SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDICES FOR 'A GROUP OF MIDDLE AND LATE MINOAN TOMBS SOUTH OF THE PALACE AT KNOSSOS' by Sinclair Hood, Yannis Galanakis, Helen Hughes-Brock, Argyro Nafplioti and Laura Preston

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX A: Correlation of old and new tombs numbers and key to original ELs according to the GNB for Area A and South Test (*by* Yannis Galanakis based on the extant archival material)

Old (1960) excavation tomb numbers and current numbers (i.e., the ones used in this publication):

1960 Excavation tomb number	This publication
Tomb 1	Area A
Tomb 2	Tomb III
Tomb 3	Tomb II
Tomb 4	Tomb I
Tomb 5	Tomb IV

Area A – ELs (Trial A)

West of sunken area and south of upper rock outcrop

- 1) Plough soil on the whole, soft and brown deep in patches
- 2) Above and within rock cutting powdered kouskouras
- 3) Within rock cutting below 0.10 m from top of west edge (arbitrary level)

- Stereo with badger trough

Area A – ELs (Trial A1)

East of Trial A at north end – over sunken area

- 1) Plough soil
- 2) Within rock cutting undisturbed earth many blocks of fallen kouskouras
- Stereo at depth of 1.42 m from top of baulk at west shelving irregularly from east to west

Trials stopped – hole appears animal made, not burial – NB: quantity of Middle Minoan sherds from fill

South Test - EL

Investigation of wall showing on surface to south of KSP/60 area – for position see survey.

1) Surface of soil around wall on both sides

Tile fragments indicate late date – Roman building?

In the Pottery Notebook, p. 1a, the following information is recorded: 'South Test 2.7.60 ½ Zembil. Apart from 1 ? Hell. black glaze, mainly late Roman or Byz. plain ware. Tiles poss. Byz.'.

Length of preserved wall 5.10 m and 1.70 m (the latter set diagonally, or representing remains of a disintegrated wall; probably the latter as rock ledge continues straight to south). Footings or tumbled stones in front of wall to west. Cross wall of unknown width 1.45 m from end of well pres. section of wall. Width of main wall 0.65 m; height of main wall 0.25 m (one course).

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX B: Correspondence of EL(s) in Area B (Trials B-B1) to PL(s) (*by* Yannis Galanakis based on the extant archival material)

During the excavation of Area B, B1 was assigned to the eastern Trial trench and B to the Trial immediately to the west (Fig. 7 in article). Trial B1 came to include a small part of the antechamber and the whole of the east chamber of Tomb I and most of Tombs II and III. Trial B covered most of the antechamber as well as the entrance area of Tomb I and smaller sections (the blocking wall/stomion area mainly) of Tombs II and III.

At the start of the excavation, a continuous numbering system of ELs was employed for each Trial trench. As a result, EL '1' – the disturbed plough soil – appears more than once. This issue affects mostly sections A-A and B-B. The team soon decided to merge Trials B-B1, producing a more consistent system of ELs and avoiding further overlap (the ELs affected are only 1–5, from EL 6 onwards the excavation team employing unique numbers). This issue was avoided in Area A, where the two trenches there remained separate until the end of the excavation (see Supplementary Appendix A).

In total, 30 EL numbers were assigned to the excavation of Area B based on stratigraphic observations at the time of excavation. In the post-excavation study, some of the ELs got merged (e.g., because they belong to the same layer or fill) resulting in a new numbering system (see e.g., B.6–B.33 below in the 'Corresponding PL' column).

Trial	EL	Section	Area	Description	GNB	Corresponding PL	Fig. in article
В	1	A-A	Plough soil	Plough soil – high admixture of broken rock – larnax fragments + etc's.	p. 5a	1	27 <i>b</i>
В	2	A-A	Above Tombs I–II	Below 0.75 m at west – pottery mixed within Level 1	p. 5a	\approx 2 (shown in its largest extent in Fig. 15 as opposed to GNB p. 5a)	15

В	4	A-A	Tomb II	Cutting west of stones (blocking walls Tomb 3 [Tomb II] – probably on floor of Tomb 3 [=Tomb II]) above floor – including fragments on floor		N/A	Not shown
В	5	A-A	Tomb I, Antechamber (upper levels)	Lower level at west	p. 5a	N/A	Not shown
В1	1	A-A	Plough soil	Plough soil	p. 5a	1	276
B1	6	A-A	Tomb II	Among stone heap – many broken and jumbled pieces of larnax	p. 5a	2	27 <i>b</i>
B & B1	7	A-A	Area immediately under preserved upper part of Tomb II	Below stone heap – soft earth – probably from stone fill trickle; some stones at bottom of level	p. 5a	≈ 3	27 <i>b</i>
B1	8	A-A	Area immediately under preserved upper part of Tomb II	Below vase no. 1; otherwise as Level 7	p. 5a	≈ 4 (part of?)	27 <i>b</i>
B1	12	A-A	Tomb II	Tomb 3 (= Tomb II) – below level of rock ledge – north side – clean kouskouras earth – sherds. Many boulders at top of level by blocking wall	p. 5a	≈ 5	27 <i>b</i>
B1	14	A-A	Tomb II	Tomb 3 (= Tomb II) – removing baulk above rock ledge = Level 7	p. 5a	≈3	27 <i>b</i>
В	1	В-В	Plough soil	Plough soil	p. 5a	1	35 <i>b</i>
В	3	В-В	Ledge west of blocking wall of Tomb III	Below rock ledge	p. 5a	Ledge	35 <i>b</i>

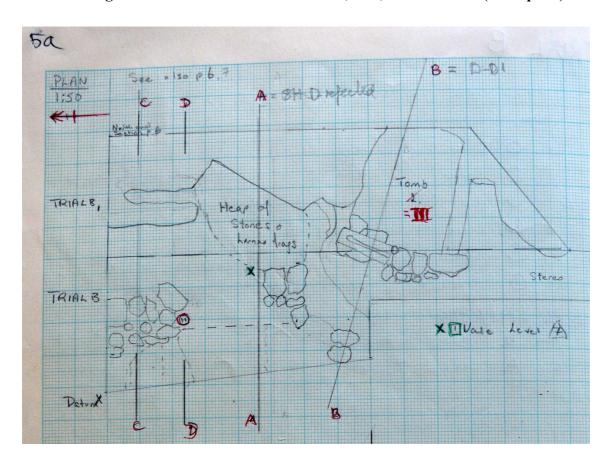
B1	1	В-В	Plough soil	Surface – plough soil – dark powdered kouskouras – lighter slightly below surface	p. 5a	1–3	35 <i>b</i>
B1	2	В-В	Tomb III (chamber)	Below level of 'Wall' at south east – no apparent change of soil i.e., inside Tomb 2 (= Tomb III)		4	35 <i>b</i>
B1	3	В-В	Tomb III (chamber)	Below pots – no apparent earth change – stones – see plan + architect's section	p. 5a	5	35 <i>b</i>
B1	4	В-В	Tomb III (under blocking wall)	Below blocking wall	p. 5a	6	35 <i>b</i>
B (B-B1)	1	C-C	Plough soil	Surface – plough soil	р. 6а	1	14–15
B (B-B1)	9	C-C	Tomb I, Antechamber (east of blocking wall)	Below kouskouras – and in it –? fallen roof – top of Tomb 4 (= Tomb I)	р. ба	N/A	Not shown
B (B-B1)	10	C-C	Tomb I, Antechamber (west of blocking wall)	West of blocking wall – outside tomb	p. 6a	N/A	Not shown
B (B-B1)	11	C-C	Tomb I, inside east chamber	East of blocking wall – within tomb	p. 6a	3	15
B (B-B1)	21	C-C	Tomb I, east chamber (see <i>Description</i>)	Tomb 4 (=Tomb I) between burials 1 + 2 (= Burials III + II) below 2.10 m from top of rocks; skull fragments? part of skeleton 2 (= Burial II) (NB: another bone as shown in section drawing, by baulk at east end 2 m from surface = part of skeleton 1 = Burial III)	p. 6a	≈ 3–4?	15

