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7.8, th 0.9–1.4 and 1.0. Roughly smoothed, clay yellow 10 YR 7/6, slip white 2.5 Y 8/2, small mostly dark and angular inclusions 25%, min 0.05, max 0.2. Larger fragment from rear end of quadruped, with gash through body at anus and thick added ribbon for hanging tail. Prominent wheel marks on exterior. Round opening through body where leg once attached. Traces of broad painted zone in dark paint across the rear of the body, which also covers the tail.

Location 15e (52A/16). LG–Early Orientalizing context.

ABS8 (C 2441). Unidentifiable fragment of large animal. Pl. 3.13. Max dim 12.3. Smoothed, clay light brown to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/4–6/6, slip white to light gray 2.5 Y 8/2–7/2, dark angular inclusions 20%, min 0.1, max 0.2, occasional white pebbles used as temper, 0.5. Possibly part of hollow head, projection being the horn. Built up of two to three layers of clay of irregular thickness, bold modeling on exterior surface.


ABS9 (C 8762). Two joining fragments, possibly from separately attached dewlap. Pl. 3.26. Max length 10.0, max w 3.5. Smoothed, clay brownish yellow 10 YR 6/6, slip pink to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/4, 8/6, dark inclusions 5%, max 0.1. Triangular in section, with concave attachment surface.


AB60 (C 8761). Leg and body fragments. Pl. 3.26. Max dim of leg 5.0 × 6.7, est d of leg 7.5. Clay yellowish brown 10 YR 5/6, slip white to very pale brown 10 YR 8/3–8/4, light and dark inclusions 10%, max 0.1. Wheelmade, the marks visible on the outside. Another interesting small fragment preserves two flat surfaces that meet at an acute angle, the pointed end of which has broken off. This could be part of a dewlap or, more likely, of the mane of a horse.


Horse? (AB61)

AB61 (C 8759). Possible horse’s mane, three joining fragments. Pl. 3.26. Max dim 5.5 × 3.5, max th 2.5. Clay light brown 7.5 YR 6/4, slip very pale brown 10 YR 6/4, dark inclusions 2%, under 0.1. If part of a mane, the larger fragment with the curved end might be the crest. The crest would have been attached separately.

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

Hollow Quadruped Legs (AB62–AB73, AB73.1, AB73.2)

AB62 (C 8052). Hoof fragment. Pl. 3.13. Max h 2.6, d 3.6. Clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, paint very dark gray 2.5 Y N/3, dark inclusions 1%, max 0.1. Splayed hoof closed underfoot. Traces of dark paint on all surfaces.

Location 26c (63A/48). LPG–PCB context.

AB63 (C 8086, C 8189). Two legs. Pls. 3.13, 3.40. Max h 3.4 and 6.5, d at base of longer leg 2.1. Well-smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, paint dark reddish brown 5 YR 3/2, dark inclusions 1%, max 0.05. Longer leg with the more complete profile preserving painted decoration of successive dark bands all around and underfoot. Hoof splayed and conical underfoot. Perforation right through this leg.


AB64 (C 8197). Lower leg and hoof. Pls. 3.13, 3.26. Max h 4.8, d at base 4.2. Clay brown to yellowish brown 10 YR 5/3–5/4 and either exposed to fire after breaking or fired in reduced atmosphere, paint very dark gray 2.5 Y 3/3, dark inclusions 1%, max 0.1. Swelling above ledge base, flat underfoot, small perforation right through.

Location 26c (63A/69). PG–MG context.

AB66 (C 7626 and C 7921). Two legs and a hoof. Pls. 3.13, 3.40. Max h 8.5 and 8.2, d 5.6 and 5.5. Well-smoothed, clay yellow 10 YR 7/6, slip very pale brown 10 YR 7/4, light and dark inclusions 1%, max 0.1. Two almost-complete wheelmade legs, with splayed base. Location 26c (63A/24 and 35). PG–seventh-century-B.C and seventh-century n.c. contexts.


AB68 (C 6309). Leg, small fragment. Max h 6.8, d 5.0, th 1.1. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, light and dark angular and round inclusions 20%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Wheelmarks visible inside and out. Location 26w (51A/12). Seventh-century-n.c. context.

AB69 (C 6349). Leg, lower section. Pl. 3.13. Max h 12.1, d 5.2. Clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, core reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, light and dark angular and round inclusions 15%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Cylindrical with slightly splayed foot. Wheelmarks visible inside and out. Location 26w (51A/18). Seventh-century-n.c. context.

AB70 (C 8755). Leg, upper portion. Pl. 3.26. Max h 9.0, d at base 4.7. Clay color as AB69, paint brown 10 YR 5/3, dark inclusions 30%, min under 0.1, max 0.3. Wheelmade, lower part cylindrical, closed at the top where attached to body. Two dark brown bands (each 0.6 wide) painted some 3.0 apart, one band painted over one of the raised vertical ridges, which must represent muscles. Western end directly outside Gallery P4, Building P (63B/98). Seventh-century-n.c. context.


AB73.2 (C 9618). Leg, lower part only. Pl. 3.14. Max h 7.8, d 4.0. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/6, slip pink 7.5 YR 7/4, dark angular inclusions 30%, min 0.1, max 0.3. Tubular with slight flare at foot end. Round central hole, widening at base. West of Gallery P6, Building P (84C/38). Undiagnostic, probably Archaic context.

Solid Quadruped Legs (AB74–AB77)

AB74 (C 3126). Three legs of smallish animal, partially preserved. Pl. 3.14. H pres 5.6, 5.6, 6.9; d 4.4, 3.6, 3.5. Burnished and smoothed, clay light reddish brown to reddish brown 5 YR 6/4, 5/4, gray core, slip pink 7.5 YR 8/4, paint pink to reddish brown 5 YR 7/4, 6/4, mostly dark inclusions 5%, min 0.1, max 0.15. Cylindrical with raised horizontal ridge 4.0 above splayed hoof. Painted with horizontal bands around base and ridge, and a vertical one along one side of the leg. Location 15w to 26c (34A2/40, and 63A/26 and...
56). PG context. For the articulation of the knees, including the painted band, cf. Guggisberg 1996: 172 and pl. 44, 3–5, for a large LM IIIC hollow bull from Phaistos. Two quadruiped legs from the Samian Heraion, possibly of eighth-century-b.c. date, are comparable in shape and decoration (Ohly 1940: 1271, pl. 55, no. 1271).

AB75 (C 2457). Four legs, three almost complete, encrusted surfaces. Pls. 3.26, 3.40. Max heights are 9.8, 9.7, 8.5, 4.0. Clay very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, core pink 5 YR 7/4, dark angular inclusions 15%, min 0.1, max 0.25 Peglike legs, slightly curving. Upper surfaces, where attached to body, are slanted.

AB76 (C 6351). Two legs, almost complete (mended from four joining fragments). Pls. 3.14, 3.20, 3.40. Max h 15.6 and 13.6, d of base 4.5 and 4.1. Partially burnished and smoothed, clay pink to reddish brown 5 YR 6/4, 5/4, slip white to pale yellow 2.5 Y 8/2, 8/4, paint dark reddish brown 5 YR 3/2, dark inclusions 15%, max 0.2. Legs probably front and rear from right side of animal. Cylindrical with slight downward taper and splayed base. Traces of painted vertical and horizontal bands on outer side. Visible tool marks from smoothing surface.

Location 15w–26w, lying on east wall of Minoan Rooms 12–13 (51A/17). Seventh-century-b.c. context.

J. W. Shaw 1984a: 281, pl. 56d.

AB77 (C 7891). Leg, lower section. Max length 5.9. Clay strong brown 7.5 YR 4/6, split reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/6, dark inclusions 20%, min 0.05, max 0.2. Oval in section and somewhat bowed. Locations 19 to 42 (62D/39). Seventh-century-b.c. context.

Enigmatic Piece (AB78)

AB78 (C 11062). Fragment, possibly part of the body of a small solid animal. Pl. 3.14. Pres length 6.0, d 2.5. Smoothed, clay white 10 YR 8/2, very pale brown at fracture 10 YR 7/3, core greyish brown 10 YR 5/2, dark round inclusions 5%, max 0.2. Location 26w (51A/68). Eighth–seventh-century-b.c. context.

Bronze Figurines (AB79–AB84)

AB79 (B 306, HM). Nudie ithyphallic man; ends of arms badly corroded. Pls. 3.14, 3.27. Bronze. H 8.1, w 2.6. Made in three parts: head, neck, body, and legs, and arms. Oval head with large eyes in added pellets, prominent nose continuing line of forehead, incised slash for mouth, heavy chin. Wavy strand of hair, incised and in low relief, running down left side of neck. Head attached, slightly tilted to the neck and turning slightly right. Neck, body, and unseparated legs made of a single cylindrical rod. A vertical groove, front and back, dividing the legs. Buttocks formed by slightly bending the rod to produce a projection at the back, making legs look bent in a profile view, but rigid and straight when seen from the front. Genitals attached separately. Slimmer rod attached horizontally to back of torso, its ends curving forward in front to indicate the arms. Small tenon with a perforation made sideways projecting under the feet.

Location 26c (63A/54). PG context. The small tenon was probably intended to secure the figure to a base, perhaps of wood, since the feet of bronze figurines are usually welded to other types of surfaces, as in the case of the nude male figurine that is part of the open-work relief decoration of a tripod stand from Kato Syme (Lembessi 1981b: pl. 123). Parallels for the use of rods to render little human figures, including the appearance of bent knees, are numerous in the EIA (see comparanda quoted in M. C. Shaw 1987 referring to examples published in Naumann 1976 and Verlinden 1984). The damaged left hand makes it uncertain whether he held an offering like a bowl or cup, as in some Cretan examples of the eighth century: for instance, a bronze figurine from Kato Syme (Lembessi 1981b: pl. 3b) and a clay one from Aghia Triada (D’Agata 1998: fig. 1.5). A similar type, in clay, comes from a burial on the Alban Hill in Rome and is assigned to the transition between the end of the BA and the start of the IA (Peroni 1994: 130–31, fig. 39.3).


AB80 (B 308, HM). Bull, corroded. Pls. 3.14, 3.27. Bronze. H 4.1, length 6.2, w at horns 2.1. Long cylindrical snout with horizontal incision for mouth, pellet eyes, ears below short upturned horns. Thin neck, rudimentary indication of dew-
The Sculpture from the Sanctuary

lap. Body narrowing at the waist, rising at the rumprhang tail. Slightly slanted legs rest on little square platforms with small square tenons underneath.

