WHEN THE BRONZE AND EARLY IRON AGE site of Vrokastro was excavated early in this century, fragments of terracotta figurines were recovered from within the settlement on the peak and from other peripheral areas, including an extension of the settlement located in fields to the southwest. Small drawings of a limited group of figurines were published, but with the exception of the largest pieces they were essentially not described, and findspots for the majority of pieces were not specified. The total collection

1 Hall, pp. 101–102, figs. 55, 56; pp. 108–109, 111, figs. 62, 63; 170, 172. Funding for this study was provided by The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Markoe Fellowship for Archaeology, 1986, the American Philosophical Society, Penrose grant no. 9285, and NEH Travel to Collections grant no. FE-20177-86, 1986. I would also like to thank Professors Geraldine C. Gesell and Maria Shaw, Dr. Jennifer A. Moody, and Dr. Polymnia Muhly for advice concerning the date, nature, and manufacture of these terracottas. Mr. Alan Peatfield and Professor Gesell assisted with the photography of these objects in the Herakleion Museum. My gratitude goes also to Dr. J. Sakellarakis for granting permission to publish the figurines.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

Archaeology of Cult = C. Renfrew et al., The Archaeology of Cult (BSA Suppl. 18), Oxford 1985


Banti = L. Banti, “I culti minoici e greci di Hagia Triada (Creta),” ASAtene, n.s. 3–5, 1941–1943 (1948), pp. 9–74


Fortetsa = J. A. Brock, Fortetsa, Early Greek Tombs near Knossos, Cambridge 1957


Gortina = G. Rizza and V. Santa Maria Scrinari, Il santuario sull’acropolis di Gortina I, Rome 1968

GTF = R. A. Higgins, Greek Terracotta Figurines, London 1963


PM II = A. J. Evans, The Palace of Minos at Knossos II, London 1928


Town, Palace, and House Cult = G. C. Gesell, Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete (SIMA 67), Göteborg 1985
recovered merits further study for the following reasons: it is sizable and varied; it may contribute to an assessment of the nature of cultic activity at the site; and it will increase the number of published Cretan figurines from this transitional period.

Cultic activity at Cretan high sites can be assigned to two basic categories. The first indicates the presence of a peak sanctuary, a type of shrine that has been related to the development of the Minoan palace system. The second category of usage belongs to the end of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, when towns in mountainous areas were established which contained public and private shrines.

The settlement of Vrokastro was excavated by Edith Hall, a pioneer in Cretan studies. Although the site may have been reasonably well excavated according to the standards of her day, the excavation techniques and recording procedures employed have at best provided incomplete data on the chronological limits of the settlement, as well as its nature and external contacts. The rooms excavated on the summit were described as producing little stratified material, although Geometric pottery was sometimes found above earlier material. Pottery from the settlement on the summit represents the Middle Bronze Age (MM I–MM III), as well as the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages (LM IIIC, Protogeometric, and Geometric). Most of the material comprising the Vrokastro collection in the Herakleion Museum and The University Museum is of Protogeometric (primarily sherds) and Geometric date (sherds and mended or intact vases), and Hall states that at least 90 percent of painted fabrics were of the "geometric style." The initial excavation provided, therefore, scant data concerning the number, nature, or chronology of Vrokastro shrines, although Hall's publication described rooms where figures and figurines were found within the Early Iron Age settlement, and these may be shrines.


3 These categories of usage are detailed in B. C. Dietrich, "Minoan Religion in the Context of the Aegean," in Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981, O. Kryczyskowska and L. Nixon, edd., Bristol 1983 (pp. 55–60), p. 56. There is at present no evidence for cultic use of the peak of Vrokastro in Middle Minoan times, although it dominates the area of the Bay of Mirabello and is a suitable location for a peak sanctuary in this period. Pottery of MM IA–MM IIIA/B date (primarily fine ware) has been published, but no Middle Bronze Age figurines were recorded; Hall, pp. 115, 116, fig. 66, p. 117, fig. 67.

4 There are several cult places and household shrines at Karphi, for example: Pendlebury et al., pp. 75–76, 84, 100. It has been suggested that the upper settlement area of Vrokastro consisted exclusively of a series of shrines and ancillary rooms: N. V. Sekunda, "A Bronze Horse-frontlet from Vrokastro, Crete," BSA 77, 1982 (pp. 251–254), p. 252.

5 Hall, pp. 89–90; the technique used in excavation was to strip away earth at half-meter intervals.

6 See Hayden, p. 367, note 1 for synopsis of opinions on the chronology of the site.

7 Hall, p. 91.

Cultic activity at the site of Vrokastro may then be assigned to the second category of usage noted above.

**CONTEXT AND SHRINES (Figs. 1–3)**

Two areas were identified on the summit as producing a number of terracotta figurines, with isolated finds occurring in other rooms. One main road (2 in Hall’s plan, Fig. 1) through the settlement is located on the southwestern side; room 8 flanks this road on the north and is one of the first rooms encountered on entering the settlement at this lower edge of the summit. From upper levels in the eastern side of room 8, Hall recovered three animal figurines, a triton shell, and animal bones. Farther west and at the same level she found a bronze fibula and a bronze disk. Also recovered were three iron blades (at the south end of the room), an almost complete pithos, and a fragmentary fibula (no specific location given). The pithos may be indicated on Hall’s plan by the circle on the eastern side of room 8 (Fig. 1). Farther north, room 9 produced one clay human head or “mask” (Fig. 2); numbers in boldface type refer to the catalogue, below), another pithos, a bowl, and agrimi horns. From room 11, above room 9 and north of the bedrock projection indicated on the plans (Figs. 1, 2), against the east wall, were recovered a horse’s head (26), a horse-head handle (32), and a larger, more complete horse, fragments of which joined pieces found in room 17, farther east. The largest deposit of metal objects from within the settlement (including bronze and iron spearheads) was described as found against or under the east wall of room 11.

This area is difficult to interpret because many walls have fallen down the steep western slope of the peak, but there remain some features and walls not indicated on Hall’s plan. One thin, partially extant north–south wall separates the eastern side of Hall’s room 8 from a lower level to the west; this wall is aligned with the eastern wall of Hall’s room 9, farther north. The floor level of Hall’s room 8 west of this thin north–south wall is approximately half a meter below the floor level of the eastern side of room 8. This lower western area is on the same level as rooms 9 and 10 to the north and should therefore be considered part of Hall’s room 9. The room numbered 8 in Hall’s plan has therefore been divided into two parts, the higher eastern level retaining the designation 8, the lower western level incorporated into room 9 (Fig. 2).

Hall did not record the small rubble bench or platform located in the northeast corner of the eastern side of room 8, just south of a bedrock projection (this area is labeled room 8b in Figures 2 and 3; see Plate 47a). The narrow northern side of the bench is built against the bedrock projection that extends east–west, separating room 8b from 11 to the north. An

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9 See Hall, pp. 99–100 for location of objects in room 8.


11 Hall, pp. 101–102, fig. 56:F; p. 108. This example may be the horse figure on display in the Herakleion Museum; see 28.

12 Hall, pp. 103–106, fig. 59; she specifies (p. 106) that two iron and five bronze spearheads were found under the east wall of room 11.
FIG. 1. Hall’s plan of the upper settlement area of Vrokastro, showing the complex of rooms 8–11, with the bedrock outcrop on the south side of room 11 (Hall, pl. XVIII)
Fig. 2. Vrokastro, upper settlement area. Author's plan showing the east–west wall that divides room 8 into a larger southern room, 8a, and a smaller northern room, 8b, with rubble bench. Black circles indicate rooms where figurines were found.
east–west wall may have been built on this bedrock outcrop, but the thin east–west wall Hall indicated just south of the outcrop is incorrectly placed (Fig. 1). A thin wall does, however, extend east–west from the south side of the bench and separates the room with bench (8b) from a larger southern room (8a) flanking street 2 (Figs. 2, 3). This wall ends on the west in a narrow door with a preserved eastern anta. Whether room 8a was accessible from the street is probable, however, since the only other means is indirect: through room 9, around the western side of room 10, and then up the slope through room 11 (and this scenario assumes the existence of a door, possibly west of the bedrock outcropping, connecting rooms 11 and 8b).

At the base of the eastern wall of room 11 a few stones still in place project no more than 0.30 m. from the wall face before curving back under the wall; this appears to be indicated in Hall’s plan by a thickening in the wall north of the bedrock outcrop (Figs. 1, 2; Pl. 47:b). Their present appearance suggests a line of earlier wall, not a bench with a sufficiently level horizontal surface to have been used as a platform, but it was against (or under) this east wall that Hall located several metal objects and fragments of figurines.\textsuperscript{13} In any case, if room 11 were entered from room 8b to the south, it might have formed with it one cult complex (Fig. 3).\textsuperscript{14} Rooms 8a, 8b, and 11 do not appear to relate to a dwelling: room 6 to the

\textsuperscript{13} Hall, pp. 101–102, 106.

\textsuperscript{14} The interior dimensions of room 8a are ca. 2 (north–south) × 3 m.; room 8b is ca. 3 (east–west) × 1.5 m. The rubble bench in room 8b is 1 m. long and 0.50 m. wide, and its upper surface is 0.75 m. above the present ground level. The inner east–west partition wall south of this bench is no more than 0.50 m. wide.
east, for example, has a present floor level at least half a meter above that of rooms 8a and 8b, with no identifiable doorway located in the shared north–south party wall, or stairs constructed to compensate for the drop in level. This comparison suggests that 8a, 8b, and 11 may comprise a public shrine, or part of one. The material found in room 9 to the west and northwest may be the result of movement of objects downslope, or may indicate that this room also formed part of the shrine complex. The two levels or groups of rooms (8a, 8b, 11; 9, 10) may be linked by an east–west passage or narrow room that extends down the slope from the northwest corner of room 11 (Figs. 1, 2; this area of Hall’s plan today is obscured by vegetation and ruined walls).

The combination of horns, figurines, and triton shell from rooms 8a, 8b, 9, and 11 was also encountered in a possible domestic shrine (or dump) located near the south wall of room 17, in a complex forming the largest dwelling on the summit.\(^{15}\) The group of objects was found under a flimsy wall that extended north from a bedrock outcrop at the south end of the room, indicating that its occupation or use continued after the deposit was made.\(^{16}\) The other wall in this area of room 17 extends west from the east wall, disappearing before a bedrock projection on the west side of the room (Figs. 1, 2). The two walls are ca. 0.50 m. wide and, if contemporary, enclosed at least one small room in the southeast corner of 17; considering the findspot of the objects Hall mentioned, this small corner room probably postdated the shrine.

Published pieces from room 17 include a clay head with columnar base (41), parts of the figure of a horse that joins fragments found in room 11, the rear leg and tail of another horse (22A), and the head of a “sheep”, interpreted here as a bovine (13).\(^{17}\) Hall suggested on the basis of the joins that the terracottas in room 17 were from a shrine (location unspecified) and that these pieces were dumped, not deliberately buried,\(^{18}\) possibly as part of fill.

If part or all of this deposit was dumped in room 17 as fill, some of the material may have come from a source closer at hand than the complex comprising 8a, 8b, 9, 10, and 11, because these rooms are located on the steep southwestern slope far from the center of the summit (and room 17), and there is no connecting path. Scattered figurines from neighboring rooms may also testify to the presence of a second shrine located in a room near the center of the settlement. Objects and figurines possibly cultic in nature were recovered from room 21, directly to the south (cups of a clay kernos\(^{19}\)); from the passageway 25 leading to

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15 Hayden, p. 377.
16 Hall, p. 108; she described the stratigraphy of the southern end of room 17 as overturned (i.e., Geometric under LM III near the west wall). Today only a few stones of this wall remain in place; it is indicated by dotted lines on Hall’s plan (Fig. 1), and the stones are drawn in Figure 2.
17 Hall, pp. 108–109; 101, fig. 55:A; 102, fig. 56:E (“sheep head”), F.
19 Hall, p. 109, not illustrated; I could not locate the kernos in the Vrokastro collection in the Herakleion Museum; see also Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 52. Gesell mentions continuation in the Postpalatial period of clay kernoi made of small cups, joined at the rim. Also from room or corridor 24 is a clay kalathos with a cup on the rim, illustrated in Hall, p. 103, fig. 57:B, described on p. 110. This shape has been associated with Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cultic activity elsewhere: see M. Seiradakis, “Pottery from Karphi,” BS 55, 1960 (pp. 1–37), pp. 11–12, fig. 7:6. The clay of this vessel contains many angular, red-brown grits, like the clay tripod illustrated by Hall (p. 172, fig. 105; found inside the one-room structure at Karakovilia), and may not be local.
the roof of room 17 or to the second story of this structure (a crude chariot and driver\textsuperscript{20}); from room 27 (a small animal figurine, broken, from an upper level associated with Geometric pottery\textsuperscript{21}); within room 26, just to the north (carefully modeled head, possibly female, \textbf{40}, broken\textsuperscript{?} from a base or stand, in an upper deposit, associated with Geometric pottery\textsuperscript{22}); and the most recent find, a kernos\textsuperscript{23} cut in a worked rectangular sandstone block found in room 34, no longer \textit{in situ} (Pl. 47:c).\textsuperscript{24} It is possible that the figurines found in rooms 26 and 27 washed down from higher levels, although room 34 with the kernos is too far east to be the probable source. (The few worked sandstone blocks on the site may be Middle Minoan in origin, but since there is no evidence for Middle Minoan cult activity, the kernos could have been cut at a later time.)

