

Idaean Cave

Cypriote imports and Cretan *objets d'art* in Cypriote cultural tradition from the Cave of Zeus on Mount Ida*

To the memory of Yannis Sakellarakis

Introduction: the Sacred Cave of Zeus on Mount Ida

The sacred cave of Zeus on Mount Ida, modern Psiloritis, where according to Greek mythology the infant god Zeus was brought up by the goat Amaltheia and the Kouretes, was the most prominent and most popular sanctuary on the island of Crete in Antiquity¹. Situated high in the mountains, at a height of 1538 m above sea-level, overlooking the Nidha plateau, it was a sanctuary of a very distinct character, far away from the larger centres of the island, like Knossos and Gortyn, and accessible only during summer time. In winter the whole area is covered in snow.

Nevertheless, the sacred cave became the most famous cult place of the island of Crete. Already a place of worship in Minoan times², cultic activities reached their peak in the Geometric period, early in the first millennium B.C., and continued on a reduced scale during the seventh and sixth centuries. There was some revival in the Roman imperial period.

The cave must have been a cult place of the Cretan aristocracy during the first centuries of the first millennium B.C. Votive material includes monuments of Greek tradition like the well-known tripod-cauldrons, typical votives of the aristocratic society of the Geometric period, and specific classes of bronze objects, which are directly connected with the cult and its aetiological mythology, like the famous bronze shields, which go back to the tradition of the Kouretes, dancing and singing and claspings their shields around young Zeus. Shields and related objects were very probably produced in Cretan ateliers, working in an eclectic style, inspired by Near Eastern art, combining North Syrian, Phoenician and Greek elements, from the 9th century B.C. onward.

The number of imports from the East is astonishingly high: There are ivories of North Syrian and Phoenician origin, as well as a remarkable quantity of Near Eastern metalwork, unparalleled in the Greek world, bronze bowls with figural decoration from North Syrian and Phoenician workshops, lotus jugs and a situla of Egyptian origin, metalware from Palestine and other regions of the Levant. Within this rich votive assemblage, Cyprus plays a minor, although not insignificant and specific role.

There are few imports of Cypriote metal bowls. But more important are objects of local Cretan workmanship, which are successors of Cypriote prototypes, metalware like the well-known bowls with lotus handles, tripod stands and four-sided stands with figural decoration. These votives, which find parallels in other parts of the island, reflect a very vivid tradition of metal workshops on Crete during the early first millennium B.C., a tradition that was inaugurated by imports from Cyprus.

The Idaeian Cave was discovered as an ancient cult place by chance by Georgios Pasparakis, a shepherd from the neighbouring village of Anoyia in summer 1884 and partially plundered in the same as well as in the following year. Metal finds were sold by the inhabitants of Anoyia to two collectors, Th. A. Triphyllis and G. Mitsotakis; their collections were later on presented to the Heraklion Museum and the National Archaeological Museum in Athens³. The first major excavation in September 1885 was directed by F. Halbherr, one of the great Italian pioneers of Cretan epigraphy and archaeology, on behalf of the Cretan *Philekpaideutikos syllogos* (Φιλεκπαιδευτικός Σύλλογος) directed by Joseph Hazzidakis, uncovering large quantities of valuable metal ware as well as ivories and faience objects. During the 20th century, St. Xanthoudides (in 1917) and Sp. Marinatos (in 1956) carried out small trial excavations and cleaning operations. Systematic excavation of modern standard was resumed with surprising success by Y. A. Sakellarakis in 1982. His work continued until 1986. All the finds from systematic excavations are now in the Heraklion Museum.

The author has to express his thanks to the late Y. A. Sakellarakis, to whom this paper is dedicated, for his permission to study the bronze finds from the Cave. Thanks also go to the successive directors of Heraklion Museum, Ch. Kritzas and A. Karetsou as well as their collaborators. I especially mention M. Lagogianni, now at Athens. In the National Archaeological Museum in Athens R. Proskinitopoulou has kindly allowed the study of the material from the Idaeian Cave.

Hartmut Matthäus

* Endnotes for this section may be found at the end following the text.

General bibliography: For mythology and cult in the Idaean Cave in general cf. most recently Prent 2005. For the Classical and Hellenistic periods: Sporn 2002. For the Roman period: Sapouna 1998. Furthermore: Faure 1964, 99-131; Willetts 1962, 239-243; Verbruggen 1979; *idem* 1981; Sakellarakis 1988. For Kypriaka in the Idaean Cave: Matthäus 1998a; *idem* 2000a, 536-538. For excavations in the Idaean Cave: Sakellarakis 1985a; *idem* 1985b; *idem* 1995, 171-203; Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis-Sapouna 2011; Matthäus 1998a, 128; *idem* 2000a, 518-520. For discovery, plundering and first excavation: Sakellarakis 1998; Fabricius 1885; *idem* 1941, 165-167.

Photos: 1-5: Matthäus 1998a, 137, fig. 15; fig. 13-14; fig. 7; fig. 8-12; fig. 1; 9: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 4, 1; 11-12: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 3; fig. 4, 3; 14-15: Matthäus; 16: Matthäus 2005c, 325-326, fig. 14; 17: Matthäus; 18-19: Sakellarakis 1983, 438-439, pl. 260 b; pl. 260 c; 20: Karo 1905, 63, fig. 9.

Drawings: 1-2: Buchholz-Matthäus 2003, 113-116, fig. 9, 21; fig. 9, 20; 3: Matthäus 2000b, 272-273, fig. 9; 4: Matthäus 2000a, 536-537, fig. 16; 5: Matthäus 1998a, fig. 1; 6: Matthäus; 7: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 4, 2; 8: Matthäus; 9: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 4, 1; 10: Matthäus; 11-13: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 3; fig. 4, 3; fig. 4, 4; 14-15: Matthäus; 16-17: Matthäus; 21: Matthäus.

a) Bronze vases

1. IC 1. Bronze bowl with horizontal ridge inside

Intact bowl, bottom slightly deformed, two small flaws in the wall, crack on the rim. Surface has been cleaned, black patina, in some places golden bronze colour visible, some tiny patches of light green oxidation, especially in the interior.

Height: 6.6cm; diameter of mouth: 14.0 to 14.3cm

From Idaean Cave 1884/5. Nation. Arch. Mus., X 1790/3, ex collection Th. A. Triphyllis.

Date: Possibly CA II

Thin-walled hammered bowl of hemispherical shape. In the interior, about 2cm below the mouth a horizontal ridge runs around the wall; it was hammered from outside. Angular, thickened oblique lip.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 137, fig. 15; Buchholz and Matthäus 2003, 113-116, fig. 9, 21.



2. IC 2. Bronze bowl with horizontal ridge inside

Intact bowl. Surface has been cleaned, green to brown patina.

Height: 6.5cm; diameter of mouth: 13.2 to 13.4cm

From Idaean Cave 1885. Her. Arch. Mus., X 56.

Date: CG III to CA I

Heavy bowl of hemispherical shape, cast and subsequently hammered into its final shape. In the interior, about 2cm below the mouth, a well-marked cast horizontal relief ridge runs around the wall. Angular, slightly thickened horizontal lip.

On Crete a small hole for a string for hanging the vessel to a wall has been added just below the rim. The perforation of the bowl was executed from the outside, and was made in a rather rough way, without smoothing and polishing the surface. Such string-holes are typical for Cretan Geometric metalware; this is clearly a local addition to an import from Cyprus.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 137, fig. 13-14; *idem* 1998b, 240 no. 290; *idem* 2000b, 272, fig. 8; Buchholz and Matthäus 2003, 113-116, fig. 9, 20.



General comment - Bowls with horizontal ridge inside, nos IC 1-2

Bronze bowls, which are characterized by a horizontal ridge running around the wall in the interior, just below the mouth, are a product of Cypriote metalworking ateliers during the Cypro-Geometric III period (ca. 850-750 B.C.). They probably represent a variant of the much more common undecorated simple hemispherical bowls, which are so numerous during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age on the island of Aphrodite. The ridge seems to have a purely decorative function, as it is not suited to hold a lid.

The bowls can be hammered or cast or made - and this is probably the most common method of manufacture - by combining both techniques: a cast half-product, which is hammered into its desired final shape.

The earliest specimens of this type, which was defined for the first time by the author in 1985, appear during Cypro-Geometric III (850-750 B.C.), and its gradual evolution, showing variations only in proportions or the profile of the wall, either rounded or straight, can be traced down into the Cypro-Archaic II period (until the beginning of the 5th century B.C.). It was a popular type in Cyprus, attested in the cemeteries of Kouklia-Palaipaphos, Kourion, Amathus, Kornos, Idalion, Tamassos (a silver specimen, the only one known, from the so-called Royal Cemetery), Marion, Tavrou in the Karpas peninsula and probably Gastria as well. Related to this type are the fragments of the well-known larger bowls with the Phoenician dedication of a governor of Qarthadasht, servant of king Hiram II of Tyre, to Ba'al of Lebanon, which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

Finds of this type of metal bowls outside Cyprus are not numerous. There is one example from Lefkandi, Toumba cemetery, tomb 33, dated to the beginning of the Attic Middle Geometric period, more or less contemporary

with early Cypro-Geometric III, and another one - probably a late variant - from the sanctuary on the slope of Mount Aetos on the island of Ithaca⁴.

On Crete there are only the two specimens, discussed here, from the Idaean Cave of Zeus, which have no stratigraphic context. It is difficult to date individual specimens of such a relatively simple type. The cast bowl no. IC 2 has parallels among early variants of Cypro-Geometric III to Cypro-Archaic I periods, as e.g. from Amathus, Swedish tomb 7, Marion, Potamos tou Myrmikof, tomb 10 and Marion, Evretadhes, tomb 98. The thin-walled bowl no. IC 1 with its straighter profile may be connected to later Cypriote finds like the one from Kornos, Asproyia, dated Cypro-Archaic II (6th/beginning of 5th century B.C.), but this is not absolutely certain.

