1. The Votive Figurines and Figures

With the exceptions of a bronze figurine of a nude ithyphallic man and two imported faïences depicting Egyptian divinities, the votive figurines found at the sanctuary at Kommos represent animals. Apart from a snake, these are quadrupeds (bovines/bulls, a ram, and horses) made mostly in clay, rarely in bronze. Many of the clay animals are fragmentary, but in the relatively large sample recovered at Kommos, there are enough diagnostic examples to allow one to distinguish basic types in terms of the kind of animal, rendering, and technique. Equally important is that many of these figurines were found in well-stratified contexts, permitting us to date them and, to some extent, to follow their ritual use diachronically during the long life span of the sanctuary. Among these offerings, the large Sub-Minoan painted bull AB40 (Pls. 3.11, 3.23) from Temple A (ca. 1020–800 B.C.) is one of the earliest. It is followed by, or perhaps also partly contemporary with small solid figurines and large ones that were wheel-made, during the use of Temple B (ca. 800–600 B.C.). There was likely a hiatus between the end of Temple B and at least the time of the construction of Altar H sometime between the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C., when ritual activity is attested by a few figurines dated by context to the sixth to early fourth century, what I label here the Interim period. Ritual became energetic again with the construction of the final Temple C and the remaining three Altars C, L, and M in the large open space to the east, in the fourth century. The use of the
sanctuary finally came to an end in the second century after Christ (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 5).

Illustrations pertinent to the votive figurines in this chapter are plans and sections clarifying the topographical contexts (Pls. 3.1–3.6) as well as drawings and photographs of the terracotta figurines themselves (Pls. 3.7–3.40).

Typology of the Animal Figurines and Figures, with Comparanda

This section concentrates on the typology of the largest class of figurine votives, the quadrupeds. (Single types of dedications, like the clay snake AB39, the bronze ram AB81, the bronze figurine of an ithyphallic man AB79, and the two faience figurines of Sekhmet and Nefertum AB85 and AB86, are fully described in the catalogue and discussed later in the text.) The quadrupeds are made in basically two sizes, small and solid, and large and mostly wheelmade, categories that can be referred to, respectively, by the two useful terms “figurines” and “figures,” as coined by Elizabeth French (1981: 173–77).

There is a wide variety of clay fabrics and surface treatments, details of which are related in the catalogue (Section 2). The brief discussion of the clays here refers to the more common ones that are distinctive of typological groups, rather than the odd examples. Adopting definitions of clays that are being used in connection with pottery found at Kommos,4 I employ the following terms: fine (size of inclusions 0.1–0.2 cm; density of inclusions 1–3%); medium coarse (size of inclusions 0.1–0.4 cm; density of inclusions 5–25%); coarse (size of inclusions 0.1–0.7 cm; density of inclusions 20–30%). The terms “semifine” or “semicoarse” are added to describe clays of intermediary variations. I should also clarify that all these labels are to a degree approximations, for when figurines are composed of separately made parts there are occasionally differences in the fabric from part to part.

The clay of the figurines is mostly in the range of buff, pale orange, and reddish yellow, but red and brown colors are also encountered. Inclusions are relatively small in comparison with the range represented in pottery, but there is great variation in the density. The surface of the large majority of the figurines and figures was slipped at all periods, the tones selected being much lighter than those of the color of the fabric.

PERIOD OF TEMPLES A AND B

In this period there are three distinct groups of quadrupeds: small solid ones in clay; large wheelmade and handmade ones in clay; and small solid-cast ones in bronze. The groups will be discussed in this order, starting in each case with bovines, which are the predominant type of animal represented.

Small Solid Quadrupeds in Clay (AB1–AB38, Pls. 3.7–3.10, 3.20–3.22)

Bulls/bovines in this category of small solid clay figurines (AB1–AB9, AB9.1) average 8.0–9.0 cm in height and 10.5 cm in length. Standard features are a pinched face, eyes in added pellets,
The Votive Figurines and Figures

...a mouth rendered by an incised line, lack of ears, a pinched dewlap, and rather tubular muzzle, body, and legs. The legs taper somewhat at the base and are set obliquely, projecting outward from the body to help stabilize the figurine. The tail is short, and it either hangs down or curls up over the rump. Added genitals are attested in practically every case that preserves the pertinent area, emphasizing the male gender of the animals chosen for dedication, whether steers or bulls. A tiny hole consistently marks the anus.

The unvarying positioning of the legs and the fact that head and body are axially aligned result in a bilateral symmetry and static posture that contrast dramatically with the naturalism found sometimes in small solid Late Minoan clay bulls. In the latter, legs vary from one another in position (thus simulating the act of walking), the body is muscular, and the neck and head often swerve in a different direction from that of the body, thus evoking impulsive and dynamic motion.

Four groups of bovine figurines can be distinguished in terms of fabric and accompanying characteristics. Examples AB1–AB4 and AB4.1 are made of a fairly fine clay with a very pale brown color, while the clay fabric of AB5–AB7 is medium coarse and reddish brown. At least some of the figurines of the former fabric were painted overall in solid matt paint, whereas the second group remained unslipped and unpainted. A tail curling over the rump seems to be typical of the first group, with a thick hanging tail for the coarser variety. A third group consisting of AB8, AB9.1, and AB9.2 is also marked by medium coarse clay, now reddish yellow in color. What really distinguishes the latter group are the animated and asymmetrical postures. It is possible that some of these figurines are Minoan hangovers, since they were found in mixed Minoan-Greek levels. The bovines AB9 and AB9.3 that form the fourth group are made of fine softish clay and are tiny.

The class of small solid bulls/bovines just described is mostly found in early contexts (Protogeometric and Geometric), and occasionally in the late seventh century B.C., when they must have continued to be offered alongside large wheelmade figures. Available comparanda of small solid bovines are noted in the catalogue. It is hoped that the publication of figurines from the large sanctuaries at Juktas, Kato Syme, and other sites will help assess duration and stylistic trends in figurine manufacture throughout the island and perhaps provide more points of comparison for the figurines at Kommos.

It is interesting that there is no exact match between the fabrics used for the bovine figurines and the small solid horses in clay (AB10–AB18), which form the next category. Most, if not all, of the preserved examples seem to be part of a representation of a wheeled vehicle. There are three basic types.

In Type 1 (AB16–AB18, and possibly also AB12, part of a neck), the horse has a long cylindrical body, a thick long neck, and a mane that is rendered as a sharp, short ridge. The front and rear legs are each distinctly rendered as a short single block with a hole driven through. The perforation was clearly used to secure axles and wheels. Painted decoration consists of stripes or bands emphasizing the contours of the body. Single bands run along
the mane and the length of the back, and vertically down the neck and chest. Parallel curving bands cross the top of the body and are repeated diagonally over the shoulders. Unfortunately, no heads have been preserved. Two practically identical horses (AB16 and AB17) may represent a team, a possibility we simulated by combining these two horses with random clay wheels found at Kommos (Pl. 3.39, top). The fabric of these horses is medium coarse, reddish yellow with a fair number of small dark inclusions. The very pale brown slip used on the outside allows for the brown-to-red painted bands to be visible.

The idea of a chariot drawn by a pair of horses is more evident in the Type 2 model (AB14, AB15, and possibly AB10 and AB11). Legs are omitted and even the body assumes an abstract shape. Thus, in the better-preserved example AB15 a pair of necks and heads emerge, like Siamese twins, from one end of a small rectangular slab with rounded corners, which probably represents the combined bodies of the horses and the vehicle itself. A hole through the front edge of the slab was clearly for the provision of an axle and wheels. There was likely a similar perforation through the rear part of the piece as well. A variant of this model may be represented by a small flat fragment with a rounded corner that is, interestingly, not perforated (AB14). The complete piece in this case may have consisted of a plaque or slab with a centrally placed pair of wheels, as is seen in an Attic example (see catalogue entry for AB14) where the plaque served as a platform on top of which a small horse was attached. This would guarantee the mobility of the model, despite the incongruity of the horse’s positioning.

The Type 2 horse and vehicle models are the most carefully rendered, being made of fine clay (reddish yellow in color) with polished surfaces. The heads of the horses are very small with delicately modeled features, and much attention is paid to painted detail: diagonal stripes on the tall flat mane, and bands around the muzzle and the neck, the latter evocative of bridles and harnesses. Stripes and checkers that appear on the upper part of the “body” or vehicle probably represent woven coverings.

In AB13 we have the sole example of what we have dubbed the Type 3 horse and vehicle model. It consists of a single horse, the feet of which (no hoofs are indicated) merge with a transverse tubular bar that was perforated. Unfortunately the rear part of the horse is missing, but the arrangement may have been symmetrical, with two more wheels at the back. Scale, fabric, and surface treatment resemble those of Type 2.

The type of vehicle in the various renditions just discussed is not certain, but I am inclined to believe that a chariot was intended. Although not common, representations of chariots occur in other media in Cretan art of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. If taken at face value, the four wheels evidently used in the Type 1 horses could, naturally, be interpreted as representing a wagon. However, the purpose of four, rather than two, wheels was, I believe, simply to make the mobile clay model stable when stationary. Holes pierced through the muzzles of some of the horse figurines (once through the front end of a mane) were probably threaded with string, not only to suggest bridles but also to allow the horses to be pulled and roll on their wheels. Moreover, had a wagon or a cart been intended, one might
The Votive Figurines and Figures

have expected some of the bovine figurines from Kommos to have been wheeled also, since oxen are a common draught animal. That ambiguity in representation was not uncommon in Early Iron Age times, even in Athens, is clear from vase painting depictions of horses shown linked to vehicles on Dipylon vases. In one case, for instance, the same type of vehicle occurs in separate friezes, serving as a cart carrying the bier in one frieze, and as a chariot driven by a warrior in another (Arias and Hirmer 1962: pl. 5).

If we assume that the vehicle at Kommos was meant to be a chariot, the pairs of horses would naturally designate the type as a biga. It is interesting in this respect to note that a pair of wheeled horses from Apulia, which are mentioned in relation to the Kommos Type 1 models in the ensuing comments on comparative material, have a small chariot box placed centrally atop their bodies. Small wheeled horses from the end of the Bronze Age in Cyprus, which are also discussed below, often occur in teams. Eventually, the simple early Cypriot models result in two distinct categories: horse and rider; chariot, horse, and charioteer. Theoretically, the wheeled horses at Kommos may have been conceived to stress the swiftness of the animal with reference to riding, but the slablike components (especially of the Type 2 models) make the interpretation of a chariot or cart more probable. The chariot interpretation may be preferable, given the many indications we have that the horse was an elite form of personal service in military and other circumstances.

Clay wheels are clearly part of the horse and vehicle models (Pl. 3.39, top and bottom). Unfortunately, it is difficult to match them with any of the fragments of such models. The semicore clay of solid wheels AB19–AB22 comes closer to the fabric of the hefty horses of Type 1, but, paradoxically, they are among the smallest wheels found (4.0–6.0 cm in diameter compared with 8.0–10.0 cm in diameter for the smaller of the spoked wheels). AB22.1 and AB22.2, also solid, are made of a fine fabric and could belong with the pattern-painted horse and vehicle models (Types 2 and 3). A couple of restored spoked wheels, AB30 and AB31, preserve only the hub and would appear to be too large for any of the known small solid horse and vehicle models discussed here, but then relative proportions may not have been a concern. Fine fabrics occur in both types of wheels but are typical of the spoked ones.

Solid and spoked wheels came from similar contexts, and their earliest appearance is in the PG period. An exception to this rule is the puzzling discovery in an LM IIIA2/B context of the fragment of the small solid wheel AB22.2, which was found a great distance from the temples, outside the northeast corner of Building P (see plan, Pl. 3.2). Typologically, the wheel does not differ from the other EIA examples from Kommos, and the question is how to explain the LM IIIB date of its context. To my knowledge there are no known examples of wheels or wheeled horses of this date in Crete. A wheeled quadruped was found in a mixed Early Minoan III to Middle Minoan IA context in a burial at the Phourni cemetery at Archanes, but the date is too remote for this object to be pertinent to our discussion. As for the Mycenaean Mainland, chariots are frequently represented in Late Helladic III, but they are quite different from what we have at Kommos. Characteristically, the Mainland models do not use wheels,
and the chariot basket is attached to the body of the horse, usually with a charioteer standing in it, as in the recently discovered series at Methana (Konsolaki 1991: 71–74, pls. 40–41). Chariot models, again without wheels, have also been found in the Late Cycladic sanctuary at Phylakopi (French 1985: 252–54). Although more realistic, these chariots lack the ability to roll. A chariot model from Vrokastro, probably LM IIIB in date (Hayden 1991: 138, n. 108), is more detailed than the examples from Kommos; it features a chariot basket and a charioteer, but its broken state leaves open the question of whether there were wheels. The attachment of wheels to the feet of an animal is a rarity in the Bronze Age, and is first attested in large wheelmade or hollow figures in Late Helladic IIIIC (Guggisberg 1996: 223–24, 227, fig. 16).

An exception is the very simply made wheeled quadruped thought to be of Late Helladic IIIB date that was found with other figurines in excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis of Athens and may have belonged to a shrine (C. H. Morgan 1935: 192, fig. 2).

Returning now to the EIA horse and vehicle models from Kommos, the question of possible external inspiration needs to be addressed. Little help is forthcoming from Crete itself, where not only are plain horse figurines and figures infrequent, but as far as wheeled horses are concerned, the few examples at Kommos still form one of the most impressive assemblages from a single site.

One is hard put to locate examples of chariots on the Greek Mainland, apart from those in the sanctuaries at Olympia and Attica, although clay wheels and wheeled animals have been found in recent excavations in the sanctuary at Isthmia (C. A. Morgan 1999: 172–74). Beyond the Mainland, examples of wheels, whether representing a chariot pars pro toto, or what was preserved from a more complete model, have surfaced recently at the Sanctuary of Aphaia at Aegina (Maass and Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998: nos. 143 and 144) and in the Sanctuary of Hera at Samos (Ohly 1940: no. 1595, pl. 62).

Olympia offers great numbers of wheeled horses among its votives (Heilmeyer 1972), but their typology is very different from those of the wheeled horses found at Kommos. As during the BA on the Mycenaean Mainland, the Olympian models are more realistic: the wheels are appropriately attached at the back of the chariot, in which stands a charioteer with fully rendered horses at the front (cf. Heilmeyer 1972: 47, fig. 1).

In Attica horse iconography exists in a wide range of media including small-scale sculpture, plastic attachments to vases, and vase painting. Attic small clay horses and horse-and-vehicle models have been found mostly in burials. Typologically, these models show some affinities with those at Kommos. The possibility of direct inspiration deriving from Athens is corroborated by signs of actual connections between the two sites with the discovery at Kommos, already in SM times, of pottery believed to be under Attic (and Cycladic) influence, followed somewhat later by imported Attic vases (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1). Moreover, the Attic models go back to at least Protogeometric times, not counting the Late Helladic IIIB example of the wheeled quadruped from the North Slope on the Acropolis mentioned earlier. Attic PG, it has been argued, should be earlier in terms of absolute dates than the
The Votive Figurines and Figures 141
equivalent styles of EIA pottery in Crete, which tends to develop more slowly as far as certain styles are concerned (cf. the chronological chart in Coldstream 1977: 385, fig. 116). That some of the Kommian horses most resembling the Athenian ones are conspicuously of Geometric, rather than Proto-geometric, date is also evident from their decoration, which uses extensive linear patterns on a light ground (e.g., AB15, Pl. 3.9). Overall black glazing with restricted areas of linear decoration was typical of both earlier pottery and horses.\(^\text{19}\)

Within these chronological parameters, one can note the following similarities between Kommian and Attic horses. Most crucial, because rare elsewhere, is the attachment of wheels directly to the “legs” of the horses (cf. Kübler 1954, pl. 142, top center, for a PG example, with AB13, Pl. 3.9). Another comparison can be made with the alternative model that uses a horizontal rectangular panel presumably to represent the vehicle, the difference being that in the Attic examples the horse usually stands on top of a wheeled panel or base, rather than the latter’s being conflated with the horse’s body, as is the case in some Kommian examples (cf. Kübler 1970: pl. 9, top left; Guggisberg 1996: pls. 15.5, 15.7, with AB15, Pl. 3.9). Another difference is that most of the Attic horses seem to be hollow, even when they are small; those at Kommos are solid. The only horse known to have been hollow and wheelmade is one of large size (AB51, Pls. 3.12, 3.24) that was not necessarily equipped with wheels.

