709</sup>. The reluctance to introduce this symbol pertained to the object, i.e. to the figurines, and not to the material. Since the less wealthy were not hesitant in adopting the clay horse/chariot as an appropriate dedication from a very early stage, dedicating as many terracotta horses/chariots as bulls/bovids, it follows that the reluctance of the wealthier votaries to dedicate bronze horses was associated with the special meaning that the other animals that they did dedicate had for them and, therefore, with the kind of ritual activity in which they participated.

Various opinions have been expressed concerning the significance of bull/bovid figurines, especially those of bronze, during the Geometric period<sup>710</sup>. The subject has also been discussed in detail in a paper by Schmaltz<sup>711</sup>, who accepted every interpretation as valid, except that advanced by Heilmeyer and already discussed here<sup>712</sup>.

If the offering of a bronze bull/bovid could have different meanings depending on the cult place where it was dedicated and the ritual activity in which the votaries participated, then in at least two cases the significance of the figurines can be understood. In the case of the Theban Kabirion, where bronze and lead bull figurines were the only votives dedicated for centuries, it has been proposed that their dedication was connected with maturation rituals, for which evidence can be found in inscriptions and other material from later phases of the sanctuary<sup>713</sup>. The same has also been

706. See above III, 14.

707. For ref. see above XI, 111 n. 441 and below 161.

708. For another, recently found belt with the representation of an archer on horseback see *Kretike Hestia* 9, 2000, 313 fig. 2.

709. For the three such figurines from Knossos tombs see Prent 2005, 393 n. 984.

710. For a summary with references see Schürmann 1994, 218-220. For more recent opinions see above 145 n. 656.

711. Schmaltz 1983.

712. See above 144-145.

713. For the proposal see Lebessi 1992; for further discussion Daumas 2004.



suggested for the bronze bulls at Syme, where literary evidence also exists for similar rituals, according to which aristocratic Cretan youths, who had successfully undergone a period of isolation in the mountains, sacrificed a bull upon being integrated into society as adults<sup>714</sup>. The return of the youths from the wild was commemorated on a series of bronze cut-out plaques, most of which portray them bringing the wild goats that they had hunted and captured in the mountains to the sanctuary<sup>715</sup>.

The comparison of the bronze and terracotta figurines of animals from Syme, which documents the persistent preference of the well-to-do for bulls/bovids to the virtual exclusion of the horse that they had otherwise accepted as a status marker, lends support to this interpretation. It should be emphasized, however, that this evidence by itself is less significant than it appears, since, as it has already been noted, the same scarcity of bronze horse figurines and the same preference for bronze bulls/bovids characterizes all Cretan cult places of this period where bronzes have been found. Indeed in strictly statistical terms, Ayia Triada and Psychro have higher percentages of bull/bovid bronze figurines than Syme<sup>716</sup>. On the other hand, only 78 bronze animal figurines have been found at Ayia Triada (the second largest group in Crete), while Syme has produced more than 550, the largest assemblage from any other Greek sanctuary except for Olympia. Although it is really the contrast between the many bronze bovids and the few bronze horses as opposed to the large number of terracotta horses that suggests that there is something different about the assemblage of bronze figurines at Syme, it is the plaques, which, with one exception, have not been found at other Cretan sanctuaries<sup>717</sup> and the literary sources that provide the real evidence for the special function of the bronze bovids at Syme that rendered the dedication of bronze horses of far lesser significance.

Whether this was true throughout the period that bronze bovids/bulls were dedicated, cannot be determined. Unlike the Kabirion, where no other offerings were dedicated, Syme received many other kinds of votive objects, including figurines of other species of animals. The chronological and quantitative distribution of the figurines themselves is not particularly informative in this respect. The fact that there are few bovids/bulls in the early phases, does not necessarily mean that they became associated with specific rituals in the second half of the eighth, when their numbers increase, since it is in this period that there is a general increase of votive activity<sup>718</sup>.

714. On the discrepancy between the frequency of cattle figurines and the species most often represented among the animal bones found at sanctuaries see Schürmann 1994, 218 n. 656. The fossil material from Kalapodi (Stanzel 1991 [*non vidi*] and for a summary Felsch 1999) and Samos (Boessneck and von Driesch 1980; 1988, and for a summary Kyrieleis 1993, 137-138) includes cattle bones, but the percentages in these two assem-

blages, which are not contemporary, differ widely.

715. For the plaques and a detailed account of the sources see Lebessi 1985, esp. 188-189.

716. Schürmann 1994, 215 for statistics.

717. For the exceptional piece from Psychro see Lebessi 1985, G 14, 56-57 pls. 27, 42; and 21-22 for three others in European museums.

718. Schürmann 1994, 217-218 n. 650.



The relationship between the bronze bulls/bovids and the bronze cut-out plaques is more revealing. The plaques appear at the end of the eighth century and during the first half of the seventh, when very few of them were dedicated, they overlap with the figurines. After 670 the plaques become more numerous, peaking in the second half of the seventh century, when bronze (as well as clay) animal figurines are no longer dedicated. A few plaques represent single animals, including two bulls<sup>719</sup>. These may be called exceptional, but they serve to indicate that bull sacrifice still played a role during the last stage of the rituals. It seems therefore that the bronze bulls were superceded by the plaques, which continued to be dedicated, albeit sparsely, down to c. 400.

The association of the bull/bovid figurines of bronze with special rituals carried out at the Syme sanctuary does not mean that they were not also dedicated for other reasons<sup>720</sup>. The figurines themselves, whether of bronze or clay, are seldom informative, but they do include some examples that allude to concerns unrelated to sacrifice. It has to be admitted, however, that these are very few. Among the hundreds of bronze bovids from Cretan sanctuaries, there are only two figurines of suckling cows to document the concern for the fertility and increase of herds and flocks that must have been important for many votaries<sup>721</sup>. The single surviving terracotta ox from a team of yoked oxen from Syme (**128**) is the most explicit representation of an important function of cattle as draught animals, which is also hinted at by a bronze figurine from Syme and another of clay from Isthmia that are outfitted with an elaborate harness<sup>722</sup>. Whether these representations refer to the wagon or to the plow is impossible to determine, as both subjects are rare even in later periods<sup>723</sup>. Several pairs of almost identical figurines of terracotta bovids in the Syme assemblage may also refer to teamed animals<sup>724</sup>.

The figurines of sheep and goats, both of bronze and clay, are even less informative and it is purely speculative, albeit plausible, to suggest that they fulfilled the same variety of purposes as the cattle figurines<sup>725</sup>. In a few cases sheep/ram and even goat figurines were dedicated in almost identical pairs, like the bovids mentioned above. This cannot correspond to any functional aspect of the animals and may simply mean that the duplication enhanced the meaning of the offering, in practical or, more likely, in symbolic terms.

Several cut-out plaques portray wild goats by themselves<sup>726</sup> rather than in association with a votary, while three others represent votaries carrying sheep on their shoulders instead of a goat<sup>727</sup>. It is possible therefore that, just as the single bulls represented on the plaques can be connected with the bull figurines, in the same

719. Lebessi 1985, nos. B1, B6.

720. Lebessi 1985, 3-4.

721. Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, nos. 242-243.

722. XIII, 135.

723. See remarks in Heilmeyer 1979, 183-184.

724. XIII, 136.

725. For the bronze sheep and goats see Schürmann 1994, 219.

726. Lebessi 1985, nos. B3, B5, B7-8 and 136-137 for discussion.

727. Lebessi 1985, 137 nos. A35, A11 and A27.

way some at least of the figurines of sheep and goats can also be identified as offerings of the participants in the same maturation rituals. This would account for the unusual popularity of bronze sheep and goat figurines at Syme and their consistent representation throughout the period that animal figurines were dedicated and also explain why relatively few terracotta sheep and very few terracotta goats were offered. If not just bronze bovids/bulls but also sheep and goats of the same material were sometimes dedicated within the context of the special rituals that were characteristic of the Syme sanctuary, then it is very likely that these rituals can be traced back to the very beginning of these votives, i.e. to the latter part of the tenth century.

The bronze anthropomorphic figurines provide corroborative evidence for this date, since they illustrate eloquently aspects of the same rituals as early as the (Attic) EG period<sup>728</sup>. Indeed on the basis of the figurines, the beginnings of these rituals could be placed even earlier, in the LM IIIC period, when the earliest figurine of an arms-bearer was dedicated. This new iconographic type is repeated in two more figurines of the (Attic) EPG and MPG phases respectively, bridging the ideological gap between the second and first millennia<sup>729</sup>. If the arms-bearer of the LM IIIC period was the dedication of one of the few initiates that could afford to offer a bronze anthropomorphic figurine, a rare gift at any time, then the rest of his contemporaries would have offered one of the wheelmade bovids/bulls that are the only votive objects dedicated with any frequency at Syme in this period<sup>730</sup>. The switch to another kind of votive object, i.e. the bronze animal figurines, during the PG phase would be repeated in the mid-seventh century with the change from the animals to the cut-out plaques.

This reconstruction is consistent with the data from the sanctuary, but if the hypothesis that the Cretan educational system described by Strabo, quoting Ephoros, was already in place in the twelfth century is to be accepted, then some evidence for a certain degree of centralized authority and social differentiation as well as for continuity into the IA should be found in settlements and burials of the LM IIIC period<sup>731</sup>.

Such evidence is not, at present, available. Knossos is considered by the excavators of the North Cemetery and other scholars as a large, nucleated settlement with far-flung contacts beyond Crete, but the earliest burials belong to the Subminoan phase, so that there is a decided break with the preceding period<sup>732</sup>. The excavated remains of the LM IIIC settlement also represent a break with the pre-

728. Lebessi 2002, no. 15 (pl. 15) 79-81 (for date) 214-219 (interpretation).

729. Lebessi 2002, nos. 9-11 (pls. 9-11) 54-63 (date) 209-214 (discussion).

730. E.g. *Prakt* 1977, pls. 217e, 218a.

731. Cf. Morris 1999, 29.

732. Coldstream 1991; Coldstream and Catling

1996, esp. 713-715; Coldstream 2003, 407, and for the most recent discussion Coldstream 2006. For a different assessment see Haggis 1993, 162-164. See also the summary of the evidence in Sjögren 2003, 30-39 for Knossos and the other sites considered here.

ceding periods, while only two tombs contain material of this phase<sup>733</sup>. The settlements in the area of Kavousi, including Kastro, Vronda and Azoria, which have been recently explored through survey and excavation, were all inhabited in LM IIIC, forming a cluster of small communities that exploited the same resources and seem to have been organized on the basis of kinship groups<sup>734</sup>. Kastro survived into the O period<sup>735</sup>, while the small settlement of Vronda did not outlast the LM IIIC phase and was abandoned to be used as a burial ground in the eighth and seventh centuries<sup>736</sup>. A recent study has proposed that the size of one of the buildings at Vronda as well as the evidence it has provided for storage and feasting activity indicates the high rank of the individual or group that inhabited it<sup>737</sup>, but, given that the settlement itself was very small and short-lived, it is hard to determine what sort of authority this person/group represented and how it impacted on the organization of the settlement. The tombs at Vronda do contain "a wide variety of iron and bronze weapons, tools and jewelry ... that suggest display typical of aristocratic societies"<sup>738</sup>, but this pertains to material of post-LM IIIC periods.

It is likely that the population of the largest settlement, Azoria, which is still under investigation, increased with the addition of groups from other settlements after the LM IIIC phase, but the surviving public buildings of the settlement are no earlier than the sixth century<sup>739</sup>.

Closer to the coast the territory of Vrokastro, a site that was excavated long ago, was recently surveyed. The study of the pottery from the settlement indicates that the site was continuously inhabited from the LM IIIC period to c. 650, but the main period of expansion are the ninth and eighth centuries<sup>740</sup>. It is estimated that it had a population of c. 500 and has provided some evidence for social stratification through the relative size of some of the buildings and the varied contents of the tombs, in which, however, the earliest material appears not to be contemporary with that of the settlement but belongs to the late LM IIIC/Subminoan phase<sup>741</sup>. Finally the site of Karphi, founded in an early stage of LM IIIC was abandoned apparently at the beginning of Subminoan. The contemporary tombs at the site contained modest grave goods<sup>742</sup>. In contrast, the tombs at Kyra, farther east in the area of Siteia, were in use continuously from LM IIIC to the end of the eighth century<sup>743</sup>.

In the west of the island the Minoan settlement at Chania came to an end in

733. Hatzaki 2005. For the stratigraphy of the section of the settlement that extends under and beyond the Stratigraphic Museum see Warren 1983, 69-83.

734. Haggis 1993; 2001.

735. For a survey of the pottery sequence see Mook 2004.

736. Gesell, Day and Coulson 1995, 116-117.

737. Day and Snyder 2004, discussed in Wallace 2005.

738. Gesell, Day and Coulson 1990, 30.

739. Haggis et al. 2004.

740. Hayden 2003, 3-14.

741. Hayden et al. 2004, 156-159. See, however, comments in Mook 2004, 169.

742. Desborough 1964, 172-176; 1972, 120-129; Kanta 1980, 121. See also the detailed discussion of the architecture of the site in Wallace 2005.

743. Kanta and Davaras 2004.

LM IIIC and that of the IA begins to develop around the middle of the eighth century<sup>744</sup>. It is also in the eighth century that the site of Thronos-Kephala (ancient *Sybrita*), which was occupied continuously from LM IIIC, gives evidence of a 'more complex social and political structure'<sup>745</sup>.

At Gortyn, in the Mesara, there was a LM IIIC settlement on the hill of Ayios Ioannis, part of which was destroyed in the ninth century when a sanctuary was established, an event that at least implies the existence of some sort of central authority, although it is in the eighth century that the settlement was walled and gives "indications of the emerging polis"<sup>746</sup>. A large tholos tomb with burials that were provided with iron weapons and tools belongs to the ninth century<sup>747</sup>.

At present the best evidence for a large IA settlement that had invested in substantial structures for public use seems to exist at Phaistos, where the recent re-investigation of Geometric houses to the southwest of the Minoan palace has elucidated the chronology of three successive paved streets, dated to the PG, G and Hellenistic periods, that ascended the slope towards the top of the palace area. Part of a substantial wall on the so-called Middle Acropolis is generally accepted as part of the PG defense of the hill, but it seems unlikely that the settlement was nucleated. There is no certain evidence that the streets had a predecessor of the LM IIIC phase, although traces of a modest LM IIIC habitation have been uncovered<sup>748</sup>. The earliest material in the tombs of the area is Subminoan<sup>749</sup>.

It is not surprising that this very fragmented and inconclusive data, which has been considered as reflecting diverse types of settlements<sup>750</sup> and extensive regional variation<sup>751</sup> in the LM IIIC period, has led scholars to place the beginnings of the Cretan *polis* as variously as the mid-tenth century<sup>752</sup> or the late seventh/early sixth century<sup>753</sup>. On the existing evidence it is plausible to connect Phaistos, the only substantial LM IIIC-O settlement in the vicinity, with the Ayia Triada sanctuary<sup>754</sup>. In contrast some of the small LM IIIC settlements in the Kavousi and Isthmus area invested only in local shrines with remarkably similar equipment<sup>755</sup>, which certainly demonstrate organized religious activity but not beyond the communal

744. Hallager and Hallager 1997, esp. 228-240; Andreadaki-Vlasaki 2004.

745. D'Agata 1997-2000, 58.

746. Perlman 2000, 71-72, 77. See also Marginesu 2005, 97-100, esp. 98-99 and Nowicki 2000, 186-187 for the LM IIIC phase of the site.

747. Di Vita 1991, 317 figs. 6-7; Coldstream 2003, 49-50 for date.

748. La Rosa 2005, esp. 268-277. See also the summary of the evidence for post-Minoan Phaistos in Cucuzza 2005, who opts for an organization of the settlement *kata komas*, as well as Watrous, Hatzi-Vallianou and Blitzer 2004, 308-312 for the history of the settlement from LM IIIC through the IA.

749. For a large tholos tomb of the G period see *Kretike Hestia* 5, 1994-1996, 335-336.

750. Haggis 2001, 52.

751. Day and Snyder 2004, 73, 78.

752. Wallace 2004, 8.

753. Kotsonas 2002, 74.

754. Watrous, Hatzi-Vallianou and Blitzer 2004, 310. See also La Rosa 1996, esp. 82 for cult buildings at Phaistos in the seventh century, when Ayia Triada had ceased to function.

755. Klein 2004; Eliopoulos 2002; Tsipopoulou 2001. See also D'Agata 2006, 400-401 for bench sanctuaries beyond East Crete.



level. In neither case, however, is there any indication of an elite group with the capability to organize an educational system that ensured political power and to formulate rituals that provided religious sanction to this system. Such a distinct group is, on the evidence that is at present available from various parts of the island, first discernible in the Subminoan/PG period, a century or so before metal objects began to be dedicated in quantity at sanctuaries.

The most influential interpretation of the bronze animal figurines as a phenomenon of the Geometric period has been that proposed by A. Snodgrass and discussed briefly at the beginning of this chapter. Whatever its merits, it has been the only proposal that, by invoking significant economic, social and political developments, could account for *both* the introduction *and* the eventual disappearance of this class of votive objects, whereas the interpretations that simply link the figurines with the 'agrarian' society of the period cannot provide a comprehensive explanation of either aspect of this phenomenon in Crete or in the Mainland.

Snodgrass did not include Crete in his discussion, conforming to a frequently followed approach that, as the quote at the head of this chapter illustrates, excludes evidence from Crete from most studies of Greek society, politics and art<sup>756</sup>. Even when Crete is brought into discussion, it is commonly to demonstrate diversity rather than similarity<sup>757</sup>. Nevertheless, however different Crete may have been from the rest of Greece in the early IA, it cannot be set apart, since there is a rich and ever-increasing body of evidence that the island was a vital participant in the complex network of exchanges that connected the eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus and the Greek world between c.1200-600. These exchanges have been explored in several conferences<sup>758</sup> and discussed in numerous studies<sup>759</sup>, based primarily on the material – metal objects and vessels as well as ivories, jewelry and pottery, both imported and locally imitated – from the cemeteries of Knossos, Lefkandi and, more recently, that of Eleutherna.

Besides tracing various interconnecting strands, the on-going investigation of this phenomenon has highlighted regional differences as well as inter-regional variations within this complex network. Such factors as the use of collective tombs in Crete as opposed to the single burials preferred on the Mainland, or the passive role of the Cretans versus the active participation of the Euboeans have been frequently stressed. So has the great impact that Near Eastern and Cypriot imports had on Cretan artists and craftsmen, who produced numerous versions of various types of Near Eastern

756. E.g. Morgan 1996, esp. 41; Lemos 2002, esp. 1.

757. Whitley 1991b; I. Morris 1997.

758. Esp. Karageorghis and Stampolidis 1998; Stampolidis and Karageorghis 2003; Stampolidis and Giannikouri 2004.

759. Coldstream 1995a; 1995b; 1989b; 1996;

Whitley 1991a, 181-194; Hoffman 1997, 255-259; Thomas and Conant 1999, 93-108; Morris 2000, 218-256 (excluding Crete); Goula 2004; Antonaccio 2002. See also Carter 1998; Matthäus 1999; 2000a; 2000b; 2005; Papalardo 2004. For Eleutherna see the catalogue of the recent exhibition Stampolidis 2004 with refs. to all earlier discussions.

and Cypriot metal bowls and Cypriot stands at a very early stage. Less noticed has been the more flexible attitude of the Cretans regarding the distinction between gifts appropriate for the dead and those fit for the gods. The recent, detailed discussions of new and old material from the Idaean cave have provided many examples of overlap between burial goods and votives, including tripod and four-sided stands as well as metal vessels, both imported and locally produced<sup>760</sup>.

At the same time all discussions have emphasized how similarly certain groups of Cretans and Mainlanders buried and provisioned their dead. Such choices as burial with weapons or with horses or horse gear were widely shared practices, even in details such as the inclusion of a whetstone with the weapons or the burial of horses in separate shafts.

These associations were discussed even before the final publication of the North Cemetery by H. Catling, who pinpointed the types of burial goods – iron weapons, ‘phalara’, jewelry, costly imports and heirlooms, in this case a Cypriot four-sided stand and a boar’s tusk helmet – that connected two Knossian tombs of the Subminoan period with contemporary and later tombs in Cyprus and the Mainland, including the ‘Hero’s’ burial at Lefkandi, which he considered as being 50 or so years later<sup>761</sup>. More recently a small tholos tomb in the area of Rethymno, not far from Sybrita and the Patsos sanctuary, yielded two contemporary adult male cremations, one of which had been placed, just like the ashes of the ‘Hero’ from Lefkandi, in a bronze krater imported from Cyprus. The krater contained, in addition to pottery, a dagger and a knife of iron, while in two pyres that had been lit at the entrance of the tomb two bronze spearheads had been deposited, both bent out of shape, just like the sword of the individual, whose ashes were buried in grave 27 of the ninth century at Kerameikos<sup>762</sup> or that of the ‘warrior’ in tomb 14.2 at Lefkandi, of the same period<sup>763</sup>. The Cretan burials are firmly dated in the late Subminoan phase, i.e. at the turn of the eleventh to the tenth century<sup>764</sup>.

Although the mechanisms that were employed in the acquisition and transfer of imports are still being debated (direct or indirect trade, gift exchange or intermarriage are among the most frequently suggested<sup>765</sup>), the most obvious and generally acknowledged aspect of this phenomenon is that the objects circulated within a restricted group of people, who shared a common ideology. The participants in this network, Cretans or Mainlanders, were all buried as ‘warriors’, ‘heroes’, ‘grandees’ or ‘princes’, displaying their possession of the same kinds of prestigious objects of metal and, in exceptional cases, their ownership of horses that they could afford to take with them in the grave. It is not surprising that they also chose,

760. Matthäus 1999; 2000a.

761. Catling 1995; Coldstream and Catling 1996, esp. 645–649. See above 151 n. 697 for other dates assigned to this burial.

762. Blegen 1952, 287 pl. 75c fig. 3.

763. Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 173–174.

764. Tegou 2001.

765. For the implications of consumption theory see Foxhall 1998; 2005.

while living, to offer the same types of metal gifts whether they worshiped at Mainland or at Cretan sanctuaries, thus using the same means to establish “an exchange network with the divine”<sup>766</sup>.

In the beginning of the ninth century Olympia, where some bronze anthropomorphic figurines had already been dedicated<sup>767</sup>, began to receive frequent offerings of bronze animal figurines. At Syme, where anthropomorphic bronzes had never ceased to be dedicated, albeit infrequently, bronze animals had already appeared at the end of the tenth century, but by the beginning of the ninth began to be dedicated in some numbers. During the same time at Olympia the wealthiest votaries also dedicated the first bronze tripod cauldrons, while at Syme a four-sided stand, datable on stylistic grounds in the (Cretan) LPG period, was offered.

Most scholars accept that the well-known fragments of moulds from Lefkandi<sup>768</sup> were meant for the production of cauldrons, which would, consequently, have been originally utilized in non-cultic contexts<sup>769</sup>, at banquets and/or as prizes in athletic competitions. The Syme stand has a much more secure background, since the earliest of its Cypriot prototypes was found not at a sanctuary but in the Knossian Subminoan tomb mentioned above, and was therefore a personal possession, just like some of the stands in Cyprus, which had also been deposited with burials<sup>770</sup>. In addition there is good evidence that such stands had been imported and imitated even earlier than the Knossian Subminoan period<sup>771</sup>. The form and elaborate decoration of both prototypes and Cretan bronze adaptations as well as the technical expertise required for their manufacture make it clear that the stands were not mere supports but also served to enhance the vessels placed on them<sup>772</sup>. Thus, despite their different form, tripods and stands not only had the same basic function but also carried the same allusions to extraordinary wealth and prestige, which, in some cases, extended even to the details of the decoration: the Syme stand had an elaborate figural decoration that included a Master of Horses<sup>773</sup>, just as several early tripod cauldrons were decorated with attached horse figurines. Both tripods/stands as well as bronze cattle and (at Olympia) horse figurines, as references to the wealth of the votaries, functioned at once as expressions of their social status and of their respect for the gods.

This does not mean that the votaries who offered bronze animal figurines necessarily raised or owned horses, herds of cattle or flocks of sheep, but rather that they chose readily recognizable symbols of wealth. In this they were clearly followed by those of lesser means, who offered clay versions of the animals, commonly opting for the most obvious symbols of wealth and prestige — the horse and

766. Whitley 2001, 144.

767. For refs. see above 149 n. 675.

768. Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980, 93-97.

769. For dissenting opinions see Maass 1977, 5 n. 4; Papasavvas 2001, 180-181.

770. Papasavvas 2001, 129-133.

771. For a detailed discussion of the clay stand from Karphi and its relationship to Cypriot stands see Papasavvas 2001, 185-187.

772. Papasavvas 2001, 125-129.

773. Papasavvas 2001, no. 56 fig. 160 and 192-193 for the motif of horses on Cretan stands.

the 'bull', which were consequently also the most appropriate to offer to the gods. Furthermore, the underlying reason for the introduction of these votives should not be seen as synonymous with the particular meaning of each dedication, which, in most sanctuaries, must have varied according to the rituals performed and the concerns and wishes of the individual, except in cases, such as the Theban Kabirion, where participation was obviously restricted to a small group.

Animal figurines of both metal and clay as well as tripod cauldrons/stands continued to be dedicated at Olympia and Syme throughout the Geometric period. One more four-sided as well as two tripod stands reached Syme in the ninth and eighth centuries<sup>774</sup>; in the latter period three tripod cauldrons were also dedicated<sup>775</sup>. They were all of Cretan manufacture and cannot compare with the hundreds of tripod cauldrons found at Olympia any more than the animal figurines from Syme are quantitatively comparable to those dedicated at Olympia during that time. Nevertheless, both categories of votives serve to demonstrate that the means through which votaries at both sanctuaries defined themselves and approached the divine remained unchanged.

At Olympia and at Syme tripods and stands lost their importance by the end of the eighth century and by the middle of the seventh animal figurines virtually disappeared from both these sanctuaries as well as from Samos<sup>776</sup>. Only at the Theban Kabirion did the metal bulls survive, demonstrating the restrictive character of the cult at this sanctuary that allowed practically no changes in the ritual. In seeking an explanation for this change, which is valid for every one of the three other sanctuaries, factors such as colonization, war, drought and democratic ideas<sup>777</sup>, which have been proposed to explain the demise of these votives, must be excluded, since none of them could have affected Crete that participated late and reluctantly in colonization<sup>778</sup>, rejected democratic ideas and, as the evidence of both cemeteries and sanctuaries documents, experienced nothing but stability and increasing prosperity in the eighth and seventh centuries. There is only one factor that affected profoundly not only the three areas discussed here but the entire Greek world in this period and that is the introduction and gradual spread of the Orientalizing and Dedalic styles that provided both artists and craftsmen as well as their customers with different subjects and new modes of symbolic expression.

The debate on the reasons why the Orientalizing style became so popular and widespread still continues between scholars that adhere to traditional views<sup>779</sup> and those that have tried different approaches<sup>780</sup>. It is, however, clear that each region

774. Papasavvas 2001, nos. 54, 38, 47.

775. I am grateful to G. Papasavvas, who is preparing this material for publication, for all information concerning the stands and tripods from Syme.

776. For later tripods at other sanctuaries on the Mainland see Morgan 1993, 27. For late Cretan

tripods see Maass 1977, 50.

777. Langdon 1984, 290.

778. Whitley 2001, 121.

779. For a list see Whitley 1991a, 44-45 and for a recent paper that incorporates most of them Matthäus 1993.

780. I. Morris 1997.



adapted in different ways and to varied degrees and that Cretan craftsmen and artists were enthusiastic recipients. As has been noted in one of many similar statements, "Crete had a long history of openness to the East," so that to the Cretans the new style "spoke of continuity"<sup>781</sup> rather than change.

Certainly all features of early Archaic Cretan art, especially in sculpture and metalwork, had developed already in the latter part of the eighth century, but it was in the seventh that they reached maturity. Similarly, the subjects favored by the Orientalizing and Dedalic styles may not have been new, but it was in the seventh century that they proliferated. Exotic and fantastic creatures – the lion, the panther, the sphinx, the griffin – became ubiquitous and the human figure appears frequently not only by itself but also in narrative compositions as well as in heraldic arrangements, in which it is portrayed subduing or controlling these wild, alien creatures. Within this new symbolic framework, in which confrontation was a central element, the tame, domesticated animals that formed the core of the Geometric bestiary, found almost no place. Indeed it is a measure of their great popularity that they survived as long as they did.

The bull and the ram were seldom portrayed<sup>782</sup>, while the domesticated goat was superceded by the wild variety, which was captured and subdued by the aristocratic young men portrayed on the bronze cut-out plaques from Syme. Similar shifts to different kinds of votive objects took place at Olympia in the latter part of the eighth century, as cauldrons decorated with griffin and sometimes lion protomes pushed tripods aside, and weapons as well as jewelry became important categories of offerings<sup>783</sup>.

At Syme the development of the plaques, which has already been traced above, makes it clear that the participants in the maturation rituals centered at the sanctuary had, by the mid-seventh century, switched decisively to a new symbol, more eloquent than the 'bull', to mark their successful transition to adulthood<sup>784</sup>. Some of them, probably the wealthiest and more prominent, opted instead for one of the anthropomorphic bronze figurines, which, while they are distributed over a long sequence from the Neopalatial to the Hellenistic period, peak in the seventh century, when 16 out of a total of 41 were dedicated<sup>785</sup>. This increase is not reflected in their terracotta counterparts, since the full-scale adoption of the mould in the seventh century brought about an ever-expanding emphasis on two-dimensional representations, which provided a wide choice of inexpensive offerings<sup>786</sup>. The terracotta plaques even imitated on occasion the technique of the cut-out

781. I. Morris 1997, 42; see also S. Morris 1997, 58.

782. Schmaltz 1983, 105-113.

783. Heilmeyer 2002, 89.

784. Lebessi 1985, 188.

785. Lebessi 2002, nos. 22-36 and p. 270 for the

thematic overlap of figurines and plaques.

786. Not counting fragments, such as arms or legs, 40 handmade figurines were dedicated during the PG and G periods, but only 17 in the seventh century when 47 mouldmade examples were offered.

bronze plaques. At the same time the Cretan craftsmen manipulated the moulded clay in various ways in order to produce quasi-three-dimensional representations or even hybrids made partly by hand and partly in a mould<sup>787</sup>.

In both Crete and the Mainland the only animal who survives and indeed thrives throughout the seventh century, is the horse, which decorated masterpieces of Cretan metalwork, such as the armour from Aphrati and Axos, and, as a ridden animal, figured prominently on the frieze of Temple A at Prinias, where all the other animals included in the sculptural decoration belong to wild species. Nevertheless, even the horse did not survive completely intact, since it was frequently given wings and thus incorporated into the ranks of the other mythical creatures, appearing in similar heraldic compositions.

It is beyond the scope of this study to trace these developments at other cult places either in Crete or in the Mainland after the mid-seventh century. In so far as Olympia and Syme are concerned, it has already been noted that solidly made bull/bovid terracottas appeared occasionally in later periods down to the fifth century, but never made a come-back, any more than they did at the Samian Heraion. This does not mean that animal terracottas disappeared altogether, but rather that they lost much of their importance once their metal counterparts ceased to be significant symbols for the elite.

In general zoomorphic terracottas appear to have been more popular on the Mainland in the Archaic and Classical periods than in Crete, where very few are known from contemporary contexts<sup>788</sup>, but this is probably due to the lack of publications. The numerous handmade and mouldmade figurines of cattle found recently in the mountains above Kroussonas at a site called Kynigotrachos together with Late Classical and Hellenistic pottery, constitute a find analogous to that of the contemporary shrine of Poseidon at Tsiskiana, in the district of Chania, where the votives were all wheelmade bulls/bovids<sup>789</sup>. These rural shrines demonstrate how deeply embedded tradition was in Crete and also document the tenacity of clay zoomorphic votives, in whose efficacy people believed from at least Neolithic times to the advent of Christianity.

787. I am indebted to A. Lebessi, who is preparing this material for publication, for sharing this information with me.

788. Sporn 2004, 354.

789. *ARepLond* 2005, 112. I am grateful to Dr. Rethemiotakis for showing me this material. For references to Tsiskiana see above II, 3 n. 10.

## PETROGRAPHIC ANALYSES

Twenty selected ceramic samples from the Syme assemblage have been analyzed with thin section petrography, 16 from figurines and four from attachments. The main aim of the analysis was to investigate the range of the raw materials and clay recipes used for the manufacture of these objects. It was expected that the fineness of the fabrics would not allow any secure provenance assignment but the characterization of the ceramic fabrics according to a combination of mineralogical and textural criteria would contribute to our knowledge of potential local production and differentiation between classes of material and/or workshops.

The geological landscape of Ano Viannos is characterized by a series of rock formations which extend southwards in a repetitive manner, interrupted regularly by faults. The most commonly occurring outcrops are those of the ophiolitic complex and the flysch mélange consisting of serpentinites, dolerites and basalts, along with amphibolites, mica schists and non metamorphic rocks such as granites and granodiorites. There are also outcrops of the Phyllite-Quartzite series characterized by low grade metamorphic rocks such as phyllites, micaceous schists and metasandstones. Finally, there are the Viannos and Males formations, consisting of grey clays, sandstones and marls of Neogene age<sup>790</sup>. The geology of the flysch mélanges is not unique to the Viannos area. It characterizes an extensive part of the island, stretching from west of Myrtos to the eastern Mesara. The uniformity in the geological landscape of this broad area, along with the lack of information on production sites, impedes any secure provenance assignment. Moreover, clay sampling carried out along the south coast has demonstrated the mineralogical homogeneity of the coastal sediments extending from Myrtos to Keratokambos<sup>791</sup>, thus making any provenance ascription of related raw materials almost impossible.

### PETROGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The analysis established ten petrographic fabric groups, four coarse/semi-coarse and six fine. In what follows the fabrics are presented briefly. The full petrographic descriptions can be found at the end of the chapter, while the correspondences among sample numbers, catalogue numbers and fabric groups are listed in the appended Table.

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790. Ghekas 2002.

791. Poursat and Knappett 2005.

### The coarse/semi coarse fabrics

*Fabric group 1 (Low grade metamorphic)* (Pl. 65a) comprises the majority of the selected samples. The matrix has a brown color (all reference to matrix color is under crossed polars) and the predominant non-plastic component is small quartz fragments and a few inclusions of metamorphic origin. Three of the six samples in this group are fine; the other three are coarser, being composed of phyllite, slate and sandstone. The color of the matrix and the absence of optical activity indicate a firing temperature above 900°C. Moreover, the presence of the coarse inclusions in such fine matrix suggests that the base clay had been subjected to refinement (i.e. levigation). With regard to provenance ascription, the rock and mineral suite seems compatible with the Phyllite-Quartzite series outcropping in the area around Syme. However, this refers to the tempering material since the base clay may derive from a different (probably calcareous) source. The presence of a fine version of this fabric (see *Fabric group 5*) points towards a red firing base clay where the metamorphic material was added as temper. In this fabric are included two attachments (270, 247) and four figurines (226, 5, 239, 238).