Location 26c (63A/64). FC context. See comments for AB79, male figure that may be connected with this bull, since found in the same dump. Similar in proportions and other details are certain bronze bull figurines from Kato Syme of Geometric date (Lembessi 1983: 356, pl. 238b). Two small bull figurines from the Dictaen Cave show projections below their feet, but these are pointed and suggested to be the result of pour-away channels used in casting (Boardman 1961: 12, pl. VII, nos. 34 and 36).

J. W. Shaw 1986: 224, pl. 47d.

AB80.1 (B 337, HM). Small bull, intact. Pls. 3.15, 3.30. Bronze with parts completed in lead. H to back 3.5, H to horns 5.7, length 7.7. Parts completed in lead: the rump (which has now expanded slightly through oxidation), genitals, perhaps the tail, and the underside cavity of the body. Residual cylinders for body, legs, and muzzle. The latter long and with oval section. Horizontal slit that carries over slightly to the sides marking the mouth. Ears, horns, and dewlap indicated. Tail hanging down over the right leg.

Location 17e, near south edge of House X (80A/27). Geometric–seventh-century B.C. context. Lead was used to fill in hollows in the body from parts missing probably due to casting error. From the Dictaen Cave comes a bull figurine with a body that is also hollowed underneath, but no lead remains have been mentioned, and the cavity may not have been filled (Boardman 1981: 13, pl. VIII, no. 40).


Location 26c (63A/68). PC context. For the shape of the horn and the short tail, compare a small bronze ram from Kato Syme of Geometric date (Lembessi 1983: pl. 258b).


West end of excavated area in Temple B, Floor 2 (29A1/85). LG context. The bull shares traits with others from the eighth century B.C. (see Pilali-Papasteriou 1985: pl. 5, no. 35 from Aghia Triada, and p. 24 for further examples).


AB83 (B 17, HM 4511). Horse, bit of muzzle, part of edge of mane and ends of ears broken off, surface somewhat corroded. Pl. 3.29. Bronze. H 12.0, length 13.3. Modeled head, tubular muzzle, bulbous eyes, mane a sharp ridge down the back of the neck. Waist tubular, heavy haunches, somewhat tubular and rather long legs but with details like hocks, knees, hoofs well defined. Rear legs and tail squeezed together and bent inward. Genitals indicated.


J. W. Shaw 1980a: 233, 235, pl. 64a, b, d.

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along spine when seen from above, but broad when seen from side.


Faience Figurines (AB85–AB86)

AB85 (F 5, HM Y 593). Sekhmet or Bastet, almost complete, mended from three pieces, surfaces worn and cracked. Restored upper left arm, lower right arm, and rear of base. Pl. 3.31. Faience. Max h 14.3, w across restored arm and hips 5.9, dim of restored base 4.2 × 2.4. Brown-gray-purple surface, white exterior core, dark interior core. Lion-headed, bearded, draped female figure in long clinging dress, small waist, wide rounded hips, rather tubular unmodeled arms, standing barefoot on low base, left foot forward. Right arm hanging down and holding ank, right arm flexed, hand clasping long lotus-topped staff in front of body, end of staff between feet reaching the base. Rear side very summarily modeled. Lion’s ears and mane, long muzzle, Egyptian headdress with hair hanging in two thick strands at front. Small cat seated on slightly raised part of base on right side of figure.

AB86 (F 10, HM Y 594). Figurine of Nefertum complete except for middle of left arm, restored from four fragments. Pl. 3.30. Max h 6.3, dim of base 2.2 × 1.05. Faience. White core and traces of blue-green glaze (perhaps originally blue) on exterior. Striding male figure wearing short belted kilt, standing on small rectangular base, left leg forward, clenched fists at sides, heavy legs. Face triangular, false beard, cavities for eyes may have been inlaid. At top of head remains of suspension device. Projection above forehead must be a uraeus. Lacking the lotus crown that is usual with this god. Dark hair (originally dark blue or black) falling forward in two heavy strands, and flexed, hand clasping long lotus-topped staff in front of body, end of staff between feet reaching the base. Rear side very summarily modeled. Lion’s ears and mane, long muzzle, Egyptian headdress with hair hanging in two thick strands at front. Small cat seated on slightly raised part of base on right side of figure.


Interim Period between Temples A, B, and C

Smallish Solid Bulls/Bovines (I1–I2)

I1 (C 7657). Small solid bovine, two joining fragments, preserving one entire leg, stubs of legs, tail, horns, and muzzle; badly eroded. Pls. 3.15, 3.32. Length 10.0, max h 4.5, th of body 2.6. Unslipped, clay yellowish red 5 YR 5/8, light and dark-angular and round inclusions 15%, min 0.05, max 0.3. Cylindrical body, short conical legs, thick hanging tail. Dewlap not indicated. Location 28c (64A/3). Fifth-fourth-century B.C. context.

I2 (C 7744). Small solid bull, hindquarter,
parts of tail and legs broken off. Pl. 3.32. D of body 5.6, max length pres 11.0, est length 20.0–
23.0, est h of body 13.0. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 5/8, gray core, slip pink to reddish yellow 7.5
YR 8/4–8/6, light and dark angular and round inclusions 25%, min 0.05, max 0.3. Body cylindri-
cal, back sloping up slightly, tail hanging. Geni-
tals added separately.
Location 26c (63A/17). Fifth-century-B.C. con-
text.

Large Hollow Quadrupeds (I3–I3.1)
I3 (C 7840, C 2727, C 7111, and C 185). Leg and body fragments, widely scattered and assigned
to one animal on the basis of similar scale, fabric,
style, and occasional joins.
C 7840. Thigh fragment with tail, where
attached to hollow body, parts broken off. Thigh:
max h 12.3, max w 8.1. Body or thigh: max dim
9.5 x 5.0, th 2.5. Hand modeled. Tail in low relief
against leg, hairs incised.
Location 26c (63A/14). Fifth–fourth-century-
B.C. context.
C 2727. Leg, joining thigh fragment C 7840. Pls.
3.16, 3.32, 3.40. Max h 10.0. Slim leg, modeled
hock, incised hairs of tail on C 7840 continue.
Location 15w (recovered from pile of roof tiles
Surface find directly west of Gallery P4, Build-
collected for study from Trench 34A/1–15). Hel-
leonic to Roman context.
C 7111. Solid leg, three joining fragments pre-
serving thigh and part of hollow body. Max h
13.5, oval section 5.0 x 3.5.
Location 26e (56A/32). Fourth–fourth-century-
B.C. context.
C 185. Thigh layer and adjoining hollow body
fragment. Max dim 13.5 x 10.5, max th 4.0.
South of Building B (10A/17). Hellenistic or Ro-
man context.
I3.1 (C 9538). Hollow bovine head, front part
only, missing tip of horn, restored from several
joined pieces, very worn surface. Pl. 3.16. Clay
yellowish red 5 YR 5/8. No ears, horns horizontal,
face preserving no features.
Between northwest corner of Building D and
Building V (81A/6). Mixed seventh–fourth-cen-
tury-B.C. context.

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Solid Quadruped Legs (I4–I7)
I4 (C 8388). Lower leg of quadruped. Pl. 3.32.
Max dim 9.0 x 8.0, max th 3.0, d 17.0. Smoothed,
clay yellowish red 5 YR 5/8, core gray, slip white
to light gray 5 Y 8/2–7/2, dark inclusions 25%,
min 0.05, max 0.15. Echinus-shaped foot, with
two rounded fillets preserved above it.
West end of Gallery P4, or directly outside
Building P, west end (63B/101). Fifth-century-
B.C. context.
I5 (C 7108). Thigh, broken off the body. Pl. 3.32.
Max h 9.8, d at bottom 4.5. Smoothed, clay light
red 2.5 YR 6/8, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4–8/6, light and dark angular inclusions
15%, min 0.1, max 0.3. Solid, cylindrical, with
vertical smoothing marks.
Location 26e (56A/35). Fifth–fourth-century-
B.C. context.
I6 (C 9462). Leg, missing both ends. Pl. 3.32.
Length 8.5, average d 0.3. Slightly burnished and
smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, slip
cylindrical, hock, incised hairs of tail on C 7840 continue.
From scarp near Building V (85A/7). Roughly
pinched in and then flaring at base.
Surface find directly west of Gallery P4, Build-
P (reported in daybook 90D/7).
I7 (C 8961). Leg, lower part only. Pl. 3.15. Max
h 3.0, d of foot 1.5. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 5/6,
no visible inclusions. Roughly cylindrical, pinched in
and then flaring at base.

Hollow Quadruped Legs (I8–I9)
I8 (C 8882). Leg, broken at both ends. Pl. 3.15.
Max h 4.2, max d 4.6. Roughly smoothed, clay
yellowish red 5 YR 7/6, slip pink 5 YR 8/4, dark
angular inclusions 20%, min under 0.1, max 0.2.
Leg of large figurine with tiny central hole run-
ning through its length.
Western end of Gallery P5, Building P (89C/98).
Fifth–fourth-century-B.C. context.
I9 (C 7658). Leg, broken near attachment to body.
Pls. 3.15, 3.40. Max h 12, d at base 4.0. Well-
smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6–7/8,
slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, light and dark
inclusions 15%, most ca. 0.05. Cylindrical, slightly
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Period of Temple C

Fragmentary Hollow Quadrupeds

(C1–C8.1)

**C1** (C 7288). Smallish bovine, hindquarter preserving stubs of legs. Pl. 3.32 (underside). Max h 5.7, max length 6.9. Clay red 10 R 4/8, thick slip reddish yellow 5 YR 7/6–7/8, dark angular inclusions 20%, most ca. 0.2. Hollow body, handmade, solid legs. Ridge under body and traces of genitalia rendered plastically.


**C2** (C 6510). Smallish bovine, seven joining fragments of forequarter and one nonjoining large fragment, probably part of back with beginning of tail. Pl. 3.16. Max h 11.8, max w 8.0. Fabric and slip as C1, with larger inclusions as temper ca. 0.3. Hollow, partly handmade, cylindrical body with thick walls in multiple layers of clay. Neck tube closed at top. Prominent dewlap indicated. Thin holes in (not through) walls of body, within and without, and at front of body, between the legs, and on side of right leg. Beginning of ridge on belly, probably the genitalia.

Location 26w (50A/35). Fourth-century-b.c. context.

**C3** (C 6701). Bovine, neck and body fragment. Pls. 3.16, 3.35. Max dim 11.5, d of neck ca. 6.5. Clay in two layers, interior light red 2.5 YR 6/6 and exterior reddish yellow 7 YR 7/8, slip very pale brown to yellow 10 YR 7/6–7/8, dark angular inclusions 15%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Hollow cylindrical neck set vertically over hollow body with wide hole (d 3.5) at top behind neck. Sharp ridge on neck apparently dewlap.