In the case of the Type 1 wheeled horses from Kommos, we may find that their appearance does not justify the attribution of Attic inspiration. Their distinctive elongated tubular bodies, the rendering of the residual perforated “legs,” and their decoration of simple linear patterns, following or stressing the contours of the animal’s body, require that we look further afield for comparisons and possible connections. Cyprus, with its known penchant for horse and vehicle models, is a logical area to take into consideration, one justified also by the Cypriot connections attested in pottery found at Kommos (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1). Most interesting about the large and long-lasting series of equestrian and chariot groups there is the fact that certain examples date to the LBA. Some were found in sanctuary sites, others in tombs. Vassos Karageorghis’s Type P models are small, handmade, solid horse figurines that share general features with the Type 1 models at Kommos. They too occur in pairs, and they have long tubular bodies and legs that are rendered as short perforated stumps to receive axles and wheels.\(^\text{19}\) All are dated to Late Cypriot IIIC (ca. 1200–1050 B.C.). Karageorghis sees the Type P models as the “forerunners” of his Type GE wheeled horses, most of which come from burials and are dated to Cypro-Geometric I (ca. 1050–950 B.C.).\(^\text{20}\) Given these dates, the series may start in Cyprus somewhat earlier than at Kommos, but there is also overlap.

Another area has produced wheeled horses resembling the Type 1 models from Kommos, even if sporadically. This is Sicily and Italy, especially the area of Apulia; pertinent examples are documented in the catalogue. In Italy and Sicily horse figurines, often in pairs and, at least in one case, with a little chariot box attached on top of the horse (Pryce 1932: pl. 8.6), were found in burials dated no earlier than the Late Geometric period. Such a date, unless
belied by future discoveries, eliminates these western areas as the possible inspiration for the particular horses at Kommos.

In conclusion, one wonders how to interpret such disparate information based on relatively few examples scattered over such a widespread area. Given the premature stage of knowledge, my comments here can be only tentative and provisional. One scenario I would like to entertain is that the Type 2 model may have appeared in the Aegean already in the LBA, at least sporadically, alongside the more detailed and mainstream versions of chariots known mostly from the Mycenaean Mainland. These rare examples include the unique Late Helladic III B wheeled horse from the North Slope of the Acropolis and the Bronze Age (Type P) ones from Cyprus. The wheel AB22.2 from Kommos might have belonged to a horse model of this simple kind. The type continues in a few examples (Type GE horses) in Cyprus into the tenth century B.C. At Kommos, and occasionally at other Cretan sites, a wheeled horse appears in the PG era, if not earlier, the type continuing at least into the Geometric period, but not much later. In Athens, some of the PG examples quoted earlier feature horses with longish tubular bodies, but it is evident that from the start the intention of the Attic artists was to depict the horse naturalistically, with its legs fully rendered. The North Slope quadruped is an exception, given its much earlier date: its legs are in the form of two single stumps, one front, one rear, as in the Kommian Type 2 examples, but this type of abstraction seems to be abandoned in Attica after the Bronze Age. These are some of the reasons why, while acknowledging an Attic influence on Kommian horses of Type 2, I see a connection with Cyprus as more likely as far as the Kommos Type 1 horses are concerned.

Taking the examples I have offered as being closer to the Kommian ones for this type, I see them as describing a potentially revealing geographical and chronological path. If Cyprus was the area of inspiration or origin, Kommos might have occupied a halfway point in this path, with Italy, perhaps the last recipient, at the opposite end. This is not to deny that there were other and diverse paths of interaction operating simultaneously in the Aegean in those days. Heterogeneous external influences, along with the differing tastes, aims, and capabilities of craftsmen used by Kommos and other locations, would in due time bring about a modification of these simple creations that would impart a distinguishing regional style to the production in each area.

Large Wheelmade and Handmade Clay Quadruped Figures

Large Wheelmade and Handmade Clay Quadruped Figures

Bulls/bovines predominate in this category; the other recognizable animal known from a few examples is the horse. The clay used seems to be the same in both types of animal figures, i.e., a range of reddish yellow color, slipped to pale brown or yellow. Technically, the distinction in fabric is the degree of density and/or size of inclusions. The finer examples come from SM, PG, and Geometric contexts; their surfaces are generally better smoothed, slipped more
The Votive Figurines and Figures

thickly, and occasionally painted with patterns. Inclusions in the clay range from 1–2%, their size rising to 0.2 cm, although they are generally 0.1 cm and smaller. The clay fabric used in the solid legs is somewhat different; although the size of inclusions is still a maximum of 0.2 cm, the density varies from 5% to 20%. The coarser examples are almost entirely from seventh-century B.C. contexts, and in these cases it is also the density of inclusions that increases, rather than their size.

The earliest example of the wheelmade bovines, AB40, dates to the SM period. It is made of fine clay and is polished and extensively painted with patterns on the body, legs, and even the horns. The designs, borrowed from contemporary vase painting, consist mostly of solid pendent triangles with parallel bands, decoration that is typical on the legs of such quadrupeds of LM IIIC and SM date. The animal’s height is estimated to be some 40.0 cm, a size exceeded by quadrupeds of the Classical period at Kommos, but fairly average when compared with examples of LM IIIC and SM dates from other sites, such as the well-known bull from the reoccupied area of the Palace of Phaistos (Guggisberg 1996: 172, no. 592, pl. 44.1).

At Kommos no complete hollow animal figure has been found, except for what is probably a bull of later Classical times (C9). The mostly wheelmade bodies had relatively thin walls and are badly broken. Limbs, the best-preserved parts, provide the main evidence for the styles. Some are also wheelmade, others hollow but handmade, and all tend to have thick walls. They taper toward the bottom, their bases modeled in various ways: pedestaled, splayed, and mostly conical underneath, but some are flat and closed. Smaller legs are usually solid. Painted patterns (as in the fine pair AB76) or plain paint applied overall occur occasionally. The three preserved solid legs of quadruped AB74 display painted bands paralleled by a vertical band on the side of the leg and raised parallel ridges at two levels near the base. Exterior surfaces are generally smoothed and slipped; hocks and fetlocks are omitted. For comparison, some animal legs from this period are shown with later examples in Pl. 3.40.

Evident from these observations is that there was greater concern in this period for a high technical finish and decorative shapes than there was for realistic rendering. It is clear that the craftsman relied heavily on the techniques, surface treatment, and shapes that resulted from the use of the wheel and other methods typical of the potter.

During the time of Temple B, and probably no earlier than the Orientalizing period, some changes took place. Evidence comes from what must have been an impressive quadruped, AB58, sadly preserved in nonjoining fragments. In places there are several layers of clay, the outer one featuring bold modeling, unparalleled in any of the other figurines. This and other pieces, like the bull AB46, which also preserves part of the head, illustrate the technique of using wads of clay to help join the separately made sections of head, neck, body, and legs. Wads of clay applied to the exterior are used to render mass and musculature.

Not all pieces are crafted with such care, however, and there is shoddy workmanship. Examples are the rough corrugations of wheelmarks visible on the exteriors of bodies and
limbs (as in AB47 and AB57) and the failure to model parts, like certain legs that are basically cylindrical (as in AB67–AB69). There are also odd pieces. Although wheelmade quadrupeds are typically fairly large—most about the size of a small cat—a few were made on a much smaller scale. Examples are a poorly made bull, preserving the head and parts of a hollow handmade body (AB49), and four peglike legs preserved from a quadruped (AB75). Both represent crude experiments that do not belong with the more established types. Different from these—because it is so well modeled and detailed—is the fine head of a smallish horned animal AB50, possibly a bull. The dewlap is lacking, but it may have appeared just below where the neck has broken off the body.

Wheelmade horses, the next category of quadrupeds, are rare, or perhaps undetectable because of the often undiagnostic parts preserved, i.e., fragments of bodies and legs that might just as easily belong to bovines. In two cases it was possible to identify the horse. In one example the head and neck were preserved (AB51, Pls. 3.12, 3.24), while in the other there was part of a mane (AB61, Pl. 3.26). The two horses appear to be of comparable scale (that is, large) but are of different fabrics.

Dependence on pottery techniques is evident once again. The better-preserved horse’s head and neck, AB51, consisted of two separate wheelmade cylinders that were joined, one used for the snout, the other for the head and the neck. The top of the head was covered by a separately added rounded wad of clay. It is interesting, nevertheless, and perhaps a sign of a post-Geometric date, that concession was made to naturalistic detail, evident in the manual modeling of the exterior surfaces. Added pieces of clay were used to build up the relief of eyes and eyebrows, while deep grooves along the sides of the face evoke the bony structure of the cheeks. Painted diagonal lines on the mane and a broad painted band around the muzzle are reminiscent of similar simple patterns used on small solid horses.

Whether either of the large horses considered here was wheeled, like many small solid horses at Kommos, remains a moot question. No large solid or hollow legs featuring holes for axles were found at Kommos, but wheeled horses from Isthmia have recently been published (C. A. Morgan 1999: 172–74). Recent if scanty evidence from other sites in Greece indicates that large hollow quadrupeds were fitted with wheels quite early. Fragments of such a figure found in the lower citadel at Tiryns, apparently of Late Helladic IIIC date, preserved two pierced hooves (Guggisberg 1996: 48, no. 119, pl. 9.1). Another example was found at Lefkandi in the area of the Toumba in a mixed fill along with Mycenaean human figurines. The pottery found with this figure ranged from LH IIIC to Middle Protogeometric, but the horse itself was attributed to the EIA (Popham et al. 1993: 73, pl. 32, nos. 26a, 26b). Its height is estimated to be about 1.0 m. If the tradition continued into the Archaic period, large wheeled horses could have provided inspiration for the artist who created the marvelous Trojan horse in relief on a well-known clay pithos of the seventh century B.C. from Mykonos. That horse, shown with wheels attached to its feet, transports a lively band of Achaian warriors (Ervin 1963: pl. 18).
Small Solid-Cast Quadruped Figurines in Bronze
(AB80–AB84, Pls. 3.14–3.15, 3.27–3.30)

In contrast to the clay specimens, bronze quadruped figurines display more stylistic awareness and provide more anatomical detail. The largest groups on Crete come from the sanctuary at Kato Syme and other sacred places at Aghia Triada, Phaistos, and in the caves of Psychro and Patsos (for these and other sites see Schürmann 1996; Kourou and Karetsou 1994; Pilali-Papasteriou 1985).

The bronze animal figurines at Kommos depict bulls, one ram, and one horse. The earliest bronze bull, AB80, shares some characteristics with the ram AB81, which was also found in a PG context: they both have a rod-shaped body and short tubular legs. The bull has cloven hooves and a long crescent-shaped tail. The difference is in the manner in which they were displayed. The ram simply stood on legs that were intentionally set obliquely to the body to stabilize the piece, whereas the bull’s legs were more vertical, ending at small square platforms with vertical tenons underneath that were probably used to secure the figure into a base.

Another bronze bull, AB80.1, from a Geometric to seventh-century context appears early, likely Early Geometric. Trunk, muzzle, and legs are largely tubular; the dewlap is fairly pronounced; and the tail (now missing, but detected from a scar on the surface) curved over the right side of the rump. Unusually, the rear part of this bull, including the tail, was completed in lead.23

The bronze bull AB82, from an LG context, is clearly more advanced, although a cylinder forms the middle part of the body and the legs are only slightly articulated, the rear ones with the knees indicated. The haunches and rump are powerfully modeled, and the dewlap is prominent. The tail is long and thick and hangs down straight. The latest bull, AB84, is from a seventh-century context and takes the development of modeling a step further with its more fluent, less geometric body, elongated legs, well-articulated hocks and fetlocks, and prominently rendered genitals. It is somewhat larger than the bulls already noted.

Unlike most of its clay counterparts, bronze horse AB83 was not meant to be used with wheels. The high value of the bronze horse in the eyes of the believers at Kommos is evident from the fact that it was displayed by setting it between two of the pillars of the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B. Like the bronze bulls, the horse is stylistically distinct. It still uses geometric forms in the fashioning of its tubular body, lower and rather longish legs, and muzzle, but parts of it, like the upper legs, haunches, head, and face, display an advanced modeling that suggests a date in the late eighth to early seventh century.24 It may be slightly earlier than the latest bull, AB84.

INTERIM PERIOD (I1–I9, PLS. 3.15–3.16, 3.32)

An assortment of quadrupeds is assigned here in terms of context, but the few extant examples preclude the designation of types. Noteworthy in this period is the introduction of a new
scale, which falls between those used for the small and solid and the large and hollow figures examined so far. The clay, mostly reddish yellow in hue, ranges from medium coarse to coarse. The lighter-toned slips continue (pink and very pale brown), but there is a new tendency toward the use of a slip that is reddish yellow and very close in color to the clay itself. The quadruped legs are solid and handmade, with a rather oval section and attention to naturalistic shape and detail, such as the indication of the hock of a rear leg. The tail is in relief, the hair rendered by incised slanted lines. A series of solid hooves and parts of legs from some very large quadrupeds have more elaborate decoration that seems to derive from vessels—perhaps both ceramic and metal. The hooves, as in 14, have a shape that resembles an echinus and are decorated with rounded fillets in relief.

It is difficult to decide whether the last-named type as well as the remaining odd pieces actually date from this period. The small solid bull figurine 11 looks different from the small quadrupeds belonging to the period of Temples A and B. Although roughly similar in size, it features an elongated body that is not strictly cylindrical. The hindquarters are heavier, making the body asymmetrical. The legs are very short, and the head seems to be bending down, in contrast to its upward position on earlier figurines.

PERIOD OF TEMPLE C (C1–C43, PLS. 3.16–3.19, 3.32–3.38)

Only quadrupeds, probably all bovines, are represented in this period. The clay used is coarse, but the size of inclusions rarely exceeds 0.3 cm. The color of the clay is generally reddish yellow or yellowish red, and the same tonal range applies to the majority of the pieces. A minority of the fragments are characterized by lighter tones for the slip, which is pink or very pale brown. In a number of examples it was not clear whether a slip had been used, mostly because the surfaces were very worn, the result of extensive exposure to the elements after the sanctuary was abandoned.

Some types encountered in the Interim period continue, specifically bovine figurines of an intermediary or smallish size. These (C1–C2, C4, and C7) are hollow and basically handmade, with very thick walls. In one case, C2, holes were punched from within and without to keep the walls from cracking during the firing process. The well-preserved small bull C9 found in situ on Altar C gives an impression of how some of these figurines looked when complete. As in the Interim period, the very small solid figurines, whether in clay or in bronze, were no longer produced.

A detail or fashion that continues from the Interim period concerns the treatment of the hooves, which are again decorated by successive rows of molded rings (e.g., C27, C29, C36, C40.2, and C40.4). The better-preserved example C27 shows that these rings were carried up to the hip. The feet indicate that the animals were of substantial size, roughly that of a small dog. Because of their size and the coarseness of the fabric used, the clay is incompletely baked, gray at the core, and friable.

The chief innovations occur with the large hollow animals, the most common type from
The Votive Figurines and Figures

this period. Very little has been preserved of the bodies, and our knowledge of their appearance and method of manufacture is often limited to the limbs, which were more sturdy than the bodies and heads and, therefore, are better preserved. In general, it appears that standardization set in.

Quadruped legs that display a more careful treatment of the surface may belong to the early days of Temple C. They include both hollow (C3, C8.1, C10, C13, C14, C25, and C25.1–25.4) and solid examples (C26, C33, C39, C40, and C40.1), and tend to be cylindrical in shape with only a slight taper at the base. These legs are conceived as abstract decorative forms. Most are wheelmade, but the walls are very thick, so that the interior space is usually quite narrow (the diameter of a thick pencil) or partly closed. Some tails are preserved. They are shown hanging down in relief against one of the rear legs, with the hair rendered by incised diagonal lines (e.g., C26 and C40), a treatment used previously in the Interim period (e.g., I4). In these and other legs the fetlocks, hocks, and occasionally cloven hooves are indicated (e.g., C40.2).

To this group also belongs part of a quadruped, C3, constructed of two wheelmade cylinders, one for the neck, one for the body. Where the pertinent part of the body is preserved, there is evidence that genitals were indicated.

Most of the remaining limbs have somewhat different shapes, and it is possible that they belong to the later phase of Temple C. Some of the pieces are decorated with molded rings. The majority of the plain legs feature wider hips with lower legs that taper sharply toward the bottom, where their base or hoof is splayed. Their section is a flattened oval rather than a circle, making them look slimmer in a frontal view and broader in profile. These limbs evoke living animals and contrast with the rather geometric, if more elegant, tubular leg forms used in what (as suggested above) might be an earlier group. Fetlocks and hocks are also depicted with interesting variations. Ultimately, what unites the two categories just described is that they both show a departure, albeit in varying degrees, from the potter’s methods that dominated the style of animal figurines in the EIA. An array of animal legs from this period is illustrated for the sake of comparison with earlier examples in Pl. 3.40.

