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Pictures from the Sea:

The Role of Marine Imagery and Artefacts in the Bronze Age Aegean

Vol. 2: Appendices and Tables

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor in Philosophy

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Appendix 1:

Marine Finds in Cult Contexts and Deposits on Crete and Elsewhere in the Aegean (Based on Published Data)

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[1] Please note that the exact date of some of the marine finds is unknown or unspecified in the reports; where a given context or deposit has a wide date range which spans several time periods, the catalogue entry has been placed under the *earliest* time period of the range assigned to them. These have been marked with the * symbol. In the appendix entries, where the information for a given site is drawn from only one source, that source is listed at the beginning of the site entry only, without further references within the text.

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Appendix 1:
Marine Finds in Cult Contexts and Deposits on Crete and elsewhere in the Aegean

Section A. Marine Finds in Cult Contexts or Deposits on Crete

i. Protopalatial Period

1. Palace of Knossos, the Vat Room Deposit in the Central Court Sanctuary Complex; MM IB level

PM I, 165-71, especially 169-70, fig. 120; PM IV, 93; Gesell 1985, 87; Panagiotaki 1999, 9-43, especially 37; Reese 1991, 183

Shell inlays, probably of *Spondylus*

From beneath the Central Palace Sanctuary area of the palace of Knossos, an area which seems to have been set apart for cult, came a treasure deposit similar to that from the later Temple Repositories which suggests that a cult room was located nearby. Known as the Vat Room Deposit, it was found under the threshold between the Vat Room and the East Pillar Crypt, in a Protopalatial level of possible MM IB date (Panagiotaki 1999, 43). Faience, marine shell and ostrich-egg shell inlays were among the finds. Panagiotaki (1999, 37, fig. 14, no 93) reports that there were seventeen pieces of white shell inlay of either triangular or crescent shapes, of which one piece seems incompletely worked. Evans (PM IV, 93) suggested that the shell used may be *Tridacna*, but Reese (1991, 183) argues that the pieces are in fact probably made from the Mediterranean spiny oyster, *Spondylus gaederopus*. Evans (PM I, 170) arranged the pieces into medallions and suggested that they may have belonged to a draughtsboard. However, as Panagiotaki has observed, they could equally have decorated a box or piece of furniture, perhaps in combination with the ostrich-egg and faience inlays with which they were found (Panagiotaki 1999, 37). The deposit has been linked with cult on the basis of a combination of factors: the presence of a faience figurine fragment and of vases, some in sets, with religious motifs such as the double axe, the high quality of the finds, the manner of their deposition, and their similarity to those from the nearby Temple Repositories (Panagiotaki 1999, 41-42).

2. Palace of Phaistos, Lower West Court Sanctuary Complex; MM II

Gesell 1985, 11-12, 124-27; Vandenabeele 1991, 242

Fragmentary triton and oyster shells; two 'fossil' shells

This sanctuary complex lies to the south and contains at least ten rooms in three separate groups, most of which were storerooms or preparation rooms. Fragments of triton and oyster shells were found in Room IL, which may have served as a storeroom or, occasionally, as a cult dining room. While the triton shell may have been an item of cult equipment, given the associated oyster shells and the fragmentary condition of all the shells we cannot rule out the possibility that these shells represent debris from ritual dining. Associated cult equipment included three offering tables, three bull rhyta and pottery decorated with double axes (Gesell 1985, 124). Two unspecified 'fossil shells' were found in Room LV, near the passage into LXII, a room which appears to have been a hearth area. They were found together with horned pots and plates (Gesell 1985, 127). Other associated cult finds include three libation tables, stone vases and rhyta. The room has been identified as a storeroom or cult-dining room on the basis of the large amount of fine-ware and cooking vessels (Gesell 1985, 12, 127). The fossil shells may have been offerings.

3. House B, Quartier Mu, Room V5, Malia; Protopalatial Period
Detournay *et al.* 1980, 107-109, 143, 232; Vandenabeele 1991, 241

'Fragments of shells'; ex-voto limbs made from coral

Fragmentary shell plaques which may have once decorated a box and two ex-voto limbs made from coral (a hand and an upper arm fragment) were found at this probable house shrine (Detournay *et al.* 1980, 107-109, nos. 150-51). They were found among a group of cult objects which included seven stone idols, five clay skirts for figurines and a stone figurine of a dog (Detournay *et al.* 1980, 232). Support for the identification of the house shrine is also provided by finds in neighbouring Room VI, which included a group of small vases and a libations table of the same type known from the Temple Repositories at Knossos and from Sanctuary VIII at Phaistos (Detournay *et al.* 1980, 232).

4. Vrysinas, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-IIB
Jones 1999, 79; Faure 1972, 397; 1963, 504-508; 1969, 185; Davaras 1974; Peatfield 1989, 421

Clay model fish

A clay fish figurine was among the MM I-IIB finds at the peak sanctuary of Vrysinas. It was found in a circular depression along with several terracotta offerings including bull figurines (Faure 1972, 397). The peak sanctuary yielded thousands of finds including hundreds of human and animal figurines, votive limbs, two miniature bronze double axes, clay horns of consecration, bull-shaped double rhyta,

miniature vessels, fragments of stone altars and black ashy earth suggestive of a bonfire (Davaras 1974; Peatfield 1989, 419-20). The peak sanctuary has a view of the sea to the north (Peatfield 1989, 419, 421) and is visible from the sea as a landmark above the Rethymnon coastal plain.

5. Atsipadhes Korakias, Peak Sanctuary; Protopalatial Period
Peatfield 1990, 77-78; 1992, 68, 80

Pebble scatter

At the peak sanctuary of Atsipadhes, a scatter of round water-worn pebbles was found on the east edge of the upper terrace. Peatfield (1990, 77) reports that the pebbles were not a floor, but rather were thickly scattered throughout the votive layers along with sherds and figurine fragments. Set within this area was an earth feature which was free of artefacts and pebbles. Peatfield (1992, 68, 80) has suggested that something stood or was placed in this feature and that this area was a focal point for activity at the shrine. The pebbles therefore seem to have been brought to the peak in Minoan times to mark off this special area of the shrine or, alternatively, were deposited by worshippers as part of the ritual process (Peatfield 1992, 80). Finds indicating ritual activity include two clay libation tables, human and animal figurines, votive limbs, and pottery vessels including rhyta.

6. Vigla, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-IIB
Faure 1967, 118; Jones 1999, 77; Peatfield 1989, 413-15

Seashells; pebbles

Seashells and pebbles were among the finds uncovered at the peak sanctuary of Vigla, located about 1.9km south-west of Epano Zakro (Faure 1967, 118; Jones 1999, 77). Peatfield (1989, 415) suggests that the pebbles may be modern however, as they may have come from the concrete used for the geodesic markers on the site. Finds indicating ritual activity at the site include fragments of clay figurines of humans and animals, and fine and coarse ware pottery vessels including cups and bowls. The sea is visible from the sanctuary to the south and southeast (Peatfield 1989, 413-14). The peak is visible from the sea within the Kato Zakro bay.

7. Zou Prinias, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-II

Nowicki 1994, 36-37, fig. 2; Jones 1999, 77; Davaras 1988; Peatfield 1989, 390-93

Seashells; pebbles

Two seashells found at the peak sanctuary of Prinias, Siteia, are displayed in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum. It is not clear whether these were the only shells found at the site. Nowicki (36-37, fig. 2) also notes the presence of a pebble scatter, which may have originally surrounded a central feature. Finds indicating ritual activity include human and animal figurines, votive limbs, a beetle rhyton, miniature vessels, ashes and a possible fragment of stone horns of consecration (Jones 1999, 77; Davaras 1988; Peatfield 1989, 392-93). This prominent peak commands a view which encompasses the coastal plain of Siteia (Peatfield 1989, 393).

8. Spili Vorizi, Peak Sanctuary; Protopalatial Period

Peatfield 1989, 416-17; 1992, 76; Jones 1999, 79

Pebble scatter

A defined scatter of white pebbles (c. 2 x 2m) found on this peak sanctuary may have been an area of ritual focus (Peatfield 1989, 417; 1992, 76). Finds indicating ritual activity include human and animal figurines and pottery including bridge-spouted jars and conical cups (Jones 1999, 79; Peatfield 1989, 416-17).

9. Keria, Peak Sanctuary; Protopalatial Period

Peatfield 1989, 367-69; 1992, 76

Pebble scatter

A defined scatter of white pebbles was found in the northeast corner of this peak sanctuary (Peatfield 1989, 369; 1992, 76). Peatfield has suggested that this pebble scatter may have defined an area of ritual focus (1989, 369). Other finds from the site include animal figurines (including miniature bulls and fragments of larger bulls), human figures, votive limbs, a bronze figurine, pottery and fragments of 'offering tubes' including one with applied horns of consecration (Peatfield 1989, 367-69).

10. Karphi, Peak Sanctuary; Protopalatial Period

Jones 1999, 78; Nowicki 1994, 35, 44, fig. 6

Pebble scatter

Nowicki (1994, 44, fig. 6) has described and provided a sketch plan of the distribution of pebbles at this peak sanctuary. He suggests that the pebbles may have surrounded a central feature, as at the peak sanctuary of Atsipadhes. Finds at the site include pottery and figurines of humans and animals (Jones 1999, 78).

*11. Traostalos, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-LM I**

Davaras 1976, 97, fig. 55; Chryssoulaki 1999, 315, fig. 15; 2001; Touchais 1986, 745; Blackman 2000, 145; Wedde 2000, 308, no. 202; Vandenabeele 1991, 243, 249

Pebbles; shells; two model fish (Fig. 27); a fragmentary clay model boat

A naturalistically rendered model fish was found during the first excavations of the site by Davaras (Davaras 1976, 97, fig. 55). A second model fish was found during the 1995 excavation, along with a large quantity of small pebbles, seashells and a fragmentary clay model boat (Chryssoulaki 1999, 315, fig. 15; 2001, 60-63; Touchais 1986, 745). The model boat has a flat bottom, slightly raised extremities and the remains of four horizontal ribs. It has been variously dated to MM I and MM III (Wedde 2000, 308). Chryssoulaki (2001, 63) observes that the marine finds 'suggest invocations associated with maritime activities or beliefs related to the sea'. The site also produced ex-votos such as models of human limbs and figurines with deformities or indications of illness, suggesting that the sanctuary also had a healing function (Chryssoulaki 2001, 62). Many offerings seem to have been placed in cavities in the natural rock, with some objects such as animal figurines and miniature pithoi set in pairs (Blackman 2000, 145). There was also evidence for a large central bonfire at the site (Chryssoulaki 2001, 60). The site seems to have been in use from MM I-LM I. The mountain peak rises immediately above the east coast and commands a view of the sea. It is visible from the sea as a clear impressive landmark, indeed, it is known to all Aegean sailors today as a kind of levelled cake (Soetens pers. comm. 16-10-07).

*12. Kophinas, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-IIB and MM III Phases**

Jones 1999, 79; Faure 1967, 124-25; Karetsou and Rethemiotakis 1990, 429; Long 1974, 48; Vandenabeele 1991, 243, 246; Peatfield 1989, 370-73

Two clay fish; a fish vase; a clay model boat

Jones (1999, 79) lists a fish vase and a clay fish figurine among the finds from the MM I-IIB phase at Kophinas. Another clay fish and part of a small clay boat were found in a MM III level (Faure 1967, 125; Karetsou and Rethemiotakis 1990, 429). Fish vases are also known from later contexts at Tiryns (Fig. 37) and at the sanctuary of Phylakopi on Melos (Renfrew 1985, Pl. 48e). The boat from Kophinas has been described as having benches and an up-curved prow (Long 1974, 48). Associated cult finds from successive phases of the sanctuary include other animal figurines, human figurines in clay and bronze, bull rhyta, a lead double axe and stone offering tables (Jones 1999, 79). According to the excavators, Karetsou and Rethemiotakis (1990, 429), the acme of the sanctuary seems to have been in the MM III-LM I period. While cult may have been interrupted in the Neopalatial period, traces of ritual activity reappear again in LM III. The peak sanctuary commands a view of the sea to the southwest (Peatfield 1989, 370-73) and is visible from the sea as a landmark for the south-central coast.

*13. Juktas, Peak Sanctury; MM IA-LM IIIC**

Karetsou 1976, Pl. 230η; 1977, 420; 1978, 247, 258; 1981; Watrous 1996, 70-72; Reese 1987a, 201, 204; 2000, 256, 260, 270-71; Dickinson 1996, 269; Mountjoy 1984, 170, Pl. 26a; Peatfield 1989, 354-61

Hundreds of seashells; a steatite shell; sherds of a LM IB Marine Style stirrup jar; an octopus sealstone

Approximately 500 seashells were found at the peak sanctuary on Mount Juktas (Karetsou 1978, 247, 258), along with a model shell in steatite (Karetsou 1977, 420; Dickinson 1996, 269). The shells have not been fully published but they included a large number of *Columbella rustica* shells, as well as *Monodonta*, *Dentalia*, water-worn *Glycymeris* shells, oyster shells, scallops, holed cone shells, and shells belonging to the three species of murex which produce purple dye, many of which were also holed (Karetsou 1978, 258; Reese 1987a, 201, 204; 2000, 256, 260, 270-71). The shells came from a number of areas of the shrine including the chasm, the area of the outdoor pyre and various rooms (Karetsou 1978, 247, 258). Analysis of the shells suggests that most were collected as dead specimens (Karetsou 1978, 258); for this reason, they probably represent offerings rather than food debris. Other

marine finds from the shrine include a sealstone decorated with a large octopus (Karetsou 1976, Pl. 230η) and sherds of a LM IB Marine Style octopus stirrup jar (Mountjoy 1984, 170, Pl. 26a).

It is thought that cult activity began at this site in the MM IA period and continued through the Postpalatial period into the Early Iron Age. The cult use of the site is well attested by the topography, architectural features and finds. The early shrine consisted of an open platform with a stepped structure built next to a chasm in the rock where offerings were deposited. In the later phases of use the architectural complex was expanded to include a processional way and several rooms, of which at least one had a plastered floor and polychrome wall frescoes (Watrous 1996, 71). Finds which point to cult activity at the peak sanctuary include kernoi and clay and stone libation tables, bronze double axes, a set of stone horns of consecration, numerous clay human and animal figurines, bronze and lead votive statuettes of 'worshippers', large amounts of pottery, miniature vases and blades, jewellery, sealstones, and a clay sealing with a representation of a bull's head with a star placed between the horns (Karetsou 1978, 1981). The sanctuary is thought to have served the Knossos and Archanes areas and a direct visual relationship has been observed between Juktas and the palace of Knossos. The sanctuary commands a view of the sea and of the coastal plain of modern Heraklion to the north. It is clearly visible from the sea as a landmark for the north coast.

*14. Skoteino Cave; MM I-LM III**

Jones 1999, 58, 80; Kanta 1980, 68; Rutkowski 1986, 61, 71, no. 26

Seashells; a sherd of a LM IIIB octopus krater

Among the finds from the sacred cave at Skoteino were 'seashells', one of which was apparently painted (Rutkowski 1986, 61). A sherd of a LM IIIB krater decorated with an octopus was also among the finds (Kanta 1980, 68). The cult use of the cave is suggested by finds such as bronze figurines and a double votive axe, which were found along with bronze weapons and pottery (Rutkowski 1986, 71). Natural features of the cave, stalactites and hollows filled with water, may have been a focus of cult activity.

*15. Psychro Cave, MM I-LM III**

Rutkowski 1986, 57, 70, no. 23; Watrous 1996; Vandenabeele 1991, 247-48

LM IIIC octopus tankard (Fig. 35); a bronze plaque with cult symbols and a fish motif (Fig. 54)

Two items with marine iconography were among the finds from the cave at Psychro, which was used for cult from MM I-LM III and into later periods as well. A large tankard decorated with a single facing octopus has been dated to LM IIIC (Watrous 1996, 41 no. 115; Fig. 35). A bronze votive plaque found in the cave is decorated with a cult scene in which a fish and bird are shown alongside cult symbols such as the horns of consecration and branch, while a human figure dances in the foreground (Rutkowski 1986, 59; Fig. 54). Other notable finds signifying cult activity include stone offering tables, bronze and terracotta figurines of humans and animals, the stone base of a double axe, bronze double axes, weapons (swords, daggers and knives), miniature bronze shields, and ceramic vessels including rhyta, a pithos decorated with a double axe and over 500 undecorated handleless cups (Rutkowski 1986, 57; Watrous 1996). The ceramic vessels suggest that drinking or libation ceremonies were important throughout the Minoan use of the cave (Watrous 1996, 52). In all, over 500 bronze artefacts were found in the cave (Watrous 1996, 18). The finds came from both the upper and lower grottos of the cave. The lower grotto had a deep pool of water and offerings were placed within the water and in crevices between the stalagmites and stalactites (Watrous 1996, 17, 21).

*16. Idaean Cave; MM IA-LM IIIC**

Watrous 1996, 58-59; Jones 1999, 81; Prent 2005, 158-60; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Reese 2000, 251, 256, 263

Rock crystal seal depicting a votary holding a triton shell before an altar (Table 5: **TS9**; Fig. 102f); seashells including a fragmentary triton shell

A rock crystal sealstone depicting a female figure holding a large triton shell aloft before an altar topped with horns of consecration and sacred branches was found in the sacred cave on the upper slopes of Mt. Ida (Fig. 102f). The seal is thought to show a cult scene and provides iconographic evidence for the use of triton shells as cult equipment. Recent excavations also produced twenty seashells of nine different species from Minoan and later levels of the cave (Reese 2000, 251). The shells include an upper spire fragment of a triton shell (*C. sequenzae*), a burnt *Columbella* shell and three *Glycymeris* shells, one of which was collected dead (Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Reese 2000, 256, 263). Cult activity at the cave probably began in MM IA and continued into LM IIIC and on into the Geometric and Classical periods (Watrous 1996, 58-59). Cult equipment from the cave included stone offering tables, kernoi, bronze double axes and clay horns of consecration. Offerings included human and animal figurines, bronze figurines of a male adorant and an animal, weapons (over 40 miniature swords or daggers), jewellery, necklaces and sealstones. Fine pottery was also found at the cave including Kamares Ware vessels (rhyta, jugs, bridge-spouted jars, cups and pithoi), a rhyton with incised decoration and vases with relief decoration. The cave contains stalagmites and stalactites and is

located about 18km from the sea. An increase in finds in the MM III-LM I period suggests that this was the acme of the cave's cult use.

17. Anemospilia Shrine, Archanes; MM II-IIIA

Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 137-56; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 269-311

Pebbles; a sealstone with a scene of a male figure on a boat (Fig. 82)

Pebbles were found in the shrine at Anemospilia, Archanes, which produced evidence for the practice of human sacrifice. The shrine is the earliest example of a free-standing temple-shrine on Crete. It was destroyed by an earthquake at the end of the Protopalatial period and its occupants were taken by surprise in the midst of their ritual activities. The building had a symmetrical ground plan with a single long corridor which provided access to three rooms to the south, which were arranged side by side. Three more rooms may have existed to the north of the corridor, but ground erosion has left only poorly preserved traces of their foundation walls (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 271-72). The corridor contained over 150 vessels, suggesting that it was used for the preparation of rituals (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 138). Each of the three rooms to the south had different finds indicating a spatial differentiation of cult activity. The water-worn pebbles were found in the east room where they had been placed upon a stepped altar along with various vegetal offerings and ritual utensils (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 274). This room had no evidence of blood sacrifice. A pair of clay feet found at the back of the central room with a large amount of carbonised wood provides possible evidence of the existence of Minoan cult statues. A male skeleton was found outside the doorway to this room along with a smashed Kamares vessel decorated with a bull in relief. According to the reconstructions, the man was carrying the vessel, possibly filled with blood, when the earthquake struck and his body was crushed by a lintel which fell from above (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 146). The most dramatic finds were in the west room where the ritual activities were in full progress when catastrophe struck. Three skeletons were found in the room: those of a male and a female who seem to have been officiating in the cult activity, and the skeleton of a young male who appears to have been a sacrificial victim (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 294-311). An agate sealstone bearing a depiction of a male figure on a boat was found beside the wrist of the older male (Fig. 82). The younger male victim was found lying on a low built structure with a weapon (now identified as the head of a lance) on top of his bones (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 295-96, 310). His feet and jaw appear to have been bound and forensic examination indicated that he had already lost a lot of blood when the earthquake struck (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 305-306). According to the excavators, the human sacrifice practised at Anemospilia was a rare ritual

act, perhaps enacted as an extreme measure in response to the fear of a seismic catastrophe (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 154-56).

ii. Neopalatial Period

1. Palace of Knossos, East Treasury Deposit; MM III

PM III, 397-435, especially 399-401 and fig. 274; Gesell 1985, 92; Koehl 1986a; Vandenabeele 1991, 247

Small gold fish; simple bone fish; possibly the dolphin fresco and fragments of a large-scale stone border of marine rockwork (Figs. 61-63)

A beautifully rendered small gold fish complete with fins and scales was among the finds in the East Treasury Deposit. It is a very clear representation of a sea bream (Gill 1985, 73, fig. 13c). Small fish-forms made of bone, some incised with alphabetiform signs, were interpreted by Evans (PM III, 405-408) as possible gaming pieces. The deposit had fallen from the upper floor. Two miniature gold-plated double axes, a fresco depicting a double axe and a bull, a faience bull's head, faience plaques, and ivory figurines of an acrobat and fantastic creatures such as a griffin or sphinx highlight the ritual nature of the deposit. Evans (PM III, 401) suggested that remains of carbonised woodwork belonged to the chests in which the objects were originally stored. Koehl (1986a) has argued that the dolphin fresco which Evans reconstructed in the Queen's Megaron (Fig. 61) may have also fallen from this upper floor deposit above the Treasury. He suggests that it may have originally decorated the floor of a shrine, surrounded by a border of marine rockwork made of porphyritic limestone (Fig. 63). Although originally dated to MM III or LM I, Koehl (1986a, 413) has re-dated the fresco to LM IIIA. As there is some disagreement about the date of the fresco, it could in fact have belonged to the MM III level of the shrine.

2. Palace of Knossos, Temple Repositories; MM IIIB or LM IA

PM I, 463-523, 556-61, 596; Panagiotaki 1999, 71-179, especially 78-81, 152-55, fig. 16, Pls. 10-11 (marine faience models), 93-94, 159, Pl. 11e (faience vessel with marine relief), 128-31, 175, Pl. 17 (seashells), 119, 172 (fish vertebrae); Vandenabeele 1991, 246

Faience marine models: cockleshells, argonauts, flying fish, rockwork (Figs. 28-31); a fragmentary faience miniature basket with relief cockleshells on the rim; thousands of seashells, hundreds painted and some pierced for suspension (Fig. 25); seven fish vertebrae - at least one from a species of shark; marine sealings

Spectacular marine finds were found in the East Temple Repository, one of two stone lined pits sunk into the floor of the Central Palace Sanctuary at Knossos. Among the finds were fine objects of faience, ivory and bone, a marble cross, stone libation tables, roundels and sealings, antlers and carbonised corn (Panagiotaki 1999, 73). The faience objects included various model marine forms which Evans reconstructed as part of a marine panel (PM I, fig. 379; Fig. 31). These consist of nine pieces of marine rockwork, twelve stylised cockleshells, six argonauts in the round, two (heavily restored) flying fish and the head and fin of at least one more. Evans also included five flat ribbed objects in his reconstruction; they are probably not marine but may have been included because they are ribbed like cockleshells (Panagiotaki 1999, 78-81). A fragmentary faience miniature basket with relief cockleshells on the rim was also deposited (Panagiotaki 1999, 93, 159 no. 200; Foster 1979, fig. 3). Other noteworthy faience objects included model plants and flowers, plaques of goats and cows nursing their young and the famed 'snake goddess' figurines, fragments of which were found in both cists, accompanied by votive robes and belts.

Evans (PM I, 518-19) records that 'bushels' of seashells were recovered from the East Temple Repository, only some of which were depicted in his photo or displayed in the Heraklion Museum. Panagiotaki has since located the 'missing' shells and convincingly argues that they represent the same material (Panagiotaki 1999, 128). She provides a useful breakdown of the number and types of shells found and a discussion of their condition and decoration (Panagiotaki 1999, 175). It is now clear that there were over 6000 shell specimens, of which more than five hundred and seventy were painted. Thirty-nine bivalve and gastropod shell species have been identified, along with one Echinoderm, the rock sea urchin (*Paracentrotus sp.*). All of these species represented are common to the neighbouring coasts. From the list provided by Panagiotaki, we can infer that the shells found in the greatest numbers include the rough cockle (*Acanthocardia tuberculata L.*), *Mactra stultorum L.*, and *Glycymeris insubrica Brocchi*, all common bivalves. While nine different shell types were painted, the majority of painted specimens were of two bivalve types: venus shells (*Venus striatula*) and rough cockle shells (with 227 and 120 specimens respectively). Panagiotaki notes that the shells were painted only on the dorsal surface using green, red or black paint in a variety of compositions (Panagiotaki 1999, 128-29). While a small number are painted solid green or black, in most cases the paint was applied in bands, which follow the natural striations of the shell (Fig. 25). Thus, for example, on the rough cockle shells the painted bands follow the vertical lines of the shell, whereas the *venus striatula* shells are usually painted with five or six bands which follow the natural horizontal lines of the shell. The rough cockle shell has quite pronounced vertical ridges and the depressions between the ridges could be painted in a variety of ways: on some examples the paint is applied in the depressions alternately, on others, a tripartite arrangement is used, with a wide central painted band flanked by thinner bands, again, all following the natural vertical depressions (Fig. 25). A number of the shells have rectangular or squarish holes which can be distinguished from holes caused by abrasion or from

predatory gastropods (Panagiotaki 1999, 129). The manmade holes suggest that these shells were deliberately pierced for suspension. A single bivalve shell has paint on the inside ventral surface of one valve and may have been used as a paint palette (Panagiotaki 1999, 129). The shells were carefully placed at the bottom of the East Temple Repositories along with the faience marine and non-marine objects and figures (Panagiotaki 1999, 130).

Seven fish vertebrae were also deposited within the Repositories, only one of which was large enough for identification. It has been identified as belonging to a shark species Heringshai (*Lamma cornubica Cuv.*) (Panagiotaki 1999, 119, 172, no. 285). In addition to these marine objects, the Temple Repositories contained a hoard of sealings, of which at least 50 designs have been identified (PM I, 678; Panagiotaki 1999, 104-105). Included among the designs were seven different marine representations, some of which survive in multiple impressions. The designs include a crab, a motif of three fish, a single dolphin against a net pattern, two triton shell compositions (Table 5: **TS4-5**; Fig. 102d), a group of cockleshells, and a figure in a boat with a possible sea-monster.

There is some disagreement about the date of the Temple Repositories as the pottery has been variously dated by scholars from MM IIIB to LM IA (Krzyszkowska 2005a, 164; Panagiotaki 1999, 136-48). Panagiotaki argues that that the repositories may have been closed in LM IA, on the grounds that the large quantity of marine finds seem to anticipate the LM IB ceramic Marine Style (Panagiotaki 1999, 151).

3. Palace of Zakro, Central Shrine Lustral Basin Complex; LM IB

Gesell 1985, 23, 137-40; Platon 1985, 124-54; Foster 1979, 84-86; Baurain and Darque 1983, 73, fig. 54; Vandenabeele 1991, 247

Room XXIV (the 'treasure room'): a large faience model argonaut shell (Table 9b: **Sh.29**; Fig. 133)
Room XXVI (workshop): nine small light-blue faience cockleshells (Fig. 32)
Various rooms of the shrine: LM IB Marine Style pottery (Figs. 44 and 103)

The shrine complex at Zakro is thought to have taken up the entire west wing of the palace (Platon 101-74; Mountjoy 1985, 231). The great variety of cult objects stored in the Treasure Room behind the Lustral Basin must have been used in the complex. The treasury is the only known example of a treasury found in a Minoan context with all of its finds still *in situ*, and the fine objects were kept in clay cists (Platon 1985, 133). A large faience argonaut shell was among the finds (Fig. 133). The shell is quite realistically modelled and measures 22.7cm in length, with a maximum width of 11.9cm (Baurain and Darque 1983, 73). The interior of the shell is smooth but the external surface is rippled.

Gill (1985, 77) notes that the shape and rippled surface of the shell are rendered accurately, although the opening is a little too straight and narrow. Although the real shell is mostly white, the Zakro piece is made of mottled green and pale pink faience. Baurain and Darque (1983, 73) note that it seems to have been moulded in two parts. Associated finds thought to have been used in cult include sixteen stone conical rhyta, a beautiful rhyton of rock crystal, three faience rhyta (two in the shape of bull's heads and one shaped like the head of a lioness), stone mace heads, two large bronze double axes and a marble rhyton with double s-shaped handles (Platon 1985, 133-47).

A number of small blue faience shells were found in Room XXVI, which has been identified as the workshop of the shrine on the basis of steatite fragments and cores of porphyry or red marble in the room. Nine of these shells are included in Platon's illustrations (1985, 219; Fig. 32). Associated finds include many faience and ivory inlays of double axes, which the excavator suggests may have decorated a disintegrated wooden box fallen from an upper floor (Platon 1985, 131), perhaps in combination with the shells if the latter are also inlays, as Foster (1979, 84) has suggested. LM IB Marine Style pottery found in various room of the shrine includes several rhyta, some in cult sets, an octopus stirrup jar and a particularly beautiful argonaut ewer (Mountjoy 1985, 231-32). A bull's head rhyton and the stone relief rhyton depicting a peak sanctuary were part of a cult deposit which fell from an upper floor, suggesting that the sanctuary continued on the floor above (Gesell 1985, 139-40; Table 10b: **SV14**; Fig. 195).

4. Palace of Zakro, Sacred Well (Room XLI); LM IB

Platon 1985, 196-99

Pumice

Room XLI was one of two wells in the palace, both of which seem to have been associated with cult activity. The room could be entered through a doorway at the southeast corner of the central court. A number of steps led down to a small rectangular room containing the circular well and a platform from which the water, which came from a natural spring, could be drawn. In the final stage of the palace offerings were placed within the room. Among the offerings were pieces of pumice of a volcanic origin which were found in handleless conical cups. These pieces may have been waterborne and may have arrived on Crete after the volcanic eruption on Thera in LM IA. Other offerings included grapes and olives, some of which were reportedly so well preserved that they retained their fleshy parts. Animal bones, an animal figurine and fragments of a tripod offering table with painted plaster were all found in the fill of the well suggesting that ritual activity also took place in the room above.

5. Palace of Zakro, Northeast Lustral Basin, (Room LVIII); LM IB

Platon 1985, 180-82; Gesell 25, 141; Driessen and MacDonald 1997, 97; Driessen 2001, 362

Pumice; a triton shell

A triton shell was found in Room LVIII, the Northeast Lustral Basin of the palace of Zakro. Although lustral basins may not always have been used for cult, Gesell concluded that the presence of the triton and the fact that the basin was painted with a fresco of horns of consecration on altar bases suggest that the Zakro lustral basin had a cult purpose 'at least part of the time' (Gesell 1985, 25). While Platon argued that the room was originally used as a bathroom before being changed into a shrine, he suggested that it may have had a religious function even in the early stage, as sealings with religious representations were found in the early levels of the room (1985, 182). Thus, he concluded that the basin served both as a bathroom and occasionally for ritual purification (Platon 1985, 183). A fragmentary rhyton found nearby supports the argument for ritual use. Pumice was also found here (Driessen and MacDonald 1997, 97) and Driessen (2001, 362) has suggested that the evidence may point to a 'crisis cult' caused by a societal stress situation.

6. Palace of Tourkogeitonia, Archanes, Shrine above Areas 17 and 17a; LM IB

Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 107-10; Vandenabeele 1991, 245

Area 17: an intact triton shell; seashells; pebbles; an ivory fish; LM IB Marine Style pottery
Area 17a: a steatite shell amulet

At the Minoan palace at Tourkogeitonia, Archanes, a possible shrine dubbed 'the Shrine of the Chryselephantine Figurines' has been identified from finds which fell into Areas 17-17a and possibly 20-21 below. The rich finds and fragments of coloured plaster which once decorated its walls suggest that the room was one of the most important areas of the palace (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 107). Many of the finds recovered in Area 17 were of a marine nature: shells (not specified), an ivory fish, an intact triton shell and pebbles, all of which were probably part of the cult equipment. A number of LM IB Marine Style vases were found in the central and western part of the room and scattered in the neighbouring rooms, suggesting that they fell from a great height from the upper storey shrine. The excavators noted that the association of the Marine Style vases with the shrine at Archanes seems to confirm Mountjoy's (1985) theory that such vases are ritual vessels associated with religious areas and activities (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 493). The other objects found include two pyramidal poros bases for double axes, a clay tripod offering table, part of a stone table, animal skulls and bones, and a gold and ivory group of body parts (heads, arms and legs) representing at least

six figurines. A steatite amulet in the shape of a shell found in the neighbouring Room 17a may have also fallen from this upper shrine (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 107, 639, fig. 697). Given the large proportion of marine finds in this area, the excavators have suggested that perhaps the deity worshipped there was associated with the sea (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 109).

7. Palace of Malia, Room XVIII 1, Bench Sanctuary of the South Bench Sanctuary Complex; Neopalatial Period

Chapouthier and Demargne 1962, 11; Baurain and Darque 1983, 22, n.237; Pelon 1992, Pl. VII 2; Gesell 1985, 35, 106; Vandenabeele 1991, 246

Seashells; three triton shells with broken tips (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.2-4**; Fig. 110)

Seashells of 'various kinds' were reported among the finds from Room XVIII 1 which has been identified as a bench sanctuary. Among them were three triton shells with deliberately broken tips which may have been used as trumpets (Pelon 1992, Pl. VII 2; Baurain and Darque 1983, 22, n.237). The other seashells are not identified in the publication but the selection illustrated includes murex, cockle and abalone shells (Chapouthier and Demargne 1962, Pl. XXXIX). Chapouthier and Demargne (1962, 11) mention that the some of the shells show natural colouration recalling the painted shells from the Temple Repositories. They were perhaps offerings or part of the shrine decoration; as no details of deposition are supplied, there is insufficient information to be certain. The complex was identified as a sanctuary based on the fixtures (the bench and an incurved stone altar incised with a star and cross) and the movable finds, which included 'ritual vases' (tripod bowls and tubular vases), triton shells and two terracotta (votive?) feet. Gesell notes that the combination of seashells and cross sign is paralleled in the finds of the Temple Repositories at Knossos where shells and a marble cross were found with the snake goddess and she suggests that this may indicate that the 'snake goddess' was also worshipped here at Malia (Gesell 1985, 20).

8. Nirou Chani, Minoan Villa; LM I

Hood 1997, 114; Warren and Puchelt 1990, 71; Mountjoy 1984, 192-93, Pl. 27f; 1985, 235; Gesell 1985, 116-18

Pumice; a LM IB Marine Style vessel

A large votive deposit of conical cups most of which contained pieces of pumice was found under the threshold of a blocked door in Room 7a next to the shrine. The shrine itself (Room 7) was identified on

the basis of four large sheet-bronze double axes, a stone blossom bowl and pottery. Gesell (1985, 118) argues that the room is too small for use as a shrine and must have been a workshop or storeroom for cult equipment. The pumice was evidently deposited after the Theran eruption in LM IA. A LM IB Marine Style bucket vase decorated with triton shells and spray was found nearby in corridor 8 (Mountjoy 1984, 192-93, Pl. 27f; 1985, 235).

9. Patsos Cave; LM I phase

Rutkowski 1986, 59, 70, no. 21; Warren 1966; Prent 2005, 156-58

Part of a stone offering table with an incised ship

Part of a stone receptacle with incised decoration of a ship was found in the sacred cave at Patsos. It is thought to have been a libation or offering table and has been dated to LM I (Warren 1966). Many votive offerings attest to cult activity in the cave including bronze and clay figurines of worshippers, bronze bovine figurines, figurines of a sow, ram, goat and sphinx, a clay figurine of a man and woman embracing and two pairs of terracotta horns of consecration (Rutkowski 1986, 59; Prent 2005, 156-57). A bronze statuette of the god Reshaf, dated to LM III, is thought to be from Syria (Rutkowski 1986, 59). Natural features in the cave, its notable pool of water and a stalactite, were probably important to cult (Rutkowski 1986, 70).

10. Malia, Quartier A, 'La maison de la façade a redans'; LM IA

van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1969, 96-97, 103-105, Pl. LVII.1; van Effenterre 1980, 73, fig. 100, 448; Gesell 1985, 114; Wedde 2000, 309, nos. 304-305; Vandenabeele 1991, 247

Area XVII: clay model boat
Area XVI: clay model boat

A clay model boat was found in Area XVII in a possible shrine deposit. The boat has an elongated form, with one raised end described as 'shaped like a bird's beak' (van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1969, 103). It has a modelled base which allows it to stand. As bronze fragments were found in the room, the excavators have tentatively suggested that it was a workshop but they also concede that there may have been a shrine in the area (van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1969, 105; 1980, 448). Gesell argues that the objects may have fallen from an upper story shrine and she includes this site in her catalogue of cult places (Gesell 1985, 114). The associated finds which seem to support the identification of the deposit as cultic include miniature horns of consecration, the horns of a bull

figurine, three heads of human figurines, a lamp, miniature vases and cups. A second clay model boat of a simpler design was found in the next room, Area XVI (van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1969, 102) and it may have fallen from the same upper story shrine. It was not associated with any obvious cult finds however. Wedde (2000, 309) dates both pieces to LM IA.

11. Knossos, Stratigraphical Museum Extension, Minoan House; LM IB

Gesell 1985, 32; Warren 1980; 1988, 7-9; Wall *et al.* 1996; Mountjoy 1985, 233; Åström and Reese 1990, 9

Seashells; LM IB Marine Style pottery (Fig. 45)

A Minoan house uncovered at this site had a storeroom for cult vessels on the first floor and basements below. In one of the basements, the bones of four children were found scattered about the room. The bones did not represent complete skeletons and about 20% of the bones had cut-marks suggestive of human sacrifice and possibly ritual consumption (Warren 1988, 8). In an adjacent room, a few more children's bones were found inside a pithos, along with 'a few shells' and a large number of edible snails. The shells included a single unmodified triton (*C. sequenzae*) (Åström and Reese 1990, 9). Warren (1980, 83, 92) suggested that the molluscs and human remains were being cooked, as suggested by burnt earth found inside the pithos and by the presence of a vertebra with a cut-mark within the assemblage of bones. The vessels which fell from the upper floor include a large collection of rhyta which had been stored in a pithos, several of which were in pairs (Warren 1988, 8). LM IB Marine Style vessels were among the finds, including a conical rhyton with octopi, a cup rhyton decorated with tritons and a double axe, an amphora with tritons, stars and double axe motifs, and a tall alabastron decorated with the 'star' motif (Mountjoy 1985, 233; Fig. 45). Other finds include a large collection of loomweights and vessels painted with the figure-of-eight shield, which Warren (1988, 8) argues is a Minoan representation of the 'gorgoneion'. A single cowrie shell and part of a brazier was found in a second basement, along with a deposit of 27 conical cups and other vessels (Warren 1980, 92). The interpretation of the house as a site of cult activity is based on the butchered bones and the large amount of cult equipment, some with cult symbols.

12. Pseira, House AB, Room 12, Bench Sanctuary; LM IB

Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 25-50; Reese 1995d, 42, fig. 40 and Pl. 14b; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Gesell 1985, 20, 132; Seager 1910, 14, 24-27; Vandenabeele 1991, 244-45

A triton shell vessel (Table 8a: **Sh.V.1**; Fig. 119); a pebble bench

Room 12 of House AB (Seager's House B, Room 4) on the island of Pseira has been identified as a bench sanctuary (Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 48-49). Seager (1910, 14, 24-27) reported that the room had a ledge of beach pebbles which may have served as a bench for offerings. However, Betancourt and Davaras (1995, 48-49) could only find a ledge of natural bedrock, suggesting that the pebbles were originally laid over the ledge. This site marks the earliest appearance of the use of pebbles on, or in place of, a built bench, a feature which occurred more commonly in the Postpalatial period (Gesell 1985, 20). Among the finds was a triton shell cut to form a vessel by removal of the columella and part of the body of the shell (Reese 1995d, 42, fig. 40 and Pl. 14b; Åström and Reese 1990, 9). An ovoid rhyton and a bull's head rhyton found in association with the triton vessel are suggestive of cult activity.

13. Pseira, Building BQ, Room 1; LM IB

Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 12; 1999, 131-37; Reese 1999a, 136; Mountjoy 1984, 195

A large triton shell fragment; a matching set of LM IB Marine Style rhyta decorated with dolphins (Fig. 14)

Room 1 of Building BQ (also known as Area G7.1), a small building located on the beach at the foot of the Grand Staircase, produced a hoard of vessels including a set of matching LM IB Marine Style rhyta decorated with dolphins (Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 12; Fig. 14). The room has been tentatively linked with cult activity by the excavators on the basis of the finds: a hoard of rhyta which included the matching Marine Style set, a lid and basket-shaped rhyton decorated with double axes, and a bull-shaped askos (Betancourt and Davaras 1999, 132, 135-37). Three of the five rhyta found by Seager have yet to be located (Betancourt and Davaras 1999, 135) and Mountjoy has suggested that a third Marine Style rhyton from Pseira, painted with argonauts, may have come from here (Mountjoy 1984, 195, no. 2). The pottery vessels were stacked as if in storage and because of the room's proximity to the entrance to the settlement, Betancourt and Davaras (1995, 12; 1999, 137) have suggested that the vessels may have been used in processions along the Grand Staircase. A large apical fragment of a *C. sequenzae* triton shell (preserved length 9.5cm), which may have been used in cult activity, was later found on the LM IB surface of this room (Reese 1999a, 136).

14. Galatas, Pediados, Building 2; LM IB

Blackman 2001, 127

LM IB stirrup jar with marine motifs

A fine LM IB stirrup jar with floral and marine motifs was among the finds at this site. Associated finds suggesting cult activity include a square serpentine offering table and a fragmentary bronze rod, which was possibly part of a staff or metal axe. The finds all fell from an upper floor and are thought to have belonged to a shrine.

15. Ayia Triadha, Minoan Villa, Northwest Quarter; LM I-II

Gesell 1985, 76; Marinatos 1933, 174, no. 22; Warren 1969, 91, P497; Baurain and Darque 1983, 60-62, fig. 37; Wedde 2000, 309, no. 302

Alabaster model boat; obsidian dolium shell (Table 9b: **Sh.30**; Fig. 132)

An alabaster model boat and an obsidian dolium shell from the villa may have come from a cult deposit. This is suggested by other finds in the vicinity, which include three stone rhyta, one with relief imagery (the 'Boxer Rhyton'), two small bronze double axes, two votary figurines, pottery with double axe decoration and an ivory cylindrical vase with a cult scene in relief showing two women dancing in front of structures topped by double axes (Gesell 1985, 76). Marinatos (1933, 174, no. 22) and Wedde (2000, 309) both describe and illustrate the boat. The tip of the prow has been restored but it is otherwise intact and measures 14.5cm in length with a maximum internal width of 4.8cm. It has an elongated hull with a curved bow rising to a point and it has been dated to LM I-II (Wedde 2000, 309). The obsidian shell is a spectacularly large and beautiful piece and can be easily identified as a dolium shell (*Tonna galea*). It is made of black obsidian with translucent white flecks and is 28.5cm tall with a maximum width of 19cm. Real dolium shells only reach a length of up to 20cm (Oliver 1980, 140); in other respects, however, it is a highly realistic piece.

16. Gypsades Hill House Shrine; Neopalatial Period

Hood 1958, 22; Gesell 1985, 98; Vandenabeele 1991, 245

Pebble floor; a triton shell

A triton shell was found in a possible house shrine on the Gypsades Hill at Knossos, which had a pebble floor. No further architectural details have been published so the identification of the house-shrine seems to rest on the presence of the triton shell and the associated finds: a stone libation table and a number of conical cups which had been placed upside-down.

*17. Arkalochori Cave; MM III-LM III**

Rutkowski 1986, 57-59; Watrous 1996, 57; Driessen 2001, 362

Pumice in conical cups

A deposit of conical cups filled with pumice was found at the collapsed entrance of this sacred cave (Driessen 2001, 362). Other finds dedicated at the entrance to the cave include metal swords, knives and double axes. The cave produced hundreds of bronze double axes as well as 26 examples in gold and seven in silver. Rutkowski (1986, 58) notes that some of the bronze objects, such as the double axes, were found thrust into the earth or fixed onto pieces of wood. Many knives and swords were also found. Most of the objects dedicated at the cave were made of metal and Marinatos (1937, 222-23) has suggested that a craftsman worked nearby, as lumps of metal, a stone hammer and at least one unfinished bronze blade were found at the cave. Pottery in the cave was said to span the EM I-LM III periods, although Watrous (1996, 57) notes that it is not clear whether the earliest pottery represents occupation debris or shrine activity. Shrine activity is clear from the MM III period onward, however.

*18. Kato Syme, Rural Sanctuary; MM III–LM III phases**

Lebessi and Reese 1986; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Watrous 1996, 65-70, 86; Catling 1986, 88-89; Jones 1999, 82

37 seashells, many perforated (MM III-LM III phases)
A fragmentary triton shell (MM III-LM I phase)

The built sanctuary at Kato Syme is situated at the site of a large spring on the south face of Mount Dikte. Thirty-eight shells of several different species were found in the Minoan levels of the shrine (Lebessi and Reese 1986, 184). Many of the shells were worn or water-worn indicating that they were collected dead and do not represent food debris. A number of the shells were perforated and have been interpreted as jewellery (Lebessi and Reese 1986, 184-85). The shells were grouped in five separate deposits rather than randomly scattered suggesting that they were deposited as offerings. Four of the deposits were dated to MM III-LM I and one to MM III/LM I-LM III (Lebessi and Reese 1986, 187). A worn triton upper body fragment was found in one of the deposits of MM III-LM I date along with two *Glycymeris* shells and cult equipment (Catling 1986, 88; Lebessi and Reese 1986, 187; Åström and Reese 1990, 9). The triton shell was too badly broken, however, to tell if it had been modified (Lebessi and Reese 1986, 184). Finds indicating cult activity at the site include numerous stone offering tables (one of which had a Linear A inscription), male and female figurines in clay and bronze (including a large statuette of a bronze male worshipper), clay, bronze and iron double axes, miniature

daggers, swords, double axe and vases, clay animal figurines and pottery vessels such as conical cups and chalices (Watrous 1996, 65-70; Jones 1999, 82). The sanctuary was in use from MM II-LM IIIC and into the Proto-Geometric period.

iii. Third Palace Period and Postpalatial Period

1. Palace of Knossos, 'Treasure Deposit' of the Loggia; LM II-IIIA1

PM IV, 931-33 and fig. 905; Gesell 1985, 88-89

A possible miniature *Tridacna* shell of malachite; a fragment of a stone vase with an octopus motif in relief (Table 10a: **SV5**; Figs. 143-45)

A fragmentary shell of brilliant bluish-green malachite which Evans (PM IV, 931-33) identified as a miniature *Tridacna* was found in the 'Treasure Deposit' of the loggia located above the Throne Room, along with a fragment of a stone ostrich-egg rhyton decorated with an octopus in relief (the 'Ambushed Octopus' fragment). The finds are thought to have been used in rituals associated with the bench sanctuary and lustral basin (Gesell 1985, 88-89). Griffins and stylised representations of incurved altars painted on the walls of the Throne Room support the use of the room in cult.