Sample SYM 06/79 (5) needs to be mentioned separately on the grounds of its texture. Although it is compositionally characterized by low grade metamorphic rocks, it has a coarser texture that makes it stand out from the rest of this fabric group. Its coarseness is probably a technological (and chronological?) characteristic, representing a different recipe of the same raw material in an earlier period.

*Fabric group 2 (Calcareous metamorphic)* (Pl. 65b) is characterized by a fine grained and calcareous micromass, which has a yellowish brown color and is optically active. The main coarse non plastic inclusions consist primarily of a few fragments of sandstone, slate and phyllite. The high optical activity of the groundmass indicates a low-firing temperature, below 750°C. The presence of textural concentration features, (i.e. pellets) may be indicative of clay mixing of calcareous and a non calcareous clay. As was the case for *Fabric group 1*, the rock and mineral suite is compatible with the Phyllite-Quartzite series which outcrop in the area of Syme. However, the calcareous component of this group indicates a different clay recipe than the one used for *Fabric group 1*. The sample represented is a figurine (209).

*Fabric group 3 (Micaceous)* (Pl. 66a) is characterized by the abundance of white mica in a non calcareous fine matrix whose color ranges from red brown to black. The absence of optical activity in association with the amount of the mica indicates a firing temperature around 800°C. Although it is difficult to assign the provenance of this micaceous fabric, the presence of altered igneous rock fragments and altered mafic minerals is compatible with the metabasite rocks occurring in the Phyllite-Quartzite series. The samples included in this fabric group are from two figurines (149, 243) and an attachment (253).

*Fabric group 4 (Coarse silicate)* (Pl. 66b) is characterized by a calcareous and active



micromass of yellowish brown color. The non plastic inclusions are siliceous in their majority, consisting of quartz and very little chert and sandstone. The presence of characteristic textural concentration features may suggest clay mixing. The high optical activity is indicative of low firing temperature (below 750°C). It is difficult to make any secure provenance assignment due to the absence of characteristic rock fragments but the rock and mineral suite is compatible with the sedimentary component of the local Phyllite-Quartzite series. The sample represented in this group is from an attachment of MM IIB date (246).

### The fine fabrics

The samples represented in *Fabric group 5 (Fine with quartz)* (Pl. 67a) constitute a very homogeneous group in terms of composition and texture. It seems that this fabric is the fine version of *Fabric group 1*: it has the same fine, brown-colored matrix and the very few non plastic inclusions consist primarily of small quartz fragments. The well sorted distribution of the inclusions suggests that the potters refined the raw materials, whereas the color of the micromass and the absence of optical activity indicate a rather high firing temperature (above 900°C). The absence of characteristic rock fragments or minerals phases makes it difficult to determine the origin of the raw materials. It probably derived from the Neogene sedimentary deposits around the Ano Viannos area (such as “Males” or “Viannos” formations). The samples represented are from three figurines (114, 51, 177).

*Fabric group 6 (Fine volcanic)* (Pl. 67b) is characterized by a very fine greenish brown matrix with rare non-plastic inclusions consisting of coarse volcanic rock fragments, namely basalt. This composition is compatible with the ophiolitic complex and possibly originates from the broader area of Syme, considering the uniformity of the ophiolitic deposits along the south coast. The color of the matrix and the absence of optical activity indicate high firing temperature. The sample represented is from a figurine (215).

*Fabric group 7 (Fine green glassy)* (Pl. 68a) is characterized by the very high firing temperature which might have exceeded 1050°C leading to the extensive vitrification of the clay micromass. The green color of the matrix might be indicative of a sudden change of the firing atmosphere during the last stage of firing from oxidizing to reducing. With the exception of very few fragments of quartz, the absence of characteristic non plastic inclusions prevents any secure provenance assignment. The fineness of the groundmass should be due to the refinement by the potters of the base clay. The sample represented is from the figurine of a bull (124).

*Fabric group 8 (Red glassy)* (Pl. 68b) is also characterized by the high firing temperature which, unlike *Fabric 7*, did not exceed 1050°C (a few crystals of biotite are still seen in the micromass). The red color of the micromass indicates the use of a non calcareous clay and an oxidizing atmosphere. As was the case for *Fabric*

*group 7*, the provenance of the raw material cannot be securely determined due to the absence of characteristic rock and mineral fragments. The extremely fine-grained groundmass suggests that the potters might have refined the base clay. The sample represented is from a figurine (207).

*Fabric group 9 (Fine calcareous)* (Pl. 69a) is characterized by a fine brown matrix which ranges from optically active to moderately active. There are very few non plastic inclusions consisting of small quartz fragments. The optical activity indicates a firing temperature around 800°C. The geological source of raw materials might be the clay deposits around Ano Viannos, such as the "Skinias" formation. The samples represented are from two figurines (46, 97).

*Fabric group 10 (Ophiolite mélange)* (Pl. 69b) is characterized by the presence of extrusive (basalt) and metamorphic (greenschist) rock fragments. This composition is consistent with the flysch mélange of the ophiolite complex. Contrary to *Fabric group 6*, which is compatible with the same geological series, the micromass here is non calcareous. The presence of moderate optical activity indicates a firing temperature of ca. 800°-850°C. As discussed in the beginning, the geology of Syme and especially the Ophiolite series extends from Ano Viannos southwards to the coast and up to the eastern Mesara. Fabric representing this rock and mineral suite have been encountered in other Minoan sites such as Myrtos Pyrgos and Malia and their provenance has been attributed to the South Coast<sup>792</sup>. The repetitive character of the geology in the area does not allow the formulation of hypotheses on the exact location of pottery production for each site and each period, not just along the south coast west of Myrtos but also from the north (Viannos) to the south coast. The sample represented in this fabric group is from a figurine (202).

## Discussion

The petrographic analysis of selected samples from Syme aimed at investigating the range of fabrics used for the manufacture of two classes of objects: animal figurines and attachments. The former are the most numerous and chronologically cluster between c. 800 and 650 BC. For the latter there are two Minoan examples and two that are contemporaneous to the figurines. The analysis resulted in the establishment of 10 petrographic fabric groups. There is no obvious connection between fabric and class of material or date, i.e. attachments and figurines are made with the same clay recipes.

The main issues addressed through the analysis concern the potential provenance of the raw materials used for the manufacture of the figurines and attachments and the technological characteristics of these classes of objects. With regard

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792. Poursat and Knappett 2005, 22-23.

to the origin of the raw materials, the fineness of the fabrics prevents any secure provenance assignment, but there are indications that point towards a broadly local production.

The presence of phyllite and quartzite in the fine clay mix of *Fabric Groups 1* and *2* is compatible with the metamorphic outcrops of the Phyllite-Quartzite series in the area of Viannos. The similarity of the fine matrix of *Group 5* with that of *Group 1* shows that there are two versions of the same recipe, one for semi-coarse and one for fine items. *Fabric Group 3* seems also connected with the Phyllite-Quartzite series and the micaceous schists. *Fabric Groups 6* and *10* are connected with the flysch mélange of the Ophiolite series as deduced from the presence of volcanic rock fragments. For *Fabric Groups 2, 9* as well as the base clay of *Groups 1* and *5* the presence of a calcareous component in the clay mix points towards the marl deposits of the Males and Skinias formations. Finally, in the cases of *Fabric Groups 4, 7, and 8* no hypothesis on the provenance of the raw materials can be made due to the absence of characteristic rock and mineral fragments.

From the analysis it appears that the majority of the figurines deposited at the sanctuary of Syme may be products of local workshops. There seems to be compatibility between the suites of inclusions seen in the fabrics and the geological outcrops located around Syme, as for example the Phyllite-Quartzite and the Ophiolite series, always taking into consideration that the absence of comparative analytical data makes any secure provenance assignment unlikely. The existence of a fairly wide range of fabrics in a complex geological environment makes it impossible to infer the possible number or the location of the ceramic workshops, especially when there are no archaeological data verifying the presence of installations for pottery manufacture. However, the absence of standardization in the clay recipes used leads to the assumption that there must have been more than one or two workshops operating in the area and that they were located in the broader vicinity rather than at the site itself.

The second issue that emerged after the petrographic analysis of the figurine assemblage from Syme concerns the technology of manufacture. The techniques that have been identified with regard to the manipulation of the raw material are a) levigation of the clay in order to remove the coarse inclusions, b) clay mixing of a non calcareous and a calcareous clay, and c) tempering with a few coarse inclusions (namely phyllite in the case of *Fabric group 1*). All these techniques aim at exploiting the properties of the various raw materials, improving their workability and optimizing their resistance during firing. The absence of optical activity in the majority of the samples (with the exception of *Fabric group 4* which represents a MM IIB attachment) is indicative of high firing temperatures ranging from 800 to 1050°C. This range can only be obtained with an increased know-how in pyrotechnology and good control of the kiln conditions.

The petrographic analysis of a selected number of animal figurines and attachments from the Syme assemblage, albeit not exhaustive, has provided some insights with regard to the potential provenance and the technology of manufacture of this material but, most important, showed the way to a broader research project. The

analysis of the figurine assemblage will be complemented in the future with the analysis of material of different character and nature, involving vessels of domestic character as well as serving and pouring vessels that were used in the sanctuary during the various periods of its use.

## PETROGRAPHIC DESCRIPTIONS

The petrographic descriptions are based on the descriptive system introduced by I. K. Whitbread (1995). The following abbreviations are used: a: angular, r: rounded, sa: sub-angular, sr: subrounded, wr: well rounded, tcf's: textural concentration features, PPL: plane polarized light, XP: crossed polars.

### Coarse fabric groups

#### Group 1: Low grade metamorphic fabric

**Samples:** SYM 06/65 (270), 78 (226), 79 (5), 80 (239), 81 (247), 82 (238)

#### *Microstructure*

Few meso vesicles and vughs, rare macro vughs and very few meso planar voids. The voids and vughs are open-spaced. Voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

#### *Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color varies from reddish brown to brown in PPL (x50) and from brown to dark brown in XP. The micromass ranges from slightly active to optically inactive to optically slightly active.

#### *Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 30:65:5 (SYM 06/79, 80, 81) to 15:80:5 (SYM 06/65, 78, 82)

Coarse fraction: 4.8-0.2 mm long diameter.

Fine fraction: <0.2 mm long diameter.

Very fine matrix with sparse medium- and small-sized inclusions. Bimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from pebbles to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is double- to open-spaced, that of the fine fraction is single- to open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

#### *Coarse fraction*

Common: Monocrystalline quartz, sa-sr, straight and undulose extinction.  
Size: 0.80 mm long diameter.

Few: Phyllite, elongate, with micro-crystalline lepidoblastic texture, composed mainly of medium silt quartz, white mica, and chlorite flakes. In rare cases the grains are stained by black opaques (illmenite?).  
Size: 4.8 mm-0.2 long diameter.



<u>Few to absent:</u>	Slate, elongate, very fine grained. Size: 0.38 mm long diameter. Sandstone (sub-arkose), sa-sr, composed of monocrystalline quartz, white mica, hydrobiotite, chlorite, feldspars and hematite set in an orange brown to reddish brown matrix (clay minerals, iron oxides). Size: 3.6 mm long diameter. Plagioclase feldspar, sa, stained with hematite and displaying lamellar twinning. Size: 0.40 mm long diameter. Alkali feldspar (orthoclase), sa. Size: 0.44 mm long diameter. Polycrystalline quartz, sa-sr, undulose extinction, the grain boundaries are sutured. Size: 0.40 mm long diameter.
<u>Rare to absent:</u>	Chert, sr, fine-grained. Size: 0.60 mm long diameter Siltstone (greywacke) sr, consists mainly of monocrystalline quartz, chert, and rarely white mica, biotite, and opaque minerals. Size: 1.2-0.2 mm long diameter.

### *Fine Fraction*

<u>Common:</u>	Monocrystalline quartz.
<u>Few to very rare:</u>	Biotite laths. White mica laths.
<u>Very few to absent:</u>	Polycrystalline quartz. Chert. Alkali feldspar. Plagioclase feldspar. Hornblende.

### *Textural Concentration Features*

There are very few to rare tcf's. They are sa-sr, their color is reddish brown to brown in XP, and they have high to Sizerate optical density and clear boundaries. They are composed of monocrystalline quartz, biotite, white mica and iron oxides. Size: 3.2-0.8 mm. They are most likely clay pellets.

There are also rare amorphous concentration features, reddish brown (XP) to dark brown, sa-sr. Size: 0.08-0.60 mm long diameter.

### **Group 2: Calcareous metamorphic fabric**

**Sample:** SYM 06/75 (209)

### *Microstructure*

Very rare meso vughs, open-spaced. Voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

### *Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color is brown in PPL (x50) and yellowish brown in XP. The micromass is optically active.

*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 20:79:1

Coarse fraction: 2.4-0.16 mm long diameter (very coarse sand to fine sand).

Fine fraction: <0.16 mm long diameter.

Very fine matrix with common coarse inclusions. Bimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from granules to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is double-spaced. That of the fine fraction is open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

*Coarse fraction*

Few: Metamorphic rock fragments, namely slate, elongate sr, yellowish brown (in XP). It is composed of white mica flakes, chlorite and clay minerals. Size: 0.8-0.4 mm long diameter.

Very few: Sandstone (quartzwacke) sa, composed of monocrystalline quartz, chert, biotite and white mica set in an orange brown matrix. Size: 2.4 mm long diameter.

Phyllite elongate, sr, it is composed of quartz, white mica and chlorite and presents a blastomylonitic texture. Size: 0.3-0.2 mm long diameter.

Rare: Monocrystalline quartz, sa. Mode: 0.16 mm long diameter.

*Fine Fraction*

Common: Monocrystalline quartz.

Few: Biotite mica laths.

Very rare: Microcrystalline calcite (sparite/micrite).  
White mica laths.

*Textural Concentration Features*

There are very few tcf's. They are sr, their color is brown in PPL and orange brown in XP. They have high optical density, clear boundaries and they are optically active. They are clay pellets. Size: 0.36-0.1 mm long diameter.

**Group 3: Micaceous fabric**

**Samples:** SYM 06/66 (149), 74 (253), 77 (243)

*Microstructure*

Few meso vesicles and macro and meso vughs. The voids are single- to open-spaced. Voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

*Groundmass*

Slightly heterogeneous in samples 06/66, 77 since the margins and core display different degrees of optical activity. Homogeneous in sample 06/74. The color for samples 06/66, 77 ranges from orange brown in PPL (×50) to red brown in XP. The micromass is optically active at the core and moderately active at the margins. For sample 06/74 the color is dark grey in PPL (x50) and black in XP and the micromass is optically inactive.

*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 45:50:5

Coarse fraction: 2-0.1 mm long diameter.

Fine fraction: <0.1 mm long diameter.

Fine matrix with frequent coarse inclusions. Bimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from very coarse to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is single- to double-spaced, that of the fine fraction is close- to double-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

*Coarse fraction*Frequent:

Metamorphic rock fragments: a) mainly quartzite-schist, elongate, with evidence of shearing. Size: 0.8-0.2 mm long diameter.

b) rare fragments of quartzite-mica schist, elongate, composed of quartz and white mica laths. The schistosity is well developed. In a few cases crenulation schistosity is present. Size: 0.7 mm long diameter.

c) rare fragments of phyllite, elongate, composed of fine-grained quartz, white mica, and chlorite laths. The color is yellowish brown in XP. Size: 1.2-0.4 mm long diameter.

White mica (muscovite/paragonite) laths. Size: 0.36-0.1 mm long diameter.

Common:

Monocrystalline quartz, a-sa, with undulose extinction. Size: 1.2-0.1 mm long diameter.

Few:

Plagioclase feldspar, subhedral, a-sa, displaying polysynthetic and Carlsbad twinning in XP, and common alteration. Size: 0.44-0.2 mm long diameter.

Alkali feldspar, sa-sr. In a few cases it displays Carlsbad twinning and microperthite intergrowth. Size: 1.26-0.12 mm long diameter. Sedimentary rock fragments, sa. Size: 0.6-0.15 mm long diameter.

Rare:

Polycrystalline quartz, sa, with sutured grain boundaries, undulose extinction, rarely with white mica, carpholite and iron oxides. Size: 2-0.15 mm long diameter.

Chert, sa. Size: 0.5 mm long diameter

Rare to absent:

Biotite highly oxidized, sa, with traces of alteration Size: 0.32 mm long diameter.

Metabasite rock fragments (alkali basalt), relics of magmatic minerals (plagioclase, clinopyroxene, olivine and brown amphibole). Size: 0.42 mm long diameter.

Granite rock fragment, sa, composed of alkali feldspar, plagioclase and muscovite. Size: 0.68 mm long diameter.

Zoisite, sa. Size: 0.26 mm long diameter.

Amphibole (hornblende). Size: 0.2 mm long diameter.

*Fine Fraction*Predominant:

White mica laths.

Few: Monocrystalline quartz.  
Plagioclase feldspar.  
Alkali feldspar.

#### *Textural Concentration Features*

There are rare tcf's: (1) Sr, dark brown (both in XP and PPL), with high optical density, clear boundaries and discordant with the micromass. They do not contain any inclusions. Size: 2-0.1 mm long diameter, (2) Sa, orange red (in XP), with low optical density, and clear to diffuse boundaries. They contain polycrystalline quartz, white mica, and iron oxides. Mode: 0.15 mm long diameter.

There are also rare amorphous concentration features. They are pure nodules of iron oxides, in a reddish brown/dark brown to black (XP) color, sa-sr. Size 0.48-<0.1 mm long diameter.

#### **Group 4: Coarse silicate fabric**

**Sample:** SYM 06/76 (246)

#### *Microstructure*

Common meso and macro vesicles and vughs. The voids are single to open-spaced. Voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

#### *Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color is yellowish brown in PPL (x50) and orange brown in XP. The micromass is optically highly active.

#### *Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 40:53:7

Coarse fraction: 1.5-0.1 mm long diameter (very coarse sand to fine sand).

Fine fraction: <0.1 mm long diameter.

Fine matrix with common coarse inclusions. Bimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from very coarse to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is single to open-spaced. That of the fine fraction is double- to open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

#### *Coarse fraction*

Frequent: Monocrystalline quartz, a-sa, with straight and undulose extinction.  
Size: 1-0.1 mm long diameter.

Very few: Polycrystalline quartz, a-sa, equigranular, subgrains with sutured boundaries and undulose extinction. Rarely intergranular white mica laths. Size: 0.88-0.24 mm long diameter.  
Chert, sa-sr, a few grains are cloudy with hematite dust. Size: 0.84-



0.24 mm long diameter.

Sandstone: two types: (1) sr with monocrystalline quartz and few white mica laths set in a cloudy chert groundmass. Size: 0.8 mm long diameter (2) sa with monocrystalline quartz and rare white mica set in a brown matrix consisting of clay minerals, chlorite and iron oxides. Size: 0.8 mm long diameter.

Very rare:

Plagioclase feldspar, subhedral, displays lamellar twinning. Size: 0.24 mm long diameter.

Alkali feldspar (orthoclase), anhedral, traces of alteration. Size: 0.34 mm long diameter.

Phyllite, elongate, composed of biotite mica and monocrystalline quartz. Size: 0.28 mm long diameter.

### *Fine Fraction*

Frequent:

Monocrystalline quartz.

Common:

White mica laths.

Chlorite.

Biotite mica laths.

Polycrystalline quartz.

Chert.

Alkali feldspar.

Plagioclase feldspar.

Very rare:

Epidote.

### *Textural Concentration Features*

There are very few tcf's. They are r-wr, their color is dark red in XP, they have high optical density and clear boundaries. In most cases they do not contain any inclusions, except for one case where it contains polycrystalline quartz, sandstone, white mica and iron oxides. Size: 1.5-<0.1 mm long diameter. They are clay pellets.

## **Fine fabric groups**

### **Group 5: Fine fabric with quartz**

**Samples:** SYM 06/68 (114), 70 (51), 73 (177)

### *Microstructure*

Very few meso and macro vesicles and vughs and rare meso planar voids. The voids are double- to open-spaced. Voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

### *Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color ranges from reddish brown in PPL (x50) to brown in XP. The micromass is optically slightly active to inactive.

*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 3:92:5

Coarse fraction: 1.0-0.1 mm long diameter.

Fine fraction: < 0.1 mm long diameter.

Very fine matrix with sparse fine inclusions. Almost unimodal grain-size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from coarse to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are well sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is double- to open-spaced, that of the fine fraction is single- to double-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

*Coarse fraction*

Dominant: Monocrystalline quartz sa, undulose extinction. Size: 0.12 mm long diameter.

Very few to absent: Chert, sa, fine-grained. Size: 0.14 mm long diameter.

Polycrystalline quartz, sa, sutured grain boundaries, undulose extinction, muddy appearance (due to clay minerals, oxides). Size: 0.2 mm long diameter.

Sandstone (sub-arkose), sa, composed of monocrystalline quartz in a brown matrix (clay minerals, iron oxides). Size: 0.2 mm long diameter.

Biotite, flake and/or lath-shaped. Size: 0.1 mm long diameter.

White mica (illite, hydromuscovite). Size: 0.1 mm long diameter.

*Fine Fraction*

Frequent: Monocrystalline quartz.

Frequent to common: Biotite mica laths.

White mica laths.

Very rare to absent: Plagioclase feldspar.

*Textural Concentration Features*

There are rare tcf's in this fabric (mainly in sample SYM 06/68). They are sr-wr, brown in XP, with low optical density and clear to diffuse boundaries. They consist of very fine grain quartz, biotite and clay minerals.

There are also rare amorphous concentration features: they are sa-sr and consist of pure nodules of reddish brown to black (XP) opaque material (probably iron oxides). Size: 0.08-0.02 mm.

**Group 6: Fine volcanic fabric**

**Sample:** SYM 06/72 (215)

*Microstructure*

Few meso vesicles and rare meso and macro vughs. The voids are open-spaced. The voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

*Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color is dark brown in PPL (x50) and greenish brown in XP. The micromass is optically inactive. A crystallitic b-fabric which is optically active is also present in the groundmass.

*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 15:82:5

Coarse fraction: 1.6 mm to 0.2 mm long diameter.

Fine fraction: <0.2 mm long diameter.

Very fine matrix with rare coarse inclusions. Bimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from very coarse to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is double to open-spaced, that of the fine fraction is single- to open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

*Coarse fraction*Common:

Micritic calcite concentration features (crystallitic b-fabric).

Rare:

Polycrystalline quartz, sa, with sutured boundaries and undulose extinction. The grains contain also intergranular clay minerals and iron oxides. Size: 1.6-0.8 mm long diameter.

Basalt, sr, composed of plagioclase needles and relics of clinopyroxene set in a black green interstitial matrix which has a glassy and partially devitrified texture. Size: 0.64mm long diameter.

*Fine Fraction*Frequent:

Micritic calcite (crystallitic b-fabric)

Common:

Monocrystalline quartz.

Rare:

Biotite laths.

White mica laths.

*Textural Concentration Features*

There are rare amorphous concentration features, sr, with a dark brown (XP) and muddy appearance, high optical density and diffuse boundaries. They are clay nodules. Size: 0.24-0.02 mm long diameter.

**Group 7: Fine green glassy fabric**

**Sample:** SYM 06/64 (124)

*Microstructure*

Rare meso vughs, open-spaced. The voids and non-plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

*Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color is dark green brown in PPL (x50) and dark green in XP. The micromass is optically inactive.

*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 5:92:3

Coarse fraction 0.2-0.1 mm long diameter medium sand to fine sand).

Fine fraction: <0.1 mm long diameter.

Very fine matrix with rare coarse inclusions. Almost unimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from medium to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse and fine fraction is open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

*Coarse fraction*

Few: Monocrystalline quartz, sa-sr, with undulose extinction and sutured grain boundaries. Size: 0.2-0.1 mm long diameter.

Rare: Chert, sa-sr. Size: 0.16-0.1 mm long diameter.  
Polycrystalline quartz, sa, with undulose extinction and sutured grain boundaries. Size: 0.2 mm long diameter.

*Fine Fraction*

Frequent: Monocrystalline quartz.

*Textural Concentration Features*

There are two types of amorphous concentration features: a) dark brown (XP) nodules (probably magnetite) and b) brown (XP) concentrations with diffuse boundaries (probably clay).

**Group 8: Fine red glassy fabric**

**Sample:** SYM 06/67 (207)

*Microstructure*

Few meso and macro vughs, rare vesicles. The voids are open-spaced. Voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

*Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color is dark red brown in PPL (x50) and dark red in XP. The micromass is optically inactive.



*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 5:90:5

Coarse fraction: 0.2-0.1 mm long diameter.

Fine fraction: <0.1 mm long diameter.

Very fine matrix with very few coarse inclusions. Almost unimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction is of fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is double- to open-spaced. That of the fine fraction is open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

*Coarse fraction*

Few: Monocrystalline quartz, a-sa, with undulose extinction. The grain boundaries are sutured due to high firing temperature. Size: 0.2-0.1 mm long diameter.

Very rare: Polycrystalline quartz, sa, the grain boundaries are sutured, undulose extinction. Size: 0.1 mm long diameter.

*Fine Fraction*

Very few: Monocrystalline quartz.

Rare: Chert, sa.  
Plagioclase feldspar.  
Biotite mica laths.

*Textural Concentration Features*

There are few tcf's. They are sr, red in XP with low optical density and clear to diffuse boundaries. They are concordant with the micromass. Size: 0.72-0.12 mm long diameter. They are clay pellets.

There are also sr, amorphous concentration features (nodules), reddish brown in XP. Size: 0.4-0.02 mm long diameter.

**Group 9: Fine calcareous fabric**

**Samples:** SYM 06/69 (46), 71 (97)

*Microstructure*

Very few to rare meso and macro vesicles and rare vughs. The voids are single- to open-spaced. The voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

*Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color ranges from brown to dark brown in PPL (×50) and from golden brown to brown in XP. The micromass ranges from optically active to moderately active. Sample 06/71 has also parallel striated b-fabric.

*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 3:92:5

Coarse fraction: 0.8-0.1 mm long diameter (medium sand to fine sand).

Fine fraction: <0.1 mm long diameter.

Very fine matrix with very few coarse inclusions. Almost unimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from coarse to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of both fractions is single-to open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

*Coarse fraction*

Common to few: Monocrystalline quartz, sa, with undulose extinction. Mode: 0.12 mm long diameter.

Very rare to absent: Chert, sr. Size: 0.2-0.1 mm long diameter  
Sandstone, sa composed of monocrystalline quartz set in a matrix composed of clay minerals, chlorite, and iron oxides. Size: 0.8 mm long diameter.

*Fine Fraction*

Frequent to very few: Monocrystalline quartz.

Frequent: Biotite mica laths.  
White mica laths.  
Chlorite flakes.

Very rare to absent: Chert.

*Textural Concentration Features*

There are rare amorphous concentration features. They are pure nodules of dark brown to reddish brown (both in XP and PPL), sr-wr. Mode: 0.12 mm long diameter.

**Group 10: Ophiolite mélange fabric**

**Sample:** SYM 06/83 (202)

*Microstructure*

Rare meso and macro vughs. The voids are open-spaced. Voids and non plastic inclusions are randomly oriented.

*Groundmass*

Homogeneous throughout the section. The color is brown in PPL (x50) and dark orange brown in XP. The micromass is optically moderately active.

*Inclusions*

c:f:v<sub>10µm</sub> = 20:78:2

Coarse fraction: 0.6-0.1 mm long diameter.

Fine fraction: <0.1 mm long diameter.

Fine matrix with few coarse inclusions. Bimodal grain size distribution. The size of the coarse fraction ranges from coarse to fine sand. The fine fraction is of fine sand and below. Both fractions are poorly sorted. The packing of the coarse fraction is close- to double-spaced, that of the fine fraction is open-spaced. It is matrix supported (wackestone texture).

#### *Coarse fraction*

Very few: Monocrystalline quartz, sa-sr, with undulose extinction. Size: 0.24-0.1 mm long diameter.

Rare to very rare: Polycrystalline quartz, sa-sr, with undulose extinction and sutured boundaries. Size: 0.22-0.1 mm long diameter.

Basalt, sr-r, containing plagioclase needles and little clinopyroxene in a groundmass consisting partly of interstitial brown glass. Size: 0.3 mm long diameter.

Sandstone (quartzwacke), sa-sr, composed of monocrystalline quartz set in an orange brown matrix (clay minerals, iron oxides). Size: 0.60 mm long diameter.

Greenschist, sr, composed of actinolite, epidote, albite and rare biotite. Size: 0.36 mm long diameter.

Epidote, sr. Size: 0.3 mm long diameter.

#### *Fine Fraction*

Few: Monocrystalline quartz.

Very few: Biotite mica laths.

Very rare: Plagioclase feldspar.

Alkali feldspar.

Chert.

White mica laths.

#### *Textural Concentration Features*

Very rare tcf's. They are sa, orange to reddish brown (in XP), with diffuse boundaries. They are mainly composed of clay minerals. Size: 0.62-<0.1 mm long diameter.

There are also amorphous concentration features. They are pure nodules of reddish brown to dark brown (XP) sa-sr opaque minerals. Size: 0.24-<0.1 mm long diameter.

CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMPLE NUMBERS,  
CATALOGUE NUMBERS AND FABRIC GROUPS

PETROGRAPHY SAMPLE No	CATALOGUE No	PETROGRAPHIC FABRIC GROUP
SYM 06/64	<b>124</b>	Fabric Group 7
SYM 06/65	<b>270</b>	Fabric Group 1
SYM 06/66	<b>149</b>	Fabric Group 3
SYM 06/67	<b>207</b>	Fabric Group 8
SYM 06/68	<b>114</b>	Fabric Group 5
SYM 06/69	<b>46</b>	Fabric Group 9
SYM 06/70	<b>51</b>	Fabric Group 5
SYM 06/71	<b>97</b>	Fabric Group 9
SYM 06/72	<b>215</b>	Fabric Group 6
SYM 06/73	<b>177</b>	Fabric Group 5
SYM 06/74	<b>253</b>	Fabric Group 3
SYM 06/75	<b>209</b>	Fabric Group 2
SYM 06/76	<b>246</b>	Fabric Group 4
SYM 06/77	<b>243</b>	Fabric Group 3
SYM 06/78	<b>226</b>	Fabric Group 1
SYM 06/79	<b>5</b>	Fabric Group 1
SYM 06/80	<b>239</b>	Fabric Group 1
SYM 06/81	<b>247</b>	Fabric Group 1
SYM 06/82	<b>238</b>	Fabric Group 1
SYM 06/83	<b>202</b>	Fabric Group 10



## ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Τὸ περιεχόμενο αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόμου ἀποτελεῖ κατὰ κύριο λόγο ἡ δημοσίευση τῶν πήλινων χειροποίητων ζωδίων ποὺ βρέθηκαν στὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Σύμης ἀπὸ τὸ 1972 ἕως τὸ 2000, στὰ ὁποῖα προστέθηκαν δύο μικρότερες ὁμάδες θεματικὰ συναφῶν ἀναθημάτων: τὰ ζωόμορφα προσαρτήματα ἀγγείων ἢ ἄλλων ἀντικειμένων καὶ τὰ τυπωμένα σὲ μήτρα πλακίδια μὲ παραστάσεις ζώων ἢ φανταστικῶν ὄντων.

Τὰ δύο εἰσαγωγικὰ κεφάλαια, ποὺ ἀναφέρονται στὰ ἀνασκαφικὰ δεδομένα καθὼς καὶ τὰ προβλήματα τῆς χρονολόγησης τοῦ ὑλικοῦ καὶ τῆς μέθοδο τῆς μελέτης του, ἀκολουθεῖ ἡ λεπτομερὴς ἀνάλυση τῶν εἰδωλίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀντικειμένων ποὺ ἀποσκοπεῖ στὴ χρονολογικὴ τους κατάταξη. Μὲ βάση τὰ πορίσματα τῆς ἀνάλυσης καθορίζονται στὰ δύο ἐπόμενα κεφάλαια τὰ κύρια στοιχεῖα τῆς τεχνικῆς, τῆς διακόσμησης, τῆς εἰκονογραφίας καὶ τῆς τεχνοτροπίας τῶν εἰδωλίων. Τὰ συμπεράσματα τῆς μελέτης συνοψίζονται στὸ τελικὸ κεφάλαιο, τοῦ ὁποῖου ἔπονται ἡ πετρογραφικὴ ἀνάλυση ὁρισμένων δειγμάτων τοῦ ὑλικοῦ καὶ ἓνα προσάρτημα στὸ ὁποῖο καταγράφονται συνοπτικὰ τὰ θραύσματα ποὺ δὲν συμπεριλήφθηκαν στὴ δημοσίευση.

Μὲ ἐλάχιστες ἐξαιρέσεις, δὲν ὑπάρχουν ἀσφαλεῖς στρωματογραφικὲς ἐνδείξεις γιὰ τὴ χρονολόγηση τῶν πήλινων αὐτῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀπὸ τὴ Σύμη. Ἡ χρονολόγηση τῶν εἰδωλίων βασίζεται στὴ σύγκρισή τους μὲ τὰ δημοσιευμένα παράλληλα ἀπὸ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ τῆς Κρήτης καὶ τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ γενικὰ χώρου. Ἰδιαίτερα ἀποδοτικὴ ἀποδείχθηκε ἡ σύγκριση μὲ τὰ μεγάλα σύνολα τῶν μετάλλινων ζωδίων ἀπὸ τὴν Ὀλυμπία, τὸ θηβαϊκὸ Καβεῖριο καὶ τὸ ἴδιο τὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Σύμης, τὰ ὁποῖα, παρὰ τὶς τοπικὲς παραλλαγές, ἔχουν ἐνταχθεῖ στὸ ἴδιο χρονολογικὸ πλαίσιο μὲ βάση τὴ μορφολογικὴ τους ἐξέλιξη ἀπὸ τὴν ΠΓ ἐποχὴ ἕως τὰ μέσα τοῦ ἑβδομοῦ αἰῶνα. Ἀπὸ τὰ πήλινα ζώδια τὰ πρὸ χρήσιμα παράλληλα προσφέρουν τὰ σχετικὰ καλὰ χρονολογημένα σύνολα ἀπὸ τὸν Κορμὸ καὶ τὸ Ἡραῖο τῆς Σάμου τὰ ὁποῖα, μαζὶ μὲ τὰ προσαρτημένα ἄλογα τῶν ἀθηναϊκῶν πυξίδων καὶ ἀμαξῶν, καλύπτουν τὸ μεγαλύτερο μέρος τοῦ χρονολογικοῦ φάσματος τῶν ζωδίων τῆς Σύμης, δὲν εἶναι ὅμως τόσο πολλὰ ὅσο τὰ χάλκινα οὔτε διαθέτουν τὴν ποικιλομορφία τους.

Ἡ σύγκριση τῶν πήλινων μὲ τὰ μετάλλινα ζώδια ἐνέχει τὸν κίνδυνο τῆς σύγχυσης: τὰ πήλινα, ποὺ συνδέονται ἄμεσα μὲ τὴν κεραμικὴ χάρις στὸ ὑλικό τους εἶναι φυσικὸ νὰ συμβαδίζουν μὲ τὴ σύγχρονη κεραμικὴ, ποὺ στὴν περίπτωσή τῆς πρωτογεωμετρικῆς καὶ γεωμετρικῆς Κρήτης ἐξελίχθηκε μὲ βραδύτερο ρυθμὸ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀττική, στὴν ὁποία βασίζεται ἡ χρονολόγηση τῶν μετάλλινων εἰδωλίων, ἀκόμη καὶ αὐτῶν τῆς Σύμης. Γιὰ τὸν λόγο αὐτὸ στὰ λήμματα τοῦ καταλόγου ἀναφέρονται οἱ ἀπόλυτες χρονολογίες ποὺ ἀντιστοιχοῦν σὲς ὑποδιαίρέσεις τῆς πρωτογεωμετρικῆς καὶ γεωμετρικῆς περιόδου καὶ ὄχι οἱ χαρακτηρισμοὶ τους (βλ. Πίν. Α).