B (B-B1)	13	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	Removing baulk under stones of blocking wall			14
B (B-B1)	15	D-D	Tomb I, inside east chamber	Tomb 4 (=Tomb I) – Baulk within tomb = Level 11	p. 9a	≈ 4	14 (= 15, part of Layer 3)
B (B-B1)	16	D-D	Tomb I, above Antechamber	Stone heap or terrace wall – no sherds – north end of trench	p. 9a	A	14
B (B-B1)	17	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	? Fallen kouskouras below stones – white in patches <u>but not throughout</u> – brown earth with sherds	p. 9a	Under A and above 5	14
B (B-B1)	18	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	Dark earth below white kouskouras – similar to dark earth above	p. 9a	5	14
B (B-B1)	19	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	Below dark brown earth of previous layer – soil when dug proved to be almost exactly similar in consistency	p. 9a	6	14
B (B-B1)	20	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	? Perhaps for step into tomb – many stones	p. 9a	Part only of 7	14
B (B-B1)	21	D-D	Tomb I, east chamber, adjacent to blocking wall (base of Wall II) under ELs 11–12 and same level as Burial II	Tomb 4 (= Tomb I) between burials 1 + 2 (= Burials III + II) below 2.10 m from top of rocks (NB: the layer immediately under the level of Burial III in GNB p. 6a)	p. 9a	≈ 4	15
B (B-B1)	22	D-D	Tomb I, east chamber, west of coffin (Burial II)	Between lines (in coffin) – no sherds – very fine dark earth	p. 9a	Burial II fill	15

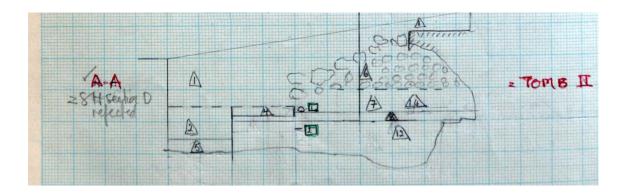
B (B-B1)	23	D-D	Tomb I, east chamber, level under and to the east of coffin (Burial II)	Beside and below coffin – many stones at lower level		≈6	15
B (B-B1)	24	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	? Natural soil or redeposited rock from tomb cutting. Immediately under 19 (NB: 2 whole cups from south side = KSP/60/P7–P8 [I.20–I.21])	p. 9a	Part only of 7	14
B (B-B1)	25	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	? Fallen Kouskouras – similar to previous – v. few sherds if any	p. 9a	≈ 7–10	14
B (B-B1)	25A	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	Cutting baulk across antechamber. Tip white layer	p. 9a	≈ 7	14; cf. 27 <i>b</i> : Level 6
B (B-B1)	25B	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	Cutting baulk across antechamber. Reddish soft kouskouras	p. 9a	≈ 8	14; cf. 27 <i>b</i> : Level 6
B (B-B1)	25C	D-D	Tomb I, Antechamber	Cutting baulk across antechamber. Lower white clayish layer	p. 9a	≈ 9–10	14; cf. 27 <i>b</i> : Level 7
B (B-B1)	26	D-D	Tomb I, east chamber, above Burial I	Tomb 4 (= Tomb I) – level of burial 3 (= Burial I)	urial 3 p. 9a Lower p		15
B (B-B1)	27	E-E	Tomb I, Antechamber	Northern chamber (= Antechamber, Tomb I) – kouskouras lumps			14
B (B-B1)	28	E-E	Tomb I, Antechamber	Northern chamber (= Antechamber, Tomb I) – brown earth			14

B (B-B1)	29	E-E	Tomb IV	Niche – kouskouras lumps = Tomb 5 (= Tomb IV)	p. 9a	Chamber, Tomb IV	40
B (B-B1)	30	E-E	Tomb IV	Tomb 5 (= Tomb IV) Dromos fill	p. 9a	Dromos, Tomb IV	40

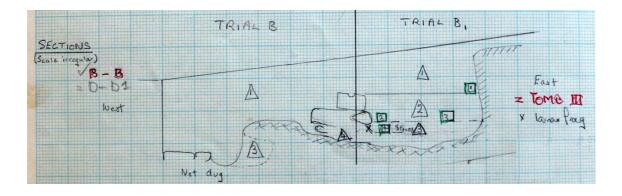
Plan showing Trials B and B1 and sections A-A, B-B, C-C and D-D (GNB p. 5a)



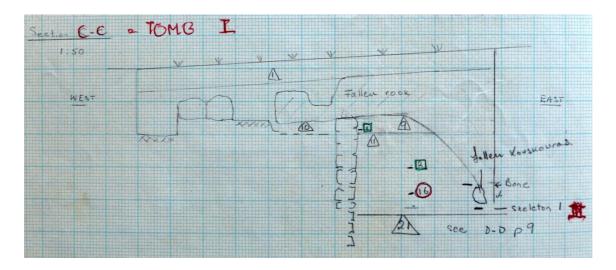
Section A-A = Tomb II (GNB p. 5a).



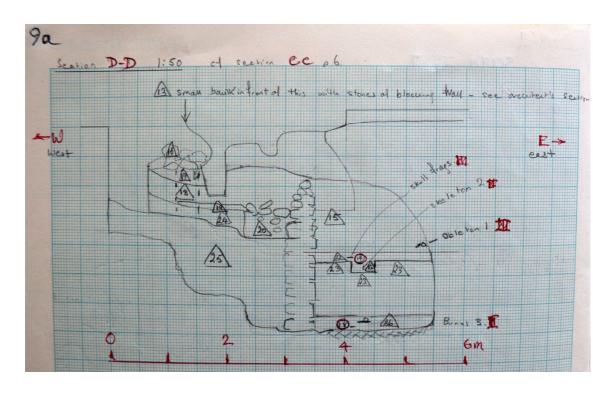
Section B-B = Tomb III (GNB p. 5a).