2. Kommos, House X, Room 7; Probable House Shrine; LM IIIA1-2

Shaw and Shaw 1993, 149-52, Pls. 23a and 24a; Shaw 1992, 60-63

A triton shell with a missing apex (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.7**); *glycymeris* shells; beach pebbles

A large triton shell and a number of bivalve shells were found in Room 7 of House X at Kommos, which has been identified by the excavators as a probable house shrine. The house is thought to have been built in LM IA and used until LM IIIA1. The shrine had three separate phases; while the first phase is thought to date to LM II, the shrine may have continued in use until LM IIIA2 (Shaw and Shaw 1993, 159). The marine shells date from this third and final phase. In the southwest corner of the room a stone table was found *in situ* with an offering deposit of two juglets and a conical cup containing a worn pebble and numerous *glycymeris* shells. More shells were scattered on the surface of the table. Set into the floor in front of the table was a flat slab with a round depression. It contained ash and showed traces of burning. Next to it was a large complete triton shell with an open apex and a scatter of small beach pebbles. The room has been identified as a shrine on the basis of the offering table and slab, and the finds which included many braziers, kalathoi, incense burners, the triton shell and a rhyton (Shaw and Shaw 1993, 150-51; Shaw 1992, 61). The ritual activity seems to have

included the use of both liquids and fire, perhaps with small-scale ritual dining. The triton shell may have been used as cult equipment, while the find context of the *glycymeris* shells suggests that they were offerings rather than the remains of a ritual meal.

The excavators have suggested that the presence of seashells may point to a marine orientation in the worship (Shaw and Shaw 1993, 152). They note that other shells found in the building may also be significant, such as the shells scattered on the floor of Room XIV and the complete two-strand shell necklace in the same room (Shaw and Shaw 1993, 152). The suggestion that the cult activity may have had a marine emphasis is supported by the proximity of the building to the sea and the importance of Kommos as a port and centre of maritime trade at this time. Indeed, Egyptian glass and Canaanite and Cypriot wares found in House X suggest that its occupants benefited directly from this exchange (Shaw and Shaw 1993, 160) and were perhaps actively involved in maritime trade, a further reason to invoke divine protection.

3. Kommos, Hillside House, Room 4, House Shrine; LM IIIA2-B

Shaw 1977; Reese 1995c, 257, 264-67; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Gesell 1985, 42, 52, 102; Vandenabeele 1991, 248

Pebbles and a layer of calcium carbonate (probably from a marine source); a triton shell; two worked seashells

A triton shell was found in association with a snake tube in a small house shrine in the Hillside House at Kommos (Shaw 1977, 227-30; Reese 1995c, 264). A cup containing six small water-worn pebbles had been placed in the mouth of the snake tube, providing proof that the function of the snake tube was to support a bowl (Gesell 1985, 42). Shaw (1977, 228) notes that a thick layer of a white substance was consolidated at the bottom of the cup; Gesell refers to it as a layer of calcium carbonate (Gesell 1985, 102). As 90% of the world's calcium carbonate is of a marine origin, it seems likely that this white layer is derived from a marine product used in rituals, perhaps crushed shells. The position of the snake tube upon an irregular slab set on the floor of the room suggests that it had been carefully placed to display offerings. The triton shell, a *C. sequenzae*, was found embedded in the northeast corner of the doorway with the adjoining area, Space 6 (Shaw 1977, 230; Reese 1995c, 264). The handles of the snake tube were decorated with possible cult symbols: terracotta birds some of which were positioned as if alighting or about to fly away. The associated finds include a brazier, pottery vessels, a pestle, a coarse bowl and oval stone tools for smoothing, rubbing or grinding. Shaw (1977, 231) suggests that these may point to domestic activities taking place in the same area as the shrine. Alternatively, it is possible that these tools and vessels were used in the rituals in which marine products were crushed

and offered. A worked *Monodonta* shell with an open and ground-down apex and a *Cerithium* shell with a broken apex, a hole opposite the mouth and an open lip, were found just south of the shrine (Reese 1995c, 257, 266-67).

4. Knossos, Early Reoccupation Shrine near the Villa Ariadne, Possible Bench Sanctuary; LM IIIA2
Gesell 1985, 41, 98-99; Popham 1970, 191-94

Pebbles

Part of the floor and one wall were the only surviving architectural remains of the room which Popham (1970) has identified as the remains of a Minoan shrine. The room had a floor made of 'river' pebbles which Gesell (1985, 41) suggests served as a bench or dais. Associated finds include two incense burners and an unusual set of horns of consecration with a central socket for holding a double axe or a tree branch, which was covered with a cream slip and traces of red paint.

5. Palace of Knossos, Shrine of the Double Axes, Bench Sanctuary; LM IIIB
Gesell 1985, 42, 90-92; PM II, 335-44; Vandenabeele 1991, 248

Pebble-topped bench and dais; octopus stirrup jar

The floor of this shrine rises in three levels with a lower clay floor, a dais of water-worn pebbles, and a clay and rubble bench with plaster facing topped by water-worn pebbles. An octopus stirrup jar was among the associated pottery (PM II, 337 fig. 189, 343). The finds include male and female votaries, a 'goddess with upraised hands' figure, two pairs of plaster horns of consecration, a fixed plaster tripod offering table and a miniature steatite double axe. The male votary holds a bird, perhaps as an offering, while the 'goddess' figure has a bird perched on her head (Gesell 1985, 90-92).

6. Knossos, Southeast House, Room L1, Bench Sanctuary; LM IIIB
PM I, 435; Gesell 1985, 42-43, 97

Pebble bench; broken octopus stirrup jar

This simple sanctuary contained a 'bench' of pebble-like water-worn sherds, perhaps artificially rounded, on which stood broken limestone horns of consecration. Fragments of a broken octopus stirrup jar lay nearby. The annex contained a small pillar base.

7. Knossos, Little Palace, 'Fetish Shrine'; Neopalatial Lustral Basin/Postpalatial Bench Sanctuary
Evans 1904-1905, 6-16; PM II, 519-25; Gesell 1985, 43, 93-94; Hatzaki 2005, 186-90, SF28; Hood 1997, 105; Vandenabeele 1991, 249; Mountjoy 1985, 234-35

Pebble bench; faience vase with relief argonauts (Table 13: **F3**)

This area had been a Neopalatial Lustral Basin but was filled and remodelled into a bench sanctuary in the Postpalatial period (Hood 1997, 105). The bench consisted of a pebble ledge on which stood a pair of stone horns of consecration. The 'Treasure Deposit' of the shrine included crystal discs, corkscrew curls of bronze and part of an 'exquisite faience vase with nautilus reliefs' (Evans 1904-1905, 12). Unfortunately, Evans provides no further description of the vase and Hatzaki (2005, 189, SF28) notes that it is now missing. Other finds from the shrine include fragments of sealings showing cult scenes, a terracotta agrimi figurine and fragments of others, five natural concretions of quasi-human appearance, two female figurines and a number of stone vases (Hatzaki 2005, 187-90). While Evans (1904-1905, 12) suggested that the treasure deposit with the argonaut vase may have belonged to the fittings of the earlier shrine, Gesell (1985, 93) argues that all of the finds fell from the same upper floor reoccupation shrine. However, the date of the deposit cannot be easily clarified as no pottery was found with the shrine furnishings (Hatzaki 2005, 186). Moreover, as the other known faience vessels with marine relief decoration date to the early Neopalatial period and as the wider tradition of marine relief work comes from the MM II-LM I period, I am in favour of Evans' Neopalatial date for the faience vase. Mountjoy (1985, 234-35) also notes that a group of 'cult objects' found in the area of the stairs and the first landing at the Little Palace included LM IB Marine Style pottery.

8. Koumasa, Independent Sanctuary, Possible Bench Sanctuary; LM IIIB
Gesell 1985, 43, 102 and Pl. 145; 1976, 253, 258, no. 19

Snake tube with debased octopus decoration (Fig. 51)

A snake tube decorated with two rows of stylised octopus tentacles in black paint was found in the independent sanctuary at Koumasa (Gesell 1976, 253; Fig. 51). The sanctuary had a flag and plaster floor and may have had a bench originally. Associated cult finds include a second snake tube, a stone

libation table and a fragment of a rectangular offering table (Gesell 1985, 102). The plan and final publication were never made so the exact find contexts of the objects are not known.

9. Kannia Villa, Bench Sanctuary Complex, Room V; LM IIIB
Gesell 1985, 43-44, 77-79; Vandenabeele 1991, 248

A triton shell; limpet and oyster shells

Rooms I, III, V, VI and XV formed a bench sanctuary complex. A triton shell was found in Room V, a preparation and storeroom of Room I, the bench sanctuary. It was found with limpet and oyster shells and cult objects such as whole and fragmentary 'goddess with upraised hands' figures, a vase in the shape of a female head, a male figure, terracotta female and animal figurines, two snake tubes and a libation table. These cult objects were divided into several groups within the room. Many of the cult objects were placed in groups on or next to the two benches. The triton shell was found alone near the south jamb of the door (Gesell 1985, 77-79). Significantly, it was deposited separately from the remaining shells, which were found in the southwest corner of the room within a rectangular space enclosed by upright slabs forming a hearth or altar and mixed with ashes. Their context suggests that these shells represent debris from ritual dining or food offerings, while the separate deposition of the triton points to a different use for this shell, perhaps as cult equipment. The associated rooms of the sanctuary also contained cult objects including four 'goddess with upraised hands' figurines, further snake tubes and a stepped stone libation table incised with horns of consecration (Gesell 1985, 77-78). The sanctuary is thought to have served a town or community due to its large size and the lack of an internal connection between the sanctuary complex and the rest of the villa (Gesell 1985, 43).

10. Palaikastro, Building 7; LM IIIB
MacGillivray *et al.* 1991, 137-47; Sackett 1996

Room 1: a large triton shell; pebbles
Room 3: pebble scatter
Room 4: a large triton shell
Room 12: a large triton shell; pumice; an octopus piriform jar

Building 7 at Palaikastro contained a number of rooms with evidence of cult activity three of which each contained a large triton shell. Pumice and a single seashell found in the rooms may represent offerings. Room 1 was the largest room of the building and contained a central pillar. The floor was

strewn with pebbles in places (MacGillivray *et al.* 1991, 139). In the southwest corner was a bench or platform of two flat slabs set on top of cut blocks. Both slabs had circular depressions cut into their upper surface each of which was found to contain a single object: a phallic-shaped stone and a single seashell (Sackett 1996, Pl. 21e). Near the bench a snake tube, large triton shell and a stalactite were found (Sackett 1996, 52; MacGillivray *et al.* 1991, 139-40). On the basis of both the architectural installation and finds, the excavators have suggested that the platform had a ritual function (MacGillivray *et al.* 1991, 140). In Room 3, a small room which opened off Room 1, a deposit of conical cups, many of which were inverted, had been placed on a pebble *strosis* which overlay the paving. Another, smaller space, labelled Room 4, contained similar finds to Room 1: a second large triton shell, part of a stalactite and an assemblage of stone tools (Sackett 1996, Pl. 21b). The room has been interpreted as a storeroom by the excavators, who note that it may have had a ritual purpose serving as a storeroom to the probable shrine in Room 1, which it opened off (MacGillivray *et al.* 1991, 140). The third triton shell was found in Room 12, another storage room to the northeast which seems to have served a ritual purpose. The room contained six large storage pithoi placed on the floor, and the finds included a large triton shell, a stalactite, pieces of pumice, an octopus piriform jar, a clay bull's head rhyton, conical cups, bowls, kalathoi and a miniature bottle (Sackett 1996, 51). Sackett has observed that the building has signs of both habitation and cult and suggests it had two functions: the storage of food and drink and some kind of ritual activity which was probably associated with this (Sackett 1996, 51, 54).

11. Palaikastro, Building 1, LM III Reoccupation Level

MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 143-48, 154; MacGillivray and Sackett 2000, 167

Area 1: pebble scatter
Area 6: pebbles; a large collection of seashells
Unspecified context: a large triton shell

The excavators at Palaikastro have identified a large number of features generally associated with Minoan cult places in the reoccupation levels of Areas 1 and 6 of Building 1. On this basis, they have suggested that this area of the building 'almost certainly represents a shrine complex' (MacGillivray and Sackett 2000, 167). Area 1 contained a niche and possibly a bench and the finds included the head of a figure, several conical cups 'intentionally placed upside-down', and a number of small stirrup jars (MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 148). In the area close to where the figure-head was found was a thin scatter of bluish pebbles (MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 148).

Area 6 contained marine finds including a large concentration of seashells and pebbles which were associated with a raised platform. Area 6 was essentially an open paved court. In the southwest corner was a raised construction which may have been a platform, built of hard limestone slabs 'with associated pebbles'. The excavators argue for the 'ritual' significance of these pebbles, noting that the pebbles cannot have had the practical function of laying a floor over a muddy surface here (MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 148). Finds from Area 6 included a worked fallow deer antler and 'a large deposit of sea and land snails' containing 355 shell specimens, some of which were water-worn and therefore collected when dead (MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 145). While there is no indication given of what proportion of these shells were marine snails and no breakdown of the marine species represented, a photograph showing some of these seashells is provided (MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, Pl. 22f). From this a number of species can be clearly identified, including cockleshells, limpets, murex, trochus and venus shells. A large complete triton shell was also found in the building, although its exact context is not mentioned in the reports (MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 147, Pl. 22d).

12. Ayia Triadha, Building H, Bench Sanctuary; LM III

Banti 1941-1943, 28-40; Gesell 1985, 74-75; Hirsch 1980, 459-61; 1977, 10-11; Koehl 1986a, 411-13; Vandenabeele 1991, 245

Marine fresco floor (Figs. 56-59)

Building H, a freestanding building to the southeast of the Minoan town of Ayia Triadha, served as a bench sanctuary. It has a single rectangular room, measuring 4.05x 4.20m with a bench along the back wall and it was entered through a set of double doors (Fig. 55). The earliest of the three floors of the room had painted plaster decorated with a marinescape. Only part of the frescoed floor is preserved. The largest fragments came from the centre of the room: from left to right, they show a large octopus painted red, three dolphins facing left, each with humps for dorsal fins and curiously fringed tails, and five smaller fish facing right (Hirsch 1977, 10-11; Figs. 56-59). Additional fragments show that rows of large fish were positioned around the perimeter, surrounding the scene: some were placed in antithetical pairs with their tails towards the centre of the room; others positioned on the floor near the ledge at the back of the room lay parallel, with their bodies in an arching position and their heads facing towards the centre (Hirsch 1980, 460; Banti 1941-1943, fig. 18).

Hirsch (1977, 10) notes that the marine fresco floor originally occupied the entire floor of the room. The ledge of the bench also had painted plaster and was decorated with a pattern of red, blue and white swirls which may represent stylised waves, in keeping with the marine theme of the floor (Hirsch 1977, 10-11). The floor was originally dated to LM I and the period of the villa, partly on the basis of

stylistic similarities to the dolphin fresco from Knossos, but both frescoes have since been re-dated to LM III (Hirsch 1980, 459, n.53; Koehl 1986a, 412). The cult use of the room is indicated by the presence of the bench and cult vessels including seven snake tubes, three basins with ears on the rim, miniature vases, cups (some placed upside down) and a lamp (Banti 1941-1943, 28-40; Gesell 1985, 75). The shrine is located a few kilometres from the sea and the entrance faced towards it.

13. Ayia Triadha, Piazzale dei Sacelli, Open-Air Sanctuary; LM IIIB-C

Gesell 1985, 46, 76; Banti 1941-1943, 52, 63, fig. 65; D'Agata 1997; Marinatos 1933, 174, no. 23; Wedde 2000, 308, no. 301; Vandenabeele 1991, 249

Clay model boat

The shrine consists of a paved area with a sacrificial pit.[2] A clay model boat was found in the area along with a large number of votive figurines and cult objects. Both Marinatos (1933, 174) and Wedde (2000, 308) describe and illustrate the boat which was found broken into two parts. It had a mast pole and an internal deck positioned about 2.5cm below the topsides. Two openings in the deck at either end of the boat marked the position for descent into the hold. The boat was thus very elaborately modelled. It measures about 25cm in length with a maximum internal width of 7cm and it has been dated to LM IIIC (Wedde 2000, 308). The associated cult objects included numerous bronze and terracotta human and animal figurines (including fantastic animals such as sphinxes and centaurs), bronze and terracotta double axes, fragmentary terracotta 'altars' with horns of consecration, and free-standing horns of consecration. An incised double axe was also uncovered on the pavement (Gesell 1985, 76). The site is thought to have served the town as a public sanctuary.

14. Karphi, the Temple, Room 1, Town Bench Sanctuary; LM IIIC

Students of the BSA 1937-1938, 76, 133; Prent 2005, 139-43; Gesell 1985, 45, 79; Vandenabeele 1991, 249

A triton shell; cowrie shells

The temple at Karphi was located on the northern edge of the settlement complex, close to the cliff, and consisted of at least four rooms. Part of the main room has since collapsed over the cliff. The surviving architectural remains indicate that the room was rectangular and had a stone bench along the

[2] Although Gesell (1985, 76) included the built altar among the Postpalatial cult installations, it has since been dated to the Hellenistic period (D'Agata 1997, 86).

south wall, a 0.8m stone shelf along the west wall and a square stone altar to the north, close to the edge of the cliff (Prent 2005, 139). A triton shell and two cowrie shells were among the finds from Room 1, but no further details of these shells were recorded (Students of the BSA 1937-1938, 76, 133; Gesell 1985, 79). The site was identified as a shrine on the basis of the bench, altar and cult finds which included five 'goddess figures with upraised hands'. As two of the goddess figures have similar tiaras decorated with birds and discs, Gesell (1985, 45) suggests that 'perhaps this is a shrine to the goddess of the sky, with the symbols of the sun and birds'. She also notes that similar figures at the shrine at Gazi suggest that both sanctuaries are dedicated 'to the same aspect of the goddess'. The smaller rooms west of Room 1 may have served for the storage of cult equipment.

15. Knossos, Caravanserai, Spring Chamber, Bench Sanctuary with Sacred Spring; LM IIIC-Subminoan

Gesell 1985, 46, 100-101 and Pl. 52; PM II, 128-29, figs. 63-64, 343; Schofield 1996

Hut urn with debased octopus decoration deposited within water (Fig. 53)

This Postpalatial shrine was originally a Neopalatial fountain built over a natural spring where people came to draw water (Schofield 1996, 29). There were two benches or low ledges along the back wall on either side of a central niche. Postpalatial cult is suggested by a hut urn containing a nude 'goddess with upraised hands' figure (PM II, 128-29). The outside of the hut urn is decorated with a debased octopus motif (wavy line/tentacles) (Fig. 53). Gesell (1985, 46) notes that the hut urn had been placed *within* the water-basin along with two cylindrical stands for holding offering bowls and a stone lamp. This context suggests that the watery theme of the decoration was related to the use of the hut urn in rituals related to the sacred spring. Mountjoy (1985, 234) also notes that sherds of LM IB Marine Style pottery were found in Room 6, the Room of the Bath Tubs, along with a small double axe stand; she suggests that they came from a shrine on the upper floor.

Section B. Marine Finds in Cult Contexts or Deposits in the Wider Aegean

1. Ayios Georgios, Kythera, Peak Sanctuary; main period of use: MM III-LM I/IB

Sakellarakis 1996, 81-99; Watrous 1994, 733

Murex shells; pebbles; fragmentary cup with marine mouldings

The site of Ayios Georgios has been identified as the peak sanctuary of a Minoan settlement based at Kastri on the island of Kythera (Sakellarakis 1996, 81-83). Finds which helped identify the ritual use of the site include clay and bronze figurines of humans and animals (including scorpions), a clay libation table, a fragment of a stone libation table, miniature horns of consecration, a small votive double axe, conical cups and a miniature rhyton. The site also produced a black steatite ladle with a Linear A inscription. Sakellarakis mentions that murex shells were found at the site and includes photos of three intact murex shells in his illustrations (1996, 89-90, Pl. 24a). No further details of the shells are provided. The shells may have been linked to the Minoan exploitation of murex molluscs for purple dye, which has been postulated at Kastri (Coldstream and Huxley 1972, 36-37, 282, fig. 3e; Reese 1987a, 205), or perhaps to the importance of overseas trade to the economic prosperity of the settlement. Other finds such as unworked Spartan basalt and porphyry, which seem to represent offerings, support this hypothesis of a religious concern with economic prosperity through trade. Ceramics with marine mouldings were also found at the site: a MM IB-II cup sherd with Barnacle Style decoration had a 'clay oyster-shell moulding' attached to the lip, while clay appliqués of an argonaut and fishtail may have belonged to the same vessel (Sakellarakis 1996, 87, Pl. 20b). Watrous also mentions that pebbles were found at this peak sanctuary (1994, 733).

2. West House, Akrotiri, Thera; LM I/LCI

S. Marinatos 1969, 38; 1972, 17-20, 41-44; 1974, 19-57; N. Marinatos 1983; 1984, 34-61; Morgan 1988; Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990, 411, Table 2, 412

Room 5: painted plaster tripod offering table with polychrome marine decoration (Fig. 46); painted kymbe with dolphins (Fig. 48); frescoes with marine decoration: the 'fishermen' fresco panels (on the north and west walls), the miniature 'ship procession' fresco (south wall), and the miniature fresco which includes a naval engagement scene (north wall) (Figs. 4, 65-66, 171)

Room 4: frescoes of *ikria* or ship's cabins (Fig. 67)

The West House (context not specified): five triton shells; over 300 other shells of various species

While there is no consensus on the issue, the finds and frescoes from Rooms 4 and 5 of the West House suggest that ritual activities may have taken place there. The two rooms are located on the upper storey of the house and form a kind of suite. Finds which suggest that the rooms were used for cult activity include a painted offering table with marine scenes, a piriform jar with an internal funnel, plain and decorated cups, spouted jugs and a strainer (N. Marinatos 1983, 11 Table 2). A kymbe or elongated vessel with polychrome decoration of leaping dolphins and goats was also found in Room 5 (Fig. 48) and the excavator, S. Marinatos, has suggested that this local Theran vessel type may have been some sort of sacred vessel (S. Marinatos 1969, 38). In addition to these finds, the religious use of the room is further suggested by the frescoes, many of which appear to have had a religious element to their iconography, and many of which also have a strong nautical theme.

Marine iconography was well represented in Rooms 4 and 5, where cult activity may have taken place. A painted plaster offering table with polychrome marine decoration was found resting on the windowsill in the northwest corner of Room 5. It is decorated with dolphins swimming and diving amid marine rockwork and seaweed (Fig. 46). The same room produced frescoes with marine scenes. The north and south walls of the room both had a frieze decorated with miniature frescoes incorporating marine imagery. The north frieze included a scene of naval engagement with drowned warriors, which Morgan has identified as part of the 'Shipwreck and Warriors' genre (Morgan 1988, 150-54; Fig. 171). The south frieze has the famous ships fresco which it has been argued depicts a religious maritime festival (Morgan 1988; 1990, 253; Figs. 65-66). Two frescoes, each depicting a male figure carrying bundles of fish, were positioned in panels at the southwest and northeast corners of the room (Fig. 4). On the basis of their nudity and blue (partially shaved) heads, Marinatos (1983, 2-4) argues that the fishermen are 'special persons associated with religion'. She argues that the position of the fishermen may be significant: the two fishermen are positioned as if walking towards the northwest corner where the offering table was found, as if they were symbolically leaving an offering in perpetuity (N. Marinatos 1984, 37-38; Fig. 64).

In the small space between Rooms 4 and 5, a fresco of a female figure carrying an object which looks like an incense burner was positioned in a panel on the wall. Her lips and ear are painted a vivid red colour (Fig. 68). The figure has been interpreted as a priestess based on the object she carries, her unusual hairstyle, her costume, and the body paint she wears (N. Marinatos 1984, 46). The fresco may have functioned as iconographic reinforcement, emphasising and perhaps perpetuating religious activities conducted in the room. The maritime theme of the frescoes in Room 5 continues in Room 4, where the walls were decorated with eight paintings of objects interpreted as *ikria* or ship's cabins (Fig. 67). Similar cabins are shown on the ships in the miniature fresco in Room 5, suggesting a thematic link in the iconography of the two rooms. Room 4 has been identified by Nanno Marinatos as a preparatory room of the shrine on the basis of finds such as the bowl of red pigment, a lion's head

rhyton, a pithos containing a strainer, and cups (N. Marinatos 1983, 11, Table 1; 1984, 48). Finds in Room 4a, which was separated from Room 4 by a partition wall, are more problematic however. The room produced a bronze cauldron and clay bathtub, and along the west wall of the room was a bench with a broad slit in the centre which led directly to a drain through pipes in the wall. As such drains are usually associated with toilets, the excavator argued that the room was a kitchen and bathroom (S. Marinatos 1974, 26-29). As such a function does not seem to fit well with the interpretation of Rooms 4 and 5 as a shrine, Nanno Marinatos instead suggests that the finds and installations in Room 4a were used in cult activities involving purification by water, arguing that the tub and cauldron were used for storing and heating water or liquids which were then poured in libations down the drain (N. Marinatos 1983, 14; 1984, 48).

According to Nanno Marinatos, the 'shrine complex' was entered though Room 3 and finds such as a breasted ewer, a conical rhyton, pitchers and handleless cups suggest that libations and ritual drinking took place there (N. Marinatos 1983, 16-17). The large window in the room could have functioned as a 'window of appearances'. Room 6 communicated with the possible shrine in Rooms 4-5 but not with Room 3. As hundreds of conical cups and many jugs were found there, it has been interpreted as a ritual dining hall (N. Marinatos 1984, 34). A cupboard in the space in the corridor between Rooms 5 and 6 contained rhyta and cooking pots.

The strong nautical theme in the fresco iconography and the marine imagery on the offering table and kymbe suggest that any ritual activities taking place in the West House were linked to the sea and were perhaps connected with a maritime festival, like that thought to be shown on the south frieze (N. Marinatos 1983, 17; 1984, 46). I suggest that one function of some or all of the frescoes was to serve as iconographic reinforcement, emphasising and reinforcing the cult connections of the room or its owner/occupier.

Finally, we should note that five triton shells also came from the West House along with over 300 shells of various species, predominantly *patella* and *murex*, and a probable pectin shell pyxis (Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990, 411, Table 2, 412). With the exception of the pectin shell pyxis, which came from Room 5, their exact find contexts are not specified.

3. Delta 8, Akrotiri, Thera; LM I/LCI
Marinatos 1971, 26, 29-31, 37

Painted plaster tripod offering table with polychrome marine decoration (Fig. 47)

A painted plaster offering table with polychrome marine decoration was found in the ruins opposite Delta 8. It was found intact and its decoration consists of a solid red wavy line painted on the body below the rim, above a pair of dolphins diving amid fronds of seaweed on each foot. The dolphins are painted in vibrant blue, red, and yellow colours and their marine setting is much simpler than that depicted on the marine offering table from the West House. The offering table was found together with broken jars and vessels including half of a broad basin with white floral decoration, a delicate libations vessel and two conical vases decorated with lilies, each of which was pierced like a strainer below the rim. From the types of finds and their exquisite nature, the excavator suggested that they came from a religious area (Marinatos 1971, 26).

4. Temple at Ayia Irini, Keos; LM IB/LH II or earlier

Caskey 1962, 1964, 1966, 1971, 1981a, 1981b; Wedde 2000, 309, nos. 309-10

Room IV or V: a fragment of a terracotta dolphin (Fig. 33)
Corridor VII: part of a bronze model boat

The temple, which is located close to the sea in Area B, seems to have been constructed in the Middle Bronze Age and continued to be used into Hellenistic times (Caskey 1964, 317; 1966, 369). Over fifty human figures were found in LM IB/II destruction levels suggesting that this was the highpoint of the shrine's use (Caskey 1981a, 323). The two marine finds, a fragmentary dolphin figure and a model boat, also date from this period. The fragment of a terracotta dolphin was found in the early strata of Rooms IV and V, along with fragments of at least five freestanding female figures with raised arms ranging from half to full human-size or slightly larger (Caskey 1962, 279-80). These finds have since been dated to LM IB/LH II or earlier (Caskey 1964, 326; 1981b, 127-28). Most of the body of the dolphin is preserved, including the dorsal fin, which allows for a secure identification (Fig. 33). The head is missing and only part of a flipper can be seen. Although the tail has broken off, enough remains to tell that it had a horizontal axis. The majority of Aegean dolphin representations show the tail upright, despite the fact that this is anatomically inaccurate; the Kean dolphin is thus one of the few Aegean representations of a dolphin with a correct tail orientation. It has a preserved length of 13cm (Caskey 1962, 280, n.31) but must have neared 20cm in length originally.

Part of a bronze model boat was found in Corridor VII of the shrine, along with a small bronze statue of a saluting youth (Caskey 1964, 328, Pl.56c). The fragment consists of part of a flat hull, rising to a curved pointed extremity; it is not possible to tell if it is a bow or a stern fragment (Wedde 2000, 309, no. 310). Its preserved length is 13.4cm (bent). A prow or stern fragment from a second model boat, dated to the LH III period, was found with a chariot group in a stone-lined pit above Room XIII of

Area A of the settlement (Caskey 1962, 273, Pl. 99f; Wedde 2000, 309, no. 309). There is no clear indication that this piece was also associated with cult activity; as the finds were near the surface of the present ground in an area which had suffered from denudation, little can be learned about the context (Caskey 1962, 273). The fragment is made of clay and is painted on the inside with a wavy line. The zigzags on the exterior perhaps represent water lapping against the side of the boat.

In all, at least 55 female terracotta statues were recovered from the temple building (Caskey 1981b, 131). Other cult finds include terracotta bovids, animal rhyta and an unusual small jug with a double-rim and s-shaped handle (Caskey 1981b, 132; 1964, 328, Pl. 56d) similar to that used by the Minoan genius in the cult scene carved on the Malia stone triton shell (Fig. 138). Built architectural features consistent with use as a shrine include benches and podiums. These are particularly evident in Room V where in the LM IIIC period a large rectangular podium was set in the room, possibly as an altar (Caskey 1971, 386). In the later Greek period, the shrine was associated with Dionysus. However, while many drinking vessels were among the contents of the shrine, it is difficult to determine whether the Bronze Age cult was connected with an early form of this god, as Caskey (1981b, 132-33) suggests. The construction of Rooms XI and XII dates back to the MBA and it has been suggested that the building was a shrine from the beginning (Caskey 1966, 369).

The temple is located so close to the sea that parts of it are now submerged. The entrance is thought to have faced towards the sea and to enter it one had to follow a sloping passageway, the 'Temple Road', which led from the settlement down towards the seashore (Caskey 1962, 279; 1971, 383, fig. 9). Caskey notes the strategic importance of the great natural harbour at Ayia Irini, which would have provided shelter for small craft and larger vessels moving out along the principal navigation route from the Greek mainland into the northern Aegean (Caskey 1962, 266). The importance of the nearby harbour provides a possible reason why marine objects were dedicated in the temple and the location of the building in such close proximity to the sea may have been related to this marine aspect of cult practice.

5. Sanctuary of Aphaia, Aegina; LM IIIA2-B

French 1971, 173-74; Wedde 2000, 311, nos. 321, 312 and 335; Pilafidis-Williams 1995; 1998, 77, nos. 534-35

Two fragmentary terracotta model boats

Two small fragments which have been identified as parts of model boats were found in LM levels of the sanctuary. One is a fragment of a curving bow; the other is a hull fragment. Both are thought to

date to LM IIIA2-B (Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 77). Among the other finds from the LM levels was a terracotta head from a human figurine (Pilafidis-Williams 1995, 231-32). Pilafidis-Williams (1998, 77) notes that as model boats do not occur at all sites they may have been important to the cult of Aphaia.

6. Ayios Konstantinos, Methana, Room A, Sanctuary; LH IIIA-B

Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001; 2004, 62-68; Wedde 2003

A triton shell with a missing apex (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.10**); a fragment of a model boat; a miniature octopus rhyton

A fragment of a miniature model boat is reported from Room A, where a triton shell with a deliberately-removed apex was also found (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004, 64-65). The boat fragment was found on the steps of the bench, not far from the triton shell. While the fragment has an extant length of only 7.1cm, Wedde (2003, 286) has suggested that the complete boat may have been closer to 9-10cm in length originally. Its exterior surface is decorated with painted reddish-brown stripes, traces of which still remain. The religious function of the room was identified on the basis of its general lay-out, its fixed installations and the nature of the deposit (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001; 2004, 62). The cult installations of the room included a stone stepped bench located directly opposite the entrance, a central platform of thin slabs resting on the floor, a low ledge along the south wall and a small hearth near the southeast corner. Other cult items from the room include eight kylikes, miniature model furniture, two miniature vessels (a rhyton and a dipper) which may have been a set, and a large group of votive terracottas which included bovids, toreadors, horseback riders and charioteers. The rhyton was a conical rhyton with octopus decoration. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou (2004, 64) suggests that the iconography of the terracottas may reflect a cult of Poseidon, who was closely associated with horses and bulls in later Greek cult. Given the early date of the sanctuary, however, this is by no means clear.

7. Phylakopi, Melos, Bench Sanctuary; LH IIIA-C

Renfrew 1985, especially 326-28, Table 8.8, Pl. 61-62; French 1985, 275

Various shells, some perforated; two complete triton shells with broken apexes (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.8-9**; Fig. 111); two fragments of a possible fish rhyton

A number of marine shells were found at the sanctuary of Phylakopi on Melos. Two complete triton shells with broken apexes were found in LH IIIC phases of the shrine, one from the West Shrine and one from the East Shrine. The former was found in the northwest corner of the West Shrine along with

a specialised group of objects including male and female figures and animal figurines (Renfrew 1985, 327-28: SF 1522). The shrine also produced a small quantity of other marine shells: a single Mediterranean cone shell (*Conus mediterraneus*), a single cowrie (*Lurida lurida*), a complete murex (*Murex brandaris*) and fragments of further murex shells, and single valves of bivalve shells. Two pieces of worked spondylus shell (*Spondylus gaederopus*) were also found (Renfrew 1985, 328: SF 890 and SF 1547, fig. 8.8). The first was a large spondylus valve (measuring 10.6 x 8.6cm) with a perforation (of 2cm diameter) drilled through the centre. Renfrew (1985, 327) notes that it is not clear whether the piece represents a finished artefact (perhaps a weight or sinker) or not. The second worked piece is smaller spondylus valve with two suspension holes and a worked centre. It may have been an offering of jewellery or served as shrine decoration. All of these shells were isolated examples, each deposited at different times over the period in which the shrine was used (LM IIIA-C). Their small quantity and isolated occurrences are a strong argument against their use as food. The particularly interesting and unusual shapes of many of these shells may have been one factor in their selection as offerings.

Finally, fragments of a possible fish rhyton decorated with the dotted scale pattern were found in the courtyard and street area adjacent to the shrine (Renfrew 1985, Pl. 48e). The sherds have been identified as belonging to a fish rhyton based on their similar shape and decoration to the fish rhyton from Tiryns (French 1985, 275; Fig. 37). If the identification is correct, it is possible that the fish rhyton was a piece of cult equipment. For further details of the triton shells, see the discussion in Appendix 2B: Phylakopi, Melos.

Appendix 2:

Real Triton Shells in the Aegean (Based on Published Data)

Preceded by a Guide to the Appendix by Site[1]

Section A. Real Triton Shells in Cult Contexts or Deposits on Crete

i. In Probable Cult Contexts or Deposits[2]

1. Khamaizi, the Oval House; MM IA
2. Palace of Phaistos, Upper West Court Sanctuary Complex, Room VIII, Bench Sanctuary; MM II
3. Palace of Phaistos, Lower West Court Sanctuary Complex, Room IL, Bench Sanctuary; MM II
4. Malia, Independent Bench Sanctuary Complex; MM II
5. Ambelos, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-IIB
6. Kalamaki, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-IIB
7. Petsophas, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-LM I*
8. Idaean Cave; MM IA-LM IIIC*
9. Kato Syme, Rural Sanctuary; MM III-LM III phases*
10. Pseira, Building AC, the 'Shrine'; LM IA-B
11. Pseira, House AB, Room 12, Bench Sanctuary; LM IB
12. Pseira, the Plateia Building, Cult Storeroom; LM IB
13. Myrtos-Pyrgos Minoan Villa; LM IB
14. Stratigraphical Museum Extension, Knossos, Minoan House; LM IB
15. Palace of Tourkoyeitonia, Archanes, Room 10 and Areas 11, 17 and 18; LM IB
16. Palace of Zakro, Northeast Lustral Basin, Room LVIII; LM IB
17. Palace of Malia, Room XVIII 1, Bench Sanctuary of the South Bench Sanctuary Complex; Neopalatial Period

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[1] Where triton shells were found in a shrine or ritual deposit alongside other marine artifacts, details of the triton shell alone are provided here. For details of the other finds, the reader is referred to Appendix 1 where a full discussion of each shrine/deposit is provided.

[2] Please note that in each section of the Appendix the sites are listed chronologically. Tritons from a wide date range which spans several periods have been placed under the *earliest* time period of the range assigned to them. These have been marked with the * symbol. Tritons from contexts of an unknown/unspecified date have been placed at the end of the appropriate list.

18. Kommos, House X, Room 7; Probable House Shrine; LM IIIA1-2
19. Kommos, Hillside House, Room 4, House Shrine; LM IIIA2-B
20. Kephala Khondrou Viannou, House A_1-Λ_1, Room N_1; LM IIIA-B
21. Palaikastro, Building 1; LM III Reoccupation Level
22. Palaikastro, Building 7; LM IIIB
23. Kannia Villa, Bench Sanctuary Complex, Room V; LM IIIB
24. Karphi, the Temple, Room 1; LM IIIC
25. Karphi, the Great House, Room 16-17; LM IIIC

ii. In Possible (Rather than Probable) Ritual Contexts or Deposits on Crete

1. Palace of Knossos, Possible Bench Sanctuary; MM III
2. Palaikastro, Roussolakkos Area, Ritual Deposit at Possible Gatehouse Shrine; MM III-LM I
3. Palaikastro, the Cliffhouse, Room 8; MM III-LM IB?
4. Mochlos, the Chalinomouri Farmhouse, Room 1, Possible House Shrine; LM IB
5. Gypsades Hill, Possible House Shrine; Neopalatial Period
6. Pseira, Building BQ, Room 1, Possible Ritual Deposit; LM IB
7. Amnisos, Possible Town or House Shrine; LM III
8. Chrysokamino, the Farmhouse, Possible House Shrine; LM IIIA
9. Pera Galini, Mylopotamou, Possible House Shrine; Date Unspecified

Section B. Real Triton Shells in Cult Contexts or Deposits in the Wider Aegean Area

i. The Cycladic Islands

1. House of the Ladies, Rooms 1 and 7, Akrotiri, Thera; LC I
2. West House, Akrotiri, Thera; LC I
3. Phylakopi, Melos, Bench Sanctuary; LH IIIB-C

ii. Mainland Greece

1. Ayios Konstantinos, Methana, Sanctuary; LH IIIA-B

Section C. Real Tritons Found in Aegean Contexts with No Obvious Ritual Connection

i. Crete

1. Knossos; Neolithic
2. Phaistos; Neolithic
3. Magasa Rock Shelter; Neolithic
4. Knossos, West Court House; EM IIA
5. Myrtos; EM II
6. Myrtos-Pyrgos; EM II-LM IB
7. Palaikastro; EM II-LM III Deposit*
8. Pseira, Grand Staircase, Space AG 1; EM III-LM IB?*
9. Knossos, Area E/F2; MM IB-IIA
10. Knossos, Royal Road; MM II-LM IIIA*
11. Kommos; MM II-LM IIIB*
12. Malia, Minoan House; MM III-LM I
13. Palaikastro, Building 2, Room 2; LM IA
14. Pseira, Building AD Centre, Room 6 (the 'House of the Foreign Pottery'); LM I
15. Pseira, Area BR, the Town Square; LM IB or earlier
16. Mochlos, Artisans' Quarter; LM IB
17. Mochlos, the Chalinomouri Farmhouse; LM IB
18. Vrokastro; LM I and LM IIIC*
19. Malia, Quartier Nu, Room XII; LM III

ii. The Islands

1. Saliagos; Late Neolithic
2. Skyros, 'Tou Papa to Choma'; Neolithic
3. Kephala, Keos; Final Neolithic
4. Sector Delta, Room 16, Akrotiri; LC I

iii. Mainland Greece

1. Kitsos Cave, Attica; Neolithic
2. Ayios Stephanos, Laconia; Bronze Age
3. Traganas, Pylos; LH I

Appendix 2:
Real Triton Shells in the Aegean (based on published data)

Section A. Real Triton Shells in Cult Contexts or Deposits on Crete

i. In Probable Cult Contexts or Deposits

1. Khamaizi, the Oval House; MM IA

Davaras 1972, 283-88; Gesell 1985, 14, 83; Åström and Reese 1990, 8

'Triton shells'

Triton shells were found in this isolated hilltop house but the exact find contexts are unknown (Gesell 1985, 83). The house showed evidence of cult practice (an offering table, double axes, and human and animal figurines) suggesting that it may have had a domestic shrine (Davaras 1972, 288). The triton shells may have been part of the cult equipment.

2. Palace of Phaistos, Upper West Court Sanctuary Complex, Room VIII, Bench Sanctuary; MM II

PM I, 218-19; Gesell 1985, 11, 120-24; Åström and Reese 1990, 8; on display in the Heraklion Museum, Room III, Case 42

A triton shell with a worked apex (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.1**; Fig. 101)

A triton, a *C. sequenzae* which had a worked apex and could be blown (Åström and Reese 1990, 8), was found in the early *Sacellum* or small sanctuary on the borders of the West Court at the palace of Phaistos. The sanctuary consisted of three rooms built into the court itself (later additions), two inner rooms built into the palace and an open-air hearth. Room VIII was a bench sanctuary with low benches for offerings on three sides of the room. In the centre of the floor was a fixed rectangular terracotta offering table with off-centre cupula and incised decoration. The triton shell was found on the floor along with cult objects including an incised stone offering table, clay lamps and a clay offering table with stamped designs (PM I, 218-19; Gesell 1985, 120-24). There is some evidence for either ritual dining or food and liquid offerings in the sanctuary. Rooms V and VII, identified as preparation areas, had built-in facilities for grinding and for the storage and preparation of liquids, while an open-air hearth with burnt bones was also associated with the complex. The offering tables in Room VIII also showed traces of burning. There are no reported traces of burning on the triton shell and while the mollusc could have been consumed at the site, the shell seems to have been reused as an item of cult

equipment. Its worked apex suggests that it had been deliberately manipulated for use as a cult object, most probably, as a trumpet. As the original sanctuary (Rooms VIII and IX) was only accessible from inside the palace, Gesell (1985, 11) has suggested that access to the sanctuary and participation in the rituals was originally restricted to a select few: the palace inhabitants. The later enlargement of the complex and provision of a new entrance from the west court suggests that participation in the rituals was then opened out to the wider public.

3. Palace of Phaistos, Lower West Court Sanctuary Complex, Room IL, Bench Sanctuary; MM II
Levi 1976, 43-120; Gesell 1985, 11-12, 124-27

Room IL: fragments of triton and oyster shells
Room LV: two fossil shells and other seashells found in the neighbouring rooms

Fragments of triton shells were found in Room IL which is thought to have been a storeroom of the sanctuary. However, they were found in association with fragments of oyster shells prompting the suggestion that the room may have also been used occasionally for ritual dining (Gesell 1985, 124). Given the fragmentary evidence it is difficult to assess whether the triton shells represent food debris or cult equipment. More shells were found in the nearby Room LV, which may have been a cult dining room. As the shells were found in association with a hearth and cooking vessels, shellfish may have been consumed here as part of ritual meals. Two 'fossil shells' were also reported from the corridor to Room LXII (Gesell 1985, 125, 127); as these cannot represent food debris they may have been offerings. The rooms are thought to have served primarily as storage or preparatory rooms for cult activities in the West Court or in a sanctuary located on the upper floor or further inside the palace, with Rooms IL and LV perhaps also used for ritual dining (Gesell 1985, 125).

4. Malia, Independent Bench Sanctuary Complex; MM II
Poursat 1966, 536 and fig. 25; Åström and Reese 1990, 8; Baurain and Darque 1983, 70, no. 18, fig. 50; Lloyd 1994, 82, n.42, 85, n.68; Rutkowski 1986, 159-61; Gesell 1985, 14, 107

Room 2: A triton shell
Room 3: A small clay model conch shell (Table T9b: **Sh.28**)

A triton shell was found in Room 2, the bench sanctuary of this three-roomed independent complex at Malia. The architectural features and associated finds confirm that the room was used as a shrine: the bench, the large offering table with a cupule which was set into the floor, three small red-glaze offering

tables and the base of a tripod vase with a relief double axe (Poursat 1966, 518-24). The room also has an unusual feature next to the door: a jar buried in the floor up to handle height. The bottom of the jar was intentionally broken before it was set into the floor to allow the contents to soak into the earth (Gesell 1985, 107, 9). It is possible that libations to a chthonic deity were poured into the jar and that the triton shell was used in association with these rituals. A small clay model conch shell was also found in Room 3 which has been interpreted as the storeroom of the shrine (Poursat 1966, 536 and fig. 25). The shell has been described as a conch here because it is a univalve but not a triton (Lloyd 1994, 85, n.68). It was found along with two tubular stands with handles and numerous jugs and amphorae (Rutkowski 1986, 161). The outer whorl of the model triton was broken and parts of only three whorls of unequal size remain; the main whorl is more bulbous and pronounced than that of the natural shell. As preserved, the model shell is almost 9cm in length and 8cm in width (Poursat 1966, 536 and fig. 25; Baurain and Darque 1983, 70, no. 18, fig. 50). Gesell (1985, 9) notes that this was a special cult complex in a residential part of town, which may have functioned as a town sanctuary.

5. Ambelos, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-IIB
Peatfield 1989, 336-37

A small triton shell

A small triton shell was found at this peak sanctuary. Among the other finds were animal figurines (including miniature bulls and fragments of larger bull figurines), human figurines and pottery.

6. Kalamaki, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-IIB
Peatfield 1989, 362-63

Fragment of a large triton shell

A fragment of a large triton shell was found at this peak sanctuary. Among the other finds were animal figurines (including miniature and medium-sized bull figurines), human figurines, votive limbs and pottery. The sanctuary commands a view of the sea to the west and is also visible from the sea.

*7. Petsophas, Peak Sanctuary; MM I-LM I**

Peatfield 1989, 381-86; Jones 1999, 77

A small triton shell

A small triton shell was found at this peak sanctuary. Among the other finds were hundreds of animal figurines of a variety of types (including beetles and tortoises) along with hundreds of human figurines, votive limbs, miniature vessels, bronze knives, a bronze sheet cut in a human shape, and pottery (Peatfield 1989, 381-86; Jones 1999, 77). A dark burnt layer is suggestive of bonfires at the site (Peatfield 1989, 384). The sanctuary commands a view of the whole of the Palaikastro coastal plain.

