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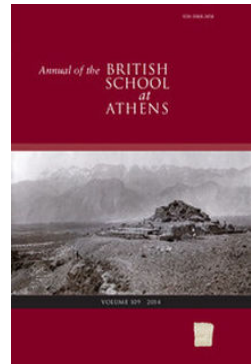
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Excavations at Palaikastro. II: § 13.—The Sanctuary-site of Petsofà

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The Annual of the British School at Athens / Volume 9 / November 1903, pp 356 - 387

DOI: 10.1017/S0068245400007826, Published online: 18 October 2013

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0068245400007826

How to cite this article:

J. L. Myres (1903). Excavations at Palaikastro. II: § 13.—The Sanctuary-site of Petsofà. The Annual of the British School at Athens, 9, pp 356-387 doi:10.1017/S0068245400007826

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EXCAVATIONS AT PALAIKASTRO. II.

§ 13.—THE SANCTUARY-SITE OF PETSOFA.¹

(PLATES VII.—XIII.)

I.—THE SITE.

THE plain and bay of Palaikastro are bounded on the south by an abrupt ridge of hills, which run out seaward into a prominent cape. Landwards, this ridge is cut off from the mass which culminates in Mt. Simódhi by a northward and a southward valley, which carry an almost impassable track from the Palaikastro plain to the cove of Karóumes. The highest peak of this ridge, which bears the name of Petsofa, stands directly south of Roussolakkos, and rises steeply above it to a height of 270 metres. Southwards beyond the summit the slope is at first more gentle, but becomes abrupt about a quarter of a mile further on, and drops rapidly to sea-level on the south side of the promontory. The actual summit is formed by a ragged crest of limestone, precipitous on the north side, and descending less rapidly southwards into the general slope already mentioned.

Some 10–15 m. down this face, however, the natural slope of the ground is interrupted by a zig-zag terrace-wall, ABCDE, which still stands some 2·5 m. high at its external angle C, and holds up an artificial platform of made-earth within it. The little enclosure which lies against its outer face between C and D is wholly modern, though built almost wholly of ancient stones from the walls above: the older workmen described it as a 'look-out,' but it seemed also to have served as a sheep-pen.

¹ Dr. L. Chalikiopoulos gives the name, in text and map, as Tsofas. *Sitia, die Osthalbinsel Kretas*. Berlin (*Veröff. Geogr. Inst. Berlin*, Heft 4.) 1903. Pp. 46–7.

Inside the terrace-wall, there were visible, before excavation, traces of (1) a cross wall DF, running obliquely to N.N.E. and abutting on a low natural crag of the ridge; (2) other cross-walls eastward and northward from B, and (3) a continuation of the terrace-wall northwards from A towards the precipitous edge of the site. The line along which the natural rock emerged from the accumulated earth of the terrace ran approximately from B to F; but east of the wall DF the deposit became rapidly shallower, and dwindled to a mere earth-filled trough in the natural rock about 3 m. distant at H. It was in this detached pocket of the terrace-accumulation that the knife of a small shepherd girl had turned up recently, close below the turf, the little series of clay figures of animals, which first called attention to Petsofā.

Under these circumstances, the plan of attack was obvious.¹ While three or four men started at H and worked westward through the deepening deposit towards the face of the wall DF, others struck down along the back of this wall and along the rock line westwards from F.

The space DFH was soon exhausted. Clay figures, of most of the types to be described hereafter, appeared at all depths, and at 30 cm. or more back from the face of the wall there was an ill-defined patch of a darker colour. But it soon became clear that the wall DF was of later construction, and had been carried down to the rock through the terrace-earth in such a way as to disturb any stratification which might have existed originally; and the same result was obtained in the first stages of the works behind the west face of this wall. When, however, the working face of the trench had advanced a metre or so north-westward, and away from the wall DF, three distinct layers became clear, and were found to extend over the remainder of the site.

(a) The surface earth was the ordinary brown loam of the limestone region, with many small stones and shattered pottery and figurines. Its depth ranged from 40 to 60 cm., the variation being explained by the slight southward slope of the surface.

(b) Below this came a layer 17–20 cm. thick, and almost horizontal, of nearly black earth—slate-grey when dry—full of ashes and fragments of

¹ I take this opportunity of thanking the Director of the British School for the unexpected chance of examining the site; the ready help of Messrs. Tod and Dawkins in all points connected with the excavation; and the further elucidation by Messrs. Dawkins and Currelly of a large number of points of detail both on the site itself after my return to England, and in cleaning and sorting the objects from Petsofā after their arrival in the Candia Museum.

charcoal, and crowded with figurines. The latter were evidently undisturbed since the deposit was completed: for a large proportion were whole, and many of them still retained their surface-colouring. This black layer had, in fact, every appearance of having originated in a large bonfire, into which the figurines had been thrown. The broken condition of many of the smaller figures might, of course, be due to accident and the heat of the fire; but the total absence of any bodies belonging to the feet, horns and other extremities of larger figures (p. 376 below) can only be explained by supposing that from time to time the bonfire became clogged with such larger figures, and was raked over and roughly purged of them; the smaller objects and the fragments of the larger figures being left among the ashes, and the whole layer levelled for the reception of fresh fuel and figurines. Close parallels are offered by the condition of the Zeus altar at Olympia, and of the burnt layer in the Principal Sanctuary at Idalion;¹ and by the size and form of such fire-rakes as those from Tamassos, which, though of later date (vii-vi cent. apparently), seem to have been used for this same purpose.²

(c) Below the black layer came a thick bed of clayey earth of a strongly reddish colour, brightest at the top, and merging, downwards, in the ordinary colour of the surface-soil of the limestone-region. This layer seemed to go down to the rock at all points, and could be traced, outside, underneath the terrace-wall. It doubtless represents the original packing of earth to level the enclosure; and in that case its red colour is due to prolonged baking by the bonfire on its surface. No figurines or pottery were found in this bottom layer.

2.—THE LATER BUILDING.

About four metres west of the wall DF, and about one metre south of the rock-line, the workmen struck on the edge of a broken floor of rough unshapen slabs of schist, which soon gave place south-westwards to a plastered and whitewashed mud-floor of the common Eteocretan type. This latter was found to extend, with a broken edge, obliquely as far as the

¹ Unfortunately still unpublished except quite summarily in the *Times* of 7 Nov. 1894, and the *Daily Graphic* of 28 Dec. 1894: but I had the good fortune to see the section, when the site was about half excavated, in the summer of 1894.

² *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, No. 3930: Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, Pl. ccxiii. 5.

main terrace-wall CD, sealing down the lower layers completely beneath the floor-level of some later structure.

The character of this later building was not easy to make out, for except in the S.W. angle of the site almost every trace of it had disappeared. The S.W. angle itself was occupied by a nearly square chamber three metres from north to south, and somewhat more from west to east. In the latter direction, however, the destruction of the floor and the disappearance of the original north wall left its exact proportions in doubt.

Round the wall of this chamber, at an average height of 25 cm. from the floor, ran a rough bench of unworked stones, made good with plaster, and whitewashed like the floor. Similar whitened plaster could be traced here and there up the walls, which were preserved for an average height of half a metre above the bench.

The north wall of the chamber was interrupted at a point 2.60 m. from the N.W. angle, by a doorway, set back nearly half the thickness of the wall, and communicating by two steps in the thickness of the remainder with the next room northward (No. II.), the floor-level of which was at least 35 cm. above that of Room I. The absence of a plaster floor, however, prevented any very exact measurement.

East of the doorway, the north wall of Room I. seemed either to have been entirely rebuilt, or to have been originally of only half the thickness of that beyond the western jamb. The former alternative seems preferable; for (1) the jamb-stone itself (M) looks like the original jamb-stone turned round and remodelled; (2) the last stone (N) which is preserved eastwards in this wall is a cylindrical base or drum of a column (14 inches in diameter), which cannot have occupied its present position originally; (3) this drum, and apparently also the stones west of it, rest on the surface of the pavement of schist slabs above mentioned (p. 358), and this pavement ends westward at the point where the bench and the plaster floor of Room I. begin. Probably therefore the wall KL was originally the whole side of Room I., and ended at L in an *anta*, beyond which began the schist-paved court: then, subsequently, Room II. was prolonged eastward at a higher level, and the wall MN was added on top of the pavement; communication between Rooms I. and II. being maintained by means of the door LM, of which the *anta* L now became one of the jambs.

Of Room II. almost nothing is preserved. Its north wall, which prolonged the wall AB eastward, and lay 2.15 m. north of the wall KL, was

almost wholly destroyed, for only its western end lay below the line where the rock reaches the present surface.

There seems, however, to have been a third room, north of Room II., for the wall BC is produced northward; but as almost the whole of this area lies above the soil-line and must have had a floor of made-earth, every trace, except a couple of wall-stones, has been denuded away long since; and the same applies to the larger area north of the wall AB.

The date of Room I. and the rest of the later building is given approximately by the character of the bench and the plaster floor, which resemble closely the common work in the houses at Roussolakkos, and should therefore be of Late Minóan or Early Mycenaean period. The schist slabs also are used in exactly the same way as at Roussolakkos. The only object which was found in Room I. was a rough pedestal lamp of serpentine or similar material, about 20 cm. high, and of rude workmanship; but its evidence, such as it is, agrees with the date suggested.

It results from this, that the burnt layer, which lies sealed down by the floor of plaster and slabs, must be of yet earlier date; and with this the character of the figurines agrees, as we shall see. The interval, however, between the two strata of occupation does not seem to have been a long one, for there was no trace of a vegetation surface between them; and under these circumstances the superposition, on a site formerly sacred, of a building which is indistinguishable from the domestic buildings of Roussolakkos, seems not a little peculiar, and could hardly have happened if the site had retained any sanctity in the eyes of its later occupants.

3.—THE DEPOSIT OF VOTIVE FIGURINES.

The clay figures from the black layer deserve more detailed description. Three varieties of clay can be distinguished:—

(*a*) The first is a buff or cream-coloured clay, of a fine dusty texture. It is the *débris* of the late clayey limestones of the Palaikastro valley, and resembles the clay of the local Minóan (Kamáres) pottery of Roussolakkos. This is the clay which is used for the great majority of the figures; and it is susceptible of much greater delicacy of modelling than either of the others.

(*β*) The second is a rather coarser and more sandy clay, which burns bright red, and may be only a levigated variant of the third; but it

resembles rather the *κοκκινὸ χῶμα* of the limestone region towards Karoumes and Zakro.

(γ) The third is a quite coarse clay, full of fragments of the schistose basement beds, which crop up in the northward-draining valley immediately to the west of the Petsofà ridge. It is naturally buff in colour, but burns easily to a bright red. Though its texture is so rough, it is the figurines in this clay that exhibit most of the variants of modelled detail: *e.g.*, the male figure with modelled loin-cloth, Fig. [6].¹ Most of the large-sized oxen (p. 376), of which only feet and horns are preserved, were also in this clay. Mr. Bosanquet suggests to me that the figurines in clays β and γ are of later fabric than those in clay α ; but I am not clear on this point.