It has already been mentioned that in Crete a string-hole has been added to bowl no. IC 2 in a rather rough way by piercing the wall below the rim. Such string-holes are not known on Cyprus. They are well attested on the Greek mainland during the Geometric period, e.g. in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens (there, usually two string-holes; Müller-Karpe 1962, 92, fig. 10, 8; p. 100, fig. 18, 1; p. 102, fig. 20, 3), but they occur even more often on the island of Crete, in the cemeteries around Knossos as well as in the Idaean Cave⁵. The new Cretan owner has thus added the string-hole to an imported bowl to make it more appropriate for his purposes.

Bronze bowls with a horizontal ridge inside are extremely rare in Greece. There is no evidence of local imitations. All vessels of this type must be imports. In Lefkandi as well as in the Idaean Cave of Zeus they are accompanied by imported metalware of Egyptian, North Syrian and Phoenician origin.

General bibliography: Matthäus 1985, 109-112; *idem* 2000a, 537-538; Buchholz and Matthäus 2003 (most detailed discussion); Matthäus 2005a; *idem* 2010.



3. IC 3. Bronze bowl with lotus handles

Well preserved bowl, crack in one attachment plate, small cracks in the wall, one small flaw in the wall has been restored. Surface has been cleaned, green to black patina. At the bottom tiny patches of light green oxidation.

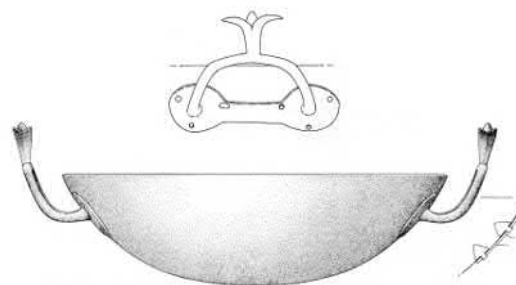
Height: 7.4cm; height with handles: 10.8cm; diameter of mouth: 25.9 to 26.1cm

From Idaean Cave 1884/5. Nation. Arch. Mus., X 18228, ex collection G. Mitsotakis.

Date: G/O

Flat round-bottomed bronze bowl, thickened angular lip, slightly oblique. Two high-swung horizontal loop handles are attached below the rim. Section of handles circular, each handle is crowned by a stylized lotus flower. The horizontal attachment plate has a figure of eight shape, i. e. circular finials, where the handle is attached, connected by a horizontal bar. Each circular end is fixed to the vessel with three rivets, which display large, decorative round to conical heads in the interior of the bowl.

Bibl.: Körte and Körte 1904, 93; Yalouris 1975, 2, pl. 2 c; Sakellarakis 1998, 175; Matthäus 1998a, 135-136, fig. 7; *idem* 2000b, 272-273, fig. 9.



4. IC 4. Fragments of bronze bowl with lotus handles

Four fragments. Fragment a: rim with part of wall and lotus handle, surface has been cleaned, green to black patina; crack in attachment plate. Fragment b: rim and small part of wall, slightly distorted, cleaned, green to black patina. Fragment c: rim and small part of wall, slightly distorted, cleaned, green to black patina. Fragment d: rim and very small part of wall, flattened, cleaned, grey to black patina. Fragments do not join.

Fragment a: greatest width of rim: 11.2cm; greatest height of rim: 4.4cm; width of attachment plate: 11.5cm Fragment b: greatest length: 22.8cm; greatest height: 3.2cm Fragment c: greatest length: 10.7cm; greatest height: 2.4cm Fragment d: greatest length: 6.4cm; greatest height: 2.2cm Reconstructed diam. of bowl: ca. 27cm; height ca. 7.5cm

From Idaean Cave 1884/1885. Fragment a: Her. Arch. Mus., X 1682, ex collection G. Mitsotakis. Fragment b: Her. Arch. Mus., X 34. Fragment c: Nation. Arch. Mus., X 11764/5a, ex collection Th. A. Triphyllis. Fragment d: Nation. Arch. Mus., X 11764/5b, ex collection Th. A. Triphyllis.

Date: G

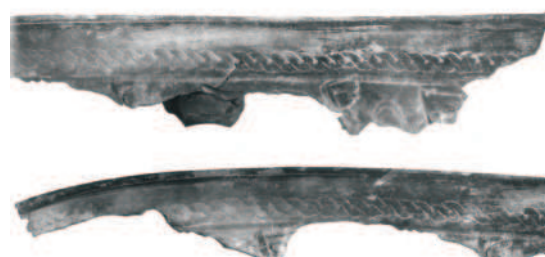
Fragments of flat round-bottomed bronze bowl, in type identical with no. IC 3; thickened horizontal angular lip. Below the rim, one of probably originally two high-swung horizontal loop handles is preserved. The section of the handle is circular; the handle is crowned by a stylized lotus flower. The horizontal attachment plate has a figure of eight shape, i. e. circular finials connected by a horizontal bar. Each circular end is fixed to the vessel with three rivets, which show decorative large round heads in the interior of the vase.

The interior of the bowl displays engraved and *repoussée* ornament and figures. Below the rim an engraved cable pattern with small punched dots, separated from a figural frieze by a horizontal ridge in *repoussée* technique. Main frieze: repetitive striding sphinxes in *repoussée* enriched by engraved faint parallel hatching on the wings and punched details on head, coiffure and breast. The heads are characterized by an angular profile with long curls in the neck, the face by a small pointed nose, small eye and ear. The outline of the breast is curved, the wings are made up of parallel curved ridges; high swung tails.

No complete figure of a sphinx is preserved. Fragment a: most



a



b

complete representation of a sphinx to the left, one more in middle, and small traces of a third one to the right. Fragment b: two heads of sphinxes preserved, head and breast of a third one, wing and tail of a fourth one. Fragment c: one head. Fragment d: small part of coiffure. Originally there must have been approximately 13 to 14 sphinxes in the frieze.

The decoration was applied to the bowl before the handles were attached, as on fragment a, the rivet heads in the interior overlap and thus obliterate the figures. It is not possible to decide whether the handles were attached at the time of the creation of the bowl or added at a later period after some time of use. At least the general flat round-bottomed shape comes close to no. IC 3.

There are no obvious joins among the fragments preserved, but it was not possible to compare the original fragments, which are in Athens and Iraklion respectively.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 136, fig. 8-12; *idem* 1998b, 237-238, no. 284; *idem* 2000a, 536-537, fig. 16.

General comment: Bowls with lotus handles, nos IC 3 – 4

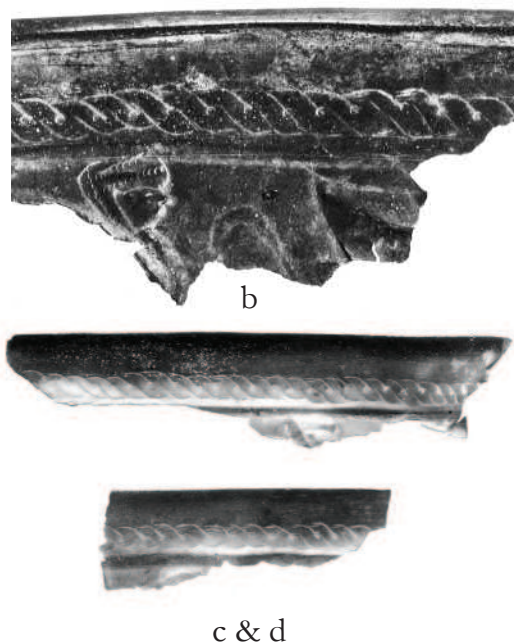
Round bottomed bowls, whose handles are decorated with a stylized lotus flower are an invention of Cypriote metalworkers during the Cypro-Geometric I period. Forerunners are Mycenaean bowls with one horizontal loop handle, decorated with a small vertical knob, like the famous silver bowl with gold and niello inlays from Enkomi, French tomb 2, or a plain silver specimen from Enkomi, British tomb 66 (Matthäus 1980, 226-232; *idem* 1985, 120-124). These are clearly imports as is shown by the technique of gold and niello inlays (Xenake-Sakellariou 1989) and - as far as the richly decorated bowl from Enkomi is concerned, by its exact Mycenaean counterpart in the tholos tomb of Dendra. Knob handles - not to be mixed with Cypriote wish-bone handles (Matthäus 1980, 230-232; most recent discussion: Graziadio 1999) - are a typical development of Minoan and Mycenaean craftsmen during LM II/LH IIB - LM/LH IIIA. They not only appear on bowls, but also on other vase types, especially on *lekane* (Matthäus 1980, 265-268).

The type must have been imitated by local Cypriote metalworkers, although up to now straightforward evidence is missing; but there is a continuation on Cyprus during Late Cypriote IIIB (ca. 1100-1050 B.C.), a fragmented one-handled bronze bowl from Kourion, Kaloriziki, tomb 40 (Matthäus 1985, 123-124 no. 345). In this case, the knob is replaced by a floral ornament: it is crowned by a lotus bud. Furthermore, a new type of attachment plate has now replaced the older Mycenaean

one; there are no longer separated small attachments for each handle end, but a single figure of eight attachment, which connects both ends of the handle.

Slightly later, at the beginning of Cypro-Geometric I (ca. 1050-950 B.C.), the canonical type of handle crowned by a lotus flower emerges. Bowls with this handle type are usually two-handled, smaller vessels may show one handle only. Two variants of lotus-bowls can be distinguished, smaller vessels, probably drinking bowls, with a diameter between 15 and 20cm and larger ones with a diameter of about 30 to 35cm. All vases are hemispherical in shape and rather deep; the diameter in relation to height is approximately 2-2.5 to 1. The handles always have a figure of eight escutcheon, sometimes a true figure of eight, more often circular finials, which are connected by a short horizontal band. The attachments may be decorated in low relief (e.g. rosettes, bucrania). A typical Cypriote feature is sometimes a short strut or a piece of twisted wire, which connects the circular finial of the attachment and the loop handle. In one case the lotus flower is replaced by a goat protome.

All Cypriote finds fall into the beginning of the Early Iron Age. Specimens from Kouklia/Palaipaphos, Skales (tombs 49 and 58) as well as Kouklia, Xylino (tomb 132) can be dated to Cypro-Geometric I (ca. 1050-950 B.C.), a specimen from Amathus (Swedish tomb 21) may be dated Cypro-Geometric I-II (Cypro-Geometric II: ca. 950-850 B.C.). There is up to now no evidence of a continuity into later periods.