Ὅπως συμβαίνει στὰ ἄλλα σύγχρονα ἐλληνικὰ ἱερά, ἔτσι καὶ στὴ Σύμη στὴν κατηγορία τῶν ζωδίων συγκαταλέγονται σχεδὸν ἀποκλειστικὰ κατοικίδια ζῶα: δύο

μεγάλες, σχεδόν ισάριθμες ομάδες αλόγων και βοοειδών και δύο μικρότερες από πρόβατα και αίγοειδή. Τα είδωλια ενός έλαφιου και ενός αϊγάγρου είναι οι μόνες εξαιρέσεις, ενώ τα λίγα είδωλια πουλιών είναι όλα μεταγενέστερα του έβδομου αιώνα. Η ανάθεση των ζωδίων αρχίζει κατά την ΠΓ περίοδο και φθίνει γύρω στο 650 (Πίν. Β).

Τα πολυάριθμα άλογα της Σύμης έχουν ιδιαίτερη σημασία, γιατί, αντίθετα με την κυρίως Ελλάδα, δεν είναι κοινά στην Κρήτη, όπου ως αυτότελη είδωλια πρωτοεμφανίζονται μόλις στην ΥΜ ΙΙΙΓ περίοδο· τα χάλκινα μάλιστα άλογα είναι σπάνια. Αν και τα είδωλια της Σύμης που εικονίζουν ένα άλογο υπερτερούν αριθμητικά, υπάρχουν και αρκετά ζεύγη ειδωλίων που με λιγότερο ή περισσότερο εύγλωττο τρόπο αναφέρονται στο άρμα: τα ζώα μπορεί να είναι αυτότελη αλλά έντελως όμοια ή με τα σώματά τους σε έπαφή ή να έχουν ένα μόνο σώμα με δύο κεφαλές και με μία ή δύο ούρες. Ορισμένες από αυτές τις συνωρίδες που είχαν τροχούς αποτελούν ακόμη πιο σαφείς αναφορές στο άρμα και το ίδιο ισχύει και για τα πιο κοινά αυτότελη είδωλια αλόγων με τροχούς. Ακόμη και το μοναδικό ομοίωμα ενός άρματος, που έμπνέεται από άττικά πρότυπα, περιορίζεται και αυτό στην άπεικονιση της συνωρίδας, παραλείποντας και τις ανθρώπινες μορφές και το ίδιο το όχημα.

Τα σχεδόν ισάριθμα βοοειδή παρουσιάζουν μεγαλύτερη πολυμορφία από τα άλογα και αυτά όμως περιλαμβάνουν αρκετά παραδείγματα, κυρίως του τρίτου τετάρτου του όγδοου αιώνα, με «μεταλλικά» χαρακτηριστικά. Ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρον είναι ένα είδωλιο που σώζει το αποτύπωμα του δεύτερου ζώου καθώς και τμήμα του επίθετου ζυγού, ο οποίος τα συνέδεε. Παραμένει ωστόσο άσαφές αν πρόκειται για αναφορά σε άμαξα ή σε άροτρο, που και τα δύο σπάνια απεικονίζονται ακόμη και σε μεταγενέστερες περιόδους. Το ίδιο αινιγματικά είναι και τα άλλα ζεύγη βοοειδών, δηλαδή τα σχεδόν δίδυμα αλλά αυτότελη ζώδια.

Τα είδωλια προβάτων και αίγοειδών είναι σχετικά λίγα αλλά τεκμηριώνουν την προτίμηση των αναθετών στην Κρήτη για τα ζώα αυτά που ως πηλίνα αναθήματα είναι σπάνια και στην περίπτωση των αίγοειδών άγνωστα στα έξωκρητικά ιερά πριν από τον έβδομο αιώνα. Και οι δύο ομάδες περιλαμβάνουν είδωλια καλής ποιότητας, φυσιοκρατικά πλασμένα, καθώς και μερικά παραδείγματα που εξαρτώνται από μεταλλικά πρότυπα κρητικής προέλευσης.

Οι κεφαλές και οι προτομές ζώων ήταν κοινά διακοσμητικά και λειτουργικά στοιχεία των κρητικών αγγείων, πωμάτων και άλλων αντικειμένων της πρώιμης εποχής του Σιδήρου και του έβδομου αιώνα. Γι' αυτόν τον λόγο τα προσαρτήματα της Σύμης που έχουν αποσπαστεί από τους φορείς τους δεν ταυτίζονται πάντα εύκολα και χρονολογούνται συχνά μόνο κατά προσέγγιση.

Τα περισσότερα προσαρτήματα ταυτίζονται με προτομές που ανήκαν σε πώματα ή μικρούς δίνους. Και οι δύο κατηγορίες είχαν μεταλλικά πρότυπα. Τα πώματα με ζωόμορφα κομβία ήταν συνήθως του άσπιδόμορφου τύπου που μιμείται τις χάλκινες αναθηματικές άσπιδες, όπως αυτές του Ίδαίου Αντρου με λεοντοκεφαλές στο κέντρο, ενώ τα πρότυπα των δίνων ήταν οι χάλκινοι λέβητες με προτομές γρυπών ή λιονταριών.

Οι προτομές της Σύμης που πιθανότατα ανήκαν σε πώματα απεικονίζουν λιοντάρια, γρύπες, πουλιά ή κριούς, οι περισσότερες όμως είναι βοοειδών, ενώ οι προ-

τομές τῶν δίνων ἀνῆκαν σχεδὸν ἀποκλειστικὰ σὲ γρύπες. Χαρακτηριστικὸ τῶν τελευταίων εἶναι ὅτι ἀπέχουν πολὺ ἀπὸ τὰ πρότυπά τους, καθὼς εἶναι ὅλες μικροῦ μεγέθους καὶ μέτριας ποιότητος μὲ συνοπτικὴ ἀπόδοση τῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν τοῦ γρύπα. Ἀντίθετα οἱ προτομές τῶν πωμάτων εἶναι ἐπιμελημένης κατασκευῆς καὶ ὅσες εἰκονίζουν βοοειδῆ μοιάζουν νὰ εἶναι ἔργα ἐνδὸς ἐργαστηρίου. Χαρακτηριστικό τους εἶναι ὅτι ἡ φυσιογνωμία τῶν προσαρτημένων ζώων δὲν μοιάζει καθόλου μὲ αὐτὴ τῶν ζωδίων· τὸ ἴδιο ἰσχύει καὶ γιὰ τὶς κεφαλές τῶν κριῶν.

Οἱ παραστάσεις τῶν πλακιδίων ἔχουν ἀκόμη λιγότερα κοινὰ σημεῖα μὲ τὰ ζώδια, καθὼς σχεδὸν ὅλα εἰκονίζουν λιοντάρια ἢ φανταστικὰ ὄντα, κυρίως σφίγγες, ποὺ δὲν περιλαμβάνονται στὸ θεματολόγιο τῶν εἰδωλίων. Στὰ λιγοστὰ ἄρτια πλακίδια ἀντὶ τὰ λιοντάρια πλαισιώνουν ἓνα φυτικὸ μοτίβο, ἐνῶ στὰ θραύσματα ἀναγνωρίζονται παρόμοιες παραστάσεις μὲ λιοντάρια ἢ σφίγγες. Τὸ θέμα αὐτὸ ἦταν ἰδιαίτερα διαδεδομένο τὸν ἔβδομο αἰῶνα καὶ ἀπαντᾷ στὴν ἀνάγλυφη διακόσμηση τῶν πίθων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς γραπτὸ μοτίβο σὲ ἄλλα ἀγγεῖα. Αὐτὴ ἀκριβῶς εἶναι ἡ σημασία τῆς μικρῆς ὁμάδας τῶν πλακιδίων τῆς Σύμης, στὰ ὁποῖα ἀνακλῶνται οἱ συχνὲς ἀνταλλαγές ἰδεῶν καὶ μεθόδων ποὺ χαρακτηρίζουν τὴν κρητικὴ τέχνη τοῦ ἔβδομου αἰῶνα.

Γιὰ τὴν τεχνικὴ τῶν ζωδίων ἰδιαίτερη σημασία ἔχει τὸ ὑλικό, δηλαδὴ ὁ πηλός, τοῦ ὁποῖου οἱ παραλλαγές πιθανότατα ἀντιπροσωπεύουν τὰ διαφορετικὰ ἐργαστήρια ποὺ προμήθευαν τοὺς ἀναθέτες μὲ ζωόμορφα εἰδώλια. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ὑπάρχουν δεδομένα γιὰ τὴν παραγωγὴ τῶν πήλινων ἀναθημάτων στὸ ἴδιο τὸ ἱερό, τὰ ἐργαστήρια θὰ μπορούσαν νὰ ἦταν σὲ γειτονικοὺς ἢ μακρινοὺς οἰκισμούς. Ἡ πετρογραφικὴ ἀνάλυση μιᾶς μικρῆς ὁμάδας δειγμάτων ἐπιβεβαίωσε τὴν ποικιλία τῶν πηλῶν, χωρὶς ὅμως νὰ ἐντοπίσει τὴν προέλευσίν τους πρὸ συγκεκριμένα ἀπὸ τὴν περιοχὴ ποὺ ἐκτείνεται ἀπὸ τὰ Μάλια ἕως τὴν ἀνατολικὴ Μεσαρά.

Ἡ τεχνικὴ τῆς κατασκευῆς τῶν εἰδωλίων ἦταν κυρίως προσθετικὴ, μὲ τὴν ἔννοια ὅτι τὸ κεφάλι καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἀποτελοῦσαν προσθήκες στὸν βασικὸ κύλινδρο τοῦ σώματος. Πολὺ λιγότερο συχνὴ κατὰ τὴν ΠΓ καὶ Γ περίοδο ἦταν ἡ ἀντίθετη μέθοδος τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀπὸ μία μάζα πηλοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποία ὁ τεχνίτης ἔπλαθε καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ κεφάλι καμιά φορὰ μάλιστα ἀκόμη καὶ τὰ ἄκρα. Λίγα ἐπίσης εἶναι καὶ τὰ εἰδώλια ποὺ μιμοῦνται τεχνικὲς μεθόδους ποὺ προσιδιάζουν στὰ μέταλλα, ὅπως αὐτὰ μὲ κοῖλο τὰ κάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος. Ἀκόμη πρὸ σπάνια εἶναι τὰ ζώδια στὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι ἐμφανὲς ἡ ἐπίδραση τῆς τεχνικῆς τῶν τροχήλατων ζώων.

Ἡ τελικὴ ἐπεξεργασία τῶν εἰδωλίων γινόταν μὲ τὸ χέρι ἢ μὲ ἐργαλεῖο ἢ καὶ μὲ τὰ δύο, πιθανότατα σὲ ὅλες τὶς περιόδους ποὺ ἀντιπροσωπεύονται στὸ ὑλικὸ τῆς Σύμης. Τὰ περισσότερα ζώδια φέρουν γραπτὴ διακόσμηση ἀπὸ ἀπλὰ γραμμικὰ μοτίβα ποὺ ἐντάσσονται στὰ περίγραμμα τοῦ σώματος. Τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ καὶ χρονολογήσιμα μοτίβα τῆς σύγχρονης κεραμικῆς δὲν χρησιμοποιοῦνται συχνά.

Τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους εἰκονογραφικὰ στοιχεῖα τῶν ζωδίων τῆς Σύμης δὲν διαφέρουν ἀπὸ αὐτὰ τῶν πήλινων ἢ χάλκινων ζωόμορφων εἰδωλίων ποὺ ἔχουν βρεθεῖ σὲ ἄλλα ἱερά. Ἡ σημαντικὴ διαφορὰ τῶν κρητικῶν ζωδίων, τόσο τῶν χάλκινων ὅσο καὶ τῶν πήλινων, ἔγκειται στὸ ὅτι τὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τοῦ προσώπου ἢ τὰ γεννητικὰ ὄργανα, ποὺ ἦταν προαιρετικὰ στοιχεῖα, προστίθενται πρὸ νωρὶς καὶ πρὸ συχνά, ἐνῶ τὰ ἀπαραίτητα μέρη τοῦ σώματος, δηλαδὴ τὸ κεφάλι, τὰ σκέλη καὶ ἡ οὐρά, εἰκονίζονται σὲ ἔκταση ἢ, στὴν περίπτωσι τῆς οὐράς, μὲ ἄλλους τρόπους ποὺ ὅλοι ὑποδηλώνουν κίνησι.



Στην εξελικτική πορεία των ειδωλίων πρὸς τὴν περισσότερο φυσιοκρατική ἀπόδοση, ποὺ κορυφώνεται γύρω στὸ 750, τὰ πήλινα ζώδια προηγούνται τῶν χάλκινων, πιθανότατα ἐπειδὴ τὰ χάλκινα ἦταν ἄγνωστα ὡς ἀναθήματα πρὶν ἀπὸ τὸν δέκατο αἰῶνα τόσο στὴν Ἑλλάδα ὅσο καὶ στὴν Κρήτη, ἐνῶ τὰ πήλινα ἦταν κοινὰ κατὰ τὴ διάρκεια τῆς Χαλκοκρατίας. Εἶναι ὡστόσο ἐξίσου πιθανό, ὅτι οἱ φορεῖς τῶν χαρακτηριστικῶν γιὰ τὰ ΠΓ ζώδια τῆς Κρήτης φυσιοκρατικῶν στοιχείων ἦταν τὰ τροχήλατα ζῶα τῆς ΥΜ ΠΠΓ περιόδου, στὰ ὁποῖα ἀπαντοῦν ὅλες οἱ ἰδιαιτερότητες τῶν ΠΓ, καὶ ὄχι τὰ σύγχρονά τους συμπαγή.

Ἡ ἐντονη ροπὴ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τῆς Κρήτης πρὸς τὴ φυσιοκρατία συγκρίνεται μόνο μὲ τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον τους γιὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὁμοτέχνων τους ποὺ δούλευαν μὲ τὸν χαλκό. Ἡ σχέση τῶν πήλινων ζωδίων τῆς Σύμης μὲ τὰ χάλκινα ὑποδηλώνει ὅτι οἱ κοροπλάστες εἶχαν γνώση ὄχι μόνο τῶν ἰδίων τῶν χάλκινων ἔργων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατασκευαστικῶν μεθόδων ποὺ χρησιμοποιοῦσαν οἱ μεταλλοτεχνίτες. Ἐτσι μόνο ἐξηγεῖται πῶς μποροῦσαν νὰ μιμηθοῦν συγκεκριμένα πλαστικά, διακοσμητικὰ καὶ τεχνικὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῶν χάλκινων ειδωλίων καὶ ἀκόμη νὰ υἱοθετήσουν ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τὴν τεχνικὴ κάποιων χάλκινων ειδωλίων ποὺ ἡ ἐπιφάνειά τους ἦταν ἀδρὴ μὲ ἐμφανὴ δακτυλικά ἀποτυπώματα.

Ἐπειδὴ, ὅπως ἤδη ἀναφέρθηκε, δὲν ὑπάρχουν ἐνδείξεις γιὰ τὴν παραγωγὴ τῶν πήλινων ειδωλίων στὰ ἴδια τὰ ἱερά, οἱ ἐπαφές τῶν τεχνιτῶν πρέπει νὰ γίνονταν στοὺς οἰκισμοὺς, ὅπου οἱ μεταλλοτεχνίτες θὰ εἶχαν ἐργαστήρια γιὰ τὴν παραγωγὴ χρηστικῶν ἀντικειμένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πρὸς περὶ τεχνῶν ἀναθημάτων.

Τὸ ἰδεολογικὸ περιεχόμενο τῶν ζωόμορφων ἀναθημάτων τῆς πρώιμης ἐποχῆς τοῦ Σιδήρου ἔχει συζητηθεῖ στὸ πλαίσιο τῶν δημοσιεύσεων τῶν ειδωλίων ἀπὸ διάφορα ἱερά, ἀλλὰ καὶ σὲ ἄλλες μελέτες ποὺ ἀσχολήθηκαν μὲ τὰ μέταλλα μάλλον παρὰ τὰ πήλινα ζώδια. Ἡ μελέτη τῶν ζωδίων τῆς Σύμης προσεγγίζει τὸ πρόβλημα μὲ τρεῖς τρόπους: μὲ τὴ σύγκριση τῶν ζωδίων μὲ τὰ σύγχρονα ἀπὸ ἄλλα ἱερά· μὲ τὴν ἀνάλυση τῶν ἰδίων τῶν ειδωλίων, καὶ μὲ τὴ διερεύνηση τῶν εὐρύτερων σχέσεων τῆς Κρήτης μὲ ἄλλες περιοχὲς τοῦ Αἰγαίου κατὰ τὴν πρώιμη ἐποχὴ τοῦ Σιδήρου.

Οἱ πίνακες Β καὶ Γ συνοψίζουν ἀφενδὸς τὴ σύγκριση τῶν πήλινων ζωδίων τῆς Σύμης μὲ τὰ σύγχρονα τῆς Ὀλυμπίας καὶ τοῦ Ἡραίου τῆς Σάμου καὶ ἀφετέρου τὴ σύγκριση τῶν χάλκινων τῆς Ὀλυμπίας καὶ τῆς Σύμης. Σημειώνεται ὅτι τὰ χάλκινα ειδώλια τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ποὺ περιλαμβάνονται στὸν πίνακα ἀντιπροσωπεύουν λιγότερο ἀπὸ τὸ 20% τοῦ συνόλου τῶν ζωδίων ποὺ ἔχουν βρεθεῖ στὸ ἱερό.

Οἱ συγκρίσεις τῶν πινάκων ὁδηγοῦν σὲ δύο βασικὰ συμπεράσματα: παρὰ τὶς τοπικὲς παραλλαγὲς στὴν κατανομὴ τῶν ζωδίων στὸ χρονικὸ διάστημα 900-650, καὶ στὰ τρία ἱερά τὰ ειδώλια ἐμφανίζονται τὴν ΠΓ περίοδο καὶ φθίνουν στὰ μέσα τοῦ ἑβδομοῦ αἰῶνα. Τὸ ἴδιο ἰσχύει καὶ γιὰ τὰ χάλκινα ζώδια, τῶν ὁποίων ἡ κατανομὴ μέσα στὰ ἴδια χρονικὰ ὅρια εἶναι ἀντίστοιχη μὲ αὐτὴν τῶν πήλινων σὲ κάθε ἱερό. Ἡ ἀκριβὴς ἀντιστοιχία τους σημαίνει ὅτι τὰ ζώδια ἀπὸ πηλὸ καὶ χαλκὸ ἀποτελοῦν δύο πλευρὲς τοῦ ἴδιου φαινομένου, ἐνῶ ἡ ἐντονη παρουσία τῶν πήλινων ειδωλίων καὶ στὰ τρία ἱερά, ποὺ διαφέρουν ριζικὰ ὡς πρὸς τὴ γεωγραφικὴ τους θέση, τὶς ἀνάγκες ποὺ ἐξυπηρετοῦσαν καὶ τὴν ἱστορικὴ τους ἐξέλιξη, τεκμηριώνει τὶς κοινὲς θρησκευτικὲς καὶ ἰδεολογικὲς ἀντιλήψεις ποὺ ἀντιπροσωπεύουν αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναθήματα.

Ἐνῶ ἀνάμεσα στὰ ζώδια τῆς Σύμης τὰ ἄλογα συναγωνίζονται τὰ βοοειδῆ ὡς



πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμό, τὰ χάλκινα ἄλογα εἶναι ἐλάχιστα σὲ σχέση μετὰ τὰ βοοειδή, ὅπως συμβαίνει καὶ στὰ σύγχρονα σύνολα ζωδίων ἀπὸ ἄλλα ἱερὰ τῆς Κρήτης. Ὡστόσο, ὅπως τὸ τεκμηριώνουν οἱ ταφές ἀλόγων στὴν Κνωσὸ καὶ τὸν Πρινιά, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μετάλλινα ἀναθήματα καὶ κτερίσματα μετὰ παραστάσεις ἀλόγων καὶ ἀρμάτων, οἱ εὐποροὶ τῆς Κρήτης εἶχαν ἀποδεχθεῖ τὸ ἄλογο ὡς σύμβολο οἰκονομικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ *status*. Οἱ λόγοι γιὰ τοὺς ὁποίους ἀπέρριψαν τὸ ἴδιο σύμβολο ὡς αὐτοτελές μετάλλινο ἀνάθημα προτιμώντας τὸν «ταῦρο», δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸ νὰ διαπιστωθοῦν γιὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ τῆς Κρήτης. Γιὰ τὴ Σύμη ὅμως ὑπάρχουν ἀρχαιολογικὰ δεδομένα καὶ γραπτὲς μαρτυρίες ὅτι οἱ τελετουργίες ἐνηλικίωσης ποὺ ἐξυπηρετοῦσε τὸ ἱερὸ περιλάμβαναν καὶ τὴ θυσία ταύρου, στὴν ὁποία πιθανότατα ἀναφέρονται τὰ περισσότερα χάλκινα βοοειδή.

Τὶς πρὸ εὐγλωττες ἀρχαιολογικὲς μαρτυρίες γιὰ τὶς τελετουργικὲς διαδικασίες ἀποτελοῦν τὰ χάλκινα περίτμητα πλακίδια μετὰ παραστάσεις νέων ποὺ φέρουν αἰγάγρους ἢ τμήματά τους στὸ ἱερό. Τὰ πλακίδια ἐμφανίζονται στὸ τέλος τοῦ ὀγδοοῦ αἰῶνα καὶ εἶναι σχετικὰ λίγα ἕως τὸ 650, ὅταν ὁ ἀριθμὸς τους αὐξάνεται σημαντικὰ ἐνῶ οἱ ἀναθέσεις τῶν χάλκινων ζωδίων φθάνουν στὸ τέλος. Εἶναι λοιπὸν ἐμφανὲς ὅτι τὰ πλακίδια ἀντικατέστησαν τὰ ζώδια ὡς προσφορὲς τῶν ἀναθετῶν ποὺ συμμετεῖχαν στὶς τελετουργίες.

Τὰ δεδομένα ἀπὸ τὸ ἱερὸ τῆς Σύμης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κρητικὰ ἱερὰ δὲν ἔχουν ληφθεῖ ὑπόψη στὶς ἐρμηνεῖες τῆς σημασίας τῶν ζωδίων ποὺ ἔχουν προταθεῖ ὡς τώρα. Ἡ παράλειψη ἀπηχεῖ μία γενικὴ ἐρευνητικὴ προσέγγιση ποὺ σχεδὸν πάντα θεωρεῖ τὴν Κρήτη ὡς ἓνα χῶρο ἐκτὸς τοῦ ἐλληνικοῦ καὶ τὰ κρητικὰ δρώμενα ὡς διαφορετικὰ καὶ ἐπομένως ἄσχετα μετὰ τὰ ἐλληνικά. Ὡστόσο, ὅπως ἤδη ἀναφέρθηκε, τὰ χάλκινα καὶ πήλινα ζώδια εἶναι ἐξίσου χαρακτηριστικὰ τῶν κρητικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξωκρητικῶν ἱερῶν τῆς πρώτης ἐποχῆς τοῦ Σιδήρου. Ἐπὶ πλέον ἦταν ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἴδια αὐτὴ περίοδο ποὺ ἡ Κρήτη ἀποτελοῦσε ἀναπόσπαστο τμῆμα ἐνὸς περίπλοκου δικτύου ἀνταλλαγῶν ποὺ διακινούσε ἀγαθὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ ιδέες ἀνάμεσα στὴν ἀνατολικὴ Μεσόγειο καὶ τὸν ἐλληνικὸ χῶρο. Τὸ φαινόμενο αὐτὸ ἔχει συζητηθεῖ ἐντατικὰ σὲ πολλὰ πρόσφατα συνέδρια καθὼς καὶ σὲ πάμπολλες μελέτες. Ἡ πρὸ ἐμφανῆς καὶ γενικὰ ἀποδεκτὴ πλευρὰ του εἶναι ὅτι τὰ εἰσηγμένα ἀντικείμενα καὶ οἱ τοπικὲς ἀπομιμήσεις κυκλοφοροῦσαν ἀποκλειστικὰ ἀνάμεσα στοὺς κατὰ τόπους εὐποροὺς καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς, ὅπως τὸ τεκμηριώνουν οἱ πλούσιοι τάφοι στὴν Κνωσὸ, τὴν Ἐλεύθερνα, τὸ Λευκαντὶ καὶ τὸν Κεραμεικό. Τὸ κοινὸ ἰδεολογικὸ ὑπόβαθρο αὐτῶν τῶν «πριγκηπικῶν» ταφῶν τεκμηριώνεται ὅχι μόνον ἀπὸ τὰ ὅμοια εἶδη τῶν κτερισμάτων (μετάλλινα καὶ ἐλεφάντινα ἀντικείμενα, χάλκινα ἀγγεῖα, ὅπλα, κοσμήματα) ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τὶς ἰδιαιτερότητες τῶν ἐθίμων, ὅπως ἡ παρουσία τῆς ἀκόνης μαζὶ μετὰ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ οἱ ταφές τῶν ἀλόγων σὲ χωριστὰ ἀπὸ τοὺς τάφους ὀρύγματα.

Ἀναμενόμενο εἶναι ὅτι τὰ ἴδια ἄτομα θὰ ἔκαναν ὅμοιες ἐπιλογές καὶ στὰ ἀναθήματα. Τὰ πρὸ κοινά, τὰ μετάλλινα ζώδια καὶ οἱ χάλκινοι τριποδικοὶ λέβητες ἢ (στὴν Κρήτη) οἱ λειτουργικὰ συναφεῖς ὑποστάτες, ἀποτελοῦσαν «λαλοῦντα σύμβολα» τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ κύρους τῶν ἀναθετῶν καὶ συγχρόνως τοῦ σεβασμοῦ τους πρὸς τὸ θεῖο, χωρὶς, στὴν περίπτωσή τῶν εἰδωλίων, ἡ προσφορά τους νὰ σημαίνει ὅτι οἱ ἀναθέτες ἦταν ἀναγκαστικὰ κάτοχοι κοπαδιῶν ἢ κτηνοτρόφοι. Τὸ παράδειγμά τους ἀκολούθησαν καὶ οἱ λιγότερο εὐποροὶ ἀναθέτες, προσφέροντας συνήθως τὰ λιγότερο κοινὰ ζῶα, δηλαδὴ τὸ ἄλογο καὶ τὸν «ταῦρο».

Στὰ τέλη τοῦ ὀγδοοῦ αἰώνα, ὅταν τὰ περίτμημα πλακίδια ἐμφανίζονται στὴ Σύμη, στὴν Ὀλυμπία οἱ τριποδικοὶ λέβητες ἄρχισαν νὰ παραγκωνίζονται ἀπὸ τοὺς λέβητες μὲ προτομὲς γρυπῶν, ἐνῶ ἀπαντοῦν καὶ ἄλλες νέες κατηγορίες ἀναθημάτων, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ κοσμήματα. Καὶ στὰ δύο ἱερὰ τὰ ζώδια ἐξαφανίζονται γύρω στὰ μέσα τοῦ ἑβδομοῦ αἰώνα.

Μὲ τὴν ἐξαίρεση τοῦ Snodgrass, ποὺ συνέδεσε τὴν ἐμφάνιση τῶν ζωδίων μὲ τὴν στροφὴ τῆς οἰκονομίας πρὸς τὴν κτηνοτροφία μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς Χαλκοκρατίας καὶ τὴν ἐξαφάνισή τους μὲ τὴ σταδιακὴ ἀλλαγὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς ὀργάνωσης καὶ τὶς ἀρχὲς τῆς πόλης, καμία ἄλλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν ζωδίων δὲν μπόρεσε νὰ ἐξηγήσει καὶ τὶς ἀρχὲς καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ φαινομένου. Κανένας ἀπὸ τοὺς λόγους ποὺ ἔχουν ἀναφερθεῖ γιὰ νὰ ἐξηγήσουν τὴν ἐξαφάνιση αὐτῶν τῶν ἀναθημάτων στὰ μέσα τοῦ ἑβδομοῦ αἰώνα, ὅπως ὁ ἀποικισμός, οἱ πόλεμοι, οἱ λοιμοὶ ἢ οἱ δημοκρατικὲς ιδέες, δὲν ἀφοροῦν τὴν Κρήτη, ὅπου ἡ πολιτικὴ ὀργάνωση παρέμεινε σταθερὴ καὶ ἡ οἰκονομία ἀκολούθησε ἀνοδικὴ πορεία σὲ ὅλη τὴ διάρκεια τοῦ ὀγδοοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑβδομοῦ αἰώνα. Ὁ μόνος παράγοντας ποὺ ἐπηρέασε βαθιὰ ὅλον τὸν ἐλληνικὸ κόσμον ἦταν ἡ ἐμφάνιση τοῦ Ἀνατολίζοντος καὶ Δαιδαλικοῦ ρυθμοῦ, ποὺ ἀνανέωσαν τὸ θεματολόγιο τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἐμπλούτισαν τὶς ἐπιλογὲς τῶν ἀναθετῶν μὲ νέα σύμβολα. Ἄν καὶ πολλὰ ἀπὸ τὰ θέματα ἦταν ἤδη γνωστὰ στοὺς τεχνίτες τῆς Κρήτης, δὲν ἦταν ποτὲ τόσο κοινὰ ὅσο κατὰ τὸν ἑβδομο αἰώνα. Στὴν τέχνη αὐτῆς τῆς περιόδου βρίθουν τὰ ἄγρια, ἐξωτικὰ ζῶα, ὅπως τὸ λιοντάρι καὶ ὁ πάνθηρας, καθὼς καὶ τὰ φανταστικὰ ὄντα, ὅπως ἡ σφίγγα, ὁ γρύπας ἢ τὸ φτερωτὸ ἄλογο. Ἡ ἀνθρώπινη μορφὴ εἰκονίζεται συχνὰ ἀνάμεσα σὲ δύο τέτοια ὄντα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐλέγχει ἢ καταστέλλει. Μέσα σὲ αὐτὸ τὸ νέο συμβολικὸ πλαίσιο, ποὺ τὸ κεντρικὸ στοιχεῖο τοῦ ἦταν ἡ σύγκρουση, τὰ ἡμέρα κατοικίδια ζῶα τοῦ γεωμετρικοῦ θεματολογίου δὲν εἶχαν θέση. Μετὰ τὰ μέσα τοῦ ἑβδομοῦ αἰώνα τὰ ζώδια δὲν προσφέρονταν στὰ ἱερὰ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας, τῆς Σύμης ἢ τῆς Σάμου. Αὐτὸ δὲν σημαίνει ὅτι τὰ πῆλινα ζωόμορφα εἰδῶλια ἐξαφανίστηκαν τελείως, ἀλλὰ ὅτι ἔχασαν τὴ σημασία τους ὅταν τὰ χάλκινα ἔπαψαν νὰ ἀποτελοῦν σημαντικὸ σύμβολο γιὰ τοὺς élites.