Consequently there are several possible locations for a shrine, either household or public, in the central part of the summit. One factor that may support the argument for a shrine in room 17 is that metal and glass objects were found with the figurines (a glass bead and an iron bar and blade\textsuperscript{25}), objects that might not have been discarded in fill even if clay figurines were considered worthless. Room 17 is a good candidate because of the number of figurine fragments found there and the cluster of related objects near by (rooms 21, 25). Examination of the plan (Figs. 1, 2) suggests room 1 as another possibility, because it is small and isolated and has an elaborate entryway (no longer extant) requiring indirect access; it shielded the room from external view.\textsuperscript{26} It too would have formed a public shrine, opening onto street 2.

In addition to the finds from the summit, one bronze figurine with raised arms was recovered from the lower settlement on the north slope,\textsuperscript{27} and parts of a human figurine, a duck, and a horse (\textbf{34} or \textbf{35} and \textbf{2}; the horse may be \textbf{31}) were found just outside a one-room structure near the Karakovilia bone enclosures southwest of the peak. This structure is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} Hall, p. 111, fig. 62, described as thrown in a deep pocket with a mass of debris. I could not find this piece in the Herakleion Museum collection.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Hall, p. 90, compared by her to those illustrated in fig. 56.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Hall, pp. 111, 112, fig. 63; also found in higher levels were a fibula and bronze disks. The vase found in association with the head is shown in fig. 60:C, p. 106; it is an intact, straight-sided jar, and on the basis of its shape, dotted maeander decoration, and placement of that decoration, it can be dated to MG II; see J. N. Coldstream, \textit{Greek Geometric Pottery}, London 1968, p. 255 for shape; pp. 243, 260 for motif.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Mentioned as found by John Camp on the Vrokastro summit: L. P. Day, W. D. E. Coulson, G. C. Gesell, "Kavousi, 1983–1984, the Settlement at Vronda," \textit{Hesperia} 55, 1986 (pp. 355–387), p. 366, note 22. Two kernoi have also been found at Kavousi, one from Vronda, and one on the Kastro. Function, date, and placement are discussed by Day \textit{et al.} (pp. 365–366). The presence of a kernos on the Kastro indicates that they may still have been in use during the Geometric period.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Hayden, p. 374. The kernos was photographed in room 34 in 1987 (Pl. 47:c) but had been removed from the room (and possibly from this unfenced site) by 1988.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Hall, p. 109.
\item \textsuperscript{26} See Fig. 1 (Hall's plan). For a discussion of Minoan shrines with offset entrances, see P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, "Excavations at Pseira, 1985 and 1986," \textit{Hesperia} 57, 1988 (pp. 207–225), p. 218. Another factor to be considered is the presence of projecting bedrock which takes up one-half the available floor space in room 1; this may be close to the floor level established when the room was in use, as it roughly corresponds to the level of street 2. The bedrock might have been used as a low bench, but it limited the usefulness of the room. Shrines at Karphi also contain projecting bedrock, possibly used as benches: Pendlebury \textit{et al.}, p. 84, rooms 55, 58.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Hall, p. 121, fig. 71. Coldstream interprets this bronze as female: J. N. Coldstream, \textit{Geometric Greece}, London 1977, p. 284. See also \textit{Cretan Collection}, pp. 8–9; Boardman dates one bronze (pl. III:21) with similarly modeled hips to the Protogeometric period.
\end{itemize}
unusual for the site, as cut stone blocks were used in its construction. Associated figurines, construction techniques, a clay tripod located inside the room, and near-by tombs have led to the identification of the building with burial cult.

**CATALOGUE**

Where no Herakleion Museum number is given, the piece is uncatalogued.

**BIRDS (1, 2)**

1. Bird (dove?) on stem (fr.)
   
   **Herakleion Museum**
   
   Max. pres. dim. (head to tail) 0.06 m.; wing span 0.042 m.
   
   Solid. **Clay**: Soft; pale brown (10YR 8/3); inclusions: small hard gray. **Preservation**: Head missing, part of tail chipped off.
   
   **Treatment/Decoration**: A bird in flight with carefully modeled wings and tail. The base is columnar, oval in section, with a hole at the bottom for attachment. The bird may have been solidly painted; traces of black paint remain on the neck, back, chest, and wings.
   
   **Context**: Unknown.

2. Duck (fr.). Herakleion Museum
   
   Max. pres. dim. 0.057 m.; wing span 0.024 m.
   
   Solid. **Clay**: Pale buff to brown (10YR 8/4); inclusions: small hard gray and black, slightly rounded (basalt?). **Preservation**: Rear portion of body and wings broken off.
   
   **Treatment/Decoration**: The raised wings are formed of a ridge of clay placed on the top of the body and separated from it by two bands of paint. Black horizontal bands were painted across the chest and on the wings, and dots indicate the eyes.
   
   **Context**: Found near a possible one-room shrine, Karakovilia, where Hall (p. 172) mentions finding part of a duck figurine.

Bird figurines are abundant in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. They are frequently used as attachments (to bowl rims, altars, “snake tubes”, trees, and diadems of female votaries or goddesses with raised arms). The duck figurine (2) has parallels in the periods from LM III through the Early Iron Age, particularly in lid handles, although in

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28 Hall, pp. 170–172, fig. 104, pl. XXIII:2.
29 Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 59; Hall, pp. 171, 172, fig. 105.
30 No petrographic analysis has been undertaken of the catalogued pieces, and so the identifications of inclusions are visual and therefore tentative. Inclusions are labeled in the catalogue as follows: soft, white to yellow: limestone(?); angular to round hard, gray stone: quartz or feldspar(?); orange to red angular, flat: siltstone or terrarossa(?); shiny red to purplish, flat: schist(?); white with black specks: granodiorite or gabbro(?); rounded black: basalt or diorite(?); purplish to red brown, bumpy to flat (this may correspond to no. 7 in the list of inclusions in five Gournia sherds subjected to petrographic analysis; see F. R. Matson, “Physical Characteristics of the Fabric, Slip, and Paint,” in East Crete White-On-Dark Ware, P. P. Betancourt, ed. [University Museum Monograph 31], Philadelphia 1984 [pp. 52–66], p. 54). Inclusions described as small are 1–2 mm. or less; the size range of medium to large inclusions is 3–5+ mm.
31 For long-necked birds of similar or slightly larger size, probably ducks or geese, attached to funerary jars (possibly as lid handles), see Arkades, p. 174, fig. 194; one example has similar horizontal bands on the neck, p. 175; another may be of PG date: pithos 103 on p. 176, fig. 196; also 275, fig. 346. Birds are described as frequently used for lid handles on Geometric vases in R. S. Young, Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora (Hesperia, Suppl. 2), Athens 1939, p. 61. For other examples see K. Kübler, Kerameikos, VI, ii, Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1970, pl. 9, no. 1155 (possible duck); Banti, pp. 53–54, fig. 40, identified as possibly a “colombe”, a goose, or a swan, of Subminoan to Geometric date.
this case there is no sign of attachment under the body.\textsuperscript{32} Details of the feathers are realistically rendered. Its findspot, near a room dated to the Geometric period (Hall, p. 172), suggests a date for the piece.

There are also many examples of birds with outstretched wings in the Late Bronze through Geometric periods;\textsuperscript{33} the Vrokastro example (1) is probably a dove. Its pierced

\textsuperscript{32} The majority of small bird figurines are attached to a small raised base, as is 1; this is true of the figurines which appear to be ducks or swans from Arkades: Arkades, p. 174, fig. 194.

\textsuperscript{33} See: A. Tamvaki, “Some Unusual Mycenaean Terracottas from the Citadel House Area, 1954–69,” BSA 68, 1973 (pp. 207–265), p. 223, no. 52, fig. 9 (H. 0.028 m.), an example dating to the LH IIIC period with outstretched wings, mounted on a stem with a hole in its base, with crisscross decoration; V. Karageorghis,
cylindrical stem may indicate attachment to a vessel or altar rim by means of a small wooden stick;\(^3^4\) the vessel may have been used in a burial or a shrine.\(^3^5\) Birds with attachment holes have also been interpreted as parts of the tiaras of large female figures with raised arms,\(^3^6\) but no trace of this type has thus far been recovered from Vrokastro.

The two small bird figurines are the most naturalistically modeled pieces from the site. This quality cannot be used with certainty to establish a date for them earlier than the Geometric period, and the findspot of the duck argues against an earlier date.

**Handmade Quadrupeds (3–11)**

**DOG(?)**, **GOAT(?)** (3, 4)

3. Dog(?) (fr.). Herakleion Fig. 4, Pl. 48 Museum
   H. 0.042 m.; Max. pres. dim. 0.022 m.
   Solid. **Clay**: Soft; buff, varying from light pink to yellow (7.5YR 8/4); core slightly more pink; inclusions: unusual quartz(?) grains (ironstone?\(^3^7\)). **Preservation**: Front half of body preserved.
   **Treatment/Decoration**: There is a plastic roll (hair?) over the eyes and a fold of skin on the neck, as well as skin projecting between the front legs. The eyes, nostrils, and mouth are incised in clay. Traces of red paint occur on the body.
   **Context**: Unknown.

4. Goat(?) (fr.). Herakleion Fig. 4, Pl. 48 Museum 6662
   H. 0.048 m.; L. 0.082 m.

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\(^3^4\) Sticks are a device reported from Perati for attaching figurines to the rim of a vessel, including cinerary urns: S. Iakovidis, “A Mycenaean Mourning Custom,” *JAS* 70, 1966 (pp. 43–50), p. 45, pl. 16, fig. 8. The type of base seems to preclude attachment to a tree, as in examples from Fortetsa, where the body of the bird is pierced; *Fortetsa*, pp. 41, 43. These date to the PGB through the Geometric periods and are therefore roughly contemporary: pl. 36, nos. 546 [ii], 547 [ii], 548 [ii], 550.

\(^3^5\) R. F. Willetts describes birds in domestic shrines as being not primarily votive offerings but the actual deities: *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, New York 1962, p. 73.

\(^3^6\) *Town, Palace, and House Cult*, p. 41. Brock cites examples of birds attached to vase rims (*Fortetsa*, pl. 36, 551 [i]) but also suggests (p. 43, note 1) that they may have been used as toys.

\(^3^7\) This identification was suggested by Dr. J. Moody.
A LM IIIC figurine from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, interpreted as a dog, has a triangular face, pointed nose, and pointed, upright ears similar to 3. Both have bulging foreheads, although the Knossos figurine has pellet eyes that are painted. The reclining pose with front legs extended also occurs in a LH III dog figurine from the mainland. It is also possible to identify 3 as a goat or bovine.

The coloration, small pointed beard, and shape of the head of 4 may indicate a goat in a reclining pose, although the long, low body suggests a weasel; the odd rear legs with splaying feet belong to neither animal.

BOVINES (5–11)

5. Bovine(?) on column or peg. Fig. 4, Pl. 49
   Herakleion Museum
   H. 0.032 m.; L. 0.018 m.
   Solid. Clay: Soft; yellow buff (10YR 8/6); incisions: small black and gray. Preservation: Part of tail, right ear missing.
   Treatment/Decoration: Holes were used to indicate eyes and nostrils; there is a horizontal line for the mouth, and there are incisions or striations under it. A hole punched through the body separates it from the base. The paint varies from red to black on the body, which was probably solidly painted. The base is also painted, but it was not pierced.
   Context: Unknown.

6. Bovine head (fr.). Herakleion Museum
   Max. pres. L. 0.036 m.
   Clay: Soft; reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); inclusions: gold mica and possibly plant fiber. Preservation: Head broken at neck; worn.
   Treatment/Decoration: A clay stub, 0.015 m. long, protrudes from a hollow in the interior of the neck; the head was fashioned around it. Pellets used for the eyes are of different sizes and are not symmetrically placed. Black paint once covered the body; two strokes of white over the black are visible near the break at the neck.
   Context: Unknown.

7. Bovine, possibly ox (fr.). Herakleion Museum
   Max. pres. L. 0.055 m.
   Solid. Clay: Hard; orange pink (5YR 7/4); inclusions: red angular, possibly siltstone. Preservation: Front of body, part of head preserved, including one ear and one horn.
   Treatment/Decoration: Traces of red paint occur on the neck, shoulder, and body; bands on the body may be part of a harness. A battered but carefully modeled piece.
   Context: Unknown.

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38 Higgins, The Unexplored Mansion, p. 199, fragments of dog: no. 17, pl. 194:2, body; and no. 19, pl. 194:7, head. For dogs with similar ears and shape of head, see R. C. Bosanquet and R. M. Dawkins, The Unpublished Objects from Palaikastro Excavations 1902–1906 (BSA Suppl. Paper 1), London 1923, p. 122, fig. 101; Tamvaki (footnote 33 above), pp. 224–225, fig. 11:60; this last example has upraised ears, a similarly shaped head, and a context of LH IIIC.