*8. Idaean Cave; MM IA-LM IIIC**

Watrous 1996, 58-59; Jones 1999, 81; Prent 2005, 158-60; Åström and Reese 1990, 9

A fragmentary triton shell and other seashells; a rock crystal sealstone depicting a votary holding a triton shell before an altar (Table 5: **TS9**; Fig. 102f)

A rock crystal sealstone depicting a female figure holding a large triton shell aloft before an altar topped with horns of consecration and branches was found in this sacred cave on the upper slopes of Mt. Ida (Fig. 102f). The seal is thought to show a cult scene and provides iconographic evidence for the use of triton shells as cult equipment. Recent excavations in the cave also produced at least one triton shell (*C. sequenzae*), an upper spire fragment (Åström and Reese 1990, 9). For a detailed discussion of the cave and evidence of cult activity there, see the entry in Appendix 1: Idaean Cave.

*9. Kato Syme, Rural Sanctuary; MM III-LM III phases**

Lebessi and Reese 1986; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Watrous 1996, 65-70, 86; Catling 1986, 88-89; Jones 1999, 82

A fragmentary triton shell (MM III-LM I phase)
37 other seashells (MM III-LM III phases)

A worn triton upper body fragment was among the Minoan finds in a small room along the western sector of the shrine (Åström and Reese 1990, 9). It was found in a deposit of MM III-LM I date, along with two *Glycymeris* (dog-cockle) shells and cult equipment (Catling 1986, 88; Lebessi and Reese 1986, 187). The triton was too badly broken to tell if it had been modified for use as a vessel or

trumpet (Lebessi and Reese 1986, 184). The room has been interpreted as a storeroom for cult equipment (Catling 1986, 88). In total, thirty-eight marine shells of several different species were found in Minoan levels of the shrine, grouped into five separate deposits. As many of the shells were collected when the animal was long dead and some had been perforated, the shells have been identified as offerings rather than food debris (Lebessi and Reese 1986, 184-85). For a full discussion of this site and the finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Kato Syme.

10. Pseira, Building AC, the 'Shrine'; LM IA-B
Betancourt and Davaras 1998; Reese 1998, 35-36

Three fragmentary triton shells; pumice

Three fragmentary triton shells were found in Room AC4 and Spaces 10 and 12 of this building. The building has been interpreted as a probable shrine on the basis of its architecture and finds. The excavators note that the architecture of the building differs from that of buildings at Pseira identified as houses, while it bears some similarities to the architecture of shrines, such as the MM II shrine at Malia (Betancourt and Davaras 1998, 3-4, 126-28). Architectural features in Space 10 also support the identification of the building as a shrine; these include a stone bench or altar and a slab-lined cist filled with pottery and other objects including a possible figurine fragment. Further suggestions of ritual activity in the building are provided by relief fresco fragments found in Rooms AC1 and AC6, which are thought to show a religious scene, as scholars have argued that the female figures in the frescoes represent 'goddesses' (Betancourt and Davaras 1998, 4, 66-72; Immerwahr 1990b, 184). Although none of the specialised vessel shapes associated with Minoan shrines were found here, the excavators feel that the building was too unusual to have been an ordinary house. They suggest that it had a special function and that the feasting and drinking ceremonies which took place there were religious in nature (Betancourt and Davaras 1998, 128).

A small number of other marine shells and fish bones were found in Room AC4 and Space 10 (Reese 1998, 36), but their spatial relationship to the triton shells is not mentioned in the reports. Space 10 was an exterior space on a terrace overlooking the sea. The marine shells were found inside the cist along with finds such as a fragment of a sheep or goat skull, charcoal fragments and 231 pottery sherds including many fine cups (Betancourt and Davaras 1998, 125). The finds and possible altar suggest that food preparation and consumption were among the activities associated with the terrace (Betancourt and Davaras 1998, 127). Room AC4 contained cups, closed vessels and cooking pots in addition to the marine shells, finds which suggest that the shells here also represent food debris. Space

AC12 was a short lane which provided access to Room AC1 - the triton shell was the only marine find from this area.

The fragmentary condition of the three triton shells prevents a more specific identification of their function, although some or all of these shells may have been used in ritual dining. While the molluscs may have been consumed as part of ritual meals, the empty shells could have been reused as cult equipment, vessels or scoops, in the eating and drinking rituals thought to have taken place in the shrine. Three pieces of water-worn pumice were also among the finds in Room 1 and may have been votive offerings.

11. Pseira, House AB, Room 12, Bench Sanctuary; LM IB

Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 25-50; Reese 1995d, 42, fig. 40 and Pl. 14b; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Gesell 1985, 20, 132; Seager 1910, 14, 24-27; Vandenabeele 1991, 244-45

A triton shell vessel (Table 8a: **Sh.V.1**; Fig. 119); a pebble bench

A triton shell vessel was found in Room 12 of House AB (Seager's House B, Room 4) on the island of Pseira, which has been identified as a bench sanctuary (Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 48-49). The room had a ledge of beach pebbles which may have served as a bench for offerings (Seager 1910, 14, 24-27). The shell vessel is from a *C. sequenzae* triton and measures 19.9 x 8.8cm (Åström and Reese 1990, 9). The triton had been cut to form a vessel by removal of the columella and part of the body of the shell (Reese 1995d, 42; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Fig. 119). It was found in association with an ovoid rhyton and a bull's head rhyton, suggesting that it formed part of the cult equipment and was perhaps used in rituals involving liquid offerings. For further details, see the entry in Appendix 1: Pseira, House AB.

12. Pseira, the Plateia Building; LM IB

Floyd 1998, 208, 216; Koehl 2006, 307

An almost complete triton shell

An assemblage of at least seven rhyta as well as fragments of a tripod offering table found in Building BS/BV, the 'Plateia Building', at Pseira is thought to have come from a cult repository (Floyd 1998, 208; Koehl 2006, 307). A nearly complete triton shell and a fragmentary marble chalice found on the

road just outside the building may have originally been stored in the repository along with the rhyta (Floyd 1998, 208, 216).

13. Myrtos-Pyrgos Minoan Villa, LM IB

Cadogan 1981, 169; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Gesell 1985, 134; Mountjoy 1985, 231

Two natural triton shells; fragments of an imitation triton shell in red faience (Table 9a: **Sh.24**); LM IB Marine Style pottery

Two natural triton shells found at the LM I Minoan villa of Myrtos-Pyrgos were part of an assemblage of items which fell from a probable shrine located on the upper floor (Cadogan 1981, 169; Åström and Reese 1990, 9). The other shrine contents included fragments of an imitation triton shell in red faience, a LM IB Marine Style jug depicting triton shells in a marine rockwork setting, a Linear A tablet recording 90 units of wine, a bull rhyton and four terracotta tubular 'cult' stands which, according to Gesell (1985, 134), are forerunners to the LM III snake-tubes (Cadogan 1981, 169; Mountjoy 1985, 231).

14. Stratigraphical Museum Extension, Knossos, Minoan House; LM IB

Gesell 1985, 32; Warren 1980; 1988, 7-9; Wall *et al.* 1996; Mountjoy 1985, 233; Åström and Reese 1990, 9

An unmodified triton and other seashells; a cowrie shell in a separate deposit; LM IB Marine Style pottery (Fig. 45)

An unmodified triton shell (*C. sequenzae*) was among a number of seashells found along with butchered human bones in the basement of this Minoan house (Åström and Reese 1990, 9). The triton shell is not mentioned in the reports but may have been among the marine and terrestrial shells recorded as found inside a pithos along with human bones (Warren 1988; 1980, 83, 92). The excavator has suggested that the shellfish and land snails were consumed along with the human remains as part of an unusual ritual meal (Warren 1988, 8). A single cowrie shell and part of a brazier were found in a second basement along with a deposit of 27 conical cups and other vessels (Warren 1980, 92). An assemblage of vases including vessels of the LM IB Marine Style was also found (Fig. 45). The vessels had fallen from the upper floor where a storeroom for cult vessels may have been located. The interpretation of the house as a site of cult activity is based on the butchered bones and the large

amount of cult equipment, some with cult symbols. For a further discussion of the site and its finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Knossos, Stratigraphical Museum Extension.

15. The Palace of Tourkoyeitonia, Archanes; LM I

Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 45 and fig. 20

Four triton shells, one from each of Room 10, Areas 11, 17, and 18

Triton shells were found in Room 10, Areas 17 and 18, and the 'exedra' area or Courtyard 11. A triton shell was found inside a jug-like vase of veined marble in the centre of Room 10; the context of the jug has been dated to LM I (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 101). The north, east and west walls of the room had benches dressed with gypsum slabs while the centre of the room was paved with a rectangular blue marble floor with coloured plaster borders. A raised base in the centre of the north wall may have once supported a seat. The room is thought to have been a hall and the excavators argue that the expensive materials and ritual vessels suggest that it was one of the most important areas of the palace (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 101). Finds from above which suggest that the northern upper floor room had a religious function include a double axe base, approximately 30 tripod offering tables, two plaster horns of consecration and an enormous monolithic table (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 98). That ritual activity may have also taken place in the ground floor hall is suggested by the depression and channel in the floor next to the raised base, which recalls the arrangement in the Throne Room at the later Mycenaean palace of Pylos. A reconstruction drawing in the published reports shows a votary blowing the triton shell in a religious ritual enacted in the hall (Fig. 112; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, fig. 20). However, the excavators do not mention whether the apex of the triton was cut, a necessary prerequisite for use as a trumpet. Alternatively, the triton may have been used as a vessel for liquid offerings in association with the depression and channel, a suggestion which is supported by the fact that the shell was found in association with a jug.

An intact triton shell was also found at the northeast corner of Area 17 where there seems to have been a shrine on the upper floor. The identification of a shrine in this area is based on the discovery of a double axe base in association with a clay offering table, a rhyton, animal bones, and a gold and ivory group of at least six figurines (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 107-109). Many of the other finds were of a marine nature, including sea-pebbles, shells (not specified), and an ivory fish. A number of Marine Style vases were found in the central and western part of the room and scattered in the neighbouring rooms, suggesting that they fell from a great height from the upper storey shrine of Area 17. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1997, 493) noted that the association of the Marine Style vases with the shrine at Archanes seems to confirm Mountjoy's (1985) theory that such vases are

ritual vessels associated with religious areas and activities. The triton shell may have been part of the cult equipment. A steatite amulet in the shape of a shell found in the neighbouring Room 17a may have also fallen from this upper shrine. Given the large proportion of marine finds Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1997, 109) have suggested that the deity worshipped at this shrine was perhaps associated with the sea. Further marine objects were also found in the neighbouring Area 19, including wall paintings with fish and relief shells (Fig. 190), and seashells, although the seashells may relate to the industrial activities thought to have taken place on one of the upper stories (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 45).

Part of a third triton shell was found in the partially excavated Area 18. The shell and a number of Marine Style vases may have come from a room above Areas 18 and 19 (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 45). Whether this room was linked with cult is not clear, although movable finds such as a gold cut-out in a conical cup and an animal horn in another may suggest ritual use.

A fourth triton shell found in the rectangular 'platform' area of Courtyard 11 was clearly linked with cult activity. The platform is a rectangular structure which may have been separated from the surrounding courtyards by a low enclosure wall or balustrade (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 40). On the north side of the platform is a large rectangular poros structure which has been identified as a stepped altar. Between this altar and the palace façade runs a drain which starts from the north-east corner of the altar and runs into Courtyard 11. At the southeast end of the platform is a paved area where a double axe base found nearby may have once stood (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 103). The ritual nature of the area is suggested by the altar structure and by finds such as the double axe base and a partial stone offering table. Other finds point to the nature of the ritual: approximately 40 handleless cups were found which, together with the triton shell, suggest that the area was used for liquid offerings. The drain may have been used to drain liquids from libations and/or sacrifices at the altar, as has been suggested by the excavators (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 103). The triton shell may have been part of the cult equipment. As the platform is connected architecturally to the palace the rituals may have been enacted both inside and outside the building (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 102).

16. Palace of Zakro, Northeast Lustral Basin, Room LVIII; LM IB

Platon 1985, 180-82; Gesell 25, 141; Driessen and MacDonald 1997, 96-97

A triton shell; pumice

A triton shell was found in Room LVIII, the northeast lustral basin of the palace of Zakro. No further details of the shell have been published. As the lustral basin was painted with a fresco of horns of consecration on altar bases, it seems to have had a ritual function 'at least part of the time' (Platon 1985, 182; Gesell 1985, 25). Pumice found here may have been an offering (Driessen and MacDonald 1997, 96-97). A fragmentary rhyton was also found and both the triton and rhyton may have been used in activities involving the pouring of liquids, perhaps in ritual lustration or the offering of libations. For a full discussion, see the entry in Appendix 1: Palace of Zakro: Northeast Lustral Basin.

17. Palace of Malia, Room XVIII 1, Bench Sanctuary of the South Bench Sanctuary Complex; Neopalatial Period

van Effenterre 1980, 445-46; Pelon 1992, Pl. VII 2; Baurain and Darque 1983, 22 n.237; Chapouthier and Demargne 1962, 11, Pl. XXXIX; Reese 1985, 357; Gesell 1985, 20, 106; Vandenabeele 1991, 246

Seashells including three whole triton shells with missing apexes (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.2-4**; Fig. 110)

Seashells of 'various kinds' were reported among the finds from Room XVIII 1 which has been identified as a bench sanctuary. While van Effenterre (1980, 445-46) lists only one triton among the shells, Pelon's later publication (1992, Pl. VII 2) illustrates three triton shells from this room, two of which clearly have broken apexes. Baurain and Darque (1983, 22 n.20) provide the dimensions of these tritons (27, 29 and 25.9cm in length respectively) and confirm that, in fact, the apexes of all three are missing. The tritons therefore may have been used as trumpets. Reese (1985, 357) has observed that at least one of the shells also appears to have been modified above the mouth. The other seashells are not identified in the publication but the selection illustrated includes murex, cockle and abalone shells (Chapouthier and Demargne 1962, Pl. XXXIX). Chapouthier and Demargne (1962, 11) mention that some showed natural colouration recalling the painted shells from the Temple Repositories. These shells may have been selected for use in the sanctuary on the basis of their colour. For a full discussion, see the entry in Appendix 1: Palace of Malia, Room XVIII 1.

18. Kommos, House X, Room 7; Probable House Shrine; LM IIIA1-2

Shaw and Shaw 1993, 149-52, Pl. 24a; Shaw 1992, 60-63

A triton shell with a missing apex (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.7**); *glycymeris* shells; beach pebbles

A triton and a number of bivalve shells were found in Room 7 of House X at Kommos, which has been identified by the excavators as a probable house shrine. The marine shells date from the final phase of

use, LM IIIA1-2. In the southwest corner of the room, a stone table was found *in situ* with an offering deposit of two juglets and a conical cup containing a worn pebble and numerous *glycymeris* shells. More shells were scattered on the surface of the table. Set into the floor in front of the table was a flat slab with a round depression. It contained ash and showed traces of burning. Next to it was a large triton shell and a scatter of small beach pebbles. From the published photograph of the triton shell it is clear that it had a broken apex although the excavator, Shaw, describes it as a 'complete triton trumpet shell (Shaw 1992, 61, fig. 49). Without further analysis it is difficult to say whether the shell was worked or whether the apex broke off accidentally. For a full discussion of the site and its finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Kommos, House X.

19. Kommos, Hillside House, Room 4, House Shrine; LM IIIA1-B

Shaw 1977; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Reese 1995c, 257, 264, 266-67, Pl. 5.6; Gesell 1985, 42, 52, 102; Vandenabeele 1991, 248

A triton shell; pebbles and a layer of calcium carbonate (probably from a marine source); worked seashells were found nearby

A triton shell was found embedded in the northeast corner of the doorway linking the domestic shrine with the adjoining area, Space 6 (Shaw 1977, 230; Reese 1995c, 264, Pl. 5.6). The religious use of the room is suggested by a snake tube with birds on the handles, which had been placed on a slab set into the floor near the eastern wall (Shaw 1977, 227). A cup set into the mouth of the snake tube provided proof that these vessels served as offering stands (Gesell 1985, 42). The cup contained six small water-worn pebbles and a layer of calcium carbonate, which may have a marine origin. Reese identified the triton as a *C. sequenzae*, 15.5cm in length, and described it as slightly charred and bored by predatory marine gastropods on the lower spire (Reese 1995c, 264). Worked *Monodonta* and *Cerithium* shells were found just south of the shrine (Reese 1995c, 257, 266-67). For a full discussion of this site and the finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Kommos, Hillside House.

20. Kephala Khondrou Viannou, House A_1-A_1, Room N_1; LM IIIA-B

Platon 1957, 136-45 and Pl. 70a; Daux 1958, 780-83, fig. 9; Gesell 1985, 42, 82; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Younger 1998, 64

A large triton shell with a worked apex (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.6**)

A triton shell (*C. nodifera*) was among the cult finds at a Minoan house at Kephala Khondrou, a town site east of the Mesara near the south coast (Platon 1957, Pl. 70a; Daux 1958, 783 and fig. 9). The triton was among the ground floor finds in Room N_1 which were thought to have fallen from a shrine on the upper floor above the area of corridors Z_1 and H_1. The other cult objects include a snake tube, a conical rhyton, two legs of an offering table with relief decoration, a small figurine head, conical cups and the lower half of a parturient female figurine which may have functioned as a rhyton (Gesell 1985, 42, 82). The apex of the triton had been worked suggesting that it may have been used as a trumpet (Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Younger 1998, 64).

21. Palaikastro, Building 1; LM III Reoccupation Level
MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 143-48, 154; MacGillivray and Sackett 2000, 167

Unspecified context: a large intact triton shell
Area 1: pebble scatter
Area 6: pebbles; a large collection of seashells

A large complete triton shell was among the finds from this probable shrine complex (MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 147, Pl. 22d). As the exact find context of the triton is not mentioned in the reports, it is not clear whether it was found among the large collection of seashells or whether it was deposited separately. As some of the seashells were water-worn and therefore dead upon collection, they may represent offerings. For a full discussion of this site and the finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Palaikastro, Building 1.

22. Palaikastro, Building 7; LM IIIB
MacGillivray *et al.* 1991, 137-47; Sackett 1996

Room 1: a large triton shell; pebbles
Room 3: pebble scatter
Room 4: a large complete unmodified triton shell
Room 12: a large triton shell; pumice; an octopus piriform jar

At Building 7 at Palaikastro three of the rooms with evidence of ritual activity each contained a large triton shell. Each of the three tritons was found in association with a stalactite. The triton shells from Rooms 1 and 12 are not illustrated in the reports and there is no mention that either had been worked. The triton from Room 4 was intact and unmodified (Sackett 1996, Pl. 21b). Associated marine finds

include pumice and a seashell which may represent offerings; pebble scatters were also found. The building has signs of both habitation and cult and Sackett suggests that it had two main functions: the storage of food and drink and some kind of ritual activity which was probably associated with this (Sackett 1996, 51, 54). As there is no mention that the triton shells were modified for use as trumpets, they may have been used unmodified as vessels in drinking activities associated with the shrine. For a full discussion of the site and other finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Palaikastro, Building 7.

23. Kannia Villa, Bench Sanctuary Complex, Room V; LM IIIB

Gesell 1985, 43-44, 77-79

A triton shell and other seashells in two separate deposits

In the villa at Kannia, near Gortyn, Rooms I, III, V, VI and XV formed a bench sanctuary complex. A triton shell was found in Room V, a preparation and storeroom of Room I, the bench sanctuary. The other finds included limpet and oyster shells and various cult objects which were divided into several groups within the room. Many of the cult objects were placed in groups on or next to the two benches. The triton shell was found alone near the south jamb of the door (Gesell 1985, 77-79). Significantly, it was deposited separately from the remaining shells, which were found in the southwest corner of the room within a rectangular space enclosed by upright slabs forming a hearth or altar and mixed with ashes. Their context suggests that these shells represent debris from ritual dining or food offerings, while the separate deposition of the triton shell points to a different use for this shell, perhaps as cult equipment. For further details of the bench sanctuary and finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Kannia Villa.

24. Karphi, the 'Temple', Room 1, Town Bench Sanctuary; LM IIIC

Students of the BSA 1937-1938, 76, 133; Prent 2005, 139-43; Gesell 1985, 45, 79; Vandenabeele 1991, 249

A triton shell; two cowrie shells

A triton shell and two cowrie shells were among the finds from Room 1 of the temple at Karphi, which was located on the northern edge of the settlement complex, close to the cliff (Students of the BSA 1937-1938, 76, 133; Gesell 1985, 79). No further details of the shells are provided, however. For a full discussion of the shrine and its other contents, see the entry in Appendix 1: Karphi, the Temple.

25. Karphi, the Great House, Room 16-17; LM IIIC Bench Sanctuary
Students of the BSA 1937-1938, 78, 133; Gesell 1985, 45, 79-81

A fragmentary triton shell

Fragments of a triton shell were found in Rooms 16-17 of the Great House at Karphi, an open-air bench sanctuary. The triton shell was found on the bench along with fragments of a 'goddess with upraised hands' figure and a small female figurine (Gesell 1985, 79-81). An animal figurine and snake tube were found in front of the bench (Area 17) suggesting a reconstruction with the goddess standing on the bench and the snake tube in front (Gesell 1985, 45). Fragments of another female figure and of a snake tube were found in the annex, Room 70. The position of the triton shell on the bench among cult objects strongly suggests that it was used as cult equipment, although its fragmentary condition prevents a more specific identification of its function.

ii. Real Triton Shells in Possible (Rather than Probable) Ritual Contexts or Deposits on Crete

1. Palace of Knossos, Possible Bench Sanctuary; MM III
PM I, 221, 580-81; Vandenabeele 1991, 245

A large triton shell (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.12?**)

A large triton shell was found in a small shrine to the southeast of the palace of Knossos, near the Magazine of the Lily Vases. The area was identified as a shrine on the basis of a stone ledge against the northern wall which was possibly for offerings and *on the basis of* the triton shell, which Evans describes as 'a usual concomitant of these sanctuaries' (PM I, 581). Evans (PM I, 580-81) suggested that the triton was used as a trumpet, but there is no mention of whether or not it was broken at the apex and could be sounded.

2. Palaikastro, Roussolakkos Area, Possible Gate-house Shrine; MM III-LM I
MacGillivray *et al.* 1984, 129, 140, Pl. IIg; Åström and Reese 1990, 8

An almost complete triton shell

An almost complete triton shell was found in Deposit A of an archaeological survey of the Roussolakkos area of Palaikastro (MacGillivray *et al.* 1984, 129, Pl. IIg). The shell, a *C. sequenzae*,

was unmodified and measured 27.5cm in length (Åström and Reese 1990, 8). It was associated with a building which was tentatively identified as a watch-tower or gatehouse. The excavators concluded that the deposit was probably from a gatehouse shrine *on the basis of* the triton shell and finds, which included c. 85 conical cups as well as lamp stands and offering tables (MacGillivray *et al.* 1984, 140).

3. Palaikastro, the Cliffhouse, Room 8; MM III-LM IB?
Bosanquet 1901-1902, 308; Åström and Reese 1990, 8

A triton shell

Bosanquet (1901-1902, 308) reported that a triton shell was found in Room 8 of a cliffhouse excavated at Palaikastro. The triton was found within a cist of thin slabs and the excavator suggested that it had 'been concealed there as a charm' (Bosanquet 1901-1902, 308). Reese agrees that it may have been a votive deposit (Åström and Reese 1990, 8). As there are no supporting finds this must remain a suggestion only.

4. Mochlos, the Chalinomouri Farmhouse, Room 1, Possible House Shrine; LM IB
Soles *et al.* 2004, 41; 2003, 116-18; Reese 2004, 120; Mylona 2004, 121, 124

An almost complete unmodified triton shell; a fragment of a second triton

In Building A, which has been interpreted as a LM IB Minoan 'Farmhouse', a large triton shell was found in Room 1, a possible house shrine (Soles *et al.* 2004, 41). The triton, a *C. sequenzae*, is almost complete and was unworked. As it was collected while the mollusc was still alive, it may have been eaten before the shell was reused in Room 1. Other finds in the room included two broken storage vessels, a cylindrical stand with a holed lid which the excavators suggest may have been used in textile production, a one-handled tripod bowl, and the bottom of a pedestalled stand (Soles *et al.* 2003, 116-17). The excavators observed that it is difficult to determine the function of the room, but the fact that it was one of only two rooms in the building that could be shut with a door suggests a desire for security or privacy (Soles *et al.* 2003, 117). They suggested that it may have functioned as a house shrine on the basis of the triton shell, the tripod bowl and the pedestalled stand (which they note is similar to another from a bench shrine in the Artisans' Quarter at Mochlos) (Soles *et al.* 2003, 116-17). However, they also suggested that the room could have served as a sleeping room (Soles *et al.* 2003, 117). There is simply insufficient evidence to confirm whether the room was used as a house shrine or not. A fragment of a second triton shell was also found in Room 1 (Soles *et al.* 2003, 118). Other areas

of the house produced at least two or three further *C. sequenzae* specimens, including a possible shell vessel, none of which can be linked with ritual activity (Reese 2004, 120). These examples are discussed below in Section C of Appendix 2.

5. Gypsades Hill, Possible House Shrine; Neopalatial Period

Hood 1958, 22, fig. 17; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Karali 1999, 23; Younger 1998, 64; Gesell 1985, 98; Vandenabeele 1991, 245

A triton shell with the apex deliberately removed (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.5**); a pebble floor

A triton shell with a carefully removed apex was found in a possible house shrine on the Gypsades Hill at Knossos, which had a pebble floor (Hood 1958, 22, fig. 17). No further architectural details have been published so the excavator's identification of the house shrine seems to rest *on the presence of* the triton shell and the associated finds: a stone libation table and a number of conical cups which had been placed upside-down. The triton, a *C. sequenzae*, had a carefully worked apex (Åström and Reese 1990, 9; Karali 1999, 23). Younger (1998, 64) includes the shell in his list of possible shell trumpets.

6. Pseira, Building BQ, Room 1, Possible Ritual Deposit; LM IB

Betancourt and Davaras 1999, 131-37; Reese 1999a, 136

A large triton shell fragment; LM IB Marine Style rhyta (Fig. 14)

A large apical fragment of a *C. sequenzae* triton shell (preserved length 9.5cm) was found on the LM IB surface of this room, as left by Seager's excavations (Reese 1999a, 136). It was from a large individual. The room has been linked with cult activity on the basis of the finds: a hoard of rhyta, including a matching set of two LM IB Marine Style rhyta painted with dolphins (Fig. 14), a lid and a basket-shaped rhyton decorated with double axes, and a bull-shaped askos (Betancourt and Davaras 1999, 132, 135-37). For further details of this possible ritual deposit, see the entry in Appendix 1: Pseira, Building BQ, Room 1.

7. Amnisos, Possible Town or House Shrine; LM III

Kanta 1980, 40-41

A triton shell; an octopus stirrup jar

A triton shell was found in a possible LM III shrine at Amnisos. It came from a small room within a large rectangular building and was found beneath an upside-down cup. The shrine was identified *on the basis of* the triton shell and a small clay hut urn with a door, which was found nearby (Kanta 1980, 40-41). Associated finds include a group of LM III vases which included a stirrup jar decorated with octopus tentacles (Kanta 1980, fig. 13.6). If the identification of the room as a shrine is correct, the association of the triton with a cup is perhaps significant in determining its function, suggesting that it may have been used as a vessel. The fact that Amnisos is a harbour town may suggest that the rituals performed (if any) were associated with the sea, as Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1997, 109) have suggested for Archanes.

8. Chrysokamino, the Farmhouse; LM IIIA
Betancourt, Muhly and Floyd 1997, 391

A triton shell

A complete triton shell was among the finds in a possible ritual deposit found in a LM IIIA 'farmhouse' at Chrysokamino. The deposit contained the triton shell, a conical cup, a pithoid jar, a large ladle handle and a pair of goat horns, along with LM IIIA potsherds. The excavators argued that 'given the nature of the objects recovered, it seems likely that this deposit constitutes evidence of ritual activity' (Betancourt, Muhly and Floyd 1997, 391). As triton shells were also used in domestic activities, it is possible that the deposit is not in fact ritual in nature but represents equipment used in dining.

9. Pera Galini, Mylopotamou (West Crete); Date Unspecified
Blackman 2001, 142

A triton shell

Remains of Minoan houses including one with a possible bench sanctuary were found at this coastal site. A triton shell was among a series of finds found near Walls 8 and 9, which included fresco fragments, fragments of stone vases, clay incense burners, tripod legs and conical cups. The finds were located near a room equipped with a bench which Blackman (2001, 142) suggests may have been a shrine. No date is mentioned in the report.

Section B. Real Triton Shells in Cult Contexts or Deposits in the Wider Aegean Area

i. The Cycladic Islands

1. House of the Ladies, Rooms 1 and 7, Akrotiri, Thera; LC I

Åström and Reese 1990, 9; S. Marinatos 1972, 11-15; 1974, 11, Pl. 7b; N. Marinatos 1984, 94, 97-104; Doumas 1983, 81-82

Room 7: at least two triton shells

Room 1: a triton shell

Unspecified context: dolphin kymbe (Fig. 49)

Åström and Reese (1990, 9) report that a number of triton (*C. sequenzae*) fragments were found in the filling between two floors in Room 7, an annex to the shrine in Room 2. Two complete shells are mentioned and illustrated in the reports, where they are described as 'common cult objects' (S. Marinatos 1974, 11, Pl. 7b), but as no fragmentary examples are mentioned, the two shells must be the same examples to which Åström and Reese refer. The excavator, Spiridon Marinatos, interpreted Room 7 as an annex to the shrine in Room 2 on the basis of the large number of rhyta and handleless cups found there (S. Marinatos 1974, 11). Another triton shell was found in Room 1, which was also identified as a shrine (S. Marinatos 1972, 13). This identification was based on the nature of the frescoes in the room, on the finds and on the deposition of these finds within repositories. The painted scenes of two female figures on the walls of Room 1 are thought to have been religious in nature (S. Marinatos 1972, 38-39; Marinatos 1984, 94, 97-104; Doumas 1983, 82). The room was divided in two by a partition wall. The triton shell was found in the eastern compartment along with a hoard of handleless cups, ivory inlays and a jar. The western compartment had four repositories containing pottery which Marinatos (1972, 13) argued 'confirm beyond any doubt the sacral character of the room'. One of the three local Theran vessels known as 'kymbai' painted with polychrome dolphins also came from this house (Fig. 49), however, as the exact find context of the piece is not mentioned in the reports, it is not clear whether this piece can be linked with the shrine (S. Marinatos 1974, 33).

2. West House, Akrotiri, Thera; LC I

Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990, 411-12 and Table 2; S. Marinatos 1969, 38; 1972, 17-20, 41-44; 1974, 19-57; N. Marinatos 1983; 1984, 34-61; Morgan 1988

Unspecified context: five triton shells; over 300 other shells of various species

Room 5: tripod offering table and kymbe with marine decoration; marine frescoes (the 'fishermen' frescoes and the miniature 'ship procession' fresco) (Figs. 4, 46, 48, 64-66, 68)
Room 4: frescoes of ship's cabins (Fig. 67)

Five triton shells came from the West House along with over 300 shells of various species, predominantly *patella* and *murex*, and a probable pectin shell pyxis (Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990, 411, Table 2, 412). With the exception of the pectin shell pyxis which came from Room 5, the exact find contexts of the shells are not specified. For this reason, it is not clear if the tritons were used in connection with the ritual activities which may have taken place in Room 5 and which seem to have had a strong marine orientation. For a full discussion of the room and its contents, see the entry in Appendix 1: West House, Akrotiri, Thera.

3. Phylakopi, Melos, Bench Sanctuary; LH IIIB-C
Renfrew 1985, especially 326-28, Table 8.8, Pls. 61-62; Reese 1985, 360; Åström and Reese 1990, 9; French 1985, 275

Two almost intact triton shells with missing apexes (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr. 8-9**; Fig. 111); seashells, some perforated; two fragments of a possible fish rhyton
Earlier excavations: two triton shells, one of which was a possible trumpet (Table 7b: **Sh.Tr.17**); 33 worked limpet shells

A number of marine shells were found at the sanctuary at Phylakopi on Melos. Two essentially complete triton shells with broken apexes were found in LH IIIC phases of the sanctuary, one from the West Shrine and one from the East Shrine. The first (Fig. 111: bottom) was found in the northwest corner of the West Shrine along with a specialised group of objects including male and female figures and animal figurines (Renfrew 1985, 327-28: SF 1522). It measured 26cm in length excluding the broken apex. As the surface of the shell was in a highly abraded condition, the apex may not have been broken intentionally (Renfrew 1985, 327). The second triton shell (Fig. 111: top) came from the East Shrine and had a length of 31cm without its apex (Renfrew 1985, 328, SF 170). The lack of abrasion suggests that the apex may have been broken intentionally and the associated finds, such as tortoise shells drilled for possible use as the sound boxes of stringed instruments, support the hypothesis that the triton was intended to be blown. Renfrew (1985, 327) interprets both tritons as 'musical instruments as well as cult objects'. Reese, on the other hand, considers neither of the shells to have been deliberately modified and does not interpret them as trumpets (Åström and Reese 1990, 9).

The shrine also produced a small quantity of other marine shells: a single Mediterranean cone shell (*Conus mediterraneus*), a single cowrie (*Lurida lurida*), a complete murex shell (*Murex brandaris*) and fragments of more, and single valves of bivalve shells. Two pieces of worked spondylus shell (*Spondylus gaederopus*) were also found, as well as fragments of a possible fish rhyton which may have been an item of cult equipment ((Renfrew 1985, 328: SF 890, SF 1547, fig. 8.8, Pl. 48e). For further details of these finds, see the entry in Appendix 1: Phylakopi, Melos.

In addition, Bosanquet (1904, 201) lists two small triton shells and 33 worked limpet shells (with the centre removed) among the finds from the earlier excavations at the site of Phylakopi. These shells are on display in the Athens National Museum. One *C. sequenzae* (17.5 x 8.5cm) had two openings on the body and an open apex; Reese notes that it may have served as a trumpet (Reese 1985, 360). As no further information about their context is supplied, however, it is not possible to tell whether these were linked with ritual activity.

ii. Mainland Greece

1. Ayios Konstantinos, Methana, Room A; LH IIIA-B Sanctuary

Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001; 2004, 62-68; Wedde 2003

A triton shell with a missing apex (Table 7a: **Sh.Tr.10**); a fragment of a model boat; a miniature octopus rhyton

A 'large' triton shell was found in Room A of the LH IIIA-B sanctuary at Ayios Konstantinos in the Peloponnese (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001, 213, Pl. LXVII c, e). The triton had been deposited on the steps of the stone bench along with eight kylikes, a large group of votive terracottas, miniature model furniture, a fragment of a model boat, and two miniature vessels (a rhyton and a dipper) which may have formed a set. The rhyton was a conical rhyton with octopus decoration (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001; 2004, 64-65).

According to Konsolaki-Yannopoulou, the apex of the triton had been deliberately cut off, but rather than interpreting it as a trumpet she argues that it may have been used as a libation vessel as it was found in association with drinking and pouring vessels (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001, 214). Further evidence for the practice of libation came from an animal-head rhyton found in the southwest corner of the room, while a fragmentary jar found with the neck resting on the ground has been interpreted as a receptacle for liquid offerings channelled into the earth (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001, 214-15). In addition to liquid offerings, a large quantity of burnt animal bones found in the area of the hearth, provide evidence of sacrificial meals (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001, 215). There is no mention in the

report however, that the triton shell had been modified for use as a vessel through the removal of the columella. With the columella intact, the shell could have been used as a ritual *funnel*, rather than a vessel, which would be in keeping with the other finds associated with drinking and/or libations. Alternatively, the worked apex may have allowed it to be sounded as a trumpet. While the removal of the apex and lower section of the spire may have been deliberate, visible damage to the body whorl of the shell seems to have been an accident of preservation, as the broken edges of the whorl have not been smoothed down. It is not possible to determine whether this worked triton was used as a trumpet or funnel, although it was clearly an item of cult equipment. For a further discussion of ritual identification of the room, see the entry in Appendix 1: Ayios Konstantinos, Methana, Room A.

Section C: Real Triton Shells found in Contexts with No Obvious Cult Connections

i. Crete

1. Knossos; Neolithic

Shackleton 1968, 266; Reese 1987b, 207; 2000, 265

Ten fragments of triton shells, three worked - one with the apex removed is a possible trumpet (Table 7b: **Sh.Tr.13**), two cut fragments may have come from one or more shell vessels (Table 8b: **Sh.V.2**)

Nine fragments of triton shells were found at Neolithic Knossos. One fragment is cut and smoothed; although Shackleton (1968, 266) suggests that it may have served as a handle of a cup cut from a shell, none of the known shell vessels have evidence of handles. A second fragment has a cut and smoothed edge (Shackleton 1968, 266). Reese (2000, 265) suggests that both of the cut fragments came from shell vessels. In addition to these finds, the 1969 excavation also produced a triton (*C. nodifera*) with much of the apical end removed and which can be sounded (Reese 1987, 207, n.5).

2. Phaistos; Neolithic

Reese 1987b, 207

Triton shells including a probable triton shell trumpet with red paint (Table 7b: **Sh.Tr.14**; Fig. 100)

Triton shells were found in two Neolithic deposits at Phaistos. One deposit contained a triton with an open apex which is thought to have served as a trumpet (Reese 1987b, 207). The triton was decorated with red ochre and is on display in the Heraklion Museum (Room 1, Case 2; Fig. 100).

3. Magasa Rock Shelter; Neolithic
Reese 1987b, 107-108; 1985, 356

Fragmentary triton shells

Many broken triton shells were found at this Neolithic rock shelter near Ayios Nikolaos along with single *Patella*, *Murex* and oyster shells (Reese 1987b, 107-108; 1985, 356). Little more can be said about the shells, although they may represent food debris.

4. Knossos, West Court House; EM IIA
Reese 1987b

A triton shell

Approximately 125 marine shells were found at the Early Minoan house discovered beneath the West Court at Knossos (Reese 1987b, 107). Among the shells was a single triton as well as two large dolium shells (Reese 1987b, 108). As the majority of the shells were collected already dead, they do not seem to represent food debris. It is unclear how the large univalve shells, the triton and dolium, were used.

5. Myrtos; EM II
Shackleton 1972; Warren 1972, 13, 266; Gesell 1985, 7-8, 114-16; Reese 1987b, 210; 1985, 356

29 whole or fragmentary triton shells including four possible shell trumpets, one with traces of possible red paint (Table 7b: **Sh.Tr.15-16**); cowrie shells

A large number of triton shells were found at the Prepalatial settlement of Myrtos. While the most abundant shell on the site, the limpet (*patella*), seems to represent food debris, the majority of the triton shells do not. Only four of the tritons were found in association with limpets, while most (23 of a total of 29 whole or fragmentary triton shells) had a different distribution pattern. Shackleton therefore concluded that the tritons do not represent food debris (1972, 324). This is supported by the

observation that at least two of the whole triton shells had bryozoan encrustations on the inside surface of the shell suggesting that they were collected when the animal was long dead.

At least two of the whole tritons had received special treatment. One shell had sufficient of the end broken off to enable it to be sounded as a trumpet and had faint traces of possible red pigment (Shackleton 1972, 324, Pl. 84d, right; Reese 1987b, 210). The application of red pigment to triton shells was also found in an earlier context at Neolithic Phaistos, as described above. A second triton had a hole broken in one side near the tip which may have allowed it to be used as a side-blown trumpet, although the shell was too badly damaged to be certain (Shackleton 1972, 325). The two other whole triton shells may have also been used as trumpets; again, these were too badly damaged to be certain (Shackleton 1972, 324; Reese 1985, 356). Warren (1972, 266) states that while conch shells may have been used as trumpets at the site of Myrtos, 'their contexts gave no evidence of any religious connection'. In addition to the triton shells, the 25 cowrie shells found also had a different distribution pattern to the limpets, suggesting that they were not eaten (Shackleton 1972, 324). That four were found together in a cupboard suggests intentional deposition, perhaps linked to their value as curios.

6. Myrtos-Pyrgos; EM II-LM IB
Reese 1985, 357-58

79 triton shells including at least three possible vessels and two apical fragments pierced for stringing (Table 8b: **Sh.V.9-11**)

Reese (1985, 357) reports that 79 *Charonia* shells were found at Myrtos-Pyrgos, most of which were fragments, often water- or beach-worn.[1] Three large shells, a *C. sequenzae* and two *C. nodifera*, seem to have been worked to form vessels. The *C. sequenzae*, measuring 23.3 x 10.1cm, had the columella, part of the body whorl and the siphonal notch removed and the outer body was partly smoothed down. One of the *C. nodifera* shells had an open mouth while the other had the columella and upper part of the body removed. Two body pieces with cut edges may also come from vessels. Two apical fragments have holes on the upper spire and may have been pierced for stringing.

*7. Palaikastro; EM II-LM III Deposit**
Reese 1987a, 201-202; Sackett and Popham 1965, 276, Pl. 80g

One complete and six fragmentary tritons

[1] It is not clear if these shells include the two found at the LM IB villa, described in Section Ai above.

The 1963 excavation at Palaikastro produced six triton fragments and one complete triton from deposits dating from EM II, MM III-LM IA and LM III (Reese 1987a, 201-203, Tables 1-2). The complete triton, a *C. sequenzae*, came from a LM III deposit where it was found alongside two tripod cooking pots (Sackett and Popham 1965, 276, Pl. 80g); it measures 25cm in length (Reese 1987a, 201). There is no evidence that any of the tritons were worked or used in ritual activities.

*8. Pseira, Grand Staircase, Space AG 1; EM III-LM IB?**

Betancourt and Davaras 1995; Reese 1995a, 11

A triton shell; seashells; water-worn pumice

A triton shell was among the finds on the Grand Staircase, an impressive walled staircase of 39 steps which runs from the ancient harbour up to the *plateia* at the centre of the town. Nine other shells, seven *Patella* and two *Monodonta*, were also found (Reese 1995a, 11). As the staircase had mixed Minoan, Byzantine and Modern finds, it is not clear whether the shells belong to the Minoan occupation levels or not. Other finds from the staircase include a piece of water-worn Theran pumice, a bronze fishing hook and a discoid weight, perhaps from a fishing line (Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 10-11). The staircase provided a monumental entrance to the town and goods unloaded at the beach below would have been transported up the steps to the town square (Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 12). A ritual use for the triton could be suggested by the following observation. A small building at the base of the staircase on the beach (Room BQ1) uncovered by Seager produced a hoard of pottery vessels including the matching set of LM IB Marine Style rhyta with dolphins (Fig. 14). The vessels were stacked as if in storage and because of the room's proximity to the entrance to the settlement, Betancourt and Davaras (1995, 12) have suggested that the vessels were stored for use in processions along the Grand Staircase. If there is any basis to this suggestion, the triton shell may have been an item of cult equipment used in such processions. Indeed, another fragment of a triton shell was found within Building BQ (as described above). Alternatively, as fishing equipment and supplies would have been transported from the harbour to town via this staircase, it is possible that the triton shell from the staircase, which does not seem to have been worked, represents a utilitarian item collected and/or used by fishermen frequenting this area.

9. Knossos, Area E/F2, the Deep Pit; MM IB-IIA

Wardle *et al.* 2000

An almost complete triton shell

An almost complete triton shell was among the finds in 'the Deep Pit' from the excavations at Knossos in 2000. The pit was partially lined with masonry and contained over 60 Minoan vessels dated to MM IB-IIA along with parts of three stone vases and the triton shell. The apex of the shell is broken and part of the body whorl is damaged; otherwise it is intact.

*10. Knossos, Royal Road; MM II-LM IIIA**
Reese 1995c, 265; Warren 1994, 201-202

One triton shell vessel and fragments of more (Table 8b: **Sh.V.3**)

Reese (1995c, 265) mentions that possible triton shell vessels were found on the Royal Road at Knossos. One almost complete triton vessel was found, while four cut triton shell fragments may represent further vessels. Reese does not mention the exact provenance. The Royal Road seems to have been constructed by MM IIA and continued in use until at least LM II or IIIA (Warren 1994, 201-202)

*11. Kommos; MM II-LM IIIB**
Reese 1995c, 240-50, Table 5.24-25, 264-65

52 triton shells including at least two possible shell vessels (Table 8b: **Sh.V.12**)

The site of Kommos produced one of the largest shell assemblages known from any published Minoan site, which included the remains of 52 triton shells from 46 separate deposits (Reese 1995c, 240). Only two of the tritons, those from the Room 4 of the Hillside House and Room 7 of House X, are thought to have come from shrines and both of these are almost complete examples. The remainder came from various deposits dating from MM II through to LM IIIB (Reese 1995c, Table 5.25). As the specific find contexts of most of the shells are not mentioned it is difficult to determine their function. However, two fragments from the Central Hillside area with the columella removed are thought to have come from one or more triton shell vessels, while another worked fragment, a cut body piece, may have belonged to another vessel (Reese 1995c, Table 5.25, 265). The North House produced a complete *C. sequenzae* shell, 20.6cm in length (Reese 1995c, 264, Pl. 5.7: Sh.1). As it was unmodified, it may have been used as a scoop. Of the remaining shell fragments, all appear to have been unworked, but given their fragmentary condition it is possible that some came from triton shell vessels or trumpets. It is not clear whether any of the tritons were associated with other shells or whether they were deposited separately. The fact that the triton shells were usually deposited individually rather than in groups may be significant, however. It suggests that they were used individually, a factor which

argues against their use solely as food in domestic contexts. At least two of the shells were water-worn indicating that they were collected already dead (Reese 1995c, Table 5.24). The unworked tritons were probably put to utilitarian use, as scoops for example.

12. Malia, Minoan House; MM III-LM I
Blackman 2001, 131

A fossil triton shell

The fossil of a complete triton shell was found in the basement room of a house at Malia, excavated immediately north of the coffee shop at the entrance to the site. Associated finds included pottery, a sealstone, a clay scarab and a number of obsidian blades.

13. Palaikastro, Building 2, Room 2; LM IA
MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 150-51, Pl. 24b

A triton shell

A complete triton shell was found along with a pottery deposit of c. 150 whole vases, which included conical cups, plain jars and cooking pots, and finer painted vessels. The room has been interpreted as a kitchen or pantry on the basis of the pottery. Building 2 is thought to have had a domestic function. The role of the triton shell is therefore not clear; it may have been used as a vessel or scoop in connection with the food and drink stored in the room.

14. Pseira, Building AD Centre, Room 6 (the 'House of the Foreign Pottery'); LM I
Betancourt and Davaras 1995; Reese 1995b, 129-30

A fragmentary triton shell and a possible triton shell vessel (Table 8b: **Sh.V.6**); seashells

Triton shell fragments representing at least two *C. sequenzae* shells were found in Room 6 of Building AD. The building has been identified as a Minoan house and Room 6 was a narrow vestibule located inside the upper entrance (Betancourt and Davaras 1995, 137, 107). One apical fragment had the columella removed and may have come from a triton shell vessel such as that found in Building AB, Room 12 at Pseira, described above (Reese 1995b, 129). A small number of other marine shells were

found in the room along with a range of pottery including cooking vessels, suggesting that shellfish were eaten here (Reese 1995b, 129). A water-worn specimen suggests that empty shells were also collected. The room had no signs of ritual activity. The triton vessel may have been used in domestic activities, as a scoop or cup. The second triton shell could represent food debris. Further marine shells and fish remains were found in Space AD1, a lane to the west of the house, and in Room AD7, where they were associated with cooking wares (Reese 1995b, 11-12).

