

PHILISTOR

Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras





Costis Davaras, Hagios Nikolaos, 2008.

PREHISTORY MONOGRAPHS 36

PHILISTOR

Studies in Honor of Costis Davaras

edited by

Eleni Mantzourani and Philip P. Betancourt



Published by
INSTAP Academic Press
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
2012

Design and Production
INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia, PA

Printing and Binding
Thomson-Shore, Inc., Dexter, MI

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Philistor : studies in honor of Costis Davaras / edited by Eleni Mantzourani and Philip P. Betancourt.

p. cm. — (Prehistory monographs ; 36)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-1-931534-65-9 (hardcover : alk. paper)

1. Crete (Greece)—Antiquities. 2. Excavations (Archaeology)—Greece—Crete. 3. Architecture, Minoan—Greece—Crete. 4. Bronze age—Greece—Crete. 5. Minoans. I. Mantzourane, Helene, 1954- II. Betancourt, Philip P., 1936- III. Davaras, Kostas. DF221.C8P47 2012 939'.1801—dc23

2012013140

Copyright © 2012
INSTAP Academic Press
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

In Greek the word φιλίστωρ (philistor) means the lover of learning, of history, the person who constantly seeks new knowledge.

The characterization of philistor fits the personality of Costis Davaras because he has always tried to expand his knowledge horizons and has never limited himself solely to his fields of specialization. His entire life is full of diverse activities, philosophical self-reflection, and sociopolitical interests.



Table of Contents

List of Tables in the Text.	xi
List of Figures in the Text.	xiii
Biography of Costis Davaras <i>by Eleni Mantzourani</i>	xxi
Bibliography of Costis Davaras.	xxv
List of Abbreviations.	xxxi
1. The Frying Pans from Hagia Photia <i>by Philip P. Betancourt</i>	1
2. The Genesis of the Early Minoan Tholos Tomb <i>by Keith Branigan</i>	7
3. Harvesting an Old Rattle: The Bronze Sistrum from the “Royal” Villa at Hagia Triada <i>by Thomas M. Brogan</i>	15
4. <i>Γαία περίρρυτος</i> : Some Thoughts on “Neo-Minoan” Mythology <i>by Christos G. Doumas</i>	25
5. The Presence of Pumice in LM IIIB Levels at Sissi, Crete <i>by Florence Gaignerot-Driessen and Jan Driessen</i>	35

6. The Kavousi Goddesses with Up-raised Hands: New Information on Technology by <i>Geraldine C. Gesell</i>	43
7. An Early Minoan I Long Dagger and Razor from Kalo Chorio, East Crete by <i>Donald C. Haggis</i> . . .	51
8. “Firebars” and Other Ceramics of Problematic Function from Priniatikos Pyrgos by <i>Barbara J. Hayden</i>	59
9. A Tomb from Gonies Padiados: The End of Final Neolithic IV Merges with the Dawn of the Early Bronze Age by <i>Athanasia Kanta with contributions by Eleni Nodarou and Argyro Nafplioti</i>	65
10. Two Stone Kernoi from the Juktas Peak Sanctuary by <i>Alexandra Karetsou with a contribution by R.D.G. Evely</i>	81
11. A New Idol of Cycladic Type from Hagia Triada by <i>Vincenzo La Rosa</i>	97
12. Sexuality or Fertility Symbol? The Bronze Figurine from Makrygialos by <i>Eleni Mantzourani</i> . . .	105
13. A Story of Lions: Palatial Ideology in Egypt, Knossos, and Mycenae by <i>Nanno Marinatos</i>	113
14. Earth and Fire: Cretan Potting Traditions and Replicating Minoan Cooking Fabrics by <i>Jennifer Moody, Jerolyn E. Morrison, and Harriet Lewis Robinson</i>	119
15. A Terracotta Foot Model from the Syme Sanctuary, Crete by <i>Polymnia Muhly</i>	133
16. East Cretan Peak Sanctuaries Revisited by <i>Krzysztof Nowicki</i>	139
17. An Early Minoan Boat Model from Kephala Petras, Siteia by <i>Yiannis Papadatos</i>	155
18. New Evidence on the Origin of the Late Minoan III Chest-shaped Larnax by <i>Lefteris Platon</i>	161
19. God Save Our Homes: The Case of the Horns of Consecration from Galatas by <i>Giorgos Rethemiotakis</i>	169
20. The Hypostyle Crypt (Quartier Kappa) and the Large Court, Malia: An Athletic Center? by <i>Martin Schmid</i>	177
21. Mochlos Boats by <i>Jeffrey S. Soles</i>	187
22. The “Vrysinas Ephebe”: The Lower Torso of a Clay Figurine in Contrapposto by <i>Dimitris Sphakianakis</i>	201
23. Kampos Group Pottery from the Prepalatial Cemetery of Petras, Siteia by <i>Metaxia Tsipopoulou</i> . .	213
24. Minoan Bee Smokers: An Experimental Approach by <i>Loeta Tyree, Harriet Lewis Robinson, and Paraskevi Stamataki</i>	223
25. Headless, Armless but Sexuated Bodies: On Some Particular Figurines from the Peak Sanctuary of Vrysinas, near Rethymnon, Crete by <i>Iris Tzachili</i>	233
26. Armenoi: The Late Minoan III Necropolis and the Town by <i>Yannis Tzedakis and Holley Martlew</i>	239
27. The Neopalatial “Farmhouse” at Kephali Lazana, Chondros Viannou, Re-examined by <i>Giorgos Vavouranakis</i>	247

28. The Apogee of Minoan Civilization: The Final Neopalatial Period <i>by Peter M. Warren</i>	255
29. An Overview of Secondary State Formation on Crete: The Mirabello Region during the Bronze Age <i>by L. Vance Watrous</i>	273



List of Tables in the Text

Table 9.1.	Results of the element analysis on the three collared jars with cylindrical neck.	73
Table 14.1.	MACFA description of the archaeological Minoan cooking pots.	122
Table 14.2.	MACFA description of the replicated Minoan cooking pots.	122
Table 24.1.	Neopalatial bee smokers from Zakros.	224
Table 29.1.	Neopalatial settlement changes by percentage.	280



List of Figures in the Text

Frontispiece.	Costis Davaras, Hagios Nikolaos, 2008.....	ii
Figure 1.1.	Pottery from the Hagia Photia cemetery.....	3
Figure 1.2.	Pottery from the Hagia Photia cemetery.....	4
Figure 1.3.	Stand (HNM 12,570) from the Hagios Charalambos Cave, EM IIA.....	5
Figure 2.1.	Plan of Lebena Gerokampos II as first constructed.....	10
Figure 2.2.	Plan of tholos A at Moni Odigitria.....	10
Figure 3.1.	Detail view of the Harvester Vase showing the sistrum.....	16
Figure 3.2.	Linear A Tablet no. 6a from Hagia Triada, with sistrum ideogram on the far right of the third line from the top.....	16
Figure 3.3.	Photograph of the bronze sistrum from Mochlos.....	17
Figure 3.4.	Photograph of the bronze sistrum (HM 1346) from Hagia Triada.....	17
Figure 3.5.	Drawing of the bronze sistrum (HM 1346) from Hagia Triada.....	18

Figure 3.6.	Plan of the Villa at Hagia Triada.	19
Figure 3.7.	Drawing of a possible clay sistrum bead from Mochlos E4/4334.1.	21
Figure 5.1.	Sissi-Kephali tou Hagiou Antoniou.	37
Figure 5.2.	Sissi 2008, state plan of Zones 3 and 4.	38
Figure 5.3.	Pumice densities in excavated areas of Zone 3 at Sissi associated with LM IIIB levels.	38
Figure 5.4.	Concentration of pumice near fallen pithos close to north wall of space 3.5.	40
Figure 5.5.	Selection of pumice samples from Zone 3, space 3.6 at Sissi.	40
Figure 5.6.	Pumice densities in LM IIIB Quartier Nu at Malia.	41
Figure 6.1.	Kavousi Goddess 1.	45
Figure 6.2.	Goddess 9: left arm, palm (a); right arm, palm (b).	46
Figure 6.3.	No. 916: right hand, palm.	47
Figure 6.4.	Arms, backs of hands: left nos. 153/154 (a); right no. 953 (b); right no. 327 (c); right no. 957 (d).	47
Figure 6.5.	Goddess 17: right arm, palm (a); left hand, palm (b).	47
Figure 6.6.	Goddess 24: left arm, thumb side of broken hand showing middle finger and interior of wrist (a); left arm, palm (b).	48
Figure 7.1.	Copper razor fragment (a) and long dagger (b).	53
Figure 7.2.	Ground stone tools from levels 14–15.	55
Figure 8.1.	Examples of “firebars” found at Priniatikos Pyrgos.	60
Figure 8.2.	Map of trenches at Priniatikos Pyrgos showing location of “firebar” and “firebox” sherds.	61
Figure 8.3.	Kiln G1004 from northwest showing location of “firebar” in left channel.	62
Figure 8.4.	Sherds of possible “fireboxes”.	63
Figure 9.1.	Map of Crete showing relevant sites.	66
Figure 9.2.	Village of Gonies, with Karphi visible in the top left.	66
Figure 9.3.	Village of Gonies and the way toward the Lasithi plateau.	66
Figure 9.4.	Aerial view of the village, with the location of the Papadakis house circled.	67
Figure 9.5.	The Papadakis houses.	67
Figure 9.6.	Collared jar with cylindrical neck (HM 19811).	69
Figure 9.7.	Collared jar with cylindrical neck (HM 19812).	69
Figure 9.8.	Collared jar with cylindrical neck (HM 19813).	69
Figure 9.9.	Unnumbered bowl sherd in the Herakleion Museum.	69