**C4** (C 7135). Smallish bovine, part of front of body and stub of leg, parts of surface chipped off. Pl. 3.16. Max pres dim 5.2 × 8.0, d of leg 4.0. Fabric and slip as C1. Hollow body, dewlap. Leg round in section with central small cylindrical hole. Largely hand modeled.

Location 26c (63A/2). Fifth- and fourth-century-b.c. context.

**C5** (C 8289). Quadruped, hindquarters. Pl. 3.17. Max dim 9.7 × 8.5, th 1.5, max th of walls ca. 1.80. Exterior clay surface very worn, interior clay light red 2.5 YR 6/6, slip pink 7.5 YR 8/4, fabric density as in C3. Wide hollow body with fairly thin walls, rounded buttocks, stub of broken tail, perforation at anus.

West of Building E (over Minoan Space 25a), (66B/3). First-century-b.c. context.

**C6** (C 1831). Quadruped, belly wall, broken on all sides, exterior surface very worn and chipped. Pl. 3.17. Max dim 15.0 × 10.5, th of wall 0.1–0.25. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 6/8, dark angular inclusions 15%, most ca. 0.2. Curving wall thickening and rising at one end (near neck or hump?). Two rounded scars from attachment of legs. Wheelmarks on interior.

Surface find, northwest of Altar H (reported in daybook 20B1/no pail).

**C7** (C 2370). Small quadruped, rear or front lower half of body, stubs of legs, no apparent traces of dewlap or tail. Pl. 3.17. Max h 2.5; max length 5.5; th at bottom 0.5, at flanks 0.7, at rear 1.5. Smoothed, clay grayish 2.5 YR 7/4–7/6, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/6, paint dark to strong brown 7.5 YR 4/4–4/6, light and dark inclusions 20%, under 0.1. Hollow body, thick walls, rectangular in section, tiny cylindrical stubs of legs. Handmade.

Surface find, north of Altar H (reported in daybook 26/1/no pail).

**C8** (C 1785). Quadruped, two body fragments and leg broken at top with part of hoof missing, surface chipped, except at bottom of leg. Pls. 3.17, 3.35. Max h of leg 15.0, max d of largest body fragment 11.0. Clay red 2.5 YR 5/6–5/8, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6–7/8, dark angular and round inclusions 20%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Both body and leg hollow. Leg oval in section with
flaring base and fetlock and knee indicated. Thick body walls, apparently hand modeled.
Surface find north of Altar H (reported in daybook 26/no pail).

C8.1 (C 9539). Quadruped, rear leg, minus foot, and part of genitals, parts of adjacent body with several joins, and other pieces. Pl. 3.33. H of rear leg 20.0. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/6–6/8, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/3, dark angular inclusions 20%, min 0.2 (majority), max 0.3. Straight hollow leg with hock and hollow body. Between Buildings V and E (80A/3). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

Complete Small Bull (C9)
C9 (C 268, HM 1981). Small bull, missing one horn (the other preserved but loose) and one ear; complete and therefore unclear whether solid or partly hollow. Legs solid. Face and areas of body mostly on left side of bull worn and flaky, head broken off and reattached by us. Pl. 3.34. H 17.0, max length 28.0, length of legs ca. 6.0. Clay red 2.5 YR 5/6–5/8, slip pink to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/4–8/6, dark inclusions 15%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Roughly modeled body with disproportionately small head and limbs separately attached. Rudimentary dewlap. Tail a raised ridge curling to right and over left flank. Off-center hole at anus, genitalia rendered as a pronged knob with raised ridge extending to midchest floor.

In situ on Altar C, facing east, in sand that covered the altar (10A1/23).

Hollow Legs (C10–C25.6)
C10 (C 7110). Thigh, and small part of body. Pl. 3.35. Max h 9.2, d at lower end 4.5. Well-smoothed, clay light red 2.5 YR 6/6, slip very pale brown to yellow 10 YR 8/4–8/6, dark angular and round inclusions 15%, most under 0.1. Cylindrical and slightly tapering, hollow (d of hole 1.5), but plugged at top by wall of hollow body.

The Sculpture from the Sanctuary
C11 (C 7063). Leg, broken at both ends, surface very worn and chipped. Pl. 3.35. Max h 12.9. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 6/8, light and dark round and elongated inclusions 30%, min 0.1, max 0.3. Oval in section, flaring slightly toward bottom, hock indicated.

C12 (C 3102). Thigh, broken off at attachment to body, surface very worn. Pl. 3.35. Max h 9.0, d at bottom 5.8, dim of oval hole 2.4 × 2.8. Clay red 2.5 YR 5/6, fabric as C11. Cylindrical, closed at top where attached to body, thick walls.
Location 26w (56A1/1). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

C13 (C 7112). Leg, broken at upper end, missing part of hoof, and non-joining thigh with small part of body. Pl. 3.35. Leg: max h 15.0, d at top 5.5 × 6.5, d of central hole ca. 2.0. Smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6–7/8, slip very pale brown to yellow 10 YR 8/4–8/6, dark round and angular inclusions 20%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Slim leg, roundish in section, tapering at bottom with splaying base.
Location 26e (56A1/33). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

C14 (C 7107). Leg, broken at bottom. Pl. 3.35. Max h 19.4, w at point of attachment to body ca. 3.0, d at bottom 0.9. Fabric almost identical with C13. Tapering leg with thick walls and downward-narrowing smallish hole within. Vertical smoothing marks on exterior surface.

C15 (C 6311). Leg, lower part, surface slightly chipped. Pl. 3.17. Max h 10.2, d at upper end 4.5, at base 3.1, d of wide hole at top 2.2, of hole at base 3.2. Clay very pale brown 7/3 10 YR 8/3–8/4, slip white to pale yellow 2.5 Y 8/2–8/4, dark round inclusions 15%, max under 0.1. Slightly splayed base with swelling above, flat underfoot. Wheel-marks visible on interior and exterior.
Sand level, Location 26w (51A/10). No diagnostic context.

C16 (C 7009). Leg, lower part, very worn surface. Pl. 3.36. Max h 10.0; d at upper leg 4.5, at hoof 6.3. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/8, slip pink 7.5 YR 8/4, light and dark angular and elongated inclusions 15%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Roundish in
section, narrow cylindrical hole, thick walls, splayed base. Slip preserved near hoof.

Location 26c to 26e (56A1/19). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

**C17** (C 345). Three legs, partially preserved, two joining fragments possibly from upper thigh, and three nonjoining fragments possibly from body, probably from one animal, all pieces badly worn. Hoofs and lower legs better preserved. Pl. 3.17. Leg A: h 13.2; d of hoof 7.6, of hole at bottom 2.2. Leg B: h 17.1, rest of dim as A. Leg C: max h 14.3. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 7/6, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, dark angular and round 20%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Leg B oval section at top and roundish at bottom. Leg C oval in section, missing hoof. Legs preserving lower parts feature fetlocks and flaring hooves.


**C18** (C 942 and C 1032). Leg and two joining hoof fragments. Pls. 3.36, 3.40. Max h 17.8, dim of hole at top 4.5 × 2.0. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 6/8, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/8, dark angular and round inclusions 20%, min 0.1 (majority), max 0.3. Oval section, extensive downward tapering, splayed base. Fetlock and swelling in front of it (knee?) indicated. Hole in leg almost closed at base. Northeastern side of Altar H (20B1/8). Hellenistic context.

**C19** (C 2769). Thigh fragment, broken at both ends. Pl. 3.35. Max h 8.0; d 5.5, dim of hole 2.0 × 1.7. Smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/8, slip very pale brown to yellow 10 YR 7/6–7/8, dark angular and round inclusions 15%, max 0.1. Thick walls, cylindrical hole. Smoothed on exterior.


**C20** (C 1772). Leg, upper part, very worn surface. Pl. 3.18. Max h 17.4; max d 10.85; dim of hole at top 5.5 × 3.2, at bottom 3.5 × 2.0. Clay red 2.5 YR 5/6–5/8, dark angular inclusions 15%, max 0.1. Oval in section, walls much thicker at top, hock rendered as bulge. Surface find southeast of Temple C (reported in daybook 18/no pail).

**C21** (C 7290). Thigh fragment, broken at both ends. Max h 8.4, max d 7.0. Burnished, and smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, dark angular and round inclusions 5%, min under 0.1, max 0.3. Tapering, interior hole plugged with clay midway between thigh and lower leg.


**C22** (C 1858). Smallish leg, broken at top, part of hoof missing, surface very eroded. Pl. 3.36. Max h 11.9. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/8, slip pink and reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/4, 8/6, dark angular inclusions 5%, max 0.1. Leg slim, roughly oval in section, slightly flaring hoof, fetlock indicated.

East of Building D (8A/5). Hellenistic context.

**C23** (C 842). Leg, missing bits of hoof. Pls. 3.36, 3.40. Max h 17.8; d at top 13.0, at base 7.2. Smoothed, clay red 2.5 YR 5/6–5/6, light and dark angular inclusions 25%, max 0.3. Substantial downward taper, oval in section, interior hole almost closed at bottom, very thick walls, splayed foot, fetlock indicated.

Surface find, northwest of Temple C (reported in daybook 20A/no pail).

**C24** (C 2182). Leg, very worn surface. Pls. 3.18, 3.36. Max h 19.4, d at top 11.0, at base 6.5. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 6/8, light and mostly dark angular inclusions 25%, max 0.4. Substantial downward taper, flattened oval in section, hollow at top and bottom only, splayed base, conical underfoot. Hock and possibly fetlock indicated. East of Altar L, between Altars L and M (29A/20). First-century-B.C. context.

**C25** (C 7684). Leg, broken at both ends. Max h 9.8, max d 9.5. Smoothed, clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/8, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, light and dark angular inclusions 25%, max 0.3. Tapering, hollow at top and bottom only, hock indicated. Over House X, Room 5 (66A/1). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

**C25.1** (C 9190). Leg, broken at both ends, worn and pitted surface. Pl. 3.18. Max h 11.5, max d 5.7, th of wall 0.2. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, dark angular and round inclusions 25%, min 0.1, max 0.3. Tapered, oval in section at larger end, round at the other.

Northeast of House X (74B/57). Hellenistic context.
The Sculpture from the Sanctuary


C25.4 (C 9061). Lower part of leg and part of foot, surface much worn. Pl. 3.37. Max h 7.7, d at base 7.0. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, slip very pale brown to yellow 10 YR 8/4, 8/6, fabric as C25.1. Straight leg, narrow central hole, flaring foot. May be part of the same animal as C25.3. East of Building Q (94A/8). Classical or later context.


