

STUDI MICENEI ED EGEO-ANATOLICI NUOVA SERIE

1, 2015

STUDI MICENEI
ED EGEO-ANATOLICI
NUOVA SERIE

è una rivista dell'Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico
del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Roma

ISSN 1126-6651
e-ISBN 978-88-7140-761-6

Direttore / Editor

Anna D'Agata (ISMA, CNR, Roma)

Comitato Editoriale / Editorial Board

Silvia Alaura (ISMA, CNR, Roma)
Marco Bonechi (ISMA, CNR, Roma)
Francesco Di Filippo (ISMA, CNR, Roma)
Yannis Galanakis (University of Cambridge)
Luca Girella (Università Telematica Internazionale Uninettuno, Roma)

Comitato Scientifico / Advisory Editorial Board

Mary Bachvarova (Willamette University, Salem, Oregon)
Marie-Louise Bech Nosch (University of Copenhagen)
Fritz Blakolmer (University of Vienna)
Harriet Blitzer (Buffalo State College, New York)
John Bintliff (Leiden University)
Eva von Dassow (University of Minnesota)
Birgitta Eder (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)
Maurizio Giangiulio (Università di Trento)
Carl Knappett (University of Toronto)
Fikri Kulakoğlu (University of Ankara)
Peter Pavúk (Charles University, Prague)
Jeremy B. Rutter (Dartmouth College)
Andreas Vlachopoulos (University of Ioannina)
Helène Whittaker (University of Gothenburg)

Stampa e distribuzione / Printing and distribution

Edizioni Quasar di Severino Tognon s.r.l.
Via Ajaccio 41-43 – 00198 Roma
tel. +39 0685358444, fax + 39 0685833591
email: info@edizioniquasar.it
www.edizioniquasar.it

© CNR - Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA)
Area della Ricerca di Roma 1, Via Salaria Km 29,300, 00015 Monterotondo scalo (Roma)
Autorizzazione Tribunale di Roma nr. 288/2014 del 31.12.2014

SOMMARIO

Editorial	7
<i>Silvia Alaura</i> Anatomy of a Speech: Rhetorical Strategies in the Hittite <i>Instructions for Priests and Temple Personnel</i> (CTH 264)	9
<i>Fritz Blakolmer</i> La couleur dans l'iconographie minoenne et mycénienne: formes artistiques et réalité visuelle	19
<i>Georgia Flouda</i> Materiality and Script: Constructing a Narrative on the Minoan Inscribed Axe from the Arkalochori Cave	43
<i>Anna Lucia D'Agata</i> Funerary Behaviour and Social Identities in LM III Crete: the Evidence from the Chamber Tombs at Ligortyno	57
<i>Silvia Ferrara</i> The Royal and the Layman? Possible Onomastics on Late Bronze Age Clay Balls	105
<i>Luca Girella</i> When Diversity Matters: Exploring Funerary Evidence in Middle Minoan III Crete	117
<i>Torben P. Keesler</i> A Royal Gift? Bulk Grain Storage in Protopalatial and Neopalatial Crete	137

FUNERARY BEHAVIOUR AND SOCIAL IDENTITIES IN LM III CRETE: THE EVIDENCE FROM THE CHAMBER TOMBS AT LIGORTYNO

Anna Lucia D'Agata

Summary

Discovered in the late 19th century, the two chamber tombs at Ligortyno in the eastern Mesara rapidly entered the archaeological literature thanks to the extraordinary quality and excellent state of conservation of the ceramic materials found inside them. Yet the archaeological evidence from Ligortyno has never been studied as funerary assemblages and as a source useful for improving our understanding of the social world of the people buried in the two tombs. This article aims to fill this gap, first of all through a formal and contextual analysis of the tombs and the material collected inside them. These results will then be used to reconstruct the rites performed on the occasion of the burials, and to shed light on the way in which the funerary domain was employed to enhance the social realities of family groups living in south-central Crete in the 14th and 13th centuries BC.

1. INTRODUCTION

Discovered in the 1890s, when Crete was still part of the Ottoman Empire, the two chamber tombs at Ligortyno in the eastern Mesara (Fig. 1. 27) provide an excellent example of the intense competition between archaeologists of different nationalities – Greek, British, Italian, French and German – in the last decades of the 19th century for the privilege of reconstructing, through excavation or the publication of materials, the phase of the island's history that was then considered most prestigious: the Bronze Age. Reflecting Europe's enormous interest in the pre-classical history of the Aegean at that time (Farnoux 1993; Driessen 2001; Boucher, Darcque, Prokopiou 2014), the Ligortyno tombs were described, fully or partially, by Arthur Evans, Stephanos Xanthoudidis, John Myres, Luigi Savignoni and Edmond Pottier, and the materials were almost instantly and exceptionally purchased by the Frenchman Charles Simon Clermont-Ganneau for the Académie des Inscriptions and later sold to the Louvre (Bardies, Bakirtzian 1990-1991; Bakirtzian 2006).

Although some pieces from Ligortyno quickly entered the archaeological literature thanks to their extraordinarily fine workmanship and excellent state of conservation (Savignoni 1904; Pottier 1907; Furumark 1941, II, 105; Nilsson 1950, 182, 270, 272 note 34, 384 note 57, 413 note 56; Betancourt 1985, 172-173, pl. 29 J-K; 30 A-B, P; 31 C-D; *Im Labirinth des Minos*, 307, no. 268; 314, no. 295), more than a hundred years after its discovery the assemblage as a whole has never been discussed in depth and, above all, with a view to reconstructing the identities of the deceased and the funerary rites performed for their burial (D'Agata 2014). With the exception of the transformations taking place at Knossos and the funerary landscape of the island in LM II-III A1 (Preston 1999; 2004a; 2004b), research on the funerary behaviour of Cretan communities in the 14th and 13th centuries BC and, to give just one example, studies of the gender and identity of the deceased, are almost entirely lacking in the island's archaeology (cf. as exceptions Preston 2007; Soles 2008; D'Agata, De Angelis forthcoming). This lack of interest can be explained above all by the limitations imposed by the nature of the funerary record itself and by archaeological contexts that are almost always significantly incomplete for various reasons. Despite these constraints, however, funerary evidence is an area of research essential for understanding the structure of an ancient society, in this case the Cretan society of the LM III period. The deliberate nature of the actions that can be identified in a funerary context, once they have been decoded, is such as to represent a source of information on the ideology and social symbolism of the community of the living equal, if not superior, to those that can be deduced from other contemporary sources such as Aegean iconography and Linear B tablets. The primary aim of this article, then, is to provide as complete a catalogue as possible of the materials

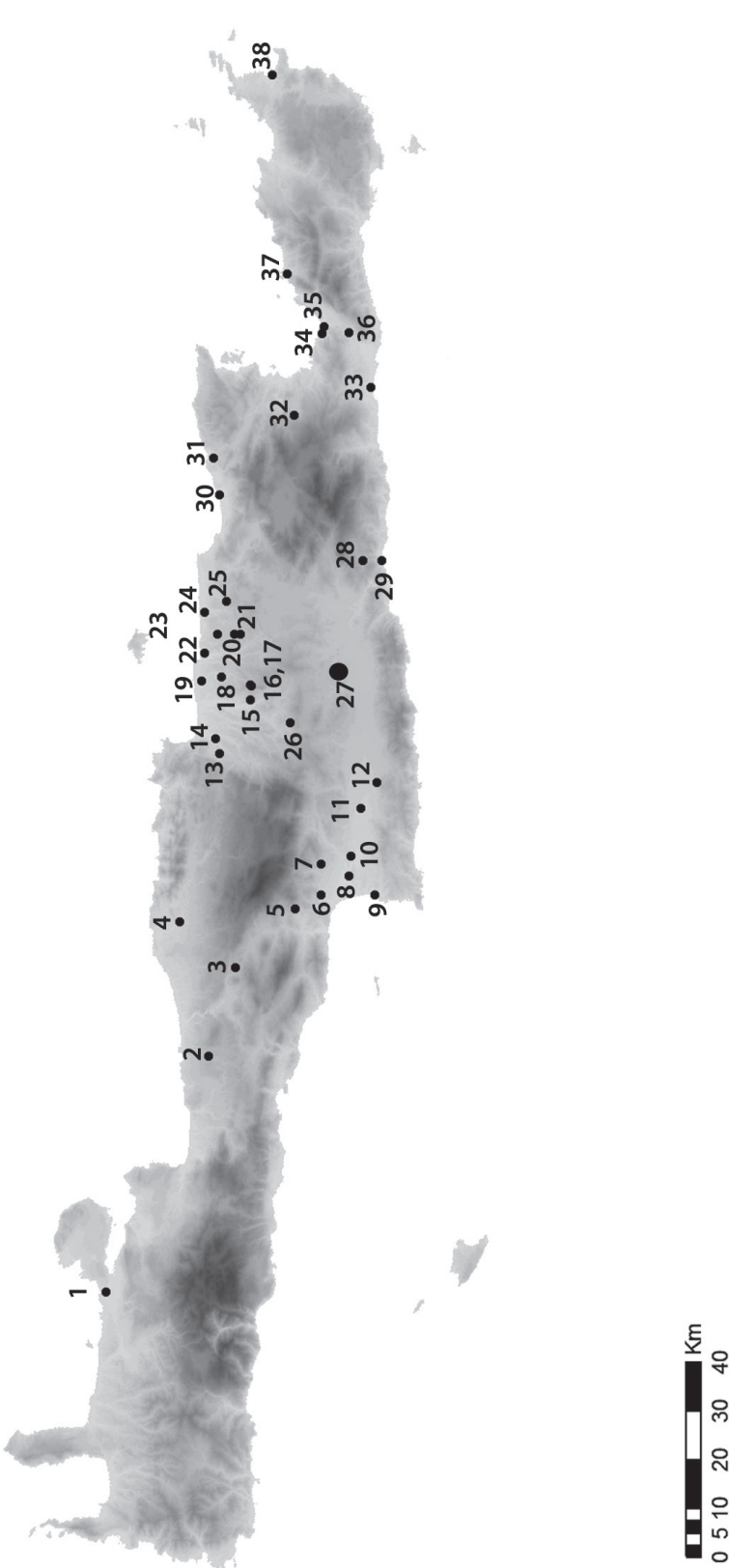
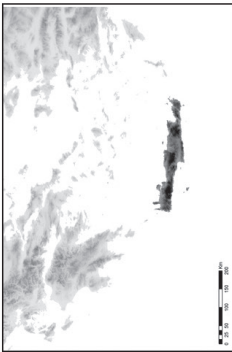


Fig. 1. Map of Crete with indication of the main sites mentioned in the text. 1 Khania; 2 Armeni; 3 Apostoli; 4 Melidoni; 5 Apodoulou, Frangou Tou Louri; 6 Klima Mesaras; 7 Kalochoraftis; 8 Aghia Triada; 9 Kommos; 10 Phaistos, Kalivia; 11 Kannia; 12 Vasilika Anoghia; 13 Tylissos ; 14 Kavrochori; 15 Aghios Syllas; 16 Archanes; 17 Youktras, Karnari; 18 Knossos; 19 Katsamba; 20 Stanni Pediados ; 21 Episkopi Pediadas; 22 Amnisos; 23 Arsa; 24 Gournes; 25 Voritsi; 26 Trapeza Kalou; 27 Ligortyno; 28 Kephali Chondrou Viannos; 29 Keratokambos; 30 Mallia; 31 Milatos; 32 Kritsa; 33 Gra Lyghia; 34 Gourmia; 35 Pachyammos Alatsomouri; 36 Episkopi Ierapetras; 37 Mochlos; 38 Palaikastro.

found at Ligortyno and to identify their position inside the tombs with the aid of descriptions made at the time of their discovery. It will also report the identification of some pieces previously believed to be lost and recently discovered in the storerooms of the Louvre.¹ Finally, I will attempt to reconstruct the ritual practices adopted for the burials, and to understand how members of family groups living in south-central Crete in LM III employed the funerary domain to enhance their identities (Parker Pearson 1982, 100; Barrett 1990, 180-182; see also Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985; Voutzaki 1998; 2012; Cuozzo 2000; Boyd 2002).

2. A CRETAN DISCOVERY

In January 1895, Ahmet Effendi Mostaixakis, a school teacher at the Turkish village of Ligortyno, found a chamber tomb on the slopes of a hill south-west of his village in the Monofatsi region, 30 km south of Heraklion on the eastern edge of the Mesara plain (Brown 2001, 237 and 345).² A second tomb was discovered later. The tombs were adjacent to one another and in perfect condition, with the materials still *in situ*. A third tomb nearby was in ruins. These were the years of Arthur Evans' first journeys to Crete (Brown 2001, xxvii): Evans arrived on the island for the first time in 1894, and travelled to the village of Ligortyno in May 1896. Here the British scholar was able to visit the site of the tombs and, in Mostaixakis' house, to see the materials from Tomb I. Stephanos Xanthoudidis visited the site a few days after the discovery of the first tomb and later described it in great detail in a letter (in Greek) to Evans of 29 June 1896 (Xanthoudidis 1896). Tomb II was discovered after Xanthoudidis' visit to Ligortyno (Brown 2001, 348). In this case, Evans was able to see the materials at Heraklion and on the basis of the excavator's report, to make sketches of them and describe the finds accordingly (Brown 2001, 236-239, 244-247, 345-346, 452-459).

In 1895, the Frenchman Charles Clermont-Ganneau arrived in Crete charged with purchasing archaeological materials for the Académie des Inscriptions. His mission was successful: he managed to acquire the important group of materials found in Ligortyno, reaching France already in September 1896 and afterwards sold to the Louvre (inventory nos. CA 882-923, AM 1844: Bardies, Bakirtzian 1990-1991; Bakirtzian 2006). Confirming Italian interest in the exploration of the Mesara, Luigi Savignoni provided a brief report on the Ligortyno tombs in 1904, in the margins of a study devoted to the tombs discovered at Kalivia and Liliana, near Phaistos. On this occasion, the scholar stated that due to the difficult political situation then prevailing in Crete he had been unable to visit the site at the time of its discovery; however, in 1896 he managed to see some of the materials discovered, then held at Candia, of which he published a picture (Savignoni 1904, 655-659, figs. 119-120) (Fig. 6).³ A few years later in 1899, with the help of Chatzidakis, then president of the Σύλλογος Φιλεκπαιδευτικός (Chatzidakis 1931, 22), he succeeded in locating one of the tombs, of which he provided a

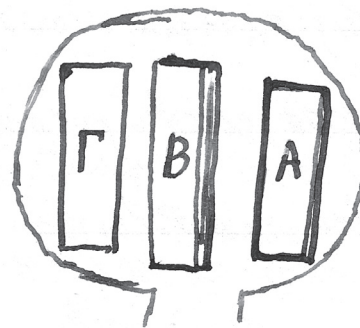


Fig. 2. Xanthoudidis's sketch of Ligortyno Tomb I © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

1 Since December 1997 the materials from the Ligortyno tombs have been on display in the Louvre, see Bakirtzian 2006. For the exhibition *La Grèce des Origines, entre rêve et archéologie*, opened in October 2014, they were temporarily moved to the archaeological museum of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, including the restored sarcophagi B and Γ from Tomb I. On this occasion I learned of the rediscovery, in the Louvre storerooms, of the small stirrup jar CA 908 (D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 137), originally found in Tomb II and thought to be lost in 2002, when I examined the materials and had drawings made of them.

2 Evans (1921-1935, II, 1, map opposite p. 71) marks the site of the tombs as north of Ligortyno; however, Brown (2001, 345) reports that in his notebook and drafts Evans locates the tombs south-west of the village. The latter indication roughly coincides with Savignoni's note (1904, 656) that the tombs lay south of the village of Ligortyno. The area where the tomb was discovered was called Moskato, cf. Xanthoudidis 1896.

3 Savignoni reports that there were three larnakes instead of two in one tomb and five in the other.

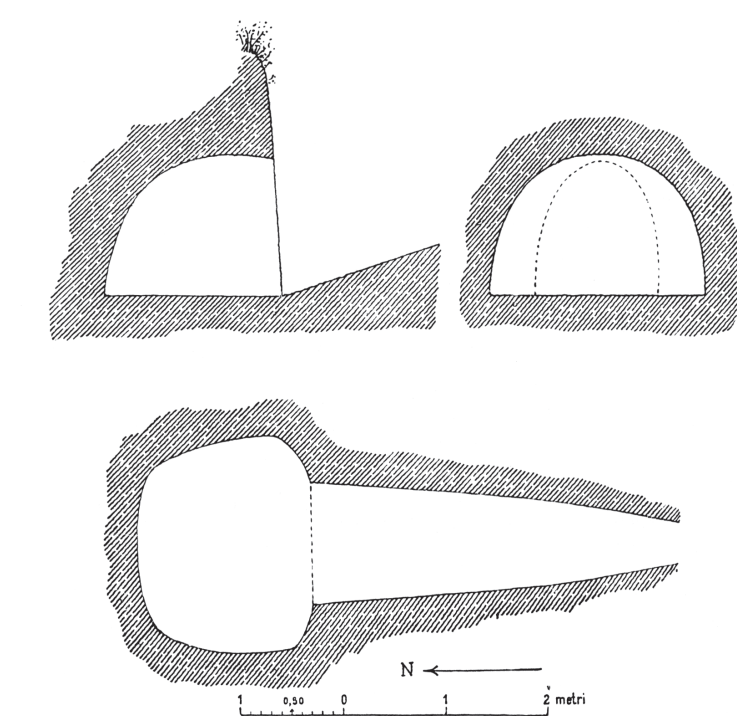
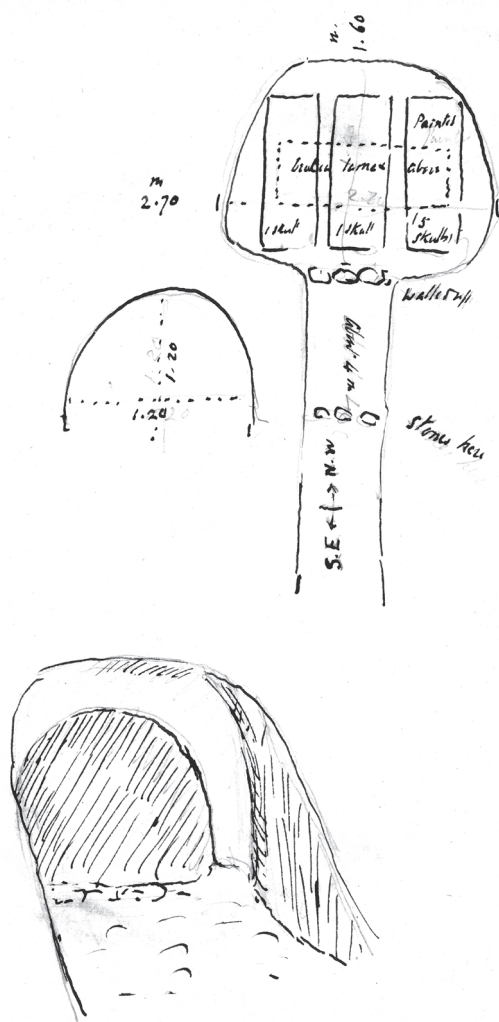


Fig. 4. Plan and sections of one of the chamber tombs of Ligortyno, after Savignoni 1904, fig. 119.

Fig. 3. Evans's sketch of Ligortyno Tomb I © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

plan and two sections. Since the tombs are no longer visible today,⁴ the drawings published by Savignoni (Fig. 4), probably showing Tomb I, remain the only detailed documentation aside from Xanthoudidis' (Fig. 2) and Evans' sketches (Figs. 3 and 5) on the type of tomb excavated at Ligortyno.

Other important information provided by Savignoni in his short account includes the fact that, with the exception of that found in Tomb I, the larnakes are not decorated and that at least one jug (probably CA 888), a kylix (CA 893 or 894), six cups and some fragments of pithoi that – according to him – came from the tombs, were not included in the photograph of the materials reproduced in his article.

The final act, so to speak, in the discovery of the Ligortyno tombs and the acquisition of the materials by the Louvre is the article devoted to them in 1907 by Edmond Pottier, who wished in this way to announce officially the arrival at the Louvre of a set of materials of enormous prestige, and to provide a photographic reproduction of that which he considered most important, the bull's head rhyton CA 909 (Pottier 1907, 113-138, pl. 23, 1).⁵

⁴ In 2005 during a visit to Ligortyno I found no trace of the tombs in the hills south of the village where they are said to have been found.

⁵ On Edmond Pottier, who published *Vases Antiques du Louvre* (1901) and later began the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, see Rouet 2001, 41-58.

of three stones in the doorway and, written in text to the right, the words “walled up”. The dimensions and shape of the tomb also do not coincide with those given by Xanthoudidis. According to the Greek scholar, the funerary chamber, measuring 2 x 1.55 m, was 1.25 m tall, of elliptical shape and faced south-east.

Inside were three larnakes, aligned with the long side parallel to the longitudinal axis of the dromos (Brown 2001, 347-348). Xanthoudidis names these, from right to left, with letters A, B, and Γ of the Greek alphabet (Fig. 2). Larnax A (CA 921) had a hipped lid decorated with a row of painted waterfowl (Brown 2001, 450, no. 283), the other two larnakes (B and Γ) were plain with flat tops; a further two sarcophagi (Δ and Ε) inside the tomb were also plain. Xanthoudidis adds that the floor of the chamber was completely occupied by the three surviving larnakes A-Γ, and that the other two larnakes, Δ and Ε – now lost – were found on top of them, in fragments and perhaps placed cross-wise. Concerning the burials, the inhabitants of the village who had excavated the tomb reported that the bones inside the larnakes were severely damaged: “Inside Larnax A were 3-5 large skulls, in B the earth had fallen in and the bones were much fragmented, while in Γ were skulls of medium dimensions, unknown how many.”

According to Evans (Brown 2001, 237, 348, 448-450), inside larnax A were a grey steatite cup (CA 912, since lost, Brown 2001, 448, no. 282, sketch at p. 449), and a small stirrup jar (“Bugelkanne”), not sketched by the scholar and never identified (Brown 2001, 448, no. 282 a). According to Xanthoudidis (1896), however, larnax A, alongside the stone vase and a lentoid seal with two bulls one beneath the other facing opposite ways, now lost (Brown 2001, 450), also contained a “small Mycenaean pot”; on the basis of the Greek scholar’s sketch in his letter to Evans of 29 June 1896, it has been possible to identify the vessel with the small painted jug CA 907 (D’Agata 2014, 89, cat. no. 109). A very poorly made stone bowl, sketched by Evans and probably corresponding to CA 911, was found outside the larnakes on the floor of the funerary chamber (Brown 2001, 448, no. 282 c, sketch at p. 449). No objects are reported for larnax B, probably CA 922 (Brown 2001, 450, no. 284). In larnax Γ, probably CA 923 (Brown 2001, 450, no. 285), were a bronze chisel (CA 914, Brown 2001, 450, and 448, no. 282 b, sketch at p. 449) and a stone bead (Brown 2001, 450, under no. 285 and no. 288). Xanthoudidis (1896) reports the presence inside Γ of stone beads and a few of bronze;⁷ according to Evans (Brown 2001, 450), beads were also collected inside larnax Δ.

Tomb II (1.5 x 2 x 1.25 m) (Fig. 5) yielded two plain larnakes: the vases, according to Evans, were all found outside the sarcophagi.⁸ In the centre of the chamber, between the two larnakes, were three kraters; the central one was decorated with an octopus (CA 882) and rested on a three-legged support (CA 885, Brown 2001, 452, no. 297). At the far end from the dromos was a krater painted with agrimia (CA 883, Brown 2001, 452, no. 298); the third krater was at the end nearest to the dromos (CA 884, Brown 2001, 458, no. 311). From Evans’ notes, we can deduce that the scholar connected the two kraters CA 882 and 884 to larnax 1 (Brown 2001, 244).⁹

Inside larnax 1 were two skulls and two stone seals, one with a woman in front of a shrine (AM 1844), the other with a griffin (CA 916). Thought lost by Brown (2001, 452, under no. 296), I found the latter seal in 2002 in the storerooms of the Louvre (II.29). Near larnax 1 there was also a triton shell (CA 913) (Brown 2001, 454, no. 299). Near one end of larnax 1 was a short bronze weapon, while close to the opposite end was a knife; both were termed “bronze dagger” in Evans’ plan of the tomb (Fig. 5). Myres (1895) defined the weapon as “a Myk sword”. These two objects were reconstructed by the present author from the bronze fragments (Brown 2001, 458, no. 310) in the storerooms of the Louvre (II.25-26). Both of them, having single-edged blades, can be identified as knives.