Most of the larger and better-made figures seem to have had a surface coating of some kind. The commonest (1) is a fine bright reddish-brown slip which is laid on rather thickly, and takes a good burnish, but easily scales away; then comes (2) the lustrous black paint of the 'Kamáres' style of vase-painting, which is much used, on clay α , for male figures, and rarely also for animals. Finally, (3) for the flesh parts of female figures and for details superimposed on the black or brown surface of the men we have the hard dead-white chalky paint which belongs also to the Kamáres style. On the white, details are given both in the lustrous black and in a bright brick red which may very well be of the same character as the red slip (1) already mentioned.

This scheme of colour-decoration goes far to fix the relative date of the deposit, and to assign it to an early stage of the Minóan period, and this agrees well with the position of the deposit below the floor of a building which is apparently itself of the style of the ordinary houses of Palaikastro.

The types of the terracotta figures are as follows:—

4.—HUMAN FIGURES, MALE.

These range from 17 to 10 cm. in height; with one larger example in clay γ (Pl. X, [6]) which measures 12 cm. from shoulder to knee and so must have stood about 22 cm. high. A few, which are quite perfect, stand on small round bases 3.5–4 cm. in diameter [1. 7];

¹ The numerals in square brackets, thus [6], refer to the figures in Plates X–XIII.

and a number of similar bases, both round and square, were found with the feet attached. The round ones range from a large one, in clay γ , of 9 cm. diameter to a finely painted one, in clay a , of 3.5 cm. with black surface, white feet, and a number of vertical bands in white down the edge [12]. The square bases range from 7 to 3.5 cm. with one fragment of a much larger one with a raised rim [14]; and a fragment of a long one ([13] in clay a with brown slip) with the feet of three figures, set at intervals of 5.5 cm. along its edge, with the toes pointing inwards. The last-named fragment suggests a square ring-dance, of the kind which is familiar on Cypriote sites;¹ and it is noteworthy that one example occurs at Petsofà of a tree-like object [73], like that which forms the centrepiece of the Cypriote rings.

The figures all stand erect, with the feet usually close together; the legs slightly bowed—this may be due to technical difficulties;—the waist very narrow; and the shoulders broad and well thrown back. The arms are almost always extended to the elbow at an angle of about 60° with the trunk; the forearms are tightly flexed (as in the great relief-fresco from Knossos, *B.S.A.* vii. Fig. 6), and the hands pressed closely to the body between the shoulders and the breasts. The less finished figures shew a loop at the elbow, and raise the upper arm to 90°. In no case does the hand appear to be otherwise than tightly clenched. A few variants occur: one small broken figure (clay a , paint 2) presses the right hand on the chest, and raises the left to the head: another (clay β , paint 1) presses both hands on to the belt, a little to the right side; a third—the large figure [6] in clay γ , already mentioned—holds the right arm flexed according to the type, but lets the left hang loosely by the side.

The numerous fragmentary figures betray the method of construction. The two legs were modelled in one piece, thigh to thigh, and feet outwards [5]; and the soles of the feet were fully formed. This leg-piece was then folded at the thighs [5], with the loin-cloth fillet laid in the groin, and the feet were pressed into their standing-base [1. 7. 12] and made secure by drawing the surface of the stand round them. Then the upper part of the figure, which was modelled separately, was pressed down upon the outside of the thigh fold a little in front, so as to leave the buttocks prominent; the body clay was squeezed downwards over the thighs in front [5. 9], and the

¹ *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, Nos. 5288, 5290-5, 5297-8, 5305-34, 5401-66, and references *ad loc.*

loin-cloth fillet brought upwards into its place: then the belt, if there was one, was added to disguise the juncture. The larger figures had their arms and heads modelled separately, and attached by squeezing the clay of these appendages over the surface of the trunk fore and aft.

The costume is almost always limited to the Aegean loin-cloth and a pair of boots. The latter rise some distance above the ankle, and fit closely; being represented by paint alone. This brings them into line with the ordinary Mycenaean boot—*e.g.* on the bull-fresco from Tiryns, and on the Vaphio cups. The fact that they are uniformly painted white suggests that they were made of a white or a pale buff-coloured leather like that of the modern high boots for which Crete is famous locally. The toes are well pointed, and turned up slightly, again just like the modern Cretan boots. One of the detached legs [50] shews the heavy sole of the boot quite distinctly.

The loin-cloth appears to have consisted of three distinct parts:—the loin-cloth itself; a white wrapper or kilt (like that of the Keftiu in Egyptian representations), worn over it; and a knotted girdle which secured the whole. Each part of this costume was previously known from numerous monuments; but the statuettes from Petsofà permit for the first time a detailed explanation of it; and also add some fresh points of detail.

The loin-cloth itself is represented uniformly by a pronounced roll of clay which runs vertically downwards in front from the middle point of the belt, and disappears from view between the thighs: compare the costume of the small bronze figures from Psychro.¹ In the back view, as we shall see, no modelling was required, for the cloth fitted tightly and smoothly over the hips, but it may fairly be supposed that it rejoined the belt, and was passed once or more round the waist before the ends were fastened. In the majority of these statuettes, this simple loin-cloth is represented—either by paint or (in one example) by further modelling—as concealed beneath the smooth surface of the wrapper: but on the Kampos statuette the same garment² recurs without disguise, and here its disposition can be clearly followed. On the Kampos statuette the loin-cloth is first drawn round the hips from behind, and two corners are secured together in front, either to one another,

¹ Cf. *B.S.A.* vi. 107, and specimens in the Ashmolean Museum, quoted in the text.

² Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, Plate XVII.

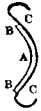
or to the belt, which is of the normal concave profile (*v.* below). Then the slack of the belt, which at this stage hangs down behind, is gathered together and drawn forward between the thighs; and then upwards till it rejoins the belt, into which, in this instance, it is apparently inserted from above, and so made fast. In the more pacific of the scenes on the Vaphio cups the herdsman wears an almost identical garment: only in this case the cloth has a well-marked border and hangs a little loosely behind, and the fold in front enters the belt from below. But see also the note on p. 387.

Over the loin-cloth comes the wrapper or kilt. This is usually represented in paint only; but fortunately one example, the larger figure in clay γ already quoted [6], gives the essential features in relief. It consists of a long rectangle (or perhaps a long truncated wedge) of cloth, represented always in white, with occasional indications of ornamental design in black paint; and it was worn with one of the long edges wrapped tightly round the waist, and one of the short edges hanging vertically in front a little beyond and to the right of the median line, just concealing the central fold of the loin-cloth, like the lappet of a frock coat. When the other end of the loin-cloth comes back to the front round the right hip, its lower edge is always represented on a higher level than before [6. 7]: but it is not quite clear whether this is due to the garment being folded or tucked together, ready for fastening; or whether, as Mr. Dawkins suggests, the wrapper itself was narrower at one end than at the other.

Finally, over the wrapper comes the girdle, represented, like the loin-cloth, by an applied fillet of clay. Unlike the girdle of the Kampos statuette, of the men on the Vaphio cups, and of the Knossian cupbearer, it shews no concavity of profile; and does shew, often, clear traces of a knot with dependent ends [1. 7], which is usually placed in the median line, but occasionally on the right hip. In other examples the girdle is represented only in paint, and then shews a double strand, through the loop of which the free ends pass to form a slip-knot. No further trace of fastening is indicated; and though such must have been present, the slip-knot scheme of the actual representation has its interest, as explaining how the slender waists, which are so characteristic of early Aegean people, were produced and maintained.

It should perhaps be noted, in passing, that the more elaborate and apparently clasplless belts of the Knossian cupbearer and other larger representations betray in their outline the essentials of their structure. The

concave profile *a* is the belt itself, which from its colour, and thin edges, seems to have been a smooth plate of metal. Its out-turned edges *b-b* prevent it from chafing the body of the wearer; and this end is further secured by the torus mouldings *c-c*, which seem from their form to represent a padded cushion-like belt of some elastic material, which enabled a very considerable pressure to be applied either by means of the metal belt itself, or by a tightly drawn lace or thong wound closely upon its concave surface. In the latter case the smooth ends of the metal belt would slide over one another as the pressure was applied; and this would explain the absence of any sign of a metallic catch, and also the presence of a lace outside the metallic belt. The loose-looking swollen belts from the shrine of the Serpent-Goddess at Knossos (*ante*, p. 83, Fig. 58) very likely represent the cushion *c-c*: which again seems to be represented in the small wreath-like objects to be described below (p. 378).



Outside the belt, in front, several of the Petsofà figures wear a large dagger, which measures, together with its hilt, about the length of the wearer's forearm [1. 7. 8]. The dagger is worn nearly horizontally, with the handle usually slightly raised towards the right hand; or occasionally somewhat depressed. The structure of the dagger can be made out fairly clearly. The blade is triangular, and very broad at the base; an Aegean fashion, which is characteristic of the Early Cycladic and Early Minòan period, and disappears later as greater skill is available for the production of a longer and narrower blade. The hilt is represented as of the same type as that on a cameo from Knossos (unpublished), with a distinct pommel, and broad crescentic attachment for the blade.¹ One painted example gives, in white paint, the edge of a tang, where it would emerge between the flat handle-plates, together with one rivet-head on the grip, and an oval ring on the hand plate, which doubtless represents briefly some form of decorative inlay, though its exact meaning is not clear.

One figure [4] wears a bracelet, in relief, on each wrist, and one of the severed hands [42], to be noted below, has a bracelet painted in white.

Only one male figure shews any further clothing at all. It is executed, like most of the aberrant examples, in clay γ , and is much damaged about the extremities, but the essentials of the garment are clear. Fig. [11] gives the back-view. It consists of a sort of wrapper, in relief, the long ends of

¹ Compare also the Keftiu sword noted by Mr. Hall, *B.S.A.* viii. p. 171, Fig. 2.

which cross on the breast, pass over the shoulders, and either meet or cross on the back, where the garment seems to end below the waist. The hood worn by the Kampos statuette would seem at first sight to be a similar garment, girt much more tightly round the neck. On the figurine, however, there is also a tail-like appendage over the buttocks, which may be part of the same garment; and the ragged surface of the flanks suggests that the long ends which cross in front may have passed backwards over the hips and met to form this appendage. It is, however, possible that this appendage is the continuation downwards of the shoulder bands after their crossing on the back, and that the ends which pass from in front under the arms are continuous *over* the shoulder bands and their prolongation, across the small of the back. In this case the garment would present very close analogies with the Scottish plaid,¹ which is first wound round the waist, and then has the ends crossed in front, brought over the shoulders, crossed again on the back, and secured by being tucked through the waist-folds, so that the ends hang down like a tail.