C25.6 (C 9912). Leg, small fragment with only one side of cylindrical wall. Pl. 3.18. Max dim 5.6. Well-smoothed, clay light brown 7.5 YR 6/4, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, dark angular inclusions 30%, max 0.1. Western end of or directly outside Gallery P5, Building P (89C/103). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

Solid and Almost Solid Quadruped Legs (C26–C40.4)

C26 (C 6291). Rear right leg, only upper section preserved with small part of body. Pls. 3.18, 3.37, 3.40. Max h 12.3, d at top 5.4, at base 2.8. Burrowed out and smoothed, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/8, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/7-7/6, dark angular and round inclusions 20%, min 0.1, max 0.4. Tapering and cylindrical near base, with narrow hole running through the length. Tail in relief hanging down just below hock. Horizontal incisions as pattern on tail. Hollow body with small perforation at anus.

Location 15e (52A/6). Fourth-century-B.C. context. The relief treatment of the tail and its attachment to the leg is paralleled in an example from the Sanctuary of Hera on Samos, which dates to the early eighth century B.C. (Ohly 1940: 421, pl. 55).

C27 (C 7675). Leg, restored from several joining fragments, small pieces missing. Pls. 3.18, 3.37, 3.40. Max h 22.0, d of leg at midpoint 6.8, at base 10.5. Smoothed, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/8 fired gray at core and on parts of surface, dark angular inclusions 30%, max 0.1. Thick, cylindrical, somewhat bowed leg, marked at intervals by pairs of incised rings. Echinus-shaped molding with concave top surface where once attached to body. Rounded discoid hoof, topped by relief ring, slightly convex underfoot. On side of leg circular scar (4.5 × 5.0) above hoof, and firing hole pierced midway through thickness of leg, just below upper molding.

Location 26c (63A/8). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

C28 (C 7676). Leg, bottom section. Pl. 3.18. Max h 10.0, d at top 6.9, at base 9.7. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 6/6, dark angular inclusions 20%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Thick, cylindrical leg, slightly splaying hoof with rounded profile, flat underfoot.

Location 26c (63A/8). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

C29 (C 7677). Leg, broken at both ends. Max h 8.4, max d 8.0. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 6/8, slip white to light gray 2.5 Y 8/2–7/2, light and dark angular inclusions 25%, max 0.1. Slight taper.

Location 26c (63A/8). Fourth-century-B.C. context.

C30 (C 8240). Leg and hoof assembled from eight fragments, four joining. Pl. 3.19. Max dim 4.1 × 8.8, th 3.2. Fabric and surface like C29, but with a gray core, very crumbly. Raised molding at base of foot. Echinus-shaped hoof concave beneath.

South of Building Q, west of Gallery P3, Building P (65A/3/56). Hellenistic context.

C31 (C 7661). Leg, broken at upper end. Pl. 3.37.
Catalogue of the Figurines and Figures

Max h 11.0, d at midpoint 3.5. Clay yellowish red 5 YR 5/6, slip very pale brown to yellow 10 YR 8/4–8/6, dark angular and round inclusions 15%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Slim, roughly cylindrical, with slightly splaying hoof.

Over House X, Room 5 (66A/1). Fourth-century B.C. context.

C32 (C 850). Leg, lower section, part of hoof missing, surface badly worn except for base. Pl. 3.37. Max h 9.2, d at top 5.1. Smoothed, clay yellowish red 5 YR 5/6, self-slipped, light and dark angular inclusions 20%, max 0.2. Oval in section with small vertical perforation starting at top. Hollow, separately attached splayed hoof.

East of Building D (20B/2). Hellenistic context.


C36 (C 7743). Leg, broken at upper end, very eroded. Pls. 3.37, 3.40. Max h 14.1, max d 4.7. Similar in scale, shape, fabric to C34 and C35. Solid, roughly cylindrical, splayed hoof and fetlocks.

Surface find, northeast of Altar H (reported in daybook 61A/no pail).

C37 (C 7106). Leg, broken at both ends. Pl. 3.38. Max h 8.7. Surface partially worn. Smoothed, clay red 5 YR 5/6–5/8, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, light and dark angular and round inclusions 15%, min 0.1, max 0.2. Slim with pronounced hock.


C38 (C 843). Leg, upper section. Max h 17.0. Smoothed, clay yellowish red 5 YR 6/8, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4, light and dark angular and round inclusions 30%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Roughly cylindrical, tapering, rounded bend probably indicating hock.

Surface find, northeast of Building E (reported in daybook 20A/no pail).

C39 (C 6837). Leg, broken at junction to body, part of hoof missing. Pl. 3.38. Max h 10.8, max d 3.9. Smoothed, clay red 2.5 YR 5/6–5/8, thick slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/6–6/8, light and dark angular and round inclusions 15%, max 0.2. Small, slim, cylindrical leg, splayed hoof square at bottom. Very similar to C40.

Surface find, northeast of Building D (reported in daybook 49A/no pail).


Over House X, Rooms 3 and 6 (59A/23). Hellenistic context.

C40.1 (C 9197). Leg, broken at both ends, partially worn surface. Pl. 3.38. Length 10.5, min average d 5.0, d of lower section oval 4.0. Smoothed, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/8, grayish core, slip reddish yellow 7.5 YR 7/6, dark angular inclusions min under 0.1, max 0.2. Mostly round in section, slight taper.

Surface find, northeast of House X (74B/58).

C40.2 (C 9051). Large foot with small section of leg, very worn at the back. Pl. 3.38. Max h 6.5, d of foot 4.7, of leg 4.0. Smoothed, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/8, dark angular inclusions 15%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Cleft hoof with incised toe division. Projection in back in worn area possibly the fetlock.

Surface find, northeast of House X (reported in daybook 92/no pail).

C40.3 (C 8997). Leg, entire, detached from where it was attached separately to the body. Pl. 3.38. Length 4.5, d of foot 2.0, of top of leg 3.0. Roughly smoothed, clay reddish yellow 5 YR 5/6, dark
round inclusions 5%, most 0.1. Stubby leg, flaring at top with irregular ridge around the foot. Surface find, northwest of House X (reported in daybook 92/no pail).

C40.4 (C 9285). Lower leg, worn surface. H 12.0, oval at base 5.5 × 6.0, oval at top 4.7 × 3.3. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/8, light and dark angular inclusions 25%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Solid, oval in section at top, cleft hoof, protrusions at rear, flaring base.


Heads of Quadrupeds (C41–C43)

C41 (C 7065 and C 9540). Hollow head of bovine, broken off where it was attached to neck, with ends of horns broken off, three joining fragments. Pls. 3.19, 3.38. Length from top of head to end of muzzle 13.0, max w of face 8.3–8.5, w across broken tips of horns 12.0, max h from face surface to broken back 3.0. Clay red 2.5 YR 5/6, 5/8, slip very pale brown 10 YR 8/4 to yellow 10 YR 8/6, 7/6, fabric as C23. Almond-shaped eyes and eyelids in relief, outlined by incised lines with grooves to indicate skin folds. Vertical incised line at center of forehead, which is also marked off from the face by a horizontal incised line. Roughly cylindrical muzzle with slit for mouth and slanted nostrils. Round (d 7.5) scar at back where neck was detached, but muzzle rounded underneath, projecting from the now missing neck (ca. 2.5).

Part found in Location 26e (56A1/31), and part above south limit of House X (80A/3). Both fourth-century-B.C. contexts. The flatness of the head and the treatment of the eyes find parallels in some heads of bulls of late fifth–fourth century date from the sanctuary at Vryses Kydonias (Mortzos 1985: 82, pl. 49).

C42 (C 949). Ear, three joining fragments, eroded. Pl 3.19. Max dim 6.3 × 3.3. Clay reddish yellow 7.5 YR 6/6, dark angular and round inclusions 20%, min under 0.1, max 0.2. Oval, with pointed end and oval depression on top. Slightly concave small surface where attached to head.


C43 (C 1031). Ear, tip missing. Max length 3.9, w 2.0. Clay reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/8), slip pink to reddish yellow (7.5 YR 8/4, 8/6), inclusions as C42, majority in the smallest range. Oval with oval depression at top.


Enigmatic Animal

or Human Face (C44)

C44 (C 269). Fragment of a face broken on all sides, from a sculpture or part of an antefix or a sima. Pls. 3.19, 3.38. Max w 9.1, max th ca. 6.0. Clay reddish yellow 5 YR 6/8, slip pink to reddish yellow 7.5 YR 8/4, 8/6. Eye, eyelid, and eyebrow in high relief. Round bulging eye marked with hole and curved incised line for iris and pupil, with arching eyelid rendered by low raised rim. Partially preserved third projecting ridge with a scalloped edge, presumably the eyebrow. Slightly curving backside suggesting a hollow head.

East of Altar C (10A1/26). Hellenistic context. It is unknown whether the face is animal or human. If it is from the hollow head of an animal, the sculpture would have been huge. If human, it could have been a mask, for it is unlikely the face belongs to a full figure, given that the eye is larger than life size.

3. Eyelashes of a Statue (Pl. 3.41, center and bottom)

The surprising discovery of the eyelashes was made during excavation in the southernmost area of the Kommos site. They lay high in the thick stratum of earth that had accumulated over the area of the south wing of the Late Minoan palace since that building was abandoned in the later thirteenth century B.C. The lashes, the full specifics of which are given in the last part of this section, were made of a sheet of copper or bronze. A findspot so distant from the temples
Eye of a Statue

might seem peculiar, but it may be that the statue to which the lashes belonged was actually set close to where they were found. Structure Y (Pl. 3.1), a square pavement of stone slabs nearby to the south, has been interpreted as a possible foundation for a statue base (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 5). The pavement itself was covered by sand at the time of excavation. Sherds found in the fill with the lashes and in the sand and the fill over which the platform was set (as judged from adjacent areas and not from fill under it) proved to be no later than Archaic and fifth century B.C. (84A/2, 87B/75), a surprisingly early date when compared with the pottery found in sand accumulations elsewhere in the sanctuary. The early pottery may well have drifted here as a result of erosion, which is rather severe in the southwest part of the site. Joseph W. Shaw has suggested that the platform could date to as early as the start of Temple C.

The practice of inserting separately made eyes and eyelashes into both marble and hollow-cast bronze statues was already known in Late Archaic and Early Classical times, as is discussed further in Section 4 in connection with the bone eye (Bo 24). Some of these eyes preserve the metal eyelashes, an example being the famous bronze statue of a charioteer from Delphi (Lullies and Hirmer 1960: fig. 104). The curved strip from which eyelashes were shaped served as an envelope for the inserted eye once the strip was placed into the specially prepared eye socket and attached by means of an adhesive (Mattusch 1996: 204–5, fig. 9).

