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### A quarry-mark from ancient Thera

*Eleni K. Tziligkaki*

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# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,  
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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**Περιεχόμενα**  
**EYΛΙΜΕΝΗ 15-16 (2014-2015)**

**List of Contents**  
**EULIMENE 15-16 (2014-2015)**

<b>Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti</b> .....	6
<b>Eirene Roupaki</b> , Hand mills from the vicinity of the Athenian Acropolis. The findings from Athens Metropolitan Railway excavations.....	11
<b>Nikos Panagiotakis – Marina Panagiotaki</b> , <i>Kefala</i> between Skopela and Gournes: A possible Greek sanctuary .....	55
<b>Απόστολος Δ. Θάνος</b> , Ο ζωγράφος του Τάλω. Παρατηρήσεις στα έργα ενός αγγειογράφου του τέλους του 5 <sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ. ....	67
<b>Εριφύλη Κανίνια</b> , Χρυσά στεφάνια με φύλλα κισσού από τις αρχαίες ροδιακές νεκροπόλεις, .....	101
† <b>Γιώργος Δεσπίνης</b> , Πλακούντες ιδιόσημοι.....	121
<b>Eleni K. Tziligkaki</b> , A quarry-mark from ancient Thera .....	131
<b>Βιβλιοκρισίες / Book Reviews</b>	
Rocha Pereira, M. Helena. <i>Greek vases in Portugal</i> (2nd edition with a new supplement; 1st edition 1962). Coimbra: Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos da Universidade de Coimbra (CECH), 2010. 165 p., 66 p. of plates. €17.00 (pb). ISBN 9789898281241 ( <b>Anthi Dipla</b> ).....	149
Hans v. Mangoldt, <i>Makedonische Grabarchitektur. Die Makedonischen Kammergräber und ihre Vorläufer</i> , Band I: Text, Band II: Tafeln und Karten, Tübingen-Berlin 2012 ( <b>Ιωάννης Π. Τουράτσογλου</b> ). .....	151
G.F. La Torre, <i>Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Archeologia della colonizzazione greca d'Occidente [Manuali Laterza, 314]</i> , Roma-Bari, editore Laterza, 2011. Pp. XIII+409 [ISBN: 978-88-420-9511-8] ( <b>Paolo Daniele Scirpo</b> ).....	154



## Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen /

### Sommaires / Riassunti

**Eirene Poupaki**, Hand mills from the vicinity of the Athenian Acropolis. The findings from Athens Metropolitan Railway excavations, *EYΛIΜENH* 15-16 (2014-2015), 11-53.

*Χειρόμυλοι από την περιοχή της αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης. Τα ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του αθηναϊκού ΜΕΤΡΟ.* Το παρόν άρθρο αποτελεί προκαταρκτική παρουσίαση των χειρομύλων για την άλεση των δημητριακών που εντοπίστηκαν κατά την ανασκαφική έρευνα στο οικόπεδο Μακρυγιάννη, στους πρόποδες της Αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης, την οποία διενήργησε η πρώην Α΄ Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων πριν από την κατασκευή του Σταθμού του ΜΕΤΡΟ «Ακρόπολις». Η έρευνα επικεντρώνεται στους χειρόμυλους παλινδρομικής κίνησης, τους χειρόμυλους «ολυνθιακού τύπου» και στους περιστροφικούς χειρόμυλους, οι οποίοι ήρθαν στο φως κατά την ανασκαφή, όχι κατά χώραν, αλλά είτε ανασύρθηκαν από επιχώσεις διαφόρων χρονικών περιόδων, κυρίως αρχαίων φρεάτων και δεξαμενών, είτε είχαν εντοιχισθεί σε τοιχοποιίες ή θεμελιώσεις διαφόρων κτιρίων. Αυτοί οι χειρόμυλοι ήταν κατασκευασμένοι από ηφαιστειακά πετρώματα άγνωστης προέλευσης, δεδομένου ότι δεν έχουν διενεργηθεί έως σήμερα πετρολογικές αναλύσεις. Οι μυλόλιθοι παλινδρομικής κίνησης «σαμαρωτού τύπου» και οι μυλόλιθοι «ολυνθιακού τύπου» αποτελούν την πλειονότητα των αντικειμένων που μελετήθηκαν και χρονολογούνται σε γενικές γραμμές από την προϊστορική εποχή έως τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, ενώ οι περιστροφικοί χειρόμυλοι είναι σπάνιοι. Επιχειρείται η χρονολόγηση των αθηναϊκών χειρομύλων της ανασκαφής με βάση τη σύγκρισή τους με ήδη δημοσιευμένα παράλληλα από άλλες περιοχές, τη χρονολόγηση της στρωματογραφίας της ανασκαφής και τα καλά χρονολογημένα συνευρήματά τους. Τέλος, σκιαγραφείται μία πτυχή της καθημερινής ζωής των κατοίκων της περιοχής, που κατά μερικούς ερευνητές ταυτίζεται με το Αθηναϊκό Δήμο του Κολλυτού.

**Nikos Panagiotakis – Marina Panagiotaki**, *Kefala* between Skopela and Gournes: A possible Greek sanctuary, *EYΛIΜENH* 15-16 (2014-2015), 55-66.

*Η Κεφάλα μεταξύ Σκοπέλας και Γουρνών: ένα πιθανό ιερό ελληνικών χρόνων.* Αρχιτεκτονικά κατάλοιπα που εντοπίστηκαν στον λόφο Κεφάλα στη βόρεια-κεντρική Κρήτη κατά την επιφανειακή έρευνα *The Pediada Survey Project*, ανήκουν μάλλον σε κάποιο ιερό ελληνικών χρόνων παρά σε μια ακρόπολη ή ένα οχυρό. Την ταύτιση με το πρώτο ενισχύουν το χαμηλό ύψος του λόφου και η εύκολη πρόσβαση στην κορυφή από τα νότια, καθώς και το επιπεδοποιημένο πλάτωμα που τα αρχιτεκτονικά κατάλοιπα ορίζουν. Η ταύτιση των αρχιτεκτονικών καταλοίπων με ιερό ενισχύεται επίσης από την γεωγραφική θέση της Κεφάλας, κατά πάσα πιθανότητα, στα όρια των μεγάλων πόλεων-κρατών της Κνωσού και της Λύκτου-Χερσονήσου, αλλά και την καλής ποιότητας κεραμική που σχετίζεται με αυτά.



**Απόστολος Δ. Θάνος**, Ο ζωγράφος του Τάλω. Παρατηρήσεις στα έργα ενός αγγειογράφου του τέλους του 5<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ., *EYAIMENH* 15-16 (2014-2015), 67-100.

*The Talos painter. Remarks on the works of a late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. vase-painter.* The subject of the present article is the works of Talos Painter. The specific painter, whose action is confined in the last decades of the fifth century B.C. and early fourth century B.C., is one of the main representatives of the “Rich Style”. The conventional name “Talos Painter” was given to the vase painter by J.D. Beazley due to the depiction of the mythical bronze giant Talos on the main side of the volute crater that was found in the necropolis of Ruvo in Apulia.

In the first part of the article the stylistic characteristics are examined in order to clarify his artistic “identity”. The analysis of those stylistic characteristics has facilitated the re-examination of older attributions of certain vases.

Following this the types of vases decorated by the Talos Painter were examined. From the study of the available material, it seems that he preferred large vases, especially craters and loutrophoroi and also amphora of Panathenaic type, nuptials lebes, hydries and pelikes. The representations decorating those vases have also been examined and analyzed.

Finally, the article concludes with the examination of his apprenticeship and his collaboration with other painters. This examination can lead to the suggestion that the Talos Painter could have been an apprentice to Meidias Painter and also that he co-existed for a certain period in the same workshop with the Modica Painter.