15. Pseira, Area BR, the Town Square; LM IB or earlier

Betancourt and Davaras 1999, 141; Reese 1999b, 162-64; Rose 1999, 164

Two triton fragments; one with saw-marks may have come from a vessel (Table 8b: **Sh.V.7**)

A triton shell fragment was found in the spoil-heap left by Seager in the area of the Minoan town square (Reese 1999b, 162). The fragment, from a large *C. sequenzae* shell, has saw-marks and may have been from a shell vessel (Reese 1999b, 162). While the spoil contained mixed Byzantine and Minoan pottery, Reese suggests that the worked shell dates to LM IB or earlier (1999b, 162). The same context also produced another triton shell fragment as well as a small number of *monodonta*, *cerithium* and *euthria* shells, and fish bones (Reese 1999b, 164; Rose 1999, 164). Betancourt and Davaras (1999, 141) suggest that the triton shell provides evidence of industrial activity, along with pieces of obsidian and fragments of stone vases found in the same context.

16. Mochlos, the Artisans' Quarter; LM IB

Soles and Davaras 2004; 1996; Soles *et al.* 2004, 41; Reese 2004, 118-20; Mylona 2004, 123-24, 124

Total: 46 triton shells from 39 deposits

The only specific contexts listed are as follows:

Building A, Room 2: at least one complete triton shell

Building B2, Room 2: at least two complete triton shells

Building B, Road: at least one complete triton shell

A large number of triton shells were found in the Artisans' Quarter on the island of Mochlos. 46 *C. sequenzae* were found in 39 deposits; only five shells were water-worn and were clearly collected when the mollusc was dead (Soles and Davaras 2004, Table 24). Tritons were found in the collapse or on the floor of almost every room and in several outdoor spaces. Four of the tritons were complete or nearly complete and are described in the reports (Soles *et al.* 2004, 41, fig. 18). A fifth complete triton

shell, from Building 2, Room 2.4, is also mentioned (Soles and Davaras 1996, 191-92: Shell 11). There is no evidence that any of the complete tritons had been modified; the majority of the triton shells were found in a fragmentary condition and the two with broken apexes were freshly broken. Although only one triton shell shows signs of burning, Soles *et al.* (2004, 41) suggest that most were eaten, with the shells perhaps reused as scoops. A large number of other marine shells, predominantly edible *Patella* and *Monodonta*, as well as fish remains were also found in deposits at the site (Reese 2004, 119; Mylona 2004). According to the excavators, none of the tritons can be linked with ritual activity (Soles *et al.* 2004, 41).

17. Mochlos, the Chalinomouri Farmhouse; LM IB
Soles *et al.* 2004, 41; Reese 2004, 120; Mylona 2004, 121, 124

Four or five triton shells including one probable triton shell vessel (Table 8b: **Sh.V.5**)

A number of triton shells were found at Chalinomouri, a site at the far eastern end of the Mochlos coastal plain (Soles *et al.* 2004, 41). In Building A, which has been interpreted as a LM IB Minoan 'Farmhouse', three deposits produced a total of four or five *C. sequenzae* specimens (Reese 2004, 120). One of these, from the North Terrace, had the columella removed and may have been a shell vessel. Aside from the intact triton shell from Room 1, a possible house shrine (described in Section Aii above), none of the remaining triton shells can be linked with ritual activity (Soles *et al.* 2004, 41). Instead, it has been suggested that they were eaten, as all but one of the triton shells from this site and from the Artisans' Quarter at Mochlos were collected while the animal was still alive, and many other shells and fish remains were found at both sites (Soles *et al.* 2004, 41; Reese 2004, 120; Mylona 2004, 121, 124). After consumption of the mollusc, the empty triton shells may have been put to a utilitarian use as scoops.

*18. Vrokastro; LM I and LM IIIC**
Hayden *et al.* 2004, 108, 120, n.17

LM I: triton shell
LM IIIC: 'triton shells'

A bulldozed field on the Ayios Nikolaos hill at Vrokastro produced a scatter of high quality LM I fine ware vessels along with a triton shell (Hayden *et al.* 2004, 108, 120, n.17). No further details of the shell are provided and as the site had been disturbed it is not possible to say more about how it was

used. Further 'tritons' (of an unspecified number) are also reported from Areas VK1 and KK1, described by the excavators as a LM IIIC peak site (Hayden *et al.* 120, n.17); again, no further information about the shells or their exact find contexts is supplied. Triton shells have been found in later Greek (Geometric) cult contexts at Vrokastro (Gesell 1985, 59). It is unclear, however, whether the Minoan examples were linked with cult activity.

19. Malia, Quartier Nu, Room XII; LM III
French 1992, 64-65

A triton shell

A triton shell was among the finds in Room XII located in the east building of Quartier Nu. The room had a central column and contained a tall stone lamp and stone tools in addition to the triton.

ii. The Cycladic Islands

1. Saliagos; Late Neolithic
Reese 1985, 359

Remains of 94 triton shells including 11 'spoons'; 27 *Cymatium* shells

The Late Neolithic level at Saliagos near Antiparos produced 94 triton shells, mostly *C. nodifera*, along with 27 *Cymatium* shells. 11 of the tritons had been worked to form spoons. Apart from one beach-worn example and two which had been worked (one was smoothed down, while the other was pierced with two holes), all of the *Cymatium* shells were broken, perhaps to extract the meat.

2. Skyros, 'Tou Papa to Choma'; Neolithic
Karali 1999, 23

Two triton shells

The Neolithic level of the settlement of 'Tou Papa to Choma' on Skyros produced two large *C. nodifera* shells. They were found with vase sherds, flint and obsidian blades and a broken bone needle. The mouths of the shells bear some signs of working.

3. Kephala, Keos; Final Neolithic

Reese 1985, 359

Remains of 31 triton shells

The Final Neolithic level at Kephala on Keos produced the remains of 31 triton shells, including at least three *C. nodifera*. No further details are supplied.

4. Sector Delta , Room 16, Akrotiri; LC I

S. Marinatos 1972, 20-22, 36; Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990, 411, Table 2; Koehl 1990, 357-58

'Half a dozen' triton shells, at least four of which were unmodified

A total of 11 triton shells were found in Sector Delta at Akrotiri (Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990, 411, Table 2), only some of which are mentioned in the reports. These came from Room Δ16. Marinatos (1972, 20-21) observed that everything in this room was badly broken, including some of the triton shells as well as jars with traces of their contents still inside. According to Marinatos, about 'half a dozen' triton shells were found in Δ16 (Marinatos 1972, 36). Some were heaped together in the southwest corner of the room, where they were found along with 'some other molluscs and other items more precious than pottery' (Marinatos 1972, 21-22). The accompanying shells are not fully described although they included murex and limpets (Marinatos 1972, 36). Four triton shells are specifically mentioned and illustrated in the reports. One of the triton shells from the southwest corner is illustrated: an intact *C. sequenzae* approximately 19cm in length (Marinatos 1972, Pl. 86a). Another large intact triton illustrated in the reports was found in association with a marble basin, a stone vase and an alabaster lid (Marinatos 1972, 22, Pl. 34). Two further triton shells can be seen in the illustrations, both of which had broken in the destructions but each of which appears to have had its apex intact originally (Marinatos 1972, Pl. 35b). As their exact find context within the room is not mentioned, it is possible that they were among the triton shells deposited in the southwest corner of the room.

In total, over 300 objects were found in Room Δ16, including precious and exotic items such as two ostrich eggs which were found in the southwest corner of the room along with the triton shells. The excavator, Spiridon Marinatos, interpreted the room as 'a shop for pottery, stone vases and other commodities', although he also suggested that the items in the room may have been gathered together for safekeeping (Marinatos 1972, 20, 22). If the latter interpretation is correct, the individual clusters may represent their original groupings and the items associated with the triton shells may help to

indicate their original use. The tritons were found alongside the two ostrich-egg shells, two piriform-shaped rhyta and a group of stone and bronze vessels (Marinatos 1972, 21-22). Koehl (1990, 357) has observed that this cluster of luxurious objects recalls the repositories of precious objects found in the palaces of Crete. Based on the presence of nine rhyta in the room, seven of which had been imported, Koehl also suggests that drinking ceremonies and ritual anointing with perfumed oils may have taken place in the room (Koehl 1990, 357-58; 2006, 295-96). However, aside from their association with rhyta, which were often used as cult equipment, there is little evidence to suggest that the triton shells from Room Δ16 were used in ritual activities. Their association with the ostrich-egg shells and other precious objects suggests that the triton shells were also considered as valuable, exotic items.

Further triton shells from Akrotiri came from the Sector A (one), Sector B (six), Sector Γ (two), Xeste 3 (two) and one from an unspecified context (Karali-Yannacopoulou 1990, 411, Table 2). As they are not discussed in the excavation reports, it is not possible to say whether they had a ritual or more utilitarian function.

iii. Mainland Greece

1. Kitsos Cave, Attica; Neolithic

Reese 1985, 360

One worked triton shell; two *Cymatium* shells

The Neolithic Kitsos Cave in Attica produced shells including a worked *Charonia* and two *Cymatium* shells. The *Cymatium* shells may represent food debris.

2. Ayios Stephanos, Laconia; 'Bronze Age'

Reese 1985, 361

Fragments of triton shell

Three fragments of a *Charonia* shell were found at this Bronze Age site. No further information is available.

3. Traganas, Pylos; LH I

Karali 1999, 23

12 intact triton shells and fragments of others

A LH room at the site of Traganas near the Mycenaean palace of Pylos produced twelve intact triton shells as well as fragments of others. These were found together with 200 vases. No further details of the shells are provided and there is no mentioned link with ritual activity.

Appendix 3:

A Catalogue of Late Minoan III Painted Larnakes with Marine Decoration

(preceded by a list of these larnakes and their catalogue numbers, L1-130, and a summary of their main motifs)[1]

L1	Chest *ChM	tentacles
L2	Chest *ChM	argonauts (26) and seaweed with religious symbols, birds and a human figure
L3	Chest *ChM	huge octopus as the main motif; fish; seaweed
L4	Chest Armenoi	three linked octopi and tentacles as main motifs; religious symbols and wavy border
L5	Chest *ChM	argonaut and wavy line with birds, bulls and religious symbols
L6	Chest *HM	an octopus
L7	Lid (chest) *RM	fish
L8	Chest Mesi	octopi (4: two double panels) as the main motif
L9	Chest *RM	octopi (2), water-birds, palms, spirals and rosettes
L10	Chest *RM	octopi (3 panels), wavy lines, possible argonauts and urchins
L11	Chest *RM	octopi (4: two double panels), huge spirals, papyrus
L12	Chest *RM	hybrid argonaut-birds (2 panels) and seaweed with religious symbols
L13	Chest Maroulas	'moustached' octopi (2 panels), tentacles, spirals and papyrus
L14	Chest Adele	octopi, fish, seaweed and huge spirals

[1] Where the provenance of a larnax is unknown this is indicated in the list by the * symbol, followed by the initials of the museum in which the larnax is stored or displayed. In the catalogue however, the * symbol is used to indicate only those larnakes which I have not been able to determine a provenance for. In each catalogue entry, the main description is preceded by a brief description of the motifs, for easy reference.

L15	Chest	Adele	tentacles (on lid); butterfly and religious symbols
L16	Chest	Tzigounas	argonauts (sole motif)
L17	Chest	Vathianos Kampos	huge argonauts, papyrus, wavy border and a human figure
L18	Chest	Armenoi, T.24	argonauts in a terrestrial landscape; fish, tentacles, spirals and wavy border
L19	Chest	Armenoi, T.10	argonauts in a terrestrial landscape; fish, running spirals, wavy lines and wavy border
L20	Tub	Vonni	papyrus (outside); two fish, an octopus and a bird (inside)
L21	Chest	Palaikastro	fish, possible urchins/anemones, star motif and tricurved arch, with religious symbols and a griffin
L22	Chest	*NM	fish and wavy border
L23	Chest	Vasiliki Anogeia	fish with birds and papyrus; wavy line and anemone
L24	Chest	Kavrochori	argonauts, octopus, fish, wavy border and wavy lines, with birds, a palm and a chariot scene
L25	Chest	Gazi	a ship, octopi (2: double panel), spirals, wavy border and wavy lines, with altars or ingots
L26	Tub	Ayios Georghios-Tourtouloi	huge fringed octopi (2) as main motifs (outside); huge fish (inside)
L27	Tub	Petras-Papoura	huge fringed octopi (2) as main motifs (outside); huge fish and wavy lines (inside)
L28	Tub	Piskokephalo	tentacles as the main motif (outside); huge fish and wavy lines (inside)
L29	Chest	Siteia (Papoures)	octopi (8) as main motifs, spirals
L30	Tub	*Zurich	huge fringed octopi (2) as main motifs (outside); huge fish (inside)

L31	Tub	Kritsa	huge octopi (2) as main motifs (outside); tentacles and huge fish (inside)
L32	Tub	Kritsa	huge octopi (2) as main motifs (outside); probable seals (inside)
L33	Tub	*SM	debased octopus motif and tentacles
L34	Tub	*SM	tentacles as the main motif (outside); turtles (inside)
L35	Tub	Siteia	huge octopi (2) as main motifs with spirals
L36	Chest	Achladia	octopi and religious symbols
L37	Chest	Achladia	octopi and religious symbols
L38	Chest	Kimouriotis	huge octopi (2) as main motifs, religious symbols
L39	Chest	*Zurich	octopus and religious symbols
L40	Chest	Petras	octopus and religious symbols
L41	Chest	Petras	octopus and religious symbols
L42	Chest	Milatos	fish with a human figure
L43	Chest	Milatos	'ghostly' octopi (2: double panel)
L44	Tub	Milatos	tricurved arch (outside); bivalve shells, fish, and wavy lines (inside)
L45	Tub	Milatos	fish with papyrus and water-birds (outside); dotted scale and zigzags (inside)
L46	Chest	Ontades, Archanes	an octopus and spirals with papyrus and water-birds
L47	Chest	Maroulas	octopi (3: including a double panel) and tentacles as main motifs; wavy lines and a possible butterfly motif
L48	Chest	Episkopi	chariot scene with octopi (3); spirals
L49	Chest	Episkopi	octopi (2), tentacles, spirals, zigzags and wavy lines with animals and religious symbols
L50	Chest	Episkopi	tentacles

L51	Chest	Episkopi	tentacles and tricurved arch as main motifs with a bull, bird and religious symbols
L52	Tub	Episkopi	octopi swimming horizontally (4: double panels) with spirals and wavy lines
L53	Tub	Episkopi	huge octopi (2) as main motifs; wavy lines
L54	Chest	Episkopi	tricurved arch and tentacles as main motifs, with a palm-double axe hybrid motif
L55	Chest	Episkopi	tentacles and religious symbols as main motifs
L56	'Larnax'	Gournia	octopus or tentacle motifs
L57	'Larnax'	Gournia	octopus or tentacle motifs
L58	Tub	Pachyammos	octopi (2: one huge) with a suckling scene
L59	Tub	Pachyammos	tentacles and papyrus
L60	Tub	Pachyammos	huge octopi (2) as main motifs; spirals and zigzags
L61	Tub	Pachyammos	a compact octopus, wavy lines, scale motif and papyrus (outside); fish (inside)
L62	Tub	Pachyammos	huge octopi (2) as main motifs; tricurved arch
L63	Tub	Mouliana	tentacles as the main motif (outside); fish, crab and wavy line (inside)
L64	Tub fr.	Phaistos	octopi
L65	Tub fr.	Kavousi-Kastro	a huge octopus
L66	Chest	*ANikM	fish and palms as main motifs
L67	Tub	*ANikM	a huge octopus and papyrus as main motifs, with zigzags
L68	Tub	Palaikastro	an octopus as the main motif
L69	Chest	*	a huge octopus as the main motif
L70	Chest	Knossos, Mavro Spelio	huge argonauts as the main motif; wavy border and wavy lines
L71	Tub	Malia	tentacles as the main motif
L72	Tub fr.	Knossos, Royal Villa	fish

L73	Chest	Pankalochori	an octopus, fish, wavy border, wavy line and scale motifs, with papyrus and religious symbols
L74	Chest	Pankalochori	tricurved arch, fish and wavy border, with papyrus and water-birds
L75	Chest	Pankalochori	shells and wavy lines with papyrus motifs
L76	Tub	Koube, Chania	octopi (4: double panels) as main motifs; wavy line
L77	Chest	Maroulas	tentacles as the main motif
L78	Chest	Giofyrakia	bivalve shells and religious symbols
L79	Chest	Giofyrakia	octopus-palm hybrid with a bird and religious symbols
L80	Tub	Episkopi	tentacles as the main motif
L81	Tub	Siteia (Papoures)	argonauts (inside)
L82	Chest	Preveliana	octopi and argonauts
L83	Chest	Stavrakia	octopus motifs
L84	Chest	Stavrakia	octopus motifs
L85	Chest	Gournes (Malathres)	tentacles
L86	'Larnax'	Moires	argonauts
L87	'Larnax'	Stavros Galias	an octopus
L88	Tub	Xerokamera	octopi
L89	'Larnax'	Khoumeri (Laria)	argonauts
L90	'Larnax'	Stavromenos	argonauts
L91	Chest	*RM	wavy border (sole motif)
L92	Chest	*ANikM	wavy border (sole motif)
L93	Chest	Psari Phorada	wavy border as the main motif
L94	Chest	Karnari, Archanes	wavy border (sole motif)
L95	Chest	Phourni, Archanes	wavy lines (sole motif)
L96	Chest	Katsamba	wavy lines (sole motif)
L97	Chest	Knossos	wavy lines (sole motif)
L98	Chest	Kamilari	wavy lines (sole motif)

L99	Chest	Mastampas	wavy lines and spirals, with flowers
L100	Chest	Tylissos	tricurved arch (sole motif)
L101	Chest	Tylissos	tricurved arch (sole motif)
L102	Chest	Tylissos	tricurved arch (sole motif)
L103	Chest	Phourni, Archanes	tricurved arch as the main motif, with spirals, and papyrus
L104	Chest	Ligortino	tricurved arch as the main motif, with spirals
L105	Chest	Pentamodi	spirals (sole motif)
L106	Tub	Katsamba	stemmed spirals as the main motif; wavy border
L107	Tub	Myrsini	stemmed spirals as the main motif
L108	Tub	Palaikastro	stemmed spirals as the main motif
L109	Tub	Palaikastro	stemmed spirals as the main motif
L110	Tub	Siteia	stemmed spirals as the main motif
L111	Chest	Malia	spirals as the main motif
L112	Chest	Praesos	spirals as the main motif
L113	Chest	Phourni, Archanes	spirals as the main motif, with zigzags and scale motifs
L114	Chest	Gazi	huge spirals as the main motif; papyrus
L115	Chest	Ayios Myron	huge spirals as the main motif; wavy lines and papyrus
L116	Chest	Ayios Syllas	huge spirals as the main motif; wavy lines
L117	Chest	Knossos	spirals, zigzag, tentacles and papyrus
L118	Chest	Knossos	spirals, tricurved arch and wavy border, with human figures
L119	Chest	Knossos	spirals and papyrus as main motifs
L120	Chest	Pigi	wavy lines with papyrus, religious symbols and a prothesis scene
L121	Chest	Maroulas	wavy lines as secondary motifs, with a hunting scene and a butterfly

L122	Chest	Armenoi, T.11	running spirals, wavy lines and wavy borders as secondary motifs, with a ritual hunt, a scene of animals suckling, and religious symbols
L123	Tub	Episkopi	wavy striations as secondary motifs, with papyrus
L124	Chest	Stavromenos	wavy lines as secondary motifs, with arcs
L125	Tub	Palaikastro or Zafer Papoura	spirals and wavy border as secondary motifs, with papyrus/possible butterfly
L126	Chest	fr. Mycenae	an octopus motif and a chariot
L127	Chest	Tanagra	warriors, a water-bird and seaweed
L128	Chest	Tanagra	seaweed and tricurved arch as main motifs
L129	Tub	Prosymna, T.17	an octopus (inside)
L130	Chest	Tanagra, T.47	a ship and a so-called 'Underworld' scene

Appendix 3

A Catalogue of Late Minoan III Painted Larnakes with Marine Decoration (L1-130)

L1. Chest. Unknown Provenance*

On display in the Chania Museum

Small squat chest with slightly tapering walls; flat lid of two differently sized pieces which can be raised using two central handles

Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Small chest decorated with tentacle motifs

Sides A and B[2] both have a single large panel painted with two horizontal rows of octopus tentacles. The tentacles are painted in an uneven manner as if hastily drawn. The left end panel has crossed diagonal lines; the right end panel has a large rosette. All of the border zones have been left plain.

L2. Chest. Unknown Provenance*

On display in the Chania Museum

Very large rectangular chest; the lid has projecting ends

Condition: heavily restored; some missing decoration

Large chest with argonauts, seaweed, birds, a human figure, flowers, and horns of consecration with branches

At least 26 argonauts decorate this chest: 18 on the lid and eight or nine preserved on the long sides, and the argonauts are depicted in four different styles. Side A has a single large painted panel divided into two decorative zones by three painted lines. The upper zone has four birds moving right. They have long swan-like necks, a single raised wing and curved body, with the legs hidden as though they are seated or on water. Behind the first and third bird from the left is a flower (FM 18 Myc. III flower). The lower zone is divided into three panels of different sizes. The left panel has two small argonauts, one above the other. The bottom one is moving left; it has a striped shell and four tentacles. Above it a similar argonaut is painted upside down. To the right of this is an abstract panel with groups of concentric arcs in each corner creating a diamond shape, which in turn is filled with more concentric arcs and a circle in its centre. The right panel is larger than the first two put together. It has two large argonauts moving right, both different to those in the first panel. The left argonaut has five webbed tentacles. The right argonaut is slightly smaller; its five tentacles are fringed rather than webbed and

[2] Please note that all divisions into 'Sides A' and 'B' are purely arbitrary and are merely intended as an aid to distinguishing the placement of motifs.

the shell is cross-hatched. Two small diamond shapes float above the left argonaut, each with tendril spirals at each corner, and a poorly preserved plant is depicted between the two argonauts. The borders have running spirals within a wavy border motif.

The main panel of Side B is divided into three horizontal zones, although the central section of the panel is missing. On the bottom zone, four argonauts are preserved moving right. They each have five fringed tentacles and cross-hatched shells and the right argonaut is squashed into the corner as on the front lid. The preserved decoration on the upper and middle zones consists of horns of consecration with sacred branches, large flowers and diamond motifs. The narrow borders are divided into panels, four to the left and five to the right. Each panel has three vertical rows of running spirals.

Side A of the lid has two horizontal registers. The upper zone has ten alternating panels of horns of consecration and zigzags. The lower zone has seven argonauts moving right, all of a type different to the three types shown on the Side A of the chest below. Each argonaut has four tentacles and the shell ends in a raised point at the back. The scheme is badly planned as the seventh argonaut is squashed into the right corner where there is room for only three tentacles. The back of the lid is the same as the front. Both short ends of the lid have two small argonauts moving right, each painted in the same style as the argonauts on the long sides of the lid. The left end panel has a human figure drawn in outline and framed by two stripes which follow the contours of his body. To his left is a wavy line topped with an arrow representing seaweed. The scene is framed on both sides by a wavy border. The border zones have a single wavy line. The right end panel is completely filled with abstract patterns of concentric arcs forming no distinct pattern. The borders zones have a wavy border pattern enclosing three wavy lines.

L.3. Chest. Unknown Provenance*; Fig. 201
On display in the Chania Museum
Large chest; the lid has projecting ends
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Chest with a huge octopus and rosettes as the main motifs; fish and seaweed on one short end
Side A has a large octopus in the whole front panel. The octopus has a heart-shaped head, huge eyes with concentric rings and a long oval body. The head contains an oblong shape painted solid and outlined, running from the tip to a point between the eyes. There are two sets of tentacles, one thick and extended, the other thin and rippled. The bottom set stems directly from the head and drops to the base line to form a row of ripples. The upper set is thicker, being made up of five painted lines which taper towards the ends, and each tentacle is raised above the head, curling back upon itself.

Side B has three large rosettes with tendril spirals filling the spaces between. The borders of both long sides have a single slightly wavy line. The left end shows a large diving fish with a forked tail, open mouth and many symmetrical fins. It is framed on either side by two wavy lines topped with arrows representing seaweed. The right end has a large rosette. The lid is decorated with alternating triangles filled with concentric arcs.

L.4. Chest. Armenoi; Fig. 202
On display in the Chania Museum
Large chest; the lid has a projecting convex ridge
Condition: excellent; the decoration is well preserved
LM IIIA2-B

Chest with three linked octopi on one long side, tentacles on the other; wavy border, horns of consecration and double axes as secondary motifs
Side A has three similar octopi painted side-by-side on the front panel. Each has a heart-shaped head and a small pendulous body, large eyes and a long oval shape projecting above the head (perhaps confusing the position of the body). They are connected by common sets of wavy tentacles organised into three rows. The two lower sets stem from the head of each octopus so that the tentacles of the middle octopus are also those of its neighbours. The upper set stems from the top of the head of each octopus, and joins in a similar manner. The border zones have wavy border motifs.

Side B has two rows of wavy tentacles as the main motif with a narrow row of arcs set at an angle above. The border zones have wavy border and multiple wavy line motifs. The left end panel is divided into six rows. The top row has concentric arcs; below this are alternating rows of three circles (possible representing beam ends) and two sets of horns of consecration. The right end has the same motifs but in four rows only, while the set of horns in the bottom right have a double axe between them. The borders of each short end have the wavy border motif. The lid has alternating arcs on each long side and an hour-glass shape on each short end.

L.5. Chest. Unknown Provenance*
On display in the Chania Museum
Small chest; the lid has projecting ends
Condition: good

Chest with an argonaut on one short end; birds, flowers, spirals, wavy lines and horns of consecration

as main motifs

The right end panel has a large argonaut moving right, with a cross-hatched shell and seven tentacles. The left end has concentric arcs in the corners making a diamond shape; these are in turn filled with concentric arcs and a central rosette. Side A has two birds with long necks and a raised wing sitting on top of a central pillar or possible 'Mycenaean flower' (FM 18). To the left and right are large flowers. Side B is divided into three zones by two spiral stems. The left zone has a number of cross-hatched triangles. The central zone has an object with concave sides surmounted by two rows of two horns of consecration, possibly a representation of an incurved-altar. The right zone has a possible human figure, made up of a cross-hatched rectangle (body?) and triangle (head?). The lid has triangles framed by wavy lines on each long side with a bull on each short end. All of the borders have single and double wavy lines.

L.6. Chest. Unknown Provenance*
On display in the Heraklion Museum
Chest with a curved tub-shaped lid
Condition: the decoration is very poorly preserved
LM IIIA-B?

Chest with a large octopus on the lid

The octopus is poorly preserved but it clearly occupied the whole lid panel and had ten tentacles which are combed out symmetrically on either side, suggesting an early date. It also has short abridged tentacles or a 'spiky hairdo' above the head. The chest is decorated with abstract panels of alternating arcs with a horizontal row of wavy striations below the rim.

L.7. Lid of a Chest Larnax. Village of Mesi
Mavriyannaki 1971, no. 4, 55-57, Pl. XII
Rethymnon Museum
Lid only
Condition: fragmentary
Dimensions: 1.05 (L.), 0.35 (W.), 0.28 (Ht.)
LM IIIB

Lid of a chest larnax with dolphin-like fish

Only the long sides of this lid are painted. Both sides are divided into two panels by vertical lines. Each panel has two diving fish with long snouts and a forked tail. Wavy lines behind them seem to

represent waves. Although the fish have no dorsal fins or flippers, the long snout suggests a conflation of a fish and dolphin.

L.8. Chest. Unknown Provenance

Mavriyannaki 1971, no. 6, 61-63, Pls. XVII-XIX; Watrous 1991, Pl. 86f

Rethymnon Museum

Chest: rectangular with moulded frames on each side and four rectangular feet. Each panel has four perforations, one in each corner except for one end panel which has holes in the two upper corners only.

Lid: gabled; central flat-topped ridge pole projecting at either end; no perforations

Condition: good; one leg and gable end have been restored

Dimensions: 1.01 (L.), 0.33 (W.), 0.89 (Ht.) or 0.61 (without lid).

LM IIIA2

Chest with double octopus panels on each long side

The long sides are divided into two panels by a central border of three vertical lines (Side B) or zigzag lines (Side A). The outer borders have running spirals (Side A) and alternating crossed lines (Side B). Each panel has an octopus with two rows of wavy tentacles. Three of the octopi are very similar in style with an inverted heart-shaped head, a pendulous oval body attached to the head by a fine line, large eyes formed by a dot with single ring, and wavy tentacles which join to the head in a single thick branch. Slight variations can be seen in the octopus on the left panel of Side A: the head and body are more elongated, the top set of tentacles are up-curling rather than wavy and join the head individually rather than as a solid branch.

The end panels are painted with parallel curved lines, possibly imitating variegated stone or marble. The lid has alternating arcs (Side A) and quatrefoil/rosette motifs (Side B), with inverted plant motifs on the short ends. It is thought to be painted by the same octopus painter as two other chests in the Rethymnon Museum (L9-10: Mavriyannaki 1971, nos. 7 and 8).

L.9. Chest. Unknown Provenance; Fig. 206

Mavriyannaki 1971, no. 7, 63-67, Pls. XX-XXIV; Watrous 1991, Pl. 87a

Rethymnon Museum

Chest: rectangular with moulded frames on each side and four rectangular feet; each panel has four holes

Lid: sides taper towards top ridge; slightly bulging; central flat-topped ridge pole projecting at either end; no perforations

Condition: good; chest and lid slightly restored

Dimensions: 1.11 (L.), 0.4 (W.), 0.99 (Ht.) or 0.73 (without lid).

LM IIIA2-B

Chest with a single octopus panel on each long side; birds with palms, spirals and rosettes as other motifs

The long sides are divided into two panels by a central border of multiple vertical lines crossed by zigzags (Side A) or horizontal lines (Side B). The outer borders have running spirals (Side A) or zigzag lines with concentric arcs in the interstices (Side B). The left panel of Side A is divided into two horizontal zones, each of which has an identical panel of two antithetical birds and a central palm. Two rayed discs with a central dot which may represent sea-urchins appear in front of the birds in the upper panel and below their heads in the lower panel. The right panel of Side A has an octopus. Side B has an octopus in the left panel and quatrefoil/rosette motifs in a loose formation in the right panel. The octopi are different on each side. Both have large eyes with two outer rings and two sets of wavy tentacles which join the heart-shaped head in single thick branches. However, while the octopus on Side A has a small pendulous body attached to the head by a fine line, on Side B the head and body are proportionate and the line of the head flows seamlessly into the body in a long curve suggesting a different style of painting.

The end panels have a large rosette with concentric arcs in the interstices (left end) and four groups of concentric semi-circles with a central wheel motif (right end). The lid has alternating arcs on its long sides and undulating lines and concentric arcs on both short ends. It is thought to be painted by the same octopus painter as two other chests in the Rethymnon Museum (L8 and L10: Mavriyannaki 1971, nos. 6 and 8).

L.10. Chest. Unknown Provenance

Mavriyannaki 1971, no. 8, 67-71, Pls. XXV-XXVIII

Rethymnon Museum

Rectangular chest with slightly bulging lid; panels of the chest are modelled; unusually the lid is also divided into two modelled panels on each long side

Condition: heavily restored

LM IIIA2

Tall chest with three octopus panels combined with either wavy lines or spiral motifs; tentacle motifs, possible argonauts and urchins, and rosettes also feature

Each of the three octopi on this chest are painted in the same style, with a heart-shaped head, a pendulous body which is connected to the head by a fine line, large eyes comprised of a solid pupil with three rings, and tentacles in two wavy rows. Side A has two modelled panels divided by a central border of intersecting zigzags in-filled with rayed discs possibly representing sea-urchins. The remaining borders have spirals and arcs. The left panel has a rosette/quatrefoil pattern in loose formation with heavy use of filling motifs between the rosettes: wavy lines, circles filled with two crossed lines, concentric arcs and more rayed discs/urchins. In the right panel an octopus forms the main motif, framed above and below by a row of horizontal running spirals. Beneath the body of the octopus is a triangle made of parallel chevrons.

Unusually, the lid also has modelled panels on both of its long sides, each divided by a central border of running spirals framed by wavy lines. The left lid panel of Side A has large and small spirals in a loose formation; the right panel has an octopus above a wavy line. The short ends of the lid have tentacle motifs (left end) and a wavy line with spirals (right end). The lid on Side B has two panels: the left panel has a large rosette with concentric arc filler, all framed by wavy lines; the right panel has spirals in loose formation and rayed discs/urchins.

The two long panels of Side B are divided by a central border of running spirals. The left panel has a band of little circles along its right side. The remainder of the panel is divided into two horizontal zones. The top zone has an octopus above a wavy line. The bottom zone shows three groups of concentric semi-circles on the ground line from which stemmed spirals emerge; they may represent stylised argonauts or a vegetal motif. The right panel has rosette/quatrefoil pattern in a loose formation, as on Side A but slightly smaller in scale and with only concentric arcs as fillers. The borders have multiple wavy lines and concentric rings and arcs which seem to imitate veined stone or wood. Both short ends of the larnax have a large rosette with concentric arc fillers and small tendril spirals. It is thought to be painted by the same octopus painter as two other chests in the Rethymnon Museum (L8-9; Mavriyannaki 1971, nos. 6 and 7).

L.11. Chest. Unknown Provenance; Fig. 199

Mavriyannaki 1971, no. 9, 71-75, Pls. XXIX-XXXIII; Watrous 1991, Pl. 83d

RM 499

Rectangular chest; the lid has a slightly bulging shape

Condition: the chest and lid are restored in many places

Dimensions: 1.16 (L.), 0.39 (W.), 1.01 (Ht.) or 0.75 (without lid)

LM IIIA2-B

Chest with double octopus panels on each long side; huge spirals on the lid; papyrus and concentric arcs on the short ends

Both long sides of the chest are the same. Each has a large modelled panel divided into two smaller panels by a single painted line. Both panels are painted with an identical octopus so that there are double octopus panels on each side. The long sides of the lid are also identical. They each have four huge running spirals bordered above and below by a wavy line, the fourth right spiral being a little smaller than the others. The short end panels are different: the left end panel has a large papyrus (FM 11) while the right has concentric arcs. The left short end of the lid is not preserved but the right end is cross-hatched. All of the narrow borders are painted with concentric arcs. The octopi are identical to the smallest detail. The style of painting is unusual. They have a small heart-shaped head and slightly pendulous but proportionate body. The eyes are prominent with a solid pupil and two outer rings. They have four sets of tentacles which branch individually from the head. The bottom set follows the contours of the body before spreading out in waves. The upper sets follow in similar waves, the top set curling back upon itself. Most of the tentacles end in neat spiral coils. Unusually, three extra abridged tentacles project from the head of each octopus giving a 'spiky hairdo' effect. The decoration is neat and carefully drawn showing a very high level of expertise.

L.12. Chest. Unknown Provenance; Fig. 213

Mavriyannaki 1971, no. 10, 75-86, Pls. XXXIV-XXXIX; Watrous 1991, Pl. 84c

RM 500

Large rectangular chest; the sides of the lid have a straight incline

Condition: the chest and lid are both heavily restored

Dimensions: 1.16 (L.), 0.39 (W.), 1.01 (Ht.) or 0.75 (without lid).

LM IIIA2-B

Large chest with hybrid argonaut/birds on both long sides and huge spirals on the lid; seaweed, horns of consecration and a bull's head as other motifs

Side A has a single large modelled panel divided into two unequal horizontal zones by three painted lines. The bottom zone is painted with a row of horns of consecration (fourteen are visible). In the upper zone the main motif is aligned a little right of the centre. It consists of two facing hybrid argonaut/birds with a central flower. The argonaut aspect consists of a shell and three tentacles. The shell is marked with groups of lines and the aperture is clearly marked as a dotted circle. At the same time the shell serves as the body of a bird; the foremost tentacle which rises in an s-shape serves as the swan-like neck of the bird, curving slightly at the tip to form a bird-head, with a dot marking its eye.

Below each bird-head is a curved line with a series of arcs, suggesting a long beak. The other argonaut tentacles thus become the folded wings of the bird. At the back of each shell/body three wavy lines topped by an arrow form a strand of seaweed. Another strand of seaweed can be seen above the left argonaut/bird. The area above the upper tentacle/wing is filled with a series of pointed rectangles representing the plumage of the birds and perhaps also suggesting a field of vegetation or reeds. A small animal, possibly a horse, can be seen above the right argonaut/bird. To the left of this are other filling motifs, a group of chevrons, concentric arcs and a curved band of v-shaped waves. Behind the left argonaut/bird is a rosette. The left corner is poorly preserved but a spiral and a large flower can be made out.

The decoration of Side B is not so well preserved. The panel is not divided in two here. The main motif is the same as on Side A, two facing argonaut/birds with a central flower, but here they are bigger as the panel itself is bigger and they are set closer together. The entire space above the top tentacles/wings is filled with the pointed rectangle pattern. Seaweed strands shoot vertically from the back of the shell/body and two more strands fill the spaces between the tentacle/wing and shell/body.

The right short end has a row of stemmed spirals framed by wavy lines. The left end has a large rosette with a marine fill of trefoil rockwork. On all sides the borders are painted with groups of lines, as is the outer rim of both chest and lid. The long sides of the lid are painted with five huge spirals with three wavy lines. The right lid end is painted with a bull's head above two semi-circles and concentric arcs. The left end has a triangle of parallel chevrons. Mavriyannaki (1971, 75) suggests that the unusual decoration of this larnax singles it out as the most important of the Rethymnon group and one of the most important from Crete.

L.13. Chest. Maroulas; Fig. 209
Watrous 1991, Pl. 86a-b; Papapostolou 1974, 248-49, Pl. 187
RM 2177
Long rectangular chest with six feet
Condition: good
Dimensions: 1.37(L.), 0.48(W.), 1.14(Ht.)
LM IIIA2-B

Chest with a single (moustached) octopus panel on each long side, tentacles on the lid, and papyrus and spiral motifs

Both Side A and B have two modelled panels. The right panel on each side has an identical octopus. It has a heart-shaped head, pendulous body, prominent eyes with a solid pupil and two rings, and three

sets of wavy tentacles which branch from a single stem. An unusual feature is the spiral 'moustache' on the line linking the head and body. The left panel of Side A has a large plant made of a central stem from which four large spirals and three smaller ones emerge, with concentric arc fillers. The left panel of Side B is similar with a large spiral plant from which a papyrus grows, with vegetal shoots and more spirals as fillers.

The narrow borders are painted with the checkerboard motif, as are both end panels. The border between the two panels of Side B has a spiral chain. The lid seems to be the wrong way around as the firing colouration does not match that of the chest as currently displayed in the Rethymnon Museum; if turned around the colouration would match. The following description of the lid corresponds to the sides as currently displayed. Side A has three rows of wavy tentacles. Side B has a spiral plant (as on the left side panels) from which a chain of four papyri grow. The short ends of the lid have a spiral (left) and plant (right). This larnax is from the same tomb as L77.

L.14. Chest. Chamber Tomb, Damourou Location, Adele; Fig. 203
Watrous 1991, Pl. 85c, e (drawing); Papapostolou 1974, 253-54, fig. 3, Pl. 186γ-δ
RM No. 2173
Rectangular chest with tub-shaped lid
Condition: decoration poorly preserved
Dimensions: 1.10(L.), 0.38(W.), 0.98 (Ht.)
LM IIIA2-B

Chest with an unusual composition of fish and octopus heads on the main panel, fish and seaweed on the short end and huge spirals on the lid

Only one side and one short end are illustrated. The decoration is poorly preserved. Side A has two panels divided by a central border of running spirals. The narrow borders have a single wavy line. The right panel has an octopus with a heart-shaped head and two rows of tentacles joined to the head by a single stem. The bottom set of tentacles are wavy; the top set form only one wave. The body of the octopus is oval and joins the head rather than being pendulous. In the left panel fish and octopi are combined in an unusual way. Two large fish are shown crossing each other in a heraldic pose. Each has a forked fan tail, a large ringed eye and many fins. In the four triangular spaces created by the fish, the tips of five octopus heads can be seen, the eyes just visible as if the rest of the octopus is outside the frame of the panel. Two of the five octopi are positioned below the fish, one appears to the left and one to the right, while the fifth appears from the top as if upside-down. Two strands of seaweed float above the two bottom octopi. The overall effect was perhaps to show a rocky pool teeming with marine life.

The lid has five huge spirals framed by wavy lines. On its right short end are two connected spirals. The short end panel has a large diving fish of a different kind to that on Side A. Its fins are long and narrow while those of the heraldic fish lie flat against the body and look fan-like. Four stands of seaweed frame the fish, two on each side.

L.15. Chest. Adele
Watrous 1991, Pl. 90b-c; Papapostolou 1974, 254, Pl. 188
RM No. 2174
Rectangular chest with v-shaped lid
Condition: largely intact; the decoration is faded and missing in places
Dimensions: 0.94(L.), 0.42(W.), 1.04(Ht.)
LM IIIA2-B

Chest with tentacles on the lid, a possible butterfly on the long side, and horns of consecration on the short end
Only the front and right end are illustrated. The lid has two rows of wavy tentacles. Side A has a single large panel painted with a possible butterfly motif, with two vertical lines ending in spirals between two oval shapes intersected with horizontal discs. Each oval has two smaller semicircles attached; these seem to represent stylised butterfly antennae and wings, an interpretation supported by the obvious symmetry. The short right end has two zones of horns of consecration set one above the other and surmounted by an hour-glass shape with concentric arc fillers. More concentric arcs fill the short end of the lid. All the borders have wavy line motif.

L.16. Chest. Tzigounas; Fig. 212
Watrous 1991, Pl. 85a
Heraklion Museum
Long rectangular chest
Condition: good, although the decoration is quite faded
LM IIIA2 late - early LM IIIB

Large chest completely covered with argonauts, some upside-down
A line of four argonauts crawl across the lid while eight more crawl across the chest, four moving right across the bottom and four moving left along the top, upside-down. They are shown in the same style, with a semi-circular shell and three raised tentacles of coiled spirals. The overall effect is highly symmetrical and full of watery spiral patterns.

L.17. Chest. Vathianos Kampos; Fig. 211

Watrous 1991, 84h; Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXIII.1-2; Kanta 1980, 44

Heraklion Museum

Rectangular chest

Condition: Largely intact; the decoration is missing on the lid

LM IIIA2

Chest with a huge argonaut and papyrus plant as main motifs, with a human figure on one short end

Side A has a huge argonaut moving right past a giant papyrus plant. The back of the argonaut shell curls in a spiral mirroring the five spiral tentacles. Curved lines form a web between each tentacle and the bottom tentacle and shell. Two fronds can be seen to the left of the papyrus. Above the argonaut are two smaller motifs, the left perhaps a flower or open bivalve shell, the right a bird or flying fish. No decoration survives on the long side of the lid. The left short end has a wavy border as the main motif. The right end panel has a human figure in a long robe holding a staff. Side B is unpublished; it is not clear whether it is the same as Side A or simply not preserved.

L.18. Chest. Larnax 1, Tomb 24, Armenoi; Fig. 214

Watrous 1991, Pl. 87f, g

Rethymnon Museum

Long low rectangular chest with six feet

Condition: partly restored

LM IIIA2

Polychrome chest with small argonauts below a hunting scene; fish and tentacles on the short ends

The left panel of Side A shows a deer about to be speared by a hunter; the hunter and his dog are shown above the deer's back. To the right is an area of scale or net pattern perhaps indicating a forest or net. The right panel shows a goat and her kid sniffing a large flower. On each panel, beneath the deer and the goat, is a small argonaut moving right. The left and right panels of Side B show a cow and large bird sniffing huge flowers. The central borders of each side have running spiral motifs while the outer borders have the wavy border or curved lines, possibly imitating veined stone or wood. Above all of the panels is a row of circles, probably imitating beam ends. The left end panel shows two antithetical birds and a central flower. The birds are shown in flight, as indicated by their raised wings and downward-pointing feet. Below them is a row of circles or beam ends above a row of wavy tentacles.

The borders have wavy border and running spiral motifs. The right end panel has a large diving fish. Its mouth is shown open as if it is foraging on the sea-bed. A series of wavy lines mark its shimmering scales. It is framed by a wavy border pattern with two tendril spirals to the right. The borders have running spiral motif. The chest is painted in polychrome technique and is by the same hand as another from Armenoi, Larnax 2, Tomb 10 (L19).

L.19. Chest. Larnax 2, Tomb 10, Armenoi
Watrous 1991, Pl. 87c, e
Rethymnon Museum
Long, low rectangular chest with six feet
Condition: feet partly restored
LM IIIA2

Polychrome chest with small argonauts below terrestrial animal scenes; fish, whorl shells, birds and horns of consecration as other motifs
The main panels of the long sides show a variation of the themes depicted on Larnax 1, Tomb 24, Armenoi (L18), by the same painter. The left and right panels of Side A show a goat and bull sniffing large flowers with an argonaut below. The left and right panels of Side B show a bull and large bird sniffing flowers respectively. An argonaut can be seen below the bull but the paint is too poorly preserved to tell if there was a second argonaut beneath the bird of the right panel. The long sides of the lid also have two panels. The left panel of Side A has a large set of horns of consecration with a double axe set on top of a row of circles or beam ends. The right panel has three cone-shaped objects which look like whorl shells. Two are marked with curved lines and have clearly defined apertures; the third is poorly preserved but seems to have been marked with wavy lines. The left panel of Side B has a large flower while the right has a flying bird sniffing a huge flower as on the right panel of Side A.

The central borders of the lid and chest have running spirals framed by wavy lines. The outer borders of the chest have running spirals or curved lines, possibly indicating veined stone or wood. The left end panel has a huge diving fish framed by wavy borders (as on L18). The right end panel has horns of consecration and double axe motifs above beam ends, as on the lid. The borders of the short ends have running spirals (left end) or spirals and wavy border motifs (right end). The left short lid end has a flower motif; the right has a cone-shaped whorl shell marked with wavy lines, like that on the right lid panel of Side A.

L.20. Tub. Vonni

Kanta 1980, 76

Tub with papyrus (outside); two fish, an octopus and a bird (inside)

This tub found outside the village of Vonni was reportedly decorated with papyrus plants on the outside, with two fish, an octopus and a bird on the inside walls. No further information is available.

L.21. Chest. Palaikastro; Fig. 218

Watrous 1991, Pl. 82a-c; Rutkowski 1966, Pls. XIX 3-4 and XX 1-2; Bosanquet 1901-1902, 297-300, Pls. XVIII, XIX

Heraklion Museum

Rectangular chest

Condition: partly restored

Dimensions: 1.22 (L.), 0.44 (W.), 0.98 (Ht. with lid)

LM IIIA2

Chest with diving fish, star/urchin motifs, a possible anemone and tricurved arch motifs, along with a water-bird, griffin, papyrus, lily, horns of consecration and double axe

Both long sides are divided into two panels by a central border of rosettes. The motifs of all four main panels are framed by an internal border of parallel wavy lines, a motif usually identified as 'pendant rock'. The left panel of Side A has a large diving fish painted upside-down. It has a fan tail, open mouth and a group of six little fins above its head. Below the fish is a seven-pointed star with dots between the points. Above and to the left of the fish is a variation of this motif: a larger double star consisting of a nine-pointed star inside a fourteen-pointed one. These stars are probably not starfish as the species of starfish found in this area have only five or seven points; they may, however, represent the red sea urchin or alternatively, a celestial star. To the right of the fish is a solid circle surrounded by two rings of dots, a motif identified by Furumark as a sea anemone (FM 27). The right panel has a plump water-bird with a fan tail and open wing displaying fine plumage. The outer borders have a wavy border motif. The lid has two panels on this side divided by two rows of rosettes. Both panels have a pendant rock motif framing a large star with dots between its points (as in the left panel below); it is impossible to determine the number of points, as both panels are damaged.