The painted examples also shew (1) a broad necklace in white, (2) a bracelet (on the detached hand, [42]) in white fastened by a loop which passes over a button. The button is in relief, and the thick white engobe raises the surface slightly for the loop also. This actual representation of a button-and-loop fastening has an obvious bearing upon the problem of Aegean dress.

The figures, though small and rudely finished, are modelled in a vigorous and lifelike manner; and the larger specimens betray considerable observation of the natural form. The same is clearer still in the detached limbs described below, and in the few fragments of larger figures in clay γ .

The head, as usual, presented the greatest difficulties. Aegean tradition dictated an upturned face, low forehead, and prominent occiput; but the nose is here well marked and slightly aquiline, and the chin long and pointed: compare the Amorgine marble head, of more advanced style, in the Ashmolean Museum. The orbits are rendered, as usual, by pinching the clay on either side of the nose into large, shallow, saucer-like depressions; and the eyes are rendered either by pellets in relief [2], by a further depression in the centre of the orbital hollow [3. 6], or, without any modelling, by a white ring on the black surface [1. 4. 37]. This last method

¹ I owe this suggestion to Mr. W. L. H. Duckworth.

conforms exactly with that employed in the human figure from Kamáres,¹ and agrees with the inferences already drawn from the general style of the painted decoration. The ears, rendered by pellets in relief, are large and rather prominent [5. 37] ; but a distinct attempt is perceptible sometimes to render their true form by a crescent-shaped pellet with central cusp on the concave margin [I. 3]. Compare also now, for greater detail, the 'fisherman' from Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, Pl. III.).

The treatment of the hair varies. Many figures have no special indications ; others have one, two, or three bun-like discs, set along the median line from the forehead to the nape of the neck [I. 3. 6] ; and one head, whose eyebrows and nose have been emphasised with a knife, and which has a slit cut for the mouth, has a long scalp-lock coming forward from the vortex and falling slightly to the left side [2]. The chin of one figure seems to have been intentionally depressed, and may have been meant to show a beard.

5.—HUMAN FIGURES: FEMALES.

The normal type of the female figures, which are much fewer than the males, is bell-shaped or conical from the waist downwards, to represent the full skirts of Aegean costume. This part of the figure, which usually stands about 8 cm. high ([2I. 24] cf. Pl. VIII, full size), seems to be wheel-made, and has nearly the form of the common beaker-type of Palaikastro, but baseless and inverted. Sometimes it has a flat inward rim for strength ; and in one example [28] it has a distinct torus-moulding round the apex.² Into this apex was thrust the upper part of the body, which was moulded separately, and ended in a long peg [22] for securer junction with the skirt-piece. Some of these skirts shew traces of brown, black, or white surface-colour : the most elaborately decorated example is given in Pl. VIII ; another has white vertical bands on a brown surface ; and another, horizontal white lines across the hips, on black. The larger coarsely-modelled fragment [27], in clay γ , shews an overskirt, with a flounce or lappet emerging from beneath it, and one pendent end of a belt, and thus recalls other features of the Knossian costume.

The upper part of the figures is of somewhat remarkable construction.

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* II. Ser. xv. Pl. II. 2.

² I think it is very likely, from the clean modelling of this waist-belt, that this may have been a votive skirt of the same class as the votive dresses of the Knossian deposit (*ante*, p. 83, Fig. 58).

It was built up as follows. A lozenge-shaped plate of clay was made, to represent the bodice of the dress; and its two lateral angles were drawn out to form the arms. The head, modelled separately with a long stalk-like neck, was then laid face upwards on this plate, along its longer diameter. Then the margins of the plate, below the level of the arms, were drawn forward, like the spathe of an arum-lily, to enfold the lower part of the neck, and so to form a thicker stalk or peg for insertion in the apex of the skirt-piece. The junction was smoothed over by squeezing the body-clay downwards over the upper part of the skirt, and sometimes a heavy fillet of clay [23] was added, over all, to represent the padded girdle. Independent models of the girdle were found, as at Knossos (p. 83), and will be noted below ([32, 33], p. 378). The junction of neck and bodice was similarly remodelled, and disguised by the addition of pellets of clay for the breasts [21-24]; and finally the arms were brought forward rather above the horizontal line [22]. Probably the hands met in an attitude of adoration, like those of the Cypriote statuettes, of which further mention is made below (p. 372); but unfortunately, in this extended posture, they were exposed to risks, and no complete example has been recovered. The result of the whole is a representation of a loose open corsage, about 4 centimetres high from waist to neck, enveloping the breast from the shoulders downwards, but displaying the whole neck, and the upper part of the bust, within a wide standing-collar of the 'Medici' type which rises to a high point at the back of the head: and it recalls at once the squarer standing-collars and epaulettes of the seated ladies in the miniature frescoes of Knossos.¹ Several fragments shew traces of paint on the bodice.

More elaborate painting than anything actually found at Petsofà is represented on a very similar terracotta from the settlement-site at Phylakopi in Melos. This example I am enabled, by the kindness of Mr. Bosanquet, to represent in Fig. 1 (*a, b, c*) herewith. In *a* we have the front view of the upper part of the body, with stumps of neck and arms (which are bare), and a large and regular round opening between the latter, which looks as if it may have been the mark of a vase: Mr. Bosanquet suggests that the whole figure formed an anthropomorphic vase. The peg-end of the neck projects into the interior, and can be seen

¹ Candia Museum: the majority are unpublished still, but examples will be found in *J.H.S.* xxi. Pl. V. and *B.S.A.* vii. Fig. 17. Compare also an unpublished Cretan terracotta, of a form very like [24], in the Ashmolean Museum.

in the drawing. In *b* is represented the back view of the same fragment, with a grand Minôan device of white lily-petals and cross of red (*shaded*) and orange (*dotted* in the drawing): and in *c* we see a portion, apparently, of the skirt of the same or a similar figure with elaborate zig-zag pattern in white and orange, with an orange braid or trimming over all, and traces of a vertical gore or seam-braid.

A few variants occur, which throw some light on the details of the costume. One fragmentary figure has one arm brought back into the same attitude as the arms of the men, with the hand drawn back between breast

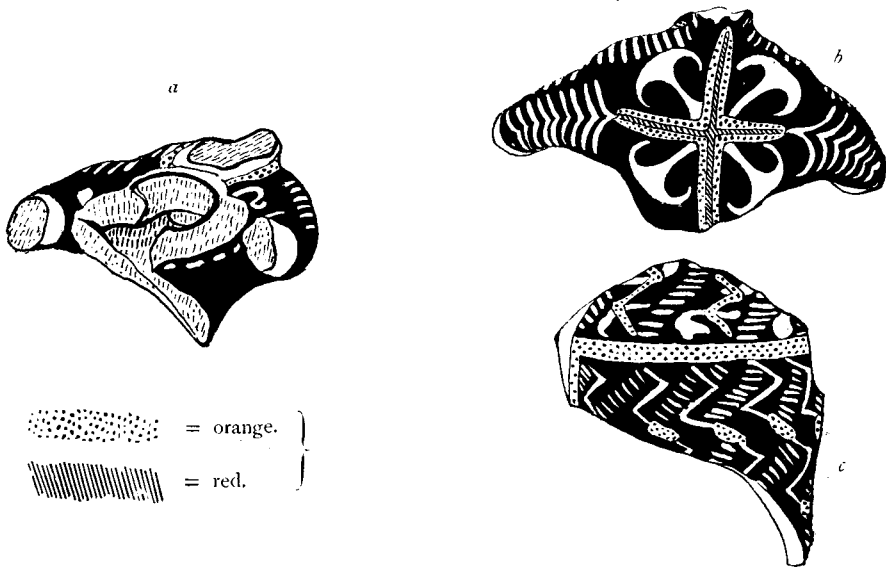


FIG. I.—PAINTED MINÔAN FIGURINE FROM PHYLAKOPI IN MELOS.
(For comparison with the female figures from Petsofâ. From drawings by Dr. Bagge.)

and shoulder. Another [23] shews by the course of the free front edge of the bodice that this garment was not a mere wrapper, but a sort of 'zouave' jacket with sleeves; for the free edge closely envelopes the breasts and is pressed open by them, while it is confined at the waist by a substantial girdle, knotted in front, and falling in long ends over the skirt. The stumps of the broken arms, meanwhile, can be seen, well away from the hem; and the same is clear, as the red patch shews in the example in Pl. VIII. An identical garment is recognisable in the central figure of the

gold pin-head from Shaft Grave III.;¹ in the bronze figure from the Troad,² which shews well a fresh variant of the standing collar; and (in far more realistic detail) in the glazed figures from the Knossian deposit, pp. 75 *fol.* Figs. 54-57, where one can see the tight-fitting sleeves, ending half-way above the elbow, and even the lacing of the bodice. In the same example, also [23], the left arm, instead of being raised, is brought round on to the right side of the girdle, above the hip, where a fragment of the hand remains in place. The same variant occurs in one of the male figures already described. If now, as seems probable, the right arm was represented raised in the normal posture, the pose of the figure would be very nearly that of the bronze already quoted.

One other fragment, with arms well raised, and the bodice-collar drawn very low, is certainly represented as pregnant;³ the rest, eight examples in all, have the ordinary contour and pose of Mycenaean women.

The faces of the women, *mutatis mutandis*, resemble those of the men; but instead of the brown or black paint they have usually traces of a dull white surface on the flesh-parts; while the eyes are indicated, if at all, by a black dot on the white ground, with or without a black eyebrow over it. The lips also are sometimes indicated; and once, quite clearly, with *red* pigment. One detached head is executed wholly in a white chalky clay which does not appear otherwise on the site, and may be a lump of the white pigment; and it is probable that two brown-surfaced examples have merely lost or omitted the white paint appropriate to their sex: for a number of similar examples wholly covered (like them) with a dense layer of the dark pigment bear clear traces of a superposed layer of the white.

The most noteworthy feature of the female figures, however, is their head-gear, which is very peculiar, and I think quite unparalleled. It is a kind of oval crownless hat, rather like the 'plate-hat' of recent fashion-books (1902-3), which is attached, far back on the head, by its hinder margin, and sweeps forward above the forehead in a high curve not unlike that of a short broad shoe-horn, convex side forwards and downwards, with its lateral margins slightly recurved so that its upper and posterior surface

¹ Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Fig. 392; better drawn in Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, Fig. 67.

² Perrot-Chipiez, vi. Fig. 349-350.

³ Compare the statuette from the Argive Heraeum, *Exc. Am. Sch. at Heraion* I. Pl. VIII. 6.

is slightly concave (see Fig. 2). The effect is sprightly and not ungraceful ; and as the hat often rises to nearly twice the height of the face which it adorns,¹ the original must have been a 'creation' of some splendour. Proportions and curvature varied *selon la mode*; and, for the artist at all events, the more pronounced the coiffure, the less refined need be the features beneath it.



FIG. 2.—MODERN HATS IN THE MODE OF PETSOFÀ.