# CORCORDANCE I

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
1	28073	13-6-76 Area Lamda-Mu 50 Level 1 no. 16
2	21885	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 246
3	28131	4-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 3a no. 19
4	28108	17-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 no. 93
5	28164	19-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & III Level 2 no. 134
6	21036	10-9-72 no. 116
7	20275	21-9-72 no. 977
8	28653	16-9-72 Level 8a cf. Level 2 (Pottery Lot 9)
9	20122	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 768
10	21371	23-7-75 Trenches Iota 48-49 Level 10a no. 194+18-7-85 Trench Iota 47 Level 10 no. 13
11	20089	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 1002
12	20717+20733	8-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Cleaning of large wall + 4-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 10 no. 486
13	28133	6-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 4 no. 56
14	28663	17-6-76 Area Lamda-Mu 50 Level 1B no. 90
15	28153	8-6-84 Probe in Terrace I Level 2 no. 38
16	28154	21-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2a no. 117
17	20721+20732	13-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4a no. 228 + Trench Mu 49 Level 3
18	20720	9-8-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3
19	31211	12-6-00 Fill under wall Lamda 474 Level 2 no. 12
20	20293	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 839
21	20276	27-9-72 Area A' Level 37 no. 1107
22	20286	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 989
23	20735+20740	8-8-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3+12-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4 no. 184
24	20126	25-9-72 Area A' Level 34 no. 1072 + 1974 from sifting
25	28149	18-6-84 & 19-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2 nos. 99 & 10
26	28061	26-2-74 Trench Omicron 51 After looting
27	21370a	9-7-75 West side of Trench Nu 49 Level 3 no. 52
28	28155	23-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 3 no. 196
29	25848	12-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4a+15-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 62
30	21866	1-7-77; 27-6-77; 29-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu51 Levels 2; 5 no. 243 & Level 7 no. 287 + 13-7-73 Trench Mu51 Level 8
31	20124	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 961
32	28114	14-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 50 +1981 no. 50
33	28109+28112	13-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 34+19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 128
34	20088	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 362+14-9-72 Level 4a no. 400
35	20325	14-9-72 Level 6 no. 406
36	20705	24-7-73 no context no. 386

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
37	21042	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 43
38	20697	6-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2 no. 506
39	20296	11-9-72 Level A' no. 186
40	20341	7-9-72 no context
41	21881	29-6-77+1-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 234 +Level 7 no.278
42	20087a	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 990
42	20087b	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 982+7-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 4 no. 81
43	20123+20701	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 694+10-8-73 North balk of Trench M51 Level 4 no. 583+4-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8 no. 338
44	28147+28148	9-6-84 Probe in Terrace I Level 2 no. 53+20-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2 no. 160+21-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2a no. 189
45	21049	20-9-72 Level 21 no. 816+9-8-73 Trench Mu48 Level 12+1-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 2 no. 6
46	20702	12-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4a no. 198+1973 North balk of Trench Mu51 Level 4+5-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52- Mu/Nu 51 Level 9+6-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 4 no. 6; 6-7-02 Wall Mu501/2002 no. 20 (head)
47	28151	25-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2a no. 219
48	20723	7-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2 no. 514a
49	20127	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 400
50	20294	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 841
51	20339	18-9-72 Level 15 no. 700; 12-9-72 Level 15
52	20704	14-7-73 Trench M52 Level 2 no. 260
53	21365	14-7-75 South wall of Building Q Surface find
54	21041a	1972 Level 4a no. 384
55	21372	1975 Trench Nu49 Level 5
56	20322	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 306
57	21091	15-9-72 Level 7a+15-9-72 Level 23a +20-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 7a no. 82+15-6-76 Area Lamda/Mu50 Level 1 no. 63
57	25850	24-7-73 Trench Nu 51 Level 8
57	Saddle	1972 Level 1 no. 56
58	28095	24-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 2 no. 165
59	20349	11-9-72 Level 2 no. 147
60	20711	20-7-73 Trench Nu52 Level 8 no. 809
61	21034+27994	20-9-72 Level 21 no. 809
62	21872a	9-6-77 Terrace II Area Lamda/Kappa 51 Level 1 no. 36+11-8-81 Trench Kappa 53 Level 2 no. 10
63	28068	9-7-75 West side of Trench Nu50 Level 3 no. 37



Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
64	32165	9-10-90 From dirt of North side of Balk Nu/Xi 49 no. 18
65	20297	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 922
66	20125	12-9-72 Level 2 no. 215
67	28113	14-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 51
68	28104	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 115
69	20338	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 915+14-9-72 Level 6
70	20690+28083	6-7-73 no. 120 from sieving+1972 Level 19 no. 727+26-6-76 Area Lamda/Mu 50 Level 6 no. 200+25-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 2 Addition to Terrace III
71	32183	27-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 203
72	21889	20-6-77 Trench M50 East part of Rooms 1 & 1A Level 1 no. 135
73	21718	10-6-76 From cleaning of west side of Trenches Iota 48-49
74	32175	11-8-73 Trench M48 Level 13
75	32176	21-7-76 Removal of retaining walls of Terraces I & II no. 142
76	32331	23-6-84 Trench Eta49 no. 213
77	32177	1977 Trench Mu48 no. 11
78	32179	29-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 238
79	32174	14-9-72 Level 1 no. 363
80	21113	1974 Trench Iota/Kappa 49 Level 1
81	21360	1975 Trench Kappa 49 Level 15 no. 183
82	21372	1975 Surface find in Trench Nu49
83	32173	1972 Level 21 no. 613
84	32181	19-9-72 Level 18
85	32182	28-6-95 Blocking of East wall of Rooms 2/2A Cleaning of surface
86	32180a-b	4-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8
87	32178a	20-9-72 Level 21 no. 820
87	32178b	1973 Trench Lamda 48 Level 11 no. 410
87	20326	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 962+Level 24 no. 984
88	27976	1972 Level 26 South part
89	31213	15-6-00 Area Iota 46-47 Level 5 no. 28
90	32330	1991 Trench Lamda 47 Level 7a no. 11
91	20327	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 972
92	21088	20-7-74 Balk of Trenches Kappa/Iota 49 Level 7a
93	20316	18-9-72 Level 15 no. 712
94	20314	15-9-72 Level 9 no. 550
95	21879	25 & 26-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 2 no. 183+Level 5 no. 240
96	28193	1992 Collapse of NW corner of Altar
97	21874	2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 314
98	21030	24-9-72 Level 27 no. 1032+1-9-72 no context
99	20351	14-9-72 Level 1 no. 378

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
100	20321+27991	1972 no context
101	21040	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 851+20-9-72 Level 23a
102	21363	28-7-75 Trench Nu52 Level 9A no. 225
103	21868	1-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 290+18-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 no. 103
104	20347	19-9-72 Level 20
105	21884	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 270+Level 5 no. 228
106	20284	23-9-72 Level 27 no. 1023
107	20292	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 840+8-9-72 Level 2
108	21369	26-7-75 Trench Nu52 Level 9a no. 231
109	21037	29-9-72 A' Level 37 & 37A
110	32169	10-6-99 Trench Eta 47-48 Level 6 no. 8
111	32171	15-7-02 Wall Mu 501/2002 Level 2 no. 22
112	28110	17-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 no. 95
113	28107	15-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 60
114	20320	24-9-72 A' Level 28+9-7-75 Trench Nu49 west side Level 3 no. 48
115	21368	12-7-75 Balk of Trenches Omicron/Xi 49 Level 3 no. 563
116	20716	8-8-73 Trench Mu49 Level 3 no. 563
117	20719	13-8-73 delta no. 662
118	28150	18-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 1 no. 103+17-7-02 Wall M 501/2002 Level 2
119	28185	19-7-91 Balk of Trenches Lamda 47/48 Level 6 no. 43
120	28082	19-6-76 Area Lamda/M50 black soil no. 134
121	21092+28135	7-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 6 no. 87+9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 130
122	20729	9-8-73 Trench Mu48 Level 12 no. 572+1973 Trench Mu48 Level 12
123	21882+28204	27-7-92 Balk of Trenches Lamda/Mu 47/48 and south part of Trench Lamda 47 Level 5 no. 98+29-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 234
124	20115+21093	21-9-72 Level 4 no. 254+17-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 5 no. 44
125	21089	20-7-74 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 49 Level 7a no. 96+9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 106
126	30753	14-6-96 Section in C-D/1996 Level 17a no. 15
127	20348	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 84
127	27974	24-9-72 Level 32
128	21366	26-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9a no. 222
129	20092	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 299
130	27972+28132	12-9-72 Level 2 no. 231+4-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 3b no. 23
131	20108	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 913+9-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
		6 no. 111+1975 Trench Xi 49 Level 6+2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8 east of wall+18-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6
132	20699	3-7-77 Trench Xi 49 Level 6 no. 49
133	20698	25-7-73 Trench Lamda 48 Level 10 no. 404
134	21029	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 752; 1972 Level 18 no. 721
134	20741	1972 Level 18 No. 721
135	21035	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 849
136	28200	13-7-92 Trench Mu 47 Level 3 no. 46
137	21367	12-7-75 Balk of Trenches Nu 50/51 Level 1 no. 90
138	21039	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 63
139	20700+21872	26-7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 9 no. 284+28-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 218
140	21361	12-7-75 Balk of Trenches Omicron/Xi 49 Level 3 no. 83
141	20283	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 925
142	21869	28-5-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 208
143	20706	14-7-73 Trench Mu 52 Level 2 no. 265a+1975 Trench Nu 52 Level 10 no. 244+28-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9 no. 236d
144	21864	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 255
145	21867	1-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 290
146	20311	19-9-72 Level 2 no. 234
147	20340	16-7-75 Within Prehistoric Room Level 1A no. 137+15-9-72 Level 8 no. 514
148	20728	6-8-83 from sifting of bulldozer soil no. 115
149	20319	18-9-72 Level 19 no. 760
150	20114	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 912
151	21865	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 255
152	20312	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 917
153	20703	16-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 3 no. 278+26-7-73 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 51 Level 3 no. 414
154	30754	13-6-95 Area between Altar and Buildings J & C/95 Fill over wall Lamda 491 Level 19 no. 7
155	20098	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 993
156	21871	4-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8 no. 337
156	21028	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 857
157	20091	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 390
158	20329+21026	18-9-72 Level 15 no. 712+20-9-72 Level 21 no. 837+1973 North balk of Trench Lamda 51 Level 1
159	20317	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 972+21-9-72 Level 25 no. 976
160	20324	1-9-72 Surface find
161	20313	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 483
162	20743	5-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 5 no. 87a
163	20714	12-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 14 no. 624+1973 Trench Mu

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
		48 Level 10
164	20713	7-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 11
165	28182	11-7-91 Trench Lamda 47 Level 9 no. 10
166	20299	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 868
167	32170	29-6-00 Area Iota 46-47 Level 9 no. 174
168	20298	18-9-72 Level 19 no. 750
169	20288+20837	16-9-72 Level 8 no. 533+13-8-73 Level delta outside south wall of large building
170	28171	6-7-84 Trench Trench Eta 48 Level 6b
171	20696	6-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2 no. 506b
172	20710	18-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 6 no. 330
173	20315	8-9-72 Level 1 no. 73
174	21710	15-6-76 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 inside building Level 1 no. 37
175	20102a	13-9-72 Level 5 no. 315+20-9-72 Level 21 no. 816+1975 Trench Kappa 49 Level 19
176	20102b	14-9-72 Level 2 no. 599
177	21349	14-7-75 Balk of Trenches Nu 51/52 Level 4 no. 98; 12-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 3 no. 11
178	20707	13-8-73 Area delta nos. 661;671;673+1973 Convergence of Balks no. 5 Level 3
179	20342+20350	15-9-72 Level 8 no. 496+15-9-72 Level 8 no. 517
180	32163	27-6-85 Trench Xi 49 surface find no. 6
181	20343	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 324+17-9-72 Level 1 no. 306+25-7-73 Balk of Trenches Kappa/Iota 51
182	21041	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 384
183	20291	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 366
184	20101	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 1001
185	20290	12-9-72 Level 4 no. 268
186	20100	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 884
187	28199	13-7-92 Conservation of wall in Balk Lamda 47/48 no. 53
188	21870	28-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 212
189	28111	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 131
190	28152	18-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2 nos. 98; 99; 100
191	20809	25-6-73 from bulldozer dirt
192	20345+20724	8-9-72 Level 1 no. 64+Trench Mu 48 Level 11
193	20739	5-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 8 no. 80
194	28003	13-8-73 Convergence of Balks No. 5 Level 3
195	28644	27-7-93 Extension of Probe in Archaic Hearth Level 1E no. 152
196	21875	2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 314
197	28669	24-6-93 Trench Zeta 53 Level 6 no. 50
198	20748	7-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu51/52 Level 2 no. 514a
199	20274	18-9-72 Level 9 no. 743



Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
200	28196	8-7-92 Room 18 Level 9 no. 31
201	20285	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 921
202	31212	19-6-00 Area Theta 46-47 Level 9 no. 46
203	21033	15-9-72 Level 8 no. 527
204	28103	15-8-81 Probe in Terrace II Level 2 no. 65
205	27998	18-9-72 Level 19 no. 727
206	21876	25-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 2 nos. 171-172
207	20323	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 306
208	20295	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 314
209	28130	2-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 1 no. 8
210	20277	11-9-72 Level A' no. 152
211	20715	12-8-73 Trench Mu48 Level 14
212	20718	7-7-73 Trench Xi49 Level 9 no. 121
213	28667	30-6-93 Trench Zeta 53 Level 6a no. 72
214	21883	9-6-77 Convergence of Balks of Trenches Mu 50-/51 & Nu 50/51 Level 4 No. 21
215	21364	23-7-75 Trench Kappa 49 Level 16 no. 197
216	28105	18-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 110
217	28658	8-8-73 Trench Kappa 51 from cleaning of large wall 561
218	21362	28-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 10 no. 237
219	27989	14-9-72 Level 6
220	28106	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 127
221	20765	4-7-73 Trench Xi 51 Level 2
222	20722	5-7-73 Trench Xi 51 Level 5 no. 90a
223	25851	3-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 6
224	25849	26-6-73 From sieving of bulldozer dirt
225	20725	18-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 6 no. 328
226	28179	28-6-88 Trench Zeta 50 Level 1 no. 43
227	20712	26-6-73 Trench Omicron 50 Level 1 no. 24
228	27988	27-9-72 no. 1114
229	27973	15-9-72 Level 8 No. 495
230	28092	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 No. 246
231	28137	18-7-83 Trench Pi 51 Level 1 no. 166
232	20289	14-9-72 Level 6 no. 451
233	20708+20747	4-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu/Lamda 51 Level 6 no. 487+13- 7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 8 no. 251
234	21374	28-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9a No. 236c
235	21027	11-9-72 Level 1 no. 176
236	20280	6-9-72 Level 1 no. 3
237	20281	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 478
238	31210	23-6-00 Surface find no. 100
239	32166	4-8-97 Conservation of Building C-D from sandy soil of east wall no. 28

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
240	20726	17-7-73 no context no. 685
241	20282	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 400
242	27977	1972 Level 1 no. 22
243	28088	24-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 1 no. 162
244	27986	1972 Level 24 south sector
245	21031	13-9-72 Level 5 no. 345
246	28134	8-7-73 Fallen dirt from fill of NW corner of Trench Iota 48 no. 50
247	32162	8-8-73 Trench Mu49 Level 3
248	28184	15-7-91 Trench Epsilon 51 Level 4 no. 17
249	28214	28-7-92 Trench Lamda 47 south of wall Lamda 472 Level 6 no. 106
250	28141	6-7-83 Area Kappa-Lamda 52-53 Level 5a no. 57
250	28007	1973 Trench Kappa 52 Level 9
251	28189a	31-9-91 Trench Zeta 52 among fallen stones under Level 2 no. 79
251	28189b	6-5-03 Fill S/L 2003 Levels 11-13 from washing of pottery
252	28203	24-7-92 Balk Trench Epsilon 50/51 Level 4 no. 86
253	21087	17-7-74 Trench Kappa 49 Level 6 no. 52
254	20033	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 896
255	28206	27-7-92 Trench Lamda 47 Level 10a no. 94
256	20116	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 469
257	21877	25-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 2 no. 172
258	20086a	7-9-72 Level 1 nos. 25-26
259	28230	1975 Trenches Nu 49-50 Level 5a
260	21887	2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 316
261	28129	2-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 3a no. 15
262	28079	17-6-76 Area Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1B
263	20097	14-9-72 Level 5 no. 322
264	20099	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 391
265	20120	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 357
266	20119	16-9-72 Level 12 no. 566
267	20346	10-9-72 no. 116
268	20095	11-9-72 Level 8 no. 171
269	20110	17-9-72 Level 8a no. 663
270	20109	25-9-72 Level 33 B' no. 1058
271	20112	15-9-72 Level 9 no. 534
272	20730	3-7-73 Trench Xi 51 Level 6 no. 53
273	21099	12-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 3 from smoothing of south side no. 12
274	20111	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 57
275	27987	1972 Level 1 no. 24

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
276	20731	31-7-73 North balk of Trench Kappa 51 Level 2 no. 449
277	28183	11-7-91 Trench Lamda 47 Level 9 no. 9
278	28069	1975 Balk of Trenches Nu/Xi 49 Level 2
279	20318	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 748
280	27995	14-9-72 Level 6 no. 419
281	20736	8-8-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3
281	20737	8-7-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3 no. 544
281	20094	17-9-72 Level 15 no. 681
282	27971	1972 Level 1 no. 21+9-9-72 Level 2 west part
283	21095	19-7-74 Balk of Trenches Kappa 48/49 Level 4
284	21373	9-7-75 West side of Trench Nu 49 Level 1 no. 20
285	25841	3-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 5
285	20745	4-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 7 no. 65
285	20746	4-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 7 no. 68
286	20308	13-9-72 Level 1 east extension
287	20121	13-9-72 Level 4 no. 304
288	27983	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 23
289	20309	12-9-72 Level 4 no. 242
290	25847	26-6-73 from sieving of bulldozer soil
291	21098	9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 114
292	21097	9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 123
293	27984	1972 Level 27 no. 1032
294	21878	25-6-77 Area Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 15a nos. 171-172
295	20750	12-8-73 Trench Lamda 48 Level 15a no. 637
296	21888	17-6-77 Room 1A in level that corresponds to Area Lamda/Kappa 51 Level 7 no. 123
297	20272	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 756
298	27999	6-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2
299	20278	11-9-72 Level gamma no. 166
300	20273	17-9-72 Level 8a no. 631
301	21096	27-7-74 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 49 Level 7a no. 88
302	21045	12-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 14
303	20744	7-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51 & Mu 52 Level 2 no. 514a
304	21889a	27-6-77 Area Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 2 no. 195
305	20118	15-9-72 Level 9 no. 536
306	30755	24-6-96 Probe in Buildings C-D/1996 Level 15d no. 100
307	32168	11-8-97 Surface find on Balk of Trenches Nu 51-52
308	28017	2-8-73 Balk of Trenches Lamda/Mu 51 Level 3
309	25843	13-7-73 Trench Mu 52 Level 2
310	20107	12-9-72 Level 2 no. 225 +8-9-72 From bulldozer soil
311	20798	25-6-73 From bulldozer dirt
312	20681	13-8-73 Level delta no. 665
313	20048	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 863

Cat. No.	HM No.	Context
315	31269	19-7-75 Trench Kappa 49 Level 11
316	31256	1997 Area Xi 53-54 Level 2a no. 46
317	20795	25-6-73 Bulldozer soil
318	31266	11-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 3
319	31259	20-9-72 Level 23a
320	32184	12-9-72 Level 4 no. 266
321	20803	26-7-73 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 51 Level 3
322	31253	15-9-72 Level 8
323	31262	13-7-73 Trench Iota 51 Level 6
324	20802	25-6-73 From bulldozer soil



# CONCORDANCE II

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
20033	254	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 896
20048	313	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 863
20086a	258	7-9-72 Level 1 nos. 25-26
20087a	42	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 990
20087b	442	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 982+7-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 4 no. 81
20088	34	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 362+14-9-72 Level 4a no. 400
20089	11	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 1002
20091	157	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 390
20092	129	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 299
20094	281	17-9-72 Level 15 no. 681
20095	268	11-9-72 Level 8 no. 171
20097	263	14-9-72 Level 5 no. 322
20098	155	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 993
20099	264	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 391
20100	186	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 884
20101	184	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 1001
20102a	175	13-9-72 Level 5 no. 315+20-9-72 Level 21 no. 816+1975 Trench Kappa 49 Level 19
20102b	176	14-9-72 Level 2 no. 599
20107	310	12-9-72 Level 2 no. 225 +8-9-72 From bulldozer soil
20108	131	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 913+9-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 6 no. 111+1975 Trench Xi 49 Level 6+2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8 east of wall+18-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6
20109	270	25-9-72 Level 33 B' no. 1058
20110	269	17-9-72 Level 8a no. 663
20111	274	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 57
20112	271	15-9-72 Level 9 no. 534
20114	150	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 912
20115+21093	124	21-9-72 Level 4 no. 254+17-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 5 no. 44
20116	256	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 469
20117	314	13-9-72 Level 4 no. 293
20118	305	15-9-72 Level 9 no. 536
20119	266	16-9-72 Level 12 no. 566
20120	265	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 357
20121	287	13-9-72 Level 4 no. 304
20122	9	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 768
20123	43	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 694+10-8-73 North balk of Trench M51 Level 4 no. 583+4-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8 no. 338
20124	31	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 961
20125	66	12-9-72 Level 2 no. 215

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
20126	24	25-9-72 Area A' Level 34 no. 1072 + 1974 from sifting
20127	49	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 400
20272	297	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 756
20273	300	17-9-72 Level 8a no. 631
20274	199	18-9-72 Level 9 no. 743
20275	7	21-9-72 no. 977
20276	21	27-9-72 Area A' Level 37 no. 1107
20277	210	11-9-72 Level A' no. 152
20278	299	11-9-72 Level gamma no. 166
20280	236	6-9-72 Level 1 no. 3
20281	237	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 478
20282	241	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 400
20283	141	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 925
20284	106	23-9-72 Level 27 no. 1023
20285	201	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 921
20286	22	23-9-72 Level 26 no. 989
20288+20837	169	16-9-72 Level 8 no. 533+13-8-73 Level delta outside south wall of large building
20289	232	14-9-72 Level 6 no. 451
20290	185	12-9-72 Level 4 no. 268
20291	183	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 366
20292	107	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 840+8-9-72 Level 2
20293	20	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 839
20294	50	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 841
20296	39	11-9-72 Level A no. 186
20297	65	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 922
20298	168	18-9-72 Level 19 no. 750
20299	166	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 868
20308	286	13-9-72 Level 1 east extension
20309	289	12-9-72 Level 4 no. 242
20311	146	19-9-72 Level 2 no. 234
20312	152	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 917
20313	161	15-9-72 Level 6 no. 483
20314	94	15-9-72 Level 9 no. 550
20315	173	8-9-72 Level 1 no. 73
20316	93	18-9-72 Level 15 no. 712
20317	159	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 972+21-9-72 Level 25 no. 976
20318	279	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 748
20319	149	18-9-72 Level 19 no. 760
20320	114	24-9-72 A' Level 28+9-7-75 Trench Nu49 west side Level 3 no. 48
20321+27991	100	1972 no context
20322	56	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 306
20323	207	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 306

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
20324	160	1-9-72 Surface find
20325	35	14-9-72 Level 6 no. 406
20326	87	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 962+Level 24 no. 984
20327	91	21-9-72 Level 25 no. 972
20329+21026	158	18-9-72 Level 15 no. 712+20-9-72 Level 21 no. 837+1973 North balk of Trench Lamda 51 Level 1
20338	69	21-9-72 Level 24 no. 915+14-9-72 Level 6
20339	51	18-9-72 Level 15 no. 700; 12-9-72 Level 15
20340	147	16-7-75 Within Prehistoric Room Level 1A no. 137+15-9-72 Level 8 no. 514
20341	40	7-9-72 no context
20342+20350	179	15-9-72 Level 8 no. 496+15-9-72 Level 8 no. 517
20343	181	13-9-72 Level 1 no. 324+17-9-72 Level 1 no. 306+25-7-73 Balk of Trenches Kappa/Iota 51
20345+20724	192	8-9-72 Level 1 no. 64+Trench Mu 48 Level 11
20346	267	10-9-72 no. 116
20347	104	19-9-72 Level 20
20348	127	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 84
20349	59	11-9-72 Level 2 no. 147
20351	99	14-9-72 Level 1 no. 378
20681	312	13-8-73 Level delta no. 665
20690+28083	70	6-7-73 no. 120 from sieving+1972 Level 19 no. 727+26-6-76 Area Lamda/Mu 50 Level 6 no. 200+25-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 2 Addition to Terrace III
20696	171	6-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2 no. 506b
20697	38	6-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2 no. 506
20698	133	25-7-73 Trench Lamda 48 Level 10 no. 404
20699	132	3-7-77 Trench Xi 49 Level 6 no. 49
20700+21872	139	26-7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 9 no. 284+28-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 218
20702	46	12-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4a no. 198+1973 North balk of Trench Mu51 Level 4+5-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 9+6-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 4 no. 6; 6-7-02 Wall Mu501/2002 no. 20 (head)
20703	153	16-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 3 no. 278+26-7-73 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 51 Level 3 no. 414
20704	52	14-7-73 Trench M52 Level 2 no. 260
20705	36	24-7-73 no context no. 386
20706	143	14-7-73 Trench Mu 52 Level 2 no. 265a+1975 Trench Nu 52 Level 10 no. 244+28-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9 no. 236d
20707	178	13-8-73 Area delta nos. 661;671;673+1973 Convergence of Balks no. 5 Level 3
20708+20747	233	4-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu/Lamda 51 Level 6 no. 487+13-7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 8 no. 251

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
20710	172	18-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 6 no. 330
20711	60	20-7-73 Trench Nu52 Level 8 no. 809
20712	227	26-6-73 Trench Omicron 50 Level 1 no. 24
20713	164	7-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 11
20714	163	12-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 14 no. 624+1973 Trench Mu 48 Level 10
20715	211	12-8-73 Trench Mu48 Level 14
20716	116	8-8-73 Trench Mu49 Level 3 no. 563
20717+20733	12	8-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Cleaning of large wall + 4-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 10 no. 486
20718	212	7-7-73 Trench Xi49 Level 9 no. 121
20719	117	13-8-73 delta no. 662
20720	18	9-8-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3
20721+20732	17	13-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4a no. 228 + Trench Mu 49 Level 3
20722	222	5-7-73 Trench Xi 51 Level 5 no. 90a
20723	48	7-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2 no. 514a
20725	225	18-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 6 no. 328
20726	240	17-7-73 no context no. 685
20728	148	6-8-83 from sifting of bulldozer soil no. 115
20729	122	9-8-73 Trench Mu48 Level 12 no. 572+1973 Trench Mu48 Level 12
20730	272	3-7-73 Trench Xi 51 Level 6 no. 53
20731	276	31-7-73 North balk of Trench Kappa 51 Level 2 no. 449
20735+20740	23	8-8-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3+12-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4 no. 184
20736	281	8-8-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3
20737	281	8-7-73 Trench Mu 49 Level 3 no. 544
20739	193	5-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 8 no. 80
20741	134	1972 Level 18 No. 721
20743	162	5-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 5 no. 87a
20744	303	7-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51 & Mu 52 Level 2 no. 514a
20745	285	4-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 7 no. 65
20746	285	4-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 7 no. 68
20748	198	7-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu51/52 Level 2 no. 514a
20750	295	12-8-73 Trench Lamda 48 Level 15a no. 637
20765	221	4-7-73 Trench Xi 51 Level 2
20795	317	25-6-73 Bulldozer soil
20798	311	25-6-73 From bulldozer dirt
20802	324	25-6-73 From bulldozer soil
20803	321	26-7-73 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 51 Level 3
20809	191	25-6-73 from bulldozer dirt
21027	235	11-9-72 Level 1 no. 176
21028	156	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 857



HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
21029	134	18-9-72 Level 18 no. 752; 1972 Level 18 no. 721
21030	98	24-9-72 Level 27 no. 1032+1-9-72 no context
21031	245	13-9-72 Level 5 no. 345
21033	203	15-9-72 Level 8 no. 527
21034+27994	61	20-9-72 Level 21 no. 809
21035	135	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 849
21036	6	10-9-72 no. 116
21037	109	29-9-72 A' Level 37 & 37A
21039	138	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 63
21040	101	20-9-72 Level 23 no. 851+20-9-72 Level 23a
21041a	54	1972 Level 4a no. 384
21041	182	14-9-72 Level 4a no. 384
21042	37	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 43
21045	302	12-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 14
21049	45	20-9-72 Level 21 no. 816+9-8-73 Trench Mu48 Level 12+1-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 2 no. 6
21087	253	17-7-74 Trench Kappa 49 Level 6 no. 52
21088	92	20-7-74 Balk of Trenches Kappa/Iota 49 Level 7a
21089	125	20-7-74 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 49 Level 7a no. 96+9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 106
21091	57	15-9-72 Level 7a+15-9-72 Level 23a +20-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 7a no. 82+15-6-76 Area Lamda/Mu50 Level 1 no. 63
21092+28135	121	7-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 6 no. 87+9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 130
21095	283	19-7-74 Balk of Trenches Kappa 48/49 Level 4
21096	301	27-7-74 Balk of Trenches Iota/Kappa 49 Level 7a no. 88
21097	292	9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 123
21098	291	9-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8 no. 114
21099	273	12-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 3 from smoothing of south side no. 12
21113	80	1974 Trench Iota/Kappa 49 Level 1
21349	177	14-7-75 Balk of Trenches Nu 51/52 Level 4 no. 98; 12-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 3 no. 11
21360	81	1975 Trench Kappa 49 Level 15 no. 183
21361	140	12-7-75 Balk of Trenches Omicron/Xi 49 Level 3 no. 83
21362	218	28-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 10 no. 237
21363	102	28-7-75 Trench Nu52 Level 9A no. 225
21364	215	23-7-75 Trench Kappa 49 Level 16 no. 197
21365	53	14-7-75 South wall of Building Q Surface find
21366	128	26-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9a no. 222
21367	137	12-7-75 Balk of Trenches Nu 50/51 Level 1 no. 90
21368	115	12-7-75 Balk of Trenches Omicron/Xi 49 Level 3 no. 563
21369	108	26-7-75 Trench Nu52 Level 9a no. 231

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
21370a	27	9-7-75 West side of Trench Nu 49 Level 3 no. 52
21371	10	23-7-75 Trenches Iota 48-49 Level 10a no. 194+18-7-85 Trench Iota 47 Level 10 no. 13
21372	55	1975 Trench Nu49 Level 5
21372	82	1975 Surface find in Trench Nu49
21373	284	9-7-75 West side of Trench Nu 49 Level 1 no. 20
21374	234	28-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9a No. 236c
21710	174	15-6-76 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 inside building Level 1 no. 37
21718	73	10-6-76 From cleaning of west side of Trenches Iota 48-49
21864	144	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 255
21865	151	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 255
21866	30	1-7-77; 27-6-77; 29-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu51 Levels 2; 5 no. 243 & Level 7 no. 287 + 13-7-73 Trench Mu51 Level 8
21867	145	1-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 290
21868	103	1-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 290+18-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 no. 103
21869	142	28-5-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 208
21870	188	28-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 212
21871	156	4-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8 no. 337
21872a	62	9-6-77 Terrace II Area Lamda/Kappa 51 Level 1 no. 36+11-8-81 Trench Kappa 53 Level 2 no. 10
21874	97	2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 314
21875	196	2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 314
21876	206	25-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 2 nos. 171-172
21877	257	25-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 2 no. 172
21878	294	25-6-77 Area Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 15a nos. 171- 172
21879	95	25 & 26-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 2 no. 183+Level 5 no. 240
21881	41	29-6-77+1-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 234 +Level 7 no.278
21882+28204	123	27-7-92 Balk of Trenches Lamda/Mu 47/48 and south part of Trench Lamda 47 Level 5 no. 98+29-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 234
21883	214	9-6-77 Convergence of Balks of Trenches Mu 50-/51 & Nu 50/51 Level 4 No. 21
21884	105	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 270+Level 5 no. 228
21885	2	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 246
21887	260	2-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 7 no. 316

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
21889	72	Kappa 51 Level 7 no. 123 20-6-77 Trench M50 East part of Rooms 1 & 1A Level 1 no. 135
21889a	304	27-6-77 Area Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 2 no. 195
25841	285	3-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 5
25843	309	13-7-73 Trench Mu 52 Level 2
25847	290	26-6-73 from sieving of bulldozer soil
25848	29	12-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 4a+15-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 62
25849	224	26-6-73 From sieving of bulldozer dirt
25850	57	24-7-73 Trench Nu 51 Level 8
25851	223	3-7-73 Trench Xi 49 Level 6
27971	282	1972 Level 1 no. 21+9-9-72 Level 2 west part
27972+28132	130	12-9-72 Level 2 no. 231+4-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 3b no. 23
27973	229	15-9-72 Level 8 No. 495
27974	127	24-9-72 Level 32
27976	88	1972 Level 26 South part
27977	242	1972 Level 1 no. 22
27983	288	7-9-72 Level 1 no. 23
27984	293	1972 Level 27 no. 1032
27986	244	1972 Level 24 south sector
27987	275	1972 Level 1 no. 24
27988	228	27-9-72 no. 1114
27989	219	14-9-72 Level 6
27995	280	14-9-72 Level 6 no. 419
27998	205	18-9-72 Level 19 no. 727
27999	298	6-8-73 Balk of Trenches Mu 51/52 Level 2
28003	194	13-8-73 Convergence of Balks No. 5 Level 3
28007	250	1973 Trench Kappa 52 Level 9
28017	308	2-8-73 Balk of Trenches Lamda/Mu 51 Level 3
28061	26	26-2-74 Trench Omicron 51 After looting
28068	63	9-7-75 West side of Trench Nu50 Level 3 no. 37
28069	278	1975 Balk of Trenches Nu/Xi 49 Level 2
28073	1	13-6-76 Area Lamda-Mu 50 Level 1 no. 16
28079	262	17-6-76 Area Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1B
28082	120	19-6-76 Area Lamda/M50 black soil no. 134
28088	243	24-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 1 no. 162
28092	230	30-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level5 No. 246
28095	58	24-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Addition to Terrace III Level 2 no. 165
28103	204	15-8-81 Probe in Terrace II Level 2 no. 65

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
28104	68	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 115
28105	216	18-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 110
28106	220	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 127
28107	113	15-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 60
28108	4	17-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 no. 93
28109+28112	33	13-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 34+19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 128
28110	112	17-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 no. 95
28111	189	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 no. 131
28113	67	14-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 51
28114	32	14-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 no. 50 +1981 no. 50
28129	261	2-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 3a no. 15
28130	209	2-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 1 no. 8
28131	3	4-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 3a no. 19
28133	13	6-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 4 no. 56
28134	246	8-7-73 Fallen dirt from fill of NW corner of Trench Iota 48 no. 50
28137	231	18-7-83 Trench Pi 51 Level 1 no. 166
28141	250	6-7-83 Area Kappa-Lamda 52-53 Level 5a no. 57
28147+28148	44	9-6-84 Probe in Terrace I Level 2 no. 53+20-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2 no. 160+21-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2a no. 189
28149	25	18-6-84 & 19-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2 nos. 99 & 106
28150	118	18-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 1 no. 103+17-7-02 Wall M 501/2002 Level 2
28151	47	25-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2a no. 219
28152	190	18-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2 nos. 98; 99; 100
28153	15	8-6-84 Probe in Terrace I Level 2 no. 38
28154	16	21-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 2a no. 117
28155	28	23-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & II Level 3 no. 196
28164	5	19-6-84 Probe in Terraces I & III Level 2 no. 134
28171	170	6-7-84 Trench Trench Eta 48 Level 6b
28179	226	28-6-88 Trench Zeta 50 Level 1 no. 43
28182	165	11-7-91 Trench Lamda 47 Level 9 no. 10
28183	277	11-7-91 Trench Lamda 47 Level 9 no. 9
28184	248	15-7-91 Trench Epsilon 51 Level 4 no. 17
28185	119	19-7-91 Balk of Trenches Lamda 47/48 Level 6 no. 43
28189a	251	31-9-91 Trench Zeta 52 among fallen stones under Level 2 no. 79
28189b	251	6-5-03 Fill S/L 2003 Levels 11-13 from washing of pottery
28193	96	1992 Collapse of NW corner of Altar
28196	200	8-7-92 Room 18 Level 9 no. 31
28199	187	13-7-92 Conservation of wall in Balk Lamda 47/48 no. 53
28200	136	13-7-92 Trench Mu 47 Level 3 no. 46



HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
28203	252	24-7-92 Balk Trench Epsilon 50/51 Level 4 no. 86
28206	255	27-7-92 Trench Lamda 47 Level 10a no. 94
28214	249	28-7-92 Trench Lamda 47 south of wall Lamda 472 Level 6 no. 106
28230	259	1975 Trenches Nu 49-50 Level 5a
28644	195	27-7-93 Extension of Probe in Archaic Hearth Level 1E no. 152
28653	8	16-9-72 Level 8a cf. Level 2 (Pottery Lot 9)
28658	217	8-8-73 Trench Kappa 51 from cleaning of large wall 561 (with 20717)
28663	14	17-6-76 Area Lamda-Mu 50 Level 1B no. 90
28667	213	30-6-93 Trench Zeta 53 Level 6a no. 72
28669	197	24-6-93 Trench Zeta 53 Level 6 no. 50
30753	126	14-6-96 Section in C-D/1996 Level 17a no. 15
30754	154	13-6-95 Area between Altar and Buildings J & C/95 Fill over wall Lamda 491 Level 19 no. 7
30755	306	24-6-96 Probe in Buildings C-D/1996 Level 15d no. 100
31210	238	23-6-00 Surface find no. 100
31211	19	12-6-00 Fill under wall Lamda 474 Level 2 no. 12
31212	202	19-6-00 Area Theta 46-47 Level 9 no. 46
31213	89	15-6-00 Area Iota 46-47 Level 5 no. 28
31253	322	15-9-72 Level 8
31256	316	1997 Area Xi 53-54 Level 2a no. 46
31259	319	20-9-72 Level 23a
31262	323	13-7-73 Trench Iota 51 Level 6
31266	318	11-7-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 3
31269	315	19-7-75 Trench Kappa 49 Level 11
32162	247	8-8-73 Trench Mu49 Level 3
32163	180	27-6-85 Trench Xi 49 surface find no. 6
32165	64	9-10-90 From dirt of North side of Balk Nu/Xi 49 no. 18
32166	239	4-8-97 Conservation of Building C-D from sandy soil of east wall no. 28
32168	307	11-8-97 Surface find on Balk of Trenches Nu 51-52
32169	110	10-6-99 Trench Eta 47-48 Level 6 no. 8
32170	167	29-6-00 Area Iota 46-47 Level 9 no. 174
32171	111	15-7-02 Wall Mu 501/2002 Level 2 no. 22
32173	83	1972 Level 21 no. 613
32174	79	14-9-72 Level 1 no. 363
32175	74	11-8-73 Trench M48 Level 13
32176	75	21-7-76 Removal of retaining walls of Terraces I & II no. 14
32177	77	1977 Trench Mu48 no. 11
32178a	87	20-9-72 Level 21 no. 820
32178b	87	1973 Trench Lamda 48 Level 11 no. 410
32179	78	29-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 238