Few faces and heads are preserved, and these are mostly broken from the body. Besides the very worn head of the small, nearly complete bull C9 (Pl. 3.6) that was found in situ on the altar, the best-preserved specimen is the head of a larger hollow bull of the fourth century B.C., C41, the body of which has not been identified. Incised outlines define the eyes, eyelids, forehead, and muzzle, but there is also a degree of modeling. The head was made separately and then, given its flatness, attached obliquely to the neck, as was the head of the C9.7 The optimal viewing angle for the head would have been frontal. This contrasts with the faces of animal figurines from Temples A and B, like that of the large clay horse AB51, which is equally interesting whether seen in profile or frontal view.

Broadly similar to the Kommos figures from this period are the large and hollow wheelmade clay animals found in some numbers in the sanctuary at Vryses Kydonias. Unlike the situation at Kommos, however, these figures represent a wide variety of animals (Mortzos 1985: 8–90,
Despite being badly broken, the material reveals great diversity in rendering. This could be a sign that craftsmen were working independently, or an indication that the various clay sculptures derive from different workshops. More of a unified style may eventually come to be recognized among the dozens of better-preserved bulls found in the ongoing excavations of the hypaethral shrine at Tsiskiana, in use from the fourth century B.C. to the second century after Christ (Niniou-Kindeli 1988; 1995; Andreadaki-Blasaki 1997: 59, 61–62). Animal figures of this later period are known only sporadically from other Cretan sanctuaries like those at Knossos, Aghia Triada, and Lato (all documented in Mortzos 1985: 88–90).

CONCLUSIONS

As a summary of the typology of the clay animals from Kommos, I offer the following comments. Although there are continuities, as in the presence of bulls/oxen, there are also overall trends that characterize the individual successive periods. During Temple A, the finest fabrics and surface treatment are bestowed on wheelmade figures like AB40 (Pls. 3.11, 3.23), and on the small wheeled horses of Type 2, such as AB15 (Pls. 3.9, 3.21), Attic connections for which were suggested above. Bovine figurines do not receive as much artistic attention, and their relative lack of variety suggests a degree of mass production. Some of these tendencies probably continued into the earlier phases of Temple B, but the majority of the large figures now show less attention to surface treatment. The production of figurines (bovines and horses) apparently continues, but it is not known for how long. They seem to have virtually disappeared by the Interim period, with the exception of I1 (Pl. 3.32), which nevertheless looks very different. In the Interim period, or earlier, there is some experimentation with new sizes, smallish—like I2 (Pl. 3.32)—and large, the latter featuring legs and feet ostentatiously decorated with series of relief fillets or rings, as in I4 (Pl. 3.32). Some of these styles linger on into the period of Temple C, when large figures predominate, and when there is a new interest in realistic rendering. This is evident in the inclusion of anatomical details as attested in the legs (e.g., C26, Pl. 3.37), for little remains of the bodies, the walls of which were probably relatively thin. The use of a wheel is less evident, and, conversely, handmade pieces become more common. Preservation of heads is rare too, but there is an interesting hollow example, C41 (Pls. 3.19, 3.38), which is rather flat but with some modeling, and relief and incised details. The very fragmentary face C44, of Late Hellenistic date, remains a bit of a mystery. If it is part of a quadruped, rather than an anthropomorphic mask or part of an antefix, this period could boast the creation of the largest clay animal found thus far at Kommos. The small fragment preserved, containing the eye and the eyebrow area, is almost 9.0 cm wide! As to the animals represented, no horses have been recognized among the fragments of figures from Temple C. Since the ritual in which the clay figures play a role in this period is known to be animal sacrifice, it makes sense that most of the votive animals should be bovines, rather than horses. The fragments preserved do not seem to come from any other kinds of quadrupeds.

As for the fabrics, there is little that can be said about connections with those used for
sculpture in other Mesara sites, since analyses are lacking. Usually, some resemblances are detectable in Late Classical and Hellenistic fabrics.

Site Topography and the Provenances of the Figurines and Figures

One of the aims of this study is to determine the original setting of the votive sculptures in the sanctuary. It is also hoped that other aspects of their handling by the faithful will be illuminated, including the reasons for their ultimate disposal in the various votive dumps. Scrutiny of the findspots can naturally provide clues to the above concerns, as well as to possible diachronic changes in ritual.

This examination is accompanied by four simplified plans of the sanctuary area. The first (Pl. 3.1) includes the main buildings or walls from the LM period on and introduces the reader to topographic abbreviations used specifically in this chapter. The remaining plans and an architectural section represent individual periods: one for Temple A (Pl. 3.2), one for Temple B (Pl. 3.4), and one for the Interim and Temple C periods combined (Pl. 3.5). Each plan indicates buildings or walls first built in the particular period along with those constructed earlier but still visible. Also recorded in each plan are the findspots of the votive sculptures: clay and bronze figurines and figures as well as the imported faiences. The key provided for each plan further explains the various symbols. Further information on the findspots is provided below in the discussion on provenances, in the catalogue (Section 2), and Table 3.1.

The topographical labels just mentioned are ones that were assigned incrementally during the process of excavation but are used here with some modifications that should be explained. Many of these labels (Pl. 3.1), whether arabic numerals (as in the Minoan Road 17), or letters (as in Building A1), were initially assigned to Minoan spaces but have been kept when discussing the Greek Sanctuary, as they allow us to specify locations in the Greek levels above them. Except for a few buildings and structures, the locations are part of large open-air areas. In this chapter, location labels are further specified by adding the letters “e,” “c,” and “w” (standing for “east,” “center,” and “west”) as a suffix to the general label, especially when the underlying Minoan space was rather large. Thus what used to be the long east-west Minoan Road 17 has here been subdivided into 17w, referring to the area directly west of the early Greek temples; 17c, for the central section of the road, directly north and northeast of the temples; and 17e, for the eastern extension of the road south of Minoan House X to the northeast corner of the north wing of the LM I palace (J. W. Shaw 1993: 135, fig. 3, and p. 162, fig. 8). Another area, 26, once part of the northern border of the central court of the palace, has similarly been divided into three sections: 26e, 26c, and 26w. For the smaller Area 15, it was enough to create two divisions, 15w and 15e.

The reliance on BA spaces for cross-referencing locations in the sanctuary area can serve as an introduction to the discussion that follows. Quite apart from their convenience, such references are, in fact, archaeologically valid: they serve as reminders that, at least at the start of the sanctuary’s history, the ruins of Minoan architecture were an integral part of the religious setting.
## Table 3.1. Figures and figurines from Iron Age Kommos by location.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Temple Phase</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Catalogue Number</th>
<th>Trench/ Pail</th>
<th>Date of Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temple A and Temple B, within</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple A, Floor 2</td>
<td>A 2</td>
<td>Wheel</td>
<td>AB27</td>
<td>33C/81</td>
<td>PG–MG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temple B, Floor 1</td>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>AB36</td>
<td>33C/76</td>
<td>LPG–G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple A, Floor 2, eastern end of excavated area</td>
<td>B 1</td>
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<td>AB34</td>
<td>33C/76</td>
<td>PG–LPG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple B, Floor 1</td>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>AB53</td>
<td>33C/76</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple B, Floor 1, eastern B 1 Quadruped</td>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>AB59</td>
<td>33C/72</td>
<td>Eighth–early seventh century B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temple B, Floor 1, exterior</td>
<td>B 3+</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>AB37</td>
<td>33C/53</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AB45</td>
<td>33C/73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bovine</td>
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<td>AB49</td>
<td>33C/49</td>
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<td>33C/53</td>
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<td>Temple A and Temple B, in and around hearth</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temple A, Floor 2</td>
<td>A 2</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>AB40</td>
<td>33C/81</td>
<td>PG–MG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple A, Floor 2, exterior</td>
<td>A 2</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>AB40</td>
<td>33C/85</td>
<td>PG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple B, Floor 1, area of hearth</td>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>AB40</td>
<td>33C/79</td>
<td>MG–LG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quadruped</td>
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<td></td>
<td>AB38</td>
<td>33C/78</td>
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<td>33C/78</td>
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<td>Temple B, Floor 1</td>
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<td>AB40</td>
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<td>MG–LG</td>
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<td>Temple B, Floor 1, directly above early hearth</td>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
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<td>33C/78</td>
<td>Seventh century B.C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temple B, Floor 1, above early hearth</td>
<td>B 1</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>AB73</td>
<td>33C/78</td>
<td>Seventh century B.C.</td>
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<td>Temple B, western part</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temple B, Floor 1, western part</td>
<td>B 1</td>
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<td>AB71</td>
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<td>Temple B, Floor 2, western part</td>
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<td>Horse-drawn vehicle</td>
<td>AB14</td>
<td>29A1/84</td>
<td>LG</td>
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<td>AB72</td>
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Table 3.1. (Continued)

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<th>Date of Context</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>AB85</td>
<td>29A1/45 and 68</td>
<td>Eighth–seventh century n.c.–Hellenistic</td>
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<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>AB35</td>
<td>33C/85</td>
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<td>Bull</td>
<td>AB65</td>
<td>33C/85</td>
<td>MG(?)</td>
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<td>AB60</td>
<td>33C/59</td>
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<td>Wheel</td>
<td>AB19</td>
<td>33C/60</td>
<td>PG</td>
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<td>Temple A and Temple B, east and northeast of</td>
<td>Location 16 (A–B)</td>
<td>Bovine</td>
<td>AB46</td>
<td>42A/34</td>
<td>PGB–seventh century n.c.(?)</td>
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<td>AB77</td>
<td>62D/39</td>
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<td>Building V, near</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bovine</td>
<td>AB50.1</td>
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<td>Temple A and Temple B, southeast of</td>
<td>Location 15e (A–B)</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>AB32</td>
<td>52A/21</td>
<td>LM and PG</td>
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<td>AB1</td>
<td>34A2/37</td>
<td>Tenth–ninth century n.c.</td>
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<td>AB3</td>
<td>34A2/40</td>
<td>LPG</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>34A2/44</td>
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<td>AB74</td>
<td>34A2/40 and 63A/26</td>
<td>PG</td>
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<td>Location 15w, lying on wall</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>AB6</td>
<td>34A2/36</td>
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<td>34A2/34</td>
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<td>AB76</td>
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<td>Temple A and Temple B, west of Location 6</td>
<td>A–B</td>
<td>Horse</td>
<td>AB12</td>
<td>37A/38</td>
<td>PG–MG</td>
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<td>Period of Temple A and Temple B, Location 17, Minoan Road</td>
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<td>17c</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bull</td>
<td>AB4</td>
<td>47A/56</td>
<td>LPG–PGB</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bull/bovine</td>
<td>AB5</td>
<td>47A/41</td>
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<td>Horse</td>
<td>AB11</td>
<td>47A/48</td>
<td>LPG–PGB</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Horse</td>
<td>AB13</td>
<td>47A/61</td>
<td>LPG–PGB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse-drawn vehicle</td>
<td>AB16</td>
<td>47A/61</td>
<td>LPG–PGB</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>AB20</td>
<td>47A/40</td>
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<td>Horse-drawn vehicle</td>
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<td>AB33/29</td>
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**Building P, off northeastern corner**

| Building P, northeast of | Wheel | AB22.2 | AB22.2/21 | LM IIIA2/B |
| A–B                  | Bull | AB9.1 | AB9.1/24 | Minoan–Archaic |
| A–B                  | Bull/bovine | AB9.2 | AB9.2/28 | Minoan–Hellenistic |
| A–B                  | Quadruped | AB73.1 | AB73.1/24 | Minoan and Archaic (?) |

**Period of Temple A and Temple B, Galleries P3–P6, at the western limit of**

| Gallery P3, western end | Bovine | AB48 | AB48/98 | Seventh century B.C. |
|                        | Quadruped | AB70 | AB70/98 | Seventh century B.C. |

<p>| Gallery P4, west of | A–B Wheel | AB22.1 | AB22.1/92 | LM IIIC–seventh century B.C. |
|                     | Quadruped | AB73.2 | AB73.2/38 | Archaic (?) |</p>
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<th>Trench/ Pail</th>
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<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>C17</td>
<td>10A1/23</td>
<td>Hellenistic–Roman</td>
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<td>Animal or human</td>
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<td>C18</td>
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<td>Altar H, north of</td>
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<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>C18</td>
<td>20B1/8</td>
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# The Votive Figurines and Figures

Table 3.1. (Continued)

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**Interim Period and Period of Temple C, Location 26**

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At the time of the founding of Temple A in SM times, the topography of the area was largely colored by the still-visible, if ruined, monumental architectural remains of the Minoan Civic Center (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1993: 161–88). The “religious landscape” was thus molded by an inherited topography as well as by its gradual modification through the architectural changes and ritual activities carried out by the people who administered the Greek Sanctuary. The periodic ritual dumping of discarded offerings, including figurines, was one of the actions that had an important impact on the morphology of the landscape.

One of the landmarks at the beginning of the sanctuary’s lengthy history must have been the long, rough, rectangular platform or terrace with an east-west orientation, atop and near the western end of which Temple A was built, as shown in the architectural section (Pl. 3.3). This platform was the ruined north wing of the LM I palace, of which only the northwest and southeast sections, Buildings N and P, were remodeled and reused during LM III. North and south of this platform there were two deep depressions. The northern one was the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Temple Phase</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<th>Date of Context</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interim Period and Period of Temple C, at the western limit of Galleries P3–P6</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery P3, west of, and south of Building Q</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>C30</td>
<td>65A3/56</td>
<td>Hellenistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery P4, western end</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>I4</td>
<td>63B/101</td>
<td>Fifth century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery P4, west of</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>I7</td>
<td>90D</td>
<td>Surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallery P5, western end</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>I8</td>
<td>89C/98</td>
<td>Fifth century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
<td>C25.6</td>
<td>89C/103</td>
<td>Fourth century B.C.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

B 34 = Temple B, Phase 3, plus accumulation
The Votive Figurines and Figures

important Minoan road leading to and from the sea (Locations 17e–17w), which had originally been cut into the slope of the hillside rising north of the Civic Center. Some time after the Minoan abandonment, Road 17 was partially filled in with drifted sand. The southern depression (Locations 26e–26w) was formed during LM III, when the ground level remained the same, while the remodeling of Buildings P and N to its north (Locations 4–7, 12, 13, and 15 in Pls. 3.1, 3.2) entailed raising the level of the floors. Between the two depressions stood the "platform," a conspicuous landmark and "ready-made" pedestal on which newcomers to the site in the SM period decided to erect their little Temple A.

The depressions along 17e–17w and 26e–26w separated the platform from its surroundings, for instance, by making it difficult to reach either the area to the north on the hillside or that to the south. Reasonably, these depressions would soon serve as dumping grounds for discarded votives. They would have been convenient too, given their proximity to the early temples, where, as we shall see, most of the votives seem to have been placed.

PROVENANCES DURING THE PERIODS OF TEMPLES A AND B

The findspots of the votive figurines and figures from this period are shown graphically in two plans (Pls. 3.2, 3.4).

Temple A, Floor 1

No figurines were found on the very limited area of the floor where excavation could take place in the sounding under the slab floor of Temple C. The large wheelmade and pattern-painted SM bull AB40, however, must belong to this phase. Its fragments were found scattered outdoors and indoors in later contexts associated with Floor 2 of Temple A and with Temple B.

Temple A, Floor 2

Found on the second floor in the northern part of the room were a spoked wheel AB27, and fragments of the large wheelmade painted bull AB40, mentioned above in connection with Temple A, Floor 1. Fragments of the latter were also found just outside the doorway on a surface related to Floor 2, along with the horn of a small bovine AB35 and the hollow leg and a few other pieces from a large quadruped AB65. It is possible that some of these figurines had been displayed on the north bench in the vicinity where they were found.

The beginning of this phase is dated to the early ninth century B.C. (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1, Deposits 2 and 3, and related dumps Deposits 4 and 5). The abandonment of the larger items right outside the door, contrasting with the substantially cleaned out interior of the temple, can perhaps be explained by the fact that the ground level outdoors was raised substantially at the start of Temple B, enough to cover these pieces, which may have dropped accidentally as figurines and other objects were being taken out to be dumped.
Temple B, Floor 1

In the area of Hearth 1 (Pl. 1.30) were found the small solid quadruped AB38, parts of two large wheelmade quadrupeds AB55 and AB73, and what is taken to be a mane of a large horse, AB61. Interestingly, fragments from the body of the large SM painted bull AB40, noted under Temple A, had apparently been used along with small cobbles as a paving at the bottom of Hearth 1 (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 3). Fragments of AB40, however, had already been taken out of Temple A, likely at the end of Floor 1, to judge by the LM III to PG context of one of the animal’s legs found in a dump in Location 17c. Thus, the question of why the pieces are connected with Hearth 1 needs to be addressed. I see two possibilities: (1) that the builders of Hearth 1 collected fragments of AB40 from dumps outdoors; (2) that during Temple B, Floor 1, a hearth of Temple A, Floor 2, paved with cobbles and the sherds from the clay figure was reused.