In the normal examples, there is no clear demarcation between the hat and the head ; and as the painted ornament of the figures in Plate VIII. will shew, the same pigment is employed for the body of the hat and for the indented border which limits the face. It might therefore be argued that we have to deal rather with a coiffure than with a hat ; and abundant examples could be quoted of even bolder triumphs of hair-dressing. But the variants which are described below seem to connect the normal and most characteristic type with the well-known later series of Mycenaean women's hats : and the occurrence of elaborate head-gear, though not of this pattern, among the Knossian deposit, makes the hypothesis of a hat more probable at present. A very similar head-dress is shewn on a gem from the Italian excavations.

Whether hat or hair, however, the painted ornament gives a fair idea of the trimming. One example [19], on a black ground, has two broad horizontal stripes of white on the frontward surface : another, on brown, has two white concentric rings on the concave upper side : and a third, on an upper surface of black, has white rays diverging from the centre, and large white dots round the rim.

Three very distinct variants are represented by single examples. One lady [16] has crimped the brim of her hat, and added three large rosettes, represented by pellets, in the recesses thus formed beneath the brim. She has also decorated the upper side, along the longer diameter of the oval, with something between a plume and a frill, which has fairly puzzled the coroplast : it may perhaps be allied to the sinuous tail which emerges from the turban-like hats of the late Mycenaean women and

¹ The head ranges from 1·5 to 2 centimetres high : the hat from 2·5 to 3 centimetres. See [18. 19. 36] and Plate VIII.

sphinxes.¹ This hat is an 'arrangement in white,' to judge from the remains of the painting.

The second variant [17. 20] shews a less fanciful type, worn much further forward on the head, and suggestive of a funnel-shaped *polos* like the late Mycenaean head-gear already mentioned;² which is itself, in turn, ancestral, probably, to the *polos* of the Boeotian figurines. This figure has also large eye-pellets and a long, deeply pinched nose-ridge, like that which, later on, determines the technical tradition of the figurines of the Argive Heraeum.

The third variant [15] is equally instructive. The hat is worn fairly well forward, as in the last example, but the brim is turned up all round so as to form a deep bowl; the fantastic peak of the normal type surviving in an anterior lip like that of an oinochoe, or of the saucer-lamp of early Cyprus. Here we seem to have a very early analogy, and perhaps even the prototype, of a rare group of Cypriote votive figurines of the Iron Age,³ in which a female figure bears a regular saucer-lamp on her head. Yet the lamps of these figures have never been used as lamps, and the figures themselves, apart from their peculiar head-gear, are identical with the large class of votive figurines in association with which they occur: they usually carry tympana or votive offerings like those described below, and certainly are not primarily *lampadephoroi*. If, however, these lamp-like hats were revivals, either in ritual or merely in votive tradition, of a lamp-like hat of Mycenaean and earlier date, we should obtain at the same time an explanation of these Cypriote figurines, and also an interesting addition to a group of analogies to which we shall have to recur later on. The wearer of this lamp-like hat at Petsofà was modelled in clay γ , which we have already seen to be liable to give variant forms; she has almost no collar—only the rising point behind; her ears are transformed into large round pellets⁴ high up on the lower margin of the hat; she has traces of the concave Mycenaean girdle; and her arms trend more outwards and downwards than usual, as if she were carrying some offering; which would

¹ *E.g.* Ferrot-Chipiez, vi. Fig. 389, 416-8, 428²².

² *E.g.* Fresco from Mycenae, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, Pl. 10; ivory sphinx, Mycenae, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1887, Pl. 13; cf. 1888, Pl. 9¹³. Terracotta, Amyklaion, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, Pl. 4³; cf. 1888, Pl. 9¹⁶. Boeotian relief vase (with two foliage plumes) 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892, Pl. 9.

³ *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 166, Fig. 15⁹ (Cyprus Museum) := *Cypr. Mus. Cat.* No. 5540, cf. p. 153; other examples in Ashmolean Museum (unpublished). The series probably ranges from the viii. to the vi. century.

⁴ Possibly meant for earrings.

supply a further analogy with Cypriote forms, and is confirmed by the occurrence, as noted below, of fragments of such offerings at Petsofà ; and by the scars of attachment, on the front of the body of this figure. Another fragment of a woman in clay γ shews points of similarity with this figure, but the head is missing.

Another female type of much meaner pretensions is represented by a very few examples [24]. The skirt has sunk to be a mere trumpet-like base ; the peaked collar is gone, and the body is a mere rude column with stumpy arms, recurved on the breast, when they are preserved. The face is a mere serrated ridge ; the hat a simple disc, degenerate from our second variant above ; and there is no trace of paint. Here, in fact, we have the lowest term of the series, when the significance of the prototype is almost lost, but when the Mycenaean art of a later age has not yet taken up the meaningless base or head-piece to transform them into the purely conventional 'bird-faced idol' of Mycenae, Tiryns, and other sites on the mainland ; the ancestry of which has been hitherto quite obscure, but to which this group of little figures seems to supply an archetype.

6.—HUMAN FIGURES, SEATED.

The male and female figures already described all stand erect : but there is a small class of seated human figures of which the sex is not clear ; and these may be described conveniently now. One of them [26], very fragmentary, in clay β , sits in a high-backed chair, which has almost crowded away the arms ; as the stumps of the legs are distinct, it is probably male : the legs of the chair and the head of the figure are missing ; another, however, which shews the legs, has a female bust, and white surface. Another, in clay α , sits, with legs wide apart, on a four-legged chair, of which the back is missing ; it has good black surface, with traces of white paint. Another, [25] separated from its chair, wears a long white-painted garment from head to ankles : the feet are formless, and project in the line of the thighs ; head and arms are missing.

A single example occurs also of a roughly made female bust—head, arms, and skirt missing—in clay γ , with white slip all over, and without trace of the peaked collar ; apparently therefore nude, so far as it exists ; unless, as is probable, we may assume the presence of the skin-tight vest

which seems to be present in the glazed figures from the Knossian deposit.

With the seated figures may be reckoned a few detached chairs and fourlegged stools [77-9]: one stands on a square base, and another base [79] shews traces of a similar chair; one has a modelled seat like that of the Throne at Knossos; but this may be merely the result from the pressure of the figurine. All (except the damaged example [79]) have the legs widely splayed outwards on the sides, and have the seat short from front to back, like that of a campstool.

7.—VOTIVE ARMS, LEGS, AND HEADS.

One of the most marked peculiarities of Petsofà is the series of detached arms, legs, and heads, modelled separately, and often perforated at the butt-end for suspension. The arms are usually given from the shoulder downwards, extended or somewhat flexed: they are coloured either white (probably for women) or brown-red or black (for men); and they measure from 8 to 12 cm. from shoulder to finger-tip. One white one [41] includes, besides the whole arm, a full quarter of the trunk, and its suspension hole is at the angle of the latter nearest to the place of the neck. Others represent only the forearm; and one black one [42]—which seems to have telescoped the whole arm, and indicates an elbow close to the wrist—has a large, vigorously modelled hand, and on the wrist a button in relief, which fastens the white-paint bracelet already mentioned (p. 366). Another white specimen [44] gives only the hand in full (4 cm. long), but still retains a slight projection about 5 cm. from the finger-tips, which seems once more to represent the elbow joint, and so the whole arm. Two smaller expanded hands [45] with thumb well turned back as on the Kamáres potsherd (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* II. Ser. xv. Pl. II. 2) may be from whole figures, as their other extremity is broken; but, as is noted above (p. 362), all the figures which preserve their arms entire seem to have their hands clenched.

The legs range in size with the arms ([49-51]: thigh to heel 8-11 cm.) and are always fully extended, as if standing. One complete pair was found [48] (besides fragments) terminating in a waist, and formless trunk, about 2 cm. high. The legs are coloured like the arms; and one black-surfaced specimen shews a white boot like those of the statuettes; an-

other [50] shews well both sole and heel, separately applied ; and another [49] seems to indicate the toes. In one case a detached foot may have been intended to be independent ; but a rounded socket in the ankle suggests that it was merely fashioned separately and has been insecurely fastened to its leg.

One example was found [47] of a trunk shewing stumps of legs, and a loin-cloth in relief : it was in clay γ , and much damaged. Among the many detached heads which were found, there seemed to be a distinct class which had been so modelled originally. These votive heads [36-40] are all of small size from 1.5 to 2 cm. diameter—and very rudely modelled. Some have shouldered busts ; but, in others, the neck tapers away for about 1.5 cm. into a sort of wedge [36-7], or in the smaller examples into a mere peg [38-40]. Both male and female examples occur, and the latter [36] are distinguished as usual by their hats.

8.—LARGER HUMAN FIGURE.

Close to the surface, in the rock-cleft H, at the east end of the site, was found the only fragment of advanced style which emerged in the course of the excavation. It is part of a human face [34], modelled by hand in clay γ , with traces of a coarse, red-brown surface ; and it preserves the left eye, the nose (damaged at the tip and over the left nostril), and part of the left cheek. The height of the nose from root to base is 6 centimetres ; and the extreme length of the eye 3 centimetres nearly. The eye is modelled with heavy upper and lower lids, almost symmetrical, and completely separated by an incision at each end ; and the pupil is oval, flattened, and somewhat prominent. The nose rises abruptly from the face, with nearly flat sides, to an acute ridge which ran up boldly between the eyes to join the brows, the beginning of the curve being nearly .5 centimetre higher than the axis of the eye. The tip is only very slightly bulbous, and its vertical angle is about 90°. It is highly tilted, the length from base to tip being 3.5 centimetres, and from tip to root 4.3 ; allowing in both cases for the damaged tip, and measuring to the intersection of the outlines which are preserved. The nostrils are but slightly expanded : the outline from bridge to lobe being even slightly convex : and the outer margin of the nostrils came originally almost as low as the inner. The space from nose to lip must have been considerable, as nearly 1 centimetre width is preserved, with very slight outward curvature at its lower edge. All these

points combine to separate this figurine from all the orientalising schools, and to make it probable that we are dealing with a *chef-d'œuvre* of approximately the same date and style as the rest of the objects in clay γ .

9.—ANIMALS AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

By far the most frequent figurines on the site are representations of animals. These fall into two main divisions; (1) large figures of oxen, preserved only in fragments; and (2) miniature figures of various domestic and other animals in a 'snow man' style, ranging from 3 to 7 centimetres in length.

Of the large oxen, only horns [81] and legs [82] were found, and one or two fragments of hind-quarters. The horns ranged from 12.5 to 5 centimetres in length, and were all of the same slightly curved and twisted type as those of the modern Cretan cattle; they had been moulded separately, and attached imperfectly to the head. The legs also had been moulded separately, and very ill attached to the trunk: with the exception of one doubtful example of 13 centimetres length by 7 centimetres greatest breadth, their dimensions ranged from 13 centimetres to 6 centimetres from hoof to the junction with the body; and from 6 centimetres to 3.5 centimetres diameter at the latter point. All fabrics are represented; but the largest specimens are in clay γ , and the best modelled, which were of about medium size, are in a variety of clay α , with black surface, white hoofs, and in one case a white rosette on the outer surface of the leg. Another well-marked variety, of rather slenderer proportions, is executed in clay β , and covered with a white surface. Detached legs of oxen, apparently modelled singly like the human legs above mentioned, were found occasionally; but the majority of the legs were broken from figures of whole oxen.