HM No.	Cat. No.	Context
32180a-b	86	4-7-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 8
32181	84	19-9-72 Level 18
32182	85	28-6-95 Blocking of East wall of Rooms 2/2A Cleaning of surface
32183	71	27-6-77 Area Mu/Nu 52-Mu/Nu 51 Level 5 no. 203
32184	320	12-9-72 Level 4 no. 266
32330	90	1991 Trench Lamda 47 Level 7a no. 11
32331	76	23-6-84 Trench Eta 49 no. 213

# UNCATALOGUED FRAGMENTS

20287	Body Frg.	17-9-72 between T2 and east end of T4 No. 688
20741	Body Frg.	10-7-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 2 No. 142
20742	Frg,	16-7-73 Level 2 No. 287
20749	Leg	18-8-73 Balk of Trenches Lamda 48/49 Level 3
21032	Muzzle	20-9-72 Level 25
21873	Body Frg.	1-7-77 Area Mu 51/52-Nu 51-52 Level 7 No. 276
27978	Leg	16-9-72 Level 13 No. 586 cf. 28056
27981	Leg	11-9-72 Level 1 Southwest part
27982	Leg	21-9-72 Level 24 No. 894a
27985	Mane	20-9-72 Level 26 south part
27990	Horns	1972 Level 1 No. 378
27992	Muzzle	1972 Level 26 South area
27993	Body Frg.	27-9-72 A' Level 37
27996	Head	19-9-72 Level 21
27997	Muzzle	14-9-72 Level 6
28000	Body Frg.	6-7-73 Trench Nu 49 Level 5
28001	Bird's head?	1973 From sieving
28002	Horn?	17-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 5
28004	Body Frg.	12-7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 6
28005	Leg	1973 No context
28006	Horn	31-7-73 Balk of Trenches Kappa 51/52 Level 2
28008	Leg	1973 Trench Kappa 52 Level 6
28009	Horn	1973 Trench Mu 51 Level 9
28010	Horn	16-7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 9 No. 277
28011	Horn	12-7-73 Trench Lamda 52 Level 4
28012	Leg	1973 Trench Nu 52 Level 7
28013	Horn	4-8-73 Trench Lamda 51 Level 6
28014	Leg	2-8-73 Balk of Trenches Lamda/Mu 51 Level 3
28015	Horn	23-7-73 Trench Kappa 52 Level 9
28016	Horn	23-7-73 Trench Kappa 52 Level 9
28018	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 51 Level 6
28019	Leg	1973 North Balk of Trench Mu 51 Level 4
28020	Leg	1973 Area Lamda/Mu 51 Level 3
28021	Leg	1973 No context
28022	Leg	1973 No context
28023	Leg	1973 No context
28024	Horn	13-8-73 South of Large Structure
28025	Horn	1973 Trench Kappa 51 Level 5
28026	Horn	13-7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 7 No. 225
28027	Leg	27-6-73 No context No. 17
28028	Leg	18-7-73 Trench Nu 52 Level 7
28029	Leg	1973 Trenches Kappa & Lamda 51 Level 2; pair of 28030
28030	Leg	1973 Trench Kappa & Lamda 51 Level 2; pair of 28029

28031	Leg	10-8-73 Trench Mu 48 Level 12 No. 596
28032	Leg	1973 Level 8 cf. Level 4a
28033	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 49 Level 3
28034	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 49 Level 3
28035	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 49 Level 3
28036	Leg	4-7-73 Trench Omicron 49 Level 7 No. 74
28037	Leg	25 to 30-7-73 no context
28038	Leg	1973 Trench Lamda 48 Level 12
28039	Leg	1973 Trench Iota 51 Level 3
28040	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 48 Level 12
28041	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 48 Level 12
28042	Horn	1973 Mu 48 Level 12
28043	Horn	13-8-73 delta cf. Level 4a
28044	Leg	13-8-73 delta cf. Level 4a
28045	Leg	13-8-73 delta cf. Level 4a
28046	Leg?	13-8-73 delta cf. Level 4a
28050	Horn	1973 Trench Lamda 48 Level 13
28051	Leg	1973 no context
28052	Leg	1973 no context
28053	Leg	26 to 30-6-73 no context
28054	Leg	16-7-73 Trench Mu 51 Level 9
28055	Leg	1973 No context
28056	Leg	5-7-73 Trench Nu 51 Level 1
28057	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 48 Level 11
28058	Leg	1973 Trench Mu 48 Level 12
28960	Body Frg.	2-8-73 Balk of Trenches Lamda/Mu 51
28062	Body Frg.	9-8-74 Balk of Trenches Iota 48/49 Level 3
28063	Body Frg.	10-8-74 Trench Iota 49 Level 8
28065	Leg	1974 no context
28066	Body Frg.	26-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9a No. 231
28067	Body Frg.	23-7-75 Trench Kappa 49 Level 15 No. 184
28070	Muzzle	26-7-75 Trench Nu 52 Level 9a No. 232
28071	Leg	1975 Trench Nu 49 Level 3
28072	Muzzle	11-6-76 On Terrace II between Lamda 52 and Kappa 51 No. 4
28074	Leg	13-6-76 Area Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1 No. 15
28075	Horn	14-6-76 Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1 No. 21
28076	Horn	15-6-76 Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1 No. 49
28077	Horn	15-6-76 Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1 No. 59
28080	Horn	22-6-76 Lamda/Mu 50 Level 3 No. 168
28084	Horn	1976 Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1B No. 90
28085	Horn	1976 Lamda/Mu 50 Level 1B No. 90
28087	Body Frg.	10-6-77 Balk Xi 50-51-Omicron 49/50 Level 4 No. 41
28090	Horn	27-6-77 Area Mu 51/52 -Nu 51-52 Level 2
28093	Leg	2-7-77 Area Mu 51/52 -Nu 51-52 Level 7 No. 319
28094	Leg	4-7-77 Area Mu 51/52 -Nu 51-52 Level 7
28097	Leg	1977 Area Iota 51 North Part Level 2 No. 127



28098	Leg ?	30-6-77 Area Mu 51/52 -Nu 51-52 Level 5 No. 248
28099	Horn	1-7-77 Area Mu 51/52 -Nu 51-52 Level 7
28100	Horn ?	25-6-77 Area Mu 51/52 -Nu 51-52 Level 2 No. 179
28101	Horn	14-6-77 Area Kappa/Lamda 51 Terrace II Level 8
28102	Horn	13-6-77 Area Kappa/Lamda 51 Terrace II Level 5
28115	Tail	12-8-81 North Balk of Trench Lamda 53 Level 2
28116	Leg	20-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 No. 141
28117	Leg	15-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 No. 68
28118	Leg	17-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 No. 83
28119	Horn ?	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 No. 126
28120	Leg	15-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2 No. 63
28121	Horn	17-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 No. 78
28122	Leg	18-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 3 No. 74
28123	Horn	15-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 2
28124	Horn	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6
28125	Leg	19-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6
28126	Horn	10-8-81 Trench Lamda 53 Level 2 Removal of retaining wall
28127	Horn	20-8-81 Probe in Terrace III Level 6 No. 140
28128	Leg	1981 Probe in Terrace III Level 2
28136	Body Frg.	9-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 6 No. 122
28140	Leg	6-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 4 No. 61
28142	Leg	5-7-83 Probe in Terrace III Level 3b No. 47; pair of 28160
28143	Horn	7-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 6 No. 86
28144	Leg	9-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 6 No. 114
28146	Leg ?	9-7-83 Probe in Terrace II Level 6 No. 115
28156	Horn	6-6-84 Terrace I, Surface Find No. 2
28157	Leg	21-6-84 Trench Xi 51 48 Level 3
28159	Leg	5-7-84 Trench Eta 48 Level 6b No. 279
28160	Leg	20-6-84 Probe in Terraces I-II Level 2 No. 161; pair of 28142
28161	Leg	23-6-84 Trench Theta 49 & Balk of Trench Omicron 48/49 Level 1 No. 207
28162	Horn	19-6-84 Probe in Terraces I-II Level 2
28163	Leg	9-7-84 Trench Eta 48 Level 8 No. 293
28165	Horn ?	20-6-84 Probe in Terraces I-II Level 2 No. 157
28166	Body Frg.	8-6-84 Probe in Terrace I Level 2 No. 27
28167	Horn	15-6-84 Probe in Terraces I-II Level 1 No. 78
28168	Leg ?	5-7-84 Trench Eta 48 Level 6
28169	Horn	7-6-84 Probe in Terrace I Level 1 No. 15; pair of 28659
28180	Horn ?	29-6-88 Trench Zeta 50 Level 2
28186	Horn	26-7-91 Trench Lamda 46 Level 3 No. 66; pair of 28187
28187	Horn	26-7-91 Trench Lamda 46 Level 3 No. 67; pair of 28186
28188	Horn	31-7-91 Trench Kappa 46 Level 5 No. 81
28190	Horn	2-8-91 Trench Kappa 46 Level 6 No. 89
28191	Horn	8-8-91 Balk Iota/Kappa 47 Level 9 No. 139
28192	Horn	17/18-7-91 Balk Zeta/Eta 49 Level 1
28194	Horn	1-7-92 Area between Bldg. Q & Altar no context No. 2

28197	Horn	9-7-92 Trench Delta 49 Level 4 No. 35
28201	Horn	22-7-92 Balk Iota/Mu 47 Level 4 No. 73
28202	Horn	23-7-92 Balk Iota/Mu 47 & NE corner Iota 47 Level 4 No. 81
28207	Horn	29-7-92 Trench Iota 47 Level 6 No. 118
28209	Horn	30-7-92 Trench Iota 47 Level 10 No. 126; pair of 28210
28210	Horn	30-7-92 Trench Iota 47 Level 10 No. 127; pair of 28209
28211	Horn	31-7-92 Trench Iota 47 Level 11 West part No. 135
28213	Horn	7-8-92 Under stones of Iota 461/471 South part Level 4
28651	Body Frg.	7-9-72 Level 1 East part
28652	Body Frg.	9-9-72 Level 20
28655	Head	27-9-72 A' Level 37
28656	Head	27-9-72 A' Level 37
28665	Muzzle	1977 Area Mu/Nu 51-Mu /Nu52 Level 7 no. 290

	OLYMPIA	SAMOS	PYXIDES		ATTICA	CRETE	
900			EG I	900	EG I	MPG	900
875	EG I	LPG	EG II	875	EG II	LPG	870
850				850			840
	EG II	EG I-II	'Severe' G I		MG I	PGB	
800				800		EG	810
	'Mature' G I-II	MG I-II	'Severe' G II		MG II	MG	790
			'Mature' G I	760	LG Ia		
750			'Mature' G II	750	LG Ib	LG	745
	LG I-II	LG I-II	SG I		LG IIa		
			SG II		LG IIb	Transitional	710
700				700			700
					EPA	EO	
	Subgeometric/ Proto-Archaic			675	MPA		
650				650		LO	650
							630

Table A. Correlated Chronologies of Zoomorphic Terracottas from Olympia (after Heilmeyer 1972, Table a) and Samos (after Jarosch 1994, 4, 53), Athenian pyxides (after Bohen 1988, 4) and the pottery from Attica and Crete (after Coldstream 1968, 330) between 900 and 630.

	1000-900		900-800		800-750		750-700		700-650		Post 650		TOTALS	
HORSES	Ol	2	Ol	22	Ol	343	Ol	160	Ol	3	Ol	45	Ol	575
	Sa	0	Sa	3	Sa	5	Sa	34	Sa	47	Sa	0	Sa	89
	Sy	0	Sy	6	Sy	17	Sy	33	Sy	15	Sy	0	Sy	71
CATTLE	Ol	13	Ol	19	Ol	94	Ol	57	Ol	9	Ol	13	Ol	205
	Sa	0	Sa	5	Sa	7	Sa	17	Sa	19	Sa	0	Sa	48
	Sy	0	Sy	1	Sy	15	Sy	34	Sy	13	Sy	3	Sy	66
SHEEP	Ol	1	Ol	8	Ol	41	Ol	30	Ol	0	Ol	1	Ol	81
	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	1	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	1
	Sy	0	Sy	1	Sy	5	Sy	11	Sy	8	Sy	1	Sy	26
GOATS	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	0
	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	0	Sa	0
	Sy	0	Sy	1	Sy	3	Sy	5	Sy	2	Sy	0	Sy	11
TOTALS	Ol	16	Ol	49	Ol	478	Ol	247	Ol	12	Ol	59	Ol	861
	Sa	0	Sa	8	Sa	13	Sa	51	Sa	66	Sa	0	Sa	138
	Sy	0	Sy	9	Sy	40	Sy	83	Sy	38	Sy	4	Sy	174

Table B. Chronological Distribution of Zoomorphic Terracottas from Olympia (Ol), Samos (Sa) and Syme (Sy).

	925-900		900-800		800-750		750-700		700-650		Post 650		TOTALS	
HORSES	Ol	0	Ol	52	Ol	201	Ol	144	Ol	9	Ol	2	Ol	408
	Sy	0	Sy	0	Sy	0	Sy	3	Sy	0	Sy	1	Sy	4
CATTLE	Ol	0	Ol	27	Ol	233	Ol	153	Ol	19	Ol	4	Ol	436
	Sy	23	Sy	49	Sy	83	Sy	113	Sy	57	Sy	0	Sy	325
SHEEP	Ol	0	Ol	2	Ol	0	Ol	1	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	3
	Sy	7	Sy	88	Sy	32	Sy	30	Sy	20	Sy	0	Sy	177
GOATS	Ol	0	Ol	1	Ol	1	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	0	Ol	2
	Sy	0	Sy	0	Sy	0	Sy	12	Sy	9	Sy	0	Sy	21
TOTALS	Ol	0	Ol	82	Ol	435	Ol	298	Ol	28	Ol	6	Ol	849
	Sy	30	Sy	137	Sy	115	Sy	158	Sy	86	Sy	1	Sy	527

Table C. Chronological Distribution of Bronze Zoomorphic Figurines from Olympia (Ol) and Syme (Sy).



# FIGURES



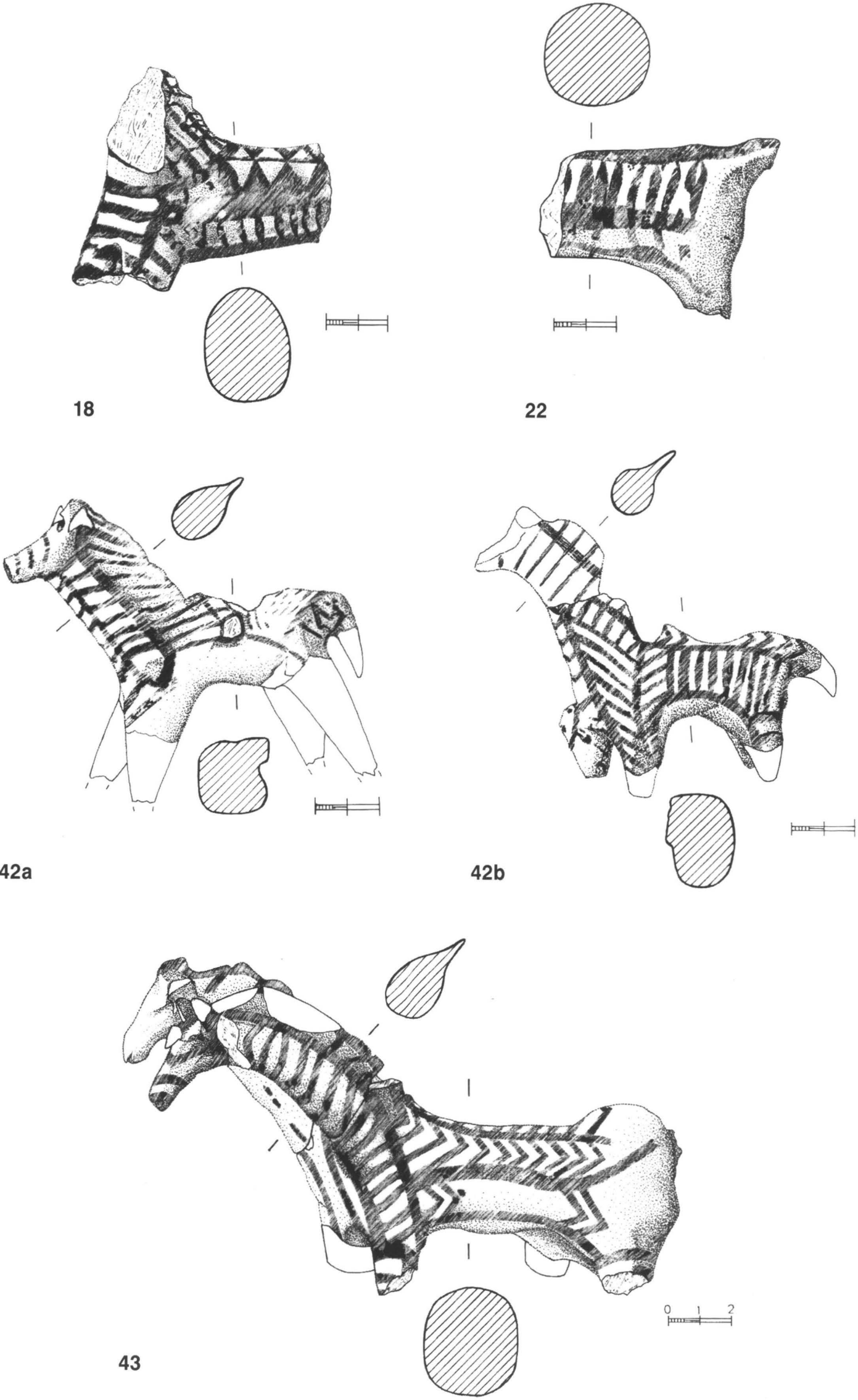
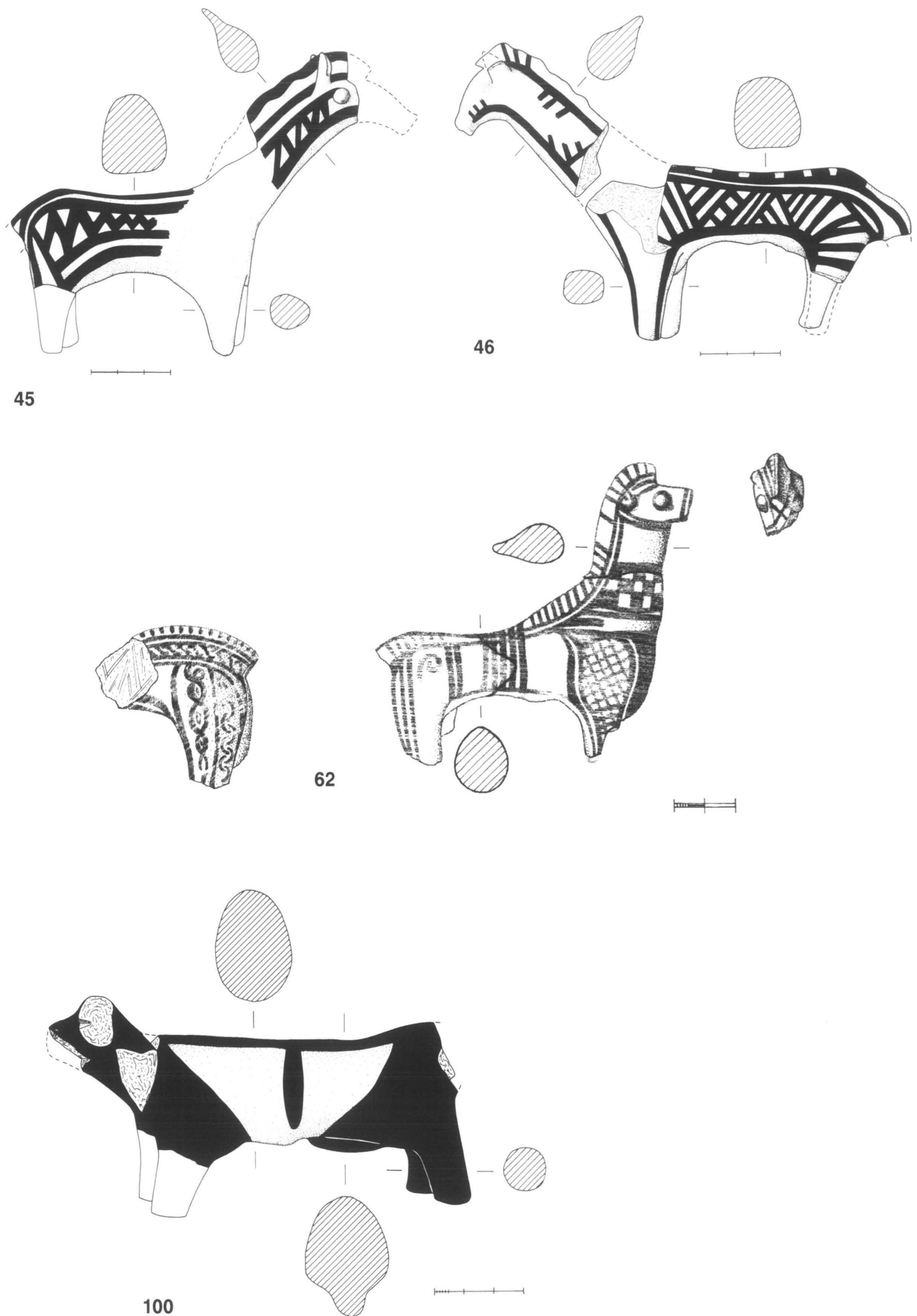
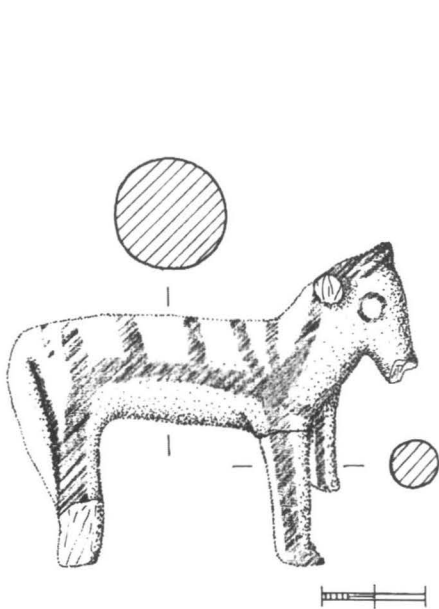


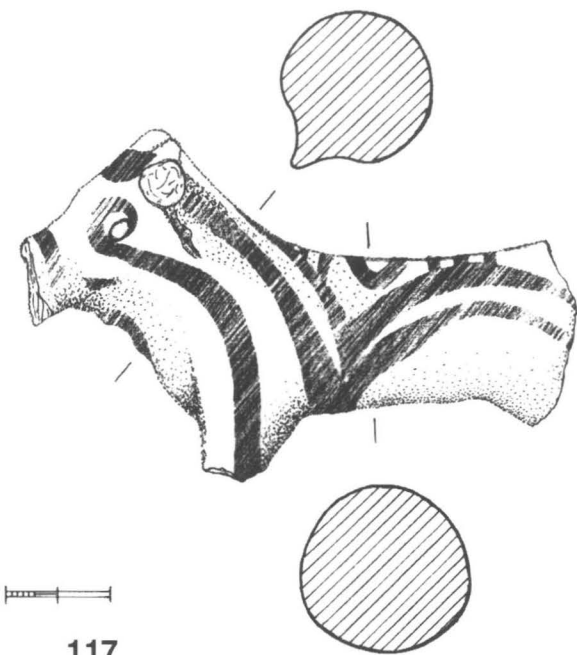
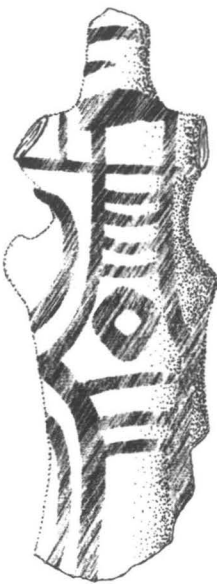
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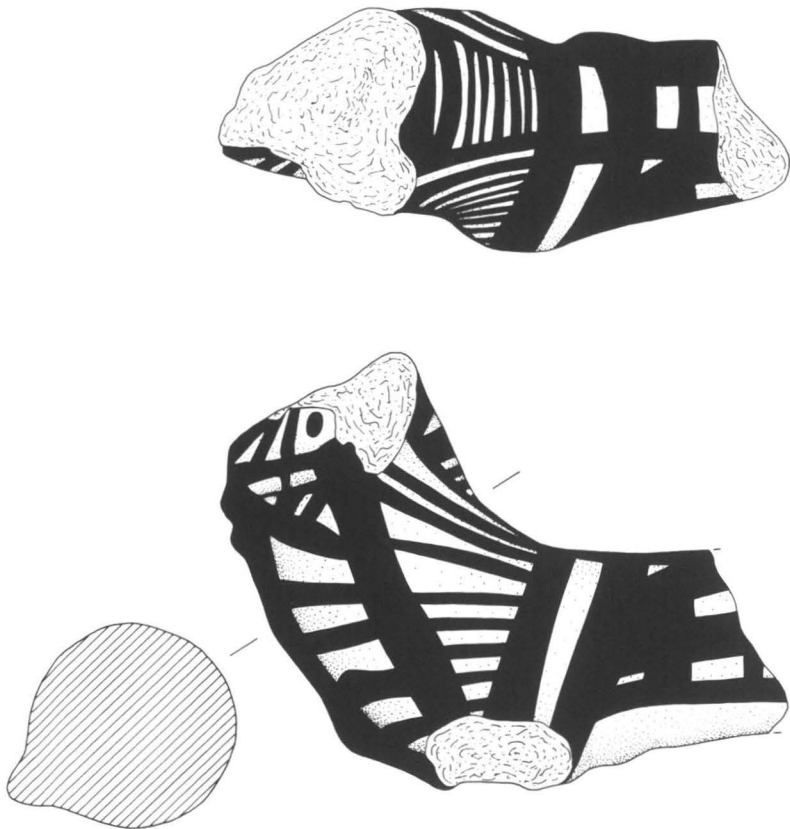




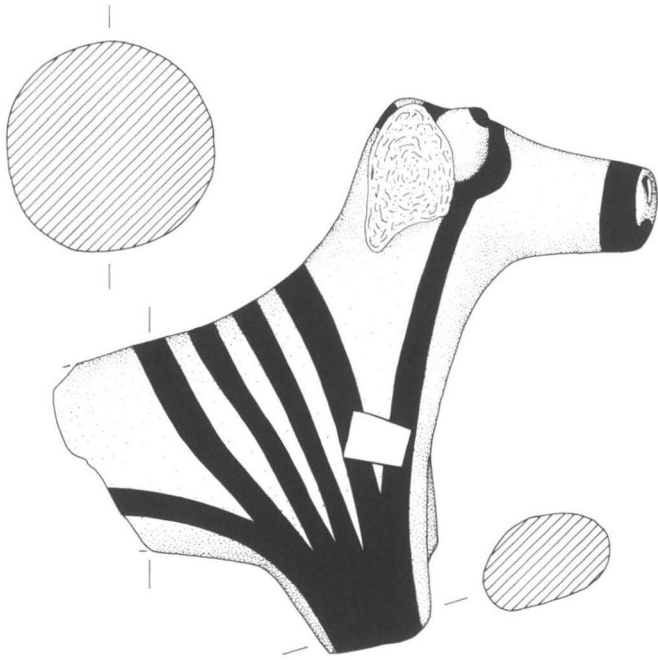
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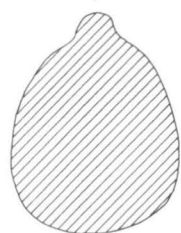
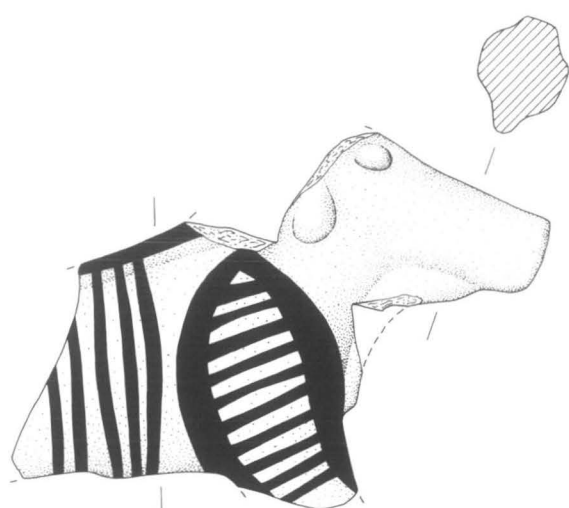


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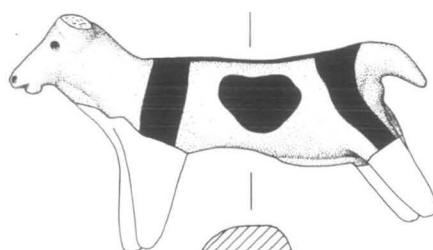


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FIGURE 4



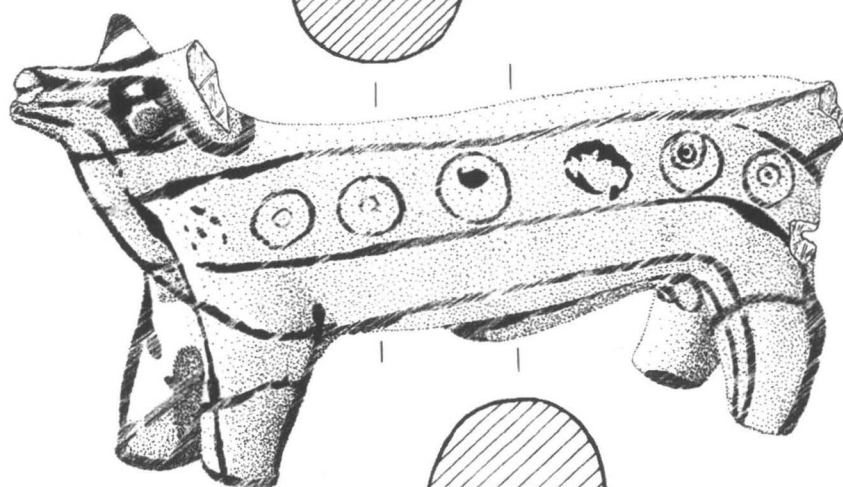
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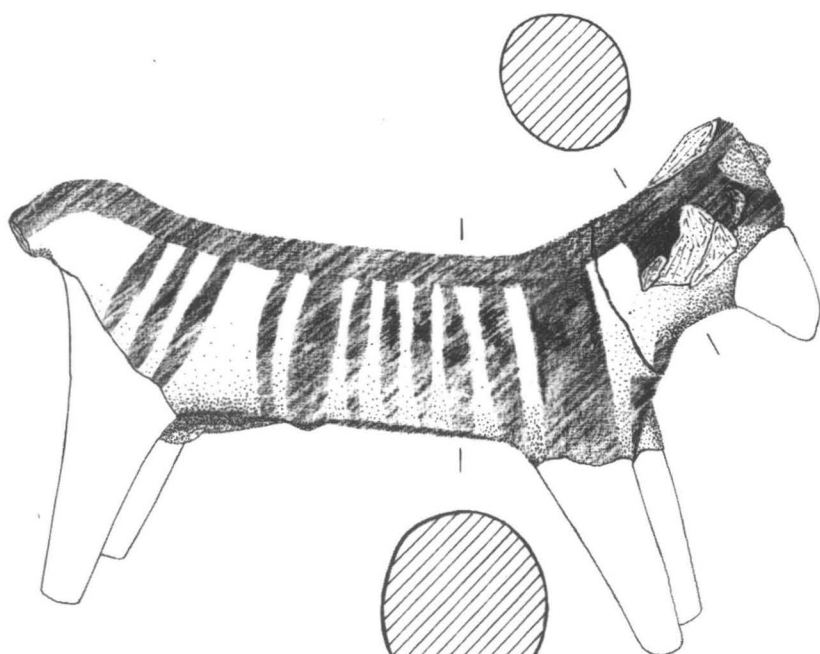
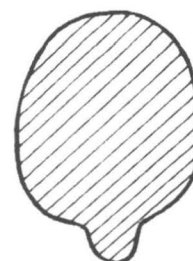
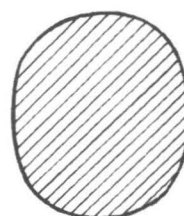
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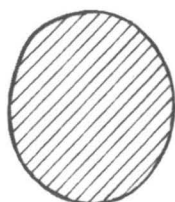
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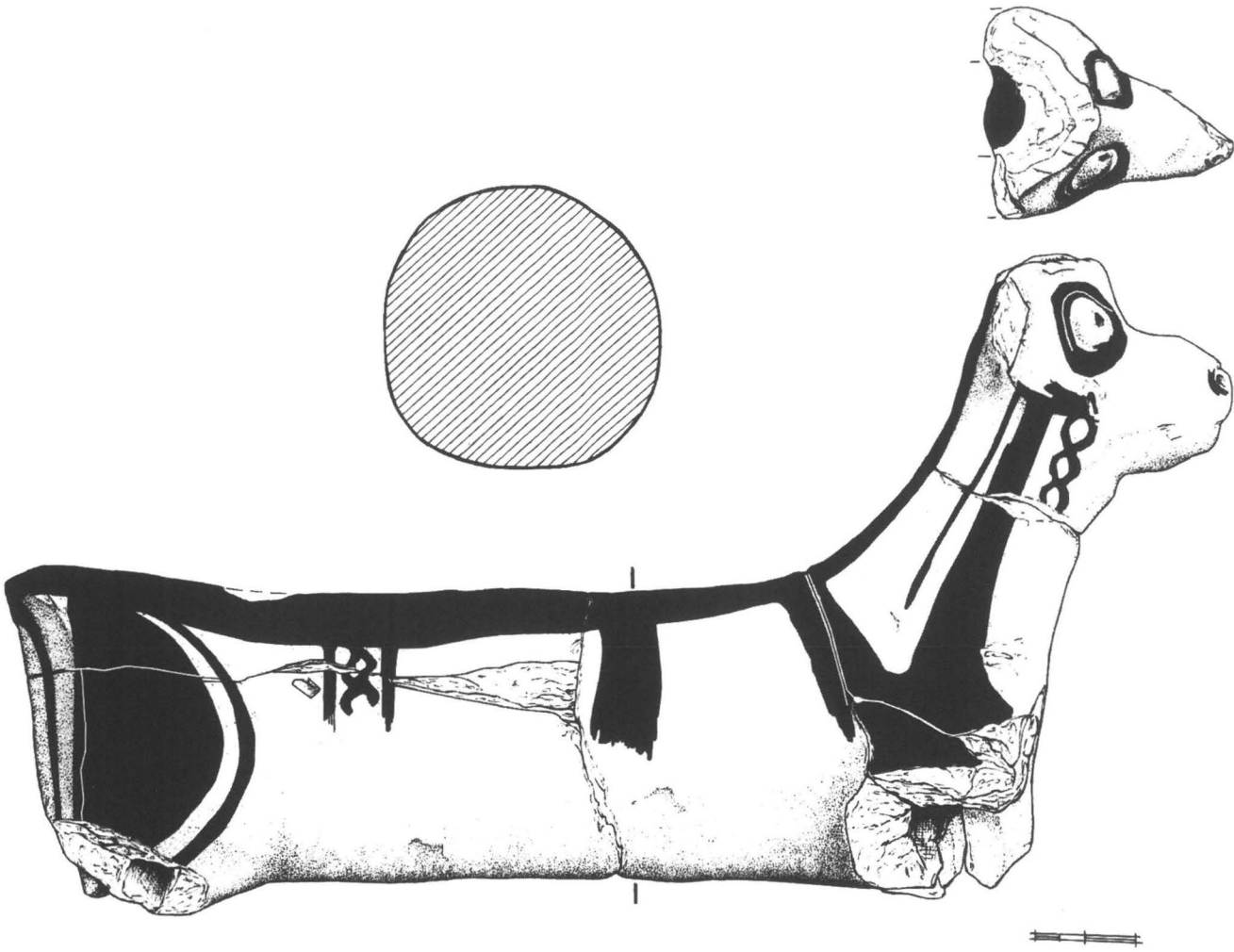