The left panel of Side B has two large lilies. Between them is a pole topped by horns of consecration and a double axe. The right panel has a griffin with its wing extended, displaying fine plumage mirroring that of the bird on the opposite side. It is sniffing a large papyrus. Above the griffin are two horns of consecration; to the left is a dotted star with seven points inside an eleven pointed one. The

outer borders on Side B have running spirals. The lid has a single long panel with two rows of pendant rock motif and a double line of dashes between them. The left end of the chest has a panel of tricurved arch motif with a wavy border. The lid end has horns of consecration above a checkerboard panel. The right end is unpublished.

L.22. Chest. Unknown Provenance
Watrous 1991, Pl. 91f
National Museum of Athens
Condition: largely intact; the lid decoration is poorly preserved

Chest with fish and wavy borders
Only one side is published. It has a single painted panel which is divided into four unequal zones by curling tendrils which radiate from the centre towards the corners. The left and bottom zone each contain a large fish. The left fish lies horizontally facing right, the right fish sits vertically facing upwards so that both face the centre. The top and right zones have a hatched triangle resembling netting. The fish are generic: both have oval bodies, the left has four triangular hatched fins, while the right fish has four smaller fins. The narrow borders have wavy border motif. The lid decoration is poorly preserved but a horizontal loop in the centre may have been a tentacle motif.

L.23. Chest. Vasiliki Anogeia; Fig. 217
Watrous 1991, Pl. 83f; Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XX 3-4; PM IV, 338, fig. 281
Rectangular chest
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved
LM IIIA2

Chest with a scene of fish, birds and large papyrus plants
Side A has a single panel with four huge papyrus fronds: two droop towards the ground; one is erect with another frond growing from its right edge. To the bottom left are two fish swimming right. Above this is a diving fish and three ducks, each with s-curved necks and beaks. To the right is another duck. In the right corner a group of multiple wavy lines ending in a point extends into the panel; it may represent seaweed or a reed. To the lower right between the papyrus fronds are two rayed circles, a variation of the motif identified by Furumark as the sea anemone (FM 27), although it could equally represent an urchin. The narrow borders have single and double wavy lines. The lid panel has five birds moving right.

The panel of Side B has papyrus with no signs of fish or birds and no paint preserved in the narrow borders. There are two papyrus fronds, one 'growing' on top of the other, and each has a shorter curled leaf beside the stem. The space between the stem and leaf is enclosed by an arc made of dashes; it is filled with a circle above a line of dashes, which possibly represents a flower. The lid has a long panel with two birds to the left and three fish to the right; all move to the right (note that the lid faces the opposite direction in the Rutkowski illustration). The end panels have triple wavy lines, with single wavy lines in the outer borders. The fish on this chest have an outlined oval body with the centre painted solid, a forked tail and sketchy fins in four groups.

L.24. Chest. Kavrochori
Watrous 1991, Pls. 89c, e and 90a
Heraklion Museum
Rectangular chest
Condition: the decoration is poorly preserved in places
LM IIIB

Chest with argonauts and birds, fish, an octopus, a chariot scene, palms and a snake
The decoration is very poorly preserved and completely missing in places. Both long sides have a single panel. Unusually the narrow borders at the edge of the chest above the feet are painted solid and borders have been painted on the outer edges of the main panel instead. On Side A, the painted border to the right has the wavy border motif. To the left of the main panel are two painted borders separated by double lines: the first has a wavy border motif and a tall plant stem, the second has two wavy lines. The main panel has three main scenes. To the left is a bird with raised wings alighting on a palm. In the centre is a chariot and two quadrupeds, probably horses, all drawn in aerial perspective, the animals and chariot shown as if on their sides, with the wheels positioned to either side. Below this is a cone-shaped object marked with curved lines. It has two lines to either side which look like fins and it may represent a stylised fish or shellfish. To the right, a large argonaut climbs up the side of the panel. Its shell is marked with curved lines, ends in a spiral at the back and has a strange loop at the front which seems to represent the aperture as the five tentacles emerge from here. The lid above has three panels showing a palm (left), a large bird alighting on top of an argonaut (centre), and an argonaut painted upside-down with a bird below (right).

The main panel of Side B also has painted borders, decorated here with wavy border motif. The main panel is poorly preserved but had two argonauts, one crawling right along the bottom and one crawling up the right side, with a large flower in front. According to Watrous, it has antithetical goats above a central palm (1991, 299). A flower is also visible to the right above an object that looks like a

cauldron. The lid has three panels: the left is not preserved; the central panel has two upside-down argonauts above a duck-like bird and a fish.

One short end panel has an octopus with a heart-shaped head, long oval body and three rows of wavy tentacles. The other end has three vertical panels: the left panel has a fish and wavy border; the middle panel has a double axe between horns of consecration with three wavy lines above; the right panel has the wavy border motif. The lid end above this has a snake.

L.25. Chest. Gazi; Figs. 233-34
Watrous 1991, Pls. 90e-f, 91a; Alexiou 1972
Heraklion Museum
Rectangular chest
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved
Dimensions: 0.85(L.), 0.39(W.), 0.68(Ht.)
LM IIIB

Chest with a large ship and double octopus panels
Side A has a single panel with a large ship with a mast and rigging. Three wavy lines above the ship to the left and right may represent the sea or perhaps streamers attached to the mast. Below the ship is a water-bird, with a v-shaped plant and oval (possibly a fish) to the right. To the left of the ship is a spiral with another badly drawn spiral below; these may represent waves, reduced to single spirals due to confinements of space. Side B has been divided into two differently sized panels by a vertical line. Both panels have an octopus drawn in such a sketchy and reduced style that they are barely recognisable. They have no eyes and a circle for a head, linked to an oval body by a thick line. Below the head two spirals must represent curled tentacles. Another set of tentacles loosely follows the contours of the body but in uneven lines; they fold back upon themselves in the right example but not in the usual tidy waves.

The borders of both long sides have wavy border with wavy lines between. The right border of Side A is shorter than the others, another example of bad planning. Both end panels have wavy line borders framing a panel showing two outlined rectangular shapes with incurved sides, placed one above the other and separated by a horizontal line. They have been interpreted as incurved altars (Watrous 1991, 293) or as oxhide ingots (Boulotis 1987, 34). The painting is poorly executed and badly planned, as if hastily drawn by an inexperienced artist.

L.26. Tub. Ayios Georghios-Tourtouloi

Kanta 1980, Pl. 65.3-4; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, Pls. CLXXXIIIb and CLXXXVa-b

ANikM 1858

Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Dimensions: 1.2 (L. of rim) or 1.0 (L. of base), 0.48 (Ht.)

LM IIIC (early)

Tub with a huge fringed octopus on each side and huge fish inside

The long sides have a single panel with a huge octopus. It is very schematically rendered, with large bulbous eyes, a prominent head and tiny body. Two short thick tentacles are raised above the head while two more sets fan out in wavy ripples to each side. The wavy tentacles are not connected to the body: the top set are drawn from the line of the abridged tentacles while the bottom set emerge from the base of the body. The tentacles continue around the ends of the tub where they meet but are not joined to those of the other octopus. The body and upper tentacles are outlined by double lines and the top of the head and tentacles are fringed. Both the raised set of tentacles and the fringe suggest a late style, recalling the depictions of octopi on LM IIIC stirrup jars. The outer and upper surfaces of the rim have a single wavy line.

The interior is also decorated. On each long side is a huge diving fish, drawn in a more naturalistic way than the octopi. Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti (1997, 475) suggest that the fish are mackerel, but the scale in fact suggests the large seasonal tunny fish. The fish have a single large eye, an open mouth, a fan tail and four groups of feathery fins. The arched body of each fish is painted with a series of wavy lines. Between the fish at each end are three groups of four curved lines which seem to suggest inverted rock work. Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti (1997, 475) have suggested that the rockwork is inverted because the tub was turned upside-down by the painter, and the decoration was started from the rim towards the bottom. It is thought to be from the same workshop and by the same painter as L27-28 and L30, as all four are very similar in shape and decoration.

L.27. Tub. Petras, Papoura; Figs. 200 and 216

Kanta 1980, Pl. 73.9-10; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, Pls. CLXXXI and CLXXXIIIa

ANikM 262

Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Dimensions: 1.0 (L. of rim) or 0.8 (L. of base), 0.60 (W.), 0.47 (Ht.)

LM IIIC (early)

Tub with a huge fringed octopus on each side and huge fish inside

This tub is almost identical in decoration to the tub from Ayios Georghios-Tourtouloi (L26). The only difference is that here the interior base is painted with many wavy lines, suggesting a watery environment. It is thought to be from the same workshop and by the same painter as L26, L28 and L30 (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 475).

L.28. Tub. Piskokephalo; Fig. 210
Kanta 1980, Pl. 66.1-2; Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 475, Pl. CLXXXII
Siteia Museum – unnumbered
Condition: partly restored; the decoration is generally well preserved
Dimensions: 1.1 (L. of rim) or 0.97 (L. of base), 0.56 (W.), 0.43 (Ht.)
LM IIIC (early)

Tub with tentacles as the main motif and huge fish inside
This tub is painted in a very similar manner to L26-27 and L30 which are thought to be from the same workshop and by the same painter (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 475). The main difference is that the octopus on those tubs is reduced here to a tentacle motif which extends around all sides in two wavy rows. While the interior has two large diving fish between hanging rock in the same style as the other examples, a slight variation can be seen in the fish which have a more elongated body, no teeth and the eye reduced to a single dot. The internal base has sets of double wavy lines which intersect to form two star shapes.

L.29. Chest. Papoures Location, Siteia
Kanta 1980, fig. 65.6
SM 3530
Rectangular chest
Condition: poor; the decoration is very faded
LM IIIB

Chest completely decorated with octopi with white dots around the eyes (eight octopi in total)
Every panel of this chest was painted with an octopus although unfortunately the decoration is now missing in places. An unusual feature is the dots of white paint which were used to good effect here to pick out details of the eyes. The long sides of the chest have a single panel with a huge octopus. It has a heart-shaped head (poorly preserved) and an oval body attached to the head by a fine line. The tentacles form three long neat wavy tiers. The octopus on each side of the lid is similar in style; as the head is better preserved it is possible to see the dots of white paint used to circle the eyes. The end

panels each have an octopus with four sets of tentacles. All the narrow borders have running spirals.

L.30. Tub. Unknown Provenance
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, Pl. CLXXXIVa-b
Art and History Museum, Geneva 23436
Condition: one end restored, otherwise well preserved
Dimensions: 1.2 (L. of rim) or 0.9 (L. of base), 0.66 (W.), 0.6 (Ht.)
LM IIIC (early)

Tub with a huge fringed octopus on each side and a huge fish inside
This tub is painted in almost exactly the same way as L26 and L27 which are thought to be from the same workshop and by the same painter (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 475). Like those tubs this example has a huge octopus on each side, while the inside has large diving fish between hanging rockwork. Slight variations here include: the spiral curls above the octopus body and below the handles; the fish which have six rather than four fins, a very thick contour line, and a more stylised appearance; and the hanging rock which is made up of a solid wavy border and single wavy line rather than having multiple contours. A LM IIIC octopus stirrup jar found at Ialysos, on Rhodes, has an extremely similar octopus to the one depicted on this tub and seems to be by the same painter (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 475, Pl. CLXXXIVc).

L.31. Tub. Chamber Tomb 1993, Kritsa, Larnax A
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, Pls. CLXXXVc and CLXXXVIa
ANikM 12600
Condition: good; intact with well preserved, although somewhat faded, decoration
Dimensions: 1.17 (L. of rim) or 0.92 (L. of base), 0.62 (W.), 0.46 (Ht.)
LM IIIC (early)

Tub with a huge octopus on each side; huge fish and tentacle motifs inside
The shape and decoration of this tub is similar to those from the Petras-Piskokephalo workshop (L26-28, L30) with some variations. The outside has two huge octopi painted in a similar style to L26-27 except that the octopus is not fringed and the rim above is decorated with vertical strokes. The inside retains the large diving fish but here the arched body of the fish has vertical rather than horizontal wavy lines and the space between is filled with two rows of wavy tentacles. The base is plain.

L.32. Tub. Chamber Tomb 1993, Kritsa, Larnax B; Fig. 221
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, Pls. CL XXXVIb-c and CLXXXVIIa-b
ANikM 12601
Tub with a convex body profile and pronounced rim
Dimensions: 1.23 (L. of rim) or 0.88 (L. of base), 0.61 (W.), 0.44 (Ht.)
LM IIIC (early)

Tub with a huge octopus on each side; probable seals inside

The outer decoration of this tub bears some similarity to the octopus tubs from the Petras-Piskokephalo workshop and to the tub found at Kritsa (L26-28, L30-31), as it has a huge octopus on each long side with two raised abridged tentacles. The main differences here are that there are three sets of wavy tentacles on each side, the eyes have a huge solid pupil, the head and upper tentacles are not fringed, and the body is abbreviated, disappearing below the ground line. The interior decoration differs markedly from the afore-mentioned tubs as it has five swimming sea-creatures. The creatures have dog-like heads, a large eye, flipper-like tails, four stumpy fins, and strangely-shaped bodies filled with wavy lines; two clearly have figure-of-eight bodies. Although Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti (1997, 476) have identified them as 'highly unrealistic' fish and an aquatic bird, they may in fact represent seals, an identification which explains the flipper-like tails, dog-like heads, and sinuous bodies. The wavy lines may suggest water reflecting off the sleek surface of their skin. If the identification is correct, this is a new addition to the marine repertoire found on larnakes.

L.33. Tub. Unknown Provenance (Probably from the Siteia Region)
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 476, Pl. CLXXXVIIc-d
SM 6883
Tub with slightly averted sides, a thick rim, and four horizontal handles
Condition: poor; the decoration is quite faded
Dimensions: 1.28 (L. of rim) or 0.99 (L. of base), 0.6 (W.), 0.46 (Ht.)

Tub with a huge debased octopus

Both sides of this tub have a huge debased octopus motif. The body of each octopus is lozenge-shaped or pillar-like. The hypnotic eyes are formed by many concentric circles, and are set outside the body. Each octopus has ten fringed tentacles which hang down from the eyes. The rest of the space is filled with disembodied wavy tentacles, set in four rows to the left and five to the right. The interior is unpainted.

L.34. Tub. Unknown Provenance (Probably from the Siteia Region); Figs. 219-20
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 476, Pl. XXXVIIIa-e
Siteia Museum - unnumbered
Tub with slightly averted sides, a thick rim and four horizontal handles
Condition: good although the decoration is somewhat faded
Dimensions: 1.06 (L. of rim) or 0.84 (L. of base), 0.52 (W.), 0.48 (Ht.)

Tub with tentacle motifs outside and turtles inside
The outside of this tub is divided irregularly into two panels. The right panel has untidy tentacle motifs, which extend around the right end of the tub. The tentacles are drawn with a broad wavy line with double contours. Above this are single and double isolated spirals. The left panel has closely-packed abstract motifs of parallel lines, squares and triangles. The left end has a panel of parallel triangles in a neat pattern with a row of isolated spirals to the left. Seven schematic sea creatures are preserved on the interior walls. They have roughly oval shells, a small oval head, and four legs held back in swimming position. The shape of the head, legs and distinctive shells with clear patterning suggests that they are turtles. The preserved shells seem to have a variety of different patterns all involving ovals; one example has a clearly defined turtle-shell pattern with three rows of large ovals. The composition is badly planned as two turtles are squashed into the right end. The outer decoration is also badly planned and carelessly drawn.

L.35. Tub. Surroundings of the Town of Siteia
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473, Pl. CLXXXb
SM 6809
Condition: good; restored from many fragments; the decoration is quite well preserved
LM IIIA2 - early IIIB

Tub with a huge octopus on each side and large spirals
The long sides each have a huge octopus with a heart-shaped head, pendulous body and three neat rows of wavy tentacles. The eyes are prominent and consist of many concentric rings. The area above the head is filled with parallel chevrons enclosed by an X symbol. Both short ends have a narrow band of four running spirals between a wide band of two huge spirals, which are visible to the left and right of the octopus on the side. It has been linked to the Petras-Achladia workshop (along with L36-41) due to its motifs and their arrangements (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473).

L.36. Chest. Tholos Tomb, Achladia
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473
Chest with gabled lid with plastic attachments
Condition: destroyed in the war; known only from sketches
LM IIIA2 - early IIIB

Destroyed chest with octopus decoration, horns of consecrations and double axe motifs
This and a second chest from the same tomb (L37 below) were destroyed during the war but survive in sketches. They have been linked to four others which are thought to be from the same workshop due to their similar motifs: two from Petras (L40-41 below), one from Kimouriotis (L38), and another from an unknown location, now in Zurich (L39). Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti (1997, 473) describe the decoration of all six collectively. They all have octopi and horns of consecration combined with double axes as the main motifs. The octopi, painted in solid black, are highly stylised with symmetrical tentacles in wavy rows. Most of the available space is filled with accessory motifs of spirals, leaf-shaped elements, zigzags and X-patterns. One of the Achladia chests had a gabled lid with a bull's head and tail in relief.

L.37. Chest. Tholos Tomb, Achladia
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473; Kanta 1980, 178
Condition: destroyed in the war; known only from sketches
LM IIIA2 - early IIIB

Destroyed chest with octopus decoration, horns of consecrations and double axe motifs
See L36. This second Achladia chest also had a griffin motif (Kanta 1980, 178).

L.38. Chest. Kimouriotis
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473
Ayios Nikolaos Museum
Condition: the right end of the chest and lid have been restored
LM IIIA2 - early IIIB

Chest with octopus decoration, horns of consecrations and double axe motifs
Described in a group description, under L36. From the description provided by Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti (1997, 473), this chest seems to match one on display in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum, for which no provenance is listed. The Ayios Nikolaos Museum chest has a huge octopus on each long

side. Each octopus has a heart-shaped head and a narrow pendulous body attached by a fine line. The tentacles branch from the head in a single stem and extend outwards in three long wavy rows. The space above the head is filled with dots in the manner of Chania octopus stirrup jars. The left end has a huge set of horns of consecration with a double axe. All the borders have zigzags. The long side of the lid has tendril spirals; the short ends are not preserved.

L.39. Chest. Unknown Provenance
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473
Zurich
LM IIIA2 - early IIIB

Chest with octopus decoration, horns of consecrations and double axe motifs
Described in a group description, under L36.

L.40. Chest. Petras
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473

Chest decorated with the octopus motif, horns of consecration and double axe
Described in a group description, under L36.

L.41. Chest. Petras
Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 473

Chest decorated with the octopus motif, horns of consecration and double axe
Described in a group description, under L36.

L.42. Chest. Milatos
Kanta 1980, fig. 54.7; Vermeule 1965, 136 and fig. 2a; Evans 1906, 98-101, fig. 107
Heraklion Museum
Condition: quite good although the lid is partly damaged and the decoration is somewhat faded
Dimensions: 1.15 (L.), 0.51 (W.), 0.83 (Ht.)
LM IIIB-C

Chest with fish, vegetal motifs and a large fish below a human figure

The long sides of this chest have an abstract pattern of joining loops and curves, which possibly represent foliage, and are painted in a careless style. On Side A the composition also includes two fish, one large and one small, both placed in a central position. Beneath the fish are wavy lines indicating water. One short end has an interesting panel, only partly preserved. It shows a nude male figure above a large fish. In front of the figure is a double curved object which may represent a figure-of-eight shield (Evans 1906, 99).

L.43. Chest. Milatos

Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXII 4

Rectangular chest

Condition: the decoration on the lid is poorly preserved

Chest with two ghostly octopus panels

Only one side of this chest is shown. It has two painted octopus panels with plain borders. The octopi are painted in a very distinctive and schematic way. They have triangular heads but the bottom line curls into two loops representing the eyes. Six tentacles radiate symmetrically from the head, two above, two to the sides and two below; the tentacles of the right octopus are less symmetrical. The lower tentacles curl at the tips. There is a filling motif of parallel arcs between the tentacles and at the top point of the head. The composition is very effective, as if the octopi are floating in water.

L.44. Tub. Tomb 5, Fanourios Cemetery, Milatos

Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXX 1-2; Kanta 1980, fig. 52.5

HM 1614

Tub with a projecting rim

Condition: one side partly missing

LM IIIA1-2

Tub with tricurved arch patterns and rosettes on the exterior, with a row of bivalve shells above fish and wavy lines on the interior

One side of this tub is partly missing. Both sides are divided into two panels which continue around the short ends. The left panel has rosette/quatrefoil motif; the right has the tricurved arch pattern with insets of parallel arcs at each corner, perhaps suggesting bivalve shells. On the complete side, the panels are separated by a cross-hatched band framed by two outer bands on each side. There is a band of horizontal lines about the base. The interior is painted. Below the rim is a row of bivalve shells. The

area below this is divided into two zones by triple wavy lines. The bottom zone is filled in, forming a rocky ground line for the marine scene above, where fish swim on either side of a wavy line.

L.45. Tub. Tomb 6, Fanourios Cemetery, Milatos
Kanta 1980, figs. 52.6 and 133.2 (drawing of interior); Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXXIV 1-2
HM 7400
Condition: good; the decoration is quite well preserved
LM IIIB

Tub with fish and birds between papyrus plants
The sides of this tub each have two panels which continue around the short ends. The panels are divided by a band of horizontal zigzag/wavy lines and both panels have large papyrus plants with rounded outlines. The left panel has three leaping fish between the papyrus plants; the right has a bird with outstretched wings which soars upwards. The interior is painted with further papyrus plants and abstract patterns. One panel has four papyrus plants with triangular heads, with lozenges and checkerboard squares above. Next to this there is a panel of dotted scale pattern, followed by two more papyrus panels. Narrower panels of zigzag lines and checkerboard complete the decoration.

L.46. Chest. Ontades, Archanes
Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 484-86, figs. 471, 473
Cist-shaped chest
Condition: the decoration is very poorly preserved
LM IIIA2-B (late)

Chest with an octopus, papyrus motifs and water-birds
Side A has three panels with chevrons, lozenges and stylised papyri. Side B has two main panels framed on either side by a painted band of running spirals. The left panel has a spiral and a papyrus flower with parallel arcs in the corners. The right panel has two plump birds with s-shaped long necks. The narrow borders have alternating arc motif. One short end has two vertical zones of running spirals. The other has an octopus with two sets of wavy tentacles. It is drawn in an unusual way with a long head attached to an arrow-shaped body. The oval projection above the head suggests that the artist has drawn the body twice, perhaps through unfamiliarity with the subject matter. Above the octopus are two sets of chevrons around an oval centre, which may represent abstracted papyrus motifs.

L.47. Chest. Maroulas

Michaelidou-Pappa 1972

Thessaloniki Museum: TM - BE 10544

Rectangular chest

Condition: poorly preserved; large sections of the decoration are missing

LM IIIB2

Chest with multiple schematic octopus panels, tentacle motifs and a possible butterfly

The decoration of this chest is poorly preserved and completely missing in some places. Side A has two panels each with an octopus which is schematic and badly drawn. The right octopus is almost completely destroyed but what survives suggests it was drawn in the same style as the left one. The surviving octopus has a heart-shaped head and pendulous body attached by a fine line. Three tentacles remain but it would have had four originally, two on each side. They emerge from below the head and ripple in untidy waves. Side B had a single panel with a similar motif to that found on another chest from the same tomb (L121) and on a chest from Adele (L15), all thought to be from the same workshop (Kanta 1980, 293). The motif consists of large oval shapes symmetrically arranged around two central uprights, a motif which may represent a butterfly. Here the motif is poorly preserved, only the left oval is clear. The borders on each side have multiple wavy lines.

The left end also had an octopus. It is poorly preserved but had at least two sets of tentacles. The right end had checkerboard motifs. Both ends had borders of single wavy lines. The lid is completely decorated with tentacle motifs, arranged horizontally. The motif fills two adjacent panels on the long sides, and a single panel on each short end. This chest has been described as possibly the least well-painted example yet found on Crete (Kanta 1980, 293). It is from the same tomb as L121 and is thought to be from the same workshop, where it was perhaps painted by a less-experienced apprentice.

L.48. Chest. 1946 Chamber Tomb, Episkopi, Ierapetra; Fig. 204

Kanta 1980, 150-58, figs. 63.1-5; Watrous 1991, Pl. 93a-d; Vermeule 1979, fig. 25

Ierapetra Museum

Unusually shaped chest with three low feet on each side; plastic decoration of a bull's head and a female figure on the lid beam ends

Condition: excellent; intact with extremely well preserved decoration

LM IIIB

The 'Episkopi Sarcophagus': chest decorated with a chariot scene and three octopi, one of which is depicted under the wheels of the chariot

The long sides of the lid and chest have two modelled panels. The left panel of Side A has a scene of three human figures in a chariot drawn by a single quadruped, probably a cow (with no horns). A male figure is painted in the central border, leading the chariot. The figures in the chariot hold a banner-like object, a large disc on a pole. Directly below the chariot under the wheels is an octopus with two rows of wavy tentacles. Above the cow are three more human figures with raised arms; one holds a kylix. The right panel has a large human figure; he appears to hold a kylix and a banner. With his right hand he also holds reins attached to a quadruped, again probably a cow. It is thought that he is taking the animal to sacrifice (Kanta 1980, 157; Watrous 1991, 301). Below is another smaller animal. It is not clear whether this is a calf in suckling position or a hunting dog. The lid panels above have more animal scenes. The left panel has a human figure and large bull, with a flower, bird and rosettes above. A smaller animal stands below the bull. The right lid panel is clearly a hunting scene. Two goats are shown with hunting dogs on their backs. The smaller animal beneath the right goat is probably another hunting dog rather than suckling kid.

Side B shows more scenes of hunting. The left chest panel shows a hunter with two dogs, one leashed, attacking a goat. To the right of the goat is a large palm. The right panel has an armed hunter with two dogs about to spear a goat. The left lid panel shows two large goats, each with a dog on its back and another beneath its legs, while an armed hunter is shown above. The right panel has a goat to the right of a palm. Two dogs are shown on the goat's back and a kid is shown above this, perhaps in the background.

The left end of the chest has two goats and a kid being attacked by two hunting dogs. Above this on the lid is an octopus, with two sets of four running spirals and a rosette above. The octopus has two sets of wavy tentacles with an abridged set above; its body is outlined. The right end of the chest has a large octopus with spirals and flowers above. The octopus has three sets of tentacles; like the octopus on the lid it has another abridged set and its body is outlined. The lid above has two plants. The lid ends also have plastic decoration of a bull's head and a female figure. The chest is thought to be from the same workshop, and perhaps by the same artist, as a tub from the neighbouring village of Pachyammos (L58), as the bulls and suckling calves are drawn in the same style (Kanta 1980, 156).

L.49. Chest. 1946 Chamber Tomb, Episkopi, Ierapetra
Kanta 1980, 157-58
Ierapetra Museum
Chest with a similar low-footed shape to L48; the lid has bull's heads attached to the beam ends

Chest with octopus and tentacle panels on the lid; floral motifs, animals and the double axe as other

main motifs

Side A is divided into a number of decorative zones. To the left is a panel with three animals (a horse, a deer or goat and a bird), all painted upside-down. To the right of this are panels of chevrons, floral stems, a large rosette, and cross-hatching. The borders have zigzags. Side B has similar motifs without the animals. The lid has an octopus on each side in opposite panels and tentacles on each short end. The left panel of the lid on Side A is divided into zones of zigzags and rosettes, triangles and running spirals. The right panel has an octopus with four rows of wavy tentacles. The lid on Side B has rosettes and a double axe in the left panel. The right panel has an octopus with four sets of tentacles, but the tentacles on the right side are drawn in a very untidy manner. The short ends of the lid each have 4-5 horizontal rows of tentacle motif. On the left end they are divided in two by a row of running spirals. Each end panel of the chest is divided into three vertical bands. The left end has two rows of spirals and rosettes with a central row of zigzags. The right end has two rows of lozenges separated by a cross-hatched band. The borders have lozenges and zigzags. It is thought to be from the same workshop as L48 from the same tomb (Kanta 1980, 157).

L.50. Tub. 1946 Chamber Tomb, Episkopi, Ierapetra
Kanta 1980, 158
Ierapetra Museum
Tub with a saddle-shaped cover ending in half-moons or stylised horns

Tub with tentacle panels and a lid

This tub is described as having panels of tentacle motif, checkerboard and foliate bands (Kanta 1980, 158). It is an unusual example of a tub which has been provided with a lid.

L.51. Chest. 1919 Chamber Tomb, Episkopi, Ierapetra
Watrous 1991, Pl. 85d; Rutkowski 1966 Pl. VI 2; Kanta 1980, 150
HM 7626
Rectangular chest with a tub-shaped lid
Condition: good; the decoration is quite well preserved
LM IIIB

Chest with tentacles, tricurved arch, a bull, a bird, horns of consecration and double axes as main motifs

The left panel of Side A has a large bull with a bird alighting on its back. Above them are two horns of consecration. To the left is another set of horns with a double axe. The right panel has the tricurved

arch motif. Unusually, it is not shown in a continuous form but in two vertical rows separated by a spiral chain. The lid is decorated with tentacle motifs in two horizontal rows. The rest of the chest is not shown or described. It is thought to be from the same workshop which produced the larnakes found at Alatsomouri-Pachyammos (Kanta 1980, 150).

L.52. Tub. 1919 Chamber Tomb, Episkopi, Ierapetra; Fig. 207
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXV 1-3; Kanta 1980, fig. 65.1-2
HM 7624
Small low tub
Condition: very good; intact with well preserved decoration
LM IIIB

Small tub with swimming octopi and spiral motifs
Both long sides of this tub have two octopus panels divided by a frieze with abstract patterns (parallel arcs with a central lozenge). The panels of Side A both have an octopus swimming to the right in an unusual composition. Both octopi have a heart-shaped head connected to the body in a naturalistic manner. They have two sets of tentacles which follow the contours of the body in wavy lines. Their bodies are outlined, perhaps by a third set of tentacles. The right octopus also has three lines above its head, creating a 'spiky hairdo' effect.

Side B has abstract panels of a spiral plant (right) and a circle filled with parallel arcs and framed by the same motif. The end panels have an outer border of two spirals. They have similar motifs of spirals and stacked parallel arcs, in different arrangements. Directly below the rim, running around the whole tub is a wavy line. The outer rim is painted with adder mark motif. The internal walls have drip decoration.

L.53. Tub. 1919 Chamber Tomb, Episkopi, Ierapetra
Kanta 1980, fig. 63.6; Rutkowski 1966, XXVI 1-2
HM 7623
Tub with steep sides
Condition: good; the decoration is generally well preserved but partly missing on one end
LM IIIB

Tub with a huge octopus on each long side, with wavy lines and checkerboard motifs
The octopus on each side is painted in the same style, with a heart-shaped head, slightly pendulous

body, prominent eyes, and two sets of tentacles which extend to the edges of the tub in waves. Above the head they have three abridged tentacles, one upright, with two forming v-shapes on either side. There is a vertical wavy line on each side of the octopus and a horizontal wavy line above directly below the rim, which continues around the whole tub. The end panels have checkerboard motifs. The tub is thought to belong to the same octopus workshop group as L58, L60 and L65 (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 474).

L.54. Chest. Episkopi, Ierapetra
Kanta 1980, 158; on display in the Ierapetra Museum
Ierapetra Museum
Rectangular chest
Chest with two half-moon projections on lid ends, possibly simplified horns

Chest with tricurved arch and tentacles as main motifs; a palm motif hybridised with a double axe is painted on the short ends
The long sides of this chest both have a single panel of tricurved arch motif. Unusually the tricurved arch is not in a continuous ever-expanding pattern; instead it is in three rows each with two arches. The angles of each arch are filled with arcs and between each row is a narrow band of zigzag lines. The borders are painted with solid bands of brown paint. The lid has two rows of wavy tentacles. Both short end panels have double axes hybridised with palm motifs.

L.55. Chest. Episkopi, Ierapetra
On display in the Ierapetra Museum

Chest with tentacles and horns of consecration as main motifs
The long sides of the chest and lid are divided into two panels by a central border of checkerboard motifs. Both panels of each long side of the chest are the same, showing a set of horns of consecration above a row of wavy tentacles. The long sides of the lid have a set of horns of consecration in each of the two panels, with a narrow border of tentacle motif. The short ends of the chest have two rows of tentacles as the main motif. The lid ends each have slightly misshapen horns, framed by narrow borders of tentacle motif. The narrow borders of the chest all have three solid oval shapes pointing inwards, perhaps representing foliage.

L.56. 'Larnax'. Gournia
Boyd-Hawes 1908, 46a
Condition: lower part of a tub and other fragments only
LM IIIB?

Partial larnax with octopus or tentacle motif
Part of a larnax with 'debased octopus' and checkerboard motifs was found in a cave-tomb in Gournia in 1903. There is no further description given.

L.57. 'Larnax'. Area E58, Gournia
Boyd-Hawes 1908, 46a
Condition: fragments only
LM IIIB?

Larnax fragments with octopus or tentacle motif
A LM III larnax burial was found amid the ruins of a LM I house at Gournia in 1903. The larnax was in a fragmentary condition and had a 'debased octopus' motif.

L.58. Tub. Alatsomouri Location 1904, Pachyammos; Fig. 244
Kanta 1980, fig. 56.1-2; Boyd-Hawes 1908, 46b, Pl. X no. 44
HM 3689
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved
Dimensions: 1.17(L.), 0.47(Ht.)
LM IIIB

Tub with a huge octopus on one long side, a scene with a cow suckling her calf on the other and a smaller octopus panel on the end
Side A has a single huge octopus with three rows of tentacles. There is a row of spirals above the octopus directly under the rim. Side B has a panel showing two cows and a calf. The left cow has horns and is suckling the calf. The body of the right cow has a zone of scale motif. The left end of the tub has an octopus panel with three rows of wavy tentacles. The interior walls have streaks of paint while the base has intersecting groups of wavy lines.

It is thought to be from the same workshop and perhaps same painter as the famous chest from Episkopi (L48; Kanta 1980, 156) as the cows are painted in the same style. However, as the octopus on

the back is also similar in style to those on chests from Pachyammos and Kavousi, it has been attributed by Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti (1997, 474) to a workshop group based in Episkopi/Pachyammos, to which I have also tentatively attributed the famous Episkopi chest. This tub has a hole 3cm in diameter in the left end near the bottom (Boyd-Hawes 1908, 46b).

L.59. Tub. Alatsomouri Location 1904, Pachyammos
Boyd-Hawes 1908, 45 fig. 26, 46b, Pl. X no. 46; Kanta 1980, fig. 58.2; Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXX 4
HM 7402
Tub with part of its lid
Condition: good; intact; the decoration is a little faded in places
Dimensions: 1.1(L.), 0.44 (Ht.)
LM IIIB

Tub with tentacles in a vertical arrangement, along with papyrus chains and flowers
Both long sides are divided into two main panels by a central metope. On Side A the outer panels both have two rows of wavy tentacles which are arranged vertically. The middle panel has a stylised papyrus chain motif. The right end has three flowers, one of which is a large Mycenaean III flower (FM 18). On Side B the left panel has two large curved Mycenaean flowers, with a smaller one below, while the right panel has two vertical flowers with thick stems made of chevrons. The central metope has a diamond and triangle framed by semi-circles. The left end has an elaborate pattern of over-lapping flowers and arcs. The interior walls have festoons in double lines forming rope-like loops which drop from the rim. Part of its lid was still *in situ* upon discovery (Boyd-Hawes 1908, 46a-b). This tub was found in the same tomb as L58.

L.60. Tub. Alatsomouri Location 1904, Pachyammos
Boyd-Hawes 1908, 46b, Pl. X no. 45; Kanta 1980, fig. 55.9; Rutkowski 1966, XXX 3
Condition: quite well preserved
Dimensions: 1.0 (L.), 0.37 (Ht.)
LM IIIB

Tub with a huge octopus on each side
Both sides of this tub have a single panel showing a huge octopus with tentacles arranged in two wavy rows. The end panels are divided into four triangular zones by intersecting diagonal lines. Each zone is painted with three stemmed spirals. The arrangement of these spirals is reminiscent of the argonaut motif, which is usually shown with three spiral tentacles and could be reduced to these spirals without

the shell. The end panels are framed by narrow borders of running spirals and horizontal rows of zigzags. Above the panels on each side is a continuous band of zigzags with alternating groups of lines filling the spaces above and below. It is thought to belong to the same octopus workshop group as L53, L58 and L65 (Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 474).

L.61. Tub. Alatsomouri Location 1951, Pachyammos; Figs. 208 and 215
Kanta 1980, fig. 52.4 and 56.3-4; Rutkowski 1966, XXX II
HM 9499
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved
Possibly LM IIIA2

Tub with a compact octopus panel, scale motif, stylised papyrus plants and internal fish
Side A has two main panels divided by a band filled with the scale motif. The right panel has three large stylised papyrus plants. The left panel has an octopus. The tentacles of the octopus are not arranged in long wavy rows, an unusual feature which suggests that the tub has an early date. The head and body of the octopus are linked in a fairly naturalistic way. There are ten tentacles, all of which emerge from the top of the head and follow the contours of the body in wavy lines, with each set longer than the set above. Each tentacle ends in a little spiral coil. Side B has two large panels to the right but many smaller ones to the left. The large panels have two different scale patterns; the right pattern has triangular insets perhaps representing papyrus heads. To the left are three narrow borders of wavy striations, horizontal wavy lines and running spirals. Large fish swim around the internal walls.

L.62. Tub. Alatsomouri Location 1951, Pachyammos
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXXIII 2; Kanta 1980, fig. 56.5
HM 9500
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved
LM IIIB (early?)

Tub with double octopus panels and the tricurved arch motif
Side A has two large octopus panels separated by a smaller vertical panel decorated with a variation of the tricurved arch pattern. Whereas the pattern is usually ever-expanding in form, it is reduced here to two single arches and the tip of the third. The bottom line curls upwards to form two spirals so that the motif resembles the octopus heads on the larnax from Milatos (L43). The octopus panels here both have an octopus with a heart-shaped head, prominent eyes and oval body. Each has two rows of long wavy tentacles, a third abridged set above the head, and possibly a fourth set represented by a line

following the contours of the body. Side B is not shown or described. The interior walls are divided into four large arcs by triangular shaped blocks of paint.

L.63. Tub. Selladhes Location, Mouliana
Kanta 1980, fig. 81.5 and 114.2 (drawing of interior decoration)
HM 3529
Tub with almost vertical sides
Condition: good; intact with quite well preserved decoration
LM IIIC

Tub with tentacles as the main motif; fish and a crab inside
Both sides of the tub have two panels of schematic octopus tentacles, drawn in double lines, and a central panel of checkerboard motif. The interior walls are also painted, with four panels separated by groups of three wavy lines. One internal panel is blank except for stippling; the other three have a large schematic fish above a wavy line which seems to indicate the sea bed, as suggested by the crab with raised pincers which sits on the wavy line in one panel.

L.64. Tub. Tombe dei Nobili, Kalyvia Cemetery, Phaistos
Kanta 1980, figs. 35.1-7
Heraklion Museum
Condition: a few fragments only
LM IIIB

Fragments of a tub with octopi
These seven fragments may represent more than one octopus tub. Fragments 1, 3 and 6 seem to be from the same tub which may have had a large octopus on each side, with tentacles arranged in two wavy tiers. The octopus has a heart-shaped head and pendulous body attached by a thick line. Three appendages attached to the apex of the head may represent abridged tentacles or suggest hybridisation with the palm motif, as suggested by Kanta (1980, 99). The three remaining fragments show traces of checkerboard motif bordering tentacles, with a spiral field above. They are probably from the same tub and possibly from the one described here.

L.65. Tub. Kavousi-Kastro

Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti 1997, 474, n.4

Condition: fragment only

Tub fragment with a huge octopus

This fragment of a tub larnax with a huge octopus was found in a secondary context at Kavousi. Tsipopoulou and Vagnetti (1997, 474) ascribe it to the same workshop which produced the Episkopi and Alatsomouri/Pachyammos octopus tubs (L53 and L58).

L.66. Chest. Unknown Provenance*

On display in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum

Rectangular chest

Condition: the lower edge of one side is partly damaged; the decoration is a little faded in places

Chest with fish and palms as the main motifs

Side A has a single large panel with five fish: three large fish in the foreground and two smaller fish behind. They are all drawn in a very schematic way with a large arched body which is painted solid and narrows only slightly towards the forked tail. They each have a single large eye and wide open jaws as if feeding. Behind them is a field of giant palms, five in all, with two rosettes as fillers. The borders have running spirals. The left end repeats the same theme; it has a giant palm with three leaping fish below. The right end also has a palm, here with a row of running spirals to each side. A painted shape below, too fragmentary to see, was probably another leaping fish. The end borders all have zigzags. The lid has not survived.

L.67. Tub. Unknown Provenance*

On display in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum

Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Tub with a huge octopus on one side and a papyrus plant on the other

Side A has two large panels separated by a band of wavy border motif. Each panel has a huge stemmed papyrus plant with many leafy shoots (represented by arrow headed lines). The back panel has a huge octopus with tentacles arranged in two wavy rows. The rest of the octopus is not visible as displayed. Between the front and back panels are borders of zigzags.

L.68. Tub. Palaikastro
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXXV.1-2
British Museum, London
Condition: the decoration is very poorly preserved
LM IIIA-B

Tub with an octopus as the main motif
The decoration of this tub is poorly preserved and only Side A can be described. It has an octopus placed in the centre of the panel, bordered by groups of superimposed concentric arcs which create a rocky habitat. The octopus seems to have a round body with tentacles curling symmetrically to each side, each ending in a spiral coil. The head and other details are too poorly preserved for further comment. The overall style of the octopus suggests an early date of LM IIIA or IIIB.

L.69. Chest. Unknown Provenance*
Davaras 1976, Pl. 103

Chest with a huge octopus as the main motif
Only one side of this chest is illustrated in the publication. It is decorated with a single huge octopus. The octopus has an almost-round head with large eyes and a disproportionately small pendulous body, attached to the head by a fine line. The tentacles stem directly from the head and extend in two wavy rows to each side of the octopus. The borders have groups of horizontal lines. The lid has a huge palm motif, the branches of which extend outwards echoing the octopus tentacles below. As Davaras does not specify where this larnax is from, it is possible that this is one of the two octopus chests he excavated at a tomb at Stavrakia in the 1960's (L.83-84 below).

L.70. Chest. Mavro Spelio Cemetery, Knossos
Forsdyke 1926-1927, 271-72, fig. 26; Kanta 1980, 202
Oblong chest
Condition: poorly preserved
Dimensions: 1.34 (L.)
LM IIIA2

Chest decorated with huge argonauts
This large chest has remains of painting only on one long side and short end. Side A has two huge argonauts moving right. They are painted in thick outline; the shells are cross-hatched and have a spiral

at the back. They have three thick tentacles which extend upwards and curl at the tips. The narrow borders have wavy lines. The lid is preserved only in fragments and was decorated with the wavy border motif.

L.71. Tub. Malia
Kanta 1980, 51; van Effenterre 1963, 98, Pl. XXXIX
ANikM 8555
Condition: the decoration is very poorly preserved
Dimensions: 0.48 (L.), 0.34 (W.), 0.29 (Ht.)
LM IIIB

Small tub possibly decorated with tentacles
Small tub described as possibly decorated with tentacles. No decoration is visible in the published photograph however.

L.72. Tub. Royal Villa, Knossos
Morris 1995, figs. 1-2
KSM Q III 1 no. 1501
Condition: three fragments only
LM IIIA1 - early LM IIIA2

Fragments of a tub with fish
Two of the preserved fragments join, showing a section of one side below the rim. The inside decoration has two fish swimming diagonally upwards in an x-formation, their bodies crossed. Above them hangs a tricurved rock pattern. To the left is the edge of a marine rockwork motif and a solid rayed disc which probably represents a sea-anemone. The third fragment has a second anemone. The outside decoration of these fragments is less clear; some of the irregular shapes preserved may be the tails of fish, while traces of undulating bands may represent tentacle motifs. The fish shown on the inside are too generic to suggest a specific species, but it is worth noting that they have flipper-like fins suggesting a conflation with the dolphin. Morris (1995, 188-91) has identified several vases by the same hand and has named the artist ' the Knossos Fish Painter'.

L.73. Chest. Pankalochori; Fig. 205

Baxevani-Kouziovi and Markoulaki 1996, 644-46, 660-65, 672, figs. 31-34

RM 3360

Condition: good, slightly restored in places

Dimensions: 1.07-1.08(L.), 0.37-0.41(W.), 0.62-0.65(Ht.)

LM IIIA2 (early)

Chest with papyrus heads as the primary motif, an octopus, fish and dotted scale pattern on the lid, and religious symbols (horns of consecration, double axe and bucrania) as secondary motifs

The long sides both have a main panel of three papyrus heads in a stylised chain, with parallel arcs in the interstices. The same pattern is painted on the flat upper surface of the lid. The borders have checkerboard motifs divided by a central panel painted with a bucranium. The long sides of the lid are also divided into two panels by a central metope painted with horns of consecration and central double axe. On Side A the lid panels both have the dotted scale motif. On Side B the right lid panel has the dotted scale while the left has a large facing octopus with two rows of wavy tentacles and one raised abridged set. The right end panel has a chain of ovals with spirals, framed by wavy borders. The lid end above is poorly preserved but two antithetical fish can be distinguished, one above the other. The left end panel has a bucranium above a panel of checkerboard, and the bucranium motif is mirrored on the lid end above. The left end borders have wavy border and zigzag motifs.

L.74. Chest. Pankalochori

Baxevani-Kouziovi and Markoulaki 1996, 666-69, 672, figs. 36-39

Rectangular chest

Condition: reconstructed from numerous fragments

Dimensions: 1.09-1.11(L.), 0.45-0.47(W.), 0.8-0.82(Ht.)

LM IIIA2

Chest with tricurved arch, fish, water-birds, papyrus and wavy border motifs

The panel on each long side is divided into two horizontal zones. Side A has a tricurved arch chain in the upper zone with a papyrus chain below. Side B has rosettes/quatrefoil above a tricurved arch chain. On both sides the tricurved arch has plant-like insets of parallel arcs. The wavy border motif is painted in all the borders except those of the right end which is plain. It is also painted on the lid (on the upper surface, one long side and one end). Side B of the lid has groups of parallel arcs inset with papyrus motifs. The left lid end is painted with vertical and horizontal lines. The right end panel has a composition of three birds, one above the other. Two of the birds are plump water birds with duck-like heads and beaks; the middle bird is partly destroyed. Between the middle and lower bird are two

stylised forms which have been identified as fish (Baxevani-Kouzioui and Markoulaki 1996, 669). The left end panel is divided into two vertical zones of parallel wavy lines with alternate papyrus and lily motifs between each curve.