Figure 9.10.	Stone beads.	70
Figure 9.11.	Collared jar HM 9441 from the Amnissos Eileithya Cave.	71
Figure 9.12.	Skeletal material from the grave.	75
Figure 9.13.	Skeletal material from the grave.	76
Figure 10.1.	Veined serpentinite kernos 1	82
Figure 10.2.	Poros kernos 2	83
Figure 10.3.	Kernos 1	84
Figure 10.4.	Detail of kernos 1 upper surface.	84
Figure 10.5.	Detail of kernos 1 base with encrustation.	84
Figure 10.6.	Poros kernos 2	85
Figure 10.7.	The altar from the south.	86
Figure 10.8.	The chasm from the northwest.	87
Figure 10.9.	Terrace I, south side of the altar, with arrows indicating the kernos find spots.	87
Figure 10.10.	East side of the altar during discovery with preserved off-white stucco.	88
Figure 10.11.	Kernos 1 as found during excavation.	88
Figure 10.12.	“Pebbles” and clay bird figurines (indicated by arrows) from the stratum in which kernos 1 was found.	89
Figure 10.13.	Pit showing votive copper axes in situ.	89
Figure 10.14.	Foundation deposit of the shrine.	90
Figure 10.15.	Pottery from the deposit of Terrace I.	92
Figure 10.16.	Unfinished(?) kernos HM 3900 of grayish-white schist.	93
Figure 10.17.	Poros kernos HM 4213 from the Juktas Peak Sanctuary.	93
Figure 10.18.	Sandstone(?) kernos HM 2276 from the Temple Tomb at Knossos.	93
Figure 11.1.	Schematic and reconstructive axonometric plan of the so-called Tomba degli Ori and the Complesso della Mazza di Breccia, with the findspot of the idol (inv. no. HTR 2600) indicated by an arrow.	98
Figure 11.2.	Hagia Triada idol (inv. no. HTR 2600).	99
Figure 11.3.	Small idol in “Cycladic marble” retrieved from Phaistos.	100
Figure 12.1.	Makrygialos ground plan and the built altar of the central court.	106
Figure 12.2.	The bronze figurine HNM 4652 from Makrygialos.	107
Figure 12.3.	Bronze figurine HNM 4652 from Makrygialos.	108
Figure 12.4.	Representations of naked females.	110

Figure 13.1.	Lion head fragment from Tell el-Dab ^{ca} as found (left) and slightly restored (right).	114
Figure 13.2.	Fragment of lion (F 45) preying upon a bull from Tell el-Dab ^{ca}	114
Figure 13.3.	Scene of lions preying on bull from Tell el- Dab ^{ca}	114
Figure 13.4.	Ring Impression from Tyliossos.	115
Figure 13.5.	Seal from Midea.	115
Figure 13.6.	Lion inlay from Shaft Grave III, Mycenae.	116
Figure 14.1.	Locations mentioned in the text.	120
Figure 14.2.	Replicated Chania Akrotiri Aeolianite “calc” fabric.	122
Figure 14.3.	Replicated Hagia Marina (Sphakia) Mixed Metamorphic fabric.	123
Figure 14.4.	Replicated Hagios Vasileios MIg Meta fabric.	123
Figure 14.5.	Morrison collecting “clay” in Hagios Vasileios Valley, October 1999.	124
Figure 14.6.	Moody and Robinson collecting “clay” in Hagia Marina (Sphakia), May 2001.	124
Figure 14.7.	Robinson and Moody crushing Hagia Marina clay, May 2001.	125
Figure 14.8.	Moody sieving clay, May 2001.	125
Figure 14.9.	Morrison making pinch pots out of Chania Akrotiri clay, October 1997.	125
Figure 14.10.	Hagia Marina pinch pots set out to dry, May 2001.	125
Figure 14.11.	Morrison demonstrating fuel processed into “armloads,” October 1997.	125
Figure 14.12.	Fuel processed into “armloads,” May 2001.	125
Figure 14.13.	Hagia Marina fabric firing, May 2001.	126
Figure 14.14.	Chania Akrotiri fabric firing: Morrison placing warmed pinch pots on twig platform, October 1997.	126
Figure 14.15.	Hagia Marina firing, May 2001.	126
Figure 14.16.	Fired pots showing blackened surface.	127
Figure 14.17.	Use-life experiment: boiling water in Hagia Marina cooking pot.	128
Figure 15.1	Terracotta foot model from Syme.	135
Figure 15.2.	Terracotta exedra model from Syme.	136
Figure 16.1.	Peak sanctuaries in the Siteia region in East Crete.	141
Figure 16.2.	Cape Trachilos and Ambelos with Kephala (A) seen from the northwest.	143
Figure 16.3.	Etiani Kephala (A) and the hill above Etia (B) from the north.	143
Figure 16.4.	Chandras-Armeni Plateau from the south: (B) the hill above Etia, (C) Etia, (D) the peak sanctuary on Prinias.	144
Figure 16.5.	Kalamaki Kephala (A) from the north.	146

Figure 16.6.	Plan of Kalamaki Kephala.	147
Figure 16.7.	Peak sanctuary on Prinias (A) from the east.	148
Figure 16.8.	Prinias, Terrace I from the south.	148
Figure 16.9.	Plan of Prinias.	149
Figure 16.10.	Phaneromeni Trachilos from the west.	151
Figure 16.11.	Phaneromeni Trachilos from the south.	151
Figure 16.12.	Plan of the hilltop/peak sanctuary at Phaneromeni Trachilos.	152
Figure 17.1.	Drawing of the Kephala Petras boat model.	156
Figure 17.2.	The Kephala Petras boat model, side view (left) and top view (right).	157
Figure 18.1.	The interior of the larnax of Tomb B, with an almost intact interment.	163
Figure 18.2.	The larnax of Tomb A as found.	163
Figure 18.3.	Bottom pieces of a chest-shaped larnax.	163
Figure 18.4.	Section showing lip and bottom of a chest-shaped larnax.	163
Figure 18.5.	Small six-legged chest-shaped larnax from Tomb B.	165
Figure 18.6.	Section of a slightly domed larnax lid.	165
Figure 18.7.	Drawing of the jug found in the larnax of Tomb A.	165
Figure 18.8.	The larnax of Tomb A with the protruding frame.	166
Figure 19.1.	Ground plan (2005) of the excavation at Galatas showing the locations of the four horns.	170
Figure 19.2.	Horns from House 2.	171
Figure 19.3.	Horns from the east wing of the palace.	171
Figure 19.4.	Building 3: the “recess” and the horns in Room 1 during the excavation.	172
Figure 19.5.	Both sides of the horns from Building 3.	173
Figure 19.6.	Building 3: the stepped construction in Room 1.	173
Figure 19.7.	House 2: the model of horns in situ.	174
Figure 19.8.	House 2: detail of the model in situ.	174
Figure 19.9.	Model of horns from House 2.	174
Figure 19.10.	Drawing of horns from House 2.	175
Figure 20.1.	Aerial photograph of Hypostyle Crypt and Court, facing south.	178
Figure 20.2.	General plan of the quarter at Malia.	178
Figure 20.3A.	Restored plan, Hypostyle Crypt: basement and ground floor.	179
Figure 20.3B.	Restored plan, Hypostyle Crypt: ground floor and upper story.	179

Figure 20.4.	Hypostyle Crypt, room 5, access to magazines 1 and 2, facing south.	181
Figure 20.5.	Hypostyle Crypt, view from west, facing south.	181
Figure 20.6.	Bull-leaping rhyton from Hagia Triada.	183
Figure 20.7.	Knossos bull-leaping fresco.	183
Figure 20.8.	Bull-leaping scene on a modern Cretan house.	183
Figure 20.9.	Bull-leaping gold ring from Archanes.	184
Figure 21.1.	Boat 1 on gold signet ring.	189
Figure 21.2.	Boats (2) painted on cup IB.202.	189
Figure 21.3.	Clay boat 3.	189
Figure 21.4.	Stone boat 4.	190
Figure 21.5.	Boat 5 drilled on signet seal.	191
Figure 21.6.	Boat 6 incised on pithos.	191
Figure 21.7.	Boat 7 incised on sealstone.	192
Figure 21.8.	Clay boat 8.	194
Figure 21.9.	Clay boat 9.	194
Figure 21.10.	Clay boats 8 and 9 in situ.	194
Figure 21.11.	Clay boats 8 and 9.	194
Figure 21.12.	Stone boat 10.	195
Figure 21.13.	Clay boat(?) 11.	196
Figure 21.14.	Clay boat 12.	196
Figure 21.15.	Clay boat 13.	196
Figure 22.1.	The Vrysinas Ephebe.	202
Figure 22.2.	Front and back view of the Vrysinas Ephebe.	203
Figure 22.3.	Views of the Vrysinas Ephebe with superimposed hypothetical grid.	204
Figure 22.4.	Two variations of the loincloth (<i>zoma</i>) for the Vrysinas Ephebe.	206
Figure 22.5.	Possible method of binding a single piece of cloth around the torso of the Vrysinas Ephebe.	207
Figure 22.6.	Modern mannequin used to display men's undergarments.	209
Figure 23.1.	Globular pyxides 1–5.	217
Figure 23.2.	Globular pyxides 6–10.	218
Figure 23.3.	Globular pyxides 11 and 12; pyxis lids 13 and 14; cylindrical pyxis 15.	219
Figure 23.4.	Bottles 16 and 17.	220

Figure 24.1.	Zakros Neopalatial ceramic bee smoker HM 2113.	224
Figure 24.2.	Underside of ceramic bee smoker HM 2133.	224
Figure 24.3.	Traditional bee smoker from Paros with a large tubular opening for adding fuel and a smaller tubular opening (nozzle) at the opposite end to emit the smoke.	225
Figure 24.4.	Traditional bee smoker from Kos with a perforated dome.	225
Figure 24.5.	Cross-section of the air flow pattern through the Zakros bee-smoker replica.	227
Figure 24.6.	Zakros clay replica made by Archanes potter Theonimphi Genetzaki.	227
Figure 24.7.	Beekeeper Dimitris Vogopoulos of the Herakleion area lights pine needles used for fuel in the Zakros bee-smoker replica.	227
Figure 24.8.	Beekeeper Dimitris Vogopoulos moves the smoking Zakros clay replica with the aid of a stick that is placed through the vessel's handles.	227
Figure 24.9.	The Zakros clay replica at the bees' entrance to a modern vertical beehive where beekeeper Dimitris Vogopoulos inspects his bees after smoking the hive.	227
Figure 25.1.	Figurine 1.	235
Figure 25.2.	Figurine 2.	235
Figure 26.1.	Geological map of West Central Crete showing metal and stone resources for the region.	240
Figure 26.2.	View from Mt. Vrysinas. Arrows indicate the Minoan house complex and the village of Kastellos, which are above and slightly southwest of the necropolis.	241
Figure 26.3.	Larnax RM 1710.	243
Figure 26.4.	Larnax RM 1712.	243
Figure 26.5.	Larnax RM 1707.	243
Figure 26.6.	Larnax RM 5121.	244
Figure 26.7.	Larnax RM 1706.	244
Figure 27.1.	Ground plan of the building at Kephali Lazana.	248
Figure 27.2.	Space D at Kephali Lazana.	250
Figure 27.3.	Bench outside room A1 at Kephali Lazana.	251
Figure 28.1.	LM IB sites mentioned in the text.	257



Biography of Costis Davaras

Eleni Mantzourani

Costis Davaras was born in Athens on the 19th of March in 1933. He grew up in a highly intellectual environment. His mother, Julia, came from an old family of Cephallonia and was awarded the Ouranis Prize for Literature. Costis graduated from the high school of Plaka, located just below the Acropolis. The window of his room overlooked Hadrian's Gate. He studied Archaeology at the Universities of Vienna, Munich, and mainly Athens, from which he received his first degree in 1956. His professors of archaeology, indeed all of them outstanding scholars, were Ernst Buschor in Munich and Spyridon Marinatos, Georgios Mylonas, Nikolaos Kontoleon, and Anastasios Orlandos in Athens.

