SACRIFICE IN THE BRONZE AGE
AEGEAN AND NEAR EAST
A POSTSTRUCTURALIST APPROACH

VOL. II: MAPS, TABLES, FIGURES, APPENDICES A-E

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

2011

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Trinity College Dublin
MAPS, TABLES AND FIGURES

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1. Aidonia
2. Amyklai
3. Argos
4. Asine
5. Ayios Konstantinos
6. Ayios Stephanos
7. Dara
8. Dendra
9. Eleusis
10. Epidauros
11. Eutresis
12. Galatas Magula
13. Kakovatos
14. Kalapodi
15. Kallithea
16. Katakalou
17. Kazarma
18. Kirrha
19. Kokla
20. Lakithra
21. Lerna
22. Leukas
23. Malthi
24. Marathon
25. Midea
26. Mycenae
27. Nauplio
28. Nemea Tsoungiza
29. Nichoria
30. Oxyrhynchus
31. Perati
32. Pharsalos
33. Prosymna
34. Pylos
35. Routsi Myrsinochori
36. Samiko Kleidi
37. Thebes
38. Tiryns
39. Vaphio
Map 3. - Sites in Near East

Table 2. Near Eastern chronology.

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Table 4. Sites of possible human sacrifice.

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Table 5. Types of sacrificial practices in the Aegean and Near East according to the material evidence.

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<tr>
<td>Processions</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treaty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human sacrifice</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2. Types of animal bones in Aegean burials.

Figure 4. Types of animal bones in Near Eastern burials.
Table 1. Aegean chronology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Crete</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>EM I</td>
<td>EH I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500</td>
<td>EM II</td>
<td>EH II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>MM IA</td>
<td>EH III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>MM IB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>MM II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>MM IIIA-B</td>
<td>Protopalatial / Old Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>LM IA</td>
<td>Neopalatial / New Palace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>LM IB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>LM II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>LM IIIA</td>
<td>Postpalatial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>LM IIIB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>LM IIIC</td>
<td>LH I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the terms used in the appendices and databases may need further explanation:

‘Animal bones’. This is used when the faunal remains were either not preserved well enough to be identified, or when publications do not specify the type of animal(s) the bones belonged to.

Sheep/goat. This term is merged in the archaeological material because the two are very difficult to distinguish in the field.

Bovid. That is, belonging to the family of Bovidae, which includes cattle, water buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, sheep and goats.

Examined by expert. This is for cases where the faunal remains have definitely been examined by an archaeozoologist. In many other cases, excavation reports are not clear about how the bones have been identified.

Possible foundation deposit, possible human sacrifice. I have used the word 'possible' because I have included all possible examples: this need not mean that all the entries did in fact belong to these categories.

Animal on table. This refers to a specific composition of an animal, usually but not always, on a table. Some examples where the table is absent have been included because their composition is very similar to the rest: these are marked as possible examples.

Horns of consecration. A conventional phrase used for a specific object or image of an object that look like horns.

‘8 shield’. Short for an object or image of an object referred to as a ‘figure-of-eight’ shield, because it has the shape of the number 8, and is sometimes shown used as a shield.

‘Incurved altar’. Conventional term for a specific object or image of an object whose sides curve inwards, and has been interpreted as an altar.

‘Garment’, ‘Arrow’, ‘Star’, Circle, ‘Sideboard’, ‘Bucket’, ‘Sprinkler’, Tube, Crescent, Sun/star. I have used these terms because they best describe their shape according to modern perceptions: they may not reflect their actual symbolic meaning.
**N, F, M, Y + animal.** N reflects the fact that the animal’s gender has not been specified in the ancient text (or cannot be reconstructed), F is for female, M for male and Y for a young animal.

**Empty fields.** If a field is empty, it is because it has not been possible to obtain the information; that also goes for any missing plans or pictures.

**Picture fields in the electronic version.** When possible or appropriate, the electronic database contains more pictures than the printed appendices. These are intended to provide the reader with more information and further views of the material. It is also possible to use the ‘zoom in’ option in the database to take a closer look at these.

**Searching and sorting.** The records can be searched by pressing the ‘find’ button in the bottom left-hand corner of the database and choosing the criteria desired. The results can be viewed either in separate records, as a table or as a list (go to ‘View’ in the top menu). The records can also be sorted, for example in alphabetical order or according to the appendix number: choose ‘Sort records’ in the ‘Records’ menu and choose the sorting criteria.
APPENDIX A

AEGEAN BURIALS
### A 1 Aidonia Chamber Tomb 14

The tomb consists of a dromos but no chamber. In front of a false door, the skeleton of a horse had been placed, with jaw bones of 14 slaughtered horses beneath it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Human remains</strong></th>
<th>None recorded.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animal remains</strong></td>
<td>14 horse mandibles and one complete horse skeleton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LH?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Source(s)** | Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990: 102.  
Kosmetatou 1993: 38.  
Reese 1995: 35.  
Aidonia Shaft Grave

The unplundered grave contained the remains of a decapitated horse and numerous sherds of kylikes.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains** Horse skeleton, decapitated.

**Period** Cemetery began being used in 16th c. BC

### A 3 Apodoulou Tholos Tomb

Tholos Tomb, also referred to as Phrankou to Louri 5. The tomb contained three human burials, two in larnakes and one on the floor. An ox skull was found in the south-east part of the tomb, just right of the entrance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>Three human burials, two in larnakes, one on floor, not gendered.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Ox skull.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Period**
LM IIIA2 - LM IIIB

**Source(s)**
AR 1981/82: 58.
Touchais 1982: 628.
Pologiorgi 1987: 143-144.
AR 1989/90: 77.
### Archanes Corridor, BB 6 and Tholos B

Corridor between Burial Building 6 and Tholos Tomb B. No human bones were found here, but the skulls of a calf and probably a sheep, along with pottery, including two ‘ritual’ vases and two MM IA kernoi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>None</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Skulls: one calf and one probably sheep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>MM IA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source(s)     | Sakellarakis 1975: 171-174.  
Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 262. |
Burial structure consisting of six rooms, added when necessary for more burials. The structure was surrounded by a street, a pavement and a staircase. Many skulls were found, including 196 just in the east rooms, probably from clearing of neighbouring buildings. The finds include a few animal bones and teeth, sea-shells, plaster (including in a skull) and over 70 clay vases (jugs, conical cups, bowls). In the corridor were found several animal jaw bones with teeth, and an animal skull, perhaps ox, was in the main deposit.

**Human remains**
Many skulls found (196 in two east rooms alone)

**Animal remains**
Animal bones, including jaw bones and teeth
Ox skull

**Period**
EM III - MM IB

**Source(s)**
Archanes Burial Building 12

Structure consisting of two elongated rooms, not very well preserved, with three discernible periods of use. Many human skulls found, with animal bones and sea-shells. In the last period of use, another paved area was laid, and here were found about 20 vases, jugs and cups, fragments of an animal skull and sea-shells.

**Human remains**  Many human skulls.

**Animal remains**  Animal bones, including skull fragments.

**Period**  End of EM period; MM IA period; beginning of MM.

**Source(s)**  Sakellarakis 1975: 174-177.
Structure with two wings (east and west), not well preserved, probably associated with Tholos Tomb E. The 18 burials in the north room of the east wing were in six sarcophagi (11 individuals) and on the ground (seven individuals). Offerings include animal bones, a clay vase, a steatite vase, seals, and a bronze scraper.

**Human remains**

18 human skeletons.

**Animal remains**

Animal bones

**Period**

MM IA, c. 2100-2000 BC

**Source(s)**

The structure contained two main layers, not clearly distinguishable chronologically. Lower layer: at least 105 burials, mainly adults, mainly on the ground. Finds include 45 vases (jugs, bowls, cups), figurines, amulets, seals, obsidian blades, beads, sea-shells and animal and bird bones. Upper layer: at least 76 burials, mainly children, in vases and sarcophagi. Burial vases often included offerings such as smaller vases, beads, bones of animals or birds and sea-shells. Total of 137 vases in upper layer. An exterior ‘altar’ was found: a huge rectangular slab of limestone.

**Human remains**
- Lower layer: at least 105 burials, mainly adults, crushed because of upper layer.
- Upper layer: at least 76 burials, mainly children

**Animal remains**
- Animal bones.
- Bird bones.

**Period**

**Source(s)**
- Sapouna-Sakellaraki and Sakellarakis 1980: 481.
A 9  Archanes Tholos Tomb A

Tholos tomb consisting of a main circular chamber and a rectangular side chamber. The main chamber had been plundered but contained the skeleton of a dismembered and carefully arranged horse. The side chamber held a rich burial, apparently of a female. Among the stones of the wall between the two chamber the skull of an ox had been placed.

**Human remains**  One human skeleton, identified as female based on finds.

**Animal remains**  Horse, slaughtered and dismembered. Cutmarks on the shoulder bones. *Equus caballus*, c. 6 years old. Ox skull - ‘bull’, *Bos primigenius*.

**Period**  LM IIIA

**Source(s)**  Sakellarakis 1967: 278-281.  
Sakellarakis 1970.  
Crouwel 1981: 34.  
Kosmetatou 1993: 38.  
A 10 Archanes Tholos Tomb B

Tholos tomb with several associated structures and two dromoi. Area 1 (dromos): between the barriers which block the dromos were found skeletons of dogs, some complete, some without their head, were found; isolated dog bones along with bones of pig and rabbit and boar tusks were found in the area beneath the inner barrier. Area 5: sarcophagus containing at least 19 individuals, bones sorted and distinct red colour, and animal bones from bovines, sheep, pigs and hare. Area 6: a pillar crypt with human bones from room above, and the tooth of an animal and sea-shells.

Human remains

Area 5 sarcophagus: bones of at least 19 individuals, at least 6 men and 5 women. Dated LM IIA.
Human bones in Area 6, dated MM IA or later.

Animal remains

Dog skeletons.
Pig and rabbit bones.
Boar tusks.
Bones from bovines, sheep, pigs and hare.

Period

MM II - LM IIIA

Source(s)

Sakellarakis 1967: 277-278.
Sakellarakis 1968a.
Day 1984: 23.
Marinatos 1993: 89.
Hamilakis 1996: 162.
A 11 Archanes Tholos Tomb C/Γ

Tholos tomb with a single burial layer and a total of 45 burials: 18 in 11 larnakes and one pithos, all in foetus position, 24 burials between the larnakes, and three in the entrance. The pithos, with two human skeletons, contained bones of animals and fish. The find include Cycladic figurines. The tomb also had a window which was used in later times (LM IIIA) for offerings.

**Human remains**
Total of 45 burials.

**Animal remains**
Animal and fish bones.

**Period**
Prepalatial, EM III c. 2250-2100

**Source(s)**
Sakellarakis 1974: 327-351.
Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1982: 400-401.
Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 181-184, 256.
Tomb with two burial layers. The lower level contained a large number of burials and 25 find contexts, two of which included animal bones. The upper level contained 56 burials in sarcophagi, pithoi and on the floor. Of the 75 find contexts, 40 contained animal bones, including goat, hare, pig, fish and cattle bones, but in most cases not specified.

**Human remains**

56 burials in upper layer.

**Animal remains**

Animal bones. FK 27: caprid bones and horns. FK 34: Numerous bones from different animals, incl. jaw of hare, caprids and swine bones, animal teeth. FK 46: fishbones. FK 74: caprid horn fragment, bone fragments from other animal, two mussels. FK 86: caprid horn fragments, other animal bones. FK 100: tooth fragment from bovine and bones from small animal.

**Period**

Lower level: EM IIA. Upper level: MMIA-II, c. 2100-2000 BC

**Source(s)**

Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 187-188.
Panagiotopoulos 2002.
Human bones were found underneath a pile of stone at the entrance to the tomb, at the level of the top of the door. They were interpreted as from a sacrificial victim by Vollgraff.

**Human remains**  
Human bones from at least one individual.

**Animal remains**

**Period**  
LH?

**Source(s)**  
Vollgraff 1904: 375-387.  
Hughes 1991: 32.
A 14  Argos Tomb 8

Tomb containing two human skulls and skeleton of an animal, probably a horse, lying on its left side, head towards the north, skull disappeared. One of the human skulls was near the front legs, the second one further south against east wall.