40 Dr. P. Muhly has suggested the figurine may be bovine.

41 The identification as a goat was suggested by Dr. P. Muhly.

42 Figurines of weasels occur at the peak sanctuaries of Petsopha and Juktas and have been interpreted as "prophylactic" offerings intended to provide protection for crops, a function no less probable in later periods. See B. C. Dietrich, “Peak Cults and Their Place in Minoan Religion,” Historia 18, 1969 (pp. 257–275), p. 267. Terracotta dog and stoat figurines do occur as early as MM I at the peak sanctuary on Petsopha; see GTF, p. 9.
Fig. 5. Bovine, possibly ox (7); small bovines (8, 9); body of bovine (10); MS 4886, bovine (11)
8. Small bovine (?) (fr.). Herakleion Museum 6660
   Max. pres. H. 0.68 m.; max. pres. L. 0.79 m.
Solid. Clay: Soft; reddish yellow (5YR 7/6); inclusions: gold mica, soft white, and rounded to oval black. Preservation: Head not preserved.
   Treatment/Decoration: The bodies of 8 and 9 are shaped nearly identically. The legs are slightly curved, and the hooves do not separately modeled. The tail is formed of a strip of clay attached to a rear leg. A swirl pattern in red paint on the chest imitates the hide of an animal (probably bovine); there is a ridge of clay on the neck. The remainder of the figurine is solidly painted.
   Context: Unknown.
9. Small bovine (?) (fr.). Herakleion Museum 6661
   Max. pres. H. 0.59 m.; max. pres. L. 0.78 m.
   Treatment/Decoration: Same as 8, except that the chest does not have the painted swirl pattern; it may have been solidly painted.
   Context: Unknown.
10. Body of bovine (fr.). Herakleion Museum
    Max. pres. L. 0.13 m.; max. pres. H. 0.09 m.
   Treatment/Decoration: The figurine is very crudely modeled with many visible fingerprints in the clay. Bands of light-red to orange paint extend from the back in loops around the hindquarters. The legs are not separately modeled.
   Context: Unknown.

WHIELMADE QUADRUPEDS (BOVINES) (12–22)

12. Bovine head (ryton?) (fr.). Herakleion Museum
    Max. pres. dim. 0.102 m.
   Treatment/Decoration: The lower part (muzzle) is wheelmade, with the nose left open; the upper part is modeled by hand. The ears are plastic additions placed below the horns; a gouged-out circle forms the eyes. The paint is reddish brown, and the eyes are painted and circled; a painted band was placed around the tip of the nose and around the one preserved horn, possibly indicating a harness. The remainder of the neck and head is solidly painted. Similar paint and clay suggest that this head and two legs (22G, I; Pl. 52) may belong to the same figure.
   Context: Unknown.
13. Bovine head, ox (?) (fr.). Herakleion Museum 6663
    Max. pres. dim. 0.131 m.
Solid. Clay: Hard; pink buff (7.5YR 8/4); gray core; inclusions: fine gold mica, hard gray, and white with black spots. Preservation: Broken at neck, only stubs of horns preserved with base of right ear behind horn.
   Treatment/Decoration: The nostrils and mouth are incised, and the eyes are plastic pellets. A hole located under the head indicates that an armature was

43 I thank Dr. J. Moody for observing this feature.
Fig. 6. Bovine head (rhyton? 12); HM 6663, bovine head (13); body of bovine: top, side, and front views (14); joining right front leg (15)

used in construction. A red band of paint appears around the base of each horn, across the nose, and around the neck (harness?). Hall described this figure as a sheep, but the flat muzzle, horns, dewlap, and ridge on the skull indicate a bovine.

Context: Settlement on the summit, room 17 (Hall, pp. 102, 108, fig. 56:E).

14. Body of bovine (fr.). Herakleion Museum

44 Mention is made of the use of sticks or reeds in the manufacture of bulls at Phylakopi: French, "Figures," p. 240.
Max. pres. L. 0.155 m.; H. 0.145 m.; diam. across chest 0.106 m.


Treatment/Decoration: Two holes, 0.01 m. in diameter, are punched through the wall near the front edge of the cylinder (near the chest). The upper portion of the back near the neck is broken away to reveal an upright slab of clay with two small holes, either for an interior armature or the attachment of the head, or both. The decorated leg, 15, joins at the right front.

On the chest, brown paint forms a band around the base of the neck, with pendent triangles below. On the top of the cylinder are laddered bands composed of two parallel bands enclosing short dashes; the ladders form points directed to the rear of the cylinder and swing down and forward on its sides to meet another laddered band running from the front along the flank; below this and paralleling it is a solid band. Modeling on the front of the cylinder indicates the join for a leg. This piece and 16 are the most complex of the wheelmade bovines in construction and decoration.

Context: Unknown.

15. Leg of bovine. Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. H. 0.12 m.; diam. of base 0.03 m.
Marked I 10 in pencil, a reference to Hall's grid.45
Solid. Clay: Soft; reddish yellow to buff (5YR 7/6); inclusions: hard gray and soft white.
Treatment/Decoration: The painted decoration, which occurs only on the outer side, consists of one vertical band of paint, framed by two thin ones enclosing short oblique strokes, and there are two horizontal bands of paint near the base of the leg, suggesting that the hoof is articulated.

This piece joins the bovine figure 14 as its right foreleg.

16. Two joining pieces of thrown cylinder (body; neck and chest), bovine (fr.). Herakleion Museum

Body: Max. pres. L. 0.18 m.; diam. at rear 0.125 m. Neck and chest: Max. pres. L. 0.10 m.; diam. across neck near head: 0.065 m.

Wheelmade and modeled by hand. Clay: Soft; reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6); inclusions: hard gray, gold mica, angular red and soft white. Preservation: Two joining fragments of cylindrical body and part of chest and neck; head and legs broken off.

Treatment/Decoration: The thrown cylindrical body has a hole in the upper rump (diameter 0.01 m.), as do most of the Vrokastro wheelmade quadrupeds. Four irregularly shaped depressions within the interior of the neck and curved chest indicate that an interior armature was used during construction or firing, or both. Two pieces of clay were attached to the interior of the neck at its juncture with the chest to strengthen the join. The rear legs were separately modeled on the body, not merely attached to the base of the cylinder, and in this respect 16 differs from most of the larger quadrupeds, although the front legs of the elaborate piece 14 were also modeled on the cylinder.

The upper part of the neck is encircled by a zone of two red, painted, diagonally laddered bands; a checkerboard panel and a plain band come between this zone and the chest. The body shows faded zones of decoration: below a checkerboard panel run two horizontal, diagonally laddered bands and, beneath them, a solid band. Faded decoration occurs over the rear leg; the tail and rump may have been solidly painted.

Context: Unknown.

17. Body of quadruped, possibly bovine (fr.). Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. L. 0.122 m.; diam. at narrowest point 0.074 m.

Hollow; wheelmade. Clay: Pale brown to pink (10YR 8/3); inclusions: large white (limestone). Preservation: Cylinder broken off at one end; other end solid, with punched central hole. Legs broken off.

Treatment/Decoration: A curvilinear roll of clay extends from the solid end of the cylinder. The added clay encircling two sunken, broken areas on the other side of the cylinder indicates the placement of the rear legs.

Along the length of the cylinder, chevrons are framed by bands of reddish brown paint. Zigzags are painted on one side of the plastic curvilinear roll of

45 Hall's Vrokastro notebooks have never been found, and consequently pottery and figurines identified in pencil according to her grid cannot be associated with specific areas within the settlement.
Fig. 7. Two joining pieces of bovine, body and neck, and view into interior of neck (16)

clay; on the other side of the roll are solid stripes crossed by one preserved thin band of paint and another band of chevrons. An encircling band of paint outlines the solid end of the cylinder; traces of paint around the hole suggest that the rump was solidly painted.

Interpretation: The curved plastic attachment is in an unusual location for a tail: bovine tails are generally thick and straight and hang down from the rump. There are no Cretan parallels for this treatment, in which the tail is made to extend directly from the rump forward by placing it on the top center of the back. Although the decoration on the cylinder is similar to that on the neck of the head 41 and suggests the same painter, it is doubtful that this was a stand for a head: only one strand of hair would have been represented by the undulating roll of clay. Furthermore the end of the cylinder is unnecessarily painted (it would have been hidden from view if a head had been mounted by means of a dowel in this end of the cylinder), and the two broken areas on the side opposite the plastic roll suggest the attachment of legs, not part of a face. The placement of the decoration lengthwise along the cylinder is somewhat similar to that of 14.

Context: Unknown.

18. Two joining pieces of cylinder, Fig. 8, Pl. 51 with attached roll of clay (fr.).
Heraclieon Museum

Fragment A: Max. pres. dim. 0.07 m.; B: Max. pres. dim. 0.08 m.
Hollow; wheelmade? Clay: Very soft; reddish yellow (5YR 7/6); inclusions: small brown, orange brown, soft white, and large hard gray. Preservation: There is a join across the plastic curl, and the two sherds form part of a cylinder wall; possible marks of throwing on the interior extend across the break.

Treatment/Decoration: Very rough, uneven areas on the exterior of both sherds indicate places where pieces of clay have been broken off. Traces of reddish brown paint remain near the plastic curl, which slants diagonally across the cylinder (across the interior throwing marks).

Interpretation: The fragment is placed in this category of quadrupeds because it is similar to 17,
but it is more difficult to interpret because of its fragmentary condition. The pieces of clay attached to fragments A and B do not seem to be placed properly for legs. The cylinder was apparently thrown, then irregularly shaped (perhaps as a result of the plastic attachments) before drying. It is possible that these fragments may be part of a head or a wheelmade human figure with cylindrical body. The pieces may be too irregular to have been part of a "snake tube" or a stand with plastic decoration.  

*Context*: Unknown.

19. Fragment of cylinder wall with plastic, curved attachment. Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. dim. 0.055 m.

Hollow. *Clay*: Soft; pinkish buff (5YR 8/3); inclusions: gray brown, angular.

*Interpretation*: Same as 18; this piece may not belong with 18 but represent another figure because of its different clay color and wall thickness.

*Context*: Unknown.

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46 These are still to be found in the LM IIIC period, if not later: *Town, Palace, and House Cult*, p. 51; some of the examples Gesell illustrates do, however, appear to be irregular in shape or flattened on one side: pp. 205, 206, pls. 145, 146.
20. **Cow? (fr.)** Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. L. 0.195 m.; diam. at rear 0.08 m.; Th. walls ca. 0.02 m.

Hollow. **Clay:** Fairly well fired; coarse orange brown (7.5YR 6/6); inclusions: red angular and soft white. **Preservation:** Head, tail, and legs broken off. The legs were attached to the sides of the cylinder and were probably fairly small and short, to judge by the size of preserved stubs.

**Treatment/Decoration:** A very crude, elongated figure, probably of a cow (20 has no visible genitals, although the rear of the animal is preserved; it may have been paired with 21, which has a penis). It has

**Fig. 9.** Cow (20); bull: side, front, and rear views (21)
a small irregular hole in the rump and a larger hole in the front end, which is broken off. A small, broken-off tail resembles that of 21. The piece has not been cleaned of the dirt packing the interior, and it is not clear if regular indentations on the exterior surface are throwing marks or the result of construction by coils.

This piece may form a pair with 21.

**Context:** Unknown.

**21.** Bull (fr.). Herakleion Fig. 9, Pl. 51 Museum

Max. pres. L. 0.285 m.; diam. at rear 0.092 m.; max. pres. H. 0.127 m.; Th. of walls ca. 0.02 m.

Hollow. **Clay:** Fairly well fired; coarse orange brown (7.5YR 6/6); inclusions: red angular and soft white. **Preservation:** Legs are small and cylindrical, with diameters of ca. 0.015 m. Head broken off, and part of dewlap, as well as tail and legs.

**Treatment/Decoration:** There is a projecting stub of clay inside the neck for the attachment (?) of the head. The small oval hole in the rear and the chip in the chest indicate that the figure is hollow. Both 20 and 21 have very thick walls with narrow diameters, and if thrown they must have been compressed from the outside, possibly around a stick (the diameter is too narrow for a hand to be inserted into the interior). Certainly the front end of 21, the bull, was modeled by hand.

The animal most frequently depicted at Vrokastro is the bovine, whether bull, cow, or ox. There are parts of bodies (cylinders or heads) from at least nine examples of large, wheelmade bovine figures (12–18, 20, 21), and five examples of smaller handmade solid figurines (5, 6, 7, 10, 11). The larger figures may continue a tradition in this area, for in the Minoan period most large bull rhyta were manufactured in eastern Crete.48 In the LM III

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47 Hall, p. 102, fig. 56:F (and see below, 28). Some of these legs seem to have a slight bulge in the center, as does one example from Kommos: J. W. Shaw, “Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1977,” *Hesperia* 47, 1978 (pp. 111–170), C 345, p. 143, pl. 41:c. The leg illustrated also has a painted band around the base. These examples were dated to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.: p. 145. Earlier legs are sometimes painted and may be PG in date: J. W. Shaw, “Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1982–1983,” *Hesperia* 53, 1984 (pp. 251–287), C 6060, p. 281, pl. 56:b, d. This piece is compared to one from Phaistos (L. Pernier, “Il palazzo di Phaistos,” *MonAnt* 12, 1902 [pp. 1–131], pp. 127–128, fig. 54) but differs from the solid Vrokastro examples in that it is hollow, tapers at the base, and has a separately modeled hoof. This PG leg was later recatalogued as C 3344 and associated with Temple A: J. W. Shaw, “Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1984–1985,” *Hesperia* 55, 1986 (pp. 219–269), p. 225, pl. 47:h.

48 *Town, Palace, and House Cult*, pp. 33, 41, 62. Gesell makes the point that in the Postpalatial period bulls are no longer made as rhyta. Obviously all large figurines needed to be pierced for firing purposes, and the majority of Vrokastro examples were pierced in the rear for this reason, not so that they could function as rhyta. French suggests that similarly placed holes in Phylakopi bulls served the same function: “Figures,” p. 240. See also *Cretan Collection*, p. 103, pl. XXXVII:485 for a bull from Lato, with a pierced chest and rump.
period and later, large terracotta bulls are associated with open-air sanctuaries (Agia Triada, Kato Symi) and are rarely found together with the large female figures with upraised arms. Although Hall mentions a number of fragments of horse figurines from room 11, no account was provided of bovine figurines and figures recovered from the settlement; nor are findspots for the majority known. It is more probable that they derived from household or public shrines located within the settlement on the summit than from an unrecorded open-air shrine.