L.75. Chest. Pankalochori
Baxevani-Kouzioni and Markoulaki 1996, 669-72, figs. 40-43
Condition: reconstructed from numerous fragments
Dimensions: 1.06-1.07(L.), 0.4-0.42(W.), 0.7-0.72(Ht.)
LM IIIA2 (late)

Chest with stylised papyrus chains as the main motif; shells and wavy lines as secondary motifs
The panels of both the long sides and short ends are divided into three horizontal zones by a slightly diagonal metope. Side A has two panels of alternating arcs/stylised papyrus chains, divided by a chain of parallel lozenges. Side B has a panel of alternating arcs/stylised papyrus chain above a line of chevrons; the lower zone has a chain of lozenges painted inside and outside with parallel arcs. Lid A has two horizontal zones with a chain of fringed shells above a chain of alternating arcs/stylised papyrus; the latter motif is also painted on the opposite side of the lid. The end panels have cross-hatching and lines; the borders are divided into 3-6 registers and painted with wavy lines, chevrons, fine vertical lines or cross-hatching. The flat upper surface of the lid is painted with multiple wavy lines.

L.76. Tub. Koube, Chania
Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1997, 492-93, 500, 541, Pl. IIIb
Chania Museum
Condition: quite good although the decoration is poorly preserved in places
LM IIIB

Small tub with double octopus panels as the main motif
The decoration is poorly preserved on Side B and on the lower right corner of Side A, but clearly this small tub was completely decorated with octopi. Both sides had two large facing octopi separated by two groups of double lines below the central handle. Each octopus had a small heart-shaped head and pendulous body framed by a wavy line, with an extra abbreviated body above the head. They have four sets of tentacles, three of which emerge from the fourth up-raised set and fall loosely down by the body. The two short ends were painted with groups of vertical wavy lines.

L.77. Chest. Maroulas
Papapostolou 1974, 248, Pl.186α-β
RM 2176
Condition: partly restored
Dimensions: 1.58(L.), 0.43(W.), 1.07(Ht.)
LM IIIA-B

Chest completely decorated with tentacles organised in two wavy rows
Tentacles decorate the long sides and short ends of the chest, as well as each side of the lid. The narrow border zones have wavy lines. It is from the same tomb as L13.

L.78. 'Larnax'. Giofyrakia
Kanta 1980, 21
Condition: the decoration is only partially preserved
LM IIIA

Larnax with a bivalve shell motif
This larnax is decorated with double axes in tiers, flowers and bivalve shells. Kanta (1980, 21) does not specify whether it is a chest or tub larnax.

L.79. Chest. Giofyrakia
Kanta 1980, 21 and fig. 113.1 (drawing)
Heraklion Museum
Condition: the decoration is poorly preserved
LM IIIB

Chest with horns of consecration with a double axe and bird as the main motif, and an octopus-palm hybrid as a secondary motif
The main panel of at least one long side has a large set of horns of consecration with a central axe, with a bird perched on top. Above the legs is an octopus-palm hybrid motif.

L.80. Tub. Episkopi, Ierapetra
Kanta 1980, 158
Ierapetra Museum

LM IIIB-C

Tub with tentacles as the main motif

Tub with highly stylised tentacles as the main decoration. Kanta (1980, 158) has compared the motif to the stylised tentacles on a tub from Mouliana (L63).

L.81. Tub. Papoures Location, Siteia

Kanta 1980, 177

Siteia Museum

Tub with argonauts on the interior

This tub reportedly has argonauts painted on the inside walls. No further information is available.

L.82. Chest. Preveliana

Kanta 1980, 86

LM IIIB

Chest with octopi and argonauts

This chest was reportedly decorated with octopi and argonauts. No further information is available.

L.83. Chest. Stavrakia

Kanta 1980, 16

LM IIIB

Chest with octopus motifs

This chest is one of two chests decorated with octopus motifs from the tomb excavated by Davaras in the 1960s. No further information is provided.

L.84. Chest. Stavrakia

Kanta 1980, 16

LM IIIB

Chest with octopus motifs

Chest decorated with octopus motifs from the tomb excavated by Davaras. No further information is provided. See also L83.

L.85. Chest. Gournes, Malathres Location
Kanta 1980, 60

Chest with tentacle motifs
This chest was reportedly decorated with tentacle motifs. No further information is available.

L.86. 'Larnax'. Moires
Kanta 1980, 89
HM 1339
Restored larnax
LM IIIA2

Larnax with argonauts
This clay larnax reportedly has argonauts in several bands. No further information is available.

L.87. 'Larnax'. Stavros Galias
Kanta 1980, 89
LM IIIA-B

Larnax with an octopus motif
This larnax was reportedly decorated with an octopus. No further information is available.

L.88. Tub. Xerokamera
Kanta 1980, 198
Heraklion Museum (East Storeroom)
LM IIIB

Tub with octopi
This tub larnax reportedly had decoration of octopi. No further information is available.

L.89. 'Larnax'. Khoumeri, Laria Location

Kanta 1980, 202

Rethymnon Museum

LM IIIA2

Larnax with argonauts

This larnax is reportedly decorated with argonauts. According to Kanta (1980, 202), the argonauts are similar to those on larnakes from Mavro Spelio (L70) and Stavromenos (L90).

L.90. 'Larnax'. Stavromenos

Kanta 1980, 202

LM IIIA2

Larnax with argonauts

This larnax is reportedly decorated with argonauts. According to Kanta (1980, 202), the argonauts are similar to those on larnakes from Mavro Spelio (L70) and Khoumeri (L89).

L.91. Chest. Unknown Provenance

Mavriyannaki 1972, no. 1, 41-44, Pls. II-III

Rethymnon Museum

Rectangular chest with four feet; the sides taper slightly towards the feet

Condition: good

Dimensions: 0.95 (L.), 0.41 (W.), 0.64 (Ht.)

LM IIIA2-B

Chest completely painted with the wavy border motif

Sides A and B each have one long modelled panel framed above and below by horizontal lines which are also intersected below by short vertical lines. The main panel is painted with three sets of wavy borders each with a central motif of three wavy lines. The wide border zones are decorated with wavy border motifs, without wavy lines, so that there are five large panels of wavy border in total on each long side. The short ends also have the wavy border motif in two painted panels framed by wavy lines. There is a horizontal line of rope pattern modelled into the clay above each painted panel on each of the four sides.

L.92. Chest. Unknown Provenance*; Fig. 227
On display in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum
Rectangular chest
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Chest completely decorated with the wavy border motif
Both the chest and its lid are completely decorated with the wavy border motif. The long sides each have two large panels filled with parallel sets of wavy border motif. The panels are framed on each side by a further line of wavy border motif, this time depicted singly. The short end panels have two parallel sets of wavy borders.

L.93. Chest. Psari Phorada
Banou and Rethemiotakis 1997, 27, 46-47, fig. 28
Chest with a gabled lid
Condition: fragments of a chest and lid
LM II-IIIA1?

Fragmentary chest with the wavy border as the main motif
This chest and lid survive only in fragments. The long sides were painted with vertically arranged groups of wavy border motifs, with trefoil used as a filling motif. The decoration on the lid is too poorly preserved for identification. If the date assigned is correct it is one of the earliest in the series.

L.94. Chest. Karnari, Archanes
Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 483, fig. 469
Long rectangular chest
LM IIIA2

Chest with the wavy border as the main motif
Both the long and short sides of this chest have the wavy border as the main motif. The long sides are completely framed by the wavy border and four vertical wavy border bands divide the panel into four zones. The third and largest zone is decorated with a degenerated floral motif, while the zones to either side contain a single wavy line.

L.95. Chest. The Cenotaph, Phourni, Archanes

Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, fig. 472

Squat chest

Condition: good; the chest is largely intact although the decoration is a little faded in places

LM IIIA2

Chest with wavy lines as the sole motif

Both the chest and lid are completely decorated with groups of wavy lines. The borders of the chest have four to five wavy lines, while the main panel has two bands of four wavy lines. The lid has four groups of wavy lines; the outer two groups are comprised of three lines, the rest, of four.

L.96. Chest. Katsamba

Watrous 1991, Pl. 84g

Rectangular chest

Condition: heavily restored; the decoration is quite well preserved except on the lid

Chest with wavy lines as the sole motif

The long and short ends of this chest have wavy lines as the sole motif. The main panels of the long sides have three groups of wavy lines; the middle group has double lines, the outer groups triple.

L.97. Chest. Upper Gypsades, Knossos; Fig. 226

Rutkowski 1966, Pl. VII.2

Chest completely decorated with wavy lines

The wavy lines are arranged in three groups on the main panels of the long sides and one group on the short ends, all framed by borders of the same motif. The lid also has groups of wavy lines.

L.98. Chest. Kamilari

Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XVIII 4

Chest with flat lid

Condition: heavily restored; the decoration is poorly preserved in places

Chest completely decorated with the wavy line motif

This chest has triple wavy lines as the sole motif in the centre of each long side.

L.99. Chest. Mastampas
Kanta 1980, 26, fig. 9.9
HM 1919
Rectangular chest
Condition: quite good although the decoration is faded and missing in places
LM IIIB

Chest with Minoan flowers as the main motif, with wavy lines on the lid and spiral borders
The side panel of this chest has spreading Minoan flowers with curved stems as the main motif. The lid is decorated with triple wavy lines which join at each end. The borders have running spirals.

L.100. Chest. Tylissos
Watrous 1991, Pl. 84d; Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXII 3
Heraklion Museum
Rectangular chest with tall lid
Condition: heavily restored; the decoration is poorly preserved, especially on the lid
LM IIIB

Chest with the tricurved arch as the sole motif
The long sides of this chest have a single panel with a huge tricurved arch pattern in three rows, the outer rows showing only halves so that there are only two full motifs in total. The tricurved arches have an infill of parallel arcs with an outer fringe, possibly papyrus derivatives. The borders have four solid blocks of paint. The larnax is one of three chests found in the same tomb, all painted with the tricurved arch motif.

L.101. Chest. Tylissos
Kanta 1980, 10; Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXII 1
Heraklion Museum
Rectangular chest with a tall lid
Condition: heavily restored; the decoration is poorly preserved in places
LM IIIB

Chest with the tricurved arch as the sole motif
The chest is painted with the tricurved arch, in a similar manner to L100 from the same tomb, except that the motif is larger in scale.

L.102. Chest. Tylissos

Kanta 1980, 10; Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXII 2

Heraklion Museum

Rectangular chest with a tall lid

Condition: partly restored; the decoration is quite well preserved

LM IIIB

Chest with the tricurved arch as the sole motif

The chest is painted with the tricurved arch, in a similar manner to L100-101 from the same tomb. Like L101, the motif is painted on a large scale.

L.103. Chest. Tholos Tomb A, Phourni, Archanes

Watrous 1991, Pl. 82 h; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, Pls. 51-52; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 479-81, figs. 465-66

One of the largest chests ever recovered from Crete (dimensions unpublished however)

Condition: good; largely intact although the decoration is faded in places

LM IIIA2

Chest with the tricurved arch pattern as the main motif; papyrus plants and spirals as other motifs

Sides A and B each have a single long panel filled with the tricurved arch motif framed by borders of running spirals. The tricurved arch varies in size and forms five to seven rows. It is inset with parallel curved lines, identified by Watrous (1991, 29) as 'aquatic bivalves' or as abstracted papyrus by Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1997, 480). The lid has five papyrus plants each with a stalk and stylised leaves. The short end panels have double rows of spirals. Note that this chest had been shut tight by ropes and sealed with plaster (Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 480).

L.104. Chest. Ligortino; Fig. 231

Rutkowski 1966, Pl. X1.1-2; on display in the Louvre Museum, Paris

The Louvre Museum, Paris

Condition: excellent; the decoration is very well preserved

Chest completely decorated with the tricurved arch motif

This chest is completely decorated with the tricurved arch motif, with running spiral motifs in the narrow borders.

L.105. Chest. Pentamodi
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXI.1

Chest completely decorated with spirals
Both this chest and its lid have spirals as the main motif. The lid has tendril spirals and individual spirals in a free formation, with chevrons on the short ends. On the chest a line of tendril spirals hang down from the top of the panel above two rows of running spirals. In the centre of each spiral is an x-pattern. The end panels have concentric arcs while the borders have wavy line and wavy border motifs.

L.106. Tub. Katsamba
Kanta 1980, fig. 71.10
HM 12035
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Tub with stemmed spirals and wavy border as the main motifs
This tub is decorated with two bold spirals divided by a central border of wavy lines. The main motif is framed by wavy borders. It is one of five tubs with similar decoration (see also L107-110) which may have been produced in the same workshop (Kanta 1980, 292).

L.107. Tub. Asprospilia, Myrsini
Kanta 1980, fig. 71.9, 71.11
HM 1162
Condition: good although the decoration is a little faded

Tub with stemmed spirals
Like L106 without the wavy border.

L.108. Tub. Palaikastro
Kanta 1980, fig. 102.5
British Museum, London
Condition: Poor; the decoration is missing in places

Tub with stemmed spirals
Like L107 and L109-110.

L.109. Tub. Palaikastro
Kanta 1980, 292

Tub with stemmed spirals
Like L107-108 and L110.

L.110. Tub. Town of Siteia
Kanta 1980, 292

Tub with stemmed spirals
Like L107-109.

L.111. Chest. Malia
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XVIII.1-2; Kanta 1980, 52

Chest with spirals and crosshatching as main motifs
This chest has alternating panels of running spirals and cross-hatch motifs on the long sides. The short ends have two vertical columns of double running spiral motifs. No decoration survives on the lid.

L.112. Chest. Praesos
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XXI.5; Bosanquet 1901-1902, 247
Condition: heavily restored
Dimensions: 0.92 (L.), 0.43 (W.), 0.65 (Ht. without lid)

Chest with spirals as the main motif
The long sides each have two rows of running spirals, with each spiral connected to the one above or below by a curved line. The end panels have rosettes. The lid is decorated with curved bands. In a variation from the usual arrangement, there are no narrow borders framing the main panels.

L.113. Chest. Pit 4, Mycenaean Grave Enclosure, Phourni, Archanes
Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 483, fig. 468
Condition: fragmentary
LM IIIA2

Chest with large spirals as the main motif

The long sides of the chest and lid have large running spirals, in a double and triple row respectively. Each spiral is linked to the one below so that a diamond shape is formed between them. The corners of this space are filled with parallel arcs and a central rosette. The narrow borders of the long and short sides have horizontal zigzag lines. The short end panels of both the chest and lid have a scale pattern filled with chevrons.

L.114. Chest. Gazi

Watrous 1991, Pl. 83b; Kanta 1980, fig. 103.5

HM 11145

Short rectangular chest

Condition: largely intact but the decoration is poorly preserved in places

LM IIIA1

Chest with huge spirals as the main motif and papyrus as a secondary motif

The long sides of this chest both have a single panel painted with two huge running spirals, each with a rosette in the centre. The narrow borders have wavy border motif. The lid has two large papyrus fronds. The ends are not shown.

L.115. Chest. Ayios Myron

Kanta 1980, 15-16, fig. 7.1 and 113.2

HM 9336

Condition: good; the decoration is quite well preserved

LM IIIA1

Chest with huge spirals as the main motif

The main panel of each long side has two huge spirals with a central rosette, like those of the chest from Gazi (L114). Here the spirals also have wavy lines above and below. One end has a fine papyrus flower.

L.116. Chest. Ayios Syllas

Watrous 1991, Pl. 86d

Rectangular chest

Condition: largely intact; the decoration is quite well preserved but faded or missing in places

Chest with huge spirals as the main motif

The long sides of the lid and chest have spirals as the main motif. The chest has two rows of huge running spirals, four in each row, with each spiral connected to the one below. The spiral group is surrounded on all sides by a continuous wavy line. The lid has four running spirals also surrounded by wavy lines. The borders of the chest have multiple wavy lines. The right end has three wavy lines on each side of the panel, all connected at the corners. They frame abstract motifs of arcs and curved lines.

L.117. Chest. Tomb VI, Upper Gypsades, Knossos
Watrous 1991, Pl. 84a, b
Long rectangular chest
Condition: lid missing

Chest with spirals and papyrus plants as main motifs

Side A has a single panel of four papyrus plants, each with two spiral leaves. There is a triangle between each papyrus which represents vegetation. The borders have horizontal rows of zigzags. The panel of Side B is divided into four horizontal rows each painted with running spirals. The right end panel is painted like Side B but its right border has the tentacle motif laid horizontally.

L.118. Chest. Dromos of Iron Age Chamber Tomb, Knossos, KMF Cemetery
Watrous 1991, Pl. 82f, g; Morgan 1987
Rectangular chest; well preserved
LM IIIA1

Chest with human figures and spirals as the main motifs, and the tricurved arch and wavy border as other motifs

The long sides are divided into two panels by a central border of retorted spirals. The main panels of Side A have female figures framed by wavy borders. The left woman stands on a wavy ground line and has her hands raised to her head in a gesture identified as one of adoration (Morgan 1987, 177) or grief (Vermeule 1965). In the left corner is a floral motif which may represent a palm, while a group of chevrons with a spiral curl may be derived from the papyrus motif. The woman in the right panel has both arms raised to the sky. To the right is a bird and a floral motif like that in the left panel. The outer borders have spirals.

Side B is less symmetrical. The left border has the tricurved arch motif. The left panel has two running spirals which may have been connected to more below. The right panel is only partially preserved and

has free-floating spirals which may have originally formed a chain, as on the right end. The left end panel is very fragmentary but in the centre is a human figure holding a staff or spear and wearing a shield. The figure is framed by the wavy border motif. The right end has running spiral borders with a main motif of spirals grouped in pairs along a central stem.

L.119. Chest. Upper Gypsades, Knossos
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. VII.1
Rectangular chest
Condition: only partially preserved

Chest with spirals and papyrus as main motifs
The chest and lid are only partially preserved but both seem to have had spirals as the main motif on the long sides. The lid seems to have had two rows of running spirals. The long sides of the chest may have been divided into two panels. The right panel had spirals in rows, each connected to the spiral below by an s-shaped curved line. In the left panel four vertical wavy lines and a single spiral are all that remains of the decoration. One short end panel had a papyrus motif. The borders have horizontal zigzags or the wavy border motif.

L.120. Chest. Pigi, Rethymnon
Baxevani 1995
Rethymnon Museum
Rectangular chest with slightly incurved sides; gabled lid projecting at either end
Condition: good
Dimensions: 1.10(L.), 0.44(W.), 1.05 (Ht.) or 74.5 (without lid).
LM IIIA2

Chest with prothesis scene, wavy lines and zigzags, stylised papyrus chain and horns of consecration with branch
The panels of Sides A and B have three horizontal zones. The outer zones have alternating arcs, the middle has a stylised papyrus chain, and the borders have groups of lines. The left short end has rosette/quatrefoil motifs. The right end panel is more complex, with four horizontal zones. The first and third zones have two horns of consecration with branches divided by horizontal zigzags. The second zone has alternating arcs filled with chevrons. The fourth zone has zigzags. The long sides of the lid also have alternating arcs. The right lid end has wavy lines. The left lid end has a prothesis scene framed by concentric circles, with parallel wavy lines painted over it. The ridge-pole of the lid is

also decorated with groups of lines and has a depiction of a male figure and a quadruped.

L.121. Chest. Maroulas

Watrous 1991, Pl. 89b, d; Kanta 1980, fig. 102.3-4; 1973

Rethymnon Museum

Rectangular chest

Condition: heavily restored; some of the decoration is missing

LM IIIB

Chest with a possible butterfly as the main motif, with hunting scenes and wavy lines as secondary motifs

The long side of this chest has an abstract panel very like that on the chest from Adele (L15), identified as a possible butterfly motif. The motif consists of two vertical lines between two large ovals with two smaller ovals attached. These seem to represent stylised butterfly antennae, body and wings, an interpretation supported by the obvious symmetry. The wings are filled with various abstract patterns. The borders all have multiple wavy lines. The lid decoration is not preserved.

The left end panel has a pictorial scene of a man killing a bull. The bull is being hit by a spear, while below a hunter raises his arms. Parallel lines shown next to the spear and around the head of the bull suggest motion or perhaps the sound of the animal crying out in pain. Below this to the left is another smaller quadruped, perhaps representing a young calf; its head does not survive. The iconography of the chest bears similarities not only to the Adele larnax (L15) but also to one from Armenoi (L122), which is thought to be by the same craftsman as it has a similar scene of ritual bull-killing (Kanta 1980, 293; 1973). It was found in the same tomb as L47.

L.122. Chest, Tomb 11, Armenoi; Fig. 243

Watrous 1991, Pl. 92a, b, e; Kanta 1980, 213, 293; 1973; Marinatos 1997, 286; Vermeule 1979, 66, fig. 24

Rethymnon Museum

Rectangular chest

Condition: good; intact with well preserved decoration

LM IIIB

Chest with main motifs of a ritual bull hunt and animals suckling their young, along with horns of consecration and the double axe; flowers, wavy borders and wavy lines appear as secondary motifs

Side A has a large panel of a bull hunt, shown in aerial perspective. Two large bulls have been speared. Below them their young calves are shown in a suckling position. Between the bulls are two hunters with raised arms. One lies prostrate; this is perhaps not an attempt to show him as dead but rather an attempt to show the scene from many angles. This technical detail applies also to the two birds shown flying overhead, one of which is upside-down. Below the bulls a goat and her suckling kid look on. Three loops shown along the borders of the panel may represent hills. Drawn inside the right loop is a third male figure holding a double axe, which Marinatos has identified as a priest directing the ritual hunt (1997, 286).

The panel of Side B is divided into two horizontal zones by a band filled with arcs. The top zone has four large horns of consecration each with a double axe. The lower zone has a row of running spirals. The narrow borders have wavy border and wavy line motifs and the long sides of the lid have alternating multiple arcs. Both end panels have a large 'Mycenaean III flower' (FM 18) and wavy line borders. The right lid end has a set of horns of consecration and a double axe, while the left end has a horned animal and its young. It is thought to be by the same craftsman as L121 from Maroulas, which has a similar scene of a bull hunt (Kanta 1980, 213, 293).

L.123. Tub. Episkopi, Ierapetra
Kanta 1980, 59, fig. 63.7
HM 9216
LM IIIA-B

Tub with papyrus and wavy striations
Tub decorated with a stylised papyrus chain. Above this, directly below the rim, is a band of wavy striations which may represent water.

L.124. Chest. Stavromenos
Kanta 1980, fig. 102.1; Watrous 1991, Pl. 85b
Rethymnon Museum
Rectangular chest
Condition: good; the decoration is quite well preserved

Chest with arcs as the main motif, with wavy lines in all of its narrow borders
Side A has alternating multiple arcs in two rows on both the chest and lid. Side B has parallel arcs. The borders all have wavy lines.

L.125. Tub. Palaikastro or Zafer Papoura
Rutkowski 1966, Pl. XL.1-2; PM IV, 330, fig. 272
Condition: good; the decoration is well preserved

Tub with a hybridised papyrus/butterfly motif, with spirals and wavy borders as secondary motifs
The long sides are decorated with a large abstracted papyrus motif possibly hybridised with a butterfly. In the centre of each side is a vertical stem from which a thin curved line emerges to each side. This suggests both a plant stem and perhaps the body and antennae of a butterfly. From the base of this 'stem' a huge papyrus plant extends to each side. It is essentially triangular, with two curving lines linked to a central stem by chevrons, which create a webbing effect, framed above by an arc. While we clearly have two large papyrus plants, the symmetry and additional details of the vertical central stem with antennae suggest that there is a deliberate hybridisation of the motif with a butterfly. The short ends are divided into two narrow borders and a single panel, all decorated with running spirals framed by wavy borders. Rutkowski (1966, Pl. XL) says this larnax came from Palaikastro, although according to Evans it is from Zafer Papoura (PM IV, 330, fig. 272).

L.126. Tub. Mycenae, Near the Cyclopean Terrace Building
French 1961, 88-89, fig. 1 and Pl. 14
Condition: two fragments only
LH IIIA2-B

Fragments of a tub with a chariot scene on the outside and an octopus or tentacles inside
The two fragments of this larnax are painted on both sides and are thought to have been part of a tub. The outside of the tub had a chariot composition: fragment A shows the rear of two horses, while fragment B shows the forequarters of the horses with the legs of a man walking in front and two large flowers, one of which is a papyrus plant. The inside of the tub had either a huge octopus or tentacle motif originally, as both of the fragments have two rows of schematic tentacles.

L.127. Chest. Tanagra; Fig. 222
Vermeule 1965, no. 5, 130-31, Pl. XXVIII
Formerly on the market in Switzerland
Small chest
Condition: fragmentary; only one long side and the end panels are preserved; the back and floor are missing
Dimensions: 0.69 (L.), 0.33 (W.), 0.43 (Ht.)

Chest with male figures and a huge water-bird in a possible marine landscape (indicated by seaweed), with religious symbols as secondary motifs

The front and parts of the end panels of this chest are preserved. On the front panel two large male figures, identified by Vermeule (1965, 130-31) as warriors, move right, followed by a huge plump water bird. Between the figures and the bird are two tall plants comprised of wavy lines topped by arrows, the Minoan convention for seaweed. Behind the bird are two large flowers. In front of the figures is a row of spirals, while tendril spirals mark the ground-line below. One short end has a large papyrus plant with a border filled with four stacked horns of consecration. The other end has three rows of horns of consecration; in the top two rows, one set of horns is replaced by a block of vertical wavy lines. The horns of consecration each have a wavy line rising from the centre and the panel had a narrow border of looping connected spirals. Each of the panels is also framed above by a horizontal row of beam ends. The imagery seems to have a mix of both Mycenaean (warriors) and Minoan (marine life, birds and religious symbols) elements.

L.128. Chest. Tanagra
Vermeule 1965, no. 8, 132-33
Small chest with curved sides and six legs
Dimensions: 0.68 (L.), 0.28 (W.), 0.4 (Ht.)
Possibly LH IIIB

Chest with tricurved arch and seaweed as the main motifs

Both long sides of this chest have abstract marine imagery: tricurved arch and seaweed. Side A is painted with the tricurved arch pattern. Side B has a large seaweed plant like those on L106, also from Tanagra. One end has a row of beam ends and two sets of horns of consecration. The other end has a male figure wearing a long robe. His arms are raised to his head in a gesture of mourning and his mouth is open in what Vermeule (1965, 132) has described as 'a cry of angry grief'.

L.129. Tub. Prosymna, Tomb 17
Blegen 1937, 54, 249 and fig. 101; French 1961, 89
Condition: the decoration is very poorly preserved
Dimensions: 1.22(L.), 0.52(W.), 0.45(Ht.)
LH IIIA2 (late)

Tub with octopus decoration on the inside

This poorly preserved tub reportedly had octopus decoration on the inside. The outer decoration was

preserved only in traces and is not visible in the published photograph.

L.130. Chest. Tanagra, Tomb 47; Fig. 235

Immerwahr 1995, 117 and fig. 7.7

Condition: poorly preserved with a flaking slip

Chest with a ship

The paint is poorly preserved but one long side has a single panel with a ship painted in the right-hand corner. It is oared and has one upturned and one flat extremity. The up-turned end has been anthropomorphised and resembles similar boats found on Minoan gems which Wedde (1997, 70-71) has linked with the Egyptian 'Barque of Soker' motif. The boat has at least two passengers with arms raised above their heads like the Mycenaean Psi and Phi figurines. The rest of the field seems to be filled with similar figures and/or plant-like motifs. Immerwahr (1995, 117) suggests that the figures are shades and that the boat may be travelling through the Underworld.

Table 1: Fishing scenes on Minoan sealstones (FS1-9)

No. and figure	Date	Reference	Context	Shape	Material	Description
FS1	MM I-II	CMS II.2 267b	Olous	three-sided prism bead	steatite	One side of this three-sided prism seal seems to show a man with two fish. The other sides show stars and a human-like form with a plant.
FS2; Fig. 6a	MM IIB	CMS II.2 174a	Malia, Workshop E	three-sided prism bead	steatite	One side of this bead shows a man with a gigantic fish. The other sides show two amphorae and a quadruped with a water-bird.
FS3; Fig. 6b	MM III	CS 205; PM I, 677, fig. 497	Knossos, North-west of the Palace	flattened cylinder	mottled chalcedony	Seal showing a fisherman holding a large fish (probably a scarus or tunny) in one hand and an octopus in the other.
FS4; Fig. 6c	Neopalatial	CMS IX 73	Unknown provenance	flattened cylinder	white jasper	Seal showing three dolphins hanging by their tails from forked poles.
FS5; Fig. 6d	LM IB	CMS VII 88	Unknown provenance	amygdaloid	black jasper	Seal showing a man holding a large fish, probably a tunny fish.
FS6	'LM'	CS 282	Unknown provenance	lentoid	grey steatite	Seal showing a female figure holding a large fish by the tail.
FS7; Fig. 6e	___	CMS V 181	Unknown provenance	lentoid	Spartan basalt	Seal showing a human figure with outstretched arms holding a huge tunny fish in each hand by the tail, with plant motifs below and to the sides.
FS8	___	CMS 1 Suppl. 1 136	Unknown provenance	discoid	grey steatite	Seal showing a schematised figure possibly holding a fish.
FS9?	'LM'	CMS X 144	Unknown provenance	lentoid	carnelian	Seal showing a male figure holding a large fish - its authenticity has been questioned however.

Table 2: Sealstones showing dolphins or large fish in a predatory pose with terrestrial or fantastic animals (DS1-16)

No and figure	Date	Reference	Context	Shape	Material	Description
DS1; Fig. 17j	LM IB	CMS VII 94	Unknown provenance	cylinder	carnelian	Sealstone with two inverted pursuit scenes showing a quadruped being pursued by a griffin and a Cretan goat being pursued by a lion. A dolphin or large fish leaps between the two scenes.
DS2; Fig. 17a	LM IA/ LC I	CMS V 690	Akrotiri, Room Δ16	lentoid	deep brown jasper	Sealstone showing a dolphin below a sphinx.
DS3	LM II	CMS VII 249	Unknown provenance	lentoid	carnelian	Sealstone showing a hound in a regardant pose with a contorted dolphin or large fish above. An object below the hound may represent a goat's head.
DS4; Fig. 17b	'LM'	CMS XIII 18	'Crete'	lentoid	white banded agate	Sealstone showing a large dolphin or fish above two horned goats.
DS5	'LM'	CS 345	Unknown Provenance	lentoid	pink veined agate	Sealstone with a large fish positioned above a contorted bull and a water-bird.
DS6	LM III	CMS V Suppl. 1B 197	Angelliana, Tomb 1	cylinder	dark grey steatite	This sealstone is made in the 'Cut Style'. It has two registers. The bottom scene shows a deer being chased by a bird. The top scene shows another bird with a dolphin or large fish positioned above it and upside-down. The animals are all very schematised.
DS7	LM IIIA1	CMS VII 111	Unknown provenance	lentoid	banded agate	Sealstone with a scene of two gazelles running left with a dolphin or large fish leaping between them. A bucranium and flower are also shown.

DS8; Fig. 17c	LM IIIB1	CMS II.4 161	Gournes, Tomb 2	lentoid	onyx	Sealstone with a dolphin or large fish above a contorted bull.
DS9; Fig. 17d	LH IIIC	CMS I 395	Perati Chamber Tomb	amygdaloid	carnelian	Sealstone showing a dolphin or large fish above a quadruped.
DS10	LH IIIC	CMS V 630	Unknown provenance, possibly from the Mycenaean tombs at Chalandritsa	lentoid	rock crystal	Sealstone showing a horned quadruped with a possible schematised dolphin or fish positioned above it.
DS11; Fig. 17e	—	CMS V 667	Thebes, Shaft Grave	lentoid	red jasper	Sealstone showing a goat or bull moving right with its head twisted back. Two large fish or dolphins are positioned above and below the animal.
DS12	—	CMS II.8 424	Knossos Palace, East Wing, Secret Staircase	sealing	—	Broken sealing showing a quadruped in a flying gallop with a dolphin or large fish positioned below it.
DS13; Fig. 17f	—	CMS XI 226	Unknown Provenance	lentoid	banded agate	Sealstone showing a goat or bull with its head twisted back and its foreleg raised. Three dolphins or large fish are shown below the animal.
DS14; Fig. 17g	—	CMS XI 64	Unknown Provenance	lentoid	banded agate	Sealstone with a dolphin or large fish positioned above a horned quadruped moving left.
DS15; Fig. 17h	—	CMS IX 126	'Crete'	lentoid	green jasper	Sealstone showing a horned quadruped, possibly a bull, in a distorted position with its head and hind-quarters twisted below the body. A dolphin or large fish is positioned above it.
DS16; Fig. 17i	—	CMS IX 24D	Unknown provenance	lentoid	haematite	Sealstone with a dolphin above a horned cow and her calf. The cow's head is bowed towards a calf which sits beneath her. Its authenticity has been doubted however.

Table 3a-b: An illustrated chronological outline showing the types of marine finds in ritual contexts and deposits on Crete and in the wider Aegean
(based on published data)

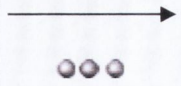
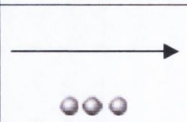
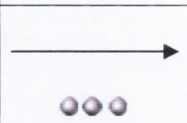
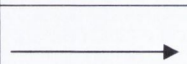
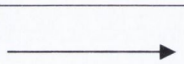
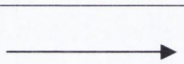
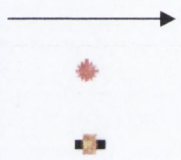
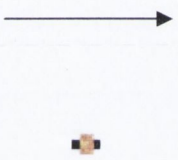
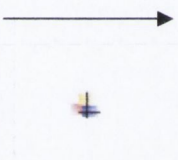
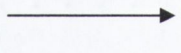
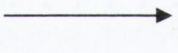
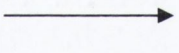
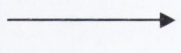
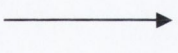
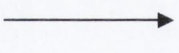
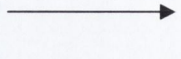
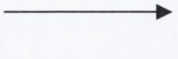
Key to symbols used:

- Seashells
- Triton shells
- Pebbles
- Small-scale model shells (seashells or argonaut shells) < 8cm in length
- Large-scale model shells (triton, argonaut or dolium shells) > 8cm in length
- Model boats
- Model fish, flying fish or dolphins
- Small fish in bone, ivory or gold (specified)
- Fish-shaped rhyta
- Vessels decorated with marine motifs (painted or in relief)
- Frescoes with marine motifs
- Seals or sealings with marine motifs
- Offering tables with marine motifs (painted or incised)
- Snake tube with marine motif
- Hut urn with marine motif
- Metal plaque with marine motif (fish)
- Shell inlays
- Coral
- Pumice
- Fish vertebrae

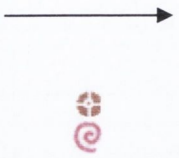
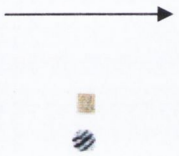
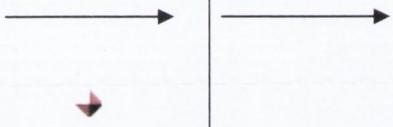
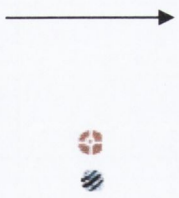
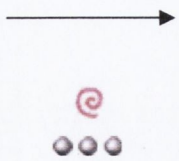
Table 3a: Marine finds in ritual contexts or deposits on Crete[1]

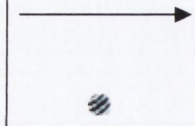
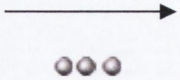
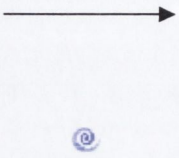
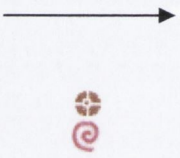
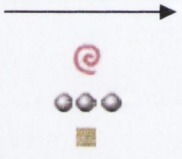
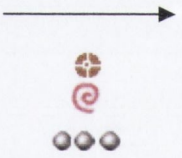
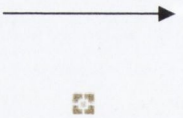
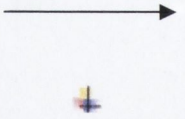
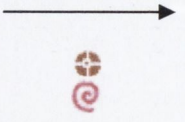
No	Site	Protopalatial Period	Neopalatial Period	Third Palace and Postpalatial Periods	Date of finds unclear
1	Knossos Palace, the Vat Room Deposit **shell inlays**	→			
2	Phaistos Palace, Lower West Court Sanctuary **seashells** **triton shell**	→			
3	Malia, House B, Quartier Mu, Room V5 **shell inlays** **worked coral**	→			
4	Vrysinas, Peak Sanctuary **model fish**	→	→		
5	Atsipadhes Korakias, Peak Sanctuary **pebbles**	→			
6	Vigla, Peak Sanctuary **seashells** **pebbles**	→			
7	Zou Prinias, Peak Sanctuary **seashells** **pebbles**	→			

[1] All of the finds listed in this table are described fully in Appendix 1 with the exception of nos. 34-39, which have previously been described in Mountjoy 1985. Please note that triton shells are not listed here, except where they have been found with other marine finds - for a full list of triton shells in ritual contexts see Appendix 2. In Tables 3a-b the date-range of a given site or deposit is indicated by the arrow symbol. The date of the marine finds is indicated where known; where unknown they are listed under the 'date of finds unclear' category. LM IB 'MS' refers to LM IB Marine Style pottery.

8	Spili Vorizi, Peak Sanctuary **pebbles**				
9	Keria, Peak Sanctuary **pebbles**				
10	Karphi, Peak Sanctuary **pebbles**				
11	Traostalos, Peak Sanctuary **seashells** **pebbles** **model fish** **model boat**				
12	Kophinas, Peak Sanctuary **fish-shaped rhyton** **model boat** **model fish (2)**				
13	Juktas, Peak Sanctuary **seashells** **small model shell** **LM IB MS pottery** **marine sealstone**				
14	Skoteino Cave **seashells** **LM IB MS pottery**				
15	Psychro Cave **pottery with marine motifs** **bronze tablet with a marine motif**				

16	Idaean Cave **seashells** **triton shell** **marine sealstone**	→	→	→	
17	Anemospilia Shrine, Archanes **pebbles** **marine sealstone**	→ 			
18	Knossos Palace, East Treasury Deposit **small gold fish** **small bone fish** **dolphin fresco?**		→ 		
19	Knossos Palace, Temple Repositories **seashells** **model shells, flying fish and argonauts** **vase with relief shells** **marine sealings** **fish vertebrae**		→ 		
20	Zakro Palace, 'Central Shrine Lustral Basin Complex' **large model argonaut shell** **small model shells** **LM IB MS pottery**		→ 		
21	Zakro Palace, Sacred Well (Room XLI) **pumice**		→ 		
22	Zakro Palace, Northeast Lustral Basin (Room LVIII) **triton shell** **Pumice**		→ 		
23	Tourkogeitonia Palace, Archanes, Shrine above Areas 17 and 17a		→		

	seashells **triton shell** **pebbles** **small model shell** **small ivory fish** **LM IB MS pottery**				
24	Malia Palace, Room XVIII 1, Bench Sanctuary **seashells** **triton shells (3)**				
25	Nirou Chani, Minoan Villa, Possible Cult Storeroom **pumice** **LM IB MS pottery**				
26	Patsos Cave **stone offering table with marine motif**				
27	Malia, Quartier Λ, 'La maison de la façade a redans' **model boats (2)**				
28	Knossos, Stratigraphical Museum Extension, Minoan House **seashells** **LM IB MS pottery**				
29	Pseira, House AB, Room 12, Bench Sanctuary **triton shell** **pebbles**				
30	Pseira, Building BQ, Room 1 **triton shell** **LM IB MS rhyta**				

48	Knossos, Little Palace, 'Fetish Shrine' **pebbles** **pottery with relief** **argonauts**				
49	Koumasa, Independent Sanctuary, Possible Bench Sanctuary **snake tube with marine motifs**				
50	Kannia, Villa, Bench Sanctuary Complex, Room V **seashells** **triton shell**				
51	Palaikastro, Building 7 **triton shell** **pebbles** **pumice**				
52	Palaikastro, Building 1 **seashells** **triton shell** **pebbles**				
53	Ayia Triadha, Building H, Bench Sanctuary **marine frescoes**				
54	Ayia Triadha, Piazzale dei Sacelli, Open-Air Sanctuary **model boat**				
55	Karphi, the 'Temple', Room 1 **seashells** **triton shell**				

56	Knossos, Caravanserai, Spring Chamber **hut-urn with marine motifs**		→	→ 	

Table 3b: Marine finds in ritual contexts or deposits in the wider Aegean

No	Site	MC/MH	LC I-II/LH I-II	LC III/LH III	Date of finds unclear
1	Ayios Georgios, Kythera, Peak Sanctuary **murex shells** **pebbles** **pottery with marine relief attachments**	→	→ 	→	
2	West House, Akrotiri, Thera **seashells** **triton shells (5)** **frescoes with marine motifs**		→ 		
3	Delta 8, Akrotiri, Thera **painted offering table with marine motifs**		→ 		
4	The Temple at Ayia Irini, Keos **model dolphin** **model boat**	→	→ 	→	
5	Sanctuary of Aphaia, Aegina **model boats (2)**			→ 	

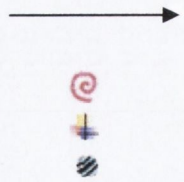
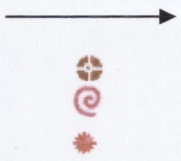
6	Ayios Konstantinos, Methana, Room A **worked triton shell** **model boat** **miniature octopus** **rhyton**				
7	Sanctuary of Phylakopi, Melos **seashells** **triton shells (2)** **possible fish-shaped rhyton**				

Table 4: LM IB Marine Style and Alternating Style[1] vessels with both marine motifs and the double axe (R1-14)

No. and figure	Vessel type	Context 1	Context 2	Motifs	Whole vase or fragment	From a ritual assemblage[2]	Part of a set?	Reference in Mountjoy's Marine Style corpus (1984)
R1	Cup rhyton (with pierced base)	Knossos	Stratigraphical Museum Extension Site	Triton, 'star' motif and double axe	Base fragment	Yes	No	182: Knossos 55, Pl. 22c
R2		Knossos	The Little Palace	Tritons, rock and weed, double axe	Base fragment	Probably[3]	No	182: Knossos 54, Pl. 22d
R3	Conical rhyton	Knossos	Lower Gypsades	Triton, double axe and spray fill	6 sherds	No	No	182: Knossos 66
R4		Knossos	The South Front of the Palace	Triton, double axe and tricurved rockwork fill	2 sherds	No	No	182: Knossos 64, fig. 11
R5; Fig. 44		Zakro	Palace, Archive Room 16[4]	Tritons, 'star' motif, double axes; fill of spray, weed and tricurved rockwork	Complete	Yes	Yes	197: Zakro 6 (C13935), Pl. 23f
R6				Identical to **R5** above	Complete (base restored)	Yes	Yes	197: Zakro 7 (C13934)

[1] **R14** from Kythera is an Alternating Style vessel; the remaining vessels are all decorated in the LM IB Marine Style.
[2] The evaluation of ritual context is based on Mountjoy's 1985 study.
[3] Although this fragment was found in a box labeled the Little Palace area generally, on the basis of the ritual connections of its shape and decoration Mountjoy (1985, 235) suggests that it came from the cult area where other Marine Style vessels were found.
[4] The provenance of this set of identical rhyta is not clear but, as Mountjoy (1984, 197) notes, they seem to be the vessels described in the reports as coming from the north entrance of the Archive Room of the Central Shrine.

R7	Conical Rhyton	Zakro		Identical to **R5** above	Complete (base restored)	Yes	Yes	197: Zakro 8 (C13946)
R8		Palaikastro	Block Delta, Room 4	Tritons, 'star' motif, double axes and tricurved rockwork fill	Almost complete (handle not extant)	Yes	No	194: PK 13 (C3386), Pl. 23c
R9	'Closed shape'	Knossos	Royal Road South	Triton, double axes	Fragment	No	No	189: Knossos 142, fig. 18
R10	'Closed shape'	Zakro	Palace	Double axe, shield, and weed fill	Fragment	No	No	197: Zakro 14, fig. 19
R11	Jar	Knossos	Stratigraphical Museum Extension Site	Triton, 'star', double axe and tricurved arch motifs	Fragment	Yes	No	182: Knossos 45, Pl. 21e
R12		Knossos	The Little Palace	Triton, double axes, and tricurved rockwork fill	Fragment	Probably[5]	No	182: Knossos 37, fig. 10
R13	Tall alabastron	Malia	House Za	'Star' motif and double axe	Fragments	No	No	192: Malia 1, fig. 4
R14	Hole-mouthed jar	Kythera	Kastri, Building Mu	'Star' motif alternating with double axes	Complete except for the handles	No	No	201: Kastri 7, Pl. 19c

[5] The exact provenance of this sherd is not mentioned in the account but Mountjoy notes that it may have come from the cult area (Mountjoy 1984, 173; 1985, 235 and fig. 3).

Table 5: Triton or 'conch' shell representations on Aegean sealstones and sealings (TS1-9)

No. and figure	Date	Reference	Context 1	Context 2	Details	Description
TS1; Fig. 102a	MM IIB	CMS II.5 304	Phaistos Palace	Sealing Deposit	Sealing	Conch shell with a striated body framed by two wavy lines.
TS2; Fig. 102b		CMS II.5 305			Sealing	Conch shell framed by two branches.
TS3; Fig. 102c		CMS II.5 306			Sealing	Two conch shells: one elongated, the other squat; a branch is positioned to the right.
TS4; Fig. 102d	MM III-LM I	CMS II.8 151	Knossos Palace	Eastern Temple Repository	Sealing	Two conch shells in high relief axially arranged.
TS5		CMS II.8 152			Sealing	Broken sealing: the lower section of a conch shell remains.
TS6; Fig. 102e		CMS II.8 128		Landing on the Grand Staircase	Sealing	Broken sealing showing a row of figure-of-eight shields with a triton shell preserved below.
TS7		CMS II.8 241		Domestic Quarter?	Sealing	Seated human figure with one arm outstretched towards a triton shell (above) and figure-of-eight shield (below).
TS8	LM IIIA1	Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 107	Phourni, Archanes	Funerary Building 3	Lentoid - white semi-translucent agate	Sealstone with a depiction of a bull turning its head. Three circles are incised above the bull's body and a large triton shell is shown below the bull.

TS9; Fig. 102f	LM IIIB-C	CMS II.3 7	Idaean Cave	Lentoid - white translucent rock crystal	Sealstone showing a female figure holding a huge triton shell aloft before an altar with vegetation. The figure wears a long flounced skirt. Her arms are raised as she holds the triton shell on a horizontal plain with the apex close to, but slightly below, her mouth. The surface of the shell is banded, perhaps in imitation of the bands found on real *C. Sequenzae* triton shells. The figure stands in an outdoor setting before an altar with in-curved sides on which stands a set of horns of consecration and three branches. Below the altar to each side are a star motif and an object with in-curved sides and a pointed tip, which stands directly on the ground. Behind the figure is what appears to be another branch.