**Human remains**  Two human skulls.

**Animal remains**  Probably horse, no skull.

**Period**  LH IIIA2 - LH IIIB

**Source(s)**  Vollgraff 1904: 370.
Deshayes 1966: 69-70, pl. 70.3.
Andronikos 1968: 82.
Pini 1968: 68.
Crouwel 1981: 34.
This ‘ceremonial pit’, south-west of Tomb 178, included a tripod cooking pot which contained traces of olive oil, cereal, meat and perhaps pulses or lentils.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains** Animal fat.

**Period** LM IIIB, c. 1340-1190 BC

**Source(s)** Tzedakis and Martlew 1999: 116.  
Tzedakis and Martlew 2007: 71-72.
Armenoi Cemetery Tomb 177

Sherds from a tripod cooking pot found in the dromos of the tomb showed that it had contained meat and olive oil.

Human remains

Animal remains  Animal fat.

Period  LM III B, c. 1340-1190 BC

Source(s)  Tzedakis and Martlew 1999: 115.
Tzedakis and Martlew 2007: fig. 8.7.
A 17  Asine Chamber Tomb I

The chamber included a bench roughly in the middle - on this, next to the latest human skeleton, was placed the skull of a dog.

**Human remains**  
Floor of chamber and niches; at least six-seven individuals, only two partly articulated. The latter probably of Geometric date - last period of use of the tomb.

**Animal remains**  
Dog skull.

**Period**  
LH II - LH IIIA2

**Source(s)**  
Furumark 1941: 62.  
Vermeule 1964: 349.  
Andronikos 1968.  
Hamilakis 1996: 162.
The cist grave contained two skeletons, a man and a child, with animal bones near the feet of the man.

**Human remains**
- Male, aged 36.
- Child, 12-18 months.

**Animal remains**
- Animal bones.

**Period**
- MH

**Source(s)**
- Dietz 1980: 63-64.
The cist grave contained a child burial, a matt-painted cup, shell and fishbones - the fishbones were found inside a vessel. There were also remains of charcoal around the skeleton.

Human remains  Child burial, no gender identified.

Animal remains  Fish vertebrae.

Period  MH III - LH I

Source(s)  Frödin and Persson 1938: 117, 291-292.
            Nordquist 1987: 129.
The brick-cist grave contained a human skeleton (female, c. 35 years old), a coarse cup and some animal bones.

**Human remains**  Female, aged 35.

**Animal remains**  Animal bones.

**Period**  MH III

**Source(s)**  Frödin and Persson 1938: 117, 282.
               Nordquist 1987: 129.
The brick-cist grave contained one human skeleton (male, aged 30-40) and animal bones.

**Human remains**  Male, aged 30-40.

**Animal remains**  Bones from small animal.

**Period**  MH

The stone enclosure grave contained one human skeleton (female, aged 18), a dark burnished jug, a whorl, two earrings, an awl and sheep/goat bones, lying next to the skeleton.

**Human remains**  Female, aged 18.

**Animal remains**  Goat/sheep bones.

**Period**  MH I

**Source(s)**  Frödin and Persson 1938: 126.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Human remains</strong></th>
<th>49 human skulls in tomb.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animal remains</strong></td>
<td>Horse jawbone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>EM I - MM II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>Stefani 1930/31.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pini 1968: 27.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## A 24 Ayios Charalambos Cave

Cave with 7 rooms, Rooms 3-7 preserved, and used as an ossuary in the MM IIB period, when the human bones were moved there and sorted. A large deposit about 1m thick of human bones were found, with the skulls on top. Other finds include much pottery, at least 750-800 cups and 650-700 jugs, and many animal bones. The mouth of the cave was closed in the BA with black soil, and many animal bones found here were from cattle, sheep/goat, pigs, hares and fewer from other animals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>Disarticulated human bones representing at least 1000 individuals, many long bones and skulls.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Over 4000 animal bones, mostly domestic species. 70% of domestic species: sheep/goat. Also cattle and pig bones. Some dog and cat bones - cat could be either wild or domestic - so far no cutmark on these. 75% of wild animal bones: hare 75% of these, birds about 25%. Badger (eaten) and a few fish bones and marine shells. Bones in black soil with cutmarks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>MM IIIB (FN - LM III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Betancourt <em>et al.</em> 2008.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One human skeleton and animal bones were found in this tomb, all in a bad state of preservation. Other finds include bronze swords and daggers, a razor, spear-heads a gold cup and five arrow heads. The excavator interpreted it as a warrior tomb.

**Human remains**
One human skeleton, badly preserved.

**Animal remains**
Animal bones, badly preserved.

**Period**
LM IB - LM II

**Source(s)**
Hood 1956: 85.
Pini 1968: 68.
Cist grave containing two human skeletons. The earth filling appeared to be burnt, and lower down were fragments of mud-brick and occasional burnt animal bone. 'Foodstuff' was also found inside vessels.

**Human remains**
Two human burials, one a ‘discarded adult skeleton’, the other the main burial, with an adult, gender not possible to determine.

**Animal remains**
Burnt bones.

**Period**
MH

**Source(s)**
In a rectangular pit between the tombs was found the skeleton of a large animal, probably an ox.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains** Animal skeleton, probably ox.

**Period** LM III

**Source(s)** Platon 1963: 292.
On the floor of this tomb a complete skeleton, probably of a horse, was found, along with two crania, one of a horse, the other a deer. There were also traces of fire, and the other offerings included kylikes, small sword, spearheads and beads.

### Human remains

### Animal remains
- One complete skeleton, probably horse.
- One horse skull.
- One deer skull.

### Period
- LH IIIA - LH IIIB

### Source(s)
- Parlama 1973/74.
- Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979: D114.
- Crouwel 1981: 35.
Chamber tomb interpreted as a cenotaph by the excavator. The tomb contained a stone ‘sacrificial table’, a ‘slaughtering table’ and a hearth. Near a pit against the wall were found feline and bat bones, and a pit near the ‘slaughtering table’ was full of cattle and sheep/goat bones, a silver cup and bronze ‘sacrificial’ knife. Other finds include a tripod cauldron and other cooking vessels as well as ashes.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains** Bones from feline, bats, sheep/goats, cattle.

**Period** LH IIIA2 / LH IIIB, after 1200 BC

**Source(s)** Persson 1931: 73-80, 91-117.
Schweitzer 1933.
Wiesner 1938: 153.
Mylonas 1948: 74.
Mylonas 1966, 117-118.
Andronikos 1968: 87
Åkerström 1978: 69-86.
Robbed tholos tomb with skeletons of one male and a female in one cist, a female in another, and a human skeleton with animal bones, including the skull of a dog, in a pit. Another three human skeletons were scattered over the floor. Bat bones were found in the bottom layer in one side of the tomb, and a ‘sacrificial’ pit in the doorway contained charcoal and burnt objects. Burnt animal bones were also recorded in the doorway.

**Human remains**
- Four complete human skeletons, possibly including two females and one male: unclear if gender determined by expert.
- Three more human skeletons scattered over the floor.

**Animal remains**
- Animal bones, some burnt.
- Dog skull.
- Bat bones.

**Period**
- After 1400 BC. LH IIIA1

**Source(s)**
- Persson 1931: 8-42, 68-70.
- Schweitzer 1933.
- Mylonas 1948: 74-75.
- Picard 1948.
- Vermeule 1964: 349.
- Andronikos 1968: 82.
- Mylonas 1948, 74-75.
- Piri 1968: 69.
Dendra Tumulus B

Tumulus B contained two horses, buried in a relatively narrow, shallow pit at the easternmost edge of the tumulus. A single human burial has so far been uncovered (Grave 1). Only pottery otherwise reported.

**Human remains**  One human burial, association uncertain.

**Animal remains**  Two horses, male, c. 15-17 years old.

**Period**  Possibly MH, though Mycenaean sherds also found

Two horses were found in a pit within the boundary of Tumulus C, deliberately buried there. A corresponding human burial has not been discovered. A portion of the extremity of a leg with a small horse-type hoof was also found in NW end of the trench, along with other animal bones.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains** Two horses, male, c. 15-17 years old.

**Period** Horses: just before the middle of MH, chambers LH IIIA

**Source(s)** Payne 1990.
Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990.
### A 33 Galatas Chamber Tomb 2

Site of Apatheia, Chamber Tomb 2, also called A5. The tomb contained a large number of human skeletons (31 skulls counted), vessels, including kylikes, conical cups, stirrup jars, alabastra and jugs, and two complete dog skeletons, and hare, bird and sheep/goat bones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>Remains of at least 31 humans.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Two dogs, cutmarks. Hare bones, sheep/goat bone (right humerus) and two bird bones. Some signs of burning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LH IIB - early LH IIIC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A 34  Galatas Magoula Tholos Tomb 2

The tomb was disturbed in antiquity. The floor of the tomb included a large quantity of ‘food waste’, especially pig bones, and the pottery included kylikes, some miniature, and a beaked stirrup jar.

**Human remains**  Disturbed.

**Animal remains**  Pig bones. ‘Food waste’.

**Period**  Jug dated to LH IIIA2

In the fill of the dromos by the entrance and 1m above a pit containing a sarcophagus with a human skeleton and two sealstones, a skeleton of a dog and sheep bones with traces of burning were found. The tomb also contained a partly preserved table of offerings.

**Human remains**
One human skeleton.

**Animal remains**
Skeleton of dog.
Sheep bones, traces of burning.

**Period**
LM IIIB

**Source(s)**
Hazzidakis 1916: 63.
Bates 1920: 293.
Hazzidakis 1921: 63-70.
Kanta 1980: 47.
Hamilakis 1996.: 162.
Kakovatos Tholos Tomb A

The tomb was robbed and disturbed in antiquity. The finds were in a 10-15cm layer of sand and sherds(?) on the floor. They included the remains of one individual, c. 30 years old, pottery, jewellery, weapons, gold, silver and bronze items and many animal bones, mainly from large domestic animals.

**Human remains**  Very disturbed - all human bones found belonging to adult c. 30 years old. Identified as male, apparently based on finds.

**Animal remains**  Many bones, mostly from large domestic animal.

**Period**  LH IIA

A 37 Kallithea Tholos Tomb

The tomb was plundered in the Bronze Age. In the two bottom layers were found the skull of a horse and cattle, dog and sheep/goat bones.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains**  Horse skull. 
Dogs, cattle, and sheep/goats bones.

**Period**  LH I - LH IIIC

**Source(s)**  AR 1981/82: 27.  
Hamilakis 1996: 162.
A 38 Katakalou Tholos Tomb

The tomb was plundered. It contained cattle, sheep, goat and pig bones above the human skeletons.

**Human remains**  Uncertain number of skeletons.

**Animal remains**  Bovine, sheep, goat and pig bones, some burnt.

**Period**  LH III

**Source(s)**  Papavasileiou 1910: 39-45.
                Andronikos 1968: 87.
Kazarma Tholos Tomb

Tomb with three pits, each with a human skeleton (one woman and two men). Above the pits were traces of a large fire, an abundance of animal bones and two human skeletons in foetus position and without offerings. These were interpreted as possible sacrificial victims. At a later time, LH IIIC, the tomb was reopened, and the skeleton of a calf in front of the stomion belongs to this date.

Human remains
Three in pits: one female, two male.
Two on top of pits.

Animal remains
Skeleton of calf.
Animal bones.

Period
LH I - LH IIIC

Source(s)
Protonotariou-Deilaki 1968: 236-238.
Protonotariou-Deilaki 1969: 3-6.
Kirrha Cist Tomb 2

The cist contained no human bones, but an abundance of black ash and a few small ovid bones, partly charred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>None.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Sheep bones, partly charred.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Period     MH IIIb
Source(s)   Dor et al. 1960: 58-59.
Tomb with multiple chambers. Chamber E contained a human burial in a larnax standing on 0.65m of earth. The lower 0.30m was a grave deposit with the skull and leg bones of a dog.