Modeling, Handmade Quadrupeds

The smaller pieces are solid, and the smallest example (5), on a columnar base, must have been a vase, stand, or altar attachment. Of these, 7 is the most carefully modeled, and at the other extreme is 10, a piece so crude that the front and rear legs were not separated and whose surface was so rough that fingerprints can be seen in the clay. Tails are indicated either as thick pendent crescents separated from the body (11) or as a rolled piece attached to a rear leg of the animal (8).

Fairly close to 11 in the shape of head, horns, and body are bovine figures from Kommos, dated to the 10th through the 7th centuries B.C. The head of a bull of Geometric date from Dreros is similar to 6 in treatment and shape.

Modeling, Wheelmade Quadrupeds

An attempt to model the dewlap was made on the large piece 14 by adding a piece of clay to the front of the thrown cylinder, and flanks are sometimes modeled in added clay on cylinder walls where legs are attached (14, 16). Heads of the large bovine figures are either partially thrown and hollow (12) or completely handmade and solid (13).

The eyes of bovine quadrupeds are usually clay pellets; one example has gouged-out eyes that were painted (12), and the smallest Vrokastro pieces have painted eyes. The one preserved tail, that of the large bovine 16, is straight and attached to the rump. The broken

49 There are several large terracotta bull figurines from Agia Triada; all are more naturalistically modeled, however, which may suggest an earlier date: Banti, p. 53, figs. 24, 38. See also LM III B bulls from Kato Symi: A. Lembessi, « 'Ιερά Ήμος και Αφροδίτης εἰς Σύμην Κρήτης», Πρακτικά 1972 (1974; pp. 193–203), p. 198 and pl. 186γ. French ("Figures," p. 427) also believes that bull figurines are more common in open-air sanctuaries, and Gesell agrees (Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 427). Higgins also mentions that large, wheelmade animals occur on the mainland at the end of the Bronze Age, and the tradition seems to continue in Crete: GTF, pp. 16–17.

50 For further discussion, see Town, Palace, and House Cult, pp. 53–54, 62.

51 Hall, pp. 101–102, 108.

52 A stand from Karphi is decorated with recumbent animals (bulls?) and horns of consecration: Pendlebury et al., p. 84, pl. XXXIV; also described in Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 51.


55 In one example, eyes were created by incising a circle, then painting it (12). Pellets are commonly used for the earlier quadrupeds from Agia Triada; no Vrokastro example has painted eyelashes, as do some of these: Banti, p. 53, figs. 24 (eyelashes) and 36–40 (pellet eyes).
cylinder 17 is unique because a curvilinear roll of clay is attached to the upper back (fragments 18 and 19 also have this plastic attachment[56]). Anatomically correct depictions of bovine tails consist of a thick, slightly curved piece of clay hanging straight down and then possibly swept up, the end sometimes undulating slightly. The only parallels for the undulating roll of clay extending forward from the rump, directly on the top of the back or neck, appear on Cypriot bulls of comparable date (Late Bronze/Early Iron Age) from Agia Irini; they are interpreted as snakes and generally placed at the front of the animal, although some do extend along the back. If the plastic attachments on some of or all the Vrokastro examples are snakes, they are without parallel in Crete and may suggest a Cypriot link.[59]

Painted Decoration

Painted decoration can indicate mottled hides (6) or possible harness attachments for oxen (7); in some cases bands may simply be used for emphasis, as at the base of horns. Paint on the larger examples with wheelmade bodies appears purely decorative (14, 16, 17) and is similar to the panel of geometric decoration on the neck of the head 41 (below). With the exception of the oddly shaped pieces 20 and 21, it is conceivable that the larger examples were made and painted by the same hand. The workmanship of 20 and 21 differs radically from the large thrown and painted cylinders and suggests a different date, place of manufacture, or purpose. Another bovine from Kavousi appears, to judge from an early photograph, to have somewhat similar proportions and shape. A bovine of Geometric date from Samos appears to have similar long, low proportions but with concave body walls.[61]

Manufacture

One large bovine head (13) is unusual because it is solid and because a groove under the chin indicates that at some time it was supported by a stick on the exterior, apparently


[57] Examples with thick straight tails that swing up, generally onto the back, are rare, but a few occur: Higgins, The Unexplored Mansion, p. 199, pl. 194:1, 15; Cretan Collection, pl. XXXVII:485 (bull from Late; see footnote 48 above. This bull is dated to the Geometric period: pp. 104–105). For swept-up tails with slightly curvilinear ends, see A. Pilali-Papasteriou, Die bronzenen Tierfiguren aus Kreta (Prähistorische Bronzefunde I, iii), Munich 1985, pls. 6:73; 23:239.

[58] E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöquist, and A. Westholm, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition II, Stockholm 1935, pp. 783–785; date: p. 818; summary: pp. 821–822, pl. CCXXV:2027, 2028, for bulls or minotaurs with snakes, Geometric–Archaic (periods 2 and 3); catalogue, pp. 749–750: nos. 1690 (partly wheelmade), 2027, 2028, 2050, also pl. CCXXVII:2031 + 2361, 2230, 1690. Bull or minotaur figures can also be completely handmade. These figures were recovered from a temenos area with an altar.

[59] As does, for example, the possible Cypriot bronze tripod, Hall, pl. XXXIV; V. R. d’A. Desborough, The Greek Dark Ages, New York 1972, p. 236, note 9.

[60] H. A. Boyd, “Excavations at Kavousi, Crete, in 1900,” AJA 5, 1901 (pp. 125–157), pp. 149–150, pl. V:d. This figure was photographed placed upright on broken hindquarters. The body appears broader and the walls more convex than the Vrokastro examples, but the size of the legs and head may be comparable (it is 0.31 m. long). The only other reasonable comparisons for the shape of the body, the Middle Helladic bulls of Eleusis, are too far removed in date and place to be helpful: G. E. Mylonas, Τὸ δυτικὸν νεκροταφεῖον τῆς Ἑλευσίς I, Athens 1975, pp. 202–203; III, pls. 37, 38, nos. 301, 302.

during attachment. A head of this size and weight probably required a large, solid body, either of terracotta or wood; alternatively, it may have been attached to the front of an altar or to a clay cylinder ("snake tube"), in a manner similar to examples from Kannia (Gortina) and Karphi. The Kannia example is similar in size and general shape but has been tentatively placed in the LM IIIB period, outside the known limits of occupation on the Vrokastro peak.

A technique observable in both small figurines and larger figures is the use of a clay pellet or lump inside the neck or upper leg, presumably to attach a head or leg to the body (6, 21, and 28 below). The interior pellet of 6 does not extend far enough to indicate that it was used to fasten or secure the head to another object, such as a vase lid. The interiors of preserved wheelmade pieces suggest that sticks were used for support during construction and drying (and possibly firing); depressions indicating the placement of supports do not break through the wall to the exterior (see neck 16). An interior slab of clay was placed at the top of the back of 14 and used to hold in place two sticks that supported the head and neck (Pl. 50). All the thrown cylinders are also pierced near the tail, possibly for the purpose of firing. The large wheelmade body (14) with two holes on either side of the cylinder at the front presents evidence of similar precautions made before firing.

**Function**

One of the larger heads, 12, is wheelmade and hollow, with a finished, open nose. The upper portion of the head was modeled by hand before attachment to the neck; wheelmade heads of bovines and horses of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages are reported from Kommos, Phylakopi, and the islands. This feature may indicate that it was used as a rhyton, and, if so, it is a late, possibly even Geometric example. The purpose of the majority of these bovine figures may have been primarily votive, and these dedications may respond in function to other Late Bronze and Early Iron Age deposits of bovine figures from Agia Triada and other sites in Crete.

**Chronology**

The dating of most Vrokastro figurines is problematic because of the lack of contextual evidence. The large deposit of bull figures from Agia Triada produces no close parallels, for these pieces are usually more naturalistically modeled and elaborately painted. One mainland example of comparable size found at Amyklai is also more carefully modeled, but the painted decoration of panels of zigzags and parallel bands filled with hatching is similar to

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62 Particularly close in size and modeling is the head of a bull on a cylinder or "snake tube" from the villa at Kannia, room V, cat. no. 15123, illustrated in Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 205, pl. 141; p. 210, pls. 159:a, b, discussed on p. 44, 78, 81. See Gesell (footnote 56 above), pp. 251, 257. See also the rhyton from the bench sanctuary, room 27 at Karphi: Pendlebury et al., pp. 81–82; the oxen attached to this rhyton have pierced heads.

63 Gesell (footnote 56 above), p. 257.

64 Dr. P. Muhly suggested support may have also been required during the early stages of firing.

65 Dr. P. Muhly suggested this interpretation.


67 Desborough (footnote 59 above), pp. 285–286. Desborough suggests that use of the bovine as a votive may have been introduced to Crete from the mainland in the 12th century B.C.
the motifs on the Vrokastro bovines. The dating of the mainland example is also questionable, and the early votives from Amyklai have been variously placed from the 12th through the 9th centuries.\(^{68}\) The earliest period, therefore, that could be suggested for at least some of the larger Vrokastro wheelmade examples is Subminoan, yet it is more probable that these pieces, found in the settlement on the summit, belong to the last major phases of occupation, that is, the Protogeometric through Geometric periods.

**Horns of Consecration (23, 24)**

**23. Horns of Consecration (fr.).** Fig. 10, Pl. 52
University Museum MS 4586
H. 0.49 m.; L. 0.59 m.; Th. 0.019 m.
Solid. *Clay:* Hard; very pure pinkish gray (7.5YR 7/2). Slipped (10YR 8/2). *Preservation:* The piece has a fairly flat smooth base, but it may have been broken from another surface. One horn broken off.

*Decoration:* The paint varies from brown to flaky pink brown. Front: the base carries two horizontal zones separated by a band, the lower with vertical strokes and the upper with a wavy band. The back and sides of the horns and center (except for a small area around the central knob) are solidly painted. The front of the one preserved horn is covered with horizontal strokes.

*Context:* Unknown.

**24. Horns of Consecration(?) (fr.).** Hera-Pl.
kleion Museum
Max. pres. L. ca. 0.23 m.
*Clay:* Soft; reddish yellow (5YR 7/8); surface encrusted with dirt.
*Treatment:* Oval in section; one side of tip more tapered than the other.

*Context:* Unknown.

Both examples come from unknown contexts, and 23 was initially identified as part of a handle.\(^{69}\) The length of the horns or projections and their shape argue against this explanation, and the base is flat, indicating that it was not placed on the curved exterior, or perhaps even upper surface, of a rim. Other horns of consecration dated to the end of the Bronze Age have been found in isolation or attached to stands or altars, and these offer comparisons in shape and occasionally in size.\(^{70}\)

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68 Two motifs on the Amyklai bull not duplicated on the Vrokastro examples are concentric semicircles and stacked solidly painted triangles; its height is 0.18 m.: Desborough (footnote 59 above), p. 241. See also V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaean and Their Successors,* Oxford 1964, pp. 88–98: some of the figures Desborough dates to LH IIIC on the basis of their painted decoration; *idem,* Protogeometric Pottery, Oxford 1952, p. 284: here they are labeled simply Late Helladic, although mention is made of finding some figurines with PG pottery. French ("Figures," p. 239) mentions a date of LH IIIC, which is also favored by Higgins (*GTF,* p. 16). Coldstream ([footnote 27 above] p. 329), however, suggests that there may be 9th- and possibly 10th-century finds at Amyklai but none of 11th-century date. The bull was originally published by C. Tsonotas, "Εκ τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου," *ΑΡΧ* Εφ 1892 (1893; pp. 1–67), p. 44, pl. 3:1, 1a; Tsonotas describes the figure as found near "Geometric" pottery, and Buschor notes its juxtaposition with PG material: E. Buschor, "Vom Amyklaion," *AM* 52, 1927 (pp. 1–85), p. 10. The most recent study of the sanctuary supports a LH IIIC date for the figures of bulls: K. Demakopoulou, Τὸ Μυκηναϊκὸ Ἱερό στὸ Ἀμυκλαίο καὶ ἡ ΥΕΙΠΠ ἑπείδους στὴ Λακωνία, Athens 1982, pp. 79–96, 174, pls. 27–29.

69 It was cataloged as a handle by Hall; I would like to thank Professor P. Betancourt for the correct identification.

70 For horns of consecration of LM IIIB and IIIC date, see A. Kanta, *The Late Minoan III Pottery in Crete, A Survey of Sites, Pottery and Their Distribution* (*SIMA* 58), Göteborg 1980, pl. 1:2, 7 (Tylissos); pl. 39:3, 7, 11 (Agia Triada). All these are larger than the Vrokastro piece; pl. 39:3 is closer in shape, but the decoration is more elaborate. Two examples (pl. 39:7, 11) also have a bump between the horns, both broken off. Painted horns on a stand from Karphi are more comparable in size: *Town, Palace, and House Cult,* p. 207,
The shape, length, and fabric (a soft orange) indicate that the two long, tapering pieces of clay found with fragments of figurines in the Herakleion collection are not tripod legs but possibly horns of consecration\textsuperscript{71} broken from a clay base (fragments of a bull’s head large

\textsuperscript{71} I thank Dr. J. Moody for this suggestion.
enough to accommodate them were not recovered). Horns of this size do occur at Agia Triada, but the closest example in terms of shape was found at Knossos.