The almost complete absence of the bodies of the oxen may perhaps be accounted for by periodical removal of the larger and less recognisable fragments from the place of deposit: the horns and legs of oxen thus constructed would be among the first fragments to become detached, especially if they were exposed, as is probable, to heat in a sacrificial fire; and without these appendages the trunks would not be easily recognised, in the ash-heap, as objects of any use or value. Search was made in the neighbourhood of the shrine for traces of a rubbish-heap of such bodies;

and subsequently Mr. Bosanquet found fragments of such bodies below the rocks immediately on the north side of the site.¹

The miniature animals vary in detail, between easily recognisable types. Oxen, with horns either straight or curved, were the commonest [53]; *agrimi*, goats [58] and rams [54] were recognisable by their horns; swine [57] by their bristly crest; and dogs [55] by their prick-ears, long slim body, upturned tail, and legs extended fore and aft as in running [55]. Another animal [56], with long neck and tail, pointed nose, prick-ears, and a peculiar kink in the body, was variously identified by the workmen as cat, fox, or weasel.² Another group seemed to represent a crouching hare, with three variants; one ([60] 5.5 cm. long) in which the ears are united in a long backward curving horn; one ([63] 3 cm. long) in which the ears are diminished to a small pellet on the back of the neck, while the body has three longitudinal furrows; and a third, in clay γ , and of larger size (8.5 cm. long [62]) and hollow, in which six incised lines radiate from a point behind the shoulders, and two short lines cross the top of the head. The head has a short broken horn, and the hind foot is punctured as if to indicate digits: the snout is slightly upturned. I am not quite sure whether this³ may not perhaps be a hedgehog (*ἀγκαθόχοιρος*). Tortoises are represented by several quite recognisable examples [61]. Birds occurred rarely [59], of the common votive type with outspread wings and three short feet; one of them had the wings reduced or closed; and another, in clay α , has good black surface, and traces of white paint. A few of the quadrupeds also shewed traces of black or white surface; and one goat was painted, the front half in red, the hind quarters in white. One or two variants occurred, such as a crouching pig without legs (3 cm. long), and a recumbent calf [72], modelled rudely but with some spirit, on the lower side of which were traces of two strap-like supports. Probably this calf has been detached

¹ It is perhaps worth noting that an obscure fragment [76] bought at Palaikastro, and said to have been found formerly on the surface at Roussolakkos, turns out to be the ear of a similar ox of large size, excavated in clay, with black and white surface-paint, and a long nick or owner's mark indicated in relief down the lobe. Mr. Bosanquet has also found a complete ox of this type on a rock-brow near Epano Zakro, together with votive human legs of the kind described above.

² Probably the *ζουρίδα*, a polecat or stoat, the fur of which is in some demand in the towns now: or perhaps the smaller *καλογενοῦσα*, which Mr. Bosanquet tells me may be a weasel. The fox does not occur in Crete now.

³ And perhaps also the second type [62-3].

from a large human figure, which carried it as an offering in its arms : compare the series from Kamelarga¹ and numerous isolated examples.

10.—OTHER VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

That such figures, carrying offerings or attributes, were in use at Petsofâ is clear from the following further examples :—(1) a dish [64], on a high twisted foot of indeterminate form (3 cm. high), broken away below, and bearing three long loaves or other offerings on its upper surface.² The distortion of the foot is due, as in the Cypriote examples, to the mode of attachment : the offering being modelled separately, and plastered on to the front of the bearer.

(2) A scallop-edged plate [65], with a single loaf on it, and what appears to be a hand passing over the rim : broken away on the side which would be next to the body of the bearer, if the hand were the right hand.

(3) A miniature jug [68], with high neck and loop-handle, spout broken, and base distorted by attachment to a support.

(4) A larger and very rude example [67] of a similar offering, in clay, with a broken stalk below.

(5) Two wreath-like fillets [32-3], one with crossed ends, both in clay γ.³ These may be actually wreaths, as I suggested in the Cypriote instances ; but they may also very probably be dedicated girdles, like those in the Knossian deposit.⁴

(6) Several examples occurred [75] of deep conical cups from 6·5 to 5 cm. high, and from 5 to 3 cm. across the rim, which have likewise been distorted below by attachment to their bearers.⁵ One of them, in clay 3, has a good black surface ; two others shew traces of the brick-red.

(7) A very small and abbreviated rendering ([30] : 3·5 cm. high) of the human female type with peaked collar, in clay 3, with fine black surface and traces of white paint. The head is missing, and the body from the waist downwards is distorted by attachment to a smooth surface like that of the skirted figures already described (p. 368), part of the substance

¹ *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, p. 153 ff., esp. No. 5528, 5532 ; *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 166.

² Compare *C.M.C.* No. 5522-4, and *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 166, Fig. 15¹².

³ Cf. *C.M.C.* No. 5533-4, and *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 166, Fig. 15⁴.

⁴ For similar girdles see *Am. Journ. Arch.* vii. 406. Ζώνη ἀργυρᾶ, in a Plataean dedication ; and Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 74, 249, 252.

⁵ Cf. *C.M.C.* No. 5525-7 and *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 166, Fig. 15⁹⁻¹⁰.

of which has been squeezed up over the lower margins of this figure, to keep it in place. Traces of white paint on the rough back of this little figure shew that the figure which carried it was fully painted before the infant (as it appears to be) was attached; and the hands, raised and clasped in an attitude of adoration, complete the parallel with *C.M.C.* p. 153, No. 5520, cf. *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 167 (Ashmolean Museum), and 'bird-faced' figures from Mycenae¹ and elsewhere.

(8) A very much ruder figure [31], club-shaped, forked and fractured below, and ending above in a human face, with the disc-like male coiffure above described, seems to be of the same purpose. A narrow fillet of clay, preserved with it, was loosely attached, when it was found, to the right side of the head, explaining the absence of the right ear: this fillet, which became detached in transit to Palaikastro, represented the right arm of the infant, raised to the head in a familiar Aegean gesture. The still ruder figure [10] probably represents another male child.

(9) Another object [74] of uncertain use, in clay γ , was certainly attached to some support, and probably represents some votive offering. It consists of two fillets of clay 1 cm. thick, coiled into C-spirals, and set back to back with a small pellet in each angle of juncture. The whole measures 5 cm. along the junction, and 5.5 across the two C-spirals. The scar of attachment is clearly seen extending from one of the juncture pellets across one of the four spirals, over a space 3 cm. by .5 cm.

The only other objects which need record are:—

(10) A number of miniature vases 3–3.5 cm. high, all of the same deep-rimmed bowl-form [69–71], with one, two, or three small vertical handles, set about the greatest diameter of the body. Those which are whole shew no signs of attachment; and they are probably analogous to the miniature vases which occur copiously in one of the caves on Mt. Juktas, and in the 'altar of burnt offering' on the principal acropolis of Idalion.

(11) A very large number of small clay balls [66], from 2.5 to 1.5 cm. in diameter, well rounded, but without ornament or appendage of any kind.

(12) A rude representation [73], in clay γ , about 6 cm., of a tree of exactly the same kind as that which is so common in certain Cypriote sanctuaries, particularly at Soloi and Khytroi.² The present example, which

¹ Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1888 Pl. 9¹⁶. Compare also the references in Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 257.

² *C.M.C.* No. 5305–14; *K.B.H.* xl., xli., ccxv.

is about 6 cm. high, spreads out below into a standing base which has incrustation on the underside. It is, however, not clear whether it was an independent offering, or part of a larger group like the Cypriote ring-dances already quoted (p. 362).

(13) A small fragment, in clay *a*, of a flat plaque, 1 cm. thick, with a straight raised edge, 1 cm. high, on which remain apparently two hand-like appendages, which grasp the rim from the inner side. It seems to be a base of some kind, as the underside is rough; but whether the appendages are hands, or distorted feet, or merely parts of a chair or other superstructure, cannot be determined now.

(14) One or two small fragments seem to have represented implements of some kind; but their purpose is quite obscure.

II.—INTERPRETATION OF THE VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

Perhaps a word should be added as to the probable motives for so varied an accumulation of objects. That the deposit was of a votive purpose seems clear from the miniature scale of the figurines themselves, from their position in a single ash-layer, from the devotional gestures of the women, and from the character of the objects,—men, women, and cattle,—which formed by far the largest section of the offerings. Of the character and attributes of the deity, the collection tells us nothing; double-axes, serpents, and crosses, for example, are conspicuous by their absence; and the rarity of the tortoises (which might at first sight suggest an Aphrodite-cult), and the early date of the deposit, make it probable that these figures belong to the imprecatory, not to the symbolic group. The probability, also, that we have to do with the everyday costume, both of men and of women, suggests that the human figures represent not the deity but the votaries.

Neither human figures nor those of cattle need detailed comment: both are ubiquitous on sacred sites, in the Aegean and elsewhere: and both are offered for a variety of purposes to secure the divine protection, whether burned or merely deposited in the sacred place; and also, when burned or 'passed through the fire,' to purify or to effect a counter-charm.¹

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² iii. 265 ff. 320. Kolben, *State of the Cape*, i. 129. Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 80.

The limbs, too, and the furniture, miniature vases, and articles of dress, are commonplaces of dedicatory ritual.¹ The animals carried, as some of the fragments shew, by human votaries are more probably offerings than symbols; especially in view of the analogy *e.g.* of the Kamelarga series in Cyprus already quoted; and of the association, in both cases, of offerings of food and drink with the offerings of whole animals.

Only three groups, therefore, offer any real difficulty: the bisected human figures, the offerings of wild animals, especially of vermin, and the aniconic spheres. (1) Several examples occurred of ordinary male figures quite naked (*i.e.* without foot-stand or loin-cloth²) and bisected from crown to groin by a clean cut [35]. These are susceptible of more than one interpretation. They may have been attempts to exhibit more exactly the seat of internal disease; and in that case would fall into line with the detached arms, legs, and other parts of the body. Or they may refer to some such sacrificial rite as the 'Sawing the Old Woman' which Dr. Frazer has discussed at length,³ especially connected, as this is, with magical attempts to secure 'good luck' for the survivors and their belongings. If, however, any such ritual had been in question, even annually, one would have expected something more than a rare variant: and I incline to the first interpretation above.