As it combined high aesthetic quality with excellent craftsmanship, the bowl with lotus handles was the most successful type created by Cypriote bronzeworkers during the Cypro-Geometric period. It was exported to the East and the West. There are finds from Mesopotamia, Syria, Phrygia in the East, from Kush (modern Sudan) south of Egypt (Matthäus 2008, 447-448), from the Greek Mainland as well as the islands, including Crete, where these bowls were extremely numerous, from Italy, Sardinia and the Iberian Peninsula, as far west as Portugal (Viana 1959, 26, pl. V 40, 42; Ávila 2002, 152-154, 453, fig. 107, pl. XXV 51).

In many regions outside Cyprus lotus bowls made such a great impression on local customers that a vivid local production, imitating Cypriote originals, started. Local production in the Kushitic realm, in the Levant, Asia Minor, Greece as well as Italy and other regions continued well into the period of the 7th century, much longer than in Cyprus itself. In Phoenicia the type was copied in pottery, which was exported to Cyprus during the 8th century B.C. (Bikai 1987, 36-37, 55, pl. XXVI 440; Karageorghis 2005, pl. XIV, 2126, 2182)! And these are probably the bowls which were carried as offerings to the gods by later Cypriote limestone adorants (e. g. *SCE* III, pl. CLXXXVII. 1; Bernhard-Walcher *et al.* 1999, 172-174 no. 79).

As already mentioned, lotus bowls gained great popularity on the island of Crete. Some of the Cretan finds seem to be imports, e.g. in Knossos, North Cemetery, tomb 219, while the majority, from tombs (e.g. Arkades) as well as sanctuaries (e.g. Amnisos) are late (8th-7th century B.C.) and display local features in the shapes of handles, attachments and sometimes in the proportion of the vases, which can be much lower than Cypriote originals. Both vases from the Idaean Cave are large bowls of very low proportions, relation of diameter to height ca. 3.5 to 1. Therefore no. IC 3 is probably of Cretan workmanship.

The decorated bowl no. IC 4 requires a special comment. Its frieze of sphinxes originates in a workshop that created bowls and shields, which were dedicated in the Idaean Cave of Zeus. It was a local Cretan atelier, which worked in an eclectic iconography and style, that mixed North Syrian elements with Phoenician influences. The technique of the sphinxes-*repoussé*, typical very faint parallel hatching, punched small semi-circles - their style - angular heads and coiffures, characteristic profiles with pointed noses - and even the cable pattern can be paralleled among votives from the Idaean Cave, e.g. the so-called shield of sphinxes (despite its much larger

dimensions) as well as bowls and miniature shields (cf. Kunze 1931, pl. 7-9; 48, 70b, 71; Canciani 1970, pl. VIII-IX; cf. from Eleutherna: Stampolidis (ed.) 2004, 280 no. 357).

The localisation of the ateliers working for the Idaean Cave as well as other places has been discussed in a very controversial manner in the past - Near East, Cyprus, Crete were the candidates (cf. e. g. Kunze 1931; Canciani 1970; Hoffman 1997, 160-165; Boardman 2000, 58-60; Jones 2000, 110-111; Matthäus 2000a, 533-536; Coldstream 2003, 287-288). Nowadays for various reasons - the shields were produced for the cult of Zeus in the Idaean Cave as well as other sanctuaries, iconography and style mix North Syrian, Phoenician, Mesopotamian and even Greek elements in a manner without parallel in the Near East, even the ornaments display local Cretan features - there seems to be general agreement that these early Orientalising works of art are indeed local Cretan masterpieces, which are strongly influenced by Near Eastern models. Whether foreigners from the East started this Cretan production is still open to discussion. And, of course, the localisation of the workshops is not certain. Knossos as the leading artistic centre of the island, and a city state, which always had strong connections with the cult in the Idaean Cave, to me seems to be an appropriate candidate, not secondary centres like Eleutherna or Axos (e. g. Stampolidis 2005-2006; *idem* 2007), as has recently been proposed.

That a lotus handle has been added - and obliterating the figural frieze in a rather clumsy way - to such a decorated bowl is a unique case. Whether this was done during the process of manufacture or at a later point in time cannot be decided with certainty.

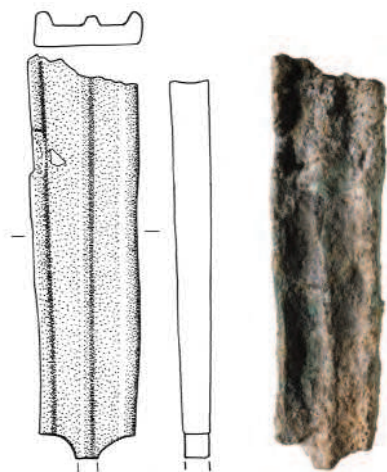
General bibliography:

General discussion of the type: *SCE* IV:2, 152, Fig. XXVIII. 8a-b; p. 218, 407-408; Chavane 1982, 31-36; Matthäus 1985, 124-127; *idem* 2000a, 536-537; *idem* 2001, 154-165, 179-188.

Recent finds from the Aegean: Stampolidis and Karetsoy 1998, 233-238 (Crete); Stampolidis (ed.) 2003, 418-420 (Greece); *idem* 2004, 274 no. 340 (Eleutherna); Luce 2008, 205 pl. 92, 279 (Delphi, bowl with unusual profile, figure of eight attachment, handle not preserved), p. 415 ("*une dizaine d'anses à fleur*" in Delphi Museum, unpublished); Gorny and Mosch, Auktion Kunst der Antike 14. Dezember 2005 (Nr. 145) (München) 154 no. 493 (art market, provenance unknown).

For a variant, attested in Cyprus as well as in the Aegean, of bowls with plain handles, without lotus flower, but with figure of eight attachment: Matthäus 1985, 127-128, 196; *idem* 2001, 161-164; Gauer 1991, 71, fig. 20, 1, pl. 55, 3a (Olympia).

b) Tripod stands, local Cretan successors of Cypriote forerunners



5. IC 5. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Slightly distorted fragment, at the lower end broken just above the foot-plate. Heavily corroded, grey-green metal, small flaw in upper part. Greatest length: 11.5cm; width (top): 3.1cm; width (bottom) 2.8cm; thickness 0.8 to 1.2cm

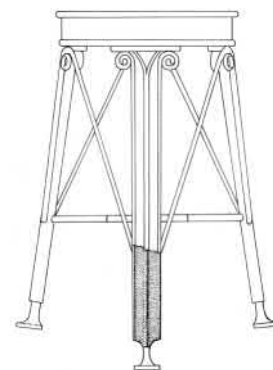
From Idaean Cave 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 1984/729.

Date: PG/PG B

Solidly cast, tapering band-shaped leg, decorated with three parallel vertical ridges, two along the edges, one in the middle. The lower end is contracted towards the foot-plate. The leg must have been part of a fairly large tripod of ca. 40 cm in height.

Cf. Papasavvas, in Appendix III, no. 5.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 129, fig. 1.



6. IC 6. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Tiny fragment, green to black patina.

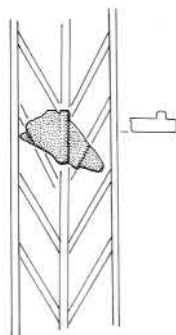
Greatest length: 2.5cm; greatest width: 1.2cm; thickness 0.4cm

From Idaean Cave 1956. Her. Arch. Mus., (no registration number).

Date: PG/PG B

Part of a cast band-shaped leg with herringbone pattern. Decoration in low relief, midrib as well as antithetic diagonal herringbone ornament preserved.

Unpublished.



7. IC 7. Fragments of leg of tripod stand

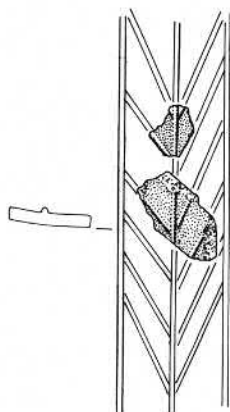
Two tiny fragments of leg, green patina. Fragment a: greatest length: 1.3cm; greatest width: 1.0cm; thickness 0.3cm Fragment b: greatest length: 2.5cm; greatest width: 1.3cm

From Idaean Cave 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., fragment a: Inv. No. 1984/151; fragment b: Inv. No. 1984/408.

Date: PG/PG B

Cast band-shaped leg, edge not preserved. Decoration in low relief: vertical midrib and antithetic herringbone pattern.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 4, 2.



8. IC 8. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Tiny fragment of leg, green patina.

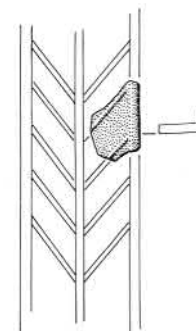
Greatest length: 2.2cm; greatest width: 1.4cm; thickness 0.2cm

From Idaean Cave 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 1984/212.

Date: PG/PG B

Cast band-shaped leg, rounded flange at edge preserved. Decoration of diagonal relief lines, very probably part of antithetic herringbone pattern.

Unpublished.



9. IC 9. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Small fragment of leg, green patina.

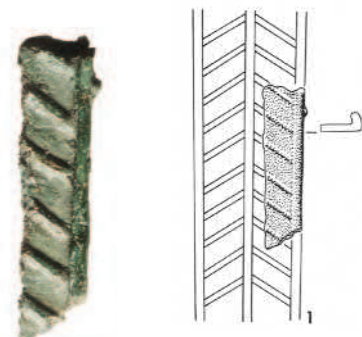
Greatest length: 5.3cm; greatest width: 1.3cm; thickness 0.3cm

From Idaean Cave 1983. Her. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 1983/376.

Date: PG/PG B

Cast band-shaped leg, flange at edge preserved. Decoration in low relief: diagonal relief lines, very probably part of herringbone pattern.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 4, 1.



10. IC 10. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Tiny fragment of leg, heavily corroded, green patina.

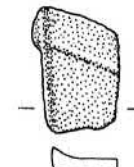
Greatest length: 1.8cm; greatest width: 1.2cm; thickness 0.15cm

From Idaean Cave 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 1984/694.