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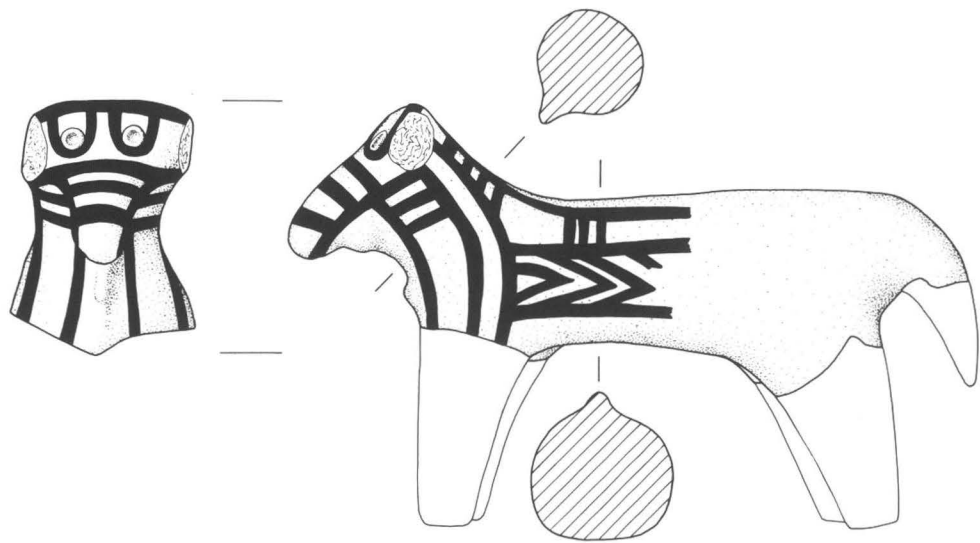


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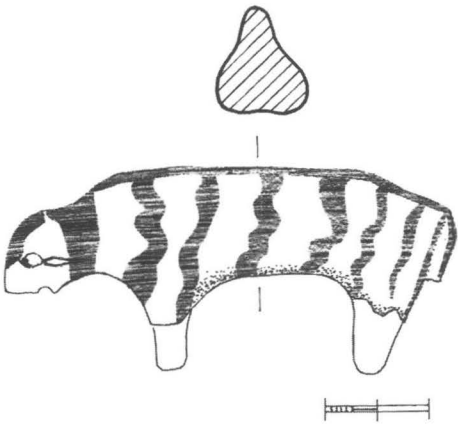




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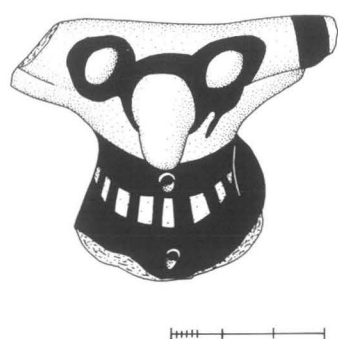
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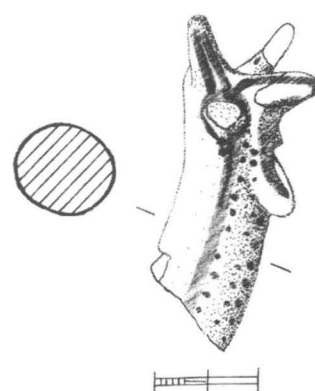
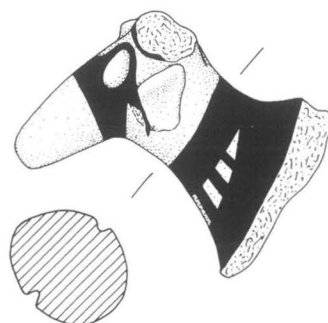
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FIGURE 6

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# PLATES





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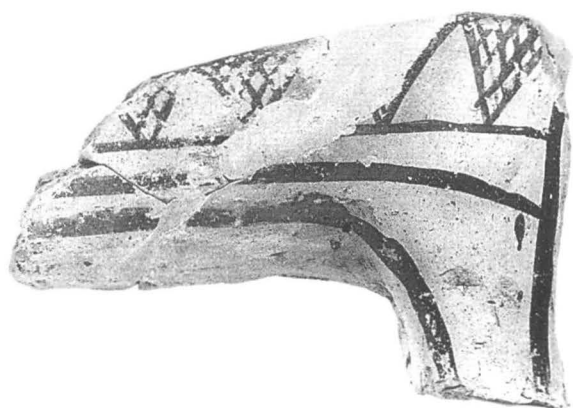


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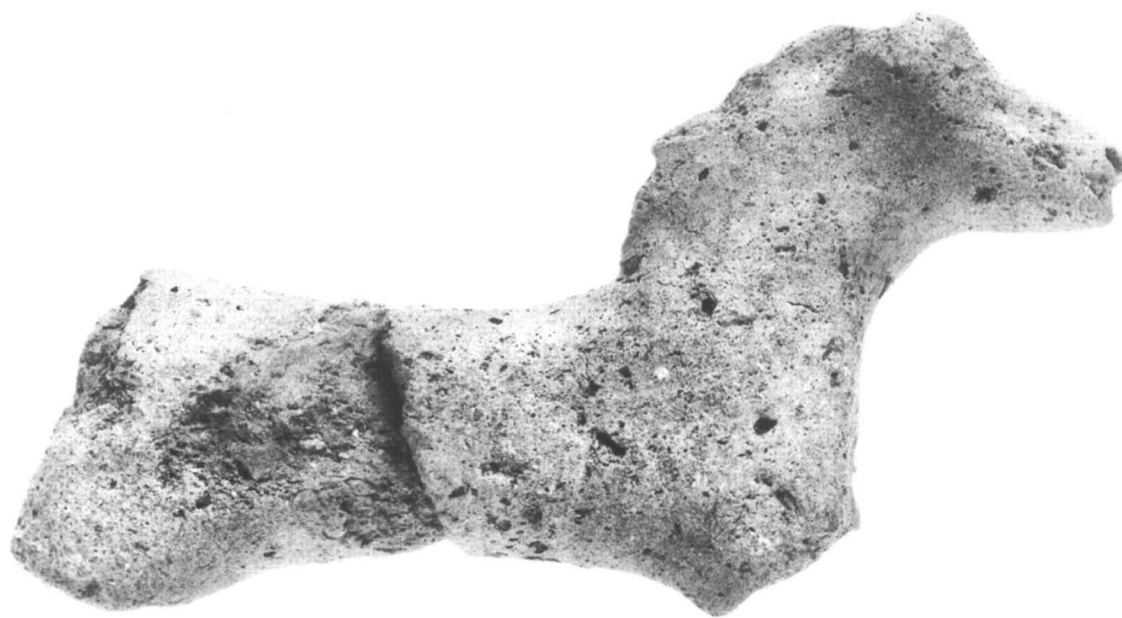
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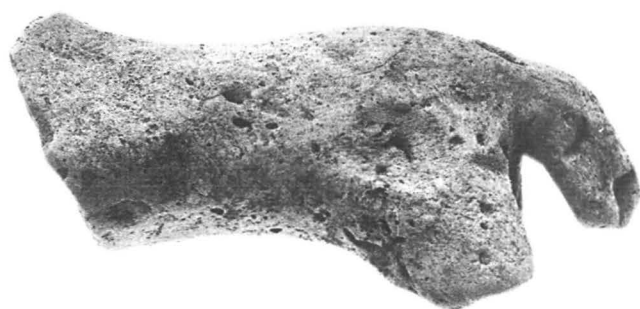
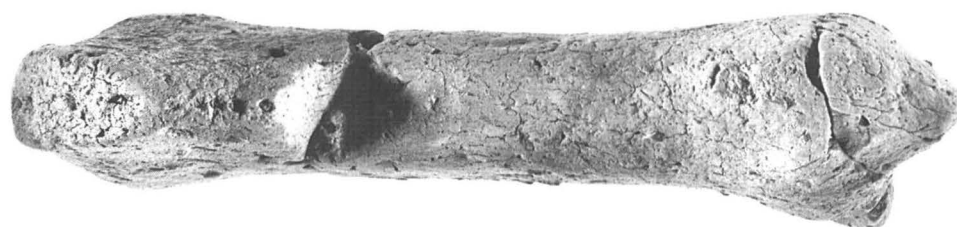
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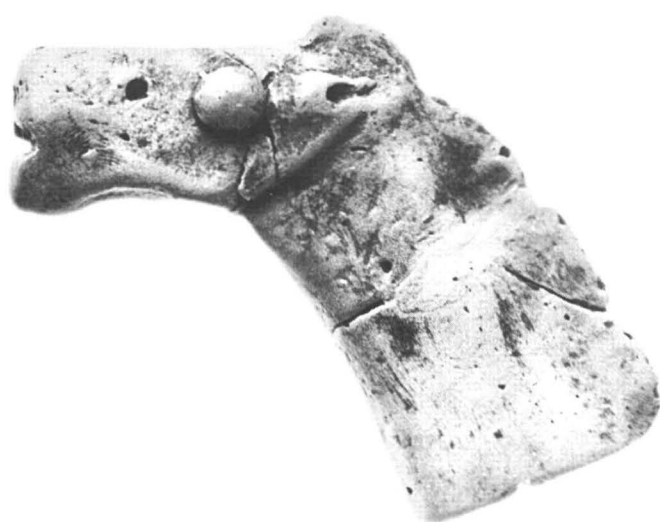
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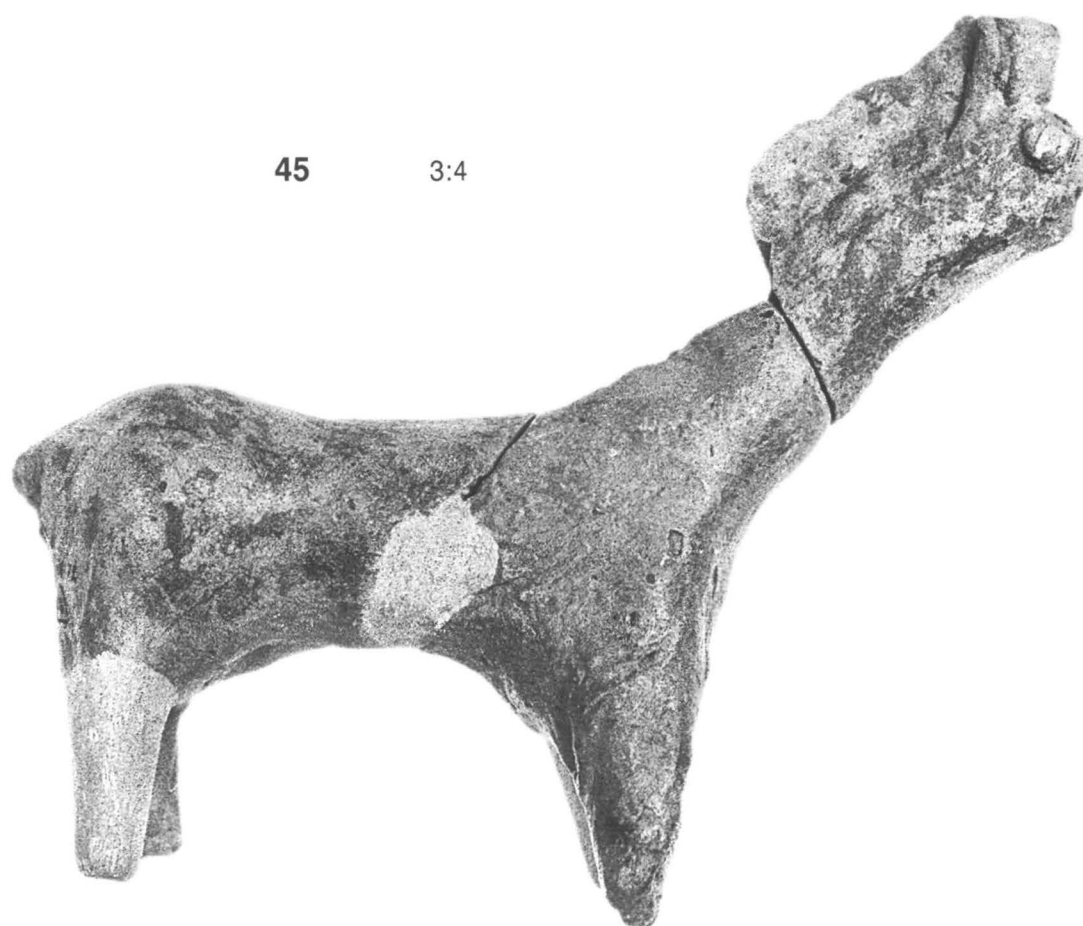
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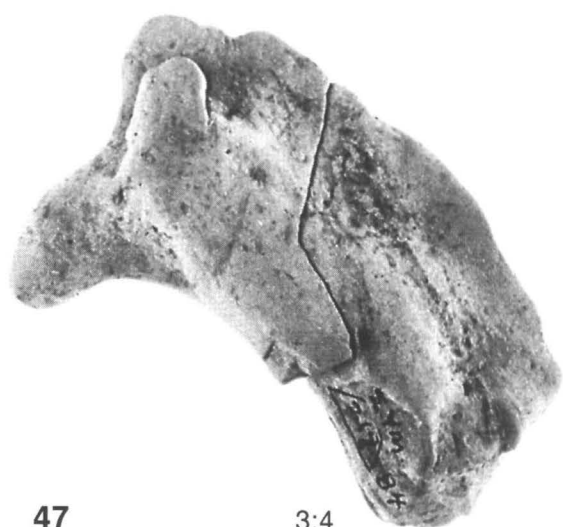




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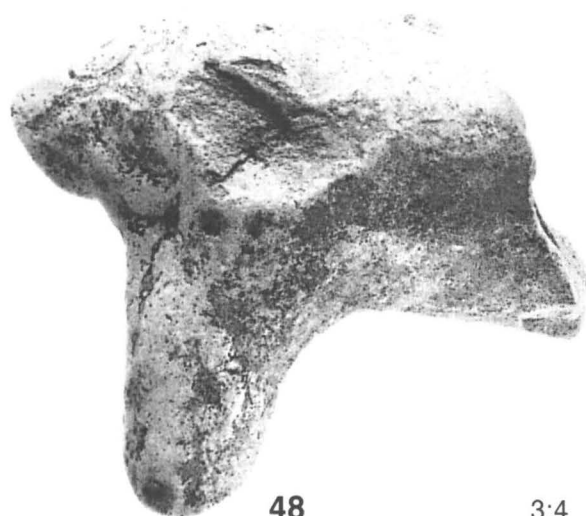


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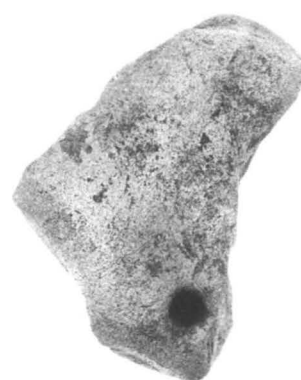
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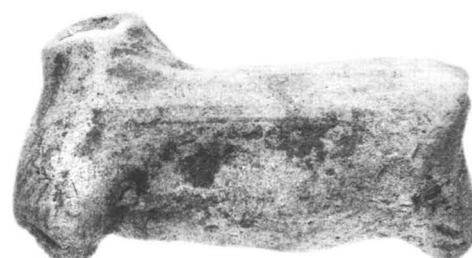


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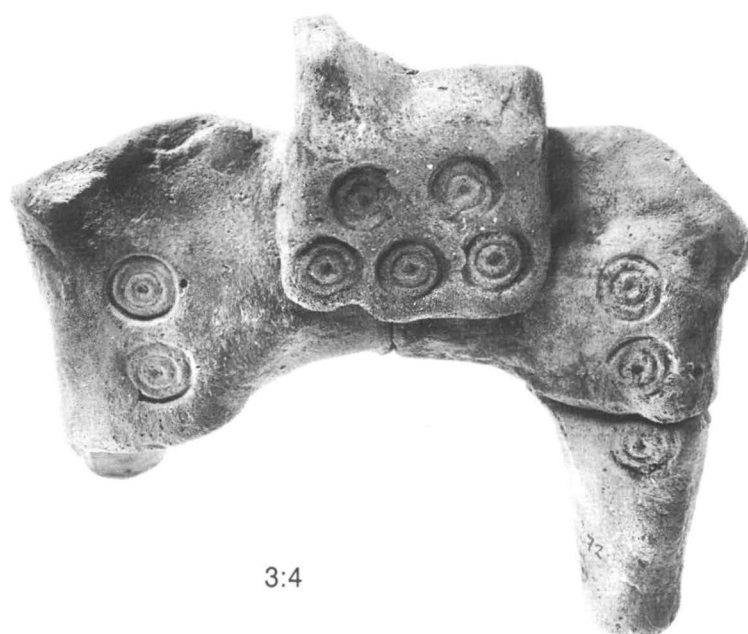


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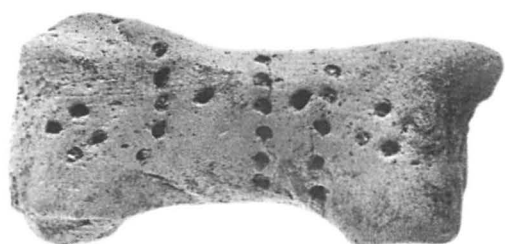
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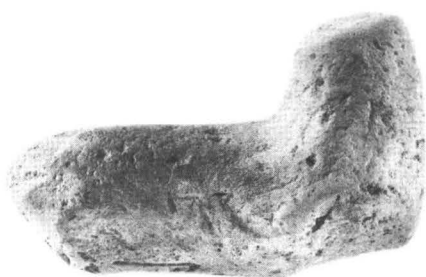
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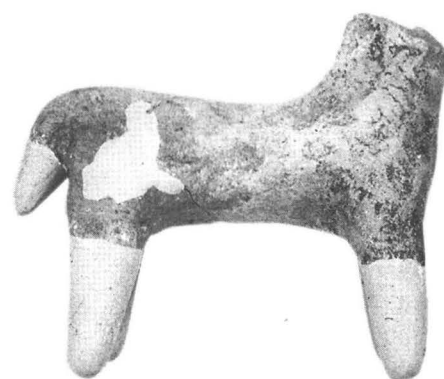
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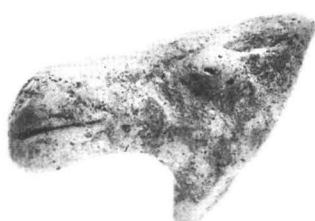
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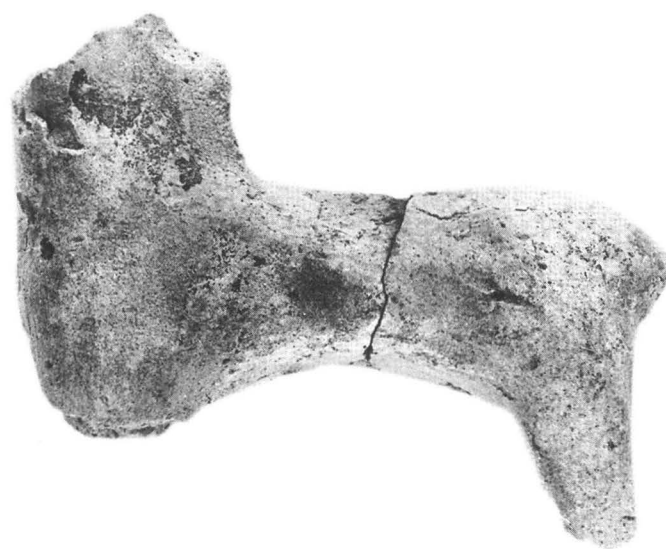
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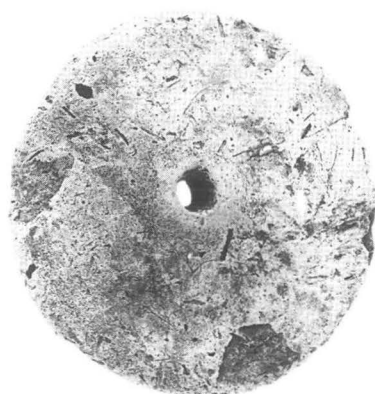
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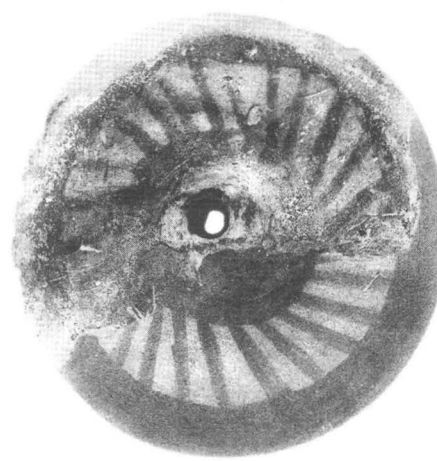
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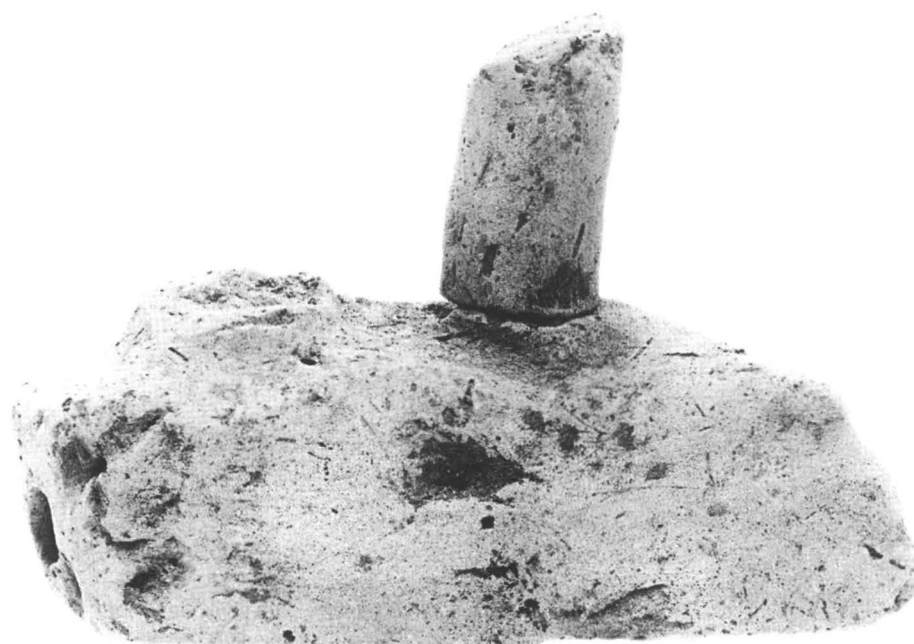
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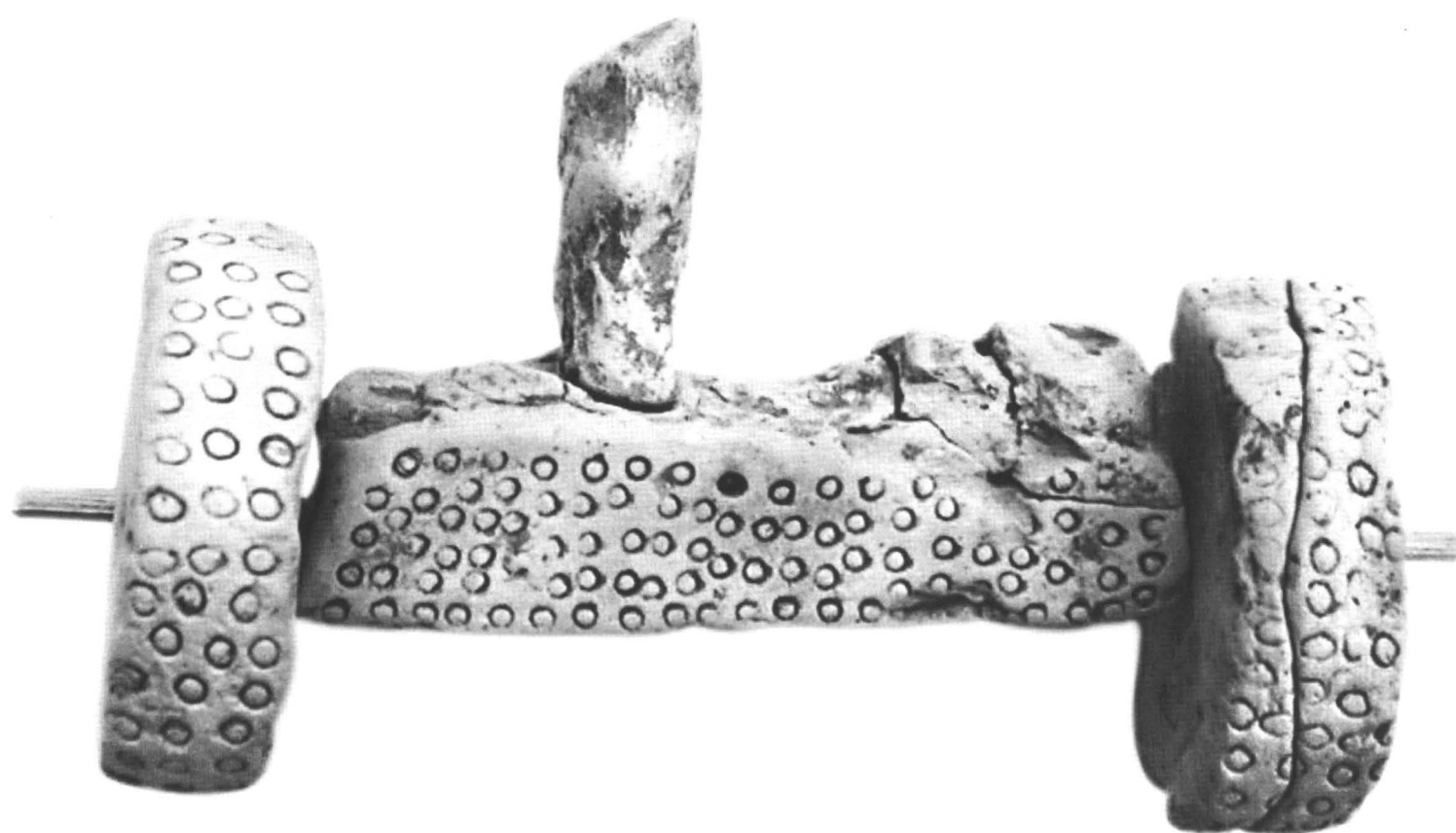
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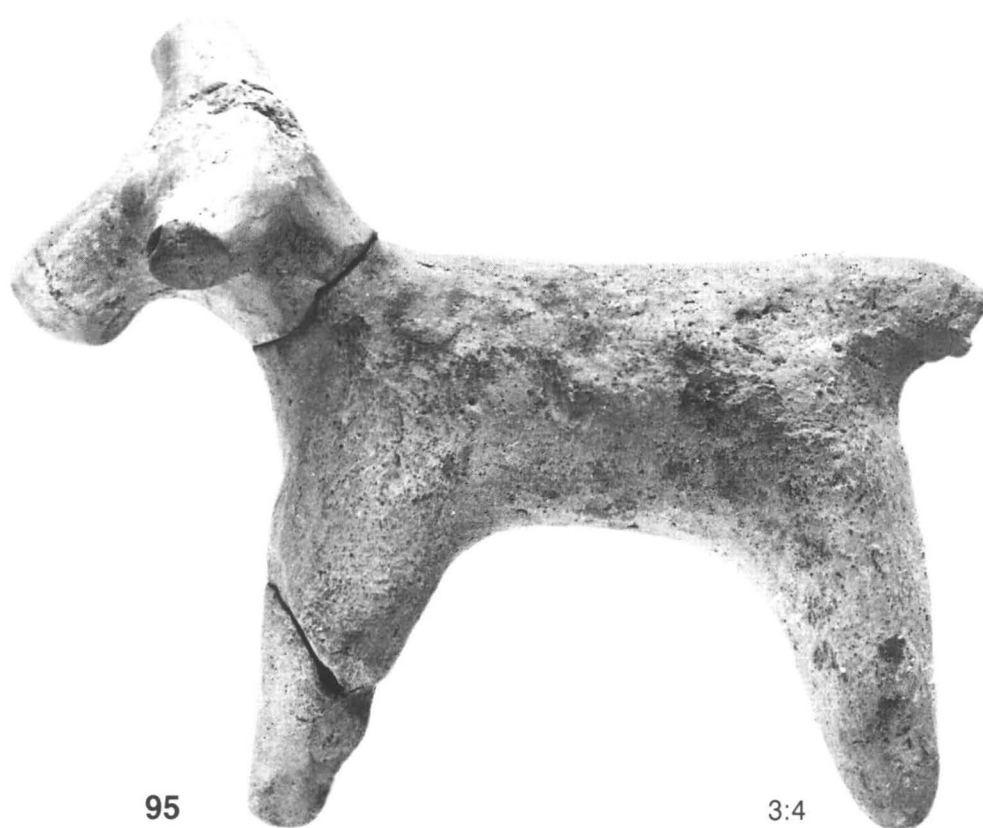
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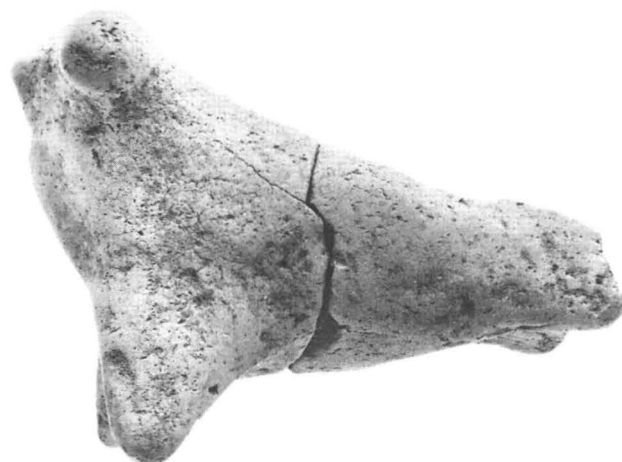