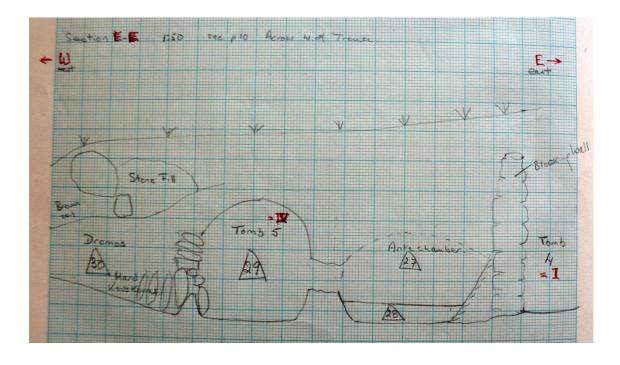
Section C-C = Tomb I (upper part) (GNB p. 6a).



Section D-D = Tomb I (all parts) (GNB p. 9a).



Section E-E = Tombs I (blocking wall and antechamber) and Tomb IV (GNB, p. 9a).



SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX C: Pottery quantities recovered from Areas A and B with EL, excavation date and date ranged indicated (*by* Yannis Galanakis)

Area	EL	Exc. date	Quantity	Main date
A	1	29/6/60	1/2 zembil	MM IA-II
A	2	29/6/60	1/8 zembil	MM IA–II, MM III?
A	3	30/6/60	1 bag	MM IB
A1	1	30/6/60	1 bag	MM (II–III)
A1	2	30/6/60	1 bag	MM IB?
TOTAL	5 ELs	29–30/6/60	0.70 zembil + 3 bags	MM IA-III

Area	EL	Exc. date	Quantity	Main date
B1	1	30/6/60	2 bags + scraps	MM–LM IA
		1/7/60		
B1	2	30/6/60	1 bag	MM-LMIA?
B1	3	30/6/60	1 bag	MM-LM
		2/7/60		
B1	4	30/6/60	Scraps	MM-LM
		2/7/60		

В	1	29/6/60	1 zembil	MM IIIB-LM IA
В	2	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded
В	3	Not recorded	Not recorded	Not recorded
В	4	1-2/7/60	1 bag + scraps	LM IA
В	5	1/7/60	1 bag	MM-LM
В	6	2/7/60	2 zembils	MM–LM I
В	7	2/7/60	2 zembils	MM IA/II–LM II
В	8	4/7/60	1 bag	MM, LM IA, LM II/IIIA?
В	9	4/7/60	1 bag	MM-LM IA
В	10	4/7/60	1 bag	MM-LM?
В	11 (east of blocking wall)	4/7/60	1/4 zembil	MM IIIB–LM IA; LM II–IIIA
В	11 (within tomb)	5/7/60	1/4 zembil	MM, LM II?
В	12	4/7/60	1 bag	MM, LM IA
В	13	7/7/60	1 bag	LM IA
В	14	7/7/60	1 bag	LM IA

В	15	7/7/60	1 bag	MM, LM IB/II–LM IIIA
В	16	No sherds	No sherds	No sherds
В	17	7/7/60	1 bag	MM–LM I
В	18	7–8/7/60	2 bags	MM, LM IA, LM IB/II?
В	19	7/7/60	1 bag	MM, LM IA
В	20	7/7/60	1 bag	MM, LM IA?
В	21	7/7/60	1 bag	LM IB/LM II
В	22	No sherds	No sherds	No sherds
В	23	8/7/60	1 bag + 'horns of consecr. fr. or altar'	LM IB/LM II
В	24	11-12/7/60	2 cups + scraps	MM, LM IA or IB
В	25 (fallen kouskouras)	11/7/60	1/4 zembil	MM, LM IA
В	25A	12/7/60	c. 6 scraps	LM
В	25B	12/7/60	c. 5 scraps	MM–LM?
В	25C	12/7/60	c. 6 scraps	MM–LM?
В	26 (chamber level)	11/7/60	1 bag	MM–LM I

В	26 (by Burial I)	12/7/60	3 sherds	LM
В	27	12/7/60	1 bag	MM, LM IA
В	Removal of blocking wall (earliest)	15/7/60	1 bag	MM mostly (1 at least LM?)
В	Removal of blocking wall (mid-late)	15/7/60	1 bag	
В	28 (lowest level of Tomb I, Antechamber)	14/7/60	1 bag*	MM-LM IA, LM IB?
В	29	13/7/60	1 bag	LM I–II?
В	30	18/7/60	1 bag	MM, LM I
В	Tomb II	N/A	Larnax feet + incised larnax fragment	LM IIIA
TOTAL	42 ELs + areas	29/6/60–18/7/60	5.75 zembils, 27 bags + scraps/sherds	MM IA-LM IIIA

^{*} In the Pottery Notebook, p. 12: '6 similar but smaller lumps, interior soft' are mentioned and compared to the 'large lumps of soft whiteish earth poss. part of Horns of Consecration or Altar?' from B23.

Total pottery recovered (from 29/6 to 18/7/60) from 47 contexts in Areas A and B: 6.45 zembils, 30 bags and scraps/sherds.

A note on quantities: one zembil, depending on the size of the ceramic fragments, can hold c. 15–20 kg. The 6.45 zembils from KSP/60 would have, therefore, generated c. 96.75 to 129 kg of ceramic material. The 'bag' refers to 'small linen or paper bag' (Pottery Notebook, p. 1), i.e., less than 1 kg of sherds (in all instances under 50 sherds/fragments). The 27 'bags'

from KSP/60 would have generated <27 kg of ceramic material. Excluding scraps and sherds, some <123.75 kg (minimum) or 156 kg (maximum) was generated by the KSP/60 dig. Some material was discarded at the time of excavation, especially when it was deemed non-diagnostic and, as noted in the Pottery Notebook, for the three sherds by Burial I in Tomb I (p. 10a) and some of the larnax fragments (p. 13). However, precisely how much was discarded cannot be ascertained with any certainty.

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX D: Other sherds from Areas A-A1 and B-B1 (*by* Yannis Galanakis)

Other sherds from Area A-A1

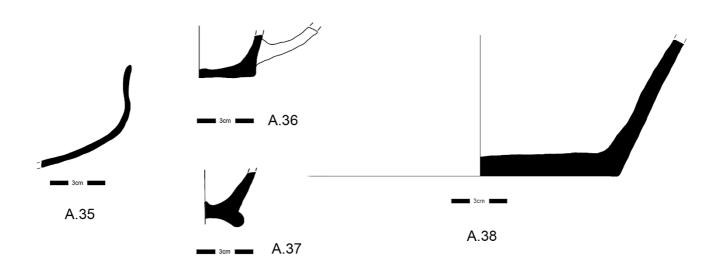
All measurements are in centimetres, where mentioned; all objects are stored in the BSA's SM at Knossos; where known, excavation and/or storage numbers are provided.

A.35. Rim (from a cup or bowl). H. 5.8. Dark cream fine surface, pinky in section. Originally black solid exterior. Interior plain. A1, EL 2 (drawing no. 26). SM, Box 303.

A.36. Base and part of lower body and side handle from a cup. Base D. 6? H. 3. Orange fine clay, solid red inside and out (including base). A, EL 2 (drawing no. 30). SM, Box 304.

A.37. Goblet, foot and lower body. Base D. 4.6. H. 3. Pinky orange pale clay. Entirely handmade. A, EL 3 (drawing no. 32). SM, Box 305.