During his undergraduate years, he took a degree at the Palmer Technical School in Athens as a wireless operator of the Merchant Marine in order to be able to travel, which he actually did for a short time, visiting various countries. This, among other features of his character, shows his inquisitive spirit.

He continued his postgraduate studies as a bursar of the German State in Munich. His Professors were Ernst Homann-Wedeking for Archaeology and Hans Wolfgang Müller for Egyptology. He served in the Greek Army as an interpreter and translator for several NATO languages.

Before entering the Greek Archaeological Service he served, for a short time, as an assistant to the Ephor Markellos Mitsos in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens and Ioannis Threpsiades in the excavations at Athens and the Temple of Artemis at Aulis in Boeotia. Davaras entered the Archaeological Service in 1960 after examinations, which, unfortunately, were later abolished for some decades, indeed a heavy blow in meritocracy. His first position as Epimeletes was in Herakleion under Nikolaos Platon and later under Stylianos Alexiou, both well-known scholars and excellent tutors. At that time, those three men were the only archaeologists serving on Crete.

He was an assistant to Platon in several of his excavations all over Crete, including the peak sanctuary at Kophinas and the palace of Zakros. He also conducted his own excavations, including tholos tomb II at Apesokari and the important caves of Skoteino near Knossos and Eileithyia at Inatos. A second campaign, in collaboration with Nikolaos Platon, was undertaken at Eileithyia. He also brought to light several Minoan chamber tombs and a Geometric tomb at Knossos.

In 1964 he was transferred to Athens as Epimeletes of Attica and Boeotia. There he excavated the Geometric cemetery of Anavyssos and the Thesmophorion of Eretria, later turned over for publication to Ingrid Metzger of the Swiss School of Archaeology in Greece. During this period he was the first Greek archaeologist to be trained by the Navy in underwater archaeology. He even directed a research team below the temple of Poseidon at Sounion in order to locate fallen blocks and part of its sculpture.

At his own insistence he was re-posted to Crete in 1965, this time as Head of the Archaeological Service for West Crete (Chania–Rethymnon) with Yiannis Tzedakis as his assistant.

Davaras's excavations in the region included the tholos tomb at Maleme, a tholos tomb at Apodoulou, and the rich peak sanctuary of Vrysinas overlooking the Rethymnon area. His main care in this new post was the legal protection of the numerous archaeological sites of West Crete, which, until then, were not officially listed as such and thus "ignored" by the State. It should be noted that the "Palace of Minos" at Knossos and a narrow zone around it, under the auspices of the British School at Athens, was the only legally defined archaeological site on Crete before that time. By specific order of the Ministry he also tried, alas in vain, to protect the Venetian–Ottoman old towns of Chania and Rethymnon and even received serious threats on his life in his office by a furious fishmonger. It was during this period that he married his beloved Dione, a Baroque harpsichordist and his life companion ever since. In 1968 he went to the Sorbonne University in Paris for his Ph.D. under the supervision of Pierre Demargne, Henri van Effenterre, and Jean Deshayes. His two-volume typewritten dissertation was a study on the Minoan–Mycenaean Double Axe, including a corpus of all then-extant axes *in corpore*—the functional ones,

the votives, and the representations in painting. The subject was examined mainly from a religious point of view. Davaras managed to show that the functional double axe was definitely a tool and not a weapon, as even today many scholars continue to believe it was a weapon. The dissertation was not published, as this was not required by the French Law, pending the collection of photographs for publication in the German Series *Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, a work that would, by agreement with H. Müller-Karpe, also include the pottery. However, the future reserved much adversity for him and his family.

After his return to Greece in 1970, and during the dictatorship of the Colonels, he was not allowed to go back to Crete, his second home and place of archaeological interests. Instead, he was transferred to Sparta, in Laconia, as well as to Mystras, as an "acting" Epimeletes of Byzantine Antiquities. There he managed to officially establish and define the ancient town of Sparta for the first time as an archaeological site. Additionally, he organized, again for the first time, the extensive archives of Mystras. It also should be noted that Davaras protected with strict rules the Medieval town of Monemvasia. A year later he was again transferred, this time to Patras for six months, under the Ephor Photios Petsas, who was also in disfavor.

At his insistence, he managed to return to Crete. This time he was appointed as a newly promoted Ephor in East Crete (Nomos Lasithiou and Malia). By necessity, East Crete had also been "promoted" to an Ephorate, the now well-known 24th Ephorate of Antiquities. This is the only reason why Crete has three Ephorates, and not two or four.

As a matter of fact Davaras was the first and last Ephor of this Ephorate, for the title of "Ephor of Antiquities," the oldest title in Greece (since 1830), was later abolished by the newly elected administration that advocated "the equality of all civil servants" with titles such as "Director of Antiquities" and so forth. However, the title of Ephoreia paradoxically remained. Characteristically, all administrations that followed until today did not reinstate the title of the Ephor, as archaeologists have obviously been "the black sheep" of the state apparatus, above pressures and other concomitant evils.

When Costis Davaras became the head of the new Ephorate in Hagios Nikolaos, its state was

embryonic, with the telephone on the floor. He had to organize everything *ex nihilo*. He considered it his duty to begin the legal protection of the numerous and highly important archaeological sites of East Crete, as he had done in West Crete. This was, indeed, an onerous and difficult task, as the protected areas (Zones A and B) had to be accurately defined on the map. At the same time this was a very delicate enterprise as these areas were not supposed to be excessively large and beyond the rule of “pan metron Ariston.” The trouble was that these new measures went hand-in-hand with the beginning of the touristic development of the island. Thus, a reaction to this novel legality was to be expected.

For instance, Davaras managed to stop the demolition of the Venetian fortress of Spinalonga (albeit outside his official jurisdiction), the spolia of which were being taken and imbedded as decoration in the “grand hotels” then under construction. Unfortunately, he did not manage to bring about the conviction in court of a serious perpetrator of bulldozing part of the Minoan town of Palaikastro, who was actually a school teacher! Again regarding Spinalonga, Davaras managed, despite the serious threats he received, to avert the construction there of a base for torpedo boats, which the administration of the Colonels wished to build. Fortunately, finally they realized the enormity of it and constructed the base near Cavo Sidero. Some years later, after the Colonels were gone, the dismal fate of another small island was also averted: the Air Force wished to make the beautiful, subtropical Chryssi to the south of Ierapetra a target area for bombing. Fortunately, the Ministry of Defense gave up this enterprise, persuaded by Davaras’s personal arguments.

After some time he was again transferred to Komotini in Thrace, but he never went there as he was then suspended from his duties. He was reinstated after the happy end of an adventure in a court of justice.

As an Ephor in Hagios Nikolaos Davaras installed a new provisional exhibition at the Museum, and he conducted many rescue excavations under very difficult conditions, some of which, alas, came too late. In any case, the volume of new material collected was so enormous that it would take several archaeological lives to be properly published. Perhaps the most important of these excavations was the exploration of part of

the Early Minoan I Cycladic cemetery at Hagia Photia, near Siteia, with no assistants, architects, photographers, or other assistants, but with armed workers watching it at night. This excavation is now partly published in collaboration with his close friend Prof. Philip Betancourt.

Among Davaras’s other important excavations were those of several Minoan peak sanctuaries in various stages of plundering, including Traostalos, Petsophas (re-excavated), Prinias Zou, Modi, and others. The re-excavation of the oval house at Chamaizi was also crucial, as he was able to clarify its function. It was neither a peak sanctuary, as usually believed, nor oval because of lack of space. The early burial cave of Hagios Charalambos Gerontomouri on the plateau of Lasithi, with its rich finds—especially seals and a great number of human skulls, some of them showing signs of trepanation, the earliest in Greece—is also included among Davaras’s field work. This excavation was later continued with Phil Betancourt as co-director. Other less important excavations include Minoan and later tombs and cemeteries (especially the one at Krya in Siteia) as well as a number of Hellenistic and later houses at Hagios Nikolaos and Ierapetra.

Last but not least in his long list of fieldwork comes the important excavation of the Late Minoan I “cult villa” at Makrygialos on the southern coast. According to his view, this building is unique insofar that it closely imitates the Minoan palaces on a very small scale. He gave the edifice this strange name because of its rich religious elements, although he later thought that it should rather be named a “mini palace,” as it is actually a real miniature of a Minoan palace in several of its architectural features. In fact, its central court has the dimensions and orientation of the palace at Petras on the opposite north coast. He does not consider it as a simple “country mansion” aping its superiors. Instead, he believes that, exactly because of its close resemblance, its functions would have been similar to those of the palaces, especially regarding religion. Hence, it was initially dubbed a “cult villa.” He has raised the question whether the edifice at Makrygialos could perhaps help us better understand the main function of the palaces, which it so closely mirrors.

It is true that Davaras is very happy and proud that he had the opportunity to re-open East Crete

to the excavations of American archaeologists. This was done under the form of a *synergasia* as a co-director. These excavations took place at Pseira and Mochlos for several campaigns, in collaboration with his eminent colleagues and friends Phil Betancourt and Jeffrey Soles.