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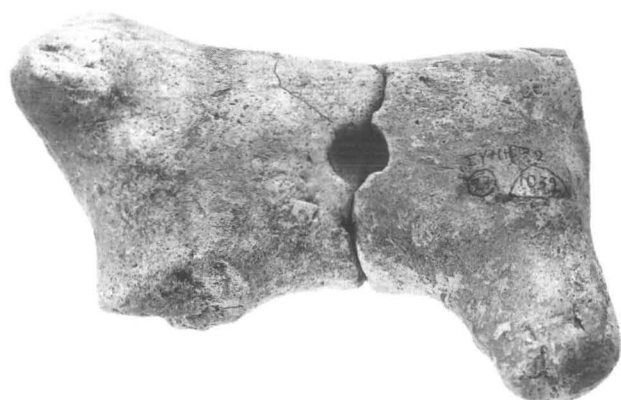
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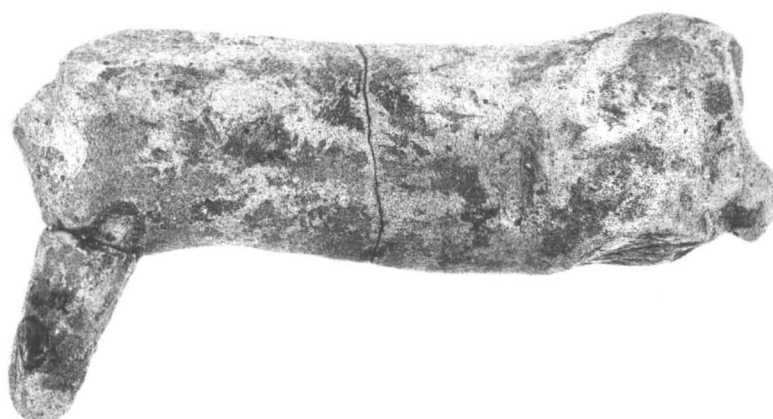
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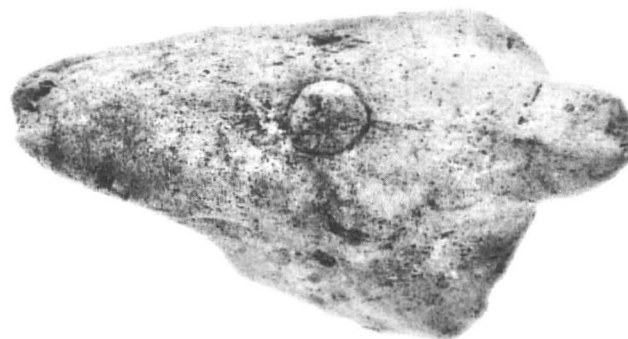
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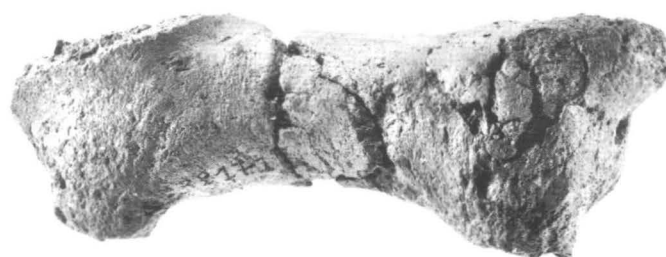
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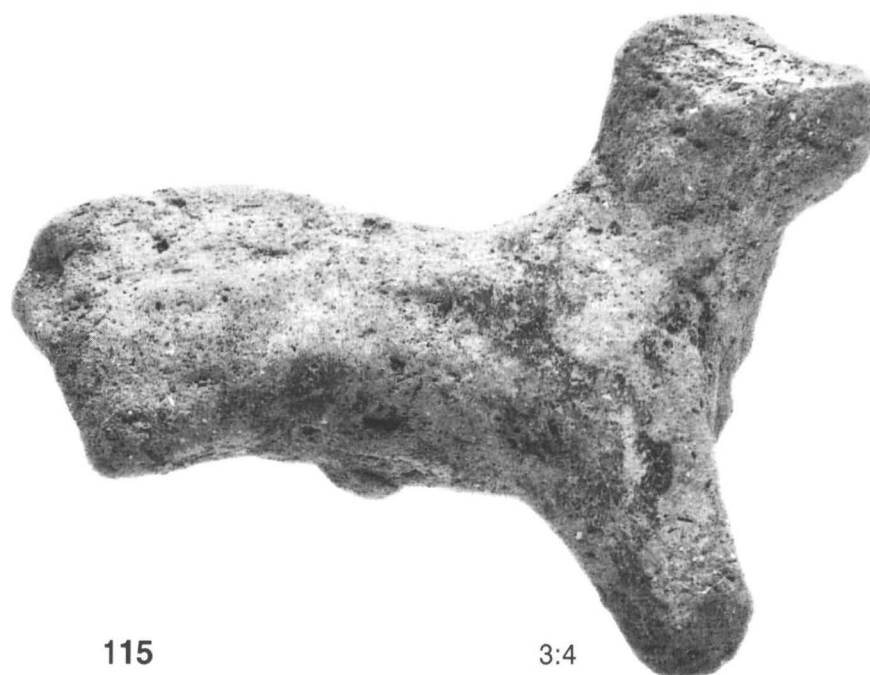
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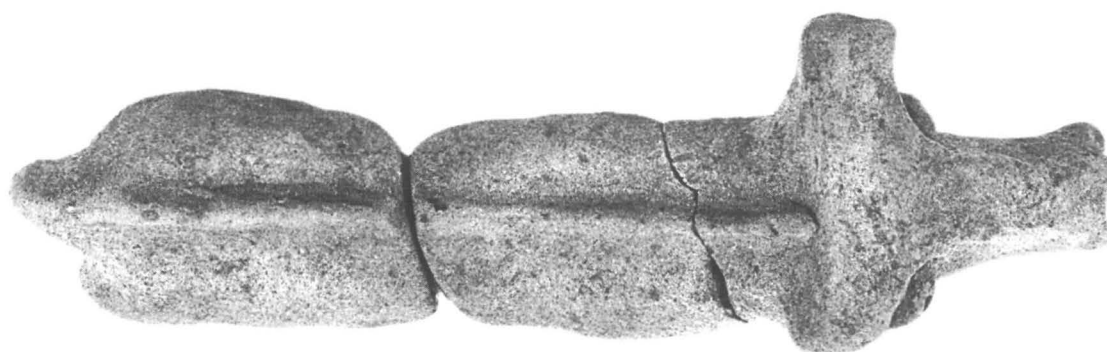
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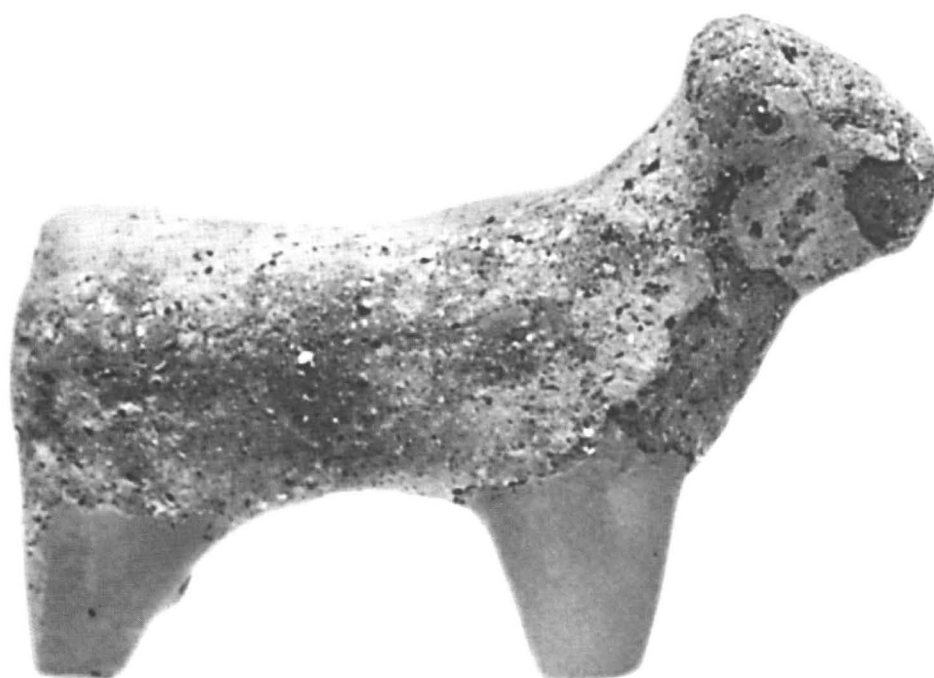
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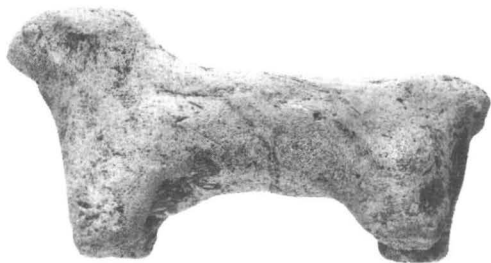
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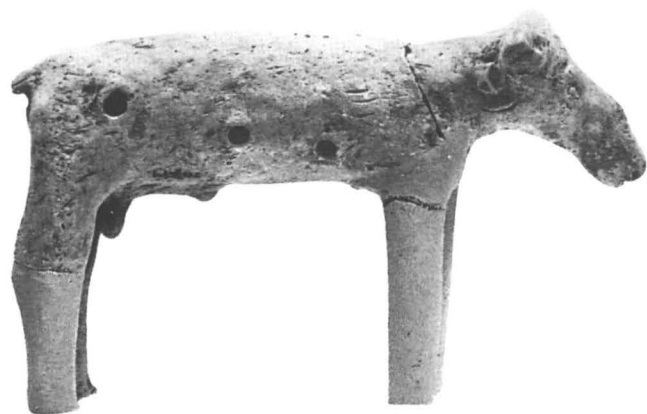
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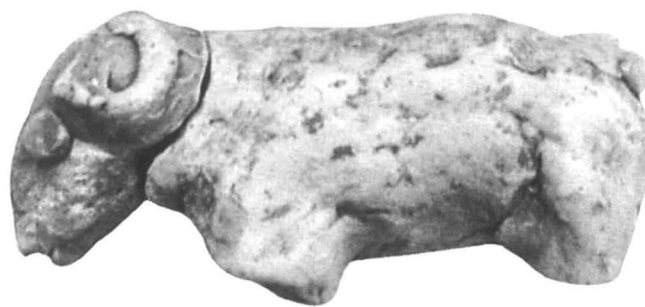
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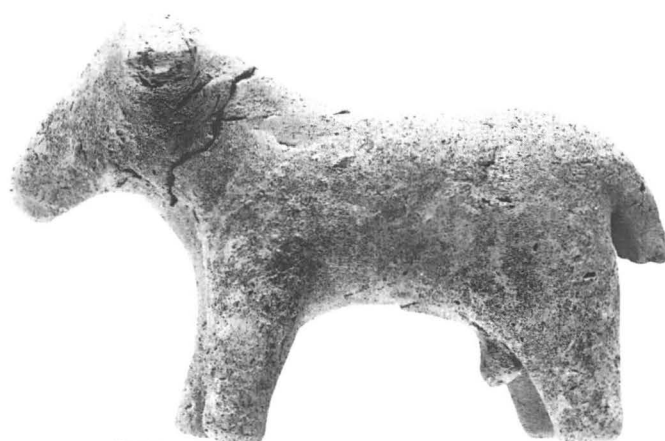
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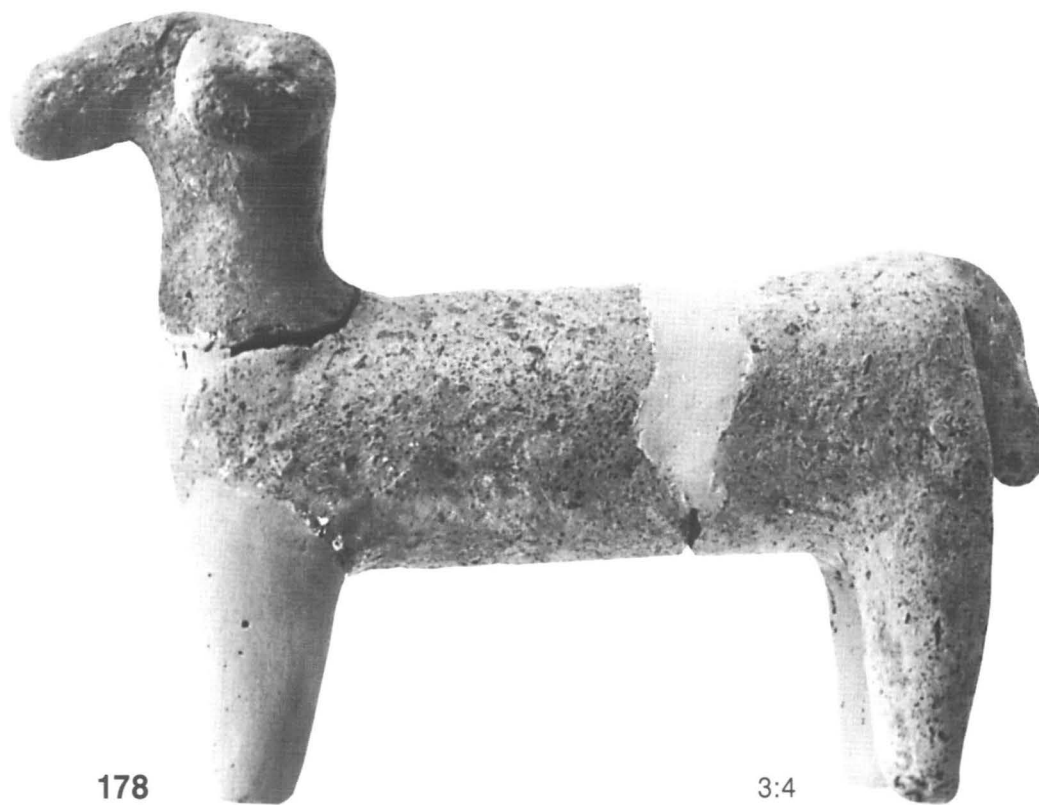
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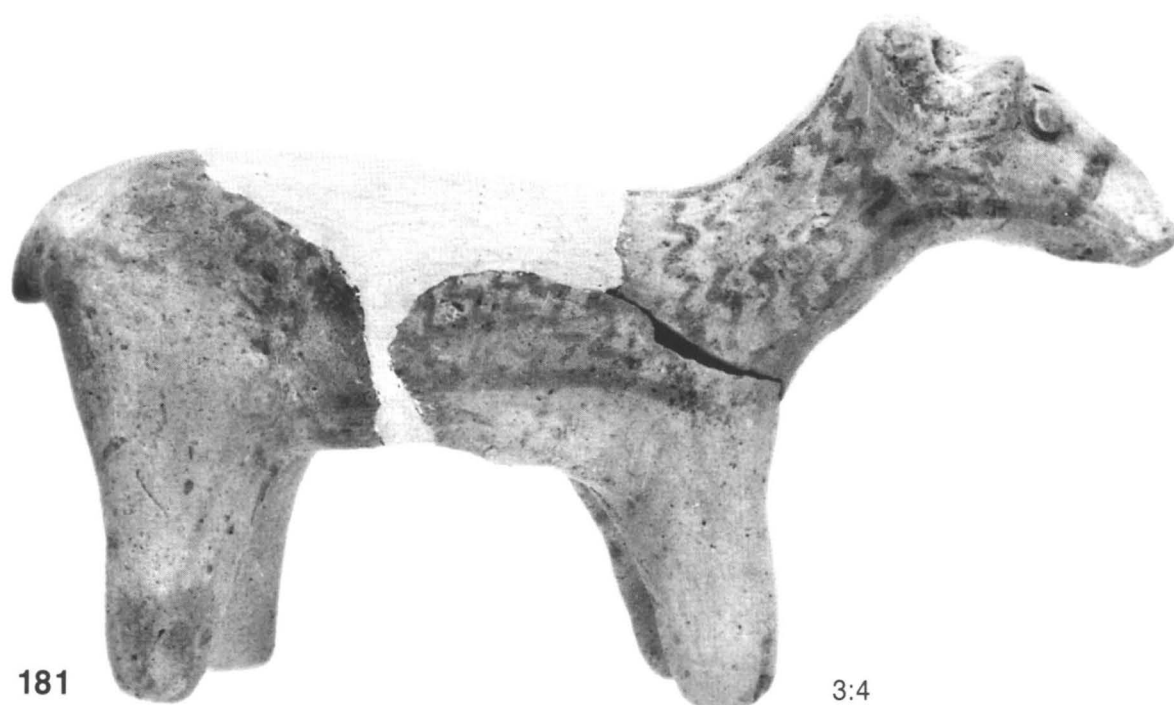
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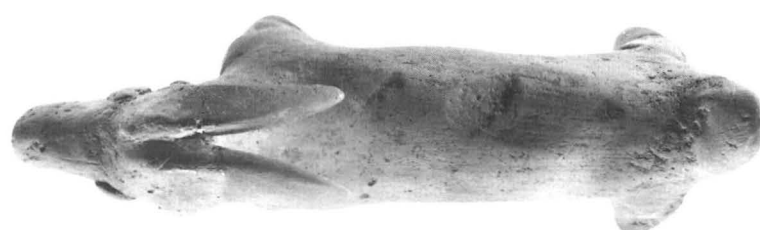
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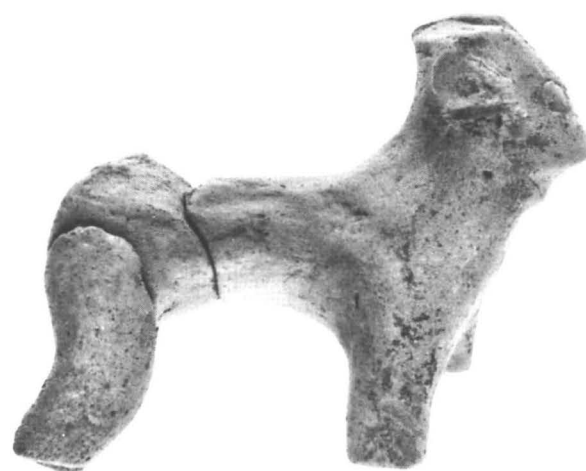
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Bronze goat from Syme  
(after Schürmann 1996,  
pl. 21 no. 229).



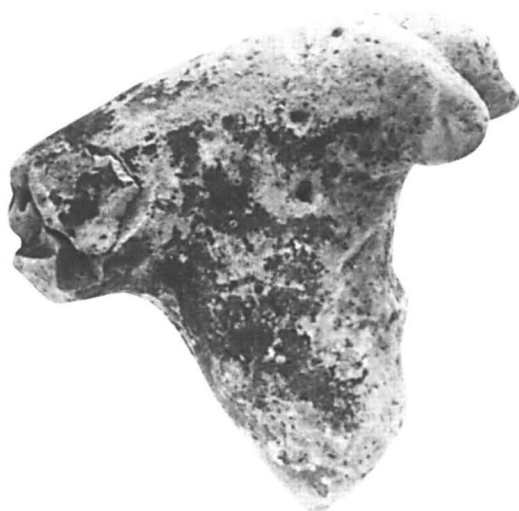
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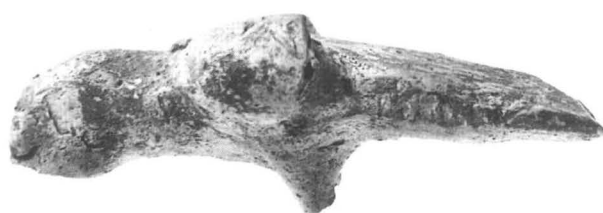
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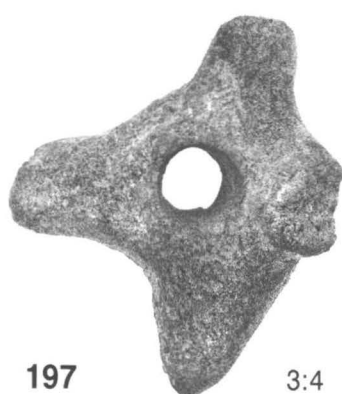
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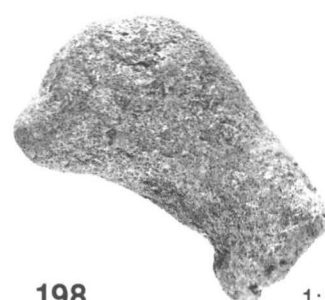
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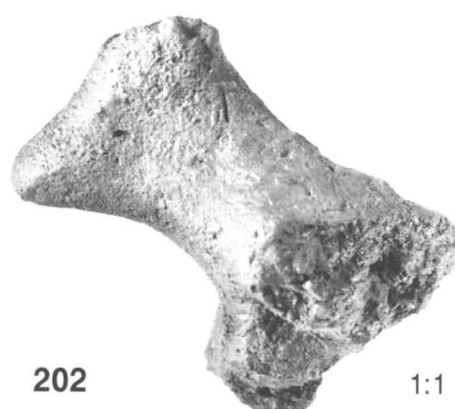
199

3:4



200

1:1



202

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201

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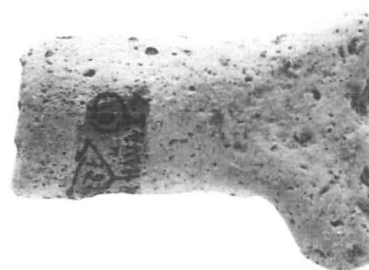
203

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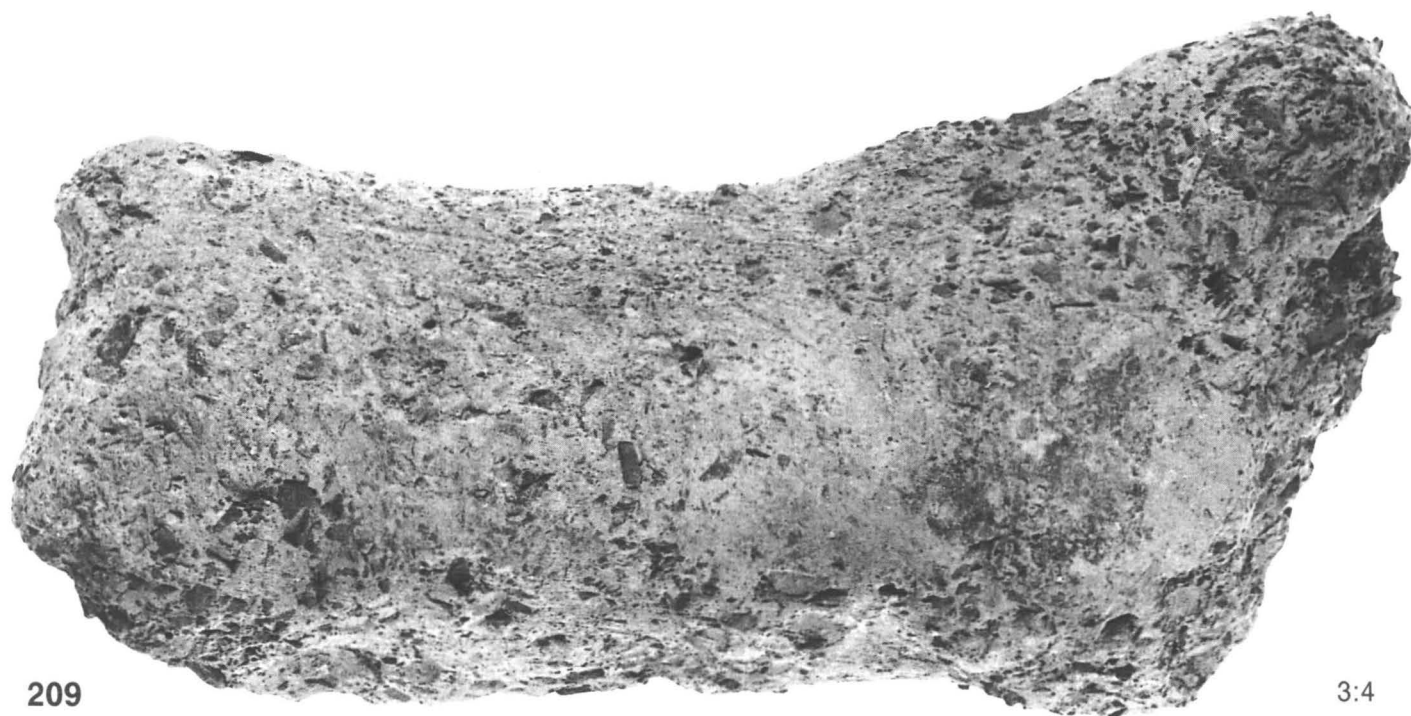
207

Not to scale



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209

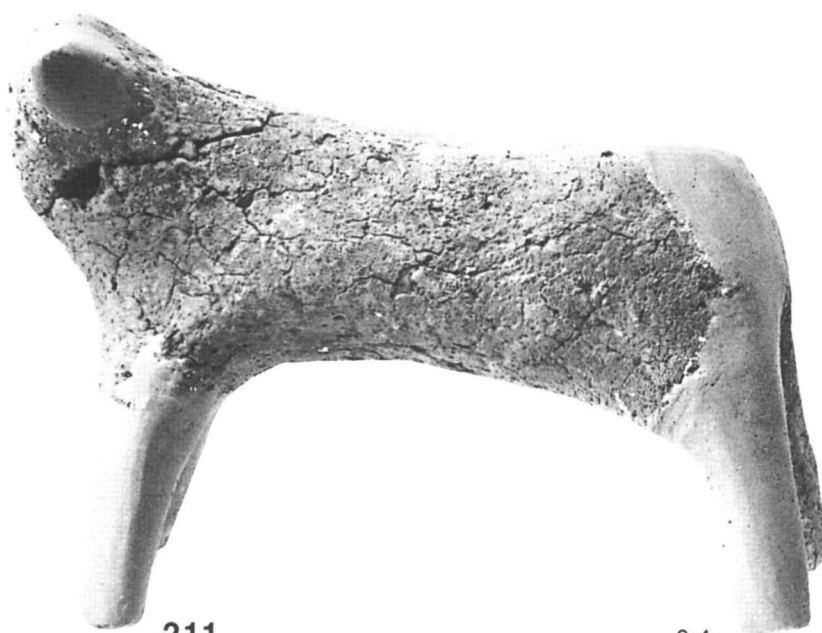
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210

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211

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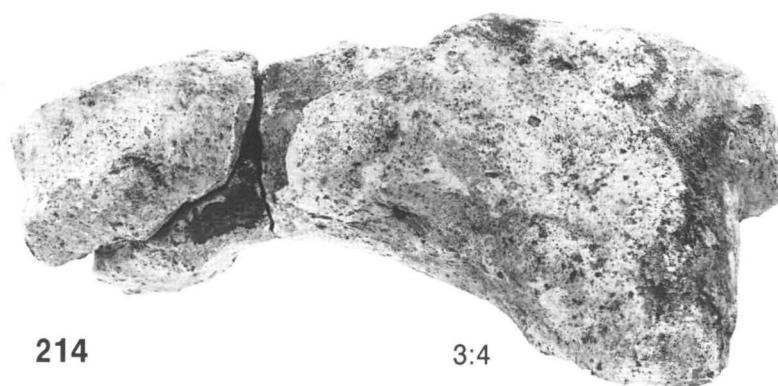
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3:4



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214

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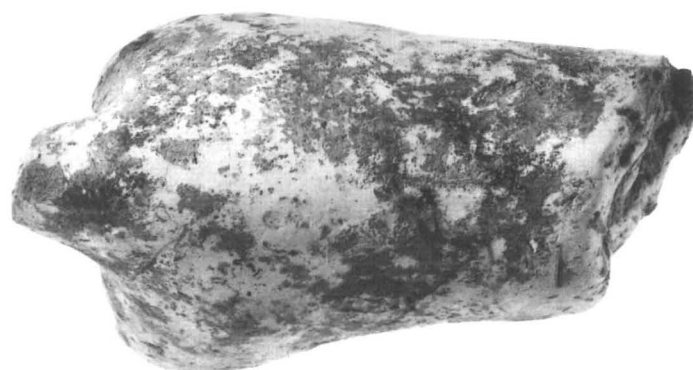
215



3:4



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220

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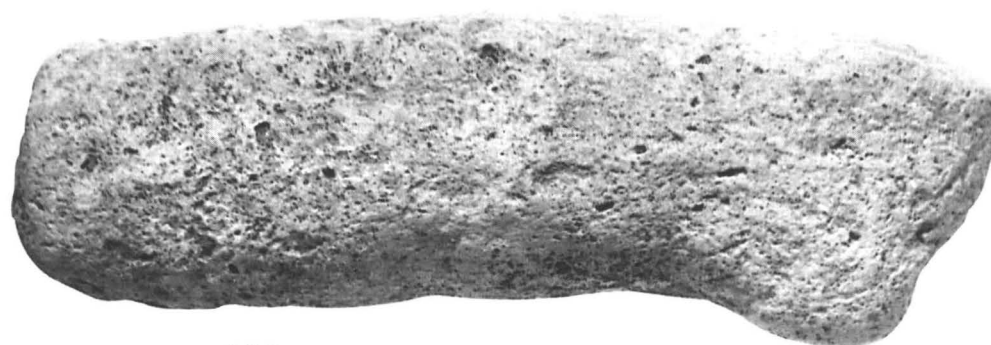
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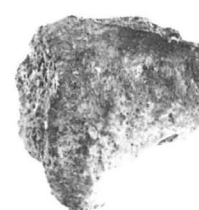
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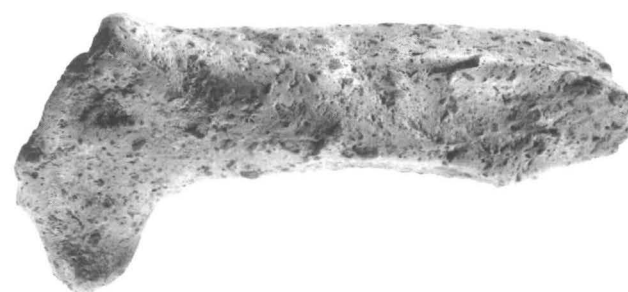
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1:2



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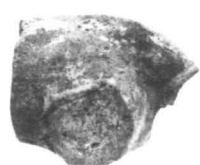
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239

3:4





240 1:2



241 1:2



242 1:2



243 1:2



245 1:1



244 Not to scale

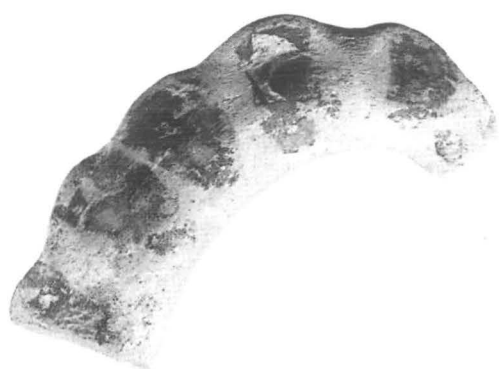


246 1:1



247 1:1





248

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251



3:4



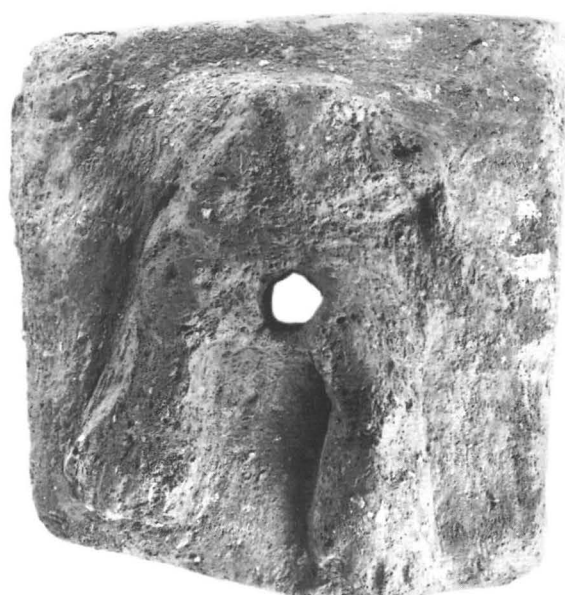
252

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254

3:4



253

3:4



255



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256 Not to scale



257 1:1



258 3:4



259 1:1



260 1:1



261 1:1



262 1:1



263

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264

Not to scale



265

Not to scale



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Not to scale



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273 Not to scale



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Not to scale



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Griffin spout from Aphrati ( Photographs G. Papasavvas)

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285



Not to scale



284

Not to scale



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3:4





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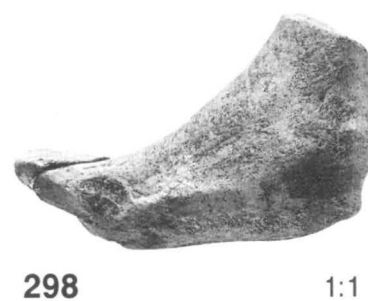
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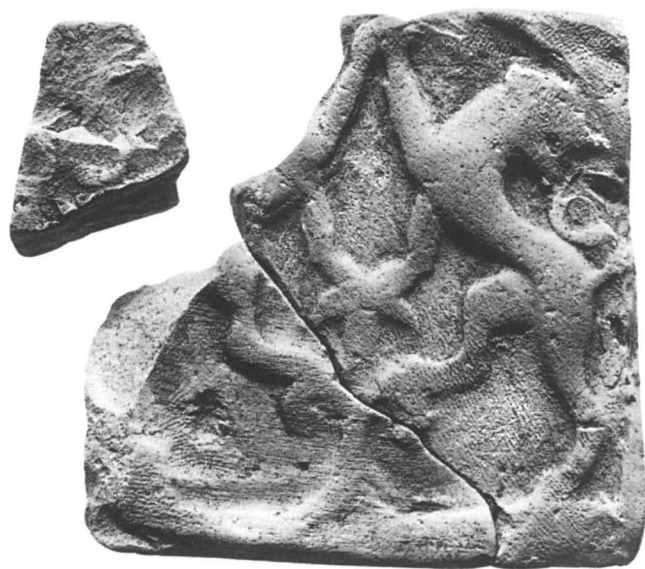
307

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Not to scale



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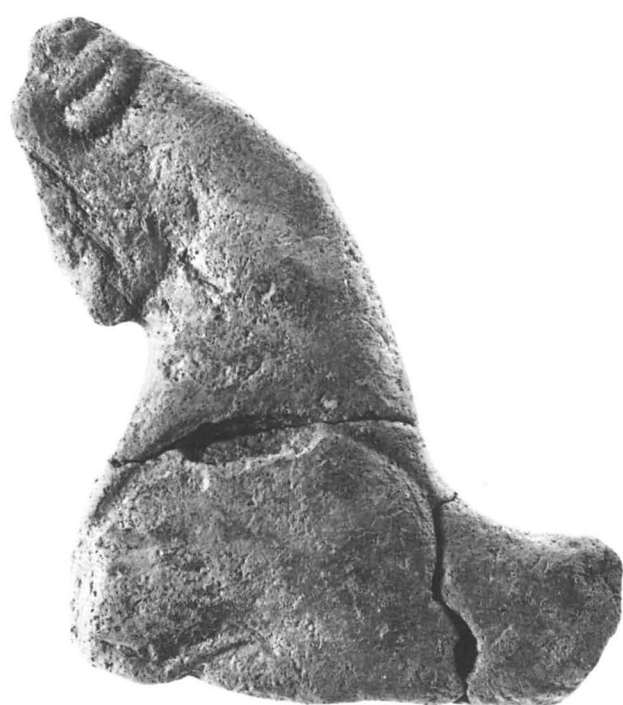
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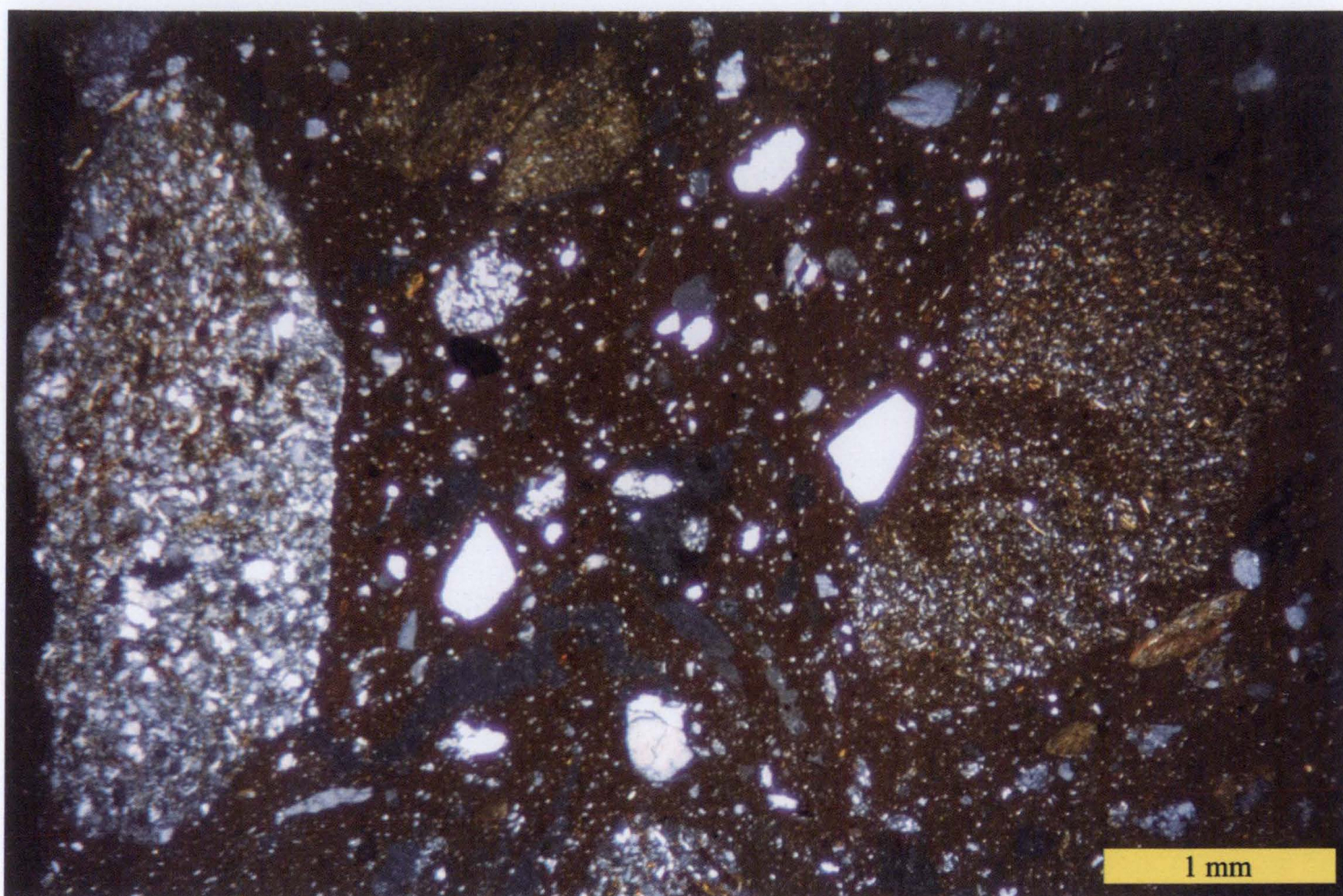
1:1



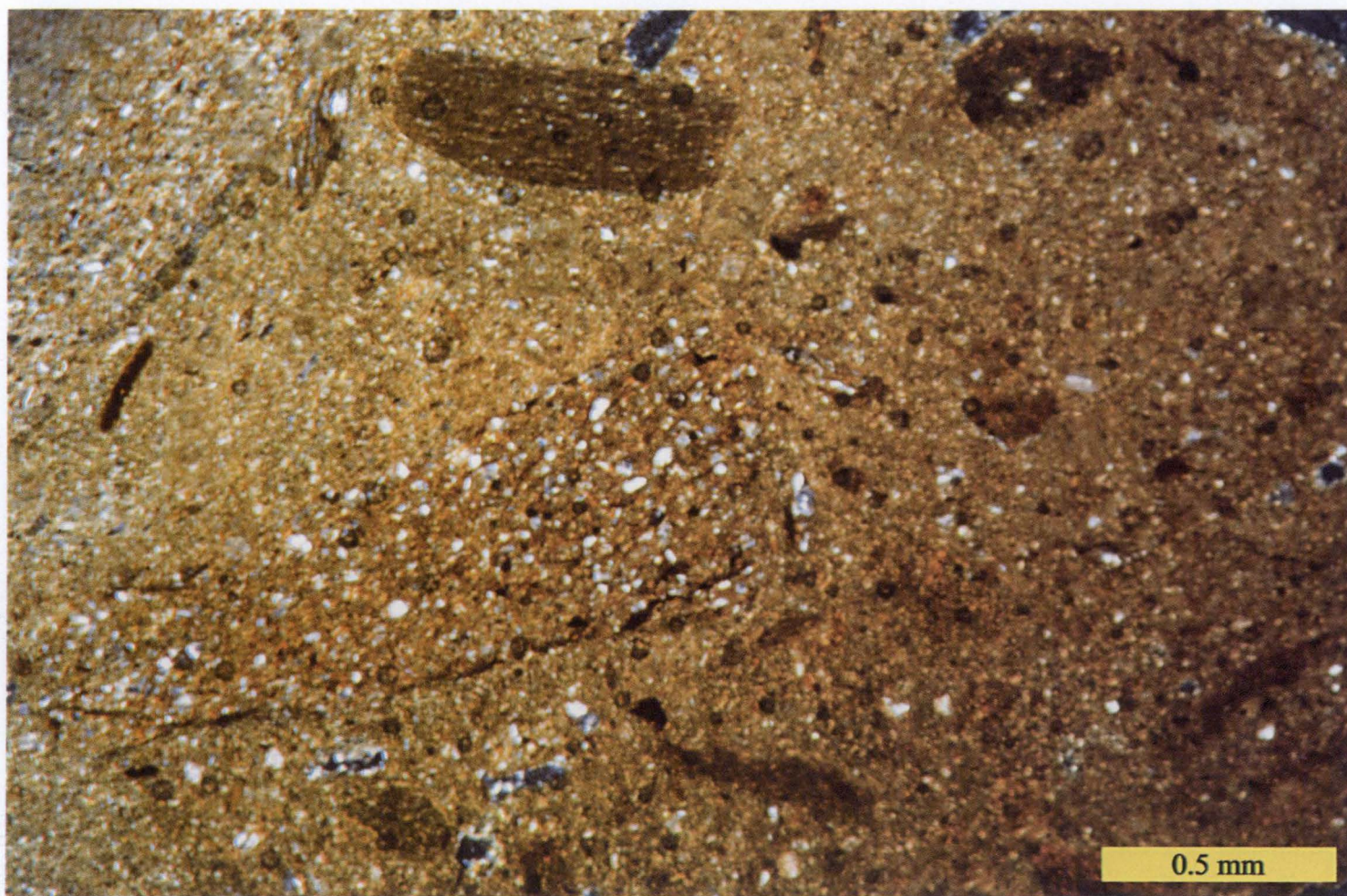
Mouldmade plaque from Tsoutsouros (Metaxas Collection, HM 903-904).

