

THE RAM IN CULTIC CONTEXTS?

Among the rhyta found in the Agia Aikaterini Square in Khania, a single one distinguishes itself from the rest. It is very fragmentarily preserved, but enough is left to reveal that it belongs to the head of an animal (Pl. XCVIIa-d). We have part of the upper head with a complete right ear, the beginnings of two horns, part of one eye in the form of a projecting knob and in addition one non-joining sherd from a small opening, maybe deriving from the top of the vessel. The pierced horns are separately made with projecting knobs which are fitted into two openings made in the head. Three small holes pass through the solid clay at the base of the horn. The head cannot belong to the most common type of animal's head rhyta - the bull. The horns are bending downwards and the lower part of the right ear is somewhat flattened, revealing that they closely followed the side of the head in front of the ears.¹ Thus the shape of the horns indicates that the head may belong to an ovicaprid, a goat or perhaps a ram. The rhyton, which is unique in the excavation, is made in the Local Kydonian Workshop² and the four joining fragments were found in two closely related contexts in the large Rubbish Area North: Both contexts are of LM IIIB:2 date.³

Rhyta in the shape of an animal's head⁴ appear in the Old Palace period. The oldest rhyta are made of clay but in the Neopalatial period they also appear in such stone materials as steatite, chlorite, and marble. By far the most common animal represented is the bull, followed by calves, lions and hornless animals like pigs and boars.⁵ In LM II/III Crete the heads are again mainly made of clay and compared to the previous periods, animal's head rhyta became very rare, only four examples being, to my knowledge, so far mentioned, three of which are bull's heads.⁶ During this period a handle was added on the upper part of the neck. A bull's head, dated to LM II, was found in the Little Palace at Knossos,⁷ another in an LM IIIB storeroom at Palaikastro⁸ and a third is reported from an LM IIIB well at Katsambas.⁹ The

1 The horns are covered with paint on the top (upper) part, the ear is outlined with a band along its edges, a band is encircling the base of the horns and the ear. Below the base of the horns a curved band is probably followed by a wavy band. The eye is marked with a solid circle surrounded by a semicircle and further circles. The fragments have the excavation numbers 84-P 1733 (+73-P 0701/0704/1096) and are kept in Khania Museum. I am grateful to Geoffrey Bibby who revised my English text.

2 I. TZEDAKIS, "L'atelier de céramique Postpalatiale à Kydōnia," *BCH* 93 (1969) 396-418.

3 For the context see E. HALLAGER, this volume. The rhyton will be published in *GSE* III (forthcoming).

4 Here I will only discuss rhyta in form of an animal's head. And I stick to the strict definition of a rhyton: a vessel with a hole at the top and another at the bottom, the one for filling, the other for draining, ie. a vessel similar in function to a funnel; R.B. KOEHL, "The Functions of Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta," in *Sanctuaries and Cults* 179; P.P. BETANCOURT, *The History of Minoan Pottery* (1985) 100; G.C. GESELL, *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete* (1985) 3-4.

5 GESELL (*supra* n. 4) 15; 33 with references; P. REHAK, "The use and destruction of Minoan stone bull's head rhyta," in *POLITEIA* 435-459.

6 Maybe another bull's head can be added to the list. It was found in Room A20 at Gournia and has the characteristic handle of the LM III rhyta, (H. BOYD-HAWES, *Gournia, Vasiliki and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete* [1908] Pl. XI 20; V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Nouveaux documents pour l'étude du Bronze récent à Chypre* [1965] 230) but as it is reconstructed out of small pieces and wrongly restored (personal communication with Phil Betancourt) I have kept it out of this context. Fragments of a head in serpentine found in the Tomb of the Double Axes is dated LM II-LM IIIA; GESELL (*supra* n. 4) 100.

7 *PM* II, 538-539 and fig. 342a; BETANCOURT (*supra* n. 4) 154 and Pl. 23D.

8 J.A. MACGILLIVRAY *et al.*, "Excavations at Palaikastro 1991," *BSA* 87 (1992) 140 and fig. 19; H. SACKETT, "A bull's head rhyton from Palaikastro," in *Minotaur and Centaur: Studies in the archaeology of Crete and Euboea presented to Mervyn Popham* (1996) 51-58.