7 The Greek scholar provides a sketch of an amygdaloid grooved bead, not present among the materials in the Louvre.

8 The only uncertainty concerns a fragmentary brazier, found either inside or on the lid of larnax 2: Brown 2001, 454, no. 302 (2).

9 Cf. the sketches in Brown 2001, 453 and 456. In the sketch reproduced on p. 456 Evans seems to consider as part of the same vase one side of krater CA 884 and the back side of krater CA 882.

In his notes Evans refers to two main groups of vases as having been found in the tomb: one near the far end of larnax 1, called “mass of smaller vases” in the sketch of the tomb here reproduced at Fig. 5; the other resting on the lid of larnax 2. To be connected with larnax 1 (Brown 2001, 456-457) are a bull’s head rhyton (CA 909) (Brown 2001, 454, no. 300), a wide-mouthed rhyton (CA 905) (Brown 2001, 454, no. 301), a pedestaled stone vase (CA 910) (Brown 2001, 458, no. 309), a brazier (CA 904) (Brown 2001, 454, no. 302) and a beak-spouted jug (Brown 2001, 454, no. 319), which in one of the scholar’s sketches are marked with an *x* (Brown 2001, 456); also to be associated with larnax 1 are two kylikes (CA 893, 894) (Brown 2001, 454, no. 305), a broken cup (Brown 2001, sketch at p. 456, no number), a basket vase (CA 892) (Brown 2001, 454, no. 303), a small cylindrical spouted jar (CA 906) (Brown 2001, 454, no. 307) and a triton shell (Brown 2001, 454, no. 299).

According to Brown (2001, 454, no. 301), in a preliminary sketch of Tomb II (Brown 2001, 347), Evans marked with an *x* the area at the far end of larnax 1. Brown establishes a link with the *x* that Evans put next to some of the vases to be connected with larnax 1 sketched in a different note (Brown 2001, 456), and concludes that the sign in the preliminary sketch probably indicates the position of this group of vases in the funerary chamber. In my opinion, in the sketch referred to by Brown (2001, 347), the cruciform sign that can be distinguished should not be considered an *x*, but the T-handle of the bronze knife located by Evans at the far end of larnax 1 (II.25).

In conclusion, regardless of their exact position in the tomb, or the presence of the *x* in Evans’ sketches, Evans’s plan of Tomb II (Fig. 5) nonetheless demonstrates that all these “smaller” vases were connected with larnax 1.

On the same page on which he had sketched the vases from larnax 2 of Tomb II (Brown 2001, 457), Evans singles out a group of small open vessels by drawing a line around them and adding the note “T.I”; these include four (3 + 1) handleless cups (Brown 2001, 458, no. 316) and two one-handled cups (Brown 2001, 458, no. 317).¹⁰ These vases correspond almost exactly to the five handleless cups CA 897-901 and the two one-handled cups CA 902 (II.19) and 903 (II.18) now in the Louvre storerooms. Brown (2001, 458, no. 315) remarks that in his notebooks Evans often wrote “tomb” instead of “larnax”, and it is therefore likely that the abbreviation should be interpreted to mean larnax 1. The chronology of these vessels, however, is not homogeneous. The handleless cups date back to LM IIIA2, and their chronology shows, as we shall see, that they belong to the group of materials from larnax 1. Instead, the two one-handled cups should be assigned to LM IIIB Early, and therefore it appears more likely that they were part of the larnax 2 context.

Larnax 2 contained a skull and a necklace bead. In the overall sketch of Tomb II, on larnax 2 (Fig. 5) Evans noted: “vases on cover”, and on the page collecting the sketches of the vases from larnax 2, he repeats that “these are on the roof of the 2nd larnax” (Brown 2001, 457). This is therefore the group of vases found on the lid of larnax 2. They include two jugs (CA 888 and 889, Brown 2001, 458, nos. 312 and 313), a cylindrical spouted jar (CA 886, Brown 2001, 454, no. 308), a conical kalathos in coarse ware (CA 896, Brown 2001, 458, no. 315), a three-handled jar (CA 890, Brown 2001, 458, no. 314), and a stirrup jar (CA 908, Brown 2001, 458, no. 306). Of the latter two vases, both reproduced in the photograph published by Savignoni (1904, 657-658, fig. 120), the three-handled jar (Fig. 6: II.32) has been lost, but the stirrup jar (Fig. 6: II.12) has recently been identified in the storerooms of the Louvre (D’Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 137).

The broken beak-spouted jug shown in Evans’ sketch, belonging to the group of vessels marked with an *x* and connected with larnax 1 (Brown 2001, 458, no. 319, sketch reproduced at p. 456) appears also in the photo published by Savignoni (1904, 658, fig. 120, 16 = Fig. 6: II.7). Among the materials from Ligortyno now in the Louvre, the beak-spouted jug CA 887 is intact except for the tip of the spout. A similar instance of discrepancy is offered by the fragmentary cup recorded in Evans’ notes as belonging to the same group of vessels (Brown 2001, sketch at p. 456, no number), but not attested among the materials in the Louvre. This lack of correspondence between the two pieces

10 Evans sketched two, Savignoni mentioned six, one inside the other, Savignoni 1904, 659.

from Ligortyno depicted and those in the Louvre is difficult to explain but the possibility cannot be excluded that, in the case of the cup, Evans took his notes after inspecting the materials, and in so doing made mistakes in sketching some of them, or that more vases were found in Tomb II than were actually documented.

In Evans' sketch, the note "galopetra – bulls" in correspondence with the dromos of Tomb II refers to the discovery of a seal with bulls (Brown 2001, 244) (Fig. 5). The scholar later removed this indication (Brown 2001, 452), and in fact the seal with bulls, now lost, is thought to come from Tomb I, larnax A (Xanthoudidis 1896). It is likely that other seals were found in the tombs or the area overlooking them, considering that two are held in the Louvre, AM 1842 and 1843, and were found at Ligortyno probably in the same years (Bakirtzian 2006, 410-411).

To sum up the data on the funerary contexts of the two Ligortyno tombs, we can say that Tomb I did not contain many objects. The most valuable artefact was sarcophagus CA 921, whose lid was decorated with a frieze of waterfowl. However, the presence of 5 larnakes heaped up inside a tomb of relatively modest size with an entrance of the same height as the chamber, is significant. Tomb II is very different: it contained two larnakes, associated with three skeletons. The grave goods of larnax 1, in which two individuals were buried, are much richer than those of larnax 2, and as we shall see date to LM IIIA2. They included two kraters and a group of clay vessels, stone seals, bronze objects and a triton shell. The third krater, the most recent, found behind the other two along the main axis of the chamber, must have been placed there when the second larnax was deposited. The group of vases resting on its lid date, as we shall see, to IIIB early. It is worth noting the numerical and chronological correspondence in Tomb II at Ligortyno between the three kraters (two IIIA2, one IIIB early) and the three deceased (two in larnax 1, IIIA2, one in larnax 2, IIIB early) buried in it.¹¹

4. THE MATERIALS FROM THE LIGORTYNO TOMBS

The materials from the Ligortyno tombs are held in the Louvre – with the exception of kylix CA 894, donated in 1959 to the Museum of Bordeaux (Bakirtzian 2006, 411) – and are intact. They comprise a total of three clay larnakes, 25 clay vessels, two stone vessels, at least two stone seals, two beads in vitreous material, and some bronzes including a knife, a T-handled knife and a chisel. According to the Museum registers, the objects numbered CA 882 to CA 923, all from Ligortyno, entered the Museum in November 1896. Currently missing are the stone vase CA 912 from Tomb I and the three-handled jar CA 890 from Tomb II, still not rediscovered in the Museum stores.

Alongside a few remains of bronze objects (Boucher, Darcque, Prokopiou 2014, 97), the group of materials held in the Louvre as coming from Ligortyno also includes a miniature clay beak-spouted jug AM 765 (Mavriyanaki 1974, 56, no. 11, pl. 24 e), a fragmentary clay flask (CA 919) and two seals (AM 1842 and 1843) that may belong to the same funerary context. Finally, the Louvre storerooms contain some pottery fragments, also marked as CA 919, of the Geometric period probably found in the vicinity of the tombs. They must come from the large Protogeometric and Geometric settlement discovered by Alan Wace and Carl Blegen near the village in 1922 (Pendlebury, Money-Coutts, Eccles 1932-1933, 85).

The materials from Tomb I

I.1-2 CA 921 = Larnax A (Fig. 7). Container: h. 54, with foot 63/64; width 40/42; length 102/104; th. 4.5. Lid: h. 21/22.8; width 39/46.5; length 102.3/103.5. Coarse fabric. Very pale brown clay (10YR 7/3); pale brown slip; brownish paint. Restored from numerous fragments. On the walls three horizontal lines corresponding to the layers of clay (coils) used to shape the container, and visible in D'Agata 2014, 89, cat. no. 108.

11 On the absolute chronology of LM III, see Warren 2010.



Fig. 6. Burial furniture from Ligortyno, after Savignoni 1904, fig. 120.

1. Chest larnax with foot. Squared lip. Four perforations for ropes through the corners of the chest and the lid. Three rows of holes along the bottom. On each side, a central panel bordered by grooves and band of paint. Paint on corners and foot. Central panel on the long sides covered with a net of lozenges formed by tricurved arcs and fills of concentric arcs inside them. At the corners, vertical row of isolated spirals. On the short sides, two facing rows of singly outlined solid semicircles; at the corners, vertical row of isolated spirals.

2. Hipped lid, with flat top, inward-sloping sides, and two broad flat lugs of rectangular shape at both ends. Perforation at the base of each lug. Edge of the lid square in section.

On the long sides, three waterfowl, with long neck and beak, moving in a row towards the right. Each bird rendered in profile and presenting different details. Wings and legs are indicated. The bird in the centre of each side holds long and flexible elements in its beak (either snakes or worms). On one of the long sides, at the right end and in front of the bird's head, a butterfly or double axe motif (cf. Brown 2001, 239). On the short sides, oblique rows of singly outlined solid semicircles bordered by a band. Top of the lid decorated with groups of two to three vertical lines and broad bands along the margins, lugs and corners.

Evans 1921-1935, I, 787, no. 2; III, 116; III, 138; IV, 337; Rutkowski 1964, 153-155, pls. 1-2; Mavriannaki 1974, 46-47, no. 1, pls. 16-17; D'Agata 2014, 89, cat. no. 108.

IL3 CA 907 (Fig. 8). Miniature beak-spouted jug. H. 7; base diam. 2.4/2.7. Fine, pink clay; lustrous, yellowish slip; reddish-brown paint. Chipped at the tip of the beaked spout. On the base is written: Crète.

Piriform body and flat base. Handle round in section between neck and belly. Beak, neck and handle solidly painted. Band of paint around the base of neck and handle. Area below the handle reserved. On the upper body horizontal rows of dots, bordered by four lines.

Mavriannaki 1974, 56, no. 10, pl. 24 d; D'Agata 2014, 89, cat. no. 109.

I.4 CA 911 (Fig. 8). Stone bowl. H. 5; rim diam. 13.5 x 13; base diam. 12.2; th. 1/1.5. Limestone. Irregularly smoothed on the inside, with striations between wall and bottom. Interior bottom shallowly hollowed. On the exterior, chisel marks.

Shallow cylindrical bowl, with flattened rim and flat base.

D'Agata 2014, 89, cat. no. 110.

I.5 CA 914 / Br 4779 (Fig. 8). Bronze chisel. Length 7.7; width 1.5/2; th. less than 0.2. Red copper alloy with faint traces of green patina. Upper margin fragmentary. Splaying blade. Rectangular in section.

D'Agata 2014, 89, cat. no. 111.

I.6-7 CA 917 (Fig. 8). Two beads in vitreous material. Dim. 0.6 x 0.7; 0.6 x 0.4. Dull surface.

Globular, perforated.

I.8-9 CA 922a-b = Larnax B (Fig. 8). Container: h. 52.8; length 108; width 33/41. Lid: length 126; width 42/43.2; th. 3. Coarse fabric. Light red clay (2,5YR 6/8); whitish slip.

8. Chest-shaped larnax with oval mouth and squared rim. Walls sloping inwards. A squared ridge along the base. At least 10 holes in one row along the bottom. Below the rim, one horizontal handle, round in section, at the centre of each side.

9. Flat lid. Part of rim and wall restored in plaster.

Oval shape, four handles, round in section, along the main axis of the piece.

D'Agata 2014, 90, cat. no. 112.

I.10 CA 923 = Larnax Γ (Fig. 8). Container: h. 51, with foot 63.9; length 105; width 50.4/53. Coarse fabric. Pale red clay (10R 6/4); buff slip.

Chest larnax with foot. Squared rim. Indented panels on the exterior walls, surmounted by groove. Squared ridge below the rim. Two vertical handles, flattened elliptical in section, on the long sides, one on the short sides. Perforations through the corners of the chest, two holes, in one row, along the bottom.

D'Agata 2014, 90, cat. no. 113.

The materials from Tomb II

II.1 CA 882 (Fig. 9). Amphoroid krater. H. 40.5/41; rim diam. 29.2/29.8; base diam. 12/13. Semi coarse fabric. Pink clay (5YR 7/4); pink slip, lustrous; black-brown paint. Unslipped inside.

Wide, flat rim, cylindrical neck, a ridge round in section at the base of the neck. Piriform body, flat base with two ridges round in section. Two vertical strap handles with a central ridge from rim to upper body. On the rim groups of strokes bordered by wider strokes alternating with sea anemones. Monochrome neck with two reserved wavy bands. Vertical strokes on the ridge at the base of the neck. Broad band on interior neck. Bands along the margin and the attachment of the handles, horizontal strokes on the central ridge of the handles. Monochrome base with a reserved line on the ridge. On the two main sides an octopus covering about 2/3 of the body. The animal is depicted with three rows of tentacles on either side of the body, the upper one horizontal and the others oblique, all tentacles ending in spirals in the area below the handles. On one side below the handle the rectangular space delimited by the end spirals of the octopus tentacles also contains an arrow motif (possibly intended as some sort of marine creature such as a jellyfish?).

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 4; Pottier 1907, 119, no. 3, fig. 3; Mavriyannaki 1974, 49-50, no. 4, pl. 20; Betancourt 1985, 172-173, pl. 29 K; D'Agata 2014, 91, cat. no. 116.

II.2 CA 884 (Fig. 9). Amphoroid krater. H. 34/34.5; rim diam. 20.4/21; base diam 10.4/11.5. Semi coarse fabric. Light red clay (10R 7/6, /78); pink slip, lustrous; orange-red paint.

Wide flat rim, cylindrical neck, piriform body narrowing towards the base. Two vertical strap handles from rim to upper body. Monochrome rim. On the neck, foliate band. A narrow band on the interior neck. On the upper body, alternating arcs bordered by four bands. Bands along the margin and the attachment of the handles, horizontal strokes along the central area of the handles. Three bands on the lower body, broad band around the base.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 7; Pottier 1907, 119, no. 4, fig. 4; Mavriyannaki 1974, 50-51, no. 5, pl. 19 b; D'Agata 2014, 92, cat. no. 118.

II.3 CA 883 (Fig. 10). Amphoroid krater. H. 32.2; rim diam. 22.4; base diam 8.4/9.2. Foot restored. Semi coarse fabric. Pink clay (7.5YR 8/4); slip of same colour, lustrous; red paint. Wheel-thrown distorted.

Wide flat rim, cylindrical neck, a slight ridge at the base of the neck. Piriform body tapering to a narrow stepped, foot. Two strap handles with a central groove from rim to upper body. Decoration: on the rim solid festoons and small, multiple arcs. On the neck a broad wavy band. Band at the top and base of the neck. A narrow band on the interior neck. Band along the margins of the handles, and around their attachments. Two vertical bands between neck and lower attachment of handles. Monochrome foot surmounted by band. On the main face, a figured scene including agrimia on either side of a date-palm surmounted by a bird. All the animals are rendered in profile. The two agrimia back on their hind legs, with their front legs on the tree between them. Both have knobby, long and curved horns, and are depicted as a young adult male with a slender body on the left, and a mature male, with larger body, thicker horns and beard, on the right. Both have ears and a tail indicated. To the right of the mature male a small quadruped, in profile, with its penis shown. Close by, two sea anemones rendered by dots. On each side of the palm trunk, at the base, a stylized flower. Below it, a stylized fish, with monochrome body except two reserved areas filled with a net motif to indicate the fins. Between the agrimi on the left and the handle zone, three different kinds of stylized flowers. On the back face of the vase, a composite motif based on the extreme stylization of the octopus and the palm motif. On the two narrow sides of the krater, below the handles, rectangular panels: one filled with horizontal wavy lines, the other with two antithetic rows of doubly outlined solid semicircles and a chain of dot-centred lozenges in between them.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 1; Pottier 1907, 117, no. 2, figs. 1-2; Mavriyannaki 1974, 51-54, no. 6, pls. 21-22; Betancourt 1985, 173, pl. 30 A-B; *Im Labyrinth des Minos*, 307, no. 268; D'Agata 2005, 118, fig. 3 a-b; 2014, 96, cat. no. 138.

II.4 CA 909 (Fig. 10). Bull's head rhyton. H. 10/10.5; base diam. 9.3 x 14.5. Semi coarse fabric. Very pale brown to yellow clay (10YR 8/4-8/6); buff slip, lustrous; brown paint. Technique: cylinder of the neck (h. 4.5; diam. base 9.3) wheel-thrown; muzzle, head, base and handle added later; ears and horns, handmade and solid, applied last. Missing right ear and tip of the horn restored in plaster. A small hole in the mouth symmetrically located with respect to the large hole in the back of the animal's head.

Modelled all round. Short horns at almost right angles to the head. Prominent eyes with curved rim modelled on surface; cylindrical muzzle, with nostrils impressed; mouth incised. Dewlap attached. One handle, round in section, attached to the head and base. Decoration: on top of the head, a sort of comb pattern (decorative units rendered by three or four elements) more or less regularly repeated in irregularly disposed rows. Paint on muzzle, eyes, ears and horns. On the handle, two bands along the margins, horizontal strokes at the centre. At the base of the neck reserved wavy band corresponding to the rock pattern on the base. On underside of base, net pattern delimited by band.

Savignoni 1904, 659, fig. 120, 9; Pottier 1907, 117, no. 1, 121-126 pl. 23, 1; Mavriyannaki 1974, 47, pls. 18, 19 a; Kanta 1980, 83-84; Betancourt 1985, 173, pl. 31 C-D; *Im Labyrinth des Minos*, 307, no. 268; Koehl 2006, 121, no. 326, fig. 15; D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 122.

II.5 CA 892 (Fig. 11). Basket vase rhyton. H. 10/11, 14.5 with handle; rim diam. 18.4 x 11; base diam. 10. Fine pink clay (2.5YR 8/3); pink-yellowish slip, lustrous; reddish paint. A small hole (diam. 0.6) pierced before firing at the bottom close to the edge.

Oval body squeezed at the top. Oval mouth, wide flat rim. A ridge triangular in section just below the rim and a second just above the base. Two basket handles in the form of paired coils, round in section, rising vertically from the rim. Flat base with projecting edge. Decoration: four rectangular panels on the four sides of the body: the two on the long sides filled with chevrons; the remaining two with chequerboard pattern at one end, and with horizontal wavy lines at the other. On the rim short arcs on one side, transverse bars on the other, in both cases continuing over top of handles. Paint on lower handles, a band along the rim on the interior. Base solidly painted.

Savignoni 1904, 658-599, fig. 120, 13; Mavriyannaki 1974, 54-55, no. 7, pls. 23-24 a; Kanta 1980, 83-84; D'Agata 2014, 94, cat. no. 127.

II.6 CA 905 (Fig. 11). Wide-mouthed rython. H. 12.5; rim diam. 6.6; tip diam. 1.1. Fine pale red clay (*10 R 7/4-7/5*); pale red slip, lustrous; orange-red paint.

Cylindrical neck, funnel-shaped body, one vertical handle, round in section, on the upper body. Decoration: rim band; on the neck, curved strips between bands. On the upper body triangular motifs ('iris bud', Furumark Motif 67) in four horizontal rows; on the lower body thin lines between broad bands. Painted handle.

Savignoni 1904, 659, fig. 120, 8; Mavriyannaki 1974, 48-49, pl. 24 g; Kanta 1980, 83-84; Betancourt 1985, 173, pl. 30 P; Koehl 2006, 136, no. 408, fig. 15; D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 123.

II.7 CA 887 (Fig. 11). Beak-spouted jug. H. max 23.7; base diam. 7. Fine reddish yellow clay (*5YR 7/6, 7/8*); reddish yellow slip, lustrous. Beaked spout broken off.

Cylindrical neck, piriform body, with a ridge between neck and shoulder. Vertical handle oval in section between neck and shoulder. Flat base.

D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 121.

II.8 CA 889 (Fig. 11). Cylinder-necked jug. H. 13.9, with handle 15; rim diam. 4; base diam. 5. Semi coarse pink clay; grey surface; brown to black paint.

Globular body, concave neck and flaring rim, flat base. High handle, oval in section, between shoulder and rim. Painted rim; two bands on the neck; triangles filled with zigzag motifs on the shoulder; band around the base; vertical wavy band on the handle.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 6; D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 134.

II.9 CA 888 (Fig. 11). Trefoil-mouthed jug. H. 15.5; rim diam. 3.5; base diam 6.2. Fine pink clay; grey pink slip. Piriform body, flaring neck, trefoil mouth. Flat base. Handle oval in section, between rim and shoulder. Two knobs on the neck, opposite one another, on either side of the handle.

D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 133.

II.10 CA 906 (Fig. 11). Cylindrical spouted jar. H. 4.5; rim diam. 5.5; base diam 5.6. Fine pink clay; yellow slip, lustrous; reddish paint. One handle missing.

Cylindrical body, flat base. Wide, flat rim, with a groove and a ridge below it. A ridge bordered by grooves in the middle of the body and around the base. Cylindrical spout (diam. 0.8) below the rim, a knob opposite to it; two miniature horizontal handles circular in section on the two sides of the spout. Decoration: rim band; curved stripes on upper and lower body. Transverse bars on the rim, painted spout and handles.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 2; Mavriyannaki 1974, 55, no. 9, pl. 24 f; D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 125.

II.11 CA 886 (Fig. 12). Cylindrical tubular-spouted jar. H. 17.6/18; rim diam. 10.5/11; base diam. 14. Buff clay (*10YR 8/1 to 8/6-8*); buff slip; black paint. On the bottom in the interior, finger impressions forming a spiral shaped pattern. Cylindrical body with sloping shoulder, tapering neck and wide, flat rim. A ridge round in section between shoulder and neck. Flat base, applied to the body of the vessel, the junction between the two covered by a rope of clay

decorated with finger impressions. Five handles: two horizontal and three vertical. Spout just below the shoulder opposite one vertical handle, another two vertical handles on either side of it. Decoration: transverse bars on the rim; on the neck and shoulder, rock pattern motif; on the upper body concentric semicircles and stylized flowers, on the lower body horizontal lines. Painted spout. Horizontal bands on the vertical handles, paint on the horizontal handles. Wide band around the base.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 11; D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 135.

II.12 CA 908. Small stirrup jar. H. 6.5.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 17; D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 137.

II.13 CA 899 (Fig. 13). Handleless cup. H. 4.8 ca; rim diam. 8; base diam. 3.2/3.3. Fine light reddish-brown clay (5YR 6/4); light slip. Largely encrusted. Rim chipped.

Ovoid body.

D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 126.