**Human remains**
Uncertain number of skeletons.

**Animal remains**
Skull and leg bones of a dog.

**Period**
LM III? (Larnax MM, soil below disturbed, with LM III sherds)

**Source(s)**
Forsdyke 1926/27.
Wace 1932: 116.
Day 1984: 23.
### A 42 Knossos New Hospital Site Tomb I

The tomb contained two human skeletons, interpreted as one male and one female, possibly buried at the same time. Bones and teeth from a sheep/goat indicate its skull.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Human remains</strong></th>
<th>Two human skeletons, identified as male and female based on associated finds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animal remains</strong></td>
<td>Bone and teeth from sheep/goat, representing skull. Shark’s tooth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>Last period of palace of Knossos, LM II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>Hood and de Jong 1952: 248-249.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The unplundered chamber contained four complete horse skeletons and one complete dog skeletons with human skeletons pushed aside. It is not clear if the animals were all placed in the tomb at the same time.

Human remains
Undisclosed number of human skeletons.

Animal remains
One dog: (no longer) complete, upper layer. Size of German shepherd. Four horses: *Equus caballus*, size c. 1,31-1,33 m. Horse 1: nearly complete, in situ, lower level. Stallion, c. 7 yrs. No cutmarks. Horse 2: (no longer) complete, upper layer. Mare, 10 yrs. Horse 3: (no longer) complete, upper layer. Old stallion. Horse 4: least complete, possibly more than one. Mare.

Period
LH IIIA2 - LH IIIB1, beg of 13th c. BC

Source(s)
Reese 1995.
Hamilakis 1996: 162.
### A 44 Kokla Tholos Tomb

The tholos itself contained a bench and many rich finds, including silver vessels. Three small animals bones were found, but no human bones. Two niches in the dromos contained one and two human skeletons and two complete sheep/goat skeletons were in the dromos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>Three human skeletons in dromos; none in tholos itself.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Animal remains | Two sheep/goat skeletons.  
|               | Three small animal bones.                               |
| Period        | Erected at beg of 15th c. BC, LH IIB - LH IIIA1        |
| Source(s)     | Demakopoulou 1990.                                      |
A 45  Krassi Tholos Tomb

Animal bones were found in the lower layers of this tomb, which also contained human remains from at least 50 individuals.

**Human remains**  Very badly preserved - bones from at least 50 (?).

**Animal remains**  Hare (*Lepus creticus*), bones from at least two animals, from different body parts. Sheep/goat teeth. From old male and juveniles. Cattle teeth from large animal. Hedgehog (*Erinaceus nesiotes bate*) - bones from the entire body. Pig: one tooth. Dog: medium sized. Lower jaw and teeth, indicating the whole skull.

**Period**  EM II - EM III

A 46 Lakithra Tomb A

Tomb with ten rectangular pits. On the floor and the upper layers of the pits two ox teeth, boar teeth and some sea-shells were found. Deep in pit A 7 were also animal bones, possibly from a hedgehog.

Human remains

Human bones in the pits, unarticulated - the following specifically recorded in the report: left femur in pit A4, male skull in pit A6.

Animal remains

Two ox teeth.
Two boar teeth.
Bones from hedgehog.

Period

LH

Source(s)

Marinatos 1932b.
## A 47 Lakithra Tomb B

Tomb with ten rectangular pits. The jawbone remains of an animal, perhaps goat, were found in pit B 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>Human bones in the pits, unarticulated - the following specifically recorded in the report: left femur in pit B7.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Jaw-bone, possibly goat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>LH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| Source(s) | Marinatos 1932b. |
The tomb itself was unrobbed. The floor was covered in burnt bones, almost all disturbed, and this layer was covered in sand, with a few burials on top. With or just below the sand level were many large bones, including the skull of badger or dog and bird bones, and beyond the burnt area was a large pig bone. In the adjacent Room AN, used for depositing offerings, an upturned bowl was found, and near it the bones of a bird and ashes. This room was contemporaneous with upper levels of IIα, and continued being used after the tombs.

**Human remains**
Thick stratum of human bones below sand level, many burnt by a fire in middle of tomb.

**Animal remains**
Animal bones.
Skull of badger or dog.
Bird bones.
Large pig bone.

**Period**
Lower level: EM IIA - IIB. Upper level: MM IA

**Source(s)**
The almost circular pit contained the skeleton of a woman, below which was a horse's tooth and a chalcedony blade.

**Human remains**  One female, aged 30.

**Animal remains**  Horse tooth.

**Period**  Middle of MH

**Source(s)**  Blackburn 1970: 67-68.
               Reese 1995: 36 [Grave 95].
### Lerna Shaft Grave

The grave itself was empty. The filling appears to represent a single deposit. It contained many pottery fragments, numerous animal bones and miscellaneous implements of stone and bone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>Grave empty.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Animal bones.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Period**  
Beg. of LH

**Source(s)**  
Caskey 1955: 32-34.  
Lis 2008: 142-144.
A 51 Leukas Grave R2

The grave contained a fireplace with pottery sherds, human and animal bones, including a boar tooth. Bones of sheep, goat, cattle and dog are also mentioned by Wiesner, but not in the excavation report by Dörpfeld.

Human remains  Human bones.

Animal remains  Bones of sheep, goat, cow and dog.
Animal bones, including boar tooth.

Period  EH

Source(s)  Dörpfeld 1927: 225-226.
          Wiesner 1938: 135.
Two periods of use were discerned in the tomb. The earlier period included two undisturbed burials and fragments of larnakes scattered around and below them. Three burials belong to the later period. Larnax iv contained four jumbled skeletons and a conical cup with a ‘substantial’ animal bone.

**Human remains**

Two undisturbed burials in the tomb (iii, and iv). The two burials belong to later period, and three to earlier. One adult in iii. One skeleton on the floor. Larnax iv contained four jumbled skeletons

**Animal remains**

Animal bone.

**Period**

LM IIIA

**Source(s)**

Coldstream 1963.
## Malthi Tholos Tomb 2

The tomb was robbed in antiquity, and the tholos was used and cleared for new burials repeatedly. The tholos itself had collapsed several times and contained only slabs of the tholos and a plundered grave pit with a human skeleton. In the bottom fill just in front of the door were quantities of potsherds, animal bones, a few human bones, gold, bronze and steatite fragments and glass paste, all with traces of fire and apparently swept out of the tholos and burnt. Inside the stomion wall was found a quantity of goat bones close together, 1.40m above the bottom.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>Scattered and disturbed through plunder - at least one human skeleton in pit, scattered remains on both sides of the door.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>Animal bones, not further specified. Goat bones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LH IIIB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Marathon Tholos Tomb

Tholos tomb with c. 25m long dromos in which had been placed two complete horse skeletons. The chamber contained two stone shaft graves with a human skeleton in each. In one was a gold cup and in the other a bronze object. The floor of the tomb was covered in a thick layer of ash mixed with a considerable amount of bones from cattle, pigs, sheep and birds, and Mycenaean pottery sherds.

**Human remains**  
Two human skeletons, various identified as one male and one female (Lemerle 1935) and two males (Kurtz and Boardman 1971).

**Animal remains**  
Two complete equid skeletons, apparently horses. Bones from cattle, pigs, sheep, birds.

**Period**  
LH II / LH IIB, c. 1425 BC

**Source(s)**  
Lemerle 1935.  
Vanderpool 1959.  
Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 30.  
Andronikos 1968: 85.  
Pini 1968: 68.  
Crouwel 1981: 34.
**A 55 Mycenae Grave Circle A**

Grave circle with six graves containing 19 skeletons, some wearing gold masks. Skeletons of humans found above the mouth of Grave III, and four human skeletons in east side of enclosure interpreted as sacrificial victims by Tsountas and Manatt. On the ground was found cattle, goat, pig and deer bones, and the fill contained human bones and skulls and animal bones. A 'sacrificial pit' is recorded above Grave IV.

| Human remains | 19 skeletons in the graves.  
4 skeletons in east side of enclosure.  
Uncertain number of skeletons above Grave III. |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Animal remains | Bones of cattle, goats, pigs and deer.  
Animal bones. |

**Period**  
Early Mycenaean, MH - LH

**Source(s)**  
Mylonas 1948: 73.  
Picard 1948: 68.  
Andronikos 1968: 82.  
Pini 1968: 68.  
Sakellarakis 1970: 159.  
The grave circle included 28 graves, 14 shaft graves, and the rest cists cut in the soft rock. The finds in the cists were poorer than those in the shafts. Bones of animals and seashells were found thrown together in a central area of the fill, and the fill of graves A, B, Γ, Δ, I, K, N, Ξ, O and P contained animal bones. Grave O had a heap of animal bones inside it, and on the roof of Grave E had been placed a goblet containing bones of a bird.

**Human remains**


**Animal remains**

Animal bones

Bird bones

**Period**

Late MH - LH I

**Source(s)**

Mylonas 1964.

Themelis nd.


Iakovidis 1999b: 220-221.
### Mycenae Kalkani Cemetery Tomb 533

The skeleton of a dog was found scattered in the chamber south of the western jamb. One human skeleton was in a pit along the north wall of the chamber, and a heap of human bones were found against the western wall.

| Human remains | One human skeleton in pit.  
|               | Heap of human bones.       |
| Animal remains| Dog skeleton, scattered.   |

**Period**  
LH IIIA-B (built and first used LH II)

**Source(s)**  
Wace 1932: 113-120, 145.  
Hamilakis 1996: 162.
In the dromos of this tomb were found six human skeletons, placed crosswise before the doorway at different depths, but all buried at the same time. They were interpreted as sacrificial victims by Tsountas and Manatt. Ox bones were also found in association with this tomb.

**Human remains**
Six human skeletons.

**Animal remains**
Ox bones.

**Period**
LH III

**Source(s)**
Tsountas 1889: 30-31.
Tsountas and Manatt 1969: 151.
The chamber itself was empty, but the dromos contained 15 human skeletons. One skull was in front of the door in the dromos; a small shelter in the dromos contained the skeleton of a child with animal bones; against the north wall, two skeletons were accompanied by pottery and animal bones, including skulls of dog, a pig and a horse (?); and the stone fill in the dromos contained six skeletons with animal bones. Possible human sacrifice. The finds include the remains of c. 500 vases, one of the most common shapes being the kylix.

**Human remains**
Total of 15 human skeletons in dromos - tomb itself empty.

**Animal remains**
Animal bones.
Dog skull.
Pig skull.
Possible horse skull.

**Period**
LH IIIA2

**Source(s)**
Furumark 1941: 64.
Pini 1968: 68.
Crouwel 1981: 34.
Hamilakis 1996: 162.
A 60  Mycenae Tumulus A

The skeleton of a horse was associated with Grave IV.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains**  Horse skeleton.

**Period**  LH I

**Source(s)**  Protonotariou-Deilaki 1990: 102.  
Kosmetatou 1993: 37.  
Reese 1995: 35.
Nauplia Chamber Tomb

The tomb contained one human skeleton and a complete horse skeleton, apparently no other offerings.

**Human remains**
One human skeleton, ?male.

**Animal remains**
Complete horse skeleton.

**Period**
LH

**Source(s)**
Stais 1892: 52-54.
Stais 1895: 206-207.
Mylonas 1966: 166.
Andronikos 1968: 85.
Pini 1968: 68.
Crouwel 1981: 34.
Kosmetatou 1993: 38.
The tomb contained 16 burials; it had been plundered and/or cleaned on more than one occasion, and the grave goods were disturbed, so difficult to determine who each item belonged to. In Pit 1 was found an animal bone, possibly a pig bone, an ox bone was found in Pit 2, and near the dromos was found a horse tooth. Finds include small bronze fragments from suit of armour, gold fragments, bronze tweezers, spearheads, a needle, weapons and sealstones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human remains</th>
<th>16 adult individuals: seven male, two perhaps male, three female, four undetermined.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal remains</td>
<td>One <em>E. caballus</em> upper molar. Animal bones, possibly pig. Ox bone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LH IIIA2 - LH B2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Wilkie 1975.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tomb contained eight human skeletons - over three of them (a woman, a youth and a boy) were found dog, cattle, sheep/goat and pig bones. Other finds include pottery and beads/seals.