These excavations, with extraordinary results, funded with grants from several sources, including the Institute for Aegean Prehistory (INSTAP) founded by Malcolm Wiener, the great benefactor of this branch of archaeology, are being published by the INSTAP Academic Press in a rhythm and perfection unthinkable for Greece. Thus, Davaras is quite proud of his official archaeological contribution to these projects. Many eminent scholars involved in Minoan archaeology have, on different occasions, praised his role in these projects.

It should be mentioned that the very last official paper out of several thousands Davaras signed as an Ephor was the one that founded, from the Greek side, the INSTAP Study Center for East Crete at Pacheia Ammos, a center that astounds and dazzles every visiting Greek archaeologist.

He has always been happy and proud that he has been the instigator of the new British excavations at Palaikastro, a site that was then seriously endangered by developers, both local and foreign. The new excavations have not only been extremely successful, but they stopped pending threats—at least for the time being. The Cavo Sidero area, property of the Toplou monastery north of Palaikastro, seemed at this time to be safe, and so no special measures were taken.

Another side of Davaras's character may be traced through an interesting event. In an unusual way he was able to contribute financially to the great Greek excavations of Zakros. He refused the offer of a Mexican millionaire to re-open the excavation of the famous Diktaian Cave, which must certainly still contain many treasures in its bowels. Instead, he persuaded the gentleman to support the Palace of Zakros project.

As tourism developed by leaps and bounds at the shores of Crete, it was unavoidable that woes were yet to come. In 1985, as he continued to press to save archaeological sites in the face of mounting pressure from building, Davaras was once more suspended from his duties as an Ephor for East Crete for five long years. He was ordered to go to

Herakleion to the “Archaeological Institute of Crete,” which until then did not exist. He has confessed that he was personally grateful to the Minister of Culture Melina Merkouri, who graciously allowed him to stay in the Hagios Nikolaos Museum in “suspended animation,” as he humorously states. As a measure of clemency he stayed there to supervise its exhibition and cleanliness.

In 1990, under the new “Coalition Administration,” Davaras was re-instated in his duties as an Ephor, but as he says, “he had lost his mood” for the Archaeological Service and turned to a new challenge, the University of Athens. In 1993 he was elected Associate Professor of Minoan Archaeology and later Full Professor. There he concentrated on his new duties, a real heaven in comparison to the past, as he usually says. He retired as Professor Emeritus in 2000. To quote his own words, “now I have more time for carefree, less stressful research.”

Now his ardent wish and vision is to see in the European Union commission a new member: a Commissioner for Cultural Heritage who would cover a most important area, until now sadly unprotected and badly needed for Greece.

Davaras has received many academic and other distinctions. He is Member for Life of the Archaeological Society at Athens; Honorary Member of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Crete in Chania; Honorary Citizen of the Municipality of Ierapetra; Korrespondierendes Mitglied des Deutsches Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin; Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et Lettres de la République Française; Member of the Editorial Board of the periodical *Kadmos*, Berlin; and General Editor of the periodical *Cretan Studies*, Amsterdam. Finally, he has received an Honorary Diploma from the University of Tehran for the protection of the endangered remaining mosques on Crete.

Indicative of Costis's vividness, creativity, and overall devotion to a better future for Greece is his very recent participation in the newly formed party of Greek Ecologists, of which he is an active member. Costis is one of the last noblemen in the Greek and international archaeological family and will always remain “young at heart.” From the depth of my heart, I wish him all the best in every aspect of his life. He still has much to offer us.



Bibliography of Costis Davaras

- Davaras, C. 1960. “Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Κρήτης I,” *CretChron* 14, pp. 457–465.
- Davaras, C., and N. Platon. 1960. “Ἀρχαιολογικὴ κίνησις ἐν Κρήτῃ κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1960,” *CretChron* 14, pp. 504–527.
- . 1961–1962. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Κρήτης,” *ArchDelt* 17 (B', Chronika) [1963], pp. 281–291.
- Davaras, C. 1963. “Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Κρήτης II,” *ArchDelt* 18 (A', Meletes) [1964], pp. 141–160.
- Crile, G., and C. Davaras. 1964. “The Possible Site of Menelaus' Shipwrecks,” *CretChron* 17, pp. 47–49.
- Davaras, C. 1965. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Εὐβοίας 1964,” *ArchDelt* 20 (B', 2 Chronika), pp. 256–261.
- . 1965. “Ἀττικὴ (1. Περιφέρεια τέως Διοικήσεως Πρωτευούσης, 2. Ὑπόλοιπος περιφέρεια Ἀττικῆς),” *ArchDelt* 20 (B', 1 Chronika) [1967], pp. 118–127.
- . 1966. “Ἀνασκαφὴ θολωτοῦ τάφου Μάλεμε,” *Prakt* 121 [1968], pp. 185–188.
- . 1967. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δυτ. Κρήτης 1966,” *ArchDelt* 22 (B', 1 Chronika) [1968], pp. 495–501.
- . 1967. “Ἐἰς νεώσοικος παρὰ τὴν Σητεῖαν,” *ArchEph* 106, pp. 84–90.
- . 1967. “Zur Herkunft des Diskos von Phaistos,” *Kadmos* 6, pp. 101–105.
- . 1968. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Κεντρικῆς καὶ Ἀνατολ. Κρήτης: Περιοχὴ Μονῆς Ὀδηγητρίας,” *ArchDelt* 23 (B', 2 Chronika) [1969], pp. 405–406.
- . 1968. “Two Geometric Tombs at Atsalenio near Knossos,” *BSA* 63, pp. 133–146.
- . 1969. *La double hache minoenne et mycénienne*, Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne University.
- . 1969. “Trois bronzes minoens de Skoteino,” *BCH* 93, pp. 620–650.
- . 1970. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Λακωνίας 1969,” *ArchDelt* 25 (B', 1 Chronika) [1972], pp. 172.

- . 1970. “Δαίδαλικὸν ἔργαγμα ἐξ Ἀστριτσίου Κρήτης,” *ArchDelt* 25 (A', Meletes) [1971], pp. 87–96.
- . 1970. “Νέοι διπλοὶ πελέκεις ἐκ τῆς ΣΤ' Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Περιφέρειας,” *AAA* 3, pp. 311–313.
- . 1971. “Ἀνασκαφαὶ εἰς Στύλον Ἀποκορόνου,” *AAA* 4, pp. 42–44.
- . 1971. “Ἀρχαιολογικὲς ἔρευνες στὴ Σητεία κατὰ τὸ θέρος 1971,” *Ἀμάθεια* 8, pp. 197–200.
- . 1971. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δυτ. Κρήτης 1970: Ἀνασκαφὴ εἰς Στύλον Ἀποκορόνου,” *ArchDelt* 26 (B', 2 Chronika) [1975], pp. 517–519.
- . 1971. “Νέαι ἔρευναι εἰς τὴν ἐλλειψοειδῆ οἰκίαν Χαμαζίου,” in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Γ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* A', Athens, pp. 46–53.
- . 1971. “Περὶ συλλογὴ ἀρχαίων Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης,” *Prakt* 126 [1973], pp. 301–303.
- . 1971. “Πρωτομινωικὸν νεκροταφεῖον Ἁγίας Φωτιάς Σητείας,” *AAA* 4, pp. 392–397.
- Davaras, C., and P.P. Betancourt. 1971–1994. “Diktaion,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 382–383.
- . 1971–1994. “Hagios Nikolaos,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 17–18.
- . 1971–1994. “Hagia Photia,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 11–12.
- . 1971–1994. “Lato,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 297–299.
- . 1971–1994. “Makrygialos,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 518–519.
- . 1971–1994. “Olunte,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 73–75.
- . 1971–1994. “Palekastro,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 208–210.
- . 1971–1994. “Pseira,” in *Enciclopedia dell' arte antica, classica e orientale*, Suppl. II, Rome, pp. 668–670.
- Davaras, C. 1972. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1971,” *ArchDelt* 27 (B', 2 Chronika) [1977], pp. 645–654.
- . 1972. “The Oval House at Chamaizi Reconsidered,” *AAA* 5, pp. 283–288.
- . 1972. *Die Statue aus Astritsi: Ein Beitrag zur dädalischen Kunst auf Kreta und zu den Anfängen der griechischen Plastik (Beiheft zur Halbjahresschrift Antike Kunst 8)*, Bern.
- . 1972. “Two Linear A Inscriptions on Libation Vessels from Petsophas,” *Kadmos* 11, pp. 101–112.
- . 1973. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1972,” *ArchDelt* 28 (B', 2 Chronika) [1977], pp. 585–596.
- . 1973. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Δυτ. Κρήτης 1972: Βρύσινας Ρεθύμνης, Στύλος Ἀποκορόνου,” *ArchDelt* 28 (B', 2 Chronika) [1977], pp. 583–584.
- . 1973. “Cremations in Minoan and Sub-Minoan Crete,” in *Antichità cretesi: Studi in onore di Doro Levi I (Cronache di archeologia 12)*, G.P. Carratelli and G. Rizza, eds., Catania, pp. 158–167.
- . 1973. “Κεραμεικὴ κάμινος εἰς Ἴστρωνα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης,” *ArchDelt* 28 (A', Meletes) [1975], pp. 110–115.
- . 1973. “Μινωικὴ κεραμεικὴ κάμινος εἰς Στύλον Χανίων,” *ArchEph* 112, pp. 75–80.
- . 1973. “Μινωικαὶ σφραγιδες τοῦ Μουσείου Ἁγ. Νικολάου,” *ArchEph* 112, pp. 81–86.
- . 1973. “A New Hieroglyphic Seal from Mochlos,” *Kadmos* 12, pp. 109–113.
- . 1973–1974. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1974,” *ArchDelt* 29 (B', Chronika) [1977], pp. 931–934.
- . 1974. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης,” *Ἀμάθεια* 18–19, pp. 40–62.
- . 1974. “Ἀνασκαφὴ MM ἱεροῦ κορυφῆς Βρύσινα Ρεθύμνης,” *AAA* 7, pp. 210–212.
- . 1974. “Rock-Cut Fish Tanks in Eastern Crete,” *BSA* 69, pp. 87–93.
- . 1974. *Σούνιον: Ἀρχαιολογικὸς Ὁδηγός*, Athens.
- . 1975. “Early Minoan Jewelry from Mochlos,” *BSA* 70, pp. 101–114.
- . 1975. “Λαξευτὴ ἰχθυοδεξαμενὴ στὰ Φέρμα Ἱεραπέτρας,” *ArchDelt* 30 (A', Meletes), pp. 149–154.
- . 1975. “Three Sherds Inscribed in Linear A, from Traostalos,” *Kadmos* 13, pp. 167.
- . 1976. “Ἀρχαιότητες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1975,” *ArchDelt* 31 (B', 2 Chronika) [1984], pp. 373–383.