9 *Her. Mus.* 10873; A. KANTA, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete. A Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution* (1980) 29.

fourth rhyton was among the grave gifts placed below a larnax in a tomb at Ligortino in southern Crete. It depicts an animal with very short horns, maybe a calf's head and this is also dated to LM IIIB.¹⁰

Our head is thus, in the chronological sequence, so far the latest evidence for the shape in Crete and there are no parallels on the island for the animal depicted. Unfortunately its badly preserved state cannot for certain reveal if it belonged to the old Cretan type with a neck ending in a flat disc.¹¹ Looking at the larger Aegean area, we find a few animal's head rhyta of LH III date but the shape is somewhat different. The neck part is gone and they have a wide opening at the top of the head, either with a low or a high rim, and a vertical handle close to it. The ones from the mainland are unfortunately without contexts;¹² a hornless animal interpreted as a fox or a dog probably found at Tiryns is now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford¹³ and another from Mycenae in Brussels.¹⁴ A bull's head rhyton, dated to LM IIIA:2, was found in a tomb on the island of Karpathos,¹⁵ and it is considered to derive "possibly from the same workshop" as the one from Palaikastro mentioned above.¹⁶ Bull's head rhyta of a third type, with close affinities in Cyprus, come from tombs in Rhodes,¹⁷ on Cyprus at least one bull's head rhyton has connections to the mainland shape,¹⁸ and finally there are four from Ras Shamra/Ugarit, probably depicting goats.¹⁹

Only one rhyton depicts a ram. It was found in a settlement site on Naxos and it is dated to an advanced stage of LH III. When it was published in the late 1960's it was declared to be "unique in this form".²⁰ This is so far the only obvious parallel to our vessel in Khania and it is interesting to note that both are found in rather late Bronze Age contexts.

Animal's head rhyta seem to have been precious and rare vessels in LM II/III. They are found in settlements (storerooms and wells) and in tombs. They were precious enough to

- 10 K. MAVRIYANNAKI, "Ευρήματα της ΥΜ ΙΙΙ περιόδου εκ Λιγορτίνου Μονοφατσίου εις το μουσείον τοῦ Λοῦβρου," *ArchEph* (1974) 47 and Pin. 18-19a; for dating see KANTA (*supra* n. 9) 84.
- 11 If the fragment with a small opening, mentioned above, does belong to the top part of the vessel, then it does belong to the Old Cretan type, like the ones from the Little Palace and Ligortino - but the fragment is very small and could as well belong to the hole at the edge of the muzzle.
- 12 See, however, E. KONSOLAKI-YANNOPOULOU, this volume, who presented a rhyton of LH IIIA date found in a LH IIIB context at Methona.
- 13 J. de MOT, "Vases égéens en forme d'animaux," *RA* (1904) 215-216 and fig. 4; G. KARO, "Minoische Rhyta," *JdI* 26 (1911) 262; C. DOUMAS, "A Mycenaean Rhyton from Naxos," *AA* (1968) 384 and fig. 19.
- 14 de MOT (*supra* n. 13) 216-217 and fig. 5-7 (a dog's head); KARO (*supra* n. 13) 262.
- 15 Now in British Museum; E.M. MELAS, *The islands of Karpathos, Saros and Kasos in the Neolithic and Bronze Age* (1985) 78 (no 1268) Pls. 42 and 107; KARO (*supra* n. 13) 259; de MOT (*supra* n. 13) 215; DOUMAS (*supra* n. 13) 383 and fig. 10.
- 16 SACKETT (*supra* n. 8) 54.
- 17 KARO (*supra* n. 13) 259-261 and Abb. 11 and 12; DOUMAS (*supra* n. 13) 382-383 and Figs. 6-8. Compare a similar type of rhyton with broad base and a side-handle from Cyprus, here a hedgehog, KARAGEORGHIS (*supra* n. 6) 225 and fig 52/1, Pl. XXI, 1-2. Another bull's head rhyton, which seems to belong to this type, is reported to have been found in Attica: D. van BOTHMER, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections. Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, December 17 1959-February 28 1960* (1961) 22-23 and Pl. 30.
- 18 From Tomb 67 at Enkomi, now in British Museum, A.S. MURRAY *et al.*, *Excavations in Cyprus* (1900) 37, fig. 65 (no. 1077); KARAGEORGHIS (*supra* n. 6) 225 and Pl. XXI, 3-4; DOUMAS (*supra* n. 13) 383 and Figs. 11-12.
- 19 C.F.A. SCHAEFFER, *Ugaritica II, Mission de Ras Shamra Tome V* (1949) 220 and fig. 92; 222 and fig. 93:2-3; 5-7; KARAGEORGHIS (*supra* n. 6) 226; DOUMAS (*supra* n. 13) 382-383 and figs. 13-18. - At Ras Shamra and Minet-el-Beida we have also several animal askoid rhyta in the shape of hedgehogs and a fish which have parallels in Cyprus, Prosymna and Tiryns. SCHAEFFER (*op. cit.*) 152 and fig. 58A, 58:4; 222 and fig. 93:4; KARAGEORGHIS (*supra* n. 6) 225 and fig. 52/2 and id. 228-229. Faience vessels from Cyprus in the shape of the head of a ram and of a horse are claimed to be rhyta but as they seem to lack the hole/outlet at the bottom, they are rather to be interpreted as drinking cups. MURRAY (*supra* n. 18) Fig. 61 (No 1212); Figs. 62 (No 1217) and Pl. III; de MOT (*supra* n. 13) 216; KARO (*supra* n. 13) 261. Another ram's head in faience was on board the Ulu Burun shipwreck: G.F. BASS *et al.*, "The Bronze Age Shipwreck at Ulu Burun: 1986 Campaign," *AJA* 93 (1989) 8 and fig. 12.
- 20 DOUMAS (*supra* n. 13).