(2) The dedication of wild animals usually comes about as a 'first-fruit' of the chase;⁴ and the frequent occurrence of dogs at Petsofà gives colour to this interpretation of the second class of figures. But the absence of the larger kinds of game, and particularly of the Cretan *agrimi*, puts it almost out of court; and the consideration that the commonest non-domestic animal at Petsofà is the weasel or some such definitely *noxious* animal, and that the hedgehog also is in widespread evil repute among pastoral peoples on the charge of 'sucking the cows,' suggests rather that these vermin are offered by way of imprecation, or out of gratitude for deliverance from their ravages. Compare the Hellenic mouse-cult in the Troad,⁵ and the mice and snakes in Palestine.⁶ Actual cases of analogous vermin-offerings are

¹ Instances in Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 211 ff. (limbs), p. 301 (vessels, wreaths), p. 249 (dress). Evans, *B.S.A.* ix. p. 83 (dresses).

² One of them, however, shews a loin-cloth after being more carefully cleaned; so Mr. Bosanquet writes.

³ *Golden Bough*,² ii. 86.

⁴ Rouse, *G.V.O.* p. 50, and the bronze hare, p. 68, Fig. 9.

⁵ Paus. x. 12, 5.

⁶ I *Samuel* 6, 5; *Numbers* 21, 9; cf. Rouse *G.V.O.* 42, n. 4.

the rabbit,¹ the bronze mice from Palestine,² and the bronze beetle (or is it a six-legged tortoise?) from Olympia;³ and close parallels are afforded by the numerous Hellenic instances of shrines at which various animals were burnt, and where no kind of offering came amiss,⁴ and also by the many ceremonies in other parts of Europe in which wild (by preference but not necessarily) noxious animals are sacrificed to propitiate or to avert evil;⁵ and especially as a charm against witchcraft.⁶ The exact significance of individual offerings can hardly be ascertained in such a case as this; but the coroplast, like Nature, οὐδὲν ποιεῖ μάτην.

(3) The same applies to the merely spherical offerings [66]. The custom of throwing pebbles, pellets, and missiles of various kinds either into bonfires or into sacred places or *at* a cult-object is very widespread,⁷ and easily intelligible. Its least obscure form is the common Buddhist ritual of writing a petition on a slip of paper, rolling or chewing this into a pellet, and throwing or spitting it at the cult-image; if the pellet sticks, the prayer is heard. And there are in any case so many favours which might be asked, or benefits to be acknowledged, which do not lend themselves to iconic treatment, that it is not at all surprising to find such pellets, in a fire-proof material, associated with so omnivorous a bonfire as that of Petsofâ.

12.—AEGEAN WOMEN'S-DRESS, AND ITS AFFINITIES.

The remarkable analogies presented by Aegean female costume—outlined long since on objects from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, and revealed in detail by the Knossian deposit and the series from Petsofâ—with the tight-fitting bodice and gathered skirt of mediaeval and modern

¹ *Am.* xix. 171, cf. Rouse, p. 301.

² M. Thomas, *Two Years in Palestine*, p. 6; Rouse, p. 190, n. 8; cf. I *Samuel* vi. 4-5: the last-named particularly interesting, as it occurs in conjunction with representation of disease, as at Petsofâ, and in one of the best authenticated areas of Early Aegean colonisation.

³ *Bronzen von Olympia*, xiii. 213; Rouse, p. 299.

⁴ Paus. 4, 31, 9; 7, 18, 12; Rouse, p. 298.

⁵ Frazer, *Golden Bough*,² iii. 324 (fox-cat-squirrel, snake): N. W. Thomas, *Folklore*, xi. p. 247 ff. esp. p. 255 (weasels), 256 (badgers), 261 (ritual cakes in shape of cockchafers).

⁶ Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube*, p. 185; *Globus*, xxviii, p. 151. These and many of the previous and subsequent references I owe to the learned help of Mr. N. W. Thomas.

⁷ Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, i. 176, ii. 186, 197; *L'Anthropologie*, viii. 482; *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1885, p. 152; *Les Missions Catholiques*, 1900, p. 54; Erman, *Archiv. f. Anthropologie*, xii. 323, xix. 386; Kralchenimichow, *Hist. de Kamtchatka*, i. 94; Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, i. 142; Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger*, p. 142; *Antananarivo Annual*, iii. 456.

Europe, challenges more detailed examination than the limits of this paper allow ; but a brief summary of the problem as it presents itself now is perhaps permissible here.

The *skirt*, suspended from the waist and gathered there into a tight waistband, and the *bodice*, sleeved or sleeveless, and more or less completely open from the neck to the waist, have a very long history on European soil ; at least as long a history as the open-sided 'Doric chiton' in North Africa, or the full-length sleeved 'Ionic chiton,' and its open-fronted 'dressing-gown' counterpart, in Hither Asia. The evidence for this long history is threefold.

(1) In all the more inaccessible regions of Central Europe, and especially along the Alpine barrier, survives a series of peasant-costumes, which, however they may differ in detail, are fundamentally identical in type. They all include the full tight-waisted skirt, and the open-fronted bodice ; and wherever underclothing of the Oriental linen type has established itself as part of the costume, the bodice has become low-necked in front, and either sleeveless or open-sleeved, so as to exhibit as much as possible of the linen-wear.

(2) If this costume were confined to the highlands of Alpine Europe, it would not of necessity be of ancient descent : but in fact a similar series appears almost universally in the long-isolated highlands, netherlands, and islands of Western Europe ; in the Pyrenees, in Brittany, in Wales and Scotland, in the Low Countries, and in Scandinavia : from which it may be inferred that the costume goes back to a time when these western regions of survival enjoyed a common culture with the Alpine regions ; and this time is clearly very remote, and certainly anterior to the great series of lowland migrations which make up the pre-history of the European peninsula from the Bronze Age onwards.

(3) Certain monuments, of various early though uncertain dates, give rude representations of bodice-and-skirt costumes which are essentially similar to the type : *e.g.* the figurine from Kličevac in Servia,¹ the stele from Körösbanya in Siebenburgen,² the incised representations on the black polished vases from tumuli at Oedenburg.³

(4) One actual example of the costume in question has survived from the Early Bronze Age of Denmark ; namely the bodice and skirt from the

¹ Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der Kunst.*, Pl. IV.

² Hoernes, *l.c.*, p. 218, Fig. 48-50.

³ Hoernes, *l.c.*, Pl. XXVIII.-XXXI.

tumulus of Borum-Eshöi : and a comparison of the dressmaker's diagram for this bodice with that for the Cretan bodice shews at once how faithfully the type persists from end to end of its area of distribution. The only difference, in fact, is that whereas in Denmark the neck is inserted through a slit in the cloth, so that the breast is fully covered, as befits a cold climate and linenless culture, in Crete, which is southerly, warmer, and in sea-communication with an immemorial linen-centre in Egypt, the neck flap is cut clean away over each shoulder, and by standing up behind the head when the garment is made up, gives rise to the characteristic Cretan collar which reveals itself thus as an instructive survival of a very primitive expedient of the dress-maker.

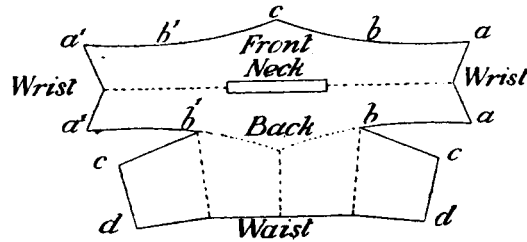


FIG. 3.—DIAGRAM FOR BODICE ; BORUM-ESHÖI.

(After Sophus Müller, *Aarbøger f. nord. Oldk.*, 1891, and *Nordische Alterthümkunde*, 1897, p. 272, Fig. 135.)

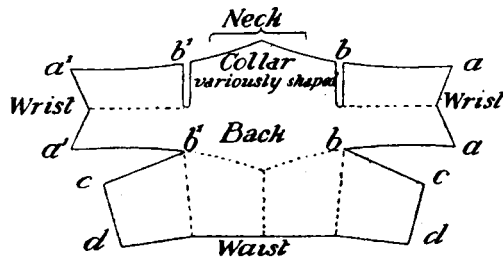


FIG. 4.—DIAGRAM FOR BODICE ; CRETE.

(Inferred from the costume of the faience and terracotta figures.)

Description of the Figures.

In both cases the garment is formed by folding a single piece of cloth, shaped as shewn, along the dotted lines : so that the points *aa*, *bb*, *cc* (and so forth) are respectively superimposed ; and sewing it together along the edges which then will be in contact. The experiment can easily be made with a piece of note-paper, joined with paper-clips or strips of gummed paper.

Under these circumstances, the new data contributed by the Aegean finds are two. *Firstly*, the evidence from Mycenae shews that the bodice-and-skirt costume was in vogue over a prolongation of the Alpine region far further south-eastward than there was any reason previously to suspect: into an area, in fact, the oldest *historical* costume of which, the 'Doric chiton' of Herodotus,¹ was not an *ἔνδυμα* but an *ἀμφίβλημα*, and was of a type which has its survivals only on the *southern* coastlands of the Mediterranean, in the uniform costume of the peasant-women from Morocco to Egypt. *Secondly*, the evidence from Crete not only puts back the vogue of this costume to a far earlier date than the examples from Mycenae would indicate; but also, thanks to the remoteness of Crete and the marked originality of its Minōan culture, justifies the same inference which was drawn above from the remote and long-isolated areas of Northern and Western Europe: namely, that the analogies between primitive Aegean and primitive European costumes may fairly be inferred to result rather from a very ancient community of culture, than from any recent intrusion, cultural or political, on either side of the comparison. Crete, in fact, stands out once more—as neolithic Knossos would seem already to suggest,—as an outpost, eastwards, of chalcolithic, if not of neolithic Europe.

From this conclusion it would seem to result that the rare monuments of early female costume in the intervening and adjacent areas must be subjected to fresh review. In particular, the occurrence, on one of the clay 'idols' from Hissarlik,² of neck line and waist line, connected by a vertical line down the front of the body, would seem to result, probably, from an attempt to render the main outlines of just such a jacket-bodice as has been described: and then the well-known 'idol' with the 'cross-over' costume³ would fall into its place in the series.

It will also be necessary to reconsider the prevalent opinion that the female figures from the Thracian tumuli and from the megalithic monuments of Malta are intended to be represented as nude, and as steatopygous⁴: for one of the Thracian figures has elaborate surface ornamentation (usually described as tattoo marks), and one of the Maltese

¹ ἐπεὶ ἢ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθῆς πᾶσα ἢ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἢ αὐτὴ ἦν <καὶ> τὴν νῦν Δωρίδα καλούμεν, Hdt. v. 88.

² Perrot-Chipiez vi., Fig. 337.

³ *Ilios*, Fig. 193-4.