If the identification of 23 and 24 is correct, it follows that horns of consecration may have continued in use as a cult symbol as late as the Protogeometric or Geometric period, although it is possible that these examples derive from an earlier (LM IIIC or Subminoan) context at the site. The purity of the clay, its hardness, and the quality of the paint do suggest that 23 may belong with comparably treated Vrokastro LM IIIC pottery.

**Horses (25–33)**

**25.** Neck of horse (fr.). Hera- kleion Museum  
Fig. 10, Pl. 52

Max. pres. L. 0.161 m.; diam. of top 5.2 m.; diam. of base 5.7 m.

Wheelmade and hollow. **Clay:** Soft; reddish yellow (5YR 6/8); inclusions: hard, dark, small inclusions with occasional soft white. **Preservation:** Broken at base of neck, head broken off.

**Treatment/Decoration:** The neck is thrown, and the lower portion of the cylinder is hollow; the upper part is partially closed where the head is attached. The mane is applied separately. A small projection on the upper neck may be an ear; two googe marks on the lower neck are perhaps the result of a join to the body.

Diagonal strokes of black paint occur on the mane. Under and around the neck there is a panel of checkerboard decoration. It joins a long panel of short diagonal strokes, divided by a central line; this panel extends from the head down the neck under the mane. There is an area of black paint at the base of the neck.

**Context:** Unknown.

**26.** Head of horse (fr.). Hera- kleion Museum 6659  
Fig. 10, Pl. 53

L. 0.09 m.

Hollow except for nose. **Clay:** Hard; reddish yellow (5YR 7/6); inclusions: gold mica and soft white. Smooth, thick slip, lighter in color than clay. **Preservation:** Broken off just below head.

**Treatment/Decoration:** The head is hollow except for a plug in the nose. The nostrils and mouth are incised, and the bridle is separately modeled. The mane consists of a ridge on the neck. There is orange-red paint over the nose and in the ears; the eye is outlined. The bridle is decorated with crescents and wavy lines. Short strokes of paint can be seen on the mane.

**Context:** Settlement on the summit, room 11.

**27.** Horse (fr.). University Mu- seum MS 4887  
Fig. 10, Pl. 53

H. 0.102 m.; max. pres. dim. 0.015 m.

Solid. **Clay:** Soft, reddish yellow (5YR 7/6); inclusions: small to large soft white, small gray brown, and some gold mica. Local clay (similar to 8, 9). **Preservation:** All but rear legs and tail preserved.

**Treatment/Decoration:** The nose is flat, with nostrils and mouth incised. Ears are added in clay. The mane is a crescent ridge, pinched and flattened. The neck is thick, the body short, and the short front legs end in flat feet, not hooves (similar to 4). It is covered with flaking red paint and is similar to 8 and 9 in clay and paint.

**Context:** Settlement on the summit, possibly rooms 8, 11, or 17(?); see Hall, pp. 100, 101, 108 for possible locations.

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72 Banti, pp. 58, note 5; no. 3136, pp. 59, 64, fig. 58, H. 0.197 m.; also fig. 59. The decoration is described as LM III to PG.
73 M. R. Popham, “A Late Minoan Shrine at Knossos,” BSA 65, 1970 (pp. 191–194), p. 191, note 1, fig. 1, pl. 46. H. 0.235 m.; they are 0.085 m. wide. The horns are somewhat oval and flat on the outside edges.
74 G. C. Geisler (The Archaeological Evidence for the Minoan House Cult and Its Survival in Iron Age Crete [diss. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 1972], p. 187) mentions that horns of consecration do not occur in the PG period or later, although Banti suggested that they might occur as late as PG: Banti, p. 58.
75 Sherds of LM IIIC date from Vrokastro are being prepared for publication.
76 Hall, pp. 101, 102, fig. 55A; Sekunda ([footnote 4 above] pp. 251–254) discusses the frontlet.
28. Body of quadruped (probably horse) (fr.). Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. W. across body 0.102 m.; Th. of wall 0.01 m.

Hollow. Clay: Soft; pale brown (10YR 8/4); inclusions: large brown, gray, and orange (siltstone or terrarossa). Thick buff slip. Preservation: This section, probably from the front part of an animal, preserves on the exterior stubs containing short rounded pegs, possibly for the attachment of legs.

Treatment/Decoration: This is the largest hollow piece modeled by hand in the Vrokastro collection except for the large horse figure that Hall published, which appears similar in surface texture. All other large, hollow parts of bodies of quadrupeds (with the possible exception of 20 and 21) are wheel-made. Another point of similarity with the published horse is that the front legs are very close together at the point of attachment.

Context: Possibly room 17, settlement on the summit, where Hall (p. 108) describes finding fragments of a second horse figure.

SOLID HORSE HANDLES (29, 30)

29. Horse handle from pyxis (fr.). Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. H. 0.075 m. (head to base of broken right front leg); Th. of body 0.016 m.

Solid. Clay: Hard; buff yellow surface (10YR 8/6) to light reddish yellow core (5YR 7/6); inclusions: gray, one large piece of soft white visible. Preservation: Head chipped, left ear partially preserved along with crest between ears. Stubs of front legs preserved, rear of body missing.

Treatment/Decoration: This horse formed part of the handle of a pyxis, possibly an Attic import. The paint is black and slightly lustrous. White overpaint was used for the chest piece; on the white are black tangential circles with a solid central dot and three black horizontal bands above and two below the circles. White vertical bands are painted on top of the black decoration.

Context: Unknown.

30. Horse handle from pyxis (fr.). Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. H. 0.045 m.

Solid. Clay: Hard; pale pink (7.5YR 8/4); inclusions: small dark grit, well levigated.

Treatment/Decoration: The elaborate chest ornament, painted in black over a reserved background, consists of tangent circles with central dot, framed by two horizontal lines below, two above, and a third diagonal band on the neck. The left side preserves dots or stripes on the mane.

Context: Unknown.

MOLDMADE HORSE HANDLES (31–33)

31. Neck of horse; handle (?) (fr.). Fig. 11, Pl. 53 Herakleion Museum

Max. pres. L. of two joining pieces 0.12 m.

Solid. Clay: Hard; fine, pale brown (10YR 8/4); inclusions: white; not local clay.

Treatment/Decoration: Two joining fragments formed part of the handle of a lid of a large vessel; this handle was probably moldmade. The neck is lozenge shaped; the mane is formed of three separately added undulating strips of clay placed side by side.

Context: Unknown.

32. Head and neck of horse (fr.). Fig. 11, Pl. 53 Herakleion Museum

H. 0.169 m.; Th. ca. 0.02 m.

Solid. Clay: Hard; very fine pale buff to white with light greenish tinge (10YR 8/2); inclusions: soft white. Not local.

Treatment/Decoration: The mane is formed of six long rolls of clay, each with a diameter of ca. 5 mm. Features such as the ears are carefully modeled (possibly after the piece was removed from a mold). The nostrils and bridle are incised; the black-painted decoration indicating a bridle does not correspond to the incision. The bulging eyes are formed of pellets with pointed, incised irises. The base of the neck is restored; the small hole through the wall at the base of neck, just under the mane, was possibly used to tie the lid to the vessel. The neck is modeled in flat

77 Hall, p. 102, fig. 56:F. The published figurine is on display and could not be examined because of its condition. The clay is pink to orange, and the figure has an incised mouth and nostrils and pellet eyes with a central hole for the pupil. A square firing hole is located near the tail.

78 The clay is not dissimilar to that of a pyxis illustrated in Hall, pl. XXVI; see also GTF, p. 21, figs. 11, 12.
Fig. 11. Neck of horse, handle? (31); HM 6654, head and neck of horse, probably handle (32); HM 6655, head and neck of horse, probably handle (33); small males (34, 35); mourning figure (36); HM 6656, chariot driver (37)
planes; its decoration consists of a central checkerboard flanked by solid triangles under the mane, and a band of interlocking outlined triangles descends from under the head to the base of the neck. Similar in manufacture to 33.

**Context:** Settlement on the summit, room 11 (Hall, pp. 101, 102, fig. 56:B).

33. Head and neck of horse (fr.). Fig. 11, Pl. 53
Herakleion Museum 6655

Max. pres. dim. 0.095 m.; Th. of head 0.02 m.
Solid. Clay: Hard; very fine pinkish white (7.5YR 8/2); inclusions: oval black and large soft white.

**Preservation:** Mended from two pieces. Broken off at top and base of mane.

**Treatment/Decoration:** The piece is flat in section and is possibly moldmade. Two rolls of clay applied to the back of the neck form the mane. The ears are added; the eyes are pellets with a central black dot. The mouth, eyes, and nostrils are incised. Modeling was done with a tool, possibly when the clay was leather hard. The surface appears to have been slipped and wiped.

There is a bridle painted in black on the head. A row of black dots descends from the head on the front of the neck, which carries a checkerboard pattern. There are short diagonal strokes on the mane.

**Context:** Settlement on the summit, probably rooms 9–11 (Hall, p. 102, fig. 56:C).

Most of the unattached legs from Vrokastro (22B–22I) appear to be from bovines, but one leg (22A) with attached tail and a splaying hoof or base showing impressions of a thumb, is probably from a large horse, similar to that published by Hall.79 This leg indicates, along with fragment 28, that another horse of the same size once existed,80 perhaps paired with the mended example on display in the Herakleion Museum, as is possible in the case of the large bull and cow (20, 21). It is conceivable that 22A may belong with 28, although no join exists. Although these paired horses are comparable in size to the wheelmade bovines, they were handmade, and the worn surfaces do not preserve traces of decoration. Lack of stratigraphic data precludes associating these large handmade figures with a different chronological period than that of the wheelmade bovines.

Material in the Herakleion collection indicates that parts of four or five large horse figures were recovered from the site (22A, 25, 26, 28, and the unexamined horse on display). Although Vrokastro is noted for its horse figurines,81 they are far fewer in number than the representations of bovines. There are also no discernible horses with wheels or paired chariot teams, although examples of these types have been recovered from other contemporary sites, such as Kommos.82

The decorated hollow neck 25 has a checkerboard pattern repeated on horse-head handles 32 and 33 and on the body of one bovine figure, 16 (the paint and clay of 16 and 25 are so similar that they suggest the same hand). This motif appears on pottery and cult-related objects in the LM IIIC and Subminoan periods, and it also occurs in the Early Iron Age.83

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79 Hall, p. 102, fig. 56:F. Pendlebury et al., pl. XXXII:1 provides a later example of this treatment of a horse’s hoof, although it should be noted that the shape of the body of this Archaic figurine is not at all similar to the Vrokastro example.

80 As Hall (p. 108) suggests.

81 Sekunda ([footnote 4 above] p. 252) mentions the association of the theme of war and horse with room 11; *Town, Palace, and House Cult*, p. 58: “Perhaps these figures with their horses are votives to a new male god or even represent the god himself.”

82 See Shaw, 1984 (footnote 47 above), pl. 60:d, p. 282, C 6116, C 6056, recovered from the dump of Temple A, 10th–8th/7th centuries B.C. Two chariots, however, were recovered from Vrokastro: Hall, p. 102, fig. 56:D and p. 111, fig. 62 (see 37 below).

83 It occurs on an altar from Agia Triada (Banti, pp. 57–58, 63, fig. 57), described as LM III to Subminoan.
Although head 26, wearing an elaborately modeled and painted bridle,\textsuperscript{84} has paint and clay similar to 25, there is no join; since both preserve ears, they apparently come from two different figures but may have been made by the same hand.

The small solid horse figurine (27) and the horse handles (29–33) have counterparts in shape and decoration in the Middle and Late Geometric periods.\textsuperscript{85} The odd flat feet of 28 are similar to the small “goat” figurine 4; the similarity of clay and paint to the small quadrupeds 8 and 9 indicates the same place of manufacture. All the horses are distinguished from bovines by a neck ridge or mane, sometimes decorated with diagonal strokes of paint (25, 26, 33).\textsuperscript{86} The large horse figures (28 and the example on display in the Herakleon Museum) differ little in shape or size from the wheelmade cows or bulls; their worn, irregular surfaces do give them a cruder appearance, however (unlike the bovines, their hooves are modeled by hand).

Two horses of chariot teams from the lids of pyxides are carefully painted; they are probably of Attic clay.\textsuperscript{87} The two painted horse-head handles (32, 33) from rooms 9–11\textsuperscript{88} suggest that elaborate vases and possibly pyxides comprised part of the contents of this shrine. The lozenge shape of the necks indicates that the handles were moldmade\textsuperscript{89} and joined from two sections; this construction is more apparent in the cross section of 31.

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\textsuperscript{84} Sekunda (footnote 4 above), pp. 251–254. Another horse head with a modeled bridle, LM IIIC(?) or later, was found at Agia Triada: Banti, p. 53, fig. 36.


\textsuperscript{86} For mention of the upright mane and pellet eye of Geometric horse figurines, see \textit{Fortetsa}, no. 272a, p. 257, pl. XXXVIII; this plate is labeled Subminoan–Geometric. Another painted upright mane occurs on the horse of a chariot team from Kommos; Shaw, 1981 (footnote 53 above), C 3049, p. 239, note 89, and pl. 59f; the context is early 7th century B.C. The flaking paint of the Vrokastro horse in the University Museum precludes identification of a harness, which would indicate that it was part of a chariot team.