**Εριφύλη Κανίνια**, Χρυσά στεφάνια με φύλλα κισσού από τις αρχαίες ροδιακές νεκροπόλεις, *EYAIMENH* 15-16 (2014-2015), 101-119.

*Gold wreaths with ivy leaves from the nekropoleis of the Rhodian State.* The nekropoleis over the greater area of the Rhodian State yielded a considerable number of pure gold wreaths, unfortunately most of them in fragmentary condition. Among them, two gold wreaths with ivy leaves, preserved mostly intact, are of special interest: the wreath from Megisti (Kastellorizo), now housed in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (cat. no. Χρ 1058) and one wreath found during rescue excavation in the eastern necropolis of Rhodes (Rhodes Museum, cat. no. M 1529).

The gold wreath from Kastellorizo, found in 1913 by three residents of the island on the plateau of Hagios Georgios tou Vounou, was handed over to the archaeologist Nikolaos Kyparissis and transferred to the National Museum in Athens as a gift to the motherland from a humble faraway corner of Greek soil. Regarding its date, a first, rather early evaluation is based on its typological similarities with the excavated wreaths from Sevasti (Thessaloniki Museum, cat. no. ΜΔ 2579) and Apollonia (Thessaloniki Museum, cat. no. ΑΠΟ 662), which date to the middle and the third quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. respectively. However, certain construction innovations, already adopted in the Kastellorizo wreath (gold ribbon-shaped stalks, small tubes soldered on the circular stem for the stalks to fit into, the delicate flower sprays instead of steady corymbs etc.), are also encountered in the ivy wreath of Rhodes Museum M 1529 with gold ribbon-shaped leaf-bearing strip; since the latter was found in a stone casket (*osteotheke*), its earliest date is estimated at shortly before the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C. It would, therefore, be appropriate to

lower the date of the Kastellorizo wreath to the final years of the 4<sup>th</sup> or rather the early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent B.C. The wreath from Kastellorizo exudes the simplicity of a classical construction (we might characterize it as a work of art) and at the same time, it is enveloped in an aura of a more delicate movement, a subtle playfulness, a concept of wealth, which precisely characterizes a hellenistic creation.

It is doubtful whether the rather unskilled work connecting the two parts of the circular stem of the Kastellorizo wreath with twisted wire is original; the two parts may have originally been joined by a flexible ornamental element (Heraklean knot or double twined wire) or the circular stem may have been constructed as a single piece and the wire coil at the front of the wreath which keeps the two parts of the stem together may be an ancient repair. A close inspection of the stemless and somehow damaged heart-shaped leaflet which ornaments the top of the Kastellorizo wreath (now stuck on site with resin) showed that it did not originally belong to this wreath and most probably it was used (obviously “recycled” from another wreath) to disguise the ancient repair.

On the other hand, the ivy wreath of Rhodes Museum M 1529, seems to be a fine specimen of a massive production, during which the constituent parts of a wreath were made separately and, eventually, assembled according to the wishes of the clientele; this practice may be thought as typical of the vigorous commercial activity in the Hellenistic Rhodian State. Thus, the two ivy wreaths represent two different stages of constructional conception within the chronological framework between the final years of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.

The two ivy wreaths from the nekropoleis of the ancient Rhodian State (together with a third one, still unpublished, found recently during rescue excavation in the Rhodian nekropolis) constitute a relatively large proportion of the totally ten known pure gold wreaths with ivy leaves; the rarity of ivy wreaths is probably mainly due to the fact that it takes more gold sheets to fabricate heart-shaped ivy leaves than lanceolate myrtle ones. Also, the cost of ivy leaves would have been higher by the additional material and work required to reinforce the support of the sizeable heart-shaped leaves. However, it seems that the wealthy middle class Rhodian society of the Hellenistic time, largely familiar with the cult of Dionysos – obviously under the influence of the active *koinon of Dionysiastai* – could possibly afford the purchase of an ivy wreath. The rather large proportion of ivy leaf wreaths found in the nekropoleis of the ancient Rhodian State could also be associated with the chthonic aspect of the cult of Dionysos, which appears to have been widespread in Rhodes as demonstrated by a series of finds and, most importantly, the relief representations of the Dionysiac procession on the grave complexes at Korakonero (Bilde 1999, 227 ff.).

† **Γιώργος Δεσπίνης**, Πλακούντες ιδιόσχημοι, *EYAIMENH* 15-16 (2014-2015), 121-130.

In der vorliegenden Untersuchung wird das Deutungsproblem behandelt, das die Darstellungen auf einer Gruppe von Weihreliefsaufwerfen, die aus Attika stamen und sehr wahrscheinlich alle ins 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. zu datieren sind. Auf diesen Reliefs sind ein, zwei oder dreigleichartige Motive nebeneinander dargestellt, die aus zwei sich X-förmigkreuzenden, schwacheingetieften Elementen bestehen. Auf den abgerundeten Enden erkennt man in Relief dargestellte oder eingeritzte Mondsicheln und auf dem Kreuzungspunkt einen plastischen Knopf.

S.A. Koumanoudis erwog in seiner 1862 erschienenen Publikation eines dieser Reliefs, das eine Weihinschrift für Demeter und Kore besitzt, dass hier eine Art von Backwerk dargestellt sein könnte, ein Vorschlag, dem die jüngere Forschung mit Zurückhaltung gegenüber tritt. Verf. stimmt Koumanoudis dagegen zu und erkennt in den Reliefdarstellungen ein Backwerk, das in der antiken Literatural *κρηπίδες* bezeichnet wird. Bei Polydeukes und Hesychios ist überliefert, dass diese *κρηπίδες* eine den Schuhsohlenähnliche Form besaßen, von denen sich auch der Name herleitet. Die Kuchen bestanden aus Mehl und Honig und waren *ἔγχυτοι*, was bedeutet, dass der Teig in Formen gegossen wurde. Nach dem sie aus der Form genommen worden waren, wurden sie vor dem Ausbacken über Kreuz angeordnet und an den Enden mit den Mondsicheln so wie auf dem Kreuzungspunkt mit einem Knopf versehen. Wie Polydeukes berichtet, wurde das Backwerk in Stücke gebrochen und zusammen mit Geflügelbrühe verzehrt. Auf das Gebäck wurde auch auf Holzkohlen feuergegrilltes Geflügel gelegt, das alserstes verspeist wurde. Für die eigenartige Kombination von süßem Backwerk mit Geflügelbrühe verweist Verf. auf ein modern griechische Süßigkeit, zu deren Zutaten neben Mehl, Zucker und Milch auch gekochtes Hühnerfleisch gehört.