- . 1976. *Guide to Cretan Antiquities*, Park Ridge, NJ.
- . 1976. “Σύνθετα ιερὰ κέρατα ἀπὸ τὸ ἱερὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ Πετσοφᾶ,” in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ΄ Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄* (1), Athens, pp. 88–93.
- Davaras, C., and W. Brice. 1977. “A Fragment of a Libation Table Inscribed in Linear A, from Vrysinas,” *Kadmos* 16, pp. 5–6.
- Davaras, C. 1977. “Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1976,” *ArchDelt* 32 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1984], pp. 334–340.
- . 1977. “Μινωικὸς ἐγγάρακτος ἀγωγὸς ἀπὸ τὸ Παλαίκαστρο,” *ArchDelt* 32 (A΄, Meletes), pp. 65–69.
- . 1977. “Περὶ συλλογῆ ἀρχαίων Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης,” *Prakt* 132 [1980], pp. 491–496.
- . 1977. “Χάλκινοι μινωικοὶ λάτρεις τῆς Συλλογῆς Μεταξᾶ,” *ArchEph* 116 [1979], pp. 109–127.
- . 1978. “Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1977,” *ArchDelt* 33 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1985], pp. 385–395.
- . 1979. “Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατ. Κρήτης 1979,” *ArchDelt* 34 (B΄, Chronika) [1987], pp. 402–406, 410.
- . 1979. “A Double Axe – Design (?) from Vrokastro,” *ArchEph* 118 [1981], pp. 114–117.
- . 1979. “Das Grab eines kretischen Wettkampfsiegers?” *Stadion* 5, pp. 193–219.
- . 1979. *Μινωικὴ τέχνη στὸ Μουσεῖον Ἡρακλείου: Ἀρχαιολογικὸς ὁδηγός*, Athens.
- . 1979. *Φαιστός—Ἁγία Τριάδα—Γόρτυς: Ἀρχαιολογικὸς Ὅδηγός*, Athens.
- . 1980. *Κνωσός: Ἀρχαιολογικὸς ὁδηγός*, Athens.
- . 1980. “Κρητικὲς ἐπιγραφές III,” *ArchEph* 119 [1982], pp. 1–42.
- . 1980. “A Minoan Graffito from Traostalos,” *Kadmos* 19, pp. 87–92.
- . 1980. “A Minoan Pottery Kiln at Palaikastro,” *BSA* 75, pp. 115–126.
- . 1980. “Περὶ συλλογῆ ἀρχαιοτήτων στὴν Πραϊσό,” *Prakt* 135 [1982], pp. 408–411.
- . 1980. “Une ancre minoenne sacrée?” *BCH* 104, pp. 47–71.
- . 1980. “Χρονικὸ ΚΔ΄ Ἐφορείας Ἀρχαιοτήτων,” *ArchDelt* 35 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1988], pp. 518–523, 525–526.
- . 1981. “Ἀρχαιοτήτες καὶ μνημεῖα Ἀνατολικῆς Κρήτης 1981,” *ArchDelt* 36 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1989], pp. 405–406.
- . 1981. “Ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ὙΜ IB ἔπαυλης τοῦ Μακρυγιαλοῦ,” in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε΄ Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄*, Herakleion, pp. 77–92.
- . 1981. *Μουσεῖον Ἁγίου Νικολάου: Ἀρχαιολογικὸς ὁδηγός*, Athens.
- . 1981. “Ὀχρυσὸς στὴν προανακτορικὴ Κρήτη,” *Ἀρχαιολογία* 1, pp. 11–16.
- . 1983. “Χρονικὸ ΚΔ΄ Ἐφορείας Ἀρχαιοτήτων,” *ArchDelt* 38 (B΄, 2 Chronika) [1989], pp. 375–376.
- Davaras, C., and O. Masson. 1983. “Cretica: Amnisos et ses inscriptions,” *BCH* 107, pp. 383–403.
- Davaras, C. 1984. “Μινωικὸ κηριοφόρο πλοῦριον τῆς Συλλογῆς Μητσοτάκη,” *ArchEph* 123 [1986], pp. 55–95.
- . 1984. “Une tombe à vouûte en Crète orientale,” in *Aux origines de l’Hellénisme: La Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre*, Paris, pp. 297–310.
- . 1985. “Ρωμαϊκὸ νεκροταφεῖο Ἁγίου Νικολάου,” *ArchEph* 124 [1987], pp. 130–216.
- . 1985. “Une tombe à vouûte en Crète orientale (note complémentaire),” *BCH* 109, pp. 625–628.
- . 1986. “A New Interpretation of the Ideogram *168,” *Kadmos* 25, pp. 38–43.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1986. “Ἀνασκαφικὴ ἔρευνα Ψείρας: Περίοδοι 1985 καὶ 1986,” *Ἀμάθεια* 68–69, pp. 183–200.
- Davaras, C. 1986. “Ἐνα παλαιοανακτορικὸ πρῖσμα ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιον Γεροντομουρί Λασιθίου,” *Cretan Studies* 1, pp. 49–55.
- . 1988. “A Minoan Beetle-Rhyton from Prinias Siteias,” *BSA* 83, pp. 45–54.
- . 1988. “Mykene und Kreta,” in *Das Mykenische Hellas: Heimat der Helden Homers*, K. Demakopoulou, ed., Athens, pp. 58–59.
- . 1988. “Πρώιμες μινωικὲς σφραγίδες καὶ σφραγιστικοὶ δακτύλιοι ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιον Γεροντομουρί Λασιθίου,” *ArchEph* 125 [1990], pp. 9–43.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1988. “Excavations at Pseira,” *Cretan Studies* 1, pp. 35–38.

- . 1988. "Excavations at Pseira, 1985 and 1986," *Hesperia* 57, pp. 207–225.
- Davaras, C. 1989. "Μινωικά μελισσοουργικά σκεύη," in *Φίλια ἔπη εἰς Γεώργιον Έ. Μυλωνᾶν διὰ τὰ 60 ἔτη τοῦ ἀνασκαφικοῦ του ἔργου Γ΄* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 103), Athens, pp. 1–7.
- . 1989. "Νέαρχος ὁ Λάτιος," *Ἀμάλθεια* 80–81, pp. 233–240.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1990. "Ἀρχαιολογικὲς ἔρευνες στὴν Ψεῖρα: Περίοδοι 1987–1989," *Ἀμάλθεια* 82–85, pp. 20–37.
- Soles, J., and C. Davaras. 1990. "Theran Ash in Minoan Crete: New Excavations on Mochlos," in *Thera and Aegean World III*. 3: Chronology, D.A. Hardy and C. Renfrew, eds., London, pp. 89–95.
- Davaras, C. 1991. "The Wace and Blegen Conference in Athens, 1989," *Kadmos* 30, pp. 81–82.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1991–1993. "Ψεῖρα 1989," *Κρητικὴ Ἔστια* 4, pp. 304–305.
- Davaras, C. 1992. "Ajios Nikolaos: Archäologisches Museum," in *Kleinere griechische Sammlungen: Ägina–Korinth* (CMS V, Suppl. 1A), I. Pini, ed., Berlin, pp. 29–71.
- . 1992. "Chamaizi," in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, J.W. Myers, E.E. Myers, and G. Cadogan, eds., Berkeley, pp. 78–81.
- . 1992. "Makrygialos," in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, J.W. Myers, E.E. Myers, and G. Cadogan, eds., Berkeley, pp. 172–174.
- . 1992. "Minoan Civilization," "The Clay Boat," "Bronze Figurines," "Bronze Double Axes," and "Gold Double Axes," in *Minoan and Greek Civilization from the Mitsotakis Collection*, L. Marangou, ed., Athens, pp. 31–38, 107–108, 243–257, 262–266, 267–268.
- . 1992. "The Seventh International Conference for Cretan Studies, Rethymnon 1991," *Kadmos* 31, pp. 164–170.
- Davaras, C., P.P. Betancourt, and W.R. Farrand. 1992. "Pseira," in *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, J.W. Myers, E.E. Myers, and G. Cadogan, eds., Berkeley, pp. 262–267.
- Davaras, C., and J.S. Soles. 1992. "Ἀνασκαφὲς στὸν Μόχλο Σητείας: Περίοδος 1989," *Ἀμάλθεια* 90–93, pp. 37–43.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras. 1992. "Excavations at Mochlos, 1989," *Hesperia* 61, pp. 413–445.
- . 1993. "Ἀνασκαφὲς στὸν Μόχλο Σητείας: Περίοδος 1990–91," *Ἀμάλθεια* 94–97, pp. 45–65.
- Davaras, C., and J. Soles. 1994. "Ἐνας νέος ἀνατολικὸς σφραγιδοκύλινδρος ἀπὸ τὸν Μόχλο," *Cretan Studies* 4, pp. 71–76.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras. 1994. "Excavations at Mochlos, 1990–1991," *Hesperia* 63, pp. 391–436.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1995. "Recent Excavations at Pseira, Crete," in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ζ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄* (1), Rethymnon, pp. 81–86.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 1995. *Pseira I: The Minoan Buildings on the West Side of Area A* (University Museum Monograph 90), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C., and J.S. Soles. 1995. "A New Oriental Cylinder Seal from Mochlos. Appendix: Catalogue of the Cylinder Seals Found in the Aegean," *ArchEph* 134 [1997], pp. 29–66.
- . 1996. "Excavations at Mochlos, 1992–1993," *Hesperia* 65, pp. 175–230.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras. 1995. "Some Stratigraphic Observations at Mochlos," in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ζ΄ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Α΄* (2), Rethymnon, pp. 881–886.
- Davaras, C. 1997. "The Cult Villa at Makrygialos," in *The Function of the "Minoan Villa."* *Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 6–8 June 1992* (SkrAth 4°, 46), R. Hägg, ed., Stockholm, pp. 117–135.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras. 1998. "Lithic Materials," in *Pseira III: The Plateia Building* (University Museum Monograph 102), by C.R. Floyd, with P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 153–162.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 1998. *Pseira II: Building AC (the "Shrine") and Other Buildings in Area A* (University Museum Monograph 94), Philadelphia.
- , eds. 1998. *Pseira III: The Plateia Building* (University Museum Monograph 102), C.R. Floyd, Philadelphia.
- , eds. 1999. *Pseira IV: Minoan Buildings in Area B, C, D, and F* (University Museum Monograph 105), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 1999. "Comments on the Plateia (Area BR)," in *Pseira IV: Minoan Buildings in Area B, C, D, and F* (University Museum Monograph 105), P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 167–169.
- . 2000. "Ἀρχαιότητα," in *Ο Ἅγιος Νικόλαος και ἡ περιοχή του*, Herakleion, pp. 11–45.