\textsuperscript{87} Coldstream (footnote 22 above), p. 258, note 4: Attic.

\textsuperscript{88} This type of handle, at least in central and eastern Crete, is described as common; see M. Hartley, “Early Greek Vases from Crete,” \textit{BSA} 31, 1930–1931 (pp. 56–114), p. 108, fig. 33:2, 3. They have been found at Adromyloi, Kourtes, Knossos, and Kavousi. The Kavousi horse protome on display in Herakleion is on a cone-shaped lid and has a different shape than the Vrokastro examples.

\textsuperscript{89} The last Bronze Age moldmade figurines on Crete, according to Higgins, are of the 15th century, and the use of the mold begins again in the 7th century B.C.; see Higgins, \textit{The Unexplored Mansion}, p. 200, note 26 and \textit{GTF}, p. 1; the Vrokastro handles may be slightly earlier than 7th century in date. See, however, Rizza (footnote 39 above), p. 271; he states that the use of the mold extends from Subminoan to Geometric and cites as examples nos. 1, 7, 15, 19, figs. 2, 3.
(Fig. 11). The wavy or bumpy mane of 31 and the rolls of clay that form the manes of 32 and 33 have mainland parallels in the Geometric and Archaic periods. 90

The horse-head handles 32 and 33 are of fine white to light green, very pure clay and have few of the regional inclusions visible (with the exception of soft, white, probably limestone). Fabric and clay color suggest a non-local workshop. Both share elaborate black-painted checkerboard decoration 91 on necks and heads, and incision was used to indicate bridles and other features.

The technique of incision around the eye to indicate the iris and the pointed, applied eyes have been compared to other figurines of Protogeometric and Geometric date. 92 Other aspects of many of the small horse figurines and handles, including the shape of the head and the treatment of the mane, point to these periods. It may be significant that in one area (room 11) where the horse figures were found (26 and parts of the figure on display in Herakleion), the elaborate lid handles (32 and 33) echo the same theme.

**Anthropomorphic Figurines and Figures (34–42)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>34. Male (fr.). Herakleion</th>
<th>Fig. 11, Pl. 54 Museum</th>
<th>Context: Possibly near the one-room structure at Karakovilia. 93</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Max. pres. L. 0.095 m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solid. Clay: Soft; pink (7.5YR 8/4; slip 7.5YR 7/6); interior gray buff; inclusions: soft white and hard gray. <strong>Preservation:</strong> Head, body, and stub of right arm preserved; large chip missing on left side of body. <strong>Treatment/Decoration:</strong> A solid band of reddish brown paint was used for the eyebrows; one dot is preserved, indicating the right eye. Paint on the shoulder may represent a baldric; traces of a belt consist of two horizontal bands enclosing a wavy line. The nose is large and worn; a projection on one side of the face may be hair or more probably a helmet. A bulge on the exterior side of the left leg may indicate a weapon.</td>
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90 Sixth-century examples with wider beaded manes have been found at Sparta: J. M. Woodward, “Excavations at Sparta, 1924–28: Terracottas, Plastic Vases, Reliefs,” *BSA* 29, 1927–1928 (pp. 75–107), p. 80, fig. 2:16. These mainland handles are sometimes set back to back around a human head, and the shape of the horse’s heads is not similar.

91 For the motif, see footnote 83 above.

92 *Gortina*, nos. 272a, 272b, pp. 209, 211, 257, pl. XXXVIII, for treatment of eye. See also *Fortetsa*, no. 1556, p. 133, pl. III. Another horse lid-handle from Adromylloi with pellets for eyes and short lines on the mane was published by J. P. Droop (“Geometric Pottery from Crete,” *BSA* 12, 1905–1906 [pp. 24–62], no. 3256, p. 56, fig. 22); the handle is painted with Orientalizing red and blue. Another example of a horse-head lid, cruder and therefore possibly earlier, was found at Agia Triada: Banti, p. 53, figs. 38, 54.

93 Hall, pp. 170, 172. She indicates that only part of a human figurine was found near the one-room building on Karakovilia, but since there are few examples (and no females) that match this description among the terracottas in the Herakleion collection, it may be 34 or 35.
36.  Mourning figure, male.  Fig. 11, Pl. 54
Herakleion Museum
H. 0.126 m.
Solid. Clay: Fairly soft; pale yellow brown (10YR 8/4) with orange areas; yellow slip; inclusions: numerous, including gold mica, oval black, and small gray. Preservation: Part of bowl rim and legs restored; arms broken. Curve of rim indicates figure faces interior of vessel.

Treatment/Decoration: Black paint was used for the facial features and the neck band; the joined vertical parallel lines on the chest indicate clothing or jewelry, and the belt has zigzag ornament. There is paint on one leg and on the top of the rim. The figure sits on a ledge that slopes forward and curves to the front.

Context: Tomb(?). If so, it was not mentioned in Hall's reasonably detailed presentation of tomb contents.

37.  Chariot driver (fr.). Hera- kleion Museum 6656
H. 0.157 m.
Solid. Clay: Hard; light orange pink (5YR 8/4); core darker orange; inclusions: few, including gold mica and soft white. Surface covered with thick slip. Preservation: Only rear part of headgear preserved; arms and one side of chariot box broken off.

Treatment/Decoration: The entire figure is very roughly modeled, especially the lower part of the body, which was probably not visible. The arms extend forward. There are spots of red paint on the headdress or helmet; long locks of painted hair hang down beneath it at the back of the head. Pellets are used for the eyes; they and the mouth are outlined in paint, and the pupils are indicated by a central dot. Two dots (nipples?) are painted on the chest. A shirt is suggested by two bands around the upper arms and one around the neck. The figure has a wide belt of vertical strokes and a wide black band around each leg. The front of the chariot box is decorated with short vertical strokes ladderling the spaces between two bands.

Context: Settlement on the summit (Hall, p. 102, fig. 56:D). A far cruder example (Hall, p. 111, fig. 62), apparently no longer extant, was recovered from room or corridor 25; the front of this chariot is solid with the figure standing behind it.

38.  Female "sphinx"(?) (fr.). Herakleion Museum 6657
Max. pres. L. 0.145 m.
Solid. Clay: Hard; pink (7.5YR 8/4); very coarse; inclusions: many, including gold mica, hard gray, and white with black spots. Preservation: Arms broken off; left curves up more than right. Rear of figure curves back for attachment (to body of animal or vase?).

Treatment/Decoration: This is a very crudely modeled figure with incised mouth, eyes, and ears. The face is formed by two flat planes meeting at the ridge of the nose. Reddish brown paint outlines the mouth; there is a horizontal band on the neck. The breasts are outlined, and bands are painted around the arms and waist.

Context: Settlement on the summit (Hall, p. 102, fig. 56).

39.  Head of male(?) (fr.). Hera- kleion Museum 6652
H. 0.108 m.
Solid. Clay: Reddish yellow (5YR 7/6); inclusions: numerous, large soft white. Wiped, slipped surface. Preservation: Chipped all around, with back of head concave and unworked.

Treatment/Decoration: The eyes are formed of large pellets encircled by a plastic ridge of clay. The mouth is incised, with a thin raised area around the incision for the lips. The nose is thin, with a crescent-shaped profile. A band of red paint is preserved on the upper right side of the forehead, around the eyes (which may have been solidly painted), on the right nostril, and on the edge of the chin.

Context: Settlement on the summit, room 9 (Hall, p. 101, fig. 55:B).

40.  Female(?) head (fr.). Hera- kleion Museum 6651
H. 0.132 m.; W. 0.135 m.; max. pres. dim. of base 0.012 m.
Hollow. Clay: Very coarse; dark reddish yellow to brown (5YR 6/8); inclusions: angular gray (up to 0.007 mm.), soft white, and angular red. Thick cream slip (7.5YR 8/4). Preservation: Slip has cracked away from face, leaving ridges on cheeks; slab of clay across bottom of neck cracked, probably in firing; thick ridge around oval neck may indicate that it was broken off a base.

Treatment/Decoration: The front and rear of the head are gently convex. The lips are slightly modeled, and the nose is large and triangular, with large
nostrils. Slight ridges are used for the eyebrows, and the eyes are formed of oval pellets with two incisions indicating eyelids. A flat ridge outlines the crescentic head, upon which was placed a plastic band of crinkled clay, modeled to form hair; a small portion remains at the lower (proper) left. There are traces of reddish brown paint on the chin, in a vertical band up to the mouth, and above the mouth.

**Context:** Settlement on the summit, room 26, upper stratum. The head is described by Hall as recovered from the upper stratum of room 26, found with a jar decorated with a panel of maeanders.⁹⁴

**41. Male head. Herakleion**

Fig. 13, Pl. 56

Museum 6653

H. 0.227 m.; diam. of base 0.073 m.

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Solid head; hollow neck. **Clay:** Worn; reddish yellow surface (5YR 7/6); inclusions: gold mica, soft white, and gray (up to 0.005 mm.). Slip slightly more pink than clay. **Preservation:** Part of base or neck restored; long locks of hair on right and left broken off.

**Treatment/Decoration:** The face is concave, and the back of the head flat; the nose is crescent shaped. The eyes are incised cone-shaped pellets; the lips are separately modeled, although flat and close to the face. There is a plastic band on the forehead, and plastic curls form the hair: four long plastic strands are on the back of the head (similar to the painted hair of the charioteer), with a fifth beginning very low at the base of the neck. A firing hole is located at the back of the head. This is the only large head modeled on the back. The plastic locks curve around the

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⁹⁴ Hall, p. 112, fig. 63; for the jar illustrated in fig. 60:C, see footnote 22 above.
chins, indicating a beard. The hair is painted red, and there is a band of paint across the forehead; the chin and lips are painted, and a ring marks the center of each eye. The front of the neck bears a painted panel of geometric ornament (zigzags) similar to that found on the cylinder forming the quadruped body 17.

Context: Settlement on the summit, room 17 (Hall, p. 101, fig. 55:A).

42. Stand for head(?). Herakleion Museum

H. 0.143 m.; max. pres. diam. 0.095 m.

Hollow. Clay: Worn; pink (7.5YR 7/4); inclusions: hard gray.

Construction: This is a roughly cylindrical tube with three pinched-out prongs at the base for stability. The broken-off top is compressed to form a small oval. Throwing rings on the slab base, which is concave, indicate that it was cut from the side of a thrown cylinder and attached to the tube.

Treatment/Decoration: Traces of black paint occur on the cylinder. The top may roughly fit the oval area under head 40 (the pieces could not be examined together), but the paint and clay differ, the face is slipped but not the base, and the fit would be a poor one. The existence of this base implies the presence of another head that was not recovered.

Context: Unknown.

The group of anthropomorphic figures is the most varied and consists primarily of small male figurines; the sex of two of the large head figures cannot be established with certainty. Among the small males, the mourning figurine 36 is a rare depiction of a male in this attitude; it was attached to the side of a large bowl or cinerary urn.95 Female mourning

95 Iakovidis (footnote 34 above), p. 45, pl. 16, fig. 8.
figures occur in Early Iron Age through Archaic contexts and are traceable to the Late Bronze Age (LH IIIC Perati). Their arms are raised in a similar attitude, but generally they face out from the vase. The roughly triangular face and pinched-out nose of the Vrokastro example is not unlike the treatment of other small males of the Geometric period or slightly earlier. These mourning figurines represent a continuous tradition from the Mycenaeans through the Geometric and later periods.

Two other small males (34, 35) may have been warriors. Both wear decorated belts and possibly a baldric. The larger flat, elongated male (34) has only one strap on the right shoulder, and the bulge on either side of the head may indicate a helmet. The elongated, rather flat body type of the Phylakopi males, with short legs and a long neck, may be continued in 34, and certainly in the shape of the body this terracotta seems related to Subminoan and Early Iron Age bronze male figurines found in Cretan caves and other contexts. In the bronzes this body type and the nudity were once thought indicative of a Protogeometric or “Intermediate” date, but many of the earlier Phylakopi males share similar characteristics.

The elongated, flat form is also seen in the LM IIIC period in the modeling of male terracotta figurines from the Unexplored Mansion. This shape in metal figurines may have influenced the later Vrokastro male, although it appears that the line of development may begin with the Phylakopi pieces; the difficulty remains for the dating of the earliest Cretan examples in metal. Certainly some interaction occurred with metal prototypes.

\(^{96}\) Kübler (footnote 31 above), nos. 97, 98, grave kappa, p. 2, pl. 80; also no. 107, grave phi, pl. 93; no. 106, grave phi, pl. 94 (7th century or later; all are female, and all face out, away from the vessel).