Date: PG/PG B

Fragment of cast band-shaped leg, sides not preserved. Decoration in low relief: vertical midrib and probably antithetic herringbone pattern.

Unpublished.



11. IC 11. Fragments of leg of tripod stand

Three fragments, two of them (fragments a and b) joining, of tripod leg.

Light green patina. Fragment a: greatest length 3.0cm; greatest width 1.6cm;

thickness 0.55cm Fragment b: greatest length: 1.4cm; greatest width: 1.8cm

Fragments a and b combined: length 4.2cm Fragment c: greatest length:

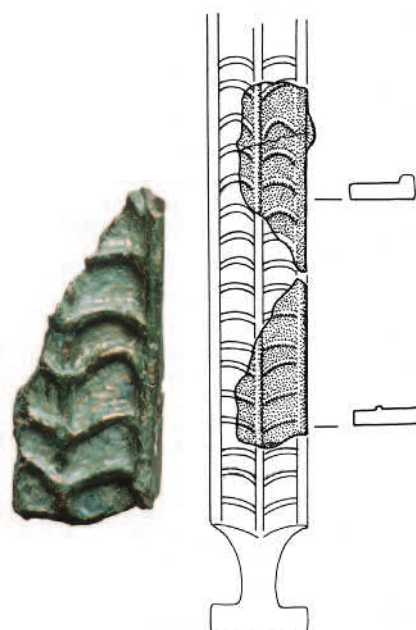
3.7cm; greatest width: 1.7cm

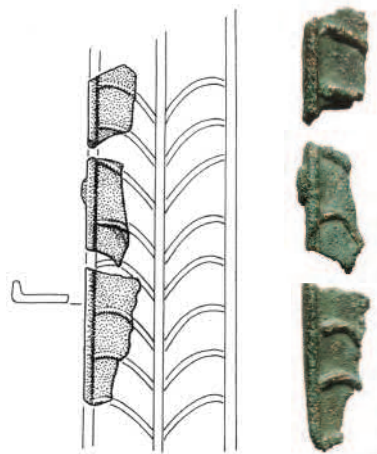
From Idaean Cave 1956 and 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., fragment a: 1956, without registration number; fragment b: Inv. No. 1984/98 [these two are joining]; fragment c: Inv. No. 1984/76).

Date: PG/PG B

Cast band-shaped leg, rounded flange at edge preserved. Decoration in low relief: vertical midrib with antithetic ornament of small arches, a decoration which gives the impression of a floral ornament.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 3.





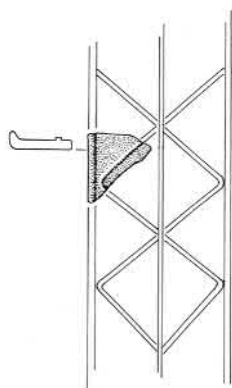
12. IC 12. Fragments of leg of tripod stand

Three small fragments of leg, green patina. Fragment a: greatest length: 2.9cm; greatest width: 1.4cm; thickness: 0.2cm. Fragment b: greatest length: 2.1cm; greatest width: 1.2cm. Fragment c: greatest length: 3.5cm; greatest width: 1.4cm. From Idaean Cave 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., fragment a: Inv. No. 1984/135; fragment b: Inv. No. 1984/182; fragment c: Inv. No. 1984/206.

Date: PG/PG B

Cast band-shaped leg, rounded flange at edge preserved. Decoration in low relief: small arches, very probably part of antithetic design, comparable to no. IC 11.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 4, 3.



13. IC 13. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Tiny fragment of leg, green to black patina. Greatest length: 2.2cm; greatest width: 1.9cm; thickness: 0.3cm.

From Idaean Cave 1986. Her. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 1986/1624.

Date: PG/PG B

Fragment of cast band-shaped leg, flange at edge preserved. Decoration in low relief: zigzag line. Whether there was a midrib or not cannot be determined with certainty, but it is possible in comparison to the majority of tripod stands from the Idaean Cave.

Bibl.: Matthäus 1998a, 131, fig. 4, 4.



14. IC 14. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Small fragment, has been cleaned, black to dark red (copper) colour.

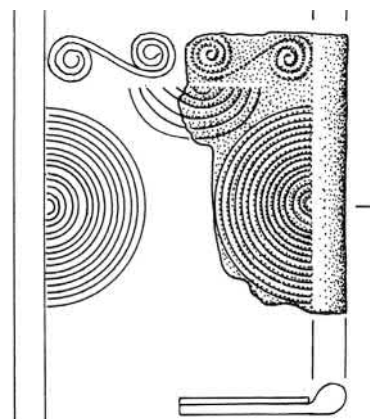
Greatest length: 4.4cm; greatest width: 2.5cm.

From Idaean Cave 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 1984/123.

Date: PG/PG B

Part of cast band-shaped leg of tripod, rounded flange at one side preserved. Excellent quality. Decorated in low relief with large group of pendent concentric semicircles, in addition, a small group of concentric semicircles (partly preserved) arranged at right angle, as well as an S-spiral. Probably to be reconstructed as a repetitive ornament of groups of antithetic concentric semicircles and S-spirals; the leg therefore must have been rather wide.

Unpublished.



15. IC 15. Fragment of leg of tripod stand

Small flattened fragment, cleaned, black to golden (bronze) colour.

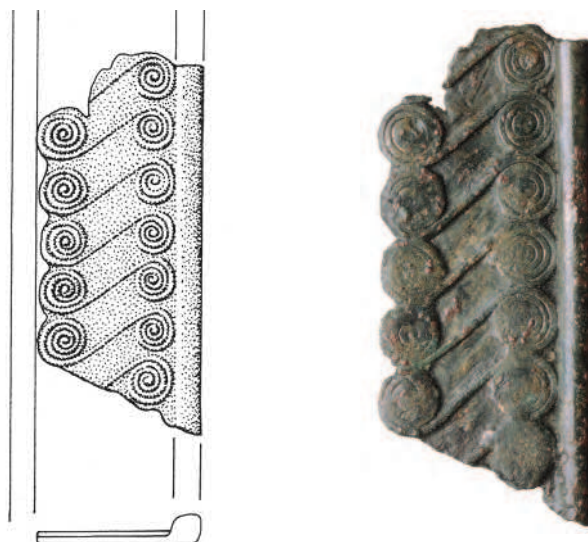
Greatest length: 7.4cm; greatest width: 3.2cm

From Idaean Cave 1984. Her. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 1984/567.

Date: PG/PG B

Part of a cast band-shaped leg of tripod, rounded flange at one side preserved. Excellent quality. Decoration - in low relief - of horizontal S-spirals.

Unpublished.



c) Four-sided stands, local Cretan types.

16. IC 16. Fragmentary four-sided stand

Approximate height: 60-65cm; approximate width: 40 cm; diam. of ring probably: ca. 20cm

From Idaean Cave 1884. Further fragments from I. A. Sakellarakis's excavations in 1982-1986.

Date: LG

Fragments of a stand of Cypriote tradition, but locally made on the island of Crete, with figural decoration *à jour*. The better preserved fragments a-d allow a general reconstruction: a four-sided stand; each side is made up of two broad rectangular registers, framed by stout vertical rods and slightly more slender horizontal ones. Most of the registers are divided by vertical rods into two panels, each panel is usually divided by diagonal struts - on fragment a, the struts terminate in volutes. The vertical frames continue into the legs of the stand. There is no finial preserved, therefore it remains uncertain whether the legs had simple foot-plates or if there were loops for an axle with wheels; between the legs there were arch-shaped rods with small pendent rings; only one of them preserved, no pendant extant. On the upper corners of the stand diagonal struts were fixed, which carried a ring for placing a vessel on top. Only one fragment of a diagonal strut is preserved (fragment o). A small human figure is placed at the junction, looking outwards. The ring is missing. The stand is composed of rods of different diameter and single figures, which have been soldered together or joined by a comparable technique⁶. Most figures are cast in relief with flat back, few in the round. There are more fragments of rods and

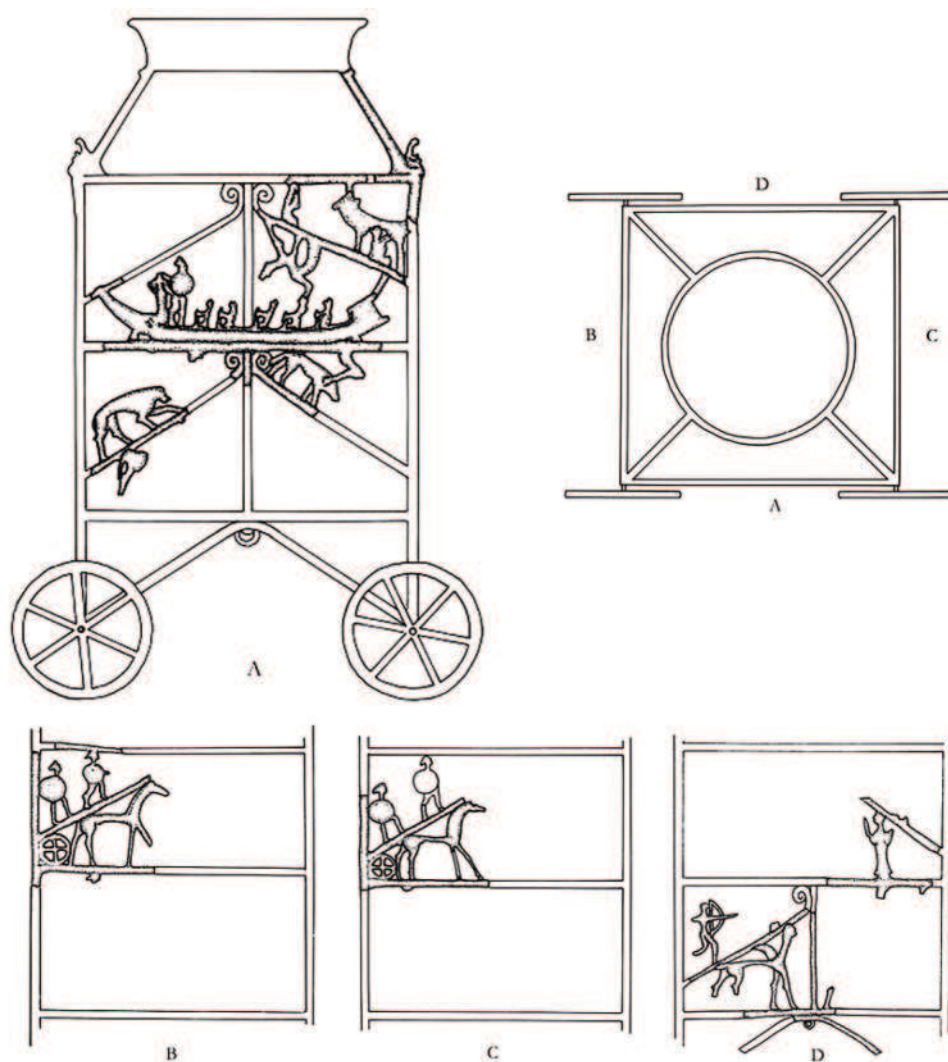


figures in Heraklion Museum, which make a thorough reexamination of the fragments necessary in order to come to a more reliable reconstruction⁷. Fragment a has the largest part of one side preserved, fragments c and d probably belong to the left and right of this side, fragment b (and possibly fragments f and m) would be part of the back, opposite fragment a. It is not absolutely certain whether all fragments, which are catalogued here, do indeed belong to one stand only. Therefore, as stated above already, a renewed study of the originals must be undertaken.