**Human remains**
Eight burials, three associated with the animal bones: a woman, a youth and a boy.

**Animal remains**
Dog, cattle, sheep/goat, and pig bones.

**Period**
LH IIIA2

**Source(s)**
- Bates 1908: 362.
- Papavasileiou 1908: 115.
- Papavasileiou 1910: 24-38.
- Furumark 1941: 58.
Perati Tomb 1

Tomb consisting of a large submerged chamber with two dromoi ending in the same entrance. In Lakkos 2 were found three human skeletons, two about 50 years old, one infant, with small bird bones, and phalanx and scapula bones from a dog. One of the skeletons had been cremated, along with the burned bones of the dog. Lakkos 1 contained bones from two adults, one woman and one man. In the tomb were found 34 objects of offerings.

Human remains
Lakkos 2: Three human skeletons, one cremated. Two adults, one infant.
Lakkos 1: two adults, one woman, one man.
Altogether 8 burials in the tomb.

Animal remains
Dog bones, burnt, *Canis familiaris*.
Bird bones.

Period
LH III C1, 1190/85-1100 BC

Source(s)
lakovidis 1969a: pls. 46-51, 152, 166.
lakovidis 1969b: 159-166.
lakovidis 1970: 32, 42.
lakovidis 1980: 4, 7, 10.
Day 1984: 24-25.
Hamilakis 1996: 162.
A 65  Pharsalos Tomb

Rectangular tomb formed by four upright limestone slabs and two covering slabs. Inside the tomb were found two-four pieces of bones from a small animal, an iron ring and pottery fragments.

Human remains

Animal remains  Bones from small animal.

Period  LH

Source(s)  Verdelis 1955: 195-198.
Phylaki Apokoronou Tholos Tomb

The tomb contained partly articulated bones scattered everywhere, from at least one adult and one child. There were signs of burning and ashes, and animal bones, including an ox jaw. Offerings included gold and silver jewellery, ivory and seals. LM IIIA and B pottery was found in the dromos.

Human remains
Uncertain number of skeletons - at least one adult and one child.

Animal remains
Animal bones.
Ox jaw.

Period
LM IIIA-B, 1400-1300 BC

Source(s)
Touchais 1982: 628.
Winter 1982: 553-554.
A 67  Prosymna Tomb VII

In stone fill of dromos, almost directly on the floor, were found a human skeleton, interpreted as possible sacrificial victim. In earth above the skeleton were Mycenaean potsherds of LH III date. Cattle bones found in the upper stratum.

Human remains  Human skeleton in fill of dromos.

Animal remains  Cattle bones.

Period  LH III

Source(s)  Blegen and Blegen 1937: 156-160, 235-236.
           Vermeule 1964: 349.
           Andronikos 1968: 82.
           Hughes 1991: 33-34.
In the inner left section of the chamber was found the forequarters of an ox, and to the right of the central area were found sheep/goat bones. The remains of about 16 human skeletons were in the tomb, which was also very rich in finds.

**Human remains**  
About 16 human skeletons.

**Animal remains**  
Forequarters and skull of an ox, one horn surviving.  
Parts of the backbone, ribs and jaws of a goat or sheep.

**Period**  
Used from LH II (middle of 15th century) until LH IIIB

**Source(s)**  
The tomb was plundered several times and very thoroughly, so nothing was in its original position. In the tomb itself, in the northeast sector, was the complete skull of sheep/goat. The tomb contained further animal bone fragments and human remains of about 17 individuals, and was rich in finds.

**Human remains**
Human bones from at least 17 individuals; 10 males, six females, one child.

**Animal remains**
Skull of sheep/goat.
Animal bone fragments.

**Period**
Built MH - LH I, 16th c., used for at least two and a half centuries after that

**Source(s)**
Blegen et al. 1973: 95-134.
The tomb was plundered and no interments were found in their original position. A pan was found containing sheep/goat bones.

Human remains  Uncertain number.

Animal remains  Sheep/goat bones.

Period  LH II - LH III

Source(s)  Marinatos 1956: 203.
Marinatos 1957b: 118.
Pini 1968: 70.
A 71  Samiko Kleidi Tumuli

Tumuli with animal bones between some, indicating another tumulus.

**Human remains**

**Animal remains**  Animal bones.

**Period**  End of MH?

Human remains  Some bones, number of individuals not identified.

Animal remains  Bones of small animals.

Period  LM IIIA / LM IIIB

Source(s)  Chatsi-Valiannou 1981.
          Catling 1981/82: 55.
          Löwe 1996: 21, 250.
Thebes Kolonaki Chamber Tomb 6

In the dromos outside the wall blocking the tomb entrance, at a height of 0.50m and in a definitely Mycenaean layer, was found the skeleton of a dog. The tomb otherwise contained many Byzantine finds, and a human burial associated with the dog is not recorded.

Human remains

Animal remains  Dog skeleton.

Period  LH, certainly Mycenaean, but cannot be more closely dated

Source(s)  Keramopouloos 1917: 137.
           Vermeule 1964: 349.
           Andronikos 1968: 87.
           Hamilakis 1996: 162.
A 74 Trapeza Cave

The cave was first used as habitation in Neolithic - EM I period, then as burial place EM II - EM III / MM I, to which belong 46 human skulls. Animal bones include ox, goat, sheep, dog, cat, domestic fowl, though they may not all belong to the period of funerary usage.

**Human remains** 46 human skulls.

**Animal remains** Animal bones include ox, goat, sheep, dog, cat, domestic fowl.

**Period** EM II - EM III

**Source(s)** Pendlebury *et al.* 1935/36.
Pini 1968.
A 75 Vapheio Tomb

The tomb contained teeth of several dogs. ‘Sacrificial pit’ in doorway of tomb.

Human remains

Animal remains Teeth from several dogs.

Period LH II

Source(s) Tsountas 1890: 136-146.
Wace 1932: 116.
Vermeule 1964: 349.
Mylonas 1966: 166.
Andronikos 1968: 87.
Tsountas and Manatt 1969: 130, 148, 152.
APPENDIX B

AEGEAN SACRIFICIAL SPACE
B 1 Amyklai Sanctuary

Sanctuary with finds of idols, wheelmade anthropomorphic and animal figurines and burnt animal bones. Sanctuary started towards end of 13th c - 11th c, and was in use again in later periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faunal remains</th>
<th>Burnt animal bones.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LH IIIB-C and later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Demakopoulou 2009.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guggisberg 2009.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Structure with three parallel rooms and a corridor (with indications of further architecture that has not yet been fully excavated). Many vessels were found in all the rooms, including Kamares ware and cooking pots. In the corridor were found cattle and goat bones. The middle room contained larger vessels, a bench and ‘clay feet’ interpreted as from a cult statue. The west room contained three skeletons: a man, a woman and a youth. The youth was found on a low ‘platform’, with his legs bent far backwards and a spearhead with the depiction of a frontal animal head on it. This was interpreted as a human sacrifice by the excavators.

Faunal remains: Bovine and goat bones.

Period: MM II - MM IIIA, first half of 17th c. BC

Source(s):
- Catling 1980/81: 42.
- Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1981.
- Marinatos 1993: 114.
- Cromarty 2007: 120-126.
- Cromarty 2008: 43-44.
B 3 Archanes Palace Area 17

A Gamma shaped shrine, also called Shrine of the Ivory Idols or Shrine of the chryselephantine figurines, with at least 3 floors (storeys) during the Neopalatial period. Finds include two poros-stone pyramidal double-axe bases. West of the northern one was a clay tray with the skull of an animal, and to the east was a stone altar with animal bones in the hollowed centre of the upper surface. The southern base was surrounded by two animal skulls and an ox figurine. Between the bases were found a group of Marine Style pottery and at least 6 figures. Other finds include an intact triton shell, a rhyton, and an ornate stone altar. Evidence of religious use in this area in older periods includes the recovery from MM III - LM IA levels of animal skulls accompanied by trays, bell-shaped figurines, and three stone vases.

Faunal remains
Animal bones, including two skulls.

Period
Old and New palace periods

Source(s)
The ‘Exedra’ is located between Courtyard 1 and Courtyard 11: in the north part was found a large, tall, rectangular ‘altar’ made of poros with covering stone slabs - a small structure on the west side makes it look like a stepped altar. Between the altar and the facade of the building was a stone drain, beginning in the NE corner of the altar and issuing into a drain in Courtyard 11. Finds on the altar include animal bones, a triton shell, part of a stone offering table, fragment of a stone vase and c. 40 handleless conical cups. A poros base for double axe was also found.

Faunal remains: Animal bones.

Period: Neopalatial

Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 102-104.
B 5 Archanes Palace Hall 10

Hall 10 is divided into two rooms; the northernmost room used for religious purposes. Finds include a stone table, measuring 1.66 x 0.55 m, about 30 plaster tripod offering tables and two plaster horns of consecration. Finds of animal bones fallen from the upper storey(s), were interpreted as sacrificial remains by the excavators. From Hall 10 there was access to Area 9, which contained a large stone slab full of handless conical cups.

Faunal remains
Animal bones, including skulls.

Period
Old palace and New palace periods

Source(s)
Ayios Konstantinos, Methana

Sanctuary with rooms A, B and C. Rooms G, H, E, Area F and Building Z may also have religious associations. Installations in Room A include a stone bench linked to three low steps, a low platform along the south wall, and a small hearth in the southeast corner. This had a thick layer of ash and burnt animal bones, mainly pig bones from young pigs. About 150 terracotta figurines (mostly bovid, but also equids), and cooking vessels, were also found in this room. Animal bones from the other rooms are dominated by sheep and goats, but also include cattle, red deer, deer, mouse/rat, rock dove, bird and fish.

**Faunal remains**
Sheep (Ovis aries), goat (Capra hircus), cattle (Bos taurus), pig (Sus domesticus), red deer (Cervus elaphus), deer, mouse/rat, rock dove (Columba livia), bird and fish. Traces of burning, mainly from bones in Room A. Cutmarks are rare.

**Period**
LH IIIA-B, c. 14-13th c. BC

**Source(s)**
Konsolaki 2002.
Hamilakis 2003b.
Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003b.
**B 7 Eleusis Megaron B**

Megaron B with a Π shaped ‘platform’, possibly functioning as an altar, and surrounded by enclosure wall, surviving on two sides. Two connection drains were found south and west of the Megaron, one contained a concentration of ashes mixed with animal bones and fragments from LH flat round vases, possibly washed down from the platform. Some figurines also found, but not published because of mixed contexts.

**Faunal remains** 18 burned bones of sheep, goats or pigs.

**Period** LH IIIB - LH IIB

The Mycenaean strata of the sanctuary contained black, fatty ashes, animal bones, vessels and votives, including double axes and swords. The animal bones include cattle and goat bones. The excavator, Lambrinudakis, also thinks there was a Mycenaean altar below the later altar, and that this testifies to a cult of burnt-animal sacrifice. Other finds from the Mycenaean period of use include stone vase fragments, sealstones, rock crystal, stone and bone beads, spearheads, phi-figurines, and fragments of wheelmade animals, some very large.

Faunal remains  Cattle and goat bones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>LH I onwards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Source(s)    | Lambrinudakis 1976.  
               | Lambrinudakis 1977.  
               | Lambrinudakis 1978.  
               | Lambrinudakis 1980.  
               | Lambrinudakis 1981.  
               | Rutkowski 1986: 202-203.  
               | Wright 1994.  
               | Shelmerdine 1999. |
A structure consisting of an entrance courtyard and two rooms. Room II has a hearth against the wall near the northeast angle. Room III also has a hearth at the rear wall, and in the centre a rectangular feature, measuring 1.40 x 0.60 x 0.50 m. Near it was found a clay disk with signs of burning, animal bones and part of an ox rhyton. The room also had a ‘bench’.

Faunal remains: Animal bones.

Period: EH II

Source(s):
Goldman 1931: 15-20.
In the north-west corner of the north wing of Building 2 was found a deposit including 60 vases, traces of burnt organic matter and animal bones including the horns of goats, with a rectangular serpentine 'offering table' placed above the deposit.