**Eleni K. Tziligkaki**, A quarry-mark from ancient Thera, *EYAIMENH* 15-16 (2014-2015), 131-148.

*Ένα λιθουργικό σήμα από την αρχαία Θήρα.* Οι επαφές μεταξύ Κρήτης και Θήρας κατά την ανατολιζουσα και αρχαϊκή περίοδο, επιβεβαιωμένες από τον Ηρόδοτο, την κεραμική και τη γλυπτική, ενισχύονται επιπλέον από δύο «λιθουργικά σήματα» σε λατομεία των δύο νησιών. Ένα λατομικό σήμα στον τύπο του Παραθύρου ή της Πύλης είχε χαραχθεί σε λατομείο του 7<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ. στο όρος Προφήτης Ηλίας στη Θήρα. Ο αρχαϊκός χαρακτήρας της θέσης σε συνδυασμό με την παντελή απουσία του τύπου του Παραθύρου στο σύνολο των λιθουργικών σημάτων του ΥΜ Ι οικισμού του Ακρωτηρίου, αποκλείουν την πιθανότητα μινωικής χρονολόγησης. Υπ' αυτήν την έννοια, στην παρούσα εργασία υποστηρίζεται ο αρχαϊκός χαρακτήρας στο τμήμα του λατομείου «Στα Σκαριά» Παλαικάστρου Κρήτης, στο οποίο είναι χαραγμένο ένα λατομικό σήμα επίσης στον τύπο του Παραθύρου. Δεν είναι πρωτοφανής άλλωστε η επιβίωση συμβόλων της Εποχής του Χαλκού στην αρχαϊκή περίοδο. Αυτά τα λατομικά σήματα θα μπορούσαν να ερμηνευθούν ως ενδείξεις μιας κομπανίας χτιστών, οι οποίοι μετακινούνταν από μέρος σε μέρος κατά παραγγελία. Παράλληλα προσφέρονται από την Αθήνα του 4<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ. αλλά και από τα «μπουλούκια» των παραδοσιακών χτιστών στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα από τον 18<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα έως τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του '60. Μια πιθανή θαλάσσια διαδρομή μεταξύ της Θήρας του 7<sup>ου</sup> αι. π.Χ. και των ανατολικών ακτών της Κρήτης απηχείται στον Ηρόδοτο (4.151-152). Αρχαϊκά μαρμάρια γλυπτά από τη Θήρα με επιρροές από την ανατολιζουσα γλυπτική της Κρήτης, θηραϊκή κεραμική στην Κρήτη σε θέσεις εγγύς κοιτασμάτων λευκού μαρμάρου, και οι εμπορικές επαφές της Θήρας με την Αξό, η επικράτεια της οποίας εμφανίζει μαρμαροφορία, συμπληρώνουν την εικόνα της κινητικότητας Κρητών γλυπτών και αρχιτεκτόνων κατά τον 7<sup>ο</sup> και 6<sup>ο</sup> αι. π.Χ.

## A QUARRY-MARK FROM ANCIENT THERA

In 1898 Hiller von Gaertringen published a window-like sign inscribed along with graffiti names in a rock plateau at Prophetes Elias on the island of Thera.<sup>1</sup> If the archaic character of the settlement excavated at Mesa Vouno (**fig. 1**) was not undisputed,<sup>2</sup> then this sign would be expected to have been interpreted as a “mason’s mark” like those observed by A.J. Evans in 1895 at Knossos<sup>3</sup> (**fig. 2**). Apart from the minoan “mason’s marks”<sup>4</sup> the only other case of a window-like sign appears so far in the early euboic alphabet in the form of letter *xi* (ξεῖ) enclosed in a square.<sup>5</sup> Mason’s marks are attested in LMI Akrotēri of Thera;<sup>6</sup> out of a total of 94 mason’s marks not one includes the type of Gate or Window.<sup>7</sup>

The evidence pointing out that this sign from Thera is indeed a quarry-mark are the following: the sign does not belong to any letter-form of any Doric island;<sup>8</sup> the sign was found in the city’s quarries;<sup>9</sup> it is surrounded by inscribed male names, which lack the patronymic or ethnonym attribute:<sup>10</sup>

(a) 

(b) Ἐ[π]ιχαρ-

(c) Κηαρμογένης

    Δαμόνιαρος,     [Σ]αμό[λ]α(?)<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> IG 12, 3 767a. Dimensions 0,10×0,12 m.

<sup>2</sup> Gaertringen 1897. See also the comment of Coldstream (1979, 91): “*Unlike their predecessors in the Late Bronze Age, the Dorian inhabitants had the good sense to found their polis on the high limestone spur of Mesavouno, in the only non-volcanic part of the island*”.

<sup>3</sup> Evans 1895, 13-14, Fig. 9 d 1, 83, Table II n. 7. In the meantime, the actual form of this sign has been distorted in the digital edition of *Inscriptiones Graecae* by Packard Humanities Institute (Searchable Greek Inscriptions 2015, January 1); the window-like sign from Thera is transcribed as the Greek letter *theta* (θητα). Yet the Greek *theta* –whether crossed or not- is always round (Jeffery 1990, 29), whereas the sign from Thera is rectangular.

<sup>4</sup> Evans 1895; Hood 1987; Hood 2002; Begg 2004.

<sup>5</sup> Jeffery 1990, 32 n.8, 236.

<sup>6</sup> Hood 1990, 119, 121.

<sup>7</sup> The mason’s marks in Akrotēri are the Simple Cross, the Branch, the Λ-shaped sign, and the Trident (Notti 2014, 100, 101, catalogue in pp. 106-132). Traces of possibly “Minoan” quarries were found at the north end of the east ravine, close to prehistoric Akrotēri (Marinatos 1974, 7, Pl. 1a).

<sup>8</sup> Jeffery 1990, 308.

<sup>9</sup> Wilski 1904, 227.

<sup>10</sup> For discussion on this topic, see Tziligkaki and Stamatakis, *forthcoming*.

<sup>11</sup> IG 12, 3 767a-c.

The graffiti of male names is a quite common feature in quarries, such as the marble quarries of Karystos<sup>12</sup>, the limestone quarries of Cavo Sidero in eastern Crete,<sup>13</sup> as well as in the underground tunnel of Eupalinos' aqueduct on Samos.<sup>14</sup> In the vicinity of the Thera quarry-mark lies the cave "Pelekēto" (Πελεκητό)<sup>15</sup> whose name itself implies the presence of a quarry, since it is an adjective deriving from the verb πελεκάω, a word retaining the same meaning throughout antiquity until today.<sup>16</sup> Last but not least, an analogous sign is recorded from the quarry of "Ta Skaria" at Palaikastro on eastern Crete<sup>17</sup> (**fig. 3**). The only difference is that the quarry-mark from Palaikastro is almost double the size compared to the one from Thera, measuring 0,23×0,20 m.<sup>18</sup>

### Quarry-marks

The signs known as "masons' marks" were first found in Knossos, on blocks used in the construction of the so called Early Palace, which was built in the Middle Minoan I period.<sup>19</sup> Knossos seems to be the first center of their development and has produced by far the greatest number of these signs.<sup>20</sup> Some scholars see religious or magical intention, while others consider them as gang marks and quarry-marks.<sup>21</sup>

The sign from the quarry of "Ta Skaria" at Palaikastro belongs to the basic type of the Window.<sup>22</sup> This type is found 56 times in the palace of Knossos but is absent from the palaces in Phaistos and Malia.<sup>23</sup> The fact that this mark is found in a quarry reinforces the idea that these Cretan Bronze Age signs may have been quarry-marks, as originally suggested by Chapouthier.<sup>24</sup> The distinction between quarry-marks and mason's marks should focus on the fact that the latter serve as instructions for the dressing of the stone "into its final architectural form and for its assembly into the overall structure", according to McLean.<sup>25</sup>

### The characterization of quarries as "Minoan"

Do all these quarry-marks date to the Bronze Age? The proximity of the afore-

<sup>12</sup> Lambraki 1980, 47, fig. 10a.

<sup>13</sup> *ICr* 3, vii 6.

<sup>14</sup> With the exception that the names there are written in the genitive form (except two) and are painted with red color on the rocky surface of the tunnel (Kienast 1995, 193).

<sup>15</sup> *IG* 12, 3 767.

<sup>16</sup> *LSJ Online*, s.v. πελεκ-άω (πέλεκυς), hew or shape with an axe; *LSJ Online*, s.v. πελεκητός, ή, όν, hewn. Κριαράς 1995, s.v. πελεκώ, -άς and πελεκίζω. Compare the name of the quarry "Ta Pelekēta" ("Ta Πελεκητά") at Zakros in eastern Crete (Hogarth 1900-1901, 142; Πλάτων 1968, 181-183, pl. 164; Shaw 1971, 30-31, fig. 21-23; Papageorgakis, Mourtzas and Orfanoudaki 1992, 22-23). In addition, the name of the site "Peleki" (Πελέκι) at Kato Zakros, where a quarry and a rock-cut fish tank have been found (Νακάσης 1987, 85-86; Παπαγεωργάκης, Παπαδάκης and Μουρτζάς 1994, 159).