be mentioned in the Linear B tablets and they are recorded among the tributary gifts given to Egyptian dignitaries.²¹ It has often been supposed that they were used in rituals, being “appropriate vessels for libations in connection with sacrifice”²² but their religious character is not strongly confirmed²³ and other functions cannot be discounted.²⁴ Nilsson concluded that “nothing shows that they were especially sacred, but on the other hand they may well have originated from the habit of preserving the skulls of the animals sacrificed.”²⁵ This leads to the second part of this paper. From now on I am only discussing the evidence from Crete.

Rams in Crete

It has been said that “... in addition to bulls, goats (or agrimia), rams, pigs (or boars), sheep and deer were considered sacrificial by the Minoans.”²⁶ Most of the animals enumerated seem to have been sacrificial animals - but did the Minoans really sacrifice rams? Roughly four sets of evidence are available in search for the animal: figurines, remains of bones, iconography and the tablets. Looking for the ram among the very many figurines found in Crete is like looking for a needle in a haystack. Nevertheless two possible candidates turn up. In the Psychro Cave a small head, broken at the neck, may depict a ram.²⁷ Part of a spiral horn is preserved and the upper head is decorated with wavy lines. It is dated to the latest part of the Bronze Age/beginning of the Iron Age.²⁸ Rams may also be present among the figurines from Piazzale dei Sacelli at Hagia Triada,²⁹ they are, however, so far not mentioned among the material from the earliest phase covering the LM IIIC and SM period.³⁰

In the LM III strata in Khania we have another small trace of a ram.³¹ The maximum dimension of the preserved fragment is not more than 4 cm but it is not part of a ram in full model: only the head with the characteristic spiral horns is in the round, and this is attached to the rim of an open vessel. Here the ram is thus reduced to be a decoration on a vessel used in the settlement. The closest parallels for this - not obviously religious - use of the animal may be found on the mainland.³²

Bones of ovicaprids are the most common bones found in the archaeological material.³³ Some are slaughtered at a very young age suggesting they were exploited for their meat, older ones were probably kept for milk and wool-production. They cannot easily be separated osteologically and the fact that rams are not mentioned from settlement sites need not