It is not known whether the statue at Kommos was of stone or bronze. Probably of Classical or Hellenistic date and possibly set outdoors, the statue is more likely to have been of bronze. Whom the statue represented is also not known, but it is tempting to speculate, with Joseph W. Shaw, that Poseidon would have been a particularly suitable subject, given the location of the base near the seacoast.

B 378. Eyelashes. Length of longest eyelashes 0.04, length of strip in its curved state 3.4; w of strip on the side of the lashes 1.3–3.9. Bronze or copper. Surfaces well preserved. Made of a thin strip of a sheet of metal, curved lengthwise into the shape of the eye or eye socket. Flaring on one side, where it is snipped into a fringe of eighteen fine lashes. Several of the lash tips missing. Piece mended with HMG, a cellulose nitrate adhesive, and cleaned mechanically.

Found above the area once occupied by the South Stoa of the Minoan Palace (87B/75). Archaic and Classical context.

4. Eye of a Statue (Pl. 3.41, top)

The bone eye, details for which are given in the description that follows this discussion, was found in fill that marks the last use of Temple C. The context, which is the same as that of the relief of Pan (S 197, see Section 5), dates to the second century after Christ (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 4). Whereas I hypothesize that the Pan relief may have been brought into Temple C from outside—perhaps being used as building material for the light remodelings of the temple that occurred in its last phase—I believe the eye belonged to a statue displayed within the temple. The eye is large enough for the statue to have been at least life-size, unless the eyes were disproportionately large.
Because of the presence of a statue base in the cella it is reasonable to wonder whether the eye belonged to a figure set there. The character of the cuttings indicates that there was a pair of figures and that they were made of stone rather than bronze (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Section 6; Chap. 8, Section 2, “Temple C the Statue Bases”). The insertion of eyes in large statues goes back at least to the Archaic period. The famous Calf-Bearer (ca. 560 B.C.) from the Athenian Acropolis is one of the earliest known examples of the practice in stone, although its inlaid eyes are now missing (Lullies and Hirmer 1960: figs. 24–25), while the unusual hammered bronze (sphyrelaton) bust of a near-life-size winged “goddess” from Olympia (ca. 580 B.C.) provides a precocious instance of the use of inlaid eyes in metal statuary (Boardman 1978: fig. 134). Where preserved, the eyes are made of bone, semiprecious stones, and artificial substances (like glass and colored paste) to simulate the appearance of real eyes. In contrast to its fairly frequent occurrence in the Archaic period, the insertion of stone eyes in freestanding marble statues seems to be rare in the fourth century B.C., when Temple C was built, but a few more examples are known from the Mid to Late Hellenistic period (E. Harrison, personal communication, 1981).

To some extent the fact that the eye found in Temple C is bone rather than semiprecious stone may have implications for the type, material, and date of the statue to which it belonged, although one must acknowledge that the use of bone eyes is not well documented. Useful statements on this subject have been made by Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway (personal communication, 1979), who seems to prefer a wooden statue as the more probable recipient of our bone eye. Stressing the particular shape of the bone eye from Temple C, the fact that “one edge [is] strongly arching above an almost straight lower edge,” Ridgway came to the conclusion that the statue in question was more likely to have been a product of the Archaic/Severe or Roman periods. John Boardman (1961: 150, n. 5) mentions ivory and bone eyes found in various parts of Crete during the Early Iron Age, and he proposes that they belonged to imported wooden statuettes that have perished.

Because the eye was found at such a high level within Temple C and its size implies a large figure, I am inclined to think that it is neither an EIA hangover nor the eye of a small statuette. Of the two chronological possibilities mentioned by Ridgway, a statue from the Roman period may be the most likely option. If so, the statue would have been placed in the temple in a later phase, long after the statues that stood on the stone base in the west part of the cella had been dedicated. A platform south of the statue base has been submitted by Joseph W. Shaw as a location where statues and other offerings could have been positioned in the later period (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 2).
Relief of Pan

5. Relief of Pan (Pls. 3.42–3.43)

Originally an Arcadian deity who was a guardian of herds, Pan inhabited the countryside, hills, and caves (LIMC vol. VIII.1: 923–41; Brommer 1949–50; Herbig 1949), all places where he was worshipped in antiquity. Pan’s representation in a relief at the seaside sanctuary of Kommos may thus seem strange. Of course one need not assume that Pan was among the major deities honored at the site. Pan is often associated with various gods, and on Crete in particular he is a companion of Zeus. Zeus and Athena have, indeed, been proposed as the titulary deities at Kommos (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 8, Section 2). The reason for which the relief was brought to the sanctuary might, therefore, be the connection with Zeus, a possibility that is further considered in the following discussion. On the other hand, it may simply be that Kommos was a convenient location for a worshipper (or group of worshippers) who felt especially indebted to Pan.

The relief, carved on a limestone slab, was found within Temple C in 1979, during the earlier days of excavation. It lay face down on an earth floor a few meters east of the statue base located at the west part of the cella, near the north bench some 0.40 m above the room’s original slab pavement. The relief was clearly not in situ. Other cultic paraphernalia were scattered around it. To mention the most important, there was a limestone block carved with a herringbone pattern (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, 7) and an inscription on an altar with Poseidon’s name (Csapo, Chap. 2, 75). Also found at this level was the bone eye (Bo 24), which, as is discussed in Section 4, may have belonged to a statue set within the cella, perhaps one placed on the statue base. One other related find that needs to be mentioned, even though it was not found within the temple, is a slab inscribed with the names of Zeus and Athena (Csapo, Chap. 2, 76).

Joseph W. Shaw (Chap. 1, Section 4) thinks this stratum represents the use of Temple C by “squatters,” the pottery found in it dating the final phase of the temple to the second century after Christ. Whether the relief itself was among the latest dedications requires further consideration. Other stone items found with it have been dated earlier than their ceramic contexts. For instance, the inscribed slab from the cella has been dated to the second century B.C., as has the inscription naming Zeus and Athena that was found outside. Is the Pan relief also earlier than its context? Available cut stone was apparently found useful for the flimsy remodelings that were undertaken within the temple in the squatter period. Thus a segment of the shaft of one of the temple’s two columns had been reused to create some kind of enclosure in the northwest corner of the room (Pl. 1.93). That the shaft lay on the slab pavement itself, rather than on the later earth floor, indicates that at the time the squatters’ activities began.
The temple already lacked columns and, presumably, a roof. Cultic objects such as the stands and altars found in these squatier levels were probably still used for ritual purposes, but one wonders if small slabs like that with the herringbone pattern and the relief of Pan may have been brought inside the temple as building materials. In conclusion, the archaeological context fails to provide either a secure date or the certainty that what was found within the temple had been displayed there originally. The following discussion highlights distinctive aspects of the relief that may help date it stylistically and typologically through a comparative analysis. Further descriptive data about the relief are given in the last part of this section.

The relief of Pan projects from a surface that is set back from raised borders attested on the only preserved left and bottom sides of the stone slab. How much larger the complete relief panel was remains unclear. Pan is shown frontally. He stands on the narrow ledge created by the bottom border and plays his musical instrument, the syrinx, which he holds tightly against his chest with both hands. His arms are bent and his elbows somewhat raised. Only his right leg is fully preserved, but the scar left on the surface where the left leg broke off suggests that it was positioned closely and similarly. The overall composition thus appears to have been quite symmetrical.

The syrinx is rendered in some detail. It is rather large (h 4.0 cm, w 3.2 cm), covering Pan's chin and part of his chest, and is composed of ten vertical reeds held together by two horizontal bindings. As is the case with the real instrument, the reeds are of unequal height so that each can produce a different sound; here the upper ends of the reeds describe an arch, their lower ends an irregular horizontal line. The right edge of the instrument is covered by a triangular shape, which seems to be the hanging corner of a cape. Pan's hand holds this in place at the same time as it holds the syrinx. There are no signs of this cape on either side of the body, which stands against a blank background smoothed by means of a claw chisel.

Sadly, much of the surface of the relief is destroyed, including the face. Yet what remains, surprisingly, still conveys a distinct physiognomy. The face is broad and roundish with a low forehead, cheeks that are high and puffed, large slanted eyes that are partially defined by incised lines, and heavy eyebrows. The ears are pointed, and in the midst of the short, thick, and curly hair there is a broken projection that must be the base of one of the horns characteristic of this god, who typically combines human and goatlike features. Two rounded ridges that are linked by a very worn disklike element at their center are placed over the mouth. These probably represent the straps that held the mouthpiece normally used by ancient aulists, or perhaps they are simply Pan's typically thick and drooping moustache. Parts of the beard are just visible on either side of these ridges, but the neck is completely hidden behind the pipes.

There is extensive modeling on Pan's body, particularly in the rendering of the powerful muscles of the arms and the abdominal area. The missing genitalia may have been separately attached, judging by some holes on the surface nearby, hence it is not possible to tell whether Pan was shown ithyphallic, as he was occasionally portrayed. The overall impression the
Relief of Pan

The figure conveys is one of physical strength, but there is also some fullness in the body that suggests a mature man, rather than a youth. Admirably realistic is the observation of the way the chest swells and the abdominals contract as the musician breathes in the air needed to produce the melodious sounds made by the pipes.

The immobile pose of the lower body contrasts with the vigor and animation expressed in the figure’s active torso. The treatment of the anatomy also differs in the two areas. There is, in fact, little modeling of the legs, the thighs of which are covered with shaggy hair rendered by long shallow strokes. These strokes end at the sides of the relief in lines that meet the background, where one also notes tiny drill holes along most of the figure’s contours. The shanks of the legs are hairless, slim, and cylindrical, terminating in a large cloven hoof.

The lack of the contrapposto stance encountered in other depictions of Pan (e.g., Marquardt 1995: pl. 2, nos. 2, 4) imparts an impression of intense concentration and tension, qualities that are consistent with the exertion required in playing the “Pan’s pipes.”

With respect to comparanda, reliefs of Pan in Crete share general characteristics with those found in other parts of Greece, something that justifies taking the latter into consideration. This sort of comparative research is especially useful here, since reliefs from Crete often have no archaeological context and are mostly unpublished, conditions that deprive us of the opportunity to establish an evolution of their style and iconography.