II.14 CA 900 (Fig. 13). Handleless cup. H. 4.5; rim diam. 10.6; base diam. 3.6. Fine light reddish-brown clay (5YR 6/4); light slip. Piece of rim missing. Heavily encrusted.

Ovoid body.

D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 126.

II.15 CA 898 (Fig. 13). Handleless cup. H. 4.1; rim diam. 9.7/9.9; base diam. 3.6. Fine light reddish-brown clay (5YR 6/4); light slip. Heavily encrusted. Traces of paint.

Ovoid body.

D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 126.

II.16 CA 897 (Fig. 13) Handleless cup. H. 4.4; rim diam. 10; base diam. 3.8. Fine, light reddish-brown clay (5YR 6/4); light slip. Heavily encrusted.

Ovoid body.

D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 126.

II.17 CA 901 (Fig. 13). Handleless cup. H. 3.2 ca; rim diam. 10.8/10.9; base diam. 3.6/3.7. Fine reddish-brown clay (5YR); buff slip.

Ovoid body.

D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 126.

II.18 CA 903 (Fig. 13). One-handled cup. H. 5.5; rim diam. 9.5/10; base diam. 3.5. Fine yellowish-red clay (5YR 7/8); brown to black paint.

Rounded body and simple rim with spout pinched out 90 degree clockwise from strap handle, flat base. Monochrome.

D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 132.

II.19 CA 902 (Fig. 13). One-handled cup. H. 4.5; rim diam. 12/12.2; base diam. 3.8/4. Fine reddish-yellow clay (5YR 7/6); slip of same colour. Wheel-thrown slightly distorted, blackened on the walls. Encrustation on rim.

Shallow rounded body, with simple rim and one handle, elliptical in section, between rim and lower wall. Flat base.

D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 131.

II.20 CA 893 (Fig. 13). Kylix. H. 13.8; rim diam. 13.5; disk diam 6.7. Very pale brown clay (10YR 8/3 to 8/4); buff slip, lustrous. Dark stains on the exterior walls. Encrustations in the interior on the bottom.

Conical bowl with everted rim, two strap handles at level of rim, and solid stem. Flat foot.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 3 (?); Mavriyannaki 1974, 55, no. 8, pl. 24 b; Betancourt 1985, pl. 29 J; D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 120.

II.21 CA 894 / D.59.1.1, Bordeaux, Musee d'Aquitaine (Fig. 13). Kylix. H. 11.5; rim diam. 10.5; disk diam. 5.2. Fine very pale brown clay (10YR 8/3); buff slip; dark stains in the interior.

Conical bowl with everted rim, two strap handles at level of rim, and solid stem. Almost flat foot.

II.22 CA 885 (Fig. 9). Tripod tray. H. 21/21.5; rim diam. 29.5. Coarse fabric. Red clay (2.5YR 5/8); brown surface, heavily encrusted.

Round shape, with wide rim and foot oval in section.

Savignoni 1904, 658, fig. 120, 4; D'Agata 2014, 92, cat. no. 117.

II.23 CA 904 (Fig. 13). Brazier. H. 5.4/6.5; rim diam. 12 x 14.6; base diam. 5. Coarse fabric. Reddish-brown clay (5YR 5/4), brown surface. Traces of burning on bottom in the interior.

Heart-shaped mouth, everted rim, semiglobular body pressed on one side. Long, straight handle round in section sloping downwards, flat base.

Savignoni 1904, fig. 120, 12; D'Agata 2014, 93, cat. no. 124.

II.24 CA 896 (Fig. 14). Conical kalathos. H. 7.4 ca; rim diam. 13; base diam. 5.5. Semi coarse reddish-brown clay (10R 5/6, 5/8); brown surface; traces of burning on floor and wall in interior. Piece of rim missing.

Conical body with slightly convex profile, flat overhanging rim. Flat base rectangular in section, with projecting edge.

Savignoni 1904, 659, fig. 120, 15; D'Agata 2014, 95, cat. no. 136.

II.25 CA 915 / Br 4782 + 4783 (Fig. 15). Bronze knife with T-handle. Br 4783: length max 7.7; width 3.5 ca; hole diam. 0.4. A cylindrical rivet. Red copper alloy with green patina. Remains of wood and bones around the rivet. Broken at the lower end. Br 4782: length max 16.7; width 1.8/2.4. Red copper alloy with green patina. Broken at both ends.

Slight concave back. Blade section of triangular shape.

D'Agata 2014, 94, cat. no. 129.

II.26 CA 915 / Br 4781 + 4784 (Fig. 15). Bronze knife. Br 4784: dim. 1.7/2 x 3.4; th. 0.1. Br 4781: length. 16.1; width 0.7/2; th. 0.3. Red copper alloy with green patina. Broken at the upper end. Two holes with rivets with square head inside. Remains of wood around the rivets.

Convex back, slight distinction between handle and blade, blade section of triangular shape.

D'Agata 2014, 94, cat. no. 128.

II.27 CA 910 / MA 4676 (Fig. 14). Pedestalled stone vase. White limestone. H. 10; h. of the container 5; th. of the container 1; rim. dim. 11.5 x 11.8; base diam. 5. Made in one piece. Broken on one side.

Square container with flat rim and indented wall on short cylindrical stem splaying slightly at bottom. Decorated on three sides with motifs incised with uncertain ductus: stylized branch ending with a star; zig-zag; a butterfly or double-axe motif, probably repeated three times. No decoration on fourth side.

Savignoni 1904, 659, fig. 120, 14; D'Agata 2014, 94, cat. no. 130.

II.28 AM 1844 (Fig. 15). Lentoid seal. Dim. 2 x 2; th. 0.1/0.3. Dark green serpentine, perforated vertically. Female figure in profile facing right in front of an altar surmounted by a branch and horn of consecration, under which is a crescent moon.

Evans 1901, 184, fig. 59; Evans 1921-1935, III, 463; *CMS* IX, 163; D'Agata 2014, 91, cat. no. 114.

II.29 CA 916 (Fig. 15). Lentoid seal. Dim: 1.8 x 1.8; th. 0.1/0.3. Dark green serpentine, perforated horizontally. A quadruped in profile, running towards the left with head raised, open jaws, tail down. Above, a griffin with open wings, clawed feet, and curved tail, attacking the animal on the back.

D'Agata 2014, 91, cat. no. 115.

II.30 CA 913. Triton shell. Length 20.

Savignoni 1904, 659, fig. 120, 10; D'Agata 2014, 92, cat. no. 119.

Materials stored in the Louvre perhaps belonging to the same group of vases near larnax 1 marked by an *x* in the sketch in Evans' notebook.

II.31 AM 765 (fig. 14). Miniature beak-spouted jug. H. max 5.8; base diam. 2.3. Fine pink clay (5YR 8/3); yellow slip, lustrous; reddish-brown paint. Edge of the beak chipped.

Squat body, cylindrical neck, and flat base. Handle round in section between neck and belly. Beak, neck and handle painted. A row of dots around the base of the neck. On the upper body, foliate bands bordered by a band; on the lower body two lines; a band and a line around the base. Two vertical bands connecting handle to neck. An X sign painted on the outside of the base.

Mavriyannaki 1974, 56, no. 11, pl. 24 e.

II.32 CA 890. Three-handled jar.

Savignoni 1904, 659, fig. 120, 9; Brown 2001, 458, no. 314.

Other materials from Ligortyno held in the Louvre, but not mentioned in Evans' notebooks as belonging to the grave goods, include:¹²

CA 919 (Fig. 15). Flask. H. max. 6.8; width max 7.6; th. 0.3. Fine, light red clay (2.5YR 6/6); yellow slip, lustrous; brown to reddish paint. Part of the body reconstructed from three fragments. Rim, neck and foot missing. Flattened, globular body, with lower attachment of one vertical handle. On one side, reserved cross in the centre of four solid triangles ('adder marks'); stylized foliate band and 'adder marks' around it. On one narrow side, vertical chevrons.

AM 1842 (Fig. 15). Lentoid seal. Dark green steatite (?), horizontally perforated. Diam. 2 x 2.1; th. 0.1/0.3. Gift Dussaud 1912.

5 pictograms. Three animal heads, one figure-of-eight shield, a bird with long neck (?).

CMS IX, 182; D'Agata 2014, 97, cat. no. 139.

AM 1843 (Fig. 15). Lentoid seal. Dark green stone, horizontally perforated. Diam. 1.9 x 2; th. 0.1/0.3. Upper face slightly concave. Gift Dussaud 1912.

Stylized octopus.

CMS IX, 184; Younger 1987, 69 (F), fig. 6, 58; Younger 1988, 209; D'Agata 2014, 97, cat. no. 140. Attributed to the *Mainland Popular Group* in Younger 1987.

¹² On their arrival at the Louvre, Bakirtzian 2006, 410-411.

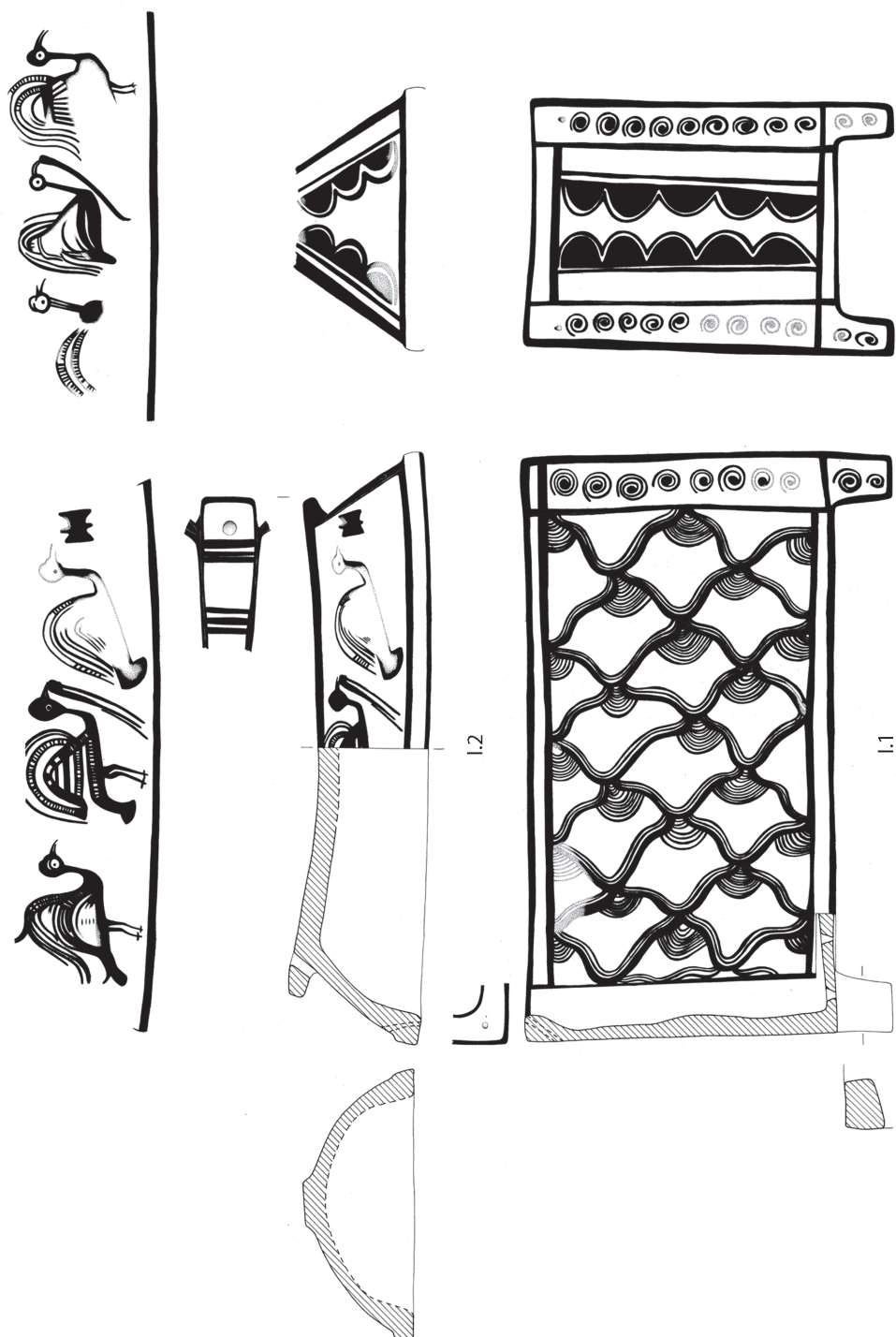


Fig. 7. I.1-2 (1:12).

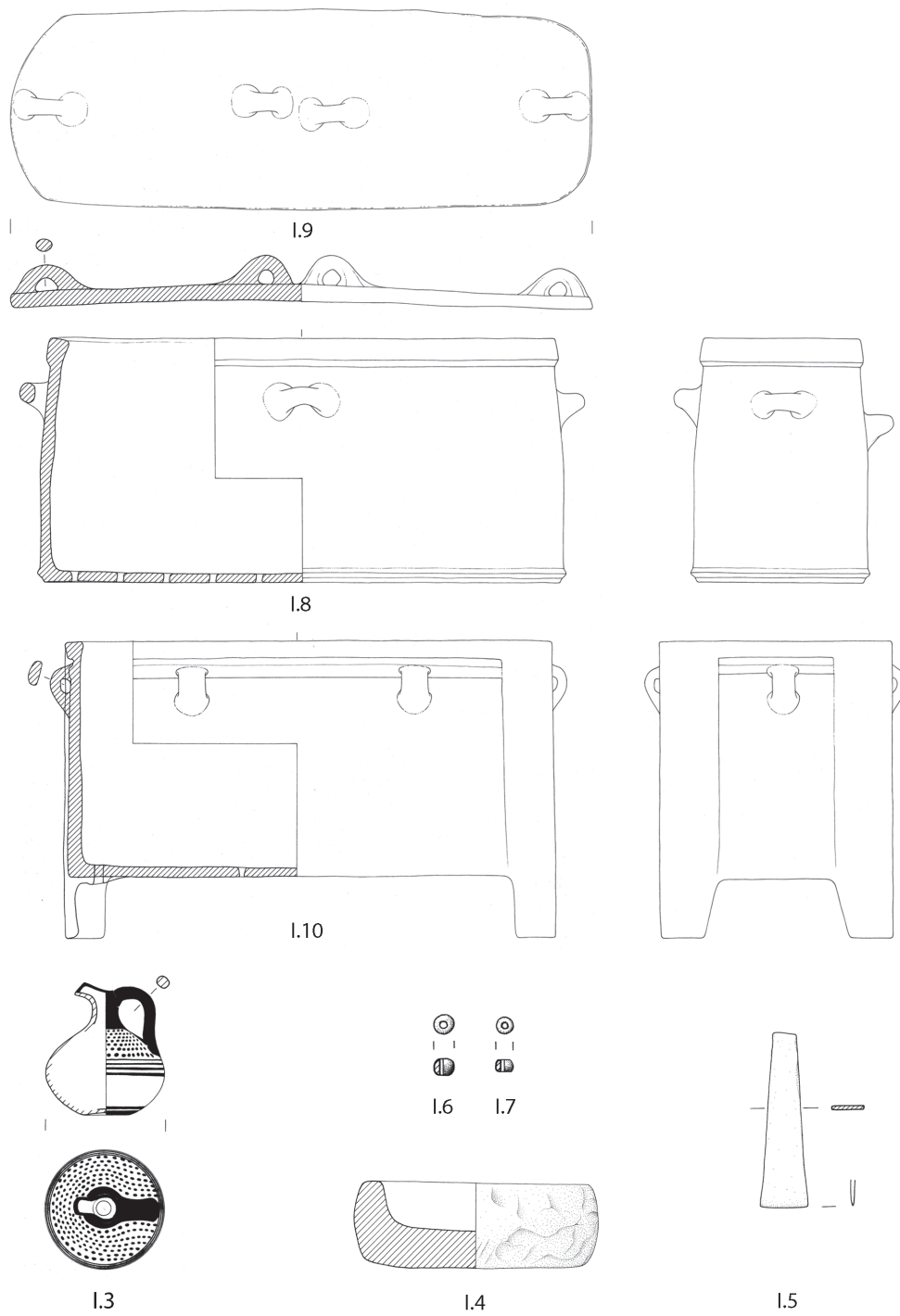
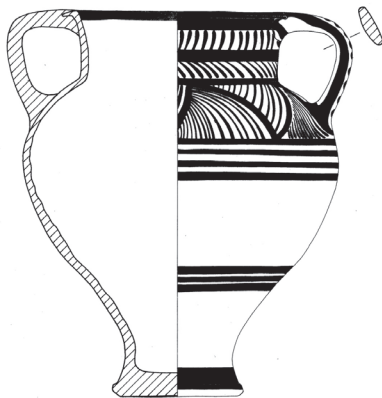


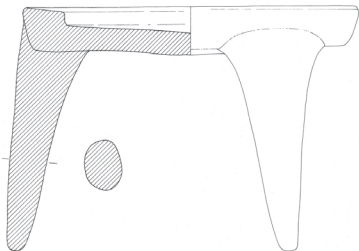
Fig. 8. I.8-9, I.10 (1:15); I.3, I.4 (1:4); I.5 (1:3); I.6, I.7 (1:2).



II.1



II.2

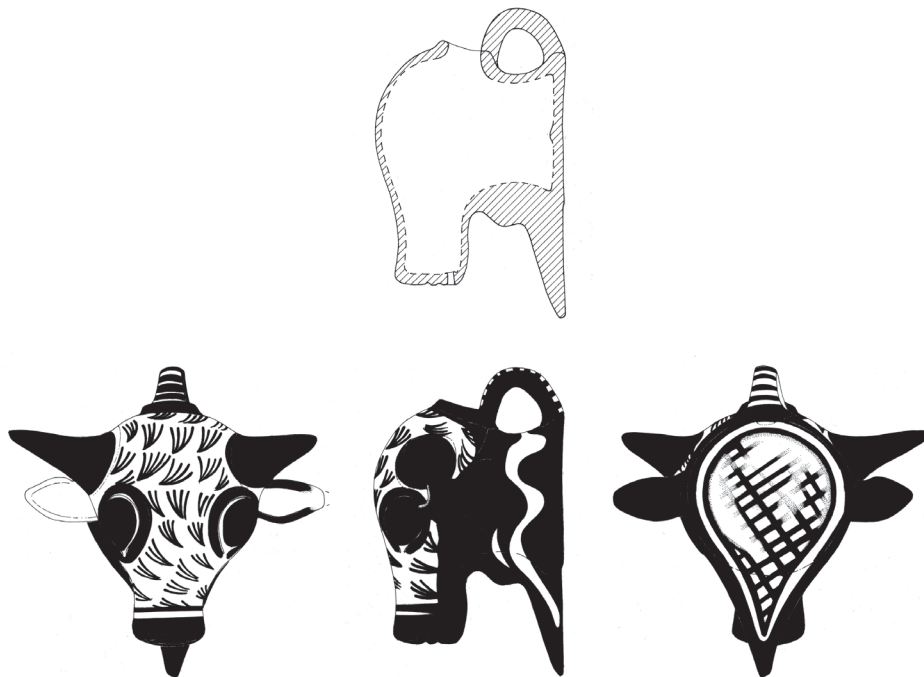


II.22

Fig. 9. II.1, II.2 (1:7); II.22 (1:7).



II.3



II.4

Fig. 10. II.3 (1:7); II.4 (1:4).

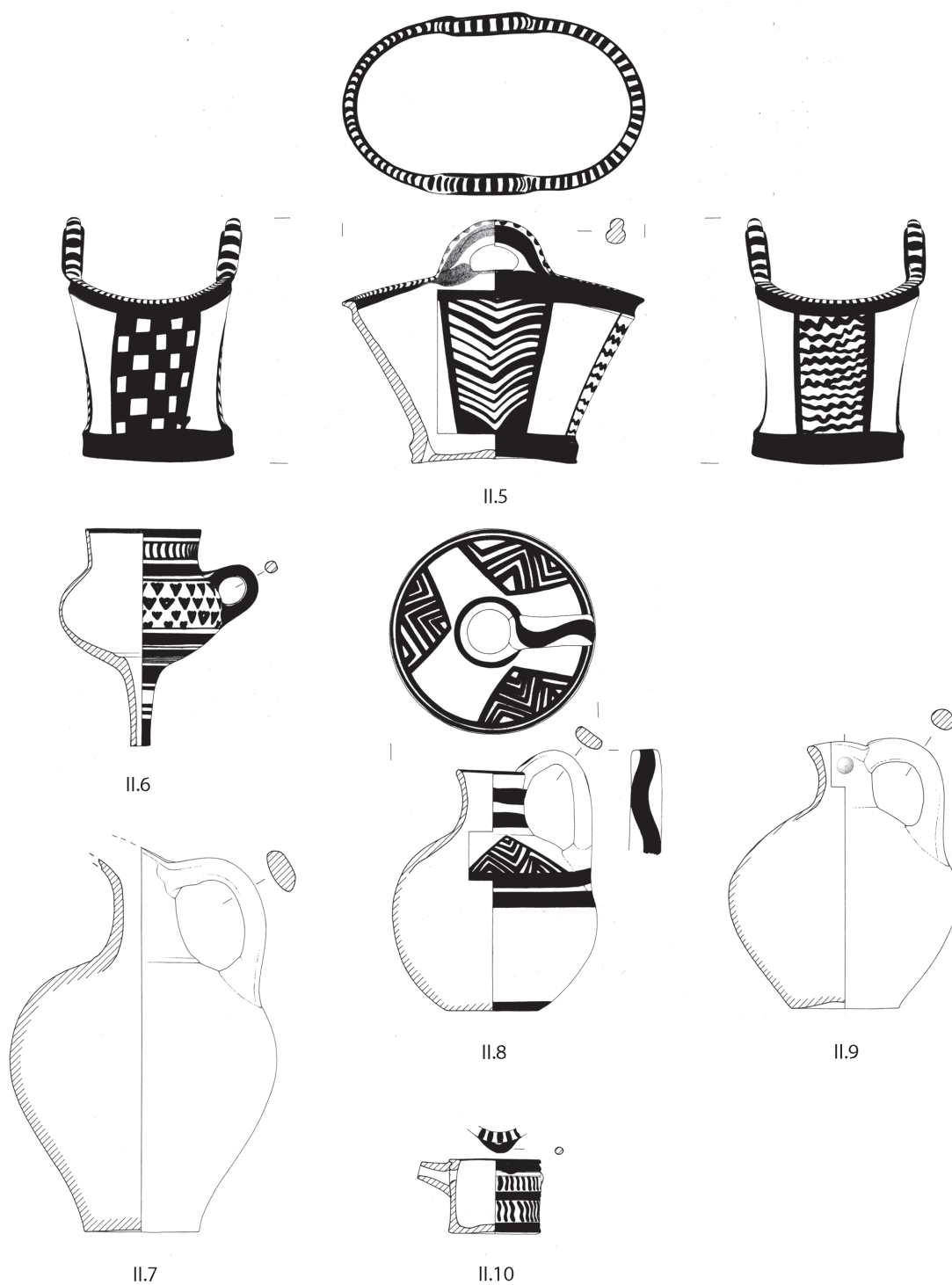
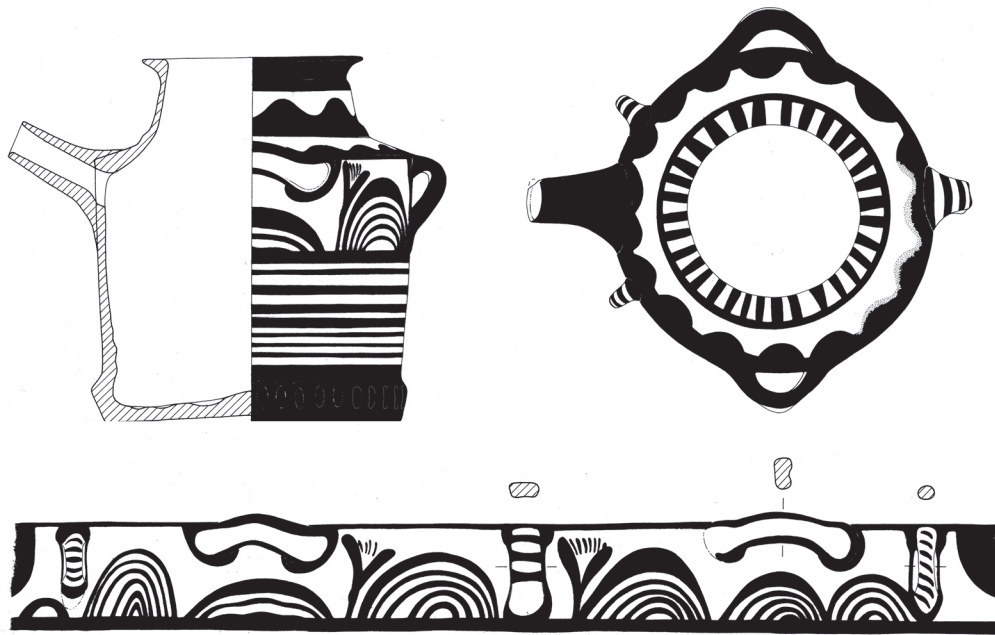


Fig. 11. II.5, II.6, II.7, II.8, II.9, II.10 (1:4).