\(^{97}\) S. Iakovidis, Περίτρι το Νεκροταφείον II, Athens 1970, pp. 266–270; 178β for LH IIIC examples of mourning female figurines attached to kalathos rims. Iakovidis ([footnote 34 above] p. 45, pl. 16, fig. 8) identifies the Vrokastro figurine as Geometric in date and suggests that it was attached to a cinerary urn. The male sex of the Vrokastro figurine is not mentioned, and most of the painted or terracotta mourners cited in this article are females; note, however, ill. 6, p. 49, where the sex is not easily identified and the figure is simply labeled as a “mourner”. For further examples of Bronze Age date: N. Zapheiroupolou, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ Νάξου», ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ 1960 (1966; pp. 329–340), p. 335, pl. 279:α, β; A. Maiuri, “Jalisos, scavi della missione archeologica italiana a Rodi,” ASAtene 6–7, 1923–1924 (1926; pp. 83–247), no. 3156, p. 174, fig. 101:13. Later examples: V. Karageorghis, Alaas, A Protogeometric Necropolis in Cyprus, Nicosia 1975, no. 1220, pp. 40, 53, 56, pl. LXXX (seated female[?] on kalathos rim); a Geometric mourning figurine from the Athenian Agora: T. L. Shear, “The Campaign of 1935,” Hesperia 5, 1936 (pp. 1–42), pp. 27, 28, fig. 25 (seated female, 8th century B.C.) and D. B. Thompson, Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora (Picture Books of the Athenian Agora 3), Princeton 1959, pl. 8; see also D. Levi, “Early Hellenic Pottery of Crete,” Hesperia 14, 1945 (pp. 1–32), pp. 15, 28, pl. XXIV:2; Arkades, p. 186, fig. 205:α–ε (female figure on lid handle, described as representative of a continuous tradition from the Bronze Age to the Geometric period). Philistine terracotta mourners on bowl rims are discussed by T. Dothan in The Philistines and Their Material Culture, London 1982, pp. 237–249 with fig. 11.

\(^{99}\) See Arkades, pp. 612–619 for discussion of facial types.

\(^{99}\) Iakovidis (footnote 34 above), pp. 43–50.

\(^{100}\) U. Naumann, Subminoische und protogeometrische Bronzeplastik auf Kreta (AM-BH 6), Berlin 1976, p. 51; Cretan Collection, p. 7. Division has been stylistic, with saluting males with codpiece held to be Subminoan and naked males Protogeometric. See also Gortina, pl. VIII:46, for an elongated, flat male, dated to the Geometric period. Similar PG males occur at Kato Symi: A. Lembessi, «Ἡ Ἐρμή καὶ Ἀφροδίτη στὴ Σύμη Βίάννος», ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ 1976 B’ (1979; pp. 400–407), p. 403, pl. 222:γ. A description of the type is also provided in Archaeology of Cult, pp. 423–424.

\(^{101}\) Archaeology of Cult, pp. 420, 423–424.

The arms of the smaller, more naturalistic male 35 are extended forward and may have held an offering or, less probably, a weapon. This is not an uncommon pose for male votives in the LM III period, although it is not so common for male figures as the older hand-to-forehead posture. Crossed straps are indicated in paint on the figure’s chest and back, a feature repeated on another small male from the Unexplored Mansion. Despite new finds from the Unexplored Mansion and Phylakopi, terracotta male figurines are still relatively rare in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. One of these two small, probably votive male figurines was found outside but in association with a one-room structure excavated in a field (Karakovilia; described above, pp. 110–111) southwest of the peak.

The open, rail chariot 37 is similar to an example from Karphi (the rhyton with bulls or oxen), except that the feet of the Vrokastro charioteer are placed over the forward rail of the chariot; he does not stand fully behind it. Terracotta depictions of chariots may not begin to appear in Crete as an established type until LM III; by the Iron Age the type is more frequent. Somewhat similar pointed caps or helmets are known on males as early as the LM IIIB period, and one male from the Unexplored Mansion with long locks, spread legs, and arms outstretched may be a charioteer driver.

For the crude modeling and pose of the “sphinx” 38 there are several parallels within the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, but most of these columnar females stand on

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103 This pose with arms extended, as if holding a weapon or offering, may be seen in male figurines (some perhaps warriors) from Kannia (Gortina), Phylakopi, Kommos, and the Unexplored Mansion and the palace at Knossos (Shrine of the Double Axes); French, “Figures,” SF 1553 and 2340, pp. 223, 226, fig. 6:12, pp. 230, 420–422; PM II, i, p. 339, fig. 192; Shaw, 1986 (footnote 47 above), B 306, p. 224, pl. 47:d (belongs to lowest Iron Age levels). Gesell mentions this new pose for the infrequent LM III males: Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 50.

104 For the earlier gesture: Archaeology of Cult, p. 420, and Naumann (footnote 100 above), pp. 51–52.

105 Higgins, The Unexplored Mansion, no. 6, p. 198, pl. 193; this is a LM IIIB male.

106 Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 50. There is also a deposit of bearded males interpreted as votives from Agia Triada: F. Halbherr, “Resti dell’età Micenea coperti ad Haghia Triadha presso Phaestos,” MonAnt 13, 1903 (pp. 5–76), pp. 73–74, pl. XI:3.

107 The figurines Hall mentions (p. 170) were found near by but outside the room, not inside as Coldstream indicates ([footnote 27 above] p. 102); see also footnote 28 above.

108 Hall, p. 102, fig. 56: D; Seiradakis (footnote 19 above), p. 28, pl. 13, who observed this similarity. For the Karphi rhyton: Pendlebury et al., pp. 81–82; Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 210, pl. 159:a, b; Archaeology of Cult, p. 419. For a discussion of the development of the rail chariot and examples from Geometric contexts, see J. H. Crouwel, Chariots and Other Means of Land Transport in Bronze Age Greece, Amsterdam 1981, p. 71, where the Vrokastro example is described as Geometric; another contemporary chariot from Olympia is illustrated on pl. 140. Crouwel believes that this type of chariot continued to be used from the 13th century B.C. through the Geometric period: p. 73.

109 Archaeology of Cult, p. 419.

110 One example has been published from Kommos, with the two-horse team joined (made as a unit): Shaw, 1981 (footnote 53 above), C 3049, pl. 59f.

spreading bases. Only the small breasts, circled by paint, are indicative of the sex (painted nipples also occur on males).

Possibly the piece most similar to 38 is attached to the front of a “duck vase” or askos from Kos, dated to the 10th century B.C. The duck vase does appear at Vrokastro, with a spout located at the front. The face of the Kos vase attachment is slightly better modeled than 38; it is female, columnar, and schematic; the body is banded in a way corresponding to the decoration on the spout. Its arms are broken off, but they may not have been raised, while the Vrokastro figurine appears to have one arm raised, the other extended out to the side. The Kos example is attached at its base to the vessel, and most of the “minotaur” figures from Agia Irini in Cyprus are attached to the quadruped body at the base of the upright piece forming the human trunk or body. By contrast, the Vrokastro “sphinx” curves to the rear, where it may have been attached to a vase or a cylindrical, solid body. There seem to be many Cretan parallels for the extremely crude workmanship but fewer for pose and manner of attachment.

The term “head figurine” has been used to describe the large terracotta heads that occur in LM III, some of which appear to be rhyta. The ancestry of this type cannot be traced, although individual heads of varying sizes have been reported as dedicated at Cretan sanctuaries. The Vrokastro examples, 39–41, may represent two related types, which continue to be produced at least through the Geometric period and probably beyond. The female head 40 and the male head 41 may belong to a tradition in which large heads, with no attempt made to represent a torso, are supported on bases or necks; in the case of 41, the

112 There are many crudely modeled columnar females with arms raised, for example: Gortina, pl. VII:27, 33; the chronological range for this type is broad: Late Minoan to Geometric. See also the piece from Agia Triada: Banti, pp. 56–57, fig. 49; it is not dated but is put with other terracottas dating to LM III. The terracottas identified as sphinxes from Agia Triada are not comparable to 38 in proportions or modeling; they have large heads and are attached at the base of an elongated neck to a horizontal body (Banti, p. 55, figs. 43, 45, 46; also Arkades, pp. 614–615, fig. 647.b). The Vrokastro figurine has a vertical human trunk that curves to the horizontal. One PG figurine from the Spring Chamber at Knossos is cruder and possibly contemporary with the Vrokastro piece, yet still has a short neck, round head, and a totally different shape: PM II, i, pp. 128, 136, fig. 69:k. Nondescript, crude columnar figurines are just as common in the Early Iron Age on the mainland: J. Farrell, “The Archaic Terracottas from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia,” BSA 14, 1907–1908 (pp. 48–73), pp. 51–52, fig. 2:f; Woodward (footnote 90 above), p. 81, fig. 3:18, 25.

113 Dots indicate the nipples of a male from Phylakopi, although he appears to be wearing a garment; French, “Figures,” no. 1553, p. 223, fig. 6:12. Nipples are frequently depicted on males (Cretan Collection, p. 89), and may be shown on the chariot driver 37.

114 GTF, p. 20, pl. 6:A, B. The spout appears to be located in the center of the vase.

115 Hall, p. 152, fig. 92, chamber tomb VI.

116 Crude figurines with both arms raised are frequent (footnote 112 above), but this pose, with one arm raised and one extended, is not common.

117 Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 52, for discussion of the development of “head vase”, and Cretan Collection, pp. 101–102.

base or neck was modeled as part of the piece, and 40 was probably placed on a separate base, similar to 42 (a head of somewhat similar proportions was found at Kalo Chorio, Pediada). What has been described as a "mask" (39), the questionable male head (the only indication of sex is the painted band on the chin, but see below, p. 141), is broken all around, and the slightly concave back may indicate that it was mounted on a cylindrical body in the same manner as the Early Iron Age figure from Kissamo in West Crete. This piece may represent a separate type, in which a face is mounted on a cylinder that forms a crude body. The type continues into the Geometric period and later.

All three heads bear traces of paint around the lips. The small mouth of 41 is duplicated on the Early Iron Age head from Kalo Chorio, Pediada. On 38 and 41 paint is used to highlight circular incision in the center of the eye. They have the pellet eyes and plastic brows that typify post-Minoan figures. Paint also outlines the interior of the plastic rib around both eyes, both sides of the nose, and the base of the nose around the nostrils. Paint beside the nose is known from other pieces, for example a sphinx from Agia Triada, where the band of paint on the eyebrows is continued down both sides of the nose. Decoration on the neck of 41 is similar to the design on a bovine body from the Vrokastro collection (17), and its long locks of hair are identical in treatment to tails, snakes, or locks of hair found on other thrown cylinders (18–20). This treatment of the hair is somewhat similar to that of a few head figures found in Crete. The head figure closest to 41 in terms of the shape of the head and proportions of face is the one from Kalo Chorio, Pediada, although the Vrokastro piece is cruder. The two share the same long nose, small lips, bulging eyes, massive

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120 Described as a mask by Levi: Arkades, p. 617.

121 Cretan Collection, pp. 89–92. Hall (p. 101) describes the face as mounted on a cylindrical base. This same concave interior or "masklike" appearance is also apparent in treatment of earlier fragmentary terracotta heads from Agia Triada: Banti, pp. 57, 62, figs. 54, 55.

122 For a discussion of the cylindrical human-body type, see Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 58. Gesell considers them a possible development from the PG figures with upraised hands. Columnar figures from Praisos may represent a Geometric, or probably later, stage in the development of the type: E. S. Forster, "Praesos, the Terra-cottas," BSA 8, 1901–1902 (pp. 271–281), pp. 275, 276, figs. 2, 3.

123 See footnote 119 above.

124 See Gortina, p. 209 for a suggested Geometric date for this technique. The janiform head from Pisko-kephala, possibly of the Protogeometric or Geometric period, also has incised eyes: Cretan Collection, pp. 101–103, fig. 41.

125 This type of treatment for eyes and brows in the Geometric period is mentioned in Gortina, p. 211 and Cretan Collection, p. 102; the tradition continues in the dedication of an Archaic oval head with bulging eyes from Vitzelovrysis, Karphi: Pendlebury et al., pl. XXXII:375.

126 Banti, p. 55, fig. 44:a, b.

127 Long, plastic locks of hair are found on the cylindrical male figure from Kissamo: F. Halbherr, "Report on the Researches at Praisos," AJA 5, 1901 (pp. 371–392), p. 382, figs. 9, 10. The locks are not so curvilinear as those of 41 and appear to run into the baldric. This figure has been placed in the Protogeometric or Geometric period: Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 58; see Cretan Collection, pp. 89–92. Long plastic locks representing hair are also found on terracotta females with upraised hands: Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 182, fig. 48:a; these, however, are gathered at the back, hang straight, and are incised.

128 See footnote 119 above.
brows that end at the nose, and protruding chin.\footnote{The similarity is demonstrated by the juxtaposition of Vrocastro heads and the Kalo Chorio terracotta in Arkades, p. 618, fig. 650a–c; for discussion, pp. 619–620. Similar stylistic comparisons are drawn between Vrocastro head figurines 39, 40, and 41 and heads from Gortina, nos. 42–44, p. 211, figs. 270–272. Boardman compares the Vrocastro heads to the bearded columnar male from Kissamo (Cretan Collection, p. 89) and describes PG features such as plastic eyes and plastic brows.} Ears were not modeled on 41, although these features do occasionally occur on other head figures. The less careful workmanship of the Vrocastro piece may indicate a later date, although it should be kept in mind that even the Kalo Chorio example has not been securely dated.

Problems arising in the firing were forestalled in 41 by piercing the back of the head (the top of the neck was pinched in, so that there was no outlet from the head to the neck, which is open at the base). The same technique was used in the manufacture of the large bovine cylinders. The crescentic head 40 had no firing holes, which may have caused the large crack across the base. The clay used for 39, 40, and 41 contained many more (and larger) inclusions than that used in manufacturing the cylindrical bodies of the quadrupeds. This difference in clay fabric with respect to the quantity, size, and occasionally the type of inclusions is difficult to assess, but it could suggest a different place of manufacture (workshop), the use of different clay beds (possibly not local), or that the hand-modeled heads required a coarser clay (or conversely, that thrown pieces had to be better levigated). In any case, the thick slip employed on all three compensated for the coarse clay.