<sup>17</sup> Driessen 1984.

<sup>18</sup> Driessen 1984, 149. For the dimensions of the Thera quarry-mark, see supra n.1.

<sup>19</sup> Hood 2002, 97.

<sup>20</sup> Hood 2002, 98.

<sup>21</sup> Hood 2002, 99.

<sup>22</sup> Driessen 1984, 149, fig. 9, pl. 13e; Hood 2002, fig. 2 type 8a.

<sup>23</sup> Hood 1987, 207 fig. 5.

<sup>24</sup> Chapouthier 1930, 88-9; Hood 2002, 101.

<sup>25</sup> McLean 2011, 205; see also Ορλάνδος 1994, 2, 160-63.

mentioned quarries to Minoan sites is by no means compulsory for their characterization as exclusively Minoan. Michael Durkin, the geologist who studies the signs in the quarries of Ai-Lias, a hill on the east of Knossos, notes that all these signs occur on surfaces of rock which “*there was no intention of attempting to extract building stone*”.<sup>26</sup> The Ai-Lias quarries do not necessarily belong exclusively to the Bronze Age. It is most probable that they are Greek-Roman or just Roman in date,<sup>27</sup> since the area of Knossos is constantly occupied and the city-state of Knossos flourished in the second century C.E., the theatre and the amphitheater being some of the significant constructions of the city.<sup>28</sup>

Analogous seems to be the case from Palaikastro. The quarries of “Ta Skaria” are not exclusively Minoan; they operated until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup> Among the majority of MM III/LM I sherds found in the quarries, there were also three Hellenistic sherds and a Byzantine one.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the site of “Ta Skaria” is a small one; Soles suggests that “*the stone may never have been used more extensively on the site*”.<sup>31</sup> The quarry-mark was inscribed to the south of Quarry E of Skaria, an extraction site, where a small area had been quarried and many unfinished blocks have been left *in situ*.<sup>32</sup>

The quarries are situated in Plaka Cape, which must have been the ancient Cape Gram(m)ion, hence the modern name of Grandes Bay<sup>33</sup> (**fig. 3**). The Palaikastro basin or part of it was called “*Heleia chōra*” in the third century B.C.E. (Ἐλεία χώρα, i.e. the land of Eleia).<sup>34</sup> The famous sanctuary of Dictaeon Zeus is located in Rousolakkos, close to the hamlet of Agkathia.<sup>35</sup> The archaeologists observed a sudden transition from the LM I period to the sixth century B.C.E. in Palaikastro and attributed it to levelling and modern search for building material.<sup>36</sup> A recent re-examination of the stratigraphy concluded that a late Classical or Hellenistic deposit was not disturbed; in fact, finds that come from the area around the *peribolos* of the sanctuary represent four different groups of roof tiles in the time span of 560/550 B.C.E. and another one in the Classical period.<sup>37</sup>

The presence of roofing tiles combined with the rectangular plan that was revealed by means of geophysical inspection<sup>38</sup> provide compelling reason for the need to construct again buildings in cut-stone at Palaikastro after so many centuries since the abandonment of the Minoan city. After all, the notion of building in cut-stone is inaugurated again in the seventh century in Greece due to the invention of roof tiles, the excessive weight of which demanded strong walls.<sup>39</sup> Additionally the prevalence of

<sup>26</sup> Hood 2002, 101. Pl. III.

<sup>27</sup> Hood and Smyth 1981, 26-27, 54 n. 264; n. 266-7, 61 n. 363-5.

<sup>28</sup> Hood and Smyth 1981, n. 110-112; Sweetman 2010, 358, 359; Τζιλιγκάκη 2014, 257-8.

<sup>29</sup> Bosanquet 1901-1902, 315; Soles 1983, 45, figs. 15-16.

<sup>30</sup> Driessen 1984, 144 n. 34.

<sup>31</sup> Soles 1983, 45.

<sup>32</sup> Driessen 1984, 148, 149 n. 42.

<sup>33</sup> Tzedakis et al. 1990, 60 fig. 20, n. 3; Φαράκλας et al. 1998, 172.

<sup>34</sup> *ICr* 3, iv 9, line 78; Φαράκλας et al. 1998, 173, 181, area 139; Boyd et al. 2006, 92.

<sup>35</sup> Bosanquet 1904-1905, 300-305; Boyd et al. 2006, 134. For a synopsis of the site's history, see Digital Crete: Archaeological Atlas of Crete, s.v. Rousolakkos (Settlement). For the supra-local status of the sanctuary of Dictaeon Zeus, see *SEG* LVI 1046 with references to *ICr* 3, iv 9; *ICr* 1, viii 13; *ICr* 3, ii 2.

<sup>36</sup> Bosanquet 1904-1905, 299-300.

<sup>37</sup> Thorne and Prent 2000, 173.

<sup>38</sup> Boyd et al. 2006, 134.

<sup>39</sup> Lawrence and Tomlinson 1996, 59.

rectangular plans demanded rectangular roofs that are most easily tiled.<sup>40</sup>

One could argue that “Ta Skaria” is a sandstone quarry, whereas porous limestone is the building material expected to have been used for the archaic temple of Dictaeon Zeus; such was the case of Zeus’ shrine in Amnisos<sup>41</sup> or that of the late Hellenistic/ Roman buildings at the foot of Kastri hill in Palaikastro.<sup>42</sup> But the preference of limestone over sandstone is not an obligatory indicator for the transition from Bronze Age to a post-Minoan date. At the site of Plakoskala at Lenika in Zakros imported blocks of grey sandstone were used in a shrine (?) of the Geometric and Early Orientalizing period.<sup>43</sup>

Research in Nîmes in France suggests that the safest way to date quarries is by the meticulous observation and examination of the traces left by tool marks on the surface of the rock.<sup>44</sup> Such a research has not been done in the quarries of “Ta Skaria” yet. In other words, the quarries on Crete that operated for a long period of time must have been exploited in the Bronze Age, but their front, as we observe it today, provides evidence about the last phase of their exploitation.

The last phase of extraction is possible to date in the aforementioned Theran quarry located in the site of *Pelekōto* in Prophētes Elias.<sup>45</sup> It is an archaic quarry, dated probably to the seventh century B.C.E.<sup>46</sup> according to the letter form of the names<sup>47</sup> of Kharmogenēs and Damonikos, which are inscribed *boustrophedon* a little below the window-shaped quarry-mark.

The question now raised is whether the analogous quarry-mark, observed in the quarry of “Ta Skaria” at Palaikastro, could be archaic as well. It seems that the archaic date of signs that have first appeared in the Bronze Age is not unusual on Crete. For instance, the double axe symbol occurs at law inscriptions of Dreros, Lyttos and Gortyn (Great Code) as a punctuation mark.<sup>48</sup> A mason’s mark in the form of an arrow (according to Hood’s classification)<sup>49</sup> was inscribed on a block of local stone found in the second acropolis of Praisos (whose occupation ranges from the archaic to the Hellenistic period),<sup>50</sup> almost the same as the one found on blocks at Bronze Age Knossos.<sup>51</sup>

### Companies of masons

The east end of Crete was not unknown to the inhabitants of ancient Thera. The

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<sup>40</sup> Lawrence and Tomlinson 1996, 59. Notice the prevalence of the plan of *oikos* in the public buildings of Crete and the variety of roof tiles during the years 700-480 B.C.E. (Τζιλιγκάκη 2009, 20-25, 28-33, table 1, fig. 1-5).

<sup>41</sup> Schäfer 1992, 162, 183, pl. 34, 2.3.

<sup>42</sup> Driessen 1984, 144.

<sup>43</sup> Βοκοτόπουλος 1997-98, 252 fig. 5b, 253, fig. 6, 255, 266, 267.

<sup>44</sup> Bessac 1993, 213.

<sup>45</sup> Wilski 1899, Sheet 2. See *supra*, page 2.