II.11



Fig. 12. II.11 (1:4).

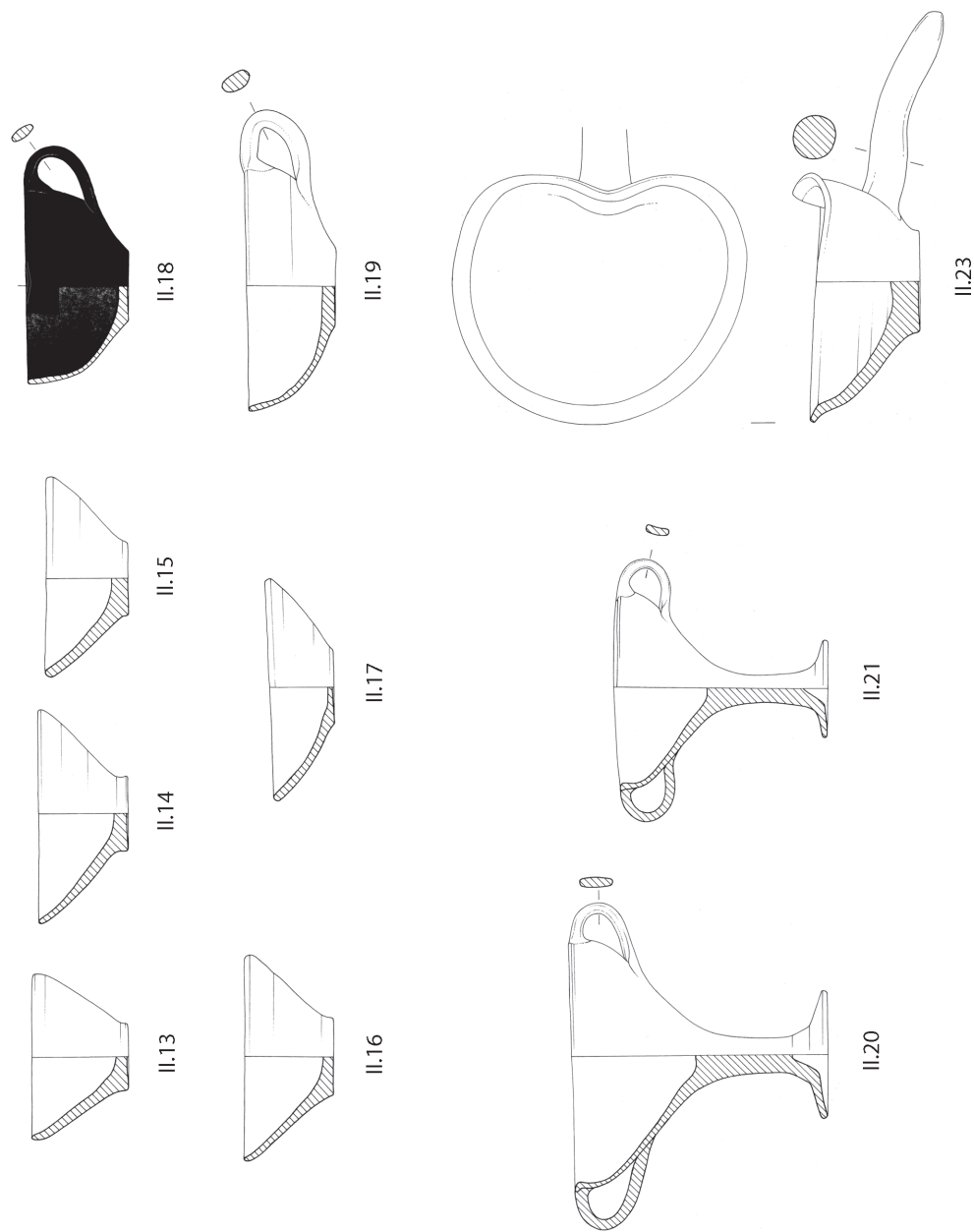


Fig. 13. II.13, II.14, II.15, II.16, II.17, II.18, II.19, II.20, II.21, II.23 (1:4).

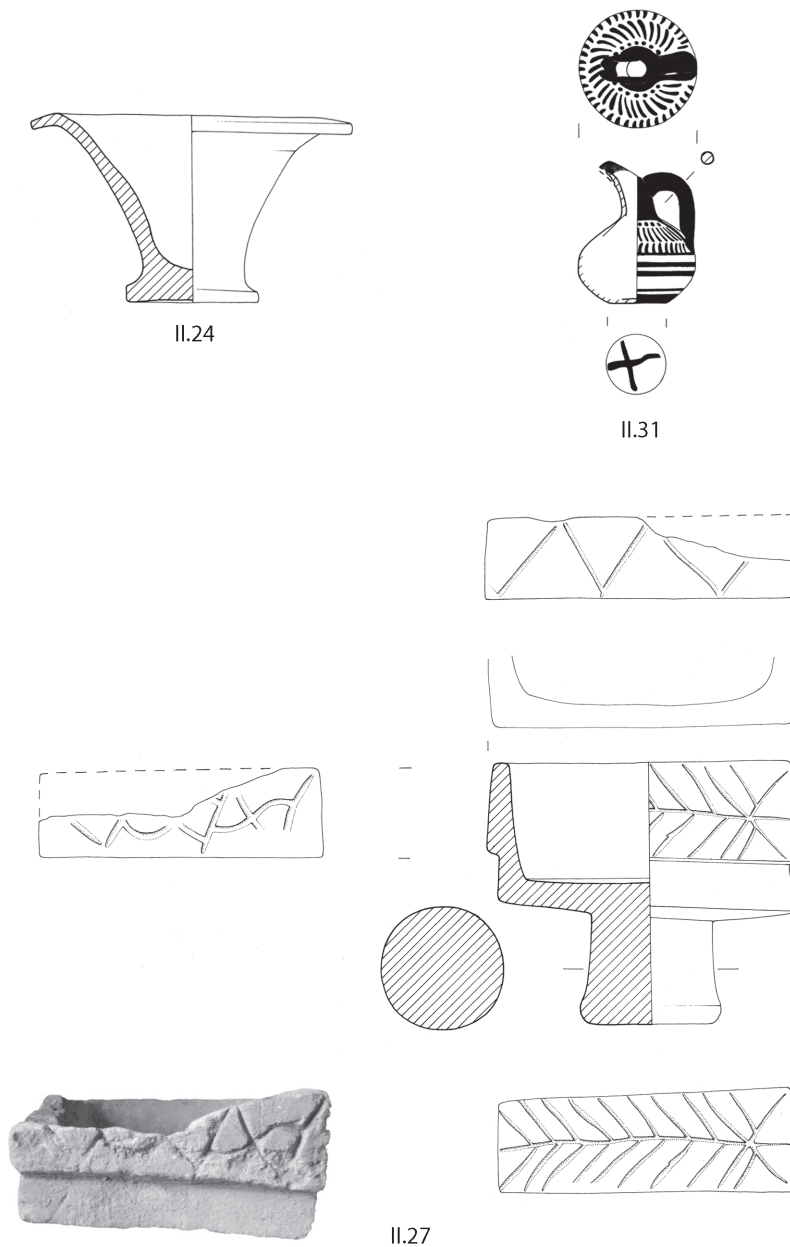
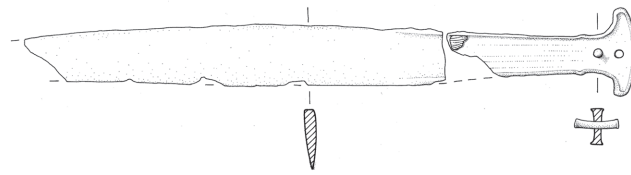
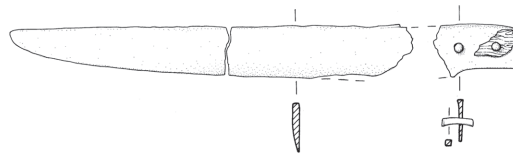


Fig. 14. II.24, II.27, II.31 (1:3).



II.25



II.26



II.28



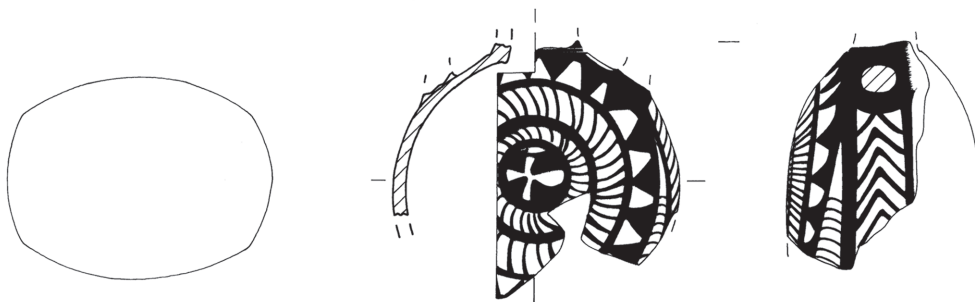
II.29



AM1843



AM1842



CA919

Fig. 15. II.25, II.26 (1:3); II.28, II.29, AM1842, AM1843 (1:1); II.CA919 (1:2).

Typology and relative chronology

As is known, the typology for the pottery of the LM IIIA and IIIB is still in a highly fragmented state: there is no normative reference typology that takes into account the formal and typological variability characteristic of Crete in the 14th and 13th centuries BC, and typological observations, attributions and descriptions are scattered among a vast number of publications, especially those focused on the island's major centres (cf. Popham 1967; 1984; Watrous 1992; Hallager 1997; D'Agata 1999a; 1999b; Hallager 2003; Mountjoy 2003; D'Agata 2005; D'Agata, Moody 2005; Hatzaki 2005b; Rutter 2006; Hatzaki 2007; Smith 2010; Hallager 2011; D'Agata forthcoming a; forthcoming b; Langohr 2009; forthcoming). The highly individual nature of Late Bronze Age Cretan pottery and the countless interconnections between types and typological families from different areas and sites does not yet allow us to develop a clear sequence of forms and types for the island's entire ceramic production. Despite this limitation, however, the formal approach – typological in the strict sense – remains a fundamental tool for defining the chronological and cultural framework on which to base all subsequent historical studies (D'Agata 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; forthcoming a): this approach is all the more necessary when dealing with materials, such as those from Ligortyno, whose palaeoenvironmental and palaeoanthropological find context appears to have been lost for good.

As concerns the relative chronology and its associated terminology, we assume the existence of at least two phases within LM IIIA2: an early phase, termed LM IIIA2 Early, now stratigraphically documented in the western Mesara (cf. especially deposits 57a-e at Kommos, Rutter 2006, 580-581, 586-587), and a later phase contemporary with pits 8 and 10+11 of the *Unexplored Mansion* (Popham 1984, 9, 17, 44, 182 note 173, 266 note 18, helpfully collected in Hatzaki 2005, 68-70, figs. 3, 4 a-b) and with deposits 56a-d, and 56e-f in the *Civic Center* at Kommos (Rutter 2006, 522-527, 585, pl. 3, 59-60). With the term LM IIIA2 Late-LM IIIB Early, by contrast, I refer to a very short period between these two phases during which very few IIIB types had begun to circulate within repertoires still typical of LM IIIA2. This term thus highlights the persisting LM IIIA2 features of contexts containing individual pieces that stylistically anticipate the subsequent phase, though not all the features characteristic of the later phase are present (cf. Kommos, deposit 57 and 58: Watrous 1992, 58, fig. 41; Kephali Chondrou Viannou: Platon 1997; Apostoli Tomb: Gavrilaki 1994; Aghia Triada: D'Agata 2011b, 232-238; forthcoming a). As concerns the LM IIIB period, two distinct levels ascribable to two superimposed stratigraphic phases within this period have only been identified at Chania, where they are described as LM IIIB1 and LM IIIB2. Elsewhere in Crete we use the stylistically based terms LM IIIB Early and Late. Specifically, with the term LM IIIB Early I refer to a phase that in central Crete is contemporary with deposit 82 at Kommos and with the Makryteichos materials at Knossos (cf. respectively Watrous 1992, 80-82, figs. 52-55; Hood, De Jong 1958-1959).¹³

The three larnakes from tomb I, hand-made with the coiling technique, present different clay fabrics.¹⁴ Larnax I.1 is an extremely interesting artefact, very similar to the larnax found in the side chamber of Tholos Tomb A at Archanes (Sakellarakis 1965, 179; 1966, pl. 443; Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1997, 479-480, fig. 465),¹⁵ which should probably be considered its prototype. Modelled in imitation of the larnax from Archanes but less carefully made are the larnax from Kavrochori (Rethimiotakis 1979) and the three discovered in the chamber tomb at Ty-lissos (Chatzidakis 1921, 83-85, figs. 44-46). In addition to the careful execution of the design, the larnax from Archanes and that from Ligortyno resemble one another in the type of clay container – chest-shaped with feet and a hipped lid; the motif with a net of lozenges, undulating and filled in with a pattern of concentric arcs, decorating the main faces and representing an extremely stylized rendering of the papyrus frieze; the vertical rows of spirals on the side panels of the main faces, and the presence of a frieze on the long sides of the lid, which includes papyrus on the piece from Archanes and waterfowl on that from Ligortyno. The rock pattern motif, very common as a filler on larnakes, is used to decorate the short sides at Ligortyno, and is the main decoration on a sarcophagus from Karnari

13 On LM IIIB pottery, see Langohr forthcoming.

14 In general on larnakes, Watrous 1991; Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1997, 473-487; Preston 2004b.

15 The context of the tomb dates to LM IIIA2 Early, cf. Sakellarakis 1970; Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1983, 72-85.

(Sakellarakis, Sakellaraki 1997, 483, fig. 469), on one of the short sides of larnax 1 from the Kavrokhori tomb (Rethimiotakis 1979, 230-231, pl. 92 a-b) and on both short sides of larnax 2 from the same site (Rethimiotakis 1979, 231, fig. 5). The combination of net motif and rock pattern is present on larnax 1 from Kavrokhori, on the larnax from the Moni tomb (Kanta 1980, 15, fig. 113.3), on that from tomb 1 at Lower Gypsadhes (net motif on the body and lid, rock pattern on the upper part of the lid: Coldstream 1963, 33, fig. 2, pl. 10 b), and on at least one of the three larnakes from Tylissos (Kanta, 1980, 10, inv. no. 7407, fig. 3, 2). This unusual concentration confirms a preference for the combination of these two motifs in the north-central area of the island, between Tylissos and Archanes-Knossos, and the stylistic links between the piece from Ligortyno and this area. Overall, the decoration of the larnax and its lid, as we shall see, is inspired by a natural landscape dominated by water. The larnax from Archanes dates to LM IIIA2 Early, whilst that from Ligortyno can be ascribed to a later period, but before the end of LM IIIA2.

In its details, the decorations on lid **I.2** are unique. On each long side of the lid are three water birds in profile.¹⁶ Their slender necks and long beaks identify them as waterfowl living in wetlands such as storks or cranes. On side A, the animal in the centre has what may be one or more snakes, or worms, in its beak,¹⁷ whilst the three birds seem to be moving towards a butterfly or double axe motif that may give this scene a sacral character (Watrous 1991, 296-297). This composition can be compared with that on the lid of the contemporary larnax from Vasilika Anoghia (Orsi 1890, pl. I, below right) in southern Mesara (Fig. 1, 12), depicting five birds with a similar body shape but, as in the case of Ligortyno, differing in their filler motifs, probably to indicate differences in the colour of their plumage. Whilst the arrangement and probably the meaning of the two compositions are fairly similar, the species of bird depicted and above all the figurative style are different. As such, it may be helpful to compare two later artefacts: kylix 1.2.51 from Aghia Triada, assigned to LM IIIA2 Late-LM IIIB Early (D'Agata 2005, 116, fig. 1), which with its row of birds, similar in body structure but differing in their filler motifs, recalls the aforementioned lid from Vasilika Anoghia, thus indicating the existence of a figurative style specific to the western Mesara in LM III. By contrast, although the two pieces are separated by over a hundred years, the representation of three waterfowl on a LM IIIC krater from Knossos (Warren 2005, 101, fig. 2) is so similar in the construction of the animal's bodies to those from Ligortyno as to suggest the same production centre and a painting style still alive in the north-central part of the island in the 12th century BC.

Larnax **I.10** belongs to what is considered the most common type in the necropolis of Gypsadhes (Hood, Huxley, Sandars 1958-1959, 227, fig. 24, IV, XI.1, XI.11, XII), one that is fairly widespread in the north-central region of the island in LM III. This is a plain container, chest-shaped with feet, indented panels on the walls, vertical handles on the main sides, and a series of holes along the bottom. The presence at Ligortyno of a handle on each short side documents a variant apparently attested only in specimens from the Malia area (Milatos: Evans 1906, 98; Malia, Azymo: van Effenterre, van Effenterre 1963, 117, pl. XLVI).

Larnax **I.8**, also plain, belongs to a type that is less common in LM III – of ellipsoid shape with an oval mouth, no feet and a flat lid – typologically more similar to Protopalatial larnakes (Watrous 1991, 287). A specimen very similar to I.8 comes from the Goudies tomb in the western Mesara (Laviosa 1970, 105-106, figs. 9 and 12), and may indicate the existence of a preference for an oval chest with a flat lid in south-central Crete during LM IIIA. The parallels with Goudies may also suggest a LM IIIA1 date of manufacture for our piece.

The amphoroid krater, present on Crete in LM IIIA and IIIB, is documented in Tomb II by as many as three specimens (on the shape, Kanta 1980, 273-276; Hallager 2011, 307-309). The most venerable is **II.1**, decorated with the octopus motif, which can be ascribed to an early phase of LM IIIA2. Clear signs of 'venerability' are the monochrome neck, with a reserved wavy band,¹⁸ the ridge at the base of the neck and the typology of the octopus

16 Rows of birds are often associated with chariot processions on LH III amphoroid kraters, see Crouwel, Morris 1995, 181.

17 The stork (*Ciconia ciconia*) is rare but still visits Crete as a migratory bird: <http://www.cretewww.com/birds/list.htm#Crane> Waterfowl like storks, cranes and herons eat insects, amphibians and small reptiles.

18 Cf. an LM IIIA2 specimen from Kommos, considered to be an import from Knossos, Watrous 1992, 79, no. 1355, fig. 51.

motif with the tentacles still partially arranged at an oblique angle to the sides of the body.¹⁹ These features should be considered derivations from the Knossian palatial amphorae of LM II date (Popham 1970, 71-73, pls. 4-5; see also Popham 1970, 76-77, pl. 8 a; Kalogeropoulos 2011), a shape belonging to the same typological family as the amphoroid krater. The decorative system on the rim, with rosettes/sea anemones alternating with groups of lines, and on the handles, with horizontal strokes, also suggests a date in LM IIIA2. Finally, it is worth noting the arrow motif painted on one of the short sides of the vessel: in a more disjointed version and in association with the octopus, this reappears on a LM IIIB stirrup jar from Klima Mesaras, ascribed to a production centre in the Kalo-chorafitis area, and on a stirrup jar from the palace at Knossos, probably with the same provenance (Rethimiotakis 1995, 165, pl. 39, 6; Popham 1964, pl. 4 a).

On amphoroid krater **II.2** the main decorative motif, alternating arcs,²⁰ is confined to the upper part of the vessel, a characteristic common in LM IIIA2 (Hallager 2011, 308). Further indications of this date are the version of the foliate band on the neck,²¹ the linear decoration subdividing the body,²² and the horizontal lines on the handles.

Krater **II.3**, with its piriform shape and narrow foot with concave sides, can be attributed to LM IIIB Early.²³ The figurative scene decorating the main side is unique in LM III pottery production. The centre of the composition consists of two antithetical agrimia, both males judging from the length of their horns; that on the right, flanked by a kid is more solidly built and has a beard, and is therefore older.²⁴ The animals are placed at the sides of a palm tree with a bird sitting on it, and are surrounded by flowers and fish. In the LM III ceramic production the association of disparate features of the natural world occurs mainly on larnakes,²⁵ and a symbolic meaning, linked in part to the funerary sphere, has rightly been attributed to these scenes (Watrous 1991, 295-298). Pairs of animals in an antithetical position at the sides of a tree or another central element are a familiar iconographical formula not just in the Aegean area but throughout the ancient Mediterranean: specifically, in the Near East the representation of two goats next to a tree is known as the tree of life and is closely connected to the idea of fertility (Furumark 1941, I, 199-200; Popham 1986, 159-160; Morgan 1987, 186; Bushnell 2008). In LM III vase painting, the animals portrayed in an antithetical position are mainly birds (for example Savignoni 1904, 568-569, pl. XXVII); quadrupeds are rare by comparison.²⁶ In LM IIIA2 and IIIB they are found mainly on larnakes, whilst in LM IIIB they appear, albeit rarely, on kraters (for example, Popham 1967, pl. 67b). Well-known in the Minoan iconographical repertoire, agrimia are documented in the vase painting of LM II-IIIa (Crouwel, Morris 1995, 158, no. 2, fig. 1 b; 161, no. 47, fig. 4 d; 164, nos. 58, 60, fig. 5 f and pl. 25 a; 179).²⁷ Starting from the LM IIIB, they appear almost exclusively on larnakes as hunted animals within hunting scenes, sometimes accompanied by their kid, as on the larnakes from Tombs 11 and 24 at Armenoi (Watrous 1991, pl. 92a and 86f), Episkopi Ierapetras (Kanta 1980, fig. 63, 1-5; Watrous 1991, pl. 93 a-b), and Pachiammos Alatsomouri (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908, 46, pl. X, 44; Kanta 1980, fig. 56, 1). Agrimia in an antithetical position next to a palm tree are a relatively rare formulation that appears on the larnax from Kavrochori (Rethimiotakis 1979, 232, fig. 4), thematically very similar to the

19 Cf. a krater from the Temple Tomb, Evans 1921-1935, IV, 1016, fig. 965 k.

20 Cf. a similar vessel from Myrsini Tomb B, Kanta 1980, 167, fig. 67, 3.

21 A krater decorated with a foliate band from Myrsini, Tomb A is mentioned in Kanta 1980, 167.

22 Cf. the krater from Tomb 15 at Mochlos, Smith 2010, 58, IIB.503, fig. 20.

23 Cf. the krater from a tomb at Episkopi Ierapetras, Popham 1967, pl. 83 a; Kanta 1980, 153, fig. 103, 7.

24 On agrimia, see Porter 1996; Vanschoonwinkel 1996, 335-337, 389-392; Bloedow 2003.

25 Cf. especially the larnakes from Palaikastro (Savignoni 1904, 570-571, fig. 48 a-b), Kavrochori, and Klima Mesaras (Rethimiotakis 1979, 231-232, figs. 3-6; 1995, 167-169, figs. 3-7).

26 Cf. the larnax from Kavrochori, Rethimiotakis 1979, 232, fig. 4; and side A of the larnax from Klima Mesaras, incomplete, but perhaps representing a similar scene, Rethimiotakis 1979, fig. 3, upper left. Agrimia in an antithetical position are depicted on a kylix from Rhodes dating to LH IIIA2, Vermeule, Karageorghis 1982, 153 XI.11.