Cf. Papasavvas, in Appendix III, no. 13.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 727-732, pl. XI; Orsi 1888, 883-896; Karo 1905; Maraghiannis 1907, pl. XLII; Karo 1920, 132-133; *idem* 1921, 1795; Bossert 1921, 30, fig. 113 (in later editions the piece was omitted); Salis 1930, 17-19, fig. 13; Dohan 1930/31, 212, fig. 3; Alexiou 1958; Catling 1964, 222; Fittschen 1969, 52 no. A2; Rolley 1977, 118-129 (fundamental study); Blome 1982, 25, fig. 8, pl. 11; Kahil 1988, 532 no. 182; Byrne 1991, pl. XXI, top; Sakellarakis 1995, 195, fig. 4; Papasavvas 2001, 249-252 no. 48, fig. 132-145 (detailed description of fragments); Matthäus 2005c, 325-326, fig. 14; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, 398.

Reconstruction



This drawing is an attempt to reconstruct the main side of stand no. IC 16 as well as to show the position of the main fragments of the other sides. According to the size of the stand, a reconstruction with wheels seems to be more probable.

a) Large fragment of upper register and parts of lower right panel.

Greatest height: 26.3cm; greatest length: 37cm; length of horizontal rod: 32.3cm; diameter of horizontal rods approximately: 1.0cm; of diagonal struts: 0.85cm
Her. Arch. Mus., X 186.



On top small part of horizontal rod, the upper frame of the panel; below long horizontal one. Long ship (man-of-war) with 5 oarsmen. In the stern a human couple, a warrior armed with helmet and round shield to right, a woman in long robe with upraised hands *en face*, head missing. The man grasps the hand of the woman and seems to lead her onto the ship. The panel was divided by a vertical rod (only traces on the back of the ship preserved) in the middle of the ship, between the second and third oarsman from the left, functioning as the mast at the same time.

Above the right section of the ship a diagonal strut is preserved, which was connected to the bow of the ship with a small rod, which after restoration is too long, with the consequence that the upper horizontal frame is now in a slightly oblique position. A figure of a bird, flying to the right is hanging from the diagonal strut: flat wing, tail and one of the legs (with triangular joints) are connected with the strut, second leg broken, its head is soldered to the head of the second oarsman from the right.

On top of the diagonal strut a cow to left, milked by a crouching person, opposite a crouching human figure, holding an unidentifiable object ('tambourin' according to Cl. Rolley, 'ἀρτος' according to G. Papasavvas).

Below the ship two antithetic diagonal struts ending in volutes and meeting in the middle at the end of a vertical rod, which once divided the lower register into

two parts. On the right a quadruped, probably a dog, whose neck is touched by a human figure, the lower part of which is lost. To the left underneath the horizontal rod the head of an animal.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 729-730 nos. 2-3, pl. XI, 1, 5; Karo 1905, fig. 12; Rolley 1977, 110 no. 1, figs 40, 41; Papasavvas 2001, 250 no. 48α, figs 132 (complete), 135 -136, 139, 142-143 (details); Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, 398, top right.

b) Left part of lower register.

Greatest height: 18.5cm; diameter of horizontal rods: 1.1cm; of diagonal strut: 0.9cm; of vertical rod: 0.8cm
Her. Arch. Mus., X 1636 and 1637 ex collection Mitsotakis.



Horizontal rod below, vertical rod on the right side, once the central division of the two parts of the register. The better preserved panel is divided by a diagonal strut. On top a running archer aiming at an animal, which is lost, only one foot visible (according to Papasavvas possibly a bird). Below a sphinx, to the right, cast in the round, very slender neck and body, legs with triangular joints, large head with long coiffure. Body resembles that of a horse. To the right of the vertical rod a foot of an animal, possibly a sphinx, placed antithetically to the one just described, or a human being?

Below the lower frame an arch-shaped strut, with a pendant ring, pendant lost.

Rolley 1977, 123, fig. 57 has tentatively tried to place the fragment below fragment a, but the two parts do not seem to fit together exactly. Rolley's combination nevertheless illustrates the general shape of the stand.

Bibl.: Archer: Halbherr 1888, 732 no. 13: 'Milite in piedi con arco teso in atto di scoccare una freccia (Mitsotaki)'; Rolley 1977, 119 no. 2, figs 42, 43; Blome 1982, pl. 11,1 top left (sphinx); 11,2 right side, second row, centre; Papasavvas 2001, 250 no. 48β, fig. 145.

c) Fragment of upper left panel.

Height of panel: 19cm, diameter of vertical frame: 1.0-1.3cm; of horizontal rods: 0.85cm
Her. Arch. Mus., X 185.



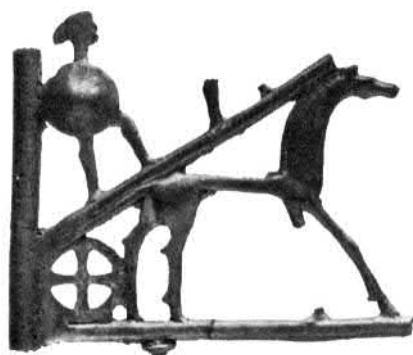
The fragment is delimited by a rounded to angular frame on the left, horizontal rods on top and below. It is divided into two fields by a diagonal strut. Below a horse to right with slender body; stout neck and mane, legs with triangular joints. Behind the horse a four-spoked wheel, abbreviation of a chariot. On top of the diagonal strut two helmeted warriors with round shields to right, probably mounting the chariot. The helmet of the right warrior touches the horizontal frame. He is armed with a lance (small part preserved).

A helmeted head below the lower horizontal rod. This makes certain that fragment c cannot have been placed on top of fragment b.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 728-729 no. 1, pl. XI, 2; Karo 1905, fig. 2; Rolley 1977, 119 no. 3, fig. 44; Papasavvas 2001, 250 no. 48γ, fig. 140, top, 141; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, 398, top left.

d) Fragment of upper left panel.

Her. Arch. Mus., X 1635 ex collection Mitsotakis.



Similar to fragment c, although in worse state of preservation. Frame to left side, only feet of right warrior

preserved. Underneath the horizontal rod, below the hind legs of the horse small traces of the head of a figure.

Bibl.: Rolley 1977, 119 no. 4, fig. 45, 46; Papasavvas 2001, 250 no. 48δ, 140, bottom; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, 398, bottom left.

e) Figure of quadruped.

Preserved length: 13.7cm; length of figure: 11.5cm; height of figure: 6.0cm Her. Arch. Mus., X 188.



Figure of quadruped on horizontal or diagonal rod, possibly a dog, to right; curved back, triangular joints. Fragment of a second figure of a quadruped (horse?) below.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 731 no. 5, pl. XI, 4; Karo 1905, fig. 3; Rolley 1977, 119 no. 5, fig. 47, 48; Papasavvas 250-251 no. 48ε, fig. 144 (more complete).

f) Dog with collar to the right on horizontal rod.

Length of figure: 9.0cm; height: 6.5cm
Her. Arch. Mus., X 187.



Curved forelegs, angular joints at hind legs. Fragment of diagonal strut at the back of the figure. Part of vertical rod below the hind legs of the dog. Part of lower left corner of upper register.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 731 no. 4, pl. XI, 6; Karo 1905, fig. 4; Rolley 1977, 119 no. 6, fig. 49; Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48σ.

g) *Figure of warrior.*

Greatest length: 10cm



Her. Arch. Mus., X 193.

Figure of warrior with round shield to left, throwing a spear.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, pl. XI, 3 (not mentioned in the text); Rolley 1977, 119 no. 7, fig. 50; Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48ζ.

h) *Fragment of two helmeted warriors.*

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.



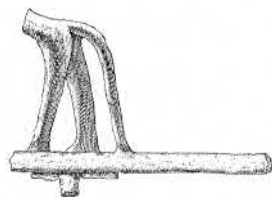
Fragment of two helmeted warriors, with a round shield, throwing a spear.

Bibl.: Karo 1905, fig. 6; Rolley 1977, 119 no. 8, fig. 52; Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48η.

i) *Hind legs and long tail of horse.*

Height of figure: 6.0cm

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.



Hind legs and long tail of horse standing on a horizontal rod, underneath a small vertical fragment of a strut.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 731 no. 7; Rolley 1977, 119 no. 9, fig. 54; Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48μ.

j) - l) *Three fragments of warriors.*

Maximum height: 10cm

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.



Three fragments of warriors, armed with round shields. Two figures in better state of preservation: bearded face, eye in low relief. Both according to their pose probably standing on a diagonal strut. One of them to right, legs broken away, the other one to left, holding or throwing a lance (partly preserved). The positions of their legs show that these two must have been placed on diagonal struts (as on the warriors on fragments c and d, although they differ in detail: warriors with long necks on fragments c and d, stout figures with their head directly placed above the shield in the case of fragments j - l).