- 21 PM II 533-536 and figs. 336-340; KARO (*supra* n. 13) 264. It is interesting to note that among the many painted representations of animal's head rhyta during the 18th Dynasty in Egypt, we find bulls, lions, griffins, goats and dogs, but no rams. This “silence” may underline the very fact that the ram was a feature of a period later than this Dynasty.
- 22 N. MARINATOS, *Minoan Sacrificial Ritual* (1986) 31.
- 23 DOUMAS (*supra* n. 13) 389 and n. 50. No rhyta were ever found in connection with the goddess with upraised arms, GESELL (*supra* n. 4) 64, and rhyta in general are infrequent “in sanctuaries and temples,” KOEHL (*supra* n. 4) 181.
- 24 BETANCOURT (*supra* n. 4) 100. Concerning the stone bull's head rhyta, REHAK (*supra* n. 5) hypothesizes “a ceremonial use for the rhyta as simulacra of sacrificed bulls, at the end of which the vessels were ritually smashed ...”.
- 25 MMR² 235.
- 26 MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 12.
- 27 L.V. WATROUS, “The Cave Sanctuary of Zeus at Psychro. A Study of Extra-Urban Sanctuaries in Minoan and Early Iron Age Crete,” *Aegaeum* 15 (1996) 42 (no 121 with wrong Plate reference - the correct is XXVIIb, left).
- 28 WATROUS (*supra* n. 27) 53.
- 29 GESELL (*supra* n. 4) 76.
- 30 A-L. D'AGATA, “The Shrines on the Piazzale dei Sacelli at Ayia Triadha. The LM IIIC and SM Material: A Summary,” in *Crète Mycénienne* 85-100. If the ones mentioned in GESELL belong to the Iron Age period parallels may be found at the sanctuary at Kato Syme (WATROUS [*supra* n. 27] 67-68) where rams are more abundant in the Post Bronze Age contexts.
- 31 GSE 70-TC 033. It will be published in GSE IV (forthcoming).
- 32 A handle ending in the head of a ram has been found at Tiryns, H. SCHLIEMANN, *Tiryns. The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns* (1855, reprint 1967) 106, no. 22, and at Mycenae a head and part of neck of a ram probably “was attached to the handle of a vase,” A. TAMVAKI, “Some Unusual Mycenaean Terracottas,” *BSA* 68 (1973) 225-226 and fig. 11, no 65. Tamvaki underlines that the species is rare and that only two figurines of rams are known from Mycenae (n. 43).
- 33 D.S. REESE, “The Minoan Fauna: The Larger Mammals,” in *Kommos I:1* (1995) 165-194 with references.

cause surprise. But bones have also been reported from “numerous cult places, such as peak sanctuaries, caves and tombs” suggesting “that the meals were preceded by sacrifice.”³⁴ Oxen, ovicaprids and pigs seem to be the dominating animal and so far I have not found any reports mentioning rams.³⁵ If the ram was an important sacrificial animal, the fact ought to be traceable somehow in connection with sanctuaries or in ritual areas/sacred precincts, where skulls and/or horns of animals could have been kept as “a permanent commemoration of the sacred act”³⁶ or in certain buildings where horns and skulls are found and thought to be likely offerings to the divinity. The preserved bucrania or horns belong mainly to bulls, deer and agrimia³⁷ - but also here the characteristic horns of the ram are absent.

Turning to the iconographical evidence the matter becomes a bit complicated. Horned animals are very common but their identification in the published literature is somewhat enigmatic. Thus looking for rams in the Palace of Minos, among the few mentioned two are horned sheep in one volume and agrimia in another.³⁸ Seals and sealings with “horned sheep” in Crete are not many³⁹ and common for the animals represented are the curved horns, a slender body, long legs and a short tail. If we compare the few depictions with an actual flock of animals from Crete today we find several similarities, if not identical animals. But the flock I am referring to does not consist of sheep - but goats.⁴⁰ Two seal stones could perhaps represent rams as the animals lack the typical goat beard - but on the other hand this is usually also lacking on the animals which otherwise are thought to be goats. If they are rams, (and the seal stones are Minoan), they are not presented in a religious context (with cult equipment or on an altar) but simply as a domesticated animal.⁴¹

34 MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 11 with references.

35 In addition to the sites mentioned in MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 11, footnotes 2-4, an investigation of the bones from the sacred area in Splanzia, Khania, proved that the pig was the most common animal consumed, D. MYLONA, “Excavation at Splanzia - Sacred Area,” in *Minoans and Mycenaean. Flavours of their time. National Archaeological Museum, 12 July-27 November 1999* (1999) 106. It is also noteworthy that although drinking seem to be well attested at the funeral ceremonies celebrated at the Odos Palama tombs at Khania, the absence of bones seems to indicate that meat was not consumed at this site, B.P. HALLAGER and P.J.P. McGEORGE, *Late Minoan III Burials at Khania. The Tombs, Finds and Deceased in Odos Palama* (1992) 24.