27 A pair of antithetical agrimia has been reconstructed in the Agrimi and Olive Tree Fresco in Room T of the House of Frescoes at Knossos, Cameron 1968, 25, fig. 12; Evely 1999, 128-130, 244-245, but this reconstruction has now been questioned, Chapin, Shaw 2006.

Ligortyno vase, and on the larnax from Tomb 10 at Armenoi (Watrous 1991, pl. 87 e). A fairly similar depiction is that on one of the long sides of the Minoan larnax now in Hannover (Dettmer 1998, 76-77), though here the presence of dogs in the band below clearly suggests a hunting context. As protagonists of a hunting scene including hunters and a pack of dogs, the agrimia depicted at the sides of a palm tree on the larnax from Episkopi Ierapetras (Watrous 1991, pl. 93 a-b) are thematically distant from the scene on the Ligortyno vase.

The date palm, symbolizing nourishment and long life, has a long history in Cretan vase painting starting from the MM I (Furumark 1941, I, motifs 14 and 15; Marinatos 1984; Morgan 1988, 24-28; Betancourt 1985, pl. 12I, fig. 105 E).²⁸ The palm tree on the Ligortyno vase is one of the most ancient examples of LM III, and the palm tree flanked by antithetical animals is not a common subject in the vase production of the period.²⁹ More common is the bird sitting on top of a palm tree, which has parallels in particular with the identical motif portrayed in isolation on one of the long sides of the larnax from Kavrochori (Rethimiotakis 1979, 231, figs. 3-6). The details of the flowers and bushes departing from the base of the trunk of the palm tree on the Ligortyno vessel are repeated in almost identical form in the representation of a papyrus decorating larnax a from Tomb 100 at Zapher Papoura (Evans 1906, 90, fig. 102 b; see also Popham 1984, pl. 174, 49 and 175, 1). Considering the difference in size between these two artefacts, this is an extremely interesting detail because it helps to confirm both that the painters of kraters and larnakes may in some cases have been one and the same (Popham 1967, 347-349) as well as the existence of travelling artisans and 'pattern books' (in fabric, leather and perhaps also papyrus) through which scenes, motifs and details were passed from workshop to workshop within the island (Smith 1965; Crowley 1989).

The three flowers on the left-hand side of the main frieze depart from the motif of vertical festoons that, as well as being a very common filler, also represents the stylized rendering of a rocky landscape.³⁰ The three motifs seem to indicate three different types of flower that existed in nature,³¹ and complete the characterization of the landscape, however schematic, surrounding the centre of the scene. The rosettes (Furumark 1941, I, 316-318, motif 27, sea anemone) are very similar to the inner part of the upper flower and are used here as a filler, just as on the larger alabastron from Phaistos, Kalyvia (Savignoni 1904, pl. XXXVII, 1 and XXXVIII, 2). The net of lozenges on the narrow area below one of the handles is a very common filler recurrent on panels, especially on larnakes.

Considered as a whole, the scene on the Ligortyno vase has few parallels; stylistically, too, the light and accurate strokes with which the quadrupeds are represented, though shown in silhouette, indicate a degree of naturalism that has nothing in common with the rough portrayal of the quadrupeds decorating the LM IIIB larnakes from Episkopi Ierapetras and Armenoi (Watrous 1991, pls. 85 d; 87 b f; 88 a-b; 93 a-b). There are some similarities with the head of an agrimi on a fragment of a two-handled cup from Phaistos or Aghia Triada, and with the representation of a palm tree with the same provenance, of later date (Borda 1946, pl. XXXVI, first and second in the third row at the bottom). The same accuracy of rendering can be seen in the flowers and the fish. The depiction of the fish in particular is not dissimilar from that of the fish on the larger alabastron from Phaistos, Kalyvia (Savignoni 1904,

28 N. Marinatos (1984) has argued that the date-palm was also considered a sacred tree in the Minoan world, just as it was important in Egypt because of its association with funerary concepts, including the nourishment of the deceased in the afterlife. The plant's potential economic importance is well illustrated in Morgan 1988, 24-28.

29 The two palms arranged obliquely between two antithetical griffins in the fresco from the Throne Room in the Palace at Knossos, dated by Cameron to LM II, may represent the most immediate iconographical precedent for our vase, cf. Evelyn 1999, 58-59, 202. A typologically similar palm to that from Ligortyno appears as a repeated motif on a LM IIIA2 kylix from Knossos, South House, Mountjoy 2003, 145, no. 768, fig. 4, 41. A central palm between two fantastic animals in an antithetical position is represented in low relief on a LM IIIB (?) clay plaque from the cult context of the villa at Kannia (Levi 1959, 247, fig. 19; Gesell 1985, fig. 108). As an individual repeated motif, the representation of the palm tree is common on larnakes from LM IIIA2 onwards: cf. for example Watrous 1991, pl. 92.

30 Cfr. the comments on the same motif on II.11, *infra*.

31 The top flower reappears in a slightly different version on a small stirrup jar from Trapeza Kalou, Dimopoulou-Rethimiotaki, Rethimiotakis 1978, 60 III/6 MH 21795; for the flower at the centre: cf. Popham 1984, pl. 173, 11; Warren 1997, fig. 12, second row, first on the left; Mountjoy 2003, 139, no. 684, fig. 4, 39; for the bottom flower, cf. Popham 1967, fig. 2; see also Popham 1984, pl. 179, 13.

567-570, pls. XXXVII, 1 and XXXVIII, 2), confirming the existence of a stylistic link also with the western Mesara. Thematically, however, as we have seen, the vase has parallels with the depictions on the larnax from Kavrochori: the two artefacts share both individual features (the antithetical agrimia, the bird on the palm tree, the flowers, the fish) and the apparently disparate association of plant and animal motifs. The secondary face of II.3 is occupied by a disjointed version of the octopus motif, accompanied by plant features drawn from the date palm motif³² and fillers like the rectangular panel with a net motif.

As we have already noted, krater II.3 dates to LM IIIB Early, and its manufacture should probably be ascribed to a workshop in the central region, perhaps in the south-central area of the island. Lacking sacred symbols such as double axes or horns of consecration, with no clear references to the elite activity of hunting or to the economic exploitation of agrimia (Palmer 2014), the scene on the Ligortyno krater seems to focus on the idea of fertility and reproduction. The three animals represented appear to be of three different ages (mature, young, kid), symbolizing different stages of life and alluding to the family as a set of contiguous generations, a subject well suited to the vase's use in a funerary context.

The bull's head rhyton II.4 presents a complex construction technique. It was assembled from several pieces, starting from the cylinder of the neck – made on a wheel – to which the muzzle, head, base and handle were later added. Ears and horns, handmade and solid, were applied last. The technique used to make this piece, the so-called cylinder technique, is well-known on Crete, where it seems to have been used sporadically before the LM IIIC when it saw its peak in central Crete (D'Agata 1999c, 43-45). The important feature of the Ligortyno vase is that it appears to have been modelled on the famous ceramic bull's head rhyton from the Little Palace at Knossos (Evans 1921-1935, II, 539, fig. 342 a, 251 a-b; Hatzaki 2005, 174, no. 339, fig. 4.32, 3). Specifically, the two pieces have the same drop-shaped base.³³ The decorative system is also extremely similar, with virtually the entire surface of both being covered by repeated motifs. The trefoil motifs on the vase from Knossos correspond at Ligortyno to decorative units with three or four elements (a sort of comb pattern) that seem to allude to the animal's coat and present parallels with the motifs decorating the garment of one of the female figures on the Aghia Triada sarcophagus (Long 1974, 65, fig. 87) and of a bull rhyton, probably contemporary, from Psychro cave (*Im Labyrinth des Minos*, 245, no. 13, fig. 13). The rock pattern running along the side of the piece from Knossos corresponds on the piece from Ligortyno to a more stylized form of this motif. However, there is a significant difference between the two vessels: the Knossian piece is still moulded in two halves then attached (Koehl 2006, 120, no. 322, pl. 25; and 33-36), in accordance with the most ancient Minoan tradition (D'Agata 1999c, 43-45), whilst the Ligortyno vase indicates the acquisition of the new cylinder technique. If the Knossian specimen dates, as seems likely, to II-IA1-IIIA2 Early,³⁴ that from Ligortyno cannot be much later and was therefore made before the end of LM IIIA2: it presupposes, as we have seen, direct knowledge of the famous artefact from Knossos.

The rhyton in the shape of a basket vase II.5 is a pottery replica of a transport container typical of the Mediterranean region, usually made of palm leaves (on the shape see Hallager 2011, 333).³⁵ Decorated pottery in imitations of baskets made of organic materials is already attested on Crete in the Proto- and Neopalatial periods (*e.g.* Levi, Carinci 1988, 152-153, pls. 66-67). The earliest post-LM IB specimen was found at Knossos in the Minoan Unexplored Mansion (Popham 1984, 174, pl. 65 d). Typologically similar to the piece from Ligortyno is the LM IIIA rhyton in the shape of a basket from Varkiza in southern Attica (Crouwel, Morris 1995, 187-188; Mountjoy 1999, 525; Koehl 2006, 206, no. 1084, fig. 39), whose decoration has been ascribed to the *Knossos Fish Painter* (Crouwel, Morris 1995,

32 Cf. for example the krater from Episkopi Ierapetras, with the stylized representation of the octopus and the palm tree, Popham 1967, 348-349, fig. 87 a, and a pair of LM IIIC stirrup jars from Kritsa, Kanta 1980, fig. 132, 2 and 136, 1.

33 The rhyton from the Little Palace is in turn modelled on unique pieces like the Neopalatial, or slightly later, steatite bull's head rhyta from the Tomb of the Double Axes and from the Little Palace itself, Evans 1914, 59, 2 e, fig. 70; 79, figs. 87 and 90.

34 For the chronology of the deposit in which the piece was found, cf. Hatzaki 2005, 194, 202.

35 Cf. <http://peopleandplants.org/whatweproduce/Handbooks/handbook4/ethno.htm> A basket woven from palm leaves and decorated with small copper rings was found in Tomb 187 at Armenoi, Paterakis 1996.

167-168, 180).³⁶ Recurring features of the decoration on both pieces are the lines on the handles, the band on the rim and that at the base. The differences in the decorative system can be explained by their different date: the LM IIIA1 or IIIA2 Early vase from Varkiza has a painted decoration covering the whole available area, whilst the Ligortyno vase is decorated on each side with isolated panels filled with different motifs (horizontal wavy lines, chequerboard pattern, chevrons). During LM IIIA2 and in LM IIIB this decorative system became standard on the few basket vases known from the island (cf. Hallager 2003, 231; 2011, 333), and also seems widespread on pyxides and larnakes.³⁷ As proof that this is a system whose diffusion was fostered by 'pattern books', it is worth noting that the three motifs used to fill the panels on the Ligortyno vase are found on one of the long sides of the larnax from Apostoli, probably contemporary with our vase, and also decorated with the system of panels filled with different motifs (Gavrilaki 1994, 52-57, fig. 19). The basket vessel from Tomb 3 at Apodoulou Frangou Tou Louri (Tzedakis 1979, 401, pl. 212 c), by contrast, documents a variant of the same type. Considering the rarity of basket vases, it is clear not only that the Ligortyno vase represents a development of that from Varkiza but also that it comes from a workshop very familiar with Knossian products. The Ligortyno vase can be attributed to the transition between LM IIIA2 and IIIB.

The wide-mouthed rhyton **II.6** belongs to an equally rare type on Crete, documented at Mochlos by two specimens from Tomb 15 (Soles, Davaras 1996, 221, pl. 63 c; Koehl 2006, 135, 395-396; Soles 2008, 159, IIB.846-847, pl. 29 A; Smith 2010, 110-111, IIB.846-847, fig. 80, pl. 31), and at Myrsini with one vase from Tomb B (Smith 2002, 514; Koehl 2006, 394; see also Kanta 1980, 167). The vases from Mochlos and Ligortyno are very similar and should be considered contemporary, or at any rate manufactured within a fairly narrow time-frame. Note in particular the detail of the motif (iris: Furumark 1941, I, 162, motif 10a) decorating the shoulder of the rhyton from Ligortyno in multiple rows and the neck of one of the rhyta from Mochlos (Smith 2011, 111 II.847, fig. 80, pl. 31). This type developed in the Argolid in LH II (Koehl 2006, 43-45 especially 45), and later spread through the Argolid and Attica, in funerary contexts, during the LH IIIA2. On the basis of the contexts of the vases from Mochlos and Myrsini, and the striking similarities between these pieces, the Ligortyno vase must date to LM IIIA2 Late.³⁸ The use of the wide-mouthed rhyton as a funnel proposed by Koehl (2006, 270-27) and Hallager (2011, 327) appears highly probable.

The beak-spouted jug **II.7** belongs to the group of so-called libation jugs (on the shape, Kanta 1980, 260-263; Hallager 2011, 309-312, 342; on the shape in funerary contexts, D'Agata, De Angelis forthcoming). The plain type to which it belongs has as its distinctive features the obliquely cut spout, the piriform body and the surmounting handle, and is attested mainly in the central area of the island in LM IIIA1,³⁹ with a single specimen of later date, that from Melidoni, dated to LM IIIA2 on the basis of the context (Karamaliki 2006, 166-167, fig. 18).⁴⁰ Given its workmanship, the vase from Ligortyno may still date to IIIA1.

The two miniature jugs **I.3** and **II.31**, both with a piriform body, belong to a form popular especially in the tombs of LM IIIA1 and IIIA2 (Kanta 1980, 261),⁴¹ within which we can distinguish between several types with a globular or piriform body. **I.3** has a short spout, cut and facing upwards.⁴² The decorative motif with

36 See also a fragment of a similar vessel at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Crowel, Morris 1995, 164, no. 63, fig. 5 g.

37 Cf. e.g. two pyxides from Mochlos, Smith 2010, 101-103, IIB.791 and 798, figs. 68-69; three larnakes from Mochlos, Soles *et al.*, 2011, 25, 27-28, IIC.2, 5 and 7, figs. 2, 5-6; and a larnax from Palaikastro, Watrous 1991, pl. 82 a-c.

38 The wide-mouthed rhyton is rare on Crete in domestic contexts too, cf. the plain specimen from Kommos, Watrous 1992, 90, no. 1583, fig. 58; Koehl 2006, 136 no. 409; and the four vessels, IIIA2 and IIIB early, from Khania, Hallager 2011, 324-325.

39 Very similar to the Ligortyno vessel are the plain jugs from Zapher Papoura, Tomb 1, Evans 1906, 21, fig. 118, 1a; Katsamba, Tomb Z, Alexiou 1967, 23, pl. 16 c; Goudies, Laviosa 1970, 113, figs. 17 and 23 c; Voritsi: Kanta 1980, 77, fig. 52, 8; Olous: van Effenterre 1948, 53, O70, pls. XII and XXXIV.

40 The plain beak-spouted jug is considered a rare shape in the settlement of Khania in LM IIIA2 and IIIB, Hallager 2011, 342.

41 In the eastern area of the island in the cemeteries of Mochlos and Myrsini it is one of the most common shapes, cf. Smith 2002, 184-186; Smith 2010, 74-78.

42 Cf. especially the two juglets from Zapher Papoura, Tomb 66 and Armenoi, Tomb 39, Evans 1906, 72, no. 66 p, fig. 117; Tzedakis, Martlew, 61, no. 35, fig. 35.

repeated rows of dots on the upper part of the body is unusual. **II.31**, by contrast, has a piriform body and a tapering upturned spout. The decorative motif, consisting of foliate bands here in two rows and associated with dots around the base of the neck, is fairly common during LM IIIA [cf. Laviosa 1970, 115, no. 15, fig. 22 d (Goudies); see also: Sakellarakis, Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 443 (Aniphoros); Papadopoulou 1997, 325, V2/P 6610, fig. 12 (Armenoi, Tholos 200); Smith 2010, 74-76, IIB.636 and 648, figs. 39-40 (Mochlos, Tombs 8 and 29)]. On the base of **II.31** is a painted X, added before firing, comparable to similar potter's marks (Xs or rods incised or painted before firing), found on vases from Kommos and Aghia Triada (Bennet 1996, 318; D'Agata 2011; forthcoming a-b). It is likely that these marks, added before firing and not connected with a writing system, concerned the manufacturing process of the vase and should therefore be identified as potter's marks: these are simple signs whose purpose seems to be to distinguish the work of a specific potter within the workshop or to identify a given number of vases within a particular group. The presence of a potter's mark on **II.31** confirms the popularity of this type of miniature jug decorated with foliate bands and the large numbers of vessels produced in LM IIIA2 Late in central Crete.

The cylinder-necked jug **II.8** belongs to a type that appears in LM IIIB (Hallager 2011, 309) with a concave neck, flaring rim, and globular body. The rim and neck are usually decorated with simple bands, while the frieze is limited to the upper part of the body. The multiple triangles on the vessel from Ligortyno find a comparison on a contemporary stirrup jar from Trapeza Kalou (Dimopoulou-Rethimiotaki, Rethimiotakis 1978, 58-59 III4/21802, fig. 12; see also Apostolakou 1998, 31, fig. 5; Smith 2011, 72-73, IIB.625-626, fig. 38).

Jug **II.9** with a trefoil mouth belongs to a type commonly documented in the tombs of Mochlos and Myrsini (Smith 2002, 187-189; 2004, 313-314; 2010, 67-68, figs. 28-32), where it is generally decorated by dipping and dates mainly to LM IIIA2. The type is relatively rare elsewhere on the island (cf. Hallager 2011, 311). The Ligortyno vase presents some unusual features, such as the knobs below the rim on the neck, and the absence of a dipped decoration. The knobs are more a feature of the pulled-rim bowl than of the trefoil-mouthed jug. Undecorated pieces, like that from Ligortyno, are rare (Dimopoulou-Rethimiotaki, Rethimiotakis 1978, 87, fig. 37; Smith 2010, 68, IIB.594, fig. 29). **II.9** probably dates to LM IIIA2 and is a local variant of a type that in LM III is specific to eastern Crete.

The miniature cylindrical spouted jar **II.10** belongs to a broad typological family which includes cylindrical jars with handles and a spout, with or without a neck (in general, Hallager 2011, 302-303). The basic cylindrical shape with handles, spout, and usually a lid, appears in the Neopalatial period and is attested throughout Crete, while in LM III the vessels that derive from it seem to be concentrated mostly in the central area of the island. They have been called spouted pyxides (Kanta 1980, 283-284), alabastra or spouted alabastra (Hallager 1997, 17; 2011, 276-277, no. 21). The presence of the spout indicates that this is a type of vase meant for pouring, rather than containing; this function is stressed by the presence on larger vases of a vertical handle opposite the spout. For this reason I have preferred to use the more neutral name of cylindrical spouted jar. In funerary contexts, the most ancient specimens of the type to which **II.10** belongs date to LM IIIA1 (Banou 2004, 197, B11, fig. 14, B11 and B12), but the vase is also attested in LM IIIA2 and IIIB. **II.10**, very similar in form to one of the two specimens from Keratokambos (Banou 2004, 197, B11, fig. 14), dates to within LM IIIA. Given their recurrence in funerary contexts and frequent association here with jugs, and therefore with containers also used for pouring, it is likely that the vase was used for a specific type of liquid/drink.

II.11 is a cylindrical tubular-spouted jar in coarse ware which, as already noted for **II.10**, belongs to a type attested in LM IIIA and IIIB. Unlike **II.10**, which is miniature, **II.11** is 18 cm tall and made in coarse ware.⁴³ The applied band around the base, decorated with finger impressions to ensure the adherence of the lower parts of the vessel during firing, indicates that it was coil-built and not wheel-thrown in a single piece;

43 The most similar specimens in terms of form, ceramic class and size are one of the vases found in the Kavrochori tomb, Rethimiotakis 1979, 237, A/4 MH21905, fig. 12, and a vase of unknown provenance in the Heraklion Museum, Kanta 1980, 284, fig. 96, 2. For the decoration with S-motifs, though in a different variant, cf. a cylindrical three-handled vase from Milatos (Kanta 1980, 125, inv. no. 7619, fig. 53, 12).

this is unusual for a vase of modest dimensions, but common for large forms such as pithoi or coarse ware basins. Additionally, the peculiar treatment reserved for the base on the inside, where regular fingerprints were impressed onto the raw clay in the form of a spiral (Fig. 12), is a typical feature of the conical basins used as beehives: it recreates the weft of the bottom of a basket in organic materials (D'Agata, De Angelis 2014, 362, fig. CX c-d) and is a feature rarely found in other forms (cf. a LM III spouted vessel from Kommos: Watrous 1992, 78, no. 1348, fig. 51, pl. 32; Rutter 2006, 542, 59/11, pl. 3.93 c-d). These peculiarities can be interpreted, as in the case of the beehive basins, as imitations of the typical features of baskets or, in a purely symbolic way, as an allusion to the drink that they contained. In the latter case, given their connection with the beehive basins, we can suggest that this was a honey-based drink. The use of honey for libations is well documented in Linear B (Weilharter 2012, 212-217).

The main decoration on **II.11** occupies the upper part of the base. On the body are groups of painted concentric semicircles of which the outer one is thicker, of irregular height and position and alternating with stylized floral motifs.⁴⁴ On the shoulder and neck is a similar but far more stylized motif deriving from the rock pattern (Furumark 1941, I, 322-323, motif 32). The meaning of this decoration can be deduced from a comparison with the decorated larnax from Palaikastro. The latter's figurative repertoire includes a bird and a fish on one side, and on the other a griffin or fantastical winged animal and horns of consecration, surrounded by stylized plant motifs: along the edges of both long sides are multiple semicircles, similar to those decorating the Ligortyno vase but of lobed shape, framing the rich depiction of the natural world, here too associated with a form of rock pattern. In both cases, we are therefore dealing with the representation of a stylized rocky landscape.⁴⁵ On the Ligortyno vase, furthermore, the presence of floral motifs helps to define the rocky landscape surrounding them. The decorative motif with lobed semicircles on the larnax from Palaikastro, ascribable to LM IIIA1 (Crouwel, Morris 1995, 181 note 187), is the immediate stylistic precedent for the decorative motif on the Ligortyno vase. Going back even further in time, during the Neopalatial period straight-sided neckless spouted jars, covered with a lid, are decorated with rock pattern and floral motifs (Barnard, Brogan 2003, 64-65, IB.338, fig. 26): we are clearly in the presence of a vase-making tradition that maintains the form and decoration of a container probably associated with a specific type of liquid/drink unaltered for at least two centuries. The decoration of bands on the lower part of **II.11** has a very close parallel in a cylindrical spouted jar from Poros (Alexiou 1970, 455, pl. 396 b), from a domestic context of LM IIIB Early, which thus represents an excellent indicator for the chronology of our piece.⁴⁶

Cups **II.18** and **II.19**, one monochrome, the other plain, are characterized by simple rim and rounded body, and can be dated to LM IIIA2-LM IIIB Early (D'Agata 2014, 95) or, more probably, to LM IIIB Early. **II.18**, monochrome, is a type not particularly common, attested in LM IIIA2 in the foundation trench of the tomb of the painted sarcophagus at Aghia Triada,⁴⁷ and in IIIB (Dimopoulou-Rethimiotaki, Rethimiotakis 1978, 68, no. IV/11, fig. 20; Rutter 2006, 552, no. 66/8, pl. 3.75). **II.19** is a shallow cup rather common in funerary contexts (e.g. the two cups from Tylissos, Hatzidakis 1921, 85, fig. 47; see also Rutter 2006, 563, no. 71a/1, pl. 3.81).