The iconography of Pan is known best from Attic reliefs (Schrader 1896: 275–77, pl. 8). In examples from Attica and elsewhere Pan is usually associated with the nymphs, Acheloos, and Pan’s father Hermes (Pollitt 1986: 180, fig. 189). Occasionally Pan appears in the presence of the dedicant of a votive relief (Marquardt 1995: pl. 13, fig. 4). He also frequently stands frontally or in three-quarter view alongside nymphs, toward whom he turns slightly to establish the connection between his music and their dance (Haas 1985: pls. 55, 60). In other examples he is relegated to a marginal position, as when he is shown sitting on top of a cave or standing half-hidden behind rocks playing his flute (Marquardt 1995: pl. 13, no. 4). He is usually rendered on a smaller scale than the nymphs, who often dance alone or are being led by a god (Haas 1985: pls. 59, 61; Herbig 1949: pl. XXVII.3). The rocky contours of a cave commonly provide the scenic frame for such portrayals.

Pan’s solitary appearance in reliefs is rather rare. One type of monument where he is shown alone is on a column or a pillar, from which he projects in high relief in a static frontal posture (Herbig 1949: pls. XII.1, 2; Haas 1985: pl. 7.3). Other monuments that depict Pan standing alone or, rather, separated from other figures by being placed within a recessed rectangular space, are the votive reliefs that represent the naïskos of Kybele, the Mother of Gods. In this type of monument the shrine is marked by two lateral antae, each containing a relief figure of Pan, while the goddess is represented inside (e.g., Svoronos 1937, vol. 3: 644–45, pl. 120).

Because of the broken state of our relief it is now difficult to determine whether Pan was the only figure rendered. Charles Edwards (personal communication, 1982) has proposed that Pan appeared alone on the Kommos relief, which he felt was part of a votive of the Mother
of Gods type that was exceptional in showing Pan within the naikos rather than on its antae. This interpretation is, however, weakened by the lack of parallels for the positioning of Pan within the shrine and the absence of evidence at Kommos for a local worship of Kybele.54

As for the alternative possibility, i.e., that Pan was shown with other figures, there are two observations that may be pertinent. The first is the rather considerable thickness of the limestone slab used (15.0 cm), which suggests that the original panel was larger. The second, and perhaps more significant reason for positing a larger multifigured composition is that the carved image of Pan does not reach all the way up to the top of the panel, his head being at least 2.5 cm below the panel’s broken upper edge. One wonders if this was to allow the accompanying figures to be shown taller, as is often the practice in Pan reliefs (e.g., Marquardt 1995: pl. 14, no. 5).

Certainly it would not be unusual for Cretan reliefs of Pan to depict the god in the company of others: at least half of the few Pan reliefs known from the island portray the god with additional figures. The reliefs in question were found mostly in western Crete at the sites of Dictynaion, Polyrrhenia (Kisamou), Hyrrakina, and Argyroupolis (ancient Lappa). In central Crete they come from Kommos and Vasiliki Kainourgiou, the area of ancient Vene. Another example was found in eastern Crete at Chersonesos Pediados, on the north coast. Information about both the reliefs and the statues of Pan has been assembled and documented by F. Brommer (1956: 997) and Paul Faure (1996: 193–200), the latter of whom also discusses epigraphic evidence for the cult of Pan in Crete and lists specific caves where this god was or may have been worshipped. The combined physical and epigraphic data indicate that the worship of Pan was much more widespread in Crete than one would assume from a consideration of the preserved reliefs alone.

The relief from Vasiliki (HM no. 206), which has no archaeological context but for which a Hellenistic date has been suggested (Faure 1996: 195), is quite extensive even if incomplete. It depicts Pan,55 three nymphs, and another male figure (perhaps Hermes) indicated only by a preserved foot (Faure 1964: 148–49). A similar collection of characters appears in the relief from Argyroupolis (Theophaneidis 1948–49: 10–11, fig. 20). Of interest in the latter is the way the cave has been stylized. Its sides are straight vertical borders, its top shown as an arc, without any indication of rocks. In this relief Pan is depicted frontally playing his pipes, which he holds with both hands in a way that is reminiscent of the relief from Kommos. Pan is small in stature, as is the naked male figure who stands frontally at the other end of the relief with his hand resting on an unidentifiable animal, perhaps a goat. Between these figures stand three tall women in long robes. They too are frontal. According to Faure (1996: 197), the relief should be assigned a date in the third century A.D. on the basis of the stylistic treatment of the nymphs’ hair. Indeed, the impression is that many of the Cretan reliefs of Pan date from Late Hellenistic to Roman times, as do the Pan statues. For example, a statue of Pan from Gortyn in the Mesara is dated stylistically to the Flavian period (Marquardt 1995: 97–98, pl. 14.1). Such sculpture seems to suggest an upsurge in Pan’s popularity during the
Early Roman era. The size and shape of the Argyroupolis relief may have been similar to the Pan relief from Kommos, the upper left side of which seems to show the start of a curve, although this cannot be fully established by the badly preserved remains.56

In conclusion, the most conspicuous stylistic characteristics of the relief from Kommos are the frontality of the figure of Pan and the bilateral symmetry of his pose. These features, combined as they are with fully developed anatomical detail and realistic modeling, seem to have little to do with the activity depicted and point to a style of studied mannerism. Another possible characteristic, had the Kommos relief contained more figures, might have been a paratactic arrangement after the manner observed in the better-preserved reliefs from Crete and other areas of the Greco-Roman world. This sort of compositional format and the anatomical treatment of the body harks back to a phase of Archaism in Greco-Roman art (Pollitt 1986: 175–84, fig. 187), but it is also encountered later in Roman Neo-Attic art, to which the Kommos relief relates in some additional characteristics. Pan’s rather tall proportions and the configuration of the iliac crest and torso, for instance, find parallels in reliefs of mythological figures on the Velletri Sarcophagus, which has certain “Eastern” affinities and is believed to be of Hadrianic date. Our Pan relief also recalls relief stelae from Sardis, on which the frontal and paratactic arrangement of figures is similar.57 The later date seems to be corroborated by the fact that the relatively high relief we see in the Kommos votive contrasts with shallower reliefs of Pan and the nymphs dating from Classical and earlier Hellenistic times, but is similar to Cretan votives (such as that from Vasiliki) for which a Roman date has been proposed.58 In view of all these considerations, it appears that the Kommos relief may have been dedicated during the squatter phase, but I tend to think in the first rather than the second century after Christ, before the sanctuary went into complete decline.

How and where the relief was displayed at Kommos still remain to be considered. If displayed within Temple C it might have been inset into a wall of the cella (as suggested by Joseph W. Shaw), given the fact that it had a rather rough back surface. Or it might simply have been placed upright against a wall, or against the column base located directly south of the statue base, where lamps and other objects were placed in the last use of the temple. It was also speculated in the opening passages of this section that the relief might have ended up in the temple as a result of secondary use. Here we should note that the underside of the panel had been smoothed with a chisel, which could indicate that it was meant to be attached to another surface, perhaps some sort of base. Votive reliefs were often fixed onto a base by means of a tenon (Travlos 1971: 279, figs. 356, 358–59; Hausmann 1960: 84, fig. 49; Zorides 1977: pls. 6a–b), and although there is no such tenon on the Kommos relief, its center, which is where such tenons are habitually placed, may have been located beyond the preserved segment.

If it was a freestanding monument set on a base, the most likely place for the display of the Kommos Pan relief would have been outdoors. Certainly, interior space was limited: the temple was cluttered both by fixed features such as the central hearth, the column bases, and
the low benches built against the walls, and by mobile ritual paraphernalia—the stands and alters—that would have occasionally been brought within the cella. Outside, but not far from the temple, rather than in the distant court with the alters might have been deemed a suitable place for the relief.

S 197 (HM). Fragmentary left corner of calcareous limestone slab with relief of Pan framed by raised borders on preserved left side and at the base. Surfaces worn, parts of borders and of the figure’s genitalia and right leg broken off. Dimensions of slab: max h 37.0, max w 22.0; max th 15.0. Size of better-preserved border at base: w 5.0, h 3.9 (from relief surface). The relief itself projects ca. 3.0–3.5 from the slightly concave background surrounding it. The proportions of the figure are total h 26.5; h of head 3.5, of torso (shoulder to waist) 5.2, from waist to hip 2.5; w of torso at level of shoulders ca. 7.5, of waist 4.5, at level of hips 5.0; distance between elbows 9.8. Front surfaces smoothed with a chisel. Small holes made by drill visible where outline of figureous limestone slab with relief of Pan framed by raised borders and of the background. Some eight shallow holes appear on the background around Pan’s head; it is not clear if they were original or intentional. Back of slab is flat with a roughened surface, bottom of slab smoothed by a claw chisel but surface is not flat. Marks of a claw chisel, also visible on the surface from which the relief emerges.


Notes

1. The first draft of this chapter was written in 1981, and since then there have been numerous additions and changes. The number of people who helped me are, therefore, many. For the section on the figurines and figures, I am grateful above all to those who read the manuscript at its various stages and offered their valuable advice and insights: Nancy Bookides, William Coulson, Elizabeth French, Angeliki Lembessi, Polymnia Muhly, Joseph W. Shaw, and L. Vance Wattrous. Naturally, the ongoing recording and other tasks carried out by the Kommos Excavation Cataloguing personnel (Table 1.2) have been indispen-
sable. In particular I would like to thank Rebecca Daicos, Helene Whittaker, and the occasional helpers Lori Lefebvre, Robin A. Shaw, and Alexander C. Shaw. Amy Raymond has been most instrumental in the preparation of the illustrations and the compilation of Table 3.1. Her cheerful support provided much comfort in the last hectic days of bringing this work to a conclusion. Almost all the drawings of the figurines are the work of Joseph P. Clarke. A few were made by others: Niki Holmes Kantzios (AB9.2, AB22.1, AB50.1, AB50.1, I7, 18, C28.1, and C28.2). Julia Pfaff (AB78), Jenny Doole (C41), Giuliana Bianco (Pl. 3.6 and B378), and myself (checkerboard fragment and horn of AB40). Giuliana Bianco has, as usual, produced the fine architectural drawings. The plan in Pl. 3.1 is a computerized version of her site plan prepared by Michael Nelson, with my additions of the shaded areas and solid triangles, which indicate the major deposits of votive sculpture. Photographs of the figurines were taken by R. K. Vincent, Jr., Taylor Dabney, Timoth-
yy DeVinney, Edwin Burke, and, on occasion, Alexander C. Shaw and Robin A. Shaw, who are further credited in the captions for the photographic plates. The massive task of printing was carried out by John Glover and Louisa Yik, resi-
dent photographers at the University of Toronto. Last, but not least, I thank our assistant editors, Barbara Ibronyi and C. Dawn Cain, for their pa-
tience in dealing with my successive versions.