36 *MMR*² 232; MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 40.

37 Horns or bucrania of oxen are for example found in the House of the Sacrificed Oxen at Knossos (*PM* II, 302), in Tholos A at Archanes (J.A. SAKELLARAKIS, “Das Kuppelgrab A von Archanes und das kretisch-mykenische Tieropferritual,” *PZ* 45 [1970] 135-219), several horns in the silos at Mallia (F. CHAPOUTHIER and P. DEMARGNE, “Fouilles exécutées à Mallia, Palais IV,” *ÉtCrét* XII [1962] 19 and Pl. XL, bottom), in Building Pi, room 41 at Palaikastro (R.M. DAWKINS, “Excavations at Palaikastro IV,” *BSA* 11 [1904-05] 287), and at Tyllissos and from room 15 of the Great House and room 61 of the Priest’s House, both at Karphi (REESE [*supra* n. 33] 189); horns of **goats** at places like in a tomb in Poros (A. LEMBESSI, “Ανασκαφή σπηλαιόδους τάφου εις Πόρον Ηρακλείου,” *PraktArchEt* 1967 [1969] 200), inside storage jars at Hagia Triada (L.V. WATROUS, “Ayia Triada: A New Perspective on the Minoan Villa,” *AJA* 88 [1984] 128), in Block Gamma, room 3 at Palaikastro (GESELL [*supra* n. 4] 118), in the Lower West Court Sanctuary Complex at Phaistos (GESELL [*supra* n. 4] 124), in the Building of the Double Doors: H at Kato Zakro, in room 9 at Vrokastro and from room 61 from the Priest’s House at Karphi (REESE [*supra* n. 33] 178), at Juktas (A. KARETSOU, “Τὸ ἱερὸ κορυφῆς τοῦ Γιούχτα,” *PraktArchEt* 1975 [1977] 334); and finally **deer** horns are reported from the Temple Repositories at Knossos (*PM* I, 496); from the Miamou cave, the Dictean cave and Karphi (REESE [*supra* n. 33] 190-191) and Chamalevri and Khania (see E. HALLAGER this volume). See also MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 40.

38 In *PM* III, 316-317 and figs. 208, 209 the two animals tied to a baetyl column are called agrimia. In *PM* IV, 571, Evans mentions rams tied to baetyl columns and refers here to an onyx lentoid from the Chieftain’s Grave (A. EVANS, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* [1906] 58-59 and fig. 61, here called “a horned sheep, perhaps a mouflon ...”) which is identical to the agrimi in *PM* III, fig. 209. Similar animals with “Knotenhorn” are considered to be goats: *CMS* I, No. 168; *CMS* V.1, No. 185; *CMS* V Suppl. 1A, No. 108; *CMS* VII, Nos. 119, 172; *CMS* XIII, No. 7.

39 *PM* IV, 569-571. On Cretan seals so far published in *CMS*, only a few bucrania has been identified as belonging to rams (see below and n. 43-44).

40 In *Minoans and Mycenaean* (*supra* n. 35) 76.

41 *PM* I, 684, figs. 503a-b. The first (503a), a cornelian “flattened cylinder,” was obtained by Evans on the site of Lyktos, an old and powerful city-state of the Classical Greek time, from where, to my knowledge, no Bronze Age finds have so far been reported. The second (503b), a chalcedony lentoid, once in Evans possession, now in Metropolitan Museum, New York (*CMS* XII, No. 136 - here a white agate discoid, dated MM III and the animal identified as a wether) has no other provenience than Lasithi.

Seals and sealings with evidence of sacrificial animals on altars are, however, crucial in this connection. Three types of animals appear: the bull and, less common, the pig (or boar) and the goat⁴² - which thus is in accordance with the actual animal bones found. Some of the many representations of bucrania are interpreted as belonging to rams.⁴³ While one is identical to other bucrania which are said to be goats, another two, seen en face, are not in themselves capable of identifying the animal closer than as an ovicaprid.⁴⁴ A special type of scene in the glyptic art require a comment. It depicts a woman carrying a dead animal on her shoulder, sometimes accompanied by a second woman. Sakellarakis, who has treated the whole group of similar representations, has concluded that the subject is related to sacrifice - a procession leading up to an altar and the dead animals as depicting goats and rams.⁴⁵ Recently Pini has rejected Sakellarakis' identification of the structure as an altar and, what may be of equal importance, most representations leave the species vague.⁴⁶ This is particular the case on the ones found in Crete where the scenes seem to originate. Thus they cannot be "proofs" of the ram being a sacrificial animal *in Crete*.