<sup>46</sup> *IG* 12, 3 767a. Fraser and Matthews 1987, s.v. Χαρμογένης, Δαμόνικος, Σαμόλας; Jeffery (1990, 323 n. 1) dates them with reluctance to the end of the eighth century B.C.E. onwards.

<sup>47</sup> *IG* 12, 3 767b-c; Wilski 1904, 227.

<sup>48</sup> About Dreros: Demargne and Van Effenterre 1937, 334; Jeffery 1990, 308-9. About Lyttos and Gortyn: Evans 1895, 91; Evans 1909, 104; *ICr* 1, xviii 5 line 7; *ICr* 4, 72 ix, line 24; line 43; Jeffery 1990, 308-9.

<sup>49</sup> Hood 2002, type E 14 (i) arrow.

<sup>50</sup> Halbherr 1901, 375, fig. 5

<sup>51</sup> Evans 1895, 13 fig. 9b; Halbherr 1901, 375.

north northwest and northwest winds that prevail for more than half a year, nearly all the summer, are convenient enough for the mariner to approach the eastern coasts of Crete.<sup>52</sup> The NASA satellite image, acquired on the 3rd of July 2014, depicts in a most impressive way the wakes (and not oil spills) “*caused by north and northwest winds that roughened and smoothed the water surface behind Crete and the other islands*”<sup>53</sup> (fig. 4).

A possible sea route between Thera and the eastern part of Crete is implied by Herodotus (4.151-152), when he mentions that a mission from Thera were sent to establish a colony around 650/40 B.C.E. Their quest on Crete led them to the territory of Itanos, in the north part of eastern Crete. There they met the fisher of murex Korobios who led them to Libya, where they established their colony Kyrene around 631 B.C.E.<sup>54</sup> We know nothing more about Korobios’ origin, but his occupation –the fishing of purpury– is epigraphically attested in the territory of ancient Stalai, at the southeastern part of Crete in the third century B.C.E.<sup>55</sup> However, the most solid evidence concerning the connections between Thera and the eastern coast of Crete is provided so far by a late geometric Theran sherd found at Itanos.<sup>56</sup>

If both quarry-marks from Crete and Thera are considered to be contemporary, i.e. archaic in date, then they could be interpreted as signs of a team of masons and quarry workers that travel from place to place and were appointed by the local community. Despite the scanty evidence, mobility is usually recorded for major artists, mainly sculptors,<sup>57</sup> but also for potters.<sup>58</sup>

The content of three inscriptions from Crete –Gortyn,<sup>59</sup> Axos<sup>60</sup> and Afrati-Lyttos<sup>61</sup>– has been interpreted as evidence that the Cretan city-states permitted foreigners to live and work in their communities. Such an approach is rejected by P. Perlman.<sup>62</sup> In any case, two inscriptions from Gortyn<sup>63</sup> refer to an annual salary for free men and slaves that resided in the city state. That salary consists of a quantity of grain, one hundred *medimnoi* of figs and barley.<sup>64</sup> The quantity is exaggerated for the annual consumption of

<sup>52</sup> Spratt 1865, 1, 214.

<sup>53</sup> Voiland 2014, 11 September. The optical phenomenon of sunglint is a result of sunlight reflecting off the surface of water at the same angle that a satellite sensor views it. In the case of figure 4, Cyclades and Crete “*create a sort of wind shadow —blocking, slowing, and redirecting air flow*” (Voiland 2014, 11 September). For the phenomenon of sunglint in the western and central parts of Crete, see figure 3 (Stefanov 2011, 15 August).

<sup>54</sup> *RE* 12, 1: 158, s.v. Kyrene 2; Stampolidis 2006, 56-61.

<sup>55</sup> *ICr* 3, iv 9, line 123; vi 7A, line 6; Φαράκλας et al. 1998, 170.

<sup>56</sup> Deshayes 1951, 204-5, fig. 2 n. 5; Stampolidis 2006, 61.

<sup>57</sup> Burford 1965, 32; Coulton 1977, note 74; Boardman 1995, 19; Stampolidis (2006, 59) has expressed the hypothesis that the name of the music clan *Ἀμητοριδᾶς* at Eleutherna may not mean the orphans but the stateless.

<sup>58</sup> Τιβέριος 1989a, 617-619. Τιβέριος 1989b, 34, notes 15-16.

<sup>59</sup> *ICr* 4, 79; Van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994, 128-130 n.30) date the inscription around 450 B.C.E.

<sup>60</sup> *ICr* 2, v 1. The inscription has been dated around 525-500 B.C.E. by Van Effenterre and Ruzé (1994, 122-24 n. 28).

<sup>61</sup> Van Effenterre (1973, 45-46) considers Spensitheos to be a foreigner. *SEG* XXVII 631, ca. 500 B.C.E.

<sup>62</sup> Perlman 2004, 112, 118.

<sup>63</sup> *ICr* 4, 79; 144.

<sup>64</sup> *ICr* 4, 79. Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, n. 30; Perlman 2004, 115. About traditional units of value and the relatively late introduction of indigenous coinage in Crete, see Stefanakis 1999, 249-250.



one human that is why the salary (μισθός) “should not be regarded as an annual *per capita* salary, but rather as the annual salary of a group of workers”.<sup>65</sup>

For Athens, the evidence is far more satisfactory. Masons from the Phocian town of Panopeus were sent to Athens in the fourth century B.C.E. to help reconstruct the Pnyx retaining wall.<sup>66</sup> It seems that in the city-states of Athens and Thebes the usual policy was to help allies with the provision of labor and skilled workmen, such as stone masons.<sup>67</sup>

This practice was common from the 18th century C.E. until the 1960s in Greece, when groups of traditional masons mainly from Epirus and Lagkadia Gortynias (central Peloponnese) travelled in distant places, and built houses, bridges, churches, schools, fountains, all in stone.<sup>68</sup> Among those fellows a person specialized in the technique of quarrying was included.<sup>69</sup>

Companies of masons who travel in distant places are not only attested in mainland Greece, but also in the islands. Masons from Spetses and Hydra worked in many villages of the southeastern Laconia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century C.E., while the presence of masons from Crete and Cassos is attested in Southeastern Peloponnese in the next two centuries.<sup>70</sup> Captain T.A.B. Spratt, who sailed around Crete in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century C.E., records that the men of Karpathos were not sailors, but were all masons and house-builders.<sup>71</sup> As a consequence, they went to work in companies during the summer, either in close or distant places, building or repairing houses.<sup>72</sup> Workmen from Karpathos also worked in quarries at Attica.<sup>73</sup>

### The exodus of Cretan artists in the archaic period

If these quarry-marks from Palaikastro on Crete and Peleketo on Thera are contemporary and echo the activity of a company of masons, the next question to be resolved is the origin of these masons. Would they come from Crete or from Thera? The geometric cemeteries of Mesa Vouno and Sellada gave the impression to Coldstream<sup>74</sup> that the Thera society is a conservative and settled one, “*not greatly interested in the innovations in the outside world*”. Occasionally they import fine pottery from Crete,<sup>75</sup> but there are also cases of export to Crete; at Itanos,<sup>76</sup> Istron,<sup>77</sup> Knossos<sup>78</sup> and Eleutherna.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, n. 30, 130; Perlman 2004, 116.

<sup>66</sup> Rotroff and Camp 1996, 271, 272, pl. 79-80.

<sup>67</sup> Rotroff and Camp 1996, 274; «τέκτονες και λιθορρυγί» (Thuc. 5.82.6); «τεχνίτας και λιθοτόμους» (Diod. Sic. 14.85.3); «μετά λιθολόγων και τεκτόνων» (Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.18).

<sup>68</sup> Κωνσταντινόπουλος 1983, 23-24; 1987, 19ff.

<sup>69</sup> Κωνσταντινόπουλος 1983, 53; 1987, 61.