More fragments came from other parts of the cella, mostly west and north of the hearth, the only areas of Temple B we were able to reveal in the sounding under the slab floor of Temple C. The pieces include a pair of small horns AB34, a small horn or leg AB36, fragments from a wheelmade quadruped AB53, and a hollow hoof AB71. At the entrance to the temple were part of a small solid bull AB8, part of a large wheelmade quadruped AB60, and a solid wheel AB19.

Pertinent here are Pottery Deposits 14 and 15 (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1), the former of which, PG in date, seems to be an interface between Temples A and B. Since hearths are usually cavities cut into the floor, it is feasible that some of the votive discards were simply swept into the hearth as part of a filling and leveling process in laying the next floor.

Temple B, Floor 2

Found within the temple were figurines of a variety of materials: clay, bronze, and faience. Some were associated with the Tripillar Shrine that had been installed in the previous period (Pl. 1.32). The shrine, with its three pillars fixed into the top of a large triangular block, now served, as it probably had earlier, as a setting for the display of votives. Associated with it were the bronze bull AB82, the bronze horse AB83, and the faience figurines of Sekhmet and Nefertum—AB85 and AB86. Clay figurines were found mostly in the west area: a horse with pierced feet AB14, a spoked wheel AB28, the snake AB39, part of a small hollow bovine AB50, a bovine’s dewlap AB59, the hoof of a large quadruped AB72, and four small solid legs of a quadruped AB75.

Four of the above offerings were still in situ. Of these, the bronze horse was wedged between the middle and the southern pillars and faced east. Sekhmet was laid on top of the horse with her head to the west, while Nefertum was placed upright between the middle and the northern pillars. The bronze bull AB2 was found lying on the floor not far from the central pillar. It is clear that the need never arose for these and other votives to be taken out of the
room and dumped outdoors. The reason was probably the substantial raising of Floor 3 of Temple B, an operation that brought to an end the original use of the Tripillar Shrine, the upper part of which was incorporated into a hearth of the new floor.

Temple B, Floor 3, and Later Accumulation
Part of the wheelmade quadruped AB58 was found on Floor 3. The rest of the finds represent accumulated use over that floor: a horn AB37, parts of large quadrupeds, AB49, AB54, AB45. It is interesting to note that the fragmentary nature of the clay sculpture at these higher levels in Temple B contrasts with the situation in Temple B, Floor 2. Part of the reason must have been that, as discussed for Floor 2, votives could be left in situ, given the substantial rise of Floor 3. However, this floor, which is marked by two new hearths, was cleaned out and continued to be used. What I find puzzling, though, is the lack of figurines in the last stage of accumulation over Floor 3. The explanation that the offerings were taken out to be dumped may not make sense, given that Temple B was abandoned at this stage.

The Votive Dumps
Understandably, stratigraphy in the dumps outdoors is less definable, since one is dealing with cumulative patchy surfaces rather than proper floors. Nonetheless, some surfaces were singled out, and in certain cases they could be connected with temple phases by means of ceramic joins. The presence of a layer of stone chips from the construction of Temple B that spread over a large area and sealed the outdoor strews of Temple A was especially helpful in this respect (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1).

Given that votives in the dumps are not in their original contexts, they will simply be listed by their catalogue number according to location without specifying the type of animal or part thereof. Animals, scales, and techniques represented in sculpture found within Temples A and B are the same as those found in contemporary dumps.

Location 17c, Minoan Road, Directly Northeast of the Temples
Location 17c: AB4, AB4.1, AB5, AB9, AB11, AB13, AB16, AB20, AB21, AB22, AB24, AB25, AB40, AB41.1, AB44

Temple A's north wall was likely built on top of the north wall of Building T, although not necessarily flush with the latter’s exterior surface. If so, a ledge would have been created by the projecting Minoan facade, as we have also suggested graphically (Pls. 1.19, 3.3). Such a ledge could have served as a passage east and west of the temple as well as a handy surface on which to stand when dumping votives cleaned out of the temple into the Minoan Road 17 below. Thus the extensive dump of figurines we found may have continued somewhat west, in the area underneath the Classical Room A1 (see Pl. 3.1), but not beyond 17w, where little was found.
The Sculpture from the Sanctuary

The large number of figurines from Location 17c (corresponding to Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1, Deposit 7) is believed to derive mostly from the last phase of Temple A (Pl. 3.2). This dump included a leg and part of the body of the large SM bull AB40, which joined with pieces within Temple A, Floor 2, and Temple B, Floor 1. The fragments in the dump were discovered atop a mantle of sand that settled over the slab pavement of the Minoan Road after the Minoan abandonment of the site (Pl. 3.3). Eventually the dump filled the road to the preserved top of the northern facade of the palace (Building T) and allowed people to walk across to the hillslope on the north. Ironically, the site returned to its Minoan topography when our excavation removed the Greek fill from the road and re-created the gap between the sanctuary and the hill across.

Location 17c, Minoan Road, and Northeast of Building P

Location 17c: AB80.1
Northeast of Building P: AB9.1, AB9.2, AB73.1, AB22.2

Not all the area between 17c and 17e could be excavated. In Location 17e, a pleasant surprise was the discovery of small bronze bull AB80.1. Probably dating no later than the Geometric period, it was found in fill some 2 m above the road, directly south of Minoan House X. The area further east, around the northeast corner of Building P, was subject to erosion, causing some mixing with Minoan fills. Such was the context of the small clay bull AB9.2, which, as is mentioned in the preceding typological section, may be a Minoan hangover. On the other hand, the small solid wheel AB22.2 was, surprisingly, found in fill of thoroughly LM III date, with strata of the same date extending above and below.

Location 15e and 15w, Southeast of Temple A and Temple B

Eastern area: AB7, AB32, and AB57
Western area: AB1, AB3, AB6, AB10, AB15, AB74, AB76, and AB84

Location 15 is south of Location 16, which was the eastern court of Temples A and B. Location 16 and the central part of Location 15 were kept clean of dumps. Of interest are two identical quadruped legs with painted decoration, AB76, that were placed on top of the east wall of Minoan Rooms 12–13, now preserved for a few courses. Surely the legs are all that remain of the complete quadruped once displayed there.

Locations 26w and 26c

Western area: AB29, AB33, AB52, AB68–AB69, and AB78
Central area: AB2, AB9.3, AB17, AB18, AB23, AB26, AB31, AB41–AB43, AB46–AB47, AB51, AB56, AB62–AB64, AB66–AB67, and AB79–AB81
During the periods of Temples A and B only two sections of the area, 26w and 26c, were used as dumps. With a few exceptions, the figurines found there cannot be attributed with certainty to specific temple phases. Of great help was the identification of two major surfaces having ceramic joins with Temple A, Floor 2 (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1, Deposits 4 and 5). Noteworthy among the figurines of the earlier horizon are three of bronze: ram AB81, the little nude ithyphallic man AB79, and bull AB80, all found near the east walls of Minoan Rooms 12 and 13. There were also clay figurines of the usual types, solid and hollow, small and large. Among the larger wheelmade variety was the attractive head of a horse AB51, related stratigraphically to Temple B, Floor 2.

Strays
These pieces come from various locations on the site and are listed by findspot, in a clockwise direction, starting in the northwestern area of the sanctuary.

Location 17, west of Temples A and B: AB30, spoked wheel, and in Location 6, AB12
Location 16: AB46, bull head, other parts found in Location 26w
Location 42, east of Temples A and B: AB77, solid leg
Near Building V: AB50.1, ear of quadruped
Western end of Building P, Gallery P3: AB48, neck of wheelmade bovine
West of Building P, Gallery P4: AB22.1, small solid wheel
Western end of Building P, Gallery P4: AB70, hollow leg
West of Gallery Building P, P6: AB73.2, hollow leg

PROVENANCES FROM THE INTERIM PERIOD AND TEMPLE C
The findspots of the votive clay figures from this period are shown in a plan (Pl. 3.5).

Area of the Altars (Locations 16, 42, 19, 21, 22, and 15e)
On Altar C: C9 and C17
East of Altar C: C44
North and northeast of Altar H: C6, C7, C8, C18, C36, C42, and C43
Between Altars M and L: C24
Southeast of Temple C, Location 15e: C3 and C26

One of the most exciting discoveries at Kommos was that of the small complete bull C9 found on Altar C, still in standing position (Pl. 3.6). It was clearly one of the latest offerings. The figurine had been placed facing east, near the southern edge of the altar on a pavement of small stones and next to a tall upright slab set to the north to protect it from the flames that consumed the flesh of real sacrificial animals nearby. Although not singed, the little bull was badly damaged by heat along its left side. The sand, blown over the years by forceful
winds, had also weathered its surface at the same time as it gradually covered the animal and preserved it for two millennia. The head, the last part to be covered, was the most damaged. The face was worn away and the ears and horns broken off. A second upright slab along the same line and just to the south provided similar protection for other figurines once placed there.

Indeed, leaning against the small bull was the leg of a larger hollow bull C17, two other legs of which were found nearby in the sand, the fragments of the body itself having been lost. The slabs (ca. 0.30 m high) must have been about the height of this second bull, which was probably almost twice as tall as the small solid bull. It is interesting that in this set of three legs the surface of the upper parts was badly chipped by the impact of the blown sand, while the surfaces of the hoofs and lower legs are well preserved, these parts having been protected by the sand that settled on the altar top and covered them before two of the legs fell down.

No figurines were preserved on Altar H to the east, but fragments of several were found nearby. When complete, the figurines had probably been placed on the altar. The surface of this altar was largely destroyed, not allowing us to determine whether it had also been provided with upright slabs to protect the figurines.

Hardly any figurine fragments were associated with the two southern Altars L and M. Numerous fragments found south of Altar L in Location 26 and around the eastern end of Archaic Building Q, which was abandoned by the end of the Archaic period, may have come either from this altar or from Altar M. On the other hand, the two northern Altars H and C, the only ones with evidence of burnt animal bones, may have been the exclusive resting place for the figurines found scattered around them. Altars L and M were built last, and their possible functions are discussed by Joseph W. Shaw (Chap. 8, Section 1).

Location 26

- Western area: C2, C12, and C15
- Central area: I1, I2, I3, I9, C19, and C27–C29
- Eastern area: I3, I5, C1, C4, C10, C11, C13, C14, C16, C37, and C41

The typical large animal figures were found in Location 26. Of interest is the higher concentration in the eastern area and the fact that several of the items seem to belong to the Interim period. The eastern section is closer to the altars from which the discarded votives likely came. Among the finds, which include legs and body parts of hollow quadrupeds, is the fine head of bull C41 from a fourth-century B.C. context. It was found in two fragments, one here, the other directly south of where Minoan House X used to be.

Most commonly used as a dumping place in the earlier periods, Location 26 continued to serve this purpose in the Classical period. Fragments were found both under and above the layer of stone chips that marks the construction of Temple C, correspondingly in fifth-
early-fourth-century-B.C. contexts. In the central and eastern areas of Location 26, a surface
apparently laid out in the fourth century (at ca. +5.40 m) as an extension of the sanctuary
court covered what was once the north room of LM III Building P. Over this surface a retaining
wall was built extending all the way west to the north wall of Building W. Most of the figurines
were found under and within a ruined segment of that retaining wall. Perhaps dumping in
this area ended with the building of the wall.

Areas East and Northeast of Building D and around and above House X

Near Building D: C22, C32, C34, C35, and C39

In and around House X: I3.1, I6, C8.1, C21, C25, C25.1–C25.2, C31, C33, C40.1–C40.3,
and C41

Several of the figurine fragments found in the area around Building D and House X are
surface finds with no secure context dates. Although there could be other explanations, the
fragments were probably discarded here after their use in the area of the altars. The pieces
found near Building D were at levels too high to belong to its use, however. House X had
already been in a ruinous state for some time. With the gradual rise of the ground level, what
was once a mound of rubble must have become almost level with the surrounding area, which
explains the dumping of figurines in Classical times and not during the EIA. The figurine
fragments range from the Interim period to Late Hellenistic times.

Strays

Between Buildings V and E, Room 14, southwest corner of House X: C8.1

Between Buildings V and E, south of House X: C41

East of Temple C: C40

20 m northwest of Temple C: C23

Southeast of Temple C: C20

Location 15w, western section: I3

West of Building E and above Location 25a: C5

Northwest of Building E: C38

East of Building Q: C25.3–C25.5, and C40.4

West of Gallery P3: C30

West of Gallery P4: I4, and I7

West of Gallery P5: I8, and C25.6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, we are fortunate at Kommos to have such a
comprehensive collection of votive figurines and to be able to infer in most cases where they
were originally displayed. This section summarizes the diachronic changes in the preferred
settings for the figurines, putting them in historical perspective by comparison with practices elsewhere in Crete and other relevant geographical areas.

During the periods of Temples A and B (ca. 1020–800 B.C. and 800–600 B.C., respectively), the temples themselves seem to have served as the main repositories for the display of the figurines and figures, whether of clay, bronze, or faience; whether small and solid or large and wheelmade (in the case of clay animals); and whether the depictions were of bulls/bovines, horses, humans, or were hybrid in form. The northern bench may have offered an appropriate surface for display, although this does not exclude other uses for the bench, such as for seating participants in ritual banquets, which were probably held indoors, to judge from the presence of burnt animal bones in the interior hearths (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 3). On the other hand, in Crete there are EIA examples of shrines with benches, likely for displays, continuing earlier Minoan traditions. One such example is that in the recently discovered LM IIIC shrine at Kephala Vasilikis (Eliopoulos 1998). Benches have been found in the little EIA temple at Diones (Coldstream 1977: 280–81), at Kavousi (Gesell et al. 1995: 71–73), and at Vrokastro (Hayden 1991: 105–11). Outside Crete, sacred buildings in which figurines were displayed are the Late Bronze Age sanctuary at Phylakopi (French 1985: 276–80) and the Mycenaean acropolis of Tiryns (Kilian 1978). In the Cycladic Islands, an EIA example is the shrine at Koukounaries on Paros dating to the seventh century (Schilardi 1988).

Temple B, Floor 2, at Kommos imparts unique information about the positioning of the figurines. A focal area was the Tripillar Shrine, where, as already discussed, three figurines were found in situ between the pillars, and more figurines were set on the floor in the immediate vicinity. Possibly there were wooden shelves or little tables for storage, displays, and other uses, given the fact that there seem to have been many figurines placed indoors—not to mention other offerings—and the floor space was too limited to accommodate them all.

The restricted space in the temples at Kommos meant that figurines, along with other dedications, had to be cleared out from the cells periodically to make room for new offerings. Since we find fragments inside the temples (more commonly in the case of the large clay figures), it is evident that these were already broken before they were taken out, but whether the breakage resulted from accidents during use or happened intentionally as part of a ritual is not possible to determine. Although small as well as large figurines were found in dumps, I am inclined to believe that most of the former, especially if they were in bronze or other valuable materials, would have been displayed or at least stored indoors. It is difficult to imagine, for instance, that the bronze figurine of the ithyphallic man (AB79) or the various small bronze bulls were left outside, even if they might have been brought to a particular spot on the occasion of a ceremony.

At least some of the large figures must have been displayed outdoors, perhaps permanently. The still partially standing Minoan walls would have provided ready-made pedestals. The case of the pair of clay animal legs AB76, found atop the east wall of Minoan Rooms 12 and
The Votive Figurines and Figures

13, has already been noted. Such hypaethral displays may have become more common in the later phases of Temple B, with the construction of Altar U in Court 16. This would have created a new location for cultic activities. Some short stretches of flimsy masonry on the final surface of that court just south of Altar U and elsewhere may also have acted as benches or platforms for displays (Foldout F). The structure of U itself—hollow in the center and outlined by roughly rectangular and rather slim blocks—hardly offered appropriate surfaces for regular displays of figurines.

The cavity of Altar U was also full of burnt animal bones (see Reese, Chap. 6, Table 6.1). No animal figures were found with that altar, but one wonders if some of those found inside Temples A and B might not have had some ritual connection with the interior hearths. Burnt bones within the latter are, however, best explained as being the result of cooking and banqueting (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 1). The broken character of large animal figures before they were taken out of the temples was noted earlier, raising the possibility of deliberate breaking to re-enact sacrificial slaughtering. Nonetheless, there are other possible explanations, such as accidents or deliberate breaking to allow the sherds to be collected in containers and taken out for disposal.