⁴ *E.g.* Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der Kunst*, p. 208.

ones¹ has a well-marked horizontal subdivision about the level of the knees, which can hardly be anything but a fold or flounce of a skirt. It may even be questioned whether the so-called 'steatopygia' of these figures may not be partly due to the attempt to render the voluminous skirts of a sitting figure: compare, for example, the attitude of the seated and skirted ladies in the Knossian miniature-frescoes with that of the majority of the Maltese figures.²

How long did the Aegean retain the bodice-and-skirt costume of the Minōan and Mycenaean Ages? The 'bird-faced' idols of Mycenae, Tiryns, and other Mycenaean sites on the mainland of Greece, stand clearly enough on the upper side of the line; for the scheme of the painted ornament differs, almost universally, on the skirt, and above the waist; and the two regions are usually separated by a well-marked belt. The case is less clear in regard to the monuments of the next period; the women on the Dipylon vases, and on the similar vases from Amyclae, retain the distinction of tints, and have a thoroughly Mycenaean waist-curve; some of the Boeotian figurines, with their reminiscences of the Mycenaean hat, preserve, in spite of their lack of 'waist,' a differentiation of ornament which recalls the treatment of the Mycenaean 'bird-faced' type; and a similar decorative tradition runs far down into early Hellenic vase-painting, and gives rise to manifold confusion there. It is difficult, for example, to believe, in spite of the long and perplexing series of intermediates, that the women on the engraved cuirass from Olympia³ are not intended to be represented in bodices and skirts, defined at the junction by a tight-fitting belt of the ancient type: and in the case of the very remarkable series of leaden votive figures from the 'Menelaion' in Laconia,⁴ the balance of evidence certainly seems to incline to the view now suggested: yet the male figures of the same series wear regular hoplite armour, and can hardly be of earlier date than the seventh or eighth century.

On the literary side, similarly, the current views may well need drastic revision; now that Studniczka's comment on the *στήθρα ἰμερόεντα*

¹ Perrot-Chipiez iii., Fig. 231.

² Perrot-Chipiez iii., Fig. 230. I have had occasion to discuss this attitude in another connection elsewhere. *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxx. p. 252 ff.

³ *Bronzen*, Pl. LVIII.

⁴ *A.Z.*, 1854, p. 217, Pl. 65. Studniczka, *Tracht*, p. 32. I hope before long to return more in detail to this remarkable series.

of the Homeric¹ Aphrodite has found so marked endorsement in the Knossian deposit. Finally, if the old Aegean dress can be traced surviving, locally at all events, on into the very twilight of Hellenism, what is its relation to that long series of modern peasant costumes in the Cyclades and in Crete, which, evading the taint of the Anatolian (and eventually Mohammedan) dressing-gown costume of the 'Albanian' area, still retain the full tightly-gathered skirt, and the tight-laced, often sleeveless, and always open-fronted jacket-bodice of the primitive European type?² If in Karpathos, for example, the 'Ionic chiton' could last on, within living memory, as the costume of the women, unqualified, it hardly seems impossible that in remoter Crete a costume should have survived, similarly unqualified down to Tournefort's time, and merely coupled with Turkish underwear in Pashley's,³ and our own, which was still, we may suppose, in vogue in the island when the Ionic chiton was still 'the last new thing' in Karpathos; and which had, besides, the advantage of immemorial antiquity behind it.⁴

The same argument can be constructed in regard to the fanlike Minōan headdress of Petsofà: the principal data being the fanlike headdresses associated with the bodice-and-skirt peasant costumes, from the Tyrol to Brittany and Scandinavia; and in modern Greece the wonderful headgear of the costumes of Corfu and Amorgos.

J. L. MYRES.

¹ Studniczka, *Tracht*, p. 33. *Iliad*, 3, 396. The *κεστός* girdle of Homeric costume is another case in point, now that we have the tight-waisted costume and the votive girdles to compare with it.

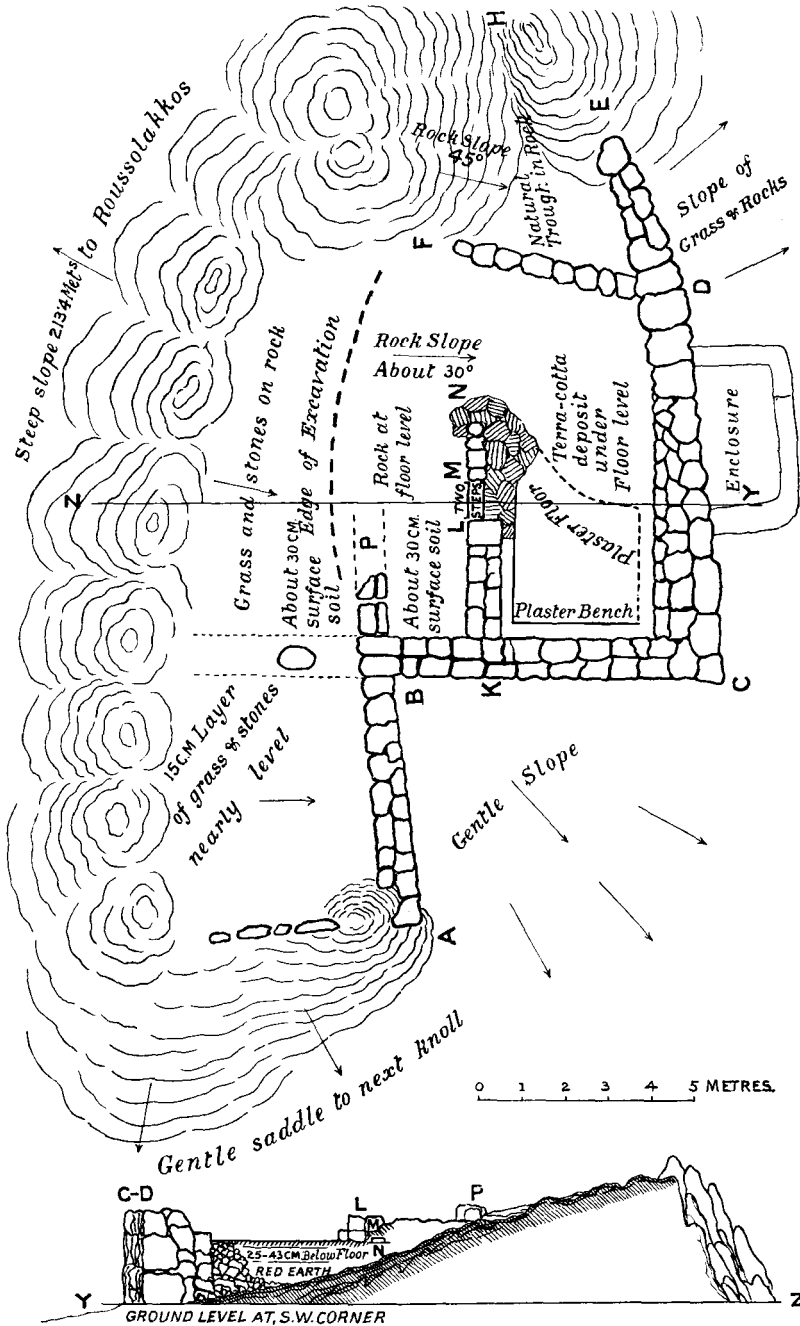
² E.g. von Hahn, *Griechische u. Albanesische Märchen*, vol. i. Frontispiece. The frontispiece of vol. ii. gives examples of the Albanian or dressing-gown type.

³ Pashley, *Travels in Crete* ii. p. 195-6; with woodcut and extract from Tournefort.

⁴ Note that in Kalymnos and its modern colonies, and I think also in Kos, the 'Ionic chiton' or 'night-gown'-type has the Anatolian 'dressing-gown' simply superimposed: and the same combination is shewn more than once in von Hahn's Frontispiece to vol. i.

Note to p. 364.

In a letter received since this paper was in type, Mr. Dawkins suggests to me that what I have described as a 'loin-cloth' may be a 'Bantu sheath' of the type which is familiar on sculptured and modelled figures of Predynastic style in Egypt.

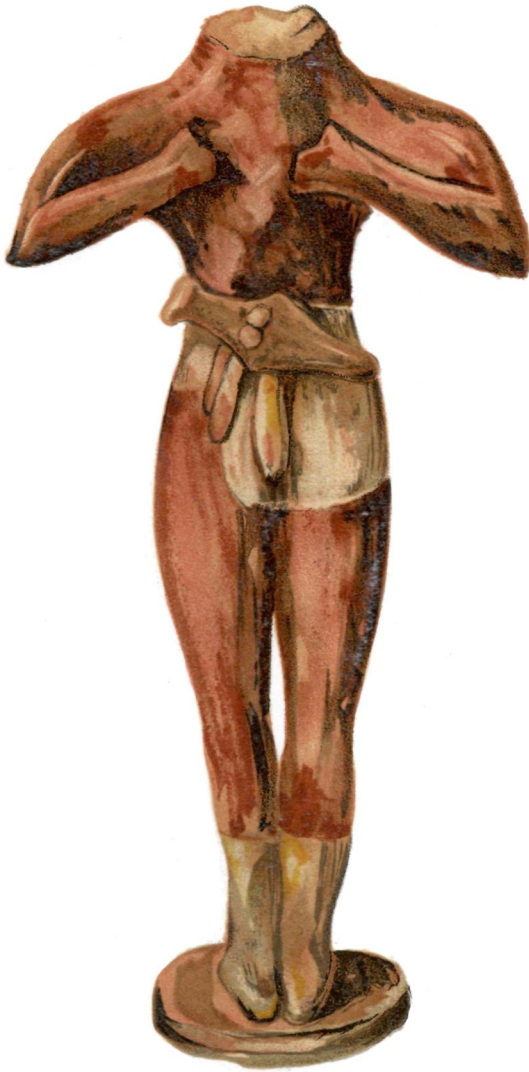


PLAN AND SECTION OF EXCAVATION AT PETSOFÀ.



VOTIVE TERRACOTTAS FROM PETSOFÀ: FEMALE TYPE.

(Reconstituted from the series in the Candia Museum by R. M. Dawkins. Full size.)