**Faunal remains**  Animal bones, including goat horns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>MM III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>AR 2000/01: 126-127.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B 11  Galatas Palace Hall 22

Hearth with religious function in Hall 22 was found a stone-lined hearth, 0.80m in diameter and imbedded into loose fill composed of rough stones, pottery, animal bones and wall plaster, which supports a stone built stand. The contents of the hall includes saucers, conical cups, cooking vessels, deep and shallow plates and jugs. Rethemiotakis interprets the material as evidence for ritual activity.

Faunal remains  Animal bones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>MM IIIB / early LM IA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Rethemiotakis 1999.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B 12 Kalapodi Sanctuary

Mycenaean material was discovered below the small, southern temple, especially in areas K25 and K26. A mudbrick superstructure was designated an ‘altar’, and there was a temporary fireplace in the west and a hearth or oven for ‘ritual’. The finds include 34 Mycenaean terracotta figures, weaving tools and animal bones, mainly sheep and goats, followed by cattle and pigs, all mostly young or subadult animals, but also bear and lion bones. On the floor of LH IIIC were the skull, front leg and part of hind leg of a year-old goat, and LH and PGM layers contained bones from at least 50 turtles.

Faunal remains
- Bones from bear, lion, sheep, goat, cattle, pig, wild boar, turtle, rabbit, dog.

Period
- LH IIIC and later

Source(s)
- Guggisberg 2009.
The sanctuary consists of an open space enclosed by a wall and with a podium inside. There was a thick, black stratum of carbonized wood mixed with animal bones, cultic vessels, votives and animal figurines. The open space enclosed by the wall reserved for the lighting of fires, the slaughter and consumption of animals and the deposition of offerings, and the head of the animal is interpreted as the deity's portion, put in fire, the rest consumed by worshippers, according to Lebessi and Muhly.

Faunal remains  Animal bones.

Period  Neopalatial, c. 1650-1450 BC

Source(s)  Bergquist 1988.
Lebessi and Muhly 1990.
Bergquist 1993: 27.
Marinatos 1993: 122-123.
Shelmerdine 1999.
Cromarty 2008: 45-46.
In the extensive Courtyard 15 were found many conical cups, some in drains, some in a pit, and some on the floors, along with cooking vessels, especially tripod pots, bell cups, animal bones and sandstone fragments. In a niche in the north-east of the courtyard (15a) was a thick, loose layer of ashes with conical cups and animal bones. The bones came from young pigs, sheep, goats, cows, a wild goat, a deer and a dog. In Room 16 was a ‘ritual’ bothros with conical cups and a low bench in the north end. A ‘platform’ is also mentioned.

Faunal remains
From ‘final meal’: At least 3 sheep and a goat, one cow, one platoni, on floors of Room D and E. Bones from young pigs, sheep, goat, cattle, wild goat, deer, dog.

Period
Final destruction: LM IB, c. 1425 BC

Source(s)
Palace of Knossos, Rooms 5-6. Two heads of large oxen (of the urus breed) were found set in the northwest and southeast corners of the southern basement. In front of them were the remains of tripod terra-cotta offering tables.

Faunal remains  Two sets of ox horns.

Period  MM III

Source(s)  Evans 1928: 283, 301-303, 324.
           Sakellarakis 1970: 162.
           Gesell 1985: 98.
B 16  Knossos Minoan House, West Room

This room contained 218 human bones from 3-6 individuals, all of which were children. About 36% of the bones had fine cutmarks. Animal bones from cattle, sheep/goat, pig, dog, fish and bird were also found, some of them burnt and some with cutmarks. None of the human bones were burnt. In the room was also found about 28 complete vessels, some decorated with ‘starfish’, seaweed and double-axes. The cutmarks on the human bones suggest the deliberate removal of brain, heart and lungs; other cutmarks were predominantly found on the limb bones. Osteological analysis and x-rays did not reveal any disease or other abnormalities. The excavator interpreted the bones as remains of ritual cannibalism.

Faunal remains
Animal bones: cattle, sheep, goat, pig and dog, some burnt.

Period
LM IB destruction deposit, c. 1450 BC

Source(s)
Warren 1981.
Hägg 1984.
Wall et al. 1986.
Macgillivray 2000: 312.
Simandiraki 2006: 34-36.
Placed in the west wing of the palace, this ‘crypt’ consists of the East and West Pillar Crypts, with a pillar in the centre of each, with blocks with incised double axes. In the East Pillar Crypt was found 10 pithoi, a Linear B tablet, sealings, and a ‘sacrificial’ deposit was found under the floor, consisting of ashes and animal bones, MM IA sherds, conical cups and fragments of a stone lamp.

Faunal remains: Animal bones.

Period: Neopalatial
Source(s):
- Evans 1899/00: 28-29, 32-34.
- Evans 1921: 441-442.
In Trench F at Lerna was found the skeleton of a horse, on a gravel pavement. The bones were in disorder, and found with fragments of at least 37 kylikes and other vessels of LH III date. No signs of burning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faunal remains</th>
<th>One horse skeleton.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LH III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Caskey 1954: 11-12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kosmetatou 1993: 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reese 1995: 36.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Megaron A1 contained a hearth against the back wall, associated with ash and animal bones and a large number of kylikes. The smaller Megaron B85 had a central hearth surrounded by four columns. The hearth was covered with ashes, charred wood and fragments of burnt bones of small animals, perhaps birds.

Faunal remains
- Fragments of burnt bones of small animals (birds?).

Period
- LH IIIB

Source(s)
Terrace 9 (Shrine Area) and Terrace 10 (Megaron Area) contained large amounts of animal bones, many with butcher and burning marks, as well as vessels with traces of meat and oil. Other finds include more pottery, a terracotta bovine figurine, a female figure, a female figurine and miniature ‘offering table’ figurine, full size ‘offering table’, and a stirrup jar with cult symbols.

**Faunal remains**  
Animal bones, including cattle, pig and sheep/goat, with butchery and burning marks.

**Period**  
LH IIIB-C

**Source(s)**  
Walberg and Reese 2008.
Mt. Jouktas Sanctuary

Sanctuary with structures on several terraces, a stone altar and a big chasm with offerings, including bronze double axes, votives, kernoi and pottery. The floors of the area between Terrace II and III were covered in ash containing caprid horns, animal and bird bones, carbonised fruit, conical cups and votives. The excavator, Karetsou, suggests the chasm may be to the underworld.

Faunal remains
Sheep and goat bones, including horns.
Bird bones.

Period
Temenos: MM IA, Rooms I-IV in use MM III - LM I

Source(s)
AR 1974/75: 27.
AR 1975/76: 29.
Karetsou 1976.
Karetsou 1979.
Karetsou 1981.
AR 1982/83: 54-55.
Jones 1999: 12, 102.
Cromarty 2007: 95-100.
Cromarty 2008: 34-35.
B 22  Mycenae Cult Centre

Cult centre including Shrine Γ1 and Γ2, Lowest terrace of slope, Megaron, House of the Idols and House of the Frescoes. Near the rear wall of Γ1 shrine was horseshoe-shaped low ‘altar, a circular projection with a hole, and north of the altar was a boulder, interpreted as a ‘slaughtering stone’ (Tsountas). Γ1 overlaid by Γ2, which had an ‘altar’ in its north-east corner. It also had a rectangular platform of clay, earth and some sherds, 0.3m above the pavement. At the broken edge of its south side was a round hole, at the bottom of which were ashes, burnt bones of small animals, and sherds. On the lowest terrace of slopes, inside the walls, was a round ‘altar’, 0.68 m high, 1.40 m diameter, with a surface of irregular larger stones. near this was altar a shallow pit with ashes, bones of small animals and sherds.

Faunal remains  Bones from small animals, some burnt, some unburnt.

Period  LH IIIB

Source(s)  Mylonas 1983.
Rutkowski 1986: 175-182.
Hågg 1990.
Albers 1994: 13-52
French 1999a: 129-137.
French 1999b: 181.
Iakovidis 1999a: 129.
Martlew 1999: 189-190.
Wardle 1999.
Wardle 2003.
At the sanctuary-complex of Fournou Korifi, fragments of a human skull were found in the same room as a small hearth, cooking-hole, and cooking-equipment. This skull has been interpreted as the remains of a possible human sacrifice by the excavator, Warren.

Faunal remains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>EM IIB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Source(s) | Warren 1972: 81-83  
            | Gesell 1985: 114.  
A refuse dump in Excavation Unit 9 contained many animal bones, along with a terracotta figurine and much pottery, including miniature kylix, and with kylikes as the most common shape. The animal bones mainly come from cattle, and the cattle bones predominantly come from the head and feet. Other common animals include pigs, sheep and goats. Fewer bones came from dog, ass and red deer. About a quarter of all the bones showed traces of burning, and some had cutmarks. It is estimated that only about half the deposit was actually excavated.

**Faunal remains**

Animal bones dominated by butchery waste such as heads and feet of cattle, from at least six cattle. The rest mainly pig, sheep and goat, but also a few bones from dog, ass and red deer.

**Period**

LH IIIA2

**Source(s)**

Halstead 2003: 259.
Halstead and Isaadikou 2004.
Lis 2008: 144-146.
In a narrow slit between Room 20 and Megaron 6 was a deposit with fragments of horns of consecration, over 48 whole plain cups, many more broken, tall cups and jars, sheep/goat bones, obsidian and pumice pieces and a lamp.

Faunal remains  Sheep/goat bones.

Period  Neopalatial
Source(s)  Bosanquet 1901/02: 314.
          Gesell 1985: 118.
Deposit mainly in Room 41 consisting of a large amount of pottery mixed with white ashes, ox bones and horn cores, and fragments from four-five ox head rhyta, one restorable, and remains of at least 20 clay standard lamps.

Faunal remains  Ox bones and horn cores.

Period  Neopalatial / LM I

Source(s)  Dawkins *et al.* 1904/05: 287.
Near the West Court, a group of small rooms from the First Palace period make up what is believed to be a shrine. The southernmost room (Room VII) contained vase fragments and carbonised animal bones, while the main room (Room VIII) had benches along three walls, and a rectangular hearth decorated with oxen. Other finds in the complex include libation vessels and triton shells.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faunal remains</th>
<th>Burnt animal bones.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>MM II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gesell 1983: 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marinatos 1986.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marinatos 1993: 98-100.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**B 28  Phaistos Palace ‘Vano 50’**

Two foundation deposits were found under the alabaster floors of Vano 50, laid during reconstructions in MM IIIA-B. One was an irregular ditch c. 0.50 m deep, and contained small pots, animal bones, charcoal and ashes. The other was a square stone-lined shaft, 0.90 m deep, containing numerous vessels, at least 40 intact, sherds, animal bones and charcoal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faunal remains</th>
<th>Animal bones.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>MM IIIA-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>Boulotis 1982: 158.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Philiorimos Gonies Peak Sanctuary

Sanctuary with three rooms, and long terrace with an altar. An altar with animal bones nearby was also in Room 1. Finds include figurine fragments.

Faunal remains
Animal bones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>MM I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Source(s) | Alexiou 1966: 322.  
|          | Sakellarakis 1968b: 552.  
|          | Jones 1999: 12, 102.  
|          | Cromarty 2008: 33.  |
B 30  Psychro Cave

In upper, northwest part of grotto was an altar of roughly hewn stones. Next to it was an inscribed offering table, a double axe, a bull-shaped rhyton and a layer of potsherds and animal bones from domestic cattle, wild goat and probably domestic goat, sheep, deer and domestic pig, as well as three boar skulls.

### Faunal remains
Horns and bones (pigs, oxen, boars, goats, deer). Domestic ox (*Bos domesticus creticus*). Wild goat and probably domestic goat (*Capra aegagnus*). Sheep (*Ovis aries*). Deer (*Cervus dama*). Domestic pig. Three boar skulls (*Sus scrofa*).