<sup>70</sup> Πετρονότης 1980; Κωνσταντινόπουλος 1983, 19; Κωνσταντινόπουλος 1987, 17 for Spetses and Hydra.

<sup>71</sup> Spratt 1865, 1, 227. For their activity in the 20<sup>th</sup> century C.E., see Georgitsoyanni 2005, 111, 116-117.

<sup>72</sup> Spratt 1865, 1, 227.

<sup>73</sup> Δαμιανού 2008.

<sup>74</sup> Coldstream 1979, 218.

<sup>75</sup> Coldstream 1979, 217.

<sup>76</sup> See *supra* n. 56.

<sup>77</sup> Hayden 2003, 71, n. 191-n. 192, fig. 46, pl. 30 (Late Geometric to Orientalizing sherds).

<sup>78</sup> Coldstream 1972, 98 n. 128-130; Stampolidis 2006, 61.

<sup>79</sup> For the late geometric (720-690 B.C.E.) *stamnos* found at Eleutherna, see Κοτσώνας 2004, 253-54 n. 287; Stampolidis 2006, 63, fig. 9, 64.

The middle of the seventh century B.C.E. seems to inaugurate an extroverted spirit for the inhabitants of Thera; the Thessalian and Boeotian colonists of Thera founded the city of Kyrene in Libya.<sup>80</sup> In addition to this colonial enterprise, works of art made of marble indicate affinities with Crete; two Theran *kouroi* wear a belt,<sup>81</sup> a trait of clearly Cretan origin;<sup>82</sup> the gesture of the right hand of the colossal marble daedalic *kore*, recently found in an archaic tomb of SW Sellada,<sup>83</sup> resembles the Cretan Dame d'Auxerre (ca. 640 B.C.E.).<sup>84</sup> The *kore* and the four *kouroi* published by Kontoleon exhibit the same craftsmanship and the same large grained crystalline marble of color that ranges from white to white-blue.<sup>85</sup> Kontoleon assumes a naxian origin of the marble<sup>86</sup> and wonders about the naxian origin of the sculptors or the possibility of a naxian influence on theran artists.<sup>87</sup> Recently published archaic marble sculptures from Sellada and Exomytis exhibit neither parian nor naxian characteristics, therefore they are attributed to a local workshop.<sup>88</sup> The *kouros* from Thera has been attributed to workshop of either Chios, Peloponnesus, Ionia, Paros or Naxos.<sup>89</sup> Boardman on the other hand considers the presence of Cretan artists in the quarries/workshops of the islands very possible, since Crete lacked marble and in turn, the islanders lacked tradition in sculpture, tools and connections with Egypt.<sup>90</sup>

Limestone may be the main stone used for the Cretan Orientalizing sculptures (statues from Gortyn,<sup>91</sup> Astritsi,<sup>92</sup> Prinias,<sup>93</sup> and Eleutherna<sup>94</sup>) but the island of Crete does

<sup>80</sup> Κοτιδάκης 1986, 112 on the myth of Kyrene, based on Hes. fr. 215 and fr. 216; Pind. *Pyth* 9.5; Callim. *Hymn* 2.90; Ap. Rhod. *Argon* 2,500; Phylarchos *FGrH* 81 F 15 and F 16.

<sup>81</sup> Kontoleon 1958, 123, Beil. 90.2 (Kouros Γ); 124, Beil. 91.2; 92 (Kouros Δ). Kouros Γ comes from the area of Sellada (Κοντολέων 1939-1941, 2 n.1), whereas Kouros Δ from the vicinity of Mesa Gōnia (Kontoleon 1958, 123).

<sup>82</sup> Boardman 1982, 31.

<sup>83</sup> Thera Museum n. 318. Karakasi 2001, 81, pl. 76; Μαρθάρη (s.d.), 286, fig. 11: The statue, 2,30 m tall, is dated by the excavator Ch. Sigalas to the second half of the seventh century B.C.E.

<sup>84</sup> Paris, Louvre Museum cat. n. 3098; Pernier 1914, 101-2, fig. 57; Σταμπολίδης 2004b, 236 n. 253.

<sup>85</sup> Kontoleon 1958, 118, 121.

<sup>86</sup> Kontoleon 1958, 118 n. 5 excludes a parian origin of the marble.

<sup>87</sup> Kontoleon 1958, 139.

<sup>88</sup> Τριάντη 1999, 191 (Thera Museum n. 402), pl. 1; 192-3 (Thera Arch. Museum n. 327) fig. 3-4; 196-7 (Athens National Museum n. 5295), fig. 5-6. Their marble is considered to be the coarse grained naxian marble (Τριάντη 1999, 190, 191, 192). In the case of the right calf of Kouros n. 5295, it is characterized as greyish (Τριάντη 1999, 194). About the *kouros* from Exomytis (Athens National Museum n. 8 & 5295), see Τριάντη 2014, 114-117 n. I.1 86, fig. 326-9. It dates to the beginning of the second quarter of the sixth century B.C.E.

<sup>89</sup> Τριάντη 2014, 117 with reference.

<sup>90</sup> Boardman 1982, 31.

<sup>91</sup> Herakleion Museum n. 380. Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 156 n. 7, pl. II-III.

<sup>92</sup> Davaras 1972.

<sup>93</sup> Pernier 1914, 18-61, 86, fig. 19, figs. 21-23, figs. 45-46. Beyer 1976. D'Accunto (1995, 20-24, 30, n. 101-105) summarizes all the suggested reconstructions for the place of the sculptures and the suggested chronologies by scholars.

<sup>94</sup> Herakleion Museum n. 47; Boardman 1982, 18, fig. 33. Σταμπολίδης 2004a, 235-36, n. 252 published the lower part of a standing limestone daedalic *kore* (the *Kore* of Eleutherna, Rethymnon Museum n. Λ3530) that was found in the necropolis of Orthē Petra. It is dated around 650 B.C.E. See also part of a daedalic head (Rethymnon Museum n. Λ3462) in Σταμπολίδης 2004, 237, n. 254, and Stampolidis 2006, 55, fig.4.

possess marble quarries,<sup>95</sup> the white marble quarry of “Kionia” or “The Rods of Digenis” close to Chamezi in eastern Crete being one of the most significant, since there is evidence that it has operated since the seventh century B.C.E.<sup>96</sup> Traces of a sharply edged tool in a horizontal cut at Working Area I have been interpreted as the forerunner of the quarrying technique that used wedge holes.<sup>97</sup> Perhaps this is a trace of the “Parian technique”,<sup>98</sup> whose variation is considered to be the *pointillé* technique; this technique is observed close to half-finished archaic statues in the oldest Naxian quarries (Melanes and Apollonas) and does not exclude the use of this technique from the Archaic period until the Byzantine times.<sup>99</sup> A coastal quarry of white marble is also reported from eastern Crete, close to Pacheia Ammos.<sup>100</sup>

In central Crete, the territory of the city-state of Axos,<sup>101</sup> whose connection with archaic Thera is attested by the presence there of a Theran trader named Themison (Herodotus 4.154),<sup>102</sup> is abundant with modern quarries of white or semi-white marble at Aloides, Doxaro and Damasta (fig.5).<sup>103</sup> Aloides was settled in antiquity, hence the deposit<sup>104</sup> that included a clay figurine of a seated woman that holds on her shoulder a *pinax*, but the date is unknown. An inscribed funerary slab from Axos, which served as a door to a tomb, and dates to the first century B.C.E., is reported to be of “local white marble”.<sup>105</sup>

Of course the Cretan semi-white marble is of inferior quality in comparison with the Parian and Naxian types.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, however farfetched these inferences about the origin of the Theran marble daedalic *kore* and its sculptor may sound, one cannot dispute the existence of marble outcrops in Crete and the island’s radiance in the Orientalizing period.<sup>107</sup> Concerning the progress of Orientalizing Crete in sculpture, one more statement of historical interest can be made; the architects of the archaic Artemision of Ephesus were from Knossos.<sup>108</sup> Even though there is lack of evidence

<sup>95</sup> Τοιραμπίδης 1996; Τζιλιγκάκη 2014, 64-65, 138-139, 342-5, 379-381, 394-8, 405-6, 407-8. Moreover, Tziligkaki, *forthcoming*.