- . 2001. “Comments on the Plateia Building,” in *Pseira V: The Architecture of Pseira* (University Museum Monograph 109), J.C. McEnroe, with P.P. Betancourt and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 79–86.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 2001. *Pseira V: The Architecture of Pseira* (University Museum Monograph 109), J.C. McEnroe, Philadelphia.
- , eds. 2003. *Pseira VI: The Pseira Cemetery. 1: The Surface Survey* (Prehistory Monographs 5), Philadelphia.
- , eds. 2003. *Pseira VII: The Pseira Cemetery. 2: Excavation of the Tombs* (Prehistory Monographs 6), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2003. *Mochlos IA: Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans’ Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Sites* (Prehistory Monographs 7), J.S. Soles, Philadelphia.
- , eds. 2003. *Mochlos IB: Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans’ Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Neopalatial Pottery* (Prehistory Monographs 8), K.A. Barnard and T.M. Brogan, Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 2003. *Führer zu den Altertümern Kretas*, Athens.
- . 2003. *Parallels and Affinities between Crete and India in the Bronze Age: Some Speculations* (Cretan Studies Suppl. 1), Amsterdam.
- Davaras, C., and E. Banou. 2003. “A Post-palatial Tomb at Kalochoraphitis, Messara,” *Cretan Studies* 8, pp. 41–78.
- Betancourt, P.P., C. Davaras, and R. Hope Simpson, eds. 2004. *Pseira VIII: The Archaeological Survey of Pseira Island. Part 1* (Prehistory Monographs 11), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 2004. “The Mochlos Ship Cup,” in *Mochlos IC: Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans’ Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Small Finds* (Prehistory Monographs 9), J.S. Soles and C. Davaras, eds., Philadelphia, pp. 3–16.
- Davaras, C., and P.P. Betancourt. 2004. *The Hagia Photia Cemetery I: The Tomb Groups and Architecture* (Prehistory Monographs 14), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2004. *Mochlos IC: Period III. Neopalatial Settlement on the Coast: The Artisans’ Quarter and the Farmhouse at Chalinomouri. The Small Finds* (Prehistory Monographs 9), J.S. Soles, C. Davaras, J. Bending, T. Carter, D. Kondopoulou, D. Mylona, M. Ntinou, A.M. Nicgorski, D.S. Reese, A. Sarpaki, W.H. Schoch, M.E. Soles, V. Spatharas, Z.A. Stos-Gale, D.H. Tarling, and C. Witmore, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., C. Davaras, and R. Hope Simpson, eds. 2005. *Pseira IX: The Archaeological Survey of Pseira Island. Part 2: The Intensive Surface Survey* (Prehistory Monographs 12), Philadelphia.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2008. *Mochlos IIA: Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Sites* (Prehistory Monographs 23), J.S. Soles, Philadelphia.
- Betancourt, P.P., and C. Davaras, eds. 2009. *Pseira X: The Excavation of Block AF* (Prehistory Monographs 28), Philadelphia.
- Davaras, C. 2010. “One Minoan Peak Sanctuary Less: The Case of Thylakas 71,” in *Cretan Offerings: Studies in Honour of Peter Warren* (BSA Studies 18), O. Krzyszkowska, ed., London, pp. 71–88.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2010. *Mochlos IIB: Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Pottery* (Prehistory Monographs 27), R.A.K. Smith, Philadelphia.
- Kanta, A., and C. Davaras. 2011. *ΕΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΙΟΝ: Το ιερό σπήλαιο της Ειλειθυίας στον Τσουτσουρο*, Heraklion.
- Soles, J.S., and C. Davaras, eds. 2011. *Mochlos IIC: Period IV. The Mycenaean Settlement and Cemetery. The Human Remains and Other Finds* (Prehistory Monographs 32), J.S. Soles, J. Bending, T.M. Brogan, K. Caldwell, T. Carter, A. Giumlia-Mair, K. Kopaka, D. Mylona, A. Nicgorski, M. Ntinou, D.S. Reese, G. Rethemiotakis, R.A.K. Smith, S.L. Smith, M.E. Soles, S. Triantaphyllou, and P. Westlake, Philadelphia.



List of Abbreviations

ASCSA	American School of Classical Studies at Athens	km	kilometer
cm	centimeter	L.	length
dia.	diameter	LBA	Late Bronze Age
dim.	dimension	LC	Late Cycladic or Late Cypriot
EBA	Early Bronze Age	LH	Late Helladic
EM	Early Minoan	LM	Late Minoan
EN	Early Neolithic	LN	Late Neolithic
FAF	folded-arm figurine	m asl	meters above sea level
gr	gram	m	meter
h.	height	MACFA	macroscopic ceramic fabric analysis
HM	Herakleion Archaeological Museum	max.	maximum
HNM	Hagios Nikolaos Archaeological Museum	MHS	Minoan Hall System
HTR	Hagia Triada	MM	Middle Minoan
kg	kilogram	MN	Middle Neolithic

MNI	minimum number of individuals	th.	thickness
pers. comm.	personal communication	w.	width
pers. obs.	personal observation	wt.	weight
pres.	preserved	XRF	X-ray fluorescence
RM	Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon		



New Evidence on the Origin of the Late Minoan III Chest-shaped Larnax

Lefteris Platon

The question of origin of the clay chest-shaped sarcophagi or larnakes of the Late Minoan (LM) III period was a subject of early interest to scholars (Rutkowski 1968, 219–220 nn. 4–6, with earlier bibliography; a good, quite recent discussion is included in Evangelou 2009). Initially, the scarcity of burial places on LM I Crete led some scholars to dissociate the reappearance in the island of clay larnakes from an old tradition where individuality was sought for some burials through the use of clay containers (Branigan 1970, 177; Muhly 1996, 210). Arthur Evans first looked for the origins of the clay chest-shaped LM larnakes in cultural areas outside the Aegean, proposing Egypt as the most likely candidate (Evans 1904, 8; 1921–1935, I, 126, 586).

According to one widely accepted view, the principal morphological features of the clay chest-shaped coffins originated from wooden prototypes (Bosanquet 1901–1902, 299; Hood 1956, 86–87;

Pini 1968, 54, 57; Rutkowski 1968, 223; Watrous 1991, 285; Merousis 2000, 50 n. 171; that the existence of wooden larnakes is confirmed by a funeral scene depicted on a clay coffin from Tanagra, see Spyropoulos 1974, 20–21). These prototypes comprise the creation of rectangular inset panels on the exterior, the presence of four or six legs (these being the equivalent of vertical timbers extending to the ground and forming a strong frame), and the adoption of a lid type in a saddle-like or truncated pyramidal form. Excavation data confirm that wooden coffins were actually used for burial in the wider district of Knossos at least as early as the LM II period (for a full discussion and bibliography, see Hägg and Sieurin 1982, 180–182 nn. 44–53, table 1, lower part; also, Watrous 1991, 186; Muhly 1996, 208–209 nn. 47–65; Merousis 2000, 49–50 nn. 171, 172). By contrast, a terminus post quem of LM IIIA:1 has been proposed for the appearance in the island

of their clay imitations (Watrous 1991, 285, 288; Merousis 2000, 50).

The identification of wooden funerary containers in early Mycenaean tombs (Persson 1943, 41, 40; Åkerström 1978, 60–73; Hägg and Sieurin 1982, 178–180 nn. 10–39, with earlier bibliography; cf. also Muhly 1996, 206–208 nn. 37–44) led to the hypothesis that the chest-shaped larnax was invented—and first used—in the Helladic area, only to be introduced to Crete, together with the burial customs connected with it, when mainlanders first settled in the Knossos area in the LM II period (Hägg and Sieurin 1982, 185–186). Apart from the fact that burials in coffins, at least those made of clay, never became popular on the mainland (Muhly 1992, 164 n. 431; Merousis 2000, 53; for a slightly different view, see Dimakopoulou 1987, 73–75), recent finds of the Middle Minoan (MM) III–LM I period from Poros, Herakleion (Dimopoulou 1999, 35), prove that wooden chests were already in use on Crete before the appearance on the island of other burial customs considered Mycenaean in origin.

Having ascertained that the first chest-shaped coffins were made of wood—a material unsuitable for use in graves given their sensitivity to the very humid conditions—the question arose as to whether

these objects initially had been made to be used in domestic contexts for storing goods (Evans 1904, 8; Xanthoudides 1904, 11–12; Hood 1956, 86; Mavriyannaki 1972, 115; Åkerström 1978, 58; Betancourt 1985, 161–162). Since traces of such chests had yet to be identified in such contexts (contra Marinatos 1959, 44, referring to some specimens, whose form remains unknown since they are unpublished to date), this possible function was investigated outside the Aegean. Thus, once again it was suggested that the form of LM wooden coffins originated in Egypt where richly decorated chests had been used during the Eighteenth Dynasty for the storage of clothes and other valuable goods (Watrous 1991, 287).

This brief summary of views on the matter highlights how important it is to identify specimens of the type under discussion in earlier excavation contexts in Crete. The material which is briefly presented below comes from two tombs of the MM period, investigated by N. Platon in a location called “Pezoules Kephala,” at Zakros, Siteia (Platon 1967, 190–194; full publication of the finds from the Pezoules tombs, part of which are presented here, will appear in Platon, forthcoming).