It has been suggested that all three large Vrocastro heads are male and that they reflect the ascendancy of the male element in Cretan religion.\footnote{For a discussion of prominent painted chins on possibly female figurines from the mainland, Cyprus, and Crete, see French, “Figures,” SF 2672, pp. 216–217, fig. 6:5, pp. 415, 421; the Lady of Phylakopi with painted chin (SF 2660) is illustrated on p. 214, fig. 6:4. (SF 2672 also has wavy lines by the nose.) For a Cypriot female figurine initially described as a male, see K. Nicolaou, “Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines in the Cyprus Museum,” OpAth 5, 1964 (pp. 47–57), A30, p. 49, pl. IV:a:d. Another female identification of a sphinx with painted chin from Agia Triada was made by Banti (p. 55, fig. 44:a). These females are contrasted by French (“Figures,” p. 223) to males with flat, elongated bodies and arms that stretch out or swing forward, as if holding an offering or weapon.} Painted chins, however, do not necessarily denote the male sex (e.g. “Lord” of Asine\footnote{Nickolls ([footnote 119 above] p. 7) suggests tentatively that a large head, such as the Asine terracotta, could be set in the ground with a stake, and with the lower portion draped would be a “... plausible cult figure, in function not unlike some of the primitive herm-like wooden images known from literary sources.”}). The “Lady” of Phylakopi has the same paint on upper lip and chin as 40 and 39 and has, in addition, painted wavy lines beside the nose, which appear on 39.\footnote{Marinatos (footnote 54 above) pp. 255–256; Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 57, pl. 60; they belong to the mid-7th century.} The Phylakopi and Vrocastro heads share the common attributes of large nose and prominent eyebrows. The types of representations depend on the cult involved; at Dreros, a cult of Apollo produced two smaller females flanking a dominant male,\footnote{S. Alexiou, « ‘Ιερόν παρὰ τὸ Καβοῦντι ’Ιεροπέτρας», Κρητ.Χρον 10, 1956, pp. 7–19; further discussion} while the shrine at Pachlizani Agriada produced a number of female representations,\footnote{} suggesting a cult of Eileithyia. In only one case can it be ascertained that a large
Vrokastro head figure is male (41); indeed, when it was first excavated, Hall described the crescentic, carefully modeled head 40 with closed eyes as the death mask of a female\textsuperscript{135} and recognized that potentially it was the most important figure from the site\textsuperscript{136}.

Other head figures of this period have been described as votives,\textsuperscript{137} but it has also been suggested that the Vrokastro pieces could be representations of a divinity.\textsuperscript{138} This identification cannot be established, but it should be pointed out that, in contrast to 40, the two other heads are just as crudely painted, and even less well made, than the wheelmade quadrupeds described above. The crescentic or moon-shaped face with closed eyes (40) has no real parallel in the Geometric period in its careful modeling or naturalistic depiction,\textsuperscript{139} although in profile it has the same large hooked nose, concave face, and bulging, incised eyes of other contemporary examples. Another point of difference is its broad face, which is rather unusual for the period. The quality, size, type of fabric, and thick slip indicate that a hand different from that that of 39 and 41 was involved in its manufacture.

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE VROKASTRO COLLECTION**

The two factors that usually preclude the establishment of a secure date for figurines are lack of context and the unique characteristics of each piece. These factors certainly present obstacles to dating this collection. It is clear that a few pieces, such as 40, were found in association with Geometric pottery, and the three Vrokastro head figures have generally been placed in this period.\textsuperscript{140} Some of the other catalogued entries appear to belong to this or the Protogeometric period on the basis not of context but of shape, decoration, and the existence of dated comparanda (11, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33). It is also conceivable that the publication of the large number of quadrupeds from Kommos will permit an Early Iron Age (Protogeometric and later) date to be established for the wheelmade Vrokastro bovines.\textsuperscript{141} A few pieces could belong to a chronological range as expansive as LM III through the 8th

\textsuperscript{135} A letter dated May 18, 1910, states: "... we got a clay head of a woman—probably a death likeness—which I think will be quite important." (Quoted with permission of The University Museum Archives, University of Pennsylvania.) The closed eyes of this head figure link it to Hall's description of a "death likeness".

\textsuperscript{136} Hall, p. 112.

\textsuperscript{137} Karetou, *Sanctuaries and Cults*, p. 146, note 28; Nicholls ([footnote 119 above] p. 12) also suggests that the Vrokastro pieces could be votaries.

\textsuperscript{138} *Town, Palace, and House Cult*, p. 58; footnotes 81, 131 above.

\textsuperscript{139} The only other piece dated to the Geometric period as well or naturalistically modeled is a male head protome from Juktas, although this head, based on hair style, seems to anticipate the Daedalic style: A. Karetou, "'Ιερών κορυφής Γιανόχτα', Πρακτικά 1975, B' (1977; pp. 330–342), p. 340, pl. 267:β; it is also considerably smaller (0.08 m. high).

\textsuperscript{140} *Town, Palace, and House Cult*, p. 58; Higgins (*GTF*, p. 12) cites material from Agia Triada, the Dictaean Cave, and Vrokastro as possibly dating from the 11th to the 8th centuries B.C. See footnote 7 above for Hall's assessment of the chronology of the site. Lacking stratigraphic evidence, the high proportion of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery recovered may provide the surest chronological base for assessing the general date of the collection.

\textsuperscript{141} Professor M. Shaw describes the Kommos bovines as no earlier by context than the Protogeometric period (*per. lit.*, 1988); Nicholls does suggest that the tradition of large, wheelmade bulls may be traceable to the 12th century B.C. in Crete ([footnote 119 above] p. 9) but that the Vrokastro bulls are of the 9th and 8th centuries (p. 12).
century, including the small, carefully modeled bird 1 and the horns of consecration 24 and 25(?). If, however, the horns of consecration and the possible bull rhyton 13 are Geometric, they are among the latest examples of their kind from the island.142

CONCLUSIONS

Gesell notes that the cult equipment and figurines that survive the LM III period include benches, offering tables, cylindrical figures, parturient females, hut urns, plaques, keroi, and triton shells.143 Lacking at Vrokastro are hut urns, plaques, childbirth figures, and large female figures with upraised arms (cylindrical figures). It has been suggested that the large female type does not occur where numbers of bull figures are present,144 as at Vrokastro.

To judge by the frequency of occurrence, the emphasis within the Vrokastro group seems to be on animal terracottas, both large and small. With the exception of the large head figure 40, most of the larger zoomorphic figures appear to be made and painted with greater care than the anthropomorphic. A high number of bovines were also dedicated at earlier peak sanctuaries, but as yet there is no evidence that the Vrokastro shrines are in any way linked to possible earlier cultic activity on the peak.145 Although frequently associated with an open-air temenos or sanctuary,146 these figures apparently come from one of the domestic or public shrines in the upper settlement area.

The large terracotta horse figure, the horse’s head 26, and the bronze and iron weaponry possibly dedicated in rooms 9–11 seem to indicate a more masculine (and potentially warlike) aspect of cult than do the bovines, and finds from room 17, which include the male head 41 and fragments of a horse figure, partially echo that theme. Since seven iron and bronze spearheads were described by Hall as found both under and against the east wall of room 11,147 it cannot be determined if all the weaponry originally came from the shrine; the double eastern wall of room 11 does suggest some rebuilding and may indicate an earlier phase of cultic activity.

In addition to the aspect of cult suggested by weaponry and horses, the presence of a theme of agrarian activity and fertility is indicated by the many bovines and the goat 4, although no secure context has been identified for this material. One other possibility is that some of the figurines scattered throughout rooms on the summit may have simply been toys.

In the types represented, the Vrokastro group is somewhat similar to the Agia Triada collection in the presence of bulls and horses, but the Agia Triada figures appear to be

142 Banti (p. 58) stated that the latest examples of horns of consecration are PG. Gesell (Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 64) reports that rhyta go out of use in LM III, except for head rhyta; there are a few terracotta horns of consecration in the LM III period (p. 62).
143 Town, Palace, and House Cult, p. 59.
144 Archaeology of Cult, p. 406.
145 See Rutkowski, 1971 (footnote 2 above), p. 9 for reference to the numbers of bovines dedicated at peak sanctuaries.
146 Town, Palace, and House Cult, pp. 53, 57; this sanctuary type survives the Minoan period, when new varieties of dedications (e.g., ithyphallic males, cut-out bronze plaques) begin to appear; Archaeology of Cult, p. 427.
147 Hall, pp. 101, 106.
generally earlier and more carefully made.\textsuperscript{148} Late Minoan III and Early Iron Age wheel-made bovines are common (from Phylakopi, Kato Symi, Agia Triada, and Kommos), although there are no published examples close in shape or decoration. For the plastic attachments that might be snakes, Cyprus provides the nearest roughly contemporary parallel. It is more probable that other Cretan bulls with attached snakes have simply not been found than that there existed a direct link to Cyprus, although other Cypriot connections have been suggested for Vrokastro material.\textsuperscript{149}

Large head figures come from many sites in the island, are produced in one form or another as early as LM IIIB, and are preceded in time by smaller head figurines, some apparently complete in themselves, found at peak sanctuaries and other types of shrines.\textsuperscript{150} There may be no developmental sequence that can be traced from these dedications, and certainly three types of large human figures are discernable in LM III through the Early Iron Age: the rhyton form, a clay head placed on a cylindrical body, and a large head supported on a base or neck. Head figures are also known from LM IIIC Karphi; they are generally smaller than the Vrokastro pieces and have no elaborate raised bases.\textsuperscript{151}

The Vrokastro collection as a whole is significant because it is varied, with more bovines and possible females present than has been previously recognized, and because there are unusual pieces, such as the “sphinx” \textsuperscript{38}, and possible snake attachments on some of the quadrupeds. Obviously there may be more than one “theme”: war, fertility, and possibly another signified by the large heads. Two or three locations on the summit (and the one-room structure at Karakovilia) are possible public or private shrines (rooms 8a, 8b, 9, 11; 17; 34; 1?). Overall, this is a more complex situation than could be realized from the initial publication and, allowing for the smaller settlement area on the summit, may be reminiscent of the number, type of shrines, and variety of material found at Karphi. On the whole, the group looks to the past and LM III cult in terms of probable themes and figurine types present.

\textsuperscript{148} Banti, figs. 31–37.
\textsuperscript{149} Desborough (footnote 59 above), p. 236, note 9.
\textsuperscript{150} Heads dedicated at Jukta: Karetsou (footnote 118 above), pp. 235–236, pl. 176;\textit{idem} (footnote 139 above), pl. 267; Karetsou, \textit{Sanctuaries and Cults}, p. 146, note 28; at Kato Symi: Lembessi (footnote 49 above), p. 198, pl. 187; (LM IIIB head vase); see also Orlandos (footnote 111 above) and Mylonas (footnote 118 above).
\textsuperscript{151} Pendlebury \textit{et al.}, pl. XXXIII:375.
a. Rubble bench on east side of room 8b, from west. Portion of bedrock outcrop on north (left)

b. Eastern wall of room 11 (half-meter scale on lower, projecting wall)

c. Sandstone kernos in room 34, from south
1. Bird, top view

2. Duck

3. Dog(?)

4. Goat(?)

BARBARA J. HAYDEN: TERRACOTTA FIGURES, FIGURINES, AND VASE ATTACHMENTS FROM VROKASTRO, CRETE
5. Bovine on peg

6. Bovine head

7. Bovine: ox with harness (?)

8. Bovine: one of team with 9 (?)

10. Solid decorated bovine

11. Bovine

Barbara J. Hayden: Terracotta Figures, Figurines, and Vase Attachments from Vrokastro, Crete
12. Bovine head (rhyton?)

13. Bovine head: ox(?)

14. Decorated wheelmade bovine body, top view

14. Side view

14. Front view

15. Bovine leg (joins 14)
16. Wheelmade bovine (two joining pieces), side view

17. Wheelmade cylinder (bovine) with plastic attachment, top view

18. Cylinder (two joining pieces) with plastic attachment

19. Cow, side view

20. Bull, side view


BARBARA J. HAYDEN: TERRACOTTA FIGURES, FIGURINES, AND VASE ATTACHMENTS FROM VROKASTRO, CRETE
22A. Leg of horse (?)

22B–22E. Legs

22F, 22G–22I. Banded legs

23. Horns of consecration

24. Horns of consecration (?)

25. Decorated neck of horse

BARBARA J. HAYDEN: TERRACOTTA FIGURES, FIGURINES, AND VASE ATTACHMENTS FROM VROKASTRO, CRETE
26. Decorated head of horse

27. Horse

28. Fragment of body (horse?)

29. Horse pyxis handle

30. Horse pyxis handle

31. Neck of horse (handle?)

32. Horse head and neck (handle?)

33. Horse head and neck (handle?)

BARBARA J. HAYDEN: TERRACOTTA FIGURES, FIGURINES, AND VASE ATTACHMENTS FROM VROKASTRO, CRETE
PLATE 54

34. Male figure

35. Male figure

36. Mourning figure

37. Chariot driver

38. "Sphinx", front view

38. Back view

BARBARA J. HAYDEN: TERRACOTTA FIGURES, FIGURINES, AND VASE ATTACHMENTS FROM VROKASTRO, CRETE
39. Head, front view

39. Side view

40. Head (female?), front view

40. Side view

40. Bottom view

BARBARA J. HAYDEN: TERRACOTTA FIGURES, FIGURINES, AND VASE ATTACHMENTS FROM VROKASTRO, CRETE
41. Male head on columnar neck, front view

41. Side view

41. Back view

42. Base for head, side view