### Period
MM - LM for layer IV

### Source(s)
Hogarth 1899/00.
Nilsson 1950: 61-64.
Rutkowski 1986: 137.
Watrous 1996.
Jones 1999: 12, 103.
Cromarty 2008: 56-57.
Five-six deposits of animal bones were found, including one in Room 7, which contained the burnt bones of at least 10 adult cattle, mainly fragments of mandible, humerus, femur. The bones had been dismembered and filleted before burning. Also found were miniature clay kylikes, though fewer, so perhaps fewer people involved in this part of ritual. Several rooms in the palace contained a large amount of kylikes (interpreted by Säflund as for banqueting), and Room 6, the Great Megaron, had a hearth in the middle of the room and was decorated with wall-paintings of possible sacrificial nature.

Faunal remains  Burnt bones of at least 10 cattle.

Period  LH. Room 7 bones: time of final destruction, c. 1200 BC

Source(s)  Säflund 1980.
           Hägg 1990.
           Shelmerdine 1999.
           Isaadikou et al. 2002.
           Halstead and Isakidou 2004.
           Stocker and Davis 2004.
           Lis 2008: 146-148.
B 32  Skotino Cave

Cave with four excavated chambers. In the second chamber was an altar of natural rock, and next to it were layers of ashes mixed with animal bones (including sheep bones) and potsherds and votive offerings, including Minoan figurines. The Neopalatial pottery includes c. 2000 cups, most handleless, many pouring vessels, especially jugs and spouted jars and tripod cooking vessels, many of them small.

Faunal remains  Animal bones.

Period  MM I and later

Source(s)  Marinatos 1986: 39.
Jones 1999: 12, 103.
Tyree et al. 2008.
Cromarty 2008: 58.
Cult Room 117 contained a bench, miniature vessels, a rhyton in the shape of an animal, and the upraised arms of a figurine. An altar was located north of the room. It also contained animal bones from cattle, sheep/goat and wild. The later phase with Rooms 110 and 110a also had a bench and contained bones from cattle, sheep/goats and pigs. The courtyard outside the cult building further contained animal bones.

**Faunal remains**  Cattle, sheep/goat, pig, wild.

**Period**  110a: LH IIIC

**Source(s)**  Kilian 1981a.
Kilian 1981b.
Room with a square pillar in the centre. Finds in the room include small cooking vessels, a pitcher/jug, votive axes and animal bones of ox and sheep, including the femur of an ox.

Faunal remains: Animal bones of ox and sheep, including a femur of an ox.

Period: MM III

Source(s):
A circular well in which was found cups with carbonised olives, grape seeds, small branches, pumice, animal bones (most burnt), fragments of tripod offering table, terracotta animal figurine and pottery.

**Faunal remains**  
Animal bones, mostly burnt.

**Period**  
Neopalatial

**Source(s)**  
Platon 1964: 157-159.  
Gesell 1985: 140.  
Platon 1985: 196-199.  
B 36  Zakro Palace West Court

In the foundations of the West facade of the West Court (in the western wall of Vorratsraum IV) was a deposit containing much Kamares style pottery and the bones of a young goat.

Faunal remains  Bones from young goat, *Ovis aries*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>MM IIIB - LM IA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Boulotis 1982.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C

AEGEAN GLYPHTIC
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 1</th>
<th>Animal on a table and human figure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Mainland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LB II - LB IIIA1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source(s) | CMS I: no. 80.  
Mylonas 1966: 164.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 2</th>
<th>Animal on a table</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Mainland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Nauplia, Chamber Tomb 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LB IIIA1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source(s) | CMS I: no. 203.  
Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

C 3

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Unrecorded
Period: LB IIIA1-2

C 4

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Mallia Pediados, Room IV 2, Level IV
Period: LM IIIIB
C 5

Bovid on a table, human figures behind

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Knossos, landing in Grand Staircase
Period: LM I - LM II
Source(s): CMS II,8.2: no. 480.

C 6

Bovid on a table

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Knossos, Room of the chariot tablets
Period: possibly LM I - LM II
Source(s): CMS II,8.2: no. 481.
Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

**C 7**

**Provenance**
Crete

**Findspot**
Knossos, more exact unknown

**Period**
LB II - LB IIIA1?

**Source(s)**
CMS II,8,2: no. 482.
Sakellarakis 1970: B3.

---

**C 8**

**Provenance**
Mainland

**Findspot**
Livanates, Ftiotida (Pyrgos-Hügel)

**Period**
LH II - LH IIIA1 (context LH IIIB-C)

**Source(s)**
CMS V Suppl.1B: no. 3.
Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

C 9

Bovid on a table

Provenance: Mainland

Findspot: Mycenae? Argolid

Period: LBA, prob. before post-palatial period (LM IIIA2)

Source(s): CMS XII: no. 52.

C 10

Bovid on a table

Provenance: Mainland

Findspot: Attica?

Period: LBA, prob. before post-palatial period (LM IIIA2)

Source(s): CMS XI: no. 258.
C 11

Pig or boar on a table

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: ‘near Archanes’
Period: LB II - LB IIA1
Kenna 1960: 332.
CMS VI: no. 422.

C 12

Griffin and deer above a table

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: 
Period: LB IIIA-B
Source(s): CMS IX: no. 20D.
Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

C 13

Animal on a table?

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Pylos, Tragana Flur Viglitsa Tholos Tomb 2, Shaft 3
Period: LH II - LH IIIA1 (context LH IIIA)
Source(s): CMS I: no. 284.

C 14

Animal on table?

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Knossos, exact findspot unknown
Period: 
Source(s): CMS II,8.2: no. 540.
Animal on table?
Provenance
Crete
Findspot
Mesara?
Period
LM I
Source(s)
CMS IV: no. 225.

Animals on a table?
Provenance
Crete
Findspot
Milatos, Mirambelu, Flur Vorino, Larnax 2
Period
LM IIIA1? (context LM IIIA-B)
Source(s)
CMS V Suppl.1A: no. 59.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C 17</td>
<td>Animal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Provenance: Crete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Findspot: West of Lenda, Flur Papoura, west of Lenda, Tholos 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Period: EM II - EM III? (context EM II - MM IA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Source(s): CMS II,1: no. 183.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| C 18 | Animal; animal with legs crossed; spiral pattern                           |
|      | Provenance: Crete                                                          |
|      | Findspot: Mallia, stone carver's workshop                                  |
|      | Period: MM II (context MM IIB)                                              |
|      | Source(s): CMS II,2: No. 143.                                              |
C 19

Star-like sign; bird heads; animal with legs crossed
Provenance Unprovenanced
Findspot Crete
Period MM II
Source(s) CMS XII: no. 32.

C 20

Frontal animal head; animal with legs crossed; pattern
Provenance Unprovenanced
Findspot Crete
Period MM II
Source(s) CMS XII: no. 66.
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>C 21</strong></td>
<td>Two animals with legs crossed; dog; human figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
<td>Unprovenanced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Crete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>MM II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>CMS XII: no. 94.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **C 22** | Six frontal animal heads |
| **Provenance** | Mainland |
| **Findspot** | Mycenaean Acropolis, ruins of Ramp House |
| **Period** | LB II? |
| **Source(s)** | CMS I: no. 18. |
Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

C 23

Pattern; animal; frontal animal head
Provenance Crete
Findspot Potamies? Pediados, Flur Vouni?
Period MM II
Source(s) CMS II,2: no. 218.

C 24

Frontal ox head and double axe
Provenance Crete
Findspot Palace of Knossos, North-West Treasury
Period LB I - LB II
Source(s) CMS II,3: no. 11.
Frontal ox head and star-like sign

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Jouktas
Period: MM III?
Source(s): CMS II,6: no. 163.

Frontal ox head and star-like sign

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Jouktas
Period: MM III?
Source(s): CMS II,6: no. 164.
C 27

Provenience: Crete
Findspot: Knossos, more exact unknown
Period: LM I
Source(s): CMS II,8.1: no. 208.

Frontal ox head

C 28

Provenience: Crete
Findspot: Knossos, more exact unknown
Period: LM II - LM IIIA1?
Source(s): CMS II,8.1: no. 220.

Frontal and profile heads
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 29</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C 31

Frontal animal head; bird?

Provenance  Unprovenanced
Findspot
Period  LM I
Source(s)  CMS XII: no. 162.

C 32

Two frontal animal heads

Provenance  Crete
Findspot  Ayia Triada
Period  LM I
Source(s)  CMS II,8: no. 55.
C 33

Frontal animal head

Provenance  Crete
Findspot  Kato Zakro, House A, Room VII
Period  LM I
Source(s)  CMS II,7: no. 182.

C 34

Frontal and profile heads

Provenance  Crete
Findspot  Knossos, Little palace
Period  LM II - LM IIIA1
Source(s)  CMS II,8.1: no. 218.
Boardman 1970: fig. 118.
C 35

Provenience: Unprovenanced
Findspot: 
Period: MM
Source(s): CMS XIII: no. 16.

C 36

Provenience: Unprovenanced
Findspot: 
Period: MM IIA
Source(s): CMS VII: no. 34.
Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

C 37

Two animals and a frontal animal head

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Gournes, Chamber Tomb I, Lanrax in shaft
Period: LM II - LM IIIA1 (context LM IIIB1)
Source(s): CMS II,4: no. 158.

C 38

Animal and frontal animal heads

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Random find from West Crete, Axos
Period: LB IIIA1
Source(s): CMS II,3: no. 5.
C 39

Two animals and a frontal animal head
Provenance Crete
Findspot Knossos, Lower East-West Corridor
Period LM IIIA1-2
Source(s) CMS II,8.2: no. 325.

C 40

Two lions and incurved altar
Provenance Mainland
Findspot Mycene, Chamber Tomb 8
Period LB I - LB II
Source(s) CMS I: no. 46.
Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

**C 41**
Griffins either side of column and incurved altar

**Provenance**
Mainland

**Findspot**
Mycene, Chamber Tomb 58

**Period**
LB II - LB IIIA1

**Source(s)**
CMS I: no. 98.

**C 42**
Two lions or dogs and an incurved altar

**Provenance**
Crete

**Findspot**
Ayia Triada, exact findspot unknown

**Period**
LM I

**Source(s)**
CMS II,6: no. 74.
Marinatos 1987.
C 43

Two lions and an incurved altar

Provenance  Crete
Findspot    Kato Zakros, House A, Room VII
Period      LM I
Source(s)   CMS II,7: no. 73.

C 44

Two dogs and an incurved altar

Provenance  Crete
Findspot    Knossos, Wooden Staircase and Secretaries Bureau
Period      LB IIIA1
Source(s)   CMS II,8.2: no. 326.
            Boardman 1970: fig. 122.
C 45

Two lions, frontal animal head and incured altar

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: LBA, prob. before post-palatial period (LM IIIA2)
Period: LM IIIA2
Source(s): CMS XI: no. 176.

C 46

Griffins and incured altar

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae Chamber Tomb Unterstädt Grab 42
Period: LB IIIA1
Source(s): CMS I: no. 73.
Two animals with column between them

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenaean Acropolis, in the 'Rhyton Well'
Period: LH III
Source(s): CMS I: no. 19

Griffins either side of column, and human figure below

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae, "der Gegend der Perseia", no context
Period: LB IIIA1-2
Source(s): CMS I: no. 171.
C 49

Two animals with column between them

- **Provenance**: Crete
- **Findspot**: Diktaean Cave
- **Period**: LM IIIA1 (context MM II-LM III)
- **Source(s)**: CMS II,4: no. 203.

C 50

Lions and column

- **Provenance**: Mainland
- **Findspot**: Asprochoma Tomb VII
- **Period**: LB II - LB IIIA1 (context LH IIIA1-2)
- **Source(s)**: CMS V Suppl.1B: no. 73. Mycenae Museum.
C 51

Griffins flanking column

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot  Mycenae Chamber Tomb 55
Period  LB II - LB IIIA1
Source(s)  CMS I: no. 87.

C 52

Bovines flanking column

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot  Mycenae Chamber Tomb 25
Period  LB II - LB IIIA1
Source(s)  CMS I: no. 58.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C 55</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Provenance** | Crete  
| **Findspot** | Knossos Sanatorium Grave III  
| **Period** | LM II - LM IIIA1 (context LM II - LM IIIA1)  
| **Source(s)** | CMS II,3: no. 63.  
| | Boardman 1970: fig. 113.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>C 56</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Provenance** | Crete  
| **Findspot** | Knossos, Little Palace  
| **Period** | LM IIIA1  
| **Source(s)** | CSM II,8,1: no. 238.  
| | Boardman 1970: fig. 117.  

Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic
C 57

Two animals, frontal animal head and trees

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Thebes
Period: Context LH IIIB2
Source(s): CMS V Suppl.1B: no. 353.

C 58

Lion and ox

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Unprovenanced
Period: LM/LH
Source(s): CMS XIII: no. 25, Morgan 1995: fig. 11.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
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<th>Findspot</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C 59</td>
<td>Hybrid human-animal figure</td>
<td>Unprovenanced</td>
<td>Crete</td>
<td>LM II</td>
<td>CMS XII: no. 245.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C 61

Two cattle and a double axe

Provenience: Crete
Findspot: Sitia?
Period: LB IIIA1
Source(s): CMS II,3: no. 310.

C 62

Two cattle and double axes

Provenience: Unprovenanced
Findspot: 
Period: LM II
Source(s): CMS XII: no. 250.
C 63

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae Chamber Tomb 9
Period: LB IIIA
Source(s): CMS I: no. 48.

C 64

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: With circles
Period: LM/LH
Source(s): CMS XIII: no. 11.
C 65

Cult scene with human figures, animal heads and double axe

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot  Mycenaean Acropolis, ruins of Ramp House
Period  LB I - LB II

C 66

Human figure, goat, plants and altar-like structure

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot  Mycene, Chamber Tomb 84
Period  1500-1200 BC
Source(s)  CMS I: no. 119. Dernakopoulou 1988b: no. 169.
### Appendix C - Aegean Glyptic

<table>
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<tr>
<th>C 67</th>
<th>Ox at altar-like structure</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Mainland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Thebes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LM II - LM IIIA1</td>
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<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>CMS V,1: no. 198.</td>
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<tr>
<th>C 68</th>
<th>Animal and palm tree</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Mycene, Chamber Tomb 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LH II - LH IIIA1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>CMS I: no. 88.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C 69

Female figure carrying garment and double axe

Provenance Crete
Findspot Palace of Knossos, near the "Court of the Stone Spout"
Period LM I - LM II (context MM III?)
Source(s) CMS II,3: no. 8.

C 70

Two human figures carrying double axes

Provenance Crete
Findspot Aiya Triada, precise findspot unknown
Period LM IB
Source(s) CMS II,6: no. 10.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>71</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ox in contorted position</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Crete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Crete, Kalyvia, Tombe Dei Nobili, Tomb 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LM IIIA1 - IIIA2 (context LM IIIA)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| Source(s) | CMS II,3: no. 101.  
Kenna 1960: fig.136. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C</th>
<th>72</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cattle, frontal heads, column and palm tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Crete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Knossos, N entrance passage E of room of the Spiral Cornice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LB II - LB IIIA1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source(s) | CMS II,8,2: no. 498.  
CMS I: no. 515. |
C 73

Male figure with various implements

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Aplomata, Tomb B
Period: LM IIIA1-2 (context LH IIIC)
Source(s): CMS V.2: no. 608, Boardman 1970: fig. 135.

C 74

Lion, deer, double axe and ‘incurved altar’

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Anthia, Flur Ellinika
Period: context LH IIA-B
Source(s): CMS V Suppl.1B: no. 140.
C 75

Ox being struck by weapon; vessel inside horns of consecration

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Crete?
Period: Second Transitional phase, MM IIIB - LM IA
Source(s): CMS VII: no. 65.

C 76

?Human figure and an animal

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Crete?
Period: LM I - LM II
Source(s): CMS XI: no. 330.
C 77

Ox with circles and a figure of 8 shield

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Archanes Phourni, BB3
Period: Neopalatial
Source(s): Boardman 1970: fig. 106.
Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1991: fig. 82.

C 78

Hybrid human-bovine figure

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Unspecified
Period: LM II
Source(s): CMS VIII: no. 141.
C 79

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Vapheio Cist Grave
Period: LB I - LB II (context LH IIA)
Source(s): CMS I: no. 257.

C 80

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Unprovenanced
Period: LM II
Source(s): CMS VII: no. 97.
C 81

Bovid in contorted position and animal heads

Provenance: Unprovenanced

Findspot

Period: LM II

Source(s): CMS VII: no. 248.

C 82

Griffin and circles

Provenance: Unprovenanced

Findspot

Period: LM II

Source(s): CMS VII: no. 258.
C 83

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: LM II
Period: LM II
Source(s): CMS XII: no. 237.

C 84

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Archanes Tourkoyeitonia
Period: Neopalatial
Source(s): Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellari 1991: fig. 38.
Two ?lions and their prey

- **Provenance**: Crete
- **Findspot**: Aj. Nikolaos, Myrtos-Pyrgos
- **Period**: LB I
- **Source(s)**: CMS II,6: no. 234.

---

?Lion attacking ox

- **Provenance**: Mainland
- **Findspot**: Mycenae Building M
- **Period**: LB IIIA1-2 (context LH IIIB)
- **Source(s)**: Mycenae Museum. CMS V,2: no. 602.
<table>
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<th>Findspot</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
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<td>Findspot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C 91

Lion/lioness and two deer

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot:
Period: LH II A
Source(s): CMS VII: no. 159.

C 92

Two human figures tying a lion

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Vafio, Lakonien, in pit by tholos tomb
Period: LB I - LB II (context LH II A)
Source(s): CMS I: no. 224.
C 93

Two male figures tying a lion/lioness

Provenance  Crete
Findspot     Kato Zakros, House A, Room VII
Period       LM I
Source(s)    CMS II,7: no. 33.

C 94

Human figure over ox

Provenance  Unprovenanced
Findspot    Crete?
Period      LM II
Source(s)   CMS VII: no. 108.
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C 95

Animal and human figure

Provenance
Unprovenanced

Findspot

Period
LM IB

Source(s)
CMS VII: no. 257.

C 96

Human figure with spear, dog and boar

Provenance
Mainland

Findspot
Pylos Grave Vagina

Period
LB II (context LH I - LH IIIA1)

Source(s)
CMS I: no. 294.
Morris 1990: fig. 3.
C 97

'Minoan genius' carrying an ox
Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Neopalatial
Period: Neopalatial
Source(s): CMS IX: no. 129.

C 98

'Minoan genius' and a bull
Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Crete?
Period: LB I - LB II
Source(s): Kenna 1980: no. 306.
CMS VI,2: no. 304.
C99

'Minoan genius' and a bull

Provenance Unprovenanced

Findspot

Period LB I - LB II

Source(s)
Kenna 1960: no. 307.
CMS VI,2: no. 305.

C100

'Minoan genius' attacking a deer

Provenance Crete

Findspot Knossos?

Period LM II - LM IIIA1

Source(s) CMS III: no. 369.
Xénaki-Sakellariou 1958.
C 101

Two human figures with a ?dog

Provenance
Crete

Findspot
Isopata, Tomb I

Period
LB II - LB IIIA1 (context LM IIIA1)

Source(s)
CMS II,3: no. 52.
Boardman 1970: fig. 104.

C 102

Dog and a bovid

Provenance
Crete

Findspot
‘Archanes’

Period
MM III - LM I

Source(s)
CMS VI: no. 180.
Hood 1978: fig. 218.
Human figure and a ?dog

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Knossos Temple Repositories
Period: MM III - LM I
Source(s): CMS II,8: no. 236.
Hood 1978: fig. 220d.

Dog

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Ayia Triada
Period: LM I
Source(s): CMS II,8: no. 76.
Hood 1978: fig. 224d.
<table>
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<th>Findspot</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
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<td>Dog and puppy</td>
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<td>MM IIIB - LM IA</td>
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<td>CMS VII: no. 68.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Mycenae Shaft Grave IV</td>
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<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LH I (context LH I)</td>
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| **Source(s)** | CMS I: no. 15.  
Higgins 1997: fig. 84. |

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<tr>
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<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LM I</td>
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| **Source(s)** | CMS II,6: no. 19.  
Hood 1978: fig. 224g. |
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<td><strong>Provenience:</strong> Mainland</td>
<td><strong>Type:</strong> ?Equids and chariot</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot:</strong> Vapheio, cist in tholos tomb</td>
<td><strong>Period:</strong> LB I - LB II (context LH IIA)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s):</strong> CMS I: no. 230</td>
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<td><strong>Type:</strong> Equids and chariot</td>
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<td><strong>Findspot:</strong> Vapheio</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Period:</strong> LB I - LB II (context LH IIA)</td>
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C 111

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Knossos?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>LM IB</td>
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<td>Source(s)</td>
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C 112

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Knossos, Evans' excavations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LM II - LM IIIA1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>CMS II,3: no. 88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Cow and calf</td>
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</table>
C 113

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae, Chamber Tomb 27
Period: LB II - LB IIIA1
Source(s): CMS I: no. 67.

C 114

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Neopalatial
Period: Neopalatial
Source(s): Higgins 1997: fig. 48.
C 115

Lioness and her cub
Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae Lower City Grave 68
Period: LB II
Source(s): CMS I: no. 106.

C 116

Human figure carrying ?weapon
Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Vathia
Period: LM I
Source(s): CMS II,3: no. 198.
C 117

Human figure carrying an animal

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Aiya Triada, exact findspot unknown
Period: LM I
Source(s): CMS II,6: no. 29.

C 118

Human figure carrying ?weapon

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Mallia, House ΔB
Period: LB I (context MM III - LM I)
Source(s): CMS II,3: no. 147.
C 119

Human figure carrying ?weapon

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Vapheio, cist in tholos tomb
Period: LB I - LB II (context LH IIA)
Source(s): CMS I: no. 225.

C 120

Female figure with a bow

Provenance: Unprovenanced
Findspot: Crete?
Period: LM I - LM II
C 121

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Vafio, Lakonien, in pit by tholos tomb
Period: LB II (context LH IIA)
Source(s): CMS I: no. 220.

Two female figures carrying a bovid

C 122

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Vafio, Lakonien, in pit by tholos tomb
Period: LB I - LB II (context LH IIA)
Source(s): CMS I: no. 221.

Female figure carrying a ram
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Palace of Pylos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LB I - LB II</td>
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</table>

**Female figure holding animal by its horns**

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<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Illia</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LBA, prob. before post-palatial period (LM IIIA2)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>CMS XI: no. 27.</td>
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</table>

**Female holding animal by the horns**
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C 125

Female figure carrying an animal

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Ayia Triada
Period: LM I (context LM IB?)
Source(s): CMS II,3: no. 117.

C 126

Female figure and animal

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Chersonisos?
Period: LM I
Source(s): CMS II,3: no. 213.
C 127

Female figure carrying an animal

Provenience: Crete
Findspot: Knossos, House of the Frescoes
Period: LM I (context LM I)
Source(s): CMS II,4: no. 111.

C 128

Human figure and animal

Provenience: Crete
Findspot: Gournia, palace?
Period: LM I
Source(s): CMS II,4: no. 204.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>?Female figure carrying animal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Kato Zakros, House A, Room VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LM I</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Female figure carrying an animal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Vapheio, cist in tholos tomb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LB I - LB II (context LH IIA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
<td>Crete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Chania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>Context LM IB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>CMS V Suppl.1A: no. 130.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Human figure carrying an animal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>C 132</strong></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
<td>Mainland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Epidauros, Sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas, from ashes of altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LM I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>CMS V Suppl.1A: no. 369.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Female figure carrying a sheep**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 133</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C 134</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Provenance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C 135

Female figure carrying an animal

Provenance
Unprovenanced

Findspot

Period
Unknown

Source(s)
CMS XIII: no. 5D.

---

C 136

Female figure carrying an animal?