Table 6a: Triton shells in funerary contexts from the Aegean Islands (T1-7)

No. and figure	Date	Provenance	Triton type	No. of exs.	State of preservation	Details[1] and dims. where available (L. x W.)	Worked?	Reference
T1	EC II	Chalandriani Cemetery, Syros	*C. sequenzae*	1	'poor'	Due to poor preservation it is not possible to confirm if the shell had been worked.	Unclear	Karali 1999, 23
T2; Fig. 97	EC	Panaghia Cemetery, Paros, Grave 56	*C. nodifera*	1	complete	This large, complete triton shows no trace of being worked. The associated finds include a pectin shell and a marble bowl containing a lump of red pigment.	No	Karali 1999, 23; on display NM
T3	EC	Panaghia Cemetery, Paros, Tomb 21	*C. nodifera*	1	complete but worked	The upper mouth and columella of this shell had been removed to make a vessel. Dims. 12 x 6cm.	Yes - a vessel	Åström and Reese 1990, 10
T4	EC	Lakkoudhes Cemetery, southwest Naxos	*C. nodifera*	1	apical fragment	The apical fragment of a triton shell was found in this tomb.	Unclear	Åström and Reese 1990, 10
T5	EC	Ayioi Anargyroi Cemetery, Naxos	*C. nodifera*	1-4	fragments	Four triton fragments were found - it is not clear if they represent more than one triton shell.	Unclear	Åström and Reese 1990, 10
T6	LM IB-IIA	Kastri, Kythera, Tomb B	*C. nodifera*	1	broken apex and outer whorl	A single triton shell was found in this tomb. The triton has an open, broken apex and partially broken outer whorl. In its present state it can be blown and sounded but Reese	No	Coldstream and Huxley 1972, 229 and Pl. 68, no. 15; Åström

[1] Where the associated finds may help to indicate the use of the triton shell (for example, the presence of other marine shells, cooking wares and possible marine offerings) they are listed accordingly under the 'details' category.

						thinks that the apex was not deliberately worked (Åström and Reese 1990, 10). Dims. 18.5 x 11.8cm.		and Reese 1990, 10
T7	LC III	Asklepeio, Rhodes, Tomb 29	'triton'	1	—	A triton shell was found at this tomb. No further information is available.	—	Georgiadis 2003, 222

Table 6b: Triton shells in funerary contexts from Minoan Crete (T8-27)

No. and figure	Date	Provenance	Triton type	No. of exs.	State of preservation	Details and dims. where available (L. x W.)	Worked?	Reference
T8	EM	Gournes, Tomb 2	*C. sequenzae*	2	both complete	Two complete triton shells were found in this tomb.	No	Åström and Reese 1990, 10; Soles 1992, 231
T9	EM II	Sphoungaras slope near Gournia, Burial Deposit A	'tritons'	?	—	'Triton shells' are reported among the finds with no further details provided.	—	Hall 1912, 23, 52-53; Reese 1987b, 210
T10	EM IIB	Ta Ellenika burial enclosure, Palaikastro, Tomb II	'triton'	1	fragment	A fragment of a triton shell was found in the outer room of the tomb, which the excavator suggested was a mortuary chapel for the offerings. The associated finds include a model boat and 25 vases.	Unclear	Soles 1992, 182-83; Åström and Reese 1990, 10

T11	MM IA-B	Palaikastro Cemetery, Tomb VII	'triton'	1	___	A triton shell was found under a skull along with a polychrome bowl, two cups, and a coarse ware tripod cooking-pot. No further information about the triton is provided.	___	Bosanquet 1901-1902, 296; Soles 1992, 231; Åström and Reese 1990, 10
T12	MM IA	Malia, The House of the Dead, Room III	'triton'	1	complete	A 'large' triton shell was found along with a clay offering table with a double axe stamped onto its base. The walls and floor were stuccoed and the walls were painted with a red band. The room has been identified as a shrine or possible cult centre.	No	Soles 1992, 176, 239; Hazzidakis *et al.* 1963, 95
T13	___	Tholos Vorou A	'triton'	1	___	A triton shell is reported from this tomb. No further details are provided.	___	Soles 1992, 230
T14	MM III-LM I	Poros, Tholos Tomb	*C. sequenzae*	1-2	fragments	Two triton shell fragments were found in the fill of the dromos and therefore may be intrusive. Two fossil shells, an oyster and a bivalve shell found in the chamber deposit seem to represent offerings; one was decorated with red paint.	Unclear	Muhly 1992, 181-82; Reese 1985, 357
T15	LM I	Myrtos-Pyrgos, Communal Tomb X6	*C. sequenzae*	4	all complete	Four complete unmodified triton shells came from this tomb along with c.300 clay and stone vases. These had all fallen from the upper floor above a pillar crypt where a room for the storage of offerings may have been located. Dims. 24 x 11.4cm; 24 x 11.3cm; 23.3 x 9cm; 16.2 x 7cm.	No	Åström and Reese 1990, 10; Soles 1992, 177-79
T16	LM I	Myrtos-Pyrgos, Tomb X5	*C. sequenzae*	1	complete	A complete, unmodified triton shell was found in this tomb. Dims. 19 x 8.5cm.	No	Åström and Reese 1990, 10

T17	LM III	Gournes Cemetery, chamber tomb	'tritons'	2	complete?	Two triton shells were found in the dromos of the chamber tomb. An octopus stirrup jar was among the associated finds.	___	Kanta 1980, 48
T18	LM III	Stamnioi Cemetery, Tomb E	'triton'	1	complete and worked	The triton shell was reportedly perforated for suspension.	Yes	Kanta 1980, 54
T19	LM III	Mavro Spelio, Knossos, Tomb 7	'triton'	1	broken	A broken triton shell was found in Chamber B of this tomb. Chamber A produced a grey steatite cockleshell pendant.	Unclear	Forsdyke 1926-1927, 262-64
T20; Fig. 121	LM III	Myrsini, eastern Crete, Tholos Tombs A & B	*C. sequenzae*	4	1 with broken apex (possibly worked)	Each of these tombs produced two triton shells and the shells are on display in the Ayios Nikolaos Museum. One has a hole in the tip but as the broken edge has not been filed smooth the break may be accidental.	Unclear	Åström and Reese 1990, 10; on display ANikM, cases 20-21
T21	LM IIIC	Myrsini, eastern Crete, Tomb 1B	'triton'	1	___	A triton shell was found at this tomb. No further information is provided.	___	Kanta 1980, 164
T22	LM IIIA2?	Ligortino, Tomb 2	'triton'	1	___	A triton shell was found within a larnax in this tomb. The associated finds included an incense burner, a stone vase, two amphoroid kraters and a bull's head rhyton.	___	Kanta 1980, 83
T23	LM III	Town of Siteia (on the main road near the hospital)	'triton'	1	___	A triton shell and stirrup jar accompanied this burial. Unusually, the skeleton was placed in a crouched position and was covered by an inverted tub-larnax.	___	Kanta 1980, 177
T24	LM IIIA1	Ayia Triadha, The Tomb of the Painted Sarcophagus	'triton'	1	fragmentary	A fragmentary triton shell was found in the earth of the tomb. No further details are provided.	___	Long 1974, 47

T25	LM IIIA2-IIIB	Sellopoulo, Tomb B	'triton'	1	___	A triton shell was found along with a few clay and stone vases, a lentoid seal, a bronze knife and fragments of a leather case or pyxis.	___	Daux 1958, 787
T26	___	Ta Mnemata, Karphi, Tomb M8	'triton'	1	___	A single triton is reported from this tomb. Dims. 20cm (L.).	___	Åström and Reese 1990, 10; Students of the British School 1937-1938, 104
T27	___	Papoures, Praesos (accidental find)	'triton'	1	___	A triton shell found by accident may have originally belonged to a tomb in the area. No further details are provided.	___	Kanta 1980, 182

Table 6c: Triton shells in funerary contexts from Mainland Greece (T28)

No. and figure	Date	Provenance	Triton type	No. of exs.	State of preservation	Details	Worked?	Reference
T28	LH	Peristeria, western Messenia	*C. sequenzae*	1	Partly broken	A triton shell with a missing apex and partly broken distal end was found in this Mainland tomb. As Reese examined the shell but does not say that it was worked, the apex was probably broken accidentally.	Probably not	Åström and Reese 1990, 10

Table 7a: Possible triton shell trumpets from ritual contexts and deposits in the Aegean (Sh.Tr.1-12)

No. and figure	Context	Date	Number of shells	Condition	Worked?[1]
Sh.Tr.1 Fig. 101	Phaistos, Upper West Court Sanctuary	MM II	1 *C. sequenzae*	Worked apex - can be sounded	Yes
Sh.Tr.2-4 Fig. 110	The Palace of Malia, Room XVIII 1, Bench Sanctuary	Neopalatial Period	3	Missing apex (all three)	Yes - all three appear to have been worked.
Sh.Tr.5	Gypsades Hill, Knossos, Possible House Shrine	LM IB	1 *C. sequenzae*	Carefully worked apex	Yes
Sh.Tr.6	Kephala Khondrou Viannou	LM IIIA-B	1 *C. nodifera*	Worked apex	Yes
Sh.Tr.7	Kommos, House X, Room 7	LM IIIA1-2	1	Missing apex	Unclear. No expert analysis
Sh.Tr.8-9 Fig. 111	The Sanctuary at Phylakopi on Melos	LH IIIB-C	2 *C. sequenzae*	Both have pierced apexes	Disagreement - not worked according to Reese.
Sh.Tr.10	Ayios Konstantinos, Methana, Greece	LH IIIA-B	1 *C. sequenzae*	Worked apex	Yes - according to the excavator, Konsolaki-Yannopoulou (2001, 214).
Sh.Tr.11?	Knossos, MM III Shrine	MM III	1	Unspecified in the reports	Unclear. Interpreted as a trumpet by Evans (PM I, 580-81) but he does not mention whether or not it was actually worked.
Sh.Tr.12? Fig. 112	Archanes, Palace of Tourkoyeitonia, Room 10	LM IB	1	Unspecified in the reports	Unclear. Illustrated as being used as a trumpet by the excavators (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 38-39, fig. 20) but they do not mention whether or not it was actually worked.

[1] Here 'yes' signifies that the shell has been confirmed as worked by Reese (Åström and Reese 1990) unless otherwise specified.

Table 7b: Possible Aegean triton shell trumpets from contexts with no obvious ritual connection (Sh.Tr.13-16)

No. and figure	Context	Date	Number of shells	Condition	Worked?
Sh.Tr.13	Knossos, deposit	Neolithic	1 *C. nodifera*	Much of the apical end has been removed and it can be sounded.	Yes - 'thought to be a musical instrument' (Reese 1985, 355).
Sh.Tr.14 Fig. 100	Phaistos, deposit	Neolithic	1 *C. sequenzae*	Triton shell with an open apex and traces of decoration (red ochre).	Yes (Reese 1987b, 207).
Sh.Tr.15-16	Myrtos Settlement	EM II	2 'tritons'	One triton has an open apex and can be sounded; it bears traces of red pigment. The other is fragmentary. It has a hole in the tip near the apex and may have been a side-blown trumpet.	Yes - at least one shell is worked, possibly two (Shackleton 1972, 324, Pl. 84d; Reese 1987b, 210).
Sh.Tr.17	Phylakopi, Melos	Date unclear (from the early excavations)	1 *C. sequenzae*	A large shell with two openings on the body and an open apex. Shell dims. 17.5 x 8.5cm.	Yes - possibly a trumpet (Reese 1985, 360).

Table 8a: Possible triton shell vessels from ritual contexts and deposits (Sh.V.1)

No. and figure	Context	Date	Species and preserved length	Description	Reference
Sh.V.1 Fig. 119	Pseira, Building AB	LM IB	1 *C. sequenzae* 19.9 x 8.8cm	A fine example of a triton shell vessel made by removing the columella and part of the body whorl.	Reese 1995d, 42, fig. 40 and Pl. 14b

Table 8b: Possible triton shell vessels from contexts with no obvious ritual connection (Sh.V.2-12)

No.	Context	Date	Species and preserved length	Description	Reference
Sh.V.2	Knossos	EN I	*Charonia* fragment	Cut fragments from at least one possible shell vessel.	Shackleton 1968, 266; Reese 1995c, 265
Sh.V.3	Knossos, Royal Road	—	—	One almost complete vessel and four cut fragments.	Reese 1995c, 265
Sh.V.4	Mochlos, Area E4	MM II	*C. sequenzae*	A triton shell modified for use as a vessel.	Brogan, (pers. comm. 15/04/07)
Sh.V.5	Mochlos, the Chalinomouri Farmhouse, the North Terrace	LM IB	*C. sequenzae*	A triton shell with the columella removed - a possible shell vessel.	Reese 2004, 120
Sh.V.6	Pseira, Building AD Centre	LM I	*C. sequenzae* fragment	Apical fragment with the columella removed - from a possible vessel.	Reese 1995b, 129
Sh.V.7	Pseira, Area BR (spoil left by Seager)	LM I or earlier	*C. sequenzae* fragment	Distal fragment of a large individual with no columella remaining. Saw-	Reese 1999b, 162, 164

				marks suggest that it may have come from a shell vessel.	
Sh.V.8	Malia	___	*C. sequenzae*	An almost complete vessel and a cut fragment.	Reese 1995c, 265
Sh.V.9-11	Myrtos-Pyrgos	EM II-LM IB	3 *Charonia* vessels: one *C sequenzae* 23.3 x 10.1cm; two *C. nodifera* 30 x 25cm, 18.9 x 11.2cm	Three shell vessels. The *C. sequenzae* vessel had the columella, part of the body whorl and the siphonal notch removed and the outer body whorl was partly smoothed down. One of the *C. nodifera* vessels had an open mouth; the other had the columella and the upper part of the body whorl removed.	Reese 1985, 357; 1995c, 265
Sh.V.12	Kommos, Central Hillside Area; Room 39 and upper levels of Rooms 16-18 and 20	MM III-LM I	3 *Charonia* fragments	Apical fragment and body fragment with the columella removed. They represent at least one probable shell vessel. A cut body fragment may have come from another shell vessel.	Reese 1995c, 245-46: Table 5.25, 264

Table 9a: Large-scale imitation triton shells from the Aegean Bronze Age (Sh.1-27)

No. and figure	Material	Provenance	Condition	Pierced?	Description and dims. where available (L. x W.)	From a ritual context	Date	Reference[1]
Sh.1; Fig. 124	Stone - veined alabaster	Kalyvia Mesara, from a tomb at the Necropolis of Phaistos	Complete, almost intact	Hole drilled through appendix; apex closed	Cone-shaped triton shell with a complex interior surface. The hollow interior is shaped to form two spiral whorls above a hollow tubular spire. The exterior spire of the shell has five whorls which develop into the larger, bulging body whorl. Each whorl is decorated with three or more shallow parallel grooves. The aperture has close-set parallel wavy lines on the broad flat lower lip in imitation of the natural ridges on the lip of the real shell; these continue onto the appendix. The stylised upper lip flares outwards to form a kind of collar, the inner edge of which is scalloped. The apex is closed and flattened. Dims. 29.3 x 14.5cm.	Funerary	LM I-III (context); MM III-LM I (stylistic)	B&D no. 2, fig. 38; MSV 91 and P498
Sh.2; Fig. 123	Stone - veined alabaster	Knossos Palace, the Room of the Stone Vases	Largely whole, about two whorls have been restored. Apex, lip and top of body whorl intact	Hole drilled through appendix; apex closed	Cone-shaped triton shell. It is very similar in style to **Sh.1** above, from Kalyvia Mesara. The spire is banded with three or more grooves per whorl, with more on the body whorl. As with **Sh.1**, the lower lip is broad and flat and decorated with close-set parallel lines; the upper lip is flared to form a kind of collar, the outer edge of which is scalloped. The upper lip is perforated with four small	Yes	LM II-IIIA1 (context); MM III-LM I (stylistic)	B&D no. 6, fig. 42; MSV 91

[1] B&D no. refers to the appendix number assigned to each example in Baurain and Darque 1983; MSV = Warren 1969. Please note that original references are provided in B&D unless otherwise specified.

					holes, presumably for a metal attachment. The hollow interior was possibly cut into spiral whorls but due to extent of restoration we cannot be sure. Baurain and Darque (1983, 48) have suggested that this piece and **Sh.1** were made by the same hand. Dims. 31.4 x 13.3cm.			
Sh.3	Stone - serpentine	Knossos - exact provenance unknown	Spire fragment, chipped on both sides	Not preserved	This spire fragment from a single whorl is banded with parallel groves, like **Sh.1-2** above. The external surface is highly polished. Dims. 7 x 9.1cm.	___	LM IB (stylistic)	B&D no. 5, fig. 41; MSV, 91
Sh.4	Stone - serpentine	Knossos - exact provenance unknown	Rim fragment	Not preserved	Fragment of a triton shell with part of the lower lip of the aperture and part of the body whorl preserved. The body whorl was decorated with marine relief decoration. The curved suckered tentacles of an octopus are preserved next to marine rockwork. Baurain and Darque (1983, 62) suggest that the shell may have been unfinished. Dims. 8.8cm (max. preserved L.).	___	LM IB (stylistic) or slightly earlier	B&D no. 3, fig. 39; MSV 90
Sh.5; Fig. 158	Stone - serpentine	Knossos - exact provenance unknown	Rim fragment	Not preserved	Fragment of a triton shell from where the lower lip of the body whorl forms the appendix. The body whorl was decorated with marine relief decoration. Part of the body of a dolphin can be seen, with marine rockwork above it. Dims. 5.8cm (max. preserved L.).	___	LM IB (stylistic) or slightly earlier	B&D no. 4, fig. 40; MSV 90 and P494
Sh.6; Figs. 137-39	Stone - green chlorite	Malia Palace, found close to the north-east angle of the palace	Complete, almost intact	Hole drilled through appendix and hole	An almost intact triton shell with a low relief scene of Minoan genii standing on a platform. The shell, which has seven whorls, is divided into decorative bands by groups of two incised lines which follow the contours of the shell.	No	LM IA (context and stylistic)	B&D

				near apex on the underside of the shell	Each band is carved with evenly spaced crescents which break into a stylised arcade pattern at the upper lip of the shell. The outer whorl and part of the second whorl are also carved with pitted marine rockwork. On the outer whorl, the rockwork breaks to frame an unusual relief scene. Two Minoan genii stand on a stepped pedestal. The smaller genius pours liquid from a double-spouted ewer onto the paws of the other. The shell is exquisitely carved and its relief imagery is extremely unusual. The interior of the shell has been hollowed out and follows the external contours of the shell. The interior was also highly polished and smooth. Dims. 26.8 x 12.5cm. Weight: 1.6kg.			
Sh.7; Fig. 127	Stone - chlorite	Zakro Palace, Room XLIV, workshop unit of the south wing	Reconstructed from fragments; missing a large part of the main body, most of the lips and appendix	Apex closed; appendix not preserved	Only a small part of the body whorl, the apex and a part of the spire are preserved; the rest has been reconstructed. From the preserved fragments it is clear that the spire of the triton was left plain, with decoration only on the body whorl which had simple raised bands. The shape of the shell was quite naturalistic except for the aperture, which has two broad flat plain lower lips; the upper lip appears to have had naturalistic teeth on the inner surface like the real shell. The apex was closed and the appendix, as reconstructed, is partly open in imitation of the siphonal notch found on real triton shells. The interior was hollow but the original shape of the interior walls is not known. The exterior surface is highly polished. As the shell was fragmentary and was found in what appears to have been a	No	LM IB (context)	B&D no. 14, fig. 46; Platon 1985, 220-21

					workshop, Baurain and Darque (1983, 47) have suggested that it was an unfinished piece. Restored dims. 17.6 x 7.2cm.			
Sh.8; Fig. 128	Stone - serpentine	Palaikastro - exact provenance unknown	Three fragments; two joining. The rest of the vase is restored	Not preserved	This triton shell has been reconstructed from three small fragments representing part of the body whorl where the lower and upper lips of the aperture meet and part of a second whorl. The whorls were decorated with a double foliate band framed on each side by a plain band except for the upper part of the body whorl which has plain bands only. At the aperture, a stylised line of small rosettes above a hanging arcade pattern decorates the side of the upper lip. The preserved corner of the lower lip is too chipped to tell if it was decorated; it has been reconstructed as flat and banded like that of **Sh.1-2** above. The apex is reconstructed as closed. Max. preserved dims. 11.8 x 5.7cm. Dims. 37 x 14.5cm (as reconstructed).	—	—	B&D no. 9, fig. 43; MSV 91, P499
Sh.9	Stone - obsidian	Palaikastro - Block Y4	Six small non-joining fragments	Not preserved	Only six small fragments of this possible model shell survive. All of the fragments are plain except for one piece which has parallel bands and which may come from the body whorl, suggesting that the shell was only partly decorated like **Sh.7** from Zakro. Dims. 4.6cm (max. preserved L.).	No	LM I (context)	B&D no. 10, fig. 44; MSV 91, P500; Renfrew, Cann and Dixon 1965, 239, n.65
Sh.10	Stone - serpentine	Sklavokambos LM I building excavated in 1930	Rim fragment	Not preserved	Fragment of the body whorl of a triton shell with the lower part of the aperture preserved where the two lips meet. The upper lip projected outwards. The lower lip was broad and flat and was separated from the body	No	LM I (context)	B&D no. 13, fig. 45; MSV 91, P501

					whorl by a single band. Four small holes can be seen at the lower end of the lip, perhaps for a metal attachment fixed to the rim. Three incised lines below suggest that the body whorl was banded. Max. preserved dims. 5.2 x 7.4cm.			
Sh.11	Stone - serpentine	Myrtos-Pyrgos, from a house to the west of the site	Fragments	Not preserved	Two fragments of triton shells in serpentine from Myrtos-Pyrgos are mentioned by Hankey (1980, 211-12) and Baurain and Darque (1983, 67). The pieces, KSM MP/71/3 and 71/30, have yet to be published and no details are provided. Baurain and Darque (1983, 20, n.7) also mention two further fragments from Myrtos-Pyrgos, MP/71/261 and MP/73/227, which G. Cadogan allowed them to cite. It is not clear whether all of these fragments came from a single triton model or multiple examples.	—	—	B&D no. 11; Hankey 1980, 211-12, Pl. 77
Sh.12	Stone - marble	Lardos-Staphylia, Rhodes, LM III Necropolis	—	—	Nothing is known of this shell which seems to have been among the antiquities lost or destroyed during the Italian occupation of Lindos in 1912, when the local museum was attacked by vandals.	Funerary	LM III (context)	B&D no. 7
Sh.13	Stone - serpentine	The Unexplored Mansion, Knossos, found in the area of Room A	Body fragment	Not preserved	Two triton fragments in stone were found in this building. The first is a spire fragment decorated with parallel raised bands which follow the curve of the shell. Max. preserved dims. 6.2 x 5.8cm.	No	MM III-LM I (stylistic)	Evely 1984, 235, Pl. 216:3; Reese 2000, 264

Sh.14	Stone - serpentine	The Unexplored Mansion, Knossos, exact provenance unspecified	Body whorl fragment	Hole drilled through appendix; apex not preserved	The second triton shell fragment from the Unexplored Mansion is a large part of the body whorl which has the open appendix still intact. The surface seems to have been rougher than that of **Sh.13** above from the same site and was decorated with broader relief bands. Its exact provenance is not specified but it seems to belong to a second triton shell.	___	MM III-LM I (stylistic)	Evely 1984, 235, Pl. 216:6; Reese 2000, 264
Sh.15	'Black stone'	The Royal Road, Knossos	Fragment	___	Reese (2000, 264) mentions that a fragment of a triton shell in black stone was found here. As it appears to be unpublished, no further details are known at this time.	___	___	Reese 2000, 264
Sh.16; Fig. 129	Terracotta	Akrotiri, exact provenance unspecified	___	Appendix opened to form a spout; apex closed	Doumas (1983) illustrates but does not describe this triton shell model. From the published photograph it is clear that the shell has a plain surface and a simple conical form, with the whorls indicated by pronounced bulges. The narrow whorls above the apex have been merged into a single, elongated whorl. The upper lip of the aperture is badly damaged. The lower lip has naturalistic ridges along its inner surface. The appendix has been opened out, forming a kind of spout.	___	LC I or earlier (context)	Doumas 1983, Pl. 39
Sh.17; Fig. 125	Terracotta	Gournia, Hillhouse, Room 10	Almost complete; appendix reconstructed	Appendix not preserved; apex closed	This almost complete triton has a conical profile and seven pronounced whorls. The whorls are decorated with one or two thick parallel bands surrounded by smaller bands, which circle the shell, with the exception of the body whorl which is plain except for four incised lines which emphasise its curved shape. The aperture is undecorated. The upper	No	LM I (context)	B&D no. 15, fig. 47

					lip flares outwards and has an irregular wavy profile while the lower rim is formed by a smooth flat band. The interior is hollow and conical. The apex is closed. The shell was moulded in two parts and has traces of brown-orange paint. Dims. 28.4 x 12.9cm.			
Sh.18; Fig. 126	Terracotta	Gournia, House Eb, Room 13	Fragmentary; partly restored	Appendix not preserved; apex closed	This triton shell has been partly restored at the body whorl; the apex was intact and was closed. The shell is very similar to **Sh.17** above, also from Gournia, but has a more conical shape with less pronounced whorls. It is similarly banded with a flared upper lip. The body whorl appears to have been plain but the bands continue around the appendix. Unlike **Sh.17**, the lower lip is decorated with a net or string pattern in relief. It has traces of red paint on the narrow part of the spire. The interior is hollow and conical. The apex is closed. Dims. 31 x 14.2cm.	No	LM I (context)	B&D no. 16, fig. 48
Sh.19	Terracotta	Malia Palace, Bastion E	Almost complete; a large part of the body whorl, including the aperture and appendix, is missing	Apex closed; appendix not preserved	Very stylised triton shell of a conical form with six whorls, each of which is incised with a series of parallel bands. There is no attempt at naturalism and the whorls, particularly the body whorl, are not well rounded. The interior is hollow and conical. The apex is closed. Dims. 15.2 x 8.4cm.	No	MM III-LM I (context)	B&D no. 17, fig. 49; Chapouthier and Demargne 1942, 55, fig. 33, Pl. XLVIII,1
Sh.20	Terracotta	Provenance unknown; in a private collection in	Almost complete; part of the body whorl, aperture	Apex closed; appendix opened to	This triton shell is very stylised in form. It has a long conical shape and the whorls each consist of a single raised band of a sharp angular profile with troughs on either side.	—	—	B&D no. 19, fig. 51

		Germany (thought to be from Minoan Crete)	and apex are restored	form a spout	The only exception is the body whorl, which bulges in a naturalistic curve. It is plain except for a ridged band crossing the length of the body whorl to the bottom of the appendix. This ridge imitates the natural ridge found on real triton shells. Unusually, the appendix is open on one side so that it forms a spout. The surface of the shell was covered in a purple-brown slip. The shell was made in three pieces. Dims. 28.4 x 10cm.			
Sh.21; Fig. 130	Terracotta	Provenance unknown; in a private collection in New York (thought to be from Minoan Crete)	Almost complete; part of outer lip broken away	Apex closed; no appendix	This triton shell has a conical shape with six pronounced whorls, each covered with parallel raised bands which wind around the entire surface of the shell. Each whorl of the spire is separated from the next by a deep channel. Unusually, instead of having an appendix the body whorl tapers upwards into a blunt flat triangle pierced with a single hole, possibly for suspension. The internal structure of the spire is complex and imitates that of the natural shell, with a central column (columella) from which an internal spire branches off. The inside walls are spotted with an unidentified white residue. Dims. 18 x 8cm.	—	—	Lloyd 1994
Sh.22	Terracotta	Knossos Palace, east slope	Spire fragment	—	Evans (PM IV, 111) reported that a spire fragment of a full-sized terracotta triton shell, of 'MM II' fabric and painted 'with white bands on a black ground' was found on the east slope at Knossos. He provides no further details and does not illustrate the shell, which has yet to be located.	—	MM II	PM IV, 111

Sh.23	Terracotta	Myrtos	___	Not preserved	Unpublished clay triton shell. Stylised shell with slight bulges to indicate the whorls and symmetrical bands on the body. Part of the body whorl and aperture are among the preserved fragments. The apex is not original and is reconstructed as closed.	___	___	Unpublished but on display HM Room IX: Case 161
Sh.24	Faience	Myrtos-Pyrgos, Minoan Villa	Tentative reconstruction from a number of fragments	Not preserved	Only fragments of this red faience triton shell were found. It had a conical body and the whorls were marked with a series of parallel bands which wound around the entire surface of the shell. Nothing is known of the interior structure and neither the apex nor appendix is preserved.	Yes	LM IB (context)	B&D no. 21, fig. 53
Sh.25; Fig. 135	Faience	Mycenae, Shaft Grave III	Fragmentary - only part of body whorl and spire are original; the rest is reconstructed	Open apex[2]	This triton shell in white faience has traces of a clear yellow glaze. The surviving fragments suggest that the spire had a very elongated form and each whorl was distinguished from the next by a thin relief band. A set of three relief bands runs parallel to the upper lip of the aperture creating a rim. It has a hollow interior. Dims. 20cm (restored L.).	Funerary	LH I (context)	B&D no. 20, fig. 52; Foster 1979, 137, Pl. 44
Sh.26	Amethyst	Midea, West Gate Area of the Acropolis	A single large body whorl fragment	Not preserved	A single large body whorl fragment survives. It is undecorated and comes from the part of the shell where the whorl becomes the appendix. According to Demakopoulou (1998, 222), the piece is remarkable because while amethyst was used for Middle and Late Bronze Age Aegean seals and small jewellery, it was rarely used to make vases. Dims. c.8cm (max. preserved L.).	Possibly - a 'goddess' figure was reported among the finds	LH IIIB2 (context); LM I (stylistic)	Demakopoulou 1998, 222, Pl. XXIa-c

[2] While Baurain and Darque (1983, 22) do not list this shell among the known examples with open apexes, the apex is clearly open.

Sh.27	Amethyst	Mycenae, Acropolis	Lip and body whorl fragment	Not preserved	This fragment from the old excavations by Tsountas was originally published as a vase but has now been identified as a triton shell fragment by Demakopoulou. The fragment is of part of the body whorl and upper lip of the aperture. The preserved part of the body whorl is plain; the edge of the upper lip has three raised bands. Demakopoulou (1998, 222) suggests that this piece and **Sh.26** above from Midea may have come from the same vessel. Dims. c.5.5cm (max. preserved L.).	___	LM I (stylistic)	Demakopoulou 1998, 222, Pl. XXId-e

Table 9b: Large-scale imitation shells (other than triton shells) from the Aegean Bronze Age (Sh.28-30)

No. and figure	Shell type	Material	Provenance	Condition	Description and dims. where available (L. x W.)	From a ritual context?	Date	Reference
Sh.28	'Conch'	Terracotta	Malia, Independent Bench Sanctuary Complex, Room 3	Three whorls partially survive; the upper whorl is broken	Parts of only three whorls of unequal size remain of this model shell. The shell is not conical in form: the main whorl is more bulbous and pronounced than that of a triton shell so the term 'conch' is preferred here. The aperture is not visible in the published photographs and there is no appendix preserved. The hollow interior had a simpler profile than the exterior. The exterior has traces of a brown-orange slip. Dims. 8.9 x 7.7cm.	Yes	MM II (context)	B&D no. 18, fig. 50; Poursat 1966, 536 and fig. 25

Sh.29; Fig. 133	Argonaut (paper nautilus)	Faience	Zakro Palace, 'the Treasury of the Shrine'	Reconstructed from numerous fragments	This shell is made of clear grey faience which has tints of pale pink and green, echoing the natural colouration of the real argonaut shell. It is also shaped and modelled like the real shell, although the opening is a little too straight and narrow. The outer body is modelled with a series of undulating lines, while the inner body is smooth and hollow. It is thought to have been moulded in two parts. Dims. 22.7 x 11.9cm.	Yes	LM IB (context)	Platon 1985, 142, 147; B&D no. 22, fig. 54
Sh.30; Fig. 132	Dolium (*Tonna galea*)	Stone - obsidian	Ayia Triadha, Room 13	Reconstructed from fragments; some areas missing	Huge dolium shell in translucent black obsidian with white dots. It is completely decorated with narrow parallel bands which follow the shape of the shell. There is a hole through the appendix and the lip of the appendix has a rim. The apex is closed. It has a complex interior with smooth walls shaped to form two internal spiral whorls which follow the external surface of the shell. Dims. 28.5 x 19cm.	Yes	LM IB (context)	B&D no. 1, fig. 37; MSV 91 and P497; Renfrew, Cann and Dixon 1965, Pl. 63d

Table 10a: Relief-carved stone vessels with marine imagery (SV1-13)[1]

No and figure	Museum no.	Context	Vessel Type	Material	Marine Motifs	Date	Description	Reference
SV1; Fig. 174	AM 1938.604	Katsamba (NFC)	Strap handle from a conical rhyton	Chlorite	Argonaut	LM II-IIIA (Warren); MM IIIB-LM IA (Evans); both stylistic	Strap handle fragment from a conical rhyton with a line of two argonauts in relief. The sides of the handle are bordered by bands of relief lines.	MSV 85, P470; PM IV, 129
SV2; Fig. 146	HM 2229	Knossos, Mavro Spelio Cemetery; in the earth of the tombs	Conical Rhyton	White Limestone	Tentacles	MM III-LM I Stylistic	Base of a conical rhyton with two octopus tentacles in high relief; the motif may have originally continued on the upper half of the vase. The tentacles are placed symmetrically and hang in s-shaped curls which project beyond the edge of the vessel.	MSV 88, P487
SV3; Fig. 154	HM 3297	Zakro, the 'Building of the Turret'	Conical Rhyton	Chlorite	Dolphins, marine rockwork	MM IIIA-LM IA context	Body fragment from a conical rhyton showing three dolphins leaping and diving. One dolphin is preserved moving left (body and fin visible) while a second crosses in front to the right (head visible). The bodies of both dolphins are incised with a series of wavy lines. On the bottom right, the fin and back of a third dolphin can be seen diving below them. Above the dolphins is an arched design of stylised marine rockwork.	Michaud 1972, 793, fig. 475; Koehl 2006, 181, no. 773

[1] In the Table 10a-b 'NFC' means 'no find context' and 'MSV' refers to Warren 1969. Please note that **SV11-13** are the same as **Sh.4-6** as catalogued in Table 9a. For this reason their original catalogue numbers have been retained here.

SV4; Fig. 155	SM	Palaikastro, Area 6, Well 605	Conical Rhyton	Serpentine	Dolphins, marine rockwork	LM IB-III context	Base of a conical rhyton with three dolphins swimming above marine rockwork. One of the dolphins faces the other two. All three swim downwards towards the pitted rockwork at the base of the scene. The rockwork has large c-shaped curves which are decorated with a stipple-effect as though filled with sand.	MacGillivray *et al.* 1998, 226, fig. 13, Pl. 49; Koehl 2006, 181, no. 772
SV5; Figs. 143-45	HM 254	Knossos, the Throne Room of the Palace	Ostrich-egg shaped rhyton	Chlorite	Octopus, marine rockwork	LM II-IIIA1 context; MM III (Evans - stylistic)	The 'Ambushed Octopus' rhyton: body fragment of an ostrich-egg shaped rhyton with an octopus amid pitted marine rockwork. The octopus is partially hidden behind the rockwork; one large eye is visible. The tentacles overlap and curl naturalistically above and each has intricately carved suckers. The piece is highly naturalistic and exquisitely carved.	PM II, 502-503, fig. 307; MSV 88
SV6; Fig. 147	NM 2490	Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 26	Ostrich-egg shaped rhyton or 'sprinkler'	Serpentine	Octopus, marine rockwork	LH III context	Complete rhyton made in two joining pieces with multiple holes in the base. One octopus and the tentacles of a second are preserved. The two octopi were positioned on the lower half of the rhyton, framed on all sides by marine rockwork. The head of each octopus is positioned at the base of the vessel with the eight suckered tentacles combed out symmetrically above. The composition is stylised and rigid.	Koehl 2006, 9, Ill. 3
SV7; Figs. 156-57	AM 1938.605	Knossos (NFC)	Ostrich-egg shaped rhyton?	Serpentine	Dolphin, marine rockwork	MM IIIB (Evans - stylistic)	Body fragment of a rhyton, probably ostrich-egg shaped. The body, flippers and part of the tail of a dolphin are preserved; it swims right above marine rockwork. The body of the dolphin has incised wavy lines.	PM II, 502, 504, fig. 308; MSV 88-89; Koehl 2006, 90, no. 111

SV8	HM	Knossos (NFC). Found in an unlabelled box in the Stratigraphic Museum.	Ostrich-egg shaped or pear-shaped rhyton?	Chlorite	Marine rockwork	___	Neck and upper body fragment of a rhyton of a closed shape. The preserved part of the body shows marine rockwork which may have framed a marine scene of octopi or dolphins originally.	MSV 88
SV9; Figs. 168-69	BrArch	Epidaurus, Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas	Enclosed vessel (possibly a rhyton)	Serpentine	Dolphin, the sea, part of a boat and the rocky coastline	LM I/LH I (stylistic)	Two body fragments of a vessel of closed shape. The upper fragment has two registers. In the top register the lower bodies of a line of figures move right along a coastline of tooth-shaped rocks. Below this to the right, a rectangular object interpreted as a ship's cabin rises at an oblique angle. To the left of the cabin the head and upper body of a dolphin are visible along with four unidentifiable objects, two circular and two crescent-shaped, positioned above. To the far left, the head and upper body of two figures and the head of a third can be seen. They seem to be on a boat which the front figure is punting, as suggested by the pole he holds. The lower fragment confirms this. It shows part of another boat against a tricurved arch pattern representing the sea. A figure is shown falling from the boat into the sea, his arms and legs outstretched.	Sakellariou 1971; Morgan 1988, Pls. 193-94; Koehl 2006, 185, nos. 818-89, Pl. 48
SV10	HM	Knossos Gypsades, near Hogarth's House	Rhyton?	Serpentine	Fish or dolphin	___	Fragment of a possible rhyton with only the tail of a dolphin or fish preserved.	Hood 1962, 29; Kaiser 1976, 17, Knossos 11

Sh.4 (SV11)	AM 1924.41	Knossos (NFC)	Triton shell	Serpentine	Octopus, marine rockwork	LM IB stylistic (Baurain and Darque)	See the entry in Table 9a: **Sh.4**.	MSV 90; Baurain and Darque 1983, 62: no. 5, fig. 39
Sh.5 (SV12); Fig. 158	BM 1907 1-19 217	Knossos (NFC)	Triton shell?	Serpentine	Dolphin, marine rockwork	LM IB stylistic (Baurain and Darque)	See the entry in Table 9a: **Sh.5**.	MSV 90, P494; Baurain and Darque 1983, 62: no. 4, fig. 40
Sh.6 (SV13); Figs. 137-39	ANikM 11246	Malia	Triton shell	Green Chlorite	Marine rockwork and Minoan Genii	LM IA context and stylistic	See the entry in Table 9a: **Sh.6**.	Baurain and Darque 1983

Table 10b: Relief-carved stone vessels with non-marine imagery (SV14-37)[2]

No. and figure	**Context**	**Description of the Imagery**	**Vessel Type**
SV14; Fig. 195	Zakro palace, The Peak Sanctuary Rhyton	Rhyton decorated with a tripartite mountain shrine with a built altar topped by horns of consecration; six agrimia are also featured.	Pear-shaped rhyton

[2] The information in this table is taken from Warren (1969), Kaiser (1976), and Logue (2003, Table 1) unless otherwise specified.

SV15	Knossos, Gypsades	Fragment showing a man bending over a basket or bowl before a tripartite mountain shrine topped by horns of consecration.	Conical rhyton
SV16	Knossos, south of the palace	Fragment depicting two male figures with outstretched arms, carrying bowls in a procession below a built shrine. The shrine is crowned by horns of consecration and framed by columns or poles topped by rectangular features. The fragment is possibly from same vessel as **SV15** above.	Conical rhyton
SV17	Knossos, Gypsades	Fragment showing two male figures: one sits or crouches in front of a built altar crowned by horns of consecration; the other appears to be running. Behind them, a tree behind a wall may mark a sacred enclosure.	Conical rhyton
SV18	Knossos	Fragment depicting a sacral knot on a wavy background.	Lid fragment or the back plate of a bull's head rhyton
SV19; Fig. 197	Ayia Triadha, Villa A The Chieftain Cup	Two facing male figures are shown on one side of the cup. They wear short kilts; one wears a dagger at his waist and is holding a staff out in front of him. Three more male figures are shown on the other side of the vessel. Two are reconstructed. Their bodies are covered by rectangular shields.	Chalice/Conical cup
SV20; Fig. 198	Ayia Triadha, Villa A The Harvester Vase	A procession of 27 male figures march around the vessel, led by a long-haired figure in scaled robes (possibly a priest). The figures include singers and a musician with a sistrum or rattle. Most of the figures carry long poles ending in short blades (hoes) with shoots attached and bags at their thighs.	Ostrich-egg shaped rhyton
SV21; Fig. 196	Ayia Triadha, Villa A The Boxer Rhyton	Rhyton with boxing and bull-leaping scenes. The decoration is divided into four registers: three show boxers, one shows a scene of bull-leaping in which the bull appears to have the upper hand. The flag-staffs or columns are similar to those found on **SV16** above, suggesting that the activity took place in a ritualised setting.	Conical rhyton

SV22	NFC (Boston).	Fragment with a boxer.	Conical rhyton
SV23	Knossos, Court of the Stone Spout	Fragment with boxers: a male figure has one arm extended in a thrush punch; to the right is the leg of a fallen figure.	Conical rhyton
SV24	Knossos, West of the Little Palace	Fragment with two boxers, their lower bodies pressed together in a contact sport.	Conical rhyton
SV25	Knossos, Unexplored Mansion	Fragment with a bull leaping scene: the back end of a bull with two human feet above its back and part of a rope net are visible.	Ovoid rhyton
SV26	Knossos	Fragment with a bull leaping scene: the hands of a leaper are shown above the bull.	Conical rhyton
SV27	Athens, Acropolis	Fragment of a bull leaping scene showing a male figure in the air above the horns of a bull (now lost).	Possible rhyton
SV28; Fig. 173	Knossos, palace (north-east area)	Fragment with a bearded archer set against a tricurved arch background, probably indicating the sea.	Conical rhyton
SV29; Fig. 172	Knossos, north or north-west of the palace	Fragment with a man dragging off a goat; a helmet is shown below.	Ostrich-egg shaped rhyton
SV30	Palaikastro, Area O	Fragment with a charging boar with traces of gold leaf. Possibly from a hunting scene.	Conical rhyton
SV31	Tiryns[3]	Fragment showing part of a building.	Rhyton

[3] Information derived from Sakellarakis (1973).

SV32	Knossos, north of South Propylaion	Fragment with a rectangular feature with a flat upper surface on which an animal sits, part of its leg is visible.	Possible rhyton
SV33	Knossos, Little Palace	Fragment with two rows of dentals and an oval object below.	Bowl
SV34	Knossos	Fragment with grain.	Unclear
SV35	Knossos, Zapher Papoura	Fragment with thick raised bands with recurring ovals between them which Warren (1969, 181) interprets as grain and a rope pattern, while Kaiser (1976, 18) suggests a snake.	Unclear
SV36	Knossos	Fragment with a figure-of-eight shield and a rosette.	Conical rhyton
SV37	Knossos, Royal Road	Small fragment with a curved line.	Unclear
(SV38)	NFC - probable fake	Fragment with part of a man preserved in excellent relief.	Rhyton fragment
(SV39)	NFC[4] - probable fake	Head of a male figure with curling hair and wearing a necklace.	Probable cup fragment
(SV40)	NFC - probable fake	Head of a male figure wearing a turban; architectural backdrop.	Unclear

[4] Logue (2003, Table 1, n.10) notes that this and the following piece are illustrated in PM III, fig. 308 but no further information is supplied and their whereabouts remain unknown.