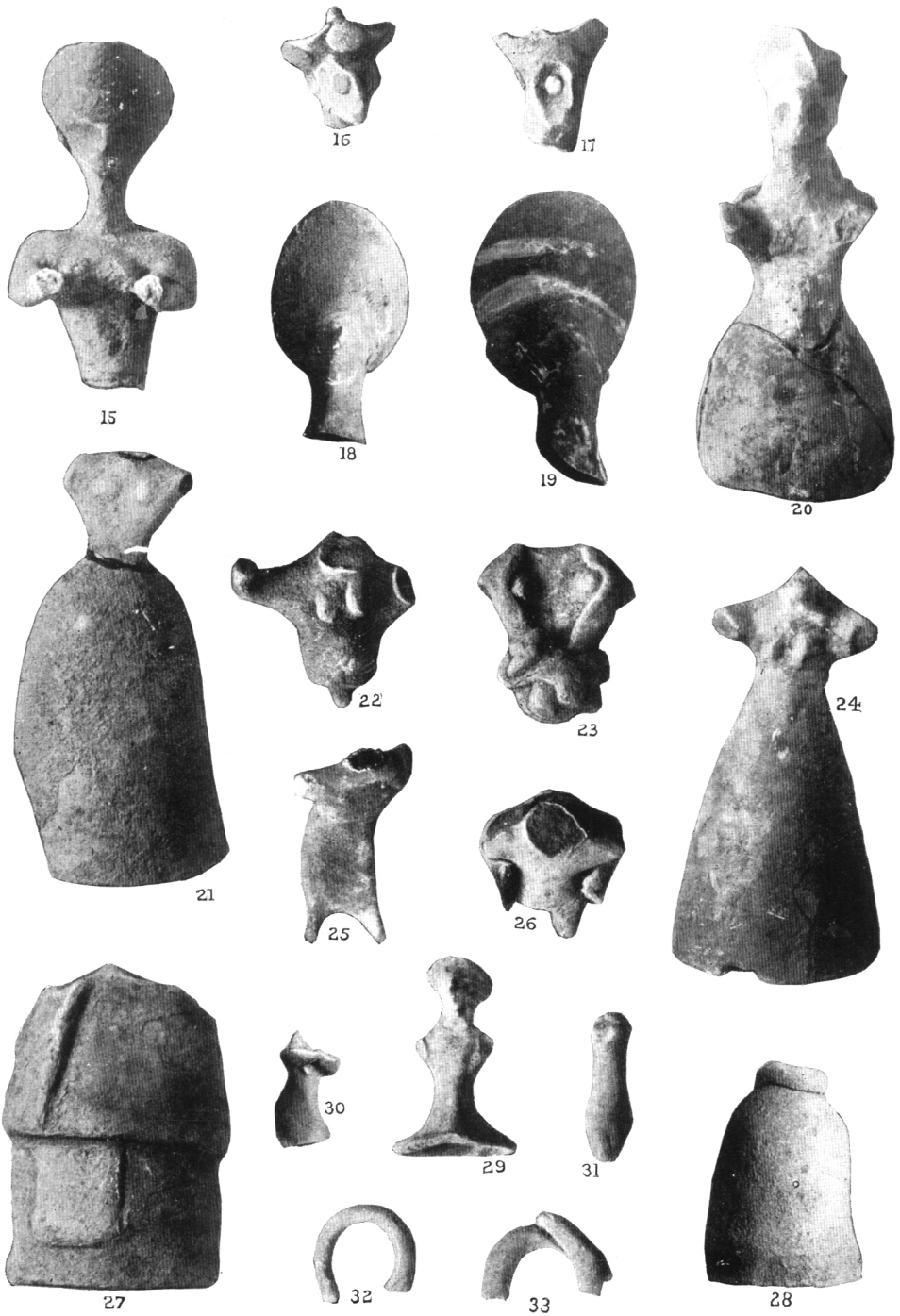


VOTIVE TERRACOTTAS FROM PETSOFA: MALE TYPE.

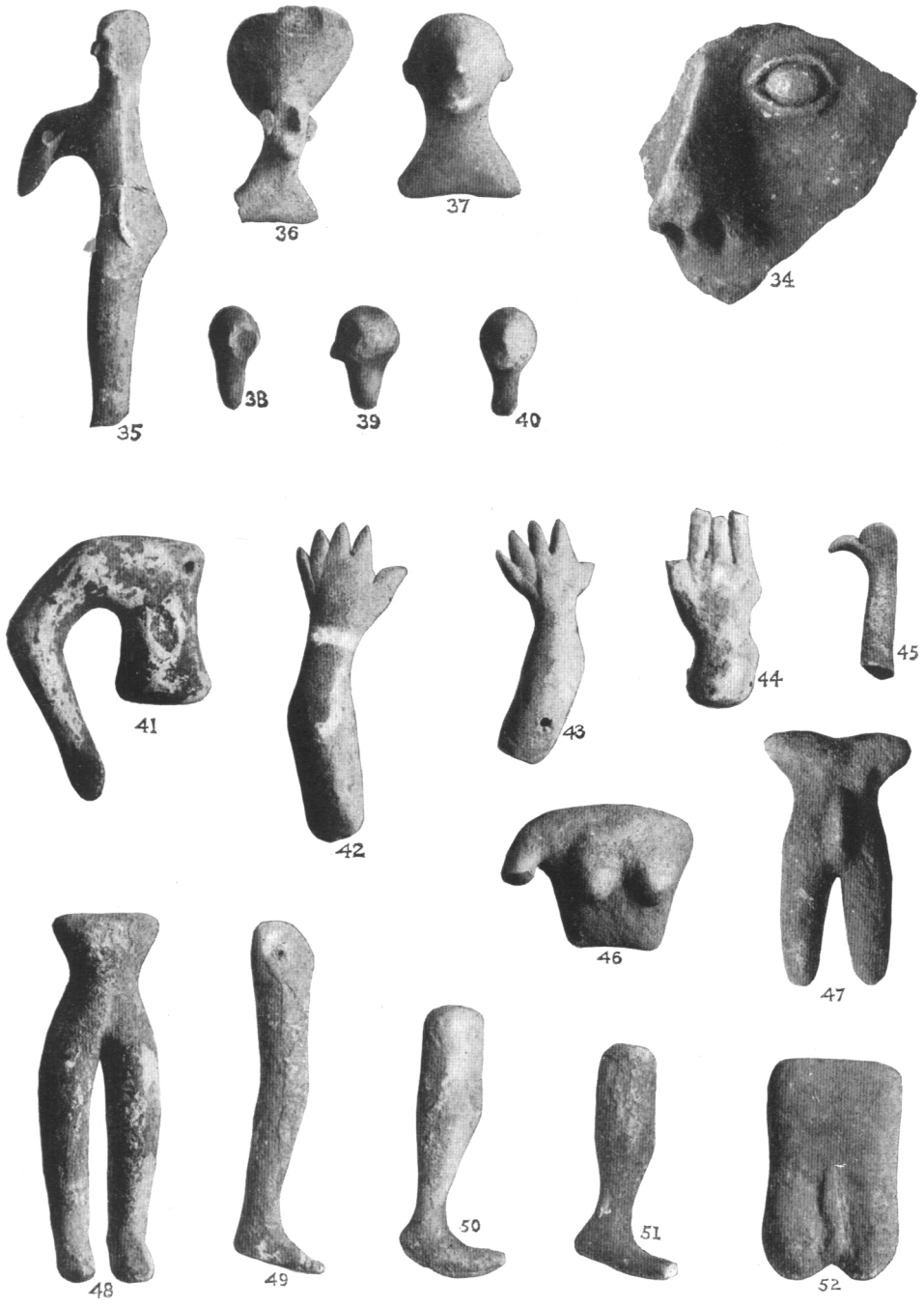
(Drawn from an example in the Candia Museum by R. M. Dawkins. Full size.)



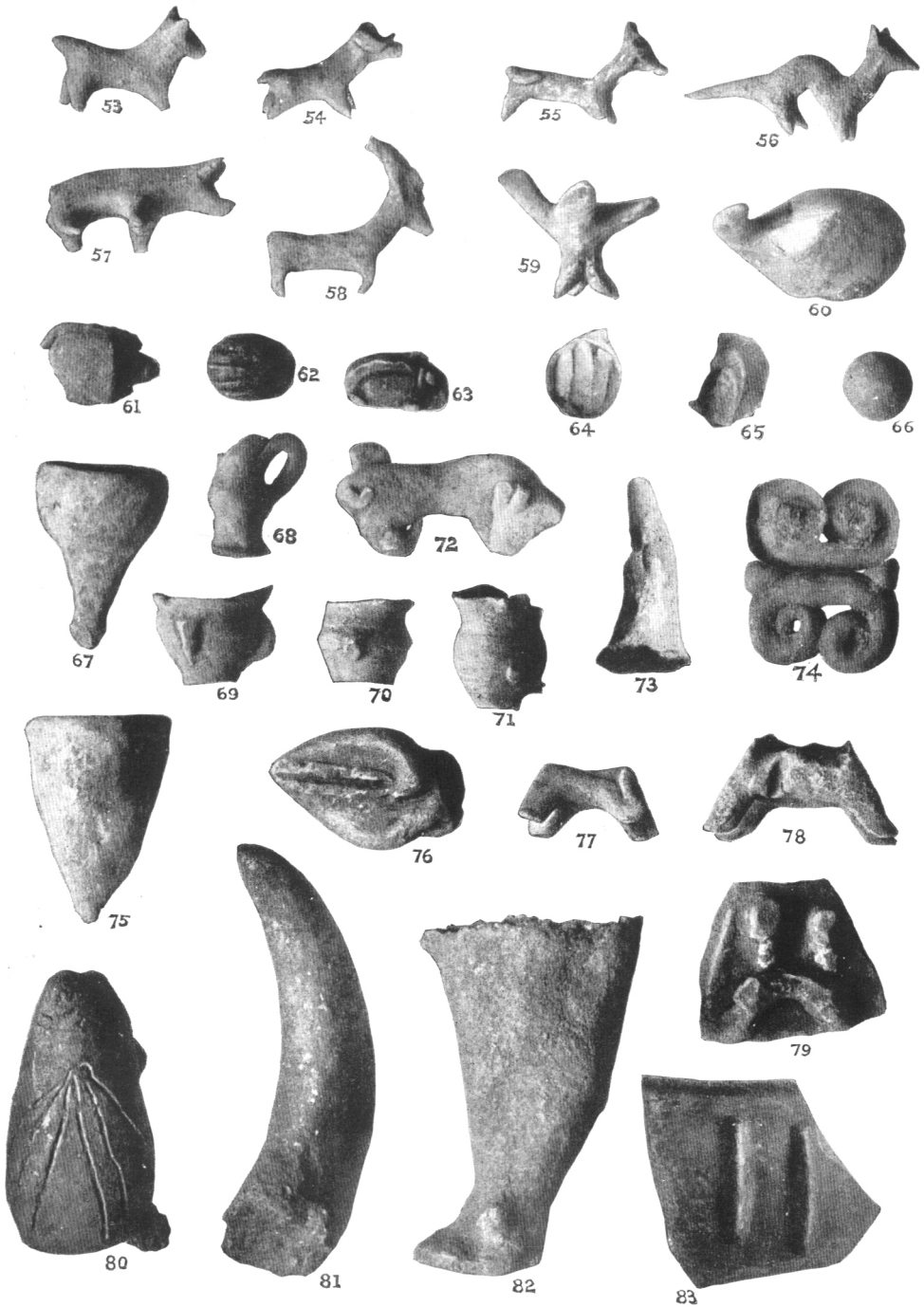
TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM PETSOFA: I. MEN.



TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM PETSOFA: II. WOMEN.



TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM PETSOFA : III. VOTIVE LIMBS.



TERRACOTTA FIGURES FROM PETSOFA: IV. ANIMALS, VESSELS, &C.