<sup>96</sup> Sherds of seventh and sixth century B.C.E. *pitthoi* were traced by Πλάτων 1953a, 297; Πλάτων 1953b, 489. For a detailed presentation of the quarry, see Durkin and Lister 1983. The traces of the wedge holes should now be dated according to the date provided by Rotroff and Camp (1996) for the Third Period of Pnyx, which is around 340 B.C.E.

<sup>97</sup> Durkin and Lister 1983, 74.

<sup>98</sup> Kozelj 1988, 6-7, pl. 3, pl. 27; Kozelj and Wurch-Kozelj 2000, 417-419, fig. 1-4.

<sup>99</sup> Κοκκορού-Αλευρά et al. 2010, 42, 76.

<sup>100</sup> Its last phase of operation is dated from the early first century C.E. to the late second century C.E. (Harrison 1990, 148-50). See also Tziligkaki, *forthcoming*.

<sup>101</sup> Φαράκλας et al. 1998, 82-83, 185, n. 14, area 68, fig. 13A.

<sup>102</sup> Stampolidis 2006.

<sup>103</sup> Τοιραμπίδης 1996. Τζιλιγκάκη 2014, 342-3.

<sup>104</sup> Sanders (1982, 163, 13/15 Aloides) mentions that “a marble statue of a seated female and a lion *protome* ought to indicate a site of some wealth or a shrine”, but the Greek text by Πλάτων (1949, 595-6) refers to a deposit at Aloides containing a seated female figurine holding a *pinax* on her shoulder. The marble lion *protome* was found and handed to the Museum by a citizen, but the original site is not mentioned.

<sup>105</sup> Herakleion Museum n. 132; *ICr* 2, v 50; Martínez Fernández 2006, 170, fig. 2. Height 0,28m, width 0,44m, thickness 0,055m.

<sup>106</sup> Τοιραμπίδης 1996, 262-266; Τζιλιγκάκη 2005, 228-9, 369, pl. II. Reasons for the scarce exploitation of the Cretan marble in Τζιλιγκάκη 2005, 234-5.

<sup>107</sup> Boardman 1982, 17.

<sup>108</sup> See *infra* n. 115-6.

about groups of workers that left from Crete to seek work in other areas of the Greek world, there are sufficient data about Cretan artists –sculptors and architects– that were active outside Crete in the Archaic period, i.e. seventh-sixth centuries B.C.E.<sup>109</sup>

Dipoinos and Skyllis were sculptors from Crete who worked in Sikyon (Peloponnese) around 600 B.C.E.; some consider them as students of Daidalos, while others say that Daidalos was married to a woman from Gortyn, and Dipoinos and Skyllis were their sons (Paus. 2.15.1).<sup>110</sup> According to Pliny (*HN* 36.9) “*marmore scalpendo primi omnium inclaruerunt Dipoenus et Scyllis*”. They reached their peak in the 50th Olympiad, which is around 580-576 B.C.E.<sup>111</sup>

Pausanias records Cheirisophos, another Cretan sculptor that worked in the Peloponnese, this time in Tegea (Paus. 8.53.7-8). The inscription *IG* 5, 2, 83 mentions that Φιλοκράτης Δαμονίκου covered with gold leaf the statue of Apollon (the one that perhaps Cheirisophos made). If the original statue was plated with gold, then Cheirisophos knew metallurgy as well. It is probably a very old statue of the seventh or early sixth century B.C.E.<sup>112</sup>

According to stratigraphy, Knossos appears to be completely abandoned in the years between 600-525 B.C.E.,<sup>113</sup> perhaps as a result of wars and/or famine.<sup>114</sup> This is the period that Chersiphron from Knossos and his son Metagenes built the Artemision of Ephesos. Vitruvius (*De arch.* 10.2.11-12) mentions Chersiphron for the transportation of the columns, but his son Metagenes for the transportation of the architraves.<sup>115</sup> Artemision was probably erected just after 560 B.C.E. due to the gift of Kroisos. The next point for its date is the sculpted *sima* which dates around 530/525 B.C.E.<sup>116</sup>

Aristokles from Kydonia made a complex of Hercules fighting against an Amazon, which was dedicated by Euagoras from Zancle in Olympia. Euagoras’s dedication must have taken place before 490 B.C.E.; the year after Zancle was renamed Messene (Thuc. 6.4; Paus. 5.25.11).<sup>117</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The connections between Crete and Thera in the Orientalizing and Archaic period, attested until now by Herodotus, pottery, and sculpture, are further indicated by two quarry-marks. A quarry-mark in the form of a Window was inscribed in a quarry of the seventh century B.C.E. at Prophetes Elias on Thera. The archaic character of the site in combination with the total absence of the “Window-type” in the mason’s marks of the LMI settlement in Akrotēri, excludes the possibility of a Minoan date. From that perspective, the quarry-mark from “Ta Skaria” at Palaikastro on Crete is considered to be archaic due to the archaic date of the shrine of Dictaeon Zeus in Palaikastro that lies in the vicinity, and the unfinished blocks left *in situ* in a little distance from the inscribed

<sup>109</sup> Perlman 2004, 128; Τζιλιγκάκη 2005, 191- 200; Τζιλιγκάκη 2009, 48.

<sup>110</sup> Παπαχατζής 1989, 123-24.

<sup>111</sup> Hermay 2001, 184-85.

<sup>112</sup> Vollkommer 2001, s.v. Cheirisophos.

<sup>113</sup> Erickson 2000, 127.

<sup>114</sup> Huxley 1994, 128-29.

<sup>115</sup> Svenson-Evers 1996, 94-5.

<sup>116</sup> Svenson-Evers 1996, 96-8.

<sup>117</sup> Παπαχατζής 1991, 78, n. 3, 319, n. 1.

quarry-mark. If we accept the interpretation that the quarry-marks from the area of Ailias at Knossos were indicators for areas that were not intended to be extracted, the inscribed male names under the quarry-mark of Thera and the unfinished blocks of Quarry E close to the quarry-mark at Palaikastro could be explained from that point of view. It is not the first time that Bronze Age symbols survive in archaic Crete; the Bronze Age mason's mark of the double axe was used as a punctuation mark in law inscriptions of Dreros, Lyttos and the Great Code of Gortyn. The existence of the same quarry-mark on Thera and Crete could be attributed to a company of masons that travels from place to place, a practice that was common in Greece until the middle of the 20th century C.E. Inscriptions from Gortyn, Axos and Lyttos infer the activity of a group of workers, but there is lack of evidence about the existence of groups of masons. Groups of skilled workers and stone masons are attested in the fourth century B.C.E., when the city-states of both Athens and Thebes supported their allies not just with money but also with the help of masons, in order to rebuild the fortifications for them. Back to the archaic period, the seventh and especially the sixth century B.C.E. witnesses an exodus of Cretan sculptors and architects towards the Peloponnese and Asia Minor. Belted marble *kouroi* from Thera and the oversized marble daedalic "Kore of Thera" exhibit traits of the Cretan Orientalizing sculpture. Even the use of marble should not arise any surprise, since Crete has enough white marble outcrops throughout the island. The quarry of "Kionia" or "The Rods of Digenis" at eastern Crete is an example of a white marble quarry operating in the seventh century B.C.E. onwards. Theran pottery is attested in Eleutherna and Istron, both areas being close to white marble outcrops. Not to mention the connections between Thera and the Cretan city-state of Axos, whose territory is in abundance of semi-white marble. From these clues it seems possible that the quarry-mark from Thera could be interpreted as a mark incised by a Cretan company of masons in the late seventh century B.C.E.