Provenance
Unprovenanced

Findspot

Period
LM IIIB

Source(s)
CMS VIII: no. 144.
APPENDIX D

AEGEAN ICONOGRAPHY
D 1 The Ayia Triada Sarcophagus

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: From a tomb near the palace of Ayia Triada
Period: Beg. LM III, c. 1400 BC

Source(s):
Paribena 1908.
Nilsson 1950: 229
Mylonas 1966: 176.
Sakellarakis 1970: 178-188.
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: no. 36.
Pötscher 2000.
D 2 Wall-painting

Provenance
Mainland

Findspot
Pylos, against NE wall of Vestibule 5, partially in situ

Period
LH IIIB (final destruction)

Source(s)
Lang 1969: pls. 119-121.
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: no. 96, pl. 119.
Morgan 2005a: 30, fig. 1.11.
### D 3 Wall-painting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Pylos, from SE part fallen from NE wall of Throne Room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>13th century. LH IIIB2 (burnt in final destruction)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Source(s)        | Lang 1969: pls. 125-126.  
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: no. 98, pl. 121-2.  
Shelmerdine 1999.  
Morgan 2005a: 30, fig. 1.12. |
D 4 Wall-painting

Findspot
Pylos, Room 20

Period
LH IIIB

Source(s)
Wall-painting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Palace of Pylos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>14th-13th c. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Lang 1969: pl. M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Wall-painting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Palace of Pylos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>14th-13th c. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Lang 1969: pl. 122.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D 7 Wall-painting

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Palace of Pylos
Period: 14th-13th c. BC
Source(s): Lang 1969: pl. P.
Wall painting

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Tiryns, west slope epichosis
Period: 14th-13th c. BC
Source(s): Muskett 2007: fig. 15. Athens Museum display.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Tiryns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>14th-13th c. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Morris 1990: fig. 2. Athens Museum display.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D 10  Wall painting

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Tiryns, west slope epichosis
Period: 14th-13th c. BC
D 11  Wall-painting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Mycenae Cult Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>13th c. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Athens Museum display.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D 12  Wall-painting

Provenance  Other
Findspot  Akrotiri, Thera, West House, Room 5
Period  LM IA
Source(s)  Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: no. 58, pl. 79.
**D 13**  Wall-painting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Crete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Ayia Triada, dump between tomb with sarcophagus and the villa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LM IIIA1, 14th c. BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D 14  Wall-painting

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Knossos, Room of the Clay Matrix, and fragments from nearby
Period: ?LM I, LM II/IIIA
Source(s): Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: no. 16, pl. 27.
D 15 Stone fragment

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Knossos
Period: 
Source(s): Morgan 2005a: 151, fig. 9.5.
**D16 Faience plaque**

**Provenance**
Crete

**Findspot**
Knossos Temple Repositories

**Period**
c. 1600 BC

**Source(s)**
Vasilakis nd: 86.
D17  Grave stele

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae
Period: 16th c. BC
Source(s): Hood 1978: fig. 81. Athens Museum display.
D18  Grave stele

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae
Period: 16th c. BC
Source(s): Athens Museum display

Appendix D - Aegean Iconography
D 19  Grave stele

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot  Mycenae
Period  16th c. BC
Source(s)  Athens Museum display
D 20 Gold-plated box

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Mycenae Shaft Grave V
Period: 16th c. BC
Source(s): Higgins 1997: fig. 85.
Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Chamber tomb B, Evangelistria, Nauplion
Period: LH IIIB, 13th c. BC
Source(s): Demakopoulou 1988b: no. 242.
D 22  Gold cup

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot     Vapheio
Period       15th c. BC
Source(s)    Higgins 1997: fig. 179. Athens Museum display.
D 23  ‘Boxer’ rhyton

Provenance  Crete
Findspot  Ayia Triada
Period  MM III - LM I
Source(s)  Vasilakis nd: 121.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Provenance</strong></th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findspot</strong></td>
<td>Ialysos, Chamber tomb 73, Rhodes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>LH IIIC, 12th c. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Source(s)</strong></td>
<td>Demakopoulou 1988b: no. 120.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**D 24**  Zoomorphic vessel
D 25  Animal figurine

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Vrysinas
Period: MM II
D 26  Animal figurine

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Atsipadhes Korakias, Tr A9, Upper terrace
Period: Protopalatial

D27 Animal figurine

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Atsipadhes Korakias, Tr B8, Rock clefts
Period: Protopalatial
Source(s): Unpublished, information courtesy of A. Peatfield and C. Morris.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Crete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Atsipadhes Korakias, Tr D8 (lower terrace, open area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Protopalatial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source(s)</td>
<td>Unpublished, information courtesy of A. Peatfield and C. Morris.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E
AEGEAN TABLETS
### E 1 C(2) 941 + 1016 + fr

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Crete</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Knossos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>LM IIIA2-B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The animals designated as *sa-pa-ke-te-ri-ja* - literally "for ritual slaughter"

.A SHEEPm 8[  
.B pa-ro / a-pi-qo-ta (personal name) , for slaughter SHEEPf 10[  

Appendix E - Aegean Tablets
E 2 Ch Series

Provenance: Crete
Findspot: Knossos
Period: LM IIIA2-B

Ch Series containing records of many cattle, with different qualifications, apparently related to their coat, as part of their name. The following Ch tablets contain qualifications:

Ch 896
Ch 897
Ch 898
Ch 899
Ch 900
Ch 972
Ch 1015
Ch 1029
Ch 1034
Ch 5724
Ch 5728
Ch 5754
Ch 5938
Ch 7047
Ch 7065
Ch 7066
Ch 7100
Ch 7937
Ch 8222
Ch 9765
E 3 Cn 418

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Pylos
Period: Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC

A contribution of animals, carefully selected for colour and other physical attributes, by a man named *we-u-da-ne-u.

From We-u-da-ne-u:
Two oxen uniformly white,
one ox uniformly white...,
three..., three he-goats, three yearlings, three she-goats, etc.
E 4 Ta-Series

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provenance</th>
<th>Mainland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Findspot</td>
<td>Pylos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period</td>
<td>Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Series of tablets thought to record the furniture and sacrificial equipment associated with ritual ceremony. They include inventories of c. 20 vases or receptacles, including ewers, shallow pans, tripods, closed jars, two portable hearths, two sacrificial knives, two sacrificial stunning axes and two ceremonial bridles, as well as references to 11 tables, 6 thrones, 16 stools, all made of costly wood or stone.
E 5 Tn 316 (Kn02)

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot    Pylos
Period      Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC

Front:
.1 Within [the month] of Plowistos? (or Phlowistos? or Prowistos?)
.2 performs a holy ritual at Sphagianes, and brings gifts and leads .
3 PYLOS po-re-na to Potnia GOLD KYLIX 1 WOMAN 1
.4 to Manassa GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1 to Posidaeia GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1
.5 to Thrice-Hero GOLD CHALICE 1 to House-Master GOLD KYLIX 1
.6 narrow line left blank
.7 line left blank
.8 line left blank
.9 PYLOS line left blank
.10 line left blank
Remaining portion of this side of tablet without rule lines

Reverse:
v.1 perform a ritual at the sanctuary of Poseidon and the town leads
v.2 and brings gifts and leads po-re-na
v.3a PYLOS a
v.3 GOLD KYLIX 1 WOMAN 2 to Bowia and X of Komawentei-
v.4 perform a ritual at the sanctuary of pe-re-*82 and at the sanctuary of Iphimedeia and at the sanctuary of Diwia
v.5 and brings gifts and leads po-re-na to pe-re-*82 GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1
v.6 PYLOS to Iphimedeia GOLD BOWL 1 to Diwia GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1
v.7 to Hermes Areias GOLD CHALICE 1 MAN 1 v.8 perform a ritual at the sanctuary of Zeus and brings gifts and leads po-re-na
v.9 to Zeus GOLD BOWL 1 MAN 1 to Hera GOLD BOWL 1 WOMAN 1
v.10 PYLOS to Drimios the son of Zeus GOLD BOWL 1
v.11 line left blank
v.12 narrow line left blank
v.13 line left blank
v.14 line left blank
v.15 PYLOS line left blank
v.16 line left blank

Appendix E - Aegean Tablets
E 6 Ua 17

Provenance Mainland
Findspot Pylos
Period Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC

.1 ] 163.2 liters WINE 1,371.2 liters
.2 ] 7 SHEEP 7 YE(ARLING) 17 GOAT 31 PIG 20

Bottom edge: ]14 [  
Reverse: ]30?[ ]67.2 liters? [ ] 41.6 liters
E 7 Ua 25

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Pylos
Period: Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC

.1 F-PIG 3 CATTLE' 2 CATTLE'' 8
.2 SHEEP'' 67

Reverse: WHEAT 2,864 liters
Pe-re-swa and Poseidon receive an offering of a cow, a ewe, a boar and a sow:

.1 At Sphagianes, on the occasion of the king’s “initiation”
.2 the man in charge of the establishment? released
.3 1,575 liters of barley; 14.5 liters of cyperus; 8 liters of “O”
[another type of cyperus?]
.4 115 liters of flour; 211 liters of olives; 19 liters of *132; 10 liters of honey
.5 96 liters of figs; 1 ox; 26 rams; 6 ewes; 2 he-goats; 2 she-goats
.6 1 fattened pig; 6 sows; 586 liters of wine; 2 pieces of *146 cloth
E 9 Un 6

Provenance: Mainland
Findspot: Pylos
Period: Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC

Front:
.0 fragmentary above
.1 to Poseidon CATTLE[ ] SHEEP[ ] PIG-BOAR 1 PIG' 2
.2 narrow line left blank
.3 to pe-re-*82 CATTLE' 1 SHEEP' 1 PIG-BOAR 1 PIG' 2
.4 to pe-re-*82 CATTLE' 1 SHEEP' 1 PIG-BOAR 1 PIG' 2
.5 narrow line left blank
.6 CLOTH 37 CLOTH ?+ WE [ ] WOOL 5
.7 ANointing OIL 12.8 liters[ ]
.8 CATTLE" 2 CATTLE' 2 SHEEP"? [ ]

Reverse:
Top portion unruled
v.1 ] priestess (dative?) CLOTH+TE? [ ]
v.2 kejy-bearer (dative?) CLOTH+TE [ ]
E 10  Un 138

Provenance  Mainland
Findspot    Pylos
Period      Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC

An individual named du-ni-jo contributes banqueting provosions, including barley, olives, animals for sacrifice, wine:

.1 At Pylos, owed [to the palace] from Dunios
.2 1,776 liters of barley, 421 liters of eating? olives
.3 374 liters of wine, 15 rams, 8 yearlings?, 1 ewe, 13 he-goats, 12 pigs
.4 1 fattened pig, 1 cow, 2 bulls
.5 from Mezawon 462 liters of barley, 672 liters of olives for pressing?
E11 Un 718

Provenance Mainland
Findspot Pylos
Period Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC

1 at sa-ra-pe-da donation(s) to Poseidon
.2 to the sheep-flayers a donation of such an amount *Egkhes-
lauon
.3 will contribute BARLEY 384 liters WINE 86.4 liters CATTLEm 1
.4 cheese CHEESE 10 units sheepskin HIDE 1
.5 of honey 4.8 liters
.6
.7 thus also the damos BARLEY 192 liters WINE 57.6 liters
.8 SHEEPm 2 CHEESE 5 units anointing oil ANOINTING OIL
3.21 HIDE 1
.9 and so much the lawagetas will contribute
.10 SHEEPm 2 flour SPELT 57.6 liters
.11 WINE 19.2 liters thus also the worgioneion ka-ма
.12 BARLEY 57.6 liters WINE 9.6 liters CHEESE 5 units honey[.13 [ ] of honey? 9.6 liters
E12 Un 1189

Provenance   Crete
Findspot     Pylos
Period       Destruction of Pylos, c. 1200 BC
Translation  Chadwick 1973: 127.

Offerings of cows, sheep and pigs to a Dove-Goddess.
Total of 47-48 animals (some where gender cannot be identified), perhaps destined for sacrifice, using the term *o-pa* (meaning a state suitable for sacrifice):

- 16 sheep - 13 male, 2 female
- 14 goats - 6 male, 7 female
- 10 pigs - 6 male, 2 female
- 2 “fatted pigs”
- 2 cattle - 1 male, 1 female
- 3 yearlings, perhaps pig or cattle