2. Some 160 votive figurines have been catalogued here. Eighteen items were omitted, mostly because they did not add new information, or because they were not particularly diagnostic (C 18, C 987, C 1082, C 1819, C 1830, C 6248, C 6289, C 6439, C 6708, C 7037, C 7090, C 7326, C 7671,
Notes

C.7769, C.7839, C.7899, C.8768, and C.8786). Given the small size of some of the catalogued items, it is possible that parts of the same animal may have been catalogued separately, although I tried to avoid this to the best of my ability.

3. The life span of the sanctuary at Kommos, extending for over a millennium, is still shorter than that of the large sanctuaries of Juktas and Kato Syme, both of which started in Minoan times. In the case of the latter, the excavator has remarked that dedications continued into Christian times (Lembessi 1995: 245).

4. Given the vast variation in the size of inclusions in the clay of the figurines, I decided to follow Aleydis Van de Moortel’s approach in her description of the fabrics of Minoan pottery at Kommos and to take into consideration percentages as well as the size of the inclusions. Her study of Middle Minoan pottery will appear in Kommos V.

5. See, for instance, the Minoan bull figurine from the town area of Kommos (M. C. Shaw 1996b: no. 27, pl. 4.39a–b), the head of which turns abruptly sideways, conveying an impression of vitality, evident despite the truncated state of the body.

6. Continuation of the type into the seventh century B.C. is also suggested by other Cretan sites, such as Kato Syme (Lembessi 1977: 414) and the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos (Higgins 1975: 89–90). In the sanctuary on Samos, handmade solid animal figurines appear in the eighth century, but they become more common in the seventh century (Olly 1940: 91, pls. 57–58).

7. Regarding the major sanctuaries in Crete, the scholars involved in preparing the publication of the votive figurines and figures are Marika Zeimbeki for the material from Juktas, and Polymnia Muhly and Athanasia Kanta, respectively, for the solid figurines and wheelmade animals from Kato Syme. A small clay PG bull with an elongated body and pronounced genitals from Kato Syme (Lembessi 1977: 414, pl. 218e) does not indicate affinities with the figurines at Kommos, but the picture may change when the full range is published. I agree with Hayden that there is some resemblance between certain bull figurines from Vrokastro and those at Kommos (1991: 123, no. 11, pl. 49, fig. 5).

8. An early example is the openwork relief decoration of an eighth-century B.C. bronze tripod stand from the Idaean Cave (Herakleion Museum case no. 169). The chariot is represented abstractly by a spoked wheel directly behind the horse. On one side of an early-seventh-century funerary hydria from the tholos tomb at Kavousi appear scenes in two panels placed at opposite sides of the vase: a chariot and charioteer in one, lamenting women in another (D. Levi 1969: pl. V 1–2). On an eighth–seventh-century carved stone relief found in the modern town of Chania appears what remains of a horse drawing a chariot (the chariot itself is missing) advancing toward a building guarded by helmeted warriors (see Andreadaki-Blasaki 1997: 34–35, fig. 36).

9. See J. H. Crouwel’s definitions of cart, chariot, and wagon in which number of wheels is one of the determining criteria (1992: 16–17).

10. According to J. H. Crouwel (1992: 103), in Classical Greece carts and wagons were pulled by pairs of oxen or mules. Yoked horses appear among the bronze figurines of Kato Syme, but the vehicle to which they were attached is missing (Schurmann 1996: no. 533, pl. 59, and no. 534, pl. 60). The horse or mule figurine shown as a pack animal carrying miniature vessels on its back may or may not have relevance to the issue discussed. The history of such pack animals, starting with the Late Helladic III period and up to the point they acquire wheels in Late Helladic IIIIC and into PG times, has been traced (Guggisberg 1996: 227, fig. 16). Likely, the resulting wheeled animal that no longer carries vases on its back also sheds its early meaning as a pack animal.

11. It is interesting in this connection that Karl Kühler interpreted the clay model of a wheeled platform with a little horse on top, noted above, as representing a horse-drawn cart used for ekphora (1970: 393–94, pl. 9, top left). See also C. A. Morgan 1999: 335–36.

12. Pryce 1932: 7, pl. 8, no. 6, for an example from Apulia.

13. Warriors are shown riding horses in the sculpted frieze of the late-seventh-century temple at Prinias (Boardman 1985: fig. 32.3).

14. The extensive topic of the introduction and dissemination of the actual horse and chariot in the Aegean lies outside the scope of this discussion, which concentrates on clay models. It is, nevertheless, worth noting for our purposes that depictions of the horse and chariot already occur in Late Minoan III frescoes from Knossos and Aghia Triada (Immerwahr 1990: 175, Kn No. 25.
and pp. 180–81, A.T. No. 2), and chariots are mentioned in the Linear B tablets from Knossos. As for the terra-cotta models of chariots, Hayden remarks that the earliest they are likely to have appeared in Crete is in LM III (1991: 138).


16. For a comment on this rarity, see Kourou and Karetou 1994: 136. Naturally, at sites like Kato Syme, bronze horses may be preferred. Examples of hollow horses from Crete from Late Bronze Age to Geometric times are listed in Martin Guggisberg’s catalogue (1996: 135–88), and they appear to represent a very small percentage (ca. 10%) compared with the total sample of nearly 200 clay animals of various types known from the island. Small solid figurines of horses have not received the same attention in scholarship. For LM IIIC and Sub-Minoan material see examples from Karphi and Vronda in Kavousi (Gesell et al. 1995: 71–72, pl. 18b); from the Patsos Cave (Kourou and Karetou 1994: 23, 105, cat. no. 40, fig. 60); and Geometric and later ones from Gortyn (Rizza and Scrinari 1968: 188–91, pls. XXXVIII–XXXIX). Further examples are noted in Hayden 1991: 132, n. 85. For examples of the wheeled type, see comparanda quoted in the catalogue.

17. See, for instance, Alexandri 1967: 49, pl. 71.1, for a PG horse on four wheels found in a child burial in Athens. I thank Polymnia Muhly for this reference.

18. Cf. the PG horse in Alexandri 1967: 49, pl. 70.1 with one of SM–PG or LPG date from a grave of the Toumba Cemetery at Lefkandi believed to be an Attic import in Guggisberg 1996: 93–94, cat. no. 289; pl. 23.1. Attention to connections with small Attic horses has been raised by Reynold Higgins (1973: 90, pl. 65) in his discussion of a small wheeled horse found in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos. Barbara Hayden mentions such connections in the case of Attic imports, e.g., a pair of small black-glazed horses that form the handle of a pyxis, found at Vrokastro (Hayden 1991: 129).

19. Examples were found at Enkomi, Kition, and Kourion (Karageorghis 1993: 43–45, figs. 32 [a pair of such horses], 34 [a single horse], pl. XXIII, nos. 1, 2). Vassos Karageorghis describes these as toys and quotes as parallels Aegean examples from Phaistos and Agia Triada (1993: 45). The Kommos horses, not known to that scholar at the time, are much more similar to the Cypriot ones.

20. Examples come from Lapithos, Palaeppaphos-Skofes, and a private collection (see Karageorghis 1993: 66–67, pl. XXIX, no. 3, pl. XXIX, no. 4 [both wheeled and with rider]; pl. XXIX, no. 6 [without a rider]). The next development takes us to the Cypro-Geometric II–III period (950–750 B.C.), with much more elaborate versions of chariots (as in pl. XL, no. 3) than any found at Kommos.

21. It may be worthwhile noting that the path I suggest compares in part with that of the trade route presumed to have affected the distribution of wheeled vessel stands in bronze, which originated in Cyprus in the twelfth century B.C. According to Nicholas Coldstream (1977: 283–84, 296), the route started in the Levant, touched on Cyprus and Crete, continued to the west Peloponnes and thence to Italy. It is of interest that Martin Guggisberg also sees a connection between these wheeled stands and the eventual acquisition of wheels by clay horse figures (1996: 370). Examples of wheeled horses from Italy that compare most closely with the ones at Kommos are dated to the seventh century (Woywotwich 1978: 65, pl. 29, nos. 144–46).

22. For the technique of wheeled animals from the LBA to the EIA see Hayden 1991: 123–25; Guggisberg 1996: 7–15, 372–73; D’Agata 1997: 70.1, for a PG horse on four wheels found in a child burial in Athens. I thank Polymnia Muhly for this reference.

23. It is interesting that rather than being discarded the faulty cast piece was mended and used as a votive. The lower melting temperature of the handled lead ideal for soldering or as a filler in artifacts of different metals in antiquity (Krysko 1979: 47).

24. I thank Professors Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway and David C. Mitten and Dr. Polymnia Muhly for their advice on the chronology of the bronze horse. Specific parallels are quoted in the catalogue.

25. This aspect of the physiognomy, which must have been quite widespread, has parallels among some of the recently discovered bull fig-
ures from the open-air shrine of Tsiskiana, which range in date from the late fourth to the third century B.C. (Andreadaki-Blasaki 1997: 59, 61, fig. 67).

26. See M. C. Shaw 1990 for an earlier discussion of the interplay between Minoan and Greek structures at Kommos. Related concerns regarding BA remains in areas with a sacral use in Greek times are considered in a fine series of studies in Alcock and Osborne 1994, with that by Antonac- cio 1994 being the more pertinent one for our purposes. My use of the phrase “religious landscape” is borrowed from that publication.

27. For LBA Bench Shrines the basic book re- mains Gesell 1985. See also Alroth 1988: 200–201. For Kommos, see earlier remarks in M. C. Shaw 1987: 374, 381, n. 11.

28. The discovery of a kouroso-like statuette attached to the top of an altar in the Early Classi- cal Sanctuary of Apollo and Artemis at Kalapodi, in Phocis, might seem to negate the hypothesis that small precious figures are unlikely to have been permanently displayed outdoors. However, the arrangement at Kalapodi appears to have been a matter of expediency, a temporary setting of the cult image of Apollo while the temple that had been destroyed by the Persians was rebuilt (Bolley 1986: 32, fig. 7).

29. Altars and outdoor hearths were first intro- duced in Crete in Geometric times (Coldstream 1977: 280).

30. On several figurine legs found in the vicin- ity of the altars the upper part shows heavy weathering, while the hoof may preserve even the slip (such as C17). This condition suggests that most of the votive animal sculptures’ surfaces were exposed to the elements when they were left on the altar or another offering surface, whereas the lower parts (the feet), which were probably embedded in the earth and rubble, were more protected.