1:1



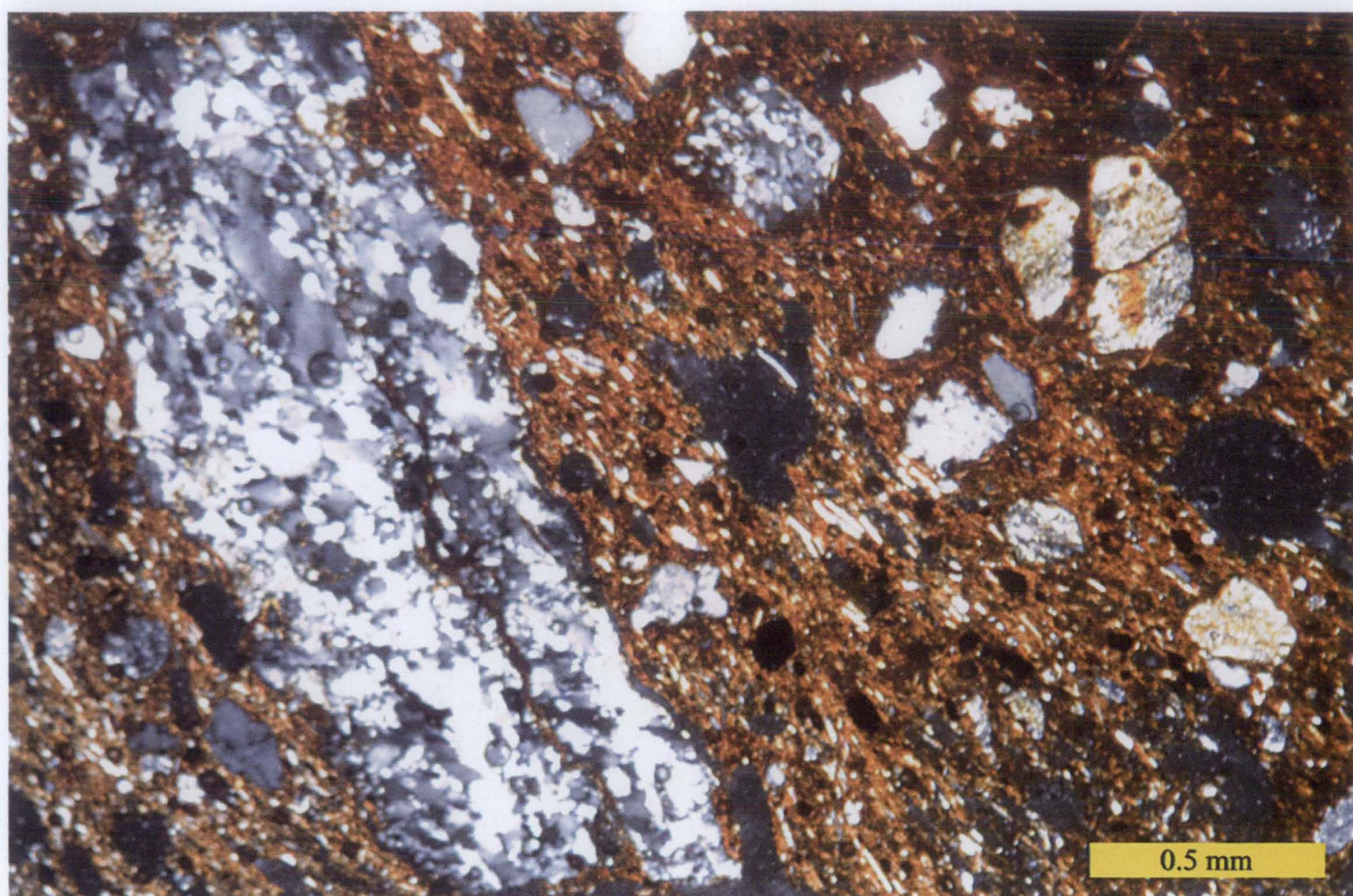


a. Low grade metamorphic fabric group (x25).

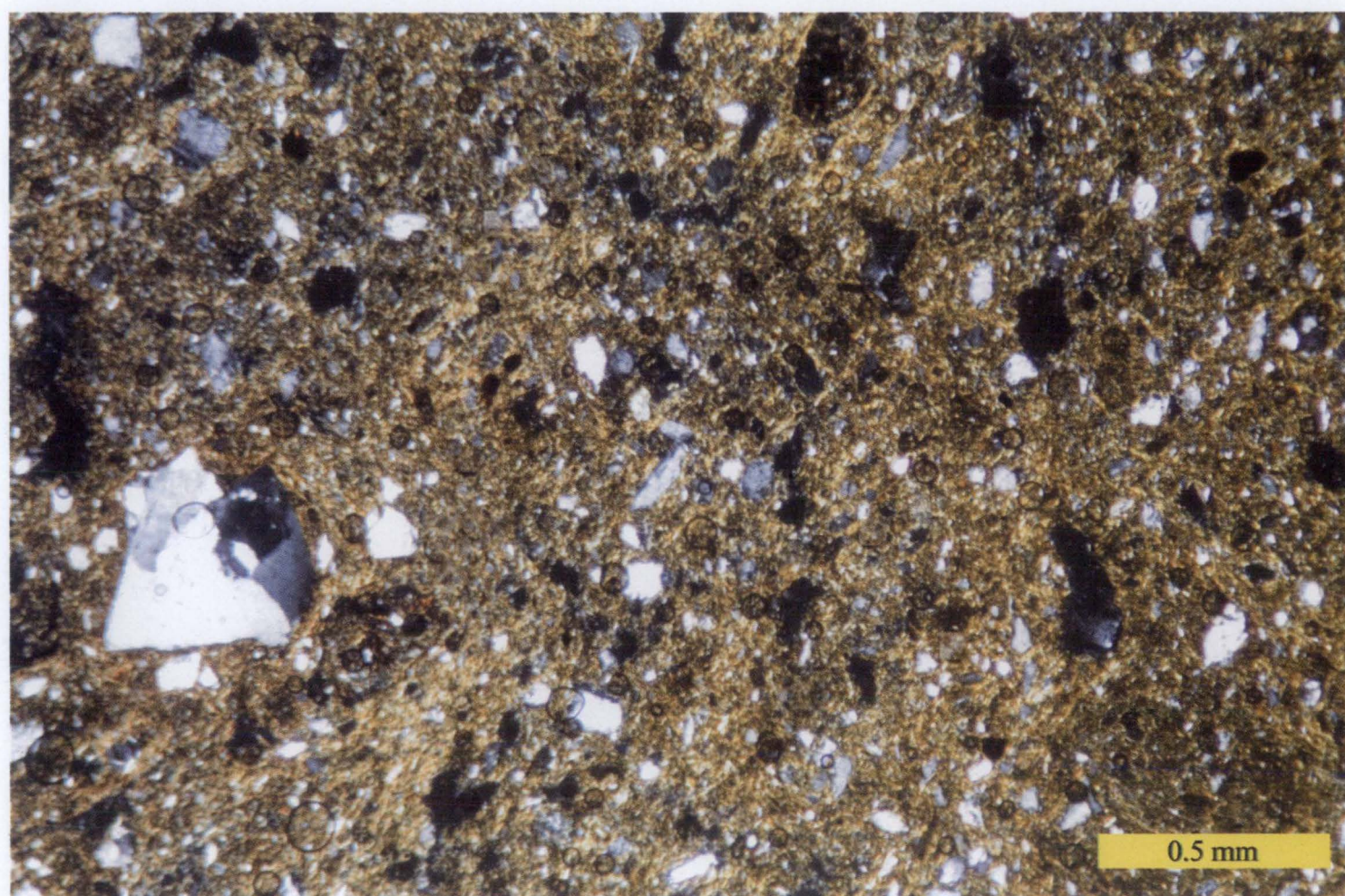


b. Calcareous metamorphic fabric group (x50).



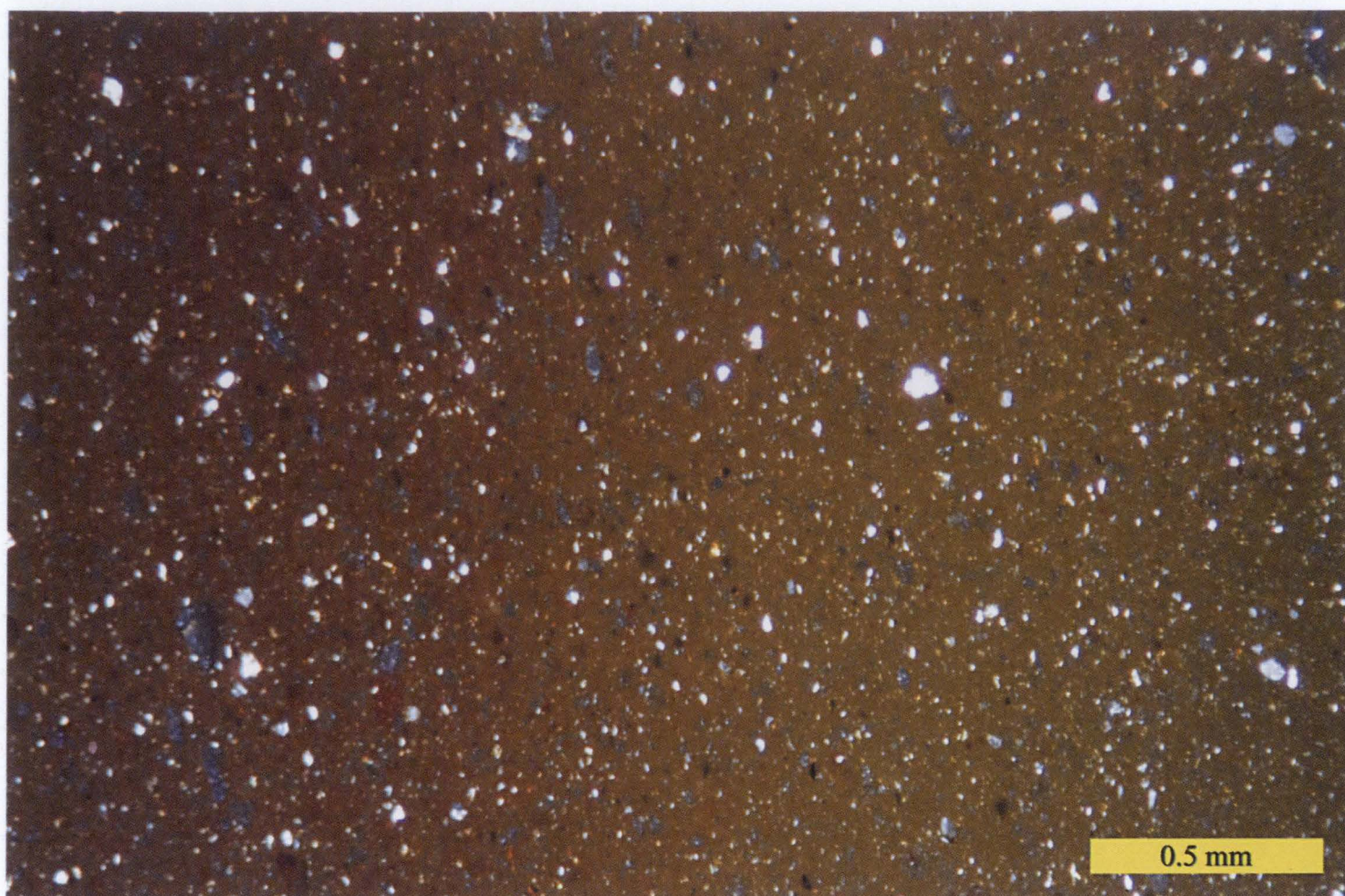


a. Micaceous fabric group (x50).

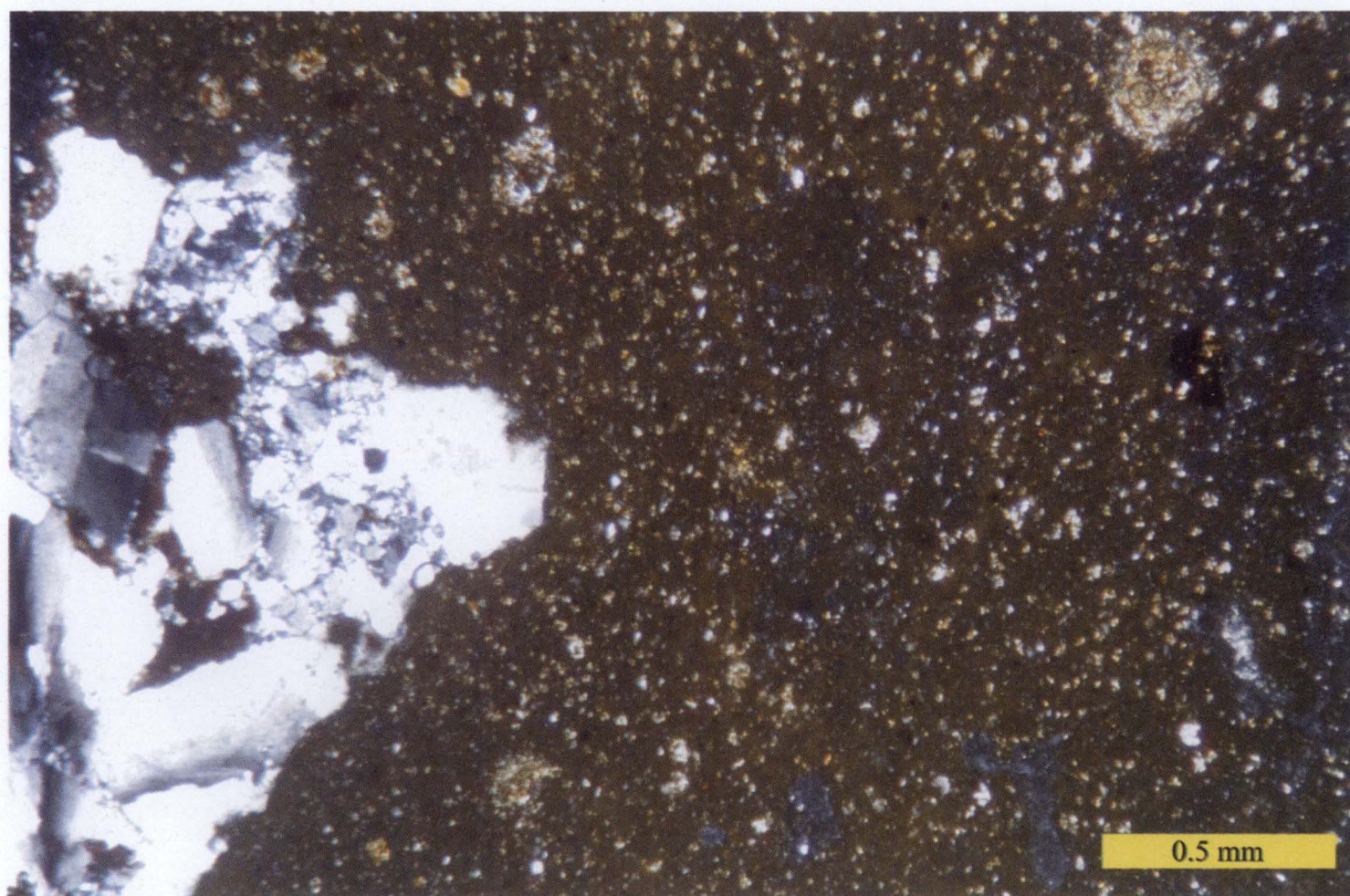


b. Coarse silicate fabric group (x50).



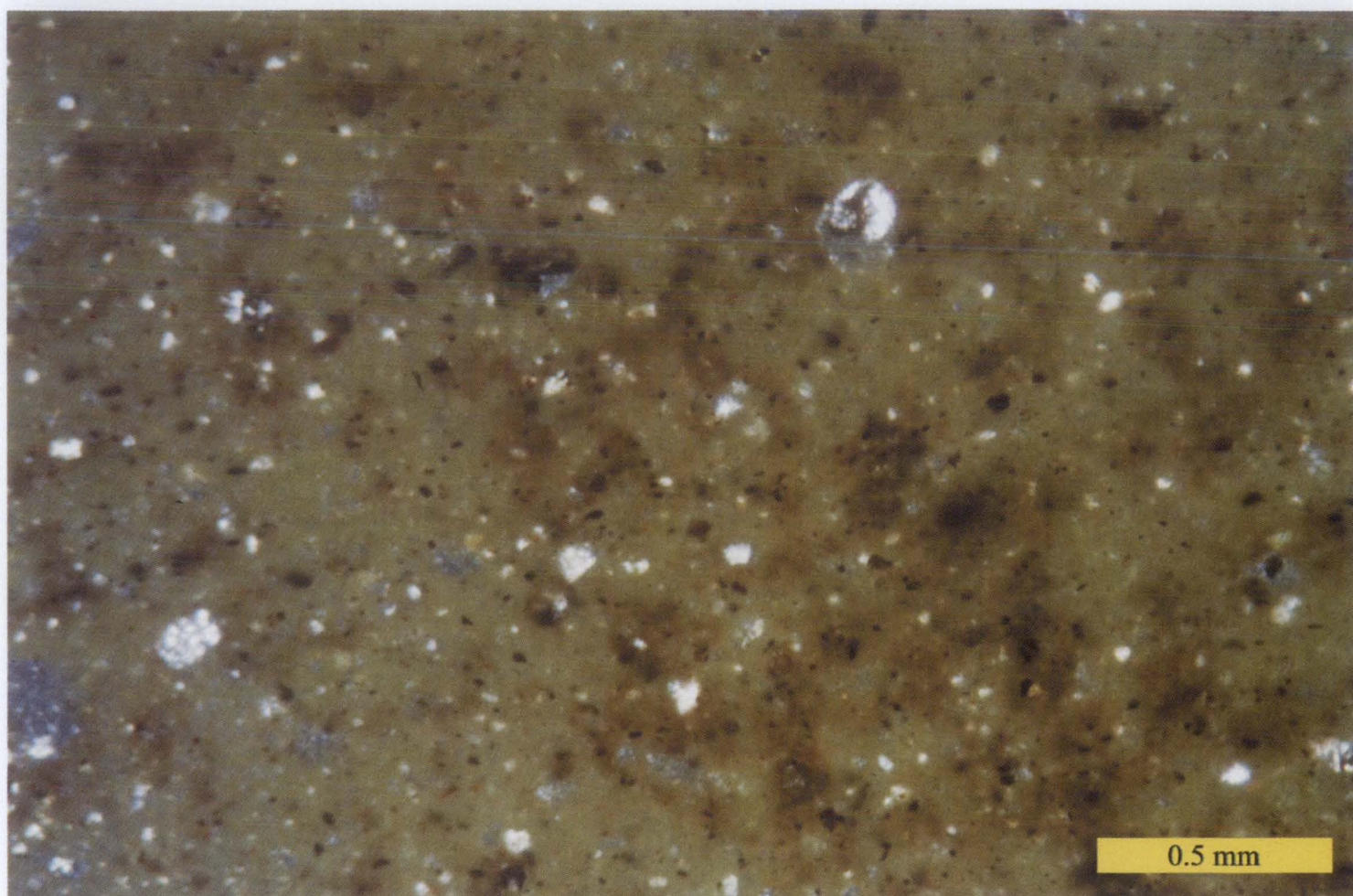


a. Fine fabric group with quartz (x50).

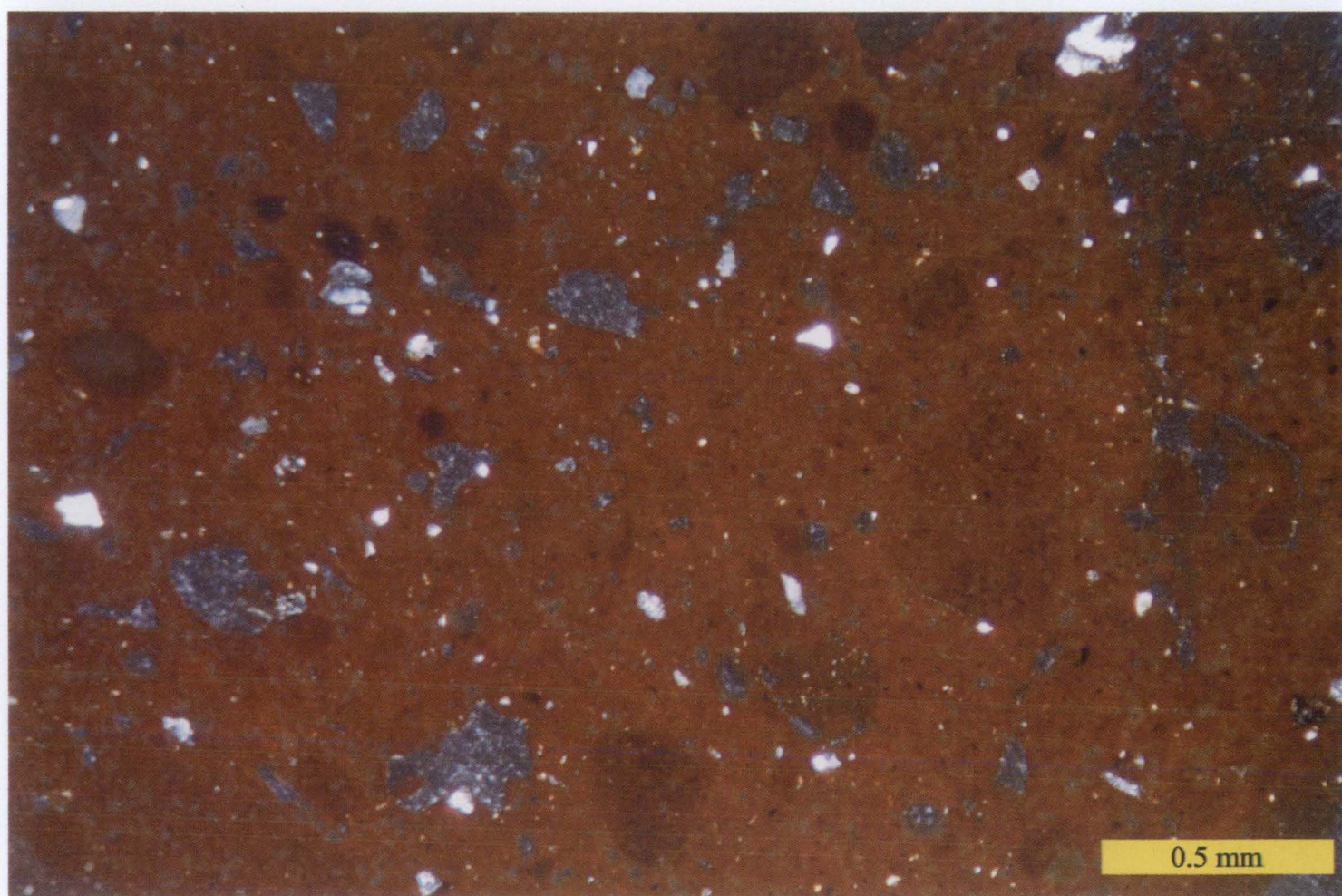


b. Fine volcanic fabric group (x50).



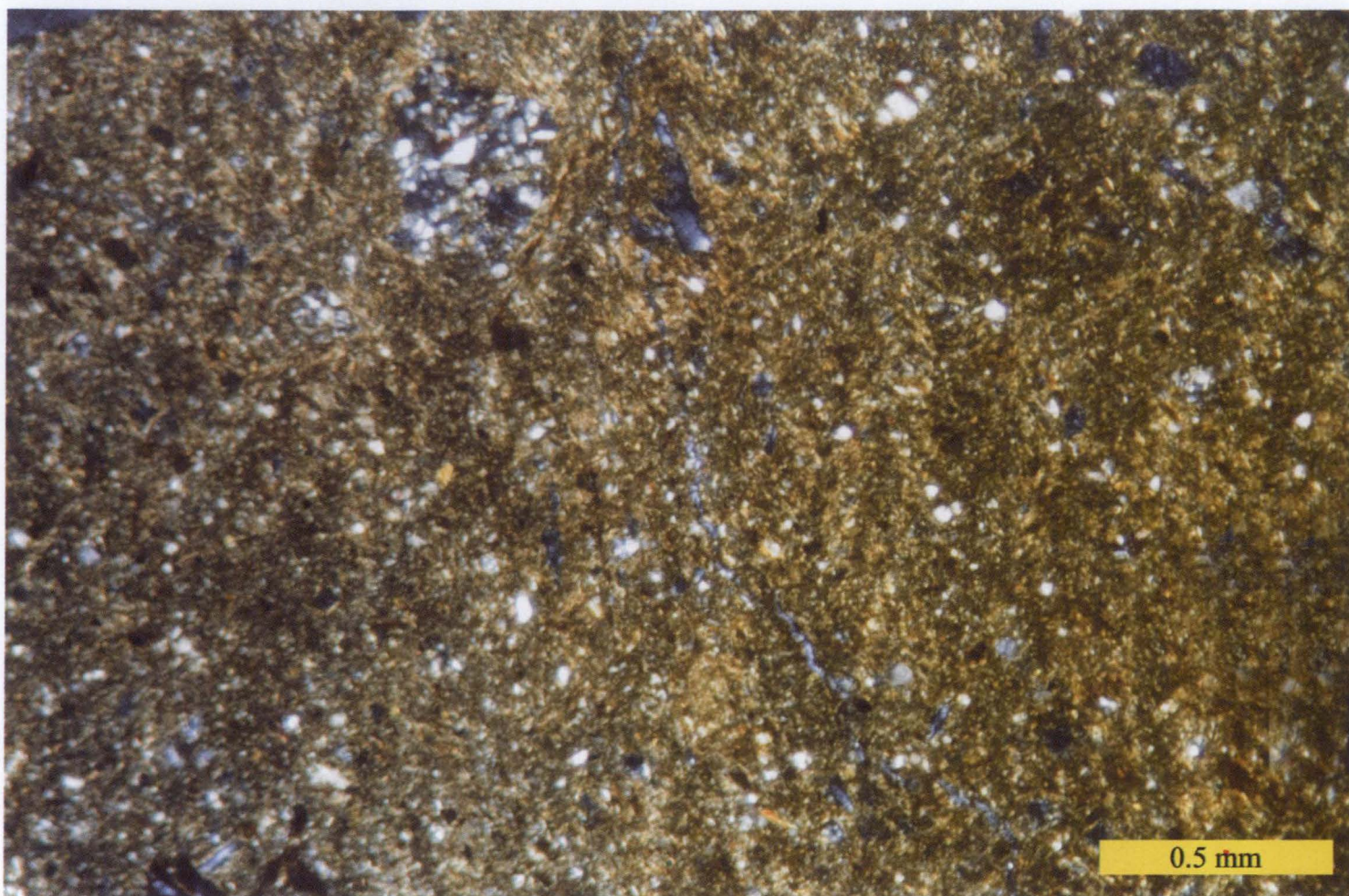


a. Fine green glassy fabric group (x50).

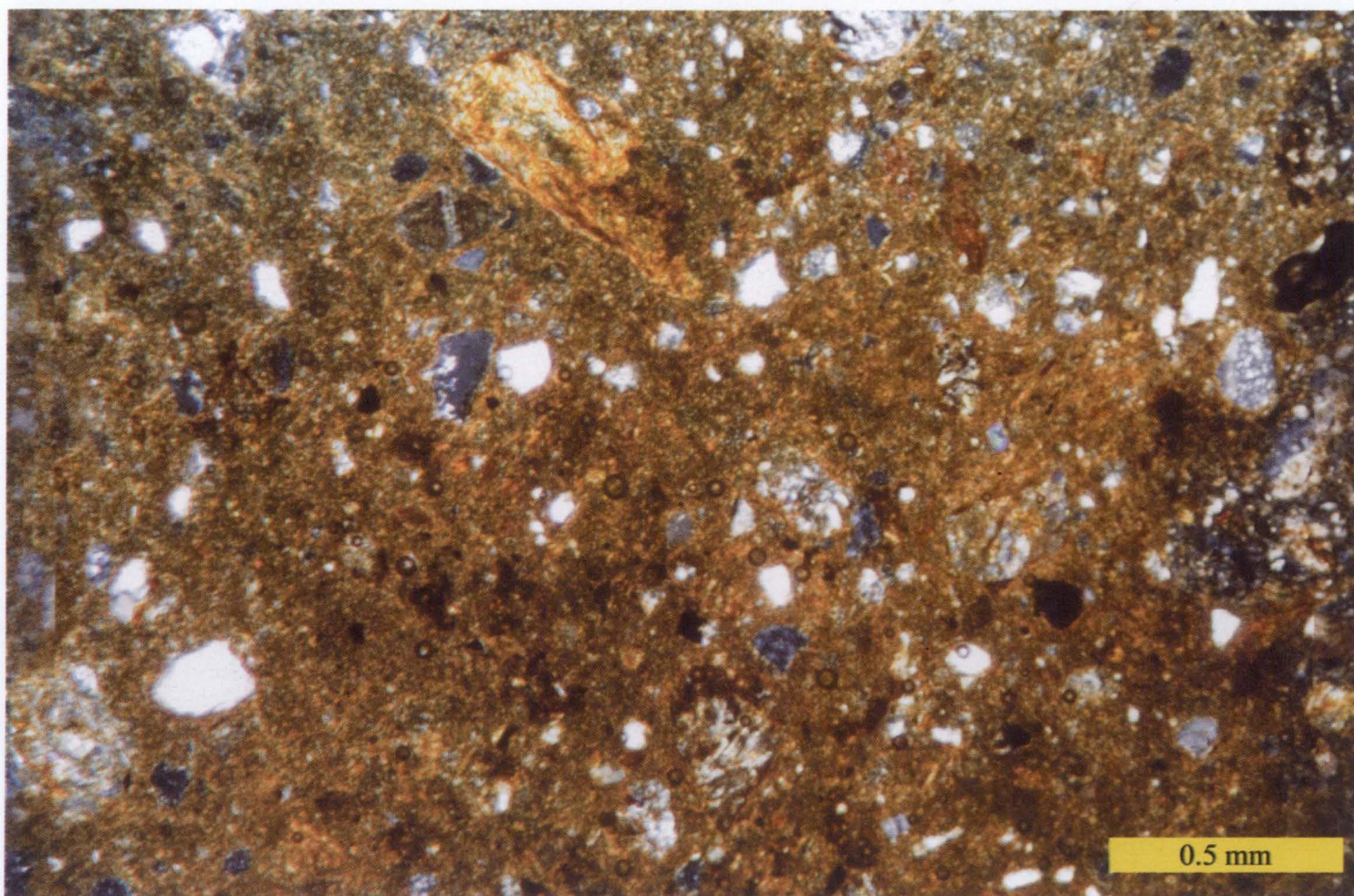


b. Red glassy fabric group (x50).





a. Fine calcareous fabric group (x50).



b. Ophiolite mélange fabric group (x50).







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