The plain kylikes **II.20** and **II.21**, very similar to one another, are of different sizes, with **II.20** being slightly larger in diameter than the other (on the shape Hallager 2011, 338). They belong to a type attested on Crete at the end of LM IIIA2 (cf. Smith 2010, 34, II.167, fig. 7, pl. 6; see also van Effenterre 1948, 9, 55, no. 082, pl. XV, 082 and pl. XXV; Popham 1984, pl. 115, 2; Gavrilaki 1994, 43, figs. 10-11). The fact that they have solid rather than

44 A very similar motif, but arranged vertically (multiple semicircles alternating with a floral motif) decorates one short side (B) of larnax MP II 3359 from Pangalochori attributed to the LM IIIA2, Baxevani-Kouzioni, Markoulaki 1996, 666-669, fig. 39: the birds decorating the opposite short side (*ibidem*, A, fig. 38) confirm the allusion to the landscape, on which see *infra*.

45 As already suggested by Alexiou (1954, 408) for the larnax from Palaikastro. Cf. also the discussion of the fillers decorating the short sides of larnax I.1, *supra*.

46 Cf. the bands decorating the body of small stirrup jars in LM IIIB early, Hallager 2011, 299.

47 La Rosa 1999, 181, HTR 2900-2901, figs. 5-6: the two vases are monochrome, while in fig. 6 HTR 2900 is erroneously shown with a painted band on the rim.

perforated stems may indicate that they have been shaped in imitation of Mycenaean kylikes. In addition, it cannot be excluded that the dark stains visible on their surfaces are remains of tinning.⁴⁸ If this is the case, they could even be considered Mainland imports.

II.13-17 are plain handleless cups (on the shape Kanta 1980, 268-269) that have a long history in the pottery production of the island, and are attested in central Crete throughout the LM III period, and above all in LM IIIA2 and IIIB Early.⁴⁹ Starting from LM IIIA1, the ratio of height to upper diameter is about 1:2, and this remains unchanged until the end of LM III (see also Rutter 2006, 624-625).

The tripod tray **II.22**, here used as a support for krater **II.1**, belongs to a morphologically fairly simple type in kitchen ware, documented in Cretan funerary contexts in LM III A and IIIB. Typologically it resembles a wider and shallower LM II-III A1 vessel, made of clay or plastered clay, used in funerary contexts as a hearth or brazier.⁵⁰ From a symbolic point of view, the vase is ambiguous: it is a functional shape for domestic use, but belongs to the same typological family as offering tables and kernoi (cf. Puglisi 2010). Similar to the tray from Ligortyno are the tray from Tomb H at Katsamba (Alexiou 1967, 33 and 53, no. 19, pl. 26 b) and that from the tomb at Pachyammos Alatsomouri (Alexiou 1954, 401-402, 403, no. 7, pl. H', fig. 1). The Katsamba tray, which belongs to the context associated with larnax 3, dating to LM IIIA2, is very similar in size (h. 17, width 39) to the Ligortyno tray. The Pachyammos one was found near larnax A covering a pit containing the remains of a secondary burial (Alexiou 1967, 401-402). It cannot be ruled out that offerings were placed on it. A third vessel similar to the Ligortyno tray comes from Gournes, Tomb 2, where it was found in proximity to the entrance holding small vessels probably used during a ceremony that took place on the threshold of the funerary chamber (Chatzidakis 1918, 77, no. 8, fig. 21, 2; Puglisi 2010, 98).

Brazier **II.23** belongs to a shape attested in LM IIIA2 and IIIB,⁵¹ whose distinctive features are a heart-shaped mouth with everted rim, flat base and long straight handle. Similar vessels are attested in funerary contexts, as indicated by the pieces from Artsa (Xanthoudidis 1904, 19, fig. 2; Kanta 1980, fig. 20, 11), Gypsadhes (Hood, Huxley, Sandars 1958-1959, 252, XIV.2, fig. 29), and Amnisos (Marinatos 1927-1928, 70 and 73, no. 16, pl. 2, 16).⁵² A brazier from the sanctuary of Kannia (Cucuzza forthcoming) belongs to the same type as that documented at Ligortyno.

II.24 is a type of conical kalathos in kitchen ware used as a brazier or lamp (Rutter 2013), as attested by the burned patches inside the vase. It corresponds to a type that at Aghia Triada is documented until at least the end of LM IIIA2 (D'Agata forthcoming a).⁵³ The vessel is found in funerary contexts. A specimen from tomb A at Keratokambos (Banou 2004, 189, A4, fig. 14, 3), dated to the LM IIIA2, is particularly similar to our piece.

The limestone bowl **I.4** belongs to a very simple type not dissimilar in terms of profile from the bowl in alabastrine gypsum from a tomb at Amnisos (Marinatos 1927-1928, 70 and 72, no. 9, pl. 1, 9; Warren 1969, 77 C. Karteros HM 2177). The date of the Ligortyno piece, very poorly made, must be within LM IIIA2 or IIIB.

48 I owe this suggestion to Jerry Rutter.

49 Cf. for Knossos, Popham 1970, fig. 7, 10-11; fig. 9, 10-12; Popham 1984, pls. 16-17; for Kommos, Watrous 1992, *passim*; for Aghia Triada, D'Agata forthcoming a.

50 Cf. Tomb 14 at Zapher Papoura, Evans 1906, 39, no. 14a, fig. 33 a, the Royal Tomb at Isopata, Evans 1906, 143, and Tomb B at Katsamba, Alexiou 1967, 45, nos. 16-17, pl. 12 a-b.

51 It is described as a "shallow brazier" in Hallager 2011, 358, to distinguish it from the "deep brazier" typical of the Knossos region in LM II-III A, cf. *ibidem*.

52 In the absence of a drawing, the degree of similarity between vessels is difficult to determine. This form presents a marked typological variety. The Artsa vase is dated to LM IIIA on the basis of the context. In the Amnisos tomb, the burial associated with sarcophagus no. 6, to which the brazier belongs, did not yield materials that were datable per se, but the other contexts inside the tomb date to LM IIIB. Sarcophagus no. 6 was one of the first to be placed in the burial chamber. The LM IIIB specimen from the tomb at Khania, Aghios Ioannis (Karantzali 1986, 64, fig. 13) presents typological features that differ from that found at Ligortyno. Finally, the braziers documented at Kommos are similar but not identical: Watrous 1992, 55, no. 944, fig. 38 (LM IIIA2); 95, no. 1653, fig. 62 (LM IIIB); Rutter 2006, 530-531, no. 57b/3, pl. 3, 63. The vase is rare at the settlement of Khania, Hallager 2011, 358.

53 For a variant, with a flaring rim and less pronounced foot, Popham 1984, pl. 176, 18 (LM IIIA2).

The pedestalled stone vase **II.27** belongs to the group of vessels terminating in a container, within the category of pedestalled offering tables, usually dated to LM I (cf. Warren 1969, 65 Type 26, 3, Libation Table; Platon, Pararas 1991). A possible exception, judging from the context, is that found in the LM III sanctuary of the Minoan building at Kannia (Platon, Pararas 1991, 11, nos. 5-6, 50).⁵⁴ The two vases from Kannia and Ligortyno are of the same type: both have an indented profile reminiscent of the stepped form of the stone bases for double axes,⁵⁵ and both are characterized by the presence of carved motifs. On the Kannia vase are double horns on one side and, according to Levi, "Minoan letters" on another. On the Ligortyno vase, by contrast, the motifs incised on three of the four sides (branch associated with a 5-point star, zig-zag and double axes/butterflies) correspond to 'mason's marks' of the type known for Minoan palace architecture (Pernier 1935; Sakellarakis 1967; Olivier 1980; Hood 1987; Cucuzza 1992; 2001; Hood 2002; Begg 2004).⁵⁶ Star and branch recur as isolated motifs on the two sides of a pedestalled offering table from the Dictaeon Cave (Boardman 1961, 64-66, no. 272, fig. 29), and this supports the hypothesis that the Ligortyno vase served a ritual purpose. On the latter, however, the signs are treated as a decorative motif more than symbols, being repeated all over the sides. This treatment may imply that the incised motifs, more than genuine 'mason's marks', are imitations of signs executed to enhance the object's symbolic value. This remark may also be important for determining the chronology of the piece's manufacture. Whilst the shape suggests a date still in the Neopalatial period, the context and the peculiar treatment of the decoration on the Ligortyno piece, as on that from Kannia, point to LM III. The resemblance with the Kannia vase, given the vicinity of the two sites, suggests that they should be ascribed to a single production centre and that they had a similar ritual function. The absence of decorations on one side implies that the Ligortyno vase, in its original location, was visible only on three sides, and therefore rested on a shelf, or even if it was raised by an officiant for public ceremonies, that it was held facing the same way.

Very common in LM III are the spherical beads of vitreous material **I.6-7**, present in both domestic (cf. *e.g.* Popham 1984, 238-239) and funerary contexts of this period.⁵⁷

The two seals **II.28** and **II.29**, found inside larnax 1, are of Neopalatial production and ascribable to the *Cretan Popular Group* (Younger 1983, 109-136; Younger 1988, 142; Galanakis 2005, 118 chart). The scene depicted on seal **II.29** includes a griffin attacking a quadruped from above and belongs to a specific iconographical group comprising only Neopalatial specimens (Younger 1988, 108 PT 45). By contrast, the two very poorly made seals **AM 1842** and **1843** date to LM III; they were found at Ligortyno, probably in the same area as the tombs.

The bronze chisel **I.5** is of a type found in a few funerary contexts of LM III [Evans 1906, 50, no. 33 b, fig. 49 (Zapher Papoura, Tomb 33); Marinatos 1933-1935, 52, fig. 7 (Episkopi Pediadas); Boardman 1961, 51, no. 219, fig. 24 (Dictaeon Cave); Soles *et al.* 2011, 51, IIC.103, fig. 27 (Mochlos, Tomb 15)], and is among the bronze tools denoting male individuals and apparently alluding to specific production activities.

The bronze knife **II.25** corresponds to a type whose use in Crete seems to be limited to the 14th century BC.⁵⁸ The T-shaped handle, in imitation of a sword, suggests that the object, though single-edged, must have been used as a weapon rather than as a tool. Knife **II.26** also belongs to a type common in Crete during the 14th century BC.⁵⁹

54 Warren (1969, 65) assigned the example found at Kannia to LM I. On the sanctuary of Kannia, Levi 1959; Gesell 1985, 7-78; Cucuzza 2009; forthcoming.

55 Cf. for example those found at Aghia Triada, Long 1974, pl. 16, fig. 38.

56 For the list of marks attested at a Knossos, Hood 2002, 108-110.

57 On glass and vitreous material, Panagiotaki 1999; Panagiotaki *et al.* 2004, especially 160-161; on social contexts of beads, Hughes-Brock 1999; on the economic implications of the production of glass objects in the Late Bronze Age Aegean, Bennet 2007, 200-201.

58 Sandars 1955, 179-180, fig. 3, group 3b; Catling 1968, 107; individual specimens come from Gypsades, Tomb I (Hood, Huxley, Sandars 1958-1959, 245, I.5, fig. 32); Aghios Syllas (Karetsoy 1975, 525, fig. 4, pl. 339 a); Apostoli (Gavrilaki 1994, 51, M. 707, fig. 17); Stamni Pediados, Tomb Γ (Platon 1952, 626, fig. 7; Kanta 1980, 53-58); Armenoi, tomb 115 (Tzedakis 1978, 380, pl. 196, 6); Khania (Andreadaki-Vlaziaki 1997, 504, fig. 14, second from top). See also Catling 1968, 94, no. 10, pl. 23 g, fig. 3.

59 Among the numerous examples cf. Evans 1906, 66, fig. 71; Sandars 1955, 175-177, 188-190; Hood, Huxley, Sandars 1958-1959, 245, 1.7, fig. 32; Catling 1968, 94, nos. 9 and 107, pl. 23 f, fig. 3; Popham, Catling, Catling 1974, 229, no. 9, pl. 40 f, fig. 18; Banou, Rethimiotakis 1997, 48, fig. 30.

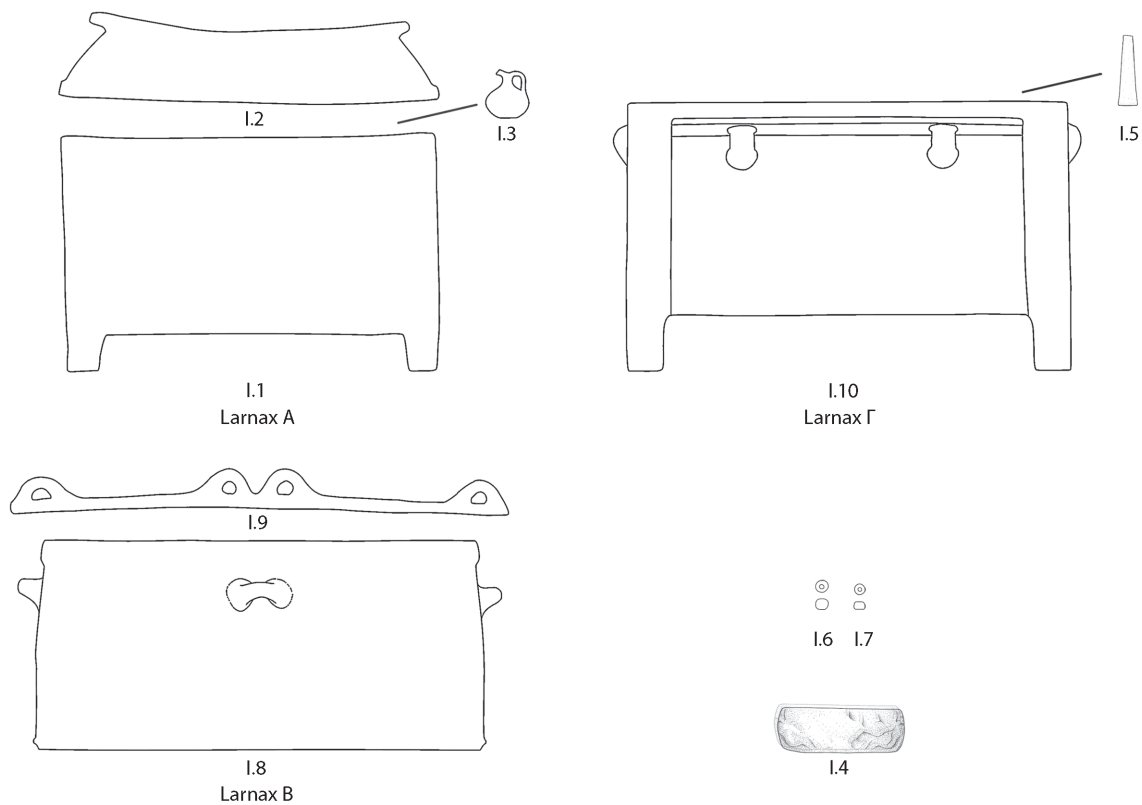


Fig. 16. Overview of the material assemblage in Tomb I at Ligortyno.

To sum up the relative chronology of the materials from Ligortyno: those from Tomb I date to LM IIIA2 (Fig. 16); in Tomb II, by contrast, the materials associated with larnax 1 date to within LM IIIA2, probably to an advanced phase in the period (Fig. 17); the later group associated with larnax 2 was deposited before the end of LM IIIB Early (Fig. 18).

5. LM III FAMILY GROUPS OF LIGORTYNO AND THEIR FUNERARY PRACTICES

Located not far from the river Anapodari, on the hills overlooking the far eastern edge of the Mesara plain to the north, the Ligortyno tombs present many of the typical features of the material culture of central Crete in LM IIIA2 and IIIB Early: above all the use of the chamber tomb and the preference for the chest-shaped sarcophagus with a gabled/hipped or flat lid. In terms of ceramic production, there are affinities particularly with the regions of Knossos-Archanes-Tylissos, Gortys-Kannia and Aghia Triada-Kommos: this macro-region thus represented the cultural reference point for those buried in the chamber tombs at Ligortyno. The only, although significant, exception is the presence of a local version of the trefoil-mouthed jug, **II.9**, associated with larnax 2 in Tomb II, a type of vase common in the grave goods of the area of Mochlos and Myrsini, and which at Ligortyno, as we shall see, may have acted as an identity marker of geographical provenance.

Starting from the assumption that the chamber tombs of LM III Crete were destined for family groups,⁶⁰ a lavishly decorated larnax was reserved for the most prestigious member of the group buried in Tomb I (fig. 16), im-

60 Cf. *e.g.* the practice of male-female burials at Mochlos (Soles 2008, 190), Khania (Hallager, McGeorge 1992, 13 and 16) and Armenoi (Tzedakis, Martlew 1999, 232-243); similar cases may perhaps be detected in the necropolis of Zapher Papoura, *e.g.* Tombs 98 and 99, Evans 1906, 86-89; for a recent discussion of the family group as the basic social unit of Mycenaean Greece, Wright 2008; see also Olsen 2014.

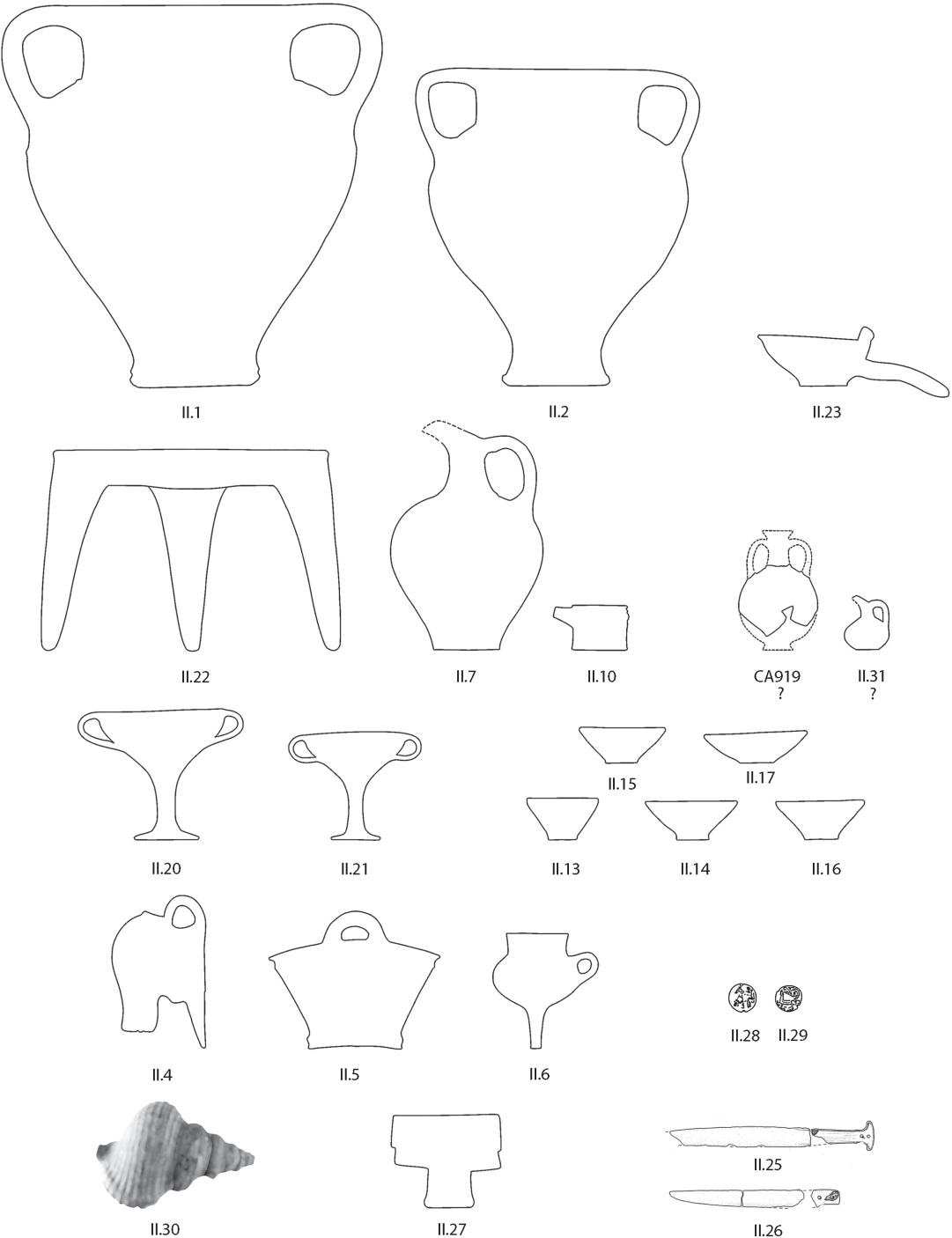


Fig. 17. Overview of the material assemblage associated with larnax 1 in Tomb II at Ligortyno.

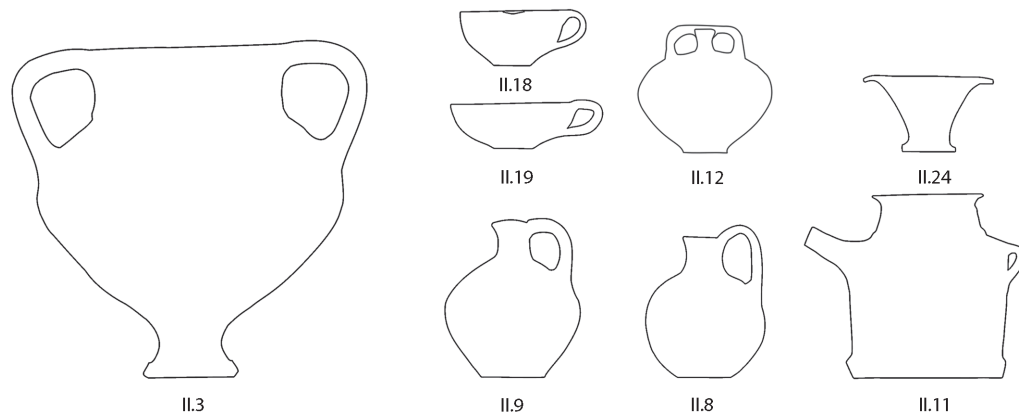


Fig. 18. Overview of the material assemblage associated with larnax 2 in Tomb II at Ligortyno.

itating that of one of the most important figures in all of LM III Crete, the high-ranking woman buried in Tholos A at Archanes. The presence in Tomb I – inside the larnax itself and on the floor of the chamber – of stone vases confirms that it belonged to an elite group. Although outside Knossos the production of stone vases in LM III was extremely limited and highly conservative, it nonetheless appears to have been the prerogative of a restricted sector of the population (Bevan 2007, 163). However, the fact that 5 larnakes were heaped up in the limited space of the small funerary chamber, on two levels, betrays the gradual decline of this family: the younger members, judging also from the few objects left inside the chamber, must have had limited access to resources.

The situation in Tomb II is different; its occupants are of higher social status. Some objects should be considered the personal possessions of the deceased. The two individuals in larnax 1, the first to be placed in the tomb, each ‘wore’ a seal of Neopalatial production (**II.28**, **II.29**). In central Crete, in the most important centres of the LM II-III A1, seals are present only in the wealthiest tombs, whilst between LM III A2 and III B Early the number of seals found in tombs decreases still further (Krzyszkowska 2005, 215). This suggests an association between seals and high-ranking individuals, but the lack of statistical analyses capable of assigning a precise meaning to the presence of these objects in the funerary contexts of LM III date prevents us from fully understanding their relations with single burials. Here we can note that the subjects carved on the seals are of a cultic nature and highly symbolic, and that to this is added the presence of ritual objects among the materials deposited with the same larnax. It is then legitimate to ask whether these seals should be considered not only as objects with a purely decorative purpose, like the majority of those produced in Crete in the 14th and 13th centuries BC (Younger 1990; Bennet 1992; Rehak, Younger 2001, 448; Krzyszkowska 2005, 214-217), but also as objects symbolically alluding to the rank of the person who displayed them, as suggested for the large lentoids in dark-brown agate carved with bulls that appear sporadically in the *burials with bronzes* (Rehak, Younger 2001, 448)? The two bronzes found on the floor near larnax 1 (**II.25**, **II.26**) also appear to be personal possessions of the two deceased; judging from Evans’ sketch, they were located outside of the larnax in correspondence with the skulls of the two individuals, symbolizing a close connection. Similar instances are provided by the bronze objects found near larnax 3 in Tomb 2 at Gournes (Chatzidakis 1918, 9), and to the north of larnax A in the tomb at Goudies (Laviosa 1970, 106-109, fig. 10).