The Form of the Tombs and the Method of Burial

The tombs under discussion were two built structures of the type called “bone enclosures” or “ossuaries” (Bosanquet 1901–1902, 292, fig. 5; Pini 1968, 8, including bibliography with references to specific sites; Branigan 1988, 154–160), identified by chance on the southwestern slope of the coastal Zakros Valley, located a short distance from the Minoan settlement. The tombs were set on two small terraces formed amid the limestone rocks. Their walls consisted of one or two rows of unworked stones of various sizes, placed according to their width. The western and larger Tomb A comprised three compartments—A, B, and Γ (Soles 1992, 195, fig. 77). Two of them (A and B) initially communicated through an opening, which was found blocked with earth, bones, and stones. No entrance to the tomb was identified.

Tomb B was only comprised of a single, almost rectangular compartment (Soles 1992, 200, fig. 78).

The burial layer, consisting of stones, bones, and pottery fragments in great disorder, lay directly on top of the sloping rock, penetrating even into its natural crevices—a fact that proves there had never been any form of artificial floor. Similar to Tomb A, excavation was unable to identify an entrance to the structure.

Both structures contained the remains of several successive, mainly secondary, burials. The original interments were few and may represent the last burials before the abandonment of the tombs. Two of the primary burials, one from each tomb, were found inside small clay larnakes (Fig. 18.1). In one instance, in Area B of Tomb A, the larnax, apart from containing the larger part of the last burial, also held two skulls clearly belonging to secondary interments (Fig. 18.2; Platon 1967, 191, pl. 167:a, b). The last burial was accompanied by a clay jug. On the other hand, nothing accompanied the original



Figure 18.1. The interior of the larnax of Tomb B, with an almost intact interment.



Figure 18.2. The larnax of Tomb A as found.



Figure 18.3. Bottom pieces of a chest-shaped larnax.

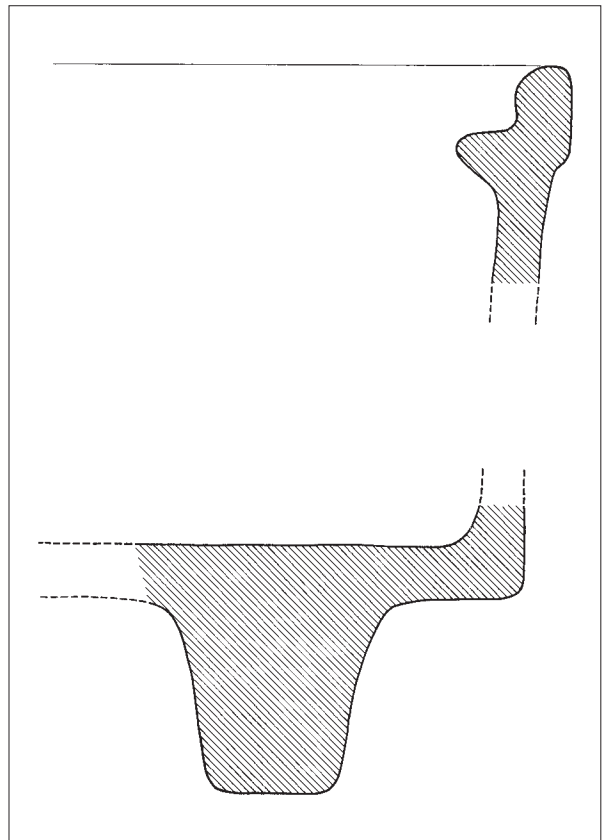


Figure 18.4. Section showing lip and bottom of a chest-shaped larnax. Scale 1:3.

interment in the larnax of Tomb B (Platon 1967, 193, pl. 171:b).

Pieces belonging to other clay coffins (Figs. 18.3, 18.4) and their lids were found scattered in the burial layers of both tombs. In Area B of Tomb A, a barrel-shaped pithos placed on its side was also found, but it is not possible to relate it to a specific interment.

Regarding the tomb types, N. Platon thought that they had the form of burial enclosures (1967, 191). According to him, the tombs were surrounded by low walls and the areas within were filled with earth; the new burials were made by digging pits for the deceased directly inside the enclosure or depositing the remains into the interior of clay larnakes or pithoi. On the other hand, J. Soles suggested that the tombs were roofed chambers, accessible either from the roof or by entrances placed in

the destroyed parts of the surrounding walls (1992, 197–198, 200). Detailed study of the excavation data, architecture, and movable finds by the author showed that Tomb A was built first, and it initially had the form of a chamber, possibly covered with a light roof made of perishable materials. Later, probably after a collapse of its superstructure, the tomb was reused as an open-air burial enclosure. Then, the burials would be placed directly in pits or in the larnakes placed inside them; from time to time, the tomb would be cleared of burial offerings, bones, and fragments of the damaged coffins (Platon 1967, 191, 192). During this period, Tomb B was also laid out, having a much simpler plan and construction than Tomb A. Here too, the bodies would have been placed in pits or larnakes, and they were accompanied by improvised secondary burials.

The Clay Larnakes and Their Dating

Six clay sarcophagi have been identified from the material of both tombs, and of these, only two have been restored (one each from Tomb A and Tomb B). Five were chest-shaped with six low, truncated conical legs placed either at the corners of the underside or slightly inward from its edges (Figs. 18.3, 18.5). One of the larnakes has an ovoid shape and is also fitted with six similar legs.

The lengths of the chest-shaped specimens range from 76–80 cm, and their widths are 34.5–39 cm. All had slightly curved sides and rounded corners. In one case, there is a projecting frame along the side edges. The long sides of the coffins have three pairs of holes placed slightly below the rim. In the bottom of the restored larnax from Tomb A, three more holes have been preserved.

The material from the tombs also comprises fragments of four clay lids, belonging to two types: one was ovoid in shape and slightly domed (Fig. 18.6), and another lid was pyramidal with two long and two short sides (Platon 1967, 191). The ovoid lids have two horizontal handles placed at either end. They would probably have had similar handles along the long sides. The corners of the lids are again rounded and pierced with holes. On the pyramidal lids, the long sides each have at least

two vertical handles, while the short ones each have a horizontal handle and smaller holes placed over them and on the rounded corners.

The clay used for the larnakes and lids varies from brownish to reddish and from pink to orange, with abundant dark inclusions. Their surfaces are covered in a slip, the color of which also varies from yellowish to buff and from pink to orange.

Because of the absence of parallels from the two earlier Minoan periods (cf. Rutkowski 1968, 220–222; with the probable exception of two small four-legged larnakes from Phourni, Archanes; Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 476, fig. 461), the Pezoules larnakes cannot be dated typologically. In spite of that, we must accept that the completely preserved coffins at least represent the last phase of the tombs' use, since they contained two of the few undisturbed burials. Consequently, their dating should be contemporary with that of the latest pottery found in the contexts (Platon 1999, 675 includes a short discussion on the chronology of the tombs assemblages).

The pottery comprises a limited range of shapes and decorative motifs with parallels for the most part dating to the MM IIA and IIB periods. The most frequently occurring shapes are different kinds of jugs



Figure 18.5. Small six-legged chest-shaped larnax from Tomb B.

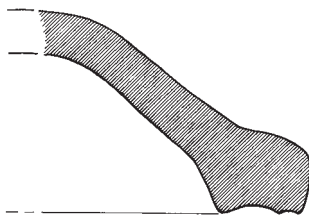


Figure 18.6. Section of a slightly domed larnax lid. Scale 1:3.

(Platon 1967, pl. 169:a), among which was a baggy type of jug and carinated, rounded, and cylindrical one-handed cups (Platon 1967, pl. 168:b, c, d) and various types of handleless cups (Platon 1967, pl. 168:a), not including the tall tumbler. Despite the fact that most of these various types belong to the MM II period, a number of the closed vessels have profiles that are enhanced by slight alternating convex and concave lines—a feature that is often attributed to the MM III phase (cf. Walberg 1983, 14, 16, 17, 18). Likewise, certain types of handled and handleless cups have parallels that have sometimes been assigned to the same period. As far as decoration is concerned, the repertoire, executed principally in the “light-on-dark” technique, comprises pendent arcs, twisted motifs with spirals, branches with stylized leaves, and motifs imitating various stones. Nevertheless, the most significant evidence, at least for defining the latest use of the tombs, is the complete absence of the stone motif with white disk-shaped spots on a dark ground, as well as the tortoise-shell ripple ornament so typical of the MM III period (Platon 1999, 675).

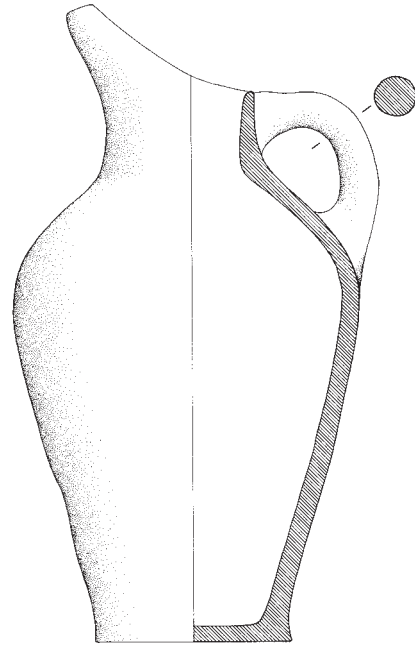


Figure 18.7. Drawing of the jug found in the larnax of Tomb A. Scale 1:3.

The dating of the jug found in the restored larnax of Tomb A does not contradict the above observations. The jug has a rather slender body with a profile that is slightly concave above its base (Fig. 18.7; cf. Walberg 1983, pl. 13:114). The shape is found in a MM II jug from Phaistos (Pernier 1935, 259, fig. 142), as well as in a hydria from the same site, again dated to the MM II period (Levi and Carinci 1988, 50–51, pl. 25:f). To the right of the lower part of the handle, the Pezoules jug has an incised X-shaped sign. Similar signs occur on jugs from the MM IB–IIA context of Kalyvomouri Zakros (Platon 1999, 674), as well as on vases from Quartier Mu at Malia that date to the end of the MM II period (Olivier 1996, 159).

Based on the above, the last Pezoules burials, including those in the two preserved larnakes, should be dated to the end of MM IIB, or, at the latest, to the very beginning of the MM III phase. It should be emphasized here that out of a total of 185 restored vases, as well as among the fragmentary material, no trace of later use of the tombs was identified.