Bibl.: Halbherr and Orsi 1888b, 731, nos 10-12, fig; Rolley 1977, 119 nos. 10-12, fig. 51; Blome 1982, pl. 11, 2 right side, second row from top, left and right; Papasavvas 2001, No. 48 θ-λ.

m) *Female figure in long robe en face.*

Greatest height of figure: 9.1cm

Her. Arch. Mus., X 1638 ex collection Mitsotakis.



Female figure in long robe *en face*, head to left, arms uplifted (as on fragment a), in the right she is holding a sword, knife or comparable object (evidently not a spindle, as Rolley proposes as possible alternative interpretation). The woman is standing on a horizontal rod (pres. length 9.1 cm), below the head of another figure with horizontal headdress, on which three round objects may be recognized: *'un plat et 3 gâteaux?* (Rolley). On top of woman diagonal strut with traces of two human feet. The fragment must be the lower right corner of the upper register of one side.

Bibl.: Rolley 1977, 119 no. 13, fig. 50; Papasavvas 2001, no. 48ζ, fig. 137 (more complete); Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005, 398, bottom right.

n) *Upper part of long-haired nude human (female?) figure.*
Her. Arch. Mus., X 199.



Upper part of long-haired nude human (female?) figure with out-stretched arms. Very slender body.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 732, no. 14, pl. XI, 7; Karo 1905, fig. 5; Rolley 1977, 123 no. 14, fig. 53; Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48v; Lebessi 2002, 76 Abb. 45 («ηνίοχος(;)»).

o) *Upper corner of the stand.*

Greatest length: 19.0cm; section of diagonal strut: 1 x 1.9cm; length of vertical frame: 12.0cm, diameter of vertical frame: 1.2cm; of horizontal rods: 0.9cm
Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.



Vertical frame below, joined by a rod to the right and the left and a diagonal angular strut, which connected the four-sided part with the round ring, originally carrying a vase on top. Very small trace of the lower rim of the ring. At the junction of the different parts a small sitting human figure holding a vessel.

Bibl.: Halbherr 1888, 732, fig; Karo 1905, fig. 7; Rolley 1977, 123 no. 15, figs 55, 56; Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48η, fig. 133.

p) *Small fragment of probably diagonal strut with small animal to right.*

Length of small animal: 4.0cm
Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.



Small fragment of probably diagonal strut with small animal to right (not to left, as Papasavvas says). Leg of larger animal behind. Papasavvas describes the head and horn of a wild goat or ibex below the rod; there is no illustration available.

Bibl.: Halbherr and Orsi 1888b, 731 no. 8; Blome 1982, pl. 11. 2, right row, third figure from top; Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48ξ.

q) *Fragment of figure of stag to right.*

Greatest height: 6.5cm; greatest length: 4.3cm
Nation. Arch. Mus., Inv. No. 18223 ex collection Mitsotakis.



Fragment of figure of stag to right. Head, turned outward, upper part of forelegs and part of body preserved.

Bibl.: Papasavvas 2001, 251 no. 48ο, fig. 138.

r) *Small fragment of diagonal strut.*

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.



Small fragment of diagonal strut, with human head cast in the round to left. Head like that of sphinx no. b, from the opposite panel of the same register?

Bibl.: Sakellarakis 1995, 195, fig. 4; Papasavvas 2001, 251-252 no. 48π.

s - u) *Three fragmentary figures.*

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.



Three fragmentary figures from Y. A. Sakellarakis' excavations in 1986: warrior with helmet and shield, one leg lost; head of helmeted warrior, fragment of bird, comparable to the one in fragment a.

Bibl.: Sakellarakis 1986b, 146, fig. 135; not in Papasavvas 2001.

17. IC 17. Fragment of wheel of four-sided stand (?)

About one third of a bronze wheel with one spoke. Cleaned, dark red to black patina.

Greatest length: 12cm; greatest height: 5.9cm; original diam. of wheel: ca. 12.7cm

From Idaean Cave 1956.

Her. Arch. Mus., X 3046.

Date: PG/G

Cast wheel, section wedge-shaped. Part of the wheel has either been damaged during use or already in the process of casting. Therefore, it has been repaired by secondary casting on ('Überfangguss') metal of different composition (rougher surface) in a rather clumsy way; in this part the section is rectangular. Section of spoke circular. Probably wheel of a four-sided stand of Cypro-Cretan type.

Unpublished.



18. IC 18. Pair of wheels of four-sided stand (?)

Two bronze wheels of identical dimensions, one of them made up of several fragments, parts modern. Dark green patina.

Diameter: 15cm

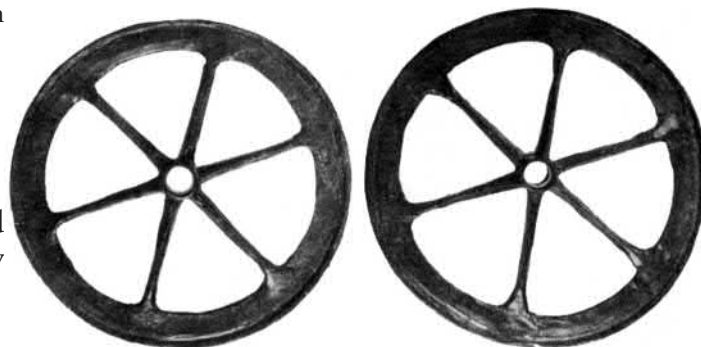
From Idaean Cave, southern part, 1982

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.

Date: PG/G

Cast wheels with six spokes of elliptical section, broad felloe and small hub. Parts of the same object, probably a stand of Cypro-Cretan type.

Bibl.: Sakellarakis 1983, 438 - 439, pl. 260 b.



19. IC 19. Wheel of four-sided stand (?)

Diameter: 13.7cm

From Idaean Cave, southern part, 1982.

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.

Date: PG/G

Cast bronze wheel with four spokes, placed a bit irregularly, narrow wheel flange and small hub. Probably part of a stand of Cypro-Cretan type.

Bibl.: Sakellarakis 1983, 439, pl. 260 c.





20. IC 20. Wheel of four-sided stand (?)

Diameter: ca. 13.5cm

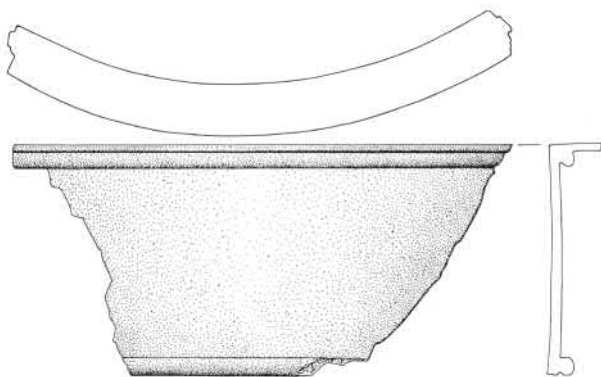
From Idaean Cave 1885.

Her. Arch. Mus., unnumbered.

Date: PG/G

Cast bronze wheel, six spokes of round section, tripartite (three concentric relief circles) broad wheel flange, larger central hub. Probably part of a four-sided stand of Cypro-Cretan type.

Bibl.: Karo 1905, 63, fig. 9 - as far as I can see, the only publication.



21. IC 21. Fragment of ring of four-sided stand

Fragment of the ring of a four-sided stand. Cleaned, dull grey patina.

Greatest length: 19.6cm; height: 9.0cm; original diam. of ring: ca. 40 cm

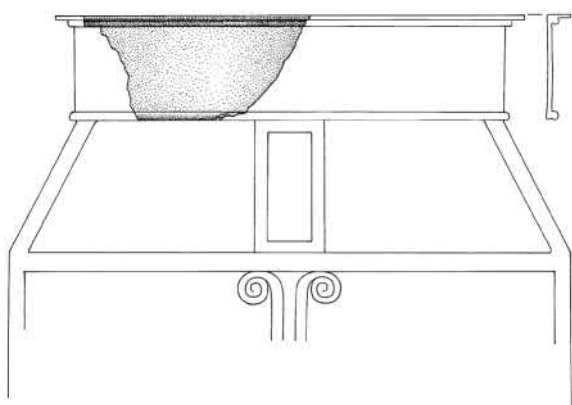
From Idaean Cave 1885.

Her. Arch. Mus., X 79.

Date: PG/G

Cast band-shaped bronze ring—very probably, according to its size—of four-sided stand, not of a tripod. Ring undecorated, horizontal flat rim, rounded profile below. At the bottom again round ridge. According to its size, the ring cannot have been part of the four sided stand no. IC 16.

Unpublished.



*General comment: Late Bronze Age Cypriote rod tripods and four-sided stands-Early Iron Age Cretan successors**Tripod stands*

During the 13th century B.C. Cypriote bronze-working ateliers created rod tripods, tripods with curved band-shaped legs, four-sided stands (with and without wheels) and related objects which are destined to carry a vase. Forerunners of the rod tripods, the most numerous class, can be found in south-east Anatolia and Syria, furthermore there may have been influences from Egypt in the style of decoration. These smaller and larger, sometimes monumental works of art were produced in the wealthy, flourishing city-states of the island of Cyprus, in Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke and other places, as is documented not only by their distribution, but also by finds of moulds.

I shall comment only on rod tripods and four-sided stands, as these are the types, which—in local adaption—are represented in the Idaean Cave of Zeus. Cypriote rod tripods are characterized by a ring of varying shape, on which a vessel is placed, and—as the name implies—by three legs, which consist of a varying number of rods. There are diagonal struts, which connect the middle part of the legs with the ring, reinforcing the construction; furthermore at the same height, horizontal struts, ending in a small ring, may connect the legs with one another. The height of the tripods varies from less than 8 to about 40 cm. The spectrum of typological and decorative variations is so numerous that it does not allow the definition of exact sub-types. The ring can be made up of rods, sometimes with spirals or zigzag in *ajourée* technique, it may be band-shaped with mere ornament or figural decoration, either as a frieze or a system of panels. Also the shapes of the legs vary; at least they usually end in antithetic volutes at the upper end, and there may be further decorative elements like pomegranate pendants or animal protomes.