31. The LM IIIC shrine at Kephala Vasilikis has already been mentioned along with the clay female figures found in it. Some of these are of the type known as “goddesses with upraised arms,” but there is also one such figure that is seated on a throne with her feet resting on a stool, an arrangement indicating her higher status. The type of a seated woman is encountered in (or continues into) the seventh century B.C., as known from the statues of seated female figures from Gortyn and Prinias (Boardman 1985: figs. 30–32.4). To these can now be added a recently illustrated stone sculpture from a tomb at Knossos (Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: 277, no. 350) that shows an enthroned woman flanked by two fe- male adorants or attendants, their images carved on either side of her on the front side of the throne. One wonders if enthroned figures were generally the true goddess, while those standing with upraised arms were her attendants.

32. There are foreign parallels for a mounted goddess in the east, like the one depicting her standing on a horse on a BA gold plaque from Lachish (Clamer 1980: 153, fig. 1). In Crete, clay figurines show a woman seated on a horse or mule, but she need not have represented a god- desse. See LM III examples from a tomb near Arch- anes (I. Sakellarakis and E. Sakellarakis 1997: 522–24), and EIA ones from the Cave of Inatos (Herakleion Museum, case no. 149), Gavalomouri (Andreadaki-Blasaki 1987: 315–16, pl. IV.1, fig. 1.2), and Aghia Triada (D’Agata 1989: 23, fig. 1.2).

33. Ptah, who became conflated with Seker or “Sokar” in the Late Period in Egypt, was identi- fied by the Greeks with the god Hephaistos, since both gods were smiths. Herodotus compares for- eign representations of dwarfs with the Cabiri (the sons of Hephaistos), calling them “Pataikoi,” which was the name of Phoenician protective im- ages in the form of dwarfs (Lurker 1980: 15, 96– 97, 113; H. Bonnet 1952: 584–85; Pinch 1994: 39). 34. For examples of Astarte and Bes figurines from various sites, see also Stampolidis and Ka- retsou 1998: 222, nos. 259–60. Regarding the Sanctu- ary of Zeus at Amnisos, Nanno Marinatos (1996: 135–39) has recently suggested that it must have included the worship of Eileithyia as Zeus’s consort. She was led to this conclusion when she discovered that the nearby “Cave of Eileithyia” in fact possessed no fertility charms, while the Sanctuary of Zeus did.

35. Interestingly, Sekhmet and Nefertum were among the more dreaded of Egyptian deities, es- pecially when it came to the well-being of chil- dren (Pinch 1994: 117). Wearing amulets bearing their images must have been conceived as a way of winning the goodwill of these gods.

36. Other finds at Kommos more specific to female deities (Watrous 1996: 90) are hydriae and the occasional finger ring and bead found in Tem- ple B contexts (J. W. Shaw, Chap. 1, Table 1.4).

37. The poignantness of parental concern for their lost young is driven home by Nicholas Cold-
stream’s suggestion that Minoan larnakes still visible in the ninth century B.C. were retrieved from LM III tombs in the North Cemetery at Knossos and reused in the EIA exclusively for child burials (Coldstream 1996a: 253–54).

38. Some clay figurines of EIA date from Aghia Triada that depict naked women, a female kourotrophos, and fragments of what may be erotic couples are reported (D’Agata 1998: 23). These clearly express concerns for fertility of the sort that were already suggested for the Sekhmet and Nefertum faïences, but they are not, strictly speaking, amulets.

39. The situation with male figurines from the LBA shrine at Phylakopi is somewhat ambiguous. These have been compared with nude male figures from Tiryns (French 1985: 223–27). Colin Renfrew, however, makes the interesting clarification that there is clothing covering the body, as suggested by traces of paint (Renfrew 1985: 424). It is the clear delineation of the genitals on the Phylakopi figurines that must create an impression of nudity. Perhaps it should be added here that there may have been a difference between the Mainland and the Cyclades on the one hand, and Crete on the other. Whatever its relevance, the fact is that male nudity is present in Thera wall painting (see Doumas 1992: 52, pls. 18–19).

40. Cf. the group of a man and a bull in bronze found near a Greek altar at Tylissos (albeit of problematic date), for which affinities with Cyprus are suggested (see Pilali-Papasteriou 1985: 96–99, pl. 24, no. 246).

41. Some of the largest assemblages exist at the Late Helladic III sanctuaries at Amyklia (Demakopoulou 1982) and at Epidaurus (Peppa-Papaoannou 1985).

42. Outstanding for their quantities of such animal sculptures in Crete are the sanctuaries of Hermes Karnaios at Patsos (Kouros and Karetou 1994), Juktas, and Kato Syme—the latter two sites as yet unpublished. In her study of the wheel-made bovines from the Late Cycladic III sanctuary at Phylakopi, Elizabeth French (1985: 279–80) called attention to the fact that this kind of animal figure from the Mainland must have originated on Crete, where large hollow bulls were produced during the Palatial period. For further comments on this, see Guggisberg 1996: 370; D’Agata 1997: 90, with special reference to the rich deposit of figurines of animals and other sculpture from the LM IIIC–SM shrine at Aghia Triada.

43. The ears (C 9533 and C 9814) will be published in Kommos V, which will concentrate on the Minoan Civic Center. The greatest length of the former is 7.0 cm, of the latter, 5.0 cm.

44. For horse sacrifices in burials, see tombs at Prinias in phase II (Di Vita et al. 1985: 160–61); cases in Cyprus, Gordion, Pithekousai, and at the Kerameikos in Athens (Coldstream 1977: 349–51), and at Lefkandi, in the PG Building at Tousma (Popham et al. 1993: 20).

45. It may be of interest that wheeled horse figurines from Cyprus of the type compared earlier with those at Kommos seem to observe the pattern noted for the large figures on the Mycenaean Mainland. The earliest Cypriot clay horse and chariot models (Late Cypriot II–III, 1450–1050 B.C.) also derive from sanctuaries (Karaoglus 1993: 43–44), the later ones mostly from burials (Karageorghis 1993: 88). In Italy the earliest examples of other similar wheeled horses are of Geometric date, and they too come from graves.

46. At Kommos they are suggested by the weapons dedicated and placed, like the animal figurines, within Temples A and B (for these finds see J. W. Shaw and Harlan, Chap. 5, Section 6). A military and presumably elite class had already arisen in LM IIIC times, as is suggested by Anna D’Agata (1997: 99) partly on the basis of warrior figurines in clay from the shrine at Aghia Triada.

47. See n. 13 for a reference to the relief from the temple at Prinias. Depictions of chariots in Crete are known by the late ninth century, apparently rendered by immigrant artists (Coldstream 1977: 100). The continuation that “chariotry persisted in the Aegean throughout the Dark Ages” and into the EIA is discussed by Hector Callling (1968: 48–49).

48. Outstanding for their quantities of such animal sculptures in Crete are the sanctuaries of Hermes Karnaios at Patsos (Kouros and Karetou 1994), Juktas, and Kato Syme—the latter two sites as yet unpublished. In her study of the wheel-made bovines from the Late Cycladic III sanctuary at Phylakopi, Elizabeth French (1985: 279–80) called attention to the fact that this kind of animal figure from the Mainland must have originated on Crete, where large hollow bulls were produced during the Palatial period. For further comments on this, see Guggisberg 1996: 370; D’Agata 1997: 90, with special reference to the rich deposit of figurines of animals and other
with comparanda. Some post-fifth-century B.C. examples of stone and bone or ivory eyes are the statue of Asklepios of Munychia (Karouzou 1968: 145, pl. 44, suggesting a date in the third century B.C.), the head of a goddess from the Odeion of Herodes Atticus (Palagia 1987: 76–89), and the Hygeia from the Temples of Asklepios at Phenixos, possibly dating to the second century after Christ (Protonotariou-Delaki 1961–62, 59, pl. 63).

50. See, however, the example from the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, found with two marble eyes dated to A.D. 150 (Sturgeon 1987: 156–57, with comparative material and other data mentioned in nos. 18 and 19).

51. I would like to thank the following people for comments and information provided during two sabbatical leaves in Athens, and the reading of the manuscript by some between 1981 and 1990. They are the late Charles Edwards, Evelyn Harrison, Katherine A. Schwab, Olga Palagia, and Eleanna Raftopoulou. During the updating of the manuscript I received further help between 1991 and 1999 from Judith Binder, Michael Koortbojian, Ann Kuttner, Guy Metraux, Katja Sporn, and Loetta Tyree.

52. Paul Faure points out that in Cretan cult Pan is frequently associated with other gods, especially Zeus and Hermes (1964: 150). The idea of a connection with Zeus is particularly attractive for a site like Kommos, which is within view of the famous Mount Ida and its cave. According to myth that is where Zeus was nursed by a goat and raised away from his evil father Kronos. The goat is sometimes identified with the nymph Amaltheia, an obvious link with Pan. Although Pan is most often said to be a son of Hermes, he is given various parents in Greek mythology and in at least one account Zeus is identified as his father (Borgeaud 1988: 42–44).

53. This was suggested by Katherine A. Schwab in her excellent catalogue entry for the Kommos excavation archives, which she wrote in her capacity as chief cataloguer in 1982.

54. See too the discussion in Charles Edwards’s dissertation (1985: 74). The connection with Kybele was also supported by Evelyn Harrison (personal communication, 1981).

55. The identity of the figure is not assured. Katja Sporn believes the figure is Selinus, not Pan, although she thinks Pan could have been shown seated on top of the cave (1998; personal communication, 1996).

56. The Argyroupolis relief is 50.0 cm high and 35.0 cm wide, the one from Vasiliki being 55.0 × 34.0 cm (Faure 1996: 195). If a wide panel, the Kommos relief may have had similar proportions.

57. For the Velletri Sarcophagus and Attic sarcophagi see, respectively, Lawrence 1965 and Giuliano and Palma 1979. On the Sardis reliefs see Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: 117–18, no. 140, for a relief of a mother with son and daughter (dated to the first century B.C.–first century A.D.), and pp. 118–19, no. 143, fig. 282, for a stele of a youth. I am deeply indebted to Guy Metraux for these references.

58. The date of the Vasiliki relief represents the opinion of Katja Sporn (1998; personal communication, 1996), who had the opportunity to look at it closely. The size of the syrinx and the way it is held frontally with both hands might be thought to provide another dating criterion for our Pan relief, but these aspects compare with examples from the fourth century B.C. to Hellenistic times and later, which is too wide a range to be useful (cf. Herbig 1949: pl. XVI.2, pl. XXXIII.1, 2, and pl. XXXIX.1, a wall painting of the Third Pompeian Style; Haas 1985: figs. 50, 53, 55, 59, 61, 64, 73, 79, 82).