A.38. Base, from a jar? Base D. c. 14.5–15. H. 7.2. Orange-pink, semi-coarse, hard-fired. Creamy pink slip on inside. Solid brown-black on exterior, excluding base. Seems all wheelmade. A, EL 3 (drawing no. 36). SM, Box 305.

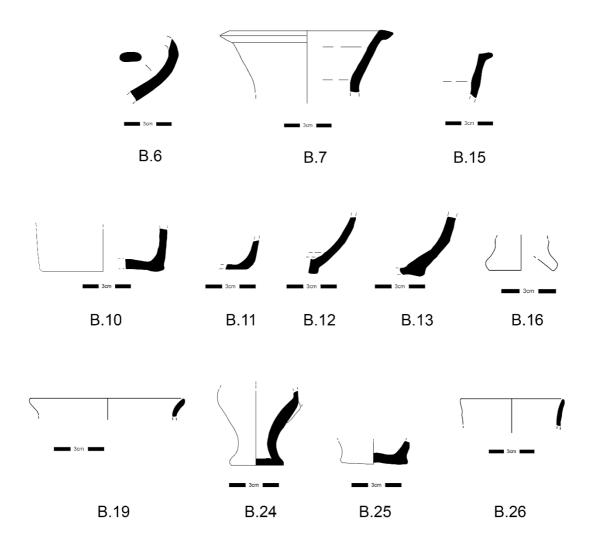


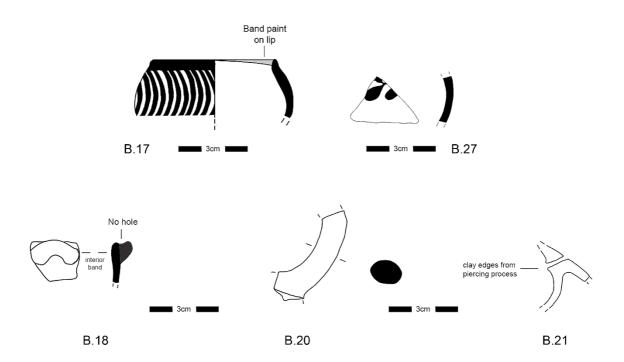
Other sherds from Area B-B1

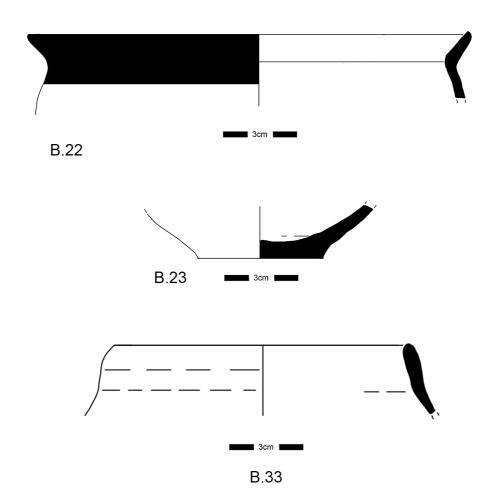
- All measurements are in centimetres, where mentioned; all objects are stored in the BSA's SM at Knossos; where known, excavation and/or storage numbers are provided; for the concordance of ELs to publication layers, see Supplementary Appendix B.
- **B.6**. Kylix handle. H. 4. Creamy-green fabric. Plain. Unburnished. It would fit a kylix with a rim diameter *c*. 11. B1, EL 1 (drawing no. 43). Surface plough soil dark powdered kouskouras lighter slightly below surface. SM, Box 308.
- **B.7**. Bowl rim and upper body?. Rim D. 11. H. pres. 3.8. Possibly solid red but could also be plain. Creamy fabric. Buff. Rim not common. B1, EL 1 (drawing no. 44). Surface plough soil dark powdered kouskouras lighter slightly below surface. SM, Box 308.
- **B.8**. Cup rim. Orange fine clay. Solid black inside and out. MM III? B1, EL 1 (no drawing). Surface plough soil dark powdered kouskouras lighter slightly below surface. SM, Box 308.
- **B.9**. Conical cup. Base D. 4.6. Rim D. 7.5. H: 3.6. Plain. Creamy fine clay. B1, EL 1 (drawing no. 46). Surface plough soil dark powdered kouskouras lighter slightly below surface. SM, Box 308.
- **B.10**. Base, probably from a cup. Base D. 7.4. Orange buff clay. Lighter on inside than out (slip inside?). All plain. Base rises a bit inside towards centre. B1, EL 1 (drawing no. 47). Surface plough soil dark powdered kouskouras lighter slightly below surface. SM, Box 308.
- **B.11**. Base and lower body. H. 1.6. Open vessel. Cream buff clay, solid black interior and exterior. B1, EL 3 (drawing no. 49). From below level of pots in Tomb III no apparent earth change stones. SM, Box 308.
- **B.12**. Conical cup. H. 3.3. Base and lower body. Semi-coarse grey and orange clay. Traces of burning on base? Plain inside and out. B1, EL 3 (drawing no. 50). From below level of pots in Tomb III no apparent earth change stones. SM, Box 308.
- B.13. Conical cup. H. 3.5. Base and lower body. Medium coarse, plain. Green-orange clay.
 B1, EL 3 (drawing no. 51). From below level of pots in Tomb III no apparent earth change stones. SM, Box 308.

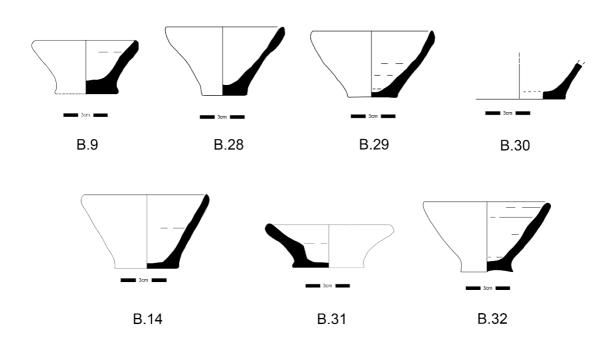
- **B.14**. Conical cup. Base D. 4.3. D of rim. 8.3. H. 4.8. Fine creamy clay. Plain. B1, EL 4 (drawing no. 52; Pottery Notebook, p. 3a, where a pithos rim is also mentioned, and shown in a sketch, as discovered in the same area). From below blocking wall, Tomb III. SM, Box 308.
- **B.15**. Rim, open vessel (cup?). H. pres. 2.5. Solid black inside and out. B, EL 4 (drawing no. 54). SM, Box 308.
- **B.16**. Part of base, most likely from a footed goblet. Base D. 4. Solid black exterior, creamy orange-pink clay. B, EL 9 (drawing no. 57). SM, Box 311.
- **B.17**. Bowl. H. 9. Orange-buff clay, reddish paint. Tortoise-shell ripple on outside. Band paint on lip. MM IIIB or LM IA. On Knossian ripple decoration: Hatzaki 2013, 40–2. B, EL 10 (drawing no. 58). SM, Box 311. Cf. **I.22**, **II.7** and **IV.13**.
- **B.18**. Rim, handle and upper body (open vessel). 2 x 1.6. Cream buff clay. Red-brown paint. Solid exterior. Red band on interior. No hole in handle. B, EL 10 (drawing no. 59). SM, Box 311.
- **B.19**. Rim from a bowl or cup? Rim D. 9.5. Buff cream soft clay. Plain, unburnished. B, EL 12 (drawing no. 65). SM, Box 312.
- **B.20**. Handle. H. 3.5. Cream buff soft, plain. Possibly post-Neopalatial. Orientation as shown in drawing not certain. Visible edges inside from piercing process (from outside in). B, EL 12 (drawing no. 66). SM, Box 312.
- **B.21**. Incense burner (?) fragment. 3 x 2. Medium coarse. Solid red-black paint inside and out. B, EL 15 (drawing no. 68). SM, Box 312.
- **B.22**. Bowl/goblet rim, creamy clay. Rim D. 17. Black-brown paint on rim, inside and out. Burnished inside and out. B, EL 15 (drawing no. 69). SM, Box 312.
- **B.23**. Cup/bowl base. Base D. 4.8. H. 2.8. Very greeny clay. Solid black interior. Exterior decoration, if any, unclear. B, EL 15 (drawing no. 70). SM, Box 312.
- **B.24**. Miniature amphora? Base D. 3.1. H. 4.5. Orange buff clay. Solid red paint inside and out including base. Not clear if handle on both sides or just one. Cf. **I.29** (another miniature vessel, also from high in fill). B, EL 17 (drawing no. 71). SM, Box 313.