In the Linear B tablets from Knossos we are finally confronted with rams. A total of close to 100.000 sheep listed "are records of flocks of wethers, or of mixed wethers and ewes, distributed and maintained by the palace."⁴⁷ Few rams were kept for breeding purposes, the bulk of the flocks consisted of castrated males for the wool-production. And here we also meet Potnia. Sheep were doubtless assigned to the goddess to provide an income for her shrines and attendants.⁴⁸ But were these precious and meticulously counted animals sacrificed to the gods? Ewes seem to have been⁴⁹ but I cannot find any definitely sure evidence for sacrificed rams in the Cretan tablets.

Rams seem in general to have been a rare subject for the artisans in Bronze Age Crete. Animal figurines are usually considered to be substitutes for actual sacrifices and one would have expected to find more than one possible ram from the very end of the Bronze Age/beginning of Iron Age if this animal were considered sacrificial in Crete. Rams used as an ornamentation on pottery cannot be evidence for a sacrificial animal. The ram is not present in the preserved osteological material. Not even a single skull or horn is so far reported from the abundant material from cultic contexts. Nowhere in the Minoan iconography can we find evidence for sacrificed rams. The tablets emphasize their vital importance in the late Bronze Age wool industry and do not explicitly mention rams as animals offered to the gods. This is in contrast to the evidence from the mainland where there seem to be indications for sacrificed rams. They may thus be one further of many pieces of evidence for a difference between the Minoan and the Mycenaean religious beliefs and behaviour.

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42 MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 11-12 and footnotes 7-8.

43 CMS I, Nos. 418c, 467, 491; CMS V Suppl. 1A, No. 43b. The latter (No. 43b) is depicted together with an amphora and on the photographs it looks rather like a jug than a bucranium.

44 The bucranium on CMS I, No. 491 looks like the ones found on CMS II.2, Nos. 138, 170, 175 where they are identified as goats. The other two (CMS I, Nos. 418c, 467) are depicted with slightly curved horns and similar depictions are simply identified as bucrania; CMS II.2, Nos. 283, 333.

45 I.A. SAKELLARAKIS, "Το θέμα τῆς φερούσης ζῶον γυναικὸς εἰς τὴν κρητομυκηναϊκὴν σφραγιστολογία," *ArchEph* (1972) 245-258. A few seals/impressions may be added to his list: a seal from Epidauros, Apollon Maleatas (CMS V, Suppl. 1A, 369) and a lentoid from Knossos (P. WARREN, "Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum Excavations, 1978-82. Part II," *ArchRep* 29 [1982-83] 77, fig. 34, 35) - both mentioned by MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 34, n. 134; a sardonix from Elis i Berlin (mentioned by NILSSON [*supra* n. 25] 356) in CMS XI, No. 27; CMS II.4, No. 35; CMS XIII, No. 5D (a gemma dubitandae) and one of the impressions on a sealing from Khania (CMS V, Suppl. 1A, 130).

46 I. PINI, "Towards a standardization of terminology. Problems of description and identification," in *EIKΩN* 17 and Pl. IVc. I am grateful to Michael Wedde who kindly drew my attention to Pini's article. MARINATOS (*supra* n. 22) 35 also quoting Boulotis. "Given also the fact that many have been found on the mainland, a misunderstanding of the original scheme may well have occurred."

47 J.T. KILLEN, "The Wool Industry of Crete in the Late Bronze Age," *BSA* 59 (1964) 5, 14.

48 KILLEN (*supra* n. 47) 15.

49 KN E 411: *di-ko-to/ e-ma-a₂-o* OVISf 60 WE 30. I am very grateful to Dr. Jean-Pierre Olivier for this reference.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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| Pl. XCVIIb | The head seen from above. |
| Pl. XCVIIc | A drawing of the rhyton made by Ann-Louise Schallin. |
| Pl. XCVIIId | An attempt to reconstruct the head. |