Some questions arise as to the use of the cella in the last phase of Temple B, during the accumulation over Floor 3, when so few pieces were found. Perhaps by this time fewer figurines were being offered, or perhaps fewer were being placed inside. Both of the latter options find some support in the fact that there was a strange lack of figurines in a late-seventh-century B.C. dump found in the court to the east, directly outside the temple. From all appearances, this dump represents material cleaned out from the final use of the temple, the dumping itself being unusual since up to this point the court had been kept free of dumps. Of interest is the fact that in this dump there were substantial pieces of iron ore, which may mark a shift to dedicating other types of offerings. The temple could have already taken control of the ironworking activity widely attested at the site during the seventh century B.C. (Rehder, Chap. 1, Appendix 1.2).

The absence of figurines and figures in certain other locations at Kommos is also worth noting, as the decision not to use an area for dumps can in itself direct attention to its different use. For instance, the area directly west of the EIA temples, which was still enclosed by partially standing Minoan walls that had earlier outlined the LM III Building N, could have served as a secondary and rather secluded court in the early days of the sanctuary. There were hardly any figurines here or in the main court east of the temples (Location 16). Similar was the situation in the Geometric Building Z and the seventh-century Buildings V and Q, which seem to have had more secular functions: Z with its burnt floor for cooking, V for ironworking, and Q at least partly as a warehouse (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 3; Rehder, Chap. 1, Appendix 1.2; Johnston 1993).

Turning to the period of Temple C (ca. 375/350 B.C.–A.D. 160/170), we note that the size of the sanctuary court expanded some distance to the east with the construction of four altars,
which became the foci of ritual activity. Clay animals, along with parts of real animals, were placed on the altars during the ritual of sacrifice, although the intact state of the little bull C9, found atop Altar C, suggests that the clay figurines were not intentionally broken on that occasion as a reenactment of sacrificial slaughtering (as per Rouse 1902: 346). It seems that they were left on the altar until the next festival, when they would be brushed aside to make room for new offerings. In the case of the bull C9, fate had it that no other festival would follow, permitting the figurine to stand through the centuries, a lonely sentinel of the sanctuary until its discovery.30

Comparanda for the placement of votive figurines in the area of altars are not lacking. The best parallels are provided by the sanctuaries at Vryses Kydonias and at Tsiskiana Epanocho- rioi in Chania (Mortzos 1985). In the latter, some 430 clay bulls were found standing side by side on an extension of the altar, all facing in the same direction toward a river (Andreadaki-Blasaki 1997: 59, 61–62, fig. 67; Niniou-Kindeli 1988: 291, pl. 7a). The situation in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos is less certain (Higgins 1973: 56), for although clay votives, human and animal, were found near a temple, we cannot be sure that they were originally kept in it. That would, however, be the more suitable place, particularly for the human figurines. The finds at that sanctuary range in date from the eighth to the second century B.C. Outside Crete, the Sanctuary of Hera on Samos offers a fine example of a display of figurines outdoors in the EIA. They were apparently positioned on a semicircular platform east of the altar (Ohly 1940: 78–82).

Many buildings and structures of the Classical period at Kommos were clearly not intended either for the storage or display of votive figurines. Places marked by an absence of figurines are all from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, i.e., Room A1; Buildings B, D, and E; and most conspicuously Temple C itself. The perception of what a temple should be used for in Crete must have changed with time, perhaps adapting to features and practices prevalent in Doric and Ionic temples elsewhere in Greece, even if the architectural form remained idiosyncratic. That Temple C was seen primarily as the abode of the divinity or divinities worshipped is clear from the elaborate base built into its western side, the cuttings of which were clearly intended to secure one or more cult statues. All that may remain of the statue(s) is a bone eye (Bo 24) discovered in fill within the cela (see Section 4).

The relief of Pan found near the statue base (S 197) does not in itself imply that Pan was among the main divinities to whom Temple C was dedicated. As a votive offering, it could have been displayed as easily outdoors, as is argued in more detail in Section 5.

Ritual Use and Possible Meaning of the Votive Figurines and Figures in the Successive Periods

The significance of votive sculptures in Greek sanctuaries has been one of the more challenging questions in the study of ancient religion, and one for which a response is never quite free
of speculation. This condition pertains at Kommos too, one of the difficulties being that during
the long span of time involved there may have been changes—whether in ritual practices or
in matters of faith. Even though it lies beyond the aim of this chapter to resolve the matter
of which divinities were worshipped, a critical summary of conclusions reached by Joseph
W. Shaw on the basis of the entire range of offerings and other evidence provides a useful
backdrop for viewing and evaluating possible diachronic changes in ritual regarding the
particular offerings dealt with here (see J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 2).
Inscriptions on dedications, one of the most trustworthy types of evidence for who might
be worshipped, are available only for the latest temple, during Classical and Hellenistic times,
and these name Athena and Zeus. In light of the apparent hiatus in the history of the sanctuary,
at least in the sixth century B.C., one cannot be certain that the same deities were worshipped
in all periods. Although J. W. Shaw does not state that there was a change, the idea is implicit
in his proposal that a trinity may have been worshipped during the era of Temple B (ca.
800–600 B.C.). Among his arguments for identifying a trinity of deities is the prevalence of a
group of three individuals in Cretan iconography of the EIA, a triad that may be reflected
aniconically by the Tripillar Shrine in Temple B. He also sees the two faience dedications of
the Egyptian divinities Sekhmet and Nefertum, themselves part of an Egyptian trinity (along
with missing god Ptah), as possibly alluding to the Cretan trinity generally believed to consist
of the twins Apollo and Artemis and their mother Leto (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 2).
Nicholas Coldstream (1977: 327) has observed that one would expect that “no sanctuary
changed its deity after the Geometric time” once “the political geography of Greece had
become fixed.” By this reasoning, whoever was worshipped in Temple B need not have already
been installed during Temple A, the construction of which in SM times long preceded the
political organization Coldstream refers to as being pivotal to stability. It is difficult to deter-
mine if worshippers in the transitional and, to our eyes, nebulous earlier SM and PG periods
looked back to their Minoan past (and to deities related to the Bench Shrines and goddesses
with upraised arms that are found at LM IIIC and SM sites),31 or if these were times of new
beginnings. Was the divine triad of Leto, Apollo, and Artemis known from elsewhere in Crete
and proposed to have been worshipped at Kommos by the time of Temple B already in place
during Temple A? Some support for continuity between Temples A and B can be found in
the similar fashion of displaying the figurines and figures (that is, largely within the temple),
as well as in the kinds of votive sculpture offered. Large wheelmade animals, bulls and horses,
as well as small and solid bulls and chariot horses, usually associated with male gods, were
in use during both temples. Other finds that J. W. Shaw lists from various phases, coming
from contexts both within and outside Temples A and B, include items one might associate
with both male and female deities: arrowheads; spearheads; the ceremonial shield displayed
within Temple B; faience, glass, and stone beads; faience scarabs and vases; and finger rings
(see J. W. Shaw, Tables 1.3–1.4).
The idea of a correspondence between a Cretan and an Egyptian trinity is not inconceivable
for those early days, when Crete is known to have had extensive contact with the Near East and to have been receptive to things foreign (Coldstream 1977: 70), but it cannot be taken too literally. One problem with the proposal, however, is that no figurine of Ptah has been found at Kommos. But even if it had, there is still the problem that the two trinities do not match: The Cretan one consists of two females and a male, the Egyptian one of a couple and their son. The way Sekhmet was displayed is also problematic. She was set horizontally, face up, atop a bronze figurine of a horse. This rather impromptu arrangement appears unworthy of a cult statuette, if this is, in fact, how the sculpture was perceived. The horse too is a typically Greek votive offering that seems unrelated to Sekhmet. The possibility that the two items were dedicated at the same time as an ensemble, perhaps signifying a goddess on a horse, should be raised. But the probability of such an offering is unlikely in this case, given the fact that the two items are so disparate in their origins, Sekhmet being foreign and imported, the horse having been produced in Greece or possibly on Crete.32

Interpretation of the purpose and meaning of the faience figurines from Kommos can benefit from studying the use and contexts of other similar objects in Crete and other areas of the Aegean. Of interest also is the question of who the faience images, whether imported or copied locally, were meant to represent. Happily, such an inquiry is aided by numerous recent publications. One is the multivolume publication of the rich North Cemetery at Knossos (Coldstream and Catling 1996). Another is a volume containing papers and an extensive catalogue for an exhibition held in 1997–98 in the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion. This exhibition brought together materials illustrating interconnections between Crete, Cyprus, and the Dodecanese from the Bronze Age to the sixth century B.C. (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998). In regard to faiences, Nicholas Stampolidis raises crucial questions concerning the significance these imported figurines may have held for the Cretans, as well as whether there was a systematic spread of ideological beliefs underlying their use. These broad issues cannot be dealt with extensively here, but the following observations relating to Kommos may be of interest.

In reviewing the evidence, mainly from Crete, I came to the potentially significant realization that the repertoire of divine characters represented by the faience figurines is rather selective. Judging from the published examples and those known from displays in the Herakleion Museum, especially the ones from the Inatos Cave (Davaras 1963), there seems to be a recurrence of certain Egyptian and other Oriental gods and goddesses, namely, Nefertum, Sekhmet, Ptah-Seker, Astarte, and Bes. Of this group, Sekhmet and Nefertum, who were presumably offered as a pair at Kommos, clearly represent mother and son or offspring. This may stress the natural role of a mother, as protectress and nurturer. Sekhmet, who was also a healing goddess (Lurker 1980: 106), occurs again in a Middle to Late Geometric burial in Eleutherna, presumably representing a parting gift to the deceased, whose age and gender has not yet been determined (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 219, no. 251).

The presence of Nefertum is widespread, both on Crete and the Eastern Mediterranean
The Votive Figurines and Figures 169

(Webb 1996: vol. 2, 604–6, nn. 1283–89). Two faience figurines of him and one of Ptah-Seker, the latter sometimes referred to as “Ptah-Embryon,” were found in the tomb of a female child in the North Cemetery at Knossos, dating to the late eighth century. In Egypt, Ptah-Seker is often mentioned in inscriptions of figurines of a dwarf, one of a class of such characters who became Ptah’s helpers in his artisan activities. Herodotus concluded that these helpers were the sons of Ptah when he saw their images in the latter’s temple at Memphis.33 It may be that early on the Greeks mistook faience representing Ptah-Seker for images of a child (or even an embryo). In the example from Knossos, Ptah-Seker is shown seated on a throne that is carved at the back with the image of the goddess Isis, presumably acting as the dwarf’s or child’s protectress. Ptah-Seker figurines were apparently imported from the Levant to Greece as early as the ninth century B.C., as suggested by an example from Lefkandi (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 223, no. 261). They are also known from the West (Webb 1996: 604–5; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 220, 223, nos. 255 and 261). The remaining characters, Astarte and Bes, are clearly related to fertility, pregnancy, and birth, the former as the goddess of love and procreation, the latter as the well-known Egyptian helper in childbirth. Figurines representing these two have been found in locations like the Inatos Cave (Davaras 1963: 310–11), where the Greek goddess of childbirth, Eileithyia, was worshipped, as well as at other sanctuaries, such as that of Zeus Thenatas at Amnisos.34

Some of these Egyptian, Oriental, and Orientalizing faience are provided with a suspension loop, like the one that is partially preserved on the Nefertum figurine at Kommos (Pl. 3.30, bottom right). In Egypt they were clearly made to be worn as pendants, mostly by children or women, functioning as amulets that could avert mishap and evil. In the case of the women they could also have served as fertility charms, and to protect them during childbirth (Bulté 1991; Pinch 1994: 106). 35

The amulets have been found in sanctuaries and tombs. Our figurine of Sekhmet, which is both larger than that of Nefertum and lacks a loop for suspension, was likely made for display, although these distinctions have little relevance at Kommos, since both of the faience figurines were similarly displayed. Inside the temple they joined other types of offerings placed within and next to the Tripillar Shrine. The proximity of Sekhmet and Nefertum to the pillars must have been symbolic as well, especially if the structure represented the divine trinity in abstract form. Of the three deities, Leto, as the fertile mother of twins, may have been targeted as the main recipient for the faience, but Artemis, who is similarly connected with fertility and childbirth (Burkert 1985: 151; D’Agata 1998: 23), would also be relevant.36 Nefertum could represent the offspring needing protection or a god protecting offspring. Whether he also alluded to Apollo, the only other male in these considerations, remains uncertain.

Pertinent to the interpretation that the aim of the faience images of Sekhmet, Nefertum, and other Egyptian deities was to protect procreation, mother, and offspring, is, paradoxically, the fact that these amulets were sometimes deposited in children’s burials. It must be that,
having sadly failed to protect the children, the amulets ended up accompanying them to their
tombs, a touching expression of parental hope that their little ones could nevertheless be
protected in their lonely trip to the underworld. Other objects in faience, such as scarabs,
seem to have had magical associations as well. They too are usually found in the tombs of
children in this period, over a widespread area that includes Crete (especially the North

A last comment on the imported amulets regards their foreignness and what significance
this may have held for the people who purchased them: One possibility is that in the minds
of their users their exotic nature invested them with more potent magical powers than were
possessed by local products. It must also be said, however, that the choice of Egyptian deities
reflects a degree of knowledge about the meanings they held for the Egyptians themselves.
Noting Walter Burkert’s belief that Near Eastern cult practices were transmitted to Greece,
Nanno Marinatos (1996: 138) has suggested that places like the Inatos Cave Sanctuary, the
sanctuary at Amnisos, and other seaside sanctuaries would have been the logical points of
entry for such Oriental cults. One can imagine how persons importing and trading cultic
objects from Egypt and elsewhere would want to provide explanations about the benefits of
their goods to interested customers. However, I suspect that the explanations may have taken
the form of a “sales pitch,” rather than being a formal introduction to Egyptian and Near
Eastern theology. This impression is also based on the fact that the fashion of importing these
figurines proved to be temporary in Crete, for it hardly continued beyond the seventh century
B.C. (Hoffman 1997: 38, 247). While the trend lasted we can include Kommos, with its ample
ceramic evidence for long-term contacts with the East (Bikai, Chap. 4, Section 2), as another
port of entry for such exotica. The Phoenicians, for instance, may have acted as intermediaries,
picking up faience in Rhodes, Cyprus, and Egypt, and importing them to Kommos, taking
other objects from there back to the Levant. The possibility that Cretans themselves brought
new ideas and forms back with them from Egypt is less likely if we give credence to the
general impression that the Cretans “waited for the orientals to come to them” (Coldstream
1977: 70), rather than the other way around.

The bronze figurine of an ithyphallic man (AB79, Pls. 3.14, 3.27) should be mentioned at
this point, as it too may relate to the idea of human fecundity. Details and comparanda for
this PG votive, which was found in a dump that can be related to Temple A, Floor 2 (Callaghan
and Johnston, Chap. 4, Deposit 4), are included in the catalogue. Here I shall focus on its
possible meaning.

Examples of nude ithyphallic figurines have been found in other Cretan sanctuaries. The
type was almost nonexistent in the Aegean Bronze Age, but by PG times it was becoming
more common. Nudity, ithyphallism, and the single long lock of hair on an otherwise
apparently shaved head are characteristics of the Kommos figurine that evoke the idea of
youth and sexual potency. The occasion on which the figurine was offered to the sanctuary
could have been the completion of initiation rites and the coming of age of a youth, his virility
declared by his excited state. In the Dorian *poleis* such rites were apparently carried out in connection with the god Apollo (L. Vance Watrous, personal communication). In an earlier study I suggested that the bronze youth may have formed a group with the little bronze bull *AB80*, which also has tenons under its feet for attachment to a base (M. C. Shaw 1987). The sculpture could have been a memento of the celebration in which the boy or his family brought a real bull to be sacrificed at the sanctuary, in gratitude or as a plea to the gods for their protection and goodwill. As Martin Guggisberg aptly states: “animal sacrifices played a central role in this [celebration of initiation rites], reflecting the causality of destruction and re-creation of life as the basis of human existence…” (1996: 374).

Shifting now from the few and, in local terms, more exceptional types of votives to the more common class of animal figurines and figures, it may be possible to gain different perspectives regarding cult and ritual practices, given the large number of votives and the fact that they were used throughout the lifetime of the sanctuary. One such perspective relates to the question of continuity with the Bronze Age, something that arises with the dedications in Temple A, which include the large wheelmade quadrupeds that are generally believed to be the main evidence for religious continuity between the Bronze and the Iron Age (as first argued by R. Nicholls 1970). The type was mainly developed by Late Helladic IIIC on the Mycenaean Mainland, whence it spread to a wide geographical area within and outside the Aegean (Guggisberg 1996). This is also when the large wheelmade quadrupeds are thought to have come to Crete, although at Kommos they made their first appearance in the SM period.