- **B.25**. Goblet, base. Base D. 3.8. H. 1.2. Greeny soft clay. Plain. B, EL 18 (drawing no. 72). SM, Box 313.
- B.26. Bowl, rim. D. 8. Greeny clay. Plain B, EL 21 (drawing no. 74). SM, unnumbered box.
- **B.27**. Body sherd with decoration, most likely from a cup. 3.1 x 2.1. Th. 0.3–0.35. Cream buff clay. Burnished exterior. Red-brown paint. Interior paint and unburnished. B, EL 21 (drawing no. 75). SM, unnumbered box.
- **B.28**. Conical cup. Base D. 3. Rim D. 7.7. H. 4.5. Fine orange clay. Plain. B, EL 24 (drawing no. 76). SM, Box 314.
- **B.29**. Conical cup. Base D. 3.3. Rim D. 8. H. 4.2. Fine orange buff clay. Plain. B, EL 24 (drawing no. 77). SM, Box 314.
- **B.30**. Conical cup, fragment. Base D. c. 5.6. Greeny buff soft clay. Unburnished. Exterior has bands (paint very faded). B, EL 24 (drawing no. 78). SM, Box 314.
- **B.31**. Conical cup. Base D. 5.3. Rim D. 9. H. 3.2 Possibly MM III (as suggested to us by Eleni Hatzaki, pers. comm.). Could it come from B, EL 24, where 'many conical cups' are mentioned (antechamber, Tomb I)? Cf. **B.28–B.30**. B, EL not recorded (drawing no. 39). SM, Box 307.
- **B.32**. Conical cup. Base D. 3.5. H. 4.8. Plain. Cream buff clay. Could it come from B, layer 24, where 'many conical cups' are mentioned (antechamber, Tomb I)? Cf. **B.28–B.30**. B, EL not recorded (drawing no. 41). SM (box not recorded).
- **B.33**. Rim from a jar. Rim D. 12. LM II? Plain inside and out. B, EL 12 (drawing no. 64). SM, Box 312.









SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX E: Pottery and other finds from Area B according to GNB (*by* Yannis Galanakis; transcription of the original notes by E.B. French)

1) Trials B and B1 Small Finds (all levels mentioned below refer to original ELs – see Supplementary Appendix B for explanation)

<u>Miscellanea</u>

GNB, no. 1: Bronze frag. Level 1.

GNB, no. 2: Plaster, Level 1.

GNB, no. 3: Lead (?) Turkish bullet, Level 1 (KSP/60/16, **B.3**).

GNB, no. 4: Bronze pin frag., Level 1 (B.2).

GNB, no. 7: Bronze frag., Level 1.

GNB, no. 9: Figurine, Level 6 in stone heap above Tomb II (KSP/60/1, **B.5**).

2) Tomb I Small Finds and Pottery (all levels mentioned below refer to original ELs – see Supplementary Appendix B for explanation)

Miscellanea

GNB, no. 10: Bronze (?) beads – lowest of Level 9 just behind blocking wall.

GNB, no. 15: Bronze cubes, Level 15 just within blocking wall – high level.

GNB, no. 16: Bronze twists, Level 15, KSP/60/4 (I.3).

GNB, no. 17: Bronze tweezers, Level 21, KSP/60/5 (**I.2**).

GNB, no. 18: Bronze ring, in Burial I (coffin), south of feet, Level 26, KSP/60/6 (I.1).

No number: Plaster frag. – from earth fill, Level 11, exact position not known.

No number: Obsidian (from sieving).

No number: Clay object, Level 23.

Pottery

GNB, pot no. 1: Squashed cup by blocking wall, 0.20 from its top alignment, uncertain, Level 9, KSP/60/P6 (**I.6**).

GNB, pot no. 2: Jar (?) neck only – 0.75 below top of wall, Level 11.

Odd bones

Bone by baulk on east end, 2 m from surface = part of burial I.

Skull frags, Level 21 = part (?) of burial II.

3) Tomb II Small Finds and Pottery (all levels mentioned below refer to original ELs – see Supplementary Appendix B for explanation)

Miscellanea

GNB, no. 11: Bronze frag., Level 8 west side of outer blocking wall by stone heap (II.12).

GNB, no. 12: Bronze frag., Level 12, west side of and below blocking wall (II.11).

GNB, no. 13: Bronze pin, Level 13 under fallen stones (II.10).

GNB, no. 14: Bronze disc and frag., Level 14 (II.13).

Pottery

GNB, pot no. 1: Lower half of closed (?) vase – upside down by (?) blocking wall. Level 7 (II.1).

GNB, pot no. 2: Part of vase – Level 12 under fallen stones.

4) Tomb III Small Finds and Pottery (all levels mentioned below refer to original ELs – see Supplementary Appendix B for explanation)

Miscellanea

GNB, no. 6: Rim of stone bowl – steatite, Level 1, above tomb. KSP/60/2.

GNB, no. 8: Obsidian flake, Level 3, below pots, south-west corner.

Pottery

GNB, pot no. 1: Cup, 1 Level 1, south-east corner above level of wall at west. KSP/60/P1 (B.1).

GNB, pot no. 2: Jar, Level 2, broken – rim frag. lying inside pot no. 3 – frag. of burnt wood beside it. KSP/60/P2 (III.1).

GNB, pot no. 3: Lamp, Level 2. Rim of pot no. 2 inside it. KSP/60/P3 (III.2).

GNB, pot no. 4: Several frags. of pot in Level 3.

5) Tomb IV Small Finds and Pottery (all levels mentioned below refer to original ELs – see Supplementary Appendix B for explanation)

Miscellanea

¹ Erroneously recorded as a 'kylix' in GNB, p. 6.