As for the gender of the deceased, bronze weapons, clay kylikes and clay rhyta generally denote male individuals, while bronze tools are mainly associated with males and rarely with females. The same is true of clay kraters, which are mainly but perhaps not exclusively present in the burials of male adults (D’Agata, De Angelis in preparation). Consequently, on the basis of the objects associated with larnax 1, one of the two individuals within it can be identified as an adult male buried with a stone seal and a T-handled knife. The sex of the second skeleton

is probably also male. Seals are not gendered objects in the LM III Cretan tombs, while simple bronze knives seem to be mainly associated with male burials.

The materials belonging to larnax 1 in Tomb II at Ligortyno fall into two distinct groups (Fig. 17). The larger consists of a pottery drinking service comprising 2 kraters, or large vessels for mixing different liquids, at least 8 vessels for individual consumption (2 kylikes, 5 handleless cups, a cup?)⁶¹ and 2 or 3 pouring vessels (1 beak-spouted jug, 1 miniature cylindrical vase and, perhaps, 1 miniature jug). Similar drinking services are attested in a few LM IIIA2 Late and IIIB funerary contexts: those from Tomb 15 at Mochlos (Soles 2008, 158-159), Tombs A and B at Myrsini (Smith 2002; Kanta 1980, 163), and the tomb at Khania, Aghios Ioannis (Karantzali 1986; D'Agata, De Angelis forthcoming) stand out for the quantity of materials. Specifically, tomb 15 at Mochlos Limenaria, certainly the most important in the LM III cemetery, contained an individual burial of an adult male aged between 44 and 56, and, as at Ligortyno, yielded a rich drinking service, bronze objects and a set of ritual objects (Soles, Davaras 1996; Soles 1999; Brogan, Smith, Soles 2002, 113-116; Soles 2008, 157-160). As we shall see, the affinities with the burial in larnax 1 of Tomb II at Ligortyno are significant.

The second group of objects belonging to the same larnax can be classified as a ritual assemblage, including three rhyta of excellent workmanship, a rare type of pedestalled stone vase, and a triton shell. Each of the three rhyta belongs to a rare type and, at least in the case of the bull's head rhyton and basket-vase rhyton, the specific connection with the artisanal tradition developed at Knossos in the monopolatial phase is evident: in other words, the person who made these pieces must have had direct knowledge of the Knossian materials. These are prestigious objects that may have been made on commission and, though not unique, were certainly not mass-produced. The desire to imitate a Knossian ceremonial vase and a specific ceremony with its own tradition in central Crete is also suggested by the 'libation jug' II.7, which as we have said may date to LM IIIA1 (D'Agata, De Angelis forthcoming).

Many of the vases associated with larnax 1 were found together, and perhaps heaped up at the back of the burial chamber; a similar situation is documented elsewhere in Cretan tombs and implies that at least for some of these we are not dealing with vases *containing offerings* for the deceased but rather with objects *used for a ceremony* that took place in or near the burial chamber, later placed along the wall of the chamber in a more or less orderly way. An example is Tomb 15 at Mochlos: of the thirty vessels found to the south of the sarcophagus, a jug was found inside the krater, several of the conical cups were stacked and one conical cup was placed inside a pulled-rim bowl (Soles 2008, 159). As concerns the placement of the objects in the tomb, an arrangement of larnakes and kraters similar to that in Tomb II at Ligortyno can be found in Tomb 1 at Gra Lyghia (Apostolakou 1998, 26-29). In this tomb, partially disturbed before systematic excavations, two larnakes were found still in situ in the same position as the larnakes in Tomb II at Ligortyno. Three kraters, a clay stand and most of the grave goods had been moved from their original position. Given the position in which the kraters were found, pushed towards the walls of the larnakes and the back of the tomb, as if to make room in the narrow corridor between the larnakes, it is likely that, just as at Ligortyno, they were originally lined up one behind the other among the larnakes along the main axis of the tomb. We can conclude that kraters were habitually lined up along the main axis of the chamber before the tomb was closed.

Very few tombs in LM IIIA2-IIIB Crete contain even two, much less three, rhyta, and bronze objects are also extremely rare. Besides Tomb II at Ligortyno, they reappear again in Tomb 15 at Mochlos (Soles 2008, 159-160) and in tombs A and B at Myrsini (Kanta 1980, 163-173; Smith 2002, 507-520; Koehl 2006, 320 and 342; see also Smith 2011, 272). At Ligortyno, the rare pedestalled stone vase II.27 and the triton shell highlight the ritual nature of the context. As already noted, a similar stone vessel was found in the LM III sanctuary in the Minoan villa of Kannia, where the numerous paraphernalia also included a triton shell (Levi 1959, 348). This coincidence suggests that similar ritual actions were performed in the sanctuary and during the funeral ceremony in honour of the de-

61 A broken cup, which apparently never entered the Louvre, is mentioned by Evans in his diary (Brown 2001, sketch at p. 456, no number), see *supra*.

ceased in larnax 1.⁶² On the basis of the archaeological evidence, it has been suggested that one of the two piriform rhyta and one of the jugs found near the entrance of Tomb 15 at Mochlos were used for a ceremony performed immediately before its closure (Soles 2008, 159; see also D'Agata, De Angelis forthcoming). Given the hole often made at the tip, the triton shell has been connected with the practice of libation (Baurain, Darcque 1983, 53-54; Konsolaki, Iannopoulou 2001, esp. 214; see also Younger 1998, 35-37; Apostolakou *et al.* 2014) or with a use as a wind instrument (Åström, Reese 1990; see also Montagu 1981). The triton shell from Ligortyno bears no traces of modification, but it may well have been used for a ritual practice involving the manipulation of liquids.

There is no doubt that the individuals buried in larnax 1 of Tomb II at Ligortyno and at Mochlos were of high social rank. For tomb 15 at Mochlos, Jeffrey Soles (1999; 2008) has advanced the hypothesis that the individual buried was a *telestas*, a provincial governor of the area whose functions also included tasks of a ritual nature. Following the hypothesis previously advanced by Blegen and Immerwhar, Robert Koehl has identified the individuals buried with rhyta in Cretan and mainland tombs of the Late Bronze Age as priests (Koehl 2006, 337-342).⁶³

The shared features of Tomb II at Ligortyno and Tomb 15 at Mochlos are so numerous that they leave no doubt as to the ideological and social affinities between the individuals buried here, starting from the fact that, although the Mochlos tomb is individual, the type of tomb and inhumation in a clay larnax are identical. Also identical are the simultaneous presence of a drinking service, ritual objects and bronze objects which, as we have seen, were not common in LM III funerary contexts. The two tombs share the desire to imitate the most recent Knossian palace tradition, that of the monopalatial period, from a ritual point of view (LM IIIA1-III A2 Early): through the bull's head rhyton and the basket rhyton at Ligortyno, through the conical rhyton and a Knossian jug at Mochlos. A difference can be found in the specific links between some of the materials from Ligortyno and the Neopalatial tradition, here represented by the pedestalled stone vase and the seals. For these important members of the local elite of Ligortyno and Mochlos, in the 14th century BC, the Knossian tradition seems to have inspired cultural models and a specific cult practice as much as a social ideology of Mycenaean origin.

After the end of the era of the *warrior burials* and the *burials with bronzes*, the disappearance from Knossos of the *rawaketa* and the *qa-si-re-we* (Weingarten 1997), the demise of the custom of the extraordinary display of wealth that between the LM II and LM IIIA2 Early had been a principal characteristic of the dominant groups at Knossos, the social representation of Crete's ruling groups in the funerary sphere is relatively unostentatious.⁶⁴ One of the very few exceptions is the tomb of the Aghia Triada sarcophagus with the whole ideological apparatus that characterizes it (Long 1974; La Rosa 1999; Burke 2005). The spread of chamber tombs with their stress on the family group brought with it the tendency to obliterate the individuality of single people, but the disparity of treatment of individual burials and the differences still visible in the exhibition of prestige goods nonetheless allows us to perceive social differences based on wealth and the display of elite objects within the Cretan burial population. At least one of the two individuals buried in larnax 1 of Tomb II at Ligortyno, like the occupant of Mochlos Tomb 15, should therefore be identified as one of the most important members of those local hierarchies which, after the collapse of Knossian hegemony, managed to emerge by developing strategies of social control based on the management of the religious sphere, on the relationship with the Neopalatial past, and on the monopalatial Knossian tradition, whilst simultaneously evidencing the adoption of a new social ideology that we may justifiably describe as Mycenaean. As we have said, few LM III tombs present a large clay drinking service. This presupposes the adoption of a drinking ritual, generally based on the kylix and the krater, whose formation should be considered a result of that social ideology which took shape on the Greek continent with the rise of the palaces (Wright 2004). The procession in which the deceased was transported to the tomb with all the relevant paraphernalia was certainly

62 On triton shells in cultic contexts, Gesell 1985, 52; Lebesse, Reese 1986, 184, 186; Åström, Reese 1990; Shaw 2004, 143. For triton shells found in LM III tombs, D'Agata, De Angelis in preparation.

63 On the function of rhyta in funerary contexts see D'Agata, De Angelis forthcoming.

64 For a useful survey of LM IIIA2 and IIIB tombs of high-ranking individuals, identified by the presence of bronze objects, prestigious materials and their imposing architecture, Preston 2004a.

public, but the drinking ritual documented in these tombs must have been restricted to a specific group of people as indicated by the variable but small number of individual drinking vessels. A contextual representation of the funeral and the drinking ritual can be seen on one of the two long sides of the famous larnax from Episkopi Ierapetras, where a chariot probably used to carry the deceased to the cemetery and a group of people holding kylikes in their hands are depicted (Watrous 1991, pl. 93 a). This complex funerary ritual, standardized in the late 14th century BC and involving the use of one or more rhyta, thus belongs to that Mycenaean elite practice so indicative both of Mycenaean social identity and of the importance ascribed in these circles to the capacity to sponsor feasts (see Wright 2004, 168, fig. 18). Similar funerary behaviour is also found on Cyprus where “the most unusual ceremonial rhyta and pictorial kraters were restricted to the wealthier burials because of their aristocratic associations to ritual libation” (Steel 2004, 10).

A few years after the introduction of larnax 1 into Tomb II, in a phase that from the ceramic point of view coincides with LM IIIB Early, the tomb was reopened for the funerary ceremony in honour of the deceased buried in larnax 2 (Fig. 18). Given its chronology, I have ascribed the krater with agrimia **II.3** to this burial. The quality of the painting, the unique nature of the scene depicted, the clear allusion to the theme of fertility and the continuity guaranteed by the family suggest that the vase was made on commission, though not necessarily for the funeral ceremony for the deceased buried in larnax 2. Although the krater is a form mainly associated with male burials, the figurative scene appears to refer more to the family group as a whole than to a specific individual. It clearly highlights the social role of the family as the major vehicle of continuity across the generations and probably also the importance of the family group that controlled Tomb II at Ligortyno. The idea of reproduction and the fertility of the landscape are recurrent themes in post-palatial Cretan iconography, but in light of the island's fragmented political geography and the profound crisis that was shortly to hit the Aegean, the scene painted on the Ligortyno krater may also have been an attempt to diffuse an image of social stability that may have been an ideal difficult to achieve in 13th century BC Crete. The other materials associated with larnax 2 of Tomb II do not have a clear male connotation (Fig. 18). Specifically, the trefoil-mouthed jug **II.9**, a pottery type rare in central and western Crete but common in east-central Crete, is more frequent in funerary than in domestic contexts. In the necropolis at Mochlos, together with the pulled-rim bowl, it belongs to the basic drinking set found more frequently in female than male burials. It is worth noting that the jug found in the Ligortyno tomb seems to symbolically associate two typological elements (trefoil mouth and knobs below the rim) characterizing in the first case the jug, and in the other the pulled-rim bowl, also found in the tombs of the Mochlos necropolis. The spouted jar **II.11** is also a type prevalently, but not exclusively associated with female burials (D'Agata, De Angelis in preparation). The deceased buried in larnax 2 can perhaps be identified as a woman. And if we assign to the trefoil-mouthed jug a function as geographical and cultural marker, we could also suggest that this was a woman from the Gulf of Mirabello. These family groups and the individuals that made them up, highlight the marked cultural fragmentation, strong regionalism and complex network of relationships characterizing the island of Crete in the 14th and 13th centuries BC (D'Agata, Moody 2005). As it has already been said, the two cups **II.18** and **19** could be connected with larnax 2.

After the burial in larnax 2, Ligortyno Tomb II was no longer reopened and it is likely that despite the display of the extraordinary krater with agrimia and the universalizing celebration of family values as essential for the reproduction of the local community, the family group which used it rapidly lost its importance, or, given the growing evidence for the abandonment of important settlements in the later LM IIIB period, moved away (Langohr forthcoming). Tomb II at Ligortyno thus exemplifies how, at the end of the Late Bronze Age, the funerary domain was in Crete a privileged arena for social competition: in this specific case, to showcase the leadership role of a family group from the eastern Mesara perhaps called into question in the 13th century BC within conflictual local dynamics in which material culture seems to play a vital role in the construction and transformation of the social fabric.

Acknowledgements

The study of the Ligortyno tombs forms part of a much broader project that, through research on the funerary evidence from Crete in the LM III period, aims to reconstruct the social attitudes towards the dead of the Cretan communities of the advanced Late Bronze Age. Here for the first time, the study of the formal aspects of Cretan necropoleis is associated with attribution studies and statistical analyses that consider all the aspects of material culture present in the island's tombs, cf. D'Agata, De Angelis forthcoming; D'Agata, De Angelis in preparation. I am grateful to Alan Pasquier, director in 2002 of the Greek and Roman Department of the Louvre, Martine Denoyelle and Sophie Descamps, of the same Department, for granting me the permission to study and publish the material from Ligortyno and for their support in the study of the materials in the Louvre; and to Susan Walker and Yannis Galanakis for granting me access to the letters sent to Evans on the Ligortyno tombs by John Myres and Stephanos Xanthoudidis (Evans' Archive, Ashmolean Museum). I am also indebted to Jerry Rutter for his insightful comments on a final draft of this paper. The drawings of the materials are by Giuliano Merlatti. Unless otherwise specified, sizes are given in centimetres.

Abbreviations

CMS IX Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel, Band IX, Cabinet des Medailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, bearbeitet von Henri und Micheline van Effenterre, Berlin 1972.
Im Labyrinth des Minos Im Labyrinth des Minos. Kreta – die erste europäische Hochkultur, Ausstellung des Badischen Landesmuseums, 27.1. bis 29.4 2001, Karlsruhe 2000.

References

- Alexiou S. 1954, Υστερομινωικός τάφος Παχυάμμου, *CretChron* 8, 398-412.
 Alexiou S. 1967, Υστερομινωικοί τάφοι λιμένος Κνωσού (Κατσαμπά) (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 56), Athens.
 Alexiou S. 1970, Ανασκαφαί και περυσυλλογή αρχαιοτήτων, *ArchDelt* 25, 454-455.
 Andreadaki-Vlasaki M. 1997, La nécropole du Minoen Récent III de la ville de La Canée, in Driessen, Farnoux 1997, 487-509.
 Apostolakou S. 1998, Υστερομινωικοί ΙΙΙ Τάφοι στη Γρά Λυγία Ιεράπετρας, *ArchDelt* 53, 25-88.
 Apostolakou S., Betancourt P., Brogan T., Mylonas D., Sofianou C. 2014, Tritons revisited, in Touchais, Laffineur, Rougemont 2014, 325-331.
 Åström P., Reese D.S. 1990, Triton Shells in East Mediterranean Cults, *JPR* 3-4, 5-14.
 Bakirtzian T. 2006, Οι περιπέτειες μίας αρχαιολογικής συλλογής: από τη Λιγόρτυνο Μονοφατισίου Κρήτης στο Παρίσι, *Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A4, Heraklion, 401-416.
 Banou E.S. 2004, Νέα στοιχεία για τις σχέσεις της Βιάννου με την Κνωσό κατά την Υστερομινωική ΙΙΑ εποχή, in Cado-gan G., Hatzaki E., Vasilakis A. (eds), *Knossos: Palace, City and State* (BSA Studies 12), London, 187-206.
 Banou E., Rethimiotakis G. 1997, Center and Periphery: New Evidence for the Relations between Knossos and the Area of Viannou in the LM II-III Periods, in Driessen, Farnoux 1997, 22-57.
 Bardies I., Bakirtzian T. 1990-91, *Ligortynos* (Monographie de Muséologie, 4e année de l'École du Louvre), Paris.
 Barnard K.A., Brogan T.M. 2003, *Mochlos IB. Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisan's Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Neopalatial Pottery* (INSTAP Prehistory Monographs 8), Philadelphia.
 Barrett J. 1990, The Monumentality of Death: The Character of Early Bronze Age Mortuary Mounds in southern Britain, *World Archaeology* 22, 179-189.
 Baurain C., Darcque P. 1978, Un triton en pierre à Malia, *BCH* 107, 3-73.
 Baxevani-Kouzionis K., Markoulaki S. 1996, Une tombe à chambre MR III à Pankalochori (nome de Réthymnon), *BCH* 120, 641-703.
 Begg D.J.I. 2004, An Archaeology of Palatial Mason's Marks on Crete, in Chapin 2004, 1-25.
 Bennet J. 1992, review of Palaima 1990, in *AJA* 96, 176-179.
 Bennet J. 1996, Marks on Bronze Age Pottery from Kommos, in Shaw J.W., Shaw M.C., *Kommos I. The Kommos Region and Houses of Minoan Town. Part 2. The Minoan Hilltop and Hillside Houses*, Princeton, 313-323.

- Bennet J. 2007, *The Aegean Bronze Age*, in Morris I., Saller R., Scheidel W. (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge, 175-210.
- Betancourt P.P. 1985, *The History of Minoan pottery*, Princeton.
- Betancourt P.P., Karageorghis V., Laffineur R., Niemeier W.-D. (eds) 1999, *Meletemata. Studies in Aegean archaeology presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters his 65th year* (Aegaeum 20), I-III, Liège-Austin.
- Bevan A. 2007, *Stone Vessels and Values in the Bronze Age Mediterranean*, Cambridge.
- Bloedow E.F. 2003, The Significance of the Goat in Minoan Culture, *PZ* 78/1, 1-59.
- Boardman J. 1961, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford*, Oxford.
- Borda M. 1946, *Arte cretese micenea nel Museo Pigorini di Roma*, Roma.
- Boucher A., Darcque P., Prokopiou H. (eds), *La Grèce des origines, entre rêve et archéologie, Catalogue de l'exposition au Musée d'Archéologie nationale, château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 4 Octobre - 19 Janvier 2014*, Paris 2014.
- Boyd M.J. 2002, *Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese* (BAR-IS 1009), Oxford.
- Boyd Hawes H., Williams B.E., Seager R.B., Hall E.H. 1908, *Gournia, Vasiliki and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete. Excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp Expeditions 1901, 1903, 1904*, Philadelphia.
- Brogan T.M., Smith R.A.K., Soles J.S. 2002, Mycenaeans at Mochlos? Exploring Culture and Identity in the Late Minoan IB to IIIA1 Transition, *Aegean Archaeology* 6, 89-118.
- Brown A. (ed.) 2001, *Arthur Evans's Travels in Crete 1894-1899* (BAR-IS 1000), Oxford.
- Burke B. 2005, Materialization of Mycenaean ideology and the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, *AJA* 109, 403-422.
- Bushnell L. 2008, The Wild Goat-and-Tree Icon and its Special Significance for Ancient Cyprus, in G. Papantoniou (ed.), *POCA 2005. Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of Young Researchers on Cypriot Archaeology, Department of Classics, Trinity College, Dublin, 21-22 October 2005* (BAR-IS 1803), Oxford, 65-76.
- Cameron M.A.S. 1968, Unpublished Paintings from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos, *BSA* 63, 1-31.
- Catling H. W. 1968, Late Minoan Vases and Bronzes in Oxford, *BSA* 63, 89-131.
- Chapin A.P. (ed.) 2004, *Charis: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr* (Hesperia Suppl. 33), Princeton.
- Chapin A.P., Shaw M.C. 2006, The Frescoes from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos: A Reconsideration of their Architectural Context and a New Reconstruction of the Crocus Panel, *BSA* 101, 7-88.
- Chatzidakis I. 1918, Μινωικοί τάφοι εν Κρήτη, *ArchDelt* 4, 45-87.
- Chatzidakis I. 1921, *Étude de préhistoire crétoise. Tyllissos à l'époque Minoenne*, Paris.
- Chatzidakis I. 1931, *Ιστορία του Κρητικού Μουσείου και των Αρχαιολογικών Ερευνών εν Κρήτη* (Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας 26), Athens.
- Coldstream J.N. 1963, Five tombs at Knossos, *BSA* 58, 30-43.
- Crouwel J.H., Morris C.E. 1995, Pictorial Pottery of Late Minoan II-III A2 Early from Knossos, *BSA* 90, 157-182.
- Crowley J.L. 1989, *The Aegean and the East. An Investigation into Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age* (SIMA Pocket-book 51), Jonsered.
- Cucuzza N. 1992, Mason's Marks at Haghia Triada, *Sileno* 17, 1-12.
- Cucuzza N. 2001, Un'altra nota sui mason's marks, *Creta Antica* 2, 105-111.
- Cucuzza N. 2009, Progetto Kannia: rapporto preliminare sullo studio della villa minoica, *ASAAtene* 87, s. III, 9, 2, 927-933.
- Cucuzza forthcoming, Preliminary observations on the LM III pottery from Kannia, in Langohr forthcoming.
- Cuozzo M. 2000, Orizzonti teorici e interpretativi, tra percorsi di matrice francese, archeologia post-processuale e tendenze italiane: considerazioni e indirizzi di ricerca per lo studio delle necropoli, in Terrenato N. (ed.), *Archeologia teorica: X ciclo di lezioni sulla ricerca applicata in archeologia, Certosa di Pontignano (Siena) 9-14 agosto 1999*, Firenze, 323-360.
- D'Agata A.L. 1999a, Dinamiche sociali, modelli culturali e indicatori etnici ad Haghia Triada nel TM III. L'evidenza offerta dalla ceramica, in La Rosa, Vagnetti, Palermo 1999, 189-198.
- D'Agata A.L. 1999b, Hidden Wars: Minoans and Mycenaeans at Ayia Triada in the LM III period. The evidence from pottery, in Laffineur R. (ed.), *Polemos. Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'Âge du Bronze, Actes de la 7e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Université de Liège, 14-17 avril 1998*, (Aegaeum 19), Liège and Austin, 47-56.
- D'Agata A.L. 1999c, *Haghia Triada II. Statuine minoiche e post-minoiche dai vecchi scavi di Haghia Triada* (Monografie Saia XI), Padova.
- D'Agata A.L. 2005, Central Southern Crete and its Relations with the Greek Mainland in the Postpalatial Period, in D'Agata, Moody 2005, 109-137.