Here the archaeological situation at Kommos is of interest. As has been discussed above, Temple A was built in the SM period directly over the ruins of LM III buildings, after the abandonment of the site in the later part of LM IIIIB and into LM IIIC, judging by the scanty remains of pottery of the latter kind (Watrous 1992: 146–47). Temple A, therefore, reused a Minoan space, but its founders were not necessarily historically informed or cognizant of earlier cultic practices. Indeed, the impression one gets is that religion, at least as reflected in the use of small clay sculpture, is hardly evident in the excavated areas of the Minoan Civic Center. Such expressions of faith were found instead in the settlement, where numbers of human and animal figurines were found (J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw 1996: 290–94). Whether this attitude changed in the last days of Kommos is difficult to determine on the basis of fragments—two clay quadruped ears from two different clay animals—that were discovered in LM IIIB contexts in the Southern Area. Nothing remains of the bodies of these sculptures to tell us whether they were wheelmade. All we can tell is that the ears stand out as unusual with regard to earlier finds at Kommos in two respects: they appear to belong to larger clay animals than any of the Minoan ones found, although they are as large as the wheelmade animals known from the start of Temple A.

The evidence reviewed is naturally too insubstantial to argue continuity from the LM to the SM period. That possibility could be strengthened somewhat if we also count the single
The Sculpture from the Sanctuary

solid wheel preserved from an LM III context (AB22.1), which was discussed previously as being a possible sign that the little wheeled horses known from the period of Temple A had already appeared earlier. It is more probable, however, that we are not dealing with an independent local phenomenon. Rather, the presence of large wheelmade figures at the start of Temple A likely reflects knowledge brought by those who founded the temple. Perhaps these people had been in places where such votive sculptures were in use in LM IIIC times. Anna D’Agata (personal communication) has made the interesting remark that it may not be a coincidence that Temple A was built during the SM period, the very era that saw the end of the shrine at Aghia Triada. Kommos may have filled a need in that case, but we need not assume that people specifically from that area moved to Kommos, for the figurine types used at the two sites are quite different. Human figurines are few at Kommos, and monsters are absent. Human figures appear in LM IIIC at Aghia Triada and later again in the PG B to Orientalizing period (D’Agata 1998: 19–24).

We turn now to the reasons behind the choice of the particular animals represented at Kommos, that is, bulls/bovines and occasionally horses. It should be clarified that as for the horses, we cannot ascertain if the large wheelmade example found (AB51) was wheeled like the small solid horses that are more strictly intended to represent a horse and vehicle (probably a chariot). The interpretation of the bulls/bovines as sacrificial animals is generally acknowledged, although it is interesting that the burnt bones found in the various temple hearths and altars (see Reese, Chap. 6, Table 6.1) indicate that in reality the animals commonly sacrificed at Kommos were small ones, mostly sheep and goats, which do not seem to be represented sculpturally. This could easily have been a matter of pretense, given that a bovine is the more elite sacrificial animal. But there could be another reason, namely, that bulls/bovines might be related to the identity of the deity worshipped—something that would make such sculptures “specific” rather than “conventional” votives—to use terminology recently developed by Watrous for votive types (1996: 87–92). Indeed, it is the association of certain sacrificial animals with a divinity, as the bull is with Zeus in Crete, that allows potency, fertility, and other powers to be transmitted to the faithful through sacrifice and ritual consumption of part of the animal (Burkert 1985: 64; Guggisberg 1996: 374).

A final dimension of meaning can issue from a consideration of horse figurines in the EIA, which were dedicated concurrently with those of bulls. Horses were not usually sacrificed at sanctuaries but rather in funerary contexts, when the death of their owner symbolically terminated their usefulness, or because it was felt that the horse should accompany its master to the underworld.44 Sacrifice, therefore, cannot be the reason for these simultaneous dedications of bulls and horses. More likely the offering of the two kinds of animals served as a plea to the gods to guarantee the health of the beasts, rather than as a promise that entailed terminating their life. In an agrarian society the well-being of livestock would be a foremost concern for the owners, many of whom were probably privileged landlords possessing great numbers of cattle and horses.
In considering the horses as a separate entity, it is illuminating to follow some patterns concerning their use in the wider Aegean area. On the Greek Mainland, the large wheelmade bovines apparently stop being produced and offered in sanctuaries after Late Helladic IIIC (Guggisberg 1996: 371–75; Maass and Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998: 65), whereas horse figurines in large and small sizes continue to be made but are mostly used as tomb offerings.45 The obvious example is Attica, where small clay horses appear largely in tombs in the EIA, when the horse also becomes prominent in funerary iconography on the famous Dipylon vases. In these paintings teams of horses lead the cart carrying the deceased in ekphora scenes and lead chariots in the funerary processions with warriors. Parts of chariots were also buried with the dead, as is evident from the iron rings of a chariot’s wheel naves found in a warrior’s tomb in Athens that dates from the late ninth to early eighth century B.C. (Coldstream 1977: 332). Outside Greece proper, the patterns related to horse dedications and chariots are not as clear cut. For instance, at the sanctuary on Samos large horses, bulls, and other animal figurines continued to be used into the seventh century (Ohly 1940). Clinging to the ways of the past can, of course, be attributed to the conservatism one might expect in areas peripheral to Mainland Greece, such as Samos and Kommos, although the new emphasis on a funerary use of the horse also occurs in Crete. In the sanctuary at Olympia there are no large wheelmade animals, but horses and chariots are among the most popular dedications, the clay ones being small in scale with solid horses (Heilmeyer 1972).

At Kommos, as on Crete in general, the owners of great numbers of livestock, particularly during the prosperous eighth and seventh centuries, would have been the landed aristocracy, many of them also members of a warrior class.6 Horse and chariot became elite symbols, and they appear in a variety of pictorial media, sometimes even being monumentalized in the architectural reliefs on Cretan temples.6 The use of votive horses and chariot models as status symbols finds a more intimate expression in the dedication of such items in tombs (Coldstream 1977: 100), an example of which is a team of clay wheeled horses, clearly evoking a chariot, found in a Geometric tomb at Prinias (Di Vita et al. 1985: 165–66, fig. 299). Many of the foreign parallels for chariot horses in Cyprus, Italy, and Sicily noted in the typology section and catalogue also originate in burial contexts.

The question of the reason for such widespread occurrences and the manner of exchange or transmission of these ideas and practices naturally cannot be resolved here, but it does seem that Crete subscribed in this period to international symbols of elitism.6 I am inclined to think that the chariots were gifts by aristocrats, rather than being specific to a major deity worshipped there. It is true that Poseidon is frequently associated with horses (cf. Burkert 1985: 138), but his name is attested at Kommos only during the period of Temple C, when he may or may not have been among the deities directly related to the temple (cf. J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 2). At any rate, the horse does not seem to be a dedication in this later period at Kommos.

An additional question to address is whether any special meaning should be attached to
the two singular animal figurines found at Kommos, namely, the bronze ram **AB81** and the clay snake **AB39**. As concerns the ram, it likely carried the same significance as the cattle already discussed, that is, mainly as a sacrificial animal. The coiled snake is special and somewhat peculiar because of its tiny size. Snakes played an important if indeterminate role in Minoan religion and iconography, but in Greek times they acquired chthonic associations and were believed to have regenerative powers (Burkert 1985: 30, 195). The theme of death is echoed on an unusual seventh-century-BC cup (Callaghan and Johnston, Chap. 4, Section 1, 240) also found in Temple B, the incised decoration of which depicts a *prothesis* scene attended by a fully armored warrior, possibly honoring a dead warrior (M. C. Shaw 1983). The snake has been seen as a protector of human fertility (Watrous 1996: 86), a concern perhaps shared by those who dedicated the faience figurines of Sekhmet and Nefertum, if my interpretation of them is correct. The snake may even relate to Apollo, one of the trinity of deities possibly worshipped in Temple B. Pythian Apollo was revered in more than one sanctuary in Crete, notably at Gortyn, not far from Kommos (Willett 1962: 268–69).

Turning now to the era of Temple C (ca. 375/350 BC–A.D. 150–200), we find that there is a dramatic change in the use of animal figurines, one seemingly prompted by the construction of Altar H in the Interim period. The change is that the area of the altars becomes the new focus for ritual and the display of the clay animals. Since the emphasis is essentially on the sacrificial aspect, horses drop out of the picture and the only types of animals represented seem to be bulls/bovines. Not only have most of the fragments of the figures been found in that area, there is the example of the little bull **C9** found on Altar C, along with fragments of more clay specimens.

Could the concentration on bulls/bovines during this last phase at the sanctuary be indicative of the deity or deities worshipped at the time? In the sanctuary at Tsiskiana the exclusive offering of bull figures has suggested to the excavator a possible connection with Poseidon, whose name occurs in an inscription found at that site. It is proposed that on Crete Poseidon may have been worshipped as the husband of Ge, and that his association with bulls as symbols of potency and fertility is thus to be expected (Niniou-Kindeli 1995: 683–87). Nonetheless, a range of evidence has indicated to J. W. Shaw that Poseidon was not the main god worshipped then at Kommos (see J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 2). Indeed, Zeus makes as good a recipient as Poseidon for sacrificial offerings of bulls/bovines (cf. Burkert 1985: 64–65; D’Agata 1998: 25).

The apparent lack of varieties of animals and the absence of other materials, such as bronze, as well as the consistent type of fabric are noteworthy. Such traits could reflect changes that are economic, social, and cultic in nature when compared with the eras of Temples A and B. For the latter it was suggested previously that at least some of the offerings, specifically the small bulls and horse/vehicle models, reflected personal possessions for which divine protection was sought, rather than being specific to a divinity. If this view is valid, we can characterize the later generation of worshippers at Kommos as members of a more egalitarian
community, their offerings stressing worship in a communal fashion through sacrifice rituals, instead of their own status and the protection of private property. Surely by the later days of Temple C the signs are clear that the older kind of aristocracy had been eclipsed.

As a postscript to the discussion of both the EIA and Classical votive figurines, it is worth noting possible correspondences to votives from the nearby site of Aghia Triada, specifically those from the Regione dei Sacelli, which were brought to my attention through a publication (D’Agata 1998) that appeared shortly before the submission of this volume to press. Particularly interesting are the distribution patterns of the votive offerings, which I find to be comparable with those at Kommos. Most intriguing are the votives of the PG B–EIA sanctuary found on a Minoan Road just north of the Minoan Stoa FG and in the area of the Piazzale dei Sacelli, where the LM IIIC–SM shrine was earlier located (D’Agata 1998: figs. 1.1–1.2). As at Kommos, the EIA sanctuary came to an end in the seventh century B.C., and religious activity revived in later Classical times, when changes occurred both in the landscaping of the site and, to a degree, in the deities worshipped.

Differences between the two sites include the wider range of votive sculptures at Aghia Triada, which included men, women, and monsters in the LM IIIC period, and a greater number of bronze votives in all periods. I am not aware of imported faience figures at Aghia Triada, but their presence at Kommos is easily explained as a result of its role as a harbor in Minoan and Greek times. Distinctive about the finds at Kommos is the scantiness of human representation, particularly in the period of Temple C.

In terms of the positioning of the votive figurines, at Kommos there is evidence that during the EIA they were displayed mostly within the temples, that is, specially designed buildings. For the Hellenistic period at Aghia Triada, D’Agata notes the construction of an altar on the Piazzale and an aedicula dedicated to Zeus Velchanos, which was built atop the Minoan stoa (1998: 25). At Kommos, Temple C, the benched room to its north, and a number of other buildings represent a more substantial setting for rituals and festivals. Ever present in this setting, even if ruined, were the monumental Minoan walls that were visible in part until the last days of the sanctuary.

2. Catalogue of the Figurines and Figures

The catalogue is split into three main chronological divisions. Because it is not always possible to separate figurines and figures dating to the end of Temple A from those associated with the beginning of Temple B, particularly those found outdoors, Temples A and B are treated as one group, and the arabic numerals labeling the individual pieces are prefixed by the letters AB. Letters I and C serve as prefixes standing, respectively, for the Interim period and Temple C.

In the catalogue the sculptures are grouped by type, within which the individual items are arranged by order of context dates, unless a piece is clearly earlier and happens to be in a
The chances are that clay quadruped animals, with the odd exception, represented oxen and horses only. In the case of the former, the term *bovine* was preferred to bull, when preservation and anatomical detail did not permit further identification. Descriptions of fabric, particularly the size and density of inclusions, comply with charts and guidelines in two publications: Terry and Chilingar 1955: 229–34, and Shepard 1956: 118, table 5. Topographical labels used in the catalogue and in the associated plans of the sanctuary that indicate the figurine provenances in the successive periods (Pls. 3.1–3.5) deviate somewhat from labels used in other plans in this volume. The reasons for this have already been explained (introduction to “Site Topography and Provenances of the Figurines and Figures”).

The information in this catalogue is tabulated in Table 3.1, which groups the votive sculpture in terms of areas of provenance. In addition to the context dates, included in this table (under “Temple Phase”) are my tentative assignations of figurines and figures to the periods of Temples A and B, the Interim Period, and Temple C. They are based on a combination of criteria: context date and, to a lesser extent, typological and stylistic characteristics.

**Period of Temples A and B**

**Small Solid Bulls/Bovines**

**AB1–9, AB9.1–9.3**

**AB1** (C 3048). Small solid bull, missing head and three legs; air holes on eroded surface. Pl 3.20. Max h 5.6, max length 9.8, w 2.55. Clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3–8/4, with slightly greenish tinge, dark angular inclusions 1%, max 0.1. Slim body, short tapering leg, dewlap, tail curved up over rump, hole at anus, and added genitals. Traces of matt dark paint (dark grayish brown 10 YR 4/12) preserved around the body behind neck and on the front leg. Location 15w (34A2/37). Tenth to ninth-century B.C. context. A comparison can be made with a small bull figurine from Lato, its date suggested to fall between the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (Boardman 1961: 107, pl. XXXVII, no. 485). Many of the figurines of this handmade type come from caves and are difficult to date. For examples see Kourou and Karetsou 1994, figs. 43, 74–77 (from Patos) and Watrous 1996: pl. XXII, c–d (from Psychro). See also Hayden 1991, pl. 49, for examples from Vrokastro.

**J. W. Shaw 1981a: 241.**

**AB2** (C 8277). Small solid bull, missing head and two legs, some erosion. Pls. 3.7, 3.20. Max h 5.3, max length 8.5, max w 2.55. Surface treatment, clay, and other characteristics very similar to AB1. Location 26c, (63A/64). PG context. For comparison see AB1.

**AB3** (C 6521). Head and neck and dewlap of neck and on the front leg. Small solid bull/bovine, top of head and part of muzzle broken off. Pl. 3.7. Max h 4.3, w at neck 2.1. Clay as AB1. Traces of black paint around ear. Pinched face, eyes in added pellets, and dewlap. Location 15w (34A2/40). LPG context.

**AB4** (C 6085). Small solid bull/bovine, missing most of three legs, tips of horns, and tail.
Catalogue of the Figurines and Figures

Pls. 3.7, 3.20. H 9.3, length 11.5, th of body 3.2.

Clay and other characteristics as AB1.


AB4.1 (C 10894). Small solid bull, rear legs, part of tail and body. Pl. 3.20. H 6.4, max length 4.5.

Clay as AB1 but surface smoother. Cylindrical leg, hand-pressed to model, thick broken tail, remnants of genitals.

Location 17c (42A/36). Minoan to eighth-century B.C. context.

AB5 (C 6054, HM). Small solid bull/bovine, missing part of tail, three legs, tips of horns, and one eye. Pls. 3.7, 3.20. Max h 6.8, length 10.5, w of body 2.8. Unslipped, clay reddish brown 5 YR 5/4–5/6, core pinkish gray 5 YR 6/2, dark angular inclusions 3%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Pinched face, eyes added pellets, pierced nostrils, and horizontal indentation for mouth. Cylindrical body, tapering cylindrical leg, and thick tail once curving down.


AB6 (C 3050). Small solid bull, missing the two right legs, the tips of the horns, an eye, the separate attached genitals, and part of the tail. Pls. 3.8, 3.20. Max h 7.7, max length 10.5, w 3.0. Surface somewhat smoothed, unslipped, clay reddish brown to yellowish red 5 YR 5/4–5/6, fabric as AB5. Eyes added pellets, tubular muzzle with horizontal groove for mouth. Cylindrical body and slanted legs with slight taper, dewlap, downward-hanging tail, and hole at anus. Cf. Hayden 1991: pl. 49, no. 11.


AB7 (C 6350). Small solid bull/bovine, missing legs and tips of horns, tail, and muzzle. Pl. 3.8. Max length 10.8, max th 2.9. Clay color as AB6, with light gray core, fabric as AB5. Pinched face, eyes added pellets. Cylindrical body, roughly modeled, hanging tail, hole at anus. Almost identical with AB6 but slightly larger.