GNB, no. 19: Pin of (?) bone/bronze/faience above Level 5, much destroyed.²

GNB, no. 20: Blue colour in (?) wooden box (0.10 x 0.10), KSP/60/7 (IV.8).

GNB, no. 21: Glass,³ argonaut?, from earth beneath lamp – also half rosette from sieve.⁴ Other glass pieces⁵ from beside skeleton at south and from beneath it. (?) also, Lily. KSP/60/8 (**IV.9**).

GNB, no. 22: Bone pin, by left shoulder, hair pin KSP/60/9 (IV.7).

Pottery and Stone Vessels

GNB, pot no. 1: Lamp on rock by cutting into entrance of Tomb I antechamber, full of carbonised wood, KSP/60/P4 (IV.1).

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² It is not clear if a few, very small, non-diagnostic, green-coloured (faience?) fragments kept in a small cigarette box at the SM and said to be from Tomb IV come from this, or another, object.

³ Described as 'paste inlay' in GNB, p. 11. 'Paste' or 'glass paste' was used widely in the past and still is used but we consider the term to be incorrect. True glass paste was only made in the 19th century for artificial gemstones.

⁴ These pieces are now identified as waz-lily and wallet (Supplementary Appendix F).

⁵ Described as 'paste pieces' in GNB, p. 11 (see n. 3 above). When Helen Hughes-Brock inspected in 2011 in the SM fragments associated with GNB, p. 11, no. 21 (15/7/1960), she noted three small amorphous scraps catalogued with the glass relief-bead fragments, but certainly not glass; two black ones (blackened bone?), the bigger 1.3 x 7 x 6 cm, and a white lump, possibly plaster.

GNB, pot no. 2: Lamp, Level 29, above level of skeleton – unused, at feet of skeleton, KSP/60/P5 (**IV.2**).

GNB, pot no. 3: Steatite blossom bowl, under pot no. 2, on its side with mouth towards opening, KSP/60/10 (**IV.3**).

GNB, pot no. 4: Steatite blossom bowl, by leg of skeleton – smashed on its side KSP/60/11 (IV.4).

GNB, pot no. 5: Steatite blossom bowl, under left foot and under Level 19, KSP/60/12 (IV.5).

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX F: Glass relief beads with burial in Tomb IV (**IV.9**) (*by* Helen Hughes-Brock).



Glass relief beads with burial in Tomb IV. © BSA.

The first draft of this Appendix was submitted to Sinclair Hood and Laura Preston in 2003. I had studied the material in 1989, and in 2011 I looked at it carefully again. I do not myself see the argonaut and rosette that Lisa French first thought to see when she excavated this material (Notebook opp. p. 8; GNB p. 11), but the rest gave me an idea which, with Sinclair Hood's kind permission, I used as the springboard for an article (Hughes-Brock 2014, 109 n. 6). There is thus some overlap between that published paper and this appendix. I touched there a little on the question of associating relief beads with gender, rank, or status, but the question is explored more fully in this study.

The scatter of our beads around the body, to the sides and beyond the leg bones, demonstrates what often occurs in burials as the flesh decomposes and the stringing material rots away. Outliers can be found at a surprising distance away owing to movement in the soil. Speculations about their original arrangement and position as strung together or as sewn onto a garment or a shroud can be over-optimistic. Suggested parallels for these beads are bead groups from Sellopoulo tomb 4, Kalyvia Tombe dei nobili, Prosymna tomb II, Dendra tomb 10, Mycenae tomb 91, Thebes (Benaki Museum) and 'Aidonia' (see discussion below) (Hughes-Brock 2014).

Although so little remains of them, it is possible to suggest an interpretation. The 'waz-lily'. suggested by the curving edge of the largest spiral fragment, has been found together with the 'wallet' shape at several sites. 6 The glass examples from Sellopoulo tomb 4 (associated by the excavators with burial II, that of a young male, 15–18 years old), 7 five waz-lilies and 12 wallets, are the closest parallels in location, material and date (LM IIIA1), but were found scattered and mixed with other ornaments. The associations of the 15 waz-lilies and 14 wallets from the Kalyvia cemetery are also unclear. Five mainland occurrences are in gold. Prosymna tomb II yielded 16 waz-lilies and 11 wallets, not lying in situ; but because the numbers were fairly close, and the shapes might fit together well if strung alternately, Elizabeth Blegen believed that they belonged together on one necklace. Persson soon followed her for his 20 waz-lilies and 19 wallets from chamber tomb 10 at Dendra, but these were found scattered, swept into a shaft. 8 Mycenae tomb 91 has 26 and 21 examples, found likewise. Less trustworthy combinations are the 'Thebes jewellery ensemble' in the Benaki Museum with 32 of each, and the repatriated 'Aidonia' material, which preserves respectively seven and five. In most cases the relation in size is the same, the wallets being a little over half as long as the waz-lilies. All these reconstructions are conjectural, to be sure,

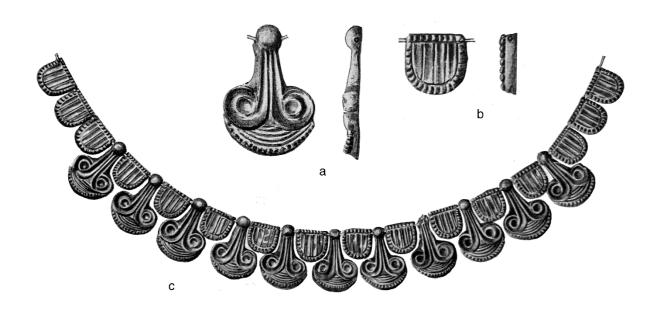
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⁶ Popham, Catling and Catling 1974, 213, 223, fig. 11*kl*; Savignoni 1904, 610–12, no. 50 figs 78–9, 614, no. 55, fig. 83; Blegen 1937, 267–8, fig. 577 – from tomb II, 'apparently' LH II; Persson 1942, 78–9, no. 22, pl. 5:2, fig. 92:1; Boulotis 1999, 36–9, no. 1, figs 13 and 14; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 255, nos 3187, 3202, pls 126, 128; Demakopoulou 1996, 77, no. 12. Cf. Niemeier 1985, 83 n. 481.

⁷ Popham, Catling and Catling 1974, 202, 210–11, 213, 223–4 (J 13) and fig. 10. Described as 'near region of feet of burial II' (p. 223), this assemblage is thought to represent 'spill' from a bronze dish (B 31). The position of this bronze vessel, however, very close to the coffin/bier of burial I (an adult male), may point to an association with this burial. Popham hypothesized that these beads may have been 'elements of some kind of pectoral, or parts of various necklaces' (pp. 202 and 213). We owe the identification of age and sex of these burials to Argyro Nafplioti.

⁸ See note 6 above.

but it is interesting that our very fragmentary batch may match occurrences elsewhere and may fit Elizabeth Blegen's suggested pattern.



Jewellery from Prosymna tomb II: (a) 'waz-lily', (b) 'wallet' and (c) reconstruction by Elizabeth Blegen. © ASCSA.