- D'Agata A.L. 2011a, Subminoan: A Neglected Phase of the Cretan Pottery Sequence, in Gauß *et al.*, 51-64.
- D'Agata A.L. 2011b, Late Minoan IIIA Pottery at Aghia Triada: Typology and Local Phase Sequence, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Cretological Congress, Chania 1-8 October 2006*, A3, Heraklion, 221-241.
- D'Agata A.L. 2011c, review of A. Kotsonas, *The Archaeology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna. The Early Iron Age Pottery*, with a contribution by Eleni Nodarou, Athens 2008, in *Gnomon* 83/4, 2011, 337-341.
- D'Agata A.L. 2014, La Crète de Mycéniens: l'exemple des tombes de Ligortynos, in Boucher, Darcque, Prokopiou 2014, 87-97.
- D'Agata A.L. forthcoming a, *Ceramica e società in Egeo nella Tarda Età del Bronzo. Materiali ceramici TM II e TM III da Haghia Triada (scavi 1977-1989)*, Pisa.
- D'Agata A.L. forthcoming b, Ayia Triada in LM IIIB: Storage and Banqueting in Postpalatial Crete, in Langohr forthcoming.
- D'Agata A.L., De Angelis S. 2014, Minoan Beehives: Reconstructing the Practice of Beekeeping in Bronze Age Crete, in Touchais, Laffineur, Rougemont 2014, 349-358.
- D'Agata A.L., De Angelis S. forthcoming, Funerals of LM III Crete: Ritual Acts, Special Vessels and Political Affiliation in the 14th and 13th centuries BC, in Alram-Stern E., Blakolmer F., Deger-Jalkotzy S., Laffineur R., Weilhartner J. (eds), *Metaphysis. Ritual, Myth and Symbolism in the Aegean Bronze Age, 15th International Aegean Conference, Vienna, 22-25 April 2014*.
- D'Agata A.L., De Angelis S. in preparation, *A Cretan Way to Die: Funerary Assemblages and Ritual Practices in Late Minoan III Crete*.
- D'Agata A.L., Moody J. (eds) 2005, *Ariadne's Threads: Connections between Crete and the Greek Mainland in Late Minoan III (LM IIIA2 to LM IIIC)* (Tripodes 3), Athens.
- Dettmer H.-G. 1998, "... den Sinn für das Schöne erwecken ...". *Führer durch das Kestner-Museum Hannover*, Hannover.
- Dimopoulou-Rethimiotaki N., Rethimiotakis G. 1978, Υστερομινωικό νεκροταφείο στο Μετόχι Καλού Ηερακλείου, *ArchDelt* 33, 40-109.
- Driessen J. 2001, La bataille de Cnossos. Kalokairinos, Schliemann et Evans, in M. Lodewijckx (ed.), *Belgium Archaeology in a European Setting I* (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae 12), Leuven, 113-117.
- Driessen J., Farnoux A. (eds) 1997, *La Crète Mycénienne. Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale organisée par l'Ecole française d'Athènes (26-28 Mars 1991)* (BCH Suppl. 30), Paris.
- Evans A.J. 1901, The Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations, with illustrations from recent Cretan finds, *JHS* 21, 99-204.
- Evans A.J. 1906, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, London.
- Evans A.J. 1914, The Tomb of the Double Axes and Associated Groups, and the Pillar Rooms and Ritual Vessels of the Little Palace at Knossos, *Archaeologia* 65, 1-94.
- Evans A.J. 1921-1935, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I-IV, London.
- Evely D. (ed.) 1999, *Fresco: A Passport into the Past. Minoan Crete through the Eyes of Mark Cameron*, Athens.
- Farnoux A. 1993, *Cnossos: l'archéologie d'un rêve*, Paris.
- Furumark A. 1941, *Mycenaean Pottery I. Analysis and classification*, II. *Chronology* (Skrifter Utgivna Av Svenska Institutet I Athen, 4°, XX:1-2), Stockholm, repr. in 1972.
- Galanakis K. 2005, *Minoan Glyptic: Typology, Deposits and Iconography from the Early Minoan Period to the Late Minoan IB Destruction in Crete* (BAR-IS 1442), Oxford.
- Gauß W., Lindblom M., Smith R.A.K., Wright J.C. (eds) 2011, *Our Cups are Full: Pottery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age, Papers Presented to Jeremy B. Rutter on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (BAR-IS 2227), Oxford.
- Gavrilaki I. 1994, Une tombe du MR I IIB dans la région de Rethymnon, in Rocchetti L. (ed.), *Sybrita. La valle di Amari tra Bronzo e Ferro* (Incunabula Graeca 96), Rome, 31-65.
- Gesell G.C. 1985, *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete* (SIMA 67), Göteborg.
- Hallager B.P. 1997, Terminology - The Late Minoan Goblet, Kylix and Footed Cup, in Hallager, Hallager 1997, 15-47.
- Hallager B.P. 2003, The Late Minoan IIIB:2 Pottery, in Hallager E., Hallager B.P., *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Ekaterini Square, Kastelli, Khania 1970-1987 and 2001*, III:1, *The Late Minoan IIIB:2 Settlement* (Skrifter Utgivna Av Svenska Institutet I Athen, 4°, XLVII:III:1-2), Stockholm, 197-265.
- Hallager B.P. 2011, The Late Minoan IIIB:1 and IIIA:2 Pottery, in Hallager E., Hallager B.P., *The Greek-Swedish Excavations at the Agia Aikaterini Square: Kastelli, Khania 1970-1987 and 2001*, IV:1, *The Late Minoan IIIB:1 and IIIA:2 Settlements* (Skrifter Utgivna Av Svenska Institutet I Athen 4°, XLVII:IV:1-2), Stockholm, 273-380.
- Hallager E., Hallager B.P. 1997, *Late Minoan III Pottery. Chronology and Terminology, Acts of a Meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens, August 12-14, 1994* (Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 1), Århus.

- Hallager B.P., McGeorge T. 1992, *Late Minoan III Burials at Khania. The Tombs, Finds and Deceased in Odos Palama* (SIMA 93), Göteborg.
- Hatzaki E. 2005, *Knossos. The Little Palace* (BSA Suppl. 38), London.
- Hatzaki E. 2007, Final Palatial (LM II-LM IIIA2) and Postpalatial (LM IIIB-LM IIIC Early): MUM South Sector, Long Corridor Cists, MUM Pits (8, 10-11), Makritikhos 'Kitchen', MUM North Platform Pits, and SEX Southern Half Groups, in Momigliano N. (ed.), *Knossos Pottery Handbook. Neolithic and Bronze Age* (BSA Studies 14), London, 197-251.
- Hood S. 1987, Mason's Marks in the Palaces, in Hägg R., Marinatos N. (eds), *The Function of the Minoan Palaces. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10-16 June, 1984* (Swedish Institute in Athens, Series in 4°, 35), Stockholm, 205-212.
- Hood S. 2002, Minoan 'Masons' Marks', *Cretan Studies* 7, 97-110.
- Hood S., De Jong P. 1958-1959, A Late Minoan III 'Kitchen' at Makritikhos (Knossos), *BSA* 53-54, 182-193.
- Hood S., Huxley G., Sanders N. 1958-1959, A Minoan Cemetery on Upper Gypsades, *BSA* 53-54, 194-262.
- Hughes-Brock H. 1999, Mycenaean Beads: Gender and Social Context, *OJA* 18, 277-296.
- Kalogeropoulos K. 2011, The Social and Religious Significance of Palatial Jars as Grave Offerings, in Cavanagh H., Cavanagh W., Roy J. (eds), *Honouring the Dead in the Peloponnese* (CSPS Online Publication 2), Nottingham, 207-235.
- Kanta A. 1980, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete. A Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution* (SIMA 58), Göteborg.
- Karamaliki N. 2006, Υστερομινωικός θαλαμωτός τάφος στον Κορινιά Μελιδονίου, in Gavrilaki I., Tsifopoulos Y.Z. (eds), *Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την Αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα, II, Αρχαίοι Χρόνοι*, Rethimno, 153-181.
- Karantzali E. 1986, Une Tombe du Minoen Récent IIIB à la Canée, *BCH* 110, 53-87.
- Karetsou A. 1975, Περισυλλογή αρχαίων στην Κεντρική Κρήτη, *PraktEt*, 522-526.
- Kilian-Dirlmeier I. 1985, Noch einmal zu den "Kriegergräbern" von Knossos, *JRGZM* 32, 196-214.
- Koehl R.B. 2006, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta* (INSTAP Prehistory Monographs 19), Philadelphia.
- Konsolaki-Iannopoulou E. 2001, New evidence for the practice of libations in the Aegean Bronze Age, in Laffineur R., Hägg R. (eds), *Potnia. Deities and Religion in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 8th International Aegean Conference, Göteborg University, 12-15 April 2000* (Aegaeum 22), Liège and Austin, 213-220.
- Krzyszowska O. 2005, *Aegean Seals. An introduction* (BICS Suppl. 85), London.
- Langohr Ch. 2009, *PERIPHERELA: Étude régionale de la Crète aux Minoen Récent II-IIIB (1450-1200 av. J.-C.)*, 1: *La Crète centrale et occidentale*, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Langohr Ch. (ed.) forthcoming, *How Long is a Century? Late Minoan IIIB Pottery. Relative Chronology and Regional Differences, International Workshop Organized by the Aegean Interdisciplinary Studies Research Group (UCL-INCAL-CEMA), Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, 24-25th October 2013*, Louvain-la-Neuve.
- La Rosa V. 1999, Nuovi dati sulla tomba del sarcofago dipinto di Haghia Triada, in La Rosa, Vagnetti, Palermo 1999, 177-188.
- La Rosa V., Vagnetti L., Palermo D. (eds) 1999, *Epi ponton plazomenoi. Simposio Italiano di Studi Egei*, Roma.
- Laviosa C. 1970, La tomba Tardo-Minoica di Goudies presso Mires, *CretChron* 22, 99-118.
- Lebessi A., Reese D.S. 1986, Recent and fossil shells from the Sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite, Syme Viannou, Crete, *ArchEph*, 183-188.
- Levi D. 1959, La villa rurale minoica di Gortyna, *BdA* 44, 237-265.
- Levi D., Carinci F. 1988, *Festòs e la civiltà minoica*, II, 2, *L'arte festia nell'età protopalaziale. Ceramica ed altri materiali* (Incunabula Graeca 77), Roma.
- Long Ch.R. 1974, *The Ayia Triadha Sarcophagus* (SIMA 41), Göteborg.
- Löwe W. 1996, Spätbronzezeitliche Bestattungen auf Kreta (BAR-IS 642), Oxford.
- Marinatos N. 1984, The Date-Palm in Minoan Iconography and Religion, *OpAth* 15, 115-122.
- Marinatos S. 1927-1928, Υστερομινωικός λαξευτός τάφος εν Καρτερώ Κρήτης, *ArchDelt* 11, 67-90.
- Marinatos S. 1933-1935, Ένατη και δέκατη αρχαιολογική περιφέρεια (Κρήτη), *ArchDelt* 15, 49-83.
- Mavriyannaki K. 1972, *Recherches sur les larnakes minoennes de la Crète occidentale* (Incunabula Graeca 54), Roma.
- Mavriyannaki K. 1974, Εύρηματα της YM III περιόδου εκ Λιγορτύνου Μονοφατισίου εις τό Μουσείον τοῦ Λούβρου, *ArchEph*, 45-56.
- Montagu J. 1981, The conch in prehistory: pottery, stone and natural, *World Archaeology* 12, 273-279.
- Morgan L. 1987, A Minoan Larnax from Knossos, *BSA* 82, 171-200.
- Morgan L. 1988, *The Miniature Wall-Paintings of Thera. A Study in Aegean Culture and Iconography*, Cambridge.
- Mountjoy P.A. 1999, *Regional Mycenaean Decorated Pottery*, Rahden, Westfalia.

- Mountjoy P.A. 2003, *Knossos, The South House* (BSA Suppl. 34), London.
- Myres J. 1895, Letter to Evans, 22 April 1895, Evans Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK
- Nilsson M.P. 1950, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* (Skrifter Utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, IX), 2nd rev. ed., Lund.
- Olivier J.-P. 1980, Catalogue des marques de carriers, in O. Pelon, *Le Palais de Mallia*, V, 2 (ÉtCrét 25), Paris, 175-238.
- Olsen B.A. 2014, *Women in Mycenaean Greece: The Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossos*, London and New York.
- Orsi P. 1890, Urne funebri cretesi, *MonAnt* I, 202-230.
- Palaima T.G. (ed.) 1990, *Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration, Proceedings of the NEH-Dickinson Conference of the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory of the Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin, January 11-13, 1989* (Aegaeum 5), Liège.
- Palmer R. 2014, Managing the Wild: Deer and Agrimia in the Late Bronze Age Aegean, in Touchais, Laffineur, Rougemont 2014, 391-399.
- Panagiotaki M. 1999, Minoan Faience- and Glass-making: Techniques and Origins, in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 617-622.
- Panagiotaki M., Maniatis Y., Kavoussanaki D., Hatton G., Tite M. 2004, The production technology of Aegean Bronze Age vitreous materials, in Bourriau J., Phillips J. (eds), *Invention and Innovation. The Social Context of Technological Change 2: Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East, 1650-1150 BC. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, 4-6 September 2002*, Cambridge, 149-175.
- Papadopoulou E. 1997, Une tombe à tholos 'intra muros'. Le cas du cimetière MR d'Arménioi, in Driessen, Farnoux 1997, 319-340.
- Parker Pearson M. 1982, Mortuary practices, society and ideology: an ethnoarchaeological Study, in I. Hodder (ed.), *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, Cambridge 1982, 99-113.
- Paterakis A. 1996, Conservation of a Late Minoan Basket from Crete, *Studies in Conservation* 41, 179-182.
- Pendlebury J.D.S., Money-Coutts M.B., Eccles E. 1932-1933, Journeys in Crete, 1934, *BSA* 33, 80-100.
- Pernier L. 1935, *Il Palazzo Minoico di Festòs*, I, Roma.
- Platon L. 1997, Caractère, morphologie et datation de la bourgade postpalatiale de Képhali Chondrou Viannou, in Driessen, Farnoux 1997, 357-373.
- Platon L., Pararas Y. 1991, *Pedestalled Offering Tables in the Aegean World* (SIMA Pocket-book 106), Göteborg.
- Popham M. 1964, *The Last Days of the Palace at Knossos* (SIMA 5), Göteborg.
- Popham M. 1967, Late Minoan Pottery: A Summary, *BSA* 62, 337-351.
- Popham M. 1970, *The Destruction of the Palace at Knossos* (SIMA 12), Göteborg.
- Popham M. 1984, *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos* (BSA Suppl. 17), Oxford.
- Popham M. 1986, A Late Minoan IIIC Pyxis in the Andreades Collection, *OJA* 5, 157-164.
- Popham M., Catling E., Catling H.W. 1974, Sellopoulo Tombs 3 and 4, Two Late Minoan Graves near Knossos, *BSA* 69, 195-258.
- Porter R. 1996, The Cretan Wild Goat (*Capra aegagrus cretica*) and the Thera 'Antelopes', in Reese D.S. (ed.), *Pleistocene and Holocene Fauna of Crete and its First Settlers* (Monographs in World Archaeology 28), Philadelphia, 295-315.
- Pottier E. 1907, Documents céramiques du Musée du Louvre, *BCH* 31, 115-138.
- Preston L. 1999, Mortuary Practices and the Negotiations of Social Identities at LM II Knossos, *BSA* 94, 131-143.
- Preston L. 2004a, A Mortuary Perspective on Political Changes in Late Minoan II-IIIb Crete, *AJA* 108, 321-348.
- Preston L. 2004b, Contextualising the Larnax: Tradition, Innovation and Regionalism in Coffin Use on Late Minoan II-IIIb Crete, *OJA* 23, 177-197.
- Preston L. 2007, The Isopata Cemetery at Knossos, *BSA* 102, 257-314.
- Puglisi D. 2010, Dal 'vassoio tripodato' al kernos. Un set di ceramiche TM IA da Haghia Triada e il suo contributo alla conoscenza del rituale minoico, *Creta Antica* 11, 45-129.
- Rehak P., Younger J. G. 2001, Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete, in T. Cullen (ed.), *Aegean Prehistory: A Review* (AJA Suppl. 1), Boston, 383-473.
- Rethimiotakis G. 1979, Λάρνακες και αγγεία από το Καβροχώρι Ηερακλείου, *ArchDelt* 34, 209-259.
- Rethimiotakis G. 1995, Μινωική λάρνακα από το Κλήμα Μεσαράς, *ArchEph* 134, 164-181.
- Rouet P. 2001, *Approaches to the Study of Attic Vases* (Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology), Oxford.
- Rutkowski B. 1964, Les sarcophages minoens et mycéniens en dehors de la Grèce, *Archeologia* 15, 153-176.

- Rutter J.B. 2006, Minoan Pottery from the Southern Area, in Shaw J.W., Shaw M.C. (eds), *Kommos V. The Monumental Minoan Building at Kommos*, Princeton, 486-630.
- Rutter J.B. 2013, What Happened to the Lights? Changes in the Usage of Ceramic Lamps at Neopalatial and Early Postpalatial Kommos, in G. Graziadio, R. Guglielmino, V. Lenuzza, S. Vitale (eds), Filike Sunaulia. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology for Mario Benzi* (BAR-IS 2460), Oxford, 31-38.
- Sakellarakis I. 1965, Archanes 1965, Report on the excavations, *Kadmos* 4, 177-180.
- Sakellarakis I. 1967, Mason's Marks from Archanes, in W. Brice (ed.), *Europa: Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der frühen Ägäis, Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*, Berlin, 277-288.
- Sakellarakis I. 1970, Das Kuppelgrab A von Archanes und das kretisch-mykenische Tieropferitual, *PZ* 45, 135-218.
- Sakellarakis I., Sakellarakis E. 1983, *Αρχάνες*, Athens.
- Sakellarakis I., Sakellarakis E. 1997, *Archanes. Minoan Crete in a new Light*, Athens.
- Sanders N.K. 1955, The Antiquity of the One-Edged Bronze Knife in the Aegean, *PPS* 21, 174-197.
- Savignoni L. 1904, Scavi e scoperte nella necropoli di Phaestos, *MonAnt* 14, 501-666.
- Shaw M.C. 2004, Religion at Minoan Kommos, in Chapin 2004, 137-150.
- Smith R.A. 2002, *The Tombs of Mochlos and Myrsini: Pottery and Cultural Regionalism in Late Minoan III Crete*, Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College.
- Smith R.A.K. 2004, Late Minoan III Mochlos and the Regional Consumption of Pottery, in Day L.P., Mook M.S., Muhly J.D. (eds), *Crete Beyond the Palaces: Proceedings of the Crete 2000 Conference*, Philadelphia, 309-317.
- Smith R.A.K. 2010, *Mochlos IIB. Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Pottery* (INSTAP Prehistory Monographs 27), Philadelphia.
- Smith R.A.K. 2011, A Unique Late Minoan III Ring-Shaped Vase from the Myrsini Aspropilia Cemetery, in Gauß *et al.* 2011, 267-273.
- Smith W.S. 1965, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Art of Egypt, the Aegean and Western Asia*, New Haven.
- Soles J.S. 1999, The Ritual 'Killing' of Pottery and the Discovery of a Mycenaean Telestas at Mochlos, in Betancourt *et al.* 1999, 787-792.
- Soles J.S. 2008, *Mochlos IIA. Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery* (INSTAP Prehistory Monographs 23), Philadelphia.
- Soles J.S. *et al.* 2011, *Mochlos IIC. Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Human Remains and Other Finds* (INSTAP Prehistory Monographs 32), Philadelphia.
- Soles J.S., Davaras C. 1996, Excavations at Mochlos, 1992-1993, *Hesperia* 65, 175-230.
- Steel L. 2004, A Reappraisal of the Distribution, Context and Function of Mycenaean Pottery in Cyprus, in Balensi J., Monchambert J.-Y., Müller-Celka S. (eds), *La Céramique Mycénienne de l'Égée au Levant: Hommage à Vronwy Hankey* (Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 41), Lyon, 69-85.
- Touchais G., Laffineur R., Rougemont F. (eds) 2014, *Physis. L'environnement naturel et la relation homme-milieu dans le monde Égéen protohistorique. Actes de la 14e Rencontre égéenne internationale, Paris, Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA), 11-14 décembre 2012* (Aegaeum 37), Leuven and Liège.
- Tzedakis Y. 1978, Νόμος Ρεθύμνης, *ArchDelt* 33, 378-384.
- Tzedakis Y. 1979, Δυτική Κρήτη, *ArchDelt* 34, 390-401.
- Tzedakis Y. 1996, La nécropole d'Armenoï, in De Miro E., Godart L., Sacconi A. (eds), *Atti e memorie del secondo congresso internazionale di micenologia* (Incunabula Graeca 98), III, Roma, 1121-1130.
- Tzedakis Y., Martlew H. (eds) 1999, *Minoans and Mycenaeans. Flavours of their Time*, Athens.
- van Effenterre H. 1948, *Nécropoles du Mirabello* (ÉtCrét 8), Paris.
- van Effenterre H., van Effenterre M. 1963, *Malia. Étude du site et exploration des nécropoles II* (ÉtCrét 13), Paris.
- Vanschoonwinkel J. 1996, Les Animaux dans l'Art Minoen, in Reese D.S. (ed.), *Pleistocene and Holocene Fauna of Crete and its First Settlers* (Monographs in World Archaeology 28), Philadelphia 1996, 351-412.
- Vermeule E., Karageorghis V. 1982, *Mycenaean Pictorial Vase Painting*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Voutsaki S. 1998, Mortuary Evidence, Symbolic Meanings and Social Change: A Comparison between Messenia and the Argolid in the Mycenaean Period, in K. Branigan (ed.), *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 1), Sheffield 1998, 41-58.

- Voutsaki S. 2012, From Value to Meaning, from Things to Persons: The Grave Circles of Mycenae Reconsidered, in Urton G., Papadopoulos J. (eds), *The Construction of Value in the Ancient World*, Los Angeles 2012, 112-137.
- Warren P.M. 1969, *Minoan Stone Vases*, Cambridge.
- Warren P.M. 1982-1983, Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum excavations 1978-1982, II, *AR* 1982-1983, 63-87.
- Warren P.M. 1997, Late Minoan III Pottery from the City of Knossos. Stratigraphical Museum Extension Site, in Hallager, Hallager 1997, 157-184.
- Warren P.M. 2005, Response to Eleni Hatzaki, in D'Agata, Moody 2005, 97-103.
- Warren P.M. 2010, The Absolute Chronology of the Aegean circa 2000 B.C.-1400 B.C.: A Summary, in W. Müller (ed.), *Die Bedeutung der Minoischen und Mykenischen Glyptik VI. Internationales Siegel-Symposium aus Anlass des 50 jährigen Bestehens des CMS, Marburg, 9.-12. Oktober 2008* (CMS Beiheft 8), Mainz, 383-394.
- Watrous L.V. 1991, The Origin and Iconography of the Late Minoan Painted Larnax, *Hesperia* 60, 285-307.
- Watrous L.V. 1992, *Kommos III: The Late Bronze Age Pottery*, Princeton, N.J.
- Weilharter J. 2012, Religious Offerings in the Linear B Tablets: An Attempt at their Classification and Some Thoughts about Their Possible Purpose, in Faventia *Supplementa 1. Actas del Simposio Internacional: 55 Años de Micenología* (1952-2007), 207-231.
- Weingarten J. 1997, The Sealing Bureaucracy of Mycenaean Knossos: The Identification of Some Officials and their Seals, in Driessen, Farnoux 1997, 517-535.
- Wright J.C. 2004, A Survey of Evidence for Feasting in Mycenaean Society, in Wright J.C. (ed.), *The Mycenaean Feast* (*Hesperia* 73/2), 13-58.
- Wright J.C. 2008, Chamber Tombs, Family and State in Mycenaean Greece, in Gallou C., Georgiadis M., Muskett G.M. (eds), *Dioskouroi. Studies Presented to W.G. Cavanagh and C.B. Mee on the Anniversary of their 30-year joint contribution to Aegean Archaeology* (BAR-IS 1889), Oxford, 144-153.
- Xanthoudidis S.A. 1896, Letter to Evans, 29 June 1896, Evans Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK (English translation by Y. Galanakis).
- Xanthoudidis S.A. 1904, Εκ Κρήτης, *ArchEph*, 1-56.
- Younger J.G. 1983, Aegean Seals of the Late Bronze Age: Masters and Workshops, II: The First-Generation Minoan Masters, *Kadmos* 22, 109-136.
- Younger J.G. 1987, Aegean Seals of the Late Bronze Age: Stylistic Groups VI. Fourteenth-century Mainland and Later Fourteenth-century Cretan Workshops, *Kadmos* 26, 44-73.
- Younger J.G. 1988, *The Iconography of Late Minoan and Mycenaean Sealstones and Finger Rings*, Bristol.
- Younger J.G. 1990, Roundtable Comments, in Palaima 1990, 240-241.
- Younger J.G. 1998, *Music in the Aegean Bronze Age* (SIMA Pocket-book 144), Jonsered.

Anna Lucia D'Agata
 Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico
 Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche
 Roma, Italia
 annalucia.dagata@isma.cnr.it
 annalucia@tiscali.it