AB8 (C 6164). Small solid bull, only trunk preserved, missing head and limbs. Surface chipped and worn. Pls. 3.8, 3.20 showing the underside of the body. Max h 3.5, max length 8.0. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 7/6, 6/8, slip pink 5 YR 8/4, 7/4, trace of paint under neck (reddish brown 5 YR 5/4), dark and light inclusions 7%, min 0.05, max 0.2. Very animated pose conveyed by the swerving of the body, the asymmetrical and differentiated positioning of limbs (as judged from the shape of the breaks), and the turning of the neck and head. Fine ridge at neck indicates beginning of dewlap. Hole at anus, genitals indicated: longitudinal raised ridge on the underside.


AB9 (C 4621). Tiny bull/bovine, head, legs, and hindquarter broken off. Pl. 3.20. Max h 3.5, max length 3.9, th at back 0.9. Surface smoothed, soft clay (pink to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/4; core gray 5 YR 5/1), elongated voids 0.1–0.2 in length, no other inclusions visible. Rudimentary dewlap. Body solid, neck hollow.

Location 17c (42A/fallen from scarp). J. W. Shaw 1984a: 282, pl. 60d.

AB9.1 (C 9237). Small solid bull, hindquarter and part of one leg preserved. Pl. 3.8. Max h 3.5, max length 6.5. Clay as AB8, but no trace of paint. Cylindrical leg. Scar indicates tail to have flipped left over the rump. Prominent genitals summarily rendered as a rectangular projection under the belly. Differentiation of positions of legs.

Off the northeastern corner of Building P (75A/24). Mixed Minoan to Archaic context.

AB9.2 (C 9193). Small solid bull/bovine, middle part of trunk up to neck. Pl. 3.8 shows it from above. Clay as AB6, but with gray core and traces of overall paint (strong brown 5 YR 5/6, 5/8). Slim waist, body swerves left.

Off the northeastern corner of Building P (75A/28). Mixed Minoan and Hellenistic context.

AB9.3 (C 10489). Tiny solid bull/bovine, rear part only, broken tail and stumps of rear legs. Max dim 4.5. Surface smoothed, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 7/6, exterior pink 7.5 YR 8/4, inclusions 5%, under 0.05. Tail swings right, under it a tiny hole.

Location 26c (63A/25). Geometric context.

Small Solid Horses (AB10–AB18)

AB10 (C 3136). Small solid horse, head and neck preserved, part of mane and muzzle missing. Pls.
178. The Sculpture from the Sanctuary

3.9, 3.20. Max h 5.0, w 1.65. Well-smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6 with a grayish core (pinkish gray 7.5 YR 7/2), dark angular and round inclusions 1%, min 0.1, max 0.3. Slim head, eyes and ears added, neck with narrow lentoid section. Painted red stripes (light red to red 2.5 YR 6/6–5/6) obliquely on either side of mane, single ones over ears, across top, and down center of neck. For similar decoration using stripes, see horse figurines from Gortyn (Rizza and Scrinari 1968: pl. XXXVIII, nos. 272a–b [Geometric]), and nos. 267–69).


AB11 (C 6056). Small solid horse, head and part of neck preserved, mane and ears broken off, one eye missing. Pl. 3.9. Max dim 5.9. Smoothed, clay light brown 7.5 YR 6/4, slip pink 7.5 YR 8/4, dark angular and round inclusions 15%, min 0.1, max 0.5. Cylindrical muzzle, mouth rendered as depressed line, eyes added pellets. Perforation through head at cheek, possibly for attachment of bridle or yoke, shallow hole at corner of mouth on right side of face, which is more finished, suggesting this horse was part of a team (like AB18).

Section of neck lentoid. Location 17c (47A/48). LPG–PG context. Brides are rendered in relief in examples from Aghia Triada (Banti 1941–43: fig. 36) and from Vrokastro (Hayden 1991: cat. no. 26, and pp. 25–33 for discussion of horse figurines from that site). For perforation through the face see examples of horses from Gortyn, thought to be SM to EG in date (Rizza and Scrinari 1968: pl. XXXVIII, nos. 267 and 270), and wheeled horse thought to be Attic and of PG date from Lefkandi (Guggisberg 1996: 93, pl. 221). J. W. Shaw 1984a: 282, pl. 60d.

AB12 (C 8756). Small solid horse, neck only, no mane indicated. Pl. 3.20. Max dim 5.9. Clay light reddish brown 5 YR 6/4, slip pink to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/4, 8/6, inclusions as AB11 but density 10%. Section of neck lentoid.

Location 6 (37A/38). MG–PG context.

AB13 (C 6115). Small solid horse, forequarter, head missing. Exposed to fire after it was broken. Pl. 3.9. Max h 8.2, max length 6.2. Clay surface varies from pink 7.5 YR 7/4 to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6 and pinkish gray 7.5 YR 7/2, where burnt, some paint preserved (gray 7.5 YR N/6–N/5), inclusions 1%, under 0.05. Cylindrical body with tubular legs projecting forward attached without an indication of hoofs to incompletely preserved crossbar. The latter’s perforation intended for an axle. Painted dark stripes down the sides of the legs, around the neck, and across the back.

Location 17c (47A/61). LPG–PG context. For wheeled horses in Crete of EIA date, see Banti 1941–43: 43–52, fig. 37, from Aghia Triada; Rizza and Rizzo 1985: 165–66, fig. 298, for a team of horses that was likely wheeled, from Piniias; Andrea- daki-Blasaki 1987: pl. IV, for a wheeled quadru- ped from Canavolouris; Higgins 1973: 90, and pl. 65, nos. 260 and 261, for a horse from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos. For wheeled horses on the Greek Mainland, see Attic examples in C. H. Morgan 1935: 192, fig. 2, of Late Helladic IIIB date; Alexandri 1957: 49, pl. 70a of PG date; Kübler 1954: 127, pl. 142, top center, of PG date; Kübler 1970: 93–94, pl. 9, top left, of LG–EO date, with further bibliographical references in nn. 71–75, Guggisberg 1996: 94, no. 291, pl. 22.2 from Euboea, of LG date, and p. 81, no. 253, pl. 19.1, of MG II date.

AB14 (C 8843). Part of vehicle model(?), end of flat piece preserving one corner and two worn surfaces. Pl. 3.9. Max dim 3.7 x 3.9, max th 1.7. Smoothed, clay pale brown 10 YR 8/3, core light brown 7.5 YR 6/4, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, paint dark gray 7.5 YR N/4, inclusions 1%, min 0.1, max 0.2. One surface (probably the bottom one) flat, the other slightly convex; both painted with bands and possibly checkers in now-faded dark paint. Probably part of a horse-and-vehicle model with horse standing on a wheeled plaque, as in Attic examples of EG–LG dates (Guggisberg 1996: 69–70, nos. 214 and 217, pls. 15.5 and 15.7; Kübler 1970: pl. 9, top left; C. A. Morgan 1999: 172).

West end of excavated area within Temple B, Floor 2 (29A1/84). LG context. For comparanda of wheeled horses, see AB13.

AB15 (C 3049). Team of small solid horses, fore-quarters preserved, head and neck of one horse missing. Pls. 3.9, 3.21. Max h 8.0, w 4.3, th of body 1.6. Smoothed and burnished, clay pink 7.5 YR 7/4, and light brown 7.5 YR 6/4; light gray core 10 YR 7/1, slip pink 7.5 YR 8/4, light and dark angular and round inclusions 1%, min 0.05, max...
Catalogue of the Figurines and Figures

0.2. Small horizontal rectangular slab from the narrow end of which emerge the necks and heads of two horses. Perforation through the front part intended to hold an axle. Added eyes and ears that are pinned back. Dots and diagonals on mane, bands around neck, and elaborate pattern of crossing parallel and diagonal hatching lines on the back are rendered in paint (dark yellowish brown 10 YR 4/4–3/4). Interior side of horse’s head unpainted, unpolished, but smoothed. Underside of body unpainted.

Location 15w (34A2/34). Seventh-century B.C. context. For comparanda generally see AB15, and for the painted decoration of the mane, see comparanda for AB10. Two galloping horses sharing one body, pierced through the neck and the legs, come from a tomb at Prinias referred to under AB13. Two solid wheels with painted concentric circles found in associated contexts probably belong to them or to a cart attached to them (Di Vita et al. 1985: 165–66, fig. 299).


AB16 (C 6116). Horse, two joining fragments, missing head and end of tail. Pls. 3.10, 3.21. Max h 8.4, max length 17.5. Roughly smoothed, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/6–6/8, fracture pink 7.5 YR 7/4 and light brown 7.5 YR 6/4, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, faded paint (pink 7.5 YR 7/4 to light brown 7.5 YR 6/4), dark angular inclusions 20%, min 0.05, max 0.2. Long cylindrical body, arcing neck with low mane, legs rendered as projecting block with perforations (d 0.9) for axes. Horizontal perforation running short distance through body lengthwise starting at anus. Tail arcing and curving downward. Faded parallel stripes painted transversely over central part of back, curved and parallel ones on the haunch. A dark vertical band at the center of the front part of the torso. Almost identical with AB17.

Location 17c (47A/61). LPG–PGB context. Close to the shape of the body are two examples: an eighth-century wheeled quadruped from a child’s tomb at Gavalamouri (Andreaki-Bla- saki 1987: 314–15, 324, no. 21, pl. IV.3; 1997: 32–33, fig. 34, where it is dated to the late eighth century B.C.), and a BA example from Athens (see reference to C. H. Morgan 1935 in comparanda given for AB13). Typically, long bodies and rudimentary legs are characteristic of small wheeled horses found in Italy and Sicily. See for example, a team of horses from Nola of the early seventh century B.C., Pryce 1932: IV.D.a, p. 7, pl. 8, no. 6; Peroni 1994: 129–31, fig. 39.2; Pugliese Caratelli 1985: 163, 170–71, fig. 233, from Monte Saraceno, Gargano; Adamesteanu 1958: 510, fig. 190.

J. W. Shaw 1984a: 282, pl. 60f.

AB17 (C 7828). Horse, missing head, part of neck, rear legs, and tail. Pls. 3.10, 3.21. Max h 8.2, max length 16.2, d of body 3.9. Clay and appearance almost identical with AB16, but better-preserved paint (dark brown 7.5 YR 4/2). Decoration of parallel arcs set within a leaf-shaped outline preserved between legs and mane on the right exterior side of this horse, which was likely originally part of a pair. Vertical band at center, front part of torso.

Location 26c (63A/26). PG–MG context. For comparanda see AB16.


AB18 (C 8780). Horse, rear half preserved, tail broken off. Pl. 3.21. Max h 8.5, max length 9.0. Smoothed and self-slipped, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 7/8–6/8; core reddish gray 5 YR 5/2, dark angular inclusions 10%, min 0.01, max 0.3. Cylindrical body, legs rendered as projecting block, flat at bottom, perforated for wheels’ axle. Another perforation runs through body lengthwise. Tail possibly curving to right. Traces of red paint on back.

Location 26c (68A/51). Seventh-century B.C. context. Similar in shape to AB16 and AB17. For further comparanda see AB16.

Solid Wheels (AB19–AB22.2)

AB19 (C 3190). Solid wheel, missing part of rim. Pls. 3.22, 3.39. D 4.75; th of hub 2.2, of rim 0.5. Self-slipped, clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, dark angular and round inclusions 2%, min 0.1, max 0.3. Raised hub with central perforation. Directly east of Temple B, Floor 1 (33C/60). PG context. For comparanda see AB13 and AB16, and discussion of wheeled animals in Section 1.

J. W. Shaw 1981a: pl. 60c.

AB20 (C 6053). Solid wheel, nearly complete, chipped. Pl. 3.39. D 4.5; th of hub 2.4, of rim 0.5. Clay white 10 YR 8/2, fabric as AB19. Perforated hub slightly conical and projecting from both sides. Fine wheelmarks.

Location 17c (47A/40). LPG–PGB context. For
a hub that projects equally on both sides, see Peroni 1994: 130, fig. 39, no. 4. For other comparanda see AB19.

J. W. Shaw 1984a: pl. 60d.


**AB22.1** (C 9446). Solid wheel, much of rim missing. Pl. 3.10. D est ca. 4.5. Max dim 3.2, d of hole 0.3. Unslipped, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/8, small inclusions 1%, 0.1 and less. Hub a low cone projecting on one side. Directly west of P4 (86F/92). LM IIIIC–seventh-century-B.C. context. For comparanda see AB19.

**AB22.2** (C 9829). Solid wheel, center and small part of rim preserved. Pl. 3.10. Max dim 4.80. Est d of rim 5.4. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/6, slip on outer side only (very pale brown 10 YR 7/3), dark matt paint applied overall (dark gray 5 YR 4/1), dark and light inclusions 2%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Perforated (d 0.6) roundish hub rises in a low cone on outside only. Fine wheelmarks. Northeast of Building P (88A/21). LM IIIA2/B context. For comparanda see AB19.

**Spoked Wheels (AB23–AB31.1)**

**AB23** (C 8170). Spoked wheel, fragment of rim and part of spoke. Est d 10.0, th 0.9. Surface smoothed and burnished, clay very pale brown 10 YR 7/4, traces of dark reddish gray paint (5 YR 4/2) along outer rim on one side, inclusions 0.5%, under 0.05. Location 26c (63A/64). PG context. For comparanda see AB20 and Litauer and Crouwel 1986; A. C. Morgan 1999: 174.

**AB24** (C 6057). Spoked wheel, fragment of rim and one spoke. Max dim 9.2, th 0.7. Surface smoothed and burnished, clay pink to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/4, 7/6, traces of dark paint on one side (dark reddish gray 5 YR 4/2), probably a band around rim, fabric as **AB23**. Fine wheelmarks.

Location 17c (47A/40). LPG–PGB context. For comparanda see **AB23**.

**AB25** (C 6119). Spoked wheel, fragment of rim and one spoke. Est d 8.0, th at edge 0.7, at hub 1.4. Clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, traces of dark paint (dark grayish brown 10 YR 4/2) overall on one side, dark and angular inclusions 1%, max 0.1. Projecting hub on one side. Location 17c (47A/61). LPG–PGB context. For comparanda see **AB23**.

**AB26** (C 7858). Spoked wheel, fragment of rim, one spoke, and hub. Est d 9.0 cm. Smoothed and burnished, clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, traces of paint (dark grayish brown 10 YR 4/2) around rim on one side, inclusions 1%, max 0.1. Location 26c (63A/23). PG–seventh-century–b.c. context. For comparanda see **AB23**.

**AB27** (C 3317). Spoked wheel, fragment of rim and one spoke. Est d of rim 9.0, w 3.0. Smoothed and burnished, clay pink 7.5 YR 8/6, traces of dark paint as **AB26** on one side, fabric as **AB26**.

Temple A, Floor 2 (33C/81). PG–MG context. For comparanda see **AB23**.

**AB28** (C 2389). Spoked wheel, fragment of rim, and three and a half spokes. Pls. 3.10, 3.39. D 9.0, w 1.1, th of rim 0.7, of hub 2.9. Smoothed and burnished, clay light reddish brown 5 YR 6/4; reddish brown core 5 YR 5/4, slip on underside only (pink 5 YR 8/3), mostly flaky paint overall on other side (reddish brown 5 YR 4/4), inclusions 1%, max 0.1.

Western portion of Temple B, Floor 2 (29A1/56). Eighth–seventh-century–b.c. context. For comparanda see **AB23**.

**AB29** (C 6424). Spoked wheel, fragment of hub with stubs of three spokes, very chipped. Pl. 3.11. Max th 1.8. Burnished, clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, slip and fabric as **AB26**. Diameter not possible to estimate, but wheel certainly much larger than **AB28** and similar to **AB30**, given the size of the hub.
Catalogue of the Figurines and Figures

Location 26w (51A/30). EPG–PG context. For comparanda see AB23.

**AB30** (C 3903). Spoked wheel, hub with projections of four spokes. Pls. 3.22, 3.39. Length of hub 5.0, d 2.2, hole of hub 0.6. Burnished, clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, slip as AB26, traces of possible paint (dark grayish brown 10 YR 4/2), dark inclusions 2%, under 0.1. Compare AB29 for comments regarding size. Hub centrally perforated.

Location 17w; (43A/51). PG context. For comparanda see AB23.

**AB31** (C 7662). Spoked wheel, fragment of hub with traces of four spokes. Pls. 3.39. H of hub 4.3; d at one side 2.4, on the other 2; d of hole 0.9. Smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, no slip, inclusions 1%, under 0.1. Hub centrally perforated.

Location 26c (64A/7). Mixed seventh-century–Hellenistic context. For comparanda see AB23.

**AB32** (C 6757). Solid leg, fragment broken off at point of attachment to body. Pl 3.22. Max h 5.0, max d 2.1. Roughly smoothed, clay yellowish red 5 YR 5/8, slip yellow 10 YR 7/6, dark angular inclusions 25%, min 0.05, max 0.2. Almost cylindrical, tapering to flat bottom, somewhat bowed (cf. small solid bovines above).