Lily-beads in several versions are one of the more common relief types, well represented in both glass and gold. The significance of white lilies and red ones, and their occasional confusion, does not affect the beads, of course, which are not of either colour, but the association of lilies with religion, perhaps with a particular goddess and with the afterlife, is unmistakable, and it may include a medical element to do with healing or gynaecology. Pliny and Dioscorides mention various uses (Pliny *HN* XXI.126 and Dioscorides III.102 [Wellmann 1914, 75–7]. Cerceau 1985, 181; Warren 1985, 198 and 203–4; Willetts 1962, 79; Watrous 1991, 295.). The 'waz-lily', with its papyrus-like fan-shaped addition to the lily, appears first in a unique and elegant pendant in the Temple Repositories in MM III and then in other media, notably metalwork and vases (Higgins 1961, 80, pls 9, 10*H*; Kaiser 1976, 99–106; Niemeier 1985, 53–6; Effinger 1996, 45–6). It has been seen as a sign of authority (Evans 1928, 775–9; Marinatos 1995, 39–40).

The shape of the other beads was classified as 'wallet' by Higgins, who derived it from the New Kingdom Egyptian beads so called simply for convenience because the edging looks like stitching (Higgins 1961, 81, no. 25, pls 9 and 10c). The Egyptian 'wallet-beads' go back

to cowrie amulets, which, as in many other cultures, symbolised fertility because the creature's appearance and actions readily suggest it (Wilkinson 1971, 80–1, 134, fig. 46, pl. XLVIIB; Andrews 1990, 140–3, 173, fig. 158*b*; Hughes-Brock 1999, 287–8; cf. Claassen 1998, 203–4). Middle Kingdom cowrie hip-girdles gave way in the New Kingdom to girdles of the more stylised wallet type, as known from the burials of the wives of Thutmose III. Minoans visiting and working in Egypt may have seen such things and brought home the basic idea of the semi-circular shape but then, as so often, worked upon it with their own imagination and ended up with something rather different, vagueness as to the original significance leading them to create the new types for which puzzled scholars have devised their own various names. The standard relief-bead motifs were nearly all intended to depict something recognisable (e.g. lily, shell, woman, jug) (Nightingale 2000, 6–7; Hughes-Brock 1999, 287–9). The 'wallet' looks as though it too ought to be something specific – but what?

Most wallets have two arcs hanging from the straight top edge. Some, instead, have a two-scallop top edge which looks like a variant on the arcs. ¹⁰ This is apparently an integral, distinguishing element, which should hold some clue. Decoration of raised dots (inspired by granulation on gold) or a ridged band (a shortcut to the same effect) or grooves often follows the outline of the object. Other decoration is rare (additional arcs, as Xenaki-Sakellariou's type 80, seen at Mycenae, Kalyvia, Athens). Our fragments are exceptional in that three have none of these features, only raised (thickened) edges. The fourth may have had dots along the sides and vertical lines in the field like examples from Prosymna and three Mycenae tombs (Blegen 1937, 267–8; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985, 302, type 82), but what I take to be its top edge is not scalloped and bears no surviving sign of arcs.

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⁹ Hughes-Brock 2000, 123–4. Cowrie shells were not a common sight in Crete. *Cypraea* barely figures in Karali's (1991) survey but cf. Kovács 2008, 15–17, catalogue 172–4 and 434–5.

¹⁰ Symeonoglou (1973, 91 n. 391) firmly regards the two as variants of one motif; Xenaki-Sakellariou's (1985, 302, types 80, 82 and 83) classification, on the other hand, implies separate motifs.

The histories of relief-bead motifs are not always clear, especially given that we are short of LM I burials and that a long-lived mould might produce objects in LM/LH III with designs carved considerably earlier. Niemeier (1985, 113, no. 647) postulates an LM I prototype for wallet beads, the jewellery equivalent of the pottery motif he calls 'Vorhang und "Schirmchen". There are links between pottery and jewellery motifs (and other media too), but the pottery motifs in this case do not answer our question, mixed up as they are with festoons, triglyph friezes and papyrus heads. The pendent arcs suggested to Evans (1935, 348–52, 414–19) a likeness between the triglyph frieze pattern and the blade of the Syrian axe carried by priestly figures on seals. Evans's axe idea is followed by the excavators of Thebes (e.g., Keramopoullos, Symeonoglou, and Demakopoulou and Konsola). If correct, and if relief-bead necklaces and diadems were insignia of some kind, it might support a division postulated between the rituals and personnel associated respectively with the Syrian sacrificial axe and the Cretan double axe, because the latter, so conspicuous on other objects, is conspicuously absent from relief-beads. If

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¹¹ On moulds with the waz-lily and wallet motifs see Hughes-Brock 2014, 109.

¹² See detailed discussion in Niemeier 1985, 53–6, 82, fig. 28, and 112–15.

¹³ Keramopoullos 1917, 134; Symeonoglou 1973, 64, no. 6; Demakopoulou and Konsola 1981, 50, pl. 18 (seven individually carved in lapis lazuli), 53 pl. 19 (six gold).

¹⁴ Marinatos 1993, 5, 125–30 and 145. Cf. Hughes-Brock 1999, 288. Higgins lists as 'single axe' a type so far found only once, in Athens (Higgins 1981, 82, fig. 13, type 33). He names two sites there, Koukaki and Philopappos, but in fact both mean one tomb, Odos Aglavrou Tomb 17. See Pantelidou 1975, 107–12 no. 3, pl. 48β: two gold 'axes' (note also no. 5, six gold wallets) from a burial probably of LH IIIA1; for the context, see Paschalidis 2012. In shape and decoration, the Aglavrou examples so much resemble small gold votive double axes like those from Arkalochori that I wonder whether the matrix was originally for such axes (halves, to be joined) rather than for beads.

How should the axe be related to the architectural frieze motif (horizontal, with only one arc) and the ceramic motifs? As for papyrus heads, the overlap created subsequently by vase-painters playing around among motifs cannot have been the original concept, because clear versions of papyrus occur earlier. Occasional illustrations of a wallet shown with the curved side upwards (when not accidental) must be erroneous, since many specimens, like ours, have only one perforation and must have hung like the vase motif. 17

For the time being, perhaps the safest descriptions are non-interpretative convenience terms like *wallet* (Higgins), *shield*, $\pi \acute{e}\lambda \tau \eta$, *Vorhang und 'Schirmchen'* (Blegen, Persson, Xenaki-Sakellariou, Niemeier) or strictly geometrical terms like *Halbkreis* and *semi-circle* (Bielefeld, Effinger, Nightingale, Demakopoulou). ¹⁸ The handful of motifs classified as 'abstract' by Nightingale are in some cases traceable as developments from recognisable subjects, and although Bielefeld suggests that the 'wallet' might perhaps be 'rein ornamental', he was probably more on the right track when he spoke of the rare 'so stark umstilisierte Motive, dass sie wie Abstracta wirken'. We have yet to discover what the wallet was 'umstilisiert' from.