The Significance of the Finds

In spite of such an early date, the Pezoules larnakes present some morphological features that have been considered as typical of Postpalatial chest-shaped coffins (Rutkowski 1968, 223; Watrous 1991, 285). The first is the existence of legs. The Pezoules larnakes have six truncated conical feet, usually placed slightly inward from the edge of the underside. Two four-legged chest-shaped larnakes of the MM I and II periods have been brought to light in the Phourni Archanes cemetery (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 476, fig. 461). The LM III examples have either four, or more rarely, six feet placed at each corner. The restored larnax from Pezoules Tomb A is closer to the late examples, since its six legs are placed at each corner and in the middle of the long sides, in line with the edge of the underside (compare, e.g., some LM IIIA larnakes from Armenoi, or the well-known sarcophagus from Episkopi Ierapetra; see Tzedakis 1971, figs. 5, 6; Betancourt 1985, pl. 27:A; Platonos 2008). The position of the feet on the Pezoules larnakes weakens the argument for simple imitation of a feature occurring in domestic furniture, since it would make them less visible or even invisible. Their presence seems to be more related to a functional demand of funerary nature, such as transportation of the object from the place of manufacture to the tomb, or even in the funeral of the dead (Muhly 1992, 169 n. 448).

The above-mentioned larnax from Tomb A presents one more feature that is often found in the later sarcophagi: a protruding band that frames the edges of the long sides of the larnax to form a large panel



Figure 18.8. The larnax of Tomb A with the protruding frame.

(Fig. 18.8). In this case, the addition of such a frame obviously is not for decorative or functional reasons; rather, it betrays the influence of some wooden prototypes where it would have served a structural purpose. Thus, it seems possible that, in tandem with the clay larnakes, wooden ones were also in use, which might explain why their remains are not so often preserved (or recognized?) in more tombs.

A third feature shared between the Pezoules and LM III larnakes is the presence of pairs of holes located slightly below the rim of the containers (cf. Michailidou-Pappa 1972, 335–337). The existence of similar corresponding holes on the lids of the Zakros specimens, in combination with the absence of handles that could play a similar role (cf. Xanthoudides 1904, 12), confirms that they were used for binding the two sections of larnakes together. On the other hand, the presence of holes in the bottom of one of the restored Pezoules specimens supports the possibility that these chests had always been destined for funerary use, the perforations having been made in order to drain the liquids produced by the decomposition of the bodies (Michailidou-Pappa 1972, 334).

Finally, the presence of lids with a truncated pyramidal form presages the prevalence of this specific type for LM III larnakes. The parallel use of the flat or slightly domed “ceramic” type indicates a transitional stage, when the traditional MM type coexisted with the new one that would later become prevalent.

In conclusion, most of the features of the LM III clay chest-shaped larnakes occur also in the examples from Pezoules Zakros, which are safely dated around the end of the MM II period. This conclusion conflicts with some of the following views regarding the origin of the type:

1. That the type was introduced to Crete by the Mycenaean when they settled on the island during the LM II period, and that it represents a Helladic creation originally made of wood (Hägg and Sieurin 1982, 185–186). The clay Pezoules specimens are much earlier, and their morphology suggests the simultaneous use of wooden examples in Crete.

2. That the type imitates Egyptian furniture of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Watrous 1991, 287). The beginning of this dynasty is placed in the third quarter of the 16th century (for the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, see, e.g., Warren 2006, 306), while the end of the MM II period in Crete is around the end of the 18th century B.C. (cf. Betancourt 1985, 68; Warren and Hankey 1989, 135, 169).
3. That the first LM coffins were nothing other than wooden chests used for storing goods inside the house (cf. Evans 1904, 8; Xanthoudides 1904, 12; Hood 1956, 86; Mavriyannaki 1972, 115; Åkerström 1978, 58; Betancourt 1985, 161–162). Although LM I clay larnakes have not yet been identified with certainty (Merousis 2000, 51 n.

176), their probable wooden counterparts appear to have a much longer funerary use than we previously believed. On the other hand, their domestic use has not yet been confirmed by excavation data.

In contrast to these views, the finds from Pezoules add one more link to the almost unbreakable chain of a long surviving tradition (Marinatos 1930–1931, 155; Rutkowski 1968, 220–222; Mavriyannaki 1972, 113–115; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 473–477) where closed vessels of various types and made of various materials formed the final, individual resting place for certain deceased people who were distinguished from the masses (Branigan 1970, 177; Muhly 1992, 168; 1996, 210).

References

- Åkerström, Å. 1978. "Mycenaean Problems," *OpAth* 12, pp. 19–86.
- Betancourt, P. 1985. *The History of Minoan Pottery*, Princeton.
- Bosanquet, R.C. 1901–1902. "Excavations at Palaikastro I," *BSA* 8, pp. 286–316.
- Branigan, K. 1970. *The Tombs of Messara*, London.
- . 1988. *Pre-palatial: The Foundations of Palatial Crete. A Survey of Crete in the Early Bronze Age*, Amsterdam.
- Dimakopoulou, K. 1987. "Πήλινη ζωγραφιστή λάρνακα από τή Βρασέρκα Αργολίδας," in *ΕΙΛΑΠΙΝΗ: Τόμος τιμητικός για τόν καθηγητή Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα*, L. Kastrinaki, G. Orphanou, and N. Giannadakis, eds., Herakleion, pp. 69–78.
- Dimopoulou, N. 1999. "The Neopalatial Cemetery of the Knossian Harbour-Town at Poros: Mortuary Behaviour and Social Ranking," in *Eliten in der Bronzezeit: Ergebnisse zweier Kolloquien in Mainz und Athen*, I. Killian, ed., Mainz, pp. 27–36.
- Evangelou, G. 2009. *Πρακτικές ταφής κατά τη Νεοανατολική και Μετανατολική περίοδο στην Κεντρική Κρήτη*, Ph.D. diss., University of Athens.
- Evans, A.J. 1904. *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos (Archaeologia 59)*, London.
- . 1921–1935. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I–IV, London.
- Hägg, R., and F. Sieurin. 1982. "On the Origin of the Wooden Coffin in Late Bronze Age Greece," *BSA* 77, pp. 177–186.
- Hood, M.S.F. 1956. "Another Warrior-Grave at Ayios Ioannis near Knossos," *BSA* 51, pp. 81–93.
- Levi, D., and F. Carinci. 1988. *Festos e la civiltà minoica II*, Roma.
- Marinatos, S. 1930–1931. "Δύο πρώϊμοι μινωϊκοί τάφοι ἐκ Βοροῦ Μεσαράς," *ArchDelt* 13, pp. 137–170.
- . 1959. *Kreta und das mykenische Hellas*, Munich.
- Mavriyannaki, C. 1972. *Recherches sur les larnakes minoennes de la Crète occidentale (Incunabula Graeca 54)*, Rome.
- Merousis, N.I. 2000. *Οι εικονογραφικοί κύκλοι των ΥΜ III λαρνάκων. Οι διαστάσεις της εικονογραφίας στα πλαίσια των ταφικών πρακτικών*, Thessaloniki.
- Michailidou-Pappa A. 1972. "Κρητική λάρνακα στό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης," *CretChron* 24, pp. 325–359.
- Muhly, P. 1992. *Μινωϊκός λαξευτός τάφος στόν Πόρο Ήρακλείου*, Athens.
- . 1996. "Furniture from the Shaft Graves: The Occurrence of Wood in Aegean Burials of the Bronze Age," *BSA* 91, pp. 197–211.

- Olivier, J.-P. 1996. "Addenda: Écriture hiéroglyphique crétoise," in *Fouilles exécutées a Mallia: Le Quartier Mu. III: Artisans minoens. Les maisons-ateliers du Quartier Mu (ÉtCrét 32)*, J.-C. Poursat, Athens, pp. 155–199.
- Pernier, L. 1935. *Il palazzo minoico di Festòs*, vol. I, Rome.
- Persson, A.W. 1943. *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, Lund.
- Pini, I. 1968. *Beiträge zur minoischen Gräberkunde*, Wiesbaden.
- Platon, L. 1999. "New Evidence for the Occupation at Zakros, before the LM I Palace," in *MELETEMATATA: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year (Aegaeum 20)*, P.P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier, eds., Liège, pp. 671–681.
- . Forthcoming. "Οι τάφοι στις Πεζούλες Κεφάλας," in *Zakros I (Archaeological Society of Athens Monograph)*.
- Platon, N. 1967. "Ανασκαφάι Ζάκρου," *Prakt* 122 [1969], pp. 163–194.
- Platonos, M. 2008. "Εικονιστική σαρκοφάγος από την Επισκοπή Ιεράπετρας," in *Amicitiae Gratia: Τόμος στη μνήμη Αλκμήνης Σταυρίδη (Δημοσιεύματα Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου 99)*, Athens, pp. 17–34.
- Rutkowski, B. 1968. "The Origin of the Minoan Coffin," *BSA* 63, pp. 219–227.
- Sakellarakis, Y., and E. Sakellaraki. 1997. *Αρχάνες: Μία νέα ματιά στη μινωική Κρήτη*, Athens.
- Spyropoulos, T.G. 1974. "Ανασκαφάι Μυκηναϊκής Τανάγρας," *Prakt* 129 [1976], pp. 9–33.
- Soles, J. 1992. *The Prepalatial Cemeteries at Mochlos and Gournia and the House Tombs of Bronze Age Crete (Hesperia Suppl. 24)*, Princeton.
- Tzedakis, Y. 1971. "Λάρνακες Ύστερομινωικού Νεκροταφείου Αρμένων Ρεθύμνης," *AAA* 4, pp. 216–222.
- Walberg, G. 1983. *Provincial Middle Minoan Pottery*, Mainz.
- Warren, P.M. 2006. "The Date of the Thera Eruption in Relation to Aegean-Egyptian Interconnections and the Egyptian Historical Chronology," in *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 149)*, E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Meliman, A. Schaweb, eds., Leuven, pp. 305–321.
- Warren, P., and V. Hankey. 1989. *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology*, Bristol.
- Watrous, L.V. 1991. "The Origin and Iconography of the Late Minoan Painted Larnax," *Hesperia* 60, pp. 285–307.
- Xanthoudides, S.A. 1904. "Εκ Κρήτης," *ArchEph* 1904, pp. 1–56.