Location 15e (52A/21). Mixed LM and PG context.

**AB33** (C 6421). Leg fragment, broken off near attachment to body. Pl. 3.22. Max h 4.5, max w 1.8. Smooth, clay pinkish white (at fracture 7.5 YR 8/2), slip pink 7.5 YR 8/4, inclusions less than 1%, under 0.1. Solid, straight, and round in section (cf. small solid bovines above).

Location 26w (51A/29). PG context.

**AB34** (C 6173). Pair of horns of small bovine. Max h of A 3.2, of B 3.0. Clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, dark paint (strong brown 7.5 YR 5/8), no visible inclusions. Slim cones, quite pointed at bottom, with traces of dark paint over three sides.

Temple B, Floor 1 (33C/76). PG–LPG context.


**AB36** (C 6174). Small horn or leg. Max length 2.9. Roughly smoothed, clay white 10 YR 8/2, dark round and angular inclusions 2%, max 0.1. Short, tapering shape with slight curve.

Temple B, Floor 1 (33C/76). LPG–Geometric context.

**AB37** (C 8785). Horn and part of forehead of small bovine. Max length 2.8, th at base 2.0. Clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, inclusions 1%, under 0.1. Slim, tapering, curving form.

Temple B, accumulation above Floor 3 (33C/53). Seventh-century–Hellenistic context.

**AB38** (C 8760). Small quadruped, two nonjoining fragments, rear leg and upper part of body. Pl 3.22. H of leg 3.1, max length of body 6.5, max w of body 2.9. Smoothed, clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, core yellow 10 YR 8/6, dark round and angular inclusions 2%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Leg cylindrical, slightly bowed (cf. small solid bovines, above).

Temple B, Floor 1, hearth area (33C/78). Seventh-century–Hellenistic context.

**Snake** (AB39)

**AB39** (C 3466). Snake, missing head. Pls. 3.11, 3.22. D 4.2, th 0.8. Clay very pale brown (10 YR 7/4), inclusions 1%, min 0.05, max 0.1. Coiled three times, with traces of dark paint on one side. Found at west end of Temple B, Floor 2 (34A4/77). Seventh-century–Hellenistic context. Common in Minoan iconography, the snake is not as frequently depicted in EA art in Crete. Willetts (1962: 78) mentions examples in minor art from the Idean Cave. For the Classical period there is a fragment of a large clay snake among the votives from the sanctuary at Vrysses Kydonias (Mortzos 1976: 66, pl. 32 b). The predilection for plastic snakes as attachments on Attic Geometric pottery from the Kerameikos in Athens is well known (Kühler 1954: pl. 134). For further comments on the meaning of the snake see Guggisberg 1996: 350–51.
Hollow Bulls/Bovines (AB40–AB50.1)

AB40 (C 3344, C 3345, C 6060). Bull, some fifty fragments from wheelmade animal, assembled within the temple and outside in dumps (locations 17c and 26c), attributed to one animal on the basis of occasional joins, fabric, decoration, scale, and condition of preservation. Pls. 3.11, 3.23, 3.40. Est h of animal 40.0. Leg: max h 17.5, d of base 5.7, th 1.5. Body: max th of sherds 1.0–2.0, d 12.0–14.0. Exterior surface polished and burnished, clay light red to red at fracture (2.5 YR 6/8–5/9), interior surface reddish yellow 5 YR 7/6, slip pink to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/4–7/6. Painted decoration varies, at places reddish brown to red 2.5 YR 4/4–4/6, elsewhere weak red to dusky red 2.5 YR 4/2. Inclusions 1%, max 0.1, occasional tiny pebble used as temper.

Fragments from the body suggest it have had a roughly oval section. The interior surfaces show wheelmarks that run perpendicular to the length of the body, the main ridges occurring from 0.5 to 1.6 apart. The one completely preserved leg is hollow, roughly cylindrical, and tapering to a splayed hoof that is conical underneath. Painted decoration is limited to the outer side of the leg and consists of three groups of pendent triangles with flanking curving verticals. Concave area between the hoof and leg painted solid. Three solid triangles (without flanking lines) also decorate the horn, of which only a small fragment was preserved. Below the points of the triangles three transverse parallel bands at the end where horn must have joined the head. Traces of paint on the upper part of the body, but no identifiable patterns.

The main fragments of the animal are the complete leg (C 6060) found in the dump in Location 17c in an LM III–PG context (47A/53), and parts of the body and horn inside and at the entrance to the temple (33C/81 and 33C/85–86). In addition, some had served as a bedding in Hearth 1 of the first phase of Temple B (33C/79 in a MG context). Fragments from the dump in Location 26c (63A/49, 52, 54, 55, 57, 60, and 64, dated variably from PG to LPG) do not join with pieces within the temple and cannot be proven to belong with AB40. One (max pres 4.3 × 4.0) deserves mention, however. Its curvature suggests it is part of a cylindrical wheelmade body, decorated at this point with checkers bordered by four parallel bands. Decoration, technique, and size find their best parallels in Crete at the nearby site of Phais-

The Sculpture from the Sanctuary

tos in reoccupied areas of the Minoan palace (Guggisberg 1996: pl. 44, no. 1), and in the shrine at Aghia Triada (D’Agata, forthcoming). Pendent triangles are indeed quite a widespread mode of decoration on wheelmade figures in this and the immediately preceding period (see Guggisberg 1996: pls. 47, nos. 2 and 3.4 for LM IIIC examples from Patos). The checkered pattern finds a parallel at Vrokastro, again as decoration of two hollow figures, one a bovine the other a horse (Hayden 1991: 119, no. 16, fig. 7 and 128, fig. 10, no. 25).

J. W. Shaw 1980a: 233; 1981a: 240, pl. 61c; 1984a: YR 6/8–5/8), interior surface reddish yellow 5 YR 6/6–6/8, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, inclusions less than 1%, max 0.1. Rear part of wheelmade body, hole at anus, oval scar from where the leg was attached (d 3.6–3.2). Neck fragment also wheelmade (outer d 8.5, max th 3.0) with sharp projection in added clay, apparently representing the dewlap.

Location 26c (63A/68). PG–LPG context.

AB41 (C 8193). Body and neck fragments likely from bull, surface chipped in places. Pl. 3.22. Clay light reddish brown 5 YR 6/4 to reddish yellow 5 YR 6/6, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, inclusions less than 1%, max 0.1. Rear part of wheelmade body, hole at anus, oval scar from where the leg was attached (d 3.6–3.2). Neck fragment also wheelmade (outer d 8.5, max th 3.0) with sharp projection in added clay, apparently representing the dewlap.

Location 26c (63A/68). PG–LPG context.

AB41.1 (C 6179). Small fragment of hollow leg. Max h 4.3, d 3.9 and 4.2. Similar in fabric and scale to AB41.

Location 17c (47A/40). LPG–PCG context.

AB42 (C 8087). Bovine horn. Pl. 3.11. Max h 5.1, th 2.7. Unsmoothed, clay red 2.5 YR 5/6–4/6, dark angular inclusions 25%, min 0.1, max 0.2, one tiny pebble visible. Solid, conical, with slight curve.

Location 26c (63A/53). LPG context.

AB43 (C 8171). Fragments likely from two horns, surface encrusted. Pl. 3.22. Max lengths 7.1 and 4.3, max d 2.1. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/6–6/8, slip pink (7.5 YR 8/4), dark paint (very dark gray 5 YR 3/1), dark angular inclusions 2%, max 0.1. Round in section, one horn preserving flattened tip. Faint traces of dark paint on larger fragment.

Location 26c (63A/64). PG context.

AB44 (C 4431). Bovine horn. Pl. 3.11. Max h 4.8, d 2.6. Roughly smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/6, slip very pale brown (10 YR 8/3–8/4), dark angular inclusions 3%, max 0.1. Slightly curving, tapering to a point.

Location 17c (42A/68). LPG context.
Catalogue of the Figurines and Figures

**AB45** (C 8766). Ear of quadruped. Pl. 3.22. Max dim. 5.0 x 3.8. Roughly smoothed, self-slipped, clay light gray to pale yellow 2.5 Y 7/2–7/4, dark round and angular inclusions 3%, max. 0.1. Depressed on interior, rounded at tip. Size suggests large hollow animal.

Temple B later accumulation (33C/73). Eighth–seventh-century B.C. context.

**AB46** (C 3922, C 8305, C 8306, C 8764). Large hollow bovine, some thirty fragments preserved, most of the wheelmade body (AB47 may also belong), the head in two joining pieces with the end of a horn broken off, the neck and dewlap. Pls. 3.11, 3.24, 3.40. Est h of animal 30.0–35.0; max dim of head 15.1, max h x neck 8.7, of best-preserved leg 15.3, max th of neck 5.1; d of best-preserved leg at base 5.2, higher ca. 7.0. Slightly smoothed, clay pinkish gray to light brown (at core 7.5 YR 6/2–6/4), slip light gray to pale yellow 2.5 Y 7/2–7/4, paint dark reddish gray 5 YR 4/2, dark angular and round inclusions 30%, min 0.1, max 0.2, occasional angular inclusions as temper 0.3–0.4. Head hollow, horns solid, eye in relief (only corner preserved), dewlap, somewhat slanted, with scalloped sharp edge, added on a cylindrical neck too broken to deduce the diameter. Wheelmade legs, cylindrical (the better-preserved one still incomplete), with only a slight taper and with splayed circular foot. Wheelmarks roughly smoothed on outside. Body, wheelmade, is joined to the remaining parts by means of added swabs of clay. Joins smoothed, modeling present. What may be the croup has traces of vertical linear patterns in matt dark paint—possibly pendent rays with flanking lines. The fragments were found in two different locations and attributed to one animal on the basis of similarities in scale, fabric, shape, and because of occasional joins. The head (C 3922) and part of a foot were found in the court east of the temple in Location 16 just south of Altar U (42A/34) in an eighth–seventh-century B.C. context. The remaining fragments came from a little further south in a PG–seventh-century context in Location 26w.

**AB47** (C 7904). Quadruped leg. Pl. 3.11. Max h 7.9, d 5.3. Clay, shape, and size very similar to AB46, but fabric lacking the large temper. Wheelmarks evident. Location 26e (63A/21). Seventh-century B.C. context. This leg could be part of AB46.

**AB48** (C 8754). Part of neck of hollow bovine, parts of surface broken off. Pl. 3.22. Max h 10.0, max w 8.0, d of neck ca. 5.0; th of neck 3.0. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/6–6/6, slip light gray to pale yellow 2.5 Y 7/2–7/4, small inclusions 2%, max 0.1. Cylindrical wheelmade neck with dewlap added on the outside with separate layer of clay and hand modeled. Traces of dark overall paint. Western end of Gallery P3, Building P (65A7/98). Seventh-century B.C. context.

**AB49** (C 3058). Smallish bovine, two separate fragments, head and part of body, badly pitted surface. Pl. 3.12. Length of head 5.4, d of scar for separately attached neck 2.4, max dim of body 5.6. Clay light red 5 YR 6/4, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, dark angular and elongated inclusions 15%, max 0.2. Long solid head, flat on the underside, tapering to flaring muzzle, groove for mouth, depressions for pellets, which have come off, for the eyes. Wheelmade body, fragment apparently from underside. Straight edge on a short side finished, possibly where the rear of the neck was attached. Transverse corrugations from tooling on interior surface. Temple B, later accumulation (33C/49). Seventh-century B.C. context.

**AB50** (C 2466). Smallish bovine or equid, head and part of neck partially preserved. Pls. 3.11, 3.22. Max h 5.2, length 5.4, d of neck 3.0. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 7/6, slip very pale brown to yellow 10 YR 6/4–8/4, paint dark reddish brown 5 YR 3/3, few inclusions. Solid head, hollow neck. Extensive modeling with ridge along top of muzzle, which thickens and bends at end. Mouth and nostrils indicated by slit and holes, eyes in relief. Traces of pattern in matt dark paint on sides of neck. Upper destroyed area of head leaves it unclear whether there was once a short mane or if what we have are the roots of the horns.


**AB50.1** (C 9103). Bovine ear, probably from hollow figure, given the size. Pl. 3.12. Length 6.0. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/7, 7/8, dark angular and round inclusions 15%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Pointed oval, deeply hollowed on one side, slightly convex on the other, preserved from tip to stem” that joined it to the head.

**Hollow Horse (AB51)**

AB51 (C 7901). Horse’s head and top of neck, several joining pieces. Parts of ears, mane, and surface broken off. Pls. 3.12, 3.24. Max h 12.0; length 14.1; d of muzzle end 3.9; of neck 6.1; max th of wall around neck 2.0. Well-smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/6, slip pale yellow 5 Y 8/3–7/3, paint reddish brown 5 YR 5/4, dark angular and round inclusions 5%, most under 0.1, some used as temper ca. 0.2. Two wheelmade, roughly cylindrical segments are combined, one for the neck and the other for the muzzle. Open end of cylinder at top of head closed with a rounded ball of clay, on which was attached the foremost part of the mane. Muzzle slightly flaring at end. Eyes and ears also added separately. Extensive modeling: ridges for eyebrows and a longitudinal groove below each cheek. Traces of painted diagonals on both sides of the mane, circles around the eyes, and a band around the muzzle. Eyebrows also painted.

Location 26c (63A/32 and 33). Seventh-century-B.C. context. For comparanda in Crete, see large horse figures from Vrokastro, one wheelmade, the other handmade (Hayden 1991: 120, and figs. 10, nos. 25 and 28) dated to the EIA, and the painted hollow horse from Aghia Triada with a device at the back of the head, probably to connect it to a chariot (HM, case 143). For wheelmade horses outside Crete, see examples from Lyrinos, Rhodes, dated Late Helladic IIIIC (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973: 104, no. 1266, p. 381) and Samos (Ohly 1940: pl. 48) from the EIA.


**Unidentifiable Hollow Quadrupeds (AB52–60, AB61, AB62–73.2)**

AB52 (C 6416). Body or neck fragment. Max dim 5.8. Clay reddish brown 5 YR 6/4, slip white to pale yellow 2.5 Y 8/2, 8/4, dark inclusions 3%, max 0.1. Wad of clay added on interior and grooved, knoblike projection adjacent to curving surface possibly part of genitals.

Location 26w (51A/26). PG–MG context.

AB53 (C 8763). Body and foot fragments, some twenty small and tiny pieces. Th of walls 0.8–1.2. Clay light brown 7.5 YR 6/4, slip pale yellow 5 Y 8/3, 7/3, dark round inclusions 15%, max 0.2.

Wheelmade, wheelmarks visible on exterior. Possible fragment of dewlap.

East end of excavated area within Temple B, Floor 1 (33C/76). Geometric context.

**AB54** (C 8769). Body and leg, nonjoining fragments. Dim of largest 7.0 × 3.0, th 1.0. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/6, slip white to pale yellow 2.5 Y 8/2–8/4, dark inclusions 15%, max 0.2. Wheelmarks on exterior and interior.

Temple B, accumulation on Floor 3 (33C/53). Seventh-century-B.C. context.

**AB55** (C 8758). Body and horn fragments, badly chipped and worn outer surfaces. Max dim of largest piece of several joining sherds 8.0 × 4.5. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/6–6/8, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, 8/4, dark angular inclusions 20%, min 0.1, max 0.25. Three body pieces of thin roughly curving walls with depressions and bumps from hand modeling and with no evidence of wheelmarks. The fourth piece a short strip with convex and concave sides, possibly part of a dewlap. The fifth piece a conical curving form, a leg or horn, attached to a convex surface, either part of the body or a hollow head. The leg possibility, even if of a strange shape, is more likely because of the apparent relative smallness of the figurine.

Temple B, Floor 1, stratum directly above early hearth (33C/78). Seventh-century-B.C. context.

**AB56** (C 8765). Body and leg fragments, with several joins, worn outer surfaces. Pls. 3.25. Est d of body 10.0, max dim of larger fragment 12.0 × 6.0, th of larger fragment 2.0. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/6, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, dark angular inclusions 15%, min 0.1, max 0.25. Wheelmade, roughly cylindrical body. One fragment preserves a hollow conical form (10.0 long) attached to a convex surface, which should be the leg rather than the horn, given the size of the body. There are two perforations through the body, probably for preventing cracking during firing process. The well-preserved clay figures of oxen from the Classical sanctuary at Tsikiana feature numerous holes through their bodies, but not through the heads (Andreadaki-Blasaki 1997: 67, fig. 67).


**AB57** (C 6310). Two body fragments. Pls. 3.13, 3.25. Max length 12.6 and 6.3, max w 7.3 and...