One thing is certain. The wallet, like relief-beads generally, was less popular in Crete than on the mainland. Our tomb is only the third Cretan find-place after the Kalyvia cemetery and Sellopoulo, whereas at Mycenae alone it occurs in about a dozen tombs. No wallet, as it happens, occurs on the surviving moulds from Crete, but two moulds from Mycenae have it (Effinger 1996, 99, no. 346; Evely 2000, 411–14; Tournavitou 1997, 247–9, nos 10, 14, figs 1*c*, 2*a*). The Cretan wallets are all in vitreous materials. While the origins and early

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¹⁵ See Marinatos 1995, 46–7 on architectural decoration on the skirt of the goddess/queen at Knossos.

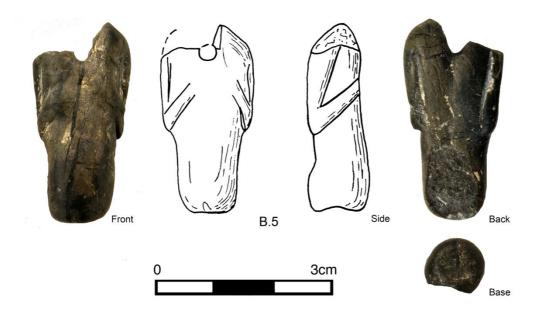
¹⁶ Effinger 1996, 35. Cf. Hughes-Brock 2000, 123–4. Only Pantelidou (1975, 107, no. 5) and Boulotis (1999, 36) call wallets 'papyrus'.

¹⁷ See Effinger 1996, 42 on 'pendant' versus 'bead'.

¹⁸ Bielefeld 1968, 29; Effinger 1996, 36; Nightingale 2000, 7; Demakopoulou 1996, 76–7, no. 12 (no arcs, thus not 'axe', as at Thebes – see Demakopoulou and Konsola 1981).

development of glass are still very much a subject of research, it was well argued by T.E. Haevernick in 1960 that the glass industry blossomed early on the mainland and became the material of choice there, while the senior Minoan art of faience dwindled (Haevernick 1960; Hughes-Brock 2003, 14; Nikita 2003, 24 and 31; Chatzi-Spiliopoulou 2002). A contributing impetus may have been Mycenaean trade with Italy and Sicily, where vitreous beads considered to be Mycenaean, perhaps serving as 'trade beads', have been found in contexts where Early Mycenaean pottery is associated with metal-working and sulphur extraction (Marazzi 1994; Castellana 1999). Thus, both in shape (if my identifications are correct) and in material our beads seem well at home in LM II–IIIA Knossos.

SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDIX G: Figurine fragment (**B.5**) (*by* Helen Hughes-Brock)



This fragmentary MM figurine has a remarkably close parallel from Moni Odigitria, sieving around Tholos B. ¹⁹ Like ours, it lacks its head and legs. The arms are held against the chest with the elbows bent upwards, and the backbone is indicated. Where the head is broken off there is a cavity where, it is suggested, the head may have been inset. The material is stone, perhaps grey steatite. The 'bluish steatite' figurine from Portí Tholos P is more elaborate, with belt and loincloth and well-articulated hands. ²⁰ The stocky figurine from Archanes (Phourni Burial Building 7, used in MM IA) is naked like ours and is described as 'the most naturalistically rendered Early Bronze Age figurine in Crete', but it lacks the groove

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¹⁹ Michelaki and Vasilakis 2010,196–7, pl. 53, no. F2, where erroneously the material is described as 'burned grayish ivory'. Cf. Vasilakis 2017, 291–2, figs 1–29, the material corrected. I am most grateful to Yannis Galanakis for drawing my attention to this figurine and for sending me Vasilakis 2017, which includes a better illustration.

 $^{^{20}}$ See Xanthoudides 1924, 67, pls VIII, XXXIXb, no. 171; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 282, no. ID.096, 332 on EM III–MM IA date.

representing the backbone. Its arms are bent up less sharply, making its attitude look less pronouncedly Cretan.²¹

The gesture is Cretan and clearly different from the Cycladic folded-arms attitude. The 'field' of prayer gestures to which the attitudes of figurines belong is discussed by Rutkowski (1991, 54–6, figs 30, 31) and by Morris (2001, 249). Sapouna-Sakellaraki (1995, 108) connects it specifically with prayer, inner recollection or supplication and notes its long life, from Pre- to Post-palatial.

Figurines of this type were not perforated. If suspended from anything, they would have had a cord wound round their neck. At 6 or 7 cm high, thus like the related Mesara figurines, our figurine, while complete, would have been uncomfortably large to wear around one's neck. Xanthoudides describes the Portí figurine as having two 'holes' in its flat back, perhaps for pegs to fasten it to some flat surface – thus sockets, not perforations. Possibly the perforation of our figurine was something of that kind, but more probably it was made later, after the head and legs had gone. The bottom looks rounded and smoothed, perhaps to improve the appearance in front view.

When and how did both our object and its parallel from Moni Odigitria lose their heads and legs? Just accident or deliberate modification? The similar dates probably suggest when. At Moni Odigitria, Tholos B, where the object was found in sieving, was in use until MM IB. Ours was a surface find outside the tomb, where scattered sherds included LM (the MM activity in Tomb I must have thrown up soil when Tomb II was cut into it in LM II–III) but were mostly MM IA.

Again, when and why did our object get its unique perforation through the chest? Was it perforated while still intact, to serve perhaps as some sort of amulet or even in worship

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seated man found at Manika.

²¹ Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991, 96, fig. 72; 1997, 506–11, figs 495, 499, 500, 509. Sapouna-Sakellaraki (2019, 159–60, figs 19:12–13) sees a close likeness to the stocky

(Xanthoudides 1924, 21–4)? More probably the hole was made for repair to reattach the head by tying, a practice well attested on Cycladic figurines.²²

ABBREVIATIONS (for the Supplementary Appendices only)

BSA British School at Athens

EL Excavation Level

EM Early Minoan

GNB Archive of the British School at Athens, KSP/60 excavation, Hood Archive, no. 10, E.B. French, excavation 'Green notebook', with notes by M.S.F. Hood (1960).

LH Late Helladic

LM Late Minoan

MM Middle Minoan

Notebook Archive of the British School at Athens, KSP/60 excavation, Hood Archive, no. 20, E.B. French, excavation notebook (1960).

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²² For this important addition I am immensely grateful to Oliver Dickinson, who when a final check for recent literature was impossible during the lockdown period of 2020 very kindly posted to me his own copy of *Beyond the Cyclades* for Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2019. For good examples see Konstanti and Christopoulou 2019, 37, figs 4:3–4:5 showing repair hole below the neck, as on our piece; also, Kaza-Papageorgiou 2019, 99–100, fig. 12:12. Fundamentally Getz-Preziosi 1981. See also generally Krause 1992 and Pieler 2004, esp. 79–83 and 110–19 (catalogue: very few figurines found complete). The arms-bent-up gesture remained long familiar on small female figure pendants (Effinger 1996, 44, table at p. 347), mostly only half as big as ours, or less, but they are perforated from side to side at shoulder or arm level so that the figure faces frontwards as though for wearing.

Pottery Notebook Archive of the British School at Athens, 'P KSP.60 PEM Pottery', excavation pottery notebook

PL Publication Layer

SM Stratigraphical Museum

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