The exact technique of manufacture of rod tripods is still a matter of discussion. Smaller specimens may have been cast in a single process, others may have been composed of smaller parts by hard soldering. For the function of the objects cf. below the remarks on four-sided stands.

Rod tripods, which have been found in settlement contexts, sanctuaries and tombs, start during the Late Cypriote II C period (13th century B.C.; e.g. in Pyla-Kokkinokremos), as do the much smaller tripods with curved band-shaped legs. They continue well into Late Cypriote IIIA (12th century B.C.). These two

periods are the hallmark of Cypriote Late Bronze Age civilization. The end of the production is unknown. There are numerous finds from later tomb contexts - Late Cypriote III B (ca. first half of 11th century B.C.; e.g. from Kourion, Kaloriziki, tomb 40) and Cypro-Geometric I (ca. 1050 - 950 B.C.; e.g. Kouklia-Skales, tombs 49 and 58). G. Papasavvas' most recent and most thorough analysis has shown that there are typological parallels between these late finds and earlier ones; moreover, a rod tripod from a Cypro-Geometric I context, from Kourion, Kaloriziki tomb 39, shows extensive repairs, which point to a very long period of use. Taking the evidence together, the conclusion seems to be that the production of rod tripods on Cyprus may have come to an end already in Late Cypriote IIIA (12th century B.C.)—if not earlier, as early as the end of Late Cypriote IIC, as G. Papasavvas supposes, although without sound evidence.

Cypriote rod tripods have been discovered in Enkomi, Kouklia/Palaipaphos, Kourion, Pyla and Kition. As works of art, which display high technical and aesthetic qualities, they were appreciated outside the island of Cyprus as well. Imports in Israel (Beth Shan, Tel Nami), in the Cape Gelidonya shipwreck, in the Aegean (Tiryns, Anthedon) and as far west as mainland Italy (Contigliano-Piediluco) and Sardinia illustrate a geographical distribution all over the Mediterranean.

On the island of Crete there is only slight evidence of imports, probably due to the hazards of preservation. But probably already at the end of the Late Minoan period the type was locally produced in Palaikastro on the east coast of the island. During the British excavations, fragments of terracotta moulds (foundry refuse) have been discovered, which had been used for the production of a rod tripod of very large dimensions (Hemingway 1996), although this identification has been questioned (Catling 1997b; Papasavvas 2001, 185-189). The author has had the opportunity to study the original fragments (Matthäus 2004, 112-114)⁸. In my opinion the identification is correct; the more important problem seems to be the stratigraphical association, which is not very precise. Some sherds—of LM IIIA:2 or LM IIIB date—found in the neighbourhood cannot be connected with the fragments of foundry refuse with certainty. The type of this Cretan tripod is very similar to Cypriote Late Bronze Age specimens.

In any case, after 1000 B.C., during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods, which means at a time when

Cypriote originals were no longer available to customers in Greece, a vivid local production of tripod stands started on the island of Crete, on Euboea and possibly in other regions of the Aegean as well. There has been a long and controversial debate on the question, whether the finds in first millennium B.C. contexts from Crete, Thera/Santorini and Samos are heirlooms of Cypriote imports or monuments documenting local Greek workmanship of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. H. W. Catling has advocated Cypriote originals, which have remained in use for generations, whereas the author and—following his views—G. Papasavvas have pointed to typological idiosyncrasies of the majority of the tripods, found in Early Iron Age Greece. First of all, the type of legs has changed: whereas rod construction still appears, most tripods show band-shaped legs with lateral flanges, e. g. in Vrokastro, Fortetsa, Knossos, North Cemetery, Thera/Sellada, Palaikastro, Kato Syme, on the Acropolis of Athens. So, these are not rod tripods *sensu stricto* any more, but stands with a broad leg, which offers an oblong field, that can be used for displaying ornament of various types like vertical ridges or spiral decoration—in this function comparable to the legs of Greek tripod cauldrons. The ring is now always broad and band-shaped, usually having a broad projecting upper rim. Spiral ornament on the ring is attested. The lower end of the leg often has a narrow contraction above a round foot-plate. All these features - band-shaped leg, foot-plate, band-shaped ring with broad horizontal rim - have no match on the island of Cyprus. The conclusion seems inevitable, that these types indeed represent local Greek successors of the Cypriote rod tripods⁹, monuments illustrating a flourishing local bronze industry on the island of Crete at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

Only few of the tripods from the Aegean can be dated more or less securely. Tripods from Vrokastro, Karakovilia, tomb 1 and Fortetsa, tomb XI have been discovered in Protogeometric contexts, Knossos, North Cemetery, tomb 100 had pottery of Middle and Late Protogeometric as well as Protogeometric B date, which points to the late 10th and 9th century B.C., whereas the two specimens from Sellada come from a tomb and a pyre, which are probably as late as the eighth century B.C., although the tripod stands may have been manufactured much earlier. I would like to include the fragments of terracotta moulds (foundry refuse) from the settlement of Lefkandi, which are decorated with vertical ridges and spiral ornament, as well: in my opinion they were probably used for casting legs of large tripod stands (but cf. Kiderlen 2010, 100-102, fig. 2).

The associated pottery is Late Protogeometric.

All identifiable fragments from the Idaean Cave of Zeus belong to the type of tripod stand with band-shaped legs, and consequently may be identified as Cretan Iron Age products. The formal characteristics—cast band with lateral flanges, sometimes relief ornament—allows the identification of even very tiny bits of bronze without doubt (contra Papasavvas 2001, 233).

First of all, what can be said about the number of tripod stands from the Idaean Cave? No. IC 5 (heavy leg with parallel ridges) stands apart, as do nos IC 13 (zigzag ornament), 14 (concentric circles) and 15 (S-spirals). Nos IC 11 and 12 (both with floral ornament) come from different tripods, as the dimension of the legs and the general arrangement of the ornament do not correspond. Nos IC 6 and IC 7 (herringbone ornament) are probably from the same tripod stand, perhaps also no. IC 8, whereas no. IC 9 is of a different type. No. IC 10 is too small for certain judgement. This means that at least eight tripod stands must have been among the votives in the cave.

The ornaments of the fragments display a characteristic spectrum, quite typical for the Cretan production: no. IC 5 with its parallel ridges has a good counterpart in the tripod from Vrokastro, Karakovilia, tomb 1, which can be dated to the Protogeometric period (Matthäus 1985, pl. 136, 1; Papasavvas 2001, fig. 119), spiral ornament in low relief comparable to no. IC 15 is found on the specimen from Fortetsa, tomb XI, Protogeometric in date (Matthäus 1985, pl. 134, 1; Papasavvas 2001, fig. 113)¹⁰, concentric circles on the ring of one of the tripods from Thera, from a Late Geometric context (Matthäus 1985, pl. 134, 4; Papasavvas 2001, fig. 131) as well as—engraved—on a leg, probably of a tripod from the Acropolis of Athens (De Ridder 1896, 26-27 no. 62, fig. 6). Moreover, similar ornament can be found on the legs of Cretan tripod cauldrons, especially earlier specimens, which may be dated around 800 B.C. (Maaß 1977, pls 13, 1-2: spirals; *ibid.* pl. 15, 5-7: S-spirals and concentric circles; a Late Geometric piece—*ibid.* pl. 22, 2—shows a combination of S-spirals and zigzag).

Ornament of antithetic arches, giving the impression of a foliate pattern, a twig or tree seems to be typical for vase painting of Protogeometric B date, where a more elaborate drawing can be seen (Coldstream and Catling (eds) 1996, fig. 109, 107; 111, 107; 118, 18; 133, 283; 150, 292.144; PG: *ibid.*: fig. 84, 20; 137, 285.60); at the same period herringbone pattern, which has the same floral character, can be observed (Coldstream and

Catling (eds) 1996, fig. 109, 114), although this appears also on considerably earlier vases as well (Coldstream and Catling (eds) 1996, fig. 86, 3; 141, 114).

If we try to consider the available evidence, a possible period of manufacture for the tripod stands from the Idaean Cave of Zeus, which covers the time span of the 10th and 9th century (Protogeometric to Protogeometric B), seems plausible, although the lower borderline cannot be defined accurately.

Four-sided stands

Contemporary with rod tripods, Cypriote bronze-working ateliers of the 13th to 12th century B.C. produced four-sided stands. They consist of a rectangular frame, which usually encloses figural decoration in relief or *ajourée* technique - women in a window, bulls, offering scenes, processions, mythical creatures, animal combats - and a ring, decorated with ornament or an animal frieze in relief, on top of which a metal vase was carried. In detail there is a considerable degree of typological variation. There are two main varieties, with wheels, whose axles are inserted in loops at the lower end of the side-posts, and simpler versions without wheels. Stands without wheels are usually miniatures of modest dimensions between 10 and 17 cm, while wheeled examples are considerably larger, between ca. 19 and 35 cm in height.

The figural decoration, displaying offering scenes, processions and mythical creatures, indicates that the objects were used for cultic purposes, their vessels, which are lost, containing water for lustration or being used for burning aromatics. Rod tripods probably had a comparable function.

Unfortunately all stands have no precisely datable context. Most of them came into museum collections via the art market, so in most cases even their find-spots remain unknown. A small stand from Enkomi, British tomb 97 has a very wide chronological margin between Late Cypriote IIC and Late Cypriote III A. Representations of men, who carry oxhide ingots at least allow the dating of stands in London and the Israel Museum as well as a fragment in Toronto to the Late Cypriote period. The technical features seem to point to a period of production parallel to rod tripods and comparable stands. The figural style of some stands, which have otherwise heterogeneous features, may be compared to Cypriote glyptics of the thirteenth century, e.g. pithoi decorated with impressions of cylinder seals

from Alassa. Stone moulds for casting figures of four-sided stands from Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke at least allow the identification of two production centres on the island of Aphrodite.

Cypriote stands were exported to the Levant, as an example from Megiddo, unfortunately again an isolated find without context, proves, as well as into the Aegean. Wheels as well as fragments of a frame and a loop for an axle from Tel Mique/Ekron seem to have been part of a Cypriote stand as well¹¹. In Crete there is a clay imitation of a Cypriote stand, although with decoration in Minoan style, from the LM IIIC settlement of Karphi, and a very fragmented, burnt bronze original was found in tomb 201 of the Knossos North Cemetery, which dates to the Subminoan period.