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Fig. 1. Satellite image of the island of Thera (mod. Santorini) in the Aegean Sea, taken on November 21, 2000, covering an area of  $18 \times 18$  km. (source: NASA [http://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/1000/1415/aster\\_santorini\\_lrg.jpg](http://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/1000/1415/aster_santorini_lrg.jpg)

Image courtesy NASA/GSFC/MITI/ERSDAC/JAROS, and U.S./Japan ASTER Science Team).

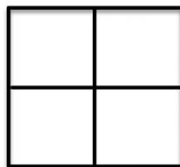


Fig. 2. Quarry-mark in the form of a window. It appears in two quarries so far: in the city quarries of ancient Thera (modern Santorini, Cyclades, Greece) and in the quarry of "Ta Skaria" in Palaikastro (eastern Crete, Greece).



Fig. 3. Satellite image of the island of Crete  
 (source: NASA [http://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/51000/51726/ISS028-E-018562\\_lrg.jpg](http://eoimages.gsfc.nasa.gov/images/imagerecords/51000/51726/ISS028-E-018562_lrg.jpg).  
 Astronaut Photograph ISS028-E-18562 acquired on July 22, 2011).

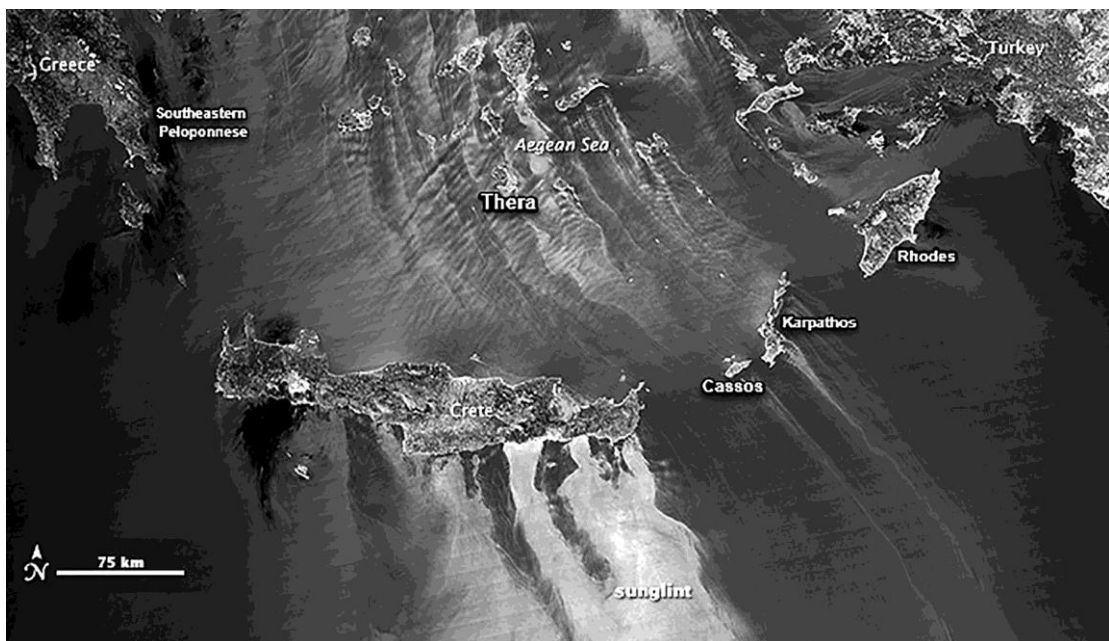


Fig. 4. Satellite image of wakes caused by north and northwest winds that roughened and smoothed the water surface behind Crete and the Cyclades. The water gleam with unusual color is caused by an optical phenomenon called "sunlint".

(Source: NASA. <http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/IOTD/view.php?id=84333>.  
 Acquired on July 3, 2014).

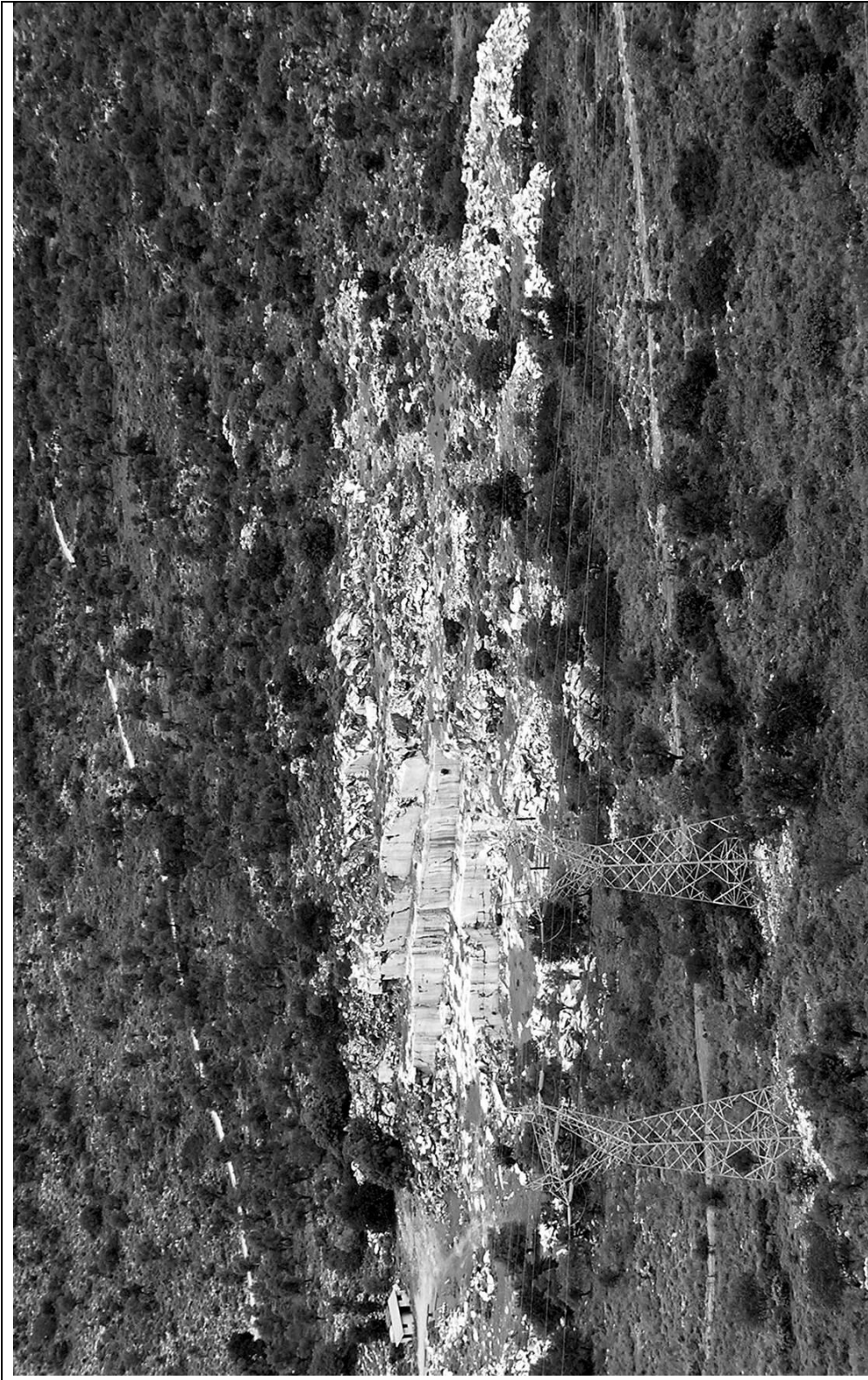


Fig. 5. Damasta (Herakleion Prefecture, Crete). View of the white marble quarries from the South in 2010