Table 11: Stone objects with marine relief imagery (excluding the stone vessels carved with elaborate marine scenes, listed in Table 10a) (St.1-6)

No. and figure	Object	Motif	Date	Context	Stone	Description	Reference
St.1	Pyxis	argonaut	LH II-IIIB	Mycenaean cemetery at Klauss, Antheia, Achaia	alabaster	Cylindrical alabaster pyxis and flat lid, both decorated with two rows of argonauts moving right. Identified as of Mycenaean manufacture by Sakellarakis (1976, 184), although Papadopoulos (1979, 151) argues that both the design and material suggest a Minoan import, as vases of alabaster are rarer on the Mainland than in Crete. Now in the Patras Museum, the pyxis has a restored height of 10.3cm and diameter of 11.1cm. It is comparable to the small ivory pyxis with argonauts from a Mycenaean tomb in the Athenian Agora (Table 12: **Iv.1**).	Bevan 2001, fig. 7.20a, 286; Sakellarakis 1976, 184; Vermeule 1960, 12-13, fig. 34, Pl. 5; Papadopoulos 1979, 151, figs. 301, 333
St.2-3	Lamps	whorl shell	LM II	Isopata Royal Tomb, Knossos	purple gypsum	Two lamps with whorl shell (Trochus) decoration around rim.	Bevan 2001, 282, fig. 7.18a; Evans 1904-1905, fig. 123
St.4-5	Lamps	whorl shell	LH IIB?	Chamber Tomb 102, Mycenae	—	Two Minoan stone lamps with whorl shell (Trochus) decoration.	Bevan 2001, 283, fig. 7.19
St.6; Fig. 193	Cup	pectin shell	MM IIB	Phaistos, found just outside Room LXXXVIII	green chlorite	Two rim fragments of a stone cup, each carved with a pectin shell immediately below the rim.	Levi 1976, 504, fig. 778

Table 12: Ivory pyxides, combs and furniture inlays with marine imagery (Iv.1-17)

No. and figure	Object	Motif	Date where known	Context	Description	Reference
Iv.1; Fig. 186	Pyxis	argonauts	LH IIIA	Mycenaean chamber tomb in the Agora, Athens	Small ivory pyxis only 5cm high and decorated with three horizontal rows of stylised argonauts. It is extremely finely made and has been linked to a gypsum argonaut pyxis from the Klauss cemetery, Achaia, which is described in Table 11: **St.1**.	Bevan 2001, fig. 7.20b; Shear 1940, 289, fig. 31
Iv.2	Pyxis	dolphins	LH II	Tholos Tomb 2, Routsi (Myrsinochori), Messenia	Fragment of a large cylindrical ivory pyxis decorated with dolphins. Remains of four dolphins can be seen swimming left in pairs around the pyxis; all that remains of the first pair is their tails while the head and upper body of the second pair are also visible. The bodies of the dolphins have wavy bands to indicate their colouration. One of the dolphins has been given a double dorsal fin, perhaps to create the illusion that there is another dolphin swimming behind him. The dolphins are framed above and below by a wavy border which indicates their watery habitat.	NM no. 8355; Czernohaus 1988, 71, cat. no. 191, Pl. LXXV 1-2; Poursat 1977, 137-38, cat. no. 409, Pl. XLII
Iv.3	Pyxis	argonauts	___	Chamber Tomb 49, Mycenae	Fragmentary pyxis which originally had three rows of argonauts framed above and below by a band of watery tricurved arch motif. Max. diameter 10cm. Ht. 9cm.	NM no. 2477; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 296, Pl. XXIX
Iv.4	Pyxis and lid	tricurved arch	___	Chamber Tomb 24, Mycenae	Fragmentary oblong ivory pyxis and lid both decorated with the tricurved arch motif. Max. diameter 13.5cm.	NM no. 2465a; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 15 no. 2465 (1); Poursat 1977, cat. no. 278a, Pl. XXV

Iv.5	Fragmentary pyxis	tricurved arch	___	Chamber Tomb 24, Mycenae	The lower section is all that survives of this fragmentary pyxis decorated with the tricurved arch motif.	NM no. 2465b; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 278b, Pl. XXV
Iv.6	Pyxis lid	tricurved arch	___	Chamber Tomb, Spata	Pyxis lid decorated with the tricurved arch motif. Max. diameter 11.4cm. Ht. 12cm.	NM no. 2047; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 451
Iv.7	Fragmentary pyxis lid	tricurved arch	___	Chamber Tomb, Spata	Fragmentary pyxis lid decorated with the tricurved arch motif. Max. diameter 12cm.	NM no. 2238; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 452
Iv.8	Pyxis	cockleshell handle-grip	___	Chamber Tomb, Kastelli, Thebes	Fine ivory pyxis with a main motif of four sphinxes. It reportedly has a relief cockleshell as a handle or grip.	Poursat 1977, 104; Fraser 1971, 15, fig. 26
Iv.9	Pyxis	cockleshell handle-grip	___	Thorikos	Fragmentary ivory pyxis with a cockleshell as a secondary motif. The main decoration consists of vertical bands of spirals and foliate motifs. A relief cockleshell attached to the pyxis served as a handle-grip.	NM no. 3685; Poursat 1977, 104, cat. no. 492
Iv.10	Pyxis	cockleshell handle-grip	___	Acropolis at Mycenae	Ivory pyxis with a cockleshell as a handle-grip.	Poursat 1977, 104, cat. no. 41
Iv.11	Ivory plaques which may have decorated a box and lid	argonauts	___	House of the Sphinxes, Acropolis at Mycenae	Fragments of rectangular ivory plaques with argonauts of two sizes organised into two rows. Two to four argonauts are preserved in each row. Their shells are carved with great detail and fine beads on the tentacles mark the suckers. Poursat (1977, 46) suggests that the smaller band may have decorated the sides of a box, the larger plaque, the lid. Some fragments showing smaller argonauts were also found.	NM no. 7551; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 144, Pl. XII
Iv.12	Long plaque - probable furniture inlay	argonauts	Before LH IIB; possibly LM IB	Kokla Tholos Tomb, Argolid	Long narrow ivory plaque measuring 30cm in length with marine relief decoration. The scene has been described as highly naturalistic and depicts argonauts, 'shells', marine rockwork and seaweed. It probably	Demakopoulou 1997, 105-108

			and Minoan		decorated a piece of furniture. Demakopoulou (1997, 106) argues that it is the work of a Minoan craftsman and that while the tomb dates to LH IIB, the plaque could have been made as early as LM IB.	
Iv.13; Fig. 185	Plaque	argonauts	LM IB	Outside Building 1, Palaikastro	A fragment of a finely carved ivory plaque with a frieze of argonauts; parts of two argonauts with raised suckered tentacles are visible. It may have been part of a pyxis or furniture inlay.	MacGillivray *et al.* 1987, 142, Pl. 20f
Iv. 14	Large ivory plaques from a box or furniture?	argonauts	LH I-IIA	Tholos Tomb III, Pylos	Fragments of large rectangular plaques decorated with two lines of double argonauts all moving in the same direction. On some of the fragments the argonauts are shown on a smaller scale. The plaques are thought to have decorated a chest. The largest fragment measures 10.5cm in length and each argonaut on this fragment measures c. 1.9cm in length.	NM no. 7890; Poursat 1977, 133-34, cat. no. 399, Pl. XL
Iv.15	Leg of a footstool?	argonauts	LH I-IIA	Tholos Tomb III, Pylos	Quadrangular ivory column decorated on two sides with three argonauts placed one above the other, bordered by fine beading. The workmanship is extremely fine and detailed. Poursat (1977, 133) suggests that the piece is the leg of a footstool.	NM no. 7854; Poursat 1977, 133, cat. no. 398, Pl. XL
Iv.16	Comb	argonauts	LH I-IIA	Tholos Tomb III, Pylos	Fragment of the edge of an ivory comb with two superimposed registers of argonauts; parts of the tentacles survive only.	NM no. 7857; Poursat 1977, 132, cat. no. 396
Iv.17	Comb	argonauts	___	Tomb at Spata	Fragment of the edge of an ivory comb both sides of which were decorated with two superimposed friezes of argonauts.	NM no. 7551; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 449, Pl. XLVII

Table 13: Faience vessels and vessel attachments with marine imagery[1] (F1-3)

No. and figure	Object	Motif	Date where known	Context	Description	Reference
F1; Figs. 164-65	Ostrich-egg shell rhyton with faience dolphin attachments	dolphins	MH III-LH I	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave V	Rhyton made from a real ostrich-egg shell decorated with faience appliqué dolphins, with a faience neck attachment and a wooden under-piece dressed with gold. Five grey-green faience dolphins are preserved with traces of at least three more. The eye and wavy lines on the body of each dolphin are painted in brown and green paint. The dolphins are thought to have been positioned in two lines, with some leaping and others diving in a lively composition. The shell may have been painted originally with a marine backdrop against which the dolphins swam (Sakellarakis 1990, 306).	Czernohaus 1988, 50, cat. no. 133; Sakellarakis 1990; Foster 1979, 136-37
F2	Miniature basket with relief cockleshells on the rim	cockleshells	MM IIIB-LM IA	East Temple Repository, Knossos Palace	Fragmentary miniature basket of pale blue-green faience with relief cockleshells on the rim. Estimated internal diameter: c.10cm.	Foster 1979, 64, fig. 3; Panagiotaki 1999, 93-94, 159, Pl. 11e
F3	Faience vase with relief argonauts	argonauts	Date unclear; possibly Neopalatial	The 'Treasure Deposit' of the shrine at the Little Palace, Knossos	Evans (1904-1905, 12) mentions that part of an 'exquisite faience vase with nautilus reliefs' was found here but he provides no further description of the vase, which is now missing.	Evans 1904-1905, 12; Hatzaki 2005, 189, SF28

[1] See also Tables 9a-b for faience triton shells from Pyrgos and Mycenae and a faience argonaut shell from Zakro.

Table 14: Metal vessels with marine imagery (MV1-11)

No. and figure	Object	Motif	Date	Context	Description	Reference
MV1; Fig. 175	Bronze handle with inlaid gold argonauts	argonauts	LM II-IIIA1 or earlier	Found on the acropolis at Mycenae, 1895 (without an exact context)	Bronze or copper strap handle decorated with inlaid gold argonauts. The inner section of the handle and a part of the adjoining rim are preserved only. Four inlaid argonauts decorated the handle, each with three raised and curling tentacles. Each argonaut is made of ten small gold cut-outs representing parts of the tentacles and shell. The argonauts are displayed in gold against a background of niello, a copper, gold and lead alloy, so that they stand out against the dark background. The inside of the cup was lined with a thin sheet of gold plate. The technique of manufacture suggests that it is a Minoan import (Davis 1977, 301). Pres. length 9.5cm.	NM no. 2874; Demakopoulou *et al.* 1995, 139, fig. 4; Davis 1977, 300-302; Daux 1958, 646, 650, fig. 5
MV2; Fig. 162	Gold cup decorated with dolphins and marine rockwork	dolphins, marine rockwork	LH I	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave III	One-handled gold cup decorated with dolphins in repoussé technique. The cup is divided into two horizontal zones by a projecting rib. Six dolphins swim to the right in the upper zone; five swim to the left in the lower zone. The dolphins swim in a line, alternately leaping and diving below pitted marine rockwork. Their colouration is suggested by wavy lines along their bodies. Ht. (with handles) 8.1cm; diam. 10cm.	NM no. 73; Hood 1978, 157, fig. 149; Czernohaus 1988, 50, cat. no. 134, Pl. LXXI 1-2; Davis 1977, 235-36, fig. 185
MV3; Fig. 152	The Dendra Cup; gold cup with octopi, dolphins, argonauts and marine	octopi, dolphins, argonauts, marine rockwork	LM IB/LH II (Persson); LH IIB-IIIA (Hood)	LH IIIA Tholos Tomb, Dendra, near Midea, Argolid	One-handled gold cup made from a single sheet of hammered gold decorated with a marine scene of octopi, dolphins, argonauts and marine rockwork in repoussé technique. The main body of the cup has four large octopi with wavy tentacles, set amid marine rockwork. Between the octopi and positioned on a higher plane are six dolphins, either arranged singly or in facing pairs. Small	Persson 1931; 31-32, 43-46, fig. 27, Pls. IX-XI; Hood 1978, 169; Czernohaus 1988, 51, cat. no. 135, Pl. LXXVII 1-4; Hurwit 1979; Davis 1977, 276-80, figs. 224-27

	rockwork				argonauts are positioned on yet a higher plane, each facing in the same direction with three raised stylised tentacles. Five swim in a line above one octopus, four above another, with a single argonaut depicted above two facing dolphins. Davis (1977, 276) argues that the design was executed by two different hands. Max. ht. 7cm; diam. 18.5cm (excluding the handle).	
MV4; Fig. 153	Roundles from the handles of a bronze amphora decorated with octopi	octopi	LM IIIC (context); LM I (stylistic)	Cyprus, thought to be from either Kourion or from a tomb at Kaloroziki, Episkopi	The handles and rim of this bronze amphora survive. The handles were decorated with three pairs of Minoan genii facing each other across a central tree motif. The upper half of a fourth pair is visible at the base of the handle above the roundels. In contrast, the roundels are each decorated with two octopi with flailing suckered tentacles set against a backdrop of marine rockwork. The rim of the vessel was decorated with a repeated stamped pattern of ewers of the type associated in iconography with Minoan genii. It is generally thought to be a Minoan import.	Catling 1964, 158-59; Markides 1911-1912, 97; PM II, 504-505; Baurain and Darque 1983, 32-46
MV5	Silver cup with tricurved arch decoration	tricurved arch	LH II - IIIA?	Chamber Tomb 78, Mycenae	Silver cup similar in shape to that from Dendra. It is decorated with a single horizontal band of tricurved arch motif executed in repoussé technique worked from the inside. Davis (1977, 296) argues that the execution of the repoussé pattern from within suggests a Minoan manufacture. Ht. 5cm; diam. 16.5cm.	NM no. 3121; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 100 no. 3121; Davis 1977, 295-96, fig. 239-40
MV6	Silver cup with whorl shells on the rim	whorl shells	LH II - IIIA1?	Chamber Tomb 84, Mycenae	Fragmentary silver cup with a band of whorl shells encircling the flat upper surface of the rim. Ht. originally c.3cm; diam. 11.5cm.	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 115, no. 3147; Davis 1977, 296-97, figs. 241-42
MV7	Gold cup with whorl shells on rim	whorl shells	LH IIB - IIIA1	Tholos Tomb, Kokla	A gold one-handled shallow cup with embossed Trochus shells on the rim, possibly of Minoan origin.	Demakopoulou 1997, 104-106, fig. 5

MV8	Bronze jug with a band of argonauts	argonaut	end of LM IIIA1	Tholos Tomb A, Phourni cemetery, Archanes	Bronze jug with a band of argonauts on the shoulder.	Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 78, 84 fig. 61
MV9	Bronze jug with a band of relief shells	shells	end of LM IIIA1	Tholos Tomb A, Phourni cemetery, Archanes	Bronze jug with a relief band of shells on the shoulder.	Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 78, 84 fig. 61
MV10	Bronze ewer with a cockleshell on the handle	cockleshell	LM II	The 'Chieftain's Grave', Zafer Papoura, Knossos	Bronze ewer with a moulded cockleshell positioned at the base of the handle.	PM II, 636, fig. 400
MV11	Gold plate with argonauts	argonauts	LM III	Tomb at the Fotoula Location, Papoures, Praesos	A fragment of a gold plate decorated with argonauts was found in this tomb where it had been placed near the jaw of the deceased.	Kanta 1980, 181

Table 15: Inlaid daggers with marine imagery (D1-6)

No. and figure	Object	Length	Date	Context	Description	Reference
D1	Argonaut dagger	25cm	LH II	Tholos Tomb 2, Routsi (Myrsinochori), Messenia	Both sides of this blade have ornamental panels inlaid with a marine scene in alternating gold and silver. The scene depicts a line of argonauts swimming alongside marine rockwork topped by trefoil seaweed, set in an alternating row. Papadopoulos (1998, 8) notes that a bird or butterfly is depicted above one of the argonauts. He also observes that thirteen shell-shaped gold beads found nearby suggest that this dagger had a *telamon* for hanging.	Papadopoulos 1998, 8, no. 31, Pl. 4: 31; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, 167, Pl. XXXVIII (top)
D2; Fig. 163	Dolphin dagger	18.6cm	LH II	Prosymna, Argos, Chamber Tomb 14	Both sides of this blade are beautifully decorated with a single dolphin inlaid in gold, silver and niello positioned roughly in the centre of the blade. The two dolphins differ slightly in size, in the order in which their inlaid elements are arranged, and in their pose, as one is shown leaping, the other diving.	Papadopoulos 1998, 7, no. 27, Pl. 3: 27; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, 168, Pl. XXXVIII (bottom)
D3	Dolphin dagger	16.2cm	LH II	Katarraktis - Ayios Athanasios, Achaea; found outside Tholos Tomb B	The two sides of this dagger blade have inlaid decoration of gold, silver and niello. Both sides show three dolphins, depicted swimming in alternating upward and downward curves. The depiction is similar to that of the dolphin on the Prosymna blade, although the order in which the inlaid materials are applied is slightly different (Papadopoulos 1979, 167).	Papadopoulos 1979, 167, PMX 52, figs. 321, 357, Col. Pl. II; 1998, 8, no. 30, Pl. 4: 30
D4	Flying fish from an inlaid dagger	Fragments only	LH IIA	Vapheio, Laconia, scattered on floor of the tholos tomb	All that remains of this dagger blade are three bronze fragments decorated with flying fish inlaid in gold. Two fish and the wing of a third are preserved. Each has inlaid detail in niello. The fish measure 3.3cm in length and are extremely delicate and detailed.	Papadopoulos 1998, 14, no. 59, Pl. 9: 59

D5	Dagger fragment with human figures swimming in the sea	Fragments only	LH IIA	Vapheio, Laconia, find spot unknown	All that remains of this dagger blade are five non-joining fragments decorated with human figures swimming. The sea is indicated by wavy lines and the marine rockwork by a 'tongue-like' convention. The scene was made of gold inlaid with niello and gold wire.	Papadopoulos 1998, 14, no. 62, Pl. 9: 62
D6	Dagger blade with fish as secondary motifs	16.5cm	LH I	Mycenae, Grave Circle A, Shaft Grave V	Both sides of the blade are decorated with similar 'nilotic' scenes of wild cats chasing ducks beside a winding stream lined with sea-daffodils. The stream is shown teaming with fish (six are shown on one side, with only two preserved on the other). The fish are too small and schematic to suggest a specific species.	Papadopoulos 1998, 9, no. 36, Pl. 5: 36

Table 16: Moulds for making marine objects, jewellery and attachments (MM1-5)

No. and figure	Object	Motif	Date	Context	Description	Reference
MM1; Fig. 189	Clay mould for a triton appliqué	Triton shell	'Protopalatial'	The Potter's Workshop, Quartier Mu, Malia	A small clay mould for the fashioning of triton appliqué ornaments such as those sometimes added to ceramic vessels.	Eliopoulos 2000, 114 and fig. 5
MM2	Mould for argonaut and octopus ornaments	Argonaut, octopus, shell or papyrus	___	Acropolis at Mycenae	Double-sided dark red granite mould showing a total of 14 different designs including an argonaut, an octopus and a papyrus/shell motif.	Schliemann 1878, 107-108, no. 162
MM3	Trochus (Topshell) mould	Trochus shell	___	Acropolis at Mycenae	Six-sided mould of basalt. Each side has a single motif; one side has a Trochus shell mould.	Schliemann 1878, 108-109, no. 163
MM4	Steatite mould for ornaments including the Trochus shell	Trochus shell	MM III	The 'North-west Building', Knossos	A Trochus shell is among the shapes featured on this steatite mould. A rosette and arc shapes also feature. The opposite side of the stone had a mould for a human hand.	PM I, 487-88, fig. 349
MM5	Faience mould for a Trochus shell ornament	Trochus shell	LH IIIA-B	Theban workshop	A faience mould for making Trochus shell ornaments was found at a LH IIIA-B Theban workshop. Stocked with gold, ivory and precious stones, this workshop was clearly a centre of mainland manufacturing.	Foster 1979, 121

Table 17a: Argonaut jewellery, plaques and small inlays from Cretan tombs (Arg.1-10)

No. and figure	Context	Single or double argonaut	Material	Number of items (min.)	Description	Associated marine finds	Reference
Arg.1	Grave 7, Zafer Zafer Papoura, Knossos	D	Gold	About 40 beads	Gold double argonaut necklace in repoussé technique. Each bead has triple perforations. Similar to **Arg.2**, found in Grave 36 at the same site.	Ivory 'boat' or duck-shaped pyxis	Evans 1906, 26 and figs. 20, 119, 7c
Arg.2	'The Chieftain's Grave', Grave 36, Zafer Papoura, Knossos	D	Gold	18 beads	Gold double argonaut beads of thin gold plate with fine relief. They are probably from a diadem as they were found partly resting on a skull.	Cornelian bead with octopus; bronze ewer with relief cockle-shells or scallops below handles	Evans 1906, 52-54, fig. 60 and 119, fig. 36k
Arg.3	'Le tombe dei nobili', Phaistos	D	Gold	About 65 beads	Gold double argonaut beads thought to represent two necklaces.	Gold butterfly cut-outs	Savignoni 1905, 99-100, fig. 58, 106 and Pl. 3
Arg.4	'Tomb of the Double Axes', Tomb 2, Isopata	D	Gold	2 beads	Gold double argonaut beads from a necklace found in position about the neck of a male skeleton. They resemble those from Zafer Papoura (**Arg.1-2** above).	None	Evans 1913-1914, 45, fig. 59
Arg.5; Fig. 241	Tholos Tomb D, Phourni cemetery, Archanes; LM IIIA2	D	Gold	37 beads	Gold diadem of double argonaut beads found *in situ* about the skull of a female skeleton. The beads consist of two leaves of gold: the lower side is plain and flat; the upper side slightly curved and decorated in repoussé technique. Each bead has two holes on its short axis. They were found in association with glass paste	30 double argonaut beads of glass paste and fragments of 53 more	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 646-47, figs. 709-10; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 128, figs. 106-107, 110

					argonaut beads (**Arg.6-7** below) and are thought to have been strung together in a diadem of both gold and glass paste argonauts. It is thought that on such diadems the beads were sewn onto fabric.		
Arg.6	Tholos Tomb D, Phourni, Archanes; LM IIIA2	D	Glass paste	30 badly worn bead fragments	Double argonaut bead fragments of blue glass paste. They were found in association with **Arg.5** and **Arg.7** and are thought to belong to the same diadem.	As above	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 646-47, figs. 709-11
Arg.7	Tholos Tomb D, Phourni, Archanes; LM IIIA2	D?	Glass paste	53 bead fragments	Fragments of similar beads to **Arg.6**. They were found together with **Arg.5** and **Arg.6** and are thought to belong to the same diadem. The lower spiral ends of the argonaut tentacles are preserved only.	As above	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 646-47, figs. 709-11
Arg.8	West side of Room 4, Tholos Tomb B, Phourni, Archanes; LM IIIA	S	Glass paste	Number unspecified	Glass paste beads in the shape of plaques with single argonauts. The decoration is simplified and on one side only, with a flat back. The beads are probably from a necklace or diadem.	Many single seashell beads in glass paste (found in the same tomb)	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 629, fig. 678
Arg.9	Chamber Tomb, Pankalochori; LM IIIA2	D	Glass paste	48 beads	Moulded double argonaut beads in blue glass paste, from a necklace or diadem.	Three chest larnakes with marine motifs; biconical beads resembling sea-urchins	Baxevani-Kouzioui and Markoulaki 1996, 690-91, fig. 61
Arg.10; Fig. 240	Tomb 4, Burial 1, Sellopoulo (near Knossos); LM II-early LM IIIA1	D	Gold	33 beads	Gold double argonaut relief beads from a necklace or diadem. The beads derive from at least two moulds or stamps: while they are almost the same size they display slight variations in design and a different number of string holes.	Inlaid gold ring with tricurved arch motif	Popham 1974, 201, 210, 212-13, fig. 11a-b, Pl. 37e; on display NM

Table 17b: Argonaut jewellery, plaques and small inlays from Mainland tombs (Arg.11-42)

No. and figure	Context	Single or double argonaut	Material	Number of items (min.)	Description	Associated marine finds	Reference
Arg.11	Chamber Tomb 2, Dendra	S	Gold	2 beads	Two gold argonaut beads made of two thin gold plates. Each has holes for threading. They were possibly clothing ornaments.	Gold cockleshell; two faience argonaut beads; triton shell beads; a six-pronged fishing spear; a bronze vessel with triton shells decorating the rim	Persson 1931, 102, Pl. XXXIII.6
Arg.12	Chamber Tomb 2, Dendra	S	Glass paste	2 plaques	Argonaut plaques in glass paste.	As above	Persson 1931, 104, Pl. XXXV
Arg.13	Tomb 6, Midea, Argos	S	Gold	5 plaques	Gold argonaut plaques.	Seven gold double argonaut beads; 12 ivory argonaut plaques; two shell pendants; three gold Trochus shell beads	Vollgraff 1904, 383, fig. 11
Arg.14	Tomb 6, Midea, Argos	D	Gold	7 beads	Perforated gold argonaut beads from a necklace or diadem of very fine workmanship.	As above	Vollgraff 1904, 383-84, fig. 15
Arg.15	Tomb 6, Midea, Argos	S	Ivory	6 complete plaques and fragments of 6 more	Small ivory argonaut plaques with interior incised lines outlining the shell and the tentacles.	As above	On display NM, no. 5576; Vollgraff 1904, 384, fig. 20; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 351, Pl. XXXIX

Arg.16	Tomb 37, Prosymna, Argos	S	Glass Paste	15 beads	Rectangular blue glass paste argonaut beads which had traces of a silvery surface (now worn off). The argonauts are very finely made, with the suckers indicated by triple rows of dots which follow the lines of the spiral tentacles. The beads were perforated for threading.	None	Blegen 1937, 305, fig. 300, no. 8
Arg.17	Tomb 41, Prosymna, Argos	S	Glass Paste	4 beads	Whitish glass paste argonaut beads.	None	Blegen 1937, 305, fig. 363, no. 1
Arg.18	Tomb 42, Prosymna, Argos	D	Glass Paste	29 beads	23 blue glass paste double-argonaut beads, perforated at both ends; three similar but smaller examples and fragments of three more.	None	Blegen 1937, 306, fig. 379, no. 1
Arg.19	Tholos Tomb III or IV, Pylos	S	Ivory	At least 1 plaque	Rectangular ivory argonaut plaque.	Ivory argonaut inlays for a wooden box; two diamond-shaped ivory plaques with whorl shells; five ivory plaques showing with four shells; an ivory plaque with possible bivalve shell; 13 gold Trochus shells	One on display, NM, no. 7873
Arg.20	Tholos Tomb, Dimini	D	Glass Paste	1 plaque	Plaque with double argonauts.	Three single argonaut plaques in glass paste; one gold argonaut cut-out; four gold shells; two glass paste shells beads; two real Mediterranean cone shells; ten Trochus shells	On display NM, no. 3377

Arg.21	Tholos Tombs, Dimini	S	Glass Paste	3 plaques	Plaques with single argonauts of varying sizes.	As above	On display NM, no. 3364
Arg.22	Tholos Tombs, Dimini	S	Gold	1 cut-out	Gold argonaut cut-out.	As above	On display NM, no. 3348
Arg.23	Tholos Tomb, Kapakli (Nea Ionia), Volo, Thessaly; c.1400 BC	D	Gold with blue enamel inlay	26 beads	Small gold argonaut beads with very fine detail in granulation and traces of blue enamel inlay.	19 gold cut-outs in the shape of butterflies; two types	Higgins 2001, 171, Pl. 214; On display NM, no. 5611
Arg.24	Chamber Tombs at Spata, Attica	S	Glass Paste	At least 69 plaques	Small rectangular plaques with simplified argonaut; plaques are identical except in colour which ranges from white to blue/green.	Six similar but smaller argonaut plaques; eight small square argonaut plaques with fine detail; 26 plaques with tricurved arch motif; a spiral frieze; six glass paste seashells	On display NM, no. 2193
Arg.25	Chamber Tombs at Spata, Attica	S	Glass Paste	At least 6 plaques	Rectangular argonaut plaques; similar to **Arg.24** but much smaller.	As above	On display NM, no. 2194
Arg.26	Chamber Tombs at Spata, Attica	S	Glass Paste	At least 8 plaques	Small, square argonaut plaques with fine detail. The argonauts have ribbed shells and sit on a multiple wavy line representing the sea-surface.	As above	On display NM, no. 2199
Arg.27	Chamber Tombs at Spata, Attica	S	Ivory	4 plaques	Small rectangular ivory plaques with incised vertical lines and an argonaut motif.	None	On display NM, no. 2069; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 475, Pl. LII

Arg.28	Chamber Tombs at Spata, Attica	S	Ivory	3 plaques	Small ivory plaques cut into the form of argonauts.	None	On display NM, no. 2229; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 476, Pl. LII
Arg.29	Tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae	S	Gold	2 plaques	Argonauts stamped in thin gold leaf with fine detail.	Oblong gold plate with tricurved arch motif inlaid in enamel; 11 gold butterfly plaques	Bosanquet 1904a, 324, fig. 1a; On display NM, no. 4902
Arg.30	'Tomb of Clytemnestra', Mycenae; c.1400 BC	D	Gold	16 cut-outs	Gold argonaut cut-outs, each with up to 12 perforations. They were probably clothing ornaments.	None	On display NM, no. 2795
Arg.31	'Tholos Tomb of the Daemons', Mycenae	S	Ivory	5 plaques	Three small and two very small perforated ivory argonaut plaques.	None	On display NM, no. 4542
Arg.32	Chamber Tomb 100 or 101, Mycenae	D	Glass paste?	3 plaques	Plaques with simplified double argonauts.	None	On display NM, no. 5413; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 136, no. 5413 (2)
Arg.33	Chamber Tombs at Mycenae	D	Glass paste	31 plaques	Double argonaut plaques ranging in colour from white to blue/green.	None	On display NM, no. 2274
Arg.34	Chamber Tombs at Mycenae	S	Glass Paste	2 plaques	Fine single argonaut plaques framed above and below by a line of beading.	None	On display NM, no. 4550
Arg.35	Chamber Tomb 88, Mycenae	D	Gold	At least 26 beads	Extremely fine double argonaut beads of three sizes, from at least one necklace or diadem. Unusually, the argonauts on the largest beads have four tentacles.	None	Savignoni 1905, fig. 59; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 117, no. 3153 (13α; 13β; 13δ); On display NM, no. 3153

Arg.36	Chamber Tomb 28, Mycenae	S	Glass paste?	At least 5 large, 7 medium and 8 small plaques	Argonaut plaques of three different sizes. Each is very similar in other respects. They all show a single argonaut with three raised tentacles, with wavy lines indicating the striations on the shell.	Individual tricurved arch motif plaques or inlays; octopus plaques	On display NM, nos. 2280 and 2294; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 25, nos. 2280 (1) and 2294
Arg.37	Chamber Tomb at Mycenae, 1887-1888 excavations	S	Gold	At least 2 plaques or beads	Small argonaut plaques or beads. Each argonaut has three raised tentacles with delicate beading on the tentacles to indicate the suckers and marked striations on the shell.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 37, no. 2275 (1)
Arg.38	Chamber Tomb at Mycenae, 1887-1888 excavations	D	Gold	At least 1 bead	Double argonaut bead. Both argonauts are quite simple in design.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 37, no. 2275 (2)
Arg.39	Chamber Tombs 56-58, Mycenae	D	Gold	At least 1 bead	A small gold bead with a double argonaut motif and very fine detail.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 74, no. 2872 (4)
Arg.40	Chamber Tomb 81, Mycenae	D and quadruple	Gold	At least 3; each slightly different	Three different types of double argonauts beads were found in this tomb. One set is quite simple in design with the usual double argonauts, while another has fine beading indicating the suckers. The third example is unusual as it shows four argonauts: two sets of double argonauts have been placed together, the central two argonauts are placed back-to-back and share a single set of curled tentacles.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 108, no. 3217 (10β; 10α; 10γ)

Arg.41	Chamber Tomb 103, Mycenae	S	Gold	At least 2 beads	Extremely fine argonaut beads. The argonauts have three raised tentacles, beaded to indicate the suckers. A line of beadwork also decorates the inner whorl of the shell.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 143, no. 4932 (8)
Arg.42	Chamber Tomb 61, Mycenae	Not applicable	Gold	Single gold sheet depicting argonauts in two rows	Hammered gold sheet depicting two lines of argonauts, one directly below the other but facing in the opposite direction so that they have the same appearance as the double argonauts often depicted in gold beads. Two sets of seven argonauts can be seen, framed above and below by a thin band hatched with lines. The piece is somewhat curved and may have been attached to clothing, to the sleeve of a garment, for example. Alternatively, it may have been attached to a small item of furniture, such as a pyxis, originally.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 80, no. 2844

Table 18a: Other marine jewellery, plaques and small inlays from Cretan tombs (J1-15)

No. and figure	Shell type	Context	Material	Number of items (min.)	Description	Associated marine finds	Reference
J1	Seashell	Tomb 4, Mavro Spelio, Knossos	Crystal	1 bead	Perforated shell pendant.	Jasper sealstone with a stylised cuttlefish; at least two fragmentary large jars painted with octopus tentacles	Forsdyke, 1926-1927, 255 and fig. 40
J2	Cockleshell	Tomb 7, Mavro Spelio, Knossos	Grey steatite	1 bead	Pendant, similar to that found in Tomb 4 (**J1** above).	A natural triton shell, broken	Forsdyke, 1926-1927, 262
J3	Bivalve Shell?	Grave 75, Zafer Papoura, Knossos	Gold	18 beads	Necklace with beads representing either bivalve shells or papyrus.	None	Evans 1906, 76
J4	Bivalve shell?	Necropolis at Phaistos	Gold	35 or more beads	Shell necklace, comparable to that found at Zafer Papoura (**J3** above).	None	Savignoni 1905, 100
J5	Fish	Tholos Tomb C, Phourni, Archanes; EM III	Ivory	2 amulets	Fish amulets.	80 seashells in a twin-vase; a sealstone decorated with fish; fish bones and a seashell within a pithos used for burial	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 635-36, fig. 690; 2002, 114-18
J6	Seashell	Tholos Tomb B, Phourni, Archanes; LM IIIA	Glass paste	Many beads - number unspecified	Beads with single seashells.	Single argonaut beads in glass paste	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 629, figs. 678-79

J7	Seashell	Tholos Tomb A, Phourni, Archanes; end of LM IIIA1	Glass paste	'several dozen' beads - 139 illustrated	Rectangular beads decorated with seashells. Due to the poor state of preservation it is not possible to determine whether they were rendered singly or in groups of two, three or four. Their flat backs suggest that they may have been part of a diadem. They have been reconstructed as three necklaces.	A chest larnax with marine decoration (tricurved arch); two bronze jugs, one with a band of argonauts and one with a band of shells	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 628-29, figs. 678-79; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 2002, 72-84, fig. 57
J8	Trochus shell	Tomb 6, Isopata	Faience	1 bead	Faience shell bead.	Found with another faience shell	Evans 1913-1914, 31; Foster 1979, 84, fig. 15
J9	*Nassa* or *Scalaria* shell	Tomb 6, Isopata	Faience	1 bead	Faience shell bead.	As above	Evans 1913-1914, 31; Foster 1979, 84, fig. 16
J10	Sea urchin?	Chamber Tomb, Pankalochori; LM IIIA2	Faience	8 beads	Biconical beads resembling sea-urchin shells in yellowish faience with a damaged clear blue glaze. The beads have vertical perforations down the centre for threading and they are decorated with rayed bands. Max. diameter 2cm.	Three chest larnakes with marine elements to their decoration; 48 double argonaut beads in glass paste	Baxevani-Kouzioui and Markoulaki 1996, 692-93, fig. 64
J11	Sea urchin?	Chamber Tomb, Armenoi; LM III	Faience	1 bead	Biconical bead resembling a sea-urchin in shape. It is similar to those from Pankalochori (**J10** above).	None	Papadopoulou 1997, 337-38, fig. 25
J12	Tricurved arch motif	Tomb 4, Burial 1, Sellopoulo, Knossos; LM II-early LM IIIA1	Gold with inlay of glass paste	1 ring	A beautiful gold ring with a large oval bezel decorated with the tricurved arch motif and framed by an outer border of fine granulation. Traces of inlay survive on both the hoop and face. On the face, the inlay survives in alternate cloisters suggesting that the empty spaces were	Double argonaut beads	Popham 1974, 202, 218, fig. 14h, 219

					once decorated with another, less durable, coloured material.		
J13	Bivalve shell?	Tomb 4, Burial 2, Sellopoulo, Knossos; LM II-early LM IIIA1	Gold	54 beads	Gold relief beads in the form of shells or papyrus plants, in various sizes.	Gold Trochus shell beads	Popham 1974, 202, 213, fig. 11C-D
J14	Trochus shells	Tomb 4, Burial 2, Sellopoulo, Knossos; LM II-early LM IIIA1	Gold	17 beads	Gold relief beads in the form of Trochus shells: 12 small, 5 large. They could have formed a necklace by themselves or may have been combined with other beads.	Gold shell or papyrus beads	Popham 1974, 202, 213, fig. 110
J15	Trochus shells	Tomb 4, Burial 3, Sellopoulo, Knossos; LM II-early LM IIIA1	Faience	4 beads	Faience beads in the form of Trochus shells. They were found with two glass beads, one amber bead and a faience scarab with the cartouche of Amenophis III, and together they may have formed a single necklace.	None	Popham 1974, 203, 214-17

Table 18b: Other marine jewellery, plaques and small inlays from Mainland tombs (J16-45)

No. and figure	Shell type	Context	Material	Number of items (min.)	Description	Associated marine finds	Reference
J16	Cockleshell	Chamber Tomb 2, Dendra	Gold	1 bead	Gold cockleshell made of two pieces. The edge is decorated with granulation work. It is perforated with holes for threading.	Gold argonaut cut-outs; two faience argonaut beads; triton shell beads; a six-pronged fishing spear; a bronze vessel with triton shells decorating the rim	Persson 1931, 102, Pl. XXXIII.6
J17	Triton shell	Chamber Tomb 2, Dendra	Faience	Unspecified number	Faience triton shell ornaments were found 'among hundreds' of faience ornaments, some with traces of a thin gold leaf covering.	As above	Persson 1931, 79
J18	Bivalve Shell?	Tomb 6, Argos	___	2 beads	Shell or papyrus beads, comparable to those found at Zafer Papoura and Phaistos on Crete (Table 18a: **J3-4**).	Five gold argonaut plaques; seven gold argonaut beads; 12 ivory argonaut plaques; three gold Trochus shells	Vollgraff 1904, 384, fig. 19
J19	Trochus shell	Tomb 6, Argos	Gold	3 beads	Gold beads in the form of Trochus shells; perforated for threading. This shell type can be seen on moulds with marine designs from Mycenae and Thebes (Table 16: **MM3**, **5**) while moulded examples of trochus shells in baked clay were also found at Mycenae (Schliemann 1878, 107-109).	As above	Vollgraff 1904, 384, fig. 16

J20	Cockleshell	Tholos Tombs, Dimini	Gold	4 beads	Gold beads in the shape of stylised cockleshells.	Three single and one double argonaut plaques in glass paste; one gold argonaut cut-out; four gold shells; two glass paste cockleshells beads; two real Mediterranean cone shells, ten Trochus shells	On display NM, no. 3356
J21	Cockleshell	Tholos Tombs, Dimini	Glass Paste	2 beads	Small glass paste cockleshell beads.	As above	On display NM, no. 3378
J22	Trochus shell	Tholos Tombs, Dimini	Glass paste?	10 beads	Trochus shell beads.	As above	On display NM, no. 3395
J23	Cockleshells	Tholos Tomb III or IV, Pylos	Ivory	5 plaques	Rectangular ivory plaques of various sizes, each with four stylised cockleshells or two open bivalves positioned so that they form a rosette motif.	An ivory argonaut plaque; ivory argonaut inlays for a wooden box; two diamond-shaped ivory plaques with whorl shells; an ivory plaque with a possible bivalve shell; 13 gold Trochus shells	On display NM, no. 7876
J24	Trochus shell	Tholos Tomb III or IV, Pylos	Gold	13 beads	Gold Trochus shell beads.	As above	On display NM, no. 8341
J25	Whorl shell	Tholos Tomb III or IV, Pylos	Ivory	2 plaques	Diamond-shaped plaques with two antithetical whorl shells.	As above	On display NM, no. 7881
J26	Bivalve shell?	Tholos Tomb III or IV, Pylos	Ivory	1 plaque	Rectangular ivory plaque with a design of either an open bivalve shell or a figure-of-eight shield.	As above	On display NM, no. 7885

J27	Octopus	Shaft Grave III, Mycenae; LH I	Gold	At least 6 roundels	Gold roundels each with a single stylised octopus with eight tentacles arranged symmetrically; possibly clothing ornaments.	A faience model triton shell; a gold cup with dolphins and a seascape in repoussé technique; 27 gold octopus ornaments of three different types	Schliemann 1878, 166, no. 240; on display NM
J28	Octopus	Shaft Grave III, Mycenae; LH I	Gold	At least 14 cut-outs	Small gold octopus cut-outs; double-sided with a single octopus on each side. Each octopus has eight suckered tentacles ending in spiral curls and arranged symmetrically. Some pieces have four perforations for threading.	As above	Schliemann 1878, 181, no. 270; on display NM
J29	Octopus	Shaft Grave III, Mycenae; LH I	Gold	At least 10 cut-outs	Small gold octopus cut-outs; double sided like **J28** above from same grave but here the tentacles hang down by the body in a more static composition.	As above	Schliemann 1878, 181, no. 271; on display NM
J30	Octopus	Shaft Grave III, Mycenae; LH I	Gold	At least two cut-outs	Identical gold octopus cut-outs, each with only six suckered tentacles; possibly clothing ornaments.	As above	On display NM
J31; Fig. 242	Octopus	Shaft Grave IV, Mycenae; LH I	Gold	53 cut-outs	53 identical gold cut-outs, each with an octopus with seven suckered tentacles; possibly clothing ornaments.	None	Schliemann 1878, 268, no. 424; on display NM
J32	Tricurved arch motif	Tomb of the Lower Town of Mycenae	Gold	1 plaque	Oblong gold plaque with tricurved arch motif inlaid in enamel and a double perforation below for threading.	Two gold argonauts; 11 gold butterfly plaques	Bosanquet 1904a, 324, figs. 1 b, i
J33	Cockleshell	Chamber Tombs at Mycenae	Gold	2 beads	Small gold cockleshell beads.	None	On display NM, no. 2851

J34	Octopus	Chamber Tomb 28, Mycenae	Glazed clay	At least 10 plaques	Rectangular plaques each showing a single octopus bordered by two bands of parallel lines. Each octopus has eight tentacles, two of which curve upwards, with fine beading to indicate the suckers.	Argonaut plaques made on three different scales; individual plaques or inlays of tricurved arch motif	Schliemann 1878, 109, no. 166; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 25, no. 2273; On display NM, no. 2273
J35	Tricurved arch	Chamber Tomb 28, Mycenae	Glazed clay?	At least 12 plaques or inlays	Individually made tricurved arch motifs meant to fit together to form the tricurved arch pattern. Their mode of manufacture suggests that they were intended as inlays.	Argonaut plaques made on three different scales; octopus plaques	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 25, no. 2373 (12)
J36	Tricurved arch	Chamber Tomb 71, Mycenae	Gold	30 plaques or beads	Very fine gold plaques or beads decorated with the tricurved arch pattern. They are perforated for threading.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 91, no. 2998
J37	Whorl shell	1887-1888 excavations at the chamber tombs of Mycenae	—	At least one	Plaques showing two vertical whorl shells set side by side with the tops of each shell touching. Their material is not specified.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 37, no. 2279 (13)
J38	Whorl shell	Chamber Tomb 55, Mycenae	—	At least one	Whorl shell plaques similar to **J37** above. Their material is not specified.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 68, no. 2896
J39	Whorl shell	Chamber Tombs 56-58, Mycenae	—	At least five large and one small plaque	Plaques of two different sizes showing whorl shells arranged in groups of four with their tips meeting and outer whorl pointing out so that they form an x-pattern. On one of the larger examples, tiny bivalve shells are positioned in the spaces between the whorl shells in a highly decorative composition. Their material is not specified.	None	Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, Pl. 74, nos. 2817 and 2884; Pl. 75, no. 2792

J40	Tricurved arch	Chamber Tomb at Spata, Attica; LH IIIB	Glass Paste	At least 26 plaques	Tricurved arch plaques, each with at least two interlocking arches preserved. They were perhaps part of a single, larger marine plaque originally.	69 argonaut plaques; six similar but smaller argonaut plaques; eight small square argonaut plaques with fine detail; a spiral frieze; six glass paste seashells	On display NM, nos. 2196-2197
J41	Spiral chain	Chamber Tomb at Spata, Attica; LH IIIB	Glass Paste	Numerous plaque fragments	Part of a faience spiral frieze, perhaps originally from the same plaque as **J40** above.	As above	On display NM
J42	Seashell	Chamber Tomb at Spata, Attica; LH IIIB	Glass Paste	At least 6 beads	Seashell beads of different sizes, resembling pectin shells; some have dots bordering the rim.	As above	On display NM, nos. 2080, 2079, 2180
J43	Cockleshell	Chamber Tomb at Spata, Attica; LH IIIB	Gold	At least 3 beads	Small gold cockleshell beads.	As above	On display NM
J44	Flying fish	Chamber Tomb at Spata, Attica; LH IIIB	Glass paste	2	Small glass paste plaques decorated with flying fish; holed for threading.	As above	Czernohaus 1988, 71, cat. no. 193
J45	Trochus shell	Tomb, Menidi	Ivory	2	Modelled Trochus shells in ivory.	None	On display NM, no. 1979; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 437, Pl. XLVI

Table 19: Marine jewellery, cut-outs and inlays from probable ritual contexts on Crete (J46-51)

No. and figure	Species	Context	Material	No. of items (min.)	Date	Description	Reference
J46	Fish	East Treasury Deposit, palace of Knossos	Gold	1	MM III	Gold fish made of two thin gold plates fastened together. Originally identified by Evans as a parrot-fish but since re-identified as a sea-bream by Gill (1985, 73).	PM III, 411-12, fig. 274
J47	Fish	From a drain-shaft deposit south of the East Treasury Chamber, palace of Knossos	Bone	1?	MM III-LM IA	Bone fish ribbed above and incised below with 'alphabetiform' signs.	PM III, 405-409, figs. 268-70
J48	Shell	Area 17a, palace of Tourkoyeitonia, Archanes	Steatite	1	LM IB	A steatite shell amulet.	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 107, 639, fig. 697
J49	Fish	Area 17, palace of Tourkoyeitonia, Archanes	Ivory	1	LM IB	An ivory fish.	Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 107-109
J50; Fig. 32	Cockleshells	Workshop of the Shrine, palace of Zakro	Faience	Unspecified – at least 9	LM IB or earlier	Nine small light-blue faience model cockleshells. Their sides have been modified for use as inlays. They perhaps decorated a wooden box, traces of which were found nearby.	Platon 1985, 217, 219; Foster 1979, 84, Pl.15 (with scale noted)
J51	Shell	Mount Juktas, peak sanctuary	Steatite	1	unclear	A model shell in steatite.	Karetsou 1977, 420

Table 20a: Marine jewellery, plaques and small inlays from contexts with no obvious ritual or funerary connections: Crete (J52)

No.	Species	Context	Material	No. of items (min.)	Description	Reference
J52	Cockleshell	Gournia, Area C30, LM I	Bronze	1	Bronze cockleshell: L. 1.6cm, W. 1.8cm.	Boyd-Hawes 1908, 48b, no. 16, Pl. XI B16.

Table 20b: Marine jewellery, plaques and small inlays from contexts with no obvious ritual or funerary connections: Mainland Greece (J53-64)

No.	Species	Context	Material	No. of items (min.)	Description	Reference
J53	Trochus shells	Acropolis at Mycenae	Glazed clay and ivory	a 'large number'	Glazed clay Trochus shells and one ivory example with a hole at the base.	Schliemann 1878, 109, no. 164; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 20, Pl. II
J54	Octopus	Acropolis at Mycenae	Glazed clay	1	Glazed clay rectangular plaque with octopus. The octopus has finely beaded (suckered) tentacles and is framed to the left and right by a band of horizontal lines.	Schliemann 1878, 109, no. 166; On display NM, no. 2273
J55	Fish	Acropolis at Mycenae	Ivory	1	Ivory cut into the shape of a fish with incised lines. The tail of the fish is missing.	On display NM, no. 1035; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 7, Pl. II

J56	Tricurved arch	Acropolis at Mycenae	Ivory	1	Ivory tricurved arch plaque which must have been part of a larger plaque of many pieces, as the design breaks off abruptly.	On display NM, no. 1035; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 32, Pl. I
J57	Dolphin	Palatial Workshops, Mycenae	Ivory	25	Small ivories cut in the form of dolphins. Interior lines incised on the body indicate the creature's natural colouration. The beaks of some of the dolphins have traces of paint. On some examples the flippers, tail and dorsal fin are preserved. The tail was fringed with a vertical axis.	On display NM, no. 7416; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 89
J58	Fish	Palatial Workshops, Mycenae	Ivory	1	Fragment of ivory cut into the shape of a fish head.	On display NM, no. 7416; Poursat 1977, 116, cat. no. 90
J59	Whorl shell	Palatial Workshops, Mycenae	Ivory	At least six	Banded elongated ivory whorl shells.	On display NM, no. 7420
J60	Argonaut	Palatial Workshops, Mycenae	Ivory	3	Ivory cut into the form of an argonaut; very simply carved.	On display NM, no. 7421; Poursat 1977, 116, cat. no. 91, Pl. X
J61	Cockleshell	House of the Sphinx, Acropolis of Mycenae	Bronze	1	A single bronze cockleshell.	On display NM, no. 2722
J62	Cockleshell	House of the Sphinx, Acropolis of Mycenae	Ivory	At least 14	Fourteen ivory cockleshell plaques of different sizes; all discoloured due to fire damage. They are each perforated with two holes for threading.	On display NM, no. 7526 and 7587; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 155, Pl. XII
J63	Shell	House of the Sphinx, Acropolis of Mycenae	Blackish ivory	3	Three fragmentary model shells of blackish ivory with a smooth surface.	On display NM, no. 7588; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 156, Pl. XII
J64	Argonaut	House of the Sphinx, Acropolis of Mycenae	Ivory	5	Small quadrangular ivory plaques with an incised argonaut.	On display NM, no. 7559; Poursat 1977, cat. no. 158, Pl. XIV