On the island of Crete these imports were a stimulus, which led to local imitations of richly decorated stands, which show a comparable general construction, probably at a period, when - as in the case of the tripods - Cypriote originals were no longer available on the market.

The stand from the Idaean Cave of Zeus no. IC 16 was for a long time the only known example, until fragments of a further example, displaying a closely related Late Geometric figural style, were discovered in the meanwhile famous Khaniala Tekke tholos in 1940 (Hutchinson and Boardman 1954, pl. 30 left). During recent years a series of finds from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme as well as a number of Cretan votives in the sanctuary of Apollon at Delphi, furthermore a fragment from the sanctuary of Athena at Ialysos have enriched our knowledge of decorative styles and chronology of these elegant works of art. In Syme the series seems to start during the ninth century B.C. with specimens in a strongly Orientalizing style¹².

The wheeled stand from the Idaean Cave of Zeus no. IC 16 seems to come near the end of the Cretan local production. It shows a figural style which has changed considerably in comparison to the earlier stands from Kato Syme. There was a change, if not a break, in the artistic models: iconography and style now strongly depend on Attic art of the Late Geometric period. The group of a man and a woman, possibly the abduction of a woman and very probably a mythical episode, possibly Paris/Alexandros and Helen¹³, finds its parallel on an Attic Late Geometric IIa *krater* of the Sub-Dipylon group in the British Museum (Murray 1899, pl. 8; Hampe 1936, pl. 22b; *idem* 1952, 37, pl. 18b; Schefold 1964, 17, 22-24, pl. 5c; Schweitzer 1969, pl.

72; Hampe 1981, 508-509 no. 56; Kahil 1988, 532 no. 180; Coldstream 2008, 28; *idem* 2009, 55-56; Hurwit 2011, 10, fig. 9). The representation of a ship is paralleled in vase-paintings, which start at the time of the Dipylon workshop, while some animal figures in a curving post-Geometric style indicate a date of the stand near the end of the Geometric period or at the transition to the 7th century B.C. respectively. The most convincing stylistic parallel on the island of Crete is offered by fragments of a stand from the Khaniale Tekke tholos¹⁴. This may perhaps point to Knossos, at this time still the foremost cultural and political centre of the island, as place of

manufacture.

The fragment of a ring of a stand no. IC 21, having a profile that is also found on tripod stands of Cretan workmanship, as well as the wheels nos IC 17 - 20 are evidence that some more objects of this kind were among the dedications in the sacred cave of Zeus¹⁵.

Just to complete the picture of the influence of Cypriote Late Bronze Age art in the Mediterranean, we may add that local successors of Cypriote four-sided stands have come to light in Iron Age contexts in Italy and on the Iberian Peninsula.

General Bibliography:

a) Tripods and four-sided stands in general: Catling 1964, 190-227; Matthäus 1985, 299-334; Papasavvas 2001; *idem* 2004.

b) Late Bronze Age rod tripods from Cyprus and the Levant, more recent finds: Raptou 2002, 119 (Kouklia/Palaipaphos, Plakes, tomb 146); Karageorghis 2005, pl. XXIX 1678; CXL 1678 (Kition, Area II, Floors 3-2A, fragment of leg); Hemingway and Lie 2007 (find-spot unknown, tripod in Harvard, unusual type, mixture of rod tripod and cast tripod); Artzy 1994, 126, fig. 5 (Tel Nami); Finkelstein 2000, 412, fig. 12.49, 2 (Megiddo, fragment of ring); Artzy 2006, 46, fig. 2.13, pl. 20-21 (Jatt, unusual type, bowl fixed to rim).

c) Tripod stands, problem of local Greek (Cretan) production: Catling 1984; Matthäus 1987; *idem* 1988; Papasavvas 2001.

d) Tripod stands, more recent finds from the Aegean: Coldstream and Catling (eds) 1996, fig. 160, 100. f 4, 822, 23, 30, pl. 271, 100. f 4, 8, 21 - 23 (Knossos North Cemetery, tomb 100, fragments, Cypriote or Cretan ?); Kanta and Karetsou 1997 (imitations in clay); Stampolidis 1998a, 232-233 no. 277 (ring of tripod from Eleutherna ?).

e) Four sided stands, more recent finds : Rolley 1977, 115-118, pl. LII-LIII (Delphi, fundamental study); Gubel 1995, 158, 161 no. 340 (Late Bronze Age stand, said to be from Lebanon, not in Papasavvas 2001); Martelli 1988, 109, fig. 6; *idem* 2003, 470, fig. 3 (Ialysos); Dothan 1995, 52, fig. 3.16 (Tel Miqne/Ekron); Karageorghis and Papasavvas 2001 (ingot bearer, fragment of four-sided stand in Toronto); Lebesi 2002, 229-234, pl. 13 (Kato Syme).

f) Tripods and four-sided stands, Cypriote and local successors from Central and Western Mediterranean: Lo Schiavo, Macnamara and Vagnetti 1985 (tripods and four-sided stands, Sardinia and Italian mainland); Woytowitsch 1978, 58-60 no. 127, pl. 24; Torelli 1996 (four-sided stand, Bisenzio, Olmo Bello, tomb 2); Silva, Silva and Lopes 1984; Silva 1986, 182-183, 206-207, fig. XCVI; CXLV 1; Silva and Gomes 1994, 72-73, fig. 23; Senna-Martinez 2005, 904, fig. 2; cf. also Mederos Martín 2009 (four-sided stand, Castro da Senhora da Guia/Baiões, Portugal).

g) Technique of manufacture: Catling 1964, 190-191 and *passim*; Papasavvas 2001, 12-45 (cf. critically: Rolley 2002, 275-276; Matthäus 2005b); Papasavvas 2003; Schorsch and Hendrix 2003; Matthäus 2004; Hemingway and Lie 2007.

(Endnotes)

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2 Due to the lack of written sources, it is not possible to define whether there was a continuity of a specific cult or a continuity of the cult-place (with changing deities from the Minoan period to the Early Iron Age). Besides Prent 2005 cf. Chaniotis 2006. For the problem of a possible female cult besides that of Cretan Zeus cf. Prent 2005 and Byrne 1991, 81, 203.

3 Cf. Halbherr 1888, 695-696. G. Mitsotakis was vice-consul of Russia in Heraklion, Th. A. Triphyllus consul of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and consular agent of England in Rethymnon. Few pieces came into the collection of Stavros Makrakis in Heraklion, and later on into the collection of the *Φιλεπαιδευτικού Συλλόγου* in Heraklion, which became the Heraklion Archaeological Museum.

4 I am not sure whether a bowl from the sanctuary of Athena Itonia near Philia/Thessaly belongs to the same type: Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 93, no. 1440 (without further comment), pl. 92, 1440—a thickened band drawn along the rim in the interior of the hemispherical bowl.

5 There are many unpublished bowls, especially of simple hemispherical type, with string-holes from the Idaean Cave of Zeus as well as from unpublished tombs in Ambelokipoi north of Knossos; cf. e.g. Bredaki 1998, 239-240 no. 289. Bowl with handle and string-hole from the Idaean Cave: Matthäus 2001, 173, fig. 13.

6 For the technique cf. Papasavvas 2001, 199-202; Matthäus 2004 and 2005b.

7 I have not been able to identify a fragment mentioned by Halbherr 1888, 731 no. 9 (“Quadrupede sdraiato al quanto incrostato dall’ossidazione. La verga massiccia su cui poggia non è cilindrica ma a sezione triangolare...”); a crouching figure of an animal published by Karo 1905, fig. 8 is probably no part of the stand.

8 I am very thankful to A. MacGillivray, who has kindly made the fragments, which are now in the storerooms of the British excavations at Palaikastro, accessible to me. I may mention that

another find of alleged moulds for casting a tripod, from Hala Sulta Tekke (Åström 2000), must be discarded. The author has had the opportunity to study the original fragments thanks to Paul Åström’s generous permission in Larnaca Museum. These are tiny fragments of crucibles, not of a mould of a tripod stand.

9 This does not mean, of course, that all tripod stands from Greek Iron Age contexts are necessarily first millennium Greek monuments. In some cases, e. g. the tripod from the Pnyx in Athens, the one from Knossos, tomb 3, or Knossos North Cemetery, tomb 100, Cypriote originals may have been in use until the Geometric period.

10 Cypriote forerunner with relief spirals on the ring: Kouklia-Skales, tomb 58; Matthäus 1985, pl. 92, 684; Papasavvas 2001, fig. 3.

11 10 wheeled stands carrying cauldrons with water (Kesselwagen) in the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem (1st Kings 7, 27-39) are very probably larger versions—height ca. 1.5m, width ca. 2m—of the same basic type. Furtwängler 1913, 298-313; Busink 1970, 337-352; Falsone 1986, 228-229; Zwickel 1999, 136-142; cf. Papasavvas 2001, 146-149.

12 Gubel 2000, 203-204, fig. 25 has even tried to identify one specimen as a Phoenician work of art.

13 I shall not comment on the long and controversial discussion, whether mythological representations can be found in Attic vase-painting before 700 B.C. There are pictures in other media, e. g. fighting centaurs on a gold band in an American private collection, which are mythical and clearly date to the Late Geometric period (Padgett 2003, 140-143 no. 17); for a contrary view see recently Giuliani 2003.

14 Papasavvas 2001, 192-193, suppl. fig. 4 places the stand from the Idaean Cave as well as the Khaniale Tekke fragments together with fragments from Amnissos and Delphi into his “workshop 2”. I cannot follow this classification: the horse fragments from Amnissos and Delphi, his nos 50 and 51, display a different style, whereas the fragmentary stand from Delphi no. 52 is close in date and style, but the figural style is not as similar as to allow identification of the same workshop with certainty.

15 Although it is not certain that all wheels are indeed parts of stands of Cypriote tradition and not parts of different kinds of objects; cf. my remarks on two wheels from Lefkandi, Toumba, tomb 39: Matthäus forthcoming.